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New Insights about the Early Bronze Age Sequence at Khirbat Iskandar: The 2016 Excavations

Introduction

Khirbat Iskandar (Fig. 1) is a major Early Bronze Age site in central Jordan. The site is known particularly for the settlement of the non-urban Early Bronze IV period (now dated *ca.* 2500–1950/1920 BC), because of a multi-phase stratum that showed rural complexity and continuity of urban-like traditions during this non-urban period (Richard and Long 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Richard 2016: 595, 2020). However, evidence for a substantial occupation during Early Bronze III (2850–1950/1920 BC) was uncovered over several seasons of excavations suggesting that Khirbat Iskandar may be paradigmatic for the urban period in the region too (Richard and Boraas 1984: 76–9; Richard and Long 2007a: 73, 2007b: 275; Richard 2016; Richard and D'Andrea 2016; Richard et al. 2016: 450-2; Richard et al. 2018, 603-4; Richard et al. 2018). In particular, the most recent excavations have

thrown new light on the urban stage at Khirbat Iskandar, through the investigation of a long sequence of occupation in the urban Early Bronze II–III periods (now dated to *ca.* 3000–2500 BC; see Regev *et al.* 2012: 558–62).

The 2016 excavations were crucial for a better understanding of the Early Bronze Age sequence at Khirbat Iskandar. Building on previous reports, this paper presents a short overview of the site and a summary of the discoveries of past excavations in order to outline the site's periodization and history. This will provide a background to present and contextualize a summary of the results of the 2016 excavations. This way, it will be possible to illustrate how the new data improved our understanding of the Early Bronze Age sequence of Khirbat Iskandar, but also raised new questions on the site's developmental trajectory that define next steps for our continuing research at the site.



1. Aerial view of Khirbat Iskandar and the surrounding landscape, looking west (photo courtesy APAAME: APAAME_20141013_REB-0157, photographer Robert E. Bewley).

Archaeological Investigations at the Site and its Surroundings

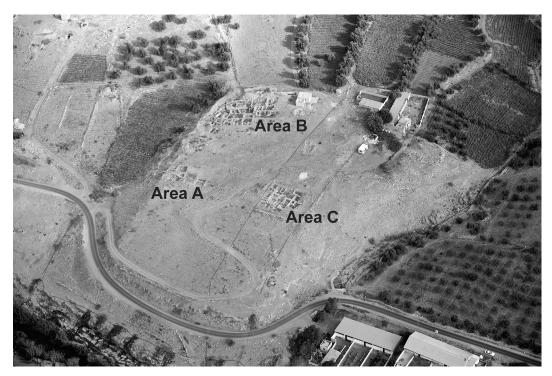
Khirbat Iskandar is a 2.7 ha site located in central Jordan, at the south edge of the Madaba Plains, close to the King's Highway, and lies on the north bank of the Wādī al-Wālah (Fig. 1). Several investigative surveys around Khirbat Iskandar (Glueck 1939: 123–8; Richard 2009, 2017) revealed a ceremonial landscape surrounding the settlement including four Early Bronze IV cemeteries (except for one Early Bronze I tomb) and Early Bronze Age megalithic structures, stone circles, and a "high place".

The Archaeological Expedition to Khirbat Iskandar and its Environs began in 1981 and, until 2016, accomplished twelve major excavation seasons and three seasons of restoration (Richard 1982, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 2009, 2013, 2016; Richard and Boraas 1984, 1988; Richard and Long 1995, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Richard et al. 2010, 2016, 2018). The exploration of the

tall concentrated in three areas: Area A at the southwest corner, Area B, at the northwest corner, and Area C at the southeast corner of the mound (Fig. 2), among which Area B and Area C are currently the main focus of attention. The Area C Early Bronze IV settlements and the cemeteries were published in the first volume of the Khirbat Iskandar Excavations Series (Richard et al. 2010), and the second volume dedicated to the Early Bronze IV settlements in Area B is in preparation (Richard forthcoming). Moreover, the excavations over several seasons have revealed an earlier substantial Early Bronze Age urban settlement in Area B with multiple phases of occupation and expansion of the fortifications.

Khirbat Iskandar: The Phasing

The occupational sequence of the site has thus far been reconstructed thanks to the stratigraphic sequences in Area B and Area C. The following paragraph provides



2. Aerial view of Khirbat Iskandar looking northwest (photo courtesy APAAME: APAAME_20141013_REB-0162, photographer Robert E. Bewley, edited by Marta D'Andrea for this article).

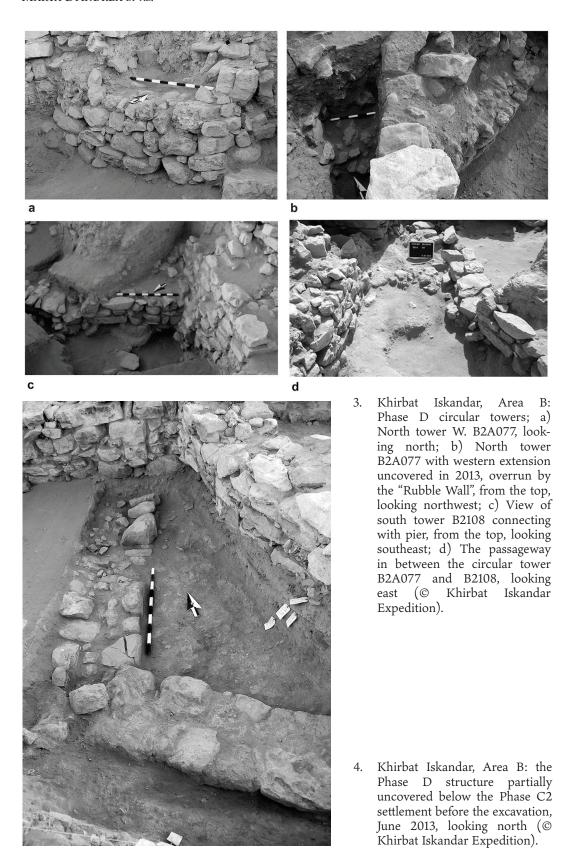
an overview of the phasing for the Early Bronze Age sequence at Khirbat Iskandar building on previous publications and the latest discoveries (Richard and Long 2005; Richard 2016; Richard *et al.* 2016, 2018).

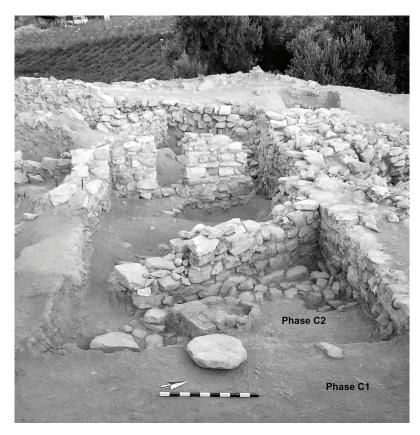
Three Early Bronze Age strata have been identified at Khirbat Iskandar so far. From the latest/upper to the earliest/lower, they are: Stratum I, which is Early Bronze IV (Phases 3–1 in Area C and Phases A–B in Area B); Stratum II, which is Early Bronze III (Phase C, with sub-phases, in Area B); and Stratum III (Phase D in Area B), which might be late Early Bronze II (see below).

Phase D has thus far been identified only in Area B and is represented by the earlier fortifications found previously: two curvilinear "towers" (W. B2A077 and W. B2108) and an inner fortification line made of mudbricks on stone foundations (W. B5A043; Richard and Long 2005: 270 fig. 9; Richard et al. 2016: 550–2 figs. 4,

6–8; Richard 2016: 589–91 figs. 3–5; here Fig. 3). In addition, evidence of the earlier settlement phases came to light in 2013. A 1.0 m high stone structure with multiple surfaces was found to run under the Phase C bastion/platform and whose foundation would seem to predate Phase D as well (Richard *et al.* 2016: 455–6 fig. 14; here Fig. 4). The pottery associated with it was not very distinctive, so it is wiser, for now, to ascribe it generally to Early Bronze II–III.

The following Phase C settlement comprises a lower Phase C2 foundation level, and an upper Phase C1 destruction level uncovered previously (Richard and Long 2005, 270–3; 2007a: 73; Richard et al. 2016: 450–2, 454–5; 2018: 602–4; here Fig. 5). The Phase C stratum also comprises the outer walls excavated earlier (Richard 2016), including multi-phase segmented fortifications, and now better known thanks to the 2016 excavations on



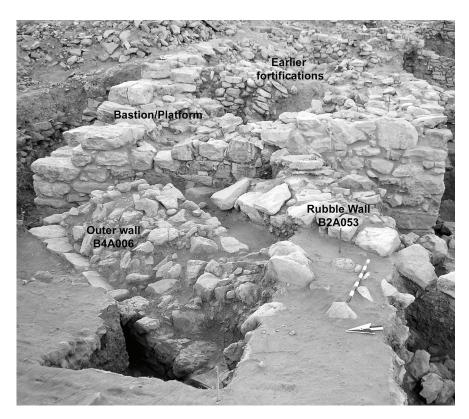


5. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: remains of the Early Bronze III stratum: Phase C1 destruction level in the foreground, Phase C2 foundation level with horseshoe-shaped hearth uncovered in 2016 in the background, looking west; the bastion/platform is visible to the north, on the right side (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

the western perimeter of the site (Richard et al. 2018: 603-4). In this sector, two parallel fortification lines run from southwest to northeast along the western perimeter of the mound, both connecting with an imposing bastion/platform to the northeast: an outer, western and narrower wall, W. B2A120/ B4A006, uncovered in 2013 and considered earlier, and an inner, eastern, larger, and coarser wall, W. B2A053, called the "Rubble Wall" for its construction technique, uncovered previously, and considered later than the outer wall discovered recently (Richard 2016: 589 fig. 3, 591-592 fig. 6; Richard et al. 2016: 450-1 figs. 6, 8, 2018: 602, 604; here Fig. 6).

Although a palace has not thus far been uncovered at Khirbat Iskandar, the available

evidence in Area B suggests that the Phase C1 exposure over a number of rooms and courtyards (Richard and Long 2005: 272-3; Richard et al. 2016: 452) might be part of a non-residential complex or a public area. This is hinted at also by the wealth of goods found in these rooms, including weights and a macehead (Richard and Long 2005: 275; Richard 2016: 591–3), and the concentration of limestone, basalt, and ceramic tournettes (Richard and Long 2005: 272-3) that may suggest the presence of a pottery workshop attached to this public area (D'Andrea 2021: 31-32 fig. 3.1). Comparative evidence of pottery production associated with a nonresidential building in Early Bronze III has been uncovered at Khirbat al-Batrāwī in Transjordan (Nigro 2010: 70, 74, 108-9;



6. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: the fortification on the north-western perimeter of the site; the new western wall line uncovered in 2013, Wall B4A006, is in the foreground, with the Rubble Wall B2A053 behind it; the Phase C bastion/platform is visible to the north, embedding previous Phase D fortifications (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

Fiaccavento 2013) and Khirbat al-Yarmūk in Cisjordan (Roux and de Miroschedji 2009: 155–9, 171). Paired with substantial construction and expansion of the fortifications, these data document the urban nature of the Early Bronze III settlement at Khirbat Iskandar.¹

Phase C1 in Area B ended in a violent conflagration, and a considerable quantity of complete or restorable vessels (Richard and Long 2007a: 73 fig. 2; here Fig. 7), including large *pithoi* and a number of jars, were found in the destruction layer along with the materials listed above. Interestingly, the Phase C1 pottery does not seem ascrib-

able to a late or final Early Bronze III phase, but, rather, to an Early Bronze III stage within Early Bronze IIIA (now dated to *ca.* 2850–2700 BC after the ARCANE project chronology).² This observation is consistent with the available absolute dates for the Phase C1 destruction layer, placed by radiocarbon determinations in the interval between 2900/2850 to 2650/2600 cal BC that corresponds to Early Bronze IIIA according to both traditional and revised higher absolute chronologies for the southern Levantine Early Bronze Age.

In Area B, the Early Bronze IV stratum comprises two phases thus far identified (Richard and Long 2007a: 77–9, 2007b:

¹ On the debate of Early Bronze Age urbanism in Transjordan, see Richard 2014 and D'Andrea 2021, reviewing alternative theoretical models with relative bibliography.

² See the periodization table on the project's website: https://www.arcane.uni-tuebingen.de/EA-EM-EL_phasing_v5-4-6.pdf



7. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: selected pottery from the Phase C1 destruction level, Early Bronze IIIA (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

273-4, 2009: 95-9). The lower Phase B includes re-use and probable rebuild of the fortifications, a public building/storeroom, stone-hewn bins, and much restorable and whole pottery found in the roof collapse, probably due to an earthquake. In terms of pottery types and styles, the Phase B pottery is not ascribable to an initial Early Bronze IV phase comparable to the one identified in Area C (see discussion in D'Andrea 2016), but to a more developed one (Fig. 8). The following, upper Phase A settlement is an Early Bronze IV village occupation with multi-roomed houses, not too much different, ceramically, from Phase B (D'Andrea 2014: II 150-1), although quantitative analysis by Holdorf found statistically relevant late forms in this layer along with numerous other characteristics of statistical significance, which clearly distinguished two chronological and typological ceramic phases. This last Early Bronze IV phase seemingly ended with abandonment and door blockages.

In Area C, a longer, three-phase Early Bronze IV stratigraphic sequence was excavated previously, is already published in a final report (Long 2010; Richard 2010), and was further investigated in 2016 (Richard *et al.* 2018: 598–602). This sequence documents the passage from a domestic neighbourhood in Phase 1 and in Phase 2 (in the latter phase associated with a lithic workshop) to a non-residential complex in Phase 3, interpreted as a "Gateway", with two sub-phases, 3A and 3B (Long 2010; for the gateway, see Richard and Long 2010: 274–5).



8. Khirbat Iskandar, Phase B whole and restored vessels uncovered in Square 21 in 2013, Early Bronze IV (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

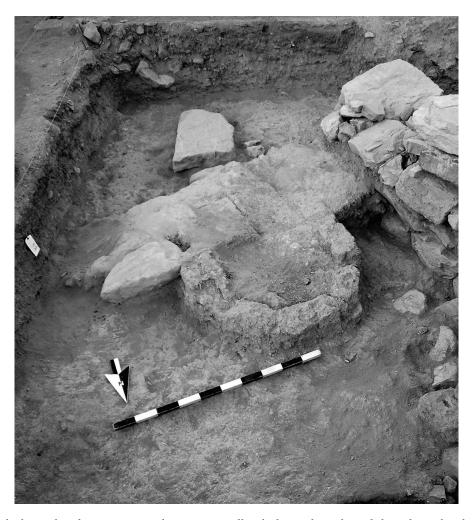
The multi-phase Early Bronze IV sequences excavated at Khirbat Iskandar revolutionized traditional interpretations of this non-urban period as a nomadic interlude in the southern Levant as a whole (e.g., Dever 1980, 1992, 1995, 2003; Prag 1974, 1985, 2009, 2011, 2014; Bunimovitz and Greenberg 2004; and more recently, Greenberg 2017; Schloen 2017; and see overviews of Early Bronze IV studies in Long 2003; Palumbo 2008; D'Andrea 2014; Cohen 2018), showing continuous sedentary occupation and social complexity (Richard 2003: 295–6, 2006, 2016, 2020; Richard and Long 2007a, 2007b, 2009).

Summary of the Results of the 2016 Excavations

Moving from the historical and archaeological backgrounds delineated above, the 2016 four-week season focused on four major objectives. They were: 1) to expose more of the Early Bronze III settlement, 2) to further investigate the fortifications on the western perimeter, 3) to clarify their use/reuse or rebuild in Early Bronze IV, and 4) to test the 3-phase Early Bronze IV stratigraphy in Area C.

Area B

In Area B, to expose more of the Early Bronze III (Phase C) settlement (Objective #1), we reopened Square B1 at the northwest corner in Area B. As we saw before, only the western half of the square had been excavated down to earlier levels in 2013 (Richard et al. 2016: 455-6). In 2016, we excavated only the eastern half of the square, which remained still at the upper Phase C1 level, and expanded the lateral exposure of the Phase C2 remains (Richard et al. 2018: 603). Under the last Early Bronze III settlement phase (Phase C1) and immediately above the presumed interior of the earlier Early Bronze III domestic structure discovered to the west in 2013, we uncovered a mudbrick platform and a horseshoe-shaped tabun situated on a wellmade surface (Fig. 9). The pottery collected from the tabun and the associated surface (Fig. 10) dates to either the very beginning of Early Bronze III or the Early Bronze II/

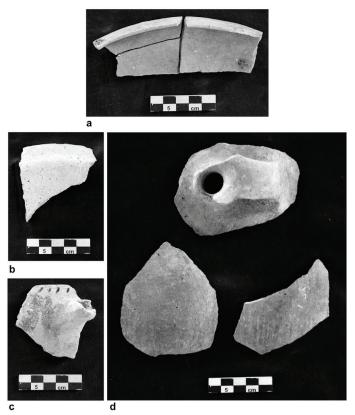


9. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: Phase C2 mudbrick horseshoe-shaped hearth with platform uncovered in 2016, looking southeast (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

III cusp, as is suggested, in particular, by the shape of the carinated platter bowls (Fig. 10:a-b). This datum may fit well the observation that Phase C2 is earlier than Phase C1, which falls in the interval between *ca.* 2900 and *ca.* 2700 cal BC.

To further investigate the new Early Bronze III fortification discovered in 2013 (W. B4A006) on the western perimeter (Objective #2), we reopened Square B4A in Area B at the northwest corner of the mound. In a probe against the exterior of the fortification to investigate possible surfaces, a foundation trench, and the foundation of

the wall, the remnants of a stone structure (W. 4A024) were uncoveredlying on a mudbrick layer (Fig. 11). The confined space makes interpretation difficult, but it is plausible that it may have been a revetment or even the badly preserved remains of W. B2A077, a curvilinear "tower" discovered on the interior of fortification W. B4A006 in 2010 and 2013. This curvilinear structure of stone and mudbrick is considered Phase D in the overall phasing of the fortifications in Area B (and see further below on phasing). By end of the season, work reached the bottom of W. B4A006, illuminating its



10. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: selected pottery from the Phase C2 occupation level, very early Early Bronze IIIA or Early Bronze II/III cusp: a) Carinated platter with outer red-slip; b) Carinated platter with inturned rim, with inner and outer red slip and inner vertical burnish; c) Fragment of spouted holemouth bowl with dark paint and incised slashes; d) Red-slipped and burnished jug (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

height at 1.75 m and its width at 2.0 m, thus reflecting the base of a substantial earlier western perimeter fortification in Phase C (Richard *et al.* 2018: 603–4; here Fig. 12). As mentioned above (and shown in Fig. 6), this trace wall runs outside and parallel to the "Rubble Wall" (W. B2A053) whose foundation level is higher than the top of W. B4A006. A further short stretch of the "Rubble Wall" appears in the probe opened in Square B5A/B where it partially overlies

a substantial segment of an earlier wall, although it will be for the next season of excavations to clarify the nature and chronology of the latter structure, running parallel to the "Rubble Wall" in this sector of Area B.

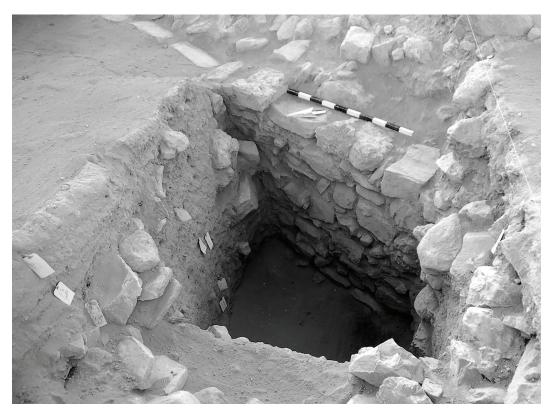
"Rubble Wall" The B2A053 is key for understanding reuse and rebuild of the fortifications in Early Bronze IV, because of its relationships with the structures dating from this period: a late Early Bronze IV Phase A runs up to it, and earlier Phase B intersects it, as it is visible in Square B 19A (Fig. 13). Therefore, to further investigate the use/reuse of the Early Bronze III fortifications

in Early Bronze IV (Objective #3), we opened Square B21A at the southwest edge of Area B where we encountered again the top of the "Rubble Wall" (Fig. 14). The season ended before we could clarify the relationship between the fortification line and Early Bronze IV Phase B, but it was clear that Early Bronze IV Phase A domestic structures were built against the "Rubble Wall".

Summing up, the 2016 excavations in Area B allowed us to establish definitively that the construction history of the fortifications has three phases. An earlier phase is represented by the circular towers ascribed to Phase D and tentatively dated to Early Bronze II/III. An intermediate phase is represented by the first western wall, W. B4A006, dating to Early Bronze III, and connected to the bastion/platform. A third phase is represented by later "Rubble Wall" B2A053, also connected to the bastion/platform, and possibly appears to date to



11. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: remnants of earlier stone structure (W. 4A024) on the exterior of the Phase C fortification wall B4006, looking northeast (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).



12. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: the new segment of Phase C outer fortification line W. B4A006 uncovered in the probe excavated in 2016 down to the bottom of the wall in Square B4, looking southeast (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).



13. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: Phase B Early Bronze IV wall continuing to/intersecting with the "Rubble Wall" in Square B19A, looking northwest (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).



14. Khirbat Iskandar, Area B: general view of Square B21 at the end of the 2016 season, looking east; the top of the "Rubble Wall" emerging is visible in the southwest corner of the square (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

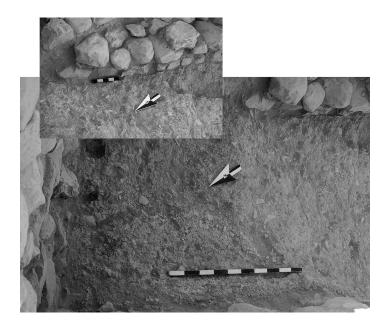
the late Early Bronze III/IV periods (see Fig. 5). Thus, the 2016 excavations also confirmed that the latest Early Bronze III fortification wall was reused during Early Bronze IV, as proposed earlier (Richard 2016: 595). In this sector, no archaic or initial Early Bronze IV phase comparable to that uncovered in Area C (see below) has been identified thus far, and this will be one of the objectives of the next excavations at Khirbat Iskandar.

Area C

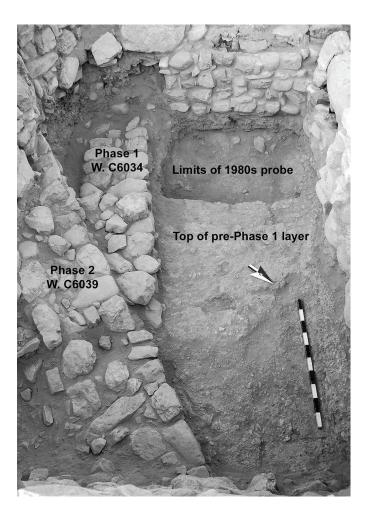
In 2016, we decided to return to Area C on the southeast corner of the mound to test the three-phase Early Bronze IV stratigraphy (Phases 1–3; Objective #4) articulated in Volume 1 (Long 2010). This sequence includes an earlier stage—Phase 1—that, based on the pottery assemblages collected, might be either an initial Early Bronze IV phase or a transitional Early Bronze III/IV phase (Long 2010: 63; Richard 2010: 105

fig. 4.5; Richard and Long 2010: 272–3; Richard *et al.* 2016: 598; see D'Andrea 2014: I 73–4 fig. 3.14 pl. III, 2016: 537, 339, 542 fig. 5). To preserve the Gateway, excavation concentrated on Squares C8 and C6 on the east. We decided to re-open Square C6 that had been excavated down to Phase 1 and, therefore, offered the possibility to collect more materials for better defining this stage, and to excavate the eastern half of Square C8 that had not been excavated earlier. Work in C8 concentrated on Phases 2 and 3.

Phase 1 is represented by evidence of domestic occupation. In Square C6, we removed the Phase 1 surface, belonging to a room identified previously and consisting of a fine plastered surface associated with a stone wall oriented south-north (Fig. 15). We thus noticed that the Phase 1 surface and wall in Square C6 are laid on top of a layer of mudbrick that might belong to a phase of occupation preceding the earliest Early Bronze IV Phase 1, but the end of season



15. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C: Phase 1 architecture in Square C6, with close-up of the plaster surface with the associated stone wall W. C6034 in Square C6, looking southeast; note the surface tying up to the wall; Early Bronze IV (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).



16. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C: Early Bronze IV Phase 1 and Phase 2 walls and top of pre-Phase 1 mudbricks in Square C6, looking southwest, at end of the season in the square (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

prevented us from excavating this layer (Fig. 16). Re-analysing the final photos of Square C6 during the post-season processing and study of the excavation record, we identified possible wall lines, to further articulate and excavate in 2019 (Figs. 17–18). In fact, to investigate and understand the nature and chronology of these pre-Phase 1 remains will be one of the objectives of future excavations in this area of the *tall*.

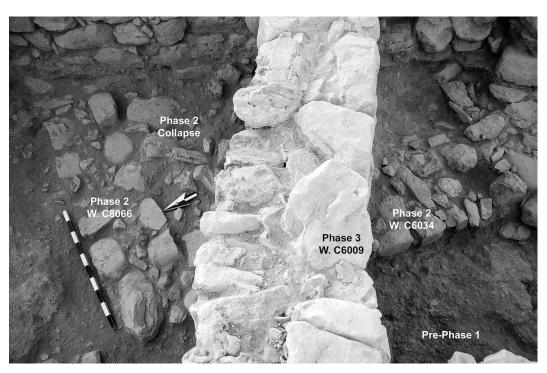
Although the Phase 1 lateral exposure is limited in Square C6 thus far, the presence of a fine, thick plastered surface, paired with contemporary substantial stone walls, suggests the non-ephemeral and permanent nature of the early Early Bronze IV settlement. Remarkably, this situation is different from that identified for initial Early

Bronze IV at sites located in other areas (see D'Andrea 2014: I 270–2, 2015: 32–3), like Khirbat al-Karak (Greenberg and Eisenberg 2006: 156–7 figs. 5.96–213), Tall Umm Ḥammād (Helms 1986: 42–8 figs. 17:1–3, 9, 18:1–3, 19:1), and Tall as-Sulṭān, ancient Jericho (Nigro 2003, 133–4), and may confirm the hypothesis that Khirbat Iskandar more than other sites preserved Early Bronze III traits during the non-urban Early Bronze IV period (Richard and Long 2007a: 73, 2007b, 2009).

The removal of the Phase 1 surface in Square C6 allowed us to collect more Phase 1 pottery that was crucial to further investigate the question of a possible "transitional Early Bronze III/IV" nature of the assemblage. The ceramic assemblages from this phase



17. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C: pottery collected in Square C6 from the removal of the Phase 1 surface, early Early Bronze IV (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

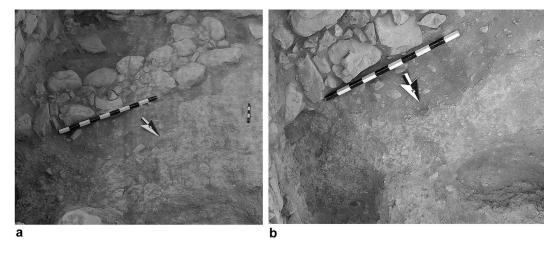


18. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C: Phase 2 room in Squares C6 and C8; pre-EB IV wall lines visible in the bottom right corner of the photo, indicating possible pre-Phase 1 structures; limits of 1980s probes in the foreground, Phase C3 wall C6009 running east-west in the centre, Phase 2 architecture (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

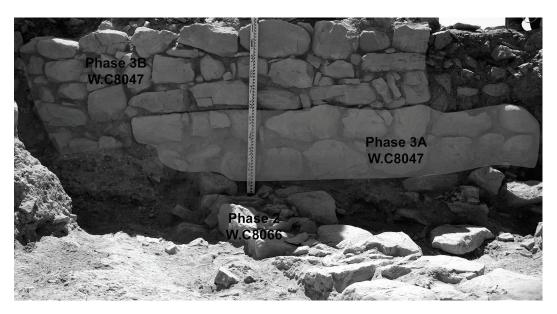
are scanty due to continuous clearing and rebuilding operations from one phase to the next; however, the Phase 1 pottery collected in 2016 (Fig. 17) confirmed the impression gained from past excavations that it blends Early Bronze III and Early Bronze IV typological, stylistic and technological features (Long 2010: 63; Richard 2010: 105 fig. 4.5; Richard and Long 2010: 272-3; see also D'Andrea 2016: 539, 544-5). The Phase 1 assemblage seems to blend coarser, handmade vessels reminiscent of the Early Bronze III tradition and finer, red-slipped and burnished bowls that anticipate some developments of the following Phase 2 Early Bronze IV tradition (D'Andrea 2014: I 133, 2016: 54⁵, 2019: 66-7). Red-slipped and burnished bowls comparable to our Phase 1 vessels from Khirbat Iskandar were found also at Khirbat al-Munsahilāt in the Karak plateau (Chesson et al. 2005: fig. 26:c, e), which have been described, too, as either very early Early Bronze IV or transitional Early Bronze III/IV materials (Chesson et al. 2005: 47). As noticed in previous works (D'Andrea 2012: 20, 44, 2020), this comparative evidence supports the previous hypothesis of stronger Early

Bronze III–IV continuity in central Jordan than elsewhere in the southern Levant (see already Dever 1973, 1980: 48; Richard 1980: 19, 21). It also suggests that this area of Jordan was characterized by a regional ceramic development during Early Bronze IV (D'Andrea 2012: 42–44 figs. 15–16, 2019: 66–7), for which it is worth recalling that substantial parallels between the pottery assemblages of Khirbat Iskandar and Bāb adh-Dhirā' had been noticed already (Holdorf 2010; Richard 2013; see also D'Andrea 2012: 42–4 figs. 15–16).

In 2016, we clarified the nature of the Phase 2 remains in this sector, where it had been hypothesized previously that W. C6039 was a curvilinear wall enclosing an open area with installations devoted to flint-knapping situated on a plastered surface (Long 2010: 40 fig. 3.6, 65). We also uncovered the extension of Wall C6039 in Square C8 (W. C8061) and a perpendicular wall connecting to it to the east (C8066), showing that, instead, it was part of a room, a corner of which was uncovered (Fig. 18). Two subsequent surfaces were associated with this building on the exterior (Fig. 19): a lower, earlier, thick plastered surface



19. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C: Phase 2 outer surfaces in Square C8; a) Earlier, thick plastered surface with preparation of pebbles and flint cherts (C8071); b) Upper, later, fine beaten earth surface with flat-lying pottery (C8068), looking southwest (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).



20. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C, Square C8 east balk: Phase 3A wall C8047 in the background, built on top of the razed remains of the Phase 2 architecture and collapse, looking east (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

with preparation of pebbles and flint cherts (C8071; Fig. 19:a) and an upper, later, fine beaten earth surface with flat-lying pottery (C8068; Fig. 19:b), which equal the occupational surfaces connected with the installations uncovered previously in Square C6 and connected with flint-knapping (Long 2010: 40 fig. 3.6, 46–7). This shows that this activity took place in an open area. The Phase 2 room was filled with a layer of collapsed stones (shown in Fig. 18), which we tentatively connected with the event that caused roof collapse at the end of Phase B in Area B.

In Phase 3, Area C saw major transformations due to the construction of the "Gateway" on top of the remains of the residential neighborhood of Phases 1–2. The 2016 excavations allowed us to revise the plan of the Phase 3 remains in Square C8 delineated previously.

At the beginning of Phase 3, in the earliest sub-phase, Phase 3A, Wall C8047 (thus far identified only in the section, with two rebuilds) was built on top of the razed

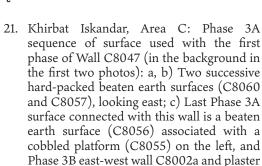
remains of the Phase 2 room and its collapse (Fig. 20), which were also covered with a thick reddish-yellow clayish fill. This fill was laid against the Phase 2 structures and above the debris and levelled as a makeup for the Phase 3A structures and surfaces. Two successive hard-packed beaten earth surfaces (C8060 and C8057) are associated with the first Phase 3A use (Fig. 21:a-b). The last Phase 3A surface connected with this wall is a beaten earth surface (C8056) associated with a cobbled platform (C8055) that likely extended also in the northeast sector of the square (Fig. 21:c). Still in Phase 3A, those layers were cut, at the southern edge, by the foundation trench (C8058) of a major wall running east-west (C6009), which would remain in use until the end of Early Bronze IV.

In the second Phase 3 sub-phase, Phase 3B, other modifications of the area took place. A thick fill (C8054) was laid above the last Phase 3A surface in Square C8 as makeup for the Phase 3B structures above it. In 2016, we clarified that a line of stones





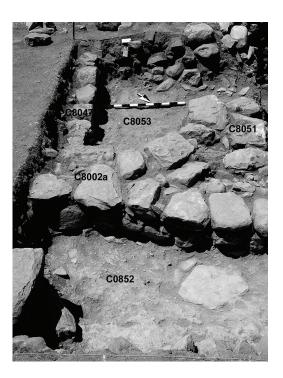




identified in the past as north-south wall C8024 was, instead, the bottom of a layer of stones collapsed from Phase 3B semi-circular wall C8051, which was already visible in the

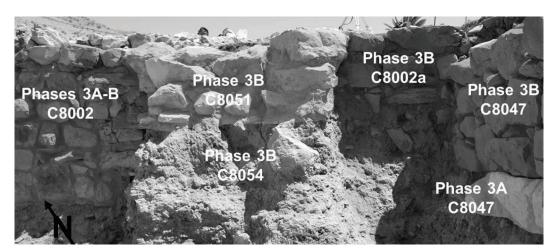
surface C8052 on the right, looking west (©

Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).



22. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C: Phase 3B semicircular wall C8051 connected to the east extension of Wall C8002 (Wall C8002a), running east-west and the associated thick yellowish-gray plaster surfaces (C8052 and C8053) to the north and south of the wall, looking south (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

eroded east balk in the past (Long 2010: 61-62 fig. 3.53) and was brought to light in 2016 (Fig. 22). Semi-circular wall C8051 is connected to the east extension of Wall C8002 (Wall C8002a), running east-west, that was clearly added to the western stretch only in Phase 3B (Figs. 22-23). The rebuild of Wall C8047 also belongs to this phase, when the upper three courses were added, forming a doorjamb for a threshold at the wall's south edge—later blocked, as visible in the section (Fig. 20). North and south of wall C8002a, the Phase 3B thick yellowishgray plaster surfaces (C8052 and C8053) were identified (Fig. 23). This was the last phase of use of the area, after which the site was deserted. In fact, the Phase 3B rooms



23. Khirbat Iskandar, Area C, Square C8: sequence of phase 3A–B architecture, looking north (© Khirbat Iskandar Expedition).

to the north and south of wall C8002a, identified in 2016, were found virtually empty, except for a few sherds found among the debris and collapsed stones, as if the rooms had been cleared purposely.

This datum is consistent with the observation of door blockages not only in Area C but also in several sectors of Area B that might have no structural function, but, rather, be related to the abandonment of the site as a planned, collective decision taken by the Early Bronze IV inhabitants. This event might be correlated to progressive *wadi* incision and lateral erosion that towards the Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze I transition brought the destruction of the floodplain, as determined by Cordova's geoarchaeological survey of the Wādī al-Wālah (Cordova 2008: 448–52; Cordova and Long 2010: 34–5).

Summing up, the 2016 excavations allowed us to check the three-phase Early Bronze IV stratigraphy in Area C. In the first place, we confirmed that, at Khirbat Iskandar, the Early Bronze IV occupation was well planned and permanent already in the initial Early Bronze IV phase, as demonstrated by the substantial nature of the Phase 1 architecture, despite the current limited horizontal exposure. In the second

place, we clarified the plan of the Phase 2 structures in this sector of Area C and suggested that their collapse correlates with the same event that in Area B brought Phase B to an end. Finally, we further investigated rebuilds and expansions of the Phase 3 "Gateway", suggesting a lengthy duration of this phase, ending with abandonment after Phase 3, possibly in connection with climatic changes and environmental degradation.

Conclusion: Results Achieved and Future Objectives

Excavations at Khirbat Iskandar over several seasons have gradually uncovered substantial Early Bronze III remains below the well-known Early Bronze IV layers at the site. The last three field seasons have concentrated on achieving a larger exposure of the Phase C Early Bronze III settlement that comprised a central structure, adjacent work areas, and a courtyard, within the fortifications. Moreover, as a result of the discoveries of a new fortification line and an earlier Early Bronze III phase in 2013 and 2016, we have a view of the construction history of the fortifications and the more extensive depth of Early Bronze III occupation at the site.

In Area B, we clarified the three-phase

construction history of the fortifications on the western perimeter. We further elucidated the nature of the Phase C settlement, thanks to expanded lateral exposure of the lower (earliest) Phase C2. New ceramic evidence provided additional new data for dating the Early Bronze III stratum. In fact, we understood in a better way the chronology of the Phase C settlement, clarifying that Phase C2 dates, ceramically, to either the beginning of Early Bronze III or the Early Bronze II/III cusp, and that Phase C1 can be ascribed to Early Bronze IIIA thanks to pottery assemblages anchored to radiocarbon dates.

Although the site has not been included on recent summaries on early urbanization in Jordan (Chesson 2018), growing evidence is bringing the Early Bronze II/III occupation at Khirbat Iskandar into sharper focus, as discussed before. The archaeological evidence seems to indicate that the site, better known for its long occupation in Early Bronze IV, may also be a key site for the study of Early Bronze II/III in Jordan, along with hitherto betterknown sites in the region.

Moreover, with a firmer grasp on the phasing of the fortifications in Area B, it was also possible to revisit the topic of Early Bronze IV walls on site, connected with the interpretation of the "Rubble Wall" that appears to have been in use in the Early Bronze III/IV period. A refinement of the chronology of the "Rubble Wall" will be one of the objectives of the next campaigns in this area.

In Area C, we confirmed the three-phase Early Bronze IV sequence published previously (Long 2010), and showed that Phase I was an early phase in the period with transitional Early Bronze III/IV features (see discussion and references above), characterized by permanent occupation with a well laid plaster surface associated with considerable stone walls. This earliest Early Bronze IV occupation was established

on top of a mudbrick layer whose nature and chronology within the Early Bronze Age sequence will be investigated during future excavations.

In conclusion, although the season was short, with focused objectives in Area B and Area C, we enhanced our understanding of the Early Bronze Age sequence at Khirbat Iskandar. However, the recent discoveries at Khirbat Iskandar in both areas, Area B and C, raised new questions concerning the critical Early Bronze III/IV nexus. When and how did the crisis of the Early Bronze III settlement take place? And what was the site's response to this event? The answers to those questions may lie in the understanding of what happened between the Phase C1 destruction identified in Area B and the earliest Phase 1 occupation during Early Bronze IV exposed in Area C. This might eventually allow us to re-evaluate this critical nexus at the site in the context of the higher absolute chronology proposed for the 3rd millennium BC in the southern Levant (Regev et al. 2012). To investigate the stratified profile of the Early Bronze III/IV transition at different sectors of the tall and to connect Areas B and C stratigraphically may be the keys to reconstruct these events and will be the objectives of future investigations at Khirbat Iskandar.

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