

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325579102>

2009 – The sanctuary of Artemis in Gerasa

Article · June 2018

CITATION
1

READS
280

1 author:



Rubina Raja
Aarhus University

353 PUBLICATIONS 1,392 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Lived Ancient Religion [View project](#)



Archive Archaeology [View project](#)

THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS IN GERASA

RUBINA RAJA

Introduction

The ancient city Gerasa in modern Jordan offers the opportunity to study a range of aspects of urbanism in the Roman period because of its good state of preservation. Numerous excavation projects have since the 1920s been undertaken at Gerasa by respectively American, Australian, British, Danish, French, Italian, Jordanian and Polish expeditions.¹ In more recent times the publications under the heading of Jerash Archaeological Project as well as the several publications by J. Seigne have provided useful information about the development of the town in the Roman period.²

The Sanctuary of Artemis in Gerasa is one of the well-known examples of grand classical architecture in the Roman Near East. Along with other major sanctuaries such as the sanctuaries at Baalbek, Damascus, Palmyra and Petra, the architecture of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Gerasa has been studied in detail and the development of the sanctuary is familiar to any scholar who works on architecture in the eastern Roman provinces. All architectural familiarities aside, there are still a number of questions relating to the cult and Sanctuary of Artemis at Gerasa that are worth considering in a new light, such as 'Was the cult of Artemis of any importance to religious life at Gerasa in the pre-Antonine period?' and 'Why was the cult introduced on such a large scale in the Antonine period?'

In the present article it is argued that the cult of Artemis played a role in the religious life of Gerasa even before the large sanctuary was built in the Antonine period; this statement is neither new nor surprising, but it has until now not been discussed that the cult seems to have existed on a scale, indicated through epigraphic evidence, which was anything but small. However, it is also argued that the construction of the sanctuary was not only an expression of the importance of the cult of Artemis to Gerasa,

but that it was also a crucial factor to the further urban development and not least to the actual physical expansion of the city and its pomerium in the Antonine period. It is argued that the cult of Artemis was used to spur the urban expansion and development at Gerasa and that the cult partly gained importance as a result of this decision. The civic coinage depicting and describing Artemis as the Tyche of the city is considered in this article in order to underline the close interplay between the sanctuary, its goddess, Artemis, and the urban development of Gerasa from the mid 2nd century AD onward. But first and foremost the coins are touched upon here because the legends that they carry are unequalled so far. However, first an introduction to the history and urban development of Gerasa is given in order to contextualise the development of the Sanctuary of Artemis.

A brief history of Gerasa

Gerasa, mentioned by Pliny as a Decapolis city, is situated inland in modern northern Jordan, in the angle between the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers, also called the Ajlun highlands (**Fig. 1**).³ In the region other Decapolis cities, such as Gadara, Pella and Philadelphia, were also situated.⁴ The region was densely urbanised during the Hellenistic and Roman periods and provides evidence of a large number of cities of varying sizes.⁵

Gerasa covered an area of 85 ha of which less than half has been excavated (**Fig. 2**). The monuments that shaped the urban fabric, colonnaded streets, sanctuaries, temples, theatres, various shops, a hippodrome and massive city walls show that the city was well-furnished and that it boasted a wide range of architectural complexes of a high quality, but built of local stone and not marble. Gerasa was a medium-sized provincial town. The city was not situated centrally within the infrastructure of the region and neither was it located on any of the caravan routes. The location of the city, between Bostra and Philadelphia, close to larger cities and nonetheless to some extent isolated as a result of the infrastructure of the region, is comparable to that of many medium-sized provincial towns of the Roman Empire.

In the period between Augustus' rule and the creation of the *Provincia Arabia* in AD 106 during the reign of Trajan the regions of the Near East underwent several political and administrative reorganisations. The client

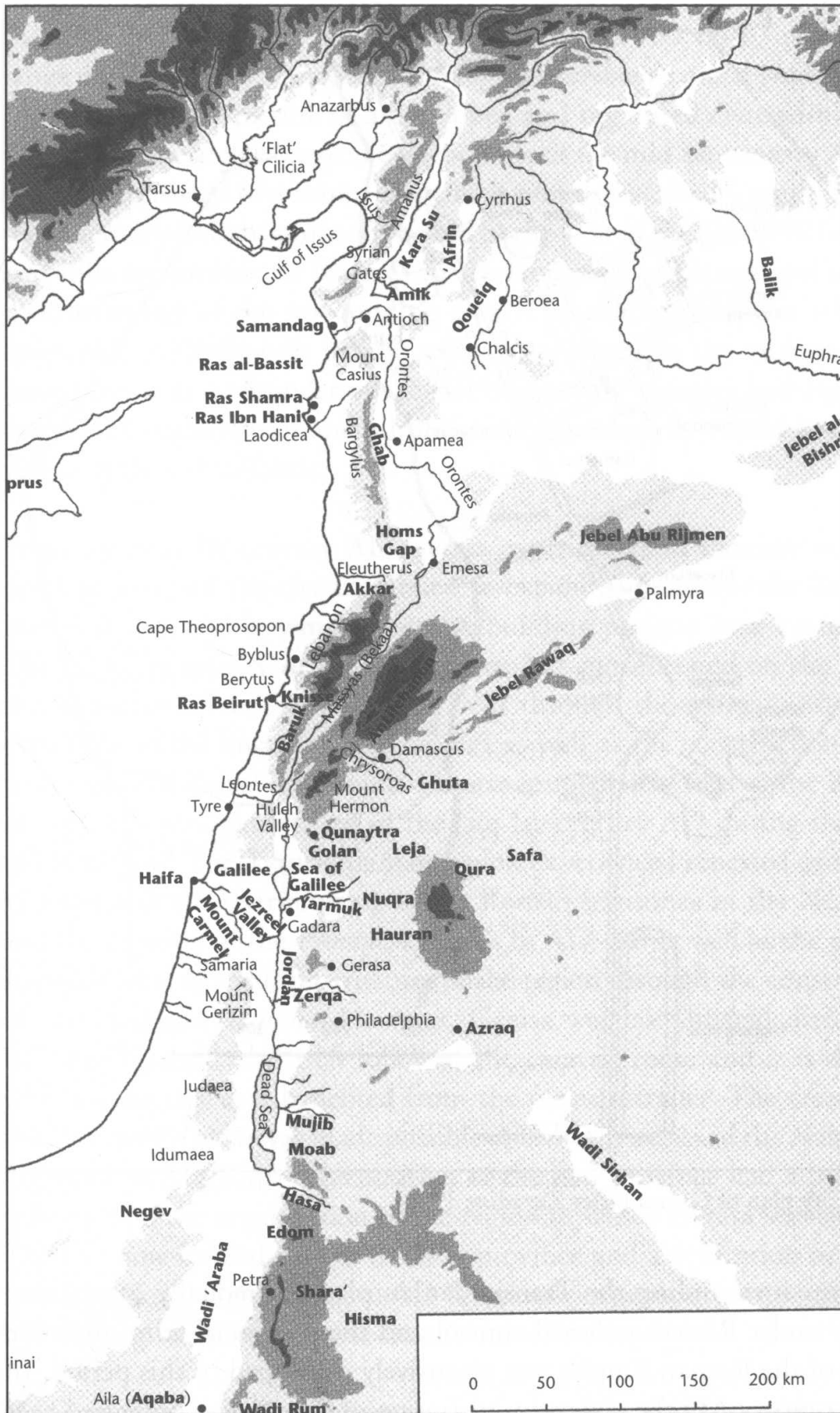


Fig. 1 Map of Judaea/Palestina, Syria, Arabia (after Millar 1993).

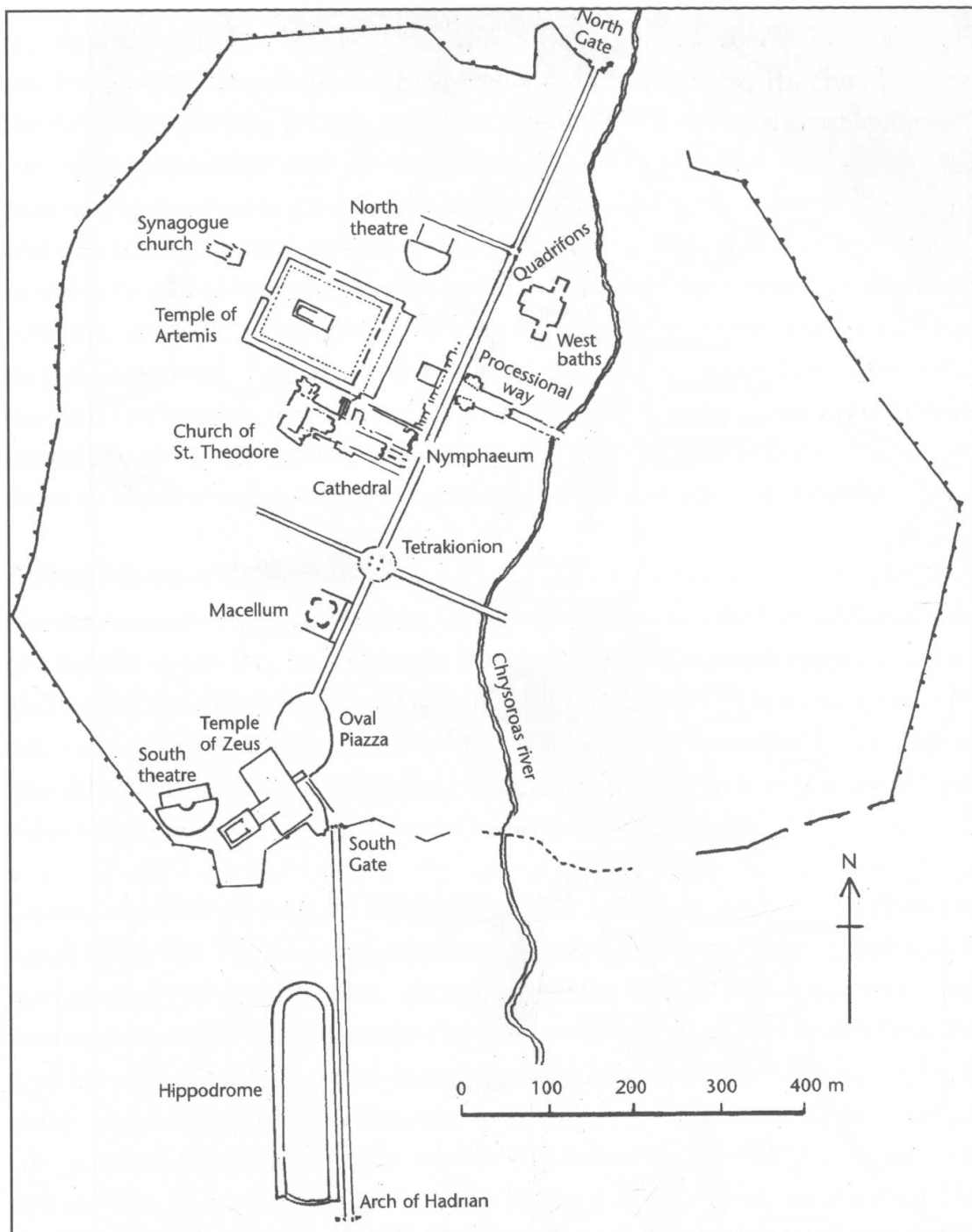


Fig. 2 City plan of Gerasa (after Zayadine 1986).

kingdoms surrounding the Transjordanian plateau gradually came more directly under Roman political control and the provincial administrative system of the Roman Empire was extensively developed in this period. In the 1st century AD the civic administration of Gerasa was organised as it would have been in any ordinary Hellenised city. This is confirmed through

the epigraphic evidence. An inscription dating to AD 66/67 mentions a range of civic offices, a *proedros*, a *dekaprotos*, *archontes* and a *grammateus*.⁶ In contrast to the picture of a developed and organised civic administration stands the archaeological evidence. Until the mid 1st century AD the site only consisted of a minor settlement on the so-called Camp Hill and the sanctuary-like structure on the hill to the west of the Camp Hill. These two hills are prominent features in the landscape of Gerasa and provide good overview of the surrounding area. The contrast between what the epigraphic evidence tells us and what is preserved in the archaeological record serves as a reminder of the fact that not all varieties and aspects of urban life, organisation and administration necessarily would have been visible in the urban fabric.

From the mid 1st century AD Gerasa experienced an increase in urban development and the city continued to expand throughout the 2nd century AD, a period in which extensive building projects were carried out. The building activity of the 1st century AD concentrated on the monumentalisation of the Sanctuary of Zeus through the reorganisation and expansion of the lower terrace complex as well as the construction of the first temple of Zeus.⁷ The South Theatre immediately west of the Sanctuary of Zeus was constructed in the late 1st century AD during the reign of Domitian.⁸ The Transjordanian region experienced renewed prosperity as a result of the restructuring of the Roman territories in the Near East and the creation of the *Provincia Arabia* in AD 106 as well as the gradual strengthening of the infrastructure of the region through the construction of the *Via Nova Traiana*. However, Gerasa was not situated directly on the new Trajanic road that followed the caravan route and it is dubious whether the city ever benefited from the caravan trade.⁹ The creation of the *Provincia Arabia* was made possible after Rome annexed the Nabataean kingdom in AD 106.¹⁰ The creation of the new province had a profound influence on the organisation of the region in which Gerasa was situated. The city now formed part of the new province and a dedication to Trajan from the North Gate dating to AD 155 clearly expresses this new situation by referring to the emperor as the saviour of the city.¹¹

Hadrian visited Gerasa during the winter of AD 129/130 and probably spent some time there. Much of the urban development that took place

during the 2nd century, such as the construction of the so-called Triumphal Arch and other developments in the southern part of the city, is thought to have been spurred by this Imperial visit.¹² The city became a Roman colony, *Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana*, in the early 3rd century AD, perhaps during the reign of Caracalla.¹³ This change in status would have had an impact on certain administrative and civic aspects of the city's life, such as the administration of taxes. However, whether this change in fact had an influence on the further urban development of Gerasa is not detectable in the archaeological and epigraphic records.

Gerasa had two large sanctuaries, namely the Sanctuary of Zeus in the southern part of the town, which can be traced back to the late Hellenistic period and the Sanctuary of Artemis in what came to be the central part of the town that was constructed in the 2nd century AD. The town had a number of other sanctuaries and cult places as well as a suburban sanctuary at Birketein. These sanctuaries and cult places will not be discussed here.

For Gerasa and its surrounding region the Imperial period was characterised by increasing political stability. This stability created possibilities for further development and strengthening of the civic organisation. There was also an increased focus on urban growth, as seen across the Roman Empire, as a result of a more prosperous economy. In the case of Gerasa the prosperous economy was most likely a result of a combination of factors, such as the improved infrastructure within the region, in turn facilitating trade, the movement of labour and goods. Furthermore the growing importance of the two main sanctuaries, the Sanctuary of Zeus and the Sanctuary of Artemis, to the surrounding region is also likely to have had an effect on the economy of the city.

A survey of the surrounding area has been conducted and a number of inscribed boundary stones, which presumably indicate the extent of Gerasa's territory at least at one point in time, have come to light.¹⁴ The distance from the city to the boundary stones varied between six to fifteen kilometres, depending on the distance to the next city.¹⁵

The architectural development of the Sanctuary of Artemis

The Sanctuary of Artemis, a monumental building project, was begun in the Antonine period in an area which until then had been used as a cemetery (**Fig. 3**). The complex was aligned with the street grid and the grid was laid out in this period of extensive building activity, including

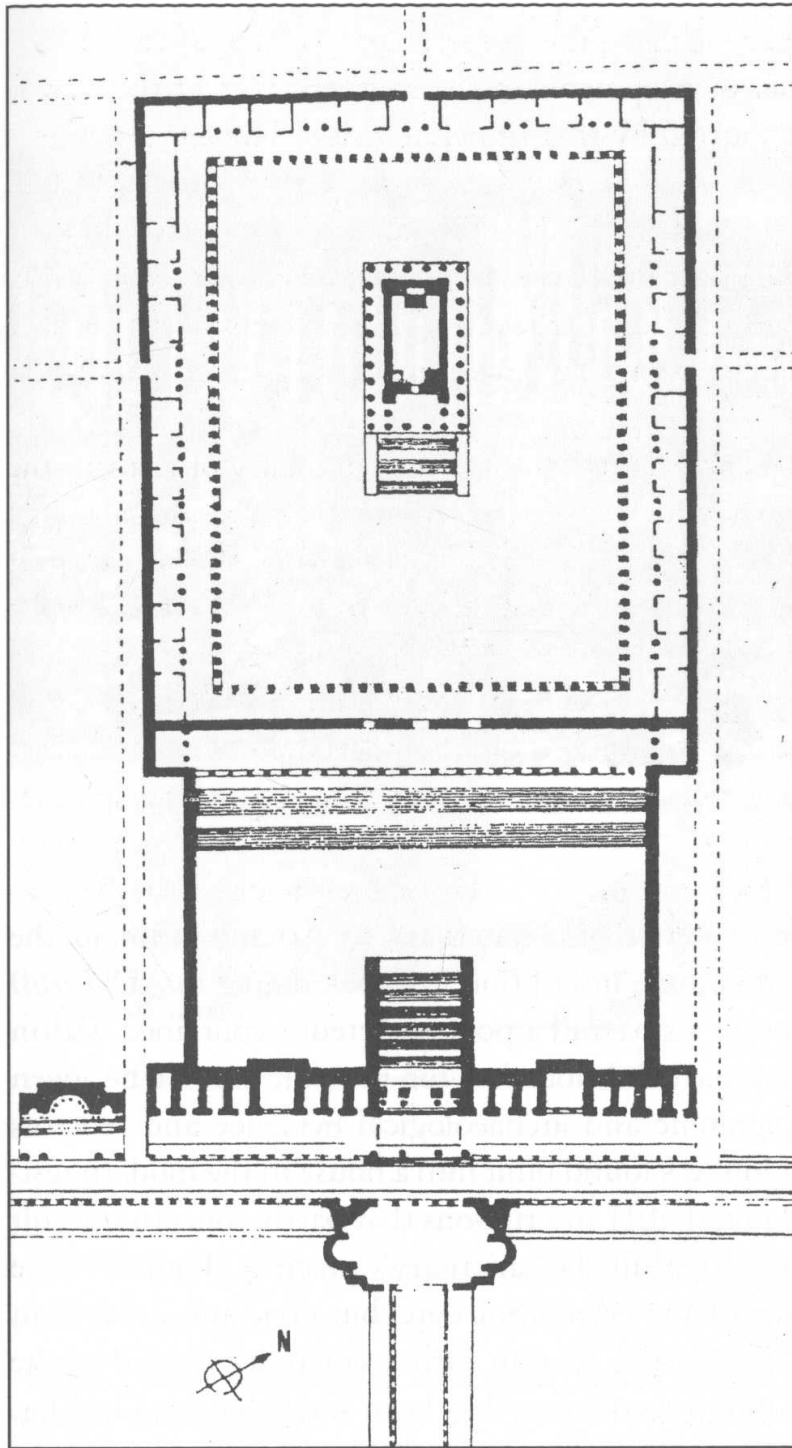


Fig. 3 Plan of the Sanctuary of Artemis (after Segal 1997).

the construction of the city walls. The temple was built on a hill north of the Sanctuary of Zeus on the west bank of the ancient river Chrysorhoas, the modern Wadi Jerash.¹⁶ The large cemetery had occupied parts of this area in the period prior to the construction of the sanctuary, but as a result of the building project burials were discontinued.¹⁷ Epigraphic evidence,



Fig. 4 View of the Temple of Artemis towards the north (author's own photo).

however, confirms the existence of a sanctuary to Artemis prior to the Antonine period in Gerasa. One inscription in Greek dating to AD 79/80 mentions the dedication of a stoa and a pool to Artemis contained within an already existing sanctuary.¹⁸ A location for the cult cannot be given on the basis of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence and remains unknown. The inscription was found built into a house in the modern residential area. There are a total of 11 inscriptions that partly concern the cult of Artemis or were found within the sanctuary's precinct. Four of these inscriptions are certainly of a pre-Antonine date, but none are earlier than the 1st century AD.¹⁹ The theory that an earlier sanctuary existed in the same location as the Antonine sanctuary has been suggested by Kraeling, but the evidence does not confirm his theory.²⁰ The fact that a cemetery occupied the area until the construction of the sanctuary was begun points to the conclusion that an earlier Artemis sanctuary was unlikely to have been situated here. When discussing the general development of the town it is important to consider that this area had not formed part of the town itself until the Antonine period, as it was located outside the religious boundaries of the town, the *pomerium*.²¹



Fig. 5 View from the central staircase of the Sanctuary of Artemis towards the east (author's own photo).

The Sanctuary of Artemis complex was an impressive undertaking covering an area of roughly 34,000 metres square (**Figs. 4-5**). It consisted of a series of architectural components including two propylaea, one located on the east side of the main street, the other one on the west of the main street. Furthermore, the complex included a forecourt, an inner court, and

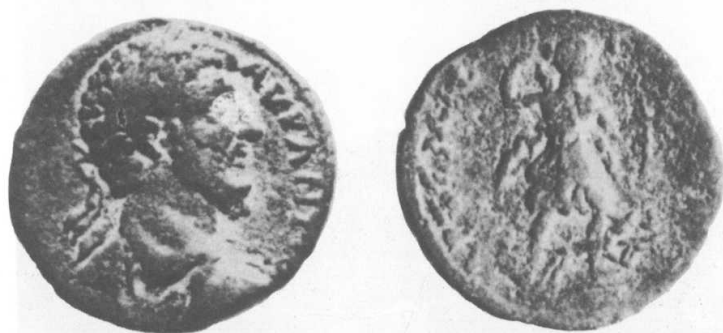


Fig. 6 Coin depicting Artemis (after Spijkerman 1978).

the temple itself. The sanctuary complex was developed along a main axis that cut directly across the main street.

The so-called Sacred Way that ran from the east propylaea, which gave access to a rectangular square that sloped slightly upwards, was flanked by colonnades. The Sacred Way transversed a street that ran parallel to the main street.²² The colonnades ended in two fountain structures, which created a square opening on to the main street. This trapezoidal square was slightly raised and reached by a short flight of steps. The square created a connection between the two parts of the complex, the so-called Sacred Way southeast of the main street and the main part of the sanctuary northwest of the main street.

On the northwest side of the main street the first terrace of the western propylaea complex was reached by a monumental and long stairway, seven flights of seven steps each. The western propylaea and the propylaea fountains were dedicated in AD 150.²³ The temple terrace was reached by yet another stairway, three flights of nine steps each. At the top of the stairs stood a row of columns giving the impression that an upper colonnaded street ran along the temple terrace.²⁴

The temenos and the temple were built on a rock platform at the top of a hill, which rises gradually from the river and was reached by the monumental stairway. The temenos was defined by a quadriporticus. The peripteral temple in the middle of the quadriporticus had 6 by 11 columns. It was placed on a high podium supported by vaulted rooms.²⁵

The architectural components of the Sanctuary of Artemis are familiar features of the architectural vocabulary of the Roman Near East. A number of large sanctuaries, consisting of a series of architectural components were built in the late 1st, 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD and were



Fig. 7 Coins depicting Artemis (after Spijkerman 1978).

located centrally within the urban fabric in many cities across the eastern Roman empire. Some of the most famous examples of these monumental complexes are the sanctuaries at Apamea, Baalbek, Palmyra and Petra.²⁶

Artemis Tyche Gerasōn

Artemis is mentioned as *Tyche Gerasōn*, the protector of the town, on coins from Gerasa from the Hadrianic period onwards.²⁷ Prior to this period coins from Gerasa mention Tyche, but not in connection with Artemis.²⁸ The merging of Tyche with a goddess is an unusual feature.²⁹ Tyche is usually represented as a separate deity and not as an attribute of another goddess, as on the Gerasa coins. On the coins from Gerasa Artemis is represented not as the widely spread Anatolian Artemis-type but as the Roman type goddess, Diana, the huntress (**Figs. 6-7**).³⁰ It is worth to consider whether the depictions on the coins were depictions of the cult statue of Artemis which certainly stood in the temple.

Coinage was one of the most direct and widely circulated media through which political and religious identities were expressed. The coins in question from Gerasa belong to the civic coinage of the Roman Empire. Civic coinage was struck by a city and not by an Imperial mint. The representa-

tions on the civic coins were chosen locally and could therefore be moulded to express the local situation and self-perception.³¹ This was also the case at Gerasa. The choice to represent Artemis as the Tyche of Gerasa was a deliberate action, most likely made by members of the town's elite. Artemis was perhaps chosen as the protector of the town, because of the prior existence and importance of the Artemis cult and/or because the cult needed profiling, locally and regionally. By connecting Artemis and Tyche a new hybrid of deities was created. As much as Artemis-Tyche was a unique constellation, it was also a logical one for the town to choose and it might not have been a conscious intention to create a completely new deity. It is unfortunate that we do not have any evidence telling us about the rituals and festivals that were connected to the cult of Artemis in Gerasa as this might have thrown light on the Hadrianic Artemis-Tyche constellation.³²

At the time when the first Artemis-Tyche coins were struck the inhabitants of Gerasa were already worshipping Artemis and the construction of the sanctuary could very well have been underway, at least plans for the sanctuary that was dedicated in the Antonine period undoubtedly existed. The choice to depict Artemis on coins expressed a wish to emphasise the importance of the goddess to the city of Gerasa and its inhabitants. The depiction of Artemis as the Tyche of the town placed her centrally within the religious hierarchy of the town. This central position, which underlined her religious importance, also helped to elevate her to a status closer to the one Zeus already held. Also, judging by the size of the Antonine Artemis sanctuary, there was a serious impetus to profile the Artemis cult. The cult of Zeus had enjoyed the privilege of a long history in the town and the Sanctuary of Zeus, which is the oldest testified cult place of the town, had by the Hadrianic period already undergone various building phases. The Zeus sanctuary had made a firm imprint on the urban landscape and had been the main factor in the shaping of the town fabric in the periods prior to the Antonine period, but now the Sanctuary of Artemis also came to play a major role in the further development of the city.³³

Conclusion

In the Antonine period the major developments in Gerasa were focused on the two main sanctuaries of the city, the Sanctuary of Zeus and the Sanctuary of Artemis. The Sanctuary of Zeus received its final form through the construction of the upper terrace and the temple. The Sanctuary of

Artemis situated north of the Zeus sanctuary was as a result of its grand scale and location a prominent component within the urban fabric. Both sanctuaries were situated on hills that overlooked each other as well as the residential areas of the town. They stood out as separate and defining elements of the urban fabric. The two sanctuaries were features that to a large degree defined the orientation and layout of the urban space from this period onwards and they had an impact on the way in which people would have oriented themselves within the urban space.

The introduction of the Sanctuary of Artemis into the urban fabric has been interpreted as a socio-political decision, following the visit of the emperor Hadrian, in order to influence the economy of the city, perhaps by attracting more visitors, and in turn the rise of the Artemis cult has been interpreted as creating a religious and political bipolarity in Gerasa.³⁴ However, there is no evidence that this was the case. It is true that the introduction of the cult of Artemis on such a scale as the sanctuary bears witness to is puzzling and deserves attention. Moreover, the introduction of Artemis as Tyche of the town on coins from the Hadrianic period onwards encourages the urge to seek an explanation for this development. However, it should not be forgotten that the Artemis cult did exist prior to the Antonine period in Gerasa. The large dominating sanctuary in large dating to the Antonine period was most likely instituted *ex nihilo* but the epigraphic evidence tells us that a sanctuary with stoas and a pool dedicated to Artemis existed somewhere in Gerasa prior to the Antonine sanctuary and indicates that the cult certainly also was of importance in pre-Antonine times.

However, there is an alternative way of understanding the two sanctuaries and their development, which does not see them as merely rivals. It is clear that Gerasa was an important religious centre for its surrounding region with its ancient Sanctuary of Zeus that very likely held asylum rights. Furthermore, a plentiful epigraphic record attests the existence of a wide range of other cults in and outside the city centre and so the picture of the community of Gerasa as mainly worshipping Artemis and Zeus is weakened.³⁵ Architectural remains of temples have been discovered and although no specific cults can be connected to these it is certain that a number of other deities apart from Artemis and Zeus were worshipped in the town. In this light the decision to introduce the Artemis cult on a large scale does not look as intrusive as it has been thought to be. Of course

the scale of the sanctuary is enormous; however, that does not necessarily mean that the Zeus sanctuary became less important. Apart from the Artemis cult having been introduced on such a large scale due to religious reasons, the layout of the Sanctuary of Artemis was also clearly connected to the organisation of space in the town and in areas that until then had not been part of the town as such.³⁶ The construction of the Sanctuary of Artemis is likely to have coincided with the introduction of the street grid.³⁷ If this was the case the construction of the Sanctuary of Artemis had several functions, some of which were not connected primarily with its religious meaning. The sanctuary also functioned as a complex, which helped to organise and define new parts of the urban space. Certainly, the sanctuary underlined the religious importance of Artemis to Gerasa and the surrounding region, but the sanctuary also played an important role in the further urban development, in the expansion of the town and in the organisation of space within the city in general.

There has been a tendency in archaeological scholarship to focus solely on the archaeological evidence from Gerasa and mostly on the two major sanctuaries and therefore the picture of religious life at Gerasa has been distorted. Admittedly the two major cults seem to have been those of Artemis and Zeus from the Antonine period onwards, but the community and, not to forget, visitors also worshipped a vast number of other deities. The fact that the city boasted two major sanctuaries only adds to the theory that the community had a strong wish to identify and represent itself through its religious life and thereby strengthen its position as a regional religious centre.

NOTES

- 1 The earlier projects in the 1920s and 1930s provide important documentation about the site and modern scholarship still relies on these publications. The first major work published on Gerasa is Kraeling 1938. A brief introduction to the history of research at the site is provided by Braemer 1989.
- 2 Zayadine 1986 and 1989 and Seigne 1992, 1993, 1997 and 2002.
- 3 Pliny *NH* 5.74. Pliny mentions *Gelasam* and situates the city between Pella and Canath-
- am. It is widely accepted that *Gelasam* is a spelling mistake and that Pliny was referring to Gerasa.
- 4 It is not clear what the exact significance of the *Decapolis* was. Nor is it known whether the 'member' cities held particular privileges or whether they formed an independent association concerned with trade within and outside the region.
- 5 Barghouti 1982 for urbanisation of the region in Hellenistic and Roman times. Kennedy

- 1998 for a description and discussion of Gerasa and the region in which the city is situated.
- 6 Kraeling 1938, inscription 45; Millar 1993, 412-413.
 - 7 Seigne 1993 and 1985 for the evidence related to the development of the sanctuary.
 - 8 Kraeling 1938, inscriptions 51-52 for the dating of the South Theatre. Inscription 51 refers to a dedication for the theatre given in the period AD 81-83 and inscription 52 dates to AD 83-96 and states that a Titus Flavius, son of Dionysius donated a block of seats.
 - 9 Judging from the distance of the main caravan route to Gerasa, circa 60 km, it is unlikely that caravans passed through Gerasa on a regular basis.
 - 10 Millar 1993, 414-428 on the province of Arabia and its creation.
 - 11 Kraeling 1938, inscriptions 56 and 57. Trajan is called the saviour of Antiochia-on-the-Chrysorhoas formerly called Gerasa (inscription 56).
 - 12 Kraeling 1938, inscription 30 and 144 for respectively an altar and the so-called Triumphal Arch commemorating the visit of Hadrian.
 - 13 Kraeling 1938, inscriptions 171 and 191.
 - 14 Kennedy 1998, 48-52. The inscriptions on the stones read: ΠΟΓΓΕ interpreted as Polis Gerasa. The dating of the boundary stones is uncertain. Seigne 1997 and Seigne *et al.* 1997 for some of the boundary stones.
 - 15 Kennedy 1998, 49-50.
 - 16 For the architecture and history of the sanctuary see Parapetti 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1995 and 2002.
 - 17 Seigne 1992, 336 and 336, n. 30 as well as 338. Kraeling 1938, 53 for the discontinuation in use of the cemetery in the area of the Sanctuary of Artemis. The cemetery was in use from the Hellenistic period up until the point when the construction of the sanctuary was begun. Parapetti 2002 for an account of the development of the sanctuary. Seigne 1992, 338 states that the sanctuary was built *ex nihilo*, which seems to be the most likely suggestion.
 - 18 Kraeling 1938, inscription 28, dating to AD 79/80. Also Seigne 1992, 338 and n. 46 for the evidence attesting the existence of a cult and a sanctuary to Artemis prior to the Antonine period sanctuary. Lazzarini 1989 for further inscriptions from the sanctuary. McCown 1933 for evidence relating to female deities in Gerasa.
 - 19 Kraeling 1938, inscriptions 27-29 refer to the pre-Antonine temple and cult of Artemis and date to the 1st century AD. Inscriptions 30 and 31 dating to respectively AD 130 and sometime in the 2nd century AD are in Latin and stem from altars found in the Antonine sanctuary. Inscription 32 dating to AD 150/151 stems from an altar, dedicated to Artemis, found in the modern village. Inscriptions 33-36 are graffiti found in the sanctuary, but which do not refer to the cult of Artemis. Inscription 37 is a fragment of a marble slab found in the sanctuary carrying only two letters.
 - 20 Kraeling 1938, 43 for the theory that an earlier sanctuary of Artemis existed in the same area prior to the Antonine period. See Pierobon 1984b for a discussion and re-evaluation of the evidence. Pierobon concludes that there is no evidence for pre-Antonine activity in the region of the temple terrace but states that this to a certain extent could be due to the nature of the building activity in the area in the post-Roman periods (Pierobon 1984b, 99-100).
 - 21 Raja 2005, chapter 5 for summary and discussion of the urban development of Gerasa in the period 50 BC-AD 250.
 - 22 Parapetti 1982, 256.
 - 23 Kraeling 1938, inscription 60 for the dedicatory inscription of the western Artemis propylaea and inscription 63 for the dedication of the fountains.
 - 24 Parapetti 1982, 257.
 - 25 Parapetti 1989b for a detailed architectural history of the sanctuary and temple. Gros 1996, 192 for a short introduction to the temple itself.
 - 26 Baalbek being somewhat different in the way that the site was not a city as such, but rather a cluster of sanctuaries.
 - 27 Spijkerman 1978, 58, n.4 for coins with the inscription ARTEMISTYCHEGERASŌN. These appear from Hadrianic times onwards. Spijkerman 1978, plates 33-35 for coins from Gerasa, including depictions of *Artemis-Tyche*. Augé 1982 for an article concerning mythology and divinities represented on the coins of the Decapolis cities.
 - 28 Spijkerman 1978, 58, n. 2. Pierobon 1984a, 33.
 - 29 The merging of Tyche with Nemesis, however, is known.
 - 30 Fleischer 1973 does not mention the Artemis sanctuary in Gerasa and certainly the iconog-

raphy of the goddess from Gerasa has nothing in common with the Anatolian Artemis.

- 31 Howgego 1995, 84.
- 32 I am currently writing an article which concerns the constellation of Artemis-Tyche and the Artemis-iconography on the coins from Gerasa.
- 33 The layout of the massive sanctuary complex helped to structure and organise the development of the town.
- 34 Seigne 1992, 338. Also see Wineland 1992 for a review of the evidence for political and religious structure in the Decapolis, particularly Gerasa and Abila.
- 35 Kraeling 1938, inscriptions 15-26, 38-44. Cults, apart from that of Artemis and Zeus, mentioned in the epigraphic material include Apollo, the 'heavenly goddess', the 'holy god' Pakidas, Nemesis, the 'Arabian god' as well as

Zeus with a range of attributes such as Helios Serapis, Phyxius and Zeus Poseidon along with associated deities. Furthermore, the Maiumas festival was celebrated at Birketein. Also Kraeling 1941 for a supposed Nabataean sanctuary at Gerasa.

- 36 Due to the existence of the cemeteries the area of the sanctuary had definitely not been part of the town proper before the construction of the Artemis sanctuary.
- 37 Pierobon 1984b, n. 108 states that earlier structures from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD in the area of the Sanctuary of Artemis do not align with the street grid, which some suppose to have been in place long before the construction of the sanctuary, in my view this speaks in favour of a later dating of the grid probably coinciding with the construction of the Sanctuary of Artemis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Augé 1982

C. Augé, Divinités et mythologies sur les monnaies de la Decapole, *Le Monde de la Bible* 22, 1982, 43-47.

Ball *et al.* 1986

W. Ball *et al.*, The North Decumanus and North Tetrapylon at Jerash, in: Zayadine 1986, 351-410.

Barghouti 1982

A. Barghouti, Urbanization of Palestine and Jordan in Hellenistic and Roman Times, *SHAJ* 1, 1982, 209-229.

Braemer 1989

Braemer, F. (1989) History of Exploration at Jerash, in: Homès-Fredericq *et al.* 1989, 316-319.

Fleischer 1973

R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden 1973.

Gawlikowski 1986

M. Gawlikowski, A Residential Area by the South Decumanus, in: Zayadine 1986, 107-136.

Gros 1996

P. Gros, *L'Architecture Romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire* 1. *Les Monuments Publics*. Paris 1996.

Hoffman and Kerner 2002

Hoffman and S. Kerner (eds.) *Gadara – Gerasa und die Dekapolis*. Mainz 2002.

Homès-Fredericq *et al.* 1989

D. Homès-Fredericq *et al.*, *Archaeology of Jordan 7. Field reports* (Akkadica suppl.). Leuven 1989.

Howgego 1995

C.J. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*. London 1995.

Isaac 1990

B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*. Oxford 1990.

Kehrberg and Manley 2001

I. Kehrberg and J. Manley, New Archaeological Finds for the Dating of the Gerasa Roman City Wall of Gerasa, *ADAJ* 45, 2001, 437-446.

Kehrberg and Manley 2002a

I. Kehrberg and J. Manley, The 2001 Season of the Jarash City Walls Project: Preliminary Report, *ADAJ* 46, 2002, 197-203.

Kehrberg and Manley 2002b

I. Kehrberg and J. Manley, First Report of the Jerash City Walls Project: Excavations 2001, *CBRL Newsletter* 1, 2002, 16-17.

Kehrberg and Manley 2003

I. Kehrberg and J. Manley, The Jarash City Walls Project (JCWP) 2001-2003: Report of Preliminary Findings of the Second Season 21st September – 14th October 2002, *ADAJ* 47, 2003, 83-86.

- Kennedy 1998
D.L. Kennedy, The Identity of Roman Gerasa: An Archaeological Approach, *MedA* 11, 1998, 39-69.
- Kraeling 1938
C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*. New Haven 1938.
- Kraeling 1941
C.H. Kraeling, The Nabataean Sanctuary at Gerasa, *BASOR* 83, 1941, 7-14.
- Lazzarini 1989
M.L. Lazzarini, Iscrizioni dal Santuario di Artemide, *Syria* 66, 1989, 41-49.
- McCown 1933
C.C. McCown, The Goddesses of Gerasa, *AASOR* 13, 1933, 129-165.
- Millar 1993
F.G.B. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC-AD 337*. Cambridge 1993.
- Parapetti 1980
R. Parapetti, The Sanctuary of Artemis at Jerash, *ADAJ* 24, 1980, 145-150.
- Parapetti 1982
R. Parapetti, The Architectural Significance of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Gerasa, *SHAJ* 1, 1982, 255-260.
- Parapetti 1984
R. Parapetti, Architectural and Urban Space in Roman Gerasa, *Mesopotamia* 18-19, 1984, 37-84.
- Parapetti 1986
R. Parapetti, The Italian Activity within the Jerash Project 1982-83, in Zayadine 1986, 167-203.
- Parapetti 1989a
R. Parapetti, Scavi e Restauri Italiani nel Santuario di Artemide 1984-1987, *Syria* 66, 1989, 1-39.
- Parapetti 1989b
R. Parapetti, Jerash – The Sanctuary of Artemis, in: Homés-Fredericq *et al.* 1989, 323-329.
- Parapetti 1990
R. Parapetti, La Sanctuaire d'Artemis rival du Temple de Zeus, *Le Monde de la Bible* 62, 1990, 28-30.
- Parapetti 1995
R. Parapetti, Public Building Design and Techniques in Roman Imperial Times: Achievements in Gerasa, *SHAJV*, 1995, 177-181.
- Parapetti 2002
R. Parapetti, Gerasa und das Artemis-Heiligtum, in: Hoffmann and Kerner 2002, 23-35.
- Pierobon 1984a
R. Pierobon, Gerasa in Archaeological Historiography, *Mesopotamia* 18-19, 1984, 13-35.
- Pierobon 1984b
R. Pierobon, Sanctuary of Artemis. Soundings in the Temple Terrace, 1978-1980, *Mesopotamia* 18-19, 1984, 85-111.
- Pollard 2000
N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria*. Ann Arbor 2000.
- Raja 2005
R. Raja, *Urban Development and Regional Identity in the Eastern Roman Provinces, 50 BC – AD 250: Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Athens, Gerasa* (Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford). Oxford 2005.
- Segal 1997
A. Segal, *From Function to Monument. Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia*. Oxford 1997.
- Seigne 1985
J. Seigne, Le Sanctuaire de Zeus à Jérash: éléments de chronologie, *Syria* 62, 1985, 287-295.
- Seigne 1992
J. Seigne, Jerash romaine et byzantine: développement urbain d'une ville provinciale orientale, *SHAJ* 4, 1992, 331-341.
- Seigne 1993
J. Seigne, Découvertes récentes sur le Sanctuaire de Zeus à Jerash, *ADAJ* 37, 1993, 341-358.
- Seigne 1997
J. Seigne, Les limites orientale et méridionale du territoire de Gerasa, *Syria* 64, 1997, 121-138.
- Seigne 2002
J. Seigne, Comments on Some Recent Articles published on Gerasa/Jerash, *ADAJ* 46, 2002, 631-637.
- Seigne et al. 1997
J. Seigne *et al.*, A New Milestation from the Roman Road Gerasa/Philadelphia, *ADAJ* 41, 1997, 267-276.

Spijkerman 1978

A. Spijkerman, *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*. Jerusalem 1978.

Wineland 1992

J.D. Wineland, Archaeological and Numismatic Evidence for the Political Structure and Greco-Roman Religions of the Decapolis, with particular emphasis on Gerasa and Abila, *ARAM* 4, 1992, 329-342.

Zayadine 1986

F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*. I. Amman 1986.

Zayadine 1989

F. Zayadine (ed.) *Jerash Archaeological Project 1984-1988 II*, *Syria* 42. Paris 1989.

Department of Classical Archaeology
University of Aarhus
Ndr. Ringgade, bygn. 1414
DK – 8000 Århus C

klarr@hum.au.dk