Herod and Augustus

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edited by

David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos

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Abbreviations are given of periodicals, book series, encyclopaedias, dictionaries and corpora of non-literary primary sources (papyri, inscriptions and coins) cited by the contributors to this volume. Where the publication is a monograph or a set of volumes that is less widely known to Classicists, bibliographic details are provided. Where different abbreviations are used by contributors for the same publication these are shown below. Abbreviations employed, where the contributor has also provided the full bibliographic details in their paper, are omitted from this list.

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)
AAAH	*Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*
Abh. DPV	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ADAJ	*Annals of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology* (Archaeological Institute of America)
AK	*Antike Kunst*
AMGR	*Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain* (Alexandria)
AncSoc	*Ancient Society* (Louvain)
AnnOrNap	*Annali: Rivista del Dipartimento di studi asiatici e del Dipartimento di studi e ricerche su Africa e paesi arabi, Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1972–)
ANS	American Numismatic Society
AntAfr	*Antiquités africaines*
AntPl	*Antike Plastik*
ARS	*Ancient Roman Statutes*, transl. etc. A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton and F. C. Bourne (*The Corpus of Roman Law*, Vol. v. 2, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961)
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di Lettere e Filosofia*

ASOR	American Society for Oriental Research
AW	*Antike Welt*
BABesch	*Bulletin Antieke Beschaving—Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* (Leiden)
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BAR (IS)	*British Archaeological Reports* (International Series; Oxford)
BAsInst	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Society for Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BdA	*Bollettino d'Art* (Rome/Ravenna)
BÉFAR	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Series Publication)
BiA	*Biblical Archaeologist* (ASOR)
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CHJ	*Cambridge History of Judaism*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CIRB	*Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani: Album Imaginum*, A. Gavrilov, N. Pavlichenko, D. Keyer and A. Karlin (St Petersburg: Biblioteca Classica Petropolitana and the St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2004)
CIS = CISem	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
Coll. Lat. = CollLatomus	*Collection Latomus*
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
DossArch	*Les Dossiers d'Archéologie*
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
EAD	Exploration archéologique de Délos
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. M. Avi Yonah and E. Stern, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1975; 4 vols.)
EJ2	V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)

ESI	*Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
FastiCap.	*Fasti Capitolini*
FGrH	*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–58)
FIRA	*Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, S. Riccobono, ed. (Florence: S. a. G. Barbèra, 1940–43)
Gallia	*Fouilles et monuments archéologiques en France Métropolitaine*
HABES	*Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien*
HSPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR = HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IAAR	*Israel Antiquities Authority Reports*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IES	Israel Exploration Society
IFAPO	Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*
IJNA	*International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*
ILS	*Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, H. Dessau, ed. (1892–1916)
JbAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSOPSS	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LACTOR	*London Association of Classical Teachers—Original Records*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
LSJ	Liddel, H. G., Scott, R., and Jones, H. S., *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Various editions, Oxford: Clarendon
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
Mas	Texts from Masada
Mavors	*Bulletin of the Institute of Ancient Military History*
MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)*
MededRome	*Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*

MEFRA	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*
MGWJ	*Monatsscrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
Mommsen, *SR*	T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1887–88)
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
NEAEHL	*New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. E. Stern *et al.*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 4 vols., 1993)
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
OUP	Oxford University Press
P Yadin	*The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, N. Lewis and Y. Yadin, eds. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989)
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PEFQSt	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
Pictores 1987	*Pictores per provincias: Aventicum V., Actes du 3e Colloque International sur la peinture murale romaine* (Cahiers d'archéologie romande 43, Avenches, Switzerland)
PIR^{1}	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi* (1st edn.)
PIR^{2}	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi* (2nd edn.)
PLM (Baehrens)	*Poetae Latini Minores*, E. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1879–83)
PPM I 1990	*Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici I* (ed. Carratelli, G. P. and Baldassarre, I., Rome, 1990)
PPM III 1992	*Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici III: Regiones II–III.V* (ed. Carratelli, G. P. and Baldassarre, I., Rome, 1992)
Proc. Prehist. Soc.	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
Qadmoniot	*Qadmoniot: Quarterly for the Antiquities of Eretz Israel and Biblical Lands*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RB = RBi	*Revue Biblique*
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. A. Pauly *et al.*, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1893–)
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*, H. Mattingley, E. A. Sydenham *et al.* (London: Spink, 1923–)
RIL	*Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e Storiche*
RKP	Routledge and Kegan Paul (publishers)
RM = MDAI(R)	

SAN	*Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics*
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*: Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SR	*Römisches Staatsrecht*, T. Mommsen (see under Mommsen, above)
Tarbiz	*Tarbiz (A Quarterly for Jewish Studies)*
TSAJ	*Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen)
VA	Van Arsdell, R. D., *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London: Spink, 1989)
WDSP	Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyri
ZDPV = ZPalV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Abbreviations Used for Ancient Literary Sources by Contributors

Where different abbreviations are used for the same source in this volume, the alternatives are shown.

AJ = Jos., *Ant*	Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*
App., *Bell. Civ. = B. Civ. = BC*	Appian, *Bella Civilia*
App., *Illyr.*	Appian, *Illyriké*
Baba Bathra = b. B.B.	Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Bathra*
BJ = Jos., *Bell.*	Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*
BAlex	*Bellum Alexandrinum*
bTaan	Babylonian Talmud, *Taanith*
b. Sukk.	Babylonian Talmud, *Sukkah*
Caes., BC = B. Civ. = Civil War	Caesar, *Bellum Civile*
Caes., BG = B. Gall.	Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum*
[Cic.] *AdHerr.*	[Cicero] *Ad Herrenium* (this work is not now regarded as by Cicero)
Cic., *Att.*	Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*
Cic., *De Republica*	Cicero, *De Republica*
Cic., *De Inv. = Inv. rhet.*	Cicero, *De inventione rhetorica*
Cic., *Deiot.*	Cicero, *Pro rege Deiotaro*
Cic., *Fam.*	Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*
Cic., *Quinct.*	Cicero, *Pro Quinctio*
Cic., *Sull.*	Cicero, *Pro Sulla*

Dio	Dio Cassius
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. Ant.*	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*
Frontinus, *Aq.*	Frontinus, *De aquae ductu urbis Romae*
Jos., *Ant.*	Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*
Jos., *Bell.* = *BJ* = *War*	Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*
Josephus, *Vita* = *Life*	
Julian, *Ad Themist.*	Julian, *Epistula* and *Themistium*
Macc.	Maccabees
Macrobius, *Sat.*	Macrobius, *Saturnalia*
Marc. Aurel., *Med*	Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*
m. Baba Kamma	Mishnah, *Baba Kamma*
m. Mid.	Mishnah, *Middoth*
m. Parah	Mishnah, *Parah*
m. Suk.	Mishnah, *Sukkah*
Philo, *Leg.*	Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*
Philo, *Spec. Leg.*	Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*
Pliny, *N.H.*	Pliny, *Naturalis historia*
Plutarch, *Anton.*	Plutarch, *Antony*
Plut., *Apothegm.*	Plutarch, *Apothegmata*
Plut., *CGr*	Plutarch, *Caius Gracchus*
Plut., *Cic.*	Plutarch, *Cicero*
Sall., *Jug.*	Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*
Seneca, *Clem.*	Seneca, *de Clementia*
Seneca, *Cons. Marc.*	Seneca, *Ad Marciam de consolatione*
Sen., *Dial.*	Seneca, *Dialogi*
Seneca, *Epp.*	Seneca, *Epistulae*
Strabo, *Geog.*	Strabo, *Geographia*
Suet., *Aug.*	Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*
Suet., *Gaius*	Svetonius, *Gaius Caligula*
Suet., *Iul.*	Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*
Suet., *Tib.*	Suetonius, *Tiberius*
Tacitus, *Ann.*	Tacitus, *Annales*
Tac., *Hist.*	Tacitus, *Historiae*
Suda	Suidas (the name of a Greek Lexicon)
t. Suk.	Tosefta, *Sukkah*
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus
Vitruvius, *De Arch.*	Vitruvius, *De architectura*

NABATAEAN ROYAL PROPAGANDA: A RESPONSE TO HEROD AND AUGUSTUS?*

Stephan G. Schmid

Abstract

Major developments and building activities took place within the Nabataean kingdom, mainly in the city of Petra during the reign of Herod and the period that immediately followed. Some of these elements, such as the layout of funerary complexes, details of interior decoration and specific elements of luxury architecture, find close parallels within Herodian buildings. The question, therefore, is, whether these similarities are related to aspects of pure fashion or whether there is a kind of rivalry between the Nabataeans and Herod. When analysing these elements, it becomes evident that some interpretations of what can be considered Nabataean royal propaganda do depend on the exact status of the Nabataean kingdom in relation to Rome, i.e. the question whether at that time it was a client state or not.

Several relief blocks with figural decoration suggest that events related to Octavian's victory at Actium and the conquest of Egypt in 31/30 BC were prominently illustrated in the city centre of Petra. Although we do not know the exact function of the buildings to which they were attached, it becomes evident that the Nabataeans did use a purely Hellenistic-Roman iconography by that time, implying, of course, strong figural elements, and, therefore, different from contemporary Herodian architectural decoration. Despite such differences, the layout of luxurious buildings, such as theatres, temples and representative pool- and garden-complexes from Petra do show straight parallels with respective Herodian constructions. Following this argumentation, we can even propose to identify a royal residence on top of Umm al-Biyara as being a kind of Nabataean answer to Herodian hilltop palaces like Masada or Machaerus (Machairous).

Despite evident parallels, details related to construction techniques and in general terms the attitude of the Nabataeans towards Rome and the wider Mediterranean indicate that the status of the Nabataean kingdom cannot be considered exactly the same as in the case of Herod's Judaea. While workshops responsible for the interior decoration of building complexes seemingly worked within Herodian palaces as well as in Petra, the Nabataeans did not employ Italian workshops and building materials as did Herod and other client kings. Also, there are no indications of official honours bestowed upon Roman emperors by the Nabataeans prior to the annexation of the kingdom in AD 106.

We therefore witness the interesting situation of a culture slightly behind the line of direct influence and control from the great Mediterranean powers, trying to juggle with propagandistic elements in order to preserve their independence.

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The period during which Herod the Great reigned over Judaea as well as the years immediately afterwards correspond to major developments and building activities within the Nabataean kingdom, not exclusively but perhaps predominantly in the city of Petra, the capital of the Nabataean kingdom.[1] During the reigns of Obodas III (30–9 BC) and Aretas IV (9 BC–AD 40), the city of Petra saw an important monumentalisation, both in terms of private and public buildings. Whilst some of these buildings as well as their decoration (stucco, painting, sculpture) probably depended on more general developments and influences of styles from the major Hellenistic and Roman centres, other elements seem to be connected to a kind of rivalry between the Nabataean realm and Herod. The present contribution considers some of these elements, without claiming to be a complete study of the phenomenon. At the same time, the extent to which these elements reflect influences by or reactions to events related to Roman and more specifically Augustan policy are examined.

Within the framework of the above issues, the best opportunity seems to be offered by the remains of a weapon frieze, discovered in the city centre of Petra in the 1960s.[2] Several blocks depicting panoply as well as three blocks belonging to a figural scene (**Fig. 1**) surely come from the same monument.[3] Since they were found as fill in a tower-like structure southwest of the entrance to the *temenos* of Petra's main temple, the Qasr el-Bint (for location see no. 1 in **Fig. 12**), we can assume that they once adorned a public building in the city centre. Further precision as regards the exact location and function of that presumed building is not possible for the time being.[4] However, the blocks themselves indicate a further element: the three fragments with figural decoration, representing more precisely a Nereid riding a triton and accompanied by a small Eros, form an angle, maybe even the

[1] For a general overview, see Schmid 2001a.

[2] For an account of the discovery and a first publication, see Wright 1967–68, 20–29.

[3] See the different listings and comments by Wenning and Hübner 2004; Polito 1998, 150–152; Freyberger 1998, 15–18; Kader 1996, 132–136; McKenzie 1990, 134–135; Lyttelton and Blagg 1990b; Thüroff 1989, 88–97, McKenzie 1988, 92–93, all with older references.

[4] A fragment of a block showing a small frieze (about 10.5 cm in height) with Nereids riding on sea monsters, but without weapons, was reported as being found in the area of the baths: Bachmann, Watzinger and Wiegand 1921, 45, 47–48 and Fig. 39; such more peaceful variants of marine *thiasoi* could belong to the decoration of the baths (ibid. 47–48), as well as to the frieze illustrated here as Fig. 3.

angle of a broken pediment (**Fig. 1**).[5] We are, therefore dealing with a frieze that once showed some additional architectural elements. Besides these recorded blocks, other sculptural elements probably belong to the same frieze, as is indicated by a small fragment, now (2005) stored immediately to the West of the tower-like structure where the other pieces were found (**Fig. 2**). This "new" fragment shows the tip of the tail of a sea monster like the triton in Figure 1 and should belong to a similar composition. Since there is no archaeological context available, stylistic analysis and observations on the subject matter of frieze reliefs are the only means for obtaining a chronological indication. In recent years there has been a consensus that the frieze should belong to the last quarter of the 1st century BC, or alternatively to the very first years of the 1st century AD.[6] As for the iconography, it is clear that all elements point to an interpretation as an allegory of a naval victory, the key question being which one.[7] If we try to find a match within historically known naval victories of the Nabataeans themselves or of importance to the Nabataeans without their own involvement, there are two obvious possibilities.

One is the victory at Actium in 31 BC where the Nabataeans apparently did not participate,[8] but had, of course, good reasons to celebrate.[9]

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[5] In addition to the references quoted in note 3 above, see also Lyttelton and Blagg 1990a, 97–98 and Fig. 6.7. For some time the three blocks were on display together. For the past few years they have been shown separately, in and in front of the Petra Museum. Therefore, Fig. 4 is a photomontage. It is not completely clear whether the oblique surface of one of the upper sides (left on Fig. 4) is due to a secondary mutilation or whether it belongs to the original installation and, therefore, to a broken pediment. Since the head of the Nereid seems surprisingly close to the actual edge of the block, I would prefer the first solution.

[6] See the contributions quoted in notes 3 and 5.

[7] As for the identification and the general use of similar representations, especially within the Augustan period, see Fittschen 1976, 189–194; Hölscher 1985.

[8] According to Plut., *Ant.* 66, 1 Herod and Malichus I had both sent troops to Antony's support at Actium. However, since according to Jos., *Ant.* 15, 5, 1 (108–111) and Jos., *Bell.* 1, 19, 1 (364–365) Antony ordered Herod to fight against the Nabataeans, it seems unlikely that Nabataean contingents were present at Actium as is correctly pointed out by Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 492–498, 548–550, 581; cf. Richardson 1999, 165–169. On the other hand, Wenning 1988, 253–254, thinks the Nabataeans did indeed fight for Antony at Actium and sees the panoply frieze as a reference and reparation to the winner.

[9] The iconography related to the battle of Actium became so widespread shortly afterwards that it showed up even at the very periphery of the Roman world and sometimes without a direct relationship to that naval victory. On this point, see the contribution by J. Creighton in this volume; cf. also Gans 2003 and in a wider context Boschung 2003; Hölscher 1985. On Actium, see Murray 2002; Gurval 1995.

The other one is an episode that took place one year later during Octavian's campaign in Egypt. As we learn from the ancient sources, Cleopatra had prepared ships on the Red Sea in order to flee the country in case of defeat and the Nabataeans burned these ships.[10]

With the decorated blocks being the only evidence available, one could make a case in favour of either possibility. Like every ruler in the wider Mediterranean region, whether a client ruler or not, the Nabataean king had to react to the new order that arose after the battle of Actium. Furthermore, the fact that the Nabataeans clearly had chosen to support Octavian's camp at least by 30 BC put them in a favourable position against Herod, at least at first sight.[11] The relationship between the Ptolemies and the Nabataeans was mostly a tense one. A climax was reached when Antony confiscated parts of the Nabataean territories in order to bestow them upon Cleopatra and her children.[12] It was, therefore, clear that the Nabataeans supported Octavian and it must have been a real satisfaction for them to burn Cleopatra's ships. It is precisely this burning that could constitute an element in explaining why the triton on the Petra frieze is holding a torch, otherwise rather unusual in a metaphoric representation of a naval battle. In this case too, a definite decision between the two possibilities, Actium or the Red Sea, is not an easy task. No matter which naval victory was supposed to be represented, the Nabataeans had chosen an iconography that stands completely in the tradition of the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. The same is true for other fragments of a smaller frieze illustrating Nereids holding torches on sea monsters and *Erotes* holding cornucopiae (**Fig. 3**),[13] underlining the general importance of this specific iconography for the Nabataeans during that period.

The same observation is also true for several other blocks with relief decoration, all found in the city centre of Petra. The aspect of victory was apparently very important within the official propaganda of the Nabataean kings during the late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD. This becomes clear not only from the different pieces belonging to an architectural frieze illustrating weapons that were mentioned above, but

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[10] Dio Cassius 51, 6, 2–7, 1; cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 428–429.

[11] As was already supposed, in connection with these reliefs, by Wenning 1987, 235–236 and Wenning 1988, 253–254 (cf. note 8 above).

[12] Dio Cassius 49, 32, 4; Plut., *Ant.* 36, 1–3; Jos., *Ant.* 15, 4, 1f. (88–96); cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 427–428, 490–492, 579–580.

[13] Lyttelton and Blagg 1990b, 278–279 Pl. 11. 12; McKenzie 1988, 93, nos. 38, 39.

also from several fragments of a frieze illustrating winged victories. In order to illustrate both the high quality of these relief friezes, as well as the difficulties in finding out where they were installed originally, we shall mention three other cases. In the area of the *temenos* of Qasr el-Bint and along the colonnaded street several blocks with relief decoration can be found, and these were transported from one place to the other over the years. As of 2005, one block with the fragmented representation of a winged victory (**Fig. 4**, left) was standing in a row with other blocks immediately East of Qasr el-Bint. Another fragment with a winged victory was standing in front of the so-called South Temple across the colonnaded street (**Fig. 4**, right). As can easily be seen, and as is confirmed by the corresponding depth of the two blocks, they not only belong together but fit perfectly (**Fig. 4**). The splendid rendering of the thin cloth pressed against the victory's body by the wind while she is moving forward indicate a date similar to the blocks from the panoply frieze.

Another fragment illustrating a winged victory was published by A. Musil, and was at that time located along the colonnaded street.[14] The whereabouts of that fragment are not known to the present writer and it is, therefore, difficult to judge whether it could belong to the same monument as the other victory just mentioned. However, as far as one can tell from the illustrations in Musil and Parr, the general date should be the same. What is interesting about the latter fragment is the particular position of the victory's right arm, which is laid across her chest and directed towards the other side of her body. This is the general posture of victories adorning *tropaia*, as they can be seen for instance on cuirassed statues of Imperial date,[15] although they are usually shown in profile and not frontally as is the case with the fragment from Petra, or they are shown frontally but don't have the arm crossed over the body. Closer in posture is a specific type of victory, the winged female figure writing on a shield. Although going back to prototypes from the Hellenistic period, the most widely distributed form of this iconography is the one created in the Augustan period.[16] That type

[14] Musil 1907, 106. 109 and Fig. 77; Parr 1957, 9, no. 7 and Pl. 6b; the indication *ibid.* that "it was found by the Horsfields in the roadway east of the Monumental Gate…" is only partially correct since already Musil had seen the fragment along the colonnaded street; according to McKenzie 1988, 94, no. 71, "north of Temenos Gate".

[15] Stemmer 1978, especially 155–157.

[16] See Hölscher 1967, 98–135.

comes very close to our example but in this case the victory usually shows a naked torso, since initially the Augustan propaganda created a type of *Venus genetrix* writing the virtues of Augustus on the *clipeus virtutis* bestowed in 27 BC by the Senate, that later was given wings in order to assimilate her to Victory.[17] If indeed the winged victory from Petra seen by Musil belongs to that type, we would witness a clear adoption of an initially specific Augustan element of propaganda.

Less clear is the case of a third category of relief blocks featuring Erotes carrying garlands (**Fig. 5**). Again, no exact location for the monument that once bore these blocks is known, but they must belong to a public monument in the city centre.[18] As is shown by the fragment with a small grasshopper illustrated as Figure 5, we are dealing with a specific category of garlands, showing also small animals as a supplementary element of fecundity. As for the chronology, one would tend to favour an early date, close to the beginning of the Christian era.[19] Although garland friezes have a long history before and after the Augustan period, they are especially popular and widespread during the reign of the first Princeps.[20] The general message of richness, fertility and abundance was so universally understandable that the iconography of putti and garlands was successful well beyond the Mediterranean.[21] In areas more directly under Roman influence, the meaning of putti carrying garlands could be more specifically linked to the richness and stability offered by Augustan rule, since the *Iulii* claimed to be descendants of Venus.[22] Again, with the available evidence it is difficult

[17] Ibid. 122–126; Hölscher 1970, 67–80; there is, however, a tradition that can illustrate this type of Venus wearing a tiny *chiton*, at least from the 1st century AD onwards: see Schröder 2004, 387–392, with further references.

[18] One block belonging to the same frieze was reported as being part of the debris from the baths and would, therefore, come from the same general area as the panoply frieze: Bachmann, Watzinger and Wiegand 1921, 47–48 and Fig. 42.

[19] Schmidt-Colinet 1981, 62, *contra* Baratte 1978, 76; the garlands from Petra come very close in style and composition to the garlands from the Ara Pacis, built for Augustus between 13 and 9 BC; on that monument see Conlin 1997; Settis 1988. The Pergamene influence that has been observed within others by Lyttelton and Blagg 1990a, 96–97 and Fig. 6.6 is not an obstacle for the chronology, especially since similar influences are suggested for the Ara Pacis: see Castriota 1995; Conlin 1997. Indeed, while comparing some of the earlier floral capitals from Petra, comparisons from late Republican Rome or late Hellenistic Pergamon seem rather pertinent: see Schmid 2000a, 492.

[20] Heinrich 2002; Hesberg 1981; Honroth 1971; Turcan 1971; the same observation being true for friezes with scrolls: Schörner 1995.

[21] Bromberg 1988.

[22] As was shown in the case of Aphrodisias in Asia Minor by Chaisemartin 2002; Chaisemartin 2001; especially the scrolls and garlands from the Ara Pacis were inter-

to decide whether in the city centre of Petra such an element had a specific Augustan connotation or whether it was just a general expression of fecundlity that was equally well attributable to the reign of any Nabataean king. More troublesome in some ways is a similar element on the Nereid and panoply frieze considered above. The preserved Nereid riding on a triton is accompanied by a small Eros holding a bow. Indeed, maritime *thiasoi* often feature Nereids riding on tritons accompanied by *Erotes*, but then they are part of Poseidon's/Neptune's wedding with Amphitrite or Thetis' wedding with Peleus and, therefore, have a specific purpose.[23] Since, in our case, the context is a completely different and far less peaceful one, the Eros makes no sense at first sight. One explanation could be that the artists simply did not adapt an iconographic prototype from a scrap book to the specific situation. Another explanation would again be to see this as an allusion to the *gens Iulia* and, therefore, to Octavian. In this case the Petra frieze, no matter whether referring to the battle of Actium or to the burning of Cleopatra's ships in 30 BC, would contain a clear hint to the overall winner of this major conflict, Octavian, the future Augustus. In any case, garlands and scrolls, on the one hand, as well as panoply friezes, on the other hand, belong to the most popular iconographic themes of the Augustan period.[24]

This leads to the question whether the Nabataeans exclusively used a kind of codified iconography in order to celebrate the different moments related to historical events of the Augustan period, or whether there are more direct references. Although we cannot give a definitive answer, it seems worth mentioning an otherwise unpublished fragment of yet another relief from the city centre of Petra. Three blocks with relief decoration were (in 2005) standing around about 10 meters northwest of the Temenos Gate, together with other blocks without decoration. Two of these blocks share a common height and each represents a standing person. The third block originally was somewhat higher (the preserved height is approx. 55cm) and illustrates a male(?) person in a strong movement, like striding or fighting (**Fig. 6**). It is probably not

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preted in detail and in different ways; cf. for example Sauron 2000; Vandi 1999; Castriota 1995. On the place of Venus in Augustan propaganda, see Zanker 1987, 198–204.

[23] In general terms on the iconography of maritime *thiasoi* see LIMC VI 1 (Zurich/Munich 1992) 785–824 s.v. Nereides (N. Icard-Gianolio and A.-V. Szabados); Barringer 1995; Lattimore 1976. On some specific cases, but without connection to our case, see also Miller 1986.

[24] Zanker 1987, 307–308 and *passim*; Schörner 1995.

too unrealistic to suppose that the figure once belonged to a narrative frieze illustrating a complex story. Purely hypothetical is the next step, that is to propose that it could, therefore, belong to an illustration of one of the above-mentioned events.

As we have seen above, none of the different relief blocks can be assigned to a specific monument in the city centre of Petra. At the same time, it is not possible to obtain a more precise chronology within the Augustan period from the blocks themselves. However, recent archaeological investigations in the city centre have enabled a more precise idea to be obtained about the general development of the area and the different building phases.[25] For instance, it became clear that the *temenos* of Qasr el-Bint as well as the colonnaded street were not paved during the late 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD.[26] In both cases the paving can date to the late 1st century AD, at the earliest, and it is even possible that it may post-date the Roman annexation in AD 106. Another remarkable new result is the fact that the Temenos Gate not only must belong to the same building phase, i.e. not earlier than the late 1st century AD, but that it had no predecessor, at least not at the same spot.[27]

Other evidence indicates that there were indeed monumental building activities going on during the years we are dealing with. For instance, a substantial wall in the Temenos area (no. 1 in **Fig. 7**) clearly belongs to the late 1st century BC. The sounding on Figure 7 is situated about 5 metres northwest of the Temenos Gate and the wall seems to run parallel to the Wadi Mousa underneath the later Temenos Gate.[28] Before it was partially integrated and covered by the later paving of the Temenos

[25] Most of the recent investigations related to the colonnaded street, the *temenos* and the Temenos Gate, the Qasr el-Bint, the pool- and garden-complex and the so-called South Temple, point into the same general direction as far as the monumentalisation of the city centre is concerned. See for instance Fiema 2003; Fiema 2001; Graf, Schmid and Bedal (2005); Zayadine, Larché and Dentzer-Feydy 2003 (the argumentation about the chronology has to be reconsidered in the light of new excavation in the temenos area, but the general chronology as such seems reliable); Joukowsky *et al.* 1998 (see also later reports in *ADAJ*); Bedal 2003; Schluntz 1999.

[26] See the references in the previous note (Fiema 2001; Graf, Schmid and Bedal 2005) as well as Graf, Schmid and Ronza 2007.

[27] Graf, Schmid and Ronza 2007; this excludes all earlier hypotheses according to which the weapon frieze could belong to a predecessor of the actual gate, as has recently been postulated especially by Kader 1996, 108–149, especially 128–132.

[28] On this sounding see Graf, Schmid and Bedal (2005).

area, the wall supported a stylobate with columns, of which one attic half-column base still is *in situ* (no. 2 in **Fig. 7**). As for the chronology, the clearly visible foundation trench of the wall contained a sufficient amount of Nabataean pottery to give a good chronological framework.[29] From the lower levels of the foundation trench, corresponding to the rather roughly cut blocks, comes Nabataean pottery belonging exclusively to the third quarter of the 1st century BC, while the pottery from the higher levels of the foundation trench, corresponding to the carefully cut upper blocks of the wall as well as the stylobate, dates to the last quarter of the 1st century BC.[30] This leads to the conclusion that the wall had two major building phases and was used, at least during the later phase, to support a colonnade. The chronological frame for that later phase, i.e. the late 1st century BC, can be confirmed by the typological analysis of the attic half-column base still *in situ* (no. 2 in **Fig. 7**; on the right in **Fig. 8**). The half-column base belongs to a type that can be found at Petra, for instance at the temple of the Winged Lions, the Urn Tomb, the South Temple and the theatre, and that is very close to the column bases from Herodian buildings such as the hilltop palace of Machaerus (**Fig. 8**, left).[31] It is clear that the excavated part of the wall and the colonnade belonged to a much bigger monument, maybe a *stoa* or a portico flanking the Temenos area, and even more complex architectural features.[32] In terms of the general architectural characteristics and the chronology as it was established by the excavations, this monument—or a parallel structure on the other side of the temenos area, or both of them—could well be the original location for one (or several) of the friezes discussed above. But even without a physical proof for that hypothesis, at least for the time being,

[29] Pottery identification and dating according to Schmid 2000b.

[30] On top of these levels is grayish sand containing ashes that functions as embedding for the pavement stones and contains pottery from the last quarter of the 1st century AD; cf. above.

[31] On the bases from Petra, see McKenzie 1990, Pl. 50e–g; Netzer 2003a, 158–159. On the bases from the South Temple cf. Schluntz 1998, 226, Fig. 5.42; on Machaerus, see the references quoted below in note 56, and especially on the bases, Japp 2000, 84. At the same time, these bases are distinctly different from the ones of the Temenos Gate; yet another argument against an early date for the gate. On the bases from the Temenos Gate, see also Kader 1996, 124–126 and Figs. 60. 61.

[32] Since the colonnade features at least one half column and since it seems to continue further south again in the shape of a colonnade, the stretch in between must be occupied by a building with massive walls.

these results contribute in an interesting way to our understanding of Nabataean royal propaganda.

As becomes increasingly clear by comparing the different results of excavations in and near the city centre of Petra, the major public buildings seem to correspond to overall building phases.[33] No matter whether these are the results of real official building programmes or not, they allow us to extrapolate the chronological data from the trench shown in Figure 7 for other areas as well. Therefore, in general terms, the major building activities in the city centre would belong to the reign of Obodas III (30–9 BC) and to the early years of Aretas IV (around 9 BC to the very early 1st century AD). With respect to what we learned from the iconography of the figural friezes, this opens the way for two different interpretations. If for instance the panoply and Nereid frieze belongs to the first of these building phases, it would be the direct result of and reaction to important historical events such as the battle of Actium or the burning of Cleopatra's ships in 31 and 30 BC respectively. In this case, the Nabataean king would have been addressing his own subjects as well as foreign visitors with a message illustrated in a purely Hellenistic-Roman iconography.[34] The message would probably have been understood as projecting the strength of the Nabataean forces that contributed to the elimination of the long-time rivals that were the Ptolemies (if indeed the second event is illustrated) as well as the Nabataean support for Octavian/Augustus (in either case). Into this frame would also fit the frieze with the putti carrying garlands, illustrating the general prosperity that was guaranteed by the good government by the royal dynasty in general and more specifically by the actions and events illustrated by the other frieze. Additionally, the general message of military strength and, in its wake, economic prosperity could also refer to the Nabataeans' conflict with Herod over the payment of taxes to Cleopatra in 32/31 BC, a conflict that the Nabataeans eventually won.[35]

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[33] See the different references in note 25 above.

[34] I use the term "Hellenistic-Roman" in order to distinguish the iconography and style of these friezes from "Oriental" or "local". It is true that some details of the panoply and garland friezes show stronger Hellenistic than Roman elements (cf. note 19 above), but this does not speak against the interpretation given to them in the present contribution; cf. note 86, below.

[35] Jos., *Ant.* 15, 4, 4 (106) ff.; cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 492–505; Richardson 1999, 165–169. Although the exact moment of Malichus' I death and, therefore, the ascension to the throne by Obodas III is not completely clear, it seems that Malichus

Since both the chronology of the friezes and of the major building activities in the city centre make equally possible a date within the first years of Aretas IV, we have to ask whether this possibility makes sense and is plausible. Even more than in the previous version, we have to ask not only *by* whom, but also *for* whom the friezes were designed. What could have been the motivation for Aretas IV to remember events that went back more or less one generation? What could have been his interest in these events, since he was not even a direct descendant of Obodas III?[36] The years from 14/13–10/9 BC were marked by an intense struggle between the Nabataeans and Herod the Great that initially started over territories in Transjordan such as the Auranitis and Trachonitis.[37] Augustus consistently supported Herod with one exception, namely, when the Nabataean 'prime minister' Syllaios made him believe that Herod had been the aggressor.[38] Therefore, the overall situation for the Nabataeans in this conflict was rather uncomfortable during the last years of Obodas III and the early reign of Aretas IV, because Rome was on the side of their Jewish opponents. The situation was so bad that Augustus was apparently thinking about donating the Nabataean kingdom to Herod. It is said that only the continuing problems within Herod's family kept Augustus from doing so (Jos., *Ant.* 16, 10, 9 [353–55]). Considering their situation, it must have seemed appropriate for the Nabataean kings to show their devotion to Rome and the Princeps, at least initially.

When looking at the different friezes, and especially the one celebrating a naval victory, with the background of the difficult relations between the Nabataeans and Herod, and consequently between the Nabataeans and Augustus, it becomes obvious that Aretas IV had good reasons to celebrate the Nabataean support of Octavian. Not only could he remember the loyalty of his predecessors to the future Princeps, but more specifically he could point out the difference between the

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I did survive Cleopatra VII for some time within the same year; cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 553. Nevertheless, it seems improbable that substantial monuments celebrating any of the above-mentioned events were constructed within such a short span of time under Malichus I. It is, therefore, more plausible to suggest Obodas III as a potential builder for the monuments featuring the relief friezes.

[36] On the family ties between Aretas IV and the royal family see Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 64. 248–250.

[37] Jos., *Ant.* 15.10.2; 16.9.1–10.9; cf. Richardson 1999, 279–281; Meshorer 1975, 32–33; Millar 1993, 39–40; Bowersock 1983, 49–54; Hammond 1973, 23–26.

[38] Jos., *Ant.* 16, 9, 2–3; Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 514–512; on Syllaios see also Jos., *Ant.* 16, 7, 6; Kokkinos 1998, 177–205 especially 182–184.

Nabataean attitude and that of Herod, who had supported Mark Antony at Actium. While the first motif—assigned to a context immediately after 31/30 BC—would address its message to an audience specifically including Nabataeans, the second motif—belonging to a context during the last decade of the 1st century BC—would rather focus on a non-Nabataean audience and more specifically on Romans. That this propaganda would indeed have had an audience is supported by a passage in Strabo's Geography (16, 4, 21 [C 779]), indicating that during his time Petra was a well developed city, visited by many foreigners including Romans.[39]

That the last years of Obodas' III reign and the first years of Aretas IV were indeed a crucial point in the relations between the Nabataean kingdom and the Roman Empire can also be deduced from the Nabataean coins. From the year 14/13 BC on, coins of Obodas III and Aretas IV show the king crowned with a (laurel?) wreath. Earlier all the Nabataean kings were shown exclusively diademed according to the customs of Hellenistic kings. Obodas III minted coins with both types of portraits during the last five years of his reign,[40] as did Aretas IV for the first four years of his reign.[41] However, after 5 BC Nabataean kings are shown exclusively with the wreath on their coins. It could very well be that Obodas III and Aretas IV did illustrate a

[39] In spite of the above said, it would be very interesting to discuss the reliefs of the *fronton* of the temple at Khirbet edh-Dharieh, although not directly related to our topic: in a building phase dated to the early 2nd century AD, victories crowning tritons accompanied by eagles were made to adorn the monument (Chambon, al-Muheisen, Janif and Villeneuve 2002, 46–48. 57–60; Villeneuve and al-Muheisen 2003, 94–96). It is difficult to decide whether this programme dates before or after the Roman annexation of AD 106. If it dates after AD 106 and, therefore, celebrates the integration of the Nabataean kingdom into the Roman Empire, why should there be references to naval victories? If it dates before AD 106, is this a desperate attempt by Rabbel II to remember Nabataean loyalty to Octavian more than a century earlier, in order to persuade Trajan to abstain from annexing his kingdom? As Judith McKenzie correctly observes (McKenzie 2003, 184 and *passim*; McKenzie, Reyes and Gibson 2002, 464–464 and *passim*; McKenzie—Gibson and Reyes 2002, 72–73), the reliefs from Khirbet edh-Dharieh were probably made by the same workshop as the reliefs belonging to phase II at Khirbet et-Tannur and both are very close to the decoration of the Temenos Gate at Petra. Since we now definitely know that the Temenos Gate was not constructed before the end of the 1st century AD, but again cannot decide whether this was before or after AD 106 (cf. note 27 above), the enigma remains for the time being.

[40] Wreath: Meshorer 1975, 92, nos. 33, 35, 37, 39; no. 37 is interpreted by Meshorer as diademed but, as Schmitt-Korte 1990, 110, nos. 21–22, shows, wearing a wreath; diademed: Meshorer 1975, 92 nos. 32, 34, 36, 38; Schmitt-Korte 1990, 111, no. 24.

[41] Diademed: Meshorer 1975, 94–96, nos. 46, 47, 47A, 50, 52, 55; Schmitt-Korte 1990, 116–117, nos. 52–54; wreath: Meshorer 1975, nos. 48–49A.

kind of appeasement policy by replacing the traditional Hellenistic diadem with the typical Roman wreath.[42] In the light of this, it is certainly no coincidence that the ambassadors sent to Rome by Aretas IV brought Augustus an expensive golden wreath, symbolic of the ruler's legitimisation. It is also significant that Augustus did not accept the gift because he was angry at the Nabataean ruler for ascending to the throne without asking for his approval. This puzzling event shows that, indeed, there must have been a kind of dependence by Nabataea on Rome at the time (Jos., *Ant.* 16, 9, 4 [296]). However, the replacing of the Hellenistic diadem by the Roman wreath is not by itself enough to postulate that the Nabataean kingdom became a client state, since other "real" client kings from North Africa and from Asia Minor continue wearing the diadem.[43]

While in domains such as coin minting and relief decoration of public buildings there is always a direct political connotation, other areas may show a more indirect rivalry, not necessarily a negative one, between Herod and the Nabataean realm. When looking at certain characteristics of what one could call luxury architecture, it becomes obvious that there are parallel elements to be found on both sides of the River Jordan. The question is, whether we can be sure that there is more than just common fashion behind such parallels.

For instance, the analysis of rich Nabataean private dwellings, perfectly illustrated by the mansion located on az-Zantur at Petra, has highlighted astonishing parallels with Herodian architecture, i.e. the same eclectic use of Hellenistic and Roman influences in the architecture, the interior decoration and functional aspects such as hypocaust

[42] See also D. Keller in Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 272–273; Schmid 2001a, 373–374.

[43] Contra Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 520, who think that these events, especially the ones related to Aretas IV's ascension to the throne and the bringing of the golden wreath to Augustus, indicate that the Nabataean kingdom indeed was a Roman client state, as does Weber 2003, 23 and *passim*. On client rulers wearing the diadem see Megow 1999. Client rulers may have had another way to express their royalty towards Rome, no matter whether they wore the diadem or the wreath, mainly through adopting their portraits to Roman styles, such as sporting short hair etc.: Smith 1988a; Smith 1988b, 104–106, 130–132. Also in this respect, the Nabataean kings do not show any assimilation, as indicated by their numismatic portraits, no matter whether one agrees with some recent proposals for identifying Nabataean royal sculpted portraits: Schmid 2001d; Schmid 1999.

heating.[44] Hypocaust heating systems were a typical Roman invention that was adopted for the first time in the Near East in the various palaces built by Herod the Great.[45] Since the first such heating systems in Nabataean buildings are almost half a century later than the first Herodian examples, it is probably better not to talk of a direct influence but rather of a general development.[46] When looking into details, one can observe further parallels between Herodian and Nabataean elements. For example, the impressive stucco decoration from the Nabataean mansion at az-Zantur includes fragments with egg and dart patterns that find close correspondence in the South Temple and the Soldier Tomb complex at Petra, but also at the Herodian villa complex from Kallirrhoë, the third winter palace at Jericho, at lower Herodion and at Masada.[47] While one would hesitate to connect this evidence with official propaganda, it is nevertheless interesting in the light of the manufacturing processes of such decorative elements and one will have to consider migrating workshops and pattern books.[48]

Another feature of a kind of Nabataean luxury architecture that finds good parallels within Herodian buildings, is related to the general layout of Nabataean funerary complexes. Recent research has shown that the famous rock-cut façades at Petra are not monuments *per se*, but have to be understood as integral parts of more complex installations. The most obvious such example is the complex of the Soldier Tomb in the Wadi Farasa East at Petra (**Fig. 9**).[49] Here the rock-cut façade with its sculptural decoration and a huge rock-cut banqueting hall are situated within the main axis of a peristyle courtyard that relates to other,

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[44] For a general overview, see Kolb 2002; Kolb 2001.

[45] For similar heating systems in the Nabataean and Herodian realm cf. Kolb and Keller 2001, 319; Kolb and Keller 2000, 361–363; Netzer 1999, and in a wider context, Hoss 2005.

[46] As we will see further below, in specific cases the influence may have been more direct.

[47] Egg and dart pattern from az-Zantur: Kolb and Keller 2002, 288, Fig. 14; South Temple: Egan 2002, 353, Figs. 3–4; Joukowsky 2003, 401–402, Figs. 18–19; Bellwald 2004; Kallirhoë: Strobel and Wimmer 2003, Pl. 18A; Clamer 1997, 55, Fig. 91b; Jericho and lower Herodion: Netzer 2001b, 55, Fig. 65; 104, Fig. 143; Rozenberg 1996, 135–136, Figs. 21–23; Masada: Foerster 1995, 68–69, with the observation that the closest parallels for this decoration is to be found within the house of Augustus on the Palatine and within the Casa del Criptoportico at Pompeii; cf. note 93 below.

[48] According to Bellwald 2004, 150, the stucco ceiling from the South Temple was executed by the same workshop as the corresponding decoration in the Herodian palaces of Masada, Jericho and lower Herodion.

[49] Schmid 2001b; Schmid 2004a; Schmid 2007; see also the consecutive preliminary reports from *ADAJ* 44, 2000 onwards, and www.auac.ch.

freely built structures in the same complex. The constructed part had an upper floor, accessible through a partially rock-cut and partially built substantial staircase (room 8 in **Fig. 9**). The construction of the staircase recalls similar installations within free-built Nabataean architecture, usually called staircase-towers.[50] Although fairly frequent in Nabataean architecture, such structures are not limited to the Nabataean area. In several of the palaces of the Hasmonaeans and of Herod the Great similar staircases constructed around a central pillar were found, and are even a characteristic common feature of these buildings.[51] Small elements of wall paintings, *opus sectile* decoration and hypocaust pillars found during the excavation indicate a lavish decoration of the rooms belonging to that complex in the Wadi Farasa East, including heated rooms and, therefore, an installation that was not exclusively devoted to funerary aspects but to aspects of daily life as well. These luxurious elements as well as the general plan of the overall structure, constructed during the third quarter of the 1st century AD, clearly indicate prototypes such as the palaces and large *villas* of the elites of the Hellenistic and early Roman period within the Mediterranean area (cf. below). Interestingly, when looking closer it becomes obvious that such complexes are much more the rule than the exception within Nabataean Petra.[52] Therefore, Nabataean rock-cut façades—the monumental ones showing "western" architectural elements as well as the smaller ones with a more "traditional" architecture—have to be understood not as exterior façades but as façades looking on to an interior courtyard.

When looking beyond the limits of the Nabataean kingdom, it becomes apparent that these complexes are closely connected to contemporary *villas* and palaces of the upper classes of the Hellenistic and Roman world, but they also offer further possibilities on comparisons with other monuments, such as the *hypogea* of Hellenistic Alexandria or Nea Paphos in Cyprus.[53] Other comparisons may be offered by Hellenistic and Roman *heroa* in Greece and Asia Minor.[54] All these installations are clearly derived from the architectural complexes of the

[50] Negev 1973.

[51] Cf. Netzer 2001a, 155, 167f.; Netzer 1991, 156, 170, 263, 601.

[52] For other such installations, see Schmid 2001b; Schmid 2004a; Schmid 2007; Netzer 2003a, 51–57.

[53] For the comparision with Nabataean funeral complexes see Schmid 2001b, 182–188, with further references; on the Alexandrian tombs, see now also Venit 2002.

[54] In general see Kader 1995; on their connection to Nabataean complexes, cf. Schmid 2004a.

wealthy such as the palaces of the Hellenistic kings. The importance of the Nabataean funerary complexes such as the Soldier Tomb lies in the fact that they mirror this kind of luxury architecture in a rather exact way: in their space and arrangement they come much closer to the lost palaces of the Ptolemies and Seleucids than do the smaller and subterranean Alexandrian or Macedonian tombs. This is confirmed by the similarities in the plan when comparing the Soldier Tomb complex with large palaces such as the royal Macedonian palaces at Vergina and Pella, but also with smaller installations, probably governor palaces, such as the palace at Jebel Khalid in northern Syria or the "Palazzo delle Colonne" at Ptolemaïs in northern Libya.[55] Other reflections of Hellenistic palace architecture can be found in the palaces of Herod the Great and further in the *villas* of the Roman aristocracy of the late Republican and early Imperial period. Herod's palaces do feature many elements borrowed from Hellenistic luxury architecture such as the manifold water basins, swimming pools and gardens.[56] In comparison with Nabataean funerary complexes and especially with the complex of the Soldier's Tomb, the seaside palace at Caesarea Maritima (**Fig. 10**) comes closest.[57] The arrangement of the most important rooms—reception hall and banqueting hall—on the main axis of a huge peristyle courtyard is exactly the same. With their intensive involement in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean, the Roman upper class became increasingly hellenised in terms of material culture. This is reflected—among others—by the "Villa of Mysteries" at Pompei or by the "House of the Faun" at the same site.[58] On the other hand, it has been shown that the palaces of Herod the Great incorporated, in their turn, elements borrowed from the Roman luxury architecture, creating something new between local tradition, Hellenistic and Roman influences.[59] The close interconnection between Hellenistic (i.e. mostly Alexandrian), Roman, Herodian and even Nabataean luxury architecture can be shown, among

[55] On the different buildings, see Hoepfner 1996; Nielsen 1994, *passim*; Siganidou 1996 (Pella); Clarke 2002 (Jebel Khalid); Pesce 1950; Kraeling 1962, 83–89; Lauter 1971; Lyttelton 1974, 53–60; McKenzie 1990, 75–77; Nielsen 1994, 146–52, 284–86, cat. no. 22 (Palazzo delle Colonne).

[56] In general on Herodian luxury architecture, see Netzer 2001b; Japp 2000; Lichtenberger 1999; Roller 1998; Nielsen 1994, 181–208.

[57] Gleason, Burrell and Netzer 1998.

[58] On the hellenisation of Pompeian houses, see Zanker 1995, 39–49; on the "House of the Faun", see especially Zevi 1998; Hoffmann 1996; Nielsen 1994, 164–180.

[59] Förtsch 1996; Lichtenberger 1999; Nielsen 1994, 203–208; Japp 2000, 35–39. 64–75.

many others, in the case of the so-called Villa of Catullus at Sirmione in northern Italy.[60] Built on a promontory projecting into the lake of Garda (**Fig. 11**), the villa is almost a twin of Herod's seaside palace at Caesarea both in terms of location and layout and, as far as the plan is concerned, also of Nabataean funerary complexes such as the complex of the Soldier Tomb. Of course, there is no direct relationship between these buildings, but they reflect the different influences and contacts, as pointed out above. As far as recent excavations were able to provide information about the chronology of the "Villa of Catullus", they point to the Augustan or Tiberian era for a first building phase.[61]

Turning again to the Nabataean sphere, the recent discovery of a pool- and garden-complex, a *paradeisos*, in the city center of Petra (no. 2 in **Fig. 12**) showed that there are many parallels between Herodian and Nabataean architectural representation.[62] In contrast to less specific elements, such as common plans of rich dwellings or similarities in wall decorations, in the case of the pool- and garden-complex a more direct connection with Herodian installation is likely, that goes beyond pure fashion. Located in the city centre at a very prominent spot, this *paradeisos* clearly had, among others, a representative function, putting its owner in direct line with rulers from the Babylonian through the Achaemenid and Hellenistic cultures. It is difficult to believe that the Nabataean upper class was not aware of similar buildings at Jericho and elsewhere. Despite occasional disputes that even led to military conflict, Nabataeans and Herodians were otherwise closely connected. Herod the Great himself was born of a Nabataean mother,[63] and Syllaios tried to marry Herod's sister Salome and reportedly visited her family—and, therefore, the Herodian palaces—several times.[64] And finally, a daughter of Aretas IV was temporarily married to Herod Antipas.[65] The close similarities between the Petra pool-complex and

[60] Roffia 1997; Lafon 2001, 446–448 (BS 1).

[61] Roffia 1997, 161–162.

[62] Bedal 2003, especially 114–118, 153–155, 171–183, on the connections between Nabataean and Herodian architecture.

[63] Jos., *Ant.* 14, 7, 3 (121–122); Jos., *Bell.* 1, 8, 9 (181); cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 485f. 543f.; Kokkinos 1998, 95–96; Richardson 1999, 62–63.

[64] Jos., *Ant.* 16, 7, 6 (220–225); 17, 1, 1 (10); Jos., *Bell.* 1, 28, 6 (566) cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 513f., 526, 553f.; Kokkinos 1998, 182–184.

[65] Jos., *Ant.* 18, 5, 1 (109–115); Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 66, 532–536; Kokkinos 1998, 229–232.

the Herodian structures mentioned has led even to the hypothesis that the Petra pool-complex could belong, together with the so-called South Temple, to the *basileia* of the Nabataean kings.[66] This hypothesis is tentative, so one must remain rather cautious for the time being, mainly for two reasons: first, the "Baths" that are supposed to belong to the same structure do not show the same orientation as the South Temple and the pool-complex; and secondly, a royal palace does not consist only of installations used for official purposes but also needs living areas. So far nothing that could be interpreted as royal living areas has beem found in the zone of the South Temple and the pool-complex. Although it is possible to suppose that such structures are still buried beneath the area of the "Small Temple", i.e. in the space between the South Temple and Qasr el-Bint, it may be better for the time being to abstain from a definite interpretation.[67] In any case, it is most likely that indeed the Nabataean palace(s) did look much like the Herodian ones. Before turning to possible Nabataean royal residences, we shall briefly consider some aspects of the South Temple at Petra. As has been pointed out by several authors, the general layout of the complex, with the huge forecourt and the temple on a higher level, finds a good parallel within the temple of Augustus at Samaria-Sebaste, built by Herod immediately after 27 BC and, therefore, one of the earliest temples of Augustus in the Mediterranean.[68] As on other occasions, it is difficult to decide whether this correspondence is more than pure coincidence or due to fashion. What is striking again is the chronological parallel, since the South Temple too was built in the last quarter of the 1st century BC.[69] Beside a direct connection between the two monuments, one could also suggest common prototypes like late Republican temples,[70] themselves

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[66] Bedal 2003, 171–187; Schluntz 1999, 82–122, with discussion of similarities between this supposed royal structure at Petra and Herodian buildings of similar function; Bellwald 2004, 152; Balty 2005, 146.

[67] Same conclusion with other arguments: Netzer 2003a, 81.

[68] Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 199–201; Roller 1998, 211–212; Japp 2000, 147–148; Lichtenberger 1999, 82–88, especially 86–87, for the parallel with the South Temple, also pointed out by Freyberger 1998, 24. It cannot be denied that both structures—the South Temple at Petra and the temple of Augustus at Samaria-Sebaste—also show some distinctive oriental characteristics (ibid.).

[69] See for instance Joukowsky *et al.* 1998, 136; although one has to be cautious as for the results of this excavation (as was pointed out, within others, by Seigne 2000; Netzer 2003b, 72–81), a general date within the last quarter of the 1st century BC for the construction seems correct.

[70] For instance the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste: Gullini 1989; Netzer 2003b further suggests the Forum Iulium at Rome as possible prototype.

going back to Hellenistic influences.[71] The same point can be made about theatre buildings. The construction of Petra's huge theatre can be considered as somehow abrupt, and it is possible that it represents a reaction to the construction of Herod's theatre at Caesarea Maritima.[72] It is difficult to decide whether there is a close architectural relationship between the two buildings, since both underwent substantial changes in later times. However, both show similar elements such as partial or complete construction of the orchestra and *cavea* out of bedrock. As with the temple buildings discussed above, it is again the common chronology that is remarkable[73] and one has to ask why the Nabataeans suddenly felt the need of a theatre unless it is was prompted by rivalry with Herod, which we could expect.

The general presumption pointed out above, that Nabataean royal residences probably did not look much different from the palaces of Herod, can be strengthened by a recent discovery.[74] During the 1960s, Crystal Bennett was carrying out several seasons of excavation on the summit of Umm al-Biyara, the huge rock massif dominating Petra.[75] Although her activities were mainly focused on the Iron Age period, a survey and a trial trench as well as additional observations also dealt with Nabataean structures, especially a huge building that was interpreted as being a ruined temple of the Nabataean period.[76] As a matter of fact, the only element that was mentioned in favour of the

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[71] Such as the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos or the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos; on these see, with older references, Gruben 2001, 440–459; on the connection between the Hellenistic and the Republican sanctuaries see Lauter 1979.

[72] On the theatre of Petra: Hammond 1965; Segal 1995, 91–93; Bedal 2003, 27, for a possible connection with the building at Caesarea Maritima; for this building see Frova, Adamesteanu and Albricci 1965, 57–235; Segal 1995, 64–69.

[73] The theatre at Caesarea can be placed between the years 22 and 10 BC, i.e. the formal new foundation and the official opening ceremony (cf. Jos., *Ant.* 15, 8, 1–5; 9, 6; Jos., *Bell.* 1, 21, 5–8). The first phase of the theatre at Petra is dated by the excavator (Hammond 1965, 55–65) to the period of Aretas IV, more specifically (but without real elements), to 4 BC–AD 27. The most conclusive elements for the chronology are different assemblages of pottery relevant to the chronological phases. It is, therefore, difficult to understand why the painted pottery corresponding to phases Ia and Ib is described (as red painted) but barely illustrated! However, since the pottery illustrated for phase Ic belongs to the period around AD 100, phases Ia and Ib are necessarily earlier. Red painted pottery as well as the illustrated coarse and plain ware pottery would correspond to the time of Aretas IV.

[74] Although we are not dealing with it, this argument should be true for the main residence, the *basileia*, as well, that has to be looked for within the city centre of Petra.

[75] Bennett 1966; Bennett and Parr 1962; Morton 1956. A final publication of these activities is under preparation by Piotr A. Bienkowski (Manchester).

[76] Bennett 1980.

interpretation as a Nabataean temple was its presumed orientation towards the city's main sanctuary of Qasr el-Bint. Upon verification it turned out, however, that the Qasr el-Bint is not at all visible from the spot of the presumed temple, since the hill of el-Habis obstructs the view (**Fig. 12**). During several visits in 2005 the following observations were made, putting that structure into a completely different context and in close relation with Herodian luxury architecture. Although the exact plan and extension of that building is not clear, it must have been a substantial one, extending over several levels and built on the very edge of the hilltop, prominently overlooking the city centre of Petra (**Fig. 12**). A few rooms are partially exposed, probably following illicit excavation.[77] From the debris lying around it becomes clear that one or several rooms were equipped with hypocaust heating systems as well as with wall heating systems (**Fig. 13**). Although these rooms are not too far away from, and on a slightly lower level than, the row of cisterns on the south-eastern ridge of the plateau, a direct connection was not observed. Therefore, it must remain open for the time being whether we are dealing simply with heated rooms, or with heated rooms in connection with bathing installations. Small fragments of marble and alabaster slabs show that the interior of the building must once have been lavishly decorated (**Fig. 14**).[78] Pottery and lamps are scattered all over the area, indicating an occupation of the building from the last quarter of the 1st century BC until the end of the 1st century AD–beginning of the 2nd century AD (**Figs. 15** and **16**).[79] Although it is not yet possible to obtain a more precise picture of this Nabataean installation on top of Umm al-Biyara, several elements can be discerned: From the late 1st century BC onwards a huge building occupied the most prominent spot on top of Umm al-Biyara, dominating the whole city of Petra.[80] Richly decorated, this installation featured also some

[77] The writer's last visit (before 2005) to Umm al-Biyara was in the early 1990s, when none of the rooms mentioned in this contribution were visible.

[78] Other elements include Nabataean capitals, blocks with scrolls as well as the blocks showing *Erotes* and garlands. On these, see the references in notes 75 and 76.

[79] Pottery identification and chronology according to Schmid 2000b; the shards on fig. 15 are only a small selection of the earliest (last quarter of the 1st century BC) pottery found related to these structures and there is much more, especially from the 1st century AD, as illustrated in Fig. 16.

[80] The visibility is an argument that works in both directions. Not only the whole of Petra (and the upper part of Wadi Mousa where the ancient village of el-Gij has to be located, no. 3 in Fig. 12) is visible from that spot on Umm al-Biyara, but that building is prominently visible from across the city.

elements of particular luxury, namely heated rooms.[81] Despite the fact that heated rooms *per se* were not necessarily considered a specific luxury item by the time of their construction, the fact that they are situated on top of the highest elevation in the region makes them outstanding, since every single twig that was burned in their *praefurnia* needed to be carried up the hill. It is precisely that ostentatious demonstration of richness that places this Nabataean building in close relationship with some of Herods' hilltop palaces. In Masada, Herodeion, Kypros and Machaerus (Machairous), heated rooms, usually as part of Roman style *thermae*, are an outstanding characteristic.[82] We can assume that these installations not only were known to the Nabataean upper class (cf. above), but especially the palace at Machaerus, situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, must have been a in many ways a provocation for the Nabataeans. It seems, therefore, perfectly appropriate to suggest that the building on top of Umm al-Biyara consisted something like the Nabataean response to the Herodian hilltop palaces.[83] That it has to be a building out of the commonplace is further suggested by the general geo-strategic situation of Umm al-Biyara. No matter whether Umm al-Biyara is the "rock" of the Nabataeans reported for the year 312 BC by Diodorus,[84] by the late 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, Umm al-Biyara must have been sufficiently important that not everybody was allowed to build there.

In Roman Italy, influences of Hellenistic architecture within rich private buildings start considerably before the late 1st century BC, as pointed out above. However, a clear intensification of these influences as well as a clear influence of Roman innovation on the luxury architecture of the eastern Mediterranean can be observed during the period we are dealing with. It is probably not a pure coincidence that these phenomena of

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[81] No precise chronology for these rooms can be obtained without more intensive investigation. According to the pottery from that area, they should belong to the 1st century AD. This would perfectly fit the information about hypocaust heating from other Nabataean buildings (cf. notes 44, 45 above).

[82] On the hilltop palaces of Masada, Herodeion, Kypros and Machaerus, see the references quoted in note 56 above.

[83] It cannot be excluded, of course, that the Nabataeans had more than one such luxury installation built on prominent landmarks. It would be interesting in that context to examine more closely the structures on top of as-Sela near Busayrah; cf. Wenning 1987, 86–87; Lindner *et al.* 2001; Lindner 1983.

[84] Diod. 2, 48, 6; 19, 95, 1–19, 98, 1; Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 432–433. 439–453.

intercultural exchanges increase immediately after the Roman conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt in 30 BC. Some of these aspects can probably be explained in a simple fashion, but others go beyond such a superficial explanation and seem likely to be the result of a kind of architectural rivalry between Herod and the Nabataean realm. It is probably not a coincidence either that the monumentalisation of Nabataean public and private architecture begins to occur from the last quarter of the 1st century BC onwards: after the annexation of Ptolemaic Egypt by Rome in 30 BC, Alexandrian artists and artisans went to Italy and to Rome, as is widely known.[85] It cannot, however, be excluded that others found new clients on both sides of the river Jordan.[86] The intercultural contacts between different areas of the eastern Mediterranean and Roman Italy finally led the way to the creation of such spectacular buildings as the palaces and *villas* belonging to the imperial family on the island of Capri, Tiberius' "Villa Iovis" in the first place, where the traditions of Hellenistic palace architecture partially give way to something new.[87]

The various elements that could indicate a kind of relation between the Nabataean and Herodian propaganda and official representation can be classified roughly into three categories. The first one seems connected to a specific situation, facilitating the transfer of knowledge and prototypes from Ptolemaic Alexandria after 30 BC, and can probably explain such elements as the general layout of Nabataean funerary complexes, some aspects of monumental rock-cut façades at Petra and some features to be found in Nabtaean private dwellings. The second category features other elements that probably go back to a more direct exchange between the Nabataean and the Herodian kingdoms. Such could be the case with luxury architecture as represented by the Petra pool- and garden-complex or the presumed royal residence on top of Umm al-Biyara, clearly reflecting similar structures and installations within Herodian palaces. Although more directly linking Nabataeans and Herodians, these elements do not necessarily imply

[85] For some reflections on the effects of Alexandrian architecture within the Roman Empire, see McKenzie 1996.

[86] This hypothesis would also help to explain some "Pergamene" or, more generally, Hellenistic influences within the friezes discussed in this contribution and within the decoration of the Khazneh; cf. the references in note 34 above.

[87] On the "Villa Iovis" see Krause 2003; on other *villae* on Capri cf. Lafon 2001, 406 CAP 1–10 and Federico and Miranda 1998, 179–223, both with further bibliography.

a political confrontation and differentiation between the two realms. This third category is represented by figural representations on coins and relief friezes, where the Nabataean kings obviously did react to actual historical events and political necessities, both towards Herod and Augustus.

Supposing that the general interpretation of the figural friezes discussed in this contribution is correct, one could be surprised by the intensive use of such elements in a short span of time and on a small spot, the city centre of Petra. This feeling of "overload" can again be explained by comparing the Nabataean royal propaganda to that of Herod the Great. In regard to what was the international language of propaganda by the late 1st century BC, that is, a strongly visual language, Herod had an obvious handicap: in his own kingdom figural representations were strictly impossible, as becomes manifest with the misfortunes of the *tropaia* in the theatre of Jerusalem and of the golden eagle over the entrance to the Temple at Jerusalem.[88] To what extent this must have been a major disadvantage can be shown by the fact that not only do all known statues of Herod come from outside his kingdom,[89] but that the closest one was erected at Seia in southern Syria in a former Nabataean territory and by a Nabataean![90] It seems clear that the Nabataeans took advantage of these circumstances, resulting in a massive visual (and figural) programme in the city centre of Petra with a clear propagandistic goal. As was mentioned previously, it seems as if the status of the Nabataean kingdom in relation to Rome was not exactly the same as that of Herod's Judaea (but see *infra*, appendix). This offered Herod the possibility of compensation, mainly in the form of his strong support for Augustus. This becomes manifest with the erection of three major temples to honour the Princeps at Caesarea

[88] Jos., *Ant.* 15, 8, 1–2 (272–279) (theatre); Jos., *Ant.* 17, 6, 2–4; Jos., *Bell.* 1, 33, 2–4 (649–655) (eagle); cf. Roller 1998, 270–271.

[89] Especially from Athens: *IG* II 2, 3440 and 3441; cf. Roller 1998, 219–220; Kokkinos 1998, 137; Lichtenberger 1999, 169, and Japp 2000, 149–150, with these and other examples. These (now lost) statues, as well as the one cited in note 90, are attested by inscriptions on their bases and are, therefore, the only confirmed statues of Herod the Great. Some attempts have been made to identify sculpted portraits with Herod, namely a head found at Memphis, Egypt, now in Boston, MFA (Roller 1998, 273–275; for the traditional identification as late Ptolemy, see Smith 1988b, 96–97, 167, cat. no. 57 and Pl. 39, 1. 2) as well as a head from Byblos, now in Beirut (Smith 1988b, 105, 131, 174, cat. no. 101 and Pl. 60, 1). On these as well as other heads tentatively identified as Herod, see also Kokkinos 1998, 137–138.

[90] *OGIS* 415; Roller 1998, 272–273; Lichtenberger 1999, 170; Japp 2000, 150.

Maritima, Samaria Sebaste and Paneion/Paneas.[91] But the phenomenon goes far beyond these buildings and includes the entire construction (and naming) of Caesarea and Sebaste, as well as other elements.[92] In some sense, the most striking evidence is provided from the acropolis at Samaria Sebaste. Despite some uncertainties related to the early date of the first excavations, it very much looks as if Herod had built a residence immediately beside the temple of Augustus. This would be exactly the same configuration as at Rome, where Augustus had built his house beside the temple of Apollo Palatinus, the two connected by a subterranean corridor.[93] Just as Augustus was putting himself under the protection of Apollo, Herod placed himself under the protection of Augustus. As far as we can see, the situation within the Nabataean realm was different, with no direct honours to the Roman emperor known before AD 106 (but see *infra*, appendix). Another field where Herod apparently had an advantage over the Nabataeans was propaganda outside the homeland. Despite the fact that Nabataeans travelled all over the Arabian peninsula and the Mediterranean, the traces of their presence remain discrete and are usually concentrated on their own world, that is, dedications to their own gods and the like.[94] The most massive presence of Nabataeans in the Mediterranean is the sanctuary of Dusares at Pozzuoli,[95] but here too, we are dealing with an installation built by Nabataeans for Nabataeans. Completely different is the behaviour of Herod, who acts as a real benefactor (*euergetes*) in the best Hellenistic tradition with manifold buildings and other activities offered by him to other cities in Syria and the Mediterranean.[96]

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[91] For the temple at Samaria Sebaste, see note 68 above; on the temple of Augustus at Caesarea Maritima, see Holum 1999, especially 17–26. See further, Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 198–199 (Paneas); 201–203 (Caesarea Maritima); Lichtenberger 1999, 119–121 (Caesarea Maritima); 150–153 (Paneas); Roller 1998, 138–139 (Caesarea Maritima); 190–192 (Paneas) Japp 2000, 106 (Caesarea Maritima); 144–145 (Paneas).

[92] See, in general, Netzer 2003b; Japp 2000, 49–53; 101–109; 146–149; Lichtenberger 1999, 80–92, 116–130; Roller 1998, 133–144, 209–212; see also the contribution by A. Lichtenberger in this volume.

[93] Japp 2000, 148; Lichtenberger 1999, 88, for the parallels between the buildings at Samaria Sebaste and on the Palatine at Rome; for Augustus' house and its relation to the temple of Apollo see also Iacopi 1995, Gros 1993; Carettoni 1983.

[94] On the Nabataean presence outside their kingdom see Schmid 2004b; Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 107–135; Wenning 1987, 22–24, all with further references.

[95] See the references in note 94, also Steuernagel 1999, 162–164; Lacerenza 1994; Lacerenza 1988–89; Bisi 1972.

[96] Lichtenberger 1999, 168–175; Roller 1998, 214–238.

Appendix: Everything was Different…

After having tried to show in a few pages that there was a kind of rivalry between Herod and the Nabataeans, resulting from political differences between the two realms but equally from their different positions in relation to the Roman Empire, it is now appropriate to counter-check the evidence. Archaeology is not an exact science, especially when it comes to interpretation. As we have seen, none of the reliefs dealt with above has a precise archaeological context. Their interpretation can, therefore, be directed in a slightly, but decisively, different way.

All the blocks with figural decoration referring to naval victory (**Figs. 1– 3**), to victory in general (**Fig. 4**) and to prosperity (**Fig. 5**) were discovered, as far as there is any information, in a rather small area around the Temenos Gate in the city centre of Petra (around no. 1 in **Fig. 12**). In other words, they were found in the immediate neighbourhood of the South Temple and one could easily assume that they originally belonged to that structure, including the temple itself, the forecourt with its porticoes and the propylon.[97] The iconography of these friezes not only is completely Hellenistic-Roman, but their various themes were especially popular in contemporary Augustan propaganda, as pointed out above. The South Temple shows clear parallels with the temple of Augustus at Samaria Sebaste. Since no decisive evidence has yet been found as to the exact function of the South Temple, one might suppose that it was a temple to Augustus, built by Obodas III or Aretas IV in honour of the Emperor and adorned with relief cycles expressing the themes of Augustan propaganda, namely prosperity and peace, granted by the victory at Actium. The overall monument would have been not unlike (especially in plan)—although probably more modest than—the slightly later Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.[98] The reliefs illustrating more narrative scenes (**Fig. 6**) could belong to a frieze depicting either battle scenes or Octavian's triumph in 29 BC (or both) as was the case with the interior frieze of the temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome.[99] In this case, the Nabataean kingdom would become a "normal" client state, a

[97] All the more since recent discoveries of similar reliefs within the South Temple suggest that it once had a very similar decoration: Joukowsky 2004, 164–166, especially Fig. 13; for a discussion of some of these finds, see Basile 2002.

[98] On the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and its decoration, see Smith 1987; Smith 1988c; Smith 1989; Smith 1990.

[99] On the temple of Apollo Sosianus, see Viscogliosi 1996; Viscogliosi 1993; on the identification of the scenes on the interior frieze, see Hölscher 1985, 88–89 and,

theory that would equally well explain the events between 14/13 and 5 BC, i.e. the new royal portrait type on coins, wearing the wreath and no longer the diadem, the troubles of Aretas IV in assuming power without official authorisation by Augustus, etc.[100] All the corresponding evidence for monumental building activities in Petra could be explained as being part of a general movement by Roman client kings to monumentalise their cities, Obodas III and Aretas IV being no different from Herod the Great or Juba II of Mauretania.[101]

Yet, here too, there are some weak points. Not only there is no evidence as to the function of the South Temple, but there is no evidence at all that Roman emperors were honoured by the Nabataeans prior to AD 106. If theirs was a client kingdom, the Nabateans should have shown more devotion or interest to such matters.[102] Further, no matter what was the function of the South Temple, it manifestly underwent important changes after the annexation in AD 106, mainly the construction of a *theatron* at the spot where a supposed *cella* should have been located.[103] If indeed it was a temple of Augustus, there would be no requirement for such a change. There would have been no need either

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in general, for the Augustan connotation of the temple's decoration, see La Rocca 1985, 83–102.

[100] One of the most intriguing elements is the story about Syllaios (Jos., *Ant.* 16, 9, 1–4 [271–299]; 16, 10, 8–9 [335–355]; 17, 3, 2 [54–57]; cf. Hackl, Jenni and Schneider 2003, 514–528). Why should Syllaios be condemned to death by Augustus, but first be released in order to repair the damage he had done, then come back to Rome in order to be executed? And why should Aretas IV bring his complaints about Syllaios before Augustus? Indeed, all these issues could point to the status of a client kingdom but, as indicated, other arguments speak against this.

[101] On Juba II and his residence Iol-Caesarea, see Coltelloni-Trannoy 1997, 144–159; Roller 2003, 119–162, both with many other aspects related to royal propaganda and its relation to Augustan Rome. On Archelaos of Cappadocia see Sullivan 1980, 1149–1161. For a comparative analysis of Herod the Great, Juba II and Archelaos of Cappadocia see Jacobson 2001; see also the contribution by A. A. Barrett in this volume. For the general phenomenon of client kings monumentalising their cities see Japp 2000, 49–53; Lichtenberger 1999, 128; Coltelloni-Trannoy 1997, 146 and Fig. 22, and for parallels between the evolution of cities within Herod's kingdom and surrounding areas, see von Hesberg 1996.

[102] In general on the cult of the Roman emperor, its archaeological remains and its mechanism, see Hänlein-Schäfer 1985; Clauss 1999.

[103] Joukowsky *et al.* 1998, 118–120. 125–128; cf. also Seigne 2000. Unfortunately it seems that the excavations did not provide enough evidence for a definite date of these changes; cf. Netzer 2003a, 78–81.

to build other structures related to the imperial cult in the immediate neighbourhood, such as the so-called Small Temple.[104]

And there is another difference in the behaviour of Nabataean royal builders compared to that of Herod. Herod not only prominently featured his support of Augustus by buildings honouring the emperor, or by bestowing on them his name and those of members of his family, he also adopted specific Roman building techniques that were otherwise unknown in the area and are probably due to the presence of Italian workshops at specific sites. One characteristic is the use not only of Roman-style underwater concrete but the importation of volcanic earth (the so-called pozzolana) from Pozzuoli in Italy for the concrete of the harbour construction at Caesarea Maritima.[105] The second characteristic is the use of walls built in *opus reticulatum* technique in specifically Herodian buildings, such as the northern wing of the third palace at Jericho, the temple of Augustus at Paneas, and a mausoleum at Jerusalem.[106] Both technical characteristics are, to my knowledge, completely absent from the Nabataean construction technique of that period. This does not mean that the Nabataean architects and engineers were less skilful than their Jewish colleagues, but it indicates that the Nabataean kings had not the opportunity or did not want to make use of Italian workshops for their representative buildings, probably because the status of the Nabataean kingdom was different. This theory can be indirectly confirmed by analogous *opus reticulatum* walls from Juba's II capital Iol-Caesarea[107] and from Samosata, the capital

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[104] If indeed a temple for the imperial cult, as suggested by Reid 2005. Local, i.e. municipal, temples for the imperial cult can show a broad variety of types compared to the provincial temples of the imperial cult; for a case study, see Schmid 2001c. The use of marble does not seem a specific characteristic for such buildings, *contra* Reid 2005. Other, secondary, structures related to the worshipping of Roman emperors in the area, such as an *exedra* in front of Qasr el-Bint (for the moment see the scanty evidence in Augé 2005; Augé *et al*. 2002), do not contradict an interpretation of the Small Temple as a building for the imperial cult.

[105] Oleson and Branton 1992; according to Hohlfelder 2000, the use of pozzolana could indicate a direct implication of M. Agrippa.

[106] Netzer, 2001a, 231–279, especially 232; Roller 1998, 98–99. 181. On the temple at Paneas, see the references in note 91 above; on the mausoleum near Jerusalem see Bonato-Baccari 2002. For further thoughts on the use of *opus reticulatum* by Herod: Lichtenberger 1999, 63–68; in general on *opus reticulatum* and its use outside Italy, see Medri 2000, Spanu 1996; the last two authors do not mention the temple at Paneas.

[107] Roller 2003, 121; Japp 2000, 81; Coltelloni-Trannoy 1997, 148, note 50; the exact date of the *opus reticulatum* remains at Iol-Caesarea is not clear, mainly due to massive later building activities and the generally small archaeological evidence; for Iol-Caesarea

of Kommagene;[108] apparently client kings did indeed manifest their proximity to Augustus by such specifically Roman building techniques.[109] The "international" aspects of the activities of real client kings point in the same direction. We have already mentioned some of the activities related to Herod, and Juba II too received honorary posts and statues from cities in Spain and by Athens, while the situation for the Nabataean kings is completely different, as pointed out above.[110]

When summing up the results of this short overview, it becomes apparent that we are still far from having a precise knowledge of the exact context and function of most elements that could belong to the sphere of Nabataean royal propaganda. Although recent research has contributed to sharpening the picture, many questions remain open, in details (precise chronology and function of monuments) as well as in general (the status of the Nabataean kingdom in relation to Rome). To what extent the situation is still rather blurred has been shown by way of examples in the appendix above, turning the evidence gathered so far in a completely different direction. One point that becomes increasingly clear is that the archaeological remains of the Nabataeans cannot be discussed and understood without comparing them to neighbouring areas and putting them into a wider context. This is, by the way, also true for the archaeology of the former Nabataean kingdom after its incorporation into the Roman Empire in AD 106. For instance, it may be worth trying to understand the *theatron* building within the South Temple at Petra within the context of similar structures in the Near East.[111]

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the presence of workshops from Augustan Italy has been suggested by analysing capitals found at the supposed location of the royal palace: Fittschen 1979, 242.

[108] Roller 1998, 256; Medri 2001; Spanu 1996; the last two authors think that the *opus reticulatum* at Samosata dates to after the Roman annexation.

[109] As is to some extent supported by the conclusions drawn by Spanu 1996, 935–939, that is that only persons or communities with a direct connection with Rome were able to make use of *opus reticulatum* and related building techniques; cf. Japp 2000, 81–82.

[110] Cf. notes 94–96 above. On Juba's II honours abroad, see Roller 2003, 156; Coltelloni-Trannoy 1997, 139; the different activities and gestures typical of client kings are described by Suet., *Aug.* 48. 60; cf. the comments by Jacobson 2001.

[111] Cf. some thoughts by Balty 2005, especially 145–146; Augusta-Boularot and Seigne 2005.

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Figure 1. Relief fragments with Nereid riding on a triton. Petra, Museum. Photo and photomontage by the author.

Figure 2. Fragment of a relief illustrating the tail of a sea monster. Petra, near the Temenos Gate. Photo by the author.

Figure 3. Fragment of a small frieze depicting nereids on sea monsters and Erotes holding *cornucopiae*. Petra, Museum. Photo by the author.

Figure 4. Two fitting blocks of a relief illustrating a winged victory. Petra, near Qasr el-Bint (left) and near the Temenos Gate (right). Photo by the author.

Figure 5. Relief block with the depiction of an Eros carrying a garland. Petra, Museum. Photo by the author.

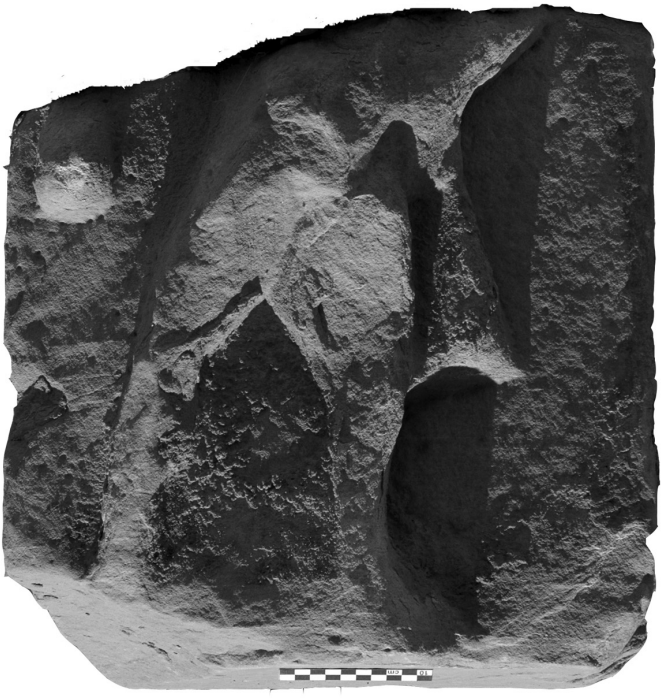

Figure 6. Relief block with a fragmented striding figure. Petra, near the Temenos Gate. Photo by the author.

Figure 7. The Hellenistic Petra Project (HPP). Sounding near the Temenos Gate. Photo by the author.

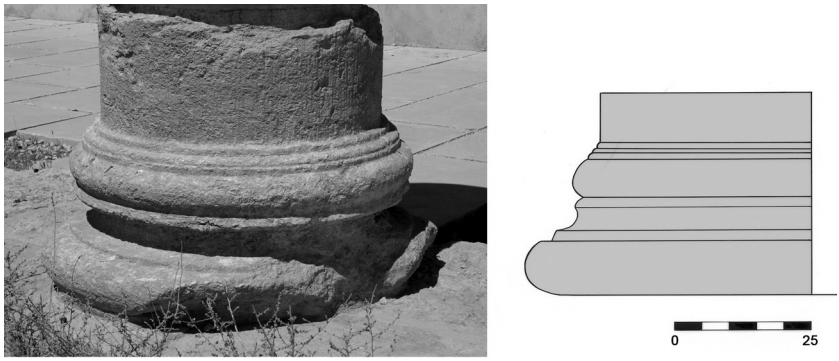

Figure 8. (Half) column bases from Machaerus (left) and Petra (right). Photo and drawing by the author.

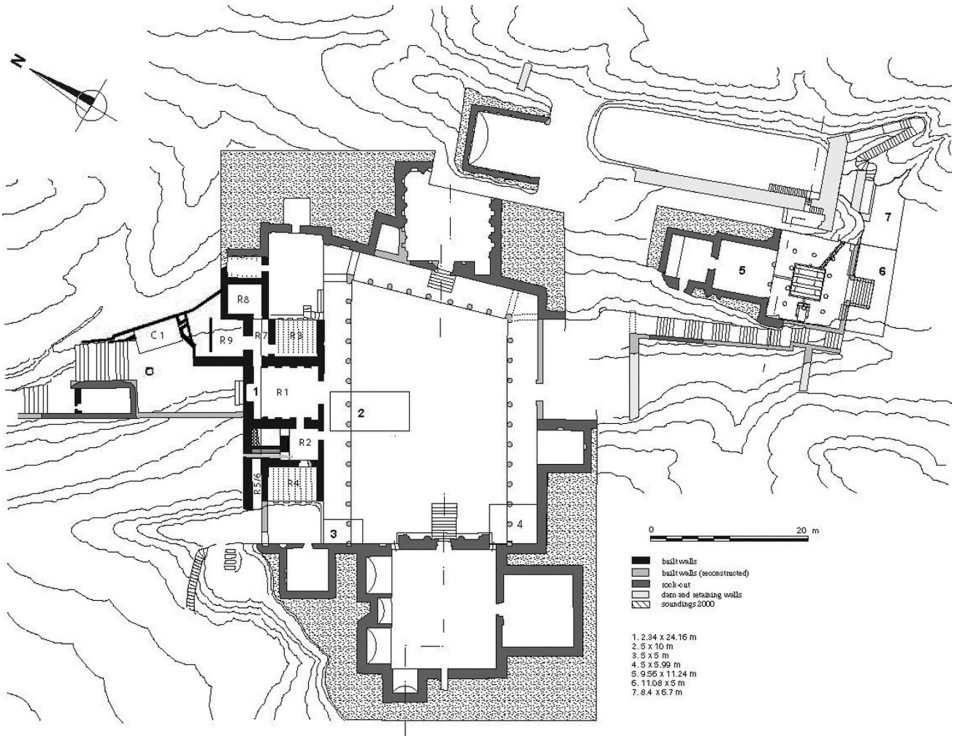

Figure 9. Petra, Wadi Farasa East, general plan. André Barmasse.

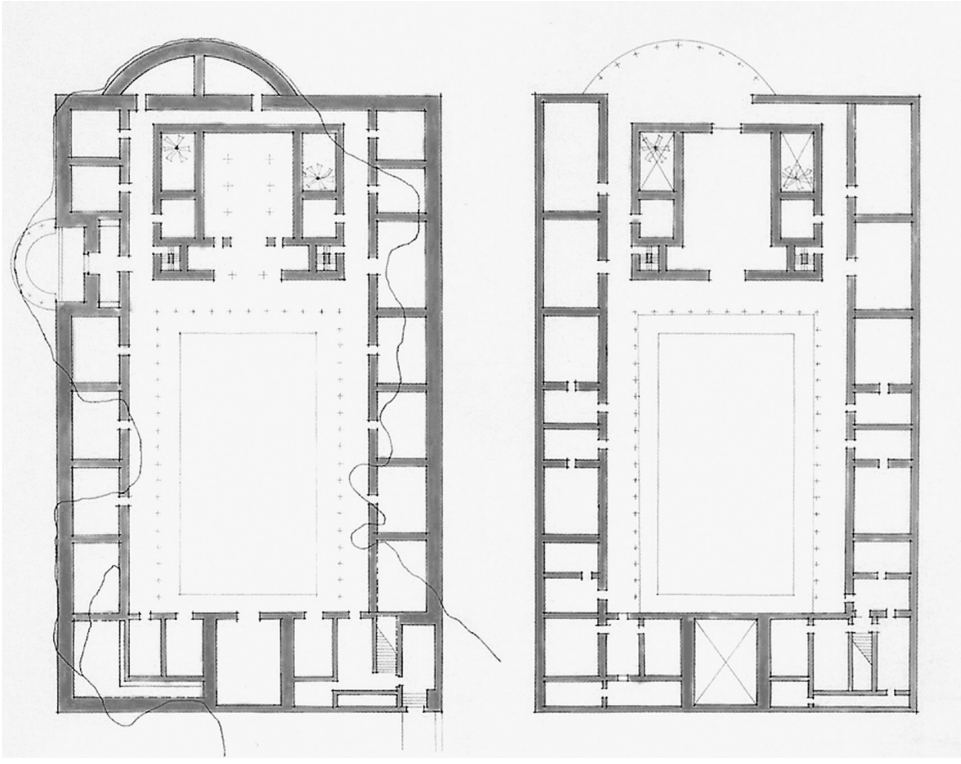

Figure 10. Caesarea Maritima, seaside palace of Herod the Great. After Netzer 2001b, 122, Fig. 162.

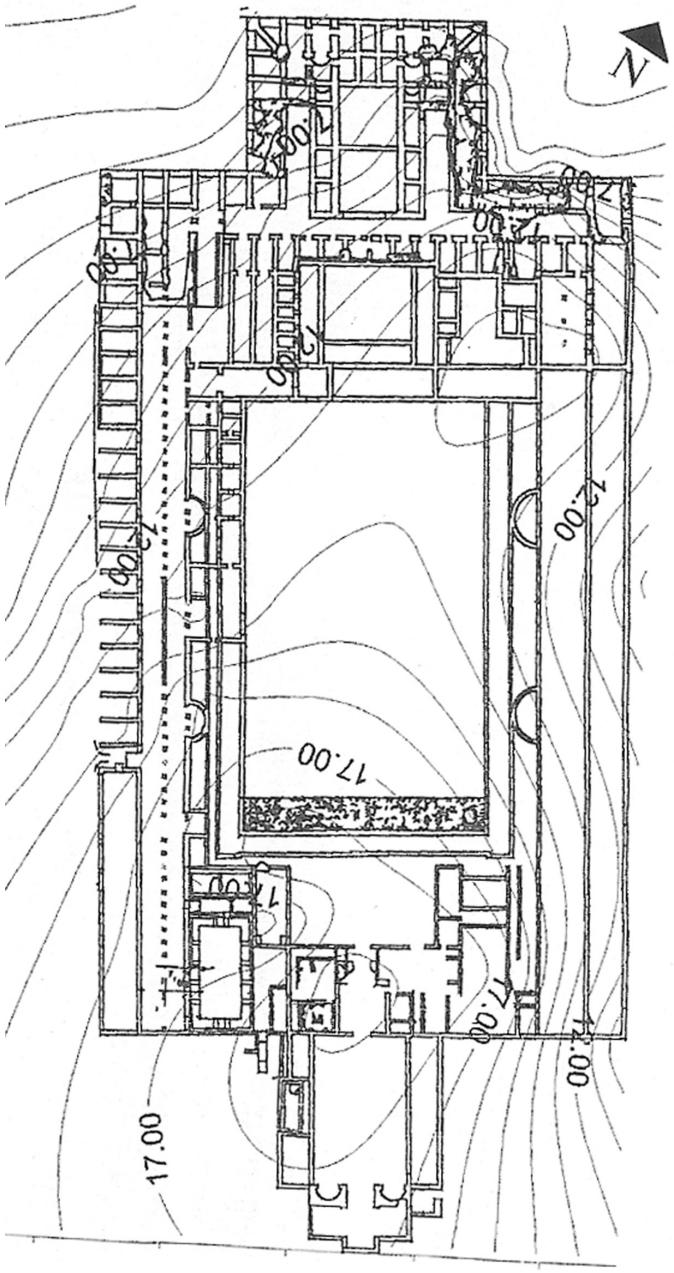

Figure 11. Sirmione (North Italy), "Villa of Catullus". After Roffia 1997, 147, Fig. 8.

Figure 12. Petra, Nabataean building on Umm al-Biyara overlooking the city centre. Photo by the author.

Figure 13. Hypocaust and tubuli fragments from Nabataean building on Umm al-Biyara. Photo by the author.

Figure 14. Marble fragments from Nabataean building on Umm al-Biyara. Photo by the author.

Figure 15. Nabataean pottery, last quarter 1st century BC from Nabataean building on Umm al-Biyara. Photo by the author.

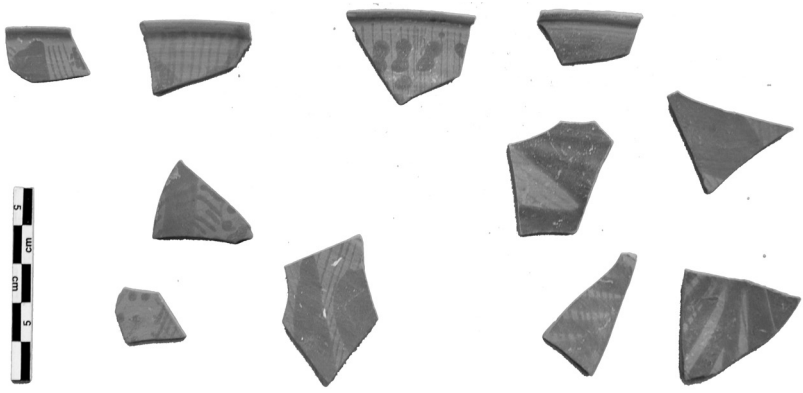

Figure 16. Nabataean pottery, second half 1st century AD from Nabataean building on Umm al-Biyara. Photo by the author.