

Recent Excavations on the Citadel of Amman

(*A Preliminary Report*)

by

Fawzi Zayadine

The Citadel of Amman, called Djebel el-Qal'a, is a natural rocky hill which, in its present state, stretches like an articulated arm in three sections; the first one extending north-south, while the two others are oriented east-west (see plan : Fig. 1). The highest terrace (or acropolis) is limited to the north by the well preserved Roman wall, reinforced by square towers. This side of the Citadel is strategically the weakest point because it is easily accessible from neighboring Djebel el-Hussein, which is today the best way to approach the ruins. Here, on the north side, are to be expected the strongest fortifications to resist any military attack. The city wall runs along the western edge of the hill where a gateway exists, facing the Arab Palace, and turns downwards to protect the southern side of the middle terrace and part of the lower terrace. A gateway is still visible between the middle and the lower terrace, from which a stairway descended to the colonnaded street. It is apparent that the southern section of the wall was restored in either the Byzantine or the Arab period, for it includes many Roman architectural fragments, and the tower close to the Heracles Temple was certainly built with stones and moulded cornices robbed from that magnificent monument erected in the time of Marcus Aurelius. The restored Roman city wall has been

extended with rough uncut stones where it stopped in the lower terrace. (Pl. XI, 2) Some Roman architectural fragments were reused in the wall. On the south-eastern corner of the Citadel there are several city walls; the outer one is to be dated to the Iron II period for it is covered with Iron II sherds, while the two inner ones belong to the Early and Late Hellenistic periods, as demonstrated by the 1973 campaign. Along the north side of the lower terrace, a section of a city wall, built with large undressed boulders, may belong to the Iron Age. No walls are visible along the eastern slope of the upper terrace; modern roads and building operations have had much too destructive an effect on that side.

Though many explorers visited Amman in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the first survey of the ruins was published by Condor in 1889,¹ when the ancient monuments were still undisturbed by modern building activities. This was followed in 1904 by a much more comprehensive account published by H.C. Butler.² Thus, for a good description of the ruins, excavations were badly needed.

The first excavations to be conducted on the Citadel were sponsored by the Italian Archaeological Mission which started its first campaign in 1927 under the direction of G. Guidi. Work was carried

(1) C.R. Condor, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, (1889), p. 19-65.

(2) H.C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Div. II (1919) p. 34-62.

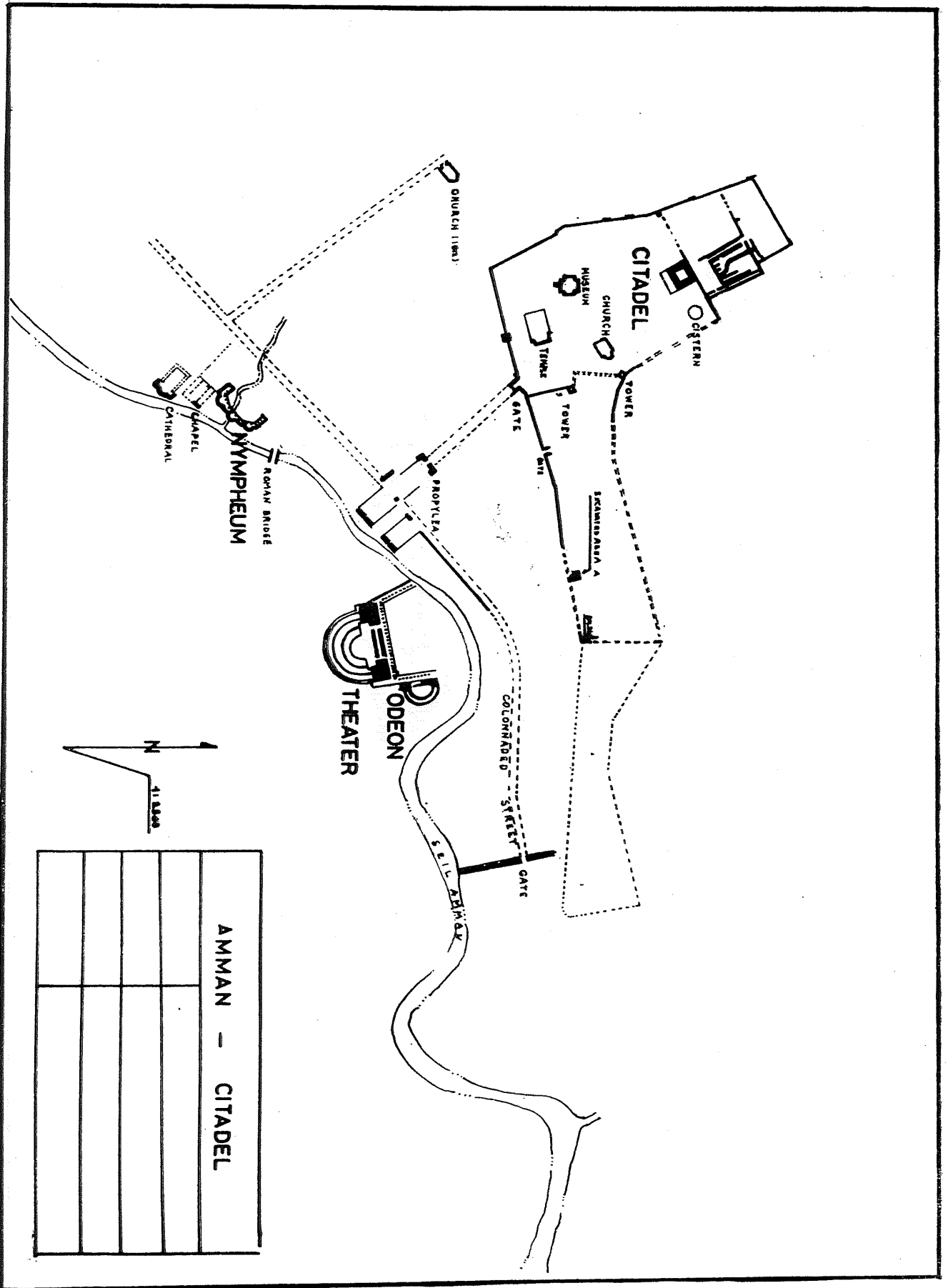


Fig. 1

AMMAN - CITADEL	

out on the upper terrace, inside the Roman precinct decorated with niches, and the Arab Palace. A Byzantine church was excavated to the North.

Guidi was succeeded by R. Bartoccini who directed many campaigns between 1928 and 1938 when he was interrupted by World War II. Bartoccini continued the excavations in the Roman precinct and the Arab Palace and moved to the so-called Heracles Temple, built in the second century A.D. and dedicated to Marcus Aurelius. Unfortunately, the final report on these excavations was never published and only some short notes are available.³ The Italian scholar was fascinated by the discovery inside the cella of the Heracles Temple of a protruding rock, smoothed at its top, which he identified with the "Sacred Rock" of the Ammonites.⁴ This rock shows no special features to identify it as a high place, similar to the well known high place of Petra. The surface of the rock was probably smoothed down by the Romans when the Heracles Temple was built. There is no visible sacrificial place, as claimed by Bartoccini. At any rate, it is clear that the Romans cleared out all previous structures before building the temple on bedrock.

In 1949, before the erection of the Jordanian Archaeological Museum, G.L. Harding,⁵ as Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, undertook a sounding on the site which provided mainly an Umayyad house but also Byzantine, Roman and Hellenistic material. In October of the same year, a group of Ammonite sculptures⁶ was

discovered to the north-west of the upper terrace, outside the Roman city wall. One of these sculptures was the famous statue of Yerah'azar, probably a king of Ammon.⁷

G.L. Harding was also responsible for the discovery of the Adoni-Nur tomb,⁸ on the southern slope of the Citadel, opposite the Roman theater. This burial, which belonged to a servant or minister of Amminadab, is considered as a landmark in the archaeological history of Rabbat Ammon and the pottery collected from the tomb forms the most valuable group for any comparative study of Ammonite ceramics in the Iron II period.

Two Middle Bronze tombs were excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 1957, and 1958, the first one near the Arab Palace and the second close to the south-eastern corner of the Museum. Only the scarabs discovered in the two burials have been published by Dr. Ward,⁹ while the important collection of pottery, now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, is still unpublished.

To obtain a better view of the Roman city wall on the northern arm of the Citadel, the Department of Antiquities cleared away the accumulated dump against its outer face. Important Iron Age and earlier structures were uncovered during the process of clearance. This led Dr. R. Dornemann¹⁰ of the A.C.O.R. to start stratigraphic digs in that area. His work, though made difficult by later disturbance of the archaeological strata, has greatly contributed to our knowledge of ancient Rabbat Ammon.

(3) Short reports on the digs are available in the files of the **Registration Center** at the Department of Antiquities.

(4) See "La Roccia degli Ammoniti," in **"Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani"** Vol. I (1938) p. 103-108.

(5) **ADAJ**, I (1951) p. 7-61.

(6) **ADAJ**, (1951) p. 34-36.

(7) In November 1973 the author was able to examine the inscription with Father Starcky.

It appeared that the last name is to be read : **SNB**; This is the name of an Ammonite King mentioned in the Assyrian Annals in 733. Thus, two new kings are to be added to the Ammonite dynasty: Yerah'azar, son of Zakir son of Shanib. See my article in **Syria** (forthcoming).

(8) **APEF**, VI (1953) p. 48-72.

(9) **ADAJ**, XI (1966) p. 5-18.

(10) See his unpublished dissertation **The Cultural and Archaeological History of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages**, Vol. I, Chicago (1970) p. 49ff.

Dr. Dornemann uncovered in Area III a layer of sterile huwwar which he identified as a Middle Bronze glacis, similar to the one discovered in 1953 at Tell Safut, and the sherds collected corroborate this dating. Two walls (E and F) come up against the glacis. These two walls intersect at an angle which suggests to Dr. Dornemann a gateway, a fort, or the junction of a city wall with a citadel. The latter solution seems the most probable, because, as I mentioned above, this point of the tell is the weakest and would probably have been strongly fortified.

This new discovery is crucial when one remembers N. Glueck's theory about the unsettled life in Transjordan during the Middle and Late Bronze periods. At least in the Amman area there was continuous settlement, even if the evidence for it is still scanty. The Late Bronze temple excavated by B. Hennessey at Amman Airport is further evidence to challenge N. Glueck's statement.

Below the Middle Bronze levels, R. Dornemann found Early Bronze sherds but no architecture related to that period.¹¹ Iron Age walls which once formed part of the fortification system were uncovered in many places outside the Roman wall; and a cave, cut in the rock, was also explored.

Excavations on the lower terrace (1968, 1972-73)

In 1968 the Amman Municipality proposed to convert the lower terrace of the Citadel into a national park. The project was not approved by the Department of Antiquities and a sounding at the site was undertaken to demonstrate its archaeological importance. This sounding was entrusted to the author who started work on May 8, 1968 with a force of 15 laborers, including two technical men. Drawing was executed by Ismail Hazzaz

and 'Ata 'Uleiwat, and the author acted as photographer. The work was interrupted from July 15th to August 30th to allow the author to participate in the Hesban dig and was resumed from October 1st to October 30th. A report of this first campaign was presented at the 9th Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Damascus in 1969.¹²

Excavations were started again in 1972 in the same area (A) from October 11th to December 7th, with 20 laborers, including one technical man. Mr. Kurt Langer acted as draftsman and surveyor and produced a grid of the lower terrace. In 1973, work continued in Area A from the first to the 30th of October and a new area (B) was excavated on the southeastern corner of the terrace. The report on this new area will be published in a forthcoming issue of the Annual.

The area selected for the first campaigning was almost in the middle of the lower terrace, inside the city wall and about 70 meters east of the end of the Roman wall. Originally, two squares (1 and 2) were plotted, each 5 m. by 5 m. with a one meter balk in between. The area was extended by two other squares to the north (3 and 4). The balks were removed later to allow a better understanding of the architectural remains. In 1972, no new squares were dug, and work was concentrated on checking the previous stratigraphy. Five strata have now been determined:

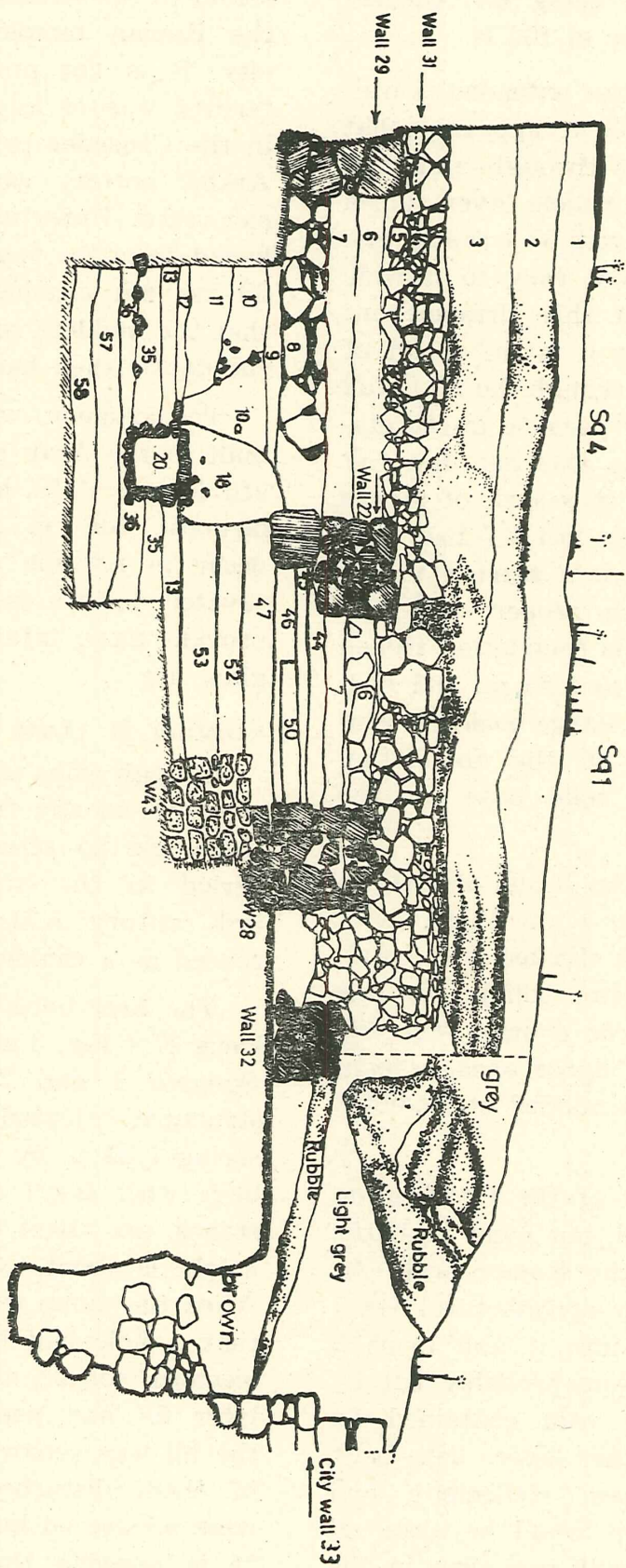
Stratum I

A thick layer of accumulated debris (loc. 1-3) covered the whole excavated area (see section A'-A: Fig. 2), probably washed down from the middle terrace. It contained large quantities of mixed pottery sherds and, in some places (mainly locus 2), wall plaster, painted with red or blue. Since this plaster was found east of wall 31, it probably came from the destruction of that wall.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 50.

(12) *AAS*, XXI (1971) p. 152.

AMMAN CITADEL EXCAVATION
1968 & 1972



SCALE 1:50
0 1 2
m

KHAYYAT

Fig. 2

Many coins found in the accumulated debris prove that this layer was deposited between the 4th and the 9th centuries A.D., the latest coin being an Abbasid filis struck in Damascus in 162 H.

When Square 1 was extended southward to reach wall 33, it appeared that loci 1-7 had been cut through and part of wall 31 robbed. A rubble layer sloped down from wall 31 to wall 33 (see section A'-A; Fig. 2). It is not easy to provide a good explanation of this phenomenon; one may imagine that it is the result of previous excavations, though the fill is full of potsherds. Another possible interpretation is that the dump was cut down at a width of 2 meters, in search of stones to build wall 33. When loci 1-7 had been cut through, the builders started to dig the foundation trench proper, which is 1 m. to 1,50 wide. This foundation trench was excavated down to 2,50 m. and bed-rock was not reached. Large boulders were put in the bottom of the foundation trench to provide a solid base for the wall.

The wall itself (Fig. 3 and Pl. XI, 1) was originally about 4 m. thick, built with undressed stones chinked with smaller ones. To give better solidity to this curtain wall, the lower courses were 20 cm. thicker than the upper ones, a technique which has been noticed at medieval Hesban.¹³

Wall 33 was part of the fortification system of the Citadel, but most probably of later date than the Roman wall. As stated above, Roman architectural fragments are included into it and locus 2 of Square 1 which was probably cut by the builders of the wall contained an Abbasid coin. The other layers date back to Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic and Iron periods. Thus it could be assumed that the wall was built sometime in the

9th century A.D. Arab historical sources mention no building activity in the area and Muqaddisi¹⁴ (9th century A.D.) refers to the Palace of Goliath (probably the Roman temple) as dominating the city. It is not probable that the lower terrace was of any strategic importance in the Crusader period since no medieval Arabic pottery was found in the area excavated. Unfortunately, the sherds collected from the foundation trench of wall 33 are not conclusive, for it is obvious that the builders refilled that trench with the debris they had removed.

To conclude, wall 33 was probably built in the Arab period, probably in the 9th century A.D., but its existence is problematic for no architecture or floors occur in relation to it in the area excavated. Future excavations will certainly provide more information about its original use.

Stratum II (Late Roman period)

Though coins of Byzantine period were collected, mostly from Square 2, locus 3, there are no structures related to that period in the area excavated. In the 3rd century A.D. the whole area was reused as a cemetery.

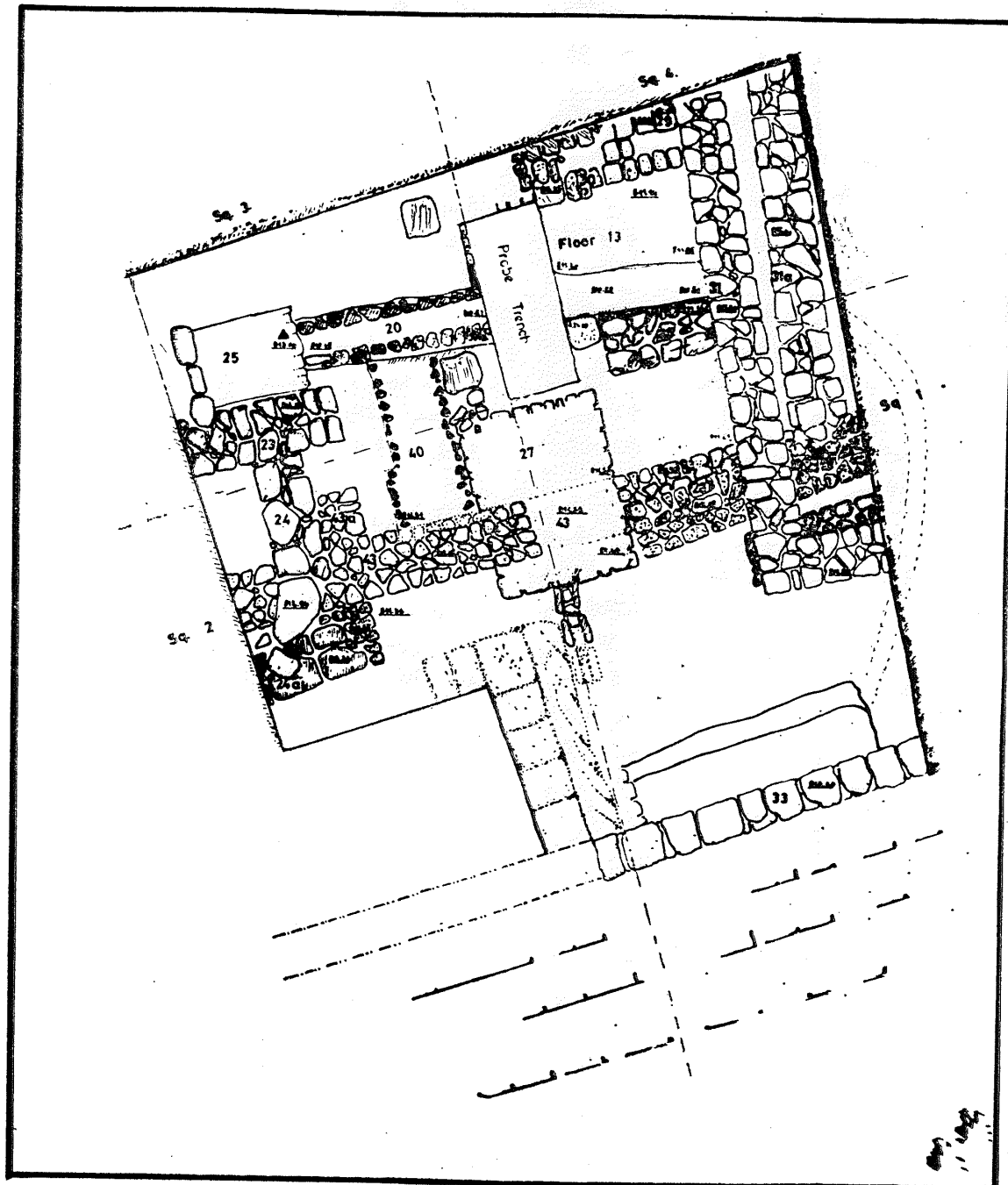
The first burial to be discovered was locus 27 (Fig. 3 and Pl. XII, 1) between Squares 1 and 2. It is a rectangular structure, oriented north-south and measuring 1,10 m. by 3,17 m. The side walls, built with small and medium undressed stones, are about 0,50 m. thick and their height is about 1,40 m. in several places. When the dump was removed, it appeared that a hole had been dug in the southwestern corner of the burial and that later fill had penetrated into it. When the fill was removed, human bones, most of them disturbed by ancient robbers, were uncovered but no skull was present. It is possible that most of the bones

(13) Andrews University Seminary Studies, XI (Jan. 1973), No. 1, p. 91.

(14) Ahsan at-Taqasim, translated by Miquel, Institut Français de Damas, (1963) p. 205.

AMMAN-CITADEL

Excavation: 1968 / 72 / 73



Legend

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Roman phase 1 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Arabic |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Roman phase 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Med. phase 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Med. phase 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Iron age phase 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Iron age phase 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

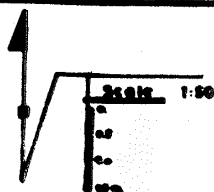


Fig. 3

disintegrated due to the action of infiltrating water. The thick ashy layer in which the bones were found suggests that the corpse was put into a wooden coffin. An iron handle (Pl. XII, 2; No. 51) and many nails were found in the same layer. The funeral deposit consisted of a lamp (No 40) which was lying in the northeastern corner of the burial and two glass bottles found in the southwestern side (Pl. XIII, 1, XIV, 1, Nos 39-40).

A channel, about 30 cm. wide and 40 cm. deep, comes out of the southern wall of the burial and runs southwards; it was originally covered with flagstones and its sides lined with rubble covered by a hard cement. Like the channel, locus 20 (see below), this one was cut by the foundation trench of wall 33.

Traces of plaster were found on the western side of the burial, and a shallow hole in the ground near the south-western corner suggests that there was water filtering through the burial, and was running out through the channel already mentioned. In this case, it is clear that locus 27 was originally a drain, collecting water from superimposed houses which belong to Stratum IV (Hellenistic period). When the drain was removed in 1973, an inscribed Rhodian jar-handle, dated to 150-100 B.C. (Pl. XIV, 2) was discovered in the western wall. It appeared also that the whole structure was built through walls 28 and 28a of the Iron period (see below) which were robbed down to floor 13. The floor itself which was covered with an ashy layer was undisturbed.

Locus 27 is comparable to another burial of the same period, locus 25 (Fig. 3 and Pl. XV, 1). In the north-western corner of Square 3, another burial was excavated in 1968. This is a rectangular chamber of 0,80 m. by 2,50 m. (inside measurement) covered by a barrel vault

1,60 m. high. The side walls of the chamber were built with roughly squared boulders, while the vault is of well-dressed limestone, smoothed inside with a boss and draft outside. A channel (locus 20) runs through the chamber and continues eastwards, covered by flagstones except inside the chamber.

The vault was entered from the eastern side, which was blocked with slabs, and the dump accumulated inside it was not very thick. No bones were found for they had disintegrated by the action of infiltrated water through the channel, though both western and eastern mouths were blocked with stones and thick mortar when the chamber was used for the burial. Four unguentaria and a lamp (No 44) were found in the chamber (Pl. XII, 2).

Like locus 27, locus 25 was originally a drain, and the vault was added when it was reused as a tomb in the Roman period. The barrel vault is slightly distorted because the chamber is not exactly rectangular and was not originally built to support a vault.

Pottery objects from tombs (loci 25 and 27) indicate a date in the early 3rd century A.D., while the drains and channels belong to Stratum IV (Hellenistic period).

About one meter east of locus 25, the channel is cut through by a pit extending north-south and filled with rubble stones (locus 40: Fig. 3) 1 m. wide and 0,50 m. deep. The purpose of this trench is quite mysterious. One may suppose that it was prepared to be a channel, running into locus 25, but was never completed. When the Romans reused the burial locus 25, they refilled the trench with rubble stones, for many sherds dated to the 3rd. century A.D. were found in the fill.

A Burial in a cooking pot

On November 26th, 1972, a cooking pot, dated to the 3rd century A.D.¹⁵ was uncovered in Square 1, about 45 cm. below wall 31 and above wall 32. This cooking pot (Fig. 4 and Pl. XV, 2.) was cracked but was restored in situ. It contained soft brown soil and the tiny bones of a human fetus. This is the first time that such a burial appears in the area excavated, but in 1968 a similar cooking pot with fetal bones was discovered in the dump north of the city wall, during clearing operations of the Department of Antiquities.

The Roman tombs of Stratum II clearly mean that the area excavated was outside the city wall in the 3rd century A.D. and provide a good indication of the extent of the Roman city in that period. This was not the case in earlier periods where heavy occupation has been recognized in the area.

Stratum III (Roman)

To the east of Squares 1 and 4, parallel to the eastern balk a wall extending north-south was excavated in 1968 (locus 31). This wall is standing to a surviving height of 0,70 m. and is 1 m. wide (Pl. XVI, 1). It is built of roughly faced stones and has been robbed to the south, probably by the foundation trench of wall 33, as mentioned above. The general plan (Fig. 3) shows that this wall turns to the east at a right angle.

Wall 31 was set in locus 4, a hard surface running over both squares 1 and 4 and disturbed by 3rd century A.D. pits. Its foundation trench dug in that surface, was about 30 cm. wide. From it came a fine *terra sigillata* sherd.

In the 1972 campaign, the eastern balk was trimmed back one meter. When this operation was completed, another wall almost parallel to wall 31 appeared, of

the same width (1 m.). To the south this wall was robbed, probably in the late Roman period, as indicated by the pottery.

Both walls 31 and 31a are of uncertain purpose; they may belong to a large building which will be excavated in future campaigns.

To date wall 31 four pieces of evidence should be considered :

1) The wall runs over Hellenistic and Iron Age II walls, and should therefore be later than the Hellenistic period.

2) It was out of use in the third century A.D., since a cooking pot containing a fetus was discovered near its southern end.

3) The floor into which it was dug (locus 4) contained Nabataean and Seleucid coins. The Nabataean coins date back to Aretas IV (9 B.C.-40 A.D.). In this case, wall 31 is later than 40 A.D.

4) The *terra sigillata* fragment discovered in the foundation trench is not to be dated later than the 1st century A.D.

Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the wall dates in the second half of the first century A.D. It is not possible in the actual circumstances to date wall 31a, because its relation to wall 31 is not clear yet.

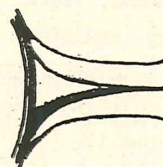
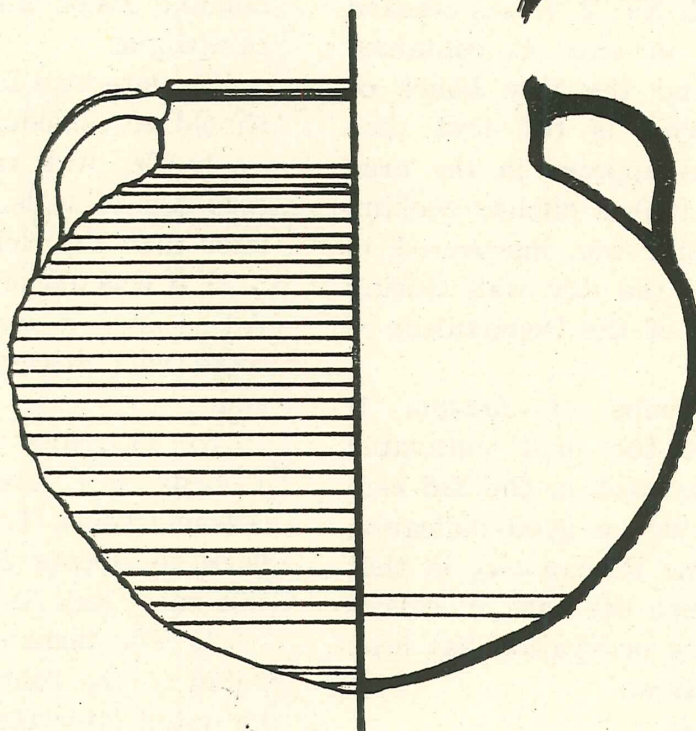
Stratum IV, Phase 1 (Hellenistic period)

Pure Hellenistic pottery began to appear with locus 5 in Square 4, a hard surface, about 40 cm. thick, broken in some places by late Roman pits. This surface ran up against walls 22 and 29. An inscribed Rhodian jar-handle (Pl. XII, 2) of the second century B.C. was found with a bulla or seal impression representing a centaur holding a bow¹⁶ (Pl. XXVI, No. 31).

Below locus 5, locus 6 was hard packed grey soil, partly disturbed by later pits. It yielded late Hellenistic pottery similar to that of locus 5.

(15) For parallels see J.A. Sauer, "Heshbon Pottery, 1971", Andrews University, 1973), p. 24-25 and Fig. 2, 45-50.

(16) A man armed with a bow of the same style appears on Phoenician coins of the 4th century B.C. (Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Phoenicia*, Pl. XIX, 17 and XLI, 11-12).



SCALE 1:3

AMMAN
Citadel

No 59
1972

Handwritten signature or initials.

Fig. 4

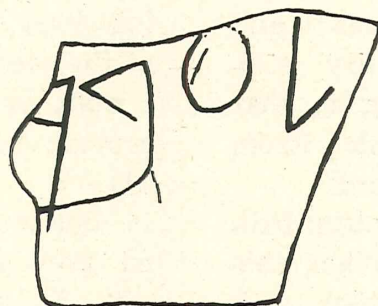


Fig. 5

When locus 6 was removed, there appeared a very smooth and regular plaster floor (locus 7) running up against walls 22 and 29. This floor was laid over a thick layer of boulders and rubble (locus 8) which formed a solid base for it. Iron II sherds of the 7-6th century B.C. came from locus 8.

Four walls, of almost the same elevation, are connected with the Hellenistic Stratum IV, phase 1:

Wall 22 extends east-west with a preserved height of 0,70 m. and a thickness of 1 m. Two roughly squared stones of about 50 x 70 x 50 cm. included in the wall but protruding to the north about 20 cm. and not on the same level as the wall, belong to an earlier stratum (Stratum V). In line with wall 23, wall 22 is covered by walls 31 and 31a and should extend underneath them.

To the north, parallel to wall 22, is wall 29 which is very fragmentary and which stands above wall 30 of the Iron Age (Stratum V).

In squares 2 and 3, two walls belong to the Hellenistic period. These are walls 23 and 24, the former extending east-west, and the latter north-south, meeting at right angles. Both are preserved to one course only & are built of large undressed blocks, some of them measuring as much as 107 by 70 cm. To the south, wall 24 meets wall 24a which is fragmentary and which was probably extended by wall 32, below wall 31. These walls represent a large building which is still unidentified.

Stratum IV, Phase 2

When locus 25 was cleaned out (see above), a channel appeared in the middle, extending east-west (locus 20). To obtain more information about its extent and structure, a probe trench 3,50 m. by 1,50 was dug down in Square 4 (see Pl. XVI, 1). This probe trench was started from

locus 9, a hard surface of the Iron II period, associated with Stratum V, phase 1. It was proved that the Iron Age II loci from 9 to 36 were cut by the foundation trench of the channel, which is 1,50 to 1,57 m. wide, and 0,80 m. deep, as shown by section A'-A. (Pl. XVI, 2).

The channel proper is 0,55 m. wide and is 0,45 to 60 m. deep. Its sides are lined with slabs of 0,38 by 0,30 m. and coated in the bottom of the channel with a thin layer of hard cement (Pl. XVII, 1). Slabs of undressed limestones measuring 0,90 by 0,50 m. cover the whole conduit, except in the vaulted chamber, locus 25. Small mortared stones are fitted in the gaps between the covering slabs. The whole work looks like a well-built and solid achievement which could be easily serviceable today. In 1972 the terminus of the channel was found when the eastern balk was trimmed back, and its whole run to the east was cleared when a section of the slabs was removed in Square 4. It is now easy to follow the conduit which curves underneath walls 31 and 31a and comes to wall 33 where it is cut off by the foundation trench of that wall. There is no doubt that originally the channel ran through the city wall of that period, probably down to the valley.

Four sculptures from the channel

On October 1968, the work stopped when the probe trench reached the covering slabs of the channel and the author left the country to join the French Institute of Beirut. Later on, some of the slabs were accidentally removed and four double-faced sculptures appeared,¹⁷ built into the side walls of the channel (Pl. XVIII, 1) and covered by the flagstones in the section between the barrel vault and the probe trench (Pl. XVII). These heads were removed by the Department of Antiquities¹⁸ and exhibited in the Ar-

(17) They were noticed by R. Dornemann : "The Cultural and Archaeological History...", p. 405.

(18) S. Tell, *ADAJ*, XII-XIII (1967-1968) p. 9-12 (Arabic).
F. Zayadine, *AAS*, XXI (1971) p. 152 and Pl. XLI.

chaeological Museum. They were probably taken from an important building belonging to the Iron II period (see plan: Fig. 3) Since these heads are to be dated to the end of the 7th century B.C., they are related to the structures excavated in Stratum V, phase 1. More slabs were removed in 1972 in the hope that new architectural fragments would come out but this hope was disappointed.

Dating of Stratum IV

From pottery sherds, Rhodian jar-handles and coins, it is clear that Stratum IV belonged to the Seleucid period which began in Philadelphia in 218 B.C., when Antiochus II took the city from Ptolemy IV, king of Egypt. Two coins of Antiochus Epiphanus (175-164) were found in Square 2, locus 5 and the two Rhodian jar-handles are to be dated to about 150 B.C. Though there are no traces of burning, this stratum was probably destroyed in about 100 B.C. by the Macabees, and the city flourished again in the first century B.C. when Pompeius put it in the League of the Decapolis. The dating of the water channel is not yet precise. Since it is cut through Iron Age strata, it is obvious that it was built later than the 7-6 century B.C. The four heads mentioned above are good evidence for this statement since they were reused as building stones, below the covering slabs. Late Hellenistic sherds, mainly of cooking pots, were found inside. But section A'-A clearly indicates that wall 22 of the Seleucid period was built over the southern edge of the channel's foundation trench. In this case, it is evident that the channel was constructed before the wall. On the other hand, no connection whatsoever has been found between the Hellenistic walls and the water channel. It is possible that this conduit belonged to an earlier phase of Hellenistic building which has to be determined in the future. The fill in the

channel's foundation trench was not helpful in solving the problem for it was full of Iron Age sherds. The builders undoubtedly refilled the trench with the same soil they had removed, mixing late and early Iron Age material.

Stratum V, Phase 1 (Iron Age II)

An important collection of Iron Age II pottery came from locus 8 in Square 4 which was interpreted as a foundation for the Hellenistic floor 7. Below locus 8 a hard surface was uncovered, consisting of packed *huwwar* (locus 9) which is connected with three parallel walls. These are from south to north: walls 28, 22a, and 30, which were badly damaged by the Hellenistic occupation. Locus 9 yielded an inscribed Iron Age sherd (Fig. 5 and Pl. XX, 3).

Wall 28, extending east-west, runs underneath wall 31 and part of it is included in that wall (see section A'-A) It is built with medium size rubble stones and only two courses are preserved. The drain locus 27 was dug through it and wall 40 cuts its extension to the west. Wall 28 covers wall 43 which belonged to phase 2 (see below).

North of wall 28, wall 22a is covered by Hellenistic wall 22 and was robbed by the foundation trench of the channel (locus 20). Only three roughly dressed stones are still in situ, protruding about 20 cm. north of wall 22. The largest of these stones measures 70 x 40 x 65 cm. and a similar stone in Square 3 may belong to the same wall. An extension of this wall is probably to be expected, running underneath walls 31 and 31a.

Wall 30 is also covered by Hellenistic wall 29 and was badly damaged by robber trenches. Only one course is preserved and two of the stones protrude to the south, which could mean that the wall turned at a right angle in that direction.

Dating

Stratum V, phase 1 is to be dated on the basis of the pottery and epigraphical

material to the end of the 7th century B.C. and the beginning of the 6th century B.C. The pottery seems to be earlier than the group from the Hesban dig, published by J. Sauer. It was suggested that the four sculptured heads mentioned above are probably related to this period, though no architectural fragments in association with these sculptures were uncovered, except for a round stone which might be a column base with central shallow depression and which was found built into wall 22. In general, the poor material of the walls of phase 1, described above, indicates that no important official building was situated in the area. The sculptures could have been brought from another area, namely the upper terrace where palaces and temples should have existed. But since the channel seems to run over a great distance, it is hard to understand why the builders put these heads in a position close to the end of the channel and not in the upper section, if they brought the heads from far away. On the contrary it seems more probable that they found the sculptures while digging the foundation trench of the channel in the Iron Age II stratum and built them into the channel. Further investigation of this stratum should certainly reveal structures of a more important nature.

Stratum V, Phase 2

Below locus 9, a fill about one meter thick was deposited, consisting of limey soil mixed with rubble, mud-bricks and wall plaster, especially in loci 12 and 53 which lay right above floor 13. This fill certainly originated from the destruction of phase 2.

A fine plaster floor 20 cm. thick is the most important feature of phase 2, extending over the whole excavated area (Pl. XVIII, 2). It was first recognized in the probe trench and we have already mentioned that the channel was dug into this floor. Its composition is mainly of sterile crushed lime, hard-packed and nicely smoothed. In the 1973 campaign

this floor was uncovered between walls 28 and 30 in a small strip south of wall 28. It appeared that this surface slopes from south to north. Wall 43 is directly associated with floor 13, for the plaster comes up against its southern face. Though this was damaged in the Stratum V, phase 1 period and by locus 27, which cuts through it, it could be traced over a distance measuring 8,50 m. From the southern side, a layer of burning about 15 cm. thick was found above the floor and seems to extend over the whole surface. The Hellenistic drain and channel were built directly over this layer of burning. A depression in the floor is partly visible underneath the modern stairway leading to the dig. It is noticeable that the burnt layer extends only over the southern part of the excavated area and not over the northern part. The explanation for this depends largely on the interpretation of the architectural remains of phase 2. Since no wall was met over a distance of 5 meters, it is probable that the area north of wall 43 was an open courtyard, while the southern part was a building roofed with wooden beams. No definite evidence is available to provide an idea of the original function of this important building and no objects were found in the burnt layer except for a couple of sherds.

Dating

The pottery from above floor 13 is definitely 7th century B.C. not very different from that above floor 9. But the pottery below floor 13 (loci 35, 36, 57, 58) is different in forms and technique. The 9th century B.C. is the latest possible date for this group, and figurine No. 56 (Pl. XX, 2) is of an earlier type. Since no pottery was found in the floor itself, the occupation in phase 2 could be reasonably dated between the 9th and 7th centuries B.C. most probably, in the 8th century B.C. It is still too early to relate the destruction of phase 2 to any historical event in the area, but it could

be tentatively associated with the Assyrian attacks on the country.

Stratum V, Phase 3

This phase has been recognized in the probe trench only, below floor 13. Four layers (loci 35, 36, 57, 58) of ashy grey soil

yielded 9th and 10th century B.C. sherds and some probably Iron I sherds. Though there are no visible architectural remains in the probe trench this heavy fill must belong to an occupation phase earlier than the 8th century B.C.

The Finds

Stratum II (Roman Period)

Exc. No.	Provenance	Description	Plate
38	A,1,27	Glass bottle, globular body, rounded base, irridescent blue and yellow surface. Height 3,5 cm.	XIII
39	A,1,27	Glass bottle, similar to 38. Yellowish surface. Height 4 cm.	XIII
40	A,1,27	Pear-shaped lamp burned nozzle, nob handle, buff ware, traces of red slip. Length 7 cm.	XII
51	A,1,27	Iron handle of a box or wooden coffin.	XII
44	A,1,25	Moulded lamp, decorated with circles. Central hole broken, Burned nozzle, buff ware.	XII
45	A,1,25	Unguentarium, oval body, flat bottom, rounded out-flaring rim, buff ware, red-dish paint over neck.	XII
83	A,1,25	Unguentarium; same type than 45. Fragmentary.	XIII
59	A,1,4	Cooking pot used as a burial for a human fetus. Globular ribbed body, groove over rim, pinkish ware, traces of burn. Height 21 cm.	XV, 2 Fig. 4

Stratum IV (Hellenistic Period)

15	A,2,5	Bronze coin of Antiochus IV Epiphanus. obv. head of king, rev. victory upon a chariot. Inscription : <div style="text-align: center;"> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ </div>	XXVI
31	A,4,5	Seal impression on bitumen, depicting a winged centaur, holding a bow. Diam. 2 cm.	XXVI
53	A,4,5	Inscribed Rhodian jar-handle, decorated with a rose. Creamy surface, pinkish ware. Greek inscription: <div style="text-align: center;"> ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ </div>	XXII

Exc. No.	Provenance	Description	Plate
64	A,1,27	<p>The eponyme occurs in 180—150 B.C. (See <i>Samaria-Sebaste</i>, III, p. 382).</p> <p>Rhodian jar-handle, creamy surface, pinkish ware, Greek inscription:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ΕΗΙ [ΑΡΧΙ]ΒΙΟΥ ΕΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ</p> <p>To be dated 150-100 (<i>Samaria-Sebaste</i>, III, p. 381).</p>	XXIV

Stratum V (Iron Age)

The finds of the Iron Age period which are varied and representative of the period demonstrate the importance of the area in that period. They consist of animal's figurines, potters' marks, an ostrakon, human figurines and sculptures. Most of them were discovered in a stratified context and certainly help to fix the date of the stratum they came from.

Animal Figurines

No. 65 (Pl. XIX, 1) is a horse head which came out from the dump, outside the square in an unstratified context. But it certainly belongs to the Iron II period. Since it is hollow inside, it was probably attached to a kernos and liquid was poured through the mouth. Two parallel incisions on the muzzle represent the reins and the prominent eyes are marked by semi circular lines. This type of figurine is typical of Iron Age II and was found at Hazor in Stratum V¹⁹.

The bronze head of a bull (No. 37, Pl. XIV, 1) was discovered in Square 2, locus 2 which was a mixed layer, but the head must date to the Iron II period. It was probably attached to some bronze vessel. In the central depression on the forehead an inlay was probably inserted.

From N-S Balk, Locus 6 came what is possibly a horse head.²⁰ (Pl. XXIV, 2) This was also a mixed layer, but the

figurine betrays the technique of many Ammonite animal figurines. The reins are represented by painted lines in red-brown over a red-orange slip. The eyes are applied pellets.

Potters' marks :

No. 63 (Pl. XIX, 2) is a jug handle of red-orange surface and dark core, marked with a cross which could be compared to a tau. This potter's mark is very common at Hazor²¹ and dates back to the 9th-7th century B.C. Our handle came from Square 2, locus 52 (see section A'-A) which overlies floor 13 and could be dated to the 7th century, B.C.

No. 62 is a jar rim of greyish ware marked with a seal impression consisting of two letters (?) (Pl. XIX, 2). The one to the left is E shaped, and the other is like an I, separated from the first one by a zigzag line. The type of the ware is undoubtedly Iron Age. The rim came from Square 1, locus 53 which was a destruction layer overlying floor 13.

The inscribed sherd was probably part of a jug, covered with a red slip outside and black inside (Pl. XX, 3 and Fig. 5). It came from Square 4 locus 9, a hard surface in relation with wall 30. The context is late 7th Century B.C. The inscription reads: l'br; it was certainly tempting to read the last letter as a dalet (l'bd) and restore a kin's name (Cf. l'bd Am-

(19) *Hazor*, III-IV, Pl. CLXXVI, 24; CCCLVI, 1.

(20) *QDAP*, XIV (1950) Pl. XIII, 1.

(21) *Hazor*, III-IV, Pl. CCXXXI, 21; CCLVI; CCXXXIV etc...

minadab). But the stem of the last letter is too long for a dalet and fits much better a resh. The name *abri* is well known from the Bible (1Ch. 24, 27). It is not clear whether the *ain* is closed or not, for the top of the letter has been broken off.

Human Figurines

No. 36 (Pl. XIV, 1) is probably the head of a horse rider which was discovered in Square, 1, locus 3, a mixed layer. The horse rider is wearing the Syrian conical cap with many ribbings. The globular eyes are prominent and the mouth is represented by a horizontal incision.

This type of figurine is well known from Amman and the surroundings. A similar head is published by R. Dornemann²² and is said to come from the Amman Citadel.

The fragment of a female figurine (No. 60, Pl. XX, 1) shows a woman holding her breast with the right hand. The

wrist is decorated with bracelets. A lock of hair in the form of a volute is seen over the breast.

This type of figurine was cast in two parts, face and back put together and backed, and must be of later date than the plaquette type (see following). It was discovered in Square 1, locus 47, which belongs to Stratum V, phase 1.

Of a different type is No. 56 (Pl. XX, 2). This is the plaquette type, moulded with one mould. The legs are pressed together and the ankles decorated with torques. Parallel incisions mark the toes. The pudenda are represented by an incision.

This type is well known from Palestine and appears at Megiddo,²³ Tell Beit Mirsim,²⁴ Hazor²⁵ and Taanach.²⁶ It came from below the plaster floor locus 13 and dates probably from the 9th century B.C. (Square 4, locus 36).

Stratum V (Iron Age II)

Exc. No.	Provenance	Description	Plate
36	A,1,3	Head of a horse-rider wearing a conical cap. The ears are protruding, the mouth is marked by a horizontal incision. The nose is slightly damaged. Red-brown gritty ware. Height 4 cm.	XIV, 1
37	A,2,3	Bronze Bull head; a dent is seen in the forehead. Height: 3 cm.	XIV, 1
56	A,4,36	Lower part of a female figurine. Ankles decorated with torques. Grey ware, large white grits. Height : 5 cm.	XX, 2
60	A,4,47	Female figurine. Right hand holding the breast, lock of hair over the breast, wrist decorated with bracelets. Red surface outside, black inside. White grits.	XX, 1

(22) *Op. Cit.* Pl. 79, 1.

(23) *Megiddo Tombs*, T. 24 B, Pl. 107 : 1.

(24) *Tell Beit Mirsim*, II, Pl. 26 : 8; *III*, Pl.

(25) *Hazor*, III-IV, Pls. CCLIII, 11 and CCCLVI, 8.

(26) *Sellin, Tell Ta'annek*, Fig. 47.

Exc. No.	Provenance	Description	Plate
65	Unstratified	Height: 4 cm. Horse head. Hollow inside, probably belonged to a libation pot. Pinkish ware, many grits.	XIX, 1
82	N-S balk removal L. 6	Height 6 cm. Horse Head, reins indicated by painted lines, Orange Ware; Brown paint.	
83	A,4,9	Inscribed sherd: l'br. Red surface outside, black inside, white grits.	XX, 3 Fig. 5

The Double Faced Heads

No. 1 (J. 11688). Height 30 cm., Width 24 cm., Depth 15 cm. (Pl. XXI).

The hair, tied up by a band, is represented by strands, radiating from a central hole. Twelve locks of hair appear on the forehead. The oversize ears are B-shaped and are protruding on each side. Earrings, consisting of a crescent and three pendants are hanging down from each one. Eyelids and eyebrows are marked by incisions which once had inlays. The flat necklace, framed by two rounded bands, had beads inlaid with precious stones or ivories.

On face A, the left eye is *in situ* and is engraved on the back with the letter *resh*. Face B has two eyes *in situ*, the left one engraved with a *zain* and the other one with a *waw*. No letters are incised on the beads of face B.

There are two holes of 3,5 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. in depth on the top and bottom of the sculpture.

No. 2 (J. 11689). Height 30 cm. Width 23 cm. Depth 16 cm. (Pl. XXI-XXII).

The hair is represented by parallel incisions. About fourteen locks are in relief on the forehead. The earrings are similar to No. 1.

On the damaged nose of face A, there are clear traces of burn. There are two eyes *in situ* on the face, the left one inlaid with ivory. It bears the letter *samek*, while the right one bears the letter *beth*.

The left eye of face B has two ivory inlays and bears a mysterious sign which could be the sign *nefr* flanked by two *uraei*. A similar sign appear on an Egyptian seal²⁷ of the 7th-6th centuries B.C.

Two holes of 3,5 cm. in diameter and 2,5 cm. in depth are in the top and bottom of the sculpture.

No. 3 (J. 11690). Height 30 cm. Width 23,8 cm. Depth 16,2 cm. (Pl. XXII).

This cracked head is of different style than the two others. The band holding the hair is much larger; the ears and side strands of hair are not protruding on each side; the face is larger and the chin much thicker.

On face A the right eye bears the letter *qaf* and two of the three beads of the necklace bear the letter *samek* and an inverted *beth*.

Holes on the top and bottom of the

(27) J. Vercotter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois*,

Paris (1945) p. 134, No. 164.

head of 4 cm. in diam. and 2 cm. in depth are found.

No. 4 (J. 11691) (Pl. XXIII).

Fragmentary head, similar to type 1. No eyes or beads are preserved.

Parallels

Double-faced sculptures are not very common in the area. An ivory figurine from Nimrud²⁸ represents a double-faced nude female which was probably used as a stand. Similar bronze stands occur in Syro-Phoenician art in the Iron Age II.²⁹ They must also be compared to double-faced Hathor heads from Cyprus Pl. XXV which were used as capitals. These Hathor capitals are influenced by Egyptian Hathor heads or double or quadruple face. As can be noticed from Pl. XXV these caryatids consist of two distinctive elements : the head proper, with voluted locks of hair, and the capital which is a miniature naos. Both elements are cut from the same block. No such capital exists on the Citadel's heads. One may suppose that the capital was cut in a different block and fixed to the head by means of wooden pin engaged into the hole. But this hole is too shallow to support a heavy stone capital. In fact, if the heads were intended to be used as caryatids, the two elements should be cut together.

The best parallel to our sculptures is an ivory plaque from Nimrud,³⁰ depicting the so-called lady at the window (Pl. XXIV). Though of finer workmanship, this carved ivory shows the same type of hairdo (especially of head No. 3) and the same inlaid eyes and eyebrows. No doubt that the ivory depicts a lady looking out of her balcony. But to my knowledge, nobody has suggested that this figure is of architectural origin

and not simply decorative. Otherwise it is not understandable why the artist has represented the head only and not the body across the columns of the window. In other words, the lady at the window is the exact representation of a window, decorated with a female head.

The heads of the Citadel could better fit as part of a window than as capitals : the shallow hole at the top and bottom of the head is sufficient to fix them to the soffit of a window or balcony, and the double faces suggest that they were to be seen from inside and outside. Such windows existed in Syria or Phoenicia, since the ivory of Nimrud was manufactured in one of these countries as indicated by the Phoenician letters engraved on the back. It should be remembered that the Ammonite heads had Phoenician letters on the backs of the eyes and beads. In this case one may suggest that some of the ivories of Nimrud were probably carved in Ammonite workshops and granted as tribute to the Assyrian Kings. This suggestion is not hazardous when one considers the amount of Ammonite sculpture discovered in the area and locally carved.

Dating

Since the heads were rebuilt into the channel, their date is conjectural. But they must belong to one of the two strata of the Iron II period identified in the dig. Both Stratum V and VI show very poor building material compared to the heads. But this argument should not to be taken into consideration when we remember that the walls would have been plastered over.

The ivories of Nimrud which are the most striking parallel to the Citadel's heads date probably to the 8th century B.C. Pottery heads discovered at Car-

(28) M.E.L. Mallawan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, I, No. 146.

(29) P.R.S. Moory, *Levant*, V (1973) p. 83-90.

(30) M.E.L. Mallawan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, II (1966) p. 522 and Fig. 429.

thage³¹ are dated to the 7th century B.C. The real problem is that the heads of the Citadel are of two types : No. 1 22 and 4 are of the Hathor type, while No. 3 is of the Syro-Phoenician tradition as indicated by the Nimrud Ivories and the heads found at Carthage. In this case the heads may belong to two different periods. No. 3 could be of earlier date than the three others, for one of the beads bears a closed **beth** and the left eye a classical **qaf**. On the other hand the **samek** of the bead is very similar to the one on the left eye of No. 2. In this case the difference of style may be only a difference of workmanship. The script of the letters is dated by P. Bordreuil (see his article p. 37ff. of this issue) to the 7th century B.C. They may belong then to Stratum V which overlies Stratum VI, and which is dated to the 7th-6th centuries B.C. More digs will certainly allow to fix a much precise date for these important sculptures.

General conclusions

Though carried out in a limited area, the Citadel excavations help us to draw the following conclusions :

1) Except for the extension of the Roman city wall, dated in the early Arab period, the area excavated was not occupied in that period. Byzantine structures are also missing but much debris of the 4th-5th century A.D. exists.

2) In the 3rd century A.D., the lower terrace was evidently outside the city wall since a necropolis lay in the excavated area.

3) Important occupation in the 1st century A.D. was revealed, consisting of architectural remains, coins and pottery. Nabataean coins indicate that Petra's caravans were certainly active in Philadelphia.

4) Traces of heavy occupation in the Hellenistic period are discernable all over the area. Houses with plaster floors were provided with drains and channels. Painted pottery, Rhodian jar-handles and coins point out that the main occupation occurred in the 2nd century B.C. This occupation probably ended during the Greco-Hasmonean wars.

5) The most important occupation belongs to the Ammonite period (Iron Age II). Three phases are now clearly determined by floors or architectural remains. It is probable that this area was a residential quarter in the Ammonite period while the acropolis or upper terrace was occupied by temples and palaces. This stratified Iron II occupation is extremely important for the archaeological history of Rabbat Ammon, when we recall that the Iron Age material discovered in the upper terrace was in an unstratified context. We are now able to gain information about an unknown part of ancient Rabbat Ammon.

F. Zayadine

The Department of Antiquities

(31) S. Moscati, *L'épopée des Phéniciens*, Paris (1971) Figs 57, 58, 59.