

Uniwersytet Łódźki
Instytut Archeologii



„Aelia Capitolina – Roman Jerusalem and the
military camp of the X Legion “Fretensis”.

Tomasz Janczewski



Praca napisana pod kierownictwem pani Prof. dr hab. Ilona Skupińska-Lovset

Łódź 2016

Contents

Bibliography:.....	3
List of Illustrations:	13
Introduction	15
<i>History of research</i>	18
<i>History of Roman occupation in the east. Chronological and geographical borders.</i>	24
Chapter I.....	33
Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina.....	33
<i>The History of Aelia Capitolina</i>	33
<i>Hadrian. The founding of Aelia Capitolina and the reasons for the Bar Kocha revolt ...</i>	38
<i>The Founding of Aelia Capitolina</i>	40
<i>Christianity and Aelia</i>	43
<i>Roman colonies as a means to safe guard territory</i>	47
Aelia Capitolina.....	48
<i>Road System</i>	49
<i>Sacred places</i>	51
<i>Forums and public Buildings</i>	58
The Walls of Roman Jerusalem	61
<i>The First Wall</i>	62
<i>The Second Wall</i>	63
<i>The Third Wall</i>	65
<i>The Four North Wall and the Walls of Aelia Capitolina.</i>	66
<i>The Christian Quarter</i>	68
<i>The Ottoman North Wall</i>	69
<i>City Gates</i>	71
The Camp of the X Roman Legion	74
<i>Traditional Theory</i>	74

<i>First New Theory</i>	76
<i>Second New Theory</i>	77
<i>Roman military camp in Jerusalem</i>	78
Constantine's revival.....	79
<i>Bordeaux Pilgrim</i>	80
<i>Saint Paula's Pilgrimage dual accounts of Saint Paula and Saint Jerome</i>	83
Chapter II Roman Army in the East.....	84
<i>West vs East Roman military Frontier comparison Hadrian's Wall and Limes Arabicus</i> ...	84
<i>Hadrian 's Wall</i>	89
<i>History of the Limes Arabicus</i>	95
<i>The Limes Arabicus</i>	98
<i>The Roman Army in the provinces of the east</i>	112
<i>The province of Cappadocia</i>	114
<i>Legions of Cappadocia</i>	116
<i>Auxilia of Cappadocia</i>	117
<i>The Syrian Province</i>	118
<i>Legions of Syria</i>	119
<i>The Province of Mesopotamia</i>	122
<i>Legions of Mesopotamia</i>	123
<i>Province of Judea</i>	123
<i>Legions of Judea</i>	126
<i>The Province of Arabia</i>	127
<i>Legions of Arabia</i>	129
<i>Roman forts on the Western and Eastern Limes lines</i>	132
<i>Fortresses</i>	134
<i>Smaller installations</i>	135
<i>Conclusion:</i>	138

Chapter III The Roman military camp	141
<i>The camp and walls of Aelia Capitolina</i>	142
<i>The kilnworks</i>	152
<i>The Fortress city</i>	153
<i>Bostra</i>	153
<i>Dura Europos</i>	154
<i>Palmyra</i>	156
<i>Aelia Capitolina in comparison</i>	160
<i>Aelia Capitolina as a Roman colony, military camp, a part of a system</i>	160
<i>A Grand Strategy or border control?</i>	167
Summary	170
<i>Closing thoughts</i>	174

Bibliography:

Ancient Sources:

1. **Cassius Dio**, Loeb Classical Library, 9 volumes, Greek text and facing English translation: Harvard University Press, 1914-1927. Translation by Earnest Cary.
2. **Flavius Josephus**, Ant. Bell. The Loeb Classical Library. Josephus in nine volumes. With English translation by H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren, L. H. Feldman. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, 1925-1990.
3. **Eusebius**, *Historia ecclesiastica*, translated to English by Arthur Cushman McGiffert [in:] Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol.1. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, (eds.), Christian Literature Publishing Co, Buffalo, 1890.
 Vita Constantini, translated to English by Ernest Cushing Richardson [in:] Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol.1. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, (eds.), Christian Literature Publishing Co, Buffalo, 1890.
 Demonstratio Evangelica, translated to English by W.J. Ferrar 1920, Link to site:
 http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/eusebius_de_10_book8.htm
4. **Vitruvius**, *De Architectura*, translated to English by Morris Hicky Morgan [in:] Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture, Harvard University Press, London, 1914.
5. **Ammianus Marcellinus**, *Res Gestae*, The Loeb Classical Library edition, translated to English by J. C. Rolfe, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1939-1950.

6. **Sozomen**, *Historia ecclesiastica*, translated to English by Chester D. Hartranft [in.] Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol.2. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, (eds.), Christian Literature Publishing Co, Buffalo, 1890.
7. **Socrates**, *Historia ecclesiastica*, translated to English by A.C. Zenos [in.] Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol.2. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, (eds.), Christian Literature Publishing Co, Buffalo, 1890.
8. **Cyril of Jerusalem**, *Catechetical Lectures*, translated to English by Edwin Hamilton Gifford [in.] Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol.7. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, (eds.), Christian Literature Publishing Co, Buffalo, 1894.
9. **Bible**, New International Version, link to site: <https://www.biblegateway.com/>
10. **Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, about the Holy places (386 A.D.)**, translated into English by Aubrey Stewart, London 1896.
11. **The Bordeaux Pilgrim**: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, English translation by Aubrey Stewart, with few additions and amendments [in.] Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, White, Dickson, (eds.), Committee of the Palestinian Exploration Fund, London, 1887. Link to site: <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord01MapEur.html>

Modern Sources:

Applebaum (1976)	S. Applebaum, <i>Prolegomena to the study of the Second Jewish Revolt A.D. 132-135</i> , Bar supplementary series number 7, Oxford 1976.
Arubas, Goldfus (1995)	B. Arubas, H. Goldfus, <i>The Kilnworks of the Tenth legion Fretensis, [in:] The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some recent archaeological research</i> , J.H. Humphrey, (ed.), Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series Number 14, Ann Arbor 1995, pp.95-107.
Avigad (1983)	N. Avigad, <i>Discovering Jerusalem</i> , Nashville 1983.
Avigad (2000)	N. Avigad, <i>Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem</i> , Jerusalem 2000.
Bahat (1990)	D. Bahat, <i>The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem</i> , New York 1990.
Bahat (2005)	D. Bahat, <i>Atlas Biblijnej Jerozolimy</i> , Warszawa 2005.

- Bar (1990) D. Bar, *Aelia Capitolina and the location of the Camp of the Tenth Legion*, Palestine Exploration Quarterly 130, 1998. p. 8-19.
- Bar (2002) D. Bar, *Was there a 3rd-c. economic crisis in Palestine?*, [in], *The Roman and Byzantine Near East, Volume 3*, J.H. Humphrey, (ed.) Portsmouth, 2002, pp.43-54.
- Barnard (1969) L. W. Bernard, *Hadrian and Judaism*, Journal of Religious history 5, pp. 285-298.
- Bedoyere (2010) Guy de la Bedoyere, *Hadrian's Wall: History and Guide*, Amberley 2010.
- Bieberstein (2007) K. Bieberstein, *Aelia Capitolina*, [in:] *Jerusalem Before Islam*, Z. Kafafi, R. Schick, (eds.), London 2007, pp. 134-168.
- Boatwright (2000) M. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of The Roman Empire*, Princeton University Press 2000.
- Bowersock (1971) G. W. Bowersock, *A Report on Arabia Provincia*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 219-242.
- Breeze, Dobson (1978) D.J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*, Suffolk 1978.
- Chancey, Porter (2001) M. A. Chancey, A. L. Porter, *The Archaeology of Roman Palestine*, Near Eastern Archaeology vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec 2001), pp. 164-203.
- Ciecieląg (2008) J. Ciecieląg, *Powstanie Bar Kochby 132-135 po Chr.*, Zabrze 2008.
- Colingwood (1969) R. G. Colingwood, I. Richmond, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, Kent 1969.
- Frere, Josphe (1983) S. S Frere, J. K. Sinclair St. Joseph, *Roman Britain from the Air*, Cambridge 1983.
- Geva (1984) H. Geva, *The Camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem: An Archaeological Reconsideration*, Israel Exploration Journal Volume 34, number 4 (1984), Jerusalem, pp.239-254.
- Geva (1997) H. Geva, *Searching for Roman Jerusalem*, Biblical Archeology Review, Nov/Dec 1997 , pp. 35-43.

- Gibson, Taylor (1994) S. Gibson, J.E. Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*; The Archeology and early history of the traditional Golgotha, London 1994.
- Gichon (1967) M. Gichon, *The Origins of the Limes Palaestinae and the Major Phases of its Development*, Studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms: Vortrage des 6 Internationalen Limeskongresses in Suddeutschland, Koln 1967, pp.175-193.
- Gichon (1990) M. Gichon, *The courtyard pattern castellum on the Limes Palaestinae Strategic and Tactical features*,[in:] *Der Romische Limes in Osterreich, Heft 36/1, Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum*. H. Vetters and M. Kandler (eds.) Wien 1990, pp.193-211.
- Gichon (1991) M. Gichon, *When and why did the Romans commence the defence of Southern Palestine?*, [in:], *Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, Valerie A., Maxfield, Michael J. Dobson, (eds.), University of Exeter Press 1991, pp. 318 -326.
- Gichon (2002) M. Gichon, *45 years of research on the Limes Palaestinae- the findings and their assessment in the light of the criticisms raised (C 1st-C 4th)*, [in:], *Limes XVIII, Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*, Vol.1., Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema, Brigitta Hoffmann, (eds.), Bar International Series 1084(I). 2002, pp. 185-201.
- Gichon, Applebaum (1967) M. Gichon, Applebaum S., *Israel and her vicinity in the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Tel Aviv University 1967.
- Goodman (1997) M. Goodman, *The Roman World, 44 BC-AD 180*, London 1997.
- Golan (1986) D. Golan, *Hadrian's Decision to supplant Jerusalem by Aelia Capitolina*, *Historia: Zeitschrift fur Alte Geschichte*, BD.35, H.2 (2nd Qtr. 1986) , pp. 226-239.

- Graf (1978) D. Graf, *The Saracens and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier*, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 229 (February 1978), pp.1-27.
- Graf (1979) D. Graf, *A Preliminary Report on a Survey of Nabataean-Roman Military Sites in Southern Jordan*, Annual of the Department of antiquities of Jordan Vol.23 (1979), pp. 121-127
- Gray (1923) W. D. Gray, *The Founding of Aelia Capitolina and the Chronology of the Jewish War under Hadrian*, The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures Vol. 39, No.4 (Jul 1923), pp. 248-256.
- Gregory (1995) S. Gregory, *Roman Military Architecture on the Eastern Frontier, Volume I*, Amsterdam 1995.
- Gregory (1996) S. Gregory, *Roman Military Architecture on the Eastern Frontier, Volume II*, Amsterdam 1996.
- Hamilton (1952) R. W. Hamilton, *Jerusalem in the Fourth Century*, Palestine Exploration Quarterly, vol. 84, issue 2, October 1952, p. 83-90.
- Hartman, Speidel (2000) M. Hartman, M. Speidel, *Roman military forts at Zeugma. A preliminary report*, [in] *Limes XVIII, Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan, (September 2000)*, Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew Fiema, Birgitta Hoffmann, (eds.) BAR International Series 1084, 2002, pp. 259-261.
- Hazel (2001) J. Hazel, *Who is Who in the Roman World*, London 2001.
- Holum (1997) K. Holum, *Iter Principis, Hadrian's Imperial Tour*, Biblical Archaeology Review, Volume 23, number 6, (November/December 1997), pp.50-51.
- Isaac (1990) B. Isaac, *The Limits of the Roman Empire, The Roman Army in the East*, Oxford 1990.
- James (2007) S. James, *New Light on the Roman Military Base at Dura-Europos: Interim report on a Pilot Season of Fieldwork in 2005*, [in:], *The Late Roman Army in the near East from*

- Diocletian to the Arab Conquest, Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*, Ariel S. Lewin and Pietrina Pellegrini (eds.), Bar International series 1717 (2007), pp.29-47.
- Jones (2012) R. H. Jones, *Roman Camps in Britain*, Amberley 2012.
- Juchniewicz (2010) K. Juchniewicz, *The Late Roman Fortifications in Palmyra*, Studia Palmyreńskie 12: Fifty years of Polish Excavations in Palmyra 1959-2009, International Conference, Warsaw, 6-8 December 2010, pp.193-202.
- Kadman (1956) L. Kadman, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina*, Jerusalem 1956.
- Kenyon (1974) K. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London and Tonbridge 1974.
- Kennedy (1980) D. Kennedy, *The Frontier Policy of Septimus Severus: New Evidence from Arabia*, [in:], *Roman Frontier Studies 1979*, W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie, (eds.), Bar International Series 71 (I) 1980, pp. 879-885.
- Kennedy (2000) D. Kennedy, *The Roman Army In Jordan*, London 2000.
- Kennedy, Riley (1990) D. Kennedy, D. Riley, *Rome's Desert frontier from the air*, University of Texas Press 1990.
- Keppie (1986) L. Keppie, *Legions in the east from Augustus to Trajan*, [in:], *The Defense of the Roman and Byzantine East*, Philip Freeman, David Kennedy, (eds.), Bar international series 297(i) 1986, Oxford, pp.411-429.
- Luttwak (1976) E. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire, From the First Century A.D. to the Third.*, Baltimore and London 1976.
- Magen (2000) M. Magen, *Excavations at the Damascus Gate*, [in:] *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed, Expanded Edition 2000*, H. Geva, (ed.), Jerusalem 2000, pp. 281-287.
- Magnes (1999) J. Magnes, *Redating the forts at Ein Boqeq, Upper Zohar, and other sites in SE Judea, and the implications for the nature of the Limes Palaestinae*, [in:], *The Roman and Byzantine Near East, Volume 2, Some recent*

- archaeological research*, J.H. Humphrey, (ed.), Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary series number 31, Portsmouth 1999, pp.189-206.
- Magnes (2005) J. Magnes, *The Roman legionary pottery* [in:] *Excavations on the site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma): A Settlement of the Late First to Second Temple Period, The Tenth Legion Kilnworks, and A Byzantine Monastic Complex, The Pottery and other small finds*, Benny Arubas, Haim Goldfus (eds.), Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary series number 60, Portsmouth 2005, pp. 69-194.
- Mare (1987) H. Mare, *Archaeology of the Jerusalem Area*, Baker Book House, Michigan 1987.
- Mazar (2002) E. Mazar, *The Complete Guide to Temple mount excavations*, Shoham 2002.
- Mocsy (1974) A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London 1974.
- Parker (1982) S. T. Parker, *Preliminary report on the 1980 Season of the Central „Limes Arabicus” Project*, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental research 247 (Summer 1982), pp. 1-26.
- Parker (1986) S. T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier*, ASOR 1986.
- Parker (2000) S. T. Parker, *Roman Legionary Fortresses in the east*, [in:], *Roman Fortresses and their Legions*, Richard J. Brewer, (ed.), National Museums & Galleries of Wales/Society of Antiquaries of London, 2000, pp. 121-138.
- Parker (2002) S. T. Parker, *The Roman frontier in Jordan: An overview* [in:], *Limes XVIII, Proceedings of the XVIIIth international Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*, Vol. I, Philip Freeman,

- Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fienna, Birgitta Hoffmann, (eds.), *Bar International series*, 2002, pp.77-85.
- Parker (2006) S. T. Parker, *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan, Final report on The Limes Arabicus Project, 1980-1989, Volume 1*. Dumbarton Oaks 2006.
- Parker (2007) S. T. Parker, *Projecting Power on the Periphery: Rome's Arabian Frontier east of the Dead Sea*, [in:], *Crossing Jordan, North American Contrubutions to the Archaeology of Jordan*, Thomas E. Levy, P.M. Michele Daviau, Randal W. Younker and May Shaer. (eds.), *Equinox* 2007, pp.349-359.
- Parker, Dermott (1978) S. T. Parker, P. M. MC Dermott, *A military building inscription from Roman Arabia*, *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Band 28, Germany 1978, pp.61-66.
- Rosenthal-Heginbottom (2005) R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, *The 1968 excavations*, [in:], *Excavations on the site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma), A Settlement of the Late First to Second Temple Period, The Tenth Legion Kilnworks, and a Byzantine Monastic Complex, The Pottery and other small finds*, Benny Arubas, Haim Goldfus (eds.), *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary series number 60, Portsmouth 2005, pp.229-281.
- Ross (1942) W. Ross, *The Four North Walls of Jerusalem*, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 74(2), October 1942, pp.69-81.
- Roth (2009) J. P. Roth, *Roman Warfare*, Cambridge University Press 2009.
- Schaff, Jerome P. Schaff, Jerome, *The Principal Works of St. Jerome by St. Jerome*, New York 1892.
- Shadid (1984) I. Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs. A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs*, Dumbarton Oaks papers, Washington 1984.

- Speidel (1979) M. P. Speidel, *A tile stamp of Cohors I Thracum milliaria from Hebron/Palestine*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Band 35, 1979, pp.171-172.
- Speidel (1984) M. P. Speidel, *The Roman Army in Arabia*, [in.], *Roman Army Studies, Volume one*, Michael Speidel, Amsterdam 1984, pp.230-272.
- Speidel (1984) M. Speidel, *The Roman Army in Asia Minor, Recent epigraphical discoveries and research*, [in.], *Roman Army Studies, Volume One*, Michael Speidel, Amsterdam 1984, pp.273-309.
- Speidel (1992) M. Speidel, *The Roman Army in Judea under the Procurators, The Italian and the Augustan Cohort in the acts of the apostles*, [in.] *Roman Army Studies, Volume Two*, Michael P. Speidel, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 224-241.
- Stinespring (1941) W. F. Stinespring, *Some Archaeological Problems of Jerusalem*, *Journal of Bible and Religion*, Vol.9, No.2 (May 1941), pp.89-93.
- Tepper (2002) Y. Tepper, *Lajjun –Legio in Israel: Results of a survey in and around the military camp area*, [in.], *Limes XVIII, Proceedings of the XVIIIth International congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000), Volume I*, Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew Fiema, Birgitta Hoffmann, (eds.), Bar International series 1084 (I) 2002, pp.231-237.
- Thomsen (1917) P. Thomsen, *Die römischen Meilsteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina*, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins* 40 (1917). Pp. 1-130.
- Wightman (1989) G. J. Wightman, *The Damascus Gate; Excavations by C.M. Bennett and J.B. Hennessy at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, 1964-66*, Bar International Series 519, 1989.
- Wightman (1993) G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem, from Canaanites to the Mamluks*, Sydney 1993.

Wilson (1905)

C. W. Wilson, *The Camp of the Tenth Legion at Jerusalem and the City of Aelia*, Palestine exploration Quarterly, Vol. 37, Issue 2. April 1905, pp. 138-144.

Zahrnt (1991)

M. Zahrnt, *Zahl, Verteilung und Charakter der hadrianischen Kolonien (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Aelia Capitolina)*, [in:], Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums: 2, Eckart Olshausen, Holger Sonnabend, (eds.), 1984 und 3, 198, Bonn 1991, pp. 463-485.

List of Illustrations:

Fig. 1 Proposed locations for the military camp	34
Fig. 2 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. After Mare (1987)	36
Fig. 3 Hadrian. Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	38
Fig. 4 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. The Road System After Mare (1987)	49
Fig. 5 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. Sacred Places After Mare (1987)	51
Fig. 6 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. Forums and Public Buildings After Mare (1987)	58
Fig. 7 The Walls of Jerusalem Second Temple Period After Ross (1942)	62
Fig. 8 Walls of Jerusalem Second Temple Period After Ross (1942)	63
Fig. 9 The Walls of Jerusalem Second Temple Period After Ross (1942)	65
Fig. 10 The Fourth North Wall.....	66
Fig. 11 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. City Gates After Mare (1987)	71
Fig. 12 The location of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem based on the traditional theory presented by sir C.W. Wilson After Wilson (1905)	74
Fig. 13 The location of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem based on the theory of Eliat Mazar after Mazar (2002)	76
Fig. 14 The location of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem based on the theory of Doron Bar After Bar (1998)	77
Fig. 15 Roman military forts on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire following: Kennedy, Riley (1990)	136
Fig. 16 Roman Britain Fort examples following: Frere, Joseph (1983)	137
Fig. 17 The Damascus Gate the northern entrance to the Roman Aelia Capitolina Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	177
Fig. 18 The Roman Gate under the Damascus Gate Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	178
Fig. 19 Christian district the view on the Citadel (Tower of David) Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	178
Fig. 20 Jaffa Gate Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	179
Fig. 21 The Citadel (David's Tower) Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	179
Fig. 22 A Madaba Map mosaic painting on sale Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	180

Fig. 23 The Ecce Homo arch. The free standing arch that marks the boundary of the eastern side of Aelia Capitolina Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski.....	181
Fig. 24 Herod's Gate Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski.....	182
Fig. 25 The Western Wall (Wailing Wall), remains after the Herod Temple Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	183
Fig. 26 Archaeological remains in Old City Jerusalem Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	183
Fig. 27 Southern Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa Mosque, Archaeological parl, Robinson's Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	184
Fig. 28 Aelia Capitolina Cardo Maximus Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	184
Fig. 29 Aelia Capitolina Cardo Maximus graphical reconstruction Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski.....	185
Fig. 30 Roman pavement on the Cardo Maximus road Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	185
Fig. 31 Reconstructed Cardo Maximus used in modern commercial traffic Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	186
Fig. 32 Remains of Cardo Maximus Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	186
Fig. 33 Archaeological site in Jerusalem Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	187
Fig. 34 Archaeological site in Jerusalem Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	187
Fig. 35 Kidron Valley tomb: Bnei Hazir and Tomb of Zechariah Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski.....	188
Fig. 36 Archaeological excavations in the City of David Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	188
Fig. 37 Robinson's Arch Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski.....	189
Fig. 38 The entrance to the Muristan Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	189
Fig. 39 Syjon Gate Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski	190

Introduction

On the 13th of December 2010 I presented my Master's work titled „Aelia Capitolina-Założenia Urbanistyczno-przestrzenne Jerozolimy po powstaniu Bar Kochby”. The main focus of my work was concentrated on the ruined city of Jerusalem reconstructed from ruins by the Roman Emperor Hadrian in the year 135 A.D. and then renamed Aelia Capitolina. Although my research on the basic aspects of Roman Jerusalem proved fruitful I felt that my master work still lacked detailed information on this very interesting and delicate subject. Additionally my masters dissertation only mentioned the complicated situation revolving around the idea of a Roman military camp in Jerusalem and its presumable location.

The Roman military camp was supposedly located on the southwestern hill of today's Old City in Jerusalem (Armenian Quarter) yet despite all research done past the last 50 years its location still remains a mystery. Furthermore new ideas on the presumable location of the military camp came into light thanks to new scholarly research. With new convincing evidence brought to the table the subject of the Roman camp became even more complicated. The author decided to add his voice into the discussion by making the problem of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem a main focus of this Ph.D. dissertation.

The creation of this dissertation took four difficult years of library work. The first difficulty faced was the lack of historical sources and books concerning the topic in our Polish libraries. Second were the financial problems faced by every adult person and every Ph.D. candidate that the author has got to know during all his years as a Ph.D. candidate himself. First year concentrated only on basic research and library query but mostly on finding an appropriate scholarship to finance the upcoming scientific work. In the second year I moved to the University of Mainz. There with the help of prof. Wolfgang Zwickel, dr. Hans-Peter Kuhnen and the library of the “Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät” I was able to make my first steps and progress with my dissertation. The biggest gain for this scientific work was the scholarship of the scholarship foundation from Vienna Austria. With it the author traveled to Vienna to study in the library of the “Institut für Klassische Archäologie”, with prof. Marion Meyer as consultant. With the gigantic collection of the library the author was able to make big progress and also learn a lot of new and interesting things considering archaeology. During his four years study he also participated in numerous archaeological conferences in Mainz, Vienna, Vardzia (Georgia), and some archaeological dig sites unfortunately all of them were focused on completely different subjects. Organizing or even participating in archaeological work in Jerusalem (or in the middle east) proved difficult and very expensive for a normal Ph.D.

candidate. Therefore the biggest lack in this dissertation is the absence of own archaeological work and focus on library work only.

The main focus of this research was the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina and the location of the Roman military camp in or outside its city borders. The aim of this work is to try to find an answer to couple questions: Where was the camp of the X legion located? What was the role of the military camp in Jerusalem? How does the relationship between a city and its military camp looked like? Did Aelia play any role in the “Grand Strategy” idea?

In order to accomplish all mentioned goals this work was separated into three major chapters. Chapter 1 will be focused mainly on the city of Aelia Capitolina and its founder Emperor Hadrian. Beginning with the short history of Aelia and then moving to the person of Hadrian the author will try to present the reasons for founding this Roman city on top of the ruins left by Titus after the revolt in 70 A.D. Then we will move to the city itself and present its street system, sacred places and forums with public buildings. Another very important aspect of the city are the walls of Jerusalem surrounding today’s Old City. The knowledge of one city’s walls can very much help showcase its growth and expansion throughout the years and its especially important if we look at the walls of Jerusalem. The chapter comes to an end with the description of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem and its location based on three theories that place the camp either on the southwestern hill, on the Temple Mount, or on today’s Muristan in the Christian quarter. Lastly we see the Roman city through the eyes of the pilgrims that visited the town after the year 300 A.D.

The second chapter focuses on the Roman army in the east and its main role and function in its provinces. The chapter begins with the explanation on how both frontiers (Eastern and Western) functioned throughout the years in the Roman Empire. Concentrating on the western frontier we will take a look at the Hadrian’s Wall its function, its forts and its construction to understand why the Hadrian’s Wall was the materialization of Emperor’s Hadrian ambition. Then we will look at the eastern frontier to see the concept of the “Limes Arabicus” and its function and role. After this simple comparison of both frontiers we can now look in a more detailed view on the eastern frontier and the Roman army located there. Each province of the Roman east will be showcased with its history and stationing Roman forces. Provinces of Cappadocia, Syria, Judea, Mesopotamia and Arabia. The second chapter closes with the description and function of Roman forts located on the eastern and western frontiers. This small passage groups all installations into simple categories and explains their function while providing an example and overall plan.

The third chapter will be concentrated on the Roman Military Camp in Jerusalem, its presumable location, its function and role it played in the “Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire”. Summarizing all mentioned facts and ideas concerning the Roman military camp and the city of Aelia, the author will try to present some new ideas on how to look on the Roman camp in Jerusalem in a wider perspective.

This organization of work into three chapters also serves another goal. The role of the first and second chapters is to present the problems and ideas faced in the dissertation. The third chapter not only explains, sums up and deals with all the ideas and problems presented earlier, but also presents the author’s point of view on the topic.

During this work one can see that many times the author will draw away from the main topic in order to present a theory, idea or just to explain a problem at hand. This treatment is required in order to fully understand the point the author is trying to make in this dissertation.

Before we start I would like to express my greatness gratitude to professor Ilona Skupińska Lovset, professor Marion Meyer, professor Wolfgang Zwickel and dr. Hans-Peter Kuhnen for their extraordinary help in completing this thesis. Furthermore I would like to thank professor Michael Vickers and professor Vakhtang Licheli for their contribution to the authors archaeological growth.

Sources

To complete this work many archaeological and some historical sources were needed. Unfortunately most archaeological sources come from publications done by other authors and only interpreted by the writer in a different way. One of the most important works used in this dissertation was the “De’Architectura” written by Vitruvius. A comprehensive work that gathers architectural knowledge of the Greek building traditions and techniques. “De’Architectura” is considered an elementary book used in every construction work in Roman times. Yet as we compare Vitruvius work with the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina we can see many similarities together with many contradictions showing that “De’Architectura” was not always seen as a must in city planning and construction, but was followed in many aspects for example city location.

Next important source were the works of Josephus Flavius “*Jewish War*”, and “*Jewish Antiquities*”. Both concentrate on the history of the Jewish people and their struggle against other nations in their complicated history. Both describe the city of Jerusalem and its history

giving us required material that we can use in our comparison work. Still we need to remember that although both sources give us the description of the city of Jerusalem through the ages they both stop at the Second Temple Period denying us knowledge of Roman Jerusalem.

The writings of the Old and New Testament remain an unchanging source of information about Jerusalem its description, its overall image, and also its future (prophecies). Written by different people in different times and also in a different approach it gives a variety of information so needed in scientific work.

Some sources gathered in this work concentrate mainly on the city of Aelia Capitolina. Eusebius "*Church History*" describes the Roman city in few but very important words, by showing locations of important religious sites around the city. Sozomen and Rufinus confirm all statements shown by Eusebius.

Because sources that directly describe the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina are lacking we must also look to those literary testimonies that recount the last days of the pagan. The "*Itinerarium Burdigalense*", "*Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, about the Holy places (386 A.D.)*", Eusebius Pamphili "*Onomasticon*" and the "*The Principal Works of St. Jerome by St. Jerome*" describe the Roman city of Aelia during its last days as a Roman city and after its transformation into a Christian pilgrimage site. Mentioned sources give an astonishing wealth of material helpful in the reconstruction of a view of the city during the early IV century into the V century.

Sources concerning the western and eastern frontier are also oriented around works of ancient authors describing a certain area, or found inscriptions that piece by piece give us an overall picture about the historical situation in the western or eastern frontier. A worthy mention are the works of Ammianus Marcellinus, a 4th century soldier and historian, who wrote penultimate major historical accounts surviving from antiquity. His description of the eastern frontier defenses, its allies and enemies gives as needed insight on the complicated situation of the 4th century onward frontier.

History of research

The 19th century was a very unstable period in the Ottoman Empire that imposed serious limitations for travellers and explorers venturing through its territory. Nevertheless some travellers began to explore the unknown and left writings and drawings of their findings. Some of the first were Johann Burckhardt who visited Petra in 1812, Ulrich Seetzen who travelled through the southern Decapolis in 1806 and William Bankes who ventured into the steppe to

explore the ruins found at Umm el-Jimal¹. Those accounts are especially valuable today to showcase nearly one century of differences between now and then. Landscape of the 19th century was more barren and less urbanized; nowadays the growth of local population has transformed the landscape and sadly destroyed much of the archaeological sites². In 1893 George Robinson Lees wrote about Amman: *“after riding two hours along a road marked by cart-wheels, we arrived at Amman. The population had increased to the number of one thousand Circassians besides Arab shopkeepers from Es-Salt. Two streets had been formed, one for shops alone, and nearly all the houses were surrounded by a yard enclosed by a stone wall... Fresh meat can be bought almost every day of the week, and there is actually a baker’s shop”*. Now Amman is a sprawling city of 1,5 million citizens and has much changed since the time of George Robinson Lees.

Many of the scholars venturing to the “Holy Land” possessed Classical Education and brought a huge interest in the Greco-Roman past of the land. They produced many sketches and sometimes photographs of places they visited and explored. Sadly few of those documents were published and fewer survived³. Also we have to remember that those early scholars made many mistakes in their exploration and documentation. For example as Shelagh Gregory states *“those early reports can be useful but their accuracy is often doubtful; for example, Bliss gives an approximation of the ground plan of Lejjun, but publishes a drawing of the “south gate”, showing relieving arches over side entrances, side entrances do not exist at the south gate so the drawing is more likely to represent the north gate, where there are side entrances; any relieving arches there may once have been are now missing but it is reasonably safe to assume Bliss’s evidence that they did once exist; he is more likely to have confused one gateway with another than to have invented the arches”*⁴. Other mistakes like overconfidence led to false statements that were in time creating more identification problems.

The major breakthrough came with the work of two German scholars Rudolph Brunnow and Alfred von Domaszewski. Taking advantage of the Ottoman reassertion of control in the Middle East and opening up of the steppe through colonisation, garrisons and the Hejaz Railway they came to work here in 1897 and 1898. Their work concentrated on archaeological sites connected with the Roman Army in the east and covered sites beginning at Petra and ending in the Hauran in southern Syria. In 1904-1909 they published their major study *“Die Provincia*

¹ Kennedy (2000), p. 21.

² Ibidem, p. 21.

³ Ibidem, p. 21.

⁴ Gregory (1995), p. 20.

Arabia". The study concluded their archaeological journey through the Arabian province gathering not only their observations but also accounts of other travellers that visited the same sites before them. Also it provides a brief bibliography of those individuals and their work⁵.

"*Die Provincia Arabia*" contains a wealth of descriptions, drawings, photographs and plans of military installations. Also the study provides brief analysis of sites and findings⁶. It also has errors that Shelagh Gregory tries to point out. In her opinion Domaszewski was influenced by the *Squareness* theory which proclaims that all Roman military constructions must be placed on a square plan. Domaszewski's measurements (in Gregory's point of view) were always flawed with that idea therefore his reconstructions showed a certain amount of wishful thinking and refinement⁷. She gives two examples the corner tower at Udruh and the complexities of the gatehouse at Dmeyr⁸. She also explains that Domaszewski like other 19th century scholars didn't hesitate to assign functions to buildings or calculate the number of a garrison without proper detailed work and thinking⁹.

During the same time the Princeton University sponsored several expeditions to north Jordan with a goal to conduct more detailed surveys of architecture and inscriptions¹⁰. Princeton expeditions published their recorded travels that took place between 1904 – 1909 in the years 1919 to 1940 with C.H. Butler responsible, for the architectural descriptions and plans¹¹.

Gregory also comments Butler work as well. She refers to Butler's illustrations that are drawn in a very elegant style but there seen to be drawn some time after the expedition took place. The long wait is visible in the publication because some of the measurements and shapes are little out of place¹².

The creation of the British Mandate of Transjordan after the First World War and the founding of the Department of Antiquities opened the country to large scale research¹³. Archaeological research boomed with the work of some extraordinary men. The French Jesuit Priest Pere Antoine Poidebard, began his aerial surveys in Syria mandated by the French during those times¹⁴. In 1939 the Hungarian- British orientalist Sir Aurel Stein continued Poidebard

⁵ Kennedy (2000), p. 21.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 21.

⁷ Gregory (1995), p. 24.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 24.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 24.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 23.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 23.

¹² Ibidem, p. 24.

¹³ Kennedy (2000), p. 21.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 21.

work as an aerial archaeologist. Steins work concentrated on the Transjordan filling out the gap that Poidebard left¹⁵. In the year 1920 soldiers that had setup camp in the ancient city of Dura discovered fragments of painted plaster, two years later Breasted reported the finds and saw a potential for excavations¹⁶.

In the year 1930 Frank and Alt carried out archaeological surveys of potential Roman sites in the Wadi Araba region of southern Palestine and Jordan their finds and remarks were published in two parts one in 1934 the second in 1935 in a volume called "*Aus der Araba*". The publication provides good sketches and plans but has a bias to present every site as a part of the Roman Frontier. Other Archaeologist worth mentioning is Nelson Glueck an American archaeologist and traveller.

Glueck began his "*Explorations in western Palestine*" in the mid-30's and continued them into the 1950s. He published and used very good aerial photographs of known Roman forts and roads. However in his later articles and books he tends to be more pro-Nabatean and when there is no conclusive evidence to a subject Glueck would prefer a Nabatean attribution¹⁷.

Another name worth mentioning was Sauvaget an Islamicist, whose main interest lay in Umayyad forts. He devoted his work to question the claims of Limitomaniacs (like Poidebard and Stein) but in his deductions he represents a typical "mania" like mentioned Poidebard and Stein. Although Sauvaget has some interesting things to say he follows the same scheme and names nearly all Roman claimed forts Umayyad. His "*Chateaux Umayyades*" published in 1967 represents this tendency. Some of his statements were justified but with modifications like Qasr el-Hallabat and the al-Mundhir building at Resafa were generally accepted. Recent surveys proved that his claims for many sites at Wadi Araba were not justified¹⁸.

In 1925 Field established his North Arabian Desert Archaeological Survey. This survey was completed in 1950 but the results were published ten years later. The publication included a revision of some earlier work, some of the plans contained in the study have been in use until recently and the one of Bayir is the only realistic recorded plan of the site¹⁹.

Dilleman (1962) was another Poidebard critic who in his historical geography of the Roman frontier in Mesopotamia shows that Poidebard sites are not on the west bank of the Wadi Jagjag

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 22.

¹⁶ Gregory (1995), p. 27.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 28.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 32.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 34.

and are of many different types not only Roman. His work was concentrated more on the theoretical identification of potential sites than in surviving structures. As a critic of Poidebard working methods and conclusions he wonders why so many scholars accepted Poidebard's work without any suspicion that it can be filled with mistakes²⁰.

When Mordechai Gichon began his work as an archaeologist his main interest was the Roman Military Frontier. His main goal was to establish a Flavian Limes Palaestine (later called Limes Judaicus²¹) according to the lines suggested by Alt in 1930. Since then he started to excavate fortified sites like en-Boqeq and Me'zad Tamar. Then he published material to confirm his theories. His enthusiasm and forceful approach combined with the fact that for some time he was the only Israeli archaeologist committed to the Roman frontier gave him many followers and supporters and of course critics. Some of them like Rothenberg and Shatzman in their publications, would find Gichon's methods and findings not efficient enough²².

As years pass by activity and interest in the Roman frontier grew and more scholars were drawn to the subject and more work was done to uncover the secrets of the Frontier. First methodical explorations of the military sites along the upper Euphrates since the time of Cumont and Braund had begun. Three sites Pagnik Oreni, Dibsi Faraj and Kifrin where the subjects of rescue excavations led by Mitford. Also the island of Ana, Qala and Bijan where Roman occupation strata was excavated²³. In 1973 Gray presented the research in to the later phases of the Roman Frontier and big possibilities it can bring. His idea was followed by Liebeschütz who investigated Syria's defences in the six century during the year 1977²⁴. In the 1970's Glen Bowersock's article about the Roman Arabia published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1971)²⁵, had a major impact on some scholars and urged them to focus their research on Jordan²⁶. By the time he published his "*Roman Arabia*" in 1983 scholars like Parker and Kennedy were already involved in Jordan research.

In 1976 Parker did a survey and in 1982 Kennedy did his own survey. Parker was the director of the *Limes Arabicus Project* that focused on surveys and excavations on the line of the limes Arabicus in the time of Emperor Diocletian²⁷. The project focused on excavations in

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 34.

²¹ Gichon (1991), p. 318 -325.

²² Gregory (1995), p. 35.

²³ Ibidem, p. 35.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 35.

²⁵ Bowersock (1971), pp. 219-242.

²⁶ Kennedy (2000), p. 22.

²⁷ Parker (1982), pp. 1-26.

the el-Lejjun fortress, El-Fityan fort, Rujm Beni Yasser, Qasr Bshir, Qasr Abu Rukba, Da'janiya²⁸. Parker was also excavating Aqaba/Eliath the new home of the X legio Fretensis moved from Aelia Capitolina.

Other authors like Crow, Pringle, Welsby, Johnson, Lander, Graf, MacAdam, Speidel and Issac continued to work at Roman sites to uncover the secrets of the Roman military in the east²⁹.

Work of all mentioned scholars sparked the beginning of eastern roman military archaeology. Few conferences have had place in the past where scholars from around the world could present their point of view in the topic of Roman eastern military.

Recent publications that can help understand the topic include: "*Roman Arabia*" by G.W. Bowersock published in 1983, "*Romans and Saracens. The history of the Arabian Frontier*", by S.T. Parker published in 1986. "*The Roman Army in Arabia*" written by M.P. Speidel. B. Issac published in 1992 his book "*The Limits of the Empire. The Roman Army in the East*". Edward's Luttwak's "*Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire, From the First Century A.D. to the third*" published in 1976 was a major work done considering all Roman frontiers it became a very important publication concerning the western and eastern frontier of the Empire. I. Shahid published a succession of studies the first one printed in 1984 "*Rome and the Arabs*", the second one "*Byzantine and the Arabs in the Fourth Century ... the Fifth Century... The Sixth Century*" published in 1984, 1989 and 1995. We also have "*The Roman Near East 31B.C.-A.D.337*" from 1993 written by G. Millar that provided valuable and provocative information and discussion. A very useful reaction to Millar's book "*Rome in the East*" published in 2000 by W. Ball provided a great deal of information devoted to Jordan. Last but not least is the Work of S. Gregory "*Roman Military Architecture on the Eastern Frontier*" published from 1995 to 1997. This major study includes various sites and their descriptions also a very useful historical background and a breakdown of sources for anyone interested in the subject³⁰.

²⁸ Parker (2006).

²⁹ Kennedy (2000), p. 22.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 23.

History of Roman occupation in the east. Chronological and geographical borders.

Roman history in the East began with Pompey's intervention in local conflicts during the year 63 B.C.³¹. According to Josephus, Pompey besieged the temple's northern wall and after a successful breach he subdued the Judeans and pulled down the walls of Jerusalem³². There is no archaeological evidence that confirms that this siege took place, but it is to be expected because Herod's rebuilding of the temple and its later besiegment during the Judean revolt in 70 A.D.³³ destroyed any possible evidence. Pompey removed non-Jewish territory from Jerusalem's control, restoring Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, Dium, Samaria, Marisa, Azotus, Jamneia and Arethusa to their own inhabitants. Again we have no architectural or archaeological remains to confirm Josephus descriptions but the cities of Decapolis celebrated their "liberation" from Hasmonean control with special minted coins³⁴, also they started to date their affairs by a new era beginning around the year when Pompey granted them freedom the so-called Pompeian Era³⁵. Josephus also states that Pompey planned an expedition against the Nabatean kingdom in the south; unfortunately events in the north stopped those ambitions. In 62 B.C. Scaurus left in command by Pompey attempted to conquer the Nabataeans but failed and the Nabataean kingdom survived for the next 168 years³⁶.

In 57 B.C. the Roman senate appointed Gabinius, who assisted Pompey in the siege of Jerusalem, as governor of Syria. First major task for Gabinius was to stop Aleksander, a Hasmonean scion who rebelled against Roman rule and captured three fortresses in the beginning of the revolt. Alexandreion, Hyrcania and Machaerus were soon besieged by Gabinius in an attempt to recapture them from Aleksander. The three fortresses have fallen to the Roman military forcing Aleksander to sue for peace. The victorious Romans demolished Alexandreion, Hyrcania, and Machaerus. Today archaeological excavations at Machaerus have confirmed the destruction of the fortress but other sites still lack excavations³⁷.

Gabinius reorganized the local government of Judea by giving more power to local *synedria* (councils) located in Jerusalem, Sepphoris, Adora, Jericho and Batharamatha³⁸. Mentioned cities became an important part of Herod's government and administration maybe that was an

³¹ Chancey, Porter (2001), pp. 164-203.

³² Ibidem, p. 164.

³³ Ibidem, p. 164.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 164.

³⁵ Kennedy (2000), p. 36.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 36.

³⁷ Chancey, Porter (2001), p. 165.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 165.

unpredicted consequence of Gabinius reforms. Josephus states that the new governor had also rebuild parts of Samaria³⁹.

In the second half of the first century a massive Parthian force invaded Syria. After overrunning most of the province the Parthian armies probably bribed by Antigonus halted and installed him as the ruler of Judea. The invaders were unlikely to stay in Syria (that would explain why they installed a ruler in Judea so easily) but their swift attack frightened the Roman occupants and shaped their eastern policy for centuries to come⁴⁰. During the turmoil the Parthians slew Herod's elder brother Phasaël but Herod managed to escape to Rome. After meeting with the Roman Senate Herod was named the King of Judea and gave a task to retake his kingdom. Herod managed this by the year 37 B.C. We need to remember that there is no archaeological evidence of either the Parthian invasion or Herod's re conquest of Judea⁴¹.

Archaeological evidence starts too sprung and cover the literary accounts after Herod consolidated his authority as king of Judea. Herod's construction program changed the face of many cities and fortifications in particular Jerusalem and Samaria. Among all of Herod's construction projects one shined with the brightest light and gave Herod fame beyond others that was the Great Temple at Jerusalem.

After his death in 4 B.C., the kingdom he created slowly collapsed and was absorbed into the Roman Empire. Augustus divided Herod's kingdom into three smaller kingdoms each led by Herod's son. Archaelus ruled Judea and Samaria, Anitpas Galilee and Perea and Philip received the territory east of the Sea of Galilee⁴². But two years later in 4 B.C.E. Archaelus was deposed and Rome took control over Judea and Samaria the most important parts of Herod's fallen kingdom. Herodian descendants ruled over Galilee and Perea until 44 A.D., when Roman authorities took over control in these regions. The last Herodian ruler Agrippa II died in 90 A.D. with his death the last Jewish controlled region passed over to Rome⁴³.

Evidence of Roman occupation is more visible in coastal cities like Caesarea Maritima or Ptolemais. Caesarea Maritima founded by Herod to please his Roman benefactors served as an administrative centre of the Roman province after its full annexation. Roman military officials, veterans and soldiers were always present in Caesarea⁴⁴. It served as the staging point for

³⁹ Joseph., A.J,V: 3.

⁴⁰ Chancey, Porter (2001), p. 165.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 165.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 178.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 178.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 178.

Roman military in the upcoming Judean Revolt and was granted many benefits for remaining loyal to Roman power.

In the mid first century A.D. a Roman colony was established at Ptolemais. One of the city coins found there depicted Nero ploughing with an ox, presumably ceremonially establishing the colony's boundaries. The coin also showed Roman standards in the background which could reflect the presence of Roman military or veterans in the colony⁴⁵.

The Romans governed also Samaria and it seemed to grow under their rule. Archaeological surveys in the countryside show an increase in population growth during the Roman period, after the decline in Hellenistic times. Surveyors found hundreds of rural sites although a problem still remains in deciding if they are Roman or Byzantine. Agriculture provided the local population with required resources to live and trade. Popular crops in Palestine consist of olives, grapes and cereals and that is why rock-cut oil presses were common in the region⁴⁶.

Herod's sons carried their own urban projects and created major urban sites in Galilee, Golan and Perea. Antipas continued his father's tradition and founded few cities. He committed his attention to Sepphoris and sponsored the founding of a new city Tiberias, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. Tiberias and Sepphoris became the dominant urban sites of Roman and Byzantine Galilee⁴⁷.

Revolt against Rome

Many times during Roman rule the Jewish population was put to the test by their occupants. Many times procurators responsible for keeping the peace between the Jews and the Romans were the main source of problems between them. Greed and ignorance presented by new procurators made more and more enemies than friends. The last of them Florus like many others before him tried to confiscate the Temple's gold for his own expenses. This time however the Jews would not let go so easily. When the Romans approached the city the Jewish populace resisted and attacked the soldiers with stones. Florus was forced to retreat and reinforce before he could restore order to the city. That event began the Jewish Revolt known as the Jewish War.

The Jewish War lasted from 66 A.D. to 73 A.D., it ended with the siege of Masada where the last defenders held out, but the war was concluded in 70 A.D. after the siege and fall of Jerusalem. Although the war continued for three more years it was mostly an easy fight for the

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 178.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 178.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 178.

Romans, because after the destruction of the Great Temple the Jewish will to fight completely extinguished. The Great Temple was used as a last stand stronghold during the Roman siege. Understanding that the Jews will never break until the Temple stands the Roman military commanders had no other choice but to assault the Great Temple. That was the only way to end the war and stop the bloodshed. The Temple's destruction remains a mystery even today, although forced by all means the Roman supreme commander Titus wanted to secure the Temple because Roman military doctrine forbids the burning of sacred buildings. On the other hand the same doctrine forces to attack and destroy enemy fortresses in this situation the Temple.

During the final assault the Temple was set on fire, again the cause is unknown. As the Temple burned the remaining Jewish defenders either started to extinguish the fire, committed suicide or were slain by the raging Roman soldiers.

In the aftermath of the conflict the city and its walls were razed except the western wall of the Kings Palace which remained as a shield for the Legion X Fretensis that was supposed to remain in Jerusalem and prevent future riots. Jews that survived the conflict and haven't been taken to slavery left the city forever but some of them stayed and after time they became merchants that supported the camp and kept it supplied.

The Jewish War started a new era in the history of Palestine for the first time Rome stationed a considerable amount of soldiers in a province (in this case an entire legion X Fretensis). Stationing of an entire legion meant that the status of the governor must also change, and now a Senator would govern the province. Caesarea Maritima was also awarded for their loyalty during the revolt by elevating it to the rank of a Roman colony⁴⁸.

After the Jewish revolt we experience an unpredicted lack in literary sources that creates difficulties in providing good chronological summary of political and social developments. The mid and late Roman periods are occasionally mentioned by Roman and Rabbinic historians and writers but in comparison to the information we have about Hellenistic, Hasmonean and early Roman periods that is not enough⁴⁹. In those times of need Archaeology provides us with data most useful.

The Jewish revolt provided two Roman emperors Titus and Vespasian with experience and knowledge about the eastern fringes of their empire and probably contributed to a shift in

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 185.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 185.

Roman policy towards the east in the following years⁵⁰. The policy change resulted in the abandonment of client states and the total annexation of land into the Roman Empire. In 90 A.D. after the death of the last Jewish ruler Agrippa II his former land was absorbed into the province of Syria and in 106 A.D. with the death of Rabell II the Nabataean kingdom became a part of the Roman Empire as the Provincia Arabia⁵¹.

The Nabataeans were an Arab tribe who had established a trade network stretching from Gaza across Negev desert and into modern Saudi Arabia⁵². Nabataean caravans carried luxury items, such as perfumes and spices originating from India and China, those items were sold in Rome⁵³. After the Roman conquest in 63 B.C. all Nabataean kings were dependent on the Roman Empire similar to Herod's kingdom⁵⁴. However their capital Petra was too far from Roman central administration centre in the north –western Syria and was located in difficult terrain that could be easily defended. Those advantages gave The Nabataean Kingdom a considerable amount of autonomy that they used to expand and develop their domain⁵⁵. Before the Roman annexation the Nabataean Kingdom stretched from the Hauran in what is now southern Syria, east of the Decapolis then down through Moab, Edom through Petraea and the Hisma Desert to the Gulf of Aqaba. To the west it crossed the Wadi Araba to encompass the Negev Desert and Sinai and south along the eastern side of the Red Sea at least as far as Medain Salch in the Hedjaz. In the east the Nabataeans controlled the Wadi Sirhan perhaps as far down as the Jaruf Oasis⁵⁶.

Petra the Nabataean seat of power located 80 km south of the Dead Sea was the main city of the Nabataeans before 100 A.D. Petra's greatest growth may have been around 25 B.C. to 50 A.D. although the city flourished later as well⁵⁷. Petra was a site of enormous necropolis, with over five hundred tombs and funerary monuments cut in rock. Except a large necropolis the city of Petra boast impressive remains of a civic quarter. Built in the valley of Wadi Musa, the city grew up on either side of a colonnaded street. Although the domestic quarter seems absent in archaeological material there is a hint that they could eschewed houses and lived in tents⁵⁸. Thus Petra's role could be only linked with sacred rites and rituals with a small

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 185.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 185.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 174.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 174.

⁵⁴ Kennedy (2000), p. 37.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 37.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 37.

⁵⁷ Chancey, Porter (2001), p. 176.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 177.

permanent population. Support for this theory can be found at Khirbet Tannur, a site southeast of the Dead Sea. In the first century A.D. an isolated temple complex was built there by the Nabateans in a distance to other settlements. The temple had a courtyard, a temple enclosure and an inner shrine. The lack of local settlements suggests a Nabataean cultural practice of constructing special worship sites either an isolated temple or a necropolis⁵⁹.

The death of Agrippa II and Rabbel II and the annexation of their kingdoms to the Roman Empire created all new possibilities for the Romans but also created many new problems. In time Nomadic raids, local rebels and foreign threats start to emerge putting the local Roman authorities to the test. But even before the Nomadic tribes began to harass the Roman border a second Jewish uprising took place in Judea with devastating effects for the local Jewish population.

In the years 117- 138 A.D. Emperor Hadrian brought economic prosperity to many communities of the Roman Empire. The emperor's dream was to unite the empire and secure peace for his people. To make this idea possible he started to travel around the empire visiting major urban and military sites. Interested in history he financed many investments linked with reconstructions of past artefacts or constructions required by the city or military site for example an aqueduct or bath. Many cities minted coins that illustrated Hadrian's visit and monuments that he left for the visited city⁶⁰.

In the year 130 A.D. Hadrian has visited the ruined city of Jerusalem (debatable). After seeing that no rebuilding has been done in the last 60 years, the Emperor wanted to restore the cities former grace and splendour. Of course the new reconstructed city would be a Roman city constructed by Roman architects, containing Roman building and a new road scheme. Even before visiting Jerusalem Hadrian promised to rebuild the Great Temple for the Jews but that idea changed in time and was completely lost after the second rebellion called the Bar Kokhba revolt⁶¹.

Ancient sources reported several causes for the uprising. A writer dubbed by scholars as Pseudo Spartianus reported that Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision forced the Jewish population to defend their ancestral practice⁶². Cassius Dio in his *Roman History* blamed the emperor's decision to establish a Roman city in Jerusalem with a pagan temple on the temple

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 177.

⁶⁰ Holum (1997), pp. 50-51.

⁶¹ Gray (1923), pp. 248-256, p. 250.

⁶² Chancey, Porter (2001), p. 188.

mount. The third source a rabbinic saying from *Gennesis Rabbah* tells us that Hadrian granted the Jews permission to rebuild their beloved temple but after been agitated by the Samaritans Hadrian changed his decision⁶³. Scholars remain careful and divided when using those sources because of their reliability. Low amount of historical sources make them less trusting and in this situation we need to turn to archaeological material to find adequate evidence and better understanding.

The Jewish leaders name is known thanks to numismatic finds and documents from the Judean wilderness, rabbinic literature and Christian writings. The names Shimon, Bar Kosibah, Ben, Bar Kozibah, Bar Kokhba, appear in mentioned sources. The most probable explanation for all those variations is that his original name was Shimon Bar Kosibah (Son of Kosibah)⁶⁴. His followers thought of him as the promised messianic figure and thus renamed him Bar Kokhba “Son of the Star”. But after the revolt was suppressed many Jews looked back and called him Bar Kozibah “Son of the Lie”⁶⁵.

The course of the revolt thanks to sparse literary sources remains a small mystery although Jerzy Ciecieląg in his book “*Powstanie Bar Kochby 132-135 po Chr.*” does a great work in analysing the revolt and using all available written and archaeological sources gives a nice description of the entire revolt from its beginnings to its end with the death of Shimon Bar Kosiba. In order to defeat the Roman army the rebels were forced to adopt guerrilla, and hit and run tactics that in the end proved devastating for Roman morale. Hadrian in order to stop the revolt was forced to send for his most trusted and skilled generals. Julius Severus came all the way from England to Judea to stop the rebellion. He divided his forces and just like the rebels he avoided major battles and little by little he searched and destroyed small pockets of resistance⁶⁶.

After 3 years with the fall of Bethar which was the last Jewish fortress standing the revolt was finally over. The casualty rate on both sides was tremendously high. The local populace suffered not only from pure war actions but also from famine, disease and fire. Many were also sold to slavery some ancient sources state that the price of slaves in the Mediterranean has drastically fallen and almost all of Judea was depopulated. Hadrian wrote to the Senate after

⁶³ Ibidem, p. 188.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 188.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 188.

⁶⁶ Ciecieląg (2008).

the conflict was over but this time he didn't use his typical phrase "*all is well with me and the legions*".

After the revolt a time of prosperity has begun. Jerusalem was rebuild as a Roman city with Roman public buildings and perhaps with a Roman temple on the temple mount. The cities of Decapolis thrived reflecting Roman interests in the East. Gerasa and Philadelphia provide good examples for the development in those areas. Cities and regions that have greatly benefited from Roman rule include Samaria, Galilee, Sepphoris and Beth She'arim⁶⁷.

The 3rd century showed a great increase in insecurity on the east. The collapse of Parthia, the rise of Sassanian Persia and the quick rise and fall of Palmyra brought drastic change to the region. Nomads began to show on the borders of the empire. They are called the Saracens and are described by Ammianus Marcellinus as "tent dwelling Arabs"⁶⁸. They remain a shadowy folk. Ammianus descriptions are based on direct observations as both allies and enemies of Rome. The Saracens⁶⁹ were completely nomadic people with economy based on hunting, gathering and brigandine. Mounted on horses and camels they were more fitted for lightening raids then open battles. In time local Saracen tribes began to unite into tribal federations in order to increase their military and political strength, but those actions are only temporary⁷⁰. In the 4th century we begin to hear of Kings and Queens of the Saracens that show the evolution of the confederacy idea.

As the 3rd century revealed new threats for the Roman rule in the east the 4th century proposed an idea how to defend against them. Emperor Diocletian was responsible for a major military build-up in the 4th century. He ordered to construct new forts and repair and reuse other ones. He also partitioned the province of Arabia and assigned the southern part to Palaestina. From now on a dux commanded the military forces of a province. A military road through the desert between Damascus and the Euphrates via Palmyra was constructed to help Roman military unit's movement across the east⁷¹. As mentioned earlier forts where constructed at el-Lejjun, east of the Dead Sea. In the south a legionary base was constructed at Uduh just east of Petra and Legio X Fretensis was moved from Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) to Aila to safe keep the southern end of the Trajanic road. Many inscriptions from buildings and milestones dating to this period confirm that new forts and watchtowers were constructed to defend the

⁶⁷ Chancey, Porter (2001), p. 189-195.

⁶⁸ Parker (2002), pp. 77-85, p. 79.

⁶⁹ As Marcellinus calls the Arabs, Amm., XIV,IV:1.

⁷⁰ Parker (2002), p. 79.

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 79.

eastern border⁷². Internal and external threats remained unchanged since the 3rd century. The new limes Arabicus was successful in holding them back until the Arab invasion in 7th century.

The early 6th century was a decisive moment in imperial policy on the Arabian frontier. Emperor Justinian prompted by the devastating Lakhmid raids on the eastern frontier created a Ghassanid monarchy client state to counter those attacks. Apparently the Roman command was no match for those Saracens united under the Lakhmid King. Then Justinian concluded the so-called Eternal Peace with Persia in 532 and demobilized many eastern *limitanei*⁷³. Many forts and watchtowers of this period appear abandoned by their military garrisons. Some of them were converted by local populace into monasteries or other civilian structures⁷⁴. Of course some military forces stationed the area but it's hard to compare them to the Roman legionaries of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Although some forces remained and some forts were repaired there was too little time to rebuild any effective frontier defence before the Muslim conquest⁷⁵.

Because this work concentrates on the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina and its military camp our chronological borders will be located between the year 135 A.D. (the building of Aelia) and about 335 A.D. (the consecration of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre).

⁷² Ibidem, p. 79.

⁷³ The last assertion is contained in the *Secret History* written by Procopius so strongly against Justinian that we need to look at it with the right distance.

⁷⁴ Parker (2002), p. 80.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 80.

Chapter I

Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina

The History of Aelia Capitolina

The first Jewish-Roman war practically ended with the sack of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D. although the fighting continued for three more years until the last fortress of Masada fell to the Roman army in the 73 A.D. The siege itself is a representation of Roman siege warfare capabilities and also the tenacity of the defenders who ultimately sacrificed their lives to avoid Roman slavery and the shame involved. With the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of Herod's temple the main reason to continue the war was already lost, the last three years were mainly focused on destroying all remaining rebel forces and their fortresses. The X legion was left in the city to police the population and stop any new revolts. Their new headquarters was placed on the western ridge, where once Herod's palace stood. Three towers and a part of the western wall were left standing to form the fortifications for the new headquarters⁷⁶.

After the revolt was quelled Jerusalem began its slow rebuild under the vigilant eye of the X legion. The revolt resulted in major population shifts. Many Jews were either taken as slaves by the Romans or had abandoned the city what so ever before the revolt started. Jewish Slaves and prisoners of war were forced to demolish the Temple with their own hands adding to the final Roman victory and to the Jewish shame of defeat⁷⁷. Most Jews saw no point to go back to Jerusalem, because of the Temple's destruction. The city's new population consisted mainly of Roman soldiers and retired soldiers brought there by Titus. Syrians and Eastern Greeks constituted the second part of the population during the Roman rule⁷⁸. During the reign of Septimius Severus the population increased significantly thanks to the military reforms introduced by the Emperor that allowed Roman soldiers to marry and setup families during their service. Also the Christian communities began to flock back to the city and there is a probability that some Jewish communities joined them⁷⁹(debatable⁸⁰).

⁷⁶ Kenyon (1974), p. 256; Joseph., *B.J.*, VII, 1:1.

⁷⁷ Geva (1997), p. 35-43.

⁷⁸ Bahat (1990), p. 58.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 58.

⁸⁰ Hillel Geva in his work "*Searching for Roman Jerusalem*" states that Jews refrained from Jerusalem after the first revolt and any archeological presence for example usage of burial chambers is misleading.

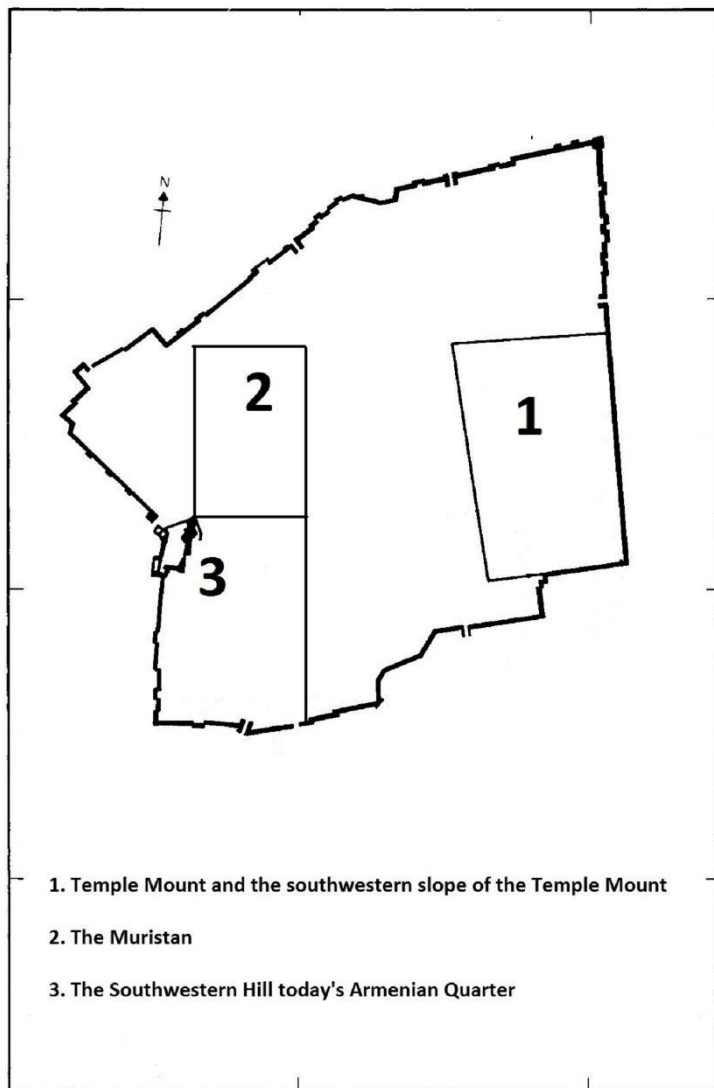


Fig. 1 Proposed locations for the military camp

This period lasts from 70 to 132 A.D. Historical and archaeological sources from this period are nearly non-existent creating interpretation problems. Even the location of the camp of the X legion is set thanks to Josephus writings with some archeological finds like the clay pipes or bricks with the stamp of the X legion confirming his statement but those artefacts can be also found nearly everywhere in the Old city of Jerusalem⁸¹. The future reconstruction of the city as a Roman colony by Hadrian required to demolish all remaining structures of Old Jerusalem and with it much of needed archeological evidence⁸².

Archeological research in the borders of the city and mainly in the Old City becomes more and more

difficult because of the modern structures that are either in the way or where constructed on top of other buildings from older periods. Our main archeological information comes from excavations that were done in Jerusalem in the mid XX century by prominent archeologists like Madame Kathleen Kenyon⁸³, Nahman Avigad, Hilel Geva⁸⁴, Benjamin Mazar and Eliat Mazar⁸⁵. Also the pioneering work of Edward Robinson, Charles Wilson, Charles Warren, Conrad Schick, Macalister and Duncan, is very important in the analysis of Jerusalem and its history. Their scholarly work remains up to date even today and its used by many modern scientist in their work.

⁸¹ Geva (1997), p. 40.

⁸² Mare (1987), p. 202.

⁸³ Kenyon (1974), p. 256-264.

⁸⁴ Avigad (2000).

⁸⁵ Mazar (2002).

Still Roman period Jerusalem was always kind of omitted in Archaeological research in favor of the biblical Jerusalem and the second Temple period Jerusalem. Thanks to some discoveries the main history of the city during the Roman period was established and also the layout of the city that was accepted by many scholars but still being debated by others.

In 115 A.D. under the rule of Trajan riots broke out in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus, and quickly transferred to Mesopotamia. Those riots began with the unhappy Jewish population and quickly transformed into an unorganized rebellion⁸⁶. These riots were suppressed by the Roman general and governor of Judea Lusius Quietus in 117 A.D. Things became quiet until Hadrian began his reign in the later 117 A.D. Hadrian toured the eastern provinces in 130-131 A.D. visiting cities and soldier posts to improve morale and inspire the local populations. The Jewish community was discontent with the Emperor (because of earlier promises he has done to them, like rebuilding the temple on the mount⁸⁷) and was again near a revolting state. The rebels decided however to wait until Hadrian leaves Palestine before beginning the uprising⁸⁸.

The year 132 A.D. marks the beginning on a new conflict between Romans and Jews named the second Jewish War. The reasons for this uprising are still a matter of debate (to be dealt with later). The founding of the city Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem, the founding of a Roman Temple on the Temple Mount, the banning of circumcision are named as main reasons. Other reasons include promises to rebuild the Jewish Temple (mentioned above), and irrational anti-Semitism of the emperor⁸⁹.

The Jewish leader Simon Bar Kochba⁹⁰ being aware that the Roman Army is unbeatable in an open field battle scenario decided to incorporate guerrilla tactics to wear down the Romans and defeat them in a war of attrition. This tactic provided excellent results in the beginning of the revolt forcing the Emperor to take the rebels more serious and start to bring more soldiers to Palestine⁹¹. In order to provide better leadership Hadrian called Sextus Minucius Faustinus

⁸⁶ Kenyon (1974), p. 257.

⁸⁷ Gray (1923), p. 250.

⁸⁸ Dio. Cass., LXIX, 12: 1-2.

⁸⁹ Barnard (1969), pp. 285-298.

⁹⁰ Or Simon Ben Kosiba,

⁹¹ There is also the idea that the Rebels liberated Jerusalem and started to mint coins in commemoration of this deed. With the liberation of the city the restoration of its walls and the Temple itself followed. Rituals on the Temple Mount could also be restored. Dual leadership was established civil and religious with Simon Bar Kochba as the civil leader and Eleazer the Priest as the religious leader. This state of affairs lasted only one year. The problem with this theory is very simple it was derived only from numismatic evidence mainly rebel coins bearing the sign "To the Liberation of Jerusalem" and "Simon nasi Israel", "Eleazer the Priest". Archeological research produced no certain evidence about this Jewish recapture and the coins could only be nothing more than propaganda or morale booster.

Julius Severus from Britain to Palestine to quell the prolonging revolt⁹². The new leader brought with him new ideas of fighting the guerrillas. Small groups of Roman soldiers were locating pockets of resistance and also hiding places of rebels eliminating them one by one. This switch in strategy helped to eliminate most of the rebels and end the uprising with the capture of Bether in late summer 135 A.D.⁹³. Simon Bar Kochba was supposedly killed in the attack.

In the aftermath of the second Jewish war the idea to set up a Roman city in Jerusalem was starting to fulfill. Casualties on both sides were high and the consequences for the province of Judea were devastating. The province was renamed Syria Palaestina⁹⁴ and Jews were banned from Jerusalem⁹⁵ this law however lost its power after the death of Hadrian and Antonius Pius.

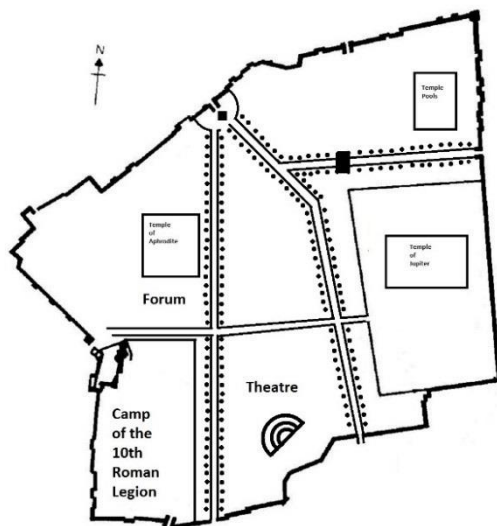


Fig. 2 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D.
After Mare (1987)

The city of Aelia Capitolina began its existence in 135 A.D. and ended in about 324 A.D. when Constantine I embraced Christianity made it a state religion and razed any Roman temples that were placed in Aelia in order to uncover Christian holy sites.

The newly founded Roman city on the ruins of Jerusalem was named Aelia Capitolina, after its founders family name Aelia and Capitolina after the three Capitoline gods Jupiter, Juno and Minerva⁹⁶. It is commonly held that the new city was a typical Roman colony build on, a

pattern of a Roman city, with a regular network of streets⁹⁷. This network combines two main thoroughfares one orientated North-South⁹⁸ and the second one East-West⁹⁹. Both roads cross at the main city forum. New public buildings were also constructed in the city like the Temple of Jupiter, Venus and Asklepios-Serapis. Jews were prohibited to settle in the city and even

⁹² Bieberstein (2007), p. 147.

⁹³ Ibidem, p. 147.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, p. 147.

⁹⁵ Mare (1987), p. 209.

⁹⁶ D. Bahat (1990), p. 60.

⁹⁷ Avigad (1983), p. 205.

⁹⁸ Called *Cardo Maximus*.

⁹⁹ Called *Decumanus*.

get close to its vicinity. However by the middle of the second century during the reign of Antonius Pius, local authorities relaxed the restrictions, allowing a small Jewish community called “the holy community of Jerusalem” to settle there¹⁰⁰. The new city was a Roman colony for veteran soldiers of the X legion Fretensis, again many different interpretations and ideas surround the new city with which the author will try to deal later.

The military Camp of the X Legion that was stationed in Jerusalem¹⁰¹ in the year 70 A.D. remained on the western hill (in traditional view¹⁰²) close to the three towers of Herod that were left standing by the conqueror of Jerusalem later Emperor Trajan¹⁰³. Scholars argue about the true location of the military camp in the city of Aelia Capitolina and also of its function and relationship with the city itself. There is also a problem concerning the city’s role in the defense of the Roman eastern front at the time when it was garrisoned by Roman soldiers.

¹⁰⁰ Mare (1987), p. 209.

¹⁰¹ After the revolt in 70 A.D the status of the province was changed in order to station an entire legion in Jerusalem to halt any Jewish nationalism.

¹⁰² There are different theories concerning the location of the X Legion camp in Jerusalem. The main one locates it on the western hill the other either on the Temple mount or on today’s Muristan.

¹⁰³ Kenyon (1974), p. 156.

Hadrian. The founding of Aelia Capitolina and the reasons for the Bar Kocha revolt

After death of the Warrior Emperor Trajan, a new Emperor ascended the Imperial throne, a more peaceful one with completely new ideas of, a united Empire focused on integrity and stability, an Empire that will last for ages and his name was Hadrian. Hadrian was born to a well-established family originated in Picenum in Italy that in time settled in Italica, Hispania Baetica. There are two known birthplaces of Hadrian first one is in today's Spain, the second one in Rome. His biography the "Augustan History" places his birthplace in Rome as being more suitable for the future Emperor.



Fig. 3 Hadrian. Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski

Before he became Emperor, Hadrian was placed in charge of other offices to gain the required experience to help him in his future role. As the future Caesar and holder of different offices Hadrian was surrounded by politicians and soldiers representing different political and cultural ideas. In this mental and spiritual environment the future Emperor gained his political experience worked out his religious symbols, shaped his ethical postulates, developed his ideas, and acquired his knowledge¹⁰⁴. The result of this education was a man that believed in the greatness of Rome in its tradition and religion.

When he was over forty years old the time has come to pick up the mantle of the Roman Emperor and start to fulfill his ideas of Rome and the Empire. He started with breathing new vitality into Rome by returning old traditions and believes. After two years of regal work the new Emperor decided that time has come to herald his achievements around the Empire. Coins were minted proclaiming that Roman peace has again been restored and Roman liberties of man (the rights of man as traditionally conceived at Rome) will be henceforth

¹⁰⁴ Golan (1986), p. 226-239.

preserved¹⁰⁵. Justice and equity for all subjects, together with the generosity of the August will ensure that Rome will last forever.

Hadrian was also interested in the development of a new imperial ideology and to provide new validity for the imperial religion. He aimed to gather as much followers as possible to the Emperors side, by linking formal and informal local believes and traditions with the Emperors title.

Trying to avoid any new wars to fully concentrate on the new idea of a restored Pax Romana Hadrian gave back all new lands on the east conquered by Trajan. Then he sought to promote calm internal development of the border provinces. After that Hadrian began to tour around his empire visiting soldiers and their garrisons to personally check on the defenses¹⁰⁶. Hadrian's ideas of a unified and well protected Empire were reflected in the Hadrian's Wall that began its construction in Britain after the Emperors visit.

Hadrian also visited major city centers to propagate the unified and stable Empire concept. Every visit was celebrated with either tax remissions or, a monumental construction for example an aqueduct¹⁰⁷. He began his tour with the western provinces and in time visited the eastern part of the Empire on which we concentrate our focus. Three historical sources confirm one of Hadrian's journey's to the eastern provinces. First Cassius Dio, second Epiphanius of Salamis and the last is Augustan History. All three lack the needed information to reconstruct the tour in detail, but together with archeological remains and ancient routes we are able to follow this overall route.

In 129/130 A.D. he wintered in Antioch and began his journey to Palmyra. From there heading west and south he passed Damascus and the provincial capital of Arabia, Bostra. Next was Amman (Philadelphia) and Petra. Numismatic finds bearing the inscription "ADVENTUS AVG ARABIAE" confirm the Emperors tour of Arabia just like the "Augustan History" states¹⁰⁸. In 130 A.D. the Emperor's journey lead him to Gerasa (today Jerash). The city inhabitants constructed a triumphal arch dedicated to the Emperor and his visit. From Jerash to Judea to the city of Scythopolis (today's Beth-Shean). There archeological finds consist of a bust of Hadrian that was a part of a larger statue that probably was once displayed in a Roman military camp.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, p. 230.

¹⁰⁶ Holum (1997), p. 50-51.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 51.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, p. 51.

Caesarea the provincial capital of Judea was the next stop in Hadrian's tour. Although the city was already a Roman colony after the events of 70 A.D. Hadrian decided to re-found the colony (according to coins minted after that event) and promised to build a new aqueduct for its inhabitants. After the visit Roman soldiers constructed the promised aqueduct and in return the city constructed the Hadrianeum a Temple to Hadrian as a god. A colossal statue of Hadrian made from purple stone was placed inside and even today delights all visitors at the site¹⁰⁹. Then Hadrian set for the ruined city of Jerusalem that remained untouched for about 70 years. Seeing the overall destruction of the city Hadrian felt the need to return it back to its former glory. The main question asked among scholars today still remains open did Hadrian visit the ruins of Jerusalem? and when was the rebuilding of the city proclaimed?

The Founding of Aelia Capitolina

After his Eastern tour Hadrian proclaimed to rebuild the ruined city of Jerusalem. His decision is dated to the year 131 A.D.¹¹⁰. The new city was renamed Colonia Aelia Capitolina, after its founder (Publius Aelius Hadrianus), and after the Capitoline gods Juno, Jupiter and Minerva. Also coins were minted in celebration of this event. Those coins carried the portrait of the Emperor with a legend *imperatore caseare Traiano Hadriano* on the obverse and the ancient Roman founding ceremony *sulcus primigenius* with the legend *Colonia Aelia Capitolina condita* on the reverse¹¹¹. The Emperor's motivation behind the founding of a new colony to replace the ruined Jerusalem remains a debatable subject. Furthermore in 132 A.D. ,a third Jewish revolt led by Simon Bar Kosiba erupted. Similar to Hadrian's decision of replacing Jerusalem with Aelia Capitolina, the motivation behind the Jewish uprising remains open for discussion.

One thing remains clear that the Jewish unrest is linked with the founding of Aelia Capitolina. The author will now try to present reasons for the unrest and also the foundation of the new city.

In 115 A.D. a Jewish revolt broke out in Egypt that spread its influence across the middle east. From Cyrenaica to Cyprus and Mesopotamia individual revolts and riots broke out forcing the Roman authorities to action. Rabbinic sources named this outburst the "War of Qitos"

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 51.

¹¹⁰ There are other dates related to the founding of the city, Gray (1923), p. 248-256.

¹¹¹ Bieberstein (2007), p. 143.

referring to Lusius Quietus, a Mauric prince and general experienced in the Parthian War, who in 117 A.D. served as governor of Judea. After two years of fighting Quietus was able to stabilize the region and stop any further riots or unrests¹¹². The “War of Qitos”¹¹³ showed that the Jews still present a serious threat to the Empire.

When Hadrian became Emperor in 117 A.D. the “War of Qitos” was nearing its end. It became clear for the new Caesar that Jewish nationalism can be a threat to his idea of a permanent Pax Romana. Furthermore Hadrian knew that there are two main centers of Jewish sedition one located in Egypt and the second one in Palestine¹¹⁴. Knowing that Jerusalem remains in ruin the Emperor could decide to rebuild the ancient city as a Roman colony to limit Jewish nationalism centers.

As an educated individual interested in historical sites Hadrian would naturally desired to visit the ruined city to verify all heard stories of the cities strategic, political and economic importance¹¹⁵. Hadrian’s visit in the ancient city is not documented but it is probable. First of if Hadrian was to setup a new city there his first step was to personally visit the location for the new city.

Second a Roman Legion was stationed in the ruins after the events of 70 A.D. visiting this legion’s soldiers should be in the Emperors plans as it follows his policy of strengthening the Roman Empire¹¹⁶. Hadrian’s visit in Jerusalem is dated to the year 130 A.D. during his eastern tour when he was en route from Gerasa (Jerash) to Gaza. So why wait 13 years before converting Jerusalem into Roman Aelia Capitolina? One theory states that work on Aelia had begun in 117 A.D. and Hadrian was there supervising the construction. During his stay he also held conferences with deputations from Jewish leaders regarding Roman activities in the ruins of their holy city¹¹⁷. The Jewish communities where probably deceived regarding the real character of the Emperors intentions. According to this view the work on Aelia slowed down after Hadrian left the city, but got renewed after Hadrian’s visit in the eastern provinces in the years 128-132 A.D. Finally the stubbornness of the Jews, constant minor revolts or riots and their disrespect for Roman authority forced Hadrian to adopt more repressions against them.

¹¹² Ibidem, p. 142.

¹¹³ From 115 to 117 was an un-organized series of revolts spreading from Egypt to Mesopotamia, called later the second Jewish uprising, or “Qitos War”.

¹¹⁴ Gray (1923), p. 253.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 253.

¹¹⁶ Bieberstein (2007), p. 143.

¹¹⁷ Gray (1923), p. 255.

He excluded them from the new colony and forbade them to practice circumcision¹¹⁸. All this combined sparked the III Jewish revolt known as the Bar Kochba War.

The idea that Jewish Jerusalem was destroyed to halt Jewish nationalism remains strong in the debate considering the reasons for the Bar Kochba War¹¹⁹. Yet there are other voices showing a different face of the Emperor, his educated, tolerant and more open minded side.

This theory states that after Hadrian became Caesar in 117A.D. he was very open to the Jewish community and even has given them required permission to rebuild the Temple on the Temple mount. But even before they began the reconstruction Hadrian changed his mind in that matter. A Samaritan representation that was against the rebuilding came to Hadrian and convinced him that it will only bring Rome more trouble if the Temple construction finishes¹²⁰. Still wanting to help the Jews Hadrian decided to rebuild their holy city of Jerusalem, after visiting it personally in the year 130 A.D. The view of ruins inspired Hadrian's ambitions of rising a legendary city from its ruins to its former glory. First impression on the Jewish community was more than satisfying. Peace could be finally restored to Palestine. Yet soon it transpired that not all the Jews were content with the idea of a new city.

The new city was supposed to be Roman in character, because it was going to be built by Roman builders and architects. For some Jewish groups that was far from comforting as they would rather see their city restored to the shape it had prior the I Jewish revolt. Furthermore a Roman city meant Roman buildings and probably Roman Temples, in short the restoration of their beloved Temple could prove impossible. Wanting to stop this state of affairs the Jews united under the banner of Simon Bar Kosiba and revolted starting the III Jewish revolt. The uprising came to the Emperor as a great surprise, because he was trying to be their benefactor and was in return rejected with a revolt. In the year 135 A.D. after the quelling of the uprising Hadrian forbid circumcision and also banned the Jews from his new city now called Aelia Capitolina, as a punishment for their actions.

Among other reasons for the III Jewish revolt we could mention the increasing poverty among the rural population of Judea¹²¹. But according to Klaus Bieberstein there are two reasons why this statement should be treated with caution. First the land dispossessions mentioned by Applebaum occurred some sixty year prior the III revolt. The idea that small riots

¹¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 256.

¹¹⁹ For Example Mare (1987), p. 201-202.

¹²⁰ Gray (1923), p. 250, Also Bieberstein (2007), p. 146.

¹²¹ Applebaum (1976).

progressed into a big revolution is also not confirmed. The Jewish populace remained quiet until the day of the revolt and all mentioned by Applebaum road constructions or legion transfers are more connected with the transfer of legions from the far eastern provinces and border areas. This of course lead to a concentration of forces that constructed camps to overwatch road constructions¹²².

There is also a theory that states that Hadrian issued a Law that banned circumcision and it is also seen as a reason for the war¹²³.

The last most notable reason for the Bar Kochba War is the Hadrian's decision to build a Roman Temple to the Capitoline gods on the Temple Mount¹²⁴. This negated any Jewish hopes of restoring their beloved Temple on the Mount. Furthermore pagan places of worship were nothing more than sacrilege and a big offense to the Jewish communities. Dio Cassius states that the construction of the Tricameron was the main cause of the following War¹²⁵.

Christianity and Aelia

As stated earlier Hadrian shaped his ideas and postulates long before he became Emperor. During those days in the reign of Trajan a new agenda was created an agenda that was in some way continued by Hadrian after he was called Emperor. Rome was in those days called "homeland of study and scholarship" with two main languages Greek and Roman, linked with one spirit later called "pagan". Learned man of this age were indeed gratified at her *humanitas* and thought that it was indeed heaven-sent. And thus they started to reformulate new arguments about the nature of imperial power¹²⁶.

So in the days before Hadrian's rule the ideas of a perfect government assumed that Caesar (Princeps) was regarded as the living incarnation of ideal order and political system, whose main goal was to take care of his subjects as if he was their father (*mundi parens*). The analogy was simple the relations of Jupiter to heaven and earth was compared to the relation between Rome and its subjects¹²⁷.

The Emperor was sent from the gods to fulfill his role of "mediator" and "governor" for the benefit of all that inhabit the land that they call their own. This land was supposed to be the

¹²² Bieberstein (2007), p. 145.

¹²³ Kenyon (1974), p. 257 more in Bieberstein (2007), p. 146.

¹²⁴ Kenyon (1974), p. 257 and Bahat (1990), p. 60.

¹²⁵ Dio. Cass., LXIX, 12: 1-2.

¹²⁶ Golan (1986), p. 227.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, p. 227.

Roman empire led by the “one that will rule over all” with the grace of gods. All ideological formulations served one purpose to emphasize what was the main purpose of the Roman empire in light of this new age.

The reformulation of the Roman rule and purpose served not only to inspire Roman citizens but also to counter the increasing threat of Christianity a new creed that came from the east. In the eyes of Roman thinkers this new religion was able to undermine the prevailing ideology of the Roman empire with its own dogma.

Hadrian’s cultural and political circles that accompanied him during his times as a Roman official also discussed the challenge that Christianity brings to the Roman Imperial ideology. Hadrian believed in the glory of Rome and he sought to revive old traditions and bring new life to Roman and Greek culture. For him Christianity was a threat able to steal away followers of the old ways and in time compromise the authority of the Emperor with its own creed. In the year 111/112 A.D. Hadrian visited Athens with the sole purpose of uniting the Greek and Roman cultures against the new enemy.

Roman writers of that time Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius describe Christianity in almost the same terms. It is a deadly destructive superstition that has become a substantial danger to the Roman authority¹²⁸. Still the Christian writers writing the *Libelli* (various little preaching books, letters or pamphlets) did restrain from open accusations towards the Roman Empire or any of the Emperors what so ever. In the domain of carefulness and prudence, the Christian writings possessed the required wisdom, ambivalence and cunning to not openly challenge the stronger in this case the Roman Empire¹²⁹. Even if the exposition was more direct for example Revelations of John it was presented in an allegory, under the cover of Babylon. Still learned man representing the Roman spiritual renaissance were able to decipher Christians writings and uncover that in one way or another they denied the Roman authorities and policy what so ever. Hadrian on the other hand believed in the greatness of Rome and its gods and was also seen as the central figure of the Roman spiritual renaissance (a pious follower of this new spirit of the age) and that’s why he despised and rejected Christianity.

Hadrian was depicted as natural embodiment of heavenly foresight that was to ensure the eternity of Rome. Firmly holding these convictions, the Emperor decided to give prominence to the worship of *Roma Aeterna* in the imperial capital and the rest of the Empire.

¹²⁸ Ibidem, p. 229.

¹²⁹ Ibidem, p. 229.

He ordered to construct a shrine to the configuration of Eternal Rome, the deity of Rome or *Dea Roma*. The shrine was built in the central part of the Urbs between the Forum Romanum and the Flavian Amphitheatre. He also added another apsis and cella, to this *Templum* to provide a dwelling-place for Venus the heavenly mother of Caesar and Augustus the founder of Roman order. Hadrian created a new trinity constituting Caesar, Jupiter and Rome around which he opted to concentrate Rome's wellbeing and future together with the loyalty of Roman citizens¹³⁰.

As any man involved in this new spiritual age Hadrian wondered if his Rome will last for eternity or is already on a crash course with oblivion. Hadrian believed that matters can be improved by appropriate action and that it is his duty to keep a close watch over them. Thus the incursion of Christianity into his Empire couldn't go unseen. And because the Emperor was not only the guarantee of eternal Rome but also the symbol of new Rome and its gods Hadrian's opposition to Christianity was inevitable. The most straight forward way to eliminate the threat was to prosecute christians, but Hadrian wanted to stay true to his ideas that no innocent man should suffer under Roman law, and that the penalty should never exceed the gravity of the offense. Those statements quickly spread in christian circles. Hadrian became renowned as a man enlightened having a liberal approach to those who were different than him. The Emperor would not trespass beyond true Roman justice¹³¹.

Encouraged by Hadrian's reaction Christian man of culture assumed that maybe this Emperor would be willing to lend an ear to Christian apologies and lobbying and even enter some kind of thought exchange that will confer upon Christianity a new religious status. Two Christian philosophers Quadratus and Aristides were sent to Athens to meet with the Emperor and introduce him to Christianity. It seems that they tried hard to persuade Hadrian of the truth of their creed, and consequently of its uniqueness. After the meeting Hadrian decided to put the statue of Christ in the Roman Pantheon in Rome. This would give Christian religion the status then needed and maybe in the future the status of a privileged religion. However by simply ignoring Hadrian's decision Christian leadership rejected it¹³².

Although Christians lost their chance to get the Emperor's approval for their religion, Hadrian felt that he lost his chance to stop the spread of its influence. The confrontation with two Christian wise man showed him how totally those man rejected the entire system, that

¹³⁰ Ibidem, p. 232.

¹³¹ Ibidem, p. 233.

¹³² Ibidem, p. 235.

Hadrian has presented to them both in practice and ideal. In time Hadrian understood that Christianity's aim was the complete takeover of Roman Imperial power, culture and gods and replacing them with Christian equivalents¹³³.

Christianity was the new enemy that Hadrian was faced and sworn to stop before it reaches Rome and influences his new cultural renaissance. Because of that revival and restoration of Pax Romana Hadrian was unable to directly oppress the Christian communities so he began to search for different methods promising even greater success. So now all his thoughts were channeled on one goal to defeat Christianity. But how? When it is not confined to a territory, a nation, an army or any other similar framework, how could this rival faith be removed from the Roman Empire. The deliberation led Hadrian to believe that there is another way of handling this particular threat. This time however it was not Hadrian the Emperor leader of legions and armies, but Hadrian the man of learning educated in both Greek and Roman writings, admirer of Greek aesthetics, art and philosophy and the pious follower of Roman gods and traditions that provided the right solution to the problem¹³⁴.

The success of Christianity and the large spread of its influence was mostly the merit of their symbols and sayings used by their writers and preachers. Those in particular attracted new followers which some of them being Roman citizens and even the Emperor himself. Thus Hadrian became more confident that only by reversing this situation completely by toppling an important Christian symbol can he stop the spread of Christianity¹³⁵.

Of all the possibilities and objects available to Hadrian, he found Jerusalem to be the most appropriate for his intentions. Jerusalem was the chosen place of the Christian savior for the delivery of his heavenly message. Here also was Christ tormented, crucified and in the end buried. Christian disciples also started their preaching's in Jerusalem before they embarked on their journey to carry the word of the Lord to the four corners of the world. Another aspect crucial to Hadrian in his choice of Jerusalem was the notion that Christ himself cursed Jerusalem of his time¹³⁶ and also promised a new purified one in its place¹³⁷. During Hadrian times however Jerusalem remained in ruins thus fulfilling the first part of the prophecy. To challenge Christianity Hadrian decided to fulfill the second part of the prophecy by himself. The new city would be a Roman colony, named Aelia Capitolina after the Emperor and the

¹³³ Ibidem, p. 236.

¹³⁴ Ibidem, p. 236-237.

¹³⁵ Ibidem, p. 237.

¹³⁶ Matt., 23, 37-38 ; 24,8.

¹³⁷ John, 3, 12.

Capitoline gods and also possessed a Temple to Jupiter further challenging Christians and their dogma. The name was supposed to incline that Aelius Hadrianus is the true holder of power in the new city and that Jupiter Capitolinus now alone dwells in Jerusalem¹³⁸.

In the end the change challenged the Jewish populace more than the Christian resulting in the III Jewish War. Wanting to avoid any bloodshed or war in the Roman Empire Hadrian himself forced, a new revolt that ended tragically for the eastern provinces.

Most mentioned reasons for the Bar Kocha War or reasons behind the founding of Aelia Capitolina were focused primarily on Hadrian's attitude towards Judaism, Christianity or Hellenism. This last remark will be based more on the idea of fortifying and strengthening the eastern frontier.

Roman colonies as a means to safe guard territory

Augustus founded the first veteran colony on the east in Berytus. Its intention was to stabilize the area that was not completely pacified. Next veteran colony was established at Ptolemais by Claudius, it was latter used by Vespasian during the first Jewish War. After the war was over Vespasian elevated Caesarea Maritima to colony status. It was a honorary gesture for the city in award for the help it provided during the war, thus Caesarea became the first purely titular colony in the East¹³⁹.

In Danube provinces under Trajan, the number of Roman colonies always corresponded with the number of active legions in the province¹⁴⁰. During Hadrian times there was a procedure of founding civilian settlements next to a legionary camp in the Danube provinces of Carnuntum, Aquincum and Viminacium¹⁴¹. These observation lead B. Isaac and M. Zahrnt to believe that the founding of Aelia Capitolina could be linked with the stationing of a second Legion in Judea¹⁴². Vespasian transferred a legion to Judea and raised Caesarea to a titular colony. Trajan sent a second legion and Hadrian followed through by founding a second colony, for the soldiers to retire to, with a *canabae* growing on the margins of the camp¹⁴³. Settlements in the Danube provinces were all organized as *municipia*, while in Jerusalem one of the last true veteran's colonies was established. Because the idea of the *municipia* was unknown in the east Hadrian decided that the rebuilding of Jerusalem will be his personal duty. The new colony was

¹³⁸ Golan (1986), p. 238.

¹³⁹ Bieberstein (2007), p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ Mócsy (1974), p. 94, 118.

¹⁴¹ Zahrnt (1991), p. 463-485.

¹⁴² Bieberstein (2007), p. 144.

¹⁴³ Ibidem, p. 144.

founded next to a military camp, which was uncommon in Hadrian times. The relationship between the colony and the camp is not clear even today, but this new created model of contact between military camp and civilian colony was later imitated by other Emperors and in time became the rule¹⁴⁴.

Hadrian's plan to found Aelia Capitolina was only a part of a bigger focus to fortify the eastern frontier, and as *resitutor orbis* reorganize its structures. He may also expected approval from other cities of the east and found it in Tiberias, Sepphoris, Neapolis and Caesarea Maritima. The status of a colony was most desired in the Roman provinces, because it brought not only exemption from taxes but also Roman citizenship to its inhabitants. Herod Agrippa I during his rule also made an attempt to make Jerusalem a Roman colony knowing what benefits it provides.

To sum up Hadrian's decision to replace Jerusalem with Aelia Capitolina could be linked with his desire to rebuild an ancient city and restore its former glory, stopping Jewish nationalism by disposing of Jerusalem and building a Temple on the Mount, the need to spread Hellenism in the eastern provinces by toppling Christianity's symbol of Jerusalem. Whatever the reason may it be it sparked the III Jewish revolt that ended tragically for the province of Judea.

Aelia Capitolina

After the Bar Kochba war ended in 135 A.D. Hadrian began to realize his dream and founded the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina to replace the Jewish Jerusalem. Coins were minted to celebrate the new foundation, carrying the image of the Emperor plowing a furrow (*pomerium*) along the course of the walls about to be built¹⁴⁵. The inscription on the coins "*Colonia Aelia Capitolina condita*" herald's that Jewish Jerusalem was no more and a new age for the city has begun. For the Jews it was a clear sign, a materialization of Jeremiah's vision "Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest"¹⁴⁶.

The new city's layout was of a Roman colonial city-*canabea*. The Roman military camp that was setup in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. was supposedly moved to the south-western hill allowing

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 144.

¹⁴⁵ Bahat (1990), p. 60.

¹⁴⁶ Jer. 26:18.

the civilian settlement to flourish on the northern side of today's Old City (Christian and Muslim quarters). The economy of the civilian part of the city was mostly dependent on the military camp and its needs. The road system strictly linked with the city layout could not be a symmetrical plan with the main north-south and east-west streets crossing in the center¹⁴⁷ because of the great platform of the temple courtyard that survived the Roman destruction in 70 A.D. A Roman temple was constructed on the main forum dedicated to Venus and on the Temple Mount to Jupiter Capitolinus. Because of the direct presence of the X legion camp the city was not walled but it had free standing gates that marked the city's borders. Aelia possessed two forums one located in today's Muristan the second one north to the Temple mount. All this information is acquired thanks to archeological finds and some historical documents but as always there are different theories and ideas about the city and its layout. The majority of those ideas will be presented here.

Road System

The road system of Aelia Capitolina is one of the most notable things in the archaeology of the city. Because the city was built from the ground up the road system could be planned from the very beginning. Thus the typical roman road system mentioned earlier could be implemented in the city. Two colonnaded streets originated from the Damascus Gate. The main

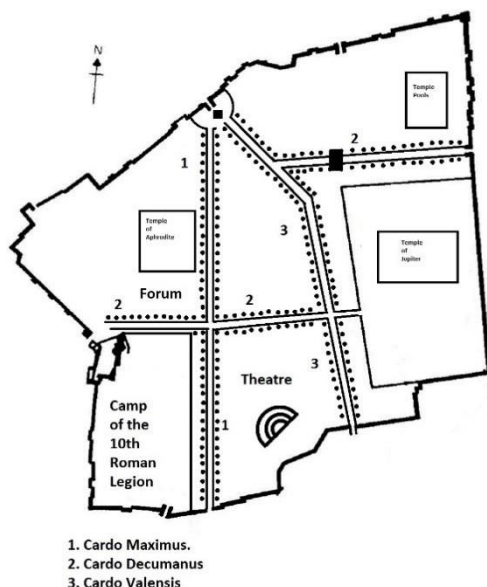


Fig. 4 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D.
The Road System
After Mare (1987)

north-south street began at today's Damascus gate and ran south where it crisscrossed the east-west street beginning in today's Jaffa gate and then heading east. This west north-south street called *Cardo Maximus* runs all the way south through the souk (market) just to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher¹⁴⁸. The second one called today *Cardo valensis* deviated slightly into the Tyropoeon Valley on the line of the Tariq al-Wad. The east-west street called *Cardo Decumanus* (also colonnaded) running from Jaffa Gate in the east direction intersects the north-south street near the city

¹⁴⁷ That was the standard form of road system in Roman forts and a theoretical plan of towns.

¹⁴⁸ Mare (1987), p. 209.

center and continued east to the temple platform where it skirted the platform from its northern site to reach today's St. Stephens' Gate.

Today the Roman road system is still visible in the organization of roads in the Muslim and Christian Quarters. Those streets run parallel to one another, and intersect at the right angles¹⁴⁹. Where the streets of the Jewish and Armenian quarters display no organization what so ever.

The *cardo maximus* began at a triple arch free standing gate (mentioned later) and a plaza with a column at the center¹⁵⁰. This column gave the gate its Arabic name *Bab al-Amud*¹⁵¹. Those features namely the gate, the street and the column are the most prominent elements of Byzantine Jerusalem depicted in the Madaba map of the Holy Land¹⁵². The map shows also a colonnaded street diverging to the south east from the Damascus Gate, which is again a main thoroughfare today¹⁵³. During the last century archeologist working in the Old City of Jerusalem had succeeded in uncovering large portions of the roman *Cardo* hidden there. The pavement on the oval plaza was discovered by Schick in the year 1887 and by the year 1982 a sub-surface passage made it accessible¹⁵⁴. The parts of the *Cardo valensis* pavement were found at the fourth station of the Via Dolorosa and on the south of the Suq al-Qattanin¹⁵⁵. Additional traces were found near the eastward crossroad that continues through the Ecce-Homo arch to today's Lion Gate and in Tariq Mujahidin between the intersections of the Tariq Bab al'Atim and the Tariq Bab Hittah¹⁵⁶. The parts of the *Cardo Maximus* (mainly column base foundations) were found in-situ in the Russian Orthodox Alexander Hospice and in Suq al-Lahhamin. An ancient parallel street not represented on the Madaba mosaic map was also discovered in 1978 under the Christian Quarter road west of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher dated to the Byzantine period¹⁵⁷.

There is a street shown in the Madaba map that hints behind the west gate. This street has been identified in several soundings following an orientation on line with the Suwayqat' Allun, the Suq al-Bidar and the Tariq Bab al-Silsilah¹⁵⁸. This line marks the southern boundary

¹⁴⁹ Bahat (1990), p. 61.

¹⁵⁰ Similar to the one located in Gerash.

¹⁵¹ The Gate of the Column.

¹⁵² Madaba located south of Amman. In the year 1884 a Byzantine church was discovered there containing a mosaic pavement displaying a map of the Holy Land. The map shows various town and villages of the region with Jerusalem in its center dedicated in much greater detail then the other cities. More in Avigad (1983), p. 211-212.

¹⁵³ Kenyon (1974), p. 260.

¹⁵⁴ Bieberstein (2007), p. 149.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 150.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 150.

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 150.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 150.

of the Roman road network in Aelia Capitolina. While in the north an orthogonal plan still can be seen especially in the Muslim quarter and also dating back to Hadrianic times, a similar orientation cannot be detected in the southern half of the Old City, because we lack crucial archeological finds, a simple conclusion can be drawn that civilian settlement never reached the southern Aelia Capitolina which was exclusively reserved for the X legion camp. After the Legion was transferred out of Jerusalem, a suburb called Neapolis was established there¹⁵⁹.

Sacred places

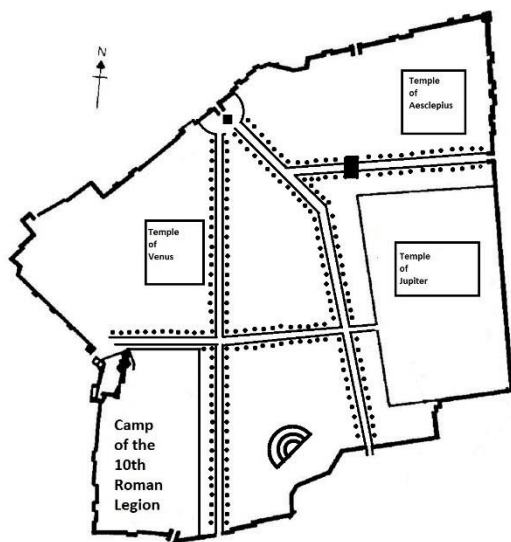


Fig. 5 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D.
Sacred Places
After Mare (1987)

Another problem facing Aelia Capitolina's researchers are the sacred places constructed in Roman Jerusalem during Hadrian's time or his successors. The tradition states that a Temple dedicated to the Capitoline Gods was built in Jerusalem together with a Temple to Venus. Historical sources state different things for example construction of the Temple to Jupiter¹⁶⁰, an attempt to conceal the grave of Jesus Christ with the Temple of Venus¹⁶¹, or placement of statues on the Temple Mount¹⁶². Archeological research that has been done in Jerusalem in the last years adds more understanding too our

problem but also creates new questions and ideas. The Temple of Venus will be our first topic.

During the cities reconstruction a significant number of landscape modifications was required to fit the plan of the new city. Large scale filling and leveling operations began in the area of the old quarry to prepare it for the new superstructures of the elevated Hadrianic forum. The northern part of this forum became the sacred precinct of the new temple or *Temenos*. Archeological operations confirm these landscape changes and state that they reached as far

¹⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 150.

¹⁶⁰ Dio. Cass., LXIX, 12: 1-2.

¹⁶¹ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, III, 26.

¹⁶² <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord07aJerus.html>. Availability on 02.11.2016.

south as the present Church of the Redeemer. The heart of this new forum was supposedly today's Muristan, the temple of Venus on the northern side, the *Cardo Maximus* on the east and the *Cardo Decumanus* on the south¹⁶³.

All mentioned building activities were later mentioned by Eusebius in his *Vita Constanti* as follows:

" Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars".

(Euseb. ,*Vit. Const.*, III, 26.) Trans. into English by Philip Schaff

The new temple must have been magnificent in comparison to other similar buildings in Syria or even in Rome. The only way to establish the grandeur of the Temple of Venus is to look at the archeological finds we have so far and see if we can determine the shape of the temple and its characteristics. The finds consist of mainly hadrianic walls found in the vicinity of the Church of the Redeemer and the Holy Sepulchre. Most of them are consolidation walls located below the pavements and foundations of the *temenos*. These include walls found on the eastern side of Calvary, Wall E below the choir of the Katholikon, five walls located immediately southeast of the Edicule and six walls northeast of the Edicule¹⁶⁴. These consolidation walls were all part of an integral grid of a rectangular platform measuring 46,50 x 38,75 meters. Despite all those finds we are unable to reconstruct the shape of the Hadrianic Temple based solely on archeological sources.

It also seems like the Rock of Calvary was enclosed with a platform of its own measuring 19 x 19 meters with a slightly different orientation from the platform to its north. The north, east and southern walls of this platform were all found in excavations near the Rock

¹⁶³ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 65.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 65.

of Calvary¹⁶⁵. The size of the platform and the quality of the masonry may indicate that it was supposed to be seen by those approaching the temple complex from the south¹⁶⁶.

There are still wall fragments with uncertain dating for example walls located in the Russian property on the southern-eastern side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or those found in the bakery of Zalattimos on Khan el-Zeit street. Those fragments were dated previously to the Herodian, Hadrianic or Constantinian times based on earlier study¹⁶⁷. It is generally accepted that wall 404/405 (following the numbering of Corbo), which runs parallel to the *Cardo Maximus*, and the perpendicular wall 408 are both dated to the Hadrianic times, and were a part of the *temenos* wall skirting the sacred precinct of the forum complex. Both walls were built from numerous Roman ashlar in second use, and is also assumed that both walls were reused as enclosure walls around the atrium fronting Constantine's basilica further west. A word of caution needs to be addressed when dating different architectural remains. The fact that those particular wall fragments were constructed from reused early Roman ashlar does not imply Hadrianic date, because they were also extensively reused in the time of the Constantine's rebuild of Jerusalem¹⁶⁸.

Different scholars proposed different reconstructions and locations for the Temple of Venus. One location above the Tomb of Christ was proposed by Couasnon with a civic Basilica standing nearby¹⁶⁹. This reconstruction was followed by Tsafir who has also placed an *Iseum*, with a *purgatorium megarum*, into the Cave of the Invention of the Cross. This cave is located between the Temple of Venus and a civic basilica, which Tsafir puts in the area of the later Constantinian atrium¹⁷⁰. Geva follows Couasnon in his proposition that a civic Basilica existed together with the Temple of Venus. In 1986 Dan Bahat suggested that the Temple of Venus could be circular thus inspiring the Constantinian architects to adopt a similar plan to the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Circular temples constructed in Baalbek and Hosn Suleiman could support Bahat's theory but in 1990 he returned to the rectangular plan for the Temple of Venus¹⁷¹.

There are also statements that the Temple of Venus located on the main forum was in fact the Temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva known from coins. The name of the city

¹⁶⁵ An fragment of a small quadrangular altar was found during the clearance work east of the Rock of Calvary.

¹⁶⁶ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 66-77.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 67.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 67.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 68.

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 68.

¹⁷¹ Bahat (1990), p. 66.

derives from this classical Roman triad yet literary sources¹⁷², clearly state that, a cult of Venus was present in the city on the forum. Thus several theories were raised for example: The Temple of Venus was dedicated to Jupiter and Venus or the triad in Aelia was Jupiter, Minerva and Venus, with the temple located on a small rectangular podium above a large raised platform covering the region of the present Church of the Holy sepulchre¹⁷³.

Historical sources dated to the time of the Emperor Constantine and his reforms in Jerusalem clearly state that the Temple destroyed by Constantine's architects was the Temple to Venus/Aphrodite. Eusebius states that "the demon Aphrodite" was worshiped there¹⁷⁴ and Socrates confirms his statement¹⁷⁵. Sozomen¹⁷⁶ and Rufinus¹⁷⁷ back up Socrates and Eusebius by stating that the area of Jesus grave was filled with earth and then a shrine was placed there to Venus. Eusebius account fails to mention about the discovery of the Rock of Calvary. That could mean that the Rock was above ground and never buried or hidden. If there was a separate platform around the Rock, as the Hadrianic fragments of walls found there state then it is possible that the platform was on a lower level than the main platform which covered the tomb¹⁷⁸. The difference in height between the main platform and the Rock platform doesn't need to be very big for the top of the Rock to be visible. According to sources the Tomb of Christ was hidden and covered up with earth¹⁷⁹. Sozomen states that the place of the resurrection was enclosed by a wall, and the area was paved with stone but he doesn't not say that the Rock of Calvary was covered¹⁸⁰. On some coins from Aelia Capitolina there is an image of the goddess standing on an unidentified object, that looks very much like a rocky outcrop, as observed by Wilson¹⁸¹.

St. Jerome in his letter to Paulinus mentions that from the time of Hadrian until the time of Constantine the place where the Tomb of Jesus stood was occupied by a figure of Jupiter, together with a marble statue of Venus located on the place of the cross¹⁸². This statement however lacks detail required in archeological work. To explain we don't have the direct

¹⁷² Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, III, 26.

¹⁷³ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 68.

¹⁷⁴ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, III, 26.

¹⁷⁵ Socrates., *Hist. eccl.*, 1, 17.

¹⁷⁶ Sozom., *Hist. eccl.*, 2, 1.

¹⁷⁷ Rufinus., *Hist. eccl.*, 9, 6.

¹⁷⁸ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 68.

¹⁷⁹ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, III, 26.

¹⁸⁰ Sozom., *Hist. eccl.*, 2, 1.

¹⁸¹ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 69.

¹⁸² Schaff and Jerome (1892), p. 224.

location based on landmarks or measurements. It fits in the time the text was wrote where there was a traditional placement of the Tomb and the Rock of the Cross. Additionally Jerome's text was more to show the state of desecration and that Roman authorities tried to suppress the early Christian faith by burring their holy places. Two gods are needed to complete the desecration that's why Jupiter is on the Tomb and Venus on the Rock. But still the "place of the resurrection" is less specific then "the rock where the cross has stood". Thus the "place of resurrection" could refer to, a general area were the Temple has stood. So the Temple of Jupiter should be on the "place of resurrection" and a simple shrine or statue of Venus on the Rock of Calvary¹⁸³. But Eusebius refers not to the Temple of Jupiter located on the place of resurrection but to the Temple of Venus claiming that it had many statues, shrines and altars¹⁸⁴. Paulinus in a letter to Jerome wrote that Hadrian wanting to stop Christianity consecrated an image to Jupiter on the place of the *passion* Golgotha, which means the site as a whole¹⁸⁵.

Coins found in Aelia show that the cult of Venus was not included within the Capitoline Temple. There are two or even three completely different temples shown in the coins. Venus, Capitoline Triad and possibly another (maybe Serapis¹⁸⁶). The Temple of the Capitoline triad is in classical style, with an architrave and pediment while the Temple of Venus has a central arch, an open order of columns and a "Syrian Gable"¹⁸⁷. If you look at the corpus of Coins found in Aelia Capitolina nowhere do Jupiter and Venus coins appear together.

Venus was the most popular of the cities deities with a total of 40% known coin types. Jupiter was accounted on 6 types but still 3 are unsure. The second will be Serapis 16%, located at the Bethesda pool¹⁸⁸. Although the name of the colony was derived from the Capitoline gods it was the cult of Venus that remained the most popular in Aelia Capitolina. Her temple was located on the main forum and it was this temple that was destroyed by the Christians during the reconstruction of the city. The temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad is placed on the Temple Mount but as will be shown locating that Temple still remains a hard task.

Cassius Dio states that "*At Jerusalem Hadrian founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter*"¹⁸⁹. Thus we see that Hadrian's decision to build a new

¹⁸³ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 69.

¹⁸⁴ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, III, 26.

¹⁸⁵ Gibson, Taylor (1994) p. 69.

¹⁸⁶ Bahat (1990), p. 67.

¹⁸⁷ Kadman (1956), p. 23.

¹⁸⁸ Ibidem, p. 36-43.

¹⁸⁹ Dio. Cass., LXIX, 12: 1-2.

city included a Temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the Temple mount. The temple also gave the city its name Capitolina. Local coins issued from the time of Hadrian depict the Capitoline Triad in front of a distyle temple, and in Antonius Pius times Jupiter in front of a tetrastylon structure¹⁹⁰. But as was stated before those coins were few in number, greatly outnumbered by the coins of the goddess Venus. Archeological research on the Temple Mount is impossible so we must reach for other sources mainly historical.

Origen mentioned the Jews were still coming to Jerusalem to pray on the altar of the Biblical Temple¹⁹¹, Eusebius of Caesarea presumes that the former Temple remained unbuilt¹⁹², and Cyril of Jerusalem states that the destruction of the Temple was incomplete and some remains still linger¹⁹³. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux shows us the Jerusalem he saw in the year 333 A.D. On the Temple Mount “*where stood the temple which Solomon built*” he notes “*there are two statues of Hadrian, and not far from the statues there is a perforated stone*”¹⁹⁴. In the year 398 Jerome comments that a statue of the Emperor Hadrian stood in the place of the Temple¹⁹⁵. All mentioned historical sources differ from each other in details and in the description of the Temple Mount. Because they don’t represent a unified point of view we must look at them only as guides in our search for the Temple of Jupiter, and as guides we can tell that the Temple Mount (the place where the Temple stood) was uninhabited and undeveloped apart the statues or ruins mentioned above.

The Temple of Jupiter however could be located in another part of the city of Aelia namely on its western side. This idea was stated after the reading of Jerome letter to Paulinus of Nola¹⁹⁶ “*From the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine- a period of about one hundred and eighty years- the spot which had witnessed the resurrection was occupied by a figure of Jupiter; while on the rock where the cross had stood, a marble statue to Venus was set up by the heathen and became an object of worship*”¹⁹⁷. But as Eusebius states a Temple to Venus was constructed there not the Temple of Jupiter¹⁹⁸. So the Temple Mount is the only answer and remaining place. Two manuscripts discovered by Bernard Flusin, present more evidence that the Temple Mount was indeed the place of the Capitoline Triad. Both are written

¹⁹⁰ Bieberstein (2007), p. 150.

¹⁹¹ Orgien, *Homilies on Joshua*, 17:1.

¹⁹² Euseb., *D.E.*, VIII, 363.

¹⁹³ *Kathechetical lectures*, XV:15.

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord07aJerus.html>. Availability on 01.11.2016.

¹⁹⁵ Bieberstein (2007), p. 151.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

¹⁹⁷ Schaff and Jerome (1892), p. 224.

¹⁹⁸ See above.

in Greek and date to the 7th century, both state that the area of the Temple Mount was called “*Kapitolion*” or “*Kapitolin*”¹⁹⁹. The perfect site would be the Antonia fortress located on the north-western corner of the Temple Mount. Its location there would preserve the sanctity of the Jewish Temple area it would be high enough to abut the north-eastern forum²⁰⁰.

There is also another point of view based on the Vitruvius description on building cities “*HAVING laid out the alleys and determined the streets, we have next to treat of the choice of building sites for temples, the forum, and all other public places, with a view to general convenience and utility. If the city is on the sea, we should choose ground close to the harbour as the place where the forum is to be built; but if inland, in the middle of the town. For the temples, the sites for those of the gods under whose particular protection the state is thought to rest and for Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, should be on the very highest point commanding a view of the greater part of the city*”

Vitr., I, 7:1. (Trans. into English by Morris Hicky Morgan)

. The highest ground is located on the northwest where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands today. From the perspective of city planning the choice was clear to build something here, because this area was not used for construction works previously. Despite the fact that the Venus Temple stood there, there is also a possibility to have a Temple of Jupiter next to it just like in Rome on the Capitol where the Temple of Jupiter stood next to the Temple of Venus Erycina²⁰¹

So what to make of Cassius Dio statement linking the construction of the Temple with the Bar Kochba revolt? It maybe that Hadrian wanted to replace the Jewish ruins with a new Temple and because it is going to be a Roman city it's also going to be a Roman Temple. The Jewish uprising more or less predicted by the Roman authorities left Hadrian with a question should he ever built the Jupiter Temple in Aelia on the site of the biblical one? Because Hadrian died three years later his successor Antonius Pius could just scrap the idea and placed statues over the mount instead of the Temple²⁰².

The last known temple in Aelia Capitolina was the Temple of Aesclepius-Hygieia and Serapis. The knowledge of this cult is known to us from coins found in Aelia and from some archeological remains found in the area of the Bethesda Pool. Serapis was the oriental god who

¹⁹⁹ Gibson, Taylor (1994), p. 70.

²⁰⁰ Ibidem, p. 70.

²⁰¹ Bieberstein (2007), p. 154.

²⁰² Ibidem, p. 152.

was worshipped in Aelia Capitolina. This temple was razed during the Constantian rebuilding²⁰³.

Forums and public Buildings

The new Roman city of Aelia Capitolina was fixed with two forums one located on today's Muristan the second on the north of the Temple Mount.

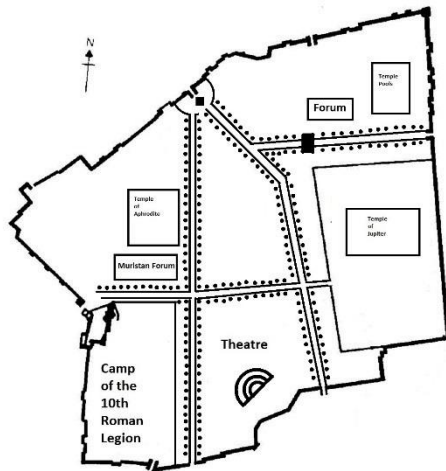


Fig. 6 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. Forums and Public Buildings
After Mare (1987)

As Vitruvius states the Roman Forum should: “If the place adjoin the sea, the forum should be placed close to the harbor; if inland, it should be in the center of the town”, and “...commands a view of the greater part of the city”²⁰⁴. The highest point in the city ideal for a forum was located in the area of today's Muristan and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In the time of the Romans there was a great quarry here so the construction of the main forum

required much ground work to prepare the site. As Eusebius states “With a great deal of hard work, they brought its earth from some place outside and covered up the whole area; thereafter raising the level and paving it over with stone”²⁰⁵. This work is attested in archeological research carried out by Kathleen Kenyon in site C²⁰⁶. Similar results were uncovered by Dr. Ute Lux north of the site C right beneath the Lutheran church²⁰⁷. The goal was to level the ground and prepare it for the new forum, public buildings and the Temple of Venus.

The Forum was graced with public structures as the *Chronicon Paschale* states: “and built two *demosia* (public baths), the theatre, the *Trikameron* (the Temple of Jupiter, divided into three parts with statues of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva), the *Tetranymphon* (one of the public baths), the *Dodekapyllon* (the colonnade)... formerly known as the *Anabathmoi* (the steps) and the *Kodra* (the square podium of the Temple Mount)”²⁰⁸. From all those mentioned buildings

²⁰³ Bahat (1990), p. 67.

²⁰⁴ Vit., I, 7:1.

²⁰⁵ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, III, 26.

²⁰⁶ Kenyon (1974), p. 228.

²⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 261.

²⁰⁸ Mare (1987), p. 208.

only the Temple of Venus was discovered and confirmed via archeological research²⁰⁹. The main forum was surrounded by four streets and as the main marketplace survived until the Arab period. The problem to locate any Roman public buildings via archaeological research is probably linked with the transition from the Roman period to the Byzantine period with was expressed most likely in the spiritual then the psychical character of the city. There was no clear expression in the form of the buildings, and because the city underwent a period of rapid development the Roman constructions were integrated with those of the Byzantine era. This creates difficulties in the identification of Roman period structures unless they have undergone major changes in the Byzantine era²¹⁰.

The second forum was located on the eastern part of the city near today's Sisters of Zion Convent. Here Herod dug a large moat to defend the Antonia fortress. A Struthion Pool was also dug in the center of the moat as a water reservoir. In order to construct the second forum Hadrian's architects covered the large pool with two parallel vaults spanning its length. Then the area of the moat together with the vaults was paved with large stone slabs²¹¹. A Temple to Asclepius Serapis was supposedly located here but archeological remains confirming this statement are mostly coins. Before this area was localized as the place of the second Roman forum built in 135 A.D. its paving stones were claimed to be the "*Lithostratos*", "Stone pavement" from the bible²¹², where Pontius Pilate interrogated Jesus before sentencing him to death²¹³.

Doron Bar an Israeli geographer together with his team in an article titled "Aelia Capitolina and the location of the Camp of the Tenth Legion"²¹⁴ presents not only the new location for the X legion camp (presented later) but also changes to the entire layout of the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina. This new theory is based on a new interpretation of Flavius Josephus work "War of the Jews", namely the part where the location of the three towers that Titus spared after the conquest of Jerusalem was presented²¹⁵. In his opinion scholars are mistakenly connecting the three towers left intact by Titus with the western part of Jerusalem's wall the First Wall²¹⁶. According to Doron Bar Flavius fails to name any specific wall when he

²⁰⁹ Mentioned above.

²¹⁰ Bahat (1990), p. 61.

²¹¹ Ibidem, p. 63.

²¹² John 19:13.

²¹³ http://www.welcometohosanna.com/JERUSALEM_TOUR/aeliacap.htm. Availability on 01.11.2016.

²¹⁴ Bar (1998), p. 8-19.

²¹⁵ Joseph. *B.J.*, VII, 1:1

²¹⁶ Bar (1998), p. 13.

talks about the western wall. When referring to other parts of the city and other walls around the city Flavius is rather specific, but when it comes to the western wall he avoids any specification. It's quite simple to deduce why if we look a little more into the past. The Third Wall of Jerusalem constructed by Agrippa I the last Hasmonaean in the first century C.E. stretched from the three towers towards the north-east, reaching the Tower of Psephinus and encircling the city on the north reaching the Temple Mount. This Third Wall together with the First wall were a part of the western defense of the city. Doron Bar and his team came to a conclusion that Josephus was not referring to the First Wall when mentioning the location of the camp but to the Third Wall the later wall²¹⁷. This idea automatically moves the Roman Camp (localized on the south-western hill) to a new location between the Second and Third Wall, thus placing the Roman military camp in the same place as the Roman Forum in the traditional theory. The north-western hill was also the highest point in the city giving the soldiers a good view and a sight advantage, furthermore this area was never really used for construction allowing for more construction space.

The Roman forum is very important in this new theory. Doron Bar's team argues that with the absence of archaeological and historical sources modern scholars still place the main forum together with the Temple of Venus on today's Muristan. The traditional plan of Aelia Capitolina²¹⁸ was based mainly on speculations and lacks solid evidence. For Doron Bar the idea to locate two Roman Forums in a small city like Aelia is unbelievable, because in comparison with other Roman cities only Rome possessed two forums, and also it would conflict the Roman principle of a clear and defined designation of urban areas²¹⁹.

A simple resolution was presented to place the Roman camp on the north-western hill (replacing the Forum), and to place the Forum in the northern part of the city close to the Temple Mount where the Temple of Jupiter was located (making the second forum the main one). This idea not only changes the strategic locations of the city and also includes a Temple of Jupiter but changes the road system a bit. Because two main roads must intersect on the main forum of the city a new Decumanus and Cardo Maximus must be established. The new cardo Maximus is the old cardo valensis and the new Decumanus begins at the intersection with the new cardo Maximus and ends at today's Lions gate. A Byzantine source confirms the new location of the

²¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 13.

²¹⁸ With the forum on the north-western hill and the military camp on the south-western hill.

²¹⁹ Bar (1998), p. 15.

Forum, Sophronius of Jerusalem the last patriarch during Christian rule (560-638 A.D.) confirms there was a forum in the northern part of the city, near the Church of the Probatika²²⁰.

As mentioned earlier the Roman forum was built on a platform located on an old quarry leveled with an enormous amount of work by Roman builders and architects. On this new platform the Roman forum was built together with the Temple of Venus. In the view of Doron Bar's team this platform was constructed for the camp of the X legion Fretensis. The boundaries of this new camp are not yet defined but can be traced in some detail. As was common in other Roman camps two streets divided the camp. One of them was today's Christian street the other passed on the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The entrance to the camp was located on the east next to the Cardo. Archeological sources that confirm this location for the camp consist mainly of inscriptions found in the Christian quarter²²¹.

The main problem with Doron Bar's idea is that it suffers from the same weaknesses as the traditional one "We must admit that our conclusion that the Tenth Legion's camp should be sought inside the boundaries of the Christian Quarter of today suffers from the same weaknesses as the traditional theories, which we just rejected"²²². It is based mostly on Josephus writings and has weak archeological evidence to back it up. However this theory adds something new to the discussion and shows that without complex archeological research some questions will remain without satisfying answers.

The Walls of Roman Jerusalem

Was Aelia Capitolina encompassed by a wall? When was this wall constructed? Those questions still remain not fully answered although many archeological research has been done in the past years along the walls of Jerusalem. Different results were uncovered and different theories were constructed. This sub-chapter will try to present most of those results. To make it clear and transparent the author will try to present the ideas and theories in order beginning with the First, Second and Third Wall of Jerusalem during the Second Period and ending at the Walls of Aelia Capitolina. The addition of the wall systems of the Jewish Jerusalem is important to reflect the change that Aelia Capitolina has introduced to the city.

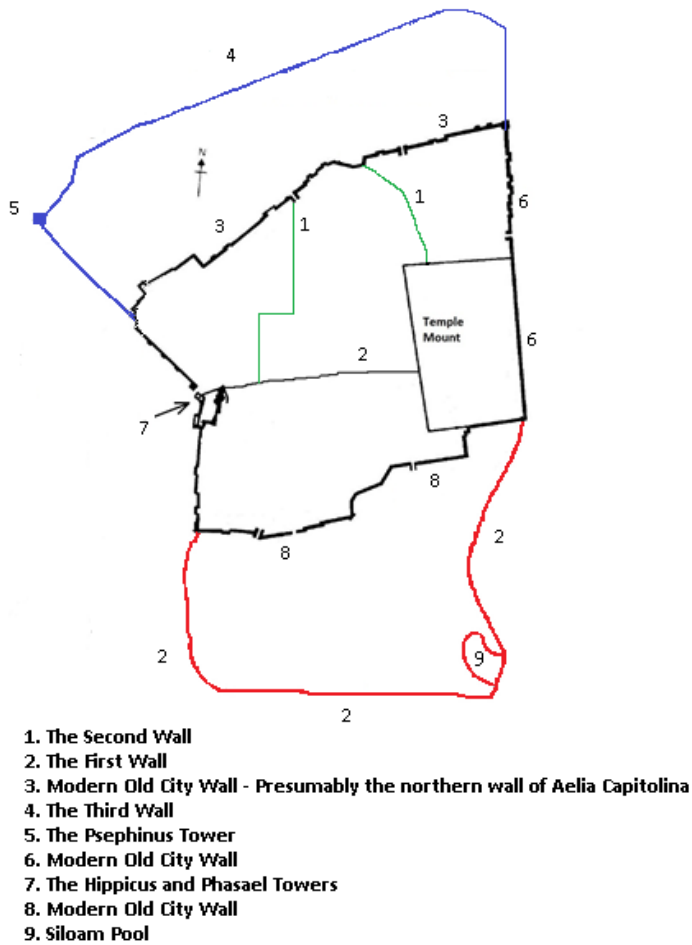
²²⁰ Ibidem, p. 16.

²²¹ Ibidem, p. 16-17.

²²² Ibidem, p. 17.

The First Wall

Was the main defensive wall around Jerusalem of the Second Temple Period. The wall



*Fig. 7 The Walls of Jerusalem Second Temple Period
 After Ross (1942)*

was built during the reign of Herod the Great who ordered the rebuilding of the old Hasmonean wall with new additions. The First Wall protected the upper and the lower city. It began at the Hippicus tower one of the three great towers built by Herod (today the location near the Jaffa gate). From there the wall ran due east skirting the south side of today's David Street, parallel afterwards with and close to what is now the Harat Bab es-Silsileh and ends at the Council Chambers of the Temple²²³. From the same tower in the southern direction along the Mount of Zion the wall reached

today's Protestant graveyard and then moving east it reached the Siloam Pool. Finally along the eastern edges of the hill were the City of David is located passing the Ofel the wall reached the Temple Mount²²⁴. In 1838 Robinson came to Jerusalem with a goal to find the walls described by Josephus²²⁵ in his "War of the Jews". The course of this wall was fairly clear for Robinson but he failed to locate any visible traces. The First Wall was linked with Herod's Palace on the western side, and possessed a fortification structure located near today's Citadel²²⁶.

²²³ Ross (1942), p. 71.

²²⁴ Bahat (2005), p. 25.

²²⁵ Joseph., *B.J.*, V, 4:1-4.

²²⁶ Bahat (2005), p. 25.

The Second Wall

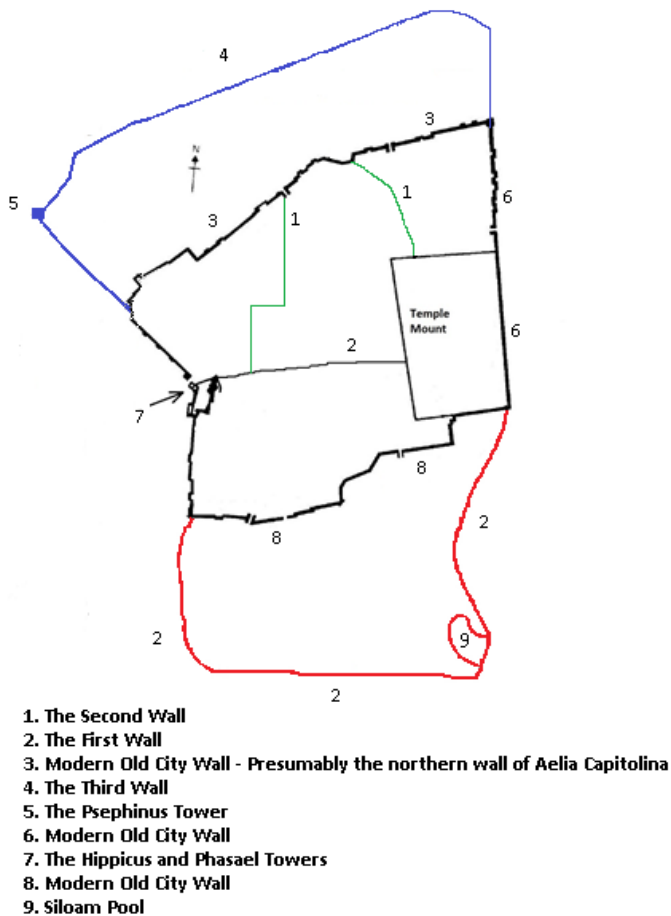


Fig. 8 Walls of Jerusalem Second Temple Period
After Ross (1942)

The Second Temple Period Jerusalem grew rapidly in the northern direction so a new rampart had to be built to secure the new expanding part of the city. The Second Wall is probably described in 2 Chronicles XXXII:5 “And he [Hezekiah] strengthened himself and built up the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without [the second north wall] and repaired Milo, and the city of David”. The identification of the second wall brings topographical problems to a topic most controversy. The problem is that the location and even authenticity of the Church of

the Holy Sepulchre depends strictly on the course of this wall, and for some minds it has even become a question of faith²²⁷. The problem started with Robinson who as the first scholar concluded (based on Josephus writings) that the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was unauthentic, because the Second Wall curved toward the north and thus including the site of the Holy Sepulchre within the city walls. He also stated that the true sites of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre can never be found²²⁸.

The place of the crucifixion and resurrection was supposed to be outside the city walls so if the northern Second Wall passed the Pool of Hezekiah then turned due east in such a manner as to leave the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre outside the wall, then the traditional site of the Resurrection and Calvary might be authentic. But if as many scholars

²²⁷ Ross (1942), p. 72.

²²⁸ Stinespring (1941), p. 89.

believe, the course of this wall headed north, passing west of the site of the church the traditional site cannot be defended²²⁹.

The only evidence that confirm the idea that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was located outside the city wall are fragments of ancient masonry interpreted by some scholars as remains of a wall²³⁰. Those fragments were a part of a discussion between Konrad Schick and Sir Charles Wilson. Schick saw them as parts of the Second Wall, opposite to Wilson who claimed that isolated fragments of masonry cannot be counted for as part of a bigger structure²³¹.

Josephus description of the City of Jerusalem is really problematic. In some passages we get a very detailed description of an area, where every landmark is named and localized. But in other passages Josephus presents a disappointing vague description. Three things we know about the Second Wall thanks to Josephus a) It began at the Castle of Antonia, b) It encircled the northern parts of the city, c) it ended at the Gate Gennath in the first wall. The exact location of the Gate Gennath is unknown but we can approximately determine its position near the Hezekiah's Pool. The pool still exists in our times and it is located to the north from the tower of David. It is clear that the pool was located inside the city walls, because a water reservoir outside the wall would be an extreme advantage to the besiegers and a complete waste for the defenders. So the second wall must have run along the west side of the Pool of Hezekiah, and there the Gennath gate was located²³².

What was the course of this wall further north we will try to establish based on archeological finds and Josephus writings. It started at the Antonia Fortress and headed north along the Bezetha valley until it reached the western edge of the Herod's Gate. From here it ran along the line of the present north wall in the direction of the Damascus Gate. In this area it ran along a moat uncovered in the medieval times and visible even today. From the Damascus Gate bearing south near the Muristan along the Beit ha-Bad street turning right passing the today's Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the left into the Christian street ending at the junction with David Street²³³.

²²⁹ Ross (1942), p. 72.

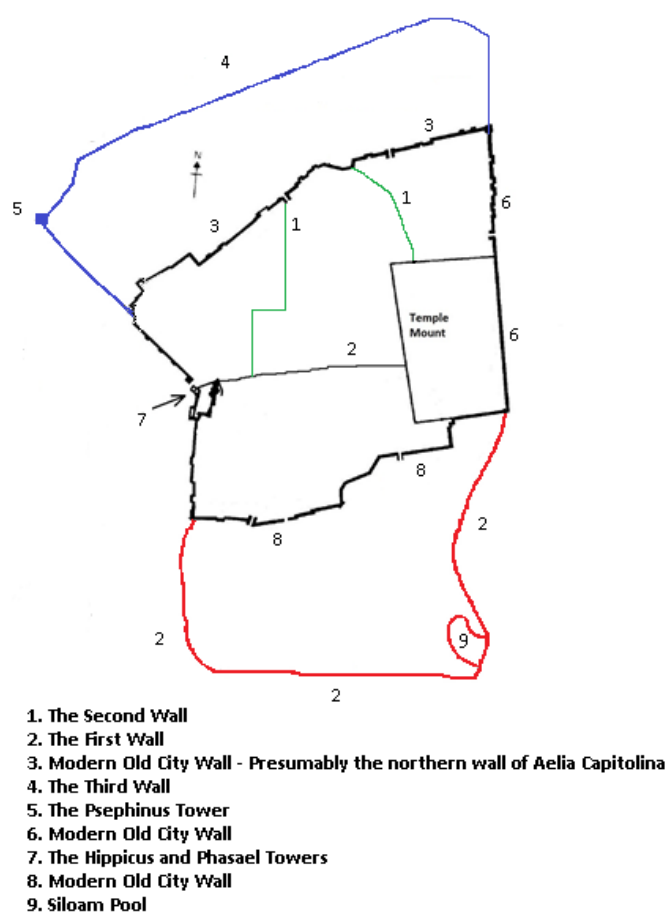
²³⁰ Ibidem, p. 72.

²³¹ Ibidem, p. 72-73.

²³² Ibidem, p. 74.

²³³ D. Bahat (2005), p. 25.

The Third Wall



*Fig. 9 The Walls of Jerusalem Second Temple Period
After Ross (1942)*

According to Josephus, Agrippa I began the construction work on the Third Wall. It was supposed to be impregnable and nearly indestructible after its completion. That concerned the Roman authorities, so they ordered Agrippa to cancel the project. The wall was finished by Zealots in the years 41-44 and 67-69 A.D. before Jerusalem was besieged²³⁴. The course of this wall after years of archeological studies was appointed: From the tower of Hippicus to the tower of Psephinus located on the west side of the city. Then turning east in a straight line until it passed the monuments of Helena and the sepulchral caverns

of the Kings. It turned south at the tower of the Fuller and joined the old wall at the Kidron Valley. A question remains were did the Third wall link with the Old walls on the west and the east? Maybe the great dam built by Herod in the Bezeta Valley was serving as the link between the Third Wall and the Temple Wall²³⁵.

In the XIX century Robinson has discovered traces of the Third Wall parallel to the present north wall but about 1500 feet to the north²³⁶. In 1925 Sukenik and Mayer discovered a wall reaching 1650 feet, with a masonry type suitable for the time of Agrippa I. This wall showed traces of delay and fast completion, thus agreeing with Josephus statement. In 1930 Sukenik and Mayer published their findings and claimed that they have rediscovered the Third Wall found by Robinson²³⁷. After this publication a debate started if those finds are or not are

²³⁴ Ibidem, p. 27.

²³⁵ Ibidem, p. 27.

²³⁶ Stinespring (1941), p. 89.

²³⁷ Ibidem, p. 90.

the part of the third wall²³⁸. Until 1974 along the presumably Third Wall line many archeological digs were opened and confirmed that the Third Wall of Jerusalem was placed here²³⁹. The last remaining wall is the present North wall named by scholars the Fourth wall that was probably built in the time of Hadrian.

The Four North Wall and the Walls of Aelia Capitolina.

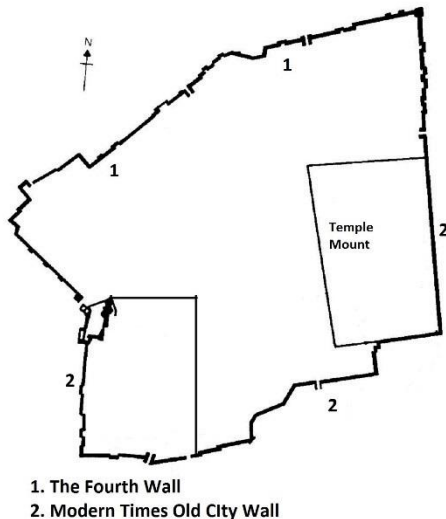


Fig. 10 The Fourth North Wall

The Four North Wall of Jerusalem is the present Old City North Wall. Both Robinson (in 1838) and Albright (in 1925) came independently to the conclusion that the present day Old City Walls are based on the line of the walls constructed during the time of Aelia Capitolina. Robinson identified the north wall with both the Second Period and Hadrian city wall systems. Albright on the other hand was convinced that the present wall system in the Old City should be identified with the times of Hadrian only and any other possibility (for example the present wall system having foundations in the Old or New

testament wall design) is completely unlikely, because Hadrian rebuilt the city according to his own idea and never based it on past designs²⁴⁰.

There are two ideas concerning the construction of walls in the Roman Jerusalem. First theory: the Walls were constructed after the X Legion left Aelia for Aila during Diocletian's reforms. The second one: the wall was constructed in the Byzantine period after Emperor Constantine made Jerusalem a Christian Metropolis(year 330)²⁴¹. Both theories share the same amount of scientific support, and both are based on archeological finds of walls that date to the III and IV centuries(more later).

The theory favoring the Byzantines wall constructions is defended by Hillel Geva²⁴² who writes that after Jerusalem was elevated by Constantine it has regained its position as an important religious center and became flocked with new inhabitants. Because the legion was

²³⁸ More in Ross (1942), p. 78-81.

²³⁹ Bahat (2005), p. 27.

²⁴⁰ Stinespring (1941), p. 91.

²⁴¹ Bahat (1990), p. 61.

²⁴² Geva (1984), pp.239-254.

long gone a decision was made to refortify the city. A new course was planned for the walls and that course was determined by both the enlarged urban limits and considerations of topography. The north wall was constructed from the Roman Gate (now Damascus Gate) eastwards and westwards until it joined the line of the Third Wall from the Second Period. From there along the lines of the Third Wall in the east up to the Temple Mount and in the west up to the present Tower of David. South from the Tower of David the city wall of Byzantine Jerusalem consisted the repaired First Wall, while around Mount Zion and eastwards towards the City of David a completely new wall was constructed²⁴³. It is clear that this concept completely negates the idea that the present Old City wall traced the limits of Roman Aelia Capitolina. The north wall was based on the Byzantine period wall and on the south the wall was built over lines first determined in periods earlier.

In the 3rd century the Roman Empire was in turmoil. Emperors were changed in rapid succession, military was in disarray and the Roman empire was under attack by foreign enemies. Those conditions are hardly supportive to grand building projects. The crisis ended with the rule of Diocletian in 286 A.D. who returned a sense of stability to the ravaged empire. He proposed a new ruling system the tetrarchy that included four Emperors ruling together over the empire, each one ruled a different part of it. Diocletian made the eastern provinces his own responsibility and started to rebuild them. To oppose any new threats coming from the east Diocletian initiated a massive defensive build up on the eastern frontier. The Arabian frontier was built up with new defense systems, many cities were walled (Presumably Jerusalem also) and the Army reorganized (X legion left Jerusalem for Aila). Because Jerusalem lost its status as a military outpost Diocletian was eager to rebuild the city walls as a part of the policy to refortify the eastern part of the Empire²⁴⁴.

Archeological evidence for the refortification of Aelia has been located in the Citadel courtyard, in the Christian quarter of the Old City, and at various points beneath the Ottoman north wall.

After Wightman J. Gregory²⁴⁵ : *“The north eastern curtain of the Ottoman Citadel is constructed over the remains of an earlier city wall. Archaeological excavations were carried out here by Johns, then Geva and now are fully exposed. This wall is preserved to a length of fourteen meters and to a height of seven meters and comprises nine ashlar courses. The*

²⁴³ Ibidem, p. 254.

²⁴⁴ Wightman (1993), p. 195-225.

²⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 195-225.

foundation of this wall is a shallow leveling plinth of recut Herodian paneled ashlar, laid as headers. Above the foundation we have a high orthostatic course paneled Herodian masonry in secondary use set back few centimeters from the face of the plinth course. The third course is only the half the height of the second, and consist mostly of comb-picked, smooth-faced ashlar, this course is also set back several centimeters on the orthostatic course. Courses from 4 to 9 are isodomic, with blocks of small, smooth-faced and comb-picked ashlar arranged as headers and stretchers. This coursing is fairly regular until it reaches the Tower Of David, because next to it courses from 4 to 7 are replaced by two higher courses of smooth-faced ashlar, recut from Herodian blocks. The large and small blocks have been carefully keyed into each other in the fourth course to strengthen the wall-face. The small courses 8 and 9 override the higher courses and go up to the Tower of David. The inner (North-Eastern) face of the wall has been partly exposed within a narrow firing gallery belonging to the medieval citadel. Like the outer face, it has a stepped foundation supporting a superstructure of small, smooth-faced ashlar. The wall's width can be estimated at about four meters''²⁴⁶.

Gregory believed he can distinguish different construction phases within the wall, basing only on the visible masonry, but Geva came to a conclusion that all courses were built in the same time. A coin of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius was found together with roof tiles bearing the stamp of the X legion. Finds indicate that this wall was built no earlier than the 3rd century²⁴⁷.

More excavations in the Citadel Courtyard directed by Geva have shown that the 1st century South Tower was partly rebuilt in the 3rd century together with its western wall (previously destroyed in the year 70). The North Wall of this tower was incorporated into the Late Roman rebuilding, along with the adjoining city wall. Geva also discovered mosaic-paved floors linked with the rebuilding of this tower²⁴⁸.

The Christian Quarter

Two fragments of the wall were located in the Christian Quarter. Both fragments could be linked with the Roman construction of a defensive wall. First fragment lies north from today's Ottoman's Citadel. It could be linked with the Third Wall of Jerusalem or with the north-eastern curtain of the Citadel. The second fragment was found in the Patriarchate Garden.

²⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 200.

²⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 200.

²⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 200.

This fragment could be originally built in the 1st century but during the Byzantine period it was incorporated into the new city wall²⁴⁹.

The Ottoman North Wall

Archaeological research along the outer face of the North Wall uncovered interesting data showing that the earliest city wall along the Ottoman Wall dates back to the 3rd and 4th century. In 1979 The Israel ministry of Education together with the Department of Antiquities and Museums conducted archaeological research on the both sides of the second Ottoman tower located west from the Damascus Gate. Two trenches were setup to maintain stratigraphic control one east of the Ottoman tower, the second further east. Excavators came to a conclusion that the north Ottoman wall was built over the remains of an earlier wall datable to the Byzantine period. An average of six Byzantine courses were preserved, no foundation trench and also no deposits from the 1st and 2nd centuries. The date of this found wall still remains open, because of similarities to the wall found in the Patriarchate Garden and the Citadel²⁵⁰.

Hamilton conducted his research in Sounding C on both sides of the Ottoman first tower, west from the Herod's Gate. His finds concluded a part of a city wall and a projecting tower from the late Roman period. This wall stretched thirty meters from the tower in the west direction. In the later Middle ages rock was scraped and carried away, this enterprise created a deep embayment that one can see today between the Herod's Gate and Damascus Gate. In the times of Herod the slope was leveled by a series of terrace walls and fills, those terraces continued in use during the 2nd and 3rd century. In the late 3rd century or in the early 4th the mentioned wall and tower were constructed²⁵¹. This wall also appears on the east side of the Ottoman tower, beneath the Ottoman curtain for a length of about 10 meters.

The remains of the Late Roman city Wall are also located east of the Herod's Gate near the first shallow tower, and from there the remains stretch for about 100 meters to the east. The Jerusalem Development Company was responsible for revealing the upper courses of this early city wall along most of this section. Stratified data however were obtained only from two small trenches located against the east face of the shallow Ottoman tower. Further east all earlier deposits were destroyed during the construction of the *Birkat al-Hijja* in the Ottoman Period. Hamilton's sounding B was the source of first stratified data. This sounding is located only a few meters east of the shallow Ottoman tower. The wall here was built in the same way as the

²⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 202.

²⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 202.

²⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 202.

Wall in sounding B: “1) a rough projecting foundation that steps down toward the east in a series of short segments, 2) a shallow plinth course of recut ashlar and roughly squared blocks, 3) an orthostat course of large, reused Herodian ashlar set back on the plinth course, 4) a shallow course of reused, bossed ashlar set back between 15 cm and 50 cm on the orthostat course, 5) four courses of comb-picked, smooth-faced Ashlar set back 20 cm on the underlying course. The upper courses average 65 cm in height”²⁵². Hamilton was unable to locate any traces of the foundation trench so he assumed that a cutting was made and the rough foundations were pushed against it.

On the other hand in the year 1976 Amos Kloner from the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums excavated an area located between the tower and sounding B. Although Hamilton’s and Kloner’s trenches were contiguous Kloner’s conclusions were different²⁵³. Kloner’s findings include intact Herodian occupation deposits on bedrock, field walls, terrace fills, and a jar burial of an infant. Late Roman and Byzantine periods were located above the Herodian finds. Furthermore Kloner’s trench included also a foundation trench about 40 cm wide, and three meters deep, cut down to bedrock. This trench was also dug from Byzantine levels. The depth of the foundation suggest that the wall was constructed here in the 6th and 7th century not in the 3rd or 4th. Results of Kloner’s research in comparison to Hamilton’s work are a bit confusing dating the wall either from the 1st century to the Byzantine Period or from the 6th to 7th ²⁵⁴

To summarize the Walls of Aelia Capitolina. On the North the walls of Aelia were more or less the same as today’s Old City walls. The west side walls began at the foot of the Herodian tower of David which was incorporated into the new defenses, and followed approximately the line of the Third Wall. It stopped at a half a distance between the Tower of Hippicus and Psephinus, and then moved in the northern-eastern direction in a straight line to the Damascus Gate. From the gate up to the summit of the north-eastern hill. From there towards the east it passed through Hamilton’s soundings B and C beneath the Ottoman Wall where it turned south, ending at the North-eastern corner of the Temple Mount enclosure²⁵⁵. The Southern course of the Roman wall still remains a question with not enough evidence to give a precise judgment. Broshi excavated the south-western corner of the Old City and the Ottoman Zion Gate. The Ottoman wall there was founded partly upon debris and partly on remains of a 13th century city

²⁵² Ibidem, p. 203.

²⁵³ Ibidem, p. 204.

²⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 204.

²⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 205.

wall. Further east between the Zion Gate and the Ottoman Sulphur Tower, Avigad (during his excavations in the Jewish Quarter) has discovered a succession of city walls and towers inside the Ottoman wall. Those finds were dated to the 6th century, thus Late Roman city wall on the south remains un found²⁵⁶.

City Gates

The mentioned above walls of Aelia Capitolina possessed four main gates that led travelers in and out of the city, because the Roman name of those gates are unknown to us the author will use present names of gates. The northern gate the Damascus Gate, the western one Jaffa Gate, eastern Lion's Gate, and Zion Gate on the south. Excavations were only conducted at the northern Damascus Gate. Information gathered during those excavations however cannot be used in context with other gates, because the Damascus Gate was constructed as a Triumphal arch and was later incorporated to the wall enclosure²⁵⁷. The other find connected with the gates of Jerusalem is the present Ecce Homo arch.

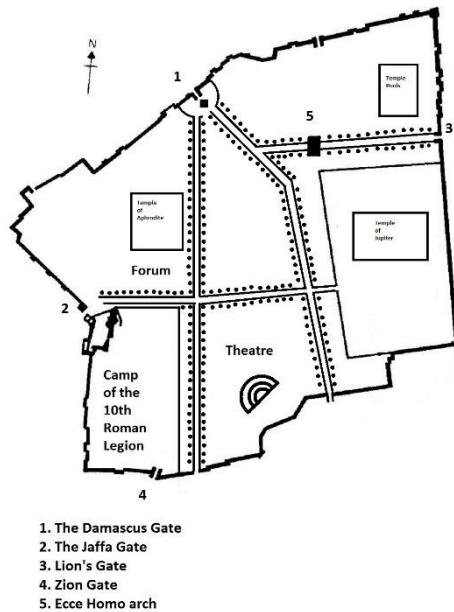


Fig. 11 Roman Jerusalem- Aelia Capitolina 135 A.D. - 330 A.D. City Gates
After Mare (1987)

This arch since the Mamluk times was linked with the Passion of Christ (namely the place where he was sentenced to death by Pontius Pilate). In 1851 just north of the Ecce Homo arch, a smaller side arch was discovered and identified together with arch spanning the alley as a part of a monumental triple-bayed arch. Both preserved arches are spanned over their flanking cornices by archivolts containing three fascia. On the west façade, a conch is set between the two arches. The upper end of the construction, was marked by a transverse gallery, a feature attested on other ancient arches. The arch since its discovery was considered Roman, and more precisely a building from the times of Hadrian. Its role was also established as a Roman Triumphal arch or Honorary arch. Many theories concerning the Ecce Homo arch were

²⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 205, For the Walls of Aelia see also, Bahat (1990), p. 61; Mare (1987), p. 213; Avigad (1983), p. 207; Bar (1998), p. 12; Kenyon (1974), p. 262.

²⁵⁷ Bahat (1990), p. 61.

presented. It was dated to the Herodian times, and placed as a part of the Antonia fortress²⁵⁸. The arch was dated to the Hadrianic era again by Vincent in 1914, and Couasnon during his sounding along the eastern foundation on the northern side of the arch, produced evidence that the arch and the pavement were built in the same time. After this discovery Benoit dated the arch and the pavement to the time of Hadrian, but Blomme argued against it and proposed a Herodian date, based on comparison with Augustan tower Facades. In his view the arch was a city gate in the Second Wall²⁵⁹. Today the Ecce Homo arch is claimed to be monumental free standing marker of the easternmost border of the city and supposedly stands on the second forum of the Roman Jerusalem.

The mentioned earlier Damascus Gate is the best known from all gates from the Roman period. The gate was excavated several times during the XX century. In 1937 to 1938 Hamilton discovered a gateway whose central passageway was flanked by two side gates, and was further flanked by two projecting towers. Because the construction included materials in second use (from Herodian times) Hamilton dated the find to the time of Aelia Capitolina. In 1960 Hennessy²⁶⁰ resumed the excavations uncovering more finds from the Roman period and also including those of the Crusader period, for example a part of a church²⁶¹.

In 1979 by the decision of the Jerusalem Municipality to renovate the plaza in front of the Damascus Gate an opportunity for new archaeological research appeared. Menahem Magen was the leader of this new excavation team²⁶². During the research an stairwell, towers and Roman plaza was excavated. The stairwell discovered by the research team was incorporated to the upper part of the Old city wall. This stairwell led to the roof of the eastern tower of the gate discovered in 1960, but in time was transformed into a cistern. Hamilton revealed a wall of monumental stones, located beneath the western tower. It was the earliest structure discovered there preserved to a height of only two courses, built upon bedrock with typical Herodian margins. It was interpreted as a tower probably octagonal. Above those finds a tower was discovered with a base constructed in Roman style and a doorjamb of an entrance portal. An arch was located above it directly under the Ottoman Gate structure. The eastern tower on the other hand together with the archway are the Roman tripartite gate. The original eastern entrance together with the arch, the vaulted ceiling, the doorjambs and the floor survived to this

²⁵⁸ Bieberstein (2007), p. 148.

²⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 148.

²⁶⁰ Wightman (1989).

²⁶¹ More detailed information, Ibidem, p. 35-43.

²⁶² Magen (2000), p. 281-287.

day²⁶³. Large stones reaching 1 meter in length and 60 cm in width create the floor pavement. The southern entrance room 9 meters length and 3 meters wide was blocked by a stone wall in the crusader period.

The eastern tower preserved to a height of 11,8 meters, built from large stones hewn in the typical Herodian style. Rectangular shape extending in a north-south direction. It was divided into two stories by wooden beams and in the later stages turned into a olive press. The western tower (excavated in 1983) although not as good preserved is an mirror image of the eastern one. Identical in plan and dimension also divided into two stories by arches and used later as an olive press²⁶⁴.

In 1982 construction workers digging up new foundations for shops in the inner side of the Damascus Gate, discovered large paving stones *in situ* at the Roman level of the Gate. An archaeological team was immediately called in for further study. The first idea about the pavement was the identification with the Roman plaza that included a column in its center depicted on the Madaba map. The Arabic name of the Gate Bab al'Amud (the gate of the pillar) was supposed to be derived from this column. The archaeological team decided to uncover most of the Roman plaza during their work. A large section of the plaza was discovered with the pavement left intact. Above it structures with vaulted ceilings were present. Two phases of occupation were proposed for the structures. Found coins proposed the Ayyubid period, ceramics the Mamluk period²⁶⁵.

The Roman Damascus gate served as the main entrance to the Roman city and started the main road to Caesarea. In the times of Hadrian it was a triumphal arch marking the north border of the city. In the center there was a wide entrance accompanied by two small entrances located on both sides. The arch was located on a large plaza (mentioned above) with a statue of the emperor in the middle. This triumphal arch was probably integrated into the city wall defenses during the times of Diocletian or Constantine, or it was created as a “hybrid” construction, a “fortified city gate into which was set a triple-portal decorative arch”, because structural integration the flanking towers and façade prove that this structure emerged as a single architectural unit²⁶⁶.

²⁶³ Ibidem. p. 284.

²⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 285.

²⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 286.

²⁶⁶ Wightman (1989), p. 35.

The Camp of the X Roman Legion

After a successful conquest of Jerusalem by the Roman forces in the year 70 A.D. the Roman emperor decided to demolish the cities fortifications. He spared only the western wall of the Upper city and the three towers accompanying it Phasaël, Hippicus and Mariamne to demonstrate to the future travelers what kind of extensive and monumental fortification guarded one of the cities bested by Roman Valor. The fortifications were spared also to serve as a protection for a garrison of the Roman X Legion that will be left behind in Jerusalem to preserve peace²⁶⁷. This statement by Josephus Flavius began the archaeological and historical phenomena of the Legion camp in Jerusalem. Since the beginning of archaeological excavations in Jerusalem many archeologist tried to locate the legion camp in many different parts of the Old City of Jerusalem. Unfortunately archaeological evidence discovered so far fail to directly pinpoint the camps location in one place. The lack of archaeological evidence accompanied by different statements found in historical sources and different interpretations of this statements creates many theories and ideas that mostly ignore each other and hinder the research on this topic.

Traditional Theory

In 1905 Major General Sir. C.W. Wilson in his article “*The Camp of the Tenth Legion*



Fig. 12 The location of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem based on the traditional theory presented by sir C.W. Wilson
After Wilson (1905)

at Jerusalem and the City of Aelia” presented the first idea considering the X Legion camp in Jerusalem²⁶⁸. Although as he mentions in the beginning of his article “*Jerusalem, after its capture by the Romans, became a Legionary fortress, or permanent “Camp”; and it so remained until the revolt of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 132). No record of the size of the “Camp” has been preserved; no tradition exists to its position and no trace of its limits has yet been found*”²⁶⁹, we still have the “*War of the Jews*” written by Flavius (mentioned above), and following Flavius we can more or less guess where the Camp was located

in the year 70 A.D. Sir Wilson’s article designates two stages of the camps history. Stage one

²⁶⁷ Joseph., *B.J.* VII, 1:1-2.

²⁶⁸ Wilson (1905), p. 138-144.

²⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 138.

from the first Jewish revolt to the second, and stage two from the second revolt to the times of Constantine.

After the first revolt in 70 A.D. the camp's north-western corner was located according to Flavius near the present Jaffa Gate. We also have no idea how Roman engineers prepared to convert the city into a Roman fortress. The proposition to leave a Roman Legion in a conquered city converted from ruins to a fortress came as a surprise to Roman engineers responsible for the task. It is probable that, because of the sudden decision they were forced to abandon their normal arrangements, but on the other hand it is more probable that they carried out their work with accordance with the general principles of construction a fortified camp and also whenever possible utilized the existing buildings and fortifications²⁷⁰.

According to Wilson the Roman engineers used the north, west and east remains of the Upper City's First Wall but the south wall of the camp is not so clear to establish. The rule of constructing camps was to shape them as a square or oblong with rounded angles. In order to locate a same design of Roman camp in Jerusalem Wilson looks to the other camps found in the Roman empire for comparison. He takes to account forts located in Britain, Germany and France and only those that reach the size of 50 acres²⁷¹. If the fort in Jerusalem reached the 50 acres mark then it is possible that Roman engineers used the First Wall as a fortification of the camp and constructed a southern portion of this wall to close the fort from all sides. The camp would be then located between the David Street and the southern Wall of present Old City, and between present West wall and the Solomon's pools²⁷². Other fortifications not included in this new Roman camp were razed to prevent the enemy from using it. The Camp's street network featured two main streets crisscrossing in the center the *Via Principalis* and *Via Praetoria*. The northern gate was supposedly located in the south-eastern corner of the Muristan, and the southern gate on the location of present Zion Gate²⁷³.

The second stage was after the City was reclaimed by Romans during the Jewish revolt. Hadrian restored the walls of the Roman Camp and reoccupied it with soldiers. Because now Jerusalem was a Roman colony the Roman camp would be separated from its civilian part in a

²⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 138.

²⁷¹ Forts' size was determined by their role and the time they were constructed. After many years of archaeological research on the eastern frontier, the knowledge of Roman fortifications constructed there can help us with the problem of the Roman camp in Jerusalem.

²⁷² Ibidem, p. 140.

²⁷³ Ibidem, p. 141.

way other fortress cities were. Before Jerusalem became a Roman city a canabae could be also present in the City of David but that also was a speculation.

Wilson's proposition gained popularity fast and even now remains one of the main ideas concerning the Roman camp in Jerusalem. It was not without a flaw however. The flaws of this idea, became visible when archeological research reached the western hill and the Citadel of Jerusalem. Many archeologists studied the presumable boundaries of the camp and also the Citadel were the north-western corner of the camp supposed to be located. Archaeological remains were limited to roof tiles, and clay pipes with stamps of the X legion on them²⁷⁴. Archaeological research next to the First Wall (which was presumably used by the camp) also failed to uncover any Roman remains that in some way could link the Wall with the Roman camp²⁷⁵. The southern wall of the camp that supposed to be built by the Romans was never uncovered by excavation.

In time more ideas concerning the Roman camp began to take up root in the discussion. Those ideas were mostly concentrated on the later stage of the Roman Camp (135-300 A.D.) and slightly ignored the first stage. Three of them standing out will be presented.

First New Theory

The First one seen in Eilat Mazar "*The Complete Guide to the Temple Mount Excavations*" places the Roman Camp on the south western corner of the Temple Mount²⁷⁶. The Roman Camp was probably moved from the south-western hill to the south-western corner of the Temple Mount during the times of Hadrian when the city was rebuild as a Roman city²⁷⁷. The city was divided into two parts the military one located on the Temple Mount, and the civilian one located to the west of the Mount. The civilian part of the city remained

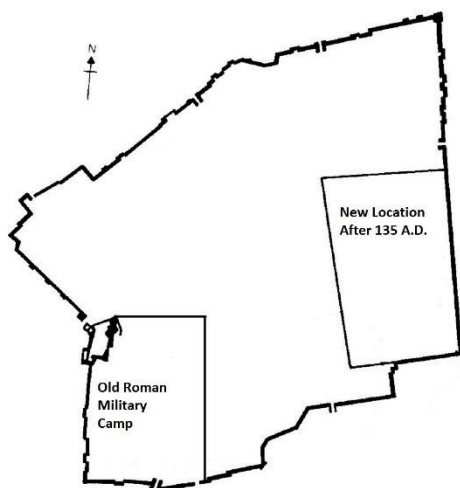


Fig. 13 The location of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem based on the theory of Eliat Mazar after Mazar (2002)

²⁷⁴ Geva (1984), p. 240-244.

²⁷⁵ Avigad (1983), p. 207.

²⁷⁶ Mazar (2002).

²⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 63.

the same (see above), with the exception of the western hill which was uninhabited until the Byzantine times. The military part included not only the camp itself located on the southern edges of the Temple Mount but also the Temple of Jupiter constructed upon the ruins of the Herodian one, a bakery building and a large bath²⁷⁸. The camp was surrounded by a wall enclosure: to the south, the southern Ottoman Wall located to the south of the Temple Mount was probably build over the camps wall, to the north and west (although not found) Mazar assumes that the northern wall was located to the south of the *Decumanus*, with the Wilson's arch marking its northern border. The west wall of the camp ran along the *cardo Valensis*. Soldiers stationing in the camp located on the Temple Mount enclosure would possess a nice vantage point to control the civilian area and also the Temple Mount itself²⁷⁹.

Second New Theory

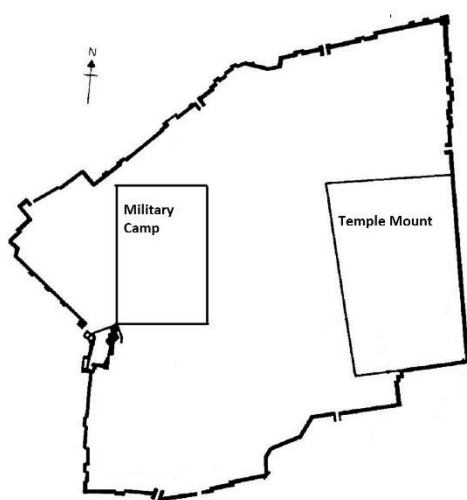


Fig. 14 The location of the Roman military camp in Jerusalem based on the theory of Doron Bar After Bar (1998)

The second one created by Doron Bar (mentioned earlier) placed the Roman camp on the present day's Muristan, basing his assumptions on a new interpretation of the writings of Josephus Flavius and archaeological discoveries. Locating the Roman camp on the present Muristan would allow Roman soldiers direct control over the citizens of the Roman city. The boundaries of this new camp are based on archaeological data and remains of straight streets in this area of today's Old city. The camp walls go as follow: the east, a fortified wall that separates the camp from the *cardo*, on the south fortified

by the First Wall, on the west by the Third Wall, additionally three towers left intact by Titus after the conquest in 70A.D.²⁸⁰. Like in every Roman Camp two streets crossed the camp. One of them was today's Christian street the other passed just south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Temple of Venus could have been located inside the Roman Camp²⁸¹. Because

²⁷⁸ Ibidem, p. 63, 67.

²⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 69.

²⁸⁰ Bar (1998), p. 16.

²⁸¹ With the exception of the Temple of Venus that according to Vitruvius shouldn't be built in a city let alone in a military Camp, Vitruvius, I, 7:1.

the present Christian Quarter of the Old city was never methodically examined and excavated there is no direct archaeological evidence to guarantee that the Roman camp was located there.

Both mentioned above theories assume that the Legionary Camp housed an entire Legion X Fretensis, and to do so it required to enclose a large portion of space and include multiple facilities to keep them properly accommodated. A different proposition was presented by Geva²⁸². He based his assumption on small archaeological finds in the Armenian Quarter and David's Citadel. Because the western hill was sporadically inhabited (according to finds and research) he limits the Roman legionary camp to the Armenian Quarter and David's Citadel²⁸³. This small camp housed only a fracture of the X Legion, a lone detachment left in the ruined city when the rest of the Legion was used somewhere else on different campaigns. This was possible, because Jerusalem was not a border city so no immediate threat was present. To support this theory Geva mentions other strategic locations housing detachments of the X Legion, Ramat Rachel, Bethany, Ein Yael, Cremisan and Givat Ram. The high command of the X legion was probably located in the capital of the province Caesarea. The detachment at Jerusalem was led by a high ranking officer in his base located next to the three towers Hippicus, Phasaël and Mariamme spared by Titus, when the rest of the soldiers were accommodated in different points along the city. In summary "*there was never any organized and planned Roman military camp with a wall around it in Jerusalem*"²⁸⁴.

There is no direct evidence that would help us determine the correct location of the Roman Camp in Jerusalem. All three ideas seem reasonable although all are built on sparse archaeological, historical and topographical evidence. The other problem concerning the Roman military camp in Jerusalem it is the function of the camp and the role it played in the Roman defensive scheme²⁸⁵.

Roman military camp in Jerusalem

A Roman military Camp *Castra* was a marching camp constructed by the soldiers at the end of a marching day to secure the resting legion and prevent surprise attacks. The Roman army also constructed forts on the enemy territory to use it as a forward base and supply station. Until the times of Hadrian the Roman *Castra* was a tool of war used in offensive actions and campaigns. Roman soldiers were more likely to exit a Camp and face the enemy on an open

²⁸² Geva (1984), p. 239- 254 and Geva (1997), p. 35-43.

²⁸³ Geva (1984), p. 251-252.

²⁸⁴ Geva (1997), p. 40-41.

²⁸⁵ More in Chapter 3

field were they excelled. Hadrian's predecessor Titus was called the warrior-emperor, because of his military career and conquests on both eastern and western fronts. He was also the last ruler of Rome that utilized camps as a tool of conquest. After his death Rome was supposed to stop any further conquest and switch to the defensive. From Hadrian until the Byzantine times the Roman territory remained more or less the same with little movement on the west and the east frontiers.

Hadrian's ambition to create an everlasting Roman empire required not only internal stability but also external security. Invaders could only compromise Hadrian's ideas and bring chaos and destruction to the Empire that supposed to be supporting the *Pax Romana*. But how to secure this vast empire? The answer was found on the German border when in time the Roman garrisons stationing there began to transform from offensive supply bases to defensive posts. Hadrian decided to use the same idea implemented by the soldiers and commanders of the German front and created the well-known Hadrian's Wall that replaced the Stanegate system in Britain formerly founded there by Trajan²⁸⁶. Similar solutions could be used on the eastern front, still the main fact remains the Roman *Castra* became a defensive tool constructed in strategic defensive positions, with soldiers performing guard duties.

The Roman camp in the city of Aelia Capitolina could perform different roles during its entire stay that expands in time nearly 200 years. After the Roman victory in 70 A.D. the Roman camp established there by Titus possessed supposedly one role and that was the suppression of local populace to prevent future revolts and riots. After the second Jewish revolt the camp's role could have changed nearly completely. Now the camp in Jerusalem could only house the regional headquarters of the Legion with its soldiers spread across the countryside protecting more important sites.

Constantine's revival

In 324 A.D. after series of civil wars Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus emerged victorious as the only Roman Emperor thus ending the short-lived tetrarchy system. He was the first Roman Emperor that embraced Christianity, and supported it until his death in 337 A.D.. He was named the Great by later Christian writers to acknowledge his long support for the Christian cause. In 325 A.D. after the first council of Nicaea he began his construction

²⁸⁶ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 20-27.

on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that was the first step in the revitalization of Jerusalem from a rundown Roman city of Aelia Capitolina to an important city, Capitol of Christianity.

Because Jerusalem of the early Byzantine times is beyond the topic of this work I will focus only on few historical sources that describe Jerusalem in the IV and V century, just to give a small view on the city and the change it went until the Arab conquest in 634 A.D.

The first one shows the city just before the completion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the year 333 A.D. It was written by an anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux who visited the Holy City during his pilgrimage around Palestine's Holy sites. The Pilgrim was able to see the city at the very beginning of its transformation, it was the last moment to witness the pre-Constantinian Jerusalem, the Roman Aelia Capitolina before it was elevated to a Christian Capital.

Bordeaux Pilgrim

The Bordeaux pilgrim record of Jerusalem is shown from a walkthrough perspective as he enters the city through the northern Neapolis Gate²⁸⁷. Some scholars like Hamilton saw the Bordeaux Pilgrim enter the city through the eastern gate because the name of the Gate is not mentioned in the text but it can be identified with the present St. Stephen Gate, because from the times of Aelia this was the only gate on the eastern side of the city wall marked by the free standing monumental arch known today as the Ecce Homo Arch²⁸⁸. The pilgrim locates two pools inside Jerusalem near the Temple. One is located on the left side the other on the right side, both built by Solomon. Further inside the city another set of twin pools is found this time with five porticoes called by the Pilgrim Bethsaida.

Then the Pilgrim ascends the Temple Mount from the south describing what he sees there: *"Here is also the corner of an exceeding high tower, where our Lord ascended and the tempter said to Him, 'If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence.' And the Lord answered, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve.' (Matt 4:1-11). There is a great corner-stone, of which it was said, 'The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.' (Matt 21:42; cfr. Ps 118:22). Under the pinnacle (pinna) of the tower are many rooms, and here was Solomon's palace. There also is the chamber in which he sate and wrote the (Book of) Wisdom; this chamber is covered with a single stone. There are*

²⁸⁷ Roman Damascus Gate, because he comes to Jerusalem from Caesarea the most convenient entry would be through the north gate that was from Roman times the main entry to the city for all travelers arriving from Caesarea.

²⁸⁸ Hamilton (1952), p. 83-90, p. 84, Although still entering the city from the east looks inconvenient and troublesome.

also large subterranean reservoirs for water and pools constructed with great deal of work. And in the building (in aede) itself, where stood the temple which Solomon built, they say that the blood of Zacharias (Matt 23:35; cfr. Luke 11:51) which was shed upon the stone pavement before the altar remains to this day. There are also to be seen the marks of the nails in the shoes of the soldiers who slew him, throughout the whole enclosure, so plain that you would think they were impressed upon wax. There are two statues of Hadrian, and not far from the statues there is a perforated stone, to which the Jews come every year and anoint it, bewail themselves with groans, rend their garments, and so depart."²⁸⁹. The most important for us is the description concerning the two statues of Hadrian²⁹⁰ and the perforated stone²⁹¹.

Leaving the Temple Mount the Bordeaux Pilgrim walked in the direction of the Siloam Pool. He had to leave the city through a gate in the southern wall, probably one located in the Tyropoeon Valley. Behind the gate on the southeastern hill the Siloam pool was located "*beside the wall, is a pool which is called Siloe and has four porticoes; and there is another large pool outside it*"²⁹². The Siloam pool visited by the Pilgrim is an important landmark in the early Christian tradition connected with the healing of a blind man²⁹³. The pool was located outside the city walls just like Mount Sion giving us a nice image of the southern city wall ending just before Mount Sion. On his way towards the Sion Mount the Bordeaux pilgrim could pick two roads. The first one going outside the city wall²⁹⁴ the second one inside the city wall. The second road however required the pilgrim to go back to the Tyropoeon valley gate to enter the city and then walk west along the city wall²⁹⁵.

On the Mount itself there are three places of interest the House of Caiaphas located outside the city wall, the Palace of David located inside the city wall and one of the seven synagogues that remained in Jerusalem. The House of Caiaphas was the place where Jesus was brought before the Sanhedrin and were the column to which he was bound and flagellated was

²⁸⁹ <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord07aJerus.html>. Availability on 01.11.2016.

²⁹⁰ Linked with the location of the Temple of Jupiter. The presence of the statues of Hadrian is an argument against locating the Temple of Jupiter on the Temple Mount. There is also a possibility that the Temple of Jupiter was already deconstructed and two statues of Hadrian were placed as a substitution, but this kind of solution would be mentioned by the Pilgrim.

²⁹¹ Linked with the remains of the Herod's Temple after the Roman siege in 70 A.D. It was believed that the perforated stone was all that remained from the Herod's Temple this notion attracted Jewish pilgrims still in grief after the Temple's loss.

²⁹² <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord07bJerus.html>. Availability 02.11.2016.

²⁹³ John 9: 6.

²⁹⁴ Hamilton (1952), p. 85.

²⁹⁵ Wightman (1993), p. 207.

located. The Palace of David is probably the present Tower of David in the Citadel and no traces of a synagogue were found.

After visiting all holy sites located in the southern part of Jerusalem the Pilgrim began his march north “towards the gate of Neapolis”. The journey north was along the west side of the city and as before the pilgrim describes all important Christian landmarks and sites. First described landmark was the praetorium of Pontius Pilate. This particular landmark has long since vanished and was replaced in the fifth century by a church dedicated to Holy Wisdom. In the medieval times the tradition to place the praetorium here was changed and the building was repositioned elsewhere²⁹⁶.

On the opposite of the Praetorium the hill of Golgotha was located the place “where the Lord was crucified”, and near it the place of his burial. The pilgrim describes the church or Basilica constructed here by the Emperor Constantine as “a church of wondrous beauty”.

Moving out of Jerusalem the Pilgrim from Bordeaux heads towards the east gate to ascend the mount of Olives. He then describes other bible related places outside of Jerusalem before he leaves for Bethany.

From his description we can state that Jerusalem at the time of Constantine is still “under construction”, with some places still in ruin, and some places still rebuilding or finishing its construction for example the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Because the record focuses mainly on holy sites we don’t get crucial information regarding civilian structures and housing inside the city. The city was surrounded by a wall enclosure yet we don’t quite know how the wall circuit encompassed the city, again because we lack the detailed description. The same thing applies to the gates of Jerusalem in the Bordeaux Pilgrim record. We assume four gates were located one to the North Neapolis Gate, one to the east (somewhere around the St. Stephen’s gate/Lion’s gate) one to the south-east in the Tyropoeon Valley near to the Ottoman Dung Gate, and one on the south-western part of the city on Mount Sion. The Roman pavement *Cardo Maximus* and *Cardo Valensis* remained the main road in the North-South direction. There are no references to the Roman *Cardo Decumanus*, however if we apply the Doron Bar²⁹⁷ theory the *Cardo Decumanus* would be the street that the Bordeaux Pilgrim used to exit Jerusalem in

²⁹⁶ Hamilton (1952), p. 86.

²⁹⁷ Bar (1998), p. 8-19.

the eastern gate. A second view of Jerusalem before the V century is presented by Saint Paula in her letter to Marcella²⁹⁸ and by Saint Jerome in his recount of that journey²⁹⁹.

Saint Paula's Pilgrimage dual accounts of Saint Paula and Saint Jerome

The presented view of Jerusalem sadly yet again is confined only to Holy sites of the city and its surroundings. The Letter of Saint Paula is a brief description of the Holy Land and its holy sites that every pious Christian needs to see and visit. Several places and relics are mentioned and located in the text like, the Wooden Cross, the Tomb, the stone that was rolled away from the Tomb, the Church on Mount Sion, the column of the flagellation, and the place where the Holy ghost descended upon the disciples.

On the other hand Jerome's recount of the same journey presents a more wider picture of the city before the V century, although still Holy sites are in the spotlight here. The author Saint Jerome also makes a reference to the long past times of Hadrian and his revival of an ruined city to a Roman colony known as Aelia. The first landmark discovered by Paula before she entered Jerusalem was the mausoleum of Helena queen of Adiabene. Paula saw the cross of the Lord, she kissed the stone that blocked the entry into the Tomb, entered the Tomb of Christ, on Mount Sion she recognized the citadel that David formerly stormed and then rebuilt. Jerome mentions that the gate's at Mount Sion are "in dust and ashes"³⁰⁰, why where they destroyed remains a mystery but the statement confirms that there was some kind of gate on the Sion Mount and perhaps the Bordeaux Pilgrim used it to enter the city from the southern side. Before leaving Jerusalem for Bethlehem Paula visited one of the Churches on the Sion Mount where the column of flagellation was located and then moved to the place where the Holy spirit came down upon the souls of the believers.

Jerome's account mentions the same locations as the Letter of Paula but with an additional landmark namely the mausoleum of queen Adiabene and also gives us some extra information concerning the southern gates of Jerusalem, and the situation on the Mount of Sion.

The year 325 AD. is the year of the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This event began, a new chapter in the history of Jerusalem. Since its fall in 70 A.D. until 325 A.D. Roman Jerusalem of Aelia Capitolina was, a backwater city that lost its importance with the death of its founder and his successors. Although rebuilt by the Romans it was still located

²⁹⁸ Aubrey (1896).

²⁹⁹ Schaff, Jerome (1892), p. 347-348.

³⁰⁰ Ibidem, p. 348.

in a position not favorable for its continuous growth and slowly declined. The construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine the Great who as the first Roman ruler embraced Christianity was the beginning of Jerusalem's rise to prominence in the later Roman period and in the upcoming Byzantine times. This episode of Jerusalem's history is however not included in this work. The next chapter will focus on the Roman Army stationed in the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire.

Chapter II

Roman Army in the East

West vs East Roman military Frontier comparison Hadrian's Wall and Limes Arabicus

Roman power came from its military. All cultural and architectural achievements pale in comparison to Roman military achievements. The source of this success rested in their organization talents and the talents of their soldiers. Since the sack of Rome in 390 B.C. the Roman Army was victorious in all new wars to come. This astonishing success was based on the Army's ability to defeat any hostile force as long as they fight on the Roman chosen battle ground the open field.

In the early years of the Empire the Roman war machine was the one and only solution for diplomacy. Peace could be gained only through complete submission to Roman authorities any resistance was quickly thwarted. For the early Emperors Rome was boundless. The stationing of military forces in the first century A.D showed only, that Rome was always ready for the next big push onward. Armies near Cologne and Mainz ready to attack Germany, or if needed intervene in Gaul. On the East three legions concentrated on Antioch. In other corners of the Empire internal threats were more dangerous than external dangers, provinces like Spain, Dalmatia, Judea and Egypt where under constant watch by Roman Legionaries ready to suppress any revolt or riot³⁰¹. Still the armies were prepared to advance forward if the order is passed.

The fast expansion of the Roman Republic was mainly the work of individual generals who with the Republic's blessing expanded its borders by conquering new territories and subduing local populaces. Those individuals sought only to gain military glory through triumphs and ovations, and of course to fill their purses with loot, loot they can spend on their future political career³⁰². If conquest was made only for economic and political gains of an

³⁰¹ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 8.

³⁰² Ibidem, p. 9.

individual who will possibly care for the defense of a conquered land? The Roman strategy of finding and eliminating the main hostile army in an open field of battle to force the enemy to sue for peace worked wonders thus the defense of land was unimportant.

Things changed during the time of the Emperors. Still individual generals and governors could expand the boundaries of the Roman Empire, but they would require the Emperor's trust and authorization to forward their plan. Why? Because if an Emperor wants to remain in control he needs to control his own governors and generals. Conducting an advance on more than one front at a time would require trustworthy generals and of course there is always a chance that the Emperor would bring the advance to a premature halt. This happened in 9 A.D. after Varus lost three Roman legions during his campaign in Germany. Emperor Augustus advised his successor Tiberius to keep the empire within its limits and stop any further conquests. For the next 30 years there was no expansion.

In 42 AD. a new Emperor began his reign. It was Claudius, Caligula's uncle made Emperor elevated to the position of Emperor by soldiers loyal to his dynasty. His rule was insecure and he needed something to consolidate his newly acquired position as Emperor. In 42 A.D he faced an rebellion thwarted only thanks to his growing support from the military. Stopping a rebellion was not enough proof to secure his rule thus he needed a real Triumph and the easiest place to get one was in Britain³⁰³. Defeating the dominant tribe in southern England the Catuvellauni, led by Cunobelinus and Caratacus was of little importance. The crossing of the Ocean (La Manche) was more important because it was a feat comparable only to Caesar's achievements³⁰⁴. The conquest of Britain slowly expanded from the south-east England to the north and west, but was not a straightforward process. Gaius Suetonius a Roman biographer and historian of the late first/early second century A.D. wrote in his work "Life of Vespasian" a review of Vespasian's military career in Britain. Thanks to that account we know that the later Emperor Vespasian was commander of the Legio II Augusta during the Claudian conquest and campaigned in the south-west England, fighting "thirty battles, subjugating two warlike tribes and capturing more than twenty towns"³⁰⁵. Another historian Tacitus tells us that Ostorius Scapula who was governor from A.D. 47-51 established a series of forts to hold the country between the Trent and the Severn.

After many victories the pace of conquest slows down as Claudius loses interest in

³⁰³ Jones (2012), p. 14.

³⁰⁴ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 12.

³⁰⁵ Jones (2012), p. 14.

warfare. He orders the Roman army to halt any campaigns and fall back. Domitius Corbulo one of the most successful generals in his time was ordered to retreat across the Rhine. After the withdrawal he commented on the greater fortune of those who had been generals under the Republic. Now only the Emperor could initiate expansions.

Nero's reign(54 A.D.-68A.D.)marked a change of tempo once again. He encouraged the advance on the eastern and western fronts and after successful campaigns he appointed new governors in the conquered areas to handle regional affairs and to continue the advance. Yet in time Nero completely lost his interest in the military or provincial affairs. He devoted himself to music, athletics and art thus the affairs of the state began to be less and less important. During that time a revolt started in Britain lead by Boudicca a widowed wife of Prasutagus. Roman army led by Gaius Suetonius Paulinus was able to stop Boudicca but in the aftermath other revolts and riots followed. On the east the Roman army clashed with Parthia on an campaign to secure Armenia. This offensive was led by Corbulo³⁰⁶. In 66 AD. the Jews in Jerusalem revolted against governor Floris beginning the Jewish revolt. The advance ordered by Nero had to stop to give Roman Army time to quell all revolts and restore peace in the Empire before any new decision could be made.

Nero's death in June 68 A.D. left the Empire without an successor, because all possible candidates related in some way to the emperor or his family have already been killed by Nero's insanity. A new emperor must be chosen but how? New qualifications were required to seize as much power as needed and gain sufficient support³⁰⁷. In 68 A.D. the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis Galba marched with his newly formed legion straight to Rome, encountering no resistance he seized Imperial power for himself. A new secret was revealed "an emperor could be created elsewhere than at Rome" as wrote Tacitus forty years later³⁰⁸. After Galba's coup three other ambitious governors and officers became Emperor through the approval of the military

Otho, Galba's chief lieutenant - after ordering the assassination of Galba Vitellius - marched to Rome and after defeating Otho in the battle of Cremona became Emperor.

On 1 July 69 A.D. Vespasian was acclaimed Emperor in the east part of the Empire. After one year in autumn of 70 A.D. the new Emperor entered his own capital. Soon his son Titus joined him in Rome to celebrate a triumph over foreign enemies, since Titus had

³⁰⁶ Goodman (1997), p. 56.

³⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 58.

³⁰⁸ Ibidem, p. 59.

completed the subjugation of Judea with the capture of Jerusalem in August 70 A.D.. The Flavian dynasty has begun³⁰⁹.

Emperor Vespasian's rule had a significant impact on the western and eastern frontier. During his military career he served on both fronts in the west at the beginning of his career and at the east before he became Emperor so he had the required experience to solve many problems connected with both military fronts. In the west he appointed new governors Pettilius Cerealis and after him Gnaeus Julius Agricola both were his faithful adherents and great generals both have had served in Britain before they became governors³¹⁰. In the east the policy of client states and kingdoms was abandoned. All friendly states were absorbed by the Roman Empire thus creating new provinces and new possible dangers. The conquered city of Jerusalem was stationed by the X legion Fretensis to lower a possible chance for a second revolt. Caesarea Maritima involved in helping Titus in his war effort against the Jews during the First Jewish War, was rewarded with the status of a Colony and became the capitol of the province. Again conquest and victory was possible, because of the Emperor's personal interest in the subject.

Still we don't have something we could call a frontier on either military front. In the east the armies were garrisoning cities to keep the local populace under Roman rule and to stop any kind of resistance. On the west the army constructed few forts on their new stop the Forth-Clyde isthmus, a great place for a frontier defense, because it's the shortest line and the country beyond gets more difficult to invade³¹¹. But still there is no sign of stopping, there is no plan of putting up any defense and holding the conquest, still armies can march forward and the constructed forts (west) and the garrisoned cities (east) can function as forward bases.

During the reign of Domitian the first stopping signs begin to show. His defeat on the Danube stopped the advance in Britain, the rebellion on the Rhine compromised the recovery on the Danube and in Germany the advance simply stopped and after some time the stop lines became frontiers³¹². Although Domitian reign only showed the stop signs it was during the rule of Trajan the warrior-emperor and his successor Hadrian that everything changed on the west and on the east.

In 98 A.D. after the death of Nerva, Marcus Ulpius Trajanus ascended the imperial throne. His rule was a "golden age" in the Roman history, in the words of authors like Pliny or

³⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 63.

³¹⁰ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 13.

³¹¹ Ibidem, p.15.

³¹² Ibidem, p.17.

Tacitus who wrote in the time of Trajan and his successors³¹³. He was a very popular Emperor and was highly successful in winning and keeping the affection of Romans and provincial alike. He was an military and administrative talent that left behind many monuments and public buildings.

During his reign the military fronts changed with the advance on the east and the withdraw on the west. He invaded Dacia in 101 A.D. and after 5 years he ultimately conquered Dacia and turned it into a Roman province under a governor of consular rank³¹⁴. After Dacia's subjugation he moved further east seizing the Nabatean kingdom in 106 A.D. The new province Arabia Petraea was established and Damascus was added to Syria. In 114 A.D. a possibility to incorporate Armenia to the Empire showed up, because of Parthia's succession problems. After Armenia's conquest the Emperor attacked Parthia through Mesopotamia. He was successful in turning Mesopotamia into a province and then also adding Assyria. His further advance was stopped by rebellions taking place behind his lines. His eastern policy stripped other fronts from its Legions making them less secure and more prone to attack.

Trajan's rule was based on aggression as he was the Emperor, he gave the order to advance, he led his armies thus all glory was his, but only on the eastern front the other fronts stood still with no particular idea if they are going to move anywhere, any soon. Even the advance on the east came to a halt, after the momentum stopped. The German front stood still for a long time. So naturally patrol groups and routines were supplemented with observation posts and towers. The army size was reducing every year. The chance to go on an offensive along with it.

The west front in Britain after Agricola's³¹⁵ conquest stopped at the Forth-Clyde isthmus but even this conquest was abandoned and the front line was moved to the Tyne-Solway line. The withdraw was commenced during Trajan's rule and reduced the overall soldier count in Britain. Maybe more soldiers were required for his Dacian and Parthian campaigns, so he took some from "peaceful" Britain. A second possibility is that the western front needed a better defense not only from external threats but also from internal and the withdrawal could better fit in the imperial plans(the Stanegate system³¹⁶). The east front was however stretched too far to

³¹³ Goodman (1997), p. 68.

³¹⁴ Hazel (2001), p.309.

³¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 3.

³¹⁶ The simplest explanation of the Stanegate System goes as follows: A series of Watchtowers constructed along a road to control and police movement of people in and out. It was constructed on the Tyne-Solway with the western end at Carlisle and east at Corbridge. More information Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 20-27.

provide any reasonable defense position to secure all of Trajan's gains. The Emperor died in August 117 A.D. in Cilicia leaving the east security problem and also the security of the entire Empire to his successor Hadrian.

Hadrian's Wall

During Hadrian's rule no advance order will be issued. The new Emperor sought no glory in war and conquest. His main concern was only to secure the Empire from internal and external threats. He toured the frontiers and cities leaving great architectural projects as a remainder of Rome's glory and power. He decided to abandon some of Trajan's conquests and stabilize the frontier by exploiting natural features such as rivers and filling the gaps with fortifications³¹⁷. In Britain this idea gave birth to the Hadrian Wall, in the east, because of the vast plain and desert most legionary camps were erected in major cities or near existing roads and defense systems (for example the old Nabataean defensive line).

Hadrian came to Britain in 122 A.D. during his tour of the frontiers from Germany. Here the Roman Armies were in withdrawal from the year 87 A.D. that makes around 30 years of experience in demoralizing events like sporadic defeats, or serving as a vegetating garrison through a lifetime of a soldier's career. The Emperor's visit served not only as a morale booster but also brought an idea. To preserve peace in Britain and to stop this withdrawal Hadrian decided to fortify the frontier in a similar way like the German frontiers. The new idea of constructing a defensive line was not only a strategic tool but also involved morale boosting effects, because now Roman soldiers could participate in an initiative involving something more than garrison duty. The project began with Aulus Platorius Nepos who became governor in Britain during the years 122-127 A.D.³¹⁸ and continued under his successor Trebius Germanus.

The new frontier defense was a stone wall 10 Roman feet (3m) broad, with a forward ditch separated by a berm about twenty Roman feet (5.9 m) wide³¹⁹. It began at the River Tyne in what is now central Newcastle to the River Irthing at Willowford today it's called the "Broad Wall". Every Roman mile a small fort was located now called a "milecastle" it was attached to the south side of the Wall. Access to a milecastle led by a gate located in the south wall, or

³¹⁷ Bedoyere (2010), p. 12.

³¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 13.

³¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 13.

from the north through a gate in the Wall itself³²⁰. Between two pairs of milecastles two small towers or “turrets”, were placed at approximately 1/3 mile intervals. From Willowford, this system continued westwards in turf to Bowness-on-Solway, and included turf milescastles and stone turrets. The total length was 80 Roman miles which is 118 km.

Inscriptions on the Wall show that three legions were responsible for the Wall construction II Augusta, VI Victrix and XX Valeria Victrix. Each legion constructed its own part of the fortification that was not only a practical use of manpower but also created a rivalry and a sense of competition which could fasten the building process³²¹. Excavated milecastles rarely show any trace of accommodation for more than a dozen soldiers, even if we take the turrets into the account this allows only for a very small wall garrison of around 1000-1500 troops. If that was the main design of the Wall it was never completed in this way, because after the beginning of construction major changes had been implemented³²².

In the years of 123-124 A.D. some parts of the Wall were still not finished built only to couple of courses in height other sections were still at foundation level, or in some cases not even laid out. A new decision was made to continue the construction on a narrower gauge. The new design known as the “Narrow Wall” measured 8 Roman feet wide with some variations having less than 7 feet (2.1m)³²³. The narrowing of the wall clearly saved time, manpower and stone but those unfinished structures designed for the Broad Wall now must fit the Narrow wall accounting for the unusual and rather ugly, spectacle of conjoining stretches of broad and narrow wall³²⁴.

The narrowing of the Wall was crucial to construct new forts along it. The new fort locations were from east to west: Wallsend, Newcastle, Benwell, Rudchester, Haltonchesters, Chesters, Housesteads, Greatchesters, Birdoswald, Castlesteads (this was exceptionally not attached to the Wall), Stanwix, Burgh and Sands, Drumburgh, and Bowness-on-Solway³²⁵. The fort at Carrawburgh located between Chesters and Housesteads, was added later. Inscriptions bearing Aulus Platorius Nepos name were found at some forts, what is more interesting the name of his successor Trebius Germanus was not found, which suggest that the building of the

³²⁰ Ibidem, p. 13.

³²¹ Ibidem, p. 14.

³²² Ibidem, p. 14.

³²³ Ibidem, p. 16.

³²⁴ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 70.

³²⁵ Bedoyere (2010), p. 16.

Wall system ended or was suspended before 126 AD³²⁶.

Some forts are named thanks to the altars found on the site or next to it, like the fort from Birdoswald an altar to Silvanus found there named the Venatores Banniess “The Hunters of Banna”. Some forts are named after the well-known document *Notitia Dignitatum* that listed military commands across the Empire, including those along the Wall “per lineam vali”. The document also included units and bases of those units.

After the change of plan during the construction of the Wall some stretches of the newly build Wall had to be demolished in order to place a fort, sometimes a newly constructed turret or milecastle had to be razed. Wasteful as it was it manifests proof that the original plan was completely different. It seems that after the construct order was issued the forts were not in the main plan, or that they were not included as a part of the Wall³²⁷.

In the end the new forts were constructed on the Wall every seven to eight Roman miles (10 to 12km). Each fort was built to either project partly to the north or up against the Wall to the south and was manned by an Auxiliary unit. When the construction of forts began the Vallum was also introduced. The Vallum a flat-bottomed ditch, 20 Roman feet (5.9 m) wide and 20 feet deep, was flanked by 10 feet high (3 m) and 20 feet wide mounds 30 feet (8.9m) away on either side. It created a 120 foot (35m) wide system of earthworks. The Vallum ran south of the Wall in post Roman times in was mistaken for the frontier and called a Vallum which means rampart or wall. The Vallum was always constructed 120 Roman feet (35 m) behind the Wall, but this varies considerably. Together with the Wall, the Vallum demarcated a “military zone” or “corridor”. Crossing through the Wall was possible near the forts where the Vallum was used to funnel trans-Wall traffic into a channel where policing was easier³²⁸.

The Vallum usually diverts round forts. It was thus dug with full knowledge of where the fort construction will commence. It was built together with the fort or right after construction finished. So the Vallum was located on the south of Benwell and even at Castlesteads the fort that is detached completely from the Wall includes the Vallum. Underneath the fort of Carrawburgh the remains of the Vallum were located. It was probably added later to fill the long gap between Chesters and Housesteads. No new stretch of Vallum under Carrawburgh was found. Probably when the fort was finished the digging of a new stretch was not required or not

³²⁶ Ibidem, p. 16.

³²⁷ Ibidem, p. 17.

³²⁸ Ibidem, p. 17.

so vital. On the Antonine Wall system constructed in South Scotland the entire Vallum idea was omitted. The Stanegate fort of Carvoran further west between Great Chesters and Birdoswald, was apparently rebuilt in stone to safeguard a river valley. The Vallum diverts to its north showing that the fort was not incorporated into the Wall system but because like Castlesteads the fort was already there so it had to be skirted³²⁹.

In time the turf wall was replaced by a stone wall which showed that the Roman military is here to stay. During Hadrian's reign the Turf Wall near Birdoswald was rebuilt in stone. The newly constructed milecastles were bigger and improvements like regular drains were introduced. At the mentioned Birdoswald the new stone Wall was built on a slightly different alignment to meet the fort's north wall thus placing the fort on the south of the Wall (like any other fort along the Wall)³³⁰.

The Turf Wall (first on the Hadrian's Wall before the decision to replace it with a Stone one) was made of cut turfs, sometimes laid on a cobbled base 20 Roman feet wide (5.9 m) and sometimes laid directly on the subsoil. The original height and finish is unknown but just like the Stone Wall in order to be effective the height of the Turf Wall had to reach 10 Roman feet (3 m) and support a palisade. Using turf constructions was common in the Roman military because the technique is fast and durable.

The details of all changes made to the Hadrian's Wall are unknown also the length of time involved. The Wall was probably in constant repair and renovation thanks to local problems like weather, pillage and other unforeseen difficulties. Some parts of the Wall must have looked like a building site with some sections finished and some still under constant modifications. The Wall was also abandoned and reoccupied a couple of times during its existence.

The wall structures that together created the frontier consist of the curtain, towers and milecastles, forts. The curtain wall was constructed from turf as mentioned above and then replaced with a Stone wall. From Irthing to the west local limestone was used for the first 11 km the rest was constructed from local red sandstone. All stones came from local quarries located near the Wall and traces of many still can be seen³³¹. Building started with stone foundation on which two or three courses of facing blocks were set in place on either side with

³²⁹ Ibidem, p. 18.

³³⁰ Ibidem, p. 18.

³³¹ Ibidem, p. 19.

a lime-based mortar. The gap was then filled with rubble and “puddled clay”, a clay or clay and sand preparation mixed with water and lime which dries to a watertight state³³². Then another two or three layers of facing stones were laid, the gap filled as before and so on³³³. The first century BC architect Vitruvius describes this kind of construction method as prone to shorter life than one built of dressed stone throughout and only used by constructors when they are in a hurry³³⁴. This explains the massive rebuild effort along the curtain in the early third century. To help solve the water ponding problem, drains were built into the structure.

The original height of the Wall still remains an open question. No part stands to its original height today or has it done in recorded post-Roman times. Different numbers were provided by different scholars or travelers. However it is possible to determine the height of the curtain by comparison. At Willowford, the Hadrianic bridge over Irthing was prepared on Broad Wall measurements.

The wing wall here was built up to it. Restoring the angle of the wing-wall step (which can be distinguished because the Wall was finished in Narrow form here) back up to the bridge suggests a height of around 3,5 m - 4m for the Broad Wall³³⁵. Of course the Wall was not maintaining the same height throughout its length because different factors like a change of design or abandonment of construction could influence the height of the wall for example the Narrow Wall could have been lower than the Broad wall³³⁶.

Other interesting topic concerning the curtain wall asks a question was there a parapet or a walkway on the Wall. Answering this question may prove very difficult because there is no source archeological or historical that could give a one sided answer. From time to time scattered capstones or crenellations are spotted but usually near milecastles or turrets and that suggest that parapets were more likely to be located on those milecastles and turrets rather than the Wall. But of course that is hardly the proof.

Two artefacts the Rudge Cup and the Amiens skillet bear the only images of the Wall from antiquity. The vessels depict vertical structures with crenellations. The wall shown in between has no crenellations. It is thus probably showing the turrets, milecastle north gates, or the north gates of forts named on the cup. There is no evidence that the author and creator of

³³² Ibidem, p. 19.

³³³ Ibidem, p. 19.

³³⁴ Vitr., II, 8:7,8.

³³⁵ Bedoyere (2010), p. 20.

³³⁶ Ibidem, p. 20.

the cup has ever been near the Wall at all, also those artefacts were never found on or near the Wall. The question of the walkaway and parapet still remains open and difficult because there are good arguments to either negate or confirm the existence of those features for example the bridges at Chesters and Willowford were wide enough to carry roads and were psychological continuations of the Wall. Maybe the parapets and walkways were planned but never executed or they were located only at certain points³³⁷.

Milecastles and turrets were an inherent part of the Wall fortification system. Milecastles were attached to the south face of the Wall and equipped with sheltered accommodation. Each enclosed an area of only around 250-300 square meters and were nothing more than fortified double gateways through the wall. It is possible thanks to inscriptions, gate styles and ground plan analysis to distinguish each milecastle builder. So the II Augusta is associated with massive masonry gates and ground plans where the east-west axis is greater than the north-south one. The north and south gates may have had towers, though their form is hard to reconstruct. There is not enough evidence to determine if all milecastles were equipped with a barracks building. The garrison size of a typical milecastle could reach a minimum of twelve soldiers, but in some cases more than thirty soldiers were accommodated. The surviving part of flight steps at Poltross Burn suggests, if extended at the same angle, that its rampart walkway was 15 feet (4,5 m) from the ground. The remains of the north gate at other milecastle numbered 37 is consistent with this. Those evidences confirm only that a rampart and walkway was located on the milecastles alone not on the Wall itself³³⁸.

Turrets were even simpler, and were not equipped with gates through the Wall. They had probably two floors with the upper one reachable only by ladder or wooden stairs. They may also have had external platforms on the upper level. Normally turrets were part of the Wall system, that's why the pre-Wall turrets were also incorporated to the Wall which was diverted to meet them while later additions were just tacked on to the curtain(for example Peel Gap between Housteads and Greatchesters)³³⁹. There is no conclusive evidence for the roofing of either milecastle gates or turrets. Some fragments of window-glass reported from couple of milecastles or turrets indicate that they were roofed somehow. Roof slates with nail holes have been found in various milecastles, but the tower at Peel Gap produced a capstone that means it had crenellations. The idea of flat roofs in Britain is not entirely easy to accept. Flat roofs require

³³⁷ Ibidem, p. 21.

³³⁸ Ibidem, p. 22.

³³⁹ Ibidem, p. 22.

more structural maintenance in such exposed places.

The evidence from Trajan's column shows that timber superstructures of gates might be flat roofed, but also shows many free standing buildings with pitch roofs. Perhaps both were employed on the Wall simultaneously and at different times³⁴⁰.

The forts incorporated into the Wall system either straddle the Wall or sit immediately behind it with a single exception of Castlesteads, which lies between the Wall and Vallum. The forts size vary from 2 acres (0,8 ha) at Drumburgh to 9,3 acres (3,7 ha) at Stanwix. The average is around 5 acres (2 ha). A projecting fort had three twin-portalled gates to the north of the Wall and one to the south, supplemented by a pair of single-portalled gates. A fort to the rear of the Wall had four twin-portalled gates. Depending on the state of the Wall in the location, where it was built, a fort's ramparts either were, or were not bonded with the curtain³⁴¹. Each fort accommodated a headquarters building, a house for the commanding officer, granaries, stables (if required of course), barracks and other facilities like hospital, oven and latrines. Because of constant repair and rebuild forts are far more complex archaeologically but that makes them more interesting.

The Hadrian's Wall was a fulfillment of a new Roman policy to guard its frontier borders to secure peace and the long lifespan of the Empire. As said Hadrian visited Britain soon after policing the German frontier. There he ordered the Wall to be constructed. In the years 129-130 A.D. the Emperor undertook his journey to supervise the east provinces and their defenses³⁴². Before we come to Hadrian's visit to the east we need to recall the history of the eastern provinces in more detail.

History of the Limes Arabicus

Before Diocletian's ascension to the purple in 284 A.D. the creation of the eastern defense system was similar to other Roman defense systems in the times of the Principate. As was said earlier the Roman expansion during the times of the Republic was done by individuals seeking glory and a chance to boost their careers in politics. For them conquest and advance was more important than the defense of gained territory. Some Emperors placed more interest in defending those gains but others continued to seek glory in an offensive war. The frontiers were never planned for strict defense purposes and holding of massive armies. Their main role

³⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 23.

³⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 23.

³⁴² Holum (1997), p. 50.

was to keep a track on the people that come and go through the Roman borders and to supply armies and soldiers during their duties. After some time they transformed to pure defensive positions. Before that however other ideas ruled in the east.

The east frontier during Augustan times was protected by a smart client state policy. The exterior threat was minimalized as much as possible only the Parthian kingdom was able to defy Roman power but that possibility was fixed with diplomacy. Only the interior threats remained, and those were treated by keeping a Roman garrison in a city for police duties. The client state policy slowly absorbed the Roman client kingdoms into the Empire. The reign of Emperor Vespasian has hastened this process and all client states were absorbed in the name of increasing Roman security. Only the Nabataean kingdom remained until 106 A.D. when it was annexed to the Empire by Emperor Trajan. The client kingdom policy was never fully abandoned but its use was minimized. Now the eastern frontier required a new form of defense to secure itself from exterior threats. The annexation of the Nabataean kingdom however was only a prelude to Trajan's new conquest, conquest that was aimed to solve the Parthian problem once and for all³⁴³.

The territory of the annexed Nabatean Kingdom became the new provincia Arabia including Sinai, Negev, Hisma, Edom, Moab, the southern Decapolis, the Hauran and northern Hejaz³⁴⁴.

Provincial Arabia although now a part of the Roman empire was not secured with a limes fortification line, because it was not necessary. The Roman army had to main objectives in the provincial Arabia: one to secure the caravan routes and two control the movement of Nomadic tribes. Those routes were secured by using old Nabataean posts along the main route from Meda in Salih. Control of the Nomads was accomplished by maintaining a Roman sponsorship³⁴⁵. We must distinguish a difference between Roman political boundaries and the military frontier, a good example comes from mentioned Hadrian's Wall which was a 2nd century military frontier but the political boundary clearly reached southern Scotland³⁴⁶.

The general agreement is that the annexation of 106 A.D. was a peaceful one and did not involve hostilities between the Roman Empire and the Nabataeans. Many historical evidence and sources confirm this statement, yet it still remains a debatable subject.

³⁴³ Parker (1986), p. 124.

³⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 124.

³⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 125.

³⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 125.

Archaeological evidence consist of coin legends ARABIA ADQVISITA not CAPTA, and milestone inscriptions from the via nova Traiana “redacta in formam provinciae Arabiae”. Also the absence of Arabicus as the one of Trajan’s titles seems a good evidence³⁴⁷.

Bostra served as the provincial capital of Arabia. Located in a rich agricultural region of Hauran it served as the capital of the last Nabataean Kings the choice for a provincial capital was obvious, also because of the close proximity to the cities of the highly urbanized southern Decapolis. The suggestions placing Petra as the province capitol were rejected based on those arguments.

The new province first garrison was formed from three different forces from Syria, Egypt and Palestine. The remaining Nabataean troops were incorporated into the Roman Army as cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum. They were quickly scattered throughout the eastern provinces reinforcing other garrisons. This also removed any chance of revolt from the new province.

The first Roman legion garrisoning in Arabia was the III Cyrenaica. It came here after the annexation in 106 A.D. from Egypt. In 117 was moved back to Egypt to quell the Jewish-Greek riots that began in Alexandria and spread across most of the eastern provinces. During the legions absence the VI Ferrata took its place moving from Syria. After the riots calmed down in 119 A.D. III Cyrenaica returned back to Arabia. The III Cyrenaica was complemented with a number of auxiliary units that could reach a total of ten alae and cohorts. The Arabian army in the 2nd century may have been around 10,000 soldiers.³⁴⁸

Until today we don’t have a clear idea how the frontier looked like in the 2nd century because we lack historical sources confined only to milestones³⁴⁹. To make things more interesting archaeological research provides us with many useful data that created, a couple of interesting theories which divided many scholars. The eastern frontier debate is still ongoing with many questions unanswered, one of them being: was there any military frontier at all? Was it organized by a central command or maybe it was just an improvisation? Or the word “Limes” translated to mean an organized military frontier is only an misinterpretation?

³⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 125.

³⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 125.

³⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 125.

The Limes Arabicus

As mentioned above the 2nd century is very poorly documented on the east and the archaeological evidence provides little information. Excavations in the Transjordan area were confined only to the problematic legionary base at Udruh. Udruh was dated to the 106 A.D. but its remains resemble closely another legionary base and El-lejjun which was constructed in the 300 A.D. so the dating of Udruh could be wrongly stated. Most of the data collected so far comes from surface surveys which gives interpretation problems of their own. The sources become more abundant in the Severan era.³⁵⁰

We can assume that the Nabataean defensive network was some kind of inspiration for the Roman defensive system³⁵¹. Similar security and economic concerns were faced by both Nabataeans and Romans in Arabia, especially in a region where settlements and routes were dictated largely by water sources. Pottery fragments found during the surface surveys show a continuous occupation from the 1st century to the 2nd and beyond. One simple conclusion that comes to mind is the reoccupation of the Nabataean fortifications by Roman soldiers after the withdrawal of the Nabataean Army.

We must remember however that there is yet no concrete evidence that support this process. Again surface surveys show that not all Nabataean sites were occupied by Roman soldiers right after the annexation. A second possibility assumes that the Romans constructed forts of their own that together with the reoccupied Nabataean posts formed the initial Arabian Frontier system. The fort at Udruh could prove sufficient evidence if dated correctly³⁵².

To understand a frontier system of a province we first need to understand its road system. Because any frontier system is built around a road system that requires protection and policing. The simplest way of protecting roads is building watch towers along it to supervise the road and nearby territory. In this situation the Romans merely followed the lines of communication established by the Nabataeans. Some shifts may be noticed. During the years 106 -114 A.D. the via nova Traiana was constructed along the province Arabia. Its design was primarily military and served as a highway for the movement of troops and supplies across the province. The vast majority of known Roman fortifications in Transjordan are located either adjacent to the via nova or within 20 or 30 km east of the road. By the 4th century the via nova

³⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 125.

³⁵¹ In counter Gichon (1967), p. 182-183.

³⁵² Parker (1986), p. 125.

formed the rear boundary of a broad fortified zone in the northern and central sector of the frontier. But in the Hisma it served as an actual fortified line³⁵³.

During the Trajanic era construction began on some secondary roads. In 112 A.D. a road linking two Decapolis cities of Gerasa and Pella was constructed. The same road linked Arabia with Palestine via Scythopolis (Beth-shean) and was a logical route eastward for Legio VI Ferrata stationing at Caparconta (Legio). Some milestones suggest activity on the so called “outer road” between Amman and Qastal. This road was supposed to reach Udruh from its beginning at Amman. There is no evidence that a paved road continued along the desert fringe or that it was used by Romans. Yet it required no special improvements and could be used by the Roman troops or commercial traffic.

There are no 2nd century Arabian military building inscriptions. This is a major obstacle. In the south along the via nova Traiana north of Aila archaeological survey recovered pottery shards from the late 1st or early 2nd century in Nabataean posts of el-Kithara and el-Quweira. Between them a road station of Khirbet el-Khalde is located. This station was clearly reoccupied after the annexation. The troublesome fact is that the date of those three forts Kithara, Quweira, Khalde is not known. Quweira and Khalde are quadriburgia and that’s a late Roman construction type, Kithara on the other hand included projecting towers which also date late³⁵⁴. Graf’s survey of this region suggested an idea that only those Nabataean watchtowers that were directly adjacent to the via nova Traiana were garrisoned by the Romans. Because only then the towers were a part of a linear defensive line. On the north of the Hisma is Humayma. The large fort located there is of uncertain date but if it was built early as the 2nd century it could have easily housed a full auxiliary unit.

To the north of the Hisma is the Edomite plateau. The most important discovery here linked with the Roman defensive line is the mentioned Udruh fortress. Udruh’s massive enclosure wall is dated to the 2nd century based on pottery finds excavated from its foundations. The large size of the fort (4,7 ha) suggest it was occupied by an auxiliary unit that requires more room, such as an ala miliaria. Udruh’s role was to protect the metropolis of Petra and its surroundings. Da’janiya located 28km north-east of Petra on the “outer road”, is also large enough to accommodate a full auxiliary unit (1 ha). Surface pottery dates the fort to the late 1st century, early 2nd century and thanks to the absence of Nabataean pottery we can assume it was

³⁵³ Ibidem, p. 126.

³⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 126.

founded after the annexation in the 106 A.D.³⁵⁵. But again the plan seems of late Roman so the answer remains unclear. On the south of the Wadi al-Hasa on the via nova Traiana is a small road fort of Rujm Faridiyyeh (Faradeeyh).

Surface survey at Faradeeyh discovered both Nabataean and late Roman pottery shards. The plan of the fort consist of rooms built against the enclosure wall and lacks projecting towers characteristic of Tetrarchic forts. But alas we don't quite know if it represents a Nabataean fort reused by the Romans or a Roman foundation. The location of the fort adjacent to the via nova Traiana again suggest the construction in the same time as the road or after its completion³⁵⁶.

Other Edom posts and towers where apparently reoccupied by the Romans. Pottery finds from surface surveys confirm that the Iron Age and Nabataean watchtowers from Ras en-Naqb to the Wadi al-Hasa were reoccupied. Some towers yielded both Roman and Nabataean pottery. The problem is that the Roman pottery was mainly of late time and that creates an occupation gap between the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries. The reason for this is not known. Maybe those sites were abandoned or the ceramic samples located there were limited. The other castella of this region Ail and Khirbet el-Qirana produced pottery dating from the Nabataean to the Byzantine periods thus making the dating uncertain. The plans however, suggest a Roman date³⁵⁷.

The central and northern sectors of the frontier in the 2nd century remain uncertain. In Moab east of the Dead Sea, the two key sites of Muhattet el-Haj guarded the crossing of the Wadi Mujib and monitored traffic moving along the via nova Traiana. Both were reoccupied after the annexation. Again forts are undated but the planning appears to be Roman. Other reoccupied fortifications include er-Rama, Qasr ez-Za'faran, and Qasr Saliya, all were Iron Age/Nabataean watchtowers. Surveys in this region since 1976 show that certain other towers were occupied and incorporated into the frontier system but unlike the southern sector, few forts can still be dated to the 2nd early 3rd centuries. The overall picture of the central and northern sector shows a relatively light defense force garrisoned in towers and local towns³⁵⁸.

The frontier to the north during the 2nd century is also a little unknown. The backbone of defense here was the III Cyrenaica Legion stationing in Bostra. Her detachments were deployed throughout the province. Their soldiers are attested as far south as Meda in Salih in

³⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 126.

³⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 126.

³⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 127.

³⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 127.

the Hejaz. Near an ancient copper mine in the southern Sinai an inscription was located referring to the III Cyrenaica. An epitaph of a centurion of the III Cyrenaica was found at Mampsis in the northern Negev. Other locations like Wadi Sirhan, Nemara, Qasr el-Uweinid, Jawf. All those locations suggest that the legion III Cyrenaica was scattered all across the province. Still some of those locations may point to a soldier of the legion not necessary an entire detachment³⁵⁹.

Two forts near the Azraq Oasis were occupied during the 2nd century. The first one Qasr el-Hallabat the second one Qasr el-Aseikhin. Both were placed on the hills overlooking the northwestern outlet of the Wadi Sirhan. Pottery recovered in el-Hallabat dates the fort to the 2nd century. An inscription found there also mentions of an “old castellum” and its being dated to the 213 A.D.

The “old castellum” has been identified in a larger existing enclosure and it measured 17,5 meters square. Aseikhin has also been dated to the 2nd century based on pottery finds and it was 23 square meters. Those two posts are tiny even by Arabian standards, and could only contain small detachments. Two small forts make sense only if they are a part of a big scheme so the Azraq Oasis should also be garrisoned in the 2nd century. There is a possibility that a “playing-card” plan fort was located in the Azraq Oasis but that is only a speculation based on an aerial photograph³⁶⁰.

Important research was also done by Mordechai Gichon who focused the Limes Palaestinae. Gichon’s Limes is a defensive line or zone concentrated more on the defense of Palestine in Roman times based on the defenses that originate from the times of the Jewish kingdom.

The eastern frontier was concentrated on the new *via nova Traiana*. Fortifications were either constructed next to this road or on its east side. Still because of Trajan’s expansion policy there main role was to provide supply for the marching and invading army. On the south however where Arab tribes began to be a problem the frontier forts and watch-towers had to fulfill a different role of policing the locals and observing the movement on the borders of the empire. In 117 A.D. Hadrian ascended the imperial purple and began his policy of strengthening the empires frontiers.

³⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 127.

³⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 127.

During his tour of the eastern provinces Hadrian spent the winter of 129/30 A.D. in Arabia at Gerasa. The main reason why he stopped in Gerasa for so long is the supervision of local defenses of the city and region. First of Gerasa was linked by road with Adraa, and Bostra. The city was also connected with Philadelphia and the work on the new Arabian highway the *Via Nova Traiana* was not yet completed. Hadrian decided to transfer a second legion from Syria to Palestine. The VI Ferrata was based in Caparcotna (Legio) in the Jezreel Valley where a suitable fortress was constructed³⁶¹. This new legion in Palestine had two roles to secure the province in case of a revolt and to provide additional strategic support for the Arabian Frontier.

The Jewish revolt of 132-135 A.D. the Bar Kokhba War as all scholars agree was a serious affair and a threat to the stability of the region. The revolt escalated in to a 3 year war that depleted much of Roman military resources. There is also a possibility that the XXII Legio Deiotariana was lost during the conflict. As being stated by Gichon during the revolt the southern Palestinian frontier suffered severe casualties and was forced to abandon their forts to avoid annihilation³⁶². Despite the seriousness of the uprising there is no evidence that it has in any way spread into Transjordan, or affected the ability to control Nomadic movement³⁶³.

The Arabian frontier during the Antonine era remains poorly attested in historical sources. This is somewhat surprising considering the wealth of 2nd century epigraphic evidence from both Arabia and the Empire generally. Although the sources remain quiet about the Arabian frontier they do tell us that the urban centers of the Decapolis and Hauran did flourish in this time. Also many new Roman sites appear in the Moab, Edom and the Negev. The conclusion is simple the frontier was essentially secure and stable allowing peaceful prosperity of the Provincia Arabia. A major trade route for luxury traffic from Hejaz and the Red Sea to Damascus passed through the province. The trade route benefits allowed some cities to employ major development programs oriented around public works. The cities worth mentioning here are Gerasa, Philadelphia, Esbus, Pella, Petra, Bostra and a relatively small town of Umm el-Jimal³⁶⁴.

In 161 A.D. with the ascension of Marcus Aurelius a new war broke out in the east a war with Parthia. The beginning of the conflict was not to fruitful for the Roman army. First the Cappadocian governor was defeated and then the Syrian. Many milestone evidence from

³⁶¹ Ibidem, p. 128.

³⁶² Gichon, Applebaum (1967), p. 48.

³⁶³ Parker (1986), p. 128.

³⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 128.

this period suggest a major work on the road systems. A number of 18 milestones dated to the year of 161-164 have been found in Arabia, but even more in Palestine. The mentioned work on the road systems included the repair of the *Via nova Traiana* between Philadelphia and Bostra, and of key routes linking the legionary bases of Palestine with northern Arabia that includes the route leading from Legio (VI Ferrata) across the Jordan via Scythopolis, Pella, and Gerasa, also the route connecting that base of the X Fretensis (Jerusalem- Aelia) with the *Via nova Traiana* via Jericho and Esbus. The milestone evidence suggest that those routes were repaired to “facilitate the movement of the Palestinian legions to Syria³⁶⁵. The fort of ed-Dumer east of Damascus were an inscription of 162 A.D. was found mentioning “*cohors I Flavia equitata*” could guard the main route of march for the legionary forces drawn from Palestinian and Arabian armies³⁶⁶.

The 2nd century still leaves us with little to any evidence about the character of the relations between Rome and the Arab tribes. The Ruwwafa inscriptions from the Hejaz remain only evidence to confirm that close ties were maintained between Rome and the Thamudic tribal confederation. The elders of this confederation apparently met at the temple dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus between 166 and 169 under the supervision of the governor of Arabia³⁶⁷. Although the Ruwwafa text remain the earliest documented instance of such Roman diplomatic activity, such diplomatic contacts probably began earlier. There are evidence that Roman auxilia operated in the Hejaz during the 2nd century, probably escorting caravans. Diplomatic relations should be maintained to secure the caravan traffic. Still there is no clear proof that major nomadic invasions were a problem, the question here is do we lack primary sources to solve this problem or maybe the frontier life was lived in harmony without interference.

The cycle of seasonal migrations characteristic for this region goes as follow: Winter brings the rains thanks to it the desert blooms. The nomads based on husbandry could graze their herds in the desert leaving the farmers to cultivate their crops on the west. When the winter ends and summer comes the desert dries out. With the new season the Nomads begin their journey west to find new water sources and places to pasture their herds. They find it on the lands of the farmers that was recently harvested. The Nomads animal in return for their food fertilize the fields for the farmers. Both peoples can also benefit from trade and gain resources

³⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 128.

³⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 128.

³⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 128.

they need from each other. This cycle works only when there is a strong government to police the frontier. The lack of security can tempt the Nomads to raid and pillage the lands of the farmers. The Roman frontier role was more to police the population to avoid violent solutions not to stop the Nomads from entirely crossing the border.

The large number of watchtowers and patrols kept a good eye on the frontier mainly near the *via nova Traiana*. These watchtower could quickly alarm other larger forts in case of hostile movement, so in response they could deploy a force capable of dealing with the enemy threat in the open field, because still the Roman tactics were more offensive than defensive, even the forts of the frontier were more supply bases than real fortification able to withstand a major siege. In some way this system of “movement control” was born in England on the Stanegate system where forts were located in a 20 km interval and the gaps were filled with towers and patrols³⁶⁸. The Stanegate was also modeled after a slightly earlier system in Upper Germany³⁶⁹.

The Severan period saw a renewed Roman conquest maybe in order to setup new frontiers in new and more strategic positions. The eastern conquest reached northwestern Mesopotamia. The new created province of Mesopotamia was garrisoned by two new legions the I and III Parthicae and was designed to serve as a bulwark against Parthia. Those bold actions were accomplished because of the Emperor's Septimus Severus military reforms that increased the size, pay and privileges of the army³⁷⁰.

The 2nd century of the Severan dynasty is much better documented in comparison to its earlier stages. This allows us to receive a better view of the Roman military activity on the Arabian frontier. Our historical evidence includes inscriptions found on military installations and milestones, and some literary references. The province itself got larger thanks to the addition of Bostra located on the north.

A considerable amount of evidence for military activity points in the direction of the northwestern outlet of the Wadi Sirhan. At Qasr el-Uweinid located 17km southwest of Azraq two building inscriptions were uncovered indicating a castellum with an associated bath constructed there between 200-202 constructed probably by a vexillation of III Cyrenaica³⁷¹. On the northeast of Azraq we have Qasr el-Aseikhin which was dated also to the Severan period

³⁶⁸ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 20-27.

³⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 26.

³⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 130.

³⁷¹ Parker (1986), p. 130; Parker, Dermott (1978), pp. 61-66.

by pottery analysis³⁷². On the east of Bostra in Nemara a building inscription was also found dating the site to Severan times. As for Azraq itself the pottery finds there are inconclusive, but the outlines of an earlier “playing-card” type enclosure were located thanks to an earlier aerial photograph of the site³⁷³. North of Azraq along the road toward Deir el-Kahf several milestones from Severan times were located by David Kennedy³⁷⁴. This comes to a conclusion that a line of fortifications from the northeast to the southwest controlled the route from the Arabian peninsula into Syria.

Moving northwest from Azraq some 50km and 15km east from the *via nova Traiana* we find the castellum of Qasr el-Hallabat. An inscription found there dates the *castellum novum* to the 213 A.D. by soldiers from four cohortes³⁷⁵. This “new” fort apparently replaced the “old” one of the 2nd century as the pottery and architecture of the site suggest. North of Qasr el-Hallabat at Inat in the southern Hauran an inscription was found dated to the 201 A.D. This inscription was proved to be a funerary memorial of a certain Guththa son of Erminarius. The father is described as a commander of the tribal troops stationed at Motha. This town was located 5km northeast of Inat and was latter a base of an elite cavalry vexillation the equites scutarii Illyriciani. The inscription is an outstanding evidence of Goths employed as Roman soldiers on the eastern frontier³⁷⁶.

The above suggest that during Severan times the northern sector of the frontier was strengthen, especially the northwestern outlet of the Wadi Sirhan. Military activity was not only concentrated on the north part of the frontier but also on the south. In the central sector of the Dead Sea many Nabataean watchtowers located on the east side of the *via nova Traiana* remained in use. An iron age tower of Rujm el-Malfuf was one of the re occupied towers with pottery finds dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries³⁷⁷. Fortifications and watch posts constructed on the Trajanic road or near it were still in use, one of them the Jurf-ed-Darawish could be constructed during the Severan period (based on little pottery findings it remains only a suggestion). An inscription dated to the 201-209 found at Dhiban in Moab suggest a location of a fort on the *via nova Traiana* that was a military colony during Severan times³⁷⁸. Some sites like Humayma, Quweira, Khalde, and Kithara located south of Ras en-Naqb along the *via nova Traiana*

³⁷² Parker (1986), p. 130.

³⁷³ Kennedy (1980), pp. 879-885.

³⁷⁴ Parker (1986), p. 130.

³⁷⁵ Speidel (1984), p. 248.

³⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 712-716.

³⁷⁷ Parker (1986), p. 130.

³⁷⁸ Graf (1978), pp. 1-27, p. 13.

continue to be occupied. The date of those forts are however problematic because it's based only on pottery finds³⁷⁹.

More information needed to specify the situation on the Arabian frontier during the Severan period can be found on milestones. In comparison there is more milestones dated to the period in question than to any other comparable³⁸⁰. The information from the milestones picture a gigantic road repair along the entire length of the *via nova Traiana* and other important branches of the Arabian road system like the road linking Pella-Gerasa-Philadelphía or from Gerasa to Bostra. The mentioned roads have one thing in common they could be used by Palestinian Legions to advance into Arabia.

So what was the main reason for this military buildup on the eastern frontier? Advance. As said military tactics and strategy in the times of the Principate were almost only offensive and even the frontier defenses were more suitable for attack as supply bases than for defense (siege resistance). The eastern frontier was being prepared to wage war against the Parthians and in 194 the Emperor Septimius launched two campaigns against them. The first victory over Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria and his former rival to the throne came fast. In the next years Septimius pushed far into Mesopotamia defeating several Parthian client states that aided Pescennius Niger. In 197 after his recent victories he prepared to attack Parthia. In the aftermath of the war the northwestern portion of Mesopotamia was annexed as a province. Milestones from the years 197-200 found in Syria, Arabia and Palestine are important during the conquest of Mesopotamia.

During the rest of the Severan period two more Roman campaigns reached Mesopotamia. The first one ordered by Caracalla ended with his assassination in the 217, the second one by Severus Alexander in 232 faced a new enemy on the east the Sassanid Empire.

The frontier system together with its road system did an admirable job during the eastern campaigns against Parthia and later the Sassanid Empire. Still another threat remained, threat that forced the Romans to reinforce the northwestern outlet of Wadi Sirhan, to secure the sedentary population, and the caravan trade. This threat was posed by local Nomadic tribes seeking either water during drought seasons or pillage if a possibility shows. The idea to reinforce the Wadi Sirhan could be an effect of a constant nomadic threat trying to push into southern Syria and the Hauran from the Arabian peninsula. In the late 2nd early 3rd centuries the

³⁷⁹ Parker (1986), p. 130.

³⁸⁰ For more information see: Thomsen (1917), pp. 1-130.

Azraq depression was refortified and new road works commenced in order to meet the Nomadic threat with a group of forts centered around Azraq oasis. This strategic advance into the desert compared only to a similar situation in Africa was in order to protect both the highly urbanized cities of the Decapolis and also the southern flank of the Hauran.

The central and southern sectors of the frontier defense lack yet evidence to assess how the Severan policy affected those sectors. Of course the systematic repair of the *via nova Traiana* was in order, and also the occupation of the forts located on the southern Palestine to control the movement and incursions of Sinai tribes. The forts along the Petra-Gaza road in Negev also remained occupied. The X Legion *Fretensis* stationed in Jerusalem served as a reserve for the central and southern sectors of the frontier being able to deploy were aid is needed.

The next half century between the death of Severus Alexander and the assumption of power by Diocletian is again one of those times when we suffer a serious lack in historical sources. It is also a crucial time for the Arabian frontier, because it underwent an important test before the 7th century.

Before the assassination of Gordian III in 244 the situation on the frontier remained peaceful the roads of the *via nova Traiana* remained to be maintained. The new emperor Philip the Arab rebuilt his hometown of Shahba located north of Bostra and also renamed it after himself Philippopolis. Two units of the mobile army remained at Bostra during the reign of Philip Legio I *Parthica* and *ala nova firma cataphractaria Philipiana*³⁸¹. According to Speidel these units accompanied Gordian III during his Persian campaign and then after the war moved to Bostra. The *ala nova Firma cataphractaria Philipiana* could left Bostra very quickly together with the Emperor to escort him to his home town before he returned to Rome³⁸². Furthermore the *ala nova Firma cataphractaria Philipiana* is the earliest attested instance of a mailed cavalry in Arabia. Until the 250 A.D. the defenses of Arabia worked normally the maintenance of roads and some military constructions continued.

In time however a new threat began to rise on the east. The Sassanid Persia with more centralized government, a national religion based on Zoroastrianism, and a professional army with more sophisticated and effective siege weaponry and capabilities was an increasing danger more threatening than the Parthians ever where. The Persian invasions began in 250 A.D. The city

³⁸¹ Parker (1986), p. 132.

³⁸² Speidel (1984), p. 246-247.

of Antioch was captured and sacked twice, the fortress of Dura-Europos destroyed, even Emperor Valerian himself was captured in 259 outside Edessa. The year 260 presented a destroyed and overwhelmed eastern frontier. The Roman Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia where now in Persian hands, the armies of the east where defeated and the Emperor became a Persian captive³⁸³.

With the eastern frontier in turmoil the Arabian tribes were free to run rampant through the defeated frontier. Something had to be done to secure the borders and stop the Nomads. The only thing available was the transfer of some forces from one place to another and rebuilding of forts or the construction of new ones. An inscription from Zarqa (according to Speidel) presents that Roman troops were moved from Palestine to Arabia in order to secure the province. Those soldiers were forced to construct a fortress from scratch and have done so probably in the years 253-259³⁸⁴. More epigraphic evidence from Adraa in the Hauran show that fortification were constructed between 259-275.

The Roman situation stabilized a little during the reign of Gallienus, because in 262 Persian forces were expelled from the eastern provinces by an unforeseen force which was the client state of Palmyra. The leader of Palmyra was Odenthus who showed great military talent leading his soldiers to many victories over the Sassanid Persia. He received the title of *dux* from Emperor Gallienus in 262. The victorious leader was assassinated in 267/268 and was replaced by his wife Zenobia who served as a regent for her son Vaballathus. Zenobia's rule was marked by increasing independence from Roman authorities. Gallienus forced to act dispatched an army to Palmyra to stop Zenobia's rising ambitions. The Roman army was defeated and by the 269 Palmyra controlled all of Syria, Cappadocia, Palestine, Egypt and north Arabia.

Now what happened to the eastern Army and its defenses? The Arabian army would not be absorbed by Palmyra without a fight and so inscriptions from a temple to Jupiter Hammon, the tutelary god of the legion in Bostra reports that the temple was destroyed by the Palmyrenian enemies but rebuild with a silver statue and iron doors³⁸⁵. This confirms that Bostra was captured by Palmyrene forces and that they destroyed the temple of Jupiter located in the city. Legio III *Cyrenaica* functioned after the Palmyrene conquest and even campaigned against Palmyra during the Roman counterattack. Some auxillia troops also survived like the *ala*

³⁸³ Parker (1986), p. 132.

³⁸⁴ Speidel (1984), p. 267.

³⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 265.

(*Cohors*) *VI Hispanorum* and *cohors I Augusta*³⁸⁶.

The full impact of the Palmyrenian conquest on the army and frontier is not quite known to us. As said above some units survived the invasion, some were destroyed and some forced to join the Palmyrenian army.

In 273 A.D. Aurelian led Roman soldiers against Palmyra and in two battles one at Antioch and second at Emesa he defeated the armies of Palmyra³⁸⁷. Now the rebuild of the frontier and also the eastern provincial armies had begun. He transferred *cohors III Alpinorum* and *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, from the Balkans to replenish garrisons in the east³⁸⁸. Aurelian could also add four units of *equites Illyriciani* to the Arabian army. Those elite cavalry units came east together with Aurelian for the Palmyrene campaign and were possibly left behind to replenish the lacking garrisons here. A second possibility remains that those units were transferred east by Diocletian during his military reorganization³⁸⁹.

The frontier was able to recover quickly from the shocks of the 3rd century, thanks to Aurelians reinforcements from the west and Diocletians reorganization of the military and rebuild of the entire frontier. In 298 Mesopotamia returned to Roman rule together with new territory east of the Tigris. With firm control established over the client state of Armenia (located north of Mesopotamia) Roman power in the east marked its apogee. To secure new territory Diocletian constructed series of forts, and refortified Circesium an important fortress at the junction of Khabur and the Euphrates.

New defense systems were needed to safeguard central and southern Syria from Persian or Arabic raids. A defense in depth was constructed based on the *strata Diocletiana*. The new road was constructed basically along the edge of the desert. *Castella* were erected on the road that served as watch-posts manned by *Alae* or *Cohors*. Behind this *strata* mobile units of *equites* were stationed in towns and other strategic points forming a broad fortified zone up to 70km in depth³⁹⁰.

The nomadic threat remained a main issue farther south in Arabia because of a process that was called “bedouinization” of the region. The process was possible, because of two major

³⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 266.

³⁸⁷ Roth (2009), p. 228.

³⁸⁸ Parker (1986), p. 132.

³⁸⁹ Ibidem, p. 133.

³⁹⁰ Ibidem, p. 135.

factors that took place in the 3rd century first off the caravan trade declined because of reduced traffic along the roads, second the policy of client states was again halted which resulted in the decline of security on the trade roads³⁹¹. Facing the situation some desert tribes shifted from commerce to brigandage. Those new warlike tribes were not only enemies of the Romans but also enemies of their own, fighting wars for power and dominance over others. A shift in terminology is also present during the 3rd century from now on the Arab tribes are called *Saraceni* (Saracens). Ammianus Marcelus (23.6.13) indicates this change “*Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit*”. The origin of the term *Saraceni* was hotly debated by Graf and Shahid³⁹².

The military buildup along the Arabian frontier was probably aimed to stop the increasing number of brigandine Saracens. Of course we also need to remember that Diocletian’s policy was to strengthen all imperial frontiers although he was the Emperor on the east so the Arabian Frontier was his personal responsibility³⁹³. New administration was introduced in 295 by partitioning the old province of Arabia. A new province called *Palaestina Salutaris* was created by combining the region south of Wadi al-Hasa with Sinai and Negev. The capital of this new province was localized in Petra. The region north of Wadi al-Hasa became the new province of Arabia. A new governor rank was also introduced one called the *praeses* who possessed civil power and two military ranks called *Dux* which possessed considerable military power at their disposal.

New fortifications were constructed as a part of the military buildup. In the north Bostra remained the capital of the new Diocletianic province of Arabia, and the base of operations for the III legio Cyrenaica. In the Hauran near the northwestern outlet of the Wadi Sirhan, new *castella* were constructed at Deir el-Kahf in 306 and at the important oasis of Azraq between 293-306. The *castella* at Hallabat, Aseikhin, Uweinid were still occupied under Diocletian’s rule. Central sector of the eastern frontier received a new legionary fortress in Lejjun (ancient Betthorus) stationed by a new legion the *legio IV Martia*³⁹⁴. Parkers excavations at the el-Lejjun fortress confirmed the tetrarchic date of the construction based on surface pottery, architectural plan, and a large number of coins found on the site. The el-Lejjun fortress was constructed probably around 290-300³⁹⁵. *Auxiliary castella* were also constructed. The *castellum* of Qasr

³⁹¹ Graf (1978), p. 15.

³⁹² Graf (1978), p. 14-15. Also Shahid (1984), p. 123-141.

³⁹³ Parker (1986), p.135.

³⁹⁴ For the creation of this legion and details see: Speidel (1984), p.241., Graf (1978), p.19.

³⁹⁵ Parker (1986), p. 173.

Bshir was excavated and dated to the 306. Other *castella* were built in Khirbet ez-Zona, Qasr eth-Thuraiya, and Khirbet el-Fityan. The twin forts of Muhattet el-Haj, which guarded the crossing of Wadi Mujib appear to be Late Roman in plan and also could belong to the tetrarchic era.

The southern sector of the Arabian frontier is less known to us because of the sparse number of inscriptions and a complete lack of excavations. The most known site here is the fortress at Udruh. The fortress itself is nearly identical in size and plan with the legionary fortress of el-Lejjun. The stationing legion was also proposed as the VI Ferrata moved to Udruh nearly at the same time as legio X Fretensis was moved to Aqaba to strengthen the southern region of the frontier³⁹⁶. The fort was dated to the times of Trajan but now the date remains a question³⁹⁷. The southern end of the frontier was guarded by legio X Fretensis stationed at Aila (modern Aqaba). The legion was transferred from Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) to Aila by Diocletian but it is also possible that Aurelian transferred X Fretensis after the Palmyran conquest to try to revive the old trade routes³⁹⁸. The appearance of earlier mentioned IV Martia at el-Lejjun could also be done during Aurelian's attempt to reinforce the east. Other forts on the southern sector located on the Hisma such as Khalde and Quweira which are *quadriburgia* in plan may have been rebuilt during this era. Still we lack evidence to give a solid answer about the Hisma forts³⁹⁹.

The new province of *Palaestina* was unique to other provinces, because it stationed only one legion and twice as much cohorts than any other province. The key to understanding this situation may be linked to the legio VI Ferrata, known to have been based in Palestine in the 3rd century, still its name is absent from the *Notitia Dignitatum* as one of the eastern Principate legions. The VI Ferrata could be transferred to Udruh during Diocletian's reign, along with IV Martia to Lejjun and X Fretensis to Aila. During the 4th century the VI Ferrata must have been destroyed or disbanded to account for the miss in the *Notitia*. The loss of a legion could also explain why there are more cohorts in Palestine than anywhere else in the empire.

A secondary line of defense in *Palaestina Salutaris* was the southern frontier of Judea now called *The Limes Palaestinae*. The roles of this line of defense was simple prevent Nomadic threats and serve as a primary line if the Transjordan defense falls. It stretched from

³⁹⁶ Speidel (1979), pp. 171-172.

³⁹⁷ Kennedy (2000), p. 170.

³⁹⁸ Graf (1978), p. 19.

³⁹⁹ Parker (1986), p. 142.

Raphia to the southern end of the Dead Sea.

The Arabian frontier defense if we accept the transfer of VI Ferrata to Uduh could look like this:

Four legions of Palestine and Arabia stationed at intervals about 100-150 km along the frontier. Three legionary bases of Bostra, Uduh, Aila were located on the *via nova Trajana* the fourth was in Lejjun east of this road. Support units stationed in watch-posts, castella, and small towns between the legionary bases. The secondary zone was enriched with new forts and the reoccupation of the old ones. The castellum at Mezad Tamar was rebuilt as a *quadriburgia* 38 square meters which is a standard type and measurement for the forts of the Diocletianic era located on the Limes Arabicus⁴⁰⁰.

The 4th and 5th century for both frontiers was a time of rebuilding and reoccupation. The British frontier concentrated on the Hadrian's Wall was reinforced with new troops to battle new exterior threats, because for some reasons brigandine was not a problem in that time. The eastern frontier strengthen by Diocletian was further fortified thanks to the economic richness of the Byzantine era.

The decline of both frontiers shows in the 5th century when the Roman Empire faces many threats from in and beyond the borders. Withdrawal of soldiers connected with civil wars or other campaigns weakened the frontier defense systems. On the east the revival of the client state policy further neglected the use of a frontier system. By the end of the 5th century Roman Britain was no more and Hadrian's Wall became a silent relic of Roman former power. The east frontier system was also forgotten and long abandoned. When the armies of Islam crossed the Roman border there was no resistance from the Limes Arabicus.

The Roman Army in the provinces of the east

This sub-chapter will concentrate on the Roman army in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Because this is not a comprehensive study on the Roman Army in the East there may be some shortages in the data provided. Much has been done in this field through the last years. Archaeologists, historians and linguist how done their share part in the development of our knowledge of the eastern Army. Even if the stage is still divided between different scholars postulating different theories, still they all concern the eastern frontier and help us understand the specific and complicated processes that shaped the Roman army on the east.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibidem, p. 143.

This sub-chapter will try to include most of the interesting debates concerning the eastern frontier as a whole and also specific sections of the border zone and if present specific sites.

Two most important (in the authors opinion) ideas developed concerning the Roman eastern frontier are the “Grand Strategy” idea presented by Edward Luttwak⁴⁰¹ which saw external threats as the most important to the stability and longevity of the Roman Empire, and the Benjamin Isaac’s counter-idea that saw internal threat as the most important⁴⁰². Each theory concentrates on a different part of the problem forgetting that probably both problems could be linked with each other. Because this chapter will mainly concentrate on the location of specific units of the Roman army on the eastern frontiers of the empire it will not try to “pick a side” in the ongoing debate but only present those mentioned specific locations in the context of both ideas.

Both ideas also received much support from other scholars, either picking the “Grand Strategy” idea⁴⁰³ or the internal unrest idea⁴⁰⁴. Some scholars basing their ideas on those theories created their own unique theories that they fiercely propagate in their scholarly work⁴⁰⁵. Those ideas also have their counter theories⁴⁰⁶ and supporters⁴⁰⁷.

To keep this chapter clear and organized we will divide the topic into two different groups chronological and territorial. The timeframe that interests us will begin with the arrival of Pompeii in the near east in the year of 63 B.C. It is the year of a major change in the Roman army on the eastern frontiers and end with the year of 284 A.D. which is the year when Diocletian began his reconstruction of the eastern defense and with it he moved the X Fretensis to Aila on the shore of the Red Sea. The territorial division will include territory of modern countries located on the eastern parts of the Roman Empire from north to south: Southern Georgia, eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, western Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan.

The main point of this chapter is to present the units of the Roman Army that stationed on the eastern frontier of the empire and pinpoint their garrisons locations. Archaeological sites identified as Roman forts or castella will be also included and described, even if the garrison unit was hard to identify. Some history of the units or sites will be also mentioned and if couple

⁴⁰¹ Luttwak (1976).

⁴⁰² Isaac (1990).

⁴⁰³ Example’s Ariel Lewin, Thomas Parker.

⁴⁰⁴ Example David Graf.

⁴⁰⁵ Mordechai Gichon and his Limes Palaestinae.

⁴⁰⁶ Magnes (1999), pp. 189-206.

⁴⁰⁷ Yigal Israel.

of different theories concerning one site or unit will appear they will also be described. By showing the full picture of the Roman Army on the East we will be able to determine the role that the Roman military camp in Jerusalem (later Aelia Capitolina) played in the overall “grand strategy” of the Roman Empire⁴⁰⁸.

The province of Cappadocia

We begin with the territory of the Roman province of Cappadocia in the 1st century A.D. During the 1st century the province of Cappadocia consisted of today's East Anatolian district, a large part of the eastern Black sea region and a small part of the south-western Georgia. This area was introduced to the Roman Empire after series of successful campaigns lead by the Roman leader Pompey (106 B.C- 48 B.C). Although Cappadocia and Pontus did not became a part of the Empire until the time of Tiberius (Cappadocia) and Nero (Pontus) they remained in the Roman sphere of influence as client states. In 18 A.D. Tiberius sent his adoptive son Germanicus to oversee the eastern provinces and supervise the annexation of Cappadocia into the Roman empire. There is a high probability that he brought one or two legions with him⁴⁰⁹ for personal security and that they remained there for some time before being sent somewhere else. For now historical and archaeological sources remain silent concerning the Roman Army in Cappadocia from the time of its annexation in 18 A.D. until the time of its station by the Roman legion XII Fulminata in 70 A.D. Yet we are still capable of recreating the overall defensive system in Cappadocia before it was stationed by a Roman legion. The system was based on three major principles the first one were the client states of the Asia minor that provided security and military help when Rome called, the second was the buffer state of Armenia, and the third were four Roman legions stationing in Syria(more on them later)⁴¹⁰.

Armenian favor (or at least neutrality) towards Rome was required to keep Cappadocia secure without sparing a Roman legion to guard the province. Armenia was crucial not only for Rome but also for the Parthian empire located on the other end of Armenian border. Without Armenia Persia would be forced to attack the Roman empire head on and stop in Syria were four legion kept guard, but with the help from Armenia the Persian armies could bypass Syria and attack Cappadocia were no Roman legions were located. Of course the Syrian legions could

⁴⁰⁸ This concerning that Luttwak „Grand Strategy” theory is true. Yet if we consider both internal and external threats as possible and dangerous the role of the Roman camp in Jerusalem could be more important.

⁴⁰⁹ Keppie (1986), pp. 411-429, p. 413.

⁴¹⁰ Luttwak (1976), p. 105.

be sent to help Cappadocia but if the Parthian attack comes as a surprise for the Romans, reinforcements from Syria could arrive too late⁴¹¹.

To keep the situation favorable for the Roman empire Armenia's loyalties need to be controlled. In the year 55 A.D. the Parthian ruler Vologaeses I had dethroned Radamistus from the Armenian's throne and presented it as a gift to his brother, Tiridates. This situation provided dangerous for the security of Cappadocia and forced Emperor Nero to action. In the year 55 A.D. Corbulo the greatest of the Neronian generals was appointed legate of Cappadocia and after gathering a sufficient force engaged in diplomacy and warfare in Armenia. The conflict lasted from the year 55 A.D. to the year 66 A.D., with one Roman victory in the year 58 A.D. when status quo has been achieved and a second victory in the year 66 A.D., that saw the crowing of Tiridates as the ruler of Armenia. Although Tiridates was the brother of the Parthian ruler he was crowned in Rome and this created a condominium which was more beneficial to the Romans then stationing new legions in Cappadocia⁴¹².

The next principle of defense was focused around the client kingdoms of Asia minor. As mentioned earlier client states were vital to the Roman foreign policy and were an important part of the Roman defensive system in the times of the Principate. They supplied any Roman army units present in their territory and also provided border security and defended against hostile aggression. During a massive invasion on the Roman empire client states were the ones responsible for the deflection of the first blow, and then slowing down the enemy, until Roman reinforcements arrive. This relationship possessed mutual benefits for the Roman empire and the client kingdom, although the Empire received more than it gave ,client kingdom rulers that agreed to those terms were certain that their rule and the rule of their dynasty was guaranteed as long as they remain loyal.

Yet loyalty of client kingdoms was one thing and the caprice of Roman emperors another. In 62 A.D. the Pontus client state King Polemon II of Pontus was forced to abdicate and his kingdom was included into the Roman empire as a part of the Cappadocian province. After the end of the Armenian crisis a civil war began in the Roman empire no decision concerning the security of this new enlarged Cappadocian province could be made until the war

⁴¹¹ Ibidem, p. 105.

⁴¹² Luttwak (1976), p. 105-106; Keppie (1986), p. 415-416.

concludes. For the next four years the province would be defended by the Armenian buffer state and the four legions in Syria⁴¹³.

The Roman civil war known as the year of the four Emperors ended in the year of 69 AD. with Vespasian as its victor and new Emperor of Rome. His victory also marked the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the beginning of the new Flavian dynasty. Vespasian's rule in the east began with a series of annexations of client kingdoms into the empire.

Vespasian's eastern policy of annexation was explained as a policy of centralization and territory grabbing. Some client states survived this process and still existed in the times of Trajan⁴¹⁴, but others like the Syrian or Anatolian client states were made part of the Roman empire. Vespasian also combined three provinces of Galatia, Pontus and Cappadocia into one gigantic Galatian province reaching some 112,000 square miles. This project was quickly abandoned by Trajan who decided to break the province into two separate ones Galatia and Cappadocia.

The enlargement of the Cappadocian province by Vespasian became a major security problem for the Empire interests in the east. Four legions stationing in Syria were formerly responsible also for the Cappadocian province, but now after the enlargement of the Cappadocian and also Syrian provinces four legions, became a force too small to handle their new tasks. New legions were brought to Cappadocia and stationed there by Vespasian.

Legions of Cappadocia

The first Roman legion brought to Cappadocia was probably the XII Legion Fulminata stationed in Melitene located at the central route between Armenia and Cappadocia⁴¹⁵. The presence of the second legion in Cappadocia is still uncertain so the presentation of all ideas concerning it is required.

In 71/72 A.D. legion XVI Flavia was transferred to the Cappadocian province and took station in Satala located in the new annexed lesser Armenia. Yet there was not enough evidence to confirm this statement and that is why some scholars advocated caution in accepting this idea. There is also an inscription found in nearby Antioch dated to the 75 A.D. that was probably a milestone that records building activities done by four legions and 20 auxiliary cohorts. The

⁴¹³ The third principle of the Cappadocian defense system will be discussed in the Syrian part of the chapter.

⁴¹⁴ To name a few Alabani, Iberi and Colchi. Luttwak also states that the client states that survived Vespasian's and Trajan's annexations were not like the Old ones Luttwak (1976), p. 113.

⁴¹⁵ Issac (1990), p. 36.

Legions are all named III Galica, IV Scythica, VI Ferrata, and XVI Flavia. It seems that the workforce consisted entirely from the four legions of Syria, furthermore the inscription is dated precisely to April-June 75 A.D., so if the XVI Flavia was stationed in Satala by the year 71/72 why is it mentioned together with other Syrian legions? Road building and other construction was not done by the entire legion but by a selected detachment known as “Vexillatio”. So the construction work in 75 A.D. was done by detachments from four legions with the help of Auxiliary forces of Syria. Yet the inscription still shows that our knowledge of the Cappadocian province legions is still limited⁴¹⁶.

Other idea that places XVI Flavia in Satala assumes that, because XVI was a new legion formed by Vespasian and was not accounted for in any other province and since Satala was Cappadocia’s second legionary base in this century, a connection was established between the two. Some archaeological evidence confirms this statement for example a tombstone of a *signifer* of the XVI was found in Satala⁴¹⁷.

During the second century XVI Flavia was replaced in Satala by Legio XV Apollinaris. The XV Legio remained in Satala at least until the end of the 4th century⁴¹⁸. The XVI Flavia however was deployed in Trajan’s Parthian War, and stationed in Samosata by Hadrian after Trajan’s death.

Auxilia of Cappadocia

Auxiliary forces in the province of Cappadocia seem very constant. Our only source here is the work of an Greek Historian, public servant and philosopher Arrian of Nicomedia. A total of 4 *alae* and 15 or 16 cohorts are known from Arrian and inscriptions. Only 4 *alae* and 10 cohorts are mentioned by Arrian. Some additional epigraphical discoveries broaden our knowledge of this topic and help fill out the holes⁴¹⁹.

Cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum

Cohors I Claudia equitata

Cohors II Claudia

Cohors II Hispanorum

⁴¹⁶ Keppie (1986), p. 421; Isaac (1990), p. 36-37.

⁴¹⁷ Speidel (1984), p. 274.

⁴¹⁸ Parker (2000), p. 123.

⁴¹⁹ Isaac (1990), p. 37.; Speidel (1984), p. 282.

Cohors I Lepidiana equitata c.R. and perhaps *cohors millaria equitata c.R.*

Mentioned above cohorts were stationed in Apsaros on the Black Sea, and are also confirmed in a Latin papyrus of Fayyum that mentions cohorts II Claudiana and Apsaros itself⁴²⁰. The entire auxiliary force in Cappadocia counted about 11,500 men, and matched the size of the legionary strength of Cappadocia thus corresponds to Tacitus remark that the legionary and auxiliary forces matched in number⁴²¹.

The Cappadocian province remained a peaceful one and lasted without any significant change until the IV century and the times of the Byzantines.

The Syrian Province

Similarly to Cappadocia, the Roman Syria was introduced to the Roman Empire with Pompey's eastern campaigns in the year 63 B.C. During that time Syria was organized as a taxpaying province. Until the year 18 A.D. the Syrian province hasn't changed much. It included the territories of modern Israel, Lebanon, and only a fraction of modern Syria. Its capital was the city of Antioch founded by one of the Alexander's generals Seleucus I Nicator. The city prospered under the Roman rule that began in 63 B.C. It received many liberties and was favored by many Roman Emperors. Thanks to this support it became the jewel of the Syrian province, its biggest metropolis and its military, cultural and economic capital.

The first change to the province was done in 18 A.D. when as mentioned earlier Germanicus was sent to the eastern provinces to oversee the annexation of Cappadocia and Commagene. Commagene was made a part of the Syrian province, but was once again restored by Caligula in the year 37 or 38 A.D. The new ruler of Commagene was Antiochus IV, a Roman citizen son of Antiochus III former ruler of the kingdom. He supported Vespasian in his bid for power during the year of the four emperors in 69 A.D., but was later accused for treachery and collaboration with the Parthians and ultimately deposed. The eastern client state policy was slowly collapsing until its final cancellation with Trajan and his annexation of all remaining eastern client states. Some survived but they lost their formal client state character as a Roman ally and benefactor of Roman rule, now they were more or less buffer states⁴²².

The year 70 A.D. brought the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and with it a time of turmoil and civil war known as the years of four Emperors. During this time, a new form of

⁴²⁰ Speidel (1984), p. 283.

⁴²¹ Ibidem, p. 283.

⁴²² Luttwak (1976), p. 116.

succession was introduced in Rome, succession by force. Using their Legions four new Emperors acquired power through military power alone. A short yet bloody civil war erupted and Vespasian came as the last one standing, the new Emperor of Rome. Part of this victory goes to the Syrian province and its legions that fought in the civil war as the harbingers of Vespasian's victory.

After the end of the Bar Kochba War in 135 A.D. Hadrian attached the former Judean province into Syria and renamed it Syria-Palaestina. In 193 A.D. Septimius Severus divided Syria into two additional provinces Syria Coele (in the north) and Syria Phoenice (in the south). In this shape Syria lasted until the end of the eastern Roman Empire.

Legions of Syria

There is a probability that two legions were established in Syria during the time of Pompey, after his successful campaign. The evidence considering their location and if they constructed any legionary fort or fortress is lacking and cannot be determined. During the times of the First Principate, the number of Syrian legions was raised from two to four. The probable Roman legions in Syria were III Galica, VI Ferrata and XII Fulminata and X Fretensis⁴²³.

In the year 18 A.D. literary sources locate the Roman camp of the X Legion Fretensis (the winter camp *hiberna*) in Cyrrhus⁴²⁴, located in northern Syria about midway between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean coast. The same location was also presented as the garrison of the VI Ferrata⁴²⁵. The VI Legion Ferrata could also be possibly located in Apamea or Raphanaea⁴²⁶, based on the works of Tacitus. Those locations are not completely decided upon and are still, a matter of debate.

The next years before the arrival of Corbulo are misleading and difficult to precise. According to historical sources the number of Legions stationing in Syria should be fixed at four. One legion (either X Fretensis⁴²⁷ or VI Ferrata⁴²⁸) stationed in Cyrrhus, the second one somewhere near Laodicea, the third one (VI Ferrata) at Apamea, and the fourth one (XII Fulminata) at Raphanaea⁴²⁹. The change in this system supposedly came in the year 40 A.D., when some legions moved closer to the Euphrates. In 66 A.D. Josephus gives us, a clear

⁴²³ Keppie (1986), p. 413.

⁴²⁴ Keppie (1986), p. 413.; Parker (2000), p. 124.

⁴²⁵ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 122.

⁴²⁶ Keppie (1986), p. 413.

⁴²⁷ Parker (2000), p. 124.

⁴²⁸ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 122.

⁴²⁹ Keppie (1986), p. 414.; Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 122.; Parker (2000), p. 124.

description on the position of the X legion Fretensis, as near the Euphrates. This created new interpretations that the X legion Fretensis was moved to Zeugma located near the Euphrates river. Yet archaeological excavations at the site still fail to locate any sign of a Roman military camp, therefore historical sources remain as main evidence, concerning their military presence there⁴³⁰.

During the reign of Caligula in the year 40/41 A.D. a Jewish riot was subdued by the governor of Syria: Petronius. In order to stop the riots Petronius used only a half of his standing army and according to Josephus Flavius, Petronius moved to Jerusalem with two legions⁴³¹. This evidence is used to confirm that the Syrian Garrison in the 40 A.D. remained set at four legions. Numismatic finds from Ptolemais have identified numerals of four legions namely III, VI, X and XII. The coins were dated to the years 52-54 A.D.⁴³².

The situation clears a bit when we reach the last years of Nero's reign and the arrival of Corbulo on the eastern frontier. His orders were to restore Armenia to Roman control or at least neutrality(yet also beneficent for Rome). Legions were moved closer to Armenia, and client kingdoms of the east were instructed to mobilize their forces and provide support to the Romans if needed. The Roman eastern army was prepared to go on an all-out offensive. The Syrian legions were split to give Corbulo two additional legions, and a third one was already en-route from Germany. Those two legions were III Galica and VI Ferrata, the German reinforcement legion was IV Scythica (although apparently it came from Moesia)⁴³³.

The year 60 A.D. saw the appointment of Corbulo as the governor of Syria. This gave him direct control of all five legions now being stationed in Syria. In 62 A.D. Roman influence in Armenia was once again threatened and actions were taken to preserve the status quo. Two legions were sent forth to Armenia to support the local pro-Roman authority there. Those two legions(IV Scythica and XII Fulminata) were then recalled back to Cappadocia where they awaited for their new commander Paetus. Soon they were also joined by the another legion from Moesia the V Macedonica. Three legions the III Galica, VI Ferrata and X Fretensis, were left in Syria by Corbulo. Using only his two legions (IV and XII) Paetus marched eastwards and got quickly surrounded at Rhandaia. Using only detachments from his three Syrian legions Corbulo marched to relieve Paetus. The XV Legion Apollinaris was dispatched from Pannonia

⁴³⁰ Hartman, Speidel (2002), p. 260.

⁴³¹ Keppie (1986), p. 415.

⁴³² Ibidem p. 415.

⁴³³ Ibidem p. 415.

to assist the eastern campaign, after news of Paetus encirclement reached Rome. In the aftermath of the incident Corbulo repositioned the two defeated legions the IV Scythica and XII Fulminata to Syria, and used his original two legions the III Galica and VI Ferrata, with the addition of the XV Apollinaris and V Maceodnica to go on the offensive⁴³⁴.

After the year 70 A.D., changes to the Syrian province were introduced. The three legions of IV Scythica, III Galica and VI Ferrata remained in the province. A new legion was brought to Syria the XVI Flavia. Although as mentioned earlier XVI Flavia was based at Satala, in the Cappadocian province there are ideas that it was garrisoned somewhere in Syria before it was transferred to Satala in 75 A.D.⁴³⁵.

In 72 A.D. the client kingdom of Commagene was annexed and converted into the Syrian province, and its former capitol of Samosata became the home of the Legio III Galica⁴³⁶ or Legio IV Scythica. The establishment of a Roman garrison in Samosata comes not as a surprise, because as a former capitol of a client state, the population there could be prone to rebellion so control over them had to be constituted.

The former home of the X Fretensis Zeugma has also received a new legion after the first Jewish War that resulted in the forced reposition of the X legion to Jerusalem in the province of Judea. Legion III⁴³⁷ or IV⁴³⁸ Scythica replaced Fretensis and remained there until the times of the Diocletian's reforms.

As seen above pinpointing the exact location of every individual legion in the Syrian province can be difficult and troublesome. Another example of this difficulty can be seen in Raphanaea where the XII Fulminata was supposedly have been garrisoned until the 67 A.D., then replaced by VI Ferrata from the year 70 A.D. to the time of Trajan, and then by III Galica until Diocletian⁴³⁹. Many legions are seen at two different places in the same time, and because archaeological and historical evidence are sparse and hard to compare we only can show the state of our knowledge until further confirmation.

The next big change came with the reign of Trajan the warrior-emperor. Trajan decided to incorporate nearly every eastern client state into the Roman Empire, thus ending the era of

⁴³⁴ Ibidem, p. 416.

⁴³⁵ Keppie (1986), p. 421.; Isaac (1990), p. 36-37.; Speidel (1984), p. 274.

⁴³⁶ Keppie (1986), p. 423.

⁴³⁷ Parker (2000), p. 123-124.

⁴³⁸ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 122.; Keppie (1986), p. 423.

⁴³⁹ Parker (2000), p. 124.; Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 122.

the client states as Roman Allies and cooperatives. From now on Roman allies were nothing more than buffer zones, like Armenia without any exceptional need to support Rome or be supported by it⁴⁴⁰. This forced the Romans to defend their new territorial gains with their own army and their own blood. Furthermore Trajan acquired new land on the east thanks to his successful Parthian campaign that resulted in the sack of Ctesiphon. New additions to the empire include Armenia and Mesopotamia. Much of those conquests were then revoked by Trajan's successor Hadrian.

Two new provinces were created Arabia and Mesopotamia and that influenced the disposition of the Roman Army in the Syrian province, because new garrisons were required for the now defenseless provinces. Also Trajan constructed a new trunk road from Bostra to Aqaba called the Via Nova Traiana which in time was also defended by garrisons of Roman soldiers along its length.

The Province of Mesopotamia

The Mesopotamian province was introduced to the Roman Empire in the year 115 A.D., by the warrior-emperor Trajan after his successful Parthian Campaign in the years 114-117 AD. The reason for this campaign was supposedly the breakdown of the Armenian buffer zone. An Arsacid ruler occupied the throne of Armenia without the sanction of Rome. In short Armenia was now more likely to ally with the Parthians, in order to harm the interests of the Roman Empire. Because two legions were in Cappadocia and three in Syria (mentioned above) much was at stake. If Parthians were able to deploy freely in Armenian territory their massed army could be able to strike at two different fronts. One south on Syria and second west on Cappadocia. In either scenario the Roman army would have troubles reinforcing each front and would probably sustain have damage to the frontier even if it came out victorious in the end. To counter any of the scenarios mentioned above Trajan decided to go on the offensive.

The war lasted three years during which Trajan was able to conquer Armenia, much of Mesopotamia, Assyria and even reach the capitol of Parthian rule Ctesiphon. Before Trajan could continue a revolt erupted on his rear and Parthians counter-attacked from the Iranian hinterlands. A massive retreat was ordered and all conquered lands evacuated. Trajan died in 117 A.D. during his travel back to Rome.

⁴⁴⁰ Luttwak (1976), p. 114-115.

Trajan's successor Hadrian followed a completely different path than his adoptive father. He restrained from conquest and focused on consolidating and unifying the Roman Empire. His idea was of an Eternal Rome and he knew that to accomplish this idea he needs to unify the empire and its citizens under the Roman banner. Internal and external threats had to be stopped to restore the long forgotten Pax Romana⁴⁴¹. He returned all eastern military gains accomplished by Trajan and focused on civilian and military reforms required in the Empire.

For some time Mesopotamia remained in Parthian hands until Lucius Verus, the adoptive son of Antonius Pius during his Parthian campaign (161-166) has retaken it for Rome. Although only a small part in comparison to Trajan and not organized into, a province ruled by some local kings and rulers.

Mesopotamia became a legitimate province only after Septimius Severus ascended the imperial throne. During the years 197-198 A.D. Severus finished his Parthian Campaign with the sack of Ctesiphon and organized a new province called Mesopotamia with its capitol in Nisibis. From this time onward the province of Mesopotamia will be the bone of contention between Rome and their Persian neighbors, and a war zone switching allegiances constantly until the time of the Muslim conquest in 633 A.D.

Legions of Mesopotamia

The Mesopotamian legions were most likely to be stationed in the most important cities of the region. Septimius Severus raised three new legions the I Parthica, II Parthica and III Parthica, to aid him in his conquest of Mesopotamia. After the consolidation of Mesopotamia the I Parthica was stationed in Singara, the III Parthica at Nisbis, and the II Parthica was recalled to Albanum where it served as a strategic reserve and police unit. Some epigraphic evidence attest of the presence of the II Parthica in Apamea, between Raphanaea and Antioch, during the early third century. Aerial photographs attest to a camp like formation located on the east side of the city⁴⁴².

Province of Judea

Similarly to the other provinces of the eastern empire Judea was brought to the Roman sphere of influence in the year 63 B.C. after Pompey's arrival in the middle east. The Hasmonean kingdom was in turmoil and ravaged by a civil war between two brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Pompey's intervention in the conflict was forced by Aristobulus who "bribed"

⁴⁴¹ Golan (1986), p. 230.

⁴⁴² Parker (2000), p. 123.; Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 123.

Pompey into helping him during his besiegement in Jerusalem by Hyrcanus. The conflict between two brothers ended with the victory of Hyrcanus who was put in charge of the kingdom as Ethnarch and high Priest, by Pompey. Furthermore he detached Greek coastal and Trans-Jordan cities from Jewish control. The latter were formed into a league called the Decapolis, the ten cities⁴⁴³.

After Pompey's defeat and the ascension of Julius Caesar, Judea was gifted with a port city of Jaffa and remitted tribute in the Sabbatical year. The former ruler of Judea died and was succeeded by Antipater who became the minister of Judea, his two sons Herod and Phasaelus became governors of Jerusalem and Galilee. Antipater was murdered by poison, but his pro-Roman policy and good connections were later used by Herod as means in his rise to power.

In 40 B.C. With the support of the Roman Senate Herod was crowned King of the Jews, but only after three years he gained complete military control of Judea. Herod was a capable Roman client king that promoted the policy of Hellenization by founding Greek cities (like Caesarea and Sebaste-Samaria) and by contributing to the existing ones. His overall pro-Roman and pro-Greek policy made him unpopular with his Jewish subjects. The massive rebuilding of the Jewish Temple located on the Temple Mount did too little to appease his non-Greek subjects. Although not popular among his own he was popular with the Roman authorities and especially the Roman Emperor Augustus who consequently added new territory to Herod's domain. It included several coastal cities, Samaria and territories across Jordan like Batanaea, Trachonitis, Hauran. Through the eyes of a Greek or Roman citizen or foreigner Herod's reign could be seen as a time of prosperity and all around growth for Judea, yet the country was mainly overtaxed and the results of Herod's so called prosperity didn't last long⁴⁴⁴.

After Herod's death in the 4 B.C. his kingdom was divided between his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas and Philip. Only Philip managed to rule to the end of his life in 34 A.D. Archelaus was removed in the year 6 A.D. because of his inability to rule the state correctly, and Antipas was dismissed by Caligula in 39 A.D. With the death and dismissal of all Herod's sons Judea was transformed into a Roman province under a governor from Rome. The province itself included the lands of Judea proper (biblical Judah), Samaria and Idumea (biblical Edom). The Roman province did not include Galilee, Gaulanitis (Golan), Peraea or the Decapolis cities. Its formal status was not of a province but something of a Syrian buffer zone. It remained

⁴⁴³ Gichon, Applebaum (1967), p. 7.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 8.

governed by a Roman prefect until the time of Julius Agrippa who in 38 A.D. received the territory that formerly belonged to Philip, in 39 A.D. the territory of Antipas and finally in 41 A.D. Judea and Samaria. As the King of Jews he ruled only three years from 41 A.D. to 44 A.D., yet his son Agrippa II succeeded him and ruled nearly 42 years from 53 Ad to 95 A.D. Still last two kings were more or less dependent on the Roman procurators located in Judea.

In 66 A.D. a Jewish uprising began in Jerusalem. In order to stop the revolt before it spreads the legate of Syria Cestius Gallus decided to march on Jerusalem with the Syrian Army, based on the XII Legion Fulminata and some auxiliary units. The Roman army marching towards Jerusalem was ambushed and defeated by the Jewish rebels at Beth Horon. The defeat of the Roman Army sparked the fires of the rebellion that engulfed the entire province. The Jewish-Roman war lasted seven years yet it was formerly over after the fall on Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D. The next three years was concentrated on nothing more than mopping up operations that ended in the 73 A.D. with the siege of Masada. In the result of the war Jerusalem was destroyed and was garrisoned by the X legion Fretensis, which in turn changed the status of the province to a praetorian province now administered by a praetorian legate.

For the next nearly 60 years Jerusalem remained, a ruin with the X legion guarding over it. Small Jewish and Christian communities came to Jerusalem and tried to start a new life there. Until the reign of Hadrian and his declaration off a new rebuilt Jerusalem not much has changed in the city. New major changes in the province of Judea came with the third Jewish revolt known as Bar Kochba War. Costly for both sides, the conflict ended with the siege of Betar in 135 A.D. The province of Judea suffered a major blow in the result of the war. The Jewish population of the province was either enslaved and removed from the province, or decided to abandon it long before the Romans came. Region of Galilee and the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean became new centers of Jewish culture and learning. The province itself was now renamed Syria-Palestina and became a consular province with two legions stationing in it⁴⁴⁵.

The Severan period brought an age of development and renewal for the province. City centers of Diospolis, Eleutheropolis and Nicopolis are found flourishing in the end of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries. Regions of Bashan and Hauran also benefited from this positive

⁴⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 11.

economic situation. Until the beginning of the 3rd century crisis⁴⁴⁶ the province of Syria-Palestina was on a rise.

Legions of Judea

The situation with legions in the province of Judea looks a little more complicated, because of the simple lack of considerable literal and archaeological evidence to determine the exact number of Roman legions in the province. The same applies to the auxiliary units of Judea as well. Before the first Jewish uprising there were no Roman legions in the province. The garrison consisted of auxiliary units only and remained so until the revolt. From the times of Herod the Great until the year 70 A.D. six auxiliary units are confirmed as stationed in the Judean province. One unit was the cavalry regiment of the Sebasteni *Ala I Sebastenorum*, the other five cohorts were infantry units. From them one was also a Sebasteni *cohors I Sebastenorum*. *Sebasteni* units were formed by Herod the Great from the recruits populating the city-territory of Samaria-Sebaste. Because of the natural hatred between the Jews and Sebasteni the later were seen as perfect soldiers to use against the revolting Jewish population. The question at hand goes: Did all Judean auxiliary units originate from the city-territory of Samaria-Sebaste? If they did that would perfectly fit with the Josephus report that after Herod's death in the 4 B.C., the best part of his army sided with the Romans and that would be the 3000 Sebasteni formed into one ala and five cohorts⁴⁴⁷.

There is also a possibility that only one ala and one cohort of *Sebasteni* was present in the Judean province, because only those two are confirmed in epigraphic material⁴⁴⁸. Rest of the Auxiliary force could be a Roman invention raised in Palestine or maybe just replenished from Palestine. Still before the year 70 A.D. 6 Auxiliary units were present in the province of Judea.

The first Roman legion stationing in the Judean province was the X legion Fretensis, that remained in Jerusalem after its fall in the year 70 A.D. X Fretensis would be the main legion of the Judean province until its transfer to Aila (Aqaba/Eliath) during the reign of Diocletian.

The second legion of Judea was probably the VI Ferrata that was stationed in Caparcotna (modern Lajjun) near Megiddo, that was later called Legio. The site of the probable camp at

⁴⁴⁶ Debatable, Bar (2002), pp. 43-54.

⁴⁴⁷ Speidel (1992), p. 224, 234.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibidem. p. 234.

Legio was excavated and surveyed by various scholars yet no trace of a legionary camp large enough to house and entire legion was seen⁴⁴⁹. The legions remained stationed in Judea until the time of Diocletian when major changes were done to the eastern frontier.

One major issue concerning the Roman army in the Judean province is the concept of “limes Palaestinae” promoted by the scholar Mordechai Gichon. It’s a chain of fortifications that begins at the vicinity of Gaza and extends to the vicinity of Ein Geddi. The existence of this limes would be an tremendous addition to the regions defenses yet still many scholars don’t agree on its existence.

The Province of Arabia

During the reign of the warrior-emperor Trajan the Roman policy of client states on the eastern frontier has disappeared. Nearly all clients were annexed and those few left were given nothing more than a mere buffer zone status. Included in this movement was the client state of Nabataea which was converted into a Roman province of Arabia.

Similar to the rest of the eastern frontier provinces Arabia was introduced to the Roman world with Pompey’s success in the east in 63 B.C., and was even planned to be attacked by Pompey in the next year but other events were given priority⁴⁵⁰. The Nabataean kingdom was Rome’s biggest competitor in the future province of Arabia. Yet in time it was assimilated into the Roman empire, after years of cooperation as a client state. During that period the Nabataean kingdom several times threatened Roman interests in the region by waging war with Roman allies, and several times assisted Rome and its allies by sending soldiers in time of need. We also need to remember that the Nabataean kingdom was a natural enemy of the Jewish kingdom of Herod the Great and his successors. During their mutual history the Nabataeans always favored actions that would in some way undermine the Jewish Kingdom of Herod, and in the end the Nabataean army assisted the Romans in the quelling of the Jewish uprising.

Before the Nabataean kingdom faced the same fate as the rest of the client states of the east they managed to safely expand their power and influence under the Roman ever watchful eye. The location of their capital of Petra and the distance from Roman main administration centers gave them more autonomy, because Roman armed interventions were not possible⁴⁵¹.

⁴⁴⁹ Tepper (2002), pp. 231-237.

⁴⁵⁰ Kennedy (2000), p. 36.

⁴⁵¹ Petra was the early capitol of the Nabataean kingdom.

The territory of the Nabataean kingdom prior to the annexation began in the north from Hauran in the modern Southern Syria and then moving south through Moab, Edom, Petraea, and the Hisma Desert ending at the Gulf of Aqaba. In the west across the Wadi Araba to the Negev desert and Sinai and south across the eastern side of the Red Sea⁴⁵².

The reasons for the Roman annexation were discussed by many scholars and include the ending of a dynasty, the accusation of the lucrative caravan trade routes, the need of increased security either internal or external or just plain ambitions of the emperor⁴⁵³. The resistance provided by the Nabataeans is also debatable yet most scholars agree that the Roman takeover was peaceful. As said earlier the Nabataean annexation was linked with the Trajanic policy of uniting the former client states under one banner, the death of the last Nabataean ruler Rabbel provided the opportunity for the takeover.

The year 106 A.D. is established as the date of the annexation of the province and the beginning of Roman rule in Arabia. Now finally two most important provinces in the east Egypt and Syria were connected by the Palestinian land bridge, thus providing a broader zone of security. Also the new province provided a great forward base in Trajan's future attempts to conquer Mesopotamia and the lands of the fertile crescent. Additionally the Roman Army could directly control the security of not only the caravan trade routes but also raw resource extraction in the Arabian province.

The new province of Arabia included the lands of Sinai, the Negev, the Hisma, Edom, Moab, the southern portion of the Decapolis and the Hauran. The cities of Decapolis were formerly a part of the Syrian province, but were transferred to Arabia after the annexation. Bostra remained as the capital of the province, because of its location between the rich and populous Hauran and the urbanized Decapolis in the south. Its location in the rich agricultural region of the Hauran, was justified by the Nabataean switch from Nomadism to semi-Nomadism and finally settled agricultural style. Because of this change the former capitol of Petra was abandoned by the latter kings of the Nabataean kingdom⁴⁵⁴.

The first major construction done in the province of Arabia was the building of the *Via Nova Trajana*, that began at Bostra, and then travelled south until its end at Aila (modern Aqaba). The main function of this highway is seen in different ways by different scholars for

⁴⁵² Ibidem. p. 36-37.

⁴⁵³ Parker (1986), p. 123.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 125.

example Isaac sees the road as an link between the southern Syria and the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula⁴⁵⁵. Parker on the other hand saw the Trajanic road as a fortified supply road that linked fortified sites attached to it⁴⁵⁶. Supply and army units were the main benefactors of the road and military defensive structures were built approximately 20 to 30 kilometers to the east of it. Secondary roads were also constructed for example one linking Gerasa with Pella was built in 112 A.D., additionally this route linked Arabia with Palestine via Scythopolis and was used by the Legio VI Ferrata at Caparcotna for eastward movement.

During the 3rd century crisis the province was again and again endangered by new threats appearing on the east. The rise to power of Palmyra, the restoration of the Persian empire by the Sassanid dynasty and the increasing nomadic menace are only but examples of new enemies on the eastern frontier. The situation of the province changed with the reign of the Tetrarchs and mainly the Emperor responsible for the eastern provinces Diocletian, who issued a massive defensive build up in the region to secure the land from external and probably internal threats⁴⁵⁷.

Legions of Arabia

The Roman army brought to the province by Trajan was an army of foreigners not connected with the province. In time however the Roman soldiers stationed here became more and more domesticated with their new home, that they helped to develop by building forts, camps and roads. They began to call themselves the *exercitus Arabicus*, an integral army corps glorified by Trajan and respected even by the prophet Mohammad many centuries later⁴⁵⁸.

First units in the province of Arabia were those Roman units that were responsible for the annexation of the province in the year 106 A.D. Cohortes I Hispanorum and I Thebaeorum were moved from Egypt to Judea in the year 105 A.D. and were supposedly used in the annexation, of the Nabataean kingdom. The problem is that after the annexation both units disappeared not only from the Arabian province but also from Roman record what so ever⁴⁵⁹. Other units located around Arabia before the annexation and then traced inside the province could form the annexation force, Ala Gaetulorum, Cohors I Augusta Thracum, Cohors I Thracum, Cohors III Thracum, Cohors VII Hispanorum⁴⁶⁰.

⁴⁵⁵ Isaac (1990), p. 121.

⁴⁵⁶ Parker (2002), p. 78.

⁴⁵⁷ Parker (1986), p. 135.; Isaac (1990), p. 213-218.

⁴⁵⁸ Speidel (1984), p. 230.

⁴⁵⁹ Kennedy (2000), p. 46.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 46.

Yet after the annexation process was complete all those units were transferred somewhere else because a new strategy was implemented a strategy that fitted the change that included new territory to the Roman eastern empire. Arabia was created as a one legion province where the commander of the Legion became the governor of the province. Similar to other provinces the question of legions stationing here is still open and the probable legions will be presented here.

The Legio III Cyrenaica was supposedly moved from Egypt to Arabia as the first Legion of the province. Evidence for this transfer are letters written in 107 A.D. by Iulius Apollinarius found in Karanis in Egypt. The letter presents the transfer of mentioned Iulius Apollinarius to Bostra as a member of a Roman cohort. His father was Egyptian and probably a member of the III Legion Cyrenaica. The comrades of Iulius Apollinarius salute his father which could mean that they are Egyptian also, so there is big possibility that Iulius and his comrades are Egyptians serving in the III Legion Cyrenaica on his way to Bostra⁴⁶¹. The III Cyrenaica was now the primary legion of the province but after few years it abandoned Arabia and probably assisted Trajan in his Parthian campaign and after that it went back to Egypt to help defeat a Jewish revolt there. The coins of 140-144 A.D. bearing the sign *LEG III CYR* found in Arabia are used to date the final return of the legion into the province. From then onward inscriptions attesting the legions presence in Bostra the capitol of Arabia are becoming plentiful⁴⁶².

A fortress was established in Bostra for the Legio III Cyrenaica. A full sized fortress although the smallest one from the biggest types. It was located on the northern side of the Nabataean town. A rectangle 440x360m qualified as a type of fort built in the 1st-3rd century. Similar to Jerusalem or Dura the camp was encircled by a wall that isolated the military site from the civilian town. Projecting towers from walls were suggested but no large excavations were done on the site to confirm this statement. Despite all surveys no trace of the legion camp was found⁴⁶³.

Legion VI Ferrata is also attested as a garrisoning legion of the province of Araba. According to Dio-Xiphilinus the governor of Syria was attested with the annexation of Arabia. To complete his task Palma used his Syrian legion the VI Ferrata and nearby auxiliary units. The VI Ferrata could have stayed in Arabia after the annexation as the defending legion of the province but, because the III Cyrenaica was on its way to Arabia it is likely that the VI Ferrata

⁴⁶¹ Speidel (1984), p. 235.

⁴⁶² Ibidem. p. 236.

⁴⁶³ Kennedy (2000), p. 218.

returned to Syria. As mentioned above the III Cyrenaica left Arabia for a longer period of time that began with the Parthian campaign of Trajan and probably ended in 144 A.D. During the legion's absence the Syrian legion or its detachments could have defended the province until the return of the III Cyrenaica. It is also possible that auxiliary units alone were enough so no detachments or legions from other provinces were involved. Two inscription one from Bostra and one from Gerasa attest to the presence of the VI Ferrata in those cities, yet both present only individual persons not entire legions or detachments⁴⁶⁴.

Two other legions attested in the Arabian province are Legio I Parthica Philippiana and Legio IV Martia. The first one was a part of emperors Philip retinue during his stay in Arabia after his Persian expedition the second one is more complicated. Located only in the Notitia Dignitatum the Legio IV Martia was seen as created by Galerius based on his special relations with the god of war Mars. If that is the case the legion was created to strengthen the eastern frontier following Diocletian's build up policy⁴⁶⁵. IV Martia was stationed in the Roman fortress of El-Lejjun⁴⁶⁶.

Auxiliary units stationing in the province of Arabia include⁴⁶⁷:

ala Celerum

ala nova firma millaria cataphractaria Philippiana

ala VI Hispanorum

ala dromadariorum

ala Veterana Gaetulorum

cohors V Afrorum Severiana

cohors III Alpinorum equitata

cohors I Augusta Canathenorum equitata

cohors I Hispanorum

cohors VI Hispanorum

cohors I Thebaeorum

cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata

cohors I Thracum millaria

cohors VIII voluntariorum.

⁴⁶⁴ Speidel (1984), p. 240.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibidem. p. 241.

⁴⁶⁶ Parker (2007), p. 351.

⁴⁶⁷ Speidel (1984), p. 242-243.

Not all auxiliary units stationed in the province at the same time probably some were transferred in place of others. The list shows all auxiliary units until the 4th century.

Roman forts on the Western and Eastern Limes lines

Fortifications constructed on all frontiers of the Roman Empire differ in many ways from each other. Depending on the frontier the fort size or plan and used materials can be different. Although we always have to remember that the Roman marching camp, constructed every night by the marching Roman army, was the forefather of many frontier forts and although they changed in time influenced by local tradition the main plan was nearly always the same. Those forts were constructed mainly on the western and northern frontiers of the empire. In the east we approach a slightly different situation.

When the Romans conquered the western provinces their enemies were mainly barbarian tribes. The extensive use of fortifications was unknown to them, until the Romans started to use them on a wider scale (mainly in cities). On the east however the situation was different. People that settled these lands possessed a very long tradition in diplomacy and warfare. They were recognizable kingdoms and city states some of them already had thousands of years of history past them. The Hellenistic tradition and culture flourished here during the time of Alexander the Great and after him the Seleucid kingdoms. Many cities and towns were already walled in. Some of them already used their own frontier defense system⁴⁶⁸. The camp tradition here was only present during war time when the army was on the move. During peace Roman soldiers were stationed mainly in the cities, or reused old defensive systems so the construction of new ones was not necessary. On the other hand however local tradition became a strong factor that influenced Roman constructors. In later times even the constructors change from Roman soldiers to locals that possess their own building tradition. With the construction of the Roman limes systems that tradition became very important in the east and the west and new ideals could be implemented⁴⁶⁹.

The military building tradition can be divided in three groups the Roman tradition, the Hellenistic tradition and the Jewish tradition (Mordechai Gichon). The Hellenistic tradition influenced the Romans since the beginning of the Roman state through many centuries and historical occasions⁴⁷⁰. The true Roman tradition the “playing-card” fort type was in use only on the north and western fronts and its main role was concentrated on offense and supply of the

⁴⁶⁸ Gichon, Applebaum (1967), p. 36.

⁴⁶⁹ Gregory (1995), p. 61.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 41-49.

moving army⁴⁷¹. The Jewish tradition is linked with Mordechai Gichon and his research on the Limes Palaestinae⁴⁷² and can be only located on the eastern frontier.

The Roman expansion came to a halt with Hadrian's decision to secure the Roman frontiers and the Hadrian's Wall was constructed in Britain. Fortification used in the Wall were mainly linked to the Roman tradition of the "playing card" fort and remained in that fashion until the end of Roman Britain. Those forts however were mainly offensive forts not suited for defense or siege. Their main role was to police the movement of civilians through the border and to locate hostile movement and rally a force strong enough to meet the enemy in an open field of battle. A large amount of gates was also implemented to provide an easier way to exit the fort and meet the enemy on the field. Because of that the positioning of the fort was either on flat ground or on a gently sloping hill⁴⁷³. The roads and gates of the forts were derived from the old camp plan. The fort faced the enemy or the east. The front gate called *porta praetoria*, incorporated a road called *via praetoria* which ran to the front of the headquarters building called *principia*. The fort commander lived in the *praetorium*. The *via principalis* ran in front of the *praetorium* at an angle to the *via praetoria* joining the main sides gates, the *porta principalis sinistra* and *porta principalis dextra*. Behind the principal buildings ran the *via quintana* which in six gated forts ended with *porta quintana sinistra* and *porta quintana dextra*⁴⁷⁴. The last road *via decumana* continued the *via praetoria* at the back of the headquarters building it ended with the back gate *porta decuma*. In time the number of gates narrowed, the walls got higher and thicker and towers became places for war machines adding to the defenses of the forts making them more defensive positions then supply bases⁴⁷⁵.

The eastern frontier defenses were influenced not only by Roman experiences on the west but also by local traditions of the Hellenistic and Jewish culture. The construction of a fortification system like the Hadrian's Wall in the east was nearly impossible, because of the large area in question. Here the tactics and overall strategy had to be improved and changed to fit a new role. When the Roman Army appeared in the Middle East there was no need to construct new fortifications, because of a large number of fortified cities and towns that the Roman army could use as their new accommodation. This situation changed when the Romans aborted their client state policy and absorbed them all into one Roman Empire. Now the Roman

⁴⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 49-58.

⁴⁷² Gichon (1967), p. 182-183.; Gichon, Applebaum (1967), p. 35-39.

⁴⁷³ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 158.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 159-160.

⁴⁷⁵ Colingwood, Richmond (1969), p. 27.

army was the one responsible for the security of the region and its population. As mentioned old lines of defense were reoccupied and if needed new fortifications arose to fill the missing gaps.

Newly created forts differ in size and shape from the typical “playing-card” type fort. Also the location changed from flat grounded or slop of the hill to a high point with good observation and defensive values. The new fort changed in size and became smaller in comparison to other frontiers⁴⁷⁶. With exceptions of el-Lejjun and Uduh which are probably built in the 3rd century and cover an area of approximately 4,6 ha (They also resemble a “playing card” layout) . Their role was to defend against attacks and control the movement of people through the border. Despite the differences the same scheme can be seen at the Hadrian Wall and the eastern frontier where legions are based at Fortresses (Uduh, El-Lejjun, Chester/Deva) smaller forts hold the main line and watchtower together with signal posts link them together.

Fortresses

The largest of all Roman military sites serving as a resting point for an entire Roman legion. From here the legion soldiers were sent to other nearby military outposts and here the main military command was located. On the east the roles of military fortresses were taken over by major urban sites like Bostra⁴⁷⁷, Jerusalem⁴⁷⁸, Dura Europos⁴⁷⁹ however in time legionary fortresses were also constructed in El-Lejjun⁴⁸⁰, Uduh⁴⁸¹ or Oresa (modern Tayibeh⁴⁸²). There are more sites but those mentioned serve as examples.

In Britain legionary fortresses were located in York (Eburacum), Chester (Deva), Caerleon upon Usk(Isca Silurum⁴⁸³), and Longthorpe, Rossington, Rhyn, Corbridge⁴⁸⁴. The Roman legionary fortresses in both frontiers share the same “playing-card” type shape. Although it is not a traditional “playing-card” it resembles it closely. The main difference is that the eastern fortresses possessed U-shaped interval towers projecting out from the walls, to increase the defensive role of the fortification (The British fort at York also possessed projecting towers but they are not U shaped and not in identical intervals). The size also matters as the

⁴⁷⁶ In Britain the forts became larger, Ibidem, p. 27.

⁴⁷⁷ Speidel (1984), p. 236.

⁴⁷⁸ Geva (1984), p. 240.

⁴⁷⁹ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 111-114.

⁴⁸⁰ Parker (2006), p. 111-122.

⁴⁸¹ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 131.

⁴⁸² Parker (2000), p. 126.

⁴⁸³ All three Collingwood, Richmond (1969), p. 18-25.

⁴⁸⁴ All Four Frere, Joseph (1983), p. 50-57.

eastern installations are relatively smaller (El-Lejjun 11,4 acres, Uduh 11,6 acres, York and Chester about 50 acres). The size comes mainly from the time and circumstances the fortifications were built. (If constructed during the Principate more offensive role was in order and the fort was larger to suffice the tactic, if the construction was during the Tetrarchy the fort was smaller and more orientated on the defense capable to withstand prolonged siege).

Smaller installations

The smaller forts are more complicated, because they differ in size, shape, and function depending on many factors like location, garrison and assigned duty. They change in time from period to period and are less stable than the legionary fortresses.

On the east (following Kennedy and Riley, Rome's Desert frontier) the forts can be separated in 4 categories (the categories maybe simple but fulfill their role):

1. Large Forts without external towers.
2. Small Forts without external towers.
3. Large Forts with external towers.
4. Small Forts with external towers.

The first category shows forts that closely resemble the "playing card" type rectangular in shape and large in size⁴⁸⁵ (from 2 to 12 acres). Their role could be linked with garrisoning Auxiliary forces ready to assist any force in the vicinity. Examples Umm El-Quttein, Qasr el-Feifeh, Humeima.

The second category shows forts that could be named fortlets in Britain. They are quite similar in design showing some kind of standardization. They are concentrated on a central courtyard surrounded by rooms leaning against the walls. Mordechai Gichon's research on the *Limes Palaestinae* links the courtyard pattern forts⁴⁸⁶ with the Jewish military tradition⁴⁸⁷. In opposition to Gichon's theories Shelagh Gregory has stated that Nabatean origins mainly linked with caravanserais are the main reason why are those forts standardized in pattern, and the Jewish tradition is to "far-fetched"⁴⁸⁸. Examples: Qasr el-Uweinid, Tell es-Seba, El-Hamda.

⁴⁸⁵ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 141.

⁴⁸⁶ Gichon (1990), p. 196.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibidem, p. 182-183.

⁴⁸⁸ Gregory (1995), p. 235-236.

Third category represents forts that are either a highly modified “playing-card” type fort with projecting towers or a courtyard pattern with added towers. The variety of sizes (from 0,78 acres to 9,2 acres) resembles the function and garrison type of each fort. Furthermore this group includes forts with building built to a two storeys high further increasing the garrison size. The defensive character of these forts shows in design, because an introduction to tall external towers and curtain walls, involved the change in the internal layout. Forts at Umm el-Jemal and Da’ajaniya have the principiae in on half of the internal area and barracks blocks in the

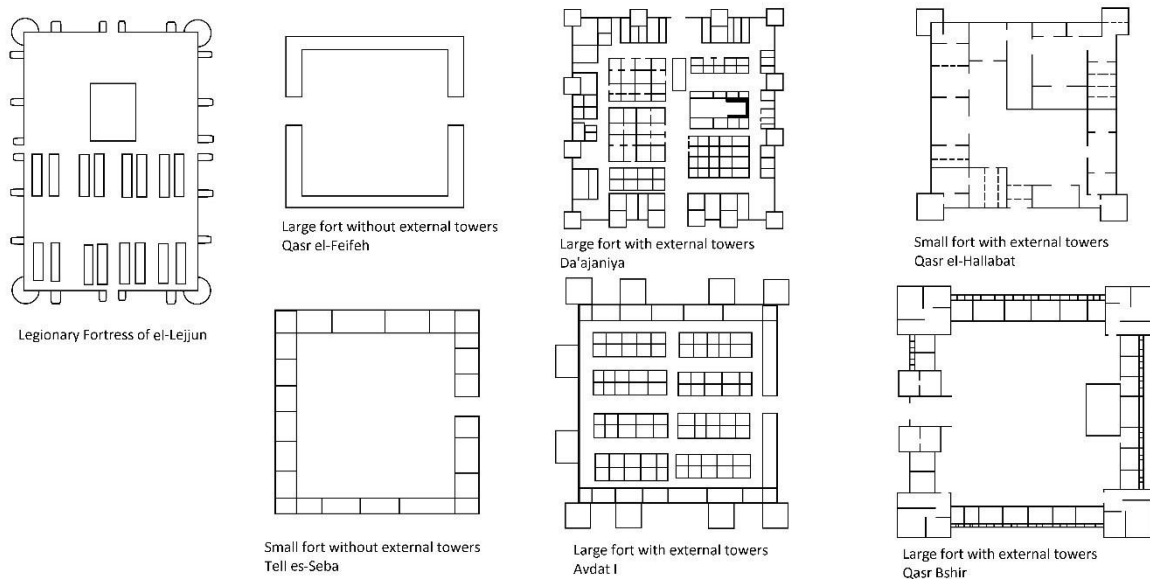


Fig. 15 Roman military forts on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire following: Kennedy, Riley (1990)

remainder. On the other hand Qasr el-Azraq’s principiae protrudes from an exterior wall and the other rooms in two storeys built against the wall⁴⁸⁹. this category also shows a nice evolution of forts to the courtyard pattern with external towers which involves high defensive capabilities. Examples: Avdat, Da’ajaniya, Qasr Bshir.

Fourth category is some way similar to the third but forts mentioned here lack the two stories buildings making them very small in garrison size compared to other forts mentioned above. Towers of those forts are always square and are located only on corners of the installation. Interval towers are rare because they are not needed on a short curtain wall. Some exceptions are present and some forts include U-shaped towers. Examples: Khirbet es-Samra, Qasr el-Hallabat, Upper Zohar.

⁴⁸⁹ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 168.

In Britain⁴⁹⁰ the forts can be divided in 5 categories:

1. Legionary Fortresses.
2. Frontier forts and costal forts.
3. Forts for Auxiliaries.
4. Small military earthworks, fortlets, Signal towers.

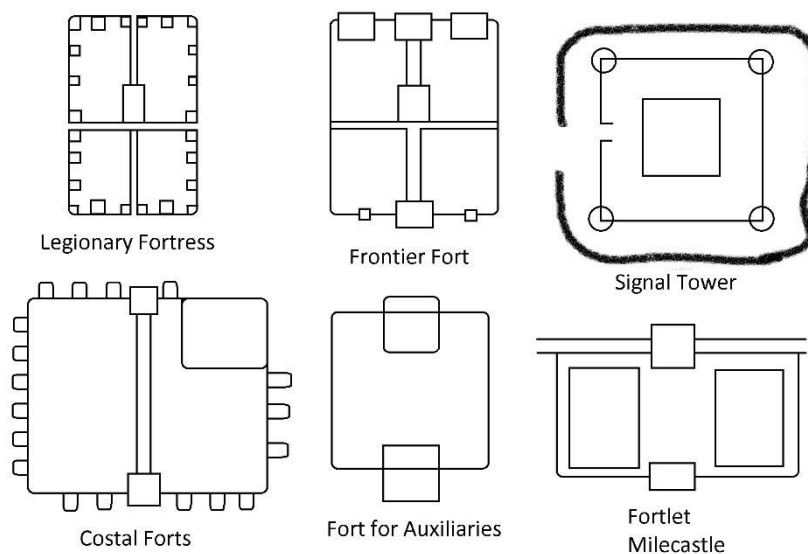


Fig. 16 Roman Britain Fort examples following: Frere, Joseph (1983)

The first category Legionary fortresses, was already mentioned above. The second one represents forts constructed along the Hadrian and Antonine Wall's including the small forts called milecastles. The forts constructed along the both Walls had the similar role of policing the traveling and local

population. They also served together with milecastles as the only way to get through the wall and into Roman territory. The forts measured from 2 acres to 9.3 acres. In plan and shape they resemble the “playing-card” type forts rectangular with two main streets and buildings placed in an orderly fashion. The gates location depended on the direction it faced the wall. Those forts that projected the wall had three twin-portalled gates to the north of the Wall, and one on the south, supplemented by a pair of single-portalled gates. A fort constructed to the rear of the Wall had four twin-portalled gates⁴⁹¹. In later periods a more defensive role was applied and walls were constructed higher and thicker. Towers were more suited for war machines and a rampart (if not already present) was introduced. Examples: Housesteads, Chesterholm, Birdoswald.

⁴⁹⁰ Following: Frere, Joseph (1983), and in a small way Bedoyere (2010).

⁴⁹¹ Bedoyere (2010), p. 23.

Costal forts constructed along the Saxon Shore in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries were forts prepared for defense against seaborne attacks. Their main features thick and high walls, few narrow entrances with projecting towers along the walls. Towers were sometimes U-shaped like in Portchester castle. Their main role was to secure the coast and ports of the Saxon Shore. Examples: Richborough, Portchester Castle, Brancaster.

Third category auxiliary forts represent a group of forts designed for supporting units. Also they vary in size depending on the role and garrison type. Forts designed for Infantry cohorts measured from 3 to 3.5 acres, and forts for cavalry cohorts 5 to 6.5 acres but sometimes cavalry could be garrisoned in a smaller fort from 4.2 to 4.5 acres. Those forts were generally constructed to guard roads, rivers, valleys and a strategic position was always chosen. The shape and layout of the auxiliary fort is the same as other legionary fortresses only the size is different. Turf ramparts were the main option because of the abundance of material and the simplicity of the technique⁴⁹². In time wooden forts were changed to stone ones to increase their overall defense capabilities. Examples: Stanway, Ixworth, Kirmington.

The fourth category consist of milecastles small fortlets spaced every Roman mile along the Wall serving as patrol and signal posts. Their role in the system was to report any dangers found during their guard duties. Constructed either from turf (turf section of the Wall) or from stone (stone section) they measure from 50 x 60 feet (0.06 Acres) to 65x75 feet (0.111 Acres) internally. Milecastles were equipped with two towers one on the north and one on the south (either wooden or stone depending on the Wall type). Buildings located inside a milecastle include barrack blocks one or two depending on the size of the installation⁴⁹³.

Signal Stations are an ancient way of communication on far distances. The fire lit in a station could be seen miles away and linked with other towers created a system able to alert places far away from the primary signal tower. In the beginning they were constructed from wood and were surrounded by a ditch and rampart. In the later Empire they undergo the same changes as the Roman castellum. They become larger and stronger, more massive and more suited for defense.

Conclusion:

Roman military installations on the Eastern and Western frontiers although differ in many ways also have many things in common. During the time of the Roman advance the idea

⁴⁹² Frere, Joseph (1983), p. 86.

⁴⁹³ Collingwood, Richmond (1969), p. 78-79.

to fortify cities, towns and other important sites was slowly becoming less important, because Romans main enemy were the barbarian tribes that possessed no capabilities to use advanced siege weaponry, and also they preferred open field battles in which the Roman army excelled.

The Roman *Castra* (which was a marching camp constructed for the soldiers by the soldiers so the army would not be surprised and ambushed during the times of rest) constructed on enemy territory was a sufficient way of defense in those particular times. Also the camp could be disassembled quickly if the Legion goes on a new offense, and after reaching their new goal quickly assembled. In the times of the principate when the Roman all out advance was stopped the marching camps that housed the soldiers were converted into more defensive positions⁴⁹⁴. In the beginning the wooden and turf constructions were replaced with stone but the overall layout remained, still those forts were more supply bases for the troops than strongholds able to withstand a siege. Soldiers garrisoning those forts were constantly prepared to advance, because that was the Roman military idea of those times⁴⁹⁵.

The eastern situation looked a little bit different, because of the immense (Hellenistic, Babylonian, Sumerian, Judean) architectural heritage the Romans encountered in the east. Roman eastern enemies were experienced in siege warfare and were also capable of constructing fortifications that forced the Romans to completely change their idea of combat that was mainly invented and practiced on the west. Here in the east Roman military was stationed in cities like Dura or Jerusalem where old fortifications (city walls) were present and Romans made use of them to protect their soldiers inside them. Also during major insurrections (Roman-Jewish War) and campaigns (Severan conquest) the Romans faced and challenged enemies capable of hiding behind fortified cities. Roman military success and also failure in using siege weaponry shows that the Roman military was ready to adapt in order to gain required victory⁴⁹⁶.

Hadrian's idea of a permanent fortification line that sets the boundary of the Roman Empire was an important milestone in Roman history⁴⁹⁷. Forts constructed along that line were nothing more than turf-wooden or stone forts deriving much from the "playing card" type fort, which was known through the Roman Empire. Also legionary fortresses which housed entire legions and their headquarters were also based on the Roman *Castra*, because its design was

⁴⁹⁴ Jones (2012), p. 18.

⁴⁹⁵ Breeze, Dobson (1978), p. 8.

⁴⁹⁶ Gregory (1995), p. 41.

⁴⁹⁷ Goodman (1997), p. 70.

closer and more known in the west.

The eastern forts design was more tied to the local tradition of construction, because mainly they were reused by the Romans. The early forts were more connected to the Nabataean (Gregory) or to the Jewish (Gichon) tradition. Although there are still fortifications that highly resemble their western counterparts and were probably built using the “playing card” scheme like, Umm el-Quttein⁴⁹⁸. Those camps however were probably constructed in or next to a town or city to provide easy access to supplies, billeting and to police the populace.

In time the western and eastern forts turned more defensive and their overall capabilities were increased. On the west thick high walls, and projecting towers with places for war machines increase the overall defense of the fort, on the east the forts became smaller with buildings placed leaning on the walls in order to strengthen the overall thickness of the wall. Towers are present also large enough to handle war machines and two storyes buildings appear. The decrease of the size of the fort on the eastern frontier is linked with the overall decrease of soldiers in the east during the 3rd and 4th centuries. Smaller forts constructed more like medieval castles are more capable to hold of enemy forces long enough before reinforcements arrive. Also Hellenistic or Jewish tradition (depending on the outcome of the debate) was an important part in the change from a “playing card” type to a small “quadriburgia” type.

Legionary fortresses like Udruh and el-Lejjun constructed in the 300 A.D. on the east were more western type forts then eastern, because of a large size they possessed. Still they were constructed just like western forts in the 4th century with high walls, projecting interval towers large enough for placement of war-machines. Eastern forts designs are hard to find in the west, because there were more westerners building in the east then other way around⁴⁹⁹. Even the small building like fortlets, signal stations and milescastles found in Britain and on the Hadrian’s Wall are not in any way influenced by the eastern type of construction. Their evolution is the same as the fort or legionary fortress.

⁴⁹⁸ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 141-143.

⁴⁹⁹ Gregory (1995), p. 233.

Chapter III

The Roman military camp

The third chapter will be concentrated on the Roman Military Camp in Jerusalem, its presumable location⁵⁰⁰, its function and role it played in the “Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire”. Summarizing all mentioned facts and ideas concerning the Roman military camp and the city of Aelia, the author will try to present some new ideas on how to look on the Roman camp in Jerusalem in a wider perspective.

Many times this work has mentioned two main ideas concerning the Roman eastern frontier policy. The first one concentrated on the idea that the Roman high command together with the Roman Emperor decided on the Roman military strategy and planned its actions ahead was presented by Luttwak⁵⁰¹. The second one presented by Benjamin Isaac⁵⁰² establishes a completely different approach to the topic. Isaac shows that there is no “Grand Strategy” or “Grand design” in Roman military decisions. The Roman Army was mainly an occupational army concentrated on preserving peace and keeping the conquered peoples under control. They were never focused on defending the local populace but only secured profitable locations and trade routes. Isaac’s idea was completely different from the view of Luttwak. In time both idea’s attracted many scholars interested in the Roman military. Both idea’s will be used in this chapter to show the Roman military camp in Aelia from two different perspectives. The first one as a part of a “Grand Strategy” and the second one as a “victim” of the occupational army.

To better understand the problem of Aelia Capitolina we must also establish if the Roman city was a fortified city prepared to stop an incoming invasion (done by a major power or just by barbarians) or was it a colony for the veterans that had retired from the Roman Army and settled there to live the rest days of their life in peace. There is also a possibility that the Roman city of Aelia could have been something of a hybrid linking a veteran colony with a fortified city.

The distribution of Roman forces in the eastern provinces is also important in the scheme of this chapter. By looking closer to the already mentioned distribution of Roman legions and their auxiliaries we can see if the city of Aelia was secured by other nearby units and legions or was it left completely alone without backup. Also if we take into consideration the fact that the

⁵⁰⁰ Mentioned in the second chapter.

⁵⁰¹ Luttwak (1976).

⁵⁰² Isaac (1990).

city wall built in Jerusalem during either in the reign of Diocletian or Constantin the Great the situation can change.

The location and size of the Roman legionary camp in Jerusalem can also help determine the role of the city in the eastern provinces. Looking on all theories regarding the Roman military camp in Jerusalem we can specify different locations for the camp and with it different sizes of the Roman force placed there. Also we need to remember that some theories completely abandon Jerusalem leaving only the headquarters of the legion there and some soldiers living inside the ruins of the former Jewish city.

The camp and walls of Aelia Capitolina

The Roman military camp in the Jewish city of Jerusalem was established in the year 70 A.D. after the initial fall of the city besieged by Romans during the First Jewish Revolt. With the taking of the city the Romans have already won the war and successfully halted the spread of the revolt. Nevertheless the war would last three more years until the fall of Masada in 73 A.D. Because more important tasks awaited Titus in Rome the “mopping-up” of the remnants of the Jewish resistance was left to local governors of Judea. From 71 A.D. to 73 A.D. rebel fortresses of Herodium, Machaerus and Masada were besieged and taken by the Roman army. The Judean governors ordered to clear the rebels were able to do so with the help of the X Legion Fretensis, that was transferred to Judea after the fall of Jerusalem. The presumed orders of the X Legion in Judea were to stop the remaining rebels and secure peace in the province by policing the local population. As the former capitol and the most important city for the Jewish populace Jerusalem was picked as the new base for the X Legion. Here roman soldiers could directly prevent riots and new revolts. The now ruined city had no strategic value for the Romans yet for the Jews it possessed immense historical and emotional meaning. Jerusalem was the capitol of the first Jewish Kingdom and Salomon constructed his Temple here on the Temple Mount, those two facts alone were enough to make the city the most important **thing** for the Jews. For the Romans however the city was now nothing more than, a pile of ruin. The capitol of the province remained in Caesarea (elevated to the status of colony after the Jewish war in recognition for its support to the Roman cause), because the city possessed an excellent harbor useful to the Romans as a meaning of transportation and international trade, Jerusalem however had nothing of importance, yet because it was important to someone else it had to be secured⁵⁰³.

⁵⁰³ Ibidem, p. 105.

The Roman military camp placed in Jerusalem was supposedly the main headquarters of the legion in the city, and supposedly was large enough to garrison an entire legion. Its location in the city limits is however not completely established. As of today three mentioned earlier theories place its location on the western hill, the Temples Mount or today's Muristan. Different location can in a different way impact the size or the capacity of the Roman camp. Archeological finds concerning the Roman camp in Jerusalem are limited and fail to give any satisfactory answer. The finds include, a large number of clay products stamped with the seal of the X legion Fretensis, inscriptions⁵⁰⁴, and two installations⁵⁰⁵ presumed to be, a part of the Roman camp. Both buildings were located in the area of the foot of the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount enclosure. Identified by Eilat Mazar as the Bathhouse and Bakery buildings constructed to serve the needs of the soldiers stationed in Jerusalem⁵⁰⁶. To confine both structures in the boundary of the Roman camp, the camp itself should be located on the southwestern foot of the Temple Mount or on the Temple Mount itself. The location on the Temple Mount would be beneficial for any military installation placed there. It is one of the highest hills in Jerusalem giving its defenders proper advantage in any assault scenario. The altitude can also be used in normal policing duties giving local guards a better view of the civilian settlement. Still no measurements of the camp are presented by Mazar, but if we acknowledge that the size of the platform on which the Temple of Herod stood was approximately 37 acres⁵⁰⁷ then we can suppose that the Roman camp could have measured about 40 acres.

The idea of Doron Bar to locate the Roman military camp in the location of today's Muristan was backed by historical sources namely the new interpretation of the works of Josephus Flavius. This location also possessed the merit of high ground that was very important for the defender. The camp was supposedly built on the platform that the Romans constructed to level the area and make it more suitable for future projects, for example the Temple of Venus. Doron Bar and his team saw the platform as an exclusive for the construction of the Roman Camp and the Temple of Venus was supposedly locked in its borders. (The highest ground is located on the northwest where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands today. From the perspective of city planning the choice was clear to build something here, because this area was not used for construction works previously. Despite the fact that the Venus Temple stood there,

⁵⁰⁴ Bieberstein (2007), p. 137-139.

⁵⁰⁵ Mazar (2002), p. 70-73.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibidem, p. 67.

⁵⁰⁷ <http://www.biblewalks.com/Sites/TempleMount.html> Availability 02.11.2016.

there is also a possibility to have a Temple of Jupiter next to it just like in Rome on the Capitol where the Temple of Jupiter stood next to the Temple of Venus Erycina⁵⁰⁸).

The size of today's so called Muristan area reaches an approximately 4.2 acres, it is a part of the Christian Quarter and its located between three churches the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospitaller's Church of St. John the Baptist and the German church of the Redeemer (The area includes the Aftimos market)⁵⁰⁹. The 4.2 acres would not only include the Roman military camp but also the Temple of Venus that according to Doron Bar was locked in the walls of the camp⁵¹⁰. If the mentioned size is correct the Roman military camp in Aelia would be nothing more than, a normal Roman fort capable of garrisoning only a small fracture of a legion. It would suit perfectly if only the headquarters of the X Legion Fretensis were stationed in the city with, a suitable guard unit attached for protection⁵¹¹.

However if we decide that Aelia Capitolina was garrisoned by a large legion capable of policing a large population and stopping any riots or revolts fast, we are in need of a bigger camp. To present the exact numbers concerning the capacity of a legion camp is to do the impossible. Even with detailed archaeological research the presented numbers will always represent approximate values. Bigger sized camps not always possessed a bigger capacity then their smaller counterparts and vice versa. Still the overall size of the camp defines also the extra space that can be used for storage areas, barrack areas and if available bathhouses and bakeries. Thus if the camp housed an entire legion every available space is required to maintain its soldiers and keep a high morale.

The traditional approach linked with Sir C.W. Wilson⁵¹² placed the legion camp on the southwestern hill and also proposed to allocate 50 acres of camp size. The proposed size matches other European major military camp sites for example Caerleon 51 acres, York around 48 acres, Chester probably 53 acres, Lambaesis 52 acres and Bonn 61 acres⁵¹³. All mentioned camps were described as Roman military camps capable of accommodating entire legions, including the required infrastructure. Two phases of the Roman camp were also highlighted. The first phase starting in 70 A.D. and ending after the Jewish Revolt in 135 A.D. so in the days of the Aelia Capitolina founding. The second phase from 135 A.D. to about 280 A.D. ending

⁵⁰⁸ Bieberstein (2007), p. 154.

⁵⁰⁹ <http://www.biblewalks.com/Sites/Muristan.html> Availability 02.11.2016.

⁵¹⁰ Bar (1998), p. 13-17.

⁵¹¹ According to Vitruvius an Roman Camp cannot be located in the same place as the Temple of Venus, because love and romance would distract roman soldiers from their duties Vitruvius I:7.1

⁵¹² Wilson (1905), p. 138-144.

⁵¹³ Ibidem, p. 139.

with the decision to transfer the legion to Aila (modern Eliath/Aqaba) by Emperor Diocletian. During the first phase the Roman camp supposedly occupied the entire southwestern hill including the Zion Mount which is about 74,5 acres⁵¹⁴. The second phase started after the Bar Kochba War and was linked with the founding of Aelia Capitolina. The legionary camp in this phase probably excluded the Zion Mount and only occupied today's Armenian and Jewish Quarters⁵¹⁵. The camp was encircled by a wall structure and isolated from the civil part of the city⁵¹⁶.

The southwestern hill possessed many advantages that made it a perfect place for, a military camp. It was one of the highest hills in ancient Jerusalem, bordered on three sides by deep valleys with a flatted summit perfect for, a military installation⁵¹⁷. Yet archaeological finds discovered on the southwestern hill were confined to few structural remains (although dated to the Roman period are not still identified as military structures), some pipe drains marked with the stamp of the X legion Fretensis, few coins and pottery shards with roof tiles and broken bricks all possessed the stamp of the X legion Fretensis⁵¹⁸. Clay products stamped with the mark of the X legion are considered primary evidence in the search for the location of the Roman camp, yet this kind of material is being found all over the Old City of Jerusalem. With so many uncertainties it is difficult to unanimously place the X legion camp on the southwestern hill. Still we have to remember that above mentioned topographical and historical sources support the idea of a military camp on the southwestern hill. Taking all that into reconsideration Hillel Geva presented a different approach regarding the military camp of the X legion Fretensis.

Titus victory over the rebelling Jews in the year 70 A.D. resulted in the complete destruction of the Upper City of Jerusalem. After the city was pacified the uprising was more or less over, yet some pockets of resistance outside Jerusalem remained. Because Titus was called back to Rome, thus the "mopping up" of the remaining rebel forces was assigned to the position of the Judean governor. The soldiers of the X Legion Fretensis were considered the bulk of the force responsible for the "mopping up". The first Roman-Jewish war lasted for three more years ending with the Siege of Masada. During that time, a small detachment of the X Legion remained in the ruined city of Jerusalem, encamping the ruined Upper City. Soldiers

⁵¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 139.

⁵¹⁵ Geva (1984), p. 240.

⁵¹⁶ Wilson (1905), p. 140-141.

⁵¹⁷ Geva (1984), p. 245.

⁵¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 243.

garrisoning Jerusalem were responsible for guarding the city's limits and its surroundings as also they supervised Jewish entry into the city⁵¹⁹. Before the revolt Judea was guarded and policed by Roman auxiliary units, and the remains of the Herodian militia. In the result of the revolt Judea received its own Legion the X Fretensis now stationed in Jerusalem. Yet as said only a small detachment remained in the city while the rest of the Legion was divided and stationed in important and strategic location around the province. The commander of the X Legion probably officiated in Caesarea, because it was the capitol of the Judean province, and probably a big part of the Legion was there with him. If Caesarea was the headquarters of the Roman Legion in the province, then the detachment at Jerusalem was commanded only by a high-ranking officer also encamped in the Upper City similar to his soldiers⁵²⁰.

In Geva's proposition the Roman garrison in Jerusalem during its early stages (before 135 A.D.) should be looked for in the vicinity of the three towers that Titus spared in the aftermath of the revolt. The three towers could provide shelter and defense in emergency situations. The rest of the detachment could be placed in different yet important places around the city to strengthen the Legions command. Then a simple conclusion would be to locate the headquarters of the detachment in the vicinity of the three towers, with the soldiers encamping different parts of the city to keep order⁵²¹.

In Geva's view there is no possibility to reconstruct an organized and planned army camp, because archaeological remains on the southwestern hill and in the Old City of Jerusalem are insufficient. Structural remains on the southwestern hill are confined to foundations making their identification troublesome, also the identification of their function and features is nearly impossible⁵²². Soldiers of the legion inhabited temporary structures located in a temporary camp that is not possible to find today. The absence of a troublesome Jewish population allowed the detachment to leave often on assignments and missions around the eastern provinces.

The situation supposedly changed in the days of Aelia Capitolina. The declaration of the founding of a new city paved way for massive construction work that reshaped the city and affected the city's plan in later periods. Yet the reconstruction hasn't in any way affected the Roman camp now located in the southern part of the Roman city(but excluding the Mount of Zion). No historical source describes the Roman camp, and also the main road of the city *The*

⁵¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 246.

⁵²⁰ Ibidem, p. 246.

⁵²¹ Ibidem, p. 246.

⁵²² Ibidem, p. 248.

Cardo terminates on the south along the line which also marks the northern limit of the southwestern hill. The road system on the southwestern hill is also completely different from the northern part of the city, in other words it shows a complete lack of organization typical for Roman camps⁵²³.

Remains dated to the time of Aelia Capitolina on the southwestern hill are also disappointing. As mentioned many times the evidence found on the hill were limited to clay products stamped with the mark of the X legion (bricks, clay pipes, roof tiles⁵²⁴). Similar to the Roman camp before the year 135 A.D. no buildings were found on the southwestern hill thus the idea of a temporary camp with temporary buildings still remains a possibility (buildings could be constructed from other materials for example from wood⁵²⁵). The camp still lacked a defensive wall and the headquarters were still located near the three towers constructed by Herod. With the end of the Bar Kochba War new settlers began to settle in and around the city. Because no wall was built around the city the soldiers of the Roman military camp were the main force responsible for the security of the city and its inhabitants. In the result of the Bar Kochba War the X legion main headquarters was transferred from Caesarea to Aelia Capitolina. With the main headquarters located in Jerusalem the legion was able to control the city more efficiently and provide needed assistance in the rebuilding efforts of a new Roman city on the ruins of old Jerusalem⁵²⁶.

For the next 145 (more or less) years Aelia Capitolina remained the base for the X Roman Legion and also a colony for veteran soldiers leaving the ranks of the X legion. With a small force left in the city, detachments of the legion were placed around the province policing its population and defending its trade routes. A shift in military policy resulted in the transfer of the entire X legion to, a different location, at the Gulf of Aqaba. The now abandoned southwestern hill was quickly inhabited with new buildings and roads built up without any organization or plan⁵²⁷.

Geva's proposition presented here was questioned by Doron Bar and his team in 1998⁵²⁸. Bar's team argues that there is no possibility that a Roman Legion would spend even one night outside a fortified camp, because it was customary to always rest inside secure walls⁵²⁹.

⁵²³ Ibidem, p. 251.

⁵²⁴ Although many were discovered its number would be enough to cover only few buildings. Geva (1984), p. 251.

⁵²⁵ Ibidem, p. 251.

⁵²⁶ Ibidem, p. 252.

⁵²⁷ Ibidem, p. 254.

⁵²⁸ Bar (1998), p. 8-19.

⁵²⁹ Ibidem, p. 9.

Furthermore the team presents historical sources concerning the southwestern hill in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods. From the *Onomasticon* written by Eusebius Pamphili (265A.D.- 339A.D.) we are able to determine that the author (Eusebius) had a good idea where is the southwestern hill located, and that it was not inhabited by people but cultivated by the Romans⁵³⁰(probably around 270-300 A.D.). The second source is the “*Itinerarium Burdigalense*” mentioned many times in all studies concerning Aelia Capitolina. The Itinerary shows the city of Aelia right before it became the capitol of Christianity, and also it is written in a form of a guide, presenting the entire path that the pilgrim took in his tour around the Roman city. In his reference to the southwestern hill he mentions his climb upon Mount Zion and that one needs to leave Jerusalem in order to climb the mount. Doron’s Bar team interprets the leaving of Jerusalem as exiting the city through a wall enclosure that borders the city limits. Thus Mount Zion is located outside the city walls, outside the city. The Bordeaux pilgrim describes the mount in one sentence “ *Within, however, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David’s Palace. Of Seven synagogues which once stood there, one alone remains ; the rest are ploughed over and sown upon, as said Isaiah the prophet*”⁵³¹. The pilgrim left the mount and returned to the city by heading in the direction of the *Gate of Neapolis*. Thus according to Doron Bar the pilgrim clearly saw, a difference between the ruined and emptied Mount Sion and the main city of Aelia/Jerusalem⁵³².

Further historical sources concerning the southwestern hill mentioned by Doron Bar include, Cyril of Jerusalem who was Jerusalem’s bishop in the middle of the fourth century, Bishop Optatus from Numidia, Jerome in describing saint Paula’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Eucherius bishop of Lyons. Cyril during his times as bishop in Jerusalem described the hill as a cucumber field, Optatus on the other hand saw the hill completely empty⁵³³. Describing Paula’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Jerome mentions that the old gates of Mount Sion were destroyed in his time (about 385 A.D.). The last source Eucherius who was bishop of Lyons in the mid fifth century gives us a nice view of Christian Jerusalem. Eucherius mentions that now the city represents a circular shape enclosed by a wall that now embraces Mount Sion and overlooks the city like a citadel⁵³⁴.

⁵³⁰ Ibidem, p. 10.

⁵³¹ <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord07bJerus.html#Sion> availability 02.11.2016.

⁵³² Bar (1998), p. 10.

⁵³³ Ibidem, p. 10.

⁵³⁴ Ibidem, p. 10.

To summarize all historical sources mentioned above. They represent the late Roman and early Byzantine periods and show that the southwestern hill was not a part of the fortified Jerusalem until the mid-5th century. They also share the same idea that the hill was not inhabited and devoid of any construction. Doron Bar and his team linked those sources with all mentioned earlier archeological finds and concluded that the view that the location of the Tenth Legion camp was on the southwestern hill cannot be verified⁵³⁵.

After presenting his idea concerning the Roman military camp on the southwestern hill Doron Bar admits “We must admit that our conclusion that the Tenth Legion’s camp should be south inside the boundaries of the Christian Quarter of today suffers from the same weaknesses as the traditional theories, which we just rejected”⁵³⁶, because like other theories it is based on little archaeological evidence and nearly the same historical sources.

Both ideas of Geva and Doron Bar share one similar belief that the southwestern hill was not fortified by a wall during the Roman period of Aelia Capitolina. Archaeological research in the Old City of Jerusalem has so far confirmed that only the northern part of the Roman city was enclosed by a city wall, there is not enough evidence to determine the same concerning the southern part of the Old City⁵³⁷. Thus there is a high probability that the southwestern hill was not enclosed by a wall, and if a Roman military camp was present there it was not fortified in any way. Sources mentioned by Doron Bar begin to describe the hill from about 260 A.D. with the work of Eusebius Pamphili *Onomasticon*, and shows it as cultivated by the Romans⁵³⁸. Yet the same author also mentions that the X Legion Fretensis left the city by the end of the 3rd century, transferred to Aila (modern Aqaba/Eliath) by Aurelian or Diocletian⁵³⁹. With the X legion gone the southwestern hill was abandoned and emptied by the end of the 3rd century, but somewhere at the beginning of the 4th century the hill was transformed into a farming field as historical sources mentioned above state⁵⁴⁰. Thus there is a possibility that after the X legion was transferred from Aelia Capitolina to Aila its former camping grounds on the southwestern hill were ploughed and made into a farming field as Cyril bishop of Jerusalem saw it in the middle of the 4th century⁵⁴¹.

⁵³⁵ Ibidem, p. 13.

⁵³⁶ Ibidem, p. 17.

⁵³⁷ Chapter 1

⁵³⁸ Bar (1998), p. 10.

⁵³⁹ Parker (1986), p. 142.

⁵⁴⁰ Bar (1998), p. 10.

⁵⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 10.

The city wall around Jerusalem was constructed either in the times of Aelia Capitolina (after the departure of the X Legion Fretensis from the city) or during its Constantinian revival when Constantine the Great decided to rebuild its walls. Regardless of which idea is true both share the same fact that the X Legion was already gone and that the southwestern hill was empty and un used. As mentioned archaeological finds concerning the hypothetical walls of Aelia Capitolina locate them in the northern parts of today's Old City, but give vague and inconclusive evidence concerning the walls on the south. There is a high possibility that the southern walls of the city did not include the southwestern hill until the mid-5th century⁵⁴².

But why was not the southwestern hill included in the city limits and walled in like the rest of the city? There are several possibilities first one is the existence of an alienated Judeo-Christian community somewhere on the Sion Mount⁵⁴³. Because they were abandoned by the church in Jerusalem, a decision was passed to leave them outside the city thus outside the city walls. Second possibility is linked with the fact that this was the place of a Roman garrison, that left the city near the end of the 3rd century. With the transfer the southwestern hill became a wasteland, that was put in to good use after it was transformed into a farming field⁵⁴⁴. The 4th century Jerusalem remained a backwater city with no real meaning for politics, merchants and travelers alike. Jerusalem's rise to prominence was heavily linked with the growing influence of Christianity that began to intensify during the 4th century. Again (similar to its Jewish past) only thanks to its symbolic meaning for a group of people (Christians) Jerusalem became relevant and in time became the capitol of Christianity. Pilgrims from all over the east started to venture into Jerusalem to visit Holy Places linked with the life and death of their redeemer Jesus Christ. The southwestern hill was devoid of any sites that might awaken any interest in the coming pilgrims, and the population of the city was still pretty low (thus no new place was needed for new inhabitants) that might be one of the reasons why the hill was left out from the city's limits. In the 5th century Eudocia wife of Theodosius II during her exile in Jerusalem founded many new churches and built a new wall around the southwestern mount thus including it in the city's limits⁵⁴⁵. The walling could be linked with the increased importance of the

⁵⁴² After the Bar Kochba War a Judeo-Christian community settled inside Aelia Capitolina. They established themselves on the Sion Mount and remained there until the Byzantine times. This community was supposedly alienated from the main Christian Church in Jerusalem, because of their adherence to Jewish customs. The existence of this community on the Sion Mount could also be a reason why the Mount was not included inside Constantine's Jerusalem. <http://www.centuryone.org/apostles.html> (availability 02.11.2016) and Bieberstein (2007), p. 156-157.

⁵⁴³ <http://www.centuryone.org/apostles.html> (availability 02.11.2016) and Bieberstein (2007), p. 156-157.

⁵⁴⁴ This process could have easily destroyed what was left of the X Legion Camp on the hill.

⁵⁴⁵ Wightman (1993), p. 209.

southwestern hill on the pilgrimage route⁵⁴⁶. Another explanation why the western hill was excluded from the city and not walled is linked with Eilat Mazar and her excavations on the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount⁵⁴⁷.

During ten years of excavations lasting from 1968 to 1978 concentrated on the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount Eilat Mazar and her crew located several artifacts that led to a conclusion that the X Legion Camp was probably located on the foot of the Temple Mount and even on the mount itself. The artifacts consist of a section of the camp wall, public buildings and other numerous small finds (mainly bricks and roof tiles). The buildings include a large bathhouse and a bakery created to serve the stationed soldier's needs⁵⁴⁸. The camp wall found by Mazar follows the Ottoman wall that runs southward from the Temple's Mount southern wall⁵⁴⁹. The northern and western walls of the camp are still missing but it can be summarized that the northern wall of the camp was located to the south of the *Cardo Decumanus*. Its northern boundaries would be located around the area of the Wilson's Arch. The western wall of the camp was located to the east of the Valley *Cardo*⁵⁵⁰. Thus the Roman camp was supposedly located half on the Temple Mount and half on the southwestern corner of the mount. There would be three possible ways to enter the camp. The first entrance would be a Double Gate placed at the foot of the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount enclosure. The second a large breach in the western part of the Southern Wall (done in 70 A.D.) and the third through Barclay's Gate on the west⁵⁵¹. This idea leaves the southwestern hill abandoned and unused from 135 A.D. (because the primary camp was moved to the foot of the Temple Mount in 135 A.D.) until the 5th century. This long period of not using this hill (or maybe using it but for plant cultivation) could lead to a decision to ignore it completely by the builders of the Diocletian or Constantine wall.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 209.

⁵⁴⁷ Mazar (2002).

⁵⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 66-67.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 67-68.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 68.

⁵⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 69.

The kilnworks

In addition to the three locations of the camp in the Old City of Jerusalem there was also an confirmed military installation located 3km to the northwest. From 5 May to 30 June 1968 archaeological excavations were conducted near the site of today's International Convention Center- Binyanei Ha'uma. During excavations a large industrial area was uncovered with many finds including many clay products. Five occupational phases were identified: 1st B.C., 70 A.D., 70 A.D. to 300 A.D., the 4th century, and 5th-7th century⁵⁵². The period of interest to us is the third phase the Legionary phase.

Discovered artifacts include clay products like roof tiles, bricks but mainly pottery assemblages. Those helped out in dating the kilnworks and its finds⁵⁵³ to mainly the Herodian and later Antonine period, yet some types found on the dig site could be linked with Flavian or even Byzantine periods.

Before Jerusalem became a Roman city this location was already a major industrial site producing many different materials from clay during the Herodian period. The 70 A.D. was a turning point after which Roman soldier-potters began their work at the site. The pottery from the legionary phase "represents a different world with a separate ethnic identity"⁵⁵⁴, in comparison to its earlier use during Herodian times. Types, shapes, fabric and decorative elements manufactured at the site by Romans do not follow local or even regional traditions but are standard for Roman fort all through the empire⁵⁵⁵. The kilnworks proved essential during the construction of Roman Jerusalem Aelia Capitolina. The site was transformed into an full sized army factory that produced all clay products (like bricks, roof tiles, or water pipes) used during the construction of Aelia Capitolina⁵⁵⁶. Until the Byzantine times the kilnworks were still active and supplied the city and the Roman camp with much needed pottery and other clay products. Additionally the kilnworks of the X legion Fretensis supplied clay products to most Roman sites in the Judean province.

The kilnworks as an industrial site adds some new depth to the problem of the X Legion and its soldiers in the Roman Jerusalem. As a production site it produced building materials that were used not only in Jerusalem but also in its vicinity⁵⁵⁷. A question still remains who

⁵⁵² Rosenthal-Heginbottom (2005), pp. 229-281, p. 232.

⁵⁵³ Mages (2005), pp. 69-194, p. 104.

⁵⁵⁴ R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, *The 1968 Excavations...*, p.281.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibidem. p. 281.

⁵⁵⁶ Arubas, Goldfus (1995), pp. 95-107, p. 107.

⁵⁵⁷ Example Ramat Rahel, Mages (2005), p. 105.

worked at the site? soldiers-potters, veteran soldiers, or maybe civilian potters? Maybe Aelia Capitolina was only a colony of soldiers-workers that produced clay products for the eastern provinces?⁵⁵⁸

The Fortress city

Although unique in its problems Aelia Capitolina was just another major city of the eastern frontier and like all major cities (mainly former Capitols) it was garrisoned by a Roman Auxiliary unit or legion. Similar cities of the eastern frontier like Dura Europos, Palmyra, Bostra, Samosata or Sura also possessed an legionary camp either inside the city's limits or just outside it. Similar to Aelia we can only guess what was the relation between the legionary camp and the civilian settlement. This relation could be economic as the rising civilian settlement (canabea) grew around the military camp depended on its needs⁵⁵⁹, it could be linked with plain policing duties and easy access to billeting⁵⁶⁰, with an attempt to increase local trade route security or to strengthen the security of the city itself. Because we lack any detailed archaeological or historical information that could help us answer this question we need to stand by speculations.

In order to better understand the idea of a military camp built inside a city we need to look at other examples possessing the same model. First Bostra. The city of Bostra became, a part of the Roman Empire in 106 A.D. after the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom by the Romans. Because it was the former capitol of the Nabataean kingdom (transferred from Petra) it became the capitol of the new Roman province now called Arabia Petraea.

Bostra

The III Legion Cyrenaica was moved and stationed in Bostra as the legion responsible for the Arabian province. The legion setup his camp to the north of the city near a perennial spring. It remained in Bosra according to inscriptions from the early 2nd century to about 400 A.D.⁵⁶¹. The camp measured 440x360m which is about 15.4 ha, in comparison to some western European forts it is a quite small camp⁵⁶². Parts of a curtain wall were identified by Peters with rectangular towers projecting at north-west and north-east angles and square towers overlapping

⁵⁵⁸ Maybe the focus on clay production resulted in a shift from soldiers to workers, thus the military camp in Aelia was seen as a worker camp not military. Although this idea is interesting the transfer of the legion to Aila shows that it remained a respectful military record, to be transferred closer to the front.

⁵⁵⁹ Bahat (1990), p. 60.

⁵⁶⁰ Kennedy (2000), p. 51.

⁵⁶¹ Ibidem, p. 218.

⁵⁶² Ibidem, p. 218. In Isaac (1990), p. 123, the measurements given are 463x363 about 16.8ha. Isaac states that this size is enough for a full sized Roman Legion.

the walls at the North Gate⁵⁶³. The main north-south road of a Roman camp the *Via Principalis* seems to be an extension of the *Cardo* running from the town. Building remains are yet to be identified inside the Roman camp. Because Bostra was not fully excavated the relationship between the civilian settlement and the Roman military camp still eludes most scholars. Only surface work was done in the camp and it helped to establish the occupation history of the site⁵⁶⁴.

Dura Europos

Before it became a part of the Roman Empire Dura Europos was a military Hellenistic colony that grew in Parthian times to a position of a prosperous center of economic and administrative activity⁵⁶⁵. It was conquered by the Romans in 160 A.D. and then destroyed (and never reoccupied) by the Sasanian Persia in 250 A.D. Dura Europos remains an important archaeological site for two reasons. First because the final decades of Dura Europos are still not yet clear and require further study that can be possible through archaeological research. Second to wider Roman military studies on the eastern frontier⁵⁶⁶. It remains the only fortress city/garrison city that was extensively explored by scientist during last decades. Cities with a military camp built inside the city borders, are considered exclusive for the eastern frontier. Although the eastern countryside (similar to its western and northern counterpart) was also littered with “custom-built” forts and fortresses, fortress cities are considered pretty much unique in the east⁵⁶⁷. Dura Europos as the prime example serves to answer questions related with the relationship between the Roman military camp and the civilian settlement.

The Roman base was located in the Northern part of the city. It was created somewhere in the early 3rd century and isolated from the city by a wall. The walled off area was approximately 9ha (22 acres) of the western part corner of the city. Within this area excavations have uncovered a *principia* (headquarters), barrack blocks, baths and even an amphitheater (not common in the east) although laid out in a less typical fashion than normal camp amphitheaters⁵⁶⁸. Other Roman military constructions include the wall dividing the military area from the civilian area, the reinforcing embankments built prior to the successful siege done by the Persians in 256/257 A.D.⁵⁶⁹ and the “Palace of the *Dux Ripae*” located just outside the

⁵⁶³ Kennedy (2000), p. 218.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 218.

⁵⁶⁵ James (2007), pp. 29-47, p. 29.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 29.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 29.

⁵⁶⁸ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 114.

⁵⁶⁹ Gregory (1996), p. 153.

Roman military area⁵⁷⁰. It seems that the Roman garrison in Dura was already substantial by the year 200 even before the Roman garrison was established in the city⁵⁷¹. The increasing number of Roman soldiers could force the construction of a military camp to help organize the Roman stay in the city.

In comparison to its southern boundary the base perimeter lacked any major wall enclosure on its eastern side. In return it was bounded by closure streets and doorways with construction of buildings and modest walls alongside road lines. The mentioned southern wall although substantial still lacked in comparison to the walls of European forts⁵⁷². However an comparison has been made with the quasi urban center at Corbridge in England located to the south of the Hadrian's Wall. In Corbridge two compounds contained accommodation, workshops and administrative buildings that formed an enclave similar to that at Dura Europos⁵⁷³. The Corbridge compounds were bounded by a stone wall yet relatively slight in comparison to other European forts. Small slight walls possessed a completely different role then high thick defensive walls designed for defense. Small walls were more suited for internal security and surveillance, ideal for controlling the movement of people and material within the bordered area⁵⁷⁴. The same was probably the case at Dura where small walls separated the Roman military camp from the city to ensure movement control of population (civilians and soldiers alike) and materials. The thick and high city wall was responsible for the defense of the city and its garrison.

The legionaries were housed not only inside the main military camp but also if needed in different parts of the city. Houses selected for the soldiers inside the camp were properly converted to accommodate soldiers. Access routes and spaces were reorganized by blocking some doors and inserting new ones or by implementing new intersecting walls⁵⁷⁵. Yet it would be hard to call those constructions barracks. Furthermore after Severan military reforms Roman soldiers were allowed to live outside the Roman camp and inside a civilian city providing they were married. As a result many Roman soldiers lived with their families outside the camp, thus leaving only the unmarried inside its borders. In Dura those unmarried soldiers were probably housed inside the camp in those "labyrinthine subdivisions of these former private houses"⁵⁷⁶.

⁵⁷⁰ James (2007), p. 31.

⁵⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 31.

⁵⁷² for example they lacked an external ditch, Ibidem, p. 43.

⁵⁷³ Ibidem, p. 43.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 43.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 44.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 44.

The military camp at Dura possessed two main gates (so far only two were located) the one on the northern end used as a Postern gate for military sorties and the one located on the east end of the military camp used as the main entrance to the zone. The main entrance was built over a road now called the 8th Street this road stretched through the entire city in the southern-east direction until it reached the River Gate. Travelers and officials arriving to the city by land from the northern direction entered the city through the main gate called today the “Palmyrene Gate” located on the east side of the city. From there moving towards the main junction of the city they would turn left and reach the eastern gate on the 8th street. If one enters the city from the south or from the river they could either move towards the main junction of the city and from there right towards the main gate of the camp or after entering the city turn immediately right and move along the wadi in the shadows of the citadel. Then passing the Military Temple and the “Palace *Dux Ripae*” on the right one would arrive at the entrance to the military camp⁵⁷⁷.

What was the relationship between the military site and the civilian settlement? At the beginning of the camp in Dura there would be a great difference between the Roman soldiers inside the military enclosure and the civilians living in the city. In time however this difference began to blur as the civilians could get used to the Roman camp and its inhabitants. The Roman military reforms allowing legionaries to marry during their service time helped to seal the gap between Romans and locals as now they could become families and started to live together inside the city away from the camp. It is likely that before the city fell to the Persians Dura Europos was a Romanized city.

Palmyra

The third Roman garrison city important for the understating of the relationship between the Roman military camp and the civilian settlement nearby is the city of Palmyra. Located 160 km east of Emesa and nearly 250km north-east of Damascus, made the city an important link on a major caravan route from the Persian Gulf to the cities of Syria and beyond, to the ports of the Levant⁵⁷⁸.

Palmyra’s first appearance in Roman history is connected with the Pompeian arrival in the east. Together with the entire annexed Syrian province Palmyra entered the Roman sphere of influence. The exact date when Palmyra became a part of the empire remains unclear, but

⁵⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 44.

⁵⁷⁸ Kennedy, Riley (1990), p. 134.

Roman presence (sometimes military) is attested in inscriptions dated to the 1st century A.D.⁵⁷⁹. Hadrian and Caracalla bestowed special favor on the city. Hadrian renamed it to “Hadriana” and made it into a “free city” after his visit in 129 A.D. Caracalla granted it a colonial status⁵⁸⁰. In 260 A.D. the Roman empire was under siege by the Persians with nearly all eastern frontier provinces under Persian control. Rome however prevailed thanks to Odenathus, a Palmyrene leader governor of Syria Phoenice. Odenathus was able to defeat the Persian threat and thus saved the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. In recognition for his achievements he received the title of “*Restitutor Totius Orientis*”, previously reserved only for the Emperors. Odenathus died in 269 A.D. and was succeeded by his wife Zenobia. Zenobia’s ambition was to create an independent empire of its own and because she was already in control of nearly all eastern Roman provinces she was able to declare herself and her young son Vaballathus *Augusti* and start a war for independence from her former allies the Roman Empire. Aurelian was able to quickly subdue Zenobia’s revolt and once again bring Roman rule to the eastern provinces. In 273 A.D. the city of Palmyra was nearly destroyed by the Roman garrison stationing there as a result of local unrest quickly turning into an overall city revolt. Similar to Aelia Capitolina a Roman military camp was constructed on the Ruins of Palmyra.

The military camp built in Palmyra was the base of the legion I Illyricorum. The main building of the camp the *Principia* is one of the best preserved buildings of this type anywhere, constructed apparently in a former sanctuary, separated by a wall from the rest of the town⁵⁸¹. A Latin inscription found in the ruins of the legionary camp states that the camp was built by Sossianus Hierocles who was the principal governor in that time⁵⁸². The city wall, with square towers around the city was constructed in the same time. Near 200 years later Justinian extended and reinforced the walls built by the Tetrarchs. Square towers were swapped with U-shape towers more suited for defense⁵⁸³ (because they allow to use siege equipment in a more defensive role).

The *principia* can be divided into two parts the headquarters (*basilica*) and the parade grounds (*forum*). The *basilica* known also as “The Temple of Standards” was built on a stone platform, leveling the foot slopes of Jebel Husayniyet rising behind it⁵⁸⁴. The building was a large longitudinal hall, with a central chapel (where the legion kept its standards), and adjacent

⁵⁷⁹ Gregory (1996), p. 190.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 190.

⁵⁸¹ Isaac (1990), p. 165.

⁵⁸² Juchniewicz (2010), p. 193.

⁵⁸³ Ibidem, p. 193.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibidem, p. 195.

smaller halls and rooms (*scholae*)⁵⁸⁵. Material used in the construction of the *principia* was hard local limestone with a yellow-beige color.

The *horreum* or garrison granary is another structure, dated to the period of the tetrarchy. Located in the southeast corner of the camp, adjacent to the defensive wall and back wall of the west portico of the Oval Square. It was dated to the tetrarchy period based on construction similarities with the *principia* (technique and material wise)⁵⁸⁶. The *horreum* and the *principia* were all built attached to the outer walls of the camp: the southern defensive wall and the east wall of the camp. The *horreum* was added in later periods of time after the camp was already built⁵⁸⁷.

It is hard to define the role of the I legion Illyricorum in Palmyra. Keeping a legion stationed in a flourishing trade city (Palmyra before 270 A.D.) ensured stability and with it growing trade and increasing revenues. After the Aurelian intervention Palmyra ceased to exist as a trade station, but remained an important oasis on the Syrian desert⁵⁸⁸. Although similar to Aelia Capitolina, the city should not be seen as a city controlled by Roman legions but as an important waypoint on the road from Damascus to Sura (soldiers defend the local trade and travel routes). Although another role is also possible and this role could be linked with the new population pouring into the city after the Roman take over. From the 4th century onward new threats began to endanger the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. The rise of Sassanian Persia and an increase in nomadic activity are seen as the most important issues concerning the security on the eastern frontier. In order to protect the local population many areas of inhabitation were fortified and defended by detachments of the Roman army (for example the creation of the fortified line along the *Strata Diocletiana*). The main problem concerning this idea in Palmyra is the lack of required evidence to support this notion, still there is a possibility that the Roman garrison in Palmyra was responsible for the safety of its new population that came with the Roman soldiers⁵⁸⁹.

Palmyra and Bostra were both cities with a Roman fort built nearby or inside the city's limits. In Dura the situation was different, because the military camp is seen as an integral part of the city like a district or a military quarter. The detailed relationship between the civilian and

⁵⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 195.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 195.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibidem, p. 195.

⁵⁸⁸ Issac (1990), p. 166.

⁵⁸⁹ One of the evidence is the city wall built during the tetrarchic period. Why build a city wall around an abandoned city if one only needs to secure a small camp. The answer is simple, a new population was present, Juchniewicz (2010), p. 194.

military parts of the city is known roughly in Dura Europos where excavations were detailed and common. Although the same level of archaeological research was done in Palmyra the exact answer to the question is less certain. In Bostra where archaeological research is lacking the question remains unanswered.

One of the biggest differences between the eastern and western frontiers of the Roman empire is the technological advancement of Roman neighbors and enemies. In the west barbaric tribes were the main enemies of the Roman Empire on the east however Romans faced civilization sometimes older than the Romans themselves. That led to a simple situation where western frontiers of the Roman Empire possessed large areas of undeveloped land with small villages littering the countryside. The construction of custom built forts located in strategic positions attracted not only merchants but sometimes whole populations that settled in the vicinity of the fort, also settlers were brought from Rome to establish new cities. On the eastern frontier cities and smaller towns were already present, however due to the hard climate only special locations could be settled and possessed the opportunity to grow. Placing soldiers inside existing cities and smaller towns was just more comfortable than building new structures. Before the Severan reforms legionaries would be placed inside the Roman camp or fort located in or outside the city. With the right to marry local women and establish families legionaries were more likely to live outside the fort and inside the civilian quarters of the city together with their beloved ones. This would in return greatly improve the Romanization process as the city would be more influenced by Roman culture by the legionaries themselves. The mixing of soldiers and civilians would also help improve the overall security of the city, because now legionaries were not only defending their objective but also their own home and their families.

The cities of Palmyra, Dura Europos, Bostra and Aelia Capitolina have much in common. Palmyra and Jerusalem were victims of war against the Romans and both were punished by placing Roman soldiers inside its borders, both reverted to a backwater city later to be revitalized. On the other hand Dura Europos and Bostra were important sites (Bostra was taken peacefully, Dura was conquered) before and after the Roman conquest. The military quarters or forts inside those cities were fairly small in comparison to the western frontier emplacements⁵⁹⁰. Only the camp at Bostra stands out with 15,4 ha which is 38 acres. The size of the Roman camp in Jerusalem as mentioned earlier is not entirely decided upon. It ranged from 50 acres (location on the southwestern hill) to 4,2 acres (location on the Muristan).

⁵⁹⁰ Dura 9 ha, Palmyra 4 ha, Bostra 15,4 ha

Because the size of the camp is determined by its location let us compare them with the cities of Palmyra, Dura and Bostra.

Aelia Capitolina in comparison

The traditional location on the southwestern hill stretches the camp on 50 acres along the hill. This size is more suitable to the playing card type forts located in western Europe⁵⁹¹. The location on the Temple Mount proposed by Mazar limits the camp to 40 acres so in size it is comparable to the camp in Bostra-38 acres. The Muristan location proposed by Doron Bar and his team sets the size of the camp to only 4.2 acres, so it is near the size of the camp in Palmyra 9.9 acres, yet still two times smaller. The military quarter at Dura measuring 22 acres doesn't really have an equivalent in Roman Jerusalem. Although sometimes familiar the sizes of military camps or quarters were not always the same nor did they follow one specific scheme. In the east Roman engineers had to "improvise" with their usual building plans and adapt to new and unexpected situations, like utilizing existing pieces of fortifications⁵⁹². That is why in Dura the legion was quartered inside the city's borders, in Bostra outside the city in a custom-built fort and in Palmyra inside the camp built on its ruins.

Aelia Capitolina as a Roman colony, military camp, a part of a system

Lastly we will deal with the role and function of the military camp in Roman Jerusalem based on the position of the Roman army on the eastern frontier. Furthermore we will also take into consideration the two main theories concerning the Roman Army on the east the "Grand Strategy"⁵⁹³ idea and the Roman occupation idea⁵⁹⁴. Lastly looking at the function of a Roman veteran colony and a garrisoned city will also help greatly in understanding the specific situation of Roman Jerusalem of Aelia Capitolina.

Long before the times of Aelia Capitolina Roman colonies were setup with one sole purpose and that was defense. In 218 B.C. about 6000 Roman colonists were settled in Placentia and Cremona to guard the Po River in northern Italy⁵⁹⁵. In time the Roman colony idea evolved. In the beginning colonists were forced to revoke their citizenship but in return they received generous land grants. That evolved in time allowing settlers to not only keep their citizenships but also to elect their own magistracies, with limited financial and judicial power. By the time

⁵⁹¹ Caerleon 51 acres, York 48 acres, Chester 53 acres, Bonn 61 acres, Wilson (1905), p. 139.

⁵⁹² Ibidem, p. 138.

⁵⁹³ Luttwak (1976).

⁵⁹⁴ Isaac (1990).

⁵⁹⁵ <http://www.britannica.com/topic/colony-ancient-Roman-settlement> availability 02.11.2016.

of Aelia Capitolina colonies were also established to house the landless freedman and Roman veteran soldiers (especially). They played an important part in the Romanization process throughout the empire. The establishment of Roman colonies ceased by the 2nd century A.D. from there the title *colonia* was used only as the highest rank a city and its community can attain⁵⁹⁶.

The reasons for the foundation of Aelia Capitolina⁵⁹⁷ still remain uncertain and the topic remains debatable. Was it an anti-Christian or maybe an anti-Semitic foundation or maybe completely based on strategic and tactical though required for the security of the region? We can never be sure. Yet there is one thing we can be certain and that is the fact that Colonia Aelia Capitolina together with Colonia Aelia Mursa were the last new colonial settlements in Roman history⁵⁹⁸ and both were placed on the eastern front.

The first Roman colony on the eastern frontier of the empire was founded by Emperor Augustus in the location of modern Beirut. *Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus* was established to stabilize the region that was only recently pacified. Next colony was placed in Ptolemais by Claudius and later used by Vespasian as a base of operation during the Jewish War. In times of need both colonies were more than capable of supporting Roman armies in the region and provide a fallback position if required.

So was Aelia Capitolina a typical Roman colony? In the times of Hadrian the number of Roman colonies on the Danube provinces always corresponded with the number of active legions in the province⁵⁹⁹. The practice of establishing civilian settlements next to a legionary camp is attested also under Hadrian in the Danube provinces of Carnuntum, Aquincum, and Viminacium. This observation helped in understanding the problem of Aelia Capitolina founding. The same idea concerning Roman veteran colonies could have been implemented in the eastern provinces of the empire by Hadrian. Thus the foundation of the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina can be linked with the transfer of a second legion to Judea by Trajan, Hadrian merely followed through⁶⁰⁰. The only difference discerning the Danube provinces from Judea is that the settlements of the Danube were *municipia* while Roman Jerusalem was the last true veteran colony⁶⁰¹. Additionally one should remember that various city statuses were devised

⁵⁹⁶ Ibidem and Boatwright (2000), p. 36.

⁵⁹⁷ Chapter 1.

⁵⁹⁸ Boatwright (2000), p. 36.

⁵⁹⁹ Bieberstein (2007), p. 144.

⁶⁰⁰ Bieberstein (2007), p. 144.; Boatwright (2000), p. 173.

⁶⁰¹ Bieberstein (2007), p. 144.

based on military reasons and that newly founded colonies served as the armed outposts of Rome⁶⁰².

Colonia Aelia Capitolina was a military colony, a traditional and official settlement of veterans⁶⁰³. The colony was designed to be self-sufficient so a kilnwork factory was constructed near Roman Jerusalem, to help the rebuilding efforts of the city. As a military colony its role was connected with the presence of the Roman army in the region. This army could be responsible for the security of the city it was placed in or the security of local trade routes or local rural populace. The military colony housed veteran legionaries that retired from service. Those veterans were allowed to have families and live together inside a veteran colony. Veteran sons were recruited into the Roman army as legionaries, because of their fathers heritage. This changed slightly after Roman legionaries were allowed marriages during their service as soldiers. Before the Severan reforms Roman soldiers were obligated to live inside their camp walls and going outside was only possible after receiving the right leave. After the Severan reforms married Roman soldiers were allowed to live with their families outside the Roman camp limits. In the east garrisoned cities like Dura Europos or Aelia Capitolina benefited the most from this ordeal. Now married soldiers were more likely to live inside the civilian settlement located next to the military camp. This resulted in an increase in population of particular garrisoned cities and thus benefited the city.

In time military camps were seen as a place suited for single soldiers only. Aelia Capitolina was a military colony so it was especially suited for soldiers that retired from duty. After the Severan reforms the city was not only a colony for retired soldiers but was also inhabited with families of Roman soldiers. This increase in population of the city and decrease in the capacity of the camp favors the Doron Bar theory locating the camp in the vicinity of the today's Muristan. Because the Roman camp there would possess the smallest size (4.2 acres) it would fit perfectly with the idea that only non-married soldiers remained in the camps. But Aelia Capitolina was founded in 132-135 A.D. long before Severan reforms and was planned as a Roman veteran colony with a military camp⁶⁰⁴. From this point of view only the locations of the Temple Mount and Southwestern hill can be taken into consideration. On the other hand if we look into the Severan reforms and its effects on Aelia Capitolina and its military camp we can reach some other conclusions. As mentioned earlier marriage between Roman soldiers and

⁶⁰² Boatwright (2000), p. 52.

⁶⁰³ Ibidem, p. 198.

⁶⁰⁴ Bieberstein (2007), p. 144.

local woman helped in the Romanization process and spread roman citizenship. It is possible that the military camp in Aelia Capitolina decreased its size significantly because of this new possibility. So maybe before the reforms the military camp required to occupy the entire southwestern hill but after the reforms its size dropped to the size proposed by Geva. Or it occupied the entire Temple Mount but also declined in size and halted on the southwestern step of the Temple Mount.

In the second chapter we were discussing the position of the Roman army on the eastern frontier of the empire. Provinces mentioned include Cappadocia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Judea and Arabia and the Roman defensive line based on the *Via Nova Traiana*, Limes Arabicus. Before the Diocletianic reforms in the early 4th century A.D. the Roman eastern frontier was organized around Legions stationed in important or strategic locations around the eastern frontier. As a rule one legion was stationed in one province, sometimes when the situation called for it two legions were present. The headquarters of those legions were placed in either specially constructed forts or inside important cities. Smaller detachments of those legions were sent out into the province to guard local rural population, trade routes, and travelers. Before the times of Hadrian we are presented with a Roman army bent on conquest and territorial expansion. Client states were a political tool that helped Roman army in their advance into the enemy territory, helped them supply that army and sometimes helped in their retreat.

In the times of the Republic the Roman army was a tool focused only on aggressive military expansion in the service of the Roman Republic. Yet those expansions were not planned by the Roman Senate or the people of Rome but by the commanders of the Legions themselves. Successful campaigns and rich war spoils allowed Roman legion commanders to rapidly advance their political careers and secure a peaceful retirement. As a result Roman power grew with every military victory, acquiring new territory and bringing new people under the Roman banner. In this time of rapid expansion Roman legions were based on the borders of the Empire always prepared for the new push forward. Troublesome city centers were garrisoned with Roman soldiers in order to police the population and stop any future revolts or riots. In the west new forts and fortified installations were built around troublesome locations, in the east however major urban centers were common so stationing troops inside them was seen as the best and cheapest option.

With the dawning of the Roman Principate the expansion slowed down, because now the ultimate power was placed in the hands of the Emperor so now only hand-picked leaders thought wars for the Empire with the Emperors blessing. Some Emperors decided to fight by

themselves but some designated their most trustful leaders to different campaigns. During his rule Emperor Hadrian decided to finally stop any expansion and focus on the Empire at hand and consolidate its borders and stabilize it internally. To achieve his goal Hadrian decided to give back all territory conquered by Trajan and switch the focus of the Empire to a more defensive one. As a result the Hadrian wall was constructed on the Western frontier, while the eastern one received new military units.

Before the times of Hadrian Roman foreign policy was strictly linked with the client state idea. Until the times of Trajan this client state policy worked wonders for the Roman empire and in some degree also helped the client state. Trajan's rule brought an end to the majority of the client states and incorporated them into the Roman empire. This decision no doubt caused major security issues that had to be quickly resolved.

The new province of Arabia created mostly from the territory of the former Nabataean Kingdom faced severe security problems after the annexation. The former defenders the Nabataean army was either disbanded or moved out of the province to reduce any possibility of a riot or revolt. Although safe from insurgents the Arabian province was vulnerable to outside attacks and banditry, and because the main focus of the province was trade the security of the trade routes remained a serious concern for the Roman Empire. To secure the basic needs of the province and its trade routes the III Cyrenaica with additional auxillia were summoned and stationed along all important roads and highways.

Yet with time a new defensive strategy appeared based on the Roman findings in the Arabian province. It appears that the former Nabataean defense line could have been an inspiration in the forming of the eastern defensive policy of the Empire⁶⁰⁵. The Romans decided to occupy most of the defensive structures left by the Nabataean army and in some cases built new ones to create a straight defensive line. A new road was built originating in the capitol of the province Bostra and ending at the city of Aqaba. The road was called the *Via Nova Traiana* and is seen as a fortified road traversing the entire province from north to south. Fortified towers and watch towers were built next to it to provide solid defense for travelers, traders and other users of the highway. The *Via Nova Traiana* was the basis of the new defensive line constructed in Arabia to secure the province from internal and external dangers. The III Cyrenaica was positioned in Bostra at the beginning of the *Via* while supporting auxillia was stationed along the road in mentioned towers and watchtowers. In their reoccupation effort the Roman army

⁶⁰⁵ Parker (1986), p. 115.

omitted some former Nabataean defensive structures, because only those located near the *Via Nova Traiana* were seen as relevant⁶⁰⁶. In short the Arabian province was defended by a Roman Legion stationed in the provincial capital of Bostra. The legion's detachments together with auxiliary units were stationed in fortified towers and watchtowers located near the main road the *Via Nova Traiana*. The entire defense was a linear one starting at the city of Bostra and ending at Aqaba⁶⁰⁷.

The *Via Nova Traiana* defensive line had to be in some way effective because in time similar lines of defense were supposedly later constructed in the Mesopotamian and Judean province. In Mesopotamia this defense was constructed along the *Strata Diocletiana*. In the Judean province a fortified defensive line which origin can be traced to the time of the first Judean Kings was re occupied by the Roman forces, under research by Mordechai Gichon the *Limes Palaestine*⁶⁰⁸.

The linear defense of the Arabian and Judean province was aimed not only to stop any potential invaders but also to halt and control nomadic movement in and out of the Roman empire⁶⁰⁹.

Other provinces on the eastern fringes of the Roman empire deployed a different kind of border control. The Cappadocian province in the early days of the Roman empire was secured by three main principles 1) client states of Asia Minor 2) the buffer state of Armenia 3) and four Roman legions stationed in Syria. The rule of Vespasian brought new security problems for the Cappadocian province. He annexed most of the client states located in Asia Minor into the Roman empire thus enlarging the province of Cappadocia. In this new situation four Roman legions stationed in Syria would be not enough to defend two provinces at the same time and secure the neutrality of Armenia. To solve mentioned problems Emperor Vespasian brought two more Legions and a lot of Auxiliary forces to support them into Cappadocia⁶¹⁰. With those changes the province remained in peace until the IV century.

The Syrian province was defended by four legions stationed in major cities located around the province. Yet as seen in the second chapter pinpointing the exact location of every single Roman legion in Syria proves problematic and troublesome. Still Roman Legions and

⁶⁰⁶ Graf (1979), pp. 121-127.

⁶⁰⁷ Parker (1986), p. 125-126.

⁶⁰⁸ Gichon (2002), pp. 185-201.

⁶⁰⁹ Parker (1986), p. 129.

⁶¹⁰ Chapter 2.

their soldiers were most likely stationed in major cities in the province not on a linear defensive line.

The province of Mesopotamia was guarded by two legions stationed in the most important cities of the region. The Legion I Parthica stationed in Singara and the III Parthica in Nisbis. Stationing two legions in major urban centers seems reasonable in a newly occupied province as both legions could serve as a police force ordered to stop future riots or revolts.

In the Judean province (in some part already dealt with above) before Roman Legions were summoned to take over police and security duties, some of those functions were already under the control of local auxiliary units left there since the Pompey's conquest. Local Herodian militia was also ordered to help their Roman masters in their duties. Until the first Jewish Revolt the Judean province was under the direct control of Roman Auxiliary units and their allies⁶¹¹. All in all six auxiliary units were present in the Judean province prior the Jewish Revolt. After the end of the conflict in the year 73 A.D. one Roman legion was stationed in Jerusalem in order to perform police duties to put a stop to any further unrest. The X Legion Fretensis remained in the city until the end of the 3rd century, and was responsible for the construction of the Roman Jerusalem of *Aelia Capitolina*. The second Roman legion summoned to the Judean province was the Legio VI Ferrata stationed in a Roman camp constructed specially for the Legion near Megiddo. The VI Ferrata remained in the Judean province until the end of the 3rd century. Both Legions Ferrata and Fretensis possess many similarities concerning their stay in the Judean province. 1) Both legions were transferred out of the province by the end of the 3rd century, 2) Both camps are hard to identify by archaeological means in modern times. The Judean province was also supposedly guarded by an linear defense known as the *Limes Palaestinae* or *Limes Iudaice*⁶¹².

The Arabian province already mentioned above was guarded by a linear defensive line called nowadays the *Limes Arabicus*. The Legio III Cyrenaica was stationed in the capitol of the province the city of Bostra, where a small military camp was constructed. The *Limes Arabicus* was built along the fortified road of *Via Nova Traiana* in the eastern direction of the road. Forts, towers and watchtowers were garrisoned by Auxiliary units stationed in the province and detachments of the Legio III Cyrenaica.

⁶¹¹ The Herodian *Sebasteni cohors I Sebastenorum* discussed in the second chapter

⁶¹² Gichon (2002).

Was Aelia Capitolina an integral part of any of both mentioned linear defensive lines of Limes Arabicus and Limes Palaestinae? Because of the distance that separated Aelia from Limes Arabicus is highly unlikely that Aelia was in any way integrated with the defensive line. A different situation is possible when we look at the Limes Palaestinae located south of the ancient city. The entire defensive line stretched from the eastern coast and the city of modern Gaza to the western coast of the Dead Sea in Ein Boqueq. The northern stretches of the Limes Palaestinae were only about 30 kilometers away from Aelia Capitolina. This distance allowed Roman soldiers stationed in Jerusalem to not only assist the Limes if needed but also to occupy some of the forts and fortlets located on the defensive line. If this assumption is to be correct the Roman legion stationing in Jerusalem would have to be bigger to keep a steady reserve in order to assist the Limes Palaestinae. Thus only two locations of the camp would suffice to hold enough manpower: the location on the Temple Mount and the southwestern hill. Still this assumption is only theoretical, because archaeological and historical sources confirming this idea are nonexistent. Also we need to remember that the *Limes Palaestinae* theory is still in debate.

A Grand Strategy or border control?

The last topic the author would like to discuss are the two theories presented by Edward Luttwak and Benjamin Isaac. As said before both concentrate on the specific subject of the eastern military frontier and both give a completely different explanation of the complex situation on the eastern fringes of the Roman Empire. One of the first scholars who tried to explain Roman military decisions and strategies based on historical and archaeological data and ancient sources with a complete monograph was Edward Luttwak⁶¹³. Luttwak's book *"The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire, From the First Century A.D. to the Third"* was a complex read that tried to explain and discuss the strategy of the Roman Empire from the times of the Republic to the times of the Empire. Luttwak was not a historian thus his work was seen as non-professional by many historians and other scholars. Yet it did a remarkable job at promoting this interesting field of study concentrated on the Roman strategy and tactical decisions on the many frontiers of the Roman Empire. Although as mentioned he was treated as an outsider his work gathered many followers and did inspire more scholars to focus on the frontier defenses of the Roman Empire. His main concept was focused on the "Grand Strategy" that the Roman Empire followed throughout its existence. This strategy was planned by the Emperors themselves together with their trusted advisors during their reign. Luttwak's work injected the

⁶¹³ Edward Luttwak was a military strategist, political scientist and a historian, but only as a hobby.

term “Defense in Depth”⁶¹⁴ into the Roman military strategy of the 3rd century mainly on the eastern frontier of the Empire.

A counter to the “Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire” was written by Benjamin Isaac in his book titled *“The Limits of Empire, The Roman Army in the East”*, Isaac argued that the concept of a defense in depth and the overall “Grand Strategy” is nothing more than proposition that cannot be backed up by solid evidence. His counter argument was simple the Romans have not planned any defense in depth but only responded to local threats and concentrated only on the local security, but not to protect the settlements from invaders but from bandits and unrests. Roman interest on the east was not the defense of the Empire from foreign invaders but from internal threats. The massive military build-up and constant maintenance of the road system in the east was prepared for the military responsible for local security not for a massive army. The defense of the frontier zones was never a priority for the Roman high command, because as Isaac concludes in chapter III of his book “The Roman army spent no time on certain activities which modern states consider elementary duties towards their citizens. Its primary function was to promote the security of Roman rule rather than peace of the inhabitants of the provinces”⁶¹⁵.

Both ideas gathered their fair share of followers and influenced many new minds in their pursuit of knowledge concerning the roman eastern frontier. Still the debate was mostly concentrated on which idea was the right one. Those that followed Luttwak concentrated on the concept of the “defense in depth” and started to apply it to other defensive lines located in the Roman Empire. Scholars that backed up Isaac theory were mostly in opposition to the idea that the concept of “defense in depth” can be applied anywhere in the empire.

Yet a third group of scholars can be identified. Those scholars are eager to combine both ideas as they both explain the military situation quite well. Because on one hand the roman army was indeed an army of occupation, bent on keeping their gains even if they had to police and root all unrest and possible revolts. But on the other hand with time the land they have acquired through conquest began to transform into their homeland influenced by roman culture. New generations of easterners were born in roman influenced cities (with some of them possessing the title of a colony). Citizenships were more common thus more and more people could feel the benefit of being a Roman citizen. Severus law to allow soldier marriages helped a lot in this process, because it allowed not only to spread citizenship but also created a bond

⁶¹⁴ Discussed above.

⁶¹⁵ Isaac (1990), p. 156.

between the soldier and the land that has now with his wife and a new family became his home⁶¹⁶.

Both ideas can be also applied to Roman Jerusalem. The First, Second⁶¹⁷ and Third Jewish War were a prime example of how riots and protests can turn into a military conflict when one side completely ignores the other. Upon this unique experience the Roman administration has built up a new “doctrine” on how to deal with the locals to avoid any possible revolts in the future. The simplest solution was to garrison soldiers inside recently conquered major urban centers and leave them there on police duty. Jerusalem was one of those cities where the idea of policing the population was implemented after a revolt and in the end led to another one. Still Jerusalem was not a real border city like that of Dura or Bosra. Those were located and implemented into a frontier defense zone where the term of “defense in depth” supposedly worked. Military forces in major city centers located on the eastern frontier were responsible not only for the defense of their part of the defensive line but also policed the local population so no revolt would have sparked on the defense line.

As said many times the idea of a fortified military frontier guarded by a defense in depth strategy built around a “*limes*” zone still ignites many disputes. The Latin term itself sparks debate and separates scholars into two rivalry camps. The existence of this “*limes*” zone is very important in the context of our military camp in Jerusalem. If we decide that the Romans utilized a frontier defense concentrated on the idea of a defense in depth then we need a smaller camp in Jerusalem to house only a small force and its command structures. Ideas of Geva⁶¹⁸ and Doron Bar⁶¹⁹ could have become mandatory in the search for the Roman military camp. A smaller camp would suffice, because most soldiers would be located in the field manning defensive structures and signal stations. If we decide that the “*limes*” defensive zone was not present we will need a bigger camp in order to station more soldiers. Of course still some field

⁶¹⁶ The author’s own opinion on the subject is pretty simple. Early Roman expansion in the times of the Republic was carried out by individual Generals who with the blessing of the Republic led their armies into battle. Most of the time the Roman Republic was on the defense and only defended against aggression. Yet in time the tables have turned and the Roman army became an army on the offensive. Wars were waged with one purpose and that was to annihilate the enemy and force a peace offering favoring Roman terms. In this scenario the Roman army could care less for the defense of gained ground. Yet during the times of the Empire and mostly with Hadrian’s concept of an everlasting empire the idea to only occupy and prevent revolts looks a little short sided. Enemies within and enemies outside are always a threat for the stability of any country. It is probable that the Emperor together with his most trusted generals decided on the overall defense policy of the border provinces. The Roman empire is one of the most long-lived empires in the history of the world and it is impossible that it survived this long by mere luck without any planning to prevent a quick downfall.

⁶¹⁷ War of Qitos

⁶¹⁸ Small Roman camp located near the three towers left by Titus.

⁶¹⁹ Roman military camp located on the Muristan.

structures would be manned and trade routes have to be secured with patrols. Yet those tasks would require much less manpower than manning a zone of defense in depth and a bigger garrison would have been located in a urban center to keep order. Still Aelia was founded in the 2nd century while the full concept on the defense in depth came along at the beginning of the 4th century. In the year 300 A.D. the Roman Jerusalem of Aelia Capitolina is no longer guarded by a Roman garrison which moved to Aila(Aqaba/Eliath). A city wall was supposedly built by Diocletian or Aurelian in order to supplement the leaving of the legion. In the end those are just propositions and speculations not answers to question asked.

Summary

A great deal of diverse arguments and known facts was presented in this work throughout its entire length. Despite an immense amount of work done already from the beginning of archaeological research in Jerusalem the question of the Roman Military Camp in the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina still remains unanswered.

The first chapter of this dissertation was focused solely on the Roman reconstruction of the Jewish city of Jerusalem. Gathering most of known knowledge on this topic the chapter tried to present all (if possible) theories concerning this Roman foundation, its overall design and layout together with all known archaeological and historical facts concerning the city and its military camp. Some more attention was dedicated to the old fortification system of the Old City of Jerusalem. Although constructed mainly in Ottoman times some scholars were capable of discovering that some parts of the Old City Wall belonged to a different period and time. They even constructed theories saying that the Ottoman Wall only followed the lines of the previous city wall constructed in Roman times by either Diocletian or Aurelian⁶²⁰. Last part of the chapter presented, a couple of possibilities concerning the location of the Roman military camp in the borders of the Old City of Jerusalem. The locations of the southwestern hill, Temple Mount, the southwestern hill of the Temple Mount and the areas of the Mursitan and Binyanei Ha'uma were all taken into consideration.

The second chapter focused on the Roman Army stationed in the provinces of the eastern Roman World. It began with a comparison between the Roman Army units stationed in the eastern provinces with the units stationed in the west. After a small historical explanation the chapter moves on to the topic of the Hadrian's Wall and presents it as a materialization of Hadrian's defensive idea to integrate and unify the Roman World. The sole purpose of this part

⁶²⁰ Wightman (1993), p. 195-225.

of the chapter is to present the overall look, role and purpose of the Hadrian's Wall, as a linear defensive line made to slow down and even maybe stop any possible attacks. Civilian movement was policed and controlled along the wall in special checkpoints known as milecastles. This incredible system although quickly abandoned (a new "wall" was placed by Emperor Antoninus Pius between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde) was also quickly recovered by the Roman army as they retreated from the north. In the end the Hadrian's Wall proved to be a solid defensive and control system in use even long after the Romans abandoned Britain.

Next part of the chapter is focused on the subject of *Limes Arabicus* its history, role and purpose. The *Limes Arabicus* is seen by many scholars as an ideological copy of the Hadrian's Wall idea in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The main differences between the Hadrian's Wall and the *Limes Arabicus* lies in its geography. Hadrian's Wall extended west from Segedunum at Wallsend on the River Tyne, via Carlisle and Kirkcubright-on-Eden, to the shore of the Solway Firth, ending a short but unknown distance west of the village of Bowness-on-Solway and measured about 117.5 km. The *Limes Arabicus* is seen as a gathering of fortifications constructed or reused by the Romans along the Arabian Frontier measuring about 1,500 km running northeast from the Gulf of Aqaba reaching northern Syria (somewhere near Rojava). Both military systems follow Hadrian's idea of a peaceful empire focused on increasing its stability and unity amongst its citizens by spreading the idea of *Pax Romana*. While the Hadrian's Wall was nearly an continuous linear defensive line with fortified checkpoints every Roman mile all linked by a turf or stone wall, the *Limes Arabicus* was a system of forts placed in nearly equal intervals not linked by a continuous wall. The benchmark for the *Limes Arabicus* was the *Via nova Traiana* seen today as a military road placed there primary for military movement and secondary for civilian movement. The forts of the *Limes Arabicus* were placed to the east and west of the *Via nova Traiana* their main role was to police border movement and in case of an attack slow down the enemy, signal other posts and wait for reinforcements. There are as many similarities as differences between the Hadrian's Wall and the *Limes Arabicus* defensive system and most of them are considered in the chapter.

The *Limes Arabicus* part of the chapter focuses on the history and role of the defensive system. Its main goal is to present the system, its history, role and how did that role changed in the 4th century. Archaeological and historical sources are mentioned here and serve as means to better understand how the system worked. An overall image of the system is shown by

mentioning most forts located along the *Limes Arabicus* together with their function. This part of the chapter serves as an information hub for the third chapter.

The last part of the second chapter is focused on the eastern Roman provinces and their Roman garrison. Beginning with the Cappadocian and going through the Syrian, Mesopotamian, Judean and Arabian provinces. Throughout this part of the chapter legions and auxiliary units are mentioned with their respective garrison sites, together with the history of the provinces and all changes made in those garrisons.

The defense of the Cappadocian province is presented based on three major principals. First were the client states able to rally if called to service, the second was the buffer state of Armenia, and the third were four Roman Legions stationed in Syria. By showing in detail how did those three principals work we are able to see that the Cappadocian province possessed some kind of defensive system of their own.

The Syrian province was garrisoned by four Roman legions until the year 40 A.D. After 40 A.D. the situation changes together with the number of Roman units stationed in the province. In the year 60 A.D. there were five Roman legions in the Syrian province all under the command of the new governor Corbulo. 70 A.D. brought new changes to the garrison of the province. The number of legions was set at four but by the year 75 A.D. three remained. The exact number of Roman legions in the Syrian province varies from two to four but those numbers remained constant until the 3rd century crisis.

Last two provinces described in this chapter were the Mesopotamian and Judean provinces. The Mesopotamian province created in the year 115 A.D. was one of the youngest Roman provinces in the east taken from the Parthians by Emperor Trajan during his Parthian campaign. Since then it became a bone of contention between the Roman and Parthian/Persian empires. Although given back by Trajan's successor Hadrian it was quickly retaken by the Roman Emperor Lucius Verus in 161-166 A.D. Until the time of the Muslim Conquest in 633 A.D. the Mesopotamian province was the main battlefield between Roman/Byzantine and Parthian/Persian empires. Three legions were created by Septimus Severus in order to retake Mesopotamia. Two of them I Parthica and III Parthica, were stationed in Mesopotamia the third one II Parthica was recalled to Albanum. The last one the Judean province was introduced to the Roman empire after years of turmoil created by the fall of the Hasmonean rule. Pompey settled the raging civil war with the help of his legions and placed the victorious Hyrcanus in charge of the kingdom as Etnarch and High Priest. With the help of the Roman Senate one of

Antipater's sons Herod was able to ascend the Judean throne and after three years of struggle he gained complete control over Judea. Crowned as the King of the Jews, Herod remained a loyal Roman client king serving its Roman masters as best as he could. After his death the Judean Kingdom slowly started to collapse. The Jewish revolt in the year 66 A.D. and its initial suppression in 73 A.D. completely negated the idea of an renewed Jewish kingdom. Since 73 A.D. the Jewish Kingdom no longer was a client state but a Roman province with a Roman garrison stationed in Jerusalem. For over 60 years the Judean province remained peaceful but in 132 A.D. a second revolt erupted lasting over 3 more years. In the aftermath of the revolt the province was renamed Syria-Palestina and became a consular province now with two legions stationing in it Legion X Fretensis in Jerusalem and VI Ferrata stationed in Caparcotna (modern Lajjun).

The main idea behind this part of the chapter was to show how did the Roman army operate on the eastern frontier. Where did the army station, what functions were they assigned during their stay and if those functions assumed a defensive or an offensive role. It clearly shows that garrisoning cities or other important fortified points was nothing new for the Roman army in the east, yet the question here is was Jerusalem only a garrisoned fortification or a Roman colony for war veterans?

The last part of the chapter is pretty straight forward. It describes and displays Roman fortresses, forts and other military installations seen on the western and eastern military fronts. An overall description, together with a schematic image and an example for every type of military installation is present. It ends with a detailed conclusion describing the main purpose of the chapter and its implications on the rest of this work.

The third chapter of this work concentrates on the problem of the Roman military camp in the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina. It begins with a presentation of major ideas concerning the Roman military camp and the city itself. Those ideas are dealt with as the chapter proceeds. We will now list all ideas covered in this last chapter: The theory of Edward Luttwak and the counter-theory of Benjamin Isaac, was Aelia Capitolina a fortified city or a simple veteran colony for retired Roman soldiers? What was the relationship between the distribution of Roman forces on the eastern frontier and the city of Aelia Capitolina? Was Aelia defended by local Roman forces or completely self-dependent? Where was the Roman military camp located?

The main purpose of the third chapter is to summarize all work done in this dissertation and to find answers (or if that proves too hard, propositions to answers) found in chapter one and two.

Closing thoughts

Aelia Capitolina remains, a very interesting subject of its own. Rebuilt from a destroyed and ruined city of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperor, Hadrian as a symbol for his new Roman Empire. As told in the first chapter Hadrian was the embodiment of Roman culture and religion. As the ruler of a powerful yet troubled empire he decided to stray away from a frequently attended route that other Roman emperors traveled for many years. That was, a route of conquest, violence and fear. Hadrian decided that now after many years of wars, a new idea, a new way is more suitable for the Roman Empire. Unity was now needed in order to hold this vast empire together, and to achieve unity the Emperor of Rome needs to directly interfere. Hadrian believed in Rome he believed that in order to survive the empire needs to unite under the banner of Roman culture, religion and law. The long forgotten PAX ROMANA needs to be reinstalled, elevated and obeyed. Because action speaks louder than words he stopped any running wars and refrained from starting new ones. He concentrated on the border provinces of the empire and directed his attention to them. In Hadrian's view in order to survive the Roman Empire needs to stop its conquest and focus on its internal issues. The Hadrian's Wall is the materialization of a limited empire focused primarily on defense and forbidding any kind of conquest. Aelia Capitolina was a materialization of Hadrian's other idea, and that was the idea to rebuild.

During his travels Hadrian founded many building projects ranging from public buildings to aqueducts, in order to show the inhabitants of the empire that Rome has not forgotten about them. Yet despite all those projects Hadrian needed something more to get his message across, something of a bigger proportion, and the Judean province gave Hadrian the opportunity he looked for all his life. A city known from legends, laid to ruin by Roman military might, a city he can restore as a symbol of a restored Pax Romana. Thus ancient Jerusalem would be another materialization of his ideas just like Hadrian's Wall. Jerusalem was rebuilt as a Roman city with Roman buildings and streets, with Roman ideas and temples. It was a grand project that encompassed two forums, three temples, many public buildings, a completely reconstructed and redesigned road system and a Roman Legion to safeguard its grandeur. After its completion Aelia Capitolina was the shining jewel of the east, it was the materialization of Hadrian's idea of a reconstructed empire, not only in material terms but also in spiritual terms. Just like Aelia

rose from the ashes of the old world, in the same way Hadrian saw Roman culture, religion and law rise again. Jerusalem was always important for someone. From its beginning until the fall of the Second Temple it was important to the Jews. Next were the Christians and many years later the Muslims. After 132 A.D. it also became important to Hadrian, and because it was important only to Hadrian it became neglected by future emperors. Antonius Pius, Hadrian's successor was the only Emperor that was remotely interested in the new city, but after his death Aelia's importance started to degrade. Even the law that prohibited the Jews from entering Aelia lost its power after Antonius death. Near the year 300 A.D. the Roman legion was transferred away from Aelia sealing its status as a backwater colony.

Aelia Capitolina was also a symbol of hatred for early Christians. Its construction demanded to hide all important Christian holy sites. The Christian community saw this as an attack on their faith and labeled Hadrian an Anti-Christ because of it. As mentioned in this work early Christian writers also wrote about Hadrian's attempts to hide away Christian holy sites and called it a big sacrilege. At the beginning of the 4th century with the rise of Christianity Aelia became one of the most important cities on the east. A rush to discover Christian holy sites and an increase in pilgrimage returned Aelia to the map. Yet with it Aelia fell maybe not as a city but as a symbol of Roman culture and religion. Temples dedicated to Roman gods were seen as pagan lair of evil worship and were destroyed by new Christian inhabitants, for them the city was created primarily to hide away all holy sites related to Jesus their savior. Even today some Christians are thought that Aelia Capitolina was created by the Anti-Christ Hadrian in order to stop the spread of christianity⁶²¹.

In reality Aelia Capitolina was a materialization of an ideal, that Hadrian needed to convince Roman citizens that his vision of the empire is the one worth accepting and because of this Aelia was important to Hadrian and only him.

The creation of this dissertation was necessary to propagate the importance of archaeological and historical research on the topic of Aelia Capitolina and the Roman occupation of Judea. Jerusalem during its Roman period is seen in the eyes of some archaeologist as less important than Jerusalem of the first and second temple periods. Sometimes Roman period Jerusalem is even omitted during archaeological research and is presented in vague statements in articles and research summaries. In hopes to raise archaeological awareness considering the topic the author decided to continue his master's

⁶²¹ As mentioned in this work.

degree work and expand upon his earlier gained knowledge. In result we got a collection of idea's supplemented with the authors own commentary and theories based on the work of other archaeologist and historians. The major disadvantage of this work is the lack of own archaeological excavations or surveys. Those require large financial support which is extremely hard to get as a doctoral-student. Furthermore archaeological excavations are impossible in the area of the Old City of Jerusalem, not to mention the Temple Mount itself. Still trying to make the most of it, this dissertation attempts to tackle the topic of the Roman city of Jerusalem and its military camp, in context of the Roman frontier defenses.

Jerusalem photographs:



*Fig. 17 The Damascus Gate the northern entrance to the Roman Aelia Capitolina
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 18 The Roman Gate under the Damascus Gate
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 19 Christian district the view on the Citadel (Tower of David)
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



Fig. 20 Jaffa Gate
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



Fig. 21 The Citadel (David's Tower)
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



*Fig. 22 A Madaba Map mosaic painting on sale
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 23 The Ecce Homo arch. The free standing arch that marks the boundary of the eastern side of Aelia Capitolina
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



Fig. 24 Herod's Gate
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



*Fig. 25 The Western Wall (Wailing Wall), remains after the Herod Temple
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 26 Archaeological remains in Old City Jerusalem
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 27 Southern Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa Mosque, Archaeological parl, Robinson's
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 28 Aelia Capitolina Cardo Maximus
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 29 Aelia Capitolina Cardo Maximus graphical reconstruction
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 30 Roman pavement on the Cardo Maximus road
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*

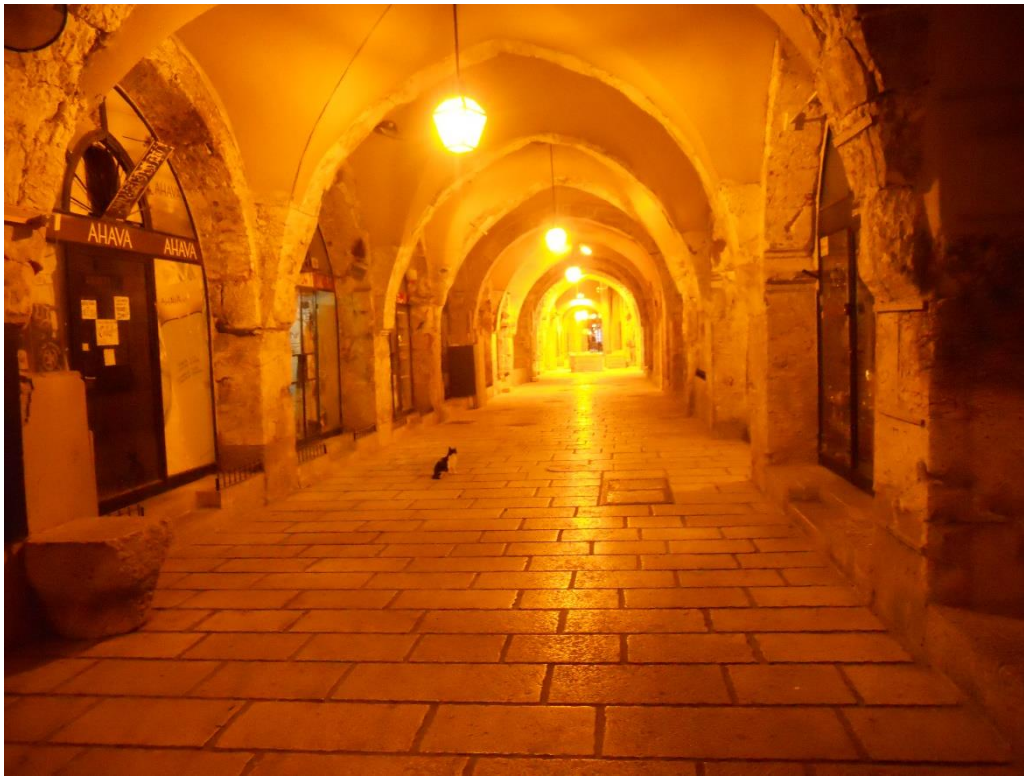


Fig. 31 Reconstructed Cardo Maximus used in modern commercial traffic
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



Fig. 32 Remains of Cardo Maximus
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



Fig. 33 Archaeological site in Jerusalem
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



Fig. 34 Archaeological site in Jerusalem
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



*Fig. 35 Kidron Valley tomb: Bnei Hazir and Tomb of Zechariah
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



*Fig. 36 Archaeological excavations in the City of David
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski*



Fig. 37 Robinson's Arch
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



Fig. 38 The entrance to the Muristan
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski



Fig. 39 Syjon Gate
Photographed by: Tomasz Janczewski