

D. Homès-Fredericq

Possible Phoenician Influences in Jordan in the Iron Age

In this symposium devoted to 'Trade Communication and Foreign Relations of Jordan', it seems interesting to examine whether or not commercial, cultural or artistic contacts did exist in the Iron Age between Jordan and the Phoenicians, this people which, according to the Bible, was one of the most commercially minded of the Near East.

This investigation, which can merely be sketched here, does not seem to have been systematically entered upon in Jordan, probably for the following reasons:

- 1) The Phoenician influences in the ancient kingdom of Ammon, Moab and Edom appear to be quite scanty, because only few texts written in Phoenician characters have been discovered there and a very small number of purely 'Phoenician' or 'Syro-Phoenician' objects have been unearthed during the archaeological excavations.
- 2) Phoenician art is essentially bound to be investigated outside its original country¹ (where very few remnants were discovered) and more especially in Palestine, Syria, Anatolia or Mesopotamia, as well as in the Mediterranean area.²
- 3) The Phoenician art is an intricate and even debated one: the opinions about it are as divergent as multifarious. Some scholars deny its existence or concede no originality to it,³ considering it too deeply influenced by the foreign cultures it came into contact with;⁴ others, on the contrary, ascribe to it a personal, homogeneous and autonomous character, easily recognizable albeit difficult to circumscribe,⁵ with the result that symposia,⁶ and exhibitions⁷ follow one another in order to cross-rule the question.

¹ S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians*, Chatham 1968, p. 42.

² G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée. Essai d'interprétation fondé sur l'analyse des traditions littéraires*, Bruxelles-Rome 1979.

³ "Les Phéniciens n'ont eu aucune originalité" écrivait un jour (1895) le marquis de Vogüé (quoted by A. Parrot in A. Parrot, M. Chehab and S. Moscati, *Les Phéniciens*, Paris 1975, p. 9).

⁴ W. Culican, *The first merchant venturers. The Ancient Levant in history and commerce*, London 1966, pp. 7–8.

⁵ M. Chehab, *Les Phéniciens en Proche-Orient*, in Parrot *et al.*, 1975, p. 13; Culican 1966, p. 7.

⁶ See the 'First International Congress, Phoenician and Punic Studies' in Rome (1979) and the national workshops in Belgium with their symposia at Brussels (1981, 1982, 1983, 1986), Namur (1984), Leuven (1985, 1986).

⁷ R. Hachmann ed., *Frühe Phöniker im Libanon, 20 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen in Kamid el-Loz*, Mainz am Rhein 1983; E. Gubel ed., *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen/De Feniciërs en de mediterrane wereld*, Bruxelles-Brussel 1986.

Although Phoenician art appears to be scantily represented in Jordan, our impression, when consulting excavation reports, is that a number of themes 'in Phoenician style' do exist, more particularly alongside the 'King's Highway' in the towns where trade caravans proceeding from Syria (Damascus or Hama) or itinerant artists (possibly Phoenicians) would have come by.

Before discussing more thoroughly the relations between both countries, I shall reinsert the Phoenicians into their geographical and historical frame in relation to the corresponding one of Jordan.

As regards *geography*, I shall follow the localization set forth by most specialists of Phoenician art⁸ who restrict it to a strip of territory along the Mediterranean Sea (postering contacts with Egypt, Cyprus and the Mediterranean Area). It comprises an aggregate of city-states, limited from the North by the Amuq Valley (including Ras-Shamra/Ugarit), and allowing an easy passage to Anatolia, as attested by the Sama'al-Zencirli (9th century) and Karatepe (8th century) inscriptions.⁹ The eastern border is indicated by the Libanus and Anti-Libanus mountains (including Kamid el Loz) from which a road started to Damascus,¹⁰ the capital of a small kingdom that once fought the Assyrian kings, and which was probably also a Phoenician site.

From Damascus the road went northwards to Hama, which must have had a confraternity of ivory-workmen in contact with the Phoenician craftsmen, as their themes follow the same inspiration;¹¹ southwards by the King's Highway to the Gulf of Aqaba.¹² Phoenicia is limited in the South by Mount Carmel, and has a passage from Palestine to Khaleifeh in Edom, places well known to the seafarers of King Hiram of Tyre.¹³

⁸ D. Baramki, *Phoenicia and the Phoenicians*, London 1961, p. 1–3; Bunnens 1979, p. 12; Chehab, in Parrot *et al.*, 1975, pp. 25–26; Culican 1966, p. 7; D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, London 1962, p. 23; Moscati 1968, pp. 5–7.

⁹ E. Lipiński, *Langue, écriture, textes*, in Gubel ed., *op. cit.*, 1986, pp. 63–65.

¹⁰ Hachmann 1983, *op. cit.*, FIG. 6–7, p. 26–27.

¹¹ I. J. Winter, *Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Question of Style and Distribution*, *Iraq* 38 (1976), pp. 1–22.

¹² C.-M. Bennett, *Neo-assyrian influence in Transjordan*, in Hadidi ed., *Studies on the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, Amman 1982, pp. 181–187, FIG. 1 p. 182.

¹³ I Kings 9: 26–28; II Chronicles 8: 17–18.

This area, known as 'Phoenicia' to the classical authors (Homer, Herodotus) is designated in the cuneiform annals, the hieroglyphical sources and the Old Testament by the name of its two marine cities, Sidon and Tyre, at times united into a kingdom; sometimes mentioned are some of the coastal cities, such as Byblos, Arwad, Ras Shamra/Ugarit with which they were trading.¹⁴

The excavations, however, of the latest decennia, have brought to light other inland city-states, the most important of which is undoubtedly Kamid el Loz, excavated by a German mission.¹⁵

We observe that the name 'Phoenicia' is a comparatively recent one; the ancient texts show that this region was never constituted as a united kingdom like Mesopotamia, Egypt or Anatolia, the predominant powers in those days, with their well-defined art, but that various small independent kingdoms did arise owing to the configuration of the land (as was the case in Jordan at the same period), each of them with its own art, influenced by the countries they had dealings with.

As concerns *chronology*, the Phoenician golden age takes place after the invasions of the so-called Sea Peoples, but we should like to initiate our comparisons as early as the end of the Late Bronze Age, when the Ammonite, Moabite and Edomite kingdoms arose, since the findings of Kamid el Loz and some contemporaneous objects of Deir 'Alla show much affinity.

We shall conclude our analysis before the Hellenistic period, when the independence of the Phoenician cities comes to an end and when only Carthage and its Mediterranean colonies remain significant. By this time, moreover, the Nabataeans will become the 'businessmen' of the Near East and their caravans will amble along the 'King's Highway'.

Culturally and artistically, the Phoenicians are known as seafarers, tradesmen and as the inventors of writing.

- 1) As *seafarers*, their maritime expansion has been thoroughly studied in connection with their colony Carthage, founded as early as 814 BC, and their colonies established all around the Mediterranean area as far as Southern Spain. The Bible also mentions King Hiram of Tyre's servants attending to ship-building at Khaleifeh, the Edomite harbour; wood came probably from the mountains of Edom, while craftsmanship and know-how, nails and ropes originated from Phoenicia.¹⁶
- 2) The Phoenicians are above all *tradesmen* and merchants who prospect 'markets' not only by sea but also by land. The 'Syro-Phoenician' ivories retrieved in Anatolia, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia give evidence of their radius of action. This most intensive and highly varying trade,

as known to us from Ezekiel's descriptions,¹⁷ was first carried on in the form of barter and later on with the help of money. Conforming to the Greek tradition, Sidon, Tyre, Byblos and Arados minted distinctive coins as early as the 5th century.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that a Tyrian coin was discovered at Khirbet el Hajjar, 7 km away from the Ammonite capital, mixed with pottery of the 7th/6th century. As a matter of fact, the coin is an isolated one,¹⁹ an intruder deprived of chronological background, since it was struck in the 5th century and was undoubtedly issued at Tyre, as can be seen from its head-side decorated with a sea-horse ridden by a bearded personage (perhaps Melqart) flourishing a bow; two rippled lines separate it from a dolphin (a murex in the most ancient ones). The reverse shows a left-facing owl's profile. The sceptre and the flagellum, Osiris' and Pharaoh's symbols²⁰ are represented next to the bird.

- 3) The Phoenicians are also credited with the *invention of writing*, and certainly when the Siran bottle was unearthed, it was considered at first sight that it bore 'eight lines in Phoenician characters'.²¹ But soon after, the writing was recognized as Ammonite, a derivation from the Phoenician script.²²

Purely Phoenician texts, however, were discovered in Jordan. A. Lemaire²³ published an inscription consisting of eleven Phoenician letters, from Sa'idiyeh, incised after firing on a vessel bearing the words 'oil-vessel (pertaining) to HR(?)', the shape of the letters being typical of the 7th/6th century.

At Khaleifeh,²⁴ the Edomite harbour mentioned above, an ostrakon dating from the Persian period bears in Phoenician cursive handwriting, written in black letters on both sides of the potsherd,²⁵ the following texts 'Eshmun's servant' (i.e. Sidon's god), 'Baal has protected' and 'Barsup in Resheph's hand',²⁶ which seems to corroborate the pre-

¹⁷ Ezekiel 27: 16.

¹⁸ P. Naster, Numismatique. Monnaies phéniciennes et puniques, in Gubel ed., *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 272.

¹⁹ H. O. Thompson, The 1972 Excavations of Khirbet al-Hajjar, *ADAJ* 17 (1972), pp. 57–58, p. 63, p. 144, pl. VII: 2.

²⁰ Naster, in Gubel ed., *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 274.

²¹ H. O. Thompson, The Excavations of Tell Siran (1972), *ADAJ* 18 (1973), p. 7, pl. III: 2 (p. 91).

²² H. O. Thompson, Commentary on the Siran Inscription, *AJBA* 2:3 (1974–75), pp. 125–136, FIGS. 1–4; H. O. Thompson, The Tell Siran Bottle: An Additional Note, *BASOR* 249 (1983), pp. 87–89; H. O. Thompson and F. Zayadine, The Tell Siran Inscription, *BASOR* 212 (1973), pp. 5–11, FIG. 1, 1 pl.

²³ A. Lemaire, Une inscription phénicienne de tell es-Sa'idiyeh, *RSF* 10/1 (1982), pp. 11–12, 'Vase d'huile qui (appartient) à HR(?)'.

²⁴ For a bibliography about Khaleifeh, see D. Homès-Fredericq and J. B. Hennessy, *The Archaeology of Jordan, I. Bibliography*, Brussels 1986, pp. 217–218 (Akkadica Supplementum III).

²⁵ N. Glueck, Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions, in H. Goedicke ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, Baltimore-London 1971, pp. 229–231; N. Glueck, 1970, pp. 136–137, FIG. 70.

²⁶ B. Delevault and A. Lemaire, Les inscriptions phéniciennes de Palestine, *RSF* 7 (1979), pp. 28–29, n. 56, 'serviteur d'Eshmoun', 'Baal a gardé', 'Barsup dans la main de Resheph'.

¹⁴ Bunnens 1979, pp. 45–51 (Egyptian sources), pp. 52–56 (Assyrian annals), pp. 57–91 (Old Testament), pp. 92–272 (classical authors).

¹⁵ For a complete bibliography of this site, see Hachmann, *op. cit.*, 1983, pp. 189–191. See also B. Frisch, G. Mansfeld and W.-R. Thiele, *Kamid el-Loz. 6. Die Werkstätten der Spätbronzezeitlichen Paläste*, Bonn 1985 (in Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Band 33).

¹⁶ N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, p. 134.

sence, well after King Solomon's time, of Phoenician merchants who worshipped purely Phoenician or Syrian deities.

- 4) The Phoenicians are mainly known for their *art*, such as: architecture, metal and glass crafts (too few data are available in Jordan to comment on these subjects); dyeing with purple, extracted from murex shells (some murex shells and others from the Mediterranean coast have been found at Deir 'Alla, Amman and other Jordanian sites, but these findings are not very convincing); and finally ivory-craftsmanship, the artistic means by which it was essentially endeavoured to capture the very spirit of the so controversial Phoenician art.

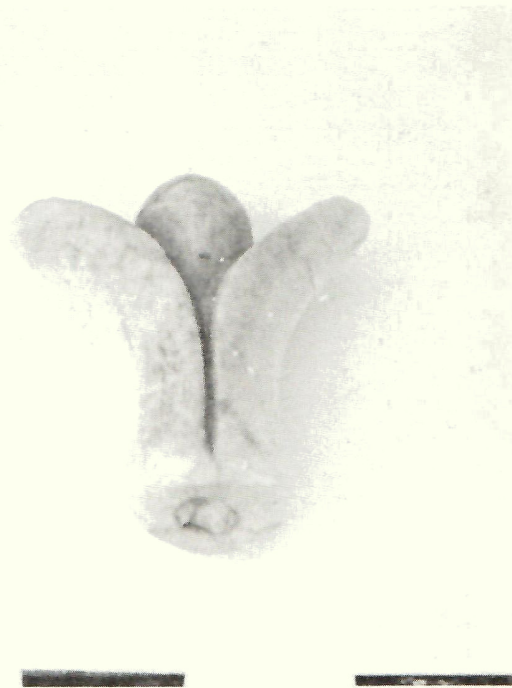
For the *Late Bronze Age*, the statue from Kamid el Loz,²⁷ found in 1964 and shown at the exhibition 'Die Frühe Phöniker' in Munich, is an interesting item. I shall refer to some points of R. Hecht's description of this,²⁸ in order to reveal the 'essence' of Phoenician art.

The statue dates from the 13th century and is contemporary with some finds at Deir 'Alla. The material is ivory. Foreign influences are undeniable, the Egyptian one being the strongest. For instance the hair of the woman reminds us of the 'némès' of the Egyptian Pharaoh, leaving the ears exposed; but the line in the middle of the hair and the vertical locks are peculiar to this statue and to certain Phoenician ivories. The respectful praying attitude is of pharaonic inspiration, but the hands resting on the thighs of the Egyptians are reproduced here in more relaxed position and overlie the knees. The garment is long and smooth, and embellished with embroidery. The seat is of Egyptian style, but without the plants symbolizing the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. The face is not at all Egyptian: it is more circular, with goggle eyes and more beaming and human features. The art of Kamid el Loz displays other influences, well highlighted in this exhibition: Mycenaean, Palestinian, Syrian, Aegean and Cypriot.

At Deir 'Alla, the Egyptianizing influences so much in vogue at the time are also noticeable, and I express my gratitude to Henk Franken and to Gerrit van der Kooij, to whom I owe the unpublished photograph of a lotus flower in bloom (FIG. 1), showing an Egyptian inspiration: this piece was perhaps made by a Phoenician and offered by a traveller to the renowned sanctuary of Deir 'Alla, a famed place of pilgrimage of the Late Bronze Age.

Other comparisons can be made, e.g. a duck's head of Deir 'Alla (FIG. 2),²⁹ probably belonging to a pyxid like those of Kamid el Loz;³⁰ bronze plaquettes, which formed part of a suit of armour,³¹ and small 'depository shrines' like that shown in the exhibition 'Clay' and found at Deir 'Alla are also paral-

1. Lotus flower in bloom (Deir 'Alla), Courtesy Joint Expedition at Deir 'Alla



2. Duck's head (Deir 'Alla), Courtesy Joint Expedition at Deir 'Alla



lels.³² Was this fashion of the time peculiar to the Near East, or a Phoenician influence that can also be traced to Palestine? We should not forget that the 'Airport Temple' of Amman dates from the same period as that with which J. B. Hennessy would associate human sacrificial rites, attested in the 13th century with more recent Phoenician practices.³³

²⁷ Hachmann ed., *op. cit.*, 1983, pl. 44, p. 80.

²⁸ R. Hecht, *Frühe phönikische Elfenbeine*, in Hachmann ed., 1983, pp. 80–82.

²⁹ I wish to thank H. Franken and G. van der Kooij who allowed me to publish this ivory from Deir 'Alla.

³⁰ R. Hachmann ed., *op. cit.* 1983, cat. 8–10.

³¹ R. Hachmann, *Zur Rekonstruktion eines bronzenen Schuppenpanzers*, in Hachmann ed., 1983, pp. 94–100, FIG. 45–50.

³² D. Homès-Fredericq and H. J. Franken, *Pottery and Potters—Past and Present. 7000 Years of Ceramic Art in Jordan*, Tübingen 1986, p. 139, n°380 (for Deir 'Alla); R. Hachmann ed. 1983, p. 73, 160–161, FIGS. 38–39, 101 (for Kamid el Loz).

³³ J. B. Hennessy, *Thirteenth Century B.C. Temple of Human Sacrifice at Amman*, *Studia Phoenicia* 3 (1985), pp. 85–104, 10 FIGS.

3. Lamp goddess (Ain Jenin), Courtesy Department of Antiquities of Jordan (ex. HARDING, *op. cit.* 1937, pl. I, fig. 1–2)



In the *Iron Age* we have other evidence, philological and archaeological, of the passage of the Phoenicians through Jordan:

a) *In Phoenicia:*

Evidence was discovered in Phoenicia itself with the seal of Abinadab,³⁴ now at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and once purchased in the Sidon area.³⁵ It consists of an agate seal of the 7th century, originally set in a ring. Although damaged, three out of four incised lines are still readable and bear a dedication in typical Ammonite writing, the shape of several letters being identical to that on the Siran bottle.³⁶ The text reads ‘belonging to X, son of Abinadab, who has dedicated it to Ashtart of Sidon. May she bless him’. Abinadab’s son probably emigrated to Phoenicia in the 7th century, and dedicated this offering or the gifts sealed with this mark to Ashtart-Astarte, one of the main fertility deities in Phoenicia, and the protectress deity of Sidon. So this seal, incised in Ammon, was offered by the dedicator (perhaps an Ammonite priest or merchant) to the tutelary goddess of the city in Phoenician territory.³⁷

b) *In Jordan:*

We have direct and indirect evidence thanks to the Biblical texts, and to archaeological excavations in main cities along the ‘King’s Highway’ at Rabbath Ammon, Sihan (near Dhiban), Rabbath Moab, Bosra-Buseirah, Tawilan, Ain Jenin and Khaleifeh.

Literary evidence

Four passages in the Bible mention relations between both countries:

- The two first ones have been mentioned in connection with the harbour of Khaleifeh (Kings I, 9: 26–28 and Chron. II, 8: 17–18).
- The third one is in Ezekiel (27:16), where the prophet, in his lamentation on Tyre, calls to mind the trade of the Tyrians with Damascus, Arabia, Assur and also with Edom: ‘Edom was the supplier: because of the abundance of thy goods, he supplied thy markets with malachite, red purple, pieces of embroidery, byssus, coral and ruby’. (The Sa’idiyeh inscription also bears evidence of first quality oil export.)³⁸
- The fourth one (Amos 1:9) mentions a slave traffic between Tyre and Edom.

Archaeological evidence

From the archaeological point of view, these contacts seem to be corroborated. Four terracotta lamps (FIG. 3), found by G. L. Harding at Ain Jenin,³⁹ two km away from Bosra-Buseirah, the former capital of Edom, would be of Phoenician origin. Their type is quite particular: the body is made on the wheel and consists of a cylindrical tube, whereas the head which supports the lamp was fashioned separately and attached afterwards. On the figures portrayed, the faces are male but the chests are female. They each hold in their hands a tambourine, as we often encounter them on Phoenician terracottas or ivories to indicate musicians or priestesses whose music makes the deity’s cult more attractive.

These four lamps date back to the 8th century, and Isserlin,⁴⁰ who wrote a study comparing them with Phoenician lamps discovered in the Mediterranean area, assumes the Ain Jenin specimens to have been imported into Jordan at the time of the slave traffic mentioned in Amos.⁴¹ He proposes that they should be considered as a prototype for the lamp statuettes that developed into a somewhat different type in the western colonies, Cyprus, Sardinia, Spain, Sicily or Carthage, of which there were examples in an exhibition on the Phoenicians recently held in Brussels.⁴²

I should like to compare this type of terracotta lamp with

³⁴ N. Avigad, Two Phoenician Votive Seals, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 247–251; P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, Nouveau groupe de sceaux hébreux, araméens et ammonites, *Semitica* 29 (1979), pp. 80–81; J. Teixidor, Bulletin d’épigraphie sémitique, *Syria* 45 (1968), pp. 363–364, n°45.

³⁵ I wish to express my gratitude to P. Bordreuil who brought to my attention this seal.

³⁶ Bordreuil and Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 1979, p. 80.

³⁷ Bordreuil and Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 1979, p. 81.

³⁸ A. Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 1982, pp. 10–11, pl. 6.

³⁹ G. L. Harding, Some Objects from Transjordan, *PEQ* (1937), pp. 253–255, pl. 9: 1–3.

⁴⁰ B. S. J. Isserlin, On Some Figurines of ‘Lamp-Goddesses’ from Transjordan, *Revista de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 25, n°101 (1976) (Homenaje a García Bellido), pp. 139–142.

⁴¹ Amos I: 6.

⁴² Gubel ed., *op. cit.*, 1986, cat. 62–63.

4. Terracotta figurine (Amman Tomb C), Courtesy Department of Antiquities of Jordan



another similar one found by G. L. Harding in tomb C of Amman (FIG. 4),⁴³ which dates from the same time. The lower part of the figurine is missing, but the body, painted in white like the statuettes of Ain Jenin, is that of a pregnant woman clapping her abdomen as a token of fecundity; this is a recognised Phoenician iconographical type, where fertility goddesses, often seated, hold one hand on their rounded belly. The face, on the contrary, modelled separately and painted in red, is typically male, with its black moustache and a black beard.

Should we consider the represented person, as assumed by G. L. Harding,⁴⁴ as a local hermaphrodite deity, such as 'Ash-

⁴³ G. L. Harding, Two Iron-Age Tombs in Amman, *ADAJ* 1 (1951), p. 37, pl. 14.

⁴⁴ Harding, *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 37.

tor-Kemosh' mentioned on Mesa's stele, which seems to possess both Ashtor's female attributes and Kemosh's male ones? This assumption, accepted by R. H. Dornemann in his study on Transjordanian archaeology⁴⁵ is a plausible one. In any case, the potter of Amman adapted this type of Phoenician figurine to a lamp of typically local work.

The volutes above the personage's head instead of above the lamp transform it into a caryatid with proto-aeolian capitals, as we know them from Phoenician ivories.⁴⁶ This architect-

⁴⁵ R. H. Dornemann, *The Archaeology of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Milwaukee 1983, pp. 144–145.

⁴⁶ Dornemann, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 144; C. Decamps de Mertzfeld, *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens et apparentés découverts dans le Proche-Orient*, Paris 1954, pl. 116: 993; 117: 1113; R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London 1975, pl. 73–75.

5. Double head of Amman (Amman), Courtesy Department of Antiquities of Jordan



tural motif is compared by J. H. Iliffe⁴⁷ and R. H. Dornemann⁴⁸ with those adorning the ‘models’ of ‘ossuary shrines’ of Phoenician style. Strangely enough, they do recall the railings behind which the celebrated ‘Ladies at the window’ of the ivories from Nimrud,⁴⁹ Arslan Tash,⁵⁰ Khorsobad,⁵¹ Samaria⁵² and other places are enclosed.

The Nimrud ivory, typical of this series, was found at Nimrud by M. E. L. Mallowan and now belongs to the Musée du Cinquantième in Brussels;⁵³ it illustrates a very wide-

⁴⁷ J. H. Iliffe, *A Model Shrine of Phoenician Style*, *QDAP* 11 (1945), pp. 91–92, pl. 21.

⁴⁸ Dornemann, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 143.

⁴⁹ M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* II, London 1966, FIG. 429, 555, pl. V (p. 434).

⁵⁰ F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan Tash*, Paris 1931, pl. 34–36.

⁵¹ G. Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad III: The Citadel and the Town* (= OIP 40), Chicago 1938, pl. 51–52.

⁵² J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London 1938, pl. 13.

⁵³ Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, inv. number 0.3479, height 8 cm, length 8,4 cm; D. Homès-Fredericq, *Quelques aspects spécifiques des fouilles de Nimrud*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 20 (1968–1972), 1973, pp. 280–281, pl. II, FIG. 2.

spread religious theme of the Near East at that time: a priestess of the deity Astarte-Ishtar at her window tries to catch the eye of the passers-by. Astarte's worship—of Phoenician origin—is a much appraised one in Mesopotamia, where it is assimilated to that of Ishtar the goddess of love, who was herself assimilated to a ‘Kilili at the window’,⁵⁴ of Babylonian origin. It is therefore not surprising to see the Phoenician Astarte reproduced on those Mesopotamian ivories. On the other hand, the threefold framing and the balustrades are known in Phoenician religious architecture: a balustrade-gallery, made of stone and full-sized, has been discovered in a house at Ramath Rahel,⁵⁵ in Palestine.

It is interesting to notice that the second element of the ivory, i.e. the lady at her window, a theme so wide-spread throughout the Aegean and Near Eastern world, is also reproduced in stone, this time at Amman.⁵⁶ Moreover, the double-

⁵⁴ R. D. Barnett, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 150.

⁵⁵ Y. Aharoni *et al.*, *Excavations at Ramath Rahel, Seasons 1961 and 1962*, Roma 1964, frontispiece, pl. 42–48.

⁵⁶ F. Zayadine, *Recent Excavations on the Citadel of Amman*, *ADAJ* 18 (1973), pp. 17–35, pl. 21–25. I wish to thank F. Zayadine for the photographs of FIGS 4 and 5.

headed heads of Amman, in yellowish-white limestone, have been compared by F. Zayadine,⁵⁷ as early as the time of their discovery, to the so-called Phoenician ivories that made so huge an impression in the Near East.

Head C (FIG. 5)⁵⁸ is the nearest to the Phoenician prototype: the same type of hair framing the face, the same projecting ears as in the Kamid el Loz statue, of Egyptian inspiration, and the same gentle smile as on the ivories. The back parts of the eyes, which are set in, are inscribed with reference letters⁵⁹ enabling them to be more easily reinserted into the sockets,⁶⁰ after a technique much popular among the Phoenician artists, who by this means identified the location of the carved ivories in the wooden pieces of furniture.

In our opinion, however, this latter work does not belong to the Phoenician production, because the material is not the same. The face is longer, and a row of set-in jewels seems to be substituted for the upper volutes of the balustrade; a specimen from Nimrud however, has the same type of necklace. The diadem, which is broader here, hardly recalls the Phoenician pieces of jewellery from Nimrud and is more similar to the head-band encountered on the terracottas from Motya or Carthage.⁶¹ The letters engraved into the back part of the eyes could as well be Aramaic or Ammonite as Phoenician. Holes in the upper and lower parts of the heads suggest that they formed part of a larger composition, and could fulfil the same function as the hatoric capitals that F. Zayadine compares them with.⁶²

But the most interesting point in those double-faced heads is the following one: at a time when the Near East enjoyed a relative peace, when both trade and culture were booming, the sovereigns of Rabbath-Ammon's court, whose palaces are mentioned in Amos I: 13, wished to conform to the fashion of the time and to adorn their palaces and embellish their resorts; and their stone-cutters would have drawn their inspiration from the Phoenician repertory, but would transform it into purely Ammonite work.

The study of the Iron Age ceramics, which we can admire in the exhibition at Tübingen,⁶³ clearly betokens that Jordanian art is an independent creation. Its personality, whether Ammonite, Moabite or Edomite, and sensitive to the political and artistic background of its area, is also conspicuous in other works, where Phoenician themes were borrowed but adapted.

Thus the most popular motive of the 'cow and calf' we see on the ivory from Nimrud (also at the Musée du Cinquante-naire)⁶⁴ has been encountered at various periods in Jordan.

6. Cow and calf (Deir 'Alla), Courtesy Joint Expedition at Deir 'Alla.



The prototype can be traced back to Mesopotamia where an Akkadian seal of the third millennium⁶⁵ has already been incised with this fecundity symbol. It has also been found in Egypt and in Cyprus,⁶⁶ and became highly popular on the Phoenician and Syro-Phoenician ivories of the first millennium. It is attested in the Late Bronze Age by a seal engraved with the help of a drill from Rabbath-Moab,⁶⁷ and later on, in the Iron Age, by an imprint on a bowl of the 8th century, next to another imprint showing a grazing ibex,⁶⁸ two iconographic motives known from the ivories of Arlan Tash and other Phoenician ivories.⁶⁹ We find the cow and calf motif again at Deir 'Alla (FIG. 6),⁷⁰ transposed in a terracotta figurine of the Persian period.

It would be advisable to investigate the other artifacts in which some scholars recognize Phoenician traces, e.g. the stele

⁵⁷ Zayadine 1973, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Zayadine 1973, pl. 32: 3-4; Dornemann, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 287.c; A. Abou Assaf, *Untersuchungen zur ammonitischen Rundbildkunst*, UF 12 (1980), p. 101, pl. 16.

⁵⁹ P. Bordreuil, *Inscriptions des Têtes à Double Face*, ADAJ 18 (1973), pp. 37-39.

⁶⁰ Bordreuil, *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 39.

⁶¹ Gubel ed., *op. cit.*, 1986, FIG. 44.

⁶² Zayadine, *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 34.

⁶³ Homès-Fredericq and Franken, *op. cit.*, 1986.

⁶⁴ Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, inv. number 0.2634, height 4,8 cm, width 8,5 cm, damaged; Homès-Fredericq 1973, p. 279, pl. IV, FIG. 5.

⁶⁵ M. E. L. Mallowan, *Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar*, Iraq 11 (1947), p. 117, n°8 (F.606), pl. 16: 8-9.

⁶⁶ O. Keel, *Das Böcklein in der Milch Seiner Mutter und Verwandtes*, Freiburg-Göttingen 1980.

⁶⁷ V. E. G. Kenna, A L.B. Stamp Seal from Jordan, ADAJ 18 (1973), p. 79, pl. 50: 1.

⁶⁸ C.-M. Bennett, *Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973: Third Preliminary Report*, Levant 7 (1975), pp. 14-15, pl. 8: 9-10.

⁶⁹ E. Stern, *New Types of Phoenician Style decorated Pottery Vases from Palestine*, PEQ 110 (1978), pp. 13-14, FIG. 2-4, pl. 1.

⁷⁰ M. M. Ibrahim and G. van der Kooij, *Excavations at Tell Deir 'Alla, Season 1982*, ADAJ 27 (1983), p. 582, FIG. 2. We thank M. M. Ibrahim and G. van der Kooij who allowed us to publish this piece.

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of Sihan/Rujm el-Abd,⁷¹ the Balu'ah relief,⁷² the statues of the Ammonite kings,⁷³ the Phoenician ceramics (sometimes also termed Cypro-Phoenician, Ammonite, Moabite or Edomite according to the publications dealing with the subject),⁷⁴ the pyxides and cosmetic palettes⁷⁵ and the glyptics. But, we must conclude this study by emphasizing the following particulars:

- 1) Some passages of the Bible (Kings, Chronicles, Ezekiel and Amos) give evidence of contacts between Tyre and Sidon on the one hand and the kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom on the other hand; these probably took place near the King's Highway or from the harbour of Khaleifeh.
- 2) Abinadab's seal corroborates those contacts by its Ammonite inscription, discovered in Phoenicia and dedicated to a purely Phoenician goddess.
- 3) Philological evidence and onomastics discovered in Jordan provide us with information to be interpreted with care: the alphabet was invented or developed by the Phoenicians, but writing evolved so as to become particular to the countries adopting it, in such a manner that we can distinguish the script of Ammon from that of Moab and Edom.
- 4) Certain names do contain Phoenician roots, without necessarily implying that their bearers were of Phoenician extraction.
- 5) The Phoenician influence appears to be strongest during

the 10th and the 8th centuries, as well as during the Persian period, the 6th century.

- 6) This influence, however, was often only apparent because it was either transposed (e.g. on the lamp statuettes) or adapted to other materials (e.g. the ladies at the window, the symbol of the cow and calf, or the ibexes).
- 7) Finally, I believe the most important conclusion to be this one: the Phoenician influence mentioned in the Bible did actually exist, but was transformed by the artists of Ammon, Moab and Edom into strictly local creations.

Let us nevertheless hope that forthcoming excavations in Jordan will give us a more accurate idea of the influence which Phoenician trade and culture may have exerted in those ancient kingdoms, where the Nabataeans will fill the place of the 'travellers' of the Iron Age.

⁷¹ E. Warmenbol, La stèle de Ruġm el-'Abd (Louvre AO 5055). Une image de divinité moabite du IX^{ème}-VIII^{ème} siècle av.n.è., *Levant* 15 (1983), pp. 63–75, pl. 5–8.

⁷² For the bibliography of the Balu'ah stele, see D. Homès-Fredericq and J. B. Hennessy 1986, p. 201.

⁷³ Found in e.g. Amman, Khirbet El-Hajjar.

⁷⁴ R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1969, p. 207; N. Glueck, *op. cit.*, 1970, p. 180, FIG. 87, p. 181; A. H. Van Zyl, *The Moabites*, Leiden 1960, p. 75.

⁷⁵ C.-M. Bennett, Some Reflections on Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan, in P. R. S. Moorey and P. J. Parr eds., *Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen M. Kenyon*, Warminster 1978, p. 170, FIG. 4a-b; Bennett 1982, pp. 184–187, FIG. 3; H. O. Thompson, Iron Age Cosmetic Palettes, *ADAJ* 16 (1971), pp. 61–70, FIG. 1–8.