



CAN THE *mute* STONES SPEAK ?

EVALUATING CULTURAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS: THE CASE OF HELLENISTIC JEBEL KHALID*

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Given this absence of evidence [from Syria in the Hellenistic period], we cannot expect to know much about the culture of Syria in this period, or whether there was, except along the coast, any significant evolution towards the mixed culture which came to be so vividly expressed in the Roman period... One of the major problems in the understanding of Hellenistic Syria is thus the relative scarcity of direct and contemporary evidence for any non-Greek culture or cultures in the region...#

It is a notoriously fraught activity to endeavour to establish cultural and ethnic identities purely from material remains, from data left behind in the archaeological record, especially given the highly subjective, mutable and constructed nature of such identities – as such, the exercise entails an hermeneutic leap from the material to the subjective. And it is doubly troublesome in a colonial context, where contested issues of ‘coexistence’, ‘mutualities’, ‘negotiation and mediation’, ‘assimilation and resistance’, ‘accommodation and appropriation’, ‘acculturation’, ‘fusion’, ‘interculturality’, ‘hybridity’, ‘creolization’, ‘networks of exchange’, ‘Middle Ground’, ‘cultural bricolage’, *‘métissage’*, *‘Verschmelzung’*, et al., have to be contended with, where multiple (and shifting) social and cultural identities might well be in play, as we have been made well aware from postcolonial studies – and where the appropriateness of

the concept itself of the ‘colonial’ does not go uncontested (especially in a non-western, pre-industrial and military context).¹ But the exercise, however fraught and tentative, still needs to be made if we are going to get anywhere towards reconstructing the lives represented for us by the archaeological record that settlers have left behind, through their material remains and in a context where it can be baldly asserted that ‘Archaeology cannot dig up ethnicity’ (Dick Whittaker in Derks and Roymans, cited in fn. 1, p. 202).

The site we are concerned with is Jebel Khalid in North Syria, a fortified settlement on the right bank of the Euphrates that dates to the early years of the third century BCE, at the beginning of the Seleukid control of the region, and which was substantially abandoned by the late 70s BCE, at the time of the collapse of the

(above)
Engravings from
Diderot Encyclopedia:
The Complete
Illustrations 1762-1777.

MONTAGE IMAGES PROVIDED
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DETAILS CAN BE FOUND ON
PAGES 18, 20, 21 & 25.

(right)
FIG. 1. Map showing
the position of Jebel
Khalid in relation
to other Hellenistic
centres in Syria.

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Seleukid regime (fig.1: location map of Jebel Khalid, previous page). The chronology is clear. So far, some 747 coins have been recovered, of which just on 90% fall within the period 301-70 BCE: a very few are earlier (three coins of Alexander the Great and two posthumous Alexanders) and the remainder have been found either in the region of the Temple (which enjoyed a post-abandonment life as a sacred site) or in areas of later stone-robbing. This site has been the subject of survey and excavation by an Australian team for some quarter of a century, since 1984, and sufficient data have now been amassed to allow for an exploration of what the material recovered over those years might suggest about the identities of the inhabitants of the settlement over those two and a quarter centuries of occupation.

colonised within the immediate region at this period (some of whose traditionally available land was no doubt summarily expropriated, starting with the fifty ha of grazing land of Jebel Khalid itself). It is notorious that the previous two centuries of the Achaemenid period are virtually lost to our perception from the archaeological record, so continuous appears to be the material culture from earlier in the Iron Age, showing very few distinguishing Persian-period features. So much so that the introduction of Greek-period material culture comes with sharp clarity, so markedly different is it in many respects from that of immediately preceding centuries. But survey has shown that this perception of Persian-period absence in this region (of largely Aramaic speakers?) may well

THIS SITE HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF SURVEY AND EXCAVATION
BY AN AUSTRALIAN TEAM FOR SOME QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

To this end we examine below (necessarily briefly) a range of categories of material evidence (by no means an exhaustive list) – Language, the Built Environment (Town Planning, Public Buildings, Religious and Social/Cultural Institutions, Domestic Houses), Ceramics and Cuisine, Figurines and Seals (both public and private). So much must remain unknown that would be revealing as cultural markers, e.g. what clothing the inhabitants chose to wear, whether on ceremonial occasions, in public generally, or in their domestic privacy.

A major difficulty must be made explicit initially if we are going to examine the interaction between the colonisers of Jebel Khalid and the colonised, the indigenous population, within the region: that is to say, our ignorance. We know nothing of the colonisers except what we might presume from our knowledge of the settlers at other (more major) Seleukid foundations like Syrian Apamea and Antioch – mixed Greeks and Macedonians along with polyethnic mercenary soldiers drawn widely from all over the Aegean world (though Celts, Thracians and Jews are attested also for Asia Minor settlements). Likewise the

be misleading and exaggerated: *terra incognita* does not necessarily mean *terra deserta*,² nor (as we well know) *terra nullius*. Pastoral nomads notoriously can leave a very light footprint on the archaeological landscape.

LANGUAGE

Written language will tell us something about the dominant literate culture(s) – not necessarily about ethnicities. Certainly the 80 or so graffiti recovered, scratched on ceramics (much of it domestic in character), are overwhelmingly in Greek letters (some few may be symbols rather than letters), indicating on this evidence that for the most part Greek was the script of literacy within the Jebel Khalid community.³ But among the six dipinti, two are, exceptionally, in Aramaic with Semitic names (on locally-made large jars [‘sons of ‘Abd(a) laha’ (fig. 2: Aramaic dipinto, following page), ‘Abimah’ = ‘Abimelekh’])⁴ – pointless, unless they were intelligible to their owners or users. Not only that. Three locally produced stamped amphora handles (out of a total, to date, of 112 stamps)⁵ are in Aramaic lettering⁶ and there is a notable series of local stamped (pseudo-coan)



(above, top row,
left to right)

FIG. 2. (inset) Aramaic dipinto.

FIG. 3. Stamped handle of 'Abidsalma'.

FIG. 4. (inset) Graffito of 'Dionysios Nikias'.



(bottom row,
left to right)

FIG. 5. **Alpha** on foundation block of S. Tower of City Gate.

FIG. 6. Marble tile marked on underside with **alpha** and **beta**.

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amphora handles – some 20 examples – with identifiably Semitic names but written in Greek script (eg. theophorics Abidsalma [= servant of Salman] (fig. 3: Stamped handle of Abidsalma), Bargates [= son of Ateh]).⁷ Whilst it is notorious that onomastics will not necessarily tell us the ethnicity of any particular individual they will at least reveal cultural influences – whereas, at the same time, these locally produced Greek-style amphoras were designed for storing those very Greek culinary necessities of oil⁸ and wine. These exceptional handles and dipinti all derive from later occupation levels of the settlement, suggestive of some bilingualism and of a growing interaction between the initial (multi-ethnic Greek/Macedonian?) settlers and indigenous merchants, traders and entrepreneurs as well as local farmers come to town to sell their wares. On the other hand, the one full name recovered among the graffiti is unmistakably Greek (Dionysios Nikias)⁹ (fig. 4: Graffito of Dionysios Nikias) and mason marks throughout the site (defensive walling, Acropolis palace, Temple) are Greek – e.g. several *alphas*, *deltas* (on foundation blocks) (fig. 5: *alpha* on foundation block of S. Tower of City Gate), one *omicron* (on an Acropolis

column capital), multiple lunate *sigmas* (on Laconian roof tiles – a Greek form of roofing used throughout the site), even including *alpha* through to *eta* on the drums of a tapering column in the Acropolis palace,¹⁰ and a marble tile marked on the underside with *alpha* and *beta*.¹¹ (fig. 6: marble tile marked on underside with *alpha* and *beta*). Supervising masons, at least, and tile suppliers were literate in Greek conventions. But what may have been *spoken* domestically or publicly in the market place, or on formal occasions on the Acropolis – and by the illiterate – lies beyond our archaeological evidence. Monumental public, civic inscriptions are also lacking (a phenomenon common throughout Hellenistic Syrian cities).¹²

TOWN PLANNING

The settlement, apparently on a virgin site, was laid out according to Greek conventions – Hippodamian grid pattern with *insulae*, streets orthogonal, running strictly north/south and east/west despite the undulating and rocky terrain, public facilities (commercial workrooms, palaestra, Temple) located centrally along a main axis – all this is undoubtedly indicative of initial Greek-style urban planning (fig. 7: contour map of Jebel Khalid, following page). Likewise the defensive system. There are overall 3.4 km of circuit walling, clinging to the extreme landward edge of the Jebel in Hellenistic fashion, with some 30 interval

towers and bastions, all constructed in standard Hellenistic header and stretcher format (with blocks of a standard three cubits [one Macedonian cubit or ell = c. 0.35m] x 1.5 cubits x 1.5 cubits),¹³ and all conforming to standard Hellenistic theories of poliorketics (towers are not tied to the curtain walling but merely abut, jogs and bastions control enfiling fire, one horse-shoe shaped tower designed to control a sharp re-entrant angle in the north-west corner).¹⁴ The design of the twin towers of the city-gateway closely mirrors that of a Hellenistic gateway at Assos on the Troad, with the added feature of a sally-port in the north tower (fig. 8: plan of City Gate),¹⁵ the careful stonework reflecting the dictum of Aristotle (*Pol.* vii.11.1331a 12) that fortifications must answer aesthetic as well as military demands, with a revetment of delicate orthostat cladding on the exteriors of the towers and careful rustication, drafting and bevelling on their interiors. The separately defended Acropolis on the high ground of the Jebel is equally equipped with similarly constructed walls, gateway, postern and towers. The surveyors and initial planners of the urban layout of Jebel Khalid were certainly imbued



with Greek theories and Greek aesthetics, and the site, visually, will never have lost this strong Greek flavour. But how far can we tell if this Greek-looking city was occupied by Greek settlers exclusively, or even dominantly?

ARCHITECTURE: THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS

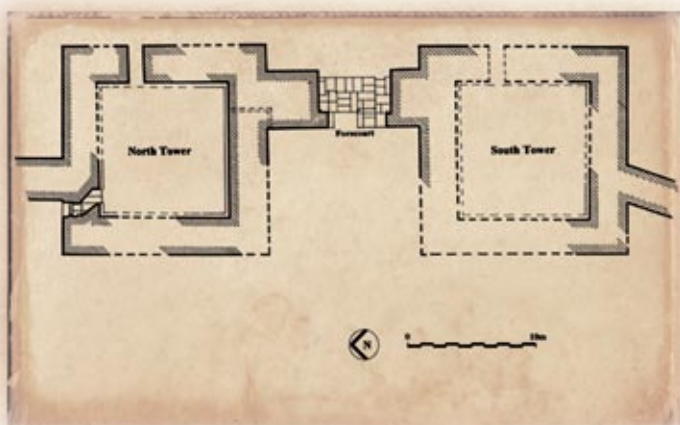
Whilst the settlers may have had little say in the initial layout of their town, they may have exercised greater choice in architectural decisions.

Up on the Acropolis a two-storied administrative public building was constructed in the course of the third century BCE. At first sight it looks overwhelmingly Greek – axial, on a raised podium, orthogonal wings opening off a central courtyard surrounded by a decastyle Doric colonnade (fig. 9: plan of Acropolis Palace), the rooms plastered throughout in masonry style, with evidence for the use of Ionic decoration in the upper floor, even including a (much-used) Hellenistic-style drum altar still in situ on its plinth in an open-air courtyard on the

(left)
FIG. 7. Contour map of Jebel Khalid.
COURTESY OF GRAEME CLARKE.

(below left)
FIG. 8. Plan of City Gate.

(below right)
FIG. 9. Reconstructed plan of The Governor's Palace, Acropolis, Jebel Khalid.
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NW wing (fig. 10: drum altar on Acropolis). But on closer inspection there are some alien features: the central peristylar court had garden plantings around its perimeter – not yet a standard feature in contemporary Greek



(above)
FIG. 10. Drum altar on Acropolis.

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mainland buildings – and both off the north and south of this court off-centre doorways gave onto long corridor antechambers (rooms 1 and 23) which in turn led into the main hypostyle halls or reception rooms (rooms 12 and 20). These are features rather in the Mesopotamian/Achaemenid tradition of palace design.¹⁶ And these must have been conscious

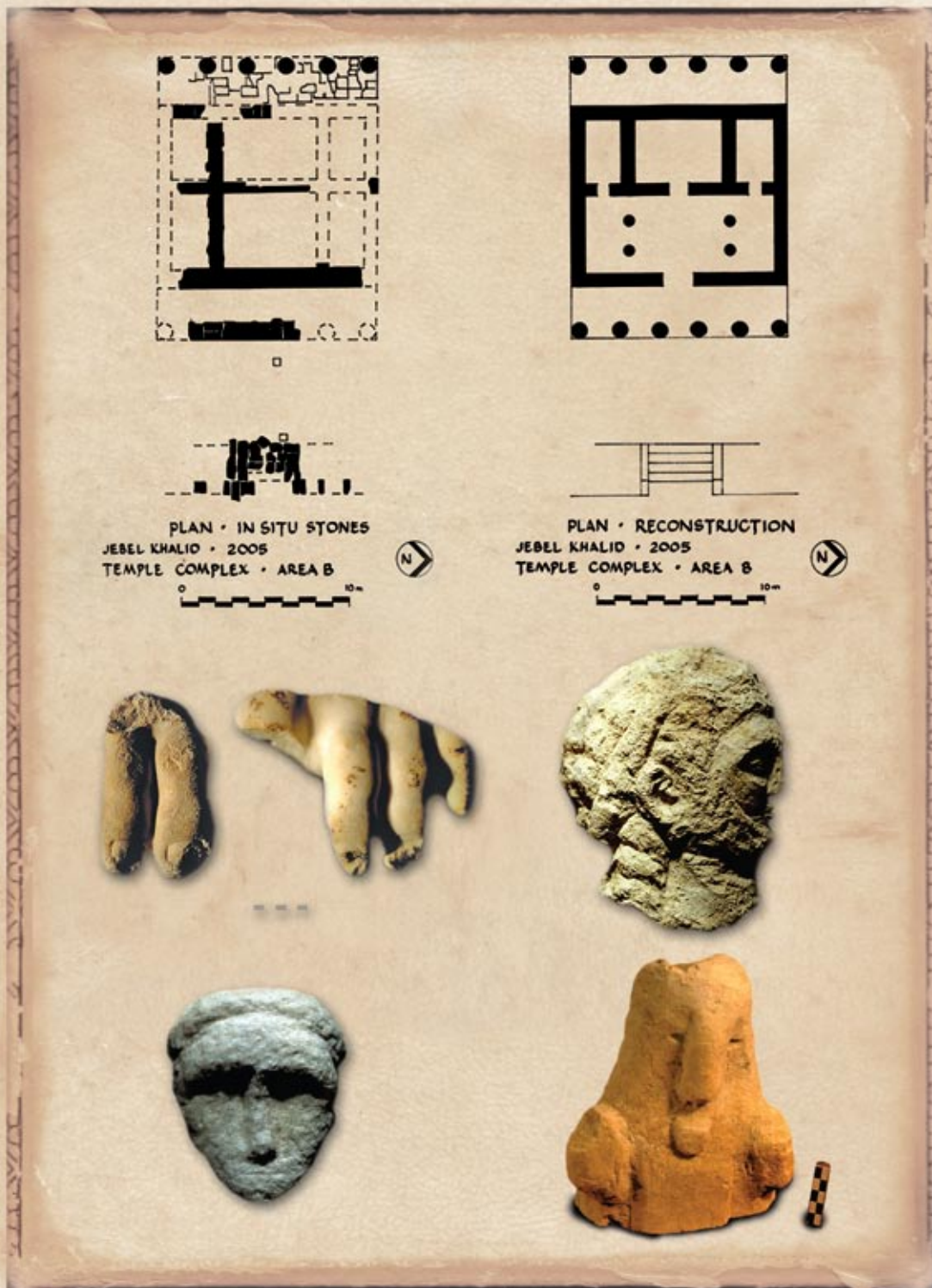
they were ethnically such, or otherwise) – representing the ‘performative’ aspects of identity.

The Temple, down in the heart of the main settlement, (‘Area B’) likewise constructed in the course of the third century BCE, reveals similar mixed features. There can be nothing more Greek than a hexastyle, amphiprostyle Doric Temple, complete with *crepidoma* and surrounded by a *peribolos* colonnade (in modified Doric) defining its *temenos*. However, the overall proportions of this Temple are certainly not Greek (the *cella* measures 13m x 11m); rather, they conform to the ‘quadratic’ proportions so frequently encountered in Mesopotamian religious buildings and the internal layout of the Temple, with tripartite *adyton* (sanctuary area), is, once again, far from being Greek but rather Mesopotamian (figs. 11 and 12: surviving stones and reconstructed plan of Temple, following page).¹⁸ The choices made must have been deliberate. Was this to cater for the tastes and sensitivities of a mixed worshipping community? Certainly the range of images recovered within the *temenos*, from fragments of over-life-size statuary carved

COULD THE MIXED MESSAGES FROM THE ARCHITECTURE AND STATUARY REFLECT THE MIXED NATURE OF THE USERS OF THE TEMPLE ITSELF?

choices – reflective, perhaps, of experiences of Mesopotamian palatial amenities elsewhere. After all, Greeks have by now been enjoying their occupation of Achaemenid satrapal palaces for at least half a century. On the other hand, those main reception halls were each equipped with two large kitchens on either side (rooms 5 and 11, rooms 19 and 21), and the substantial but repetitive pottery – some eight tonnes of local wares – and glassware recovered suggest an assemblage for mass-dining (bulk numbers of uniform-size eating bowls and serving platters) and carousing (drinking cups, again in standard sizes, jugs, craters, amphoras and amphora stands).¹⁷ This, in turn, suggests well-known habits of mess-dining and communal drinking by a governor and his garrison troops, behaving socially as ‘Macedonians’ (irrespective of whether

in heroic Hellenistic style from (imported) Parian marble¹⁹ (figs. 13: two sets of toes in Parian marble) through a Hellenising head in local limestone (possibly of Herakles, wearing earring) (fig. 14: limestone head) to patently vernacular images (figs. 15 and 16: two vernacular images), might go some way to corroborate this suggestion.²⁰ But were the worshippers envisaged to be merely local? The Temple was so situated as to be the first public building encountered by travellers entering the settlement from the great highway of the river (stopping off at the river quays still visible, lying just under the current water level). These would include sailors, merchants and traders as well as the many pilgrims travelling upriver on their way to celebrate the annual festivals of the great Syrian Goddess at nearby Menbij (ancient Syrian Hierapolis). Could the mixed



(left, top row)
 FIG. 11: Surviving stones of Jebel Khalid Temple.
 FIG. 12: Reconstructed plan of Jebel Khalid Temple.

(middle row)
 FIG. 13: Two sets of toes in Parian marble from Temple.
 FIG. 14: Limestone head with under-chin beard and fillet from Temple.

(bottom row)
 FIGS. 15 and 16: Two vernacular images from Jebel Khalid Temple.
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messages from the architecture and statuary reflect, therefore, the mixed nature of the users of the Temple rather than exclusively the inhabitants of Jebel Khalid itself? By contrast with the drum-altar up on the Acropolis (where a thick ashy lens of burnt bones attests the regular offering of animal sacrifice – in traditional Greek fashion),²¹ the one altar of the Hellenistic period, on the east platform of the Temple in front of the east entry to

the Temple, was designed for liquid offerings only, with an adjacent sump for drainage (not a bone in sight) (fig. 17: remnant of altar and sump, following page) – that is, in the manner traditional of Mesopotamian cults,²² (i.e. not for blood sacrifice) and as occurred famously in the temple of the Syrian Goddess at Menbij²³ – although such bloodless offerings are certainly not incompatible with Greek cultic traditions also (considered by Pausanias to be ‘in the



(above)
 FIG. 17. Remnant
 of altar and sump,
 Jebel Khalid Temple.

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archaic manner', 5.15.10 [Olympia]). Does this temple portend Fergus Millar's 'mixed culture' so evident during the Roman period?

Some 125m to the north of the Temple, but on the same alignment ('Area C'), was constructed, again in the course of the third century BCE,²⁴ a palaestra, eight (Doric) columns per side of the central court (cordiform in the corners), the overall proportions of which closely approximate the dimensions of the palaestra at Delphi. Palaestrae can rightly be regarded as being quintessentially Greek, providing a characteristic mixture of physical and educational training, with public displays of physical sporting activities like boxing and wrestling, and requiring performers to train in the nude. Our reading of the institution is inevitably coloured by the propaganda of 2 Maccabees (c.4) as being hopelessly alien to Semitic sensibilities and traditions, though the narrative in 2 Maccabees clearly concedes that many Jews did in fact freely and enthusiastically participate.²⁵ even so, this is still a Greek institution, erected in Greek style, intended for athletic training, education and civic entertainment in Greek ways of being. Whilst palaestrae were constructed down on the Levantine coast (much more open to cultural changes) and elsewhere in Seleukid territory during this period,²⁶ this is the only one attested so far within inland Syria for the whole of the Hellenistic period (Damascus had to wait until the time of Herod the Great for its palaestra, Joseph. *B.J.* 1.21.11 (422)). This building is eloquent for at least the 'Greek' aspirations of the settlers of Jebel Khalid in the course of the third century BCE, for having their sons reared in the traditions of Greek *paideia* and for providing public entertainment and social activity in Greek style whatever

their initial cultural or ethnic identities.²⁷ It was no idle undertaking: to erect the building was an expensive operation and the institution itself entailed the selection and appointment of an overseeing official (implying some civic organisation?), the hiring of teachers and trainers, the establishment of the curriculum of subjects to be taught (music,²⁸ writing, reading – along with a supply of books), arrangements for the provision of high-grade oil, etc. Any associated gymnasium is yet to be located.²⁹ However, as elsewhere throughout Hellenistic Syria, there is no sign at Jebel Khalid of any Greek theatre.

THE HOUSING INSULA

An **insula of seven** or eight houses lies almost a kilometre to the north of the Jebel Khalid Acropolis. On this south-facing, south-sloping site, it is the only one of several insulae to have been excavated. This is surely a fruitful area in which to look at non-public architecture and lifestyle from the point of view of cultural preferences.

Its very position declares a knowledge of the Greek ideal of house orientation, as expressed by Xenophon and Aristotle, who advise a strictly southern orientation so that in winter the sun may shine into the more important rooms to the north of the courtyard and in summer, the sun may pass directly over the roof, affording shade.³⁰

The insula is 35 m E/W and 90 m N/S. In its primary form it was divided approximately in half by an E/W alleyway. Its width translates cleanly into 100 Macedonian 'cubits'.³¹ Although it is somewhat smaller than the estimated size of Hellenistic insulae elsewhere in Seleukid Syria, this can be explained by difficulties of terrain.³²

The materials used in construction are interestingly 'Greek', although one can find common-sense rather than cultural explanations for their choice. The walls are of field stones, preserved in places to a height of more than 2.00 m, so they are not the mud-brick walls on low stone foundations found at Near Eastern sites and, indeed, at many Greek sites. The availability of stone from the Jebel quarries easily justifies that type of

construction.³³ Terracotta tiles were the roof covering, identifying the roof as pitched rather than flat. This is again a Greek³⁴ rather than Near Eastern choice but makes excellent sense for water collection on a site high above the river, in an insula possessing only two water storage cisterns between seven and eight houses. The tiles were Laconian tiles, of a type also used in Macedonia.³⁵

Interior walls were covered in stucco and painted with Greek motifs. Most of the plaster fragments excavated were plain coloured (usually red) but in several rooms, fragments of moulded pattern bands were found, e.g. egg-and-dart, Lesbian cymation, wave pattern and a geometric meander pattern that seems to belong to the cornice. In Area 19, we have been able to reconstruct a full wall painted in the Masonry

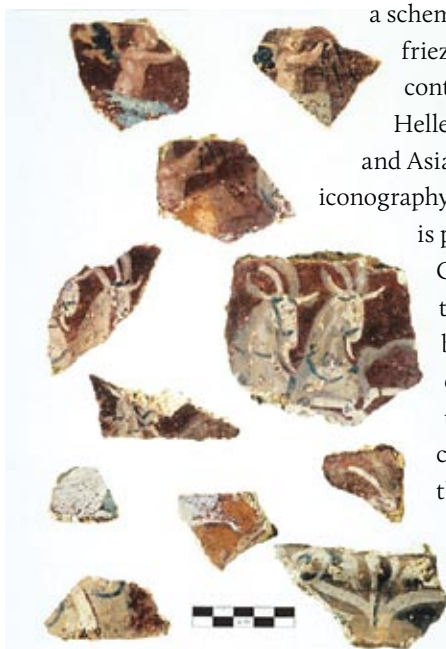
Style, with black, red and yellow orthostates and a figured frieze at eye level, featuring Erotes driving goat chariots.³⁶ (fig. 18: fragments of goat chariots) Masonry Style comparanda for such a schema, with figured frieze in a domestic context, come from Hellenistic Delos and Asia Minor.³⁷ The iconography of the frieze itself is pure Hellenistic Greek. And while the use of Greek building materials can be attributed to practical considerations, the choice of such decoration is surely deliberate on the part of an owner who wished to represent himself as Greek. But does it necessarily imply Greek ownership?

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varies between houses but the earliest mode, as demonstrated in the south of the insula, is via a substantially sized room which effectively delays entry into the courtyard by means of an offset door. This is very private and more like the houses at Neo-Assyrian Assur than the direct entry (into the courtyard) mode at Delos or the door-width corridor entry at Priene.⁴⁰ The Parthian houses at Dura-Europus have an even more private elbow-shaped entry.⁴¹

The arrangement of the main rooms in three of the houses at Jebel Khalid is another feature. The *oikos* Areas 37, 19 and 95, are all at the northern end of a south-sloping courtyard, as recommended by Xenophon. The *oikos* Area 19 has a three-door frontage opening south, paralleled several times in Delos houses.⁴² At both Delos and Priene, it is common for there to be one room privately accessed from the *oikos*. At Jebel Khalid, Areas 19, 37 and 95 are each flanked by a private room on *both* sides, one at least accessed only from the *oikos*. This 'private suite' arrangement has no precedent in the Macedonian houses of the later fourth century,⁴³ where all rooms open onto courts, but it is a preferred arrangement at Dura-Europus⁴⁴ and has Achaemenid precedents at



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The layout of the houses may offer some indication of ingrained cultural preferences.

(left)
FIG. 18. Fragments of goat chariots.

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(right)
FIG. 19. Jebel Khalid
cooking pots.

COURTESY OF
GRAEME CLARKE.

Assur and Babylon.⁴⁵ So, for both entry and arrangement of main rooms, there is a need for privacy, which may be an eastern tradition.

CERAMICS AND CUISINE

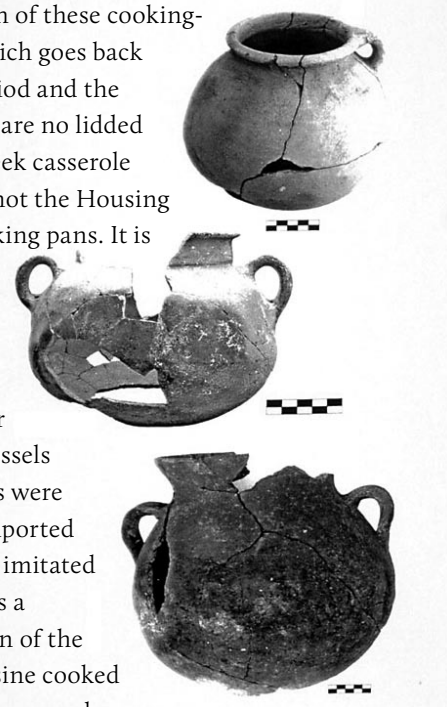
It is well known that Greek ceramic shapes became international in the Hellenistic period and may be found as far east as Afghanistan. So it is not surprising that at Jebel Khalid the Greek shapes dominate both the imported wares and the local production of tableware. The imports of black-glazed wares (from Attica early in the settlement period), West Slope style pottery and moulded bowls from Antioch and the west, as well as the post-150 BCE mass production of Eastern Sigillata A wares, far outnumber the import of green-glazed wares. The latter constitute the only import from Mesopotamia or the south and even these copy the Greek shapes, e.g. fishplates, bowls with inturned rim, saucers and table amphorae with twisted handles. If the tableware reflects eating and drinking preferences, then the inhabitants

animals were culled for eating towards the end of their useful lives, so would need stewing.

The most common of these cooking-pots is a shape which goes back to the Persian period and the Iron Age.⁴⁹ There are no lidded pots, only one Greek casserole (found in Area S, not the Housing Insula) and no baking pans. It is not convincing to argue that Jebel Khalid was too remote from the coast to encounter

or import these vessels because fine wares were being regularly imported from Antioch and imitated locally. This seems a deliberate rejection of the kind of Greek cuisine cooked in lidded pots and casseroles.

At Samaria and Akko, the lidded cooking pot is called a 'Greek form' as opposed to the



IT IS POSSIBLE [EATING FISH] WAS TABOO, SINCE HIERAPOLIS, HOME OF THE SYRIAN GODDESS AND HER SACRED FISH, WAS NOT FAR AWAY.

of the insula were dining in the Greek style, drinking out of elegant cups and eating off a choice of small saucers, fishplates or large platters. In the early days of the settlement they were drinking wine imported from Rhodes.⁴⁶

However, in the kitchenware department, a somewhat different picture emerges. Many of the useful kitchen bowls are of traditional shapes, used in Syria from the Iron Age and sometimes before.⁴⁷ This is not surprising as a useful shape is not subject to fashion. But it is the cooking pots of Jebel Khalid that provide the most compelling evidence, among the ceramics, of a non-Greek tradition. Whereas the Greek sites on or near the Phoenician coast produced a great variety of cooking vessels,⁴⁸ we can publish only three types of globular, lidless cooking pots at Jebel Khalid, all designed to cook stews or gruel (fig. 19: Jebel Khalid cooking-pots). The faunal remains show that, among ovi-caprids, equids and cattle, the

traditional Persian-period cooking-pot.⁵⁰ As for casseroles, Berlin states that 'Casseroles are Greek not only in origin but in subsequent use and association. They are very common in Greek domestic assemblages and in some cases are the prevalent type of vessel found'.⁵¹ Casseroles were cooking vessels for fish, among other things, and fish bones have been difficult to find in the Housing Insula.⁵² One would expect fish from the Euphrates to be on the menu but it is possible it was taboo, since Hierapolis, home of the Syrian Goddess and her sacred fish, was not far away.⁵³ That offers one cultural reason why casseroles were not used.

It is easy to assume that the persons doing the cooking were local Syrians who preferred their traditional cooking methods and cuisine. But the owner-families in the houses also had a lasting preference for the local cuisine. This does not necessarily mean that they were not Greeks but it could mean that the insula

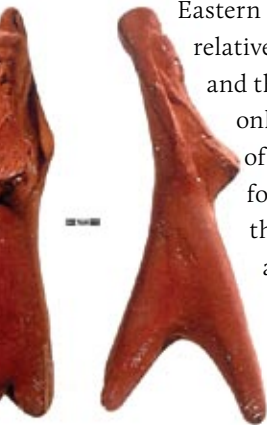
was home to a mixture of second-generation colonists who were already acclimatised to local tastes and conditions.

FIGURINES

The figurine fragments found at Jebel Khalid (now over 500 in number) probably reflect, better than any other class of artefact, the variety and complexity of the cultural self-identification of the inhabitants of the site. These are not clusters of votives found at a religious precinct: they come largely from domestic contexts but also from the Main Gate, the Acropolis, the Commercial Area S and the rubbish dumps. They have already been published in detail so a brief summary suffices here.⁵⁴ Representations of Greek deities and heroes dominate the corpus numerically: Aphrodite, Dionysus, Heracles, Apollo, possibly Demeter. Jackson suggests that this is the public or official iconography of Jebel Khalid,



just as Athena and Zeus appear on official seals.⁵⁵ Alongside this but not subservient to it and certainly not suppressed, is a private iconography found mainly in the houses, which has identifiable Near Eastern antecedents: 'Astarte' plaques, the handmade Persian riders (fig. 20: 'Astarte plaque' and Persian rider) and a mysterious child rider figure which may be a hybrid of Greek and Near Eastern features.⁵⁶ There are



relatively few 'Astarte' plaques and those few seem to belong only to the earliest phase of settlement and were found in the houses, not the official administrative area on the Acropolis. The later phase is flooded, instead, with little figures of women in Greek dress wearing Greek headdresses and hairstyles such as the lampadion and bow knot, although a few wear veils in the Eastern style. Jackson takes this disappearance of 'Astarte' plaques to indicate not that the worship of this deity

died out, but that it manifested itself rather differently, perhaps in the form of some of the women in Greek dress, and that this may represent a blending of Greek with Near Eastern tradition among the population of Jebel Khalid.⁵⁷ So it is among the figurine fragments that it is possible to gain a strong sense of a surviving indigenous culture, even though the Greek presence is statistically dominant: some 60% of the assemblage is undeniably Greek, whereas unmistakable Near Eastern figures are less than 20%, but Greek-style images may well have been viewed by the indigenous population as representations *à la grecque* of Semitic deities.

died out, but that it manifested itself rather differently, perhaps in the form of some of the women in Greek dress, and that this may represent a blending of Greek with Near Eastern tradition among the population of Jebel Khalid.⁵⁷ So it is among the figurine fragments that it is possible to gain a strong sense of a surviving indigenous culture, even though the Greek presence is statistically dominant: some 60% of the assemblage is undeniably Greek, whereas unmistakable Near Eastern figures are less than 20%, but Greek-style images may well have been viewed by the indigenous population as representations *à la grecque* of Semitic deities.

SEALS

The dominant Greek presence is reflected very clearly in the iconography of three official Seleucid seals found on the Acropolis.⁵⁸ One has the well-known anchor as its symbol, used as an emblem of the Seleukid Royal Treasury. The second features Athena Nikephoros, another official Seleukid image, which often appeared on coins. The third shows a bearded Zeus seated on a throne, holding a Nike on his right hand. This is Zeus Nikephoros, familiar on Seleukid coins or seals. A fourth seal was found near the Main Gate, featuring a bust of Athena, an image that again recurs on Seleukid coins. These are all official seals used in the administration of Jebel Khalid – and are unmistakably Greek (fig. 21: official seal).

A private seal, made by a gem impression on the shoulder of a local amphora, displays a different image: a standing figure, stiffly profile, in long robes reminiscent of Achaemenid dress, possibly with hair bunched in Mesopotamian style, holding aloft a cone-shaped object.⁵⁹ The identity and even gender of the figure remains uncertain but it does not immediately recall Greek iconography, nor is the stance of the figure Hellenistic in style. It rather resembles the figures of worshippers and sages seen on Babylonian seals, admittedly from the Hellenistic period but thought by Wallenfels to represent a continuity of traditional Assyrian



(lower left)

FIG. 20: 'Astarte plaque' and Persian rider.

COURTESY OF GRAEME CLARKE.

(above)

FIG. 21: Official seal from Jebel Khalid.

COURTESY OF GRAEME CLARKE.

and Babylonian types.⁶⁰ The small size of the seal (carefully re-stamped to ensure the figure was vertical) and its position on the shoulder of the jar are both factors which argue for this being a private seal, made before firing by arrangement with the potter to 'book' the jar for private use. It may be of significance that the jar was found in the palaestra – the jar was marked with the owner's personal (non-Greek) seal, apparently reserving it for personal use within that very Greek institution.

(below)

FIG. 22. Carnelian bezel of Herakles.

COURTESY OF GRAEME CLARKE.



Two private sealing devices were discovered in the Housing Insula, of contrasting iconography and design.⁶¹ One was an iron finger ring, with a carved carnelian bezel, too small to be an official seal (fig. 22: carnelian bezel of Herakles). The other was a rare six-sided cylinder seal of chalcedony, pierced as though to be part of a necklace and representing the long-standing use of cylinder seals in the Near East (fig. 23: Six-sided cylinder seal of chalcedony). The carnelian bears an image of Herakles in profile, lion skin on scalp, club on right shoulder. He is Herakles in the Greek style, with curly hair and large eyes. The cylinder is much worn; of its six sides three, possibly four, carry images of long-robed figures, probably female, two carrying stalks or sprays. Two sides carry symbols, one a stylised branch and the other a rough crescent. Taken as a whole, the iconography is closer to that of Mesopotamian seals, where astral symbols accompany a range of figures identified as worshippers. The crescent and star combination particularly

recalls the iconography of Atargatis, the Syrian goddess, whose temple was at nearby Hierapolis. This cylinder was found in a context dating to the beginning of the settlement. Both seals were personal articles of adornment. Herakles was worshipped by the army, and his image had strong associations with Macedonian royalty, so it is tempting to deduce that the ring's owner, whether Greek or Syrian, surely identified with the Greek regime. On the other hand, Semitic deities like Melqart or Nabu in this period acquired the physiognomy and attributes of Herakles as the quintessential powerful protecting god. The cylinder seal, found with another pierced agate that was obviously part of the same necklace, may have been worn by a person with the power to use a seal and with allegiance to a deity symbolised by a star and crescent; such seals were often accorded a quasi-magical significance and, as such, could be passed down through many generations.⁶² These two sealing devices may well illustrate the merging of cultures between the (presumed) Macedonian settlers and surviving indigenous tradition.

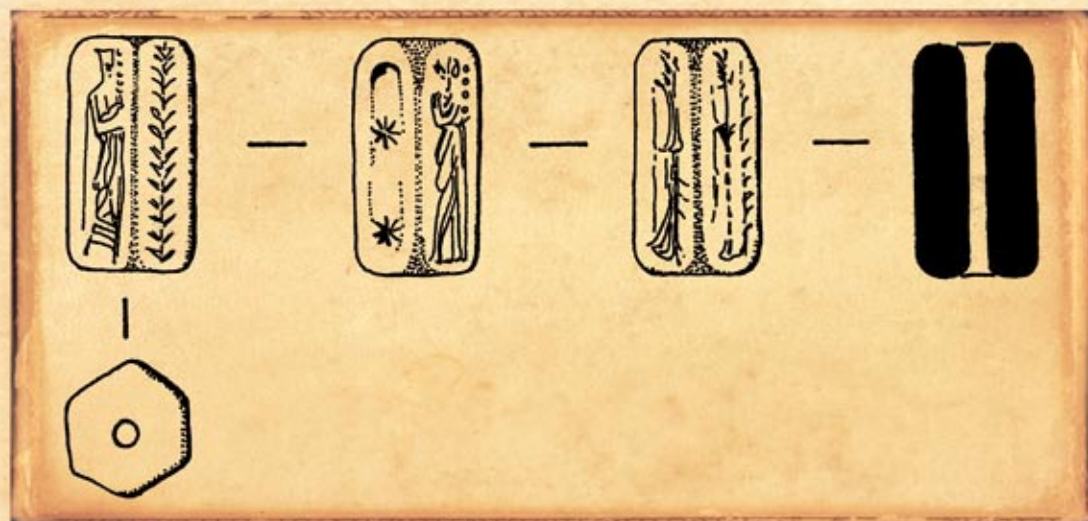
CONCLUSION

Ambiguity abounds everywhere in reading the material remains so far uncovered. And, in addition, some bias in the material may be due to the sample available to us from the areas so far excavated – the fortification system, the public buildings, the particular insula of houses. For whilst the housing insula has told us much about the way of life

(right)

FIG. 23. Six-sided cylinder seal of chalcedony.

COURTESY OF GRAEME CLARKE.

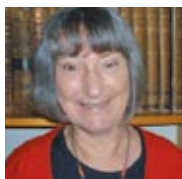


of its occupants, the houses here, high on the slope away from the commercial area below, are élite housing, without any evidence of industrial activity. As such, their architecture, decoration and material goods would appear to reveal more Greek elements than they do Syrian (though by no means exclusively). But, as shown above, some proof also exists for indigenous cult loyalties and hybridisation of cults, as well as of the local manufacture of figurines, including traditional Syrian figures.⁶³ And there was a major local pottery industry (85% of the common-ware pottery is of local manufacture).⁶⁴ What needs to be explored, in order to arrive at a more balanced assessment, are the domestic quarters of low-status houses, where the workers and labourers of these local industries are likely to have lived, and all aspects of the material contents of these more modest dwellings compared with those of the grander housing insula. This way some further insight into the socioeconomic structure of the society of Jebel Khalid could be gained as well as into its ethnic and cultural identities. But we can be sure that the mute stones will, nevertheless, speak only tentatively: there is so much that material remains in archaeology cannot securely tell us. ¶



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- * Variant versions of this paper are due to appear in a volume of papers on the theme of *L'Orient hellénisé*, edited by Pierre Leriche (Paris, UNESCO) and in the second volume of *Papers in Honour of Professor Sir Fergus Millar*, edited by Richard Alston and Sam Lieu (Turnhout, Brepols).
- # Fergus Millar, 'The Problem of Hellenistic Syria', in *Hellenism in the East. The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*, ed. by Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 110-133 at pp. 130-1, reprinted in *Rome, The Greek World, and The East*, vol. 3, *The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*, ed. by Hannah M. Cotton and Guy M. Rogers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pp. 3-31 at pp. 28-9.
1. For some literature, J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997); I. Maklin, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); *Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity*, ed. by G.W. Clarke (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology, 1998); *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. by S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex (London: Duckworth, 2000); *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Issues and Debates*, ed. by C.L. Lyons and J. K. Papadopoulos (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002); J. Geiger, 'Language, Culture and Identity in Ancient Palestine', in *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in Cultural Interaction*, ed. by E.N. Ostenfeld (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002), pp. 233-46; I. Maklin, 'Postcolonial Concepts and Ancient Greek Colonization', *Modern Language Quarterly* 65 (2004), 341-364; *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference*, ed. by H. Hurst and S. Owen (London: Duckworth, 2005); *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters. Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by G. J. Stein (Santa Fe/Oxford: James Currey, 2005); *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, ed. by E. S. Gruen (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2005); J. M. Hall, 'The Creation and Expression of Identity: The Greek World', in *Classical Archaeology*, ed. by S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 337-354; *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. by K. Zacharia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, ed. by T. Derks and N. Roymans (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, ed. by S. Hales and T. Hodos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); G. Tsetsckhladze and J. Hargrave, 'Colonisation Ancient and Modern: Some Observations', in *Gaudeamus Igitur: Studies to Honour the 60th Birthday of A.V. Podossinov*, ed. by T.N. Jackson,

- I.G. Konovalova and G.R. Tsetsckhadze (Moscow: Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences/Russian Endowment for Science and Education/Dmitriy Pozharskiy University, 2010), pp. 381-98.
2. See M. Mottram and D. Menere, 'Preliminary Surface Investigation in the Wadi Abu Qalqal Region, North Syria', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005), 161-174 at 165-6. For a summary of the meagre evidence from the Tell Es-Sweyhat Survey (the Tell is some 15km downstream from Jebel Khalid on the east bank), see T.J. Wilkinson *et al.*, *On the Margins of the Euphrates. Settlement and Land Use at Tell Es-Sweyhat and in the Upper Lake Assad Area, Syria* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2004), pp. 144-5 and see, more generally, M.R. Whincop, *Pots, People, and Politics; A Reconsideration of the Role of Ceramics in Reconstructions of the Iron Age Northern Levant* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009).
 3. See G.W. Clarke and H. Jackson, 'Graffiti and Dipinti', in G.W. Clarke *et al.*, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates. Report on Excavations 1986-1996* (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 5, 2002), pp. 206-16, and G.W. Clarke and H. Jackson, 'Jebel Khalid: Graffiti and Dipinti 2000-2005', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005), 193-98. See also G.W. Clarke, 'Greek Graffiti from North Syria', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 5/6 (1992/3), 117-20 (graffiti in Greek on plaster from the Acropolis Palace). Literacy is also attested by the recovery of a number of styluses, both bone and bronze. At least 5 (Cretan-style) arrowheads have been recovered, engraved with the monogram *beta-epsilon* (parallels have been found in Jerusalem, on Cyprus, Cyrene, Crete, Egypt and elsewhere) and perhaps imply the presence of a detachment of Cretan mercenary archers as part of the garrison troops.
 4. See Clarke and Jackson, art. cit. in n.3 [*Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005)], p. 198 (JK Di.6) with n.3.
 5. In addition to the articles cited in nn 6 and 7 below, G.W. Clarke, 'Jebel Khalid Stamped Amphora Handles 2006-2008', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 21 (2008), 105-114. 16 further stamps, excavated in the 2010 season, await publication.
 6. See G.W. Clarke, 'Stamped Amphora Handles' in Clarke *et al.*, op. cit. in n.3, 271-89 at 287 (JK SH.44 and JK SH.45). I owe this identification to the courtesy of Professor Joseph Naveh.
 7. See G.W. Clarke, art. cit. in n.6, at pp. 286-7 (JK SH.39-42) and idem, 'Jebel Khalid: Stamped Amphora Handles 2000-2005', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005), 175-91 at 181-3 (JK SH. 63-67).
 8. It would appear that the cultivation of the olive was a Greek introduction into this region: the site is outside olive's natural distribution zone. A. Fairbairn and E. Asouti, 'Evidence for Olive Wood and Deforestation at Jebel Khalid', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005), 190-1.
 9. See G.W. Clarke, 'A Greek Graffito from Jebel Khalid', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 9/10 (1996/97), 185-6.
 10. See G.W. Clarke, 'The Governor's Palace, Acropolis' in Clarke *et al.*, op. cit. in n.3, pp. 25-48 at p. 38.
 11. See art. cit. in n.10 at p. 36.
 12. See M. Sartre, 'The Nature of Syrian Hellenism in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Periods' in Y. Z. Eliav, E. A. Friedland and S. Herbert, *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), pp. 25-49 at pp. 35-8, cf. F. Millar, art. cit. in introduction, 116-7.
 13. See P.J. Connor and G.W. Clarke, 'Jebel Khalid in North Syria: the First Campaigns', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 9/10 (1996/97), 151-83. The Hellenistic-period fortification blocks at Dura-Europos are based on the same unit of measurement (von Gerkan, 'The Fortifications', *Dura Reports* 7/8 (1933-4 & 1934-5), pp. 1-23 at p. 1. On the Macedonian unit of measurement see N.G.L. Hammond, 'A Macedonian Shield and Macedonian Measures', *BSA* 91, 365-7.
 14. See P. Connor and G.W. Clarke, 'The North-West Tower', in Clarke *et al.*, op. cit. in n.3, pp. 1-15.
 15. See G.W. Clarke, 'The Main Gate', in Clarke *et al.*, op. cit. in n.3, 17-23.
 16. See G.W. Clarke, art. cit. in n.10 and I. Nielsen (ed.) *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC* (Aarhus: Monographs of the Danish institute at Athens, vol. 4, 2001), *passim*: note especially I. Nielsen, 'The Gardens of Hellenistic Palaces', pp. 165-185 at pp. 177-81.
 17. See G.W. Clarke, 'Preface', in H. Jackson and J. Tidmarsh, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, Report vol. III: The Pottery* (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement, forthcoming).
 18. For reports on excavations at the Temple site see G.W. Clarke, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 13 (2000), 123-6; 15 (2002), 116-21; 16 (2003), 171-5; 18 (2005), 128-35; 19/20 (2006/07), 132-9; 21 (2008) 59-64. An early precursor of the Jebel Khalid Temple might be found in the Phoenician temple to Echmoun at Sidon, dating to the beginning of the fourth century BCE: fully Greek in the exterior (hexastyle, amphiprostyle, Ionic) but with its interior — *cella* 'probablement carée' and *adyton* richly decorated — 'fidèle à la tradition orientale'. See R.A. Stucky, 'Acculturation et retour aux sources: Sidon aux époques perse et hellénistique', in *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique*, ed. by R. Frei-Stolba and K. Gex (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 247-258 at p. 249.
 19. See G.W. Clarke, 'The Jebel Khalid Marbles', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 21 (2008), 115-118.
 20. 'Plurality of modes of representation of the gods seems to be a characteristic feature of Syrian Hellenism', M. Sartre, art. cit. in n.12, p. 45. Compare the mixed statuary found in the (later) Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos,

- reflecting the (known) mixed nature of the population at Dura-Europos, S.B. Downey, 'The Role of Sculpture in Worship at the Temples of Dura-Europos', in Y. Z. Eliav, E. A. Friedland and S. Herbert, *The Sculptural Environment*, pp. 413-435 at pp. 417-428.
21. See, for example, S.K. Stowers, 'Greeks Who Sacrifice and Those Who Do Not: Toward an Anthropology of Greek Religion', in *The Social World of the First Christians. Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, ed. by L.M. White and O.L. Yarbrough (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp. 293-333; J.N. Bremmer, 'Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice', in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. by D. Ogden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 132-144.
 22. Cf. the inscription on the left paw of the great protecting lion guarding the sanctuary of Allat in Palmyra: 'May Allat bless whoever does not shed blood in the precinct' [no bones were recovered during the excavation of this sanctuary] and see further H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Sanctuaries and Social Safety: The Iconography of Divine Place in Hellenistic Syria', *Visible Religion* 1 (1982), 65-75. Of all the multiple altars so far excavated at Dura-Europos, not one is suitable for blood sacrifice, although there are a very few (later) monuments that imply it.
 23. In the post-Hellenistic period, the Temple was modified and 23 incense altars were, additionally, erected around its periphery.
 24. On the dating, see 'Jebel Khalid: The 2006 Season' and 'Jebel Khalid Fieldwork Report 2008', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 21 (2008), 123-4 and 22/23 (2009/10) (forthcoming).
 25. For a very recent and thorough study of the Revolt of the Maccabees see P. F. Mittag, *Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Eine politische Biographie* (Berlin: Akademie, 2006), pp. 225-81. For a particularly illuminating study of the language and interpretation of 2 Maccabees c.4, exploiting the two letters of Eumenes II to Phrygian Tyraion, see Nigel M. Kennell, 'New Light on 2 Maccabees 4:7-15', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56 (2005), 10-24 (I owe this reference to the courtesy of Fergus Millar).
 26. Louis Robert brings out well the cultural significance of the gymnasium at Ai Khanoum on the Oxus in 'De Delphes à l'Oxus. Inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane', *CRAI* 1968, 416-457 at 420f., 454-7. See also M. Sartre, *Histoires grecques: Snapshots from Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 2009) (trans. C. Porter) c. 23 ('Gymnasium: Keep out! or Education and Citizenship in the Hellenistic World') pp. 201-6 and c. 26 ('The Promotion of Toriaion, or How to Become a City State') pp. 223-231. Note Posidonius F62a Edelstein and Kidd (*apud* Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12.527e): 'All the people of Syria, because of the great plenty which their land afforded, were free from worry about the basics of life, and so were for ever meeting for a continual life of feasting, turning their gymnasia into baths in which they anointed themselves with expensive oils and perfumes'.
 27. See, on the 2008 excavations at the palaestra, G. W. Clarke, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 22/23 (2009/10), forthcoming.
 28. A bone flute fragment has been recovered on site.
 29. Several attempts at sub-surface survey, with the object of producing an overall site plan of Jebel Khalid, by Dr Bruno Frohlich and his team (Smithsonian Institute), have produced disappointing results due to the extreme irregularity of the underlying bedrock.
 30. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, III, 8 and *Oeconomicus* IX, 4; Aristotle, *Economics* I vi 7. Vitruvius' Greek house echoes this ideal: Vitruvius VI, 7.
 31. In Macedonian cubits, the E/W dimension of 35m translates nicely into 100 cubits (taking the cubit as 35cm) but the N/S dimension of 90m is not so neat at 257.14 cubits. In Doric feet the dimension would be 107 x 276 feet; in Ionic feet: 118 x 305. Rounded dimensions, e.g. 100 x 300, are rare.
 32. At Antioch and Laodicea, the insulae were allegedly 54 x 108 m and at Damascus (overlaid by Roman remains, so suspect) 45 x 100 m (R. Martin, *L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, 2nd ed., [Paris: A & J Picard et Cie, 1974], p. 165). At Apamea-on-the-Orontes, insula size is reported as 57 x 105 m (J. C. Balty, 'Les Grands Etapes de L'Urbanisme d'Apamée-sur-l'Oronte', *Ktéma* 1977, 5). At Apamea-Osrhoene 38 x 10 8 m (C. Abadie-Reynal-R. Ergeç *et al.*, 'Moyenne Vallée de L'Euphrate. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne des fouilles 1997', *Anatolia Antiqua* 6 (1998), 139-406 at 403). See also J. D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 48, 50, where he dismisses the theory of contemporaneity of foundation based on an approximate 2:1 ratio of insula measurements.
 33. It is possible that an upper storey was of mud brick. Only one set of steps has been found, in the north of the insula, indicating the presence of an upper storey, although wooden ladders or steps could have existed elsewhere. No mud brick has been preserved.
 34. For the 'Greekness' of a tiled roof, see J. C. Balty, 'La maison urbaine en Syrie', in *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie*, vol.2, *La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*, ed. by J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1989), p. 407.
 35. E.g. at Phlorina (M. Lilibaki-Akamate-I. Akamates, "Ελληνιστική πόλη στη Φλώρινα", *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*, 4 (1990), 67-74 at 67). Although Laconian in shape, the Jebel Khalid tiles were probably manufactured locally; their fabric resembles that of the local pottery.
 36. H. Jackson, 'Erotes on the Euphrates. A Figured Frieze in a Private House at Hellenistic Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates', *AJA* 113, 2 (2009), 231-53.

37. Contrast M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), p. 49: 'The wall decoration of the private houses of Dura has nothing in common with the Hellenistic and Italian type of wall decoration. We find in no house in Dura anything resembling the wall paintings of Priene, Delos, Pompeii...'
38. Olynthus: D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus XII: Domestic and Public Architecture* (Baltimore, 1946), D. M. Robinson–A. J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus VIII: The Hellenistic House* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology no. 25, 1938); *Priene*: T. Wiegand–H. Schrader, *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1904).
39. L. C. Nevett, *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); M. Trümper, *Wohnen in Delos. Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wandel der Wohnkultur in hellenistischer Zeit* (Rahden/Westf., Verlag Marie Leidorf, 1998).
40. For the Red House at Assur, see C. Preusser, *Die Wohnhäuser in Assur* (Berlin: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. no. 64, 1954), pl.11: here the entry room has a fountain installed. For Delos, see Trümper, op. cit. in n.39, *passim*. For Priene: Wiegand–Schrader, op. cit. in n.38, p. 207 (House 33).
41. See C. Hopkins, 'Private Houses', in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, 5th Season, 1931-32*, ed. by M. Rostovtzeff (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), pp. 31-72 at p. 31. Houses in Seleucia-on-the-Tigris also show this feature: M. Coppa, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Vol. 2: Le età ellenistiche* (Rome: Einaudi, 1981), p. 727, fig. 442 (Block B, Level III).
42. E.g. Maison des Tritons and Maison du Lac (Trümper, op. cit. in n.39, figs. 14, 17).
43. M. Kiderlen, *Megale Oikia. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung aufwendiger griechischer Stäthaus Architektur* (Hürth: Verlag Martin Lange, 1995), Cat. Nos. I, 13, 28.
44. E.g. A. Allara, 'Domestic Architecture at Dura-Europos', *Mesopotamia* 22 (1987), 67-76 at 67, fig. B.
45. Assur: Preusser, op. cit. in n.40, pl. 11:1; Babylon: W. Hoepfner–E.-L. Schwander, *Haus und Stadt in Klassischen Griechenland* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1994) (2nd ed.), fig. 243, Houses X, XII, XIII, V, VI.
46. See Graeme Clarke, 'The Stamped Amphora Handles', in Clarke *et al.*, op. cit. in n.3, pp. 275-85, 288.
47. See H. Jackson, Chapter 1, 'The Common Wares', in H. Jackson–J. Tidmarsh, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, Vol. III: The Pottery* (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement, forthcoming), Types 21-3.
48. E.g. at Anafa, A. M. Berlin, 'The Plain Wares', in *Tell Anafa 2.1: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*, (ed.) S. C. Herbert (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1997), pp. ix-247 at pp. 91-103, where 430 casserole rims and ten different forms of casserole were found, as well as several baking pans. At Dor, at least one casserole profile dates to the 3rd century BCE (B. Guz-Zilberstein, 'The typology of the Hellenistic coarse ware and selected loci of the Hellenistic and Roman periods', in *Excavations at Dor, Final Report* vol. 1B: *The Finds*, ed. by E. Stern [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1995], pp. 289-434 at p. 300). In the Athenian Agora, lopades (casseroles) dominate the cooking corpus. Intriguingly, Rotroff emphasizes their popularity in the Eastern Mediterranean and hints at an Eastern origin for the shape (S. Rotroff, 'Coarse Wares at the Athenian Agora', *Praktika* 2004, 455-60 at 459).
49. Jackson, op. cit. in n.47, Type 38.
50. J. W. Crowfoot–G. M. Crowfoot–K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1975), p. 230; M. Dothan, 'Akko: Interim Excavation Report, First Season 1973/4', *BASOR* 1976, 1-48 at 31.
51. Berlin, op. cit. in n.48, p. 94.
52. By contrast, fish bones have been found in the Acropolis Palace, as well as a fish-hook and lead sinkers, but one could argue that Greek officials there felt immune from any such taboo. No casseroles were found there, either.
53. Cp Porphyry *De Abstin.* 2.61 '...while Syrians do not taste fish and the Hebrews pigs and many of the Phoenicians and the Egyptians cows...'; cp. *ibid.* 4.15 (quoting Menander); Athenaeus, *Deipnosophist.*, 8.346 c-d.
54. H. Jackson, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates. Volume Two: The Terracotta Figurines* (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 6, 2006)
55. Jackson, op. cit., n.54, p. 222. For the seals, see *infra*.
56. Jackson, op. cit., n.54, pp. 221-2
57. Jackson, op. cit., n.54, p. 223.
58. Published by Graeme Clarke, 'Four Hellenistic Seal Impressions', in Clarke *et al.*, op. cit. in n.3, pp. 201-3.
59. See Heather Jackson, 'A local jar seal', Appendix to Graeme Clarke, 'Jebel Khalid: Stamped Amphora Handles 2000-2005', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005), 186-9.
60. R. Wallenfels, *Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, vol. 1. *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*. Endberichte, (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1994), p. 151.
61. See Heather Jackson, 'Two Engraved Gems from Hellenistic Jebel Khalid', *Antike Kunst* 47 (2004), 34-46.
62. For examples. P. H. Merrillees, *Cylinder and Stamp Seals in Australian Collections* (Burwood: Victoria College Press, 1990), p. 103.
63. Jackson, op. cit. in n.54.
64. Jackson, op. cit. in n.47.