The Function of the Roman Army in Southern Arabia Petraea

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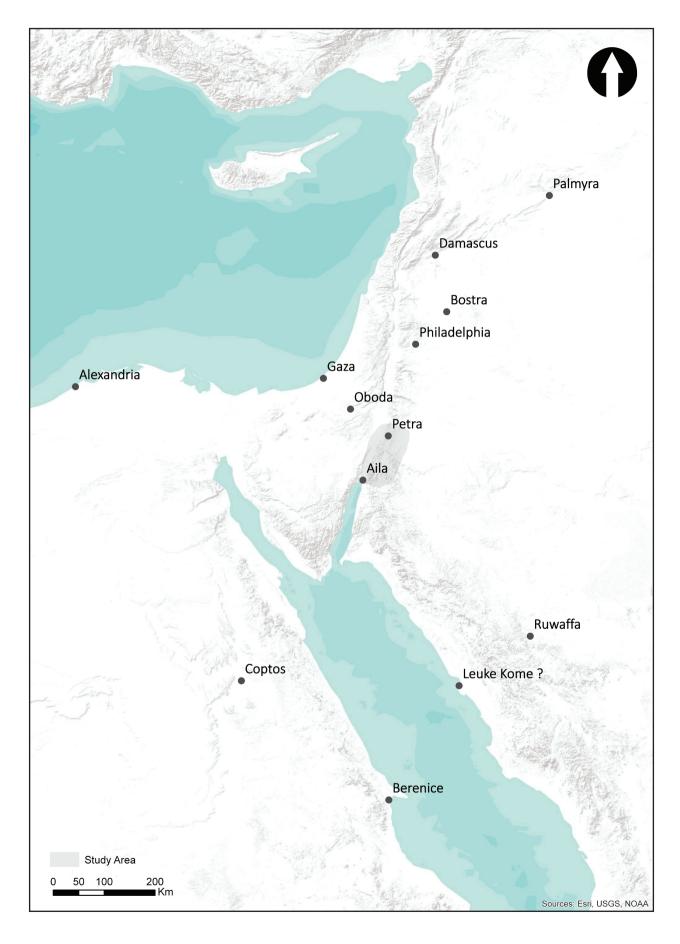
Contents

List of Figures	ii
Glossary	2
Archaeological periods and dates	2
Preface	3
I. Introduction: Aims and Scope	
-	
II. Contextualization: The Arabian Frontier and the Roman Army	
Previous archaeological research in the region	
Ancient sources	
The 'Limes Arabicus'	
The Limes: concept and reality The southern Arabian frontier	9
The Roman Army in Arabia	
•	
III. The Function of the Roman Army on the Arabian Frontier	
(1) The defensive system and the 'Nomadic menace'	
(2) 'Internal' control, protection and administration	
(3) The incense and Red Sea trade routes	
(4) Current perspective: an open economic zone	
IV. Spatial Analysis	40
Methodology	
Dataset	
Visibility analysis	
Distance analysis Results	
Visibility	
Distance	
V. Discussion	
VI. Conclusion	
Descriptive Catalogue I	
Descriptive Catalogue II	89
Bibliography	204

List of Figures

Figure 1. Main sites mentioned in the text, showing the study-area considered in this publication	1
Figure 2. Study Area (southern Arabian frontier) considered in this publication, showing the main sites mentioned and geographical zones.	4
Figure 3. Section of the Peutinger Table. From: http://peutinger.atlantides.org/map-a/	10
Figure 4. Cross section of Hadrian's Wall. From Burton 2012, 23.	12
Figure 5. Annual average rainfall and precipitation. Fanack after MWI. Retrieved from: www.water.fanack.com/jordan/ geography-climate-population/, May 2017	14
Figure 6. Aerial Photo of the <i>Via Nova Traiana</i> (paved stretch running horizontally in the centre) near Umm Aljemal in Northern Jordan. Courtesy of APAAME	15
Figure 7. Aerial photo of the <i>Via Nova Traiana</i> (cleared stretch running vertically in the centre) in the al-Bitahi area north-west of Basta. Courtesy of APAAME	16
Figure 8. Coin RIC II Trajan 466 (sestertius), AD 103–111; Denomination: Sestertius; Mint: Rome; Obverse: IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P: Bust of Trajan, laureate, draped on left shoulder, right; Reverse: S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI S C ARAB ADQVIS: Arabia, draped, standing front, head left, holding branch in right hand over camel, left, half hidden behind her and bundle of canes(?) over left arm in left. Retrieved from: numismatics.org, May 2017.	19
Figure 9. Coin RIC II Trajan 614 (sestertius), AD 112–114; Denomination: Sestertius; Mint: Rome; Obverse: IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI P P: Head of Trajan, laureate, right; Reverse: S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI S C ARAB ADQVIS: Arabia, draped, standing front, head left, holding branch in right hand over camel, left, half hidden behind her and bundle of canes(?) over left arm in left. Retrieved from: numismatics.org, May 2017	 19
Figure 10. The Province of Arabia showing the Via Nova Traiana. From Bowersock 1971, Fig. 33	21
Figure 11. Plan of the Humayma fort and its internal buildings. From Oleson et al. 2008 Figure 12. The Nabataean kingdom and the major trade routes and trade centres of the Near East. From Frösén and Fiema 2002, 259	
Figure 13. The systematic satellite imagery survey of sites within the study area conducted in Google Earth	42
Figure 14. Forts in Arabia. From Al Khouri 2003, Fig.10.	44
Figure 15. Courtyard buildings, certainly or probably Roman, with earlier and later phases at Arad: a) the barracks of the <i>vigile</i> s at Ostia, mid-second century, b) ' <i>Mansio</i> ' at Lejjun, c) 'Caravanserai at Avdat, d) 'Caravanserai' at Mempsis, e) 'Fort' at Tel Beersheba, f) 'Barracks' at Jimal, g) 'Monastery' at Fa'aran in the Golan, h) Arad citadel structural evolution. From Gregory 1997, Fig. 4.5	45
Figure 16. Schematic sections through walls, showing relationship to towers if any (in background): a) Aseikhin, b) En Boqeq, c) Dajaniya, d) Mezad Tamar, e) Lejjun/Udruh, f) Bshir, g) Zenobia, h) Resafa, i) Martyropolis, j) Dara. (Gregory 1997, Fig. 6.5)	48
Figure 17. Cumulative viewshed of Nabataean fortifications	51
Figure 18. Cumulative viewshed of Roman fortifications	52
Figure 19. Cumulative viewshed of LR/B fortifications	 53
Figure 20. Intervisibility network of Nabataean Fortifications, showing the limit of normal 20/20 vision (black), the limit of human recognition acuity (red), the limit of smoke signal visibility (green), the limit of light signal visibility (yellow), and all possible lines of sight of sites more than 20 km apart (grey)	 55
Figure 21. Intervisibility network of Roman Fortifications, showing the limit of normal 20/20 vision (black), the limit of human recognition acuity (red), the limit of smoke signal visibility (green), the limit of light signal visibility (yellow), and all possible lines of sight of sites more than 20 km apart (grey)	56
Figure 22. Intervisibility network of LR/B Fortifications, showing the limit of normal 20/20 vision (black), the limit of human recognition acuity (red), the limit of smoke signal visibility (green), the limit of light signal visibility (yellow), and all possible lines of sight of sites more than 20 km apart (grey)	 57
Figure 23. Travel time from Nabataean Fortifications using Tobler's Hiking function	 59
Figure 24. Travel time from Roman Fortifications using Tobler's Hiking function	60
Figure 25. Travel time from LR/B Fortifications using Tobler's Hiking function	61

Figure 26. Features near (<1000 m) Nabataean fortifications
Figure 27. Features near (<1000 m) Roman fortifications
Figure 28. Features near (<1000 m) LR/B fortifications
Figure 29. LR/B fortifications on the Jordanian Plateau and their location in relation to main wadi passages connecting the plateau with the eastern desert
Figure 30. The distribution of Nabataean fortifications according to their primary function
Figure 31. The distribution of Roman fortifications according to their primary function
Figure 32. The distribution of LR/B fortifications according to their primary function.
Figure 33. Close-up of the Khatt Shebib near Petra. Courtesy of Robert Bewley, APAAME74
Figure 34. Aerial view of Khatt Shebib in Jordan. Courtesy of Robert Bewley, APAAME74



 $Figure \ 1. \ Main \ sites \ mentioned \ in \ the \ text, showing \ the \ study-area \ considered \ in \ this \ publication.$

Glossary

Ayn = spring.

Bir = well.

Birkeh = pool, cistern.

Jebel = mountain.

Khirbet = ruins.

Qasr = fort/castellum.

Rujm = tower.

Umm = mother.

Wadi = canyon/valley, water course.

Archaeological periods and dates

Nabataean Period 63 BC-AD 106 Roman Period AD 106-324 Late Roman AD 284-324 Byzantine Period AD 324-640

Preface

The publication of a text initially conceived as a master's dissertation, such as the one being presented, must come with its own set of warnings and expectations. At the time of submission, I had to respect several formatting rules (including a word count) and a rigid time limit. As a result, many points were left implied, whereas others unstated. I did not alter a significant amount of the original version I delivered to the Examination Schools after a night of nervous sleep deprivation, but I tried to consider the comments made by my examiners, peers, and professors in the aftermath of my submission. I have added content to the discussion and have procured more recent literature on the topic, although this, I should say, was a challenge.

The topic at hand—the function of the Roman army in Arabia—was a boiling topic in the 1980s and 1990s, yet due to the lack of hard evidence, especially excavation data, archaeological inquiries in Roman Arabia were forced to change their focus. These days, most survey work in the region explores land use in ancient times, especially that related to settlements and military sites. Projects such as these are now producing great quantities of data and will certainly serve as invaluable platforms for the study of Roman Arabia in the near future. Using these contributions, my attempt was to revert attention to the important military aspect of Roman occupation in the region using computer techniques that were not applied in previous discussions. I have come to believe, after reading Appian's preface, that a better understanding of the military will shed light on the functioning and priorities of the Roman empire as a whole.

I hope my minor contribution is conceived in light of its original format and that any inaccuracies can be dutifully criticised in the name of academic progress. My main purpose has been to follow M. I. Finley's call to action concerning the use of analytical models in ancient history: 'The familiar fear of a *priorism* is misplaced: any hypothesis can be modified, adjusted or discarded when necessary. Without one, however, there can be no explanation.'

I am most grateful to my mentors at the University of Oxford, Prof. Andrew Wilson and John Pouncett, for their unfailing support during my master's degree. I should also like to thank Professor David Kennedy and Dr. Robert Bewley at the APAAME and EAMENA projects, as their contributions were vital to the completion of this work. My dissertation also could not have been written without the generosity of Mica Ertegun and the people at the Ertegun Graduate Scholarship in the Humanities. Finally, I must thank all those who have charitably read and commented on earlier drafts of this text, particularly my family and peers.

¹ Finley (1985), 66.

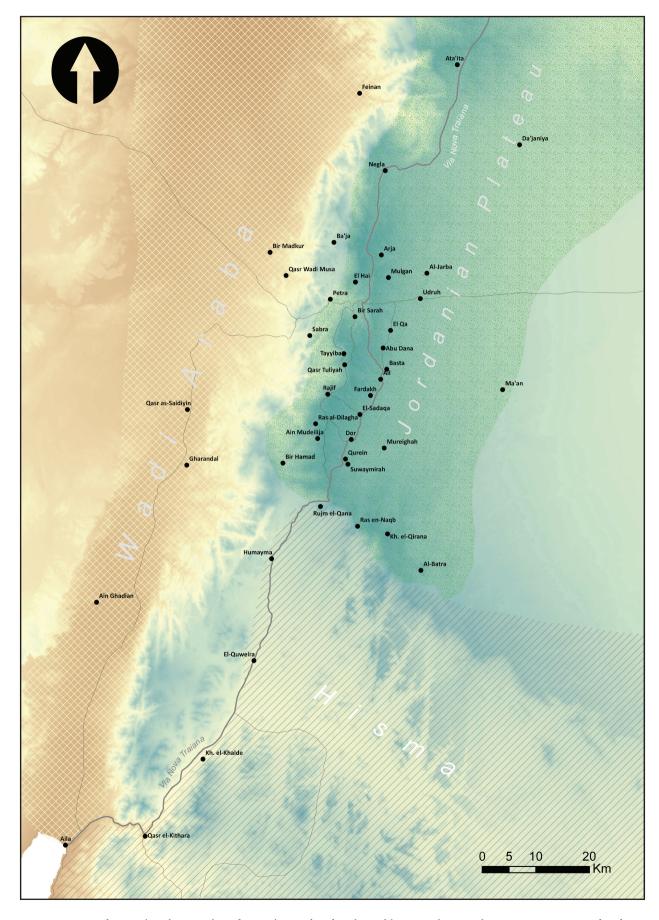


Figure 2. Study Area (southern Arabian frontier) considered in this publication, showing the main sites mentioned and geographical zones.

I. Introduction: Aims and Scope

The purpose of this research is better to understand the role of the Roman army in the southernmost sector of the Arabian frontier of the Empire between Petra and Aila (Aqaba) from the creation of the province to the end of the Byzantine period (AD 106–640). The author attempts to balance the opposing arguments put forth by Roman scholars such as Benjamin Isaac, Charles R. Whittaker, David Graf, and Thomas Parker, whose views polarise the function of the army and fortified structures along the Arabian frontier. This work argues that there is enough evidence to suggest that the eastern Roman frontier was an open but not unguarded border, demarcated by a system of roads, forts, and posts built not only to defend the empire against inward and outward threats, but also to secure the province, provide shelter, and control movement and trade in the desert. This study also proposes—unlike other analyses of the Roman military in the region—that the functions of the army changed according to period and geographical location.

This research aims to understand the purpose of the Roman military presence in the area by developing a large-scale and *longue durée* perspective of the frontier system in the south (Figure 2). Compared with the northern sections, the southernmost part of Rome's eastern frontier, extending from Petra to Aila, has only been analysed at a site or regional scale, and no serious attempts have been made to go past its typological and architectural dimensions before or since Al-Khouri's *Il Limes Arabicus*.² A new evaluation of the debate from a landscape perspective is warranted, and so the approach used here is based on spatial analyses of visibility and distance, and supported by the extant archaeological and historical evidence in the Roman east.³

The arguments made here consider the most up-to-date survey and excavation data along the ancient roads connecting Petra and Aqaba. All pertinent archaeological sites from AD 106 to Justinian are considered, but it must be acknowledged that most concrete evidence is concentrated in the third and fourth centuries.⁴ For the purpose of clarity, all dates are AD unless specified. The spelling of modern and ancient place names is consistent, as much as possible, with the most recent reports. Alternative spellings are given only when they are so different as to be potentially misleading (e.g. Ail/Ayyil, not to be confused with Aila).

This work can be an important contribution to the discussions about the Roman eastern frontier. First, it provides an unprecedented focus on the relationship between the Roman military and Arabian settlements in the region between Petra and Aqaba, including the Wadi Araba. Previous studies have only focused on limited sections of this region. Second, this is, to my knowledge, the first time anyone has applied a landscape analysis using Geographical Information Systems better to understand the dynamics of the whole region. In the process, I have been working closely with two Oxford-based projects—the Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East (APAAME) and the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa project (EAMENA)—reporting on the condition of sites from aerial and satellite imagery. Since the reports of the later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century surveys, many sites have wholly or partially disappeared. This study can thus also be a useful tool for educators, heritage management, and conservation professionals who wish to know more about the classical landscape in southern Jordan.

Chapter Two of this study summarises previous archaeological research in southern Nabataea—especially that focused on Roman occupation, frontier studies, and military presence—and the ancient primary sources that discuss these same topics. The Roman and current meanings of 'frontier' (*limes*) and its relation to the Roman army are also discussed here. Some considerations about the geography, climate

² Al-Khouri (2003); Wheeler (2007), 236. See the 'Methodology' Section for an explanation of the choice of the study-area.

³ Using ArcMap 10.5 (GIS); c.f. landscape approach used in Kouki (2012), 22.

⁴ Parker (1991), 498; Gregory (1997), 2.

⁵ At a smaller scale see: Findlater (2004) at Dana; Cook (2004) at Humayma; Ynnilä (2006) at Jabel Harun.

and topography of the *Limes Arabicus* are provided, followed by a summary of the military build-up in the region. The last section of Chapter Two discusses the deployment of legions in East, particularly in relation to the potential functions of the Roman military in the newly-established province of Arabia. Chapter Three offers a critical appraisal of each opposing view about the role of the Roman army in Arabia and the evidence supporting or refuting them. These are the defence of the frontier against the 'Nomadic threat;' the policing and administration of the province; and the maintenance of the incense trade routes. Chapter Four applies spatial analyses to the southern section of *Limes Arabicus* with the aim of revising the current debate in eastern frontier studies where 'there has never been enough evidence to prove conclusively or to disprove any of these theories.'6

⁶ Gregory (1997), 3.