

ASHER OVADIAH
YEHUDIT TURNHEIM

ROMAN TEMPLES, SHRINES
AND *TEMENE* IN ISRAEL



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In copertina: The Temple at Kedes. Façade of the *Cella*. Photo: Seth J. Frantzman

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To Gustavo Traversari
Humanist, Scholar and Teacher
Φίλιον Χόρισμα

PREFACE

Several Hellenistic and Roman temples, shrines and *temene* have been discovered in Israel to date. Undoubtedly, most such structures were intentionally destroyed either by later generations or by other causes, such as natural disasters (earthquakes, floods), fires or conquests, etc. Those buildings or complexes that did survive were usually converted into churches, because of the architectural and economic convenience of not needing to construct entirely new buildings.

Those remains that have been found reflect a large scale of sacred buildings or complexes in the Roman period throughout the country, evincing the veneration and worship of many and varied deities of the Graeco-Roman and Oriental pantheons. Despite the disappearance of most of the sacred buildings and complexes themselves, many of them are depicted on coins or mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources. These, especially the coins, indicate that a large and varied number of temples/shrines, dedicated to various gods, existed in almost every Roman city or site in Israel. Thus, it may be assumed that they reflect not only the architectural reality, but also the religious-cultic atmosphere, based on the beliefs, customs, oracles, superstitions, etc., pertaining to the Classical and/or Oriental traditions.

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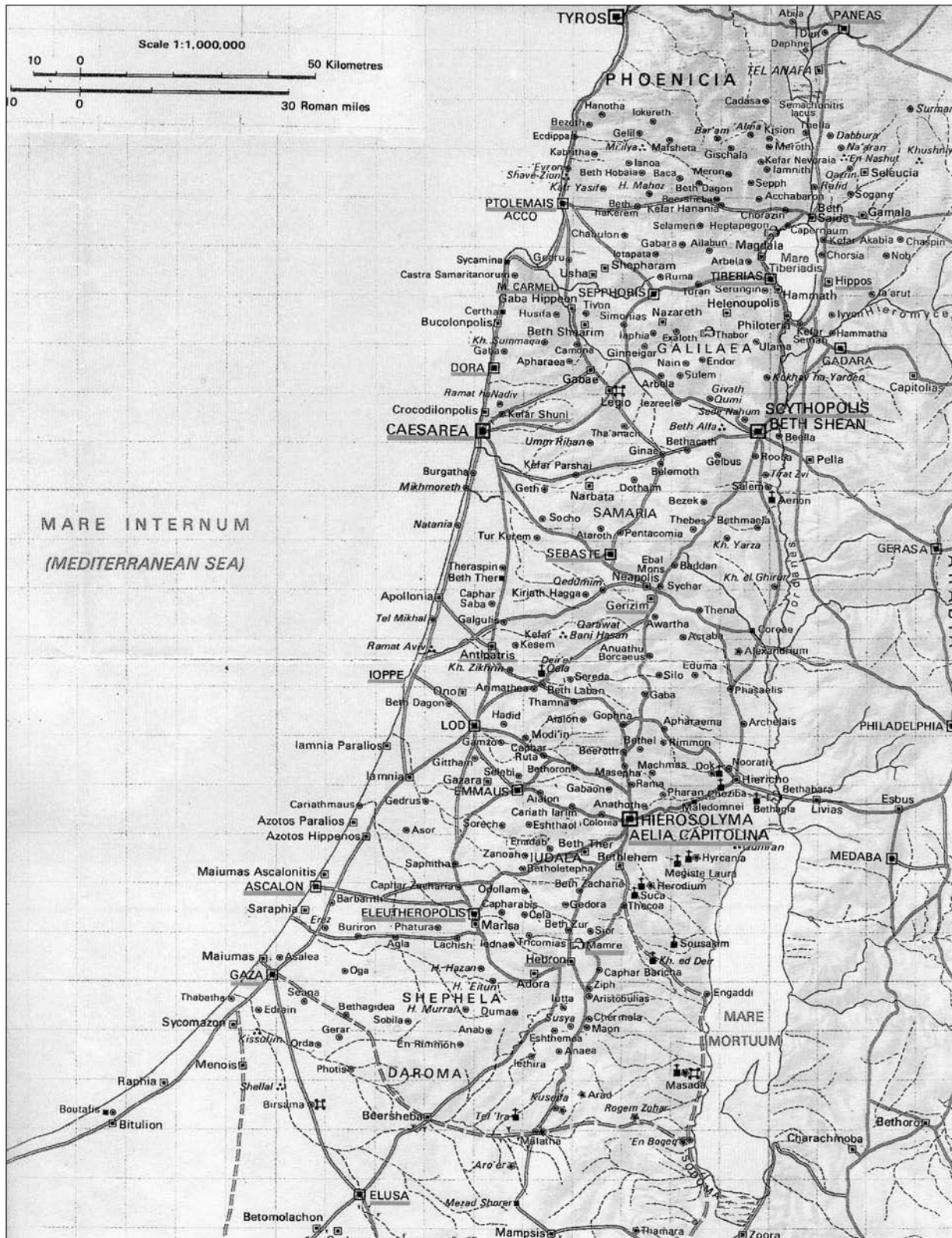
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Map of Israel in the Roman Period (*Tabula Imperii Romani* 1994)

INTRODUCTION

This work relies on the results of archaeological surveys and excavations of Roman temples, shrines and *temene* that were discovered in Israel. It should be noted that the literary sources are curiously silent with regard to most of the constructions. Nonetheless, literary sources, archaeological-architectural analogies and circumstantial evidence do provide some additional information for the understanding of their context, architecture, functions and religious-cultic perceptions. These cult places form a separate architectural unit from those in Har (Mount) Hermon¹ and in the Syro-Phoenician region² (except for the Temple of Baalshamin at Kedesh in Upper Galilee).

The chronological range of these architectural complexes extends over a period of approximately 250 years, from Herod's reign up to the Severan era.³ It is beyond the scope of this work to deal with Nabatean temples and Herod's temple on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

Indirect evidence, such as literary sources, inscriptions and coins representing deities within temples, suggest the existence of temples and shrines that were dedicated to various deities, but have not yet been found: Acco/Ptolemais - Artemis/Diana-huntress, Sarapis(?), Tyche and *Zeus Heliopolites*; *Aelia Capitolina*/Jerusalem - Tyche and Zeus/Jupiter; Anthedon - Tyche; Aphek/Antipatris - *Athena Pallas*, Sarapis(?), Tyche and *Zeus Hypsistos*; Ascalon/Ashkelon - Apollo (= Horus/Harpokrates[?]),⁴ Phanebalos (Syrian-Phoenician god)⁵ and Sarapis(?); Beth Guvrin/Eleutheropolis - Tyche; Dor - Tyche; Elijah's Cave on Mt. Carmel - Ba'al; Elusa/Halutza - Aphrodite/Venus; Emmaus/Nikopolis - Tyche; Hippos/Sussita - *Zeus Arotios*; Gaba/Geva - Tyche; Gaza - Aphrodite/Venus, Apollo, Hekate, Helios,

Kore/Persephone, Marnas and Tyche; Jaffa - Tyche; Keren Naphtali (Khirbet Harrawi) - Athena/Minerva and *Zeus Heliopolites*; Lod/Lyddad-Diospolis - Tyche; Sepphoris/Zippori - Tyche; Shuni Maïumas - Asklepios; Tiberias - a *Hadrianeum* and Zeus/Jupiter.

The Roman temples, shrines and *temene*⁶ continue, undoubtedly, the architectural tradition that prevailed in the region in the Hellenistic period, although very few Hellenistic temples and shrines have survived in Israel, but are not included in this work. The literary sources, as well as the numismatic and epigraphic evidence fail to provide sufficient data regarding the existence of such Hellenistic complexes. In some cases, Roman temples and shrines were erected over their ruins, such as the Temple of Kore in Samaria-Sebaste, which was built over the Hellenistic Temple of Isis.⁷ We can mention, for example, two possible shrines from the second century BCE in Marissa/Maresha that might have been dedicated to Apollo⁸ and the Edomite/Idumaeon Triad;⁹ a cultic building, probably a shrine, from the third century BCE in Tel Beersheva;¹⁰ the Temple of *Zeus Olympios* and the Saviour gods (the Dioscuri) from the second century BCE on the summit of Tel Beth Shean;¹¹ the above mentioned Temple of Isis in Samaria-Sebaste;¹² the Temple of *Zeus Soter* and Antiochos VII Sidetes in Acco/Ptolemais;¹³ two temples/shrines in Lachish (one, the so-called «Sun Temple»¹⁴ and the other, dated to 200 BCE, built over the ruins of a dwelling of the Persian period¹⁵), and so on.

The changes that occurred in the Roman period were a consequence of the new perceptions of religious-cultic needs. In addition, the syncretistic approach, characterized by the merging of Grae-

co-Roman divinities with Oriental ones (Phoenicians, Syrians, Iranians, Egyptians and Edomites/Idumaeans),¹⁶ became common in the Roman East.

Since paganism continued to exist in the ear-

ly Byzantine period, despite the attempts and efforts of the Church and the emperors to ban and conceal it, many temples and shrines survived and were active until their closure and final destruction in the fifth and sixth centuries CE.¹⁷

¹ See DAR 1989, pp. 296-317; DAR 1994.

² See KRENCKER, ZSCHIEZSCHMANN I-II, 1938.

³ Some of these temples/shrines continued to function up to the sixth century CE.

⁴ The young Horus/Harpokrates was identified by the Greeks with Apollo.

⁵ Phanebalos was identified with Apollo.

⁶ The two *temene* at Elonei Mamre and *Me'arat Hamachpelah* at Hebron lack any temple or shrine. For more details and comparisons, see Chapter XI: *The Temene at Elonei Mamre and Me'arat Hamachpelah (Tombs of the Patriarchs) at Hebron*.

⁷ NEAEHL, 4 (1992), p. 1501; see also Chapter VIII: *Samarina-Sebaste*.

⁸ KUHNEN 1990, p. 56, n. 51.

⁹ NEAEHL, 3 (1992), p. 1016.

¹⁰ KUHNEN 1990, p. 58, n. 58; NEAEHL, 1 (1992), p. 142.

¹¹ OVADIAH 1975, pp. 116-118.

¹² See above, n. 7.

¹³ LANDAU 1961, pp. 118-126; SCHWARTZ 1962, p. 135; KUHNEN 1990, p. 56 and n. 52; FRIEDHEIM 2000, p. 91.

¹⁴ NEAEHL, 3 (1992), p. 864.

¹⁵ KUHNEN 1990, p. 58, n. 58.

¹⁶ Astarte/Atargatis/Derketo, Ba'al, Baalshamin, Hadad, Horus/Harpokrates, Isis, Kos, Mithras, Phanebalos, Sarapis.

¹⁷ See OVADIAH, MUCZNIK 2009, *Epilogue*.

I

PANEAS/BANIAS – CAESAREA PHILIPPI

The city Paneas/Banias was established during the Hellenistic period, at the end of the third century or beginning of the second century BCE, as a place of worship for the god Pan. The Greek historian Polybius (*ca.* 200-118 BCE) mentions the *Paneion* (Πανέϊον = Πάνιον), namely the sanctuary of Pan, in Coele-Syria.¹

During the latter part of the Hellenistic period (end of the second century and beginning of the first century BCE), the *Paneion* region was part of the Ituraean kingdom, until it was handed over to Cleopatra VII in 36 BCE. When Augustus granted the Golan Heights (Gaulanitis), Bashan (Batanaea) and Trachon (Trachonitis) regions to King Herod, *Paneion* also became part of Herod's domain.² Herod's son, Herod Philip, inherited the area from his father and founded the capital city of his kingdom there in the year 3 or 2 BCE. He named the city Caesarea Philippi,³ but it continued to be called Paneas as well.

From its inception, the city of Paneas/Banias had a mixed population. Most of its citizens were pagans, probably Ituraeans from the region. The city flourished and prospered in the second and third centuries CE, and during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE) its coins were minted with the inscription «Reverenced Caesarea, the Holy and City of Asylum, at Paneion» (ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΕΙΩ).⁴ Until the end of the early Byzantine period, Paneas/Banias had a Jewish community as well. In the fourth century CE the city also had a Christian community led by a bishop. Eusebius tells two

stories related to Paneas/Banias. One describes how Astyrius, a member of the Roman Senate, when visiting the city, put an end to a certain pagan festival held in the vicinity of the springs.⁵ In the other, he describes a relief of Christ's image that a bleeding woman had placed in her doorway to commemorate her miraculous cure.⁶ The Gospel of Luke recounts in detail the miraculous event of the cure of the bleeding woman by Jesus.⁷

During the Arab conquest, the city's name became distorted from Paneas to Banias, as it is still called to this very day. From 1967 to 1997, a number of archaeological institutions surveyed and excavated Paneas/Banias. The resulting archaeological data point to a city with a developed urban centre boasting magnificent public buildings and places of worship.

The depictions on coins reveal several architectural types among the temples of Paneas/Banias: *distyle*, *tetrastyle*, *monopteral* round temple and open temple in the form of a semicircular colonnade with a fenced façade. The temples are crowned with either ordinary gable, Syrian gable or a dome.⁸ It is highly likely that the temples depicted on the coins refer to the ruins of those discovered during the excavations of the *temenos* of Pan.

The coins of the city depict temples dedicated to Zeus, Pan and Tyche, as well as a temple dedicated to Augustus (see below). These depictions shed some light on the cults that prevailed in the city.

A. THE TEMPLES IN THE *TEMENOS* OF PAN (Pl. I)

The systematic archaeological excavations in the *temenos* of Pan were carried out by the Israel Antiquities Authority in collaboration with the Israel Nature and Parks Authority. These digs began in late August/early September 1988, and continued until 1995. The *temenos*, situated from east to west along the length of the cliff and reaching up to the cave (about 40 m in length), contains temple remains and niches carved into the rock that once held the statues of Nemesis, Hermes and Pan.

Stairs were built on the slope where the *temenos* was erected, and two groups of niches were carved into the cliff. The mountain rock was for the most part left untouched, and the niches themselves were carved out and inlaid with marble slabs. Altars and columns were placed at the front of the niches. A section of the southern wall delimiting the borders of the *temenos* was constructed in concrete, using the *opus reticulatum* technique. This technique had already been discovered in Paneas/Banias, west of the *temenos* of Pan, and is from the same period as the wall under consideration – the period of Herod's dynasty (end of the first century BCE through the first century CE). Niches were also carved into this wall for statues and its surface was covered with marble slabs, as indicated by the surviving attachment holes.

The epigraphic findings corroborate the worship of the god Pan and the nymphs, and indirectly point to the worship of Hermes as well.⁹ A separate niche was dedicated to Nemesis. Two caves were discovered in the cliff wall. The larger one is without doubt the Pan cave described by Josephus Flavius.¹⁰ Investigations inside the cave indicate it to be a natural cave, with no signs of quarrying.¹¹ In addition, a number of ashlar were found that had rolled into the cave during the destruction of the Temple of Augustus (the *Augusteum*). A niche is carved over the second cave, delimited by two pillars supporting an arch. Above the arch is a conch and beneath it is a Greek inscription carved in a *tabula ansata* that mentions Diopan, lover of Echo.¹² Addition-

al niches and Greek inscriptions were found to the right of this niche. One mentions Galerius, a priest of Pan.¹³

The *temenos* of Pan consists of a number of units (Pl. II).¹⁴

1. The Temple of Augustus (the *Augusteum*) mentioned in the works of Josephus Flavius. The temple, oriented north-south, was probably built at the front of the Pan cave, a natural oval-shaped cave that once contained a spring (Pls. II, IV a).
2. The Courtyard of Pan and the Nymphs (Pls. III a, IV b, V, IX a).
3. A rectangular building, most of its foundations have been uncovered, running perpendicular to the cliff from north to south, probably a temple dedicated to *Zeus Heliopolitanus* and to the god Pan (Pls. II, III b).
4. A paved surface (probably a courtyard) in front of the Nemesis niche, perhaps used as a place for worship of the goddess (Pls. III b, VI).
5. A structure perpendicular to the cliff, whose foundations are partially preserved, identified as a Tomb-Temple of the Sacred Goats (Pls. III b, VI, VIII).
6. An apsidal structure, identified as the Temple of Pan and the Dancing Goats (Pls. III b, VI a, VII).

1. *The Temple of Augustus (Augusteum)* (Pls. II, IV a)¹⁵

Inside the *temenos* of Pan, at the front of the cave dedicated to the god, Herod built a magnificent temple dedicated to Augustus, the *Augusteum*, «made of white marble» (λευκῆς μαρμάρου καθιδρύσατο).¹⁶ Josephus also points out:

Καίσαρα δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν προπέμψας, ὡς ἐπανήκων, ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδώρου περικαλλέστατον αὐτῷ ναὸν ἐγείρει πέτρας λευκῆς, πλησίον τοῦ Πανείου καλουμένου. σπήλαιον ἐν ὄρει περικαλλές ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ δὲ γῆς ὀλισθημα καὶ βάθος ἀπερρωγὸς ἄβατον, ὕδατος ἀκινήτου πλέον, καθύπερθε δ' ὄρος παμμέγεθες; ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ. τοῦτον ἐπισημότατον ὄντα τὸν τόπον καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσεκόσμησεν, ὃν ἀφιέρου Καίσαρι.

And when he returned home after escorting Caesar to the sea, he erected to him a very beautiful temple of white stone in the territory of Zenodorus, near the place called Paneion. In the mountains here there is a beautiful cave, and below it the earth slopes steeply to a precipitous and inaccessible depth, which is filled with still water, while above it there is a very high mountain. Below the cave rise the sources of the river Jordan. It was this most celebrated place that Herod further adorned with the temple which he consecrated to Caesar.¹⁷

One of the coins found at Paneas/Banias depicts a gabled temple with a *tetrastyle* façade and stairs leading up.¹⁸ Around the temple is a Greek inscription: CEΒΑC KAICAP. Apparently this is the Temple of Augustus (the *Augusteum*), built by Herod in 19 BCE and dedicated to the Roman Emperor.

In the course of the archaeological excavations, the remains of a rectangular structure were discovered, thought to be the Temple of Augustus. Practically the entire length (12 m) of the western wall was uncovered. Alternating semicircular and rectangular niches were found on the inner surface of the wall, while the outer surface had a retaining wall. Only one rectangular niche was found in the eastern-facing wall, but we can assume that this wall too had niches similar to these in the western wall. These niches were probably built to house statues, perhaps of Augustus and/or his family members.¹⁹ The temple was built in *opus quadratum* and the holes for attaching the marble slabs for facing can be still seen in the stones.²⁰ Based upon the building design of these two walls with the niches and the oil lamp, the excavators attributed it to the reign of Herod and his successors. At the entrance to the cave a few ornamented cornice fragments were discovered, not *in situ*. According to their stylistic resemblance to the temples of Baalbek in Beq'a, Lebanon, they can be dated to the beginning or middle of the second century CE.²¹ If the reconstructed plan of the building is correct, then the structure was a long rectangular temple consisting of a portico, around 5 m long, and a *cella* - the hall of the temple (11 × 20 m). The location of the main entrance of the temple was discovered on its southern (front) wall.²² The western

entrance was also found on the same wall.²³ A carved and ornamented block, composed of an architrave (its soffit was also carved and decorated), frieze and cornice, was found close to the main entrance.²⁴

Ashlars, marble slabs for facing and large stone altars were found among the ruins of the building. Based on the archaeological data, the excavators dated the destruction of the temple to the beginning of the seventh century CE. The Temple of Augustus continued to be used for hundreds of years. Unfortunately, the interior modifications carried out during that time make it very hard to reconstruct the building's original plan.²⁵ The *cella* and the *adyton* were separated by a wall. Architectural parallels from other temples in the Roman world, especially in the Syro-Phoenician region,²⁶ corroborate the inner division of the temple at Paneas/Banias into two units, a *cella* and an elevated *adyton*.²⁷ Support for the existence of such an *adyton* in the *Augusteum* is perhaps provided by the large rectangular niche that was uncovered near the cave entrance, close to where the temple wall joins the rocky cliff (two steps made of ashlar were found in the niche; on the lower step was placed a rectangular stone with two square indentations, which served as a base for a chancel screen or grill).²⁸ Perhaps the cult statue of Augustus was placed within the elevated *adyton*.

The fact that the Temple of Augustus was built within the Pan *temenos* may point to an imperial cult of the emperor and his family at Paneas/Banias. Herod felt that this was the most appropriate way to express his respect, appreciation and gratitude to Augustus. Perhaps the erection of the *Augusteum* at the entrance to the cave of Pan, with the holy spring inside, was meant to exalt the Roman ruler and the worship of his person, while at the same time emphasizing the Imperial cult.²⁹

Based upon literary sources, numismatic and archaeological evidence, and comparative examples, the following picture of the architectural design of the temple and also its interior design emerges. A magnificent temple was built along the north-south axis, with a *tetrastyle* façade, an ordinary gable, a portico and three entrances leading to the *cella*. The inner space of the temple was designed as two separate units, a *cella* and an el-

evated *adyton*; its inner walls (western and eastern) were designed with alternating semicircular and rectangular niches.

2. *The Courtyard of Pan and the Nymphs* (Pls. III a, IV b, V, IX a)

A large altar in secondary use and an illegible Greek inscription, engraved in Pan's alcove, were discovered close to the southern part of the niche wall dedicated to Pan and Hermes.³⁰ Another fragment of an altar with the following Latin inscription was discovered at the front entrance of the cave of Pan:

*Salutem [M Aur An]tonini Aug
(usti) Aur Ant Aug(usti) F(ili).*³¹

The emperor mentioned in the inscription may be Marcus Aurelius, Commodus or Elagabalus. Therefore, this inscription probably dates to between 161 and 222 CE.

On the rock surface at the front of the cliff the concrete foundations of three walls have survived. The walls were arranged in a Π-shape and enclosed a rectangular square (10 × 15 m) that opened toward the wall of the cliff.³² The use of this square is unclear, but its position facing the Pan and Hermes niches may point to ritual purposes. Indeed, this square may have served as an open shrine. Although the identity of the deity is unknown, the proximity of the square to the Pan niche may indicate that it was dedicated to this god. Early third-century CE coins from Paneas/Banias, dated to Elagabalus' reign (218-222 CE), depict a semicircular colonnade enclosed by a fence, and the image of Pan in the centre playing the flute (Pls. IX e, X a).³³ On another coin, dated to the reign of the same Emperor,³⁴ Pan is depicted standing in a niche above a semicircular colonnade with a tree and an altar at its centre (Pl. IX d). The iconographic depiction on this coin reinforces the connection between the rectangular square and the niche carved in the cliff, in which the statue of the god was placed. In this case, the niche was probably perceived as a substitute for a sanctuary (or shrine). All these recall the complex of the water or spring

temple at Zaghouan, Tunisia, which consists of a semicircular courtyard with a colonnaded portico and a temple (Pls. XXII-XXV).³⁵ The semicircular structure, depicted on the coins of Paneas/Banias, also resembles an earlier architectural complex – a semicircular portico uncovered at the *Nymphaion* of the *Letoon* at Xanthos, Lycia (Asia Minor),³⁶ and semicircular (*sigma* type) *ex-voto* clay models of spring-grottoes (*nymphaia*) with niches from Locri in South Italy, dated to the Hellenistic period (end of fourth-beginning of third century BCE), currently exhibited in the Museo Nazionale della Magna Graecia di Reggio Calabria (Pl. XII).³⁷

A similar but larger square surrounded by columns on three sides was found at the temple of the spring (the *Augusteum*) at Nîmes (Nemausus), attributed to the beginning of the Augustan era.³⁸ It is possible that the rectangular square at Paneas/Banias was also surrounded on three sides by columns and open to the sky, similar to the depiction of the semicircular colonnade on the city's coins. These comparative examples support our assumption that this square at Paneas/Banias was the location of the Temple of Pan.

The semicircular colonnade is the most prominent architectural element featured on the coins of Paneas/Banias. These coins were minted under Diadumenianus (217-218 CE), Elagabalus (219/220 and 220/221 CE) and Julia Maesa (221/222 CE). No remains of such a colonnade, however, have been found in the excavations outside the cave or on the sanctuary terrace. A possible way to locate this monumental colonnade is found in the details on the coins and the physical layout of the land. The semicircular colonnades depicted on the coins have a varying number of columns. The idea was to convey artistically a colonnade that has many columns, and therefore as many as possible were depicted on the coin die. It thus seems that the semicircular colonnade had at least 25-30 columns and perhaps many more.³⁹

Based upon the above-mentioned archaeological evidence, the rectangular square was dated to the first century CE, while the numismatic evidence depicting the semicircular colonnade refers to the beginning of the third century CE. It may be assumed that the rectangular square, in

all likelihood the open Temple of Pan, was redesigned during the Severan era and altered from a rectangular shape to a semicircle. The direction of the semicircular colonnade at Paneas/Banias can be explained in two ways. One, the colonnade was erected with its rounded side facing outwards and its chord or façade facing Pan's alcove. This interpretation is supported by the remains of the rectangular square facing the cliff and by the architectural depiction of the colonnade on the coins. The other, the chord or the facade faced outwards and merged with the front wall of the earlier rectangular area, while the rounded side merged into Pan's alcove. This interpretation reflects the depictions on the coins of Paneas/Banias, in which the front or the chord of the colonnade faces outwards. This is also supported by a comparison with the architectural design of the semicircular portico of the water or spring temple at Zaghouan, Tunisia.⁴⁰ Indeed, the semicircular structure at the *Nymphaion* of the *Letoon* at Xanthos was used as a reservoir from a holy water source or spring.⁴¹ On the basis of the analogy to this complex, a similar water cistern or «sacred lake» may also have been built at Paneas/Banias for ritual purposes, initially at the centre of the rectangular area (first century CE) and afterwards at the centre of the semicircular colonnade, as depicted on the city's coins dating from the third century CE.⁴²

The «sacred lake» must have been an integral part of the sanctuary, since it was located right at the foot of Pan's cave and temples.⁴³ It seems convincing that the «sacred lake» at Paneas/Banias was the location where the town's well-known festival was celebrated. Eusebius, in the fourth century CE, mentions an event that took place during a certain festival, in which a victim was thrown down into the springs and became invisible in some miraculous way through the demon's power. The multitude of people gathering there were struck with amazement at the affair, when suddenly and miraculously the sacrifice floated on the surface of the springs.⁴⁴

As a result of the destruction inflicted upon the *temenos* of Pan over the years, the buildings that once occupied the area have disappeared as well. The remains uncovered during the excava-

tions do not contribute to an understanding of the architectural design of the *temenos* in the third century CE, but do shed some light on its form during the first century CE.⁴⁵

3. *The Temple of Zeus Heliopolitanus and Pan* (Pls. II, IIIb)

The foundations of a large rectangular building, probably a temple, were found between the Hermes niche and the Nemesis niche. The building is composed of two units: *pronaos* and *naos* (*cella*). The floor of the *naos* was made of colourful marble slabs which were not found *in situ*.⁴⁶ The temple had only one entrance on the southern façade,⁴⁷ and its rear wall (the northern wall) was supported by the cliff. This temple is not situated on a *podium*, similarly to the temples of the Syro-Phoenician region, which in general are not placed on artificial terraces,⁴⁸ its façade most likely had four columns with Corinthian capitals in a *prostyle tetrastyle* formation. Its outer dimensions are 10,70 × 16,70 m; the inner dimensions of the *naos* are 7,60 × 8,25 m; and the length of the *pronaos* is 4,25 m. The foundations of the temple, in the northeast corner, had subsided because of the flow of the underground spring. Fragments of very large dentils and cornice coated with a thin layer of stucco were part of the entablature of the façade. A moulded pedestal with an Attic profile was preserved on the foundation. Ornamented architectural items, among them a Corinthian capital that was adjacent to a building, were found in a landslide. The Corinthian capital was very delicately designed, indicating its date from the first century CE or at the latest from the early second century CE. Fragments of an inscribed marble slab were also found in the landslide. In addition, parts of a column were uncovered in secondary use: an Attic base, an upper drum and a capital.⁴⁹ It should be noted that the Temple of Zeus, depicted on the city's coins, also has Corinthian capitals.⁵⁰

The foundation of the sanctuary's rear wall (the northern wall), parallel to the cliff, is extremely wide (3 m). It may be that the niche in which the cult statues were placed was carved into this wall and that the foundation supported cor-

CONTINUA...