

## How Hellenised was Pella in Jordan in the Hellenistic Period?

Following the final defeat of Darius III at Gaugamela in 331 BC, all of Syria-Palestine fell under the rule of Alexander and his successors. Thus, in theory at least, this whole region was ready for assimilation into the world of Greek language, religion, and culture. It is now clear, however, that, contrary to the opinions of many earlier scholars, this process of hellenisation<sup>1</sup> was in no way uniform (Millar 1987; Harrison 1994). Whilst in some areas of the Levant Greek language and customs were readily adopted, other regions remained relatively impervious to these new influences. Regardless of whether hellenisation is a modern concept “reflecting modern forms of cultural domination” (Bowersock 1990: xi) it is this piecemeal and uneven response to the imported culture of the Macedonian conquerors which provides one of the most fascinating areas for research in the Hellenistic east.

For the last 22 years the University of Sydney has been involved with excavations at Pella, at first in conjunction with the College of Wooster and since 1985, independently. Archaeological evidence is now abundant for the Bronze Age at Pella as well as for Iron Age I and II, and the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic. Whilst the first few years’ investigations at Pella encountered a paucity of material from the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, more recent work has suggested that Pella was continuously inhabited from at least the later third century BC through to Late Roman times and beyond.

Hellenistic<sup>2</sup> structures or artefacts have now been unearthed from most of the plots opened on the main mound (Khirbat Faḥl) whilst, in the Wādī al-Jirm, soundings in the Civic Complex (Area IX) undertaken by the Wooster expedition have found traces of architectural remains associated with Hellenistic pottery (Smith and Day 1989: 2-3, 97). These remains consist only of small sections of walls, modest in size and construction, which differ in

their orientation from the subsequent major Roman and Byzantine wall alignments; currently the function of these Hellenistic structures remains unknown. The presence of the later Roman-Byzantine-Umayyad remains, as well as the high water table and large amount of silt in the wadi, makes further exposure of these early walls well-nigh impossible (Smith and Day 1989: 2; Smith and McNicoll 1992: 120).

More recently, extensive excavations have been undertaken on the summit of Tall al-Ḥuṣn, revealing the impressive remains of a Late Byzantine cavalry barracks as well as a number of domestic complexes (Watson and Tidmarsh 1996: 293-305). In some areas the Byzantine levels overlaid substantial Early and Middle Bronze Age architecture and deposits whilst in other areas of the summit they were immediately on top of Early Roman and Hellenistic structures.

Hellenistic material is not, however, restricted to the above areas. From the fields north-west of Khirbat Faḥl a local farmer recovered the statue of a feline, somewhat worse for wear, whilst to the east, on the lower slopes of Jabal Saṭṭaba, a complete white-ground lagynos was a chance find (McNicoll 1992: 116-118). Some 2km to the north-east of the main mound, on Jabal al-Ḥammah, the remains of a fortress have been traced but not investigated whilst a further fort on the summit of Saṭṭaba also awaits more intensive study. To complete the picture, a number of other defensive walls and towers have been noted in the course of the Pella Hinterland Survey (Watson 1996: 67-69).

It should be pointed out, however, that this now substantial body of Hellenistic material belongs almost exclusively to the second and early first centuries BC. Identifiable third century architectural remains or artefacts—other than three stray coins of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Sheedy *et al.* 2001: 15-16, 69) — have not been re-

<sup>1</sup> Well defined by Tssetskhladze (2000) as “the spread of Hellenic culture in non-Greek, “barbarian” society and the process under which “barbarians” accept, adopt, and incorporate Hellenic culture”.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper “Hellenistic” refers to the period from Alexander the Great to the conquest of Syria by Pompey, i.e 332 BC-63 BC.

covered from the widespread excavations on the main mound; on the other hand the presence (out of context) on Tall al-Ḥuṣn of several fourth or third century ceramic lamps<sup>3</sup> as well as a bronze coin of Ptolemy IV minted in Alexandria (Sheedy *et al.* 2001: 69) makes sense when one takes into consideration the panoramic view of the tall commands over much of the north Jordan valley and its natural advantages as regards defence. It is tempting to postulate that by at least the late third century Pella was home to a small fortress or garrison situated on Tall al-Ḥuṣn. It may well have functioned, along with Gadara and Itabyrium, as a link in a chain of fortresses running north-south, designed to command the whole of the Jordan valley, whilst at the same time controlling the important river crossing between Pella and Scythopolis/Bayt-Shan.

On the main mound, the Hellenistic material ranges in date from early in the second century through to the sack of Pella by Alexander Jannaeus in 83 BC. As yet, only domestic remains have been unearthed. Thus in plots IIIB/C the remains of a small house were unearthed in the 1979 and 1980 seasons (McNicoll *et al.* 1982: 68-71) but due to the necessity of preserving the overlying Umayyad remains, could only be partially excavated. The tentative plan shows the building to be rectangular and entered via a doorway with three well-cut ashlar threshold blocks on its south-west. Its walls consisted of rubble, bound with mud mortar in their lower courses with plastered mudbrick above. Originally the interior had been divided into two rooms but in its latest phase the addition of a crosswall divided the southern room into two further chambers. The internal floors were of tamped earth, white plaster, or unbaked clay tiles. Outside the entrance to the west was a series of thick, coarse white and yellow plaster layers on a bedding of soil and pebbles. These layers had been cut by several shallow plaster-lined pits and represent the remains of a courtyard. The building's size (9x5.5m) and humble construction suggest that it was a small residence. A thick black deposit inside and around the house showed that it had been destroyed by fire; almost certainly it was the result of the sack of the city by Alexander Jannaeus in 83/2 BC (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIII.15. 2-4) as the latest coin found within the deposit — a *prutah* of Alexander Jannaeus (Sheedy *et al.* 2001: cat. no. 2.002) testifies.

The excavations carried out in the West Cut (Area VIII) by Wooster College (McNicoll *et al.* 1982: 72-73) uncovered thick Hellenistic deposits averaging about two metres in depth and seemingly representing two architectural phases of domestic architecture. As in Areas III and IV, there was ample evidence of widespread de-

struction and burning with the latest coin from within these destruction deposits being minted during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. Like the IIIB/C house described above, walls were generally of roughly shaped rubble masonry and mud mortar although occasional white limestone "headers" and "stretchers" recall Hellenistic techniques.

Further traces of housing have been encountered elsewhere on the mound; with the exception of those uncovered in plot XXVIII B (which seem to have gone out of use no later than the mid-second century BC), the thick destruction level overlying these Hellenistic remains demonstrates the thoroughness with which Jannaeus levelled those structures on the main mound.

As mentioned, Hellenistic material is also present on Tall al-Ḥuṣn although occupation there seems to have been less dense than on Khirbat Faḥl. Once again, architectural remains are restricted to the partially revealed remains of housing. So far, no trace of a Jannaeus — or any other — destruction level has been found and in fact the ceramic record suggests that at least some of the houses continued to be inhabited during Early Roman times (FIG. 1).

The architecture of the houses discussed so far is extremely uniform: the floors of internal rooms were of tamped earth, thin plaster or (in the case of the IIIB/C dwelling) unbaked clay tiles, whilst courtyards had surfaces of much thicker plaster on a base of small stones. Walls were constructed from rubble, mud mortar, and mudbrick sometimes covered by a thin layer of white plaster. An occasional ashlar "header" served to bond the outer surface to the interior core whilst, even less commonly, limestone "stretchers" were inserted, seemingly at random, in the exterior face. The techniques employed in the construction of these houses, therefore seem little different from those dwellings of the preceding Iron Age at Pella whilst, on the limited evidence available, the plan of the structures is also similar (McNicoll *et al.* 1982: 55-63; Smith and Potts 1992).

The largest Hellenistic structure uncovered to date is that from plot XXIII A on the main mound. Whilst its plan is still incomplete, it was clearly also a house, although seemingly of much greater dimensions (FIG. 2). The structure was first sounded by Funk and Richardson in 1958; although never fully published, the preliminary report (Funk and Richardson 1958: 82-96) stated that the sondage provided evidence of "Medieval and Early Arab occupation" in its upper layers as well as Byzantine, Late Hellenistic, and Early Iron Age material below. Within the Hellenistic stratum, the excavators uncovered the corner of a "room"; its walls in their preserved courses were

<sup>3</sup> Lamps RN7143 and RN7390 from plot XXXIV F; and RN7129 from XXXIV B. This last lamp is an Attic lamp of Howland Type 25A

Prime or 25B Prime produced between c.370-250BC (Howland 1958: 70-77; Scheibler 1976: 190).



1. Plot XXXIVG (Tall al-Ḥuṣn) Late Hellenistic/ Early Roman housing.



2. Plot XXIII A. Hellenistic house (north sounding).

of stone, reinforced with ashlar masonry at various points, and had at least in part been covered with painted plaster. The presence of a “fine stone floor”, however, suggests the possibility that the “room” may well have been a paved courtyard. From the courtyard/room were recovered “quantities of pottery and objects including fine red-glazed ware (Hellenistic Pergamene), several nearly whole storage jars, an incised two-handled pot, nineteen loom weights, and several shattered cooking pots”. A thick layer of burned debris, including charcoal, showed that the house had been destroyed by fire, now also attributed to the Jannaeus sack.

Sealed by this destruction level, and to the east and west of the Funk and Richardson sounding, subsequent excavations have brought to light an area which seems to have combined domestic use with storage, manufacture, and food processing (McNicoll 1992: 106-108; see Fig. 7). In locus 13 a fine clay *ṭābūn* was found largely complete whilst nearby were recovered more than 60 clay loomweights. Noteworthy is the large quantity of stamped Rhodian amphora handles also found; similar handles turn up elsewhere on the site but in much smaller numbers. From the Jannaeus destruction levels were recovered numerous fragments of plaster — both moulded and painted — in red, green, and white. The fragments of painted panels and egg-and-dart motifs resemble the interior decoration of well-to-do houses elsewhere in the Hellenistic world and in particular recall the Late Hellenistic Stucco Building at Tall Anafa. As at Tall Anafa (Gordon 1979), it is likely that the plaster mainly adorned the upper walls or, indeed, may have decorated an upper storey, part of

which may still be preserved in the unexcavated sector in the east of the plot.

The dimensions of this house suggest that it was a dwelling of some importance. The more frequent use of ashlar "headers", the presence of numerous Rhodian amphora handles, and, above all, the use of relatively ornate painted and moulded plaster as described above attest to the Hellenic tastes of the owner. Not surprising, therefore, is the recovery here of part of a bronze torso draped very much in Greek style (*infra*).

So far, no trace of Hellenistic Pella's fortification wall has been located. This is surely a pity as city walls of this period frequently give some idea of the Hellenistic milieu in which they were constructed. Clearly within the city's ambit, however, we have the two fortresses referred to above. That on Jabal al-Ḥammah has been partially planned but not sounded and so, whilst certainly Hellenistic, its chronology remains uncertain. McNicoll has seen in its trace evidence for the *geländemauer*, so commonly employed by Greek-trained or-influenced architects during the fourth and early third centuries BC in response to the great advances in siege warfare during those years (Winter 1971: 110-114; McNicoll 1997: 4); to me, however, the wall follows the brow of the hill in the fashion of those more restricted circuits constructed later in the Hellenistic era (Winter 1971: 114; McNicoll 1997: 113). Thus it can be compared to that of the second century BC fortress from Khirbat Hurrawi in the eastern Upper Galilee (Aviam 1997). Of its wall and 5 remaining towers, only one or two courses survive, although in comparison to the Jabal Sarṭaba fort the stones are somewhat better cut with occasional drafted margins and quarry-faced bosses. No ancient structures can be discerned within the walls although the ruins of a modern farmhouse survive largely intact.

On the summit of Sarṭaba are the remains of the second fortress, some 70m square, with a commanding view over the ancient city and Tall al-Ḥuṣn to the west as well as the Jordan Valley to the south, west, and north. To the north, the fortress on Jabal al-Ḥammah is also clearly visible. The stone-built Sarṭaba fortress with its 8 towers, one at each corner and one midway along each wall, is approximately square in plan and so its trace differs markedly from that on Jabal al-Ḥammah. Furthermore, it is set well back from the brow of the hill and instead lies almost at the centre of Sarṭaba's broad summit.

The unfinished state of the walls (seemingly crudely constructed from roughly hewn blocks) and the absence of any interior structures, apart from two inter-connecting cisterns which had been dug into the rock, clearly demonstrate that the fortress was never completed. The pot-

tery recovered from clearing the walls and from the few soundings undertaken within the complex consists almost exclusively of coarseware (McNicoll *et al.* 1982: pl. 127) which would be at home anywhere within the later second century to the end of the first century BC. Without more extensive investigations it is premature to arrive at any firm conclusions as to the fortress's role, although it may well have been intended to serve both as an observation post over the Jordan Valley and as a defence against incursions from the east. Whether it was Seleucid (McNicoll *et al.* 1982: 65, 67), Hasmonean (Zayadine 1986: 151-152) or, indeed, constructed at some stage following Pompey's conquests in 63 BC is still debated; the regularity of its trace and symmetrical positioning of its towers would, however, seem to owe more to Roman rather than to Greek models<sup>4</sup>.

This then is the current architectural evidence for Pella and its immediate surrounds during the Hellenistic era. As has already been remarked, apart from the painted and moulded plaster from the Area XXIII house, there is little we can discern as being specifically Greek in character.

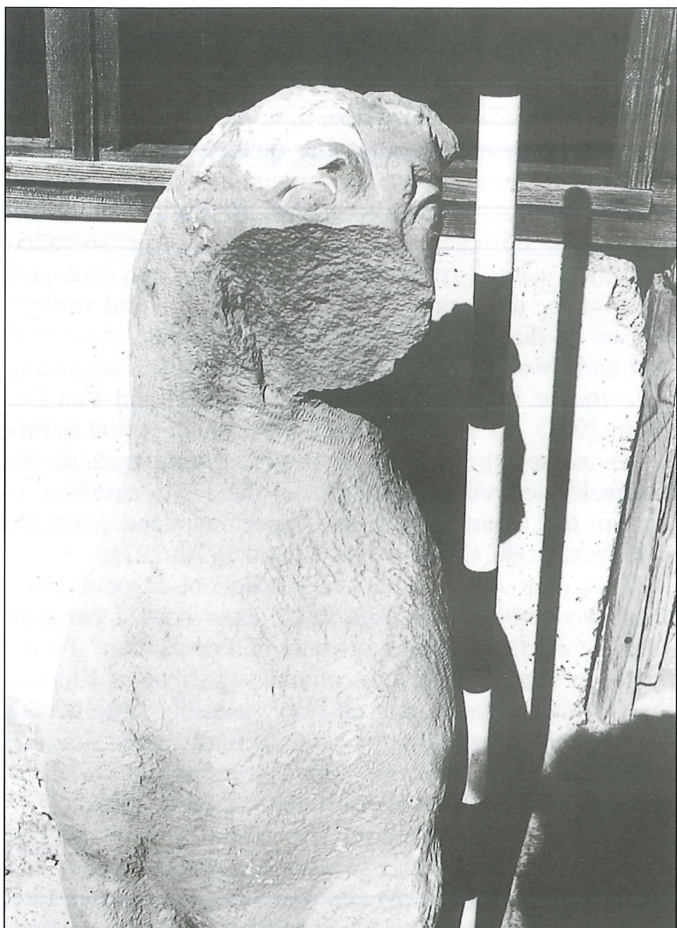
The evidence of sculpture is restricted to those two examples—the feline and the draped bronze torso—we have already mentioned. The feline (FIG. 3), generally attributed to the late fourth century BC (Weber 1993: 54-60; McNicoll 1992: 117-118), certainly appears close in style and proportions to the well-known panther of similar date from the hunt scene on the Alexander Sarcophagus, recovered from Sidon and now in Istanbul (Pollitt 1986: 40), and to that depicted on a fourth century mosaic from Pella in Macedon (Pollitt 1986: 213) although it must be stressed that mosaic is a very different medium from sculpture in the round. However, it also shares a number of characteristics, as regards treatment of the eyes and forequarters, with the somewhat later (early second century BC) panther fountains from 'Irāq al-Amīr—works which also betray Greek influence (Queyrel 1991: 211-218).

The archaeological context — ie, the Jannaeus destruction level of 83 BC — from which the bronze torso (FIG. 4) was recovered would suggest a later Hellenistic date for this piece. Whilst the location of the workshop in which it was made may be open to debate (Weber 1993: 71-75), the treatment of the drapery with its well-modelled oblique folds of varying thickness is undoubtedly Greek in inspiration.

As is generally the case, ceramics constitute by far the greatest bulk of Hellenistic material. Noteworthy is the white-ground lagynos (FIG. 5), retrieved from a pit on the lower slopes of Jabal Sarṭaba where it had been buried on its own. Its profile is close to that of a white-ground la-

<sup>4</sup> Compare, amongst others, the Roman-period forts at Khirbat az Samrā (Kennedy and Riley 1990: Fig.146) and Khirbat az Zona

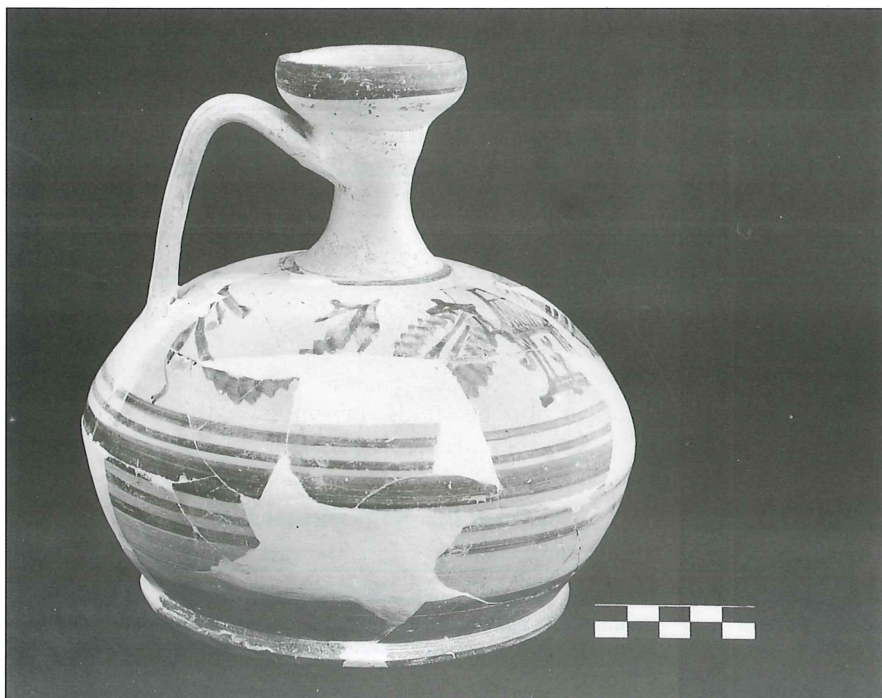
(Parker 1986: 45-46).



3. Limestone feline.



4. Bronze draped torso.



5. White-ground lagynos.

gynos from a tomb on Aegina dated to the second half of the second century BC (Smetana-Scherrer 1982: pl. 51, no. 667) whilst its decorative arrangement of wreaths, garlands, “tambourine”, and “gazebo” is reminiscent of Alexandria or one of the other opulent Hellenistic centres in the Eastern Mediterranean.

West Slope Ware, another highly decorative ware, and one which originated in Athens (Rotroff 1997: 41), is rare at Pella as it is in the remainder of Transjordan; on the other hand, moulded relief (Megarian) bowls—also seemingly first produced in Athens (Rotroff 1982: 6-10), are quite common in early second century BC contexts but have become much rarer by the time of Jannaeus’ destruction.

Vessels covered in black-glaze — a technique known in Greece since the early sixth century — are encountered in all Hellenistic levels at Pella. They are, however, much more numerous in early second century strata than they are in the Jannaeus destruction levels. Whilst the great variety of black-glaze shapes encountered in the larger Hellenistic *poleis* of mainland Greece such as Athens or Corinth<sup>5</sup> is not encountered in the Levant or further east (Hannestad 1990), the black-glaze assemblage from Pella is much more restricted in range than that from eastern centres such as Pergamon, Antioch, Tall Dor or even Samaria<sup>6</sup>. If we exclude those imports from Athens and Antioch, most of the remaining black-glaze wares recovered from Pella are of extremely poor quality with profiles far from crisp and thin dull glaze, patchily applied and often mottled in firing.

This non-Greek lack of interest in both shaping and decorating the pot is especially apparent in the very large number of local imitations of these simple black-glaze shapes, in a semi-fine ware termed “coarse light brown ware” at Pella. The relatively crude potting technique is well illustrated by numerous fishplates with uneven sagging profiles (FIG. 6) whilst these and other “coarse light

brown” vessels are decorated with a remarkably thin and patchy dull black or reddish-brown slip which rarely extends below the upper wall.

The black-glaze and coarse light brown ware ceramics are, despite their generally poor quality, clearly inspired by Greek forms as are the less numerous Eastern Sigillata. A bowls and plates recovered from the Hellenistic levels. The same, however, cannot be said for the so-called “common wares”. Amongst those jars, jugs, and cook pots used for the daily rituals of food preparation and storage, we see no discernible Greek influence; rather, these vessels hark back to the Persian era and earlier, suggesting little change in culinary habits (Bienkowski and Van Der Steen 2001: 27). Not until the Early Roman period at Pella do we see the advent of western forms such as the casserole, derived ultimately from the *lopas* common in Athens and elsewhere on the Greek mainland from the fifth century BC (Sparkes and Talcott 1970: 227).

This, then, is a summary of the Hellenistic-period material recovered so far from Pella. How does it compare with the evidence from elsewhere in Transjordan? To the south, in Petra, the facades of tombs such as al-Khazna, the Corinthian tomb, and ad-Dayr certainly boast Greek — probably Alexandrian — architectural forms although it seems that the latter two were constructed in Early Roman rather than Hellenistic times (Schmid 2001b: 397-398). The locally produced fine wares in their earliest phase (c.150 to 50 BC), such as the shallow plates and bowls with incurved rims and plates with out-turned rims are clearly influenced by contemporary Hellenistic pottery (Schmid 1995: 637-638) and demonstrate, as does the introduction of Greek-style coinage in the early first century BC (Meshorer 1975: 9-14; Schmitt-Korte 1990: 131), the relatively rapid tendency towards hellenization amongst the now sedentary Nabateans.<sup>7</sup>

Further north, at ‘Irāq al-Amīr, the early second century BC Qaşr al-‘Abd employs an idiosyncratic mélange



6. Coarse light brown ware fishplate.

<sup>5</sup> For Athens: Thompson (1934), Rotroff (1997); Corinth: Edwards (1975).

<sup>6</sup> For Pergamon: Schäfer (1968); Antioch: Waagé (1948); Tall Dor: Rosenthal-Heginbottom (1995); Samaria: Hennessy (1970); Zayadine (1966), Crowfoot and Kenyon (1957).

For a well argued consideration of the processes and effects of hel-

lenisation among the Nabateans see Schmid 2001a; 2001b.

<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting in passing, however, that despite this hellenisation traditional nomadic customs — most notably a reluctance to depict human figures — persisted until at least the 4th century AD (Patrich 1990).

of Greek architectural elements in a very non-Greek way. Although it has been considered an “*interpretatio graeca* d’un monument de tradition orientale” (Will 1991: 285) it remains unique both in its form and the circumstances of its construction. Whilst “House A” and the “Plaster House” from the village mound are similar as regards date, plaster decoration, and paved courtyard (Groot 1983: 75-77) to the large dwelling in plot XXIII A at Pella, and thus hint at some attempt at hellenisation, the published pottery from the site consists almost exclusively of plain wares based, as at Pella, on indigenous, rather than Greek, forms.

In northern Transjordan those cities belonging to the so-called Decapolis have generally been regarded as being receptive to Greek cultural and material influence as the name “Decapolis” would imply. This certainly seems to apply to Gadara (modern Umm Qays) which can boast immaculate credentials as the birthplace of the philosophers Menippos and Philodemos and, especially, the first century BC poet Meleager. During the Seleucid era and even earlier, whilst under Ptolemaic control, the city seems to have been protected by elegant and well constructed ashlar header-and-stretcher walls (Hoffman 2000; 2001) as we have seen, Pella has nothing to rival such defensive walls at this period nor have comparable defences been unearthed at Abila, Jarash, ‘Ammān/Philadelphia or the other Decapolis cities<sup>8</sup>. By the second century or early first century BC Gadara seems to have been served by a Doric-style temple supported on a high podium and set within a temenos (Hoffman 2001: 395-396). Furthermore, the iconography and carving technique of funerary monuments such as the limestone snake from its eastern necropolis suggests that Gadarene sculptors were open to Rhodian or Pergamene influences during late Hellenistic times—a period when some of its citizens resided in Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world (Weber 1996). Greek inscriptions of this period have also been recovered from the excavations (Weber 1991: 228; Wörrle 2000); on the other hand, its ceramic assemblage seems little different in forms and wares to that seen at Pella (Kerner 1997: 290-291; Kenrick 2000).

Graf (1992) has stressed the lack of evidence for the existence of any pre-Augustan Decapolis, pointing out that there is nothing to suggest that in Hellenistic times the cities of northern Transjordan employed those civic or institutional forms one would associate with a Greek *polis*. In fact “throughout the Hellenistic era, the towns and villages constituting the later Decapolis cities were mainly clusters of urban settlements and nucleated conglomerations devoid of any of the basic political institutions or civic organizations of the traditional classical Greek city. On

the whole, they consisted mainly of fortified villages garrisoned by Greeks and Macedonians in order to secure the region and provide a communication system for administrative and military purposes in Palestine” (Graf 1992: 34). As regards Gadara which, after all, Meleager described as “Attica in the land of the Assyrians” (*AP* vii.417), it is possible that Graf is overstating his case but in relation to the other Decapolis cities, even bearing in mind the limited archaeological evidence we have at our disposal, it would seem that he is right on the money.

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, it makes more sense to examine those towns which existed in northern Jordan during the last three centuries BC as individual entities rather than as members of a (non-existent) Hellenistic Decapolis with the all cultural uniformity which the term implies. Thus whilst we should regard Gadara as the most hellenised town in north Jordan, it is clear that ‘Ammān/Philadelphia and other members of the future Decapolis, remained much less so.

Not surprisingly, in view of later construction, little remains on the citadel of the Ptolemaic city of Philadelphia. Following its incorporation into the Seleucid empire at the beginning of the second century BC the city seems to have expanded although, as archaeological remains are still scanty, its extent is unclear. Major building activity took place during this period on the Citadel as shown by the construction or re-use of large terraces and walls (deVries 1992: 528; Greene and ‘Amr 1992: 127-128; Humbert and Zayadine 1991: 504-505). Pottery and coins from the second and first centuries BC have been recovered from the Upper Citadel (Zayadine 1977-78: 38ff) whilst second century BC potsherds have also been found in the area of the later Roman forum to the south-east (Hadidi 1970: 12-13). Ceramic evidence of Hellenistic re-use has also been found in tombs at Umm Udhayna (Hadidi 1987: 101) and al-Muqāblayn (Henschel-Simon 1944: 77-78). Whilst most of the Hellenistic-period remains are still to be published, the impression remains that there is little in the material which is strongly Greek in character.

Jarash is another case in point. Literary and epigraphic sources suggest the city was founded by Perdiccas and settled with Alexander’s veterans during the later fourth century BC (Kraeling 1938: 28-29; Seyrig 1965: 25-28); however, with the exception of several stray coins of Ptolemy I and II (Bowsher 1986: 255; Kraeling 1938: 500; Augé 1986: 79), no Hellenistic-period material earlier than the later second century BC has been found (Seigne 1992: 332). Material of second century and early first century BC date—mainly ceramic in nature—has been recovered from the area of the later macellum (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997: 67) as well as from “Camp Hill”, the

<sup>8</sup> See Kennedy (1998: 56) as to the possible location of the Hellenistic circuit at Jarash. At ‘Amman, despite the difficulty Antiochus III encountered in capturing the city in 218BC (Polyb. V.71),

very few remains of the circuit have been identified (Northedge 1992: 57).

pre-Roman acropolis of the city, and from the hill occupied by the later Sanctuary of Zeus (Braemer 1986: 63; 1987: 527-529) where the remains of occupation surfaces as well as artefacts were brought to light. This suggests that the area of the Hellenistic foundation was limited to the acropolis and its immediate environs (Seigne 1992: 332-333)<sup>9</sup>. Despite its impressive Roman remains, therefore, the published material evidence for Hellenistic Jarash is sparse to say the least and currently represented by little more than pottery, with forms and wares similar to those we have seen from Pella and Gadara<sup>10</sup>.

At Abila, excavations on the north mound (Tall Abila) have uncovered the remains of walls which have been interpreted as belonging to a domestic complex of the Hellenistic period (Mare *et al.* 1985: 222). Elsewhere, a number of Late Hellenistic/Early Roman tombs have been cleared (Mare 1991: 215; Mare *et al.* 1985: 225-227; 1987: 211-215; deVries and Bikai 1993: 489) and sections of Iron Age/Hellenistic as well as Hellenistic/Roman walls exposed (Mare 1994: 363; 1999: 453). Part of the north city wall may have been constructed in the Late Hellenistic period (deVries 1992: 537) whilst the so-called Lower Aqueduct was certainly in use during Hellenistic times and probably earlier (Mare 1995: 730). Abundant Hellenistic period and Early Roman ceramics, including lamps, stamped Rhodian amphora handles, black-glaze, and Eastern Sigillata wares, have been recovered from various areas of the site (Mare 1989: 476, 483; 1991: 206; 1992b: 312; 1994: 372-374; Mare *et al.* 1985: 232-236) although, as yet, no significant assemblage has been published. Whether a Late Hellenistic product or Roman copy, the fine life-size marble statue of Artemis, recovered in 1994 (Mare 1997) is certainly Greek in character. Unfortunately, its findspot—just under the surface and close to the north wall of the Area. A basilica gives no indication as to whether it was a locally produced work or, if imported, when it arrived at Abila. By the later first century AD there is no doubt that Abila was a “thriving Greco-Roman city of the Decapolis” (Mare 1992a) possessing such typical Graeco-Roman embellishments as a theatre, bath/nymphaeum complex, and civic centre (Mare 1992a; 1992b); like Pella, Jarash, and ‘Ammān/Philadelphia, however, these structures seem not to have been erected until Early Roman times.

West of the Jordan, in Palestine, an extremely variable pattern of hellenisation after Alexander’s conquests is well demonstrated. Coastal cities including Dor (Stern *et*

*al.* 1995: 276-279), already exposed to Greek customs and material culture through trade and, perhaps, colonisation were readily influenced by Greek culture. Further inland, Marissa (at least in its architecture) shows a blend of Greek and Oriental characteristics (Avi-Yonah and Kloner 1993; Horowitz 1980). Prosperity and the subsequent adoption of at least some aspects of Greek material culture seem to have arrived relatively late at Tall Anafa (Herbert 1994: 14-19) whilst Bayt Zur and Gezer, following their capture by Simon Maccabaeus in the 140s BC appear to have become relatively impervious to Greek influence (Berlin 1997: 29-30).

Whilst we have much less knowledge of the material culture of the Hellenistic era in Transjordan than we do for Palestine,<sup>11</sup> we have seen that a similar uneven response to the introduction of Greek culture seems to have occurred east of the Jordan River. Whilst Gadara and (at least by the first century BC) Petra seem to have been relatively open to Hellenic influence, this seems not to have been the case elsewhere in Transjordan. The degree to which Pella itself was hellenised during this period remains an open question; on current evidence, however, the impact of Macedon and the Greek world at large on the city seems to have been merely superficial.

### Bibliography

- Augé, C. 1986. Rapport préliminaire sur les monnaies. Pp. 77-82 in F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*. Amman.
- Aviam, M. 1997. A Second-First Century B.C.E. Fortress And Siege Complex In Eastern Upper Galilee. Pp. 97-105 in D.R. Edwards and C.T. McCollough (eds.), *Archaeology and the Galilee*. Atlanta.
- Avi-Yonah, M. and Kloner, A. 1993. Mareshah (Marisa). Pp. 948-957 in E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem.
- Barghouti, A.N. 1982. Urbanization of Palestine and Jordan in Hellenistic and Roman Times. Pp. 209-229 in *SHAJ I*: Amman.
- Berlin, A.M. 1997. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period. *BA* 60: 2-51.
- Bienkowski, P. and Van Der Steen, E. 2001. Tribes, Trade, and Towns: A New Framework for the Late Iron Age in Southern Jordan and the Negev. *BASOR* 323: 21-47.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1990. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bowsher, J.M.C. 1986. The Coins. Pp. 253-262 in F. Zayadine

<sup>9</sup> The recovery of “second century BC Hellenistic pottery sherds” from stratified layers in Area A, at the western end of the south decumanus, during the University of Jordan/Department of Antiquities excavations of 1975-6 (Barghouti 1982: 220) suggests that the original settlement extended at least as far north-west as this point whilst the presence of graves of the first century BC and first century AD underneath the Church of St. Theodore and “Temple C” (Kraeling 1938: 292-293) defines its northernmost limit. Its

south-west boundary may relate to the outline of two walls, clearly seen in an aerial photograph of 1926, which lie outside the Roman circuit (Kennedy 1998: 56-57).

<sup>10</sup> By the end of the Hellenistic Period, however, Jarash had become a significant production centre for both fine and common wares (Braemer 1989; Kehrberg 2001).

<sup>11</sup> The archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine is well summarized by Berlin (1997).



- (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*. Amman.
- Braemer, F. 1986. Études Stratigraphiques Au N.E. De La Facade Du Temple De Zeus. Pp. 61-65 in F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*. Amman.
- 1987. Two Campaigns of Excavations on the Ancient Tell of Jarash. *ADAJ* 31: 525-529.
- 1989. Une fabrique (locale?) de céramique fine à Jerash au tournant de l'ère. *Syria* 66: 153-167.
- Crowfoot, J.W. and Kenyon, K.M. 1957. *Samaria-Sebaste: Reports of the Expedition in 1931-33 and of the British Expedition in 1935. Vol III, The Objects*. London.
- Edwards, G.R. 1975. Corinth VII.iii. *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery*. Princeton.
- Funk, R.W and Richardson, H.N. 1958. The 1958 Sounding at Pella. *BA* 21: 82-96.
- Graf, D.F. 1992. Hellenisation and the Decapolis. *ARAM* 4: 1 & 2, 1-48.
- Gordon, R.L. 1979. *The Stucco Wall Decoration from Tell Anafa*. Columbia. (unpub.PhD thesis).
- Greene, J.A. and 'Amr, K. 1992. Deep Sounding on the Lower Terrace of the Amman Citadel: Final Report. *ADAJ* 36: 113-144.
- Groot, J. 1983. Wall Decoration. Pp. 75-86 in N. Lapp (ed.), *The Excavations at Araq el-Emir, Vol. 1. AASOR* 47.
- Hadidi, A. 1970. The Pottery from the Roman Forum at Amman. *ADAJ* 15: 11-15.
- 1987. An Ammonite Tomb at Amman. *Levant* 19: 101-120.
- Hannestad, L. 1990. Change and Conservatism. Hellenistic Pottery in Mesopotamia and Iran. Pp. 179-186 in *Akten Des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses Für Klassische Archäologie Berlin 1988*. Mainz.
- Harrison, R. 1994. Hellenization in Syria-Palestine: The Case of Judaea in the Third Century BCE. *BA* 57: 98-108.
- Hennessy, J.B. 1970. Excavations at Samaria-Sebaste, 1968. *Levant* 2: 1-21.
- Henschel-Simon, E. 1944. Notes on the Pottery of the 'Amman Tombs. *QDAP* 11: 75-80.
- Herbert, S. (ed.) 1994. *Tel Anafa I*. Ann Arbor.
- Hoffman, A. 2000. Die Stadtmauern der Hellenistisch-Römischen Dekapolisstadt Gadara. *AA* 2000: 175-233.
- 2001. Hellenistic Gadara. *SHAJ* 7: 391-397.
- Horowitz, G. 1980. Town Planning of Hellenistic Marisa: A Reappraisal of the Excavations After Eighty Years. *PEQ* 112: 93-111.
- Howland, R.H. 1958. *Agora IV. Greek Lamps and their Survivals*. Princeton.
- Humbert, J-B. and Zayadine, F. 1991. Citadelle d'Amman 1991-Troisième Terrasse. *LA* 41: 502-506.
- Kehrberg, I. Forthcoming. Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery of Gerasa: A commercial enterprise in view of international norms. *SHAJ* 8. Amman: Department of Antiquities.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1998. The Identity of Roman Gerasa: An Archaeological Approach. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11: 39-39.
- Kennedy, D.L. and Riley, D.N. 1990. *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air*. London.
- Kenrick, P.M. 2000. Fine Wares from the City Wall Section at Bait Nawashi (Area XLII). *AA*: 236-265.
- Kerner, S. 1997. Umm Qays-Gadara: A Preliminary Report 1993-1995. *ADAJ* 41: 283-302.
- Kraeling, C.H. (ed.) 1938. *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*. New Haven.
- McNicoll, A.W. 1992. The Hellenistic Period. Pp. 103-118 in A.W. McNicoll et al. (eds.), *Pella in Jordan 2*. Sydney.
- 1997. *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates*. Oxford.
- McNicoll et al. 1982. *Pella in Jordan 1*. Canberra.
- Mare, H.W. 1989. Quweilbeh (Abila). Pp. 472-486 in D. Homès-Fredericq and J.B. Hennessy (eds.), *Archaeology of Jordan II*. Leuven.
- 1991. The 1988 Season of Excavation at Abila of the Decapolis. *ADAJ* 35: 203-220.
- 1992a. Abila: a thriving Greco-Roman city of the Decapolis. *ARAM* 4: 1 & 2: 57-77.
- 1992b. Internal Settlement Patterns in Abila. *SHAJ* 4: 309-313.
- 1994. The 1992 Season of Excavation at Abila of the Decapolis. *ADAJ* 38: 359-377.
- 1995. The Technology of the Hydrological System of Abila of the Decapolis. *SHAJ* 5: 727-736.
- 1997. The Artemis Statue Excavated at Abila of the Decapolis in 1994. *ADAJ* 41: 277-281.
- 1999. The 1998 Season of Excavation at Abila of the Decapolis. *ADAJ* 43: 451-458.
- Mare, H.W. et al. 1985. The 1984 Season at Abila of the Decapolis. *ADAJ* 29: 221-237.
- 1987. The 1986 Season at Abila of the Decapolis. *ADAJ* 31: 205-219.
- Meshorer, Y. 1975. *Qedem 3. Nabatean Coins*. Jerusalem.
- Millar, F. 1987. The Problem of Hellenistic Syria. Pp. 110-133 in A. Kuhrt, and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East*. London.
- Northedge, A. 1992. *Studies on Roman and Islamic 'Amman*. Oxford.
- Parker, S.T. 1986. *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier*. Winona Lake.
- Patrich, J. 1990. Prohibition of a Graven Image amongst the Nabateans: The evidence and its significance. *ARAM* 2: 1 & 2: 185-196.
- Pollitt, J.J. 1986. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge.
- Queyrel, F. 1991. Le décor sculpté. Pp. 209-251 in E. Will and F. Larché (eds.), *Iraq al Amir. Le Chateau du Tobiade Hircan*. Paris.
- Rosenthal-Heginbottom, R. 1995. Imported Hellenistic and Roman Pottery. Pp.183-288 in E. Stern et al. (eds.), *Excavations at Dor, Final Report Volume IB. Areas A and C: The*

- Finds*. Jerusalem.
- Rotroff, S.I. 1982. *The Athenian Agora XXII. Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*. Princeton.
- 1997. *The Athenian Agora XXIX.1-2. Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material*. Princeton.
- Schäfer, J. 1968. *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon*. Berlin.
- Scheibler, I. 1976. *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, XI, Griechische Lampen*. Berlin.
- Schmid, S.G. 1995. Nabatean Fine Ware from Petra. *SHAJ* 5: 637-647.
- 2001a. The "Hellenisation" of the Nabateans: A New Approach. *SHAJ* 7: 407-419.
- 2001b. The Nabateans: Travellers between Lifestyle. Pp. 367-426 in B. MacDonald, R. Adams, and P. Bienkowski (eds.), *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield.
- Schmitt-Korte, K. 1990. Nabatean Coinage-Part II. New Coin Types and Variants. *NC* 150: 105-131.
- Seigne, J. 1992. Jérash romaine et byzantine: développement urbain d'une ville provinciale orientale. *SHAJ* 4: 331-341.
- Seyrig, H. 1965. Antiquités Syriennes. *Syria* 42: 25-34.
- Sheedy, K. et al. 2001. *Pella in Jordan 1979-1990. The Coins*. Sydney.
- Smetana-Scherrer, R. 1982. Spätklassische und hellenistische Keramik. Pp. 56-91 in H. Walter (ed.), *Alt-Ägina II.1*. Mainz.
- Smith, R.H. and Day, L.P. 1989. *Pella of the Decapolis. Volume 2*. Wooster.
- Smith, R.H. and McNicoll, A.W. 1992. The Roman Period. Pp. 119-144 in A.W. McNicoll et al. (eds.), *Pella in Jordan 2*. Sydney.
- Smith, R.H. and Potts, T.F. 1992. The Iron Age. Pp. 83-101 in A.W. McNicoll et al. (eds.), *Pella in Jordan 2*. Sydney.
- Sparkes, B.A. and Talcott, L. 1970. *Agora XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries BC*. Princeton.
- Stern, E. et al. 1995. *Excavations at Dor: Final Report, Areas A and C. Vol. IA: Introduction and Stratigraphy; IB: The Finds*. Jerusalem.
- Thompson, H.A. 1934. Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery. *Hesperia* 3: 311-480.
- Tsetskhladze, G.R. 2000. Hellenization. Pp. 731-732 in G. Speake (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*. London and Chicago.
- Uscatescu, A. and Martín-Bueno, M. 1997. The Macellum of Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan): From a Market Place to an Industrial Area. *BASOR* 307: 67-88.
- de Vries, B. 1992. Archaeology in Jordan. *AJA* 96: 503-542.
- de Vries, B. and Bikai, P. 1993. Archaeology in Jordan. *AJA* 97: 457-520.
- Waagé, F.O. 1948. Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North Syria. Pp. 1-60 in F.O. Waagé (ed.), *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, i, Ceramics and Islamic Coins*. Princeton.
- Watson, P.M. 1996. Pella Hinterland Survey 1994: Preliminary Report. *Levant* 28: 63-76.
- Watson, P.M. and Tidmarsh, J.C. 1996. Pella/Tall al-Husn Excavations 1993 The University of Sydney-15th Season. *ADAJ* 40: 293-314.
- Weber, T. 1993. *Pella Decapolitana*. Wiesbaden.
- 1991. Gadara of the Decapolis. Preliminary Report of the 1990 Season at Umm Qeis. *ADAJ* 35: 223-235.
- 1996. Gadarenes in Exile. Two Inscriptions from Greece Reconsidered. *ZDPV* 112: 10-17.
- Will, E. 1991. Le Monument: Son Identité. Ses Origines. Pp. 253-286 in E. Will and F. Larché (eds.), *Iraq al Amir. Le Chateau du Tobiade Hyrcan*. Paris.
- Winter, F.E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications*. London.
- Wörle, M. 2000. Eine Hellenistische Inschrift Aus Gadara. *AA*: 267-271.
- Zayadine, F. 1966. Early Hellenistic Pottery from the Theater Excavations at Samaria. *ADAJ* 11: 53-64.
- 1977-78. Excavations on the Upper Citadel of Amman-Area A (1975-77). *ADAJ* 22: 20-56.
- 1986. Les Fortifications pre-Helléniques et Hellénistiques en Transjordanie et en Palestine. Pp. 149-156 in P. Leriche and H. Tréziny (eds.), *La Fortification Dans L'Histoire Du Monde Grec*. Paris.