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Palestine in Transition from Orientalism to Hellenism

The organizer of this session invited me to discuss my recently published book *The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine*¹. This book deals with the material culture of Hellenistic Palestine and addresses the nature and extent of Hellenization in the southern Levant during the late fourth, third and second centuries BCE (currently being updated and translated into English). This study, which is a much augmented and updated version of my Ph.D. dissertation (2002), offers a detailed picture of the material culture, against the background of the historical literary sources, in an attempt to reconstruct the diversity of contemporary Palestinian society. As far as I am aware, this is the first time that such an analysis has been published by using archaeological material exhaustively examined using ethno-archaeological and socio-archaeological approaches. It aims to be a helpful tool for archaeologists, historians, and other scholars of the Hellenistic Near East. The scientific basis relies on the archaeological evidence, combined with additional means of examination. These include the critical interpretation of classical sources and epigraphic documents (private and royal Greek and West-Semitic inscriptions), the use of artistic interpretation through the analysis of popular and royal works of art, e.g. glyptic, plastic and architectural decoration, and the numismatic record of the periods in question, that is coins as a reflection of social, political and economic events and identity.

In the frame of the current presentation I was concerned with the urban, rural and military architecture, settlement pattern and models and burial practices, their distribution, origin and influence – as reflecting the concept of Hellenization in the archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine, as an outcome of the transition from Achaemenid to Greek rule. The geographical borders are those of the inhabited land – Galilee, Samaria, Judaea, the Coastal Plain, and the biblical Negev (the valleys of Arad and Beersheba).

For pure archaeological reasons I prefer to lengthen the chronological frame set for this conference (400-200 BCE), and include the Seleucid occupation of Palestine for most sites show no stratigraphical differences in their Ptolemaic and Seleucid occupation. The termination of the Seleucid period in Palestine is not the same everywhere and there are differences between geographical regions, thus the discussions in the paper are carefully linked to the various geographical regions. The Hasmonean material culture is not discussed in this paper. This is not only because Hasmonean culture has repeatedly been the subject of numerous historical and archaeological publications, but also because it forms a distinctly different material culture, and, as such, can be seen as an independent period – Hasmonean – at least in the 1st century BCE².

¹ TAL 2006.

² Since then elaborated researches on certain aspects that were discussed in this study were published in English. I.e., Manufacturing traditions in the wooden and stone vessel industry of Hellenistic Palestine are the subject of TAL 2007. Persian vs. Hellenistic cult in

The History of Archaeological Research of the Hellenistic (Ptolemaic and Seleucid) Period in Palestine

The Hellenistic (Ptolemaic and Seleucid) period is quite unknown from the archaeological point of view. Hellenistic strata have been identified in only a few of the sites in which archaeological research focused in its early days, such as Tell el-Ḥesi, Tel eṣ-Ṣafi (Tel Ṣafit), Azekah, Tell ej-Judeideh (Tel Goded), Mareshah (Marisa), Taanach, Megiddo, Jericho, Gezer (Gazera) and Samaria. The Hellenistic strata were identified at those sites by epigraphic and numismatic finds, along with historical evidence³. The same was true of the dozens of archaeological excavations carried out in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, until the 1950s, archaeological data on the period in question was based on the few sites in which strata, complexes or artifacts were identified (sometimes based only on later critiques of publications) detached from the third and second centuries B.C.E. Thus for example, the “Seleucid town”⁴, and the “Painted Tombs” in Mareshah⁵, the “Maccabaeian Castle,” which is none other than a gatehouse at Gezer⁶, the “Preherodian town” in Samaria⁷, the series of forts at Beth-Zur⁸, and the foundations attributed to the cultic structure at Beth-Shean⁹. In the other sites excavated during that period relatively meager finds were unearthed (or published), such as two shaft tombs in ‘Atlit and finds from the fill at Tell Abu Hawam. It is not surprising, therefore, that the two studies written at that time and dealing with the period based themselves on scant archaeological data together with historical testimony to identify its essential character. Watzinger summarized the period mainly based on the remains uncovered at Mareshah, ‘Iraq el-Amir, Beth-Shean and Beth-Zur, comparing them with Dura Europos. He defined the period as having Eastern components despite the Macedonian-Greek conquest and the takeover of Greek culture as indicated by the historical sources¹⁰. Albright, who called the period “Graeco(-Roman)” referred to three periods of time: first, “when the Lagides of Egypt ruled Palestine (circa 323–200 [B.C.]”, middle, the “Seleucid period” and late, the “Maccabaeian period, which partly overlaps it (165–37 B.C.)”. He identified a strong Greek (Hellenistic) influence in the first and middle parts of the period, while attributing a local, Eastern style to the end¹¹. It is interesting to note that Albright, whose book was published in a few amended additions, did not make use of data amassed over the years, but rather depended more or less on the information at the disposal of Watzinger three decades before him.

Neither was archaeological data collected until that time utilized in introductory books to the archaeology of Palestine written at Albright’s time and ten years later (e.g., from the excavations at Tell en-Naṣbeh, or in Samaria, Lachish, Bethany and Hazor). Avi-Yonah for example had a “Western” perspective, perhaps with a certain justification, in light of the framework of the publications at that time, which highlighted Hellenistic aspects in architecture, art, ceramic vessels and burial¹². In another book, Avi-Yonah focused on illustrating Classical culture in the country’s sites (especially from the Roman and Byzantine periods) and tracing Greek elements in fortification systems, etc.¹³. Negev focused his discussion on the Hellenistic period (the Ptolemaic and Seleucid) at Mareshah, which he viewed as a blend of local, Eastern culture with external

Palestine is the subject of TAL 2008. The true meaning of Hellenistic foundations/re-foundations is the subject of TAL 2011. Several aspects of settlement archeology of Persian-Hellenistic-periods Judah are discussed in LIPSCHITS, TAL 2007. And burial customs and the origin and concept of the *loculi* tombs of Hellenistic Palestine were discussed earlier in TAL 2003.

² See in this respect TAL 2009.

³ MACALISTER 1930, 13–75, *passim*.

⁴ BLISS, MACALISTER 1902, 52–7 ff, *passim*.

⁵ PETERS, THIERSCH 1905.

⁶ MACALISTER 1912, I, 209–23.

⁷ REISNER, FISHER, LYON 1924, 134–60 ff, *passim*.

⁸ SELLERS 1933.

⁹ ROWE 1930, 44–6.

¹⁰ WATZINGER 1935, 10–26.

¹¹ ALBRIGHT 1949, 146–54.

¹² M. AVI-YONAH, *Encyclopedia Biblica*, II, s.v. Hellenism, Archaeologia, 840–7 (Hebrew).

¹³ AVI-YONAH, YEIVIN 1955, 121–5, 315–29.

Greek culture¹⁴. Lapp contributed greatly to the study of the period in his book on pottery vessels from 200 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., although it utilized the meager finds from a few sites to identify the whole of the second century B.C.E.¹⁵. Between the 1960s and 1980s, detailed publications appeared presenting discoveries from this period from both the coastal plain and the valleys, at sites such as Ashdod, Shiqmona, Tel Zeror, Tel Mevorakh and Tell Keisan, as well as mountain sites such as Tell el-Fûl. Thus, findings began to accumulate, making possible typological comparisons and better chronological distinctions than in the past. Arav achieved somewhat of a breakthrough in his doctoral dissertation "Settlement Patterns and City Planning in Palestine during the Hellenistic Period". He presented a general picture of the sites in the period by analyzing archaeological strata exposed in excavations and summarizing the results of surveys by geographic region. He emphasized the locations of sites to trace the economic motives and strategies behind their establishment¹⁶. However, Arav saw the Hellenistic period as a single entity (332–37 B.C.E.) although he was clearly aware that various Hasmonean remains differed essentially from Ptolemaic and Seleucid remains. That is the weakness of his scientific method. Since most of the sites Arav discussed were not established during the time period in question, their location has no significance that would reveal an initiative, whether government or private, economic or social. Despite the title of his work, Arav does not discuss settlement patterns but rather the elements of town plans and planning, and his discussion of their economic bases is limited.

In that same time period Kuhnen's Ph.D. dissertation was published in German¹⁷. Kuhnen describes the archaeological remains discovered on the Carmel coast and its southern and southeastern slopes, as well as the southern part of the 'Akko valley. The work is quite detailed and contains a list and maps of the sites excavated and surveyed, based mainly on preliminary surveys carried out as part of the Archaeological Survey of Israel and before the final processing of the finds. Kuhnen saw the Hellenistic and Roman periods (and on more than one occasion the Byzantine period) as a single archaeological unit with continuous typological and chronological development, and therefore his discussion of the Hellenistic remains and their essence is not in depth. The second part of the work was published two years later, and focused on finds from the Roman and Byzantine periods¹⁸. In the following year, Kuhnen published "Palestine in the Hellenistic-Roman Period"¹⁹, which is the second part of a book dealing with ancient periods in Palestine²⁰. There, Kuhnen devoted a separate chapter to the Hellenistic period (circa 332–40 B.C.E.), but since he saw the period as a single unit, he based many of his conclusions on finds from the Hasmonean period, which in many cases are not representative of earlier periods. Despite its shortcomings, the book was a very good bibliographical tool for the period under discussion. A summary based on his previous books was recently published²¹, although it emphasized what the author viewed as innovations in the material culture in the passage from Persian to the Hellenistic period.

In her concise article, Halpern-Zylberstein also saw fortifications, dwellings, tombs, cultic structures and pottery from the Hellenistic period as a single unit, and resulting in an approach that is too generalized²².

These authors wisely showed that the study of the influences and interrelations between Palestine and the Greek world during the Hellenistic period is quite complex. The presence of the Greeks is documented as early as the Iron Age (and even before) and more so in the Persian period. Therefore the origin of many of their cultural influences is to be found in these periods; the successors of Alexander the Great, the Diadochi, the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid regimes are not to be seen as the sole agents of Greek culture. It should be noted that despite the development in the study of the period, in almost all the sites

¹⁴ NEGEV 1967, 174–9.

¹⁵ LAPP 1961.

¹⁶ ARAV 1986.

¹⁷ KUHNEN 1987.

¹⁸ KUHNEN 1989.

¹⁹ KUHNEN 1990.

²⁰ WEIPPERT 1988.

²¹ KUHNEN 2004.

²² HALPERN, ZYLBERSTEIN 1989.

exposed with Hellenistic remains, excavators were unable to securely differentiate between the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid strata.

Another development in the subject occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, with the publication of excavation reports of sites such as Tell Qiri, Tel Mikhal, Gezer, Dor, Jokneam, Tel Anafa and Apollonia-Arsuf. Indeed, an article by Berlin, took advantage of this development²³. Berlin offers a general archaeological overview and attempts to connect archaeological finds with historical and epigraphic evidence in each period (Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Hasmonean). Thus, she surveys the central sites and remains in each geographical region and in each period, based selectively on the excavators' conclusions. However, many "Ptolemaic" sites in her article are none other than "Seleucid" sites whose excavators were unable to differentiate stratigraphically between the two periods, such as at Mareshah and Mount Gerizim. She identified other sites based on pottery from the third century B.C.E., a fairly unknown concept, or dated them based on a coin or a few coins from the period, which were not always found in a stratigraphic context (and although later coins were found). Even the historical sources, such as the Letter of Aristeeas or Josephus Flavius were on more than one occasion inserted into a mistaken chronology. Berlin's publication was recently released in a concise form²⁴, but the shortcomings from the first publication were not confronted.

A recent publication by Lemaire addressed the question of Transeuphratene in transition from Persian to Greek rule during circa 350–300 B.C.E.²⁵. As far as Palestine is concerned Lemaire mainly dealt with the region of Judah and Edom, where he summarized in a satisfactory manner the epigraphic aspects (coins, *ostraca*, stamped jar handles) of this continuant transition.

In what follows I will try to put forward a brief summary of my views concerning the architecture, settlement pattern and burial practices, as published extensively in Hebrew.

The Archaeology of Hellenistic (Ptolemaic and Seleucid) Palestine: An Overview

Most of the urban settlements continue urban traditions from periods preceding the Hellenistic period. In some of them new fortification systems were built during the Hellenistic period ('Akko, Iodefat,

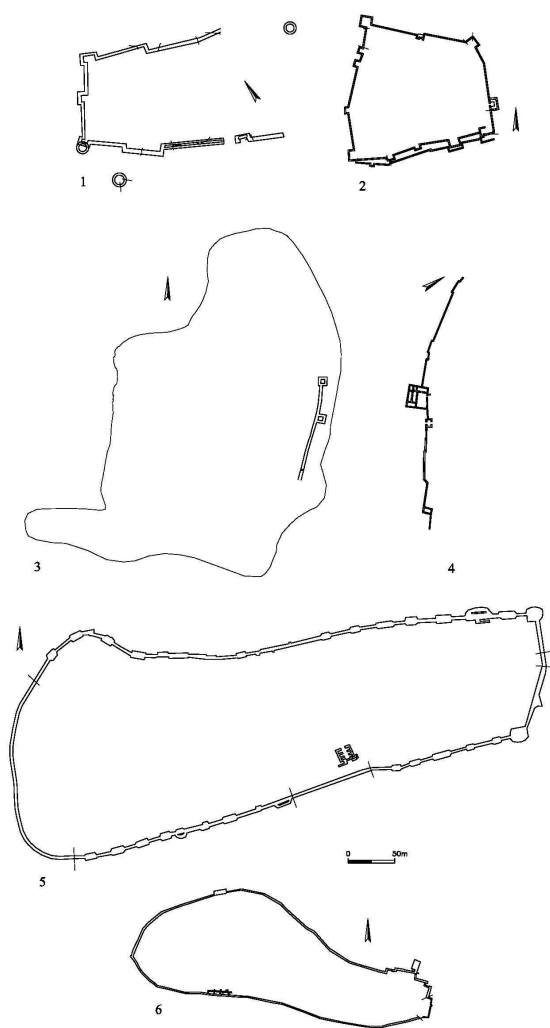


Fig. 1 - A selection of Hellenistic fortifications in Palestine: 1) Samaria; 2) Mareshah (upper town); 3) Dor; 4) Mount Gerizim; 5) Gezer; 6) Tel 'Ira.

²³ BERLIN 1997.

²⁴ BERLIN 2003.

²⁵ LEMAIRE 2006.

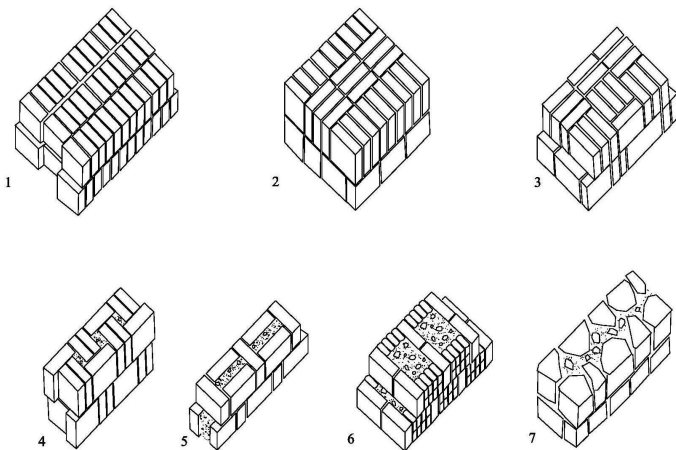


Fig. 2 - Building techniques of urban fortifications in Hellenistic Palestine.

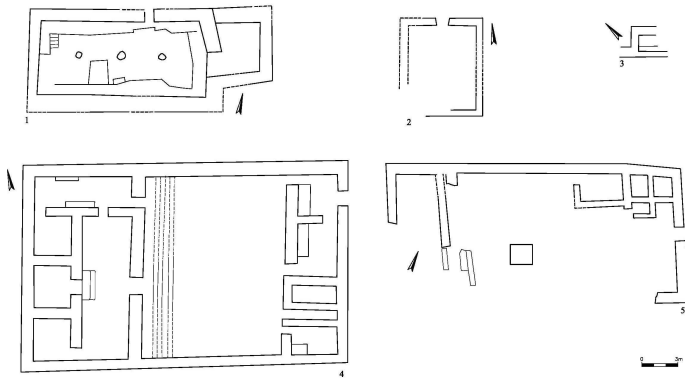


Fig. 3 - A selection of Hellenistic temples in Palestine: 1) Mount Mispe Yamim; 2) Accho; 3) Tel Michal; 3) Lachish (Solar Shrine); 4) Beersheba.

Dor, Samaria, Mount Gerizim, Jaffa and Mareshah), while in others (Shechem, Gezer, Gaza[?] and Tel 'Ira) fortifications from periods preceding the Hellenistic period continued to exist after refurbishing (fig. 1). The construction techniques are not new to the period discussed, reflecting in the main earlier local building traditions, though some scholars tend to see their origin in Phoenicia, and to a lesser extent in Greece (fig. 2). The preference for ashlar constructions in some of the urban settlements can be seen as socio-economic rather than cultural. The few extant city gates are divided between types of earlier (biblical period) tradition (as in Mount Gerizim and Gezer) and simple types with an entrance in a straight axis protected by a buttress (as in Dor), which are also known from periods preceding the Hellenistic period, but in military architecture. The dates of the fortification systems given by the excavators are divided between the 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE and thus cannot be interpreted as a sudden royal initiative (Macedonian, Ptolemaic or Seleucid). The few public and administrative buildings discovered show local building traditions. In some urban settlements public and administrative buildings have similar plans to those of domestic buildings (as in Jaffa[?], Mount Gerizim and Mareshah), i.e. a central courtyard surrounded by rows of rooms. A similar conclusion also arises from methodological analysis of the cult buildings in the period discussed. The few extant sites

with a clear plan (Tel Dan, Mount Mispe Yamim, 'Akko, Makhmish, Tel Mikhal, Lachish and Beersheba – some urban and some not) demonstrate the dominance of local building traditions, whether they are longitudinal or latitudinal in plan. A number of these were founded prior to the Hellenistic period (Tel Dan, Mount Mispe Yamim, Makhmish and Lachish[?]), and their core plan remained as it had been in the foundation phase (fig. 3); there was presumably no change either in the deity worshipped. There are fewer extant examples of large residential buildings. The best example of the latter is the one found at Tel Anafa. This building, even though there are clear Greek influences mainly limited to the architectural decoration, is nevertheless similar in ground plan to the smaller domestic buildings. One can distinguish two types of domestic buildings: the first is the commonest type of the period, i.e. the central courtyard house; the second, which is much rarer, is termed the frontal courtyard house (fig. 4). Both originate from local Palestinian architecture, and also how they differ from their so-called "Greek" counterparts. The question of the origin of the city in Hellenistic Palestine, whether it was a local development or foreign import, is answered in a discussion which analyses separately each of the components that defines urbanism.

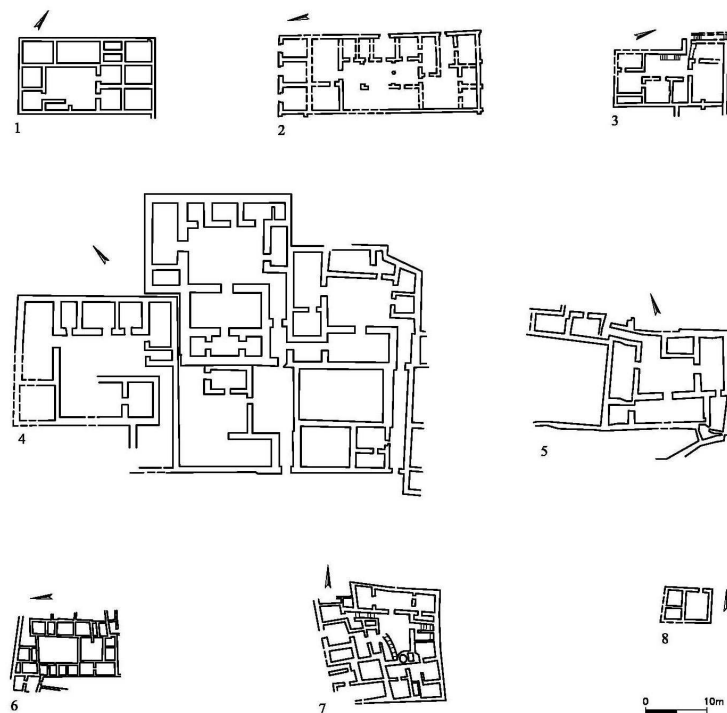


Fig. 4 - A selection of Hellenistic urban private houses in Palestine: 1) Beth Yerah (Philoteria); 2-3) Samaria; 4-5) Mount Gerizim; 6) Mareshah (upper town); 7) Mareshah (lower town, Area 61 [B]); 8) Ashdod.

Each urban component found in the urban settlements of Hellenistic Palestine turns out to be an integral part of the environment, culture, and social and political background of the period discussed and those preceding it.

Research into rural settlements can be done best by a thorough examination of agricultural estates, those isolated and introverted buildings or groups of buildings which can be defined as independent manufacturing units, overlooking or even dominating a large agricultural terrain. These buildings, which are usually characterised by a square ground plan, a central courtyard surrounded by rows of rooms (some of which contain various industrial facilities) were surveyed and analysed by geographical region, and paralleled (with some generalizations) to the urban domestic buildings. It is clear from this that a large number of the agricultural estates excavated and surveyed were founded in periods preceding the Hellenistic period – that is the Iron Age and the Persian period, while the others are quite similar in ground plan and construction techniques to those of earlier times (fig. 5). Thus we have no option but to

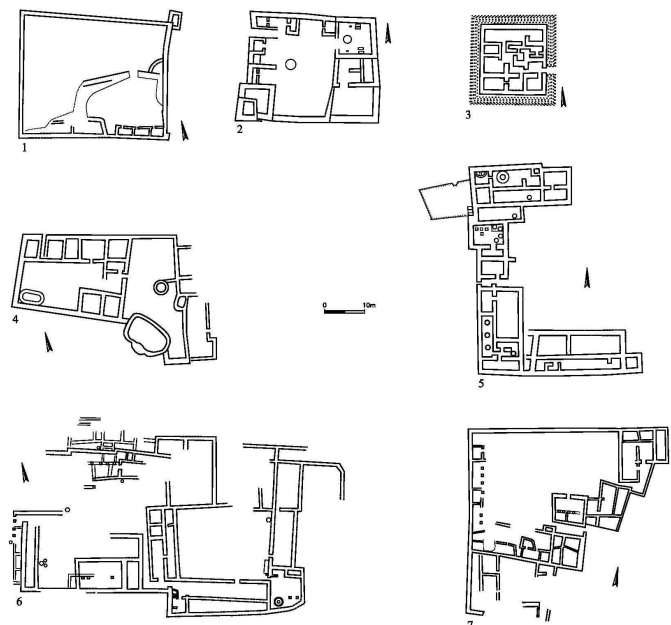


Fig. 5 - A selection of Hellenistic agricultural estates in Palestine: 1) Umm Reiḥan; 2) Qaṣr al-Laja; 3) Mazor (Area S1); 4) Haifa (Qir Ha'Orvim); 5) Mazor (Area S2-3); 6) Tirat Yehuda; 7) Qalandiya.

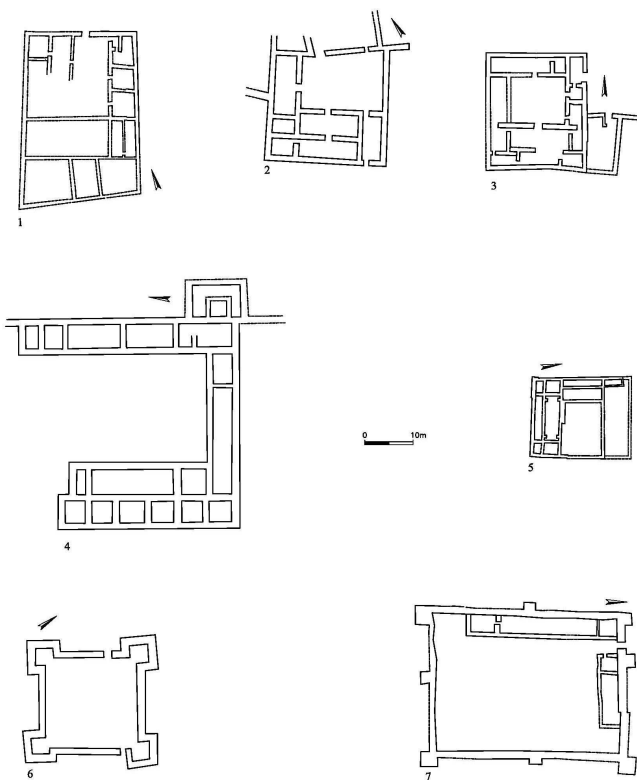


Fig. 6 - A selection of Hellenistic forts in Palestine: 1) Tel Michal (Stratum IV); 2) Mount Gerizim (Area B); 3) Har Adar (Area A); 4) Mareshah (upper town); 5) Beth-Zur ("2nd Phase"); 6) Mount Gerizim (Area G); 7) Horvat 'Uza.

attribute their origin to local building tradition. The size of both urban and rural domestic buildings may attest to their having been occupied by extended rather than nuclear families, as in the periods preceding the Hellenistic period, and thus differing from that of the Greek culture that is nuclear in nature.

The military settlement pattern can be divided into three types of buildings according to size, i.e. castles, forts, and fortresses. The architectural concept of all three types is basically traditional and known from periods preceding the Hellenistic period. It seems that this typological division can be explained as an answer to regional rather than local needs, as well as differing functions: castles appear to function as the domicile of the regional headquarters (i.e. centralized military compounds) and for defensive deployment; forts (fig. 6) and fortresses, on the other hand, are used for domination, collection (and inspection) of taxes, as well as current field security and attrition. A study of their ground plan shows that it is difficult to attribute their foundation to a royal initiative, as they lack any unity in regard to their size (there is no unified building standard), wall-thickness, internal divisions, etc. One can also suggest that the answer to the absence of public and administrative buildings in some of the urban settlements lies in the use of the forts in the urban settlements and their vicinity for administrative functions as well.

The central courtyard house is the commonest type of building in Persian and Hellenistic times, with components (square ground plan, latitudinal rooms, multiple corridors) that can be traced in the region back to pre-historic times. As an architectural type, it can be shown to be used for administration (public and administrative buildings), cult (temples), domestic (large residential buildings, smaller urban and rural houses) and military (forts and fortresses) uses. This multi-functional type of building may be explained as an ideological and even cognitive perception, since its plan responds to functional, environmental and socio-economic needs. Its integration in the region and use among different populations (Phoenicians, Samaritans, Jews and Edomites) may be understood as reflecting a common ideological and behavioral concept.

One archaeological domain in which clear Greek influence is apparent is the architectural decoration of the period discussed, which makes use of the three orders of classical architecture – Doric, Ionic and Corinthian. Decorative architectural items are found in Tel Anafa, 'Akko, Beth She'an, Samaria(?), Mount Gerizim, Sha'ar Ha'Amaqim, Tel Ya'oz, Jerusalem and Mareshah. In all cases the first period of use of these Greek elements is found to be within the Hellenistic period. From my survey, it is clear that Hellenistic Palestine is poor in such decorative architectural items, and the few extant remains do not show a particular preference for any specific order. The items were carved from local stone, usually from the immediate vicinity, a factor which implies the existence of local craftsmanship, and moreover local artistic trends (as in Tel Anafa and Mareshah). The use of decorative architectural items is varied, as they were found in buildings that were designated as domestic, public and administrative, military, and burial complexes, though they are

more common in domestic architecture. These items were combined with local building traditions and not imported as an integral part of a classical (Greek) style construction, as is evident also from the local artistic trends visible in some of them.

As for the settlement pattern and models, methodological analysis of the Persian period and Hellenistic period sites demonstrates a clear continuity of settlement from the Persian period in the urban, rural and military pattern. Moreover, there is no distinctive increase in the territory of the administrative centers between the two periods, apart from one exception at 'Akko (Ptolemais). In contrast, some of the secondary administrative centers show an opposite tendency, as their archaeological data shows a decrease in the size of their territory. A certain increase in the number of the rural settlements is mostly seen from the survey data which in this case could reflect Hasmonean settlement, since most excavated sites show settlement continuity after the Hellenistic period. The military pattern has only a few examples, and in these there appears to be settlement continuity from Persian times, and thus a change between the two periods cannot be demonstrated.

Burials can be divided between individual tombs and familial tombs, and that inhumation burial was carried out side-by-side with emplacement burial. Burial in the period discussed usually took place in the vicinity of a settlement, outside its walls or the immediate defined inhabited territory, and the deceased were usually laid on their backs. Persian and Hellenistic period tombs include varied finds but the most common is pottery. A comparison between Persian and Hellenistic period tombs revealed that pit, cist and shaft tombs, and burial caves were commonly used in both periods, whereas *loculi* tombs (both plain and complex) were introduced into the Palestinian milieu during the Hellenistic period. Burial in jars, cairns (*tumuli*) and built structures was far less common in both periods (fig. 7). I have also cast doubt on the tentative attribution of the rock-cut *loculi* caves to an Egyptian, Alexandrian origin, which was developed from another Egyptian type - shaft tombs, linking pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic times in the Levant, as architectural and chronological examination of those Egyptian examples shows that they are dated similarly to their local counterparts. Their appearance in the Levant may have been simultaneous, resulting in an ideological adoption of a common architectural conception. Moreover, shaft tombs are well-known in periods preceding the Hellenistic period, and those Egyptian elements apparent within them, such as their ground plan and their pediment ceilings, are also known from burial complexes of the Iron Age in Judah. It seems that the architectural and ideological perception of these *loculi* caves (and probably those of the burial structures)

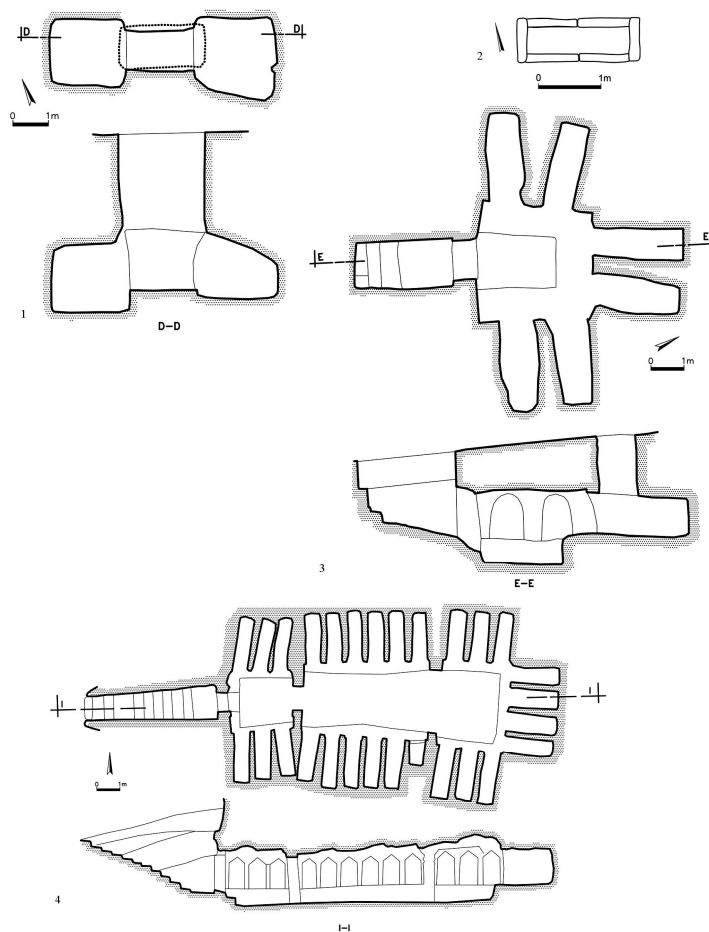


Fig. 7 - A selection of Hellenistic tombs in Palestine: 1) Shaft tomb ('Atlit); 2) Cist tomb ('Akko); 3) Plain *loculi* tomb (HaGoshrim); 4) Complex *loculi* tomb (Mareshah).

follow that of the commonest type of domestic building – the central courtyard house – reflecting a belief in the tomb as an eternal dwelling place and in death as a sleep of the body (eternal or temporal).

For the purpose of the conference, morphological and technological changes in small finds can be delimited to their chronological contribution, relating to the possibility of using the finds (pottery, glass, stone, faience, metal, bone and wooden vessels) to distinguish between Achaemenid and Hellenistic (Ptolemaic and Seleucid) periods. Pottery types demonstrate chronological and typological developments between these two periods, and so does glass vessels (Mediterranean Core-formed and monochrome cast vessels). By contrast, stone vessels (including the cube-shaped altars) show a clear continuity is evident from the Persian period and sometimes even the Iron Age, so that there is difficulty in attributing specific types restricted to the Hellenistic period. The situation is similar with regard to the metal and bone vessels. The faience vessels, however, are genuine imported Alexandrian products, dated to most of the Hellenistic period (3rd–1st centuries B.C.E.), but these are rare in the local repertoire. Similarly, the wooden vessels are apparent in Hasmonean and Early Roman assemblages but contain earlier traditions in their design, which allows us to infer that they began to be produced in the Hellenistic period and even earlier. Thus side-by-side with existing production traditions from periods preceding the Persian period in vessels made of various materials, we witness new unique types of the period. This is mostly evident in the pottery and glass vessels, in which the use of moulds allowed massive production in the late 3rd century or probably early 2nd century B.C.E. The design of the new types originated from different sources: some are the outcome of a local (traditional) development while others are influenced by foreign types (Greek and others), but it is clear that the local ceramic tradition is dominant. Moreover, most foreign influenced types had already been introduced in the Persian period so that the role of the Macedonian conquest in introducing a foreign ceramic tradition is secondary, surely not one-sided, but certainly significant. The shapes of the core-formed glass vessels are Egyptian and mostly Greek, whereas the shapes and decoration of the monochrome cast glass vessels clearly have earlier eastern (Mesopotamian) influences.

Summary

The transition to Greek rule in Palestine (i.e. “Hellenization”) by means of archaeological perspectives, show a partial and limited absorption of Greek cultural customs, spiritual and material, by the local populations. This is mainly restricted to the royal administration (in the widest sense), i.e. in things related to royal management, language, writing, coinage, institutions, administrative roles, etc. The close encounters of the different local populations (especially those of higher ranks) with the government, out of necessity or by choice, has surely led to the acknowledgment and adoption of some Greek cultural customs in gymnasial, philosophical and rhetorical education. However, “Hellenization” in terms of full absorption of Greek cultural customs is far from being apparent. The archaeological data provides evidence for the superiority of the local traditions over the foreign (Greek) ones, and for continuity in the history of settlement and political organization, even if we are limited to the issues discussed throughout this paper: the urban, rural and military architecture; settlement pattern and models; burial; and small finds. In summary, Palestine in the Early Hellenistic period does not demonstrate a break in its culture, environment and social reality, but there is a continuing tradition from the Persian period in most of the aspects discussed here.

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