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Burial Customs at Jericho

by

Dr. Kathleen M. Kenyon

Evidence of occupation on the tell of Jericho lasts from the Mesolithic period, c. 9000 B. C. down to the Iron Age, probably to the capture of the country by the Babylonians in 587 B. C. For almost all this very long period, there is evidence of how the dead were buried, and for some periods the burial practices provide more evidence concerning the population than do the houses in which the people lived during life. The evidence also continues later, for though no one lived on the ancient site after the 6th century B. C., burials were still made in the neighbourhood, both in graves dug into the ruins of the town and in the surrounding area. The evidence of the way in which the inhabitants were buried not only often provides illustrations of how they had lived, but also the changes in practice provides evidence of the arrival of new groups and peoples.

The earliest evidence of the presence of men at 'Ain es-Sultan is the construction of a sanctuary by visiting Mesolithic hunters, members of a group that flourished in Palestine at the end of the Ice Age, whose remains are found, for instance, in caves on Mount Carmel and in huts near Lake Huleh; their culture has been called Natufian from finds in Wadi Natuf. The builders of the sanctuary probably only visited the spring at intervals. As far as we know, they did not live there nor bury their dead there, though their relatives in the Wadi Mughara on Mount Carmel and 'Ain Mallaha

near Lake Huleh buried their dead with elaborate ceremony.

The descendants of the builders of the sanctuary gradually settled down at Jericho, attracted by the excellent water supply of the spring, though they still lived in huts of slight construction, more suited to the wandering way of life of their ancestors. We do not know how they buried their dead. They may have disposed of them casually, but it could well be that the lack of evidence is due to the fact that the levels of this period were investigated only in a very limited area.

After about a thousand years of this transitional Proto-Neolithic period, Jericho developed into a town, with imposing fortifications which can be dated to c. 8000 B. C. The burial customs of this first full Neolithic stage, designated Pre-Pottery Neolithic A, are fully documented by the excavation finds. The inhabitants buried the dead, or at least many of them, beneath the floors of the houses. These floors were substantially constructed, with a layer of cobbles beneath a surface of mud-plaster. Into these floors were cut oval pits, to a depth of c. 0.50 m. In the pits were placed the bodies, so strongly contracted that the legs were probably tied up to the chest (pl. 1. A, B). The burials were all of single individuals, and ordinarily only one associated with any one period of a house. This might suggest that a house was

pulled down and rebuilt after its owner died, but there is not clear evidence to support this suggestion. No objects seem to have been placed with the dead person. In one case there was a bone pin on the shoulder, but it was not clear whether this secured a garment or a shroud in which he had been wrapped.

Between the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A period and the succeeding Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period there was a complete break. The stratification of the tell showed that there was a period of erosion, though its length cannot be estimated, before the arrival of newcomers, who brought with them new types of houses and used different types of flint implements and stone utensils. Their burial methods were also different, though they still buried beneath the floors of the houses. The graves, however, were not the neat, fairly deep oval of the earlier stage, but much more shallow, with hardly any defined pit at all. The bodies were usually in a flexed position, though not nearly so strongly contracted as the earlier ones (pl. 2. A). There was also a most curious very general practice of removing the cranium, usually leaving the lower jaw behind. This is well illustrated in plate 2. B, where the body is intact, the cranium missing, and the lower jaw lying displaced near by. There is no evidence that the neck was severed to remove the skull, and it appears that the body was buried and left sufficiently long for the ligaments to decay and enable the skull to be pulled off. An extreme example of the pulling to pieces of bodies to remove skulls is illustrated by plate 3. A. Within a relatively small area were the remains of at least 30 individuals. Many limbs were in articulation, but detached from the body. In the foreground of plate 3. A. for instance, are the legs of an individual lying over the torso. Each leg is in complete articulation, but they are in reversed position, one foot being to the left of the view,

the other to the right. The implication is that there was a thorough disarrangement of the bodies at a time when decay was sufficiently advanced to allow a limb to be pulled from a body but not so far that there was not still enough flesh and ligaments in position to hold together, for instance, the small bones of the feet.

This large collection of bodies must be the evidence of some disaster. Both the thorough search of this pile of dead bodies, and the removal of skulls from individual burials, can almost certainly be related to the practice of covering skulls with plaster modelled in the shape of the flesh that had once covered them, with eyes indicated by shells. In all, ten of these plastered skulls were found, seven in one deposit, two near by, and one far away at the northern end of the mound. It is reasonable to interpret this practice as a form of ancestor worship.

The highly developed urban culture of Pre-Pottery Neolithic B came to as abrupt an end as did its predecessor. There is no evidence that Pre-Pottery Neolithic B continued much after 6000 B. C. There is no precise evidence at Jericho for the date of the succeeding stage, that of Pottery Neolithic A, but from links between other Palestinian sites with settlements in Syria it is unlikely that the spread of the practice of making pottery from Anatolia and Northern Syria, where it was established by c. 6000 B. C., reached Palestine until c. 5000 B. C. The first pottery users of Jericho, who may conceivably have been descendants of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B population who had been living a non-sedentary life that left little evidence, produced an individual type of pottery of which there is little evidence elsewhere. Their way of life was primitive, and they lived in huts sunk into the ground. There is no evidence of how they

buried their dead. It is certain that they were not buried in the vicinity of the huts on the tell. It is possible that there was an external cemetery area which has not been located, but it is perhaps even more likely that the disposal of the dead was completely casual and that the bodies were just deposited outside the settlement to be dealt with by natural agencies. The next stage, Pottery Neolithic B, is marked by new types of pottery, with much wider contacts in Palestine and Syria, but with no great change in the character of the settlement and likewise no evidence as to burial customs.

In the second half of the fourth millennium, there is a very marked change in burial customs at Jericho. In the stage, in general terms Late Chalcolithic, for which I use the term Proto-Urban, rock-cut tombs in the area outside the settlement are found for the first time. Part of this area to the west of the tell was investigated in the 1930-36 excavations. The area investigated by the 1952-58 expedition to the north-west and north of the tell is shown in plate 4 covered by the refugee village established in 1948.

There is clear evidence that the tombs were in origin rock-cut chambers approached by shafts. The limestone into which the tombs were cut is, however, soft. In antiquity it suffered very considerable erosion. The date of this can be fixed between c. 2600 B. C. and 2300 B. C., for every single one of the Proto-Urban and Early Bronze Age tombs has lost its roof, whereas those of the succeeding Intermediate Early Bronze - Middle Bronze period and of the Middle Bronze Age have their roofs and shafts intact. The sudden appearance of a new method of burial is evidence of the

arrival of a new group of people. The newcomers are found fairly widespread in Palestine. The evidence of the Jericho tombs makes it possible to show that at least three groups of people were arriving in Palestine at approximately the same time, who subsequently mingled in different combinations on different sites. On all sites, the evidence comes largely from tombs; there was occupation on the settlement sites that were subsequently to become Early Bronze Age towns, but the structures were slight.

The first group to arrive at Jericho has been designated Proto-Urban A. The essence of their burial practice consisted of large communal tomb chambers containing the remains of hundreds of individuals. As found, almost all the burials were secondary, with the bodies dismembered. The first tomb of the period to be discovered, tomb A 94¹ was large, c. 5 m. in diameter, with the rear wall surviving to a height of 2.50 m. The entrance was flanked by two upright stones (pl. 3. B). Round the walls of the two-thirds of the tomb that could be excavated, the skulls of 113 individuals were arranged in neat rows (pl. 5. B), together with a very large number of pottery vessels, mainly shallow bowls and juglets (pl. 5. B). In the centre of the chamber was a pile of other bones, mostly heavily burnt.

The burial process was further elucidated by tomb K2². It contained the skulls of at least 326 individuals, packed round the walls of the chamber up to four deep. In the centre were piled the other bones, numerous but far too few to match the 326 skulls. An examination of the skulls showed that they had been carefully separated from the rest of the body

(1) Jericho I, p. 16 ff.

(2) Jericho II, p. 8 ff.

after the ligaments had decayed, and stacked with such care that even the delicate nasal bones were preserved. In the pile of bones in the centre, some were in articulation, for instance, portions of the spine. Another tomb, K3³, showed a similar piling of skulls, 65 in number, ranked three deep, and an even greater disproportion to the number of other bones, which were very scanty.

The combined evidence of the five tombs of this period excavated, in which the remains of *c.* 565 individuals were found, but for which a figure of *c.* 790 can be calculated⁴ is that the first stage was that of human burials of intact bodies. Subsequently, no doubt as the chamber became full, the skulls were carefully separated and stacked, and the other bones disposed of. In most of the tombs, they must have simply been thrown out, but in tomb A 94, probably the earliest, they were at intervals cremated in the centre of the chamber.

The second group to arrive at Jericho, Proto-Urban B, probably mingling with their predecessors, introduced a new type of pottery and new burial customs. Their pottery is characterised by elaborate painted decoration of grouped parallel lines (pl. 6. A). Their burials, found as distinct layers in the same tombs as the earlier ones, were marked by the placing of the bodies on prepared stone platforms (pl. 6. B). Some of the bodies were disarticulated, some intact, and there was no evidence of the piling of skulls. The third group, Proto-Urban C, is not found at Jericho.

The charcoal from tomb A 94 provided a Carbon-14 date of + (or -) 3260 B. C., which the new Suess calibration suggests should be

dated to *c.* 3,900 B. C. The fringes of the Early Bronze Age have now been reached. There is indeed no break between this stage and the full Early Bronze Age, with pottery especially of Porto-Urban B type continuing into the beginning of that period, and the burials continuing to be in great numbers in large communal tombs. The pottery however, suggests the arrival of a further group, bringing more elaborate forms and a higher technique, especially in the use of a beautifully burnished red slip (fig. 1).

The tombs excavated in the northern and western cemetery area cover the length of the Early Bronze Age, perhaps some eight hundred years. A total of 9 tombs of which the largest contained evidence of 300 and the other largest 50 to 80 burials is obviously inadequate for this length of time. Only three tombs belong to Early Bronze I and II, and the rest to Early Bronze III. There may be a further area not yet located, and it is also very possible that some have been completely destroyed by erosion, since the walls of those found survived only to a height of 30 cm. or less. All tombs contained multiple disarranged burials, with hardly a single intact body. The general practice of the preceding period of clearing out the chamber at intervals and retaining skulls and offerings was continued, but there is an absence of the neat care in arranging the skulls in rows round the walls.

Tomb F 4 (fig. 2) of Early Bronze III provides the clearest evidence of the process that took place; on the evidence of the skulls it contained 89 burials. The pottery is illustrated on pl. 7. A. The fill could be classified by its character into five areas. In area B (fig. 2) in the north-west sector there were 16 skulls with hardly any long bones. Area A in the south-west sector contained hardly any bones,

(3) *Jericho II*, p. 27 ff.

(4) *Jericho II*, p. 3.

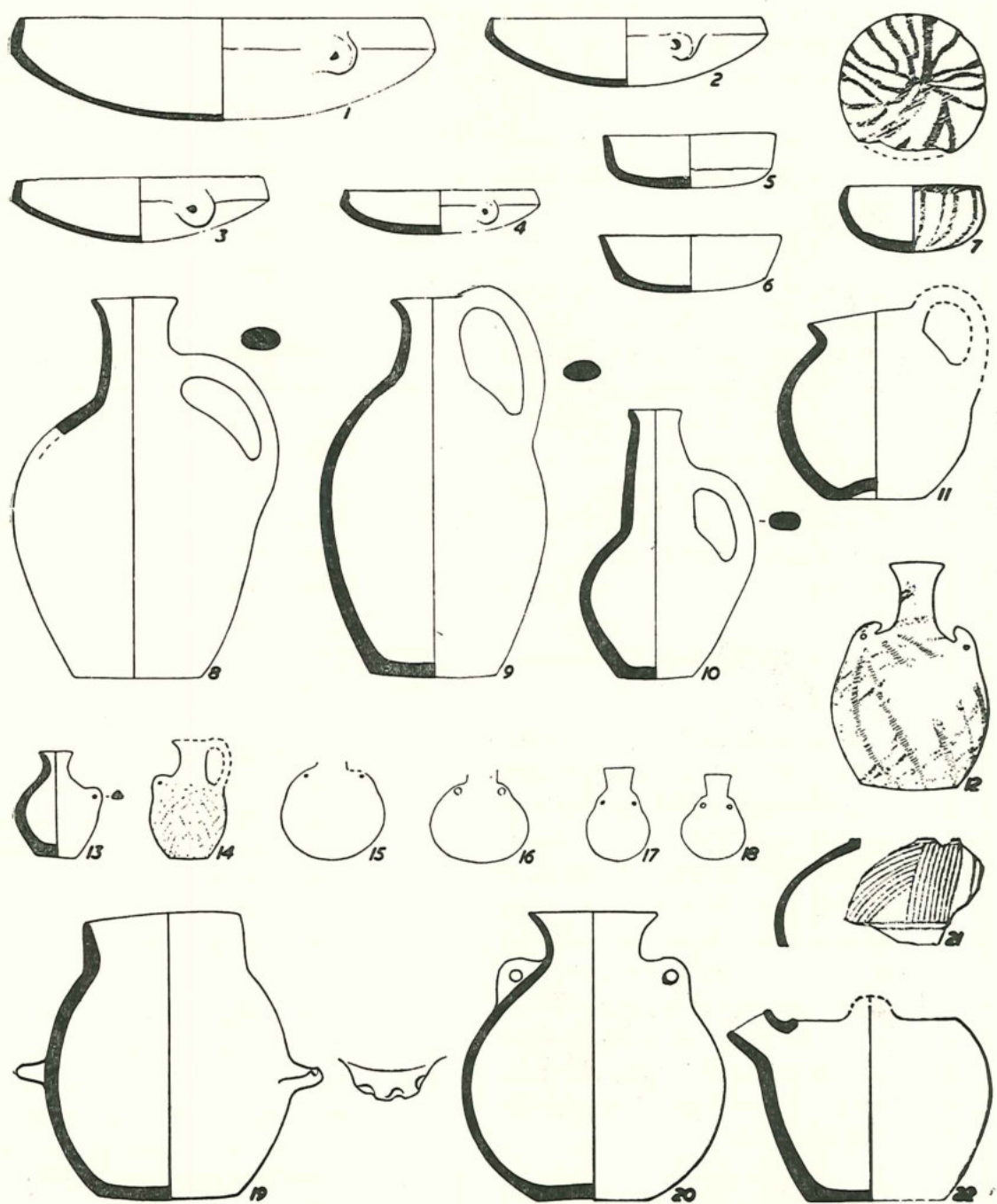
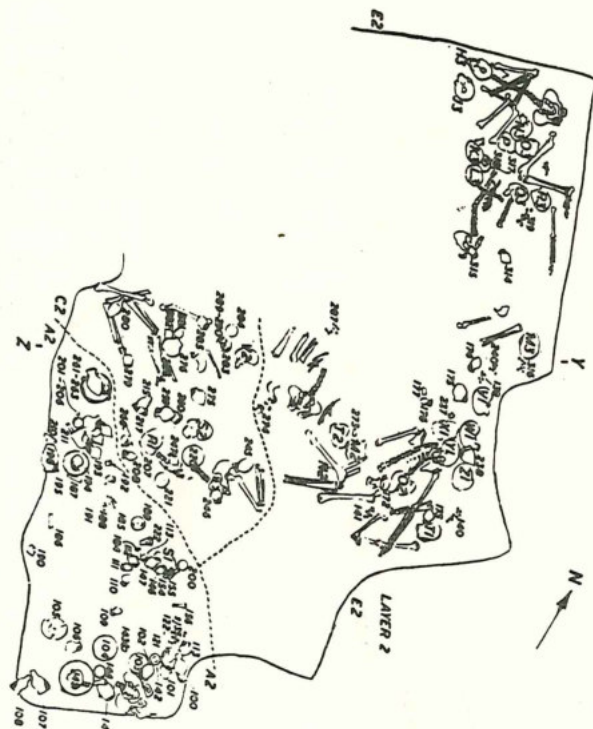


Fig. 1. Pottery from Early Bronze Age tomb A 108.



0 1 2
METRES

JERICHO TOMB F.4

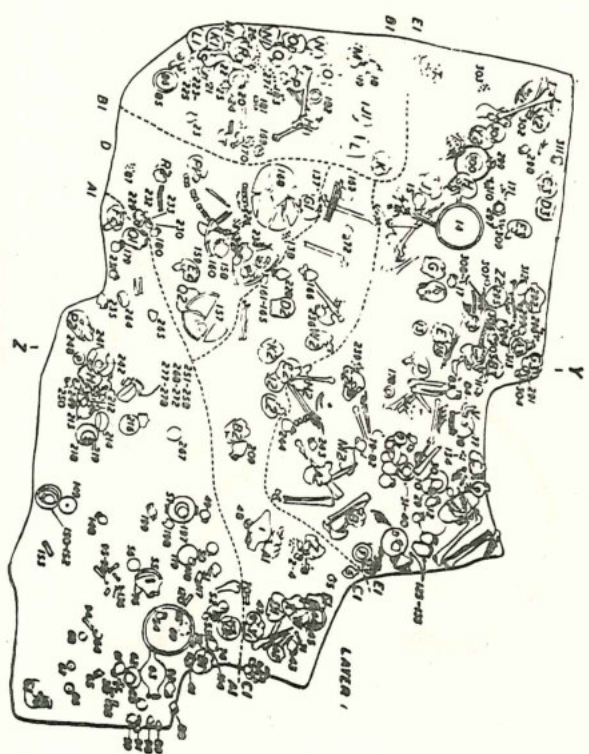
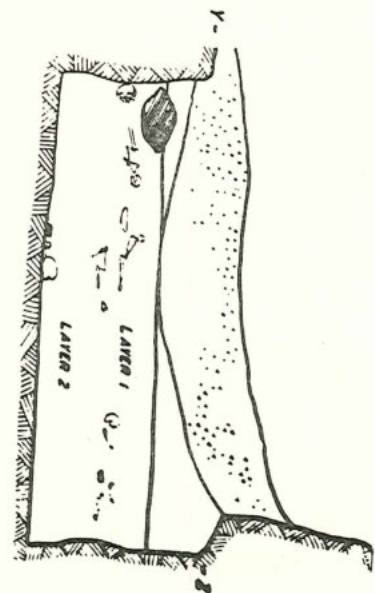


Fig. 2. Plan of Early Bronze Age tomb F.4.

but large numbers of pots. Area C in the centre contained scattered skulls and bones, with some of the limbs in articulation. The virtually intact skeletons were found in Area E along the east side and Area D between B and A on the west side. The first stage would appear to be represented by the deposits in Area B and A. At its end, skulls were piled in one corner, pots in the other, and most of the rest of the bones were thrown out. The second clearance stage is represented by the deposit in Area C, piled against that of A. It took place at a time at which the decomposition of some of the bodies was not complete. The final stage is represented by the deposits in Areas D and E, in which burials were made in the cleared area on the east side and two or three on top of the earlier deposits on the west. These burials did not undergo any clearing-out process, but were somewhat disarranged when later bodies were put in.

A similar process of the filling up of the chamber by multiple burials, followed by a clearing-up process involving the throwing out of most of the bones, fits the evidence of all the other tombs, though the final erosion, and indeed probably phases of erosion or flooding and roof collapse during the use of the tombs, makes interpretation less easy.

The burial practices that are peculiar to the period that follows the end of the Early Bronze Age constitute the most striking example in the whole history of Palestine that this aspect of culture shows the arrival of newcomers. At Jericho the stratigraphical evidence for a break at the end of the Early Bronze Age is indisputable.⁵ The evidence of completely new

burial customs is found throughout Palestine. For this reason I employ the term Intermediate Early Bronze - Middle Bronze period, henceforth E. B. -M. B. The change is one from multiple communal tombs, re-used over long periods with frequent clearances, to essentially individual tombs, with, characteristically, burials of single individuals, but in some subdivisions of the culture a few more. At Jericho there is also the difference that between the Early Bronze Age tombs and those of the E. B.-M. B. period there is very serious erosion. All the Early Bronze Age tombs have lost their roofs whereas those of the E. B.-M. B. period have roofs and shafts approximately intact.

These new, essentially individual, tombs appear at Jericho in a number of forms, a fact which has in itself very important implications. These can be classified under seven headings, of which four are important. In the first type, the Dagger-type tombs, shaft and chamber are small and neatly cut, usually about a metre in diameter, the shaft about 1.25 - 0.70 m. deep and the chamber only about 1.50 - 1.25 m. high (fig. 3 and pl. 7 A.). In the chamber there is normally a single individual, neatly disposed on his side in a crouched position. Many of the bodies have a dagger (pl. 7. B) lying by the arms; with others, presumed to be women, the only grave goods are beads. In a few instances, there were two burials in a single tomb. The total number of intact tombs of this type found is 45, with 60 others incomplete or re-used, and the number of individuals buried in the intact tombs is 54.

The second type is called the Pottery-type, since instead of daggers the grave goods consist

(5) *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, p. 189 ff.

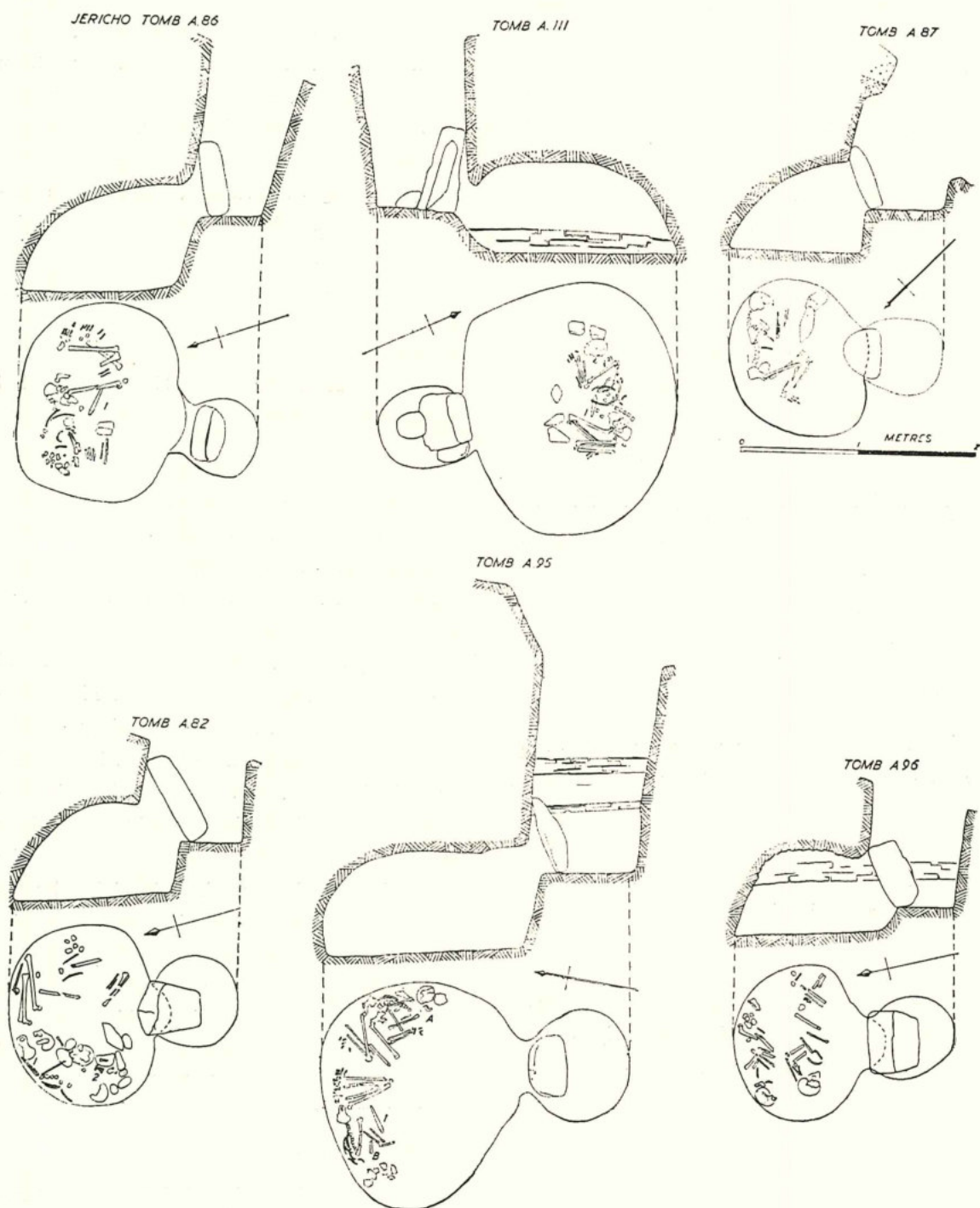


Fig. 3. Plans of E.B. - M.B Dagger-type tombs.

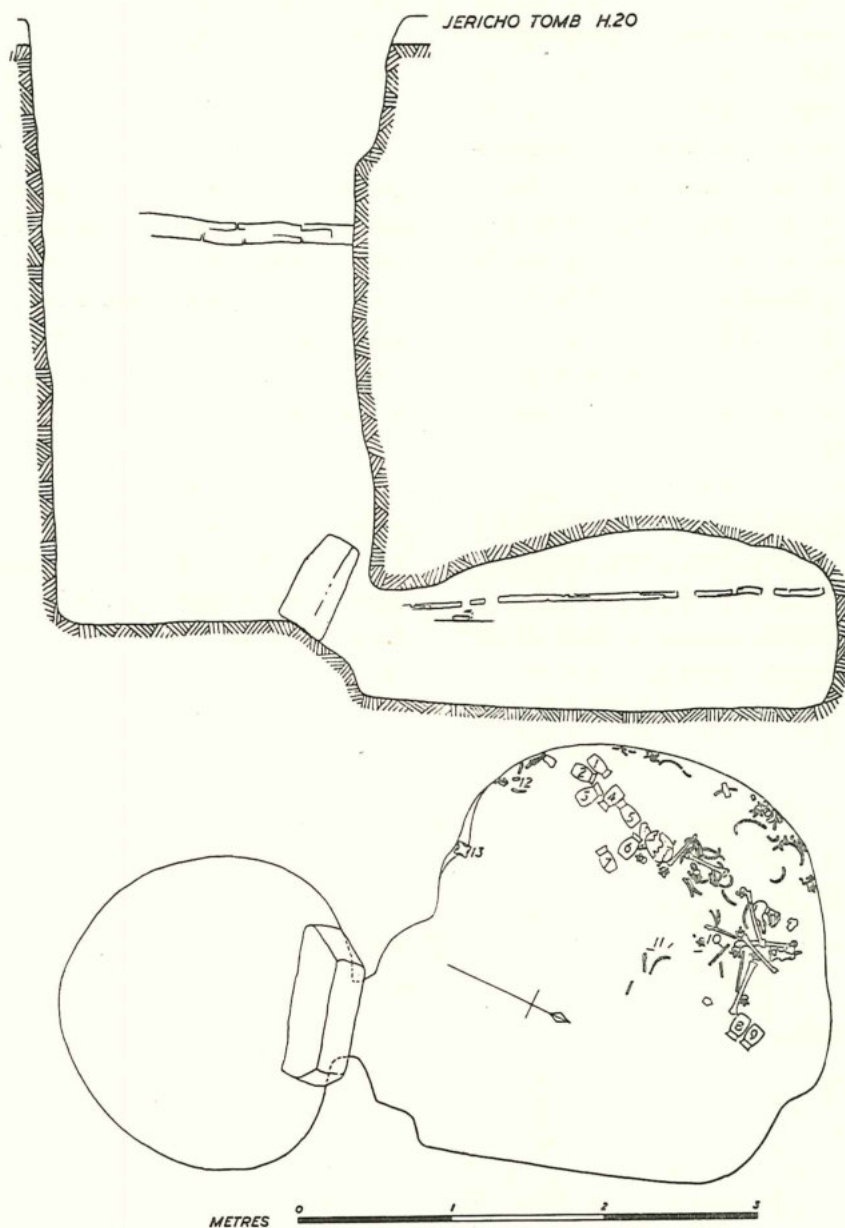


Fig. 4. Plan of E. B. - M. B. Pottery - type tomb H 20.

of pottery vessels; no weapons at all were found in this group. Other differences are even more striking. The diameter of the shaft is about 2.50 - 1.40 m., the average depth about 3.75 - 2.50 m. The tomb chamber is still low, but the average size is about 2.90 to 2.60 m. (fig. 4).

The pottery offerings consist almost entirely of small, narrow jars with flaring rims (pl. 8. A) and the characteristic four-spouted lamp of the period, usually placed in a specially cut-niche in the rock wall of the chamber. The final and most striking difference

is the treatment of the body. These large tombs contained only one individual, but almost without exception, the skeleton is completely disarranged and often incomplete. There is no doubt that the bodies were completely skeletalized before being placed in the tomb, probably gathered together in a container of cloth or a basket. Evidence for such a container was in fact deduced by Professor Zeuner from the tracks of white ants, which eat vegetable matter and not flesh. The probable conclusion from the practice of depositing such fragmentary bodies in tomb chambers which required enormous labour to construct is that the group burying in such a manner was semi-nomadic in habit. Its members were probably pastoralists, migrating to the hills during the heat of the Jordan valley summer and when they returned to their winter headquarters at Jericho, bringing with them the bodies of those of the group who had died in

the meantime, bodies reduced by the passage of time, and possibly intentional exposure to carrion birds and animals, to bags of bones. There is a certain amount of evidence that the tombs were dug in advance, and not for a particular individual, and one can perhaps deduce the existence of professional grave-diggers catering for what was obviously a flourishing market. Eighty-six intact tombs of this type were found, with 56 incomplete or disturbed, and at least 19 others were re-used during the Middle Bronze Age.

The third type of tomb has been given the name Square-Shaft. In size, the tombs of this type fall between those of the Dagger type and those of the Pottery type. It is clearly differentiated from the Pottery-type by the fact that the shafts are in plan rectangular (fig. 5). The number of tombs assigned to this category is

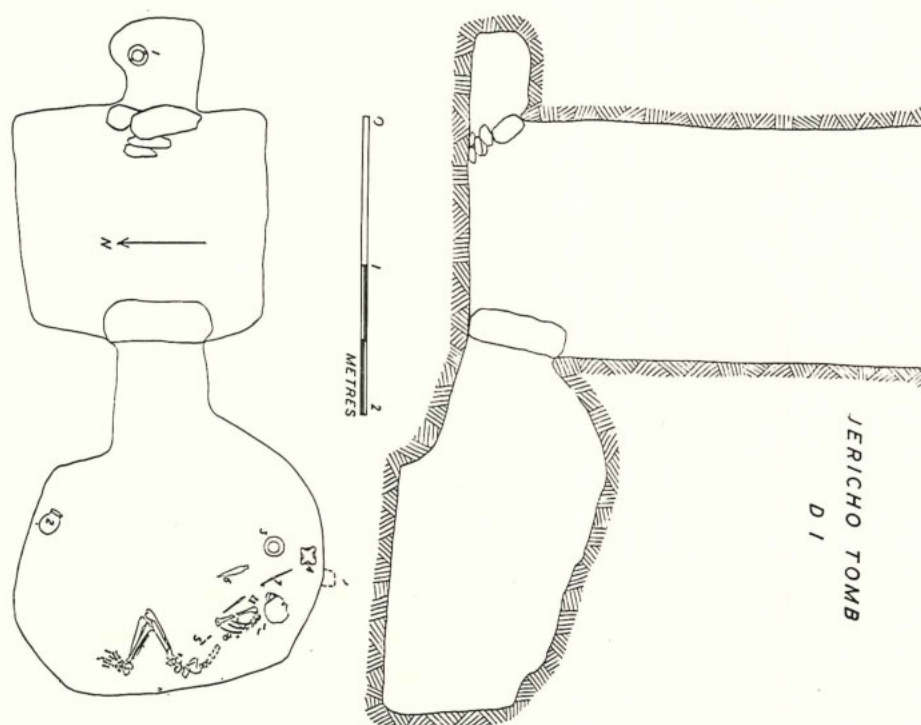


Fig. 5. Plan of E. B. - M.B. Square-shaft type tomb D I.

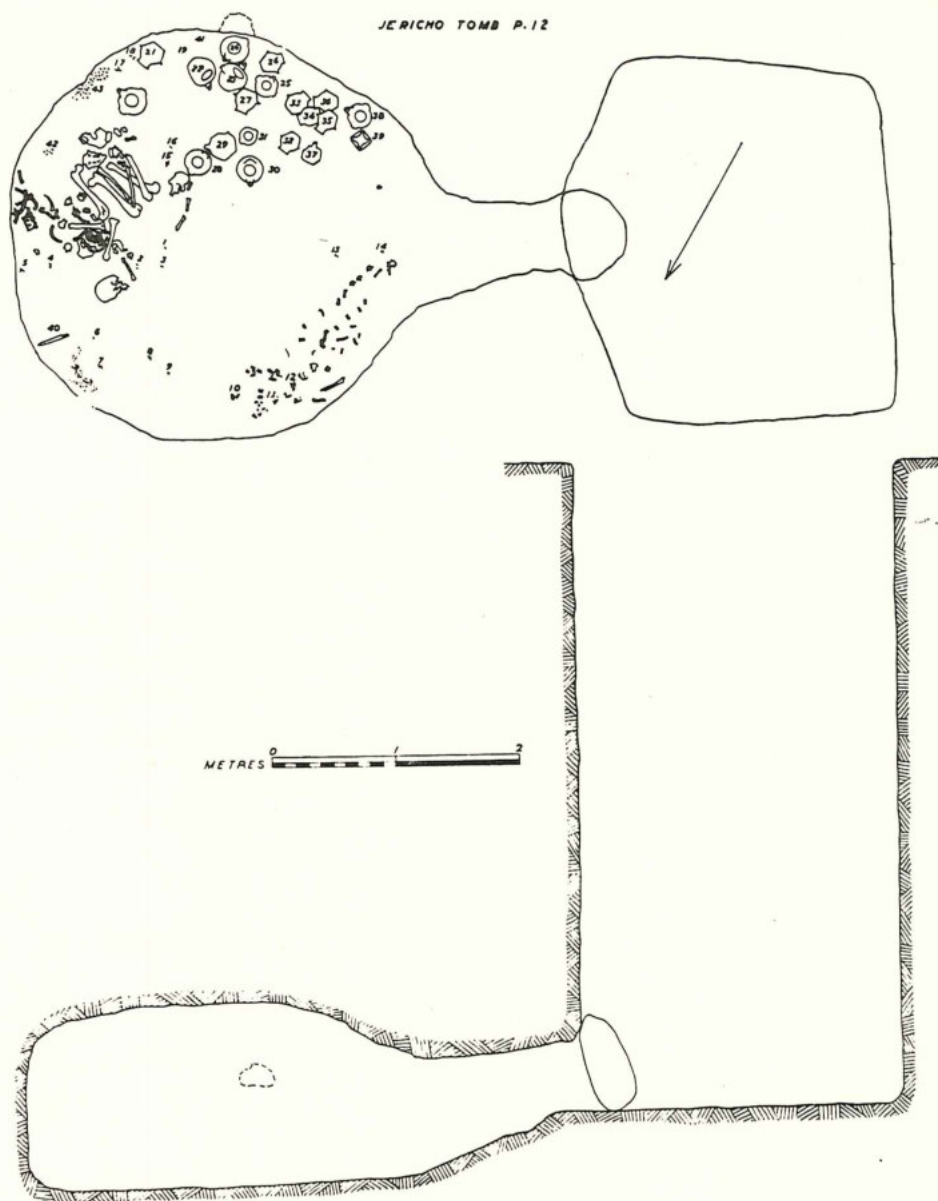


Fig. 6. Plan of E. B. - M. B. Outsize-type tomb P 12.

small, but the characteristic burial is probably intact, differentiating it from Pottery-type tombs. It is also differentiated by the fact that the grave goods contain both weapons and pottery. The daggers include a type with a square butt that is unusual in the Dagger-type tombs,

but is found in the Outsize-type tombs. The weapons also include a javelin, never found in the Dagger-type tombs. The pottery vessels are of the types found in the Pottery-type tombs, quite distinct from those found in the Outsize-type tombs. The differences make it

clear that this group, though relatively small in the number of excavated examples, must be placed in a separate category.

The fourth type of tomb is the most striking of all. It has been given the name Outsize, justified both by dimensions of the shaft and size of tomb chamber, and by number of grave

goods and the somewhat bloated pots deposited. Examples of the plans and sections of these tombs are given on figs. 6-7. The depths of the shafts reach a maximum of 7 m., and the majority range from 6 m. to 4 m.; the largest tomb chamber is 5.90 m. by 4 m. These are the extreme limits, but all are on this outsize scale, and all exceed the dimensions of the Pottery-

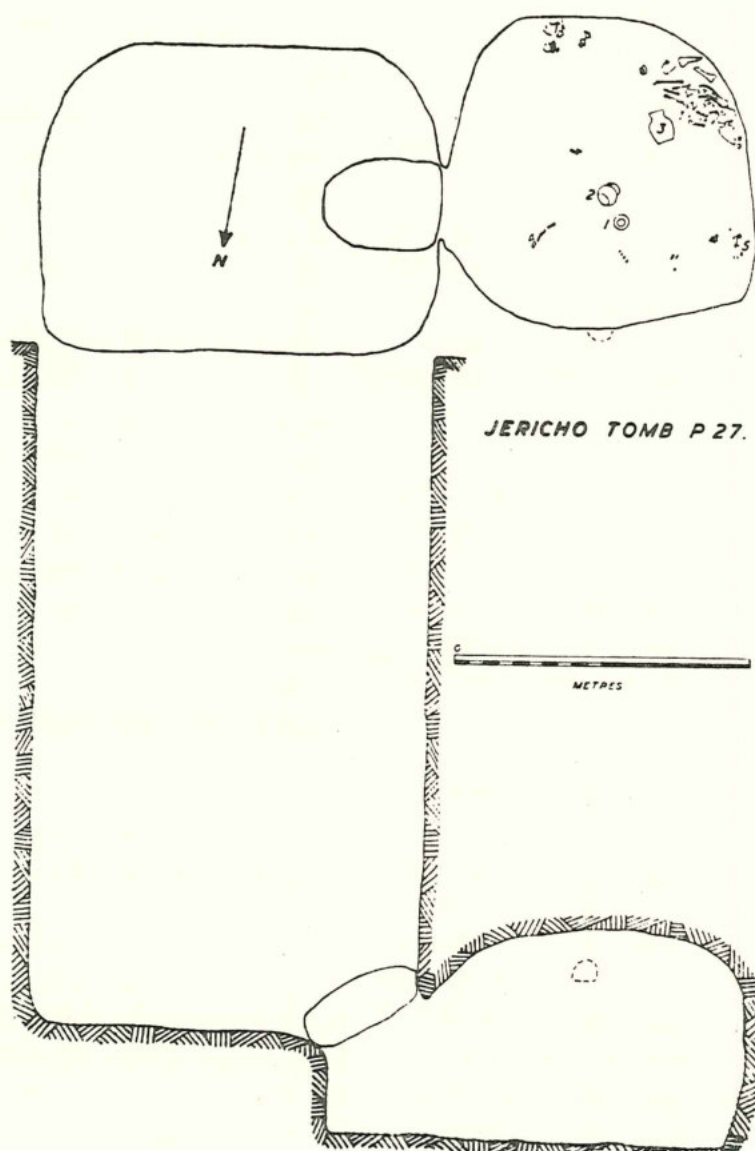


Fig. 7. Plan of E. B. - M. B. Outsize - type tomb P 27.

type tomb. The burial practice, even on this enormous scale of tomb chamber, seems to be that for a single individual, with the skeletal remains almost always completely disintegrated. A further differentiation is that the pottery vessels (pl. 8. B) that comprise the majority of the offerings are large and fat compared with the somewhat austere vessels of the Pottery-type tombs. The offerings also included a number of objects mounted in copper or bronze, not found in the Pottery-type tombs.

The other types of tombs found were the Bead type ⁶, the Composite type ⁷ and the Multiple Burial type ⁸. These are not important, and probably indicate various stages of mingling of incoming groups. It may be noted that the term Multiple Burial is relative only, for the single tomb of this type contained only three bodies. It was however different in other respects.

During the E.B.-M.B. period there are thus at Jericho a number of groups burying their dead in completely different ways. This diversity is confirmed in Palestine as a whole, though no single site has as many varieties as does Jericho. Some of the types found elsewhere are related to some of the Jericho types though none are identical. Pottery similar to that found in the Jericho Pottery-type tombs is, for instance, found at Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives and further north in the hill country at Khirbet Samieh. Pottery similar to that in the Outsize tombs is found at Megiddo and Beth-shan. There are connections between forms found in the single Multiple Burial type tomb and those found in the south at T. Ajjul and T. Duweir. There are these connections, but

there are many differences, some small and some very marked, and certainly groups are represented at other sites that are not found at Jericho. The conclusion can reasonably be made that there were in Palestine at this time a number of groups with allied but not identical material culture and habits. The inhabitants consisted therefore of a number of loosely allied tribes, and evidence from other sites confirms that of Jericho that some were semi-nomadic and that nowhere did they live in walled towns.

As abrupt a change marks the end of the E.B. - M.B. period as marks its beginning. The Middle Bronze Age inhabitants were once more town dwellers, and once more they buried in communal tombs. It is clear that again newcomers had arrived. Among the earliest of the burials are some on the tell itself. This is a practice found at Megiddo and T. Ajjul, but only appears in this very early stage at Jericho, perhaps indicating that the newcomers did not feel sure enough of their position to bury outside the walls, and that their numbers were still few enough to allow of space for burials within the town. In the very limited area in which remains of the Middle Bronze Age survive, two graves and one brick-built tomb were found. One of the graves had a single body, the second two. The brick-built tomb contained nine bodies, and it is clear that the practice was similar to that found in the rock-cut tombs involving the rough disarrangement of preceding burials to make room for the latest.

Apart from these burials on the tell, the burials of the Middle Bronze Age were in rock-cut tombs in the same areas as those of the preceding periods. Very many of them were in

(6) *Jericho II*, p. 81 ff.

(7) *Jericho II*, p. 143 ff.

(8) *Jericho II*, p. 157 ff.

fact in re-used tombs of the E.B. - M.B. period, as can be deduced both from the form of the tombs and the survival of remains of the E.B.-M.B. deposits.

The Middle Bronze Age tombs have in common with those of the Early Bronze Age the practice of multiple successive burials. The methods,

however, are quite distinct. The general practice seems to have been to clear a space on the floor of the chamber for the latest body by pushing the earlier bodies and their grave goods carelessly to the rear of the tomb. As a result, a mound of disordered bones and objects was gradually built up surrounding the area in which the latest bodies were successively placed

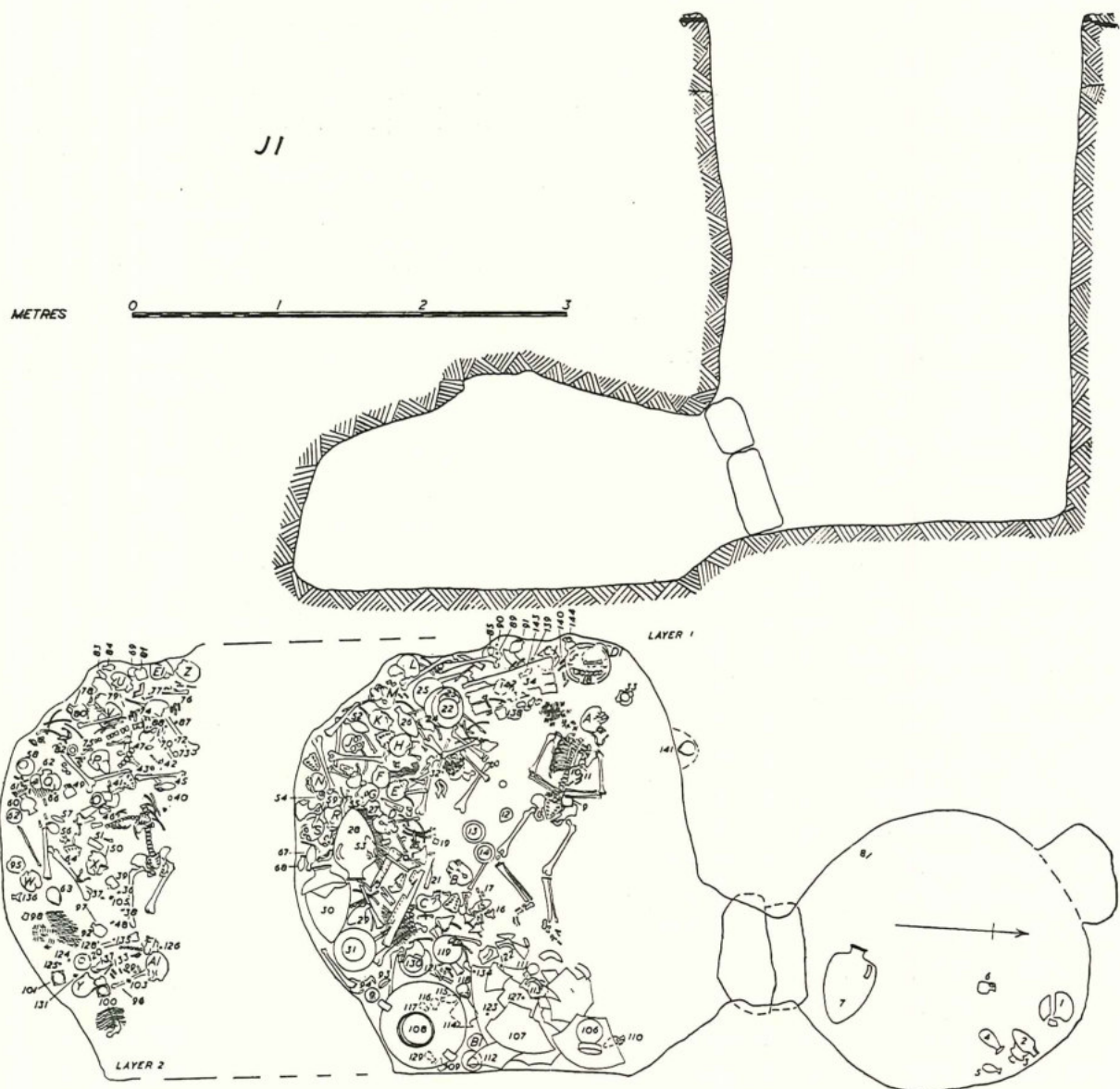


Fig. 8. Plan of Middle Bronze Age tomb J I.

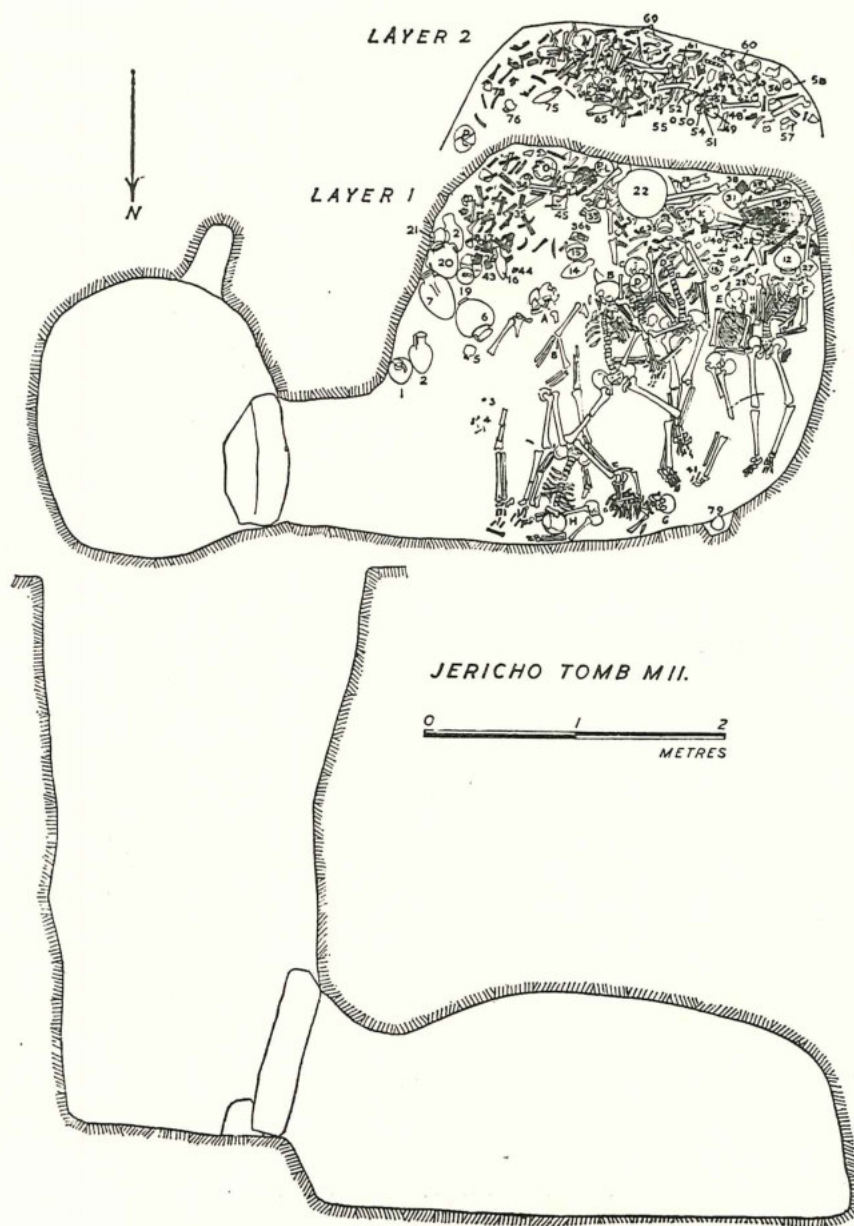


Fig. 9. Plan of Middle Bronze Age tomb M 11.

(pl. 9. A, B and fig. 8). Owing to denudation of the tops of the tombs and thus of the final burials, there is little evidence as to how the bodies in the Early Bronze Age tombs were disposed. In the Middle Bronze tombs, the bodies lie on their backs, but usually rather

untidily disposed. In a number of instances, the bodies seem to have been intentionally placed with the knees raised, for which the evidence is the twisting of the head of the femur when the legs collapsed with decay. ⁹ This

(9) Jericho II, p. 575.

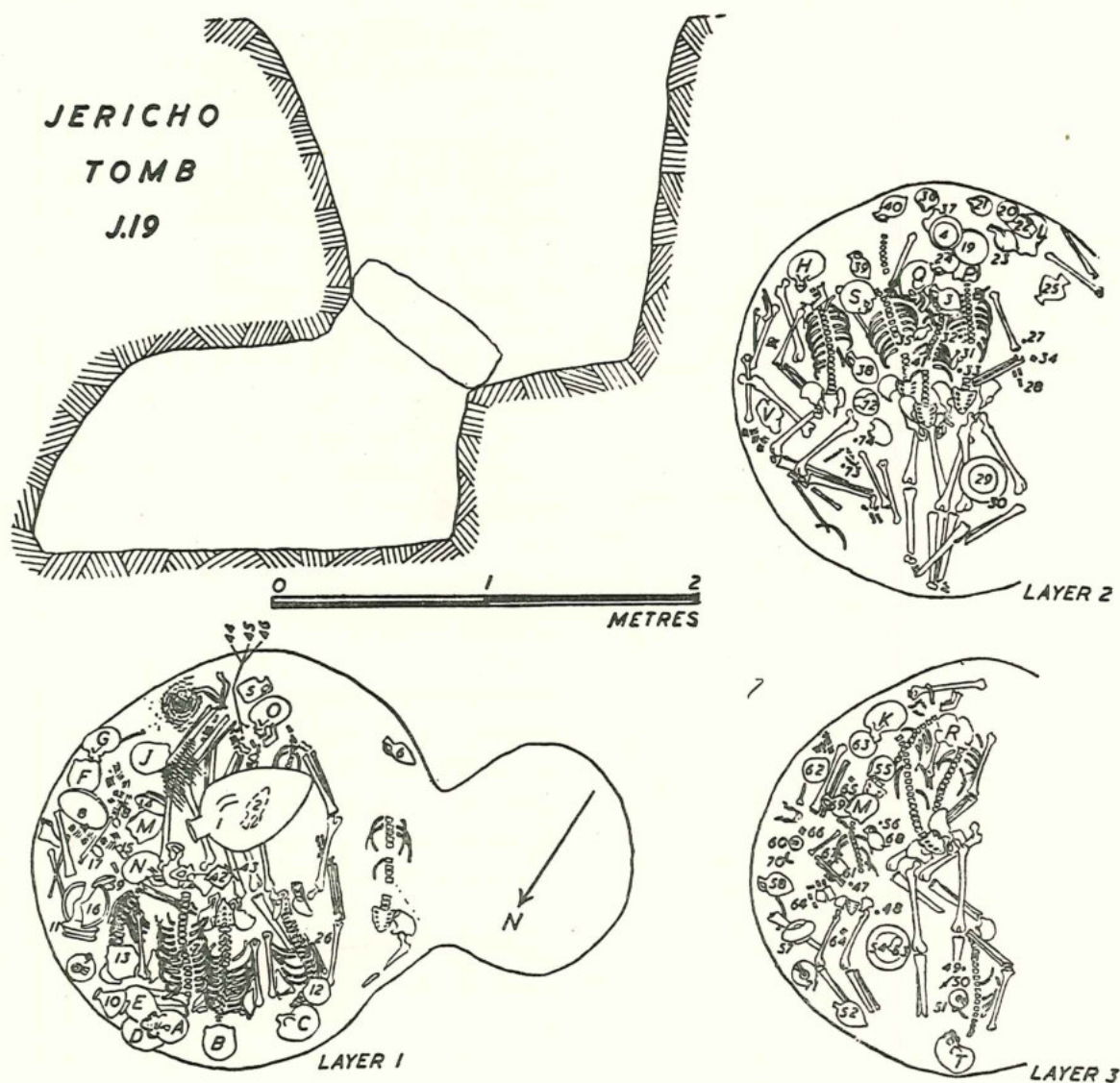


Fig. 10. Plan of Middle Bronze Age tomb J 19.

and the mounding and clearing process is illustrated in tomb M 11 (pl. 10. A and fig. 9). In this case, the remains of six earlier burials are mounded round the side of the tomb, and seven later ones were put in simultaneously, fitted in as best they could be, and the central one was certainly placed with the knees raised.

The skeletons of most of the earlier burials were thus largely disturbed. The way in which they were treated however varied. Tomb A 136¹⁰ was originally a Dagger-type tomb and was therefore very small. In its Middle Bronze Age re-use it was used for 26 burials, but the bodies were simply piled in one on top of

(10) *Jericho II.* p. 465 ff.

the other, and the skeletons are mostly complete. In a number of other cases, many of the long bones were thrown out when the earlier burials were pushed to the side.¹¹

Tomb J 19 provided evidence of a very remarkable burial practice. The tomb was originally cut as an E.B.-M.B. tomb of the Dagger-type (fig. 10) to hold one individual, or occasionally two. In its Middle Bronze Age re-use, nineteen individuals were buried one on top of the other; the chamber, like A 136, was much too small to allow of mounding and clearing. The burials were not simultaneous, and there was evidence of a certain amount of decay of the earlier bodies before the ones above were put in. The remarkable fact is that every single one of the bodies, though in other respects substantially intact, had at least one forearm and often both arms completely removed. If one takes it that each of the tombs constituted a family vault, one must conclude that the particular family burying in tomb J 19 had a peculiar practice, perhaps a belief that the dead could be dangerous, and that therefore their strength must be controlled in this way.

The equipment placed with the dead was lavish. In the tombs containing multiple successive burials such as those just described, the grave offerings, with the skeletal remains, were usually disturbed when later burials were made. Many of the pottery vessels survived, but fragile objects were considerably damaged. In a certain numbers of tombs, however, a number of simultaneous burials were made and the tomb was not thereafter re-opened. Most of these can be shown, from the contents, to be-

long to the very end of the Middle Bronze Age. They must belong to a period in which some disaster, such as disease, carried off a number of members of the same family simultaneously. That the tombs were not re-used may be because the disaster so shortly preceded the destruction of the town early in the 16th century B. C. that they did not have to be re-opened for later burials. The skeletons are therefore found with the offerings disposed round them just as they were originally placed. The fact that conditions in the Jericho tombs have resulted in a considerable degree of preservation of organic materials has provided a much more complete record of the offerings than is usually found.

The first point that must be made is that the offerings were purely domestic. There was absolutely nothing that could be associated with religion. Though many of the objects, such as the scarabs and the furniture, showed connections with Egypt, the inhabitants of Jericho had no interest at all in the welfare of the soul in after-life, so important to Egyptians.

There can be no doubt that what was provided for the dead was equipment for their everyday needs, the furniture of their houses, some personal ornaments and toilet equipment, and food and drink. The universal article of furniture was a table (pl. 10. B and fig. 11). Beds and stools were rare, and most people must have sat and slept on mats. Plate 11. A, tomb H 22¹², shows a whole family laid out in a row, the adults in the centre, adolescents to the right, and younger members to the left in descending order to a baby in the corner. They lie on mats, some of them with their heads propped against a table loaded with joints of

(11) *Jericho II*, p. 576.

(12) *Jericho I*, p. 500 ff.

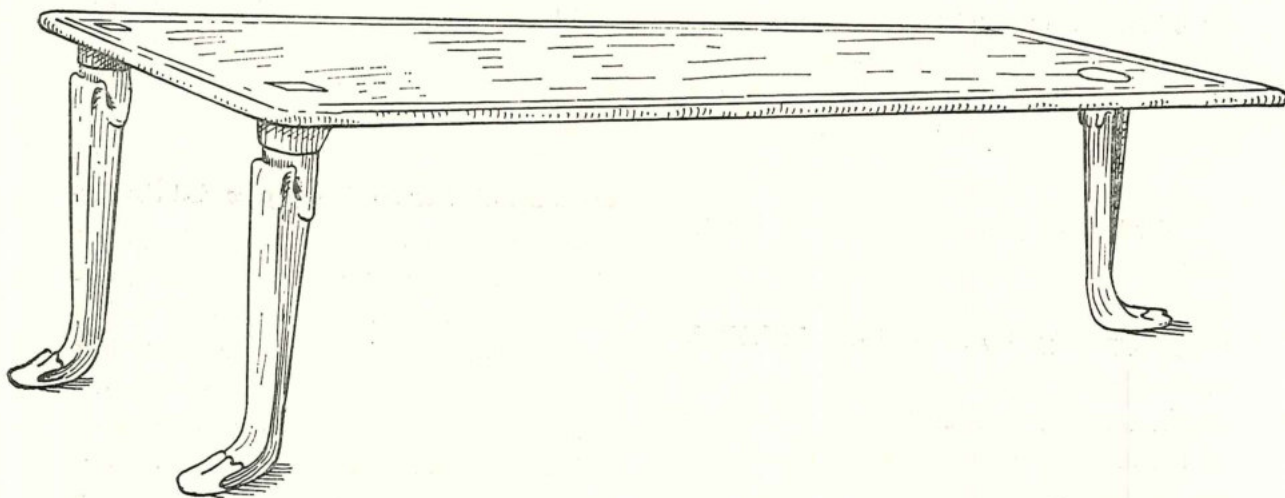


Fig. 11. Table from Middle Bronze Age tomb P 19.

meat. Round the wall of the tomb are jars of drink, and eating and drinking vessels. Baskets held a supply of toilet objects. Plate 12. A shows a basket in which were wooden combs (pl. 12. B). alabaster juglets, probably containing perfume, and material that is probably the remains of a henna-dyed wig. Figure 12 gives examples of the wooden vessels and containers provided, and plate 12. C shows the bone carvings that decorated many little wooden toilet-boxes.

Simple equipment of this nature was the general practice. In a few instances there was some evidence of a burial of a person of superior status or wealth. In plate 10. B, H 18¹³, the body in the centre lies on a bed; the legs of the bed, like those of the table beside it, have collapsed with advancing decay, and the top of the table and frame of the bed lie on the ground. The other bodies in the tomb, an adult, an adolescent and a child, presumably

the wife and children of the man on the bed, lie on the floor. In other examples, the place of the bed is taken by a platform of mud-bricks. Plate 11. B, tomb H 6¹⁴, shows a low platform with the head of the skeleton propped up on another mud-brick, but the body so carelessly disposed that the feet fell off the end when the ligaments decayed. Again, the other burials were disposed on the floor round the main burial.

Altogether three platforms were discovered. There are interesting points to note about both the others. In both there is a suggestion of especial wealth. Tomb J 14 was the only one to produce an appreciable amount of gold, consisting of scarab mountings and a binding. In this tomb¹⁵ (fig. 13)) the mud-brick platform certainly belonged to the final stage of use, together with the burials grouped round it, for in the shaft was a spare mud-brick still encased in its wooden form. The bricks were

(13) *Jericho I*, p. 486 ff.

(14) *Jericho I*, p. 453 ff.

(15) *Jericho II*, p. 312 ff.

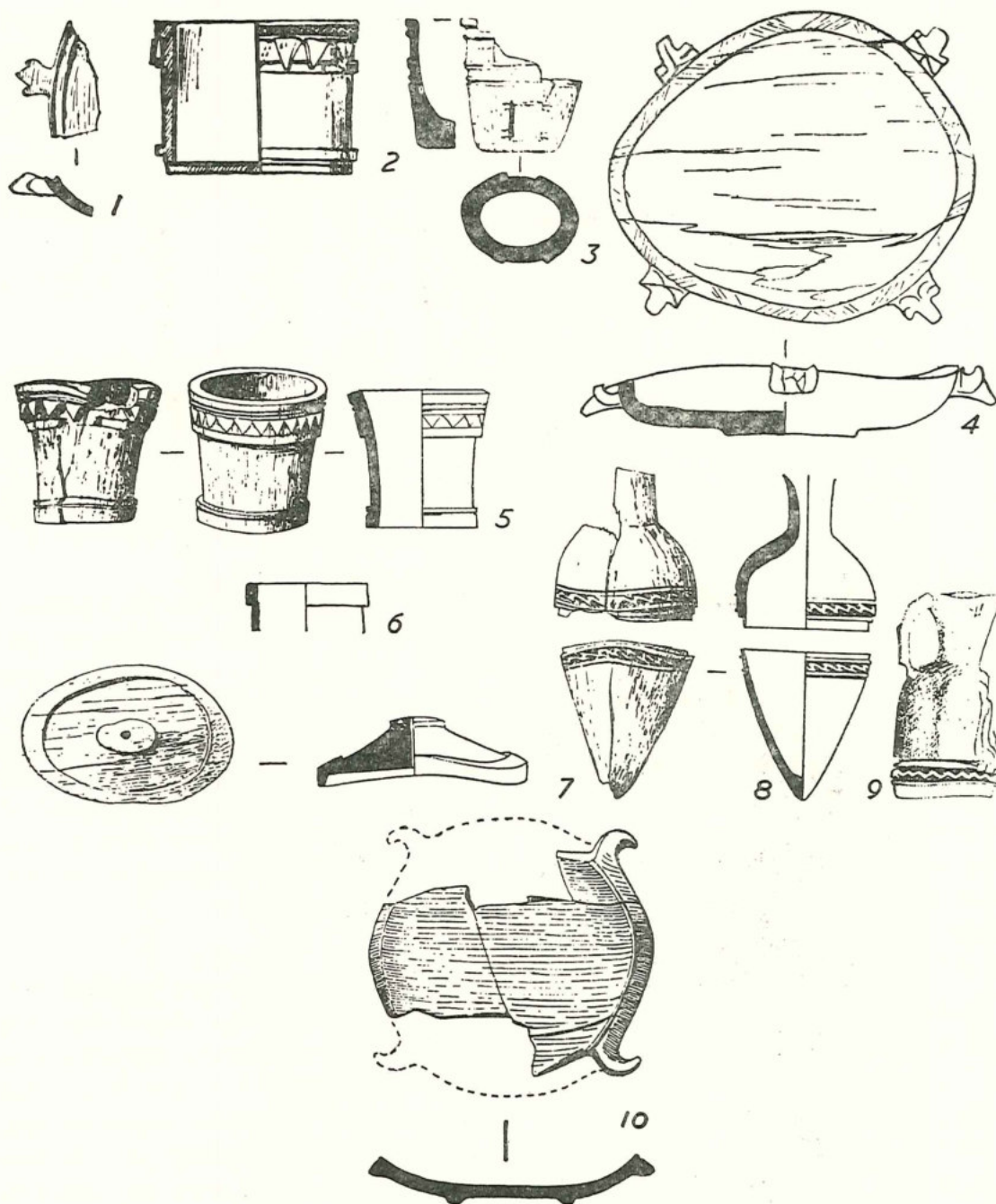


Fig. 12. Wooden vessels from Middle Bronze Age tomb.

clearly made on the spot, as is indeed the practice today, and the unneeded one was left in the shaft, and remained intact since the shaft

was not re-opened. On the platform is the burial of a child, and burial F must have been meant to be on it, but in fact it is half on, half

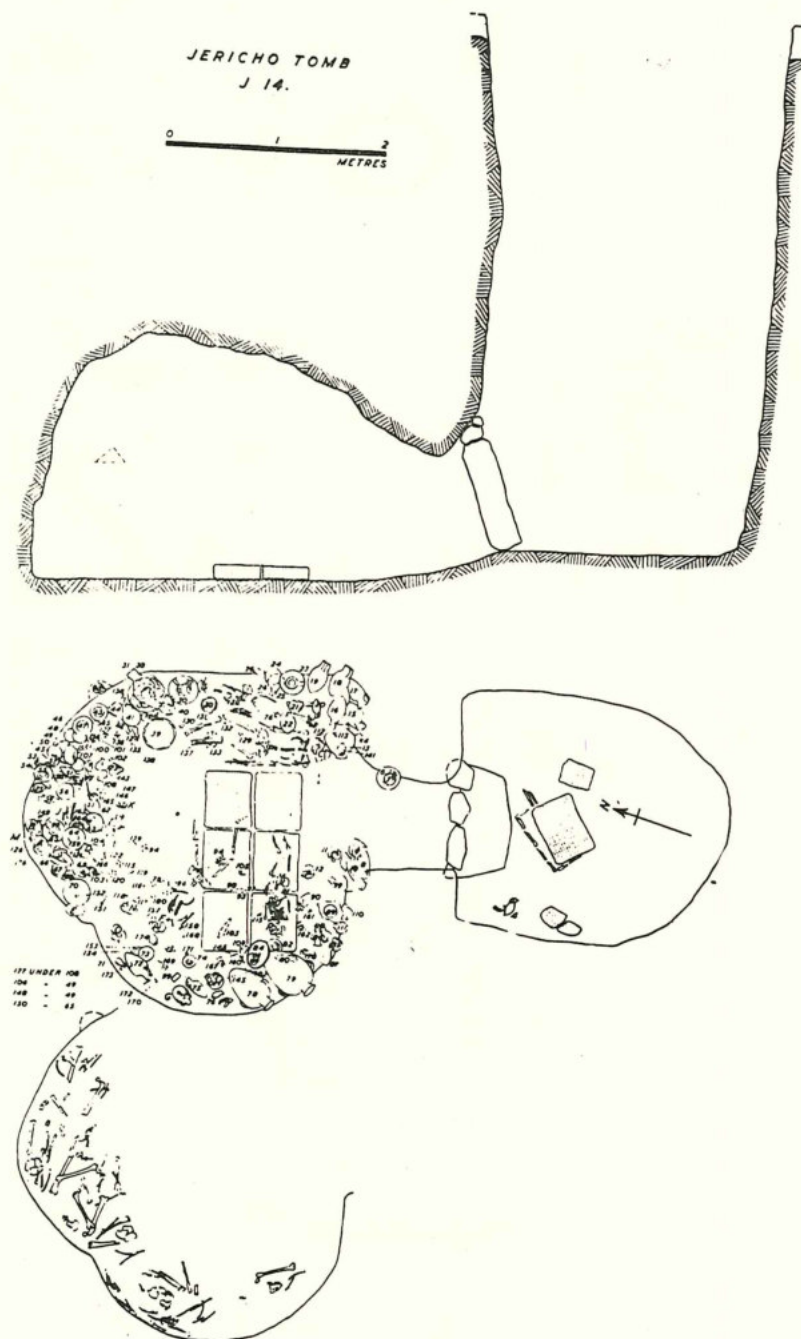


Fig. 13. Plan of Middle Bronze Age tomb J 14

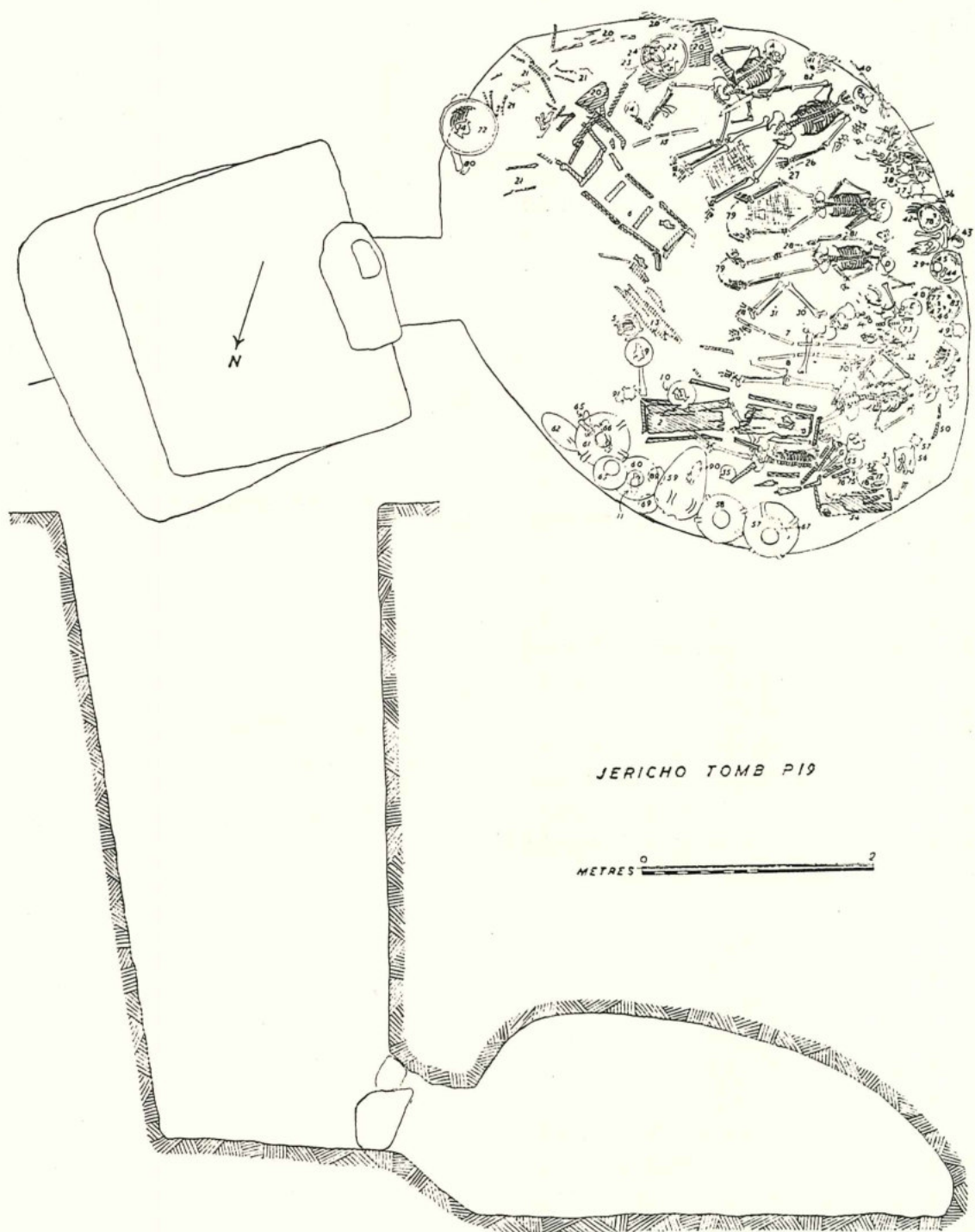


Fig. 14. Plan of Middle Bronze Age tomb P 19.

off. Is this an example of carelessness in the disposal of the body of even important persons, or must one deduce that life was not extinct when the tomb was closed?

The platform in tomb P 21 was three courses of bricks high, whereas the others were only one course. One body had been placed on the platform and two beside the platform on the floor. In all of them, the bones were considerably disarranged.

In the case of the body on the platform, one femur lay on the chest, the other in a reversed position in a crack in the platform. The skull was in articulation with the top vertebrae, but the ribs and lower vertebrae were completely disarranged. The other bodies were in similar disorder, with groups of bones, including hand and foot bones, in position and others much displaced. This disarrangement of the bodies was not a case of transferring the bodies to the tomb when they were partially decayed, as shown by the articulation of hand and foot bones, and by the fact that in most cases the displaced bones lie not far from their correct position. The tomb in fact represents the one certain example found at Jericho of tomb robbing. There must have been precious objects associated with the bodies, probably on the arms and round the necks, for the upper parts of the bodies suffered most disarrangement. It was noticeable that there were no scarabs or toggle pins in the tomb, so the latter may have been of gold and the former gold mounted, as in tomb J 14. There is thus again support for the theory that only for individuals of importance was some sort of bed or couch provided. There were slight traces that the other two burials lay on beds, but wood in this tomb was ill-preserved, perhaps a confirmation that it was re-opened for robbing. The richness of the

burials must have been considerable to induce the robbers to re-excavate the fill of the 4.56 m. deep shaft.

Tomb P 19 was particularly richly equipped with furniture, with two tables, two large stools and probably three others. The plan, fig. 14, shows seven skeletons laid out in a row with their heads to the wall. Six of the skeletons were undisturbed, but skeleton E, that of a woman aged about 28, had the bones of its legs considerably disturbed, one tibia lying well away in the front of the chamber. This skeleton must therefore belong to the earliest burial, and have been considerably decayed when the other bodies were put in. These bodies were those of two adult males, a boy and three girls. The remarkable thing is that all six had been killed by one or more violent blows on the head with a blunt instrument. It looks very much like an execution, but one can hardly deduce that it represents the entourage of a grand lady sent to accompany her in after life, for there would surely not have been the interval after her death. There is another significant point. The two adult males and the boy lack their right hands. An oriental practice, still occasionally found today, is to strike off the hands of a thief. The probable explanation is that tomb robbers, perhaps the males, were caught in the act of robbing the tomb of an important lady, and that they and the other members of their family were executed and placed in the tomb with her, perhaps with some sort of idea that they might serve her as a penance in the after-life.

The distinctive character of the burials and tombs of the various periods from the Neolithic to the Middle Bronze Age has been emphasized. Those of later periods are also distinct, but are less well illustrated at Jericho. The 1952-58 excavations produced no evidence

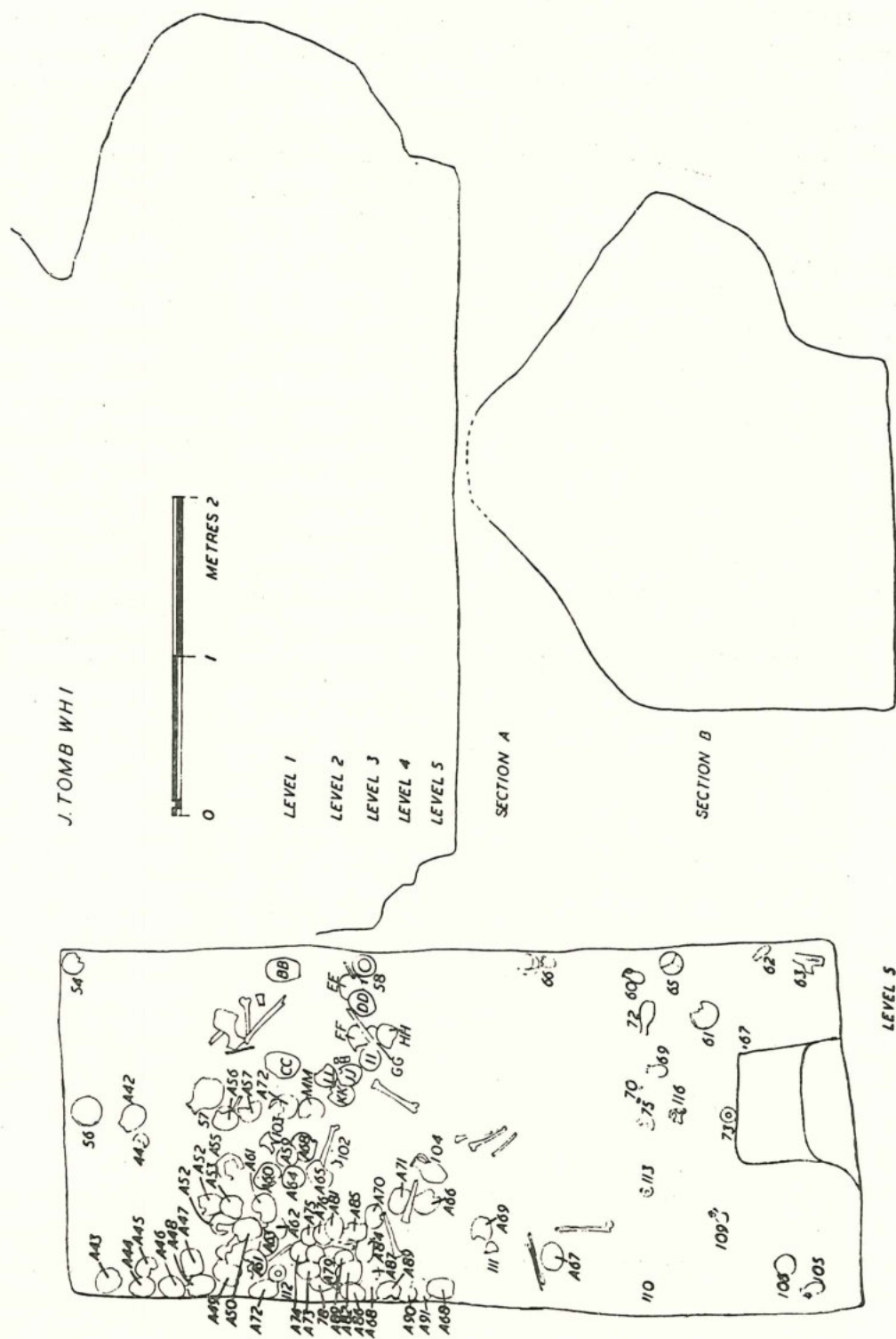


Fig. 15. Plan of Iron Age tomb WH I.

for Late Bronze Age burials. Three tombs found in the 1930-36 excavations produced evidence of burials of this period in tombs of the Middle Bronze Age, above the remains of that period. During the brief re-occupation in the Late Bronze Age, it would therefore appear that the burial practices of the preceeding period were continued.

Thereafter there was a gap in occupation at Jericho. One Iron Age tomb of 10th century B. C., date was found as a rock-cut chamber in the same area as the Bronze Age tombs. It contained the remains of 12 individuals, but it was so eroded that nothing could be learnt concerning the disposition of the bodies. The tombs of the period, 8th to 6th centuries B. C., when the town site was fully re-occupied, are of an entirely different character, and lie in a different area, or the low ridge to the west of the tell. They consisted of caves, natural or artificial, in the side of the hill,

approached by steps from the surface of the slope. The largest, WH I¹⁶ contained 146 burials (fig. 15). All the bones were in complete disorder. It is probable that a process of piling earlier burials to the rear and of throwing out most of the bones except the skulls, similar to earlier practices, was followed, but too few tombs were excavated, and the effects of denudation were too disturbing, for firm generalisations to be made.

Tell es-Sultan ceased to be a town in the early 6th century B. C. For some centuries there may have been little occupation in the area. It is firmly attested again only from the Herodian period in the late 1st century B. C. The Herodian centre had, however, moved south, to the water-supply of the Wadi Kelt. Tell es-Sultan was not re-occupied, and was in fact used for burials of the period. These are found especially at the north end, and consist of graves in which the body lies in a shallow

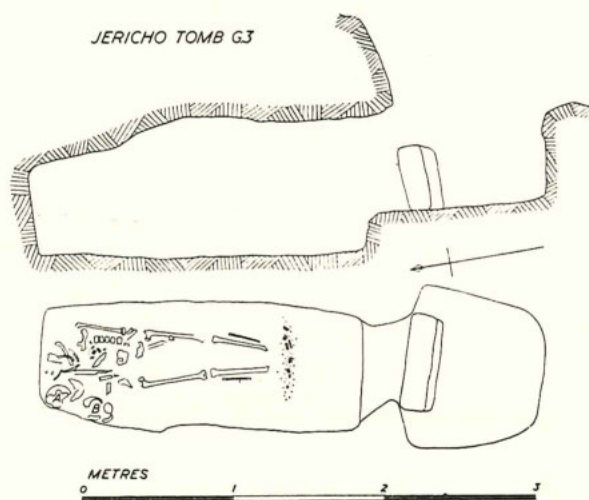


Fig. 16. Plan of Roman tomb G 3.

(16) *Jericho II*, p. 491 ff.

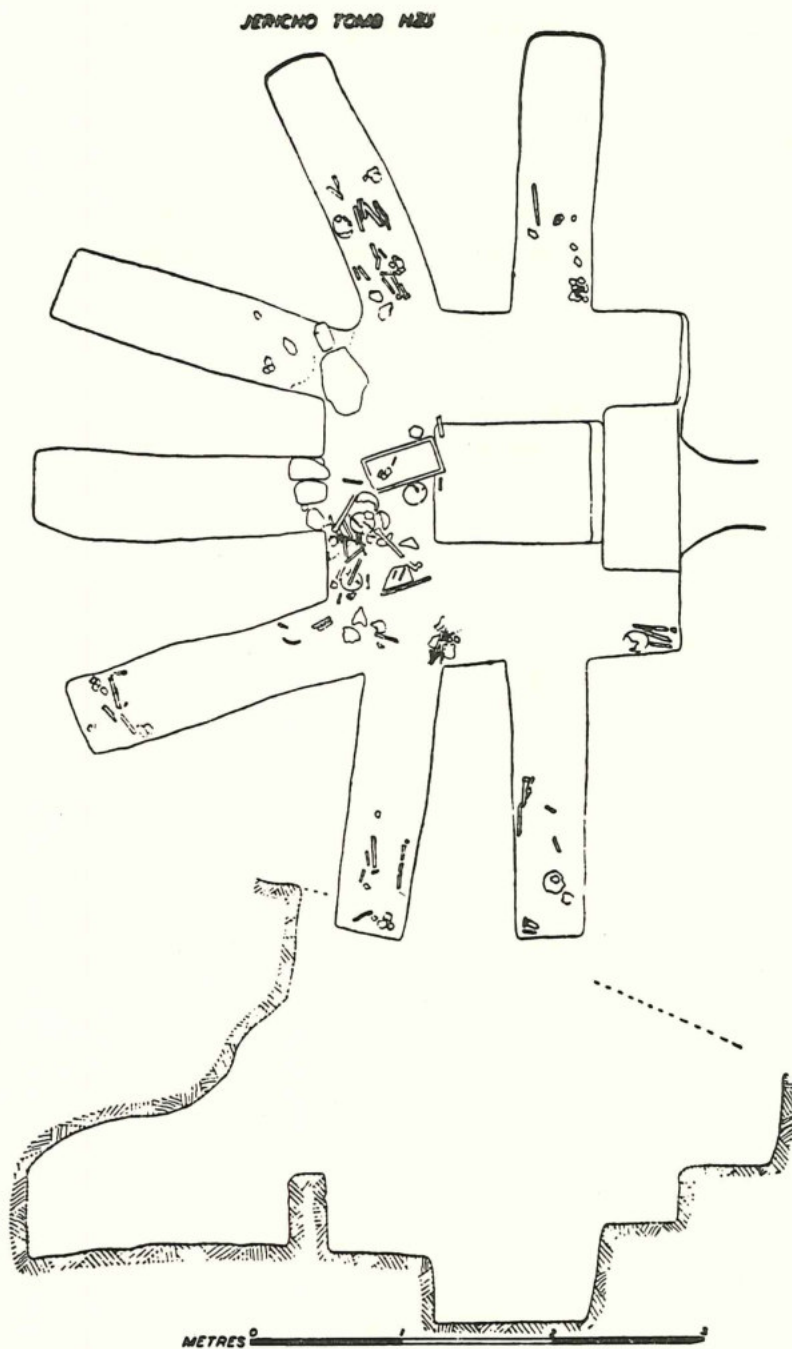


Fig. 17. Plan of Roman tomb H 23.

recess cut at the base of one of the sides of the grave; sometimes the recess is covered with mud-bricks. This form of grave is identical with

those found at Qumran. There were also burials in the tomb area to the north of the tell. A few represent a re-use of earlier tombs.

Some were in graves, either ordinary trenches, or in form similar to those on the tell. The distinctive tomb type of the period was that of a shaft from which the body, sometimes in a coffin, was pushed into a loculus, of which the narrow end opened into a shaft. Variations ranged from a single loculus (fig. 16) to seven (fig. 17). Bones from earlier burials were often preserved in stone caskets or ossuaries, carved with simple geometric patterns, a practice well-known in Jerusalem. Finds in these tombs at Jericho are closely comparable with those from Qumran II, which came to an end

at the collapse of the First Jewish Revolt in A. D. 70. This date probably also marks the end of Herodian Jericho.

Burials at Jericho cover a period of at least eight thousand years. The distinctive features of the successive periods are a most useful indication of major change in the background of dominant groups. Details that can be deduced of the way of life of the population add greatly to the evidence from the town site. Jericho is fortunate that so many unrobbed tombs have been discovered.

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A Preliminary Sounding at Rujm El-Malfuf, 1969

by
Dr. Roger S. Boraas

Introduction

Upsala College of East Orange, New Jersey with the cooperative assistance of The American Schools of Oriental Research through its Amman Center Committee conducted a preliminary sounding at the site generally known as Rujm el-Malfuf (North) beginning July 7 and concluding August 15, 1969.

The location of the site is on the presently expanding western edge of the city of Amman, Jordan just a short distance from the "Fourth Circle" on Jebel Amman. The site stands on the height of Jebel Amman overlooking the Wadi es-Sagrah to the north with a considerable range of visibility to the north, west and east. The rise of land on Jebel Amman restricts visibility to the south, somewhat, and may have accounted for the construction of an apparently similar site on the south side of the ridge overlooking that portion of the topography.

Authorization to conduct the sounding was sought by the writer at the suggestion of members of the staff of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan during the summer of 1968, and permission was granted for the exploration on April 4, 1969 in accord with Chapter I of the Antiquities Law No. 26 for the year 1968. ¹

Sponsorship of the expedition was assumed by Upsala College through its Area Study Program on the Ancient Near East. The American Schools of Oriental Research extended cooperation in the form of the use of its quarters in Amman as an expedition base, including some excavation equipment and the excellent services of Mohammed Adawi as chief cook. ²

As part of the activity of an Area Study Program designed for undergraduates, the staff was drawn largely from Upsala College. The writer served as Director. Photography was in the charge of Prof. Arthur F. Carlson of Up-

(1) The writer expresses the gratitude of Upsala College to all the members of the staff of the Department of Antiquities who assisted with advice in arranging the choice of the site and in processing the application. We express special appreciation to Mr. Yacoub Oweis, Director-General of Antiquities, in whose administration the permit was issued and the excavation

carried out. [Editor's Note: Mr. Oweis left the Department of Antiquities early 1971]

(2) For the arrangements with The American Schools of Oriental Research, special gratitude is expressed to Prof. G. Ernest Wright, President of the Schools; Mr. Thomas Newman, Administrative Director; and Prof. John Marks, Chairman of the Amman Center Committee.

sala College. The Architect - Surveyor was Prof. Bert DeVries of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan and Mrs. Aina Boraas, wife of the Director was Registrar. Seven students participated as Field Assistants,³ and Aish Mohammed Eisa as Technical Man was assisted by fourteen laborers working under Foreman Mustafa Tawfiq Hazeem, both latter mentioned men having had extensive experience with other excavations.

The accommodations provided in the house rented by The American Schools of Oriental Research near Third Circle on Jebel Amman allowed the outfitting of a field dark-room, space for preparation of architectural and section drawings, space for pottery processing, field dating and registration, space for object registration and photography in addition to eating and sleeping quarters for the staff. The Department of Antiquities generously appointed Mr. Safwan K. Tell and Mr. Suleiman Dana as staff members to assist in both the excavation procedures and matters requiring liaison with the Department and other local authorities and suppliers. Their constant attention and valuable help are here gratefully acknowledged..

History

The history of the site in previously published literature is an interesting array of comment

(3) Students included Diane Anderson, Carol Bloomquist, Ellen Sandberg, Mr. and Mrs. Tom (Ruth) Hummel, Randall E. Webb and Sue Ann Paschko.

(4) C. R. Conder, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine* (London: For The Committee of The Palestine Exploration Fund, 1899), Vol. I, p. 193.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Duncan Mackenzie, "Megalithic Monuments of Rabbath Ammon at Amman," *Palestine Exploration Fund [Annual]* (1911), pp. 1-40 and Plates I-VI. The identification of this site

and analysis. C. R. Conder⁴ mentions a name, El Melfuf, applied to six scattered ruins "along the Roman road leading westwards from 'Amman'".⁵ He includes the functional diagnosis that several are "watchtowers" and the chronological speculation that "these ruins are probably of Roman origin."⁶ Duncan Mackenzie associated such installations with dolmen construction in the area, but provides a more detailed description of the site, including a plan, section and photography.⁷ His descriptions include "a circular edifice of enormous dimension, showing a contraction of the walls upward" and "a whole complex of rectangular chambers" attached to the circular building to the east.⁸ He notes that the round tower had suffered less damage than the rectangular buildings attached to it, that an entrance to the circular construction may have been on its east edge, though no doorways are visible, and that the general plan of the rectangular complex "looks like a court with outhouses."⁹ He also cites a presumed approach to the compound from the north side and an outer circumference wall running from the entrance route on the north, westward around the circular building and toward the south.¹⁰ Additional support for the identification of the site des-

with that excavated as described below is based on comparison of Mackenzie's photograph of the round stone tower from the west looking eastward (Fig. 9, p. 22) and our field photos from the same vantage point. The comparison allowed a stone for stone identification by courses from ground level to top surviving course. Most interesting was the testimony of the photographs that no damage by natural cause or human use of the tower as a "quarry" for more recent construction has occurred at least in the western wall of the round tower since 1911. What was the top course then was still the top course when we began in 1969.

(8) *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

(10) *Ibid.* The general mapping of the site done by Prof. DeVries during the 1969 excavation

cribed by Mackenzie with that investigated in 1969 is in his reported measurements. He reports a diameter of 20.15 m. for the exterior of the top courses, an internal diameter of 15.60 m., wall width of 2.30 m., and the adjacent rectangular construction of ca. 27 m. east-west and 28 m., north-south.¹¹ The "match" of these figures to the 1969 sounding site is apparent by checking the measurements available in Figure 1. The dimensions of the tower, the relation of the tower to other structural fragments, the dimensions of the outbuilding to the east and the traces of an approach from the north all match Mackenzie's Plate IV. Mackenzie supported Condor's theory that the function of the installation was a defensive observation point,¹² but he judged the age to be earlier.¹³

Carl Watzinger supported the association of the tower site with dolmen construction, and,

produced an overall plan matching these features with remarkable accuracy, the only exception being the lack of traces of the outer circumference wall west of the circular building. A modern road under construction may have disturbed such traces, but a more thorough search for remaining fragments than 1969 season allowed is needed.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

(12) "... it is evident that the whole position and system of these fortified buildings was consciously sought out with a view to their peculiar function of defensive outlook. It is a sort of blockhouse system, having relation to the whole exceptional character of the landscape of Ammon... A whole army might pass down the valley upon Ammon and escape all attention from such a point of view. But once get to the spot where the fortified building is and the valley beyond is visible down the river bed." *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

(13) Using Sardinian megalithic monuments as parallels, he dates the construction to the Stone Age. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 26-27.

(14) Carl Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1933), Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

using photo and plan evidence from Mackenzie's article, suggested that the construction pattern was parallel to Egyptian works of the second Dynasty evident at Abydos.¹⁴ He retained a possible chronological placement of the construction in the Neolithic period.

Nelson Glueck apparently included the same site in his survey of eastern Palestinian remains. He reports having visited the site described and drawn by Mackenzie (cf. *supra*) on October 25, 1937. The description of the plan of the buildings, the condition of the surviving ruins and the measurements all indicate identification with the site involved in our investigation.¹⁵ Glueck's dating the installation to the Early Iron Age is based on his pottery findings and the silence of archaeological evidence for alternative possibilities.¹⁶ He eliminates consideration of pre-historic founding on the ground of the association of the towers with

(15) Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1939), Vols. XVIII-XIX (1937-39), pp. 165-67.

(16) "A small quantity of worn EI I-II sherds was found in the ploughed fields immediately around the site, in addition to some early Byzantine sherds... It is probable that the circular tower was built first, and then the rectangular building-complex after it in the Early Iron Age, but there was probably no great time lag between them. It will be seen below that in Beq'ah are EI sites massively built with great flint blocks, and that also in some of them in connection with square or rectangular buildings are to be found circular towers. In other words, the type of the *rujm malfuf* did not represent an isolated manner of building in an age all of its own in some dim early historic or prehistoric past, but was a definite part of the architecture which prevailed in a large part of South Gilead and 'Ammôn during the Early Iron Age. ... The only other period to which they might have belonged would be the end of the Early Bronze Age, because from the Wâdî Zerqâ as far as

adjacent buildings,¹⁷ and he notes the absence of any comparable installations in Western Palestine.¹⁸ Concerning function, he concurs in the judgment that the round tower, at least, served "a defensive military purpose,"¹⁹ with emphasis on the utility of the buildings as signal facilities and refuge.²⁰ He attributes the size of the installations to the use of native flint as the construction material.²¹

In his study on the history of the Ammonites,²² George Landes cites the difficulties of dating architecture such as the building complex here under examination. Indicating that pottery concentrations may indicate the period of most intense occupation, and that such information when compared with known historical developments may allow one to "define, within the limits of a century or two, the initial phase of a certain type of constructional plan," he uses Glueck's conclusions about the Ammonite fortresses, assigning major occupation in early Iron I, and his own study of Ammonite political expansion to suggest an eleventh century date for the construction of the installations.²³ The association of such installations

as Ammonite architecture is considered the most striking feature of Ammonite building, and the uniqueness of the circular tower form to the Transjordan and its being more typical of Ammon than of Moab or Edom are noted.²⁴ The judgment concerning function remains defensive, the fortress-towers serving as lookout posts,²⁵ signal stations and shelter.²⁶

H. Gese accepts Glueck's dating to the early Iron Age on the ceramic evidence and also considers them characteristic constructions for the time and place.²⁷ The general problem of function is viewed as a series of border positions in which the defensive function of each installation played its role.²⁸

A review of the opinions cited above shows rather clearly the questions to which a sounding of such an installation should address itself. The uncertain relation of the founding of the round tower to the founding of the adjacent buildings is one such question. Another is the lack of clear stratigraphic evidence for the founding of any such installation. A third is the dependability of the surface pottery used

'Aqabah there is no period of occupation between the end of the first phase of Middle Bronze and the beginning of Early Iron. That these *rujûm malfûf* cannot belong to the Early Bronze Age is shown by the fact that they have never been found on any site which might possibly be dated to the Early Bronze, while most of them have been found on sites which definitely do belong to the Early Iron Age." *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66.

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 166.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) *Ibid.*

(21) "One of the reasons for the massive construction of the *rujûm malfûf* and the square or rectangular sites together with which they are sometimes found, is that the native flint which abounds in the region was used in much the same fashion as the blocks were hewn from the rock. Flint blocks were used in later periods of

occupation in Transjordan also, being always hewn into smaller shapes than those that characterized the EI constructions." *Ibid.*, p. 167.

(22) George Miller Landes, "A History of the Ammonites" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, The Johns Hopkins University, 1956).

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 285.

(24) George M. Landes. "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXIV (September, 1961), p. 72,

(25) *Ibid.*

(26) *Ibid.*, p. 74.

(27) Hartmut Gese, "Ammonitische Grenzfestungen zwischen Wâdî es-sîr und nâ'ûr." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* LXXVI (1958), pp. 56-57.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 57, and Landes, "The Material Civilization ...," p. 68.

in Glueck's survey as the means of dating either the dominant occupation period or the founding period for the installation. These questions, reinforced by the danger to the survival of the site posed by modern urban expansion, governed the development of a strategy for the sounding conducted.

Prospectus

A visit to Rujm el-Malfouf in the summer of 1968 allowed an on-site inspection of possible approaches to the problem. Based on observations obtained, it was suggested by the director in submitting the request for the permit that a single square be placed so as to have one corner intersect the exterior of the round tower wall and another corner intersect a portion of the exterior of the wall of the adjacent building complex at some point. The aim of this suggestion was to excavate in a single square, evidence showing the foundation trenches (if any) for both the round tower and the adjacent building construction. Any datable material from such foundation trench(es) fill might allow more precise dating of the construction of the building(s).

It was further suggested that if time allowed, a second square might be sunk somewhere inside the installation to detect more clearly separable stratification evidence of occupations and internal architectural patterns. The unknown depth of debris accumulated outside the installation made any plan for the second square necessarily tentative.

Stratigraphic Summary

Square 1

The excavation procedure employed in the sounding was a modification of the Wheeler-Kenyon procedure of giving primary atten-

tion to stratigraphy, with pottery and objects carefully separated by loci of origin in the soil layering of the debris accumulation. Our method of recording was to maintain a locus sheet on each distinguishable stratigraphic locus in which were combined a record of the process of its excavation, a basic locus description, location of the locus in the Square, loci associated above and below in contiguous connections, the locus dimensions, pertinent levels, pottery associated in the locus, objects associated in the locus, section drawing references, plan drawing references, photographs in which the locus appears, sketches of pertinent details and an interpretation record of the function of the locus.

The supplementary records included architect's plans and sections, the photographic record, the pottery registry, object registry, bone analysis cards. This report draws on all aspects of these records and on supplementary studies, particularly of the ceramic corpus.

The appearance of the site prior to the sounding was essentially that summarized by Mackenzie (cf. *supra*), with the wall of the round tower surrounded by some tumble (see Figure 2, bottom), the exterior walls of the adjacent building(s) surrounded by far more severe tumble and evidence of larger blocks having been broken for use elsewhere (see Figure 3, left foreground), and the sector of apparent juncture between the round tower and the adjacent building showing the most heavy accumulation (see Figure 4, right foreground).

Selection of the location for the sounding followed the initial suggestion submitted with the application for the permit, namely a single square intended to touch both the exterior of the tower and the exterior of the adjacent building. The spot selected was that uncluttered by apparent roadway or other entrance construc-

tions to the site. A seven meter square was plotted at the southwest side of the tower exterior. The precise location of the southwest corner of the adjacent building was not visible from ground surface, so the square was placed at such an angle that we hoped its eastern corner might intersect the foundation of the building's southwest corner.

Designation of the sounding was Area A, and the exterior square was designated Square 1. The contour map shown in Figure 5 indicates its location.

Immediately upon clearing the Square of loose rock tumble, weeds and other ground surface plant growth, removal of the surface soil disturbed by roots and modern foot traffic showed a modern excavation had been intersected by our Square's southwest balk. Clearance of the portion of the pit within our Square indicated its most recent use as a dump for scrap cement lumps from adjacent housing construction. Other contents under the cement lumps showed by ashes, burnt plastic and screen fragments a recent use as a refuse fire pit. Clearance further indicated possible problems for the strategy of the sounding, because the pit bottom was bed-rock, and it lay less than a full meter below the ground surface from which we had begun the excavation. It was also a fortunate forewarning that the stratigraphic accumulation adjacent to the buildings was extremely shallow, and that any evidence of foundation trenches (if any) would demand meticulous attention to be traced in such shallow debris.

Subsequent probing of the stratification surrounding the buildings allowed distinction of only two layers (Loci 3 and 5) containing evidence of occupation. Locus 3 was comprised of hard dark soil with heavy clay content yield-

ing some pottery (extremely small and badly worn bits for the most part), some of it ribbed, and tesserae, ceramic roof tile fragments and glass fragments. Plaster lumps and bits were also found with the pottery. No weaponry or ashes were in the Locus, but some basalt grinder fragments were included. The layer extended throughout the Square and ran up to and connected with the exterior of the tower wall (Locus [6]). Its connection with the wall of the adjacent building was impossible to establish because some stones of that wall had been robbed out. The tentative interpretation of the Locus was that the uneven thickness of the layer, the plaster lumps in the debris, and the mixture of objects included suggest gradual destruction or deterioration of the adjacent structures as having contributed to the material accumulated. If there is a mix of occupation and deterioration debris, it was apparently peaceful, given the absence of any weaponry and ashes. Field dating of the pottery horizon indicated Roman ribbed ware as the latest datable material in all 17 of the baskets processed.

Locus 5 comprised a layer of limey, chalky, rocky earth under the Locus 3 accumulation. The soil was hard, grey, with much flint chip rock, some pottery, and was packed extremely hard. It lay throughout the entire Square, and embraced a few stones in what may have been a laid rough working surface near the corner of the adjacent building. The layer ran up to the most stratling features found in the Square, a plaster lining of the exterior of the tower wall (Locus [7]) and similar plaster forming a drain around what turned out to be the foundation of the corner of the adjacent building (Locus [7]). The layer was directly over bedrock in some portions of the Square, although a thin layer of virgin soil lay in some uneven depressions of the bedrock formation.

Critical for the stratigraphic aims of the Square was the fact that no evidence of foundation trenches could be detected for either the tower wall (Locus[6]) or the wall of adjacent building (Locus [7]). Rather, it appears that both constructions were set on bed-rock with plaster drainage arranged to bleed ground water away from the foundations. The relative levels taken at the bottoms of the drain channels exposed indicate that the drain around Locus [7] intended to bleed the water away to the southwest, and the the drainage intended along the base of the tower wall was either a general seal of the entire foundation, or a very gradual drainage to the northwest and some repository outside the sector excavated by our Square. Most sensibly the drainage of such water would be down the wadi to the north. Figure 6 shows the plan of the drain Locus [7] as drawn when most of Locus 5 had been removed, and Figure 7 looks up the drain to the northeast from the corner of the foundation stone of the adjacent building corner.

Pottery found in the locus was field dated to the Roman period as the latest material present clearly in 7 of the 11 baskets processed, but it should be noted that the quantities in the remaining baskets were extremely small, of relatively poor quality, and of little help as significant indicator fragments for analysis.

As for the remains of the footing of the walls of the adjacent buildings, it can only be claimed that the corner was deliberately set and drained, that constructive craftsmanship in stone masonry was detectable. Further work on the site is necessary to obtain any data from more extensive surviving fragments which may be helpful in diagnosing the founding culture's identity.

The tower wall construction is that cited by Landes as typical of other locations as well: ²⁹

Typical construction technique consisted of blocks being lain at the corners in headers and stretchers, then throughout the rest of the wall in rude courses with smaller stones in between to make the rows fairly even. The average thickness of the walls was about two meters (ca. seven feet), the blocks laid in outer and inner layers with a certain amount of overlapping, but apparently with no through bonding stones, although some times part of the original mud and small stones core filling was still in position, as for example at el-Malfuf.

The conspicuous exception in the results of our sounding was the lack of any header-stretcher pattern in the corner. An addition to the construction techniques is the use of the plaster drain and seal arrangement. On the small portion of the exterior of the tower wall (Locus [6]) exposed to bedrock, it was evident that the plaster had deteriorated and fallen away in the upper portion exposed, but the lower two courses exposed above bedrock revealed plaster so well preserved that the palm and hand prints of the plasterers were still clearly imprinted in the exterior surface of the plaster seal. At the joint of the wall stones with bedrock a small "shelf" of plaster had been constructed to lead the water away from the foundation. It survived in the portion exposed to a width of 0.07 - 0.10 m., but it was impossible to detect from the portion expected whether the original design included an outside rim, forming a channel. The relatively well preserved state of the lowermost portions of the plaster lead the writer to think that such a

(29) Landes, "A History . . .," p. 289.

channel was not part of the original design, but the relative levels of the "shelf" in the portion exposed would allow for such a drain to run off to the north if, indeed, it had once been there.

Square 2

The unexpectedly shallow accumulation of debris in Square 1, and its consequently rapid clearance to bedrock, brought the necessity of planning a second square as part of the sounding. Several factors affected the decision choosing its location. Given the shallow accumulation in Square 1, it became desirable to work a second Square with as much of the full stratigraphic record of the site's occupation as possible. Given the lack of foundation trench evidence for either building element in Square 1, it became desirable to seek additional evidence of the relation of the round tower to the adjacent buildings. Given the somewhat startling indications of Roman period pottery as characterizing both the occupation and deterioration strata in Square 1, it became desirable to get either confirming or modifying evidence from more typical occupation strata. Given previous speculation that some sort of entrance connection linking the two possible phases of architecture,³⁰ tower and adjacent buildings, lay on the east edge of the tower perimeter, it seemed a prudent move to locate the excavation so as to intersect such an entrance, to allow penetration of all interior occupation strata, and to discern what, if any, interior architecture characterized the round tower construction. Figure 8 shows the location of Area A, Square 2 which resulted from these considerations. Six meters E - W by eight meters N - S, it was set with its east balk running through the middle of the tower wall at its eastern extremity, thus intend-

ed to cut half of any entrance accommodations and sample, at the same time both the stratigraphic accumulations and the architectural plans of any interior tower design. It was hoped that larger quantities of pottery and objects would be available for dating corroboration or modification.

Summarized most succinctly, the excavation indicated substantial interior architectural subdivisions, revealed a split-level entrance arrangement linking the tower and the adjacent buildings, brought additional architectural design problems to light, supported with ceramic and coin evidence the Roman dating discerned on the basis of evidence from Square 1, and generally re-oriented our expectations concerning future exploration of this and other such locations.

The stratigraphic sequence, briefly put, included a substantial destruction debris accumulation, apparently peaceful in character, a major interior development of the tower in two, possibly three, story construction, and either the absence or deliberate obliteration of evidence of occupation prior to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Now to the details.

After removal of the loose tumble and modern surface soil accumulation, the first conspicuous features were major walls subdividing the Square into four varying sized spaces in which the stratigraphy might be excavated (See Figure 9). The largest of these (upper left of Figure 9) gave us the clearest and most complete stratigraphic sequence. Under the surface soil a 2.25 m. thick destruction debris layer had fallen in on a rough stone slab floor supported by a rough corbel construction. Under the floor

(30) Cf. *supra* Mackenzie's observations.

lay some accumulation of soil in a "basement" space which yielded no evidence of occupation except the accidental sifting or drizzling of soil and pottery chips through the cracks in the stone floor above. Bone analysis indicates a cat had deserted her family there at some stage (skeletal remains of 4-5 very small kittens were found in the debris), but very close inspection for any sign of human occupation in the layering was carried right down to the bedrock, and no evidence of earth surfaces or floors was discernible.

Treating this destruction-occupation evidence more specifically, the destruction debris found in the sector bounded by the north and west balks and by walls designated Loci [3] and [4] (See Figure 9), was designated Locus 2. The debris comprised a mixture of very loose or lightly packed brown soil fallen round varying sized stones of chert and several huge thin slabs of limestone. The slabs varied from .12 to .25 m. in thickness and measured from 1.07 m. to 1.50 m. in length by .65 m. to 1.19 m. in width (See Figure 10). Some were found with one end high near the wall Locus [3] or near the west balk, and the other end tilted down toward the center line of the space running north to south. The significance of this was not apparent until clearance of the destruction had exposed a number of stones corbelled from walls [3] and [4] (See Figure 11). The debris included one such slab still in place, so far as we could discern, indicating that the corbelling from the walls was intended to support some ceiling arrangement, apparently including the large limestone slabs in the destruction debris. In Figure 12 the corbel stone *in situ* at the upper left supports bracing stones holding the cover limestone slab in the upper center, which rests again on the corbel stone from wall [3] at the upper right. This "demonstration" of the ceiling support system explained both the var-

ious corbel stones found and the slabs in the destruction debris as part of the original architecture with which we were working. The only question left uncertain was whether these slabs had in fact been the floor of an upper story, now demolished. Walls [3] and [4] appear to have stood higher than the surviving remains. Their width of 1.07 m. and 1.00 m. respectively and the fact that both walls were built up from bedrock support the possibility, but insufficient evidence survived to allow certainty that an upper story was part of the design of the interior structures, based on wall evidence alone.

Pottery from Locus 2 showed Roman material consistently as the latest datable forms. They included *terra sigillata* and imitations of such ware, lamp fragments and spouts. The objects included a half dozen basalt grinder fragments, numerous glass rim, neck and base fragments, and *one* possible weapon - a round stone of unevenly surfaced limestone measuring *ca.* .09 m. in diameter which would have been rather large for a slingstone and small for a missile.

The relative absence of weaponry as over against domestic objects, the absence of ashes or other traces of damage by fire and the loose and apparently undisturbed condition of the soil accumulation with the rock types mentioned above seem to indicate a gradual period of disintegration rather than the sudden shock destructions brought on by war or natural catastrophe such as earthquake. The condition and thickness of the destruction layer indicated that it was a peaceful decay rather than some violent trauma which marked the demise of the site.

Beneath the destruction accumulation, Locus 2, was the apparent floor construction, Locus 18. It was constructed of limestone and chert bars, slabs and smaller stones varying

from .25 m. to .35 m. thick and of length and breadths differing from .25 m. to .95 m. There were numerous chinks between the stones apparent as the destruction debris above them was removed, and the uneven floor surface involved in such construction gave no evidence of neatly accumulated occupation layers such as might be normal over earth or plaster floors. Some ash flecks, numbers of bone fragments and the continuing appearance of domestic pottery forms (cookpots, lamps, bowls) and objects (glass and grinder fragments and a stone mortar) sustained the impression that the installation served as domestic residential quarters. The pottery immediately above the stones comprising the floor continued to show Roman forms, as in the destruction debris above it.

We were thrust into the next stratigraphic evidence by accident. While standing on some of the stones comprising the "floor" construction, a minor collapse of the floor occurred, indicating that there was some sort of space open beneath. Careful clearance of the collapsed floor material revealed a "basement" with what seemed at first to be a smooth mound of earth just under the collapsed sector (See Figure 13). Following the completion of the clearance of the sector of floor 18 within the Square, careful stratigraphic work was pursued in the "basement."

This comprised cutting a portion of the mound of basement debris to yield a subsidiary section directly through the mound connecting with wall [3] and our west balk. Completion of that clearance indicated that the mound had apparently accumulated by sifting or drizzling (during rainy season leaks?) through the roughly constructed floor above. No layering due to human use was detectable, and meticulous separation of soil samples near its bottom supported the conclusion that the accumulation

was due to natural forces. The few pottery sherds which had dropped into the accumulation showed Roman dating characteristics, including imitation *terra sigillata* ware, ribbed ware, and one molded lamp top fragment. The soil immediately above the bedrock base of the accumulation showed some traces of moisture seepage, but the space cleared in the sector was too small to allow sweeping statements about the basement drainage problems (See Figure 14).

Three other features of the interior architectural development became evident in the data observable through this "basement" excavation. First, while clearing the floor above of the destruction accumulation, several of the chinks between the stones comprising the floor showed a cool updraft of air as they were exposed. We thought the cool might be due to moist soil beneath, but the draft was most likely wind channeled somehow through the exterior face of the tower wall chinks. No deliberate openings in the tower wall were visible on the exterior on any side. The prevailing wind coming from the north west or west led to careful examination of the exterior on those directions of exposure, especially. When the "basement" clearance began, we found out why the drafts had been felt. Under the floor level was extensive bracing and pier support for the floor (discussed below), but opening in any north-south sub-floor support walls allowed a clear movement of air across the entire east-west width of the tower interior *under the floor*. Anyone conducting an excavation of such data in the heat of July and August was tempted to think about deliberate air conditioning planning by the builders.

Second, the continuation of the section cut through the mound in the "basement" to its connection with Wall [3] established that the

interior walls were built directly upon bedrock, contributing conspicuously to their stability and bearing strength.

Third, the sub-floor support structures became clearly apparent from the "basement" clearance, small in area though it was. Additional cross walls were built across the center of the room span. At points these were supplemented by piers built up from bedrock and supporting the stone corbelled to support the floor stones above. The principles were essentially similar to those used in the ceiling construction, but the sizes of the slabs varied in being thinner in width and thicker than their ceiling counter-parts. Figure 15 shows one portion of such corbel construction from Wall [4] with the floor slab rather over-exposed photographically at the very top of the picture.

The stratigraphic sequence described above was confirmed by the results in the other sectors of Square 2 insofar as excavation proceeded. In the sector bounded by Walls [4], [11], [9] and the south balk (See Figure 9 above), the same destruction debris lay over a simpler stone floor supported by the same sub-floor corbelled support. This supported the suspicion that we had definitely constructed interior rooms, and the destruction debris included ceiling slabs and corbelled support stones for the ceiling, although the deterioration of the construction caused some of these to tilt more the wall [11] into the destruction debris accumulation. Most important from this destruction debris (Locus 5) was the addition of a clearly datable coin to the ceramic and glass evidence of Roman

occupation. The obverse of the bronze coin bore the head and inscription of Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus, A. D. 276 - 282.³¹ Its being found in the midst of the destruction debris (Locus 5, at .50 m. below the top wall [4]) would suggest that the occupation of the site would necessarily precede the minting and subsequent loss of the coin. Unfortunately, the removal of the floor and sub-floor debris in this sector of Square 2 could not be completed before the end of the season.

The other two sectors of Square 2 provided quite different insights on the interior of the tower. The very small space bounded by walls [9], [3], [10] and the interior of the tower wall (Locus [6], as in Square 1) yielded no evidence of the floor and ceiling construction described in the other two sectors above. The apparent modification of the tower wall to which we assigned Locus [16] will be discussed below. Whether it was some sort of storage corner, or became a sort of closet with access only through a crawl space through wall [9] was not clearly established by the extent of our clearance.

The space bounded by walls [3], [10], the north balk, and the presumed interior line of the tower [6] (See Figure 9 above) revealed the most exciting architectural features in some respects.

The basic stratigraphic sequence of a destruction accumulation over a floor level paralleled that in the two "rooms" west of walls [3] and [9]. Evidence of corbelled ceiling support was present in wall [3] on its east face as it had been on the west face. A slightly re-

(31) The coin was retained by the Department of Antiquities at the division of objects, and remains as part of the Department collections. Expedition records identify it as Object

number 64, and the field photograph numbers 283 and 284 record its obverse and reverse respectively.

aligned section of the tower wall, with a definitely constructed entrance passage through the tower wall, was clearly apparent. The offset segment of the tower wall on the north was identified as Locus [15], and its counter-part on the south was identified as Locus [16]. Constructed of large stones (with one exception) they were built on a line moved slightly to the west from the interior normal line of the tower wall. In the segment of the entrance construction on the north (Locus [15]) one huge worked limestone block anchored the edge of the entranceway half way up its face. The floor of the passage adjacent to the south face of wall [15] comprised the flat top surface of a chert block integrated as part of the tower wall [6], and although no tesserae were found *in situ*, the plaster base for a mosaic floor fragment lay flush up against that threshold stone on its east edge (See Figure 16). Wall [10] formed the southern edge of this entrance way, and the levels on the threshold stone top indicate its appropriate placement to provide access to the main "floor level" of the interior rooms described above.

Clearance of the debris along the southern spur of the entrance (Wall [16]), revealed a similar threshold installation utilizing the regularly placed stones of the tower wall (Wall [16]) construction. However, the level of that threshold was 1.40 m. above the lower threshold. We seem to have uncovered a split-level entrance to the tower interior from the adjacent building to the east (See Figure 17), with the main floor entrance comprising the northern half and the upper floor (or roof top) entrance comprising the southern half of the access.

Two other main features comprise the characteristics of the interior architecture of the tower. It clearly made no sense to have a mas-

sive main entrance to the tower unless some access to the interior rooms were provided. Right according to speculation, a doorway through wall [3] became apparent as the lower entrance was cleared (See Figure 18 where the lintel stone shows its east edge *in situ* at the top center, and the loose soil and rock of the destruction debris blocking the doorway is in contrast to wall [10] on the left and the portion of wall [3] east face exposed behind the meter stick).

Clearance of the doorway indicated a carefully bonded lintel with vertical limestone blocks forming the door frame, including the bolt-hole on the north frame vertical block, leading directly from the main gateway into the interior rooms (See Figure 19).

The other feature of the interior construction was a small niche, built deliberately with an overlapped inverted V ceiling and plastered at least on the base. It was built into the north face of wall [4], providing a small storage space in the room cut by the northwest corner of the Square (See Figure 20).

A portion of the east edge of Square 2 was extended eastward in an attempt to diagnose other features of the entrance/gateway to the tower from the adjacent building, but the destruction of the eastern end of wall [10] and any other facilities to which it may have been linked made no further conclusions possible from the sounding effort.

While the extremely loose condition of the soil and rock comprising the destruction debris in all sectors of the Square made keeping neatly vertical balks simply impossible, Figure 21 indicates the final stage of excavation in Square 2, showing especially the outlines of the sub-

floor support structures under the main walls shown in Figure 9 above.

Figure 22 shows the west face of wall [3] after clearance of the doorway and the small portion of the "basement" indicating the foundation of the wall and adjacent floor support structures rested on bedrock.

Figure 23 is the elevation drawing of the west face of the main gateway indicating the relation of the lower to the upper sectors of the entrance. Unfortunately we were unable to complete clearance to bedrock before the season ended.

Summary analysis of the nature of the interior construction and the stratigraphic sequence detected in three of the four subdivisions of the Square would support the claim that the interior architecture represents a single period of construction and occupation followed by a gradual peaceful disintegration of the installation with the quantity of domestic pottery and coin evidence suggesting possible roof storage or an upper story, evidence for which is missing for the most part due to erosion or quarrying of the interior. Further work on the remaining portion of the interior is needed to confirm or modify this judgment.

The Problem of the Pottery

When Nelson Glueck drew his conclusion that this was an Early Iron Age site, he made reference to some EI I-II sherds found in the field next to the tower and building (Cf. n.

16 *supra*). Our initial surprise at the pottery evidence in the strata of Square 1 was gradually turned into the conviction that some error had occurred, either in our reading the pottery evidence in the field or in the extension of a conclusion from Glueck's evidence. That the error was of the latter rather than the former sort seems apparent from preliminary analysis of the ceramic horizon in the clearest stratigraphic sequence of occupation evidence available from the sounding, namely, the sequence of Locus 2 (destruction debris), floor 18, and the sub-floor "basement" material in the northwest sector of Square 2. Figures 24-33 are representative of the forms found throughout the destruction debris accumulation. Figures 34-39 are representative of the materials found on and under Floor 18. The drawings were prepared by Miss Diane Anderson, a member of the staff, as part of a Senior Honors Thesis prepared in 1969-70, and subsequently submitted to the Faculty of Upsala College. Her preliminary analysis of the vessel types and parallels of form and ware led her to the conclusion that comparisons "vertically" from locus to locus showed a relative continuity and homogeneity in the ceramic corpus. "This would suggest that the three layers are sequentially related within a relatively restricted period of time; the site had one basic phase of occupation and destruction." ³²

Fifteen fragments of genuine or imitation *terra sigillata* suggested a Roman date for the accumulation apart from comparison of parallel forms. Study of the fragments with reference to Kathleen Kenyon's discussion of *terra sigillata* ³³ led to the conclusion that the samples

(32) Diane E. Anderson, "Ceramic Typology Analysis: Rujm el Malfouf 1969" (unpublished Senior Thesis, Upsala College, 1970), p. 57.

(33) Kathleen M. Kenyon, "I. Terra Sigillata,"

in J. W. Crowfoot et al. *The Objects from Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957), pp. 281-88.

found at Rujm el-Malfouf "had a buff paste with a definite red glaze that would align it with Kenyon's Eastern Sigillata A, rather than B or C. the high quality of the sherds, as well as the descriptive similarities in paste and glaze to Kenyon's Eastern Sigillata A, would strongly suggest the genuineness of the Rujm el-Malfuf sigillata in Kenyon's terms." ³⁴ The chronological appearance of this ware at Samaria was established there by 60 B. C., and was still in use at the time of the revived activity on the site in the second century A. D. ³⁵

The search for parallel forms is here reported in a most preliminary state. Herodian Jericho, Samaria, Bethel, Dibon and the Roman-Byzantine cave of Mughareh Abu Hamileh have provided the clearset parallels of form to date. The combination of the lines of evidence thus far examined led Miss Anderson to the tentative conclusion that the ceramic parallels to her corpus of material from Square 2 suggest a date range from the second half of the first century B. C. to the third century A. D.

That the corpus described above was not atypical for the site became apparent as other portions of the Square yielded similar forms. Figure 40 shows some of the fragments found *in situ* as the lower portion of the main gateway or entrance way was being cleared (Wall [15] stone is at the extreme left), and the lamp in Figure 41 (Registered as object 79) was found near the bottom of the destruction layer just east of Wall [3]. Further studies are needed to make the parallel citations more complete, but the consistency of the appearance of Roman material is striking.

In reference to the problem of earlier Iron Age ceramic evidence, all that can be said is that it did not occur within the scope of the modest excavation this sounding included. From stratification evidence, ceramic analysis, the clue provided by the most legible coin and the comparison of data obtained in Square 1 outside the tower and that obtained in Square 2 inside the tower, the signs point rather to a single phase of construction-occupation in that sector of the site, at least, and that phase falling within the early stage of Roman occupation in Transjordan, while the gradual decay and disintegration which seems to have marked the destruction process stretched later in the same general period. That the occupation for which we found evidence was essentially residential and peaceful is most clear in the dominance of domestic wares and objects and the absence of signs of violence or natural catastrophe.

The radical adjustment of chronological focus to which the data forced us both during the process of the excavation and in the studies conducted since its conclusion have raised questions yet to be answered. Most conspicuous is the "un-Roman" look of the architecture. In contrast to Roman period installations in the center of Amman to the east, this is surely very crude and rough. It raised the question for us of whether or not the Romans might simply have cleared and used (or modified) a previously existing structure, eliminating the bulk of evidence of earlier occupation in the process. The most severe difficulty with that hypothesis was the evidence of Square 1. We cleared to bedrock a seven meter square sec-

(34) Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 - 62.

(35) Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

tor, finding Roman material right to the bottom of occupation evidence. If, then, the Romans found the structure already constructed, with the debris of previous use about, they were most meticulous in clearing a surrounding apron of more than seven meter's width before beginning their own use of the installation. Another hypothesis, which remains to be tested by further exploration of the site, is that the workmanship may have either been hired through local relatively less skilled carftsmen than normal Roman standards would use, or that the installations were intended to be tem-

porary facilities, and therefore somewhat more crudely constructed.

It is hoped that the evidence of the sounding is sufficient to warrant further investigation of the site for the stratigraphic, architectural, ceramic and other clues which may resolve some of these unanswered questions. It is further hoped that the problems raised to view by the sounding at this site will spur investigation of other similar installations before the needs of the expanding city of Amman will make such excavation less accessible.

Roger S. Boraas

A Contribution to the Study of Nabataean Pottery

by
Dr. Karl Schmitt-Korte

Preface

This article was first published in German in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* vol. 83 (1968) no. 3, page 496 - 519. The author was kindly invited by the Department of Antiquities to prepare an English version of it. The draft translation was submitted to Mr. P. J. Parr of the Institute of Archaeology, London, who was kind enough to read it and make a number of suggestions.

As the map (fig. 1) could not be altered the German spelling of geographic terms has been maintained. It has also been decided to retain the introductory chapter, although this is not essential for readers of this *Annual*. Only the catalogue of finds has been shortened, mainly with regard to the technical description of the pottery, for which the specialized reader is referred to the original publication. Otherwise, this article is a literal translation of the original version.

The author wishes to express his thanks to the Zentralkommission des Deutschen Archaeolo-

gischen Institutes in Berlin and to Messrs. Walter de Gruyter for permission to use the original illustrations.

Summary

As Nabataean pottery has up till now hardly been discussed in the German literature, it is first of all attempted to give a short introduction ¹ concerning the historical and cultural background from which the pottery here described emerges. Furthermore, it tries to give a summary of what is known about this pottery at the present time.

The origin of these comparatively little-known neighbours of the ancient Jews is lost in the darkness of Arab pre-history. According to our present knowledge the nomadic Nabataeans moved into the southern part of Trans-Jordan somewhere between the 6th and 4th century B.C. Most probably this occurred in connection with tribal immigrations that made the Edomites move into southern Palestine after this area had been depopulated to a large extent as a result of the Babylonian captivity of

[For abbreviations used in this article, see table after fn. 37.]

(1) A particularly well arranged general survey of the Nabataeans is given by J. Starcky, "Pétra et la Nabatène", *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl.VII (1966), section 886-1017, A. Kammerer, *Pétra et la Nabatène*, 2 Vols. (1922/30) re-

presents a comprehensive secondary source and gives the complete picture of what was known about the Nabataeans at the time of its publication (with detailed bibliography). Of more recent date is M. Linder, *Die Könige von Petra* (Ludwigsburg, 1968) with colour photos.

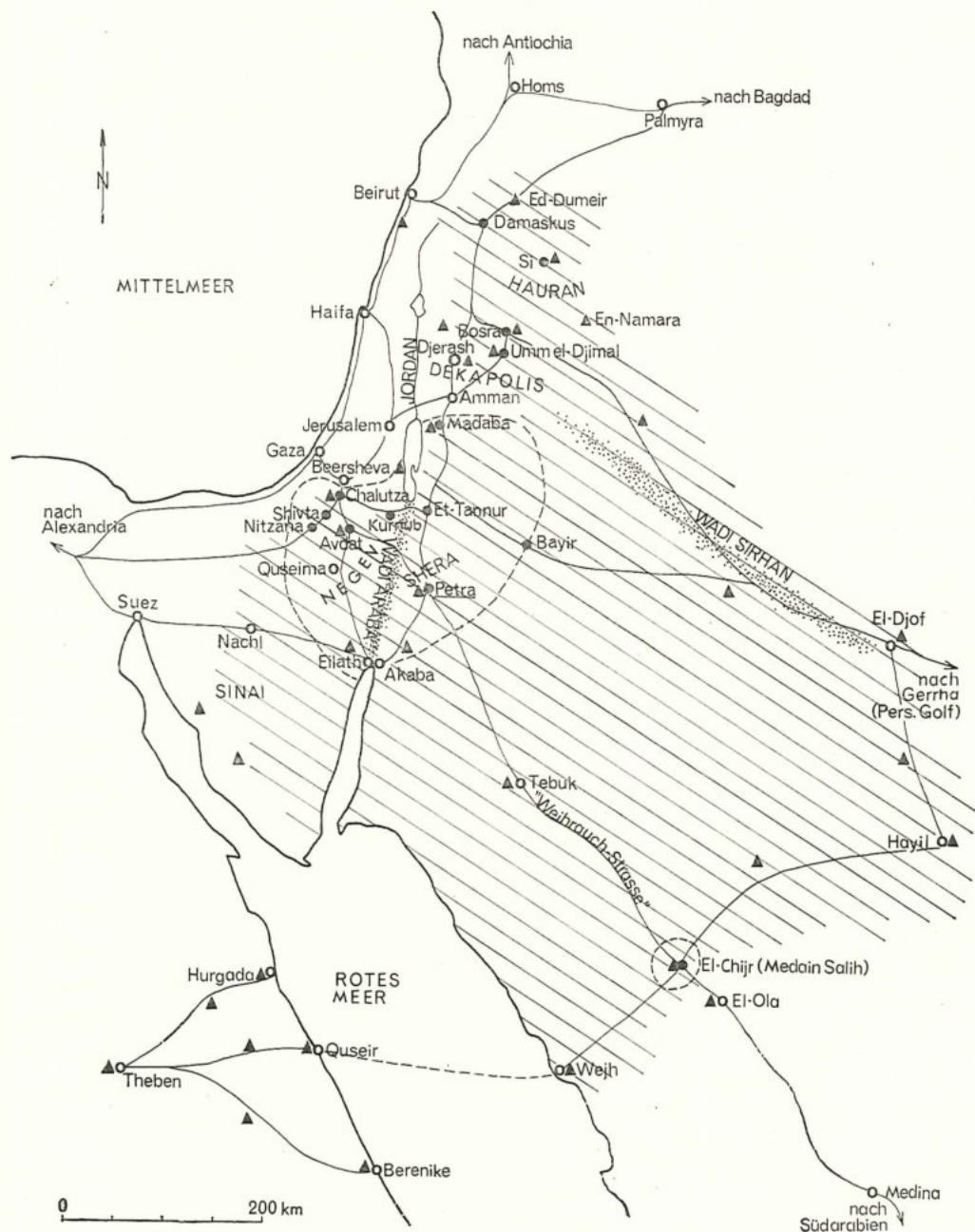


Fig. 1 The Nabataean kingdom at its largest extent and the distribution of the pottery

- important modern or ancient cities
- important sites and cities with clear evidence of Nabataean control (actual names)
- ▲ regions of occurrence of Nabataean inscriptions
- important ancient caravan trade routes
- /// the Nabataean kingdom in the days of Aretas IV (9 B. C. - 40 A. D.), approx. extension
- principal area of occurrence of fine Nabataean ware (occasional finds on other places disregarded). The broken line between Quseir and Wejh marks the sea route to Egypt.

the Jews. The first firm evidence of the Nabataeans' appearing in history are reports about the year 312 B. C. when Antigonas, the Diadoch of Syria, tried in vain to conquer their country.

The first document in which the Nabataeans speak directly to us is the inscription of Khalasa (Chalutza) from about 169 B. C. which mentions an "Aretas, king of the Nabataeans". From then onwards we can follow the dynasty of the kings till 106 A. D. although the chronology is uncertain at various points. It was through the control of caravans trade between Southern Arabia and the Mediterranean coast that the Nabataeans held for centuries a key position in the transit commerce of the Orient. The development of sophisticated irrigation techniques enabled them to pursue activities in agriculture to a very considerable extent. The capital of the kingdom was Petra where hundreds of sumptuous rock-carved tombs testify their wealth until the present day.

Apart from the central area in Trans-Jordan the Nabataean kingdom comprised a large part of the Negev with the Nabataean cities of Avdat (Oboda), Shivta (Sobata), and Nitzana (Nessana)² which were important stages on the way from Petra to Gaza. About 85 B. C. the Nabataeans gained dominance in Southern Syria over the Hauran region and the area of the cities Posra (Bostra), Si' (Seeia), and Umm el-Djimal (Thantia?).

This prevalence lasted (with interruptions) for about 200 years. Even Damascus was sub-

ject to the kings of Petra for a short time. However, they were not able to subdue the Hellenistic decapolis with the powerful cities of Amman (Philadelphia), Djerash (Gerasa), and Beth Shean (Skythopolis) as a result of which the connection with their northern part had to be made through the Wadi Sirhan. The southern boundary of the kingdom was El-Hijr (Hegra), also called Medain Salih, which lies half way in between Mekka and Damascus. In the valleys of Sinai and the region around Thebes numerous rock inscriptions testify the presence of the Nabataeans who passed this area with their caravans (map, fig. 1).

The Nabataeans, originally purely nomadic people, acquired the Greek civilization within an unusually short span of time under their king Aretas III (ca. 87 - 82 B. C.) who proudly called himself "Philhellene" on coins. It was through the expedition of Aelius Gallus to Southern Arabia (ca. 24 B. C.) that the Nabataeans came into direct contact with Rome. The peak of power in their history is marked by Aretas IV (9 B.C. - 40 A.D.) who was a father-in-law of Herod Antipas. But in the long run it was not possible to stay independent outside the Roman Empire and thus the Nabataean kingdom was annexed by order of Trajan in 106 A.D. and made the Roman province Arabia Petraea. This caused a gradual decline of the creative power identifiable with the Nabataeans. The last epigraphical mark in Nabataean letters is the inscription of en-Ne-mara dating from 328 A.D. At the time of the Islamic conquest the Nabataeans had already become an almost forgotten nation. Petra was

(2) The quotations in brackets are the ancient names recorded. In the literature often Arabic names are given supplementary to the geographic terms currently in use, e. g. Abde Eboda = Avdat; Khalasa = Chalutza; Subeita, Sbaita,

Isbeita = Shivta; el-Audja. Audja, el-Hafir = Nitzana; Bir es-Saba, Birsabee = Beersheva; Wadi Musa = Petra (Nabataean; Raqmu); Bosra eski Sham = Bosra; Beisan = Beth Shean.

not re-discovered until 1812 by the Swiss explorer Burckhardt.

Ancient sources mentioning the Nabataeans are primarily Flavius Josephus and in addition to this Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plinius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Suidas and the Bible. The scientific exploration of Nabataean culture began in the last decades of the past century. The first excavations in Petra were undertaken by Horsfield and Conway in 1929.

General Features of Nabataean Pottery

Nabataean pottery is technically and artistically a group on its own within the ceramic art of the Hellenistic-Roman Orient.³ In particular the painted plates and bowls are characteristic and can be clearly differentiated from other pottery of the same period. In the field of the large functional types (amphoras, craters and jugs) the Nabataeans produced a less typical ware. There are still difficulties in drawing a border line between the Roman-Hellenistic ware on the one hand and the Byzantine on the other as far as the unpainted pottery is concerned. A classification of the most common shapes has been submitted by Hammond.⁴ Within plates and bowls the following

types can be distinguished:

- a) plain pottery, unpainted
- b) plain pottery, painted, with and without surface polish
- c) rouletted pottery, unpainted

Geographical Distribution

Amongst the painted ware the colour of the patterns varies from pink to red-brown, dark-brown and black. Other colours do not occur. The patterns consist predominantly of stylized floral motives.

We owe our knowledge concerning the distribution of Nabataean pottery largely to the explorations made in 1932 - 1947 by N. Glueck, then Director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.⁵ He concluded that the distribution of the pottery does not coincide with the political territory of the Nabataeans but is limited to the southern part. Northwards of a line which can be drawn from the northern end of the Dead Sea through Madaba to the desert the pottery only occurs as occasional finds. e. g. in Amman⁶ and Djerash where a few bowls or fragments respectively have been found. The ruined Nabataean cities of the Hauran yielded no surface finds of this ware (however the possibility of finds by future excavations cannot be precluded) It

(3) An outline of the Nabataean ware and its connection with Eastern Sigillata Wares in general is given by J. H. Ifffe, "Sigillata Wares in the Near East", *QDAP* VI (1938) p. 4-53. He points to some clearly traceable lines of influence upon the Nabataean pottery, namely for the painting: Hellenistic wares, especially Hadra Vases from Alexandria; for shapes and incised decoration: general features of Terra Sigillata in the Eastern Mediterranean area; for the technical execution: Parthian pottery.

(4) Hammond, *AJA*, LXVI (1962) p. 169-180. More extensively dealt with in the thesis P. C. Hammond, *A Study of Nabataean Pottery*

(Yale Univ., 1956). For a thorough study of Nabataean ware this work should not be omitted. The subsequent publications by Hammond (v. a. m. item and footnotes 23 & 25) are extracts from this dissertation.

(5) N. Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine I-IV," *AASOR* XIV (1934), XV (1935), XVIII/XIX (1939), XXV/XXVII (1951) as well as the smaller contribution by Glueck in *BASOR* cited therein. Cf. particularly Explorations I p. 73-76 & pl. 21, 25-27 and Explorations IV. 1 p. 13-18.

(6) G. L. Harding, "A Nabataean Tomb at Amman", *QDAP* XII (1946) p. 58-62.

is felt that the reason for this absence lies in pottery of local manufacture which the Nabataeans met in this colony and were prepared to use.

In the western part of the kingdom finds were made extending from the Nabataean pentapolis nearly to the coast at Gaza ⁷ and, further to the south-west, over the Negev desert to the Sinai peninsula where particularly the Quseima region yielded various places. According to B. Rothenberg Nabataean fragments are even met in the remotest parts of Sinai. ⁸ It remains, however, an open question whether the ware had actually been manufactured in the Sinai or was only carried there for use in cases. The southernmost point of occurrence in Jordan lies near Akaba. Glueck assumed in 1951 that Nabataean pottery would have spread to the southern point of the kingdom, el-Chijr. This has recently been confirmed by Parr and Reed ⁹ independently from each other. Thus it appears probable that the pottery spread over the southern area as a whole. The easternmost point of larger finds is marked by the desert oasis of Bayir.

To sum up: The distribution of the pottery is limited to the central area in South-

ern Transjordan and Palestine and extends — apart from the question of its very southern limit — approximately over the region of a quadrangle marked by Madaba, Bayir, Aqaba and Quseima. Eastwards of the Wadi Araba regular finds occur on more than 500 sites, whereas in the west several dozen sites were found. The principal place of finds remains Petra itself (map, fig. 1). The manufacturing centres of the Nabataean ware are not yet clearly recognizable. After the first discovery of a Nabataean potter's workshop in Avatd one may safely assume further discoveries, particularly in Petra.

Chronology of the Pottery

The Nabataean pottery was first brought to light by Horsfield and Conway during their excavations in Petra in 1929 ¹⁰, was then recognized as a group on its own and subsequently identified as Nabataean. The only earlier illustrations known to the present author were by Dalman in 1912 ¹¹ as a result of surface finds, but he paid little attention to the subject. More extensive finds were made in 1932-36 by G. Horsfield and in 1937 by Murray and Ellis. Both published ¹², ¹³ and represent the most comprehensive material for the study of this pottery at present.

(7) J. H. Iliffe, "Nabataean Pottery from the Negev", *QDAP* III (1933) p. 132-135 & pl. 45-48 reports finds of Nabataean pottery from el Audja (Nitzana), el Khalasa (Chalutza), Kurnub, Tell es Sabi (near Beer Sheva), Tell el Ajul (near Gaza) and Tell Faria (in between Beer Sheva and Khan Yunis). He points out that the pottery steadily decreases in quantity with approach to Gaza, the terminus of the great caravan route from Petra to the Mediterranean Sea.

(8) B. Rothenberg, *Die Wueste Gottes - Entdeckungen auf Sinai* (1961) p. 37, 39, 56, 78, 129, 133, 155, 162 & fig. 88. (English edition *God's Wilderness Discoveries in Sinai*, 1961, not available for citation).

(9) Personal resp. letter communication in

Nov. 1967.

(10) G. Horsfield - A. Conway, "Historical and Topographical Notes on Edom with an Account of the First Excavations at Petra", *The Geogr. Journal* LXXVI (1930) p. 369-390. A. Conway "Exploring a City of Mystery", *ILN* (Feb. 1, 1930) p. 160, 161 & 192.

(11) G. Dalman, *Neue Petraforschungen* (1912) p. 27-28, particularly fig. 15b.

(12) G. A. Horsfield, "Sela-Petra, the Rock of Edom and Nabatene," *QDAP* IX, 2/4 (1941) p. 105-204, fig. 1-55, pl. 5a-49b. Henceforth cited as 'Horsfield'.

(13) M. A. Murray - J. C. Ellis, *A Street in Petra* (1940), henceforth cited as 'Murray'.

Horsfield assigns tentative dates ranging from 1st century B. C. to 2nd century A. D. to most of the finds, however, this datation appears not sufficiently detailed. In contrast, Murray avoids dating most of her finds.

Although the painted ware is so distinctive in its pattern range that in many cases even small isolated sherds can be safely identified as Nabataean a precise chronology and a detailed development have not yet been expected in due course.

Since 1958 excavations in Petra have been in progress by P. J. Parr of the British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem, among other things with the decided purpose to work out a chronology of Nabataean pottery.

These excavations recovered much new material about which a certain amount of information is already available from preliminary publications.¹⁴ It is to be hoped that a detailed chronology will follow before long.¹⁵

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, started in the same year excavations in the Nabataean town of Avdat¹⁶ which yielded further im-

portant pottery finds and the only Nabataean potter's workshop discovered so far. The evidence concerning the pottery which has been prepared by A. Negev is most regrettably still unpublished. It is to be expected that a chronology will also be derived from this material. A quantity of prepared clay was found in the potter's workshop but hardly any actual vessels. Coins, oil lamps and imported Terra Sigillata prove that the potters were active over a period of about 150 years (30 - 40 B. C. to ca. 110 A. D.).¹⁷ Imported Gaulish ware, which apparently was resold by the potters, dates to between 20 and 50 A. D.¹⁸

The existence of the classical Nabataean ware until at least 72 A. D. is attested by finds at Masada¹⁹ where large quantities of sherds were recovered from the top of the fortress and the area below the hill. This furnished us a *terminus ante quem* for that site. In Kurnub a bowl with classical design was found in a tomb which could be dated to 44 A. D. by a Nabataean coin of Malichus II.²⁰ The latest example of this particular pattern which can be dated with any degree of certainty is put between 119 and 126 A. D.²¹ The evidence from Petra so far studied permits — according to Parr and Ben-

(14) Harding, *PEQ* (1958) p. 12-15; Parr, *PEQ* (1960) p. 124-135; Bennett, *Archaeology* XV (1962) p. 233-243; Parr, *ILN* (Nov. 10, 1962) p. 746-749 & (Nov. 17, 1962) p. 789-791; Parr, *Scientific American* CCIX (1963) p. 94-102; N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* (1965) pl. 76; Parr in *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grécque et Romaine sur les Cultures Périphériques* (=8e Congr. Int. d'Arch. Classique, Paris, 1965) p. 527-533 & pl. 131-132.

(15) A detailed study of part of the evidence will appear in a paper by Parr contributed to the forthcoming (1970) *Nelson Glueck Festschrift*.

(16) Preliminary reports: Avi-Yonah, *RB* LXVII (1960) p. 378-381; Avi-Yonah — Negev, *ILN* (Nov. 26, 1960) p. 944-947; A. Negev, *Avdat* (booklet no. 45, Educat. Div. of the Isr. Army,

1962, in Hebr.); Negev, *Archaeology* XIV (1961) p. 122-130 (with photo of the potter's workshop); Negev, *Bible et Terre Sainte* XL (1961) p. 4-12 (also with photo of the potter's workshop); Negev, *IEJ* XI (1961) p. 127-138; Negev, *IEJ* XIII (1963) p. 113-124; Negev, in *Safer Eilath* (Isr. Expl. Soc., 1963), p. 118-148 (in Hebr.); Negev, *IEJ* XV (1965) p. 185-194; A. Negev, *Cities of the Desert* (1966). See also Negev, *PEQ* CI (1969) p. 5-14 (with further citations). This latter article was not yet published when these lines have been written.

(17) Negev, *Archaeology* XIV (1961) p. 124.

(18) Personal communication of May 1966.

(19) Y. Yadin, *Masada - Herod's Fortress and the Zealot's Last Stand* (1967) p. 225.

(20) Negev, *IEJ* XVII (1967) p. 48 & pl. 11 d.

(21) Murray p. 21, section 10.

nett — the following conclusions to be drawn concerning the chronological development of the pottery ²²:

Throughout the 3rd and 2nd century B. C. occurs imported black-glazed ware. There seems to be no evidence for a locally made imitation of the imports. In the 1st century B. C. the Nabataean painted pottery appears quite abruptly, an extremely fine ware which is perhaps more peculiar to its originators than the famous sepulchral rock architecture. The pottery is almost invariably found associated with Eastern Sigillata A. The evidence from other sites is that the latter was introduced in Palestine during the second quarter of the 1st century B. C. It was obviously the Hellenistic painted ware with its greatest popularity in the 2nd century that inspired the Nabataeans. They continued the tradition of the Hellenistic wares at a time when this gave way to Roman Terra Sigillata or to plain wares. It is now possible (according to Parr) to distinguish clearly three phases within the painted ware: ²³

Phase I begins during the 1st century B. C. and the shapes of the vessels — shallow bowls for the most part — recall contemporary Hellenistic pottery. The decoration, however, is

something new. The floral and leaf pattern were applied in a light red-brown paint to the pink surface of the clay and are of the greatest delicacy.

Phase II covers most of the 1st century A. D. and part of the 2nd. The design becomes less naturalistic and more stylized, the paint tends to be darker and the pottery itself is thinner.

Phase III probably belongs to the 3rd century or even later. The decoration is even more conventionalized, the now almost black paint is applied on a generally coarser ware.

Throughout all this time shallow bowls and plates continue to be the commonest painted shapes, though cups and juglets are also found.

Characteristic Groups of Pattern

Here three especially typical groups of patterns from the more stylized painted ware ²⁴ are described without intention to submit a classification, be it chronologically or artistically ²⁵:

Palmettes: The most significant and apparently largest group comprises designs of pal-

(22) Bennett, *Archaeology* XV (1962) p. 240-241; Parr, *Scientific American* (Oct., 1963) p. 100-102; Parr, *Le Rayonnement* etc (loc. cit.) p. 530-533.

(23) In this period plates and bowls up to 2 cm thickness occur which exhibit a remarkable monotony in the pattern range. The equally fine unpainted pottery cannot be included into this preliminary chronology and the different hues of the clay does not provide sufficient evidence for a separate classification based on the colour variation of this ceramic. P. C. Hammond, "The Physical Nature of Nabataean Pottery", *AJA* LXVIII (1964) p. 259-268 reports on laboratory experiments which revealed that the unpainted ware was originally fired at 725-775°C. The painted pottery was generally burnt at 800°C and remained therefore resistant against colour

changes during firing experiments at this temperature. Hammond concludes furthermore that the colour variations in the red-tan clay were the results of firing errors, not aesthetics. They were probably the direct result of firing which could have been brought into uniformity (i. e. a 'red' ware) with more uniformity in firing as related to clay make-up.

(24) The stylized group was apparently preceded by a period of very naturalistic floral patterns, cf. Parr, *ILN* (Nov. 17, 1962) p. 790 fig. 10 & p. 791 fig. 17 or Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* (1965) pl. 76 a-b.

(25) For an attempt of a pattern classification cf. P. C. Hammond, "Pattern Families in Nabataean Painted Ware", *AJA* LXIII (1959) p. 371-382. Unfortunately the various patterns were dissected into such minute detail that the under-

mettes mainly with various other motives in between. Some sort of standard design is given by a palmette next to a double-cone and grape, usually in a triple arrangement at angles of 120 deg. on shallow bowls. The first reconstruction of this type was given by Crowfoot ²⁶ in 1936. Fragments of this type can be found on practically every site which yields Nabataean pottery and are a clear means of identification for this period of historical settlement.

Trellis with eyes : Another typical pattern shows a network as a decorative element of geometrical origin together with dots and circles or ovals interconnected like a pearl necklace encircling further dots ("peacock - butterflies"). ²⁷ These pattern elements occur alone or as some sort of frame housing different central motives.

Radial decorations : A third group depicts more or less stylized floral patterns — preferentially in a rotatory or a radial arrangement — comprising only a few different motives on each vessel. This group exhibits the greatest individuality in the painting.

Examples of these 3 groups from the present collection are:

Palmettes : Especially no. 37, also nos. 4 - 9, 12 - 14, 21, 22, 27 - 29 and 46 - 50.

Trellis with eyes : no. 38 is a masterpiece of this type, also nos. 10, 11, 51 and 52.

Radial patterns : particularly no. 36 as well as nos. 19, 26, 32, 35, 53 and 54.

Further examples can be seen in the Table of Comparisons. A number of most charming radial patterns are given in reconstructions by Horsfield (pl. 5 a, 49 a, and figs. 31 - 33, 42 - 50).

It is very noticeable that until now hardly any intermediates of the pattern groups have been found which would illustrate the development of some particular motives. Animal representations are extremely rare and until now only one undisputable specimen ²⁸ has been recovered. Inscribed pottery also is recorded in only one case. ²⁹

We owe some most instructive remarks to Murray and Ellis concerning the utilization of painted Nabataean pottery. ³⁰

In 1940 the authors pointed to the striking feature that in general the painted vessels lack a ring-base. Painted vessels are broken into fragments in almost every case ³¹ and sherds thereof occur in great quantities specially in the neighbourhood of Holy Places where the relevant levels have a depth of several feet. In contrast to this, unpainted pottery mostly has a ring-base. Although this ware is as fine as the painted variety completely preserved specimens, particularly cups, were found in a number of cases.

From these observations Murray concluded that the unpainted ware was intended for daily use whereas the painted ware was reserved for

standing of the pattern arrangement as a whole is largely lost.

(26) Crowfoot, *PEQ* LXVIII (1936) pl. 1.

(27) 'Peacock - eyes' is used here as a merely descriptive term.

(28) Murray, pls. 34 & 35.

(29) Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 20 & pl. 20, no. 2. Apart from this a few Nabataean ostraca were found at Petra, cf. Harding, *PEQ* (1958) p. 14 - 15.

(30) Murray p. 2, 15 & 21.

(31) It is very rare that the fragments of more than half a vessel can be recovered. Until now only 2 entirely undamaged small painted Nabataean bowls are known: Horsfield no. 153 and another vessel of the same shape depicting two palmettes facing each other which is in French possession. With regard to the occurrence of ring-bases it should be noted that Horsfield made an error in the description of the unbroken piece. It actually does not have a ring-base as an examination in Cambridge revealed.

religious ceremonies and was possibly broken on purpose to prevent reuse after having been taken for offerings.

It is noticeable that out of the 26 examples repaired out of fragments to more than half of the original size 5 examples do belong to the palmette type with double-cone and grapes (2 further specimens are bowls with triple-cones besides a long palmette in the centre). The motive on these pieces, which seems to represent some sort of standard pattern within the painted Nabataean pottery, is almost identical in these 5 cases, the double-cones representing an apparent rotatory motion which is always counter-clockwise. None of the remaining 19 pieces has a pattern which is similar to another. It must be mentioned that this standard pattern until now was found exclusively on bowls of the same shape without ring-base which supports the idea that it served one particular purpose. As a result of the frequency of pottery finds from this pattern group a longer tradition has to be postulated. And eventually it may be recalled that it was a bowl of this pattern which was unearthed some time ago in Kurnub in one of the very few unrifled Nabataean tombs discovered so far. Perhaps this type represents the Nabataean bowl of worship *par excellence*.

Catalogue of Finds

In default of a detailed chronology it is not possible to assign proper dates to the finds here described. For sake of completeness similarities with pieces already published are given in a Table of Comparison. Unless otherwise stated the clay of the pottery is brick-red.

The black core reported for a number of fragments is a result of underfiring.³² All specimens here listed originate from Petra.

(32) There are 12 sherds with grey to black core amongst the nos. 1-36 (except 25 and 34)

(The author wishes to point out again that the technical description of the finds is given in more detail in the German version of this article to which the specialist is referred for study.)

Fragments (Figs. 2 - 4)

1 - 3 Unpainted rim sherds coming from plates which originally had a diameter of ca. 22 cm 26.5 + (or -) 1 cm and 16 + (or -) 1 cm resp.

4 - 9 Painted sherds with palmette design, pattern dark brown.

10 - 11 Painted sherds of the "eye" pattern with dots and network, design red-brown.

12 Painted sherd with edges of palmettes and remains of a circle and an oval. Between the round ornaments a straight line is painted. Design medium red-brown. The rear shows 2 clear wheel marks of 100 + (or -) 10 and 125 + (or -) 5 mm. The segments of the round objects are sufficiently characteristic to allow a reconstruction of the bowl. (Fig. 4). The palmette indicates the outer diameter of the bowl. The distance from the centre is given by the wheel marks. It was found that the straight line running obliquely across the hatching gives precisely a square within the outer diameter of the vessel. The rare quadruple pattern arrangement (cf. Horsfield fig. 23) was only recognized as a result of this line, and without it a reconstruction as triple arrangement would have been equally possible. The one round design is most probably an actual circle, whereas the other is clearly of oval shape. The latter is reconstructed in accordance with Horsfield (fig. 24, pl. 34) as a "tear" which is a typical oriental element of decoration until the present day. Cf. also Horsfield no. 298 (fig. 28, pl. 37) and no. 295 (fig. 22, pl. 33).

and 46-55, i. e. 26%.

13 - 19 Painted sherds of various patterns, design medium to dark red brown. no. 19 pattern in blood-red colour.

20 Painted rim, design on the upper side of the rim and on the outer side (dark-brown), coming from a cup of originally 6.5 cm diameter and *ca.* 5 cm depth.

21 - 32 Painted sherds of various patterns in red-brown to dark-brown colour. No. 25 has a simple band decoration different from all other patterns. This is most probably not a Nabataean sherd.

33 Ring base of unpainted cup or bowl of originally *ca.* 10 cm diameter and 6 cm height (estimated).

Plates, Bowls

34 Unpainted small bowl with ring base, 6.7 - 6.9 cm diameter, of crude workmanship with two surface faults showing white grits. Fig. 10.

35 Painted small bowl or cup without rings base with pattern of strokes, 8.0 cm diameter, 3.2 cm depth, pattern dark red-brown. Fig 5 & 6.

36 Painted small bowl without ring base with vortex ornament resembling oleander blossoms. Diameter 10.2 cm, depth 2.0 cm, pattern bright red-brown. Fig. 5 & 6.

37 Painted bowl without ring base, pattern of palmettes, double cones and grapes in blackish brown. On the outer surface remains of a surface polish. Yellowish-white coating on the outer side of rim. Diameter 7.4 cm, depth 4.5 cm, thickness *ca.* 3 mm. Fig. 7 & 8.

38 Painted kylix with two handles (without ring base). Asymmetric pattern consisting of a trellis with "peacock eyes", dots and disks. Central motif "pomegranate" and "ear". Design in medium to dark red-brown, 15.2 cm diameter, 4.3 cm depth, with cylindrical edge, left handle restored. Fig. 8 & 9.

Cups, Jugs

39 Unpainted conical cup with ring base and a broad flat rim. Diameter (including rim) 9.0 cm, depth 5.6 Fig. 10.

40 Unpainted unguentarium with grooved decoration, conical bottom without ring-base (not visible due to a ring support in the photo). Diameter 3.2 cm, original height 8 - 10 (estimated). Fig. 10.

41 Unpainted small jug consisting of two independent fragments apparently put together in modern times, lower part with remain of a handle and with ring-base. Diameter 4.85 cm height 14 cm, Fig. 10.

Oil Lamps

42 Oil lamp without handle with a pattern of 4 small circles, 10 dots and radiant strokes. Very similar to one published by Horsfield, though somewhat smaller and from clay of ocre colour. According to Horsfield Nabataean from the 1st cent. A. D. Fig. 11 left.

43 Oil lamp with two handles and a sevenfold pattern like a heart, apparently from the same mould as an oil lamp published by Horsfield. Ocre clay. According to Horsfield Nabataean, later than first half of 1st cent. A. D. Fig. 11 right.

Figurines

44 Head of camel figurine (hollow), clay brick red. In contrast to a similar published piece (see Table of Comparison) the harness does not extend below the jaw. Fig. 12.

45 Camel figurine, completely preserved, broken at the neck. Brownish clay, crude work, hollow. Head without detail contours, eyes and ears not being expressed. Head distinctly inclined, legs closed, with hole pierced for bridle at the mouth.

Additional Fragments (Fig. 12)

46 - 55 Painted sherds of various patterns in

medium to dark red-brown. Nos. 46 - 48 come from a bowl of originally 24.5 cm diameter. Fig. 14 shows a reconstruction of the arrangement. It appears that a fragment found at Bayir (see Table of Comparison) should be similarly restored.

Comparison with Published Pottery

According to the inquiries made by the author it appears that no Nabataean pottery is to be found in museums of Eastern or Western Germany.³³

Collections are held by the museums of Amman, Petra, Jerusalem (Palestine Archaeological Museum, as well as Israel Museum), in several museums of the U.S.A. and in particular in England. Horsfield's finds are in Cambridge and the British share of the excavations by Parr will be distributed to several university and other museums of the United Kingdom. Neither the British Museum nor the Louvre has any Nabataean pottery. The Association Bible et Terre Sainte in Paris possesses a small collection which apparently will be published sometime.

As a result of this situation it is only possible to compare the pieces here under discussion with material that is already published. As already mentioned, the most comprehensive catalogues of Nabataean pottery are those of Horsfield¹² and Murray¹³. Glueck³⁴ has recently illustrated a number of selected pieces,

however, without detailed discussion.

This comparison refers first of all to the painting, unless otherwise stated. Only the more completely preserved specimens and the rims enable statements to be made about shape, profile etc.

Since this translation was prepared an exhibition on the pottery and culture of the Nabataeans has been organized in W. Germany by the Prähistorische Staatssammlung München and the Naturhistorische Gesellschaft Nürnberg in cooperation with the author. The exhibits included material from British excavations in Petra and from the Jerusalem Museum. They were on display between July and December 1970 in Munich and Nuremberg respectively and two publications were released:

'Die Nabatäer — Ein vergessenes Volk am Toten Meer' Herausg. H. - J. Kellner, Kataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München, No. 13 (Munich 1970).

'Petra und das Königreich der Nabatäer' Herausg. M. Lindner, Abhandlungen der Naturhistorischen Gesellschaft Nürnberg, Bd. 35 (Nuremberg 1970).

The former represents the exhibition catalogue whereas the latter is an illustrated textbook, both containing contributions about various aspects of Nabataean archaeology including a typological study of the painted pottery by the present author.

Karl Schmitt-Korte, M.D.

(33) The Naturhistorische Gesellschaft at Nuremberg (Germany) has very recently prepared the display of a study collection of Nabataean

pottery.

(34) N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* (1965) pl. 73-82.

Table of Comparisons

Specimen No.	Horsfield	Murray	Glueck ³⁵
1		no equivalent found	
2		no equivalent found	
3		no equivalent found	
4	No. 299	—	—
5	No. 300	pl. 25, no. 4	pl. 79, no. 3
6	Nos. 295, 299	pl. 25, no. 4	pl. 79, nos. 2,3
7	No. 300	—	—
8	No. 300	pl. 25, no. 4	pl. 79, no. 3
9		no equivalent found	
10	Nos. 334, 342	pl. 13, no. 69	pl. 80, nos. 8, 16
11	No. 334 shape as Nos. 328, 331	pl. 13, no. 71	—
12	No. 295 and pl. 34	pl. 34	—
13	Nos. 175, 295	—	pl. 79, no. 5
14	No. 295 and pl. 34	pl. 34	—
15	No. 296	pl. 12, no. 24	—
16	No. 341	pl. 12, no. 10a pl. 25, no. 3; pl. 34 (below the pigeon)	—
17	Nos. 312, 346	—	—
18	No. 303b	—	pl. 77b; pl. 80, no. 19
19	Nos. 353 a, b; 361	pl. 13, nos. 40, 52	pl. 80, no. 1
20	No. 330	shape as pl. 29, no. 99	—
21	Nos. 298, 309b	pl. 34	pl. 73a, pl. 79, no. 10
22	No. 302	—	pl. 75a, b
23	No. 329	—	—
24	No. 329	—	—
25	No. 477	—	—
26	No. 327	—	—
27	Nos. 300, 303a	pl. 12, no. 10a	—
28	No. 299	pl. 25, no. 4	pl. 79, nos. 2,3
29	No. 299	pl. 25, no. 4	pl. 79, no. 2
30	No. 297	—	—
31	No. 297	—	—
32	Nos. 352, 356, 357, 367	pl. 13, no. 35	pl. 80, no. 9
33	—	pl. 29, no. 90	—

(35) The original publication does not give a numerical sequence to the sherds. The nos.

here applied correspond to the arrangement of the fragments on the picture plates.

34	—	pl. 31, no. 119 pl. 27, no. 62	pl. 78 b, no. 3
35		no equivalent found	
36	Shape: No. 335 (Fig. 51 no. 4) rim profile: No. 153	pl. 13, no. 39	—
37 ³⁶	Pattern: Nos. 300, 303a shape: No. 335 (Fig. 51, no. 4) rim profile: No. 329	pl. 12, no. 10 a pl. 28, no. 68	—
38	Nos. 333 - 338, 325 Handle: No. 342 wheel mark on reverse side: No. 391	pl. 27, no. 45	pl. 76, no. 4 pl. 77 a, c
39 ³⁷	Nos. 318 b, 385 (Fig. 52, no. 2)	—	—
40	No. 173	pl. 9, no. 51 pl. 27, no. 55	—
41	—	—	pl. 78 c
42	No. 42	pl. 36, no. 15	—
43	No. 162	pl. 36, no. 17	—
44	Nos. 54, 448	—	—
45	(No. 166); No. 109	—	—
46 - 48 ¹⁹	No. 295, 296 pl. 34 Fig. 26 pl. 36 (Bayir)	pl. 12, no. 17 pl. 34 pl. 34	pl. 74 b, c pl. 79, no. 3
49	No. 295 pl. 34		—
50	No. 295	—	—
51 - 52	Nos. 334, 342	pl. 13, no. 44 pl. 13, no. 69	pl. 80, nos. 16, 17
53	Nos. 315, 332	pl. 12, no. 3 pl. 12, no. 4	pl. 80, no. 19 Pattern arrangement: pl. 77b
54	Nos. 308, 327	pl. 13, no. 48	—
55	No. 308	pl. 12, no. 28	pl. 79, no. 11

(36) Cf. W. L. Reed, *AASOR XXXVI/XXXVII* (1964) pl. 55; G. L. Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (1959) pl. 18; Negev, *IEJ XVII* (1967) pl. 11 d. The shape and execution of this vessel do not have similarities with Hellenistic wares; however parallels occur in Parthian pottery, i. e. N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (1934) p. 17 fig. 3 nos. 42 - 43 &

fig. 3 - 4.

(37) Cf. Bennett, *Archaeology XV* (1962) p. 241 fig. G. This shape similar to Dragendorff Form 46 and its variants, cf. F. Oswald - T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (1920) pl. 55, nos. 22 & 25. Similar shapes occur in the Terra Sigillata Chiara.

Table of Abbreviations

In this article the following abbreviations are used.

AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

AJA = American Journal of Archae-

IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal

ILN = Illustrated London News

PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly

QDAP = Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine

RB = Revue Biblique

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Iron Age Cosmetic Palettes

by

Dr. Henry O. Thompson

Several archaeological excavations in Palestine and East Jordan have unearthed a number of small, somewhat saucer-shaped objects from 56 - 122 mm. in diameter and 10 - 39 mm. in height. They are called cosmetic palettes - little dishes that held cosmetic pastes of different colors, used by women from 1000 - 500 B. C. as face make-up. This use is here accepted though it has never been proven.¹

Their material varies. There is one example each of glass, fayence, basalt, flint, and limestone core that is coated with cement.² One is called sandstone while six have been reported as alabaster and ten may be marble.³ Most of them are of limestone. William F. Albright noted that this limestone is not found in southern Palestine, leading to the conclusion that the palettes originated in Phoenicia. However, East

(1) An alternative suggestion is that they were used for grinding medicine. Cf. p. 51, D. C. Baramki, *The Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut*; Beirut: AUB, 1967.

(2) R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo I*. The glass example is noted on p. 119 as M4167, Locus 1275, Stratum II, 650 - 600 B. C., similar to pl. 111:28 (plain - no decoration - see below). The fayence is pl. 108:12, M3278, Loc. 1024, Str. II. It has traces of blue glaze and a scalloped single rim handle. The basalt example comes from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Cat. No. S1107/St 77. It is highly polished inside and out. The flint is reported in James L. Kelso, et al., "The Excavations of Bethel," *AASOR*, XXXIX (1968), p. 84, No. 419 (unillustrated), Iron II. The example with artificial coating is from Meqabelein. Cf. G. L. Harding, "An Iron Age Tomb at Meqabelein," *QDAP*, XIV (1950), p. 47 and pl. XV:14, dated 650 - 600 B. C. It is Amman Museum No. TJ865, Case I. It was examined microscopically by Mr. Talal Saadi, an Amman geologist, who suggested the coating is decorative.

(3) **Sandstone:** Tawilan (1968 - 9) fragment now in the Ashmolean Museum. Reg. No. 629. Cf.

our Fig. 7.

Alabaster: Francis W. James, *The Iron Age at Beth-shan*, fig. 117:8 (Field No. 3547, Loc. 247), 9(Loc. 222), 10 (FN 3496, Loc. 214), Level IV, c. 725 (p. 154). R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer III*, pl. LXXVI, tomb 31, No. 19, probably 900 - 600 B. C. AUB Museum Nos. 4785, 4786, 4887 (our Fig. No. 2, photo courtesy of Dr. D. C. Baramki).

Marble: Elihu Grant and G. E. Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations IV*, pl. LIII:44, Str. IIa (Str. II = Iron Ic - IIc). A second, B64, No. 4, IX.2, Locus 9296, comes from Shechem [*Levant*, IV (1972). 52 and Fig. 3]. Seven of the eleven (including three fragments) palettes found at Nasbeh are said to be marble (C. C. McCown, *Tell En-Nasbeh I*, p. 266). AUB Museum No. 58.333 (our Fig. 3, photo courtesy of Dr. D. C. Baramki). The identification of the stone - alabaster vs. marble - should perhaps be taken provisionally. Beth-shan Nos. 9 and 10, cited above, are called marble by G. M. Fitzgerald, who notes (p. 43) two bowls (our palettes), pl. XL:14 (James' No. 9) and 15, in *Beth-shan Excavations, 1921-1923*. Similarly Taanach Nos. 553 and 554 are noted as alabaster or limestone. Cf. also n. 4, "feldspar."

Jordan examples have been identified as local limestone.⁴

Some palettes have small ledge handles on one side (seven examples) or both (seven).⁵ The base is either a simple flat base or a disc base. The top contains a depression like the inside of a bowl or a mortar. The depression ranges from half to over three fourths of the diameter.

The flat rim of the palette, between the inner depression and the outer circumference of the rim, is normally decorated, but over

twenty out of over 120 of the examples known, are quite plain.⁶ It is possible that they are merely unfinished products but there seems no definite way to discern this now. One possible clue is that at least some of the undecorated samples are polished to glossy smoothness as in the Tawilan example (Fig. 1). This suggests finished form.

About half of the decorated forms have holes drilled in the flat rim.⁷ The simplest design⁸ is of six small, regularly-spaced holes drilled in the rim. One example⁹ has 12

(4) P. 81, W. F. Albright, "The Excavations of Tell Beit Mersim," *AASOR*, XXI-XXII (cited hereafter as *TBM*). Albright includes as limestone an example called "feldspar" by R. C. Thompson, "The Site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh," *LAAA*, XVIII (1931), pl. XXII:4. To the present writer's knowledge, this is the only example discovered outside the ancient Levant and East Jordan. Albright used it to buttress his suggestion that the palettes originate in Phoenicia, but to this date, no other evidence of Phoenician origin has appeared. Note that the AUB Museum examples are not limestone. The palettes in the Amman Museum were examined by Saadi (n. 2 above) who noted that with one exception (source of stone unknown), the limestone is of local origin. *Gezer II*, p. 272, Fig. 419, is called "hard white stone" - presumably limestone.

(5) **One Handle:** *Gezer III*, pl. CCXIII:8 ("the long button handle, surrounding nearly half of the object, is common"), *Hazor [BA]*, XXI (1958), 40, fig. 10, Str. V, 8th century, described as one among "a large number of cosmetic palettes", *Megiddo* No. 6 (M1995, Loc. 560, Str. I, 600 - 350 B. C., described as having bronze, lapis lazuli, and ivory (?) inlay; single rim handle), 12 (glass-see n. 2), 23 (M4641, Loc. 1469, Str. II), *Nasbeh* (p. 266, possibly pl. 106: 2, though the specimen is chipped and the photo not clear) and Sa'idiyeh (Cat. No. S442/St 36).

Two Handles: *Megiddo* 8 (M4364, Locus = 1004, Str. II), 13 (M4980, Locus = 1540); *Nasbeh* 3 and one unillustrated; *Shechem*, Fig. 32:12 (Museum No. 1.110), 13 (1.115), 14 (1.111), pp. 102-3, Vera I. Kerkhof, "Catalogue of the Shechem Collection in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, I 1969,

pp. 28-109. The basalt example (n. 2) from Sa'idiyeh has two handles, one round and one square, but they are so small that they are more like knob handles than the ledge handles of these seven examples.

(6) Examples are: Tawilan 372 (Amman Museum No. J12501; see our Fig. 1, published with the permission of the excavator, Mrs. Crystal Bennett, Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem), *Gezer III*, pl. CCXIII:1 ("It is rare to find them perfectly plain"), *Hazor* (Yigael Yadin, et al., *Hazor III-IV*, pl. CCLVI:9, FN G364/1, Loc. 10028, Str. IV), *Megiddo* (P. L. O. Guy, *Megiddo Tombs*, pl. 163:6, M73 - Tomb 73 - Middle to Late Iron Age) 22 (M4810, Loc. 1490, Str. II), 23 (M4641, Loc. 1469 - see single rim handle, n. 5 above), 28 (M4905, Loc. = 1424, Str. III), 29 (M4833, Loc. = 1561, Str. III), *Meqabelein* (pl. XV:14 unusually wide depression - 77 mm compared with an overall diameter of 103 mm), *TBM* (all Iron II) pl. 27B:4, 8 (about half the original preserved), pl. 30:2 (= pl. 57:4), pl. 64:16, *Nasbeh* 7 and 8 (650 - 550 B. C.). A number of fragments (Q875, C541a, b, T29, Q1763, S150) are noted at Samaria (p. 464). It is not clear how many whole palettes are represented in the fragments. Sir Flinders Petrie reports several saucers "with various numbers of spots, or none," found at Gerar pl. xlii: 10, but the plain examples are not illustrated. *Tell es-Sa'idiyeh* Cat. Nos. S703/St 51, S1107/St 77 (cf. n. 2), S184/St 18, S311/St 24 and Reg. No. 310.8.

(7) Made with a lapidary's drill, suggests Albright (*TBM*, p. 80).

(8) Grant, *Ain Shems Excavations I*, pl. XII: 1249, Level II (Iron Ic-IIc). Cf. also Bethel 419 (n. 2 above) with the description (p. 84), "the only decoration is six smallholes."

(9) *TBM* pl. 30:1 (S. N. 519), 8th century.

irregularly-spaced (3 sets of 3, one of 2, and one alone). A Megiddo palette has 10 regularly-spaced, plus one in the center of the depression while another has 6 plus the center and yet another has 8 plus the center.¹⁰ A Gezer fragment appears to have had four large holes interspersed by four small holes, plus one in the center.¹¹ Five examples from Megiddo have an outer ring of large holes and an inner ring of small holes, arranged in six sets of two, plus the hole in the center of the depression.¹² A palette at Megiddo (five sets of two) and three at Samaria (six sets) have the sets of two interspersed with a single small hole (Megiddo on the inner ring; at Samaria, on the outer ring). A Shechem fragment, perhaps one fourth of the original, shows three regularly spaced holes. In the depression, two small holes appear to be part of a ring of holes around a center "dot with groove."¹³

A second class in this series is described as a drilled central dot or hole with a surrounding groove or circle. It is sometimes called a

"bullseye." The simplest form is a single row of these on the rim. One example at Gerar has six and one at Megiddo has eight. A specimen at Tell Beit Mersim may have five, but one is broken away and one is filled with a small blue disc.¹⁴ A pattern with an outer and inner row, in eight sets of two (outer and inner pair) appears at Beth-shemesh (fragments), Gezer, Gibeon, Hazor, Megiddo, Sahab, Samaria, Tell Beit Mersim. Of these Megiddo 5, 18, 19 and the two unillustrated Samaria examples do not have a dot with a groove, in the center of the depression. Taanach and Tel en-Nasbeh examples have six sets of two, plus one in the center, while a Dothan example has five sets of two, but none in the center.¹⁵ A further variation is sets of three dots with grooves - six sets at Gezer and Tell Beit Mersim,¹⁶ eight sets at Hazor, Megiddo, and Tell Beit Mersim.¹⁷ The Gezer and Megiddo examples do not have a center dot.¹⁸

Tell Beit Mersim No. 9 was noted above for its blue disc. Color appears on palettes

(10) Megiddo 17 (M4442, Loc. 1459 - alternating deep blue and pale green inlay), 25 (M4361, Loc. 1079, Str. III), 31 (M4645, Loc. 977, Str. IV, possibly III - p. 142 - reused floor; alternate pale green and white inlay).

(11) Gezer III, pl. CCXIII:2.

(12) Megiddo 2 (M2285, Loc. 677, Str. I), 3 (M1987, Loc. 573, Str. I), 9 (M3242, Loc. 660, Str. II), 15 (M4109, Loc. 1257), 16 (M4999, Loc. 1565).

(13) Megiddo 4 (M4086, Loc. 963, Str. I); Samaria p. 464, Q700 and B278 unillustrated, and C221 p. 463, fig. 116:3 (pl. XXVI:2). See our Fig. 8. The Shechem fragment is fig. 32:16 (Museum No. 1.117) cf. Kerkhof, *op. cit.*

(14) Gerar pl. xlii:10; Megiddo 18 (M4923, Loc. 1486, Str. III); TBM pl. 27B:9 (S. N. 1081).

(15) Our Fig. 3, AUB Museum No. 58.333, of unknown provenance. *Ain Shems Studies* 3, p. 29, S. 28 II 125, No. 929; *Ain Shems Studies* 7, pl. LIII:44, Str. IIa. Gezer II, p. 272, fig. 419, probably Iron II. J. B. Pritchard, *Gibeon*, p. 116 (refers to two palettes, one of which is -) fig. 80 (photograph, following p. 112). Gezer III, pl. LXXVI:19,

pl. CCXII:3. Yadin, *et al.*, *Hazor II*, pl. CVII:21 (B2269/1, Loc. 3119a, Str. VA) and LXXVIII:8 (A671/1, Loc. 126, Str. VI; photograph pl. CLXIV:14). Megiddo 5 (M3339, Loc. = 1032, Str. I), 19 (M4110, Loc. 1257, Str. III), 26 (M802, Loc. 261, Str. III), 32 (M4363, Loc. 1413, Str. II). G. L. Harding, "An Iron Age Tomb at Sahab," *QDAP*, XIII (1948), p. 94, pl. XXXIV:162 (p. 96 - 8th century). Samaria C237, fig. 116:2 (pl. XXVI:1), p. 263 (p. 264 refers to QX40 and Qf886, unillustrated), cf. our Fig. 8. TBM, pl. 27B:3. Taanach Reg. No. 554. Nasbeh, pl. 106:6. A Shechem fragment, perhaps half of the original, is badly chipped but may have had six sets of two. The author suggests eight - compare it with Hazor 8 and 21, Megiddo 5 and 32, Samaria 2 (Kerkhof fig. 32:15, Museum No. 1.118, *op. cit.*). Dothan Reg. No. 948 (1955).

(16) Gezer III, pl. CCXIII:4; TBM, pl. 27B:6.

(17) Hazor II, pl. CV:24 (B299/1, Loc. 3090, Str. VA; photograph pl. CLXIV:16); Megiddo 10 (M2061, Loc. 614, Str. II) and 21 (M4387, Loc. 1435); TBM, pl. 27B:7.

(18) The dot with groove motif also appears on bone objects, e. g., Hazor III, pl. CCCLXI:22,

from several sites. Two of the twelve holes in the Mersim palette cited above, had remains of green paste, perhaps malachite or turquoise.¹⁹ Albright also notes traces of color (blue predominating) in the incised patterns (discussed below). The alabaster specimen from Gezer noted above with the six sets of dots with grooves, had the sets alternately colored blue and green (three of each). The center dot with groove, was blue. Macalister notes that "a few like .. 19, have the ornament filled in with color."²⁰ Among the Megiddo examples, several are noted as having "inlay." One has bronze, lapis lazuli (blue), and ivory (?); another, with a single row of ten holes, has alternating deep blue and pale green inlay, while the one with a single row of eight holes has alternate pale green and white inlay.²¹ One Samaria palette is described: "Grooves and dots have been filled with blue and green paint, possibly alternatively,"²² but it is not clear whether there are other examples.

The color is considered by the Samaria authors to be more probably decorative²³ while Albright notes that the green paste was soft, hence the holes held the actual cosmetic pastes.²⁴ Considering the small size of the plain holes, and the smaller dots with grooves, and

the even finer incised lines discussed below, plus the plain undecorated examples, it would seem that whatever color was left on the rim of the palettes was either decorative or accidentally left over from the cosmetics used.

A second issue related to colors is the actual use of the palettes. The Samaria authors caution that the actual use "is uncertain, and the name is one sanctified by use only."²⁵ At Hazor, a palette was found near a small pestle which fit the palette depression, and was made of the same stone. The authors suggest the pestle was used to grind and pound the kohl (cosmetic material).²⁶ Though of a completely different style, an alabaster example shaped like a small bottle with a tight stopper (like a spice or chemical bottle), may confirm this analysis. It contained a small amount of red, rouge-like material.²⁷ Several authors have drawn comparisons with Jezebel (II Kings 9:30) who painted her eyes with antimony when she prepared to meet Jehu after he had murdered king Joram. Jeremiah 4:30 and Ezekiel 23:40 suggest it was the practice of prostitutes. However, Job named one of his daughters, "horn of eye-paint" (42:14), so it would not seem to be limited to their use alone. If our cosmetic palettes are implied in these Biblical references, it is of interest to

Bethel (n. 2 above), pl. 45:6 (Club shaped bone pendant, No. 311, sub 15, Iron II, and an oval shaped bone pendant, No. 581, L 58, MB II, pl. 45:7 - p. 87 calls it the lid of a perfume box and notes a light blue pigment in the incised circles), and Lachish III, pl. 37:7f.

(19) Cf. n. 10. An earlier sentence on p. 81 implies the green is malachite or turquoise and blue is cobalt, but no analysis is presented.

(20) Cf. n. 3 and 15. Gezer III, pl. LXXVI, Tomb 31, fig. 419 and p. 273.

(21) No. 6 (cf. n. 5; decoration is discussed below); 17 (n. 10); 31 (n. 10).

(22) Samaria fig. 116:2.

(23) Samaria, p. 264. The decorative suggestion may be strengthened by the black pigment in the dot with groove decoration on bone inlay (Bethel, pl. 45:11) and the light blue pigment in those

of the pendant (n. 18 above), both Middle Bronze Age.

(24) TBM, p. 81.

(25) *op. cit.*

(26) Hazor II, p. 61, palette 21, pl. CVII (cf. n. 15). The pestle is pl. CVII:20 (B2270/1, Loc. 3119a, Str. VA). John Gray notes that Biblical women, like some bedouin women today "touched their eyelashes with 'kuhl,' which they kept in small pots and applied with little rods, and treated their eyelids with greenish copper ore, or antimony" *Archaeology and the Old Testament World*, p. 176. Bethel, pl. 46:23 (LB) and 27 (Iron II) are examples of kohl sticks.

(27) Personal observation. Object No. 602, LB, found in the temple area, V. 8.13, Shechem, 1960.

note that the references date to the Iron Age.

To return to the varieties of decoration, there are several examples with holes plus additional elements, which make these palettes intermediate to the elaborate incised type of decoration described below. A Gezer fragment has sets of two (dots with grooves) interspersed by a single dot with a groove. On top (outside) of the groove is an incised "triangle," the apex of which touches a circle incised near the outer perimeter of the palette. One or two other circles are near the inner perimeter at the top of the depression.²⁸ The Megiddo palette with the bronze and lapis lazuli inlay, has eight large single holes, interspersed with "triangles" with the apex toward the outer rim. The inner or bottom end of the "triangle" is rounded. Between triangle and inner perimeter is a very small hole. The middle depression has a large hole.²⁹ Hazor has an example with a pattern of a dot with groove, large hole (plus a small hole between it and the outer rim), dot with groove (four sets), interspersed with a deep groove similar to the "triangle" just described.³⁰ A Bethel specimen has a single row of eight dots with grooves (plus one on the center of the depression). Two millimeters in from the outer perimeter are two incised circles (one mm. apart). At the inner perimeter is a 2 mm. - wide rope design and 5 mm from that is another double circle.³¹ A Hazor fragment has an incised

circle near the outer perimeter. In from the circle (2 mm) is a bead or rope design, and the rest of the flat rim is plain.³² An Amman palette has three sets of two concentric circles. Between circles four and five (from the outer perimeter) are seven dots with grooves. The dots are interspersed with radial (vertical to the perimeter) lines, in sets of two to four. In several cases the radial lines are separated by crossed lines in the form of an "X" touching circles four and five.³³

Several further examples bring us directly to the usual third category of decoration (plain, holes, and the following). A Dothan fragment has a dot with groove, radial lines with "X", dot with groove, and then a pattern with lattice or cross-hatched design. A Megiddo palette has eleven dots with groove in a row around the rim, in between two incised concentric circles. Interspersed between the dots is the lattice or cross-hatched design. The latter is typical of the third category, though we will note exceptions below.³⁴ A Samaria example has sets with two radial lines between the two dots with groove. It is not clear whether there are five or six of these sets. In between sets is the pattern of cross-hatching. Approximately square, the cross-hatching pattern extends to the outer perimeter, expanding slightly toward the outside. This outer "band" is about 10 mm wide. The inner edge of the cross-hatching and

(28) Gezer III, pl. CCXIII:5.

(29) Cf. n. 5 and 21.

(30) BA XXI, fig. 10 (cf. n. 5)

(31) Bethel, pp. 84, 124, pl. 45:18, No. 725, limestone, Iron II.

(32) Hazor II, pl. CV:25 (B511/1, Loc. 3116a, Level VA; photograph pl. CLXIV:17). The rope might simply be two incised circles, connected by a regular series of lines vertical to the palette perimeters. To this might be added a Samaria example with three close concentric circles with a plain surface or band extending to the outer perimeter and an inner "band" extending to the inner perimeter - G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon,

The Harvard Excavations at Samaria, p. 335, fig. 208, No. 2c (Reg. No. 3090, S. G. T. 4, 85 mm diameter). AUB Museum No. 48.87 (from Tell Biseh) has two concentric circles (our Fig. 2).

(33) G. L. Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs from Amman," *QDAP*, XI (1945), p. 74, pl. XVIII: 69; Amman Museum No. TJ361. The outer concentric set (circle one) is 4 mm from the outer perimeter, with 1 mm between the two circles of each set and 5 mm between sets. The inner set (circle 6) is 1 mm from the inner perimeter.

(34) Dothan Reg. No. 817 (1955). *Megiddo I*, pl. 111:30 (M4949, Loc. S = 1529, Str. III).

the inner ends of the two radial lines, extend to the outer of two concentric circles (perhaps a mm apart) which in turn are separated from a third circle by a plain surface perhaps 5 mm wide. Between this third circle and the inner perimeter is a continuous line forming a series of "V's" or triangles in a band about 8 mm wide.³⁵

A Tawilan example³⁶ as shown in our Fig. 4, has a decorated rim. Starting from the outer perimeter, there is a plain band followed by a rope design (or two concentric circles with many radial lines), a plain band, two concentric circles with cross-hatched patterns between them, a plain band, a rope design, and a plain band. A Ramat Rahel fragment has two sets of two concentric circles. Between circles two and three is a band (also c. 10 mm apart) with the cross-hatched patterns. A Samaria fragment has a rope design, a circle about one mm further in, and a set of two and then a set of three concentric circles. Between circles 1 and 2, is a band (c. 5 mm) with the square cross-hatched patterns.³⁷ An example from Hazor has two sets of two concentric circles. Between

circles two and three are twelve of the cross-hatchings, in a band c. mm wide. A plain band c. 6 mm wide is followed by a rope design. A Tell es-Sa'idiyeh example has a plan band, a band with sixteen cross-hatchings, a plain band, and a rope design.³⁸

A Tell Beit Mersim palette is nearly identical (cross-hatchings band c. 8 mm; plain band c. 4) except that the rope design is replaced by the "V" or triangle pattern in a continuous line as in the Samaria example above. An example from Dhiban has a band of eight cross-hatchings, rope and triangle. A Shechem fragment is the same except the "V" pattern is not a continuous line and might be called a series of diagonal (to the palette's diameter) lines in the alternating directions.³⁹ Compare our Fig. 6 in this regard. A Samaria fragment has an incised circle near the outer perimeter and in from that is a rope design. In from the rope are two concentric circles with the cross-hatchings between them. Inside circle three is a plain band, perhaps 5 mm wide, and then a fourth circle. Between circle four and the inner perimeter is the "V" or diagonal pattern like

(35) Reisner (*op. cit.*) calls the cross-hatching a "checker-board pattern," p. 335, fig. 208, No. 2e (RN 3918, S4417, 80 mm diameter). The continuous line of the drawing may be a series of two parallel lines (forming the sides of the "V's") as in photographs of other examples. These "V's" appear in three lines or panels on the chest of an ivory sphinx (8th century) from Arslan Tash, Syria (pl. 67, Donald Hardin, *The Phoenicians*). The "V" appears on bone inlay (MB IIB-C) at TBM. The "V" and the rope-design (or beads) appear in necklaces on Egyptian figures, and cross-hatchings appear on Mycenaean pottery.

(36) Reg. No. 488, Tawilan 1969, Level II.15.6, of pink stone, burnt in patches. The drawing was provided by the excavator, and is published with her permission.

(37) Yohanon Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramat Rahel, 1954," *IEJ* 6, No. 3 (1956), p. 142, fig. 10.3 Reisner, No. 2b (FN 2839, N.G.T. 4, 84 mm diameter).

(38) Hazor II, pl. LXXVIII:7 (FN A824/1,

Loc. 148, Str. VI; photo pl. CLXIV:15). Sa'idiyeh Cat. No. S442/St 36 (cf. n. 5, one ledge handle). A TBM example (pl. 27B:5) is badly damaged but has a rope design c. 3 mm from the inner perimeter. About 1 mm out from the rope is an incised circle which forms the bottom edge of a series of cross-hatched patterns. Megiddo 13 has two concentric circles, a band (c. 4 mm) of probably cross-hatched patterns between circles 2 and 3, a rope design and another circle (cf. n. 5, two ledge handles).

(39) TBM, pl. 30:5 (SN 520), 8th century. Dhiban L-IV 17, Cat. 75 (Amman Museum No. J10722, currently in the Kerak Museum). Shechem fig. 32:14, Kerkhof *op. cit.* (cf. n. 5 above). Megiddo 24 (M4360, Loc. = 1394, Str. III) may be identical (but worn or damaged) example. Gezer pl. CCXIII:8 is almost identical to TBM 5, except for the ledge or button handle (cf. n. 5). A Beth-zur fragment is badly damaged but at least has the inner band of triangles, a small plain band, and the cross-hatched pattern (O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-zur*, p. 60, fig. 53:5, 900 - 600 B. C.):

the last Shechem fragment. These diagonals do not touch circle four. They start from what appears to be a fifth circle, perhaps a mm from the inner perimeter.⁴⁰

A Gezer fragment has an incised circle near the outer perimeter, a rope design, two concentric circles with a band (c. 9 mm) of cross-hatched patterns, a fourth concentric circle, a plain band (c. 9 mm), another rope design, and a fifth circle c. $2\frac{1}{2}$ mm from the inner perimeter.⁴¹

Two Megiddo palettes have two bands of cross-hatched patterns. One has two sets of two concentric circles. Between two and three are 14 or 15 cross-hatchings in a band c. 6 mm wide. A plain band (c. 5 mm) is followed by circles five and six which form a band c. 3 mm wide containing 15 cross-hatched patterns. Inside circle six there is a rope design and there may be another circle inside that. The second example has four sets of two concentric circles. The outer band of 21 cross-hatched patterns is c. 4 mm between circles two and three. The plain band is c. 5 mm between circles four and five, while the inner band of 15 cross-hatchings is c. 4 mm between circles six and seven.⁴²

A Samaria palette has a circle, a rope,

two circles forming a band with 14 cross-hatched patterns, a rope, a circle, a plain band, and two circles forming a band of "V's" which do not form a continuous line.⁴³ A Shechem example has three concentric circles near the outer perimeter. These are crossed (cut) by a regular series of diagonal lines, almost forming another type of rope or lattice design. A 5 mm band between circle three and a rope design, is filled with "V's" which do not form a continuous line. Between the rope design and circle four, is a 5.5 mm band with seven patterns resembling the cross-hatched pattern but consisting of 5 — 10 radial lines. From two to four "cross lines" connect from two to six radials in a somewhat irregular fashion. This type of pattern seems to be unique. A second rope design is inside circle four.⁴⁴ Another unique panel appears on a fragment from Hazor. The over-all pattern is a circle, a rope, and two circles forming a band c. 15 mm wide. The single preserved panel consists of nine radials, number two and eight of which, are connected by two cross lines. While broken away, a second panel is partially preserved and appears to have some kind of diagonal rope design. There is an inner rope design and a fourth circle inside that. Another unique example from Shechem has a rope design, plain band (c. 1 mm), two circles forming a wide band (c. 10 — 15), plain band (c. 1 mm), and another rope.

(40) Reisner, Vol. II, pl. 80:m (RN 3091, limestone, no scale given). The photograph suggests the rope design is not complete but continues as two concentric circles.

(41) Pl. CCXIII:6. Shechem fig. 32:13 (Kerkhof, *op. cit.*) is identical in sequence, with seven cross-hatchings. Ramat Rahel has the same with 17 cross-hatchings (Aharoni, p. 10:3, Str. V). Tell en-Nasbeh No. 1 (R. 73, M 352, c. 700 - 500 B. C.), 3 (cf. n. 5), 4 (AM 20, M200), appear to be identical while No. 2 (R65, M339, c. 700 - 500 B. C.) and 5 (Si 295, M1811, 7th century) have very small plain bands and 5 has only 10 cross-hatched patterns. Megiddo 7 (M4118, Loc. 1270, Str. II) has an extra circle a mm before the inner rope design. A badly damaged fragment from Nineveh

has a circle, a rope, circle, plain band, two circles, band of cross-hatchings between the last (fourth) circle and fifth circle, plain band, circle, rope design (cf. n. 4 above). Megiddo 14 (M4640, Loc. 1469, Str. III) has a circle, rope, circle, plain band (c. 5 mm) of 15 cross-hatchings, plain band (c. 3 mm), a circle, a rope, a circle.

(42) Megiddo No. 1 (M2048, Loc. 613, Str. I) and 8 (two ledge handles - cf. n. 5).

(43) Samaria, pl. XXVI:3 (cf. p. 463, fig. 116: 1 - D170), cf. our Fig. 8. C292 is called a similar example (unillustrated) from S. Tomb 108.3, Period V.

(44) Levant IV (1972), p. 52 and fig. 3 (cf. n. 3 above, "marble").

In the wide band are four panels resembling an "H" with uprights and cross piece each consisting of two lines.⁴⁵

Tawilan 744 (our Fig. 6) has a rope design, a band of "V's" not in a continuous line and another rope design. The "V's" are between two circles forming a band c. 5 mm wide and separate from the ropes by plain bands c. 2 mm wide. A Gezer fragment has an identical pattern. A Megiddo palette has two lines forming a band c. 5 mm. wide with the "V's" (non-continuous line), a plain band (c. 3 mm) and a rope design. A Tell Beit Mersim example has a circle, a rope, and two circles forming a band c. 8 mm wide. The band is filled with a wide pattern of interlocking "V's" which may consist of two continuous lines. A fourth circle is incised between the band and the inner perimeter. A second Tell Beit Mersim specimen has a rope, and then two circles forming a band c. 8 mm wide. The band is filled with very closely interlocking "V's". Another rope design is c. 2 mm from the inner perimeter. Tawilan 629 (our Fig. 7) has a unique form of "V" with cross lines, and no rope design.⁴⁶

Lamon and Shipton⁴⁷ note that some palettes are decorated on both the top and the bottom, although they do not illustrate any of the decorated bases. The Shechem example

noted above may have been decorated on the sides in a band between the outer perimeter and an incised ring which is about half way between the perimeter and the disc base.⁴⁸ A similar incised ring appears on the side of a flat-based specimen from Beth-shan, while a second example from there has a ring or ridge in bas-relief c. 9 — 10 mm down from the outer perimeter. The rings on Tawilan 372 can be seen in the elevation in Fig. 1. A Tell es-Sa'idiyeh example has two circular bands below the rim and one at the base.⁴⁹

So far, relatively little has been suggested concerning dates. Albright notes the lack of relative chronology for the decorated types since the incised pattern decoration is more prevalent in Megiddo Stratum II (three vs. two examples), but the drilled holes variety is more prevalent in both Strata I and III. He notes a dozen examples from Iron II deposits at Tell Beit Mersim.⁵⁰ Kenyon notes that the majority of the examples found at Samaria are from indecisive find spots, with the most closely dated, those from the South Tombs, with pottery corresponding to Period V. Other sites are said to have cosmetic palettes occurring exclusively in Iron II (8th to 6th centuries B. C.) levels. In her judgment, the evidence does not suggest different dates for the different types of decoration.⁵¹ The present study supports this conclusion on differentiating the decorations

(45) *Hazor III*, pl. CCLVI:10 (G435/1, Loc. 10017a, Str. IV; photo pl. CCCLXI:3). Shechem fig. 32:12 (Kerkhof, *op. cit.*, cf. n. 5). The Dothan example (n. 34 above) has a cross-hatched pattern similar to Hazor No. 10.

(46) Tawilan 744 (1970, Level III.8.3) is a reddish stone of unknown source (n. 4 above). A thin section was made by Saadi (cf. n. 2) who analyzed it as ferruginous (iron content) argillaceous (clay) limestone. A discolored patch on the rim (not shown in the drawing, our Fig. 6) is a calcite veinlet. The drawing is provided by the excavator and published with her permission. *Gezer*, pl. CCXIII, 7; *Megiddo 11* (M2354, Loc. 825, Str. II); *TBM* pl. 30:3 and 4. Tawilan 629

(1969, Level III. 14.4) is of red sandstone (n. 3 above). The drawing was provided by the excavator and is published with her permission.

(47) *Megiddo I*, pl. 108.

(48) Personal communication from Dr. E. F. Campbell, Jr., Archaeological Director.

(49) Beth-shan 10 and 9 (n. 3 above); Sa'idiyeh S 311/St 24 (n. 6 above).

(50) *TBM*, p. 80, Par. 48. Kenyon notes that the twelve are all from Str. A, which she suggests is primarily 7th century (Samaria, p. 463).

(51) *Samaria*, pp. 463f. Period V ends c. 721 B. C. See G. E. Wright, "Israelite Samaria and Iron Age Chronology," *BASOR* 155 (Oct. 1959).

chronologically, as well as the dates for the appearance of palettes in general, except that some might date from the 9th or even 10th century.^{52, 53}

Perhaps a word should be added too, about the workmanship involved in making these palettes. The tools and methods used in lapidary (stone cutting) art or carving, are most well-known from seals. D. J. Wiseman describes

a pot full of finished and unfinished seals and ornaments and unworked pieces of metal found in a house of the Akkadian period at Eshnunna (Tell Asmar). In it were also some small instruments belonging to the stone-cutter, or engraver ("purqullu"), whose flourishing trade is reflected in texts from this time on-wards. The tools included a small copper chisel, two pointed copper gravers,

whetstone and a borer, and an abrasive. From the Old Babylonian period and on-wards instruments with a circular cutting edge were used for making circles and by joining a number of circles, for graving a line.⁵⁴

While the general techniques of seal carving must have been quite similar to those used in carving the cosmetic palettes, no similarity in design or decorative motif, appears on seals or seal impressions. Motifs of dot with groove, "V's" and possibly rope design, appear on bone and ivory carvings in the Middle Bronze II and Iron I and II periods.⁵⁵ The commonest (in appearance) of these motifs is the dot with groove, perhaps cut with a drill or a tool similar to that used for making circles on seals. The large concentric circles around the circumference might have been carved or scratched with a type of compass, though to the writer's knowledge, none has been found.

13-29.

(52) E. g., Beth-zur, Macalester (p. 272) notes our palettes in every trench at Gezer, "especially if not exclusively, in the Fourth Semitic Period," i. e., 1000-550 B. C. (p. 131). No palettes have been found by the current American expedition to Gezer at this time of writing.

(53) Macalester (p. 272) notes that: the colors were ground on palettes of smooth stone, of which specimens were found in all strata. A small oval stone, daubed with red paint, was discovered in cave 18 I. These palettes were of various shapes, square, trapezoid, triangular, or rhomboid (examples are a Second Semitic Stratum triangle, a Fourth Semitic rhombus, a Hellenistic square) . . . There was no ornament to speak of upon them. The triangular example just mentioned had the edges on one side bevelled. The square Hellenistic example had a bronze nail in each corner, flush on one face and projecting slightly on the other; there was a small hole midway between two of the nails on one side, apparently for suspension. . . There was however, a more elaborate kind of palette. . . shaped like saucers.

Fig. 449: 1 (p. 310) illustrates a deep rectangular dish of diorite, which had a dash of red color preserved in the bottom. These other shapes of palettes might very well warrant a separate study. Rectangular or semi-rectangular forms also appear at Amman (G. L. Harding, "Two Iron-Age Tombs in Amman," *QDAP* I (1931), p. 40, pl. XIV), Meqabelein, Shechem (B60, Object No. 272, VIII. 3. 14; No. 334, n. 3 above; possibly B66, No. 212, XIII. 1. 190, Loc. 3049; all three unpublished), and Umm el Biyara. The last is somewhat rectangular in shape with a knob at the top carved into the form of a man's head. Along the outer edge of both the obverse and the reverse is a row of dots with grooves. Tawilan No. 453 is similar and an alabaster fragment from Tawilan, No. 741, in the Amman Museum, may be from one of these palettes. It has the row (6-8 mm wide) of dots with grooves also on both obverse and reverse. Palettes have also been reported from Chalcolithic levels, such as Tell Abu Matar (cf. J. Perrat, *IEJ* 5 (1955), p. 78).

(54) *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, p. 16. M. E. L. Mallowan notes a close relationship with stone workers in his discussion of the tools and techniques of ivory carving (*Nimrud and Its Remains II*: 483f; London: Collins, p. 166).

(55) E. g., Bethel, pp. 85ff (cf. 35 above)

While artistic motif comparison is nil or limited, one is struck by the care taken with those palettes—the quality of workmanship and the careful lapidary decorative technique. Why should such fine, paintaking effort be made? We noted above the use of these palettes for facial cosmetics - a judgment for which there is consensus but not definitive proof. The limited

number (compared to pottery or seals) of palettes plus the decorative effort expended on them, would suggest that they are not for the “hoi polloi” but were limited to an upper class clientele or the nobility, as were no doubt, the ivory and bone inlays, and very likely the seals as well.

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Deux Inscriptions Grecques de Rabbat Moab (Areopolis)

par
Fawzi Zayadine

Les deux inscriptions que nous étudions ont été découvertes à Rabbat Moab ¹ (aujourd'hui er-Rabbah), située à 12 km au nord de Kérak. Cette capitale de Moab, qui a pris le nom d'Aréopolis ² aux époques romaine et byzantine, conserve encore de nombreux monuments antiques, en grande partie recouverts par des habitations récentes. A l'ouest de la route moderne, qui suit le tracé de la voie trajane, s'étend un champ de ruines assez considérable : deux colonnes, coiffées de chapiteaux corinthiens, émergent des décombres et sont les témoins d'une magnifique voie à colonnades (pl. I). A une cinquantaine de mètres à l'ouest, se dresse un temple romain assez délabré et dont la façade s'orne de pilastres engagés (pl. II). Sous les deux petites niches qui se creusent de part et d'autre de la porte, étaient gravées des dédicaces en latin à Dioclétien (côté sud) et à Maximien (côté nord). ³

Immédiatement au sud du temple, on

pouvait distinguer les restes d'un monument à abside, sommairement relevé par Brünnow et von Domaszewski. ⁴ Leur plan a été amélioré par R. Canova ⁵ qui voit dans ce monument une église byzantine (fig. 1). Il est à signaler que cet édifice est tourné vers l'ouest. R. Canova croit que cette anomalie est due au fait que ce lieu de culte a recouvert un édifice romain qui lui a imposé l'orientation vers l'occident. ⁶ On ne voit pas quel genre de monument d'époque romaine pouvait se dresser à proximité du temple et pourquoi ce monument serait tourné vers l'ouest, alors que le temple lui-même regarde vers l'orient.

A Jérash, lorsque la synagogue a été transformée en église, son orientation a été changée d'ouest en est. ⁷ Il n'est donc pas normal qu'une église chrétienne soit tournée vers l'ouest. Le problème serait résolu si nous pouvions prouver que ce curieux monument est une synagogue qui regarde vers Jérusalem, comme celle de

(1) Sur le site voir surtout: Brünnow et von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, I, p. 54ss; G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins, Arabia*, p. XLII-XLIV; R. Canova, *Inscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del Paese di Moab*, 1954, p. 198ss; H. Seyrig, *Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie*, *Syria*, 47, 1970, p. 96.

(2) D'après les auteurs byzantins, ce nom dériverait du dieu Ariel, patron de la ville. Ce dieu n'étant pas attesté par ailleurs, il est plus raisonnable de croire que la ville tire son nom du dieu Arès. (Voir J. Teixidor, *Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique*, *Syria*, XLIII, 1971, p. 467.)

(3) *Die Provincia Arabia*, I, p. 54-55. En 1968, un habitant du village m'a remis un fragment de pierre calcaire portant les lettres latines *Nervae*; il est actuellement au musée de Kérak. Comme ce nom est au génitif, il s'agirait peut-être d'une dédicace au nom de Trajan ou d'Hadrien.

(4) *Die Provincia Arabia*, I, p. 54.

(5) *Inscrizioni*, p. 202, fig. 227.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 203.

(7) J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash*, 1930, p. 16ss.

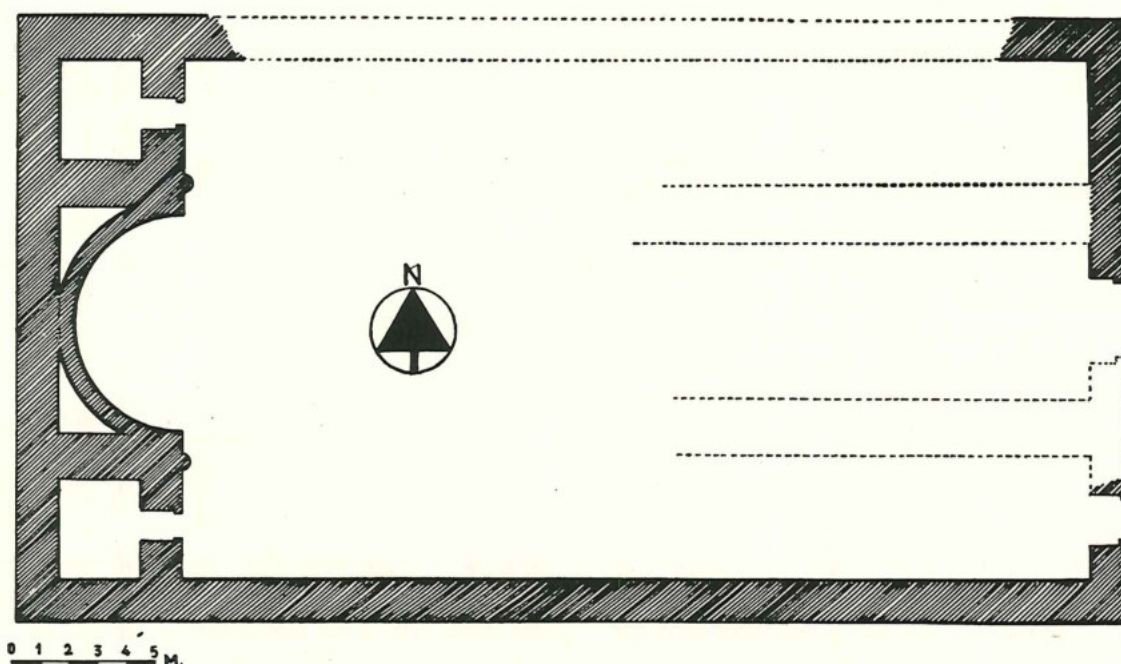


Fig. 1

Jérash. Or, dans la vie de Barsauma le Syrien (5ème siècle), l'auteur raconte comment le saint moine détruisit à Rabbat Moab la synagogue des Juifs dont il donne la description suivante ⁸ : "Quand ils arrivèrent à la ville nommée Rabbat Moab il y avait là une synagogue des Juifs. On ne bâtit en aucun autre endroit une synagogue comme celle-là, si ce n'est seulement le temple (Hayklâ) que le roi Salomon bâtit à Jérusalem. Elle était construite en grandes pierres taillées, les murailles et le sol étaient incrustés d'airain et elle était ornée de beaucoup d'or et d'argent. De petites clochettes d'or étaient suspendues sur toutes les faces de ses portes. Un mur de fortes pierres l'entourait; il y avait encore de grandes portes de fer dans ce mur au dehors, et des portes d'airain étaient faites à l'intérieur dans le temple."

(8) F. Nau, Deux épisodes de l'histoire juive sous Théodose II (423 et 438), d'après la vie de Barsauma le Syrien, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, LXXXIII (1927), p. 188. voir aussi: J. T. Milik, *Mélanges de l'Université S. Joseph*, XXXVII, p.

Malgré le style rehaussé de détails légendaires et fantaisistes, les éléments topographiques ne semblent pas inventés. ⁹ Le monument a pu être transformé en église mais il est difficile de le prouver, car des habitations modernes recouvrent le site.

Grâce aux dégagements effectués par le Département des Antiquités de 1962 à 1963, une petite église située à l'est du temple a été découverte (pl. III). Son abside, tournée vers l'orient, atteint 4,60m et sa longueur environ 15 m. Les constructions qui entourent cette église ont apparemment débordé sur la voie romaine et ont été posées sur un dallage de basalte et de pierres calcaires. On ne peut rien présumer de leur utilisation primitive et leur plan est difficilement lisible.

165, n. 1.

(9) Je ne sais pas pourquoi J. T. Milik veut que la synagogue de Rabbat Moab soit le temple que nous avons décrit plus haut (cf. J. Starcky, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Sup. VII, col. 922.)

Musil ¹⁰ avait déjà signalé un autre bâtiment, situé au centre du village et que les gens appellent "keniseh". R. Canova ¹¹ n'est pas sûr que ce monument soit une église, mais un dégagement complet pourrait sans doute justifier cette appellation traditionnelle. Rappelons que la ville d'Aréopolis, qui faisait partie de la Palestine Troisième, possédait un siège épiscopal. Elle ne figure pas sur la carte de Madaba, mais la moosaïque de Ma'in, dégagée et publiée par le Père de Vaux, ¹² reproduit quelques constructions de la ville (pl. IV): elles consistent en un bâtiment central, couvert d'un toit en tuiles et qui s'achève, à droite, par un demi-cercle, percé d'une ouverture cintrée. Sous le toit, le mur est divisé en trois panneaux,

percés de fenêtres rectangulaires. De part et d'autre, se dressent deux pavillons à étages. L'inscription est actuellement incomplète, mais on en distingue la fin: OPOLEIS.

C'est grâce aux travaux du Département des Antiquités qu'ont été découvertes nos deux inscriptions, mais on n'a malheureusement pas noté leur point de chute; je les ai retrouvées en 1968 chez un habitant du village, où elles avaient été mises en dépôt, et les ai transportées au musée de Kérak, récemment aménagé dans la Citadelle. Il est cependant certain qu'elles proviennent de l'aire comprise entre le temple et la colonnade romaine.



Fig. 2

Inscription No 1 : (pl. Vet fig. 2)

Elle est gravée sur une pierre calcaire de 55 cm de large sur 42 de haut, avec une épaisseur de 28 cm. Le bord droit a été légèrement endommagé.

Le texte de quatre lignes débute et s'achève par une croix partiellement mutilée; on n'ob-

serve aucune ligature, mais seulement quelques abbréviations usuelles:

Texte :

1. + 'Επὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ
2. ἀγ(ιωτάτου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ἀνενε-
3. ωθη ἔτους ΥΨΒ
4. μετὰ τ(ὸν) σισμόν +

(10) *Arabia Petraea, Moab*, I, p. 372 et figure 173.

(11) *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

(12) *Revue Biblique*, 47, 1938, p. 248-249 et pl. XV. 2.

Traduction :

Au temps du très saint évêque Jean a été restauré (ce bâtiment) en 492, après le séisme.

Commentaire :

Ligne 1 : L'évêque Jean d'Aréopolis est mentionné, à ma connaissance, pour la première fois. Mais on peut citer trois de ses prédécesseurs; ¹³ ce sont: Anastase, qui a participé au concile d'Ephèse en 449; Polychronius et Elie qui ont assisté aux synodes de Jérusalem en 518 et 536.

Ligne 2 : "a été restauré" : l'édifice qui fait l'objet de cette dédicace n'a malheureusement pas été mentionné. On pourrait supposer qu'elle appartient à la petite église récemment dégagée (pl. III), mais rien ne le prouve.

Ligne 3 : "l'an 492" : il s'agit de l'ère de la Province d'Arabie, bien attestée pour la région ¹⁴ et qui commence le 22 mars 105 de notre ère ¹⁵. Cette date correspond donc à 597 - 598 de notre ère.

Ligne 4 : "après le séisme" : Cette dernière ligne ajoute à l'intérêt de cette dédicace, car c'est la première fois qu'une inscription mentionne un tremblement de terre dans cette région.

Les caractères de cette ligne ont été endommagés, mais la lecture en est sûre; le "ton"

a été abrégé et le signe qu'on voit à la fin de la ligne est une croix endommagée, comme nous l'avons précisé plus haut.

Il est entendu que la date est celle de la restauration et non celle du séisme; néanmoins, il est permis de supposer que les travaux n'ont pas été effectués longtemps après la catastrophe. Parmi les tremblements de terre connus, le plus proche de la date mentionnée est celui de 588 ¹⁶; mais il semble avoir touché surtout la ville d'Antioche. Un autre séisme, qui s'est produit en 599 ¹⁷ a ravagé la Mésopotamie. Il apparaît donc que la catastrophe qui a touché la ville d'Aréopolis ne soit attestée que par cette inscription. D'ailleurs, cette capitale de Moab semble avoir été ravagée par plusieurs séismes. Hill ¹⁸ croit que la représentation de Poseidon sur les monnaies de la ville, frappées à l'effigie de Caracalla, est en relation avec ces catastrophes. Le délabrement du temple romain est certainement le résultat d'un violent tremblement de terre, comme l'ont fait remarquer les premiers voyageurs. ¹⁹

Inscription N° 2 : (pl. VI et fig. 3)

C'est une pierre calcaire qui a dû servir de linteau. Sa largeur atteint 59 cm, sa hauteur 29 et son épaisseur 21. L'inscription, qui compte trois lignes de texte, se trouve dans un cartouche à queues d'aronde.

Malgré le mauvais état de l'inscription, il n'y a pas d'hésitation sur la lecture. Contraire-

(13) Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, col. 735.

(14) R. Canova, *op. cit.*, p. XCIV.

(15) Voir en dernier lieu: G. W. Bowersock, *The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia*, *Zeit. Für pap. und Epig.*, 5, 1970, p. 39.

(16) V. Grumel, *Traité d'Etudes byzantines*, I, *La Chronologie*, 1958, p. 479.

(17) Voir: N. N. Ambraseys, *Documentation on historical Earthquakes in the Near-East*, (ouvrage provisoire pour le compte de l'UNESCO),

p. 68, d'après la *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, X, XXIII (Traduction de J. B. Chabot, II, p. 373).

(18) *Op. cit.*, p. XLIII et note 6. Un tremblement de terre a détruit la ville au IV s. Cf. Canova, *Inscrizioni*, p. 203.

(19) Le Duc de Luynes, *Voyage*, p. 109: "Il semble qu'un de ces tremblements de terre si fréquents sous l'empire romain ait fait tomber une portion de ces bâtiments construits en matériaux calcaires, et qu'on ait essayé de les restaurer grossièrement avec des blocs mal taillés de basalte".

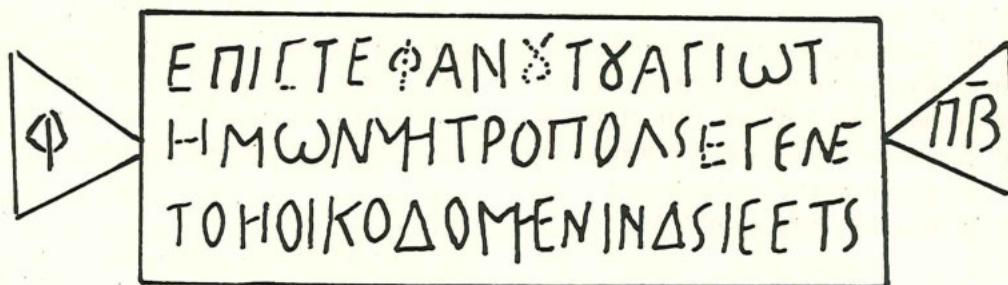


Fig. 3

ment à l'inscription précédente, on remarque de nombreuses ligatures. La date est inscrite dans les deux queues d'aronde.

Texte :

1. Ἐπὶ Στεφάνου τοῦ ἁγίωτ (άτου)
2. ἡμῶν μητροπολ(ίτου) ἐγένε
3. το ἡ οἰκοδομή ἐν ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) ιέ ἔτ(ους)
ΦΠΒ

Traduction :

Au temps d'Etienne, notre très saint métropolitite, a été érigée la construction. Indiction 15, année 585.

La quinzième indiction de l'année 582 correspond à 687 de notre ère.

Commentaire :

Ligne 1 et 2 : "Etienne, notre très saint métropolitite" : Comme le précédent, cet évêque n'est pas connu pour la ville de Rabbat Moab. De plus, il possède le titre de "métropolitite". Puisque l'inscription se situe à l'époque omey-

yade, sous le calife Abdel-Malik Ibn Marwan (685 - 705), on pourrait croire que le siège épiscopal de la ville a disparu²⁰ et que le métropolitite en question est peut-être celui de Pétra (dont dépendait Aréopolis) ou même de Bosrah au Hauran. On connaît pour cette dernière ville un évêque du nom d'Etienne,²¹ mais qui aurait vécu au début du septième siècle et même avant. Un autre évêque du même nom occupait le siège de Dora en Palestine, au milieu du septième siècle²². Mais il me semble difficile d'admettre que le siège épiscopal de Rabbah ait pu disparaître au septième siècle puisque nous avons la preuve qu'on continuait, à cette même époque, à y écrire en grec et à y élever des constructions d'une certaine importance. Or, la *Notitia Antiochiae ac Ierosolymae Patriarchatum*,²³ compilée au llème siècle à l'usage des Croisés, cite Rabbat Moab comme métropole à la place de Pétra. Comme l'a fait remarquer le Père de Vaux²⁴, cette notice reflète un état plus ancien de l'organisation des évêchés orientaux. Si Rabbah y est mentionnée comme métropole, nous pouvons présumer qu'elle remonte à une tradition aussi ancienne que le septième siècle.

(20) Le Père de Vaux écrit (*Revue Biblique*, 47, 1938, p. 253 et note 3) que le siège de Rabbah "n'existe plus au XI siècle, sans que nous puissions [...] préciser la date de sa disparition."

(21) Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, col.

858.

(22) *Idem*, col. 280 cc.

(23) Voir R. de Vaux, art. cité, p. 251ss. et 253, note 3.

(24) *Art. cité*, p. 252.

Notre inscription a donc une double importance: elle confirme, d'une part, l'exactitude des renseignements rapportés par la *Notice latine* et leur ancienneté; d'autre part, elle nous apprend que Pétra a cessé d'être métropole à partir du septième siècle, probablement à la suite de la conquête arabe en 638. ²⁵

Ces remarques ont besoin d'être approfondies par des spécialistes de l'histoire byzantine; des fouilles plus étendues pourraient aider

à résoudre nombre de problèmes et c'est dans cette perspective que le Département des Antiquités vient d'exproprier et d'acquérir les habitations qui recouvrent les ruines d'Aréopolis, aux alentours du temple romain.

En attendant, nos deux inscriptions éclairent d'un jour nouveau une période très obscure de l'histoire de Rabbat Moab et de l'Orient byzantin en général.

F. Zayadine

(*Département des Antiquités*)

(25) Voir J. Starcky, *Dic. de la Bible*, Sup. VII, col. 923. Le titre de métropolitain de Pétra n'a cependant pas disparu. Au 17^{ème} siècle, on trouve un Dorothee de Pétra au synode de Bethléem,

réuni pour condamner le calvinisme (*ibid.* col. 923). Aujourd'hui le titre est porté par l'évêque de Philadelphie-Amman.

Un Site Safaïtique dans L' Antiliban

par
Chaker Ghadbân

Il est presque paradoxal de constater que la région située au Nord de Baalbeck et dont les centres sont Hermel sur le versant oriental du Mont-Liban, et Ras-Baalbeck au pied de l'Antiliban, est encore mal explorée. Cela est peut-être compréhensible, parce que de tout temps les ruines majestueuses d'Héliopolis ont retenu l'attention des archéologues aux dépens des sites ruraux. Mais il est sans doute temps de jeter un regard sur cet arrière-pays qui n'est certes pas sans intérêt pour la compréhension du centre religieux très important qu'est Baalbeck. Profitant de ma nomination au poste "d'archéologue en charge" de la région, et grâce aux encouragements du Service des Antiquités et de son Directeur l'Emir Maurice Chéhab, j'ai pu effectuer des explorations de surface qui m'ont permis de découvrir de nouveaux sites et de nouveaux monuments; une moisson importante d'inscriptions grecques et latines qui ne manquent pas d'intérêt a déjà été effectuée. ¹ Mais la découverte la plus inattendue reste sûrement celle de quelques inscriptions safaitiques trouvées dans le "jourd" ² de 'Arsal, dans l'Antiliban. Ces inscriptions, objet du présent article, ³ sont les premières trouvées au Liban

et situées le plus à l'Ouest du domaine safaitique.

'Arsal est un gros bourg de 8000 habitants environ tous sunnites, à 35 km par la route au Nord-Est de Baalbeck et à 9 km au-dessus de Labweh, dans les premiers replis des contre-forts de l'Antiliban (altitude 1500 m) ⁴ (pl. I, II) Cette localité est mentionnée dans la *Topographie de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale* de R. Dussaud, sans autres précisions. ⁵ En effet, qui déambule dans les ruelles du village ne remarque pas, contrairement à ce que l'on observe dans les autres agglomérations de la Beqa', une réutilisation de vieilles pierres ou l'existence d'un "tell", marques générales des sites anciens. 'Arsal semble donc être un village relativement moderne dont les habitants ont préféré rester cantonnés dans le "jourd", entourés de montagnes aux pentes désolées, dans un endroit qui manque totalement d'eau, pour des raisons qui nous échappent.

Aux dires des antiquaires de Baalbeck, quelques objets de fouilles en provenance de cette localité venaient de temps en temps ali-

(1) Ces inscriptions, une centaine environ, seront bientôt publiées en collaboration avec M. Marcillet-Jaubert de l'Institut Courby.

(2) Terme employé par les indigènes pour désigner la haute montagne.

(3) Nous tenons à remercier vivement M. l'abbé Starcky, directeur de recherche au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, et M.

Fawzi Zayadine, pensionnaire de l'Institut de Beyrouth et les autres pensionnaires, qui nous ont grandement facilité la préparation de cet article.

(4) Voir carte.

(5) *Topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, BAH, T. IV, Paris 1927, p. 403: corriger "à l'est de Labweh".

menter le marché local. Une trouvaille effectuée il y a une vingtaine d'années et restée célèbre, provient, si l'on en croit ces antiquaires, du "jourd"; elle comprenait un lot de monnaies d'époque hellénistique. C'est donc plutôt dans la haute montagne, en dehors de 'Arsal que l'on aura probablement la chance de retrouver des restes antiques.

Nous y avons été conduit en Août 1970. C'est en accompagnant M. Schroeder, Professeur à l'Université de Toronto, lors d'une exploration de la grotte préhistorique de "Magaret el Juban" au N-E du village, qu'un paysan nous apporta une maladroite copie de l'inscription No I, (Harding pl. I) qu'il nous dit avoir trouvée dans le "jourd" au lieu-dit "Rahweh", situé à 8 km environ à vol d'oiseau au S-E de 'Arsal. ⁶ Il existe deux moyens pour s'y rendre: à pied d'abord: on monte de 'Arsal directement en se dirigeant vers le S-E et on y parvient après quelques 3 heures de marche; en jeep, par une piste ancienne rendue récemment praticable à nouveau par les tracteurs, au N-E du village; elle utilise plusieurs petits cols séparant les vallées de Al Manaqa, Serj Qaisar, Wadi Hmaid, Khandaq el Qaiqab, et contourne les montagnes de Sifl ez-Zeibeh et de Dahr el-Houeh en passant par Khirbet el-Hamam, Khirbet Younin et Khirbet el-Hoqbân. ⁷ On s'engage ensuite

dans le Wadi el-Khaiel qui, rencontrant à son extrémité le Wadi ed-Dib, s'élargit en formant un plateau relativement accueillant (voir carte pl. II) appelé er-Rahweh, et entouré de crêtes (pl. III). C'est sur ce petit plateau que nous avons retrouvé des inscriptions grecques et safaïtiques.

Le mot "rahweh" signifie en arabe: plateau, terrain spacieux soit élevé, soit encaissé. ⁸ Cette appellation convient bien à la nature du site. La terre y est brune et relativement fertile; des poiriers sauvages y poussent. Les paysans de 'Arsal ont essayé d'y planter des pommiers et des cerisiers.

Parmi les nombreux petits sommets délimitant le plateau à l'ouest, un cirque rocheux domine une installation antique en ruine, appelée Chmis el-Qal'a (pl. IV). On distingue les restes d'une grande chambre carrée qui était bâtie avec des blocs en calcaire d'origine locale, d'environ 60×40 cm. (pl. VI, droite) L'un des blocs long. 70 cm larg. 38 cm. épais. 33 cm. porte le nom: RAB-BOS; ⁹ hauteur des lettres 8,5 - 13 cm. Du même endroit provient un autre bloc (pl. V) 55×42 cm, avec le même nom suivi d'un patronyme: ΓΙCΘΑΙΟΥ ¹⁰

et probablement d'un toponyme ou d'un ethnique ΕΔΝΑΙΟΥ ou ΑΙΔΝΑΙΩΝ Haut. des

(6) Voir cartes.

(7) Villages délaissés. Khirbet-el-Hamam est peut-être ancienne. Khirbet-Younin nous semble récente; on y voit quelques maisons encore debout. Khirbet-el-Hoqbân date de l'époque musulmane, peut-être de l'époque de Nour-ed-Din Zingî. A proximité de la Khirbet se voit encore une nécropole musulmane, dont les tombes entourées de pierres dégrossies sont orientées Nord-Sud. A l'extrémité de cette nécropole, sous un poirier sauvage, la tombe d'un Wali" où nous avons recueilli deux inscriptions arabes rédigées en langue parlée:

(sic) اللهم صلي على النبي
"Seigneur notre Dieu, priez sur le Prophète"
يواقف (sic) على قبري لا تعجب لامري
"O toi qui t'arrêtes sur ma tombe, ne t'étonne

pas de mon sort"

(8) Kazimski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris, 1860, Vol. I, p. 243.

(9) H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschen-namen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Orients*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 96, avec réf. Pour RABBOS cf. aussi F. Zucher, *Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Her-mopolis Magna*, p. 61.

(10) GISTHAÏOS: Nous pensons que ce nom, sous sa forme grecque, cache le mot sémitique غيث ou غوث. Le nom غيث est encore fréquent de nos jours; cf. par exemple à Yabroud dans le Qalamoun. Ce nom est à rapprocher de غث de l'inscription safaïtique.

lettres: 10 cm. Ces inscriptions seront bientôt publiées en collaboration avec M. Marcillet-Jaubert. Mais on peut noter déjà que ce nom est sémitique, fréquent semble-t-il en safaitique et bien entendu en arabe. Le mot "rab" signifie à l'origine, dans les langues sémitiques: grand haut. Comme nom propre, il doit être un hypocoristique de Rab-el (Dieu est grand; cf. les rois Nabatéens du nom de Rabel). C'est le correspondant du mot "baal" en phénicien. En arabe, il était synonyme de: seigneur, chef; ¹¹ mais le Qoran a réservé ce titre à Dieu. ¹²

Au sud de cette chambre, s'alignent à la file cinq chambres ovales. La plus grande longueur est de plus de 3 mètres, la largeur du mur près d'un mètre. (Site A sur le plan) pl. VI).

A 800 mètres environ au S-E de cet endroit, et au centre du plateau, est un autre site semblable appelé Qbour el-A'jâm c. à. d. "Tombes des étrangers", une chambre carrée de 5 m de côté, entourée à l'est de 4 ou 5 chambres ovales (Site B sur le plan) (pl. VI et VII). La longueur maxima de l'une des chambres ovales, plus grande que les autres, atteint 4,50 m. Le site semble restreint, mais si l'on considère les pierres que les paysans ont arrachées et déposées en bordure de leurs champs, on doit considérer que l'installation était certainement plus vaste. Il faut noter surtout, outre l'absence totale de tessons en surface, que les murs de ces constructions sont en pierres dégrossies et non taillées et qu'aucun mortier ne les lie; manifestement, nous ne sommes pas en présence de constructions en élévation. S'agit-il donc de fonds de cabanes ou de tentes ou plutôt de tombes? G. L. Harding avait retrouvé, dans le "Cairn" de Hani, une tombe avec quelques objets. ¹³ A. Van den Branden considère, de ce

fait, les "cairns" comme des tombeaux. ¹⁴ Mais A. Jamme pense que cette opinion est erronée et considère que la tombe trouvée par Harding, ainsi que les objets qu'elle contient, ne peuvent remonter à une antiquité aussi lointaine que les temps pré-islamiques. ¹⁵ Cependant, les fouilles effectuées par nous au cours de l'été 1971 nous ont prouvé la présence, dans quelques-unes des chambres du Site A, de débris d'ossements humains à une profondeur de 50 cm. environ (pl. VIII).

Ces faibles indices nous portent à supposer que nous sommes en présence de tombes comme le pensent G. L. Harding et A. Van den Branden. D'ailleurs le nom actuel du site, Qbour el-A'jâm, "tombes des étrangers" est une forte présomption toponymique en faveur de cette hypothèse.

Il n'est évidemment pas prouvé que ces constructions soient en l'état actuel telles que les Safaïtes les avaient laissées: les pierres peuvent avoir été réutilisées par les chevriers modernes qui ont l'habitude de camper dans cet endroit pendant l'été. Cependant, si des doutes sont justifiés à propos de la dernière chambre carrée, nous considérons l'ensemble du site comme ancien et n'ayant pas subi de changements notables. Le premier site semble intact.

C'est de la deuxième installation décrite plus haut (site B) que provient notre inscription No I au dire de notre informateur, assertion d'ailleurs confirmée par la nature du minéral conforme en tous points à celle des pierres du site; et c'est en retournant nombre de ces pierres que nous avons retrouvé les autres inscriptions safaitiques décrites et commentées plus loin par M. Harding.

(11) Kazimirski, *op. cit.* 798-799.

(12) H. Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Paris, 1928, p. 133 ss. et 138 ss.

(13) Annual of the Department of Antiquities

of Jordan II (1953) p. 88

(14) *Al-Machriq*, 63, (1969) p. 733-744

(15) *Ibid*, 64 (1970) p. 323-324.

L'onomastique rencontrée dans nos inscriptions grecques et safaitiques est à rapprocher de l'onomastique rapportée par Strabon, XVI, II, 10. Celui-ci parlant des richesses d'Apamée qui ont permis à Tryphon dit Diodote et à Caecilius Bassus de se révolter tour à tour contre Rome, cite parmi les alliés de Bassus les phylarques d'Héliopolis et de Chalcis dans l'Iturée et un certain

Ἀλχαΐδαμος
roi des Rhambaei, l'un des peuples nomades de la rive citérieure de l'Euphrate. Strabon ajoute. (XVI, II, II) que le canton d'Apamée est bordé à l'est par un vaste territoire dépendant de phylarques arabes. Ce personnage est appelé Ἀλχαϊδόνιος ὁ Ἀράβιος par Dion Cassius 47, 27.

Le nom d'Alchaidamos dérive de la racine sémitique HDM. Il s'est perpétué dans la région de Homs jusqu'au milieu du II^e siècle de notre ère. (cf. Χαδμās dans une inscription de Deir Ba'albe, près de Homs, *IGLS* Vol. V, 2199, et Lidzbarski, *Ephem*, III, p. 164).

Ce nom d'Alchaidamos (et ses variantes) est à rapprocher de 'lhmd de notre inscription N° I. La racine sémitique HMD signifie : se calmer, s'éteindre (en parlant du feu). Mais n'aurions-nous pas là le même nom altéré par l'intervention des lettres D et M?

Rhambaei est peut-être à rapprocher de RABBOS de nos inscriptions. Mais chez Strabon ce nom figure comme ethnique, tandis qu'ici il s'agit d'un nom de personne.

Si ces rapprochements paraissent hasardeux pour certains, ils trouvent cependant leur justification en démontrant la persistance d'une onomastique ancienne attribuée par Strabon à des nomades arabes, peut-être de même origine tribale, et certainement très apparentés aux nomades de Rahweh. Cette découverte jette ainsi une nouvelle lumière sur le texte de Strabon.

Les vestiges laissés par les Safaites de Rahweh laissent à penser qu'ils n'y ont fait qu'un bref séjour. L'emplacement de Rahweh est en effet situé sur l'une des nombreuses pistes qui, à travers l'Antiliban, relient la Béqa' septentrionale à la région du Qalamoun et à la Palmyrène d'une part, à la Damascène et à l'Abilène d'autre part. Ces pistes sont encore empruntées de nos jours par les Arabes nomades, les bergers, les muletiers et les contrebandiers. Des puits et des citernes, anciens et modernes, assurent l'approvisionnement en eau. Au Nord, par Tniyet-er-Ras et Hawarta, on peut gagner Qara, Nabk, dans le Qalamoun, et le Hamād. Le col de Zumrani, relié à Tniyet-er-Ras par Wadi-el-Khail, met la région de Labweh-Arsal en communication avec Yabroud dans le Qalamoun. De Rahweh, par Wadi-ed-Dib, on rejoint au Sud la route Baalbeck-Damas par Wadi-Barada, route attestée par l'itinéraire d'Antonin. ¹⁶

Arrivés de Syrie par l'une de ces routes, les Safaites de Rahweh, menaient une vie tribale de nomades, s'adonnant à la chasse, ¹⁷ à l'élevage et au brigandage. ¹⁸ Les textes anciens

(16) K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart, 1916, p. LIX, 198, 199, et cartes p. 806 et 807.

Pour les routes Baalbeck-Damas, Anjar-Damas voir J: P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLS*, VI, Paris, 1967, p. 27, et R. Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 397.

(17) Les paysans de 'Arsal nous ont informé qu'en labourant leurs champs à Rahweh ils trouvaient des flèches de fer. Nous avons pu acquérir l'une d'elles. (pl. X) Longue de 5 cm et munie d'une soie de 3 cm, la flèche a une forme pyrami-

dale allongée. La pointe est recourbée par suite de l'utilisation. Nous avons trouvé des parallèles à cette flèche à Dodone (cf. Carapanos, *Dodone* et ses ruines, Paris, 1878, p. 237, pl. LVIII, datée de l'époque macédonienne, et à Gezer en Palestine R. A. S. Macalister *Geser* II datée du Fer II ou de l'époque hellénistique p. 373 et III pl. CCXV.

(18) R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, BAH, 59, Paris, 1955, p.

nous donnent la nette impression que ces Arabes pratiquaient si volontiers la razzia qu'elle constituait une véritable industrie tribale. Le texte de Strabon (Geogr. XVI, II, 18) mérite d'être cité in extenso :

"A cette plaine de Macras (le Akkar) succède le canton de Massyas (la Beqa'), dont une partie tient déjà à la montagne et où l'on remarque entre autres points élevés, Chalcis, véritable citadelle ou acropole du pays. C'est à Laodicée, dite Laodicée du Liban, (Tell Nebi Mend) que commence ce canton de Massyas. Toute la population de la montagne, composée d'Ituréens et d'Arabes, vit de crime et de brigandage; celle de la plaine, au contraire, est exclusivement agricole et, à ce titre, a grand besoin que tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre la protège contre les violences des montagnards, ses voisins".

137 - 138.

(19) Sur la pénétration des Arabes en Syrie, consulter l'ouvrage capital de R. Dussaud, *op. cit.* Sur les Ituréens, voir notamment:

Emil Schurer, *Geschichte von Chalcia, Ituraea und Abilene*, in *Geschichte des Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu-Christi*, Vol. I, p. 707 et suiv. (1901). Beer, *Ituraea*, in *Realencyclopädie*, col. 2377 - 2380. H. Seyrig, *Antiq. Syr.* IV, p. 113 - 118 et V p. 108 - 114.

R. Dussaud. *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie*, p. 148 et suiv. et p. 176 - 179.

J. P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLS*, VI, p. 33 et suiv.

J. STARCKY: *Arca du Liban*, Cahiers de l'Oronte, 10, (1971 - 1972), p. 103 - 117.

Tous ces auteurs renvoient aux textes anciens et citent une abondante bibliographie.

(20) R. Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 80 - 83, et *La pénétration des Arabes* p. 10 - 13; Strabon XVI, II, 18; J. P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLS*, VI, p. 33 - 34. Arqa est appelée sur les monnaies COL (onia) CAESAREA ITUR (aeorum) sous Sévère-Olexandre. Cf. Hill, *BMC, Phoenicia*, p. LXXIII.

(21) La découverte de Rahweh nous permet de soulever le problème des rapports entre Ituréens et Arabes de la Trachonitide, dans le Hauran, que nous croyons être des rapports d'identité. Dans "*La pénétration des Arabes en*

Ce texte est important parce qu'il nous renseigne sur la population et son mode de vie.

Les Ituréens sont des Arabes qui se sont implantés dans la Béqa' et l'Antiliban à la fin de la période hellénistique.¹⁹ A l'arrivée des Romains, ils avaient déjà franchi le Liban jusqu'à Botrys et Arqa.²⁰ Pompée mit fin à leurs exactions. Ptolémée, fils de Mennaios, maître de Chalcis dut fournir au général romain un tribut de mille talents.

Les "Arabes" que mentionne Strabon avec les Ituréens, doivent être des "nomades" très apparentés à ces derniers, mais peut-être arrivés dans le pays ultérieurement.

Les Safaïtes de l'Antiliban ont sans doute accompagné une de ces vagues d'émigration qui, durant des siècles, déferlèrent du Sud vers la Syrie.²¹

Syrie" p. 176 - 178, R. Dussaud a discuté ce problème. Il souligne comment les affinités entre Ituréens et Arabes de la Trachonitide ont permis à Zénodore, chef des Ituréens de Chalcis (Anjar) d'étendre son autorité sur ce dernier pays, sous Auguste. Le passage de St. Luc (III, I) décèle une identité entre les deux régions. Strabon (*Géogr.* XVI, 2, 16, 20) envisage deux Trachonitide qui dans son système sont le prolongement du Liban et de l'Antiliban. Ces montagnes, d'après l'auteur de la Géographie, sont occupées par des Ituréens et des Arabes. Eusèbe, par deux fois dans l'*Onomasticon* (ed. Larsow et Parthey, p. 242, 6 et 354, 4) identifie Iturée et Trachonitide. Une inscription trouvée à Atil, près de Kanata dans le Hauran (Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* IV, p. II8) mentionne un Alexandre "Ituréen" et Adraénien (de Der'a).

Emil Schurer (*Gesch. von Chalcis, Ituraea und Abilene*, in *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* I, p. 707 et suiv.) a soutenu une thèse opposée. Il sépare Iturée et Trachonitide et place la première dans l'Antiliban.

Quelle que soit la position que l'on adoptera face à ce problème une chose est sûre: l'Iturée et le Hauran ont eu au cours de l'histoire des liens particuliers, dus à la ressemblance géographique et à l'unité ethnique de la population. Ces deux régions montagneuses constituent un refuge

Ces Ituréens et ces Arabes, cantonnés dans le Liban et l'Antiliban se livraient à des actes de brigandage à partir de forteresses qui leur servaient de base pour leurs opérations. Or, beaucoup de fortins ou "hosn", parsemés sur les sommets de l'Antiliban, semblent dater de l'époque romano-byzantine. Rien que pour la région de 'Arsal, nous pourrions citer à titre d'exemple: El-Hosn (domine 'Arsal à l'est), Hosn Khirbet-Younin, Hosn Wadi-el-Hosn; Wachl - el - Qabow; Hosn - el - Khirkhaoueneh. Hosn Cherrou, dont on peut voir la position sur carte, à l'est de Rahweh, contient en surface des tessons du IV-Vème siècle. (pl. IX) ²² Le texte de Strabon nous fournit à propos de ces "forteresses" une explication satisfaisante. "Les montagnards du Massyas ont des repaires fortifiés qui rappellent les anciennes places

d'armes du Liban, soit celles de Sinnas, de Borrama etc. qui en couronnaient les plus hautes cimes ... " (Strabon, Geogr. XVI, II, 18).

Le site et les inscriptions safaitiques de l'Antiliban constituent une découverte encore isolée, sans autre parallèle dans le Liban. Une datation précise fait défaut. Aussi serait-il hasardeux de vouloir en tirer des conclusions hâtives et peu convaincantes. L'important, nous semble-t-il, était de dire que les Safaites ont eu des ramifications jusqu'au Liban, ce qui constitue pour nous un renseignement précieux, et d'attirer l'attention des archéologues sur cet arrière-pays, considéré même aujourd'hui comme une zone "d'insécurité traditionnelle" dont une bonne exploration ne manquerait pas de réserver d'autres surprises.

Chaker Ghadbân

(Service des Antiquités du Liban)

impénétrable pour les minorités inassimilées ou les brigands. Que l'on pense aux mesures prises par Hérode contre les pillards de la Trachonitide et aux mesures du même genre prises sous Néron à l'égard des Ituréens dans l'Antiliban, (IGLS, VI. No. 2968, 2969). La population constituée d'Arabes nomades n'a pas tardé à se sédentariser et à subir une double influence araméenne et romaine. Néanmoins une partie restée nomade ou semi-nomade, donc plus "arabe", vivait à la bordure du désert et regagnait en été les régions

montagneuses de l'Iturée ou du Hauran, où l'on ne pouvait concevoir des installations fixes. Ces nomades nous ont laissé de nombreux graffites allant du Ier au IVème siècle.

L'importance de la découverte de Rahweh tient à ce que, pour la première fois, l'on retrouve trace de ces Arabes dans l'Antiliban.

(22) Ces "housoun" mériteraient une étude particulière. Nous pensons pouvoir nous y consacrer dans les mois à venir.

Safaitic Inscriptions from Lebanon

by
Mr. G. Lankester Harding

Inscription N° I (pl. I and fig. 1)

This inscription was found by Mr. Chaker Ghadbân, representative of the Department of Antiquities in Baalbak, and I am indebted to him and to Mr. Fawzi Zayadin for bringing it to my notice; Mr. Ghadbân has described the site from which it originates and its position on the map. The text is brief, and incomplete at the beginning and end, and its chief interest lies in the fact that it is the most westerly Safa-

itic text yet found. The stone on which it is inscribed is a soft, greyish limestone, measuring at present 17×12 - 13 cms. but the lower right hand corner is broken away as is also the right side of the stone. The back has been dressed down to a thickness of 3 - 4 cms., and all edges have been trimmed and smoothed; this suggests that it was at some time used as a floor tile.

This text is a good example of the danger of trying to read these graffiti from photographs

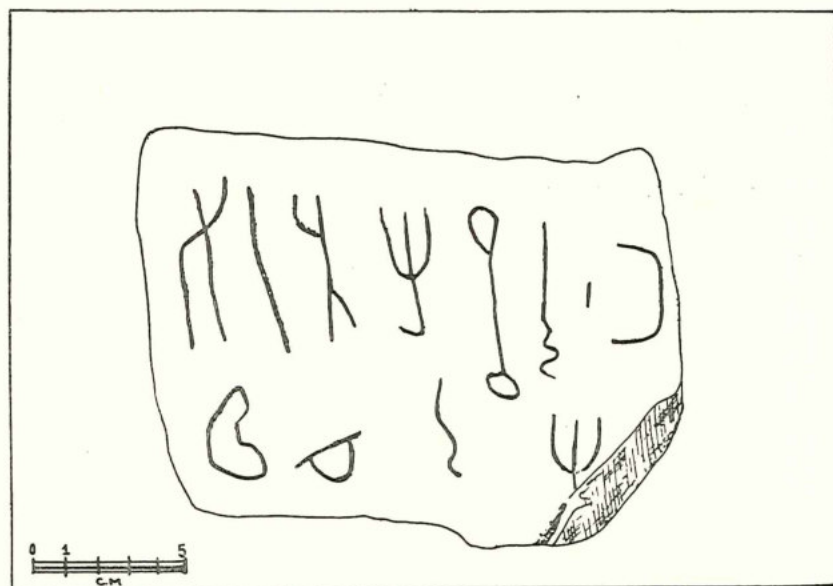


Fig. 1

alone; I was first shown three photographs of the stone taken in full sunlight but with the light from a different angle in each case. One of the

photos suggested that the three strokes at the end of the text were joined, whereas the other two showed clearly (?) that they were not. On

۰۰۰ بن غث ذل خم د (ف؟) ن ۰۰۰

The first letter of the personal name looks like a ش upside down, but there are two good comparisons for this form of 𐩣 in *HCH* 50 and 154, where the value of the sign is in no doubt. The name 𐩣 𐩬 is unknown, whereas 𐩣 𐩬 is ferqunet in *C. HCH, ISB, LP and SIJ*. The name is sometimes vocalised Ghauth, but the root 𐩣𐩬𐩣 is found in Qatabanian (*J. 310*), and the root 𐩣𐩬𐩣 in Safaitic (*C* 5163, 5319), Thamudic (*WTI* 19), Minaean (*Gl* 985/1) and Qatabanian (*R* 3870).

calm, silent. The next letter could be another form of **غ** but **ف** (so, and) would be more in place as the beginning of some further remark or comment. There are not many verbs in Safaitic beginning with **ن** the most frequent being **ن ب د** he sacrificed, and **ن ك ر** he remembered; in the absence of any indication, speculation seems pointless.

The position of the **ذ** of **خدم** lying partly on its side, is peculiar, and there seems no reason for this; there is plenty of room and no flaw in the stone at this point. The attenuated form of the **ف** (if such it is) is unusual, but the stone is rather worn here and the shape not really clear. The remainder of the letters are well formed and cut.

On a large irregular stone there are isolated letters one **ع** and three **ي** **ء** and one group of three letters which could read **ل ه ي** this is not known as a personal name though **ل ه ي ن** occurs once in Saf., *LP* 1267. Ryckmans (*RNP* I, p. 2) considers it a form of **ل ه** though the Saf. reference he quotes (*LSI* 3 = C 3873) is now read as **ن ه ي**. The isolated letters and signs could well be tribal marks.

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Table of Abbreviations

<i>C</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> , Part V, vol. I.		American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Part IV, 1904.
<i>GI</i>	Glaser, numbered texts; for 985=1264 see K. Mlaker, <i>Die Hierodulenlisten von Ma'in</i> , Leipzig, 1943.	<i>R</i>	<i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie sémitique</i> , tomes I-VII.
<i>HCH</i>	G. L. Harding, "The Cairn of Hani" in <i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i> , vol. II, 1953.	<i>RNP</i>	G. Ryckmans, <i>Les Noms Propres Sud-Sémitiques</i> , Louvain, 1934.
<i>ISB</i>	S. G. Oxtoby, <i>Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin</i> , American Oriental Series vol. 50, New Haven, 1968.	<i>Saf</i>	Safaitic.
<i>J</i>	A. Jamme, texts numbered in sequence; for 310 see <i>Pièces épigraphiques de Heid bin Aqil</i> , Louvain 1952.	<i>SIJ</i>	F. V. Winnett, <i>Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan</i> , University of Toronto Press, 1957.
<i>LP</i>	Enno Littmann, <i>Safaitic Inscriptions</i> , Leyden 1943.	<i>WH</i>	Winnet and Harding, <i>4000 Safaitic Texts</i> , in preparation.
<i>LSI</i>	<i>Semitic Inscriptions</i> , Publications of the	<i>WTI</i>	F. V. Winnett, "The Thamudic Inscriptions," in Winnett and Reed, <i>Ancient Records from North Arabia</i> , Toronto, 1970.

Die Mosaikinschrift einer altchristlichen Kirche in el-Kirmil*

von
Dr. Siegfried Mittmann

Am 2. Oktober 1964 wurde mir in *el-Kirmil*, rund 12 km südlich-süd-südöstlich von Hebron, eine Mosaikinschrift gezeigt, die eine Schürfung am Ostfuss der hochragenden Ruine des Kreuzfahrerkastells kurz zuvor ans Licht gebracht hatte.¹ Mehr aus privatem Interesse als mit der dezidierten Absicht einer Publikation hielt ich seinerzeit den Fund photographisch und in einer Skizze mit genauen Massnotizen fest. Ich konnte damals nicht ahnen, dass diese Unterlagen einen gewissen dokumentarischen Wert erlangen sollten; denn inzwischen scheint die Inschrift einer mutwilligen Zerstörung zum Opfer gefallen zu sein,² ohne eine sachgemässe Bearbeitung erfahren zu haben. Das Versäumte

soll hiermit nachgeholt werden.

Das byzantinische Cherma/ula, eine offenbar nicht unbedeutende ländliche Siedlung,³ deren Relikte sich weitläufig über mehrere Hügel erstrecken, besass nicht weniger als drei Basiliken.⁴ Aus einer dieser Kirchen, und zwar derjenigen, deren Grundriss sich östlich unterhalb der erwähnten kreuzfahrerruine abzeichnet und deren Boden zu einem kleinen Teil nun aufgedeckt ist, stammt unsere Inschrift. Sie ist dem schmalen Eingang eines südlichen (?) Nebenraumes vorgelagert, dessen Charakter sich im damaligen Stadium der Ausgrabung nicht deutlich zu erkennen gab.

(*) Vgl. die Tafelabbildung auf S.

(1) Die Grabung stand unter der leitenden Aufsicht des zuständigen Vertreters der jordanischen Altertümerverwaltung. Den Hinweis auf die Inschrift verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim.

(2) Das berichtete mir Herr Dr. D. Kellermann, der el-Kirmil am 9. 8. 1971 bei einer Exkursion des Lehrkurses des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes besuchte.

(3) Euseb (ed. Klostermann 118, 5-7; 172, 20-22 beschreibt Chermala als ein "grosses Dorf" mit einem "Militärkastell", gelegen im Daromas, d. h. in dem zum Stadtgebiet von Eleutheropolis (Bet Gibrin) gehörigen Berg- und Hügellande Südjudäas Notitia dignitatum (ed. Seeck 27, 6; 73, 20) verzeichnet Chermula als Standort einer dem *dux Palaestinae*, dem kommandierenden General der

Grenztruppen, unterstellten Reiterabteilung (*eguites scutarii II yriciani*). Cherma/ula war der nordöstliche Stützpunkt der ursprünglichen und nach der mals rückwärtigen Linie des *limes Palaestinae* vgl. A. Alt, *Limes Palaestinae*", PJB 26 (1930) S. 46-48, 57, 59, 63 f.; PJB 27 (1931) S. 75-77.

(4) Vgl. C. R. Conder - H. H. Kitchener, "The Survey of Western Palestine", Vol. III (London 1883) S. 373; A. E. Mader, "Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa. Archäologische und topographische Untersuchungen", Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums VIII 5/6 (Paderborn 1918) S. 180-184; A. M. Schneider, "Südjudäische Kirchen", ZDPV 61 (1938) S. 102 f.; Asher Ovadiah, "Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land", Theophaneia. Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums 22 (Bonn 1970) S. 61-63, Taf. 24.

Die Inschrift lautet folgendermassen:

+ K E I Y X E T W N
[W N [O I T T P O C H N E K
K A

Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ, τῶν
σῶν σοὶ προσήνε(γ)κα.

Herr Jesus Christus! Von dem
Deinigen habe ich Dir dargebracht.

Der dreizeilige Schriftblock steht in einer schlichten, einreihig konturierten *tabula ansata*. Je eine stilisierte Rosette belebt im Zentrum die Fläche der *ansae*. Innerhalb der *tabula* ist ein der ersten Zeile vorgesetztes Kreuz das einzige Ornament. Umriss, Schrift und ornamentale Füllung sind mit zumeist schiefergrauen, vereinzelt ins Hellgraue und bei den Rosettenblättern ins Rötliche spielenden Steinen ausgelegt. Die Länge der *tabula* nimmt geringfügig von oben nach unten ab (110 - 109 cm), desgleichen die Breite von links nach rechts (46 - 45 cm). Die *ansae* sind 24, 5 cm (links) bzw. 28 cm (rechts) lang und bis zu 33, cm (links) bzw. 37 cm (rechts) breit. Das Schriftbild macht einen ungeordneten Eindruck; die Buchstaben sind weder an einer horizontalen Grundlinie noch einer vertikalen Achse ausgerichtet und differieren erheblich in der Höhe (Z. 1: 10 - 14 cm; Z. 2: 11 - 16 cm; Z. 3: 5, 5 - 6 cm).

Die Assimilation des Nasals an den folgenden Gutturallaut, wie sie im letzten Wort sich

findet, ist keine ungewöhnliche Erscheinung im späten Griechisch.⁵

Der Text der Inschrift ist nach der Anrede Christi ein verkürztes und im Verbum formal leicht abgewandeltes Zitat aus der Basileios- bzw. Chrysostomosliturgie. Der betreffende Satz steht dort im Konsekrationsteil der Gläubigenmesse, wo er die Anamnese, die dem Gedächtnisbefehl entsprechende Vergegenwärtigung der Heilstaten Christi, folgendermassen beschliesst:

τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες ...

„indem wir Dir das Deinige aus dem Deinigen darbringen ...“. ⁶ „Das Deinige“ bezieht sich auf die eucharistischen Gaben, die der Gottheit unter Einschluss der hier *pars pro toto* angeredeten Person des Sohnes in Gestalt von Brot und Wein dargebracht werden; und

προσφέροντες unterstreicht den Opfercharakter dieser Handlung. Die Wendung „aus dem Deinigen“ will offenbar besagen, dass die Darbringung auf dem Altar nur das von Christus bereits geleistete Opfer, seinen Opfertod, nachvollzieht.

Wie nun verwendet unsere Inschrift das liturgische Zitat. Dass sie ihm einen anderen Sinn unterlegt, ergibt sich von vornherein aus ihrer spezifischen Funktion. Es handelt sich um eine Dedikationsinschrift, die höchstwahrscheinlich auf die Stiftung des Mosaikbodens, in dem sie steht, Bezug nimmt. Angeredet ist zwar auch hier der Kyrios Jesus Christus; aber nicht die feiernde Gemeinde spricht, sondern eine Einzelperson, die nicht genannt sein will und sich

(5) Vgl. E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I 1, 2. Aufl., bearb. von H. Schmoll (Berlin 1970) S. 164.

(6) Vgl. F. E. Brightman, „Liturgies Eastern and Western“, Vol. I. Eastern Liturgies (Oxford 1896; Nachdruck 1965) S. 329. Zu den genannten

Liturgien vgl. H.-G. Beck, „Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich“, Byzantinisches Handbuch II 1 (München 1959) S. 242 f.; H.-J. Schulz, „Die byzantinische Liturgie. Vom Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt“, Sophia. Quellen östlicher Theologie 5 (Freiburg i. Br. 1964).

deshalb hinter dem Inkognito des namenlosen "ich" verbleibt. Der Grund für diese bescheidene Zurückhaltung lässt sich dem Kontext leicht entnehmen. Was der Stifter geleistet hat, ist letztlich, wie er meint, nicht sein eigenes Verdienst; denn er bestritt das Opfer ja

(ἐκ) τῶν σῶν, d. h. aus dem Vermögen, das von Gott kam und darum Gott gehört. Die fromme Demut dieser Haltung tritt noch deutlicher hervor, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, dass die Dedikatoren es sonst in der Regel nicht versäumen, mit einem gewissen Stolz darauf hinzuweisen, die Stiftung sei

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
"aus den eigenen (Mitteln)" erfolgt. Dieser For-

mel setzte unser Stifter wohl bewusst die Kontrastparallele aus der Abendmahlsliturgie entgegen.⁷ Mit ihr rückte er zugleich - und das war sein Hauptanliegen - seine Opfergabe in die Nähe des eucharistischen Opfers, weil er sich offenbar von ihr eine ähnliche gottversöhnende Wirkung erhoffte. Diese Erwartung spricht denn auch *expressis verbis* im Anschluss an dasselbe Liturgiezitat die Inschrift auf dem Türsturz einer frühchristlichen Kirche im nordsyrischen Androna⁸ aus: "Dies ist das Tor des Herrn: Gerechte werden darin einziehen. Das Deinige aus dem Deinigen bringe ich Dir dar, o Gott, durch den Erzengel zur Vergebung der Sünden des Dometios, (des Sohnes) des Mareas."⁹

Siegfried Mittmann

(7) Angesichts dieser Parallelität drängt sich die Frage auf, ob nicht das eingetümliche ἐκ τῶν σῶν der Liturgie jene überaus geläufige Spendeformel der Dedikationsinschriften zum Vorbild hat.

(8) Heute el-cAnerin, rund 70 km nordöstlich von Hama.

(9) Vgl. L. Jalabert - R. Mousterde, "Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie", Vol. IV, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 51 (Paris 1955) Nr. 1693. Weitere inschriftliche Belege für das Liturgiezitat a. a. O., Vol. II, BAH 32 (Paris 1939) Nr. 694.

Two Ammonite Statuettes from Khirbet El-Hajjar

by

Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim

On 20 October 71, Nasser Muti'im, an inhabitant of Khirbet el-Hajjar c. 7 km. southwest of Amman, brought to the Department of Antiquities, the lower part of a statuette (pl. 2 a). The author and three other members of the Department visited the site two days later. There, Nasser's uncle, Jamil Muti'ib, showed many pieces of the same material which he had collected in his house. After that, he showed the findspot, where he was digging foundations for a house. More small fragments were collected from the same place. The construction work was stopped.

On 25 Oct, a surface survey was conducted. It appears that the main occupation of the site was Iron Age as determined by the pottery and other objects such as basalt bowls and sling stones.¹ The site is a large one, surrounded by a city wall. A small mound in the center of the settlement appears to have been a fortified acropolis. Many caves and cisterns can also be seen. Judging by the topography, architectural remains and other finds, this was an important site in the first half of the first millennium B. C.

A small trial trench was begun at the find-

spot. The work continued for four days under the author's supervision and with the assistance of two colleagues, Hussein Qandil and Hazim Jasir, and two other workmen. The trial trench (5 m x 5 m) is on a terrace on the northeast side of the acropolis and immediately outside the acropolis wall. The trial trench was not too helpful since after 20 cm of surface soil, virgin soil, and then bedrock, was found.

At the east end of the trench was a pocket in the bedrock, where the statuettes were found. The nature or function of this pocket is not clear. The potsherds from the trench were the standard wares of the Iron II period.² More pieces of the statuettes were also found.³ It should be noted that the *breaks* are old.

On the basis of the above investigation, the following points might be noted:

- a. The statuettes were hidden under unknown circumstances and this explains the nature of the pocket in the bedrock.
- b. Or, they stood originally in the neighborhood of the findspot.

(1) The artifacts will be published in the near future.

(2) The author would like to express his thanks to Dr. Henry O. Thompson (Director of the American Center for Oriental Research) who visited the site and offered helpful observations

on the pottery and the site, and who also assisted in the translation of this article.

(3) Mr. Mahmoud Mustafa, Restorer in the Amman Museum, has expertly reconstructed the statuettes from many fragments, for which special thanks are also due.

c. Or, they were broken by enemy action.

These questions might be answered by stratigraphic excavation of the site.

About 50 m. east of the first trench, a second trial trench was dug down to investigate one of four small caves. The cave excavated is semi-circular in plan and section and measured 90 cm deep \times 120 cm wide \times 105 cm high. In front of it were fallen stones. Among them was a long (c. 50 cm) thin slab, rectangular in section. On one side was an incised line, resembling a long nail or needle. Beneath the stone were several broken storage jars. These plus a quantity of seeds suggest that the cave was used for storage. Other sherds were mixed in the fine grain, reddish brown soil.

Description and Comparative Study of the Statuettes

The male figure (pl. 2), 51 cm high, is of soft yellowish limestone. The face is broken but the beard can be seen in the side view. On the left side of the face are traces of red paint (the right side of the face is completely broken away). The figure wears the so-called Syrian cap or the Osiris headdress, the atef crown, ⁴ with the double plumes which are supported by the ears, while between the two plumes is a rounded hairdo. The diameter of the top of the hairdo is 8 cm. This type of headdress is well known from Ammonite statues from other sites. ⁵ This type of double crown, which represents Upper and Lower Egypt, is common in Egyptian representations

(mainly reliefs) of the gods, and also on the stele of Balu'a on the southern side of the Wadi el-Mojib, ⁶ among a hoard of bronzes from Ashkelon, ⁷ on bronze figures from Ugarit, ⁸ and at Carchemish. ⁹

The figure wears a long simple robe which reaches to the base and is cut away to show the bare feet, which are placed evenly side by side. The horizontal incisions which appear on the front of the figure are ancient and may represent folds in the cloth. These folds do not appear on the back or arms, except for one on the right shoulder. The right arm is placed straight down alongside the body. There is a bracelet on the wrist. The fingers are wrapped around an object (pl. 2 b). The arm is too long (25.2 cm) in proportion to the rest of the body. The left arm is held in a 90° angle across the chest. The chest and hand are broken away so it cannot be determined if the left hand was holding anything. The back of the robe is smooth and polished and blends with the base. The base is rectangular in shape, 15.4 cm long \times 12.3 wide \times 6.6 high.

Many aspects of the figure compare with a statue of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud. ¹⁰ One might note for example, the frontal stance, the placement of the arms, the bracelet on the right arm, the bare feet and the rectangular base. The Urartian bronze from Toprakkale lies in the same sphere of influence. ¹¹ Another comparative example is a statue of an Aramaean king on a base of lions from Sam'al (Zin-

(4) James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East Pictures* (Princeton: 1954), Nos. 556f.

(5) R. D. Barnett, *Four Sculptures from Amman*, *ADAJ*, I, 1951, pl. X. Several other, unpublished examples, are in the Amman Museum.

(6) References are noted by Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 304f, Nos. 470, 481. The stele has been thoroughly studied by W. A. Ward & M. F. Martin, *The Balu'a Stele: A New Transcription with Palaeographical and Historical Notes*, *ADJA* VIII -

IX (1964), especially p. 14, Fig. 1.

(7) J. H. Iliffe, *A Hoard of Bronzes from Askalon*, *QDAP* V (1956), 64ff, pl. XXX.

(8) G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson, *The Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible* (Philadelphia: 1956), p. 35, Fig. 21.

(9) Carchemish, Part II: pl. 21b.

(10) B. Hrouda, *Handbuch de Archäologie, Vorderasien I* (München: 1971), Abb. 91.

(11) *Ibid.*, Abb. 92a, b.

jirli).¹² Especially notable are the frontal stance, the long robe, and the placement of the feet. There can be no doubt that the three statuettes from Amman are in the same tradition, although they represent better quality of workmanship.¹³

The female figure (pl. 3), 46 cm high, is of the same soft yellowish limestone. The smaller height combines with the stance to imply a humbler figure than the male. The rounded face is also broken, but the eyes, nose, mouth and chin are still discernible. The hair is made up in 16 "curls" divided in two equal parts down the back. The curls fall on the shoulders. They are very clearly executed. On each side, the four front curls have strands of hair finely incised (pl. 3 d, c). All of the curls end in a smooth semi-circle. The curls in the back are longer than those on the side. Two earrings hang over the first two curls on both sides. Earrings like our example, three balls hanging from a ring, are found on the statuette of 'Arajan¹⁴ of this Ammonite group of statuettes. Such prominent earrings appear continuously on the

Assyrian kings and personalities from Ashurnasirpal II until the time of Ashurbanipal.¹⁵

The workmanship of the hair seems to be a traditional style. The hairdo which reaches to the shoulders and is divided in the middle, is a style which appears in Egyptian art in various periods. For example, a bas relief of dancers at Sakkarah, tomb of Khai, shows the hairdo with incised curls on both sides of the face.¹⁶ The form is shown on a seated statue of Haremhab from Memphis.¹⁷ Much older examples are goddesses on the stele of Menkau-Re (Mycerinus) from Giza (4th Dynasty).¹⁸ This form of hair style is found in many examples of Ancient Near Eastern art. One is the head of a male terracotta figurine found at el-Medeiyineh in East Jordan and dated to the Iron II period.¹⁹ It might also be compared with an ivory figurine from Megiddo.²⁰ It reminds one also of the "Woman at the Window," from Samaria-Sebaste (Palestine),²¹ Arslan Tash (Syria),²² and Nimrud (ancient Calah in northern Iraq).²³ A better comparison is a limestone female head from Gaza which also

(12) E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, (London: 1962), pl. 126f.

(13) Barnett, *op. cit.*, pls. X, XI. Cf. also Farah Ma'ayeh, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Jordan*, *ADAJ IV-V* (1960), 114f, pl. IV:1.

(14) Nabil Khairi, 'Arajan Statue, (in Arabic), *ADAJ XV* (1970), 15ff, pl. 1f; see especially p. 16 and the reference to Abdul Rahman Zaki, *Jewelry in History and Art* (in Arabic) (Cairo: 1965).

(15) Hrouda, *op. cit.*, Abb. 93, 97, 103 (Ashurnasirpal II), and Pritchard, *op. cit.*, Nos. 442f, 445-51.

(16) Pritchard, *op. cit.*, No. 211.

(17) *Ibid.*, No. 418; cf. also examples from the time of Amenhotep III (1414-1377 B. C.) nos. 397, 399.

(18) *Ibid.*, No. 378. It should be noted that the hair is longer here with the two parts resting on the chest and the curls are thinner than later

examples.

(19) Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (Cambridge: ASOR, 1970), Fig. 96, pp. 188f, and *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I*, *AASOR XIV* (1934), 22ff.

(20) Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago: OIP Vol. LII), pl. 44:194; cf. also pl. 161:C, second and fourth figures from the left.

(21) J. W. and Grace M. Crewfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (London: 1938), pl. XIII:2. The authors note that "the hair above the forehead is treated at Samaria and Nimrud as a row of curls with a naturally wavy edge whereas at Arslan Tash and Khorsabad it ends in a hard semi-circular furrow" (p. 29).

(22) Donald Hardon, *The Phoenicians* (London 1963), Fig. 61.

(23) *Ibid.*, Fig. 64; cf. also H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (London: 1962), pl. 61A.

has the ear showing outside the hair as in our Khirbet el-Hajjar figure. ²⁴ This method of showing the ear outside the hair, also appears on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, ²⁵ and on the sandstone statue of the Egyptian pharaoh, Osorkon I, found at Byblos. ²⁶

A necklace appears from under the hair on the left shoulder. It is broken away and so does not continue around the front of the neck. Such necklaces appear in examples of Egyptian art. ²⁷

The ends of the hands are broken so it is not clear if they held a vase or a flower, or if they were folded. Terracotta female figurines (mostly Iron Ages I - II) are very common in Palestinian excavations. They are usually nude, and have the hands folded across the breasts. ²⁸

Our figure's dress seems to be a simple design of two parts. The upper part or blouse,

hangs loose with two tassels or ribbons down the front. Such tassels appear on the statuettes from Amman, published by Barnett. ²⁹ This style is also known from Hittite and/or North Syrian ³⁰ sculpture but is less common in Egyptian art. ³¹ The lower part of the dress is cut to show the position of the feet, as in the male figure's dress. The bare feet, the position of the feet, and the form of the base, are also similar to the male figure.

Interpretation and Dating

References to a group of Ammonite statuettes indicate a number of sculptures found in Amman and its vicinity. There are four known sites:

1. From Amman itself are the four sculptures published by Barnett and frequently noted. Also, at the end of 1968 four double faced limestone heads were found in the citadel of Amman, where they had been reused as part of the wall of a Hellenistic tunnel: ³² Cutting

(24) Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III* (London: 1955), pl. XVI:48, XVII. Petrie notes a "hard limestone head of a canopic jar, of fine work; found on the floor of the first palace, four feet under the floor of Dyn. XII, therefore of Dyn. VI or VII. Stone heads of so early a date are not known in Egypt. It may have been for an Egyptian occupation here til Dyn. XII" (p. 8). Petrie's date is uncertain.

(25) Pritchard *op. cit.*, No. 283 (9th century B. C.).

(26) Harden, *op. cit.*, Fig. 38, end of the 10th century; cf. also Maurice Chehab, "Noms de personnalités égyptiennes découvertes au Liban," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* XXII (1969), pl. X:1.

(27) Loud, *op. cit.*, pl. 7:21, 22a - b, pl. 18:173c. The "Queen of the Wild Beasts" ivory varying from Minet el-Beida wears a similar necklace - cf. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Crowfoot, *op. cit.*, pl. II:2.

(28) Cf. *Lachish III* (The Iron Age), pl. 27:1, 3f, 8, pl. 28:10f; Frances James, *The Iron Age at Beth-shan* (Philadelphia: 1966), Fig. 115f; *Megiddo II*: pls. 241 - 3; *Tell en-Nasbeh I*: pls. 85f; Kathleen Kenyon, *Jerusalem - Excavating*

3,000 years of History (London: 1967), Figs. 9f; Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature* (American Oriental Series, Vol. 24; New Haven: 1943).

fixvbgk)L vbgk cmf vbgkw cmfw cmfwy vbb vg (29) *op. cit.*, pls. upper left.

(30) D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish - Report on the Excavation at Djerabis on behalf of the British Museum* (London: 1914), pl. BB; Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pl. 121. The twopart dress on a female figure from Sidon reminds one strongly of the example from Khirbet el-Hajjar (cf. Harden, *op. cit.*, Fig. 65, and probably also Fig. 63 from Beirut). Cf. further, Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, No. 530 (Zinjirli), 84 (bought in Aleppo and now in the Ashmolean Museum).

(31) No exact parallel was found but perhaps certain Egyptian ivory figurines could be compared, cf. Loud, *op. cit.*, pl. 8:24f; pl. 161:a, b, c.

(32) Safwan Tell, Recent Ammonite Finds, (in Arabic) *ADAJ XII-XIII* (1967-8), 9-12, pls. 1-4, and Fawzi Zayadin, "Classical Archaeological Excavations in Jordan," (in Arabic), *ADAJ XIV* (1969), 53f.

the second face has resulted in a thinness or flatness of the head. The eyes are inlaid with bitumen beads, some of which have Aramaic letters. These examples are surely later than the group under discussion but a more detailed study is pending.³³

2. About 12 or 13 partially broken statuettes were found in Abu 'Alanda about 7 km south of Amman. These are of the same type as the two statuettes from **Khirbet el-Hajjar**. They are of the same soft limestone and here too, the breaks are ancient. The pieces were collected by one of the inhabitants and are now being restored by the Department.³⁴

3. In 1966, the Department purchased a statuette from an inhabitant of 'Arajan (south of Amman) who claimed he found it in the vicinity of his home. The similarity of the earrings was noted earlier. The form of the base is also similar as is the soft stone and the scale. The placement of hands and feet differs as does style of hair and dress.³⁵

4. Khirbet el-Hajjar.

In addition to these four sites, four other heads (unpublished), three of which have the Osiris crown, are of uncertain provenance. All of the above examples are in the Amman Museum.

The above sites are within the area of the Ammonite kingdom whose capital was Am-

man.³⁶ At the present time, there is not a single example of this category of statuette from outside this area. While examples may yet appear from elsewhere, at present it seems that Amman or Rabbath Ammon was the center of this type of sculpture. Thus they represent the best examples of Ammonite art available.

Study of this group of sculptures meets many difficulties of which the most important are the following. Relatively little sculpture of the first millennium B. C., has been found in Palestine and Jordan. There are insufficient examples to show any continuous development of the art as this is known in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The isolated examples available show mostly the motifs of the great powers who alternately controlled Syria-Palestine. Now suddenly here is a group of sculptures in the round which appear in a limited geographical area.

A further difficulty is that no example of this group came from a stratified context since they are mostly accidental finds. Rabbath Ammon was destroyed and reoccupied several times. This adds to the problem of isolating iron age levels in the few places they have been found.

With the exception of a small defaced inscription on the base of one of these statuettes,³⁷ we know nothing about what might be called Ammonite writing from the 9th century. Even for this one inscription, there is no clarity about

(33) Dr. Zayadin of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, is preparing a detailed report. In a personal communication, he noted that the letters are later, of the first half of the 7th century B. C., based on epigraphic comparison.

(34) The author hopes to publish a detailed study of the Abu 'Alanda examples along with a restudy of the entire group in the near future.

(35) Khairi, *op. cit.*

(36) Cf. H. Gese, *Amonitische Grenzfestungen zwischen Wadi es-Sir und Na'ur*, ZDPV 74

(1958), 55ff; R. Hentschke, *Amonitische Grenzfestungen südwestlich von 'Amman*, ZDPV 76 (1960), 103ff; G. Fohrer, *Eisenzeitliche Anlagen im Raume südlich vom Na'ur und die Südwest Grenze von 'Amman*, ZDPV 77 (1961), 56ff; H. G. Reventrow, *Das Ende der amonitischen Grenbefestigungskette*, ZDPV 79 (1963), 127ff; G. M. Landes, *The Material Civilization of the Ammonites*, BA, 1961, p. 65ff.

(37) Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 35, pl. XI.

the type of script. Barnett and Harding would like to compare it with the Mesha stele.³⁸ Aharoni on the other hand, considers a few of the letters later in date.³⁹

The above examples, with the two el-Hajjar statuettes, represent the oldest known sculpture and the largest group of sculptures in the round, at least in the first half of the first millennium B. C., from the Palestinian-Jordanian area. We can say with certainty that both of the el-Hajjar statuettes are from the same sculptor or school of sculpture. On the basis of the circumstances of the finds, and the antique details, there is no doubt that the two form a pair, that of a ruler with his wife or two deities (male and female).⁴⁰ The female figure appears to be quite unique in this geographical area. At least it is the best preserved free standing sculpture and probably the most important female statuette in this group.

It would be difficult to take the residue of Egyptian influence for an exact date. This indirect influence fell mainly in the beginning and the second part of the first millennium B. C. in Syria-Palestine, penetrated the so-called Phoenician art, and continued after the Assyrian conquest. But the Egyptian influence

was assimilated under the veneer of the dominant Assyrian power.

The history of the Near East, including Syria-Palestine, was determined by two important Assyrian kings, Ashurnasirpal II (884-858 B. C.) and Shalmaneser III (858-824) in the ninth century.⁴¹ Another important period is in the eight-seventh centuries characterized by Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) and his successors, Sargon II (722-705), Sennacherib (705-681), Esarhaddon (681-669) and finally Ashurbanipal (669-627).⁴² Both of these periods are reflected in the development of art, not only in Assyria but also in neighboring areas under Assyrian influence. Important locations of both phases of Assyrian art influence are in north Syria and eastern Anatolia - Carchemish, Malatya, Zinjirli, Sakja-gozu, and Karatepe.⁴³

The motifs of the first phase which appear in our statuettes from Khirbet el-Hajjar and Amman, appear not only in the peripheral area but also in the original art of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (see above). A dual influence of Egypt and Assyria can be noted in the ivory carving from Arslan Tash and Nimrud. The latest discussion with a new dating

(38) *Ibid.*; cf. also G. L. Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (London: 1967), p. 44.

(39) Y. Aharoni, *A New Ammonite Inscription*, *IEJ* 1 (1950-51), 219ff.

(40) Aharoni's note on the function or representation of such statuettes is interesting "The name and attributes indicate a deity. Similar pottery figurines are already known from other places in Trans-Jordan and the resemblance between the statue discussed and the head of a pottery figurine found by Glueck in el-Medeyienh is most interesting. It seems that the easily transportable figurines were made after the stone statues, and this too suggests that the latter represent deities." Aharoni, *op. cit.*, p. 222. Cf. also Glueck, *op. cit.* The question remains open because kings also used to dress themselves as deities

(Barhett, *op. cit.*, p. 34).

(41) This period has been thoroughly treated by Labat and Eissfeldt. René Labat, *Assyrien und seine Nachbarländer (Babylonien, Elam, Iran) von 1000 bis 617 v. Chr.*, and Otto Eissfeldt, *Syrien und Palästina vom Ausgang des 11. bis zum Ausgang des 6. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, in *Fischer Weltgeschichte, Band 4, Die Altorientalische Reiche III, Die erste Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends*, Fischer Bücherei (Frankfurt: 1967), pp. 9ff, 135ff. In the 12th century, Egyptian power was broken. From 1025 to 880, one can speak of the independence of Syria-Palestine (cf. Eissfeldt, pp. 137ff).

(42) See Hrouda, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

(43) For a discussion with references on both periods, see M. Visyra, *Hittite Art* (London: 1955), pp. 44ff; Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pp. 130ff.

of the Nimrud ivories, is by Ussishkin who notes that "the group of ivories from room SW 7 should be dated to about 800 B. C., or even earlier, to the last quarter of the ninth century B. C." ⁴⁴

The argument of Aharoni on the later dating of the inscription from that published by

Barnett must be taken into consideration although there is no agreement on the reading. ⁴⁵ To the author, however, the evidence supports an earlier dating, perhaps about the time of Shalmaneser III or even between Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, about the middle of the ninth century B. C.

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(44) David Ussishkin, "On the Date of a Group of Ivories from Nimrud," **BASOR** 203 (1971), 22ff (quotation p. 27).

(45) Aharoni, *op. cit.*, p. 222: "It therefore seems to me most probable that the inscription is

of a later period than that of Mesha and must be related to the seventh or eighth century B. C." The possibility that the inscription is secondary is an open one; detailed study is necessary.

The «Philistine» Documents from the Hebron Area: A Supplementary Note

by

Dr. George E. Mendenhall

Since the announcement of December 1, 1970, concerning the leather documents that were supposed to have come from the Hebron district, there have been a number of developments in the analysis and study of the very curious and puzzling inscriptions. In addition to the Carbon 14 test and chemical investigation of the tanning procedure, a whole battery of further tests has been used, but with inconclusive results. The Carbon 14 test yielded a modern date, but this is meaningless in view of the fact that we have no information concerning the documents prior to November 1965 and know that months of handling, exposure to fall-out and contamination took place before the test. Parts of the leather that had blackened with age to such an extent that the letters were invisible yielded in most satisfactory manner to Infra-Red photography. Ultra-violet examination (both short-wave and long -wave) yielded absolutely no evidence of inauthenticity. Exhaustive examination of the documents under the microscope and analysis of the ink and leather with a scanning electron microscope brought a number of surprises for which there is no known published parallel, but no evidence against their authenticity. The report on the scientific testing is not yet finished, but at last information available to me, it seems clear that no real evidence for modern origin has been found, and the problem of the date and origin of the documents will have to be solved by means of internal evidence.

That evidence is by no means lacking. A tentative transcription of the texts using over 40 signs was run through the computer, and the results pointed out so many parallel phrases that the number of signs could be reduced. Forms that had not been suspected to be mere graphic variants were vividly proven to be such by the computer print-out. A second and third transcription and print-out was carried out during the winter and early spring of 1970 - 71 before study of the documents had to be suspended in order to complete the work on the Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos, and the University of Michigan - Dumbarton Oaks survey of the archaeological sites within the area to be inundated by the dam under construction at Tabqa, Syria on the Euphrates River.

The result of the three computer print-outs is therefore by no means evaluated, but the number of signs in the alphabet has been drastically reduced so that the last transcription used only 31 signs plus several that were indicated merely with a question mark. Mr. Stanley Mendenhall has however, continued the work on the documents, and recently carried out a 'morpheme scanning' program using the most recent transliteration of the documents. The computer identified 131 different morphemes; and a cursory examination of the list convinces me that the program identified both grammatical affixes and recurrent

noun and verb roots. As test of the program's efficiency, he gave the computer an 'easy German text', and it identified accurately about 42 out of 67 morphemes in the passage under analysis.

What seems to be true of all early non-professional writing systems is also applicable to these documents, namely, that rigidity of alphabetic forms and rules of spelling had not yet taken place. The spelling of particular words is naive, based upon pronunciation, and therefore the same word is written in different ways in different hands. It is such spelling and graphic variations that yield extremely important information. For example it is now possible to cite one of the most frequent words in all of the documents that I transcribe as *gorugor* - . It is also spelled *xorugor*, *xgorugor*, and *goruFor*. In view of Lydian *voru* and Latin *puer* that are traced by Indo-European comparative grammar to an original *g^w* initial phoneme, it is very probable that we have the ancient Philistine form of the Indo-European word for 'son's son' - - 'grandson'.

If the observations concerning etymological connections should prove, as they so often do, to be illusory, nevertheless the spellings prove that the *X* sign does not represent the Phoenician *taw*, but a back, velar, fricative that corresponds to the Greek *chi* and the Thamudic and Safaitic *ha*. This is merely one of many observed phenomena that fully justify the conclusion that the alphabet of the documents in question represents a fairly recent adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet to a non-Semitic language that is quite possibly an Indo-European dialect. The alphabet is still very closely related to the Phoenician forms, but already has its own evolutionary history and other inscriptions from Palestine and Syria illustrate, I believe, its subsequent development until its demise. Consequently, purely formal comparisons with later Aramaic and Canaanite scripts

are completely irrelevant to both the identification of the phonemic value of particular signs, and to the problem of dating the documents. The changes that took place in the Phoenician alphabet after the end of the ninth century B. C. are not reflected in the signary, illustrated if not proven by the *mim* that never has a separate center stroke. No alphabetic form connected with the Phoenician alphabet can be derived from those attested after about 750 B. C. The alphabetic borrowing must have taken place before 800 B. C. and could very well have been done in the Late Bronze Age. There is no ground for dating the documents themselves after about 800 B. C. though it could well be argued that archaic forms were preserved for a time in an isolated tribal enclave that preserved its own language and writing system in a hostile environment. The historical process is entirely analogous to that demonstrated not long ago by A. Goetze to be true of southern Anatolia where Bronze Age languages and names survived until the beginning of the Christian era and probably even later, though of course with radical linguistic change.

What R. Young says about the origin and structure of the Phrygian alphabet (*Hesperia*, 1969) applies with uncanny accuracy to the writing system of the Hebron documents, even including its North Syrian origin. The similarity of many signs to the Zenjirli-Karatepe system is remarkable, and a recent examination of the Karatepe inscriptions at the site convinced me that the Hebron documents are perceptibly more archaic, and also that some Karatepe variations of form are also discernable in the Hebron documents. In the Hebron documents the five-vowel system of the Greco-Etruscan alphabet is already present, and it is quite clear from formal contrasts, that, as Young points out, several of the Phoenician characters split into two forms, one becoming a vowel while the other became or remained a con-

sonant. Thus the Phoenician *he* in our documents is the vowel *E* in most cases, but it is preserved as a consonant *h* and differentiated from the vowel by two graphic techniques in the various handwritings: stance, and ligature.

The *waw* becomes the vowel *u* and probably another sign for a labial consonant *w?/v?* Whether or not it gave rise to the *digamma* is not at all clear from the evidence given in these texts, and I am inclined at present to doubt it. The *alif* of Phoenician seems most probably to be used to represent the *Kappa* of Greek, but a much evolved form became the vowel *a* that is very similar to the Messapian form lying on its side, and sometimes written without the reptal cross stroke. In at least one case it is represented merely by two parallel lines. If the Phoenician *alif* is used to represent the IE *kappa*, one can only cite as an explanation the contrast between Hittite *kessera* 'hand' and Luwian *issera*, and note in passing the modern colloquial Arabic pronunciation of the etymological *qoph* as an *alif*.

To the present time, late November 1971, I have either seen or been informed of at least nine inscriptions that seem certainly to belong to this same alphabetic tradition. Four have been known since the latter half of the 19th century, and three have been excavated since 1966. To complicate matters further, an inscribed sherd found by Mr. Thomas McClell and at Tell Jisr in the Beqa^c of Lebanon near Kamid el-Loz can now be dated with considerable confidence to the Middle Bronze Age. The incised inscription of perhaps 18 characters includes in the signary the Sabeian sign representing Arabic *ta*, the Lycian sign for the vowel *E*, and the Lydian sign that represents a second *L* (*H*)?, in addition to a number of standard archaic Canaanite forms such as the *dal*, *alif/kappa*, and *lam*. It seems increasingly likely that a continuous writing tradition existed not only in the Syro-Palestinian region from the Bronze Age

until the systematization of scribal traditions that gave rise to what we call the alphabets of Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew, but also a writing tradition existed for non-Semitic languages in the region that is firmly attested so far only in the "Hieroglyphic Luwian" system and in Cypriot Syllabic.

There can be no question that the history of writing in the Near East is infinitely more complex than can be accounted for by present theories and empirical observations. Since April of this year I have seen more than twenty unpublished inscriptions in unknown or radically aberrant writing systems. Some are indubitably magical gobbledygook of the kind that is still being produced in the mountain villages of Lebanon today, and doubtless elsewhere as well. Of the rest there can be little doubt, ranging in date from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages, and in origin from North Syria and Cyprus to Yemen.

The question of authenticity of the documents has of course been raised concerning these as well as every other new discovery from the Stone Age cave paintings of France and Spain to the Qumran scrolls. Allegations of forgery seem to be a predictable defense mechanism of those elements of the scholarly world that have made up their minds about what the ancient world was supposed to produce, and do not want to be confused with new facts. It is curious that the only scholars who are convinced of their authenticity are those who have worked seriously with the original documents, including the extremely productive computer analysis.

In view of the enormous information output of the documents and their uniqueness in every respect, there could be absolutely no question about their authenticity and antiquity were it not for persistent rumors that learned scholars in the Near East have themselves concocted

fakes. It is very difficult to believe that scholars capable of putting such an enormous range of information into these documents would also be capable of such irresponsible misuse of learning. Those who perpetuate the rumors

have the obligation of common decency to produce the evidence concerning those alleged forgeries if in fact they do exist, so that they may be compared with these documents under examination.

George E. Mandenhall

Three Seals from Sahab Tomb «C»

by

Dr. Siegfried H. Horn

In the publication of Sahab Tomb C, discovered in June 1968, Mr. Rafiq Dajani, Tech. Assistant Director of Antiquities, already briefly mentioned the three seals which form the subject of this article,¹ written at his suggestion.² Since the tomb contained Late Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery, the seals under study cannot be later than the tenth century B. C., but may be considerably earlier.

1. (J11937) An Egyptian stamp seal of green frit, oval in shape and of rather crude workmanship. The edges show some minor breaks. The seal is 29 mm. long, 18 mm. wide, and 12 mm. thick. It was found in Section C which, according to Mr. Dajani, contained LB burials. In contrast to the Egyptian scarabs and most other seals, the Sahab specimen is not perforated lengthwise but crosswise. Its back has an unusual shape, showing ribs that must have been shaped in a mold, looking like two shells placed back to back. The base contains the inscription *men-men kheper-Re*, a corrupt form of the prenomen of Thutmose III,

the correct spelling of which contains only one *men*-hieroglyph.³ To the right of the inscription is a crude representation of a god, probably Seth, which indicates that the stamp seal comes from a period not preceding the nineteenth dynasty, the period when Seth came into prominence.

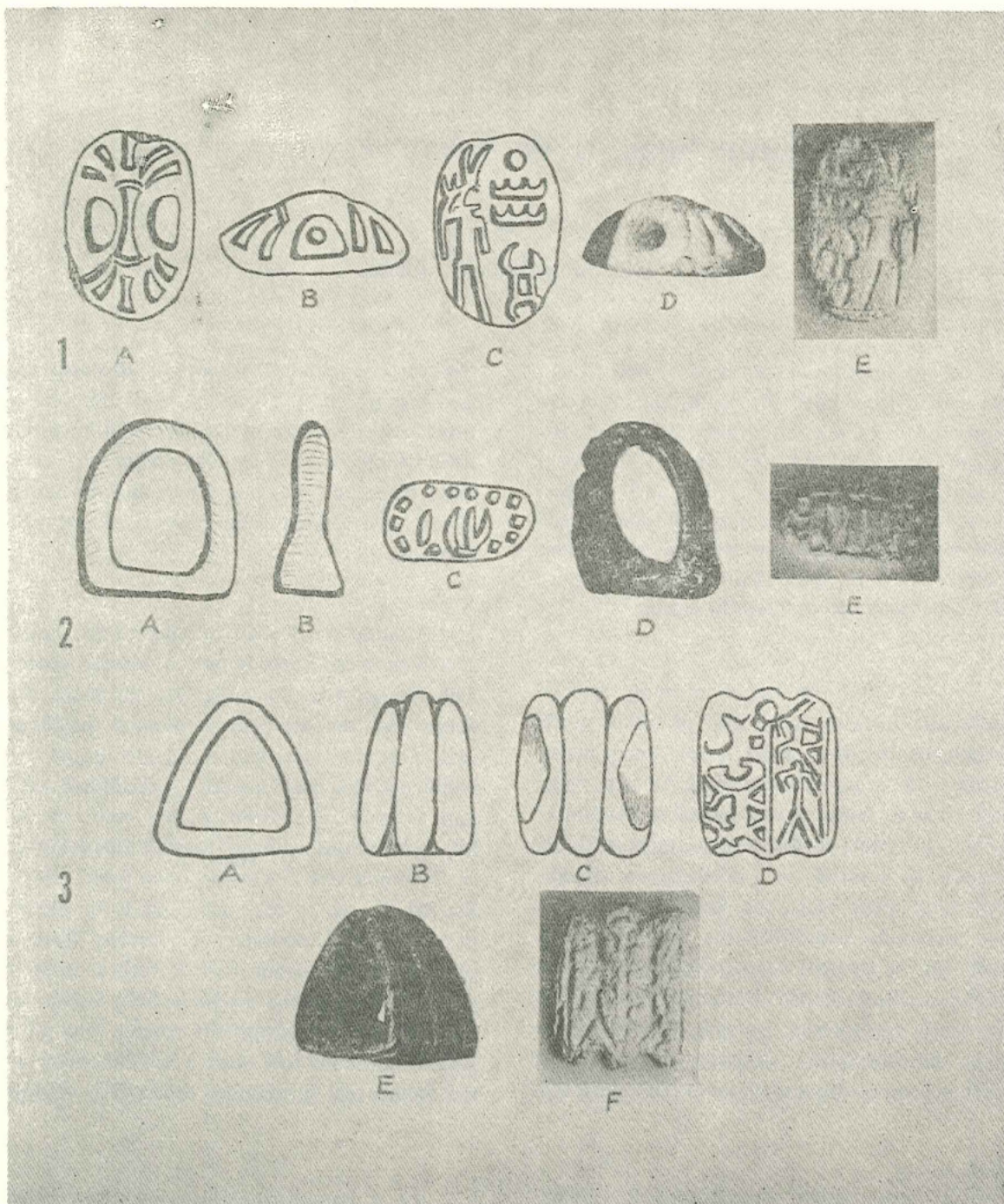
A number of seals similar to the Sahab specimen have been found in several places. The British Museum collection possesses two stamp seals that are close parallels to the Sahab seal. One of them has the same length and width, a ribbed back similar to the Sahab seals, and a crosswise perforation; it is made of blue frit, and contains a corrupt form of the prenomen of Thutmose III.⁴ On the other hand, unlike the Sahab seal, it does not contain the picture of a god. Hall attributes the British Museum seal to the Ramesside period, with a question mark. In view of the evidence from Sahab, his identification is undoubtedly correct. The other British Museum seal with a similar shape as the Sahab seal is of green frit and is slightly

(1) Rafiq Dajani, "Sahab Tomb C," *ADAJ*, XV (1971), p. 34.

(2) I thank Mr. Dajani, as well as Mr. Mansour Bataineh, the Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, for giving me the opportunity to study and publish these seals, which are housed in the Amman Museum. The photographs of Plate I were made by the department's photographer, Mr. Abu Hannah.

(3) A scarab in the private collection of Professor James L. Kelso, which he purchased in Jerusalem, contains the same corrupt prenomen of Thutmose III in a cartouche. Dr. Kelso's scarabs will soon be published by Dr. Hans Goedicke and myself.

(4) H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum* (London, 1913), p. 120, no. 1227.



1. Egyptian Seal: A. Top View; B. Side View; C. Base; D and E. Photographs of Side View and Impression of the Base.

2. Seal: A. Front View; B. Side View; C. Base; D and E. Photographs of Side View and Impression of the Base.

3. Seal: A. Front View; C. Top View; D. Base; E and F. Photographs of Side View and Impression of the Base.

(Drawings and photographs are approximately actual size)

smaller (26×15 mm.) than the Sahab seal. It contains a corrupt royal name.⁵ Hall dates it to the nineteenth to twenty-second dynasties. Since it came to the British Museum from the Salt Collection in 1835, its Egyptian origin can hardly be doubted, because Salt obtained his collection in Egypt through agents who operated in that country. The collections of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin Charlottenburg also possess such a seal (No. 5183) which in its base bears Thutmose III's prenomen.⁶ There other seals of a similar shape were found by Petrie at *Tell el-Far'ah* (south) which he dates in the twenty-first dynasty. Again these three specimens carry corrupt hieroglyphs.⁷ Two similar seals, also of frit and containing corrupt hieroglyphs, were discovered in Stratum III (1100-925 B. C.) at *Tell Abu Hawâm*;⁸ and four similar seals of blue frit came to light at Vrokastro in eastern Crete, also carrying a corrupt hieroglyphic inscription.⁹

The evidence gathered from these various seals enumerated indicates that this type of seal has its origin in Egypt, for only in this way can it be explained that specimens of these unusually-shaped seals have been found in Egypt, on the island of Crete, along the coast of Palestine, and in Transjordan. All are made of either green or blue frit and most of them contain corrupt hieroglyphic inscriptions. They seem to have been produced either in the last phase of the Late Bronze Age or during the Early Iron Age, *i. e.*, between the thirteenth and eleventh centuries B. C.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 46, no. 427.

(6) Karl-Th. Zauzich of the Berlin Museum kindly furnished the information that this seal was obtained in 1859 from the collection of the Swedish orientalist N. G. Plain, who, prior to his death in 1842, had obtained many Egyptian antiquities during his long periods of diplomatic service in the Near East.

(7) W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Beth Pelet I*

2. (J11938) A seal in the form of a finger ring of badly corroded copper with a design that defies decipherment. The base measures 24×10.5 mm. The seal was found in Section D of the tomb, which contained Early Iron Age burials. The base shows an oval with small circles, oblongs, and squares surrounding the central field that contains four incised lines running from side to side at irregular intervals with two of the lines forming a V. It is questionable that the signs present an intelligent inscription.

3. (J11959) A well-preserved stamp seal of unusual shape with triangular, vault-shaped ring, too small to be worn on anyone's but a child's finger; hence it was probably carried on a chain or string around the neck. It seems to have been made of a flat copper plaque and three thick copper wires soldered together so that they form a vault-shaped handle. The base measures 25×20 mm., the height of the seal is 23.5 mm., and its width at the top is 10.5 mm. The thickness varies from 3.5 to 4.3 mm.

Its base contains an incised design. A line drawn lengthwise creates two equal oblong fields. On the left side is a standing human figure with only the crudest indication of legs, arms, and head. Above him seems to be a horned animal, perhaps an ibex, equally crudely made, standing on a ground formed by a line to the left of the seal's base. The center line forms the ground on which two animals stand,

(London, 1930), Pls. XXXI: 301; XXXIII: 366; XXXV: 395.

(8) R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations at Tell Abu Hawân," *QDAP*, IV (1935), p. 28, nos. 150, 151; Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 259, 260 nos. S. 84, S. 85, Pl. XXIX: S. 84, S. 85.

(9) J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca* (Cambridge, England, 1930), p. 39, nos. 58-61.

the one to the right seems to be a horned bovine with a hump, perhaps a buffalo-like animal. The animal to the left defies identification.

A similar stamp seal was discovered in October 1949 during the excavations for the building of the Amman Museum on the Citadel Mound. This badly corroded seal came from an Umayyad stratum and has on the bezel a design faintly resembling a spider.¹⁰

Furthermore, the collections of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin Charlottenburg possess

two bronze stamps of similar and uniform shape, but of different sizes, one being *ca.* 1.5 cm. square while the other is *ca.* 6.0 cm. square. Both seals carry the inscription *pr-'Inn*, "House (= Temple) of Amon." indicating that they came from administration of the great Amon temple at Karnak. The museum catalogue suggests that the larger of the two stamp seals may have served for the branding of cattle.¹¹ Another seal belonging to this category in the Berlin Museum has an unreadable Egyptian inscription in two fields on the base.¹²

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(10) G. Lankester Harding, "Excavations on the Citadel, Amman," *ADAJ*, I (1951), 10, pl. II:5.

(11) *Agyptisches Museum Berlin-Ostlicher Stülerbau am Schloss Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 1967), p. 55, nos. 562 and 562a. The larger stamp (no. 562) came to the Berlin Museum from the collection of G. Passalacqua in 1826, while the smaller stamp (no. 562a) was originally owned

by H. C. M. Minutoli from whom it was acquired by the Berlin Museum in the first half of the nineteenth century.

(12) No. 5208 in the *Agyptisches Museum (West)*. According to the information obtained from Dr. Zauzich, it was also obtained from the Minutoli collection.

Lime Kilns

by

Mr. Muhammad Murshid Khadijah

Archaeologists who have found lime kilns in their excavations may find it of interest to know how present day lime kilns work.

In 1971, the writer served as forman for the Hesban Expedition directed by Dr. Siegfried H. Horn. The expedition had discovered a lime kiln in 1968. The kiln was completely cleared in 1971 (Area B square I Locus 10).¹ Final excavation revealed an oval shaped installation (3×4 m.) lined with dressed (mason-cut) stones. Seven to eight courses of the lining were still preserved. The pit for the structure (kiln) was cut through 3 meters of occupational debris. The pottery of this fill has been dated to the 6th - 7th century B. C. but the pottery within the kiln ranged from Hellenistic to Late Arabic which supposedly dates the kiln to the Late Arabic period (12th century A. D.). As found, the kiln was filled with various sized socks and earth. The interpretation of the inside faces of lining stones were charred (calcined) and partially separated from the rest of the stone (S). Final clearance showed a slightly concave bottom of mixed ash and lime. There were no flues or openings which one might assume as necessary for the draft of the

fire. This raised a problem as to how the kiln worked if it is a kiln.

A cousin of the writer comes from the village of Ramun 20 km. east of Ramallah. He has provided the information on which the attached sketch of a modern kiln and its operation is based.

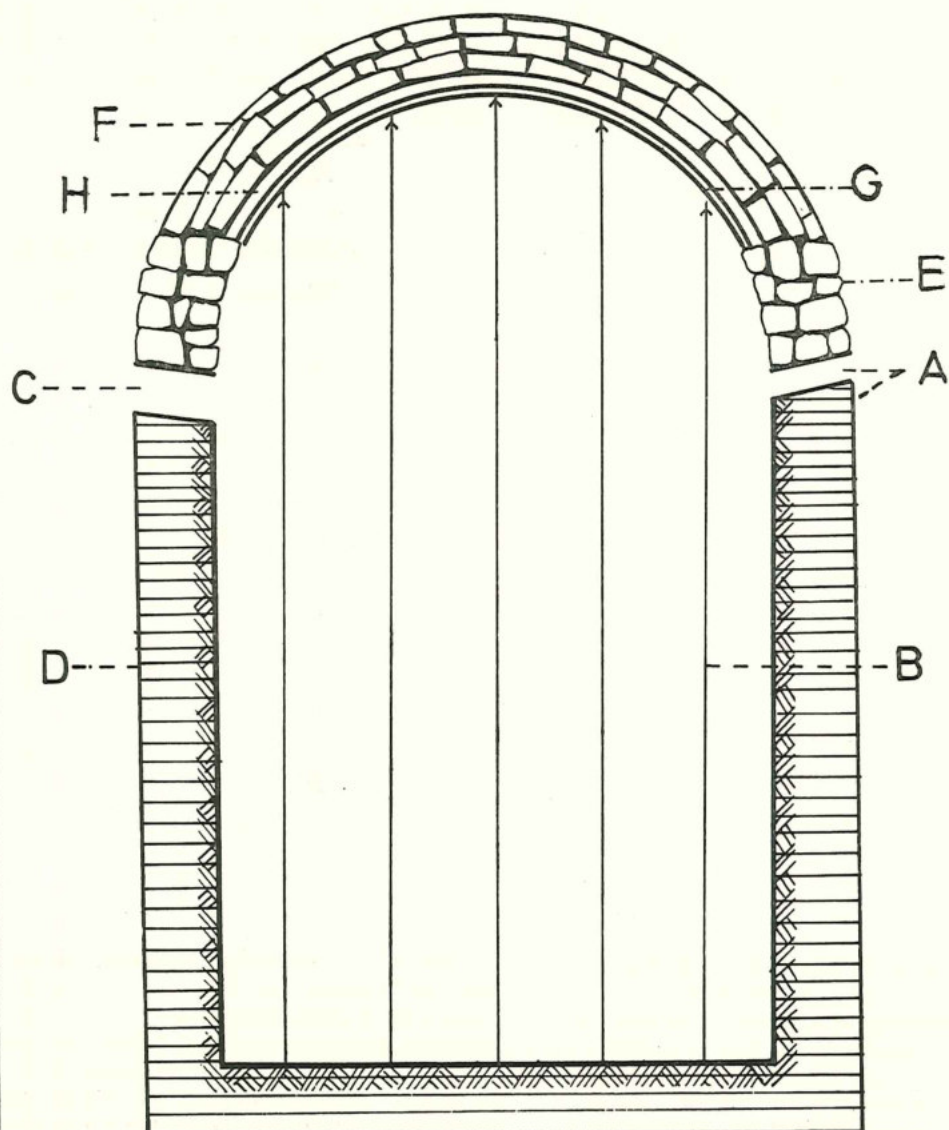
A cylindrical cut or ditch with a diameter of 3 - 4 meters and 3 - 5 meters deep is cut in the earth (see A in the sketch). A wall (E) about one meter thick and 1.25 m. high is built around the edge of the ditch.² There must be two openings in this wall a large one (C) 80×50 cms and a smaller one 40×30 cms. opposite to the first. The larger hole is used to supply wood to the fire while the smaller one serves as a smoke hole. The stone (F) to be burnt for lime is placed in several layers on a roof (G and H). The amount of stone of course determines the quantity of lime obtained, but too many layers of stone take an excessive amount of wood. The roof is formed of long poles of wood (B) which support a layer of branches (G) over which is placed a layer of mud (H) at least 10 cm. thick. The stones to

(1) Siegfried H. Horn; Roger S. Boraas, *The First Campaign of Tell Hesban*, (Andrew University Seminary Studies, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1969), vol. VIII, no. 2, pp. 118-9.

(2) Sometimes wall E starts from the bot

tom of the ditch and goes up. This was the design of the Hesban kiln. When the same kiln is used many times, the interior face of the wall may be covered with plaster.

- A Cylindrical cut 3-5 m deep diam 3-4 m E. stones wall
 B Supporting wooden pieces F. Limestones
 C Opening to put wood in G. Layer of branches
 D = for smoke and extra ash H. - 10 c.m layer of thick mud



scale 0 1
M.

15MABH

be burnt are laid in a dome without mortar so that they will not fall into the pit after the wood is burnt. This same method of dome construction can still be seen in old village houses.

Large amounts of wood must be ready for use when the firing is started.³ The fire is kept burning continuously day and night for five to six days. Usually eight men work in two shifts. The baking process is considered finished when flames come through the top layer of stone. Then the fire is allowed to burn out and the stone is allowed to cool. The baked stones are removed one after the other from the dome. The product is sold or distributed

in the form of these baked rocks. This is unslaked lime. For use, such as white wash or mortar, the user puts the baked rocks in a pail or a barrel and slowly pours water on the stone slowly stirring until the mixture is ready for use.

The quality of the product is determined not only by this arduous process, but by the quality of the original stone. The excavators of Samaria have noted that both modern and ancient Sabastians favour the marble and high quality lime stone of ancient buildings for this purpose.⁴ This is true for other ancient sites as well.⁵

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Department of Antiquities

(3) Some modern kilns use diesel fuel.

(4) J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, E. L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria*, (Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1942), vol. I, p. 139.

(5) See also: Olga Tufnell et al, *Lachish III*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1953), vol. III, p. 179 (104). Crowfoot et al, *The Buildings at Samaria*, vol. I, p. 139. James B. Pritchard et al, *Winery Defenses and Soundings at Gibeon*, (Philadelphia, The University Museum, 1964), pp. 10,

11 and 24. Cf. especially G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palestina*, vol. VIII, p. 22f. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. VI, p. 66ff. Prausnitz, *Excavations at Shavei-Zion*, (Monograph of Archaeology and Art vol. II, Rome, University of Rome), p. 17. B. Mazar, "The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem: Preliminary Report of the First Season," in *The W. F. Albright Volume*, (1968), p. 8; p. 21.

Arabia's First Garrison

by

Dr. Michael P. Speidel

In a masterly article published two decades ago Mrs. Claire Préaux discussed Trajan's annexation of the Nabataean kingdom and its transformation into the Roman province of *Arabia*.¹ Two important papyri had become available then, letters written by a soldier stationed in the new province just after the conquest. In one of these letters, dated March 26, A. D. 107, the writer, a certain Gaius Iulius Apollinaris, described his commander Claudius Severus as *hypatikos* (= *consularis*) and *hypatikos legeonos* (= *consularis legionis*).² The term *consularis* is the unofficial, popular form *legatus Augusti pro praetore* and was widely used as title for provincial governors. In this it did not matter whether the governor had already been consul or was only expecting nomination to that honor while still serving in a praetorian province, such as Arabia, with only one legion at his command.³ Claudius Severus, we learn from this letter, was already in A. D. 107 governor of Arabia, a position he was known, from a number of other documents, to have held until as late as A. D. 115.⁴ At the same time he was, according to Roman administrative prac-

tice, commander of the garrison of his province, i. e., the legion in which Iulius Apollinaris served. Which legion was this?

Since Apollinaris' home is Karanis in Egypt and since his letters testify to a lively and regular communication between there and Arabia, the legion in which he served may have come from Egypt. It had participated perhaps in a pincer-movement from the north and the south that accomplished the seemingly bloodless conquest of the Nabataean kingdom.⁵ Of the two Egyptian legions, *XXII Deiotariana* and *III Cyrenaica*, the latter is known to have participated in Trajan's Parthian War,⁶ most probably because it was stationed in Arabia and thus much closer to the theater of operations. On the strength of this argument and from the fact that *legio III Cyrenaica* later in the second century became the permanent garrison of Arabia Mrs. Préaux had concluded that Gaius Iulius Apollinaris' unit was the *III Cyrenaica*, stationed in Arabia from the beginning. To be sure, at the end of the Parthian War the legion had to return temporarily to Egypt to help

(1) C. Préaux, *Une Source nouvelle sur l'annexion de l'Arabie par Trajan: les papyrus de Michigan 465 et 466. Phoibos* 5 (1950-51) 123-139.

(2) PMich 466.

(3) See e. g., A. Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien* (Budapest, 1944) 54. For the occurrence of this shortened title at the time under

discussion see M. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus*, JRS, 60 (1970) 152.

(4) PIR II, 2nd ed., Claudius 1023.

(5) Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria had led the conquest, Dio 68, 14, 5. See R. Hanslik, 'Ulpianus' RE Suppl. X (1965) 1079ff.

(6) R. O. Fink, *Doura-Reports VI* (New Haven, 1936) 480-482.

quell the Jewish revolt, ⁷ but that was only for a limited time, and soon thereafter it returned to Arabia. ⁸

This view of things has recently been questioned. A fragmentary, undated inscription from Gerasa mentioning the *legio VI Ferrata* was adduced to suggest that this legion, not the *III Cyrenaica* formed the initial garrison of Arabia. ⁹ Yet since Hadrian spent the winter of A. D. 130 with his bodyguard, the *equites singulares Augusti* in Gerasa it is well possible that during this time men from the *VI Ferrata* stationed in nearby Judaea, were with him. ¹⁰ Alternatively, a detachment of this legion could have come to protect Gerasa during the revolt of Bar Kochba in A. D. 132 - 135. However that may be, it is difficult to see in the adduced

inscription a reliable clue to the original garrison of the province.

Had the *VI Ferrata* been the legion under the command of Claudius Severus in A. D. 170, Gaius Iulius Apollinaris would have been a member of it. However, in a recently published papyrus from Karanis, ¹¹ Apollinaris' unit is mentioned as *legio III Cyrenaica*. True, this papyrus is twelve years younger than the letter of A. D. 107, but since already Sabinus' father belonged to the same unit, ¹² the assumption is warranted that the son continued a family tradition, rather than change units. It seems therefore very likely that *legio II Cyrenaica* indeed formed, together with some *auxilia* ¹³ Arabia's first garrison.

Dr. Michael P. Speidel
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(7) It is known there until A. D. 119 (BGU 140, discussed by Préaux l. c. 129).

(8) E. Ritterling, 'legio' RE 12 (1924) 1509f: not later than A. D. 127.

(9) G. Bowersock, *The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970) 37-47, following A. H. M. Jones, JRS 18 (1928) 147.

(10) Cf. C. B. Welles in: Kraeling, *Gerasa* (1938) 391 and 435. The *VI Ferrata* was already stationed in Judaea by that time, see B. Lishitz, *Latomus* 1960, 109-111. Maybe as early as A. D. 123, cf. H. G. Pflaum IEG 19 (1969) 225-233.

(11) PMich 562. E. Husselmann, *Papyri*

from Karanis (Cleveland, Ohio, 1971) 101ff.

(12) PMich 571.

(13) Some of the *auxilia* of the new province probably came from Egypt, too, such as the cohorts I *Hispanorum* and I *Thebaeorum*, cf. H. G. Pflaum, *Un nouveau diplôme militaire*, *Syria* 44 (1967) 339-362, esp. p. 356. In the papyrus P. Catt. II = M. Chr. 372, col. III, 12 (A. D. 114) a soldier of the cohort I *Thebaeorum* is said to have served under 'Severus'. This Severus may not have been the prefect of the cohort, but the Governor of Arabia who gave this soldier his discharge.

Archaeological Excavations in Jordan, 1971

prepared by
Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim

Hesban¹

A second season of excavation was carried out by Andrews University Expedition under the direction of Dr. Siegfried Horn at Tell Hesban. The work continued in the center of the mound (acropolis) and on the southern and western slopes. A number of Roman and Byzantine tombs, which are located west and south-west of the tell were also excavated.

The Mamluk period is represented in the upper most levels on the summit of the mound (Area A) by a paved courtyard surrounded with buildings containing vaulted rooms. In Area D south of Area A, some cisterns and a staircase leading to the central building on the edge of the acropolis have been found. Complete pots and thousands of painted and glazed sherds and a broken lamp containing 66 silver Mamluk and Ayyubid coins were discovered in Area C on the western slope.

A Byzantine church and other remains preceded the Arabic occupation. This church was probably built on the foundations of a Roman temple, perhaps represented by the large cave cut by the Romans discovered below the Byzantine level. Various points of the tell are roughly covered with Roman remains, such

as stone structures, water channel and walls probably for defensive purposes. A notable oval-shaped installation in Area B must have served as a lime kiln² during the Byzantine occupation.

The earliest evidence discovered in the two seasons of work on Tell Hesban dates from the 7th to 6th centuries B. C. In Area B a wall, two pits, and an Aramaic ostrakon with four or five Aramaic, Egyptian and Babylonian names were found. In the Old Testament Heshbon is mentioned rather frequently as a prominent city in the second and first millennia B. C. Present archaeological evidence hardly confirms the identification of Tell Hesban with ancient Heshbon. It is hoped that the 1973 season will clarify this issue of identification, ascertain the full range of archaeological periods represented and complete the excavation of the Byzantine church on the acropolis.

Buseirah

In 1971 the British School of Archaeology under the direction of Mrs. C. Bennett began its excavations at Buseirah, 20 kms. to the south of Tafleh. The site looks over Wadi Finan, from which copper materials were obtained as early as the fourth millennium B. C.

(1) Preliminary report of 1968 season published by S. Horn in *ADAJ* XII-XIII (1967-68), p. 51ff.

(2) See the article on lime-kilns by M. M. Khadijah, p. 107 above.

The site is about 15 acres (60 dunums) in size and is surrounded by a series of walls dating the Iron Age to the Roman period.

Excavations were mainly undertaken in the center of the site, massive buildings of an acropolis were uncovered. There occupation phases were identified. These phases provided little stratified evidence, because contemporary material had been eroded away.

Soundings against the southern terrace wall provided the most beautiful Iron Age pottery ever found. This painted pottery can be compared with the Nabataean pottery, and it is possible that the latter has been derived from this Edomite pottery which is very fine painted ware of high quality. The architecture and certain pottery types suggest that possible there was a temple or a place on the acropolis. However the nature and definite date of these buildings could not be determined in 1971.

It is probable that Buseirah was the capital of the Edomites and is the Bosrah mentioned in the Bible.

Mrs. Bennett will be continuing the excavation in 1972.

Accidental Digs

Staff members of the Department of Antiquities conducted a number of small digs as sites accidentally discovered by local residents.

Jabal el-Hussein Tomb / Amman:

Inspector of Antiquities Hussein Qandil cleared a tomb on Jabal el-Hussein in Amman in the spring of 1971.³

The tomb was cut into bedrock and contained two sarcophagi with human skeletons and a number of pots in addition to few copper objects, beads and a single glass bottle.

It dates from the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period.

Salt Tomb :

During the construction of a new road in the south-west of Salt, a tomb was found. Hussein Qandil, who cleared the tomb, reported the following note:

The entrance of the tomb is a rectangular opening measuring 2.50×0.75 m. with a stone cuphagus with a decorated stone cover was cut in the rock in square shape (16 sq. m.) and contains four loculi one in each side. A sarcophagus with a decorated stone cover was cut inside each loculus. In three of these, pottery and glass objects, copper pieces and beads were found. These artifacts date from the late Roman/Byzantine period.

As - Sadaqa :

24 kms. South-east of Wadi Musa, a number of Nabataean tombs were excavated by Inspector of Antiquities Mahmoud Rousan. The discoveries await further study, but the following note has been reported. The cemetery is square in shape (25 sq. m.) containing 48 tombs in the two sides in a depth of about 2.5 m. The two sides are facing each other and covered by stone slabs. The finds consisted of skeletons, a number of pots and oil lamps, some of which bear Nabataean letters on the base.

Mheiy :

Mheiy, about 35 kms. South-east of Kerak, appears to have been important in the Roman,

(3) A report is on file in the Department of Antiquities.

Byzantine and Mamluk periods. There is a large building in the center of the old town which seems to have been rebuilt several times. A Byzantine church surrounded with a number of buildings and cisterns was built on the western slope. Decorated and inscribed stones from the Byzantine period were found in some houses of the village.

Many tombs were found by the inhabitants in the northern and western benches. Some of the discoveries from the tombs reached the hands of antiquities dealers. The Department of Antiquities had to dig some of these tombs. This was carried out under the supervision of Inspector of Antiquities Mohammad N. Abu-Ubaid who has not yet provided the Department with a report. But the following note

might be helpful:

The tombs were found in large groups and were cut in the soft soil to a depth of 0.50 to 1.50 m. from top surface. The skeletons were usually surrounded by small stone slabs arranged in a rectangular shape. Decorated or inscribed stones were common in the tombs. The inscriptions indicate the name of the deceased, his age and the year of the death. The tombs were usually covered by crossing slabs and then buried with earth. Numerous beautiful glass objects, copper bracelets and other tomb furnishings have been found. Nabataean sherds were also registered.

Khirbet el-Hajjar

See Two Ammonite Statuettes from Khirbet el-Hajjar p. 91 of this *Annual*.

Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim
Department of Antiquities

Book Reviews

Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, vol. XXII (Paris: 1969). 159 pp., 43 plates.

Two of this issue's articles (Ward-Perkins and Kalayan) are in English while the rest are in French. Emir Maurice Chehab, Director General of Antiquities for Lebanon, writes on Egyptian names found in Lebanon, six articles consider four campaigns (1966 - 8) at Tell Kamid el-Loz, Maurice Dunand studies the Achaemenid period architecture at Byblos and reports on the 1967 - 8 excavations at Sidon. J. B. Ward-Perkins presents research on imported sarcophagi at Roman Tyre and related areas, Daniel Schlumberger has a suggestion for the location of the Triparadeisos of Alexander the Great (the whole Beqa' valley rather than a town in Syria), H. Kalayan discusses the constructional history of Baalbek in relation to an engraved drawing on the Trilithon, while Michael Sarraf reports on the treatment of metal artifacts in the Museum laboratories.

Chehab's study of 41 pages and 10 plates is virtually a monograph. The plates (four are beautifully done in color) show whole or fragmentary vases, seals, stelae, statuary, pectorals and bas-reliefs. The inscriptions range from the familiar Dog River reliefs to obscure scratchings on broken pots. Historically the names stretch from early dynasties (Pepi) to late ones (the XXIXth). An index of names provides a convenient guide to the text - a valuable contribution to the study of Egyptian presence in the Lebanon area.

The Kamid el-Loz excavations began in

1963. This earlier work is reported in *Bulletin XIX* (1966) and elsewhere. R. Hachman introduces the report and gives an overview of these campaigns which found remains of the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the Iron Age, and later. He also reports on a cemetery of the Persian period and another of the Middle Bronze Age. Several burials were very rich in objects. Two bronze figurines of a god and a silver mold for making figurines of a nude goddess are among the objects from the Late Bronze Age. One of the male figurines has the Egyptian white crown. A Middle Bronze pendant of gold has incised on it the common figure with the Hathor hair style. The description of the Iron Age fortress continues from the earlier report. G. Mansfeld discusses several ostraca with paleo-Canaanite letters and D. O. Edzard discusses the cuneiform tablets from the Amarna period. One of the latter is a letter of Amenophis III to Zalaja of Damascus while a second (more fragmentary) is from Amenophis III to Arad-sharri, a man of Shaza'ena. The first and probably the second orders the Habiru sent to the pharaoh. The first indicates he will use the Habiru to replace people deported from Cush (Nubia). Two other tablets are probably letters but in very fragmentary condition.

The Sidon work was mostly in Byzantine levels that included a glass mosaic dated to the 6th century. A cemetery south of Sidon included Late Bronze and Early Iron remains plus Hellenistic burials. Excavation was also carried on once more in the temple of Eshmun. Among the discoveries was a frieze in two registers, presenting a bacchanale.

The report on the sarcophagi at Tyre reflects the situation up to June, 1964. The author notes two creamy white Pentelic marble examples which he considers typical products of the Attic sarcophagus workshops active between 175 - 375 A. D. There are 29 pieces of the blue-streaked white marble of Proconnesus from the Island of Marmara near the mouth of the Sea of Marmara. A third type, of poor workmanship, is in the granite-like stone of Assos. Chehab published 10 Attic pieces in Bulletin XXI (1968), so Ward-Perkins, discussion focuses on the other types with illustrations of the Tyre examples and find spots in other parts of the Mediterranean world and the Balkans. He suggests that the Proconnesian sarcophagi were cheaper than the Attic type and may have achieved a virtual monopoly on the imported sarcophagi trade by the end of the 2nd century. A heavy gabled lid was common to three types of body: plain flanges at top and bottom; a garlanded design with rosettes, animal heads or masks, and grapes. The author suggests that the few Assos stone examples are the "lapis sarcophagi" famous in antiquity for consuming the body in 40 days. A gabled lid is found with a body with a crude garland design, similar to the roughed out quarry design of the Proconnesian forms. One example of Egyptian porphyrite is also noted.

Under the Trilithon at Baalbek, is a column drum similar to those of the Jupiter temple. Kalayan thinks this means the columns were already in place or being placed and the drum is a discard, at the time the Trilithon was built. However, when the Trilithon was cleared by the Antiquity Department, a full scale orthographic drawing of the pediment of the temple

of Jupiter was found on the south block. The drawing extends under Roman construction. Kalayan interprets this to mean that the Trilithon was erected contemporary with or soon after the columns. The drawing was then inscribed for use in the erection of the pediment. After the pediment was finished and the drawing no longer needed, other construction was allowed to cover part of it.

Metallic corrosion in Lebanon is an especially severe because of the sea air and the sandy soil which is conducive to soil acids and other agents. Proper cleaning of metal artifacts has long been a concern in archaeology and museum work. Sarraf discusses efforts with bracelets, coins, a bell, etc. An interesting example of the process is a figurine of Jupiter Heliopolitan discovered at Baalbek. Barely recognizable as found, it was treated with a 5 N solution of nitric acid which reacted with the calcium carbonate to form carbon dioxide. The figurine was then wrapped in aluminum foil dipped in a caustic soda solution. This was repeated several times until the last layer of corrosion dissolved. The result is a very fine piece with clear details of hair, headdress and clothing.

Overall, the volume is extremely well done. The plates are clear and useful while sufficiently condensed to be efficient. Numerous figures and drawings illustrate a well printed text. It is of interest to note that while some of the reports are several years old, others date later, to as late as May, 1971. The volume can be recommended to anyone interested in Lebanese art, archaeology, architecture and history.

Henry O. Thompson, Director
The American Center for Oriental Research

Stephen L. Dyson, *The Commonware Pottery, The Brittle ware*, dans *The Excavations of Dura-Europos*, C. Bradford Welles, ed., (New Haven, Dura-Europos Publications, 1970), Final Report IX, Part I, Fascicle 3: I vol. 72 p., 21 fig., 8 pl.

Ce nouveau volume de la série des publications de Doura-Europos a pour objet l'étude de la céramique commune recueillie sur le site au cours des différentes campagnes de fouilles. Elle s'attache plus particulièrement à la céramique romaine tardive et marque ainsi une étape supplémentaire dans notre connaissance de cette catégorie qui reste l'élément dominant sur de nombreux sites hellénistiques et romains. L'auteur nous précise qu'elle présente, dans certains secteurs de Doura, près de 95 pour cent de la céramique. Cette proportion est souvent atteinte sur certains sites du Proche Orient. Ceci nous pousse à regretter que cette céramique, qualifiée avec quelque dédain de tardive, ait souvent échappé à l'étude attentive de la part de certains fouilleurs.

L'étude est faite avec un grand souci de précision. L'auteur y distingue deux groupes de céramique:

1) La céramique commune: comportant la production grossière pour des usages domestiques et culinaires, de qualité moyenne et de fabrication locale. L'argile utilisée est graineuse et provient de gisements des environs de Doura. Les couleurs varient entre les différentes tonalités du rouge-orange. Les vases sont en général recouverts d'un engobe de prédominance crème foncé, et qui a pu, avec la cuisson, subir quelques variations.

2) La "*Brittle Ware*" ou céramique fine cassante; sa dureté lui vient de sa bouble cuisson. Elle est fabriquée à partir d'une argile qui a pris une coloration rouge-brique d'aspect presque métallique II est évident qu'une telle

céramique, mieux soignée, devait être plus chère et donc d'un usage moins généralisé que la précédente.

Les problèmes chronologiques relatifs à cette céramique sont en partie résolus et peuvent être resserrés entre deux dates importantes dans l'histoire de la ville, à savoir entre 160 ap. JC (date vers laquelle Doura souffrit d'un tremblement de terre) et 256 ap. J. C (date de la destruction finale de la ville).

Quant au catalogue lui même, il est présenté de la manière la plus aisée: l'auteur commence par définir les termes typologiques qu'il utilise et passe ensuite à la présentation des différents groupes chronologiques: Le groupe hellénistique, le groupe ouest de la Citadelle, le groupe de 160 ap. JC., le groupe II de la Nécropole et enfin le groupe de 256 ap. JC, de beaucoup le plus important et le plus utile pour les archéologues qui s'intéressent à la céramique tardive.

Un chapitre spécial est réservé à une catégorie de la céramique commune qui porte un décor: incisé, estompillé, moulé, etc.

Si cette étude est menée avec tant de maîtrise et fondée sur une documentation très fournie, tant du point de vue stratigraphique que bibliographique, elle présente quelques déficiences.

Nous relevons en premier lieu la rareté de la reproduction photographique, alors que de nombreux vases ont été trouvés intacts ou presque, ce qui est relativement rare d'une part, d'autre part nous avons peu souvent des vases aussi précisément datés.

En second lieu on peut relever des négligences dans les dessins des figures 1 à 14 (les-

quels soit dit en passant sont moins soignés que ceux des figures 15 à 21). Dans la presque totalité des formes carénées le dessinateur a omis de souligner la carène; et le vase à onguent (n° 20, fig. 1) n'est absolument pas conforme à la réalité, puisque sa photographie heureusement publiée, montre (n° 20, pl. 1) qu'il est strié.

Si ces quelques remarques n'enlèvent rien à la valeur du texte il n'en reste pas moins vraie, quelque soit la précision de la description, elle ne permet jamais de cerner tous les détails d'un vase, et qu'un archéologue qui cherche des comparaisons pour l'étude de son matériel se penche en premier lieu sur les planches.

Hassan Sarkis

In Memoriam

Le Père Roland de Vaux

Le 10 Septembre 1971 s'éteignait à l'Hôpital St. Joseph de Jérusalem le Père Roland de Vaux, figure célèbre dans le domaine de l'archéologie et des sciences bibliques et personnalité attachante, mondialement connue. Cette mort subite a plongé dans le désarroi ses amis et admirateurs; il était en effet incroyable que cet homme à l'énergie indomptable eût pu succomber si rapidement à la maladie. Si simple, si paisible qu'ait été sa mort, elle n'en est pas moins une catastrophe douloureusement ressentie par nous tous. C'est une vie riche et belle, entièrement consacrée au travail dans la pauvreté et l'abnégation, que la mort vient d'emporter.

Né à Paris en 1909, Roland de Vaux fit ses études secondaires au collège Stanislas et prépara une licence de lettres à la Sorbonne. Il entra ensuite au Séminaire de St. Sulpice et fut ordonné prêtre en 1929. Puis il décida d'embrasser la vie monastique et entra dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs (Pères Dominicains). Trois ans après (1933), il arrivait à Jérusalem qu'il ne devait plus quitter. A l'Ecole Biblique, il rencontra le Père Lagrange, Vincent, Abel et Savignac qui influencèrent sa vocation d'archéologue et de savant bibliste. Après une solide préparation, il professa l'exégèse biblique, l'histoire et l'archéologie de la Palestine jusqu'à sa disparition. Il assura d'ailleurs, pendant plusieurs années, la direction de l'Ecole Biblique.

Grâce à sa formation scientifique, à sa méthode de recherche et de fouille absolument

rigoureuse, et à sa connaissance des langues sémitiques (il parlait l'arabe avec un accent particulier, mais il en était fier), le Père de Vaux contribua largement à éclairer l'histoire et l'archéologie de notre pays. A l'esprit critique du Père Vincent, il ajoutait l'esprit pratique d'un technicien de fouilles. Son exploration de la région de Salt avec le Père Benoit, en 1937, reste notre seule source de renseignements sur une région difficile d'accès, même de nos jours. Sa publication de la mosaïque de Ma'in est d'une grande précision et d'une importance capitale pour la période byzantine. Comme cette mosaïque est actuellement en mauvais état, l'étude du Père de Vaux est aussi précieuse que le monument lui-même.

Mais ses travaux les plus remarquables furent les fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah (près de Naplouse) et de Qumrân.

Le premier de ces sites (identifié avec Tirsah) a été fouillé par le Père de Vaux à partir de 1946 et jusqu'en 1960, avec des interruptions. Les renseignements archéologiques qu'a livré ce grand tell ont été admirablement exploités par le fouilleur si bien que le site est l'un des plus intéressants pour notre connaissance des époques du Bronze ancien et du Fer.

Quant aux fouilles de Qumrân, elles sont trop connues pour qu'on ait besoin de les commenter longuement. Elles ont fait du Père de Vaux l'un des héros des célèbres manuscrits de la Mer Morte et le plus vaillant défenseur de la thèse essénienne. Tout le monde se souvient de ses conférences passionnées à Jérusalem. Ses rapports détaillés de fouilles et son livre

de synthèse *L'Archéologie et les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte* font preuve d'une compétence et d'une richesse scientifiques dignes de ce grand maître de l'archéologie palestinienne. C'est à juste titre qu'il fut nommé directeur de l'équipe internationale qui travaille depuis plusieurs années à la publication des manuscrits de la Mer Morte. A ce titre, il s'opposa courageusement, après la guerre de 1967, au transfert des manuscrits du Musée Palestinien à celui de Jérusalem Ouest.

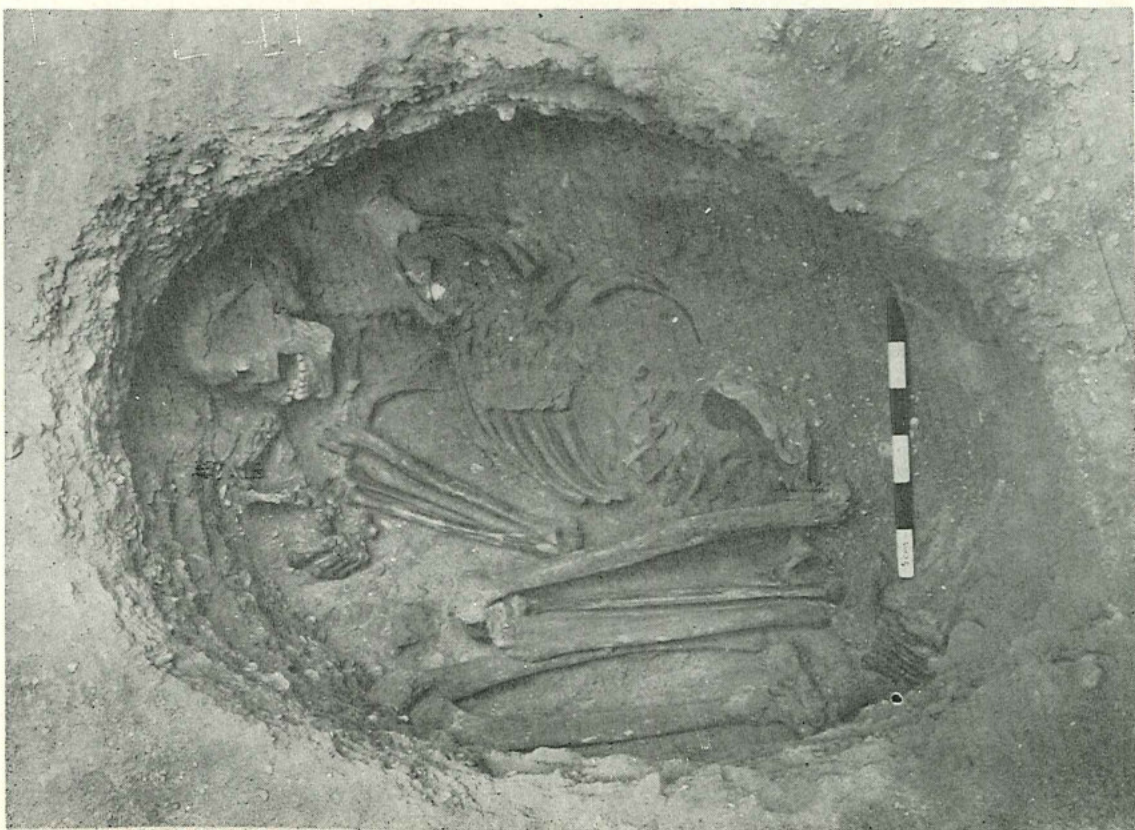
J'ai connu le Père de Vaux en 1959, lorsqu'il m'a engagé comme secrétaire de l'Ecole Biblique. L'idée de travailler avec ce grand savant, dont les récentes fouilles de Qumrân avaient ébloui le monde entier, m'avait d'abord effrayé.

Mais je devais découvrir, dès le premier jour, que ce grand homme était d'une bonté et d'une simplicité qui m'ont surpris. Il était un peu brusque parfois, mais lorsqu'on le connaissait, on savait que cela partait d'un bon cœur. Je dois d'ailleurs avouer que ce patron exceptionnel n'était point exigeant comme je l'imaginais. Il m'a conquis à l'archéologie par ses cours passionnants et j'ai senti son désir sincère de former des indigènes dans cette discipline sévère.

Le Département des Antiquités de Jordanie rend un juste hommage à la mémoire du grand savant et à son œuvre magistrale, consacrée en grande partie à l'histoire et à l'archéologie de notre pays.

F. Zayadine

Plates



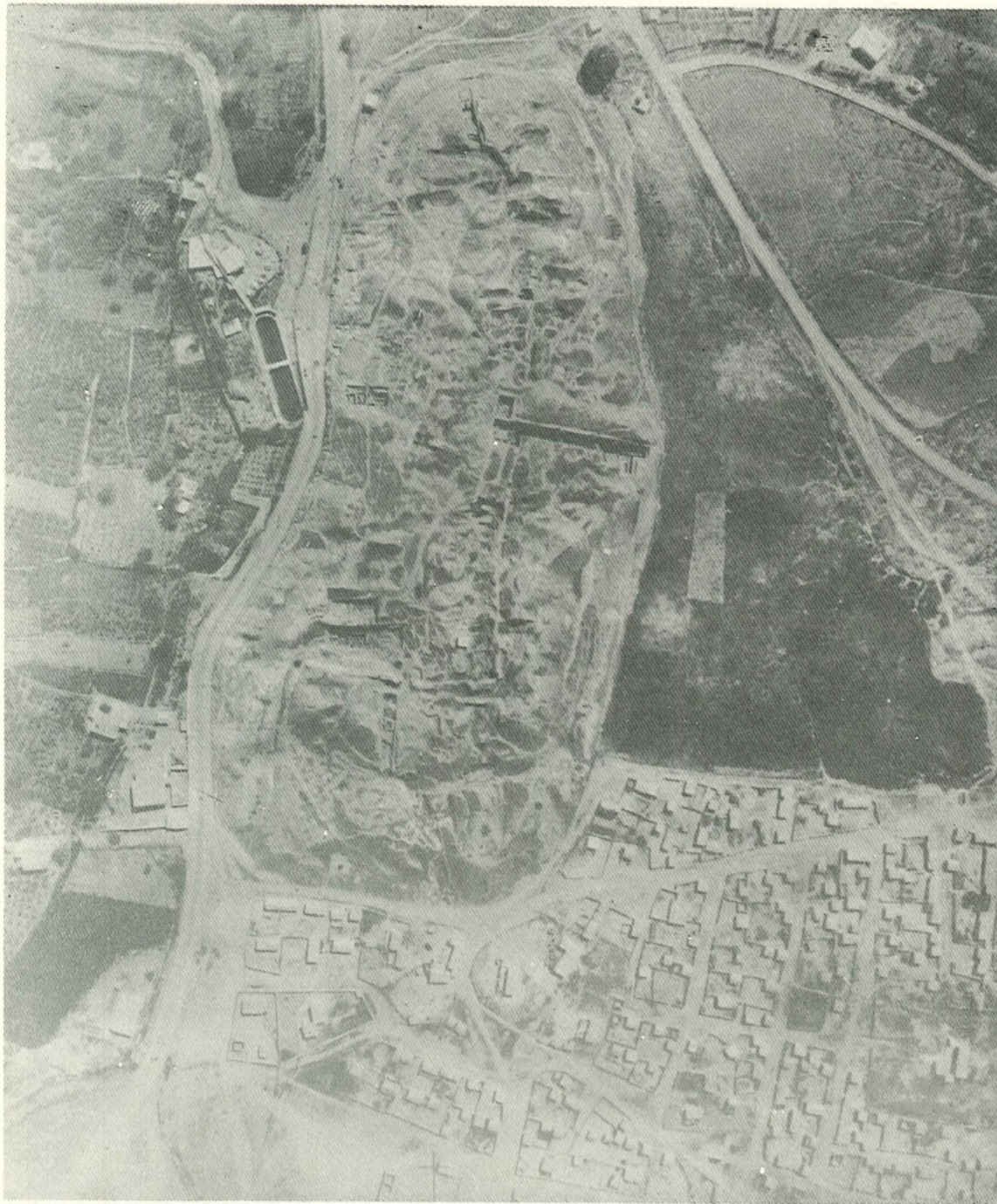
A. Contracted skeleton of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A burial in pit in floor of house.
B. Contracted skeleton of Pre-Pottery A burial in pit beneath surface adjoining tower.



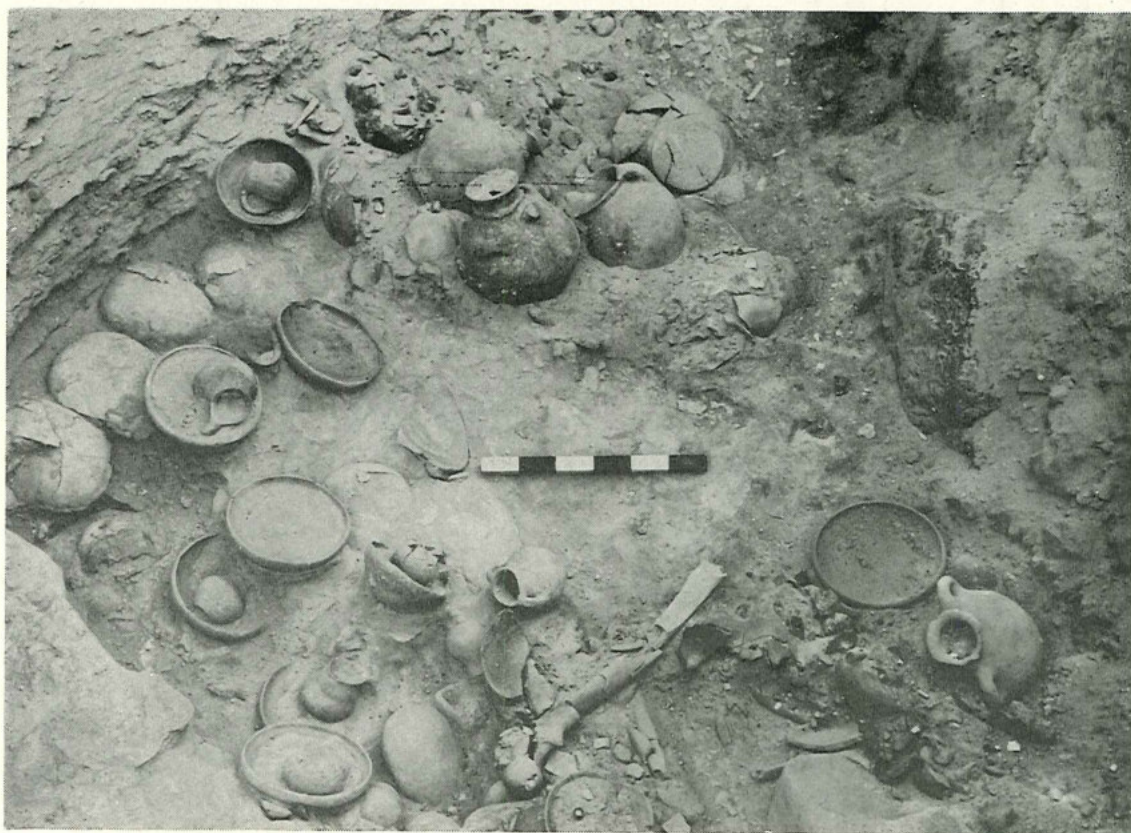
- A. Skeleton of Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period.
B. Pre-Pottery Neolithic B skeleton with cranium removed and mandible displaced.



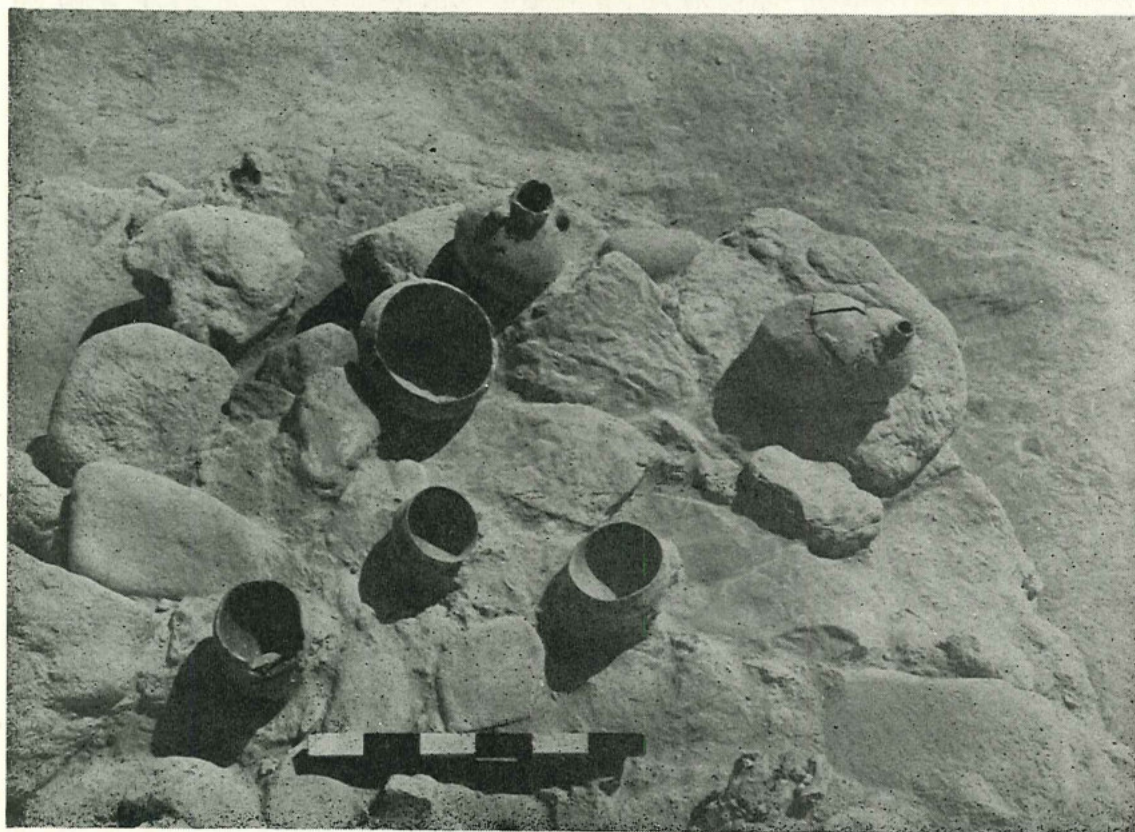
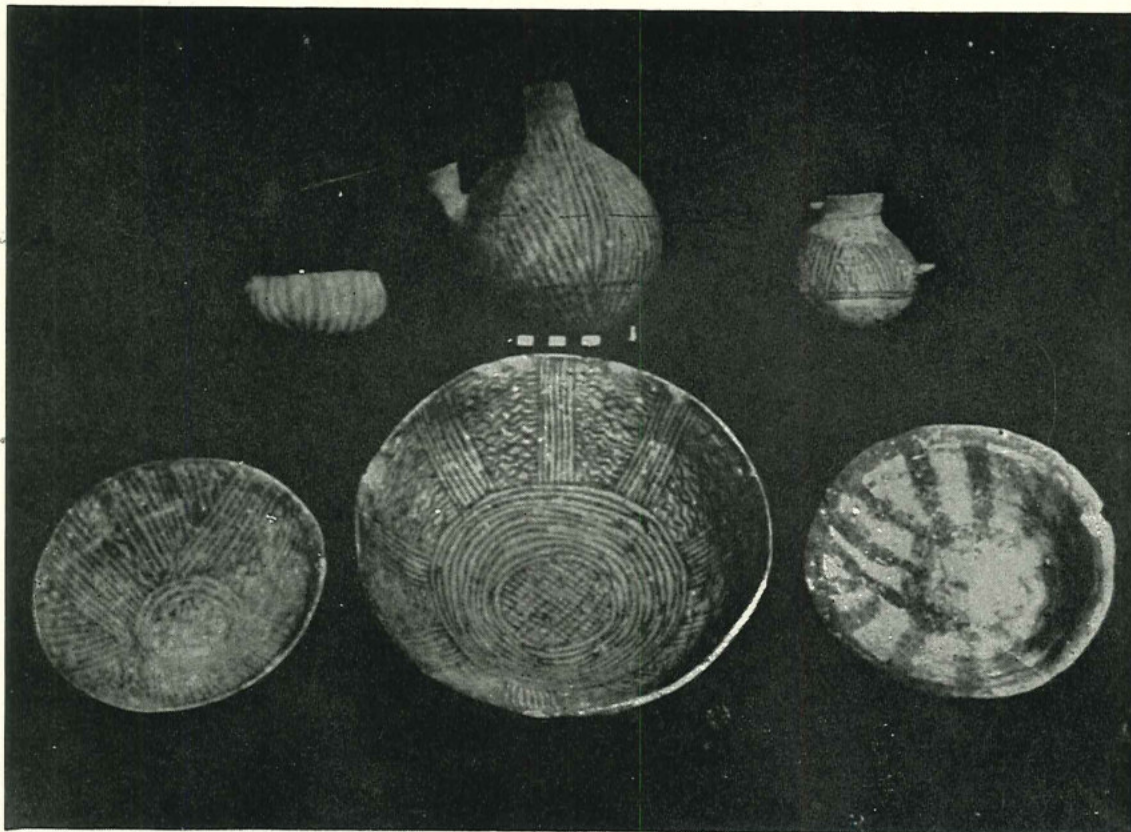
A. Disordered bonse of Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period
B. Proto-urban A tomb A 94 after clearance.



Air view of Tell es-Sultan and area of cemetery to north.



A. Skulls with accompanying pottery vessels stacked against wall of tomb A 94.
 B. Pottery from Pottery-urban A tomb A 94.

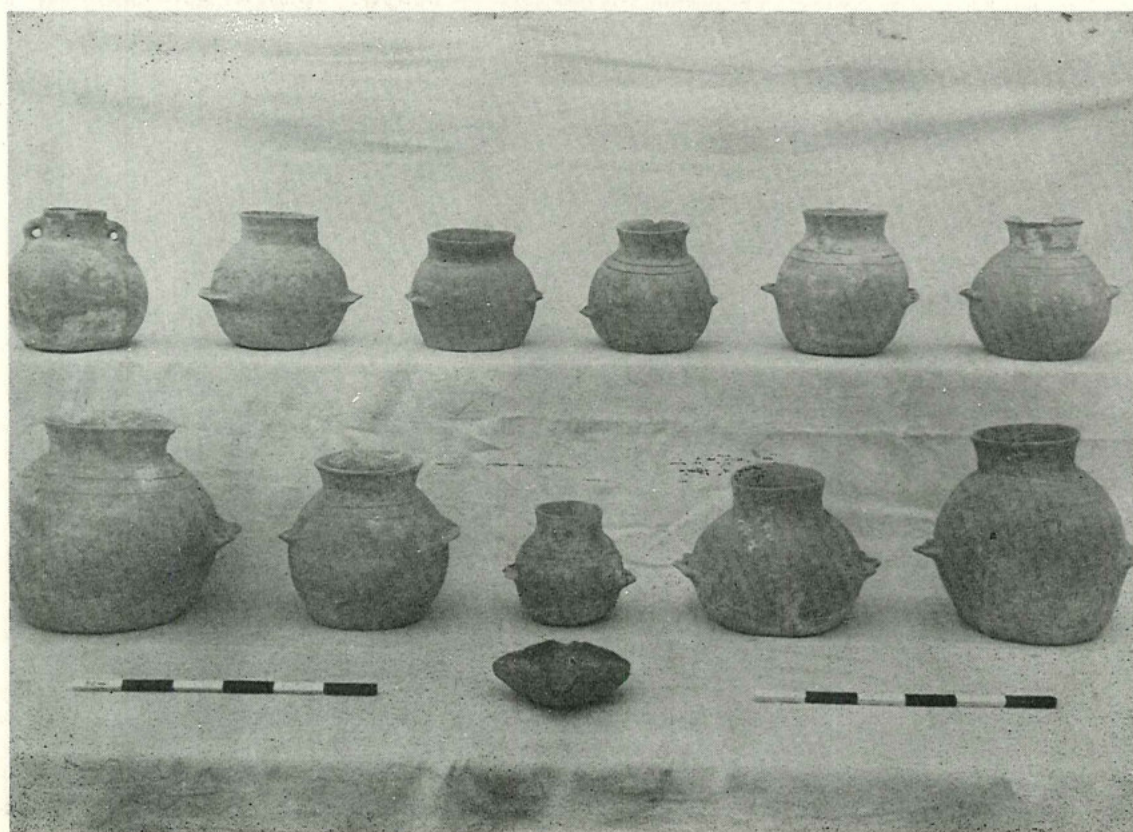
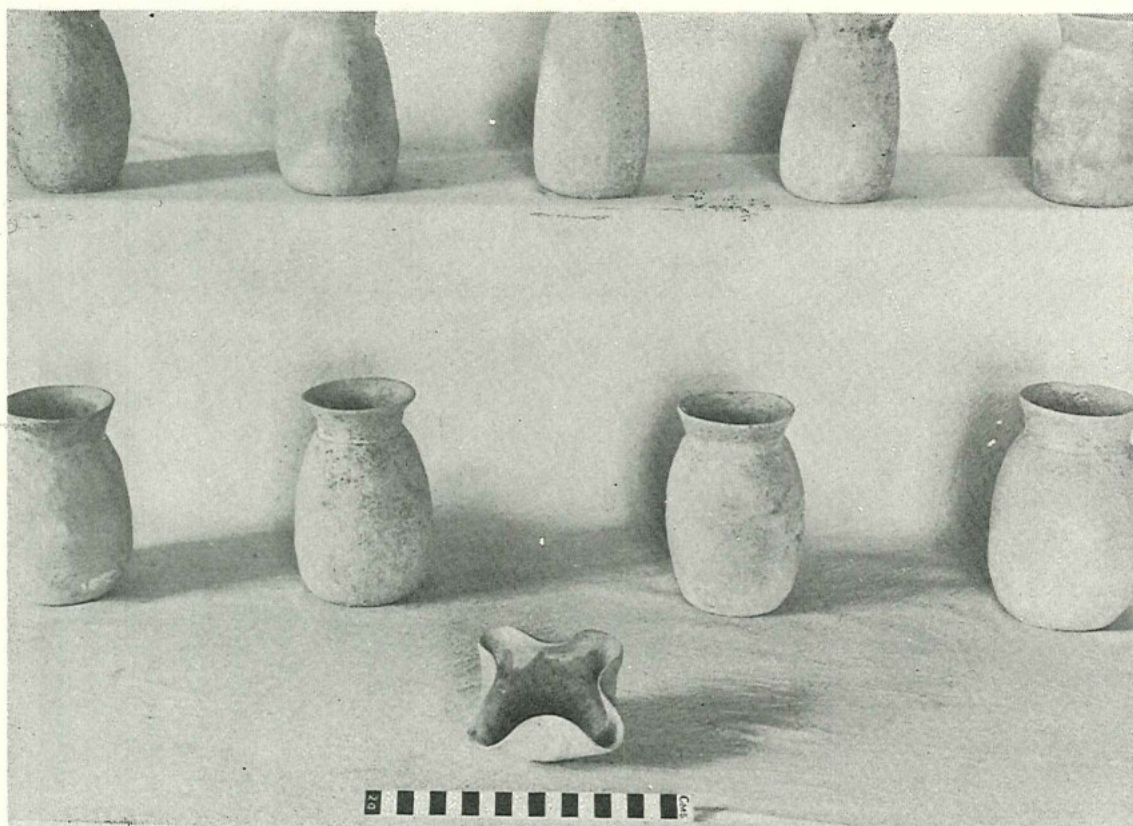


A. Pottery from Proto-urban B tomb A 13.
B. Platform and pots in Proto-urban B tomb A 13.



A. Pottery from tomb F 4.

B. Burial in E. B. — M. B. Dagger-type tomb A 129



A. Pottery from E. B. — M. B. Pottery-type tomb H 20.

B. Pottery from E. B. — M. B. Outsize-type tomb 0 4.



A. Middle Bronze Age tomb J 1.

B. Middle Bronze Age tomb G 73.

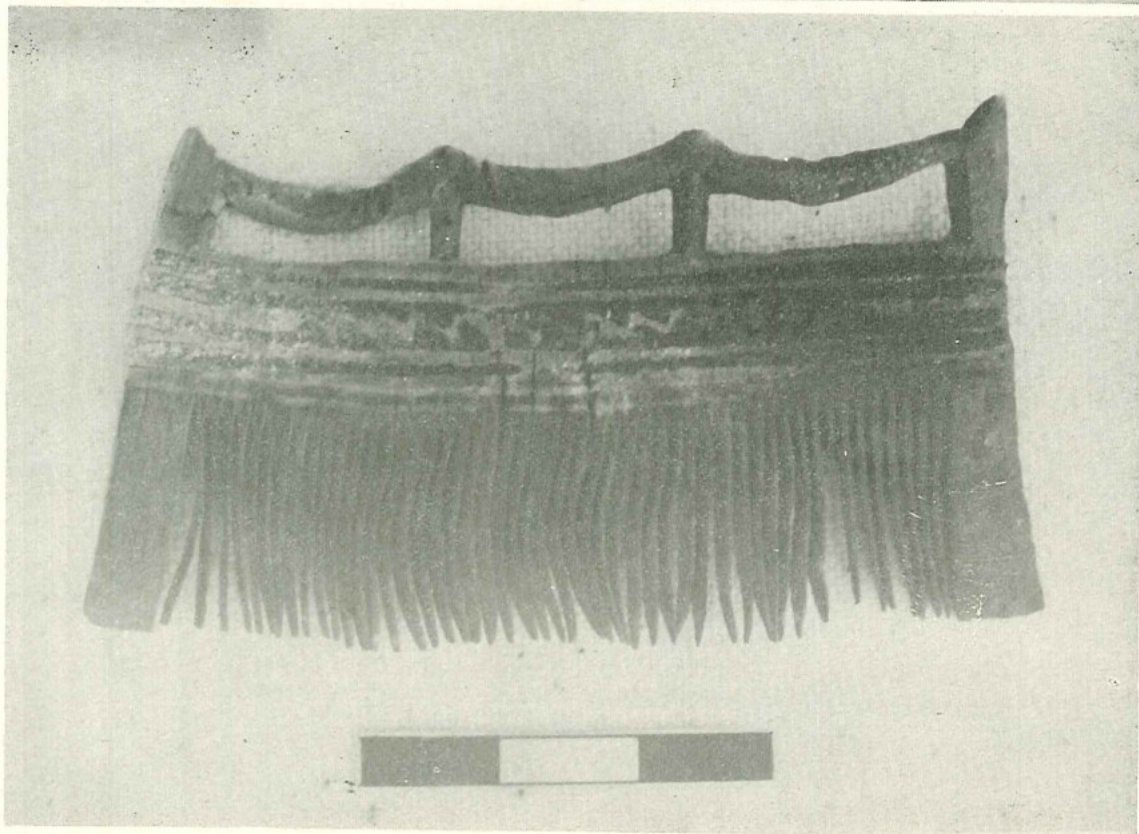
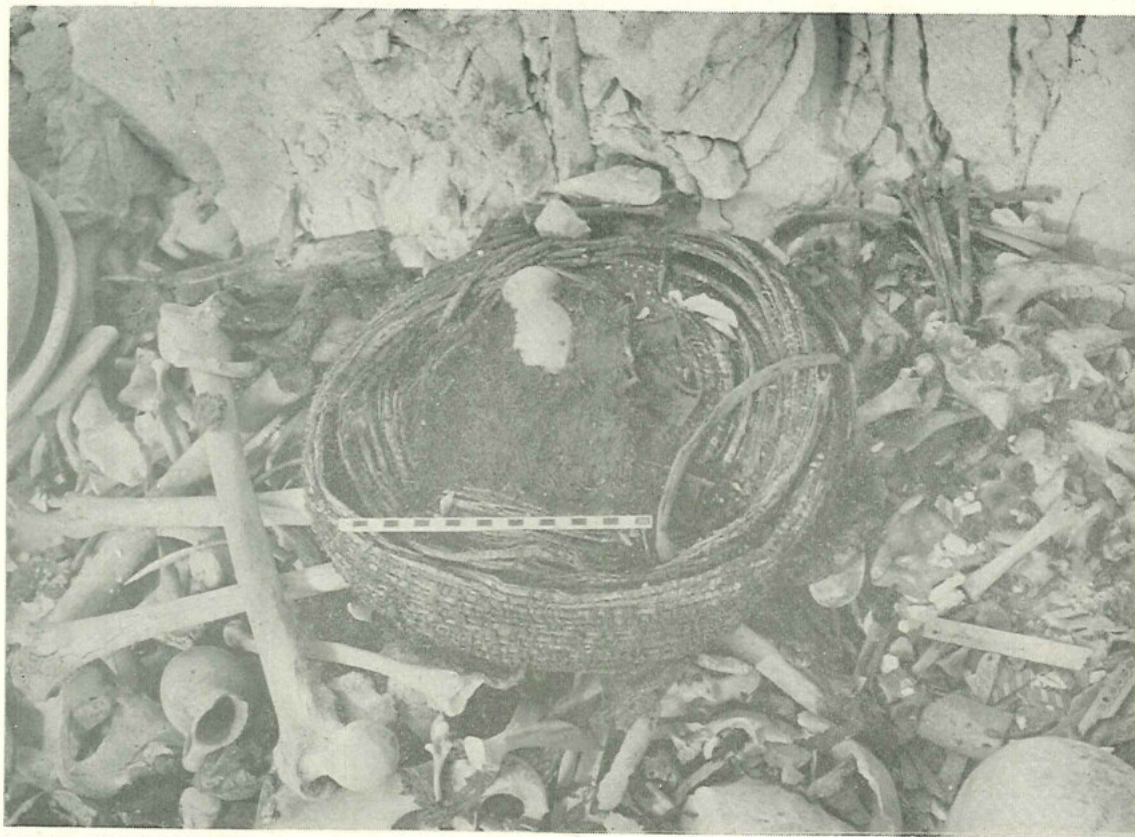


A. Middle Bronze Age tomb M 11.

B. Middle Bronze Age tomb H 18.

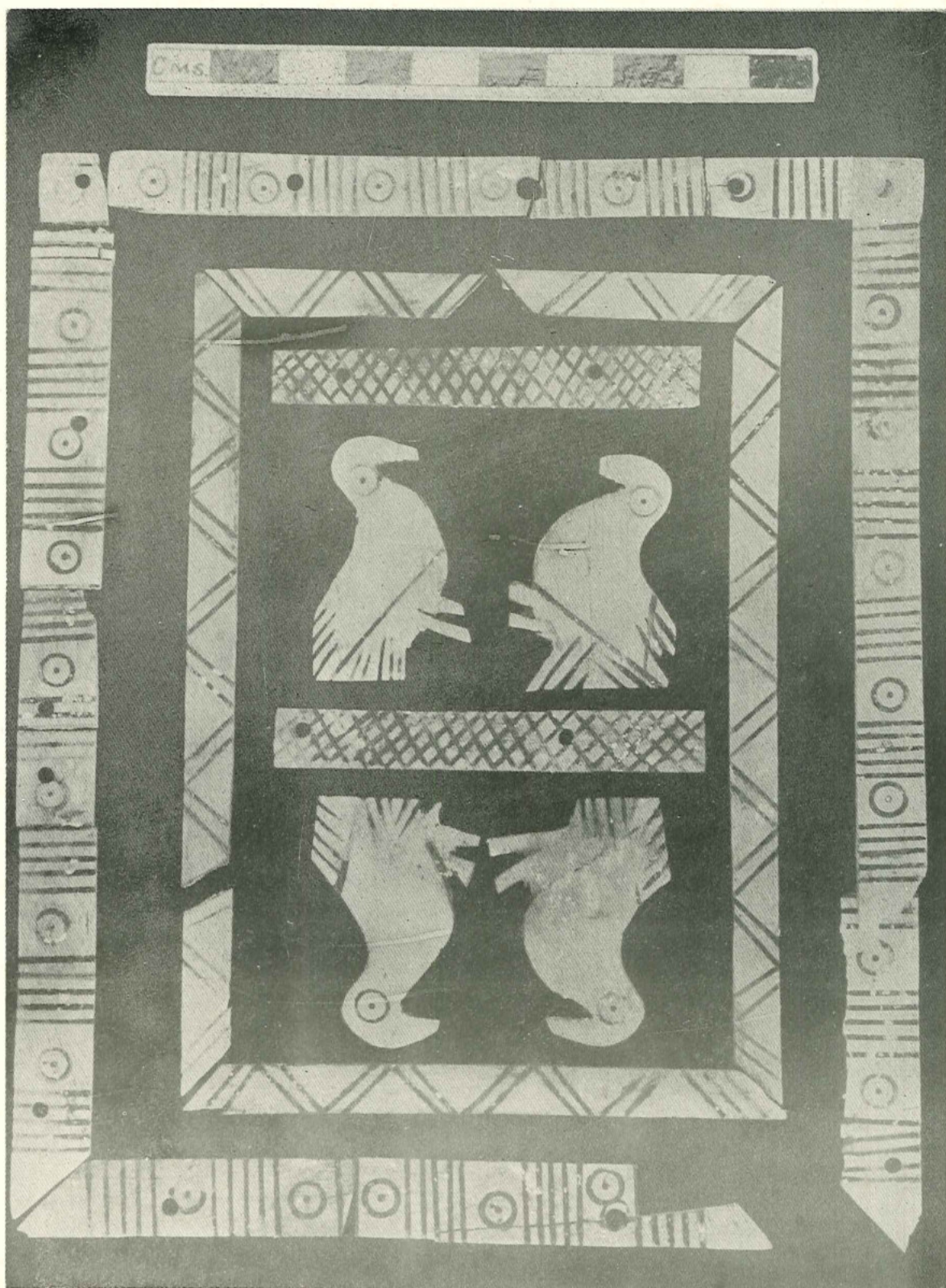


A. Middle Bronze Age tomb H 22.
B. Burial in Middle Bronze Age tomb H 6.



A. Basket from Middle Bronze Age tomb H 18.

B. Wooden comb from Middle Bronze Age tomb H 22.



Bone carvings from wooden box in tomb H 22.

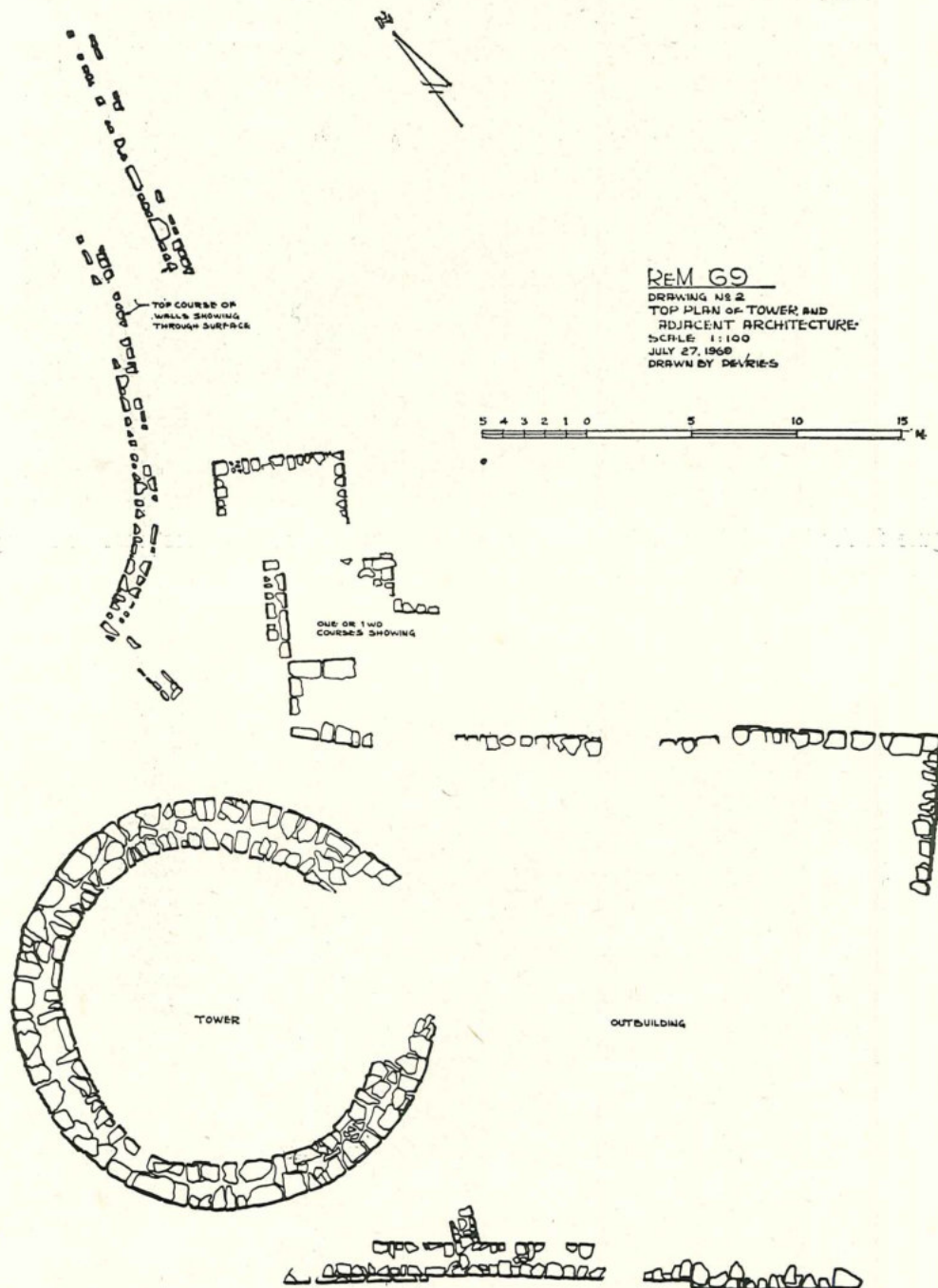


Figure 1. The general plan of the walls showing through ground surface at the beginning of the 1969 sounding at Rujm el-Malfuf (North).



Figure 2. A view of the exterior of the round tower wall (Locus 6) west face as it appeared at the beginning of the sounding.



Figure 3. The view shows the north face of the exterior wall of the building adjacent to the round tower on the east. Some evidence of use of the stone for quarrying can be seen in the pile of smaller chunks at the left.



Figure 4. The jumbled mass of rock tumble marking the apparent juncture of the round tower with the building adjacent on the east is seen at the center and right foreground of this view looking northwest from inside the adjacent building. A portion of the tower wall at the south edge of the "juncture" is visible on the left.

Boraas — Fig. 5

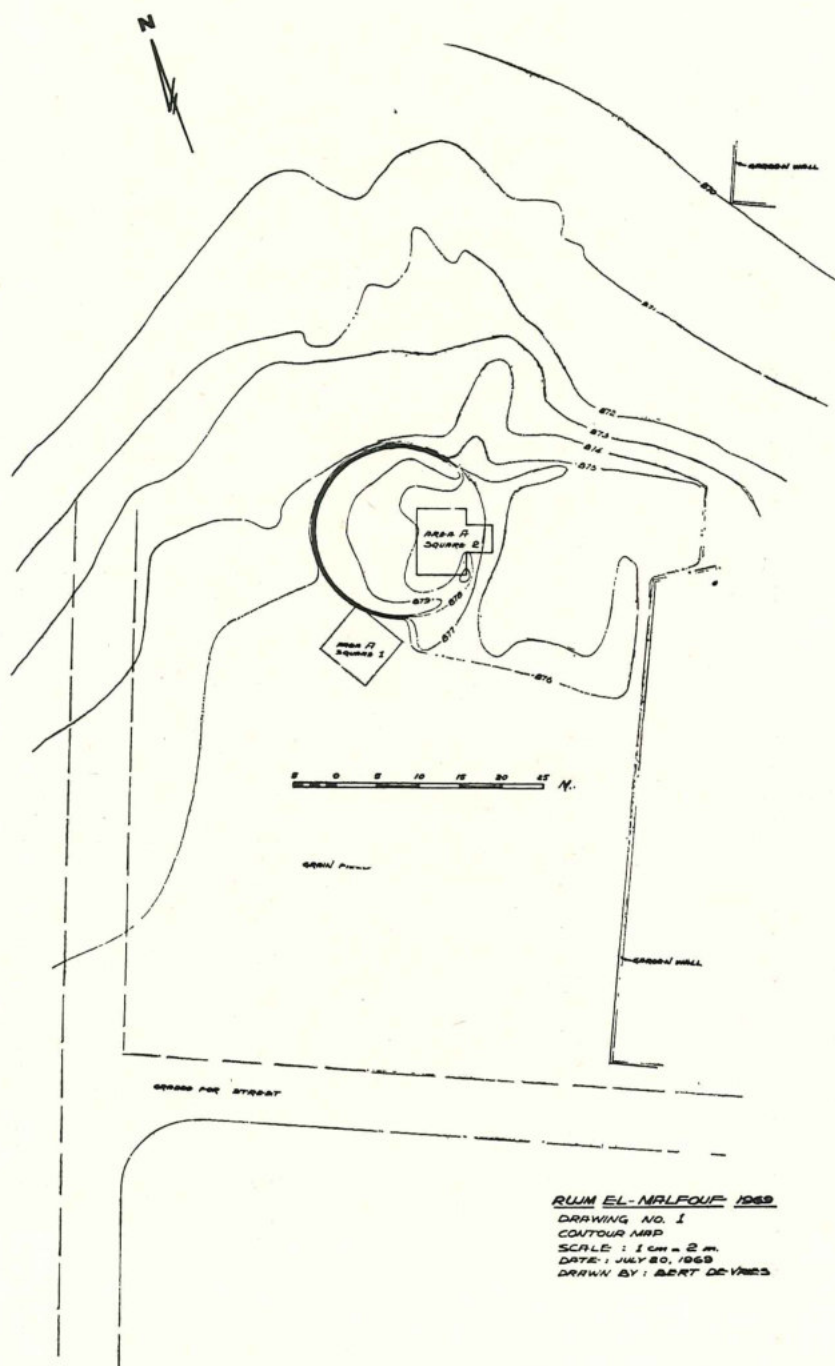


Figure 5. A contour map of the site also showing the location of the two Squares comprising the 1969 sounding. The rate of descent to the north increases rapidly beyond the scope of the map into the wadi below.

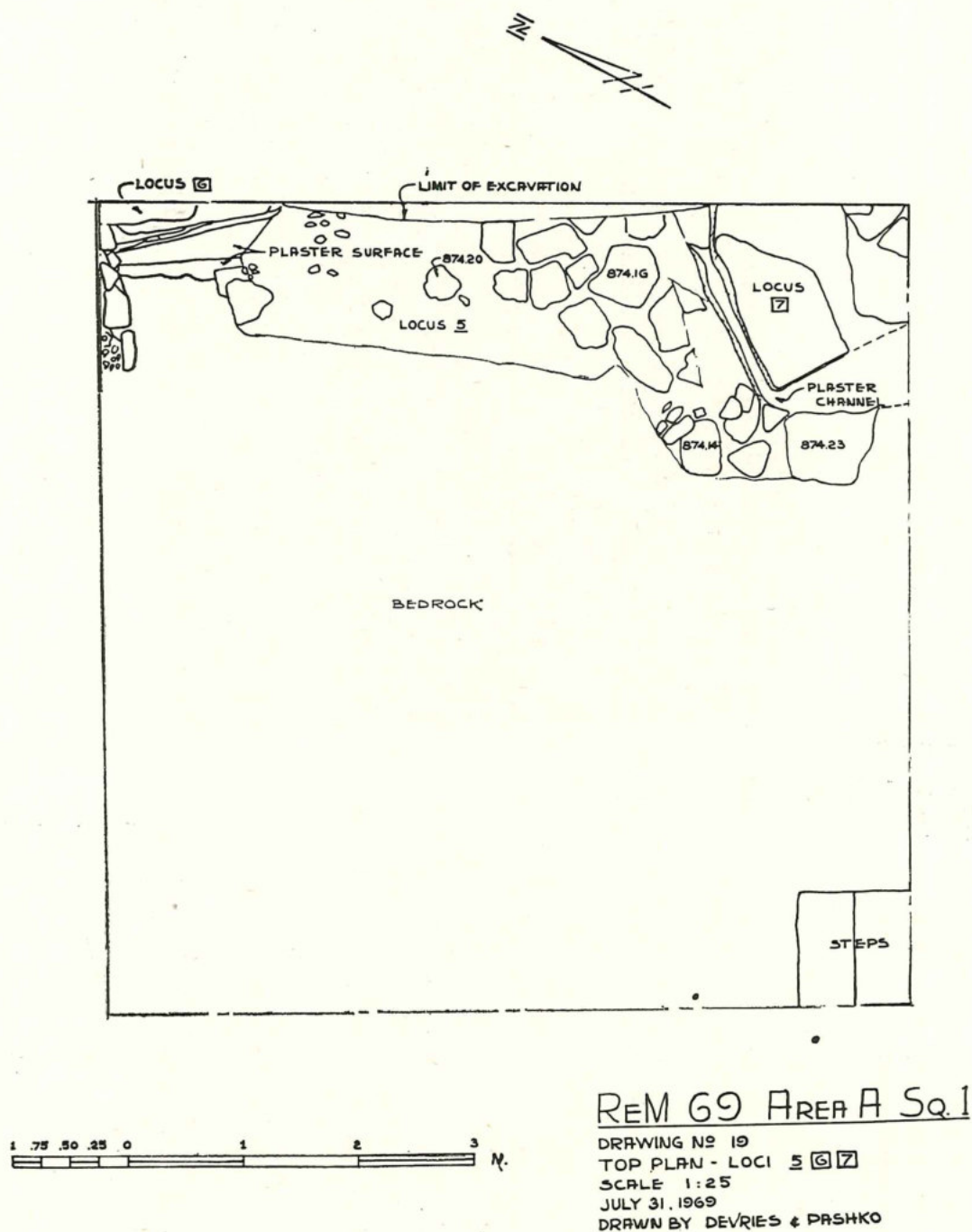
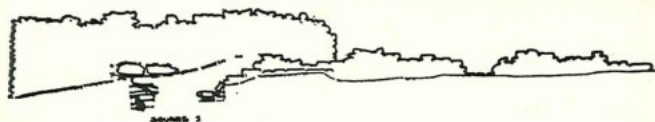


Figure 6. Top plan of Area A, Square 1 showing the relation of the foundations of the tower wall (upper left) and the adjacent building (Locus 7 upper right) with the plaster drain channel and plaster foundation seal still in place. The few stones which may have been part of a rough laid surface as part of Locus 5 are seen around the corner of the foundation of the adjacent building, (upper center and right).



REM 69 Area B
 DRAWING OF A
 TOP PLAN & ELEVATION OF TOWER
 EXCAVATED IN 1960-1961
 SCALE 1:100
 S.C. & S.P.
 DRAWN BY S. V. S.

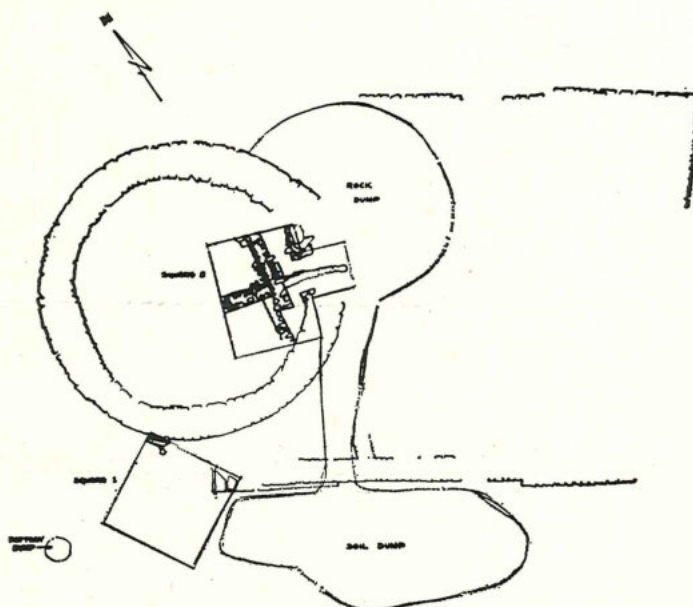


Figure 7. A view of the plaster drain channel running along the foundation stone of the adjacent building (Locus 7). Note the plaster turning the corner of the foundation (bottom center). While there had been some degeneration of the plaster at the bottom of the channel, it survived remarkably well in portions up both sides of the channel cavity.

Figure 8. The top plan (right) shows the location of the two Squares and the portions of walls surviving within the sectors excavated. The elevation, upper left is a view showing the particulars of the walls exposed in Square 1 in relation to the over all outline of the surviving ruin as viewed from the south.

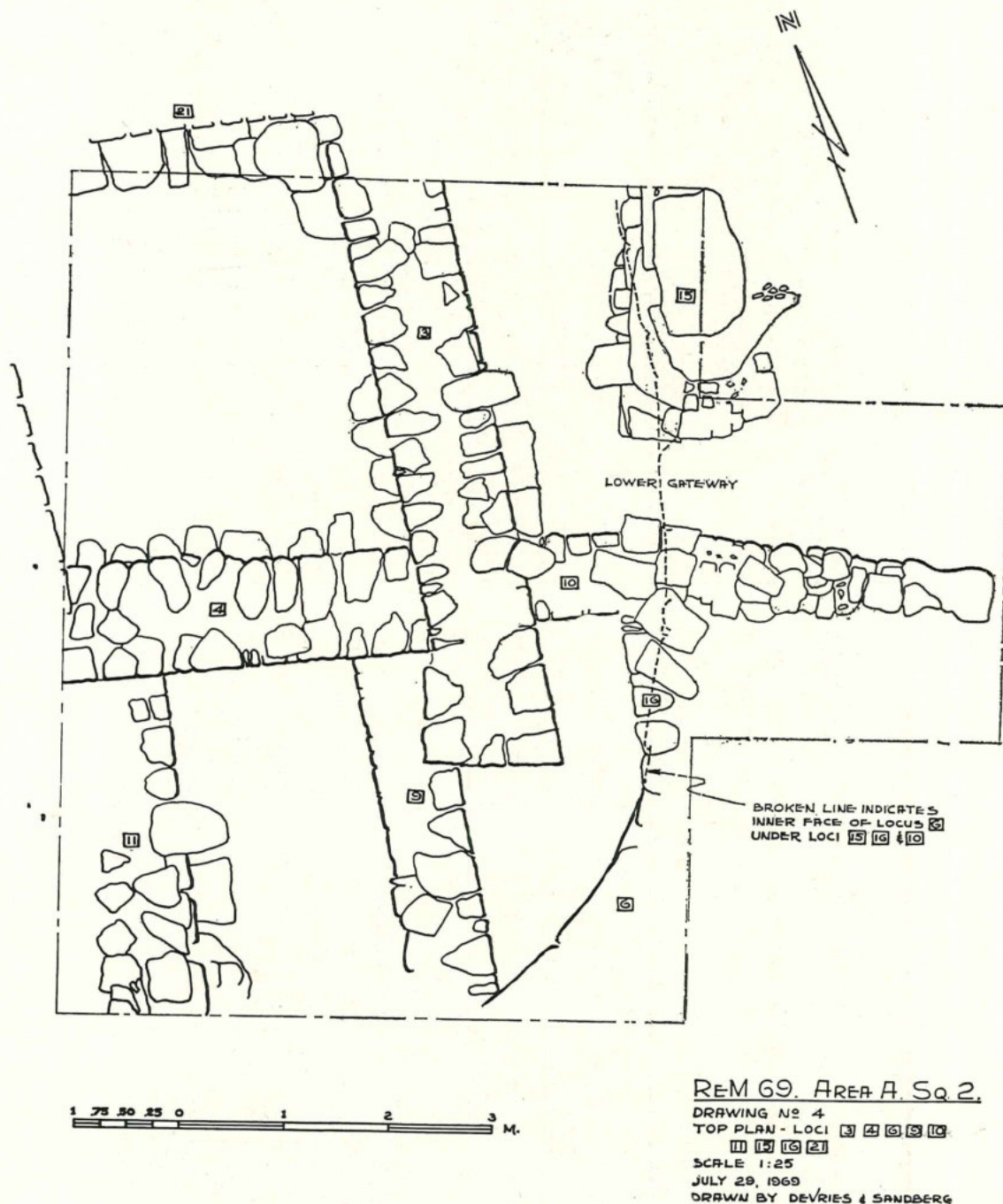


Figure 9. The top plan of Area A, Square 2, located inside the tower, shows the placement or the surviving walls of the interior architecture. The normal interior line of the tower wall (Locus 6) is indicated by the broken line near the east balk of the original Square plan. The sector of the east balk extended by excavation eastward in the attempt to trace the details of the gateway connection to the adjacent building shows the deteriorated portion of wall (10) insofar as it was traceable.

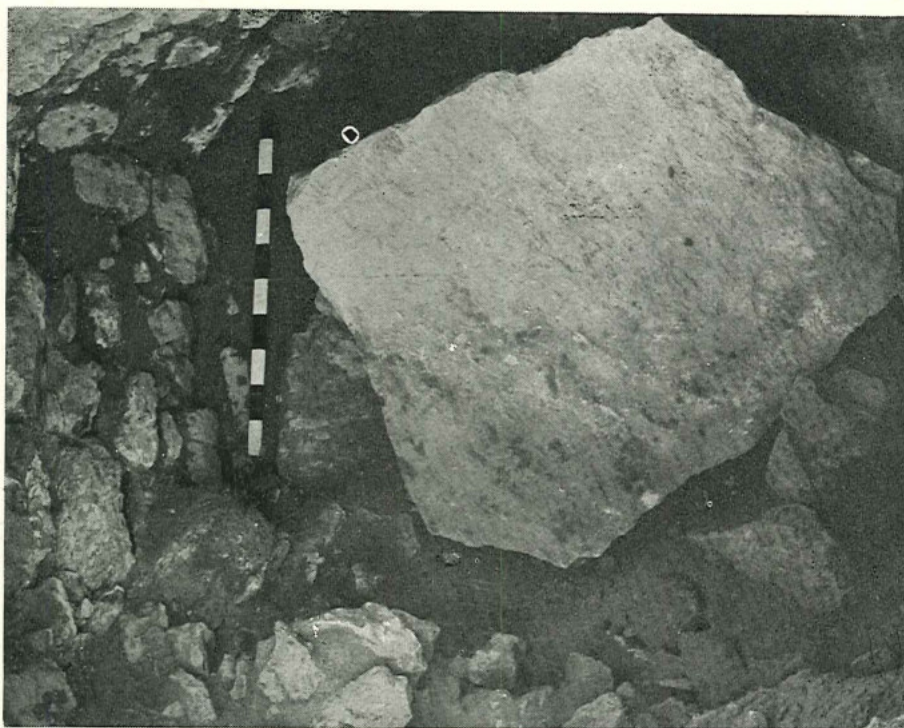


Figure 10. The view looks down on one of the limestone slabs apparently used as ceiling slabs in the interior rooms of the tower. Except for selection by thinness, no evidence of working the stone was apparent.

Figure 11. Stones corbelled from one of the surviving walls in the northwest sector of Square 2. The approximately horizontal line of the set of the stones allowed for the bracing of ceiling cover stones.

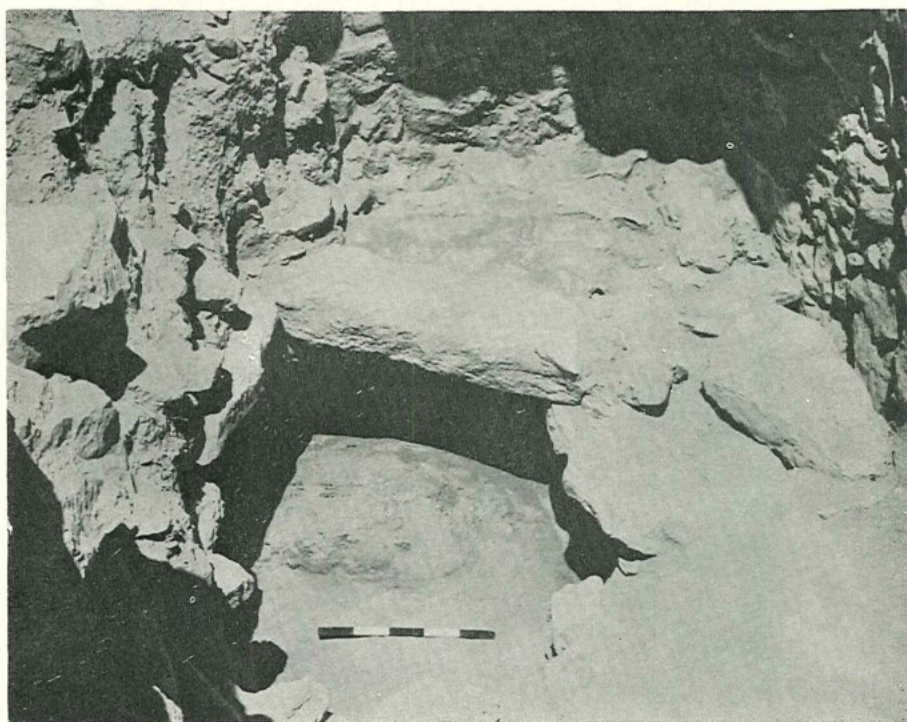


Figure 12. A surviving example of the corbelled ceiling support structure *in situ* in the north-west quadrant of Square 2. Support stones were still in place both on the left and the right, with the ceiling slab at the upper center.

Figure 13. The view looks down through the collapsed floor sector after the debris of the collapse had been removed. The loose tumble of the destruction debris (Locus 2) is visible at the left. The stones and some of the corbelled floor support under the floor are seen at the center and right. Wall (3) is seen in part of its west face above floor 18 at the upper right corner of the photo. Just above the meter stick the apparent mound of sifted accumulation in the "basement" is visible.

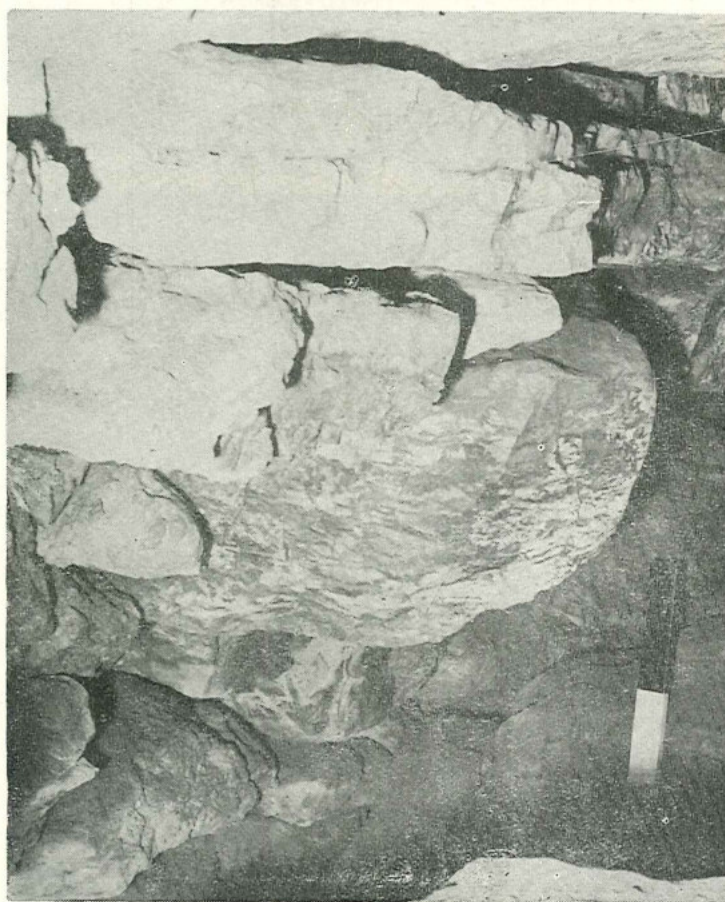


Figure 14. The view shows the completed section cut through the mound of "basement" accumulation down to bedrock (bottom center).

Figure 15. The view shows the sub-floor support corbelled from wall (4) (bottom left), with bracing stones supporting a floor slab (extreme upper edge of photo), still *in situ*.

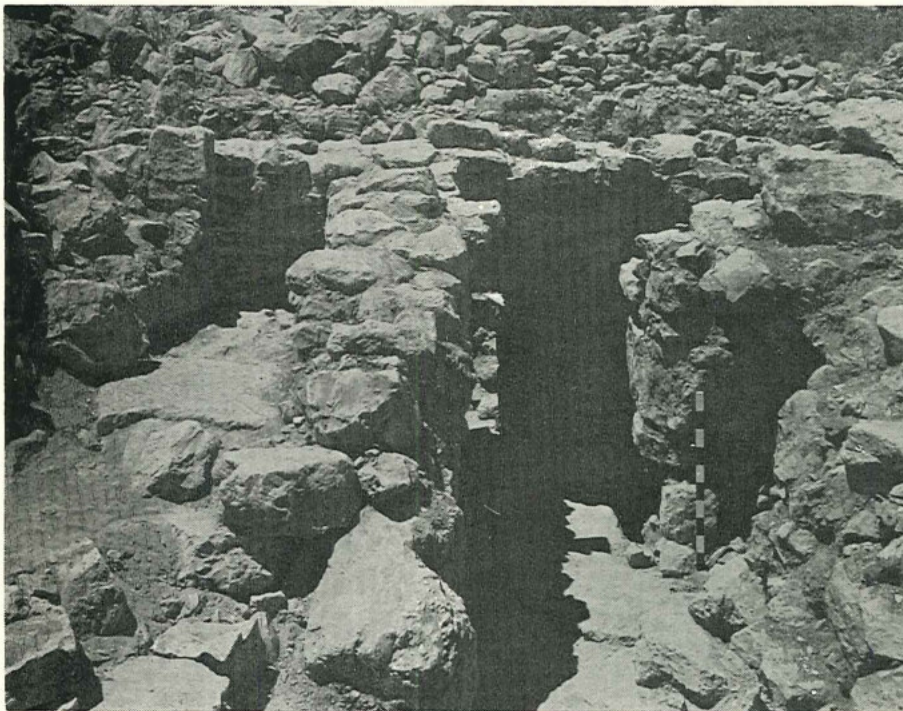
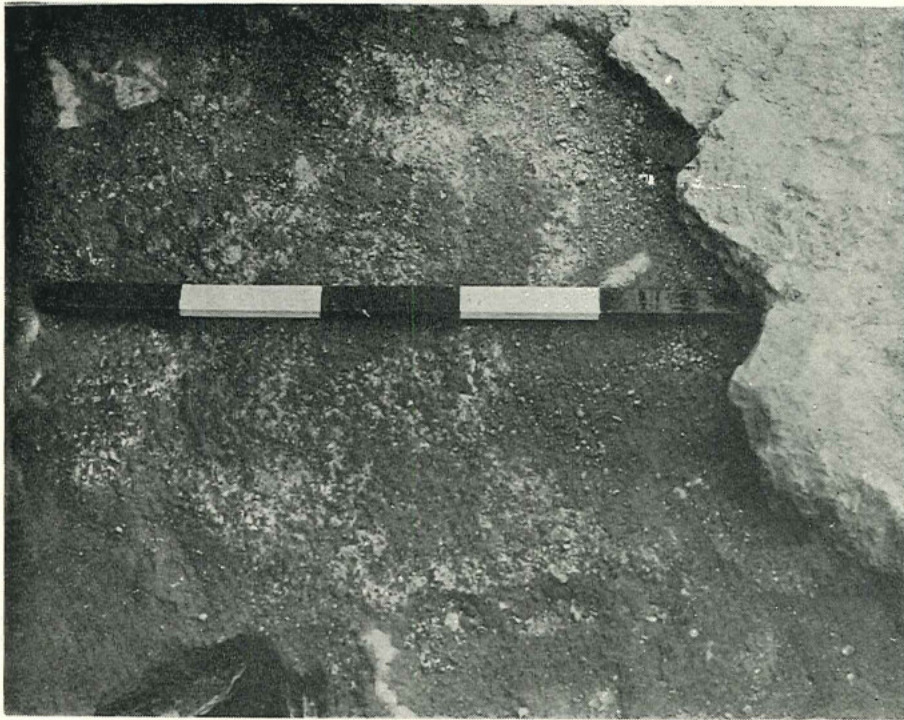


Figure 16. The view looks down on a portion of the plaster base for a mosaic floor, set directly against the exterior edge of the tower wall slab forming the threshold for the lower gateway entrance into the tower from the adjacent building.

Figure 17. The view looks west through the entrance way to the tower from the adjacent building. The "main floor" level gateway is at lower right and the upper portion at left center. The south face of wall (15) is visible just left of the meter stick. A portion of the cleared doorway through wall (3) shows at the left of the lower gateway.



Figure 18. View looking west through the lower gateway, with the east face of wall (3) behind the meter stick, the north face of wall (10) at the left, and the debris in the uncleared doorway through wall (3) just left of the meter stick.

Figure 19. Closeup view looking west through the cleared doorway in wall (3). Note vertical limestone blocks and the lintel stone (top center) bonded into walls (3) and (4)-(10). The hole for a horizontal bolt was sunk in the limestone blocks lining the right side of the doorway.



Figure 20. Closeup view of the niche built into the north face of wall (4) in the room inside the wall (3) doorway. The .25 m. scale stick rests on some of the surviving plaster which was found on the bottom of the niche. It was impossible to detect whether the sides and back of the niche had also been plastered.

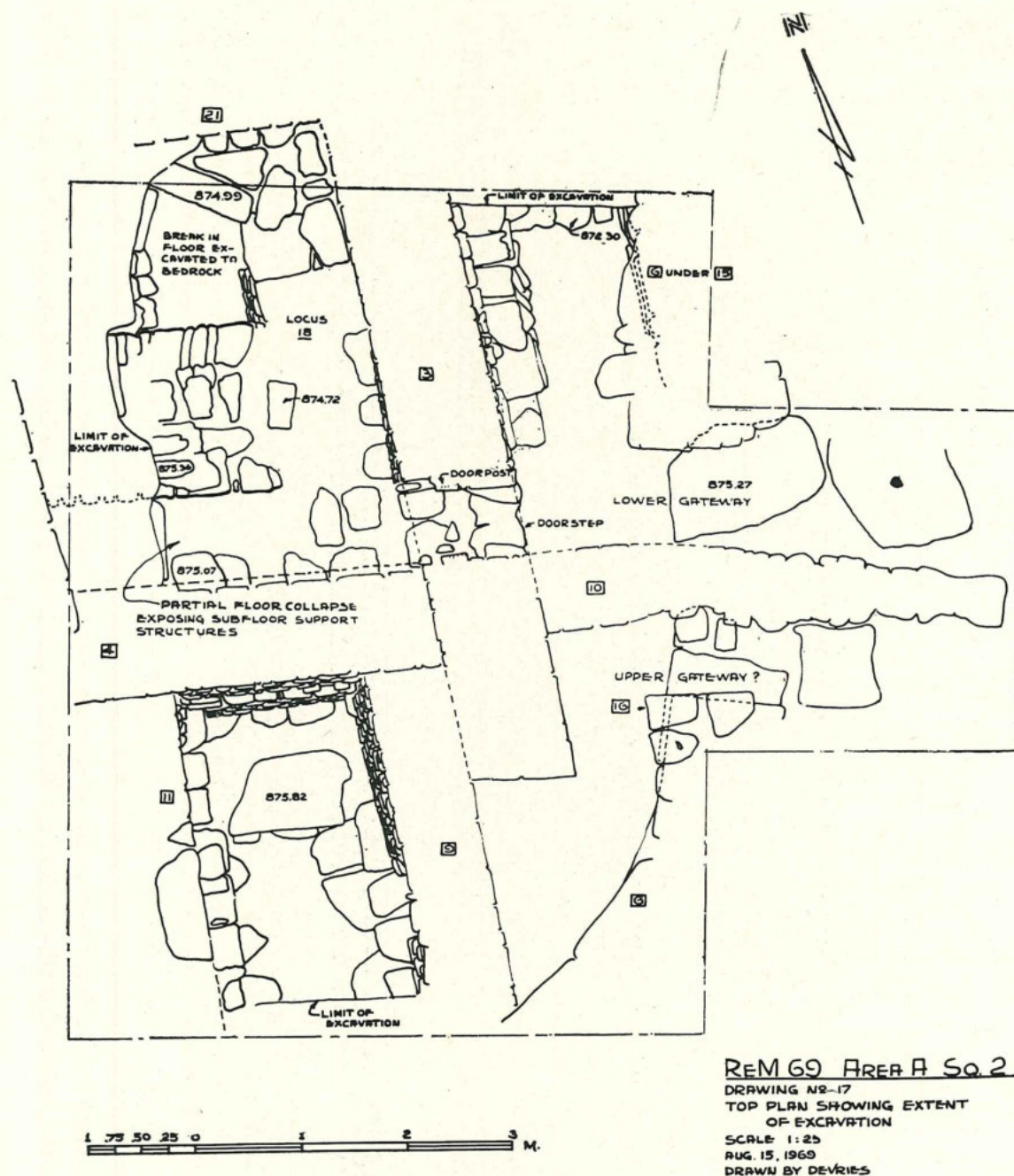


Figure 21. Top plan of the wall and floor supports exposed by the end of the season in Area A, Square 2.

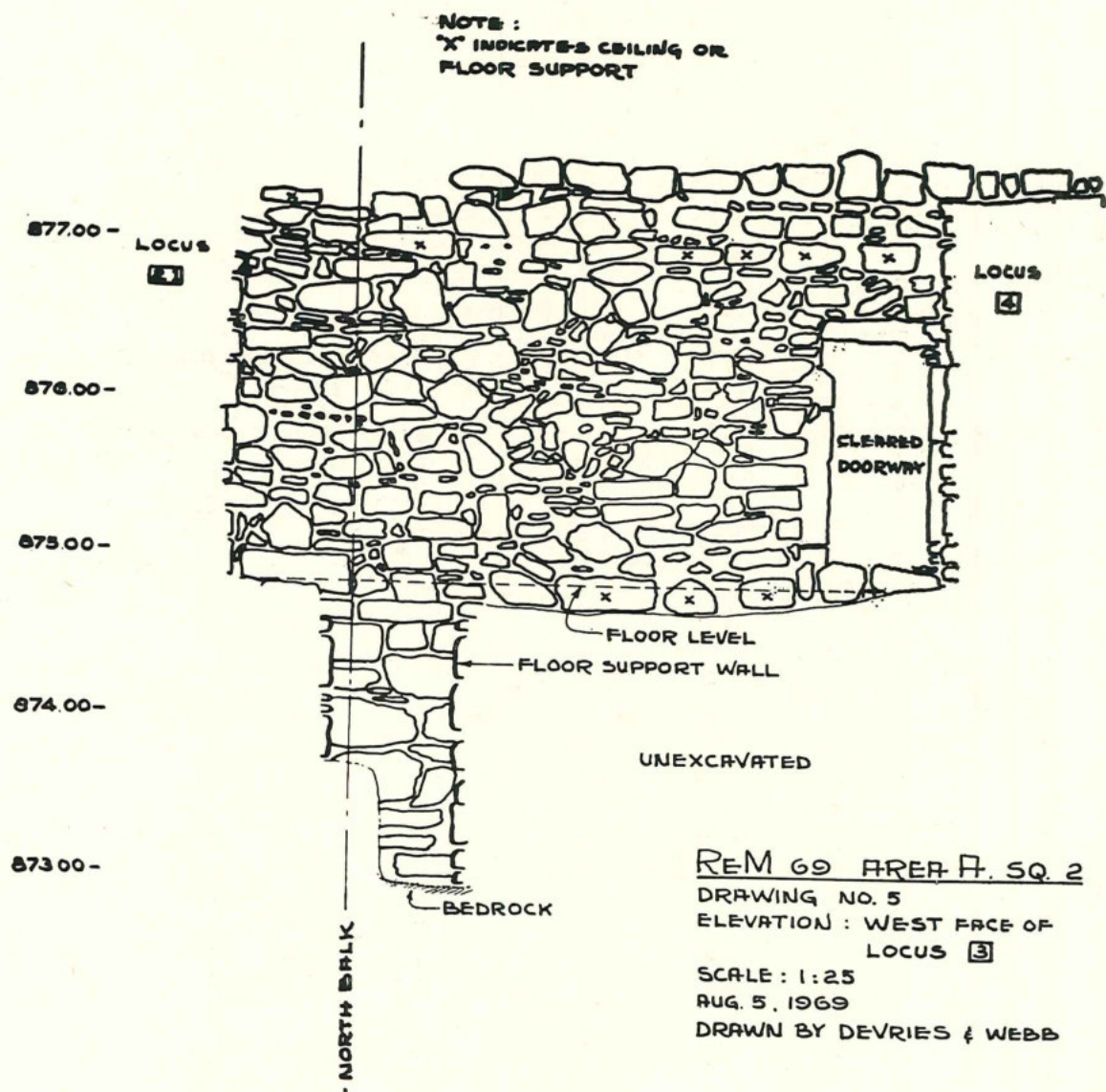


Figure 22. Elevation of the west face of wall (3) indicating the main floor level and the stones corbelled from wall (3) to provide for ceiling support. The cleared doorway through wall (3) appears at right center, and the portion of the "basement" excavated to bedrock, showing the founding level of wall (3) appears at left center. The extremely loose soil comprising the destruction debris fell away from the north balk above floor level causing exposure of the south face of an unexcavated wall (Locus 21), extreme left).

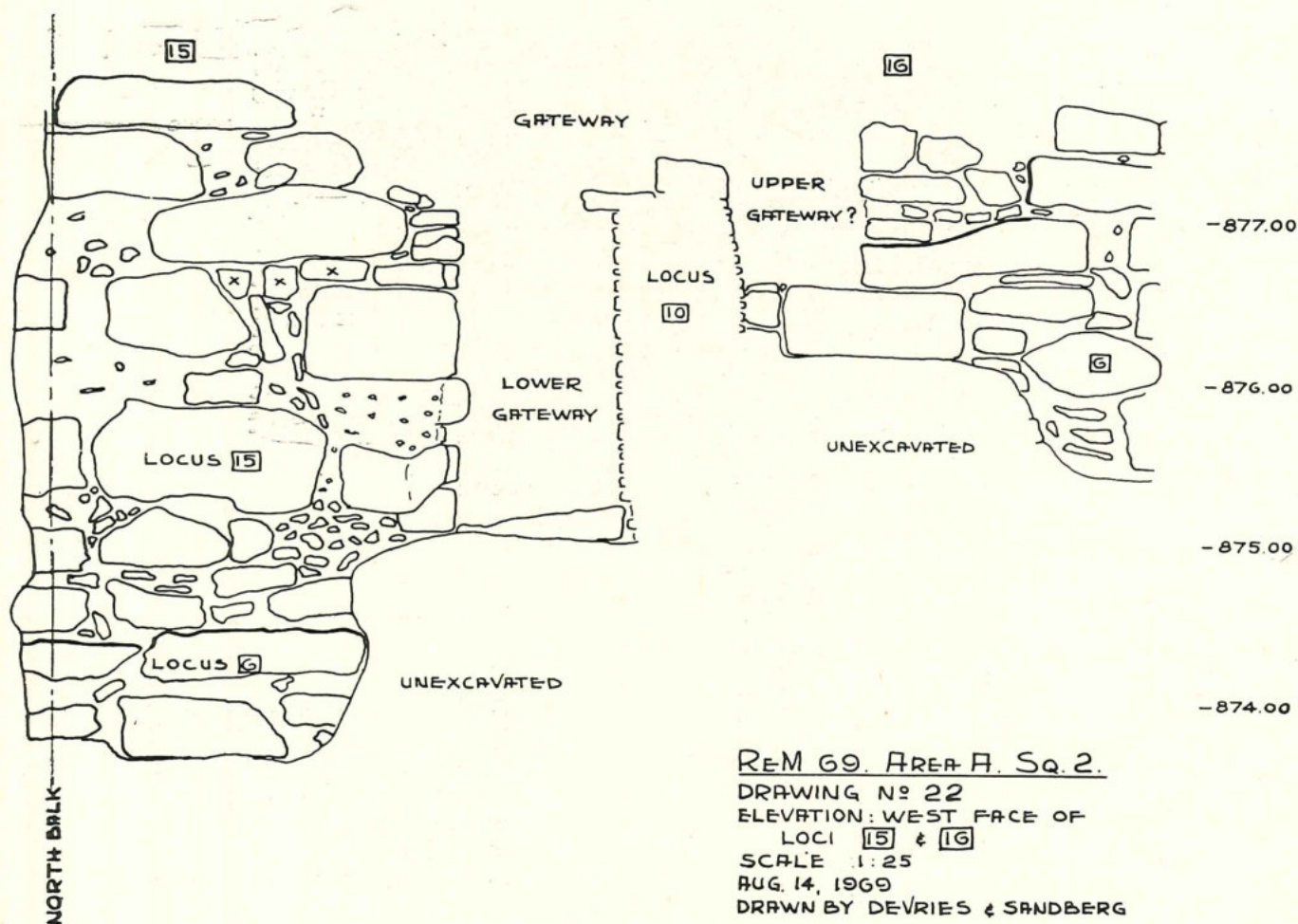


Figure 23. Elevation of the west faces of walls (15), (16) and (6), indicating the vertical and horizontal relationships of the two stages of the main gateway into the tower insofar as they were exposed by the work finished in 1969. Further excavation is needed to clarify the gateway substructure (s).

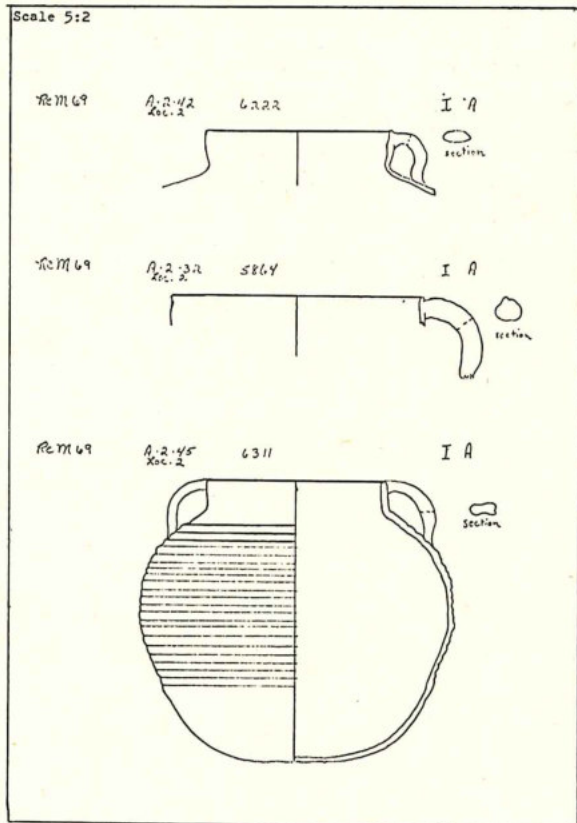
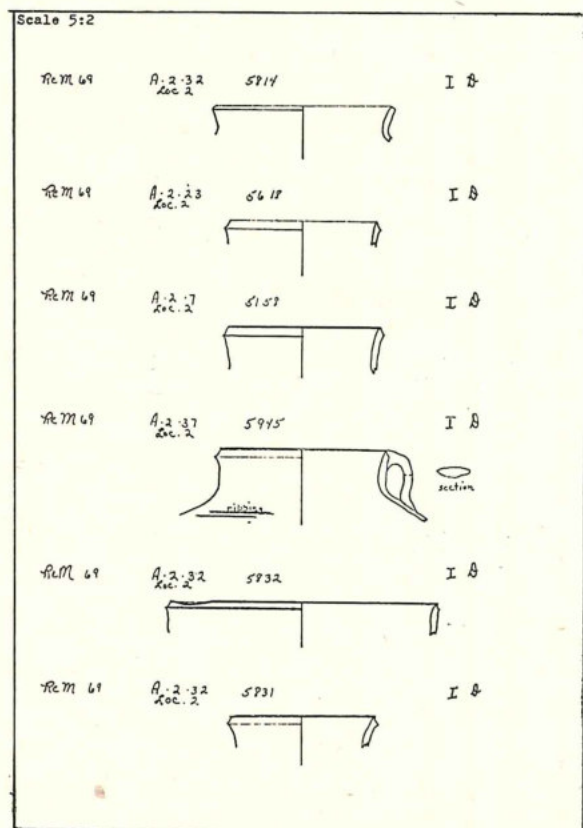
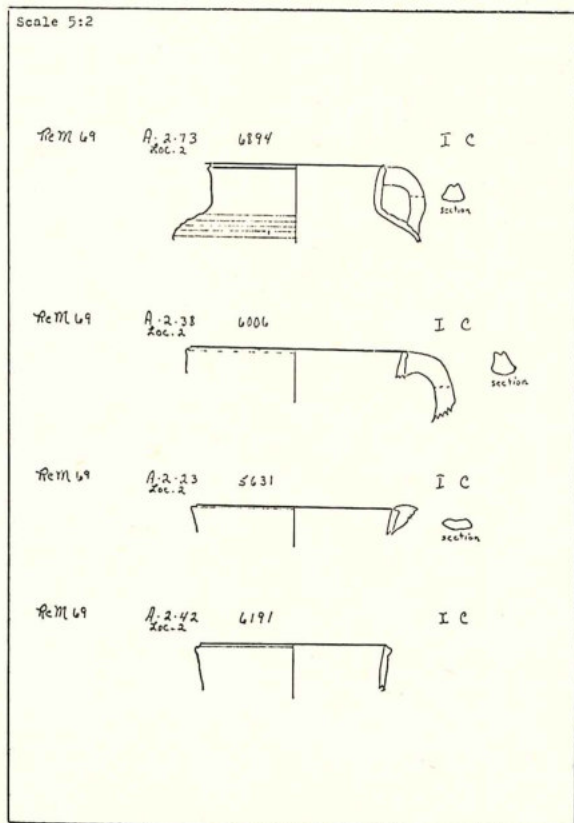
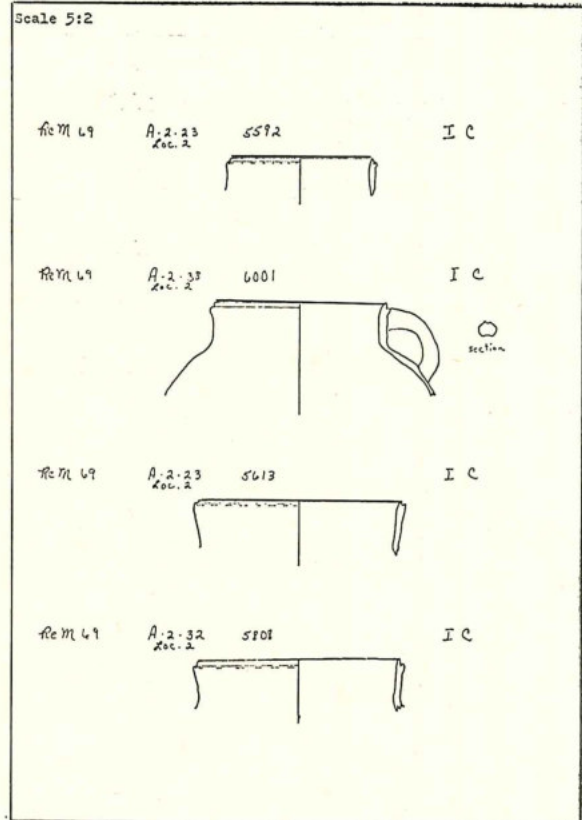
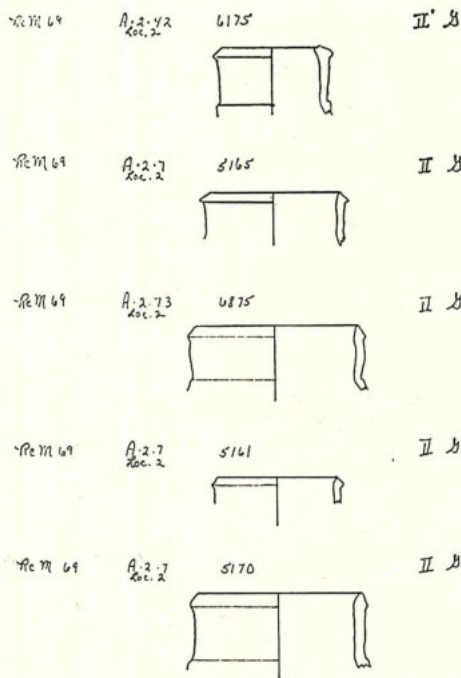


Figure 24.

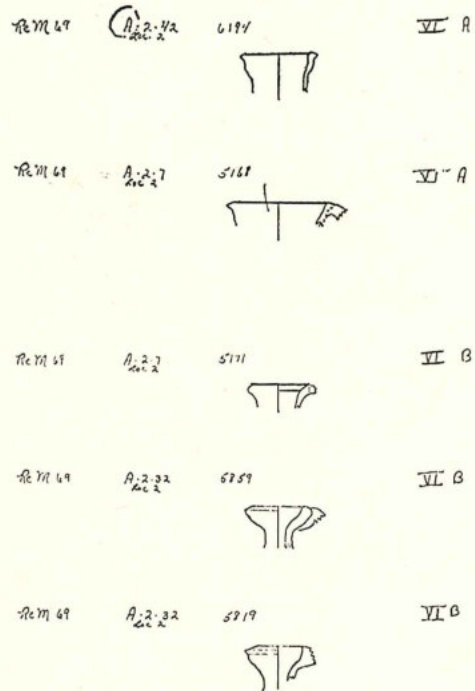


Boraas — Figs. 28 — 31

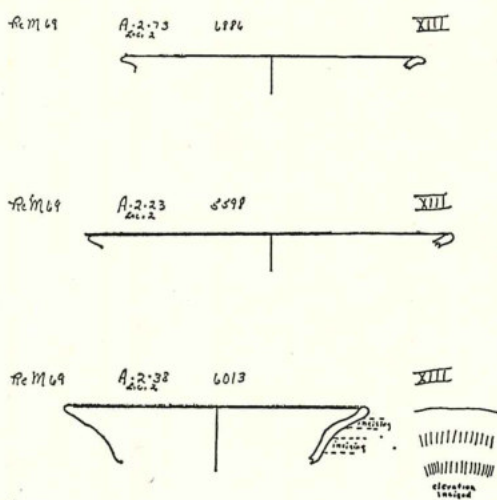
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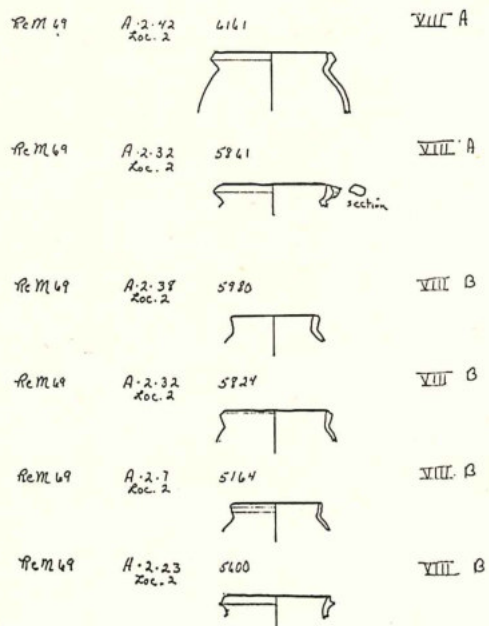
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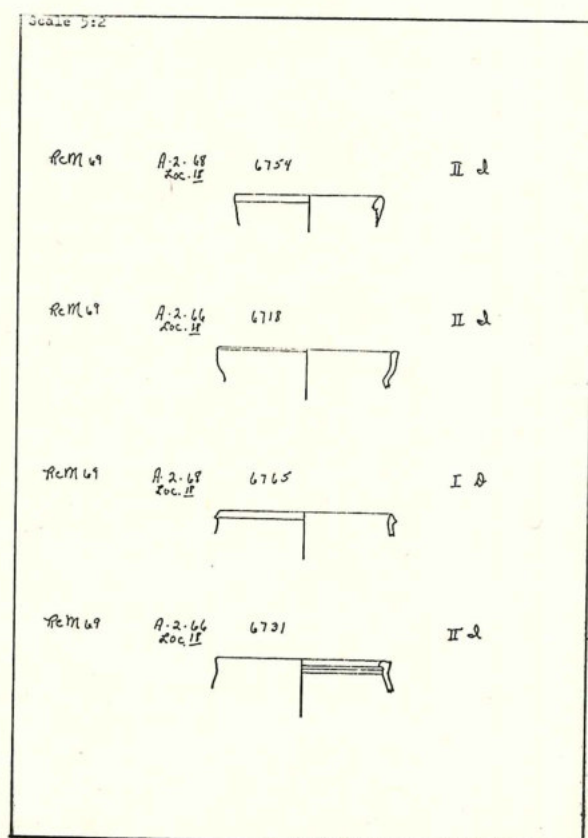
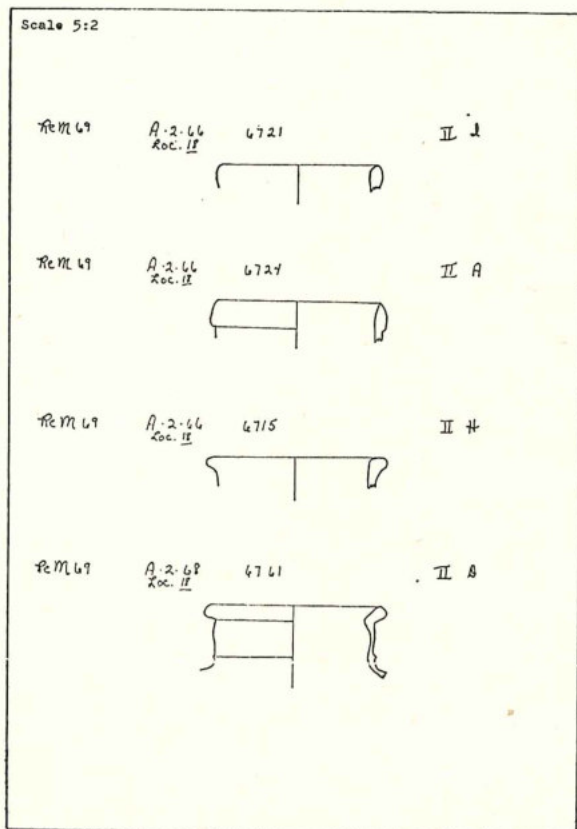
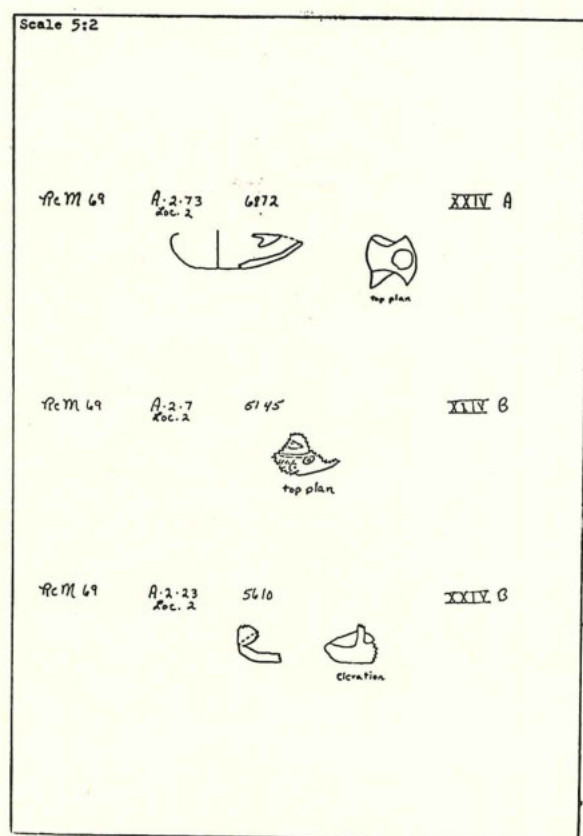
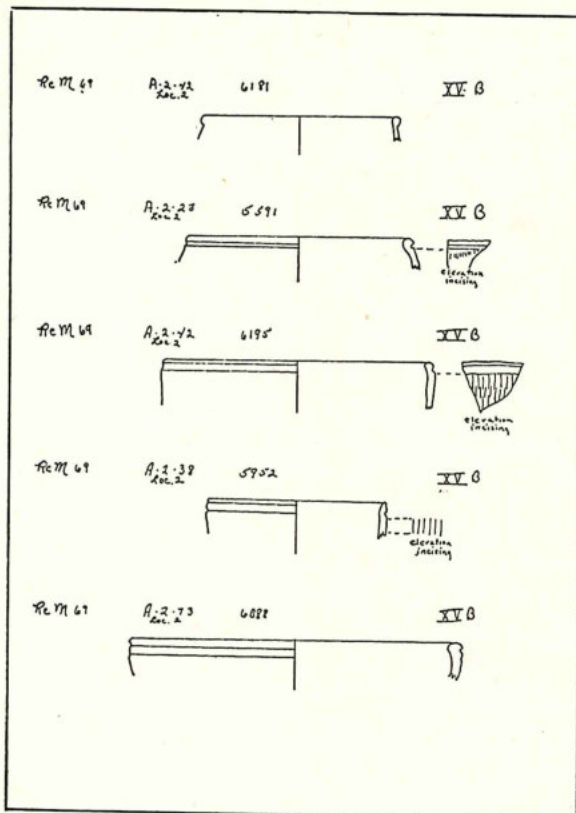


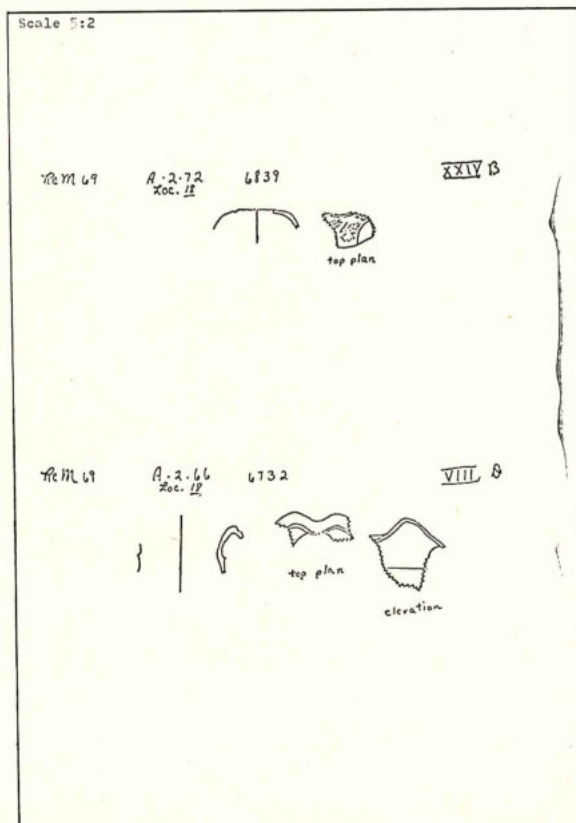
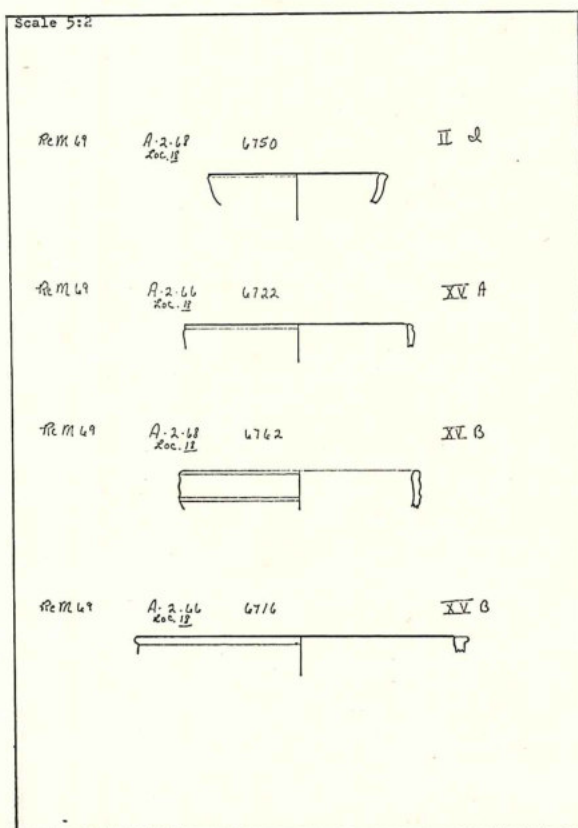
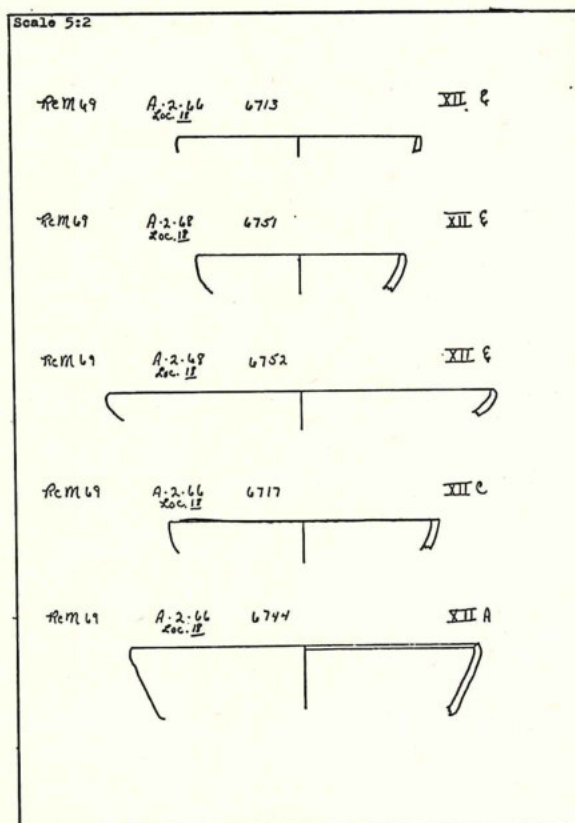
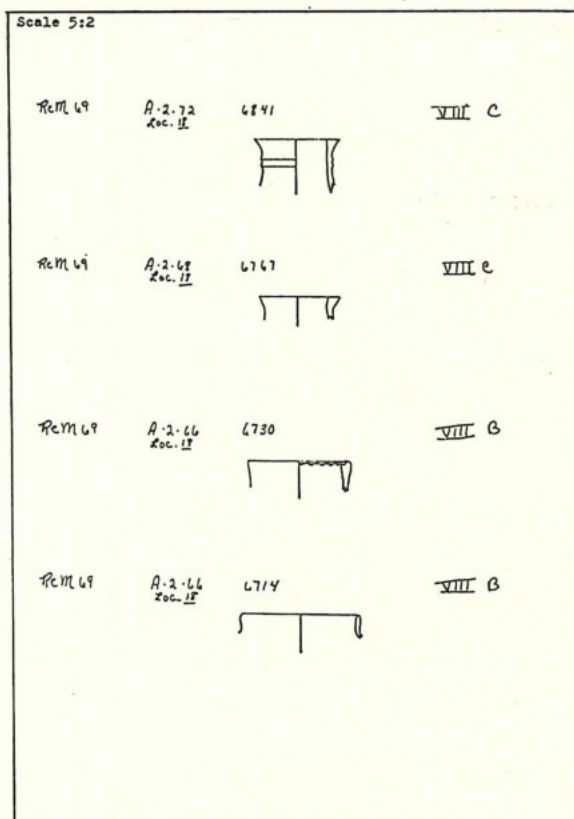
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Scale 5:2







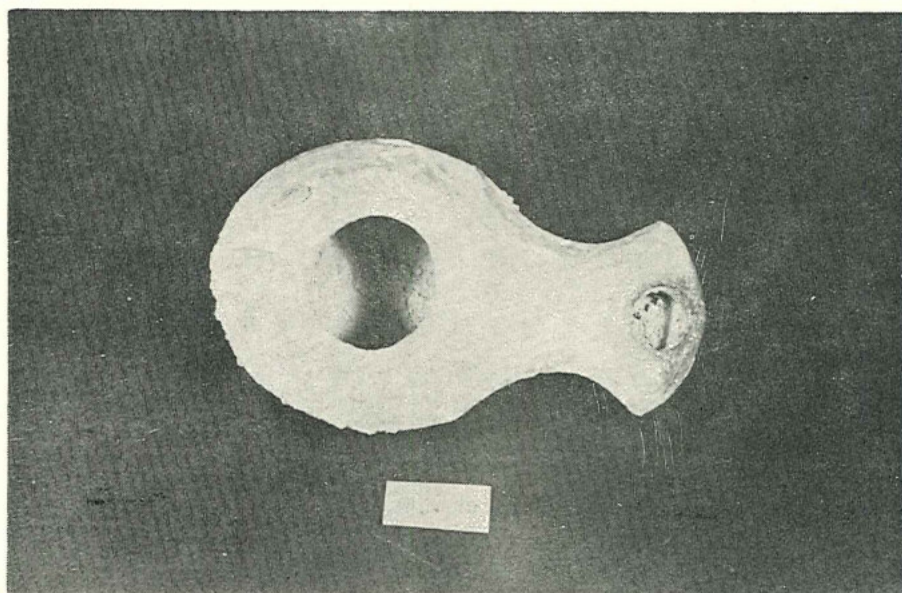
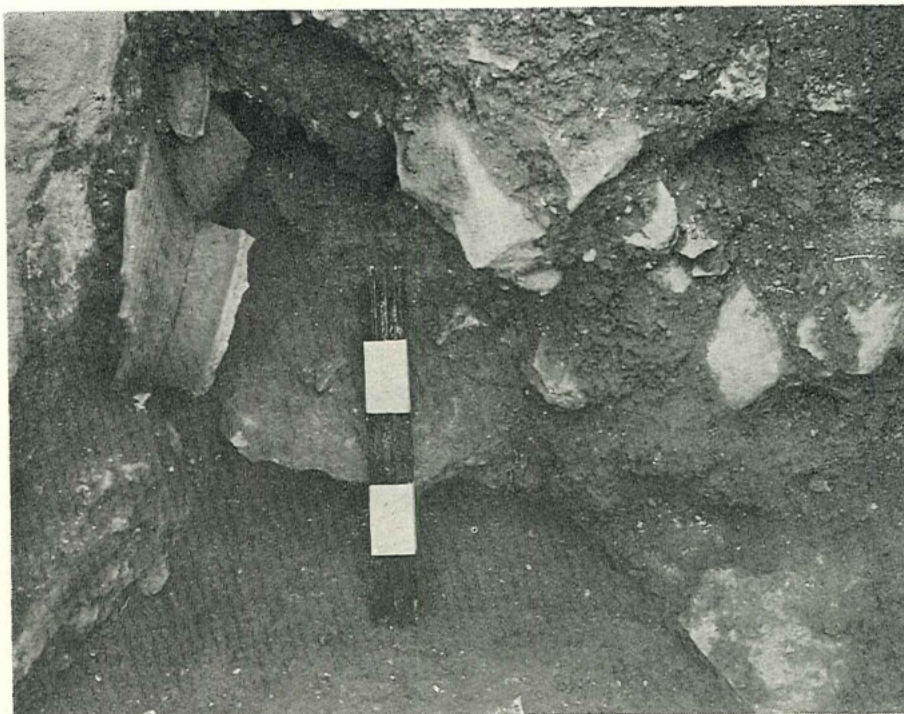


Figure 40. The view looking east shows pottery fragments *in situ* in the lower gateway into the tower from the adjacent building. The limestone block at the left is part of the gateway wall (Locus 15). Ribbing occurs on the bodies of both the jug bottom and the cookpot? top, and the neck of the latter shows a drip ridge near the neck-shoulder joint. The third fragment was part of a shallow bowl or plate. The scale stick was .25. m. long.

Figure 41. Top view of a whole lamp showing characteristic Roman shape of spout, apertures and design. Hard calcining did not obliterate the carbon smudges near the spout aperture, indicating use. It was found in the destruction debris just east of wall (3).

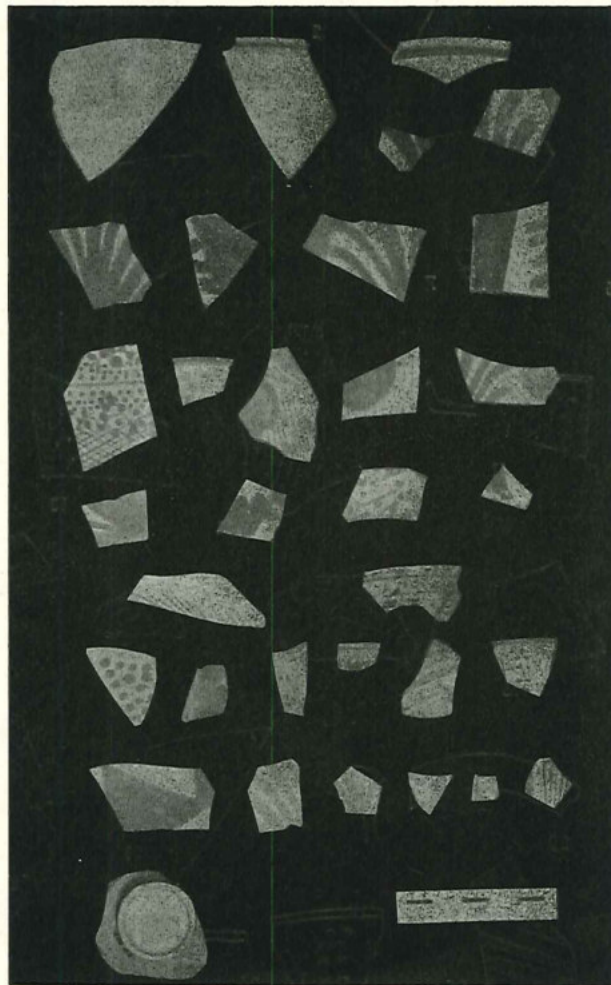


Fig. 2 No. 1 — 33, sherds of fine Nabataean ware. The fragments give an idea of the colour variations of the painting, which varies between pink, red-brown, blackish-brown and black.



Fig. 3 No. 1 — 33, drawing of fragments with rim profiles.

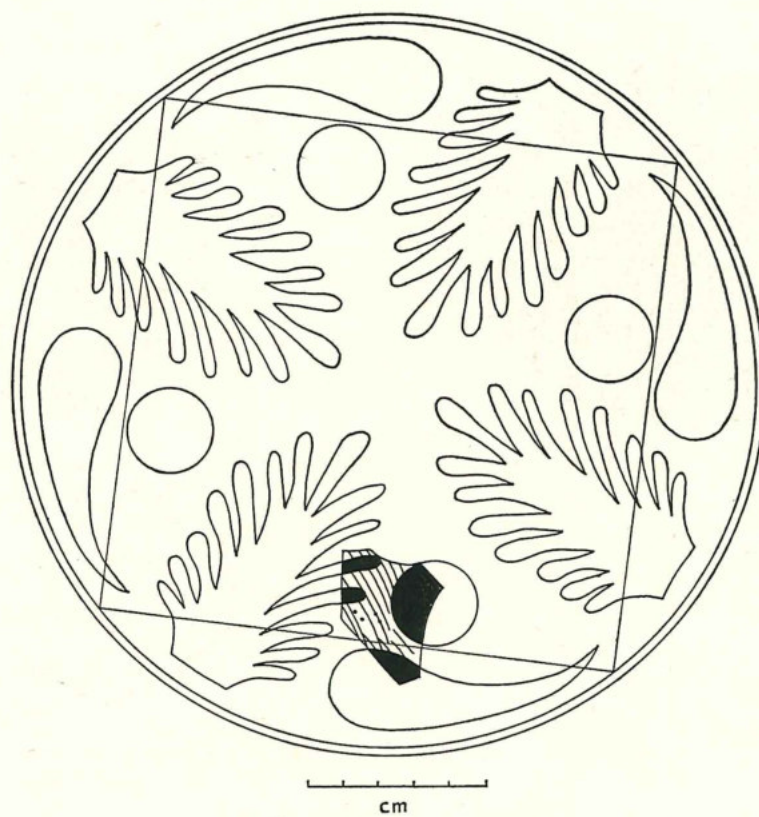


Fig. 4 Attempted reconstruction of fragment no. 12.

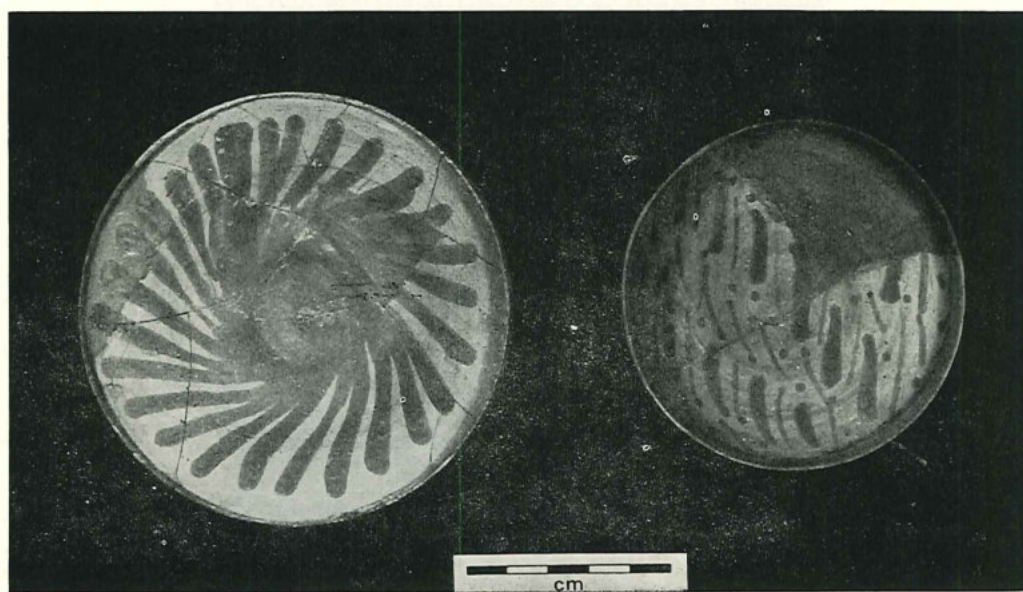


Fig. 5 Small bowls no. 36 (rotatory pattern) and no. 35 (stroke design).

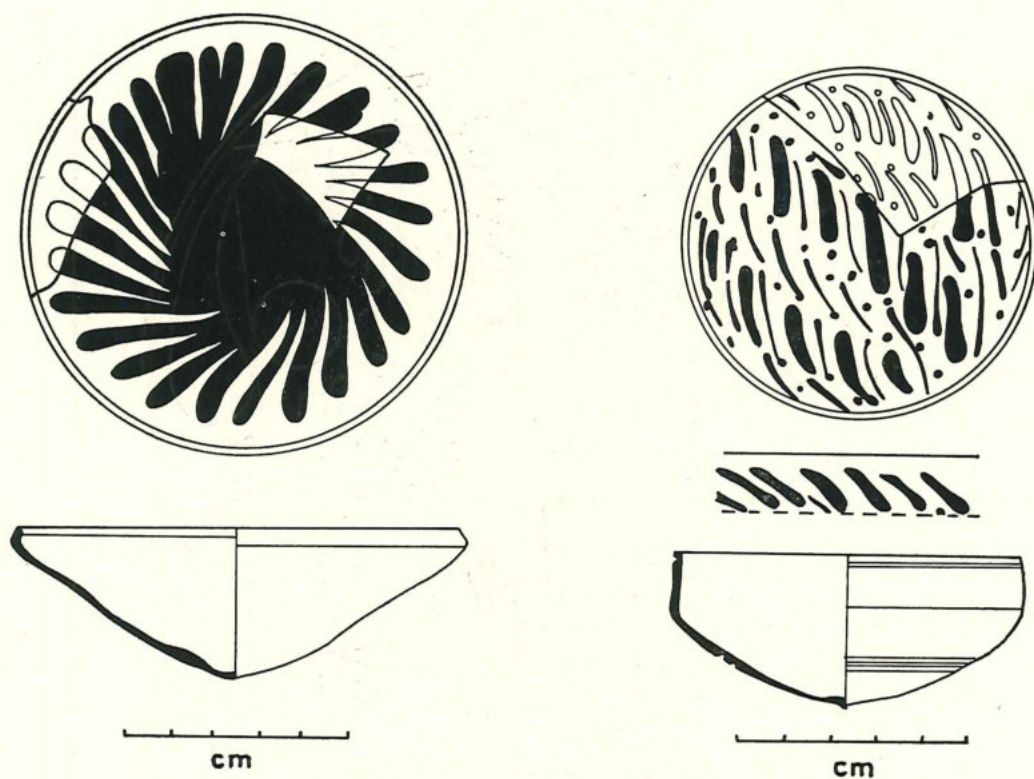


Fig. 6 Nos. 36 and 35, drawing.



Fig. 7 Bowl no. 37 with palmette, double-cone and grape design. Classical pattern of Nabataean pottery.

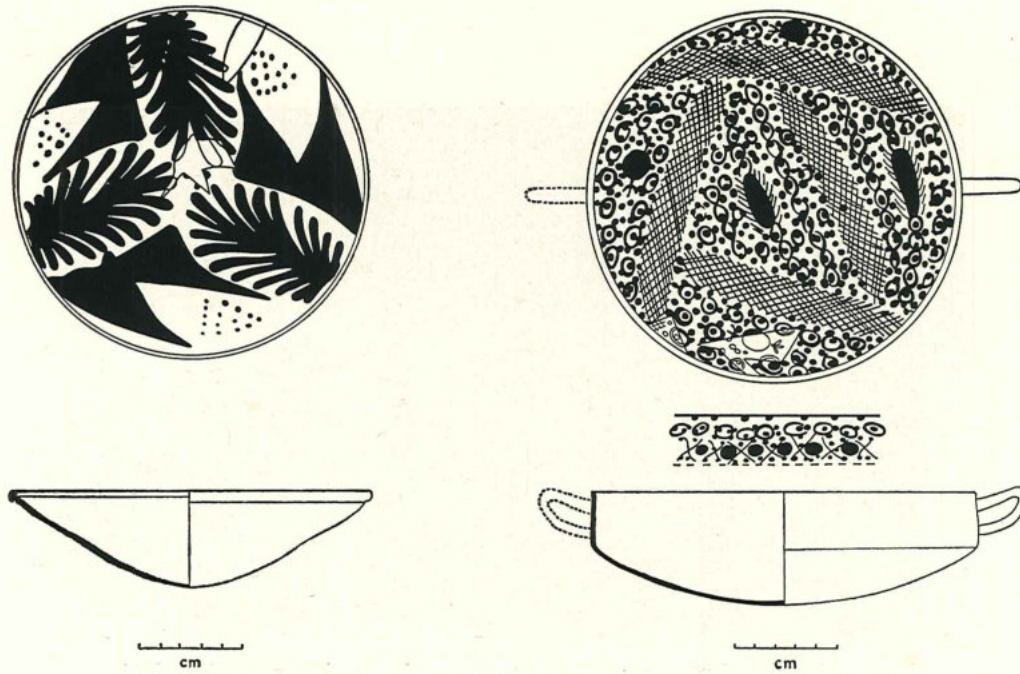


Fig. 8 Bowl no. 37 and kylix no. 38, drawing.

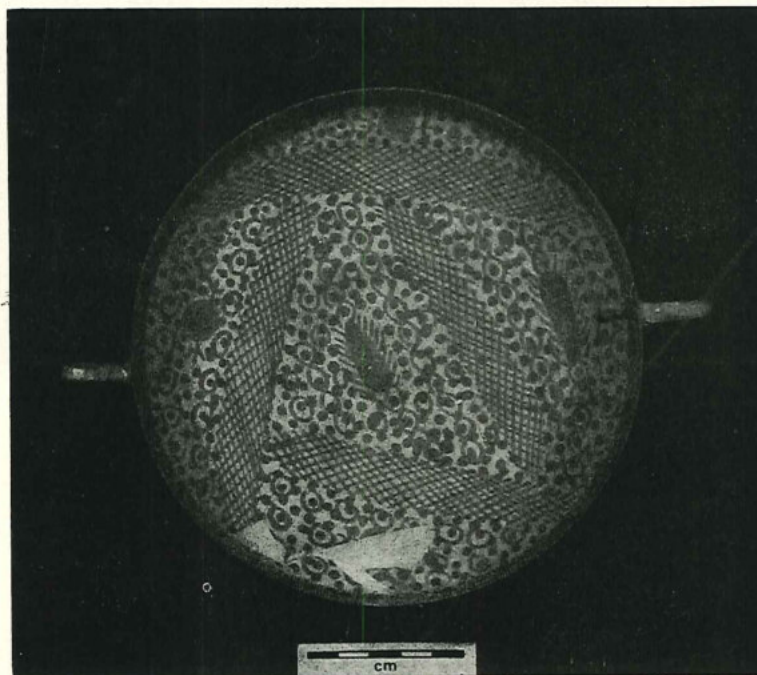


Fig. 9 Kylix no. 38 with pattern of trellis, dots, "peacock - eyes", pomegranates (?) and ears (?).

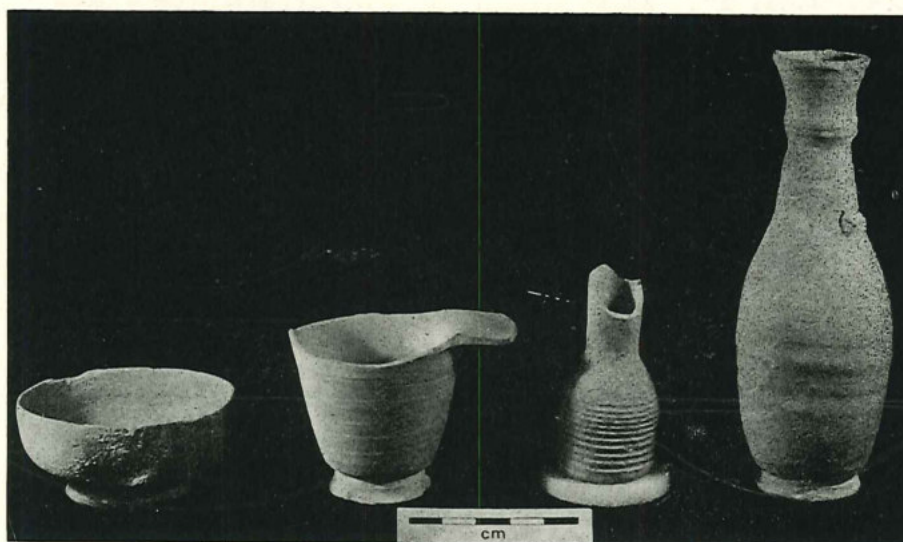


Fig. 10 Unpainted pottery: cups nos. 34 and 39, juglets nos. 40 and 41.

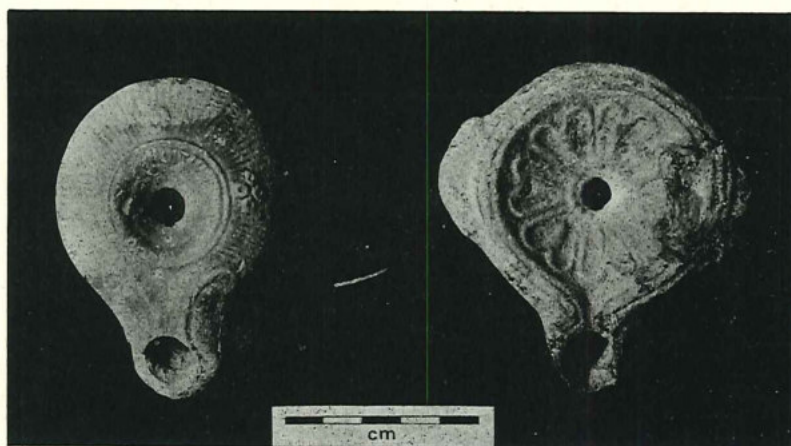


Fig. 11 Oil lamps nos. 42 and 43.

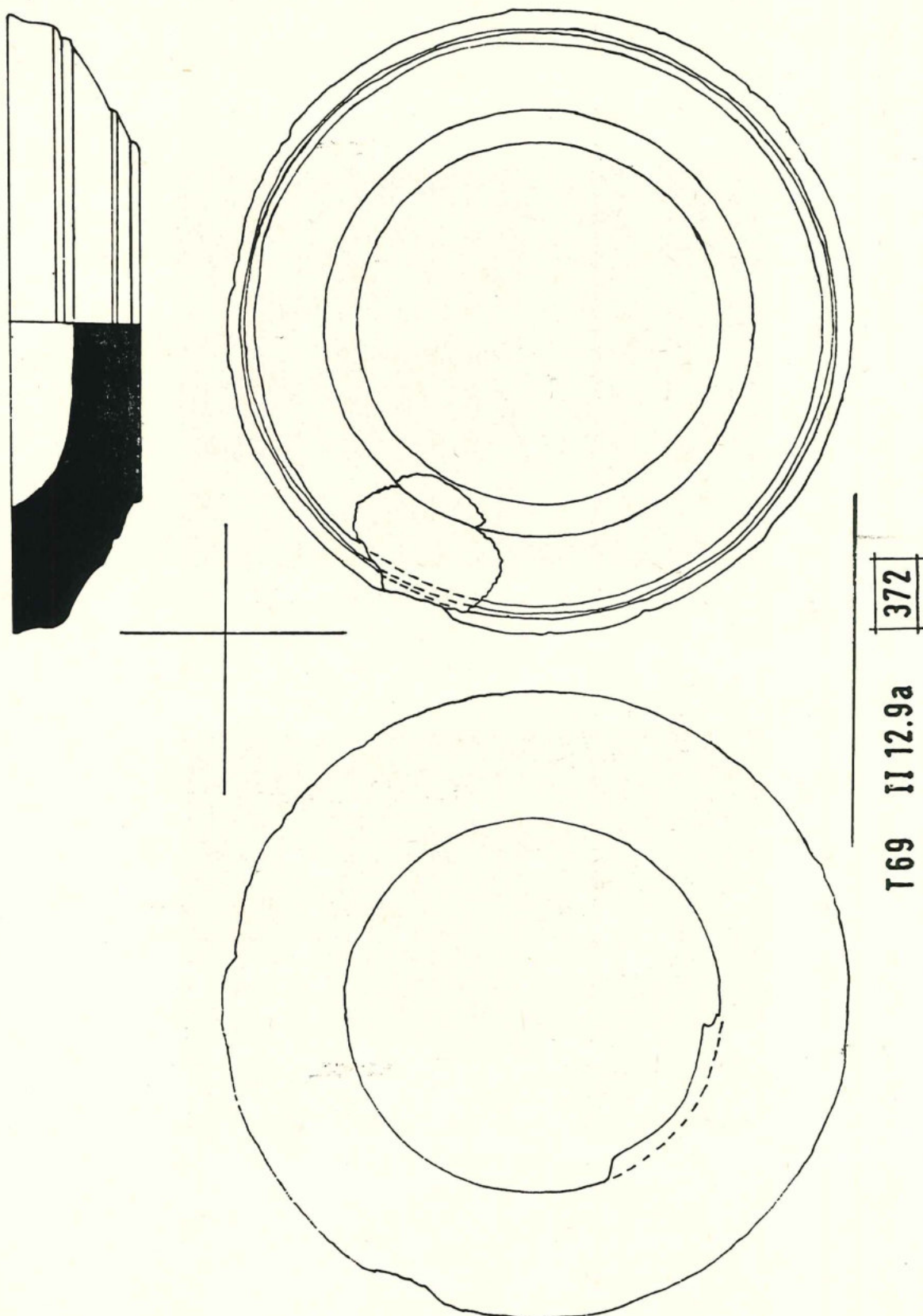


Fig. 1: Tawilan 372

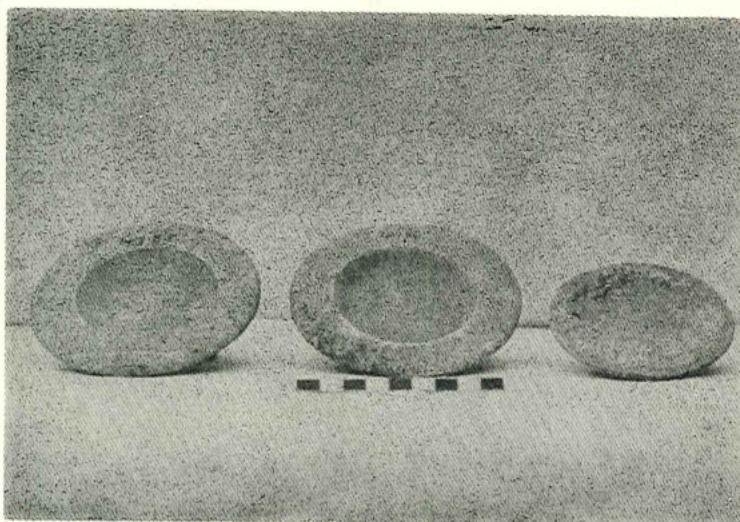


Fig. 2: AUB Museum No. 4785, 4786, 48.87

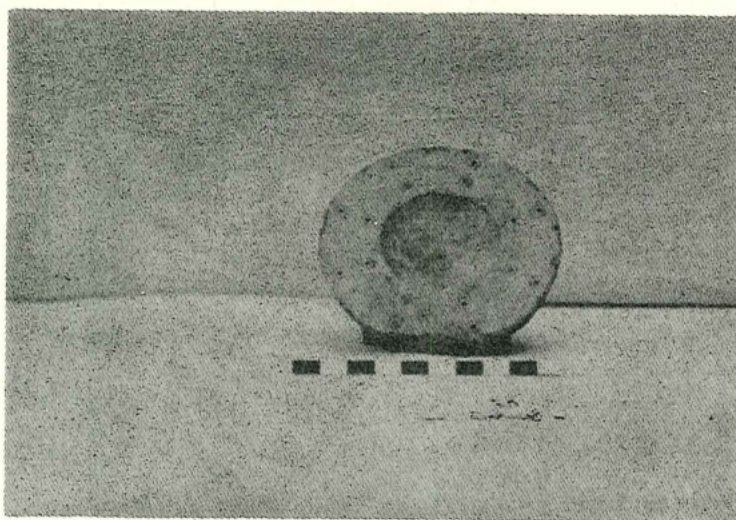


Fig. 3: AUB Museum No. 58.333

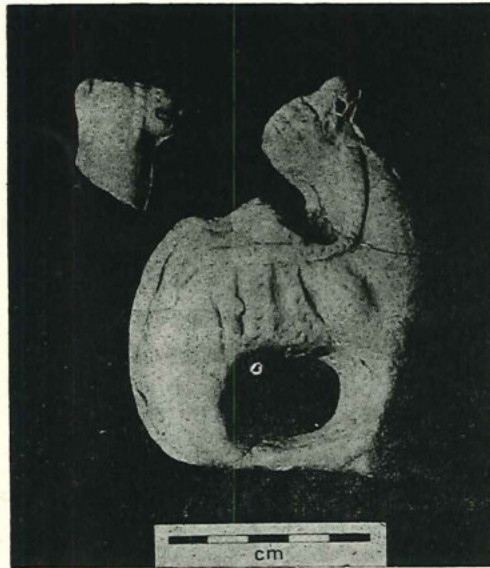


Fig. 12 Fragment and complete camel figurines nos. 44 and 45.

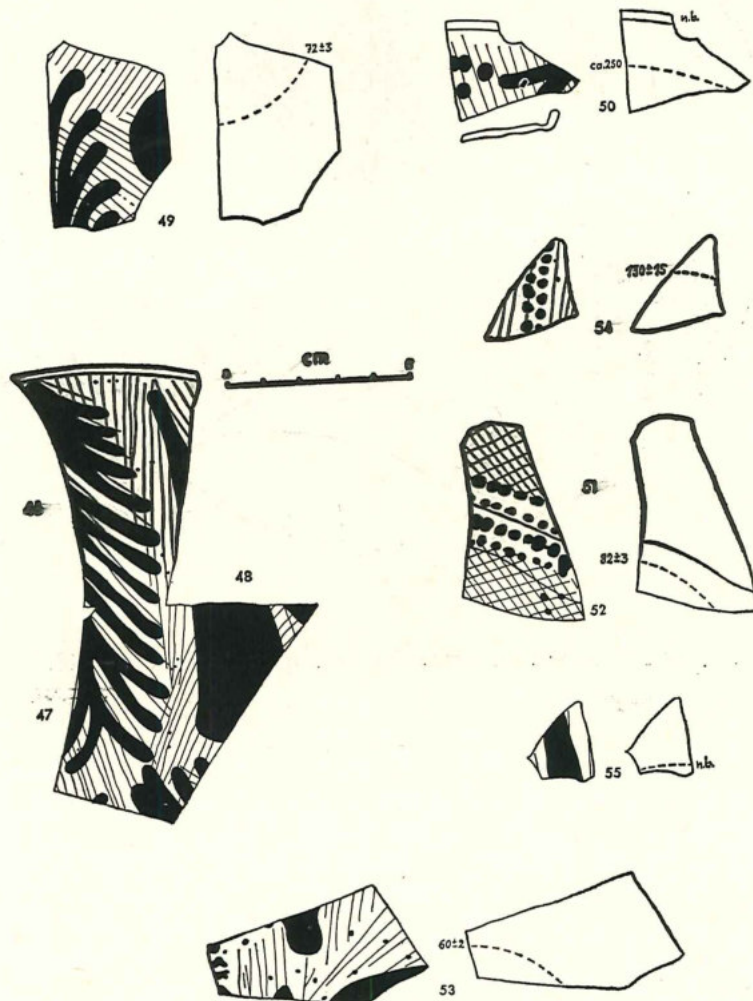


Fig. 13 Fragments of painted pottery (nos. 46 - 55), drawing. The position of each sherd relative to the centre of the vessel was determined by aid of wheel marks on the reverse side and the resulting diameter given in mm. (n. d. = not determinable)

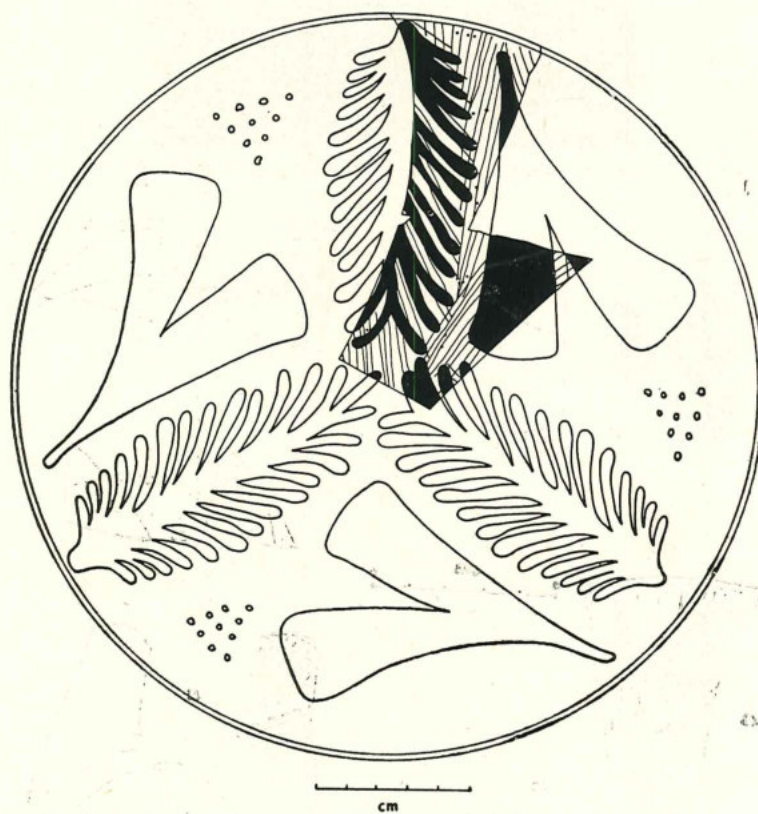
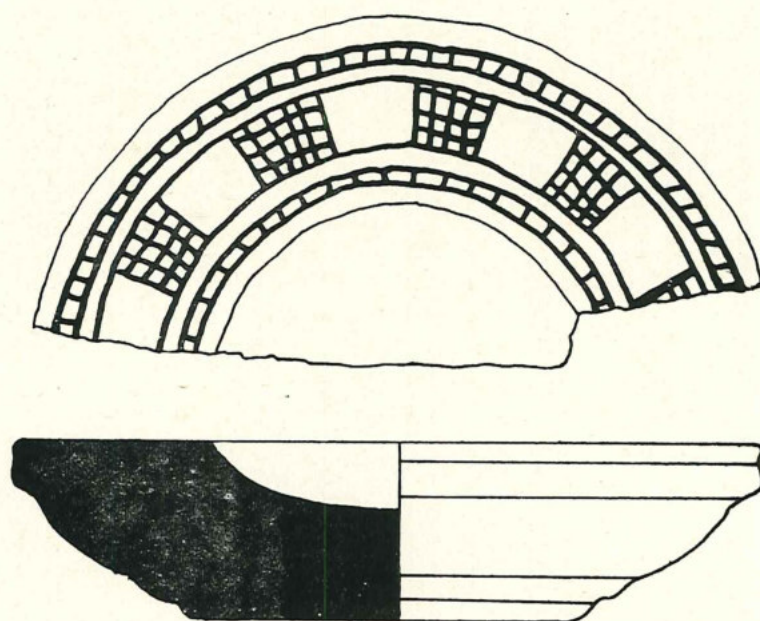


Fig. 14 Attempted reconstruction of fragments nos. 46 — 48.



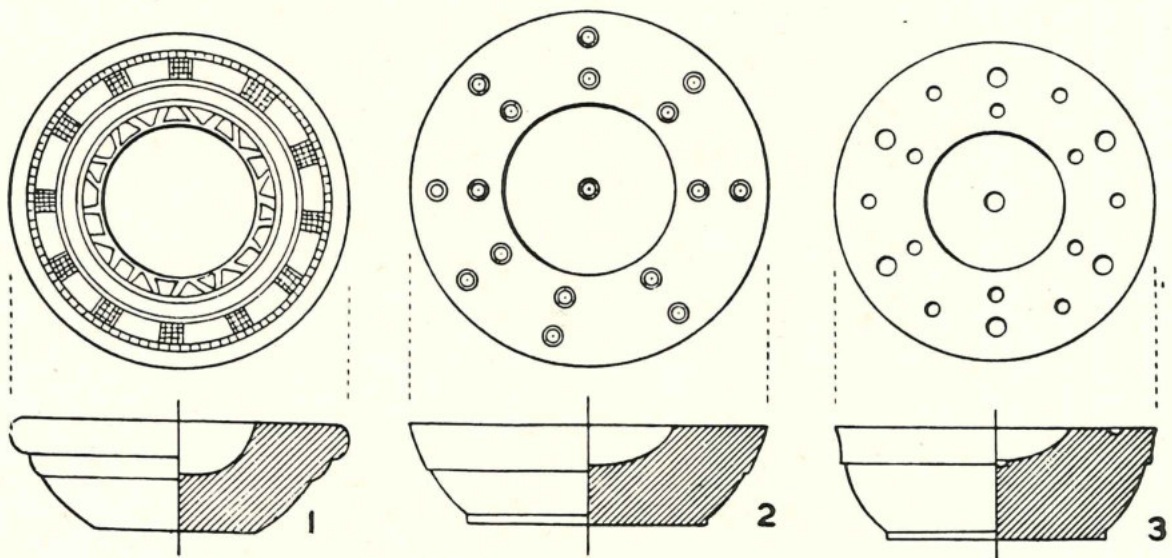
T 69 II 15.6 488

Fig. 4: Tawilan 488

Thompson — Fig. 5

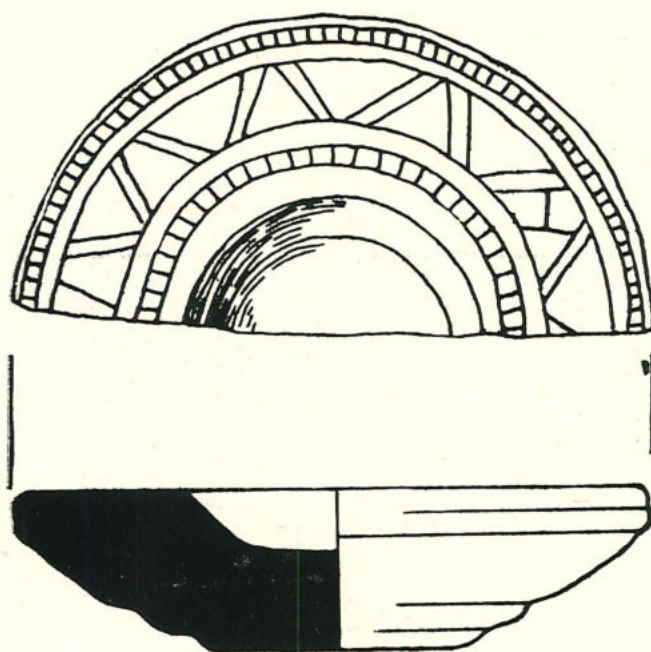


Fig. 5: Dhiban



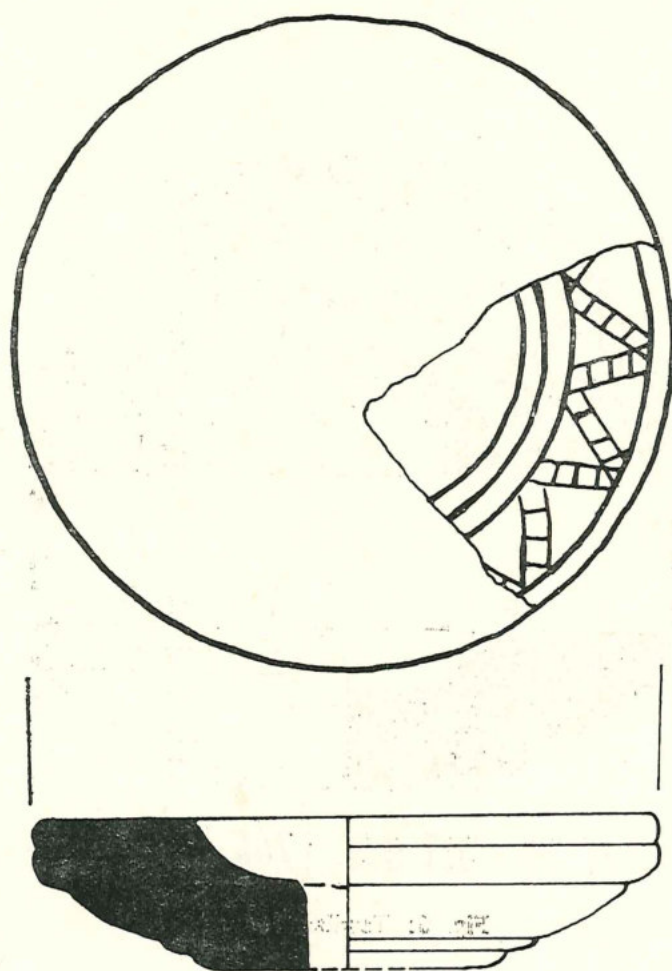
Cosmetic palettes. 1 : 2

Fig. 8: Samaria



T 70 III 8.3 744

Fig. 6: Tawilan 744



T 69 III 14.4 629

Fig. 7: Tawilan 629



Pl. I — Rabbat Moab: le voie à colonnades.



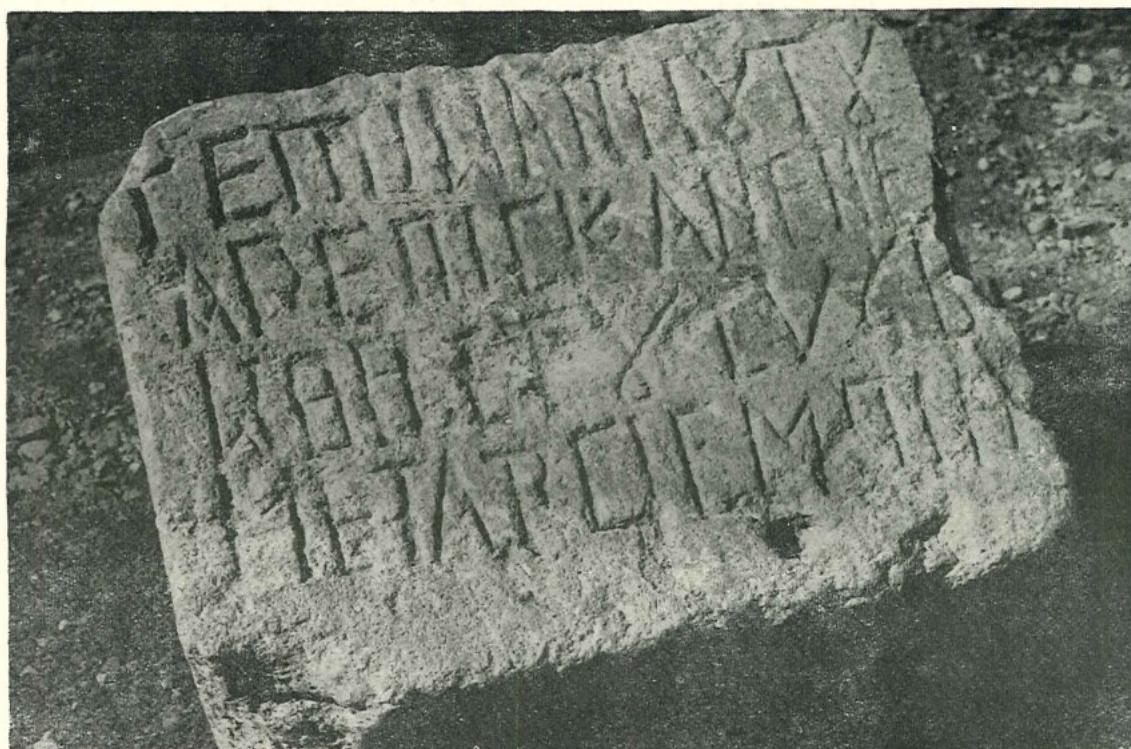
Pl. II — Rabbat: le temple romain.



Pl. III — Rabbat Moab: abside de l'église byzantine.



Pl. IV — Mosaïque de Ma'in représentant des constructions de Rabbat Moab.



Pl. V — Rabbat Moab: inscription grecque No. 1.



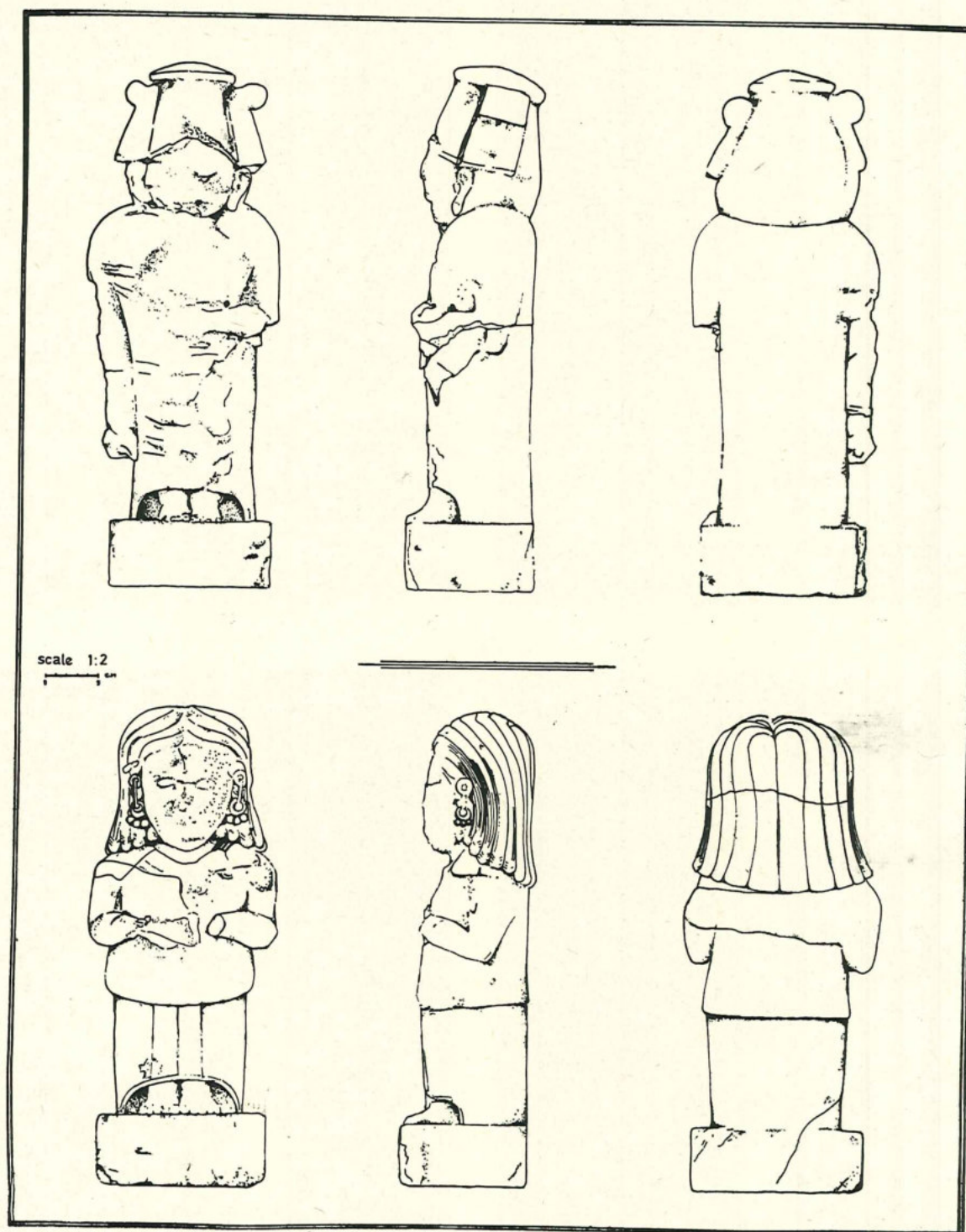
Pl. VI — Rabbat Moab: inscription grecque No. 2



Le village de 'Arsal. (A gauche, départ de la piste vers la Syrie)



Carte de la région de 'Arsal et de Rahweh dans l'Antiliban



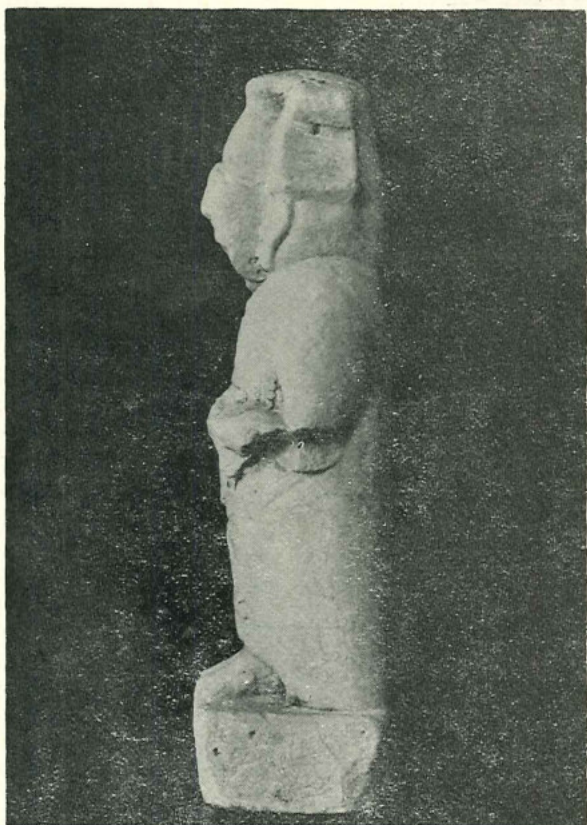
Ammonite Statuettes of Khirbet el-Hajjar
(Drawn by Ismail Hazzaz)



a



b



c



d

Ammonite Statuette: male figure



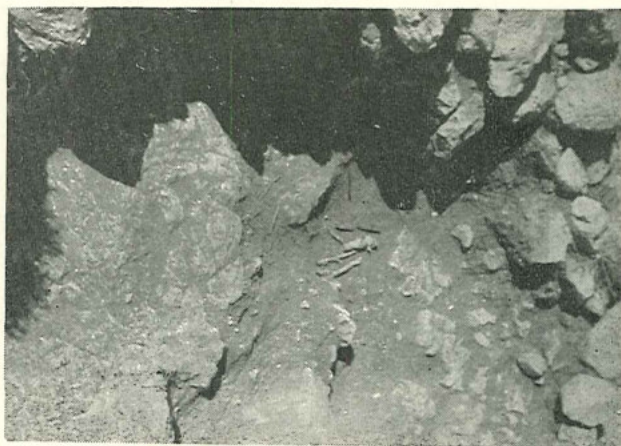
Pl. — I. Safaitic Inscription
No. I



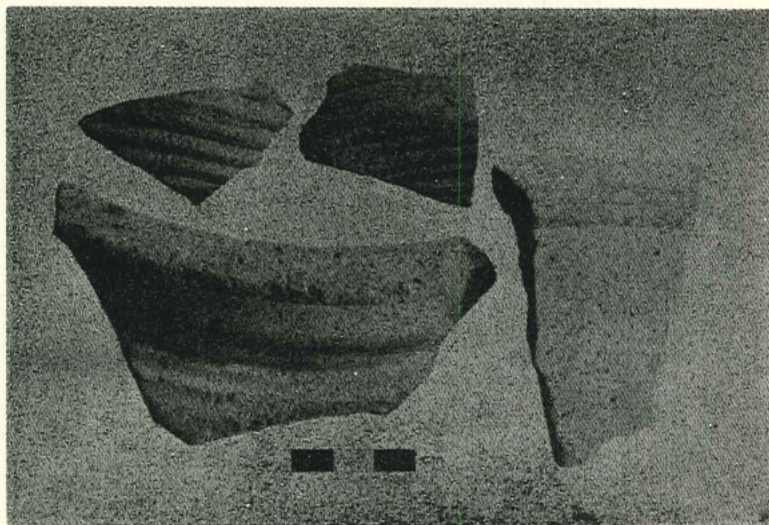
Pl. — II. Safaitic Inscription
No. II



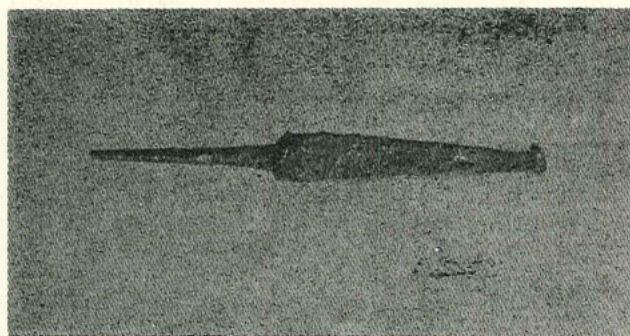
Pl. VII — Vue du site B de Rahweh.



Pl. VIII — Ossements dans le site A.



Pl. IX — Poterie de Hosn Cherrou.



Pl. X — Flèche de Rahweh.



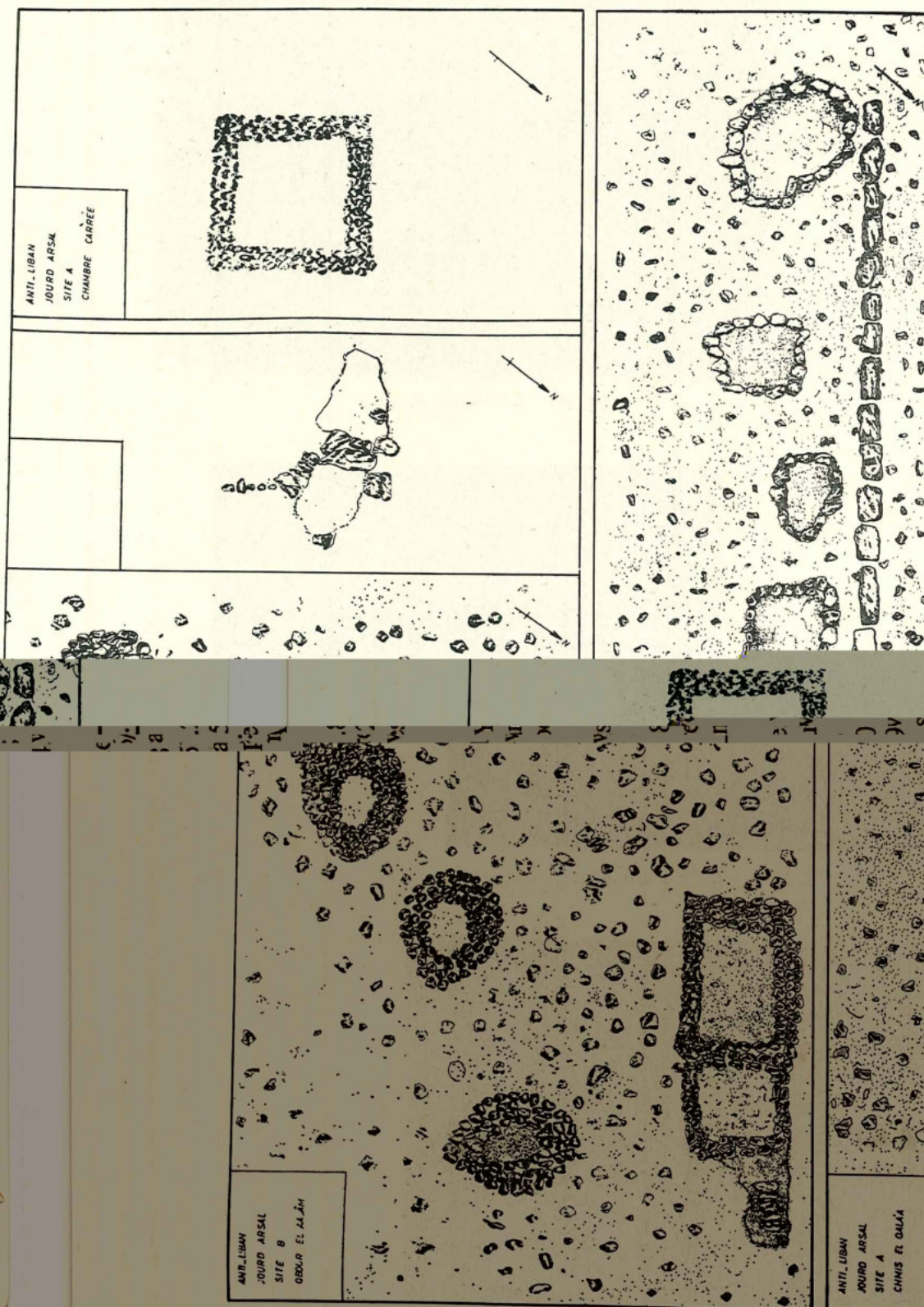
Pl. III — Vue de Rahweh.



Pl. IV — Chmis el-Qal'a.



Pl. V — Inscription au nom de Rabbos.



Plan approximatif des deux sites.



a



b



c



d

Ammonite Statuette: female figure

وجدت القبور على شكل مجموعات كبيرة في داخل الارض الطرية وعلى أعماق مختلفة تتراوح بين ٥٠ سم - ١٥٠ سم من سطح الارض وقد صنفت في قعر كل حفرة لوحات حجرية على شكل مستطيل وكثيرا ما كان يتوسطها حجر عليه نقوش او كتابة تشير الى اسم الميت وميزته والمدة التي عاشها مع ذكر سنة الوفاة ، وكانت تغطي بواسطة عوارض حجرية ثم تظمر بالتراب . وقد عثر فيها على عدد كبير من الاواني الزجاجية الجميلة ومجموعة من الاساور النحاسية والحلي الاخرى . كما وعثر على بعض الكسر الفخارية النبطية .

٥ - خربة الحجار :

على ضوء اكتشاف جزء من تمثال احضره احد المواطنين ، قامت دائرة الآثار بإشراف رئيس قسم الحفريات الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم باجراء حفرة اختبارية في موقع خربة الحجار على بعد ٧ كم الى الشمال الغربي من عمان التي كان من نتائجها الاولى العثور على عدد من الكسر لتمثالين من الحجر (راجع ص ٩١ - ٩٧ من هذه الحولية) من العصر العموني - القرن التاسع الى الثامن ق . م . كما وعثر على عدد من مخازن للحبوب قطعت في الصخر في الجهة الشمالية الشرقية من الموقع .

وستوالي الدائرة أعمال الحفر والاستقصاء في الموقع المذكور والمنطقة المجاورة .

الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم
دائرة الآثار العامة

عمق ١٥٠ سم وهي مسقوفة بالواح حجرية . عثر في كل من الجهتين الشمالية والجنوبية على ٢٤ قبرا على شكل صناديق مرتبة بصفوف . اقتصر الموجدات على هياكل عظمية وعدد من الجرار والاسرجة التي يتواجد على قواعد بعضها حروف نبطية .

٤ - محي :

تقع محي حوالي ٣٥ كم الى الجنوب الشرقي من الكرك ، ويظهر ان الموقع كان يتمتع باهمية خاصة من العصر الروماني والبيزنطي وحتى عصر المماليك . يتوسط المدينة القديمة بناء وسطي من الحجارة الضخمة كان قد اعيد بناؤها اكثر من مرة . ويوجد على السفح الشمالي الغربي كنيسة بيزنطية يحيط بها عدد من الابنية وبعض الابار . وقد عثر في بعض بيوت القرية على عدد من الحجارة المنقوشة ، يحمل بعضها كتابات نبطية ، بعضها يوجد الان في متحف الكرك .

يوجد في المنخفضات الجنوبية والشمالية والغربية أعداد كبيرة من القبور كانت عرضة للعبث والنهب من قبل الاهالي حيث وصل الكثير من مكتشفاتها الى أيدي تجار العاديات وهواة الآثار مما اضطر دائرة الآثار الى حفر عدد منها . تم ذلك بإشراف مفتش الآثار السيد محمد نايف ابو عبيد الذي لم يزودنا بتقريره عنها بعد ، ويمكن التنويه عنها ببعض السطور :

اسوار وتحصينات المدينة وسيكون هذا مدار
اهتمامهم الرئيسي في موسم ١٩٧٣ .

بصريه

بدأت المدرسة البريطانية للآثار بإشراف
السيدة كريستال بنيت حفرياتها في موقع بصيره،
٢٠ كم جنوبي مدينة الطفيله ، ويطل الموقع على
وادي فينان ووادي اقدان اللذين كان يستخرج
منهما النحاس ومواد خام أخرى منذ الالف
الرابع ق م . وغالبا ما كان لهذه الثروة أثر
فعال في حياة واقتصاد هذه المنطقة ، خاصة
في الالف الاول ق م .

تبلغ مساحة الموقع الاثري حوالي ستين
دونما ويحيط به اسوار مختلفة (من العصر
الحديدي وحتى العصر الروماني) .

تركزت أعمال الحفر في وسط التل حيث
تتواجد مجموعة من الابنية المتراسة يطلق عليها
اسم «اكروبوليس» . وقد كشف النقاب عن
ثلاث مراحل سكنية متعاقبة صعب تاريخ قسم
منها للندرة الموجودات والتي غالبا ما جرفت
بعيدا عن مكانها الاصلي . الا انه يمكن تاريخها
بشكل عام ضمن العصر الحديدي . وقد عثر
على بعض الموجودات قرب السور الجنوبي ، والتي
من أهمها فخار ملون يعتبر أجمل وأدق الاواني
الفخارية .

تشير المخلفات المعمارية وبعض الاواني
الفخارية على وجود معبد أو قصر في منطقة
«الأكروبوليس» ، الا انه لم يتم التعرف بوضوح
على ماهية الابنية وتاريخها .

ويعتقد ان بصيره هي بصرى القديمة التي
كانت عاصمة للادوميين . هذا وستابع السيدة
بنيت حفرياتها عام ١٩٧٢ .

الحفريات العرضية

هناك عدد من الحفريات العرضية التي

أشرف عليها موظفو دائرة الآثار أهمها : -

١ - قبر جبل الحسين / عمان :

باشراف مفتش الآثار السيد حسين قنديل
الذي زود الدائرة بتقرير أولي خلاصته :

القبر عبارة عن كهف طبيعي منحوت في
الصخر مساحته ٤٠م مربع عثر فيه على تابوتين
من الحجر بداخلهما بقايا لهياكل عظمية وعدد من
الاواني الفخارية بالإضافة الى حلي من النحاس
وقارورة زجاجية واحدة . من المرجح ان يعود
تاريخ موجودات القبر الى اواخر العصر
الروماني / اوائل العصر البيزنطي .

٢ - قبر السلط :

بناء على اخبارية وردت من بلدية السلط
اثناء شقها لطريق فرعي في الجنوب الغربي من
المدينة ، قامت دائرة الآثار باجراء حفرة بإشراف
مفتش الآثار السيد حسين قنديل الذي وردت منه
المعلومات التالية : -

تم الكشف عن مدخل القبر الذي هو عبارة
عن فتحة مستطيلة الشكل اطوالها ٢٣٠ × ٧٥ سم
لها غطاء حجري من قطعتين . والقبر عبارة عن
كهف محفور في الصخر على شكل مربع تبلغ
مساحته ١٦ مترا مربعا ويحتوي على أربع حنايا
واحدة من كل جهة ، ونحت بداخل كل حنية ناووس
مع غطاء حجري مزخرف .

عثر في ثلاثة من هذه النواويس على عدد
من القطع الفخارية والزجاجية وحلي أخرى
من النحاس والخرز ، جميعها من العصريين
الروماني والبيزنطي .

الصدقة :

تبعد الصدقة مسافة ٢٤ كم الى الجنوب
الشرقي من وادي موسى ، وقد أشرف مفتش
الآثار السيد محمود الروسان على حفر مجموعة
من القبور النبطية ، علما بان الموجودات ما تزال
في مهد الدراسة . وقد زدنا بالملاحظات ادناه :
تاخذ المقبرة شكل مربع طول ضلعه ٥م وعلى

الحفريات الأثرية في الأردن

عام ١٩٧١

إعداد

الدكتور معاوية إبراهيم

حسبان (١)

يلي ذلك بعض المعالم البيزنطية ، أهمها كنيسة على شكل باسيليك وعدد من الغرف التي أعيد استعمالها زمن المماليك . ولا غرابة فيما إذا بنيت هذه الكنيسة على أسس معبد روماني ، ولربما كان اكتشاف كهف كبير قطعه الرومان في الصخر على الجانب الشمالي من الكنيسة برهاناً على وجود قبل هذا المعبد . وهناك أساسات لببوت تغطي سطح التل تقريباً وقناة ماء وعدد من الجدران التي استخدمت لأغراض دفاعية . واهم ما يلفت النظر في الجهة الجنوبية (Area A) هو مشيدة بيزنطية (٢) .

يعود أقدم ما عثر عليه الى الان الى القرن السادس السابع ق م . فقد ظهر في المنحدر الغربي (Area C) حائط وحفرتان وكسرة من كتابة آرامية تتضمن أربعة أو خمسة أسماء آرامية ومصرية وبابلية . الا ان ذلك قليل جداً بالنسبة لما توخاه الحفاريون من تاريخ حسبان في الالفين الاول والثاني ق م . كما تبين في العهد القديم .

لم يوفق الحفاريون الى الان في العثور على

انتهت بعثة جامعة اندروز الاميركية موسمها الثاني في موقع تل حسبان بإشراف الدكتور سيفريد هورن ، وقد واصلت الحفر في وسط التل (الأكروبوليس) وعلى المنحدرين الجنوبي والغربي كما وكشفت عن عدد من القبور الرومانية والبيزنطية الواقعة الى الغرب والجنوب الغربي من التل .

العصر المملوكي في أعلى طبقة ممثل بساحة مبلطة يحيط بها عدد من الغرف الكبيرة والقائمة على أقواس ، تم الكشف عنها في قمة التل (Area A) ، وعثرفي الجنوب (Area D) على عدد من الابار يتصل بعضها ببعض ، وكذلك درج يقود الى مدخل البناء الوسطي على حافة الأكروبوليس . ووجد من القطع المملوكية عدد من الاواني وعشرات الالوف من الكسر الفخارية مزينة بالوان هندسية متنوعة الاسلوب ، منها المزجج بالاخضر والازرق والاصفر وغير ذلك . كما اكتشف سراج مكسور يحوي ٦٦ قطعة من العملة الايوبية والمملوكية .

(٢) انظر مقالة السيد محمد مرشد خديجة في هذا العدد من الحولية ، ص ١٠٧ .

(١) راجع التقرير الأولي للدكتور هورن عن موسم ١٩٦٨ في حولية دائرة الآثار العامة ، ١٢ - ١٣ (١٩٦٧) - ١٩٦٨ ، ص ٥١ - ٥٢ .

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فهرس المحتويات

الحفريات الاثرية في الاردن عام ١٩٧١

اعداد الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم

القسم الاجنبي صفحة ٥ الى ١٢٢

اللوحات ١٢٣

التحرير

الدكتور فواز أحمد طوقان (الجامعة الاردنية)

قيمة الاشراك السنوي

دينار اردني واحد ، ترسل باسم مدير عام الآثار

المراسلات

مدير عام الآثار
دائرة الآثار العامة
ص ٠ ب ٠ ٨٨
عمان

الآراء المطروحة في المقالات لا تمثل رأي دائرة الآثار العامة بالضرورة •
المؤلفون مسؤولون عن تدقيق مقالاتهم •



حولية دائرة الآثار العامة

١٩٧١

السادس عشر

دائرة الآثار العامة

عمان

المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية