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THE BALU'A STELE : A NEW TRANSCRIPTION
WITH PALAEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

W. A. WARD AND M. F. MARTIN

Today, the Balu'a stele stands outside the 'Amman Museum. It was discovered around 1930 at Balu'a, in Moab, about 15 miles north of Kerak. G. Horsfield, then Director of the Department of Antiquities of Transjordan, had the stele transferred to its present place. It is of black basalt¹ and presents a rather ungainly shape, having an irregularly conical shaped top² which curves out and downwards to the base. Its face is divided into two distinct parts: an upper panel on which an inscription originally stood and a lower raised relief consisting of three personages. Horsfield communicated the first exact details of the stele to the International Congress of Orientalists at Leiden in 1931. In collaboration with L. H. Vincent O. P. he published a detailed study of the stele in the following year.³ Their general conclusions were that the stele dated from the period between Thutmosis III (1501-1447) and Ramses II (1292-1225),⁴ and that it represented a Moabite predecessor of Balaq, son of Sippor, in the presence of Cemoš and Astarte. They noted the "egyptianizing" character of the relief panel. They also published a tentative drawing of the upper panel which originally carried inscribed characters.⁵ Their photograph of this panel (which was used by most subsequent studies⁶) suffered from over-exposure and a certain distortion. They remarked on the extremely weathered state of the original signs and described their attempted transcription as only one of "nombreux essais tentés par des lumières différentes."⁷ They remarked, however, that the position of the inscription (above the relief and not below it) was a curious one; they would have expected to find it beneath the relief.⁸ This remark of the two authors has led to notable consequences.

The only remark of the two authors concerning the type of script used in the upper panel occurs at the end of their article where they speak of "le déchiffrement du texte hiéroglyphique."⁹ In another place, they state that they incline to adopt the suggestion of a "texte en quelque forme assez évolué de l'égyptien hiéroglyphique."

The following year, E. Drioton published a detailed study of the relief.¹¹ This author was chiefly and exclusively concerned with the relief. He concluded that the date given by Horsfield and Vincent should be lowered to about the beginning of the 12th century. He did not deal with the inscription.

An expedition to Balu'a of a tentative kind was organized in 1934 by J. W. Crowfoot at the request of the Committees of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem.¹² After three soundings and examination of the results it was concluded that Balu'a did not appear to be "attractive as a site for future excavations." No evidence was found as to the original position of the stele. Crowfoot also thought that the stele could not be earlier than the beginning of the 12th century.

We recorded above the remark which Horsfield and Vincent made concerning the (for them) unexpected position of the inscription panel in relation to the relief (above the latter and not below it). W. F. Albright took up this remark and drew much larger conclusions. In effect, he argued,¹³ the only way of explaining this discrepancy was to presume that the inscription was much older than the relief and that therefore the original stele (presumably inscribed in its full length) had been **re-used**. The reasons he adduced were six in number; the inscription is carved more lightly and is more weathered than the relief. The relief is in a rectangular space¹⁴ which was lowered considerably to receive it. The horizontal line below the fourth register of the text and originally separating it from a no longer existing fifth line of text stands in no recognizable relationship to the depressed space employed by the relief. The stele resembles the Naram-Sin stelae from the middle of the 3rd millennium and the agreed upon date for the relief is towards the end of the 2nd millennium. The script is not at all like any known script but may easily be a variant of the syllabic script of Byblos. Balu'a was occupied in the last third of the 3rd millennium like so many other sites in this region.

None of these reasons can resist critical examination. The entire stele is weathered — both inscription panel and raised relief. The relief is a **raised** one, the inscription is sunken, and the very fact that the sculptor of the relief sank his relief panel lower than the inscription panel seems **prima facie** merely that he wished to carve outstanding figures. The inscription characters on the other hand were directly graven in sunken style on the surface. The horizontal line below the fourth line of text¹⁵ has not got to stand of itself in any recognizable relation to the upper edge of the depressed space employed for the relief unless we suppose (with Albright) that it originally separated the fourth line "from a no longer existing fifth line"; its function is that of a lower line of a register such as we find on Byblian inscriptions of the 2nd millennium.¹⁶ The resemblance to the Naram-Sin stelae is superficial; the latter were carved to their present shape, but the shape of the Balu'a stele is its own natural one. The script is, as we shall see, hieroglyphic in character and cannot be thought of "as a variant of the syllabic script of Byblos," unless we suppose that the latter is a syllabic script or we establish some palaeographic connection between the two scripts. Balu'a was certainly occupied in the last third of the 3rd millennium, but there was certainly occupation also in the 2nd millennium, and no one as yet knows the extent of Egyptian penetration into Moab at that time.

In another place,¹⁷ Albright states that the inscription "exhibits several of the same characters" as the proto-Byblian script. Even in the inadequate drawing supplied by Horsfield and Vincent and in their photograph this statement is difficult to verify, as is his statement that "the original inscription above the later panel both suggest a date towards the end of the third millennium." A glance at the drawing supplied by Horsfield and Vincent confirms this

T. H. Gaster had already published the first part of his **The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy** in 1935.¹⁸ In the second and concluding part,¹⁹ he accepts Drioton's dating and reproduces the drawing of Horsfield and Vincent. The Balu'a script, he says, is a "penalphabetic writing" descended from Palestinian Linear "because out of eighteen traceable characters thirteen have clear parallels in that script." He nowhere clearly indicates these thirteen. The script consists, for Gaster, of basic signs with attached "tags" which introduce **variants**. He was certain about the position of the script in his basic scheme of alphabetic development — even if the tracing and the decipherment were

both still in the region of doubt. He dates the script to a period between 1400 and 1250. This second part of his treatise on alphabetic development came after Albright's treatment which had condemned as "impossible" Gaster's general theory concerning the early Mediterranean signary. *A fortiori*, he would condemn his subsequent remarks in the second part of his treatise.

R. Weill saw the Balu'a script as an adapted form of Cretan Linear.²⁰ He worked with the photographs and the drawing provided by Horsfield and Vincent. He attempted to justify this by an appeal to certain similarities with Linear Cretan signs and by a discussion of historico-political events of the 2nd millennium.

A. Alt accepted Albright's supposition that the inscription preceded the relief panel in age.²¹ He maintains that the inscription tells us that the settlement at Balu'a took place around the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia. The inscription was written in some form of Cretan Linear (in this he accepts Weill's opinion) and therefore was the work of Emites from the West and not of the Moabites who came from the East. He rejects any palaeographic relation to Thamudean or Safaitic or Egyptian hieratic. The relief was added later by a Moabite chieftain and shows symbolically the handing over of the power, under the aegis of the gods, from the old inhabitants (the Emites) to new conquerors (the Moabites). In particular, Alt is very definite in stating that there is complete similarity between the Balu'a characters and those of Cretan Linear B. With similar force he states that there is a total difference between the style of the text and that of the relief. Alt's remarks apropos of the inscription are based on the photograph and the drawing supplied by Horsfield and Vincent.

A. van Zyl likewise presumes there was an Emite occupation²² and that the latter were responsible for the "Balu'a stele in its older form." He makes no really thorough examination of the inscription panel. In discussing the relief panel he says that it is "obvious that they (the personages depicted) are Cemosh and Astarte or their predecessors who had the same character." Further, he sees in this scene the symbolical representation of the handing over of the power to the conquering Moabites. The originator of the stele wished by this representation to notify the conquered people that his government would not break drastically with the past but be a mere continuation of the preceding government. Thus the change to an established population was expedited. As a popular presentation of an ancient scene and couched in modern terminology, this conception and its verbal expression would be difficult to surpass.

As is clear from the foregoing review of past studies of the Balu'a stele, any studies of the inscription panel were performed with the drawing and the photograph supplied by Horsfield and Vincent in hand. They themselves characterize their drawing as one chosen from many tentative essays in reproduction. In addition, their remarks apropos of the present state of the inscription panel are to be noted, in particular when they say that "*la plus délicate palpation ne sont presque nulle part le creux de lettres, marquées à peine aujourd'hui par une coloration plus claire sur le fond sombre du basalte égratigné.*" This statement must be slightly nuanced: today there seems to be no difference in coloration between the slight "trenches" of the original characters and the surrounding face of the entire stele (inscription and relief panel). The evidence for the characters is primarily a visual and a tactile one, the former standing out due to favourable light-incidence. But this fact together with the

tentative type of their original drawing hardly justifies in any way the linking of the original characters with the proto-Byblian lists (Albright) or their association with any form of Cretan Linear B, (Weill, Alt), or with some form of a supposed Mediterranean signary (Gaster). And although Albright adduces five other reasons for his pre-dating the inscription in relation to the relief panel, one has the very strong impression that both he and those who have adopted his views have opted for the hypothesis of the **re-use** of an originally inscribed stele chiefly because the type of signs they saw in the drawing by Horsfield and Vincent did not fit in with any known script of about the 13th or 12th centuries B. C. The theory of **re-use**, therefore, which got its first impulse from the remark by Horsfield and Vincent concerning the relative positions of relief panel and inscription panel and which received its definite formulation at the hands of Albright, depends to a large extent on the conception of the kind of script contained in the inscription panel of the stele. In this connection, it is hard to accept immediately Alt's remark that there is a total difference between the style of the text and that of the relief. An inscription which is sunken and a relief which is raised are necessarily different. To be worth while, such a remark must be based on definite evidence that the character or type of the inscription (Egyptian, non-Egyptian, proto-Byblian etc.) is one totally different from the kind of inscription which the author or authors of the relief would have employed if they set themselves to make an inscription. Actually, we do not know as yet who executed the relief, nor has anyone quite resolved the problem of a definitely "egyptianizing" scene (in the relief panel) which was evidently not executed by an Egyptian craftsman. Nor do we know for sure what sort of script ran in the registers of the inscription panel. In other words, we cannot as yet say whether there is a total difference between the "style" of the text and that of the relief. But Alt's remark is made within the framework of mind of one who has accepted the hypothesis that the relief panel is subsequent to the inscription, and this hypothesis was formulated on the basis of the idea that the script was not such as would be executed at the supposed time of execution of the panel. A vicious circle vitiates this thinking.

A re-examination of the stele in its present state had been considered advisable. Due to the kindness of the authorities of the 'Amman Museum, the authors of this article were greatly facilitated in this undertaking during the summer of 1962.²³ As Horsfield and Vincent had found out thirty years ago, the stele had to be examined minutely and carefully at different times of the day in order to allow for the differing variations of light intensity and light-incidence.²⁴ In the present state of the inscription and of the relief panel, such allowance is absolutely necessary. In addition, (and this applies both to relief and inscription), each apparent trait was subjected to a double criterion, a tactile and a visual one. Even when this double criterion was applied, further consideration had to be taken of the possible damage caused by the extreme age of the stele and the effect of sun and wind and possible injuries by falls, etc.²⁵

The damage which the stele has undergone has affected the original surface polish of the basalt and is quite apparently and chiefly due to natural causes rather than to chance breakages or scratches, etc. This damage has resulted in the gradual levelling of the uninscribed parts of the inscription panel, the reduction of the relative depths of the "trenches" of the original strokes, and the blurring of details in the relief panel. The levelling of the originally uninscribed parts of the inscription has made the identification of strokes and curves difficult because of the disappearance of the internal ridges of the latter. Indeed, in certain parts of the inscription panel, nothing at all remains.²⁶ The writers would

not altogether agree with Horsfield and Vincent that "l'estampage est chimérique"; the photograph of the stele was, as they phrase it, "particulièrement ardue," but thanks to the expertise of Farid Morqas official photographer to the Museum, we were able to have in our hands an excellent photographic reproduction²⁷ which does not suffer from the over-exposure of the photograph used by Horsfield and Vincent and those who limited themselves later to using the latter's reproduction. In the following account of our results we deal first with the inscription panel, then with the relief panel.

THE INSCRIPTION PANEL

Up to this time, the only reproductions of the inscription panel have been based on that of Horsfield and Vincent.²⁸ We give in disregard the final results of our attempt to reproduce the original characters on the stele.²⁹ A few points must be noted. The number of original registers was most probably six. The main evidence for this lies in (a) the vague traces of characters up to the top of the stele, and (b) the equally vague traces of register lines to the same extent. But, except for the one tentative reproduction on **Register II** (no. 1), nothing else can be objectively affirmed; the surface polish of the area has almost completely disappeared.

Register III : at the beginning of this register we are faced with very vague traces. Horsfield and Vincent give nothing, nor can anything definite be distinguished. Throughout the register, particularly in its upper area, we find a similar situation. Nos. 4-6 are crushed together, as depicted. No. 4, in particular, suffers from originally unskilled engraving. No. 7 is a very good example of how a photograph, however good, can deceive. On our photograph and to some extent on Horsfield and Vincent's photograph, it would seem that here we have a more or less double-lined triangular form, the two sides being slightly convex. Yet on the stone itself, only the two lines as depicted in our drawing can be established with certainty. These two appear on the photograph as part of the left-hand double-lined side of the apparent triangular form. Moreover, what appears as the right-hand double-lined side lies on the outward curving side of the stone and is definitely the result of some relatively recent damage.

Register IV : No. 1 — it is possible that at the left of the vertical another projection of the triangular form originally existed. No. 3 — beneath the present base-line of this sign there were some further strokes. No. 4 — the general outline of this form is exact, but interior details once there are now impossible to determine. Nos. 6 and 7 — as they are now, they almost touch at the upper tips. On the vertical shaft of No. 6 there were some original strokes. Likewise, it is possible that on the left of the vertical of No. 7 a curvature exists corresponding to the one to the right of the vertical. No. 8 — the base-line of this is incomplete.

Register V : Nos. 6 and 8 are incomplete.

Register VI : No. 2 — in between the two roughly diamond shapes of this sign there existed a further complex of strokes, perhaps a third diamond shape. Grouped under No. 7 is a complex of three characters, (a) a seated figure, (b) a crescent shape, (c) an orb within "horns." No. 8 — traces of a further curving stroke are visible where we have drawn a dotted line. The complex around and inside the object on which the figure in No. 7 sits is not clear. No. 9 — this is not complete.

Is there any possible relationship between the Balu'a and other scripts of the area? It is obvious that we can correctly attribute a "hieroglyphic" character to these signs even though, at this stage, it would be incorrect to conclusively identify the script as belonging to one of the known ancient hieroglyphic systems. However, certain possibilities, namely proto-Byblian and Egyptian, do produce some interesting results.

If we turn first to the proto-Byblian script,³⁰ we find that there is no cogent reason for absolute identification of the latter with the script manifested in the remains of the Balu'a inscription. There are definite similarities, but only in a few cases can we speak of possible identities. In general, it seems better to point to underlying pictorial **motifs** which coincide. We can do this schematically, putting the code-numbers of the proto-Byblian (Dunand's system) opposite the register numbers of the Balu'a signs;

Register	Sign	Proto-Byblian	Motif
II	1	E 20	plant, stick?
III	1	C 2	water?
III	2	B 7 / B 9	plant?
III	3	A 5	insect?
III	6	A 10	serpent?
IV	3	A 1-4	bird?
IV	4	A 10	serpent?
IV	5	E 4	courtyard, house?
V	2	A 1-4	bird?
V	4	E 4	courtyard, house?
VI	5	A 1-4	bird?
VI	8	B 7 / B 9	plant?

Thus out of 53 signs there are 12 possible identifications. Again, it must be pointed out that in the majority of cases it is an identification of **motif** and not an absolute conformity of paleographic characteristics. There seems to be no recurrence of the proto-Byblian sequence **serpent-bird**³¹ unless III-5 is a **bird** sign. Allowing for the unfortunate lacunae in the inscription, we can still not see any grounds for presuming any more connection between the proto-Byblian and the Balu'a scripts other than that which would exist between two scripts which sprang from a common parent — in this case, obviously Egyptian. And perhaps this is all that could be expected in the second millennium between script developments in Transjordan and Byblos. A further puzzling thing (which may be explained by the lacunae in the inscription) is that we find very few signs repeated. Here we must be careful not to demand from the engraver an identical reproduction of the same sign everywhere; the proto-Byblian inscriptions have taught this lesson quite vividly. Thus the **serpent** sign (III-6) may very well be equivalent in value and signification to IV-4. IV-3, V-2 and VI-5 may represent the same thing and may all be equal to the rather obscure III-5. IV-5 and V-4 can be identical or allied in value and signification. What seems certain enough is that V-9 and VI-2 are the same.

A connection between the inscription and the relief panel is possibly afforded by the complex of symbols which we have grouped under VI-7. Here, the crescent shape, the orb within a half-

circle (with "horned" tips) and the seated figure may all stand in close relation to the central figure of the relief-panel. On the whole we can certainly speak of this sample of Balu'a script as "hieroglyphic," but we cannot use the term specifically in the same sense as we apply it to the proto-Byblian script. In a corrupt text such as this, the results appear definitively negative.

We turn now to the possibility of an Egyptian origin for the characters of the Balu'a inscription. At the outset, however, we must point out that any comparison with the normal forms of Egyptian hieroglyphic signs is fruitless. If these signs do represent Egyptian, and we suggest this only as a possibility, the scribe was certainly an ill-trained one. While the relief panel is fairly accurate in reproducing features of Egyptian relief, the characters of the inscription are so badly done that they have often lost all but a vague memory of the suggested originals. Consequently, it seemed best to turn to the most logical comparative material, Egyptian graffiti. These short, crudely drawn inscriptions compare in workmanship to the characters of the Balu'a inscription and extensive comparison has produced the tentative scheme given in the following chart. Egyptian material noted here has been drawn from Černý, *Graffiti hieroglyphiques et hiératiques de la necropole Thebaine* (Cairo, 1956). All Egyptian signs are given their accepted numbers according to Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*.

Suggested			
Register	Sign	Egyptian Original	Notes
II	1	w (V1)	reversed
III	1	n (N35)	cf. VI-3
III	2	nsw. t (M23)	by analogy to hieroglyphic; the form in the graffiti is different.
III	3	bity (L2)	Černý, 1149, 1269.
III	4	h (V28)	
III	5+6	nb.ty (G16)	the normal positions of the COBRA and VULTURE are here reversed.
IV	1	(a) sn (T22) (b) h ₃ (M12)	(a) Černý, 1082, 1121. (b) by analogy to hieroglyphic.
IV	2	imn.t (R14)	Černý, 1142, 1076; very doubtful.
IV	3	p ₃ (G14)	the outstretched wings are in favor of p ₃ rather than s ₃ . The graffiti, following hieratic usage, show G40 instead of G41; Černý, 1349, 1364, 1389.
IV	4	m (G17)	by analogy to hieroglyphic, especially cursive forms in the papyri.
IV	5	p (Q3)	cf. V-4.
IV	7	w ₃ s (S40)	Černý, 1377, 1383, 1393.
IV	8	WALL (036)	Černý, 1252.

Register	Sign	Suggested Egyptian Original	Notes
V	2	HORUS ON STAND (G 7)	Černý, 1285e; note also the first sign in Černý, 1068 which is very close to V-2 and which Černý, reads s ₃ with question.
V	3	hry-tp (D 2 + D 1)	For hry: Černý, 1113, 1276; for tp; Černý, 1169, 1331.
V	4	p (Q 3)	cf. IV-5.
V	5	IBIS ON STAND (G 26)	Černý, 1285b, (1285b) 1308. The LOAF and strokes usually accompanying this sign may be lost in the weathering in the stele.
V	6 + 7	ms + s (F 31 + S 29)	cf. discussion below.
V	8	'nh (S 34)	cf. discussion below.
V	9	hh (V 28 + N 5 + V 28)	Černý, 1135, 1226, 1232. V-9 shows a straight line in the middle whereas the graffiti have at least a partial circle.
VI	I	'Imn (M 17 + Y 5 + N 35 + G 7)	Černý, 1139, 1165, etc. The graffiti show a more complex sign with horizontal strokes missing in VI-1. The stele is badly worn at this point and original lines may have disappeared.
VI	3	n (N 35)	cf. III-1.
VI	4	nb (V 30)	or possibly k (V 31).
VI	5	w (G 43)	by analogy to hieroglyphic.
VI	6	SEBEK ON SHRINE (14)	for the crocodile, Černý, 1214. By analogy to hieroglyphic for whole sign.
VI	7	HATHOR ON THRONE	Černý, 1061, for male figure on throne. The horns-and-disc behind the head of VI-7 are misplaced because of lack of space. The crescent shape before the face could be the lotus blossom held in the figure's hands, as customarily in Egyptian reliefs.
VI	10	r (D 21)	

At first glance, the possible identification of 29 of the signs in the Balu'a inscription might indicate that we are definitely on the right track in attempting to read this text as Egyptian. However, we must emphasize that we can vouch for very few of these identifications with any assurance that they are beyond reasonable doubt. The most we can hope to do is point to possible readings.

Can this inscription be translated? The numerous lacunae and the crude character of the signs present great difficulties. Also, we should note the rarity of alphabetic signs, a factor which could be accounted for if we assume the scribe was quite inept at writing

Egyptian. Allowing for these problems, we would suggest a very tentative reading and translation for V-3 to V-9:

hry-tp Dhwti-ms (đi) 'nh hh, "... on behalf of Thutmōsis, (given) life forever ..."

We can hardly say that this is any more than a first attempt and do not proffer it as anything but a suggestion. The following notes should dispell any doubt that this rendering is tentative :

(a) While hry-tp is made up of signs which can be given reasonable counterparts in the graffiti, V-3 may in reality be intended to represent some other, single sign.

(b) The signs V-5 to V-7 do actually bear more than a superficial resemblance to the name Thutmōsis as it appears in the graffiti (Cerny, p. 35, sub Dhwti-ms). However, V-7 could also be rnp.t (M4) or sw (H6). We suggest s for this sign on the basis of the suggested reading for the preceeding two signs and the fact that this name is normally written Dhwti + ms + s.

(c) The verb di does not appear, but we assume it could have been in the lacuna above V-8.

(d) The reading of V-8 as 'nh is based on the fact that all the essential characteristics of the 'nh-sign are present.

(e) The reading hh for V-9 has plausible analogies in the graffiti, but note that the normal Egyptian expression is di 'nh d.t or di 'nh mī R' d.t.

These objections to our translation could be ascribed to the lack of ability and knowledge of the individual who carved this inscription. This, however, seems to be much too convenient an answer to cover all points raised here. Therefore, we present this translation as one possible solution which may or may not be correct. Should the identification of the proper name eventually prove to be valid, there is then the problem of whether or not this stands for an Egyptian ruler and, if so, which one of those that bore this name. As we will show below, the relief carving could hardly have been made prior to the mid-eighteenth dynasty, in which case this name might represent Thutmōsis IV. If so, the two groups of signs III-2 to III-3 and III-5 to III-6 could be taken as the royal titles Nsw-bit and Nb. ty, though there is no possible way to read names with these titles in this inscription. Can we again suggest the ignorance of the scribe?

As will be pointed out in our discussion of the relief panel, there are certain features of this relief which indicate it was done by an artist who possessed some knowledge of Egyptian art but a somewhat limited skill in reproducing it. Assuming that the inscription was done by this same artist — and there is nothing to prove the contrary — we should expect this inscription to exhibit abnormalities. Whether we can really accuse an ancient artist of producing such a grotesque caricature of Egyptian writing remains to be seen.

THE RELIEF PANEL

The relief panel of the Balu'a stele (fig. B) has only been studied once in detail, by E. Drioton, shortly after its discovery.³² His general analysis of the costumes worn by the three figures

is substantially correct, though all but one of his criteria for dating the relief must be discarded. It has been assumed that the three figures represent a god, king and goddess, moving left to right. There is no good reason at present to doubt this assumption and the three figures will be referred to as such in the following discussion.

It is obvious even from a cursory look at this relief that it was not done by a trained Egyptian artist. The proportions, for example, do not conform to the normal canons of proportional representation for the human figure used during the Empire age. On the other hand, the sculptor was not ignorant of Egyptian art; he was able to reproduce a complete facsimile of Egyptian costume and design. The individual elements of this relief, with certain exceptions noted in the following description, are taken from Egyptian prototypes. The attitudes and positions of all three figures are according to Egyptian style. And the costume of all three figures, as well as the crowns worn by both god and goddess, are good Egyptian dress. What we have, then, is an "egyptianizing" relief done by a foreigner who had at least a basic training in Egyptian sculpture and who adapted the Egyptian style to some purpose as yet unclear.

The god wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt which is often portrayed in just this manner in relief carvings from Egypt (fig. I). The curled projection in front (obscured by a shadow in our photograph), the triangular projection below it and the double line running up the rear of the crown are often all that is shown of the Red Crown even in the finest Egyptian reliefs; only an outline of the ensemble is given. The double line indicating a band of some kind just below the knob of the White Crown is not found in Egyptian examples and is one detail which leads us to believe that the relief was carved by a non-Egyptian.³³ The kilt worn by the god needs no comment as this is quite typical for male figures throughout the Empire. While it is of the simplest style, lacking the triangular apron or other added features, this simple kilt is frequently worn by gods in Egyptian reliefs.³⁴

The most difficult problem about the figure of the god is what, if anything, he is holding in his right hand. There is no problem about the left hand which grasps a was-scepter in the normal position. But, as Drioton pointed out, the was-scepter was never grasped in both hands in the manner apparently portrayed on the Balu'a stele. There are, however, many representations of deities extending one hand holding an *ankh*-sign or other object toward a worshipper.³⁵ Drioton thus suggested that the right hand of the god is holding an *ankh*-sign to the upraised hands of the king. If this is so, the supposed *ankh*-sign has been very badly carved and we reserve judgement on this particular point.³⁶

The figure of the king presents no problem with regard to the dress. As Drioton has shown, this is the "vêtement de gala" introduced during the Amarna Period and worn by kings from that time on.³⁷ It is the headdress of the king which poses difficulties. Drioton collected several examples of headdresses which resemble that of the Balu'a king and concluded that this type was typical of the Shasu beduin who are mentioned from time to time in Egyptian texts. These examples of the Shasu headdress stretch in time from the reign of Seti I to Ramses III, though it is only in the time of the latter that exact duplicates are found.³⁸ To the examples collected by Drioton may be added an excellent parallel from the

Medinet Habu tiles (fig. 2a)³⁹ and several examples from the reliefs at Medinet Habu.⁴⁰ There can be no doubt that the headdress of the Balu'a king is of the type shown in these Egyptian examples, primarily those dating from the reign of Ramses III. There is thus positive evidence that this type of head-gear — a cloth covering attached to a metal headpiece — was actually known to have been used in wsetern Asia during the Egyptian Empire age.⁴¹ The question now arises as to just who it was who used this type of headdress.

As noted above, Drioton concluded that these figures represent the Shasu beduin, an apparently Semitic people having no specific homeland.⁴² They are mentioned twice in Papyrus Anastasi I as being in the area of Qadesh and Tubihi⁴³ and in the region of Megiddo.⁴⁴ They also appear among the enemies of Ramses II at the battle of Qadesh.⁴⁵ The "land of the Shasu" is mentioned in inscriptions of this king⁴⁶ and there is a vague reference to Shasu tribes in the time of Ramses III.⁴⁷ A text of Seti I briefly describes a war with the Shasu in the region between Egypt and southern Palestine.⁴⁸ On the basis of this latter inscription, which accompanies a relief in which some figures appear wearing a headdress similar to the Shasu headdress of the reliefs of Ramses II and III, it has been accepted that this type of headdress is to be associated with the Shasu beduin. It follows, according to Drioton, that the king on the Balu'a stele is of this group. It should be noted that the Seti I relief is apparently the only example where the headdress and the name "Shasu" actually appear together and that the headdresses of this relief are quite different from those of later times (fig. 2f).⁴⁹ This could, of course, be accounted for by the span of time between Seti I and Ramses III, during which some modification of the headdress should be expected.

Another theory which gives a different origin for this headdress has also had many adherents over the past half century. Daressy long ago suggested that the prisoner on the Medinet Habu tile (fig. 2a) was a Shekelesh, one of the numerous groups among the Sea peoples.⁵⁰ The most recent defense of this position is by Wainwright who feels that this headdress was peculiar to the Shekelesh and Teresh, separating them from all other Sea Peoples.⁵¹ There is something to be said for this identification since foreigners wearing this headdress also wear kilts which seem to be a salient feature of the costume of the Sea Peoples (figs. 2d, e).⁵² But it should also be pointed out that Syrians wear the kilt of the Sea Peoples sometimes even in the company of genuine Sea Peoples.⁵³ The distinction in costume is not as clear as we would like it to be. Even the best Egyptian paintings and reliefs are apt to show some confusion in the representation of foreign peoples, a factor which must always be kept in mind when attempting to identify such foreigners. Still, Wainwright's general case is a good one and must be seriously considered in connection with the figure on the Balu'a stele. In the present state of our knowledge, it is probably best to admit that the weight of the evidence stands in favor of the Balu'a king being a Shasu. Several of the Egyptian inscriptions discussed below (pp. 20 ff.) tend to support this.

The dress of the goddess on the Balu'a stele is quite commonly found on female figures from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward. Drioton is incorrect, however, in saying that this particular sheath dress with the sash and trailing ends does not appear on goddesses until the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁵⁴ Both Hathor and Nut appear in this dress in the tomb of Tutankhamon, hence we must discard this feature of the Balu'a stele as a possible criterion for dating it no earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁵⁵ This costume also appears on female members of the royal family as early as the reign of Amenhotep III (figs. 3a, b).⁵⁶

The goddess' costume is made up of the simple sheath dress known from earlier times with the addition of a broad bead collar and a sash wrapped twice around the middle and tied at the side with long trailing ends. This sash was also used with the fancy billowing civil dress of the Empire (fig. 3d). The use of the sheath dress and sash on divine figures does not appear to ante-date the reign of Tutankhamon and extends into the Twentieth Dynasty and beyond (fig. 3e).

The crown worn by the Balu'a goddess is that normally worn by Osiris in Egyptian reliefs and paintings. However, it is quite significant to note that Canaanite goddesses are frequently found in Egyptian reliefs wearing this crown so that the Balu'a goddess fits into a well-known category of divine female figures.⁵⁷ This may eventually be of some help in identifying the Balu'a goddess. The goddess holds a crudely-made *ankh*-sign in her right hand. There are faint traces of vertical lines in the collar of her costume, indicating an attempt to reproduce the lines of beads.

The two symbols which appear over the king's shoulders are probably not to be interpreted within the framework of Egyptian iconography. The crescent between the king and goddess may be a symbol of the goddess.⁵⁸ The symbol before the face of the king — an orb and crescent — is probably to be associated with the god. The crescent is quite interesting in that it distinctly appears to be separated near the center and the ends may have forks, though this feature is very unclear.⁵⁹ What appear to be these same symbols are found together on a Phoenician stele done in egyptianizing style, found at Tell Tahpanhes in the northeast Delta region.⁶⁰ The deity in this case is Baal-Saphon and both symbols are associated with him. While this stele is of much later date than the Balu'a stele, it is an important indication that the symbols involved are not Egyptian.⁶¹ Though the position of these symbols on the stele could indicate they are to be associated with the figure of the king, their usage in western Asiatic art as divine symbols stands against this interpretation.

There now remains the matter of the faces portrayed on all three figures of the Balu'a stele. Comparing features such as prominent noses and pointed beards and drawing conclusions from such comparisons is at best unsatisfactory. Basing our judgement on such details, it is possible to conclude that the faces on this relief represent Semites, Hittites, Sea Peoples or several other ethnic groups. It must also be remembered that the relief is rather crudely drawn in many respects and we can hardly expect to find a clear-cut ethnic type. We thus cannot support Drioton's statement relative to the Shasu of Seti I relief that: "Le type ethnique de ces pillards du désert est identique à celui de l'orant du Balou'a"⁶² Even

working from the badly done line drawing and the very indistinct photographs of the original publication⁶³ such a conclusion is inadmissible. Our own examination of the stele produced as clear a representation of these faces as is now possible.⁶⁴ It would be difficult, to say the least, to insist that these faces represent a specific ethnic group. They are obviously not Egyptians and the only thing that can be said about them is that they probably represent Semites. This tentative statement is based on our presupposition that the Balu'a stele was carved at Balu'a by a non-Egyptian sculptor who was apparently attempting to reproduce the local ethnic type. But beyond this general statement it is impossible to go.

Since the relief panel bears such a strong Egyptian flavor, we should first place this scene in its Egyptian setting. The scene portrayed here is very common in Egyptian art and, within an Egyptian context, the interpretation would cause no difficulty. We refer, of course, to the scene on which the living king stands in adoration before the head of the pantheon with an attendant goddess behind the king. It is precisely this scene which we have on the Balu'a stele.

Within its Egyptian setting, this scene portrays the Pharaoh receiving his power and authority from the divine world, embodied in the figure of the chief deity of Egypt. In the example chosen here for comparative purposes (fig. 5), Ramses II stands before Harakhty (one form of Amon-Re) with the goddess Hathor in attendance.⁶⁵ The short texts which accompany this relief panel inform us that Ramses II is here being granted the crook and flail — the symbols of royal power — from Harakhty who holds these two objects in his extended right hand. Hathor, on her part, bequeathes a long life as ruler and eternal existence to the king. Thus, the scene shows that unique relationship which the Egyptian ruler had with the gods, a relationship in which the king was dependent on the gods for his temporal authority.⁶⁶ Note also that this particular scene does not represent a coronation scene, a *sed*-festival or any other prominent occasion. The long inscription which takes up the bulk of this stele is concerned with the ordering of statues to be presented to certain temples and numerous details about their manufacture. Hence, Ramses II is here taking advantage of the opportunity to reassert the intimate connection between himself and the gods, a theological doctrine which could be portrayed at any time and in many different contexts.⁶⁷

Within its own setting, therefore, the scene in the Balu'a stele has a well-known meaning. But can this meaning be transferred to Moab and would it be at home in this new context? Or has the original significance of the Egyptian scene been altered somewhat to conform to local beliefs? Unfortunately, these are questions which cannot be readily answered. Our present knowledge of the Moabite religion is limited to only the barest details about a small number of deities and their cults. Any attempt to define the concept of the kingship as practised by the Moabites is practically fruitless due to the lack of material. Indeed, much of the scanty evidence comes from references in the Old Testament and these may well represent a tradition later than the Balu'a stele. And there still remains the problem of the inscription. Contrary to previously held opinions, we are convinced that the inscription and relief panel are part of the same composition. The real secret to the interpretation of the

relief panel may thus lie in the short text above it. Until this is deciphered, if indeed it ever can be, interpretations of the relief will remain in the realm of theory.

Summarizing this discussion of the relief panel, we may conclude that it represents a scene which is well known in Egyptian art. The style is definitely egyptianizing, the sculptor having more than a passing acquaintance with Egyptian art. Certain details lead us to the conclusion that it was carved by a non-Egyptian artist.⁶⁸ The headdress of the king can be positively identified with that worn by certain foreigners appearing in reliefs of the time of Ramses III. Beyond these statements it is impossible to go with assurance. But we can at least make some attempt at dating this stele and can examine the historical perspective within which it should be interpreted.

DATE AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is first necessary to examine the proofs previously offered for the twelfth century B. C. date now universally accepted for the relief panel. The original publication dates the relief to the period between Thutmosis III and Merneptah, that is, anywhere in the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries B. C.⁶⁹ Drioton placed this relief in the early twelfth century B. C. and this date has stood as the accepted one ever since. However, most of the criteria he used to date this monument cannot be accepted and the sum total of evidence indicates that it is not now possible to date the Balu'a stele any more accurately than sometime in the thirteenth or early twelfth centuries B. C.

Drioton pointed out that the closest analogies to the headdress worn by the Balu'a king were to be found in the time of Ramses III, a conclusion with which we agree completely. Both the pictorial evidence produced by Drioton and that produced by our own search for comparative material point in this direction. But this is the only criterion of Drioton's with which we are in accord.

In his discussion of the goddess' costume, Drioton attaches too much importance to the hem line of her garment. According to him, this dress appears with a narrow border in the Nineteenth Dynasty, while a broad border with decoration appears in the Twentieth Dynasty. Since the space between the hem line and the trench indicating the upper limit of this band at the hem of the dress on the Balu'a goddess indicates a broad band, Drioton places her costume in the Twentieth Dynasty.⁷⁰ But this criterion of broad and narrow bands is not as carefully distinguished in Egyptian reliefs as Drioton indicates,⁷¹ and in many examples of this costume the border is not represented at all. Then too, most of the examples known to us of this costume are from tomb paintings and funerary papyri and there is always a good deal of leeway possible between representations of a detail of costume in relief and representations in painting. Finally, as we have noted from time to time, the artist who produced the Balu'a stele did not follow Egyptian style in every detail. We can hardly expect him to have paid close attention to such details as the width of the garment's border in the light of his other inaccuracies.⁷²

By far the most unacceptable criterion for dating this stele is the statement that a Moabite king could only usurp the "vêtement de gala" of the Egyptian king when Egyptian power was weak and there was no chance of Egyptian raids into Palestine. The presupposition that the Balu'a stele implies a weakened Egyptian influence in Palestine, combined with the early Twentieth Dynasty parallels for the headdress of the Balu'a king, led Drioton to conclude that the relief must have been produced at "le temps du déclin de l'influence égyptienne qui suivit, en Palestine et dans les pays limitrophes, la mort de Ramses III."⁷³

We believe that exactly the contrary is the case. Our examination of the Balu'a stele has shown that there is no evidence whatsoever for the idea that the stele was re-used. We are of the opinion that both the inscription and the relief panel were placed on this stone at the same time. Furthermore, the inscription, like the relief panel, can safely be called "egyptianizing." We are thus faced with a document of paramount importance, but in a sense that has never been realized and which is along different lines than heretofore supposed. Far from indicating that Egyptian influence was on the wane or had died out completely when the stele was carved, the very existence of the Balu'a stele proves exactly the opposite. Egyptian prestige was at one of its many apexes in Palestine and Egyptian influence must have been very strong. An egyptianizing stele would hardly have been erected in a foreign land if Egyptian influence was not present. There is no conceivable reason why a stele with such a pronounced Egyptian flavor would be set up in a Moabite city if there was not some kind of connection with Egypt. Nor can we envisage why this would take place when Egypt was weak and unimportant, the very circumstances which, to our minds, would discourage the adoption of Egyptian motives rather than offer free rein for such cultural borrowing. Hence, it seems to us that the Balu'a stele could only have been carved at a time when Egypt was a power to be reckoned with, when Moab was thoroughly aware of the presence of considerable Egyptian strength in Palestine and when there was the possibility of Egyptian intervention in east Jordan itself.

We suggest that two historical conditions were necessary before an egyptianizing stele could have been set up at Balu'a. First, there had to be a well-established sedentary population in Moab and, second, Egyptian power in Syria-Palestine, with the concomitant cultural and political influence of such power, had to be firmly entrenched in Palestine. As the following paragraphs will show, both these conditions were present throughout the Egyptian Empire period, that is, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-twelfth centuries B. C.

We must first turn briefly to the history of east Jordan to point out the necessity for a rather drastic change in our concepts of this area during the Middle and Late Bronze periods. Until recently, east Jordan has been very little excavated and the long series of surface explorations carried on by Nelson Glueck were the primary source of information. His conclusions regarding east Jordan in the Middle and Late Bronze ages, however, must now be seriously questioned. According to Glueck, whose conclusions are still generally accepted, east Jordan was the home of a settled culture during the Early Bronze age but, for reasons unknown, this dwindled and died out around the twentieth century B. C. The area, was not settled again with a sedentary population until late in the thirteenth century B. C. that is, at the beginning of the Iron Age.⁷⁴

This whole picture of east Jordan during the Middle and Late Bronze ages is now in the process of being substantially altered. Discoveries of Middle and Late Bronze sites are rapidly beginning to fill in the cultural hiatus previously thought to have existed during this period. Tombs of both Middle and Late Bronze date, a Late Bronze city at Deir 'Alla and a small temple of the Late Bronze age at 'Amman show that there was much more than a nomadic culture in east Jordan at this time. These are recent finds and are evidence that with more excavation our present concept of this area during this period will have to undergo a radical change.⁷⁵

We turn now to Egyptian evidence bearing on relations with east Jordan; this is unfortunately very meager and certainly inconclusive. Egyptian records are strangely mute on east Jordan except for vague hints. But this is partly due to the lack of the kind of inscriptions which would mention cities and other places in east Jordan. The most important source for the geographical distribution of Egyptian political interests abroad are, of course, the lists of place-names preserved in the royal annals of the Empire age. These range in time from Thutmosis III to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and in extent from a half dozen to scores of names.⁷⁶ They must be used with caution in determining the extent of Egyptian rule in Asia, however, and most authorities agree that only the long list of Thutmosis III can be taken at face value.

There is no question of an Egyptian full-scale invasion and occupation of east Jordan, hence these geographical lists are of very limited value to us, purporting as they do to give the extent of the Egyptian Empire. Thus, the appearance of "Moab" in a short text of Ramses II does not indicate an Egyptian occupation of this territory any more than the appearance of Khatti and Naharain in the same list proves Egyptian suzerainty over the Hittites and north Syria.⁷⁷ But the listing of Moab among other foreign countries certainly indicates that Egypt was aware of the existence of this territory. The great list of Thutmosis III preserves a place-name **Tpn** which has sometimes been taken as indicating Dibon in Moab, but this is hardly possible.⁷⁸ As far as it is possible to judge at the present time, Egyptian control east of the Jordan valley never extended south of the town of Pella, a few kilometers east of Beth Shan.

There is one small scrap of evidence which may be useful here. As far as we are able to ascertain, there are only two records of Egyptian military activity which might possibly refer to east Jordan. The first reference comes from an obelisk of Ramses II at Tanis, on the east face of which is the following inscription: "(Titulary of Ramses II) a raging and ferocious lion who has destroyed the land of the Shasu and plundered this mountain of **S'r** with his mighty arm."⁷⁹ Second, there is a passing reference in the historical section at the end of Papyrus Harris I in which a general survey of the achievements of Ramses III is given. In the summary of his Asiatic wars, Ramses III notes: "I overthrew **S'r** of the Shasu-tribes."⁸⁰ **S'r**, in the passage from Papyrus Harris I, has usually been taken as a place-name and identified with Hebrew **Se'ir**, or Edom.⁸¹ Should this identification prove correct, these two short references are unique in Egyptian military annals in placing Egyptian raiding parties in southern Transjordan.⁸²

A puzzling reference to "Edom" is found in Papyrus Anastasi VI, dating to the reign of Seti II who ruled toward the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty. One of the texts in this papyrus is a record of Shasu-tribes who entered Egypt to secure water. The passage of importance here is: "We have ceased allowing the Shasu-tribes of Edom ('Idm) to pass the fortress (named) Merneptah Hetep-her-Maat which is in Tjeku (in order to go) to the pools of Pithom of Merneptah Hetep-her-Maat which is in Tjeku, in order to keep themselves alive and their cattle alive" ⁸³ The location of these places is the eastern end of the Wadi Tumilat, ⁸⁴ though our interest here is in the place from which these beduin are said to have come. We know from this and other documents that a careful watch was kept on foreigners entering and leaving Egypt during the Empire. Whether beduin from "Edom" were a common occurrence or not cannot be determined. Unfortunately, this is the only occurrence of "Edom" in a connected text and it is impossible to say that the term refers to east Jordan. "Edom" is a fluid term and, while this Egyptian reference is generally accepted as the equivalent of Hebrew 'edom, ⁸⁵ it must be remembered that the Hebrew term was also used to indicate the Negev area of southern Palestine. ⁸⁶ This would also seem to be the case in Papyrus Anastasi VI. Though foreign peoples often came to Egypt for the purpose of securing food, it does not seem plausible that beduin would migrate from east Jordan to the Delta for water. We hesitate to insist that the Shasu mentioned here did actually come from beyond the Jordan valley. The tribes in question were probably nomads from the desert east of Egypt proper. ⁸⁷

Of Egyptian objects in east Jordan there are very few, but these have all been recently discovered and give promise of new material in years to come. A bronze Khepesh-sword and some scarabs have been found in the Late Bronze temple near the 'Amman airport. This find is all the more remarkable since a considerable amount of Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery (or imitations thereof) and some Syrian cylinder seals were also discovered here. ⁸⁸ A Late Bronze — Early Iron age tomb at Madaba yielded some scarabs of late Empire date, ⁸⁹ and scarabs probably of the sixteenth century B. C. were found in a Middle Bronze age tomb at 'Amman. ⁹⁰ This material, plus the Balu'a stele and some as yet unpublished finds found within the past year, represents the total evidence now available for determining the extent of Egyptian influence during the Empire period in that part of Jordan lying east of the Dead Sea. ⁹¹ But there is one point which could be quite significant. All three sites — 'Amman, Madaba and Balu'a — are situated on the great "King's Highway" which ran north and south through the heart of east Jordan. Another recent discovery of Egyptian material in east Jordan comes from Deir 'Alla, the first Late Bronze city to be found in this area. This object is a faience jar with the cartouche of Ramses II. ⁹² Deir 'Alla lies on the east bank of the Jordan valley proper (near the Zerqa River) and this slim piece of evidence falls together with the appearance of "Moab" in the short geographical list of Ramses II and the campaign of this king to the "mountain of S'r."

We have stated above (p. 19) that two historical conditions are presupposed by the existence of the Balu'a stele. The first, a settled population in east Jordan, was present throughout the Middle and Late Bronze ages. The second condition, strong Egyptian power in Palestine, was present from the late sixteenth to the mid-twelfth centuries B. C. It is not necessary to summarize the military and political exploits of the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth

to Twentieth Dynasties beyond stating that, with the exception of three short periods, Egyptian power in Palestine was constant from the time of Thutmosis I (1522-1515) to Ramses III (1182-1151).⁹³ The three periods when this was not true were the latter years of the reign of Hatshepsut (1490-1468), the Amarna Period and the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1367-1304) and the closing reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1214-1194).

Having thus presented the evidence which can be used to date the Balu'a stele, it remains to give the chronological range within which we consider it possible to place this monument. There is no single element, or group of elements, in the relief panel which allows us to offer any conclusive date. The costume of the god was in use throughout the Empire period, the costume of the king from the Amarna period to the end of the Empire and the costume of the goddess from at least the time of Tutankhamon to the close of Egyptian dynastic history. The only feature of the relief panel which could conceivably be used as a criterion for a closer dating is the headdress of the king. This has its closest analogies in the reign of Ramses III, but one isolated element could certainly not be taken as a positive indication of date.

The historical context is unfortunately of very little help. East Jordan had a sedentary population throughout the Egyptian Empire period and, except for a few scattered decades, Egyptian power in Palestine was firmly entrenched throughout this age. Egyptian objects in east Jordan spread from the Hyksos age to the late Empire and beyond, and references in Egyptian inscriptions are too vague to allow us to say anything beyond the mere fact that there is slim evidence of Egyptian influence in Moab and possible references to military raids into east Jordan. We can, however, indicate the earliest and latest possible dates for the Balu'a stele. The costumes of both goddess and king on this monument apparently do not ante-date the Amarna Age. But this was an age of decline as far as Egyptian power in Palestine is concerned. We can thus suggest that the earliest date for the Balu'a stele would be the reign of Seti I, when the power of Egypt was again established in western Asia. The latest possible date would be the reign of Ramses III, after which Egyptian prestige in Asia suffered its final decline. Barring a decipherment of the inscription, the best that can be said is that the stele was erected some time during the period 1309-1151 B. C.

As we have indicated above, it is possible that we are correct in attempting to read the inscription as Egyptian and that it does actually contain the proper name Thutmosis. Should this prove to be the case, we might be able to give a much more circumscribed date to the stele. Should it ever be possible to decipher the whole text, this might give the necessary clues for the interpretation of the relief panel. Dating the Balu'a stele even to the last of the Thutmosids — Thutmosis IV (1413-1405) — would present new problems, none of which, however, are insurmountable. In the present stage of investigation, it is best to leave the numerous questions raised by this interesting document unanswered. The authors of the present study have intended only to offer what evidence they have gathered and to suggest certain possible answers. Beyond this, we feel it inadvisable to go.

NOTES

- 1 *Cf. Plate I.*
- 2 *For exact measurements, cf. the proportional diagram published by Horsfield and Vincent,*
RB 41 (1932), 416-44, *on p. 423.*
- 3 **Ibid.**, *pls. XI-XII.*
- 4 *In Breasted's chronology.*
- 5 *Horsfield and Vincent, op. cit., p. 425.*
- 6 **Ibid.**, *pl. XI.*
- 7 **Ibid.**, *p. 424.*
- 8 **Ibid.**, *p. 423.*
- 9 **Ibid.**, *p. 444.*
- 10 **Ibid.**, *p. 424.*
- 11 *Drioton, RB* 42 (1933), 353-65.
- 12 *Crowfoot, PEQ* 1934, *pp. 76-84.*
- 13 *In JAOS* 56 (1936), 129, *note 8; cf. also BASOR* 63 (1936), 11.
- 14 *Trapezoidal, to be correct.*
- 15 *We shall see that this was originally the sixth line of the text.*
- 16 *The Yehawmilik inscription, the stele which Dunand has entitled **stèle a**, the Enigmatic Stone of Byblos published by Dunand, Byblia Grammata (Beirut, 1945), pp. 135 ff. ; etc. The upper register line of **stèle a** stands in no relationship to the upper area of the stone. The lower line of the Enigmatic Stone (**Ibid.**, *pl. XIV*) stands in no relationship to the lower unused area of the stone. Both lines stand in relationship to the register which they border.*
- 17 **The Archeology of Palestine** (Penguin, 1960), *p. 186.*
- 18 **PEFQ** 1935, *pp. 128-40.*
- 19 **PEFQ** 1937, *pp. 43-58.*
- 20 *Weill, Rev. d'Égyptologie* 3 (1938), 81-89.
- 21 *Alt, Palaestinajahrbuch* 37 (1940), 29-43.
- 22 *Van Zyl, The Moabites* (Leiden, 1960), *pp. 31, 110 ff.*
- 23 *We take this opportunity of thanking the authorities for the facilities afforded and the time put at our disposal by the officials of the Museum and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.*
- 24 *Horsfield and Vincent say that they made "nombreux essais tentés par des lumières différentes" (op. cit., p. 424). This time we conducted our examination from 0700 in the morning to about 1030, then again at full noonday time, again in the middle of the afternoon about 1600, and again at dusk before the sun had definitely sunk. At other times we returned to the stele in the late morning and in the early afternoon. From such varied views of the stele we came finally to determine what could safely be accepted as objective and not due either to a particular light-incidence or a definite stage of light intensity.*
Crowfoot, op. cit., p. 83.
- 25 *Cf. the section dealing with the inscription for details.*
- 26 *Cf. Plate I.*
- 27 *Cf. RB* 41 (1932), *pls. XI and XIII, and fig. 5 on p. 425. Horsfield and Vincent's photograph was reproduced by Crowfoot (op. cit.). Their drawing of the inscription was repro-*

- duced by Gaster (*op. cit.*) and, with certain modifications, by Weill (*op. cit.*). A fresh attempt at transcription does not seem to have been made since Horsfield and Vincent's time.
- ²⁹ For the sake of easy reference we have numbered the signs from left to right. This does not reproduce the original order as many have disappeared throughout all registers. In the following commentary, we make observations only on those which call for such. Throughout our fig. A, we have indicated the position of original characters by parallel lines in parentheses.
- ³⁰ In giving references to the latter, we use Dunand's code-numbers. References to the sign of the Balu'a text are given according to register and number: III-2, etc.
- ³¹ Cf. stele a, 8, 2-3, for instance.
- ³² Cf. note 11, above. The relief panel was also examined by Miss Olga Tufnell who visited 'Amman shortly after the authors. A comparison of results between us has cleared up many details.
- ³³ It is possible that the artist had in mind the conical cap of north Syrian style found in such numbers on statuettes at Byblos and other sites. The decorated leaf of a dagger handle from Byblos actually portrays this headdress with a double line, indicating a band running around the top just below the knob; Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II* (Paris, 1950-58), pl. 144, no. 5.
- ³⁴ A remarkably similar figure is found on an uninscribed stele, now in Cairo, which may have been intended for a Syrian resident of Egypt. This stele dates to the Empire period and shows the goddess Qadesh in the center flanked by two male deities. The figure on the left wears the same costume as the Balu'a god and holds a staff in one hand. The consensus of opinion seems to be that this deity represents Seth; cf. Potratz, *Orientalia* 31 (1962), pl. 82, no. 25; Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), p. 304, no. 470, and references quoted there.
- ³⁵ Naville, *Deir el Bahari*. 6 vols. (London, 1894-1908), IV, pl. 106; holding a khepesh-sword: Lefebvre, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 19-30, pl. 1; holding scepters: Hamada, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 217-30, pl. 30 (see our figs. 4-5).
- ³⁶ Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 354. The stele was very closely examined at this point and several drawings made at different times of the day. The orb in the crook of the head of the was-scepter is definitely outlined by a trench. There are other trenches, one vertical and one horizontal, in the approximate positions of the handle and cross-bar of an ankh-sign. We should properly expect, however, that these trenches would be double, causing the handle and cross-bar to stand out in relief and that the orb would be instead a double circle to represent the loop of the ankh-sign. As it stands, the supposed ankh-sign is merely shown by incised lines and is not done in relief as is the rest of the panel. It may be that the supposed ankh-sign is made up only of channels left between the king's hands and the scepter and hand of the god. There are two small raised portions in this space which seem to indicate that the channels have some purpose. On the basis of our examination of the stele, we cannot accept the conclusion that this is an ankh-sign. Comparing these traces with the ankh-sign held by the goddess, it is obvious that there is no relation between the two. There is ample room for a completed ankh-sign to have been placed in the god's hand had this been the sculptor's intent. There is, by the way, no question of the king holding something in either hand. This point is quite clear on the stone.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 355 ff.
- ³⁸ Drioton's examples are taken from Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptische Kulturegeschichte*, II, pls. 34, 39-44, 58b, 87, 149 and 160a.

- 39 Hoelscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu. Vol. IV, The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Part I* (Chicago, 1951), pl. 31b.
- 40 Nelson, et al, *Medinet Habu I. Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1930), pls. 18 and 35; *ibid.*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1932), pl. 98.
- 41 There are some short trenches on the headdress, some of which are visible on the photograph, which show that this is meant to be cloth and, in its original state, must have looked very much like the headdress on the Medinet Habu tile.
- 42 The term "Shasu" is a derivative of the old verb \check{s}^3s , "durchziehen, gehen" (Woerterbuch, IV, 412), and literally means "those who wander around." It first appears in the Eighteenth Dynasty and seems always to be used as a generic term for beduin. It is now considered probable that Hebrew $\check{s}oseh$, "beduin," and Amarna *suzume*, "plunderers," were borrowed from the Egyptian term; Lambdin, *JAOS* 73 (1953), 155, and Albright, *BASOR* 89 (1943), p. 32, note 27.
- 43 Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts. Part I* (Leipzig, 1911), *Papyrus Anastasi I*, 19.1. *Dbḥ* in this text is the *Tubiḥi* of the Amarna letters and also appears in the Syro-Lebanese territories of the geographical list of Thutmosis III; Yeivin, *JEA* 36 (1950), 53.
- 44 *Papyrus Anastasi I*, 23.6-8, where the Shasu are described as fierce, marauding bandits.
- 45 Keuntz, *La bataille de Qadech* (Cairo, 1928-34), p. 330.
- 46 Petrie, *Hyksos and Isrealite Cities* (London, 1906), pl. 28, the lower portion of a stele. The text mentions enemies of the "land of Shasu" and then goes on to say that the kin "plundered their mountains." The word for 'mountain' is the common Egyptian term *ts.t* and should not be translated 'mountain-strongholds' as Petrie. The term rather indicates hill-country in which the Shasu-beduin lived. The stele was found at Tell el Retebah in the Wadi Tumilat but the text gives no indication as to the location of this war. Another reference to the "land of the Shasu" is on an obelisk of Ramses II; cf. note 79, below.
- 47 *Papyrus Harris I*, 76.10: "I overthrew *S'r* of the Shasu-tribes."
- 48 Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt, III*, sects. 85-86.
- 49 A relief from the time of Ramses II has been a source of difficulty for some time. This shows a prisoner wearing the headdress in question, but the accompanying inscription breaks off at the end: $\check{s}^3 n \check{h}rwy.w n \check{S}^3...$, "Chief of the enemies of the Sh..." Scholars are divided as to whether the last word should be restored $\check{S}^3(sw)$, "Shasu," or $\check{S}^3(krs)$, "Shekelesh." There is hardly room for the latter in the inscription; cf. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, no. 9. Wainwright's suggestion that the scribe had run out of room, having intended to write \check{S}^3krs , is unconvincing; cf. note 51, below.
- 50 *ASAE II* (1911), 58-59, pl. 4, no. 13.
- 51 *JEA* 47 (1961), 83 ff. Wainwright also suggests that all examples of this headdress from the time of Seti I onward actually represent the Shekelesh-Teresh group who, he says, seem to have originated in Lydia and Caria. After the manuscript of this article had gone to press, a detailed study on the Shekelesh-Shasu problem by E. Wente appeared in *JNES* 22 (1963), 167 ff. He presents sufficient evidence bearing on this problem to answer our own question relative to the identity of the headdress of the Balu'a king (above, pp. 14-15). There seems to be no doubt that the headdress should be attributed to the Shasu. Wente's statements, based on a close examination of all the original reliefs *in situ*, certainly supercedes all previous statements made on this subject. We willingly accept Wente's conclusions as

- the answer to a perplexing problem which has been raised for half a century and which may eventually be of great value in establishing more clearly the identity of the Balu'a king.
- 52 The fact that in some cases (fig. 2c) they carry two spears also points to these people being part of the Sea Peoples; *ibid*, pp. 73-74.
- 53 Pritchard, *op. cit.*, nos. 6-7.
- 54 Drioton, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-55. One detail in the sash on the Balu'a goddess — the two holes which seem to be purposely placed on either side of the middle — cannot be found in any Egyptian example. These may be accidental or an attempt to reproduce some kind of decoration; examples from Egyptian paintings rarely show a spotted design. It should also be pointed out that on the photograph, the ends of the sash are apparently joined by a horizontal line. On the stele, however, there is no thrench at this point and this apparent curved line is made up of natural furrows in the stone.
- 55 Steindorff, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pls. 116, 119.
- 56 Portrayed here are Mutemwiya, the mother of Amenhotep III, and his principle wife Queen Teye. Two of their daughters also wear a similar costume on a cameo; Hayes, **The Scepter of Egypt**. Vol. 2 (New York, 1959), fig. 147. This costume was still in use for goddesses in the Persian Period; Fakhry, *ASAE* 40 (1940), pl. 106.
- 57 "Anat, Mistress of Heaven," appears wearing this crown in an Egyptian temple relief, probably from Tanis; Cooney, **Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art**, 1951-56 (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 27-28, pls. 51-52. Though the lower half of the relief is missing, Anat also seems to be wearing the same dress as the Balu'a goddess. The goddess Astarte is also found with this crown; Leclant, *Syria* 37 (1960), pl. 1 (an Egyptian relief and Syrian cylinder seal), pl. 2b (Egyptian relief), p. 31, fig. 10 (Egyptian stele). Since there is nothing on the Balu'a stele to suggest the identity of this goddess, we can only point out these examples without attempting to suggest that Anat or Astarte is shown on the stela. The Egyptian goddess Satis appears with this crown in Empire times; Bruyère, **Les fouilles de Deir el Medineh** (1934-1935), Part III (Cairo, 1939), fig. 81, and Cerny, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159-203, pl. 2. Finally, on a stele from the time of Ramses II found at Beth-Shan, a Canaanite goddess appears with this crown, wearing a sheath dress and holding an ankh-sign in one hand, a was-scepter in the other; Rowe, **Topography and History of Beth Shan** (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 32-33.
- 58 Though the photograph seems to show something at the ends of this crescent, a minute examination of the stele at this point showed nothing. It is a simple crescent, logically the moon.
- 59 The center break is not visible on the photograph, but is obvious enough on the stele to be considered a characteristic of this symbol. The fork on the left prong was visible only at a certain time of the day, but was very clear. None was visible at any time on the right prong. A minute examination of the stele at this point — it is badly weathered here — showed that this is not just the simple crescent-disc motive used commonly in religious iconography throughout western Asia. The exact nature of the crescent-tips escapes us.
- 60 Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 447 ff. pl. 42.
- 61 A moon and crescent also appear on the stele of Amrit (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, no. 486) and this symbol is found everywhere on cylinder seals throughout the Semitic-speaking world. But again we must note that the symbol on the Balu'a stele could be something else.
- 62 Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

- ⁶³ Horsfield and Vincent, *op. cit.*, fig. 4. pls. 11-12.
- ⁶⁴ It must be noted again that our photograph shows certain apparent lines which do not exist on the original stele and, in the case of the facial features, our drawing is closer to the original than the photograph. Our photograph was constantly compared with both the relief and the inscription so as to enable us to differentiate between shadows on the photograph and real trenches left by the sculptor. There are thus several details which appear to be present on the photograph which do not actually exist.
- ⁶⁵ After the photograph in Hamada, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.
- ⁶⁶ Cf. Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (Paris, 1955), Chap. III.
- ⁶⁷ This scene recurs with almost monotonous regularity throughout Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari. The contexts in which this scene appears are quite varied and one gains the impression that Hatshepsut, in reality a usurper, was establishing her right to rule by the mere argument of repitition.
- ⁶⁸ Notably: (1) the ring just below the knob of the god's crown, (2) the Semitizing facial features, (3) the crudely done *ankh*-sign in the goddess' right hand, (4) the two symbols over the shoulders of the king and (5) the constant violation of all the canons of proportional representation in all three figures. To these may be added the possible attempt to reproduce Egyptian characters in the inscription.
- ⁶⁹ Horsfield and Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 444.
- ⁷⁰ Drioton, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
- ⁷¹ A narrow border appears, for example, in *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 179 (Ramses III) and broad borders appear in the Nineteenth Dynasty.
- ⁷² Cf. note 68, above.
- ⁷³ Drioton, *op. cit.*, pp. 260, 365.
- ⁷⁴ Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (New Haven, 1940), Chap. V, gives a summary of his work.
- ⁷⁵ Some of this material is as yet unpublished. For a general statement, see Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (London, 1959), pp. 32-33, 63, 73, and *PEF Annual VI* (1953), 14. Preliminary notes on the Amman temple are in *PEFQ* 1958, 10-12, and *ADAJ* 3 (1956), 80; part of the hoard of foreign objects from this temple is published in Vol. IX of *ADAJ*. A tomb of the Middle Bronze period is published by Dajani, *ADAJ* 2 (1953), 75-77. The Madaba finds and a Middle Bronze age tomb are published by Harding in *PEF Annual VI* (1953). For the Late Bronze city at Deir 'Alla, see note 92, below. Finally, a new Late Bronze-Early Iron tomb and a new Hyksos tomb have just been discovered at 'Amman (Spring, 1963).
- ⁷⁶ The major studies on these lists are Simons, *Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937); Jirku, *Die ägyptischen Listen Palaestinensischer und Syrischen Ortsnamen* (Leipzig, 1937); Noth, *ZDPV* 60 (1937), 183-97, 198-239; 61 (1938), 26-65, 277-304; 64 (1941), 39-74. cf. now Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), 220-41.
- ⁷⁷ Simons, *op. cit.*, List XXII, 10 and p. 70. This short list is a traditional collection of foreign "conquests" with no meaning in reality. The Egyptian frontier was in south Syria in the reign of Ramses II. Egyptian kings of the post-Empire age were still claiming victories over Khatti, a nation which had ceased to exist at the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty.
- ⁷⁸ Simons, *op. cit.*, p. 219. However. cf. Albright, *AASOR* 6 (1926), 19, and *BASOR* 125

- (1952), 9, note 7; Jirku, *op. cit.*, p. 15, note 5. The place referred to may be Tell Dibbān in the Jordan Valley.
- ⁷⁹ Montet, *Kemi V* (1936), pl. 3.
- ⁸⁰ Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I. Hieroglyphische Transkription* (Brussels, 1933), p. 93, lines 76, 9-10 of the papyrus.
- ⁸¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt III*, sect. 404; Burchardt, *Die altkanaanaischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909-10), II, no 766; Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934), V, A, 12.
- ⁸² While Egyptian S'r corresponds phonetically to the Semitic term, nothing in either of these passages is any help in locating this area geographically. However, we see no objection to an identification with the mountainous area south of the Dead Sea. Certainly "This mountain of S'r" on the obelisk of Ramses II can be taken thus. The S'r of Papyrus Harris I, which has the ethnic determinative rather than the foreign place determinative, would indicate "Sierites," or the inhabitants of these mountains. A further argument in favor of this interpretation is that in both inscriptions these people are defined as "Shasu," whom we find as nomadic highlanders in other Egyptian texts; cf. note 46, above.
- ⁸³ Papyrus Anastasi VI, 54-57; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), p. 76; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), p. 293. 2
- ⁸⁴ Caminos, *op. cit.*, p. 294; Wilson, in Pritchard (ed), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1950), p. 259a, note 3.
- ⁸⁵ Burchardt, *op. cit.*, no 196; Albright, *Vocalization*, no. III, A, 21.
- ⁸⁶ Kraeling, *Rand McNally Bible Atlas* (New York, 1956), p. 116. Glueck and Albright locate Edom on the eastern side of Arabah in the area from Wadi el-Hesa to the edge of the Negev; BASOR 55 (1934), 3-17; JPOS 15 (1935), 187-88.
- ⁸⁷ For completeness' sake, we should also mention the two references to Yrḏn, "Jordan," that is, the Jordan valley, found in Egyptian texts. The first is an almost illegible stele of Seti I found at Beth Shan which refers to the "mountain of Jordan," probably the Gilead range on the east side of the Jordan river; Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth Shan*, pp. 29-30. The second reference is Papyrus Anastasi I, 22. 8-23. 1, which mentions the "stream of Jordan"; Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts I*, p. 24.
- ⁸⁸ Cf. note 75, above.
- ⁸⁹ Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan*, p. 38, pl. 4; PEF Annual 6 (1953), pl. 5, nos. 215-16, 219.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid* : , pp. 14 ff., pl. 2, nos. 109-10.
- ⁹¹ Egyptian scarabs have also been found in tombs dating before and after the Empire period: Dajani, *ADAJ* 2 (1953), 75-77, and 66-69; *ADAJ* 1 (1951), 48.
- ⁹² Franken, *VT* 11 (1961), 361-72, pl. 5.
- ⁹³ Dates of Egyptian rulers taken from Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961).

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THE 1953 SURVEY IN THE YARMUK AND JORDAN VALLEYS.

The circumstances of the archaeological survey launched by the Department of Antiquities in the Yarmuk and Jordan Valleys, at the beginning of 1953, under the joint direction of James Mellaart and of the present writer, have been exposed several times (1). The present report aims to complete those previously issued in the Annual, especially regarding sites or details, that do not figure in Nelson Glueck's unrivalled survey (2); for this reason, the notes taken on about thirty places visited in 1953 have been cut off. This study having been written down in 1954, this accounts for the lack of reference to important recent publications and excavations, such as those of Tell ed-Duweir, Samaria, Jericho and Tell Deir 'Alla. Anyhow, the material will be available for archaeologists more familiar with later periods than the present writer.

A. YARMUK VALLEY. SOUTH BANK.

TELL JAMID. (3)

To the material from this well known **Early Bronze I-II** town can be added thirty-one stone artefacts, typical of this peculiar period (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

Tabular scrapers: 4. They show steep retouch all around the edge; unfortunately, all four are broken.

— Blond and mauve flint, thick crust on upper face; the hole seems to be genuine (Pl. VII, fig. 1).

— Blond-coloured flint (Pl. VII, fig. 2), chocolate flint (Pl. VII, fig. 3), brown flint (Pl. VII, fig. 4).

Cananean blades: 15. They are all made of blond-coloured flint. The edges are roughly serrated and show traces of working; quite often, chips have fallen off; four show a lustrous edge, one has lustre on both edges. The largest measures 65 mm. long, 29 mm. wide and 8 mm. thick, the smallest are 27 mm. long, 21 to 15 mm. wide and 5 to 3 mm. thick; one has a thickness of 6 mm. One blade, pinkish-coloured, measures 23 mm. long, 18 mm. thick and 3 mm. thick. These blades seem to have been used as knives or sickle blades.

Cananean blades with blunted back: 5. These are clearly sickle blades. Steep retouch appears on the lower face, with a serrated working edge. The material is blond flint. The longest is 85 mm., with a thickness of 5 mm. (Pl. VIII, fig. 1). One has a strong sheen (Pl. VII, fig. 8).

Notched blades: 3.

— Blade with faceted striking platform, scraper retouch on the ends; blond flint; thickness: 6 mm. (Pl. VIII, fig. 2).

— End of a blade, made of black flint, with fine steep retouch on the edges; thickness: 4 mm. (fig. Pl. VII, 6).

— Blade of mauve striped flint; thickness: 8 mm. (Pl. VII, fig. 7).

Retouchoir or lame de dégagement, made of light-coloured flint, with deep steep retouch (Pl. VII, fig. 5).

Borers: 2. Plain striking platform, light mauve flint (Pl. VII, fig. 9; Pl. VIII, fig. 3).

Flake, grey flint, crust partly preserved, worked as a sort of scraper; length: 88. mm., width: 40 mm., thickness: 12 mm.

MAQARIN.

On the terrace overlooking the junction between Wadi Meidane and Wadi esh-Shallala, a number of flints were collected. Very few are well finished and the artefacts look like the waste of a flint working-place. Thirteen pieces are worth recording.

1°. Flints with a yellowish patina: Lower Paleolithic.

— **Acheulian biface**; greyish flint, patina only on one face. Broken; actual length: 80 mm., width: 70 mm., thickness: 25 mm.

— Three bulky **flakes**, 140 mm., 120 mm. and 9 mm. long.

2°. Flints presumably Upper Paleolithic.

— Two **points**, creamy flint, one with a faceted platform, 85 mm. long, the other with plain striking platform, 55 mm. long.

— **Point**, bluish flint, faceted striking platform, length: 65 mm.

— **Point**, whitish flint, plain striking platform, length: 65 mm.

3°. Flints presumably Neolithic.

— **Pointed blade**, bluish flint, faceted striking platform, 90 mm. long.

— Unfinished **axe**, creamy flint, length: 85 mm., width: 45 mm., thickness: 20 mm.

— Half of a **pick** in violet-coloured flint, 120 mm. long, 25 mm. thick.

— **Tranchet**, made of mauve flint, 25 mm. thick (Pl. VIII, fig. 4).

— **Chisel** in whitish flint, 15 mm. thick (Pl. VIII, fig. 5).

TELL QURS. (4)

The top of the small steep hillock called Tell Qurs, near the flowing of Wadi es-Sijn into the Yarmuk, was a strong position overlooking the valley, a little distance downstream Tell Jamid.

The pottery. Nelson Glueck recorded **Early Bronze I** and **Iron II** remains. Only the former period appeared in the 1953 collection:

— Two **hole-mouth** jars, with square lip, made of brown clay, thoroughly smoothed; diameter of rims: at least 20 cm., thickness of wall: 12 mm.

— Two **combed** sherds, pink clay with a greyish core.

— **Band slip** (grain wash) decorated sherds, buff ware.

— Shapeless coarse sherds.

The stone industry: twenty nine artefacts:

— Rectangular **axe**, made of white yellowish limestone, with smoothed edges; length: 110 mm. maximum width: 75 mm., thickness: 30 mm.

— Triangular chipped **axe**, with a curved working edge, in mauve flint; length: 100 mm., maximum width: 75 mm., thickness: 30 mm.

— Five broken **axes** or **adzes**, one of chert, 110 mm. long, one of mauve flint 70 mm. long; the three others measure 80 mm., 65 mm. and 55 mm.

— **Nucleus**, possibly used as a scraper, made of chert, 95 mm. long.

— Three narrow **hatchets**, in blond flint, only one complete (Pl. IX, fig. 1).

— Seven **side-scrapers** or “**racloirs**”, on thick flakes, often crusted on the back: three of blond flint; 70 mm., 69 mm. and 50 mm. long; one of chocolate flint, 55 mm. long; one of chert, 75 mm. long; two of bluish flint, 60 and 50 mm. long.

— Double **borer**, made of mauve flint, length: 60 mm.

— Two **blades**, one in blond flint, 53 mm. long, the other in mauve flint, 35 mm. long.

— Seven **flakes**, made of blond or mauve flint.

— Perforated **weight**, made of basalt, broken (Pl. IX, fig. 2).

SHEJERAH.

A terrace overlooking the Yarmuk and opposite Shejerah Railway Station yielded five flints, who also seem to belong to a **Neolithic** assemblage:

— Small mauve-coloured **axe**, almond shaped (Pl IX, fig. 3).

— Another similar **axe**, blond in colour, unfortunately broken.

— Broken **axe**, light brown with creamy patches; length: 80 mm., width: 40 mm., thickness: 25 mm.

— Pointed **blade** with a faceted striking platform, carelessly worked, made of chocolate flint, 70 mm. long.

— Notched **flake**, probably used as a borer, in mauve flint, 70 mm. long.

AQRABAH.

One kilometer and a half north of Aqrabah, just opposite El Kuwaiye, the Yarmuk turns with a very sharp bend around a rocky spur, from which good watch could be held across the valley.

It supports remains of buildings made of basaltic boulders and strewn with sherds, which could very well go as far back as **Early Bronze I-II**:

— **Hole-mouth** jar, with thick rounded lip, brown clay; diameter at the rim: at least 20 cm., thickness of wall at the rim: 15 mm.

— Part of red-burnished **loop-handle**.

- Three **combed** sherds, pink clay with a grey core.
- **Band slip** (grain wash) decorated sherds.
- Coarse sherds, among which flat bottoms.

One piece of pottery in hard red ware seems **Roman**.

WADI KHALID.

Three flint **side-scrapers** or "racloirs", possibly **Upper Paleolithic**, were found near Wadi Khalid Station:

- Blond-coloured, made on a flake, 10 mm. long.
- Made on a black blade, 77 mm. long.
- Managed on a rectangular black flake, 60x60 mm., 25 mm. thick.

JISR EL HASHARA.

A group of ten artefacts, collected near the El Hashara bridge over the Yarmuk, seem **Neolithic**.

- Three strong crude **axes**, with a battered butt, one made of whitish flint, 35 mm. thick (fig. 3, 4); the two others, blond-coloured, were broken and reused: one is 100 mm. long, 50 mm. wide and 50 mm. thick, the other 90 mm. long, 80 mm. wide and 40 mm. thick.
- Limestone rectangular axe, broken; its measurements are 80 mm., 70 mm. and 35 mm.
- **Pick** made of mauve flint, broken; length: 65 mm., width: 35 mm., thickness: 25 mm...
- Fragment of **hatchet**, blond flint, with careful fluting retouch (Pl. IX, fig. 5)
- Mauve-coloured **flake**, perhaps used as a scraper, 57 mm. long.
- Angle **burin** on a notched blade, made of dark violet flint (Pl. IX, fig. 6)
- Two whitish flint **blades**, 48 mm. and 44 mm. long.

MUKHEIBA.

Near Mukheiba Police Station, three flints, possibly **Neolithic**, were collected.

- **Scraper** on a thick flake of blond flint; length: 90 mm., width: 55 mm., thickness: 26 mm.
- End blade **scraper**, mauve flint, 95 mm. long. 25 mm. thick.
- Thick **flake** with crust on upper face, mauve white speckled flint, 70x70 mm., 22 mm. thick.

MISRAH.

Four kilometers south of El Mukheiba village, the hamlet of Misrah was at the level of the projected irrigation ditch; the spelling is Misrah on the 25.000 map, Mazra El Mukheiba on the 100.000 map, but the place is also known as Mukheiba el Tahta.

A little above the south side of the hamlet, stands Sleiman Nassif's house. Close to it, in a field belonging to the same labourer, there are a few ruins. The most conspicuous are fragments of black basaltic columns, some of them upright. They belong to a building

with two rows of at least four columns each, running east-west; between the two rows lies a passage three meters wide, and between each column there is a distance of two meters. The diameter of the columns varies from about 52 cm. to about 43 cm. Towards the south-western corner appears the upper part of a vault, also running east-west.

South of this complex, the upper part of a column was lying upside down; it included a square capital (Pl. XV, fig. 23). The latter was 25 cm. high and 55 cm. wide; on the upper face, a square hole had been dug to bind it with the beams of the ceiling. At each angle, a volute relates the capital to the ionic style; on one side appears between the volutes a coarse human face, with round eyes, schematic nose and mouth, and hair figured by deep crisscross engravings.

In field were scattered **Roman** sherds, which probably give a clue to the date of the building, which could very well be a small rural temple.

TELL EL FAKHRAT. (5)

South of Um Qeis, runs the deep gorge of Rod Ain Um Qeis, which falls into the Wadi el 'Arab. Tell el Fakhrât overlooks this valley, not from the east, as seems to say Nelson Glueck, but from the western bank. No new Khirbet Kerak sherd was discovered on this site, but quite a number of **Early Bronze I-II** sherds, together with **Roman, Byzantine** and **Arabic**.

Among the flints, several belong to the former period.

- Three cananean **sickle blades** with serrated edges and worked ends, one in blond flint, 62 mm. long; one in blond flint, with a lustrous edge (Pl. X, fig. 1); one in grey flint with strong lustre on the two edges and on the ridges (Pl. X, fig. 2).
- Three rough blades, one in whitish flint, 75 mm. long; one in light grey flint, 55 mm. long; and one in blond and mauve flint, 50 mm. long.

EL 'ADASIYAH. (6)

The Yarmuk falls into the Jordan in a flat country, where can be spotted, near the large El 'Adasiyah village, two tells. The surface sherds all belong to late periods, **Roman, Byzantine** and **Arabic**.

B. JORDAN VALLEY. EAST BANK.

I. From the Yarmuk to Wadi Yabis.

TELL ESH SHUNAH. (7)

Tell esh Shunah, on the northern bank of Wadi el 'Arab, is known by soundings, which have been published previously (Pl. XVI, fig. 3, 4, XVII (layer 14), XVIII (layer 17), XIX, fig. 1, 2 (layer 19).

TELL SUWAN. (8)

Tell Suwân is a low site, north of the junction between Wadi el 'Arab and the Jordan. (Pl. XVI, fig. 2). The sherds picked up are **Hellenistic** to **Arabic**, but none could be assigned to the Late Neolithic described by Nelson Glueck.

Flints are common, as suggested by the name of the site, but of rough fabric, with unprepared striking platform; three of them however deserve a short account:

- **Blade** of white chert, cananean technic, 50 mm. long.
- **Blade** of blond flint, 43 mm. long.
- Thick blade of blond flint, possibly used as a **scraper**, 50 mm. long, 55 mm. wide and 30 mm. thick.

TELL EL MADRASA.

Tell el Madrasa is a very low tell, north-west of the crossing between the I. P. C. pipe-line and the Jisr esh Sheikh Hussein road. A small hamlet occupies the summit. The pottery is **Roman** and **Byzantine**.

MAKHRABA.

Not far south-east from Tell el Madrasa, below Makhraba village, flows a spring, where Hassan Abu Hawad collected a fair number of flints, which seem to be **Upper Paleolithic**, with unprepared striking platform. Besides numerous typical pieces, ten artefacts must be selected.

- Two blade **scrapers**, managed on the end of the blade and rather steep or “busqués”; blond flint, 56 and 52 mm. long.
- Chisel-like **blade**, made of violet flint (Pl. X, fig. 3).
- **Burin**, made on a thin flake of blond flint (Pl. X, fig. 4).
- Blade, perhaps used as a **borer**, light mauve flint, 55 mm. long.
- **Borer**, in violet flint, with steep retouch (Pl. X, fig. 5).
- Two square **flakes**, possibly used as scrapers, one in violet flint, 52 mm. long, one in blond flint, 35 mm. long.
- Two small **cores** or “nuclei”, one of blond flint, 30 mm. high, the other of dark brown flint, 40 mm. high.

TELL FENDI. (9)

Tell Fendi lies south of Wadi Ziqlab, between the river and the Jisr esh Sheikh Hussein road. It is low but extent; a modern farm is built on its southern end. Almost all the finds belong to Nelson Glueck's Middle Chalcolithic, an undifferentiated Ghassulian, which we are inclined to synchronize with **Late Chalcolithic**.

The pottery. The paste is crude, usually buff, sometimes whitish or pink. The outer face of the vessels is generally red-washed; inside, the red wash appears frequently as a band around the rim, but sometimes covers all the inside. Several sherds are made of a white well levigated clay. The main shape is the plain hemispheroidal **bowl** with rounded lip (Pl. X, fig. 1-6). One rim seems to pertain to a **hole-mouth cooking-pot** (Pl. XI, fig. 7). Vertical pierced **ear-handles** appear at the rim (Pl. XI, fig. 1) or on the body (Pl. XI, fig. 8) of the vessels, but the earlier tradition of **loop-handles** with flattened section and widened attachment is still represented by two fragments. Excavation may expose a lower **Early Chalcolithic** deposit as the horizon of these loop-handles and of some of the plain rims. Coherent with the surface material are

flat bases, one of which, 80 mm. in diameter, meets the body by a slow curve. Raised bands with thumb impressions and traces of red wash are found on two thick storage jars (Pl. XI, fig. 9, 10). Two wheel-made jugs, in dark red clay, belong to the Roman period (Pl. XI, fig. 11, 12).

The flaked stone industry. The lithic industry looks rather poor. Three tools, roughly made, have an unprepared striking platform:

- **Blade section**, rectangular, with crust on one side, light mauve flint, 30 mm. long.
- **Flake**, thick, with crust on one face, light mauve flint, 46 mm. long.
- Crusted large **flake**, mauve with white veins, 90 mm. long and 25 mm. thick.

KHIRBET SHEIKH MOHAMMED. (10)

South of Khirbet Sheikh Mohammed village, stands a large tell, strewn with quantities of sherds. The bulk of the pottery is **Iron I-II**:

- **Hole-mouth** jars (Pl. XI, fig. 16, 17) (11); **bowls** with inverted rim (Pl. XI, fig. 18); **jugs** with thickened rim (Pl. XI, fig. 19); **pots** with an everted rim (Pl. XI, fig. 20); pinkish, whitish or black clay.

A **loop-handle** of dark-red burnished ware may be **Early Bronze I-II**, but an important group of crude ware, red to yellow, seems more likely to be **Arabic**.

It includes **jars** with everted neck and a red slip inside the rim (Pl. XI, fig. 13) or raised decoration (Pl. XI, fig. 15), thick **storage-jars** or stands, who bear also raised bands (Pl. XI, fig. 14), and **loop-handles** with elongated attachment and a flat or triangular section.

This site overlooks the crossing of the Jordan just opposite Beth Shan and held accordingly an important strategical position.

II. From Wadi Yabis to Wadi Zerqa.

TELL ABU HABIL. (12)

The soundings on Tell Abu Habil have already been published.

TELL AL HANDAQUQ. (13)

Tell el Handaquq is a long rocky spur, behind which extends a sloping plateau, on top of which were found a number of sherds. The site offers good natural protection. All the material collected belongs to **Late Chalcolithic** and to **Early Bronze I-II**; one sherd is of Tell Umm Hamad Sherqi type with multiple raised bands. Nelson Glueck also found Esdraelon ware and some Middle Chalcolithic. A flint **blade**, mauve with white veins, measures 52 mm.

TELL ABU FESH. (14)

Tell Abu Fesh is a small tell, whose sharp contour is visible on top of a rich terrace overlooking the Jordan, north of Wadi Kufrinje. (Pl. XIX, fig. 3). The rim of a large **Middle Bronze II** storage jar was found on the surface (Pl. XII, fig. 13) (15).

TELL EL QELAYA. (16)

Tell el Qelaya is opposite the former site, on the south side of Wadi Kufrinje, west of Kereimeh village. The occupation of this small settlement was supposed by Nelson Glueck

to go back to **Early Bronze I**, and the 1953 finds seem to confirm this early occupation : rough red-slipped ware, sometimes with raised decoration. As noticed by Nelson Glueck, the presence of **Late Chalcolithic** is possible.

Part of a **sickle blade**, made in chocolate flint with cananean flaking, shows fine retouch on the edges, one of which has a slight sheen (Pl. X, fig. 6).

TELL ES SA'IDIYEH EL GHARBI. (17)

On the terrace west of the high mound of Tell es Sa'idiyeh esh Sherqi, more remains of **Early Bronze I** were collected: indented ledge-handles, bowls with inverted rim, pattern burnished sherds, hole-mouth jars, jars with an everted neck, Lamps with several spouts may be dated to **Middle Bronze I** (K. Kenyon's EB-MB). We failed to recognise the spot where Nelson Glueck found two **Early Chalcolithic** (K. Kenyon's Pottery Neolithic B) sherds.

TELL ES SA'IDIYEH ESH SHIMALI.

On the north bank of Wadi Kufrinje, on a marl, "qattârah", hill, opposite Tell es Sa'idiyeh esh Sherqi, (Pl. XIX, fig. 3), a **Late Chalcolithic** site was located: jars with everted neck and a raised band at the junction of the neck and the body, hole-mouth jars, flat bases, vertical loop-handles and ear-handles with elongated attachment. All this material being coated with a calcareous crust, it is impossible to ascertain if part of this pottery is not **Early Bronze I**. Other finds were **Roman** handles and yellow **Arabic** ware.

TELL ES SA'IDIYEH EL TAHTA. (18)

West of Tell es Sa'idiyeh el Gharbi, on a terrace among the "qattârah" slopes leading to the Zôr, a small **Late Chalcolithic** site with Ghassulian affinities, was excavated. The main feature is the remains of a tomb, which confirms Nelson Glueck's idea that these slopes were used as cemeteries by the inhabitants of Tell es Sa'idiyeh.

TELL EL QOS. (19)

Tell el Qôs is a rocky hill, surrounded by cliffs on every side, except northward, where a slope leads to the neighbouring hillocks; this access is closed by a strong stone wall, so that the site is of the "éperon barré" type.

Late Chalcolithic was not encountered, but the 1953 finds include a few **Early Bronze I-II** sherds:

- **Bowl** with inverted rim, orange clay with a pattern-burnished red surface (Pl. XII, fig. 1) (20).
- **Hole-mouth jar**, with a thick rim, buff clay, red slip.
- **Jars** with an everted neck.
- **Incised decoration** on the shoulder of a jar, made of red clay with a white slip (Pl. XII, fig. 2).
- **Raised indented bands**, with finger impressions (Pl. XII, fig. 3, 4).
- **Band slip** (grain wash) decoration on jars.
- **Ledge-handles**, plain, with red slip (Pl. XII, fig. 5) (21).
- **Pushed-up ledge-handle**, with patches of red slip (Pl. XII, fig. 6) (22).

However, the bulk of the material was **Middle Bronze I**, with typical **envelope ledge-handles** (Pl. XII, fig. 7) (23).

Several jar rims seem to belong to **Iron II**; they are wheel-made, in red or black clay, with a white slip (Pl. XII, fig. 8-11) (24). A glazed rim, chocolate surface with a yellow band, is **Mediaeval Arabic** (Pl. XII, fig. 12).

TELL EL GHAZALA. (25)

The small and flat Tell el Ghazala, near the huge Tell el Mazar, lies in the midst of cultivated fields. (Pl. XIX, fig. 4). The main period of occupation is **Iron II**: sherds in black clay with red faces and a white slip, especially **jar** (Pl. XII, fig. 14, 15, 17) (26) and **bowl** (Pl. XII, fig. 16, 18) rims.

TELL EL KHESSAS. (27)

Tell el Khessas or Tell el Eksas is a small site. Most of the pottery is **Iron II**: **jars** with a high neck and elaborate rim, made of black clay (Pl. XII, fig. 19, 20) (28).

TELL DEIR 'ALLA. (29)

According to surface finds, the earliest phase of settlement should be **Middle Bronze II**: quite typical is the upper part of a large storage jar with flat loop-handles, made of red clay (Pl. XIII, fig. 1).

Iron I-II is well represented by **jar** (Pl. XIII, fig. 2, 4) (30) and **bowl** (Pl. XIII, fig. 3, 5) (31) rims, of reddish ware. **Roman** and **Byzantine** were also present.

TELL EL MEIDAN. (32)

The imposing Tell el Meidan overlooks the north bank of wadi Zerqa. The road actually crosses the river on a bridge east of the mound, and the place was no doubt already an important passage in ancient times. We missed the **Chalcolithic** and **Early Bronze Age** remains mentioned by Nelson Glueck and found mainly **Iron I-II** sherds.

TELL EL MUNTAH. (33)

As Nelson Glueck noticed, there is no sign on Tell el Muntah of Père Mallon's **Late Chalcolithic**, the earlier sherds being **Roman**.

TELL UMM HAMAD SHERQI. (34)

To the previous surveys and to James Mellaart's soundings, who reasserted the stratigraphical position of its **Late Chalcolithic** and **Early Bronze** cultures, can be added several surface flints, all of **cananean** type:

- **Tabular scraper**, made of blond flint, with faceted striking platform, and steep retouch; one corner is broken (Pl. X, fig. 7).
- **Sickle blade**, made of blond flint; the two edges are finely serrated, but only one shows lustre (Pl. X, fig. 8).
- **Blade section**, light mauve flint, 35 mm. long and 18 mm. wide.
- **Twelve flakes**, made of blond striped flint.

III. From Wadi Zerqa to the Dead Sea.

TELL GHANAM. (35)

South of Damiyah extends an arid zone, which seems to have been an archaeological void, until irrigation works in **Roman** period.

On the north bank of Wadi Nimrin, which is the continuation of Wadi Shu'eib, lies the low site of Tell Ghanâm. The remains which could be attributed to **Ghassulian**, according to Nelson Glueck, are not very characteristic: a **bowl** rim (fig. 7, 6) and a **hole-mouth** rim (fig. 7, 7). A large proportion of the sherds could as well be **Mediaeval Arabic** or more recent: very sandy and crude paste, white or red in colour, raised decoration, plain loop-handles. Only excavation could solve this problem.

Six flints of poor fabric, with unprepared striking platform, give slight evidence for dating:

- **Scraper** on a thick flake, 50 mm. long by 17 mm. thick, steep retouch on the upper face.
- Two **blades**, one of bluish flint, 60 mm. long, one of white chert, 67 mm. long.
- Three **flakes**, two in light mauve flint, 50 mm. and 38 mm. long, one made of white chert, 50 mm. long.

TELL EL HAMMAM. (36)

Tell el Hammâm is a flat topped rocky hill, with numerous ruins of buildings and potsherds. **Early Bronze I** is represented by **hole-mouth jars**, with a thickened rim; one has a red wash outside and inside the rim (Pl. XIII, fig. 14, 15). Most of the pottery is **Iron I-II**, wheel-made red ware: large **bowls** (Pl. XIII, fig. 8), necked **jars** with various rims, some very elaborate (Pl. XIII, fig. 9-13) (37). A **bowl** rim, made of hard red clay, corrugated inside, with an horizontal handle, is probably **Roman** (Pl. XIII, fig. 16).

TELL IKTANU. (38)

The large site of Tell Iktanû seems to have been occupied mainly during **Middle Bronze II**; its situation is a fairly strong one (Pl. XX, fig. 1). The pottery is abundant; the clay is light red or grey in colour:

- **Bowls** with globular bodies, flat and thick rim, and a raised finger-impressed or indented band underneath the lip.
- **Jars** with an everted neck and a raised band at the junction between neck and shoulder.
- **Ledge handles**, narrow and elongated, mostly envelope ledge-handles.
- Rope-like **raised bands** at the shoulder or on the body of large storage vessels.

The lithic industry is well represented by twenty artefacts, usually with a faceted striking platform:

- **Borer** on a pink-coloured flint blade (Pl. X, fig. 9).
- Two **burins**, one in chocolate flint (Pl. X, fig. 10), the other in cream flint (Pl. X, fig. 11).
- **Sickle blade**, grey flint, with blunted back by steep retouch (Pl. X, fig. 12).
- **Blade scraper**, mauve flint, with a yellow patina on one face, 43 mm. long.
- Two **blades** with a cutting edge, one in whitish cream flint, 50 mm. long; one made of pink-coloured flint.

- Cananean blade with a whitish patina, 37 mm. long.
- Flake with a cutting edge, of blond flint.

TELL IJRUFU. (39)

The very low Tell Ijrufa, or Tell Ejrafah, south of Wadi Rama, only shows **Mediaeval Arabic** sherds : painted ware with chocolate bands and chevrons on an ochre, dark red or white field; combed ware with undulated patterns; ribbed ware; glazed chocolate, yellow or green faced pottery.

C. JORDAN VALLEY. WEST BANK.

I. From Wadi Shubash to Wadi el Far'ah.

KHIRBET SHEIKH HAMID AL FATUR.

The high mound of Khirbet Sheikh Hamid Al Fatur, in the southern part of the Beth Shan plain, shows mostly **Byzantine** sherds on the surface, the other sherds being much weathered and untypical, although some may have been earlier.

KHIRBET KHESAS ED DEIR.

The very low site of Khirbet Khasas ed Deir is a rich **Mediaeval Arabic** settlement:

- Jars with everted neck and hole mouth jars with a narrow opening.
- Bowls with a narrow trumpet-like foot, and with inverted rim.
- Painted ware in chocolate on white, or black on red, sometimes lustrous.
- Glazed ware, green, yellow, chocolate or brown.
- Ribbed ware and pottery with relief décoration, moulded,

TELL ESH SHAMSIYE.

The shallow mound, covered by the Tell esh Shamsiyé hamlet, is an extensive site. **Roman**, **Byzantine** and **Mediaeval Arabic** are the occupation periods, according to the surface finds.

Nine flints were collected:

- Two blade sections of cananean type, one of blond flint, 28 mm. long, the other of pink-coloured flint, 22 mm. long.
- Flake scraper, rectangular, with steep retouch, made of blond flint, 48 mm. long and 30 mm. wide.
- Six flakes of buff, mauve or blond-coloured flint.

TELL EL HAMME. (40)

The huge Tell el Hamme stands at the mouth of a valley, which leads from the high country of Samaria to the Beth Shan plain. It belongs to the same line of fortified cities as Ible'am, Ta'annak and Megiddo (Pl. XX, fig. 2, 4).

Several sherds go back as far as **Early Bronze I-II**:

- **Bowls** with thick rim, one in red clay with a red burnished slip (Pl. XIV, fig. 3).
- **Globular bowls** with a red slip (Pl. XIV, fig. 1).
- Simple rounded **bowls**, one with an horizontal lug under the rim (Pl. XIV, fig. 2).
- **Stripes of red paint** on a cream or orange slip.

Some of the finds belong probably to **Late Bronze II**, but most are **Iron I-II**:

Bowls:

- Bowls with a thick wall, made of yellow clay (Pl. XIV, fig. 4), of red clay with a white slip inside (Pl. XIV, fig. 5) or of red clay with a black core (Pl. XIV, fig. 6) (41).
- Carinated bowls with an everted rim, red clay and black core (Pl. XIV, fig. 7) (42).
- Bowls with a thin wall, slightly everted rim, red clay with a black core (Pl. XIV, fig. 8) (43).

Jugs with a narrow neck and sophisticated rim, red clay with a black core (Pl. XIV, fig. 9-11) (44).

Flask with a cupped mouth, made of red clay (Pl. XIV, fig. 12) (45).

Jars with a thick rim, mostly with a red surface and black core, but some of yellow, pink or white clay. A figure must certainly be reversed (Pl. XIV, fig. 13), for it obviously pertains to a footed vessel. The other jar rims show a great variety of shapes (Pl. XIV, fig. 14-20; Pl. XV, fig. 1) (46).

Jars or hole-mouth pots with sharp mouldings below the rim, same material as the former (Pl. XV, fig. 2-10) (47).

Handles of various types; red surface with a black core:

- A jar rim bears a piece of a loop-handle, originally balanced by a second one (Pl. XV, fig. 11) (48).
- Two hole-mouth jars have similar loop-handles at the rim; on the outer face of one, appears white slip (Pl. XV, fig. 12), on the other, red burnished slip (Pl. XV, fig. 13) (49).
- A loop handle, of coarse fabric, has a double ring, different from the MB type and also Iron Age (Pl. XV, fig. 14) (50).

A group of red lustrous sherds, such as a two handled cooking-pot or **juglet** (Pl. XV, fig. 15) are **Roman** and **Byzantine**. The **Mediaeval Arabic** period is represented by red white painted ware, ribbed ware and a few loop-handles with a characteristic **groove** (Pl. XV, fig. 16).

A saw or sickle blade, of yellow red striped chert, shows a slight lustre on both edges (Pl. X, fig. 13).

TELL ABY SUS.

Tell Abu Sus is an enormous site oriented east-west, with two summits; it stands on a rock table, overlooking the Jordan, which flows about a hundred meters below, and commands two fords, Makhadat Fat-Hellah and Makhadat Abu Sus; it is about forty meters high, but this is probably in part natural, and in part accumulation of archaeological debris (Pl. XX, fig. 3).

Some sherds are **Early Bronze I-II**: pattern burnished red sherds, among which **bowls with inverted rim** (Pl. XV, fig. 17), small **jugs** with everted neck, **red painted parallel bands**, large flat **bases**.

Besides a few sherds which could be **Late Bronze II**, the bulk is **Iron I-II** ware with red surfaces and black core; the most common shapes are elaborate **moulded rim jars** (Pl. XV fig. 18-22) (52).

A large number of sherds are **Mediaeval Arabic** : **white or red painted** pottery; whitish ware with red painted geometric patterns; red lustrous ware with **deeply incised** triangles and criss-cross designs; **glazed** ware, green and yellow.

Three flints were collected on the surface:

- **Blade or dagger** in blond striped flint, tip broken (fig. X, fig. 14).
- **Blade** made of light mauve flint, 36x16 mm.
- **Flake** of light mauve flint, 28 mm. long, 31 mm. wide.

KHIRBET ES SAKUT.

Khirbet es Sakut is a small site north of Wadi Malih. The sherds range from **Roman** to **Mediaeval Arabic**.

Between Wadi Malih and Wadi Far'ah, no site was visible in the narrow strip of land between the hills and the Ghor.

II. South of Wadi Far'ah to the Dead Sea.

TELL DEIR EL GHANNAM.

TELL EL METLAB.

TELL ABU KHURS.

A group of small low mounds lies south of Khirbet el Mefjer and east of Tell es Sultan, on the right bank of Wadi Nu'eima, from north to south: Tell Deir el Ghannam, Tell el Metlab, Tell Abu Khurs. All three only yield **Roman, Byzantine and Mediaeval Arabic** sherds.

HENRI DE CONTENSON

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5. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 98, pp. 142-143, 491-493, pl. 3-7, 119, 120.
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7. **RB**, 1954, p. 560. **ADAJ**, 1960, pp. 12-31, fig. 1-18. **MUSJ**, 1960/61, pp. 55-77. **RB**, 1961, pp. 546-556. **ADAJ**, 1962 pp. 131-133.
8. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 137, p. 239.
9. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 145, pp. 246-247, 487-488, pl. 79, 80, 149.
10. **AASOR**, 1954/49, no 149, pp. 248-251, 498-500, pl. 25-27, 126, 127.
11. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level A, pl. 52 (5, 8). **AASOR**, 1945/49, Tell el Handaquq, pl. 63 (17), 140 (9).
12. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 161, pp. 275-276, 432-435, pl. 12-14, 121-122. **ADAJ**, 1960, pp. 31-49, fig. 19-30. **MUSJ**, 1960/61, p. 60, n. 5. **ADAJ**, 1962, pp. 137-138.
13. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 168, pp. 282, 285-288, 468-471, pl. 61-63, 140.
14. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 173, pp. 295, 449-450, pl. 34.
15. **AASOR**, 1931/32, Level E-D, pl. 6 (1), 13 (11).
16. **AASOR**, 1954/49, no 171, pp. 289-291.
17. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 172, pp. 288, 292-294, 483-487, pl. 74-78, 146-149.
18. **ADAJ**, 1960, pp. 49-56, fig. 31-36.
19. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 175, pp. 297-300, 477-480, pl. 68-71, 143-144.
20. **LAAA**, 1935, pl. XXVIII 36. **LAAA**, 1936, pl. XXXV 9. **RB**, 1947, fig. 7 (37).
21. **LAAA**, 1935, pl. XXXV 12.
22. **LAAA**, 1935, pl. XXXV 8, 9.
23. **LAAA**, 1932, pl. XII 9. **MJ**, 1935, pl. IX 13, 14. **AASOR**, 1945/49, Khirbet Beweib, pl. 17 (2, 5, 7), 123 (1, 45); Tell el Arba'in, pl. 35 (1-3, 6), 36 (5-7), 131 (14-16, 19, 25-27); Tell en Nekheil, pl. 73 (1, 35), 145 (1, 3); Tell Iktanu, pl. 85 (5), 151 (6); Tell Umm Hamad Sherqi, pl. 93 (1-13), 153 (1-13).
24. **AASOR**, 1945/49, Tell el Ghazala, pl. 139 (7, 17).
25. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 178, pp. 303-304, 307, 467-468, pl. 61, 139.
26. **AASOR**, 1945/49, pl. 61 (4), 139 (2,7). **M. II**, Level V A, pl. 85 (14), 89 (1). **RB**, 1947, fig. 4 (6). **RB**, 1952, fig. 9 (3, 4).

27. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 186, pp. 311-312.
28. **AASOR**, 1945/49, Tell Ghazala, pl. 61 (2, 7), 139 (6, 8).
29. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 184, pp. 308-310, 454-458, pl. 40-42, 132.
30. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level A, pl. 59 (7-10). **M. I**, pl. 19 (106). **RB**, 1947, fig. 4 (8). **RB**, 1952, fig. 9 (6).
31. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level A, pl. 61-63, 66 (5). **AASOR**, 1941/43, pl. 21-22. **M. I**, pl. 23 (17).
32. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 191, pp. 314, 475, pl. 66, 142.
33. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 198, pp. 317-318.
34. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 199 b, pp. 318-321, 505-511, pl. 99-107, 156, 162. **RB**, 1961, p. 547, n. 9.
35. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 206, pp. 363-365, 489, pl. 81. 150.
36. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 212, pp. 378-382.
37. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level A, pl. 59 (7-10). **AASOR**, 1941/43, pl. 19. **M. I**, pl. 19 (106). **RB**, 1947, fig. 4 (8). **RB**, 1952, fig. 9 (6).
38. **AASOR**, 1945/49, no 219, pp. 394-398.
39. **T. G. I**, p. 148.
40. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine, II*, Paris, 1938, p. 20.
41. **M. I**, pl. 23 (17).
42. **AASOR**, 1930/31, pl. 65 (20 b). **M. I**, pl. 28 (101).
43. **M. I**, pl. 30 (115).
44. **AASOR**, 1930/31, pl. 59 (1-6). **M. I**, pl. 4 (100, 103, 106). **RB**, 1951, fig. 11 (23).
45. P. L. O. Guy & R. M. Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs, Oriental Institute Publications, XXXIII*, Chicago, 1938, T. 39, pp. 159-160, pl. 68 (10), 164 (5). **M. I**, Level VI, pl. 74 (16).
46. **AASOR**, 1930/31, pl. 52 (2-6). **AASOR**, 1941/43, pl. 20. **RB**, 1947, fig. 4 (8). **RB**, 1952, fig. 9 (6).
47. **AASOR**, 1941/43, pl. 13-14. **M. I**, pl. 3 (73, 74). **M. II**, pl. 85 (12-16), 90 (5, 6). **RB**, 1951, fig. 11 (16). **RB**, 1952, fig. 3 (4).
48. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level A, pl. 58 (2). **M. II**, pl. 81 (1).
49. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level B, pl. 27 (12, 13, 36). **AASOR**, 1941/43, pl. 15 (17). **M. I**, pl. 27 (84, 86), 31 (157).
50. **M. I**, pl. 8 (175).
51. **LAAA**, 1935, pl. XXVIII 36. **LAAA**, 1936, pl. XXXV 9. **RB**, 1947, fig. 7 (37).
52. **AASOR**, 1930/31, Level A, pl. 46 (3, 10, 13), 58. **M. II**, pl. 85 (6), 90 (5). **RB**, 1947, fig. 4 (8). **RB**, 1951, fig. 8 (5). **RB**, 1952, fig. 9 (6).

CYLINDERS & SCARABS FROM A LATE BRONZE TEMPLE AT 'AMMAN

W. A. WARD

Over a decade ago, a small Late Bronze age Temple was discovered when the 'Amman airport was being enlarged. For several reasons, this important find could not be properly studied at that time and the objects from this temple have remained unpublished.¹ Through the kind courtesy of Dr. Awni Dajani, Director of the Department of Antiquities, and Mr. Farah Ma'ayeh, Controller of Museums, the cylinder seals and scarabs from this find were turned over to me for study.²

The horde of objects from this temple includes many important items other than those presented here. Imported (or locally imitated) Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery, an Egyptian **khepesh**-sword and several Palestinian imitations of Egyptian stone vessels were also found there. The 'Amman temple is thus a monument of major significance for the history and foreign connections of Moab during the Late Bronze period.³ The objects from this temple parallel those found in the larger cities of Palestine and prove beyond doubt that Moab was firmly in the main stream of international affairs at this time.

THE CYLINDER SEALS

The four cylinder seals discussed here (plate I) cover the major traditions within the so-called "Peripheral Style" of western Asiatic glyptic art — Palestinian, Mitannian and Syrian. The three Syrian seals belong to a glyptic style which is a patent reminder of the heterogenous character of Syro-Palestinian art. Drawing on techniques and subject matter from all major artistic traditions of the ancient world, Syrian glyptic merges Babylonian, Egyptian, Aegean⁴ and native elements into a style which is both familiar and unique at the same time; familiar because one can immediately recognize elements already established in other traditions, unique because the familiar is blended into a distinct new tradition.

Because the Syrian glyptic style borrowed so heavily, it is extremely difficult to date individual cylinders accurately even when they are found in datable deposits. Cylinder seals were often kept for long periods of time, hence a dated context provides only a date **ante quem** for these objects. The first major effort to untangle the problems of Syrian glyptic was that of Frankfort who suggested that Syrian cylinder seals fall into two major periods stretching from ca. 1900 to 1350 B. C.⁵ These were differentiated solely by stylistic criteria and certain techniques of seal-cutting. The whole question is further complicated by the existence of another widely used glyptic style, the Mitannian. In 1947, E. Porada worked out the following rough outline of the various glyptic traditions of the second millennium B. C.:⁶

Area	Ca. 1800 B. C.	Ca. 1450 B. C.
Syria	Syrian Group	Syrian Group
Babylonia	Early Babylonian Style	Kassite Style
Northwest Syria and Anatolia	Syro-Cappadocian Style	Mitannian Style
Area northwest of Babylonia	Provincial Babylonian Old Assyrian Styles	Mitannian Style

The appearance of the Mitannian Style adds one more factor which can lead to confusion since the drilling techniques of the Mitannian Style are sometimes found in later Syrian glyptic.⁷

Recently, other attempts have been made to define the different phases of Syrian glyptic. Moortgat-Correns suggested that Frankfort's First and Second Syrian Groups were really contemporary, representing different cultural centers in Syria in the early second millennium B. C.⁸ While this goes too far, some readjustment in Frankfort's classification is necessary. A step in this direction has been taken by Porada and Buchanan who have studied Syrian cylinder seal impressions on dated Babylonian tablets.⁹ From these studies, it has been concluded that the fully developed Syrian style lasted from the time of Hammurapi to Samsuiluna, roughly a century.¹⁰ This finally gives a chronological hinge which will eventually prove invaluable as more material comes to light and the Syrian glyptic style is subjected to further examination.

A related glyptic style is the "Palestinian." This is distinguished from Syrian glyptic primarily by a preponderance of Egyptian motives and designs. "Palestinian" seals generally show the well-modeled figures of the Second Syrian Group, though a few cylinder seals found in Palestine are also called "Hyksos" since they bear some resemblance to the scarabs of that period and have been found in levels dating to ca. 1800-1600 B. C.¹¹

In discussing the cylinder seals from 'Amman, then, we must keep certain factors in mind. These seals belong to a group which may show Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Egyptian and even Aegean influence. This group as a whole is still being studied for possible criteria as to date. While certain stylistic and thematic elements serve to distinguish a few sub-groups, many of these elements may be found anywhere in the period 1900-1200 B. C. And, finally, the distinction between "Syrian" and "Palestinian" is based primarily on the amount of Egyptian influence evidenced in the design, a criterion which is extremely subjective.¹²

Cylinder No. I: Syrian, 15th-14th Cent. B. C. Mus. No. 5868; black stone, sides slightly concave; 25 X 16 mm.

The major elements in the design are two groups of standing male figures, facing each other. Reading left to right, the first figure wears what appears to be the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and a kilt, the second wears a short wig and kilt and holds a large **ankh**-sign (of Syrian style) in his outstretched hand. The third figure wears the ram's horns and a tiny sun-disc and the typical masculine costume of the Empire age. This figure is bearded and holds a lotus flower in his extended left hand. The fourth large figure wears the **atef**-crown and a kilt and holds an **ankh**-sign in his extended right hand.

In good Syrian style, the field is taken up with miscellaneous figures. Between the two groups of large figures is a cobra, a Horus-bird and a group of hieroglyphs in an oblong frame. Between the righthand pair of large figures are a Horus-bird and a small male figure on bended knee with one hand raised in adoration. Behind the figure with the **atef**-crown are a squatting animal and a small standing male figure showing the same characteristics as the other small male figure, particularly a top-knot (?) which extends from the top of the head down the back of the neck and over the shoulder.

The identification of the various figures can only be given tentatively, as is usually the case with Egyptian figures in Syro-Palestinian art. Moving from left to right, the first figure is obviously intended to represent an Egyptian king. The second figure wears no signs of divinity (though the seal is defaced at this point) so we may assume this to represent a worshipper. The third figure's headdress may, according to faint traces, have been the ornate crown with two plumes, sun-disc and horns, in which case this might be Osiris. The fourth large figure shows an Egyptian king with the *atef*-crown.

The various other elements on this seal can be paralleled in Syrian glyptic, primarily of the Second Syrian Group, though it must be remembered that most minor elements of the Syrian style can be found throughout most of the second millennium B. C. The little kneeling figure is found on several other seals¹³ and the small standing figure can also be found elsewhere in precisely this position in the design.¹⁴

The squatting animal behind the *atef*-crown cannot be the monkey which is a characteristic feature of Babylonian and Syro-Palestinian glyptic, due to the prominent ears and un-monkeylike snout. This may be a mongoose as portrayed elsewhere, though there is no tail on the figure of the 'Amman seal.¹⁵ The cobra, Horus-birds and crowns can be found many times in Syro-Palestinian cylinders and need no further comment.

The short "inscription" enclosed in the oblong frame¹⁶ between the two groups of figures follows the common practise of Syro-Palestinian art of using what are generally considered unreadable inscriptions. All signs are recognizable hieroglyphs: *iri*, *mn* (inverted), *w3d* (horizontal rather than vertical), *t3.wy*, ° and *r*.¹⁷ This inscription is reminiscent of the hundreds of Hyksos scarabs found in Palestine and the individual signs can be paralleled on these and later scarabs. Whether or not such inscriptions, seemingly made up of jumbled, inept signs, can actually be read remains a problem. I am very much in favor of Miss Olga Tufnell's recent attempt to assign historical significance to the symbols found on Hyksos scarabs,¹⁸ and likewise cannot completely dismiss these enigmatic inscriptions from Palestine as meaningless. However, in the present state of our knowledge, it is best not to suggest theories and translations which could lead to gross errors.¹⁹

Dating this cylinder is rendered somewhat easier than usual due to several factors; (1) the well-rounded modeling of all figures which seems to be characteristic of the later Syrian group, (2) the costume of the third large figure which is characteristic of the Egyptian Empire period, and (3) the association with Mycenaean pottery in the find-spot. All these point to a date in the period 1450-1350 B. C.

Cylinder No. II: Syrian, 1900-1350 B. C. Mus. No. 5869; chalky stone, slightly convex sides; 20 X 9 mm.

The major scene consists of two standing figures facing each other, wearing the typical costume shown on Syrian cylinders. Between them are an antelope head and a straight standard.²⁰ The minor scene consists of a guilloche, above which is a recumbant winged griffon facing traces which must indicate another animal.²¹ Below the guilloche is a row of four antelopes with the head of the right-hand animal attached to the body of the third in the line.²²

This seal is a good illustration of the fact that the same motives and designs may appear in both the First and Second Syrian groups. Every element has its counterpart in both groups: the guilloche with animals above and below,²³ the human figures,²⁴ the isolated antelope head,²⁵ the short standard between the two figures²⁶ and the winged griffon.²⁷

Cylinder No. III: Syrian, 1700-1350 B.C. Mus. No. 5870; slate-colored stone; 19 X 11 mm.

This seal is divided into three rows of squares containing various symbols and figures. In the top row are a horned animal head, recumbant hare and a porpoise-like fish. The middle row has a bird, a floral design,²⁸ seated hare and a human head. The bottom row has a bird, human head and three symbols.

Most of the figures on this seal are found elsewhere in the Second Syrian group.²⁹ This, and the style of carving with well-rounded modeling, indicates this seal should be placed in this period. I know of no other cylinder which is divided into squares in this fashion, but a pattern of rows of identical figures as the sole design can be found on a few other Syrian seals. These also portray the human heads, hares, etc., of the 'Amman seal.³⁰

Cylinder No. IV: Mitannian, 1500-1350 B. C. Mus. No. 5867; chalky stone, blue paint all over, gold cap at one end; 20 X 9 mm.

Two standing figures face each other, each in an attitude of adoration. Between them is a rosette and, below this, an unidentifiable object. To the right of this group is a standing bull below which are standing birds and a horizontal branch.

The technique and motives of this seal point to its being of the so-called "Mitannian" style, a convenient but misleading term applied to cylinder seals made in northern Syria and Iraq from about 1500 B. C. to the middle of the fourteenth century. The important technical features of this style are the use of the tubular drill (leaving globules in the design, particularly at the tips of the extremities of animal and human figures, at joints and as eyes) and extensive use of the graver. A lack of Egyptian influence is also characteristic of this group.³¹

Thus, the bulk of comparative material comes from Mitannian seals. The rosette made up of several globules is a feature of this style. The human figures are paralleled elsewhere³² as is the figure of the bull.³³ The costume of the figures, the use of the graver and tubular drill, the bull and this particular form of the rosette all point to this seal as being of the Mitannian style. The standing birds and particularly the horizontal branch are characteristic of this style.³⁴

The Scarabs

The group of thirteen scarabs found in the 'Amman temple represents varying degrees of workmanship, technique and date. The first four have no inscriptions or designs on the base and two show no attempt to render details of the back and sides. The remaining nine, with one exception, are true scarabs. Details of the backs and sides are noted where these have some significance for dating.³⁵ It should be noted, however, that in spite of the research done by specialists on scarabs there is still no really adequate system for determining the

periods during which details of backs and sides were used. The dates assigned to the scarabs published here are thus primarily dependent on the designs, though the backs and sides are referred to whenever possible.

5852. Scarab-shaped stone. Brown stone. 24 X 16 X 11 mm.

5853. Scarab. Paste with bluish glaze. 15 X 10 X 8 mm.

5854. Scarab-shaped stone. Crystal. 11 X 9 X 6 mm.

5855. Scarab. Paste with brownish glaze. 13 X 9 X 6 mm.

5856. Scarab. White stone with traces of red paint, especially on base. 15 X 11 X 8 mm. Base: kneeling captive with arms bound behind; globular "sign" over knee. Back: notched **clypeus** with lunate head, V-notches on **elytra**. Parallels to the design on the base are on a scarab from Shechem, found in fill of the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries B. C.,³⁶ and on one from Gezer, dated to the "Fourth Semitic Period."³⁷ While the context of the Shechem scarab is helpful in fixing a general chronological range, it does not fix the date in any particular period. Nor does the context of the Gezer scarab provide any clue. The back of the 'Amman scarab, however, may be useful. According to the criteria laid down by Petrie, the features noted above appear together only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

15th to 13th centuries B. C.

5857. Scarab. Paste with white glaze. 15 X 11 X 7 mm. Base: standing mummiform figure of Ptah holding a **wꜥs**-scepter, a **djed**-pillar surmounted by a reed-leaf, **r**-sign at top. A dozen parallels showing this design or one with slight variations are known from the end of the Eighteenth or the Nineteenth Dynasties.³⁸

Late 14th or 13th centuries B. C.

5858. Scarab. White stone with remnants of green glaze. 19 X 13 X 9 mm. Base: vulture (?) with outstretched wings at top, two red crowns facing each other with **nfr**-signs at the sides, a winged sun-disc divides the design, two **mꜥt**-feathers and the hieroglyphs **n-t-n**. Back: smooth **clypeus** with deep head. Side: feathered legs. The overall design on the base as well as the style of the individual signs places this scarab in the Hyksos age. The features of back and sides also point to this period.

17th-16th centuries B. C.

5859. Scarab. White stone with clear glaze. 19 X 14 X 9 mm. Base: Horus hawk in center, reed-leaf, two cobras, all figures filled with cross-hatching. The cross-hatched figures as well as the design are characteristic of the Hyksos age and early Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁹

17th-16th centuries B. C.

5860. Scarab. White stone with traces of clear glaze. 23 X 16 X 7 mm. Base: lion and alligator, cross-hatched. Back: head marked as in genus **copris**, notches at sides to mark division between **prothorax** and **elytra**. This design is found on several scarabs of the Hyksos Period and the features of the back seem to be fairly well restricted to this age.⁴⁰

17th-16th centuries B. C.

5861. Scarab-shaped stone. Grey stone with white glaze. Base: top broken; center row of signs : $\text{hpr} + \text{h}_3\text{i} + \text{nfr-wy}$, to be read $\text{Hpr-h}_3\text{i-R}$,⁴¹ the prenomen of Senusert II of the Twelfth Dynasty; on each side of this name are nfr , nh , r and a red crown. The back and side are plain. The design shows this scarab to be of the Second Intermediate Period; the prenomen of Senusert II was re-used in the Hyksos age,⁴² and several other examples are known from Palestine.⁴³ The custom of using the names of Middle Kingdom rulers on later scarabs appears to have been rather common, as witness the use of the name of a Senusert in Empire and even post-Empire times.⁴⁴

17th-16th centuries B. C.

5862. Scarab. Reddish stone with white glaze and traces of red paint on base and sides. 21 X 15 X 10 mm. Base: vulture (?) with outstretched wings at top; oval with alternating nb (for r) and n hieroglyphs and two short dashes at one end; djed -pillar and two red crowns. Back: notched **clypeus** with lunar head, well-defined plates, smooth back. Sides: legs with feathering on upper surface. While at first glance the design on the base would appear to be of Hyksos date — this is of the so-called ' nr ' type — scarabs with the alternating signs r and n are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty as well.⁴⁵ The well-defined **clypeus** and head as well as the feathered upper surfaces of the legs point to a date in the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty. Since the design on the base does not seem to extend beyond the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, this scarab should probably be placed in that period.

16th-15th centuries B. C.

5863. Amulet. White chalky stone, hole for string. 10 X 11 X 4 mm. Base: the signs mn and hpr . Similar objects indicate this is a shortened form of the prenomen of Thutmose III.⁴⁶

15th century B. C.

5865. Scarab. Dark green, polished stone. 20 X 13 X 8 mm. Base: six groups of unevenly spaced concentric circles. Back: **clypeus** shown only in outline with tiny strokes for notches. The groups of concentric circles can be found on scarabs of all periods. The back, however, as well as the material, show this scarab is undoubtedly of Hyksos date. Several scarabs which show the same summarily represented **clypeus** and head, smooth back and sides, and made of a dark green stone are now in the Palestine Archeological Museum, dated to the Hyksos Period.⁴⁷

17th-16th centuries B. C.

- ¹ Preliminary announcements were printed in *PEFQ* 1958, 10-12, and *ADAJ* 3 (1956), 80.
- ² I would like to express my appreciation to the officials of the Department of Antiquities for their constant cooperation in affording every possible convenience to me.
- ³ A survey of recent finds is given by Ward and Martin, see p. 5
- ⁴ For an excellent example of Cretan influence, cf. the Syrian seal with a scene portraying the Aegean sport of bull-wrestling; Seyrig, *Syria* 33 (1956), 169 ff. cf. also, Seyrig, *Syria* 39 (1963), 252 ff.
- ⁵ Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 224 ff. His First Syrian Group is dated 1900-1700 B. C., the Second Syrian Group 1700-1350 B. C., and a Third Syrian Group 1350-1200 B. C. There is no sharp division between these styles and they tend to merge into each other as far as subject matter is concerned; cf. Von der Osten's remarks in *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock* (Uppsala, 1957), p. 66. Purely for the sake of convenience, Frankfort's divisions and dates for Syrian glyptic are used in the following paragraphs.
- ⁶ Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (*AASOR* 24; New Haven, 1947), pp. 99-100.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100; Buchanan, *JCS* 11 (1957), 52.
- ⁸ *ZA* 51 (1955), 88-101.
- ⁹ Porada, *JNES* 16 (1957), 192-99; Buchanan, *JCS* 11 (1957), 45-82, 74-76.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- ¹¹ For general discussion, cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff. and Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. Vol. I, The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1948), pp. 135-37. The cylinder seals found in Palestine have been conveniently collected and studied by Nougayrol, *Cylindres sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine* (Paris, 1939), and Parker, *Iraq* 11 (1949), 1-43. A typical Hyksos cylinder is from Beit Mersim; Albright, *AASOR* 17 (New Haven, 1938), pp. 45-46, pl. 30. 1.
- ¹² Egyptian elements are also found on Syrian seals of all periods. While the geographic proximity of Palestine to Egypt may well have produced a stronger influence in Palestine, it must be remembered that Egypt and Syria were always closely tied to each other by commercial contacts and Egyptian cultural influence is manifest in Syria from very early times. I have studied this matter in some detail in *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 22-45, 129-55, and *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6 (1963), 1-57. See also Helck's study, *Die Beziehungen aegyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend V. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962).
- ¹³ Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 41e; Von der Osten, *Sammlung von Aulock*, No. 307; Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (Chicago, 1934), No. 344; Porada, *Corpus*, No. 917. The latter is of the First Syrian Group.
- ¹⁴ Porada, *Corpus*, No. 958.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 922 (First Syrian), 988 (Second Syrian). This animal is also found on Old Babylonian seals, *ibid.*, No. 331.
- ¹⁶ An oblong frame consisting of double lines is a fairly common feature on scarabs of the Hyksos age and the Eighteenth Dynasty; Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. in the Palestine Archeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), Nos. 149, 214 (D); Petrie et al, *City of*

- Shepherd Kings and Ancient Gaza V (London, 1952), pl. 9, No. 63; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV* (London, 1934), pl. 7, No. 264; Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), pl. 34, No. 4; etc.
- ¹⁷ The EYE-hieroglyph is distinct on the original but appears as r in the photograph. A slight trace below the last legible sign may be part of a now missing sign.
- ¹⁸ Tufnell, et al., *Lachish IV* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 92 ff.
- ¹⁹ Albright has suggested a reading of four signs on a cylinder from Beit Mersim as Semitic in Egyptian characters; AASOR 17, pp. 45-46. note 37. The possibility must be left open that these "Egyptian" inscriptions from Palestine actually do have meaning and that they might represent a local language.
- ²⁰ Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* (Chicago, 1936), fig. 12, "probably a special kind of libation vessel." Porada, *Corpus*, *passim*, calls this a "ball staff": it is found commonly on Old Babylonian seals (Nos. 320-21, 329, 347, etc.) and more rarely on seals of the Isin-Larsa Period (Nos. 299, 302) and Third Dynasty of Ur (No. 284). This object appears quite commonly in Syrian glyptic: Porada, *Corpus*, 918, 921, 974, etc.; Von der Osten, *Newell*, No. 330; Seyrig, *Syria* 37 (1960), pl. 9, No. 11; etc.
- ²¹ Judging by analogous seals, this would be an antelope, hare, or some other natural animal. The traces do not suit a second griffon facing the first.
- ²² While uncommon, this artistic convention can be found elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern art; Baumgartel, *Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt I*. Rev. ed (Oxford, 1955), p. 81, pl. 9. 3-4; Von der Osten, *Sammlung von Aulock*, No. 335; Dunand, *Byblia Grammata* (Beirut, 1945), pp. 66-67.
- ²³ Porada, *Corpus*, Nos. 926, 932, 934, 949, 974-76, 978.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 923-24, 949, 951, etc.; Parker, *Iraq* 11 (1949), 1-43, No. 183.
- ²⁵ Parker, *op. cit.*, No. 128; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, (Berlin, 1940), No. 525.
- ²⁶ Cf. note 20, above.
- ²⁷ Porada, *Corpus*, Nos. 923-24; Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinders and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (Chicago, 1940), No. 158.
- ²⁸ Found also on the Beit Mersim cylinder; AASOR 17, pl. 30. 1.
- ²⁹ Porada, *Corpus*, Nos. 939, 942, 937, 943, etc. The human head with hair represented by parallel strokes is found frequently.
- ³⁰ I know of three. Two are shown in Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (*Der Alte Orient* 17/18; Leipzig, 1920), Nos. 576-77. The latter is also to be found in Moortgat, *op. cit.*, No. 532. The third example was published by Seyrig, *Syria* 37 (1960), 235, No. 11, and dated there to the first half of the second millennium B. C.
- ³¹ For a general discussion, cf. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 278 ff.
- ³² Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* Nos. 316, 318-19, etc. This group of impressions represents two human figures standing on either side of a tree. From the traces on the 'Amman seal, it is impossible to determine if a tree was intended.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, No. 329; Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Nos. 43d and k. The bull and rosette are also found on a cylinder from Megiddo; Parker, *Iraq* 11 (1949), No. 128.
- ³⁴ For the birds, cf. Woolley, *Alalakh* (Oxford, 1955) pl. 65, No. 108; Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée* (Oxford, 1948), pl. 7, No. 11; Porada, *op. cit.*, pls. 4-5, et *passim*. The branch is a very common motive at Nuzi; Porada, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- ³⁵ The terminology and suggested dating for backs and sides is taken from Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (London, 1917), pp. 4 ff., pls. 59 ff., and Rowe, *A Catalogue of Scarabs*, pls. 32-35.

- ³⁶ Wright, *BASOR* 148 (1957), p. 23, fig. 3, upper left (photograph is upside down); Horn, *JNES* 21 (1962), 13, pl. 1, No. 37. Horn notes an example from Egypt as being the closest parallel: Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), pl. 14, No. 950 (this publication is unavailable to me). Horn dates the Shechem scarab to the New Kingdom or later on the basis of the parallels he lists and its own archeological context. The other scarabs, however, are either not good parallels (simply showing a bound captive as part of a larger design) or incorrectly dated (the Gezer scarab; cf. the following note).
- ³⁷ Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer III* (London, 1912), pl. 208, No. 34. Macalister's "Semitic" periods have long since been discarded as chronologically unacceptable and his date for this scarab is therefore ruled out. Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 907, suggests a date in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, though this is obviously based on Macalister's dating.
- ³⁸ Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals* (Cairo, 1907), pl. 9, Nos. 36781, 37071, 37373; Rowe *op. cit.*, Nos. 718-21; Petrie, *Beth-Pelet I* (London, 1930), pl. 12, No. 172; Petrie, *Memphis I* (London, 1909), pl. 34, No. 27; Macdonald, *Beth-Pelet II* (London, 1932), pl. 55, No. 286; Tufnell, *Lachish III* (Oxford, 1953), pl. 43, No. 28.
- ³⁹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos III* (London, 1913), pl. 37, Nos. A 5 and B 12 N; Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh* (London, 1890), pl. 10, Nos. 14, 16; Lamon and Shipton, *Megiddo I* (Chicago, 1939), pl. 67, Nos. 6, 23; Loud, *Megiddo II* (Chicago, 1948), pl. 150, No. 79; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I* (London, 1931), pls. 13, No. 60 and 14, Nos. 167-68; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. 8, No. 37039; Hornblower, *JEA* 8 (1922), pl. 21, No. 20.
- ⁴⁰ Griffith, *Yahudiyeh*, pl. 10, Nos. 7-8; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), fig. 17, 2nd and 3rd rows; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London, 1906), pl. 9, No. 158; Macdonald, *Beth Pelet II*, pl. 43, No. 14; Rowe *op. cit.*, No. 319.
- ⁴¹ The double nfr is a frequent substitution for the sun-disc on Middle Kingdom and Hyksos age scarabs.
- ⁴² Weill, *La fin du moyen empire égyptien* (Paris, 1918), pp. 242-43; Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie ägyptens* (Glueckstadt, 1955), pp. 14 ff.
- ⁴³ Guy, *Megiddo Tombs* (Chicago, 1938), pl. 116, No. 8; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV* (London, 1934), pls. 10-11, No. 465; Tufnell, *et al.*, *Lachish IV*, p. 95.
- ⁴⁴ Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, p. 19; Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia, 1930), pl. 34, No. 1; Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London, 1920), pl. 205, No. 2; Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II* (London, 1914), pl. 37, No. S 39. Scarabs reading $\overline{\text{Hpr-h}^{\text{u}}\text{-i-R}}$ with the sun-disc are also known from Palestine in Hyksos age deposits; Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 150, No. 109; Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, pl. 30, No. 63.
- ⁴⁵ Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 739, fig. 7 (with prenomen of Thutmosis IV); Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, No. 37098; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 29, No. 18. 6. 138 (Thutmosis III).
- ⁴⁶ Newberry, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, Nos. 36166, 36169, 36172; pl. 4, Nos. 37310, 37345.
- ⁴⁷ Rowe, *A Catalogue of Scarabs*, Nos. 441, 458-59, 462.

TRANSPORTATION IN MIDDLE BRONZE PERIODS

It was not until man had learned to trade peacefully with his neighbours that he undertook long journeys along well-defined routes.

Once animals had been domesticated, he began using them for loads and for riding. Although there is evidence that the domestication of animals at Jericho had taken place as early as 5000 B. C., yet it is impossible to tell how long it was before their potentiality as bearers of burdens was grasped.

Section I — Animals

The Ass

Asses had almost certainly been used as pack-animals in Egypt and Mesopotamia before 3000 B. C., and were doubtless ridden as well. An Egyptian relief from Beni-Hassan tombs¹ cir. 1900 B. C. depicts the arrival of the Canaanites with the pack-asses laden with children and many other burdens. Throughout the Bronze Age in the Orient, and down to the present day, donkeys were regularly used as pack-animals and to carry riders.

The Ox

Though oxen were primarily used for pulling the plough and cart, they may be seen bearing packs on their backs in early rock engravings from the Sahara. In Palestine, there is no direct evidence of the use of oxen for transport in the M. B. II Period. But it is very probable that they were so used, as in other contemporary cultures.

In the "Quarry Inscription"² the oxen were mentioned as having been used in dragging stones, and were captured by His Majesty King Ahmose I in his victories among the Fenkhu (F n h w).³

In Palestine animal bones of an ox⁴ were found in rock-cut tomb of Al Jisr. Among the catalogue of ivories found in Al Jisr is a representation of two cow figurines, with hind-quarters missing; others are heads of cow figurines.

¹ Percy E. Newberry, **Beni Hasan, Part I. Tomb 3, Pl. XXXI.**

² **Urk IV, K. Seth 3; cf. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. 2.**

On the wall of the limestone quarry of "Masaha" just south-east of Cairo. This inscription records the work of Nefeperet, an official of Ahmose I, who in the latter's twenty-second year, took out stone from "Masaha" quarry for the temples of Ptah and Amon. The inscription records the first resumption of building after the Hyksos expulsion.

³ *Fenkhu identified by scholars as the lands of Palestine. See Breasted, Egyptian Ancient Records, Vol. II, P. 13: 31.*

⁴ *Ory, QDAP, Vol. 12, 1946, p. 33. Bones examined by Dr. M. Stekelis.*

⁵ *Ibid. Figs. 82-86.*

The Camel

"The name applied to the two species of the genus *Camelus* of the order *Artiodactyla*. Of the two species 'Dromedarius' the Arabian Camel, is larger and has only one hump, while the Bactrian Camel 'Bactrianus', has two. The Bactrian Camel is shorter legged and more ponderous, and grows a long thick winter-coat."¹

A two-humped camel is depicted on an Egyptian tomb of the First Dynasty cir. 3000 B. C. The Patriarchs had most probably used the Dromedary (Gen. 12: 16, 24; 10, 14). Archaeological evidence for its use may be deduced from the discovery of camel bones found in the Second Semitic levels at Gezer and at Al Jisr.² In Megiddo Tomb 3075 a scarab³ was found; the animal depicted on it would be suggested as a camel.

The Onager

Is the wild ass of Palestine. Scholars, today, for instance Professor Zeuner and Professor Childe, consider it is probable that remains of equids should often be identified as those of onagers. It is possible that the onager was in use in Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age, and a scarab (Pl. XXIII) discovered in Ajjul II Tomb 1165, together with a scarab of Apepa I, in the opinion of Professor Zeuner, represents an onager. (See Pl. XXV).

The Horse

Despite much antiquarian research and ingenious speculations, there remain many unsolved riddles connected with the origin and early history of the horse. "The most complete fossils have been found in America. It appears, however, that the real birthplace of the tribe was in Asia."⁴

I am not going to trace its history here. But it is to be noted, however, that the horse was preceded by many centuries by the ox and the ass. The horse was most probably domesticated in Central Asia; this may have been accomplished by a people of nomadic herdsmen, to whom the convenience of riding would be obvious. Sooner or later the mounted nomad came to realise the measure of his advantage over the man who travelled and fought afoot, and was encouraged to wander further afield, conquering as he went.

In any case the horse (either as a charger or yoked to a chariot) became in early times an important factor in war. The use of horses for the workaday purposes of transport and tillage is probably comparatively a modern development.

When was the horse used in Palestine? This is the question that concerns us now. No literary evidence at all in Palestine or elsewhere has been found directly or indirectly to show that the horse was in use in Palestine before the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt.

¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edition.

² Ory, *QDAP*, Vol. 12, 1946, p. 33. "In a rockcut tomb, remains of animal bones were preserved, they represent ox, camel, and cheep".

³ Loud, *Megiddo LL*, Pl. 150: 16.

⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edition.

The generally accepted idea that the horse was used by the Hyksos, and was introduced together with the chariot to Egypt, was based on no archaeological or literary evidence. Neither Palestine nor Egypt has seen the horse harnessed to a chariot before the XVIIth Dynasty.

A. Ajjul horse burials

As to the archaeological evidence, to show that the horse was in use in the Middle Bronze Age II in Palestine is not easy to prove. The only positive evidence for that are the horse and donkey burials discovered by Petrie in Ajjul (Ancient Gaza). The identification of the animals was made by Petrie, who was not a specialist in this subject, and it is not now possible to check its correctness. He dates them to the Hyksos Period, i. e. MB. II cir. 1750-1550 B. C. On p. I discuss the dating, and show that they must fall in Phase V, i. e. late in the Middle Bronze Age II.

Let us fully examine these horse-burial tombs in Ajjul.

Construction of tombs.

The best example of horse burial¹ is in Tomb 411. Evidently of the same class are the other tombs, 246, 407 and 263. Tombs 210 and 101 are on Plate IX, the views of 210 and 411 are on Plate VIII, and of 263 and 407 on Plate X. Petrie, speaking about the Hyksos period, states in AG. I, p. 4, that "The only really distinctive remains of that people are the burials with horses, and pit tombs with oculi." The construction of the tombs is really a new feature that has not been seen in Palestine before, although very many tombs of the period have been excavated. It is, therefore, improbable that the owners of these tombs, or those who had constructed them, were Palestinians of the Middle Bronze Age period. They could have been intruders on the Canaanite citizens at the very end of the Middle Bronze II period and the very beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The type of such tombs has not been traced in Syria or Egypt in that particular period.

Disposition of the bodies. (Plate XXIII)

The practice of burying animals with the dead is not a distinctive feature in these tombs. Ass burials have been noticed in the Ajjul Courtyard Cemetery in Tomb 1417. Gazelles, oxen and sheep have been found in Middle Bronze Age tombs in Palestine, but these of course are provided as food for the dead, while the ass and the horse were most probably eaten at the burial ceremonial activities which may be considered of special significance. It is true that some joints have been removed from the asses or horses (onagers) in these Ajjul burials, and presumably had been eaten at the funeral feast. The placing apart, usually in a central position, of the skeletons of the animals, suggests that their presence in the tombs has a ceremonial significance.

As to the burial custom practiced in these tombs, the bodies were laid at full length, and usually composed regularly, and sometimes the legs were bent as seen in Tomb 407, Plate

¹ Petrie, AG. I, Plan LVII, Pls. VIII-X. On Plate LIV of AG. I is a pit grave with loculi or alcoves surrounding it, numbered 5, 6 and 7. This may be considered a very close parallel.

X:3. None of the bodies were contracted as seen in earlier periods, This full length burial practiced in these horse burials was rarely noticed at the beginning of the Middle Bronze II period.

The toggle-pins. (Pl. XXIV)

The toggle-pins found in these tombs were two in number, represented in AG 1 on pl. XXI:93 and 94. They are plain, unheaded and rather short. The first found in Tomb 411, the second in Tomb 263. Although I have never seen any in secure association with the Middle Bronze II period, yet many are found in Late Bronze periods.

In Megiddo¹ strata IX-VIII we may observe the same parallels to those of Ajjul burials. They are clearly represented in **Megiddo II**, Plate 223, nos. 61 and 62 of stratum IX and 68-70 of stratum VIII.

In Ajjul the same type occurs in a Late Bronze I tomb, No. 1055, represented in AG II, Pl. XVIII, no. 212. A base-ring juglet, type 89j, has been found with the toggle-pin inside the tomb.

Tell Duwier² (Lachish II) has produced other exact parallels in the Fosse Tmepole, Structure I, which are shown on Pl. XXVII 50-53. In particular no. 52 is an exact parallel to that found in horse burial no. 411. The excavators of the Fosse Temple say on page 65 when discussing the toggle-pins, rings and other odd pieces of metal, that "connections from other sites confirm a general period of the XVIIIth Dynasty for the metal."

Miss Olga Tufnell was kind enough to refer me to examples in Lachish IV (forthcoming) of the same type of toggle pins in Late Bronze tombs numbered 121, 532 and 547. They are represented on Plate 24 numbered respectively 23, 31, and 28.

Garstang³ in his excavation at Jericho found in the upper level of Tomb 5, the same types of toggle pins. The tomb had provided a very full series of different objects from early in Middle Bronze II to well into Late Bronze I, and the base-ring bilbil or juglet has been found in Layer D in the same level in which our toggle-pins were found.

Thus we have seen that the toggle pins which had been used to fasten the garments of those buried in the horse burials of Ajjul, nos. 411 and 263, had exact parallels in the Late Bronze I period in tombs found in Ajjul, Megiddo, Duwier and Jericho.

The Scarabs (Pl. XXV)

On the scarabs used by the Middle Bronze II people a very large number of animal designs are depicted, and different dieties, different kinds of plants in addition to very common concentric, circular and scroll designs. But whatever the designs on these scarabs, they do not include a representation of the horse, although we see in the later period the horse depicted on the scarabs with great delicacy and artistry.

¹ *Loud, Megiddo II.*

² *Harding, Inge, and Tufnell.*

³ *Garstang, AAA XX, p. 35, Fig. 10, two numbered 5 & 6.*

It is obvious that the animal depicted in scarab no. 96 found in horse burial no. 263 is surely not a horse. The legs, head and back show that it is of a feline family, (e. g. leopard or chester).

Tomb 101 contained a variety of animals buried within it (gazelle, ox, donkey and probably, as Petrie says, a horse.) Why was the horse not depicted instead of the lion on scarab 84 if it had already been introduced?

To scarab 105 of Tomb 411 and 85 of Tomb 101 I could not find any parallel in any of the Palestinian Middle Bronze II sites, nor in any of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom sites. Scarab 103 of Tomb 407 has a very near parallel to that of Beth Pelet I Tomb 570, the pottery suggests that it is Late Middle Bronze II. Scarab no. 84 of Tomb 101 has a mythological representation of a lion with a head of a man; this had near parallels but none exact. Scarab no. 97 of Tomb 263 and 91 of Tomb 246 has pseudo-hieroglyphic characters.

In short, the scarbs found inside these tombs are not of the general Middle Bronze II types, and have no horse representation on them at all.

The pottery offerings. (Pls. XXIV & XXV)

A glance at the pottery found in these tombs may give the idea that it is not a Middle Bronze II productoin, and, if anything, they form a phase in themselves on our pottery-chart (see ADAJ IV) It does not belong to the homogeneous pottery types found about 1800-1600 B. C. But if one examines the pottery objects thoroughly, he may be inclined to date them (although no clear-cut distinctive change in pottery could be recognized) to the very end of Middle Bronze II and the very Early Late Bronze I period. No. 89 A Pl. IX has exact parallel in Megiddo tomb 18, Pl. 38:6; another close parallel is in Megiddo II stratum IX, T. 3017 pl. 51:5. Jug 35 P 6 on Pl. IX has close parallel to Megiddo tombs 877 C 1 Pl. 14:18 and 855 Pl. 44:1; both dated Late Bronze. Very few objects appear in Phase IV of our chart in (ADAJ IV)

Other Objects

Generally speaking, most of the Middle Bronze II tombs in Palestine had in them some of the following objects: ivories, bone inlays, alabaster, and faience. But this should not mean that if none has been found, the tomb is not a Middle Bronze II tomb. But the absence of all of these types of objects from all the horse burials and the previous facts added to the unique character of tomb construction should mean that the tombs are those of a group separate from those of the majority of Middle Bronze II burials in Palestine.

Lack of weapons.

It has been generally accepted that the Hyksos rulers introduced the horse to Palestine and Egypt, and that they were great warriors. If these horse burial owners were warriors in the real sense of the word, where are their weapons? We have not observed a single weapon in these tombs. Yet we noticed that many of the Middle Bronze II tombs which had no horse in them, have weapons of different types. Therefore the absence of weapons from the tombs increases our doubts, and favours my belief that these tombs were not those of Middle Bronze II warriors.

Conclusion

Even if we assume that these burials are "horse-burials" and the identification of the animal remains discloses the horse (though not all are horses as stated by Petrie), there is still no evidence to suggest that the tombs belong to the period before 1600 B. C.

B. Other animal burials. (Pl. XXIII)

The only donkey or horse (?) burial found was also dug by Petrie in Ajjul.¹ But the type of this burial differs from the above-mentioned one, in construction, in the disposition of the body, and in the contents found in the tomb. The burial place was a circular pit dug into the gebel, composing of two large semi-circular loculi, 1467 and 1702, and two burials, 1474 and 1476 appeared in the body of the pit.

Petrie on page 15 states that "burial 1476 though recorded as a separate tomb group, was possibly part of the burial 1702, as it included no bones, and was set in the mouth of the second loculus." The second burial 1474 appeared in the body of the pit and is said to contain imperfect remains of a horse skeleton. And assuming the burial was a horse burial, neither a possible donkey nor a probable onager; what other contents were found?

In the register of finds in AG. IV, Plate LXVI, the following objects were noted: 6 K 1, 18j14, 23j14, 23E6, 35P6N, 43A6, 51D, 51D2, 51G12, 51D3. It is surprising to note the absence of weapons, toggle-pins, cylindrical juglets, lamps, ivories, faeinces, and the common Middle Bronze II pottery types. I think a glance at the drawings will allow us to conclude unhesitatingly that the objects belong to the very end of the Middle Bronze II, and the very beginning of the Late Bronze I period; anyhow a period later than 1600 B. C. as the other horse burials have shown.

C. Ajjul horse remains.

Petrie in AG. II, page 14, states that "the founding of the later Hyksos Palace IV was signalized by digging a Pit in the walls of Palace III (XLVIII). In this pit a horse was thrown after removal of the shouldrs for eating, and the left thigh. On the new ground level, about 1060, there was the scattered bones of two other horses which had been eaten. Such a sacrifice would be impossible to Egyptians, and stamps this as the Hyksos level." Professor Albright dated Palace II according to scarabs, pottery and other finds to about 1550 B. C. at the earliest, and speaks of Palaces III-V as being clearly Egyptian fortresses, to which I agree.

D. Other evidence.

Archaeologists have found some other odd bits and pieces of evidence than the above-mentioed horse burials and horse remains, in different Palestinian sites. It is very necessary to examine these remains, and to consider what they really are, and to what period they belong.

¹ Petrie, AG. IV, pp. 15-16 *TCH Pit*.

(1) Horses' Heads figurines:-

a) Petrie in AG. I, page 2, states that "at the base of Plate XXIV is a rude head pottery, an elementary head of limestone, and a horse's head and neck of brown pottery, showing the kind of mane of the Hyksos horses." The photograph published is not sufficiently clear for details to be certainly identified, but the appearance might suggest an erect mane, which is a characteristic of the onager. Petrie ascribes the period to the Hyksos levels, but as the provenance is not stated, the period cannot be checked by the associated finds.

b) Ory found in El Jisr¹ in the Wadi-Rubin, 14 km. south of Jaffa in 1940 a Middle Bronze rock-cut tomb. Among the catalogue of ivory finds represented on Plate XIV are fragments 81 and 82. I quote his description of them: "81 Figurine of horse (?). Hind-quarters missing as well as forelegs. Mare marked by band decorated with alternate vertical and horizontal strokes in header-stretcher form. The curved line dividing the head from neck is also decorated with parallel strokes". And no. 82, "probably figurine of horse". The question-mark for 81 suggests that Ory was uncertain of the identification, and I would agree to these uncertainties.

(2) Scarabs:-

Jericho tomb 5² had produced an ivory or bone rectangular hemi-cylindrical seal depicting a horse and a rider. Though Garstang states that the date is uncertain, I would mention that the type is not a Middle Bronze type, for a comparison of this seal and the scarabs of Tomb 4 nos. 7 and 9, Tomb 5, nos. 1, 2, 5 and 9 with the other scarabs on the same plate shows this group to be of a different style. Miss Tufnell would date them to the XVIII — XIVth Dynasties, and they would therefore belong to the re-use of the tomb, which Dr. Kenyon suggests was in the fourteenth century.

Petrie³ found in Ajjul Tomb 1165 a scarab of Apepa among other scarabs (Pl. XXV) Dr. Kenyon and I inclined to identify the animal depicted in it as a donkey. It looked to me as the modern Cypriote donkey used nowadays in Palestine, and I doubted the design to be a horse, but I am greatly indebted to Professor Zeuner⁴ who helped in the following identification. "This picture could admittedly represent a horse, but it equally could be a donkey or an onager (wild ass of Palestine). There is no anatomical evidence to recognize which of the three species is meant. An argument against this being a horse is, however, that it is shown without the usual chariot or rider, which are so typical of the scarabs of the later period. If the beast is meant to be a wild one, which is possible in view of the vegetation indicated above it, it should be regarded as an onager, a native of Palestine, but not of Egypt. If one takes the size of the ears seriously, they are too large for a horse, and too small for a donkey. This again would confirm the determination as an onager. The eye is most certainly displaced, as a result of poor craftsmanship. The muscular hindquarters also suggest the onager. On early pictures of the horse it is usually shown in movement."

¹ Ory, Q. D. A. P. vol. 12, 1946, p. 39.

² Garstang, AAA, XX, 1932-33.

³ Petrie, AG. II, Pl. VII, no. 76.

⁴ F. E. Zeuner, Head of the Department of Environmental Archaeology in the Institute of Archaeology, London University.

The Late Bronze scarabs found in Palestine show this last characteristic feature. But it must be admitted, however, that evidence of how the horse was represented at earlier or later periods is no conclusive for its treatment in the Middle Bronze Age, a period in which I believe there to be no certain evidence for its presence.

In comparing this onager scarab of Apepa I with the other horse scarabs found in Palestine, and Egypt of the Late Bronze period (XVIIIth — XIXth Dynasties) there should remain no doubt that the difference between the Middle Bronze II Onager of Apepa I and the horses of the latter periods is very clearly noticed in the drawings on the scarabs concerned.

This onager may be a successor of the tribe known to the Sumerians not later than the middle of the Third Millenium B. C.¹ The onager does not exist any more in Palestine, but in the last century it was actually seen in Iraq by Layard and by Carl Roswan in the Jebal Sinjar.

(3) Ajjul horse-bits (Model chariot wheels?). (Pl. XXV)

In AG. III: 35 Petrie describes two small bronze objects as follows: "two wheels, found near together = 1070 of Late Hyksos Age, on the outer face there are four projections toward off attackers, and the inner side has a deep hub to allow of the chariot side projecting or possibly they were cheek pieces of a horse-bit." The presence of the bichrome painted pottery, which is characterized by friezes divided into panels like architectural metopes, ornamented with birds, fishes, and stereotyped geometric patterns, i. e. the so-called "Union Jack" in the level are enough evidence to date the level to the Late Bronze Period in addition to the other metal, ivory, bone inlays and scarabs) which are all of the Late Bronze types. Childe² dates the same horse-bits with cheek pieces to about 1500 B. C.

Petrie publishes also another horse-bit with circular cheek pieces, from level T. 830, AG. IV. Pl. XXXV, photograph Pl. XXII. This level,³ too, has the painted bichrome pottery described above, which dates the level back to the Late Bronze period. The same period could be given to the other objects found with the horse-bits.

Conclusion.

We have seen above that the archaeological evidence found in Palestine in the Middle Bronze II period relating to the use of horses completely inconclusive. The evidence for horse remains is all from place only, i. e. Ajjul (Ancient Gaza) found by Petrie.

The animal skeletal remains found in the tomb burials may be those of horses, onagers or donkeys, and cannot be proved to have belonged to the Middle Bronze II period, that is to say, to a period before 1600 B. C. The other skeletal remains found in the city levels, with the hind parts partly eaten, and one leg left (a feature noticed in the skeletal remains

¹ Mallowan, *Iraq*, Vol. X, 1948; C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, II; L. C. Watelin, *Excavations at Kish IV*.

² *A History of Technology*, Childe, P. 722, Fig. 521.

³ See Albright. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, vol. LV, 1938, no. 4, "The Chronology of a South Palestinian City, Tell el Ajjul."

of those found in the burial tombs), and the horse bits (or model wheel chariots) are to be dated by the pottery contents, and scarabs found in the same level to the Late Bronze period, i. e. a period later than 1550 B. C.

It is obvious that we do not have any literary evidence in Palestine or elsewhere to show that the horse was in use in Palestine and Egypt¹ before the XVIIIth Dynasty period.

What other archaeological evidence than that mentioned above, had archaeologists to establish an unsound theory, which has been generally accepted, to postulate the Middle Bronze II people, i. e. the so-called Hyksos, as the introducers of the horse to Egypt?

Indeed, so far as we know, there is no evidence for the presence of the horse in Egypt itself before the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Sederbergh states that "not a single buried horse nor even a bone of a horse has been found in any of the numerous tombs from the Hyksos period in Egypt, and there is not a single picture of a horse despite the fact that all sorts of different animals are depicted on the scarabs of this time. In the hunting-scenes the hunter is depicted on foot. Thus everything in the evidence seems to demonstrate that the Hyksos never used this war technique until possibly in the last struggle against the Egyptians before they were expelled from the country."²

Therefore, the only proved means of transportation used by the Middle Bronze II people in Palestine were the ass, ox, onager, and perhaps the camel. They knew the horse and used it with the chariot, and alone in the Late Bronze Age.

Section II

Chariots.

Transport was revolutionized by the application of the wheel, very soon after if not about the same time, as the transformation of ceramic industry by the potters' wheel, and owing to the prestige soon acquired by wheeled vehicles, they were often buried in royal tombs in Mesopotamian, where a few have survived intact or left very complete impressions in the soil. In Europe at a later period they were deposited as votive offerings in bogs, which have preserved the wood. These carts were often faithfully represented in art or in clay models manufactured as toys or votive offerings.

Several royal tombs³ at Kish and Ur of between 3000 and 2000 B. C. contain actual

¹ I have consulted Miss Drawer, Lecturer of Ancient History in London University, and I. E. S. Edwards of the Egyptian Section of the British Museum, and both confirmed the absence of the literary evidence in Egypt before the XVIIIth Dynasty.

² Soderbergh, E. J. A. vol. 37-38, p. 60.

³ **History of Technology**, Childe, p. 205; **Ur Excavations II**, C. L. Woolley, Plate 92 "Royal Cemetery" with little scenes on the inlaid standard with cab chariots depicted there. See also **Kish**, A Cemetery mound yielded an important series of chariot models. See E. Mackay, *op. cit.* pp. 209-212, and Pl. XLVI. of cf. Nuzy II, R. F. Starr, Pl. 54, clay models of chariot-cabs discovered on the site.

vehicles, while numerous works of art from these and other Mesopotamian cities, and clay models found not only in Mesopotamia, but in Assyria, North-Syria and other places provide relatively detailed information on the structure of carts and wagons as well as evidence for their use.

Professor Gordon Childe states that "as early as 3000 B. C. vehicles drawn by onagers had been used in Mesopotamia for passenger transport, and as engines of war. Both two- and four-wheeled vehicles are depicted, but the former are the better known and eventually replaced the less manoeuvrable four-wheelers."¹ "Not until the second millenium B. C." states Professor Mallowan did the chariot become a really effective armament which could be used to turn the tide of battle."²

Anyhow, the details of the origin of the new means of communication and offence have still many points of uncertainties even if it be admitted) that the substitution of the horse (instead of the onager) as a draught-animal and invention of the spoked (for solid) wheels are connected.

In Syria the chariot was known at the time of Iasmah-Addu c. 1800 B. C. who was contemporary with the Hammurabi of Babylon. The evidence for this has been found in the **Mair-Letters**.³ These letters show clearly that the citizens and the rulers of Qatna had used the "Narkabat" chariot. It seems therefore reasonable to suggest that it was from Syria that the chariot was introduced through Palestine to Egypt. The Letters show also that they were something very expensive and dear.

The word "Narkabat" mentioned in these Letters was most probably imported to Egypt, and was borrowed by the Egyptians during the Hyksos period. If it was not the North Syrians of Qatna (although I think it was) who exported the chariot and its name, it should have been the intermediaries who are the Palestinian Canaanites in that case who gave the name to the Egyptians. Speiser says "it is not surprising to discover in the Egyptian terms for horse, parts of the chariot, reins, etc. evident Canaanite loan-words. Of these two words for the chariot itself, one is the good semitic name "m r k b t"; the other one is "W r r j t", for which there is no satisfactory Egyptian etymology, and it is highly probable that the name is a borrowing like the rest."⁴

¹ Childe, **History of Technology**, p. 725. *Contra Op. to Sir Leonard Wolley and others who identified onagers as horses.*

² **Iraq**, vol. X, 1948, Mallowan. "A copper rein-ring from Southern Iraq" pp. 51-55, especially p. 53-54.

³ **Archives Royales de Mair**, vol. I: 50.12; II: 123. 10-22; IV: 38.11; V: 20. 7-18 and VI: 76-22. Cf. **Iraq**, VII, (1940) Gadd "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tell Brak", f. 23, where he states that Iasmah-Addu kept teams of horses at Chagar Bazar, which he perhaps used as a relay station. See also Mallowan, **Iraq IX**, f. 215 for Syrian models of horses and chariots c. 2000 B. C. and earlier.

⁴ **AASOR XIII**, pp. 49-50.

The earliest evidence in Egypt was found on "the Carnarvon Tablet"¹ describing the defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose, who was probably the immediate predecessor of Ahmose I. Another inscription² containing the biography of an officer called Ahmose son of Ebana; a nobleman of El Kab³, who served with distinction under three successive kings — Ahmose I, Anehotep I and Thutmose I. This officer, referring to his younger days states "I followed the king on foot, when he rode abroad his chariot." This chariot may have been the only chariot in Egypt which has been used by the king alone." When he describes the Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose I, when he would have been a grown man, he says "His Majesty arrived at Naharin (N-h-ry-n) His Majesty found the foe he was (planning) destruction; His Majesty made a great slaughter among them. Numberless were the living prisoners, which His Majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at the head of our troops, and His Majesty behold my bravery. I brought off a chariot, its horses and who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to His Majesty. One presented me with gold in double measure."

This shows obviously that chariotry was in the time of Thutmose I used in war in Naharin of Syria, and Ahmose Pen-Nekhet, who was also taking part in the campaigns of Nubia and Naharin together with Ahmose son of Ebana mentions also that "again I served for King Okheperkare (Thutmose I) triumphant; I captured for him in the country of Naharin (N-h-ry-n) 21 hands, one horse, and one chariot." Here also one may deduce that chariotry was known, then, as a vehicle of war. The above mentioned inscriptions found in Egypt dated to the very beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty show clearly when the horse and the chariot were known to the Egyptians.

In conclusion, no literary evidence has been found to show that chariots were in use in Palestine in the Middle Bronze II period, i. e. earlier than the XVIIth Dynasty period. Therefore we may consider the North Syrians (as available evidence shown) to be responsible for the introduction of the horse and the chariot to Palestine, and through it to Egypt. This shows that there is no Aryan element among the citizens of the Middle Bronze II period in Palestine and Egypt. It has always been assumed that the Hyksos invaded Egypt so easily because they used drawn chariots, a war technique said to be Aryan. Though it is enough to point out here that "the horse was known in Mesopotamia long before we find any traces of Indo-Iranians."⁴

¹ *The Carnarvon Tablet no. 1 belongs to a pair of hieratic writing boards found among loose debris of pottery and fragmentary mummies on a ledge near the entrance to a plundered tomb in the Bahari, not far from the mouth of the Dier El Bahari Valley. For details see J. E. A., vol. 3, pp. 111-107 "The defeat of the Hyksos King Kamose." The Carnarvon Tablets, by Gardiner.*

² *Urk IV, K. Seth 3 ; cf. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. 2.*

³ *El Kab family were monarchs at El Kab, were strong supporters of the rising XVIIIth Dynasty. The family is far older than the Empire, and already under the XIIIth Dynasty enjoyed the favour of the king, For details see Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, vol. 11.*

⁴ *Syria XIX, 125 Horses and chariots in Mari under Zimri-Lim; Mallowan. Iraq, IX, 216; J. E. A. 37-38, 1951-52, p. 59.*

Anyhow, one should admit the fact that Palestine is the only land route between Syria and Egypt through which the chariot can travel. It is true, as I have shown here that no archaeological evidence has been found for horses or chariots in Middle Bronze Age sites in Palestine. But a relatively small area of towns of the period has been excavated.

It is therefore conceivable that future digging may produce evidence in support of the prevalent unwarranted belief that horses and chariots were already used in Palestine and Egypt as early as the Hyksos period.

AWNI KH. DAJANI

GHASSUL'S NEW-FOUND JAR-INCISION

The only strikingly new feature of chalcolithic pottery revealed by the 1960 campaign at Ghassul was the incised drawing of an animal (Fig. 1 Pl. XXVI). This discovery was so unexpected, and so unparalleled in the whole range of Ghassulian wares from a hundred sites, that it seems needful to devote to it a special inquiry.

Proximate occasion for this inquiry was the acquisition of another Ghassul sherd containing what also could be called an incised drawing (Fig. 2 Pl. XXVI). The circumstances of this acquisition were as follows. At a biblical convention in St. Louis at the end of 1961, the writer met Prof. E. Willard Hamrick of Winston-Salem, with whom he had shared a tent in Miss Kathleen M. Kenyon's 1952 excavation of Jericho. Prof. Hamrick expressed interest in the Ghassul digging and requested details. The description of the unusual "incised animal", immediately recalled to him a sherd which he had casually picked up on the surface at Ghassul in visiting the site several years before.

Prof. Hamrick expressed himself fully prepared to give up this sherd to the Jordan Antiquities Administration if it turned out to be of any value. Meanwhile he graciously offered to send it as a permanent loan to the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome, responsible for the excavation of Ghassul, pending research and eventual publication. It has seemed only fair that publication of this find should take place in the Department's Annual, together with related topics on which a report had been graciously requested by the Editor.

In an accompanying letter of January 18, 1962, Prof. Hamrick specifies that the sherd had been picked up on October 24, 1951, in the presence of Professors William Reed and Victor Gold of the American Schools of Oriental Research of Jerusalem. They had been guided to the site from Sunat Nimrin on the (Old) Jericho-Amman highway, by a former worker of the Ghassul expedition. No further details of the find were forthcoming.

The décor consists of two elements. One is a "drag-incision" of two nearly-parallel lines. A twig whose uneven edge left firm trace in the ware, was sunk deeply enough in the clay to require dragging, though not deeply enough to raise any notable ridge on either side, for the most part. The jerks of the reed's progress in drawing the line are clearly recorded in barely-perceptible changes of direction (Fig. 3 Pl. XXVII).

Such drag-incisions, if already attested at Ghassul, must be considered very exceptional.¹ A striking sample is the 1960 sherd numbered 8442 and published in photograph.² It is a groove about twice as deep as Hamrick's, running roughly parallel to a bowl-rim, about one centimetre below. The report notes only that the ware is "gray", which in the gamut of

¹ A. Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassul I* (Rome 1936); R. Koeppel, *Teleilat Ghassul II* (Rome 1940), give no examples.

² R. North, *Ghassul 1960 Excavation Report* (*Analecta Biblica* 14, Rome 1961), Plate IX.

Ghassulian-ware colors might include also a pallid pink with white grits.¹ But there is no trace of any further ornamental motif in connection with this "dragged line".

In the Hamrick sherd, however, each of the two lines terminates, or begins, with a sort of rosette. Only one has fully survived. It has an oval crater of 5mm diameter, barely deeper than the line incision. From the crater radiate twenty fine lines 3-4mm in length. The first impression is that of a centipede plaqued on the outer surface of the jar-in-formation, and leaving its imprint behind after removal. This impression is quickly revealed to be erroneous, because the lines are perceptibly traced with some instrument finer and sharper than a twig, very likely a finger-nail.

It is not excluded, however, and indeed seems highly probable that the décor took its origin from the removal of some foreign body from the crater. The resulting disfigurement would have been transformed by the rays into a beauty-spot reminiscent of the stars on sculptured animal bodies at Beisan and other sites recently studied.² To this the dragged-line would have been added as a further touch of fantasy; though it is also possible that the line was being grooved first and encountered the crater as an obstacle in its path.

The second line terminates in a minimal rosette, an imitation or rather mere suggestion of the other. Though partly cut off by the break in the sherd, it clearly consists of only four fingernail rays, and instead of a crater it has a similar fingernail-semicircle of 3mm diameter.

All this décor might seem too trivial to waste time describing in such detail, except that it will help us to understand how radically different our Sherd 8521 must be. Judged. Moreover the motifs of the Hamrick sherd involve in part an undeniable uniqueness, and in part an instructive parallel with the very rarest features of the Ghassulian repertoire.

The "Giraffe"

It is now time to describe more in detail our still-unique Sherd 8521. It is from the belly of a vessel whose shape is completely indeterminate. The sherd is about 3x3 cm and some 8 mm thick, fire-blackened from use. The incision was unmistakably made before firing as was unhesitatingly declared by distinguished excavators visiting our workroom.

The design consists of lines traced with some sharp instrument. It is conceivable that they are merely geometrical or fantastic. Four parallel lines of 3 cm length run along at 1.3 mm interval. These lines are broken in the middle by a 4 mm square at an angle, beneath which is a sort of W of double bars 1 cm long. At the extremity farthest from the "W",

¹ *Seen in section, the Hamrick sherd is clearly a more "grayish" Pink toward its outer surface than towards the inner. But paradoxically, on the inner surface are more traces of a genuine gray than on the outer. The section is 11 cm thick. No inference can be drawn as to the size or scope of the vessel. The inner surface is perceptibly ridged by the impression of the modeller's fingers left during the turning of the slow wheel. There is no trace of slip within or without.*

² Helene Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6/4 (Oct. 1947) 250-274.

the four lines terminate in a chevron.

The immediate impression, if looked at from the direction of our cut, is that of the neck of some living thing. It may well be a bird perched on a twig. The tail would fit quite convincingly.

It is hard to describe why there seems to be question rather of a long-necked quadruped such as a giraffe. There are undoubtedly **four** legs where the legs should be, but it is equally undoubted that two of these do not connect with the body, and the other two connect in the middle! Again, if we compare this creature with the "Bird" of an earlier-known Ghassul fresco (Fig. 4 Pl. XXVII), we note that the frescoed bird is more compact and bushy, in short more as a bird impresses the viewer. There are birds and birds, of course. But if we assume that in primitive art the most **salient** trait of the object is grasped and expressed, we will agree that a long neck is more characteristic of some quadruped like a giraffe than of any bird. The ostrich or flamingo would do nicely from the neck up, but not as perched on a twig.

Sherd 8521 was discovered in the first recorded "level" of E 1. It was in the undisturbed earth which lay beneath the ever-abundant surface-sherds and also beneath an initial few inches of earth containing sherds along with occasional traces of intrusion or vegetation, which we recorded as "Subsurface". E 1 was a designation given at first to the earth falling away northeastward all the way from the "house" to the opposite (northeast) end of our 20-metre trench. Only after we had penetrated more deeply were we able to determine that this apparently-horizontal fill had really been laid in successive strips slanting more sharply downward, to which we gave the letters 1-k, 1-t etc., but without being able to trace more exactly the strip from which our sherd had come. The "house" in question was really only the very solid stone foundation (almost exposed at surface) and floor, under which (again almost at surface level) were two infant jar-burials and two large saturation-striped sherds of a pithos (8469 and 8470 of Plate IX and Fig. 15, p. 28).

Ghassulian Parallels

As a specific style-achievement, we feel a reasonable assurance in maintaining that this piece 8521 is unique in the whole Ghassulian world, though of course we invite dissent of researchers like Perrot and Glueck whose experience is wider. Meanwhile we must consider the relation of this design, both in technique and in representative content, first to the other known Ghassulian pottery decor, and secondly to fresco art.

Incision holds a very large place in chalcolithic ceramics. Rather than decor, it has been very convincingly analyzed by Mallon into a sort of conservative holdover or even we might say "imitative magic".¹ Pottery was at first invented to replace receptacles made of skins or rushes, which had to be held together and lifted by cords. Presumably the earlier jars had ropes bound about them to keep them too, as was imagined, from bursting open. Gradually these "ropes" came to be made of twisted strips of mud, stuck on to the wall of the unfired vessel and fired with it. The next natural step was to apply the mud bands untwisted and **indent** on their surface the ropetraits. Meanwhile it gradually came to be forgotten

¹ Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassul I*, p. 121-2.

or ignored just why rope-bound appearance is inseparable from liquid-receptacles. Thus next came the procedure of squeezing a band up from the side or rim of the vessel itself; incisions made on this raised band served just as well as applique ropes for whatever practical or magical scope may have been envisioned. The last step in the development was simply to indent along the side and rim of the vessel long lines of thumbnail incisions which sufficiently resembled and took the place of actual ropes, except for the functions of lifting which had now been taken over by "lugs" or cleats, which in turn gradually came to be perforated and thus evolved into handles.

Murphy has examined the reasons for maintaining that the numerous crescent-shaped incisions were made by the potter's finger-nail.¹ Whatever be the validity of rejecting this explanation in specific cases, our own experience has been that we can clearly distinguish a large number of fingernail-incisions from another large category of twig incisions. But only a genuine point of needle-fineness would seem to account for the 22-some separate lines of our "giraffe". Hardly any example of such genuine pinpoint line-drawing among the Ghassul sherds comes to mind, but there are numerous cases where such origin could not be excluded.²

The rope-mouldings from the very beginning and in the nature of things bore a weird and gruesomely attractive resemblance to snakes. This resemblance was in some cases accentuated by the free play of fantasy. A twig-indentation was often substituted for the fingernail-slashes on the "rope" to represent the mottlings on a snake's body. A series of earlier Ghassul finds affords ground for seeing here a possible origin of the amulets of detached sculpture, first of snakes and then gradually of other animals not suggested by jar-ropes. In some cases such plastic motifs unconnected with ropes are found plaqued onto the side of the vessel after the fashion of snakier ones.

A most illuminating document on this development is the sherd 8000, the first to be noticed and recorded in the 1960 harvest (Fig. 5 Pl. XXVIII). In the report it is both drawn and photographed in close proximity to Sherd 8521 on Fig. 13 and Plate X. It was found at the northernmost surface of our digging, A 1, above the (? medieval) cemetery. The rim of a bowl some 18 cm in diameter (the width of this page), has peering up over it a sinuous snake. The head is not fashioned; the same reedpunctures which mark mottling on the body also serve for eyes at the top of the head. But its elevation over the edge of the rim gives a strong and artistic impression of the inquisitive reptile. Here, however, and generally in proportion as the developments of rope moulding become more fanciful and zoomorphic, we recede from the fingernail-crescent type of incision which must form our point of departure for "the Genesis of the Giraffe".

As the raised-or-rope moulding proved to be less and less indispensable as a substrate for fingernail-incisions, one would have expected "scratching" to become gradually the medium

¹ J. Murphy in R. Koeppl, *Teleilat Ghassul II*, p. 69.

² *The Oriental Institute Museum of Chicago University displays two "Incised Slabs of Chalcolithic Period" from Megiddo Stratum XIX, with scratched representations. One has a human figure bearing weapons. The other is a sort of long thick-necked goat or ibex with floating horns. Each fills a space some 8-10 in. square.*

of an autonomus decorative genre. Strangely, there are hardly any hints of such a development, if we except the rare and dissimilar grooving of the Hamrick and 8442 sherds. The scratched animal seems to spring full-blown, but it would be more prudent and plausible to maintain that we just do not possess the intervening stages. The first tentative efforts to a new florescence simply tend to disappear because of their imperfection, according to Teilhard's "Suppression of Peduncles" law! It is not beyond hope, however, that further samples may yet be picked up by tourists at Ghassul, or discovered in the collections or memories of early visitors to this or cognate sites.

Fresco-Motif Similarities

Let us turn now to the more remote parallels in the fresco-repertoire which strangely is still attested only at this single one out of a hundred known Ghassulian sites! We have already indicated our hesitation about seeing "a bird in the sherd", when the famous Ghassulian "Bird" is so much bushier and presents an altogether different apperance.

Skilfulness of the geometric technique in the betterknown "Star" fresco (Fig. 6 Pl. XXVIII) indeed invites us to consider more reflectively whether the lines of Sherd 8521 are purely geometric. This possibility must now be contemplated in the light of the 1960 E-3 "Geometric" wall-fresco from Tulayl I (Fig. 7 Pl. XXIX). This exhibits a technique altogether inferior to the "Star". To begin with, the plastering of the wall is a dull cementy gray quite unlike the brilliant whiteness of Tulayl 3 and even of E 1 Brick Wall 13. The only color used is a red, also dull in comparison with Tulayl 3. There are patches of a brighter red more like orange in the E 3 fresco, though these are (in some cases at least) on a previous surfacing of the wall.

The chief feature of E 3 is some broad rectangular lines which end up absent-mindedly nowhere. Also notable are some starpoint-or-chevron festoons. There are two "hands" with spread-out fingers, and some concentrations of wavy lines which might be "tresses" streaming from a head, or an octopus, or even a modern impression of two quivering belly-dancers. For the most part, though, these lines are simply fanciful waves. Both the bands and the waves are closely paralleled in Ghassulian vase-painting. They seem to shed no light whatever on our "Giraffe".

The complex inner structure of the "Star", and its supplementary wraiths, spooks, snails, and disembodied hands, exhibit a fineness of line more suggestive of our sherd-incision. But no specific representational resemblance can be singled out.

Things To Look For

We will conclude by inviting researchers of chalcolithic areas in the Holy Land to reexamine all their available data in search of a parallel or "forerunner" of this remarkable incision. In order to make this search more enticing, we may note here some other 1960 discoveries which seemed "unique" and would call for special attention.

8655, Plate XI. A fairly-preserved bowl which would be classed as "undecorated". However, it has faint horizontal grooves running spirally about its outer surface, which

give it a pleasing and un-Ghassulian appearance. Its diameter is 18 cm and height about 10. It came from the lower levels of B 3, Tulayl 3. (The reference to "Fig. 14" in the published report should be rather "Fig. 5", the vertical section of Trench B on P. 9, on which the depth of Level 20 c is recorded.)

8670, Plate XI (Level 26 c, again Fig. 5, not Fig. 14; diameter 12 cm., height 10). A smaller bowl, also "undecorated" except for vertical petal-like pressures running up its outer surface.

8728, Fig. 15 and Plate X. Hindquarters of an animal figurine, rump measuring some 6 cm across. The interior is sedulously hollowed out, when it would have been much easier to leave it solid. One is led to assume, therefore, that the object in its completeness must have been intended as a **receptacle**. In calling it a "piggy-bank" there is no necessary implication of coins, nor of blood either; any precious or useful or pleasing commodity could have been stored inside.

8652, Plate IX. By an oversight there seems to be no description of this piece on p. 24. It is one of the objects chosen for the Amman Museum: a graceful tiny jar of some 4x4 cm, with rimless mouth almost as wide as its belly, tapering to a slightly pointed base. It has two tiny eyelet-handles. It might be a baby's milk-cup or have some less romantic storage-purpose. Though it could hardly be called discordant or even unusual in the Ghassul repertoire, it does merit notice and further observation.

8732, Plate IX. From Level 31 of Trench B 3, as recorded on Fig. 5 (not 14!), p. 9 of the Report. On the very last day of the campaign emerged three fragments of thin-to-metallic blackish and blackened ware. Barely perceptible were the broken edges of openings made in the ware before firing, which prove it to have been a rare pottery imitation of our many graceful basalt pedestal-vases like S 8022. The measurement indicated for S 8022 on Plate X is faulty; the 10 cm base and 25 cm height should be doubled, as can be seen from Plate VIII, lower middle. The diameter base of the pottery-imitation 8732 was reconstructed with diameter 16 cm., so the height should have been about 40 cm.

8671, Plate IX. An unusual oval-base, whose originality suggests that the upper part of the vessel may have been strikingly graceful, though the ware is coarse. Provenance B 2, Level 26 c, as on Fig. 5 (not Fig. 14), p. 9 of the Report.

8558 is described as "A sherd utterly unique in several respects. What is here indicated as the interior tip of the rim, if it is that, has been deliberately defaced to appear as if some inward extension had been broken off. It may indeed have been a base. There is an unusual décor along the side (running in an irregular dotted line beneath and roughly parallel to the rim): incisions (or rather punctures) made by a sharp instrument like a sixpenny nail. A similar line of incisions runs along the groove in the top of the rim. No diameter whatever can be inferred from the sherd, which is perfectly straight; either it is a freak irregularity in a huge round lip, or more likely it was intended to have rectangular corners. No clue as to its vertical measurement. Ware Yellow. From C 2, Level 5."

The unusual features presented by seven pieces in the general genre of incision-décor, are not really worth comparing with the unique "Giraffe" or even with the Hamrick rosettes. Still, any excavator knows that in searching for parallels it is practically as easy to look for nine types at one time. And it might even be that these minor novelties cast some light on the development of the technique emerging so astonishingly in Sherd 8521.

Father Robert North, S. J.

Descriptions of Illustrations

- Fig. 1 (P. B. I. Archive) Sherd 8521 "Giraffe", Ghassul 1960 E 1 subsurface level, Tulayl 1.
- Fig. 2 (Photo R. Steinhoff) Hamrick "rosette" sherd found 1951 on Ghassul surface, photo... and drawing.
- Fig. 3
- Fig. 4 (from TGI, Pl. 57) Ghassul 1932 "Bird" fresco, Tulayl 3.
- Fig. 5 (from Gh 1960 8521 of Figg. 13 and Plate X) Sherd 8521 "snake", Ghassul 1960 A 1 surface.
- Fig. 6 (from Albright's *Penguin Archaeology of Palestine* p. 67) Ghassul 1931 "Star" fresco, Tulayl 3.
- Fig. 7 (P. B. I. Archive) Ghassul 1960 E 3 "Geometric" fresco, Tulayl 1.

A BRONZE STATUE FROM PETRA

Early in 1954 one of the Beduin of petra brought to light the imposing bronze statue that forms the subject of this note.¹ He found it lying among oleander-bushes in the bed of the Wadi Siyagh, about an hour's walk from el-Habis; and it would appear to have been washed down the wadi from the central area of the city by a winter spate, while another such spate would have exposed it to view by removing the sand and stones that must once have covered it. The piece, which is the property of the Jordan Antiquities Department, is now in the museum at Amman. It was to have been published by the late Mr. J. H. Iliffe, then Director of the City of Liverpool Public Museums. But he died before he was able to write on it. Its publication has now been entrusted to the present writer through the kind invitation of Dr. Awni Dajani, Director of Antiquities for Jordan and of Mr. P. J. Parr, Assistant Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. But she must make it clear at the outset that she has had as yet no opportunity of seeing the original. Her study of the statue, is based entirely upon the fine set of photographs taken by Mr. Farid Morcos, of the Department of Antiquities, and sent to her by Mr. Parr.

The bronze, which is hollow-cast, is badly damaged. Lost are the head and neck, both arms from the shoulders, the right ankle and foot, and the whole of the left leg from just above the knee downwards; and a large hole has been torn in the centre of the back. The length of the statue from the base of the neck to the broken lower end of the flexed right leg is c. 1.60 metres or c. 5 feet, 4 inches: it is therefore roughly life-size. It shows a sturdily built, well proportioned, and excellently modelled woman clad in a short, sleeveless tunic girded at the waist. The girdle is knotted in front and from the knot depend its two ends, each terminating in a fringe. The tunic is pulled up through the girdle to form an overfold, the lower edge of which is level with the girdle on the left side, but runs down diagonally across the front and back of the figure and reaches to a point halfway down the hip on the right side. The garment covers both breasts; and its 'skirt' is drawn up on the left side so as to expose the whole of the left thigh; whereas on the right side it reaches to the knee at front and rear, only parting to reveal the back of the right thigh.

The right knee is, as we have seen, flexed; and since the left thigh is slightly in advance of and higher than, the right thigh, the left knee and leg must have been in advance of the right knee and leg and the left knee must have been slightly higher and less flexed than the right knee. The attitude is thus one of running or striding or lungeing. The figure has, indeed, been described as equestrian.² But were the woman riding her knees would be at the same level and the lower edge of her tunic, instead of sloping down diagonally from left to right, would be caught up between the legs at the 'join' and would reach, most probably, to the same point on the thighs on either side.

¹ a) *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1957, p. 14, no. 25. b) See Pl. XXX

² *Ibid.*

Who is this personage? Diana hunting or a fighting Amazon¹ are the obvious interpretations that spring to mind.² But Diana would appear to be ruled out by the absence of a quiver-strap and of traces of a quiver on the back. On the other hand, the figure shows no feature that excludes its identification as an Amazon in combat. For although it is more usual for Amazons in ancient art to be depicted in a slipped tunic that leaves one of the breasts uncovered, they are also sometimes shown with the chest completely draped,³ as in the case of our bronze. If the latter were an Amazon we could think of her as once confronting a Greek opponent, as part of a group of statues in the round, meant to be viewed from all sides, and consisting of at least two figures. As to its date — the style of the drapery at once recalls classical Greek work of the late-fifth or fourth centuries. But an original of that period is perhaps unlikely to have reached Petra in either independent-Nabataean or in Roman times; and the technique in which the folds of the tunic are rendered anyhow suggests that we are dealing with a Roman copy or adaptation of the second century A. D.

Whatever its meaning and date may be, the piece is of considerable importance as being the first work of its kind, so far as the present writer is aware, to have been discovered at Petra. It indicates that the city had, at any rate under the Romans, some market for imported large-scale bronze statuary. For it is much less likely to have been cast in Petra than in a central Mediterranean workshop. It is furthermore less probable that a statue of this size and quality was privately owned than that it adorned some public square or building. In Hellenistic and Roman art battles between Greeks and Amazons were frequently employed as allegories of the victory of good over evil, of civilisation over barbarism. Assuming that our figure is an Amazon, its group could have stood for something of that character. And in this connection we are immediately reminded of another work from Jordan, the marble statue, dating from the late-second century A. D., of a barbarian fleeing with his child and presupposing the presence of a Greek or Roman vanquisher, that was found in 1947 at Amman.⁴ It stood, it seems, in an exedra or on a platform halfway up to the acropolis and was doubtlessly intended to convey the same conception.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

¹ Cf. the marble mounted Amazon from the west pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, now in the National Museum in Athens (G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, ed. 2, 1950, p. 595, figs. 716-7).

² See Note I.

³ See, for instance, the marble Amazon from Epidaurus (Note I) and Amazons on the Mausoleum frieze (Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 588, fig. 699).

⁴ *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, i, 1951, pp. 705-12.

A BRONZE AGE TOMB GROUP

Form

HABLET EL AMUD, SILWAN VILLAGE LANDS

The Pottery of the "Middle Bronze Age I" in Palestine has aroused much interested discussion recently. Dr. Kathleen M. Kenyon discovered in Jericho many tombs of this period for which she proposes the new name of Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Period.¹ Dr. Ruth Amiran objects to the new nomenclature and keeps the usual name of "Middle Bronze Age I"², and refers to a tomb of this period discovered in 1941 in Silwan. Full records of this find are preserved in the Palestine Museum and can be inspected. The contents of this rich tomb make a useful addition to our knowledge of the pottery of the period, throw further light on the burial customs, and so merit publication. Furthermore the situation of the tomb shows that this standard domestic pottery occurs also in the hill-country, at least near Jerusalem.

The tomb was excavated in September, 1941, by the Palestine Department of Antiquities. It was situated at Hablet el-Amud in Silwan village lands, and lies between Kilometer 3 and 4 on the Jerusalem-Jericho road.

The cave was approached through a square shaft originally about two meters deep, from which a narrow entrance let into the tomb. It is possible that the large stone seen in the foreground of (Pl. XXXII: a) may have been the sealing of the entrance, but the original report makes no reference to this. The tomb is cut in soft huwar rock, apparently with flint implements, and has two chambers.

The First chamber is roughly oval in plan, and contained evidence of burials at its south-east and north-west corners. The bones are either disturbed or disarticulated, a skull lies by itself in the middle of the east side; more bones were found in the middle of the cave and along the east wall see plan (Pl. XXXI). In this chamber were found nine jars of different sizes and shapes (Pl. XXXII: b, cf. 1-9 of Pls. XXXIV & XXXV). Detailed description of these is given in the list of objects, while the positions are indicated on the Plan. A lamp with four nozzles (Pl. XXXIV: 10) was found in a niche in the wall (Pl. XXXII: b, at meter stick) (see Jericho I, p. 180) specially cut for it in the north west corner of the chamber, and a second lamp was found on the floor below the niche. x

The second chamber is roughly rectangular in plan (Pl. XXXI) and contained limb bones along the east wall and a few others about the middle of it, but no sign of a skull. Five pots were found (Pl. XXXIII: a, cf. 11-15 of Pls. XXXIV, & XXXV), and a four-nozzled lamp Pl. XXXIV: 16 was found in the specially prepared niche near south west corner of the chamber (Pl. XXXIII: a & b

¹ Dr. K. M. Kenyon — *Excavations at Jericho, Vol. I, p. 180.*

² Dr. Ruth Amiran — *The Pottery of the Middle Bronze Age I in Palestine (Israel Exploration Journal, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1960).*

near top of meter stick). A second lamp was found on the floor at the south east corner. One of these lamps has a rounded base. Detailed description of these is given in the list of objects.

All these objects were visible before the two chambers were cleared. Nos. 1, 2, 4-8, 11, 12 & 14 have remains of dried liquid or food inside, round the inner faces of the pots.

On clearance, no further discoveries were made in the first chamber, but in the second chamber many beads of different varieties were found together near the north wall of the chamber (Pl. XXXVI). They appear to be component parts of a necklace. Those listed under (Pl. XXXVI: 1) are fifteen beads, more or less of the same size; they are all carnelian and are spherical, bi-conic and barrel in shape. Pl. XXXVI: 2 consists of ten smaller disc beads, also carnelian; the holes are pierced by a blunt instrument resulting in a hole countersunk from both sides. No. 3 comprises two beads, one of blue paste, ribbed, the other of glazed paste, barrel shaped. No. 4 are four small beads, carnelian, spherical shape. No. 5 are perhaps two pieces of inlay, carnelian, disc-shaped; they are not pierced, but the larger of the two has a bevelled edge; the faces of both are polished. No. 6 are 208 small paste beads, cylindrical and disc-shaped; they formed the bulk of the necklace. No. 7 are 15 tiny snail shells; these are not pierced and probably represent a natural deposit, though they were found closely associated with No. 6. These beads are closely paralleled by those from Jericho tombs G. 16 & G. 65 (*ibid* p. 233). Pl. Nos. 8-11 are four bronze pins, plain, circular in section except at one end where they are square and tapering, and show clear signs of having been mounted in wood (?). No. 12 are eight rivets (see Jericho Tomb H. 17, G. 16, G. 37 etc. p. 225).

Judging by the pots and the beads found in the cave, it can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age I or Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Period. Parallels to the jars found in this tomb were found at Tell el-Ajjul (*cf.* Petrie — *Ancient Gaza I* Pl. XLI); Tell ed-Duweir (*cf.* Tufnell — *Lachish IV — The Bronze Age —* Pl. 20, 66-67); and in a cave discovered on the Mt. of Olives in 1884 (*cf.* P. E. F. *Excavations in Palestine*, Pl. XLV); but the closest parallels are from the Jericho Tombs.

As our tomb has a square shaft, it would be natural to connect it with Dr. Kenyon's third category, i. e. Square-shaft type, but there are significant differences both in plan and in contents. The outstanding difference in plan is that it is a double chambered tomb, whereas those so far published from Jericho are single chambered. It would seem possible from the plan Pl. LV in *Ancient Gaza I* that tomb 226 of this period has a square shaft and two chambers, and Lachish tombs 2032 & 2037 appear to open off a single shaft (*Lachish IV* p. 276). As regards the contents it differs from Jericho in that the bodies are disarticulated which according to Dr. Kenyon occurs in her Pottery type tombs. In the case of the lamps each chamber had one in the niche and one on the floor, and in the one Square shaft tomb so far published by Dr. Kenyon (*J.* 4 p. 256/7) the lamp is said to be in a depression in the floor. A further connection with the Pottery type is the presence of copper pins and beads, and the absence of daggers. From this evidence it would seem that this tomb is an overlap between Dr. Kenyon's Pottery type and Square shaft type tombs.

LIST OF OBJECTS

FIRST CHAMBER

- 1 — Jar; Ht. O. 270m.
Ovoid, with large slightly concave base, short neck and flaring rim. Top of shoulder combed and decorated with pricked oblique lines.
Gritty grey ware, grey slip. (Museum cat. No. 41. 961).
- 2 — Jar; Ht. O.272m.
similar to 1 (Museum cat. No. 41. 964)
- 3 — Jar; Ht. O.276m.
similar to 1 (Museum cat. No. 41. 965)
- 4 — Jar; Ht. O.220m.
Globular, with large concave base, short neck and flaring rim. Incised parallel rings round top of shoulder. Gritty buff ware.
(Museum cat. No. 41. 962)
- 5 — Jar; Ht. O.244m.
Globular, with large concave base, short neck and flaring rim. Row of notches round top of shoulder. Light brown ware. (Museum cat. No. 41. 963)
- 6 — Small Jar; Ht. O.158m.
Roughly ovoid, with concave base, thick neck and flaring rim. Reddish ware. Encrusted. (Museum cat. No. 41. 966)
- 7 — Small Jar; Ht. O.150m.
Ovoid, with slightly concave base, short, thick neck and straight rim. Light brown ware. Encrusted. (Museum cat. No. 41. 967)
- 8 — "Tea Pot"; Ht. O.118m.
Oblate in form, with large convex base and hole-mouth. Cylindrical spout and tiny ledge-handle. Decorated with rows of incised lines on upper part, wavy between straight. Gritty pinkish buff ware.
(Museum cat. No. 41. 969)
- 9 — Broken Pot; Ht. O.093m.
Globular, with large flat base. Decorated with incised parallel lines round shoulder. Red ware. No visible rim. (Museum cat. No. 41. 968)
- 10 — Lamp; O.048 x O.150 x O.150m.
Four pinched nozzles and flat base. Red Ware. Encrusted (Museum cat. No. 41. 970)

LIST OF OBJECTS

SECOND CHAMBER

- 11 — Jar; Ht. O. 250 m.
Ovoid, with concave base, short neck and out-turning rim and small lip for pouring. Shoulder irregularly combed with two rows of vertical combed lines and four rows of dots connecting the three horizontal combed lines. Buff ware. (Museum cat. No. 41. 972)
- 12 — Jar; Ht. O.270m.
Globular, with large concave base, short neck and flaring rim. Shoulder combed and decorated with oblique rows of dots. Fine parallel horizontal black lines inside rim. Light red gritty ware. Encrusted. (Museum cat. No. 41. 973)
- 13 — Jar; Ht. O.228m.
Similar to 11, but shoulder irregularly combed with lines of vertical combing connecting the two horizontal lines. Buff ware (Museum cat. No. 41. 971)
- 14 — Jar; Ht. O.224m.
similar to 13 (Museum cat. No. 41.975)
- 15 — Small Jar; Ht. O.110m.
Spherical, with flat base, short neck and slightly flaring rim. Incised horizontal lines above middle of body, and round top of shoulder. Drab ware. (Museum cat. No. 41. 974)
- 16 — Lamp; 0.157 x 0.157 x O. 053m.
Four pinched nozzles and rounded base. Pinkish buff ware. (Museum cat. No. 41. 977)
- 17 — Lamp; D. O.140m.
Four pinched nozzles and flat base. Soft red ware. Fragmentary. Similar to 10 (Museum cat. No.41. 976)

YUSEF SA'AD

THE EXCAVATION OF THE MAIN THEATER, PETRA, 1961 — 1962

An American Expedition to Petra has completed excavation at the Main Theater at Petra after two seasons of work in 1961 and 1962. The Expedition worked in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and was directed by Dr. Philip C. Hammond of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Noted by Johann Ludwig Burckhardt in his first report of the identification of Wadi Musa with the ancient Sela'-Petra in the year 1812, the Theater has attracted the attention of travellers and visitors to Petra since that time. The installation is carved into the side of a mountain, just inside the Siq. Covered by the debris of almost twenty centuries, only the upper rows of seats were visible prior to the present excavations. Since the days of the traveller Irby, some 33 rows of seats, with an estimated seating capacity of about 3500 persons, have been reported in the literature. The *scaena* was built of masonry and was hitherto not able to be described properly because of its ruined condition and the depth of the deposit over most of it. The *vomitoria* were almost completely sub-surface and are not noted in earlier descriptions. Ruins of the *tribunalia* (e) and related passages and features have also been overlooked in the past, along with the remains of rooms and blocking walls high on the cliffs at each side of the *auditorium*. The drainage system of the installation also had escaped notice in previous accounts, in spite of its obvious presence along the *praecinctio* of the *media cavea*, along the upper gallery of the *summa cavea*, and, less obviously, along the top-most gallery above the latter. Prior to the work of the American group, the Department of Antiquities undertook a preliminary clearing of surface debris in the *orchestra* area and a complete clearing of the *vomitorium dextrum*. In the two seasons of cooperative work on the site, the American expedition had, as its primary purpose, the determination of the stratigraphic history of the site, as well as the recovery of architectural, ceramic, numismatic, and epigraphic details which might serve to establish the chronological history of the Theater, itself.

In 1961, therefore, three main trenches were opened in the *orchestra*-stage area designed to connect and interrelate the stratigraphic evidence from the various parts of the structure as a whole. The lines of these trenches were laid out perpendicular to the diameter line from the center *itinera* of the *cavea*, to the intersection with the probable diameter of the face of the *finitio proscaenii*, eastward in the same line to the face of the *scaena frons*, and northward along the probable line of the *orchestra* diameter previously determined. Each trench was excavated in order to investigate the stratigraphy of a definite part of the structure, and to relate that part to the rest of the excavation. In order to correlate all strata with the modern surface level, a fourth trench was laid out across the stage area from the face of the *vomitorium sinistrum* to the *scaena frons*. Following the excavation of these trenches, the stage area was then cleared stratigraphically in order to secure a complete picture of the details of its paving, sub-paving, and of the *hyposcaenium*. In 1962, more emphasis was placed on planning and surveying of the Theater and its related features, but excavation was again carried out to secure further stratigraphic information. A trench was opened from the Northeast exit of the *vomitorium sinistrum* and carried across the stage, *scaena* and *postscaenium* walls to the wadi bed, in order

to further correlate the upper stratigraphic levels with the untouched modern surface in that area and to investigate the complexion of the **scaena-postscenium** build in an area which had remained sub-surface because of heavier fall from above. In addition, the **auleum** slot, the central niche of the stage, and the stage face were excavated at strategic locations in order to clarify plan and to isolate and relate building phases. The excavations in those areas had been further facilitated by the general clearances conducted by the Department of Antiquities in the intervening period following the completion of the 1961 season. All areas of the Theater complex were planned in detail and the architectural features analyzed mathematically, stylistically, and architecturally. The complete results of these analyses will be presented in the final report of the excavations.

Stratigraphy. As a result of the stratigraphic excavations of the two seasons, the stratigraphic history of the Theater at Petra has been resolved into over 200 levels, or strata, which, in turn, have been phased into eight clearly defined periods. In summary form, these phases are as follows, from most ancient to most recent:

- I. **Period of Main Use:** the period in which the Theater was put to its designated use as a center of community activity and entertainment. This period may now be subdivided into three building phases — (a) primary, (b) a refurbishing stage, with little change in plan, and (c) a later rebuilding in which plan changes and additions were made on a large scale.
- II. **Period of Early Re-use:** This period may be divided into two subdivisions and is represented by over 25 separate levels throughout the total excavations. The period is characterized by a triple-faced battered filled wall erected on and over the lower part of the **ima cavea**, built of robbed architectural debris. Robbing of pavement slabs and the construction of an intrusive drain in the area of the main door of the **scaena frons** is also to be attributed to this period. Stratigraphy indicates that this period post-dated the actual use of the Theater, as such but clearly predated its main destruction (Period IV, below).
- III. **Period of Dis-use, Pre-Fall:** this period may also be subdivided, on the basis of over ten levels of ceramically sterile soil at the bottom of the phase, followed by an upper deposit with heavy, non-occupational ceramic concentration.
- IV. **Main Destruction Period:** the fall level of the Theater was carefully isolated, particularly in the stage area, in order to analyze debris in terms of the build and general architecture of the **scaena frons**, especially in regard to its upper stories (**episcenium**). As a result, the lines of fall, their extent, their composition, and some of their most important implications for provincial architecture were able to be recovered and noted. The nature of this level makes it obvious that the destruction of the Theater at Petra was cataclysmic and general, both in time and in extent. Hence, the date of this general destruction must be sought in one of the major earthquakes which periodically rocked the ancient Near East. The superimposed levels above this destruction phase would seem to preclude a date as late as the quake of A. D. 746/748 (intensity index 18. 1), which destroyed Jerash and other sites in the area of Syro-Palestine, and which is sometimes referred to in terms of the destruction of other monuments at Petra, as well. Rather, a date much earlier in the known earthquake series range

(which, here, would extend from A. D. 19 onwards) would seem to be indicated. Should this be true, the date of other destruction attributable to earthquake at Petra will necessarily also have to be reconsidered.

- V. **First Period of Dis-Use, Post-fall:** this period is that in which the destruction debris of the preceding period was covered by obvious and characteristic alternating levels of water-laid and wind-drifted soil. Over 60 levels belonging to this phase were isolated over the excavations. The ceramic concentration and complexion of this was noteworthy, both in quantity and in chronological implications, since not all the ceramic materials found within the levels can be presumed to be simply earlier materials carried there by water and wind. That this post-destruction phase was apparently not detected in other areas at Petra is probably to be attributed to the basin-like nature of the Theater complex, which tended to retain water and wind borne levels more discernibly than did more open areas elsewhere on the site. The levels of this phase were capped by the hard-packed floor level of the next phase above.
- VI. **First Period of Re-use, Post-fall:** during this period the Theater area was again put to use for some temporary, and obscure, occupation. Two separate building phases are evident in a series of three robbery walls. The earlier part of the period is characterized by a wall about one meter wide, extending along the line of the *finitio proscenii*, and sealing off the stage area from the *auditorium*. Large building blocks, column drums (used as foundation courses), and other fall debris were incorporated into the make-up of this imposing wall. Somewhat later in the same period, two other subsidiary walls were built in relation to this main robbery wall, but were not bonded into it. Blocking of the main door (the "Royal Door" of Roman dramatic convention) of the *scaena frons* took place during this period, as well as the blocking of the outer door of the *posts-scenium* at the northern end of the installation. Lack of specific evidence precluded determination as to the extent of other exit blockings, however. The precise use of this artificial enclosure, with its extensions, cannot be determined, since no distinctive occupational debris was associated with the phase to narrow down function. Housing, industry, or herding facilities of a temporary nature could all be possible uses.
- VII. **Second Period of Re-use, Post-Fall:** this period, again with two subdivisions, represents only casual re-use of the Theater area, perhaps for camping purposes, and is only of stratigraphic interest.
- VIII. **Final Phase, Post-fall, to Modern Surface:** the phase, which represents the accumulated debris, and some casual use, of the Theater area, presents little of interest, either stratigraphically or chronologically. Prior to the present excavations, the modern surface level had covered the Theater complex up to the *praecinctio* of the *ima-media caveae*, almost completely obscuring plan and specific features.

The specifics of the period of main use (Period I) and the data supplied by the related main destruction period (period IV) will be considered in the forthcoming final report of the excavations. It may be said, here, however, that the excavations have produced considerable material of basic architectural interest, in terms of the Theater at Petra, *per se*, and, in a

broader sense, relating to the development of provincial Roman period theatrical structures in the Near East, as a whole. In addition, the plans and architectural details which the Theater at Petra has supplied will furnish one of the most complete pictures of such a structure hitherto possible, because of the relative isolation of the ruins and the relative lack of post-fall occupation of the site. The details of plan, order, and related architectural aspects will also furnish chronological material, which, when coupled with the ceramic, numismatic, and epigraphic data, will add to a further understanding of Petra's role in Near Eastern history and will furnish a good deal of valuable comparative material for the field at large.

Among the individual finds which should be noted at this point, are the quantities of architectural pieces which were preserved by the enveloping debris of the first post-fall period. Mouldings, facings, decorative carvings, plastered and cemented pieces, iron and bronze fixtures, and similar details will permit an extensive analysis of the order involved, the techniques employed in the building, and the historic relationships of the structure. Epigraphic data, especially that found as part of the columnar place markings, will provide a good deal of specific information concerning the stage of Nabataean script development reached, and in use, by the period involved. Unfortunately, the breakage and virtual pulverization of the frieze blocks of the *episcenium* precluded securing any connected inscriptional information from that source. Numismatic materials, although not extensive, will also provide some supporting chronological data, to be related to the ceramic and stratigraphic remains secured. The damaged statue of Hercules, found during the 1961 campaign, is also of some interest, from the standpoint of its place in Neo-Attic sculpture and on account of its own intrinsic excellence, even if it provides little in the way of definitive chronological significance.

Conclusions: No final chronological conclusions will be drawn until the final report of the excavations has been completed, but certain tentative indications may be noted, however:

- (1) The Nabataean order of the construction, in its two earliest phases of Period I.
- (2) The (slavish) adherence to the Vitruvian plan and modular canons.
- (3) The plan and its relation to other known parallels in its various aspects.
- (4) The chronological possibilities indicated by certain specific building techniques — e.g. the stage of concrete technique reached, the vaulting arrangements, the module used, painting technique, plan arrangement, dressing, and similar aspects.
- (5) The ceramic data furnished by the stratigraphy and by the concrete fill found in the fall debris.
- (6) The cultural prominence of the site at an early date, and its degree of eclectic Hellenization, as an indication of the local susceptibility to foreign culture prior to the onset of the Roman period and to actual Roman occupation.

Summary of Results: The major archaeological results of the two seasons may be summarized as follows:

- (1) **Stratigraphy:** the stratigraphy of the site, as an indication of the course of its later history, from the modern surface to the bed-rock floor of the installation, has been analyzed, drawn in section, phased and interrelated for the first time since the rediscovery of the site in 1812.

- (2) **Plan:** the plan of the stage and *scaena frons*, as well as the general plan of the complex as a whole, has been established for the first time since the destruction of the Theater in antiquity. In addition, mathematical and physical data have been secured which will permit complete analyses of the separate parts of the complex.
- (3) **Architectural Detail:** the amassing of the architectural detail and data (column types, fixtures, building techniques, decorative and functional devices and other features), the classification of architectural members (cornices, orders, columnar size and denomination, and general plan), the purely epigraphic and artistic architectural information secured (inscriptions, statuary, painting), along with over all interpretations of it (comparisons and relationships to parallels), all represent a major contribution to the scientific study of the provincial Roman theater type in the Near East. The specific data from the present excavations and clearances will finally permit a definitive analysis of the place of the Theater at Petra within the greater architectural context, and for a more precise discussion of the chronology involved in the history of the site of Petra, itself.

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EL-JIB EXCAVATIONS 1962

During the fifth season of excavations at el-Jib, extending from June 11 through August 11, 1962, we worked in three areas of the site: (1) the Bronze Age cemetery on the west side of the hill, where 18 tombs had been opened and cleared in 1960; (2) the northwest of the tell, where soundings in 1960 had revealed evidence for occupation during the Middle Bronze II and the Iron Ages; and (3) the extreme southern end of the tell, which was the only area in which soundings had not been made previously. As in the previous seasons the work at el-Jib was supported by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, in cooperation with the American School of Oriental Research, and directed by the writer. The staff consisted of William L. Reed, Diana Kirkbride, John Huesman, S. J., Douglas M. Spence, Asia G. Halaby, Subhi Muhtadi, Gustav Materna, Charles F. Kraft, Terry Ball, David Stewart, Grace Conklin, Anne Reed, Willy Schottroff, Mary Pritchard, and Yusuf Labadi. Approximately 100 laborers from the village of el-Jib were employed for the season of two months.

Within the cemetery 37 tombs were opened and cleared. Each consisted of a circular shaft (average diameter for the tombs of the entire cemetery was 1.13 m.) and a doorway at the bottom leading into a tomb chamber hewn from the soft limestone. Fifteen of the tombs contained funerary deposits of the Middle Bronze I (Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze period; 5 had MB I material along with MB IIB material; and one bore evidence of having been used in the MB I and the MB IIA periods. Although these tombs were in plan and section like the Dagger Type found at Jericho, the deposits in them corresponded more exactly to the Pottery Type. Objects from the MB I period included funerary jars of a rather limited repertoire, lamps with four spouts, bronze daggers, beads, and javelin points with a curled tang. The decoration on the shouldlers of the funerary jars consisted of the usual bands of combing, incised decorations, triangles, wavy lines, and in one example a frieze of 5, or possibly 6, ibexes. Ten of the tombs yielded only material of the MB IIB period. There were no funerary deposits in 5 of the tombs. One tomb that had obviously been cut as a shaft tomb in the Bronze Age had been converted in the Roman period into a columbarium with 66 niches.

The largest area excavated during the 1962 season was at the northwest or the tell. Above scattered remains of the Early Bronze and the Middle Bronze IIB periods there was found an extensive occupation for the Iron I period. A city wall of this period encircled a housing area, in which there appeared a patrician house with at least four central columns of cut stone. Beside it were two large ovens, which are to be associated with it. The Iron I Age city in this area had been disturbed by the builders of a massive city wall at the beginning of the Iron II period. In order to obtain a firm footing for the 3 m. city wall the builders had cut a trench 3 m. deep in this area through the earlier occupations in order to reach the bed rock. This city wall was traced for a considerable distance at the northwest of the tell and was found to be in line with a similar wall discovered in 1956 and 1959 at the north and east of the tell. When the foundation of the wall had been constructed to a

little above ground level, ramps of dirt were built against the side of the rising wall and the stones for the superstructure were dragged up the ramps for fitting into place. Although the entire superstructure of the city wall had been robbed in the later Roman and Byzantine periods, we were able to determine the method of building through the discovery of the ramps that were still covered with chippings from the stonemasons' hammers. Associated with this larger city wall were houses that had been used through the Iron II period. At the end of one street which led between them in the direction of the city wall there was a plastered stone-cut cistern, which had a capacity of about 40,000 gallons. It was equipped with a large filtering basin by which the silt was removed from the water before it was allowed to run into the cistern.

At the south of the tell, at a point just opposite Nebi Samwil, a sounding was made in order to discover the course of the Iron II city wall in this sector. Here the wall was discovered and found to have a width of approximately 3 m. With previous discoveries it is now possible to chart the wall around its entire course of about 959 m. The occupation of the city in this southern area seems to have been limited to the Iron II and the Roman period of the city's history. Two wine cellars, similar in form to those found at the north and east in 1959 and 1960, were found just inside the city wall.

JAMES B. PRITCHARD

Remarks and Observations on the Historical Topography of Jordan

by Prof. Dr. Herbert Donner, Goettingen

As during the last years, the summer-course 1963 of the German Evangelical Institute for Archaeology of the Holy Land spent about two months in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, working and considering some problems concerning the history and topography of Palestine and Transjordan. Annual director was prof. Dr. H. Donner — Goettingen; cooperating fellows were the Drs H.-U Boesche — Goettingen, G. Morawe — Berlin, K. Nandrasky — Bratislava, H. P. Ruger — Tuebingen and P. Welten — Tuebingen. The names of the co-operators will appear in brackets at the end of the paragraphs, in which their special contributions can be read. The final reports will be published in the next volumes of the "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastinaverains". H. Donner is preparing the publication of a group of Roman mile-stones with inscriptions, recently found during repair-work on the Amman — Es Salt — road, for the "Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan".

The explorations would not have been possible without the kind encouragement and help of Dr. A. Dajani, Director of the Department of Antiquities, and Mr. Sami Maddah, Inspector of the West Bank, last but not least of our other Jordan friends and colleagues.

In Jerusalem on August 25, 1963, two members of the summer-course gave lectures, honoured by the presence of French, American, British and Jordan archaeologists:

H. Donner, The Enemy from the North. Historical and Archaeological Observations on Isaiah 10, 27b-34.

G. Morawe, The Structure of the "Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings" and its relations to the chronological Notes of the Books of Kings.

The German Evangelical Institute for Archaeology of the Holy Land hopes to continue some of the reported explorations, especially in the area west of Karak and on the Lisan.

I.

Since the days of A. Musil and F. M. Abel the Peninsula of el Lisan has not been a field of scientific investigation. The present year's summercourse therefore decided to explore the history of settlement on part of el Lisan.

On October 4, 1963, we discovered courses of masonry measuring about 19 by 26 metres on the road from Mazra' to Haditha southwest of 'Ain es Sikkin.

These ruins which the fellahin of the vicinity simply call "Qasr" could be dated to the Roman-Byzantine period according to the pottery found there. About 200 metres to the north-west, there are the remains of a building measuring about 20 square metres. Its walls are 0,50 metres high and 0,90 metres wide. This "Qasr" could be ascribed to the Roman-Byzantine

period on the same ground. 40 metres north of the last-mentioned building the ruins of a third "Qasr" could be detected. Only its northern wall of about 20 metres length is well preserved, its pottery is Roman-Byzantine too. It is likely that all these "Qusur" formed part of a military system.

Further surface exploration in Haditha which is lying on a mighty tell showed that this village has been inhabited during Roman, Byzantine, Early Arab, Mameluke, and post-Mameluke times. Further investigations would be necessary in order to solve the problem of Roman settlements on el Lisan and to verify the possibility of Roman roads on the Peninsula suggested by A. Musil.

(H.-U. BOESCHE)

II.

As in 1961 it had been possible to discover the site of ancient Kallirrhoe (see Annual VI-VII, 1962, P. 90f), we tried to find Baaras (Josephus, Bellum VII, 16,3; Eusebius, Onomastikon 102,25; Madaba Mosaic Map (BA) AROU) on September 26, 1963. According to the entries of the Madaba Mosaic Map possible localizations were either the spring of Wadi Zarqa Ma'in or Hammam Zarqa Ma'in. Surface explorations in the vicinity of 'Ain ez Zarqa led to the conclusion that Baaras could not have been situated here, although traces of ancient settlements are evident north and southwest of the spring (debris on Umm Qal'a with pottery from Early Bronze, Middle Bronze, Iron Age I (?) and II, Roman-Byzantine; on the hill north of the spring there are dolmens, flints and chalcolithic pottery, perhaps Early Bronze too. Hot springs which might have been used for Roman thermal baths, are neither to be found near 'Ain ez Zarqa nor in the Wadi more to the south.

Until further notice we have to take for granted that Baaras is to be identified with Hamman Zarqa Ma'in. This identification relies on the abundant hot springs in this area (the biggest ones among them: Meshra' er Ra'i "shepherd's waterfall" and Meshra' Suleiman Ibn Dawud), on the two reservoirs for water (Birkat Hanna and Birkat el Amir) and on the literary sources (Josephus, Eusebius, Petrus Iberus).

(G. MORAWE)

III.

On September 21, 1963, we had the chance to explore a big tell near Nablus, which lies on the left side of the road from Nablus to Sabastiya, shortly after having left the township of Nablus. This tell is mentioned on the Map Palestine 1:10000 Sheet 7: Nablus as Tell Sufan. But this must be a mistake, for all questioned inhabitants of the area called the place Tell Sofan. The surface of this tell, hitherto unnoticed, is partly cultivated at present and looks like an oval of about 100 by 80 metres. From west to east one can see a softly raising ramp with a round hill on its eastern end (circumference 37,50 m; diameter 6,50 m), perhaps a Roman-Byzantine watchtower, because there is an accumulation of Roman-Byzantine potsherds worth mentioning. In the neighbourhood of the tell and on its slopes many rock-cut tombs of different ages can be seen, some of them from the Iron Age, others from Roman-Byzantine times. There are two springs 'Ain es Subyan on the east side and 'Ain el Jisr on the north in the bottom of the valley (Wadi Rafidiya); the latter was discovered 4 years ago and now is accessible by steps which lead into an underground pit with plenty of Roman-

Byzantine potsherds. The pottery on Tell Sofar: Early Bronze, some sherds which may be of Middle and Late Bronze origin, masses of Iron Age I and II (among them pieces of big storage-jars), Roman-Byzantine, but two uncertain Arab sherds only.

This tell no doubt was a large and important village in pre-Arab times. But is difficult to propose a reasonable identification with one of the villages known from literary sources, because the name Tell Sofar does not present any similarity to one of the ancient place-names. It is very probable, however, that we have here the native-place of the charismatic leader Gedeon, called Ophra in Manasseh (Judg. 16, 11ss). The geographical situation of Tell Sofar at the western end of the passage between the mountains Ebal and Garizim (at the eastern end Shechem = Tell Balata is situated) fits well the scanty Old Testament notes on Ophra of Gedeon, especially in her role in the time and political activity of Abimelech (Judg. 9). The ceramic evidence cannot prove this identification, but is by no means contrary to it. The disappearance of the ancient place-name is plausible, if the tell is identical with Ophra of Gedeon; for the name Ophra reminded the Arabs of the demon 'afrid and sometimes caused a euphemistic change of the name (compare et Teyiba northeast of Beitin a. o.). Indeed there is near Tell Sofar a plain called 'Imarat Salame "field of peace", but this name can also be translated "fertile land".

(K. NANDRASKY)

IV.

AIA and THARAIS, which on the sixth century Madaba Mosaic Map figure west and southwest of CHARACHMOBA (Karak) and north of river ZARED (Wadi el Hasa), are usually identified with either 'Aina and Dhat Ras or 'Aiy and 'Iraq (formerly Tar'in) respectively. The first of these identifications has to be ruled out on the ground that 'Aina is situated south of Dhat Ras, whereas AIA lies north of THARAIS; the second, however, perfectly fits all geographic requirements and presents a striking similarity of the ancient and modern place-names. This identification has been proposed for the first time by the famous Austrian traveller A. Musil in *Arabia Petraea* 1 (1907) p. 256ss. Surface explorations on October 3, 1963, produced Early Bronze, Middle Bronze, Iron II, Roman-Byzantine, and post-Mameluke pottery at 'Aiy, and Roman-Byzantine and late Arab potsherds at 'Iraq (which is difficult to explore because of the modern village on the ancient tell) thus proving that both sites were occupied at the period in question.

(H. P. RUGER)

V.

In 1. Sam. 11,8 a village, called Bezek, is mentioned, at which the military forces of the twelve tribes were concentrated by the Benjaminite Saul shortly before fighting against the Ammonites, to relieve the oppressed town Jabes-Gilead. A notice on this village can be found in Eusebius, *Onomastikon* 54, 5-7. The bishop of Caesarea Palaestinae mentions two villages called Bezek, very close each other, situated at the 17th milestone of the Roman road from Neapolis (Nablus) to Skythopolis (Tell el Husn near Beisan).

The village in question has been identified by A. Alt (*Palaestinajahrbuch* 22, 1926, p. 48ss.) with Khirbat Ibziq northeast of Tayasir. But the problem of the two villages mentioned

by Eusebius remained unsolved. Surface explorations on September 16 and 18, 1963, proved at first that the proposals made by Alt concerning the second village don't come true: Ras el Badd is a natural mountain without any traces of human occupation, and Khirbat Jabaris is too far from Kh. Ibziq (it would have been localized at the 19th mile-stone of the Roman road). Qasr esh Sheikh Ghazal in the neighbourhood of the 17th mile-stone seems to have been a considerable Roman road-station, but no real settlement.

The second Bezek of Eusebius is situated about 1 km north of Kh. Ibziq. There we found another Khirba, called Kh. Ibziq too, very similar to the first one with regard to its situation and appearance. About 200 metres north of Kh. Ibziq II there is a third small Khirba, probably belonging to Khirba II. On Kh. Ibziq I and II can be found plenty of Roman-Byzantine potsherds, several tombs and many old cisterns (some of them used till now). But Arab pottery was found on Khirba I only, on which a small village is growing again. The pre-Roman pottery is apparently hidden underneath the enormous masses of later debris. The problem of dating both ancient villages cannot be solved without excavations. If Kh. Ibziq I is the older one (the Bezel of Saul) and Kh. Ibziq II/III the Roman-Byzantine settlement, we have to suppose the return of the village to Khirba I in the time after the Arab conquest (like Khirbat el Karmal, Ti'innik a. o.). Otherwise the normal change of the settlement took place in Roman-Byzantine times.

(P. WELTEN)

VI,

In the description of the territory belonging to the tribe of Reuben a village without proper name is mentioned, simply called "the town in the midst of the valley" (Josh. 13,16). The description begins with Aroer ('Ara'ir), situated south of Dhiban on the tableland just before its descent into the valley of river Arnon (Wadi el Mujib). Therefore the "valley" of Josh. 13,16 seems to be identical with Wadi el Mujib and the "town" with Khirbat el Hushra, only mentioned by A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea* 1 (1907) p. 94. If this is correct, the Khirba marks the southwest point of the territory of Reuben. But A. Musil has not been on the spot; bedouins showed him the Khirba at the confluence of Wadi el Mujib and Wadi el Heidan from afar, when he crossed the Mujib about 7 km east of it. Musil supposed an ancient road from the north to the south, going along the Dead Sea shore and crossing river Arnon 2 km east of its mouth near Kh. el Hushra. But there is no archaeological evidence neither for the Khirba itself nor for a road in its neighbourhood. The summer-course 1963 tried to fill this gap and to find a way to Kh. el Hushra. Soon it was clear that it would be impossible to go by car along the waters either of Mujib or of Heidan in the bottom of the valleys respectively. Throughout the mountains there are footpaths only, about 7-10 further on from the spot one can reach by car, descending more than 1000 metres. The only possibility to reach the place seemed to be the way from the Dead Sea shore, not penetrating into the mouth of river Arnon, but climbing up along the course of a small Wadi about 1 km south of it. Thanks to the kindness and help of the Jordan army and of the Antiquities Department we had a chance to go by ship to the Ras el Ghor (September 27, 1963). We tried to climb up to the mountains along the bottom of the dry Wadi mentioned above and over the slopes which follow its course to the Wadi el Mujib. But it was absolutely impossible to advance more than some 100 metres, because of the difference in elevation, the danger

of falling stones, the weakness of the marl-banks, and the smoothness of the slopes. Therefore we had to abandon the trial.

From this experience and these observations we have to finish this report with three preliminary conclusions:

1. The western descent of the Transjordan tableland down to the Dead Sea seems to be without any human settlement, not only in the area of Qullat Haruan (see Annual VI/VII, 1962, P. 94) but also around the mouth of river Arnon. The whole terrain is hardly accessible and it is extremely improbable that the "town in the midst of the valley" can be localized there.

2. A. Music has not been at the place of Kh. el Hushra; he saw it from afar. An error or real mistake cannot be excluded; one reminds the fact that sometimes boulders are called Khirba.

3. Thus the problem in question remains unsolved for the present. Further explorations have to continue the search, perhaps in the upper part of Wadi el Mujib or Wadi el Heidān (called Wadi el Wala).

(H. DONNER)

EXCAVATIONS IN EL KHIAM

El Kham is a wind deposited terrace (Pl. XXXVII Fig. 1). next to one of the cliffs of Wadi Khareitun in the desert SE of Bethlehem: SMG 1151 1749. It is an important prehistoric site which R. Neuville excavated in 1933 opening two trenches. The results of this excavation were published by Jean Perrot in 1951 (1).

As on the one hand, the stratigraphy of the site was not completely ascertained, and on the other hand, the excavation seemed promising, this being one of the richest prehistoric sites of Jordan, we decided, with full agreement of the Director of Antiquities of Jordan, Dr. Awni Dajani Ph.D., to dig for one season during the spring 1962. Dr. Awni Dajani in his capacity of Director of Antiquities gave us all the assistance and official help we needed; we are glad to express here our heartfelt thanks.

The work began the 23rd. May, and ended the 20th. June. Our special purpose was the study of the stratigraphy of the site. The work was done by the Spanish Casa de Santiago para Estudios Biblicos y Orientales in Jerusalem, and the Instituto Arqueologico Municipal of Madrid; the economical means been supplied by both institutions. The Director of the excavation was the author of the present communication, assisted by Vicente Vilar, Emilio Olavarri and Miss Mercedes Mezquida, from the Spanish institutions, and Hasan Al Mamluk, from the Department of Antiquities (2).

The area excavated was one of 36 square meters, next to Neuville's Trench 1. A baulk 1.10 m. wide was left between Neuville's trench and our area (Pl XXXVII, Fig. 2) The digging Proceed 7 m. deep, revealing 12 geological levels, some of which can be subdivided:

- 1 - Light color earth with angular stones, 60 cm.: **Tahunian 1**
- 2-3 Darker earth with angular stones, 40 cm.: **Prototahunian**
- 4 - Deep gray earth with angular stones, 30-45 cm.: **Khiamian 11**
- 5 - Black earth with angular stones 30 cm.: **Khiamian 1**
- 6-8 - Brown earth with angular stones and large boulders, about 50 cm.: **Kebarian**
- 9 - Light brown earth with angular stones and boulders: 70 cm.: **Atlitian**
- 10-11 - Lighter brown earth with angular stones and some boulders, respectively 0,95 and 1,80 m.: **Middle Aurignatian**
- 12 - Dark brown earth with clay pockets: sterile.

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1. J. PERROT, *La terrasse d'El Kham, cap X in Neuville's book Le Paleolithique et le Mesolithique du Desert de Judée, Arch de l'Inst. Paleont. Humaine, Mem. 24 Paris 1951, pp 134-178.*
 2. *We want to express here our thanks for the scientific collaboration of the Ecole Biblique et Archaelogique francaise de Jerusalem and its Director F. R. de Vaux; of the Seminario de Historia Primitiva of Madrid and its Director, J. Maryinez Santa-Olalla; and of the Seminario "Santuola" (Museo Prehistorico, Santander, Spain), presided by M. A. Garcia Guinea.*

The Tahunian 1 of El Khiam is a very rich archaeological level, not only because of the abundant flints, among which some typical arrow-heads, but also owing to the building structures it revealed: a large wall, 1 m. wide, of dry masonry, in which two faces—filled up with rubble—can be distinguished, although with not much clarity. This wall follows a general direction N-S cutting through our excavation area. It recalls the walls of Jericho Prepottery Neolithic B, but we do not know if it was a defensive wall, intended to protect the settlement at the end of Tahunian 1 (we call it thus because of the extremely archaic character of the industry the wall was destroyed, the stones falling towards the East. Then some roughly circular fireplaces were built with middle sized stones.

It is not easy to establish a clear parallel among the Tahunian industry of El Khiam and that of Jericho Prepottery Neolithic B, because the former is much nearer to the Mesolithic Culture, the microliths being abundant in it. On the other hand it seems clear that a marked difference existed, regarding the life resources between the inhabitants of Jericho, dedicated predominantly to agriculture, and those of El Khiam, whose economy was probably founded on Cattle-raising and hunt.

Prototahunian, as the name implies, is a transition level between Mesolithic and Neolithic, where the industries which will develop greatly in the Tahunian can already clearly be seen. So, for instance, the arrow-heads.

The Khiamian is the period called until now Natufian III and IV, but only found stratified in the El Khiam site. Our excavation did ascertain that the Khiamian has not relation whatever with the Natufian I and II of other sites, but that is rather the product of another different evolutionary sequence, originating directly in a developed Kebarian. For these reasons we judge that it should not be named Natufian. The levels were rich in arrow-heads, stone-mortars and pestles.

The Kebarian of El Khiam is extremely interesting not only because of the presence of the traditional phase found in the Kebara Cave, but also because it shows us the later development of this culture, Kebarian II and III, where among the flints, the steeply retouched crescent can be seen.

The Atlitian appears with very peculiar features, which distinguishes it from the Atlitian of the El Wad Cave. The industry is rich in scrapers of little size, small blades with blunted backs and a new type of points with steeply battered basis.

In the Middle Aurignatian, two Phases should be distinguished, one more recent, corresponding to Phase IV of Neuville' Superior Paleolithic, and an older one, the so called Phase III. In the latter predominate the carinated steep-nosed core scrapers and the Font-Yves points.

The work enacted, apart from providing a rich material, seems to offer an important basis for readjusting the evolutionary sequence of Jordan Prehistory.

JOAQUIN GONZALEZ ECHEGARY

EXCAVATION AT TELL ES-SA'IDIYEH (PRELIMINARY REPORT)

The first season of excavations at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (map reference: 20461861) by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania began on January 1 and ended February 29, 1964. The work was under the direction of the writer, assisted by the following staff: John E. Huesman, S.J., Asia G. Halaby, Gustav A. Materna, Jacques Lagarce, Thomas L. McClellan, Terry Ball, Moawiyah M. Ibrahim, Hassan Mamlouk, Ahmed Shishtawi, Khair Nimer Yassin, and Robert Smith, who was present for a portion of the season. Dr. Awni Dajani, Director of the Department of Antiquities, graciously assigned three members of the Department, in addition to its representative Moawiyah M. Ibrahim, to the staff and helped in getting quarters for the staff at the Cooperative Camp at Wadi el-Yabis.

The tell covers an area of about 75 dunums (= 25 acres) and stands at a height of 42 m. above the plain of the Ghor. The tell rises in two steps from the plain to the west: first there is a bench, about 14 m. high, which covers about one-third of the total area of ancient occupation; the tell proper occupies the eastern two-thirds of the site and is 28 m. higher than the bench. The ancient name of the site not certain. Both Abel and Albright identify it with the biblical Zaphon (also mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters), but Glueck has more recently argued for an identification with Zarethan, mentioned in I Kings 7:46 as the locale for the casting of the bronze vessels for the temple of Solomon. The discovery of a number of bronze vessels this season lends some support to the identification that Glueck made on historical grounds alone.

The objective of the first season was exploratory and work was carried on in three representative areas:

- (1) the north west sector of the tell,
- (2) the north side of the tell in line with the spring beside the Wadi Kefranje, and
- (3) a sounding at the north side of the bench.

The number of laborers employed averaged 130 daily throughout the season.

Excavation at the NW of the Tell

At the north west of the tell 30 five-meter plots were opened (23-C/G-3/8) and excavated to a depth of approximately 1.50 m. The uppermost layer, Floor 1, had been almost completely eroded; only a few isolated brick walls and about 21 circular grain pits remained of this occupation, which could not have been much later than the 8th century B. C. The latest system of fortification at the site was a casemate wall of mud brick set on a foundation of rounded stones from the wadi. Much of the foundation remains on the north side of the tell and was traced this season for a distance of over a hundred meters. The exact relationship of this casemate wall to the occupation levels on the mound has not yet been determined because of the heavy erosion at the northwest of the tell where the excavations were made. However, it is fairly clear that the casemate wall must have been used only in the Iron II period of occupation.

The earlier layer of occupation, Floor 2, discovered this season was unusually well preserved thanks to a violent destruction. The floor was covered everywhere with a deposit of ash, charred roof beams and fragments of mud impressed with reeds that provided the support for the mud of the roof. It is possible that this destruction was that of Sheshonk, whose itinerary preserved on the pylon at Karnak seems to have included this area of the Ghor. This identification will have to wait further study of the pottery found on the floors of the houses. Floor 2 seems, however, to belong to the very earliest phases of Iron II and could be placed at the end of the 10th century, when Sheshonk made his famous raid on Palestine.

The city of Floor 2 seems to have been the result of definite city planning. A long street, paved with small stones, runs north and south. To the east of this street are three large houses of almost identical design. The roof of each was supported by columns and two of the houses had a second room to the east of the columned room. The most interesting of the houses was that in 23-D/E-5, which had obviously been used for some specialized purpose. Highly inflammable material stored in it at the time of the destruction burned the roof and the walls to a brick-red color. In one corner there were found 72 loom weights, some of them lying in a fairly straight line, as though they had been attached to a weaving beam. Between the four columns of the house were plastered bins. A tentative suggestion is that this was the site of a weaving industry.

To the west of the street there appeared a number of ovens for baking bread and for general cooking. These installations had been enclosed by walls but as yet it is not clear as to how much of the area was roofed. In addition to the loom weights there were recovered such objects of daily life as fibulae, cosmetic palettes, bowls, pilgrim flasks, cooking pots, figurines, spindle whirles, etc.

At the north of this area of the excavation a trial trench was cut to about 4 m. below the line of the outer shell of the casemate wall. In the trench there was found a sequence of Iron II, Iron I, and Late Bronze sherds, laid in layers along horizontal lines. The absence of any sloping tip lines in this area outside the latest city wall indicates that in the Iron I and Late Bronze periods the city wall lay outside the line of the casemate wall. Thus it is apparent that in the Iron II period of occupation the city was constructed to an area smaller than that of the earlier cities. At the bottom of the trial trench there were found Early Bronze Age sherds. Obviously in the Early Bronze Age the city occupied both the tell and the bench, where Early Bronze sherds lie everywhere on the surface. As yet there is no evidence for occupation anywhere on the site during the Middle Bronze Age. Nowhere have we penetrated to virgin soil; thus the history of occupation during the periods preceding the Early Bronze Age is unknown.

The Stairway

At the beginning of the season two fragments of walls running up the north slope of the tell were faintly visible from the surface. A sounding between the line of these two walls revealed a stairway built of wadi stones and a mud-brick wall between the two outer walls. During the season we were able to clear the walls from where the steps are preserved at the top down to the bottom where the stairway turns sharply eastward.

The stairway was built by first digging a trench in the side of the hill and then lining the sides of the cut with stones. The inner face of the walls of the stairway is finished off smoothly, while the outer face is rough, made of stones piled against the side of the cut which served to support the wall firmly from the outside. The 40 cm. mud-brick wall that runs down the middle of the stairway served as a support for the beams of the roof which once covered the tunnel.

The stairway is obviously a device for getting to the water of the spring from the city at times when the city gates were closed for protection against enemy attack. The strong indications that the stairway was roofed and hidden below the surface of the tell suggest that this measure for the civilian defense of the city was a secret construction. An enemy would not only have to find the line of this tunnel but would have to cut through its roof to destroy it.

There are 77 steps from the right-hand turn at the bottom until the place where the steps were washed away at the top. After the turn to the right at the bottom there are 8 steps that have been thus far uncovered. If one follows the line of the steps of the line of the casemate wall at the top, there would have been approximately 125 steps.

From the sherds found on the steps it is certain that by the early part of Iron II — possibly the end of the 9th century — the stairway had fallen into disuse. No sherds later than early Iron II appear in the debris taken from between the walls of the stairway. The latest sherds appearing in the firm debris through which the trench for the stairway was cut are those of the Iron I Age. It is thus likely that the tunnel was built some time in the Iron I period. There is evidence for reconstruction in the upper dozen steps. Possibly the kind of wash which finally destroyed the upper part of this stairway had earlier taken its toll of the same segment of the structure.

The reason for the right-hand turn at the bottom of the long segment of the stairs is the presence of an earlier road leading to the city gate at the west side of the tell. Remnants of the road remain just beyond the wall which borders the stairway.

Sounding on the Bench

In an attempt to make a sounding in the Early Bronze Age material on the bench we encountered the Late Bronze and Iron I cemetery. The most important tomb was one lined with mud brick, the burial of a woman of considerable importance, possibly a queen. The skeleton was extended, lying on its back, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. The inventory of burial goods included the following: five bronze vessels, a bronze tripod of Cypriot design, 4 ivory boxes, an ivory spoon with human head, 500 carnelian beads, 75 gold beads, two silver toggle pins, a silvery chain with two silver plates decorated with herringbone design attached, a bronze lamp, and five pottery jars. The tomb is closely dated to about 1200 B.C. by a locally made Cypriot Pyxis. The quality of the workmanship exhibited in the metal objects and the abundance of metal make this one of the richest tombs yet discovered in Jordan.

To the west of this tomb was another unique burial. Bronze was abundant, although not so well preserved. There were six bowls of bronze and a sword with handle, measuring 53 cms. in length. The bones of the man were encased in bitumen along with the sword.

Surrounding these two major burials were ten other burials of people obviously of less importance. All the tombs had been cut in debris of the Early Bronze Age. The most distinctive feature of this cemetery is the widespread use of bronze in cauldrons and bowls for burial goods. It is reasonable to suppose that metal was abundant here in the Iron I Age and that local craftsmen had developed a high skill in working gold, silver and bronze.

JAMES B. PRITEHARD

Iron Age Tombs from Irbid

In 1958 — 9, the Department of Antiquities has excavated a number of tombs at the ancient tell of Irbid most of them were found in the Palestinian Refugee Camp and one in El-Rasafi Street. They are numbered A,B,C,D, and E. Here is a publication of tomb D, while the others are not yet published. The importance of these tombs is for the continuation of culture in East Jordan between the Bronze periods & the Early Iron Ages. Some of them were reused as burials in the Roman Periods such as Tomb (B).

(Notes and Parallel)

Pl. XXXVIII (1) Carinated bowl, ring, base, wheel made. m. fired, unburnished, is parallel to JAM Nos. 8955 and 8959 Jabal el Qalah excavation 1958 (unpublished) dated LBII.

Pl. XXXVIII (2) Bowl. m. size, unburnished, grey slip, coarse surface, ring base, parallel to Qweilbeh pottery discovered 1959 (unpublished) dated LBII JAM. No. 8831.

Pl. XXXVIII (3) Bowl m. size unburnished, grey slip, coarse surface, parallel to object No. JAM 8960 of Jabal Qala'h excavation 1958 (unpublished) dated L. Bronze II.

Pl. XXXVIII (4) Bowl m. size, unburnished, grey slip, coarse surface, is parallel to No. 8855 of Qweilbeh excavation 1959 (unpublished).

Pl. XXXVIII (5) Bowl m. size, unburnished, grey slip coarse surface, ring base. Parallel to No. 8832 of Qweilbeh excavation (unpublished) 1959.

Pl. XXXVIII (6) Bowl, m. size, flat cut base, coarse surface, grey slip, unburnished, parallel to M II. pl. 65.16 Stratum VII B and VII A. and MII. pl. 74.1 Stratum VII B-VI, M. tomb 63 (B) Pl. 60.33 LBII M. Tomb 29. Pl. 68. El-1.

Pl. XXXVIII (7) Bowl burnt umber parallel to M. tomb 39. Pl. 68.14 (EI-I).

Pl. XXXVIII (8 & 9) Bilbils, Cyporite made, imported, dark grey slip, one handle, long narrow neck. Parallel L. II. Pl. LI (B) 279. Ours is not decorated. (LBII).

Pl. XXXVIII (10) Jug, one handle, long neck, ring base and wet smoothed. Lime grits, two holes on the side. The nearest parallel TNI. Pl. 31.5. Tomb 32-3 dated EI (10th Cent. B.C.) ours is probably earlier in date.

Pl. XXXVIII and XL (11) Jug, One handle, long neck, ring base, everted rim light red slip, wet smoothed, the nearest possible parallel MII. Pl. 75.12 Stratum VI (A) The neck in ours is narrower and the handle is different. Dothan 1962 (unpublished dated LB-EI-I) Dothan example is very near to ours.

Pl. XXXVIII and XL (12) Jug in swan type. (TNI. Tombs 32. 5. P. 98) similar vessels were found at Megiddo in Str. V (III). They are very similar to vessels found in Cyprus in Bichrome ware (CVA 3:2 Great Britain II dated EI-I). (Phoenicia & the Phoenician by D. Baramki) Plate 10. 1. in the upper row, dated EI-I round base, wet smoothed.

Pl. XXXVIII (14 & 15) Kraters, two handles, ring base, undecorated, everted rims. Parallel Qweilbeh LB II objects Nos. 8841, 8864, 8831 of excavations, 1959 (unpublished).

Pl. XXXVIII (16) Large Jug, one handle, pinched mouth, round base, wet smoothed, coarse surface, m. fired, parallel MII. Pl. 81. 14 Stratum VI with a little difference in details, the mouth in ours is pinched and the base is more pointed which gives an earlier dated probably the end of 13th Cent. (L. 13th — E. 12th. B. C.). The body in ours is more bulbous. M. Tomb 73. Pl. 28 (LBII). The example in MT. 73 is close similar to ours.

Pl. XXXIX (17) & (18) Dippers, one handle, round base, pinched mouth, Wet smoothed, m. fired, Parallel to Jabal Qala'h Tombs 1959. (unpublished) JAM. Nos. 8893, 8841, 8840 MII. Pl. 81. I. Stratum VII-VI (A) (Transitional Period) LB — EI-I.

Pl. XXXVIII (19, 20, 21) lamps, of round base, pinched rims & smoked nozzles. Parallel Qweilbeh Tombs 1959 (unpublished) JAM. Nos. 8828, 8830. LBII-EI - I.

Pl. XXXIX (22) Chalice or funnels, L. red slip, lime grits, broken base. Wheel made, m. fired. Parallel TNI. Pl. 79, 10 Stratum VI (A). Deir Alla (Unpublished) No. 133. EI-I.

Pl. XXXIX (23) Lime stone disc perforated. Probably used as a stand for a pot or part of a flour mill? Parallel MII. Pl. 172. 35 Stratum VI (B) (bottom flat, top convex-concave) dated probably 1150-1100 B.C.

Pl. XL (24 & 25) Knives blades. Parallel Madeba Tombs (PEFA, VI, 1953). Pl. IV. 162, 193. MII. Pl. 56 Stratum VI. (Transitional Periods) LBII — EI-I.

Pl. XL (26) Rim of a bowl, everted, slightly carinated, Lime grits m. fired. L. red slipped. Parallel to Qweilbeh Tombs 1959. (Unpublished) JAM. No. 8894, MII. Pl. 69. 2 Krater Stratum VII (A) LBII.

Pl. XL (27) Rim of a bowl with straight everted rim parallel Hazor I. Pl. CXXVIII. 3.

Pl. XL (28) Jug (incomplete) Rim, neck, handle ring base, parallel MII Pl. 51. 1. Stratum IX. MII. Pl. 58. 19 Stratum VIII (LBI — LBII).

Pl. XXXVIII (29) Copper ring, broken 3 parts.

Pl. XXXVIII (30) Amulet bead. Two holes, greyish stone, parallel Madeba Tomb Pl. IV. 160 & 161 quite typical of Iron I and II and good indication of Iron I. 30 (A) small bead, round type white colour, 30 (B) small copper beads.

Oblong stone pendants seem to have been popular during the Iron Age rather than before (Cf. Bp. I, Pl. 37. for tomb 222, Tell Fara).

Pl. XXXVIII (31) Upper part of a peak of a bird.

Pl. XL (32) Two parts of a dipper, L. red colour, lime grits, red slip, burnished, buff ware. Parallel TN I Pl. 40. 770 Ed-Dheiriya tomb (QDAP. 4. Pl. 61. Fig. I top No. I.) ca. 1000 B. C. Probably 9th Cent. B. C. Grant & Wright Megiddo Str. V. M. I. Pl. 5. 141, 47:141 1060-1000 B.C. Albright a. 1050-950 B.C. (AJA 44:548).

TBM. (ASS:12:67. Pl. 27:14 ca. 950-920).

Conclusion

This is the fourth tomb excavated by the Department of Antiquities (Jordan) in Irbid. The Burial in this tomb extends from the late Bronze II to the starting of the Early Iron Age. Half of the objects are typical of LB periods, while the rest are a development of the earlier types, the use of which continued till the Early Iron Age. Some types in this tomb are new and locally made such as Nos. 10, 11, 12,, 13 and 14 have similarities with objects from strata VII-VI at Megiddo (Transitional Period) probably dated 1350-1100 B.C.

Also Nos. 16, 17, 18 are good parallels to objects from these strata.

Lamps 19, 20, 21. This type continued to be used since LBII till the end of EI — I.

The knife blades Nos. 24, 24 are typical to Madeba tomb (PEFA, VI 1953) dated 1250-1150 B.C. and similar to types at Megiddo stratum VI dated 1150-1100 B.C.

The Amulet bead No. 30 is good for dating. This dark green amulet bead is typical of Early Iron Age. Elaborate faience amulets were used during the XVIII dynasty and are absent in Early Iron Ages.

The discovery of this tomb is very important from the cultural and historical point of view. It indicates that the culture in Gilead had no break in the late Bronze Age till the Early Iron Ages. The discovery of other LB. tombs in Amman; Amman temple tomb (Harding, PEFQ, 90, 1958. P. 10 -12 and BA. XVIII, 1955. 80) and the LB tomb discovered by the writer at Jabal Nuzha NW. of the citadel of Amman, in 1961, is another proof of the continuation of culture with no break in Ammon from the MBII - Early Iron Ages, and that of Madeba tomb ((PEFA, VI, 1953) is another proof of the continuation of culture in Moab with no break from the MBII period up to the end of EI I — I — II. The last Tomb of this transithional Period came from Appela excavated by the D.A.J. in 1963.

Dating

On the basis of the new types appeared in this tomb and the typical vessels LBII and the other objects typical of the Iron Age, a date probably starts from 1350-1100 B.C. may coincid with the burial of this Tomb.

RAFIQ WAFI DAJANI

ERRATA

We apologize to the reader for unintentional press errors in this volume. The following is a list of the misspelt words :

Page	Line	Misspelt word	Correction
11	20	hoeroglyphic	hieroglyphic
12	13	streight	straight
15	23	adherants	adherents
16	10	witth	with
26	2	estabilshing	establishing
26	9	thrench	trench
29	1	Wsrđ	Ward
35	29	undiffernciated	Undifferentiated
40	6	ondulated	undulated
60	17	productoin	production
61	25	shouledrs	shoulders
61	33	mentinoed	mentioned
62	26	Palsetine	Palestine
75	1	petra	Petra
77	20	nothr	north
78	39	connectoin	connection
84	28	kanown	known
86	23	shoudlers	shoulders
91	33	abut	about
92	10	Music	Musil
93	26	excavated	excavated
99	7	Notees	Notes
99	16	gery	grey
99	30	cyprus	Cyprus
100	5	pointded	pointed
100	5	eariler	earlier
100	9	Parallel	parallel
100	30	pendents	pendants
101	22	Transithional	Transitional
101	25	coincid	coincide



Inscribed Stele from Balu'a
Jordan Archeological Museum, 'Amman

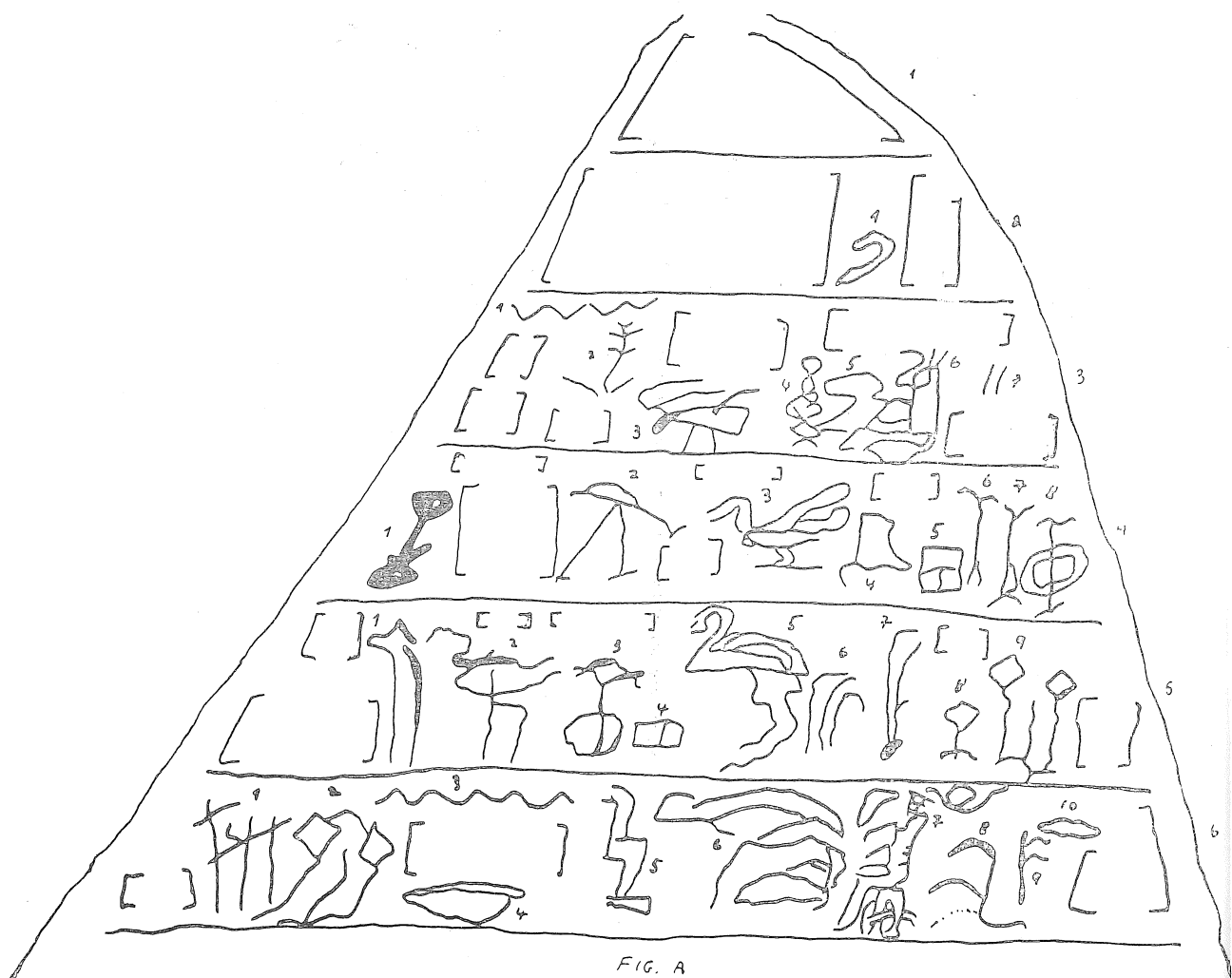


FIG. A

Figure A



Figure B

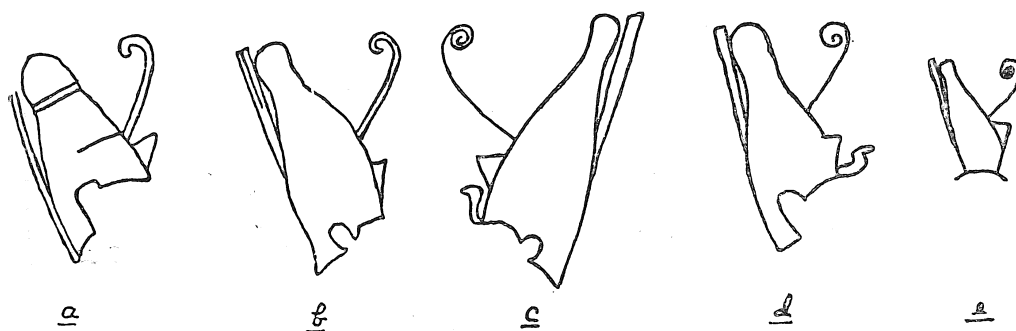


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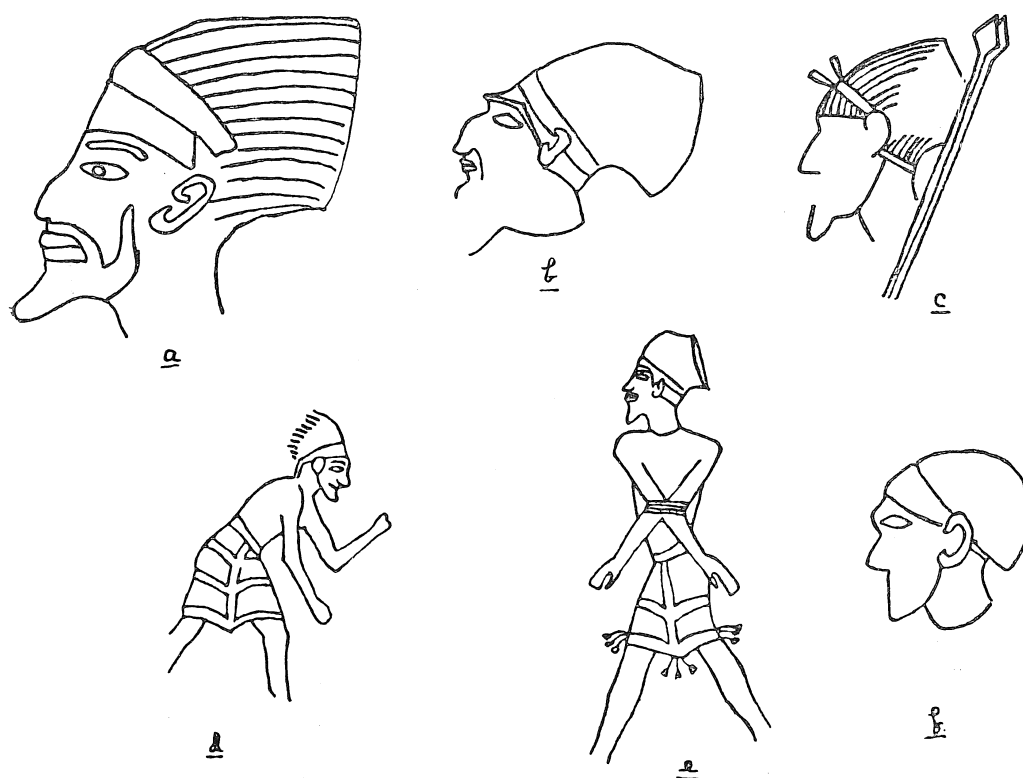


Fig 2

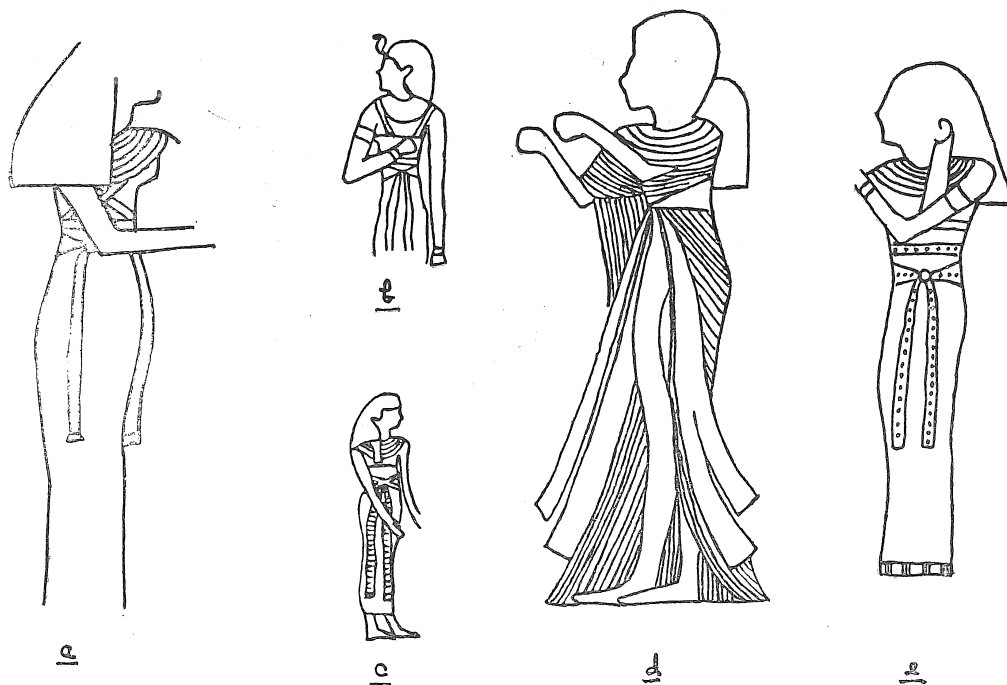


Fig. 3

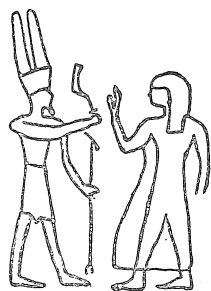


Fig. 4

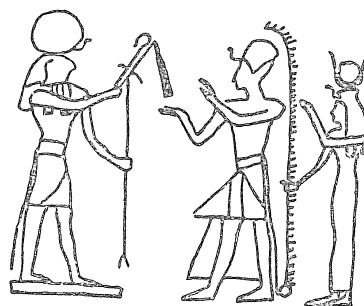
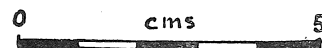
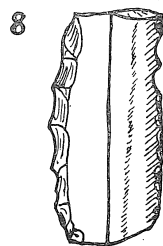
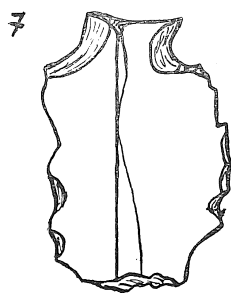
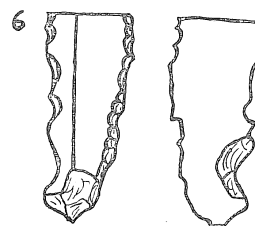
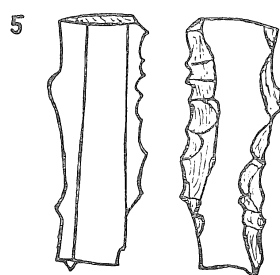
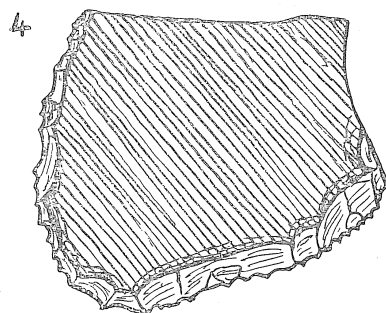
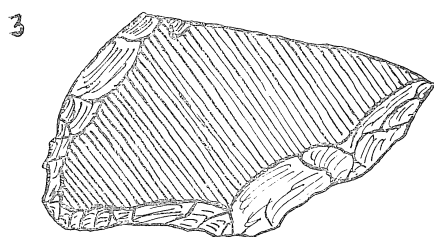
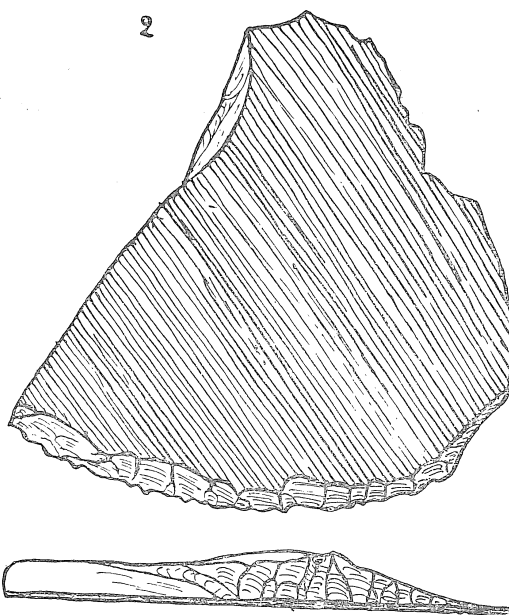
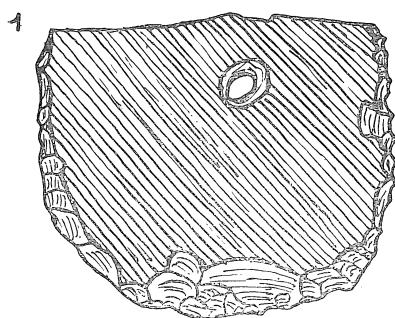
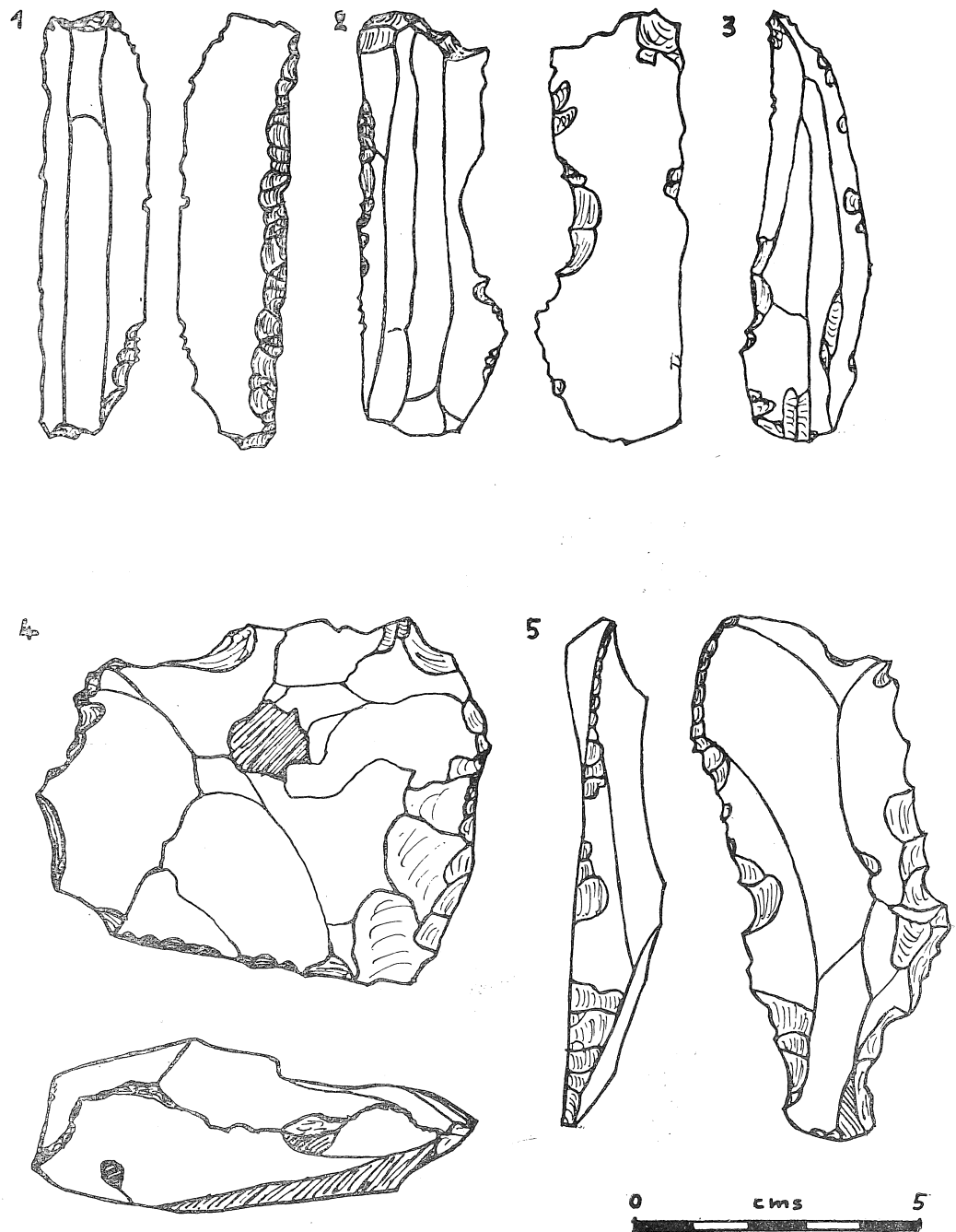
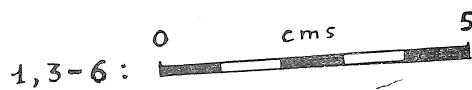
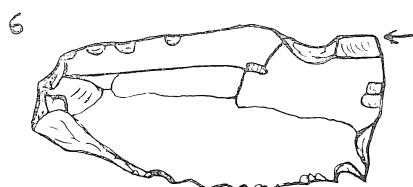
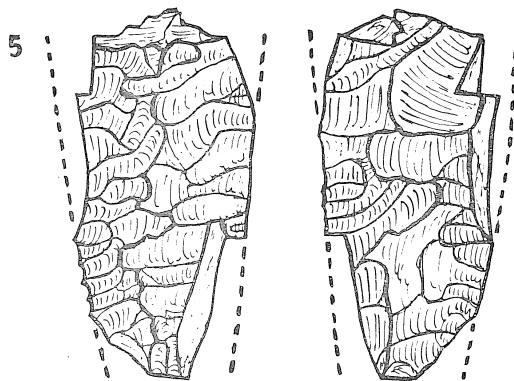
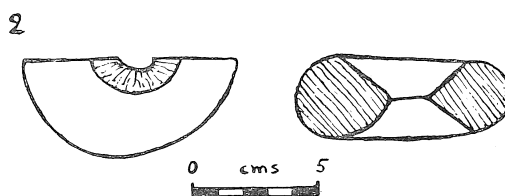
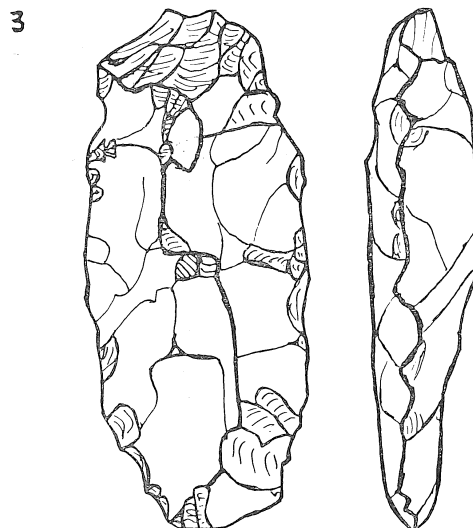
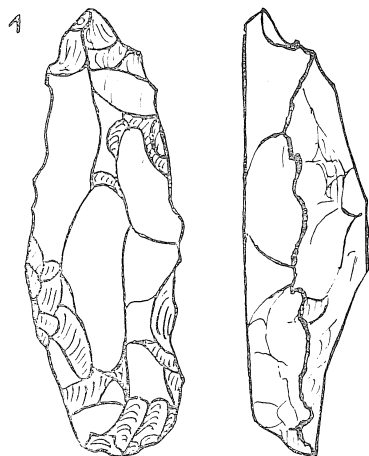
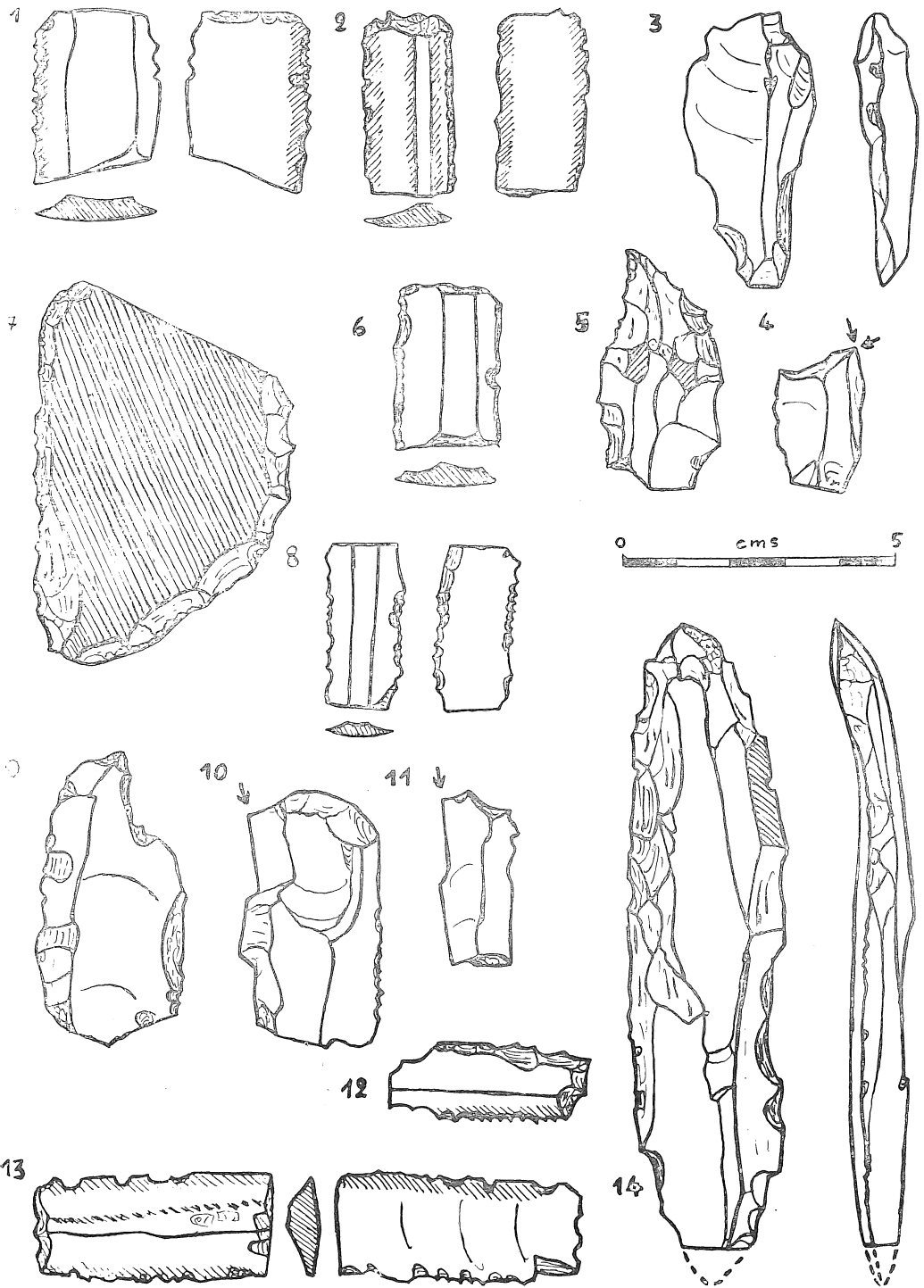


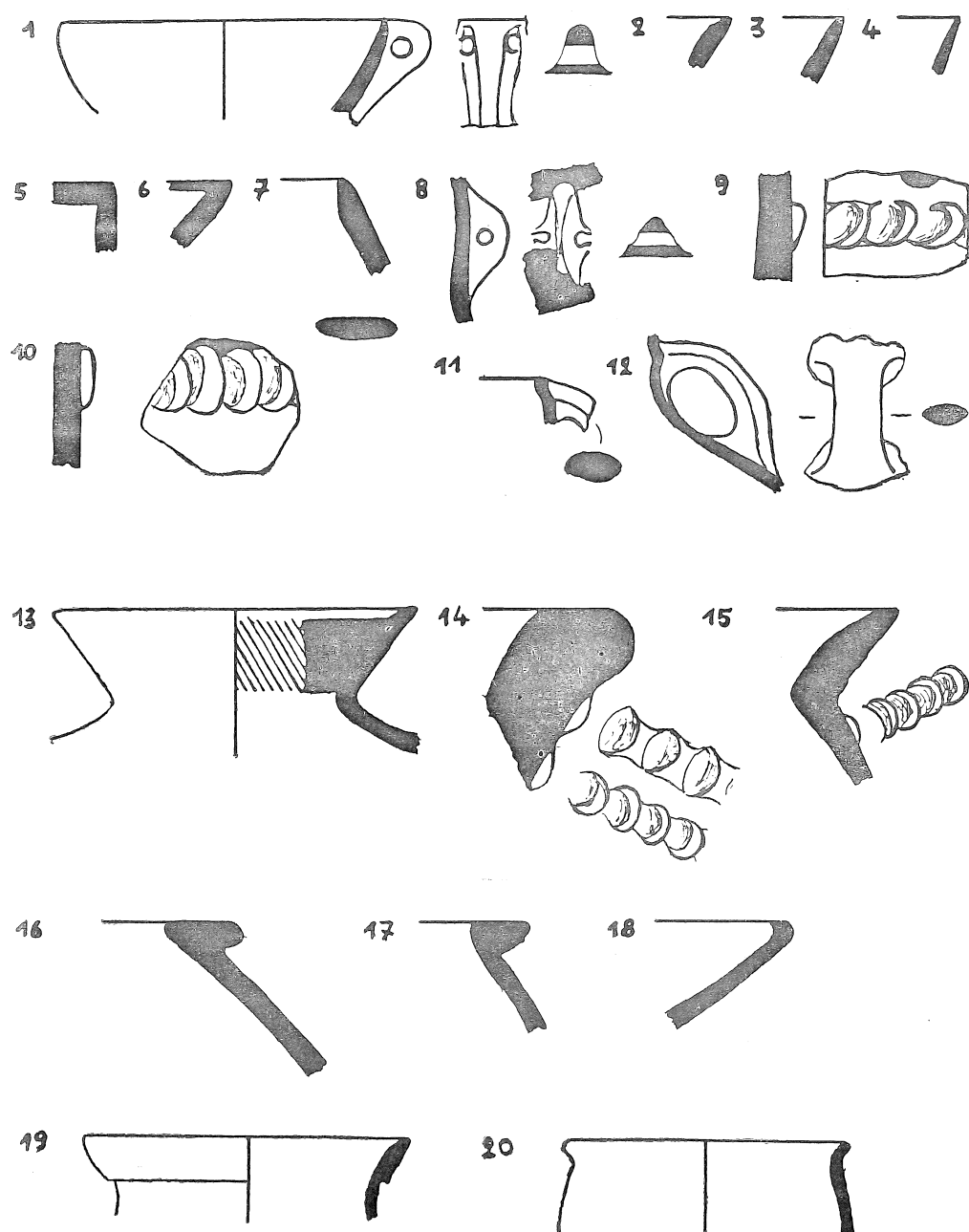
Fig. 5











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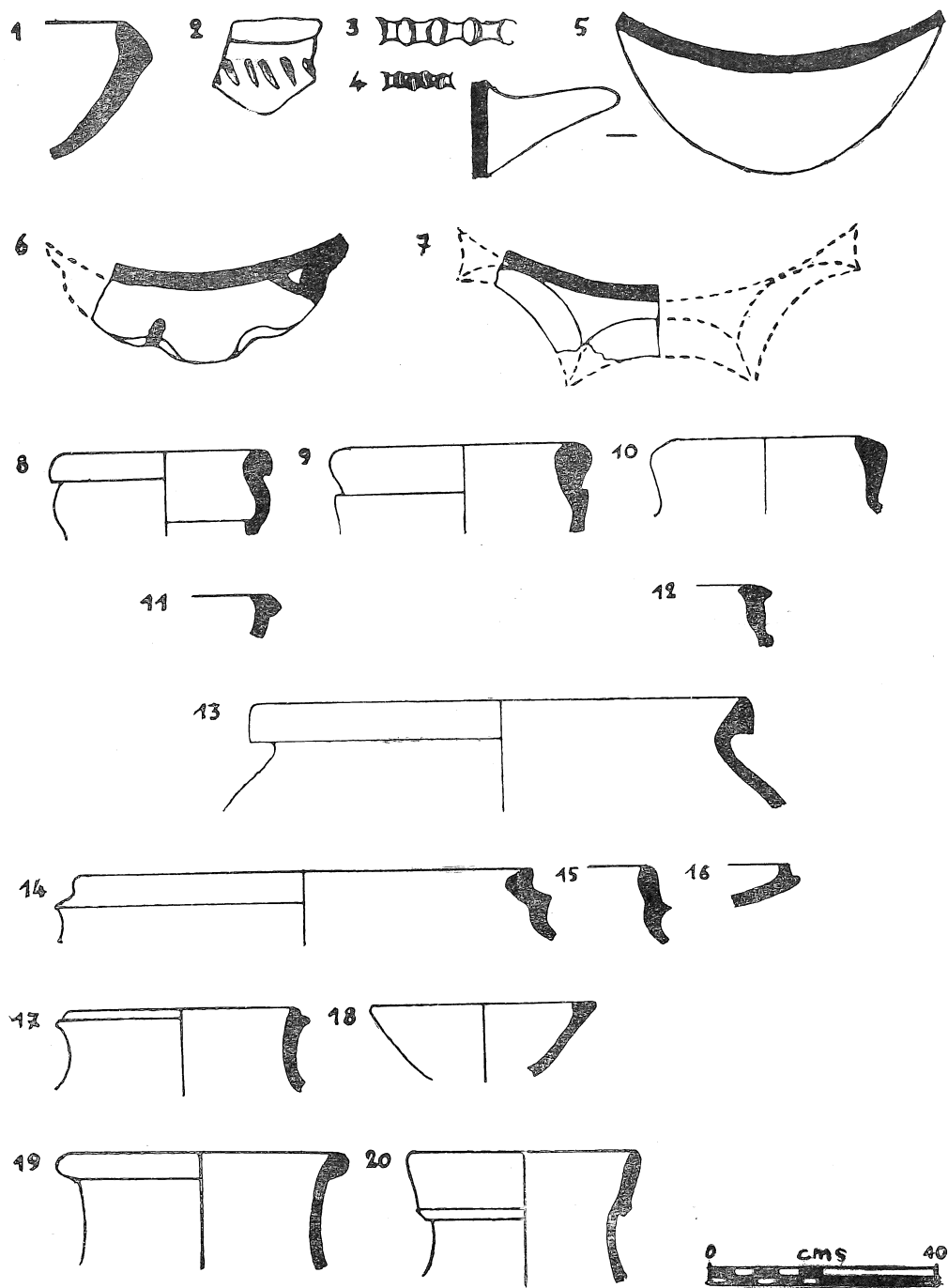
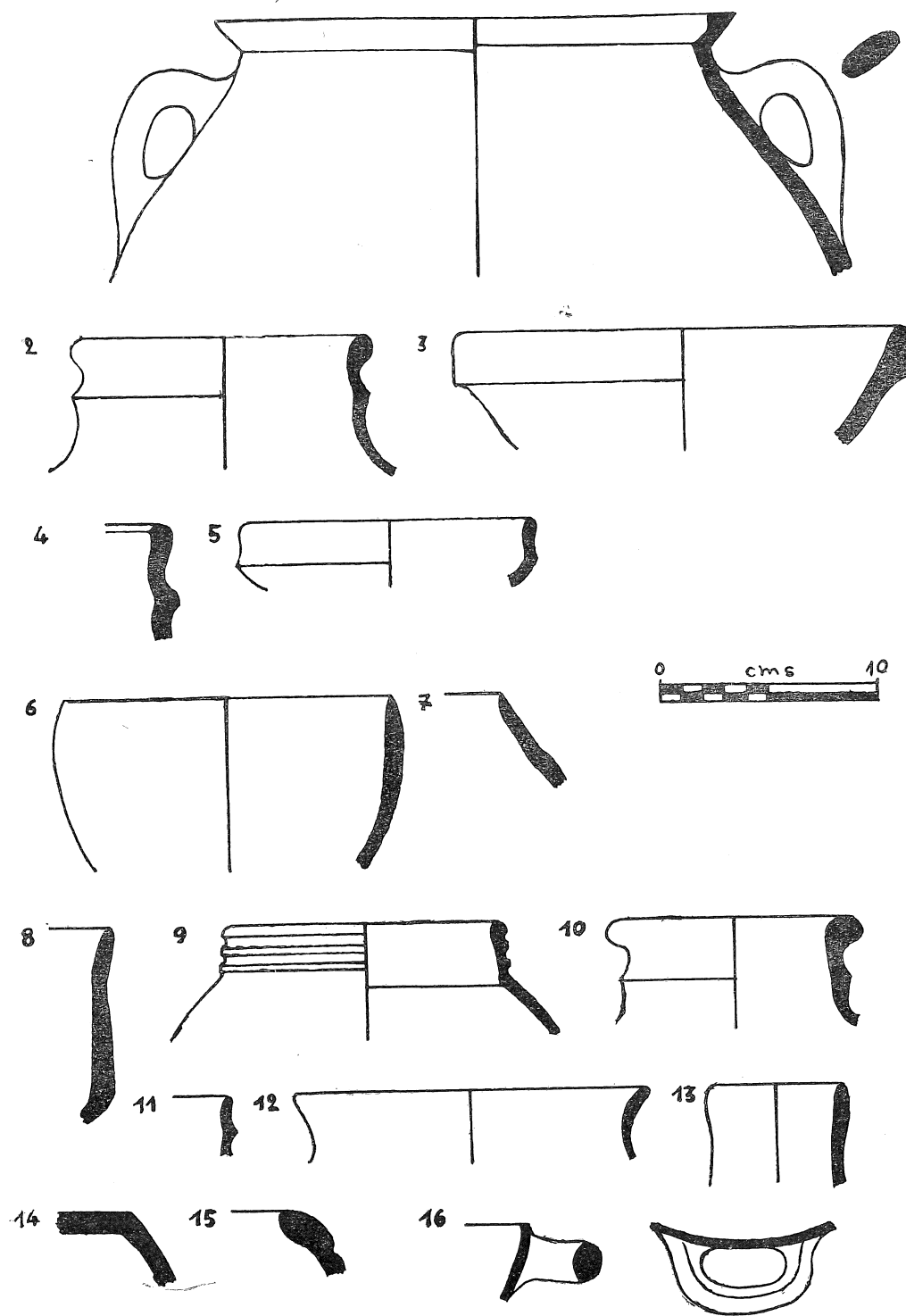


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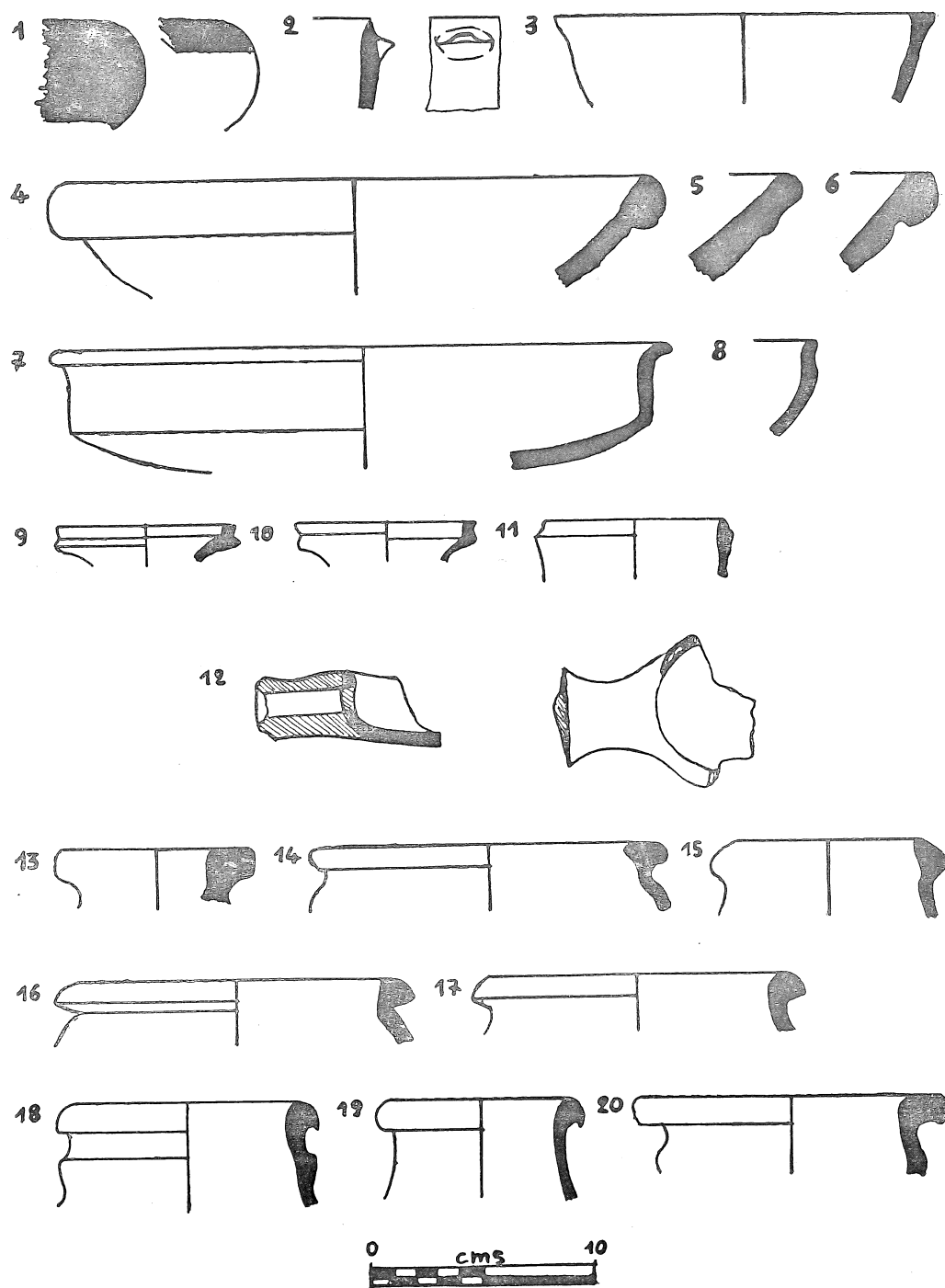
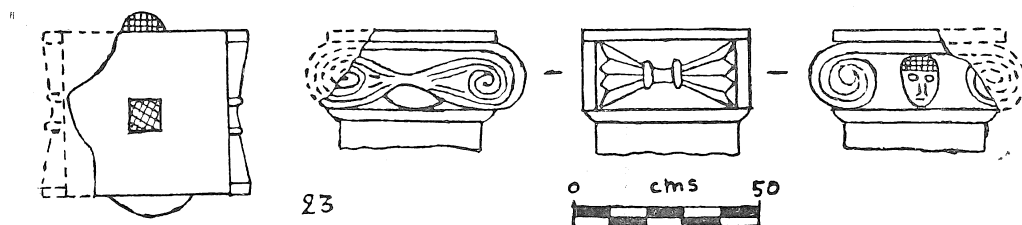
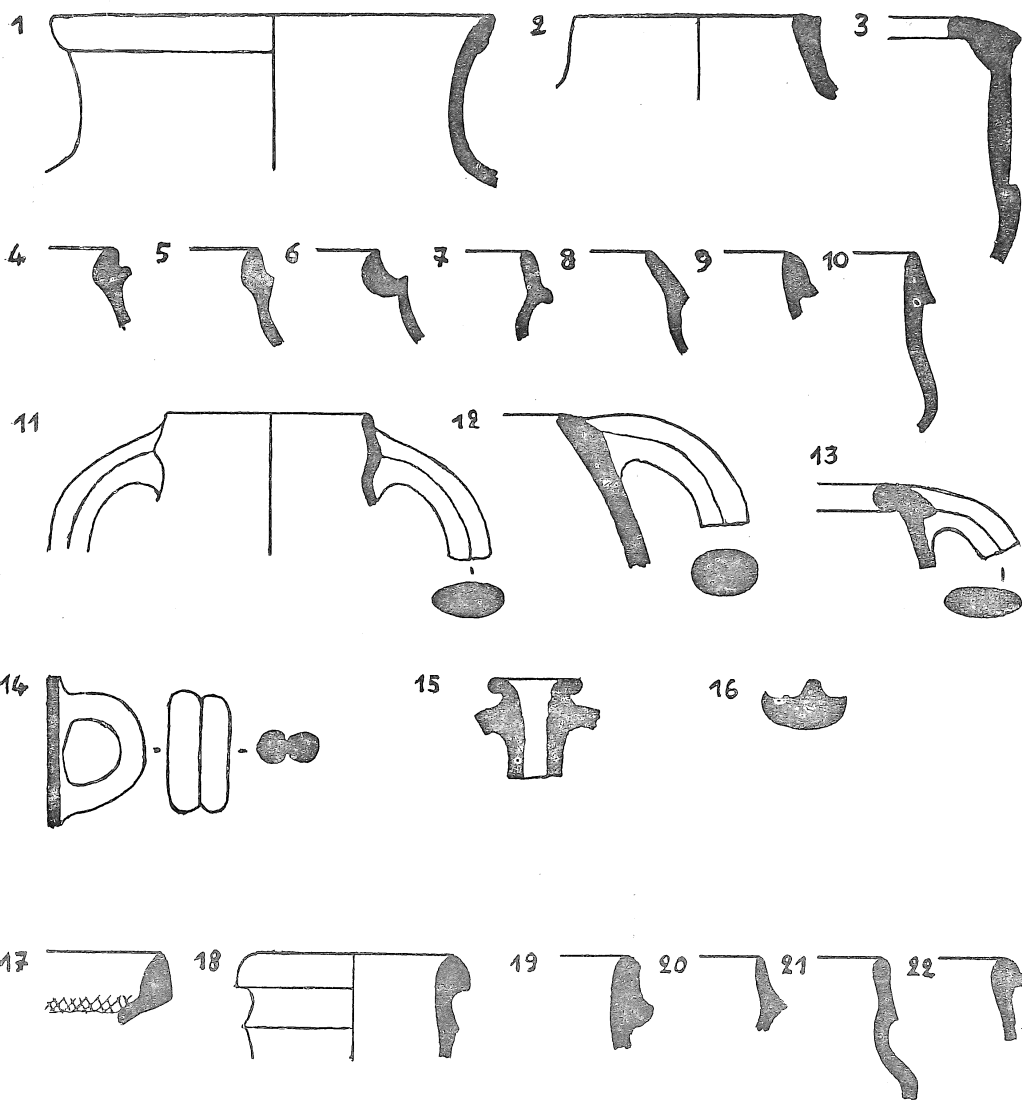


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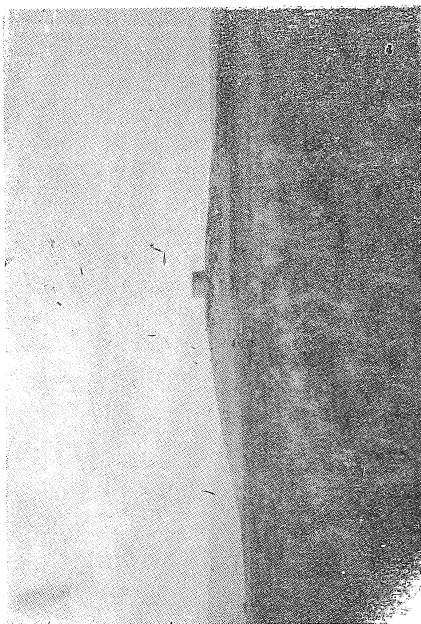


Fig. 2



Fig. 4



Fig. 1

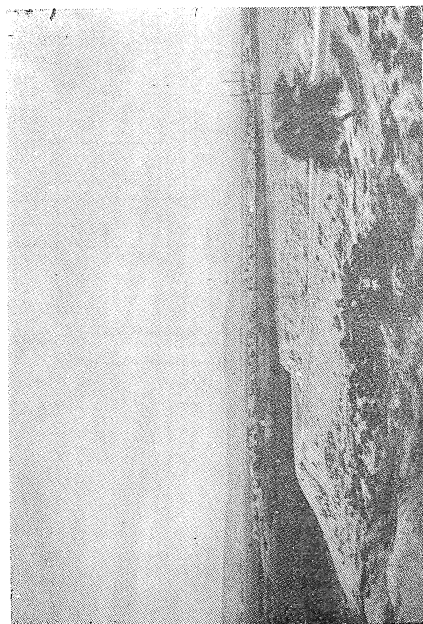


Fig. 3



Fig. 1

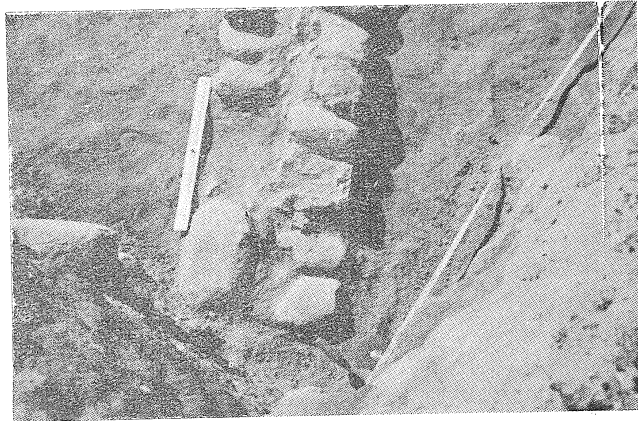


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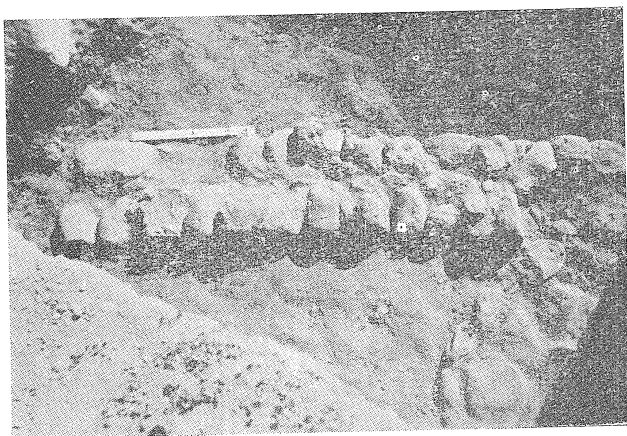


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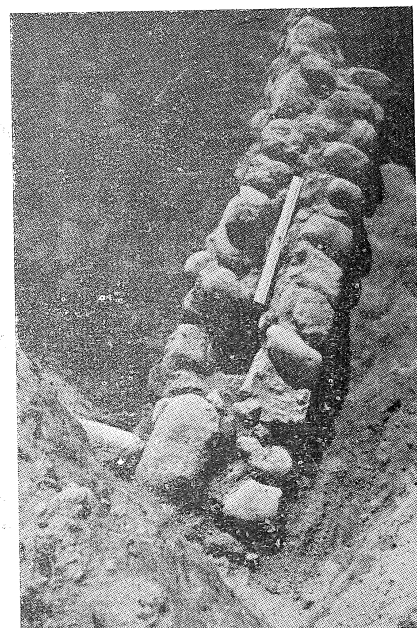


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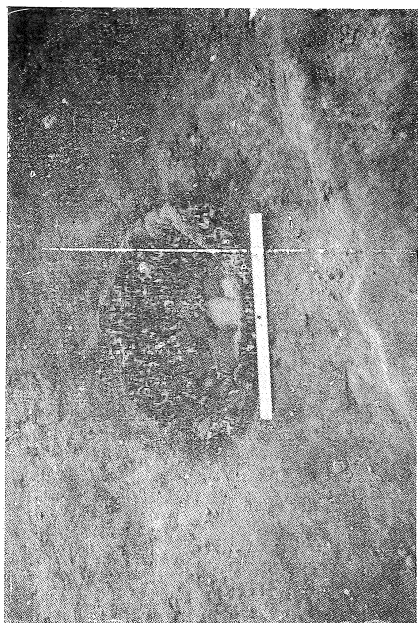


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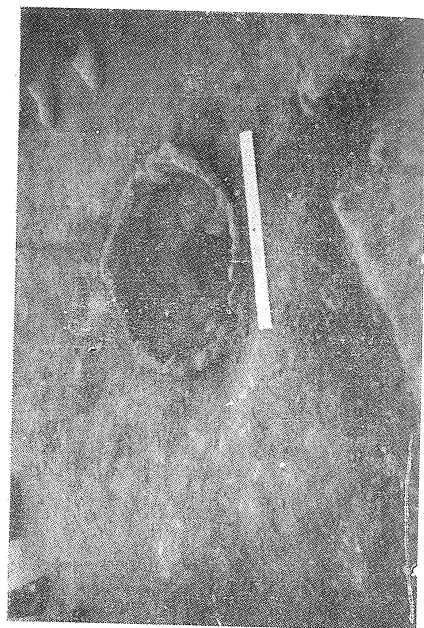


Fig. 4



Fig. 1

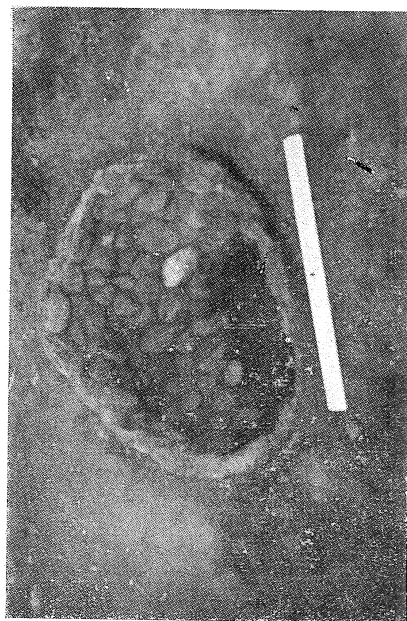


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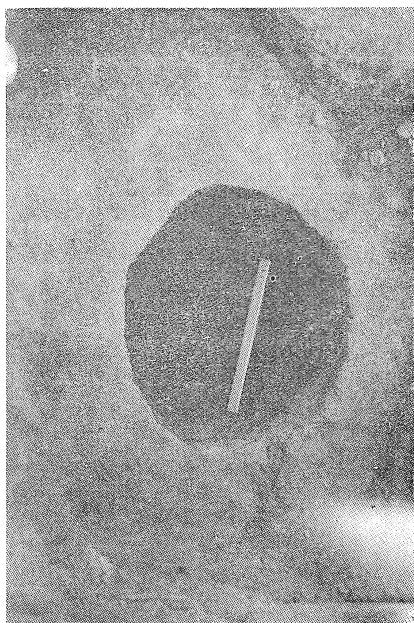


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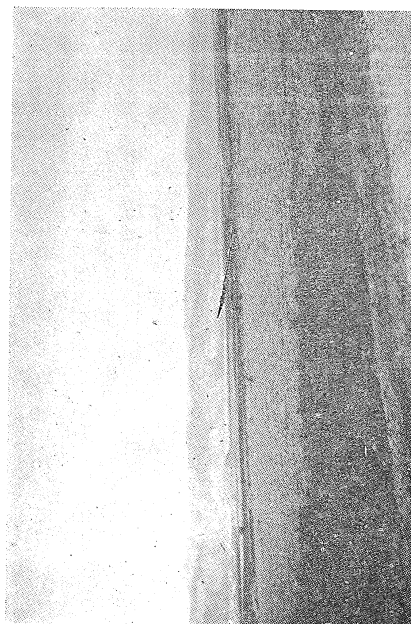


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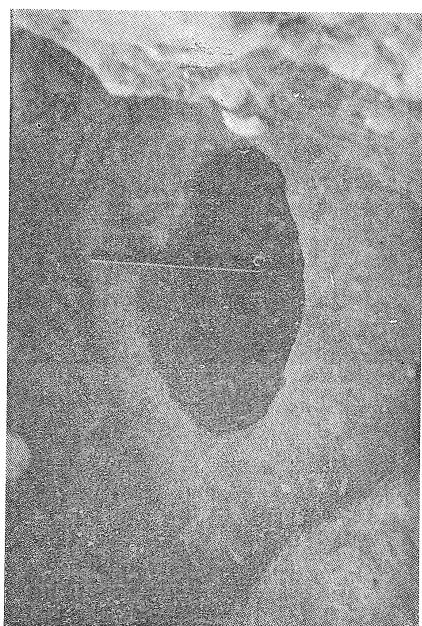


Fig. 1



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

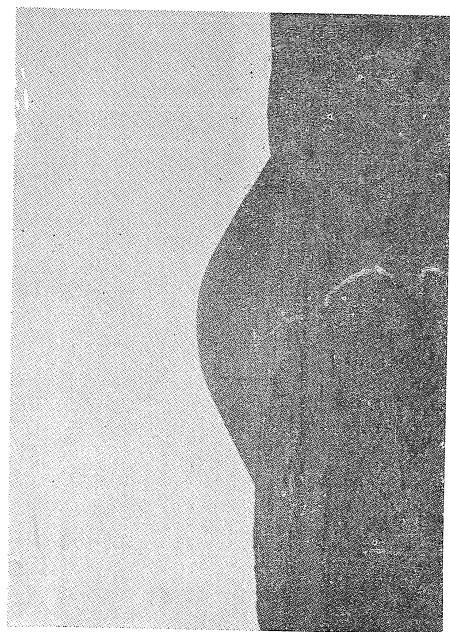
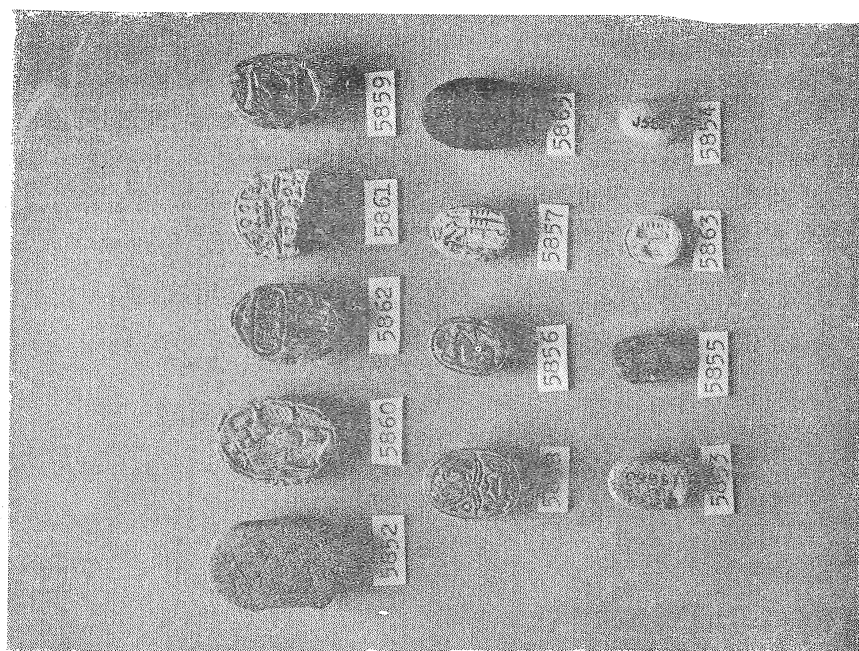
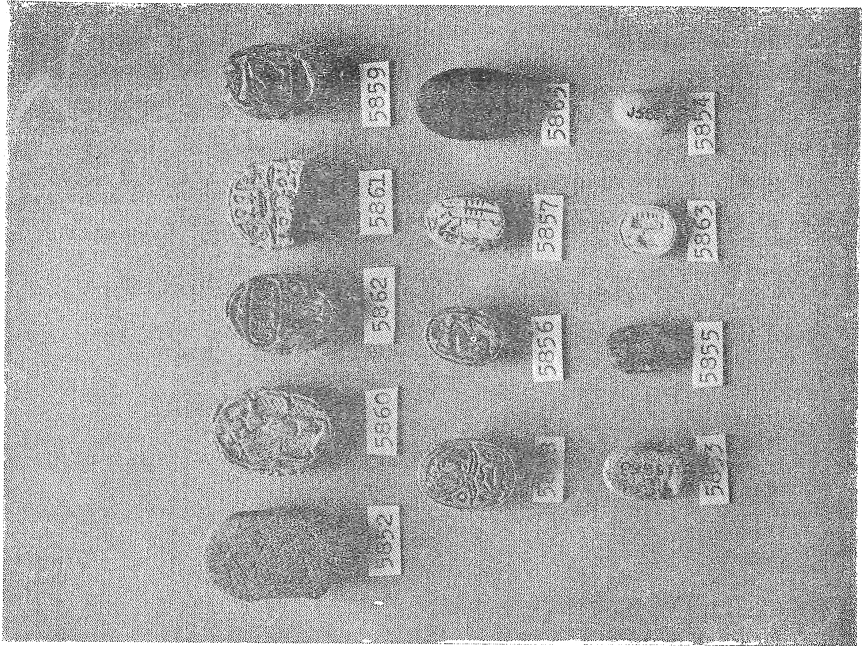


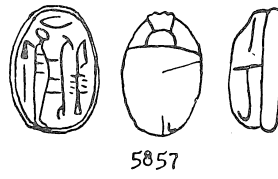
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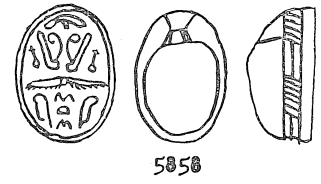




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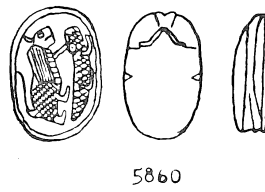
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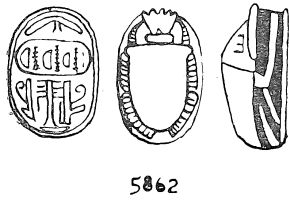
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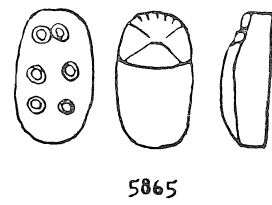
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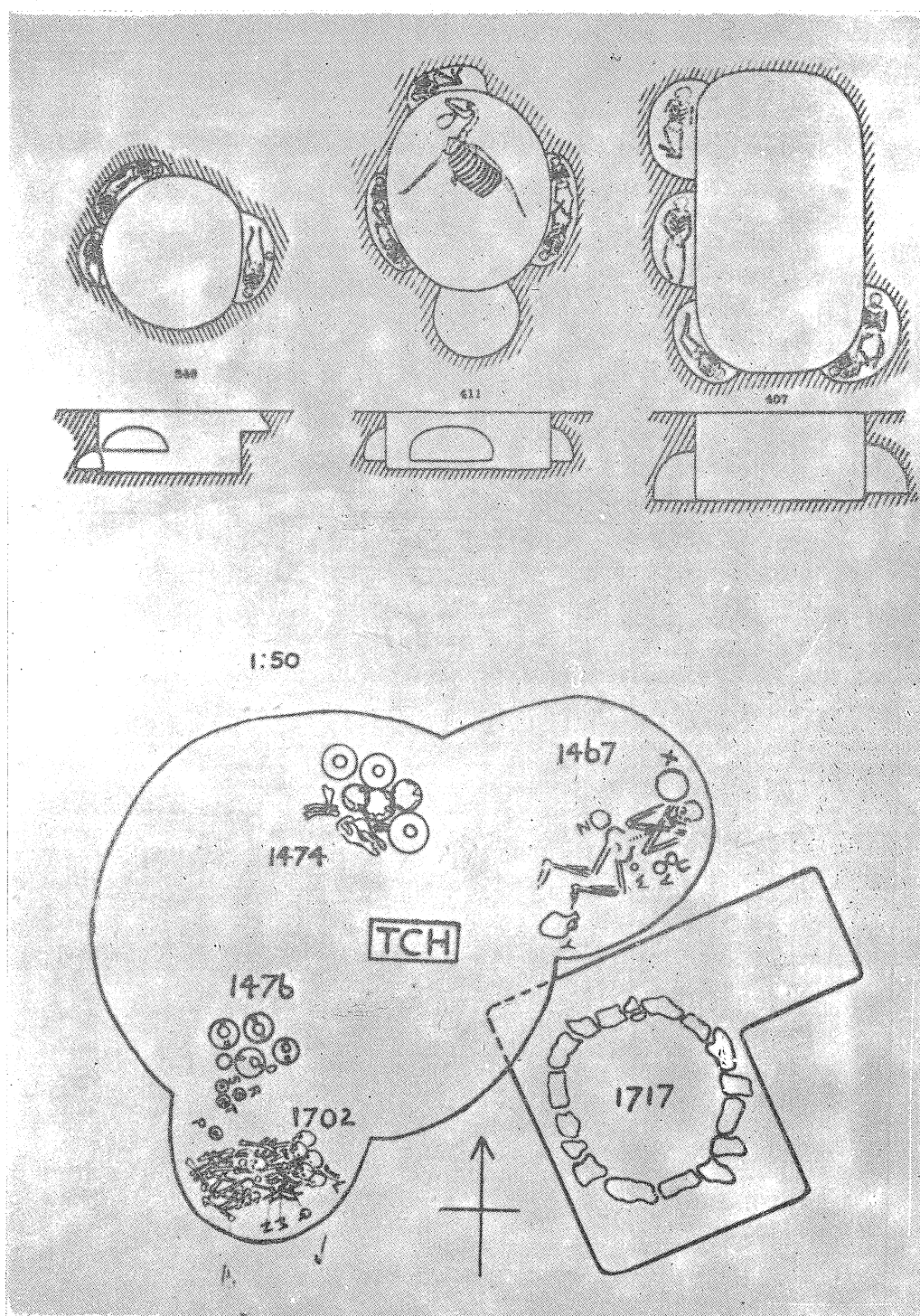
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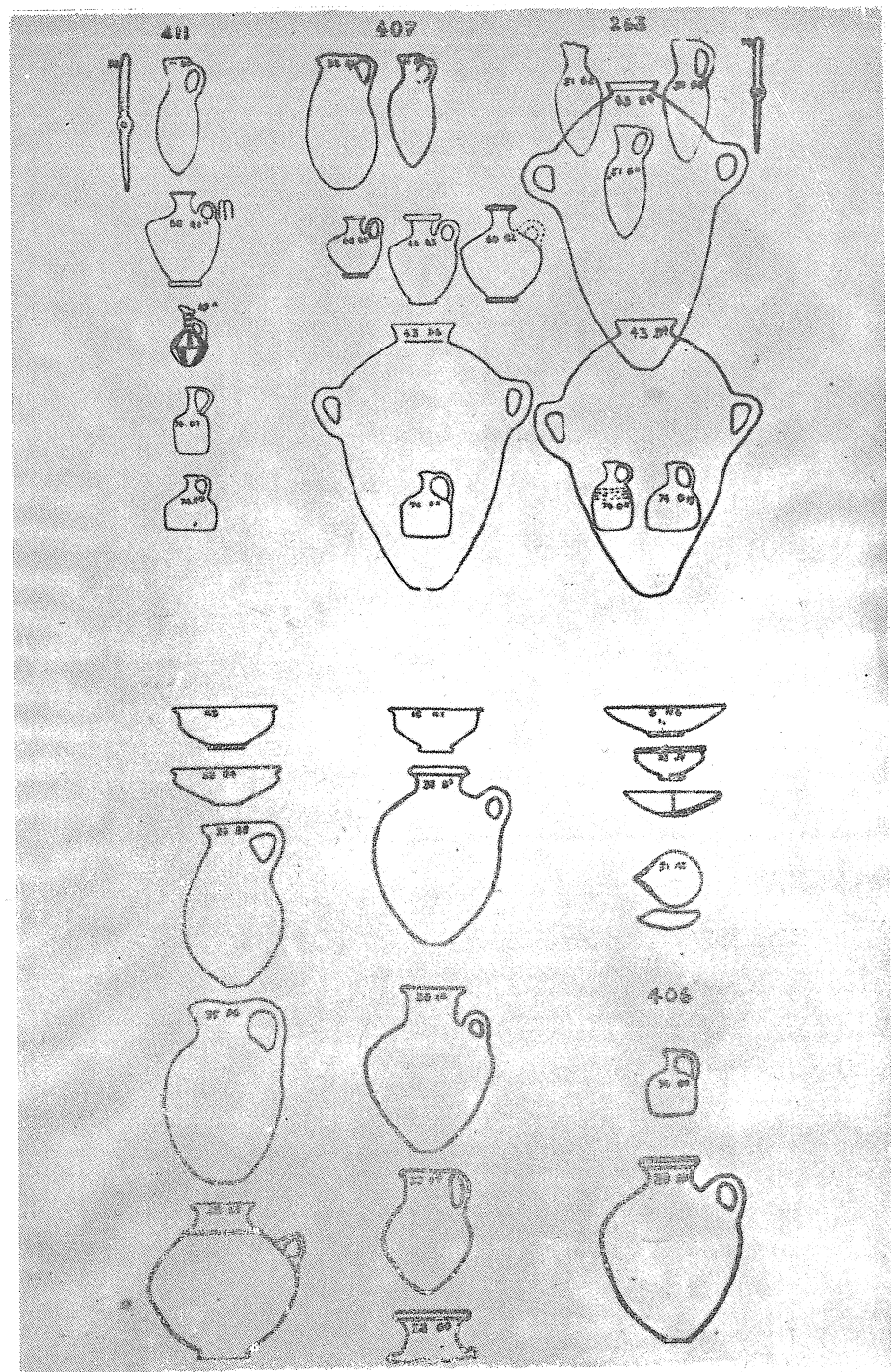


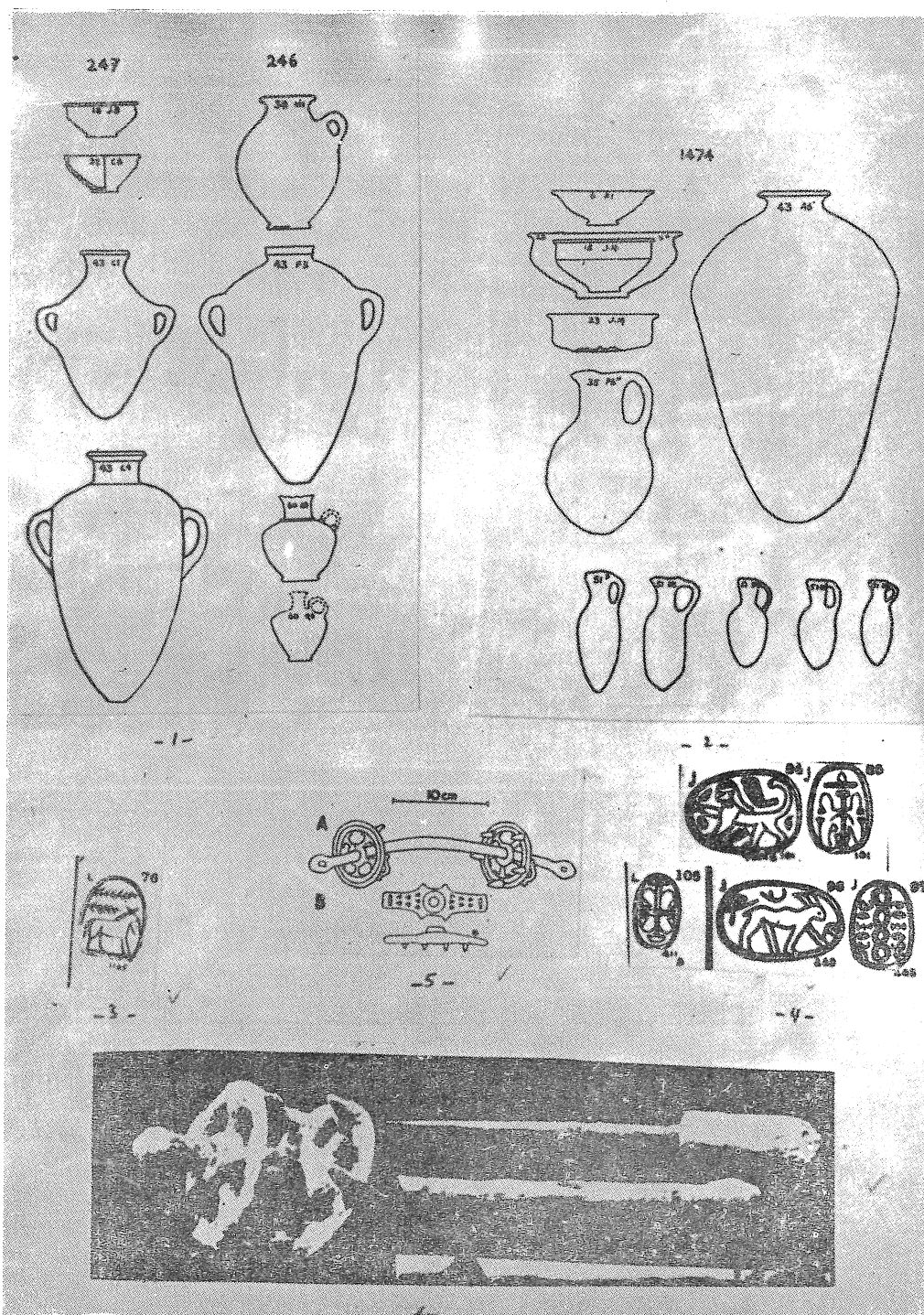
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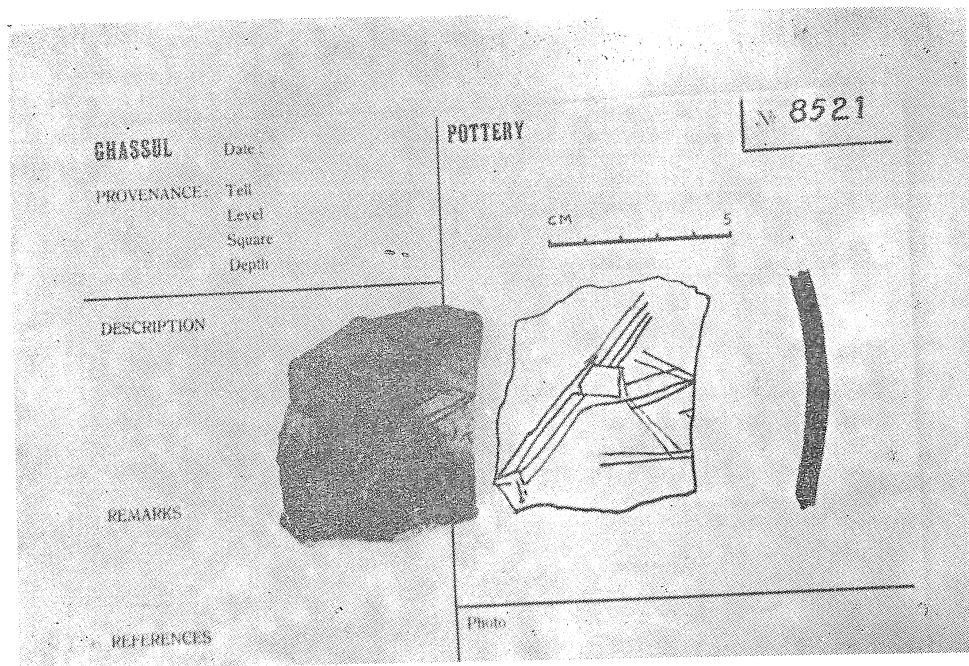


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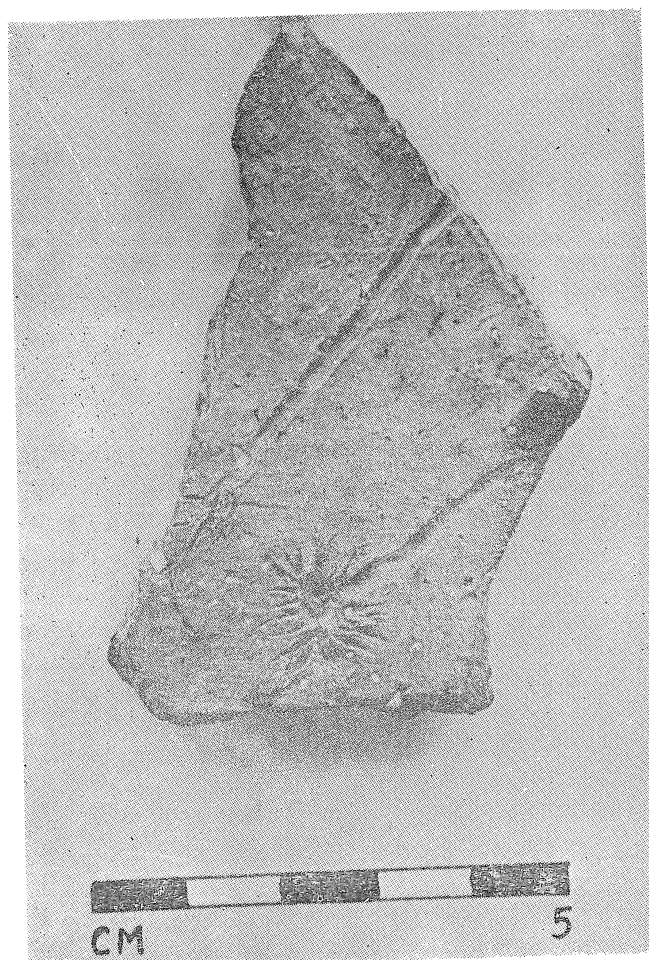


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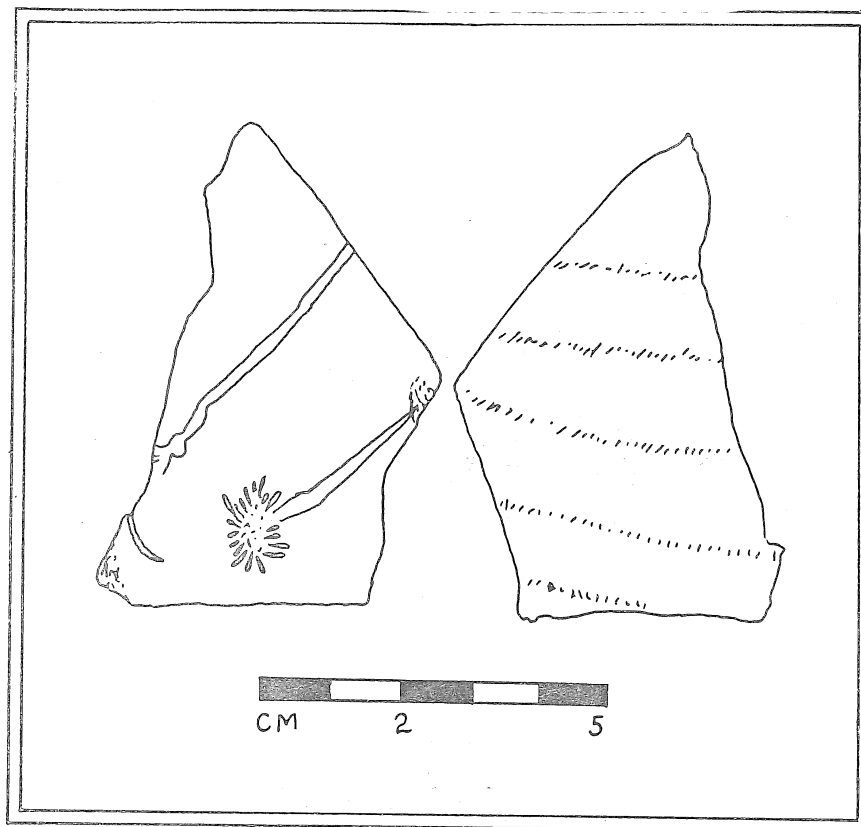


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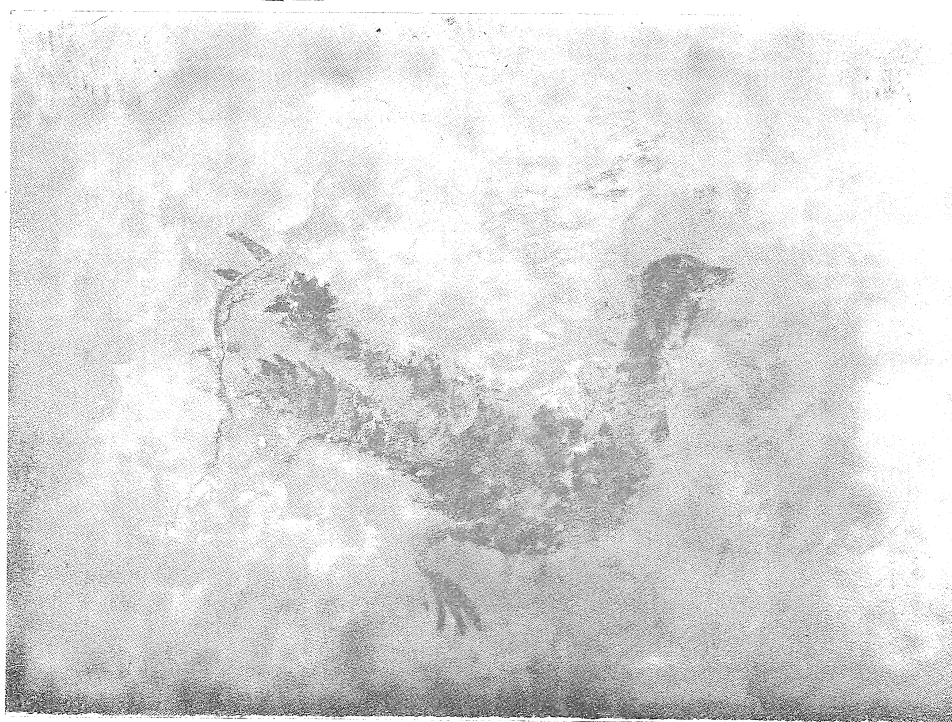


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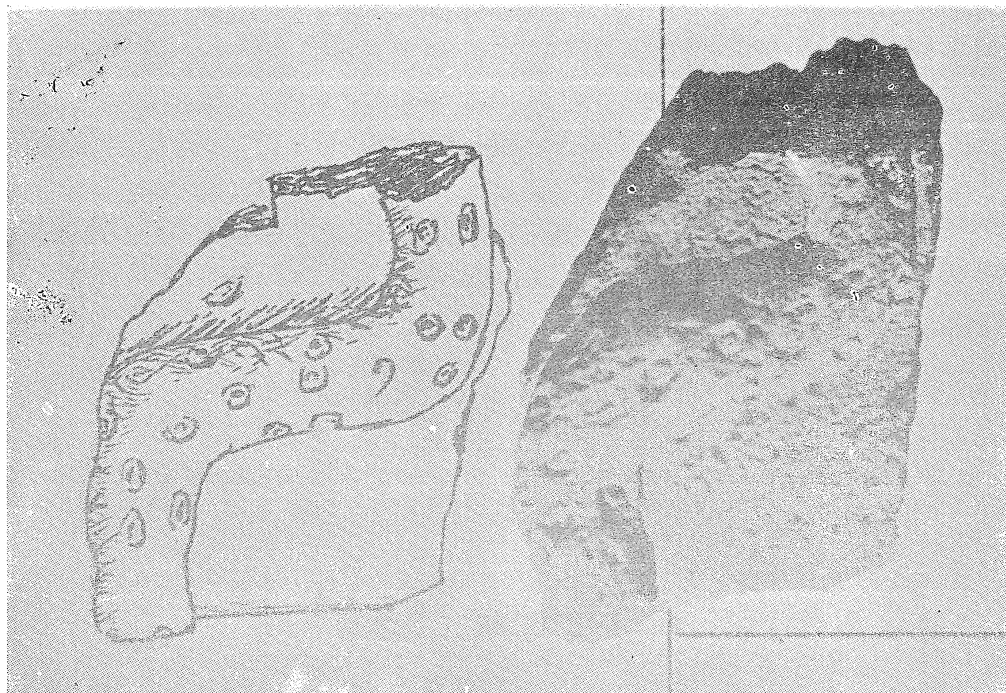


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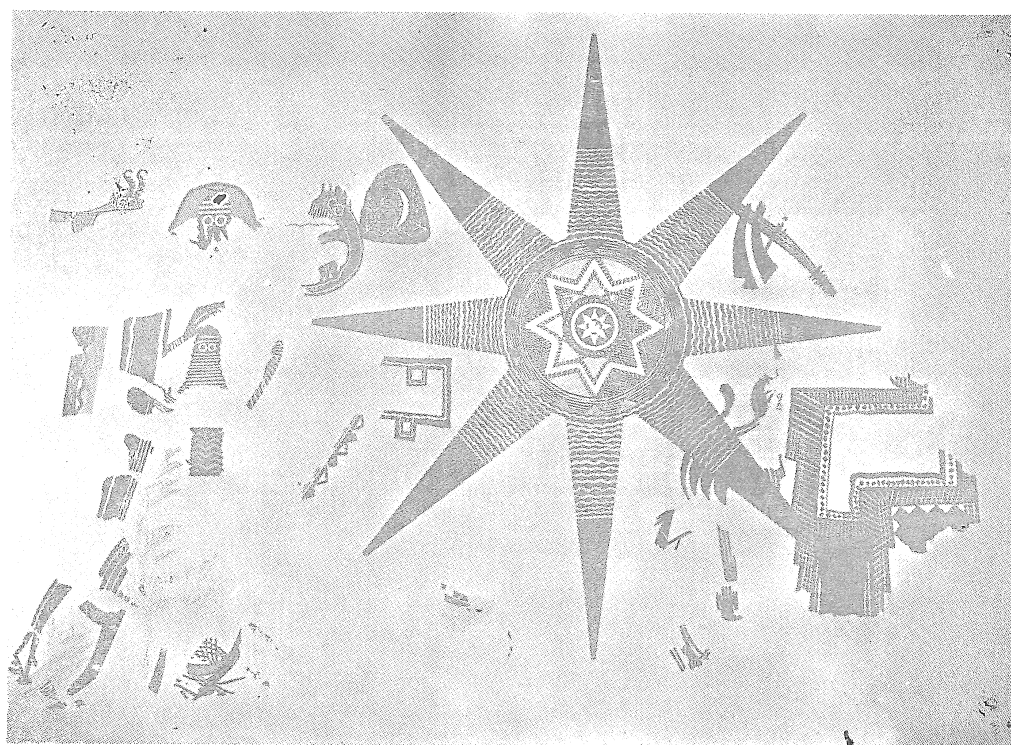


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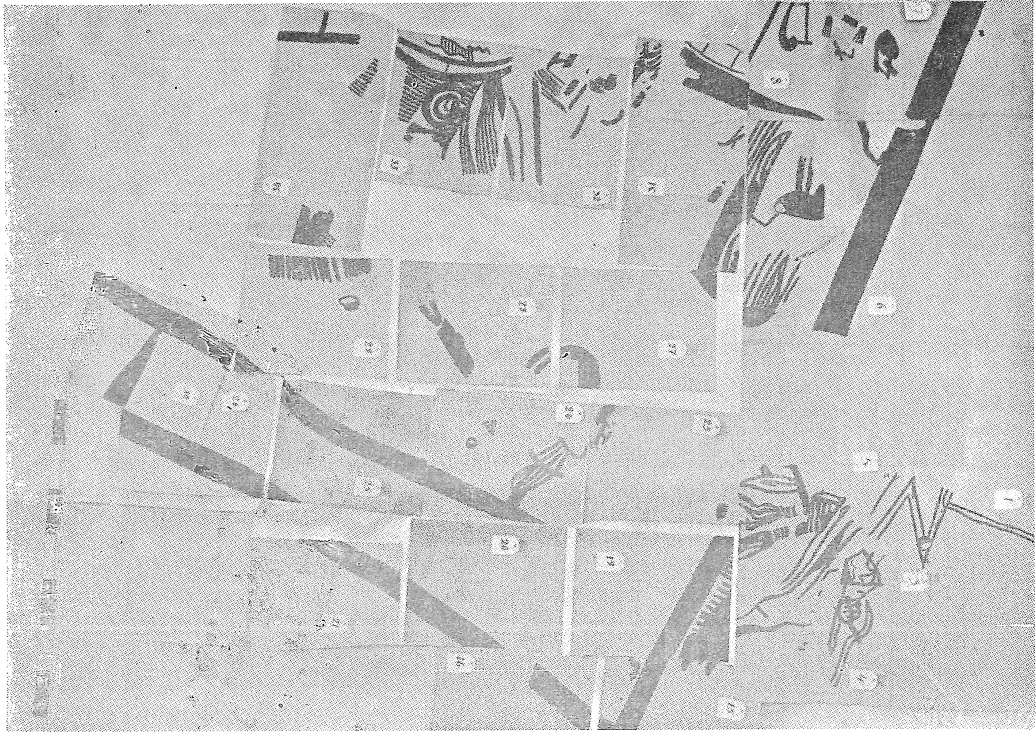
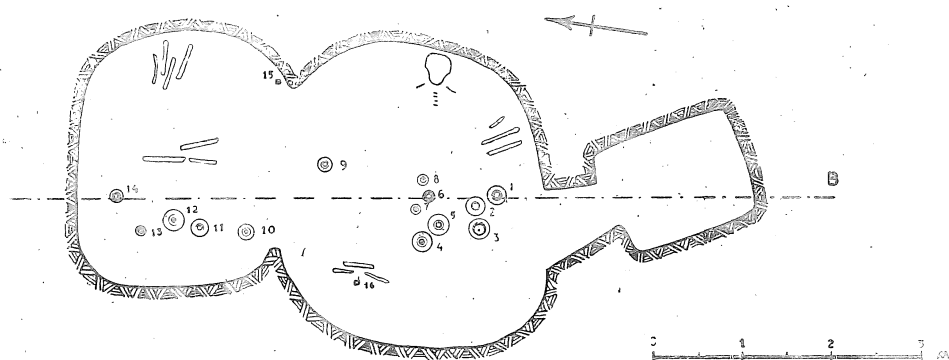


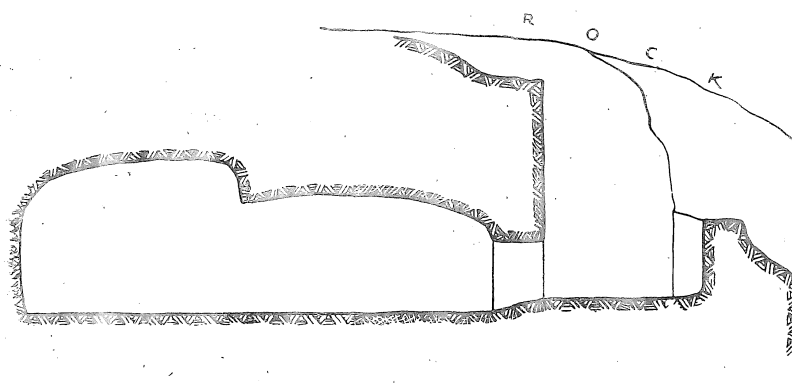
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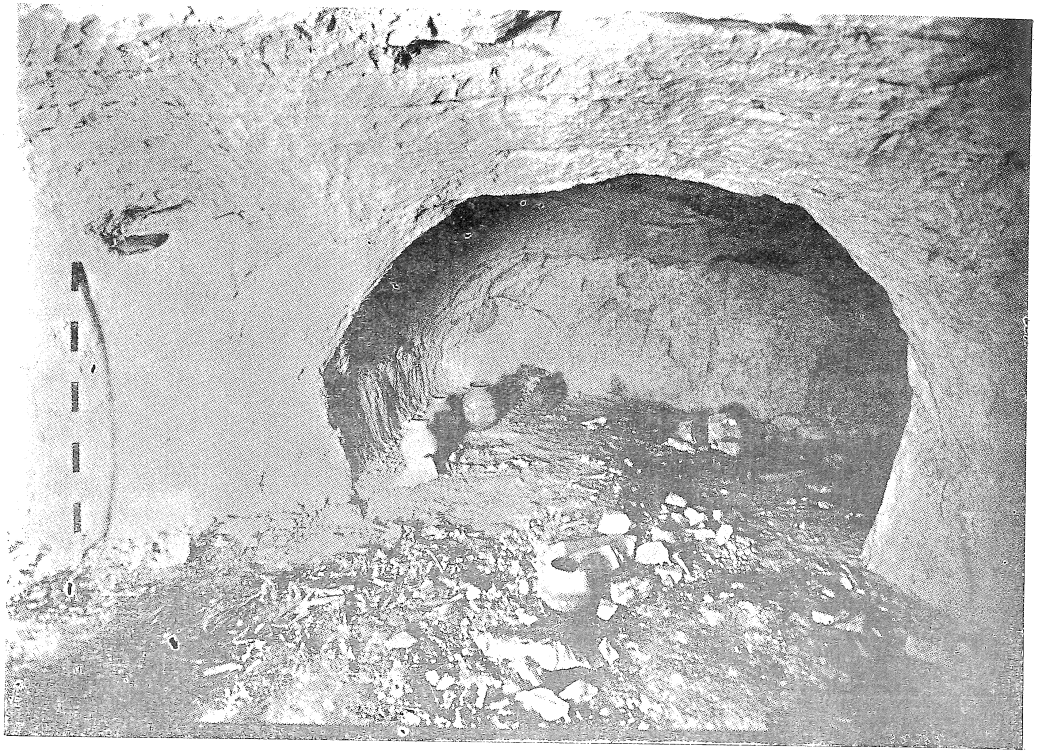


EARLY-MIDDLE BRONZE AGE TOMB AT HABLET EL AMUD
SILWAN VILLAGE LANDS

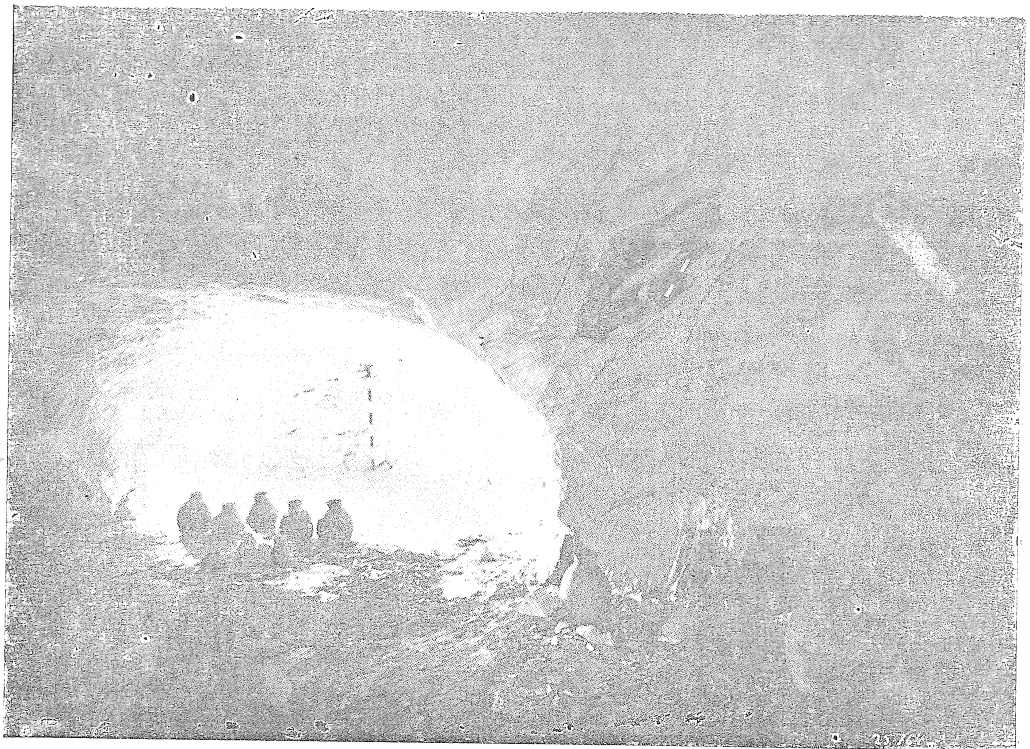


SECTION A B

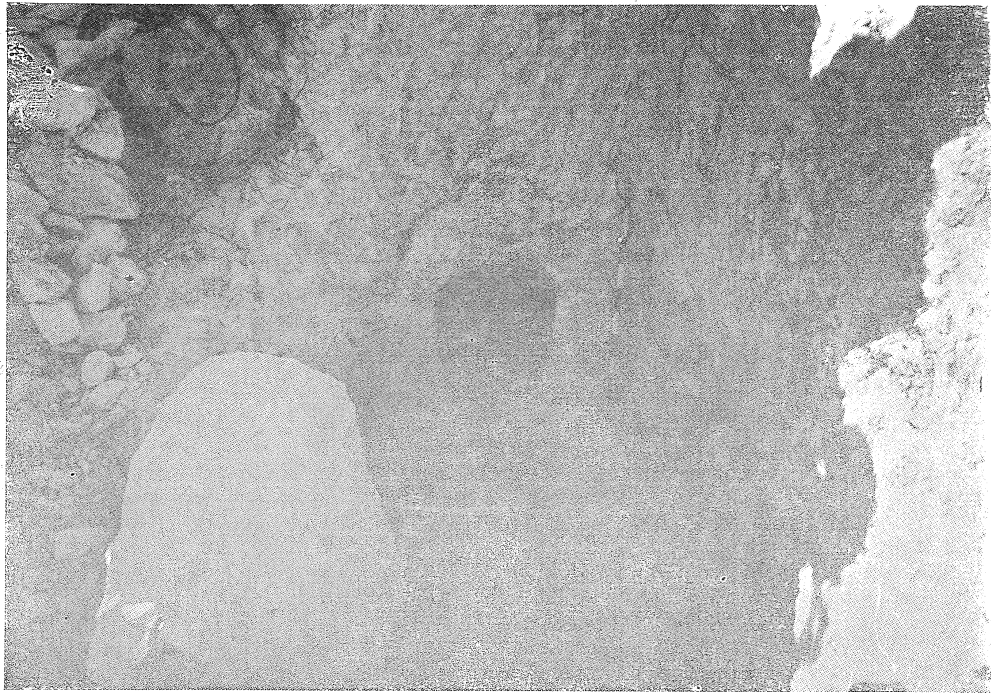




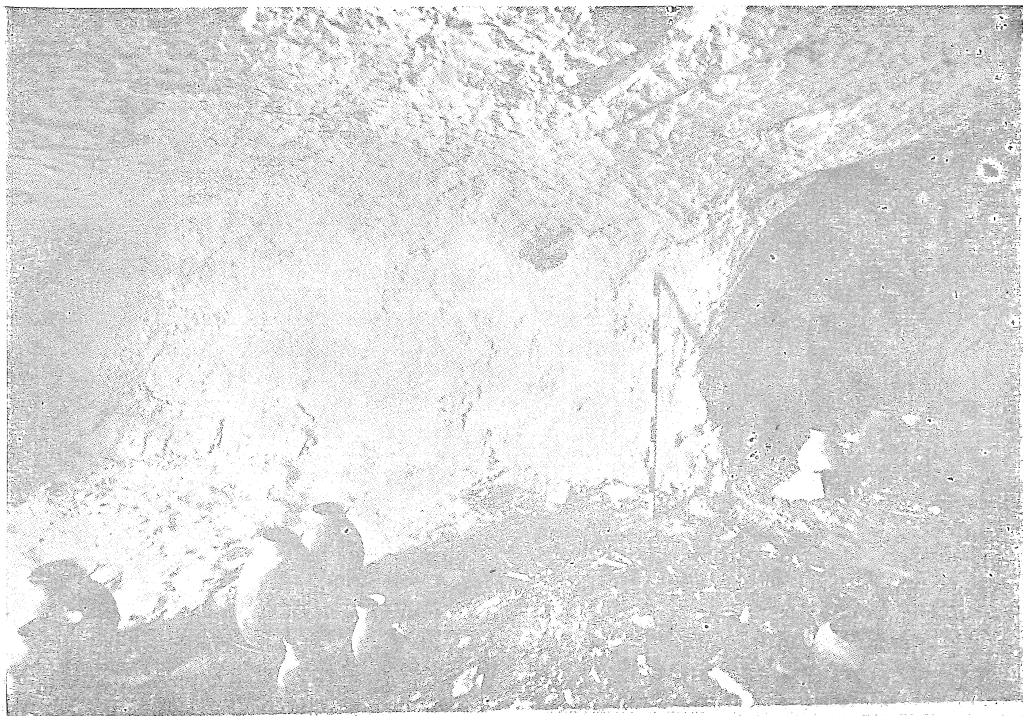
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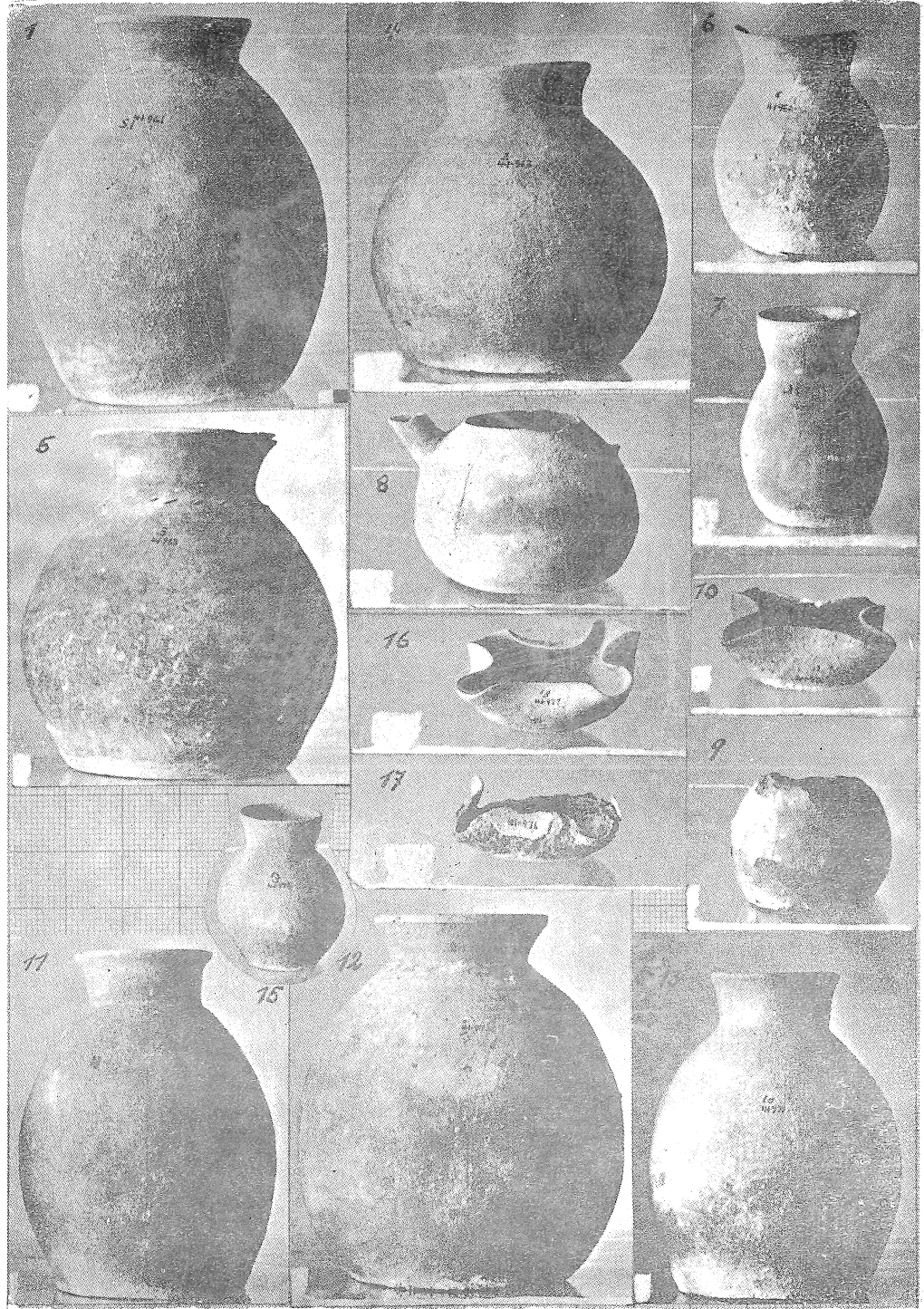
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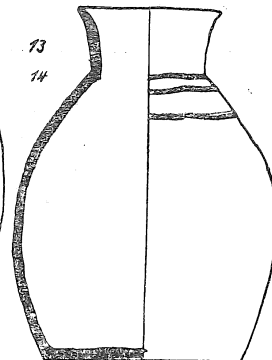
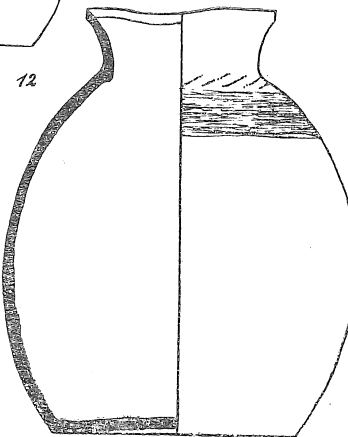
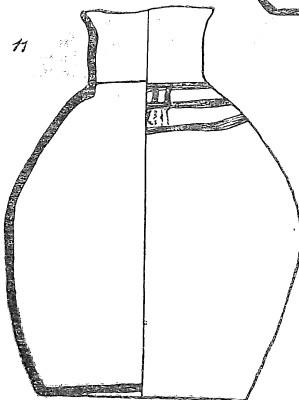
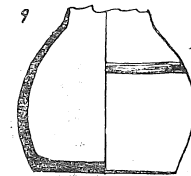
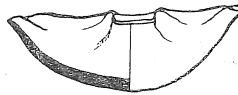
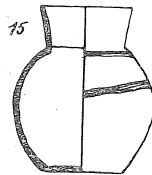
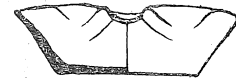
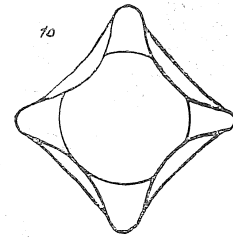
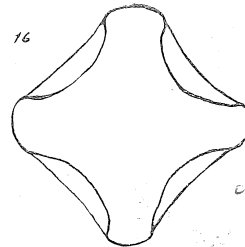
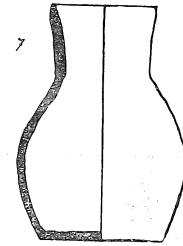
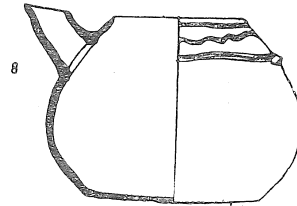
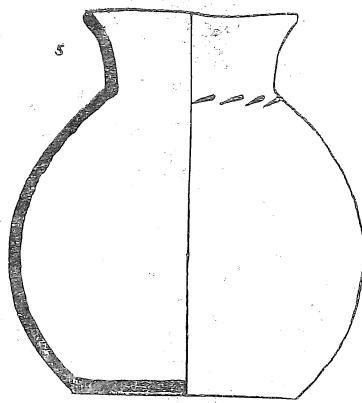
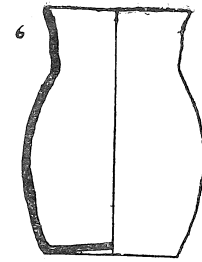
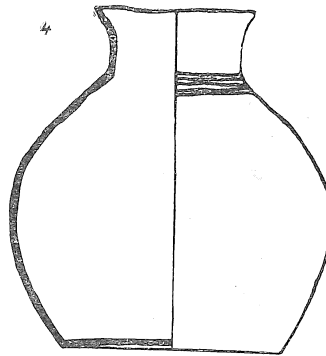
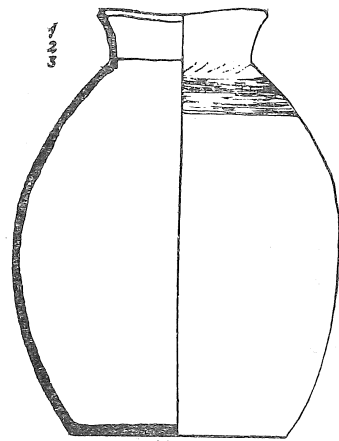


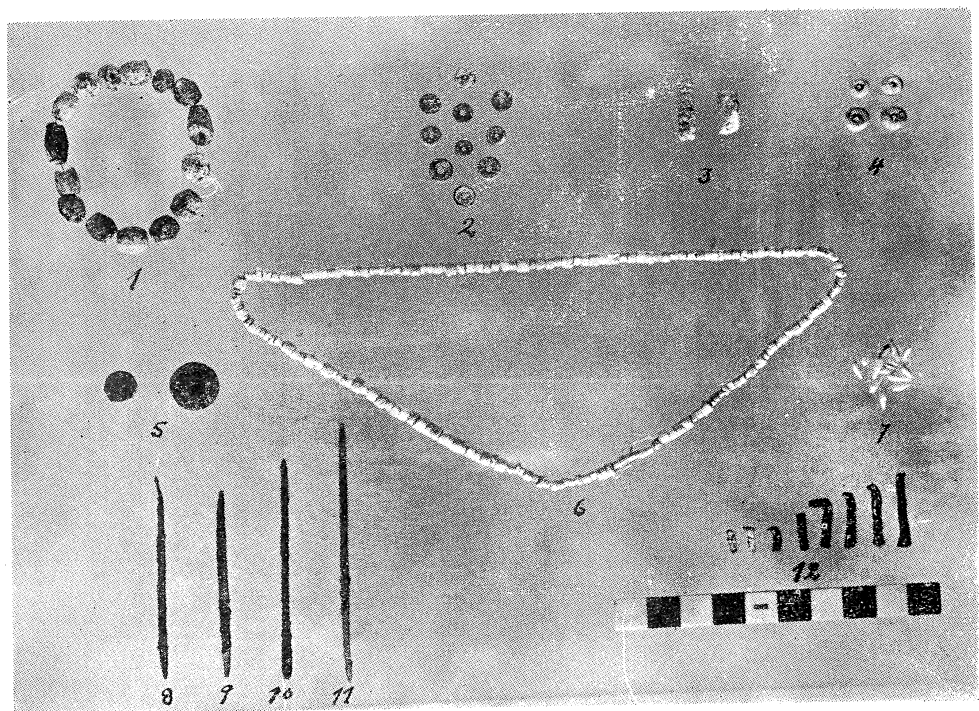
a.



b.







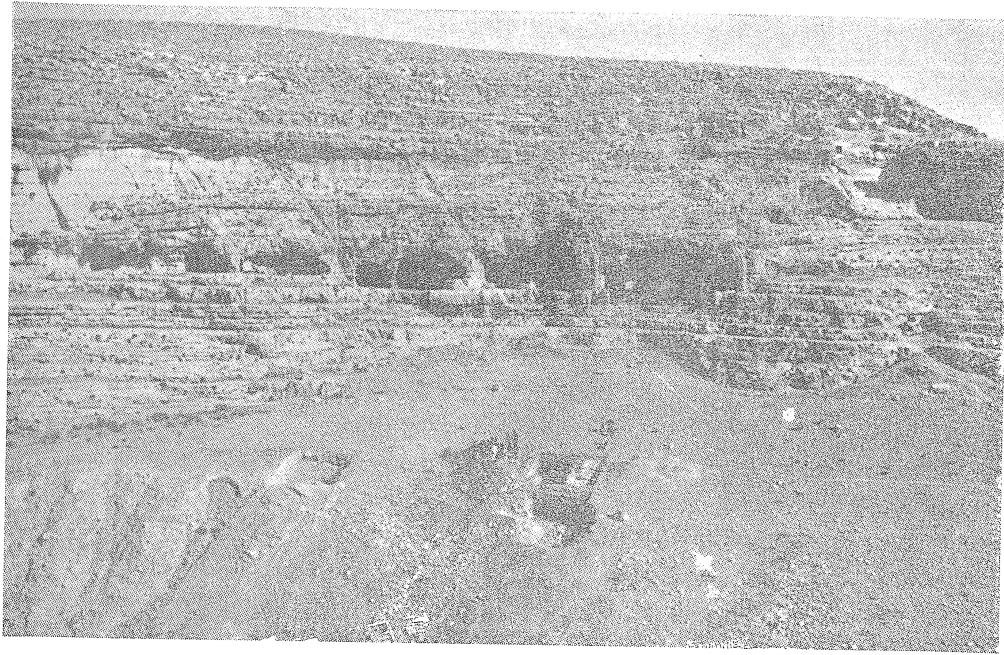


Fig. 1

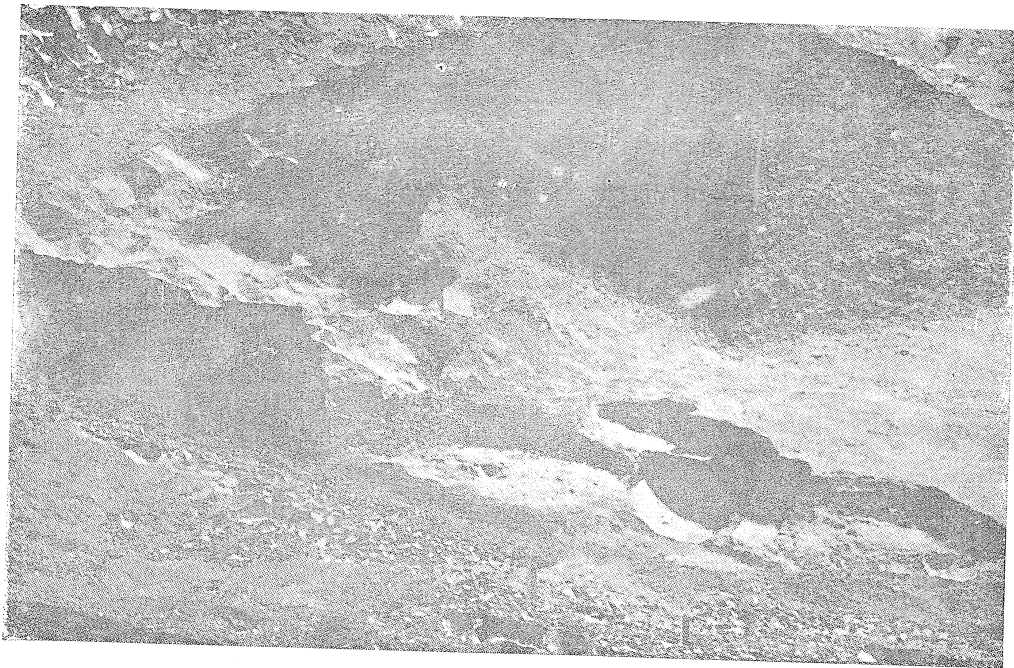
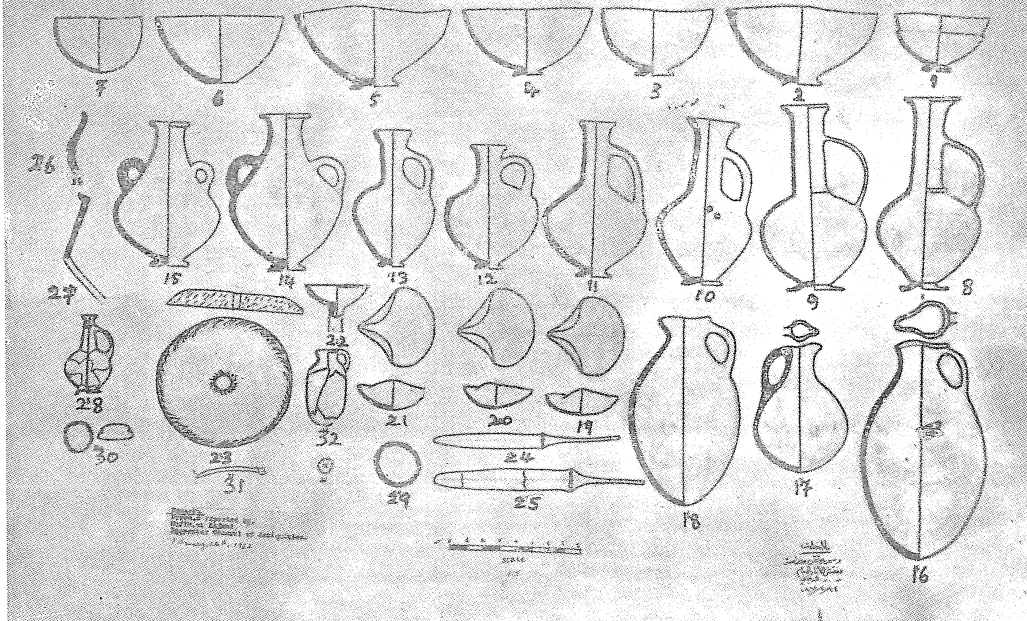
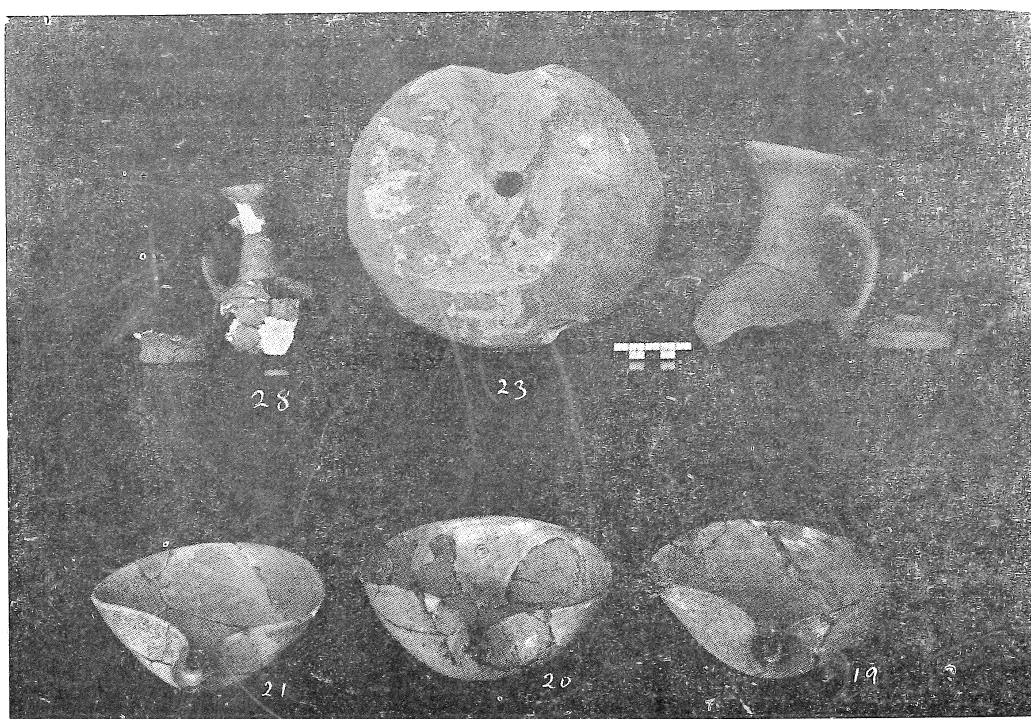
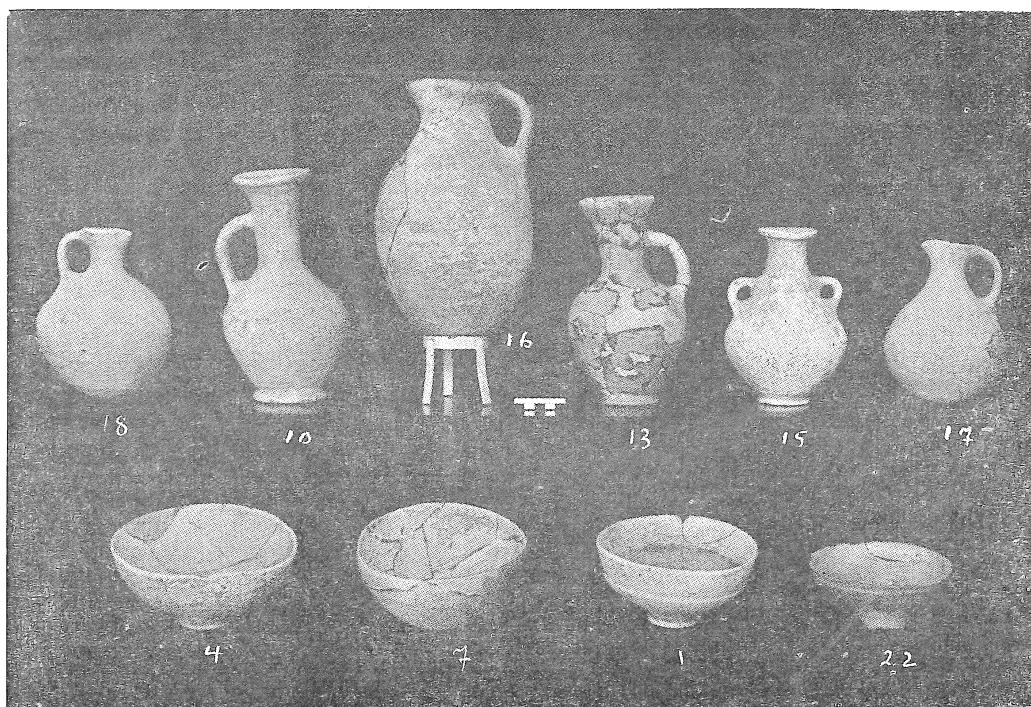
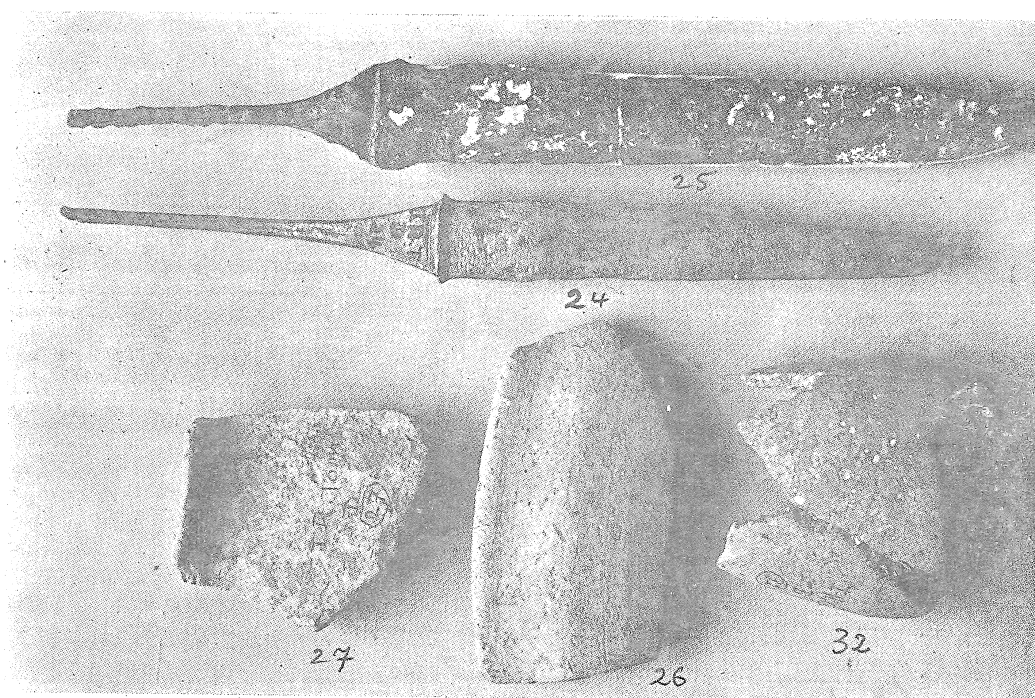


Fig. 2

IRRED TAME "D"
 DRAWINGS BY
 THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, PA. 1922
 1922







الفهرست

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٢ - اجتزنا من الهيكل نحو الغرب الى ان دخلنا الغرف والمقاصير التي كانت ملحقة بهذا الهيكل وقد اتضحت معالمها . وتبلغ مساحتها ٥٠×٥٠ متراً .

٣ - انتقلنا الى ساحة تبعد ثمانين متراً في شمال شرقي المعبد تبلغ مساحتها ٣٥×٣٠ متراً ظهر فيها مواعد النار التي تسخن الماء الذي يجري في قساطل فخارية الى الحمام المستدير . ومايحيط بها من الابنية يدل على انها كانت للطبقة الممتازة من السكان .

٤ - قادنا الى حفرة اتساعها ١٣٠×١٤٠ سم ظهر فيها عشرة قبور من طبقتين وقد وجدت فيها كميات من العظام والخرز الملون .

من هذه الحفريات كان السيد الرواد قد احضر الى دائرة الآثار بعان كمية وافرة من العاديات تتألف من ٢٨ قطعة من العملة النحاسية وبعض الخلق والأساور والأسرجة الفخارية على الطراز النبطي والروماني . ومن أرقاها ابريق زخرف برسم سمكة^(١) تدل على حيوية مدهشة وكذلك احضر بعض الزبادي من الحجارة السوداء وكتابة نبطية على حجر ١٤×٢٠ سم وكتابة ثمودية على حجر ٤٠×٣٠ سم . ورومانية ٥٥×٣٥ سم . وبلاطة عليها صورة جمل وراكبه ٦٠×٤٠ سم مع كمية من التماثيل للحيوانات والأشخاص الصغيرة قد صنعت من النحاس والحديد .

وقد انتقلنا الى الجنوب مسافة ٥ كم حتى وصلنا الى شق « الخزعلي » الذي يمتد خمسين متراً ولاحظنا الكتابات اليونانية والنبطية والعربية والرسوم المنقوشة على طرفيه ، بطيور ومواشي وبشر واشارات بعضها تستطيع ان تصل اليه وبعضها عال جدا . وهو مكان رهيب ويظهر انه كان يمتليء بالمياه . وفي رجوعنا مررنا على سكة ابي نخيلة ونظرنا الى الغرب فشهدنا النخلات الصغيرة على سفح الجبل وعند ظهور عين الماء . وفي الخامسة مساء عدنا الى معان ومنها الى عمان .

(١) في المسيحية الاولى كانت السمكة تذكر بالآية « يسوع المسيح ابن الله المخلص » وهي تشير للعبارة اليونانية Iesous Theou Uios Soter ومجموع الحروف الاولى من هذه الكلمات اليونانية بشكل اللفظ اليوناني I ch - th - u - ومعناه السمكة

وجدنا دائرة حجرية قطرها عشرون مترا تحيط بها قطع حجرية رملية طويلة رقيقة نصبت على حافاتها . كما راينا عددا منها مبعثر حول هذا الموقع وكلها بسيطة خالية من اي نقش - باستثناء اثنين كانا مقلوبين وجدنا عليهما بقايا نقوش . وفي زيارة اخرى جمعنا من هذه الحجارة المنقوشة نحو ٢٥ شكلا كاملا حفظت نقوشها على الوجه المقلوب الذي لم يتعرض لعوامل الطبيعة . وكان اغلبها مكسورا من الخصر او عند الاكتاف وبعض الوجوه كانت مشوهة . وقد صنعت بشكل بدائي من خطوط حفرت بألة بسيطة . ولكنها كانت دون شك محاولة لصنع تماثيل نصفية تظهر فيها صور واشكال لنساء ورجال وولد واحد . كان الرجال يلبسون ما يشبه جناد الفيل مع حزام فوق ما يشبه التنورة وقد علقت طرفاها في المقدمة . وكان يميز ملابس النساء مسفحة تغطي الراس وتلف حول العنق بحيث تلتقي مع جلباب طويل ينسدل على الجسم حتى يغطي الاقدام . وقليل ما كانت تظهر الاكف او الاقدام . وجدنا تمثالا مشوها قد يكون مجلوبا من الخارج لالهة المعبد . كما وجدنا على سطح الارض زبادي منحوت من الحجر الرملي ، كسر معظمها عند تدمير المعبد . واغلبها مستدير واطرافها ذات زوايا وعلى بعضها رسوم هندسية حفرت بشكل بطات بارزة . كما وجدنا كمية من سنان الرماح ذات الاطراف المسننة . وعلى رجوم القبور كتابات بين القرنين ٣ - ٦ بعد الميلاد . وقد وجدنا في الهيكل حجارة قد تكون بدايات لاصنام كانت تعبد في الجاهلية فقد ورد في كتاب « الاصنام » لابن الكلبي المؤلف في القرن التاسع الميلادي ان ابني قابيل علما سكان بلاد العرب كيف يصنعون التماثيل لموتاهم ، دلالة على توقيرهم واحترامهم - وليس لعبادتهم . وهو امر اسي فهمه وتنوسي بمرور الزمن بحيث صارت تلك اصناما لآلهة تعبد . وقد حطمت قبيل ظهور الاسلام عندما بدأ الشموديون يهدمونها ويستعملونها في جدران مساكنهم .

خفريات دائره الآثار سنة ١٩٦٣ :

في ١٧/١٢/١٩٦٣ رافقنا (انا والسيد يوسف العلمي مهندس دائرة الآثار) السيد رضا الرواد الذي اشرف على اعمال الحفر والتنظيف في هيكل رم خلال ثلاثة اشهر (٨ / ١١ / ١٩٦٣) وبعد ان قطعنا سبعين كيلو مترا من جنوبي معان حيث توجد بلدة القويرة وبعد سبعة كيلو مترات للجنوب منها غيرنا طريق العقبة المعبد الى طريق فرعي عن اليسار ويتجه نحو الشرق في سهل متسع ولم تلبث سيارة الروفر التي تحملنا حتى دخلت في وادي رم الذي يبلغ متوسط عرضه نحو الميول وتختلف تربته بين قيعان الاودية التي تمتليء بمياه الامطار والتي تترك وراءها طبقة من الرمال الجميلة بعد ان تجف وبين اراضي طينية التربة عليها حجارة صغيرة بعضها من الصوان ، وتتمثلها بعض الاخاديد بحيث يصعب على السيارة العادية اجتيازها . وبعد ان قطعت السيارة ٣٤ كم في هذه الوديان الملتوية من الشرق الى الجنوب وقفت بنا امام مخفر رم الذي بني قبل ثلاثين عاما وفيه قوة من حرس البادية . وبعد ان شربنا الشاي وانسنا بالتحدث الى جنوده الطيبين اتجهنا الى الغرب . وبعد مسير نحو مئتي متر كنا نجابه خفريات السيد الرواد وهي كما يلي :

١ - وقفنا امام الهيكل النبطي ولاحظنا كثرة الدرجات التي صعدناها حتى دخلنا بناء الدير الذي نظفت انقاضه الى ان ظهر بلاطه وارتفعت الجدران ما بين مترين وثلاثة امتار واتضح الهيكل كما باننا الاعمدة المستديرة ولا سيما من جهة الجنوب وتتألف من عدة قطع ربط بينها بحجارة عادية ولونها رملي برتقالي يشبه لون صخور البتراء .

تنقيبات دائرة الآثار الاردنية : -

في ٤ - ٢٠ نيسان سنة ١٩٣٢ قامت دائرة الآثار في شرقي الاردن ببعض التنقيبات الاثرية في وادي رم - في الخرائب الكائنة غربي القلعة الحديثة (مخفر رم) واشترك في هذا التنقيب استاذان من معهد الدومنيكان في القدس . وكان لمساعدتهما على انجازهما اثر طيب . ولقد أمكن نسخ اربعين نقشا من النقوش الكتابية التي وجدت هناك . وظهر ان هذا الاثر هو هيكل صغير من طراز نبطي له بعض الشأن ولا يبعد ان يكون تابعا لولاية البتراء . ويشبه هيكل خربة التنور ولوعلى مقياس اضيق . ندخل اليه من جهة الشرق على بضع درجات وعلى الجوانب الثلاثة الاخرى بقايا جدران مقصورة بقصورة مصقولة وقد وجد في الوسط مذبح ويحاذيه تمثال للإلهة جالسة .

في ٢ حزيران ١٩٣٢ اعلنت دائرة الآثار « ان قدس الاب سفيجناك من مدرسة التوراة والاثار الافرنسية في القدس قام بزيارة قصيرة الى رم وقد فحص اثناء زيارته بعض اثار غفل عنها امثال الدكتور موسل صاحب الكتابات المثيرة عن هذه المواقع والضابط الشهير لورنس الذي سبق له ان خيم بين اطلال ذلك المكان دون ان تخطر له اهميته الاثرية . وتدل النقوش النبطية واليونانية وباقي النقوش الاخرى البارزة الشكل والتعشال التنوري التي اكتشفت هناك ان ذلك المكان كان للإلهة اللات التي اقترن اسمها بزميلتها العزى . ويستدل من النقوش النبطية ان بناء هذا المعبد تم في عهد الملك النبطي « ربع ايل الثاني ٩٠ - ٧٠ ق . م » وبلوح ان قبيلة واحدة فقط كانت تقيم طقوسها الدينية في ذلك المعبد حتى ظهور الاسلام »

واكتشف معبد صغير على بعد تسعة اميال من شرقي جبل رم عثر فيه على نقوش بيزنطية نقشها احد احد الكهنة وقد جاء فيها اسم اللات - إلهة رم .

امام الهيكل النبطي يرتفع جبل رم ارتفاعا فجائيا عاليا وتخرج منه ينابيع ضعيفة قد تتجمع في بعض الجور ولا تصل الى الوادي الا في ايام الشتاء الغزير . ولندرة الامطار والمياه في هذا المكان قدس الانباط هذه الينابيع واقاموا على كل منها هيكلًا للات - إلهة الماء والنبات . ومن اشهرها نبع ابو نخيلة (هنالك نخلة اواكثر نبتت على هذه العين) الذي كان يسقي قرية وجدت في العصر النيولوثي سنة ٤٥٠٠ ق . م . وقد جمعت منها ادوات صوانية رقيقة جدا . وسكنت نفس المكان قبائل ثمودية تركت هذه الكتابات والنقوش الكثيرة حتى قبيل ظهور الاسلام . في ٣٠ / ١١ / ١٩٣٣ علمت دائرة الآثار بان عمال « ادلي وملص » - متعهدي بناء قلعة رم الحديثة - قد اخذوا كثيرا من حجارة الهيكل النبطي ومن خانات التجار والمساكن والقبور المجاورة ليمنوا فيها اساس القلعة . فاسرعت بايقاف هذا التعدي الذي الحق ضررا مؤسفا كما ان العمال قد خربشوا على كتابات وادي الشلالة ونقوشها بحيث كادت تطفى عليها وتطمس معالمها .

تحريرات الانسة ديانا كير كبرايد سنة ١٩٥٩ :

هذا موجز عن تقرير هذه الحملة ! اقتصرت اعمال هذه الحملة على رم نفسها في المكان الذي تلتقي فيه عدة عيون تنحدر من السفوح الى الوديان . وهذه المياه هي الدلالة الاولى على نشوء حياة بشرية منذ سنة ٤٥٠٠ ق . م واستمرت الى القرن الثاني بعد الميلاد . وقد ساقنا الدليل العمراني من الحويطات الى وادي الضيقة الذي يبعد ١١ كم في الجنوب الغربي من مخفر رم في وسط الوادي الواسع ويحاذي مجرى جف مأوه .

حفريات رم

حسمى (مدين القديمة) برية جميلة تتألف من جبال عالية رملية الصخور ومن عدة اودية سحيقة بجانب تلك الجبال العمودية الارتفاع . وهي تمتد في الشرق من طريق معان - العقبة التي تبدأ من مرتفعات نقب اشتار لتحط في تلك الوهدة السحيقة . ويتوالى امتدادها حتى تتصل بالاراضي السعودية قريباً من المدورة والى نقطة لا تبعد كثيراً عن جنوب العقبة .

يمتد وادي رم نحو اربعين كيلومتراً للشرق من العقبة والى الشمال قليلاً منها . وهو واد لا مثيل له في الهيبة والجمال حتى ان اورنس على بلاغته لم يفه ما يستحق من الوصف في كتابه « اعمدة الحكمة السبعة » . وللغرب من وادي رم ترتفع صخور الغرانيت كما ترتفع الصخور الرملية في الشرق منه .

الإرم في اصل اللغة العربية حجارة تنصب في المفازة علماً . والجمع آرام وأرم . وهو اسم علم لجبل من جبال حسمى من ديار جذام - بين ايله وتيه بني اسرائيل ، وهو جبل عظيم العلو يزعم اهل البادية ان فيه كروماً وصنوبرا بين اشجار العرعر والبطم . وعلى رجوم رم كتابات ثمودية تذكر اسم الكتاب واسم ابيه مع خرابيش لصور اشخاص او حيوانات خطها وحفرها تجار القوافل في مرورهم منها بين بلاد العرب والبتراء ، وعندما كانت تسكن قبائل ثمود في مداين صالح . وتدل الكتابات الكثيرة على مدى انتشار التعليم عند الثموديين ، وتشبه حروف الخط الثمودي حروف جنوب الجزيرة التي لا تزال تحتفظ بشكلها في كتابة الحبشة الحالية . في المدة الواقعة بين القرنين الخامس والسابع بعد الميلا .

في الغزوات الاسلامية كتب النبي (ص) لبني جعل بن ربيعة بن زيد الجذاميين « ان لهم ارم ، لا يحلها احد عليهم لغلبهم عليها . ولا يحاقهم - فمن حاقهم فلاحق له ، وحققهم حق » يذكر ابن أبي شامة في كتابه « الروضتين » انه عندما كان الصليبيون مستولين على الشوبك والكرك تقدم صلاح الدين ليحاربهم في الوعيرة (قلعة البتراء) خيمت احدى كتائبه في معسكرات جبل رم . لان المياه فيه كانت كافية لحاجة تلك الجيوش . ويتبادر الى الذهن ان الاساسات المنقوضة الان عند اسفل جبل رم هي بقايا الاختصاص التي آوت اليها الفرق المحاربة .

وقد عثر المستر هورسفيلد مفتش الآثار في شرقي الاردن قبل سنة ١٩٣٦ على قطعة من تمثال منحوت بين تلك الخرائب . وهو لا يشك في انها من مصنوعات الافرنج في تلك العصر ولا يبعد ان تكون قد جلبت من احدى قلاعهم والقيت بهذا المكان .

ويذكر بك باشا في كتابه « شرقي الاردن » منذ بضع سنوات كنت ذاهباً على الإبل من العقبة الى جبل رم فجلست لاستريح عند منتصف النهار في بقعة يقيمها الظل ، فوقع نظري على صخرة كانت ورائي عليها نقوش وكتابات قديمة . وهكذا بالتصادف التقينا نفس المكان الذي كانت تستريح فيه القوافل منذ مدة تزيد على الالف سنة . لكن مع الاسف لا يعتني المسافر في تلك الجهات فيدون وصفاً لرحلته على احد الاحجار .

في ٢٧/٥/١٩٤٠ كتب مدير الآثار الى سماحة وزير المعارف : أرجو أن اؤكد حديثنا البارحة حينما اعلمت سماحتكم بأن رسالة تلفونية وردتني من الدكتور غليك مدير المدرسة الاميركية للأبحاث الشرقية تفيد بأن الاميركيين قد نصحوا بمغادرة فلسطين في ٢٧ حزيران سنة ١٩٤٠ . ولهذا السبب فان الدكتور غليك يرغب بإجراء قسمة الآثار التي عثر عليها في تل الخليفة بأسرع ما يمكن . وكما اتفقت وسماحتكم فأني عازم على السفر غداً الى القدس لاجراء القسمة المبحوث عنها بموجب احكام المادة ٢٣ من قانون العاديات . كما أني أيضاً عازم على اعطاء هذه المدرسة تصريحاً لتصدير حصتها من الآثار بحكم المادة ٣٣ من قانون العاديات .

وفي ٢٩/٧/١٩٤٣ وجه مدير الآثار الاردنية الى الدكتور غليك كتاباً جاء فيه : اثبت قسمة قطع الفخار التي وجدت في حفريات شرقي الاردن كما يلي :

- ١ - تمنح جميع القطع التي صورت واعدت لها كليشيهات للنشر للمدرسة التي تولت البحث والتنقيب باستثناء خمس قطع وحجر فإنها تحجز لحكومة الاردن .
- ٢ - سأقوم بفحص باقي القطع التي ستبقى في الاردن .
- ٣ - ارفق طيه تصريحاً لنقل ما خصكم في ١٥٠ كيساً .

والخلاصة :

بناء على ضوء هذه الاكتشافات نستطيع أن نكتب شيئاً من تاريخ هذا الموقع : -
تقع تل الخليفة على بعد ٤ كم غربي بلدة العقبة في مركز يبعد عن الشاطيء ٢ كم ويخترقها اليوم خط الهدنة بين العقبة وبين ايلات في الجزء المغتصب من فلسطين - وعلى ١٠ وادي عربية في منتصف الخليج - أي في مكان يقع في مجرى الرياح التي تهب من وادي عربية وتأتي بالهواء اللازم لاشعال النيران في الافران . وكان النحاس يحضر من مناجم وادي عربية . واستمر صهر النحاس هنا من القرن العاشر الى القرن الخامس قبل الميلاد عندما غير السكان مساكنهم وانتقلوا الى موقع ايلات في الغرب .

كانت بلدة تل الخليفة (ربما هي عصيون جابر المذكورة في التوراة) مستطيلة الشكل تقريباً يحيط بها سور عريض الجدران وله بوابة ضخمة . وكانت الافران في الجانب الشمالي من المدينة التي ظهرت فيها مهارة المهندسين في البناء وفي اختيار الموقع بحيث تكون عرضة لهبوب رياح الشمال من وادي عربية بأقوى شدتها بحيث تشتعل النيران فيها وتعطي درجة الحرارة الكافية . بجانب ذلك وجدت البوتقات لصنع الاواني الفخارية وقد بلغ بعضها ١٣ قدماً مكعباً . وقد بنى السكان بيوتهم من الحجر المشوى فيها . كما دل طراز الفخار على علاقات شديدة بينها وبين جنوب جزيرة العرب بواسطة التجارة . وبذلك يكون سكانها مزيجاً من جميع الشعوب لانها كانت ميناء دولياً . وما يجدر ذكره أن خمس طبقات مختلفة من ركام المدن المتعاقبة ظهرت في هذا المكان .

وما يستحق الذكر ان الدكتور غليك يهودي سخر علم الآثار في محاولة تفسيره لصالح امته السياسي .

حفريات تل الخليفة

في ١٧/١٠/١٩٣٦ منح الدكتور نلسون غليك Nelson Glueck مدير المدرسة الامريكية للابحاث الشرقية في القدس تصريحاً باجراء اختبارات وتحريات في موقع تل الخليفة في الغرب من بلدة العقبة الحالية ١٠٠٠ وقد زار المكان واجرى له عمليات المسح والعلامات . وفي ثاني سنة قام بشق اخاديد شجعت نتائجها على معاودة العمل في الربيع القادم .

في ربيع سنة ١٩٣٨ استأنف الدكتور غليك حفرياته على شكل علمي منظم في الموقع الذي كان مركزاً هاماً لصهر المعادن . وقد كشف البحث والتنقيب عن افران كانت تستعمل لهذه الغاية ولا تزال بحالة جيدة وعن جدران لا تزال قائمة يبلغ ارتفاعها اكثر من مترين كما عثر على كمية وافرة من الفخار ذات اهمية كبيرة وهي من نماذج مختلفة لم يسبق ان عثر على مثلها قبل الان في مواقع العصر الحديدي الاخرى . وتدل كل هذه التحريات الاولى على ان المكان يرجع عهده الى ١٠٠٠ - ٦٠٠ ق . م

ومما لفت النظر وجود الصلة الفنية بين هذا المكان وبين الوجه الجنوبي اشد ممابينه وبين فلسطين وشرقي الاردن . وقد عثر خلال التنقيب على اواني واوعية كثيرة من الفخار المختلف الاشكال والحجوم وقد وجدت على بعضها حروف مخدوشة في ظاهر هذه الاواني من اللغتين العربية والعبرية الجنوبية .

موسم ١٩٣٩ :-

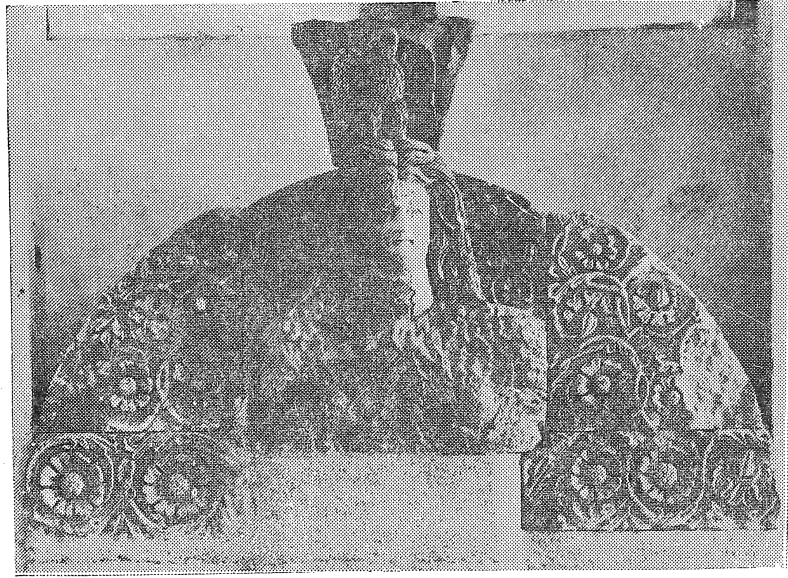
في موسم هذا العام اسفرت اعمال الحفر عن نتائج ذات اهمية من بينها معبد المدينة الاولى الذي يشبه في طرازه معابد عصر الملك سليمان التي اكتشفت في بعض الاماكن الاثرية من فلسطين كمجدو (تل المتسلم بين حيفا وجنين) ولا خيش (خان الدوير بقضاء الخليل) ويقدم لنا هذا الاكتشاف بينة اخرى على ان تأسيس المدينة الاولى كان حوالي سنة ١٠٠٠ ق . م . وقد اظهرت هذه الحفريات الاخيرة اربعة مستويات عمرانية يرجع آخرها الى حوالي سنة ٤٥٠ ق . م على الاقل . وقد دل على هذا التاريخ اكتشاف بعض القطع الفخارية المزخرفة من العهد الاغريقي . وكان اهمها بعض قطع فخارية كتب عليها بالحبر كتابة تشبه تماماً الرقم الذي وجد على اوراق البردي المكتشفة في الفنتين (جزيرة الفيلة بمصر) والتي يعود تاريخها الى حوالي سنة ٥٠٠ ق . م . وكان اهم ما عثر عليه في تل الخليفة كتابات محررة على شقف فخارية وسلسلة اختام مطبوعة على ايدي جرارتين اسماء اصحاب الجرار . وان ندرة هذه المواد الكتابية لتؤكد لنا اهمية العثور على أية كتابات مهما كانت قصيرة .

من اهم ما كشف ختم على فخارة باسم « كوس جابر » ملك ادوم . وهو اول سجل يذكر فيه إلهه او ملك ادومي باسم كوس . ولكنه بعد ذلك يذكر مرات عديدة في زمن الفتح الاشوري منذ سنة ٦٨٠ ق . م . وفي العملي وجدت قطع فخارية كثيرة من الطراز الاغريقي الجميل ذي اللونين الاسود والاحمر .

وعثر أيضاً على معبد المدينة الأولى الذي أدى تنظيفه الى اظهار مخطط يشبه مخططات مدن القرن العاشر ق . م التي كشفت في فلسطين ، كما قدم ذلك تأكيداً آخر على حقيقة تاريخ هذه المدينة الأثرية .

تاريخ المعبد :

شيد هذا المعبد في القرن الاول للميلاد وكان خرابه نتيجة زلزال دك اركانها وقوض جدرانها - الا انه بقي فيما بعد على هذه الحالة مهجورا لم تزده يد البلى تخريبا طيلة الاحقاب التي غبرت حتى اتيح له اليوم من دلف الى موضعه ورفع النقاب عن بدائعه الفنية . ولاول مرة يظهر في عالم الآثار مثل هذه المنحوتات الجميلة التي هي نسيج وحدها وفريدة من نوعها وستضيف ولا ريب الى تاريخ دولة الانباط شيئا من المعرفة . يحتل هذا التمثال والكتابة النبطية التي تشرح تاريخه صدر القاعة الرئيسية في متحف عمان الاثري وتستولي على اعجاب كل زائر وتثير اسئلة كثيرة على الدليل المرافق فيجيب عنها .



تمثال الإلهة النبطية اللات في خربة التنور في متحف عمان

ما بين الكرك والطفيلة وعند التقاء وادي الحسا بوادي اللعبان يقوم جبل عال منفرد يشرف على منظر فسيحة الارحاء تمتد فوق انحدار الوادي الى ان تبلغ ضفاف البحر الميت . وفوق قمة هذا الجبل عثر قائد مقاطعة الطفيلة السيد عبدالله الريحاني خلال عام ١٩٣٦ على انقاض معبد نبطي يعرف الآن مع الجبل الذي يقع عليه باسم « خربة التنور » ويقلب على الظن ان هذا المعبد كان ذا مكانة دينية سامية عند الانباط ، يدل على ذلك وجوده فوق هذا الجبل الشاهق حيث كان يطل منه على قرى الانباط الكثيرة التي كانت تنتشر حوله والذي قد يكون له في ارتفاعه فوقها الإشراف عليهما معنى قدسى لا يدركه الا اولئك الذين كانوا يعيشون بكنفه . قصدت هذا المعبد بعثة اثرية مؤلفة من بعض موظفي دائرة الاثار في حكومة شرقي الاردن وبعض اساتذة مدرسة الآثار الامريكية في القدس . وما ان وصلت الى المكان واستراحت قليلا حتى قامت بهمة لا تعرف السكل برجال استخدمتهم من الاهلين للقيام بأشغال الحفر . فلم يمض على العمل زمن يسير حتى كانت معاول الرجال تكشف التراب عن منحوتات يفوق جمالها الوصف ولا تزال رغم تعاقب الاجيال عليها بحالة جيدة تشير الى تلك اليد الماهرة التي دملجتها وتقدم لنا دليلا محسوسا الى ما كانت تتمتع به تلك الدولة الصحراوية البائدة من علو كعب في المدنية والحضارة والى ما بلغت اليه رغم اقليمها النائي من النضوج الفكري والكمال الفني .

المعبد :

اما المعبد فشييد من حجارة ضخمة يبلغ طول بعضها المترين والنصف . وجميعها جلبت اليه من محاجر تبعد عن الجبل مسافة خمسة او ستة كيلو مترات . ومما لا ريب فيه ان القوم تجشموا صعابا كثيرة في اصعادها الى اعلى القمة .

وللمعبد مدخل رئيسي في الجهة الشرقية كان يدلف منه العابر الى ساحته المرصوفة بالحجارة والمنخفضة عن ساحة الهيكل المتوسط بحيث كان يرتقى اليه بدرجتين ممتدتين على طول الجهات الشمالية والشرقية والجنوبية وكان باب الهيكل يقوم مقابل الباب الخارجي ، يتقدم منه الداخل الى الصحن حيث ارتفع المذبح . وفوق باب الهيكل وجد تمثال نصفي ضخمة لاحدى الالهات الانباط وقد تهدل شعرها على منكبيها فظهر نقاب ارسل تحت عينيها لغاية العنق . وعلى طرف باب الهيكل يقوم تجويفان اركز فيها تماثلان نصفيان للإلهته . وفي جدران المعبد من الداخل ظهر افريز مستطيل مؤلف من صور اشخاص مجنحة شبيهة بالملائكة وتماثيل اخرى نصفية . وفي صحن الهيكل من الداخل وجد تماثل الإله « حدد » منصوبا فوق المذبح وقد احاط به من الجانب تماثلا عجولين بينما قبض هذا الاله بيده اليسرى رمز الصاعقة . وعلى جانبي المذبح كانت تقوم عمدان ركزت عليها تماثيل نصفية صغيرة لاحدى الالهات . واحدة منها ظهرت وفي اذنيها اقراط وعلى رأسها سمكتان افقيتان . وبقرب المذبح عثر على تماثل نسر يتصارع مع افعى غليظة قد التفت حول بدنه ورجليه . وعثر ايضا على تماثل آخر جميل للإلهة احيط جسدها بطوق نقش فيه علامات البروج . ثم عثر على تماثل راس اسد وتماثل راس آخر صغير لاحد الالهة . وعلى قطع اعمدة وحنوت ومثلثات وما شاكل وقد نقشت عليها اشكال ورود واكاليل زهر وهي غاية في الاتقان .

من التاريخ :

عندما اقترب الاسرائيليون من ارض مؤاب بقيادة موسى سارع بالاق ملك مؤاب الى الاستعانة بجيرانه رؤساء مدين (حسمى) للشرق من العقبة . وقد حضر هؤلاء الحلفاء الخمسة ومعهم النبي المبارك بلعام وكلفوه ان يلعن الاسرائيليين الغزاة المعتمدين .. . وبعد الحاح شديد وافق بلعام على شرط الا يقول الا ما يوحى به الله اليه . وقد طلب من بالاق ان يقيم سبعة مذابح فوق كل قمة من القمم الواقعة في غربي مادبا ويضحي ثوراً أو كبشاً على كل مذبح فيها . ووقف بالاق وكل واحد من حلفائه الخمسة كل بجانب تقدمته وانصرف بلعام الى احدى الروابي ليتلقى الوحي من الله . وبعد مدة عاد بلعام وبدلاً من ان يلعن اسرائيل اخذ يباركهم — كما تقول التوراة فشعر بالاق بالصدمة ولكنه لم يئأس بل رجا بلعام ان يعيد التجربة مرة اخرى واقيمت الذبائح ونزل الوحي مرة ثانية بعدم اللعن . ثم كررت العملية مرة ثالثة ولم يصدر الامر باللعن . . . وهكذا نشبت الحرب بين مؤاب واسرائيل وسقط بلعام قتيلًا بأسلحة الشعب الذي باركه .

عرف من هذه القمم قمتا سياغة ونبو . ومضى موسى الى قمة جبل نبو الذي كان عليه معبد لبعل مؤاب وهناك القى نظرة على ارض الميعاد ثم مات ودفن في واجهة معبد البعل الذي قضى كل حياته يحارب عبادته وامثاله من الالهة الوثنية في ايام المسيحية الاولى بنيت كنيسة باسم النبي موسى على جبل سياغة بشكل باسليكا ، كشفت الحفريات عنها فظهر في نهاية الممشى من جهة الشرق ما يدل على انها كنيسة وفي ارضها فسيفساء رائعة تظهر فيها حيوانات واشجار كما ظهر في الغرفة الجنوبية الشرقية جرن المعمودية وقد نقش عليه كتابة يونانية وتحت الممر وامام المحراب اضرحة كثيرة حوت كثيراً من عظام الموتى . وقد اضيفت الى كنيسة موسى عدة اديرة من جميع الجهات واهمها الدير الجنوبي وقد حفظت مكتشفات سياغة في غرفة بنيتها البعثة وسلمت مفاتيحها الى حارس مقيم يفتحها لكل زائر يريد ان يتمتع بهذا المتحف المحلي .

المعمودية :

على طرف الباسليكا من الجنوب يوجد معبدان . المعبد الذي في النهاية الشرقية كان يستعمل للعماد . وقد وجد في مذبح هذا المعبد الشرقي جرن المعمودية بحالة سليمة وقد نحت من صخر ضخم بشكل صليب يوناني في مقدمته صليب . وعلى كل طرف من اطراف الصليب توجد كتابة مشابهة للكتابة التي هي على الفسيفساء نقرأ فيها ان المعبد بني في سنة ٤٩٢ م عندما كان سيرجيوس اسقفا وعندما كان مارتيريوس Martyrius رئيس الدير . وهذه الفسيفساء هنا كاملة وسليمة . ويصل هيكل المعمودية بالباسليكا باب وحيد في الشمال الغربي .

معبد ام الاله :

المعبد الثاني بني في جنوب الباسليكا كرس لام الاله . عندما خلف ليونتيوس Leontius في الاسقفية سلفه سيرجيوس Sergius . كتب ذلك في سطرين على فسيفساء الارض الجميلة وكل الاعمدة التي وجدت كانت من الرخام .
القاعة الشمالية : -

اذا غادرنا معبد ام الاله فاننا نجتاز مؤخرة الباسليكا للشمال حيث يوجد باب يؤدي الى القاعة الشمالية التي تغطيها الفسيفساء ولو انها اوطى من فسيفساء الباسليكا (تلك اعلى منها) وعلى العتبة العليا فوق المدخل حفر صليب طويل على ذلك الحجر الكبير . ومثل هذا الصليب على الحجر وعلى الرخام كثير الشيوخ في ابنية سياغة . تقسم القاعة الشمالية الى جزئين منفصلين - يقسمها درج في الشرق من هذا الحائط . هنا يظهر رقي الفسيفساء وغناها هي تعرض سلال الخبز ، دوالي العنب ، السمك ، الشمس ، القمر . النجم . نباتات ، الطيور ، ورسم الصليب .

الدار :

الخروج الوحيد للباسليكا يوجد في منتصف الجدار الغربي فيه باب كان مبلطاً بالفسيفساء . وهنا صف من الحجر فيه ست درجات حجرية تؤدي نازلا الى الدار - ساحة الدار (الحوش) الذي كان مبلطاً بالحجر . وفي وسط الحوش صهريج . في الزاوية الشمالية الشرقية تظهر الاقواس في السور . حول الحوش تقوم الغرف العديدة ، وعندما فتحنا بعضها وجدنا فيها نقوداً وفخاراً وكلها من عهد الفتح العربي .

خارج الباسليكا :

حول الباسليكا حفرتان تحت مستوى سطح البناء في الداخل . وكان المذبح يصل الى الغرف في خارجها وهناك كانت اكوام من الانقاض ، لم تتوغل هذه البعثة بالحفر فيها ، وقد مهدت الجمعية طريقاً جديداً في تموز سنة ١٩٣٣ وهي الطريق التي نسلكتها من مادبا الى عيون موسى او الى سياغة ونبو . هذه نبذة قدمها الأب سيلفتر سولر الى دائرة الآثار في حكومة شرقي الاردن .

وعندما بدأت مدرسة التوراة للفرنسيسكان في القدس بالحفر في هذا المكان تسلمت احتجاجاً من الراهب الدكتور كريستي المقيم في طبريا طائناً انهم سيقومون بكنيسة في المكان المقدس هذا . . . لقد اقترحت لحفظ الفسيفساء ترميم بقايا الكنيسة التي اكتشفت وفيها الاعمدة ان يسقف هذا المكان بمقدار علو قامة الرجل - وحيث لا توجد فسيفساء يبقى البناء دون سقف ولا يوجد ما يمنع من تحويل المكان المسقوف الى متحف . . . اظن ان هذا الاقتراح اذا نفذ سوف لا يسيء البروتستانت .

مفتش الاثار ١٦ / ١٢ / ١٩٣٦

هورسفيلد

تاريخها : - ذكر سياغة كثير من العلماء بانها المكان الذي شاهد منه موسى ارض الميعاد قبل ان يموت لقد زار هذا المكان حجاج القرون من الرابع الى السادس بعد المسيح الذين وصلوا اليه ليعبدوا في قبر موسى ، كانوا يرونه في كنيسة بنيت في ذلك المكان . هؤلاء الحجاج دعوا هذا المكان (جبل نبو سياغة Pisgah) كشفت الحفريات التي قامت بها حراسة الاراضي المقدسة ومؤسسة الالباء الفرنسيسكان لعلوم التوراة في القدس في ١٥ تموز ١٩٣٣ الى ٢١ أيلول سنة ١٩٣٣ عن باسليكا قديمة فيها معبدان في ناحيتها الجنوبية مع قاعة واسعة في الشمال ودار في الغرب منها .

الباسليكا :

بدأ الحفر في المحراب من جهة الشرق (الهيكل) وكان علو جدران هذا الهيكل ١٠ - ١٢ قدماً . في الهيكل خمسة صفوف من المقاعد عملت من الحجر ملاصقة للجدار . ولقد رصفت ارض المعبد بالفسيفساء ، الخرائب الباقية لا سيما على طول الجدران كانت قد رمت في العصور السالفة . واخيراً اتت عليها النيران . في منتصف المعبد الكبير (في وسط الحرم الواسع) وجدت البقايا الخربة - وجدت تحت البلاط قبر بني من الحجر ومبطن من الداخل وكان عرضه ستين سنتيمتراً من الشمال الى الجنوب بينما كان طوله (٢٢ سم) من الشرق الى الغرب وعمقه (٨٠ سم) . وقد وجدت العظام البالية في هذا القبر . في نهاية الحرم من الغرب كان باب في الحائط الشمالي وباب آخر في الحائط الجنوبي يفتح الى الغرف التي بنيت جدرانها فوق مذبحين منيين وكان الحرم (الساحة) منعزلاً عن الهيكل بجدار قواعد من حجر أحمر . وهناك وجد عمودان من الرخام طول الواحد منها (٢٢٠ سم) وفي الجنوب الغربي من المذبح منبر الخطابة .

صحن الكنيسة !

كان يقسم صحن الكنيسة صفان من الاعمدة الى ثلاثة اقسام . وكان في كل صف ثمانية اعمدة . وعندما نظف الصحن من الانقاض وجدت قواعد الاعمدة في امكنتها الاصلية . كان العمود يتألف من قطعتين او من ثلاث قطع والتاج ، سقطت كلها نحو الشمال . وكان كل عمود قد سقط بقرب قاعدته . وقد اعيدت ست عشرة قطعة من الاعمدة الى قواعدها . وكانت الارض مبلطة بالفسيفساء . وقد وجدت الفسيفساء سليمة الا الواقع في صحن الكنيسة فانه تمام التخریب . وتحت بلاط الكنيسة اكتشفت مقبرة قديمة ، يفصل بين كل قبر وآخر حائط حجري . عرض كل قبر ٨٠ سم تقريباً (من الشمال الى الجنوب) . وطوله متران من الشرق الى الغرب وعمقه ثلاثة امتار . ويتألف كل قبر من طابقين يفصل بينهما صحائف من الصخر من ٢ - ٣ امتار يمكن ان ترى عظام الموتى من بني البشر . كما يمكن ان ترى تيجان الاعمدة وبعض قطع الاجسام في شمال وجنوب الباسليكا .

قرار :

قرر المجلس التنفيذي في جلسته المنعقدة بتاريخ ١٩/١/١٩٣٥ الموافقة على اعارة مدير حفريات سياغة الدكتور سولر صندوق خشبي ضمنه اشياء أثرية صغيرة وقطع زجاج محطم وخزف وما يقارب العشرين قطعة من العملة عثر عليها اثناء التنقيبات التي اجراها في جهات سياغة لمدة ستة شهور لنقلها الى القدس بقصد درسها وتصنيفها من الوجهة العملية . على ان يقدم لحكومة شرقي الاردن نسخة من التقرير الذي سيضعه بحقها .

رئيس الوزراء

ابراهيم هاشم

تجديد الترخيص ١٩٣٥/٦/١٠ رقم ٢٣

يا صاحب الفحامة :

ان وقفية تيراسانطة ترغب في ان تتابع حفرياتها في صياغة هذه السنة خلال شهري تموز واغسطس . لذلك اغدو ممتنا اذا تفضلتم فخامتكم بالساح لي بالحفر في صياغة ضمن المدة المذكورة وسيتولى الاخ سلفستر سولر ادارة العمل كما تولاة في الحفريات السابقة ١٩٣٣ .

وستغمرني فخامتكم بالعطف اذا تفضلتم بالساح لنا في ان نستورد الحمول لاستعمال هيئة الحفر الخاص بلا رسوم كذلك السماح لسيارتنا التراك بالعبور على جسر النبي بدون رسوم حاملة ما يحتاجه المكتشفون من اغراض

سيكون الاخ بلا رمينو بغاتي, Bellarmino Bagatti الرسام الممتاز والدكتور في علم الآثار ضمن اعضاء

البعثة . واعتقد انه سوف يحصل على اتقن وادق اكتشاف يرمى اليه رجل الآثار .

كنا اودعنا في السنة الماضية خزينة الحكومة مبلغ (٢٥) ليرة فلسطينية ولم يسحب بعد . . .

أعيد تجديد الترخيص للمرة الثالثة وينتهي في ١٩٣٦/١٢/٣١ رئيس البعثة .

كما جدد للمرة الرابعة لينتهي في نهاية سنة ١٩٣٧ .

موقع سياغة :

تقع سياغة للشمال من جبل نبو الذي تقول التقاليد ان موسى شاهد منه ارض الميعاد وهناك مات . ولا بد وان يكون قد دفن فيها . وهذا الموقع يقوم على تل بين جبل نبو وبين عين موسى على بعد ميل للشمال منه وفي اسفل الوادي .

وقد ذكرت السائحة او الحاجة سيلفيا St . Sylvia هذا الموقع التاريخي في حججها الذي جرى في القرن الرابع بعد الميلاد . ولما بنيت عليها كنيسة اختير لها المكان الذي يظن ان فيه قبر موسى . وقد اختفت الكنيسة في القرن السابع او الثامن .

هذه الجمعية اهل لأن تعطى التصريح المطلوب . والأموال الموقوفة لهذه الغاية تكفي بالإفناق على هذه الأعمال . وسيكفهم كشف هذه الخرائب ما يقارب الالف جنيه فلسطيني .

ان اخربة صياغة في برية قاحلة تقطنها قبيلة الغنيمات الفقيرة البائسة . ان المال الذي سيوزع على افراد هذه القبيلة أجوراً لهم سيدر عليهم نفعاً جزيلاً وسيحسن حالتهم التعميسة وعيشهم الشطف — تلك الحالة التي كانت نتيجة لانحباس المطر هذا العام .

اني شخصياً تواق الى حب الاستطلاع العلمي وسأكون مسروراً جداً اذا اجريت الحفريات والتنقيبات في هذا المكان الذي سيصبح بعد انهاء التنقيب جذاباً للسياح — لأهميته في التوراة — إذ به المكان المزعوم أن النبي موسى عليه السلام شاهد منه ارض الميعاد . كما ان مناظر هذا المكان الرحب هي من أهم المناظر الخلابة في شرقي الأردن .

مفتش الآثار

وهذا هو طلب التصريح .

هورسفيلد

سيدي مدير الآثار عمان في ١٨ حزيران سنة ١٩٣٢

بالاسم وبالنيابة عن جمعية التوراة للفرنسيين سكان في القدس — انا الموقع ادناه — الوكيل العام للتراسانطة — اطلب تصريحاً للجمعية المذكورة بواسطة دائرتكم لإجراء الحفر والتنقيب في الموقع المعروف بجبل سياغة الكائن على جبل نبو . أما المكان المطلوب اجراء الحفر فيه يظهر لي على الخارطة المقدمة لكم بغلاف منفصل ويشمل الموقع بمقدار اثنين وعشرين الف متر مربع من الأرض ترغب الجمعية أن تعمل بتعاون وثيق مع دائرتكم وستقدر لها كل مساعدة ومشورة مع الأمتنان .

مارتينس , Martines

التصريح رقم ١٦

أعطي هذا التصريح للاستاذ سلفيستر سولر Sylvoster Saller لأجل اجراء حفريات في خربة سياغة بالنيابة عن جمعية التراسانطة من تاريخ ٤ نيسان سنة ١٩٣٣ لغاية ٣٠ أيلول سنة ١٩٣٣ .

مدير الآثار

فخامه رئيس الوزراء .

... اتفقت وجمعية التراسانطة التي ستقوم بإجراء الحفريات في سياغة أن يقسم جميع ما يعثر عليه من الأشياء الأثرية أثناء عملهم هذا مناصفة بيننا وبينهم .

مدير الآثار

مدير الآثار عمان ١٢/١/١٩٣٥

ارجو ان اعلامكم بان مدير الحفريات في سياغة الدكتور سولر Saller قدم الي عدد من الاشياء الأثرية الصغيرة معها قطع من الزجاج المحطم والخزف المكسر وما يقارب العشرين قطعة من العملة قد عثر عليها خلال الحفريات التي اجريت بموجب تصريح رقم ١٦ . . . وقد طلب الدكتور سولر المذكور ان يصرح له باستمرارها لمدة ستة اشهر وبنقلها الى دائرته في القدس . لقد فحصت هذه الاشياء فوجدت انها عدا قطع العملة فالهئات الاخرى — ليس لها قيمة مادية ولا اي اهمية اخرى لدى هذه الدائرة . وجميعها الآن محفوظ بصندوق خشبي مختوم . فارجو لذلك ان تتلطفوا بالطلب من فخامة رئيس الوزراء ان يشكرم باعارة هذه الاشياء الى الدكتور سولر المسمى اليه والتصريح له بنقلها الى القدس في صندوق واحد .

مفتش الآثار : هورسفيلد

عزيري كوكس - المعتمد البريطاني في عمان ٤ / ٤ / ١٩٣٣

سيدي :

لقد علمتم ان الفرنسيين اشترى جبل نبو . ويظهر ان الروم واللاتين يرغبون في بناء كنائس واديرة هناك في المكان المقدس والذي يحتاج عليه كثيرون . كما بنوا على فسيفساء مادبا . وكما خرب الارثوذكس بناء بير يعقوب وكسروا الحجر الذي كان على البئر . اننا نستعين بنفوذكم لتحولوا دون خراب راس سياغة وتمنعوا البناء في مكان يقدسه الكثيرون .

كريستي

١٠ / ٤ / ١٩٣٣

سيدي الدكتور كريستي :

انكم على غير حق في كتابكم السابق بزعمكم ان الفرنسيين اشترى هذا المكان ، فهو ملك لمسيحي من مادبا . وقوانين الاردن لا تسمح ببيع الاملاك للاجانب الا باذن خاص - لا سيما اذا كان معتبرا موقعا اثريا . لذلك ارجو قبول عذري بعدم استطاعتي التدخل في هذه القضية .

كوكس المعتمد البريطاني في عمان

سيدي :

شكرا لكم على كتابكم السالف - لا سيما وقد طمئني ان سياغة مسجلة كموقع اثري . وهذا يحفظها من العبث . زرت المكان مع جمع من السياح سنة ١٨٩٥ وكنت مسرورا جدا من موقف الفرنسيين .

كريستي

٢ / ٧ / ١٩٣٢

مدير الاثار

من مدة قصيرة كنت اتذكر مع جمعية التوراة للفرنسيين والوكيل العام للاراضي المقدسة بموضوع اجراء حفريات في خرائب الكنيسة والصومعة الكائنين على جبل نبو في الشمال الغربي من مادبا . في ٦ حزيران حضر الاب مارتنس Martines الوكيل العام للاراضي المقدسة ، الى عمان ومعه مساح . وقد ذهب الى سياغة لزيارة الموقع . ورسم المساح خارطة المكان ، اقدمها لكم الآن مع صورة فوتوغرافية وطلب للتصريح بالحفر . وها انا اطلب منكم ان ترفعوا هذه جميعها مع نسخة من كتابي هذا الى رئيس الوزراء للنظر فيها واجراء المقتضى .

يظهر لكم من الصورة الفوتوغرافية المرفقة وجود اكوام من احجار ظاهرة فوق الارض . ويوجد ايضا بعض عواميد وتيجان اعمدة ساقطة . وهذه جميعها انقاض كنيسة كبيرة وصومعة يرجع تاريخها الى القرن الخامس بعد الميلاد .

ان المكان الذي تقع فيه هذه الاخربة هو ملك قبيلة الغنيمات وسترتب الجمعية المقتضيات مع هذه القبيلة بشأن استعمال الارض التي تقرر اجراء الحفر فيها .

ان جمعية التوراة الفرنسيين سكانية هذه متصلة في العلوم الاثرية خصوصا وهي مكرسة حياتها لدرس التوراة والآثار المتعلقة بتاريخها : أما معهد هذه الجمعية فهو موجود في القدس .

سياغة

مدير الآثار ١٥ / ٥ / ١٩٣٤

ارجو ان اوجه نظر كم الى موقع علمت انه بحث في المجلس التنفيذي وهو بشأن تسجيل بعض الأراضي في المحيط وسياغة باسم الشخص الموكل من دير الفرنسيسكان في القدس .
لاهم دائرة الآثار الى من تكون الأرض - اذ ان انتقال الملكية لا يغير ولا يتعارض مع حقوق الحكومة .
وفي امكانكم ان تؤكّدوا لاي كان ان دائرة الآثار لا يمكن ابدأً مهها كانت الأحوال والظروف ان تسمح بتشيد اي بناء على مواقع الآثار لاجل المقاصد الكنسية - اعني بذلك اي بناء يختص باقامة الحفلات او الشعائر الدينية او الصلوات ولا يمكن ان تسمح ايضاً او توافق على احداث اي ترميم لصيانة الفسيفساء الارضية المسقوفة الابعث تقديم الرسوم والمخططات الكافية لعمل هذا الترميم وبيان الشكل والطريقة التي رسم بموجبه هذا العمل .
مفتش الآثار

هورسفيلد

اعتراض على البناء في بعض المواقع الدينية :

لقد علمت ان الفرنسيسكان استأجروا (او اشتروا) جبل سياغة (Pisgah) لينقبوا فيه واخشى ان يبنوا فيه كنيسة .

لقد زرت بئر يعقوب (بير السامرية) سنة ١٨٩٤ وظهرت رغبة ملححة في بناء كنيسة هناك . وحينئذ قلت لهم انني سأهدم بيتكم

وانتم تعلمون كيف خرب الرهبان المتعصبون الكتابات التي حفرت على الصخر الضخم من عصر هيرودس وانه ينذر ان تجد مكانا في فلسطينا يخص طائفة واحدة . ولقد استعنت بموظف بريطاني كبير لامنع البناء في محكمة الهيكل وبير يعقوب وكنيس كفر ناحوم . كما نجحت في منع تدمير سور اغريبا .

رئيس دير الكرمل في حيفا كريستي (W M . Christie)

عزيزي ، دكتور كروفوت Crowfoot ،

قرأت اكثر من مرة تحرير الدكتور كريستي بشأن خربة المحيط . لقد بني بيت بسيط فوق الفسيفساء لحفظها - وليس كنيسة .

(٢) صرحت الحكومة بنصيحة دائرة الآثار لمدرسة التوراة الفرنسيسكانية بالقدس للحفر والتنقيب في كنيسة جبل نبو . ولم يقدم اي طلب لاعادة بناء الكنيسة . فؤسسة الفرنسيسكان غير معروفة في شرقي الأردن ولا يمكن ان يبني بناء يكون من شأنه اتلاف العاديات المكتشفة . واذا كانت الأرض مسجلة باسم دير ترسانطة فهذا يعني انه بموجب قانون البلاد . ولكن قانون الأردن يمنع بناء اي دير خارج اي مدينة الا بموجب تصريح خاص وارجو ان تمر بي في جرش لتتذكر .

مفتش الآثار

هورسفيلد

١٩٣٣ / ٢ / ٢

لخربة المخيط بالنيابة عن جمعية حراسة الأراضي المقدسة ابتداء من أول حزيران سنة ١٩٣٩ لغاية تشرين الثاني سنة ١٩٣٩ بشرط ان تجري التنقيبات تحت مراقبته واشرافه وتسير بمقتضى احكام قانون الاثار الصادر سنة ١٩٣٥ مدير الاثار هاشم خير

التقرير عن حفريات المخيط

قامت البعثة بتنظيف خربة المخيط في آب سنة ١٩٣٩ . وقد صدر هذا التقرير في ١٥ / ١ / ١٩٤٠ . ازيلت الحجارة المربعة وابعدت اولاً . ثم حفر على عمق نحو نصف متر في التراب . لم يظهر فيه سوى طوب السقف قد ادى الحفر الى كشف كنيسة عادية اتساعها ١٨ × ١٠ و٥ أمتار بما في ذلك الجدران . وتتألف الكنيسة من صحن وسط وجناحين جانبيين ضيقين . المذبح يرتفع ٣٩ سم فوق المصطبة . وعلى احد الابواب كتابة باليونانية بلطت مصطبة الكنيسة ببلاط حجري - الا الهيكل فانه من الفسيفساء غير الملونة . ولما كانت الكنيسة مبنية على سفح الجبل فقد احتيج الى ثلاث درجات في الباب الرئيسي . وقرب الباب في الجنوب توجد منصة للخطابة . . ولم يكن الباب في منتصف الجدار كما هو المعتاد . . . ويبلغ حجر البناء ٣٦ × ٣١ سم . وعلى الجدران قصارة بيضاء وكان السقف معقودا باللبن الذي سقط على الارض ونجزم ان الكنيسة سلبت عندما هبطت في العصر البيزنطي في زمن لم يتأخر عن القرن السادس .

فسيفساء جبل نبو :

اذا زرنا قمة نبو جلب انتباهنا بيت بني حديثاً على باحة من الفسيفساء السليمة كانت ارضية الكنيسة عزوها ونظفها من الانقاض دير الفرنسيسكان واقام عليها هذا البناء للمحافظة عليها : نرى في صحن الكنيسة صور الكرمة وقد تفرعت دواليها والتوت دوائر يظهر فيها صور اشخاص وحيوانات وقد اجتمع الرجال فرحاً بعيد العنب واحدهم ينفخ في مزماره . امام المذبح كتابة تدل على ان الكنيسة اعطيت اسم القديس لوط والقديس بروكوبيوس وقد انشأها اسطفان وايليا ابنا كوميتيساو من اجل راحة يوحنا وانسطاسيا والذين تبرعوا ولا يعلم اسماءهم سوى الله . وبين الاعمدة مشاهد مائية فيها حيوانات خرافية كما يظهر فيها رجل يصطاد السمك ويجانب النهر بنيت كنيسة وهناك مذبح تقدم اليه من الطرفين العجول قرابين . وعلى طرفي الممشى الخراف التي ستقدم ايضاً . وراها الاشجار المختلفة : ونستطيع ان نقول ان هذه المجموعة من الفسيفساء تعتبر في الدرجة الاولى من حيث الكمال والسلامة :

فخامة رئيس الوزراء ١٢/٣/١٩٣٣

أقدم لفخامتكم طيا استمدعاء من جمعية حراسة الاراضي المقدسة يتضمن طلب التصريح من المجلس التنفيذي بشراء (خربة الخيط) من اعمال قضاء مادبا المفرغة باسم ابراهيم الشويحات ؛
ان المادة (٢) من قانون تصرف الشركات الاجنبية في الاموال غير المنقولة لسنة ١٩٢٧ تجيز للجمعيات الخيرية والهيئات الدينية المؤلفة في بلاد اخرى والمسجلة في شرقي الاردن ان تحرز وتمتلك داخل المدن والقرى ما تحتاج اليه من الاموال غير المنقولة الضرورية لاعمالها .
فاستناداً الى المادة المشار اليها ليس لدي مانع من التصريح للجمعية المبحوث عنها بشراء الارض المذكور واعتبر ان مساحة هذه الارض لا تتجاوز الحد الضروري للجمعية .

مدير الاثار
متشل

فخامة رئيس الوزراء ٢١/٢/١٩٣٢

بما ان خربتي سياغة والخيط هما منطقتا عاديّات بموجب النظام المنشور على الصحيفة ٩٢ من العدد ٣٢٦ من الجريدة الرسمية اصبح عملاً بحكم المادة الرابعة من قانون الاثار لا يجوز التصرف بها لغير الحكومة .
تجدون شرحاً كافياً حول هذا الصدد في التقرير المقدم من الهيئة التي انتدبها المجلس التنفيذي للكشف على هاتين الخربتين والذي رفع لفخامتكم .

مدير الاثار

مدير الاراضي ١٥/٦/١٩٣٣

اطلع المجلس التنفيذي على المخبرات الجارية حول طلب تسجيل خربتي سياغة والخيط الاثريتين لأمم جمعية حراسة الاراضي المقدسة وعلى رأي وزير العدلية الوارد في كتابه ١٩٣٣/٦/٦ . ولما كانت القواعد المرعية لا تجيز تفويض الاراضي خارج القرى والقصبات الى الشركات والهيئات الاجنبية تراءى له ان ليس من الممكن الترخيص بتسجيل الخربتين المنوه عنها .

عن /رئيس الوزراء
توفيق ابو الهدى

واخيراً توصلت الوساطات الى اعتبار جمعية حراسة الاراضي المقدسة مالكة لكنيسة القديس لوطي في خربة المخطط ويتعهد هذا المالك بالمحافظة على البناء المشيد فوق هذه الانقاض الأثرية ويكون مسؤولاً عن ترميم وتصليح البناء المذكور . . . والا يحدث تغييراً فيها . . . وللمالك الحق في عمل ترتيب لقبول الزوار خلال الساعات التي يعينها مقابل رسم مقداره عشرة ملات لصيانة الاثار . وقد رمت الفسيفساء وعهد الى الشيخ سالم ابو الغنم حراستها مقابل ستة جنيهات في السنة .

التصريح رقم ٤١ للتنقيب ، صدر في ١٤ / ٦ / ١٩٣٩ .

اعطي هذا التصريح الى البروفسور الاب بلارمينو باغاتي (Bellarmino Bagatti) لاجراء تنقيبات في

لقد شيد بعض الاهالي خارج الحدود المار ذكرها عدة غرف عبارة عن اصطبلات ومخازن دخلنا الى احدها فشاهدنا ارضها مفروشة بالفسيفساء المنقوشة برسوم جميلة .
النتيجة :

اننا نرى ان تعتبر الحدود التي ذكرناها لكل قرية منطقة عادات يمنع التصرف بها بخلاف الحكومة طالما وقد ثبت ان كل واحدة من قطعتي الارض المار ذكرها تنطبق حدودها ومساحتها على ما في اسناد التملك وان قريتي صياغة والخيط خارجتان عن الحدود المذكورة في اسناد التملك - لذلك اننا نوصي بشدة المحافظة على القريتين بحدودها المار ذكرها باعتبارها منطقتي عادات حسبما جاء في كتاب مدير الآثار رقم ١٤٢/٤ تاريخ ٣١/٩/٣ ولاصحاب الاسناد فقط . واشعاراً بذلك قدمنا تقريرنا هذا حسب الاصول .

٣١ / ١٠ / ١٤

مدير الآثار
اديب الكايد

النائب العام
عودة القسوس

مساعد مفتش الآثار
هيـد

وزير العدلية - ١٩٣١/١٠/٢٩

اشير للمذكرة التي دارت في المجلس التنفيذي في جلسته المنعقدة بتاريخ ١٩٣١/١٠/٢٨ حول قضية اراضي موقعي صياغة والخيط الاثريتين في جواز مادبا . وابعث اليكم طيه نسخة عن قرار اللجنة التي ارسلت خصيصاً للكشف عليهما رجاء وضع النظام المقتضى لاعتبارهما منطقتي عادات وفقاً للمادة السابعة من قانون الآثار بعد اخذ رأي الدائرة المختصة والتفضل بارساله لديواني لاقراءه .

عن /رئيس الوزراء
توفيق أبو الهدى

هيـد

١٩٣١ / ١٢ / ٨

مدير الآثار ١٩٣٣/٣/٤

ان خبره الخيط افرغت الى سلامة الشويحات من مادبا واصبح هو المالك لها وقد استحصل منه على تعهد يتضمن اعترافه بعقد الايجار المعقود بينكم وبين صاحبها القديم بتعهده بالقيام بكافة الشروط المدرجة في صك الايجار ان التعهد المذكور ربط بصك الايجار واعيد اليكم في طيه .
(المالك القديم سالم أبو الغنم)
ولايسمح لاحد بالسكنى فيها او باستعمالها لمقاصد اخرى .

مدير الاراضي
متشل

وفي وسط هذه الخربة انقاض لكنيسة شرقية قديمة ذات اعمدة - كل منها عبارة عن حجر واحد تروم مع مرور السنين . ولدى التجوال بهذه الخربة رأينا ان انقاضها باقية على ما هي عليه منذ الاجيال الغابرة ولم يكتشف بعد ما تحويه تلك الانقاض .

وقد فهم من التحقيقات التي اجريناها ان المقصد من شراء قطعة الارض المسجلة باسم رشيد ورفاقه هو الاستيلاء على هذه القرية باجمعها وبداعي اعتبار الثغرة التي هي شرقي القرية هي الثغرة المذكورة حداً لقطعة الارض المسجلة باسم رشيد ورفاقه المنوي فراغها الى حراسة الاراضي المقدسة تحت اسم انطون اراسيل ، بينما وان تلك الارض يحدها شرقاً الثغرة القرية والعرقوب .

وبعد ان أكملنا تحقيقاتنا والكشف على ارض سياغة توجهنا الى موقع الخيط . وبعد الوقوف على قطعة الارض المسجلة باسم غدير العفنان وتطبيق الحدود والمساحة تأملنا ايضاً في الحدود التي يطلب متصرف قطعة الارض هذه تصحيح حدودها فوجدنا ان الحد الجنوبي والحد الشرقي التي يطلب غدير المذكور اعتبارها حدوداً صحيحة لارضه تجعل قرية الخيط البالغة مساحتها مائتين وخمسين دونماً تقريباً داخلية في حدود ارضه ، بينما وان مساحة ارضه بحسب سند التملك وهي عبارة عن خمس دونات (عتيق) وحدودها من الجهة الجنوبية المذكورة بصراحة جدار القرية فلا يمكن بعد هذه الصراحة والوضوح ان يتجاوز غدير المذكور اول جدار من جدران القرية (قرية الخيط)

قرية المخيط :

وهي انقاض قرية قديمة قائمة على رأس جبل يشرف على فلسطين والغور ونهر الاردن والبحر الميت ، محاذية لجبل نبو - يحدها شرقاً محمد المفلح - ورفاقه المار ذكرهم يطلب تصحيح الحدود لارض غدير . شمالاً اسفل الجبل القائمة عليه القرية المذكورة الى ان يتصل اسفل الجبل هذا بأرض غدير غرباً اسفل الجبل . جنوباً ارض محمد المفلح وملك العبابدة وطريق العسوف وتبلغ مساحة هذه القرية مع الجبل القائم عليه مائتين وخمسين دونماً .

اوصاف القرية :

الجبل عبارة عن قمتين متصلتين مع بعضهما ببعض الواحدة منها تعلو الاخرى قليلاً . وعلى رأس القمة الشمالية المنخفضة بناء غرفة عادية احداثها الشيخ سالم ابو الغنم . وظهر ان ارض الغرفة المذكورة مرصوفة بالفسيفساء الجميلة النقوش المتنوعة من صور القديسين وحيوانات وسفن وطيور . وبصدر الغرفة الشرقي مرتفع تعلو ثلاثين سائمتراً مرصوف بصورة زيتونة واحدة وبين هذا المرتفع وبين ارض الغرفة كتابة ثلاثة اسطر باللغة اليونانية القديمة وقد افادنا مساعد مفتش الآثار عنها انها ترجمت وحفظت ترجمتها في قيود دائرة الآثار مضمونها ان هذه الكنيسة باسم القديس المعمدان ، اسست بعناية المطران يوستينيان وتاريخها يرجع للجيل السادس بعد المسيح . ان دائرة الآثار تدفع اجرا لحراسة الآثار الموجودة بهذه الغرفة مبالغ ستة جنيهات في السنة . اما القمة الثانية هذا الجبل فقد بني عليها بعض الاهالي غرفة وما لبثت ان تهدمت ورجمت انقاضاً . ولا يوجد في الخربة خلاف ذلك شيء ظاهر - ما عدا الانقاض الاثرية الخارجة عن حدود القرية .

فخامة رئيس الوزراء ١٩٣١/١٠/١

أقدم لفخامتكم طيه تقرير هيئة الكشف على آثار خربتي صياغة والمحيط .

مدير الآثار

بناء على الكتاب الوارد من مديرية الأراضي المؤرخ في ١٩٣١/٨/٢٠ تحت ٦/٩/٢٢٣٤ المتضمن طلب الموافقة على فراغ قطعتي الأرض المملوكتي الحدود الكائنة احدهما في الموقع المسمى صياغة والأخرى في الموقع المسمى المحيط الى الشخص المدعو انطون افندي اراسيل من التبعة الاسبانية . وبما انه فهم من كتاب مدير الآثار أن في تلك المواقع آثاراً قديمة قيمة لا يجوز الموافقة على استملاكها من أناس خلاف الحكومة . لذلك نسب المجلس التنفيذي إيفادنا للكشف على الموقعين المذكورين وتنظيم تقرير ضاف عن ملاحظتنا وعمّا نشاهده .

وفي يوم الاثنين الواقع في ١٩٣١/١٠/٥ ذهبنا وبرفقتنا المستر هيد مساعد مفتش الآثار والشيخ سالم سليمان ابو الغنم بصفته خبير بهذه المواقع . وبتنا الليلة الأولى في مأدبا وبصباح اليوم الثاني في ١٩٣١/١٠/٦ استدعينا مأمور تسجيل مادبا واطلعنا على المعاملة الجارية بهذا الشأن . فوجدنا أنه تقدم اليه بأول الأمر شهادتا التسجيل - وواحدة منها تتضمن أن قطعة أرض السليخ المحدودة : شرقاً ثغرة وعرقوب ، شمالاً اعيال عودة . غرباً اعيال عودة وهدف ام قلب ، جنوباً عرقوب وطريق : والتي مساحتها خمسة عشر دونماً (عتيق) هي بتصرف ارشيد بن مفلح العبابدة ورفاقه . كل منهم له بنسبة حصة الأثر . والثانية تتضمن أن القطعة الثانية الكائنة في موقع المحيط والمحدودة شرقاً شتيوي المفلح شمالاً طريق معبد سلطاني . غرباً وادي مسيل ماء . جنوباً جدر القرية والتي مساحتها خمسة دونمات (عتيق) هي بتصرف غدير العفنان - ورثها عن والده المتوفى ، وكل من الطرفين عازم على فراغ أرضه الى الأب انطون كاسي الفرنسي سكاني بالإضافة لجمعية حراسة الأراضي المقدسة . وبعد ان اكملت المعاملة على هذه الصورة تنظم شهادتا تسجيل خلاف الأولى - جاء في الواحدة منها طلب تصحيح حدود الأرض على أن تكون حدودها هكذا : شرقاً محمد المفلح وحسين المطلق وعبد الوالي المصطفى وطور أبيض ومحمد المفلح . جنوباً أرض محمد المفلح ابو الغنم وملك العبابدة وطريق الخسوف . وأن يجري فراغها لاسم الشخص المدعو اراسيل لقاء مبلغ خمس مائة جنيه فلسطيني - كما أنه تنظم ورقة شهادة تسجيل أخرى بحق قطعة الأرض الكائنة بموقع صياغة المذكورة اوصافها اعلاه ، فيتضمن طلب اجراء معاملة فراغها لاسم انطون اراسيل لقاء مبلغ خمس مائة جنيه فلسطيني .

وبعد ان اطلعنا على هذه المعاملات توجهنا توجهاً توا وبرفقتنا الخبير الشيخ سالم ابو الغنم اولاً الى موقع صياغة . وبعد الوقوف على قطعة الأرض المسجلة باسم ارشيد بن مفلح العبابدة ووفقاه وتطبيق حدودها ومساحتها وجد ان حدها الشرقي ينتهي في الثغرة والعرقوب الذي يمتد من الجنوب ويتصل في سفح الجبل القائمة عليه خربة صياغة ، اذ يفصله محل منخفض يسمى ثغرة ، تبلغ مساحته دونتين تقريباً غربي خربة صياغة وجدنا هذه الخربة عبارة عن انقاض قرية كبيرة قديمة قائمة على قمة جبل محدودة بما فيها الجبل القائمة عليه : شرقاً الثغرة . شمالاً طريق تتصل بين أرض اعيال عودة وبين أرض ارشيد بن مفلح المار ذكرها . غرباً اتصال أرض عيال عودة بأسفل جبل القرية . جنوباً الطريق التي تمر من الثغرة الغربية التي هي أرض ارشيد من الجهة الشرقية . ومساحة هذه القرية والجبل القائمة عليه تبلغ مائتين وخمسين دونماً تقريباً .

حفريات خربة المخيط

١٩٣١

مدير الآثار

عمان في ٢٦ / ٨ / ١٩٣١

قدم ابراهيم بك هاشم الوكيل القانوني عن انطوان افندي بن انطونيو اراسيل المقيم في القدس استدعاء يطلب فيه الترخيص لموكله بشراء قطعتي الارض المسماة صياغة والمخيط الواقعتين في مأدبا . وبالنظر لما علمته من ان قطعتي الارض المذكورة هما من المواقع الاثرية، ارجو اجراء ما يقتضي الكشف عليها وموافاتي بما يظهر لكم .

رئيس الوزراء

(عبد الله سراج)

١٩٣١ / ٩ / ٣

فيخامة رئيس الوزراء

ان قطعتي الارض المنوه عنها في كتاب فيخامتكم هما من المواقع الاثرية والتي لا يجوز بيعها باي وجه من الوجوه .

مدير الآثار

١٩٣١ / ٩ / ٧

مدير الآثار

ارجو موافاتي بالايضاحات الآتية : -

١ - نوع الآثار الموجودة في تلك الاراضي ومساحتها وما اذا كانت تلك المساحة وبالنسبة لوسعها - تمنع اصحابها من التصرف بكامل تلك الاراضي .

٢ - بيان الاستناد القانوني المانع لبيع تلك الاراضي اذا كان هناك ما يمنع من بيعها .

رئيس الوزراء

عبد الله سراج

١٩٣١ / ٩ / ٧

فيخامة رئيس الوزراء المعظم

١ - خربة صياغة هي عبارة عن اخربة متهدمة تبلغ مساحتها خمسين متراً مربعاً . اما المخيط ففيها فقط الفسيفساء الموجودة في بيت الشخص المدعو طلاق الغدير والتي تبلغ مساحتها احد عشر متراً في تسعة امتار . ولكن هذه الفسيفساء تمتد قليلاً خلف حائط البيت نحو الغرب ويظهر التراب الآن قسماً منها .

٢ - أما الاراضي التي تقع عليها هذه الآثار فلا يوجد أي قانون يمنع بيعها من قبل اصحابها ما دامت هذه الآثار ستبقى ملكاً للحكومة طبقاً للمادة الرابعة من قانون الآثار . وسوف لا تدخل ايضاً في صك البيع .

٣ - وكذا الطالبون لاستملاك الاراضي المذكورة يجب ان يكونوا على بينة تامة من نصوص المادتين

الرابعة والثامنة من قانون الآثار .

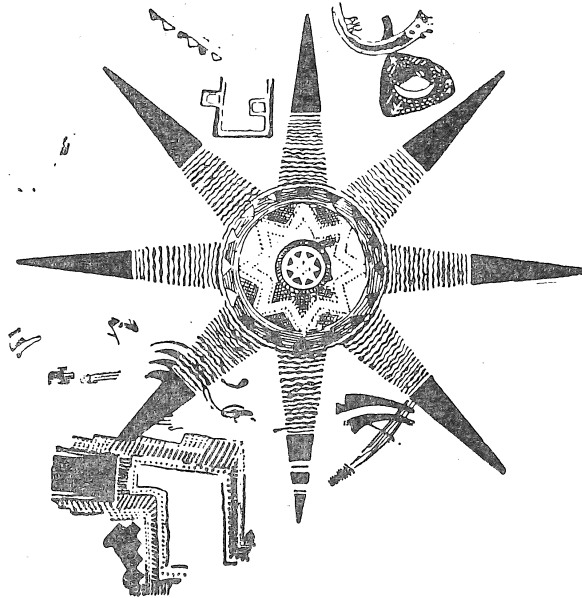
عن مدير الآثار

هيد

والبرنزي الاول . وقد اكتشف السيد عبد الرحمن الشرفاء ممثل دائرة الآثار حائطاً طوله متر ونصف المتر تراكت عليه عدة طبقات من القصاراة وقد حاول جهده الى ان نجح في ازالة الطبقات الاضافية حتى وصل الى الاولى . واكتشفت نجمة الغسول التي تخترق اشعتها القصاراة الرمادية او البيضاء الناصعة . ومن اشعة هذه النجمة مادن ايضاً بالاحمر الفاتح . واستمرت صفوف اللبن المقصورة امتارا اخرى رسم عليها صور حيوانات خرافية ، قد تكون الاسد او الحصان او الزرافة او الحمار الوحشي ، رسمت بخطوط منحنية رمادية وحمراء وسوداء . وتعتبر الصورة الملونة والقصاراة الملونة فريدتين من نوعهما في الاراضي المقدسة .

الحياة في قرية الغسول

وبناء على نتائج هذه الحفريات نستطيع ان نضع صورة للحياة في تليلات الغسول حوالي سنة ٣٥٠٠ ق.م. هنا نشأت قرية بنيت منازلها من الحجر المجفف بالشمس فوق اسس من حجارة . وبعض هذه البيوت من الحجر دون اسس حجرية . وكانت البيوت تسقف بعيذان الحطب او القصب ثم تطرح فوقها ملدة من الطين . وقد قصرت جدرانها من الداخل بالكلس وظهر على بعضها صور حيوانات ونجوم واشكال هندسية . وفيها تقدمت صناعة الفخار فاصبحت تشوى جيداً بالنار وتنوعت اشكالها ورسمت عليها زخارف متنوعة بالوان بنية وحمراء تحمل رسوما هندسية. كما نشاهد اثار عيذان القصب الملتوية على سطح الجرار، مما يدل على انهم عرفوا صنع الحصر والسلال . اما الحجارة المستديرة المثقوبة فتدل على انهم استعملوها في مغازل لغزل الخيوط . واتخذت نساؤهم قلاندن من الصدف والحجارة كما يستنتج ان الرجال كانوا يربون لحاهم . ويستعملون الوشم . وقد ظهر بجانب هيكل عظمي ان صاحبه كان يلبس خفين .



نجمة تليلات الغسول بالألوان

الموسم السابع

اشترك في الحفر كثير من الآباء والاطلاب اليسوعيين . وقد اخترنا شقعة ضيقة في شمال التل رقم ٣ استمر حتى اتصل بمكان الحفر القديم - لنصل الى المدينة الرابعة مبتدئين من الاسفل - الى ان وصلنا الى مقبرة عربية كشفناها وحفرنا فيها الى عمق متر . وبذلك زالت اتعابنا وسهل عملنا وأمسكنا بطرف النجاح . اكتشافاتنا كانت كالتى اكتشفت في المواسم السابقة وتميزت ببعض قطع الفخار المدهون - وقد ارسل جزء من الجدار المدهون المرسوم الى المتحف الفلسطيني بالقدس بعد ان اثبت الفحص عدم تمكننا من حفظه سالمًا لدينا .

في اعلى نقطة من هذا التل اكتشفنا في غرفها اعمدة وقروناً ورسوم حيطان محطمة وقطعاً من الفخار المصور . وكلها تدل على قداسة هذا المكان . كانت كلها مدفونة تحت رمال الصحراء المهجورة . والخلاصة ان فخار تل الغسول هو الفخار الأولي الذي يميز عصر الكالكوليثيك - باستثناء تل الفارعة السابق للتاريخ...

روبرت كوبل Robert Koepel

الموسم الثامن : من ٤ / ١٢ / ١٩٥٩ الى ٣١ / ٣ / ١٩٦٠ .

اشرف على الحفريات السابقة البروفسور مالون ، Mallon خلال ١٩٢٩ - ١٩٣٤ كما اشرف

البروفسور كوبل ، Koepel خلال ١٩٣٦ - ١٩٣٩ .

وبسبب نشوب الحرب العالمية الثانية توقفت هذه الحفريات الى ان استأنفها الاب روبرت نورث

Robert North اليسوعي باسم معهد التوراة البابوي في روما .

وبعد ان تجتاز بنا السيارة ستة كيلومترات من جسر الأمير عبدالله (جسر سويمه) نحو الشرق يقع بصرنا على بعد مئة متر من الجنوب على تلة هي احدى تليلات الغسول قرب عين خليل . وعلى تلك التلة انقاض مدينة مندثرة نشر نتائج حفرياتها السابقة استاذ الآثار في جامعة هارفارد في الولايات المتحدة البروفسور إرنست رايت Earnest Wright في سنة ١٩٥٧ وهي تدل على ان هذه الحضارة تعود الى سنة ٣٥٠٠ ق . م . واهم مظاهرها البيوت المقصورة التي استقرت فيها الحياة البيئية لجماعة حقيقية من البشر . وظهر العلاقة بين هذه الحضارة وما عاصرها عن حضارات مصر وبابل . وبناء على هذه النتائج وعلى حفريات اشترك فيها الاب روبرت نورث مع الدكتورة كينيون في اريحا بدأ هذا الاب حفرياته الجديدة في هذا الموسم الثامن .

في الاسابيع الاولى من الحملة حصل الاب نورث على اثنتين من جرار الدفن بين حجارة سوداء ضخمة . وعلى انخفاض بسيط من الحفر ظهر في احد المربعات جدار طوله ٢٥٠ سم وعرضه ٧٠ سم يوازيه جدار آخر طوله ٣٠٠ سم . وجدت بينهما جرة سقط قرب فمها شظايا من جمجمة طفل كما وجدت مزهرية وطابون . . . وتعددت القبور من هذا النوع في هذا المكان الى ان كشف هيكل عظمي طوله ستة اقدام كانت يده ممدودتين على طوله ، وقد مدد في هذا المكان منذ ٥٥٠٠ سنة . كما عثر على قطعة من الخشب المدهون بمقياس ٢٠ × ٢٠ سم بالاحمر والاسود . وان اكتشاف لبنات مقصورة شجع على استمرار العمل . واثبت احد اساتذة جامعة القديس يوسف في بيروت العلاقة بين حضارة تليلات الغسول وحضارة جبيل (بابيلوس) من العصر النيولوثي

الارض حتى تختفي بين الانقاض . وقد اخذنا نزيل الانقاض باعثناء زائد حتى كشفنا كل شيء . وكان طول الجدار ستة امتار وعلوه مترين - شغلت الرسوم منه ٥٠٠ أمتار وعلى ارتفاع نصف متر ، ولم يبق الا نصف السور بعد خراب وسقوط هذا الجدار من الشمال الى الجنوب وقد جمعنا من بين الانقاض قطع القصارة المصورة حتى كونا فكرة واضحة عن تصوير الجدار استنتجنا منها ان المصور كانت له خطة مرسومة في فنه وانها نتيجة مران طويل الاعد .

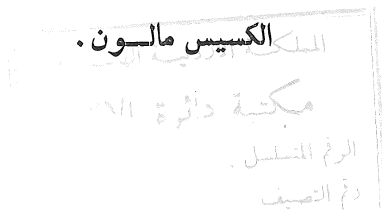
بدأ التصوير بارتفاع نصف متر عن الارض . ثم مد فوق ذلك خطين افقيين جعلهما قاعدة لوحدة التصويرية . وقد وجد منها عقداً بالوان حمراء وبيضاء وبنية ، قد تكون للاطر العلوي ١٠٠٠ اظهر الرسام الشاب الذي نسخ الصورة وهو المسيو لندر M. M. Lender فيها مجموعة من صور الاشخاص احدثهم يتبع الآخر وقد اتجهت انظارهم عند جهة واحدة - يقابلهم صف رسم باللون الاسمر . وقد بقي من الصورة الاقدام وجزء من السيقان باللون الاحمر . وقد وضع قدمه على اسكلة واطئة كان صاحبها واقفاً . وهذا المنظر من الصور كان لاربعة اشخاص كأنهم اطفال . وقد بلغ ارتفاع التصوير على الحائط متراً ونصف المتر وهو لاربعة اشخاص فقط فكيف انتخيل الصورة الكاملة لباقي افراد تلك الاسرة ؟ وقد جلس الاب والام امام الاطفال - وقد يكون في الصور صاحب اللون البني امامهم . وقد نسخ صورة هذه الاسرة السيد مبارك سعد الفنان الشهير في القدس بالحجم الطبيعي . هل هي صورة دينية ؟

الرسوم الاخرى :

وجد اثناء يعلق للزينة plaque من الطين ١٠٠×١٦٠ سم مطروحا على الارض على وجهه المدهون وقد كسر الى عدة شقف صغيرة بحيث كان من الصعب جمعها لايجاد شكل معين لها ، وكانت الوانها كالوان الدهان السابق الذكر . وكان يقف على ارتفاع نصف متر من المدينة العليا (الرابعة) . ثم ظهرت اجزاء صغيرة من الجدار مصورة نصف مدمرة - الوانها حمراء ، سوداء ، صفراء . كالوان الدهان الاول في صفوف افقية . صورة طائر اتجه وجهه نحو الغرب والوانه واضحة وتقاطيع جسمه واضحة . وكلها تدل على علو شأن الفنان الذي رسمها . امارسوم الحيطان فكانت شائعة في هذه المدينة الرابعة - وهو فن لم يعرف لدى الكلدان ولا عند المصريين في العصور السابقة لعصور المعادن . حتى ورد في قصور كريت في كنوسوس من ١٩٠٠ - ١٧٥٠ ق . م

ويمكن ارجاع رسوم ودهان تل الغول الى ٢٠٠٠ ق . م ويمكن اقدم . ولذا لا نجد ما نقارن بينها وبينه من الأمم المعاصرة - وهكذا كشف الستار عن مكان بداية هذا الفن واهمية هذا الكشف انه حقق ما جاء في التوراة عن الامكنة التي زارها ابراهيم . ان شعباً رسم هذه الفنون ليس شعباً يكافح لاجل القوت فقط . بل انه شعب شعبان بل ومترف غني ناجح في سلام . . هذا توفر في غور الأردن في الالف الثالث قبل الميلاد .

القدس في نيسان سنة ١٩٣٢



على الآنية بشكل متعرج الى اطراف الاناء - وبعضها بشكل سعف النخل. وهذه اول مرة يظهر فيها استعمال شكل الشجر للزينة على الفخار في هذه المدينة .

٠٠٠ ان هذه الحضارة تعود الى العصر البرونزي القديم واولائل العصر البرونزي المتوسط - أي من القرن العشرين قبل الميلاد - وقد وافق على هذا الرأي كل اثرى شاهد حفرياتنا . وأخيراً وجدنا على سطح الارض مقابر عربية وجد في احداها زجاج يشبه ما يصنع اليوم في الخليل . كما كان يشاهد على سطح الارض الفخار البيزنطي بكميات قليلة ... وهكذا فان تاريخ هذه المدينة ينتهي في القرن العشرين قبل الميلاد ولكن بدء تاريخها لم يعرف بعد .

القدس في ١٢ أيار سنة ١٩٣١

الكسيس مالون

بناء على رغبة المستر هيد من دائرة آثار شرقي الاردن شاهدنا في وادي نمرين (شعيب) على الضفة اليمنى على نحو كيلو مترين للغرب من الشونة قرب تل الربة - بقايا على سطح الارض من صوان وفخار واسس أسوار من نفس حضارة تل الغسول .

التقرير الثالث

٢٩ نوفمبر سنة ١٩٣١ - ٢٤ آذار سنة ١٩٣٢

حصرنا جهودنا في تل رقم ٣ الذي كان يمتد حوالي اربع مئة متر . ولما فتحنا فيه خندقا اصطدمنا مع جدار يتقاطع هناك على عمق مترين وكانت اسسه على طبقة ترابية بيضاء - وهي الطبقة الشائعة في كل الغور . وكان ذلك على مستوى السهل الطبيعي - اي ان اول سكن للناس كان على مستوى هذا السهل . ثم اخذ التل يرتفع بسبب تراكم انقاض المدن الواحد فوق الاخرى .

ظهر من السور ١٣٠ سم وكله من اللبن . ثم يعلوه سور من حجر براني وجواني . ثم فوقه سور من اللبن بعرض سبعين سم وعلى الارض وجدنا جرة وعظام طفل . وبقايا الموجودات من أفران وآبار وجدران كانت كما وجدنا في تل رقم ١ . وعلى الاجمال فان البيوت كانت مربعة ولا تزال جدرانها قائمة من اللبن مطينة . وجدت رسوم على بعضها الى مصنع من اللبن لنوع من التائيل : كلاب صغيرة . رؤوس حيوانات . مع قطع من الطين . صنعت ولم تركب بعد . صورة سحرية كان يستعملها اهل المدينة . وطريقة وضع اللبن تدل على ان هذه الحضارة لم تنشأ هنا بل دخلت من الخارج . (لاعتقادات خرافية) .

ومما يستحق الاهتمام وجود قدومين من البرونز على الطراز المقوس ورأس صولجان وسكين صغير صلب ، وصورة عنق من اللؤلؤ وكلها مواد مستوردة تدل على الاتصال التجاري بين وادي الاردن والعالم الخارجي في الالف الثالث ، واكثر من ذلك اننا عثرنا على قطع من الفخار تحمل علامات فارقة وخطوطا حمراء وقد حزر عليها سعف النخل .

وقد اعطينا ادق نوع من اعمال الحفر الى عامل مصري متمرن في الحفريات الاثرية حتى حذقها ٠٠ وبعد حين جاء يخبرنا ان على الجرار علامات من الدهان . ولما نظرنا وجدنا امامنا صورا رسمت باللون الاحمر تمتد الى

العظام البشرية

وجدنا عظاما بشرية مدفونة في جرار بعناية مدهشة واحيانا وجدناها مبعثرة على الأرض . وعلى عمق متر وجدنا مؤخرة رأس رجل بالغ ، وبجانبها هيكل عظمي لطفل . وثلاثة مدافن لاطفال في جرار بجانب الجدران واهم من ذلك وجد هيكل تام لطفل عمره ٧ - ٨ سنوات اضطجع على جانبه الايمن في التراب مجرداً عن الجرار الفخارية . وعلى عمق سبعين سنتمرا وفي جرة اخرى وجد رأس الطفل محطما وباقي العظام تحته . وفي حالة أخرى كان رأس الطفل مدفونا في فم الجرة . ومن ضغط الجرة تحطمت المجموعة .

الموجودات الاثرية

وجدنا في هذا العام نظائر ما وجدنا في العام السابق . لذا سنكتفي بذكر ما يلقي ضوءا جديدا على حضارة هذه المدينة وثقافتها

الادوات الصوانية

ازاميل . محكات (مكاشط) سكاكين . سنان . طول احد المكاشط سبعة عشر سنتمرا وعرضه ثلاثة سنتمترات

ادوات من العظام

سنان من العظم — خناجر من ناحية محددة ومن ناحية مثقوبة . اسنان مشط .

اشكال من الطين لخراف وماعرز .

حلق آذان بالازواج من اللؤلؤ والصدف — احدها بشكل هلال . طولها ١٢ سم . خرز من العظام ، وحجارة صغيرة من الكوارتز . (٤٠) خرزة صغيرة بيضاء ورملية قطرها ٣ أو ٤ ملمترات وسمكها سنتمتران او سنتمتر واحد وكلها مستديرة وثقوبها واضحة .

الفخار

انجج الوسم جمع كمية كبيرة من قطع الفخار . من بعض الآنية السالمة . ظهر بوضوح خلط طربة الفخار بمسحوق الحجر الكلسي والصواني — لمعظم الاواني ايدي . وقد اتضح استعمال عجلة (دولاب) الفخار . وقد استعمل كل الفخار باتساع كبير — قليل من القطع جففت بالشمس . وكذلك صنعت من هذا الطين كرات المغزل . وقد زخرفت بتطويقها بخطوط . او حروز من الخيطان . وبلغ ارتفاع الحق او القارورة ٧١ سم في ٧ سم للعنق وبلغ سمك القشرة ملمترين او ٣ — ٤ — تطوق الحق بخطوط تلميعية . حروز بيضاء وسمرأ على ارضية حمراء . . . هذه القارورة كانت شائعة الاستعمال في المدن . وهناك قارورة بشكل طائر . واصبحت الجرة ضيقة العنق ، جلستها مسطحة وليس اقل من هذا قدور الطبخ . اصبح لها اذان بشكل مزدوج من كل طرف ، وقد يكون لبعضها ثلاث ارجل تقف عليها فوق النار . وهناك الاقداح التي تشابه ما عرفته الاسرة الاولى من الاسر الحاكمة في مصر . اما الصحون المستديرة فهي نادرة — على الاغلب انها أصبحت مبسطة وليست عميقة .

ومن اهم مظاهر الزينة في المساكن صورة الحية التي رسمت على القصاره وكان ذنبها ثلاثة صفوف من الثقوب بها فم واسع . وكان لون التزيين نوعين الاصفر والاحمر الذي يشبه الورد نوعا ما . ويستمر التزيين

هذه المدينة شهرتها من عاداتها وطبيعة مخلفاتها ومن مركزها المتوسط ومن مجاورتها لسكنات قديمة صغيرة. وقد دارت حولها مشاكل ذكرت في التوراة باسم بنتابولس Penta polis ومعناها المدن الخمس بصورة تستدعي الدرس الدقيق .

القدس في فبراير سنة ١٩٣٠ الكسيس مالون

Alexis Mallon

التقرير الثاني من ٤ آذار الى ٥ نيسان سنة ١٩٣١

قال بعض البدو ان اسم تل الغسول مأخوذ من نبات ينبت هناك ويستعمل في غسل الثياب . وبعضهم قال ان نبات سلسولا Salsola اذا احرق فان رماده يستعمل في الغسيل . وبعضهم قال ان هذا النبات يحرق في نيسان، واذا سحق فانه يستخدم في الغسيل. وهناك شجرة تنمو في وادي الغرابا لورقها لونان Poplar & willow . بدأنا الحفر برئاسة المسيو نوفيل في تل رقم ١ في القسم الجنوبي من هذا الموقع وفي اقصى الشمال وجدنا بناية من اللبن تصل بين تل ٤ ومركز العمل ، وقد اتسع العمل معنا بحيث ضم ارضاً مساحتها ١٥٠٠ متر مربع . وقد وجدنا خلف السور الغربي مخزناً ضخماً من العاديات : ادوات صوانية من جميع الاشكال . مواعين بيتية من الفخار . حجر طابون مملوء بالرماد . وكلها تخفي في تربة عذراء — كما وجد عادة في سفوح التلال التي تحيط بالمدن القديمة — آثار الحريق واضحة جدا . كل ماظهر من الآثار هنا هي بقايا بيوت لاشخاص كانت مبنية في صفين متوازيين . في كل صف سبعة بيوت ، يفصل بينها شوارع او ازقة — قواعد حجرية عرضها ١٨٠ سم بين جدارى اللبن بقايا الجدران تتألف من : —
١ — قواعد حجرية عرضها ٦٠ — ٨٠ سم جمعت حجارتها الصغيرة من السهل ولا يظهر عليها نحت او نقش .
ب — اسس من احجار اللبن فوق الارض العادية .
ج — اسس بعضها من حجر وبعضها من اللبن معا .

وعلى كل حال من هذه الحالات الثلاث فان المداميك العليا في هذه الاسوار كانت من اللبن المشوي . وفي حالات كثيرة وجدنا البعض قد تهدم فوق اكوام الرماد . لقد بقي اللبن دون استعمال الطين . وكلها بنيت وصفت باليد . وكان يغطي الارض طبقة من الحصى المسود ، سوده الرماد او الفحم — هذا هو رصف الطابون كما هو في الوقت الحاضر . وهناك الدائرة الحجرية التي كانت تستعمل مخزناً ولا بد وان يكون منه طاحونة يد . كما توجد دائرة من الحجارة او الطين توضع فيها وترتكز بها الجرة الكبيرة وقد وجد من هذا النوع زير كبير لا يزال محفوظاً الى الآن وكان بعض الغرف مبلاطاً ببلاط صغير مستدير الشكل تقريباً — او مما يراه السيل وكان في بعض البيوت رمل بحري جميل — وعلى عمق ٦٠ — ٨٠ سم من ارضها .

ولقد فرشت الرمال حتى كونت طبقة ارضية سمكها ثلاث او اربع سنتيمترات وعلى فرشاة الرمل هذه الفرشة من الرماد سمكها من ١٠ الى ٢٠ سم . فوق هاتين الفرشتين لبنة سمكها نصف متر . وفي احدى الجرار تبين للمسيو نوفيل حبوب القمح . وبعض فخار مصور . وبالقرب الجدار الشمالي وجدت طاحونة كبيرة من حجر البازلت وبعض قطع من اثاث البيوت العادي — وهذا يدل على اننا لم نصل الى نهاية المدينة من الشمال — اننا لانزال بين المساكن .

اللبن

كان اللبن يجفف في اشعة الشمس - كما كان يجري في اريحا في بادىء الامر - وكان يصنع باليد ، دون قالب . وكان لونه ابيض .

العظام البشرية :

لاحظنا وجود عظام بشرية في اكثر من تل واحد على عمق نصف متر من الحفر . الموتي يضطجعون في القبور واضعين رؤوسهم على لبنات او حجارة ملساء . الوجه متجه نحو الجنوب - وقد وجد مع احدها خاتم حديدي .

في الأسفل لم نستطع تعيين علامات فارقة لكننا نعتقد ان العظام اتي بها الى هذه المدافن بعد خراب المكان او بعد احراقه . من ذلك رأس طفل في جرة وضع بغاية من الحذر والحرص . وبسبب ثقل الجمجمة مالت الجرة على طرفها الجنوبي . وكان يحيط بالعظام بعض التراب الذي دخل عند كسر الجرة . ويجب ان تكون هذه الجرة قد دفنت في الهيكل وكان عمر هذا الطفل ست او سبع سنوات لم يغير اسنان اللبن بعد . ولعل هذا الطفل قدم قرباناً لاله هذا المعبد .

الموجودات الأثرية :

صوان . سكاكين . ازاميل ، طولها من ثلاث الى عشر سنتيمترات ككل ما وجد في تلال كنعان . واغوى من ذلك هو اتخاذ شكل الخناجر . زرائب المواشي الكثيرة . اواني حفرت في احجار نارية او بازلتية . اصداف من النوع المتوفر في البحر الأحمر . وكانت تستعمل في اغراض مختلفة - وذلك يدل على علاقة سكان هذا المكان بالبحر الأحمر عن طريق التجارة . خاتم فيه ثمان نقاط مما يدل على رقي السكان الذين يحتاجون الى الاختتام .

الفخار :

تنتشر شقف الفخار على سطح الارض بكثرة زائدة ، وقليل منها نجى من الكسر . صنع بعضها بإتقان . وكان الطين يمزج بمسحوق الحجر الكلسي لصنع هذا الفخار - او بقليل من مسحوق الصوان . ومعظم الجدران محروقة . مقعدة الفخارة مشوية . اعناق طويلة وضيقة وبعض بأعناق قصيرة كال يوناني . كانت تستعمل ليس للسوائل فقط بل لجميع مخزونات البيت من المؤن . وكان لبعضها ست ايدي ، تكثر عليها التزيينات بين القاعدة والعنق . وقد بلغ معدل ارتفاع الزير متراً ونصف المتر . وهناك كرات المغازل وفيها الثقوب . وبعضها كان بشكل قضبان .

هذه الحضارة التي وجدت في هذه المدينة يمكن ان تقارن بما وجد في جارتها اريحا المدينة الكنعانية - اريحا البدائية حتى في اسفل مستويات حفرياتهما المعروفة جيداً وكل حضارتها تدل على مهارة الصناع الذين قطعوا شوطاً بعيداً في صناعتهم . تلك الصنعة التي اقتبسوها عن جيرانهم بفلسطين .

ونحنم هذا التقرير جازمين ان مدينة كبيرة وراقية كانت تقوم في هذا المكان المعروف بتل الغسول - وقد تخربت عند العصر البرونزي الاول بنار مستعرة حولتها الى رماد . وقد اكتسبت

الحفر

في الرابع والعشرين من تشرين الثاني نصبنا المخيم قرب الخرائب في تلال الغسول السفلى وتبعد ثلاثة كيلو مترات للجنوب من وادي غرابه في موقع متوسط ويرتفع بالتدريج من السهول المحيطة به ثم ينحدر الى نهر الاردن بالتدريج . وبذلك يرتفع تل الغسول نحو الهضبة العليا . وللغرب مجرى نهر الشريعة في الغور ومن الشمال ترى اريحا وشونة نمين وتل الكفرين وتل الرامه وتل ابطم . وفي الافق الشرقي البعيد يلوح جبل نبو وفي الجنوب سويمة والبحر الميت ويؤدي الوادي شرقاً الى ماعين .

مما كان يدل على الموقع ثلاثة رجوم في وسط تلاله بقايا مساكن الانسان القديم - طواحين يدوية من حجر . قطع من آنية اجران من حجر Pilous ، broyeurs والظران المصنوع صغيراً وكبيراً وقطع لآنية فخارية بعثرت على وجه الارض - وكلها من اقدم ما عرف من اثار تلال فلسطين . ومن النظرة الاولى يظهر ان هذا المكان لم يكن مسكناً لقبيلة بدوية بل لقرية حضرية ، فهنا وهناك بقايا جدران .

استمر مخيمنا من ٢٤ نوفمبر الى ٢٨ ديسمبر . قام بالعمل عشرون عاملاً . قسمنا التل الى مربعات . وتولى الحفر في كل مربع فريق من العمال وعندما اكتشفت بقايا الجدران وجدت قطع الصوان وشقف الفخار . وتحت ذلك تربة صفراء من الرمل وحجارة املستها المياه -

تل رقم ١

اعلى نقطة في الحفرة . غرفة صغيرة ٣٠ و ٢ × ٢٥ متر فيها اناء فخاري مقلوب بارض الغرفة مبلطة . حاجز حجري بينها وبين الغرفة المجاورة لها . وفي شمال التل وجدت طاولة حجرية . الجدران مبنية من حجارة غشيمة دون حفر او نقش - الحجارة مبرية من الماء وليس لها اي زاوية او رأس . مواقد حجرية كثيرة من حجارة ملساء ، وحجارة ملساء للخبز عليها .

تل رقم ٣

جدار متوازيان طولها ٧٥ ر ١٠ و ٨٠ أمتار فيها موقدة نار . طاولة . دائرة حجرية مبلطة الارضية حيث كانت تحفظ فيها المواد الناشفة . منضدة حجرية مربعة ملاصقة للحائط . جرة كبير مكسورة في ارض كلها رماد . الجرة وسائر الفخار مدهون بالاحمر . وكل المواقد مملوءة بالحجر - او بقايا الحجر .

تل رقم ٦

ظهر فيه حيطان من اللبن طوله ٥ ر ١٢ متر وبعد حفر ثلاثة امتار في التل رقم ٧ . مواقد حجرية وما فيها من مواد فحمية وجد هيكل بشري يضع رأسه على لبنة وبجانب الموقد جرة مقلوبة .

تل رقم ٨

نصف دائرة . حجرية . ارض مبلطة

تل رقم ١٢

على ١٢,٥ متر من تل ٢ للشرق . وجد فرن تحت قنطرة مبنية من اللبن ، وقد وجد مملوءاً بالوقود . فرن الخبز فوق حجارة صغيرة . كان الفرن يوقد النار داخل الفرن كما هو جاري في افران بعض بلدان اوربا وعندما يحشى الرصف توقف النار ويوضع عليه العجين . طول هذا الفرن ٥,٤ أمتار وعمقه ٤٠,٢ متراً مما يدل على انه كان فرنساً عاماً .

حفريات تلييلات الغسول

في سنة ١٩٢٩ طلب مسيو نوفيل Rene Nuville نائب قنصل فرنسا بالقدس من حكومة شرقي الاردن ان تسمح له بان يبحث وينقب ويختبر مجموعة الانصاب Dolmen field وابنية ما قبل التاريخ في وادي العظيمة وفي موقع تلييلات الغسول على الضفة الشمالية الشرقية من البحر الميت - . وذلك باسم مؤسسة البقايا البشرية في باريس . The Institute De Paleontology Humaine - paris

بموجب خارطة قدمها لذلك الموقع . وقد شهد له مفتش الاثار بانه قام بعدة حفريات في شرقي الاردن وفلسطين وسوريا وكتب عنها تقارير ذات اهمية عظيمة لعلم الاثار . وكذلك فان مساعديه اللذين يتوليان الحفروهما الدكتور استكلي Dr . Stekeli وعالم طبقات الارض الدكتور ليويبيكار Dr . leo picare وقد اسرعت الحكومة باعطاء التصريح المطلوب بموجب هذه الشروط :

- ١ - يبطل العمل بهذا التصريح اذا قصر الحفارون بلا سبب معقول عن مباشرة عمل الحفريات بعد مرور ستة اشهر من تاريخ تصدير التصريح او تركوه مدة ستة اشهر بعد مباشرة العمل فيه .
- ٢ - يلزم ان تكون الحفريات عرضة للتفتيش في اوقات مناسبة من قبل اى موظف في دائرة الاثار وان يبرز هذا التصريح عند طلب موظف الاثار او لاي شرطي اداري .
- ٣ - يجب ان يقدم الحفارون الى دائرة الاثار قائمة مفصلة باسماء جميع المواد الاثرية التي يجدونها باسرع وقت بعد اكتشافها .

- ٤ - يقسم ما يعثر عليه بعد الحفر بين الحكومة والحفارين بطريقة يستصوبها مدير الاثار ووافق عليها رئيس الوزراء .
- ٥ - للحكومة الحق بان تأخذ اية عادات ترى انها ضرورية لاي متحف مؤسس من قبلها .
- ٦ - يلزم ان يكون الحفارون مسؤولين عن حراسة وحفظ جميع القطع الاثرية التي توجد اثناء عمل الحفريات وان يضعوها عليها محافظاً . اذا ارتأى مدير الاثار ذلك .
- ٧ - يمكن لمدير الاثار الغاء هذا التصريح اذا قصر الحفارون عن مراعاة اي من هذه الشروط او خالفوا احد احكام قانون الاثار سنة ١٩٢٥ واي تعديل صادر بموجبه .

وقد قامت البعثة بحفرياتها في الموسم الاول وفي ٢٤ تشرين الثاني سنة ١٩٣٠ نشرت تقريرها وهو : ورد في التوراة وصف قصير لموقع قديم جدا يقع في الغور الشرقي ويسميه السكان المجاورون تلييلات الغسول , Teleilat Ghassul ومن كثرة البقايا الاثرية الظاهرة على سطح ارض هذا المكان يتبادر الى الذهن اهميته التاريخية والاثرية وانه بحاجة الى بحث وتنقيب . وقد استحققت اسرة اميركية جزيل الشكر اذ قدمت مبلغا من المال يكفي لتحقيق هذه الرغبة - كما رغبت في كتمان اسمها .

كما يجب ان نذكر مساعدة دائرة الاثار في حكومة شرقي الاردن ، وكذلك شيخ عشيرة العدوان ، كما امن الجيش العربي شرطياً ليحرس مكان الحفريات . كما قدم المسيو رينيه نوفيل - قنصل فرنسا العام في القدس مساعدته القيمة ، بعد نجاحه السامي في حفريات مغارة خريطون بجوار بيت لحم

تصريح للحفر والتنقيب رقم (٣٤)

اعطي هذا التصريح للدكتور ريناتو بارتوشيني بالنيابة عن الجمعية العلمية الإيطالية للقيام ببعض حفريات في قلعة عمان بين ١٩٣٧/٩/١٥ الى ١٩٣٨/٩/١٥ بشرط ان تجري تحت مراقبته واشرافه وان تسير بمقتضى احكام قانون الآثار الموضوع سنة ١٩٢٥ واي قانون اخر صدر بموجبه .

عمان ١٩٣٧/٩/١٠

وقد جدد هذا التصريح سنة اخرى وهذا آخر تقرير قدمه رئيس الحفريات .

بدأ العمل شمالي البرج في الهيكل الذي ظهرت حدوده بالضبط ووجد فيه تمثال لرجل وامرأة من النوع الخرافي . وقد أقيم الهيكل على صخرة عالية منفصلة عن القلعة كانت تقدم عليها الضحايا. ولما تم تنظيف الساحة ظهر الاتجاه الشرقي كما تبين انه كان معبداً عمونياً وقد اوحى هذه الصخرة المقدسة الى داود ان يشتري صخرة اليبوسي على بيدره في اورشليم لبنى عليها هيكل «يهوه». وبعد جهد وصل العمل الى باب كان مسدوداً وعلى الحائط المقابل ظهرت كتابة يونانية متأكدة تصعب قراءتها تحمل اسم الامبرطور مرقص اوريليوس مما حمل البعض على جعله باني هذا الهيكل. وقد وجدت عملة برونزية تحمل اسم (هرقل) Heracleiou وزوجته عشتاروت . ظهر ان طول الهيكل من الشمال الى الجنوب ٥٢ قدماً وعرضه من الشرق الى الغرب ٢٣ قدماً ولم يبق من بنائة الضخم سوى الاسس . وكان يحيط به من جميع الجهات اعمدة كان كل منها يقف على قاعدة ارتفاعها عشرة اقدام . ولم يبق منها الا عمود واحد ملقى على الارض طوله تسعة أمتار. وكانت تيجان الاعمدة من الطراز الكورنثي وكان يربط بينها عتبات طول كل منها سبعة أمتار . وعلى احدى هذه العتبات كتبت باليونانية عبارة مفادها (بسبب نجاح وسعادة تيطس اليوس اديان ، السيد انطونيوس قيصر اغسطوس وجميع اهل بيته) ولقد جمعنا قطع الحجارة المنحوتة الضخمة التي كانت مبنية في الجدران وعلى بعضها زخارف ونقوش من ارقى ما عرف وكلها تدل على عظمة هذا الهيكل ومنها نستطيع ان نتخيل كيف كان يظهر هذا البناء الضخم من على هذه القمة لاهل المدينة السفلى ، فهو يشبه هيكل بعلبك ويعاصر هيكل زفس في جرش ومن المحتمل ان يكون البيزنطيون قد حولوه الى كنيسة مسيحية حتى حطمته الزلازل العنيفة في اوائل الحكم العربي.

ديسمبر ١٩٤٠ ريناتو بارتوشيني

والخلاصة لقد قام بهذه الحفريات في

سنة ١٩٢٧ الدكتور جاكومو غويدي

سنة ١٩٢٩ الدكتور ريناتو بارتوشيني

سنة ١٩٣٠ الدكتور ريناتو بارتوشيني يساعدته المهندس المعماري فيليبي

سنة ١٩٣٠ في الموسم الثاني اشرف على الاعمال كارلو شيسكي . Carlo ceschi

سنة ١٩٣٧ - ١٩٣٩ الدكتور ريناتو بارتوشيني Renato Bartoccini

ولقد امضيت اياما كثيرة في الاشهر الثلاثة الاولى من سنة ١٩٦١ في ضيافة الدكتور البروفسور بارتوشيني الذي كان يحن الى معارضة الحفر عن اثار قلعة عمان وهو يحب اهلها ويتمنى ان يمضي باقي حياته فيما بينهم . ولذلك فانه يهتم بجمع مبلغ كبير من المال يكفي لاتمام مشروعه الاثري الواسع . ولكن المنية عاجلته في أواخر سنة ١٩٦٣ . رحمه الله

(الموحى) . لهذه الصخرة نظائر وأشياء كثيرة في مدينة البتراء وفي جبال فلسطين وهي المعروفة بالمازرات العليا . وقد أزعجنا الاعمدة الساقطة الى خارج الهيكل وقد ظهر لنا ان العمود لم يكن من حجر واحد بل من عدة احجار . وفي الشرق وجدنا فوهة البير التي نظفناها من الاتربة والردم . وهناك بئران اخريان ثم اعترضتنا صخرة اضطررنا لازاحتها فوجدنا تحتها الصهريج الذي كانت تسيل فيه دماء الضحايا . هنا دارت الحرب بين العمونيين المحاربين وبين جيش الملك داود ثلاث سنين قبل ان يستطيع الاستيلاء على ربة عمون ويهدمها .

القصر :

وفي نفس الوقت كنا قد نظفنا ثلث الرواق المربع حتى كشفنا بابين كبيرين من الحجارة . وبذلك تجلى لنا البناء العربي الملائق لهذا الدهليز . ثم وجدنا كتابة يونانية تصعب قراءتها . كما وجدنا كمية من الاواني الفخارية على الطراز العربي معظمها اصفر اللون وقد زينت بأشكال هندسية وفؤوس مزدوجة واسنان وخطوط متعرجة ومربعات صغيرة وهي عناصر من الزينة كانت شائعة الاستعمال على الفخار في عالم البحر المتوسط حيث وجدت لها نظائر وأشياء في كنعان وقبرص . ولقد جمعنا كمية من الصحون الفخارية تشبه الكمية الموجودة في متحف القيصصر فرديريك في برلين وهي التي أخذت من قصر المشتى في شرقي مادبا . واذا كان اصحاب هذه الصحون الذين سكنوا هذا البناء المربع من أهل البلاد فيجب ان نجد فخارا مشابهاً لفخارهم في هذه البلاد وما يجاورها وحباً في الحصول على هذه البغية جلت البلاد من عمان الى دمشق ولكني لم اعثر على صحن واحد مشابه . وعبثاً حاولت . لذلك أصبحت اميل الى ان الجماعة التي سكنت هذا المكان كانت فئة من الناس طردها الصليبيون من ديارها فلهجأت الى هذا الخراب واحضرت معها اوانيتها الفخارية ولا يبعد ان يكونوا قادمين من فلسطين خلال القرنين الثاني عشر والثالث عشر . وهذا يثبت أن البناء العربي في القلعة وجد في القرن العاشر الميلادي وزخارفه تشبه الى حد بعيد زخارف القصر العربي المعروف بالمشتى .

الصهريج :

من اهم ما حدث في تاريخ عمان تغلب انطيوخس الكبير على بطليموس فيلوباتر في نهاية القرن الثالث قبل الميلاد واخذ عمان منه ولقد بذل رجال انطيوخس السوريون شتى المحاولات لاجتياح اسوار القلعة ولكنهم فشلوا حتى حصل امر لم يكن في الحسبان - ذلك ان جنود مصر اسروا احد السوريين الذي بعد ان سجن وقتاً قصيراً داخل القلعة تمكن من الهرب والالتحاق بقومه السوريين فأخبرهم عن الطريق السري الذي يسلكه المصريون المحصورون ضمن اسوار القلعة اذا ارادوا الحصول على الماء . وبذلك استطاع قليل من السوريين ان يهاجموا السور من أضعف نواحيه حيث وجدوا ثغرة تمكنوا من دخولها الى السرداب الذي كان سقاية الماء يسلكونه الى داخل القلعة .

وفي القلعة بركة في الشمال منها تتجمع فيها مياه الامطار ولا تزال ماثلة للعيان وقد استطعنا تنظيفها من التراب وهبطنا درجاتها . وارجو ان نتم فتحها في الموسم القادم كما ارجو ان ابرهن على أن هذا القسم الشمالي من القلعة يعود في بنائه الى العصر اليوناني ولما جاء الرومان اكملوا السور الشمالي بالحجارة الضخمة .

التوقيع

ريناتو بارتوشيني

التصريح رقم (٦)

منح هذا التصريح للدكتور (ريناتو بارتوشيني) والدكتور (فيلبي Dr. Philippi) للقيام ببعض حفريات في الرواق الرباعي الواقع في الجهة الشمالية من البناء الساساني ولاجراء بعض تنقيبات أخرى في أماكن غيرها على ذات الموقع تسهل لهم الطرق لاستمرار الحفر في المستقبل بالنيابة عن الجمعية العلمية الإيطالية ، على أن تجري الحفريات تحت مراقبتهم وإشرافهم وتسير بموجب قانون الآثار الموضوع سنة ١٩٢٥ والقوانين الأخرى التابعة ذبلا له . . . مع القوانين الموضوعه بتاريخ ١٤ تشرين الاول سنة ١٩٢٨ تحت فصل ستين من قانون الآثار ترفق مع هذا التصريح ليبقى هذا التصريح معمولاً به حتى ٣١ كانون الاول سنة ١٩٢٩ .

توفيق ابو الهدى هور سفيلد ريناتو بارتوشيني

التقرير العلمي :

تأخذ قلعة عمان شكل سجادة مربعة ، تبرز منها ذراع قصيرة تمتد نحو الشمال كما تبرز ذراع أخرى طويلة وهي في الحقيقة ذراع مزدوجة - تمتد الى الغرب ، وتمتد الخرائب الذراع الاولى . وتحيط بهذه السجادة (البسطة) الاسوار التي بنيت بأحجار ضخمة على أسس هيلانية ، ادخل عليها الرومان والبيزنطيون اضافات واصلاحات أخرى . وتمتد الباسليكا البيزنطية من الشمال الى الجنوب وقد بني في اسوارها محاريب جميلة تزينها لزخارف الكورنثية . ثم البناء الروماني المربع . كما ظهرت خرائب بناء عربي بزخارف من طراز ساساني ثم خرائب أخرى اقل اهمية تقاطعها الاعمدة . واخيراً يقوم الهيكل .

بدأ سلفي الدكتور جاكومو غويدي يحفر في المكان الذي اعتقد ان اقدم مدينة قامت فيه في المنطقة التي قام فيها في عصر متأخر الرواق المربع . وبدأ ينظف المنطقة المحيطة به من الأبنية التي أضيفت اليها فيما بعد خلال العصرين البيزنطي والعربي . وكان يقصد من ذلك العمل أن يفتح طريقاً توصله الى مدينة التوراة . فوجد أن العمل أصعب مما تصور بكثير لكثرة الأنقاض . وبكل صعوبة استطاع ان يفتح حفرة على مقياس ضيق انخفضت ٤٠ سم .

بدأت العمل في المكان الذي يقع فيه البناء العربي - الساساني - ولا سيما القسم الشمالي من السور المبنى من الحجر والطين وله مثيل في مدينة جبيل (بابيلوس) في سواحل لبنان من أيام الحكم الاشوري وكان فيه كميات وافرة من الردم . وفي اثناء الحفر وجدت قطع الفخار والأدوات الصوانية المختلفة . ولا داعي لاعتبارها من العصر الحجري لأن الأدوات الصوانية استمر استعمالها الى ما بعد العصرين البرونزي والحديدي في هذه البلاد . ولا اعزوها الا للعصر الروماني .

هيكل هرقل :-

وفي خلال ٢٥ يوماً كان عدد العمال ٣٦ عاملاً وفي الاسابيع التالية ارتفع الى ٤٦ عاملاً وكانت درجة الحرارة ٣٠° كما سيطرت الرياح الشرقية . وكانت نتائج الحفر ضئيلة جداً لذا حولت الحفر الى الهيكل الذي لم يكن يظهر منه سوى جدار منخفض ولقد قام على معبد اقدم - ربما من أيام العمونيين . اهتمت بإبراز شكل الهيكل فحفرت عنه حتى ظهرت ثلاثة مداميك ووصلت الى الأساس الروماني على عمق ثلاثة امتار وحصلت على مخلفات من الصوان وقطع الرخام كما ظهرت قواعد الأعمدة وبرزت من البناء ثلاثة مداميك علوها ١٥٠ سم

الحفريات الأثرية — في شرق الاردن

بقلم محمود العابدي — مساعد مدير الآثار

حفريات الطليان في قلعة عمان

١٩٣٧ - ١٩٣٧

تصريح رقم (٢) لحفر قلعة عمان

لقد اعطي هذا التصريح للجمعية الايطالية العلمية في الشرق لسنة كاملة تبتدىء من ١٨/١/١٩٣٧ لاجراء الحفريات في قلعة عمان ضمن مساحة محدودة لها في الخريطة وهي تحتوي على البناء المعروف بالقصر الساساني — او الاموي — بحسب الشروط التالية :

١ — يجب ان تجري الحفريات تحت مراقبة واشراف الدكتور « جاكومو غويدي » Giacomo Guidi على ان تراعى في ذلك شروط قانون مصلحة الآثار في شرق الاردن .

٢ — سيقوم مفتش الآثار بمراقبة هذه الاشغال بالنيابة عن حكومة شرق الاردن ولا تكون مسئولة بتخصيص اي راتب ونفقات لهذا الموظف .

٣ — وفي حالة وقوع خلاف في امر تقسيم القطع الموجودة أو في كيفية التعويض المستحق دفعه بدلاً من حصة الحفارين من القطع الاثرية للمدير (اذا طلبت منه الجمعية العلمية الايطالية في الشرق) ان يستدعي عضوين من اعضاء مجلس الآثار الاستشاري لحكومة فلسطين لمساعدته .

٤ — سيدوم الشغل في المحل المصرح به مدة لا تقل عن شهرين ما لم ينته عمل الحفريات بمدة اقل من هذه .
٥ — يجب على الحفارين ان يقدموا لدائرة الآثار قائمة مفصلة باسماء القطع الاثرية التي يجدونها باسرع وقت بعد العثور عليها .

٦ — يجب ان تكون جميع الاشياء التي يجدونها اثناء الحفريات مكشوفة لدائرة الآثار .

٧ — يجب ان تكون الحفريات في كل وقت عرضه لتفتيش موظفي دائرة الآثار .

٨ — يمكن لاي شخص — او اشخاص — قد صرح لهم مدير الآثار ان يدخلوا في اوقات مرتبة لهم ويشاهدوا شغل الحفريات .

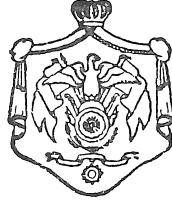
٩ — يجب ان يكون الشخص المعطى له هذا التصريح مسؤولاً عن المحافظة والعناية بالاشياء الموجودة اثناء الحفر ويجب ان يقدم حرساً للمحافظة عليها اذا اقتضى الامر ذلك .

١٠ — يجب ان يهيئ الحفارون خلال اربعة اشهر من انتهاء مدة الحفر تقريراً موجزاً قابلاً للنشر عن نتيجة اشغالهم .

١١ — يجب على الجمعية التي اعطيت لها هذا التصريح ان تقدم خلال سنتين (ما لم تمدد الآثار هذه المهلة) بعد انتهاء الحفريات مقالا علمياً وافياً يتضمن نتيجة الحفريات التي اجرتها .

الملكة الأردنية الهاشمية
مكتبة نورة الآثار
الرم
التصنيف
الترتيب
٤٣٩

٤٣٩



المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية

حوليّة دائرة الآثار

المجلدان : الثامن والتاسع

١٩٦٤

مطابع دار الأبحاث الإسلامية - بيروت
الطبعة