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### The Udhruḥ Intervisibility: Antique Communication Networks in the Hinterland of Petra

Adjacent to this region is Arabia, which on one side adjoins the country of the Nabataei, a land producing a rich variety of wares and studded with strong castles and fortresses, which the watchful care of the early inhabitants reared in suitable and readily defended defiles, to check the inroads of neighbouring tribes. (Ammianus, 14,8,13, translation by J.C. Rolfe).

#### Introduction

Reliable and swift communication and information systems are pivotal for modern life. In these globally connected times some of the world's leading corporations produce neither tangible goods, nor assets, but merely assist in sharing knowledge and information. The rapid transfer of information over certain distances has always been a crucial factor throughout history.

For the military states and empires of the antique world the existence of sophisticated systems for communication were ubiquitous, as is evidenced through antique literary sources<sup>1</sup> and the archaeological record. Many studies have been conducted in the last decades on especially military signalling and observation systems throughout the Roman Empire. Although his work on Roman military signalling might have received some initial scepticism, the seminal studies by David Woolliscroft (2001) along Hadrian's Wall and the Roman Wetterau-limes in southern Germany are now widely endorsed. Woolliscroft showed that great effort and ingenuity was invested in Roman military communication systems, which relied predominantly on sight lines. Clark and Parker (1987) investigated a Late Roman signalling system around the legionary fortress of al-Lajjūn of the Limes Arabicus by means of a field experiment in the 1980's. Alistair Killick carried out several archaeological excavations and survey campaigns in the Udhruh region in the same period. He mentions recording over 60 - in a second publication even more than 150 - watchtowers (Killick 1986a, 1986b) eastward of Petra around the village of Udhruh, which according to him were constructed as part of an exclusive Roman military defensive system. Besides then countered forts and watchtowers, this system also comprised inroads and walls, and was

<sup>1.</sup> For extensive references to antique literary sources see Clark/ Parker 1987:166-168; Woolliscroft 2001: 159-171.

according to Killick similar to the *Fossatum Africae* and a splendid example of Luttwak's Defense-in-depth.

Following many years of archaeological field campaigns we consider that the antique communication system in the Udhruh region was initiated in the Nabataean period, most probably not as elaborate as Killick proposed, and serving a wider variety of purposes than purely military defence.

#### The Udhruh Archaeological Project

Udhruh was an almost forgotten archaeological site until Fawzi Abudanah (2006) drew again attention to it. In 2011, the authors started a joint effort to study the site and its environs. The central place of the region is the town of Udhruh, 12km to the east of Petra. Udhruh housed an important Nabataean settlement (Killick 1990), but is best known for a Roman castra 4.7 hectare in size (FIG. 1). The curtain walls of this fort - still standing up several meters high - served as the perimeter of a town in the Byzantine and Islamic periods. Byzantine Udhruh - identified with Augustopolis was one of the most important towns of South Jordan. Classical sources and archaeological evidence point to a long-term development throughout the Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, Early and Late Islamic periods<sup>2</sup>. This development concerns intriguing cultural, socio-economic and religious transformation processes. These processes can be noticed, not only on the site itself, but also in the surrounding landscape where a wide variety of archaeological structures largely survived the ravages of time. The



promising site itself, the archaeological diversity and excellent preservation of the surrounding landscape, were important criteria for launching the Udhruh archaeological Project (UAP) in 2011<sup>3</sup>. The UAP, a joint venture between Leiden University and Al Hussein Bin Talal University, started with a field-survey program, smallscale excavations and diverse GIS-related and subsurface-detection techniques in order to reconstruct the geomorphology of the landscape and the location of observed archaeological immobilia. After five years of archaeological campaigns we have reconstructed a significant part of the 48km<sup>2</sup> Udhruh region, which reveals an actively exploited landscape reflecting antique investments of great effort and ingenuity in agro-hydrological intensification, building material procurement, communication and security networks, military dominion and settlement development (FIG. 2).

The Udhruh Archaeological Project can significantly contribute to the understanding of rural development and major societal transformations in Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic times in the wider region of Petra, by focusing on the development of the nearby secondary centre of Udhruh and its environment. The central research question for the Udhruh Archaeological Project is: What transformations can be observed in the hinterland of important centres like Petra that contributed significantly to their rise, development and decline? To understand the dynamics of the region, the project will focus on water resource



Geomorphological map of the 48 km<sup>2</sup> research area of the Udhruh Archaeological Project showing only Roman military structures, antique hydro-agricultural systems and cairns, made on base of 2011-2014 field seasons. 3 antique agro-hydrological systems: 1) Irrigated horticulture - Byzantine; 2) Floodwater farming - Nabataean and Byzantine; 3) *Qanats* plus large field systems - Roman/Byzantine (illustration by Roeland Emaus).

<sup>3.</sup> For an earlier, more basic version of the Udhruh watchtower research see Driessen/Abudanah 2013, and for the initial methodol-

management, agricultural innovations, trade logistics, communication-security systems, religious transformations and settlement development from the Nabataean era to Islamic times<sup>4</sup>.

#### Field Work, Selection and Approach

During the 2011-2015 field surveys, several strategic landmarks with rectangular or square structures on summits were encountered and have been analysed by GIS-modelling. Some of these structures are already mentioned in earlier studies, while others are not. The identified structures are associated with ancient signalling systems because of the perfect views over the landscape and their intervisibility. The authors attempt to answer the following questions: Are these outposts part of a regional, and possible larger communication network? If so, when were these systems implemented, and for which periods were they or parts of them reused? We would also like to clarify the modus operandi and the purposes of these information transfer networks, seen from a diachronic perspective. To answer these questions fully we need to excavate (parts of) the presumed structures. Such excavations have not been carried out yet. However the results of our surveying and analyzing the 48km<sup>2</sup> research area do allow us to come up with sound assertions regarding such ancient communication systems. For this, certain additional landmarks beyond the boundaries of the research area have also been surveyed. These were selected on their tactical locations, and observed and analysed viewsheds and intervisibility, and therefore were considered to be part of a connectivity network, fitting in the setting of the palimpsest landscape around Udhruh. At these locations we also searched for the remnants of built structures, like small fortlets and towers, and collected and sampled material culture in order to get a basic idea on the practiced

activities through time. The observed sightlines and visibility can however be misleading and part of a modernistic interpretation of the landscape. More scholars have been struggling with this. Kennedy (2013) analyses the possibilities of a Nabataean communication system in the direct surroundings of Petra, and refers to viewshed analyses and culturally different perceptions in visibility. Kennedy leans - like others working with archaeological visibility and landscape perceptions (e.g. Wheatley and Gillings 2000) - on quantifiable distance values of visibility perceptions as introduced by Higuchi (1988). In Higuchi's viewshed model three visibility ranges are distinguished: short-, middleand long-distance views. The first is part of the immediate surroundings of the observing point whereby visibility aspects are not crucial. In the long distance view the topography is part of the horizon, and have visible features no direct impact on the observer. The middle-distance view range deals with a wide spacing over a distance whereby topographical features are to be perceived, but the recognition of individual details tend to become difficult, and whereby weather conditions can play a decisive role in perception. Changes in vegetation coverage remains a factor that has to be considered as well. Kennedy (2013: 282-287) bases his viewshed analyses on Higuchi's method, whereby a standardized height of 4m is chosen for the watchtowers and fort lets in the Petra region. Landscape and climatic conditions, as well as a description of the retrieved structures and setting are also to be considered of importance. In order to come up with a uniform approach of the analysis of the communication systems in the Petra region, we decided to follow Kennedy's (2013: 286) choice of a crucial middle distance range between 240 and 4400 meters.

<sup>4.</sup> The preliminary results of the research of antique water resource management and agricultural innovations in the Udhruh region which was part of our presentation at the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan, will be presented in the proceedings of the University College of London April 2016

Workshop: Comparative Water Technologies and Management: Pathways to Social Complexity and Environmental Change (Driessen and Abudanah 2018). That is the reason why we decided to hand in this paper on another aspect of our research program for present volume.

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## The Udhruh Antique Communication Systems

The site of Udhruh is a nodal centre for the region and for this study. Udhruh hosted one of the most reliable perennial springs in the entire region<sup>5</sup>. Abudanah (2006: 201) links the continuity of human activity predating the Persian period to this spring. The site is best known for a Roman legionary fortress of 4.7 hectares, which with its large external U-shaped towers, is clearly late Roman. This is supported by a building inscription found near the western gate, mentioning the rebuilding of the fortress by the Legio VI Ferrata, which could be dated to 303-304 AD (Kennedy and Falahat 2008: 159-160). Udhruh must have housed a Nabataean settlement of some importance before it was redesigned as a Roman military base. This settlement was most probably integrated, and/or (partly) destroyed by the construction of the latter. Glueck (1935:m 76-77) already mentions large quantities of Nabataean pottery surface finds at Udhruh, and on a spot outside the southern wall of the fortress, Killick (1990: 249) has excavated one and a half ton of Nabataean pottery fragments. This is interpreted by the Killick's as the location of a large Nabataean pottery kiln. During the last years no proof of such a kiln has been retrieved during the surveys, but we are planning for a trial with several geophysical techniques for this area during the 2018 campaign. However, we suspect that part of the Nabataean settlement was located at the southwest part of the still standing curtain walls of the Roman fort. An abundance of surface finds of Nabataean pottery was also retrieved by the UAP in this area. Also some iconographic evidence was discovered here during our surveys: a cut and worked limestone block with a nefesh (FIG. 3) and a rectangular sandstone block with a betyl. These were retrieved as spolia at respectively the southwest corner tower and the adjacent Byzantine church at Udhruh. The limestone is likely of local provenance, but



3. *Nefesh* found near the southwestern corner tower of the Udhruh fortress (picture by Mark Driessen).

the sandstone block most probably comes from the Petra area as no sandstone quarries or outcrops have been noticed around Udhruh. Marie Killick (1990:251) mentions that 13% of the coins found in/around Udhruh are Nabataean, with a peak of the reign of Aretas IV (9 BC -40 AD), but the earliest dating from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Tholbecq (2013: 299) endorses earlier ideas that Udhruh developed as a second Nabataean nucleus in the hinterland of Petra. Most probably both the perennial spring and the elevated location, where the later southwest corner tower of the fort was built and which is 19 meter higher than latter, were important criteria for as well the Nabataeans as well as the Roman troops to settle here. The connectivity of Udhruh becomes especially clear through the survey of several hilltop sites in the region. Ten of these were finally selected based on the following criteria. They are having elevated and strategic locations with wide views over the region, connecting Udhruh and Petra to each other through sight lines and view sheds (FIG. 4).On the tops of these hilltops remnants of fort lets and watchtower-like structures were retrieved which were probably part of a signalling system, and these were surveyed for relevant material culture. During the 2011-2015 field surveys many structures were encountered that might have been part of what Killick thought to be an elaborate Roman signalling system with 60-

<sup>5.</sup> Since a few years this Udhruh spring is unfortunately no peren-



150 watchtowers in the Udhruh region. Most of these were the sort of cairns that archaeologists tend to encounter everywhere around the world on or near landmark locations. Some might be prehistoric burial mounds, others were pointed out by locals as being recent Bedouin graves or cadastral land demarcations<sup>6</sup>. Others were deselected as being part of the ancient communication systems because they lacked the earlier mentioned criteria. We are fully aware that by these decisions some of the elements originally belonging to these systems might have been ruled out. This is however an ongoing project and new insights can hopefully rectify these omissions. This may well be the case for watchtowers integrated in contemporary and/or later complexes or homesteads like the ones mentioned in Serila ( $\pi \nu \rho \gamma o \phi \rho o \nu \rho i o \nu$ ; Koenen et al. 2013: 85-86), Khirbat Salantah (Hirschfeld 1995: 71-73) or Mampsis (Negev 1988: 85-88).

The above discussion clearly shows that the study of the selected sites will only lead to preliminary results which we still have to test through future field research with non-destructive geophysical exploration techniques, sondages and possibly through excavations. and the water and irrigated field system in Wādī al-Fiqay (illustration by Joanne Porck). Description of the Surveyed Structure

4. Map of the Udhruh region with *castra*, watchtowers

Three of the surveyed hilltops with built structures have a visibility field including an overview of Udhruh and its spring.

The first one is Tall Udhruh, which not only overlooks the complete fortress of Udhruh, but also has also visual control over the water systems and the irrigated fields in Wādī al-Fiqay (FIG. 4). The visibility from this 1300m hilltop reaches most of the other selected sites in this study (TABLE 1). On bright days even the inter visibility with the Du'ayj tower on Zubayriya hill, the nearest watchtower to Petra in our system, is attested (FIG. 5). However, the distance between these hilltops (8200 m) overstretches the chosen middle-distance view range of 4400 meters. On top of Tall Udhruh (also called Dubais), 700m eastwards of the fortress of Udhruh, a 12×25m rectangular structure made of limestone blocks can still be distinguished (FIG. 6). The structure consists of impressive walls with a width of 0.8-1.1m. Killick (1986a: 444) who excavated parts of the structure mentions that he encountered the remains of 'a two-storied tower structure of Roman foundation built on top of an Iron II settlement'. These blocks resemble in provenance, dimensions and

<sup>6.</sup> See for antique field markers e.g. Koenen et al. 2013: 17.

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Visibilitiy	Castra Udhruḥ	Jabal at- Taḥkīm	Tall Juraydah	Tall Udhruḥ	Abū ar- Ru'āh	Tall aş- Şafiyyah	Tall Qasīb	Relais Tower	Duʻayj Tower	Rujm al- Munbajis
Castra Udhruḥ	NA	1.6 (SWT)	0.7 (F)	0.7 (F)	2.0 (F)	5.6 (SWT)	7.3 (SWT)	3.5 (SWT)	7.5 (SWT)	Ν
Jabal at- Taḥkīm	1.6 (SWT)	NA	0.9 (Y)	1.8 (Y)	3.7 (Y)	7.3 (Y)	9.0 (Y)	4.0 (Y)	8.1 (Y)	3.2 (Y)
Tall Juraydah	0.7 (F)	0.9 (Y)	NA	0.9 (Y)	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	8.3 (Y)	2.8 (Y)
Tall Udhruḥ	0.7 (F)	1.8 (Y)	0.9 (Y)	NA	Ν	5.5 (Y)	7.2 (Y)	Ν	8.2 (Y)	2.9 (Y)
Abū ar- Ruʻāh	2.0 (F)	3.7 (Y)	Ν	Ν	NA	3.9 (Y)	5.6 (Y)	3.8 (Y)	7.1 (Y)	Ν
Tall aṣ- Ṣafiyyah	5.6 (SWT)	7.3 (Y)	Ν	5.5 (Y)	3.9 (Y)	NA	1.7 (Y)	Ν	9.9 (Y)	Ν
Tall Qasīb	7.3 (SWT)	9.0 (Y)	Ν	7.2 (Y)	5.6 (Y)	1.7 (Y)	NA	Ν	11.8 (Y)	Ν
Relais Tower	3.5 (SWT)	4.0 (Y)	Ν	Ν	3.8 (Y)	Ν	Ν	NA	4.2 (Y)	Ν
Duʻayj Tower	7.5 (SWT)	8.1 (Y)	8.3 (Y)	8.2 (Y)	7.1 (Y)	9.9 (Y)	11.8 (Y)	4.2 (Y)	NA	Ν
Rujm al- Munbajis	Ν	3.2 (Y)	2.8 (Y)	2.9 (Y)	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	NA

**Table 1.** Visibility and distances between (possible) watchtowers in the Udhruh area and the legionary fortress of Udhruh.Y = yes; N = no; NA = not applicable; SWT = southwest corner tower castra; F = overview castra. Distances in km.



5. Picture taken from Du'ayj tower in eastward direction (picture by Mark Driessen).



6. Aerial picture of Tall Udhruh taken from the south. At the right of the rectangular structure the circular ditch is very clear, and at the top Jabal at-Taḥkīm can be distinguished (picture by Stafford Smith: APAAME\_20101016\_SES-0263 (C) Stafford Smith, Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East).

finishing the ones used for the curtain wall of the Udhruh fortress. A ditch around the structure was most probably dug for defensive purposes. A modern cemetery is laid out on the western part of the hill. At Tall Udhruh , Early Bronze age II-III, Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine pottery was collected, and during earlier investigations also fragments of Edomite ware were found<sup>7</sup>.

Tall Jurayda, a crescent shaped hill 700 m northeast of Udhruh, has an undisturbed view over the fortress of Udhruh. On the eastern side of this 1324 m high hilltop, a quarry, several caves and two built structures are found. The caves seem to have been used throughout a long period, as is the case with many caves in the research area. The best preserved of the two built structures measures  $40 \times 47$ m and is located on the southeast side of the hill. The structure is built of quarried and finished coquina and limestone blocks, which resemble the ones used for the fortress of Udhruh . The ceramic evidence corresponds with the most prominent periods of use of the fortress and later town of Udhruh, and dates to the late Roman, Byzantine, Umayyad and Ayyubid/Mamluk periods (Abudanh 2006: 422, Appendix 4D). This is one of the rare hilltop sites that lack the presence of Nabataean ware. We expect that Tall Jurayda possessed only a local function in connection with Udhruh and the irrigated fields in Wādī Udhruh because of a limited visibility to the other watchtowers in the region (TABLE 1).

The third hilltop with an overview of Udhruh and its spring is Abū ar-Ru'āh, which lies 2000m southwest of the fortress of Udhruh. As is the case with Tall Udhruh and Jabal at-Tahkīm, this 1372m hill overlooksthe water and field systems in Wādī al-Fiqay. From the summit of Abū ar-Ru'āh 2012-2013 field teams working 6km away in Wādī al-Fiqay could be followed on bright summer days. This regionallystrategic territorial marker connects visually with most of the other surveyed hilltops, except for the above described Tall Jurayda east of Udhruh. The most remote watchtowers of our system are clearly visible on bright days, although the distances overstretch the chosen middle-distance view range. At the top of Abū ar-Ru'ah the remains of a watchtower or fortlet with massive walls were observed. The dimensions of the structure are not clear at this stage, since its upright walls were toppled and scattered around. Geophysical research and possible sondages are planned for the coming field seasons. Killick (1986a: 436-438) interpreted a rectangular enclosure on this hill -which he called Tall 'Abāra- as a possible temporary Roman camp. This enclosure –which consists

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7. For earlier visits of the site see also Glueck 1935: 76; Killick 1986:
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7. Picture taken from Jabal at-Tahkīm in southward direction (picture by Mark Driessen).

of modest earthen walls– lies halfway on the very steep slopes of this hill, which makes it less suitable as the location for a Roman camp. No ceramics or other material culture linking it with a possible military use was found in and around this enclosure. North and northwest of Udhruh many similar structures most probably belonging to Nabataean and Byzantine dryland farming systems are being surveyed as part of our research (Driessen and Abudanah 2018). The pottery found near the collapsed structure on top of Abū ar-Ru'āh can be assigned to the Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine periods.

Another territorial marker in the Udhruh area is Jabal at-Taḥkīm, which lies 1600 m north of Udhruh. This hill, also called Jabal al-Ash'arī or Khirbat aṭ-Ṭamiyyah, has an elevation of 1364m and excellent and wide views over the surrounding landscape. On clear days the Nabataean-Roman stronghold of Khirbat al-Qirāna (40km to the south) and the hilltop of Jabal al-'Aṭā'ṭah near Dānā (37km to the north) are within the long-distance visibility range (FIG. 7). Jabal at-Taḥkīm lies within the network of middle- and long-distance visibility ranges of almost all the other examined hilltop sites and the irrigated field system in Wādī al-Fiqay. The view to the Udhruh fortress is blocked by the western part of Tall Jurayda. Only the southwest corner tower can be seen clearly from the L-shaped structure on top of Jabal at-Taḥkīm (FIG. 8). The both sides of the stronghold on Jabal at-Taḥkīm measure  $40 \times 10m$ , with the outer two-faced walls still standing around 2m high. The inner and outer faces of these walls consist of roughly cut quarried blocks of brecciated chert and limestone. The blocks and the



 Aerial picture of Jabal at-Taḥkīm taken from the east (picture by David Kennedy:APAAME\_20101016\_ DLK-0426 (C) David L. Kennedy, Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East).

construction technique and finish of these walls do not resemble the characteristic construction of the Roman fortress of Udhruh, but are comparable with Nabataean structures from the wider region. This is not a solid and empirically diagnostic observation, but something we might take in consideration. The odd shape of this 0.08ha structure seems anomalous for the layout of a Roman fortlet or watchtower. We are only aware of one other L-shaped Roman military structure at Halton- Chesters at Hadrian's Wall, which is the result of a later addition (Breeze 2006:178-183). It cannot be excluded -without excavating- that the odd shape of this structure is also the result of a later alteration. The 1.0-1.2 meter wide outer walls were re-used as burial chambers in later periods. At certain sections of the wall, the inner filling has been removed to create chambers, which were covered by slabs of brecciated chert and hold human skeletal remains8. The ceramic ware collected at the L-shaped building during our field survey consisted almost entirely of pottery from Nabataean period (1st century BC - 2nd century AD) and the Roman era, with only a few Byzantine fragments. Earlier research also recovered late Byzantine, early Islamic and Ottoman wares9.

On a hill between two *wadis* 3500m east of Udhruh stands a square structure made of nicely cut limestone blocks. Largely demolished by looters, only parts of some walls remain standing. The 1140m hill called Rujm al-Munbajis connects visually with only Tall Udhruh, Tall Jurayda and Jabal at-Taḥkīm. The ceramic finds from this structure point to the Byzantine period. This possible tower overlooks two *wadis* which were exploited for irrigated agriculture. Therefore it was suspected to have a local security function in connection with these field systems in Wādī Udhruh and the northern Wādī al-Buraykah.

Southward of Udhruh, two prominent landmark hills were investigated for visibility and connectivity patterns. The first hill -5600m south of Udhruh- is locally known as Tall as-Safiyya. This steep 1310m hill with a northsouth outcrop of coquina-limestone on its ridge is a striking feature surrounded by a relatively flat area with several wadis. The top of the outcrop has been cleared to make place for a 6×6.5m structure composed of cut limestone blocks. These blocks were probably quarried from the outcrop on the hill. The southern side of the hill was most certainly used for access, as this is the only passable slope. Older members of the local community remember a water reservoir at the eastern base of the hill (Abudanh 2006:148- 434). Several nicely cut limestone blocks that might have belonged to this reservoir can be seen on eastern foot of the hill. Tall as-Safiyya connects visually with many of the other hilltops; the southwest tower of the Udhruh fortress -although 5600 meters away and beyond the limits of the middle-distance view range- can be seen on most days by the naked eye. The rest of the fortress is not visible, not even with binoculars. The collected pottery consists mainly of Nabataean and Roman wares, although earlier surveys did also produce some late Byzantine/early Islamic sherds (Abudanh 2006:434).

Tall Qaşīb, 1700 meters further south of Tall aş-Şafiyya, lies at a distance of 7300m from Udhruh. On the hilltop of 1285m a built complex was discovered, one square room of whichhad been exposed as a result of looting by treasure hunters. This subterranean room of  $3.9 \times 4m$  with walls 1.5m high is built of a mixture of limestone, sandstone and brecciated chert blocks. The remaining parts of the

<sup>8.</sup> Jabal at-Tahkīm is an important historic Islamic site and hosted, according to al-Salameen *et al.* (2011: 233), 'the famous arbitration... [that finally] resulted in the establishment of the Umayyad state based in Damascus'. It is not clear yet if there is any relation between this historic event and the burials here. These likely date to more recent periods, as can be derived from the condition of the osteoarchaeological remains and remarks by members of the local community.

<sup>9.</sup> The pottery of our survey was analysed by Sarah Wenner (NCSU) and Mark Driessen. The Nabataean ware ranges from phase 2a till phase 3b painted fine ware and other forms (following Schmid's (2000) pottery determination). Glueck (1935: 77) also mentions large quantities of Nabataean ware and Killick (1983: 127) collected late Byzantine/early Islamic pottery from the site. Abudanh (2006: 175) also found some Ottoman ware.

complex were still largely covered, but for how long? South and east of the structure, 14 graves had been looted leaving human bones lying scattered around. A natural spring can be recognized by the pockets of lush natural vegetation at the north-western base of Tall Qasīb. During an earlier survey two parallel walls could be seen here, which had been exposed by seasonal flooding once more. During our later survey they had been buried under alluvial deposits. These walls might have been part of a water reservoir (Abudanh 2006: 507). Tall Qaşīb connects visually with many other hilltops of the survey on bright days, although most of them are beyond the middle-distance view range. The southwest corner tower of the Udhruh fortress could also be seen with the naked eye, but this was again during some clear summer days. During the survey, predominantly Nabataean wares, but also some Roman and Byzantine sherds were discovered. Earlier surveys also recovered some pottery fragments from Edomite, Umayyad and Ottoman periods (Abudanah 2006: 150).

The following hilltops cover the western connection in the direction of Petra. A Structure of 5×5m was located on a hill more or less halfway and just north of the road between Udhruh and the Zubayriyya ridge towards Petra. This watchtower is probably the one that Killick refers to and illustrates in his publication (1986a: 440 and pl. 24.14). We are however not sure, as he did not give more details. With a height of 1450 m, this is the most significant hill in this area, lying 3500 m west of Udhruh and has an unblocked view of the southwest corner tower of the legionary fortress. Because it can serve as a connection between Udhruh and the more western Du'ayj Tower (on Zubayriyya ridge) towards Petra, it is called the Relais Tower. This rectangular structure is made of roughly cut brecciated chert blocks and was likely a piv-

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otal part within the communication system. It has however also a clear view over an ancient settlement and parts of elaborate Nabataean and Byzantine dryland farming systems<sup>10</sup>, a mere 1000m north of the tower. It might have served multiple functions, as is expected to be the case with other hilltop sites. Only a few body sherds were collectedat the site, with fabrics that could only be determined as roughly belonging to the Nabataean-Roman-Byzantine periods. It is suspected that previous archaeological surveys such as those of Killick may have cleaned the site of its ceramic surface remains, and this reason justifies the need to continue our future research here with sondages and other techniques.

A  $5 \times 5m$  structure (Du'ayj Tower) on the Zubayriyya ridge, just north of the road connecting Udhruh with Wādī Mūsā, is the most western connection in the communication system with the city of Petra. The remnants of what must have been a tower-like structure are to be found at a height of 1575m and at a distance of 7.5km from the fortress of Udhruh. The southwest tower of the Roman fortress, Tall Udhruh (8200m) and Jabal at-Tahkim (8100m) are visible on clear days with the naked eye, as well as other hilltop structures (TABLE 1). Towards Petra -at a distant of 5.7km from Du'ayj- a visual connection with Jabal Hārūn and Umm al-Biyāra<sup>11</sup> is easily made on clear days, although again this lies beyond the limits of our determined middle-distance view range. The structure is called Du'ayj Tower as it lies at the end of the old Du'ayj-road<sup>12</sup>. Du'ayj tower connects visually within the middle-distance view limits with the eastern watchtowers and fortlets of the Jabal ash-Sharāh Survey: JSS86 on Tal'at 'Iyad, JSS89 on Q(u)lay'ah, JSS122, and JSS123 on Abū al-Baql13. The retrieved cultural artefacts from the Du'ayj tower point to Nabataean and Roman use.

The last structure operating in the Udhruh

<sup>10.</sup> This dating is again based on surveyed material only, recent studies in the Petra area show that scientific dating techniques as OSL and 14C endorse the establishment of agricultural terraces as from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Beckers and Schütt 2013).

<sup>11.</sup> For the last see Kennedy 2013.

<sup>12.</sup> For the Du'ayj-road see Abudanh 2006: 102-3; 403.

<sup>13.</sup> For these see Tholbecq 2013: 300.

communication system is Udhruh itself, with the location around the southwest corner tower of the Roman castra playing a pivotal role. For the Roman period this tower was most probably part of the system. For the Nabataean period we suspect that there was a fortlet or watchtower structure on this spot, as this location links visually with most Nabataean hilltop structures in the region. This would also explain why the Romans laid out their fortress in such an anomalous way on a slope with a difference in height of almost 20m over a distance of 330m. The above surveys and visibility studies were carried out during summer periods with predominantly clear days and sometimes amazing inter visibilities covering dozens of kilometres. These visibilities could have been different in the past, due to different climatic, environmental and/or anthropogenic conditions. Climatically, no dramatic changes are to be expected when comparing the current conditions with those in antiquity, although it should haven been more humid then than in present (Finnéet al. 2001; Gilbertson et al. 2006:406-409). A wet phase in the classical period was followed by a drier phase in Islamic times (Gilbertson et al. 2006: 406-408; Besançon 2010: 67). The area around Petra and in the direction of ash-Shawbak must have been partly covered with woodland species like Palestine oaks and Juniper (Besançon 2010: 62). The deforestation of these trees must have started already well before the Roman period (Fall 1990:275). For the region of Udhruh -due to the climatic and hydrological circumstances- no high trees are to be expected in classical times, which could have affected the antique sightlines. The chosen hilltops are outstanding markers in the landscape and even nowadays anthropogenic structures do not block the sight from these hills, and there is no evidence that this might have been different in ancient times. Weather conditions, and hence the visibility, change throughout the year. In order to tackle this and to come up with a uniform approach for the analysis of the communication systems in the Petra region it was decided to follow Kennedy's (2013: 286) criteria. This means that a standard height of 4m was chosen for the structures on the hilltops. Some of these buildings must have been much higher, as can be surmised from the surviving foundations; thickness of the walls and the overall layout, but this height of 4 m remains the standard. With this average height a short-distance of less than 240m, a middle-distance range between 240m and 4400m, and a long-distance range of more than 4400m was calculated (Wheatley and Gillings 2000: 16-19). The middle-distance range between 240m and 4400m is decisive for visibility, as within this range structures such as watchtowers and phenomena such as lights, fires and larger beacon signals can be seen, though details cannot be discerned.

#### Nabataean Connectivity in the Udhruh Area

What already becomes very clear from the surveyed hilltops is that on almost all of them (except for Tall Jurayda and Rujm al-Munbajis) Nabataean ceramic wares were found. Based on the quantities of this surveyed material the Nabataean era seems to be the most dominant period of use for many of them. When the middle-range limits for these hilltops with a Nabataean usage are plotted on a map, it becomes apparent that the visibility fields of these lie perfectly within these boundaries (FIG. 9). A network of communication appears, connecting on the one hand Udhruh with Petra in an east-west direction and on the other hand Udhruh with a north-south line of control. For the east-west connection the highest part of the ancient settlement -which is the location of the later southwest corner tower of the fortress- is directly connected to the Relais Tower over a distance of 3500m, which falls within the middle-distance radius. Indirectly, Udhruh is connected via Tall Udhruh and Abū ar-Rūa'a, both with an overall view over what we think are the outer limits of the ancient settlement, with the Relais Tower. With a distance of respectively

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 9. The middle-range limits for several watchtowers of the Udhruh communication system (Illustrations by Joanne Porck). N.B.

4200m and 3800m these fall within the middle-distance radii, and all of these possess unblocked views towards each other. As a back-up in cases of emergency or blocked views, Jabal at-Tahkim could be put in operation with a clear visible connection over a distance of 4000m towards the Relais Tower. It is situated only 1600m north of Udhruh and from this Nabataean stronghold Udhruh's SW corner tower can be seen. The Relais Tower connects visually with the Du'ayj tower on the Zubayriyya ridge towards Petra, and here too the middle-distance range with a distance of 4200m is maintained. The Du'ayj tower connects visually with some structures in the direction of Petra that fall beyond our research area. Tholbecg (2013:300) describes the structures JSS 89, JSS 122, JSS 86 and JSS 123 as possible actors in a system of 'visual long-distance communications'. The distances to these from Du'ayj tower are respectively 2100m, 3200m, 1500m and 4100m, and are thus all situated within the chosen view range.

The north-south connection starts for this study from the north with Jabal at-Tahkīm. As mentioned above, on clear days the views from this summit reach out far and even the Dana hilltops and Khirbat al-Qirāna are within the long-distance visibility range. We have not yet surveyed hilltop structures north of Jabal at-Tahkim, but the Nabataean settlement on the hills near Khirbat al-Jarbā can be considered. These connect visually with each other and the distance of 2600 m makes Khirbat al-Jarbā a plausible candidate. On Rujm al-Jarbā -300m south and on the same hill as Khirbat al-Jarbāa rectangular 15×11m structure made of limestone blocks, has been observed by Abudanh (2006: 413).

During a more recent visit no ceramic evidence has been retrieved here, so more research is required here. Jabal at-Taḥkīm links in a southern direction, as has already been seen with Udhruh's SW corner tower, but also with Tall Udhruh and Abū ar-Rūa'a with distances of 1800 and 3700m. These all fall within the calculated middle-distance range, as are the two southern hilltops –Tall aṣ-Ṣafiyya and Tall Qaṣīb– with a span of 3900m and 1700m.

The authors think that Nabataean Udhruh and its communication system played a role in the Nabataean military defense system. Such a system can be confirmed by various ancient literary sources. Diodorus of Sicily (19, 96, 3) describes a very early Nabataean network of watchtowers, relating to a late 4th century BC situation. The Nabataean settlement and the retrieved communication network in the Udhruh region could have played a role in the protection, control, provisioning, trans-'ship'ment and taxation of the trans-Arabian caravan trade. Through this trade in aromatics the Nabataeans accumulated part of their wealth and power, and became part of an antique globalised network for certain period<sup>14</sup>. The trade in myrrh and frankincense was a lucrative, but also a hazardous enterprise. In the arid no man's land of the desert and steppe travellers were prone to different dangers and challenges. The caravans had not only to venture the drought, but also the perils of desert-piracy. It is not clear if armed escorts were sent along the entire route, most probably the chain of fortlets and watchtowers played a role in guarding and controlling the safety of the caravans. The members of these transport and trade communities were not allowed to enter the Nabataean capital, so these 'services' had to be carried out at satellite stations in the vicinity of Petra (Zayadine 1992: 230). For the required services places were needed with sufficient supplies of water, food and fodder in a secure setting along or near the trade routes. Udhruh that developed according to Tholbecq (2013: 299) as a second Nabataean nucleus in the hinterland of Petra could have been pivotal in this.

<sup>14.</sup> For the Nabataean incense trade see inter aliaYoung 2001: 112-117 and Zayadine 2007.Globalisation as seen by Versluys (2015) as part of a dynamic approach to a world of cultural connectivity

with emphasis on social values, balances and connections whereby diachronicity can be integrated.

The 4th century AD Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (14, 8, 13) mentions that the early inhabitants of the Nabataean country watchfully took care of the safety of their well defended territory from strategically positioned posts. These were installed to control the roads from neighbouring territories into their land where according to Ammianus a rich variety of goods were produced. Archaeological evidence for the Nabataean agricultural intensification shows that this took place predominantly west of Udhruh (Kouki 2012: 84ff; 2013). The eastern boundary of this is located almost along the north-south line of the Udhruh communication system as described above. Is it possible that we are looking at one of the defensive lines of the Nabataean territory? On the one hand this might have had an external function directed towards neighbouring territories and incoming routes.

On the other hand it is directed internally, possibly to protect and control the local supplies of water and the established agricultural schemes such as the Nabataean dryland farming systems that were encountered west and northwest of Udhruh. In the hilly area northwest of Udhruh a combination of ancient rainwatercatchment and floodwater-harvesting techniques is observed. These terraced fields cover a vastarea of most probably dozens of square

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kilometers and provide surface finds dating from predominantly Nabataean and Byzantine times (FIG. 10). The location of Udhruh with its perennial spring, its surrounding Nabataean hydro-agricultural schemes and communication network underline Tholbecq's proposition (2013: 299) that Udhruh can be labelled as a secondary Nabataean centre next to Petra.

# Roman and Byzantine Connectivity in the Udhruḥ Area

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries a revitalization of military structures took place under Roman control in Jordan. Many of these military installations were already in use throughout the preceding centuries (Kennedy 2000), but others, such as the legionary fortress at al-Lajjūn, were newly constructed. The legionary fortress of Udhruh was probably, according to the west gate building inscription, rebuilt by the Legio VI Ferrata in 303-304AD (Kennedy and Falahat 2008: 159-160). It is not clear if this rebuilding refers to an earlier Roman legionary camp, an earlier Roman military fort of another character, or to earlier defensive installations of non-Roman origin. Till now, no literary or archaeological proof has been found pointing to a long lasting Roman occupation of the site before the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.



10. Geomorphological map of the western research area of the Udhruh Archaeological Project showing the fortress and the water management and field systems, whereby the structures part of the western dryland farming area are mapped (illustration by Roeland Emaus).

Except for a few 1st century AD terra sigillata sherds from the South Gaulish production centre La Graufesenque and some Trajanic coins, which could still have been in circulation in later periods, the evidence for this is very meagre<sup>15</sup>. In a trench carried out in the *interval*lum at the eastern side of the legionary fortress it was noticed that the Roman curtain wall was constructed on top of different foundations. The upright parts of this wall were made of nicely finished coquina limestone blocks, carried out in what can be described as clearly Roman practise while the foundations were made of more roughly cut and ditto finished brecciated chert and flintstone blocks. Such building practices do resemble the method of construction seen at the L-shaped fortlet on Jabal at-Tahkim and other Nabataean structures in the region. It seems that the Roman curtain wall was constructed on top of initial Nabataean walls or foundations. At this stage it is not clear when this was carried out and if the Roman curtain wall that still stands is part of the 303/304 rebuilding or of another earlier Roman building campaign. The layout and realization of these defensive works and the dozens of beautifully articulated architectural elements retrieved on the surface of the fort, which most probably belonged to its headquarter building, indicate that the legionary base of Udhruh was definitely of a more monumental stature than its counterparts along the limes Arabicus. Why is this the case at Udhruh and not at the other Roman legionary fortresses? This most probably has to do with its location near Petra, and this monumental refurbishment could have been part of a function as desert gateway to the capital of the Nabataeans. Several aspects of continuity from Nabataean days and ongoing connectivity with the centre of the Nabataean world can be noticed in Roman Udhruh. This can also be derived from the following. The spring of Udhruh was most

certainly an important factor for the choice of location for this Roman camp as had been for the preceding Nabataean structure<sup>16</sup>. In Roman times access to this water resource was located at the northeast side of the fortress, where a natural depression leads to the present-day spring. This connection to the spring and the control of this important water source is most probably the reason why this side of the *castra* has an atypical trapezoidal shape. Another unusual feature that struck us immediately, as has already been mentioned, was the slope on which the fort was built. The reason for this became clear when the location of what we suspect to be the Nabataean settlement and the castra southwest corner tower, proved to be a territorial marker connected to all the watchtowers identified in the region of Udhruh. This seemed to be the case for the Nabataean, as well for the Roman signalling and communication system.

If we look at the ceramic evidence of the hilltop sites in the Udhruh area it becomes clear that all of the surveyed Nabataean watchtowers were still in use or reused in the Roman period (FIG. 11). Most of the Roman sites in Jordan discussed by Kennedy (2000) exhibit ceramic evidence from the Nabataean period. A wellfunctioning communication system is of vital importance for any military organization, and the Roman military system was no exception. That the Roman military authorities put emphasis on military communication can be seen from both the archaeological and the historical record all around the empire. It looks like that for Udhruh the connection with Petra as well as the north-south link were still of vital importance. Does the last link coincide with the routing of the Via Nova Traiana -a highly debated issue among archaeologists and historians- or with Roman eastern frontier? We are not going to give an answer in this paper, but leave this issue open to discussion. Does the system -as

<sup>15.</sup> Such South Gaulishterra sigillata sherds have also been recorded at several sites in and around Petra. The globalised distribution patterns of this ware in the whole antique world in the 1st century AD is considered as an early example of mass consumption and com-

moditisation (Woolf 1998: 185-205; Pitts 2015).

<sup>16.</sup> For the locational analyses of Roman military sites based on classical sources and archaeology, see *e.g.* Driessen 2007:28-35, tables 2.1 - 2.3.



11. Map of the Udhruh region and watchtowers with ceramic finds (illustration by Joanne Porck).

we think of being the case in the Nabataean period-also has an internal control function on the nearby agricultural schemes in the Roman era? If we look at the ceramic evidence from the combination of ancient rainwater-harvesting agricultural schemes in the area to the west and northwest of Udhruh we see a strong Nabataean and also a Byzantine component, but Roman material seems to be lacking from these areas. Southeast of Udhruh however, an impressive network of well-preserved ancient subterranean and surface-water conservation measures and associated irrigated fields - a qanat- system was recorded in a large flood plain largely covered by alluvial deposits (FIG. 4 and 12). The basis of these *ganats* consist of four aquifers or water levels, tapped by subterranean canals which are constructed and maintained through more than 200 vertical *qanat*-shafts, probably hacked out of the limestone bedrock over an overall distance of more than 8.5km. The surface transport of the water is through more than 2000 m<sup>3</sup> of solidly built channels and aqueducts, and it accumulates in large reservoirs with capacities of millions of litres of water,

field system with at least 35 hectares of tilled land. These fields seem to consist of pockets of very fertile, though not easily cultivable soils. It became clear through observations in erosion gullies, small scale excavations and a combination of non-destructive geophysical groundbased and airborne exploration methods that the long-lived Udhruh *qanat* and field systems are perfectly conserved. OSL dating of the mortars used for the construction of the large reservoirs shows that these were most probably built in the Roman period, with what seem to be adaptations and/or renovations in Byzantine times (Versendaal in Driessen/Abudanah 2017)<sup>17</sup>.

If this landscape was actively exploited this landscape with the investment of great effort and ingenuity in such an agro-hydrological intensification, would it not be logical to identify some sort of control over the safety of such investments? We would like to think so, and we suggest that the agro-hydrological systems in the region of Udhruh are secured by the above described communication network. From the summits of Abū ar-Ru'āh and Tall Udhruh

<sup>17. 14</sup>C analyses of charcoal twigs found in the mortar of a later added supporting wall on the outside of one of the reservoirs dates in the Umayyad period. This might be evidence that the qanat- and field systems were still in use or were reused during early Islamic

times. The early Islamic periods are probably also very important in this context, but these are beyond the chronological range of this volume



12. The antique water management and irrigated field systems in the Wādī al-Fiqay, which is fed by the *qanat* system. 1) Northern reservoir - 50×50m; 2) Southern reservoir - 34×36m; 3) Smaller western reservoir - 15×15m; 4) Settlement Khirbat al-Fiqay; 5) Large lime kiln ovens; 6) Northern field system; 7) Southern field system. The darker lines left of reservoirs 1-2 are surface channels, now partly covered with alluvial deposits. The lighter lines right of the reservoir are irrigation channels and field walls (drawing by Roeland Emaus).

we could follow our field teams working on these field systems in Wādī al-Fiqay on some bright summer days. The distances of 6000 and 5100m between these are, however, beyond the calculated middle-distance range of 4400 m. In order to reconstruct the complete layout of the communication system in relation to these agricultural schemes we are still searching for the connecting spots between the above mentioned summits and the field systems. We might expect to find this connection within the boundaries of the middle-distance range of 4400m at an intermediate part of the water management system connecting the *qanat* shafts with the fields in Wādī al-Fiqay. A possible candidate is a reservoir with clear views from and to Tall Udhruh and Abū ar-Ru'āh, with a distance of respectively 3500 m and 4250 m. The dimensions of this reservoir, that has been partially demolished by looters armed with a bulldozer, have been reconstructed to approximately 15×15m by means of research with a ground penetrating radar.As the remnants are retrieved just below the current ground level only the bottom 0.3-0.5m of the reservoir remains, in a flood plain filled up with alluvial deposits. A concentration of nicely cut rectangular and sometimes decorated coquina blocks -comparable to those of the Udhruh castra- make clear that a large structure can be suspected here. A 4 m high structure at this spot would visually also connect to the most prominent agricultural field systems at a distance of 1800-2600m. As seen before watchtowers in the studied region are not only positioned as solitary structures on the top of summits, but can be also part of homesteads or other structures (Negev 1988: 85-88; Hirschfeld 1995: 71-73; Koenen *et al.* 2013: 20. 85-86).

In Byzantine times the agricultural intensification seems to continue in the region around Udhruh . In contrast, most of the other locations around Petra where in decline as can be observed in settlement continuity and/ or agricultural use (Kouki 2012: 90-91). Several Byzantine literary sources mention Udhruh (Adroh) as a large and important town (Fiema 2002: 209-210 plus references). According to one of these, the Beersheva Tax Edict, Byzantine Udhruh had a provincial standing as it was taxed for 65 solidii, which is the highest on the list of places in the province of Palaestina Tertia (di Segni 2004: 151-152). Some of these sources, especially the 6<sup>th</sup> century Petra Papyri, refer to a place called Augustopolis, a town with (regional) jurisdictional powers situated not far from Petra (Frösen/Arjava/Lehtinen 2002; Arjava/Buchholz/Gagos 2007). Many scholars

accept the identification of Augustopolis with Byzantine Udhruh (Fiema 2002: 209; Kouki 2012: 90, 99). One may well ask why this place was renamed prestigiously as Augustopolis, and how did it obtain the status of such a wealthy town? The Petra Papyri offer some hints indicating that the regional economy was based on agricultural production-with complex issues of hereditary-taxed landownership - in the Byzantine period. The agricultural intensification of the Udhruh region can also be archaeologically attested. The *ganat*- and adjoining field systems in the Wādī al-Fiqay were still active in Byzantine times, as demonstrated not only by the OSL-dating but also by the establishment of an adjacent settlement<sup>18</sup>. The dry-land farming areas west and northwest of Udhruh were reinstated in the Byzantine period, and the small fields in the Wādī Udhruh which were under irrigation of Udhruh's spring seem -according to the ceramic evidence- to be actively cultivated at this time.

In this period the communication system seems to focus again on the control of those fields that provided the landowners with their wealth. All hilltop structures yield Byzantine pottery, and two extra watchtowers seem to have been established for the guarding of the fields in the Wādī Udhruh: Tall Jurayda and Rujm al-Munbajis. These had most probably only a local function in connection with Udhruh and its bordering irrigated fields, as their visibility towards the other watchtowers in the region is very limited. The survey at the Du'ayj Tower towards Petra did not yield Byzantine material, may be this connection was not important any more. However the survey generated only a limited amount of pottery, so conclusions should not be drawn without further research.

#### Conclusions

The antique communication system in the area of Udhruh –consisting in fortlets and

watchtowers on prominent summits- was established in the Nabataean period, and was not as some earlier researchers thought constructed as exclusive part of the Roman military defence.

Although the authors only studied this based on surveys, observed inter visibility and quantifiable visibility perceptions with a 240-4400m radius, it becomes already clear that it is a well laid out regional system which was most probably part of alarger communication network. The Nabataeans took care of the safety of their well defended country from strategically positioned posts -as also some antique authors mentionedwhereby they watchfully controlled the incoming roads. Most certainly also to safeguard the incoming caravans loaded with aromatics by which the Nabataeans accumulated part of their wealth and consequently power. The Nabataean people did transform the steppe region around Petra in an agricultural landscape consisting in new settlements, water harvesting and conducting works, and arable fields. The authors think that the Udhruh communication system was a multi-purpose system through which the communication and control for military, trade, and agricultural settlements was combined. Udhruh itself played a central role in the communication with its perennial spring located not far from a higher point that connected visibly to almost all regional summits. We even think that through we might have located the Nabataean settlement, but this has still to be further examined and is part of our research for the coming years. In the Roman period this perfectly laid out security system dating from the Nabataean period was reused, and most probably adapted to the wishes of the Roman authorities. Such an information network is on the one hand pivotal for a formal organization as deployed by the (late) Roman armies. The connection with Petra remains important in Roman days. On the other it can be observed that it might have played a role in controlling and safeguarding a

<sup>18.</sup> This settlement Khirbat al-Fiqay (site 44 in Abudanh 2006) – which was damaged severely by looters with bulldozers – will be part of future GPR-research and has till now produced fragments

of Nabataean, but especially Byzantine pottery. Here also many finished rectangular coquina limestone blocks have been found.

newly established agro-hydrological intensifications to the east of Udhruh which was laid out with great effort and ingenuity. In the Byzantine period the region of Udhruh was, in contrast with many other locations and settlements in the Petra vicinity, an area with agricultural intensification. The communication system was also in this period actively exploited, and most probably used to control and safeguard the wide variety of water harvesting and field systems in the area around Udhruh. Further research on the Udhruh communication system by means of non-destructive geophysical methods and destructive excavations is however necessary to produce more conclusive results, which are planned for future field campaigns.

#### **About the Authors**

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