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Gadara of the Decapolis

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GADARA OF THE DECAPOLIS

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by

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LIST OF TIME PERIODS

Neolithic	8000-3600
Chalcolithic	3600-3100
Early Bronze	3100-2100
Middle Bronze	2100-1550
Late Bronze	1550-1200
Iron I	1200-1000
Iron II	1000- 587
Babylonian & Persian	587- 332
Hellenistic	332- 63
Roman	BC 63- 324 AD
Byzantine	324- 640
Umayyad	640- 750
Abbasid-Fatimid-Ayyubid	750-1250
Mamluke	1250-1516
Ottoman	1516-1918
Modern	1918-

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

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INTRODUCTION

The topic of this dissertation is "Gadara of the Decapolis." The ruins of this ancient Decapolis city are situated in and to the west of the modern village of Umm Qais in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The present-day village is located about thirty kilometers northwest of the Jordanian city of Irbid and approximately ten kilometers southeast of the Sea of Galilee. The site lies atop the Jordanian plateau, which drops off sharply to the north toward the Yarmuk River and to the south toward the Wadi al-'Arab before it gradually lowers to the west in a number of terraces and descends into the Jordan Valley.

In wading through the bibliography of Gadara/Umm Qais, one can see that the site has been the object of much historical and archaeological investigation. My primary aim is to analyze and draw conclusions from the material, both archaeological and literary, which has come to light about Gadara/Umm Qais. The evaluation and synthesis of this evidence should lead to a better understanding of the historical and cultural place of Gadara/Umm Qais in its ancient and modern environment.

From the foregoing it should be noticed that the point of departure for this dissertation is an archaeological

one. Therefore, something must be said about the nature and importance of archaeology. Archaeology, without any reference to time, space, or subject matter, aims at the systematic recovery and study of the remains of man's past. Etymologically, archaeology denotes the study of "origins, old things, history."[1] This study can, in a broad sense, include both written and non-written remains.[2] Today, however, the study of documents, that is, the written remains, is generally considered a separate discipline (textual analysis and criticism), while archaeology tends to deal more with the non-written remains of past cultures. Of course, what each of these sources has to say about past cultures may either overlap or complement the other, but in no way can the one ultimately dissociate itself from the other.[3]

From the above it is evident that there are two facets to archaeology: recovery and study. Recovery refers

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[1]For the origin and development of the term "archaeology" see Volkmar Fritz, Einführung in die biblische Archäologie (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), p. 1. See also Keith N. Schoville, Biblical Archaeology in Focus (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978), p. 79, who surveys the use and understanding of the word "archaeology" among the writers of classical antiquity.

[2]According to William Foxwell Albright, in Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 5th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), p. 36, "archaeology" in its broad sense covers written documents and unwritten materials, while in its narrow sense the term refers only to the unwritten remains.

[3]Roland de Vaux, "On the Right and Wrong Uses of Archaeology," in Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, ed. J. Sanders (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), p. 65, defines "archaeology" according to its "narrow sense" but adds that this activity must seek to place them [the unwritten material remains] in relation to texts and history."

to the collection of the data (excavation), while study refers to its analysis and interpretation. Usually, however, the recovery of the data, particularly in its recording stage, involves some kind of initial analysis and/or interpretation. Later study of the material, however, does not necessitate that one must have also been involved in its collection, although this participation may indeed assist in analyzing and interpreting. At one time, one could have been considered an "archaeologist" without having participated in an excavation, although today this label usually assumes that one has.

With various qualifications "archaeology" as a general term can be narrowed down to indicate more specific aspects of the discipline (or more specific disciplines within the general field). Kathleen Kenyon, in Beginning in Archaeology, uses a combination of geographic and temporal qualifiers to designate specific fields of study, such as "prehistoric Europe," "Europe of the Roman Period," "prehistoric Near East," "historic Near East," and so on.[4] She realized that some kind of specialization was necessary already at the time of the second edition of her book (1953) due to the burgeoning amount of information. How much more so almost forty years later!

This specialization, however, was not in isolation from other aspects of the field or discipline. An archaeologist has to have a broad background as well. Stated con-

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[4]Kathleen Kenyon, Beginning in Archaeology, 2nd (rev.) ed. (London and New York: Phoenix House and Frederick A. Praeger, 1953), pp. 26-53.

versely, an archaeologist must possess a general knowledge of the continent or a more global awareness of the time period, "but one must confine his activities within a reasonable compass," meaning that he must focus on a particular country or period.[5]

A qualifier for "archaeology" which concerns our interests, then, is the term "biblical." In the last couple of decades, however, there has been a reaction, even a strong aversion (to put it mildly), to the phrase "biblical archaeology."[6] Without going over the debate and examining all the arguments for and against this terminology,[7] let it simply be said that "biblical" is as legitimate a qualification as some of the terms Kenyon proposed long ago. "Biblical" can simply denote the geographical and temporal scopes which are

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[5]Ibid., p. 26.

[6]For the chief objections to the term "biblical archaeology" see William G. Dever, "'Biblical Archaeology' or 'The Archaeology of Syro-Palestine'?" Christian News from Israel n.s. 22 (1971):21. But see also Shalom M. Paul and William G. Dever, eds., Biblical Archaeology (New York: Quadrangle, 1974), p. viii, where the authors insist that "'biblical archaeology' is only one among many legitimate specializations within the broad field of Near Eastern Archaeology."

For responses to these objections see G. Ernest Wright, "The 'New' Archaeology," BA 38 (1975):112 and 114; and H. Darrell Lance, The Old Testament and the Archaeologist (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), p. 95.

[7]The controversy has resulted, partially, as a reaction against some who would all too quickly adduce archaeological data as "proof" of their particular interpretation of the biblical text. On the other hand, the reluctance to use the term "biblical archaeology" appears to stem from a general antipathy toward the Bible being a reliable historical witness of the events as well as toward anything biblical in general.

of interest to this kind of archaeologist.[8]

In connection with what has just been asserted, it should be recognized that there is no "special" methodology involved in biblical archaeology. The biblical archaeologist is an archaeologist, plain and simple. His first task as an archaeologist is to collect and record data from his excavation, as it is the task of all archaeologists. The place where he digs and the time periods in which he is interested will be influenced by his broader, biblical background. But his next task as an archaeologist, the interpretation of his finds, will and should not be so affected. As a responsible scientist (and that is the claim one implies of himself in calling himself an archaeologist), he cannot force his data to say anything more than what is objectively in from of him.[9]

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[8]Worth mentioning are the following definitions of the task and scope of biblical archaeology:

". . . Biblical archaeology is essentially catholic in scope, and covers all the periods of history in Bible lands, and all of the prehistory that has thus far come to our knowledge." Nelson Glueck, The Other Side of the Jordan (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1940), p. 30.

"'Biblical archaeology' resulted from the fact that it had to do with the explanation of concepts and data which occur in the Bible." Fritz, pp. 1-2.

"Biblical Archaeology pertains to all those remains which shed light on the life, customs, history, literature, language, and architecture of early Israel and its neighbors." Shalom and Dever, p. vii. To its range of time and space we would certainly add New Testament and the Roman world.

"In short, the whole ancient world, its literature, history, material culture belonged to the subject matter of biblical archaeology." Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "William F. Albright's View of Biblical Archaeology and Its Methodology," BA 36 (1973):3.

[9]For the limitations of the archaeological data, see Schoville, pp. 157-158; and Dever, "What Archaeology Can Contribute to an Understanding of the Bible," BAR 7.5 (1981):41.

For Lutherans the importance of biblical archaeology can not be understated.[10] In order not to lapse into a form of docetic Christianity, we rightly stress the objective nature of the biblical story. The events of the Bible did not just happen "out there" somewhere, as if they were the products of an illusionary or legendary world. These events involved real people at specific times and in particular places. The remains of their lives and activities, then, which are the object of archaeological investigation, become the "signs" of the written Word which tells about them.

Now we must turn to the significance of Gadara/Umm Qais for archaeological and New Testament studies. There are a number of reasons for continuing research of this site and attempting to write a dissertation from a biblical archaeological perspective. Biblically, of course, there are the references to Gadara and the Decapolis in the Gospels. Further light which is shed on the social, cultural, and historical aspects of Gadara should add to the knowledge of this city and its environment in the ancient cultural milieu,

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Wright's caveat, in "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," BA 34 (1971):76, provides a cogent guiding principle: "Archaeology does not confirm the text . . . it can only confirm the interpretation we give it . . . . [The finds] must be analyzed in a variety of ways, and then with all other data available, its meaning in the overall picture of a cultural continuum is expressed by interpretation."

[10]For general views on the importance and value of biblical archaeology, see Wright, "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," p. 73; Schoville, p. 167; Dever, "What Archaeology Can Contribute," p. 40; and John Arthur Thompson, The Bible and Archaeology, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1982), p. 4.

and it should also contribute to an increased understanding of the times in which intertestamental and New Testament events took place. Archaeologically, it is hoped that this study of Gadara/Umm Qais contributes to and complements the excavations done at other sites of the Decapolis cities in the region. Of the major Decapolis cities in present-day Palestine and Jordan, Gadara/Umm Qais is unique in that it is the only one of these cities which does not have an extensive evaluation and synthesis of the results of its excavations.

Of particular interest for New Testament studies is the reference to Gadara in Matthew 8:28 in connection with the miracle of Jesus healing the two demon-possessed men. According to Matthew's account, Jesus met these men near Gadara and drove the demons out into a herd of swine, which subsequently rushed headlong into the Sea of Galilee. One of the problems with the Matthaean narrative is that there is the same (or similar?) account by Mark and Luke, who indicate that this event occurred in "the land of the Gerasenes" (Mark 5:1 and Luke 8:26). Added to this difficulty is the fact that all three of the above accounts have the textual variant "in the land of the Gergesenes." An advantage of a Gergesa (if it existed) is its location. The site proposed for Gergesa (modern Tell el-Kursi) is situated almost directly on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, whereas Gadara and Gerasa lie some distance away (although Gadara remains within reasonable range). Gerasa can probably be safely ruled out, so the alternative remains between Gadara and Gergesa. The

existing evidence favors neither over the other, although an argument can be made for locating the site of this miracle at ancient Gadara.[11]

Concerning the history of Gadara/Umm Qais, there is to date no evidence which establishes a pre-Hellenistic settlement at the present site. The architectural remains date to the Roman and later periods, and the artifactual evidence testifies to an occupational sequence beginning some time in the Hellenistic period.

Gadara first emerges in the historical record during the exploits of Antiochus the Great when he invaded Palestine in 218 and 199 B.C. In both of these campaigns Gadara is listed among the cities which Antiochus conquered. Gadara remained under Seleucid control until it was taken by Alexander Jannaeus. When Pompey arrived in the area in 64/63 B.C., he "liberated" Gadara from Hasmonaean control and the city was included with a number of other Greek cities in the region in a group called the "Decapolis" (ten cities). Under Roman and later Byzantine rule Gadara's circumstances shifted with the changes in the administration and political structure of the empire.

Since the time of the Muslim conquest it seems that the site has been occupied to one degree or another. The ceramic evidence testifies, generally, to inhabitation of at least segments of the area during most of the Islamic periods.

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[11]See Chapter 2, pp. 45-53 for a further discussion of the problems concerning Gadara/Gerasa/Gergesa.

This occupation was perhaps a result of the importance which Umm Qais continued to have due to its strategic (both militarily and commercially) geographic location.

The history of the modern exploration and study of Gadara/Umm Qais began in the early years of the nineteenth century. The travel diaries of Seetzen, Burckhardt, Merrill, Schumacher, and others report the results of their research and discoveries. Because of modern occupation of much of the area of the ancient city, however, excavation was not a possibility until the 1970s.

In 1974 the German Protestant Institute of the Archaeology of the Holy Land conducted a survey and in the following years proceeded with four seasons of excavation. These excavations concentrated on the acropolis and neighboring territory and succeeded in uncovering a Byzantine church along with some adjacent structures. During this time (beginning in 1977 and extending into 1983) a Danish group from the University of Copenhagen began work in the middle city by excavating a Byzantine bath complex and in the western city by conducting several sondages in a residential district. In 1986 the German Institute, under a new director, resumed its work. Parts of the city within its ancient boundaries were surveyed, and in the following season the excavations of a subterranean mausoleum and a round building were carried out. This work was followed by two additional campaigns. Near the end of the German Institute's 1987 season, a portion of the upper city wall, apparently dating to the Hellenistic-

Roman horizon, was uncovered at the west end of the upper city. In addition to the German Institute's excavations two other projects have begun. In the fall of 1987 the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) began work on the monumental gate at the extreme west end of the site, and in the spring of 1988 the Galleries of Ancient Sculpture (Frankfurt a.M.) commenced with the excavation of a nymphaeum in the middle city.

The objectives of this dissertation are both historical and cultural. Historically, the scope is the occupational sequence in Gadara/Umm Qais, with a particular emphasis on Gadara in classical antiquity since this approach relates most specifically to the goal of understanding the intertestamental and New Testament time periods. Of course, the occupation of the site preceding and following this frame of reference is not ignored. The cultural objective is to understand as much as possible about the demographic, economic, political, and religious aspects which belonged to the city in the above-mentioned time ranges.

This study is to be based on both the literary evidence and the archaeological remains of the site of Gadara/Umm Qais and its immediate environment. The ancient and medieval literature which pertains to Gadara and the Decapolis has been utilized, as well as the scholarly accounts which began in the nineteenth century and the modern survey and excavation reports. The material remains from the excavated areas of the site (primarily architectural and ceramic, but others as

they are available) and the evidence from the surveys within the municipal limits of Gadara and its surrounding area constitutes the other major component of the data base. My approach to the material aims at an integration of the archaeological and non-archaeological evidence in order to arrive at a better understanding of the historical and cultural picture of Gadara/Umm Qais and its position and significance in the Syro-Palestinian world.

CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT

Archaeology aims to recover and study the material remains of past societies in order to learn something about human life and activities. From this statement several presuppositions are deducible: We are dealing with the past; we are dealing with its peoples; we are dealing with their lives and activities. Many avenues of approach are available (and in and of themselves legitimate): historical, sociological, and anthropological, to name a few. In addition to these approaches, however, we must consider the spatial dimension. Vitally important are not only time and relationships, but space as well. If the people who left the cultural remains being studied were real people and their culture really existed, then where they lived and where their activity occurred must also be an object of our study. To do otherwise too easily can result in a gnostic view of the historical process.

The study of the land and environment of the ancient Near East is important for a number of reasons. This investigation can help us appreciate the strategy of Egypt's control of the <u>via maris</u> in the Late Bronze Age or the tactics of the battle in the Wadi Yarmuk between the Muslims and

Byzantines in the seventh century. On the other hand, knowledge of the "lay of the land" can help us understand such realia as Strabo's comment on the "foul smelling" waters of Gadara or the evangelist's remark that Jesus "went up" to Jerusalem. To be familiar with the environment of Palestine and Jordan is to be aware of its effect on influencing people and shaping events both in the great as well as in the everyday matters of human life and history.

To understand the "lay of the land," however, one must know something of its topography, geology, climate, and other environmental factors.[1] The aim of this chapter, then, is to investigate the environmental elements of northwestern Jordan in general and Gadara/Umm Qais in particular. To have an impression of the hills, soils, rivers, rains, and roads of this area should lead to a better understanding of the place of Gadara/Umm Qais in its social and historical environment.

Location

The modern village of Umm Qais lies in the northwest corner of the province (muhafazah) of Irbid in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (fig. 1). Umm Qais is located approximately 10 km southeast of Lake Tiberias and 25 km northwest of the

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[1]For general geographical information see, e.g., F.-M. Abel, Geographie de la Palestine, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1938; repr. ed., 1967); or Yohanan Aharoni, The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography, 2nd ed., transl. A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979). Still useful and not completely out of date is George Adam Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 23rd ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 192-).

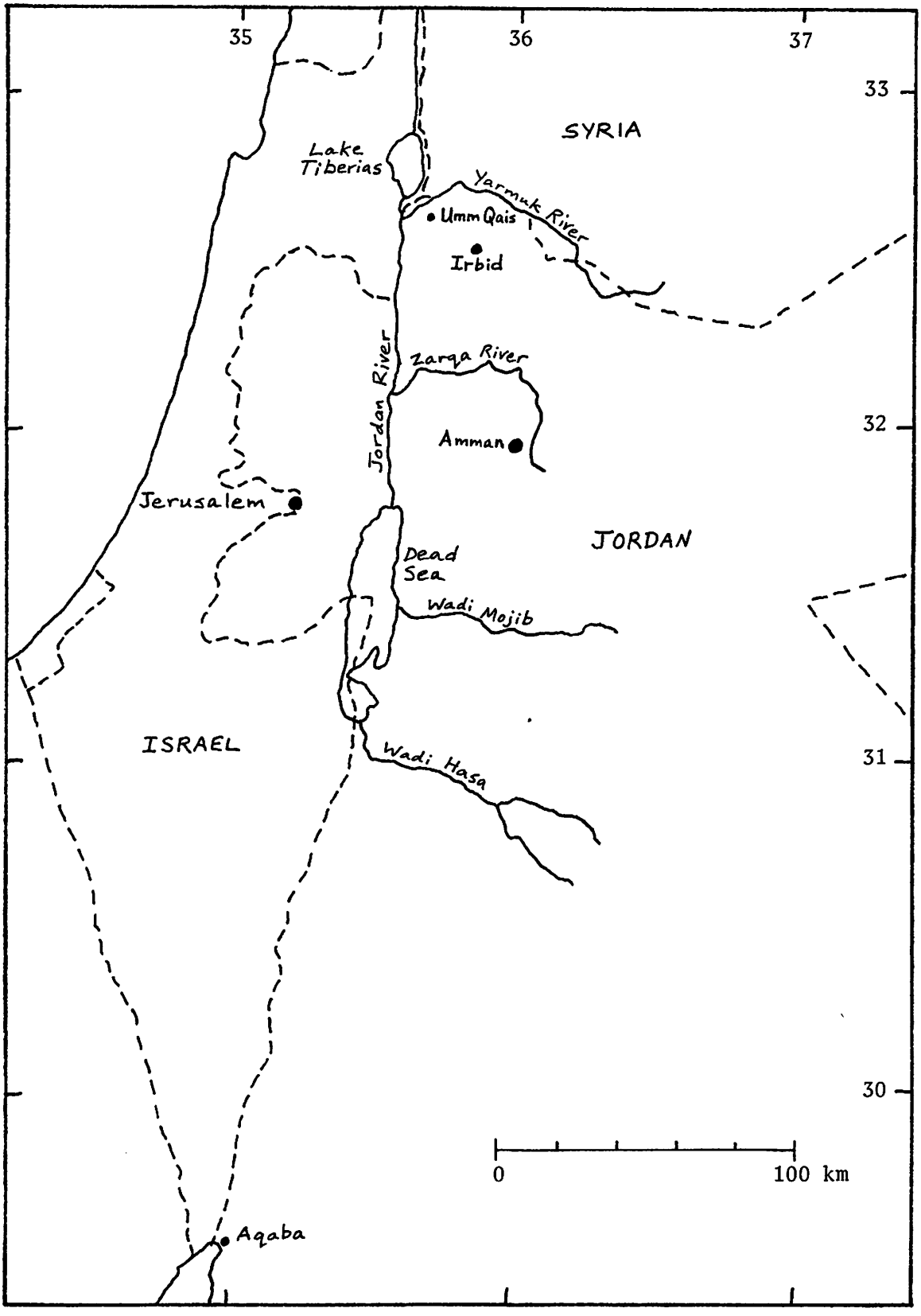
35
36
37
33
32
31
30
SYRIA
Lake Tiberias
Yarmuk River
Umm Qais
Irbid
Zarqa River
Jordan River
Amman
Jerusalem
JORDAN
Dead Sea
Wadi Mojib
ISRAEL
Wadi Hasa
0
100 km
Aqaba

Fig. 1

city of Irbid. About 4000 persons live in the present-day village, which is the center of the municipality (baladiyah) of Umm Qais. This municipality belongs to the district (nahiyah) of as-Suru, which extends from the west at the escarpment overlooking the Jordan Valley to the east near Wadi ash-Shallalah (fig. 2).

Umm Qais is situated along the modern road which comes from Irbid and then, at the western end of the village, branches off, leading either across the Ard al-'Ala Plateau down to the Jordan Valley or down the Wadi Baraighit to the Yarmuk Valley (fig. 3). The area of the present-day village is about 1.9 km (east-southeast to west-northwest) by 0.6 km (north-northeast to south-southwest). This area comprises two roughly equal parts. The western part, which occupies both sides of the modern road, is the older of the two and includes both the Ottoman village on the tell and its extension to the east. The eastern part of the village, which is largely restricted to the area south of the Irbid road, is a recent housing complex which was begun after the Department of Antiquities began to acquire the western end of the village for archaeological research.[2]

Lying to the west of the village of Umm Qais and including its most western sector (viz., the Ottoman settlement on the tell and some of the houses below it to the east) is the area which has been under archaeological inves-

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[2]Seteney Shami, "Settlement and Resettlement in Umm Qeis: Spatial Organization and Social Dynamics in a Village in North Jordan" (Irbid: Yarmuk University, 1988), p. 3.

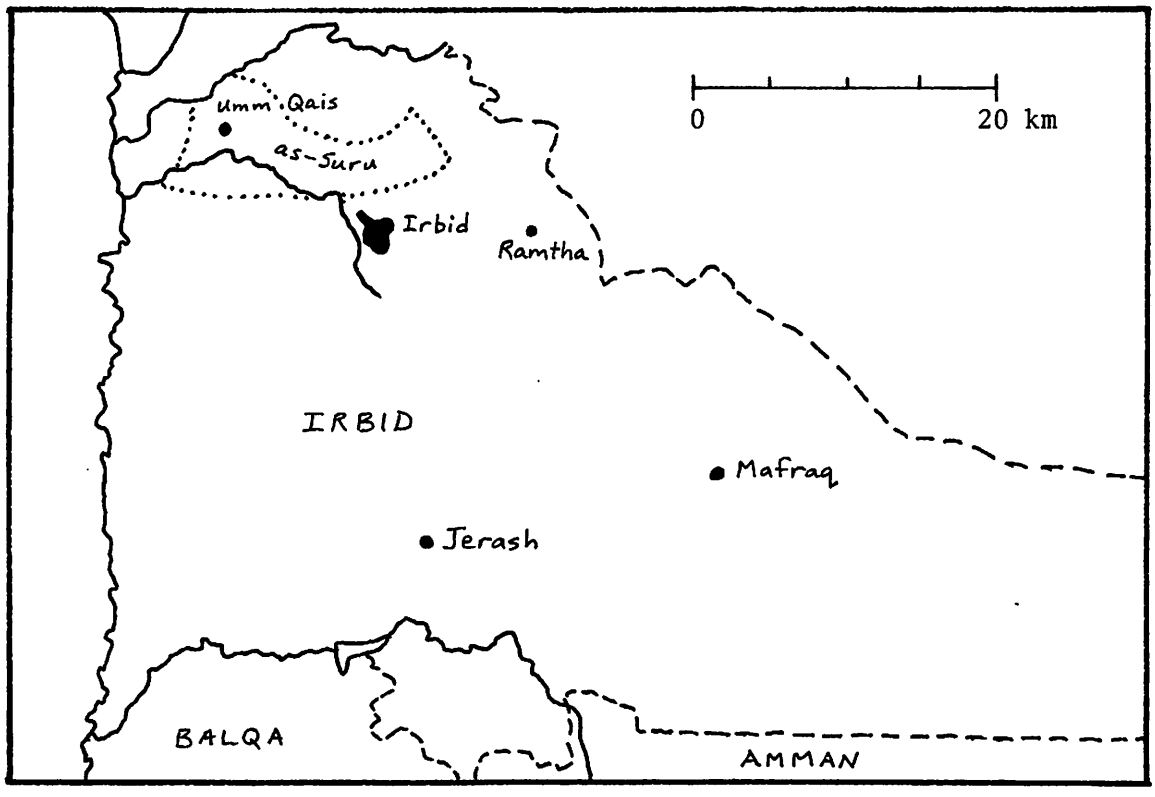
umm Qais
as-Suru
Irbid
Ramtha
0
20 km
IRBID
Mafraq
Jerash
BALQA
AMMAN

Fig. 2

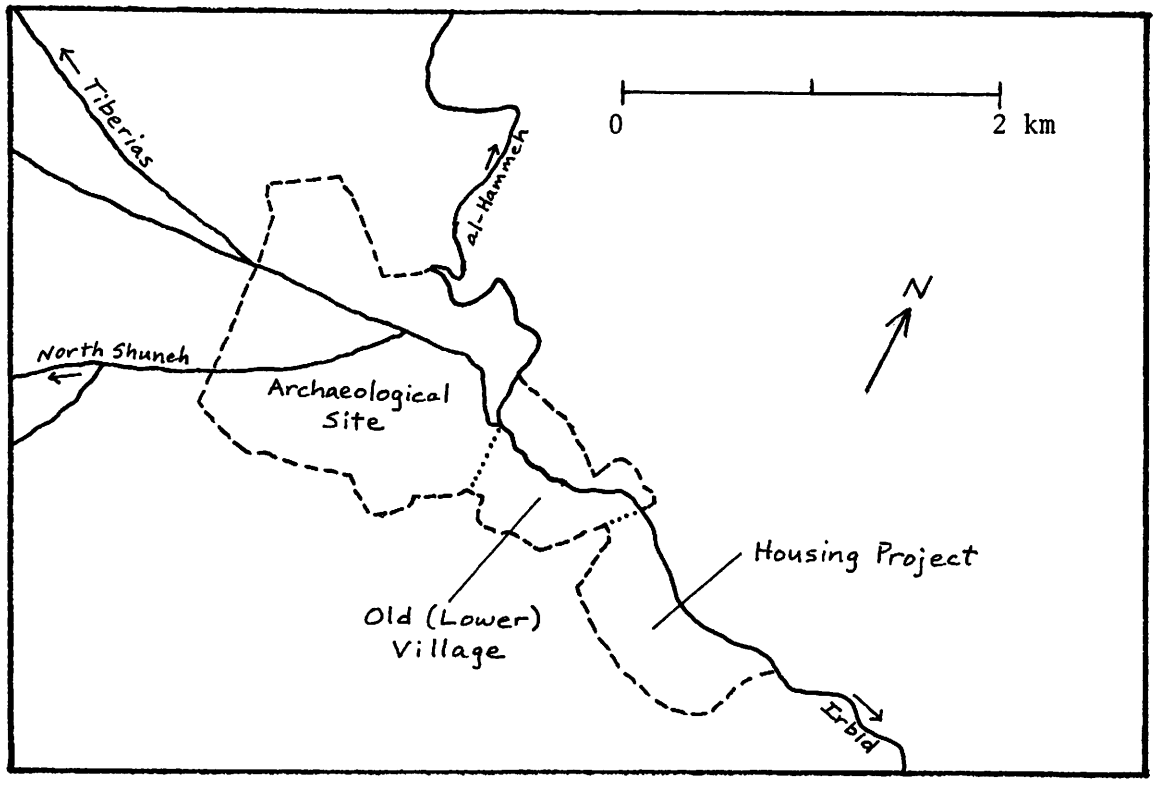
Tiberias
al-Hammeh
0
2 km
N
North Shuneh
Archaeological Site
Housing Project
Old (Lower) Village
Irbid

Fig. 3

tigation since 1974. This is the location of the ancient city of Gadara (fig. 4). The archaeological site itself covers an area approximately 1.2 km (east to west) by 1.0 km (north to south). Most of the ruins, however, occupy a 300-400 m wide strip extending from east to west in the middle of the site. It is this smaller area where most of the archaeological research has been conducted.

Topography

The northern tip of Jordan belongs topographically to a large, fertile plateau which extends from the foothills of the 'Ajlun highlands to within about 40 km south of Damascus (fig. 5). To the northwest of this plateau lies the Antilebanon range and to the southeast Jabal ad-Druse. For the most part, the elevation varies between 400 m and 600 m above sea level. However, heights of about 800 m are reached at the northern edge of the plain, while along the Wadi Yarmuk and the Galilee-Jordan lowlands to the west the elevation dips down to about 300 m.

Denis Baly calls this whole area the "Plateau of Bashan" and divides it into three subregions: Gaulanitis (the Jaulan hills which overlook the upper Jordan Valley and Lake Tiberias), Batanaea (between Gaulanitis and Jabal ad-Druse), and the Gadarene Plateau (the area south of the Yarmuk River).[3] The major difference between these regions is that the northern two zones are basaltic lava fields,

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[3]Denis Baly, The Geography of the Bible, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 213.

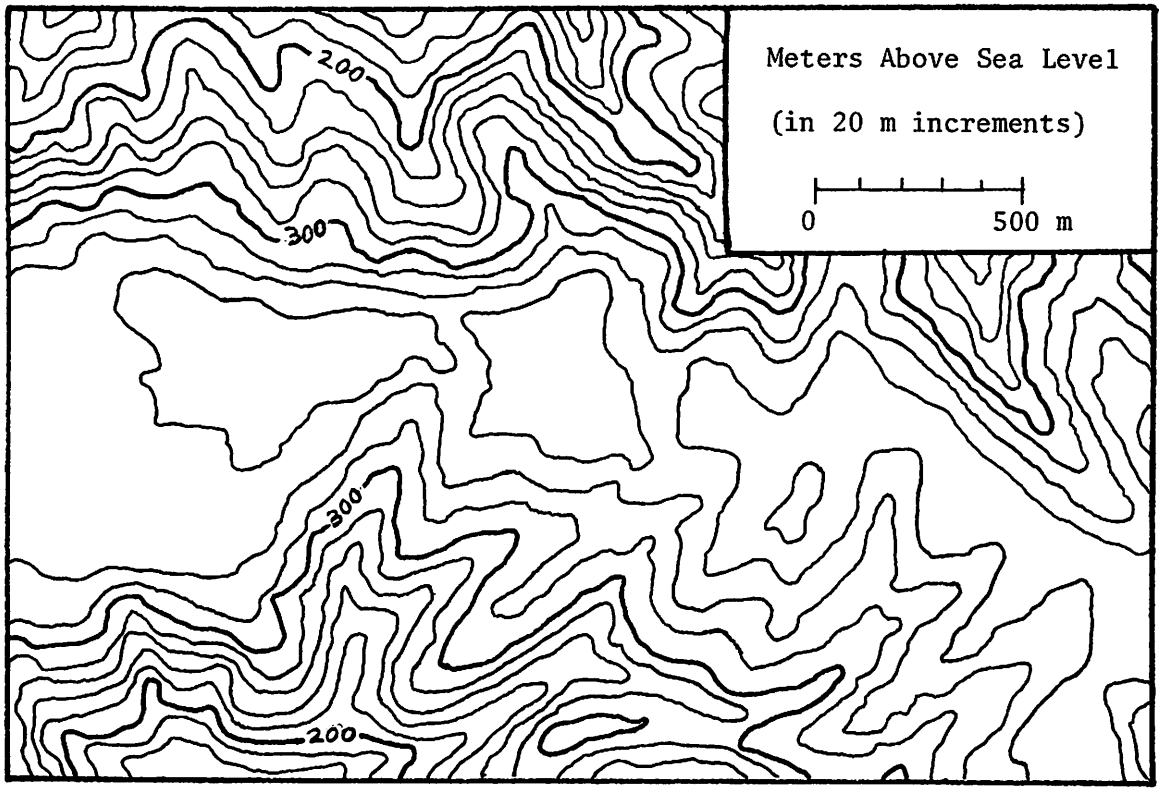
Meters Above Sea Level
(in 20 m increments)
0
500 m
200
300
300
200

Fig. 4

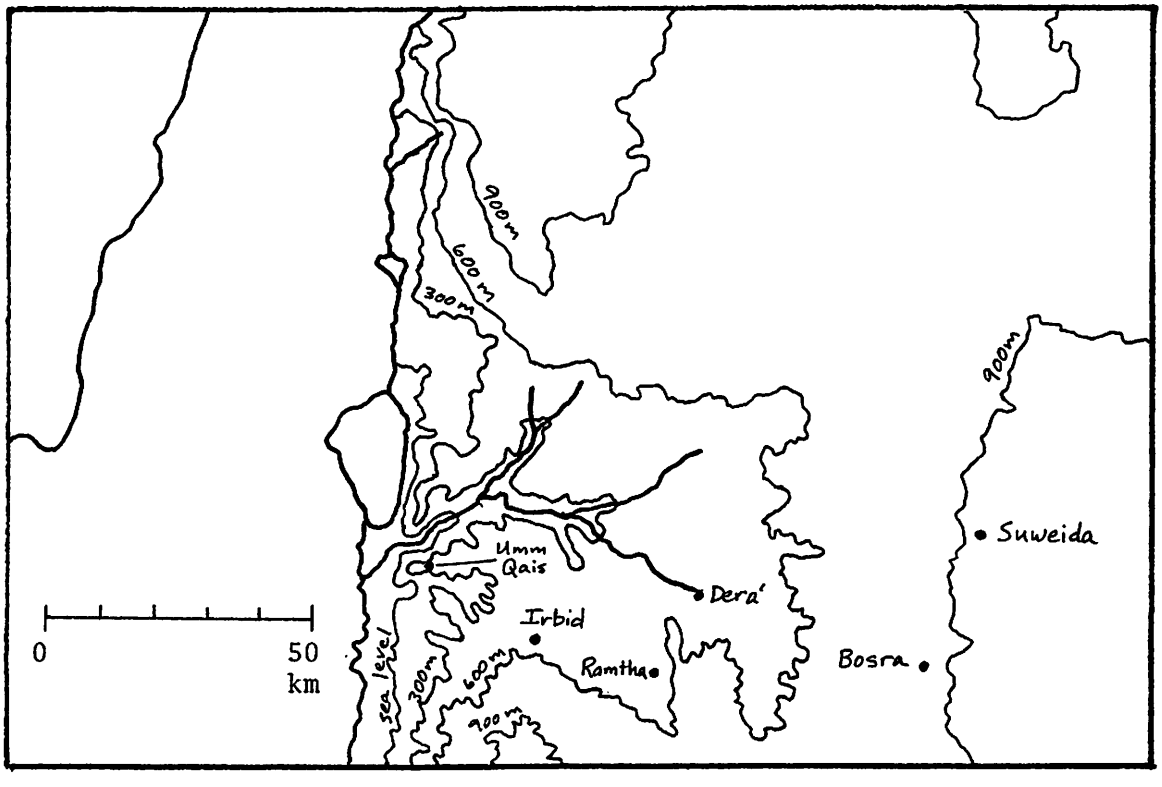
900m
600m
300m
Umm Qais
Irbid
Ramtha
Dera'
Suweida
Bosra
900m
0
50
km
sea level
300m
600m
900m

Fig. 5

while the Gadarene Plateau is composed of limestone (although it has a number of basalt outcrops). The whole area is devoted primarily to agriculture (dryland farming), but because of the geological composition the regions north of the Yarmuk are more fertile. Even the Wadi Yarmuk, however, does not effectively separate these subregions of the Plateau of Bashan. Notwithstanding the precipitous slopes at the Yarmuk's western end, the river valley can be traversed fairly easily.

The site of ancient Gadara lies near the end of a western prolongation of the Gadarene Plateau (fig. 6). This western extension of the plateau is bounded on the north by the Wadi Yarmuk and on the south by the Wadi al-'Arab. As one moves west this extension of the Gadarene Plateau becomes narrower and is frequently punctuated by smaller wadis which head either to the northwest toward the Yarmuk River or to the southwest toward the Wadi al-'Arab.[4] At the location of ancient Gadara there is a "saddle" where the plateau varies between 300 m and 500 m in width. To the west of Gadara, however, for about 2.5 to 3.0 km, the land broadens once more to approximately 2.5 km (north to south). This area is called the Ard al-'Ala Plateau.

To the north of Gadara flows the Yarmuk River, the largest of the Jordanian tributaries of the Jordan. The Yarmuk begins east of Dera'a in the Hawran (where it is

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[4]See Carl Steuernagel, Der 'Adschlun (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927), Chapter II.G.2, for a more detailed description.

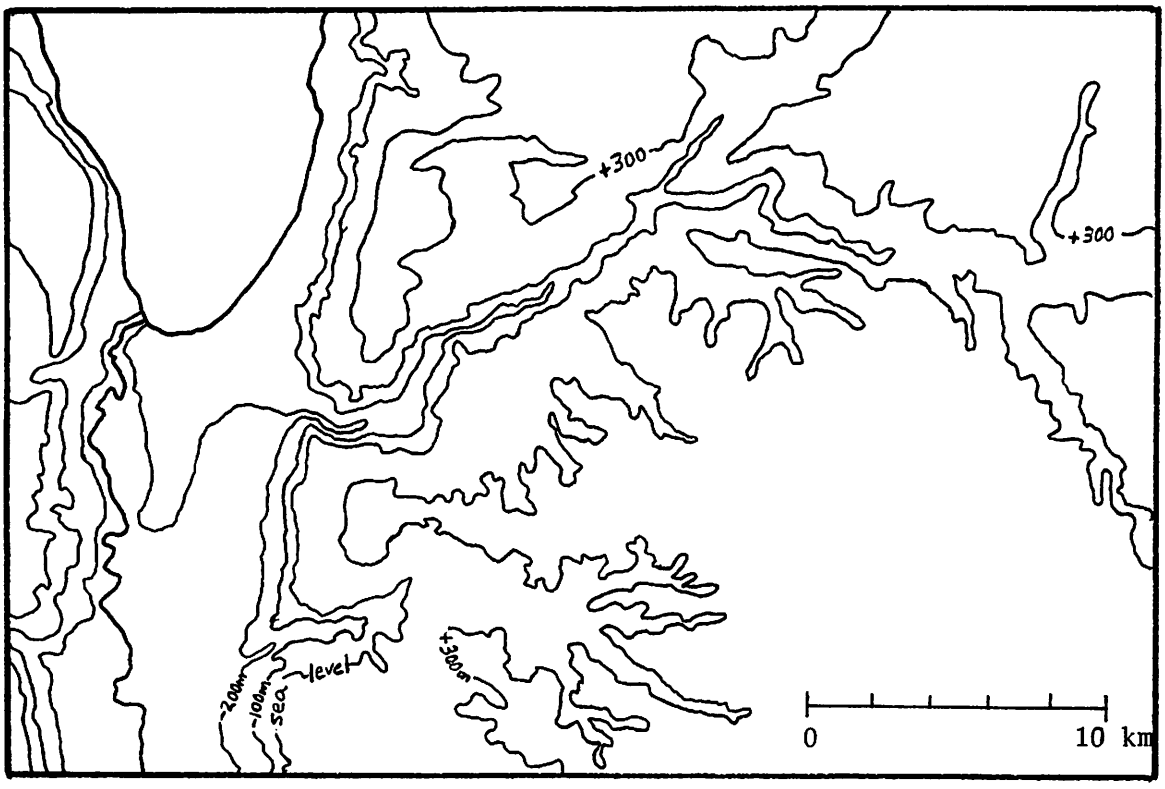

Fig. 6

Common Terminology for Geological Periods

Age	Period	Epoch	
			Holocene
Cenozoic	Quatenary	Pleistocene	(glacial)
	Tertiary	Neocene	Pliocene
			Miocene
		Oligocene	
		Eocene	
Mesozoic	Cretaceous	Senonian	
		Turonian	
		Cenomanian	
	Jurassic		
	Triassic		

Fig. 7

still a wadi), and as it moves slightly northwest (to about 2.5 km north of 'Aqraba in northern Jordan) and then southwest, it is reinforced by the spring-fed wadis of northern Jordan and southern Syria. For much of its course this vigorous river is quite narrow, until it emerges from a canyon near Khirbet ad-Duweir about 5.5 km west-northwest of Gadara. From there it widens somewhat before flowing into the Jordan River about 7 km south of Lake Tiberias. To the north of Gadara the descent to the Yarmuk via the Wadi al-Baraighit to al-Hammeh (about 3 km north-northwest of Umm Qais) is quite steep. With the Yarmuk at about 200 m below sea level near al-Hammeh, the terrain drops approximately 19 m for every 100 m of horizontal distance.

To the south of Gadara is the valley of the Wadi al-'Arab, a wadi system which originates in the east near Irbid. Like the Yarmuk, it moves in a northwesterly direction, but just south of Gadara it makes an almost ninety degree turn to the southwest. For most of its course the Wadi al-'Arab is a true wadi (i.e., seasonal), until it nears Gadara where it is fed by a number of springs via the tributary wadis in the vicinity. It eventually enters the Jordan River (10 km downstream from Gadara) about 13 km south of Lake Tiberias. The descent from Gadara to the Wadi al-'Arab is almost as steep as that to the Yarmuk River. Via the Wadi al-Fakhat one reaches sea level at the Wadi al-'Arab about 2 km south-southwest of Gadara, representing a drop of 18 m for every 100 m of horizontal distance.

As mentioned above, the site of ancient Gadara sits on the narrow ridge which connects the extension of the Gadarene Plateau to the Ard al-'Ala Plateau. Most of the assumed area of the ancient city varies in elevation from about 340 m to 360 m above sea level. The highest point reached, on the heights of the acropolis or "upper city," is about 370 m above sea level.[5] The upper city (the eastern sector of ancient Gadara) spreads across the ridge (north to south) to a maximum of about 500 m. About 0.5 km to the west of the acropolis, the ridge narrows to about 200-300 m (north to south) where Wadi al-Fakhat and Khallat ad-Dora approach it from the south and north respectively. Then the land begins to broaden to about 400-500 m (north to south) as the city approaches its east-west width of about 1.0 km. Beyond this to the west it is difficult to circumscribe the extent of the ancient urban area as it begins to take in the eastern end of the Ard al-'Ala Plateau.[6]

The Ard al-'Ala Plateau to the west of ancient Gadara is a small, fertile plain which caused explorers such as Gottlieb Schumacher to comment on the agricultural richness of the region.[7] Roughly triangular in shape (with its vertex pointing east toward Gadara), it measures about 2.5 km (east

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[5]For a further description of the assumed area of ancient Gadara and its three subregions, see Chapter 4, p. 127 and n.4 below.

[6]See Chapter 4, p. 160 below.

[7]Gottlieb Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, "Within the Decapolis" (London: Alexander P. Watt for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), p. 47.

to west) by about 3.0 km (north to south), roughly 375 to 400 hectares. Unlike the descents to the north and south of Gadara, the gradient westward across the Ard al-'Ala Plateau is much easier. The decline is only half as steep, dropping merely 9m per 100m to reach the same elevation as the Yarmuk at al-Hammeh (ca. 200 m below sea level). Below the plateau to the west lies the Ghor, the lowland plain of the Jordan Valley.

Geology

The geologic formations of northern Jordan are composed primarily of late Jurassic and Cretaceous deposits (fig. 7).[8] The earliest of these is the Kurnub sandstone, which was laid down sometime between the retreat of the seas in the Jurassic period and their advance again in the Cenomanian epoch of the following Cretaceous period.[9] The exposures of these terrestrial deposits are not common, for they occur in

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[8]For the more technical aspects of geology, climate, etc., see Baly; David J. Burdon, Handbook of the Geology of Jordan (Amman: Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1959); or L. Picard, Structure and Evolution of Palestine, Bulletin of the Geological Department no. 4 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1943).

It should be noted that the terminology employed in this section for the different ages, periods, and epochs of the geological record is that commonly used by geologists. This terminology is helpful in describing the formation and relationships of the various geological phenomena, although its connotation is simply relative. The absolute dating of these phases is not subscribed to, nor can it be, since the dating of these phases varies considerably from one "expert" to another. The reason for the discrepancies is that the time allotted for each of the geological phases is not empirically by speculatively grounded.

[9]Burdon, p. 35.

northern Jordan only in and near the Wadi Zarka.

During the Cretaceous period the seas advanced from the west toward the southeast until they gradually covered all of Jordan as far as Ma'an before they began to retreat. The marine deposits of this period are divided into two series. The earlier is the 'Ajlun, and the later the Belqa' (fig. 8). The 'Ajlun series (often subdivided into Cenomanian and Turonian deposits) consists of hard limestone beds separated by marl or clay layers of different thicknesses.[10] At places this series may be 500 m or 600 m thick (particularly in northern Jordan; toward the south it tends to disappear). The uppermost (exposed) level of the 'Ajlun dome belongs to this series.

The Belqa' series is represented in northwest Jordan primarily by the Senonian deposits (fig. 9). In lithology these deposits are similar to those of the preceding series, except that the limestone is much softer. As a rule, this limestone ranges from whitish to grayish; at times, however, some beds are pinkish (in the Irbid region, for example).[11] The formations of the Bashan Plateau south of the Yarmuk are composed primarily of the Senonian limestone. But it was not useful for building. Nor was it fertile in comparison with the basalt fields north of the Yarmuk, although its softness made it preferable for cultivation. On the other

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[10]Ibid., p. 37. Baly notes (his map following p. 26) that in the Transjordan no differentiation between the two deposits is made.

[11]Burdon, p. 42.

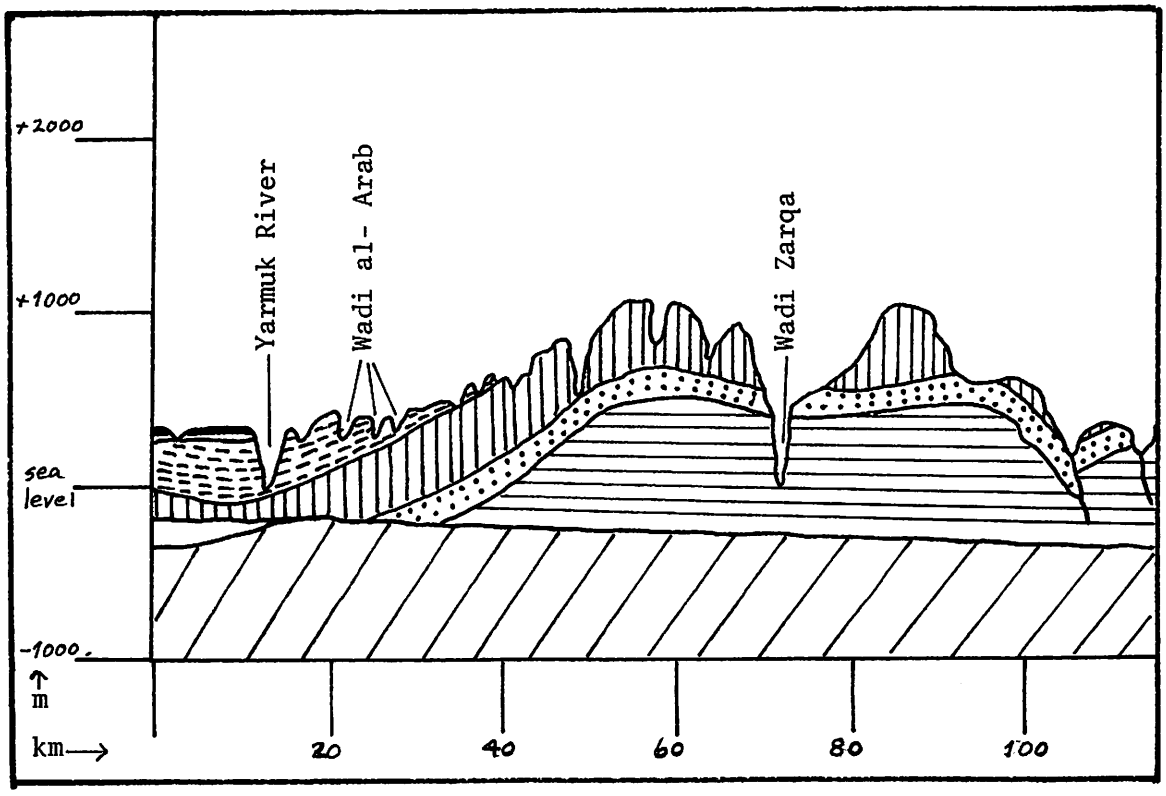
+2000
+1000
sea level
-1000
m
km
20
40
60
80
100
Yarmuk River
Wadi al- Arab
Wadi Zarqa

Fig. 8

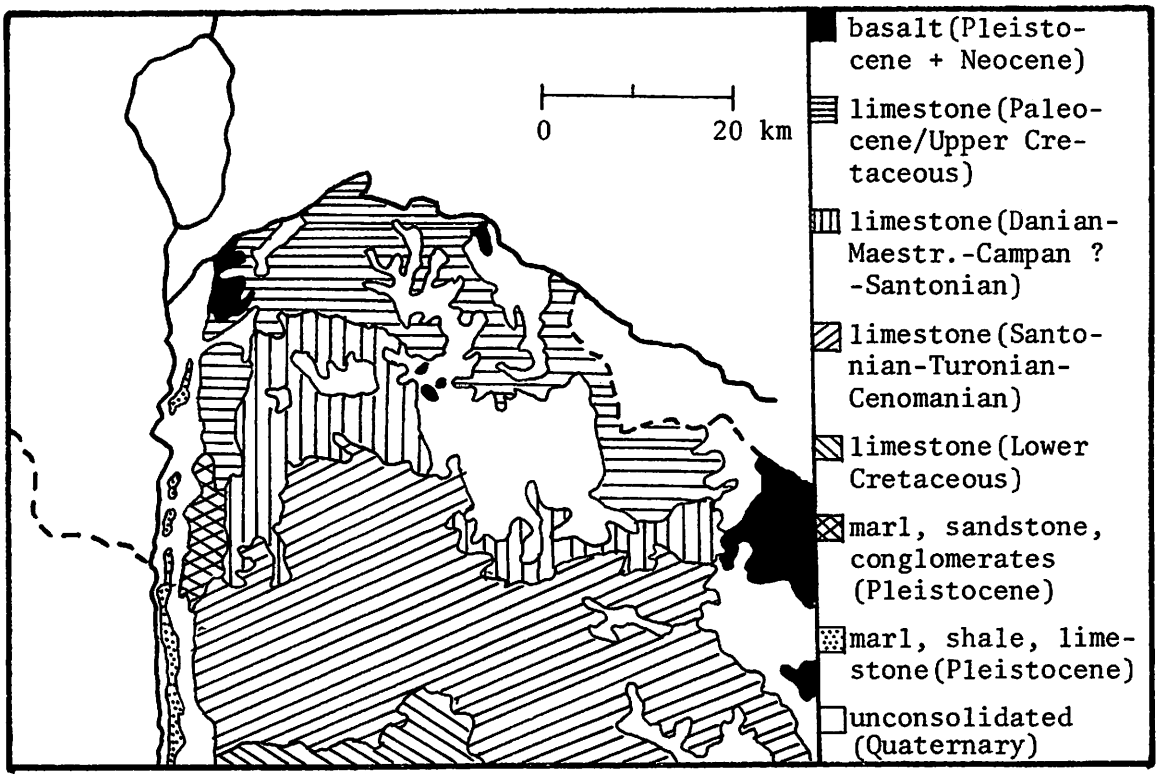
0
20 km
basalt (Pleistocene + Neocene)
limestone (Paleocene/Upper Cretaceous)
limestone (Danian-Maestr.-Campan ? -Santonian)
limestone (Santonian-Turonian-Cenomanian)
limestone (Lower Cretaceous)
marl, sandstone, conglomerates (Pleistocene)
marl, shale, limestone (Pleistocene)
unconsolidated (Quaternary)

Fig. 9

hand, even though the Senonian limestone was easily worn away, its rapid drying quality rendered it practical for road- and walkways.[12]

During the Eocene and Oligocene epochs the seas made their final withdrawal, perhaps hastened by the initial faulting and folding in Palestine and Jordan. At first an island emerged extending from the Judaean through the 'Ajlun highlands, but by the end of the Eocene the surrounding areas had become pretty much dry as well.[13] Hereafter, the geological process is characterized more by the faulting and folding which produced the various physiographical features and the lacustrine deposits in the Rift Valley.[14] After the end of the Eocene there were apparently no additional marine deposits in the northern Transjordan. If there were, they have been washed away by erosion.

In the Neocene epoch (viz., between the Miocene and Pliocene) the mountain-building processes began. During one of the great faulting episodes the Rift Valley was produced.[15] This process, which continued into the Quaternary, contributed to the initial eruptions of the volcanic activity in the late Neocene (viz., mid-Pliocene). These eruptions covered

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[12]Baly, p. 22.

[13]Ibid., p. 19.

[14]Burdon, p. 43.

[15]There is a dispute as to exactly how this occurred, whether it was caused by a rift (tension), ramp (compression), or shear. See Baly, p. 23. For a more detailed explanation of the theories and evidence for or against them, see Burdon, pp. 57-65.

the northern part of Jordan as well as areas to the north and south of Lake Tiberias (see fig. 9). Near the end of the Pliocene faulting occurred in the Rift Valley again, which lowered it even more and forced the tributaries on either side to lower base levels.[16]

During the Pleistocene epoch, in which the volcanic activity was more violent, the lava flows produced a "dam" between Lake Huleh and Lake Tiberias. South of this dam and including the Dead Sea basin, a large lake--the Lisan Sea--was formed. The creation of this lake resulted in raising the base levels of the tributaries to the Jordan as well as the deposition of large amounts of gravel along the shores of this lake.[17] Shortly before the beginning of the Neolithic period this lake subsided and its waters, for the most part, retreated to the present Lake Tiberias and Dead Sea bodies.

The mountain-building processes of the Oligocene and Neocene epochs are responsible for most of the present structure of the land. The main structural lines in the Levant run north-northeast to south-southwest, evidenced, for example, by the folds of the Lebanon and Antilebanon ranges (fig. 10). The major fold of this pattern in northern Jordan is the 'Ajlun dome, which has its counterpart in the anticline of the Judaean hills (fig. 11). Imposed on this northeast-southwest trend are the north to south running faults. The major fault in northern Jordan is one which begins on the

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[16]Baly, p. 24.

[17]Ibid., p. 27.

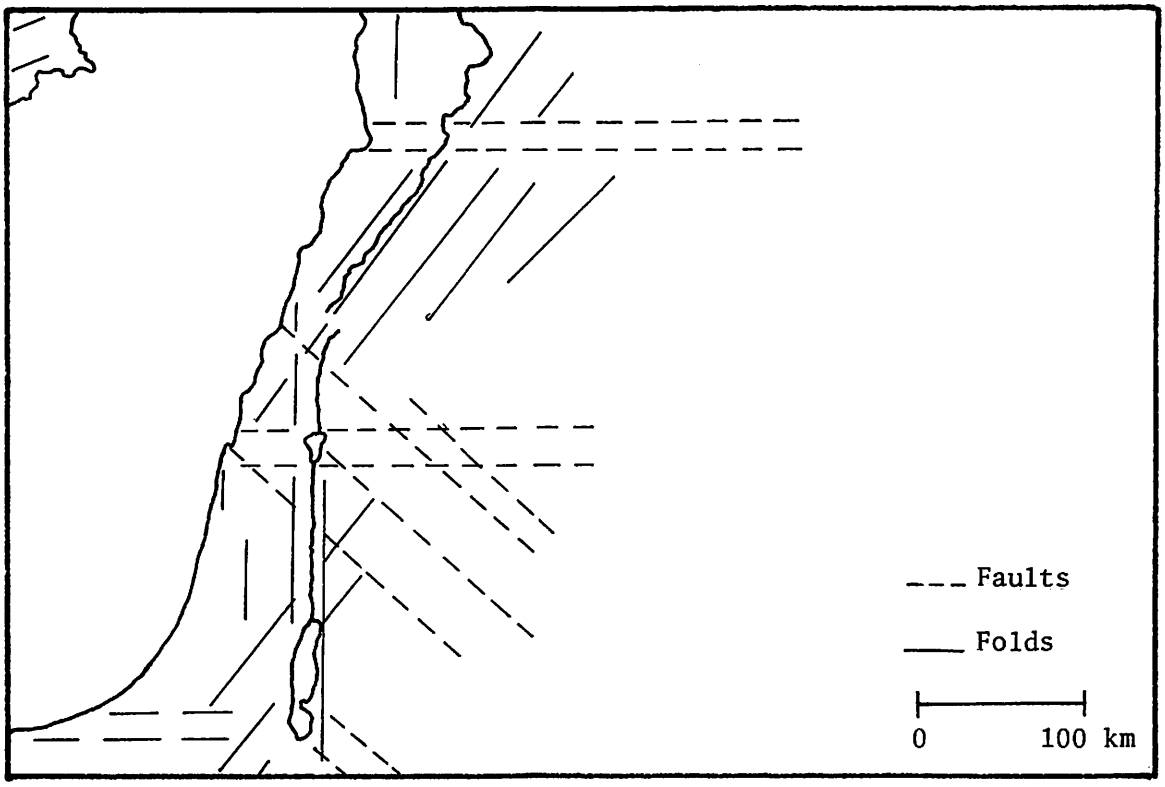

Fig. 10

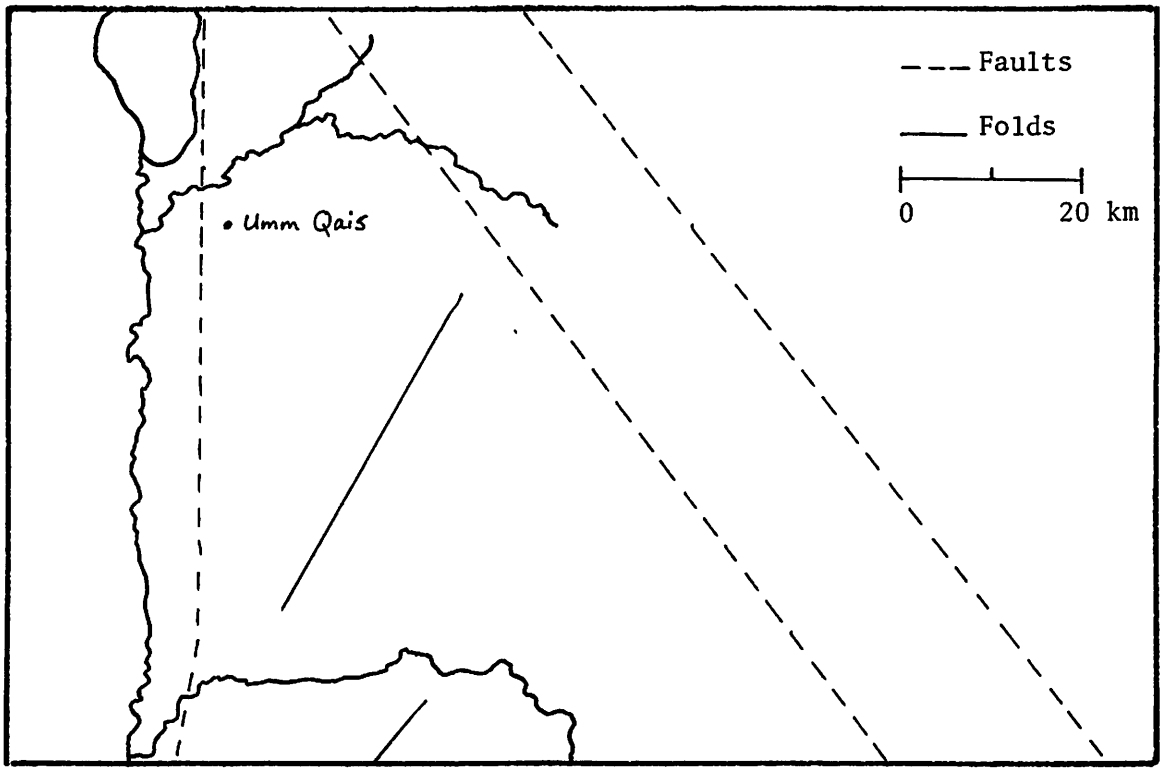

Fig. 11

east side of Lake Tiberias and runs down the Jordan Valley (passing less than 5 km to the west of Gadara) to the western side of the Dead Sea (see fig. 11).

Adding to the complexity of the region are an east-west trend and a northwest-southeast trend (see fig. 10). Both of these patterns are "graben" or depressions caused by double tension faults. The east-west graben runs from Haifa across Lake Tiberias and through Suweida.[18] Part of the course of the Yarmuk River follows this line. The northwest-southeast graben comes from Sidon across the upper Jordan Valley (Lake Huleh and to its north), through Dera'a, and probably on to Azraq.[19] The eastern course of the Yarmuk runs in this depression.

Several theories have been advanced for the creation of the Jordan Rift Valley. For a long time two major theories have been the "rift" and "ramp" theories (fig. 12). According to the rift theory, the valley fell down as the Palestinian and Jordanian sides of the Jordan River moved apart. The ramp theory, on the other hand, proposes that the valley was forced down as the two sides pushed together.[20] A third idea, the "shear" theory, put forward by Quennell in the 1950s, is that there was a 107 km displacement between Palestine and Jordan and that the intervening gap was filled in

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[18]Ibid., p. 8.

[19]Burdon, p. 53.

[20]See Baly, p. 23.

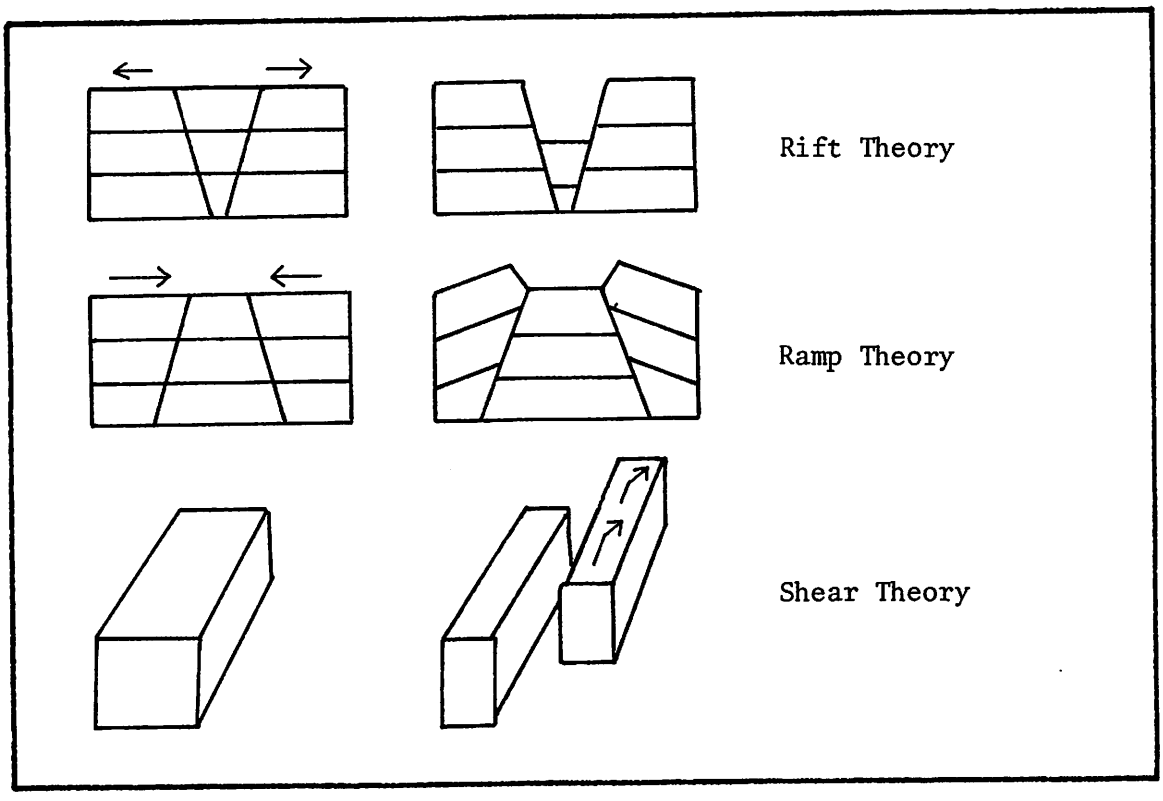
Rift Theory
Ramp Theory
Shear Theory

Fig. 12

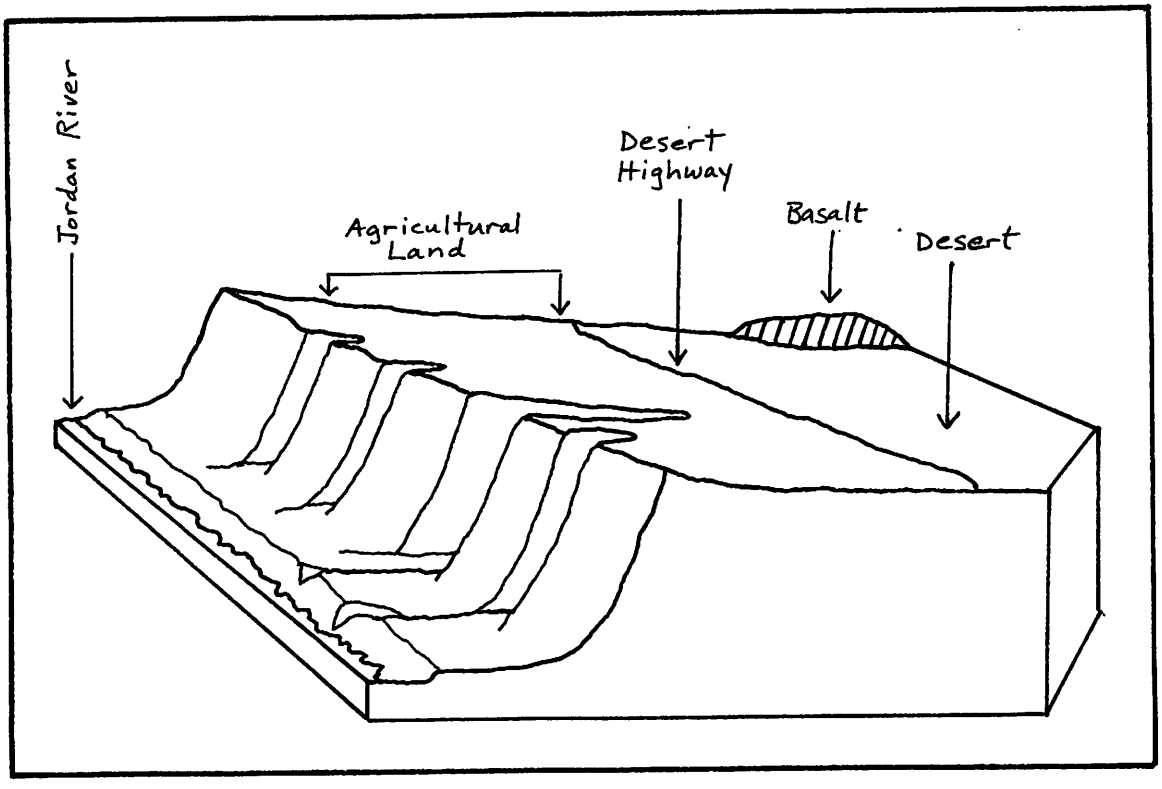
Jordan River
Agricultural Land
Desert Highway
Basalt
Desert

Fig. 13

by erosion.[21] In any case, as a result of the formation of the Rift Valley, the area east of the rift is tilted toward the east (fig. 13).[22] Due to further warping southern Jordan was raised to an elevation higher than the northern part of the country. Ras Naqb in the south (south of Ma'an) is over 1500 m above sea level, while Gadara in the north is only about 360 m above sea level.

The soil of the Plateau of Bashan south of the Yarmuk River developed mostly from the soft limestone of the Senonian-Eocene type, less fertile than the basalt plain soils to the north of the Yarmuk but more easily cultivated.[23] Around Gadara (and predominant in northwest Jordan) this soil is classified as a Red Mediterranean type (fig. 14), one of the most valuable kinds for agriculture.[24] As one moves west on the extension of the Gadarene Plateau toward Gadara, the soil covering this ridge becomes shallower, and in many places bare rock is exposed. On the Ard al-'Ala Plateau, however, this soil is abundant once again, occasionally reaching a depth of about 2 m.

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[21]For a more detailed explanation see Burdon, pp. 57-59. The evidence for and against this theory is presented on pp. 60-65. Baly (p. 23) notes that Quennell's theory has not been widely accepted.

[22]Burdon, p. 55.

[23]Baly, p. 214.

[24]For a description of this soil type and comparison with other soils of Jordan, see Burdon, pp. 20-21.

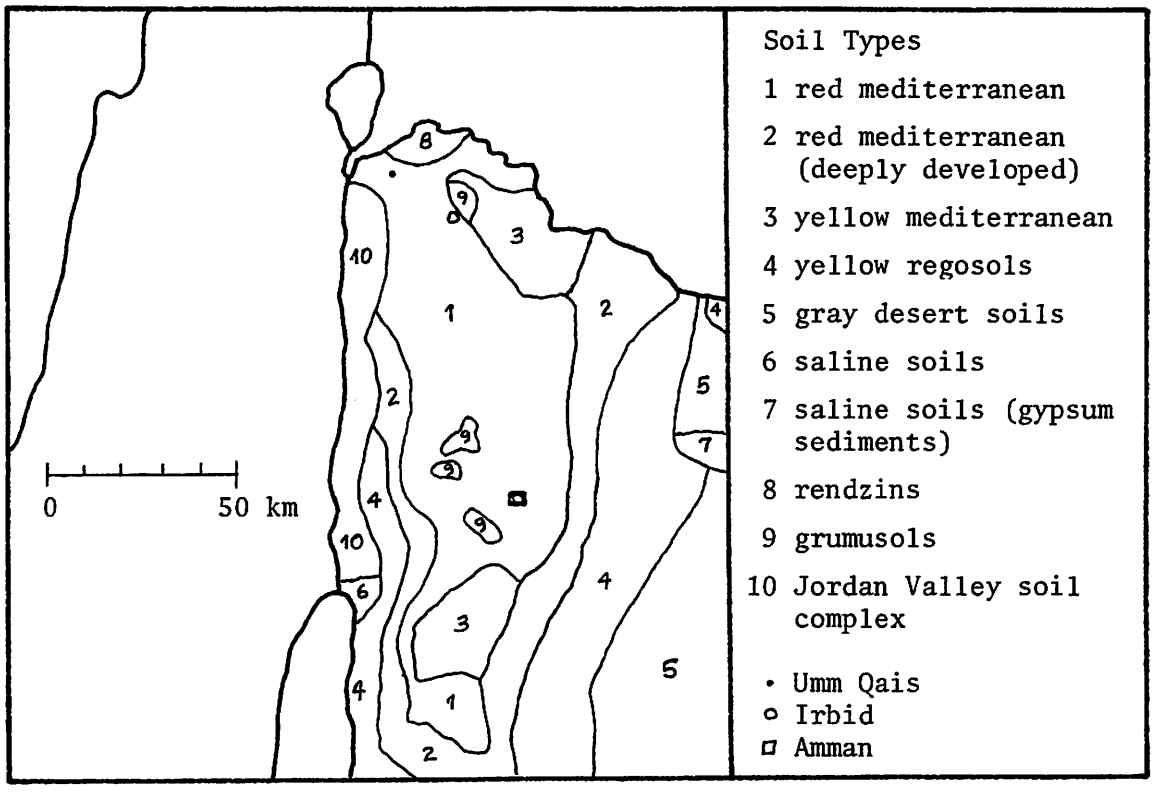
Soil Types
1 red mediterranean
2 red mediterranean (deeply developed)
3 yellow mediterranean
4 yellow regosols
5 gray desert soils
6 saline soils
7 saline soils (gypsum sediments)
8 rendzins
9 grumusols
10 Jordan Valley soil complex
• Umm Qais
o Irbid
□ Amman
0
50 km

Fig. 14

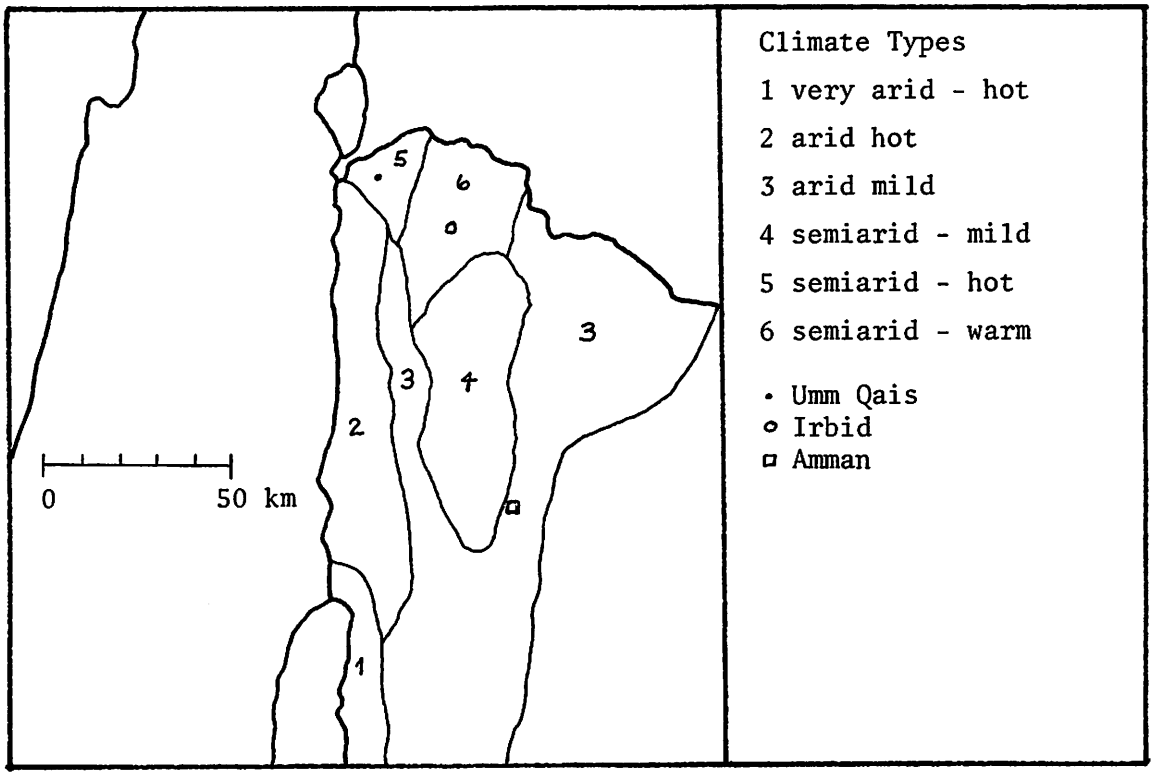
Climate Types
1 very arid - hot
2 arid hot
3 arid mild
4 semiarid - mild
5 semiarid - hot
6 semiarid - warm
• Umm Qais
o Irbid
□ Amman
0
50 km

Fig. 15

Climate

The area of northwest Jordan (excluding the lower Yarmuk and Jordan Valleys) belongs to a subtropical-dry climactic region. This type of climate is characterized by warm to hot summers and mild winters, with light to moderate precipitation during the winter months. This climactic classification can be further divided into several subgroups. The area around Gadara belongs to a region more specifically designated "semi-arid hot" (fig. 15). This means that the region receives 300-500 mm of annual rainfall and has "hot" (relatively speaking) winters.[25] The summers are also hot and last generally from about the beginning of June to mid- or late September.

The rain which falls on the Gadara area comes during the winter season (mid- to late September through May; in other words, the non-"summer" months). The annual rainfall is about 400-500 mm (fig. 16). During a "wet year" it can be as much as 500-600 mm, while during a "dry year" the amount of rain is as little as 250 mm.[26] This precipitation comes from the weather systems which develop over the Mediterranean and move eastward, so the amount of rainfall is dependent on

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[25]Royal Jordanian Geographic Center, National Atlas of Jordan [hereafter, NAJ] (Amman, 1984-86), 2:xii.

[26]See NAJ 2:13 and 16. These averages are based on rainfall records for the period 1942-1976. In addition, it should be noted that since the beginning of this century there has been the tendency toward a drier climate. Cf. below. See also NAJ 1:114. During the "wet year" 1966-67 the area around Gadara received about 600 mm of rain. In the "dry year" of 1959-60, on the other hand, the rainfall was between 200 mm and 300 mm for the year.

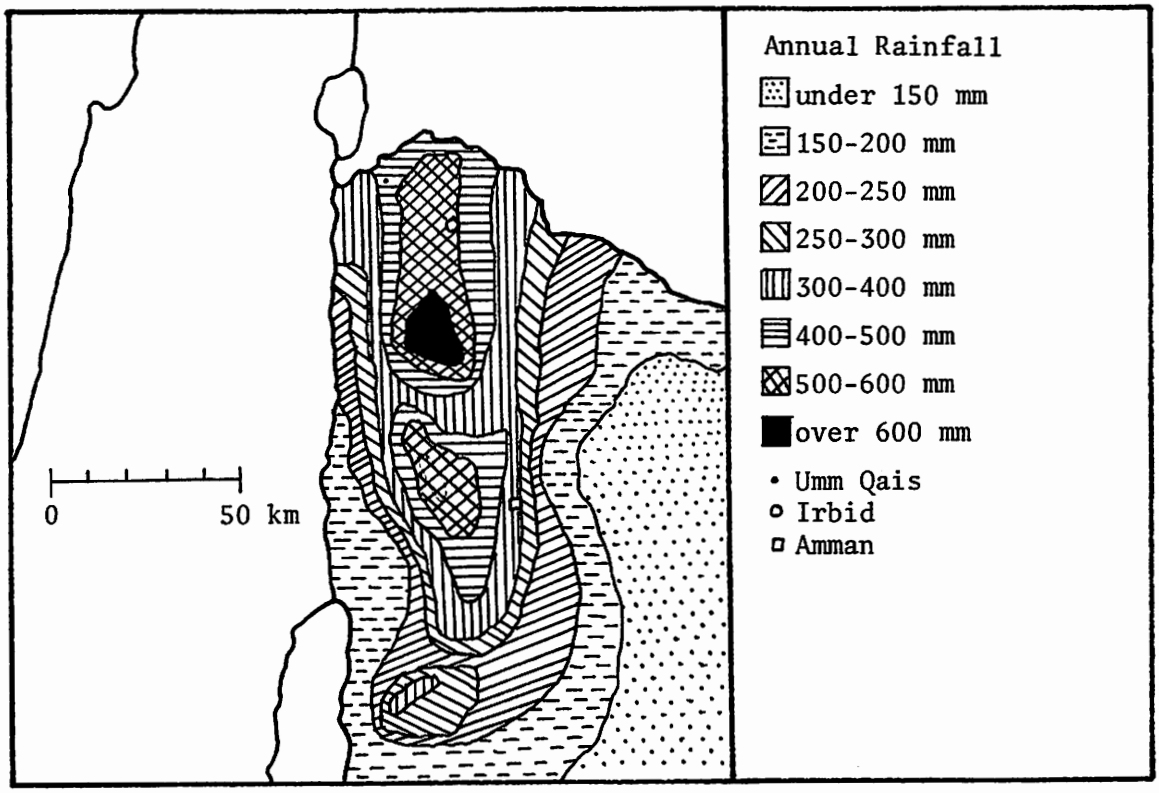
Annual Rainfall
under 150 mm
150-200 mm
200-250 mm
250-300 mm
300-400 mm
400-500 mm
500-600 mm
over 600 mm
• Umm Qais
o Irbid
▫ Amman
0
50 km

Fig. 16

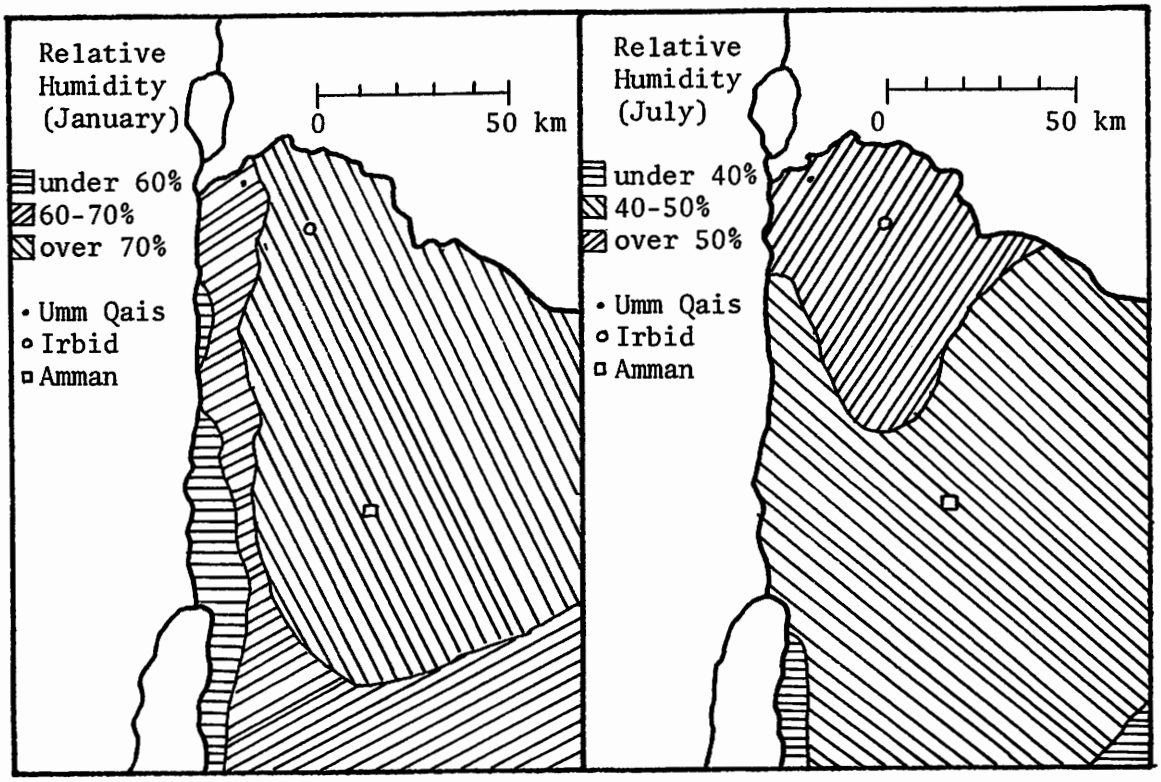
Relative Humidity (January)
under 60%
60-70%
over 70%
• Umm Qais
o Irbid
▫ Amman
0
50 km
Relative Humidity (July)
under 40%
40-50%
over 50%
• Umm Qais
o Irbid
▫ Amman
0
50 km

Fig. 17

how many and how intense these systems are.

Not only the quantity of rainfall but also its distribution is important. Usually at the end of October the early (or "former") rains come. The first showers may occur already near the end of September; sometimes, however, these "former" rains do not fall until November or December. In April, generally, the late (or "latter") rains fall. Again these showers are variable, sometimes occurring at the end of March or during May. About seventy-five percent of the rainfall comes between the "former" and "latter" rains, however. Nevertheless, the "latter" rains are especially important, since they are needed for the maturation of the crops and a subsequently good harvest.[27] During the December-February period in Gadara the rain usually amounts to about 300 mm. The "former" rains in this region amount to about 100 mm, while the "latter" rains to about 60 mm.[28]

In addition to the annual rainfall, the amount of dew is important. Especially during the "summer" months when there is no rainfall, dew is needed for sustaining the vegetation. The dew is usually heaviest in the early morning hours but then dissipates as the day becomes warmer.

In contrast to the moisture received, significant for

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[27]Baly, pp. 50-51.

[28]NAJ 1:111 and 112. For the importance of distribution see also Baly, pp. 49-50. During the years 1937-38 and 1938-39 the total rainfall on the Jordanian plateau fell within the normal range. In 1937-38 the "former" rains were three months late, and the harvest was only average. In 1938-39, on the other hand, the rains were fairly evenly distributed and a bumper crop was the result.

evidencing the rate of dessication in the Gadara area is the humidity (fig. 17). The humidity here is highest during the winter, averaging between 60% and 70%. In the summer the humidity remains relatively high. For the same area it is somewhere around 50% in July.[29]

Temperatures in Jordan and Palestine vary considerably, especially due to the factors of elevation and time of year. The mean daily temperature in the vicinity of Gadara is about 22° C. During the winter (e.g., in January) it averages about 12° C, while in the summer (e.g., in July) about 28° C (fig. 18).[30] Although the winter temperatures in northwestern Jordan are fairly mild in comparison with the rest of the country, winds from the northwest (with "all the sharpness of a whetted scythe"[31]) can cut across the plateau and cause a severe drop in temperature.

The winds which blow across Jordan have a profound effect on determining the climate. They come from primarily two directions. The west winds are associated with the weather systems which originate over the Mediterranean and sweep across the land eastward. During the summer months these winds bring a cooling effect to the Gadarene area and usually begin to be felt in the late afternoon.[32] During

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[29]NAJ 1:85 and 91.

[30]NAJ 1:28 and 34.

[31]Baly, p. 48.

[32]Martin Noth, The Old Testament World, 4th ed., transl. Victor I. Gruhn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. 32. These cooling winds are felt more in northern Jordan and have

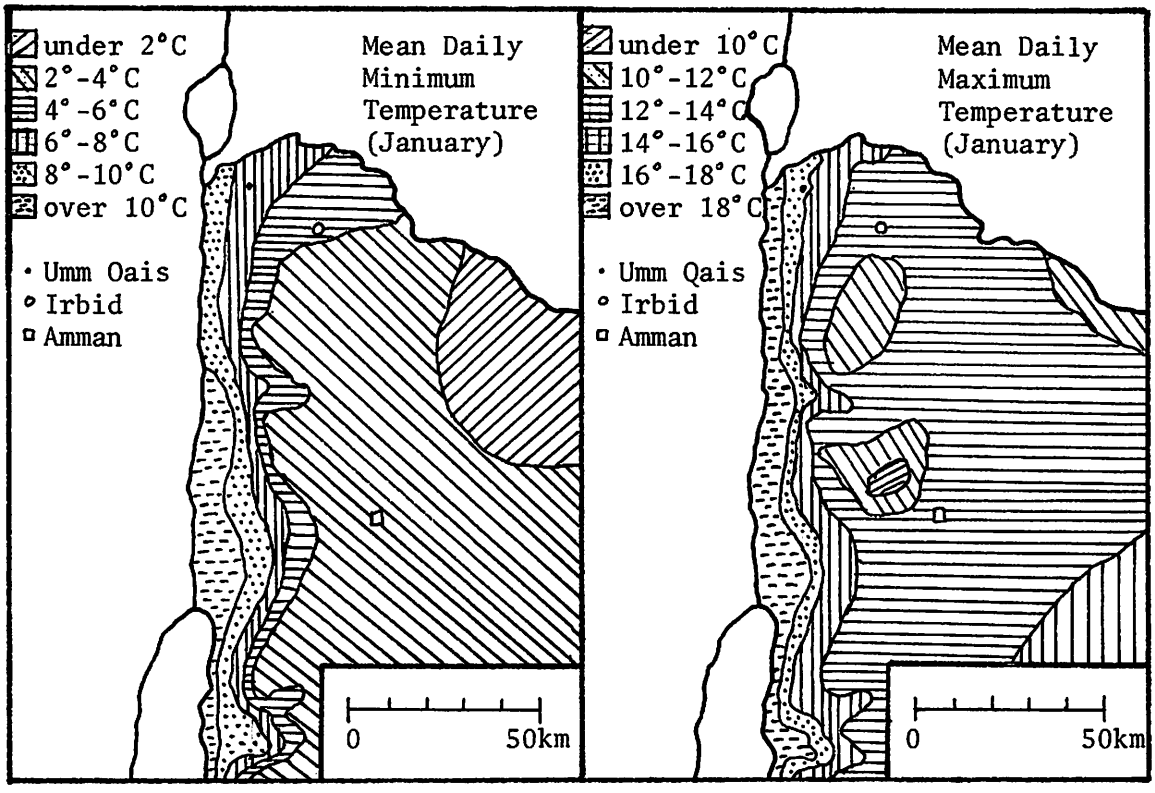

Fig. 18a

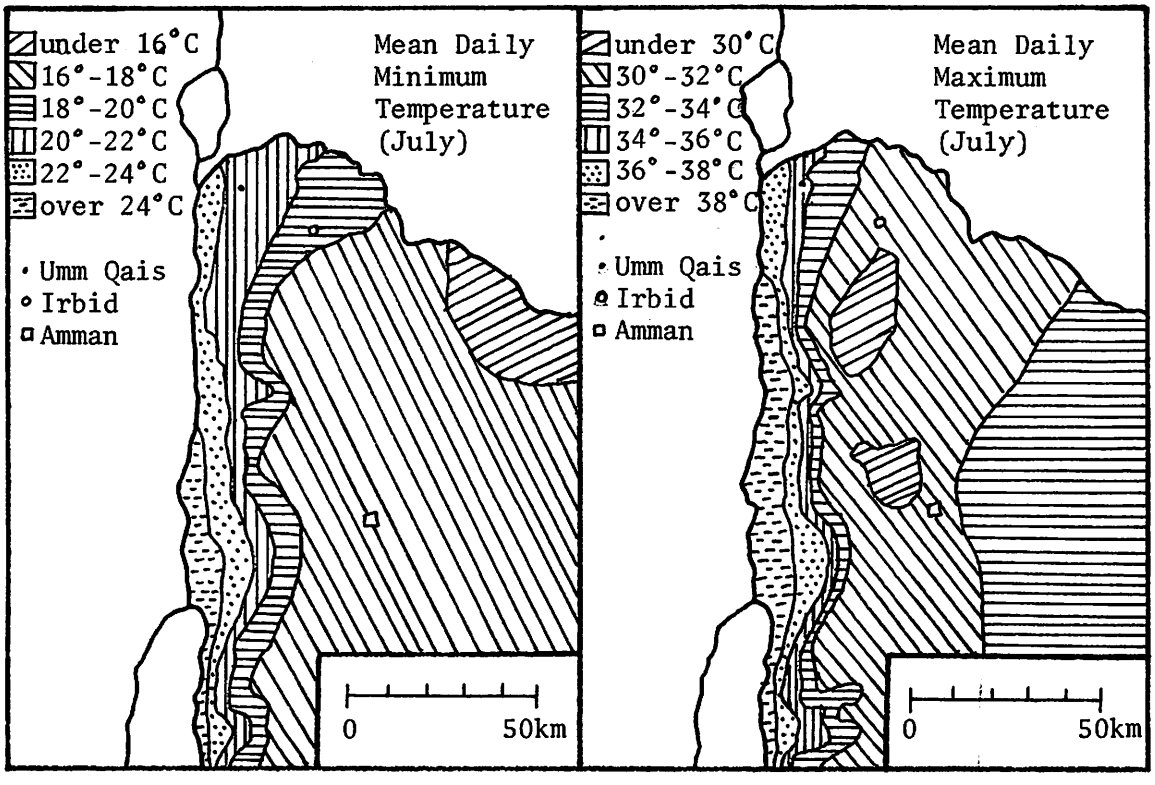

Fig. 18b

the winter months the same winds often bring rain. A change which is probably more abrupt, however, is brought about by the east winds. Usually blowing in May and September or October is the sirocco (from ash-Sharqiyah, "the east"). This wind, which originates in the eastern desert, is oppressive and devastatingly hot.

Finally the matter of climactic change must be addressed. During the Pleistocene and early Holocene the climate in this region of the Levant is supposed to have changed often and dramatically.[33] Traumatic fluctuations probably occurred even up until about 4000 years ago. On the other hand, during the past 4000 years or so (i.e., from about 2300/2200 B.C.) the climate has been fairly stable.[34] The fluctuations which occurred, however (fig. 19), may help to explain varying degrees in the intensity of settlement patterns. This could be significant for Gadara, but more investigation in this area is needed.[35] Further research of

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less consequence as one moves south. This fact has to do with the topography. The higher mountains in southern Palestine as well as the further distance of southern Jordan from the sea tends to inhibit the effect of these winds.

[33]See Burdon, pp. 15-18.

[34]Ibid., p. 19. See also Baly, p. 65, who would push this period of stability farther back, to about 6000 or 7000 B.C. Alan D. Crown, "Toward the Reconstruction of the Climate of Palestine 8000 B.C.-0 B.C.," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 31 (1972): 330, notes that after about 2000 B.C. the evidence becomes too scarce to conclude anything more than that there may have been minor fluctuations in the climate.

[35]The ceramic record, at least from the Hellenistic period onward, evidences certain gaps or periods of sparse habitation, which may be related to the schema presented in fig. 19 above.

Probable Climactic Fluctuations in the Levant

5000-4000 BC	rainy (maximum)
2200 BC	dry (maximum)
1275 BC	rainy (maximum)
AD 0-200	rainy
AD 300	dry
AD 400-500	rainy
AD 500	dry
AD 700-1100	rainy
AD 1100	dry
AD 1500-1700	rainy

Fig. 19

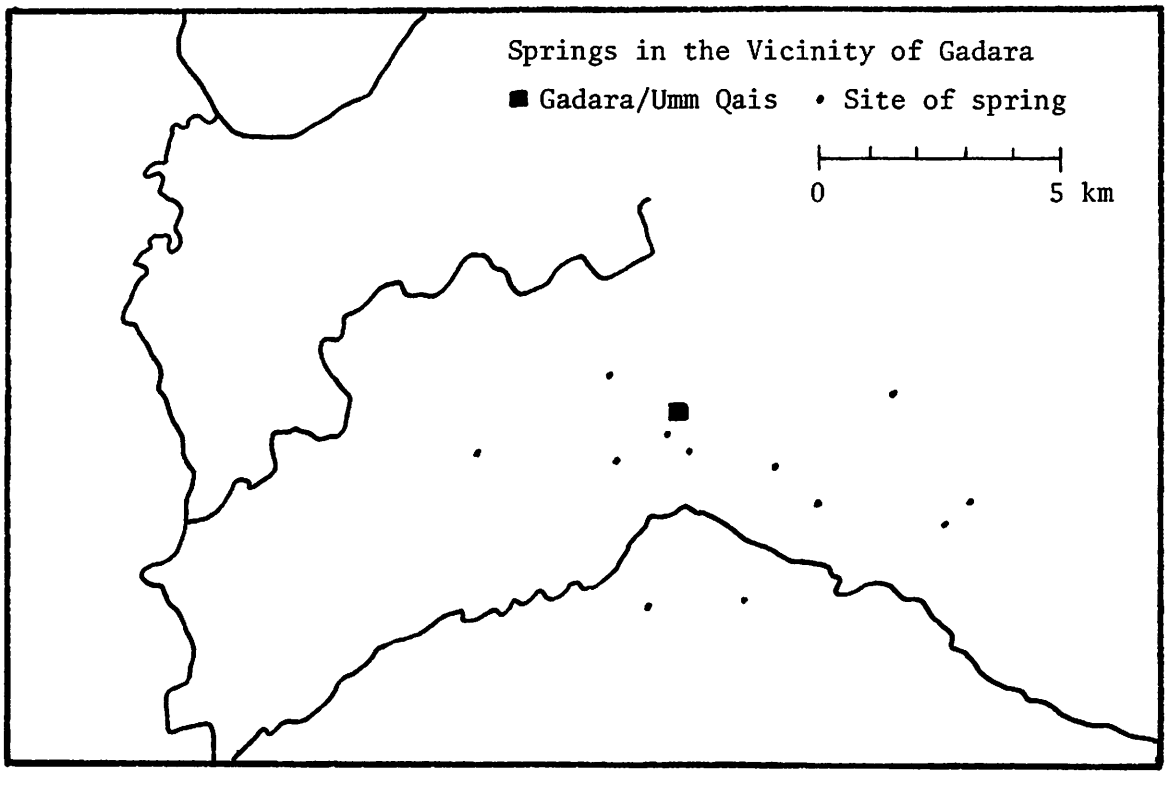

Fig. 20

organic remains from the area and geological study of the stratigraphy must be conducted. Moreover, accurate meterological records for Palestine and Jordan have only been kept since about the middle of the last century. Until more evidence is available, then, any conclusions about changes in climate in the area of and around Gadara remaind speculative.

Hydrology

The discharge of springs is the most vital source of water for northwestern Jordan (and Jordan as a whole). The limestone of the 'Ajlun series provides the most important aquifers in this region. Second to these are the aquifers found in the Belqa' series limestone. In areas of "rejuvenated" drainage, to which the northwestern part of Jordan belongs, these aquifers are about as vigorous as those of the 'Ajlun series.[36] The formations of the plateau in the Gadara area belong to the Belqa' series.

After the Yarmuk River and the Wadi Zarka, the Wadi al-'Arab discharges the greatest amount of water in northern Jordan.[37] In the vicinity of Gadara alone there are nine springs which feed into the Wadi al-'Arab.[38] In addition to

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[36]Burdon, pp. 69-70.

[37]See ibid., p. 73, Table 5.

[38]'Ain ad-Daliyah 6.5 km east-southeast of the site, 'Ain Ed'an 6.0 km east-southeast, 'Ain Sifin 3.25 km southeast, 'Ain al-'Asal 2.5 km east-southeast, 'Ain Umm Qais 0.5 km south, 'Ain Khanaizir 0.75 km southeast, 'Ain at-Tine 4.7 km south-southwest, 'Ain Fakhat 1.5 km southwest, and 'Ain Masil ad-Dalu 4.0 km south-southeast.

these are four springs on the north side of the watershed which drain into the Yarmuk River (fig. 20).[39]

All of these springs attest to the abundance of water near Gadara. However, these springs are not able to supply all of the water needs of the area.[40] Near two of the above-mentioned springs located in the vicinity of Gadara ('Ain al-'Asal and 'Ain Sifin) and at adh-Dhahirah (about 7 km east-southeast of Gadara) many cisterns have been found. Within the urban area of Gadara itself archaeological investigation has detected a number of cisterns (see below, p. 132). Moreover, water which was required in Roman and Byzantine times in addition to what could be supplied by local springs and cisterns was obtained through an aqueduct transporting water from 'Ain at-Tarab some 12 km to the east of Gadara (see p. 105 below).

Land Use

To date there has been no systematic study of the natural types of vegetation which occur at Gadara and in its immediate environment. Since the area lies in a semi-arid belt, however, one would expect to find the kinds of plants which flourish in this sort of climate, especially the ones which could endure and thrive in the hot summers. The most common type of arboreal vegetation observed in the Gadara

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[39] 'Ain al-Kilab and 'Ain at-Tase both 4.7 km east-northeast of Gadara, 'Ain Maquq 1.5 km northwest, and 'Ain at-Tabaq 4.7 km west-southwest.

[40] See NAJ 2:x. The amount of evaporation in most of the country is high, and most areas have no water surplus.

area is the oak (probably Quercus aegilops), however pine (not indigenous but planted) and carob occur as well.

Regarding cultivated vegetation much more information is available. This northwest corner of Jordan (excluding the Yarmuk and Jordan Valleys) is devoted to dryland farming. It has been characterized as having a mix of agriculture and pastoralism.[41] Present-day produce consists of olives (mostly), wheat and some other grains (particularly barley), and several types of vegetables, fruit trees, and grapes.[42] With the exception of olives (which some local residents claim were not introduced into the area until after 1948) this reflects the land usage at the beginning of the Ottoman period, when wheat was the primary crop but when some of the other above-mentioned things were raised as well.[43]

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[41]Seteney Shami, "Umm Qeis--A Northern Jordanian Village in Context," Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan 3 (1987):211. She also notes (p. 212) that in the land registration of the 1870s and 1880s the people of Umm Qais registered 1800 dunams as agricultural and 1800 dunams as pasture land. This proportion approximates the present situation.

[42]NAJ 2:125-127, 130-132, and 134. Olives are shown at 40% to 50%, wheat at less than 20%, barley at less than 10%, other cereals at 5% to 10%, vegetables at 5% to 10%, fruit trees at less than 4%, and grapes at 1% to 5%.

[43]See Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century (Erlangen: Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 1977), p. 202. Of the taxes assessed the village of Umm Qais on agricultural production 64% were on wheat, 14% on "summer crops" (including dura, melons, beans, vegetables, etc.), 11% on barley, 9% on fruit trees, and 2% on goats and beehives.

Roads

Palestine and western Jordan form a land bridge connecting Egypt and western Arabia with Damascus and Syria. In antiquity there were two "international" routes which ran north-south through Palestine and Jordan (fig. 21). One was the King's Highway (and later pilgrim road), which in its Amman-Damascus stretch skirted between steppe and desert about 30 km east of Gadara, thus avoiding the numerous wadis further to the west. The other important north-south route was the via maris. After leaving Egypt and remaining fairly close to the Mediterranean Sea the via maris turns in to Megiddo, where three alternate routes were available. One continued up the coast past Acco, Tyre, and Sidon. A second cut across lower Galilee up to Hazor and then over to Damascus along the southeastern side of the Antilebanon. The third branch cut down to Beisan, ran along the western side of the Jordan River to just south of Lake Tiberias, crossed over the Jordan along the north side of the Yarmuk River, and then ascended the Jaulan and western Plateau of Bashan before continuing northeastward to Damascus. This third route came within about 5 km of Gadara as it traversed the opposite slope of the Yarmuk Valley.

From the above it is evident that Gadara did not lay directly on any of the international routes. But in addition to the international highways, Aharoni mentions two other types: intra-regional roads and local trails (fig. 22).[44]

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[44]Aharoni, p. 43.

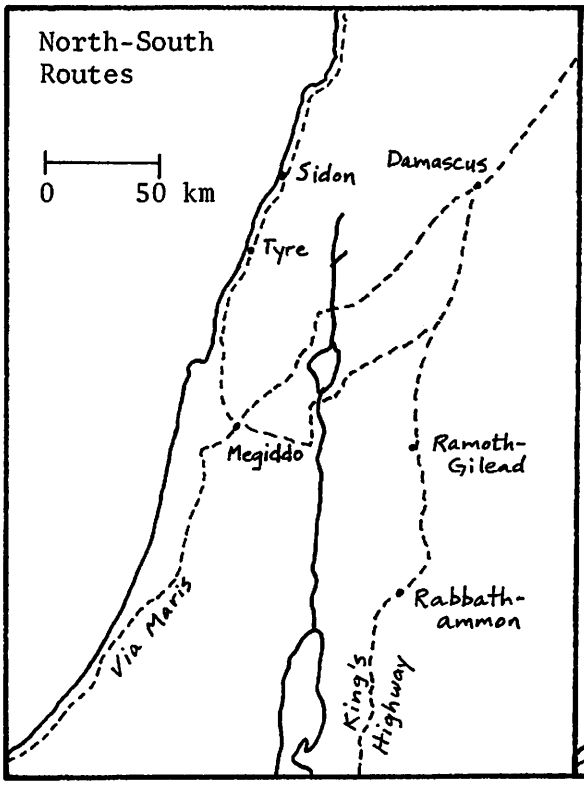

Fig. 21

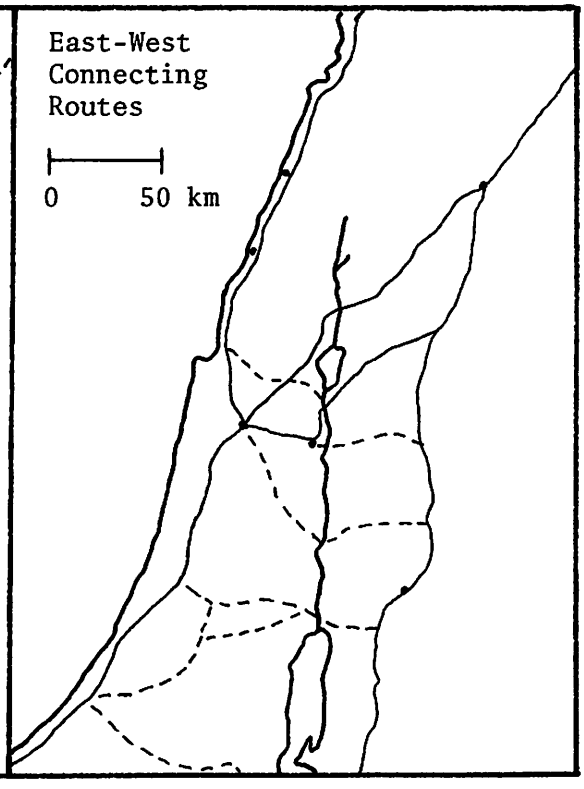

Fig. 22

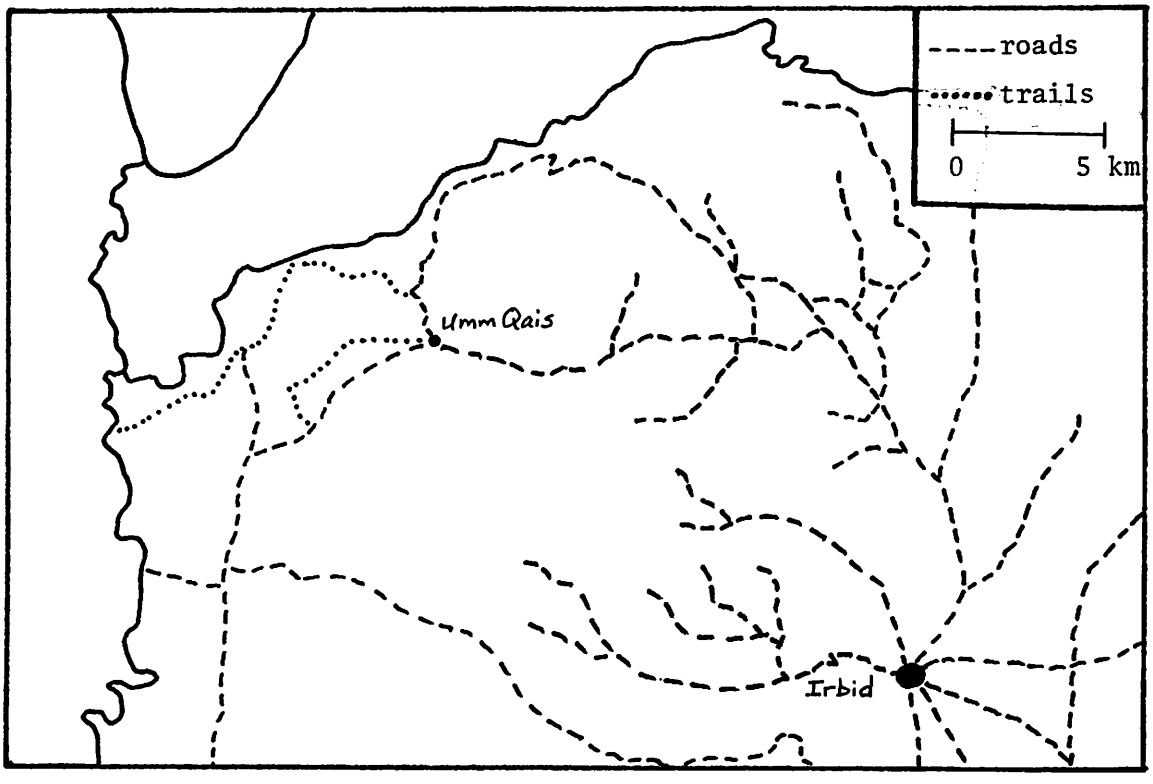

Fig. 23

The east-west road which passed through Gadara probably can be categorized somewhere between these two types. The primary "intra-regional" route across northern Jordan was the road which left the King's Highway at Ramtha (Ramoth-gilead), crossed over to Bait Ras (Capitolias), and then went down across the Jordan River to Beisan (Scythopolis). Taking a route farther to the north would have involved navigating too many of the smaller wadis which ran northward to the Yarmuk or southward to the Wadi al-'Arab.

That the road which went through Gadara was more than a "local trail," however, is evidenced by the fact that in the Roman period it belonged to the Roman system of paved roads.[45] From Bait Ras this route followed about the same course as that of the present road, which runs along the ridge of the western "arm" or extension of the Gadarene Plateau (fig. 23). After passing through Gadara as the decumanus maximus, this road bifurcates, going either southwest to ash-Shuneh (in the direction of Scythopolis) or west to ar-Rasaifiyeh (the old Tiberias road).

The only other roads around Gadara of any importance are what should probably be included in the category of "local trails" (see fig. 23). One of these is the Darb al-'Ajami, which took off from western Gadara toward the south to the Wadi al-'Arab. A second road is the one which left the main route on the east side of Gadara and led down to al-Hammeh

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[45]See Siegfried Mittmann, Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 133-138.

in the Yarmuk Valley, the present paved road to Mukhaibeh. Why these two roads may not have been as important as the east-west routes perhaps had to do with the steep descents and ascents. One would have had to confront only about half of the gradient on the roads which went off toward the west across the Ard al-'Ala Plateau (cf. above p. 8).

Although Gadara did not (and does not) lie on any of the major north-south or east-west routes, it certainly was within easy reach of them. The road across the plateau connected Gadara to one of the main north-south thoroughfares of antiquity in the Levant. In Roman times passage through Gadara was by no means a neglected route, since two of the itineraries (late Roman/Byzantine) from Syria to central Palestine cite the road as going from Edrei (Dera'a) through Capitolias and Gadara before going on to Scythopolis (cf. below, Chapter 2, pp. 68-69). Gadara's location on this route of no minor significance most likely contributed to the town's growth and participation in commerce, at least through the period of late antiquity, and in the early modern era as well.

Political Divisions

For the period of time before the close of the Bronze Age there is practically no evidence pertaining to Gadara's policital history at all. This assertion stems partially from the fact that there is no known reference to Gadara in the literary evidence from this period, but it is also due to the current lack of archaeological data testifying to the occupation of the site before the Iron Age. The Egyptian

topographical lists, for example, mention places near Gadara, like al-Hammeh in the Yarmuk Valley and Abila some 15 km to the east.[46] There is, however, no name which can be identified beyond a doubt with Gadara. Furthermore, these lists, being concerned more with itineraries than political entities, suggest little regarding the regional associations of the localities which they name.

The first documentary indicator of this part of northwestern Jordan comes from the Late Bronze Age. When the Israelites were coming up to Palestine from Egypt, they subdued parts of Jordan before crossing over the Jordan River into Palestine (fig. 24). First they conquered Sihon of Heshbon. Then they turned against Og of Bashan and defeated him at Edrei (Numbers 21:21-35). When this territory was subsequently allotted to a part of the tribes (Numbers 32), the area along the Yarmuk was designated Hawwoth-jair. It is not clear how far this region extended. The general area seems to have included land both north and south of the western half of the Yarmuk's course.[47] As part of one of the administrative districts of Solomon (fig. 25), Hawwoth-jair is paired with "the region of Argob, which is in Bashan" (1

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[46]Cf. below, Chapter 2, p. 33.

[47]Hawwoth-jair literally means the "tents" or "villages of Jair." Note the direction from south to north in Numbers 32, especially vv. 39-42, where Gilead, Hawwoth-jair, and the area north of the Yarmuk are mentioned. (See also Deuteronomy 3:12-16 and Joshua 13:29-31.) Gilead was used to designate all of the Transjordan, but here it seems to have a more restricted meaning, that is, the hill country on both sides of the Jabbok. Although, see also Judges 10:3-5, where Hawwoth-jair is referred to as a part of Gilead.

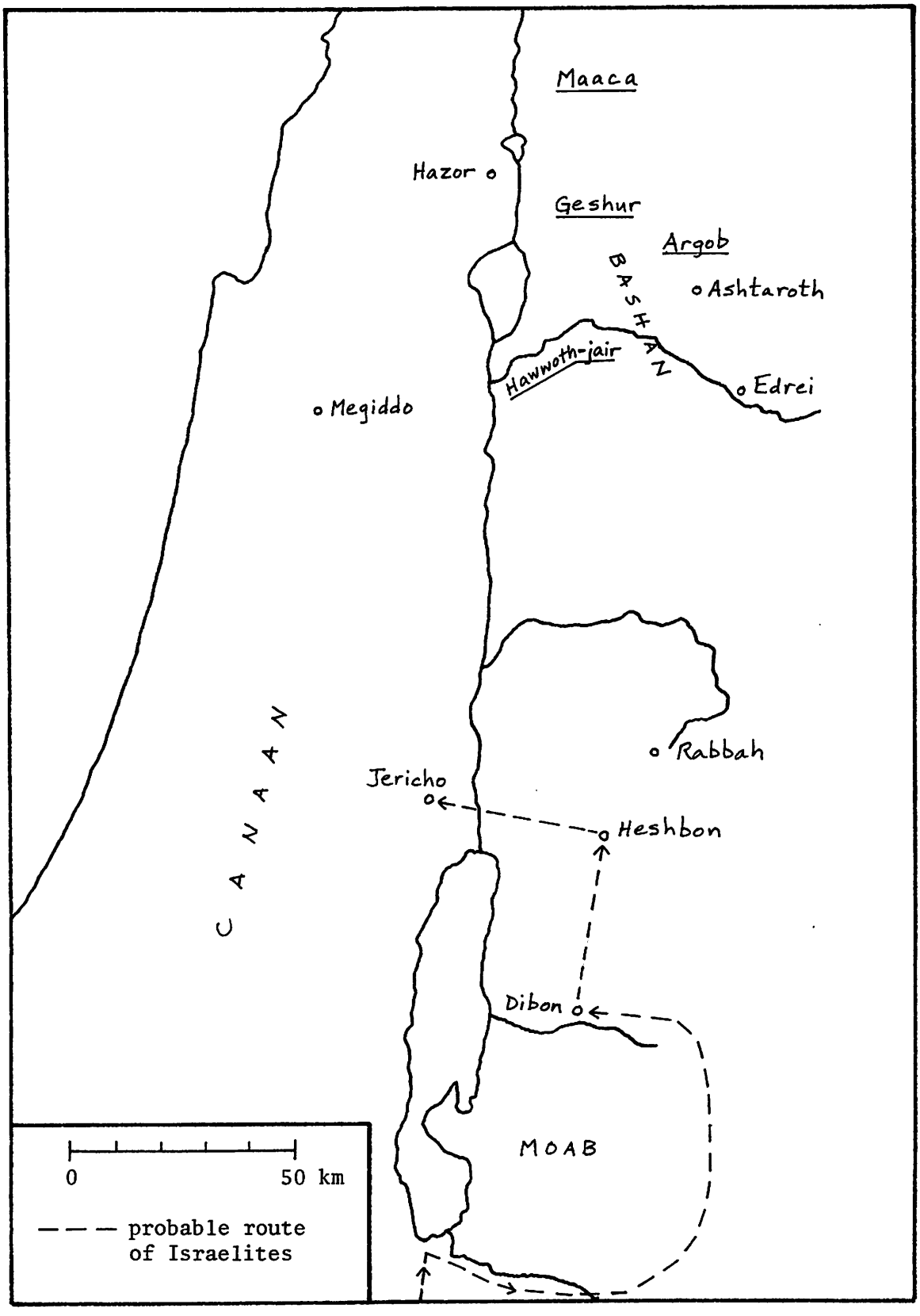
Maaca
Hazor
Geshur
Argob
BASHAN
Ashtaroth
Hawwoth-jair
Edrei
Megiddo
CANAAN
Rabbah
Jericho
Heshbon
Dibon
MOAB
0
50 km
probable route of Israelites

Fig. 24

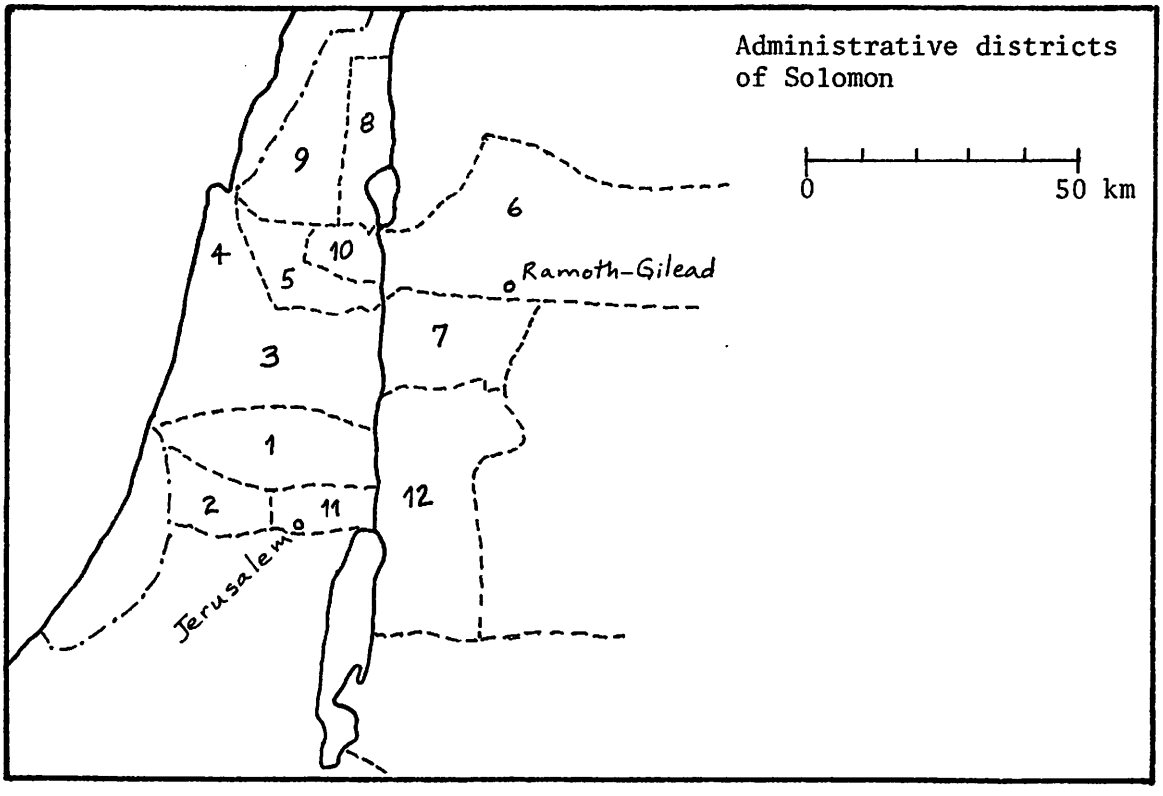
Administrative districts
of Solomon
0
50 km
Ramoth-Gilead
Jerusalem
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

Fig. 25

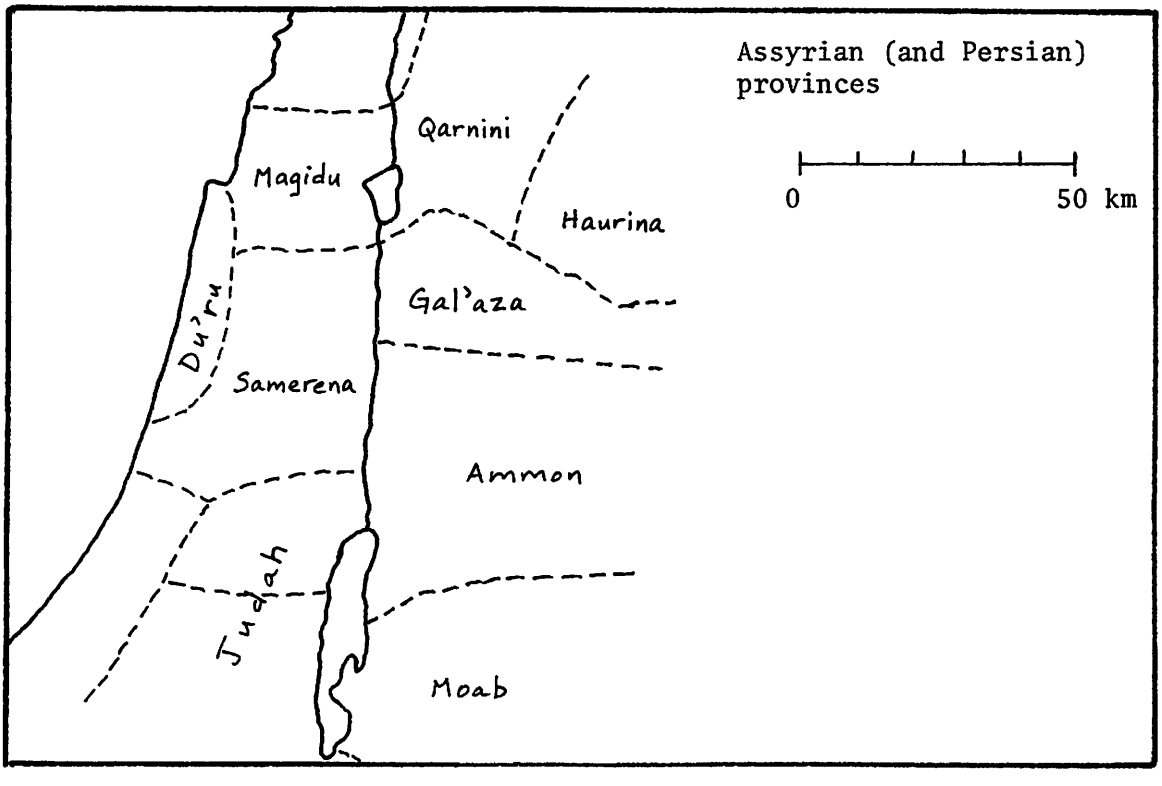
Assyrian (and Persian)
provinces
0
50 km
Qarnini
Magidu
Haurina
Gal'aza
Du'ru
Samerena
Ammon
Judah
Moab

Fig. 26

Kings 4:13), so it may have included only the part of the Plateau of Bashan which lies south of the Yarmuk (viz., the Gadarene Plateau).

For about eighty years after the death of Solomon parts of Jordan passed between Israelite and Syrian hands. Near Ramoth-gilead on the eastern end of the Gadarene Plateau (see fig. 24) was one of the favorite battlegrounds between Israel (the northern kingdom) and Syria. Finally during the reign of Jehu (842/1-815/4), Hazael of Damascus stripped the northern kingdom of all of her Jordanian possessions. Jeroboam II (786/2-753/46), however, recovered territory for the northern kingdom almost as far as the Solomonic boundaries (2 Kings 14:25), so that once again the region of Gadara was under Israelite (northern) control. Nevertheless, this restoration was short-lived. In his campaigns of 734-733 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria greatly reduced the northern kingdom and took all of her Jordanian territory (2 Kings 15:29).

Under Assyrian administration the former northern Transjordanian areas of Gilead and Bashan were organized into the provinces of Gal'aza (Gilead) and Qarnini (Qarnaim).[48] It is not certain, however, where the border between these two provinces ran, but it seems to have been the Yarmuk

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[48]See Albrecht Alt, "Das System der assyrischen Provinzen auf dem Boden des Reiches Israel," Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. 2 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953), p. 203. Alt does not doubt the existence of the first of these provinces, but he points out that the name Gal'aza cannot be established with certainty.

River (fig. 26). The Gadarene area would therefore have been reckoned to Gilead. The following Babylonian and Persian administrations adopted the Assyrian provincial organization in this area, so the provinces of Gilead and Qarnaim remained.

During the subsequent Greek periods parts of Syria and Palestine shifted between Ptolemaic and Seleucid control The regional framework, however, remained fairly similar. Gal'aza became Galaaditis. To its south lay Ammonitis, and to its north Gaulanitis (most of the earlier Qarnaim). Towards the end of the second century B.C. parts of Jordan fell under control of the Hasmonaean kingdom. That situation continued until the advent of the Romans in 64/63 B.C.

As part of Pompey's reorganization of the region he created the "Decapolis," a geo-political unit under the administration of the governor of Syria (fig. 27).[49] The "city-state" of Gadara was one of the poleis of the Decapolis, except for about twenty-five years when it was attached to Herod's kingdom. When Trajan reorganized the area in 106 A.D., Gadara was included in the province of Palaestine Secunda, which included northern Jordan, southwestern Syria, and Galilee (fig. 28). Except for some minor changes this structure remained until the Crusades. During the first

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[49]For a discussion of the issues relating to the Decapolis see, for example, Hans Bietenhardt, "Die syrische Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Traian," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II. Principat, vol. 8 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), pp. 220-261; and Emil Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC-AD 135), rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergas Millar, Matthew Black, and Martin Goodman (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87).

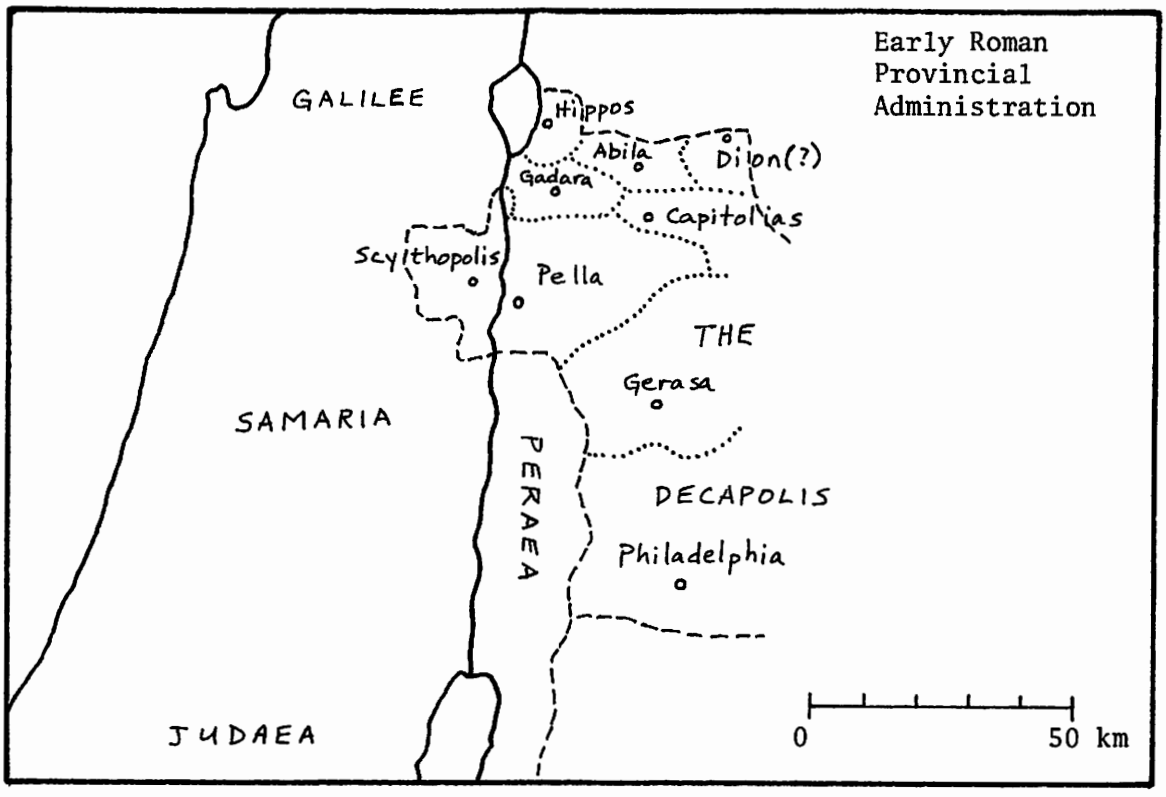
Early Roman
Provincial
Administration
GALILEE
Hippos
Abila
Dion(?)
Gadara
Capitolias
Scythopolis
Pella
THE
Gerasa
SAMARIA
PERAEA
DECAPOLIS
Philadelphia
JUDAEA
0
50 km

Fig. 27

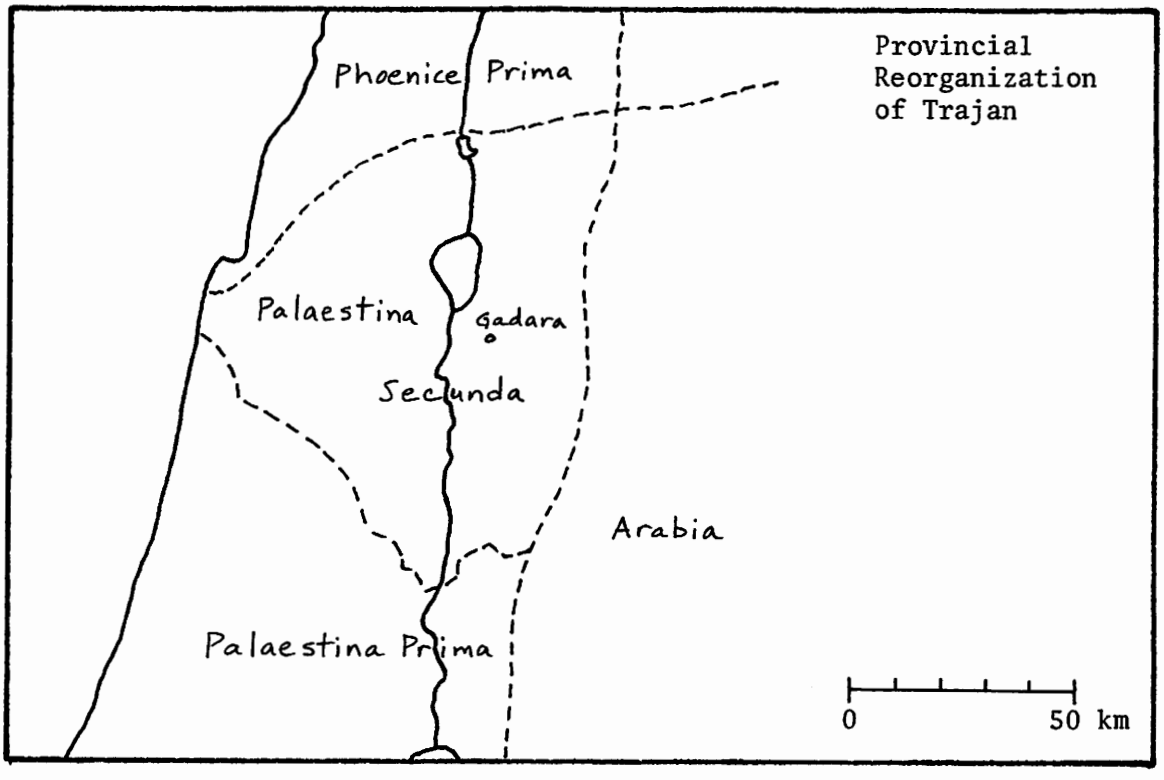
Provincial
Reorganization
of Trajan
Phoenice Prima
Palaestina
Gadara
Secunda
Arabia
Palaestina Prima
0
50 km

Fig. 28

part of the Islamic (pre-Crusader) period, Gadara belonged to the jund of al-Urdun, which comprised Galilee, Jordan north of the Wadi Zarka (biblical Jabbok), and southwestern Syria. The provincial center was Tiberias.

After the Crusades the orientation in the southern Levant became more north-south. Jordan north of Wadi Hasa (biblical Zered) belonged to the province of ash-Sham, whose administrative center was at Damascus. During the Mamluke period, however, Jordan was not very important, and near the end of the period the region actually became more difficult to control because of nomadic incursions. Ottoman rule brought a measure of stability to the area, particularly in the early part of the period. Northern Jordan (roughly the area of the Gadarene Plateau) was incorporated into the district (qada') of Hawran (figs. 29 and 30).[50] This situation remained, in most respects, until the modern political organization of the area.

Throughout Gadara's history the larger political units to which it has belonged have varied. At times Gadara had been joined to districts to the north or south. At other times the administrative units were oriented from east to west. The attachment of the Gadarene region to a particular territory arose for a number of reasons. These reasons seem to have depended on geographical as well as

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[50]The lower Yarmuk Valley and the Jordan Valley, on the other hand, belonged to the neighboring district (liwa') of 'Ajlun. Both of these districts were part of the province of Syria.

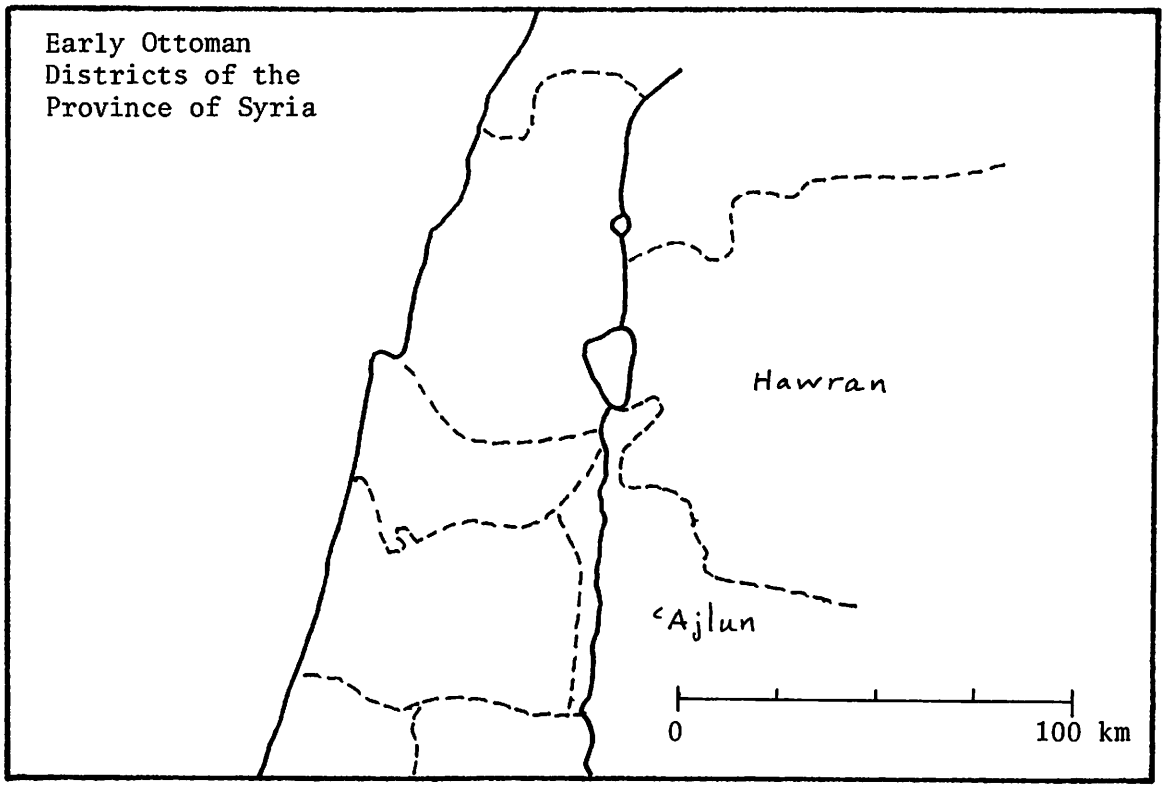
Early Ottoman
Districts of the
Province of Syria
Hawran
ʿAjlun
0
100 km

Fig. 29

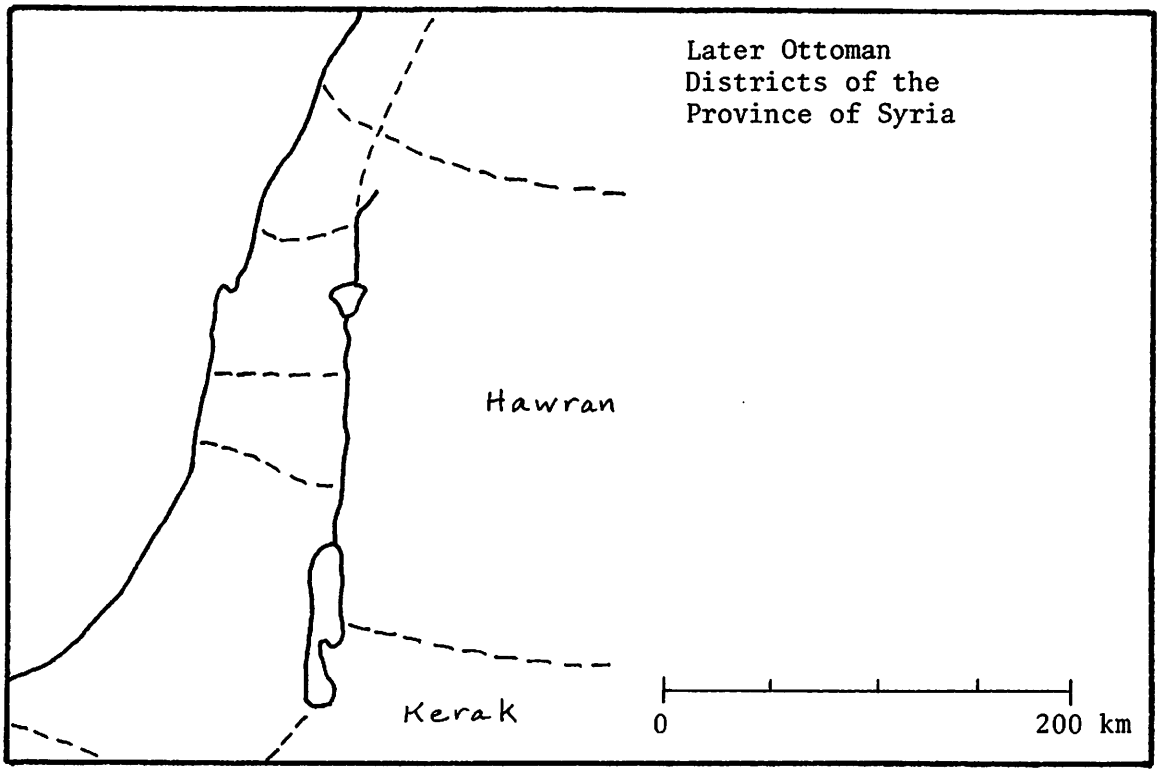
Later Ottoman
Districts of the
Province of Syria
Hawran
Kerak
0
200 km

Fig. 30

political factors.

From the above survey of the political relationships of Gadara and/or the Gadarene Plateau, it is interesting to note that in about two instances to every one the orientation of the region has been north-south (or sometimes simply north) rather than east-west. Notwithstanding the complexity of such an issue, one could contend that perhaps the most important factor was geographical. Baly has called attention to a common way of life (primarily, agricultural and pastoral practices) uniting the Gadarene Plateau to the rest of the Plateau of Bashan north of the Yarmuk River.[51] Even in the modern period families of both settled and nomadic groups are represented on both sides of the Jordanian-Syrian border following the course of the Yarmuk.[52] This river was apparently less of an obstacle than the Jordan Valley to the west or the 'Ajlun hills to the south. Only modern military conventions have made this artificial line of demarcation an effective political division between two nations.

As the geographical features of the general area were significant for determining Gadara's political relationships, so they were also for influencing the development and growth of Gadara. Although the immediate environment was favorable for several types of agriculture, the limited expanse of usable land and the climactic vicissitudes meant that Gadara

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[51]Baly, p. 216.

[52]Among the settled groups are the 'Ubaidat, the Khatatab, and al-Mu'mini; among the nomadic groups the Bani Khalid and Ahl aj-Jabal.

never had the critical importance, for example, of the Nile Valley or Mesopotamia. Moreover, the location of Gadara and its topographical situation hindered the town from really developing into a strategic international center. Nevertheless, Gadara was regionally important. The site occupied a commanding flank on the northwest corner of the Gadarene Plateau and lay on a somewhat crucial east-west route. Historically, with the higher population density of the area during the Roman and Byzantine periods (which probably resulted, in part, from the more favorable climactic conditions at that time) the prominence of Gadara increased. The literary and archaeological remains described in the following chapters attest to this phenomenon.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL LITERARY TEXTS RELATING TO GADARA

For someone who wants to investigate the ancient and post-antiquity literary references to Gadara the wealth of material and the problems that accompany such an inquiry are as great as for someone who is excavating the material remains of the site. There are many texts which mention Gadara, but they vary in their quality as well as in the quantity of information which they convey about the city. Some texts evidence careful research and the attempt to accuracy, while others are replete with errors in history, geography, and the like. Some texts contain no more than the name of the place, while others give cultural and historical information about Gadara. The aim of this chapter is to present those texts which mention Gadara of the Decapolis and to analyze them in order to learn more about the origins, development, and culture of Gadara in its environment.

The texts which are included in this chapter are arranged in chronological order, not according to the events which they report (in many cases this would be impossible, since the texts do not all deal with historical "events" as

such; for instance, Pliny's listing of the cities of the Decapolis) but according to the time when they presumably were composed. Except for a very few documents a century for their provenience at least can be assigned. In addition, this chapter does not pretend to offer a complete listing, since something always surfaces to prevent that from becoming an accomplishment. It is one thing to read through Hierocles' Synecdemos (only a few pages long); it is quite another to go through all the Roman histories, the Babylonian Talmud, or the Arabic geographies. Nevertheless, the attempt was made to be as comprehensive as possible.

Finally, a word must be said about the literary criticism applied to the documents. First of all, unless there was a compelling reason not to, the authorship which a particular text traditionally carried with it has been accepted. Where there are major problems and where these problems may impinge on the historicity or reliability of the document, they are discussed with respect to that particular text. Secondly, there may be doubts in regard to the veracity of a passage. For example, if "Gadara" appears in a list by Polybius of north African cities, one would rightly question if that was meant to be Gadara of northern Jordan. Moreover, if Gadara appears with a variant or uncommon spelling, or if the city name is apposed to an unusual or erroneous term, one would have to decide if this was the same Gadara. As a rule, most of the texts presented are fairly clear. Where they are not or where skepticism has

been expressed concerning an identification, the issues have been addressed in the discussion of that text.

Pre-Hellenistic

From the exploration which has been conducted at Gadara/Umm Qais there is little doubt that the site and its vicinity were occupied before the Hellenistic period. In the surveys done by Nelson Glueck and Siegfried Mittmann, seven out of the twenty-one sites in the immediate area evidence occupation in the Early Bronze (I-III), Middle Bronze (I), and Iron (I and II) periods.[1] When the German Institute conducted its survey in 1974, a large quantity of Iron Age pottery was supposedly found about 0.5 km west of the main settlement mound.[2] Unfortunately no material remains (other than pottery) have emerged which corroborate these findings.

The problem of the lack of material remains is compounded by the fact that there do not seem to be any literary remains which testify to pre-Hellenistic Gadara. To date no text has been discovered which mentions "Gadara" or a term resembling this name beyond any doubt. Part of the problem also stems from the unfortunate circumstance that the pre-Hellenistic designation for Gadara, if it indeed differed greatly from the Hellenistic one, has not yet been discovered.

A number of Egyptian topographical lists do mention

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[1]For the sites surveyed by Glueck see Chapter 3, pp. 108-112; for those done by Mittmann, pp. 112-114.

[2]See below, Chapter 3, p. 120; and Chapter 4, p. 163.

a hmt (Hammat-Gader, or al-Hammeh), a site about 3 km northwest of Gadara.[3] No name occurs in these lists around hmt which could be identified with Gadara, except perhaps ikd, which appears in the Palestine List of Thutmosis III.[4] The only other possibility is a list of Ramses II (Northern and Southern Peoples, List C), which mentions a certain kdr.[5] But the text is unclear before and after this name, so the determination of it remains inconclusive.

The other problem with the Egyptian lists is that the ones which refer to Jordan appear to bypass Gadara altogether. The route which seemed to be favored when traversing from Sinai/ southern Jordan to Syria was one which went farther east between the hill country of Gilead and the desert.[6]

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[3]See Anton Jirku, Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1937; repr. ed. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967). The lists which mention hmt are those of Thutmosis III (Palestine List), Sethos I (Redesiye List), and Ramses II (Palestine List A). Jirku prefers to identify hmt (at least in the list of Thutmosis III) as Tell al-Hammeh, ca. 13 km south of Beisan. But see Schmuel Ahituv, Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), p. 112, who suggests that this hmt refers to Hammat-Gader on the Yarmuk.

[4]See Jirku, p. 8, no. 17.

[5]Jirku, p. 43, List XXI, no. 19. See also James Henry Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt (1906; repr. ed., New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 3:48-49, who notes that the Egyptian Kader is the same as the Semitic Gader but does not attempt to identify a location for it.

[6]See Donald B. Redford, "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan," Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities 12 (1982):73, who suggests that the list of Thutmosis III followed the course of the Via Nova Traiana. Also see his article "Contact Between Egypt and Jordan in the New Kingdom: Comments on Sources," Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan 1 (1982):115-119; and Zeidan Kafafi, "Egyptian Topographical Lists of the Late Bronze Age on

From a topographical perspective this would probably have been a much better (and quicker) route to take.

One of the few names that have been proposed for ancient Gadara is dgr (or dgr-el), a name which appears in the papyrus of Anastasis I and is mentioned in connection with Hammat.[7] So far, however, no additional evidence has turned up to confirm this interpretation.

The Semitic root from which Gadara hypothetically derives, gdr, has the meaning "fence, wall," or (in verbal form) "to enclose with a wall, fence in; to fortify," and is not at all uncommon.[8] As a noun referring to a place the term was used for the type of sites which were so named because of their topographical location or fortificationary nature and/or use.[9] Unfortunately, this manner of designation could have been applied to any number of sites which were located in such a position and were fortified or surrounded

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Jordan (East Bank)," BN 29 (1985):17-21.

[7]William F. Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," AASOR 6 (1924-25):21.

[8]The root occurs in Akkadian as kadāru (noun), "fence," and as kadāru (B), "to establish a border, set up a boundary stone" (Miguel Civil, Ignace J. Gelb, A. Leo Oppenheim, Erica Reiner, eds., The Assyrian Dictionary [Chicago and Glückstadt: The Oriental Institute and J. J. Augustin Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971], s.v. "kadāru" and "kadāru B"; in Ugaritic as gdr, which has been translated "fence" and "garden," and also as a proper noun (Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, Analecta Orientalia 38 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965], s.v. "gdr"; and in Hebrew as גדר, "fence, wall" (Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953], s.v. "גדר").

[9]See Wilhelm Boree, Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1930), pp. 108 and 111.

by some kind of fence or wall.

In the Old Testament there occur a number of uses of gdr (גדר) which refer to a wall or fence.[10] Sometimes words from this root even took on the meaning of a proper name.[11] In the latter instance, however, they were towns located within Judah/ Judaea so they cannot be identified with Gadara of the Decapolis.

The most that can be said at this point is that in some cases a site referred to as gdr did retain that designation as a place-name. Most assuredly "Gadara" does trace its roots back to some gdr/gdrt, as Pella and Abila to Semitic place-names.[12] Perhaps Gadara originated as a military or agricultural settlement. Both are possible considering its topographical location.

Hellenistic and Early Roman

The historian Polybius has the distinction of having written the earliest remaining literary reference to Gadara. After Antiochus the Great defeated Nicholas (a general of Ptolemy) near Sidon in 218 B.C., he turned south. Having secured positions in lower Galilee and at Scythopolis, An-

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[10]For "wall" see Num. 22:24; Isa. 5:5; Ezek. 13:5; for "wall/ fence" see Ezek. 42:10; Prov. 24:31; for the wall of a city see Ps. 89:41; and for the wall of a fortified place Num. 32:1, 24, 36.

[11]E.g., Josh. 12:13; 15:36, 58; 1 Chron. 8:31.

[12]For Pella see Robert H. Smith, Pella of the Decapolis (Wooster, OH: College of Wooster, 1973), p. 34; and for Abila see Michael J. Fuller, "Abila of the Decapolis: A Roman-Byzantine City in Transjordan" (Ph. D. dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis, 1987), pp. 9-10.

tiochus then directed his attention to Galaaditis east of the Jordan River. After he took several strongholds there Polybius writes

> καταλειπομένων δ' ἔτι τῶν Γαδάρων, ἃ δοκεῖ τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ὀχυρότητι διαφέρειν, προσστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῖς καὶ συστησάμενος ἔργα ταχέως κατεπλήξατο καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν.
>
> But Gadara still remained, which seemed to be the strongest of the towns in that region. Having positioned himself before it and resorting to siege works, he [Antiochus] quickly terrified the city and took it. (Historiae 5. 71. 3)[13]

For its first appearance in the historical record, Gadara seems to be a well-fortified town. The Seleucids considered it to surpass the other towns of the area in strength (ὀχυρότητι διαφέρειν), and they resorted to siegeworks (συστησάμενος ἔργα) in order to take the place. Both Gadara's defense fortifications and location probably combined to give this impression.[14]

Some would argue that the Gadara mentioned here by

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[13]The edition is Polybius, Historiae, ed. Theodor Büttner-Wobst, 5 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1889-1905).

[14]It should be noted that Polybius (ca. 200-120 B.C.) probably never visited Palestine and certainly was not around at the time when the events he describes took place. For this time and place he had a number of sources, two of which he mentions by name. (See Frank William Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius, 3 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957], 1:31.) Polybius criticizes one of these sources (in 16. 14-20) for making certain topographical errors, but his account of Antiochus' campaign does not seem to have been affected by the faults he detected. As Eric W. Marsden, in Polybe: neuf exposes suivis de Discussions, ed. Emilio Gabba (Geneva: Vandoeuvres, 1973), p. 271, proposes, we should assume "that Polybius made every effort to secure accuracy and that he is generally accurate unless it can be proved beyond all reasonable doubt that he has been misled and misguided."

Polybius is not Gadara of the Decapolis but Gadara of Peraea.[15] According to the geographical order in Polybius' description, however, after Antiochus crossed over to the eastern side of the Jordan River he proceeded north from Pella to Camus (Kamon in the Old Testament), Gephrus (Ephron), and Abila (of the later Decapolis). At this point, "only Gadara yet remained" in the region that Antiochus was in. After completing the subduction of Galaaditis by taking Gadara (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα), he turned south to Rabbat Amana upon hearing reports of the enemy there.[16] It seems the probable, as well as the only possible interpretation of the text, that the Gadara mentioned by Polybius is in the north near Abila rather than in the south between Pella and Amman.

The second reference to Gadara comes to light in several fragments from the works of Meleager, the poet and philosopher. In one he mentions the place of his birth:

> Νᾶσος ἐμὰ θρέπτειρα Τύρος· πάτραν δέ με τεκνοῖ
> Ἀτθὶς ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ναιόμενα, Γάδαρα·
> Εὐκρατέω δ' ἔβλαστον ὁ σὺν Μούσαις Μελέαγρος
> πρῶτα Μενιππείοις συντροχάσας χάρισιν.
> εἰ δὲ Σύρος, τί τὸ θαῦμα; μίαν, ξένε, πατρίδα κόσμον
> ναίομεν· ἐν θνατοὺς πάντας ἔτικτε χάος.
>
> The island of Tyre was my nurse. But the land of Gadara, which is Attic (though lying in Assyria [Syria]), gave birth to me. From Eucrates I sprung, Meleager, who with

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[15]E.g., Paulys Realencyclopädie (hereafter RE), s.v. "Gadara," by Immanuel Benziger, who says this text infers that Gadara is between Pella and Amman.

[16]This is the most logical interpretation of the Greek text. For the same reconstruction see Walbank, 1:597. As he also points out, placing Gadara in Peraea necessitates locating Abila opposite Jericho. That suggestion hardly conforms to Polybius' account that Antiochus was advancing and occupying Galaaditis.

> the Muses first ran with the Graces of Menippos. And if I am Syrian, what is the amazement? In one land, the world, we dwell, o stranger. One chaos gave birth to all mortals. (Frag. 417. 1-6)[17]

Though poetic in nature, Meleager's mention of Gadara in Syria and of his being Syrian leaves little doubt that Gadara in northwestern Jordan is intended. His mention of Menippos, who also was a native of this Gadara,[18] provides the same clue. Characterizing Gadara as "Attic," he indicates the Hellenistic culture of his hometown.

In two other fragments from Meleager's works there are also references to Gadara:

> πρώτα μοι Γαδάρων κλεινὰ πόλις ἔπλετο πάτρα,
> ἤνδρωσεν δ' ἱερὰ δεξαμένα με Τύρος.
>
> My first homeland was Gadara, a renowned city. But then holy Tyre received me and reared me. (Frag. 418. 1-2)
>
> ὃν θεόπαις ἤνδρωσε Τύρος Γαδάρων θ' ἱερὰ χθών·
> κῶς δ' ἑσπὴ Μερόπων πρέσβυν ἐτηροτρόφει.
> ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν Σύρος ἐσσί, σάλαμ· εἰ δ' οὖν σύ γε Φοῖνιξ,
> ναίδιος· εἰ δ' Ἕλλην, χαῖρε· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ φράσον.
>
> Whom [Meleager] Tyre, child of the gods, and the holy land of Gadara reared. And beloved Cos of the Meropes tended him in his old age. But if you are a Syrian, salam [peace]. If you are a Phonecian, naidios [?]. If you are a Greek, chaire [greetings]. And you, say the same thing. (Frag. 419. 5-8)

Why Gadara is "renowned" (κλεινά) is not clear. Perhaps it is due to Menippos (late 4th/first half of 3rd century B.C.), whom Meleager mentions in Frag. 418.6. The reference to three languages in Frag. 419 may indicate a trilingual

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[17]The text can be found in The Greek Anthology, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library, transl. W. R. Patton (London and New York: William Heinemann and G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917).

[18]See Strabo's statement below, p. 39.

character of Gadara as well as Meleager's own abilities.

The next references to Gadara come from the geographer Strabo (64/63 B.C. to ca. 21 A.D.). After describing the coastal cities of Phoenicia (Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Strato's Tower, and Joppa, in that order; he does note that Sidon is north of Tyre) he says

> Ἐν δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ καὶ ἡ Γαδαρίς ἐστιν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξιδιάσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· εἶτ' Ἄζωτος καὶ Ἀσκάλων.... ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαδάρων Φιλόδημός τε ὁ Ἐπικούρειος καὶ Μελέαγρος καὶ Μένιππος ὁ σπουδογέλοιος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥήτωρ.
>
> But in the middle there is Gadaris, which the Jews appropriated for themselves. Then there is Azotus and Ascalon . . . . And from Gadara come Philodemos the Epicurean, Meleager, Menippos the satirist, Theodoros the rhetorician of our time. (Geographica 16. 2. 29)[19]

It is somewhat difficult to understand how this Gadaris (in his first use of the word) is intended to denote Gadara of the Decapolis. But Strabo's command of the geographical data in this part of the ancient world is not the most exemplary.[20] On the other hand, the second mention of Gadara

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[19]The edition used is Strabo, Geographica, ed. August Meineke, 3 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1904-1090).

The dating of the Geographica varies. E. H. Bunbury, in A History of Ancient Greek Geography, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (1883; repr. ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1959), 2:209, asserts that it could not have been completed before 19 A.D. Henry F. Tozer, A History of Ancient Geography (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 243, explains that the work was finished earlier and then updated. James O. Thompson, History of Geography (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1948; repr. ed., New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1965), p. 224, suggests that the bulk of the work was written about 7 B.C., while insertions and/or revisions were made by Strabo as late as 18 A.D.

[20]Tozer (p. 241) doubts that Strabo even visited the Syro-Phoenician coast. Bunbury (pp. 211-212) is unimpressed with Strabo's claim of his travels and contends that he could not have coasted along the shores of Phoenicia. Strabo's methodology, Bunbury adds (p. 217), was faulty. While

(viz., in connection with the Gadarenes Philodemus, Meleager, Menippos, and Theodorus) does indicate that Strabo was thinking of Gadara of the Decapolis.[21]

One does not have to look too far to see other irregularities throughout this section (16. 2). For example, Strabo correctly locates Lake Sirbonis (16. 34) but describes it with characteristics of the Dead Sea (16. 42-43). He retains his reliability, however, when he mentions Jericho and the palm trees and balsalm grown there (16. 41). Because the asphalt of the Dead Sea and the products of Jericho were of special interest in the ancient world, some knowledge about the areas from which they came was probably current.[22] It was this kind of information which allowed Strabo to make the following observations:

> Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Γαδαρίδι ὕδωρ μοχθηρὸν λιμναῖον, οὗ τὰ γευσάμενα κτήνη τρίχας καὶ ὁπλὰς καὶ κέρατα ἀποβάλλει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις Ταριχέαις ἡ λίμνη μὲν ταριχείας ἰχθύων ἀστείας παρέχει, φύει δὲ δένδρα καρποφόρα, μηλέαις ἐμφερῆ.
>
> And also in Gadaris there is foul-smelling lake water, from which when animals drink their hair and hooves and horns fall out. And in the place called Taricheae the lake provides fish which can be preserved well. And it [the land along the shore] grows tress which bear fruit like apples. (Geographica 16. 2. 45)

The "bad" lake water undoubtedly refers to the sulphurous

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he claimed to strive for system and accuracy, his work evidences a great deal of unevenness, subjectivity in what he himself considered important, and an arbitrary (and miscalculated) evaluation of some of his sources.

[21]Meleager (cf. p. 38 above) elsewhere indicates his hometown.

[22]Bunbury, p. 318; Tozer, p. 260.

pools north of Gadara at al-Hammeh. The mention of Taricheae (ca. 6 km north of Tiberias) indicates that Strabo's discussion at this point has turned to the area around the Sea of Galilee.[23]

A funerary inscription found at Byblos during the previous century dates to sometime in the first half of the first century A.D. (probably) and reads as follows:

DIS MANIBVS
L PHILOCALVS
L F COL VALEN
GADARA MIL
LEG x FR GRA
NI PROCVLI H S E
(C.I.L. 6697)[24]

This inscription was on the tombstone of a soldier from Gadara who belonged to the Tenth Legion (Leg[ionis] X Fr[etensis]). The Tenth Fretensis was stationed in Syria from about the turn of the era (probably 5 or 6 A.D., at the latest), operating at first in the northern part of the province but at the beginning of the Jewish War assigned to Palestine.[25]

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[23]Bunbury (p. 317) calls attention to the fact that Syria was well known to the Greeks because it was the center of the Seleucid empire. The Phoenician coast was likewise well known (as evidenced by details in Strabo's description). It was usually the interior regions of Palestine with which they were not so well acquainted.

[24]The inscription can be found in Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, ed. Th. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld, and A. Domaszewski (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1873-).

[25]RE, s.v. "Legio," by Emil Ritterling. According to Cagnat and Egbert, in The Epigraphical Abbreviations of the Latin Inscriptions, now in Henry Cohen, J. C. Egbert, Jr., and R. Cagnat, The Coin-Inscriptions and Epigraphical Abbreviations of Imperial Rome (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1978), p. ix, the Tenth Fretensis was formed in Syria in 5 A.D., was in Armenia in 62 A.D., was stationed in Egypt about 65 A.D., and was in Judaea with Vespasian.

For this soldier to be buried at Byblos probably means that he died while his unit was stationed in the north, that is, between 5/6 A.D. and about 65 A.D.[26]

What is uncertain about this inscription is the meaning and function of the abbreviations COL and VALEN. On the one hand, they could be construed with the soldier's name.[27] If this be the case, he would have belonged to the Collina tribe, one of the tribes to which provincials in the east belonged. The VALEN, then, could be a shortened from of the adjective valens (from valeo/valere), meaning "strong, powerful." Such a qualification might be a sign of tribal pride.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that COL VALEN is to be associated with the following word, GADARA.[28] For this reconstruction COL would stand for coloniae or coloni. There are two problems with this theory, however. First, there is no corroborating evidence that Gadara ever had the status of a Roman colony.[29] The second objection concerns the meaning of VALEN. Ordinarily, the colonial appellation included the name of the patron of the colony, usually the emperor or someone close to him under whom this

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[26]Ritterling, "Legio."

[27]From the late Republican period on, an abbreviation of the tribal name had a regular place in a citizen's full name. Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1949 ed., s.v. "Tribus," by Arnaldo Momigliano. This hypothesis assumes, of course, that the soldier was a Roman citizen.

[28]E.g., Mommsen, in CIL 3.2, p. 972.

[29]See n. 31 below.

status was bestowed.[30] The first Roman emperor for whom this could be true was Valens (emperor in the east 364-378 A.D.), but this seems to be too late.[31] One could emend VALEN to VALER. In this case, the patron could have been someone of one of the oldest patrician families in Rome, the Valeria. If it were not for having to emend the text, this suggestion might be the most commendable.

The fifth early attestation for Gadara comes from Pliny the Elder (ca. 23-79 A.D.), who in his Natural History lists the cities of the Decapolis:

> *Iungitur ei latere Syriae Decapolitana regio a numero oppidorum, in quo non omnes eadem observant, plurimi tamen Damascum epoto reguis amne Chrysorroa fertilem, Philadelphiam, Raphanam (omnia in Arabiam recedentia), Scythopolim (antea Nysam, a Libero Patre sepulta nutrice ibi) Scythis deductis, Gadara Hieromice praefluente, et iam dictum Hippon, Dion, Pellam aquis divitem, Galasam, Canatham.*
>
> There is joined to it [Judaea] on the Syrian side the region of the Decapolis, [called this] from the number of towns. But all writers do not observe the same number.

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[30]See RE, s.v. "Colonia," by Ernst Kornemann. There are three types of colonies: "Latin," citizens', and veteran. Under the last type Kornemann arranges the colonies according to the emperor under whom they were founded. The entry for Gadara (with reference to this inscription in CIL) is placed at the end under the term "unbestimmt." Occasionally the "patron" may have been some other prestigious person, such as Julia, the daughter of Augustus. But there is no person in the "royal family" during the Roman period to whom VALEN could be assgined.

[31]The other possibility is to take VALEN as an abbreviation for Valentia, but this offers no help either. According to RE, s.v. "Valentia 1," by Carl Koch, Valentia was the oldest name for the city of Rome. A Colonia Valentia could have therefore been named in Rome's honor. But there are only two cities which are known to have had this designation: Valencia, Spain (see RE, s.v. "Valentia 4," by Adolf Schulten) and Valence, France (see RE, s.v. "Valentia 5," by Peter Goessler).

> Most, nevertheless, list Damascus, fertile with its streams for irrigating which drain the Chrysorrhoas, Philadelphia, Rephana (all these receding toward Arabia), Scythopolis (previously Nysa, named for Father Liber's nurse buried there) where Scythians are settled, Gadara with the Hieromax [Yarmuk] flowing by it, and previously-mentioned Hippos, Dion, Pella rich in waters, Galasa, Canatha. (Naturalis Historia 5. 16)[32]

The terminus post quem for the composition of the Natural History should be 57 A.D., after Pliny finished his military service in Germany and when he began to occupy himself primarily with literary pursuits. He published this work in 77 A.D. and dedicated it to Titus.

Pliny was, in the main, a writer who reproduced lists and recited dry facts. His grouping of the Decapolis, however, is the earliest extant list, as well as an attestation to some kind of political (or at least, geographical) status of the Decapolis alongside Judaea and Syria. It is evident that he has in mind the Greek city in the northwestern Transjordan (by his ablative absolute Hieromice praefluente) and not Gadara of Peraea which lay much farther to the south.[33]

The New Testament

A reference to Gadara occurs but once in the New Testament documents.[34] In the Gospel of Matthew, dating to

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[32]The Latin text can be found in Pliny, Natural History, Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols., trans. and ed. H. Rackahm and E. H. Warmington (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press and William Heinemann, 1938-1963).

[33]See discussion of this problem below, Chapter 3, p. 106.

[34]According to the accepted readings. See p. 46 below.

sometime in the third quarter of the first century A.D.,[35] the author begins the story of the healing of two demon-possessed men as follows:

> καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πέραν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρέων ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι ἐκ τῶν μνημείων ἐξερχόμενοι.
>
> And after He [Jesus] had passed over to the other side to the region of the Gadarenes, two demon-possessed men coming out of the tombs met Him. (Matthew 8:28)[36]

On reading this opening sentence one notices immediately that Jesus did not enter the city of Gadara itself but its region or district. If one compares the parallel accounts in Mark (5:1-20) and Luke (8:26-39), it seems as though the incident took place somewhere else. One is confronted with resolving their "land of the Gerasenes" with Matthew's "land of the Gadarenes." All three versions suggest that Jesus and the disciples came from some place on the north or northwest side of the lake. Subsequently, their destination, εἰς τὸ πέραν (or Luke, ἀντιπέρα), would put them somewhere on the

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[35]Preferable is a date between 50 and 60 A.D. The document itself offers no clue, but the unanimous tradition of the early church in assigning its authorship to Matthew, one of the twelve disciples, and the general opinion that it was the earliest of the Gospels commend that date. For a brief explanation see Martin Franzmann, The Word of the Lord Grows (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), pp. 178-182.

For a recent discussion of the dating of Matthew and a survey of scholarly opinions see W. D. Davies and Dalce C. Allison, Jr., The Gospel According to Matthew, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 1:127-138. The present academic consensus is that Matthew was composed in the final quarter of the 1st century; Davies and Allison suggest between 80 and 95 A.D. (p. 138).

[36]According to the text of Nestle-Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece, 26th ed.

southern or eastern side of the lake.

Assuming that Matthew, Mark, and Luke each preserve original readings,[37] there are four possibilities for elucidating the difference. One explanation is that Matthew is simply reporting another incident.[38] There are some differences in context both before and after this event.[39] Admittedly, these differences could be due to any number of factors (such as editing), but deviations in content also suggest two separate incidents. Besides the Gadarenes/Gerasenes difference are the following: Matthew reports two demoniacs, Mark and Luke one; Mark and Luke explain how the possessed man was bound and how he acted after breaking his bonds, Matthew has nothing of this; in Mark and Luke the demons

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[37]See the critical apparatus in Novum Testamentum Graece of each of the accounts. In Matthew Γαδαρηνῶν is by are the superior reading with the variants Γερασηνων and Γεργεσηνων (in that order). The preferred reading in Mark is Γερασηνῶν, with variants Γεργεσηνων and Γαδαρηνων (in that order). Luke's best reading is Γερασηνων, Γεργεσηνων has some strong support, and Γαδαρηνων comes in third.

[38]As far as I am aware this interpretation has not been suggested. But there are other examples of similar but different events, such as the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5-7) and the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6), or the Feeding of the 4000 (Matthew 15, Mark 8) and the Feeding of the 5000 (Matthew 14, Mark 6, Luke 9, John 6). A priori, there is no reason why Jesus could not have performed the same miracle under similar conditions on two different occasions.

[39]Immediately before this pericope all three evangelists report the account of Jesus stilling the storm on the Sea of Galilee. For several chapters before that, except for Mark 4:26-34, Mark and Luke tend to report the same events in the same order. After the healing of the demoniac(s), Mark and Luke record the healing of Jairus' daughter, while Matthew reports the healing of a paralytic and the call of Matthew before turning to that incident. It seems to me that there could be enough time in all of this for two healing-the-demon-possessed events.

call out "Jesus, Son of the Most High God," in Matthew Jesus is addressed as "Son of God"; only Mark and Luke have Jesus asking the demons their name and their responding; and after the exorcism only Mark and Luke record the healed man's desire to go with Jesus and Jesus' reply to him. Perhaps redactional factors could explain both the context and content differences, but the differences do seem to warrant at least the consideration of a theory of two separate occurence.

The second explanation for Gadara/Gerasa is that Gadara denotes the specific location. Accordingly, Gerasa would refer to the larger district or region. It is possible from a west-of-the-Jordan perspective that Gerasa was the most well-known town on the river's east side.[40] Consequently, the general description for the whole area east of the Jordan River could have been "land of the Gerasenes." On the other hand, if Gadara is the specific location, Gerasa could have simply been seen as too imprecise. Matthew would have intentionally used Gadara.[41] But of these two possibilities the former seems the more probably.

A third explanation is that the "land of the Gadar-

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[40]For this suggestion see Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1966), p. 278.

[41]This suggestion has been offered by Willoughby C. Allen, The Gospel According to St. Matthew, 3rd ed., International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912; repr. ed., 1959), p. 84; Alfred Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew, 2nd ed. (1915; repr. ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982), p. 132; and Joachim Gnilka, Das Matthäusevangelium, I. Teil, Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), p. 320.

enes" refers to a larger district while "land of the Gerasenes" is understood in a more restricted sense. This proposal offers several possibilities. First, it could point to Gerasa of the Decapolis, a city about 60 km to the south-southeast of the Sea of Galilee. As almost all commentators recognize, however, this location seems unreasonable. A second possibility is that one could posit two towns with the name Gerasa.[42] The confusion over which one was meant could have easily precipitated the variants in the textual tradition.

Continuing to considering the third explanation (Gadara=district, Gerasa=specific locale) another possibility emerges. It has been suggested that Gerasa should actually be read as Gergesa, under the assumption that Gergesa was not well known enough so that the more renowned Gerasa was inserted into the text.[43] More probable, however, is that the two were simply alternative spellings of the same name.[44] In pronunciation the consonants grs and grgs would have been

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[42]Consider, e.g., that there were two Gadaras, one in the Decapolis and one farther south in Peraea (modern as-Salt).

[43]See, e.g., Joachim Gnilka, Das Evangelium nach Markus, Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Zürich and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger Verlag and Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), p. 201.

[44]See Ezra P. Gould, The Gospel According to St. Mark, International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896; repr. ed., 1922), p. 87; and Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959), p. 107.

easily confused.[45] Consequently, only when one thought of the alternative Gerasa (viz., Gerasa of the Decapolis) would there have been a problem of identification.

The following question, however, arises: If this Gergesa/Gerasa is the correct designation, where was its location on the southern or eastern side of the Sea of Galilee? Some have avoided specification (and speculation) simply by affirming that it was somewhere along the southern or southeastern shore of the lake.[46] One suggestion has been that it was at Beth-yerah (modern Khirbet al-Kerak on the southwest corner of the lake).[47] The presence of swine, however, indicates that the party landed in Gentile territory, and the area around Beth-yerah (at least that part of it west of the Jordan River) was in Galilee, that is, in Jewish territory.

The other proposed location for the site of Gergesa/Gerasa is along the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee near the Wadi as-Samak.[48] For both topographical and toponymical reasons Tell al-Kursi on the south side of this wadi

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[45]Obvious, but see also Grundmann, p. 107.

[46]E.g., Gould, p. 87; and Grundmann, p. 107.

[47]Adolf Schlatter, Der Evangelist Matthäus (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1948), p. 291.

[48]First suggested by Origen in his commentary on John 6:41. See also Gustav Dalmann, Orte und Wege Jesu, 3rd rev. ed. (Gutersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1924), pp. 190-193; Taylor, p. 278; and Gnilka, Markus, p. 201. A more precise location has been proposed by Vassilios Tzaferis, "The Excavations of Kursi-Gergesa," Atiqot English Series 16 (1983):43-48.

seems to be the most attractive option.[49] Excavations there testify to the ancient tradition attached to the site.[50] It should be noted, however, that the archaeological remains date to a period much later than the Gospel account.[51] Nevertheless, the combination of geography and tradition renders Tell al-Kursi, or somewhere in the vicinity, probably the most logical candidate for the location of ancient Gergesa/Gerasa.

The fourth explanation for the difference between Matthew's "land of the Gadarenes" and Mark's and Luke's "land of the Gerasenes" is to consider the possibility that Matthew as well as Mark and Luke were correct (i.e., that the district was known by both names) and that the area to which they

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[49]For the name, see especially Tzaferis, pp. 44-46. I would have to disagree with him, however, that the incident could have only taken place on the east side of the lake (cf. p. 43). The destination recorded in the text is not that specific.

[50]In addition to Tzaferis' work named above, consult also Dan Urman, "The Site of the Miracle of the Man with the Unclean Spirit," Christian News from Israel n.s. 22 (1971):72-76; and Tzaferis, "A Pilgrimage to the Site of the Swine Miracle," BAR 15, no. 2 (March/April 1989):45-51.

[51]Near the shore, about 300 m west of the church compound, is a small tell with some structural remains. These ruins and surface finds indicate a late Roman/early Byzantine occupation. (Tzaferis, "Excavations," p. 41.) A Roman structure, partially in the water, was found about 100 m north of Tell al-Kursi. (Urman, p. 75.) The rest of the structures are of 5th\6th century origin. Therefore I cannot agree with Tzaferis when he maintains "the discovery of a large and impressive church, together with a sizeable settlement, provided conclusive evidence for the location of the elusive scene of the gospel story." ("Excavations," p. 44.) All that the remains do is provide "conclusive evidence" for the tradition attached to the site.

refer is someplace on the southeast shore of the Sea of Galilee. It is not unlikely that this region (north of the Yarmuk and south of Hippos) was part of the territory of Gadara.[52] If this region was adjacent to an area belonging to Gergesa/Gerasa (Tell al-Kursi), there may have been some confusion in the popular mind as to whom it actually belonged.[53] The outcome, then, would be that "land of the Gadarenes" and "land of the Gerasenes" were interchangeable designations for this part of the Tiberian coast.

Of the afore-mentioned explanations the third ("land of the Gadarenes" as a territorial designation and "land of the Gerasenes" a localization) and the fourth ("land of the Gadarenes" and "land of the Gerasenes" as interchangeable terms) are the most likely. The former is the more probable of the two, whereby Matthew was referring to the larger political unit, while the others preferred to use nomenclature which pin-pointed more exactly the landing spot. Matthew's designation, finally, contributes to the evidence for the extent of the Decapolis city-state of Gadara to the shores

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[52]See Emil Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135), rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black, and Martin Goodman (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87), 2:136.; Ernst Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1956), p. 165; and Hans Bietenhard, "Die syrische Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Traian," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. Principat, vol. 8 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), p. 222.

[53]Especially with the resemblance of the names. A similar suggestion has been made by Grundmann (p. 107).

of Lake Tiberias.[54]

As far as a localization for the events of Matthew 8 (and parallels) is concerned, the text simply does not supply a great deal of geographical information. For example, the direction of the journey across the lake cannot be determined with precision.[55] Moreover, the account does not necessitate the existence of tombs in the immediate area.[56] Even the proximity of a hillside or steep embankment is not a sine qua non.[57] In light of the archaeological investigations conducted to date, the site of Tell al-Kursi has decided advantages. Nevertheless, the findings are not totally conclusive, and the possibility must remain open that the event occurred at a different point along the east or south-east shores of Lake Tiberias.

Josephus

The works of the Jewish historian Josephus (37/38-ca. 100 A.D.) contain about a third of the ancient and post-antiquity references to Gadara. The events in which he had

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[54]It is interesting that one of the 19th century interpretors of the investigations at Gadara/Umm Qais noted that part of the Jaulan which was immediately north of the Yarmuk was also called "Jedur" (the Arabic vocalization of the consonants gdr). See below, Chapter 3, n. 5.

[55]Cf. p. 45 above.

[56]Cf. Luke's version, where he describes the man as ἐκ τῆς πόλεως in contrast to Matthew's and Mark's ἐκ τῶν μνημείων. The time between Jesus' disembarkment and meeting the man (men) is also unclear.

[57]Note Matthew's remark (v. 30) that the herd of pigs was μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Jesus could, therefore, have been several kilometers away from the lake.

cause to mention Gadara are the following: the conquest of Palestine by Antiochus the Great, the crusades of Alexander Jannaeus in the Transjordan, Pompey's expedition in Syria and Palestine, the reign of Herod the Great, and the events of the Jewish War. Josephus drew on a variety of sources for the events preceding his time and is generally accurate, although his degree of detail differs. For his own time (especially the Jewish War) some questions of accuracy have been raised, but his general outline of events can be followed.

The first citation in which Josephus mentions Gadara is from a chronicle of Antiochus the Great's second campaign in Palestine (201-198 B.C.):

> ὡς τοῦ Σκόπα νικηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου τὴν μὲν Βατανέαν καὶ Σαμαρείαν καὶ Ἄβιλα καὶ Γάδαρα παρέλαβεν Ἀντίοχος, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἱεροσόλυμα κατοικοῦντες.
>
> And in the same book he says that, after Scopas was defeated by Antiochus, "Antiochus took Batanaia, Samaria, Abila, and Gadara, and after a short time there also came over to him those Jews who live near the temple of Jerusalem." (Ant. 12. 136)[58]

By Josephus' own acknowledgement this statement comes from the historian Polybius.[59] From the context it is clear that Gadara of the Decapolis is intended. Both Abila and Gadara would have been important outposts along the Yarmuk River as

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[58]The edition of Josephus' works used is Flavii Iosephi Opera, ed. Benedict Niese (1887-95; repr. ed., Berlin: Weidmann, 1955). The English translations are those of Thackeray in the Loeb edition.

[59]Book 16. This report is extant only in Josephus' account. The rest of Book 16 is lost.

Antiochus advanced southward.

When the Hasmonaean Alexander Jannaeus (ruled 103-76 B.C.) was free of interference from Ptolemy VIII (Soter) he invaded the Transjordan (102 B.C.?):

> ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας διωχθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀλέξανδρος Γαδάρων τε πολιορκίᾳ κρατεῖ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντος, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον μὲν ἦν ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην, τὰ τιμιώτατα δὲ τῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος κτημάτων ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ.
>
> But when Ptolemy, pursued by his mother Cleopatra, retired to Egypt, Alexander besieged and took Gadara and Amathus, the latter being the most important of the fortresses beyond the Jordan and containing the most precious possessions of Theo dorus, son of Zeno. (Bell. 1. 86)

According to the parallel passage:

> ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου φόβων ἐλευθερωθεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, αἱρεῖ δὲ Γάδαρα πολιορκήσας δέκα μησίν, αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατῳκημένων, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζήνωνος εἶχεν.
>
> Thereupon Alexander, being rid of his fear of Ptolemy, at once marched on Coele-Syria and took Gadara after a siege of ten months, and also took Amathus, the greatest stronghold of those occupied beyond the Jordan. (Ant. 13. 356)

The Amathus here (modern Tell 'Ammata) was apparently a stronghold north of the confluence of the Wadi Zarka and the Jordan River.[60] Because of its proximity to Gadara of Peraea (modern as-Salt) it may be possible to understand that Alexander took this Gadara and not Gadara of the Decapolis. But Gadara of the Decapolis, along with Amathus, were strategically located along the Jordan Valley. They both would have been important fortresses facing west for any power controlling the east bank. The control of both of these sites

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[60]The location could be a bit farther north, viz., along the Wadi Rajib.

would have been crucial for Alexander's policy in the Transjordan.

Significant also is Josephus' description of the effort which Alexander expended in subjugating Gadara. He had to resort to siege tactics (πολιορκία / πολιορκέω) in order to take the city. Not only that, but the procedure required ten months. Gadara must have had formidable defense structures at this time.

The next reference to Gadara concerns the events in 94 or 93 B.C. when Alexander was confronted by the king of the Nabataeans, Obedas I (ruled ca. 96-87 B.C.):

> συνάψας δὲ μάχην πρὸς Ὀβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ πεσὼν εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐν χωρίοις πετρώδεσι καὶ δυσβάτοις ὑπὸ πλήθους καμήλων εἰς βαθεῖαν κατερράχθη φάραγγα κατὰ Γάδαρα κώμην τῆς Ἰουδάνιδος καὶ μόλις αὐτὸς διασώζεται, φεύγων δ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγίνεται.
>
> And falling into an ambush in a rough and difficult region, he [Alexander] was pushed by a multitude of camels into a deep ravine near Gadara, a village of Gaulanitis, and barely escaped with his own life, and fleeing from there, came to Jerusalem. (Ant. 13. 375)

This text is debated for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the territorial designation Ἰουδάνιδος is poorly attested. The reading favored by the majority of (and best) manuscripts is Γαλααδίτιδος , which is Gilead or the region of the Transjordan between the Yarmuk River and Moab to the south.

The other textual problem concerns Gadara itself. Additional possible readings are γὰρ Ἄδρα (which makes no sense after the preposition κατά), Γάραδα , and Χάραδα . But where these are is anyone's guess. The topography around

the Yarmuk fits well for a defeat by the Nabataean forces, as the rout of the Byzantines by the Islamic army in the seventh century attests. There is a suggestion that there is a village in the vicinity with the same name as Gadara.[61] Moreover, it seems strange that Josephus would call Gadara of the Decapolis a κώμη ("village, town," as opposed to a fortified city). However, it still remains difficult to determine which "Gadara" Josephus had in mind. In any event, Alexander defeated Obedas someplace in the Yarmuk Valley not too far from Gadara of the Decapolis.

In summarizing the conquests of Alexander, Josephus offers the following list:

> ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ ὅλην Ἰδουμαίαν, Σαμάρειαν Καρμήλιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος Σκυθόπολιν Γάδαρα Γαυλανίτιδας Σελεύκειαν Γάβαλα, Μωαβίτιδας Ἡσεβὼν Μήδαβα Λεμβα Ὀρωναιμαχελεθων Ζόαρα Κιλίκων αὐλῶνα Πέλλαν, ταύτην κατέσκαψεν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐς πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι, ἄλλας τε πόλεις πεωτευούσας τῆς Συρίας ἦσαν κατεστρεμμένοι.
>
> In the interior, toward Idumaea, Adora and Marisa, and the whole of Idumaea and Samaria and Mount Carmel and Mount Tabor and Scythopolis and Gadara. (Ant. 13. 396-397)

It is apparent from this list that Alexander was concerned with controlling the most strategic locations between western Palestine and the plateau lands toward the east: Gabala,[62]

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[61]See F.-M. Abel, Geographie de la Palestine (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1938; repr. ed., 1967), 2:149, for the suggestion that this Gadara was a village in southern Gaulanitis.

[62]Gabala is somewhere in Gaulanitis, perhaps in the Jabal ad-Druze area. A variant reading is Γάμαλα , which was apparently in southern Gaulanitis.

Gadara,[63] Heshbon, and Madeba. This Gadara could have only been Gadara of the Decapolis.

In 64/63 B.C. Pompey came on the scene. Josephus records the reorganization of provincial Syria as follows:

> ἀνακτίζει δὲ καὶ Γάδαρα ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεστραμμένη Γαδαρεῖ τινὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος. ἠλευθέρωσεν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἵππον Σκυθόπολίν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαν Ἄζωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν.
>
> To gratify Demetrius, one of his freemen, a Gadarene, he [Pompey] rebuilt Gadara, which had been destroyed by the Jews. He also liberated from their rule all of the towns in the interior which they had not already razed to the ground, namely Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, Jamnia, Marisa, Azotus, and Arethusa. (Bell. 1. 155-156)

And the parallel account:

> καὶ Γάδαρα μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καταστραφεῖσαν ἀνέκτισεν Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς Ἵππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ Ἰαμνείαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν.
>
> He [Pompey] also rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little while before, to please Demetrius the Gadarene, his freedman. (Ant. 14. 75)

What is suggested in this account is that Gadara was at one time destroyed.[64] But the participle used (from καταστρέφω) does not necessarily mean "demolished." It may simply mean (in its perfect or aorist passive form) "subdued."[65] Whether Gadara had actually been destroyed will, of course, depend

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[63]On Gadara there is a textual problem (variants Ἄδαρα [modern Dera'a?] and Γάζαρας) but the preferred reading remains Γάδαρα .

[64]This is implied by the verb ἀνακτίζω , used in both accounts, which ordinarily means "rebuild."

[65]Cf. also the account above (Bell. 1. 86/Ant. 13. 356) where Josephus refers to the fact that Alexander simply "took" the city.

on the archaeological investigation of the site.[66]

After the Battle of Actium Octavian met with Herod the Great, and in addition to confirming Herod as king he granted him additional territory to administer[67]:

> ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέθηκεν τήν τε ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀποτμηθεῖσαν χώραν καὶ ἔξωθεν Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παραλίων Γάζαν καὶ Ἄνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον.
>
> Accordingly, when Caesar reached Egypt, after the death of Cleopatra and Antony, he not only conferred new honors upon him, but also annexed to his kingdom the territory which Cleopatra had appropriated, with the addition of Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria, and the maritime towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. (Bell. 1. 396)

And the parallel reference:

> προσέθηκεν δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι δὲ τῆς παραλίου Γάζαν καὶ Ἄνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον.
>
> He [Caesar] also added to his [Herod's] realm Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria, and on the coast also Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Straton's Tower. (Ant. 15. 217)

Why Gadara and Hippos, cities which had been liberated from Jewish control by Pompey, were added to Herod's dominions is not entirely clear.[68] It may have had something to do with

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[66]To date no evidence can be adduced that Gadara suffered a "catastrophic" destruction at this time. Further excavations at the site may bear this out.

[67]The battle occured in 31 B.C. Herod went to Rhodes and was confirmed by Octavian in the spring of 30 B.C. The meeting between Octavian and Herod in which Octavian gave Herod more territory took place in Alexandria that summer, after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. See Abraham Schalit, König Herodes: der Mann und sein Werk, trans. from Hebrew ed. (1960) by Jehoschua Amir (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), pp. 124-131.

[68]Michael Grant, in Herod the Great (New York: American Heritage Press, 1971), p. 97, indicates that Octavian's decision was a gesture in expanding Herod's domains near to what had been achieved by the Hasmonaeans. Grant suggests

Herod's diplomacy. Evidently his political skills paid off, and Octavian felt he could trust Herod's administrative abilities.[69]

After thirty-some years of autonomy within the Decapolis, however, it must not have been easy for Gadara to submit to an autocrat. After almost ten years under Herod's rule some of its citizens were agitating for change:

> Γαδαρέων δέ τινες ἐπ' Ἀγρίππαν ἦλθον κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς δοὺς ἀναπέμπει τῷ βασιλεῖ δεσμίους.
>
> Some of the Gadarenes went to Agrippa with charges against Herod, he sent them in chains to the king without even giving them a hearing. (Ant. 15. 351)[70]

It was undoubtedly because of Herod's friendship with Agrippa that the Gadarene mission was unsuccessful.

When Augustus visited Syria in 20 B.C. the people of Gadara tried again and brought charges directly to the emperor:

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also that Octavian saw a threat in the Parthians and recognized in Herod the political and tactical expertise needed for such a crucial situation. Schalit (p. 130) maintains that all of the territory granted to Herod was intended to help him strengthen his power base in Palestine both politically and economically.

At the same time, Scythopolis, another Decapolis city, and the only one west of the Jordan, never became part of Herod's kingdom.

[69]In the Ant. passage, immediately preceding the above citation, Josephus reports that Herod "with greater openness conversed with Caesar, as if already a friend." Later (in 22 B.C.?) Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis were given to Herod (cf. Ant. 15. 343).

[70]M. Vispanius Agrippa (63-12 B.C.) was a close friend, aide, and son-in-law (by marriage to Julia) of Augustus. He was in the east at Mytilene in ca. 23-21 B.C. when the delegation from Gadara met him.

καὶ τότε τῶν Γάδαρα κατοικούντων οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεβοών Ἡρώδου βαρὺν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν καὶ τυραννικὸν εἶναι.

> And on this occasion most of those who inhabited Gadara denounced Herod as being too severe in his orders and tyrannical. (Ant. 15. 354)

From Josephus' account it is apparent that dissatisfaction in Gadara with Herod's rule was widespread (οἱ πλεῖστοι). Whether this was due more to Herod's administration or to the encouragements of a certain Zenodorus whom Josephus mentions (Ant. 15. 355) is difficult to ascertain. The latter instance, however, certainly fueled the discontent with Herod.

Zenodorus, understandably, had much to begrudge Herod.[71] Consequently, he had a lot to gain by inciting the Gadarenes. Josephus notes that his inducements were successful:

τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ Γαδαρεῖς οὐ μικρὰν καταβοὴν ἐποιήσαντο θράσει τοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα παραδοθέντας ἐν τιμωρίᾳ γενέσθαι διεφθαρμένου Ἡρώδου καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένου.

> Persuaded by these assurances, the Gadarenes raised a great outcry, for they were emboldened by the fact that Herod had let off the men turned over (to him) by Agrippa for punishment, and had done them no harm. (Ant. 15. 356)

Josephus also interprets part of the Gadarenes' determination as deriving from their previous experience with Agrippa and Herod, where the accusers were treated lightly and released.

Nevertheless, this enterprise of the Gadarenes led to

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[71] Zenodorus was tetrarch of much of Trachonitis, Auranitis, Batanaea, Gaulanitis, and Paneas from about 37/35 to 22/20 B.C. His domains were greatly reduced when Augustus transferred much of this territory to Herod. See E. Mary Smallwood, The Jews under Roman Palestine (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 86-87.

more disastrous consequences than their earlier endeavor:

> οἱ γὰρ Γαδαρεῖς ὁρῶντες τὴν ἔφοπὴν αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ προσδοκήσαντες ὅπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκδοθήσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ φόβον αἰκίας οἱ μὲν ἀπέσφαττον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τινὲς δὲ καθ' ὑψους ἠφίεσαν, ἄλλοι δ' εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτοντες ἑκοντὶ διεφθείροντο.
>
> For the Gadarenes saw to which side both Caesar himself and his council were inclined, . . . They were afraid of being maltreated, and so some of them cut their own throats during the night, while others threw themselves down from high places or wilfully destroyed themselves by jumping into the river. (Ant. 15. 358)

The suggestion has been made that the river mentioned here was perhaps the Yarmuk,[72] which flows by Gadara below the steep embankment on the northern side of the city. Since Josephus says, however, that Augustus was in Antioch (Ant. 15. 359) the river was undoubtedly the Orontes.

After Herod's death in 4 B.C. Augustus split up his kingdom among Herod's three surviving sons. The following cities were exempted from this partition:

> τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας Γάζαν καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς βασιλείας προσέθηκεν Συρίᾳ.
>
> The subjected to Archelaus were Strato's Tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem; the Greek towns of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were, on the other hand, detached from his principality and annexed to Syria. (Bell. 2. 97)

The corresponding passage reads as follows:

> Γάζαν γὰρ καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον, Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶν πόλεις, ἀποῤῥήξας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως Συρίας προσθήκην ποιεῖται.
>
> As for Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos, they were among the Greek cities which Caesar detached from (the territory)

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[72]Note on Ant. 15. 358 in Josephus, The Antiquities, ed. Henry St. John Thackeray, Ralph Marcus, Allen Wikgren, and Louis H. Feldman, 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press and William Heinemann, 1926-1965).

> obedient to him [Archelaus] and added to Syria. (Ant. 17. 320)

Although Augustus may have had good reasons for incorporating the above-named cities into Herod's kingdom,[73] he now considered it expedient to detach them from the Herodian lands. Josephus implies (by characterizing the cities as Hellenistic) that Augustus' decision may have been due to ethnic reasons. The Gadarenes' chafing under Herod's rule[74] may have influenced Augustus to make this decision as well. When these three cities were attached to the province of Syria, Gadara and Hippos no doubt resumed their association with the other cities of the Decapolis.[75]

The next mention of Gadara by Josephus occurs in his account of the Galilean phase of the Jewish War. As part of the reprisals for the massacre of Jews in Caesarea in 66 A.D. Greek cities were attacked:

> διαμερισθέντες τάς τε κώμας τῶν Σύρων καὶ τὰς προσεχούσας ἐπόρθουν πόλεις, Φιλαδελφίαν τε καὶ Ἐσεβωνῖτιν καὶ Γέρασα καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν. ἐπῆλθον Ταδάροις καὶ Ἵππῳ καὶ τῇ Γαυλανίτιδι προσπεσόντες τὰ μὲν κατασκεψάμενοι.
>
> And parties of Jews sacked the Syrian villages and the neighboring cities, Philadelphia, Heshbon and its district, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis. Next they fell upon Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulanitis, destroying or setting fire to all in their path, and advanced to Kedasa, a Tyrian village, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Caesarea. (Bell. 2. 458-459)

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[73]See n. 68 above.

[74]See p. 59 above.

[75]Pompey had incorporated all three towns (Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos) into Syria in 64/63 B.C. (see Bell. 1. 157). The members of the Decapolis, however, had a certain degree of autonomy with political and territorial privileges and responsibilities.

Correlative is a report that a Justus of Tiberias incited his fellow-citizens and did the same:

> ἐξελθὼν σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐμπίπρησιν τάς τε Γαδαρηνῶν καὶ Ἱππηνῶν κώμας, αἳ δὴ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγχανον κείμεναι.
>
> Justus . . . marched out with all his followers and set fire to the villages belonging to Gadara and Hippos, which lay on the frontiers of Tiberias and of the territory of Scythopolis. (Vita 42)

There is some question about Justus' motives (were they revolutionary or personal?), but that he did attack Gadara and Hippos is generally not doubted.[76] The maneuvers attributed to Justus and his group were part of the phenomena occurring throughout the area as Josephus has pictured the situation in Bell. 2. 458-459.

According to Josephus' narrative it is difficult to determine exactly what Gadara's fate was. Some cities the Jewish raiders destroyed (καταστρεψάμενοι),[77] others they set on fire (ὑποπρήσαντες), but what happened to which cities and to what extent is not clear. The statement in the Vita, that they set fire to "the villages of Gadara and Hippos," suggests that skirmishes were restricted to outlying areas or suburban districts. It is not easy to visualize how marauding parties could seriously inflict damage on the fortified cities themselves anyhow.

The people of the Greek cities killed or imprisoned

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[76]Shaye J. D. Cohen, Josephus in Galilee and Rome (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 133 and 134.

[77]Ordinarily the middle of the verb simply means "subdue, make subject to," but the root meaning "turn down, trample on" and the context in the passages require the meaning "destroy."

their Jewish neighbors as countermeasures. In this pogrom Gadara also participated:

> Ἱππηνοί τε καὶ Γαδαρεῖς ὁμοίως τοὺς μὲν θρασυτέρους ἀπεσκευάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ φοβερους διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον.
>
> Similarly the people of Hippos and Gadara made away with the more daring of their enemies and kept the timid folk in custody. (Bell. 2. 478)

The Gadarenes may have even ventured into Galilee itself:

> τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἔθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ καὶ βαραγναῖοι καὶ Τύριοι, πολλὴν ἀθροίσαντες δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐπιπεσόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ Γισχαλα κατὰ κράτος, καὶ πυρπολήσαντες εἶτα δὲ προσκαταskάψαντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέζευξαν.
>
> The inhabitants of the neighboring states, Gadara, Gabara, Sogane, and Tyre, mustered a large force, stormed and took Gischala, burnt and razed it to the ground, and returned to their homes. (Vita 44)

The likelihood of a reciprocal attack involving Gadara has been regarded with skepticism.[78] However, in view of the far-reaching incursions of the Jews (according to Bell. 2. 458-459, their sweep began in the south at Heshbon and Philadelphia), it does not seem unreasonable to expect that the Greeks would attempt a show of strength by striking a position in upper Galilee.[79]

After the battle on Lake Tiberias in September of 67 A.D. Vespasian sat in judgment over the defeated rebels. Josephus calls attention to one component of this group:

> οἱ μέντοι γε ἄλλος ὄχλος Τραχωνῖται καὶ Γαυλανῖται καὶ

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[78]See, e.g., Cohen, p. 4, n. 6. He asserts that the identities of the neighboring peoples (including the Gadarenes) are uncertain because of the faulty textual tradition. Furthermore, he questions the motives which the Gadarenes had in attacking Gischala.

[79]Gischala was not the largest nor the most important stronghold, but it was fortified (see Bell. 2. 575; 4. 84-86).

Ἱππηνοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαδαρίτιδος

> The remainder of this mob [from the rebels who were defeated] consisted, for the most part, of the people from Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Hippos, and Gadara, a crowd of seditious individuals and fugitives, to whom their infamous careers in peacetime gave war its attractions. (Bell. 3. 542)

Part of Josephus' motive is to demonstrate how Taricheae's revolutionary spirit was fueled by agitators from the outside.[80] The contingent from Gadara probably fled to Taricheae in the wake of the Greek measures against the Jewish reprisals for the massacre at Caesarea (Bell. 2. 478).

The remaining two references by Josephus to Gadara are geographical. In one he notes its relation to Galilee:

πρὸς ἕω δὲ Ἱππηνῇ τε Γαδάρους ἀποτέμνεται καὶ τῇ Γαυλωνίτιδι·

> On the east the country of Galilee is bounded by the territory of Hippos, Gadara, and Gaulanitis, the frontier of Agrippa's kingdom. (Bell. 3. 37)

In the other he relates its distance from Tiberias:

ἡ δὲ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε, κειμένη ἐν τῇ Γεννησαρίδι λίμνῃ καὶ ἀπέχουσα Ἵππου μὲν στάδια τριάκοντα, Γαδάρων δὲ ἑξήκοντα, Σκυθοπόλεως δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

> Your native city, Justus, on the contrary, situated on the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty and from Scythopolis . . . one hundred and twenty, with no Jewish city in the vicinity, might easily, had it so desired, have kept faith with the Romans. (Vita 349)

This distance to Gadara (according to the locations of the places that Josephus mentions) is calculated according to the land route.

Two other uses of "Gadara" by Josephus are sometimes considered to refer to Gadara of the Decapolis. In one

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[80]Cohen, p. 209.

(Bell. 1. 170, parallel Ant. 14. 91) Josephus relates that Gabinius (governor of Syria 57-55 B.C.) established five administrative centers for the Jews. Since Gadara of the Decapolis was a Greek city (and recently detached from Jewish control), the town named is probably Gadara of Peraea.[81] The other occurrence (Bell. 3. 132) is in the narration of Vespasian's advances in the spring of 67 A.D. The manuscripts read that Vespasian attacked Gadara. More likely, however, it was Gabara, a city of Galilee about 5 km north of Sephoris.[82]

Late Roman and Early Byzantine

Claudius Ptolemaeus, a geographer of the second

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[81]A variant reading in both documents (in three different witnesses) is γαδωρεως (Gadora), which would confirm this interpretation. "Gadora" is the more common spelling for Gadara of Peraea.

According to Thackeray we should read "Gazara." In 1 Maccabees 14:34 Simon took a certain Gazara, a town between Jerusalem and Joppa, fortified it, and there settled Jews. In his edition of Bellum Thackeray suggests that this Gazara was Old Testament Gezer. Josephus, The Jewish War, Books I-IV, Loeb Classical Library, transl. Henry St. John Thackeray (London and New York: William Heinemann and G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 78, n. b. But according to the excavators of Gezer the site was probably abandoned about 100 B.C. See William G. Dever, H. Darrel Lance, and G. Ernest Wright, Gezer I: Preliminary Report of the 1964-66 Seasons (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School, 1970), p. 6; and William G. Dever, H. Darrel Lance, Reuben G. Bullard, Dan P. Cole, and Joe D. Seger, Gezer II: Report of the 1967-70 Seasons in Fields I and II (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1974), pp. 43 and 87.

[82]This is a conjecture in the apparatus (of the Niese ed.). Marcus and Wikgren (in the Loeb ed.) have it inserted into the text. Since Vespasian is in Galilee at this time, both Gadara of Peraea and Gazara of Judaea can safely be ruled out.

century A.D. (perhaps ca. 100-180 A.D.), includes Gadara in his list of cities of the Decapolis:

ΚΟΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ. Δεκαπόλεως πόλεις.

Ἡλιόπολις	68	40.	33	40
Ἄβιλα	68	45.	33	20
Γαδαρα	69	20.	33	26
Ἴνα	68	30.	33	0
Δαμασκος	69	.	33	0
Σαμυλις	67	30.	32	30
Ἄβιδα	68	15.	32	45
Ἵππος	68	32.	32	30
Καποτολιας	68	45.	32	30
Ἴδαρα	68	.	32	10
Ἄδρα	68	40.	32	10
Σκυθοπολις	67	20.	31	56
Γερασα	68	15.	31	45
Πελλα	67	40.	31	40
Διον	67	50.	31	50
Γαδωρα	67	45.	31	30
Φιλαδελφια	68	.	31	20
Καναθα	68	50.	31	45

(de Geographia 5. 15)[83]

One noticeable difference between Ptolemy's list and that of Pliny[84] is the number of cities each enumerates. Pliny names only ten, while Ptolemy lists eighteen. The most likely explanation is that Pliny designates the ten cities which gave the "Decapolis" its name (or which he thought had). Ptolemy, on the other hand, included all the πόλεις (or, at least, the ones he could think of) which were situated within the geographical area known as the Decapolis.[85]

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[83]The Greek text can be found in Geographiae Veteris Theatrum, ed. Petrus Bertius (Leiden: Isaac Elzevir, 1618).

[84]In his Naturalis Historia (5. 16). Cf. above p. 43.

[85]The "Decapolis" was split in two in Trajan's provincial reorganization in 105/106 A.D. The Nabataean state was annexed and made into Provincia Arabia along with Adraa, Philadelphia, and Gerasa, perhaps also Dion (Bietenhardt, p. 244f). What the Decapolis originally included or encompassed may have been obscured for a later writer such as Ptolemy. This could also account for the discrepancy between the two

The other thing that should be noted in Ptolemy's list is the orthography. The spelling Ιδαρα could have resulted from confusion between Ι and Γ, with a subsequent omission of the first α. Bertius has noted in the margin, however, that Gadara is the intended reading. According to Ptolemy's coordinates (68°, 32° 10'), it is obvious that he means Gadara of the Decapolis.

In the Itinerarium Antonini, a second or early third century "guidebook,"[86] two references to Gadara occur. The first is in a journey from Eumari (a town in Syria between Damascus and Homs/ Emesa) to Neapolis (in Palestine, ca. 10 km southeast of Nablus/ Sabaste/Samaria):

Item ab Eumari Neapolim	*mpm ccxxvii sic*
Geroda	*mpm xl*
Thelsae	*mpm xvi*
Damasco	*mpm xxiiii*
Aere	*mpm xxxii*
Neve	*mpm xxx*
Capitoliada	*mpm xxxvi*
Gadara	*mpm xvi*
Scytopoli	*mpm xvi*
In medio	*mpm x*
Neapoli	*mpm vii*

(Itin. Ant. 195.9-197.4)

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lists.

R. Smith (p. 46) suggests that Ptolemy combined two lists, since the first four or five names are those of cities in Coele-Syria while most of the remaining ones belong to the region of the Decapolis.

[86]The editors of the document used, G. Parthey and M. Pinder, maintain that even though there was later editing activity (primarily updating) the document probably originated under one of the emperors bearing the name Antoninus. They suggest Caracalla (188-217 A.D.; became M. Aurelius Antoninus in 196) since his father, Septimius Severus, had itineraries drawn up for Britain. See Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum, ed. G. Parthey and M. Pinder (Berlin: Friederich Nicolai, 1848), pp. v-vi.

The other reference occurs in an itinerary from Seriane (also in Syria, between Homs and Aleppo) to Scythopolis:

Item a Seriane Scytopoli	*mpm cccsviii*	*sic*
Salaminiada	*mpm xxxii*	
Emesa	*mpm xviii*	
Laudicia	*mpm xviii*	
Libo	*mpm xxxii*	
Heliupoli	*mpm xxxii*	
Abila	*mpm xxxviii*	
Damasco	*mpm xviii*	
Aere	*mpm xxxii*	
Neve	*mpm xxx*	
Capitoliada	*mpm xxxvi*	
Gadara	*mpm xvi*	
Scytopoli	*mpm xvi*	

(Itin. Ant. 197.5-198.11)

According to both itineraria Gadara was located 16 Roman miles (ca. 23.7 km) from Capitolias and 16 from Scythopolis. This corresponds to the distance calculated along the modern roads (which generally follow the ancient ones). These itineraria also demonstrate that Gadara was on one of the main routes between Syria and western Palestine.

In his compendium of biblical sites, the Onomasticon, Eusebius of Caesarea makes the following entry concerning the places mentioned in the Gospels:

> Γάδαρα (Matth. 8, 28). πόλις πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἀντικρὺ Σκυθόπολις καὶ Τιβεριάδος πρὸς ἀνατολαῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει, οὗ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τὰ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων λουτρὰ παράκειται.
>
> Gadara (Matthew 8:28): a city beyond the Jordan, opposite Scythopolis and Tiberias on the hill to the east. At the foot of its hill lie the thermal baths. (Onom. s.v. "Γαδαρα ")[87]

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[87]The text of the document can be found in Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen, ed. Erich Klostermann, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, vol. 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904). According to Johannes Quasten, in Patrology, vol. 3 (Utrecht/Antwerp and Westminster, MD: Spectrum Publishers and Newman Press, 1963), p. 336, the Onomasticon was

Eusebius' description fits the topographical situation well (even if he only gives it in general terms). At some distance away he locates the hot springs of al-Hammeh (Gadara is ἐν τῷ ὄρει , the springs πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρείαις). Although he cites Matthew 8:28 Eusebius says nothing of the healing of the demoniacs but reserves that comment for his next entry on Γεργασα.[88]

In an entry on the Decapolis Eusebius mentions three of its cities:

> Δεκάπολις (Matth. 4,25). ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ Περαίᾳ κειμένη ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἵππον καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Γαδάραν.
>
> Decapolis (Matthew 4:25): in the Gospels. This is the area which lies next to Peraea, the land around Hippos and Pella and Gadara. (Onom. s.v. "Δεκάπολις")

Why only three towns are listed is not clear. They are immediately north of Peraea and form a solid unit between it and the Sea of Galilee. Perhaps Eusebius believed (or followed a tradition) that these districts represented the farthest eastward extension of Jesus' ministry into the Gentile lands beyond the Jordan. It is also possible that these three districts, since they were the closest to the area west of the Jordan River, were the most familiar of

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written at the suggestion of Paulinus of Tyre, who died in 331 A.D., so the work had to have been composed before that. However, it seems that Eusebius could have written (or finished writing) it any time up until his own death in 339 A.D. The most precise estimate for a date of composition would be sometime in the 320s or 330s.

[88]It is interesting that Eusebius has Gergesa here instead of the preferred reading of the text, "Gerasa." It may be the reading of his manuscript(s). On the other hand, Eusebius simply could be interpreting the text.

those comprising the Decapolis and therefore are used partes pro toto.

A note to Eusebius' entry on Γεργασεί, a "city" (as he calls it) of the Girgashites of Deuteronomy 7:1, has the following:

> Γεργασεί (Deut. 7,1). ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου παρακειμένη πόλις τῷ Γαλαάδ, ἣν ἔλαβε φυλὴ Μανασσῆ. αὕτη δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἡ Γέργασα, πόλις ἐπίσημος τῆς Ἀραβίας. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν Γάδαρὰν φασιν. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῶν Γερασσινῶν.
>
> Gergesa (Deuteronomy 7:1): Beyond the Jordan there is located a city of Galaad, which the tribe of Manasseh took. This is said to be Gergesa, a distinguished city of Arabia. But some say this is Gadara. And the Gospel mentions the Gerassenes. (Onom. s.v."Γεργασεί")

This comment is similar to what Origen said in his commentary on John 6:41.[89] It is interesting that for the final word, Jerome has translated Gergessenorum. There is no variant reading for Eusebius' term in Klostermann's edition. Jerome may have thought that Eusebius had erred here, since he already referred to Gerasa. Eusebius, however, seems to be calling attention to the locus where Gadara occurs (Matthew 8:28-34) and mentioning that this account (in Mark and Luke) also attests to the event taking place in the land "of the Gerassines."

Epiphanius (ca. 315-483), bishop of Constantia (modern Salamis, Cyprus) from 367 A.D. until his death, fought almost his whole life against heresies of his age. Probably at the request of others[90] he prepared his manual, the Panarion

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[89]Also see above, p. 49.

[90]See Quasten, p. 388.

(also referred to as Adversus Haereses), in which he treats eighty heresies that had emerged by his time. In the section on the Ebionites, Epiphanius relates the story of a visit to some baths near Gadara:

> παραγίνονται γοῦν εἰς Γάδαρα, εἰς τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα. Πανήγυρις δὲ ἐκεῖ κατ' ἔτος ἄγεται. Ἀπέρχονται γὰρ παντοχόθεν οἱ βουλόμενοι λούσασθαι ἡμέρας τινάς, νοσημάτων δῆθεν ἀποβολῆς ἕνεκεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ διαβολικὸν στρατήγημα. Ἔνθα γὰρ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ θαύματα γεγένηται, προύλαβεν ὁ δι' ἐναντίας θεῖναι αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀλετήρια δίκτυα. Ἀνδρόγυνα γὰρ ἐκεῖσθε λούονται.
>
> At any rate, they arrived at Gadara, at the thermal waters. There every year a festival is held. And they come from all over, those who wish to bathe for several days, for the sake of a cure for their diseases, which is really a diabolical scheme. For where wonders from God have happened, there the adversary has already laid out the destroying nets. Men and women bathe together there. (Panar. 1. 2 Haer. 30. 7)[91]

These are the baths at al-Hammeh on the Yarmuk. Epiphanius' report reveals something about their use (particularly at Gadara) in the fourth century. Apparently there was some kind of annual health festival. Epiphanius does not say anything more about it than what is in the text. He does go on, however, to elucidate his final comment, that men and women bathed together.[92] During the earlier days of the empire this had not been the practice. If women did not bathe at home, there were separate establishments for them.[93] Ap-

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[91]The text is in J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologiae Graecae, vol. 41 (Paris, 1863), cols. 173-1199.

[92]In the section following, Epiphanius tells how a young man made a pass at "an unusually beautiful free woman" and was rejected.

[93]See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 28. Mixed bathing was expressly prohibited by Hadrian, M. Aurelius, and as

parently the Gadarene baths had "deteriorated."

Rabbinic Literature

A number of references to Gadara occur in the corpus of rabbinic writings. One of them is found in the Palestinian Talmud, a document which seems to have had its final redaction sometime during the first half of the 5th century A.D.:

> רבי יונתן סלק עם רבי יודה נשיא להמתא דאדר הורי תמן הוולד כשר.
> — — — —
> אמר רבי חזקיה אנא ידע ראשה וסופה. ר' חמא ברחנינה הוה אזול מיסוק להמתא דאדר אתא לגביאבוי א"ל להב דעתך דאית תמן מן אינון פסולייא הלא תפגע בהון.

> Rabbi Jonathan went up with Rabbi Judah the Prince to Hamatha of Gadara, where he taught that the offspring is valid.
> - - - -
> Rabbi Hezekiah said, "I know its beginning and its end. Rabbi Hama bar Haninah was going to the hot springs of Hamatha of Gadara. He came to his father, and he said to him, 'Know that there are diseased people there, and do not insult them'." (pQid 64c)[94]

The Hebrew construction indicates that the hot springs were part of the territory of Gadara (Hammat of Geder/Gadara).[95] The comment that Rabbi Jonathan "taught" there could mean

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late as Severus Alexander (222-235 A.D.), at least in Rome.

[94]For the problems of redaction and dating see Herman L. Strack and Günther Stemberger, Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch, 7th ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), pp. 167-169.
The system of notation used for the citations is fairly standard in studies of rabbinic literature. See Strack/Stemberger, pp. 330-332.

[95]True for this period (2nd-4th century), at least. R. Jonathan belonged to the 3rd generation of Tannaim (ca. 130-160 A.D.), R. Judah to the 4th generation of Tannaim (d. ca. 217), R. Hezekiah to the 5th generation of Amoraim (4th century), and R. Hama bar Haninah to the 2nd generation of Amoraim (3rd century).

that there was a school in the vicinity.[96] Excavations have uncovered the remains of an ancient synagogue there.[97]

In the Midrash Rabbah of Genesis, which dates to approximately the same period as the Palestinian Talmud, is the following statement of Rabbi Abba bar Kahana:

> Rabbi Abba bar Kahana said, "Never arose such great philosophers in the world as Balaam son of Beor and Abnomos of Gadara. (GenR 65.20)[98]

The same person, Abnimos of Gadara, is the topic of the following passage from the Midrash Rabbah of Ruth (4th/5th century?):

> The mother of Abnimos of Gadara died, and Rabbi Meir went up to condole with him and he found him sitting in mourning. (RutR 2.13)[99]

The Gadarene Abnimos (אבנימוס, sometimes appearing simply as נימוס) is probably the same person as Oenoumaus of Gadara, a cynic philosopher of the second century. According

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[96]Cf. bRH 22a, where "Shazpar, head of Geder" is referred to. This "Geder" is usually interpreted to be a Gadara in Judaea. Since there is no indication for that in the context, however, it is difficult to locate it precisely.

[97]On the western mound called Tell Bani a synagogue was found which was probably built at the beginning of the 5th century. See Yizhar Hirschfeld, "The History and Townplan of Ancient Hammat-Gader," ZDPV 103 (1987):114.

[98]R. Abba was of the 3rd generation of Amoraim and a student of R. Jochanan bar Nappacha (d. 279). See Strack/Stemberger (pp. 259-261) for a general dating of GenR.

[99]Statements in the context are attributed to R. Meir, who was of the 3rd generation of Tannaim (ca. 130-160 A.D.). Although no rabbi after the 4th century appears in RutR, it is usually dated to around 500 A.D. due to literary characteristics. See Strack/Stemberger, p. 290.

to tradition he and Rabbi Meir were friends.[100] There seems to be little doubt that this Gadara was the Hellenistic-Roman city of the Decapolis.

From the tractate Erubin of the Babylonian Talmud (a 6th century production[101]), which discusses how certain Sabbath regulations can be circumvented, comes the following rule:

> אמר רב יוסף מנא אמינא לה דתניא התיך ר' שיהו בני גדר יורדין להמתאן ואין בני המתן עולין לגדר.
>
> Rabbi Joseph said, from where do I understand the ruling for this? From the thing taught. Rabbi allowed the sons of Gadara to go down to Hamathan, but he did not allow the sons of Hamathan to go up to Gadara. (bEr 61a)

The reasoning behind this regulation is given immediately following it:

> ספרא אמר עיר העשויה כקשת הואי רב דימי בר חנינה אמר אנשי עיר גדולה ואנשי עיר קטנה הואי רב כהנא מתני הכי רב שבי יומי מתני הכי רב ספרא ורב דימי בר חנינא תך אמר עיר העשויה כקשת הואי וחד אמר אנשי עיר קטנה ואנשי עיר גדולה הואי.
>
> Rabbi Sifra said, the city [Gadar] was built as a bow. Rabbi Dimi bar Hinena said, the men of the large city . . . (bEr 61a)

Hamethan is another name for the site of the baths (Hammat-

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[100]In addition to that, there is a tradition which says that R. Meir was a descendant of proselytes, and that in some respects he was quite "liberal," especially in his relationships with the non-Jewish world. See Encylopedia Judaica, 1971 ed., s.v. "Meir," by A'haron Oppenheimer.

Cf. also bHag 15b. Some interpret "Nimos the weaver" (אדדי) to be "[Ab]nimos the Gadarene" (גדרי), who in this context is speaking with R. Meir. See The Babylonian Talmud, trans. and ed. Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1938), p. 100, nn. 6 and 7.

[101]For a discussion of the dating of bT and the difficulties therein, see Strack/Stemberger, pp. 187-199. According to authorities such as Berkovits, Epstein, and Albeck, bT seems to have been completed in the middle of the 6th century.

Geder), which was about 3 km northwest of Gadara and included a change of elevation from about 360 m above sea level to about 200 m below sea level. The reason there was a difference for the people of the two towns is that Gadara was a "large" town while Hammat was a "small" one.[102]

In a discussion in the tractate Sanhedrin concerning the "fountains of the deep" from the Great Flood is the following explanation of them:

> כל מעינות תהום א״ר יוחנן שלשה נשתיירו מהם בלועה דאדר וחמי טבריה ועיניא רבתי דבירם.
>
> All the fountains of the great deep. Rabbi Johanan said, three were left from them, the gulf of Gadara, the hot [springs] of Tiberias, and the great spring of Biram. (bSan 108a)

The "whirlpool" or "eddy" of Gader refers to the hot springs of Hammat, which were probably more well known in antiquity than those at Tiberias or Biram (Callirhoe).

The final citation from the rabbinic literature is found in the Midrash Rabbah of Ecclesiastes:

> "Have you ever been to the hot spring of Gadara?" "Yes." "In the season or out of the season?" "Both." "Were supplies of food obtainable there?" "They were obtainable." "In the season or out of it?" "Both in and out of the season, because crowds bring foodstuff there to

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[102]Besides the difference in size, the point from where one measured the Sabbath limit was important. The jist of this whole discussion is that the people of Gadara were free to walk through the whole area of Hamethan, while the people of Hamethan could only walk to their Sabbath limit (2000 cubits), which meant only about half-way through Gadara. For further clarification see Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, gen. ed. Isidore Epstein (London, Jerusalem, and New York: Soncino Press, 1960-88), p. 61a, nn. c18-20 and d1.

buy and sell." (KohR. 5. 10. 1)[103]

This hot spring obviously refers to the baths at Hammat-Geder. The context indicates that there was quite a bit of commercial activity also occurring at the baths with the selling of provisions to the guests.

Later Antiquity

In the sixth century an archdeacon by the name of Theodosius wrote an itinerary entitled De situ terrae sanctae in which he mentions Gadara:

> *In Arabia sunt ciuitates, quas Hiesu Naue destruxit, ubi manebant Amorrei, Gergesaei et Ferezei, tredecim, id est Iuncta, Volumta, Medeua, Musica, Filadelphia, Gerassa, Genara, Vostra, Damasco, Gadara, Auila, Capitulia, Astra.*
>
> In Arabia there are cities which H. N. destroyed, where there remain Amorites, Gergasites, and Feresites. The thirteen are Iuncta, Volumta, Medeua, Musica, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Genara, Bostra, Damascus, Gadara, Abila, Capitolias, and Astra. (De situ t.s. 24)[104]

At this time Gadara would have been at a high point in its ancient history along with some of the other cities of the Decapolis which Theodosius names: Filadelphia, Gerassa,

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[103]According to Strack/Stemberger (pp. 290-291) the text of KohR originated perhaps in the 8th century. The asker of the question, R. Meir, belonged to the 2nd century (cf. nn. 99 and 100 above).

[104]The text can be found in Itinera Hierosolymitana: Saeculi IIII-VIII, ed. Paul Geyer, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 39 (Prague\Vienna and Leipzig: F. Tempsky and G. Freytag, 1898). Almost nothing is known about the author. According to the content of the document he knew the buildings erected by emperor Anastasius Augustus (ruled 491-518) but not those of Justinian (ruled 527-565). Accordingly, he probably wrote this treatise in the 520s or 530s. See RE, s.v. "Theodosius 70," by Wilhelm Ensslin; and Itineraria et alia geographica, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vol. 175 (Turnhaut, Belgium: Brepols, 1965), p. 114.

Genara (?), Vostra [Bostra], Damascus, Auila [Abila], Capitulia, and Astra [Adraa].

Another sixth century work, the Synecdemos of Hierocles, which, from its full title, is a government list of political units, names Gadara among the cities of the province of Palaestina Secunda:

> *LIV. Provincia Palaestina secundae sub praeside urbes 11. Scythopolis, Sella, Gadara, Abila, Capetolia, Hippus, Tiberias, Elenopolis, Diocessa, Maximianopolis, Gabae.*
>
> 54. The province of Palestine II . . . eleven cities. Scythopolis, Pella, Gadara, Abila, Capitolias, Hippos, Tiberias, Elenopolis, Diocessa, Maximianopolis, Gabae. (Synec. 54)[105]

The first six cities listed (n.b. Sella=Pella) were members of the Roman period unit called the Decapolis. The other cities are in Galilee.

Stephanus Byzantinus, a Greek grammarian who probably lived in Constantinople in the sixth century, compiled a geographical lexicon and dedicated it to Justinian (482-565 A.D.). In this work he includes an entry under "Gadara":

> Γάδαρα, πόλις κοίλης Συρίας, ἥ τις καὶ Ἀντιόχεια καὶ Σελευκία ἐκλήθη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Γαδαρεύς, καὶ Γαδαρεὶς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ χώρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἦν Μένιππος ὁ σπουδογέλοιος. ἔστι καὶ Γάδαρα κώμη Μακεδονίας.
>
> Gadara, a city of Coele-Syria, which [city] is also called Antiochia and Seleucia. The nation is Gadarene,

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[105]The full text is in Migne, vol. 41, cols. 141-156. The work seems oriented toward diocesan administration, but it renders in a careful geographical order the political situation of the empire at the beginning of the reign of Justinian (527-565). See Der Kleine Pauly, s.v. "Hierokles," by Heinrich Dörrie. According to A. H. M. Jones, in The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 503, although Hierocles lived during the reign of Justinian, he probably made use of a list compiled during the reign of Theodosius II (408-450).

> as are the woman and the region. Mennipos the satirist is from there. There is also a village of Macedonia called Gadara. (Ethnica, s.v. "Γαδαρα ")[106]

His designation of Gadara as "Antiochia" and "Seleucia" may reflect a tradition that Gadara was founded by Seleucus I (311-281 B.C.).[107] It is significant also that Stephanus notes a village in Macedonia with the same name. It could be an indication of a tradition like that belonging to Pella, that the city had its beginnings when veterans from Alexander's army settled there in the fourth century B.C.[108]

During the first centuries A.D. there were undoubtedly many travelers who journeyed to Palestine for one reason or another. Origen, for example, writing in the first half of the third century, states that he had been there "for the purpose of inquiring after the footsteps of Jesus and His disciples and the prophets."[109] Eusebius mentions that Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia, traveled to Jerusalem early in the third century "in order to worship there and to examine

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[106]For the text see Stephanus Byzantinus, Ethnica, ed. August Meineke (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958).

[107]Appian, Roman History, 2. 57.

[108]See R. Smith, p. 33, who discusses a similar interpretation for Pella in an entry by Stephanus Byzantinus, but advises caution. For other cities in Syria and Palestine "founded" at this time, see Victor Tscherikower, Die hellenistischen Städtegrundungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit, Philologus, Supplementband 19 (1927), pp. 125-126. He notes also (p. 74), however, that the designations "Antiochia" and "Seleucia" are nowhere else attested.

[109]This he asserts in discussing a geographical question concerning John 1:28. Origen, Commentarium in Evangelium Joannis 6. 40.

the historic sites."[110] How many other visitors there were cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Either accounts of their journeys were not kept or, until Christianity became a tolerated religion, records of their travels were not circulated.

Gadara, or for that matter other localities in the Transjordan, probably did not rank with Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, or other sites in Palestine as priority places for these early pilgrims to visit. Occasionally, however, a traveler crossed over to the east side of the Jordan River. One of these was a certain Antoninus, surnamed either Placentinus (for his hometown) or Martyr. Almost nothing is known about this Antoninus, and it is disputed as to whether or not the journey he describes was actually made.[111] As Aubrey Stewart remarks, however, "it is hardly possible that a man

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[110]Eusebius, Historiae Ecclesiasticae 6. 11. The primary occasion for Alexander's going to Jerusalem was to assume the episcopate there.

[111]William E. Scudamore insists in A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, 1880 ed., s.v. "Pilgrimage," that the tract was later (9th century) and falsely ascribed to Antoninus of Placentia. Heinrich Kraft, however, in Lexikon des Mittelalters, 1980 ed., s.v. "Antoninus 2.A," believes the work is of 6th century origin, but that it stems from a group of pilgrims from Piacenza whose patron saint for the journey as called "Antoninus." Similarly, Geyer (p. xxvi), who maintains, however, that there was both a treatise and an Antoninus, but that it was a companion of this Antoninus who composed the work. The authenicity of the account is also asserted by Aubrey Stewart in his introduction to Antoninus Martyr, Holy Places Visited, vol. 2 in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London: PPTS, 1896), p. iii, but Stewart has no hesitation in accepting Antoninus of Placentia as its author. In any event, it seems generally agreed upon that, although the identification of the author is problematic, this work represents a bona fide travel account.

who had not visited the country should have written a narrative so true to nature,"[112] which judgment seems evident from even a cursory reading of the document.

The trip which Antoninus relates took place sometime between 551 A.D. and 614 A.D.[113] From his hometown of Placentia (modern Piacenza in northern Italy) he and his companions journeyed to Ptolemais (Acco) by way of Constantinople and Beirut. From there they visited Mount Carmel and then went off to Cana, Nazareth, and other places in Galilee before making their way across the Jordan River where it issues from the southern end of Lake Tiberias. After crossing the river Antoninus writes

> *Reuertentes post nos uenimus ad locum, ubi Iordanis de mare egreditur. Transiuimus Iordanem in ipso loco. Venimus in ciuitatem, quae vocatur Gadara, quae ipsa est Gabaon. In ista parte <Iordanis a> ciuitate ad milia tria sund aquas calidas, quae appellantur termas Heliae, ubi leprosi mundantur, qui e xenodochia habent de publicum delicias. . . . Ipse fluuius calidas, qui vocatur Gadera, descendit torrens et intrat in Iordanem, et ex ipso Iordanis ampliatur et fit maior.*
>
> Returning afterward, we came to the place where the Jordan leaves the lake. We crossed the Jordan in that place. We entered the city which is called Gadara, which is also called Gabaon. In that part of the Jordan, three miles from the city, are warm waters, which are called the baths of Helias, where lepers are cleansed, which [baths] for the entertainment of strangers have public enjoyments. . . . The warm river, which is called Gadera, descends in a torrent and enters the Jordan,

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[112]Stewart, p. v.

[113]See Stewart (ibid.). In the document there is an allusion to the bishop of Beirut who knew the victims of an earthquake there in 551 A.D. And since the document assumes a Christian government in the area, it must have been before the Sassanian invasion in 614 A.D.

> and from it the Jordan is increased and becomes larger. (Itin. Ant. Plac. 6)[114]

Antoninus goes on to tell about the "Baths of Helias,"[115] but unfortunately he says nothing more about the city of Gadara.

The final known attestation to Gadara from the period of late antiquity comes from a bishop by the name of Eucherius, who describes two of the boundaries of Galilee as follows:

> . . . *ab oriente Hippene et Gadara suis finibus restant. Eadem autem et Gaulanitidi regioni et regno Agrippae confinia praescripta ueteri aeuo fuere. A meridiano latere Scythopolis et Samaria suis utraque excipiunt regionibus nec ultra fluenta Iordanis patiuntur extendi.* (De situ Hier. 21-22)[116]

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[114]"Gabaon" is from the Septuagint rendition of Gibeon, a town about 10 km northwest of Jerusalem. The primary witnesses for the text are two manuscripts which belong to the same family (the other three texts are slightly later and filled with lacunae, transpositions, and arbitrary changes). The earlier of the two reads "Gabao." Johann Gildemeister, in his edition of the Itinerarium (Berlin: H. Reuther, 1889), conjectures "Galaad." While this is more reasonable, it may be as Stewart comments (p. iv) that Antoninus, in general, was "writing from memory, after his return, and too indolent or ignorant" to refer to his travel notes. If "Gabao[n]" is the correct reading, it is most likely just such an error.

On the other hand, Antoninus could have confused the name of Gadara with that of Gazara (cf. n. 81 above).

[115]The Roman name for the site was Amatha, from the Semitic Hammat, the hot springs in the Yarmuk Valley about 10 km northwest of Umm Qais.

[116]The text can be found in Geyer, op. cit. Almost nothing is known of the author except that he lived after Jerome, since he used Jerome as one of his sources. There is some question as to whether Bede (ca. 675-735) used this writing or vice verse, but at the latest we can probably propose a terminus ad quem sometime in the 7th or 8th century. Since Eucherius claims to be a bishop in Jerusalem and makes no mention of the Islamic conquest, it seems reasonable to propose that he composed his work sometime before the middle of the 7th century.

Eucherius adds nothing new to the information about Gadara. According to his own testimony (at the beginning of De situ Hier. 21) he relied on Josephus for the above information. His description is very similar to that of Josephus in Bell. 3. 37.

Sources of Post-Antiquity

After the loss of the Levantine provinces of the Byzantine empire to the advancing Muslim armies in the seventh century there are fewer references to Gadara of the Decapolis. The next one occurs during the ninth century in one of the works of Abu 'l-Kasim ibn Khordadhbeh (820/825-ca. 911 A.D.). In his "Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms" he describes the province of Jordan as follows:

كورة الاردن - كورة طبرية، كورة السامرة، كورة بيسان، كورة فحل، كورة جرش، كورة بيت راس، قال حسّان:
"كأنّ سبيئة من بيت راس تكون مزاجها عسل وماء"
كورة جدر، كورة آبل، كورة سوسية، كورة صفورية، كورة عكّا، كورة قدس، كورة صور، وخراج الاردن ثلثمائة الف وخمسون الف دينار.

The Province of Jordan: District of Tabariya, district of as-Samira, district of Baisan, district of Fahl, district of Jarash, district of Bait Ras, Hassan (ibn Thabit) says [about Bait Ras]: It is like wine from Bait Ras, a mixture of honey and water.
District of Jadar, district of Abil, district of Sousiya, district of Saffouriya, district of 'Akka, district of Qadas, district of Sur. Taxes from Jordan are 350,000 dinars. (Kitab M. wa M.)[117]

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[117]The text can be found in Abu 'l-Kasim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordadhbeh, Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 6, ed. M. J. de Geoje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967). The date of composition is uncertain (as is the authenticity of the edition which has survived), but there is no doubt that this work is that of Ibn Khordadhbeh. (Encyclopedia of Islam, new ed., s.v. "Ibn Khurradadhbih," by M. Hadj-Sadok.)

Ibn Khordadhbeh worked in Baghdad as Director of Posts and Intelligence and later in the same position at Samarra,[118] so he was well acquainted with the political and administrative organization of the provinces. In his list he names several cities of the old Decapolis. Hippos, for example, now has its Semitic denomination, Sousia, but Gadara is still known under the same consonants, gdr (with the g softening to j). This could be an indication that the Semitic place-name had indeed been preserved.[119]

About six hundred years after Antoninus Placentinus there is another mention of Gadara in the travel literature. The author of one of these writings, John of Würzburg, is another figure about whom little is known.[120] As in the case of Antoninus, it seems likely that his journey also took place. On the other hand, John might not have actually visited Gadara. The chapter which contains the single reference to Gadara reads like one of the geographical descriptions of the time. Moreover, the mention of Gadara itself appears

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[118]For more information on his life, see Hadj-Sadok.

[119]See p. 34 above.

[120]Aubrey Stewart, in his introduction to John of Würzburg, Decscription of the Holy Land, vol. 5 in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London: PPTS, 1896), affirms that nothing certain is known about him (p. ix). The issue revolves around the problem that there is no "John" in the list of the bishops of Würzburg until about 1400. So also Bernard Pezius, in his preface to Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, vol. 155 in Migne, Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum, (Paris: Garnier, 1880). While Pezius contends that the account is a record of what the writer had indeed seen with his own eyes, he adds that little can be said about him except what is disclosed in the prooemium, that John was probably some ecclesiastical dignitary in Würzburg (col. 1054).

to be a mere geographical notice subordinate to the more pressing discussion of the Jordan River:

> *Denique Dan contra Galilaeam gentium se obliquans, sub urbe Cedar, penes medicabilia balnea, spineti plana transfluens Jor copulator.*
>
> Then the Dan, turning itself toward Galilee of the Gentiles, below the city of Cedar, by the medicinal baths, flowing by the plain of thorns, joins itself to the Jor. (Descriptio t.s. 57)[121]

Nevertheless, in using Cedar/Gadara as a point of reference, John seems to presuppose its existence in his day, like the other place-names in this chapter. Whether or not he actually was able to visit Gadara would have depended on the strength of Crusader control in that area of northern Transjordan.

The next reference to Gadara is found in the thirteenth century on a map called the Tabula Peutingeriana. A copy was made by a monk in 1265 A.D. from the original of a world map of the third or fourth century A.D.[122] (See fig.

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[121] "Cedar" is presumably Gadara. The "Dan" and the "Jor" were thought by some at the time of the Crusaders to be two different rivers. The "Jor" flowed past Banias and through Lake Tiberias. The "Dan" (Yarmuk) joined the "Jor" below the lake and the two became the Jordan ("Jor" + "Dan").

The name "Cedar" is confusing. In the following paragraph (5. 8) John notes that the "Jor" flows into the lake between Bethsaida and Capernaum, which is correct. He then locates Chorazin "six miles" from Bethsaida and Cedar "six miles" from Chorazin. However, the Cedar referred to in the previous paragraph (5. 7), Gadara, is actually about four times that distance from Bethsaida in the opposite direction, therefore, not "six" but almost "thirty" miles from Chorazin. On the other hand, some of the medieval cartographers shifted the topography east of the Jordan a bit northward (see, e.g., the map of Marino Sanuto, Secrets for True Crusaders to Help them to Recover the Holy Land, in vol. 12 of Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, endflap), so it is probable that John had, in the second instance also, Gadara in mind.

[122] See the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1949 ed., s.v. "Peutinger Table," by Eric Herbert Warmington.

1.) The features are out of proportion (especially from east to west), but Gadara's location is clear. In relation to Capitolias, Scythopolis, Tiberias, and the Sea of Galilee it is schematically in the correct position. The rather straight lines designate the road system which connected these places. The distances, which show Gadara 13 [miles] from Capitolias and 13 [miles] from Tiberias are approximately correct.

For Burchard de Monte Sion more information is available. A Dominican priest and lecturer of theology, Burchard is thought to have lived and traveled in the Holy Land from about 1275 to 1285.[123] In his description of Palestine he divides the land into a number of divisiones and locates Gadara in a northern one which includes both Galilee and northern Transjordan:

> In the "land of the Gerasenes," on the east side of the Sea of Galilee: Herein there are many cities; for example, Gerasa, Gadara, Pella, Sueta, the city of Bildad the Shihite, Teman, from which came Eliphaz the Temanite, and many others. (Descriptio)

Burchard may have actually visited these places, at least those near the Jordan Valley, since he himself writes that he did travel, to some extent, beyond the Jordan River. As

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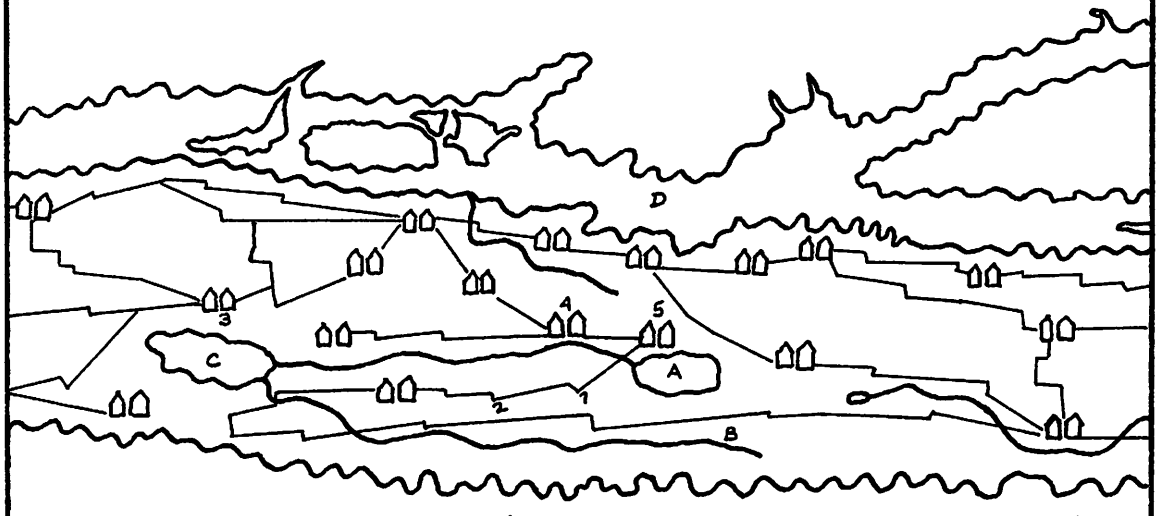
[123]According to internal evidence he wrote after 1271 and before 1285. (Stewart in his introduction to Burchard, A Description of the Holy Land, vol. 12 in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society [London: PPTS, 1896], p. iv.) K. L. Grube, in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, 1883 ed., s.v. "Burchard de monte Sion," asserts that he attended the Council of Lyon in 1274. As a rule, scholars hold that Burchard traveled in the Holy Land from 1275 to 1285. So Joseph Victor Le Clerq, Histoire litteraire de la France au quatorzieme siecle, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 1865), 12:182.

Location of Gadara according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*

(1 Gadara, 2 Capitolias, 3 Jerusalem, 4 Scythopolis, 5 Tiberias)

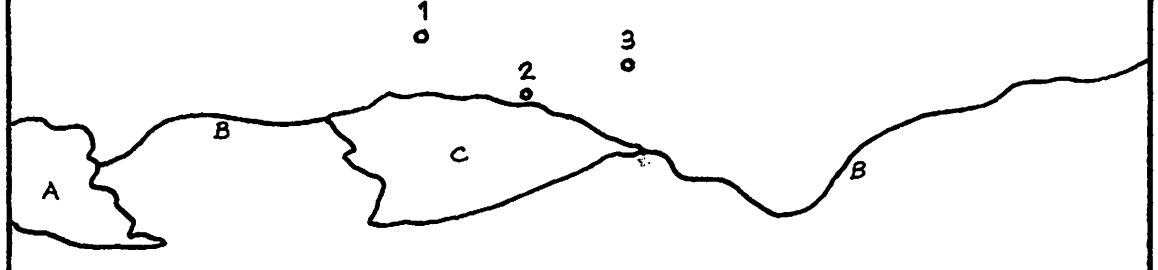


(A Lake Tiberias, B Hieromax/Yarmuk, C Dead Sea, D Mediterranean)

Map 1

Location of Gadara according to Marino Sanuto

(1 Gadara, 2 Gerasa, 3 Pella)



(A Lake Semechonitis/Huleh, B Jordan River, C Lake Tiberias)

Map 2

a rule, Burchard's descriptions are exact and show that he paid attention to detail. With the revival of biblical studies in the late medieval period it is no wonder that his work was a valuable resource and printed many times.[124]

In the early fourteenth century Marino Sanuto of Venice composed a work entitled "Secrets for the Faithful for the Recovery of the Holy Land." In this work and on the map which accompanied it he includes the following on the Transjordan:

> In the seventh space, and . . . in the twenty-fourth square is Gadara. . . . In the eighth space, thirtieth square is Pella. . . . In the ninth space, . . . in the twenty-seventh square is Gerasa, from which the country of the Gerasenes takes its name. (Lib. Secret.)[125]

The general positioning of this area as a whole seems to be somewhat farther north than it should be, while a couple of the individual sites are not in the proper relationship to the others. C. R. Conder has pointed out that by this time (a generation after the end of European occupation of Palestine) Europeans were no longer familiar with Palestine and that Marino probably had never even visited there.[126] The location of Gerasa on the Sea of Galilee may reveal a contemporary preference for fixing here the healing of the demoniacs of Matthew 8.

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[124]So Grube, and William L. Hinnebusch, Dictionary of the Middle Ages, 1984 ed., s.v. "Dominicans."

[125]The edition used is Marino Sanuto's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them Recover the Holy Land, transl. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896).

[126]In the introduction to Marino Sanuto's Secrets, p. ix.

Unfortunately there is no certain pre-Hellenistic attestation for Gadara. When Gadara finally appears in the historical record by way of Polybius, the town seems to be a prominent regional stronghold. Whether this development took place only in the Hellenistic period or began already earlier cannot be determined. During the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods Gadara continued to have some strategic importance, as evidenced by its roles in the wars and conflicts of this era. The town's leading position in the Roman province of Syria can be deduced from the fact that it was one of the constituting members of the geo-political Decapolis organization. Although there were more "cities" in the Decapolis than the "ten" which Pliny lists (or the eighteen of Ptolemy, if one prefers his enumeration), Gadara was prominent enough to be the administrative center of the "city-state" which bore its name.

Many of the later citations of Gadara do not provide much additional information. Some of these references, such as those of Ptolemy, Stephanus Byzantinus, and the medieval travelers, indicate reliance on earlier traditions or records. On the other hand, the Itinerarium of Antoninus and the Synecdemos of Hierocles give evidence of Gadara's political associations. The mention of the town in Epiphanius' Panarion and some of the passages from the rabbinic literature shed light on certain social customs of the day (particularly with respect to the baths at nearby al-Hammeh). The listing of Gadara by Ibn Khordadhbeh among other towns of northern

Jordan and southern Syria suggests that Gadara may have had an administrative role in the ninth century. As a rule, however, the majority of the Byzantine and later references to Gadara simply provide attestation to the continued existence of Gadara as an urban community in the periods of later antiquity.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION

The site of ancient Gadara is located in the eastern part of the triangular plateau Ard al-'Ala. The center of the town concentrated on the eastern elevation of that plateau, and as the city grew building activity increased to include much of the area in the near vicinity, especially to the west. Some of the remains of Gadara have been covered up by the proverbial "sands of time" or modern building activity, some have been removed piece by piece by the inhabitants of modern Umm Qais for their construction materials, but many of the ancient architectural features are still discernible today. Throughout its history Gadara has attracted visitors, from the early and medieval pilgrims of the Holy Land to the explorers of the last century who were still able to conceive of the gradeur of the ancient Decapolis city.

Gadara was by no means out of the way. It certainly lay near important points on the road system of antiquity. A person journeying along the Jordan River would only have to spend about two hours to walk up to the city from the valley below. Many early travelers did not visit the site, however, probably because their interests, as a rule, lay on the

other side of the Jordan. Antoninus Martyr (in the 6th century), John of Würzburg (in the 12th), and Burchard of Monte Sion (in the 13th) perhaps visited Gadara, according to the references in their accounts.[1] While they offer no description of the city, they do at least give evidence that it existed and that they knew where it was. However, visitors from the west who passed through Gadara and described what they saw do not appear to have come to the city again until about five centuries after Burchard.

Early Exploration

The first of the modern visitors to Gadara is U. J. Seetzen who, on his way through Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Egypt, reached Umm Qais in February of 1806.[2] Approaching the village from the east he first notices the large number of man-made caves (which he correctly observes were tombs), column drums, and sarcophagi on either side of the road which leads up the hill. He goes on to report, however, that there are even more sarcophagi and architectural fragments on the other side of the summit. The one structure on the west side of the hill he takes time to describe in more detail is a large, stately building from antiquity

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[1]See above, Chapter 2, pp. 84 and 86.

[2]For a description of his visit to Umm Qais see Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Ägypten, ed. Fr. Krause (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1854), pp. 368-370; and Fr. Krause and H. L. Fischer, Commentare zu Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Ägypten (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1859), pp. 188-190.

> wovon noch ein wenig Mauerwerk steht, welches aus großen Marmorquadern ohne Mörtel besteht. Man sieht noch einen gewölbten Gang in demselben, welcher in den obern Theil führte, und worin eine Treppe war. Dies Gebäude scheint ein altes Palais gewesen zu seyn.[3]

From Seetzen's description the ruins he saw were probably those of the baths, possibly the nymphaeum, but it is not possible to be certain.[4]

The contribution which Seetzen makes, however, goes well beyond his brief sketch of the site. He availed himself of the existing cartographic aids, and he doubts that the map is correct in locating Gadara on the other (northern) side of the Yarmuk River rather than at Umm Qais.[5] He knows of no significant ruins north of the river that could be a possible candidate for the ancient Decapolis city. Instead, he identifies the remains of Umm Qais as "das alte Gadara."

The next explorer who left an account of his visit to Umm Qais was J. L. Burckhardt, who surveyed the ruins in

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[3]Seetzen, p. 369.

[4]See below, Chapter 4, p. 150.

[5]Ibid. Many of the medieval maps locate Gadara on the east side of Lake Tiberias about in the middle, where some modern maps have Gergesa.

Krause (p. 189) adds "Sodann bemerkt Seetzen, daß in dem Namen der Höhle Dschedur (Dschadar) [where Seetzen and his company had spent the night before arriving at Umm Qais] der alte Name Gadara liege." Krause also gives a possible explanation for locating Gadara farther north: "Auf der Nordseite des Scheriat Manadra [the Yarmuk] heiße ein großer Theil von Dschaulan Dschedur. . . . Mkes oder Gadara lag also mitten in seinem Gebiete (Gadara)." Thus the designation "Gadara" was used both for the city itself as well as for the territory.

May of 1812.[6] He reports how the remains of the ancient city are scattered round about a hill which is the highest elevation in the vicinity. Like Seetzen, Burckhardt notices the large number of tombs and sarcophagi to the east of the acropolis. On the north and west sides of this mound are two theaters, the western one, he notes, being in the better state of preservation. From the acropolis hill westward, Burckhardt asserts, was the more "distinguished" section of the city, yet only heaps of hewn stones remain. Burckhardt then traces the decumanus maximus and reports that there is a great quantity of column drums on both sides of this road. At one place, where a large pile of these column pieces rests, he maintains that a Corinthian temple once stood. This structure could be what is now called the Byzantine church. Burckhardt then says that the city runs out to a narrow point where it looks like there was a massive building with many columns, which could have been either the nymphaeum or the baths.

Burckhardt's narrative of his visit to Umm Qais is, in comparison with that of Seetzen, much more complete. He reports on more of the remaining structures and is more comprehensive in his description of their construction and current state of preservation. Burckhardt, however, was

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[6]See Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai, ed. and comm. Wilhelm Gesenius (Weimar: Großh. sachs. priv. Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, 1823), pp. 425-429.

uncertain of the site's identity.[7] Nevertheless, he was impressed with the location of the ruins and, if one can judge from his description, was aware of the prominence the city must have had.

In 1816 J. S. Buckingham passed through Gadara while traveling through Palestine and the Transjordan.[8] Approaching the site from the east he is first attracted by the tombs with their stone doors and the large number of sarcophagi, both of which he describes in great detail. He and his party spent only about an hour inspecting the ruins (from his description it becomes apparent that they only surveyed the summit of the tell), but they did take great care in measuring distances and in attempting to describe everything they could. Buckingham notes that the upper part of the city is located on a level spot and that it was apparently surrounded by a wall.[9] He points out that the portals of the eastern gate are still standing. The first edifice he describes is the northern theater which, although lacking its scena and front, still

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[7]Burckhardt offers no conjecture but simply states that he is in doubt as to which ancient city the ruins belong (p. 427). In a note at this point Gesenius, the editor, suggests that it was Gamala. Gadara, he contends, according to the testimonies of Pliny and Jerome, would have been situated nearer to the hot springs, about 10 km north-northwest of Umm Qais.

[8]See James Silk Buckingham, Travels in Palestine through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan, Including a Visit to the Cities of Geraza and Gamala in the Decapolis, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), pp. 252-295.

[9]This is probably the wall that Schumacher surmised had enclosed the acropolis hill. See below nn. 30 and 40.

had its benches. As he continues west on the Roman road he comes to a structure he calls an Ionic temple (unknown) and then to a supposedly Corinthian one (the Byzantine church).[10] The last structure to which he calls attention is the south theater.

The record of Buckingham's visit augments the reports of the earlier visitors. The eastern gate, the arches under the southern foundation of the Byzantine church, widths and lengths of buildings and streets, and other details were all noted for the first time. Buckingham, however, like Burckhardt before him, was under the impression that the ruins were those of an ancient Gamala.[11] Nevertheless, his and Burckhardt's accounts are more valuable than that of Seetzen who correctly identified the ruins with the ancient city of

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[10]If one assumes that Buckingham's order of description here follows the topographical situation (there is no reason to doubt that it does), this Ionic structure would have to lie between the north theater and the Byzantine church. See the map of Gottlieb Schumacher in Northern 'Ajlun, "Within the Decapolis" (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), p. 47. This Ionic "temple" was most likely a structure on the left (south) side of the road. If so, its ruins may be those described by Schumacher (p. 67) as a wall or some kind of rampart, but which he notes are not preserved well enough to determine the original form of the building. On the other hand, Buckingham's "temple" could be what Schumacher (p. 64) calls the western city gate.

[11]At this point Buckingham is relying on the description of Josephus in Bellum Judaicum 4. 1. 1 of a city called Gamala which is supposed to lie on the other side of Lake Tiberias from Tarichaeae (Samak). Buckingham identifies the ruins of Umm Qais with this Gamala, but Josephus seems fairly clear in indicating that Gamala is located somewhere north of the Yarmuk.

Buckingham also remarks (p. 261) that so far there is only one person (whom the editor notes is Seetzen) who is inclined to believe that the ruins are those of Gadara.

Gadara.

Two of the last early explorers of Umm Qais were Charles Irby and James Mangles, who visited the site in March of 1818. Without hesitation they ascribed the ruins to the ancient city of Gadara.[12] They were only there one day (in contrast to the several days or week that Seetzen and Burckhardt each spent there), but apparently they were able to observe all that the others had seen. What is of greatest interest is their comment that "the walls of ancient Gadara are still easily discernible."[13] Furthermore, Irby and Mangles are the first to mention specifically the necroplis which lay to the north of the city's wall.[14]

Later Research

For a period of about fifty years it seems that little was done at Umm Qais by way of exploration or research concerning Gadara of the Decapolis. In 1872 Tyrwhitt Drake passed by the site on his way from Hatib to Beisan.[15] He makes few observations except to note that the basalt used for the architecture and for many of the sarcophagi was not

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[12]Their report is in Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, During the Years 1817 and 1818 (London: T. White and Co., 1823), pp. 296-298.

[13]Ibid., p. 297.

[14]Ibid.

[15]See his observations in the section on Umm Qais in Tyrwhitt Drake, "Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake's Reports," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement 2 (1872):184-188. "Hatib" should probably be Hatim, a village about 10 km east of Umm Qais.

imported from some great distance (as some others had surmised in their writings about Umm Qais) but that it came from that very area, probably about 2 km west of the main concentration of ruins.[16]

In 1875 Victor Guerin made a one-day excursion from al-Hammeh to Umm Qais to survey the ruins of ancient Gadara.[17] At the monumental gate he is able to see enough of its remains to hypothesize that they must have belonged to some kind of portico. The neighboring structure (the hippodrome), appearing as a series of small compartments or shops, he can detect for about 100 m and proposes that it was either a bazaar or military barracks. Along the Roman road about 0.5 km further to the east, Guerin turns off to the south to scan the ruins which the local inhabitants call al-Kasr.[18] He describes it as a solid construction of huge blocks, most of whose lower courses are still in place. It has towers and in the interior part four large halls. From the Roman road he observes the various ruins on and around the acropolis hill. Of the arches under the church terrace seventeen are still intact. About three-fourths of the north theater, he notes, lay in

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[16]See below, Chapter 4, p. 177.

[17]Victor Guerin, Description geographique, historique et archeologique de la Palestine (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1880). See particularly vol. 3, pp. 299-308.

[18]Guerin (p. 301) calls this structure "l'une des ruines les plus considerables." In view of that characterization, it is remarkable that none of the earlier explorers mention it. According to Omar Resheidat, the present representative of the Department of Antiquities at the site, only scattered traces of the foundations remain (personal communication, 29 August 1989).

ruins.

Following his description of the ruins Guerin appends a selective list of ancient texts which refer to Gadara. From this corroborating literary evidence he concludes that Gadara was an important city in antiquity, although he is operating with the mistaken identification of Gadara of the Decapolis with Gadara of Peraea, as some of his citations indicate. On the basis of a citation from Josephus, who remarks that Pompey had Gadara rebuilt to please Demetrius his freedman, Guerin suspects that some of the principal monuments at Umm Qais date to the time of Pompey.[19]

In 1876 Selah Merrill inspected the ancient ruins and the area surrounding them.[20] With the main site itself he does not deal very extensively, except to mention some new details of the sarcophagi and stone tomb doors. His greater contribution concerns an extension of the city and its layout:

> The city was properly divided into three parts: the western edge of the ridge or plateau, where private houses stood; next to the east, but separated from the first part by an open space, was the hill occupied by temples and public buildings, including the two great theaters; and thirdly, still towards the east, was the city of tombs,

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[19]Ibid., p. 305. The verb used by Josephus, ἀνακτίζω, means "rebuild," but there is no explicit statement by Josephus that Gadara was "destroyed," only "captured." If there was an actual destruction, its extent remains unknown. See above, p. 57, for a further discussion of this passage.

[20]Selah Merrill, East of the Jordan: A Record of Travel and Observation in the Country of Moab, Gilead and Bashan during the Years 1875-77 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881). See his Chapter 12, pp. 145-158.

already described.[21]

In addition, he visits and describes the ruins called al-Kabu or al-Qabu, about one hour (2.5 km) east of the ancient city. These remains, Merrill suspects, are those of a great temple. Still extant (in his day) are the large platform by which the structure was approached and columns six feet in diameter.[22]

Frank DeHass, passing through the area in 1879, contributes nothing new to the knowledge of the site, although he does observe that the fortifications, the theaters, and a number of other structures are able to be easily traced out.[23]

In 1884 Adolf Frei conducted an excursion to Umm Qais from the west bank.[24] He first encounters a mound of ruins at the western extremity of the site (the monumental gate). Although Frei is able to describe many of the details of the architecture and its ornamentation, he nevertheless confesses that its original purpose is difficult to determine. He conjectures that it may have been a temple, possibly also a synagogue or a church. He proposes, however, that if it had an opening in the center one could see it as a gate, like

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[21]Ibid, p. 156. Cf. also Chapter 4, n. 4.

[22]Ibid., p. 157.

[23]His report is found in Frank S. DeHass, Buried Cities Recovered, or Exploration in Bible Lands (Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1883; repr. ed., New York: Arno Press, 1977), pp. 363-365.

[24]See Adolf Frei, "Beobachtungen vom See Genezareth," ZDPV 9 (1886):81-145 (especially pp. 135-139).

the one at Jerash.[25] He then moves on to call attention to the neighboring ruins (the hippodrome), which he simply designates an "elongated complex having sturdy foundations."[26]

Continuing along the Roman street eastward Frei notices the many building stones, column drums, and cornice fragments on either side of the well-paved road. He indicates the western theater on the promontory to the right and proceeds up the slight incline of the road over to the other side of the acropolis hill (failing to comment on any of the other ruins in the area, however), where numerous tombs and sarcophagi have been utilized by the inhabitants of the village. He records two funerary inscriptions, both of which apparently belonged to Romans.[27]

Gottlieb Schumacher made his monumental visit to Umm Qais in 1886 while surveying northwestern Jordan (see map 1).[28] Approaching from the north along the steep ascent from al-Hammeh, he first encounters the immense quantity of fragmentary building stones, capitals, and column drums which had rolled down the escarpement from the ruins on the settlement hill. Entering the city from its eastern approach Schumacher examines the northern theater. He remarks that

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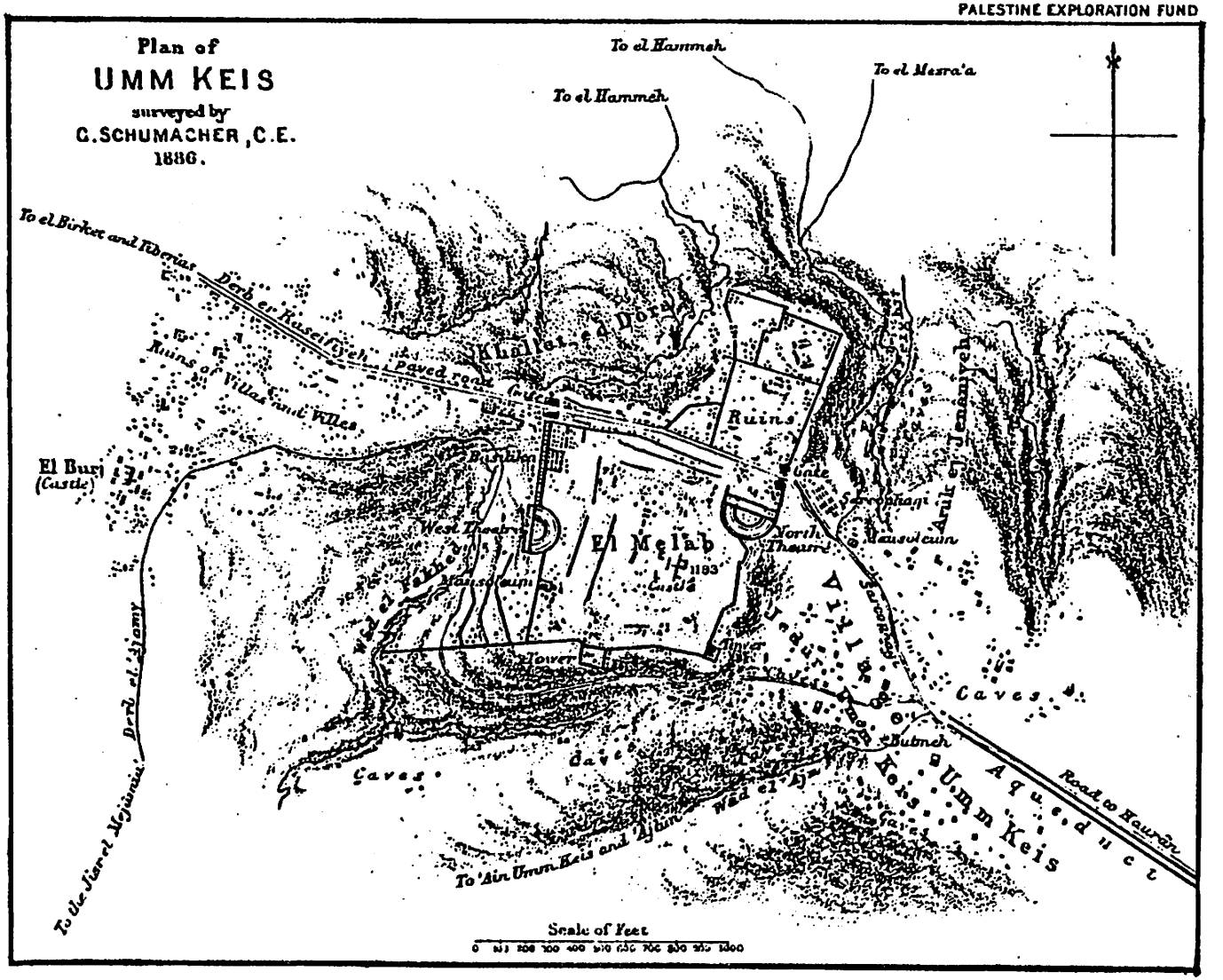
[25]Ibid., p. 135.

[26]Ibid., p. 136.

[27]Ibid., p. 137. One is found on the lintel of a door to one of the tomb caves and names a Gaios Annios. The other is inscribed on a column drum and mentions a Titos who was twelve years old.

[28]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 46-82.

Map 1


PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
Plan of
UMM KEIS
surveyed by
C. SCHUMACHER, C.E.
1886.
To el Hammeh
To el Hammeh
To el Mesra'a
To el Birket and Tiberias
Derb er Rusel'yeh
paved road
Ruins of Villas and Villas
Khallet ed Dora
Ruins
El Burj
(Castle)
Wall
Basilica
Gate
Sarcophagi
West Theatre
El Mekeb
North Theatre
Mausoleum
Castle
Tower
Caves
Caves
Caves
Aqueduct
Road to Hauran
Bridge
Umm Keis
To the Jisr el Mejamia
Derb el 'Ajamy
To 'Ain Umm Keis and 'Ajlun
Scale of Feet

the structure is in a poor state of preservation, with most of the stones shifted horizontally from their places, probably the result of earthquake activity.[29]

In his survey of the fortifications of Gadara Schumacher is able to trace most of the wall which surrounded the acropolis hill.[30] On the eastern wall near the northern theater are the remains of a city gate about 5 m across.[31] Notable also is his detection of the remnants of two towers along the southern wall, one at the southeastern corner and the other located approximately in the center of the wall's extension from this point to the west.[32]

Schumacher's remarks about the western theater and the Byzantine church do not differ greatly from earlier reports. What is significant, however, are his observations on the area directly north of and adjacent to the church. This tract of land extends from the church to the east-west Roman road and

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[29]Ibid., p. 50. Apparently the state of preservation was so poor that it was not possible to determine the number of rows of benches or the dimensions of the proscenium.

[30]See also Schumacher's map. The area which is enclosed by this fortification measures approximately 240 m on its eastern and southern sides and about 270 m on its western and northern sides. The wall varies in thickness from 1 m to 2 m.

[31]Schumacher, p. 54. The distance between the scena of the theater and the edge of the gate complex was measured to be about 25 m to 30 m. Traces of this gate are completely absent today.

[32]Ibid., p. 55. The southern wall, in addition to its two towers, is where the wall's greatest width (2 m) occurs. The reason, Schumacher submits, is that on this side the slope provides the easiest access to the acropolis.

is bounded on the west by an "ancient basalt wall."[33] Although there are numerous column drums, capitals, and other architectural fragments on the premises, not enough of these remain in their original positions in order to be able to propose the plan for a building. Schumacher suggests that the basalt wall and architectural pieces were part of the colonnade of an ancient temple and were later incorporated into the church.[34]

South of the western theater Schumacher found the remains of what he identifies as a "semi-subterranean" mausoleum. Except for the western side, the structure is rather well preserved. According to the building's architectural style, Schumacher concludes that it is one of the most ancient structures in Umm Qais.[35] Additional sepulchral areas of the city which Schumacher points out are northeast of the eastern gate,[36] east of this same gate, where there is ap-

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[33]Ibid., pp. 62-63. The area is approximately 25 m (north-south) by 30 m (east-west). Built up against this wall and facing the north-south street which intersects with the decumanus maximus is a row of fourteen vaults, which Schumacher surmises were constructed at a later date.

[34]Ibid., p. 63.

[35]Schumacher argues (p. 67) from the style of the roof (which he asserts is of the "Hauran style," as are the walls) and the semi-subterranean construction of the building. If any traces of this structure remain today, they are concealed by the houses built in the early part of this century which presently occupy this area.

[36]Ibid. This is outside of the city wall where there are many sarcophagi lying around.

parently another mausoleum,[37] and along the wadis south and southeast of the acropolis hill.[38]

Perhaps the most enigmatic area of the ancient site has been the acropolis hill. Although Schumacher's plan[39] indicates some wall lines and a structure he designates "castle," he enters into detail with neither of these. The only observation he makes is to relate that the acropolis was fortified by a wall but that the ruins on the elevation were not distinct enough to discern their original form.[40]

At the northwest corner of the temenos along the Roman road, Schumacher identifies some ruins he calls the "west gate" of the city.[41] Certain architectural features of this gate are fairly well preserved, but the adjacent ruins are in such disarray that it is impossible to reconstruct any

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[37]A building within which are several sarcophagi, supposedly still in their original positions. Ibid., p. 69.

[38]Ibid., pp. 69-70. In addition to the usually large number of sarcophagi, Schumacher discovered many tombs cut into the rock of the hillsides. He counted over 360 of these caves on the slopes of the two wadis.

[39]See map 1.

[40]Schumacher, p. 67. Schumacher describes the remains as a "strongly built wall or some sort of rampart."

[41]This "west gate" of Schumacher is not to be confused with the area excavated by the Germans in 1986 and designated "western gate." The latter lies approximately 1 km west of the former.

The width of the road through Schumacher's two gates is about 5 m (cf. the east gate, p. 101 above). Basalt pillars flank the road and are about 12.5 m apart from one side of the road to the other. Schumacher, p. 64. There are architectural remains in this area today, but it is difficult to make out any traces of a "gate." Much of the area has been disturbed by the activity of the Jordanian army.

plan.[42] From there the paved and colonnaded road continues westward across the saddle which connects the main hill with the plateau to the west.

About 0.5 km west of Schumacher's "west gate" he explored a (roughly) triangular tract of land which yielded many fragments of blocks and columns. He conjectures that this area may have been a residential precinct of the ancient city.[43] The one structure to which he calls attention he postulates was a castle (locally named al-Qasr) because of its size and construction.[44] It seems fairly certain that Schumacher was in an area not far from the underground mausoleum and circular building under present archaeological investigation, but for some reason or another he fails to mention either of them.

Approximately 1 km farther west, Schumacher inspected the ruins of what is now called the monumental gate and proposes that the building was a temple. For this hypothesis he offers the explanation that the neighboring structure (the hippodrome) was perhaps a mausoleum since it seemed to consists of a series of chambers in a row about 200 m in

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[42]Ibid.

[43]Schumacher (p. 74) identifies this area with that which Josephus described as
(Bell. 3. 7. 1).

[44]Schumacher, p. 74. The "castle" is situated on a slight elevation at the southeastern point of the triangular area.

length.[45] These hypotheses he substantiates further with his investigation of a number of tombs situated about 0.5 km to the northwest.[46]

The final area of Schumacher's exploration lies to the east and southeast of the main settlement hill of Gadara. From the ancient city to 'Ain at-Turab (about 12 km to the east) he is able to trace a Roman aqueduct. From Gadara to al-Qabu (about 2.5 km to the east) this aqueduct had two channels, and from there on it was single-channeled.[47]

Visitors and researchers who came to Umm Qais after Schumacher were surprised at the changes which had taken place to the ruins of ancient Gadara in such a short length of time. Schumacher himself, inspecting the site in 1900,[48] reports that the village sheikh had built a complex of dwellings on the northwest corner of the acropolis. The villagers robbed some of the architectural remains of their materials to build this structure, while other ruins they converted

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[45]Ibid., pp. 74-76. Why Schumacher related the two structures in this way (mausoleum - temple/church) may be explained partially by the fact that he sees the Roman road running along the north side of the monumental gate. If a gate were there, one would have expected that the road pass through it.

Schumacher dates his "temple" to the same period as the Byzantine church, although recent excavation has determined that its construction was several centuries earlier (cf. p. 137 below).

[46]Ibid., p. 77. These tombs lie on the south side of the Wadi al-Maquq.

[47]Ibid., p. 78.

[48]Gottlieb Schumacher, "Ergänzungen zu meiner Karte des Dscholan und westlichen Hauran." ZDPV 22 (1900):181-182.

into shelters for livestock and storage rooms.[49] George Adam Smith, visiting the site a year later,[50] verifies Schumacher's observations and comments "no one who knew the latter [the ruins of Gadara] can visit it now without disappointment. Mukes has greatly increased, but at the expense of the remains of Gadara."[51] Especially threatened, it seems (judging from the reports of both these men), were the two theaters.

Ten years later Theodor Schlatter stopped at Umm Qais during his tour through the region of the ancient Decapolis.[52] He confirms the impressions of Schumacher and Smith. Schlatter adds, however, that now some of the other structures have been so robbed out that they are beyond recognition, and of one building (a temple) there is not even a trace.[53] In addition to his topographical observations, Schlatter makes the assertion that this Gadara could not be the Gadara which everyone for so long assumed it to be, namely, Gadara (or Gadora) of Peraea. Gadara, the ruins of which are situated next to Umm Qais, was a Graeco-Roman city (not the

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[49]Ibid., p. 182.

[50]George Adam Smith, "Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions found by the Way," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement 33 (1901):340-344.

[51]Ibid., p. 341.

[52]Theodor Schlatter, "Im Gebiet der Zehnstädte," Palästinajahrbuch 14 (1918):90-110.

[53]Ibid., p. 99.

"capital of Jewish Peraea") and belonged to the Decapolis.[54] It should be noted that Schlatter is the first one in the literature to call attention to the distinction between these two Gadaras.

Modern Surveys

In addition to the investigations of the earlier explorers of Umm Qais, who concerned themselves, as a rule, with the immediate area of the ancient site, are two modern surveys of northern Jordan which included sites in the vicinity of Umm Qais. The first was conducted by Nelson Glueck of the American Schools of Oriental Research in the 1930s, the second by Siegfried Mittmann of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut in the 1960s.[55] The result of these surveys has

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[54]Ibid., p. 100.

[55]See Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine IV," AASOR 25-28 (1945-49); and Siegfried Mittmann, Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970).

Mittmann (pp. 1-3) calls attention to two major problems with the survey done by Glueck. The first has to do with the scope of the project. Glueck's undertaking was too large, which prevented him from systematically carrying it out. In some areas the survey was concentrated, in other areas it could only be done cursorily. The result was that the picture which emerged was not representative. The other problem was Glueck's use of the ceramic data. At times he seems not to have been careful enough in reading the pottery, since subsequent inspection of a site has determined occupation in periods other than those assigned by Glueck. Along with that was Glueck's reliance on pottery as the only indicator of habitation. There may be instances, Mittmann suggests, when the pottery of a particular period may not be accessible to the person collecting the sherds.

The redundancy of obtain data from the same find spots was avoided, according to Mittmann (p. 3): "Es war das Hauptziel meiner Arbeit, die GLUECKschen Untersuchungen im nördlichen Ostjordanland weiterzuführen and abzuschließen. Den mehr als zweihundert Siedlungsplätzen, die GLUECK ver-

been an expanded picture of the settlement pattern of the region. This is important both for establishing the urban extent of Gadara and also for determining the relationship between the outlying sites and Gadara.

Twelve sites from Glueck's survey are included here. The first is Khirbet al-Husn (#1 on map 2), which lies about 5.0 km northeast of Umm Qais.[56] The khirbet is situated at the juncture of Wadi Malka and Wadi Shaq al-Barid on a hilltop which appears to have been fortified (remains of two towers were discovered there). There are some ruins on the slopes of the hill. The pottery is predominantly Roman, but there is some Byzantine as well.

Tell al-Hammeh (#2 on map) is about 3.0 km northwest of Umm Qais.[57] It lies just above the hot springs near the Yarmuk River. The pottery indicates occupation in the Early Bronze (probably EB I-III), Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods.

Khirbet ad-Duweir (#3 on map) lies 5.5 km northwest-west of Umm Qais at the point where the Yarmuk River leaves

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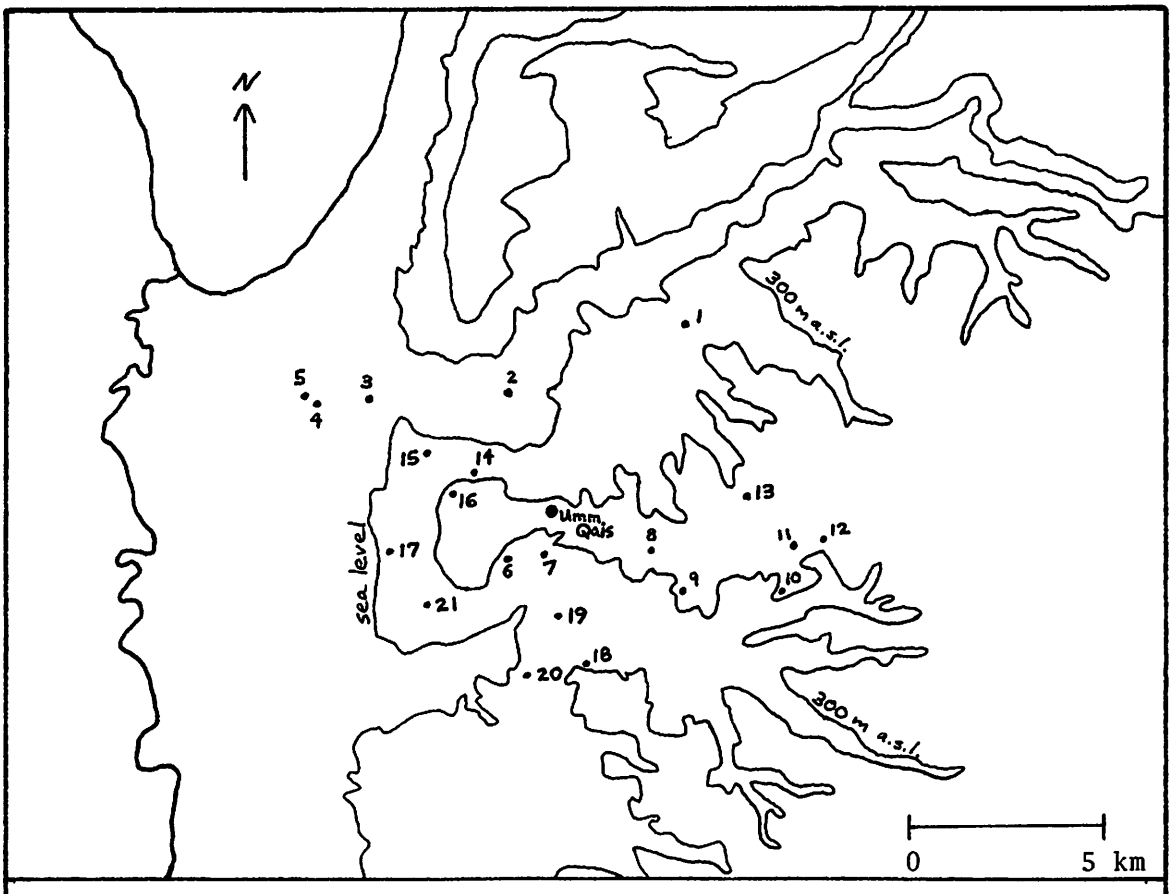
zeichnet, treten nun über dreihundertdreißig weitere zur Seite, womit diese Gebiet als so gut wie vollständig aufgenommen gelten kann."

[56]See Glueck, p. 137. This is his site #68.

[57]Glueck's site #324. Ibid., pp. 137-140. Many of the earlier explorers visited and described this site. According to Merrill (p. 142; cf. also 149-152), for example, there were at al-Hammeh columns, capitals, and other architectural fragments attesting to elegant buildings, as well as the remains of a theater.



Sites in Glueck and Mittmann Surveys

1	Khirbet al-Husn	12	adh-Dhahireh
2	Tell al-Hammeh	13	Khirbet ad-Dubb
3	Khirbet ad-Duweir	14	Khirbet Maquq
4	Abu Naml	15	Khirbet ar-Rasefiyeh
5	Station IV	16	Khirbet Miqyal
6	al-Fakhat	17	Khirbet at-Tabaq
7	Khaneizir	18	Khirbet al-Bwere
8	al-Qabu	19	Khirbet Umm an-Niml
9	Sifin	20	Khirbet Shihah
10	Ed^{c}an	21	Khirbet al-^{c}Ajami
11	^{c}Arqub az-Zahar		

Map 2

a canyon.[58] Glueck indicates that the mound is small, but also that it seems to be the center of a larger settlement. Remains of a basalt wall encircling the mound were found but no traces of buildings. Ceramic evidence comes form Middle Bronze I[59] and Iron I and II (many), as well as from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and medieval Islamic periods.

Approximately 6.5 km west-northwest of Umm Qais is the site of Abu Naml (#4 on map).[60] No ruins were discovered, only some sherds from the Middle Bronze I period.[61]

Glueck also visited a site called "Station IV" (#5 on map), which is located about 7.0 km west-northwest of Umm Qais on the north bank of the Yarmuk River.[62] There were no architectural remains. Ceramic evidence indicates Chalcolithic occupation.

Al-Fakhat (#6 on map) lies about 1.5 km southwest of Umm Qais.[63] It is situated on a lone hill just south of 'Ain Fakhat. There were no building remains except for a number

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[58]Glueck, pp. 140-141. His #323. Merrill passed by this site also. He reports (p. 140) virtually the same as Glueck.

[59]Glueck points out (p. 141) that he found only one sherd from this period, but that others (viz., Benjamin Maisler and Shemuel Yeivin) also found some they dated to the same period.

[60]Ibid. His site #329.

[61]Glueck mentions (ibid.) that Maisler and Yeivin date this pottery to the Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze I transition period. He, however, sees it as definitely MB I, with nothing characteristic of EB IV at all.

[62]Ibid. Glueck's site #328. The flints and pottery were found and dated by Moshe Stekelis.

[63]Ibid., pp. 142-143. Glueck's #98.

of basalt blocks. The pottery is predominantly Early Bronze I-III, but also includes some from the Iron I and II, Roman, and Byzantine periods.

About 0.75 km southeast-eastsoutheast of Umm Qais is Khaneizir (#7 on map).[64] To the west is Wadi Khaneizir, and on the east side is 'Ain Khaneizir. The ruins, which are scattered over much of the site's surface, include many building stones and tesserae. There is also a large amount of Roman and Byzantine pottery.

Qabu (#8 on map) lies about 2.5 km east-southeast of Umm Qais.[65] It is situated on an elevated point above 'Ain al-'Asad. Remains include building foundations and walls as well as a number of cisterns.[66] The pottery indicates Roman and Byzantine occupation.

Sifin (#9 on map) is located 3.25 km southeast of Umm Qais directly above 'Ain Sifin.[67] The site apparently was completely destroyed, leaving behind only the remains of some buildings, tesserated fragments of mosaic floors, and a number of cisterns. Between Sifin and Qabu, Glueck reports,

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[64]Ibid., p. 143. His site #99.

[65]Ibid., pp. 143-145. His #97. Merrill (p. 157) is the first to mention Qabu (cf. above p. 99).

[66]Glueck reports (p. 144) that the stones are being removed and used for construction elsewhere in the vicinity. From a recent survey Konstantinos Politis, in "El-Kabu 100 Years After Schumacher's Discovery" (Amman: unpublished report, 1988), p. 1, reports that almost nothing is left at Qabu except for the remains of some "external fortification walls."

[67]Glueck's site #96. See Glueck, p. 145.

were burial shafts of Roman origin and quarries from the Roman and Byzantine periods.[68] Pottery was found at Sifin from the Roman, Byzantine, and medieval Islamic periods.

About 6.0 km east-southeast of Umm Qais is Ed'an (#10 on map).[69] It lies on a large, solitary hill on the west side of a wadi and southeast and above 'Ain Ed'an. Building stones are scattered over the hill, as well as many tesserae. In the vicinity are quarries and tombs from the Roman period. There is a small amount of Bronze and Iron Age sherds,[70] and a great quantity of Roman, Byzantine, and medieval Islamic sherds.

Approximately 6.5 km east-southeast of Umm Qais (and about 0.25 km south of the modern road to Irbid) sits the site of 'Arqub az-Zahar (#11 on map) on a small rise.[71] A little farther to the south (that is, in the opposite direction of the road) is 'Ain Dilbeh (also known as 'Ain Mujrein or 'Ain ad-Daliyeh). No traces of building remains were discovered. There are, however, great quantities of Early Bronze I-III pottery, along with some of the Byzantine period.

The site of adh-Dhahireh (#12 on map) is located 7.0

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[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid., pp. 145-146. Glueck's #95.

[70]Glueck (pp. 145-146) indicates a questionable EB sherd, two possible MB II sherds, and a certain Iron I cooking pot rim.

[71]Ibid., pp. 146-147.

km east-eastsoutheast of Umm Qais near 'Ain Baruqeh.[72] There are no building remains on the thoroughly destroyed site, but there are many cisterns and tombs in the vicinity. The ceramic remains indicate Roman and Byzantine occupation.

In his survey of the region Mittmann identified and described nine additonal sites. The first of these is Khirbet ad-Dubb (#13 on map 2), located approximately 4.7 km east-eastnortheast of Umm Qais.[73] Nearby are two springs, 'Ain al-Kilab and 'Ain at-Tase. There are very few building remains, but a large number of burial caves along both sides of Wadi at-Tase. There is only a little pottery, which dates to the early Roman and Umayyad periods, but close to the site is also an area which is saturated with Middle Paleolithic flints.

About 1.75 km west-northwest of Umm Qais on a projection on the edge of the Yarmuk Valley lies Khirbet Maquq (#14 on map).[74] The only building remains are some basalt blocks covering the foundation of a house. The few pottery sherds collected date to the early Byzantine period.

Khirbet ar-Rasefiyeh (#15 on map) lies approximately 3.5 km west of Umm Qais along the Roman road which connected Gadara and Tiberias.[75] The only remains are the ruins of a

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[72]Glueck's #94. Ibid., p. 147. He notes that this site is also known as Halan al-Hamir.

[73]Mittmann, p. 25. According to his system this is site #49.

[74]Ibid. Mittmann's #50.

[75]Ibid., pp. 25-26. His #51.

single building. About 100 m further along the road is a milestone, near which are the foundation remains of a small house. There is some pottery which appears to be Byzantine.

Khirbet Miqyal (#16 on map) is 3.0 km west of Umm Qais.[76] This site lies on the western end of the plateau whose eastern end is connected to the main settlement hill of Gadara by a "saddle." The ruins are of a single structure, apparently quite small. The pottery is late Roman.

On the slope down to the Jordan Valley (about 200 m from the top of the valley wall) and about 4.7 km west-southwest of Umm Qais is Khirbet at-Tabaq (#17 on map).[77] The ruins extend over quite a large area (about 100 m from one end to the other), which is covered with fragments of basalt blocks.[78] The pottery dates to the Early Bronze II (some), Middle Bronze I, Iron II (some), late Hellenistic, Umayyad, and Mamluke periods.

About 4.7 km south-southeast of Umm Qais on a northward projecting ridge which sits on the southern slope of Wadi al-'Arab lies Khirbet al-Bwere (#18 on map).[79] Apparently there were no architectural remains. The ceramic evidence indicates occupation in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, also from the early Byzantine through

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[76]Ibid., p. 26. His #52.

[77]Mittman's # 53. Ibid.

[78]Schumacher proposes (p. 79) that between Khirbet at-Tabaq and Khirbet al-Miqyal was the basalt quarry used by the city of Gadara.

[79]His #84. Mittmann, p. 38.

the Mamluke periods.

Khirbet Umm an-Niml (#19 on map), about 3.0 km south of Umm Qais, sits on an upper, western flank of Wadi al-'Arab.[80] There are some unidentifiable ruins. The pottery shows occupation in the late Hellenistic, early Roman, and Mamluke periods.

Approximately 4.7 km south-southwest of Umm Qais is Khirbet Shiha (#20 on map).[81] It is located on the northern edge of a bank which slopes downward toward the south flank of Wadi al-'Arab. Nearby on the slope below is 'Ain at-Tine. Remains (of what presumably was a wall of some sort) surround a slight (2 m to 5 m) elevation which has a diameter of 20 m to 30 m. The few potsherds are early Roman.

The final site in this area which Mittmann reports is Khirbet al-'Ajami (#21 on map).[82] It sits on a terrace on the north side of Wadi al-'Arab. Found there were a small (ca. 15 m by 30 m) pile of ruins and the remains of a third century A.D. house. No pottery finds are reported.

Almost all of these twenty-one sites evidence occupation sometime during the classical (Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine) period (which is not surprising), except for the Middle Bronze site of Abu Naml (#4 on map) and the Chalcolithic "Station IV" (#5). Three sites indicate intense occupation in the Early Bronze (I-III) period: Tell al-

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[80]Ibid. Mittmann's #85.

[81]Ibid. His #86.

[82]Ibid. His #87.

Hammeh (#2), al-Fakhat (#6), and 'Arqub az-Zahar (#11). Tell al-Hammeh is located in the Yarmuk Valley, the other two on the shoulder between the Yarmuk and the Wadi al-'Arab. Four of the localities yielded evidence of Iron Age occupation: Khirbet ad-Duweir (#3) in the Yarmuk Valley, al-Fakhat (#6), Ed'an (#10), and Khirbet at-Tabaq (#17).[83]

Although about half of the sites have topographically strategic locations, most of them seem to have had a non-military function. Only four show indications of having been fortified: Khirbet al-Husn (#1), Khirbet at-Duweir (#3), Qabu (#8), and Khirbet Shiha (#20). These may have been military outposts for a larger settlement or fortified places of refuge for their immediate environments.[84] The remaining sites appear to have been individual domestic units, such as farmsteads, or small centers of such communities. It is also possible that several of these non-military sites (and one of the possibly fortified ones, as

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[83]The pre-classical periods from which no pottery turned up at any of the twenty-one sites are the Neolithic, Early Bronze IV, Late Bronze, and Persian.

Well-known is Glueck's contention (see, e.g., The Other Side of the Jordan [New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1940], p. 114) that Jordan was fairly desolate (at least not having things like cities and pottery) from EB IV to the end of LB. Although the survey data seems to support this opinion, it would be hazardous to conclude that this was actually the case. See, e.g., Mittmann's criticism (p. 2) that this was a serious misjudgment. See also a substantiation of Mittmann's criticism (e.g., p. 221, n. 32, where, in the face of Glueck's insistence that the Jerash region completely lacked any evidence of MB II and LB occupation, Mittmann was able to recover a relatively large amount of MB II and LB pottery).

[84]This is what Glueck, in fact, suggested (p. 137) for Khirbet al-Husn.

well) could have had cultic functions, such as Qabu (#8), Sifin (#9), or adh-Dhahireh (#12), due to the characteristics of their extant remains and/or environment. But without further investigation it remains speculative.

Concerning the relationship of these sites to Gadara little can be said without direct evidence. During the earlier periods (pre-Hellenistic) only several of the sites indicate occupation at the same time.[85] Moreover, these sites were, as a rule, either down in the Yarmuk Valley or relatively distant from Gadara.[86] On the other hand, during the classical and post-classical periods, Gadara was a town/city of considerable size (in comparison to those in its vicinity) and, according to the literary record, the "capital" of its region. One would, then, expect social, political, and economic contacts between the smaller, outlying settlements and the center of the district. Nevertheless, the relationship of the outlying areas to Gadara, like their function, remains hypothetical and must be tested by further investigation at Gadara/Umm Qais and its vicinity.

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[85]During EB I and II only Tell al-Hammeh, al-Fakhat, and 'Arqub az-Zahar show evidence of occupation, and during EB III only the first two of these and Khirbet at-Tabaq. For MB I there are only three sites, and for MB II only one. Iron I and Iron II each show three sites which indicate settlement.

Lack of contact may be suggested by Glueck's remark that at Tell al-Hammeh there was no Khirbet Kerak ware (somewhat of an EB III indicator), while at al-Fakhat, a contemporary site, there was. (See Glueck, pp. 138, 142-143.)

[86]"Relatively distant from" was arbitrarily decided to be a distance of more than 5.0 km from Umm Qais. The only two sites near Umm Qais evidencing pre-Hellenistic pottery were al-Fakhat (at 1.5 km) and Khirbet at-Tabaq (at 4.7 km).

History of Excavation

The modern inhabitation of the main settlement hill precluded, with little exception, any excavation of its remains (see map 3).[87] In the 1967 war the residents of this area were evacuated, however; and afterward some of the people were resettled in other parts of the modern village. After the Department of Antiquities of Jordan obtained the area in 1975 for archaeological investigation most of the remaining inhabitants gradually relocated as well.[88] It was not until this time that extensive archaeological excavation was begun.

The excavations at Gadara/Umm Qais have been conducted either by the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes or some group associated with the Institut. Before its work began in 1974, however, the north mausoleum was investigated by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (map 3:1). The site of this mausoleum, about 375 m west-northwest of the basilica terrace, was cleared by the Department in 1969.[89] Much of the structure was destroyed by an earthquake in antiquity, but enough of

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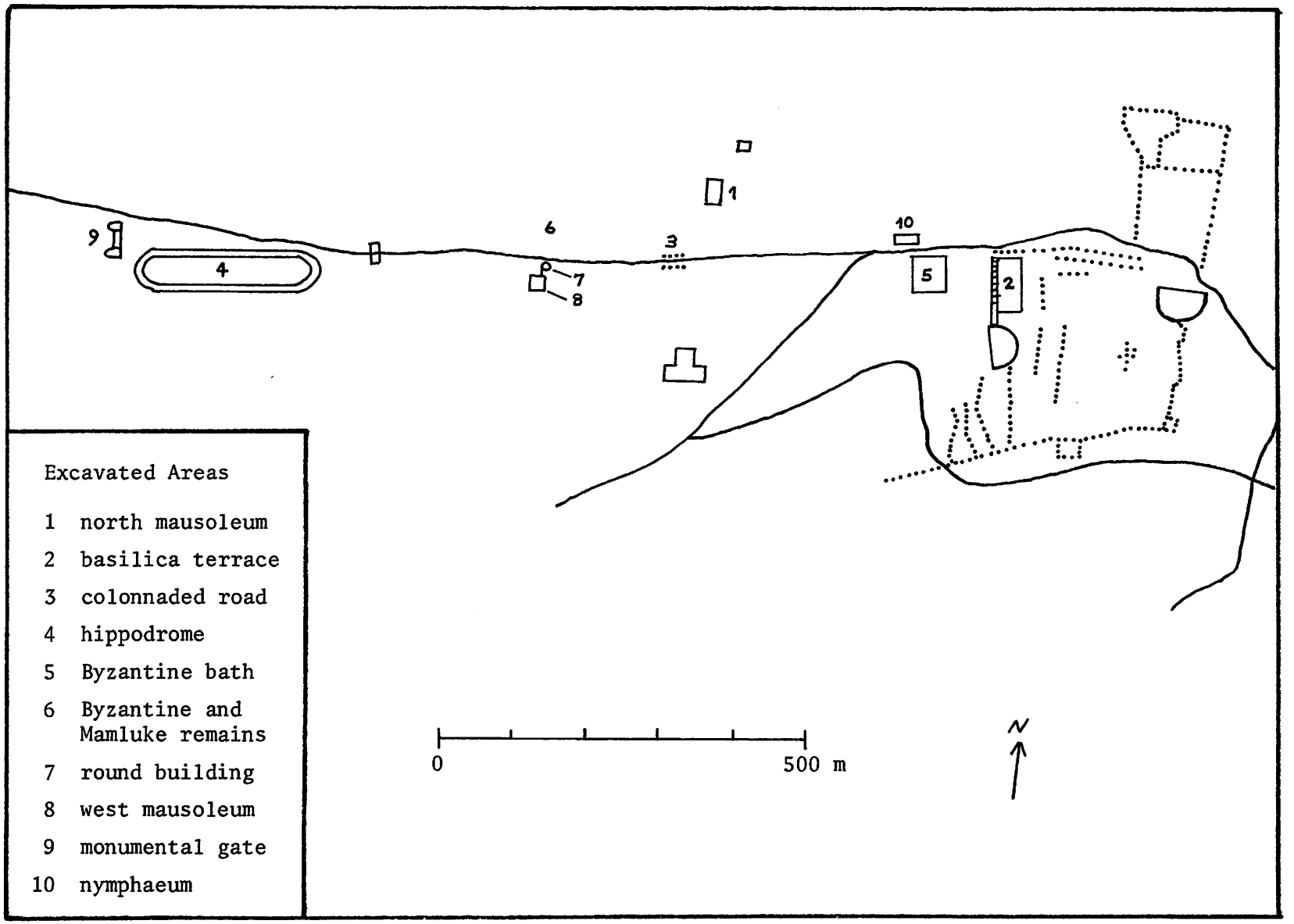
[87]The only (modern) exception recorded of any kind of archaeological investigation is that of Ute Lux in 1960 when mosaics of the Baths of Herakleides were discovered. See Ute Lux, "Der Mosaikfußboden eines spätantiken Bades in umm qes," ZDPV 82 (1966):64-70.

[88]Seteney Shami, "Settlement and Resettlement in Umm Qais: Spatial Organization and Social Dynamics in a Village in North Jordan" (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1988), p. 3.

[89]For a summary of their finds see Bert De Vries, "The North Mausoleum at Um Qeis," ADAJ 18 (1973):77.

Map 3


Excavated Areas
1 north mausoleum
2 basilica terrace
3 colonnaded road
4 hippodrome
5 Byzantine bath
6 Byzantine and Mamluke remains
7 round building
8 west mausoleum
9 monumental gate
10 nymphaeum
0
500 m
N

it remains to indicate that it was probably constructed in the late Roman period.[90]

The first major archaeological work undertaken at Gadara/ Umm Qais was a series of survey and excavations directed by Ute Wagner-Lux of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut. In 1974 an extensive survey was conducted, and from 1976 to 1980 a succession of excavations was carried out in various parts of the site.[91]

Using Schumacher's 1886 map as a basis Wagner-Lux and her team proceeded with a sweeping survey of the presumed area of the ancient city (approximately 1.6 km from east to west and 0.5 km from north to south). The architectural remains in the city area which were recorded include the city wall, the streets, and structures and remains in the "upper city," the "middle city," and the "western city."[92] On the basis of the pottery which was recovered, they proposed that the site was occupied from the seventh century B.C. into the medieval period and, after a gap of about four hundred

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[90]Ibid.

[91]The principal documentation of this work is the following: Ute Wagner-Lux, Ernst W. Krüger, Karel J. H. Vriezen, and Tootje Vriezen-van der Flier, "Bericht über die Oberflächenforschung in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jahre 1974," ZDPV 94 (1978):135-144; Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien in den Jahren 1976-1978," ZDPV 96 (1980):48-58; idem, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jahre 1979," ZDPV 96 (1980):158-162; and idem, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jarhe 1980," ZDPV 98 (1982):153-162.

[92]Wagner-Lux et al., "Bericht 1974," p. 135. Cf. Chapter 4, n. 4 below on the designations for the parts of the city.

years, from the end of the nineteenth century on.[93]

The area which was most intensely excavated was that of the Byzantine basilica, which sits on a paved terrace north of the west theater (map 3:2). The date of its construction is uncertain, although it seems that the closest parallels date to the early Byzantine period. Its destruction was due to an earthquake sometime in the Umayyad period.[94] Nearby, on the west side of the basilica terrace, a street joining the decumanus maximus at a right angle was uncovered. Underneath the pavement stones two different canal systems were discovered.[95]

About 400 m west of the basilica terrace a 34 m section of the decumanus maximus was excavated (map 3:3). Besides the stylobates and sidewalks of the colonnade on both sides of the road, many building stones and other architectural fragments came to light. No date of its construction was proposed. That awaits further processing of the finds.[96]

The final area excavated by Wagner-Lux and her group is the hippodrome, where they conducted three sondages (map 3:4). Although its east-west length was determined, only one of its sides could be established with any degree of

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[93]Ibid., p. 144.

[94]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordan from 1976 to 1979," ADAJ 24 (1980):160.

[95]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1980," pp. 156-157.

[96]Ibid., p. 162.

certainty. On the supposed opposite side they found only broken building stones mixed with pottery. Further excavation is necessary here before a date for this structure can be offered.[97]

A project connected with the German campaigns commenced in 1977. A group of Danes headed by Svend Holm-Nielsen, Flemming Gorm Andersen, and Jorgen Levinsen, was invited by Wagner-Lux to participate in the 1977 season by leading the excavation of the Byzantine bath (map 3:5). The Danish group worked with the Germans that year, but in the three following campaigns (1978, 1981, and 1983) they operated on their own. At the suggestion of Wagner-Lux the Danish group also conducted in 1983 a number of sondages in the western city, north of the Roman road and about 0.6 km west of the basilica terrace (map 3:6).[98]

The bath building, situated directly south of the Roman road and about 100 m west of the basilica terrace, has three main phases in its history: from its construction at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. to its destruction in the second half of that century or in the middle of the fifth century (probably by an earthquake), from then until about the middle of the seventh century (i.e., the beginning

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[97]Ibid.

[98]The entire report of the bath excavation appears in Svend Holm-Nielsen, Inge Nielsen, and Flemming Gorm Andersen, "The Excavation of Byzantine Baths in Umm Qeis," ADAJ 30 (1986):219-232. For an account of the investigations in the western city, see Flemming Gorm Andersen and John Strange, "Bericht über drei Sondagen in Umm Qes, Jordanien, im Herbst 1983," ZDPV 103 (1987):78-100.

of the Umayyad period), and from that time until its destruction by the earthquake of 746/7 A.D. During the first two phases it operated as a bath, and during the last phase the structure was used for habitation.[99] In its bath phases the building had eight main and two auxiliary rooms which allowed for a choice of bathing sequences.[100] There is some indication for its use in the medieval period, but occupation seems to have been only sporadic.[101]

Since in the survey of 1974 pottery sherds dating to the seventh century B.C. were found in the western city,[102] it was decided that the Danish team would proceed with an investigation to see if an Iron Age settlement could be found. About 0.6 km west of the basilica they put in three trial trenches ranging from 25 m to 70 m north of the Roman road. The architectural remains uncovered were two walls from the Roman or Byzantine period[103] and one from the Mamluke period.[104]

Archaeological investigation resumed at Gadara/Umm

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[99]Holm-Nielsen et al., p. 220.

[100]Ibid., p. 226.

[101]Ibid., p. 229.

[102]Wagner-Lux et al., "Bericht 1974," p. 144. See also Holm-Nielsen et al., p. 232, who mention that Dr. Lux "found so many Iron Age sherds that she considered it worthwhile . . ." According to Andersen and Strange (p. 90) the only pre-Hellenistic pottery recovered from their excavation were an Iron II body sherd, an Iron II rim, and a "Persian (?)" rim.

[103]Andersen and Strange, pp. 78 and 87.

[104]Ibid., p. 83.

Qais after a three year hiatus. In 1986 the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut, this time under the direction of Thomas Weber, conducted a survey and sondage. In 1987 and 1988 full-scale excavation was carried out in the western city at two structures near the Roman road.[105]

Using Schumacher's map of 1886 and the one prepared by the Germans in 1974, the 1986 survey team began preparing a revised topographical map to include not only the current remains of the ancient ruins of Gadara but also the sites of its cemeteries (not included in the 1974 map) and the plan of the late Ottoman village which was begun on the main tell at the end of the nineteenth century.[106] The excavation work of the season consisted of clearing the surface debris of a subterranean mausoleum and a circular structure (which lie just south of the Roman road about 0.6 km west of the basilica terrace) and a sondage at the mausoleum in which a mosaic, probably dating to sometime in the early Byzantine period, was uncovered.[107]

The mausoleum and circular structure were the focus

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[105]The report of these projects can be found in Thomas Weber, "Gadara of the Decapolis, A Summary of the 1986 and 1987 Seasons at Umm Qeis," ADAJ 31 (1987):531-533; idem, "Gadara of the Decapolis, A Summary of the 1988 Season at Umm Qais," (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1988); and Peter Cornelius Bol, Adolf Hoffmann, and Thomas Weber, "Gadara in der Dekapolis: Zwischenbericht über der Stand der deutschen Ausgrabungen bei Umm Qais in Nordjordanien zwischen den Jahren 1986 und 1988" (to be published in the Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1989).

[106]Weber, "Summary 1986 and 1987," p. 531.

[107]Ibid.

of the excavations led by Weber in 1987 and 1988 (map 3:7 + 8). The original function of the circular structure, apparently Roman but extant only in several of its lower courses, has not been clarified completely. Suggestions include a monumental tomb and a free-standing gate.[108] At the neighboring subterranean mausoleum, also appearing to date to the Roman period, excavation was carried out in the vestibule, which was constructed in the Byzantine period with material from the circular structure.[109] In the 1988 campaign thirteen graves under the floor of this entryway were excavated and seem to date to the late Roman/early Byzantine horizon.[110]

In 1987 and 1988 Adolf Hoffmann of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Berlin) expanded the archaeological work at Umm Qais by directing the excavation of the hippodrome and monumental gate at the far western end of the site about 1.5 km from the basilica terrace (map 3:9). The layout is similar to that of Jerash, where the main road continues beyond the gate of the city wall and passes by a hippodrome or stadium before going through the Hadrianic arch.[111] The hippodrome project at Umm Qais was conducted for only one of

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[108]Ibid., p. 533.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Weber, "Summary 1988," p.2.

[111]Adolf Hoffmann, "The Excavation of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) at Gadara/Umm Qais, Jordan, in 1987: The Monumental Gate" (Berlin: German Archaeological Institute, 1988), p. 1. See also Hoffmann, "The Excavation of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) at Gadara/Umm Qais, Jordan in 1988--Monumental Gate" (Berlin: German Archaeological Institute, 1989).

the two seasons and then suspended in order to concentrate on the monumental gate.

Much of this Roman gate, appearing as an oblong mound before the work commenced, has been uncovered in two campaigns. In 1987 parts of the foundations and pedestals of four piers which framed the central and two lateral gateways were uncovered.[112] In 1988 pavement stones in the central gateway became visible. Unfortunately, sondages to find the Roman road on either side of the structure were unsuccessful.[113]

Finally in 1988 a third project was added to those currently being carried out. Peter Cornelius Bol of the Galleries of Ancient Sculpture (Frankfurt a.M.) began to lead the work on the nymphaeum, which lies on the north side of the Roman road about 100 m west of the basilica (map 3:10). In their initial season the excavation team mapped the remains of the structure and took its elevations.[114] Judging from its architectural style the building seems to belong to the standard nymphaeum type of the late Roman period.[115]

Both time and man have wreaked havoc on the remains of Gadara as they have on almost every other site in the ancient

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[112]Hoffmann, "Excavation 1987," pp. 2-3.

[113]Ibid., p. 4.

[114]Peter Cornelius Bol, "Interim Report on the Excavations on the Nymphaeum in Gadara March/April 1988" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1988), p. 11. See also Bol, "Nymphaeum Excavation Umm Qais, March 1989" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1989).

[115]Bol, "Excavations 1988," p. 11.

Near East. Fortunately, the succession of visitors to the site has documented much of what is now lost. During the time of its floruit in the classical period visitors from the West traveled to Gadara and perhaps observed what today lies in ruins. The travellers, surveyors, and archaeologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have left us valuable chronicles, varying in their degree of detail but each adding to the picture of Gadara's history. Without the attestations of these explorers and excavators our knowledge of the city would be much less. Because of their journals and reports, however, we can envision much of Gadara's previous existence and begin to reconstruct the history and growth of this Decapolis city.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Some time after Gottlieb Schumacher and George Adam Smith visited the ruins of Gadara (in 1885 and 1891, respectively), the villagers of Umm Qais gradually began to inhabit the tell. In doing this they availed themselves to a great extent of the building materials at hand, namely, the blocks and other architectural pieces of the ancient structures.[1] Both of these factors, the construction of dwellings on the site of Gadara and the removal of building materials, resulted in the loss of many of the ancient monuments.

Most of the ruins of ancient Gadara center on or around the eastern elevation of a plateau bounded on the north by the Yarmuk River and on the south by the Wadi al-'Arab. From here they begin to spread out onto the plateau

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[1]According to Seteney Shami, in "Settlement and Resettlement in Umm Qais: Spatial Organization and Social Dynamics in a Village in North Jordan" (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1988), pp. 1-2, 11-12, the first permanent structures began to be built in Umm Qais in the 1880s and 1890s as a result of improved economic conditions. The wealthier class, i.e., the landowners, chose to construct their dwellings on the acropolis of ancient Gadara.

Gottlieb Schumacher, in "Ergänzungen zu meiner Karte des Dscholan und westlichen Hauran," ZDPV 22 (1900), pp. 181-182, notes that the village sheikh had built himself a house on a "dominating spot" of the tell, and that the villagers were using pieces from the ancient structures, in some cases breaking them up, to build this house and others in the vicinity.

to the west for about 1.5 km. The topography limited the extension of the city to the north and to the south to under 0.5 km. Beginning at its eastern end, the city probably had its greatest north-south extension at about 450 m, narrowing down to 200 m to 300 m approximately in the middle, and then expanding on the western plateau to anywhere from 300 m to 500 m.[2]

Almost without exception the extant ruins at Gadara date to either the Roman or Byzantine periods. Of those ruins about two-thirds are from Roman/late Roman structures.[3] According to the archaeological data which have come to light so far, it appears that settlement began on the "upper city," that is, the extreme eastern end of the site, and expanded westward to include the "middle city" and "western city" as Gadara grew in the (late) Roman and Byzantine periods.[4]

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[2]This estimation is based on an appraisal of the topography of the site, an evaluation of Schumacher's findings and map of 1886 (in Gottlieb Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, "Within the Decapolis" [London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), endflap; here, Chapter 3, map 1) and on the results of the German survey in 1974 (Ute Wagner-Lux, Ernst W. Krüger, Karel J. H. Vriezen, and Tooje Vriezen-van der Flier, "Bericht über die Oberflächenforschung in Gadara [Umm Qais] in Jordanien im Jahre 1974," ZDPV 94 [1978]:135-144).

[3]This should not be surprising. Most of the structures at Philadelphia (Amman) and Gerasa (Jerash) date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. Bostra (Busra) was built in the 2nd century and Philippopolis (Shahba') in the mid-3rd century. See Arthur Segal, "Roman Cities in the Province of Arabia," Journal of the Society of Architectural History 50 (1981):109-110.

[4]The area under consideration extends from east to west about 1.5 km and from north to south about 0.5 km (see Chapter 3, map 3). Selah Merrill, in East of the Jordan: A

In connection with the extent of the city one must consider the course of Gadara's city walls. When the explorers of the nineteenth century visited the site they reported that the walls of the city were still fairly discernible. It seems, however, that they were referring only to the walls of the upper city.[5] Very few of these walls are still extant; nevertheless, there is little doubt that the upper

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Record of Travel and Observation in the Country of Moab, Gilead and Bashan during the Years 1875-77 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), p. 156, divides the city into two parts: the "eastern" is the eastern third of the area mentioned above, and the "western" the western two-thirds of that area. In the report of the 1974 survey (Wagner-Lux et al., pp. 137-143) there are the following designations: the "Stadthügel" or "Oberstadt" (the roughly 200 m by 300 m area elevated above the surrounding terrain at the east end of the site), the "Terrasse" (the approximately 100 m by 30 m level area at the northwest corner of the "Stadthügel"), and the "Unterstadt" (the remaining areas to the north and west of the "Stadthügel" and "Terrasse").

In order to simplify the situation (especially in the case of the "Unterstadt," which is too large and indefinite of an area for this label to be of much value) the following designations are proposed and used hereafter: (1) "upper city" - the roughly square, elevated area at the east end of the site (the 1974 "Stadt-hügel," with "Terrasse") plus the "north annex" (according to Schumacher's map, the approximately 100 m by 200 m enclosed area north of the north theater); (2) "middle city" - the remaining are north of the upper city and the area extending about 450 m west of the upper city; and (3) "western city" - the remaining western half of the site. See maps 1-3 in this chapter. These designations are based on both topographical and historical considerations.

[5]See Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, During the Years 1817 and 1818 (London: T. White and Co., 1823), p. 297; Josias Leslie Porter, Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine (London: John Murry, 1858), p. 319; and Frank DeHass, Buried Cities Recovered, or Explorations in Bible Lands (Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1883; repr. ed. New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 363. Schumacher (Northern 'Ajlun, p. 53) is explicit when he states that the wall to which he refers surrounds the upper city.

city was at one time surrounded by a fortification.[6] As far as a "greater city" wall is concerned, the topography suggests a line which this wall may have followed but at the same time presents difficulties in tracing out the same. At places where the terrain would have been relatively favorable for such a wall remains of what appear to be probable candidates for the wall of a city have been discovered.[7]

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[6]See Wagner-Lux et al., p. 136, who report that because of the modern installations the upper city walls are not able to be completely traced. But besides the testimony of the early explorers (cf. n. 5 above), recent excavation has discovered evidence which may verify Schumacher's reconstruction, at least that of the south wall. At the southeast and southwest corners of the upper city (according to Schumacher's map) parts of the city wall and/or tower remains came to light as well as a not insignificant amount of early pottery which may support an early Roman, possibly late Hellenistic, date for its construction.

On the north side of the upper city, on the other hand, there may have been a wall running north of the Roman road, as Schumacher (ibid., p. 64) suggests. At the northwest corner of the upper city an earlier acropolis wall may be the one used in the construction of the Roman terrace on which the basilica sits or one underneath that wall. It is also possible that the acropolis wall may have been to the east of this terrace. See Wagner-Lux et al., pp. 137-138; Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel J. H. Vriezen, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordan from 1976 to 1979," ADAJ 24 (1980):157; and idem, in Der Königsweg, 9000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur in Jordanien und Palästina (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), p. 270.

[7]Parts of the wall have been difficult to trace, even those parts documented by the German survey work in the 1970s, because of the activity of the Jordanian army (they fortified the heights with trenches as it had been fortified centuries ago with walls).

Favorable terrain for a city wall lies to the northeast and north of the upper city, at the north and south ends of the middle city, and in an area approximately between the middle and western parts of the city. According to the survey of Wager-Lux et al. (p. 136), the following fields show remains of the city wall (the numbers are according to the survey map, q.v.): 1, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, -208, -308. Also possible is the wall extending from -9 into -109 and that in -7. Several wall fragments in 1 and 2 in

However, a more important question than the existence of a "greater city" wall must be addressed: that of the need for such a wall. On the earlier horizon of the classical period it seems that this need was greater. Cities built in the late Hellenistic and (early) Roman periods were usually surrounded by defense structures.[8] In the late Roman period, and probably Byzantine as well, it appears that the urban sprawl was not always included within the fortifications of a town.[9] In the case of Gadara, the middle city expansion was probably included with the upper city within a common fortification wall. Additional urban areas, however, such

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the north annex of the upper city (see ibid., p. 141) may come into consideration here as well.

[8]The Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land, 1986 ed., s.v. "Fortifications."

[9]The excavations at Pella and Abila, for example, have revealed little evidence of such inclusive walls. At Abila the acropolis area (Tell Abil) was probably enclosed by a wall (traces of it have been discovered at various points around the tell) but the other parts of the Roman-Byzantine city (the lower areas to the south and southeast of Tell Abil, and Khirbet Umm al-'Amad) do not appear to have been. (Personal communication from Michael Fuller, 6 March 1989.) At Pella the situation is similar. The excavations on Tabaqat Fahil have brought to light pre-Roman fortifications, and there seems to have been Roman/Byzantine defenses on Tell al-Husn (the hill opposite Tabaqat Fahil to the south). But because of the topographical situation, it does not seem likely that the entire Byzantine urban area was enclosed by a city wall. (Part personal observation; part personal communication from Pam Watson; 5 December 1988.)

Pertinent also may be the observation by Segal (pp. 113-114) that many city gates transformed from defensive into more open and monumental structures because of the settled conditons in the late Roman period.

as the western city, were most likely not.[10]

The east-west Roman road which ran through Gadara seems well attested by the first modern visitors to the site. They mentioned its colonnades and were able to observe its course for about 0.8 km.[11] After the recent years' excavations it seems that the road extended at least for 1.0 km, that is, from the eastern gate of the city to a point

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[10]According to Wagner-Lux et al. (p. 136) there are no traces of city wall west of Fields -208 and 110. Thus, the reconstruction proposed by Thomas Weber in Umm Qais, Gadara of the Decapolis (Amman: al-Kutba, 1989), map on pp. 19-20, is probably not accurate, where he shows the city wall extending about 300 m farther than the available evidence warrants. If the west mausoleum is indeed a Roman structure, it was probably built outside of the city wall. For the custom of sepulchral monuments outside of the city see idem, "Drei römische Felsgrabanlagen in Gadara Dekapoleos" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1988), n. 14, where he mentions that cemetery areas, as a rule, lay outside of the city area and cites as support of this V. Kochel, Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur I, eds. K. Fittschen and P. Zanker (Mainz, 1983). Also, other evidence from this additional area that Weber proposes was enclosed by the wall suggests that any building activity, outside of the west mausoleum and circular structure, was Byzantine and later. Finally, if there was a "west gate" (at the western part of the site where the Germans dug in 1986) it was probably more of the decorative or monumental type referred to by Segal (cf. n. 9 above).

[11]See Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai, ed. and comm. Wilhelm Gesenius (Weimar: Großh. sachs. priv. Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, 1823), p. 428; Irby and Mangles, p. 297; Victor Guerin, Description geographique, historique et archeologique de la Palestine (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1880), p. 300; Merrill, p. 154; Adolf Frei, "Beobachtungen vom See Genezareth," ZDPV 9 (1886):136; and Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 64 and 73. From the descriptions of Guerin, Frei, and Schumacher it seems that the western limit was somewhere east of the west mausoleum. Wagner-Lux et al. (pp. 136-137) report the following fields where the Roman road was seen in 1974: -2, -3, 5/-5, and 9/-9. In 7/-7 and 8/-8 there were column drums and bases along both sides of the path, undoubtedly remains of the colonnade.

0.7 km west of the basilica terrace, the present "west gate 2."[12] Except for the decumanus maximus only one other paved Roman road has come to light at Gadara, namely, the north-south running side street west of the basilica terrace.

In 1980 the German group excavated two areas of the Roman road. The first was the basalt-paved side street bordering the vaulted rooms under the terrace and presumably continuing beyond past the west theater (fig. 2:5). In the northern half of this area the excavators uncovered a system of canals and remains of ceramic pipes which originally lay under the street's pavement.[13] There is no evidence that the aqueduct which approached Gadara from the east actually entered the city. It may be possible that this system was constructed to assist in the supply of water to such structures as the baths and nymphaeum.

On the western edge of the middle city was the second excavation area of 1980. Here a section of the decumanus maximus was uncovered (fig. 2:21). In one of the two trial trenches another example of the city's water system was discovered: a number of ceramic water pipes and a cistern

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[12]The results of Sondage III in 1986 showed that the paved road continued to at least this point. Adolf Hoffmann, "The Excavations of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) at Gadara/Umm Qais, Jordan, in 1987: The Monumental Gate" (Berlin: German Archaeological Institute, 1988), p. 1. The excavations at the west mausoleum and circular structure have also uncovered portions of this road.

[13]Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel J. H. Vriezen, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jahre 1980," ZDPV 98 (1982):154, 155, 156-157.

which probably served for the collection of water here.[14] From the other trial trench it was determined that the street at this point was constructed over an earlier building.[15] The total area excavated at this section of the decumanus maximus amounted to a 34 m length of the road, uncovering as well an approximately 15 m width to include the adjacent sidewalks and stylobates with columns in situ.[16] Significant is the lack of evidence for a colonnaded road beyond this point. This may be an indication that the enclosure wall of the city reached its western limit here.

Upper City

Much of the upper city (the roughly square area on the eastern plateau which Schumacher shows enclosed by a wall, plus the walled "north annex" adjacent to it at the north-northeast; see fig. 1) has vanished since modern occupation began at the end of the last century. This is particularly true in the case of the summit of the upper city, possibly a fortified or walled acropolis, on which visitors to the site

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[14]Ibid., p. 161. From the lowest deposits of the cistern many early Roman pottery sherds were recovered. These may have come from some time during the early use of this installation.

[15]Ibid. No date is offered for this structure. The excavators suggest it was the wall of a building 1.12 m wide and 1.5 m high.

[16]Ibid., p. 160. The use of robbed-out architectural elements in the pavement indicates that this was secondary road construction. It was probably a repair of the road in the Byzantine period. Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, Königsweg, p. 268.

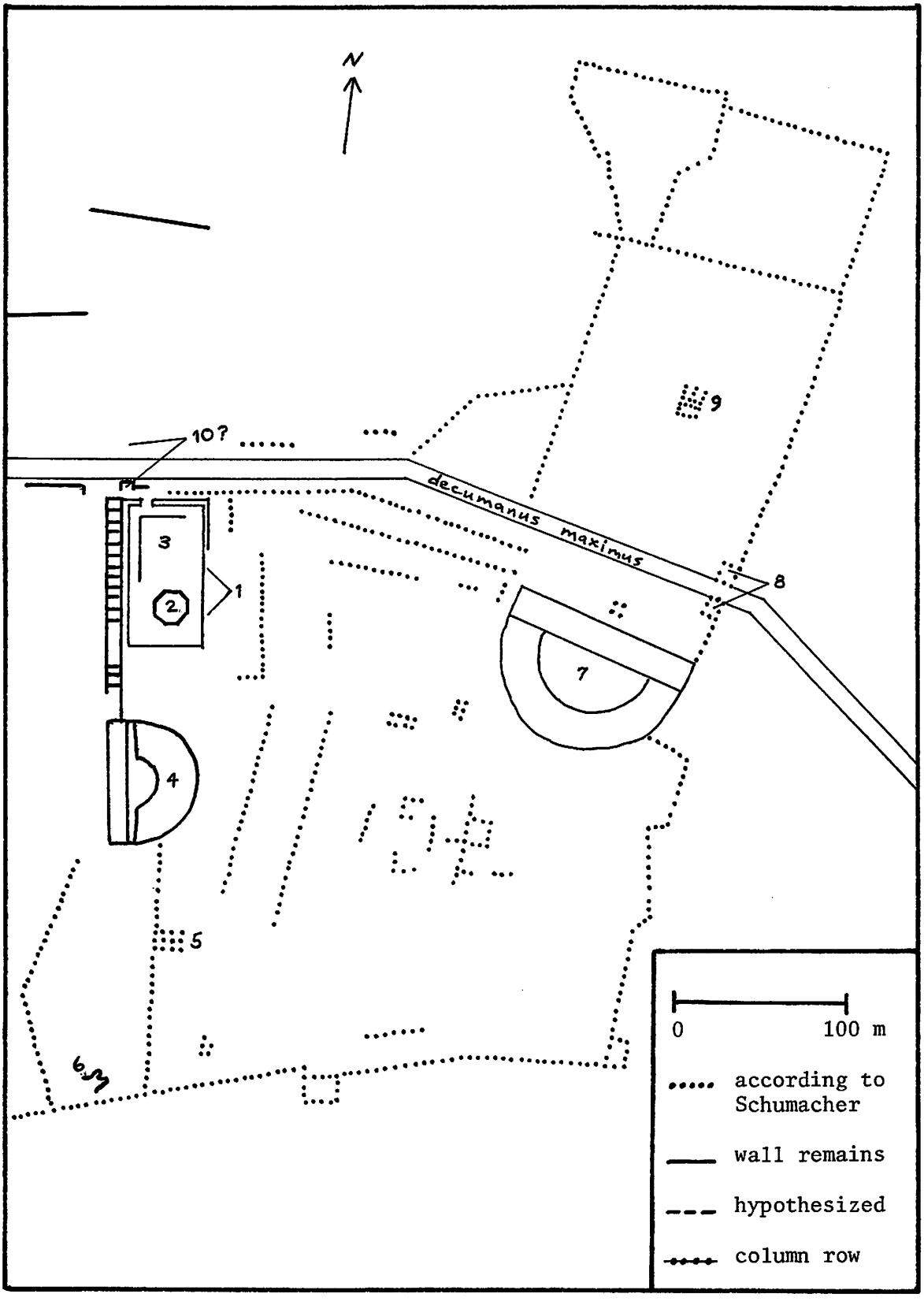

Fig. 1: Gadara, Upper City

reported seeing ancient building remains.[17] Almost none of these ruins have been preserved, but a number of the structures of the upper city, although several have been robbed out to one degree or another, can still be seen on the slopes surrounding the summit.

At the northwest corner of the upper city is a large terrace measuring approximately 90 m (north to south) by 30 m (east to west) (fig. 1:1). The early visitors usually signalled it out, some of them commenting that it was the site of a temple or church.[18] The terrace area was surveyed and part of it excavated by the Germans in the campaigns from 1974 to 1979.

In the course of the German investigations it was determined that the 1.7 m wide basalt wall supporting the terrace was built on a slightly declining slope of the hill.[19] On the east side of this wall two floors forming the terrace

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[17]For example, Burckhard, p. 428; and Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 67. Schumacher suggests that some of the remains may be from "a sturdy wall or some kind of rampart."

[18]See Burckhardt, p. 429; James Silk Buckingham, Travels in Palestine through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan, Including a Visit to the Cities of Geraza and Gamala in the Decapolis, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), p. 259; Dehass, p. 363; Guerin, p. 301; and Carl Steuernagel, Der 'Adschlun (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927), p. 506.

[19]See Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel J. H. Vriezen, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien in den Jahren 1976-1978," ZDPV 96 (1980):50 and 52; and idem, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jarhe 1979," ZDPV 96 (1980): 160. In about the middle of the north-south distance of the terrace, bedrock appears about 10 m in from the terrace support wall at a depth of ca. 0.5 m, and about 1 m in from the support wall at a depth of ca. 2.6 m.

were discovered. The upper floor consists of reused basalt and limestone architectural pieces and appears to be connected with the stylobate of the colonnade constructed on top of the support wall.[20] The lower floor, constructed of large limestone slabs (minimum dimensions 80 cm by 30 cm) lies about 0.5 m below the upper floor[21] and is probably to be associated with the terrace wall itself. According to the excavators, the lower floor is of Roman origin, thus preceding both the basilica and the colonnaded court to the north of it.[22]

In the center of the terrace sits the "basilica," a square building measuring approximately 23 m on each side with a central octagon having a width of 10 m (fig. 1:2).[23] This church could be entered by two doors, one in the middle of its west wall and a smaller one in the center of the east wall.[24] Inside the structure an apse was built into each of the four corners. As with the walls, the two apses on the

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[20]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1976-78," p. 51.

[21]Ibid.; and idem, "Bericht 1979," p. 160.

[22]Idem, "Report 1976-79," p. 157; and idem, Königsweg, p. 270.

[23]The west wall measures 23.23 m, the east wall 23.70 m, the north one 23.15 m, and the south one 23.12 m. Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1976-78," p. 53. The eastern half of the structure, that is, the east wall and the eastern portions of the north and south walls, is better preserved; in some cases sections of the wall over 2.0 m are extant. Of the west wall six courses of its south half were found lying on the floor to the west of the building.

[24]The west door has a width of about 2.6 m and the east door 1.74 m. Ibid., pp. 52 and 54. At some later period the east door was sealed off.

eastern side exhibit a better state of preservation. Traces of insertions for chancel posts and screens indicate that the apses were set off from the rest of the building.[25] In the southeast apse is a column and on a nearby wall block two grooves on which seem to have hung a shelf or stand. Both the column and the stand possibly had some kind of cultic function.[26] In the northeast apse there is a sarcophagus against the center of the back wall and two grave shafts on the floor in front of the sarcophagus.[27]

Around the center octagon is an ambulatory about 5.5 m wide. Its floor, like those of the apses, was paved with stone tiles in various geometric patterns and colors.[28] From the ambulatory one enters the central octagon (which still has six of its eight column bases in situ) on its north side. The western part of this octagon (section B2-B1-B8-B7-B6) is separated from the ambulatory by chancel screens, while the eastern part (section B3-B4-B5) by a wall with a small apse in the center of it.[29] Leaning against the eastern side of the apse is a limestone column drum with

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[25]Ibid., p. 54.

[26]Ibid., pp. 54-55. The excavators suggest that they could have been reliquary stands.

[27]Ibid., p. 55.

[28]Ibid., pp. 54-56. The colors in the ambulatory are yellow, red, and white. Only two of the apses still contain tiles, but the other two without a doubt had them also. The southeast apse was paved with brown and white square tiles, the northeast apse with yellow, red, and black in rectangular and triangular shapes.

[29]Ibid., p. 56.

a cross engraved on its east side.[30] In the 1977 season two sondages were put in within the central octagon. One confirmed the stratigraphy around the two floors of the terrace, the other brought to light a rectangular pit whose walls were a frame of upright stone slabs. This enclosure was determined to be a grave, and within it the excavators found a stone chest (containing only loose soil) which had been deposited in a secondary burial.[31]

No date is offered for the construction of the basilica, but its excavators allude to sometime in the first half of the sixth century.[32] The date of its destruction seems to be somewhat clearer. From the arrangement of the fallen architectural fragments it was no doubt an earthquake which demolished the structure. The excavators point to deposits containing Umayyad materials underneath some of the architectural elements and suggest the church fell into disuse before being destroyed by an earthquake in the middle of the eighth century.[33]

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[30]Ibid., According to the plan, this column shaft appears to be set into the wall of the apse, despite the fact that it is described as "leaning" against the apse wall.

[31]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1979," pp. 160-161.

[32]According to Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, in "Bericht 1976-78" (p. 57), no date will be suggested until the finds have been processed (which to date have not been), but they do point to parallels of this type of architecture in the early 6th century: the church of St. George at Zor'a built in 515, the cathedral in Bostra in 512, and the church of St. John in Gerasa in ca. 530.

[33]Ibid., p. 58; and Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, Königsweg, p. 270.

North of the basilica lies a 30 m by 30 m "colonnaded court" (fig. 1:3). Extant (and now standing) are about fifteen of its limestone columns. Connected to this court and probably built as part of the same complex is a 28 m by 4 m corridor flanked by the west wall of the basilica on the corridor's eastern side and a row of basalt columns to its west. Both the colonnaded court and the corridor were probably built about the same time as the basilica.[34] The colonnaded court was accessed by means of three entryways leading

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[34]Ute Wagner-Lux, in "Das Deutsche Evangelische Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes in den Jarhen 1976 und 1977," ZDPV 94 (1978):162, called the colonnaded court a "cloister-like passageway" supposedly belonging to the church complex. Two factors indicate that the connection of the basilica, the corridor to its west, and the colonnaded court, as well as a contemporary date for their construction, are probably correct. One factor is the relationship of the columns in all three areas. The limestone columns of the colonnaded court have a foundational construction similar to that of the basalt columns which are aligned on top of the terrace support wall. (See Wagner-Lux et al., p. 138; and Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1976-78," p. 51.) The columns on the terrace wall, in turn, take into consideration the erection of the columns in the church: B18 is in line with the church's south wall, B16 with B7 and B6, B15 with B8 and B5, B14 with B1 and B4, B13 with B2 and B3, and B11 with the church's north wall.

Secondly, there is the association of the floors. The method of constructing the church's floor over a lower limestone pavement (see Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1979," p. 160) was also used for the floors west of the church (in the "corridor") and to its north (see idem, "Bericht 1976-78," pp. 51 and 53). The floor north of the church continued into the colonnaded court as its floor (ibid., p. 53). What was probably the case, the church was constructed first and then the court with its colonnades to the west and north.

Schumacher (Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 60-63) assumed also that the basilica and colonnaded court belonged to the same complex. However, he figures the central octagon to be the main apse whose vertex is on the north side and the section of the court to the west of the central octagon as one of the three naves. The basalt terrace support wall and column rows he believes to have belonged to the same prior structure, a temple.

up from the north side. The relationship of this north end of the terrace to the decumanus maximus is not clear,[35] but judging from the distance between the north facade of the terrace and the street proper it is not difficult to imagine that one ascended the colonnaded court directly from the sidewalk running along the south side of the road.

The only other structure discovered to date on the terrace is a building whose east wall abuts the south wall of the basilica and whose interior was subdivided by chancel screens.[36] Since more of this structure has not been uncovered, it is difficult to determine both its size and exact function. Because of its construction, however, it was perhaps a chapel affiliated with the basilica complex.

A number of other structures of the upper city, either included in the survey of 1974 or recorded in other surveys of the last century, must be mentioned also. One of these is the west theater, which lies at the southern end of the basilica terrace about 100 m south of the decumanus maximus (fig. 1:4). The west theater was probably the feature most frequently noted by the early explorers as well as the best

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[35]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 138. The present north wall of the terrace was constructed on top of an earlier one. Since the later building phase (probably) belongs to the same as that of the colonnaded court and basilica, it seems that the underlying wall should be associated with the Roman terrace support wall and pavement. Further excavation will have to bear this out.

[36]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1976-78," p. 57.

preserved.[37] Its scena (now gone) measured about 53 m wide, and the orchestra had a diameter of 20.5 m. The theater's fifteen rows of seats (many of which have been robbed out) face almost due west. At one time a headless Tyche sat in the center of the front row.[38] The west theater was among the features measured and recorded in the 1974 survey.

About 30 m south of the west theater Schumacher noted the remains of what he surmised to have been a mausoleum (fig. 1:5).[39] This "south mausoleum" was an east-west oriented, semi-subterranean structure whose back section had been cut into the limestone of the hillside and whose front was constructed out of basalt blocks. Its length (east-west) was about 15 m and its width (north-south) about 6.4 m. Schumacher conjectured, on the basis of its construction technique, that it was probably the oldest remaining monument of Gadara.[40] Unfortunately its location puts it presently under one of the housing complexes in the southwest corner of the Ottoman village.

In the 1974 survey the ruins of what perhaps was an ancient church were detected approximately 75 m south-southwest of the south mausoleum (that is, about 110 m south of

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[37]Burckhardt, p. 428; Buckingham, p. 260; Irby and Mangles, p. 297; Guerin, p. 301; DeHass, p. 363; Frei, pp. 136 and 137; and Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 55-60.

[38]The statue was removed in 1989 and now is located in the museum at the restored Bait Rusan complex on the tell near the north theater.

[39]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 65-67.

[40]Ibid., p. 67.

the west theater) (fig. 1:6). The remains of this "south church" consisted of several limestone courses of the north and central apse walls of a triapsidal structure oriented toward the east.[41]

On the northeast corner of the upper city is the location of what is called the north theater (fig. 1:7). While not as well preserved as the west theater, its remains did stand out sufficiently to call its attention to those who passed by it.[42] It was larger than the west theater, with a scena 77.5 m wide and an orchestra 23.5 m in diameter. Its remaining vaults suggest a better construction technique than the other theater had. The number of rows of seats, which would have faced north-northeast, is not known.[43] Portions of the southeast and northeast ends of the proscenium were recorded in the 1974 survey, but so little of the structure remains that, except for the cavea, it is difficult to see that there even was a theater there.

About 20 m to 30 m north of the eastern edge of the north theater is the location of the so-called "east gate" (fig. 1:8). In the last century there were traces of it

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[41]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 137.

[42]Burckhardt, p. 428; Buckingham, p. 259; Irby and Mangles, p. 297; Guerin, p. 301; DeHass, p. 363; and Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 50.

[43]Buckingham (p. 259) reports that at the time of his visit in 1816 the scena and front of the structure were already destroyed, although many of the benches were still in situ. Guerin (p. 301) records that in 1875 about half of the structure is still extant, while Schumacher (Northern 'Ajlun, p. 50) comments that in 1886 the number of seat rows could no longer be counted.

there, perhaps even its portals.[44] In the 1974 survey no remains of this east gate could be detected, although the section of the decumanus maximus which leads through where the gate should have been was found.[45]

On the "north annex" of the upper city three underground rooms with vaulted ceilings were discovered in the 1974 survey (fig. 1:9). All three rooms were about the same size, 7.0 m long (front to back) by 2.6 m wide.[46] Unfortunately, an encampment of the Jordanian army occupies the north annex so that further investigation of the rooms (as well as of the city wall remains of the north annex) is not possible at this time.

The final feature of the upper city is the so-called west gate ("west gate 1") (fig. 1:10). This structure was first designated as such by Schumacher in 1886, who described it as flanked by pillars of basalt.[47] In 1974, however, the

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[44]Buckingham, p. 259; and Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 54.

[45]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 136.

[46]Ibid., p. 141. According to the survey plan these rooms were situated in the center of the north annex as mapped by Schumacher. Two of the rooms lie side by side and are oriented southwest to northeast with their openings at the northeast. The third room lay at the back of these, oriented northwest to southeast with its opening to the southeast.

[47]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 64. He also notes, however, that the ruins around the structure were too confused to be able to trace out their configuration. This may be the place where Burckhardt (p. 429) assumed that a large building with many columns had stood. Cf. Wagner-Lux et al., p. 136, who suspected that the ruins where this west gate was supposed to be situated probably belonged to a large structure.

surveyors detected no traces of a west gate.[48]

Middle City

The "middle city" begins about where the paved side street (west of the basilica terrace) intersects the decumanus maximus and continues westward for about 450 m to the stretch of road which is colonnaded (see fig. 2; cf. p. 132 above). This section of Gadara seems to have been very narrow in its eastern half, probably not more than 200 m from north to south at the most. In its western half the middle city appears to have spread out more, to at least 300 m north to south, perhaps more depending on the topography and on where the city wall was. Most of the extant ruins are within 100 m of the decumanus maximus, the rest about 150 m or so. Except in a few instances the remains are in such a delapidated state that it is extremely difficult to conjecture an original structure plan.

Just north of the decumanus maximus, to the northeast of its junction with the paved side street, are the ruins of a large structure 37 m long (east to west) and about 6.6 m wide (north to south) (fig. 2:1). In 1974 the German surveyors described it as a limestone construction which was possibly tesserated.[49] There are no clues in the accounts of the nineteenth century visitors to Gadara to indicate that any of them had seen this structure. Neither are there

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[48]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 136.

[49]Ibid., p. 141.

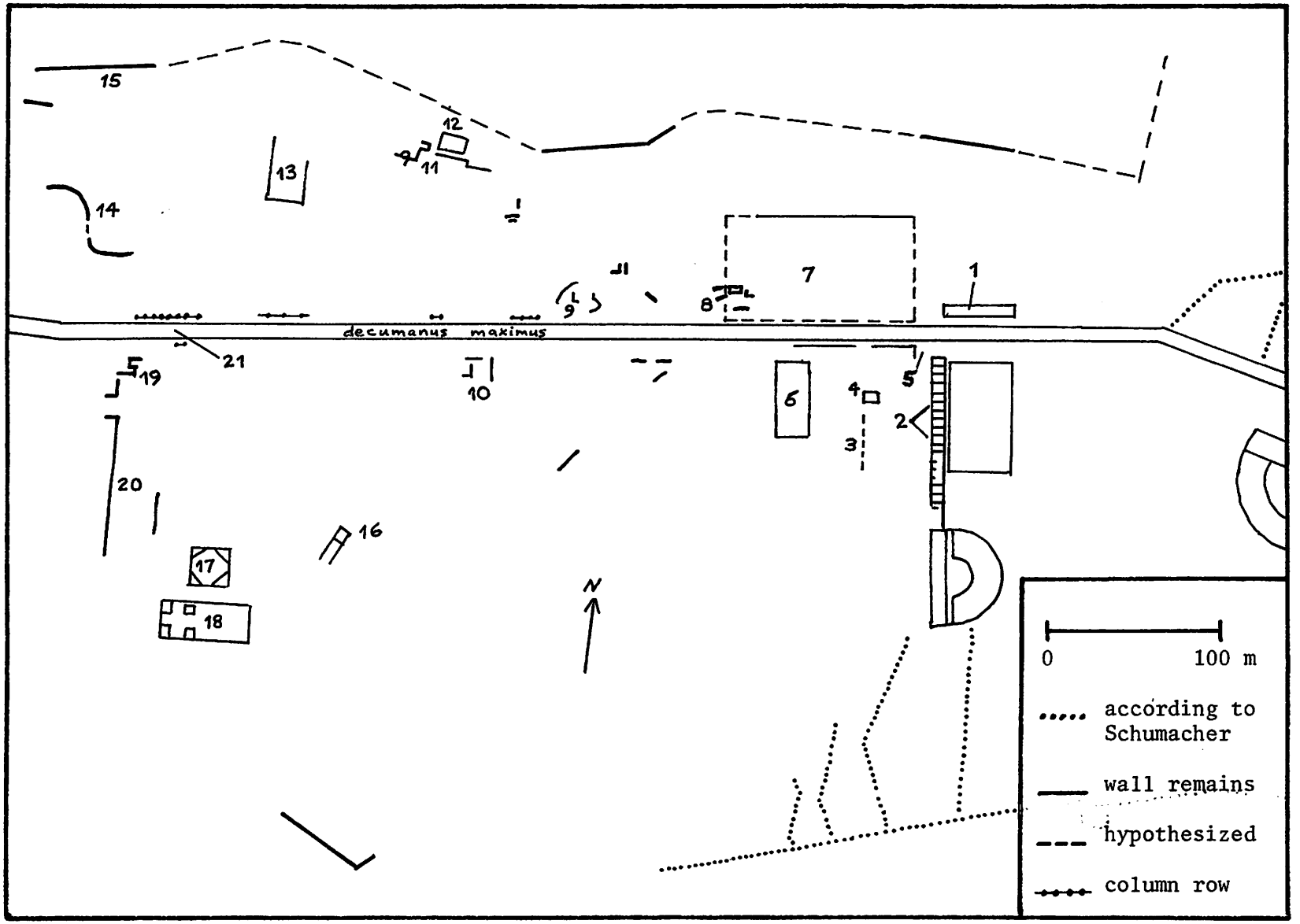

Fig. 2: Gadara, Middle City

enough features left today to ascertain its function.

South of the intersection of the two roads are the rooms with vaulted ceilings (fig. 2:2). These rooms were usually seen and recorded by the early explorers who, more often than not, classified them as either storerooms or shops.[50] The number reported varies from fourteen to seventeen; in 1974 fifteen were visible. Each room is about 4.9 m deep, while their widths vary from 3.6 m to 3.9 m and their heights from 3.15 m to about 3.30 m. The lower courses and doorframes were constructed of basalt, the rest of the structure with limestone.[51] During the excavation of the side street in 1980 facades of these vaulted rooms were found under the soil deposits and a fuller reconstruction was then made possible. Each front was constructed of eight courses of basalt attaining a height of about 4 m, and the door was built into the lower four courses and measures about 2.1 m high and 1.5 m wide.[52]

Across the road from the arched rooms, about 30 m west of the road and about 50 m south of the decumanus maximus, a wall running north to south was noted in the 1974 survey (fig. 2:3). The lower courses (four of which are constructed in head-and-stretcher technique) are basalt and

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[50]Guerin, p. 301; Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 62-63; idem, "Ergänzungen," p. 182; George Adam Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 23rd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 192-), p. 604. This is also the opinion of the 1974 survey group. See Wagner-Lux et al., p. 138.

[51]Ibid., p. 138.

[52]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1980," p. 154.

reach a height of about 1.2 m. The single upper course is limestone and about 0.55 m high.[53] No indication of its function is suggested, but, considering the terrain, it may have had a purpose similar to the support wall along the west side of the basilica terrace. Just to the north of this wall is a 10.7 m by 3.0 m room with a vaulted limestone ceiling and eastern access (fig. 2:4).[54] The role of this building is unclear. Its orientation and construction, however, suggest that it may have belonged to the "business quarter" (the vaulted "shops") across the road to the east. In the excavation of the side street the western edge of that street could not be found,[55] possibly an indication that the street was, in fact, wider here and constituted the forum of Gadara.

To the west of this area (about 100 m from the side street) are the ruins of the bath complex excavated by the Danish group from 1977 to 1983 (fig. 2:6). The structure was built on a steep slope going down from the decumanus maximus which the north end of the building faces. When the structure was included in the 1974 survey it was estimated to be about 42 m (north to south) by 18 m (east to west).[56] As a result of the excavations, however, its actual size has been assessed to be about 52.1 m (north to south) by 47.3 m

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[53]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 138.

[54]Ibid., p. 138f.

[55]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1980," p. 157.

[56]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 139.

(east to west). The difference, of course, can be attributed to the deterioration of the western side of the building (causing the whole complex to appear narrower) and its covering of debris.

The first room to be entered would have been Room VI on the north end of the building, a 33.25 m by 7.5 m chamber which probably functioned as both apodyterium and frigidarium.[57] To the south of Room VI is Room IV (19 m by 10.5 m), the main tepidarium,[58] followed by Room III (19 m by 9 m), the main caldarium.[59] Room I (9.5 m by 10.4 m), which lies south of Room III, originally served by holding a hot tub (alveus) for Room III, but after a rebuilding phase it was closed off by the construction of an apse (Room II) and was used for other purposes.[60]

Along the west side of the bath building was a series of four smaller rooms. Room X (5.8 m by 6 m) served as a smaller tepidarium, Rooms VII (5.8 m by 5.8 m) and IX (5.8 m by 5.8 m) as sudatorium and laconicum (hot dry bath) respec-

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[57]Svend Holm-Nielsen, Inge Nielsen, and Flemming Gorm Andersen, "The Excavation of Byzantine Baths in Umm Qeis," ADAJ 30 (1986):225. The apodyterium was the "changing room" and the frigidarium the cold bath. The progression at a bath after disrobing would consist of a warm bath (tepidarium), a hot bath (caldarium), and a cold bath followed by a massage. A slightly longer sequence would involve a warm bath, steam bath (sudatorium), hot bath, cold bath, and massage. See Holm-Nielsen et al., p. 226, for a more detailed explanation of how the baths at Gadara functioned.

[58]Ibid., pp. 224-225.

[59]Ibid., p. 220.

[60]Ibid., p. 224.

tively, and Room V (6.8 mn by 4.7 m, with its two recesses probably a total dimension of about 10.3 m by 8.7 m) as a smaller alternative to the main caldarium.[61] Two other smaller rooms were excavated as well. At the southeast corner of the building is Room VIII (about 6.75 m by 8.5 m), which served as both furnace and "all-purpose" room.[62] On the north side of the bath lies Room XI (3 m by 2.75 m), which is actually situated under the pavement of the decumanus maximus and, until the rebuilding phase, was a storage room accessible directly from Room VI.[63]

As a result of the excavations three periods of the use of the bath complex have been discerned. During the first period, corresponding approximately to the early Byzantine period, the bath flourished at its greatest capacity.[64] The second period, commencing with the rebuilding phase and continuing through the late Byzantine period, is described as a slightly poorer one when some of the rooms were reduced in size or cut off and materials were reused to execute the bath's reconstruction.[65] In the final phase, the Umayyad period, the structure did not function as a bath at all (at

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[61]Ibid., pp. 224-226.

[62]Ibid., p. 226.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Its date of construction is estimated to be at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. It is uncertain whether the damage which necessitated the rebuilding phase was caused by an earthquake in 365 or 447 A.D. Ibid., p. 220.

[65]Ibid., p. 227.

least not after the early part of that period) but as a dwelling, and only some of the rooms (those along the western side, primarily) appear to have been used.[66] After a possible period of nonuse the structure suffered fatal damage in the earthquake of 746/7 A.D., after which there seems to have been only sporadic habitation.[67]

The problem of water supply for the baths has been touched on by the excavators, who posit some kind of connection with the aqueduct attested to at the east of Umm Qais and refer to various storage facilities within the bath complex itself.[68] Although there is no archaeological evidence that the eastern aqueduct ever reached Gadara (nor have any of the early, or later, explorers conveyed such information), one could hypothesize that it did lead into, or at least up to, the city. More reasonable, however, would be an attempt to relate the water systems which have actually come to light in the course of excavation. In both of the areas where the decumanus maximus has been excavated, both ceramic conduits and cisterns for water collection have

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[66]Ibid. Of the central rooms (VI, IV, III, and I) only IV and III seem to have been occupied. Rooms VII and X were probably employed as prayer rooms, judging from the alterations effected. Ibid., p. 225.

[67]Ibid, pp. 228-229.

[68]In addition to the 4 cubic m storage tank to the east of Room VIII, the excavators also mention the boilers above the furnaces which would have heated the water for the warm and hot baths. Ibid., p. 226. One could suppose that in the eastern and western corridors of the complex (which were not excavated) there would have been additional holding tanks.

been located.[69] One of these systems was only about 100 m from the baths at the intersection of the decumanus maximus and the paved side street. It may be reasonable to assume that the citizens of Gadara had more such water collection and storage arrangements, especially since there does not seem to be a spring in the vicinity of the older (and probably more settled) districts of the city.

Along the north side of the decumanus maximus directly across from the Byzantine baths the 1974 survey team traced out a terrace measuring about 110 m (east to west) by 60 m (north to south) (fig. 2:7). Its north side was supported by a wall which is extant to a length of 71.85 m and to a height in four courses of about 2 m.[70] In the western section of this terrace three column bases aligned in a north-south row were discovered, as well as traces of a basalt wall running north to south.[71] No interpretation for these remains has been given. It may be, however, that there is a relationship between this terrace and the one on which the basilica sits, as well as the possible terrace to the west of the basilica and west of the paved side street.[72] It seems reasonable to propose, then, that this whole area around the intersection of the paved side street with the decumanus maximus was built up. The remaining architectural elements

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[69]Cf. p. 132 above.

[70]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 141.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Cf. p. 145 above.

on the "north terrace" suggest that some kind of building was constructed on it, as was the case with the basilica terrace.

On the southwest corner of this "north terrace," a little over 100 m west of the decumanus maximus/side street intersection, are the remains of what is presently being called a nymphaeum (fig. 2:8). These ruins may be those of the structure which Seetzen described in 1806 and supposed was a palace.[73] The confusion is not surprising, however, since at the time the current excavation of the nymphaeum began the ruins were in quite a disordered state.[74] This is evident also from the 1974 survey, when the ruins, including

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[73]This is the only structure at Umm Qais which Seetzen bothers to mention. From his description in Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Ägypten, ed. Fr. Krause (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1854), p. 369, it does not seem possible that the remains are those of any other building.

[74]According to Peter Cornelius Bol, in "Interim Report on the Excavations of the Nymphaeum in Gadara, March/April 1988" (Frankfurt: Galleries of Ancient Sculpture, 1988), p. 11, only the walls on the south side could be seen before excavation was begun. He explains that the numerous architectural pieces in the vicinity confuse the situation. It is possible that this is the location where Schumacher presumed that a western city gate ("west gate 1") once stood. Cf. p. 142 and n. 47 above.

The proposed identification of a nymphaeum has not remained unchallenged. According to August Strobel (personal communication, 7 December 1988) this structure may indeed have been a gate. He reasons from the fact that the east and west apses do not face the "proper" way for a nymphaeum and that there is a change in direction of the pavement blocks of the decumanus maximus at this point. He suggests that the other half of the gate lay on the other side of the road. Whereas the 1974 survey did discover some corresponding ruins south of the decumanus maximus, this is entirely plausible; however, neither the ruins' preservation nor their current state of investigation permits a definite conclusion in favor of this reconstruction.

some of the building's architectural features, were described but no identification of the structure was made.[75]

The building itself must have measured about 17 m (east to west) by 12 m (north to south). Apparently the nymphaeum was designed to face not only toward the road (that is, south) but to the east and the west as well. Each of these three sides consists of a central apse in the rear wall flanked by "wings" extending outward at an approximately forty-five degree angle.[76] Each of these wings had a series of recesses in which statues were originally placed, as the numerous sculptural fragments found on the east side of the structure suggest.[77] On the south (street) side the excavators uncovered fragments of a large granite bowl,[78] which must have been one of the main water receptacles of the

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[75]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 141.

[76]Bol, p. 12. The south side is larger than the east and west sides. All three sides shared the two "wings" extending toward the road: The west wing of the south side constituted the south wing of the west side, and the east wing of the south side was the south wing of the east side.

Further excavation during 1989 had added little to the overall picture obtained from the 1988 excavation. For an account of the latest season's work see Peter Cornelius Bol, "Nymphaeum Excavation at Umm Qais, March 1989" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1989). Besides additional architectural and statuary elements, perhaps the most interesting finds from the 1989 season were the water channels. It seems that the nymphaeum was built over a cistern and had a number of water channels leading toward (or away) from it. See ibid., pp. 2-3.

[77]Bol, "Excavations 1988," pp. 12-13. Thomas Weber, in "Gadara of the Decapolis: A Summary of the 1988 Season at Umm Qais" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1988), p. 1, adds that the style of the sculptures suggests a date in the second half of the 2nd century A.D.

[78]Bol, "Excavations 1988," p. 6.

nymphaeum. The northern portion of the structure itself probably served as a storage area for the water used in the nymphpaeum.[79] To the north of the building the remains of a north-south running wall were discovered,[80] probably the western wall of the terrace mentioned above.[81] Concerning its construction date, the excavators judge on the basis of its architectural style that the nymphaeum belongs to the standard type of the second to third centuries A.D.[82] The destruction of the building, on the other hand, perhaps occurred sometime in the late Byzantine period, since the deposits covering much of the remains seem to date predominantly to the sixth and seventh centuries.[83]

To the west of the nymphaeum (beginning at about 50 m away) the 1974 survey notes the remains of some walls. The first of these is a section of a southeast to northwest running wall consisting of basalt and uncut limestone.[84] A little to the northwest of this wall (but in no apparent

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[79]So Weber, p.1. Bol ("Excavations 1988," p. 12) describes this as an 8 m long "tunnel vault," which he adds "was used recently as a storage cistern."

[80]Ibid.

[81]See p. 149 above.

[82]Ibid., p. 11.

[83]Ibid., pp. 11-12. According to a preliminary dating by the excavators, there was a great deal of pottery from the 6th and 7th centuries, perhaps some from the 8th century as well. Subsequent analysis, in its initial stages, generally confirms this picture. A more refined dating awaits further processing of the material.

[84]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142.

relationship to it) is an east-west running wall made of limestone.[85] About 100 m west of the nymphaeum lie two curved sections of wall (fig. 2:9). One appears to be an apse (diameter 4.45 m, depth 2.2 m) oriented to the east, the other an arch-shaped wall (width 0.75 m) whose cavea faces the inside of the apse. That these were part of the same structure is indicated by both the material (limestone) and the construction technique (header-and-stretcher).[86] All of these wall remains most likely belonged to buildings which once lined the north side of this section of the decumanus maximus, but not enough of the structures remains to define their layout or function.

Opposite these wall sections to the south of the decumanus maximus are other wall remains which likewise probably belonged to buildings which lined the Roman road. About 60 to 70 m west of the Byzantine baths are a number of unconnected wall sections (varying in width from 0.5 m to 0.8 m), mostly running east to west but a couple of them from north to south.[87] Approximately 100 m further west of these (that is, about 150 m west of the baths) is a small mound with limestone wall sections protruding out of it in various places (fig. 2:10). On the eastern slope of this mound is a north-south running wall about 13.9 m long, and

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[85]Ibid.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid., p. 139.

on its summit the remains of a room about 4.2 m wide.[88] About 110 m west of the baths and 80 m south of the decumanus maximus are the remains of a basalt wall (width 0.92 m) running from northeast to southwest for almost 15 m.[89] Unlike the above-mentioned walls, it does not seem to have been part of a building. Its location and construction suggest that it was maybe some sort of support wall, like those of the basilica and "northern" terraces.[90]

To the north of the decumanus maximus about 60 m (that is, about 250 m west-northwest of the basilica terrace) are the scant remains of two courses of a limestone wall laid in header-and-stretcher technique.[91] Located to the northwest of these remains about 50 m are several wall sections constructed of basalt and limestone which apparently belonged to a building or buildings, the function of which, however, cannot be ascertained (fig. 2:11).[92] One of these wall sections served as the back wall of a semi-circular reservoir (diameter 2.4 m, depth 2.05 m, wall width 0.35 m to 0.42 m)

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[88]Ibid. Because of a later installation the full dimensions of this room were not able to be determined. However, it seems that both this room and the wall on the eastern slope belonged to a rather large building.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Cf. pp. 134 and 149 above. Also p. 145 for the wall west of the paved side street.

[91]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142.

[92]Ibid. Just to the north lies the north mausoleum, whose southern wall runs parallel to one of the sections of the basalt/ limestone wall. In the judgment of the surveyors, this basalt/ limestone wall belongs to a structure (or several structures) which is apparently older than the mausoleum.

whose supply and drainage systems are still discernible.[93]

No connection has been made between the limestone and basalt/limestone walls mentioned above. It has been suggested that the latter belonged to a building or buildings, but since no floors and only one side or sides (namely, the north) were discovered, this suggestion can be regarded as tentative at best. Perhaps at this point the course of the city wall could be considered again. Just to the east of the area under discussion a section of the presumed city wall was located. Significantly, due north of both the limestone and basalt/limestone walls, the city wall has not been able to be traced out. The construction of the limestone wall (header-and-stretcher) and the design of the basalt/limestone wall (the projection at its northwest corner could have been part of a tower) suggest the possibility that these belonged to the western extensions of the (middle) city wall. The topography in this area lends support to the theory, since the limestone and basalt/limestone walls would have circumvented the difficult terrain lying directly to the north of them. This plan would have been repeated to a greater degree south of the decumanus maximus as well. A section of the city wall lying about 300 m south of the Roman road has already been proposed. According to its angularity, it seems to take off to the northeast (compare the walls on the east side of the wadi on Schumacher's map), running along the slope of the wadi to its southeast. It

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[93]Ibid.

may be possible that this wall extended to the north as far as the basalt wall which lies about 80 m south of the decumanus maximus.[94]

In both of the above cases, the "city wall" would have been brought in to within 100 m of the decumanus maximus, crossing the head of the wadis to the north and south of that road at a shallower and more defensible point. These suggestions, of course, remain hypothetical and must be tested beyond the evidence which now exists. The little evidence which does exist, however, seems to support this thesis rather than to refute it. In addition, it is not insignificant that no building remains have been discovered outside of the above proposed course of the city wall, except for the north mausoleum, which very likely was located outside of this wall.

In the northwestern corner of the middle city about 80 m or so north of the decumanus maximus are the remains of the "baths of Herakleides" (fig. 2:13). The structure was first investigated by Wagner-Lux in 1965, and between 1966 and 1974 sections of it were excavated by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.[95] Its extant dimensions are 30.7 m (north to south) by 19 m (east to west). The name of the structure comes from its builder, a certain Herakleides, to

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[94]Cf. n. 89 and p. 153 above.

[95]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142.

whom mosaics dating to the fifth or sixth century attest.[96]

At the far northwest corner of the middle city are the remains of two support or terrace walls. The first, beginning about 40 m north of the Roman road, extends to the northwest for about 66.5 m in an S-curve and consists of six limestone courses to a height of about 3 m (fig. 2:14).[97] The second wall, also constructed of limestone, runs in an east-west direction along the south slope of a wadi (?) and consists of 6 m to 12.5 m sections for a total length of about 60 m (fig. 2:15).[98] No connection between these walls has been proposed, but conceivably they were part of the northern and western sections of the city wall.

South of the decumanus maximus about 110 m and west of the west theater about 340 m are located the ruins of a limestone building with a vaulted ceiling (fig. 2:16). Its size is about 21 m (northeast to southwest) by 6 m (northwest to southeast).[99] No function has been assigned to this structure.

Just to the west of this building about 120 m south of the decumanus maximus lie the ruins of what has been

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[96]Michele Piccirillo, "Eglises locales de provinces Palestine Prima et Secunda," Le Monde de la Bible 35 (1984): 10.

[97]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Ibid., p. 139.

designated al-Qasr ("the castle").[100] The structure is a rectangular building about 20 m by 20 m which encloses a central octagon (fig. 2:17). The superstructure (extant to about 5 m) was constructed of large limestone blocks, except for the doorjambs, the voussoirs of the arched doorways, and sections of the interior.[101] In one of the interior corners (the southwest) an apse was identified (diameter about 5 m, depth 2.8 m).[102] About 10 m south of this building is a terrace 48.5 m long (east to west) by 20.6 m wide (north to south), which was built of limestone and whose walls are visible to three courses (fig. 2:18).[103] Although no connection has been established between the rectangular structure and the terrace, they probably belonged to the same complex, since the terrace is oriented parallel to the building and centered with respect to the building's eastern and western walls. Considering the similarity of the rectangular building/terrace to the basilica complex, it seems reasonable to propose that the former complex was also a church.[104] Because no excavation of the structure has been conducted, however,

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[100]The first to mention this name is Guerin (p. 301). Both he and Schumacher (Northern 'Ajlun, p. 74) comment on its large and solid construction, hence the name by the local villagers.

[101]See Guerin, p. 301; and Wagner-Lux et al., p. 140.

[102]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 140.

[103]Ibid.

[104]This conclusion was arrived at independently of the original survey team. Wagner-Lux and Vriezen in a later article (Königsweg, p. 271) suggested that the rectangular structure (at least) could have been used as a church.

it is somewhat difficult to conjecture a date for its construction. Due to the similar building styles of the two complexes, perhaps a date in the middle of the Byzantine period (sometime in the middle of the sixth century) would be plausible.

The final remains of the middle city which must be discussed are those at its middle western end. These remains concern the sections of two walls or buildings. The first, lying about 10 m to 12 m south of the Roman road and 450 m west of the basilica terrace, are short sections of a wall situated at right angles to one another (fig. 2:19). Less than 10 m south of these remains, but uncertain as to their relationship because of modern occupation,[105] is the northern end of a long terrace extending approximately 100 m to the south (fig. 2:20). This terrace, about 27 m wide, is bordered by one course of limestone blocks on the west and two courses on the east.[106] Because of this design, it is believed that this terrace and its walls are the ruins of some large monumental building.[107]

That this terrace and its walls belonged to a large structure is a reasonable hypothesis, but not without its difficulties. First, while the western wall of the terrace has been traced to a length of about 82 m, the eastern wall is extant only in a single 23.5 m length. Moreover, except

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[105]Wagner-Lux et al, p. 140.

[106]Ibid., p. 139.

[107]Ibid.

for the terrace between the east and west walls, no connection (such as transverse walls) has been detected. What seems just as possible is that the western wall of the terrace is a section of the western "city wall" of the middle city. Its northern extension would have been the wall sections lying less than 10 m to the north. At some point to the south or southeast, it may have joined up with the city wall which lies about 275 m south of the decumanus maximus and angles off to the northwest.[108] Like the suggestions for the other courses of the city wall,[109] this hypothesis must be tested by further investigation. If it indeed be the case, then the 23.5 m long wall along the eastern side of the above-mentioned terrace could have belonged to another structure.

Western City

The "western city," which extends the urban area of Gadara onto the Ard al-'Ala plateau, is less easy to define as a circumscribed region than the middle city or upper city. For one thing, it is difficult to locate and trace out a city wall which would have encompassed this area.[110] Secondly, the chief architectural remains west of the middle city (circular structure, west mausoleum, hippodrome, and monumental gate) would have ordinarily found their places

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[108]Cf. n. 7 above. This is the wall in Fields -208 and -308.

[109]Cf. p. 155 above.

[110]Cf. pp. 129-130 above, especially nn. 7 and 10.

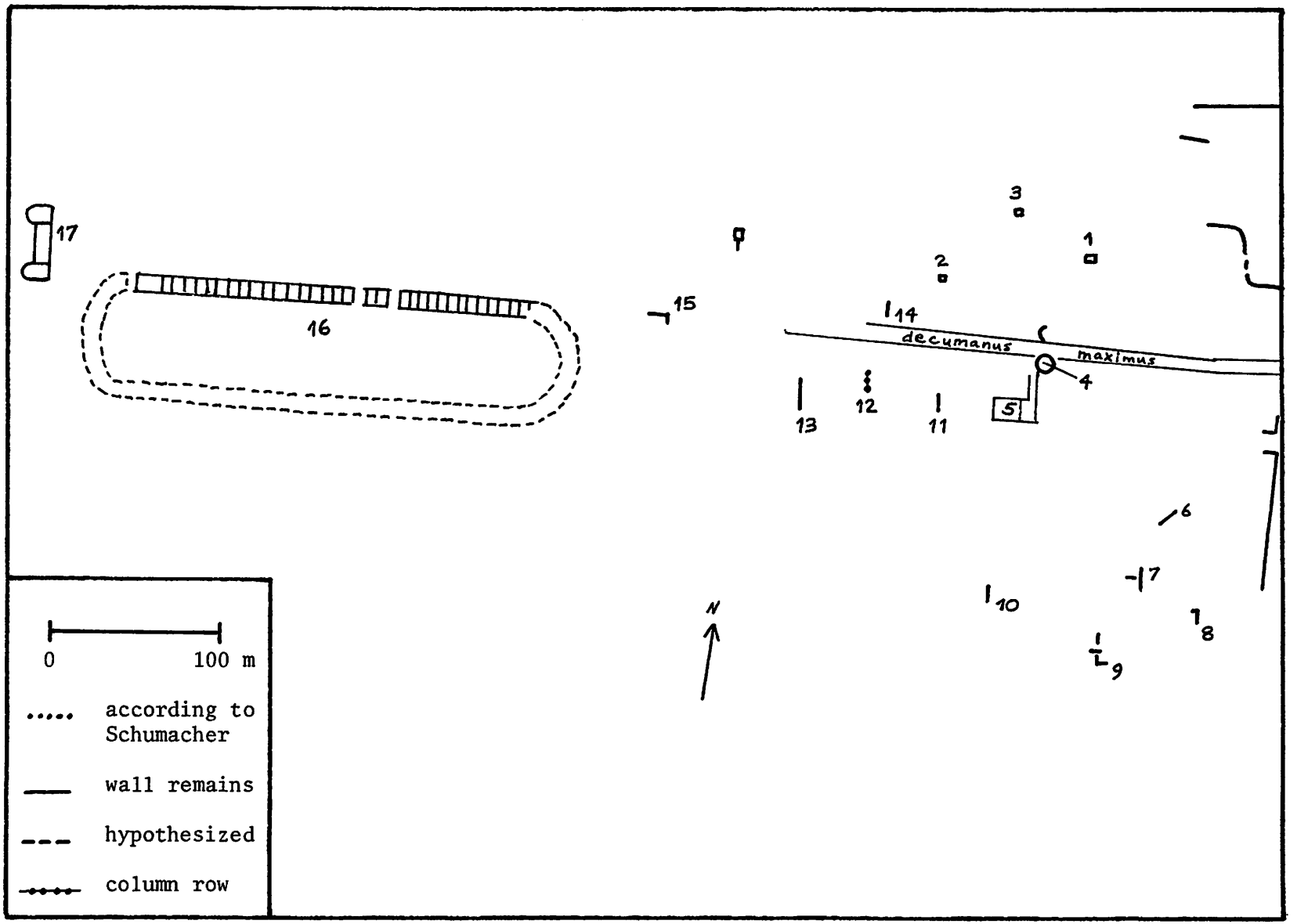

Fig. 3: Gadara, Western City

outside of an enclosed city area in the time when they were built.[111] Both of these circumstances lend a certain amount of support to the hypothesis that the western city was a later (late Roman into Byzantine) extramural expansion, probably of a residential character.

The expanse of the remains discovered to date, not counting the hippodrome and monumental gate, covers an area of about 300 m (east to west) by 300 m (north to south) (see fig. 3). It is difficult to determine, however, how far this "extramural expansion" continued. As the plateau extends westward it begins to widen (north to south) considerably. In these outlying areas isolated remains have been discovered.[112] What compounds the problem is the fact that much

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[111]This assumes that the two eastern sections of Gadara were enclosed by a city wall sometime in the Roman period. A date for the construction of a wall around these areas after the late Roman period does not seem likely. Cf. p. 130 above, especially nn. 8 and 9.

For a mausoleum being located outside of a city's walls, see n. 10 above. If the circular structure were a monumental tomb (cf. Chapter 3, p. 123 and n. 108 above), the same reason would apply. If the circular structure were part of a free-standing gate, there would be no reason to necessitate its location within the city's walls. Gerasa provides a good example for a monumental gate and hippodrome being situated extra muros, and other Graeco-Roman cities of the area also seem to have located at least one, if not both, of the structures outside of its walls (see Segal, pp. 113-114 and 116). The terrain in and around Gadara, however, may have also played a role, at least in locating a structure as large as the hippodrome where there was room enough to accomodate it.

[112]Known so far are the following: some basalt blocks and Roman and Byzantine pottery at al-Fakhat (see Chapter 3, map 2, #6; and Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, IV," AASOR 25-28 [1945-49]:143), basalt blocks lying over a house foundation with a few early Byzantine sherds at Khirbet Maquq (see Chapter 3, map 2, #14; and Siegfried Mittmann, Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte

of the area of the western city lies under cultivated fields, olive groves, and a military camp. Perhaps the most that can be said (at least until more evidence comes to light) is that the urban gradually became rural, without any clearly definable boundary between the two.

About 0.6 km west of the basilica terrace three sondages were conducted in conjunction with the Danish excavations of the Byzantine baths. The first (and most easterly) of these is a 5 m by 5 m square about 48 m north of the decumanus maximus (fig. 3:1). In the earliest phase uncovered (Byzantine) there appeared a wall which seems to have been connected with an adjoining courtyard.[113] In the strata above were graves dating to the (early) Umayyad and Mamluke periods.[114]

The second sondage (the western one) is a 2 m by 2 m square about 26 m north of the Roman road (fig. 3:2). Its earliest phase consists of a north-south running wall dating

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de nördlichen Ostjordanlandes [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970], p. 25), ruins of two small buildings and some Byzantine (probably) pottery near Khirbet ar-Rasefiyeh (see Chapter 3, map 2, #15; and Mittmann, p. 26), late Roman pottery and ruins of a small structure at Khirbet Miqyal (see Chapter 3, map 2, #16; and Mittmann, p. 26), a small pile of ruins and the remains of a 3rd century A.D. house at Khirbet al-'Ajami (see Chapter 3, map 2, #21; and Mittmann, p. 38), and a section of a basalt wall ca. 200 m north of the decumanus maximus (p. 174 below).

[113]Flemming Gorm Andersen and John Strange, "Bericht über drei Sondagen in Umm Qes, Jordanien, im Herbst 1983," ZDPV 103 (1987):78.

[114]Ibid., pp. 81 and 82.

to the Mamluke period.[115] Above this wall at some later time a rough floor was constructed.[116]

The third (and middle) square measures 2 m by 2 m and is located about 65 m north of the decumanus maximus (fig. 3:3). In this sondage an approximately 0.95 m thick wall was uncovered, the lower courses consisting of roughly hewn basalt blocks and the single upper course of limestone. This wall was dated to the late Roman/early Byzantine horizon.[117] In the next phase and abutting the above-mentioned wall, a narrower (ca. 0.6 m) wall consisting of limestone (in its lowest course) and basalt (the upper courses) was installed. This second wall belongs to a structure which extends to the north of the square.[118] According to the pottery this second wall was built in the Byzantine period, but other evidence indicates that it was reused sometime in the Islamic period.[119] During the Mamluke period this wall was incorporated into the living area of a domestic structure.[120]

The reason for conducting an investigation in the areas referred to above resulted from the German survey of 1974, when a supposedly fairly large quantity of Iron Age

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[115]Ibid., p. 83.

[116]Ibid., p. 86.

[117]Ibid., p. 87.

[118]Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[119]Ibid., p. 88.

[120]Ibid., p. 89.

pottery sherds turned up, and the suggestion to the leaders of the Danish project that further excavation in the area be carried out.[121] Little evidence, however, for pre-Roman occupation of the area could be established. The general impression which was obtained is that the Byzantine settlement was concentrated in the eastern part of this area, while during the Islamic period occupation tended to be more in the western part.[122] From the evidence which came to light it is apparent that occupation was not continual, since only two periods, the Byzantine (with possible extension into the preceding Roman or following Umayyad periods) and the Mamluke, could be firmly established. Nevertheless, the findings do indicate that it may not have been until this later (namely, Byzantine) period that occupation of this part of the western city became more dense.[123]

Situated directly south (and adjacent to) the decumanus maximus and about 0.6 km west of the basilica terrace is a circular structure approximately 11 m in diameter (fig. 3:4). According to its construction style it dates to the Roman period. It was reduced, however, to its extant height of three courses already in the Byzantine period.[124] The original function of this structure has not fully been deter-

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[121]Cf. Chapter 3, p. 121 and n. 102 above.

[122]Andersen and Strange, p. 90.

[123]Cf. p. 127 above.

[124]Weber, "Summary 1987," p. 533. Stones were removed for the enlargement of part of the nearby west mausoleum.

mined. At one time it was proposed to have been a monumental tomb, but the excavations were not able to verify this hypothesis.[125] Another possibility is that the remains are those of the south half of a free-standing gate. A number of earlier sondages on the north side of the decumanus maximus failed to confirm this suggestion, but during the 1989 season traces of a circular foundation were uncovered.[126] During the Byzantine and Islamic periods the structure was used as a water reservoir, which perhaps has added confusion in determining the original layout and use of the building.[127] According to parallels and the evidence which has recently come to light, however, the most likely theory remains that this round building belonged to some type of free-standing gate.

Just south of the circular structure about 4 m away is the staircase which leads down to the subterranean west

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[125]Ibid.

[126]Ibid. For a further explanation of these two hypotheses see Peter Cornelius Bol, Adolf Hoffmann, and Thomas Weber, "Gadara in der Dekapolis: Zwischenbericht über den Stand der deutschen Ausgrabungen bei Umm Qais in Nordjordanien zwischen den Jahren 1986 und 1988" (to be published: Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1989), pp. 18-19. The suggestion that the round building was part of a free-standing gate was first advanced by Thomas Weber. The report documenting the most recent evidence which demonstrates Weber's proposal has not yet been published.

[127]Weber, "Summary 1988," p. 2. This use was already suggested by Wagner-Lux et al. in 1974 (p. 141). The pottery recovered from the lowest depths of the excavated areas still include sherds from the Mamluke and/or early Ottoman period. The conversion of the structure into a reservoir probably occurred in the Byzantine period since a large number of ceramic water pipes dating to that time came to light.

mausoleum (fig. 3:5). At the bottom of this flight of seventeen stairs is the vestibule or forecourt, measuring 12.5 m (north to south) by 9.2 m (east to west). This vestibule was at one time covered by a roof which was supported by four pillars (which are still in situ).[128] Approximately in the center of this vestibule is an apse (diameter ca. 5.3 m, depth ca. 3.2 m) which faces the door to the main burial chamber. The ends of the apse abut a narrow hall (about 1.6 m wide) which is covered by three vaults and spans the width of the burial chamber. This vestibule, probably constructed in the early Byzantine period, was a later addition to the Roman subterranean mausoleum. The construction of this vestibule seems to be connected with that of a "church" above the underground mausoleum. Weber suggests that this "church" may have served as a cult building for the Christian burials underneath it.[129]

In the course of recent excavations thirteen tombs under the floor of the vestibule have been uncovered. Judging

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[128]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 140.

[129]The secondary building phase was first recognized in 1974 (ibid., p. 141). Subsequent investigation confirms this date. Weber ("Summary 1988," p. 2) asserts that the vestibule was added to the Roman mausoleum in the 4th century. See also n. 130 below.

Weber suggests (ibid.) that the vestibule may have been a place for the veneration of local saints and martyrs. The remains of a structure he calls a "basilica" first uncovered in the 1988 season (continued excavation was carried out in 1989) would support this hypothesis. (See Bol, Hoffmann, and Weber, p. 25.) Analogous, however, may be the association between hallowed burial premises and places of worship. See John G. Davies, The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), pp. 51 and 80.

from the artifacts contained in them, most of these tombs appear to date to the transitional late Roman/early Byzantine period.[130] Above one of the tombs was a mosaic which seems to be slightly later, dating to sometime in the middle of the Byzantine period.[131] The mausoleum itself is a domed chamber and has a floor which lies five steps below the floor of the vestibule. Into each of the three walls (north, west, and south) six loculi were cut. Around this burial chamber runs a cryptoportico (about 2.4 m wide) which is accessible from the vaulted hallway on the east side of the main chamber.[132]

To the southeast and west of the circular structure and the west mausoleum a number of trial trenches were dug as part of the 1974 survey. In the first one, southeast of the west mausoleum and about 82 m south of the decumanus maximus, a basalt pavement was uncovered at a depth of about 0.75 m (fig. 3:6). The pavement stones (ranging in size

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[130]Weber, "Summary 1988," p. 2. Besides pottery (which was very scant) a large amount of glass vessels and some metal objects were recovered.

[131]Stylistically, the mosaic appears to be a 6th century production. In the plaster bed beneath it two coins were recovered dating to either the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th. See Thomas Weber, "Gadara of the Decapolis: A Summary of the 1986 and 1987 Seasons at Umm Qeis," ADAJ 31 (1987):531.

The pottery from Tomb 6 (underneath the mosaic) amounted to only three sherds. One was late Roman and the other two Byzantine (general).

[132]Neither the domed burial chamber nor the cryptoportico have been excavated. Already at the time of the German survey in 1974 both of these areas seem to have been empty. See Wagner-Lux et al., p. 141.

from 53 cm by 35 cm by 20 cm to 62 cm by 28 cm by 23 cm) were laid over a layer of mortar 0.15 m thick, under which was about 0.5 m of virgin soil overlaying the bedrock.[133] In the second cut, about 118 m south of the Roman road, part of what appears to have been a building was discovered (fig. 3:7). About 1.25 m below the ground level a mosaic floor appeared, which seems to have been associated with two limestone walls that had partially collapsed onto it.[134] Three other trenches (135.3 m, 158.8 m, and 141.2 m south of the decumanus maximus, respectively from east to west; fig. 3:8-10) brought to light from 0.5 to 1.5 m below the surface traces of walls, floors, and drainage installations.[135] The remains in all of these trial trenches most likely belonged to buildings of some sort, but because of the lack of information (both from the remains themselves and from the associated finds) it is not possible to determine if these were public or domestic structures.

West of the west mausoleum the 1974 survey team put in two trial trenches. In the one, lying about 26 m south of the decumanus maximus, a basalt wall finished on its western side was discovered (fig. 3:11). This wall was traced for about 9 m and exists in five courses to a height of 1.0 to 1.5 m.[136] The second trench, located some 80 m

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[133]Ibid., p. 140.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Ibid.

west of the first one, also lies about 26 m south of the Roman road (fig. 3:13). In this cut there is also a western facing (limestone) wall. Laid in header-and-stretcher fashion, the wall has an extant length of almost 16 m and a height of about 1.8 m in three courses.[137] Because there were no features associated with either the basalt or limestone wall, it cannot be ascertained if either was part of a building or a section of some kind of enclosure wall. About halfway between these two walls, but only 18 m south of the Roman road, a row of three upright basalt column drums was discovered (fig. 3:12).[138] Like the walls, however, they do not stand in connection with any other architectural features.[139]

North of the decumanus maximus the 1974 survey group came upon a number of other remains. Just to the north of the road and about 90 m west of the circular structure a basalt pavement was discovered about 1 m below the surface level (fig. 3:14). This pavement consists (mostly) of 0.7 m by 0.5 m slabs.[140] Since the line of the Roman road can be reconstructed to this point, it is possible that these slabs

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[137]Ibid.

[138]Ibid.

[139]The columns may have been those seen by Guerin in 1875, who reports (p. 300) that nearby there were also some fine basalt blocks and suggests that the column drums and blocks are the remains of some destroyed edifice.

[140]Wagner-Lux et al., pp. 142-143.

were part of the road itself.[141] A little north of the pavement, about 40 m north of the presumed course of the decumanus maximus, another basalt paved floor was found.[142] No other features were detected, however, to indicate the function of this floor.

Another western city gate ("west gate 2") has been hypothesized at about 230 m west of the circular structure (fig. 3:15).[143] The 1974 survey discovered the corner formed by two basalt walls at this location on the south side of the proposed line of the decumanus maximus.[144] This feature could have been part of a gate structure. More evidence, however, is needed before the existence of a "west gate 2" can be established with any degree of certainty. About 30 m north-northeast of this area the 1974 survey reports another, more intact, structure. This building, measuring 3.3 m, by 3.1 m, is constructed entirely of limestone and has walls of

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[141]Except for the sondage at "west gate 2" (cf. p. 131 and n. 12 above) few traces of the decumanus maximus have been detected west of the circular structure.

[142]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142.

[143]This "west gate 2" has been plotted by Weber on a recent map of the site. See Weber, Umm Qais, pp. 19-20, #21. This area was the subject of a trial trench supervised by Weber in 1986. To date the results of this excavation have not been published. Hoffmann, however does mention ("Excavation 1987," p. 1) that the decumanus maximus was uncovered at this point by Weber in 1986.

[144]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 143. The north-south section measured 4.08 m long, the east-west section 4.27 m long. The width of the north-south section is 2.2 m. The east-west section's width was not able to be determined.

seven courses laid header-and-stretcher.[145] No date or purpose has been suggested for this structure.

Along the proposed course of the Roman road about 300 m west of the circular structure begins a series of rooms which extends to the west for almost 240 m and has been identified as part of a hippodrome (fig. 3:16).[146] The layout of the remains is a row of parallel basalt compartments having a depth of about 4.5 m and varying in width from about 4 m to almost 7 m. In 1980 several sondages were conducted by the German Institute. At the western end of the row of rooms they uncovered a wall, which was installed at a right angle to the row and extends to the south.[147] South of the row of rooms, about 50 m away (in the presumed location of the opposite side of the hippodrome), they dug another trench (27 m long, 1.5 m wide, 1.2 m deep). An accumulation of basalt and limestone rocks and architectural fragments mixed with pottery came to light, but further excavation was deemed necessary to relate these remains to

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[145]Ibid.

[146]Several of the early explorers observed the ruins. Guerin (p. 300) suggested that they were either a row of shops or part of a barrcks. Schumacher (Northern 'Ajlun, p. 76) thought they served some domestic purpose (such as "ovens") or, more likely, were tombs, since he conjectured that the neighboring structure (viz., the monumental gate) was a temple. In the 1974 survey part of the overall curvature of the complex was detected, so that the structure could be classified (pretty much without any objection) as a hippodrome. Wagner-Lux et al., p. 143. The observation by Hoffmann (p. 1), that the plan of the area (hippodrome flanked by Roman road followed by monumental gate) is similar to that at Jerash, seems to substantiate that conclusion.

[147]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1980," p. 162.

the row of rooms to the north.[148] Excavation of the hippodrome was resumed in 1987 but then suspended to devote more time to the monumental gate.[149] A trench was put in during this single campaign along the northern side of the row of rooms near its western end, but nothing significant emerged.[150]

The remaining structure of the western city, less than 50 m west of the present end of the hippodrome, is the monumental gate (fig. 3:17). Although the ruins were fairly well covered before its excavation began in 1987, several of the nineteenth century explorers were able to see much of the structure. Frei (in 1879) described several architectural features and concluded that the building was a temple or church, although he admitted that if there were an opening in the center it would resemble the monumental gate at Jerash.[151] Schumacher (in 1886) saw enough of the structure to draw a fairly detailed plan, although he also was under the impression that the ruins were those of a church or temple.[152]

As a result of the current excavations much of the plan of the gate has been determined. The central feature

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[148]Ibid.

[149]Cf. Chapter 3, p. 123 above.

[150]The primary purpose for this trench was to find traces of the decumanus maximus along the north side of the hippodrome. No pavement was discovered, although a large number of apparently fallen architectural fragments were. Hoffmann, p. 4.

[151]Frei, p. 135.

[152]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, pp. 74-76.

was a triple-vaulted gateway which was flanked on the north and south ends by semi-circular towers, giving the whole structure a dimension of about 44 m (north to south) by 14 m (east to west).[153] The gateway is made up of a central passage 6.3 m wide and two lateral passages each 2.2 m wide.[154] The flanking towers, each about 11 m wide, comprise large rooms accessible on the ground level.[155] The material used for the gate's construction was both limestone and basalt, although most of the lower courses seem to consist solely of basalt. In the course of the second campaign (1988), basalt pavement blocks appeared within the area of the gateway, although none were discovered on either side of the structure.[156]

According to its architectural style, the monumental gate was probably constructed near the end of the second

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[153]Hoffmann, p. 2.

[154]Ibid.

[155]Ibid.

[156]Either the road was never completed so that it passed through the gate, or the stones were removed from the road bed after the structure fell into disuse.

As a result of the 1988 excavations it appears that the monumental gate was, indeed, used as a gate. Although no traces of pavement were discovered on either side of this structure, wheel grooves have been detected in the pavement of the gateways. Adolf Hoffmann, "The Excavation of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) at Gadara/Umm Qais, Jordan in 1988" (Berlin: German Archaeological Institute, 1989), p. 2. Perhaps the most important discovery of the 1988 season was the ascertainment of the character of the gate. From the west it looked like a city gate; but from the east (toward the city) it resembled a triumphal arch. Ibid., p. 3.

century A.D.[157] A sondage along the foundation of the south tower has confirmed this late Roman date.[158] The building was destroyed by an earthquake (without a doubt), although whether this occurred in the late Byzantine or Umayyad period has not yet been able to be fixed.[159]

The only other remains detected in the western city to date is a 3.97 m long section of a basalt wall about 200 m north of the decumanus maximus.[160] This wall, running northwest to southeast, follows along the south edge of a wadi, but no indications of its purpose are evident.

Outlying Areas

Just to the north of the middle city are a large number of tombs cut into the rock which indicate that this

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[157]Hoffmann, "Excavation 1987," p. 4. Pottery of the early part of the late Roman period (late 2nd/early 3rd century) was recovered from the mortar in one of the vaults. See also Hoffmann, "Excavation 1988," p. 4.

[158]The sondage was begun by the excavation team in 1987, but completed by me during the 1988 season. The pottery from the lowest level belongs in the late Roman horizon and does not necessarily have to be later than the late 2nd century date proposed by Hoffmann for the construction of the monumental gate.

[159]See Hoffmann, "Excavation 1987," p. 1. The fill among the fallen architecture contained pottery which could be late Byzantine or Umayyad, or simply the transitional late Byzantine/early Umayyad. Some of this debris may have been deposited after the building fell into ruins. Hoffmann ("Excavation 1988," p. 4) notes that the poor construction technique (in comparison with other structures in Syria of this type) contributed to the degree of damage which an earthquake could inflict.

[160]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 143.

area was one of the major necropoleis of ancient Gadara.[161] Included in this "north necropolis" is a basalt and limestone mausoleum located on the southern slope of the wadi (fig. 2:12). This "north mausoleum" appears to have had two phases. In the first, a 6.38 m by 6.25 m platform supported a crypt for a single burial. In the second phase, the platform was extended for 2.7 m to the east and a 5 m wide four-step staircase was added.[162] Neither of these phases could be dated precisely, but there is evidence which suggests either a late Roman or early Byzantine date.[163]

East of the upper city and in the wadi east of the north annex there appears to have been another necropolis (the "east necropolis"). Most of the visitors entering the city from the east took cognizance of the many sarcophagi in the area,[164] but little can be detected east of the city's presumed east gate today. There may also have been an "east

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[161]See map in Weber, Umm Qais, pp. 19-20. This is probably the region described by Irby and Mangles (p. 297) simply as "without them [i.e., outside of the city walls], to the northward, is the Necropolis."

[162]Bert De Vries, "The North Mausoleum at Umm Qais," ADAJ 18 (1973):77.

[163]A capital found in the vicinity, if belonging to the structure, indicates a late Roman date. Ibid. An inscription found near the mausoleum carried a date of 355/6 A.D. Fawzi Zayadine, "A Dated Greek Inscription from Gadara - Umm Qeis," ADAJ 18 (1973):78. Each of these could belong to one of the two phases, thus providing dates for both (late Roman for the first, early Byzantine for the second), but there is no way of being certain.

[164]See, e.g., Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 67.

mausoleum" about 110 to 120 m east of the north theater,[165] but no traces of it remain.

To the southeast and south of the upper city was probably the largest cemetery of Gadara. In this "south necropolis" Schumacher counted more than three hundred sixty burial caves.[166] Three of these are the subject of a recent study by Thomas Weber, who has demonstrated that at least three of these tombs are probably of Roman origin.[167]

About 2.5 km east-southeast of Gadara lies the ruins of al-Qabu. The remains, a large platform and some column drums, may be those of an outlying shrine, since they did occupy a rather commanding position.[168] Traces of an enclosure wall, approximately 95 m (east to west) by 38 m (north to south) have also been detected. From the ceramic evidence this site was occupied in the late Roman and Byzantine peri-

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[165]Schumacher (ibid., p. 69) mentions the remains of a square building, in the center of which were a number of sarcophagi apparently in their original positions.

[166]Ibid., p. 70. Merrill (p. 154) said that the tombs in this area were so numerous "that I should call this particular region the City of the Dead."

[167]See Weber, "Römische Felsgrabanlagen." The tomb of Chaireas was built in 90/91 A.D. (according to an inscription on the lintel) and perhaps belonged to a "middle class" family (ibid., pp. 4 and 9). The second tomb, belonging to a certain Modestus, who was a hierokeryx (a herald at a sacrifice), is similar in style (ibid., pp. 10 and 11). The tomb of the Germani, with parallels in the Hellenistic tradition, dates stylistically to the early 1st century A.D. (ibid., p. 17).

[168]See the comments on the reports of Merrill (above, Chapter 3, p 99) and Schumacher (Chapter 3, p. 105). Most of the remains which they observed are no longer extant, since most of the materials have been removed for modern purposes.

ods.[169]

One of the means by which water was supplied to Gadara was an aqueduct approaching the city from the east. Although its course can no longer be verified it seems to have come from 'Ain at-Turab about 12.5 km east of the site. From there to al-Qabu it was observed to have had one channel, and from al-Qabu to Gadara two channels.[170] No remains of this aqueduct were ever detected nearer than about 400 m to the upper city,[171] nor has a castellum aquae ever been discovered. Within the ancient city itself it seems that water was collected by means of a system of underground ceramic pipes and cisterns.[172]

A site which may have been within the sphere of the western city is Khirbet Maquq. At this location, about 1.7 km west-northwest of the upper city, some basalt blocks overlaying the foundations of a house were discovered. This approximately 10 m by 10 m structure, presumably dating to the early Byzantine period, was built on a commanding position

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[169]Konstantinos Politis, "El-Kabu 100 Years After Schumacher's Discovery" (Amman, 1988), pp. 1 and 2.

[170]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 78. George Adam Smith, in "Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions found by the Way," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement 33 (1901): 341, reports that although many of its basalt troughs were visible in 1891, then years later they were nearly all gone.

[171]See Schumacher's map. None of the 19th century explorers mention this aqueduct except Schumacher and Smith.

[172]See above pp. 148-149.

overlooking a wadi.[173] Nearby a number of sarcophagi and tombs cut into the limestone rock were also found.[174]

Finally, about 3 km or so west of Gadara, on the western end of the Ard al-'Ala plateau, the location of an ancient quarry for the city has been suggested. Between Khirbet Miqyal (ca. 3 km west of the upper city) and Khirbet at-Tabaq (ca. 4.7 km west of the upper city) a large number of unfinished basalt stones were discovered.[175] Only the remains of a single, small structure were found. Outside of some early material (Bronze and Iron Age), the ceramic evidence indicates that the site was used in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Islamic periods.

The archaeological investigations at Gadara/Umm Qais provide important data for the growth, the size, and the splendor of the ancient Decapolis city, as well as for the occupation (or non-occupation) of the site during the centuries following the classical period. Although little archaeological evidence remains for the early period today, it is apparent that the town had its beginnings in the upper city. The many structures from the Roman period testify to the expansion of Gadara into the middle and western city areas. The later remains suggest that an increase in the density of the previously settled areas took place, so that

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[173]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 77. He refers to it as "the most western remains at Umm Qais." See also Mittmann, p. 25.

[174]Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, p. 77.

[175]See ibid., p. 79; and Mittman, p. 26.

the maximum size of Gadara was attained sometime during the Byzantine period. Later (medieval and modern) remains indicate that most areas of the site had some degree of occupation up until the time when modern archaeological work began.

The quality and plan of many of the extant architectural features allude to the interest the ancient Gadarenes had in adorning their city. The theaters, bath, nymphaeum, hippodrome, monumental gate, mausolea, and colonnaded streets suggest that these people were concerned for providing themselves with the amenities of a Graeco-Roman city. The remains of the Byzantine churches testify to the spread of Christianity to the city. Stylistically, the churches belong to the types common in southern Syria and northern Jordan. Their style and location in the city infer the importance these structures had in the lives of the citizens.

The archaeological remains and ongoing archaeological investigation at Gadara/Umm Qais are important for exhibiting the common culture between Gadara and other towns in the area and for providing a fuller picture of the life in this ancient city.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Founding and Development

Little evidence exists for the founding and early development of Gadara. The site is not mentioned by its later name in the pre-classical literary record, and if an earlier name existed, its identification with Gadara remains unknown. The archaeological record is equally as silent for the early periods, except for some pottery sherds found in the western region of the site.[1] That the general area was inhabited from the Early Bronze Age on, however, is attested through the surveys conducted by Nelson Glueck and Siegfried Mittmann. Only for the end of the Early Bronze, the Late Bronze, and the Persian periods has no evidence emerged.[2]

Most of the areas surveyed by Glueck and Mittmann which attest to either Bronze or Iron Age occupation were

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[1]See Ute Wagner-Lux, Ernst W. Krüger, Karel J. H. Vriezen, and Tooje Vriezen-van der Flier, "Berich über die Oberflächenforschung in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jahre 1974," ZDPV 94 (1978):144. The surveyors found many Iron Age pottery sherds, but in actual excavation only two Iron II and one questionable Persian sherd were recovered. Flemming Gorm Andersen and John Strange, "Bericht über drei Sondagen in Umm Qes, Jordanien, im Herbst 1983," ZDPV 103 (1987):90.

[2]See Chapter 3, pp. 114-115.

located close to springs. It may be possible that the reason the core area of Gadara has yielded no evidence of early occupation is because there was no spring or other source of water in the immediate area.[3] However, the archaeological investigation of the main tell area has not extended far enough to rule out a Bronze or Iron Age settlement. The main tell itself is still occupied by the ruins from the Roman and Byzantine periods and from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries of the modern area, which have precluded a more thorough research of the site. It is also possible, therefore, that traces of earlier habitation or use of the main settlement mound were eradicated in construction of later structures or remain concealed under them.

Gadara makes its first appearance in the literary record during the second century B.C., when the historian Polybius mentions the town in connection with a campaign of Antiochus the Great in 218 B.C.[4] In the early first century B.C., however, the poet Meleager of Gadara makes a reference to an earlier time in the town's history by alluding to a

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[3]The proximity of a spring, it should be noted, was not a prerequisite for Bronze and Iron Age occupation. All of the sites surveyed by Glueck and Mittmann, however, that were not located near a river were found to have springs nearby. On the other hand, Rudolph Dornemann, in The Archaeology of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1983), p. 12, n. 2, indicates that sites in barren areas during the Bronze and Iron Ages relied on water collection systems rather than natural springs. Thus, the many cisterns which have come to light in Gadara and are dated to the Roman period may reflect a continuation of an earlier practice at this site.

[4]In Historiae 5. 71. 3. See also Chapter 2, p. 36.

fellowtownsman, Menippos, who lived in the later fourth and the first half of the third centuries B.C.[5] The terminus ad quem for the founding of Gadara, therefore, appears to be near the end of the fourth century B.C.

That Gadara, as a Greek city, had its beginnings in the early part of the Hellenistic period seems probable. Whether the town was an entirely new construction or simply experienced a change in name from a previously existing village cannot as yet be determined due to both the literary and archaeological silence on this topic.[6] The settlement of Greeks in Gadara, however, as in other Decapolis cities, most likely dates to sometime near the end of the fourth century when the new empires in this area, the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid, began to form.[7]

When Gadara finally emerges in the historical record it appears to be a fairly well-fortified city, since siege-works had to be used by Antiochus the Great to capture the place in 218 B.C.[8] Unfortunately, no architectural remains dating to this early period have been discovered to corroborate Polybius' remark. How developed a town Gadara was before this time is not certain, although the poet and philo-

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[5]Meleager, Frag. 418.6. See also Chapter 2, p. 37.

[6]For the various types of city "founding" during the Hellenistic period, see Victor Tscherikower, Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927), pp. 116-128.

[7]Ibid., pp. 125 and 127.

[8]Polybius, Historiae, 5. 71. 3.

sopher Meleager called it "renowned."[9] That Gadara had some kind of reputation during the Hellenistic period may be deduced from some of the scholastic figures it produced: the Cynic philosopher Menippos (3rd century B.C.), the rhetorician Theodoros (1st century B.C.), and the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus (1st century B.C.).[10]

The archaeological investigations conducted at Gadara have provided some data for the late Hellenistic culture there. At a corner of what is presumed to have been the acropolis wall a large number of Rhodian amphora handles were discovered. At two other locations along this same wall quantities of late Hellenistic pottery were recovered. Within the acropolis compound itself another sondage yielded some late Hellenistic pottery.[11]

Unfortunately, the parts of the acropolis or upper city walls which came to light during the excavations cannot be dated as early as some of the pottery which was obtained. Whether the predecessors to these wall sections were destroyed

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[9]Meleager, Frag. 418.1.

[10]See Strabo, Geographica 16. 2. 29; and Chapter 2, p. 10.

[11]For the Rhodian amphora handles, see Peter Cornelius Bol, Adolf Hoffmann, and Thomas Weber, "Gadara in der Dekapolis: Zwischenbericht über den Stand der Deutschen Ausgrabungen bei Umm Qais in Nordjordanien zwischen den Jahren 1986 und 1988" (to be published: Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1989), p. 61. The wall sondages were conducted at what would have been the southwest corner of the acropolis along the modern asphalt road and at the northeast corner of the acropolis just south of the north theater. The sondage within the acropolis was conducted within Bait Melkawi. The results of these three sondages have not yet been published, but the pottery has been preliminarily examined.

or underwent reconstruction cannot yet be ascertained. When Pompey arrived on the scene in 64/3 B.C., Josephus reports that he had Gadara "rebuilt." This supposedly occurred because of Gadara's "destruction" at the hands of Alexander Jannaeus when he subdued the western Transjordan in the late 90s B.C.[12] It has been noted that the verb used by Josephus for Alexander's operation means "take" or "capture," but because Josephus also records that it took Alexander ten months of besieging the city to finally subdue it, the likelihood that some destruction took place cannot be ruled out.[13] At the present time, however, because there is an absence of late Hellenistic architectural features in the finds which the excavations have yielded, the literary record cannot be elucidated.

The Roman Period

The situation at Gadara becomes clearer for the Roman period, when many of the extant architectural features were constructed. According to the evidence which has been discovered so far, it seems that this period divides into two phases.

The first phase is probably coterminous with the early Roman period (approximately mid-1st century B.C. until some-

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[12]Josephus' statement about Gadara's "rebuilding" is recorded in Ant. 14. 75 (parallel Bell. 1. 155). The account of Alexander's capturing the city is found in Ant. 13. 356 (parallel Bell. 1. 86).

[13]For a discussion of these passages from Josephus, see Chapter 2, pp. 54-57.

time into the 2nd century A.D.). But the data which establish this phase is meager at best. Most of the information comes from the artifactual evidence which sondages along the southern and eastern walls of the upper city and within the upper city compound have yielded.[14] The dates of the pottery and where it came from in relationship to the wall suggest that the wall may already have been in place at the onset of the Roman period, or not very long thereafter. This walled upper city probably represents the original urban area of Gadara, regardless of whether the upper city wall was original in the Roman period or a Roman reconstruction of an earlier wall. The upper city certainly would have presented obstacles for attacks as it had earlier in the town's history.

Among the other evidence from the early Roman period at Gadara is a cistern in the middle city (at its western edge) which the excavators conjecture was constructed during this phase.[15] The construction of this cistern, in turn, is connected with that of the decumanus maximus. Precisely when during the early Roman period these features were built has not been suggested. Nevertheless, since the cistern is

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[14]See n. 11 above. In addition to the late Hellenistic pottery, there was much early Roman material. In fact, the lowest strata of the areas under discussion contained pottery almost exclusively from these two periods. In addition, a sizable amount of early Roman pottery was obtained from a sondage within Bait Rusan, but like the others is not yet published.

[15]Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel J. H. Vriezen, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jarhe 1980," ZDPV 98 (1982):161. See also Chapter 4, p. 133.

associated with the paved decumanus maximus it is conceivable that this road may have existed already in the early Roman period.

On the outside of the upper city there are three tombs in the south necropolis which indicate that this area was being used for a cemetery already in the early first century A.D. The inscriptions from these tombs convey that their occupants were of Roman origin.[16]

Taken as a whole, the archaeological evidence does not allow much to be said about early Roman Gadara. Except for the upper city wall and three tombs, no major architectural features have come to light. The literary record, on the other hand, provides ample testimony for the existence of Gadara,[17] but nowhere does it indicate the size of the town. Perhaps all that Gadara amounted to at this time was a small, albeit well-fortified, outpost.

The transition between the two phases of the Roman period is shrouded in more obscurity than the earlier phase itself. When, or even if, there was a break between the two cannot be established with great certainty.[18] In one of the

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[16]Thomas Weber, "Drei römische Felsgrabanlagen in Gadara Dekapoleos" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1988), pp. 4, 9-11, 17. See also Chapter 4, p. 175.

[17]Strabo (Geographica 16. 2. 29 and 45), a funerary inscription (C.I.L. 6697), Pliny (Naturalis Historiae 5. 16), the New Testament (Matthew 8:28 and parallels), and Josephus (passim) all mention Gadara. See Chapter 2, pp. 39-41, 43-52, and 57-65 for a discussion of these references.

[18]The latest historical reference to Gadara in the early Roman period was made by Josephus (37/38 to ca. 100 A.D.). The next reference (by Claudius Ptolemaeus, perhaps ca. 100-

last literary references to Gadara in the early Roman period, Josephus mentions that Gadara was the object of an attack by insurgent Jews from Galilee. The existence, let alone the extent, of damage to the city can be ascertained neither from Josephus' account nor the archaeological record.

The late Roman period (roughly, the last half of the 2nd century and the 3rd century A.D.) was one of great building activity and expansion for Gadara. It was most likely during this time that the terrace support wall and its first floor in the northwest corner of the upper city and the two theaters were constructed.[19] Moreover, if the decumanus maximus was not built in the earlier phase of this period, then it certainly was completed during this latter phase. It was also during this later Roman phase that Gadara undoubtedly began to expand into the middle city area. The excavators of the nymphaeum, for instance, indicate that this structure was a second or third century production.[20]

If the middle city was ever enclosed by the city walls of Gadara, it probably occured before too long into

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180 A.D.) as well as archaeological evidence come after a break of about a century. The second Roman phase at Gadara is marked by the building activity which probably began in the late 2nd century under the settled conditions of the empire of the Antonines.

[19]For the terrace wall and floor, see Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel J. H. Vriezen, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien im Jahre 1979," ZDPV 96 (1980): 160. See also Chapter 4, pp. 134-135.

[20]According to Peter Cornelius Bol, "Interim Report on the Excavations of the Nymphaeum at Gadara, March/April 1988" (Frankfurt: Galleries of Ancient Sculpture, 1988), p. 11.

the second half of the Roman period. Wall remains discovered along the northern side of the middle city most likely belong to the second or third century.[21] Remains along the southern and western sides of the middle city possbily belong to the same time period. In the case that the middle city was enclosed by city walls, the situation would be similar to that at Jerash (the Decapolis city of Gerasa). In the upper city most of the public buildings would have concentrated, while the middle city would have largely comprised the residential quarter.[22] Outside of the city to the west a number of structures were erected along the decumanus maximus. What was probably a free-standing monumental gate (the "circular structure") was constructed about 100 m west of the city's limit.[23] To the south of this structure is an underground mausoleum (the "west mausoleum") which belongs ap-

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[21]The dating of this wall is contingent on that of the north mausoleum. This mausoleum seems to have had two phases, a late Roman and an early Byzantine. See Bert De Vries, "The North Mausoleum at Umm Qais," ADAJ 18 (1973):77; and Fawzi Zayadine, "A Dated Greek Inscription from Gadara - Umm Qais," ADAJ 18 (1973):78. According to the surveyors of the 1974 survey, the above-mentioned wall appears to be older than the mausoleum to its north. See Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142. Therefore, if the earlier phase of the north mausoleum is late Roman, and if the wall under discussion precedes the mausoleum, then this wall, at the latest, is late Roman.

[22]For a description of the layout at Gerasa/Jerash, see Arthur Segal, "Roman Cities in the Province of Arabia," Journal of the Society of Architectural History 50 (1981):110. For Philadelphia/Amman, see ibid., p. 109.

[23]The structure referred to is what heretofore has been called the "circular structure" or "round building." For a discussion of what this might have been and its date, see Bol, Hoffmann, and Weber, pp. 18-19. See also Chapter 4, p. 164.

proximately to the same time period.[24] About 300 m farther west lies the hippodrome. The nearby monumental gate, from its style belonging to the late Roman period, probably belongs to the same building activity that produced the hippodrome.[25]

In the more remote regions of the site there have been discovered other remains of the late Roman period. At Khirbet Miqyal (ca. 3 km west of Gadara) are the ruins of a small structure assoicated with late Roman pottery.[26] At Khirbet al-'Ajami (ca. 3.75 km southwest of Gadara) the remains of a third century house were discovered.[27] Finally, although no longer extant, the aqueduct attested to the east of Umm Qais may also have had its origin in the late Roman period.[28]

A number of other features on the site could have been constructed in the late Roman period as well, although at this time their dating is uncertain and has been assigned to the late Roman/early Byzantine horizon. One of these is the row of vaulted "shops" along the paved road west of the northwest

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[24]Thomas Weber, "Gadara of the Decapolis: A Summary of the 1988 Season at Umm Qais" (Amman: German Protestant Institute, 1988), p. 2. See also Chapter 4, p. 165.

[25]Adolf Hoffmann, "The Excavation of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) at Gadara/Umm Qais, Jordan in 1988 - Monumental Gate" (Berlin: German Archaeological Institute, 1989), p. 4. See also Chapter 4, pp. 171-173.

[26]Siegfried Mittmann, Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 26.

[27]Ibid., p. 38.

[28]This aqueduct, though no longer extant, had been documented by earlier explorers. For more details, see Chapter 3, p. 105.

terrace of the upper city.[29] The excavators assign the terrace support wall behind these shops to the Roman period, and the wall's construction certainly antedates that of the shops. But the construction of the vaulted shops probably did not occur long after the support wall. Moreover, the side of the street along which the shops are located runs parallel to the proscenium of the west theater, also (probably) a late Roman construction. For these reasons, the building of the vaulted shops perhaps is not too far removed from the time of the construction of the west theater and the paved side street. Furthermore, when one considers the terrace on the west side of the paved side street, it is conceivable that this whole area comprised the forum of ancient Gadara.[30] The terrace on the north side of the decumanus maximus may also belong to this period of building activity, especially when it seems that the construction of the second/third century nymphaeum takes this latter terrrace into account.

Another structure which may belong to the late Roman period, at least in the building's first phase, is the north mausoleum.[31] At the time of its construction, this mausoleum was most likely outside of the city's wall, as the other

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[29]For a discussion of the row of vaulted rooms, see Chapter 4, p. 143.

[30]The layout of the whole area suggests that the vaulted "shops" belong to the period when this "forum" was planned and constructed. For a description of the "north terrace," see Chapter 4, p. 149.

[31]Cf. n. 21 above.

the decumanus maximus from the nymphaeum. Its date of construction is estimated to be near the beginning of the fourth century. The first phase of this bath complex is coterminous with most of the early Byzantine period.[35]

Other features which belong to this earlier phase all are located outside of the older upper city and middle city districts of Gadara. To the east-southeast of the city about 2.5 km are the ruins of al-Qabu. This site, not far from the Roman raod coming from Capitolias, could have been some type of shrine.[36] To the north and directly outside of the middle city wall lies the previously mentioned north mausoleum. If it was originally constructed in the late Roman period, then an inscription dating to the latter half of the fourth century indicates a reuse in the early Byzantine period.[37] Other remains from this period were found at al-Fakhat (about 1.5 km southwest of Gadara), while at Khirbet Maquq (1.75 km west-northwest of the city) traces of the foundation of a house were discovered.[38]

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[35]Svend Holm-Nielsen, Inge Nielsen, and Flemming Gorm Andersen, "The Excavation of the Byzantine Baths in Umm Qais," ADAJ 30 (1986):220. The date of construction is put at the beginning of the 4th century. Damage which called for renovation was caused by an earthquake in either 365 or 447 A.D.

[36]Both the location and plan of the remains suggest this proposal. See Chapter 4, p. 175.

[37]The inscription carries a date of 355/6 A.D. (Zayadine, p. 78). There is some confusion concerning the building and use of this structure. See Chapter 4, p. 174.

[38]For al-Fakhat, see Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, IV," AASOR 25-28 (1945-49):142-143. There were no building remains, only a number of basalt

Problematic is the question of whether the vestibule to the subterranean west mausoleum belongs to the earlier or later Byzantine phase. According to its excavator this vestibule dates to the fourth century.[39] On the basis of the finds discovered in the graves of the vestibule floor, this date seems reasonable. If the structure above the mausoleum and vestibule is a church, and if its construction can be associated with that of the vestibule, then it would be the earliest attested church in Gadara.

On the other hand, the size and design of this church suggests that its construction took place later.[40] This

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blocks. For Khirbet Maquq, see Mittmann, p. 25.

[39]Weber, "Summary 1988," p. 2. See Chapter 4, pp. 165-166 for a fuller description of the excavation of the west mausoleum.

[40]The "church" above the mausoleum is estimated to be a relatively large structure (its width is at least that of the mausoleum, which is about 13 m) and described as being tri-apsidal. According to Richard Krautheimer, in Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 108, churches with apses in southern Syria should not be dated before 400 A.D. In the same geographical area, lateral apses indicate a date after 500 A.D. (ibid., p. 118). Besides the central type, early churches in this region were normally rectangular, being divided internally by colonnades and externally appearing straight-walled.

John Gordon Davies, in The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), p. 13, notes that pre-Constantinian churches were not uncommonly located as chapels in cemeteries. This assertion would lend support to the west mausoleum church being one of the earliest churches in Gadara. However, as Krautheimer points out (p. 9), Christian burials near pagan mausolea were not usually practiced. Furthermore, he suggests (p. 19) that churches did not ordinarily occupy pagan sites before the late 4th century. If a church were erected above a late Roman pagan mausoleum, one would have to conclude that this occurred in the 5th century, at the earliest. It may be that what later served as a church, then, was a reconstruction of an earlier building. Otherwise, the only plaus-

means, of course, that the building of the vestibule is either not to be connected with that of the church or later than originally supposed. The discovery of a sixth century mosaic in front of the mausoleum[41] may mean that the vestibule is later. However, on the basis of the evidence available at this time, it seems better to posit that the construction of the vestibule occurred first (probably, then, in the 4th century) and that the church was built later carefully taking into account the plan of the vestibule.[42]

The second phase of the Byzantine period at Gadara seems to have begun in the fifth century or early sixth century. The remarkable structure from this period is the "basilica" constructed on the northwest terrace of the upper city. The colonnaded court to the north of the basilica belonged to this complex. The excavators of this area place the construction of the basilica and court somewhere in the sixth century.[43] Roughly contemporary with this complex is

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ible solution is that the west mausoleum was a Christian burial spot in the first place.

[41]See Thomas Weber, "Gadara of the Decapolis: A Summary of the 1986 and 1987 Seasons at Umm Qeis," ADAJ 31 (1987):531.

[42]Two considerations must be added regarding the relationship between the vestibule to the mausoleum and whatever edifice was constructed above them. First, there is no need (or evidence) to assign the laying of the mosaic to the same time period as the building of the vestibule. Secondly, the remains presently being excavated and identified as a church may be a reconstruction of or replacement for an earlier building which indeed dated to the same time as the vestibule.

[43]A full description of the finds and layout is give above, Chapter 4, p. 138. For the date of the church, see Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel J. H. Vriezen, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Gadara (Umm Qes) in Jordanien in

a building adjacent to the south wall of the basilica. Due to its features, this structure probably had a religious function as well.[44]

The bath complex about 80 m west of the basilica entered its second phase of use in the middle or during the late Byzantine period. It is not certain whether the construction beginning this phase was made necessary by an earthquake in the late fourth century or one in the middle of the fifth century.[45] The later date, if more sitewide evidence could be found, would lend support to placing the division of two Byzantine phases at Gadara in the middle of the fifth century.

The only other remains from Gadara which can be assigned with certainty to the late Byzantine phase are those from the Baths of Herakleides. This bath complex is located in the northwest corner of the middle city and was constructed in the fifth or sixth century.[46]

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den Jahren 1976-1978," ZDPV 96 (1980):57. Parallels point to the first half of the 6th century. Concerning the colonnaded court and its construction and relationship to the church, see ibid., pp. 51 and 53.

[44]This structure has only been partially excavated, but its interior was subdivided by chancel screens, so it may have been a small chapel associated with the basilica. See Chapter 4, p. 139; also ibid., p. 57.

[45]Holm-Nielsen et al., p. 227. The second phase commenced with rebuilding in either 365 or 447 A.D., probably near the latter date (as the excavators suggest). This phase ended when the bath ceased to be used as such, which may have been as late as the early Umayyad period (ibid., p. 228).

[46]For the excavation of this building, see Wagner-Lux et al., p. 142. Cf. also Chapter 4, p. 156.

A number of other ruins from the site either had their construction or evidenced reuse during the Byzantine period, but they cannot be assigned a date with any greater precision. In the southwest corner of the middle city are the remains of al-Qasr, which was presumably a church. Because of its construction style it has been suggested that it was built sometime during the phase when the basilica in the upper city was constructed, that is, in the sixth century.[47] Another church, the "south church," discovered about 75 m south of the west theater, most likely was also a late Byzantine production.[48]

Other data documenting Byzantine activity at Gadara can only be assigned to the period as a whole. One piece of evidence is the repair of the decumanus maximus in a stretch near the western end of the middle city.[49] About 50 m north of the decumanus maximus in the western city a wall apparently connected with a courtyard was dated to the Byzantine period. These ruins probably belonged to a domestic structure. Nearby, another wall, presumably also from a private structre,

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[47]An account of the remaining features of this building can be found in Chapter 4, p. 157. The building was about 20 m by 20 m, slightly smaller than the basilica (23 m by 23 m).

[48]See Chapter 4, p. 140; Wagner-Lux et al., p. 137. The plan of this "church" (triapsidal) indicates a later date. Cf. n. 40 above.

[49]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1980," p. 160.

was constructed during the Byzantine period.[50] Ruins of what also may have been a domestic unit built in the Byzantine period were found near Khirbet ar-Rasefiyeh about 3.5 km west of the upper city of Gadara.[51] Finally, it was during the Byzantine period that the round building/gate was reduced to its present height for the construction of the vestibule of the west mausoleum.[52] Sometime after that the remaining circular enclosure was employed as a water reservoir.

Although Gadara is mentioned frequently in the literary sources dating to the Byzantine period, few of these documents provide information which adds to the archaeological record of the site. Several sources belonging to the late Byzantine period, however, substantiate the physical evidence. One document which suggests that Gadara was a city of some importance is the itinerarium of Theodosius (6th century), who lists Gadara along with other leading cities of the region.[53] In like manner the Synecdemos of Hierocles (also 6th century) can be considered. Hierocles names Gadara

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[50]Both of these walls were uncovered in the excavations by the Danish group in the western city. Andersen and Strange, pp. 81f and 87.

[51]Mittmann, pp. 25-26. The remains are those of a house and some Byzantine pottery, about 100 m down the road from Khirbet ar-Rasefiyeh.

[52]Weber, "Summary 1987," p. 533. See also Chapter 4, p. 164 above. If the vestibule does date to the early 4th century, then the reducing of the round building/gate would also have to be assigned to the early Byzantine period.

[53]Theodosius, De situ terrae sanctae 24. See Chapter 2, p. 77.

among the cities of the province of Palaestina secunda.[54] A reference to the size of Gadara is found in the tractate Erubin of the Babylonian Talmud (probably a 6th century production). In a discussion of the distance one is allowed to travel on the Sabbath, the comment is made that Gadara is a "large" town (contrasted with al-Hammeh, a "small" town).[55]

The evidence which has come to light for the Byzantine period, therefore, points to the continued growth of Gadara. There was some expansion within the older urban areas of the city as well as in regions more removed from the center of population. Remains from the outlying districts which manifest this trend include the probable domestic units in the western city (north of the west mausoleum and round building/gate); the occupatoinal traces to the northwest, west, and southwest of Gadara (at Khirbet Maquq, Khirbet ar-Rasefiyeh, and al-Fakhat, respecitively); and the ruins at al-Qabu to the east of the city.

Within or closer to the main settlement area there occurred the alteration and/or reuse of several important structures, namely, on the northwest terrace of the upper city, the bath along the decumanus maximus in the middle city, and the west mausoleum and circular structure in the western city. New buildings in Gadara included the Baths of Herakleides and a number of churches: the "basilica," the al-Qasr church, the west mausoleum church, and the south

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[54]Hierocles, Synecdemos 54. See Chapter 2, p. 78.

[55]bEr 61a. See Chapter 2, pp. 75-76.

church.

Islamic and Modern Eras

The occupation of Gadara continued into the Umayyad period apparently without many extensive changes. But during this period some buildings fell into disuse, while others evidence alterations in their function.

The excavators of the basilica, for example, propose that it was something during the Umayyad period that the use of this building was discontinued. It was not until the middle of the eighth century, however, that the edifice finally encountered destruction, probably in the earthquake of 746/7 A.D.[56] When the use of the basilica stopped or the reasons for that cessation cannot be elucidated further from the historical record.

The great bath building on the south side of the decumanus maximus experienced a modification of its use during the same period. The use of the structure as a bath was discontinued, and it was altered to accommodate domestic units. Like the basilica, however, the bath met its end in the great earthquake of the mid-eighth century.[57]

It does not seem likely that the use of the basilica as a church or the bath as a bath terminated because of a cultural change (namely, the transition from Christian to

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[56]Wagner-Lux and Vriezen, "Bericht 1976-78," p. 58. Because of Umayyad materials discovered underneath some of the fallen architectural pieces, the excavators suggest that the basilica ceased to be used prior to its destruction.

[57]Holm-Nielsen et al., pp. 228-229.

Muslim overlords). There is evidence from elsewhere at the site that a disaster of some kind induced the change. The finds from the nymphaeum, for example, indicate that that structure was devastated near the end of the Byzantine period or in the early Umayyad period.[58] Moreover, the excavator of the monumental gate west of the city offers the theory that this gate was destroyed approximately at the same time and that its demolition was caused by an earthquake.[59] Such a catastrophe could have resulted in damage throughout Gadara so that the use of many of its structures was suspended.[60] Why these buildings were not restored to use is not known. That may have had something to do with a "cultural" change. More likely, however, is the possibility that monumental restoration projects of the kind that were required were beyond the economic means of the populace.

After the sitewide destruction of the mid-eighth century, there is only sporadic archaeological evidence for

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[58]Bol, pp. 11-12. See also Chapter 4, n. 83.

[59]Hoffmann, p. 1. See also Chapter 4, n. 159.

[60]An earthquake which the textual documentation indicates was disastrous hit the three provinces of Palestine and one of Syria (Syria tertia) in the summer of 551, according to Kenneth W. Russell, "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the mid-8th Century A.D.," BASOR 260 (1985):45. Russell also describes (p. 46) an earthquake of September 663, which was not extremely destructive but (according to archaeological findings) did damage a number of structures in Scythopolis (Beisan). Considering the proximity of Gadara, it is possible that this earthquake resulted in the destruction which has been exposed during the course of the excavations.

the occupation of the urban areas of Gadara.[61] The ninth century reference to Gadara by Ibn-Khordadhbeh reveals nothing about the nature of any kind of habitation at the site.[62] It was not until shortly before or during the Mamluke period that occupation of the area appears to increase.

It was in the Mamluke period that the great bath along the decumanus maximus was again utilized as a dwelling.[63] From the existing evidence, however, the inhabitation of the site concentrated in the western regions of Gadara. The round building, for instance, was being used as a reservoir at this time.[64] North of this structure (about 40 m to 50 m) there are the remains of buildings (most likely domestic) which were in use during the Mamluke period.[65] Khirbet Umm an-Nimal (about 3 km south of Gadara) evidences occupation

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[61]The pottery record for the Islamic periods is very sketchy. After the Umayyad period, there are some wares which can be called Abbasid. After that, there is little than can be anchored definitely until the 12th/13th century, i.e., the beginning of the Mamluke period. It should be noted that the estimates made for the chronology of Gadara's later pottery are largely based on the comparison of it to the pottery of other sites, since little, if any, has come from cleanly stratified contexts. In addition, the vague dating of many of the Islamic wares must be considered. This is especially unfortunate with what, at this point, can only be classified as Mamluke-Ottoman.

[62]His reference, in Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalikk, Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum, vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 78, is simply to that of Gadara (Jadar) being one of the towns in the province of Jordan (al-Urdun).

[63]Holm-Nielsen et al., pp. 228-229.

[64]Wagner-Lux et al., p. 141; Weber, "Summary 1988," p. 2. See also Chapter 4, n. 127.

[65]Andersen and Strange, p. 89.

in this period, as does Khirbet at-Tabaq (4.7 km southwest of Gadara) and Khirbet al-Bwere (4.7 km southeast of Gadara).-[66]

Unfortunately, a more precise chronology of the above-mentioned data cannot be offered.[67] In addition, the occupation of the site varied in its degree of transcience and permanence. Nevertheless, there was a community at Gadara in the first century of the Ottoman period. According to the last census taken by the Ottoman government, Umm Qais is classified as a "village" (qarya, a type of permanently inhabited settlement) with twenty-four heads of households and fifteen single adult men, from which a total population of almost two hundred persons can be extrapolated.[68] Between the time of this census (about 1596) and 1880 the population of the area of northwest Jordan in which Umm Qais is located decreased by about seventy percent,[69] but how, or if, this phenomenon is reflected in the village of Umm Qais is not known.

Little is known about the habitation of Gadara/Umm

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[66]Mittmann, pp. 26 and 38. There were no architectural remains at any of these sites. The evidence was exclusively ceramic.

[67]Due to the lack of stratified contexts and the ambiguity in the dating of pottery after the Umayyad period. Cf. n. 61 above.

[68]Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan, and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1977), p. 202. Concerning the method of computation for estimating the total population, see ibid., p. 36, n. 1.

[69]Ibid., p. 57, fig. 7.

Qais until the explorers reached the site in the early ninth century. Ulrich Seetzen in 1806 noted that there were about six or seven families at Umm Qais living in the cave.[70] Johann Burckhardt, visiting the area in 1812, remarked that "for the most part" the dwellings were in the caves but that he did not encounter any inhabitants.[71] Charles Irby and James Mangles, however, in 1818 reported that they were received kindly by those who lived in the caves there.[72]

Six decades pass before the next description of life at Umm Qais, but little seems to have changed. Selah Merrill investigated the ruins in 1876 and noted that only a few people were living there. He observed that their reasons for being there were only temporary, and that they dwelt either in tents or in the caves.[73] In 1879 Frank DeHass found several of the tombs northeast of the city occupied by the local people.[74] Adlof Frei, in 1884, related that a number

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[70]Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea, und Unter-Ägypten, ed. Fr. Krause (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1854), p. 368.

[71]Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, Reisen in Syrien, Palästina un der Gegend des Berges Sinai, ed. and comm. Wilehlm Genesius (Weimar: Großh. sachs. priv. Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, 1823), p. 429.

[72]Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, During the Years 1817 and '1818 (London: T. White and Co., 1823), p. 297.

[73]Selah Merrill, East of the Jordan: A Record of Travel and Observation in the Country of Moab, Gilead and Bashan During the Years 1875-77 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), pp. 155-156.

[74]Frank S. DeHass, Buried Cities Recovered, or Explorations in Bible Lands (Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson and Co., 1883), p. 364.

of new houses had been built.[75] When Gottlieb Schumacher surveyed the area in 1886 he reported that houses ("miserable huts") as well as caves were occupied. And by this time the population of Umm Qais is about two hundred people.[76]

The distinction between permanent and temporary occupation of Umm Qais was first alluded to by Merrill. In a recent study, it is proposed that the difference between these two types of settlement resulted from the occupation of the inhabitants: During certain times of the year they were out in the fields with their crops and flocks, at other times they remained in Umm Qais.[77] Since the days of Schumacher's first visit, however, the inhabitation of Umm Qais has taken on a more invariable character. While the residents still leave at certain times of the year for field and flock, the present village of Umm Qais affirms its permanence.

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[75]Adolf Frei, "Beobachtungen vom See Genezareth," ZDPV 9 (1886):136.

[76]Gottlieb Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlun, "Within the Decapolis" (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), p. 50.

[77]The question of settled vs. nomad in Transjordan has been discussed by Dornemann (p. 4), who points out that "settled" populations were involved in such "nomadic" activity, and vice versa. Seteney Shami, in "Umm Qeis--A Northern Jordanian Village in Context," Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan 3 (1987):212, explains that a number of factors could account for the differences reported by the 19th century explorers. Unfavorable conditions, such as drought or over-oppressive government policies, could have led to a temporary abandonment of the area. She contends, however, in "Settlement and Resettlement in Umm Qeis: Spatial Organization and Social Dynamics in a Village in North Jordan" (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1988), p. 8, that the Ottoman government's changes in 1858 of laws regulating land ownership and use precipitated a trend toward more permanent settlement of the area.

The survey of the occupational history of Gadara/Umm Qais shows that the site has been fairly continuously inhabited from sometime in the middle of the Hellenistic period into the present. From a rather small village the town grew in importance to be included in the Decapolis league of the early Roman period. The city reached its greatest extent in the late Roman and Byzantine periods and retained its expanse into part of the early Islamic era. The devastating earthquake of the mid-eight century provides a demarcation between the ancient and medieval history of Gadara. After that disaster the site was selectively occupied until more permanent inhabitation began to emerge in the Ottoman period.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the origins of Gadara still remain shrouded in mystery in both the literary and archaeological records, a number of deductions about its history since its beginnings can be made. The written and non-written testimonies to the site which do exist vary in their degrees of comprehensiveness, but the contours of Gadara's history can be made out.

The previous chapter may give the impression that there were a number of successive periods at Gadara (Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, etc.) which thereafter can be divided into different phases (viz., early and late). This does not mean, however, that an early phase of a certain period had its continuation in the later phase of the same period. In most instances the late phase of one period seems to have its continuation in the early phase of the following period. On the basis of the data which have come to light so far, there appear to be four main periods of occupation at Gadara. How closely one of these periods may be associated with a preceding or following one is not always clear. How one subsequently partitions these periods into more well-defined phases will have to depend on the further analysis of the finds and/or additional excavation. The evidence at hand may allow for the distinction of one or two phases, but this is

exceptional.

The first period which can be discerned at Gadara is one which begins in the late Hellenistic era and continues into the Roman period. According to the documentary evidence it begins near the end of the third century B.C. and extends into the latter half of the first century A.D. However, there is little archaeological material to vouch for these written witnesses. The only corroborating evidence would be the upper city wall, if its dates could be indisputably moored in this time period.

Historically, the political circumstances of Gadara fluctuated during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. At its emergence in history the town fell under the power of the Seleucid empire. A century later it belonged to the domains of the Hasmonaeans. Then within a relatively short span of time (about sixty years), Gadara was liberated by Pompey, bestowed on Herod the Great, and emancipated once more by Augustus. According to the final pages of history during its early Roman period, Gadara was involved in the turbulent events of the Jewish uprising.

Archaeologically, there is nothing that can be associated with the above-mentioned events to divide this period into more precise phases. The evidence which has been uncovered to date only indicates that the late Hellenistic-early Roman settlement of Gadara was probably restricted to the area of the upper city. The town was unquestionably well-fortified, as the reports of the assaults on the place

suggest. How thriving or adverse the conditions of life at this time were, however, is engmatic. Admittedly, the expanse of its urban area could have been greater, but none of the excavations have substantiated this hypothesis so far.

The break between the first and second periods at Gadara seems to have occurred sometime during the second century A.D. When this took place exactly has been difficult to determine. The commencement of building activity and expansion in the late second century favors a date toward the middle of that century. As it was explained in the previous chapter, however, the transition between the two periods is obscure. The growth of Gadara may have been so gradual at this time that no change can be detected.

One is compelled to put aside the question of a transition due to the lack of any literary or archaeological evidence. The second period which can be observed at Gadara is one which begins in the second century and proceeds into the Byzantine period. During this time Gadara expanded from the confines of the upper city onto the plateau to its west. Most of the present-day monuments were erected during this time. On the strength of the architectural and artifactual evidence, the late Roman-early Byzantine period was undoubtedly the most prosperous in the history of ancient Gadara.

Unlike the late Hellenistic-early Roman period, there is little written testimony that can be associated with the archaeological evidence of the late Roman-Byzantine horizon. As a rule, the literary records are of a statistical

nature and offer little knowledge pertaining to political, economic, or social life in ancient Gadara.

Like the earlier period, there is little evidence from the excavations which can be adduced to subdivide this period into phases. The only proof for this which has been documented so far is from the destruction of the Byzantine baths, which could have resulted from an earthquake in 363 A.D. Yet this remains in doubt, since the excavators suggest that this disaster could have occurred equally as well in the mid-fifth century. The earthquake of 363, however, was of such a magnitude that it could have wrought much destruction all over the site. Nonetheless, until more sitewide evidence emerges, it seems hazardous to talk about two phases on the basis of a single, uncertain event.

Historically, the ascendancy of Constantine and the subsequent legalization of Christianity could have precipitated some changes in Gadara. If the structure above the west mausoleum is unequivocally a fourth century church, then this church is evidence of those changes. Otherwise, the archaeological record is silent on indicating that a new phase commenced at this time.

Regardless of whether the Byzantine baths suffered destruction in the late fourth or in the mid-fifth century, the second phase of this bath complex, which extends throughout the remainder of the Byzantine period, has been described as "poorer." This circumstance signifies a contrast between this period and the more prosperous conditions of the late

Roman-early Byzantine period at Gadara and portends a transitional character beginning to take shape in the fifth century.

In the fifth century, so it seems, a new epoch is on the horizon of Gadara's history. This epoch can be called the third occupational period, which continues through the Umayyad period. Except for the Baths of Herakleides, the only structures which have been discovered and assigned to this time are the churches. As indicated above, this late Byzantine-Umayyad period does not reflect the prosperity of the late Roman-Byzantine period. Nevertheless, Gadara seems to have maintained its size, and the town probably expanded somewhat as well.

In contrast to what has been the rule for the earlier periods, there seems to be good reason in attempting the divide the late Byzantine-Umayyad period into at least two, if not three, phases. As it was pointed out in Chapter 5, there could have been an earthquake in the mid-sixth or early seventh century that destroyed a number of structures, such as the nymphaeum and the monumental gate. Moreover, the change of the Byzantine baths to a domestic structure may have been precipitated by such a disaster at this time. On the other hand, a hypothesis which has not yet been put forward, but one which certainly is plausible with respect to the time frame, is that the damage which occurred to certain buildings resulted from the Sassanian invasion of the area in the early seventh century. More excavation will

have to determine if the destruction or changes which occurred can be attributed to either one of these catastrophes.

One can perceive a second transition in the late Byzantine-Umayyad period at Gadara. This break between the second and third phase probably took place sometime during the Umayyad period, perhaps in the late seventh century. The use of the basilica was discontinued after the Umayyad period began, and further modifications in the use of the baths were effected.

The demarcation between each of these three phases is not entirely clear. Continued excavation may clarify this problem. In any event, the earthquake in the mid-eighth century (746/7 A.D.) appears to have put an end to most urban life in ancient Gadara. According to the various excavators, most of the buildings suffered fatal destruction at this time. In light of the artifactual evidence, there is little testimony for anything except sporadic habitation over most of the site after the end of the Umayyad period.

A different situation develops in what can be considered the fourth period of Gadara's occupational history. This period started approximately at the beginning of the Mamluke period (11th/12th century) and continued into the nineteenth century. Because of the lack of stratified remains and the vagueness surrounding the dating of the pottery from this period, little can be said. Habitation of the area was irregular, but whether that was a seasonal or at times permanent condition cannot be fully ascertained.

Thus, four primary periods of occupation at Gadara can be discerned: the late Hellenistic-early Roman, the late Roman-early Byzantine, the late Byzantine-Umayyad, and the Mamluke-Ottoman. To these four, however, a fifth period should be added, the modern one. Since the end of the last century the village of Umm Qais, arising upon and around the ruins of ancient Gadara, has perpetuated the occupation of this area into the present era.

Concerning inter-site relations, these are not as crucial for the periods to which occupation at Gadara is attested, namely, the Hellenistic and later, as they are for the Bronze and Iron Ages about which virtually nothing at Gadara is known. During the Hellenistic period, there are indications that the town was heard of outside of the Levant. References to its poet and philosopher sons suggest that people in some circles were acquainted with Gadara. In addition, the presence of Rhodian jar handles and fine Hellenistic glazed ware at the site demonstrates that Gadara had trade contacts with distant places, most certainly via the ports on the Palestinian littoral (e.g., Ptolemais).

The advent of the Roman period and the incorporation of Syria and Palestine into the provincial structure of the empire assured contacts with the Roman world. Demetrius the Gadarene, for instance, a one-time slave of the Roman general Pompey, resided in Rome and involved himself in architectural projects in that city. The inscriptional evidence from Gadara (e.g., at the early Roman tombs) demonstrates that

there was a Latin element among its population. The expansion of the Roman road system near and through Gadara rendered it certain that this Decapolis city would participate in the travel, commerce, and, considering its location at the eastern limits of the empire, defenses of the Roman world. Finally, although analysis of the artifacts obtained through excavation is not complete, these discoveries are beginning to show that the Gadarenes had access to a wide variety of products that the ancient world could offer.

Gadara's later classical history exhibits that it continued to have a significant role in the east. Its bishops were present at several councils of the early church. The itineraries acknowledge that the city lay on one of the main pilgrim routes descending from Syria into Palestine. And its architecture, sculpture, and mosaics call attention to the cultural endowment and pride of its citizenry.

It is hoped that further investigation at Gadara/Umm Qais will continue to shed light on the history of this site. It offers one of the most promising prospects, on par with Jerash (Gerasa), of adding to the knowledge of Jordan's classical period heritage. The ceramic evidence from the medieval periods suggests that further, careful excavation could greatly increase the comprehension and appreciation of this era and contribute to a better understanding of the occupational sequences for these periods in this part of Jordan. Furthermore, the remains of the Ottoman village offer a unique opportunity for studying this often neglected

(more by coincidence than intention) period of Jordan's history.

As far as the interests of this writer are concerned, it would be profitable to obtain more information for the earlier periods in Gadara's history, primarily the Hellenistic and early Roman, but the pre-Hellenistic occupation of the site as well. Much of this kind of investigation, if not all of it, could be accomplished without disturbing the valuable evidence of later (both classical and Islamic) occupation of the area. A number of sondages, for example, could be conducted within the courtyards of the existing, vacant Ottoman housing complexes. Furthermore, an ideal situation presents itself at the southwestern corner of the upper city where there are virtually no modern remains. The construction of the modern asphalt road and the sondage along the ancient city wall suggest that further archaeological investigation in this location, especially on the inside of this wall toward the acropolis, would be fruitful. A similar situation exists at the northeast corner of the upper city, where part of the city wall was also exposed.

Up until this time the emphasis of the excavations has been on the existing architectural remains. This is understandable, since an archaeologist would like to dig where he or she could expect to find something. It is, however, often the domestic areas of the site, where little, if any, architectural remains are obvious, that yield the most interesting and helpful information. For that reason, it would

also seem expedient to focus on certain areas within the middle city, as well as selected areas from the outlying districts. There are presently numerous obstacles, such as military installations and tracts of land utilized for agricultural purposes, but enough of the site remains open for consideration. It is hoped that further excavations at Gadara/ Umm Qais can concentrate on fields which will complement the existing urban plan.

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