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Safaitic Inscriptions from Tapline in Jordan

by
G. Lankester Harding

The following 82 texts were copied during a brief visit to the Tapline camp south of Aratain on the Amman-Baghdad road near H5 some years ago, through the courtesy of Mr. Purcell. Distribution of the texts is as follows:

- 1-7 Near km. 967
- 8-17 Between km. 967 & 961
- 18-39 At km. 959
- 40-53 Near km. 938
- 54-62 Between km. 938 & 925
- 63-73 At km. 920
- 74-75 At km. 918
- 76-81 Between km. 918 & 900

Of these texts 23 are written from left to right, 15 from right to left, 26 are approximately vertical, and 18 roughly boustrophedon. Paleographically there is little difference between these and the more northerly texts, except that the *n* is indicated by a dot rather more often, though not so frequently as in the Saf. texts at Badana, the Jauf district and Wadi Sirhan (see JaS and WTI; also NSR unpublished), within the borders of Saudi Arabia to the South and South East of the present group. I consider that WTI numbers 11, 12?, 16-17?, 18-19, 33?, 39 and 55 from Sakaka, and 81-84 from ^clthrah are really Saf. on the basis of their content. The script, however, is very close indeed to

Winnett's Tabuki Thamudic, and one has the impression that this area of what is now Northern Saudi Arabia was the North boundary of the Thamudic and the South boundary of the Safaitic carrying rights. Here was the mingling of Thamud and Safaite, but from here north the desert was the home ground of the Safaites to at least as far north as Damascus, with old texts found as far away as Palmyra (ISP) and Dura Europas (TSI).

q) I *h*j bn wrd bn ^s d ^s l ^cwd
whlt slm lq hrs w ^s bn

By Hajj s. Ward s. ^sAus, of
the tribe of ^cAwdh; and, O Lat, give
security to him who keeps
watch and tracks.

*h*j Apart from one possible example in Min, this occurs only in Saf., as does also wrd, (HIn p. 177, 640).

^s is most frequent in Saf., but also found in Lih and Tham, and one example in Sab (HIn p. 40-41).

The formula is usual except for the last word, which may be Ar. ^sabbana, to track, so far the only occurrence of the word in Saf.

2. I s^cd^sl bn hrs

By Sa d il s. Haris.

s^cd^sl is found in Saf, Tham, Min, Qat

1. This entry in HIn must be
corrected to read:

R 2771/1, 2869/1, etc., 16 under M
Gl 1019/1, 1283/1 2 under Q

and Sab (HIn p. 318).

hrs occurs in Saf. only (HIn p. 613).

3- *I sm^cn bn ^cqrb bn t-t*

By Sam ân s. Aqrab s. t-t.

sm^cn is known only as a place name in Saf (HIn p. 329), though *sm^c* is known in Saf. *^cqrb* is frequent in Saf and Tham with one example in Lih and 2 in Qat (HIn p. 427).

A rather doubtful reading *tht* is found in Saf (HIn p. 129) and a place name *tlt* in Sab (HIn p. 135).

4. *I mrt bn my (h) dr?*

By Murrat s. Maiy (the) camping place

mrt is common in Saf, and an uncertain example occurs in each of Tham and Sab (HIn p. 538)

my is found in Saf (HIn p. 576); *myl*, though the drawing suggests this reading, is unknown as a name, and would deprive the noun of the definite article.

5. *I ³fl*

By ³Afil

The name is known in Saf, and one example in Tham (HIn p. 59).

6. *I ³sd bn hl*

By ³Asad s. Hall

³sd is most frequent in Saf, but occurs also in Lih, Tham, Min and Sab (HIn p. 42). *hl* is known only in Saf (HIn p. 197; correct second C reference to 2197).

7. *I glmt*

By Ghulmat

The name is known only in Saf., where it is frequent (HIn p. 458)

8. *I ^cqrb bn hn³ bn hn³*

By ^cAqrab s. Hani³ s. Hani³

^cqrb see no. 3. *hn³* is most frequent in Saf, also found in Lih, Tham and Min (HIn p. 625).

9. *I ^cmm bn brh w bny*

By ^cAmm s. Buraiḥ, and he built

mm is frequent in Saf, occurs in Lih, and has one example in each of Tham, Min, Qat and Sab (HIn p. 441). *brh* is found in Saf and Tham only (HIn p. 101).

10 *I tm bn lm bn hlf bn ty*

By Tamm s. Lām s. Khalaf s. Ṭayy

tm is very common in Saf, frequent in Tham, and is also found in Lih (HIn p. 136). It can also be vocalised Taim, is found in the full form *tym* in Saf, Lih, Min and Sab (HIn p. 141), but as *tmm* is found in Saf and Tham and *tmmm* in Sab (HIn p. 138), it is clear that the root *tmm* is also valid for a name.

hlf is frequent in Saf, also found in Tham and Sab, and occurs as a family name in Lih (HIn p. 227).

ty is new, perhaps from Ar. *tayy* wrapper cover, or *tawai* hunger?

11. *I³n m bn d--- qsr w hll w ^clf*

By ³Ana^cm s. D--- qsr;

and he encamped and fed
(the animals?)

³n^cm is frequent in Saf, also found in Lih, Tham, Min and Sab (HIn p. 80). After *d* there is space for a number of words, the following *qsr* could be the name Qaisar (HIn p. 483). *Hll* an *^clf* are common expressions in Saf (C 2116-17, 2192, etc; LP 722).

12. *I mgyr bn zyd bn (f)*

w bny ^cl bnh w lf

By Mughîr s. Zaid s. Alif;
and he built for his son and fed
(the animals?)

mgyr is known only in Saf (HIn p. 559); *zyd* is found in Saf, Lih, Tham and Min (HIn p. 304). The final letter of the third name is not absolutely certain, but *lf* seems likely and is known in Saf and a doubtful example in Tham (HIn p. 69). There are three clear examples of the dot for *n* here, in the first *bn* and in *bny* *I bnh*

13. *I ^cdy mgyr w wjm ^cl ³hh w bny*

By ʿAdiy s. Mughîr; and he grieved
for his brother, and built

ʿdy is frequent in Saf and occurs in
Tham (HIn p. 410-11); for mgyr see 12.
The formula is the usual one, and he prob-
ably built or helped to build a cairn or
grave for his brother.

14. I ʿzz bn jrm d>l kkb n (?)
By Azîz s. Jârim of the
tribe of Kaukab (an)?

ʿzz is common in Saf, also found in
Tham, Had, Min and Sab (HIn p. 418).
jrm also is common in Saf, and found in
Lih, Min and Sab (HIn p. 159). The n of
the tribal name is not certain, and the k
looks like the Tham g; kkb is known as a
tribe in Saf (HIn p. 502), but kkb n would
be new.

15. I hlf bn mgyr bn zyd w lh ---
By Khālaf s. Mughîr s. Zaid and ---

A brother of 13 and son of 12; for hlf
see no. 10.

16. I ʾsd bn mhnn
By Asad s. Muhannan

For sd see no. 6; mhnn is frequent in
Saf, and has one example in each of Lih
and Sab (HIn p. 532).

17. I flt bn ʿyt
By Falat s. ʿAyyat

flt is common in Saf and has one ex-
ample in Tham (HIn p. 471). ʿyt (cf. Ar.
ʿayya to stammer) occurs once in Saf only
(HIn p. 450).

18. I ʿmr (or nmr)
By ʿAmr (or Nimr)

In this text the dot can be read as either
ʿ or n, and both forms make perfectly
good names (HIn p. 432, 599).

19. I lmmt bn yʾs bn hrmt
By LMMT (?) s. Yʾas s. Humat

lmmt is hitherto unknown, but lm, lmh
and mlmt are known (HIn p. 520, 566): Ar.
lummah, travelling companion, or lâmimah,

evil eye, object of dread. yʾs is known
in two Saf examples (HIn p. 655); hrmt is
known in Saf, Tham, Qat and Sab (HIn
p. 185).

20. I dbʿ bn swʾʿ
By Daba s. Sawʾaʿ

dbʿ is found mainly in Saf, and one ex-
ample in each of Lih, Min and Qat (HIn
p. 380). swʾʿ is new; sawaʿa can mean
the first part of the night, and is also said
to be a pre-Islamic idol (Lane, p. 1468).

21. I hʾ-t bn dbʿ
By H -T s. Daba

For dbʿ see 20; hʾbt is a possible resto-
ration of the first name, found in Saf (HIn
p. 605). Note the dot used for both
and n.

22. I ʿn bn ʾdnn
By ʿAnn s. ʾAdhnân

ʿn occurs in Saf, Lih and Tham (HIn
p. 444); it can be vocalised ʿAun, and the
full form ʿwn is found once only, in Tham
(HIn p. 49). ʿnn (Lih and Saf) and ʿnnn
(Sab) show that the root ʿnn is valid for
a name. ʾdnn is found only in Saf (HIn
p. 34).

23. I hml bn klb bn lzʿn (?)
By Humail s. Kalb s. LZʿN (?)

hml is found in Saf only (HIn p. 202),
while klb is common to all dialects (HIn
p. 502). lzʿn is new, a doubtful reading,
and root unknown.

24. I qdmʾl bn ʿll
By Qadam il s. Aliyl

qdmʾl occurs in Saf only (HIn p. 478);
ʿll is found in Saf, Tham and Min (HIn
p. 431).

25. I ʿll bn -l-
By ʿAliyl s. ---
See 24.

26. I ʾbyn bn ʾy-
By ʾAbyan s. ʾY--

byn is found in Saf and Qat (HIn p. 18);

there are so many possibilities for restoring the second name that it is best left alone.

27. *l qtl bn hrb*
By Qattâl s. Ḥarb

The first name is found in Saf only (HIn p. 476); *hrb* is common in Saf and occurs in Tham, Min and Sab (HIn p. 182).

28. *l ʕll bn mʕtm bn ʔm w rʕy hrhb [t] ---*
By ʕAliyl s. Miʕatâm s. ʔAmm;
and he pastured the Ruhba [t] ---

For ʕll see 24; mʕtm occurs in Saf only (HIn p. 552). ʔm is

29. *l ʔbjr bn jn*
By ʔAbjar s. Jinn

Both names are found in Saf only (HIn p. 9, 168).

30. *l hʔb bn ʕly*
By HʔB s. ʕAly

The first name is new, and could perhaps be vocalised *haʔub*, stupid. ʕly is common in Saf, and is found in Lih and Tham, and as a family name in Qat (HIn p. 433).

31. *l ltʕ bn ʕmrt*
By LTʕ s. ʕAmirat

ltʕ is new, perhaps from Ar. *lathiʕa*, to lisp; or perhaps read (y)ʔʕ? ʕmrt is frequent in Saf, and occurs in Tham, Min and Sab, and as a family name in Qat (HIn p. 437).

32. *l ʕmr bn dlʕ*
By ʕAmir s. DLʕ

For the first name see 18; *dl* is new, perhaps from Ar. *dalaʕa* to loll the tongue?

33. *l ʔb (ʔbn?) bn jr*
By ʔB s. Ajir

ʔbʕ is new, root unknown; perhaps the dot should here be read *n* as *ʔbn* is known in Saf (HIn p. 143). *jr* is found in Saf only (HIn p. 408).

34. *l gtt w sq*

By GTT, and he tilled ground
gtt is new, from either *gtt* or *gwt*. Ar. *shaqqa* means, among other things, to till (ground).

35. *l ʕbd bn ʔbyn*
By ʕAbid s. ʔAbyan

ʕbd is common to all dialects except Had (HIn p. 396-7); for ʔbyn see 26.

36. *l ksm bn bʕly*
By Kasûm s. Baʕly (?)

The first name has so far been found only in Min and Sab (HIn p. 500); Ar. *Kasûm* means active, energetic. *bʕly* has one other example in Saf (HIn p. 112) vocalisation and meaning are uncertain.

37. *l mn ʕt w tswqʔ ----*

By Manʕat, and he longed for ---

The name is frequent in Saf and found in Tham (HIn p. 569). The expression *wtswq* is so essentially a Saf one, with 47 examples in definitely Saf texts plus possibly WTI 12, 18, 19, 33, 39 and 40 from Northern Saudi Arabia (Jauf), that one wonders about JS 27, 229 and 247 (Tham), whether they were not Saf inspired even though they are very far south for such influence and are written in a definitely Tham alphabet. The same might be said of Hu 46,8; 267,65a; 400,4; 499,7 and 626,3.

38. *m tm bn m w whd f hrđy*
wqyt m sn

By Miʕatâm s. ʔAmm; and
he was alone. So, O Ruday,
(grant) protection from enemies.

For the two names see 28. *whd* is probably Ar. *wahada*, to be alone, unique. *wqyt m sn* is found in WH 1698, 2125; *m bʔs* (misfortune) in C 4045, and *mn jrb* (mange) in 1837.

39. *l ʔlht bn shʔlh bn*
dl w bnyn l wjm f hrdw slm
By ʔAlîhat s. ʔAus-ha-ilah s.

Dall; and he built for Wajim.

So, O Radu, (grant) security.

lht occurs mainly in Saf, with one possible example in Tham and two in Sab

(HIn p. 71). ^ʔsh^ʔlh is found only in Saf (HIn p. 46), as are also dl (HIn p. 241) and wjm (HIn p. 635). It is difficult to see the reason for the final n of bnyn; being preceded by w and followed by ^ʕl it cannot be a noun.

40. I tm bn hyr w r^ʕy w bn (y)
n --- bkr f hlt lṣb

By Tamm s. Ḥayr; and he pastured
and built (?) — young camel (?).

So, O Lat, ?

For the first name see 10; hyr is frequent in Saf and has one possible example in Min (HIn p. 210). Perhaps instead of bny one should read bn(h) followed by some verb such as nḡy; the original was unfortunately completely erased at this point. The last word is difficult of explanation as Ar. lasiba means to stick fast in, cleave to, particularly with reference to a sword in its scabbard and flesh to the bone, unlikely favours to ask of the goddess.

41. I hlf bn hmz

By Khalaf s. Humaiz

For the first name see 10; Humaiz is new, and Ar. hammâz means faultfinder.

42. I ^ʕwd bn dd b (n) d^ʕl w ---

By ^ʕAwdh s. Dâd s. D^ʕL, and ---

^ʕwd is common in Saf, and is found in Lih, Tham and Sab (HIn p. 448). dd is frequent in Saf and occurs in Lih (HIn p. 236). d^ʕl is new; Ar. da^ʕila means to be a sickly, weakly child.

43. I krzn bn ^ʕhd bn bny w sqm
^ʕl ^ʔhwh --- w y ---

By Karzan s. ^ʕAhad s. Banî;
and he was ill on account of his
brother ---- and ----

krzn is found only in Saf (HIn p. 498);
hd and bny are frequent in Saf and have
one example in each of Lih, Tham and Sab
HIn p. 446 and 122). The expression sqm

I hwh is, to the best of my knowledge,
unique; the word sqm, to be ill, is generally
used simply as a statement of fact (C 2830,
etc.) or as something from which release
or rest is invoked (C 527, etc.).

44. I bll bn ytm w s^ʕd ---

By Bilâl s. Yatîm and he ascended? ---

bll is found mostly in Saf and one example in Had (HIn p. 117); ytm is found only in Saf (HIn p. 657). One other example of the verb s^ʕd is known (SIJ 432) in the nominal it is found in WH 604a, s^ʕdt, a burnt-offering?

45. I mzn bn h^ʔ by

By Mâzin s. H^ʔBY

mzn is known from Saf and Sab (HIn p. 543); the vocalisation of the second word is uncertain as the root could be b or h^ʔb. The only other examples known are in Saf (HIn p. 605).

46. I nsrn bn ^ʔrt (?) bn ^ʕrbn

bn rf t bn mr

By Nasran s. ^ʔAratt s. ^ʕArbân s.

Raf at s. Murr

The form nsrn is new, though nsr is a frequently used name (HIn p. 590); ^ʔAratt is also new, though ^ʔrt is found in Saf (HIn p. 35). ^ʕrbn is known as a family name in Qat and a tribal (?) name in Sab (HIn p. 414) though in the latter case it might imply the Arabs.

rf^ʔt is very frequent in Saf only (HIn p. 283); mr is also frequent in Saf, with one example in each of Lih and Tham (HIn p. 536).

47. I hfy bn nr bn ysmr

By Khâfiy s. Nur s. Yasmar

hfy is found in Saf (HIn p. 224), and nr in Saf and Tham (HIn p. 585). The form ysmr is new, but ^ʔsmr and smr are known (HIn p. 46, 328).

47A. I gr bn nm bn jn h^ʕsh

By Gharr s. Naum s. Jinn; the staff?

gr and nm are both known from Saf (HIn p. 543, 599); for jn see no. 29. The first name might also be read gt. The object seems rather peculiar if indeed it is read as Ar. ^ʕasâh, and the final h is usually written with t in Saf; but cf. the staff found in the Cairn of Hani^ʔ (HCH).

48. *l j ʕs w wsq h mrjht f*
ʔnqd (f) ʕsyr w hsf

By J S; and he drove the camels.
 So he escaped and returned,
 and he became lean.

The first name looks like *jʕs* or *jns*, neither root known in Ar., perhaps read *jnh*? The following sequence of verbs is unusual, though all are known from previous texts. The root *wasāqa* can mean «to drive (camels)», which fits well with the following *mrjht*. *Mirjāḥ* means, according to Lane p. 1035, «(camels) having a quivering motion in going along with short steps»; the present form of the word could perhaps be a dialect plural, though Lane gives *marājīḥ* as the plural. This is so far the only example of the word in Saf.

ʔnqd would be *naqadha* IV, with the meaning «to escape»; cf. LP 146. *syr* is of very frequent occurrence in Saf, and the usual meaning seems quite applicable in conjunction with *nqd*. *hsf* is found in only one text in the verbal form (C 3064) but three times in the nominal form (C 2713, 2816, 2936, *hhsf* in each case). The meaning suggested here is perhaps applicable for the present text, but C 3064 - and perhaps the others - need re-study.

49. *l ʔwd*

By ʕAwwād (or Aud)

The name is known from Saf only (HIn p. 83).

50. *l ʕwr bn bnt*

By ʕAwar s. Bannat

The first name is known from Saf, and one example in Sab (HIn p. 448). Bannat is common in Saf, and is found in Lih and Qat (HIn p. 119).

51. *l bnt*

By Bannat

See 50.

52. *l mk w nʔr b ʕd mʕzyh*

By Makk; and he watched after
 his goats.

mk is found in Saf, with one doubtful example in Lih (HIn p. 561). For the use

of *bʕd* in a similar context, cf. SIJ 745, 787, 823.

53. *l m ʕn bn mlkt bn ʔs w h nqt.*

By Maʕn s. Malkat s. ʔAus;
 and the she-camel.

mʕn is common in Saf, also found in Lih, Tham and Qat (HIn p. 556). *mlkt* is frequent in Saf, also found in Tham and Min (f.) (HIn p. 565). For *ʔs* see no. 1. No name *ʔsw* is known, and there are several examples of the combination of *w h - -*, cf. HCH 1, 2, 80.

54. *l lbʔ bn db bn ʔtm*

By Labuʔ s. Dhabb s. ʔAtamm

lbʔ is found in Saf and one example in Qat (f.) (HIn p. 508). *db* is found in Saf only (HIn p. 248). *ʔtm* is mainly Saf and Tham, with one example in each of Qat and Sab; it occurs as a family name in Min (HIn p. 19).

55. *l mty bn bny bn ʔs w rf*

By Matī s. Bunaīy s. Aus; and
 he was thin(?)

mty is common in Saf and found in Tham (HIn p. 527); for *bny* see 43 and for *s* see 1. Ar. *raffa* has many meanings; in SIJ 873 it is attributed to *rāfa*, to come to, abide, perhaps a more likely meaning.

56. *l ʕs bn drb*

By ʕAss (?) s. Dārib

ʕs has only one other example, in Saf (HIn p. 422); *drb* also occurs only in Saf (HIn p. 238).

57. *l bn ʕtm bn lyn*

By Bin ʕAtm s. ʕAlyān

bnʕtm is new, but *ʕtm* alone is found in Saf and Tham (HIn p. 205); *lyn* is found in Saf, and one example in each of Lih and Saf (HIn p. 434).

58. *l lʔ (y) w tʕwq*

By Lājiy, and he longed for ?

lʔy is new, cf. Ar. *lājiy*, refugee; the *y* is a curious shape, but can scarcely be anything else. The verb standing alone is unusual.

59. *I nr bn ʔf bn ʕr (s) f bn ʔs ʕ*
By Nur s. ʔAuf s. ʕR(S)F s. ʔʕ ʕ

For *nr* see 47; ʔ*f* is found in Saf and Tham (HIn p. 58). No root ʕ*rsf* is known, but there is a root ʕ*rʕafa*, to pull a thing so that it is divided lengthwise (Lane p. 2001). There is no root ʔ*s ʕ*, but the name could perhaps derive from Ar. *saiʕa*, to separate, scatter.

60. *I hrs bn str ʔ*
By Harîs s. Satar ʔ il

hrs is frequent in Saf, also found in Lih and Tham (HIn p. 184). *str ʔ* is new, and could mean ʔIl sheilds.

61. *I msky bn m ʕ lhjml w h hb ʔ ʕ(?)*
* The camel and the hair-tent(?)
are for Masky s. Muʕallal

msky and *m ʕ* are both found in Saf (HIn p. 545, 555). The root *hb ʕ* is not found in Lane, but is given in al Munjid p. 163, where it is said to be *لَحْدَةٌ فِي حَبَاءٍ* and Ar. *حَبَاءٍ* means a hair-tent, which would go very well with the camel. Or perhaps read the dot as *n*, another dialect plural?

62. *I gwt ʔ*
By Ghauth ʔ il

This name is found in Saf, Min and Qat (HIn p. 459).

63. *I sry bn w ʕln h ʔ tn*

By Sarî s. Waʕlan; the she-ass

sry is found only in Saf (HIn p. 317); *w ʕln* occurs here in Saf for the first time, but is known from Sab and as a family name in Min (HIn p. 645). The word ʔ*tn* occurs a number of times in Saf (C 2040, 2121, etc.).

64. *I grtt bn hrj*
By DRIT s. Harîj

The first name is new; it could mean «he of the old garments» (*dhu riththah*); *hrj* is known in Saf and one example in Tham (HIn p. 183).

65. *I wt ʔ n bn hr*
By WT ʔ N s. Hurr

66. *I rb bn dr bn nbl*
By Rabb s. Darr s. Nabl

rb is common in Saf and one example in Lih (HIn p. 263). *dr* is found in Saf and an uncertain example in Tham (HIn p. 238). *nbl* has one example in each of Saf and Tham (HIn p. 580).

67. *I ʕbd bn mk bn hz*
By ʕAbid s. Makk s. Khazz

dr is common in Saf, also found in For ʕ*bd* see 35, for *mk* see 52. *hz* has only one other example, in Saf (HIn p. 220).

68. *I gmd bn mkl*
By Ghâmid s. Maklat

gmd is found only in Saf (HIn p. 458), and *mkl* in Tham (HIn p. 565).

69. *I ʕyl h bkrt*

The young she-camel is for ʕAyl

The name is known only in Saf (HIn p. 451), and could also be vocalised ʕAâyâl or ʕAyyâl.

70. *I lqb bn m ʕll h bkrt*

The young she-camel is for Laqab
s. Muʕallal

lqb is found twice in Saf only (HIn p. 518); for *m ʕll* see 61.

71. *I jhs*
By Jahash

The name is found only in Saf (HIn p. 153).

72. *I twr bn bh ʔ h jml w h bkrt*

The camel and the young she-camel
are for Thaur s. Bahâ ʔ

twr is found in Saf and one example in Sab (HIn p. 150). *bh ʔ* occurs only in Saf (HIn p. 122).

73. *I mnt bn ʕkn*
By Manât s. ʕIkân (?)

mnt has one previous example in Saf (HIn p. 567); ʕ*kn* has only one example in Sab (HIn p. 429). The vocalisation is uncertain.

74. *I bgl bn ldn*

By Bâqil s. Laudhân

bql is known from Saf and one possible example in Tham (HIn p. 114); *ldn* is found in Lih and Saf (HIn p. 514)

75. *l* ³*syh*

By Asyah(?)

This name is known only from Lih (HIn p. 48); it could be from Ar. ³*âsiya*, or perhaps a theophoric name with *yah*?

76. *l* ⁶*dr bn wqy*

By ⁶*Adhar* s. Waqîy

Tham and Min (HIn p. 412). *wqy* is found only in Saf (HIn p. 648).

77. *l* *mlk bn d_hbn*

By Mâlik s. Dhahbân

mlk is very common in Saf, also found in Lih and Tham (HIn p. 564-5); *d_hbn* is found in Saf (HIn p. 259).

78. *l* ³*wys bn* ⁶*w_d*

By Always s. Awdh

³*wys* has so far been found only in Min and Sab (HIn p. 87); for ⁶*w_d* see 42.

79. *l* *kmd bn rj* ⁶*l*

By Kamid s. RJ ⁶*L*

kmd is common in Saf (HIn p. 504); *rj* ⁶*l* is new, but *rj* ⁶ is known in Saf (HIn p. 271). It could mean ³*Il* renews (*raj* ⁶*a*, *Il*).

80. *l* (*j*) *by bn hysl*

By Jâbiy(?) s. HYSL

jby is found only in Saf (HIn p. 152); it could perhaps read *zby*, also found in Saf (HIn p. 391). *hysl* is new, perhaps from Ar. *wasala*?

81. *l* *qn bn* ³*šntt*

By Qinnas. ³*šNTT*

qn is common in Saf, also found in Lih and Tham (HIn p. 489). ³*šntt* is new, and Ar. *shunut* means «pieces of grilled meat», which would make a rather curious name.

WORD LIST

³*bjr* bn *jn*, 29

³*bn*, v., 1

³*byn* bn ³*y-*, 26

³*tm*, 54 (fa. *db*)

³*tn*, n., 63

³*hh*, his brother, 13

³*hwh*, do. 43

³*dnn*, 22 (fa. *n*)

³*rt* bn ⁶*r_bn*, 46

³*s* ³*l* (fa. *wr_d*)

53 (fa. *mlkt*)

55 (fa. *bn_y*)

³*sd* bn *hl*, 16

bn *mhnn*, 55

³*sh* ³*lh* bn *dl*, 39

³*syh*, 75

³*s* ³, 59 (fa. ⁶*r_sf*)

³*f* bn ⁶*r_sf*, 59

³*fl*, 5

³*l*, prep., 37

³*l*(*f*), 12 (fa. *zyd*)

³*lht* bn ³*sh* ³*lh*, 39

³*m*, 28, 38 (fa. *m⁶tm*)

³*n* m bn *d-*, 11

³*nqd*, v., 48

³*wd*, 49

³*wys* bn ⁶*w_d*, 78

³*y-*, 26, (fa. *byn*)

brh, 9 (fa. *mm*)

b⁶d, prep., 52

b⁶ly, 36 (fa. *k_sm*)

bql bn *ldn*, 74

bkr, n., 40

bkr_t, n., 69, 70, 72

bll bn *ytm*, 44

bnt, 50 (fa. *wr*); 51

bn *tm* bn *lyn*, 57

bnh, his son, 12

bn_y bn ³*s*, 55; 43 (fa. ⁶*hd*)

bn_y v., 12, 13

bh ³, 72 (fa. *twr*)

t-t, 3 (fa. ⁶*qrb*)

tm bn *hyr*, 40; bn *lm*, 10

tb⁶ bn ⁶*j_r*, 33

twr bn *bh* ³, 72

jby, or *zby*, q.v.

jhš, 71

jrm, 14 (fa. ⁶*zz*)

jml, n., 61, 72

jn, 29 (fa. ³*bjr*)

jnh?, 48

h_j bn *wr_d*, 1

hr, 65 (fa. *wt* ³*n*)

hrb, 27 (fa. *qtl*)

hrj, 64 (fa. drtt)
 hrs bn str^l, 60
 hrmt, 19 (fa. y^s)
 hl, 6 (fa. ^ssd)
 hll, v., 11
 hmz, 41 (fa. hlf)
 hml bn klb, 23
 hyr, 40 (fa. tm)
 hb^s, n., 61
 hz, 67 (fa. mk)
 hsf, v., 48
 hfy bn nr, 47
 hlf bn hmz, 41
 bn ty, 10
 bn mgyr, 15
 dd bn d^cl, 42
 dr bn nbl, 66
 drb, 56 (fa. s)
 dl, 39 (fa. ^ssh^slh)
 dl^c, 32 (fa. ^cmr)
 d^sl, l, 14
 db bn ^stm, 54
 drtt bn hrj, 64
 dhbn, 77 (fa. mlk)
 rb bn dr, 66
 rj^cl, 79 (fa. kmd)
 rhb [t], pl., 28
 rdw, d., 39
 rdy, d., 38
 r^cy, v., 28, 40
 rf^s, v., 55
 rf t bn mr, 46
 zyd bn^s l (f), 12; 15 (fa. mgyr)
 str^s l, 60 (fa. hrs)
 sry bn w^cln, 63
 s^cd^sl bn hrs, 2
 sqm, v., 43
 slm, n., l, 39
 sm^cn bn ^cqrb, 3
 sw^s^c, 20 (fa. db^s)
 sq, v., 34
 sn^s, n., 38
 sn^stt, 81 (fa. qn)
 swq, v. V, fswq, 37, 58
 s^cd, v., 44
 syr, v., 48
 db^c bn sw^s^c, 20
 d^cl, 42 (fa. dd)
 ty, 10 (fa. hlf)
 zby? bn hysl, 80

^cbd bn mk, 67
^cjr, 33 (fa. tb^c)
^cdy bn mgyr, 13
^cdr bn wqy, 76
^crnb bn rf^s.t, 46
^crsf bn ^ss^c, 59
^czz bn jrm, 14
^cs bn drb, 56
^csh, n., 47A
^cqrb bn tlt, 3; bn hn^s, 8
^ckn, 73 (fa. mnt)
^cl, prep., 12, 13, 39, 43
^clf, v., 11, 12
 ll bn m^ctm, 28; 25
 24 (fa. qdm^s l)
^cly, 30 (fa. h^sb)
^clyn, 57 (fa. bn tm)
^cmr bn dl^c, 32; 18?
^cmrt, 31 (fa. lt^c)
^cmm bn brh, 9
^cn bn ^sdnn, 22
^chd bn bny, 43
^cwd bn dd, 42; 78 (fa. ^swys)
 tr., 1
^cwr bn bh^s, 50
^cyt, 17 (fa. flt)
^cyl, 69
 gtt, 34
 gr bn nm, 47A
 glmt, 7
 gmd bn mklt, 68
 gwt^sl, 62
 f, prep., 38
 flt bn ^cyt, 17
 qtl bn hrb, 27
 qdm^s l bn ^cll, 24
 qsr, 11
 qn bn sn^stt, 81
 krzn bn ^chd, 43
 ksm bn b^cly, 36
 kkbn, tr., 14
 klb bn lz^cn, 23
 kmd bn rj^cl, 79
 lb^s bn db, 54
 lt, d., l, 40
 lt^c bn ^cmrt, 31
 lly, 58
 ldn, 74 (fa. bql)
 lsb?, v. ?, 40

lz^cn, 23 (fa. klb)
 lqb bn m^c11, 70
 lM bn hlf, 10
 lmmt bn y^s, 19
 mty bn bny, 55
 mhnn, 16 (fa. ^ssd)
 mr, 46 (fa. rf^st)
 mrt bn my, l, 4
 mrjht, n., 48
 mzn bn h^sby, 45
 msky bn m ll, 61
 m^ctm bn ^sm, 28, 38
 m^czyh, his goats, 52
 m^cll, 61, (fa. msky)
 m^cn bn mlkt, 53
 mgyr bn zyd, 12, 15; 13 (fa. ^cdy)
 mk bn hz, 67; 52
 mklt, 68 (fa. gmd)
 mlk bn dhbn, 77
 mlkt bn ^s, 53
 mnt bn ^ckn, 73
 mn^ct, 37
 my, 4 (fa. mrt)
 nbl, 66 (fa. dr)
 nr bn ^sf, 59; bn jn, 47
 ngrn bn ^srt, 46
 n^czr, v., 52

nqt, n., 53
 nqd, v., see ^snqd
 nm bn jn, 47A
 nmr or ^cmr, 18
 h^sb bn ^cly, 30
 h^sby, 45 (f. mzn)
 hrs, 2 (fa. s d l)
 hmz, 41 (fa. hlf)
 hn bn hn^s, 8
 hysl, 80 (fa. ^sby)
 w, conj., 1, 9, 11-13, 15, 28
 37-39, 42-44, 49, 52, 55
 w h-- , 53, 61, 72
 wt^sn bn hr, 65
 wjm, 39;
 whd, v., 38
 wrd bn ^s, 1
 w^cln, 63 (fa. sry)
 wqy, 76 (fa. ^cdr)
 wqyt, n., 38
 y^ss bn hrmt, 19
 ytm, 44 (fa. bli)
 ysmr, 47 (fa. nr)

G. Lankester Harding

ABBREVIATIONS

Ar	Arabic	Lih	don, 1863-1893.
ARNA	Winnett & Reed, <i>Ancient Records from North Arabia</i> , Toronto, 1970.	LP	Liyanite
C	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, parts IV and V.		Enno Littmann, <i>Safaitic Inscriptions</i> , Leyden, 1943.
CIK	W. Caskel, <i>Gamharat an-Nasab — des Hissam ibn Muhammad al Kalbi</i> , Leiden, 1966.	Min	Minaean
conj.	Conjunction	n.	Noun
d.	Deity	NSR	Y. M. Abdallah, <i>Al nuqush al Safawieh fi majmu'at Jam'ah Riyadh</i> , M. A. thesis, unpublished, 1970.
f.	feminine	pl.	Place name
fa.	Father of	prep.	Preposition
Had	Hadrami	Qatt	Qatabanian
HCH	G. L. Harding, 'The cairn of Hani', in <i>Annual of the Dept. of Ants. of Jordan</i> , II, 1953.	R	<i>Répertoire d'Epigraphie sémitique</i> , tomes I-VIII.
HIIn	— <i>An Index and Concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and Inscriptions</i> , Toronto, 1971.	Sab	Sabaeen
Hu	Ch. Huber, <i>Journal d'un voyage en Arabie</i> , Paris, 1891.	Saf	Safaitic
JaS	A. Jamme, 'Safaitic texts', in <i>Oriens Antiquus</i> , VI & IX.	SIJ	F. V. Winnett, <i>Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan</i> , Toronto, 1957.
JS	Jaussen & Savignac, <i>Mission archéologique en Arabie</i> , Paris, 1909, 1914.	v.	Verb
Lane	E. W. Lane, <i>Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , London, 1863-1893.	WH	Winnett & Harding, <i>4000 Safaitic texts</i> (in preparation).
		WR	F. Wüstenfeld, <i>Register zu den genealogische Tabellen</i> , 1853
		WTI	F. V. Winnett, 'The Thamudic Inscriptions', in ARNA.

The 1971 Season of Excavations at Tell Hesban

by
Dr. Siegfried H. Horn

The first season of excavations at *Tell Hesbân* was carried out in the summer of 1968 and was briefly reported in *ADAJ* (XII-XIII [1967-1968], 51, 52).¹ The second campaign took place from July 5 to August 20, 1971. The staff consisted of 40 overseas members — of whom about 20 were graduate students — and 11 Jordanians. Two of them, Mohammad Murshed Khadija and Hussein Qandil, both officials of the Department of Antiquities, served the expedition respectively as foreman and representative of the department.² One instructor of the University of Jordan, Nabil Khairy, and seven archaeology majors of that university also joined the expedition. Approximately 130 other Jordanians were hired as laborers, the majority of them from the village of *Hesbân*.

The expedition was chiefly sponsored by Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, but enjoyed the cooperation and financial support of the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman (ACOR) and of several other American institutions. As in 1968, the writer, who had been director of ACOR during the previous six months, served as director of the expedition. Roger S. Boraas of Upsala College

East Orange, New Jersey, was chief archaeologist. Some of the staff members had been on the 1968 staff, but most joined the expedition for the first time in 1971.

Work on the *tell* was continued and expanded in all four Areas where excavations had been carried out during the previous season. In addition to the excavations on the *tell*, salvage operations were conducted in two recently discovered Roman-Byzantine cemeteries. The following brief report of the 1971 excavations is described Area by Area and is based on the various reports written by the Area supervisors for the official full preliminary report published in the *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, XI (1973). See No. 1, a contour map of the *tell*, and No. 2 an aerial photo of *Tell Hesbân*.

AREA A

Area A is located on the summit of the *tell*, where in 1968 the remains of a Christian church were found. During that season the apse in the east of this building, the northern outer wall, and a row of three column bases with their underlying support wall were excavated. A wall in the south, corresponding to the northern

¹ A full preliminary report of the first season was published in the *Andrews University Seminary Studies* (AUSS), VII (1969), 97-239. Other reports of that season have appeared in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXXII (1969), 25-41, and the *Revue Biblique*, LXVI (1969), 395-398. The coins found during the 1968 season were published by A. Terian in AUSS, IX (1971), 147-160; and the 7th-6th century B.C.

pottery from Area B by E. N. Lugenbeal and J. A. Sauer in AUSS, X (1972), 21-69.

² Thanks is herewith expressed to Mr. Mansour Bataineh, Director-General of the Department of Antiquities, for having granted the excavation permit, as well as for having loaned Mohammad Murshed Khadija to the expedition.

inner wall was excavated, but no column bases were found on this wall. These discoveries made it clear that the church had been a basilica-type structure consisting of a central nave separated by rows of columns from two side aisles. Within the apse and in the central nave fragments of colorful mosaic floors were discovered. The mosaic fragment in the apse carried an arc-shaped border of a garland and a design of trees and a large animal. The other fragment showed a geometric design. Both mosaic fragments were lifted from their bed of cement, restored, and transported to the museum in Madaba for preservation.

The 1968 excavations also revealed that after the destruction of the church, probably carried out by the Persians during their invasion of A.D. 612, the ruins were leveled and the site was converted to a paved open plaza. Water channels were put in the pavement to carry rain water to several cisterns, three of which were dug where the church had stood. The evidence showed furthermore that during the early Arab period this plaza was surrounded by domestic buildings on the north, west, and south. The east side was left open so as to protect the plaza from the disagreeable strong west winds and to allow it to be warmed up by the rising sun.

During the 1971 season Area A was under the supervision of Dorothea Harvey of Urbana College, Urbana, Ohio. The work in all four Squares opened in 1968 was continued and new excavations were begun in two more Squares to the west. A portion of the southern outside wall was discovered for the first time, and it was found that the two side aisles were not of the same width. The northern aisle was 2.00-2.20 meters wide while the southern one had a width of only 1.50-1.60 meters. Had the two aisles been of the same width, the southern wall of the church would have been built over a large cistern. By the end of the 1971 season it was certain that

the church had had at least six columns per aisle. Six of them were found in their original locations, four in the northern row and two in the southern row. Five other, displaced, column bases of the same size came to light in various places within the church area. The western end of the church has not yet been uncovered, and it is therefore not known how long it originally was. Further excavations are needed to ascertain the length of the church as well as its entrance, which must have been in the west.

It is reasonable to believe that in pre-Christian times the summit of the *tell* had borne some other monumental structure, be it a Roman temple or any other public building. This assumption became more certain when the 1968 operations uncovered a Corinthian capital incorporated into the foundation of the church's apse. This capital must have been reused from some pre-Byzantine monumental building. During the 1971 excavations it was furthermore discovered that one of the four principal east-west walls of the church predated the construction of that building. Pottery obtained from foundation trenches, from fill between the walls, and from the walls themselves made it clear that the northern and southern outside walls were of Byzantine origin as well as the wall which carried the northern row of columns. But the wall which carried the southern columns was of Roman workmanship and differed from the other three in appearance and method of construction. This wall was simply reused by the church builders, and may constitute the only major remains of the pre-Byzantine public building which once must have crowned *Tell Hesbân* during Roman times.

In Square A. 2 there was evidence both outside and inside the northern wall of extensive quarrying activity in the Roman period. Here also was discovered a cave divided into two large rooms by an east-west separating wall. The southern half

had been in use during the whole Roman period, while the northern half seems to have been used only during late Roman times. The entrance to the northern cave was made through a well-constructed doorway. Its eastern face had an inverted V-shaped lintel of two stones placed on two side posts of heavy blocks of cut stone (No. 3). On the west face a heavy horizontal stone lintel was set across these side posts. The use of the cave could not be determined. Directly opposite the door was an anvil-like round stone set in a circle of stones (No. 4), and a firepit was in the northwest corner of the cave. It is probable that the cave had served as a workshop of sorts. The Area supervisor suggests that the anvil and firepit may have been used for the sharpening or working of tools needed for stone cutting, for the cutting of tesserae, or other related activities.

No building remains earlier than the Roman period were discovered in Area A. A few Hellenistic sherds were found during the excavations, and also some 7th-6th century B.C. pottery in pockets of fill, but no architectural remains. It became apparent that if the summit of *Tell Hesbân* was occupied in pre-Roman times, all vestiges of such an occupation had been thoroughly destroyed by the quarrying or building operations of the Roman and succeeding periods.

AREA B

Area B is located on a comparatively flat shelf below and to the south of the acropolis. In 1968 one 7.00 x 7.00 meter Square was opened here with the aim to ascertain how many occupational layers we could expect to find on the *tell*. This aim was not fully reached, because instead of encountering occupation layers that corresponded to those of other parts of the *tell*, a large debris-filled lime kiln and a thick layer of white crushed limestone material were discovered. Under-

neath this layer was a large east-west wall dividing the Square into almost equal halves. North of that wall were many layers of fill which contained sherds no later than the 7th-6th centuries B.C. as well as an ostrakon dated by paleography to ca. 500 B.C. It seemed that the massive wall, of which the foundations were not reached in the 1968 season, must have been constructed ca. 500 B.C.

Inasmuch as Area B contained few remains of later structures and gave the hope of providing pre-Roman occupation levels, three new Squares were opened in 1971, while work was continued in Square B.1. James A. Sauer, at that time newly appointed Albright Fellow of the ACOR, was the Area B supervisor.

The rains of three winters had washed into Square B.1 much of the debris from the lime kiln, and all stones of a protective wall, built around the Square after the 1968 campaign, had been pushed into the deep hole — probably by village children. Two weeks of intensive work were required to remove the stones and debris which almost filled the Square and to restore it to the condition in which it had been left at the end of the 1968 season.

Fourteen archaeological strata were distinguished in Area B. Stratum I represents the present topsoil. Underneath it lay Stratum II from Mamlūk times as dated by pottery and coins. In this stratum were several pits. An L-shaped robber trench provided evidence that an earlier wall had been removed in Mamlūk times.

Stratum III contained the circular lime kiln, 4.00 meters in diameter, which had already been discovered in 1968. Its bottom lay about 4.00 meters below the ground level of Area B. Its circular wall consisted of fairly well-cut stones bearing the marks of the intensive heat to which they had been subjected when the kiln was in use, most probably during the early

5th century A.D. It is possible that it had been built and operated in connection with the construction of the Christian church on the summit of the *tell*. That no remains of any kind from the time between the 5th century A.D. and the commencement of the Mamlūk period in the 12th century were found makes it reasonable to conclude that the space of Area B was left unoccupied during the intervening centuries.

In 1968 it was discovered that the builders of the lime kiln had cut through a mass of whitish material, seemingly decomposed limestone, called *huwwar* at that time. This mass, 1.00 meter thick, consisted of alternating thicker layers of limestone and thinner layers of brown dirt. The same layered material was also encountered in the south-west corner of Area D in 1968, and in 1971 in both new Squares (B.2 and 3) connecting Areas B and D. These may probably be plaster resurfacings of an east-west roadway leading to the stepped street in Area D, the southern access to the acropolis. It seems that the original roadway surface and resurfacings, labeled Strata IV and VI-XI, (No. 5) were laid down between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D. In Stratum XI, the lowest of these strata, a north-south row of well-cut paving stones came to light in Square B.3. (No. 6) According to the Area supervisor's interpretation, they seem to have been curbstones on the roadway's west side after it junctioned with a proposed north-south roadway leading to the acropolis gateway by means of the above-mentioned stepped street. Both the street and the gateway were excavated in 1968.

It is well known that the Roman road, the *via nova*, built under the Emperor Trajan after the conquest of Petra in A.D. 106, passed Esbus (= *Hesbân*). It originated in Bostra, the capital of Syria in late Roman times, and traversed Transjordan to 'Aqaba in the south, going through Philadelphia (= Amman), Esbus, and Petra. A branch road running from Esbus to Jericho

via Livias is usually attributed to the Emperor Hadrian, but its date of origin is not certain, and may have been earlier. Whether the roadway with its several resurfacings, found in Squares B.1-3, was actually part of the Esbus-Livias branch or only led to it from the *tell* is not known, but it seems that it existed until the 4th century. It is also possible that Esbus during those centuries served as a fortress on the Roman eastern *limes*, or frontier.

Stratum V is a rock tumble connected with some red ashy soil which the Area supervisor interprets in his reports as possible destruction evidence of a severe earthquake that hit Transjordan in A.D. 365. If this earthquake caused the destruction of the walls of Kerak and of the qasr at 'Arâq el-Emîr, as seems probable, one could expect to find evidence of it at Hesbân, a mid-point between these two sites.

Stratum XII represents a pre-roadway occupation level of early Roman times. An unexcavated cistern in Square B.3 and a partly excavated cave or cistern in Square B.4 belong to this period.

The massive Wall B.1:17—already mentioned—and its extension found in Square B.2 belongs to Stratum XIII. Its origin is still not clear. Some evidence points to its construction in the 1st century A.D., but a clearly visible trench on its north face in Square B.1 contained no pottery later than the 7th-6th centuries B.C. It will be one of next season's tasks to obtain a date for the origin of this wall as well as its purpose, which has not yet been ascertained. At the present time it seems that it may have been built as part of a defensive system to protect the acropolis.

Stratum XIV consists of a massive fill in Square B.1, 6.50 meters deep, which contains only 7th-6th century B.C. pottery (including a ca. 525 B.C. ostrakon found in 1971) and no later material remains. Thus far this massive fill has been encountered only in Square B.1; in the adjacent Square

B.4 bedrock was reached less than 2.00 meters below ground surface. It is not yet known whether the deep depression in B.1 is man-made or of natural origin, nor is it clear when and for what purpose it was filled. Solutions to these problems must be sought during the next season.

AREA C

Area C consists of a series of Squares on the western slope of the *tell* along the east-west axis. Originally designed to intercept an expected city wall, the four Squares worked in 1968 showed that the western slope of the acropolis is covered by a thick layer of debris. In the 1971 season work in Squares C. 1 and 4, the westernmost and easternmost of the four Squares, was continued and two new Squares were opened, one (Square C. 5) adjacent to and further down the slope from Square C. 1 and the second one (Square C. 6) at the eastern end. The work in Area C was supervised by Henry O. Thompson, the 1971-1972 director of the ACOR.

In Squares C.4 and 6 parts of a frequently rebuilt Arab structure (labeled «North Building») were uncovered. Along its inside walls was a plastered stone bench, part of which was made of a column drum (No. 7). Underneath the pre-Arab (probably Byzantine) floor of this house was found the burial of a possibly fetal or still-born child covered by a large sherd of a storage jar. The child must have been wrapped in a cloth since the fibers were still noticeable on a bronze buckle lying in the shoulder area. Numerous tiny beads in the pelvic region had probably been sewn to the cloth. Another find made in this house was a clay lamp containing 66 Mamluk coins, made of a bronze core covered with silver. (No. 15)

Outside the North Building and south of it lay a domestic court with a *tabun* and a large cistern, which had already been

cleaned in 1968. Rock-cut channels ran between the cistern and other installations lying outside the limits of excavation, one from the cistern toward the west where it was lost in the west balk and another connecting with a cavern in the south (No. 8). This cavern was ca. 1.50 meters wide and was roofed with limestone slabs. Despite the fact that it was not excavated because most of it lay outside the Square, it was evident that the cavern extended south more than 2.00 meters. Pottery evidence coming from the soil layers connected with the channels point to a Roman date for these installations. Although the cistern contained mainly Arab pottery, this may only have been evidence of reuse of a much earlier structure.

Byzantine evidence in Square C. 4 was quite complicated. It consisted of several disconnected wall stumps and soil layers underneath the Arab *tabun* and around the cistern. One north-south wall, of which 5.00 meters were preserved to a height of three and four courses, was 1.30 meters wide and seemed to have served a defensive function for the western perimeter of the city, or at least for the house and cistern, since it seemed too heavy for a simple courtyard wall.

In Square C. 1 excavations were continued where they had ended in 1968. Here several Byzantine walls and a water channel were uncovered. Two rows of semi-flat field stones set on edge formed the trough of the channel, and a row of capstones covered its top. In the southwest corner of the Square was an impressive 5.25 meter long wall (C. 1:8) consisting of large field stones, dated to the early Byzantine period. In removing this wall a small unbroken glass vase was retrieved. Somehow it had escaped being crushed by the heavy stones lying over the layer of soil in which it was embedded.

Since this wall (C. 1:8) ran into the west balk at an oblique angle, we expected to find its continuation in Square C. 5. In this

we were not successful. It evidently stopped in the west balk which has not yet been removed. The apparently corresponding wall (C. 5:7) found in Square C. 5 ran at a slightly different angle and level from Wall C. 1:8 and was of probable late Byzantine origin.

The early and late Roman periods are represented in Square C.1 by several walls and surfaces, probably the slim remains of domestic buildings destroyed beyond connecting recognition by later building activities.

Of the pre-Roman periods, a few Hellenistic sherds, but not structural remains, were found in Area C. However, one wall (C. 1:30) could be dated to the 7th-6th centuries B.C., making it thus far the earliest architectural feature discovered at *Tell Hesbân*.

AREA D

Area D is located on the southern slope of the acropolis. In 1968 three Squares were opened there along the north-south axis in the hope of discovering the ascent to the acropolis area. This hope materialized when a stepped roadway along the western balks of Squares D. 1 and 2 was discovered which led to a gate built into a strong perimeter wall (D.1:4) that seemed to have been in use during the Byzantine and Arab periods of *Tell Hesbân's* occupational history. North of this wall a fine pavement of large flat stones was discovered and a collapsed vaulted room built in late Arab times, of which the southern part was excavated.

In the southernmost Square of Area D (D.3) several pits of Roman and later times were found . There also was a thick layer of whitish plaster in the western part of Square D.3 , interpreted now as part of the roadway surface that led from the west to the stepped ascending street which ended at the gateway of the perimeter Wall D.1:4 on the acropolis.

In 1971 the work in Area D was supervised by Lawrence T. Geraty of Harvard University. Excavations were continued in Square D.1 and completed when bedrock was reached in the uncovered portion. Since the Department of Antiquities deemed it advisable to preserve the fine pavement (D.1:33-34) north of the perimeter Wall D.1:4, only a limited area east of the pavement, where it had been robbed out, was available for a deep probe. The excavations revealed that the pavement was of Byzantine origin (No. 9), probably built contemporaneously with the church in Area A. It overlay another and earlier pavement of greenish clayey limestone (which had the feel of soapstone and was popularly labeled as such during the excavations) of Roman times. Underneath the makeup for this Roman pavement were layers of fill containing Roman and some 7th-6th century B.C. pottery. It became now clear that the 1.50 meter-thick perimeter wall had been laid on bedrock, probably in Roman times, and that it had remained in use from that time throughout the city's history . During the following centuries, however, its upper portions experienced several rebuilds.

Two new squares (D.5 and 6) were opened in 1971 north of Square D.1 in order to connect that Area with Area A and its Byzantine church ruins. Square D.5 reached from the west balk to the western wall of the vaulted Arab room. Here a further section of the Byzantine pavement (D.1 : 33-34) was uncovered reaching as far north as the southern outside wall of the church. However, its eastern part was ripped out , probably by the builders of the vaulted room

Incorporated in this pavement was the mouth of a huge cistern. Its neck, built into a vaulted ceiling, was 4.00 meters deep, while the cistern underneath the neck had a depth of another 6.00 meters. Its horizontal dimensions were 8.50 x 4.50 meters, so that it could hold an estimated 229,000

liters of water. Its floor and walls were plastered while the ceiling consisted of an artificial vault with two square mouths, one lying outside the excavation area (No. 10). It looked as if it had originally been a cave with an east entrance. Upon decision to convert it into a cistern, this cave seems to have been enlarged and deepened, its eastern entrance walled up, and a vaulted ceiling built to cover it. The ceramic evidence obtained from a careful and stratigraphic excavation of the silt layers at the bottom of the cistern revealed that it had been in use during the late Arab period, although it is possible that it was constructed much earlier.

In Area D the collapsed vaulted room, built in late Arab times, was almost completely excavated. As its eastern wall it had used an extant north-south wall, existing at least since the Byzantine period. The entrance to the vaulted building has not yet been found, but it must have been in the as yet not fully excavated north wall as the walls on the other three sides contained no breaks. The floor of this building had covered over a ca. 79,200 liter capacity cistern. When the cistern itself was dug from bedrock, its 3.50 meter long neck was artificially built above the bedrock. The mass of debris in it, stratigraphically excavated, furnished a large number of domestic objects, coins, and pottery. A blocked-up channel in the eastern wall of this cistern connected it in a carefully engineered system with two smaller cisterns in the eastern part of Square D.6. These cisterns could hold approximately 3,100 and 3,400 liters, respectively.

East of the vaulted room ran an east-west wall, founded on bedrock in Roman times and used until late Arab times, although its function remained uncertain. In the Byzantine period the space between this wall and the church was covered by a tessellated floor of which only patches were preserved. Its geometric pattern of diagonal rows contained 40-centimeter-wide

red-bordered squares set in a white background with a multicolored diamond-shaped cluster of 41 tesserae in the center. The whole pattern was surrounded by a double band of blue tesserae. Whether this mosaic floor lay inside a room adjacent to the church or in an open small courtyard could not be ascertained.

AREA E AND F

Prior to the 1971 season of excavations the villagers of *Hesbân* had accidentally discovered and robbed a number of tombs. Since two of these tombs, the entrance of one having been closed by a rolling stone and the other by a swinging stone door, were rather rare discoveries for Transjordan, a full excavation and study of them was desirable. In the course of this work, directed by S. Douglas Waterhouse of Andrews University, a search was also made for some additional unspoiled tombs. Consequently, a few tombs were found which had not been opened in recent times. They had all, however, been entered and robbed of valuables in ancient times. Sometimes, probably during the Byzantine period, these open and robbed out tombs seem to have been filled with dirt and resealed.

On *Gourmeyet Hesbân*, the hill lying west of *Tell Hesbân*, an ancient cemetery, probably dating to Roman and Byzantine times, is recognizable from the many open tombs. Many of these are now used for animal pens or storage. This cemetery was labeled Area E, but no new tombs were discovered during our 1971 search. Area F was the Roman-Byzantine cemetery located on the western slope of the southern extension of *Tell Hesbân*, where most of the recently opened tombs were located.

Tomb F. 1, called the «Rolling Stone Tomb», was the first tomb of this architectural design found east of the Jordan River, although several tombs of this nature are known on the West Bank. All of the tombs constructed in this way can be

dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D., and most belonged to noble families. The complex of *Hesbân's* Rolling Stone Tomb included an open forecourt and a relatively elaborate façade. Two walls parallel to the actual tomb face formed a track in which the disc-shaped stone door, ca. 1.26 meters in diameter and .36 m. thick, could be rolled to either side of the low entrance. (No. 11) The interior was a rock-cut main chamber from which radiated — four each on the north, east, and south sides — 12 burial tunnels, generally called loculi. Although the tomb had already been spoiled before our season of excavations began, the existing human bones showed that it had once contained at least 76 bodies. Some pottery (all broken), glass bracelets, and a few other small objects were found in the debris of this tomb.

Tomb F. 4 was a Roman tomb of a construction frequently found at *Hesbân*. These tombs consist of a vertical rectangular shaft at the bottom of which are four burial recesses, the long sides of the shaft having two trough-like graves and the narrow sides two loculi. In one case a burial trough was found directly at the bottom of the shaft and seems to have been a later addition. Tomb F. 4, which was excavated stratigraphically, contained bodies in all the graves, but no pottery was found with them. Among the objects found in this tomb were two brooch-like fibulae (No. 16) and a bronze incense shovel (No. 13) of a type known from Pompeii and other parts of the Roman world. Three such shovels were found in one of the caves at *Naḥel Hever*, west of the Dead Sea, which had sheltered refugees during the Bar Kokhba revolt in the 2nd century A.D.

Together with Tomb F. 1, Tomb F. 5, the «Swinging Door Tomb» was also unique for *Hesbân*. On the sides of a central rock-cut chamber lay three arcosolia, each consisting of two trough-like caskets covered with large, flat, square, terracotta tiles. The outstanding feature of this tomb, however,

was that hinged within a stone frame surrounding the low entrance was a still-operable, solid stone door. (No. 12) Although this tomb had already been robbed of its contents before our expedition arrived, we were able to retrieve from it a cache of undamaged pottery vessels, fortuitously covered by rock fall from the ceiling and hence hidden from the recent tomb robbers.

Tomb F. 6, also stratigraphically excavated, was an early Roman tomb consisting of a central rock-cut main chamber with nine loculi cut into three walls. While this tomb had been entered in antiquity, it had not been opened in recent times. The ancient tomb robbers seem to have been interested in such valuables as gold and silver, but had left behind glass and pottery vessels as well as bronze and other metal objects. We found that the bones had been scattered throughout the tomb before it had been filled with dirt and resealed, probably in Byzantine times. The most artistic find was a swan-shaped cosmetic container. The shell box itself formed the swan's body, and into the ivory lid fit the neck, wings, and tail — all carved of ivory. (No. 14)

Tomb F. 8/10 is a double tomb of formidable size. Upon discovery it was almost completely filled with dirt. In ancient times it had been robbed of practically all contents and subsequently resealed. Tomb F. 8 was the earlier tomb, consisting of an unusually long central chamber with 18 loculi, all of which were empty of objects and bones at the time of discovery. Tomb F. 10, constructed at a later time, had a large central chamber and three arcosolia. The southern and eastern arcosolia each contained three trough graves. During construction of the northern arcosolium, however, the tomb builders had accidentally cut into the rear of Tomb F. 8, thus creating of the two one large tomb as well as spoiling the symmetry of Tomb F. 10. In addition to the trough graves found in Tomb F. 10 were a loculus and a vertical recess cut into the eastern arcosolium.

Archaeological Excavations At Sahab, 1972

by

Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim

On the fourth of March 1972 the Sahab Police Station reported to the Department of Antiquities that a tomb had been accidentally found. The Inspector of Antiquities Ali Sa'idi went to the site and on the basis of his report Dr. Fawzi Zayadin of the Department and the writer visited the place. Ali Hashim, the owner of a house in Sahab, explained the discovery of the tomb as follows : « I was digging a drainage pit and reached rock after about two meters. I told the workers to cut through the rock. After 40 cms. we broke into a hallow space and saw some bones and few pots. Then I decided to inform the Department of Antiquities through the local police station.» The Department thanked Ali for his cooperation and decided to dig the tomb area properly.

Financial and other problems, such as the location among occupied houses, made it difficult to project the extent of the work. Then the Director of Antiquities, Mr. Mansour Bataineh when informed of the discovery, raised some money to begin excavating the site. Unfortunately this was insufficient to undertake a dig on a large scale. Later, additional funds became available and the work continued for six months. As a result eight squares in two different areas were excavated and three large tombs investigated.

Staff members of the dig were all from the Department of Antiquities. The writer served as director of the excavations with Mohammad Murshid Khadijeh and Abdul-Sami' Abu Diyyeh as supervisors. Dr.

Fawzi Zayadin, Ibrahim Haj Hassan and Nazmieh Rida Tawfiq worked successively two months each. Ismail Hazaz was the draftman. The photographers were Sarkis Labajian and Abdul-Fattah el-Attar and Rafiq Sarraf served as Surveyor. Yousef Tahboub mended the major part of the pottery. The work of Ali Abdul-Rasoul and Khamis Fahd, technical men trained at Jericho delineated clear stratification.

LOCATION AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

Sahab lies about 12 Kms. south-east of Amman on the present and old road to the Islamic Desert Castles : Muwaqqar, Mshatta, Mshash, Harraneh and Qseir Amra. Sahab is one of the last major settlements on the road to Saudi Arabia; Numerous archaeological sites are found in the vicinity of Sahab, but only Salbud, two Kms. to the south was examined by the team. Judged by surface sharding and observations, Salbud shows Iron Age, Roman, Byzantine and Arab occupation. This material will be discussed elsewhere with information about other sites surrounding Sahab.

Sahab is probably the largest pre-Roman site on the borders of the desert on East Jordan. Its height above sea level is 873 m. For the present it is hard to find the exact limits of the ancient mound because the new town was founded on top of it and spread from there to the surrounding area, destroying parts of the old settlement in the process. According to a contour map prepared by the Ministry of

Municipalities and Rural Affairs, the ancient mound is a large one, occupying an area of about 250 dunums. The highest point of the tell is about 22 meters above the western plains (see pl. XX). On the other sides its elevation above the surrounding area is much less. In 1973 the Dept. of Antiquities plans to undertake a complete contour survey. The area around Sahab is well cultivated. The real desert starts about 15 kms. to the east of it.

From the topography and surface architectural remains it is clear that there was a fortified acropolis within a walled city. The cutting of two modern streets through the ancient mound revealed two large trenches with balks, one directed north-south and the other east-west, which revealed the stratigraphy of the upper part of the mound.

A thick ashy layer is evident in visible sections, especially in the southern part of the mound. The pottery which has been taken out of it suggests the seventh or the eighth century B.C. Therefore, the ashy layer indicates a major destruction in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

Huge, partly worked stones are scattered on the middle of the tell. These appear to be the stones from which the acropolis was constructed. The length of some of these stones is over two meters. Some of the stones were reused in the new buildings of the town. In the eastern section of the street cut north-south and in the northern part of the acropolis there is a well built and well preserved structure of a large important building.

There are few houses with vaulted rooms which probably date from Medieval Arabic period. The typical painted and glazed pottery of this period has been found.

There is also a large number of cisterns, some of which were reused by the present

inhabitants. Some people mentioned the existence of two springs in the vicinity of Sahab, but these dried up some years ago. On the south-east edge of the mound there is a large depression which may have served as a reservoir.

There are several caves in and near Sahab. Some of these were either destroyed or reused as stores by the people. Some of the artifacts from them fell into the hands of antiquities dealers, others were processed by the Department of Antiquities.

A small artificial mound is situated just beyond the northeastern part of the supposed city wall.

On the basis of excavation and investigation it is clear that Sahab played an important role in the history of central East Jordan from the fourth to the first millennium B.C. Evidence for occupation from the end of the Iron Age to the Arabic period seems to be lacking. This, however, should be substantiated through further research.

Six main periods have been recognized. The earliest evidence came from caves. These caves were inhabited during the Chalcolithic Age, about 4000 B.C. Similar caves of the same period are known in Palestine, but these are the first examples yet known in the eastern part of Jordan. Related to this period are floors, pottery, flint tools, and primitive stone structures. A quantity of seeds was also gathered from Chalcolithic floors. Most of these caves were re-used as tombs in later periods during the Middle Bronze Age (1800-1600 B.C.), Late Bronze Age (1400 B.C.), and Early Iron Age (1200 B.C.).

The excavators also uncovered part of an Early Iron Age settlement in two areas in the northern part of the Tell. The location of these remains indicates that the

city found its largest size during the Early Iron Age.

There is a number of tombs which were found at Sahab before the 1972 excavations, but unfortunately none of them has been excavated properly.

The first tomb reported to the Department of Antiquities in 1929 was published by W.F. Albright(1). A second tomb was discovered in 1948 on the north-western edge of the town and published by Lankester Harding(2). Both of these tombs date from the Iron II (ninth to seventh century B.C.) period. Two other tombs were cleared by the Dept. of Antiquities, and one of them has been published by R. Dajani(3). It seems that this tomb had been used in the Late Bronze Age and reused in the Iron Age and probably in Iron II period as well.

The above mentioned scholars did not undertake investigations on the mound itself. Even the surface sherding and observations were not representative of the physical remains, history and importance of the site. It seems that Nelson Glueck and others, who made surface explorations for major parts of the country did not examine the site and its surrounding(4).

We could not find any historical records which refer to the place and its name, though one would expect to find references, judging from the importance of the site. Further research is badly needed to clarify the historical identification, ascertain the full range of the archaeological

periods represented, and to throw more light on the history and foreign relations of the area. The Department of Antiquities is aware of these aspects and plans to continue investigation and excavation of the site.

THE EXCAVATIONS

As we have shown, there were no prior plans for the excavations. The investigations undertaken in 1972 were a kind of reaction to accidental finds as a result of construction which occurred before and during our setting of the first Area A. The designations Area A, B, C and D were given one after the other. Therefore these opened areas do not represent key positions of the site, as one would plan to excavate sequentially at the beginning of a dig. Such systematic treatment of accidental discoveries already made will be a major procedure for our next season. We also hope to open new areas of excavation in a systematic search for such features as the fortifications.

The Department of Antiquities has also been able to stop further new construction except by prior consultation so as to prevent further damage to the site. An Antiquities office was opened in Sahab during the excavations for this purpose. This will facilitate more investigations in Sahab and the surrounding region.

AREA A

The work started in a tomb on the northern part of the mound (see above).

madan. Many caves and cisterns. Below Sahab es Sarboud, a quarter of a mile west, is a very large cistern, with four mouths, and good water». R.E. Brünow and A. V. Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, Zweiter Band, Strassburg (1905), (1905), p. 195. Musil mentioned: hirbet Sahhab, while Brünow and Domaszewski : es-Sahhab, op. cit., p. 195.

- 1) W. Albright, *AJA* 36 (1936), p. 295ff.
- 2) G.L. Harding *An Iron Age Tomb at Sahab, QDAP* 13 (1948), p. 92ff.
- 3) R.W. Dajani, *A Late Bronze — Iron Age Tomb Excavated at Sahab, 1968, ADAJ* 15 (1970), p. 29ff.
- 4) The site was visited by Gray Hill, who mentioned it as : «Sahab es-Sarboud. — Top of hill. — Two smaller square ruins similar to Ra-

We entered the tomb through the hole which was cut by the land owner and not through the original entrance. The location of the tomb under a 4 m x 4 m modern room and among other occupied houses (see Pl. I Fig. 1) in addition to financial difficulties did not allow us to open squares above the tomb, so as to clarify the situation from the top surface until we reached the bedrock and the entrance. Part of the tomb was excavated from inside. Later we were able to remove the overhead room and opened a 4 m x 4 m square (square 1) above the expected entrance of the cave (tomb), on its northern side. Three other squares were excavated almost to bedrock (see Pl. 1).

Six occupation phases were identified with a total of 20 levels. A good picture of these phases could be obtained from square 1, especially in the eastern section. In fact, only the uppermost occupation phase was followed in all squares, while phases 2-6 are associated with the use of the cave. The pottery of phases 5 & 6 was found both on the floor of the cave and on the bedrock above the cave.

PHASE I (levels 1-5)

All these levels have been disturbed at least in three sides by modern pits. It seems that the local people had been looking for stones to be used in their houses and taking soil to make mud-bricks. Two modern pits cut into bedrock were also found in the south-east corner of sq. 5.

The uppermost level is a modern cement floor which is followed by another layer, about 20-50 cms thick, containing soft brown dusty earth and ashes. Under this top soil there is level 1 which is formed by hard patches of soil with small pieces of huwwar mixed with ash and bricks of reddish brown colour. Some of these brick pieces were burnt. The pottery which came out of this level is mixed. There is Iron I & II sherds. MB, probably

EB and Chalcolithic pieces may come from the surface. A piece of basalt plate of the Iron II period and a few flint tools were also found. Level 2 is soft loose soil and ashes mixed with huwwar fragments and brick pieces. Under 2, there is a thin level 3, only 5-8 cms of hard brownish and sandy packed soil with small pieces of brick material. This was followed by a large number of almost complete though broken storage jars (Pl. II). It seems that these jars were broken as a result of destruction.

The way they lay on the floor (see Pl. II) and the way material from the roof such as burnt beams, brick and medium stones were found inside and around them is probably evidence for such a destruction. Some of these jars were stamped in different ways. Description and Iron Age I dating is discussed below. Large dark burnt brick was found next to the jars, between sq. 1 and sq. 5. A hole for three fingers to fit in was made in the middle of this brick. The use of it is not known. Some medium stones were found beneath the jars. They were probably used as supports. Under all these jars was a layer (level) of pink plaster. Major parts were preserved and nicely polished. This plaster covered a stone pavement built of medium rough stones (Pl. II Fig. 2). Two larger stones were uncovered in the southern part of the pavement. No walls were found in association with it. They were probably robbed by the people who disturbed it. This made it difficult to find the limits of the pavement. No definite evidence has been found concerning its function. Judging by the jars found above it, the pavement was probably a storage area. The uncovered part of the pavement is too large for one room. Two stones situated above the floor-pavement in the eastern side of sq. 6 may indicate that the area was divided by stone columns. A large cistern, on the eastern edge of sq. 6, still re-used by the local people is probably associated with this pavement. The

original function of this cistern is not clear (there is another entrance 15 m. to the east). Directly below the Iron Age I pavement and between the individual stones of it is a layer (level 5) of a soft mortar presumably forming the foundation of the pavement. Level 5 is followed by a soft loose dusty layer (level 5a) which served to level the area before setting the pavement stones.

Levels 1-5 are to be seen with the latest occupation phase in Area A. This was the first architectural remains with dating evidence to be excavated at Sahab. Phase I is contemporary with the main upper levels of Area B. The location of these two areas on the northern edge of the artificial mound indicates that Sahab found its widest extent during the Iron Age I.

The Iron I pavement in Area A was built above a natural cave which had been re-used as a tomb in the middle Bronze Age (see below). It appears from the stratigraphy that the builder of the pavement did not notice the cave. There is a gap of 400-500 years between the latest use of the cave and the stone pavement.

Level 6 contained hard packed soil with a few little stones in some places. It sloped to the north and thickened from 10 cms to 35 cms. The pottery out of it is mixed. Some of the types may date from the MB and few even earlier. This is probably a wash level which separates the tomb phase from the Iron I occupation. It was only noticed in the major part of sq. 1 and in the northern part of sq. 6.

PHASE II (LEVEL 7)

This phase represents the following period, namely the re-use of the cave as a tomb during the Middle Bronze Age. The relationship of this phase to earlier and later strata was taken into consideration. The shaft of the tomb (Pl. II Fig. 2) was excavated and followed vertically after the removal of the upper levels. The tomb it-

self was treated independently from the earlier levels inside and outside the cave. This is designated as Area A Tomb 1.

Area A Tomb 1

Level 7 is associated with the shaft of the tomb which was cut into the debris underneath. The tomb itself is located in a natural cave which is irregular in shape but its limits in the bottom are rather rounded. The mouth of the cave is in the north and it is a large one, but the shaft which served to get into the tomb, was cut in the north-eastern side through the fill and earlier levels. Two small separated walls were built in the bottom of the shaft. One was the outer side of the shaft and the other (Pl. III Fig. 5) was directly in the mouth of the cave (eastern side only). The gap between the two walls was filled with medium and small rough stones up to the roof the cave (see pl. II Fig. 2) The latter wall was probably built to seal the tomb. The shaft sloped steeply to the west (1.40 m deep). There were three rough steps.

From the shaft one could get on to a stone pavement, (see Pl. III Fig. 2) (partly destroyed in the northern part of the cave). About nine skeletons were found in association with this pavement. Rows of stones were built around some of the skeletons which were very fragile and difficult to preserve. A thick layer of muddy brown soil with some stones were removed from above the pavement. Above this layer there was another thin layer, 5-10 cms, of soft damp silt, a brown soil, probably washed in after sealing. There was a shallow space of 30-50 cms between the wash layer and the ceiling of the cave. However there was no space alongside the mouth of the cave, which was completely filled with light brown dirt mixed with little stones.

Two phases were noticed in the tomb within the Middle Bronze Age. Judged from the pottery, the first dates from the MB II A and the later from MB II B.C. The

best evidence of the two phases was noticed in the eastern part of the pavement, where a row of stones was built above a skeleton with a MB II A juglet of black burnished ware with a double handle. The destroyed part of the pavement is most probably due to the re-use of the tomb. The furnishing of the tomb was restricted to a number of pots (see Pl. IV Fig. 1) and some sherds.

PHASE III (LEVELS 8-12)

This is the latest phase in the occupation of the cave. There was a gap of about 1300 years between this phase and the previous one. An occupation floor composed of thick huwwar (level 12) mixed with little stones was found. It goes in a slope, high in the north outside the cave and low inside the cave below the MB pavement. Its highest point is about 1 meter above the lowest point. No wall construction was found with this floor. Another ashy layer with dark soil (level 11) was uncovered, most clearly inside the cave. Such construction is not usual and it seems that the users of the cave just cleared part of it to a certain level and left the dump outside and covered it with a huwwar mixture which served as plaster. The floor was partly cut (see Pl. IV Fig. 2) when the shaft was dug up by the later MB people. This probably also destroyed most of levels 8-10 which were followed to a short extent in the eastern part of sq. 1. Level 8 was a packed sandy brown soil with a few fragments of limestone. Level 9 was a dark brown soil. Level 10 was a thick yellowish soil mixed with little stones. The remains of these layers served as the steps of the shaft. One could speculate that the three layers represent debris that accumulated between the occupation (levels 11 and 12) of the cave and its re-use as a tomb (level 7).

Pottery from this phase III is all hand made of reddish, cream and pink coarse ware. A few sherds were with red shiny

burnishing. Some of the pottery shows the characteristics of the beginning of the Early Bronze and other pieces represent the Chalcolithic period.

PHASE IV LEVELS 13-17)

This phase consists of a series of floors (levels 15-17) about 5-15 cms thick each against which a wall (Pl. V Fig. 1) was built (wall A). These floors, seen in the eastern section of sq. 1, are built of pink and reddish hard packed soil mixed with little stones. Ashy remains were found on them. Level 14 contains fallen stones from wall A, where as level 13 was formed when the cave was not in use. Wall A was built of medium and big rough stones at the mouth of the cave, while wall B of phase V and wall C (pl. V Fig. 2) of phase VI were built from 70 — 150 cms further north. It appears that walls B and C were also built at the mouth of the cave but the edge of the roof (mouth) had broken off. This is very clear on the eastern side of the entrance. At any rate, a roughly square stone from the eastern side of the uncovered wall A is situated exactly below the present edge of the cave roof. There is a ridge (curve) in the middle of the wall where it follows the irregular contour of the edge of the cave. The wall reaches from one side of the entrance to the other side. The actual entrance of the cave during the earliest three phases is supposed to be in the eastern side where wall A turns to form a corridor with the side of the cave.

During this phase the area connected with the cave had been partly leveled and cleaned. Part of the dump of phase V had been cut to put wall A.

A door socket, partly missing, was found more to the eastern side among the fallen stones of the upper floor (level 15). The location of the socket suggests also that the entrance was in the eastern side.

A good number of Chalcolithic sherds were brought to light from this phase. Whether some of the sherds show types of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age remains open for discussion. Animal bones and flint implements also need further study.

PHASE V (LEVEL 18)

Under level 17 and similar to it another floor, 5-10 cms thick, was uncovered. This floor runs below wall A of phase IV and it is also connected with the earlier wall B (pl. V) which had also been built at the opening of the cave. It seems that the cave was larger during this phase than it was in phase IV, as noted above. Earlier debris was cut to put up wall B and the contemporary floor (level 18) was built above part of the fallen stones and debris of level 19. In fact the fallen material seemed to be mixed up and especially in the north eastern side it was not clear what belonged to phase IV and to phase V.

The major part of the pottery is similar to that of phase IV. Brown, reddish and cream coarse wares are common. Slightly concave rims of open mouth jars and thumb indented ledge handles are also well represented. The later red, brown and yellowish burnishing does not appear here. Animal bones and flint tools are roughly the same as in phase IV.

PHASE VI (LEVELS 19-20)

The major part of level 19 which is a fill of soft brown soil mixed with fallen stones, served as foundation for the floor of level 18 and wall B. A third wall C (pl. V Fig. 2) was uncovered, against which had been laid a floor of hard packed reddish sandy soil (level 20). Level 20 is in fact the occupation floor of phase VI which was partly covered with a heavy ashy layer, some of which is from the remains of a hearth. Next to this supposed hearth, some blackened animal bones were

uncovered. Above this floor (level 20) and covering a major part of it, were a good number of broken pots including hole mouth jars, three of which we were able to restore. A nicely worked grinding stone, stone polisher and some flint implements were found in association with this floor and its pottery. Judged from the way the finds lay on the floor, it seems that the cave was deserted suddenly at the end of phase VI.

Wall C (Pl. V Fig. 2) was built of huge stones, probably of the same rock as the cave, chinked and dressed with smaller ones. Whether the cave found its largest size during this period could not be recognized, since further excavations in the northern and eastern sides were not possible because of modern constructions. But the floor of level 20 and wall C were built directly on bedrock which may indicate the earliest date of this inhabited cave and the area excavated. A foundation trench for wall C was cut through dump on the north (outside the wall) which contained a thick ashy layer. Unfortunately this could be followed to only a very short extent because of the construction just noted. The major part of the bedrock inside and outside the cave has been uncovered. There were no clear cutting impressions, which suggest it was originally a natural cave. The rock is of soft huwwar with flint strata which makes it difficult to notice any artificial cuttings. Natural holes of bedrock were filled with soil and little stones on which the whole floor area was founded.

In association with the floor (level 20) and partly under the eastern section was a small rounded cemented pit nicely cut into bedrock. It is about 12-15 cms deep with an upper diameter about 60 cms, while the bottom was 10 cms. The mixture of the cement was ash, huwwar and ground stones which was very hard. This, besides its shape and location, suggests the possibility of its use as a door socket.

A study of the pottery will appear elsewhere. But a few words can be said about this. Phases 3 to 6 provided a good number of sherds representing types of hand-made vessels, fire-blackened, gritty coarse wares. Some are decorated with thumb-indentations, others have broad bands of reddish brown paint. Hole-mouth jars with thickened concave rims and flat bases are rather common. A large spout with a plain rim of a hole-mouth jar is typical of Ghassul IV A and IV B. In fact all these types appear in the latest phases of Tuleilat Ghassul and probably Bir es-Sab' (Beersheba) and should be seen within these cultures. The same types and wares were also found in major Chalcolithic sites in Palestine, such as : Megiddo (Stratum XIX), Affulah, Beisan — Bethshean — (Stratum XVIII and Pits) Tell el-Far'ah (N) and a number of sites in the Jordan Valley. The gritty coarse ware, broad bands of paint, red and yellow burnished examples have their best parallels from Tell Umm Hammad ash-Sharqi and Tell ash-Shunah in the central and northern Jordan Valley. Similar types and wares were also found in several caves alongside the wadis in the hills west of the Dead Sea.

This cave and other caves found at Sahab were probably inhabited at the same time of the late Ghassulian settlements. They are probably contemporary with the Chalcolithic inhabited caves just noted. Massive, though primitive, wall-structures of large and medium sized rough stones and the floors show that this cave and that of Area C (see below) were inhabited not just for a short period but for long seasons. Seeds from Area C (Cave 1) and other artifacts indicate a kind of agriculture which was practiced by the inhabi-

tants of the caves. The study of such caves on both banks of the Jordan will make a contribution to the social economic structure of this period. The earliest pottery found at Sahab will throw more light on the chronology of the Late Chalcolithic and beginning of Early Bronze Age of the area. Evidence from the EB II & III in Area A is lacking, but further investigations on the mound are needed.

MB deposits have been found in the tomb (Phase II) and in Area B, below Iron I levels mixed up with Chalcolithic and EB sherds.

The Iron I (Phase I) is mainly demonstrated by the large number of pithoi. These are two-handled large jars marked by the elliptical shape, collared rim and a plastic ridge separating neck from shoulder. Some of them bear seal impressions or thumb indents, either on rim or handle. The lower and upper part were made separately. This is suggested by (2-4) between shoulder and the rest of the body. The ware is either dark grey or reddish brown with huwwar and black grits, often with flakery white slip.

The seal impressions are under study. An impression found on two jars represents a man following an animal. Another shows two animals above each other (an ibex and a lion or a bull). Others were scorpions and a rosette. Similar impressions are to be found on seals and cylinders of the «Second Syrian Group».⁽⁵⁾

These pithoi were also present in Area B (Phase I). The burial jars with removed mouths from Area C (Cave 1) are of the same type (see below). They have been found in several East Jordanian and Palestinian sites, such as Megiddo (VII A

5) Good parallels are illustrated by G.A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and other seals*, OIP 47 (1940), Nos. 73, 153, 168 (rosettes); 185, 189,

191, 196 (human with animal figures); 171, 181, 183, 188 (show similar animal figures above each other).

& B) (6) Hazor (Stratum XII) (7) Tell en-Nasbeh (collared zir rims) (8) and Beth Zur.(9) Such pithoi from Tell Beit Mirsim (B 1 & 2), Tell el-Ful and Beth El were considered by Albright as evidence for the «Early Israelite Settlers» in Palestine.(10) This proposal, which has been supported by Aharoni and Amiran,(10a) seems to be without firm basis. However, this pithos has proto-types in the Late Bronze Age and even earlier. East Jordanian parallels (probably not known to Albright and those who agreed with him) were recently distinguished in Khirbet el-Hajjar, 7 kms south-west of Amman,(11) and other places (see below). Iron I levels (phases A-L) of Deir Alla(12) and Tell el-Mazar (surface) (13) provided the same type of pithos.

AREA C Cave (Tomb) 1

While the work continued in Areas A and B, on the 4th of June the discovery of another tomb was reported. Hamid Masri, the owner of a house on the western slope of the mound, was digging foundations of two new rooms, when the workers hit a shallow space which opened into a cave. They entered the cave, but fortunately we were on the find spot half an hour later and the damage was very slight. The construction work was stopped.

This is a large natural cave with the entrance from the west. The entrance is narrow and at one time it had been closed by corbelling stones which at the top

formed a chimney like opening. This opening was sealed by a rounded small slab of stone. It seems that this construction, similar to other examples found at Sahab, dates from the later use of the cave.

The general shape of the cave (Pl. VI Fig. 1) is irregular, but tends to be rounded in the southern part. It measures about 14 m long and 6.50-2 m wide. In the north and in the middle the cave becomes narrower. The height ranges from 2 m to 0.50 m. There are a number of holes on the sides and benches inside it. The benches appear to be natural portions of the floor rather than man made. The holes on the southern side were filled with small and medium stones.

The first significant things noticed inside the cave were eight large burial jars with the mouths removed and every two jars facing each other in such a way as to form an M shape. A number of skeletons were also visible in the south eastern corner and in the northern part. Various objects made of pottery, bronze and iron were seen in association with these skeletons.

When construction opened the mouth of the cave, a quantity of debris fell into the cave. This was removed. Then for excavation purposes, the cave was divided into 2 x 2 meter squares. Each square was excavated stratigraphically to bedrock. The work started in two squares opposite the entrance, so as to facilitate excavating the cave from a central location.

6) W. Albright, AJA 41 (1937), p. 147; see also Megiddo II, pl. 83:1.

7) Hazor III-IV, pl. CLXVII : 1-7.

8) Tell en-Nasbeh II, pl. 2.

9) Ovid R. Sella and others, The 1957 Excavations at Beth-Zur, AASOR 38 (1968), p. 44ff; pl. 21, 22: 21-29.

10) W. Albright, BASOR 56 (1934), p. 9ff.

10a) R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land (1969), p. 232f.

11) The writer found exact parallels on surface, while

investigating the site (1971). See Moawiyah Ibrahim, Two Ammonite Statuettes from Khirbet el-Hajjar, ADAJ XVI (1971). Quantities were found in Iron I levels of the 1972 excavations led by Henry O. Thompson. A study on this will appear in the near future.

12) H. Franken, Deir 'Alla I (1969), p. 33ff., fig. 47:1,2.

13) Collared rims of greenish ware with ridge on the shoulder have been recently found by the writer at Tell el-Mazar north of Deir 'Alla.

The above mentioned burial jars represent the latest use of the cave. Another smaller broken burial jar of an infant was found in the middle of the large ones. Skeletons of males, females and infants were found in the jars. Some of the skeletons were placed in facing jars. A few objects, such as bracelets, rings made of bronze and iron and a large bronze dagger were found in association with the jars, though some of them had no objects. Fragmentary pieces of carbonised beams probably caused the burnt effect of the bones. This may suggest cremation but the material is still under study. There were two fragile carbonised wooden coffins, one for an infant, and another for a warrior with a dagger and an anklet made of bronze and an iron bracelet. These coffins were put inside the tomb before the jars.

Three other burial levels were identified below the niveau of the burial jars. Only one clear burial level has been noticed in the southern part of the tomb.

The nature of the above levels can be summarized as follows :

Level 1 is represented by the burial jars.

Level 2 was directly below the burial jars, with dry fragmentary bones mixed with soft loose brown white-huw-war soil.

Level 3 was dark soil mixed with fragmentary bones and small pieces of carbonized beams which gave a black colour to the soil.

Level 4 was directly above bedrock in the major part of the cave, with reddish brown soil. Most of the intact skeletons belong to this level. It is probably the same burial level above the Chalcolithic floors in the depression (see below).

A large number of skeletons with a wide variety of furnishing objects including oil lamps (some of these lamps had been

put on bedrock benches in the north western part of the cave), small bowls and handled jugs, Egyptian decorated alabaster vases, daggers, arrow-heads, anklets bracelets, rings (for fingers, ears and nose), needles & nails, all made of bronze or iron. Two nose rings and a disk were made of gold. An Egyptian scarab and a small figurine head made of steatite were also found. Beads of different sizes and colours were found in large quantities. All these tomb furnishings date from the Early Iron Age (1200-1100 B.C.).

Because of different burial uses of the tomb, only a few skeletons could be uncovered in their original situation. It is interesting to note that a stone was found below every skull of the preserved skeletons. A skeleton of an infant laid on the right arm of a female deceased (sq. 11).

Two intact skeletons were uncovered in a depression in the bedrock in the southern part. This depression provided the earliest evidence of the use of the cave. Five occupation floors from the Chalcolithic period were revealed. Judged from the series of floors and contemporary finds, the cave was inhabited for a rather long time during the Chalcolithic period. Two typical Chalcolithic pots and a good number of sherds representing examples of the Ghassul — Bir es-Sab' (Beersheba) culture plus flint implements and bones were found. A collection of seeds (now under study) was also gathered from these floors. The common pottery wares, the red burnishing and the thumb-indented ledge handles are similar to those from Area A Phases IV - VI.

It seems that the depression was used for cooking and daily life purposes by the inhabitants of the cave. This is suggested by heavy ashy layers, fire places and the above mentioned artifacts. Apart from the earliest floor (level 9) above bedrock, all other floors (levels 6-8) are contemporary with an installation which probably had served as storage shelf. A bench or shelf

of the rock wall of the cave was artificially extended by building it out into the depression with a curved wall of medium sized rocks. What appeared to be a robber trench suggests that the upper stones of this supposed shelf were removed by the Early Iron Age people and set up in the southern holes of the cave. Some of the stones from the Chalcolithic construction had been re-used to support the burial jars while others were placed around or below some of the skeletons.

Two bowl-like holes cut into bedrock in the eastern edge of the depression must be dated from this early period. There were smoke remains on the ceiling in different parts of the cave, but there was no evidence of fire-places apart from the depression, nor was there clear stratigraphic evidence of Chalcolithic occupation outside the depression except for few scattered sherds. This suggests that the first Iron Age users of the tomb had cleared most of it before making their burials.

The Chalcolithic levels can be summarized as follows :

- Level 5 Separated the skeletons (level 4) from the lower levels. It was a thin yellowish brown soil which disappeared in certain spots.
- Level 6 Was a thin ashy black layer with a few animal bones. A few sherds from this level were nicely red burnished and others coarse and blackened. With it a fire-place was found.
- Level 6 a Was a polished hard packed reddish brown (pink) floor which had been disturbed by later use of the cave.

Level 7 Was another heavy ashy layer mixed with seeds, animal bones, some coarse sherds and flint tools. Apparently the fire place (of the later level 6) was also used here.

Level 7 a Was similar to 6 a. This series of levels are mixed up in certain places.

Level 8 (Under level 7 a) was a thick hard packed floor of brown soil mixed with huwwar and stones (small and medium). A very thin ashy layer connected with this floor was also found.

Level 9 Was a reddish brown soil above bedrock. This floor ran under the stone shelf.

The entrance of the cave during the Chalcolithic period must have been the same as the present and Early Iron Age entrance. The stone roofing of the entrance ought to be dated in the Iron Age, but what it looked like in the Chalcolithic period is not clear.

The users of this tomb are probably the Iron I settlers demonstrated in Phase I of Areas A & B. There are two tombs of Iron I which are similar to this tomb from Sahab. The first one was found at Madaba and published by G. L. Harding⁽¹⁴⁾ Apart from the typical Late Bronze objects, the inventory (pottery, scarabs, and metal objects) of the Madaba tomb has strong similarities with that from Sahab. The second (unpublished) was excavated in 1968 by the Department of Antiquities at Jabal el-Qusur north-east of Amman. This tomb contained, beside similar small finds, pithoi (large burial jars) with removed mouths as in Area C (tomb 1) of Sahab.

14) G.L. Harding, *An Early Iron Age Tomb at Madaba*, PEFA VI (1953), p. 27ff.

This indicates the same burial customs which had been practiced by a certain group of people.

These tombs are contemporary with certain pottery types of Jabal an-Nuzhah tomb in the northern part of Amman, Deir Alla (Phases A — L), Beisan VI, Megiddo (VII A & B), Tell Beit Mirsim (B 1 & 2), Tell el-Ful and other sites. The evidence from this period as being represented at Sahab, Madaba, Amman and Palestinian sites show strong Egyptian⁽¹⁵⁾ and even Syrian influences. An Egyptian scarab and a small figurine made of steatite, in addition to alabaster vases, are typical of the XIX & XX dynasties. Seal impressions on some of the jars from Area A (Phase I), as noted above, have similar motifs to Syrian cylinder seals (Second Syrian Group). The period which the tomb furnishings cover within the twelfth century B.C. is still an open question.

A comparative study with the classification of the pottery will be discussed elsewhere. But again this tomb indicates the importance of the site during the Early Iron Age.

AREA D Cave 1

Hashim Amir, the owner of a house next to Area A brought our attention to another cave which was accidentally found while the people were digging a drainage pit in the eastern part of the town, when they hit the stone roofing of the cave. It was cleaned before we started our excavations at Sahab. The debris and the bones from the cave were put on the edge of the pit. Sherds from the debris and inside the cave suggest Iron II and Chalcolithic use. We cleaned the cave of rubbish then it was

drawn and photographed, but no digging was undertaken. Hopefully two corners in the eastern side of the cave, which may provide further evidence, will be investigated in 1973.

The cave is roughly rectangular in the bottom (4.50 x 3.40m) with small depressions and pockets in the wall. The highest point of the ceiling from bottom is about 1.60 m. The rock ceiling of the cave was continued by small and medium sized rough stones and stone slabs. These fairly large slabs were used as key stones. The stone roofing was supported by two columns (about 1.60 high) built of medium and large stones (see plate VI Fig. 2), one had been situated in the middle and the other was adjacent to the eastern wall of the cave. This construction seems to be unusual, though it fits with the nature of the cave. A shaft had been cut in the western part of the ceiling and sealed by a rounded slab chinked with small stones (see plate VI Fig. 3).

A red burnished Iron II juglet, delivered to us by the cutters of the drainage pit, was reported to be from this cave. Though stratified evidence is needed for definite dates of its use, it was occupied in the Chalcolithic period and re-used as a tomb in the Iron Age. The stone roofing date from the later use.

Another cave (not yet excavated) was reported, about 30 m north of the above mentioned one. These two indicate the existence of other caves in the area.

AREA B

(M. Murshed Khadija)

On the 29th of May 1972, while digging

15) R. H. Dornemann, The Cultural and Archaeological History of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Vol. I (dissertation), Chicago (1970), p. 122f.

in Area A, the discovery of a new cave, 50 m. east of Area A was reported. This happened while people were cutting a foundation trench for a new house. A trial trench, 2 x 3 m. (sq. 1) was opened. Later two additional squares were opened to the south 2 x 3 m. (sq. 2) and to the north, 5 x 6,50 m. (sqs. 10, 11, 16). A bulldozer removed the major part of the upper surface of sq. 10 and a further area to the north and east, before the cave was reported.

On the basis of excavations in this area, three main phases were identified :-

Phase I :-

This is represented by a thick layer (60-90 cms) of broken burnt bricks and a few small stones mixed with light brown loose soil and pockets of ash coming from the surface. A few complete bricks were found above the stone pavement (sq. 10 level 6). This brick layer covered the whole area, as in Area A, except in certain pits and a disturbed area in the southern part (sq. 2).

The brick Layer was followed by a number of partly preserved which served as foundations for mud-brick structures and a series of floors. These walls in Area B are the first to be excavated from the Iron Age I during the 1972 excavations and previous investigations. They show a complex of a large building with few rooms and corridors. The rooms were built of mud bricks sitting on rough stone foundations. Some of the large stones were worked to fit in corners making a good support for the construction. Approximate width of the walls (see Pl. VII Fig. 1) ranges from 60-80 cms. Among these walls were four different types of floors. They were almost at the same level but they differ in color and mixture. Those floors are :-

Floor sq. 2 : 5 :-

This floor appears in south west corner

of the area, it is similar to the paved floor in Area A phase I. This was uncovered to a short extent (80 x 50). It was built of small and medium stones with pink mortar between and above the stones.

Floors sq. 1: 8 and sq. 2 : 8 :-

These floors (5-10 cms thick) belong to each other and cover most of sq. 1 and sq. 2. They consist of yellowish earth and huwwar. Walls in sq. 2: 3, sq. 1 : 9 and sq. 1, 11 are related to this floor. On top of it, two other thin floors (Levels 6, 7) of brown soil and ashes have been found. These floors are probably associated with a room in sq. 1, of which two fragmentary walls were uncovered.

Floor : sq. 1 : 12 :-

Was found only in the eastern half of sq. 1 under floor 8. This floor is of Huwwar with fine stones and grits. No walls related to it were found.

Floor : sq. 10 : 6

It is a pavement of medium sized rough stones chinked with a far smaller ones. This is considered as the main floor in the area and covers the major part of sq. 10, 11. Many walls are related to it.

The sherds which come out from these floors suggest Iron I dating. The construction of these series of floors indicate several uses within the Iron Age I. This has to be substantiated in the 1973 season.

Phase 2

This phase is related to a cave (sq. 1) 3 x 2 m. and 2 meters in height. It was almost full of soft earth washed by water through the upper stones. The mouth of the cave is located in the southern part. A wall at this mouth was built of large stones which were plastered by mud and hay covering the inside face of the wall. It seems that the cave was used in the Chalcolithic period and in a later time, just be-

fore the earliest Iron I plaster floor was laid (sq. 1: 12). At least the upper part of this wall belong to the later use. The thick ashy levels. (Sq. 2 : 9 and sq. 10 : 17) below the Iron I floors (sq. 1 : 11, 12) were cut at the mouth of the cave to put this part of the wall. A foundation trench was followed beyond this wall through sq. 2 : 10 and 11. It seems that this foundation trench does not continue to the bottom of the wall. This may suggest that the lower part was built in an earlier stage. The location and deposits indicate that the cave was used as shelter in its later use. The cave has semi-circular opening (Pl. VII Fig. 2) which was sealed by four large stones of which one was used to block the entrance in the south west corner. The upper surface of the wall was used as foundation for the plastered floor of Iron I. It is not clear yet whether the structure (sq. 2. 23 ;24) beyond this wall was put at the earliest stage of the cave or not. However, the western and eastern walls continue to run below the northern section of sq. 2. The pottery from the gap between the walls of the cave show Chalcolithic characteristics.

Phase 3 :-

This is represented by an ashy soil with an indefinite stone-structure and walls in both of sq. 2 levels 18-25, and in sq. 16 levels 4-6. All of these levels are below the Iron I occupation levels. The work stopped before we were able to clarify the nature of this installation. The work has to be extended to the northern side. Whether this is associated with occupation levels or not is still open. No clear floors have been identified. Pottery sherds from the deposits are mixed up. LB MB, E B I and Chalcolithic examples.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Quantities of Iron II sherds and tombs found in earlier days give clear evidence of Iron II occupation, though not excavated during 1972 season. The excavations sug-

gest that the Iron I settlement found a wider extent than the Iron II. There are indications of at least two destructions around 1200 - 1100 B.C. and in the first half of the first millenium B.C. There was a strong Egyptian influence during Iron I. The «collared rim» jars cannot be seen as evidence of a certain ethnic group, as proposed by Albright, Aharoni and Amiran. Seal impressions on the jars indicate contacts with North-Syria.

Late Bronze materials have been found in tombs during earlier excavations of the Department of Antiquities. The MB tomb in Area A is the first stratified evidence to be found at Sahab. Further investigations will hopefully clarify the LB and MB occupation on the mound.

Evidence from the later phases of the Early Bronze Age has not been found yet. Some of the pottery types from the caves show characteristics of the beginning of the EB period. Inhabited caves during the Chalcolithic Age and probably of the EB are the first examples to be known in East Jordan. These caves can not be considered only as shelters, as some of the caves in western hills of the Dead Sea have been explained, for people were practicing a kind of agricultural life while they lived in these caves. This was probably in a time when the Ghassulian and Bir es-Sab' cultures were spread over major parts of the area. The writer thinks that caves and camp-like sites were inhabited at a time when Chalcolithic settlements of constructed houses were being built. Some people continued to live in caves at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (Kenyon's Proto-Urban and de Vaux's Late Chalcolithic). The pottery repertoire of Tell Umm Hamad ash-Sharqi, Tell es-Sa'diyeh (Chalc. & EB I) and Tell ash-Shunah (north), all in the Jordan Valley, provide the closest parallels to the Chalcolithic - Early Bronze wares and types found at Sahab.

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A Tomb At Khirbet Yajuz

By
Dr. Henry O. Thompson

In a surface survey of Khirbet Yajuz, the writer and a member of the Department of Antiquities, Jalil Amr, noted an unusual tomb. Ten loculi (see Plate I) along the south and west sides, are quite large — from 1-1 1/2 m. wide by 1 1/2-2 m. high. The place had also been reused as an olive press, judging by the well preserved basin and millstone (Pls. II & III) in the southeast quadrant. Surface sherding of the area indicated Mameluke (12th-15th century A.D.) and Early Byzantine (350-450 A.D.) but the attractive features of the tomb were the size of the loculi and the reuse for olive pressing.

These features led the writer to suggest to the Friends of Archaeology that this might be a site for a volunteer excavation. The Friends are a group organized in Amman who sponsor public lectures and tours of archaeological sites. They also sponsored an excavation in 1962-3. The executive committee agreed to sponsor the site under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities, as a weekend (Fri, Sat and Sun) dig for volunteers. The Friends offered financial support and publicity. The Department of Antiquities agreed and supplied equipment and the extremely helpful services of Ibrahim Haj Hassan of the Department's Excavation Section. The

digging also benefited from the technical skills of Khamis Dados Fahad, a «Jericho» man trained in the Kenyon method, now living in Ruseifa. Digging was carried on from 11 Feb. to 19 Mar, on the three day weekend basis. Eighteen volunteers were involved at various times. The work also benefited from several visits by Drs. Moawiyah Ibrahim and Fawzi Zayadin of the Department, and the services of the Department's photographers, Sarkis Labijian and Abdulfattah Attar. The main drawings published here (Plates I & VIII) were done by Mr. Ben Ballance whose services are deeply appreciated.

Khirbet Yajuz, or simply Yajuz, as distinct from Kom Yajuz (on a high hill east-northeast of Yajuz), has been visited by a number of scholarly surveyors. Part of its attraction has been its (and/or Kom Yajuz') potential identification with the Biblical city of Jazer (Num. 21:32; 32:35), a site on the border of ancient Ammon and disputed among Ammonites, Moabites and Israelites. The consensus would appear to be that Yajuz is not this ancient city. The name of the present site has no relationship to the ancient name and the ancient site would seem to be in a more southerly position somewhere near Tell Hesban or Madeba.

1. Nelson Glueck, «Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III,» *AASOR* XVIII-XIX (1939), 177ff. C.C. McCown, «Spring Field Trip, 1930,» *BASOR* No. 39 (Oct. '30), 13ff. Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan*; NY: Charles Scribner's Sons,

1883. C.R. Conder, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, Vol. I; London: PEF, 1889. Other observers include Schumacher, Oliphant, Dalman, Germer-Durand, Thomsen, and Brünnow and Domaszewski.

Visitors to our site have included Glueck, McCown, Merrill and Conder among others. (1) They describe an extensive Romano-Byzantine city which served as a way station 7 miles (11 by slightly zig-zag but well paved modern road) out of Philadelphia (Amman) on the way to and from Gerasa (Jerash) some 23 miles away. The ruins included at least two churches and a temple plus other public buildings and two cemeteries, one on the north slope and one on the south. The Wadi Yajuz at this point forms a small plain, a mile wide, with the ruins centering on a perennial spring west of the present village which is on the upper south slope. The ruins are over a mile long. In the 90 years since Merrill's observations, virtually all that he described in the way of statuary and carvings, has disappeared but the reservoir or «birkeh» remains with its upper sides now strengthened and lengthened by modern concrete. A second birkeh was added in 1948. A 1950 map shows a canal running from the spring along the foot of the northern slope (Plate IV). It carries water to Ruseifa, with the first kilometer lined with concrete in 1948. The valley contained orchards and the southern slope a large vineyard. Some olive trees remain, along with pines and a few of the ancient butm (terebinth) trees noted by Merrill and Conder. (2) Several writers note Roman milestones in the vicinity, along the Roman road from Philadelphia to Jerash (today Yajuz lies 1 km south of the Sweileh — Zerqa road). Others note among the recent graves in the area of the spring, the 1823 A.D. tomb of Nimr ibn 'Adwan, poet and legendary hero, and that of his wife. These graves are still there, well marked inside a circle of upright slabs. The wife's tomb and a number of others in the

area, reuse pieces of column and lintels or architraves.

The tomb under discussion in this report, is in the midst of the village on the upper south slope, southeast of the spring, at the 887 m contour. (3) Several large buildings date from the Turkish period, judging by the style of masonry and a star and crescent carved on a lintel over a door in the courtyard near the storeroom rented for our digging equipment. The tomb has apparently not been used in modern times. The villagers explained that they discovered it recently and cleared it for storage purposes but changed their minds for reasons they left rather vague. The land owner, Mr. Abdul Razak Daudi, noted that he had found and entered the tomb 40 years ago but had found nothing of significance.

In plan, the tomb is about 12 m square (see Plate I) including the south and west loculi. Accumulated debris left clearance inside of about 2 m. In places, it lay 0.35 m. to 1.5 m thick. The north side, toward the wadi, may have had the two loculi but perhaps these were started and then the excavators realized they were too near the outside slope, for it does not appear that the northern loculi were ever completed. In the northeast corner (Pl. V Fig. 1) of the tomb, as found, was an opening to the outside, now filled by the dump from our excavation. There appears to be a large, low ceilinged natural cave here. The tomb excavators cut into it but maintained the symmetry of the south and east walls of the tomb. It is possible that originally the cave was not open to the outside. On the outside where a pre-dump trial trench reached bedrock in 0.05 - 0.35 m, the cave shows ceiling collapse. A rough field wall

2. Air Photography Survey map published under the direction of the Department of Lands and Survey of Jordan, 1950, 1:10,000 Zarqa Basin

Sheet 35/58; London: Air Survey Co., 1950.

3. *Ibid.*

of field stone south of this outside cave would seem to be of recent origin. No doubt it helped funnel run-off water into the cave where judging by a water mark, it has stood as much as 0.15 m deep. The water laid silt inside was shown by a second predump trial trench to be c. 0.35 m deep. This would seem to suggest that the break in the bedding plane, causing ceiling fall on the outer edge of the cave, and thus opening the tomb to the outside with a «natural» entrance, is also of recent origin. The eastern wall of the tomb contains the door of the tomb in approximately the center.

North of the door and partially breaking into the natural cave, is a large (c. 2x2 m) man-made cave (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Its general appearance is of a burial chamber but a trial trench hit bedrock in c. 0.35 m with no evidence of any kind of use. The south wall consists partly of natural bedrock and partly of cut blocks under the edge of the tomb's doorway. This latter structuring suggests partial collapse of the wall between the door and the man-made cave, as happened frequently between the loculi especially those along the west (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

The door, as presently found, may be slightly larger than the original from exposure and erosion. An upright block stands on each side at the outer edge. This may be left over from an earlier framing with artificial jams and lintel, a common practice in Roman tombs. This speculation is strengthened by the discovery on or near the surface of the debris, and reused in one olive press, of four blocks with an end carved in what may have been

a floral pattern (see Plate VI, Fig. 1). Note the slight curvature along the bottom edge of this block, above the meter stick. This strengthens the suggested usage as a lintel stone.

An additional 14 stones were found, on surface or buried in debris, with a recess of 0.08 - 0.10 m along one edge (Plates III, Fig. 2, and VI, Fig. 2). Two of these were reused in the pavement (Pl. VII, Fig. 1) on the south side of the south olive press and well. We'll come back to this in a moment. Two of the pieces are rectangular blocks with straight sides. One of these is used or reused in a strange box like structure (Plate VII, Fig. 2) as a lower course block (eastern end) which also forms part of a wall across the front of loculus No. 4 (counting from the southeast corner, cf. Pl. 1). At least one of the blocks in the pavement is in this category while the other one is unknown (Pls. I & VII, Fig. 1). The other blocks have a projecting lip (or tongue as though it were for a tongue and groove arrangement). The original function of these blocks is unknown. One speculation is that they may have been placed at the outer (toward the center of the tomb) end of each loculus with a lid fitted into the recess and extending over the body.

The basin and millstone in the southeast quadrant of the tomb, were noted earlier.⁽⁴⁾ A smaller (worn down?) millstone lies 1.40 m southwest of the basin. In the southwest quadrant (Pl. VIII) is a pile of stones with an upright slab 2.10 m high, 0.38 m. thick, and 0.85 - 0.90 m. wide. A smaller slab, 1.75x0.20x0.55

4. An excellent example of this type of millstone and basin, are illustrated at Qasr el-Feifeh, although it is in the open air (p. 9, Fig. 2, Nelson Glueck, «Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II,» AASOR XV, 1935). The use of caves for olive presses is reported for the Bronze Age and the

Roman period at Lachish. Unfortunately the use is not clear for the latter and the design of the caves does not appear comparable. Cf. p. 242, pl. 9:4, Olga Tufnell, *Lachish III* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953) and pp. 71, 282, 288, pl. 7:4, Tufnell, *Lachish IV* (1958).

0.60, leans against the upright one. Inside the upright are upside down «L» shaped grooves as shown in the west side elevation. At the base of the slabs is a well, dug in the bedrock with a sump in the bottom (Pl. IX, Fig 1). A similar arrangement exists in the northwest quadrant of the tomb, except that the leading slab is the larger of the two uprights (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). The area around the north well was not excavated. A pavement of thick huwwar blocks is laid in the huwwar bedrock south of the south well and olive press. It is in this pavement that the two stones with the recess are reused. These installations are probably olive presses.⁵ The olives would have been crushed in the basin by the millstone, probably turned by an ox or donkey (a small square hole in the ceiling above the basin, may be evidence of an upright beam). The olives would have then been placed on a screen upheld by bars fitted in the small slots on the north and south lips of the well (east and west for the north well), as seen in the plan (Pl. I). A weight, guided by the «L» shaped grooves and perhaps lowered by a screw principle, squeezed the olives and the oil was collected in the well. The weights are probably the rectangular blocks found in locus 24 (Plate X).

No evidence has appeared to indicate whether the large loculi are the original size or if they were enlarged by the olive press people. Almost every one of the loculi had bits of plaster still on the walls while loculi 1 and 2 retain a considerable covering of plaster (Pl. X, Fig. 2). Out of the nine loculi excavated, only No. 4 had a portion of a plaster floor still preserved

(Pl. XI). From this, however, one might assume that all loculi had plastered floors, walls and maybe ceilings. Numerous fragments of this plaster were found in the huwwar fill within the loculi and as noted below in loci 17 and 22. The partition walls have crumbled except for the one between loculi 1 and 2 (Pl. II Fig. 1). On the west, only vestiges remain at the ceiling level. These presumably form the huwwar fill in the loculi and in loci 6, 17 and 22. The rectangular block with recess was noted earlier as forming a wall across the front (toward the interior of the tomb) of locus No. 4. Four blocks form a wall across the front of No. 8 and half of No. 9.

Inside the door of the tomb as found was a quantity of soft loose (fine grain ed) black soil. It is assumed that this came from the blocked doorway which local villagers claimed was opened about two years ago. Covering exposed areas in the rest of the tomb was a black layer c. 0.05 - 0.10 m thick, with an oily surface. Dr. Ibrahim noted that this is common in the vicinity of olive presses, judging by observations near Nablus. Below this layer, in several areas (e.g., loci 17 and 22) was an irregular layer of huwwar, thicker toward the loculi. These loci are near the loculi and this huwwar presumably represents fallen rock from the broken partitions between the loculi. In the eastern edge of loci 17 and 6, a rocky or rubbly layer was just below the oily black. Below the huwwar and the rubbly layer, was a layer of red brown fine grained soil, very rich in postsherds, with numerous bones, brick and tile fragments, and a few tesserae (white). Interspersed were patches

5. This identification was made by Dr. Fawzi Zayyadin of the Department of Antiquities. His very helpful discussion along with that of Dr. Moawiyah Ibrahim and Mr. M. Murshed Khadijeh, contributed to the interpretation given here. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Vats ranging from 1-2 m deep were found at Jeru-

salem in 1923-5. The excavators call them olive presses. The design is not clear but there does not seem to be any comparison with the Yajuz installations, Cf. R.A.S. Macalister and J. Garrow Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem: PEF Annual, 1926.*

of light gray soil of ashy consistency. This soil tended to blend with the overlying huwwar and was extremely difficult to isolate.

Small quantities of Mameluke (12th-15th centuries A.D.) pottery were found on or immediately below the surface of loculi 9 and 10, loci 6, 17, 24, near the doorway, inside the basin (locus 11) and the north well (locus 18). They suggest that the tomb was open in this period. It might point to use of the basin and the wells which contained a black granular soil similar in consistency to that mixed with rubbly soil of nearby loci 6 and 17. However, the basin also contained bits of tin can and the south well contained the bones of a dog. This points to a cleaning out of more recent date, either for potential use or perhaps during a hunt for antiquities.

The red soil contained early fifth century A.D. pottery equivalent to the Early Byzantine of Tell Hesban. (6) Since this soil covered the weights noted above, this tition trench (locus 23) for the basin, are homogeneous with this red soil pottery, this suggests that the press was built and used in the fifth century also. The only other example known to this writer, of an olive press inside a cave or tomb, is a screw type press in an unexcavated natural cave Jabal Qa'qir west of Hebron. The surface sherds there were Late Roman-Early Byzantine (7).

The loculi suggest a Roman tomb. The reuse of the architectural fragments (Pls. VI and XII) clearly show the olive press as later than the tomb usage. This suggests a Roman date for the tomb. Apparently the olive press builders completely cleared the tomb, for no traces of earlier material were found.

6. James A. Sauer, Heshbon Pottery 1971 (Mich Andrews University, 1973). Dr. Sauer analyzed the Yajuz pottery and his assistance is also

gratefully acknowledged.

7. This information was supplied by Dr. William Dever.

YAJUZ 1972

Locus list

Explanation : Following the general information on the locus, the detailed information is presented in columns: 1. Numbers of pottery pails; 2. Numbers of registered sherds; 3. Field Dates; 4. Objects

Unnumbered Locus:

Surface cleaning around door, inside, on 11-12 Feb., found loose wash of brownish gray soil, with rock tumble.

- | | | |
|----|------------|--|
| 1 | none saved | Ayyubid/Mameluke paint and glaze, E. Byzantine |
| 5a | » | » Early Byzantine |

Locus 1:

On 11-12 Feb., dug a pre-dump probe trench on the north slope of the wadi, below the tomb entrance. Dark brown surface soil lay over ash, with reddish soil on bedrock at c. 35 cm. The trench was 0.70 m. E-W x 3.85 m. N-S.

- | | | |
|---|------------|---|
| 2 | none saved | Ay/Mam painted ware; E. Byz; possible Iron Age |
| 4 | » | » Ay/Mam, E. Byz, modern ware, possible Iron Age; painted plaster |

Locus 2:

On 11-12 Feb, dug a pre-dump probe trench on the north side of the tomb, near the north opening. Red moist soil was removed to a depth of c. 35 cm, when bedrock was reached. The trench was 1 m N-S x 0.50 m.

- | | | |
|---|------------|-------------------|
| 3 | none saved | E. Byz (1 handle) |
|---|------------|-------------------|

Locus 3:

On 12 Feb, dug locus No. 6 (west side of tomb, southwest corner) in a trench 1.5 m x 2 m. No pottery.

Locus 4:

On 12 Feb, dug locus No.7 (west side) in a trench 1.5 m (N-S) x 2m. No pottery.

Locus 5:

On 12-13 Feb, dug locus No. 8 (west side, middle) in a trench 1.4 m (N-S) x 2.70 m. Below the surface huwwar was a layer of gray over more huwwar. No pottery was found but the top of a glass vessel was located near the east end of the trench, which terminated in a wall running north-south across loculi 8 and 1/2 of 9. Obj. No. 1. rim of glass vessel

Locus 6:

Surface excavation south and north of the south well, near loculi 5 and 6. Soil consisted largely of huwwar. The overall dimensions were 4.5 m N-S x 1.5 m. The fill lay over loci 7 and 8. Excavation dates were 12-13, and 18-19 Feb.

- | | | |
|-----|------------|--|
| 5b | none saved | E. Byz; plaster, roof tile, piece of metal |
| 6 | 1-8 | Ay/Mam, Umayyid (Early Arabic), E. Byz; plaster, roof tile |
| 10a | none saved | E. Byz; plaster, roof tile |
| 29a | 9-32 | E. Byz; brick, 3 tesserae, cattle and sheep bones. Obj. No. 2 base fragment of glass |

Locus 7:

Fill below locus 6, north of the south well, near loculi 7 and 8. Consisted of reddish brown soil interleaved with gray, with large rocks, over huwwar bedrock. Dimensions 2.20 x 2.15 m. Excavated 19, 20, 25-27 Feb, 4 Mar.

- | | | |
|---|-------|-------------------------------------|
| 7 | 33-44 | E. Byz, UD; plaster, tile, tesserae |
|---|-------|-------------------------------------|

- 9 45-9 » » » » »
 12 50-67 » » » » »
 14 68-70 » » ; lamp base, tufa,
 tesserae
 18 none saved » ; bone fragments
 24 71-9 1 Ayyubid/Mameluk
 (balk trimming), E. Byz
 31 none saved E. Byz; brick, tile, nail,
 bone fragments, olive seed

Locus 8:

Gray dirt and huwwar on top of the pavement south of the south well, under locus 6, 1.5 x 1.5 m. Excavated 19 Feb 72.

- 8 lost

Locus 9:

South well in southwest quadrant of tomb, 0.75 N-S x 0.70 x 0.70 deep (plus the lip 0.30 m thick). Sections and plans indicate the uprights above the well. Excavated 19, 25 Feb.

- 17 none saved E. Byz; bones of a dog

Locus 10:

Pavement south of south well, under locus 8, 4.25 x 3.0 (N-S) m. Exposed 13, 18, 19 Feb.

Locus 11:

Inside the round stone basin with millstone in the southeast quadrant of the tomb. The basin is 0.75 m high outside by 0.40 m deep inside, 2.10 m in diameter with width 0.10 m thick at the top. The center piece is 0.60 m across with a center hole 0.25 x 0.27. The millstone is 0.375 m thick, 1.20 m in diameter, with the hole 0.40 x 0.42 outer edge, 0.31 x 0.31 recessed edge. The interior of the basin was excavated 20, 25 Feb.

- 10b 80-83 Ay/Mam, E. Byz, UD; flint, tesserae, metal, olive seed
 15 84-94 Ay/Mam, E. Byz; 1 tessera, bone fragments, button

Locus 12:

Locus 9 along the west wall was dug

- 20, 25 Feb in a trench 1.20 (N-S) x 6.60 m.
 20 none saved E. Byz.

Locus 13:

Locus 10 along the west wall (northwest corner) was dug 20, 25 Feb in a trench 1.50 (N-S) x 1.30 (N. edge) - 2.10 (S. edge).

- 11 none saved Ay/Mam; plaster
 16 none saved 1 sherd of E. Byz; plaster

On 20 Feb, excavated portion of locus 5 (southwest corner) under the «cross piece» which is 1.90 E-W x 0.35 thick. The over-all structure with the cross piece is 1.60 m high. The excavated portion is 1.00 E-W x 0.75 N-S, consists of huwwar mixed with ash and appeared continuous with locus 6, surface soil south of the south well.

- 13 none saved E. Byz, UD

Locus 15:

Locus 1, south wall (southeast corner) was excavated on 25 Feb., in a trench 1.0 (E-W) x 2.20 m. No pottery.

Locus 16:

Locus 2, south wall, was excavated 25 Feb., 1 Mar., in a trench 1.0 (E-W) x 2.20.

- 19 none saved UD
 26 none saved E. Byz; bone fragments.

Locus 17:

East of loculi 9 and 10 (loci 12 and 13) and north of locus 24, cleared surface black soil and rubble over gray which was over huwwar bedrock at north end, red brown soil at south end in a trench 1.35 (E-W) x 2.50 m. Excavated 25-7 Feb, 4-5 Mar.

- 21 none saved 1 Ay/Mam (possibly from same pot as Pail 6, Loc 6), E. Byz; plaster.
 22 95-102 1 Ay/Mam, E. Byz; brick, bone fragments.
 32 none saved E. Byz.

33 none saved E. Byz.

Locus 18:

The north well (northwest quadrant of tomb, east of loci 12 and 13, north of locus 17) was cleared on 27 Feb and 3 Mar., along with a small probe trench on its eastern edge. The latter is 0.90 x 0.60 m. The well is 0.82 (E-W) x 0.82 x 0.82 deep excluding the lip

23 none saved E. Byz, UD

27 none saved Ay/Mam, E. Byz; bone fragments.

Locus 19:

On 3, 4, 10, 19 Mar, the reddish brown fill outside the door way, on the south of the present steps, was partially excavated, in a small trench 2.00 (E-W) x 1.65 m. The fill was very rich in sherds.

25 103-121 3 Ay/Mam, E. Byz; glass fragments, bone fragments.

28 122-34 E. Byz; brick, glass, teeth (probably sheep/goat),

29b 135-64 E. Byz; tile, 4 tesserae, bone fragments.

30 165-87 E. Byz; basalt, 5 tesserae, glass fragments.

34 188-97 E. Byz.

36 198-211 E. Byz.

49 212-32 E. Byz, tile, 13 tesserae, bone fragments, horn (probably sheep/goat); a piece of tile has a figure like a Greek theta incised on it.

Locus 20:

Dug loculus 3 on 5 Mar in a trench 1.00 (E-W) x 2.50 m, on the south side of the tomb. No pottery in the huwwar fill.

Locus 21:

On 5 Mar, Loculus 4 was excavated on the south side of the tomb in a trench 1.10 (E-W) x 2.50 m, to fragments of a plaster floor - the only floor found in any of the loculi though a slight streak in the

huwwar fill may be evidence of floors in other loculi.

25 233 E. Byz; bone fragments.

Locus 22:

From 10-12 Mar., cleared c. 5 square meters in SE quadrant of tomb giving an east-west balk between the basin and the south press, and between the basin and loculus 2. The black surface soil overlay huwwar (thicker toward loculus 2, so presumably roof fall or from the partitions) which overlay reddish brown soil which was over bedrock. The bottom of the spare (worn out?) wheel was reached as well as the bottom of the basin with a foundation trench (see locus 23).

27 none saved E. Byz, UD

38 234-48 E. Byz; bone fragments.

44 none saved E. Byz; brick and tile fragments.

Locus 23:

Foundation trench for the basin, excavated on 12 Mar. No soil color distinction from reddish brown of locus 22, but dug into bedrock and contained several chunks of solidified ash (cp. loc 7). The trench is 25-30 cm. wide and 25 deep.

39 249-52 E. Byz, UD; brick and tile frag.

Locus 24:

The balk between loci 17 and 6-7 was removed on 12, 17-19 Mar, in an area 1 m x 1.60 m. The black surface soil and rubble overlay a gray layer which was over huwwar which was over reddish brown which was over reddish brown but slightly more brown. More of the «weights» were uncovered but the excavation did not reach bottom or bedrock under the weights.

40 none saved 1 piece of Mam, E. Byz, UD; tile.

41 253 E. Byz, UD; lamp frag.; sheep/goat teeth

- 42 254-61 E. Byz,
- 43 262-92 E. Byz; tile, 1 tesserae
bone frag, glass frag.
- 45 293-300 E. Byz; tile. 2 tesserae
- 46 301-5 E. Byz; tile, brick
- 48 306 E. Byz; brick, basalt,
cattle bone. Obj. No. 3: basalt grinder

Locus 25:

A small probe trench excavated 17-18 Mar, in man made cave in NE corner. Trench was laid out in a perpendicular to the built wall under the north side of the outer door, and covered an area of 0.80 m x 1.35 m. Soft (fine grained) black fill overlay reddish brown soil which overlay huwwar bedrock.

47 none saved Ay/Mam, E. Byz; 2 tess.

*Henry O. Thompson,
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The 1972 Excavation of Khirbet Al-Hajjar

By

Dr. Henry O. Thompson

For some decades, scholars and explorers have known about 18 tower fortresses along a line from the Beq'ah Valley to Naur, west of Amman. Amman is the ancient Rabbath Amman, capital of the Ammonites. It has long been assumed that these fortresses belong to a defense system of the Ammonites. The assumption has been based on a combination of location, Iron Age potsherds on the surface around the towers, and the architecture. The latter is sometimes called a megalithic style. The structures are built of large uncut field stones, roughly coursed. Individual stones run as large as 3 meters with 1 — 2 1/2 meters a common length. The building material seems to come from the immediate vicinity of each structure. This is commonly limestone but flint blocks seem to have been favored where available.

In his convenient summary of Ammonite architecture and culture, Landes has noted that it is now possible to define rather precisely the western border of the Ammonite Kingdom. But it is still difficult to date very precisely any particular fortress. Pottery surface surveys thus far have only indicated the general periods of Iron I — II.⁽¹⁾ The dates here (1200-600 B.C.) relate

closely to the period of the Ammonite Kingdom, c. 1300 — c. 580 B.C

The dating of the towers remained somewhat problematic also, for lack of excavation. However, the first excavation made the dating even more problematic. In 1969, Dr. Roger S. Boraas (Upsala College) directed an examination⁽²⁾ of the ruins of Rujm el-Malfuf, on Jabel Amman (Plate I, Fig. 1). Originally outside of Amman, this «Tower of the Cabbage» has now been enveloped by the rapidly expanding city. In a trench outside and against the base of the tower, Boraas found Roman pottery right down to bedrock. Within the tower, he found a split level entrance way leading into a ground floor «basement» and to a floor level above it. The floor (and the ceiling of the basement) was formed with corbel arching — long thin slabs of rock laid across the partitions of narrow rooms. This seems to be a Roman-Byzantine style of architecture with examples at Umm el-Jimal and Qasr Azraq. Some have argued however, that the megalithic style is so un-Roman, that we must consider the possibility that the Romans cleaned and rebuilt an originally Iron Age tower.

The excavation of Khirbet al-Hajjar has

1. George M. Landes, «The Material Civilization of the Ammonites», *The Biblical Archaeologist* XXIV (1961), 66-86. Landes, «Ammon, Ammonites», *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* I (1962), 108-114. Roger S. Boraas also gives a

brief survey of the Ammonite literature on architecture, «A Preliminary Sounding at Rujm et-Malfouf», *The Annual of the Department of Antiquities* XVI (1971), 31 - 46.

2. Boraas, *op. cit.*

once more tilted the question of dating in the direction of the Ammonites, while adding No. 19 to the list of western fortresses. The site is about half way between Wadi Sir and Naur (Antiquities Site 159). This site came to prominence in Oct 71, when Jamil Muti'ib began building a new house at the foot of the tell. His foundation trench uncovered pieces of broken statuary. The Department of Antiquities of Jordan was notified. Staff members investigated the area and tried to make a stratigraphic sounding but the thin soil over bedrock yielded no additional information. The pocket in the bedrock where the statuary was found yielded a few more pieces and eventually two statues — c. 50cm high — were reconstructed to form a man and a woman. These may represent the king and queen or a god and goddess.⁽³⁾

The statues were found in a saddle between the tell and a higher hill to the north-east (Plate I, Fig. 2). A surface survey of the area yielded Iron I (11-12 centuries B.C.) from the higher hill and both Iron and Iron II (6-7th centuries B.C.) from Khirbet al-Hajjar. The name of the latter means «The Ruin of the Stone-cutter» in the sense of quarryman. This does not seem to give any clue as to its ancient identity. It is also of interest that it is known locally as «Khirbet», rather than «tell.» The landowner, Abu Nassar Muti'ib, noted that rocks had been removed from the site for building roads, but he does not remember specific buildings on the hill, which might explain the use of the term «Khirbet.» The hill has the symmetrical outline (Plate II Fig. 1) of an artificial tell, suggesting soil built up and held in place by the remains of old walls. With limitations, the hill of Khirbet al-Hajjar is in a strategic location. To the north, one has a clear view to Wadi Sir and

Suweilah (Plate II, Fig 2). This view includes the ancient towers of Khirbet al-Kursi, Qasr es-Sar, Qasr er-Ronaq (Khirbet Ronak), perhaps Sweifiye and Shmaisani. To the east, one can see to the outskirts of Amman, and to the south to the juncture of the Amman-Naur and Wadi Sir-Naur roads. It is possible that the two towers at Naur (to the south west) and Khirbet al-Hajjar might have been visible to one another. But the view to the west is blocked by a low ridge. However, outposts stationed here would have put Khirbet al-Hajjar in touch with three other towers at Abhara, Qasr et-Tabaq and Marqaba. So this limitation would have been easily overcome. This is important to note for Khirbet al-Hajjar stands at the headwaters of the Wadi Kefrein, which flows west to join the Wadi Rama (Hesban), forming the Wadi Abu Gharaba. This forms a major route to the Jordan Valley, a route followed today by the Amman-Naur-Jerusalem Road.

Khirbet al-Hajjar clearly invited excavation. The strategic location, the statues, the two Iron Age periods at the beginning and the end of the Ammonite Kingdom, plus fragments of basalt grindstones and stone bowls, and several slingstones gathered in the surface survey, all gave hints of its potential. As a practical matter, its closeness (9 1/2 road miles) to Amman was also a factor. Preliminary discussions with the Department of Antiquities led to a joint campaign with the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman.⁽⁴⁾ The ACOR is located on Jabel Amman on the western edge of the city and served as an admirable «dig» headquarters. The staff was housed here and commuted daily to the tell. The staff (Plate III, Fig. 1) consisted of the writer as Director and Dr. Fawzi Zayadine of the Department, as As-

3. Moawiyah Ibrahim, «What Gods are These?», Jordan magazine IV, No. 2 (1972), 10-17;

ADAJ XVI (1971).

4. The writer was Director of ACOR in 1971-2.

sociate Director. Miss Nazmiah Rida was the official Departmental Representative and directed the work of Area A, Square 2. Mrs. Janie Miller was Registrar for both pottery and objects. Four students from the University of Jordan served as co-supervisors and supervisors of Squares: Miss Katrina Zriakat, Mahmoud Bargawe, Seif Haddad, and Marwan Abu Khalaf. The four were earlier members of the Tell Siran excavation. Mr. Robert Miller was co-supervisor of Area A, Square 6, and Miss Yolande Steger drew a selection of sherds and served part-time as co-supervisor of Area B, Square 1. Mr. Khamis Fahd of Ruseifa and Jericho, served as technical man. Mr. Mohammed Adawi of the ACOR, was expedition cook, assisted by Ni'im Mashal. Mr. Mohammed Murshed Khadijah provided considerable assistance on a part-time basis, while the survey, the lay-out of the squares, and the top plan of the tower (Plate III, Fig. 2) was done by Mr. Ata Eleiwat of the staff of the University of Jordan and veteran draftsman of Jerusalem, Samaria, and Amman excavations. Dr. Farouk Khatib was Expedition doctor. Thompson and Zayadine served as photographers.

AREA C, Square 1

Five squares (Plate I, Fig. 1) were laid out for excavation in the five weeks from 26 June to 29 July, 1972. One of these is on the western slope of the tell. Several small wall stubbs appeared above the surface and Area C, Square 1, was designed to investigate two of these. Mr. Mahmoud Bargawe was the supervisor. The square was opened on 7 July and reached bedrock the last day of the digging. Excavation re-

vealed a confusing set of walls. The only reasonable interpretation at his point, seems to be that the square is in the middle of a tower or bastion in the western defenses.

Except for two rocks of wall 3, and one of wall 17, a light brown surface soil covered the entire 5 x 5 m square to a depth of 0.25 - 0.40 m. The surface soil was full of large stones ranging from 0.25 - .60 m. These may represent tumble from wall 3. Elevations here before excavation were 950.91 at the northeast corner and 950.83 at the southwest. There were no artifacts except potsherds. A few of these were Byzantine while a small quantity were Iron (11-12th centuries B.C.). The sherds were dominantly Iron II (6-7th centuries B.C.) There were also a few undistinguishable (hereafter «UD») sherds.

The principle wall of Area C, Square 1 is Locus 3. This is a wall of unhewn field stone ranging in size from 0.25 - 60 m. The wall extends from the south balk at a point 1.25 m from the west balk. It runs north for 3.50 m and curves west to touch the west balk 0.85 m south of the northwest corner. The wall is 1.75 - 2.00 m wide but as excavation proceeded, it was noted that the curving wall is 1.00 m wide while a straight wall (secondary?) is built flush against it on the east side. This second wall is 3.25 m north-south from wall 13 to wall 17. This wall has an extant height of 1.50 - 2.50 m. Its most interesting feature is a «window» or niche near the southern end (Plate IV, Fig. 1). The interior measurements are 1.00 m high x 0.75 m wide. The top of this window was above ground prior to excavation. The extant height of the

5. Unless otherwise designated, throughout the following text, Iron I equals the 11-12th centuries B.C. while Iron II means the 6-7th centuries B.C. The pottery is to be published by Dr. Fawzi Zayadine. Dr. James A. Sauer gave very valuable help with the dating

of the pottery. His assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Cf. also his report, «Seventh - Sixth Century B.C. Pottery from Area B at Heshban,» with E. N. Lugenbeal, *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Vol. X (1972), 21 - 69.

west side of wall 3 is 0.75 - 1.75 - m. No foundation trench was observed for either side. The west side appears to have been founded on Locus 5 while the east side was founded on Locus 14. Small stones were removed from the top. A number of Iron II sherds were found in this process.

Wall 17 is an east-west wall extending from the east side of wall 3, 2.00 m to and into the east balk. An unknown portion remains under the south balk, projecting 0.00 - 75 m into the square from the south balk. The extant height is 2.00 m. Wall 13 is an east-west wall still partially under the north balk. It extends from the east balk to and along the back of the curve of wall 3. Its extant height is 1.70 m.

Locus 2 was a dark brown soil layer containing large stones 0.25 - .60 m wide. This locus is 2.00 x 4.00 m between the west balk and the west side of wall 3. It ranged from 0.25 - .30 m thick and contained Iron II sherds. Locus 4 was a light brown soil layer below Loc. 2. The stone fill was smaller, 0.15 - .30 m. The sherds were also Iron II with a few Iron I samples. Loc. 5 lay under Loc. 4. Loc. 5 was a dark brown soil with small rubble and black grits. The layer was 0.56 m thick, with Iron I and II sherds. An undecorated bronze fibula, Object No. 21, came from this layer (Plate IV, Fig. 2) Under Loc. 5 was Loc 7, a black soil layer with fragments of red brick, and from this locus (Obj. No. 30; Pl. II, Fig. 2) It is made of marly limestone with microfossils.⁶ A yellow and brown soil layer, Loc. 11, lay under Loc. 9 and over Wall 12. The pottery from Loc. 11 was Iron I while a few sherds from the removal of small stones of wall 12, were UD Wall 12 consists mainly of large stones ranging from 0.35 - .55 m It runs in a northwest-south-

east direction. As excavated, it looks like a platform built on the virgin soil of Loc. 16. The platform appearance may be deceptive, however, for the eastern edge of the wall is under soil layer 9 and wall 3. Between wall 12 and the west balk was a yellow soil layer with red bricky material. It yielded Iron I and UD pottery and lay over Loc. 16. The latter is red soil without stones, pottery or artifacts. The irregular rock surface under it appears to be bedrock, so Loc. 16 is assumed to be virgin soil.

Two burials were found in Area C, Square 1. One of these, Loc. 6, contained yellowish soil covered by small slabs. The burial was on a portion of wall 13, 0.56 m from the north balk, just under surface soil. While the potsherds were Iron I and II, the burial is a modern intrusive one. An 1875 Turkish coin was found under the skull. The skeleton was well preserved but there was no indication of cloth or ornamentation. Loc. 10 was a burial in the southeast corner of the square, near wall 17, under surface soil. Loc. 1, and in soil layer Loc. 8. Loc. 10 consisted of dark brown soil, including yellow grits and large stones (0.35 - .65 m). While the pottery was Iron I and II, the burial is assumed to have been recent. A small bit of cloth was preserved over the left eye socket. A decorated bronze fibula, clasp only, Object No. 32, (Pl. IV, Fig. 2), was found in the soil of Loc. 10. It appeared to be in the soil fill rather than associated with the burial.

Loc. 8 was a brownish red soil layer between the east face of wall 3 and the east balk. It contained small stones (0.25 - .55 m) and Iron I and II, and UD pottery. It was over Loc. 14, a dark brown soil layer, with white grits and stones ranging

6 The analysis of stone objects was done by Mr. Talal Saadi whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Mr. Saadi is a geologist for the

Natural Resources Authority Laboratory of Jordan.

from 0.35 - 0.45 m. In the south end, it lay over bedrock. The northern portion of Loc. 14 lay over wall 18 and unexcavated rocks and soil. The pottery from Loc. 14 is Iron I and II, and UD. One of the Iron II sherds may be pre-seventh century B.C.

Locus 18 is a curving wall, apparently founded on bedrock. It curves from a point (0.85 m north of wall 17) under the east face of wall 3, to and into the north balk under wall 13. It is tempting to think of this as the foundation of a round tower but so little of it has been exposed that any interpretation is highly speculative.

In summary, one can note that the excavation of Area C, Square 1, reached bedrock on both sides of its principle wall 3. On the outside (western, down-hill side), excavation seems to have reached Iron I levels. The UD sherds leave a slight question about this, however. On the eastern, uphill side, occupation to bedrock was Iron II, though the unexcavated portion around wall 18, remains for future investigation.

AREA A, Squares 1 and 2

The four squares of Areas A and B were plotted along the northeast-southwest line connecting a Department of Lands and Survey bench-mark (959.80 m above sea level) and the high point (953.45 m) of Khirbet al-Hajjar (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Area A was located on the lower slope about 100 m from the findspot of the statues. The lower square, Square 1, touches the top of a low ridge along the southwestern edge of a depression. It was hoped that the ridge might represent a wall and the two squares would locate the outer defenses of the fortress. Success in this aim seems assured from walls found a few centimeters below the present surface.

Square 1

The excavation was under the direction of Miss Katrine Zriakat and Mr. Robert

Miller. The original 5 x 5 m of the square, was extended 1 m to the northeast to ease the excavation of the tumbled boulders (presumably fall from walls 6 and 4) of Loci 3, 5 and 15. Over the whole square was 0.10 - 0.15 m of crumbly black soil with much loose rock, called Locus 1. Surface levels before excavation were 949.10 on the northeast, 950.43 and 949.04 at the southeast and southwest corners respectively. The pottery was Iron I and II, Byzantine, and one possible Hellenistic sherd. A worked flint blade, Obj. No. 28 (Pl., V, Fig. 1) and a pottery fragment with a «wheel» design, Obj. 35 (Pl. II, Fig. 2) came from the surface soil. Locus 1 lay over soil layer 2 and walls 4 and 8.

Loc. 2 was gray-brown soil with clay, from 0.15 - 0.25 m thick. There were many stones, ranging from 0.15 - 0.35 in diameter. The pottery was Iron I and II, with two UD sherds, one of which may be Hellenistic while the other may date to the Persian period. Loc. 2 lay over soil layers 3 and 7, and parts of walls 4 and 8. Loc. 3 was a 0.50 m deep layer of sandy yellow loose soil with rubble, between Loc. 4 and the north balk. The pottery was Iron I and II with one possible Byzantine sherd. Loc. 3 lay over soil layer 5 and wall 6.

Wall 4 is an east-west wall with an extant height of 1.70 m.

The unhewn field stones average 4.46 m long. The excavated portion is 5.00 m from the east balk to the west balk. As first excavated, wall 4 appeared independent of, and preserved closer to the surface, than wall 6. Its function is still not clear in relation to the outer (to the northeast) wall 6. Its appearance and irregular depth gives the impression of a skin wall or an inner reinforcing wall of wall 6. The irregular coursing of the northeast face of wall 6, precludes certainty but there may be a rebuild at the same level as wall 4. The rock tumble of Loci 5 and 15 obscured the stratigraphy against the outer face

of 6, preventing assurance from this source, but the change from Loc. 6 to 15 roughly corresponds with the suspected rebuild.

Wall 6 (Pl. V, Fig. 2) has been interpreted as a megalithic defense wall, with stones 0.40-80 m long. It extends from the east balk to the west balk, curving slightly near the west balk. Its extant height is 3.50 m. It is slightly battered toward the base. It is not founded upon bedrock (which was not reached in this square), but the lower courses are larger boulders, up to 0.80 x 0.60 m.

Wall 12 is also an east-west wall running across the square. It is 1.25 m wide and is formed by two rows of stones. (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The south face is clear, with an extant height of 0.75 — .90 m. A foundation trench, Loc. 19, was found on this side. The top part of it is also a robber trench and the whole is 1.25 m deep and 0.05 — .10 m wide. The pottery from the foundation trench was Iron I. However, the pottery from a section of wall 12 which was removed along the east balk, was a mixture of Iron I and II.

Locus 14, between walls 12 and 4, was a soft brown soil with many rocks and boulders. At the beginning of the excavation, it was thought that this was tumble between the two walls. But a number of stones were bonded into wall 12, the north face of which is quite irregular. Several are also bonded into wall 4. Their position, however, may be interpreted as «in situ» boulders upon which wall 4 was built, either as a secondary strengthening of wall 6, or as a rebuild of the outer defense wall as noted above. In any event, the complex of walls 6, 4 and 12, and Loc. 14 form an outer defense wall of 3.50 m thickness.

Outside of wall 6, to the northeast, Loc. 5 consisted of loose grey soil around large rocks. The layer was from 0.95 — 1.25 m

deep, under Loc. 3 and over Loc. 15. The pottery was Iron I and II, with a UD sherd that might date from c. 500 B.C. Loc. 15 also contained many large rocks but the soil was soft brown with flecks of yellow huwwar. The locus was 2.00 m deep and contained Iron I and II pottery. One of the Iron I sherds may be from the 10th century B.C. Three objects also came from here: No. 24, a complete and still workable fibula; No. 26, a needle; No. 33, a bone spatula (Pls. IV, Fig. 2 & V, Fig. 1). Loc. 15 lay over Loc. 20 and wall 21.

Wall 21 was preserved to two courses high and composed of stones 0.25 m roughly (undressed) square. Only 0.85 m of its length was excavated owing to the necessity to narrow down the excavation probe to avoid the fall of boulders from Loci 3, 5 and 15. Wall 21 butted against the base of wall 6. The removal of wall 21 produced Iron I sherds, but Iron I and II pottery came from Loci 20 and 22. Loc. 20 was a probe against wall 21. The sandy brown soil contained fine yellow grits and small stones in contrast to the boulders of Loc. 15. Loc. 20 and 21 lay over 22, which was not materially different from Loc. 20. 22 was excavated to Loc. 23, a level of small flat stones. The excavation trench had narrowed to 1.60 (east-west) x 0.25 — .45 m. It is tempting to see the level as a pavement but the area is too small for definitive interpretation. Loc. 23 is one meter below wall 6 and has a level of 944.65, suggesting that bedrock is not much deeper, although bedrock was not reached in Square 1. As indicated above, the pottery down to Loc. 23 was a mixture of Iron I and II.

Loc. 25 is a north-south wall with 7 courses (2.20 m) extant (Pl. V, Fig. 2), bonded to the north side of wall 6, and largely still unexcavated (1.20 m of length is exposed) in the rubble of the west balk. It may represent earlier construction incorporated into wall 6, or it may be part of

an unexcavated tower northwest of Square 1.

Wall 8 extended from wall 4 to and into the south balk, 2.25 m from the east balk. Wall 8 was not bonded to wall 4. The extant remains were 0.75 — .90 m high and 1.10 m wide (2 courses with rubble between). The extant surface and base sloped down from the south balk to wall 4. The pottery from the removal of wall 8, was Iron I and II. A conical seal, Obj. No. 22 (Pls. VI, Fig. 2 & VII, Fig. 1) of limestone chalk and a bronze strip with holes along the edges, No. 27, were two objects from the wall (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). Wall 8 was over Loc. 16 while Loci 7, 9, 10 and 11 were against it. There was apparently no foundation trench or at least none was discerned during excavation. After the south balk had dried several weeks, what may have been a very narrow foundation trench appeared on both sides, but a number of long plant roots grew alongside of wall 8 and may have loosened the soil to give the appearance of a foundation trench. No pottery was isolated from it.

Loc. 7 was south of wall 4. This soil layer, 0.50 m deep, consisted of packed yellow-gray sandy soil, with small to medium stones. The pottery was mixed Iron I and II. There were three objects: No. 8, a limestone mace head, No. 11, a pottery button (?), and No. 12, a metal pin (Pls. IV, Fig. 2, V, Fig. 1, VII, Fig. 2). Loc. 7 was under Loc. 2 and over Loci 9, 10 and 11. Loc. 9 was a hard yellow layer with huwwar grits and no stones. It was 0.20 m thick and contained Iron I and II pottery. There are two registered objects: No. 15, a pottery jug rim with a point like the beak of a bird, and No. 16, a lamp reconstructed from fragments (Pl. VII, Fig. 2). Loc. 9 was in the southeast corner of the square and lay over Loc. 11. The latter was brown to black soil with brick fragments, ash and charcoal. The layer was 1.00 m thick and contained Iron I and II pottery. Loc. 10

was a yellow layer with huwwar, in the southwest corner of the square. It appears equivalent to Loc. 9 on the east side of wall 8. Loc. 10 was 0.25 m deep and contained Iron I and II pottery, a pottery cylinder (Obj. No. 14, Pl. V, Fig. 1) and a lamp fragment (No. 17; cf. Pl. VII, Fig. 2). Loc. 13 was a yellow sandy soil with huwwar. It was under 10 and over Loc. 17. The pottery is Iron I.

Locus 16 was a subsidiary balk under wall 8. It consisted of yellow huwwar with patches of ashy soil. Loc. 16 covered Loci 12 and 19 and was from 0.95 — 1.15 m deep. The soil contained Iron I and II pottery. Loc. 16 also lay over Loc. 17, a brown soil with ashes, plaster (?) and small stones, between wall 12 and the south balk. Loc. 17 was cut by Loc. 19, the foundation trench for wall 12. The layer sloped from east to west. It was 0.50 — .70 m deep and contained Iron and II sherds with the Iron I dominant. Loc. 17 lay over Loc. 18.

Locus 18 is a yellow grit, packed huwwar surface between Loci 12/19 and the south balk. It is 0.03 — .05 m thick and was partially cut by the foundation trench 19, so wall 12 was founded partially on 18 and partially on the underlying layer Loc. 24. Excavation cut through 18 in the southeast corner of the square to a depth of 0.50 m, into Loc. 24, a yellow gritty layer clearly lower than, and under, wall 12. Pottery from Loc. 24 is Iron I. Thus the excavation of Square 1 did not reach bedrock either inside or outside of the wall complex 6, 4 and 12, but did reach an Iron I occupation level which also served as the base for wall 12.

In summary, one might note that the most important element of Square 1 is the apparent defensive wall system of 6, 4, 12 and the interleaved Loc. 14. This would seem to be the outer defense wall of the fortress. A part of its importance comes from the earlier survey work of Nelson

Glueck who found little evidence of outer walls for the Ammonite fortresses noted above. He concluded that the towers were strong enough to be defensive units in themselves. The latter judgement probably continues to hold true but we now have the evidence for the additional fortification of outer walls. Whether other towers also have these, which merely await excavation, remains to be seen⁽⁷⁾

Square 2

The excavation of Square 2 was under the direction of Miss Nazmieh Rida and Mr. Marwan Abu Khalaf. Square 2 was plotted 2 m southwest of Square 1, leaving a 2 m balk between the squares. The larger balk gave easier and safer access between the squares. Square 2 was 5x5 m with levels of 950.65 and 950.35 on the north, and 951.44 and 951.19 m on the south, surface before excavation. Locus 1 was crumbly dark surface soil 0.05 — .35 m thick, with many large stones. The pottery was mixed Iron I and II, with two Byzantine sherds. A conical haematite stone, Obj. No. 3 (Pl. V, Fig. 1), was found here. Its shape suggests that it may be an unfinished stamp seal.

Walls 2, 5 and 17 were just below the surface. Wall 17 has 0.50 m of its width exposed. The rest remains unexcavated in the north balk. Its exposed length is 4.00 meters extending from the west balk. Its eastern end may be in line with Square 1, wall 8, possibly forming a corner. Wall 17 is made of unhewn stone 0.30 — .75 m.

Locus 4 was a probe trench in the northeast corner of the square. The probe was extended west for 5.00 m between walls 2 and 17. The dark brown soil con-

tained numerous stones, 0.25 — .40 m. After excavation, tip lines were noted in the west balk, which gave the impression of a back fill against (uphill) wall 2. This might strengthen the suggestion that wall 2 is a defensive wall built in relation to Square 1, walls 2, 4, 6 and 12. At the east balk, the probe cut through a pit with an irregular outline. The pottery was mixed Iron I and II with a UD sherd with what might be called rope molding.

Wall 2 (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1) is an east-west wall of unhewn stones, 0.20 — 0.60 m with small (0.05 — 0.15 m) stones as chink stones. The wall is 1.00 m. Its extant height varies from 3-5 courses, 0.75 — 1.15 m. Wall 5 was perpendicular to wall 2 on the south. Between wall 5 and the west balk was a 0.50 m wide wall of stone and rubble which appeared to be a secondary skin wall on the south side of wall 2 (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1). This skin wall or strengthening wall was not bonded into wall 5, which it turned abutting wall 2 without bonding. So the skin wall is later than wall 5. This skin wall was removed and yielded Iron II and possibly Iron I body sherds. No one of the three wall segments appeared to have a foundation trench. They are founded on Loc. 8 on the south side and Loc. 11 on the north (wall 2).

Wall 5 was 1.75 m wide with an extant height of 0.85 — 1.25 m (4 courses). Its excavated portion was 2.10 m between wall 2 and the south balk, 0.75 m from the east balk. It is made of unhewn stone, 0.15 — .40 m across, formed in an east and west face with rubble between. The removal of the exposed portion produced Iron I and II, and UD pottery fragments.

7. Nelson Glueck, «Explorations in the Land of Ammon», *The Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research* No. 68 (1973), 19; Landes, «Material Civilization.....», p. 70.

The function of the wall complex — 2, 4, and the skin wall — remains problematic. Its location 5.00 m uphill from the outer defence walls of Square 1, suggests the possibility that walls 2 and 5 are part of an inner defence system, possibly a casemate arrangement. The shallow founding of the walls might argue against this though as a secondary system, this would not be so serious a matter. It is possible too, that the exposed portion of walls 2 and 5 are part of a large house or public building.

Locus 3 was a probe trench in the southwest corner of the square, which produced Iron I and II pottery, and the broken pin of a fibula (Obj. No. 9, Pl. IV, Fig. 2). Loc. 3 is equivalent to Loci 6, 7 and 8, between the probe and wall I. Loc. 6 was a gray soil layer 0.45 — .75 m thick, mixed with many stones 0.10 — .40 m. It was materially similar to Loc. 9, east of wall 5, although Loc. 9 was only 0.15 — .32 m thick. Both loci yielded Iron I and II pottery. Loc. 6 lay over Loc. 7, a 0.25 — .32 m thick layer of yellow brown soil mixed with flecks of huwwar. Loc. 7 was materially identical to Loc. 10, east of wall 5. Loc. 10 was from 0.10 — .65 m thick. These loci appeared to be fill washed down from uphill, against wall 2.

Locus 8 was a hard packed soil with crumbled brick and charcoal. It was from 0.25 — .38 m thick and extended from the west balk (cf. Loc. 3) to the east balk, and from the south balk, under walls 2 and 5. It served as the founding surface for these walls. Its excavation yielded Iron and II pottery. Loc. 8 lay over Loc. 15.

Locus 15 was a brown soil layer mixed with stones. It was from 0.10 — .15 m thick between the south balk and a subsidiary balk below the south face of wall 2. Its excavation produced Iron I and II pottery. It lay over Loc. 19, which was a bricky soil mixed with ash, 0.10 — .25 m thick. The pottery was Iron I and II. Loc.

19 lay over Loci 20 and 21. Locus 20 was a grayish red soil layer partially covering Loc. 21, a bricky muddy fill in the southwest corner of the square. The latter was 1.00 m square in the excavated area, and 0.24 m thick. Loc. 20 was 0.13 m thick. Loc. 20 had Iron I and II pottery while Loc. 21 was Iron I and UD. Both lay over Loc. 22, a stony packed gray soil with Iron I and UD pottery. This was the last locus excavated on the southern side of the square, south (uphill) from wall 2. Loc. 22 lay over a yellow packed surface which is presumed equivalent to Loc. 18, on the north of the square and Loc. 18 in Square 1.

Locus 11 began as a probe trench in the northwest corner of the square but was extended for 5.00 m between the subsidiary sections under walls 2 and 17. The locus consisted of a series of tip lines from 0.20 — .50 m thick. The lines were stony, light brown with flecks of charcoal, bricky red and dark (almost black). The pottery was Iron I and possibly II, and UD. This locus should be equivalent to Locus 8 as the founding surface of wall 2 but its consistency is quite different. There appears to be a marked change at some point under the wall. Loc. 11 lay over Loc. 12.

Loc. 12 was a 0.33 m thick layer of gray soil mixed with flecks of huwwar over Loc. 13. The latter was soft dark soil, 0.70 m thick, over Loc. 14. The latter was from 0.37 — .65 m thick. It was made up of dark soil with flecks of charcoal. Under it was Locus 16, a gray soil mixed with small stones, 0.16 — .32 m thick. The pottery from all four layers was Iron I. Loc. 16 lay over Locus 18, a grayish fill over a hard packed yellow surface. The pottery here was Iron I, one EB sherd, and several UD pieces, one of which had an EB type of rope molding. A worked flint and an animal figurine, No. 25 (Pl. V, Fig. 1) came from this locus also

The surface was penetrated in the northwest corner of the square in a probe 2.20 m long, between the subsidiary balks under walls 17 (north balk) and 2. Locus 23 here was a brown soil mixed with flecks of huwwar, 0.05 m thick. Under it was Locus 24, a 0.12 m thick layer of black ash with burned straw and many grains of wheat. The wheat and straw suggest the ashes of an oven, although no portion of an oven was found. Locus 25 was a brown soil layer 0.10 m thick. Under it was Locus 26, a yellow hard packed soil layer, with flecks of huwwar, 0.15 m thick. Locus 27 was a brown bricky soil layer with flecks of huwwar, 0.05 m thick. The last soil layer, Locus 28, was on bedrock. It was a dark soil with flecks of huwwar, 0.20 m thick. All of the above layers contained Iron I and UD pottery.

The excavation of Loc. 18, exposed two walls founded on Loc. 28, with no apparent foundation trenches. Wall 29 is in the north balk, extending 1.50 m from the west balk with an exposed width of 0.30 — .42 m. It is made of unhewn stones 0.45 — .90 m long. Wall 30 is a north-south wall with an exposed length of 1.85 m between the subsidiary balks under walls 17 (north balk) and 2. It is 2.20 m from the west balk and marks the limits of the probe in the northwest corner of the square. Its top is 0.69 m wide. The two walls have not been dismantled but the soil context is Iron I, so the walls presumably date from this period. At the present state of excavation, these and Area C, Wall 12, appear to be the only Iron I walls found so far on the site.

AREA B, Squares 1 and 2

Area B was on the upper northeast slope, along the northeast-southwest baseline (Pl. I, Fig. 2). The principle feature of

the area was the foundation of a round tower, 11.70 m in diameter (Pl. III, Fig. 2), preserved to an extant height of 2.65 m. In Square 1, it is wall 16 and in Square 2 it is wall 6, which are described below. The foundation trenches (1:31 and 2:18,20) contained Iron I and II pottery giving an Iron II (6-7th centuries B.C.) date to the tower. This is the first tower to be dated by excavation to the Iron Age. It is thus the first of the so-called Ammonite towers/fortresses to be securely dated in the Ammonite period. The builders of the tower cut through an earlier Iron II occupation deposit and an Iron I occupation to found their tower on bedrock, except in the southeast corner of Square 1. The bedrock served as the interior floor of the tower. Ruim al-Malfouf was also founded on bedrock but there was no evidence of occupation on the bedrock floor of the « basement » rooms.⁽⁸⁾

Square 1

The excavation here was under the direction of Mr. Seif Haddad and Miss Yolande Steger. The 5 x 5 m square was extended 1.00 m to the west to include the full extent of an intrusive burial (Loc. 4). The levels were 953.23 & 953.43 on the south and 953.18 and 953.25 on the north. The black or dark gray surface soil (Locus 1) was from 0.10 — .35 m thick. The pottery was Iron I and II, Byzantine and UD. One object, No. 2 (Pl. V, Fig. 1), came from this locus. It's a rectangular piece of limestone with a hole drilled through one corner. It's a bit heavy for an amulet but seems too small (7.5 x 4 x 2 cm) for a whet stone.

Locus 4 was a pit with black soil, 0.10 — .20 m thick, indistinguishable from the surface soil. It was 1.00 m wide along

8. Boraas, op. cit.

the outside of wall 16 (the tower) \times 2.00 3.00 m east-west from the west balk. The pit contained a somewhat deteriorated but articulated skeleton of a man about 40 years old at the time of death.

A circle of stones surrounded the skull and a stone under the skull appeared to be a pillow. The body had been buried on its back but with the legs crossed at the ankles. The face was turned to the southwest, suggesting a Muslim burial though Mecca is really southeast. The pottery immediately under the skeleton was Iron I and II but the burial is presumed to be a relatively modern intrusion.

Under the surface soil was a rocky layer, Locus 2, which covered most of the square except Locus 4 and part of 3 in the northwest corner. It was c. 0.25 m thick and contained Iron I and II, Byzantine and UD pottery. A flat (0.2 \times 1.3 cm thick) smooth green stone, Obj. No. 7, (Pl. V, Fig. 1), came from this Loc. It is igneous in origin and probably a form of basalt. It is broken at both ends but its general shape, 4.3 \times 5 cm, suggests a whet-stone.

Locus 3 was a soft yellow layer between the east and west balks, and between wall 16 and the north balk. It was 0.25 — .35 m thick and contained Iron I and II pottery plus a few Byzantine body sherds and several UD sherds. Obj. No. 13, a silver ring (Pl. IV, Fig. 2) came from this locus. Loc. 3 appeared similar in consistency to Loci 5 and 12. Loc. 5 was in the south-east corner of the square, separated from Loc. 3 by wall 16, and bounded by wall 17 and the east and south balks with average dimensions of 2.60 (N-S) \times 1.30

average dimensions of 2.60 (N-S) \times 1.30 \times 0.40 m thick. Its excavation and that of Locus 12 yielded Iron I and II pottery. Loc. 12 was in the southeast corner along the south balk and between the west balk and wall 17. It was separated from wall 16 by Loc. 4. A bronze pin (No. 19 Pl. IV, Fig. 2) and a fragment of a basalt bowl or plate (No. 18, Pl. VII, Fig. 2) came from Loc. 12.

Inside the tower was a 0.15 m thick layer of soft yellow soil, Locus 6, below Loc. 3. It extended from the west balk to the east balk, and lay over wall 16 at the east end and over Loc. 7 between the curve of wall 16 and the west and north balks. Loc. 6 contained Iron I and II pottery along with several UD sherds. One of the Iron II sherds may date as late as 500 B.C. This late sherd is too vague for certainty but it is of interest in the light of Obj. No. 36 found in this layer in the northwest corner of the square. It is a Phoenician coin (Pls., IV, Fig. 2 & VIII, Fig. 3) from Tyre from the pre-Alexandrian period. Since other coins of this type that date between 400 — 332 B.C. usually have a date mark, Obj. 36 would seem to date from 400 — 450 B.C.⁹ While one is tempted to let the pottery of the 6-7th century B.C. suggest that the coin should be dated earlier, it would seem more likely that the coin is intrusive in this context. As found, it was heavily corroded and simply looked like a disc, presumably metal. So it does not seem likely to have been a plant, especially since no baksheesh was paid to the workers for small finds. Animal burrowing action might conceivably have worked the coin down to such a depth, or perhaps the interior of the tower remained open for several centuries after its aband-

9. George Francis Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*; London: British Museum, 1910. Clifford M. Jones, *Old Testament Illustrations*; Cambridge: University Press, 1971. Dimitri

Baramki, *The Coins Exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of The American University of Beirut*; Beirut: AUB Centennial Publications, 1968.

onment. A passing merchant may have taken shelter inside the walls, although there was nothing else to indicate this late intrusion. The coin, however, seems to be unique in this area. There is no parallel to it in the collections of the Department of Antiquities.

Locus 7 was a hard yellow layer, 0.20 m thick. Under it was Locus 8, a reddish brown layer, of undetermined thickness. The latter lay within a triangle formed by walls 14 and 15 and the north balk (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). Its excavation was halted for lack of digging space. Locus 9 lay under Loc. 7, between walls 16 and 15, and the north and west balks (Pl. III, Fig. 2). Loc. 9 was a hard yellow layer with stones. Under 9, was an irregular line of stone called wall 14. After excavation, the stones seemed to be accidental tumble. A broken figurine came from among the stones (Obj. No. 31, Pl. V, Fig. 1). Loc. 14 divided Loci 10 and 11, both consisting of yellow soil with stones. The former was 0.75 m thick while the latter was 0.85 m. Locus 24 was a reddish gray soil under Loc. 11 and over bedrock. Locus 23 was a hard brown soil 0.10 m thick under Loc. 10 and over Loc. 35, and bedrock. Locus 35 is a semi-circular hole in the bedrock, 1.30 m in diameter from the west balk and between the north balk and wall 16. It contained mixed yellow and ashy soil and Iron I pottery. All of the other Loci described here, had Iron I and II pottery with the Iron II as the dominant fabric, along with a few UD sherds.

Wall 15 appears to be an interior partition wall of the tower. It forms a right angle (Pl. III, Fig. 2) with wall 8 of Square 2, although wall 15 is much thinner (0.90 m compared to 1.70 m). It is not bonded to wall 16 and its exposed length is 1.10 m. It is made of unhewn stones, 0.20 — .60 m

long, and it is located 1.90 m from the northwest corner, where it enters the north balk.

Wall 17 was outside the tower, butted against the tower but not bonded to it. As found, it extended from the tower to and into the south balk at points 1.20 — 2.75 m from the southeast corner. It was 1.55 m wide and 1.50 m long on the west face and 2.10 m long on the east face. The preserved height for the east face was 1.75 m (6 courses) and the west face was 1.25 m (4 courses). No foundation trench was observed and the wall was founded on Loc. 19 on the west side and Loc. 27 on the east. Between the two faces was a rubble fill. The removal of the wall yielded Iron II and a few Iron I sherds and a stone loomweight, Obj. No. 34 (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

In the southeast corner of the square, between walls 17 and 16 and the east and south balks, was a layer of plaster (surface?) of yellowish clay, Locus 13, under Loc. 5 and over Loc. 20. The layer was 0.27 m thick x 1.15 (E-W) x 3.00 (N-S). Its irregular surface and numerous chunks of plaster, may indicate fallen plaster from the walls. The outside of wall 16 had several stones with plaster still intact (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3), west of wall 17. This plastering may indicate that wall 17 was part of a housewall. Landes reports courtyard walls built up against Ammonite towers.⁽¹⁰⁾

Locus 20 was a brown soil with dark yellow patches of clay; it was 0.35 m thick. It lay over Loc. 27 which at first appeared darker because of a streak of black ash which appeared in section after excavation. But the greater depth of Loc. 27 (1.25 m) was of similar consistency. A similar soil, brown with patches of yellow clay, appeared among the boulders of

10. Landes, «Material Civilization.....» p. 71.

Loc. 15 in Area A, Square 1. Loc. 27 lay over wall 30 and soil layers unexcavated at the end of the digging season. The pottery from Loci 20 and 27 was Iron I and II A bronze seal,⁽¹¹⁾ Obj. No. 29 (Pls. IV Fig 1, VI, Fig 2, VII, Fig. 1) was found in Loc. 27. Wall 30 is a north-south wall exposed for a length of 1.60 m and a width of 0.60 m in the east balk, running into the south balk. Its west face was cleared to a depth of 0.80 m. In this depth, no observable foundation trench was noted.

In the southwest corner of the square, soil layer 18 was excavated between the south balk and wall 16 (1.25 m) and the west balk and wall 17 (3.30 m). The hard yellow soil was 0.35 - 0.60 m thick. Loc. 18 lay under Loc. 12 and over 19. The latter was soft brown soil with stones; it was 0.35 — 0.60 m thick. It ran under wall 17 and was presumably the surface on which the wall was founded.

Locus 19 lay over soil layers 21 and 22, and the foundation trench, Loc. 31, for the tower wall (Pl. XVIII). Locus 21 was an irregular patch of black ashy soil extending from the south balk, 2.70 m from the southwest corner. This dark soil may relate to the dark soil streak or tip line near the top of Loc. 27 in the southeast corner of the square. However, the line could not be traced for a clear stratigraphic connection. Locus 22 was a soft dark gray soil with stones. It was between Loc. 31 and the south balk and between the west balk and a newly exposed wall 33. The layer was 0.70 m thick. The pottery for Loci 18, 19, 21 and 22, was clearly Iron II.

Loc. 22 lay over Loc. 25, a 0.20 m thick soil layer of dark brown soil with stones

and fragments of mud brick. The next layer down, Loc. 26, was light brown and 0.15 m thick. Its western end (1.75 m) lay over Locus 29, a huwwar and rock layer over bedrock. The eastern end, 0.75 — 1.00 m of Loc. 26 lay over Locus 28, a black ashy layer, 0.20 m thick. A large fragment of tabun ware found in the layer, suggests that the ashes came from an oven. The pottery found in Loci 25, 26 and 28 was Iron I, with two Iron II sherds considered intrusive. A small quantity of UD sherds was found in Loc. 29.

Loc. 28 lay in a pocket of bedrock between wall 33 and the bedrock under Loc. 29. Loc. 28 like Loci 21, 22, 25 and 26, was cut by the foundation trench, Loc. 31. Under 28, was Locus 32, a hard brown soil which ran under wall 16 and its foundation trench, Loc. 31. It in turn lay over Locus 34, a gray soil mixed with huwwar. This Locus is the limit of excavation outside the tower, in the pocket of bedrock. The pottery from both Loci 32 and 34 was Iron I.

Locus 33 is a wall which appeared under the area of wall 17, outside the tower and running into the south balk. It is built of 5 courses of field stone, 0.15 — 0.30 m long. The extant remains are 1.15 high x 0.70 m wide. In plan, it touches the south balk 1.80 m from the east balk and 3.50 from the west balk. After excavation, a very thin foundation trench could be observed in the balk. This trench cut Loci 22, 25 and 28 on the west side of the wall. The east side is not clear. This stratigraphy suggests that the foundation trench

was cut from the top of Loc. 22, making it an Iron II wall. The north end of the wall as excavated, was cut by Loc. 31, the

11. Siegfried H. Horn notes a similar triangular bronze seal in the Amman Museum, Museum No. J11959 and four parallels. One of the latter came from the Amman Citadel, two are in the

Egyptian Museum in Berlin Charlottenburg and one is in the Berlin Museum. The latter three have Egyptian designs. Cf. "Three Seals from Sahab Tomb C," ADAJ XVI (1971), pp.

foundation trench for the tower wall 16, except for the lowest course of wall 33. This lowest course runs under wall 16. Wall 33 then represents an Iron II occupation of Khirbet al-Hajjar. This pre-tower Iron II occupation may be equivalent to the possible earlier phase of the outer wall, A. 1:6 discussed above. The stratification described above, indicates an Iron (11-12th centuries B.C.) period of occupation on the bedrock of the hill. It is possible that wall 30 in this square and walls 29 and 30 in Area A, Square 2, belong to this occupation. After a gap of 400 or more years, the site was re-occupied in the 6-7th centuries B.C. Wall 3 above, the possible earlier Iron I wall phasing in A.1, and the walls on bedrock in Area C, may all belong to this Iron II phase. The tower and the upper walls of Area C and Area A, appear to be the last occupation period but wall 17 in Area B, Square 1, represents the very last phase of occupation. However, we cannot at this time tell whether wall 17 came a day or a century after the construction of the tower.

The tower itself (pl. III, Fig. 2) is represented in B.1 by wall 16 (Pl. X, Fig. 1), the foundation trench, Loc. 31 (Pl. IX), and the inner partition wall 15 discussed above. The trench was cut to bedrock except for the hard brown layer 32, wall 33 (bottom course) and the base of Loc. 27 in the southeast corner, between wall 33 and the east balk. The pottery from Loc. 31 was Iron I. However, the pottery from the foundation trench in Square 2, Loci 18 and 20, was Iron II, giving the latter date to the tower.

Wall 16 was made of unhewn stones, 0.35 — 0.90 m long. The wall itself is 1.80 m wide x 5.30 m (south side) — 5.95 m (north side) long (cf. Pl. X, Fig. 1). Its ex-

tant height ranges from 2.25 — 2.75 m. It curves across the square, leaving the west balk 1.45 m from the northwest corner and 1.60 m from the southwest corner. It touches the east balk 2.40 m from the southeast corner and the north balk 0.80 m from the northeast corner. The west end was partially robbed of the top preserved course. The outer face near wall 17 had a dimpled plaster (Pls. VIII, Fig. 3, X, Fig. 1) face still surviving on several stones, as noted above. At Rujm el-Maifuf, Boraas found plaster on the outside of the tower at the base, near and over bedrock. It apparently formed part of a drainage system designed to drain rain water away from the tower. The plaster still preserved the hand prints of the applicators.¹² The latter might be equivalent to the «dimples» at Hajjar but there is no evidence of a drainage system at Hajjar.

Square 2

This square was supervised by Mr. Dan Schak and for the first 1 1/2 weeks, by Mr. Mahmoud Bargawe as co-supervisor. The square was plotted as 5 x 5 m but was expanded 2.00 m north to include the tower wall. The levels were 953.27 and 953.11 on the south, and 952.86 and 952.63 on the north. The top soil, Locus 1, was black crumbly dirt c. 0.25 m thick, with many stones 0.10 — .25 m thick. The pottery was Byzantine, Iron I and II, and several UD. Three objects came from this locus: a fragment of a basalt bowl, Obj. No. 4 (Pl. VII, Fig. 2), a scarab seal (made of marly limestone) with a lion motif, No. 5, and the flat seal, No. 6 (Pls. VI, Fig. 2 & VII, Fig. 1). The last is a low grade banded crystalline calcite alabaster. Just under the top soil were two Loci, 2 and 3, of brown to black soil with many stones from 0.10 — .30 m. Each was c. 0.50 m thick

12. Boraas, *op. cit.*

over the square, and contained Byzantine sherds, and Iron I and II sherds with the Iron II quite dominant. Obj. No. 20, a javelin or arrow-head (Pl. IV, Fig. 2) came from Loc. 3. Loc. 2 was somewhat softer and was found primarily over walls 6 (the tower) and 8 (the inner partition wall) while Loc. 3 lay over the surrounding fill area. It is possible that the softer soil of Loc. 2 comes from the robbing of stones from the walls, with resultant later filling in the robber trenches but in excavation, the Loc. 2 areas appeared to be shallow undulating ditches or patches rather than consistent trenches. Locus 4 would seem to be more clearly a robber trench. Its soil fill was consistent with Loc. 1, in the north-west corner of the square in an area of $0.60 \times 50 \times$ m deep. The pottery here was Iron I, UD, and one Byzantine sherd. Locus 5 may also be a robber trench. Its soft brown soil seemed equivalent to Loci 2 and 3 except for a quantity of small stones, $0.05 - .10$ m. It was under Loci 1 and 2, and over 2.40 m of wall 6 on the east side of the square. The pottery was Iron I and II.

Wall 6 was a curved wall (Pl. X Fig. 2) running from the west balk ($0.75 - 2.60$ from the north balk) to and into the east balk, 2.35 m from the north balk. The wall is made of unhewn stone $0.20 - 1.50$ m in size. It corresponds to wall 16 in square 1 and together they form the tower (Pl. III, Fig. 2). The extant remains are 1.80 m wide and $1.60 - 2.50$ m high. On the outside of the tower, to the north, was a foundation trench, Loci 18 and 20, as noted earlier. Loc. 18 was $0.85 - 1.00$ m wide (wider on the eastern end) and $0.50 - .75$ m thick, with many $0.20 - .30$ m stones and a reddish brown soil. The pottery was a mixture of Iron I and II. Below Loc. 18, was a gray brown soil in the bottom of the trench. The pottery here was Iron I and II with the Iron I dominant, plus a number of UD. As noted above, the presence of the Iron II pottery in Loci 18 and 20, confirm an Iron II date for the tower. This is sup-

plemented by the Iron II pottery down to bedrock inside the tower.

Wall 8 is a large interior wall (Pls. III, Fig. 2) which is not bonded to wall 6. It is made of unhewn stones, $0.30 - .80$ m. Its extant remains are 2.50 m high \times 1.80 m wide. From $0.20 - .25$ m of this width is formed by a shelf on the western side. This shelf may indicate a rebuild of the wall with the rebuild slightly narrower. However, the rebuild is not apparent on the eastern face. An alternative suggestion is a low ceiling of now lost beams across to wall 13. While numerous were found in the interior fill, none were long thin slabs of the corbel arching type familiar in Roman — Byzantine construction at Rujm al-Malfuf and elsewhere. This presumably means wooden beams which were probably robbed out since there was no indication of sufficient carbon to represent them in the fill, either in situ or on the floor. A small support for the beam theory may be in the 5 courses of stone on the south end of the wall as excavated, just at the edge of the south balk. These could represent the end of a doorway through the partition wall into another section of the tower.

Two doorways were found in wall 13. One of these (Pl. III, Fig. 2) was cleared (Locus 21) while the other remains blocked with dirt and tumbled stone. Loc. 21 was similar in consistency to Loc. 9 (below) and contained Iron I and II pottery. The second doorway is between wall 13 and the tower wall, Loc. 6. Wall 13 is made of unhewn wall, Loc. 6. Wall 13 is made of unhewn stone, $0.50 - 1.00$ m, while its extant remains are $0.50 - 1.00$ m wide \times 1.85 m high \times 2.80 m long. It appears to be a small partition wall inside the tower.

No foundation trenches were found for walls 8 and 13, nor for the inside of wall 6. This agrees with the evidence for B. 1, walls 15 and 16. This supports the theory that the builders of the tower, dug through

soil fill to found the tower on bedrock. Inside the tower, the bedrock served as a floor for the rooms formed by the partition walls.

A small triangle can be seen in the plan (Pl. III, Fig. 2) in the southeast corner of the square. Locus 7 here was a fine, light brown soil, 0.75 m thick. There was 1 Byzantine sherd along with a few UD sherds. Most of the pottery was Iron II with small quantities of Iron I. A broken pottery plaque, Obj. No. 10 (Pl. V, Fig. 1) with the rear half of a lion was found here. Under Loc. 7 was Locus 10, a dark reddish brown soil layer, 1.10 m thick, down to the bedrock surface, Locus 11. There were occasional stones, 0.10 — .30 m, along with small 0.03 — 0.5 m) chunks of clay like soil somewhat like that in B. 1:27 and A. 1:15. The pottery was once more Iron II with a few pieces of Iron I.

West of wall 8, Locus 9 was a fine brown soil similar to Loc. 7, but 1.25 m thick. This layer extended down to bedrock, Locus 12, without the intervening reddish soil like Loc. 10. The pottery in Loc. 9 was dominantly Iron II with a few Iron I sherds. Locus 14 was the area between wall 13 and the west balk. A small probe showed its material make-up to be the same as Loc. 9. The probe was stopped for lack of space.

The floor, Loc. 12, was rougher than that of Loc. 11. Flagstones were set at the southern end, presumably to make the surface more level. This also suggests that the original hill of Khirbet al-Hajjar, began its southward slope here rather than at the southeast corner of B. 1 as the present surface does. The huwwar surface at the north end of Loc. 12, was blackened with soot and ashes. In a small depression in the northeast corner, were the remains of half of an Iron II cookpot (Pl. XI). Both Loci 11 and 12 were probed to investigate small quantities of dirt in them. These proved to be fissures of sterile soil in contrast to the round pit, Loc. 35, in

Square 1, which contained Iron I pottery.

Outside the tower, excavation was carried down to bedrock on the north side. Below the surface soil, Loc. 1, were three layers of brown soil, Loci 15, 22 and 23. Loc. 22 was darker brown than 15, while Loc. 23 was darker than 22. They were respectively 0.10 — .35 m, 0.40 m, 0.35 m thick, and lay between the tower wall and the north balk, and from the east to the west balks. Loc. 23 lay over Loci 17 and 18 (the foundation trench). The pottery of all three Loci was dominantly Iron II with a small mixture of Iron I sherds.

Locus 17 was a very thin black soil layer which was cut by the foundation trench. It was at first indistinguishable from the dark brown of Loc. 23, so if there was pottery in it, the pottery is mixed with that of Loc. 23. Locus 19 was a hard packed white huwwar also cut by the foundation trench. The pot-sherds were only body sherds, which were Iron I in date. This huwwar lay over bedrock and two pits in the bedrock. Both Pit 24 and 25 contained a mixture of red and brown clay like soil and Iron sherds. The pits were probably storage pits considering the large number of storage jar fragments.

SUMMARY

The 1972 investigation of Khirbet-al-Hajjar has shown it to have been a natural hill first occupied in the 11-12th centuries B.C. of the Iron I period. The walls on bedrock in C.1 and B.2 belong to this occupation. Wall 30 in the lower southeast corner of B.1, may also belong to this horizon.

Apparently there was then a gap in occupation of 400 years. A few sherds come from these centuries so it is possible that elsewhere on the mound one might still find occupation strata. However, at this time, it seems most likely that the stray sherds represent simply an occasional visitor. The site was occupied once again in the Iron II period, the 6-7th centuries B.C. Wall 33, B.1, belongs to this period.

A.1, wall 12, Loc. 14 and the lower portion of wall 6 may also belong to this occupation, which one might call the pre-tower phase of Iron II occupation.

It appears at this point, that the walls just under the present surface represent the last occupation of the hill. These walls include the tower, wall 3 in C.1, walls 17, 2 and 5 in A.2, and walls 4, 6 (the possible rebuild), and probably 8. The last phase of occupation may include A.1:8 and A.1:17, 2 and 5. The last along with the skin wall on the south of wall 2, would seem the most likely candidate for the last phase of occupation. B.1, wall 17, is the last architectural feature but how long it was built after the tower, is quite speculative. The lack of a foundation trench and its founding on top of Loc. 19, the first soil layer over the foundation trench of the tower, suggests that wall 17 followed fairly soon after the tower was built.

The excavation found no evidence of destruction by fire in any of the squares. The last occupation period showed no signs of destruction. It would seem that the site was simply abandoned. Why? If we assume that Khirbet al-Hajjar was one of a series of Ammonite fortresses guarding the capital city of Rabbath Ammon, there is a possible explanation in the historical situation. Apparently the Ammonite kingdom was eliminated by a Babylonian invasion c. 580 B.C. The neighboring kingdom of Judah was wiped out at this time

in the third and final capture of Jerusalem. It is possible that the small band of defenders at the fortress of Khirbet al-Hajjar, could see the smoke of destruction from Ammon. Rather than stay and face an overwhelming enemy when their own duty of guarding the capital was already finished, the defenders simply slipped away, perhaps to live to fight another day.⁽¹³⁾ They would, of course, take as much of their personal property as they could carry. This in turn might account for the paucity of small finds in the excavation. In addition to the thirty-seven registered objects, twenty sling stones, and several pestles,⁽¹⁴⁾ broken grinders, saddle querns and bowls were noted.

The tower may have stood open and only gradually filled with debris. While there was no evidence of subsequent occupation, the 400 B.C. Phoenician coin in B.1:6, may be accounted for in this way. The small quantity of Byzantine sherds in the surface soil indicates a Byzantine presence. It is possible that structures or hearths might yet be found but so far this Byzantine presence can only be noted, though one would expect it to be at least evidence of camping. There was too much pottery for a casual visitor. In recent decades, the site became a burial ground. Local inhabitants reported this use by the bedouin. Lastly, the owner of Khirbet al-Hajjar noted that a quantity of stone was removed for local road work. Mr. Mutiib has recently planted olive trees on the

13. Boraas, op. cit., suggests that the ruin of Rujm al-Malfuf was a peaceful (abandonment) collapse.

14. One pestle is of particular interest. It is 0.20 m long and 0.06 m in diameter and is made of black basalt. It was found in B.1:9, with the pottery of pail 48, Iron I and II with the Iron II dominant. Locus 9 is inside the tower. Its interest comes primarily from its similarity to a «hoard» of pestles with many samples varying in shape from squat to thin but with at least a dozen in the exact shape as the example from Kh. al-Hajjar. The hoard was found dur-

ing the digging of a ditch to lay cable near the Amman sewer plant in the Wadi Amman. The writer did not see the entire hoard but saw and obtained several samples. The group was in one place, according to verbal reports, with nothing else in context, about 2.00 m deep. One might surmise a shipment of pestles from the basalt fields of Syria. For reasons unknown, the shipment was abandoned in route in the Wadi. Mr. D. K. Fowler was helpful in supplying information on the location of the find and in supplying several examples from the hoard. His assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

northeast slope and the lower slopes are used for grain.

The Department of Antiquities of Jordan plans to purchase the top of Khirbet al-

Hajjar. Hopefully funds can be raised to continue the excavations in future seasons. The site might be described as a uniquely preserved Ammonite fortress. A more complete investigation will add to our knowledge of the Ammonite kingdom.

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Director, 1971-1972,
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KHIRBAT AL-HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PAIL NO	LOC.NO.	POTTERY FIELD	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
1. Rim of hole mouth jar		Surface	1	Iron II	est. diameter - 14cm width of rim - 3cm	Inscribed Pl. XIV
2. Oblong stone	26 June	B.1.1.	1	Iron I & II	length - 7.5cm width - 4cm height - 2cm diameter of hole - .4 cm	grey limestone smooth with rounded corners hole near one corner Pl. IX
3. Conical stone	27 June	A.2.3.	1	Ir. I & II	height - 2.1cm diameter of base - 1.9cm diameter of top - .9cm	purple haematite truncated cone Pl. IX
4. Stone bowl fragment	27 June	B.2.3	1	Ir. I & II, 1 Byz, 1 UD	height from base to rim - 5cm diameter of rim - 26cm	black stone, probably basalt ring base carination Pl. XIV
5. Scareb	28 June	B.2.4	1	Ir. I & II, 2 Byz	length - 1.9cm width - 1.5cm height - .8cm	yellow marly limestone two lions fighting over a gazelle Pls. XII & XIII

KHIRBET AL HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PAIL NO	LOC. NO.	POTTERY		COMMENTS
				FIELD	MEASUREMENTS	
6. Seal	28 June	B.2.4	1	Ir. I & II, Byz.	length - 1.4cm width - 1.1cm height - .5cm	banded crystalline calcite alabaster (low grade) motif: (?) a hunter after a gazelle Pls. XII & XIII
7. Square stone	3 July	B.1.14	2	Ir. I & II	length - 4.3cm width - 5 cm height at edges - 1.3cm height at edges - .2cm	dark green, igneous rock, probably smooth basalt. apparently broken at both ends Pl. IX
8. Spherical stone	4 July	A.1.21	7	Ir. I & II	diameter - 5cm height - 5cm	grey, smooth limestone one end flattened one hole in one end, three holes in opposite end (?) mace head Pl. XIV
9. Metal pin	4 July	A.2.25	3	Ir. II	length - 3.3cm diamter of bulb - .6cm	broken fibula pin Pl. VIII
10. Broken pottery plaque	4 July	B.2.22	7	Ir. I & II	length - 6.5cm width - 5cm height at midpoint 1.3cm	red with white grits rear half of lion (?) with tail over its back superimposed on the sherd Pl. IX

KHIRBET AL HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PALE NO.	LOC. NO.	POTTERY FIELD DATING	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
11. Round disc	5 July	A.1.22	7	Ir. I & II	diameter - 2.6cm thickness - .8cm	two holes, button-like in appearance reddish color pottery Pl. IX
12. Metal pin	5 July	A.1.25	7	Ir. II	length - 13.11	flattened at one end Pl. VIII
13. Metal ring	5 July	B.1.27	3	Ir. II	diameter - 1.8cm	grey, silver. Pl. VIII
14. Pottery cylinder	7 July	A.1.30	10	Ir. I & II	length - 3.4cm length of foot - 2.3cm width of foot - 1.4cm diameter of top - 1.3cm	light orange color possibly foot and leg of a figurine Pl. IX
15. Spout and handle of jar with animal features	7 July	A.1.31	9	Ir. I & II	diameter of top of spout - 3cm height of spout - 2.7cm	red gritty ware Black inside Pl. XIV

KHIRBET AL-HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PAIL NO.	LOC. NO.	FIELD DATING	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
16. Lamp	7 July	A.1.33	9	Ir. II	diameter of base - 9cm width of spout - 1cm. diameter from spout - 12.9cm	originally red, now grey Pl. XIV
17. Lamp fragment	7 July	A.1.34	10	Ir. II	diameter of base - approx. 8.5cm width of spout - .6cm	red Pl. XIV
18. Stone bowl fragment	7 July	B.1.41	12	Ir. I & II	height from base to rim - 5.5cm diameter of rim - 26cm	grey-black, probably basalt devoid of design Pl. XIV
19. Metal pin	7 July	B.1.41	12	Ir. I & II	length from bend to one end - 7.1cm length from bend to other end - 5.5cm	bent Pl. VIII
20. Metal javelin point	10 July	B.2.43	3	Ir. I & II	length from tip to end of tang - 6.9cm width at widest point - 1.6cm	ridge down the center round tang Pl. VIII

KHIRBET AL-HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PAIL NO	LOC. NO.	FIELD DATING	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
21 ¹ . Fibula	11 July	C.1.7	5	Ir. II	length of pointed arm - 6.3cm width from pointed arm to clasp at widest point - 1.9cm	bronze clasp devoid of design Pl. VIII
22. Seal	13 July	A.1.52	8	Ir. I & II	length - 2.8cm width - 1.8cm breadth - 1.4cm	white limestone chalk with microfossils oblong Pls. XII & XIII
23. Flint	13 July	A.2.50	18	Ir. I, 1 UD 1 RB	length - 3.7cm width at midpoint - 1.6cm	reddish secondary working strong bulb of percussion Pl. IX
24. Fibula	14 July	A.1.57	15	Ir. II	length of pin - 6cm width at midpoint - 2.5cm	bronze Pin still closes, uncloses Pl. VIII
25. Pottery figurine	14 July	A.2.52	18	Ir. I	length - 4cm height from back leg to shoulder - 2.2cm	light orange color possibly the body of a cow (?) Pl. IX

KHIRBET AL-HAJJAR : OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PAIL NO	LOC.NO.	FIELD DATING	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
26. Metal needle (?)	12 July	A.1.49	15	Ir. I & II	length - 6.7cm	bronze:hook at one end point at other end Pl. VIII
27. Metal strip	13 July	A.1.52	8	Ir. I & II	length - 8cm width at one end - 5.3cm width at other end - 3.6cm	bronze small holes around the edges roughly rectangular Pl. VIII
28. Flint blade	17 July	A.1	1		length - 10cm width - 3.3cm	slight secondary work Pl. IX
29. Metal ring with seal	17 July	B.1.68	27	Ir. II	length of seal - 2.5cm width of seal - 1.7cm width of ring from seal to midpoint - 2cm	bronze roughly triangular shaped ring perhaps worn as pendent Pls VIII, XII, XIII

KHIRBET AL-HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

OBJECT	DATE DUG	PAUL MC	LOC. NO.	FIELD DATING	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
30. Bead	17 July	C.1.22	9	Ir. II	diameter at top - .3cm and .4cm diameter in middle -.8cm height - .5cm	black smooth marly limestone with microfossils Pl. IX
31. Broken pottery figurine	19 July	B.1.75	14	Ir. II	diameter of body - 2.3cm height from foot to shoulder - 5.4cm	red pottery back half surviving outline of tail on the rump Pl. IX
32. Clasp of fibula	19 July	C.1.29	10	Ir. II	length from clasp to coil - 6cm	bronze Pl. VIII
33. Pointed piece of bone	24 July	A.1.78	15	Ir. I & II	length - 13.2cm width - 1.8cm	curved possibly an awl Pl. IX

KHIRBET AL-HAJJAR 1972: OBJECT REGISTRATION

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OBJECT	Date Dug	PAIL NO	LOC.NO.	FIELD DATING	MEASUREMENTS	COMMENTS
34. Stone cylinder with.	24 July	B.1.82	17	Ir. II	length - 2.5cm diameter of bottom - 2.8cm diameter of hole - .8cm	grey smooth limestone rounded at one end probably a loomweight Pl. IX
35. Potsherd with circular design	27 June	A.1.3	1	Ir. I & II, 3 Byz.	length at midpoint - 3.1cm width at midpoint - 1.9cm thickness (average) - .35cm	soft, red pottery fine grain Pl. IX
36. Coin	7 July	B.1.30	6	pottery Ir. I & II	2.5cm diameter .3cm thick	Phoenician coin from Tyre, dated C. 400 B.C. Bronze Pls VIII, XVI
37. Spatula	27 June	A.1.3	1	Byz, Ir. I & II	13.8cm long .3 cm diameter	Bronze. Flattened and split at one end. Pl. VIII

An Early Byzantine Inscription Found Near Ajlun

By

Dr. Bastiaan Van Elderen,

During the late summer 1970 the Department of Antiquities uncovered a mosaic floor in Maqati', a small village about six kilometers north of Ajlun. Mr. Mohammed Morshed of the Department directed this excavation. In this floor was a complete Greek inscription (Plate I) which is the subject of this article. A special word of appreciation is expressed to Mr. Yacoub Oweis, Director-General of the Department of Antiquities, for his cooperation

and assistance in making this inscription available for publication.

The inscription is surrounded by a circular border which is 12 cm. wide. The outside circle of the border is 120 cm. in diameter. The inscription consists of eleven lines. The letters are irregular in shape and size, but the text is very legible.

The text reads:

ΧΜΓ

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ-

ΣΕΒ' ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕΣ

ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΑΧΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ

5 ΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒ Β

ΔΙΑΚ^ΟΚ^Ο ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ-

ΝΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΓΕ-

ΝΕΤΟ Η ΨΙΦΩΣΕΙΣ

ΑΠΟ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ

10 ΚΩΜΗΣ ΤΩ ΕΜΦ

ΕΤΕΙ ΧΡΟ^Σ ΙΝΔ

Χ(ριστὸς) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα)

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο-

σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰῶνος πρεσ(βυτέρου)

καὶ Βαραχῶνος καὶ

5 Μάγνου εὐλαβ(εστάτων)

διακ(όνων) καὶ Μακεδο-

νίου οἰκονόμου ἐγέ-

νετο ἡ ψιφῶσεις

ἀπὸ προσφορᾶς τῆς

10 κώμης. τῷ ἐμφ

ἔτει χρό(νου) Ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)

Translation:

«Christ, the offspring of Mary In the time of the most God-fearing Aion, the elder, and Barachon and Magnos, most devout deacons, and Makedonios, the steward, the mosaic floor was laid from the offering of the village, in the year 545 at the time of the sixth indiction.»

Commentary

Line 1: ΧΜΓ — This monogram is found in Christian inscriptions from Turkey, Egypt, and Syria and has been rather extensively discussed and variously interpreted by scholars (1) In his collection of early Christian inscriptions from Moab, R. Canova reports only one inscription with this monogram (2) Although a variety of constructions have been supplied with the letters, most interpreters consider the X to represent some form of the name Χριστός, the M, some form of the name Μαρία and the Γ, some form of the verb γεννάω («to bear, give birth»). Thus the thought alluded to the birth of Christ from Mary and undoubtedly emphasized the virgin birth. The present writer is proposing the following reading for this monogram: Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννα) (3) — «Christ, the offspring (or son) of Mary.»

Line 2: The text begins with the usual formula of ἐπὶ followed by the genitive: in the time of....»

Line 3: The usual abbreviation sign is found at the end of line 3. A similar but

somewhat smaller sign is found at the end of line 5. In line 3 the broken line after the third letter also functions as an abbreviation sign.

Line 5: The doubling of letters at the end of line 5 indicates the plural of an abbreviation. (4) In line 5 the adjective εὐλαβεῖσθαι is abbreviated (the abbreviation is indicated by the sign at the end of the line and the plural number by the doubling of the last consonant of the abbreviation).

Line 6: The first five letters in line 6 represent the plural διακόνων. The abbreviation sign in this case is the short diagonal line at the foot of the fourth and fifth letters (the same abbreviation sign is found at the foot of the sixth and the last letters in line 11). The small omicrons above the kappa's in line 6 appear to represent the omicron in διακόνων (similarly, the raised omicron in line 11).

Line 7: Makedonios is identified as an οἰκονομος «steward, treasurer.» This position seems to be a functional title for the local ecclesiastical official who had charge of revenues and administered the property of the church. S. Saller observes that this office «must have existed from the beginning of the church, but the term can be traced only to the fourth century.» (5)

Line 8: The word ψευδεις shows double itacism: the iota instead of eta in the first syllable and the diphthong ει

1. A bibliography can be found in M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, Supplement to Vol. IX, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (1940), p. 111. A summary discussion of the various interpretations can be found in J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *De Oud-christelijke Monumenten van Ephesus* (The Hague, 1923), pp. 96-100.
2. *Iscrizioni e Monumenti Protocristiani del Paese di Moab* (Rome, 1954), p. 96, no. 82 (from

Kerak).

3. Γέννα is a noun meaning «origin, offspring, son» LSJ9, s. v.).
4. This phenomenon of doubling the last letter of an abbreviation to indicate a plural was borrowed from the Latin. Avi-Yonah has collected 35 examples (*op. cit.*, p. 41). Canova has an example from el Mote, near Kerak (*op. cit.*, p. 298, no. 314).
5. *The Town of Nebo* (Jerusalem, 1949), p. 261.

for the *iota* in the last syllable. The normal spelling of the word is $\psi\eta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$

Line 10: Apparently the offering or contribution of the local village provided funds for the construction of the floor. Unfortunately, the name of the village is not given.

Lines 10 and 11: The date-line gives the year number as 545 and the indiction as 6. These two elements can be synchronized, if one uses the Era of the Decapolis (also called the Era of Pompey). Thus, the date is A. D. 482 (Indiction 6 began on September 1, A. D. 482).⁽⁶⁾

Concluding Observations

This well-preserved inscription reveals some important facets of the Christian church in Transjordan. The use of the Monogram $\chi\rho\iota$ in this inscription indicates some aspects of the theology and faith of this church.

The four names found in the inscription are of Greek, Roman, and Semitic origin.⁽⁷⁾ The offices they hold are significant — elder, deacon, and steward. To find the last office in combination with the more standard first two suggests some interesting features of church organization and polity of this period.

Dating this inscription in the late fifth century⁽⁸⁾ comports generally with the style and workmanship of the mosaic itself which correspond to other mosaics in Madaba and more recently in Masuh, north of Madaba. However, this is one of the earliest dated mosaic inscriptions in Transjordan.⁽⁹⁾

Apparently, this church was located in a Christian village. At least, the contribution of the village to the church suggests a close tie between the two. In addition, the elaborate and decorative structure seems to imply a wealthy and prosperous Christian community.

The discovery of a Christian church at Maqati' has added another page to the history of early Christianity in Transjordan.⁽¹⁰⁾ As more and more Christian churches are identified in Transjordan, the extent of Byzantine Christianity becomes more and more impressive.

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6. An unusual feature of the year number is the ascending order from the units to the hundreds (E for 5, M for 40, and for 500). G. E. Kirk finds that date-lines using the Era of Provincia Arabia consistently employ the descending order (JPOS 17 (1937), p. 214). It is significant that computing the A.D. date according to the Era of Provincia Arabia does not synchronize with the Indiction number in the inscription under study. Kirk proposes that the few inscriptions from southern Palestine which have the ascending order should be dated according to the Era of Gaza. However, in the present case such a date will not synchronize with the Indiction number. Hence, the only workable era for this inscription is the Era of the Decapolis.

7. Saller (*op. cit.*, p. 262) reports that the name Makedonios is attested in a few other inscriptions in Transjordan (e.g., Jerash, el Quweisme).

8. The method of indicating a plural in an abbreviation used in this inscription is attested in the fourth and fifth centuries (Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 41).

9. Regarding the dating of mosaic pavements, Saller writes: «In Palestine we do not have even one mosaic before the sixth century which is dated by means of an inscription....» (*op. cit.*, p. 132). The present inscription apparently contradicts this statement.

10. A report of the excavation and description of the architecture of the church will be forthcoming.

The Salayta District Church in Madaba Preliminary Report

By

Dr. Bastiaan Van Elderen

In August, 1972 the proposed development of an area in the Salayta District of Madaba necessitated the investigation of the area by the Department of Antiquities. This investigation was encouraged by reports by some local residents that many years ago they had seen a large mosaic floor in this area. The existence of antiquities were further indicated by architectural remains scattered in the area. Particularly striking was a row of columns placed next to each other as a row of match-sticks. Likewise, bases and capitals of pillars could be seen re-used in recent constructions.

In the light of the above considerations archaeological work commenced at the site near the end of August, 1972 and continued until the middle of October. The work was carried on by the Department of Antiquities under the supervision of Dr. Bastiaan Van Elderen, director of the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman, with the assistance of Mahmoud Rusan, inspector of antiquities in Madaba and Samir Ghishan of Madaba. Dr. Bert De Vries of the American Center of Oriental Research prepared the drawings and plans of the church. The full cooperation of the Department of Antiquities and the services of its photography section were

greatly appreciated. A word of thanks is due to Mr. Yusef Alami, acting director of the Department at the time, for his assistance and encouragement.

The Excavation

Unfortunately, stratigraphic excavation of the site was impossible. Although there was about a meter of debris on the floor level of the church, it was for the most part modern fill deposited during the recent construction of neighbouring buildings. Consequently, only some general conclusions about the area's history can be made. The very limited amount of Islamic pottery agrees with the known abandonment of Madaba during much of the Islamic period. The presence of some Umayyad sherds testifies to an occupation of the area during the seventh and eighth centuries.⁽¹⁾

A sounding was made in the apse area of the church since the position of a section of a column below the floor level aroused curiosity. It appears that at an earlier time someone had trenched along the foundation of the apse wall and rolled the column section into the trench. However, in the area undisturbed by this late trench numerous Nabataean sherds were found. This agrees with the known history

¹ This is also indicated by churches in Madaba with mosaics dated in the latter part of the seventh century (e.g., the Chapel of the Virgin Mary).

of Madaba. Occupation of the site in the Roman period was also indicated by sherds of terra sigillata ware in this sounding and mixed in the debris. Likewise, in the debris elsewhere there were many sherds of Byzantine pottery

The Architecture

The building exposed by this excavation was a basilica-type Byzantine church. The building is 32 meters long and 19 meters wide. The walls on all four sides were identified, although the south and west walls had been integrated into modern walls and therefore could not be fully exposed. The outside faces of the walls (about a meter high) give evidence of expert workmanship in the finely bossed stones closely fitted together (Plate II A, foreground; Plate II B.)

The foundation and one course of the apse wall are preserved. This also was well-constructed of dressed stones. Only one pillar base was found *in situ* near the north side of the apse, although numerous bases are found in the area. Nevertheless, the location of the two rows of pillars separating the nave from the side aisles was indicated by the stylobate or foundation wall on which the pillar bases rested which was identified in a number of places (Plate I).

The plan of the church is symmetrically laid out. The side aisles are 3.50 meters wide and the nave is 7.00 meters wide. Two small square rooms flank the apse on the north and south sides. No traces of the vestibule or narthex of the church could be identified. The remains of modern buildings, although presently abandoned, are found in the western portion of the church (Plate II, A background). These structures re-used the western wall of the church and perhaps removed the inner walls of the narthex.

In this re-use of the western wall of the church, the western entrance was blocked up. However, the outline of this doorway became visible after the removal of the modern plaster face. Further probing and removal of some stones revealed the threshold, door sockets, and door stops (Plate III A). A trench was dug along the outside of the wall (in the modern street) and the same outline revealed (the modern street level is about a meter higher than the floor level of the church).

Most of the south wall of the church has been built over by a modern wall. However, in a part which is currently abandoned, it was possible to remove the modern accretions and expose the original wall. In this part a doorway into the eastern part of the southern aisle was found (Plate I, section A-A). The threshold, door sockets, and door steps are preserved (Plate III B).⁽²⁾ An entrance in this location is not usual in the Byzantine church, although not without precedent.

The inside face of the outside walls is rather rough and uneven. This face was covered with a layer of plaster, as indicated by traces found on the walls. Sizeable sections of plaster are found attaching the mosaic to the north wall in the north aisle.

The Mosaic Floor

A large section (circa 3.50 meters by 9.50 meters) of mosaic floor has been preserved in the north aisle (Plate IV B). Traces of mosaic found in other parts of the building (Plate I) indicate that the entire floor area was covered with a mosaic pavement. The floor level of the church is remarkably uniform (as indicated by the levels recorded on Plate I).

² In the case of both doorways, traces of mosaic floor were found laid directly up to the threshold.

The large rectangular panel in the north aisle contains a series of interlocking figures, rather simple in appearance but intricately executed (Plate V A). To the west of this rectangular panel is a square panel containing a large circle surrounded by eight small squares each containing a different interlocking design (Plate IV B). It seems that there may have been a picture of an animal or bird within the circle. The damage in this part of the floor may have been caused by iconoclasm. The interlocking feature in the mosaic can also be seen in the borders surrounding the panels.

Not very much of the mosaic floor in the nave of the church has been preserved. Two portions can be seen in plates V B and VI A. In contrast to the design in the north aisle, this pattern shows vines, leaves, and clusters of grapes. Such vintage scenes are not uncommon in Byzantine mosaics.⁽³⁾ It *cannot* be ascertained from these preserved portions whether any figures of birds, animals, or humans were found in the floor of the nave.

A portion of the mosaic floor in the south aisle is preserved near the doorway in the south wall (Plate VI B). The design is preserved near the doorway in the south wall (Plate VI B). The design is an interlocking one, just as in the north aisle; however, the pattern is slightly different. The floor in the northeast room was made of large white tesserae. In the northwest corner of the building traces of mosaic were found. However, the underlayment of the mosaic in the western part of the north aisle has been extensively preserved. It consists of a layer of small stones. Strikingly, an intercolumnar mosaic has

been preserved in the south row of pillars (Plate I).

Date of the Church

No inscriptions were preserved in the mosaic floor or in any of the lithic remains of the building. Likewise, no coins were found in the excavation. Numerous sherds from the Byzantine period were found in the debris just above the floor level of the church. Further refinement regarding the date of the building must rely upon dated parallels.

The Church of Lot and Procopius at Mekhayyat, containing vintage scenes similar to the church under consideration, is dated by inscriptions in the first half of the sixth century.⁽⁴⁾ Likewise, other mosaics in Transjordan from the sixth century have similar features. A date in the first half of the sixth century for the Salayta District church does not conflict with the archaeological remains uncovered or the parallels known.

Conclusion

The discovery of the Salayta District church in Madaba adds new evidence regarding early Christianity in Transjordan. This is the thirteenth Byzantine church to be identified in Madaba. As in this case, most of these churches are large in size and contained extensive mosaic pavements. This testifies to two significant features of this Christian community. First of all, it was a large Christian community which worshipped in these buildings, nearly all of which were contemporaneous. This observation becomes all the more striking when one considers the numerous

³ For example, the mosaic in the nave of the Church of Lot and Procopius at Mekhayyat (Bagatti and Saller, *The Town of Nebo* (Jerusalem, 1949), p. 57 and Plate 14.2). Similarly, also the mo-

saic at Swafiyeh (ADAJ 15 (1970), p. 26 and Plate I). For another example from Madaba, see U. Lux, ZDPV 83 (1967), pp. 170-72 and Plates 29 and 30).

⁴ Bagatti and Saller, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

churches in villages in the vicinity of Madaba. As more and more of these churches are identified, one becomes more and more impressed with the large Christian population in this area.

A second features of the Christian community that emerges is its wealth. These sizeable churches had impressive architecture and elaborate mosaic floors. These congregations must have been very prosperous to construct and maintain these structures.

Gradually a fuller picture of early Christianity in Transjordan is developing. Further archaeological research will provide valuable data for the study of the life, work, wealth, theology, society, and worship of the Christians who built these churches with their beautiful mosaics. It is hoped that the Salayta District church may be a contribution to this understanding of early Christianity in Transjordan.

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LIST OF PLATES

- Plate I -- Floor plan of Salayta District Church in Madaba.
- Plate II -- General view of Salayta District Church as seen looking west.
- Plate III -- Outside face of the east wall of church.
- Plate IV -- Western doorway, partially blocked up.
- Plate V -- Doorway in south wall of church.
- Plate VI -- Mosaic floor in north aisle of church.
- Plate VII -- Large rectangular panel in north aisle of church.
- Plate VIII -- Square panel in western part of the north aisle.
- Plate IX -- A fragment of the mosaic floor in the nave of the church.
- Plate X -- Another fragment of the mosaic floor in the nave of the church.
- Plate XI -- Fragment of mosaic floor in the south aisle.

A Cave Burial Tomb From Jabal Jofeh El-Sharqi In Amman

By
Ghazi Bisheh

This tomb, situated on the southeastern ridge of Jabal Jofeh overlooking the theater, was discovered by rockcutters working on the property of Badr Ed-Din Yosef, in May 1972. Upon notification the Dept. of Antiquities undertook the work of clearing and excavation at the beginning of May

The Cave (Pl. 1) apparently had been filled with rubble and stone of different sizes before it was transformed into a roughly square burial chamber (2.70 x 2.70 m.) by clearing a section of the cave and building two flimsy walls of irregularly shaped stones, rubble, and Earth, on its northern and western sides. A grave (2.40 x 1.40 x 90), (Pl. II Fig. 1) of the same building materials as the walls, was laid along the Southern side of the cave and apparently was covered by large slabs, since two of them were still *in Situ* when the grave was cleared.

The Entrance to the tomb was through a doorway (0.80 m. high and 0.45 m. wide) (Pl. 3) built in the northern wall: There was a socket on the door's Jamb, although the door itself had disappeared, and a lintel (0.85 x 0.30 m.) stood over the jambs. The floor of the chamber, which had been paved with roughly shaped stones was set below the level of door-sill and it was reached by two steps: No attempt was made to clear the passage beyond the doorway, because the accumulated debris in that section was more than five-meters high; clearing operations inside the cave

consequently were carried out through the newly formed opening in the Eastern side (Pl. II; Fig. 3)

The tomb had been disturbed and thoroughly searched in the past. This is clear from the disappearance of the entrance door, the removal of the covering slabs, and the existence of bones outside the grave. The grave contained no less than five burials, but no intact skeletons were preserved; The bodies had disintegrated and the continued action of water which had been leaking through the rock from a drain-pit above, transformed the soil into a heavy, sticky mud. The grave possibly belonged to a single family of rather poor means, as the contents and the execution of the grave might indicate.

The objects found included four pottery lamps, a Candlestick, a glass vessel, bronze and Iron bracelets, and some large-headed Iron nails (Pl. II Fig. 4). The nails indicate that some of the burials were made in wooden coffins, the wood of which had long since disintegrated. Unfortunately, the tomb yielded no coins to help in giving precision to its dating, but from the type of lamps a late 3rd or Early 4th-Century date might be postulated.

This discovery is noteworthy in view of the rarity of such tombs dated from the Late Roman period. As far as I know, the only tomb which was discovered in Amman and dated to the Late Roman period is the Luweibdeh tomb;¹⁾ The Roman

1) ADAJ, Vol. XV, 1970, pp. 37-38.

tomb discovered on Jabal Jofeh and published by Mr. Lankester Harding²⁾ is Earlier than ours.

LIST OF FINDS

J. 12933 Lamp (Pl. III; Fig. 1)

No. 1 : Disk base with two raised concentric rings; The upper part is decorated with Vertical strokes around shoulder; Dot-in-circle decoration on both sides of nozzle and a band of chevron pattern between the filling-hole and the spout. Handle, partly broken, is slightly bent backward. Two raised concentric circles around the filling-hole. Buff ware. Low firing temperature.

Lamp (Pl. III; Fig. 1)

No. 2 : A disk base with one raised circle; Vertical strokes around shoulder; Three parallel lines run from the filling-hole to the spout. Vertical handle; One raised circle around the filling-hole. It seems that the upper part has been made separately and attached to the lower part. Lamp is smoke blackened. Buff ware; no traces of slip. Low firing temperature.

J. 12934 Lamp (Pl. III; Fig. 2)

No. 1 : Flat disk base, somewhat ovoid shape; Two raised circles around filling-hole. Handle bent backward. Chevron pattern de-

coration in the Lower band of the shoulder, and slanted lines in the upper one. Greyish buff ware; Red slip applied; nozzle is smoke blackened. Low firing Temperature.

No. 2 : Lamp (Pl. III; Fig. 2)

Disk base slightly plunged in. Handle slightly bent backward slanted lines in two bands around shoulder.

J. 12932 (Pl. III; Figs. 3 & 4)

Candlestick : Rim is decorated with incised slanted lines and dots. Four vertical scratches on spout. Spout is blackened which indicate considerable use. Reddish ware; small and medium size grits of Limestone.

J. 12935

Glass Flask: (Pl. IV; Fig. 1) — Broken, pale-greenish color. Globular body, cylindrical neck and flared rim base slightly concave.

J. 12936 (Pl. IV; Fig. 2)

No. 1 : Bronze bracelet; Ends wrenched apart.

No. 2 : Bronze bracelet of square section.

No. 3 : As No. 2.

Nos. 4 & 7 : Fragments of Iron bracelets, badly corroded and oxidized.

Nos. 5 & 6 : Twisted bronze bracelets. Ends looped and twisted around the Ends of the bezels.

2) QDAP. Vol. XIV, 1969, pp. 81-94.

J. 12936 (Pl. V; Fig. 2)
Iron Bracelets. Badly oxidized.

J. 12936 (Pl. V; Fig. 1)
The objects include bronze rings, bezels, fragments of bronze rings, bracelets, hair-dressing, Bronze kuhl-stick with knobbed head, bronze kuhl-spatulae, and chain with a pale orange bead in it.

J. 12937 (Pl. V; Fig. 3)

No. 1 : Olive seed.

Nos. 2 & 3 : Two slender cylindrical beads of pale green colour.

No. 4 : Tiny bead of dark green translucent glass

Nos. 5 & 6 : Two disc beads of red glazed colour

No. 7 : Opaque blue glass bead impressed with a number of Eyes; Each eye has a dark blue central spot and white matrix.

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A New Nabataean Tomb At Sadagah

By

HANAN KURDI

In 1971 a Nabataean tomb was discovered at Sadaqah, about 26 Kms. South-east of Petra in southern Jordan. (Pl. IV, Fig. 1) A modern settlement has been established upon the ruins of the ancient city. In his survey Glueck (1) refers to the site as a large ruined Roman City by the side of Trajan's road which led from Amman in the north to Aqaba on the Red Sea. (2) Recent sherding of the tell revealed not only Roman, Byzantine, and Medieval Arabic occupation, but also indicated Nabatean occupation of the site. Chipped flint implements were also found in various parts of the tell (3)

In October 1971 the tomb was cleared by the Department of Antiquities under the supervision of Mr. Mahmoud Rousan, the local Inspector of Antiquities. (4)

Description and Plan of the Tomb (Pl. IV ; 2, 3)

The tomb is located on top of the tell, overlooking the modern village to the west. There is no staircase of any kind leading to the shaft which is covered with big slabs of limestone, each measuring

150-170 cms. long, 40 cms. wide, and 25-30 cms. thick.

The shaft is rectangular and measures 450 cms. in length, 100 cms. in width, and 210 cms. in height. The side walls of the tomb are composed of loculi arranged in four tiers in each side. In each tier there are six loculi, each measuring 175-190 cms. long, 45-47 cms. wide, and 40-45 cms. high. The loculi are separated laterally and the tiers horizontally by thin walls of limestone 20 cms. thick, 65-70 cms. long (Pl. 1).

Parallels

Some Nabataean tombs of varying types have been discovered in eastern Jordan at Petra (5), Amman (6), Umm el Jemal (7), and Dhat Râs (8). The nearest example in eastern Jordan to this new discovery at Sadaqah is that in Umm el Jemal, dated in the first century A.D.

This tomb lies to the southeast of the ruined city of Umm el Jemal and is almost entirely below the surface. The plan of the interior consists of a chamber divided by

1) AASOR XV (1934-1935), p. 71.

2) Other references to the site are found in : R.E. Brünnow and A.V. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia I B* (Strassburg, 1909), p. 468; A. Musil *Arabia Petraea II, Edom*, p. 232; *Z D P V LVIII* (1935), pp. 1-78.

3) Sherding of the site took place in January 1973 by the Registration Center of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

4) A report by Mr. Rousan is on file in the Department of Antiquities.

5) G. and A. Horsfield, «Sela-Petra, The Rock of Edom and Nabatene», *QDAP VIII* (1938), p. 87-115; M.A. Murray and J.C. Ellis, *A Street in Petra* (London, 1940), p. 1-37.

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

7) H.C. Butler, *Umm Idj-Djimal, Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Div. II, Sec. A, Part 3 (1913), pp. 206-207.

8) Fawzi Zayadine, *Une Tombe Nabatèenne Près de Dhat-Râs*, *Syria XLVII* (1970), p. 117-35.

three transverse arches into four unequal bays. The side walls of the bays are composed of the ends of loculi arranged in three tiers in the same pattern as that found in the tomb of Sadaqah.

Clearance of the Tomb.

The clearing operation of the tomb consisted of the removal of the debris which had collected in the shaft and loculi. The broken condition of some of the finds and their scattered location right upon the floor of the shaft (9) indicated that the tomb had been previously disturbed and searched. The finds included twenty clay lamps, four clay pots, and many fragmentary objects. Complete human skeletons placed inside the loculi were found probably in situ. It may be presumed that the bodies of the dead were placed into the loculi by sliding them on a board, the funeral objects were then placed around the body (10).

LIST OF FINDS

Serial No.	Excavation No.	Description of Objects
1	22	Round cup, (11), with a wide flaring-out rim, and a ring base. Pinkish clay, small grits with traces of incisions over the body. Height 6,5 cms., Diameter 5,5 cms

- 9) Except for one lamp and fragments of a juglet which were placed in one of the loculi in the north-western side of the shaft.
 10) Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.
 11) Parallels in:—
 QDAP IX, pl. XXXVIII, No. 318 B.
 Dr. Manfred Lindner, *Petra und das Königreich der Nabätaer*, 1970. p. 60
 12) Parallels in:—
 M. A. Murray and J.C. Ellis, *A Street in Petra*, (London, 1940), Pl. XXVI, fig. 33.
 QDAP IX, pl. XXI, No. 154.
 AASOR XXXVI-XXXVII. (1964) fig. 56: 4.
 Fawzi Zayadine, «Une Tombe Nabatéenne Près

(partly broken) (pl. II : 22).

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | 1 | Juglet (12), globular body, carinated rim, with one handle attached to the upper part of the body, and a small ring base. Pinkish clay, small grits. Height 10 cms. complete. 1st century B.C./A.D. (pl. II : 1) |
| 3 | | Similar to object No. 2 (Serial No.) Height 11 cms. (partly broken) (12) |
| 4 | | Unguentarium (13), yellowish clay, and small grits. Total height: 17 1/2 cms., Height of neck 7,5 cms., 1st century B.C./A.D. (pl. II : A) |
| 5 | 2 | Pottery lamp (14), with a circular form ending in an obtuse angled nozzle. The upper part is ornamented with incised lines and small rosettes, while the nozzle is decorated with a floral volute design. Yellow clay, remains of greyish-brown slip. Diameter 6 cms. 1st |

- de Dhat-Râs,» *Syria*, XLVII (1970), Fig. 11: 222
 13) AASOR XXXIV-XXXV, (1954-56), pl. 17: A.
Syria XLVII (1970), fig. 11: 217.
 QDAP IX, pl. XXI, No. 155.
 QDAP XII, (1966) pl. XX: 5 a, 5 b.
 14) Parallels in:—
 QDAP, IX, pl. XI, No. 42, pl. LIV, No. 418.
Archäologischer Anzeiger, (1968), p. 514, pl. II, 42.
 Dr. Fawzi Zayadine has read and translated the Nabatean inscription on the bottom of each of the three lamps as follows: (٧١٨٧)
 «I saw», (pl. III:I).

		century A.D. (pl. II : 2)			kish clay. Diameter 5 cms. After middle of 1st century A.D. (pl. III 3 : 10)
6	4	Pottery lamp, similar to object No. 5 (serial No.). Diameter 6,1 cms., 1st century A.D. (Pl. II: 4).	10	14	Pottery lamp, similar object to No. 9 (serial No.) Buff ware. Diameter 6 cms. (pl. III : 3 : 14)
7	3	Pottery lamp, similar to objects Nos. 5, 6 (serial No.), with pierced handle added separately. Diameter 6 cms. (Pl II:3).	11	11	Pottery lamp, similar object to No. 9 (Serial No.) Greyish clay. Diameter 7 cms. (pl. III : 3 : 11)
8	16, 13	Pottery lamps. (15) Rosette on discus, with 12 petals, long nozzle, pinkish clay. Diameter 5 1/2 cms. After the middle of 1st century A.D. (pl. III : 16, 13)			This type of the clock shaped lamps is also traced in the 2nd (17) and 3rd (18) centuries A.D.
9	10	Pottery lamp. (16) Clock shaped, pierced handle added separately. Rim with common stamped pattern of ovules. Pin-			

Date :

Parallels to the Sadaqah pottery found in other Nabatean tombs strongly suggest a date in the first century A.D. This date is also substantiated by the similar tomb plan found at Umm el Jemal.

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- 15) Parallels in:—
QDAP IV, pl. XXI, No. 161.
Archäologischer Anzeiger, (1968), p. 514, pl. II: 43.
 16) Parallels of objects Nos. 9, 10, 11 in:—

- QDAP IX**, pl. XXI, No. 161.
QDAP XI, p. IX, VIII, Nos. 167, 133.
 17) J.H. Iliffe, **QDAP XI**, 1945, p. 2.
 18) G. & A. Horsefield, **QDAP IX**, 1941, p. 144, no. 161.

A Water Tunnel At Muqibleh

By
Dr. Henry O. Thompson
and Dr. Bert De Vries

In August, 1972, the Lutheran World Federation began a project at Muqibleh, west of Jerash. (1) The village water supply is a spring on the southern slope of the ridge. The water runs through an open ditch 9 m long and from there into an olive orchard. The lower sides of the ditch show a number of dressed stones «in situ» as part of a wall, presumably ancient.

The water came out of the hillside from a dirt filled tunnel with an arched roof (Plate II, Fig. 1). In discussing the needs of the village, the LWF found that people wanted a better water supply. It seemed reasonable that if the tunnel were cleared of debris, the water would flow faster. Shortly after the clearing began, it was apparent that the tunnel was more extensive than initial estimates. Thompson (2) was notified along with the Department of Antiquities. A visit was made to the site in late August when cleaning had proceeded for 16 m. The digging had reached Section D-D (Plate I), just beyond the small «well» to the surface. The villagers had already lined the well to the surface with fresh stone so the exact condition of this well at the time of discovery, is unknown.

Work stopped at the point of Sec. D-D because the corbelled arching seemed on

the point of collapse. In line with the tunnel, 13 m to the north, was a huge olive tree. Immediately to the north of the tree, was the wall (a dam ??) shown in the drawing (Pl. I) and photographs (Pl. II, Figs. 2 & 3). The people assumed this was some kind of dam, so they cut down the tree and dug out the roots. Eventually they found the larger well shown in Pls. I and II. Fig. 3. The dam forms the northern side of well. The western & southern side walls had disappeared. At the bottom, the workmen found water and the continuing line of the tunnel. They dug south to Sec. D-D to open the main tunnel (Pl. V).

A much reduced tunnel continues to the north. This has been cleaned out for 4m (Pl. VI). Since the water appears to come from both sides of this tunnel, the villagers stopped at this point, especially since the tunnel is just big enough for a man to crawl into and the water by this time was coming fairly strongly. The final phase of the village project was to cap both the large and the small walls to protect the purity of the water and to dig a reservoir at the open end of the tunnel. The system at stopping point is almost 41 m long, counting the open ditch and the wells. How much further the small north tunnel goes, remains speculative. In early October, De

1. It is a pleasure to thank Dr. Joseph O. Thompson and the LWF staff for their courtesy in information, visits and follow up on the archaeological importance of the discovery.

H. O. Thompson was Director of the ACOR (1971-2) and Visiting Professor of ACOR (1972-3).

Vries (3) and Thompson visited the site, measuring and photographing the exposed portions. A further visit in late October noted a portion of a wall near the reservoir excavations

It appears that this type of water tunnel is unique in East Jordan (4). Only one other example is known and that is the tunnel for Ain Balata, the main water supply for the village of Balata, now part of the municipality of Nablus in the West Bank of Jordan. This tunnel was examined in 1960 and '62 by Dr. Robert J. Bull and colleagues. (5) Rock cut tunnels are not uncommon, with well known examples at Jerusalem, Megiddo, Gezer and Hazor. While it is probably not a water channel, a rock cut tunnel is known on the Citadel in Amman. But the constructed tunnels of Balata and Muqibleh seem to be unique.

The date of the Balata tunnel remains problematic. It was probably Roman, built for the use of the city of Neapolis which underlies the modern city of Nablus. The Muqibleh tunnel was in all probability originally Roman as well. The dirt removed by the Muqibleh workers, contained quantities of Mameluke sherds. The vaulted portion of the

tunnel still contained small sections of plaster on the side and ceiling. Two pieces of Byzantine ribbed ware remain plastered into the ceiling. It is of course quite possible that the plastering was done by the Mamelukes but the stone construction here is of more careful work than the outer mouth of the tunnel. In addition, quantities of early Byzantine (400-450 A.D.) sherds were found in the fill outside the tunnel, especially where village excavation for a reservoir has uncovered a large wall of semi-dressed stone (c. 0.35 m long). The lower portions of the vaulted portion of the tunnel show well-dressed, almost ashlar, block construction. This is the primary evidence for the Roman date, along with the corbelling of the main section of the tunnel, and the presumed Roman date for the Balata tunnel. However, this remains problematic since the corbelling could be Byzantine and the date of the Balata tunnel is also problematic. Roman sherds were found in the fill outside the tunnel, so these add to the evidence of a possible Roman date, but the sherds were not found «in situ» in stratified fill. An unusual tomb was examined further up the north slope. Iron Age sherds were found here but at present, these do not seem to be indicative of the age of the tunnel.

3. Dr. Bert De Vries is Professor of History, Calvin College (Grand Rapids, Mich) and Albright Fellow of the ASOR.
4. The writer visited Wadi Sir village with Mr. Mussa Mahmoud, Asst. Director of the Dept of Antiquities. Mr. Mahmoud recalled a water tunnel with a spring feeding into the Wadi. Unfortunately the lower end is now closed with

concrete blocks so it could not be examined at this time. A check with local residents indicates that the tunnel is rock - cut rather than constructed. Several smaller rock cut tunnels were examined nearby.

5. Robert Bull, «Water Sources in the Vicinity», in G. Ernest Wright, *Shechem*, (London, Duckworth, 1965), appendix 4, pp. 214-28.

A brief note on a bronze bowl and a fibula from a tomb in

« Ain Ghazal »

(Madaba region - Jordan)

By
HANAN KURDI

A Bronze bowl and a fibula were purchased by the Department of Antiquities from a Jordanian citizen in the Madaba Region. Their provenance is «Ain Ghazal» in the eastern Ghor of Jordan. They were found in a tomb by a peasant while ploughing his field. Also found in the same tomb were fragments of a bronze bracelet, an anklet (?), and a toggle pin (Pls. I, II).

The bowl : (Pl. II A, B)

Description and dating:-

It is a deep thin - walled bronze bowl with a carinated flaring-out rim. The body is plain without any kind of a decorative pattern or incision. Here the flat base may represent a sort of local artistic development. The height of the bowl is 6 1/2 cms.; the diameter is 12 cms. This type resembles one of the commonest of the Achaemenian bowls which suggests a date between 539-331 B.C. (Iron Age II-III).

Parallels:-

- I. In the bas-relief of the Apadana at Persepolis in the scene depicting the Lydians' tribute-bearers proces-

sion, a man is carrying a similar bowl in the right hand. (1)

- II. A silver bowl found in the Apadana at Persepolis from room 12. (2)
- III. A bronze bowl found in Tell Fara (S) in tomb 817. (3)
- IV. A Bronze bowl from a tomb at Kh. Ibsan in lower Galilee (4)
- V. A parallel in shape to this bowl is a vessel of malleable clay from Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud. (5)

The Fibula. Pl. II : C)

Description and Dating:-

It is made of bronze and apparently was the triangular shaped type with a spring-pin. Each branch measures about 2 1/2 cms. and both sides of the apex have a decoration of 11 ridges. The end of the pin is coiled to form a spring, although the pin itself is broken. The other end is unusual because of the catch-plate which represents a folded hand.

In general fibulae have been used widely

- 1- E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (1941), Pl. LXXVIII.
- 2- E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II* (Chicago, 1957), Pl. 68: 1.
- 3- W.M.F. Petrie, *Beth Pelet (tell Fara) I* (London,

- 1930), Pl. XLVII.
- 4- R. Amiran, «Achaemenian bronze objects», *Levant*, IV (1972), P. 135, Fig. 1.
- 5- A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art XIV* (1960), P. 2986, Fig. 1054 : c.

from the Late Bronze Age onwards. It became especially popular in the middle of the seventh century B.C. (6) Both the spring-pin, and the triangular shaped fibula were prevalent at the end of Iron Age II in Palestine, Syria, Assyria, and Cyprus, probably developing from the arched type fibula, persisting into Hellenistic time (7).

It is noticeable that the finds belonging to the Persian period in Transjordan are scarce, since archaeological explorations have shown that this area was largely depopulated before the middle of the sixth

century B.C. until the third century B.C (8).
Parallels:-

- I. A. Bronze fibula found during the excavations - at Tell Beit-Mirsim. Stratum (A), Iron Age II, (9)
- II. A bronze fibula from Bethel, Iron Age II. (10)
- III. A bronze fibula from Adoni—Nur's tomb in Amman, Jordan; Iron Age III. (11)

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6- J. Bermingham, «The development of the fibula in Cyprus and the Levan,» *P.E.Q.* (1963). P. 108.
7- C.N. Johns, *QDAP*, II (1932), P. 55, Fig. 13.
8- G.M. Landes, *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. (1962) P. 112.

9- W.F. Albright, *AASOR*, XXI-XXII (1943) P. 80, Pl. 64 : 5
10- J.L. Kelso, *AASOR*, XXXIX (1968), Pl. 46: 21.
11- G.L. Harding, *PEFA*, VI (1953), Pl. VII, Fig. 19.

Archaeological Excavations in Jordan 1972

By
Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim

YAJUZ

Two years ago, the inhabitants of Khirbet Yajuz, north of Amman, cleared a tomb on the southern slope of the site. The tomb contains ten loculi in the southern and western sides and an olive press.

Excavations were carried out inside the tomb under the supervision of Dr. Henry O. Thompson assisted by Ibrahim Haj Hassan of the Department of Antiquities. The results, as reported by Dr. Thompson (see P.37), show that the cave was used as a tomb in the Roman period, and re-used by the Byzantines who built the olive press inside.

SAHAB (see P.23)

The Department of Antiquities undertook excavations led by Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim at Sahab, 12 kms. south-east of Amman.

The topography of the site and its architectural remains show that it was a walled city with a fortified acropolis. Five main periods — have been recognized. The earliest evidence came from tombs of which three have already been excavated. These caves were inhabited in the Chalcolithic Age, about 4000 B.C. Most of them were re-used in later periods :-

The Middle Bronze Age (1800-1700 B.C.), probably Late Bronze Age (1400 B.C.) and Early Iron Age (1200 B.C.). Four Chalcolithic occupation layers have been identified in a cave in the eastern slope,

the largest and richest cave yet excavated. This cave was re-used again after a gap of 3000 years when the people of the Early Iron Age (1200 B.C.) used it as a tomb. A large number of skeletons and a wide variety of objects were found in association with the skeletons, including pots and oil lamps, decorated Egyptian alabaster vases and a scarab, wooden pieces, weapons and jewelry made of Iron and bronze, beads, and the head of an Egyptian figurine. Notable things discovered inside the cave were eight burial jars representing the last stage of the occupation of the cave. The mouths of the jars had been cut in such a way so that two jars could face each other to form an M shape.

The excavators also uncovered part of an Early Iron Age settlement, in two areas (A, B). About 20 well-made storage jars were found on a paved floor in Area A. Some of these jars were stamped on the rim and handle. Two things must be noted about this pottery deposit. First the frequency of this distinct type of jar and the seal impressions show that they were made locally. Secondly, the jars were broken as

a result of destruction. Thick layers of ash also suggest another major destruction in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

The Department of Antiquities is planning to continue investigation and digging of the site to throw more light on the history and foreign relations of the area.

SIRAN

As part of a training program of arch-

aeology students, the University of Jordan conducted excavations under the supervision of Henry O. Thompson at Tell Siran in the vicinity of the University. A report on the excavations will appear in ADAJ of 1973. Pottery sherds from the four squares indicate occupation in the Ayyubid / Mamluk, Byzantine and Iron Age periods. No significant architectural remains have been found since the excavators reached bedrock after removal of about one meter of soil. A few cisterns and caves cut into the bedrock have been cleared. The most important discovery from Siran was a bronze bottle which showed after cleaning eight lines of an Ammonite inscription referring to the achievements of Aminadab, an Ammonite king in the mid of the seventh century B.C. The inscription will be published by Dr. Fawzi Zayadin in the near future

RUJM EL-MALFUF SOUTH

Dr. Henry Thompson and the Friends of Archaeology undertook limited sounding in Rujm el-Malfuf South Jabal Amman. The Rujm is a well-built rounded stone tower similar to the series of Ammonite towers around Amman. On the basis of these investigations, it was determined that the tower was built in Iron Age II (Seventh Century B.C.). It is not sure whether it was founded in Iron Age I, as possibly suggested by a few sherds from this period. The tower was slightly rebuilt in the Byzantine period.

BUSEIRAH

The Buseirah expedition completed a second season under the direction of Mrs. Crystal Bennett of the British School of Archaeology. More work was done on the acropolis and new squares were opened around the city wall and in northern slope. Concerning a definite date for the city or the nature of the main buildings of the acropolis, little evidence has been provided. The extension of the dig, especially

on the northern side, may give better results. New and important information about the life of the Edomites and their art and architecture should result from further excavation of the buildings of the city.

AMMAN CITADEL

In 1968 excavations were conducted on the interior side of the south-west of the Amman Citadel. Islamic, Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic and Iron Age II periods have been recognized. The 1972 excavations led by Dr. Fawzi Zayadin of the Department of Antiquities uncovered more evidence of the Hellenistic period and also evidence from Iron Age II and I. Further investigation will add more information about these phases and their extent.

SPORT CITY AREA

A : While the main road between Amman and Suweileh was being widened, a tomb was discovered and reported to the Department of Antiquities. It was excavated by Dr. Fawzi Zayadin of the Department.

This is the second tomb from the Intermediate Bronze Age which was found in the Amman Area. The first one was discovered in 1968 at Jabal ~~et-Taj~~

B : Next to Intermediate Bronze Age tomb, on the slope to the north from the main road, a Roman tomb has been cleared by Suleiman Da'ana of the Department. It seems the tomb had been robbed in earlier days.

KHIRBET EL-HAJJAR (see P.47)

The discovery of two Ammonite statuettes in late 1971 encouraged Dr. Henry O. Thompson of the American Center of Oriental Research to undertake more investigations at Khirbet el-Hajjar, south-west of Amman. A rounded plastered stone tower and defensive walls from Iron Age II were uncovered, while underneath an Iron Age I level without architectural remains

was identified. The Department of Antiquities is interested in further excavation of the site.

MADABA (see P. 77)

During September and October 1972 the Department of Antiquities excavated a Byzantine church in Madaba. This excavation, under the direction of Dr. Bastiaan Van Elderen, director of the American Center of Oriental Research, assisted by Inspector of Antiquities Mahmud Rusan uncovered the basic plan of the building — a basilica approximately 17 1/2 meters by 30 meters. The outside walls of the church were excellently constructed of well-dressed bossed stone blocks closely fitted together. Two doorways were uncovered — one in the south wall and the other in the west wall. Sizeable portions of the mosaic pavement which covered the entire floor area of the building were uncovered. This colorful floor contained intricate geometric designs. This church is being dated in the late fifth century. A limited Arabic occupation was found above

the church, but the bulk of the debris was modern fill over the area.

KFEIR ABU SARBUT

During November and December 1972 the Department of Antiquities excavated a Byzantine church at Kfeir Abu Sarbut, about 3 kms. north of Madaba. This excavation was under the direction of Dr. Bastiaan Van Elderen, director of the American Center of Oriental Research, assisted by Inspector of Antiquities Mahmud Rusan. A basilica has been uncovered with many of its architectural features *in situ*. Sizeable portions of the mosaic floor have been preserved, as well as evidence of an earlier mosaic floor directly below. The two floors represent two phases of the church, possibly fifth century and sixth century. Two Greek inscriptions were found in the upper floor. Extensive Arabic occupation was indicated by a living complex consisting of large walls, in which architectural members of the church were re-used, and a large cistern cut into the bedrock.

Dr. Moawiyah M. Ibrahim
Department of Antiquities
Amman

In Memoriam

Dr. HILMA GRANQVIST

1890 - 1972

At the age of 82, on the 25th of February 1972, Hilma Granqvist died in Finland, but her heart was still in Artàs, the village she had chosen for her studies as a social anthropologist in the 1920's.

This remarkable Finnish scholar studied first Psychology, Philosophy and Pedagogics at Helsinki University; in Berlin, with Professors E. Sellin and Gressmann, preparing a Doctorate on Women of the Old Testament. Due to very little existing literature on this subject it became evident that field-work was essential. It was then she decided to go to Jerusalem.

However it was not until 1925 that she was able to finance her trip by teaching Swedish in the German School in Helsinki and then by winning a Travelling Grant of 4500 Finnish Marks (about 54.00 dollars in those days).

It is important to mention here that Hilma Granqvist was among the Swedish-speaking Finns and that she possessed, as do many in Finland (having little hope in finding many others who speak Finnish in the world) a great facility for languages .. Swedish, Finnish, German, English and French ... so that in a very short time she was able to master both spoken and written Arabic.

It was in August 1925 that she arrived in Jerusalem and where she was quickly immersed in Professor A. Alt's course in Archaeology at the German Institute of

Archaeology, making field trips all over the country.

By October she had selected Artas for her own particular field-work, the predominantly Muslim village in a lush valley near Bethlehem. Here too she found the ageing «Sitt Louise» Baldenspaeger, daughter of a Christian Missionary, who had long won the esteem of the village. It was on the terrace of her house that Hilma met regularly the villagers and discussed family alliances and problems, folk history and traditions, religious ceremonies and

beliefs, proverbs ... every aspect of their lives. Everything was checked and double-checked. Elaborate genealogical charts were established tracing family links back three generations, a system which was adopted by Finnish social anthropologists from then on. Soon «Sitt Haline» as they called her was included in every important family gathering, be it joyous, bitter or sometimes grief-stricken. Hilma belonged,

for her relationship with people was something very real, natural and warm. There were no barriers of age, religion, nationality or sex. It must have been even more astounding in 1925 for a young unmarried foreigner to settle in a village for two years. The respect and honour given her only add to the distinction of her personality. She was indeed an exceptional person and it must be said in all honesty that the great mass of her research could only have been accumulated by a woman, winning the confidence of her Fellow-man.

As witness to this achievement are the innumerable photographs taken during the most private ceremonies such as marriage, circumcision, burial ... alongside those, of strikingly fundamental beauty ... the everyday gestures of binding the baby, baking bread, going to the well, gathering «rathab», smoking a «narghila» under a mulberry tree. The men, the women, the children, all become familiar to us when we read of them in her books. They were not «observed» by an «outsider» but immortalized by a friend. Her humanism made these most serious, technical and scientific books passionate reading for every man.

A re-edition of the works of Hilma Granqvist with a supplement containing these last yet unpublished photographs is hopefully now being prepared in Helsinki. She is being recognized as one of Finland's renowned women.

Those two years 1925 - 1927 were ones of intensive study and observation. The methods she used were those used by scientists in her own country, where she too had made surveys of villages, collecting the rich folk lore that has been so perfectly, neatly and intelligently preserved in museums throughout Finland.

It was soon obvious that there was more material than could be contained in a Doctorial thesis. The women of the Old Testament were there, alive and communicative in the villagers of Artàs. Here was something much greater, more vital to tell the world. Here were explanations for Biblical texts and her Index to Biblical references and citations alone is of utmost value to scholarship.

The preparation of her books took place in the following years while she

again took courses in Ethnology in Leipzig and Berlin with Professor Fritz Krause, Dr. Plischke and in London with Professor Edward Westermarck, spending many hours in the British Museum.

After another fifteen months in Artàs, made possible by an International Fellowship offered by the American Association of University Women she was ready to publish. *MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE*, Vol. I appeared in 1931. She was granted a Doctor of Philosophy.

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE, Vol. II followed soon after in 1935. *ARABISK FAMILJE LIV* (ARABIC FAMILY LIFE) in Swedish written for a general public won wide popularity and a prize in 1938. Nine years later came *BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE ARABS*, then in 1950, *CHILD PROBLEMS AMONG THE ARABS* and in 1965 (at the age of 75) *MUSLIM DEATH AND BURIAL*.

In the last years of her life she published many articles and exhibited her photographs taken in the Holy Land. She was busy, with an energy that belied her years, sorting her photographs for publication when death came unexpectedly.

Without a doubt it was a cherished privilege to know her. She was truly a superior being, knowing her was an enriching, an inspiring experience. For those who knew also the land and the people whose concern was her life's work, the serenity and beauty of her expression when talking of (as she often said) «the happiest days of my life» told much of the quality of that exchange. She had the rare gift of communication. She was in harmony with the Universe.

Diane Baude

The Stratigraphy of Tell Balatah (Ancient Shechem)

by
Dr. Lawrence E. Toombs. (1)

The Joint Expedition to ancient Shechem (originally known as the Drew-McCormick Expedition) was in the field for a total of eight seasons. The Tell, which defended the pass between Mt. Ebal on the north and Mt. Gerizim on the south, was explored by a system of fields⁽²⁾ so placed as to gather data from the various social and cultural zones within the city. Three such fields were sited over the fortification system. These were Field I at the East Gate of the city, Field III over the walls on the east of the defense system, and Field IV at the city's Northwest Gate.⁽³⁾ Three fields were laid out in areas which could be expected to contain dwellings and streets. These were Field VII near the center of the mound on the site occupied by the camp of the earlier German excavators, Field IX on the northern edge of the modern village of Balâṭah, and Field XIII north-northeast of the northern limits of the Temenos area.⁽⁴⁾ The sacred enclosure itself was explored by means of

two fields contiguous with one another (Fields V and VI). A small field (Field II), situated just east of the Temenos enclosure, was designed to investigate the connections between the sacred area and the residential part of the city lying between the summit of the mound and the spring. Two minor stratigraphic excavations (Field VI. 2 and Field VIII) were placed at the edges of former German excavations in order to tie in the stratigraphy of the Joint Expedition with that of the earlier excavators.⁽⁵⁾

In the attempt to determine the overall stratification of the site certain difficulties were faced. In the first place, the German expeditions, which were in the field in 1912-1914, and between 1926 and 1934, had removed extensive portions of the mound, particularly in the Temenos area, in the region of the Northwest Gate, and at the East Gate. This situation means that in most fields excavation began, not with the last phase of the city's life, but at some

1. The manuscript for this report and the accompanying stratigraphic chart were prepared by the author. Both were revised and numerous suggestions and improvements were made by G. Ernest Wright, Director of the Joint Expedition, and by Edward F. Campbell, Jr., Associate Director.

2. The basic units of excavation, usually 5x5-meter squares, were called Areas. Systems of contiguous or closely related Areas were known as Fields. Each Area has its Area Supervisor, and each Field was under the overall direction of an experienced staff member.

3. Three exploratory trenches against the inside of Wall A on the north side of the site are not reported in this stratigraphic summary. The results obtained from them are covered by parallel data from other Fields. The trenches referred to were included in Field IV.

4. The Roman numeral is the Field, the Arabic the Area number.

5. The location of these Fields is shown on the General Plan (Fig. 1) and air photo (Fig. 8).

point within its history.⁽⁶⁾ Thus the starting point was not stratigraphically the same in all fields; indeed, with the exception of Fields VII and IX it was different in every field. Consequently, the local phase numbers in any given field do not correspond with their stratigraphic equivalents in other fields.

The second complication in determining the overall stratigraphy of Tell Balâtah is the fact that only in a few instances were the major fields connected directly with one another. Fields V and VI were essentially a single Field, and were connected with one another and with Field XIII and VI. 2 by actual excavation. The remaining fields were isolated units.

A third problem affecting the determination of the strata within the mound is the variety of terminology used in the excavation of the various fields. The field supervisors assigned phase numbers to the structural phases which they uncovered in the field under their direction. These numbers were sometimes assigned in numerical order from the top to the bottom of the excavation.⁽⁷⁾ This system takes account of the local architectural changes in each individual field, but the numbers are not necessarily coordinated with the phase numbers assigned in any other field. In Field I the phases were designated by the numbers assigned to the most prominent wall in that phase. Fields III and XIII were stratified according to the standard archaeological periods (e.g., MB, LB) and phases were assigned to each period, thus, LB, Phase 1; LB, Phase 2, etc. Field VII

was reported by stratum numbers, using Roman numerals down to and including Stratum X, at which point stratum numbers in Arabic numerals were assigned to indicate a more tentative judgement concerning these levels.⁽⁸⁾

In view of the difficulties just described it is necessary to be precise about the principles used to determine the stratification of the mound.⁽⁹⁾ Major breaks in occupation, affecting the site as a whole, were employed as the chief control in determining how the various fields should be coordinated. These breaks, usually occasioned by the destruction of the city owing to military activity, occur in every field where excavation reached the appropriate level. Each of the breaks has its own distinctive characteristics, which include both the ceramic horizon associated with the break and the content and composition of the debris layers.

The earliest of these occupational lacunae separates the thin deposits of Chalcolithic remains (Strata XXII and XXIV) and from the beginning of Middle Bronze Age occupation (Stratum XXII). The soil layers consist, not of destruction debris, but of field soil accumulated over a considerable period of time. The second major break in occupation occurs at the end of Middle Bronze (Stratum XV). It was the result of the destruction of the city by Egyptian troops at the beginning of the XVIIth Dynasty.

The associated soil layers constitute a massive accumulation of destruc-

6. See the Stratification Chart (Fig. 2), especially Fields IV, V-VI, VI.2, VIII, and XIII. The author expresses his thanks to Patricia Dutton of Waterloo Lutheran University for her assistance in drawing up this chart. After many suggestions for revision had been worked through with the aid of the actual pottery loci in the Late Bronze Age, the final draft, here published, was the work of Diana Propas of

Boston, to whose industry and artistry we are greatly in debt.

7. This applies to VI.2, VIII and IX.

8. The Stratification Chart (Fig. 2) employs, wherever possible, the terminology used in the preliminary reports, published in **BASOR**.

9. The sequence of strata referred to in the following paragraphs is summarized in Fig. 2.

tion debris marked by calcined bricks, burned beams, and much pottery. The upper levels of this debris show much weathering and smoothing out by the action of wind and water, indicating the abandonment of the site as an occupied area for a considerable number of years. The third lacuna occurs at the end of Iron I A (Stratum XI), and is to be associated with the destruction of the city by Abimelek followed by a period of inoccupancy.⁽¹⁰⁾ During the time when the city was abandoned as an urban center it would appear that the mound was used for agricultural purposes, since the chief characteristic of the soil layers is a series of black bands, separated by compact layers of wind-deposited soil.⁽¹¹⁾ The fourth destruction level involving the whole site falls between Strata X and IX and is probably to be associated with the invasion of the territory by Pharaoh Shishak (ca. 918 B.C., minimal chronology). This level is thinner and less spectacular than the massive destruction layers of the earlier periods. The fifth catastrophic destruction of the city took place between Strata VII and VI. Its characteristics closely resemble those of the Egyptian destruction at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. The same jumble of fallen brickwork, burned beams and overthrown masonry occurs everywhere on the site at this level. This destruction layer is overlaid by the occupation of the seventh century, the period of Assyrian control (Stratum VI).

Using the five destruction layers as stratigraphic keys a system of twenty-four strata has been developed, covering the entire history of the site. For the strata down to and including Stratum X, Field VII, the largest single excavated area, provided the basic stratigraphy.⁽¹²⁾ This was checked and coordinated with the stratification of Field IX, the only Field in which the entire stratigraphic sequence from Stratum I to bedrock was excavated. From Stratum XI to XIV the key was provided by Field XIII where the Late Bronze Age sequence was most clearly delineated in the successive phases of a monumental building located in the eastern part of the Field.⁽¹³⁾ Fields VII and IX provide a check on this stratigraphy. Unfortunately, in the acropolis area (Fields V-VI) most of the relevant evidence had been removed by the German excavators. For the Middle Bronze Age, however, the acropolis area became the stratigraphic key (Strata XV-XXII), with the results in Field IX providing a valuable control. Chalcolithic A (Ghassulian, Stratum XXIII) occurs only in Field V-VI, and Chalcolithic B (Pre-Ghassulian, Stratum XXIV) only in Field IX. The stratification of the remaining Fields was worked out by coordinating them with the key fields at the appropriate levels, paying careful attention both to the ceramic horizons and to the soil characteristics of the layers in question.

The overall history of the site will now

10. No consistent destruction level is found at the end of the Late Bronze Age. For the Biblical account of the destruction of Shechem by Abimelek see Judges 9, especially 9:25. Chronologically, the next reference to Shechem indicates that Rehoboam went there to be crowned (I Kings 12:1). The reference does not necessarily imply that the city had been rebuilt at that time (ca. 922 B.C.). It is stated in I Kings 12:25 that Jeroboam I built Shechem and established it as his first capital (ca. 920 B.C.). On our evidence Stratum X represents a gradual rebuilding of the city during the 10th century B.C.

11. These layers are found in Fields I, VII and

XIII. They resemble striations found at Gezer and at Tell el-Hesi, which in both cases are probably of agricultural origin. The alternative explanation, viz. that the layers are distributed destruction debris is unlikely, since the light and dark layers alternate in too regular a way.

12. The stratification to this point was developed for and is included in G. E. Wright's *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* — with appendices on various topics by other members of the staff.

13. Preliminary report in *BASOR* 204 (December, 1971), pp. 2-16.

be described in terms of the twenty-four strata which have been identified.

CHALCOLITHIC (STRATA XXIV-XXIII)

The bedrock underlying the site was reached in Fields V, VI, and IX. It is very soft limestone. The soil overlying this rock is formed by the natural disintegration of the limestone, and it is in this soil that the earliest evidence of occupation at Tell Balâtah is found. This evidence in Field IX consisted of round huts with cobbled floors.⁽¹⁴⁾ The associated pottery was Pre-Ghassulian. In Field V-VI the round huts had beaten earth floors, and the pottery was Ghassulian.⁽¹⁵⁾ On the basis of this pottery differentiation two strata have been assigned to the Chalcolithic Period. In both cases the superstructures of the houses were probably of hides or earth. Listing of two Chalcolithic strata for two mound horizons suggests squatters in local areas rather than all-over mound phenomena, as the other strata are intended to suggest.

MIDDLE BRONZE (STRATA XXII-XV)

Middle Bronze II A (Strata XXII-XXI)

Stratum XXII is marked by a vast earth leveling and moving operation along the edge of what later became the sacred area. In Field VI the major feature of the stratum was a large earthen platform, protected by battered stone retaining walls.⁽¹⁶⁾ In Field IX substantial house construction, with evidence of one rebuilding, has been assigned to Stratum XXII. Stratum XXI in Field IX is represented also by house construction, but this building phase intro-

duced new walls and significant modifications in the building plan. The remaining evidence for Stratum XXI is part of a rectangular building in Field VI,⁽¹⁷⁾ and a good cobbled pavement in VI. 2. No defensive system belonging to MB II A has been found.

Middle Bronze II B (Strata XX-XVII)

The essential continuity of these Strata is best illustrated from Field IX, where the building tradition which began in a small way in Phase 18 ended in Phase 15.⁽¹⁸⁾ Field IX, taken by itself, might, therefore, be interpreted as having a single MB II B stratum in which there was a continuity of building tradition, reaching a peak of prosperity in Phase 15. Consideration of the other fields, however, leads to the conclusion that MB II B must be subdivided into four strata.

During the first major period of MB II B (Stratum XX) the fortification system of the city consisted of a mud-brick wall set on a stone socket about 2.75 meters in width (Wall D). This wall, which has been uncovered only on the north side of the city, was a free-standing wall, continuing the tradition which had prevailed in the Early Bronze Age at Tirzah, only six miles to the northeast.⁽¹⁹⁾ Within the Wall D system on the north side, a sacred enclosure was marked off from the rest of the city by a huge wall (Wall 900); see (Pl. III.) Fig. 3. Within this enclosure a simple courtyard temple was erected.⁽²⁰⁾

in Stratum XIX the concept of defense altered radically. The city was now sur-

14. BASOR 180 (December, 1965), p. 16.

15. BASOR 161 (February, 1961), p. 22, and notes 14 and 15 in BASOR 180 (December, 1965), pp. 16-17.

16. BASOR 169 (February, 1963), p. 7. This Stratum is called the 968 Phase in the preliminary report.

17. Called the 959 building in the preliminary report.

18. Professor Joseph Callaway in an unpublished

Field Report. Note that the Phase numbers are those locally applicable to Field IX, and are not Stratum numbers. See Fig. 2.

19. See Wright, Shechem, (London, Duckworth, 1965), pp. 112-114.

20. For a fuller description of the stratum see Wright, Shechem, pp. 112-114

rounded by an earthen embankment of the type commonly associated with the Hyksos.⁽²¹⁾ On its inner side this bank was retained by old Wall D. On its outer side a new construction (Wall C) served as its revetment. The sacred precinct remained basically as it had been in Stratum XX, except that the courtyard temple was rebuilt with casemated outer walls. A layer of destruction debris indicated that Stratum XIX came to a violent end.⁽²²⁾

In Stratum XVIII the general layout of the city follows closely that of Stratum XIX. The Hyksos embankment still constituted the main element of the defensive system. It was, however, extended so as to cover the deteriorated inner face of Wall D. The sacred area retained its basic plan, but the wall separating it from the city proper (Wall 900) was completely rebuilt and a pillared room was constructed within the temple.⁽²³⁾

Stratum XVII saw a further extension of the embankment, this time covering Wall C and putting it out of use. Buildings were also constructed on the slope of the embankment within the city. The courtyard temple, within its sacred precinct, was enlarged, see (Pl. III)⁽²⁴⁾

Middle Bronze II C (Strata XVI and XV)

The division of Middle Bronze II C into two strata is dictated by the alterations undergone by the defensive system. At the beginning of Stratum XVI the Hyksos embankment was abandoned in favor of a Cyclopean wall (Wall A), the base of which was laid at the outer edge of the Stratum XVII embankment. The top of the

bank was cut down and the earth thus obtained was used to fill the space between the new wall and the lower slope of the embankment (pl. V). Wall A constituted the outer element of the defense system (pl. VIII). It was backed by a less deeply-founded wall, dug into the outer slope of the disused embankment. The space between the two walls was divided into chambers, giving the defense system a casemate effect. The chambers were occupied as store rooms and living quarters, possibly by the military garrison. One of the chambers in Field I displays a succession of beaten floors, testifying to a rather lengthy period of use. Two of the floors were associated with oven installations, demonstrating that the occupation of this room at least was domestic.⁽²⁵⁾

In Stratum XVI there was no gateway on the east side of the city in the position later occupied by the East Gate. The principal entrance was on the north-west, and took the form of a monumental three-toothed gate with huge stone orthostats. The gateway had been uncovered by the German excavators, but was restudied and re-planned by the Joint Expedition.⁽²⁶⁾

Stratigraphic excavation in Field III indicated two sub-strata within Stratum XVI. In Field I the rooms built against Wall A had three phases of floor buildup.

The Temenos underwent radical change at the beginning of Stratum XVI. Temenos Wall 900 went out of use, and the entire courtyard temple was buried beneath a deep layer of fill, which in places reached a depth of 5.00 meters. On this fill and on the remains of the embankment, the first

21. See Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 65-66.

22. For further details see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 114-118.

23. For further details see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 118-119.

24. For further details see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 120-121. The stratification of the successive phases

of MB II B is illustrated in the section shown in Fig. 3.

25. For further details, see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 57-62.

26. See Wright, *Shechem*, loc. cit.

of a series of fortress temples was erected. The surface of the fill, which served as the forecourt of the temple, was consolidated with a thick layer of lime plaster, but the furnishings of the forecourt were destroyed by the later builders (pl. IV)(27)

A significant, but archaeologically isolated, feature of Stratum XVI is a large stone drain and associated stairway in Field XIII. The drain was built directly on the remains of the Hyksos embankment, and the installation functioned to conduct the runoff from the high ground near the northwest gate to a sump at the foot of the disused embankment, so as to prevent flooding of the lower levels of the city. The buildings associated with this drain were dug out by the Late Bronze Age founders of Stratum XIV.(28)

The major change between Stratum XVI and Stratum XV was the complete rebuilding of the defenses. Casemate Wall A, which had protected the city during Stratum XVI, was now supplemented on the north and east sides of the mound by a single wall of mud-brick set on a foundation of very large, roughly-faced field stones (Wall B)(29) Into this wall on its east side (Field I) an imposing gateway with towers, guard rooms and four sets of stone orthostats was set.(30) The method of construction of this gateway is of some interest. The walls of the gate structures were not laid in separate foundation trenches, but near the edges of a single large pit. Working westward from the inner wall of the casemate system of Stratum XVI, the builders dug a deep, rectangular ex-

cavation into the old Hyksos embankment. In this pit they laid the foundations of the gate towers, filling in the space between them and the back of the Wall A system with stones and rubble as each course was laid.(31) Back of the new defense system chambers for the storage of food and military supplies were constructed.

The Northwest Gate, built in Stratum XVI, remained in use in Stratum XV. This is proven by the fact that the Wall B system on the north side of the city is so constructed as to accommodate itself to the gate, the newly-constructed wall being spliced into it on its east side.

In the Temenos area (Field V-VI) little change took place between Strata XVI and XV. The fortress temple continued to dominate the sacred area. Some structural changes, such as the erection of two small standing stones on either side of the entrance and the refurnishing of the forecourt surfacing, and the erection of a new altar, took place.(32)

Examples of house construction in Stratum XV are available in Fields VII (cf. Pl. X) and VIII, but the best example of the housing of the period comes from Field XIII. Along the east side of the Field a portion of a large house was uncovered. The destruction debris covering this building yielded a wealth of ceramic items, two scarabs and the remains of two boxes inlaid with ivory.(33)

The complex history of Stratum XV is illustrated in Field III where four sub-strata were isolated.

27. For further details see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 95-100.

28. *BASOR* 204 (December, 1971), p. 8.

29. A major fill was dumped only over the casemate chambers, the outer face of Wall A proper being exposed. This provided a formidable vertical barrier against attackers approaching the new wall.

30. For a complete description of the East Gate and the Wall B system see Wright, *Shechem*, pp.

66-75.

31. These stone and rubble layers were for some time regarded as a sequence of cobbled road surfaces, and are so reported in Wright, *Shechem*, p. 68. See also Fig. 25.

32. See Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 95-100.

33. *BASOR* 204 (December, 1971), p. 8; 205 (February, 1972), pp. 26-35.

The end of the Middle Bronze Age is marked by a heavy accumulation of destruction debris over the site. Wall B on the east and north was destroyed in such a way that it fell inward with its burning timbers interlaced in the brickwork. The accumulation of debris over the Field XIII house reached a depth of 2.50 meters, and a similar picture prevails in other fields. This total destruction of the city is surely to be attributed to Egyptian armies, and is to be dated ca. 1550 B.C. From that time until approximately 1450 B.C. the city lay abandoned. Consequently, LB I A occupation is not found on the site.

LATE BRONZE (STRATA XIV-XII)

There is some question whether two or three strata should be assigned to the Late Bronze Age. A house of this period in distinct floor levels. It seems best to assign the two latest phases of the house are closely related in plan. The earliest phase has two Field XIII has three distinct phases. A separate Stratum number to the three phases recognized in Field XIII, and to regard the two floorings of the first phase as rebuilding, insufficiently extensive to merit identification as a separate stratum. Historically, the three strata appear to correspond to the pre-Amarna, Amarna and post-Amarna Periods (pl. VI). The same three strata occur in Fields I, VI. 2, VII (pl. IX), VIII, and IX.⁽³⁴⁾

Late Bronze I B (Stratum XIV)

After a period of abandonment of almost a century, Shechem was rebuilt at the beginning of Late Bronze I B. In Field I the Middle Bronze II C gateway was reconstructed with important modifications. Two

new guard rooms were built on the south side of the gateway, and, presumably a paved road passed north of these.⁽³⁵⁾ The main defensive wall was moved back to the line of the inner wall of the Wall B system. It was found in this location in both Fields I and III.

In the acropolis area (Field V-VI) the tradition of fortress temple construction, begun in MB II C, continued in the Late Bronze Age. Because of earlier German excavation it was impossible to determine the phases of the fortress temple during Strata XIV-XII. Consequently, the stratigraphic chart (pl. II) assigns Temenos 8 to all three phases. The walls of this building are slighter than those of its Middle Bronze Age predecessor, and its axis has shifted five degrees to the south. The forecourt contained an altar.⁽³⁶⁾

Field IX contained a smaller sacred place, probably a satellite of the main temple. This building was founded in Stratum XIV and continued in use until the Iron I destruction at the end of Stratum XI.⁽³⁷⁾ The shrine contained a brick altar and a sacred standing stone.

Very considerable evidence for house construction was found in Fields III, VI. 2, VII, VIII, and XIII. In Field III an imposing building stood behind the line of old Wall B.⁽³⁸⁾ Partial ground plans of houses of substantial construction were recovered in local Stratum 16b of Field VII (cf. Pls. II & IV). Field XIII contained the western side of a large house. Its large size and the excellent construction of its walls give an impression of the prosperity of the city during an era when it was an important unit in the Asiatic Empire of Egypt.⁽³⁹⁾

34. See Stratigraphic Chart, Fig. 2.

35. See Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 76-77. The corresponding guard rooms on the north side, if they existed, were removed by the German excavators.

36. For a more complete description of the temple, see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 95-100, where the structure

is called Fortress Temple 2a.

37. *BASOR* 180 (December, 1965), pp. 11-15.

38. This structure, excavated in 1966, has not yet been published.

39. *BASOR* 204 (December, 1971), pp. 10-15.

Late Bronze II A (Stratum XIII)

With Stratum XIII we enter the age of Lab'ayu, when Shechem was the capital of a small empire, extending from just north of Jerusalem to the vicinity of Megiddo, and with Gezer allied with it for a time. The stratum is the apex of Late Bronze Age culture at Shechem, and the rising level of prosperity is best seen at the East Gate. The guard rooms of Stratum XIV were strengthened and furnished with well-laid flagstone floors. Back of the city wall to the south of the gateway a courtyard, surfaced with flagstones, was laid down, presumably for the mustering of troops, but possibly also for public assemblies.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The fortress temple continued in use on the acropolis, and the smaller shrine in Field IX. The large house in Field XIII and the housing units in Field VII continued to be used. An extensive modification of the courtyard north of the Field XIII house took place, and a basement room, which yielded an unrivalled collection of Late Bronze Age pottery, was constructed under the house itself. In Field III a large Late Bronze Age building with very thick walls was uncovered. Although its stratigraphic context is not absolutely certain, it most probably belongs to this Stratum. It may, however, have been founded in Stratum XIV.⁽⁴¹⁾

Late Bronze II B (Stratum XII)

The defensive system and housing structures underwent little modification between Stratum XIII and Stratum XII. The same is true of the fortress temple on the acropolis and the satellite shrine in Field IX. The major feature of Stratum XII is the evident decline in the prosperity of the

city, evidenced by the shoddy construction of walls founded in the period. This phenomenon undoubtedly reflects the diminished status of the city after the fall of the house of Lab'ayu.

IRON I (STRATUM XI)

The transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age at Shechem is not marked by the presence of a destruction layer consistent over the site. Consequently, the beginning of Stratum XI is difficult to determine. In Field VII it falls between local Strata 13 and 12. In Field XIII the large Late Bronze Age house went out of use and was replaced by a poorer quality building. On the Acropolis (Fields V-VI) the fortress temple, with some repair and rebuilding, continued in use. No clear evidence of the fortifications of Iron I is available. It is known that the guardrooms at the East Gate (Field I) continued in use. The cobbled square was, however, filled over and a structure with relatively poor quality stone work was put up close to the rear wall of the guardroom (Structure 178-179).⁽⁴²⁾

The city of Stratum XI is the city of Abimelek (Judges 9). It came to a violent end in the latter part of the 12th century B.C., as did also Late Bronze Age Megiddo and a 12th century settlement at Taanach.

After the destruction of the Stratum XI city, the interior of the temple and the whole area adjacent to it was pitted with a series of unlined and unplastered bag- and cylindrical-shaped pits. They are so close to one another that in Field XIII five of them were present in a single 5x5-meter square. They were not dug for the

40. The details of this structure have not been published.

41. BASOR 148 (December, 1957), pp. 17-18. See Fig. 2, where the building in question is referred to

as «the Palace», succeeding and rebuilding on foundations of Stratum XV.

42. This building, dug in 1966, has not yet been published.

robbery of stone, since they deliberately avoided older wall lines, and their structure makes them unsuitable for storage. They were dug into and through layer after layer of the almost sterile chalk and *terra rosa*, which was the make-up of the three floors of the temple which were recovered, and below them the sterile chalk of the earthen C embankment dug from the side of Mt. Ebal. The purpose of this digging is hard to fathom. Yet each pit was filled in almost immediately with dark-earth humus and destruction debris filled with pottery of the 12th century B.C. There is no evidence of buildings associated with these pits. In Field I the 178-179 building of Iron I is covered by a layering of black bands of very fine composition and rich in organic matter, alternating with light gray layers of compact earth, apparently deposited by the action of the wind.⁽⁴³⁾ These layers have not been analyzed as yet, but at Gezer, where a similar layering occurred, so much charred grain was present as to suggest a threshing floor, periodically burned over to get rid of insects and rodents. The layers in question were broken here and there by the remains of insubstantial buildings. In Field VII a similar layering is present, but here the building remains are more frequent and represent a better quality of construction.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In the light of this evidence the period of abandonment, shown on the stratigraphic chart between Strata XI and X B, should not be

interpreted as a total neglect of the site, but rather as a reversion to the status of an agricultural village centered on the eastern and southern slope of the mound and not reaching to the former Temenos area.⁽⁴⁵⁾

IRON II (STRATA X-VI)⁽⁴⁶⁾

The reestablishment of Shechem as an urban center was evidently a gradual affair. The rebuilding of the city is represented by Stratum X,⁽⁴⁷⁾ the evidence for which comes mainly from Local Strata XA and XB in Field VII and from Phase 10 in Field IX. Other evidence is provided by surfaces, scarred and broken by German excavation, in Field XIII, by the foundations of a building in Field II, and by a single wall and an associated floor in Field I. The evidence is, thus, entirely from housing areas and most of the buildings are partially destroyed by the foundation trenches of Stratum IX. It can be said, however, that Shechem had just returned to prosperity toward the end of the 10th century B.C. when the armies of Pharaoh Shishak attacked and destroyed the city.

Strata IX-VI are fully discussed in Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City*, Chapter 9. It is unnecessary, therefore, to go into detail concerning them in this paper. New data, developed during the 1964 and 1966 seasons in Field I and, hence, not included in Wright's book, will be summarized.

43. Similar layering occurs in the Persian Strata at Tell el-Hesi, where the black layering has been identified as oxidized agricultural residues.

44. For a description of the banded layers in Field VII, see *BASOR* 180 (December, 1965), pp. 21-22; for the pits see *BASOR* 161 (February, 1961), pp. 11-28.

45. A fill, dominantly composed of chalk, could not have been dug, as were so many pits, for garden humus because chalk does not contain the food nutrients, as I was informed so many times when paying higher prices to owners wherever we asked to dump that kind of debris. On the other hand, a refugee, building a temporary shack next to our East Gate in 1956, went precisely for soil dumped from the temple area, mixed it with some ashes and let

it dry for a day after adding a bit of water. This proved to be the best part of the shack because it had all the qualities of a hard cement floor. Yet did the inhabitants of the area of Balâtah dig frantically all over the cella different types of unlined pits to get floor chalk which abounded on the mountain sides and indeed almost wherever they looked? We have a puzzle here for which there is no certain solution - G. E. Wright.]

46. Stratum VI, the impoverished reoccupation of the city after the Assyrian destruction of Stratum VII, is included under this heading for convenience in presentation.

47. See Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 125-128.

The line of the Late Bronze Age fortifications appears to have provided the base for the Iron II defenses, although this is difficult to prove stratigraphically because of the depredations of the Hellenistic builders. Back of the defensive wall a well-constructed building (Structure 175) existed in Field I during Stratum IX. This was succeeded by another structure (412), which continued in three phases to the end of Stratum VI.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The stratigraphic data bearing upon Strata VIII and VII may be summarized as follows. The city was defended by a mud-brick wall set on a stone foundation and built along the line of the earlier Late Bronze Age defenses. The houses, which are consistent in plan, were terraced down the slope from the Acropolis area to the East Gate. They are pretentious enough to suggest a relatively high level of prosperity. A granary, the foundations of which were laid over the Late Bronze/Iron I fortress temple, testifies further to the economic status of the city. Unfortunately, earlier excavation makes it impossible to establish precisely when the granary was founded and when it ceased to exist. In the Stratigraphic Chart it is assigned to Strata VIII-VII, its most probable context. The prosperity of the city during these strata is probably due to its position as a provincial capital within the Northern Kingdom.

One of the most spectacular dividing points in the stratification of Tell Balâtah occurs at the end of Stratum VII. Heaps of destruction debris cover the site and completely bury the remains of Stratum VII. This savage destruction was the work

of the Assyrian armies in their invasion of 724 B.C.

An impoverished reoccupation (Stratum VI) marks the end of the Israelite period at Shechem. In Field VII some Stratum VII structures were rebuilt and reused. In Field IX flimsy structures of yellow mud-brick set on a single course of smallish stones were erected. In Field I there is some evidence of reuse of the Iron II defensive system, but the rebuilding is shoddy. A wine press set up close to the defenses, and a few flimsy houses are also found in Field I. The decline in architecture and artifacts is remarkable, but the economic and political influence of Assyrian overlords is indicated by many imitations in local clay of Assyrian vessels. The division of Stratum VI into two substrata is dictated by the presence within it of two burned layers.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD (STRATUM V)

The house structures of Stratum V in Fields VII and IX are poor in the extreme, consisting of small mud-brick buildings, founded on a single course of stones. The Stratum is marked by the presence of imported black- and red-figured vases, which may be dated between ca. 525 and 475 B.C. Shechem during the Persian Period was, thus, an economically and culturally deprived community.⁽⁴⁹⁾

THE SAMARITAN PERIOD (STRATA IV-I)⁽⁵⁰⁾

At the beginning of Stratum IV Shechem seems to have been rebuilt in a single well-planned operation. The line of the Middle Bronze Age Wall B was select-

48. Cf. the Stratification Chart (Fig. 2).

49. For further details see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 165-169. For date see Nancy R. Lapp, *ibid.*, pp. 238-241.

50. For further details on the stratigraphy and his-

torical associations, see Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 170-184; and "The Samaritans at Shechem," *HTR*, Vol. LV, 1962, pp. 357-366; further *BASOR* 180 (December, 1965), pp. 37-41.

ed as the limit of the defensive system, and a new wall was constructed using Wall B as its foundation. The slope in front of the wall was leveled and consolidated with cement to form a glacis-like structure. The East Gate remained in use. The orthostats were covered and the gateway was approached along a sunken roadway between them. The houses of Stratum IV are of excellent quality. They have wide foundations, consisting of an inner and outer face of dressed stone with a rubble core between. The superstructures are of mud-bricks of standard size. The division of Stratum IV into two sub-strata is based on the history of the glacis in front of the defense system. Over the original surface a layer of orange-red brick debris, with many fragments of brick and charcoal, accumulated, indicating a destruction of the defenses during the late fourth or early third century. A new glacis surface was subsequently laid over the debris layer.

The planned rebuilding of Shechem at the beginning of Stratum IV is probably related to the expulsion of the Samaritans from Samaria by Alexander the Great, and the establishment of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim.⁽⁵¹⁾

Stratum III is a rebuilding of Stratum IV with complete refurbishing of the East Gate and the laying down of a new glacis surface there. The concept of defense and the principles of house construction remained as they had been in Stratum IV. A fine Hellenistic house in Field II was founded in this Stratum.⁽⁵²⁾

At the end of Stratum III all efforts to use the city as a fortified strong point ceased. The fortifications were abandoned and their stone work robbed for building operations elsewhere. A tower was constructed at the foot of the slope directly

east of the East Gate (Field I). It probably served more as a check point than as a serious defensive position. Elsewhere on the site Stratum II is represented by fragmentary walls with floor levels dug out by later agricultural activity.

The separation between Stratum II and Stratum I is based primarily on ceramic analysis, with the assistance of some stratigraphy in Fields II and VII.

The destruction of Stratum III, which ended the last period of prosperity in the history of ancient Shechem, may have been associated with the struggle of Ptolemy V and Antiochus II for control of Palestine. The destruction of Stratum and the end of Shechem as an urban center was probably brought about by John Hyrcanus as part of his attempt to subdue the Samaritans and to end their religious and political rivalry with his own kingdom.

CONSTRUCTION PHASES

An interesting feature of the stratigraphy of Tell Balâtah, which does not appear in the stratification chart (Pl. II), is the existence at two points in the history of the mound of structures which seem to be stratigraphic «orphans», i.e., to belong *between* two of the recognized strata. These were buildings and installations erected for the use of the builders during periods of extensive change in the general plan of the city.

The first construction phase occurs between Stratum XVII, and Stratum XVIII, that is, between Middle Bronze II B and Middle Bronze II C. Buried in the fill of the forecourt of the fortress temple in Field V are the remains of two small buildings, little more than shacks. These structures are later than the last use of the courtyard temple of Middle Bronze B, but ear-

51. Ibid.

52. BASOR 148 (December, 1958), pp. 11-28.

lier than the first use of the forecourt of the fortress temple. In one of these an oven installation was found. The buildings probably housed workers engaged in constructing the Wall A system in the neighborhood of the Northwest Gate.⁽⁵³⁾

The second construction phase appears at the end of the period of abandonment between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, i.e., between Strata XV and XIV. In Field XIII a workman's shack with a fireplace was built on the slope of the Hyksos embankment, and was covered by the make-up and fill for the earliest Late Bronze Age buildings. The most impres-

sive installation belonging to this construction phase was a kiln for firing bricks, uncovered in Field XIII. The firing oven

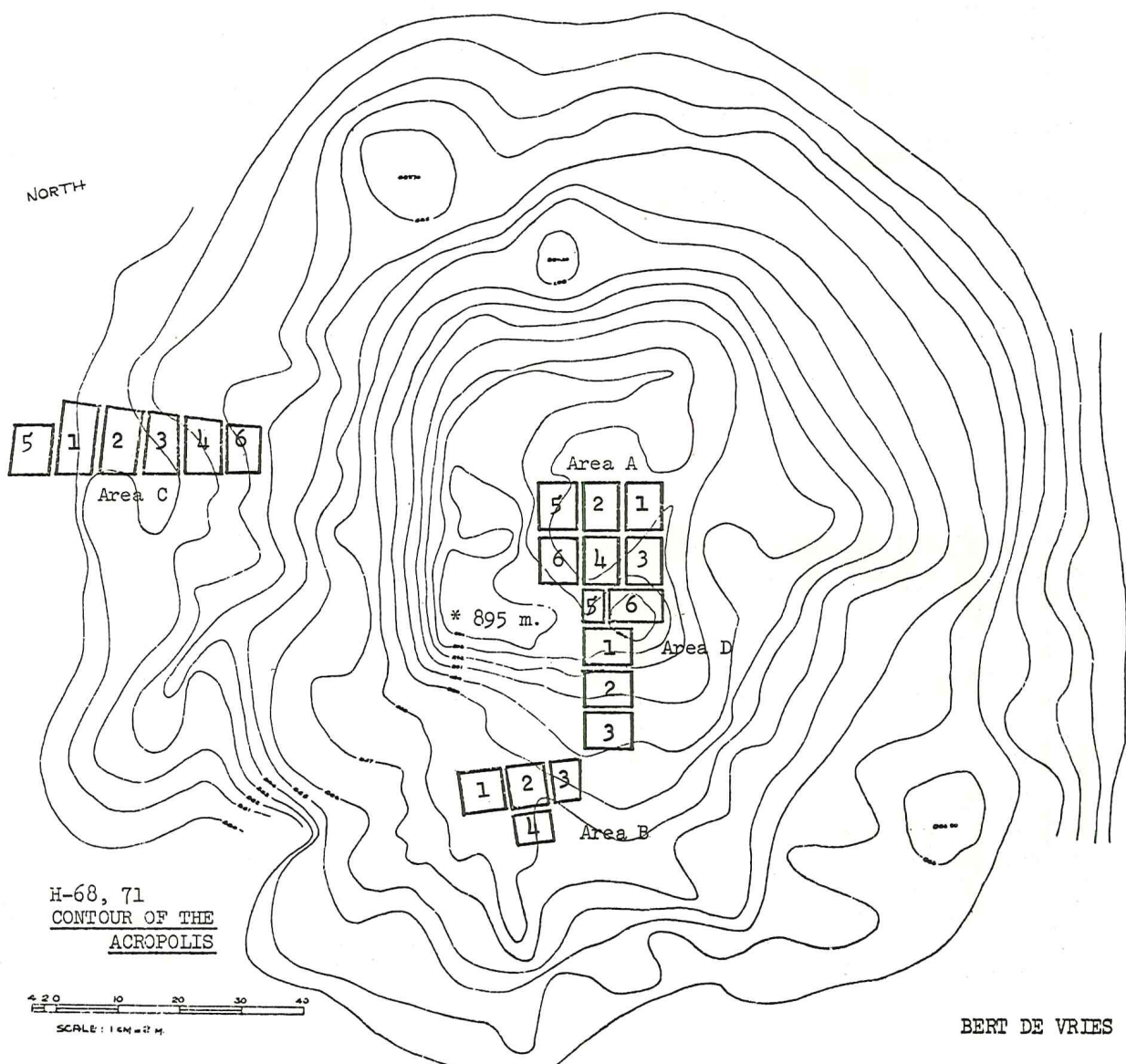
proper was associated with a substantial building to the south. The kiln was dug into the mounds of Middle Bronze II B destruction debris, and was overlaid by the floors and walls of the Late Bronze Age house.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Consequently, it must have been in use only at the very beginning of the Late Bronze Age settlement, before major residential construction took place. It was probably a factory for the production of the vast quantities of brick which would have been necessary for the complete rebuilding of the city walls.

Dr. Lawrence E. Toombs
Waterloo Lutheran University
Ontario, Canada

[53. This interpretation has been much debated by the Shechem staff and contrary opinions held by certain other staff members will be noted in the final publication - G. E. Wright.]

54. *BASOR* 204 (Dec. 1971), pp. 9-10; 205 (Feb. 1972), pp. 23-25.

Horn, Tell Hesbân Plate

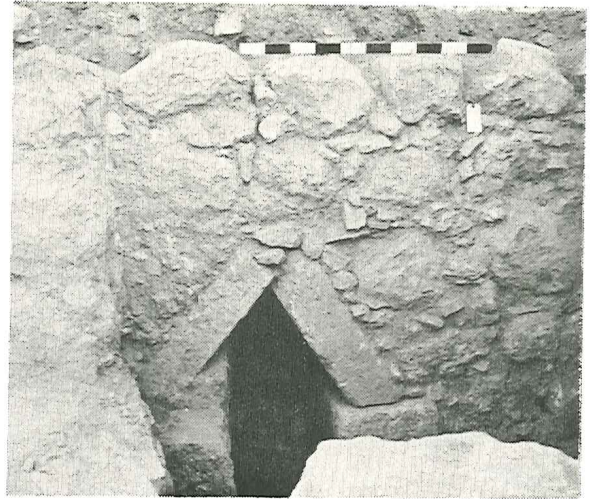


BERT DE VRIES

No. 1 Contour map of the acropolis of Tell Hesbân with the Areas A-D marked. Numerals within an Area refer to the Square numbers.



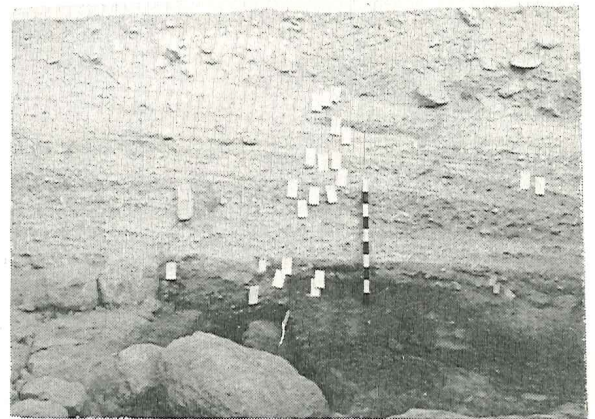
No. 2 Aerial photo of **Tell Hesbân** looking toward the east. Area C is visible in the center of the picture on the steep western slope. Area A is on the top of the tell (above Area C in the picture), and Areas D and B are to the right of Area A.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



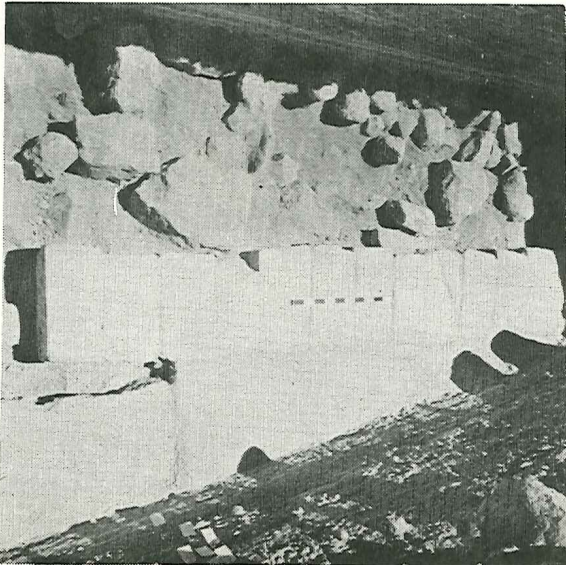
No. 3 The eastern face of the doorway to the northern cave of Roman times in Square A.1.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



No. 4 The stone anvil in the northern cave of Roman times in Square A.1.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



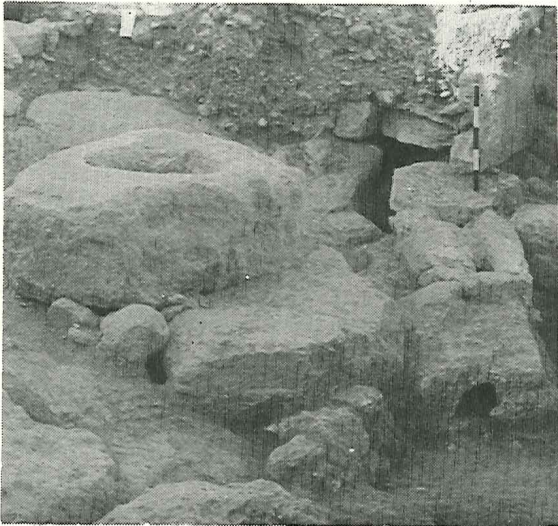
No. 5 Several strata of plaster makeup of the Roman road as it appears in the balk of Square B.2.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



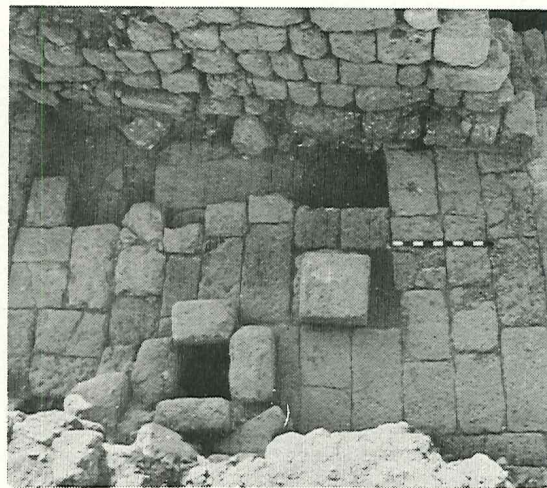
No. 6 Row of curbstones of the Roman road in Square B. 3, leading to the acropolis.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



No. 7 Bench including a horizontally placed column drum, inside the «North Building» in Square C.4.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



No. 8 Water channels in Square C. 4. The mouth of Cistern C. 4 : 7 is to the left. The opening to a cavern in the south balk is visible in the center of the picture.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace

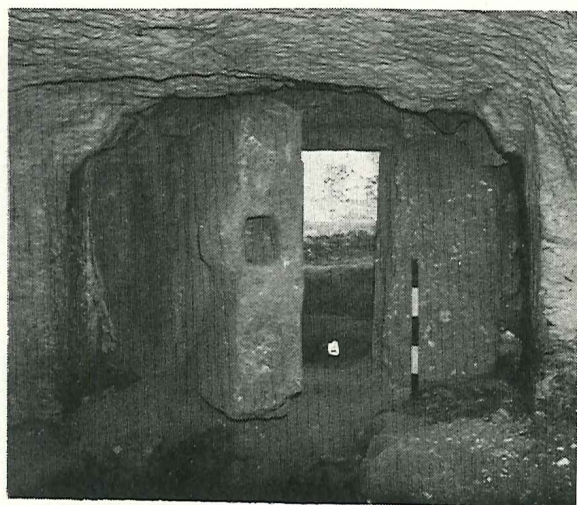


No. 9 Byzantine flagstone pavement in Squares D.1 and 5. The mouth of Cistern D. 5 : 5 is in the left foreground and the western wall of the vaulted room of Arab times is in the upper part of the picture.
Photo: Alvin K. Trace



No. 10 Looking up from the bottom of Cistern D. 5 : 5 toward its vaulted ceiling with one mouth open to the sky in Square D. 5, while another mouth lies underneath unexcavated debris.

Photo: Alvin K. Trace



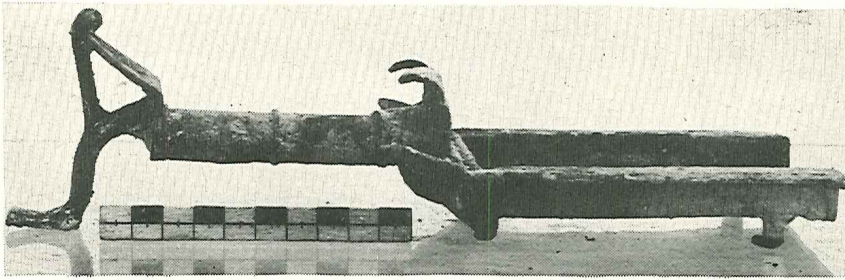
No. 12 The «Swinging Door Tomb» as seen from the inside.

Photo: Alvin K. Trace



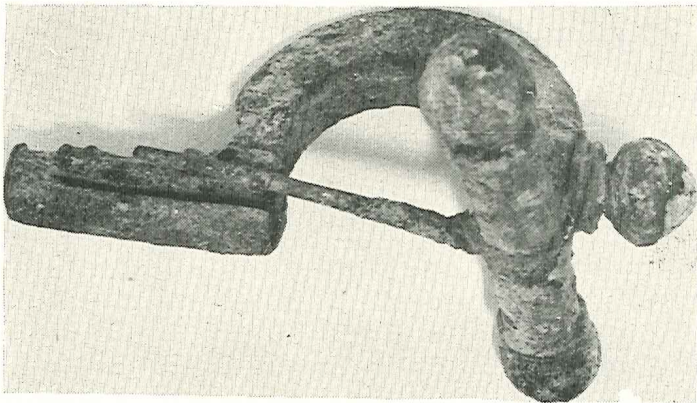
No. 11 The «Rolling Stone Tomb» as seen from the outside.

Photo: Alvin K. Trace



No. 13 Bronze incense shovel of Roman times
found in Tomb F. 4.

Photo: Abu Hannah



No. 16 One of the two fibulae of Roman times
found in Tomb F. 4.

Photo: Abu Hannah



No. 15 A hoard of 66 Mamluk coins with the
lamp in which it was found in Square C. 4.

Photo: Alvin K. Trace



No. 14 Cosmetic box from Tomb F. 6. The body of the swan is a shell and all parts of
the lid are of ivory.



Fig. 1. Area A



Fig. 2. Area A



Fig. 1. Area A



Fig. 2 Area A (Shaft)

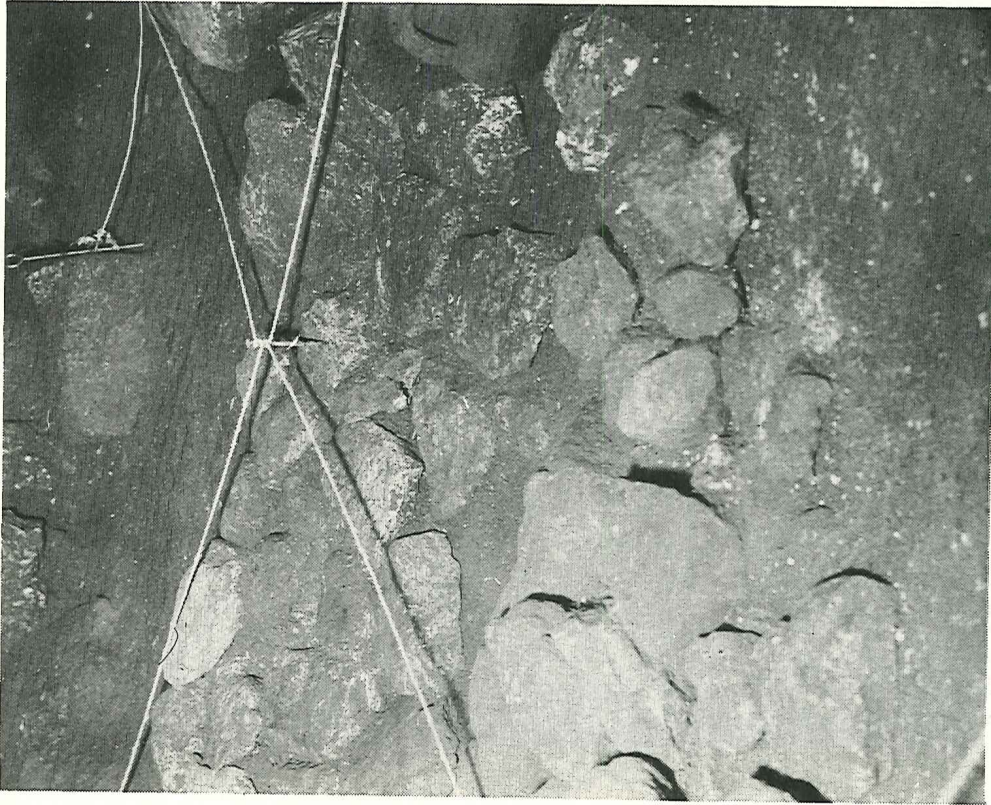


Fig. 2. Area A (Tomb 1)

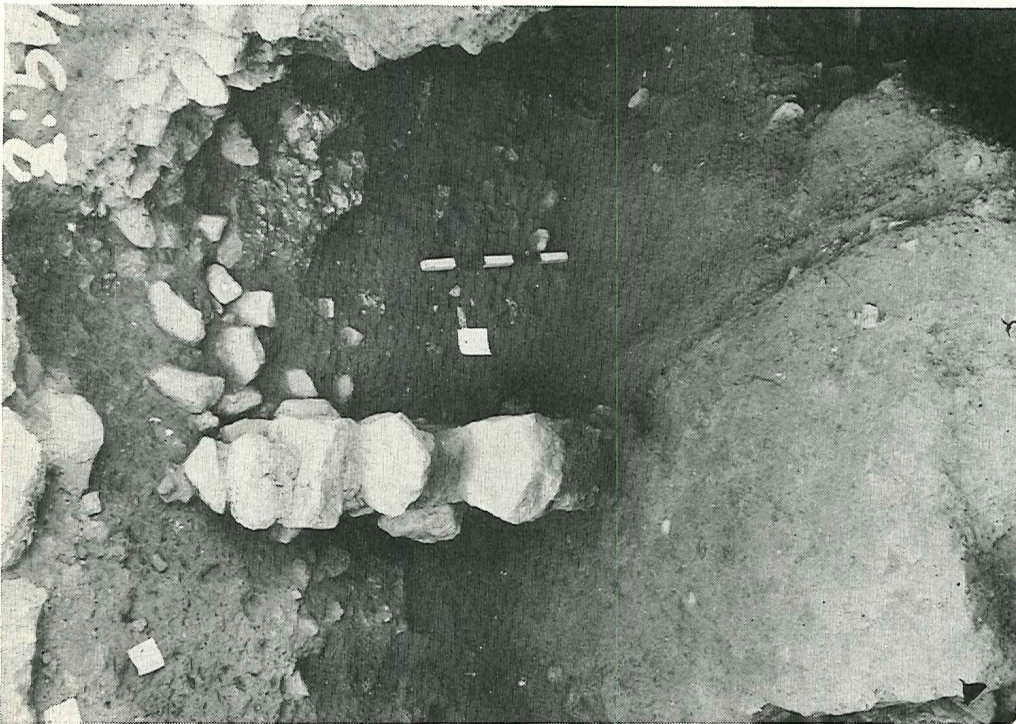


Fig. 1 Area A

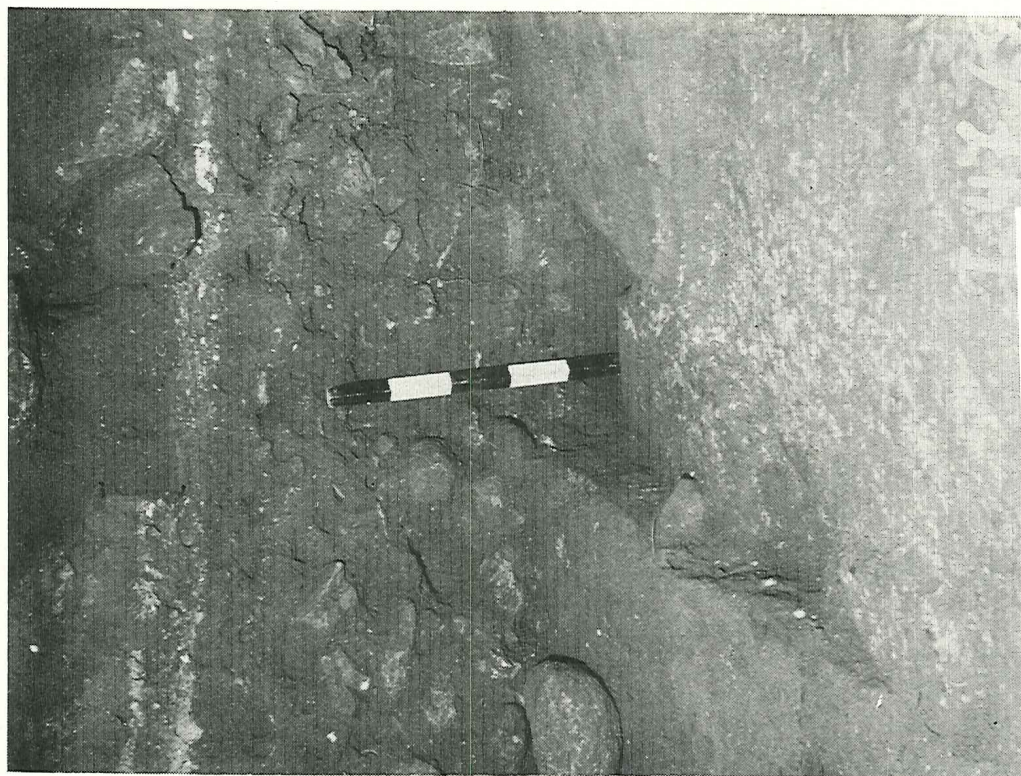


Fig. 1. Area A (Tomb 1)

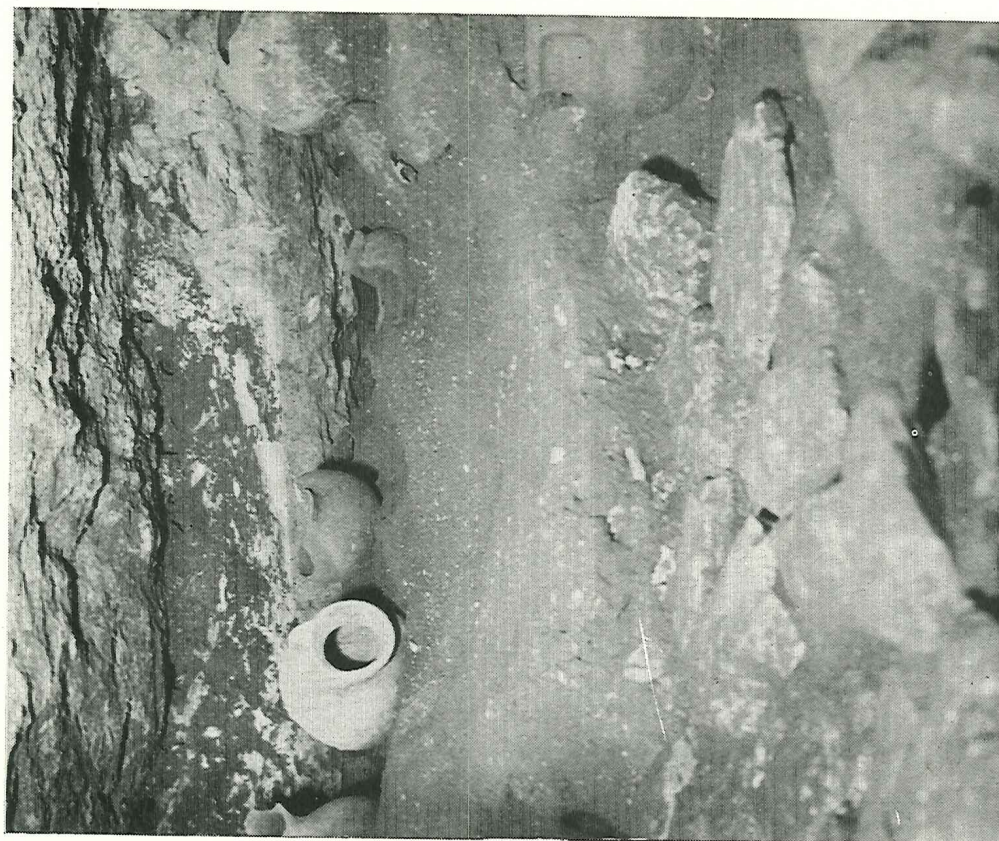




Fig. 1. Area A (Wall A)



Fig. 2. Area A (Wall C)



Fig. 3 Area A (Wall B)

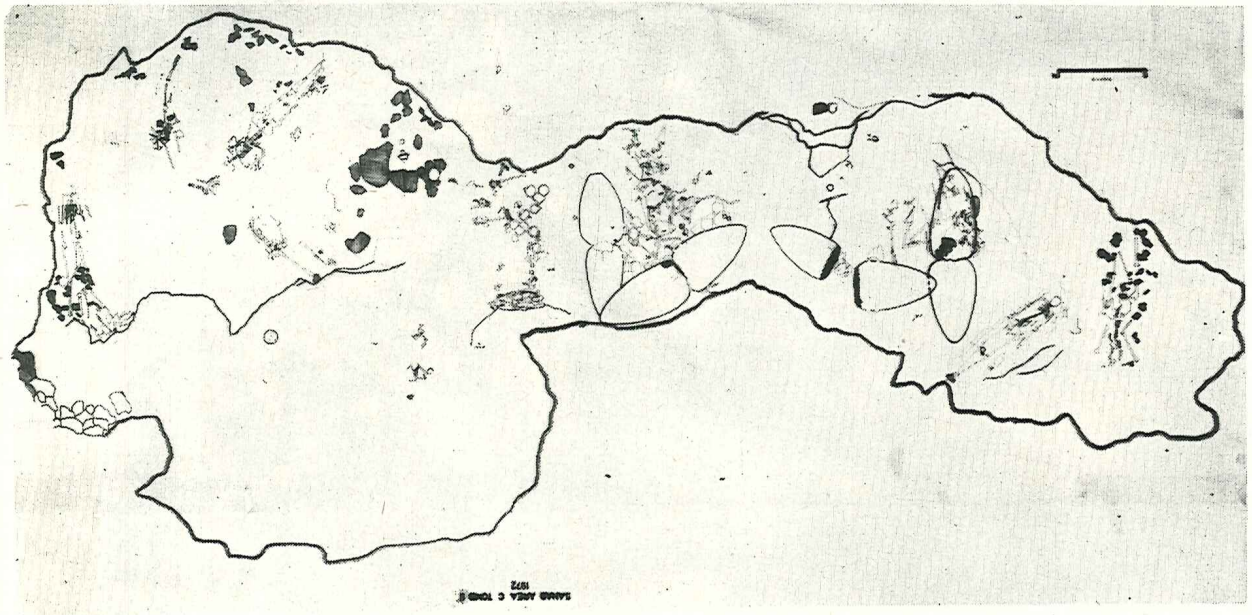


Fig. 1 Area C (Tomb 1)



Fig. 2 Area D (Cave 1)



Fig. 3 Area D (Cave 1)

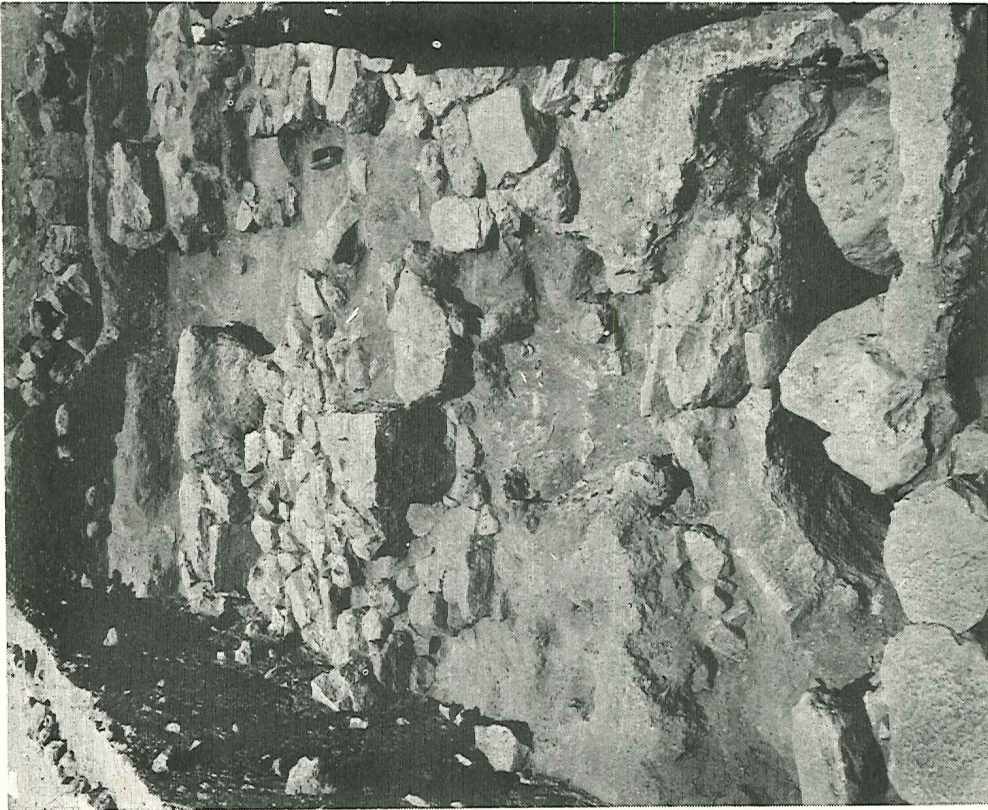


Fig. 1. Area B



Fig. 2 Area B



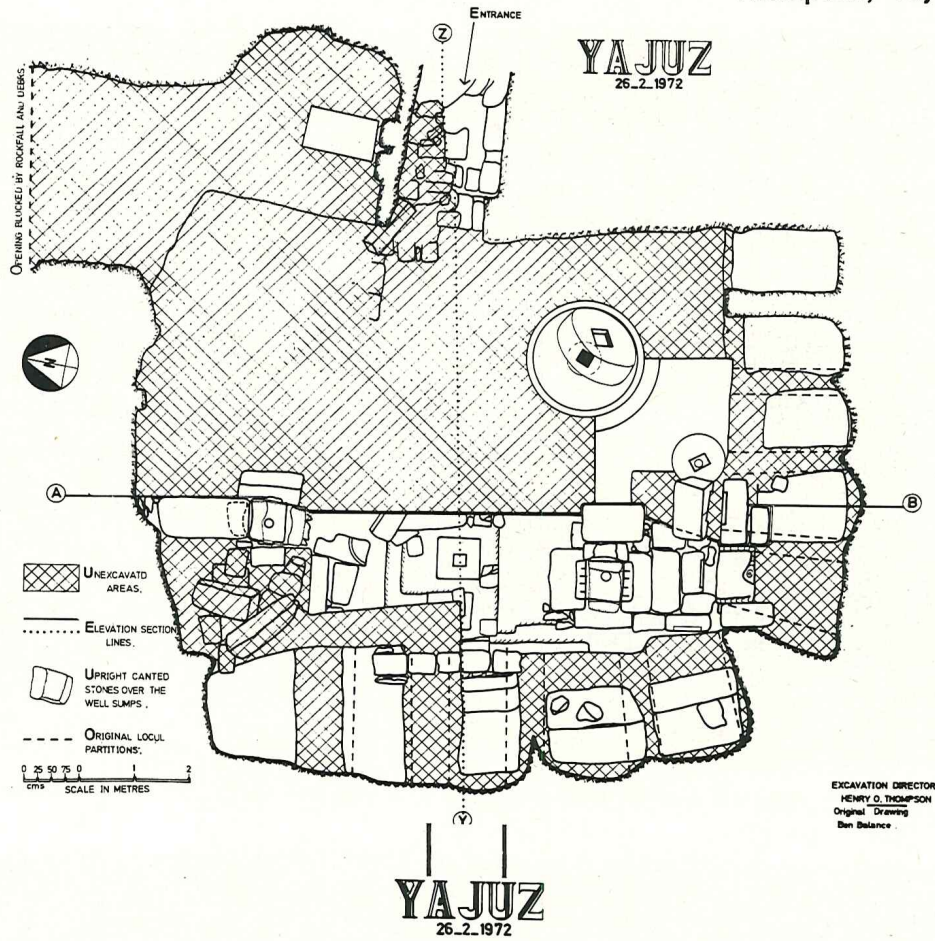


Fig. 1

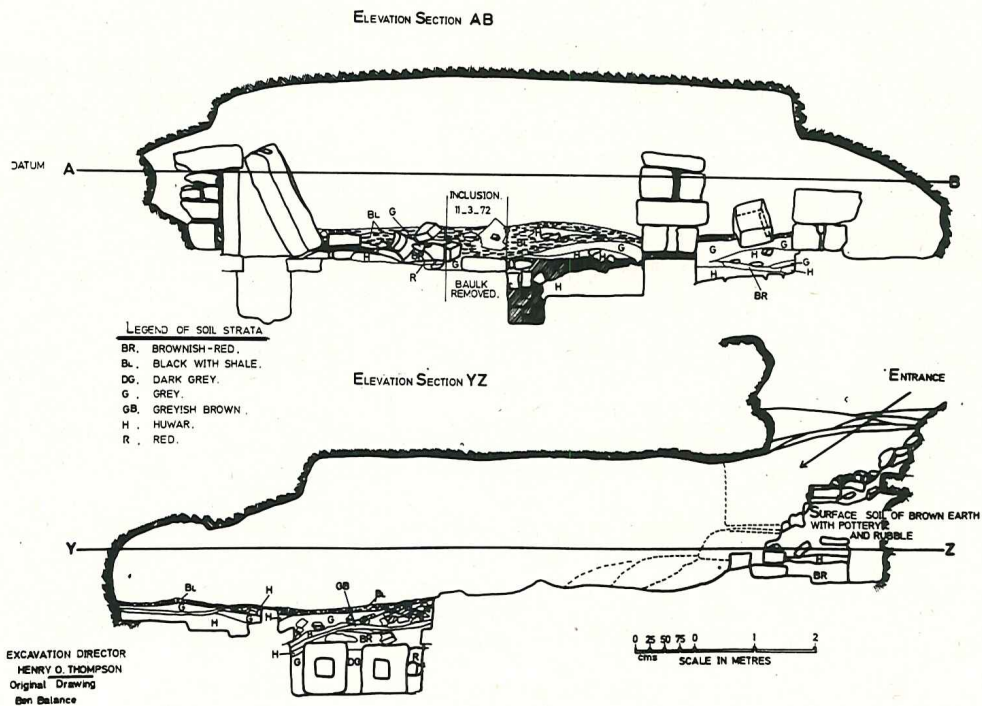


Fig. 2

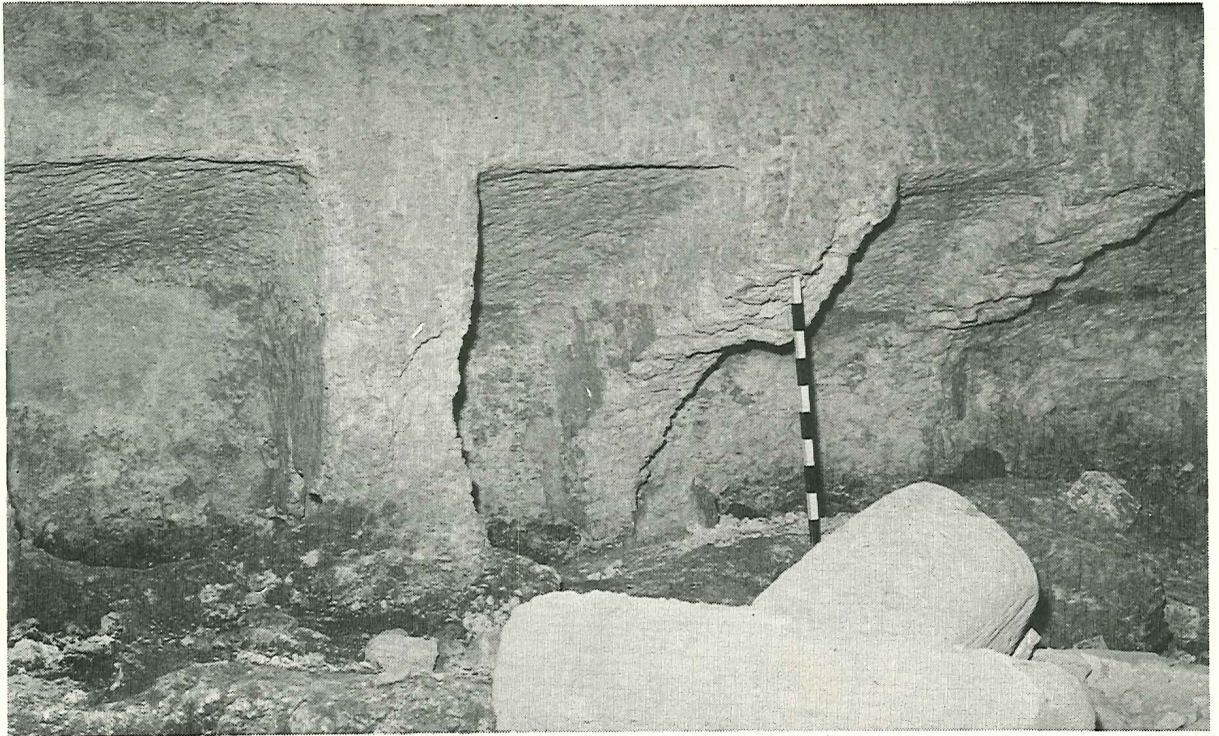


Fig. 1. The Khirbet Yajuz Tomb Loculi 1 - 4 (Left to Right) on the South Side

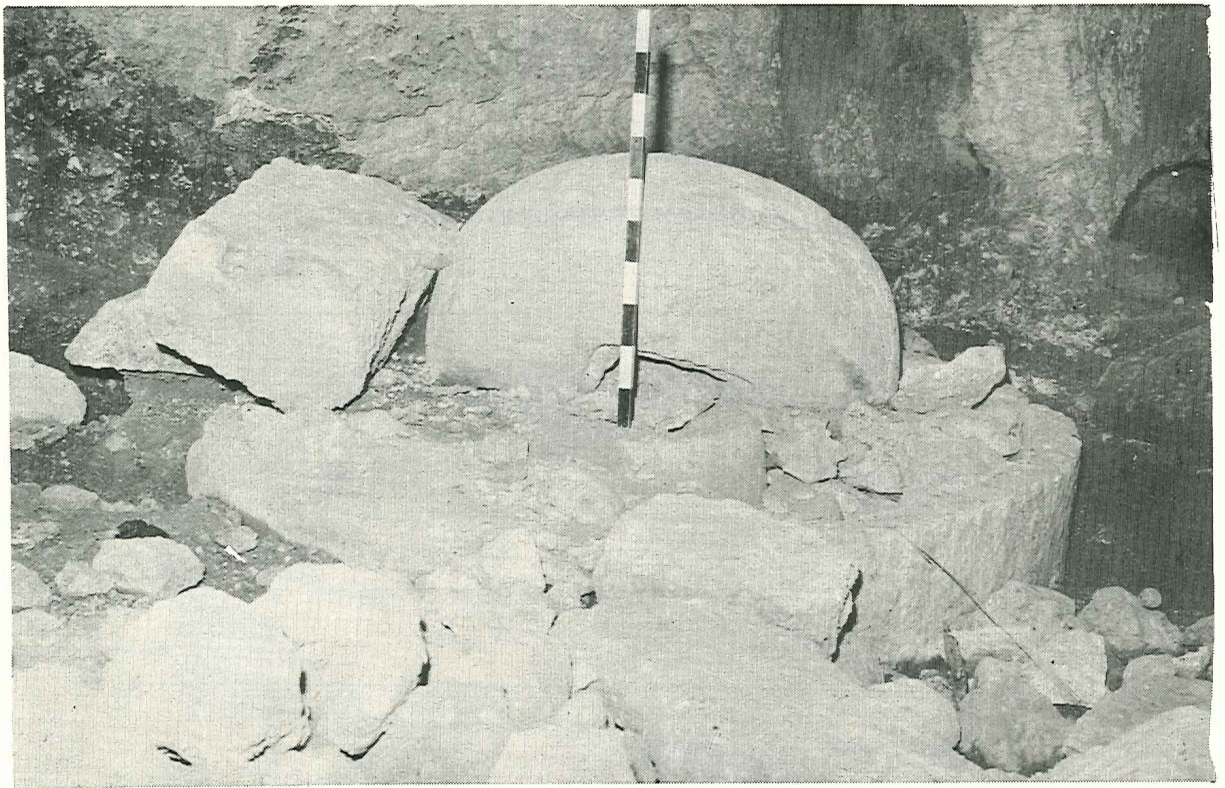


Fig. 2. The Basin (Locus 11) Before Excavation



Fig. 1. The basin and millstone after excavation. Note the foundation trench to the right of the meter stick at the 25- 30 cm mark.

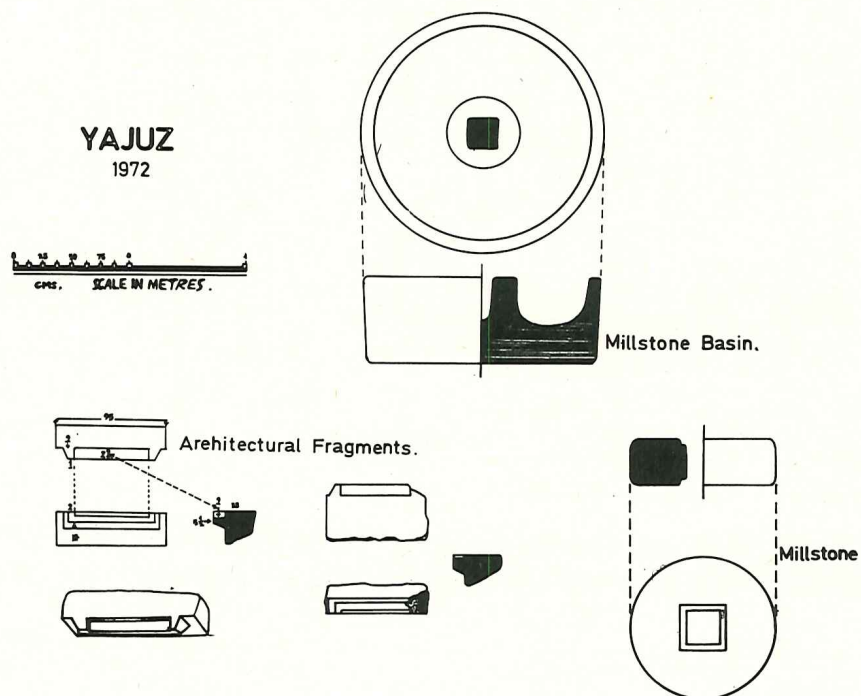


Fig. 2.

HENRY O. THOMPSON
EXCAVATION DIRECTOR

Draftsman:
Ismail Hazaz.

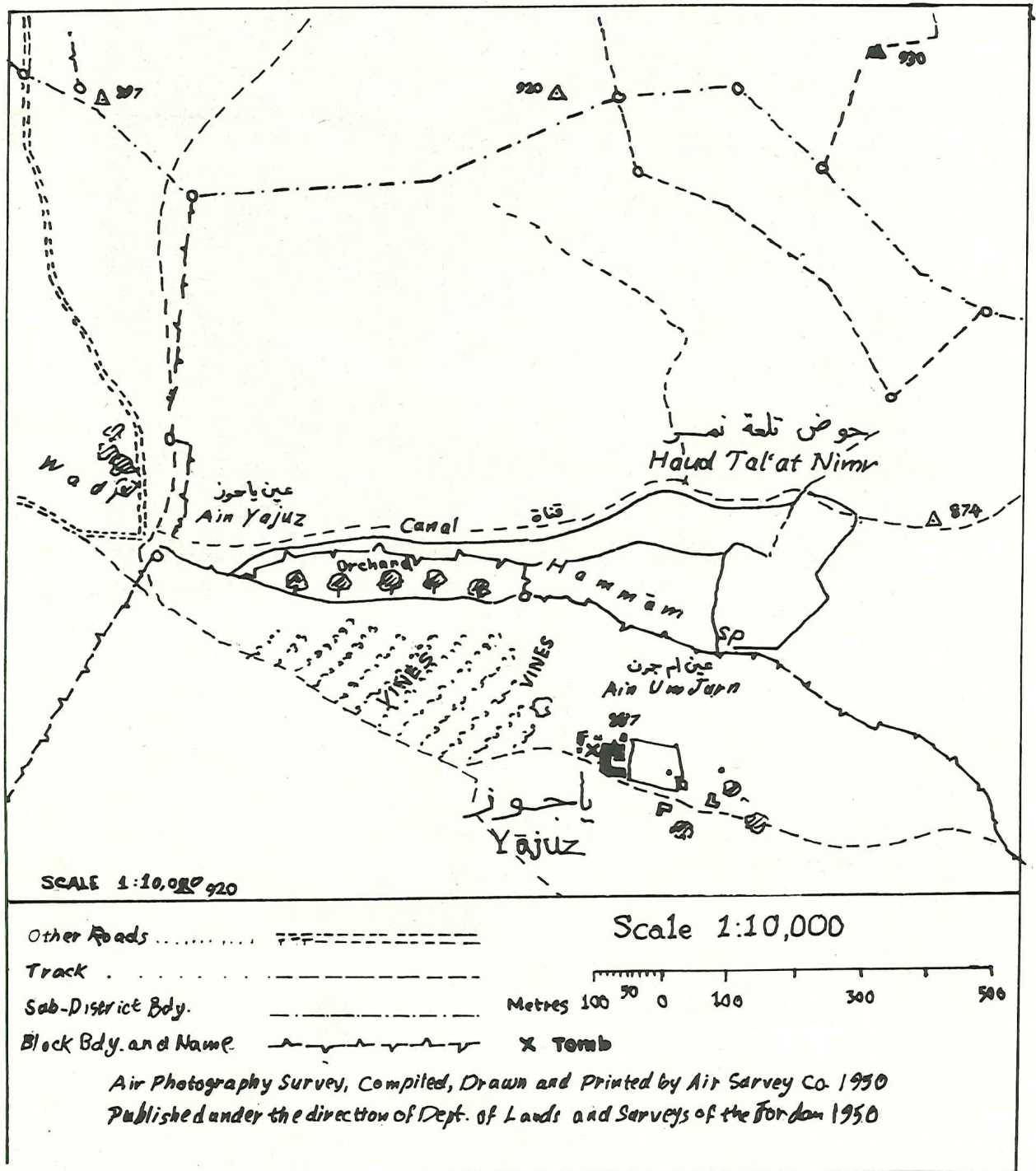




Fig. 1. To the left of the meter stick is the natural cave leading to the outside. To the right of the stick is the man made cave.

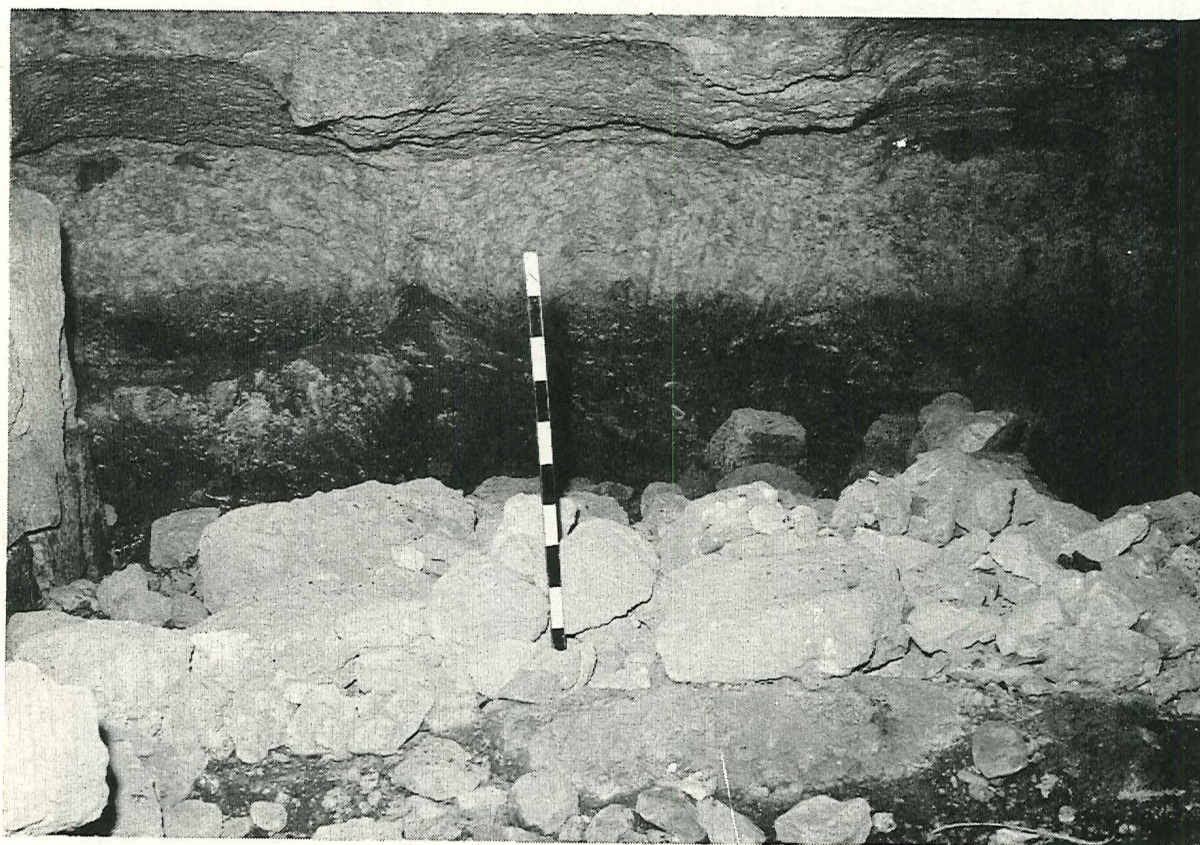


Fig. 2. The western loculi, showing collapse of partition walls. Note the patches of plaster high on the back wall in loculi 7 (left) and 9.



Fig. 2. One of the recess stones.

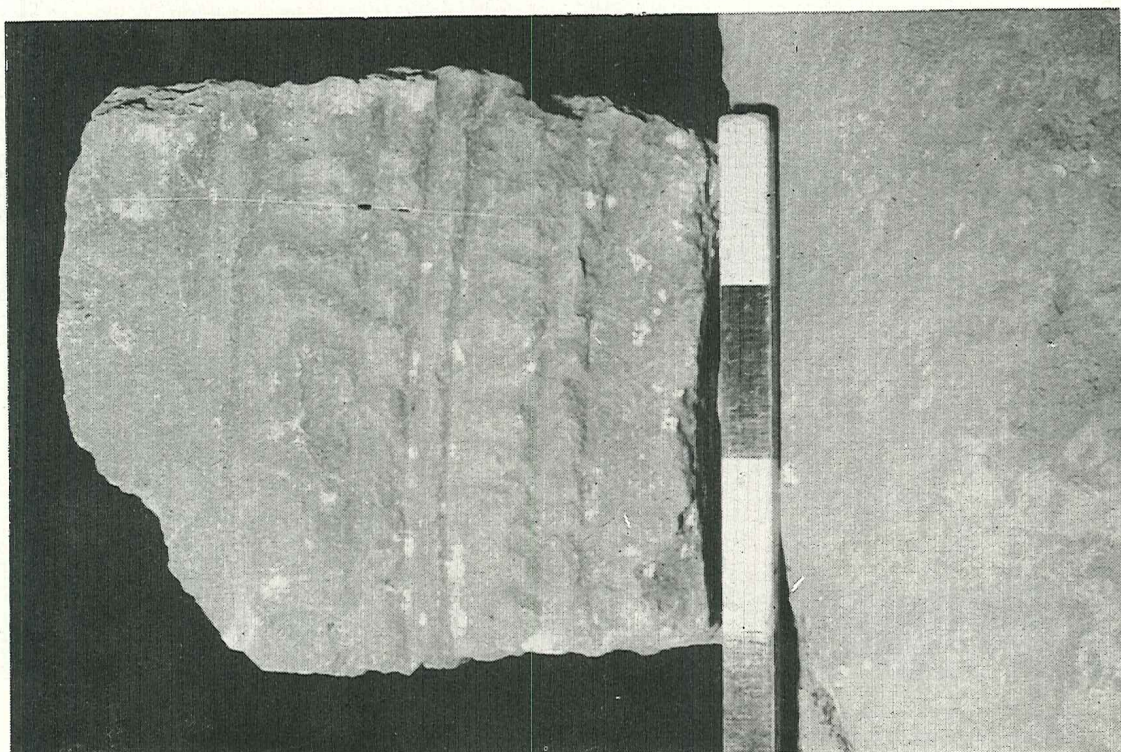


Fig. 1. One of the carved lintel blocks.

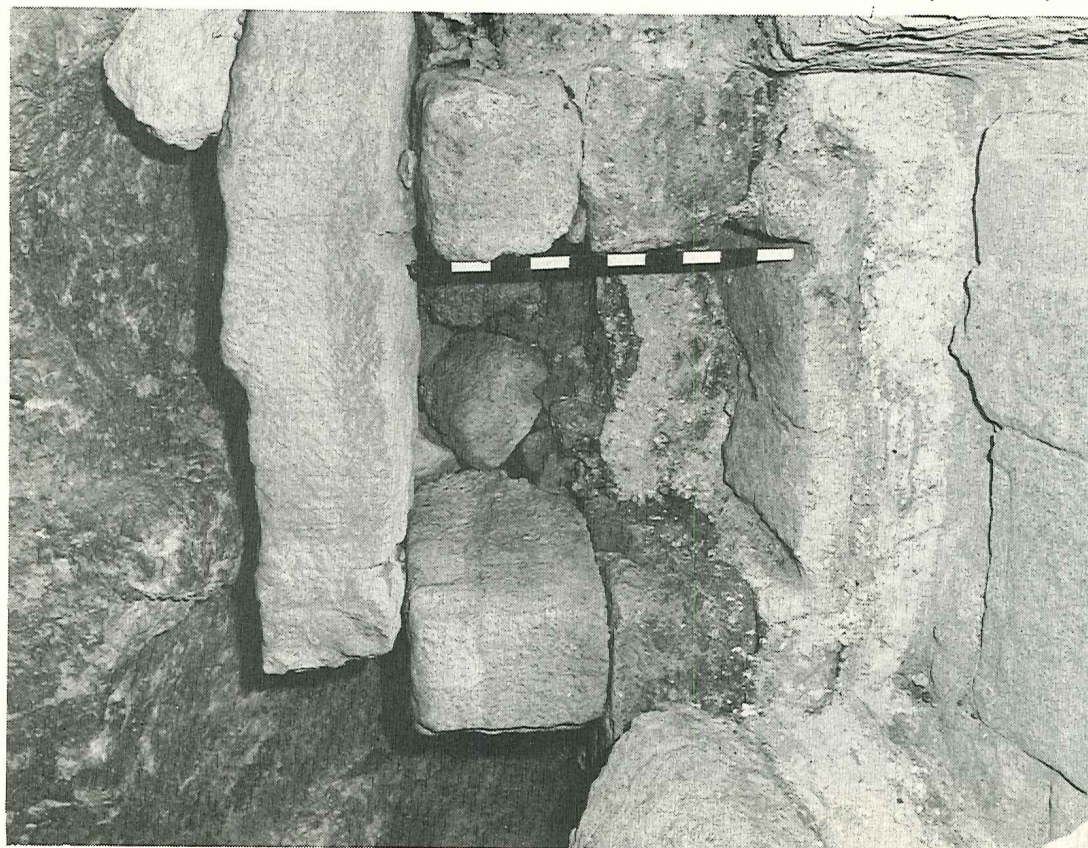


Fig. 2. The box-like structure built in locus 5 and part of 4. The bottom (under the meter stick) is composed of two slabs of rock with channels.



Fig. 1. The pavement south of the south well (left) and north of the box-like structure (right).

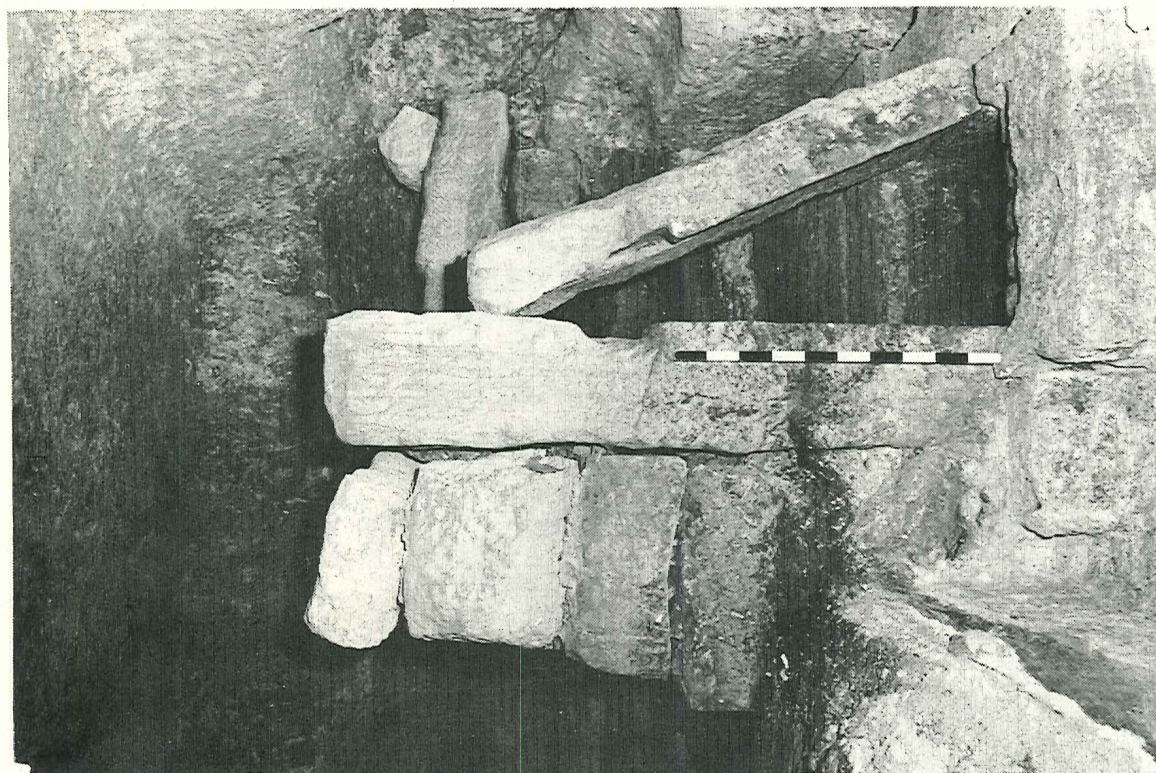


Fig. 1. The south press and well.

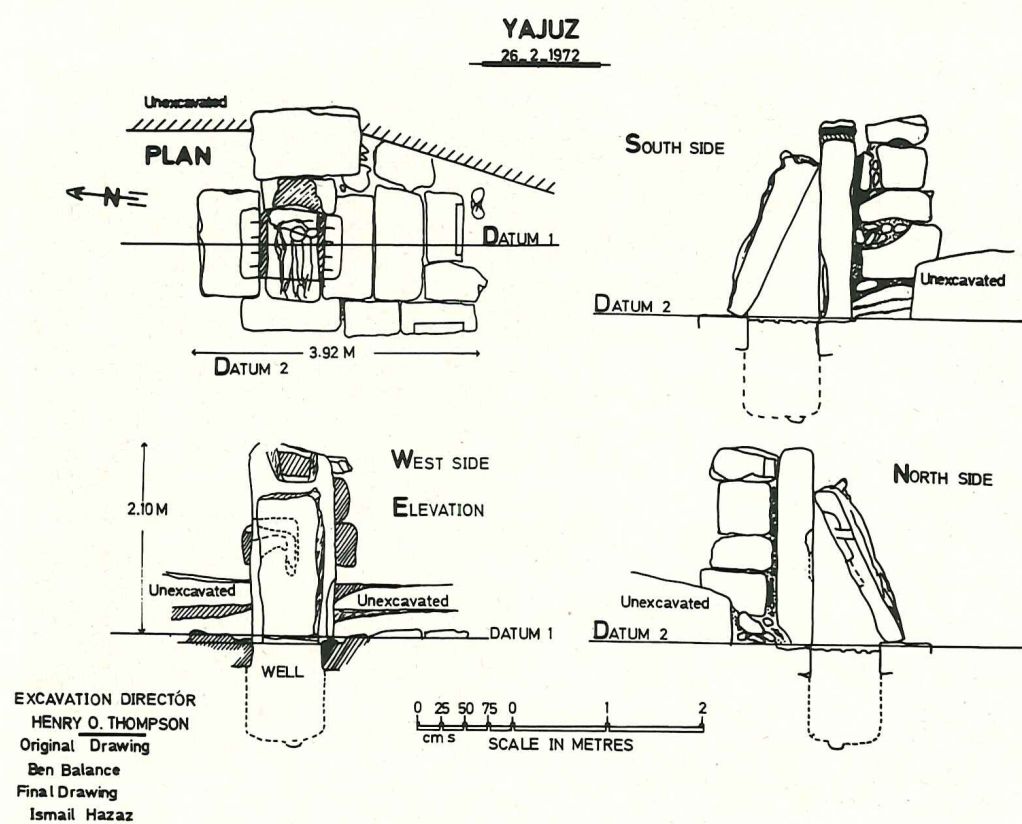


Fig. 2.



Fig. 1. The south well.



Fig. 2. The north press and well.



Fig. 1. The weights for the presses.





Loculus No. 4, showing remnant of plaster floor below the meter stick.



Fig. 1. Rujm el-Malfuf north. Photo : Zayadine

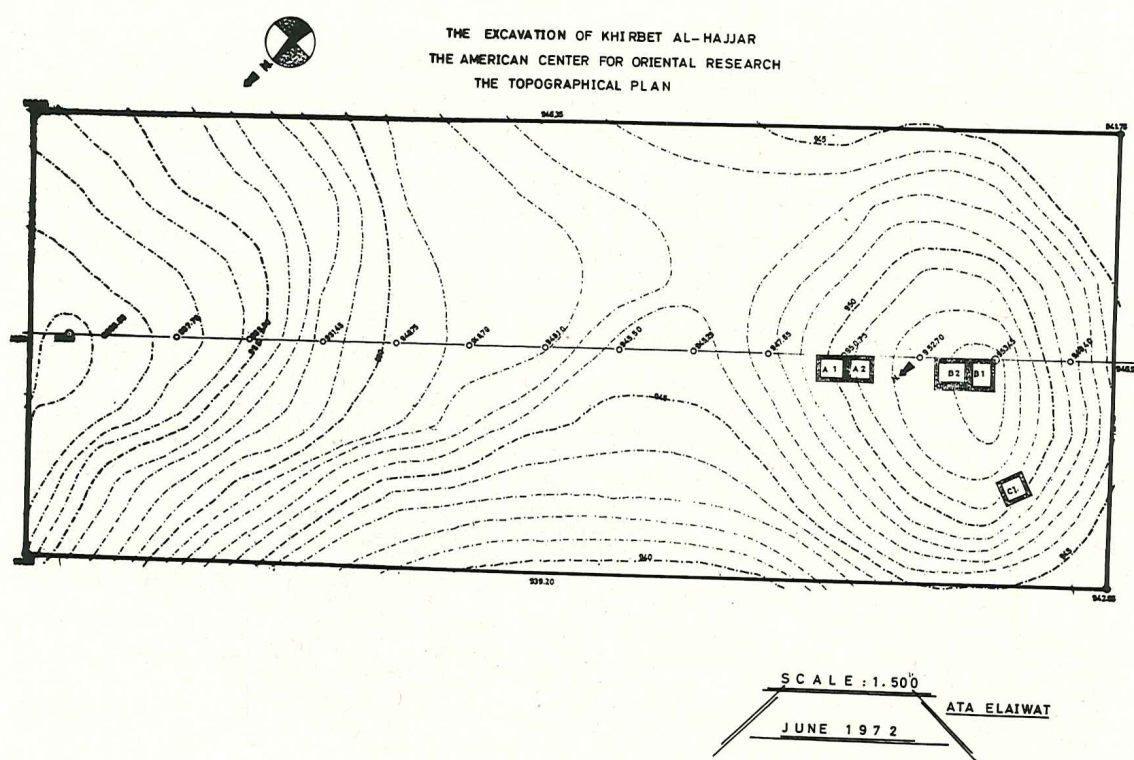


Fig. 2.

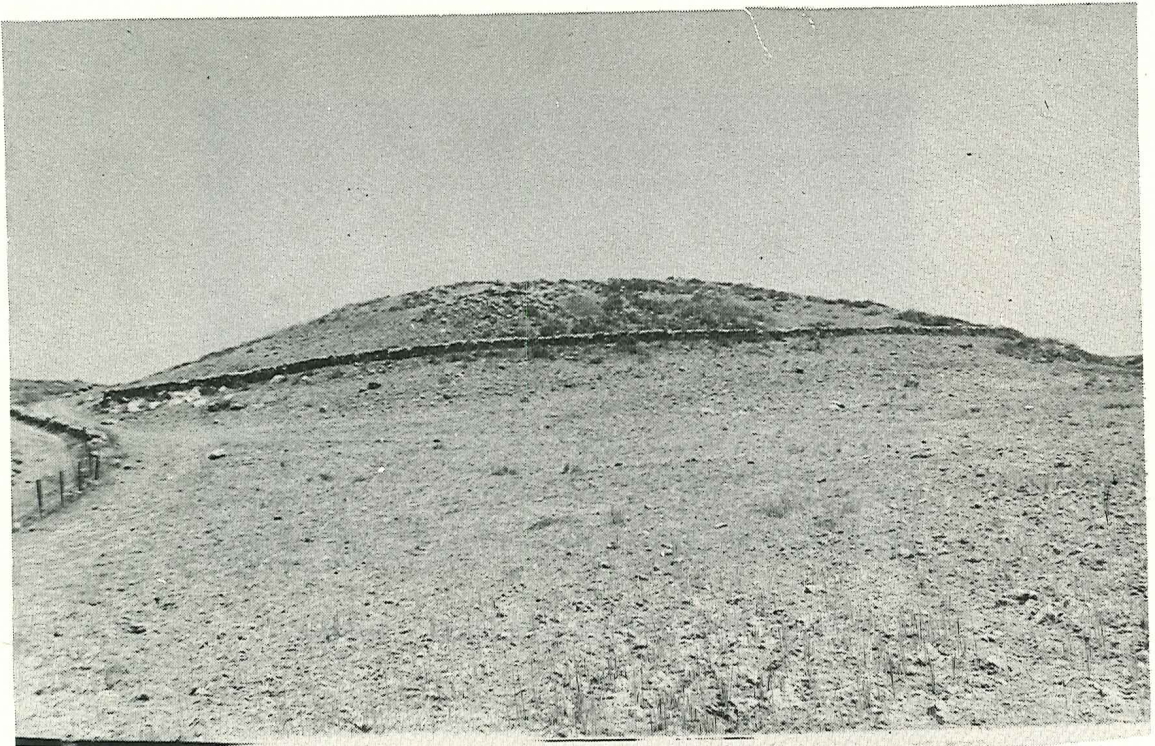


Fig. 1. Khirbet al-Hajjar from the west. Photo: JNA



Fig. 2. Looking north from Khirbet al-Hajjar. Just beyond the asphalt road in the center of the picture, is Qasr er-Ronaq. Suweilah is on the horizon slightly left of center. Photo : JNA



Fig. 2. The staff of Khirbet al-Ijlajjar. Front (left to right) : Seif Hadad, Marwan Abu Khalaf, Khamis Fahd, Mohammed Adawi. Standing : Janie Miller, Robert Miller, Katrine Zriakat, Fawzi Zayadine, Mahmoud Bargawe, Dan Schak, Yolande Steger, Mohammed Murshed Khadijah, Henry O. Thompson, Nazmiah Rida.

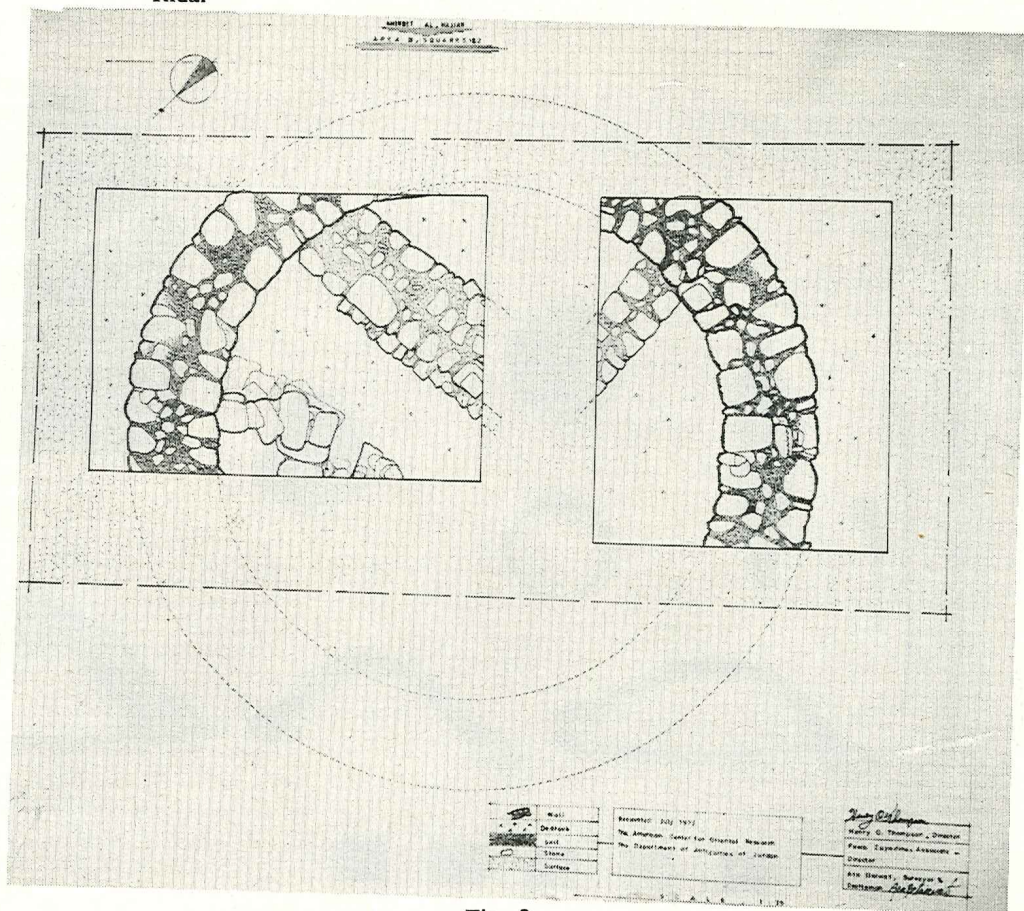


Fig. 2.



Fig. 1. Wall 3, with the window or niche Area C, Square 1,

Photo JNA

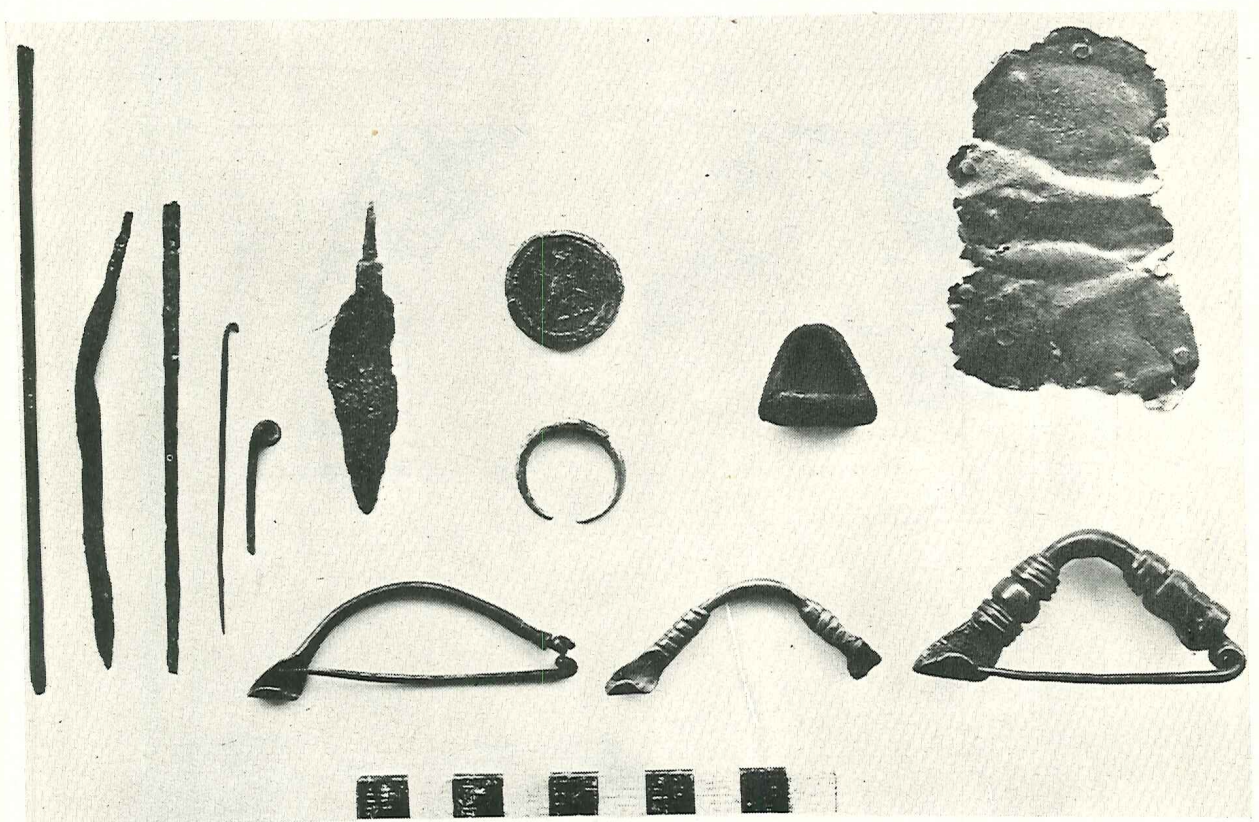


Fig. 2. The metal objects from Khirbet al-Hajjar.

A black and white photograph showing a close-up of a stone wall. The wall is constructed from large, irregular, roughly-hewn stones. A vertical measuring tape is positioned against the wall, indicating its height or thickness. The wall appears to be part of a larger, more complex structure, possibly a fortification or a large building, with a rough, uneven surface. The lighting is bright, casting shadows that emphasize the texture of the stones.

— 141 —

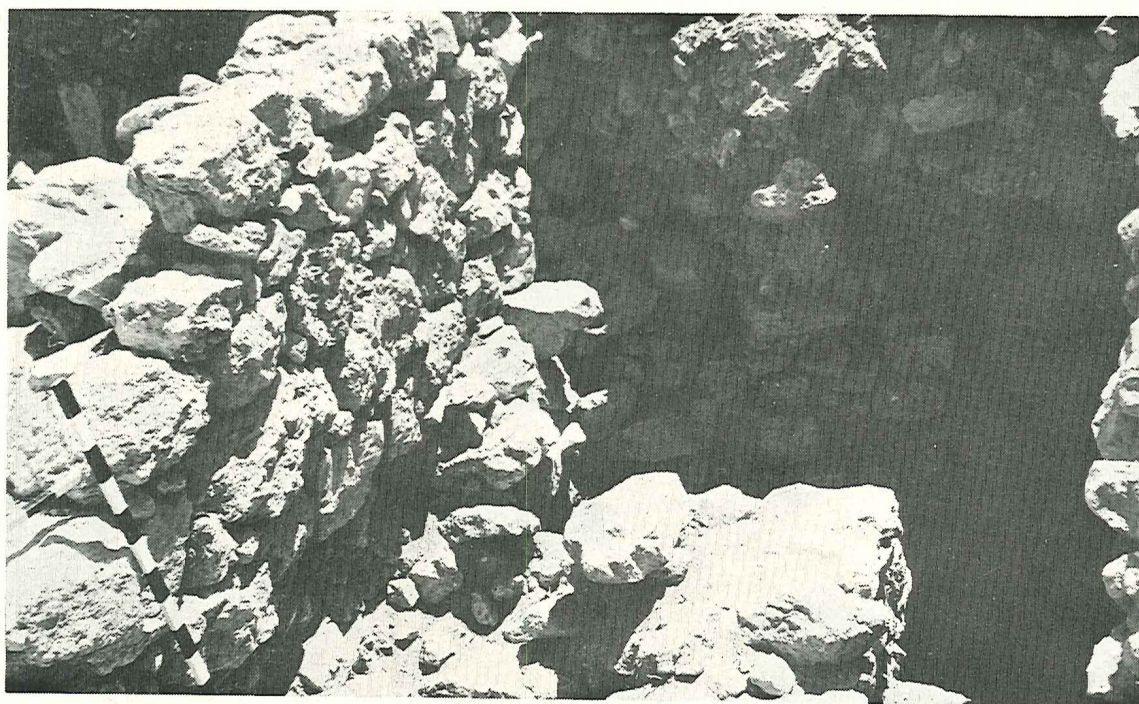


Fig. 1. Area A, Square 1, Wall 12 (center), Wall 4 (left) and Locus 14 between them.



Fig. 2. The seals.



Fig. 1. The seals



Fig. 2. Stone and Pottery objects.



Fig. 1. Area A, Square 2, Wall 2, center; Wall 5 on the left; rebuild on Wall 2, background left, beyond Wall 5.



Fig. 2. Object No. 36, Phoenician Coin from Area B, Square 1, Locus 6.

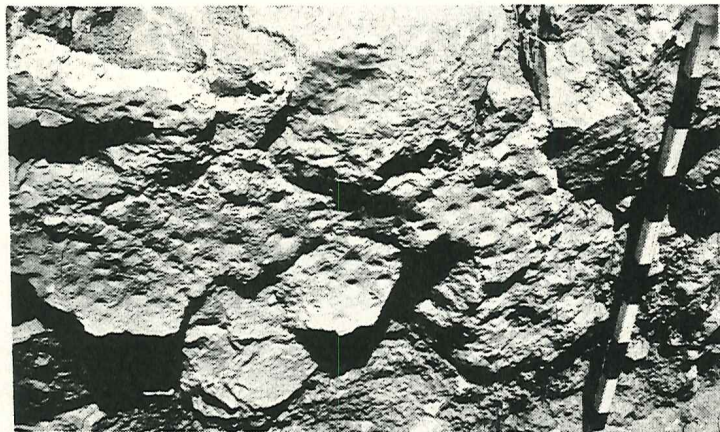


Fig. 3. Plaster on Area B, Square 1, Wall 16, on the outside of the tower, near Wall 17.

KH AL-HAJJAR

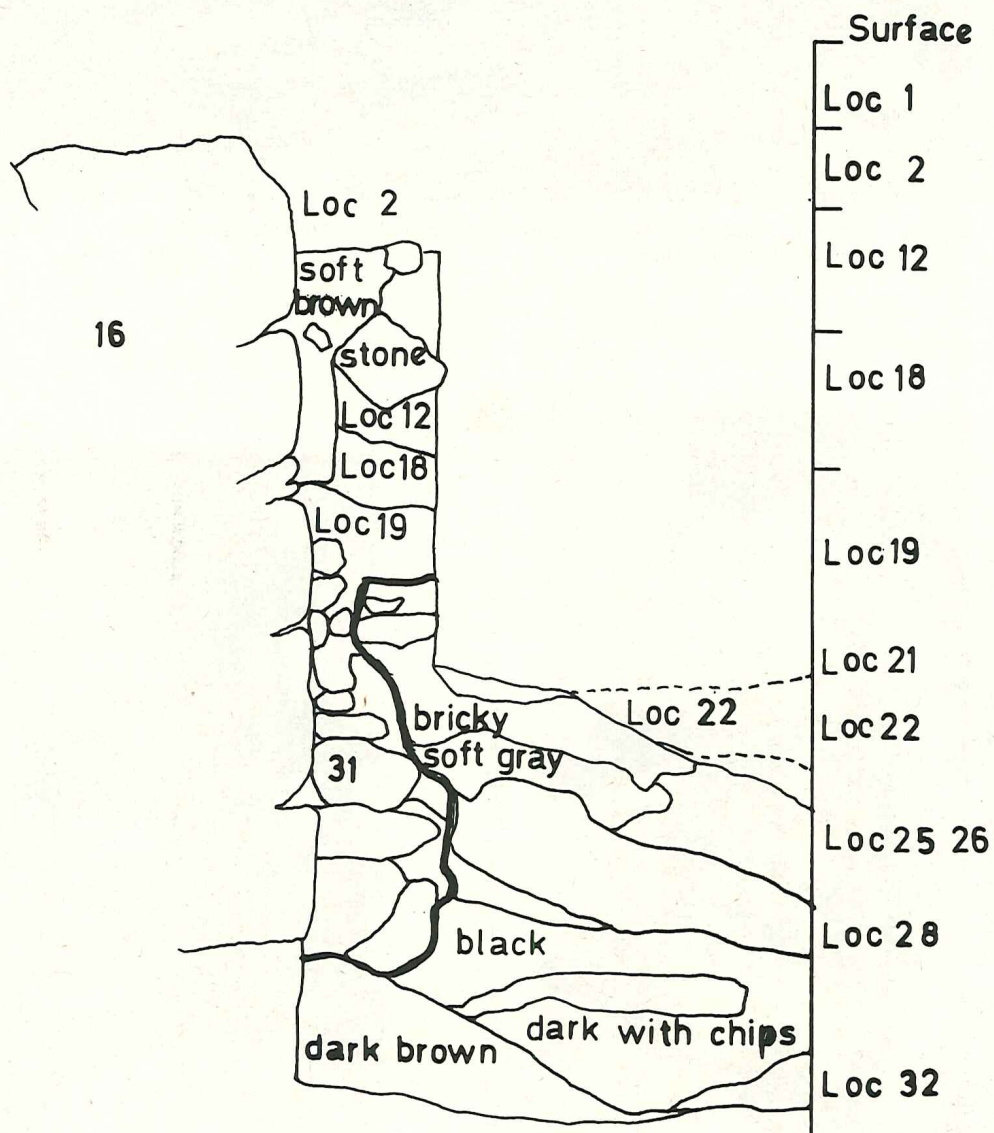
P.1

SUBSIDIARY BULK

SCALE 1:25

19_20 JULY

S. HADDAD



Area B, Square 1, Section Drawing, showing tower foundation trench, Locus 31, in subsidiary balk against tower Wall 16.



Fig. 1. Area B, Square 1, Wall 16, south (outer) face. The plaster (Plate) is slightly left of center.
Photo : JNA

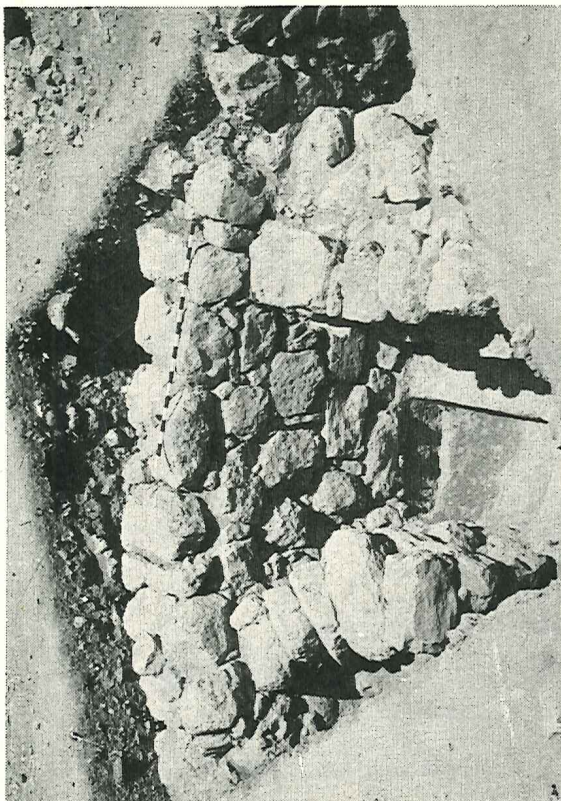


Fig. 2. Area B, Square 2, Walls 6 (carve), 8 (right) and 13 (left).

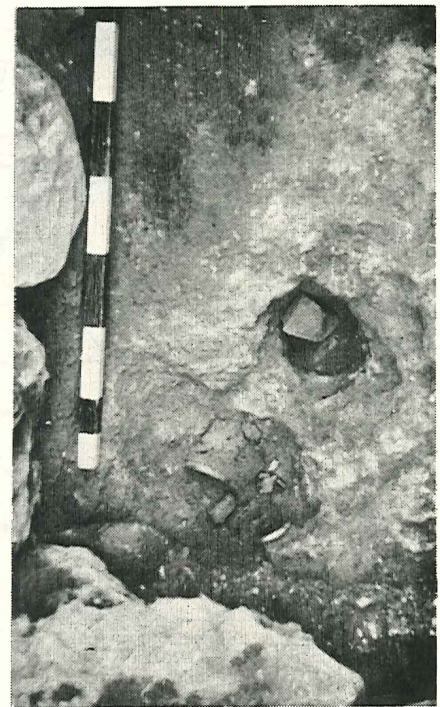
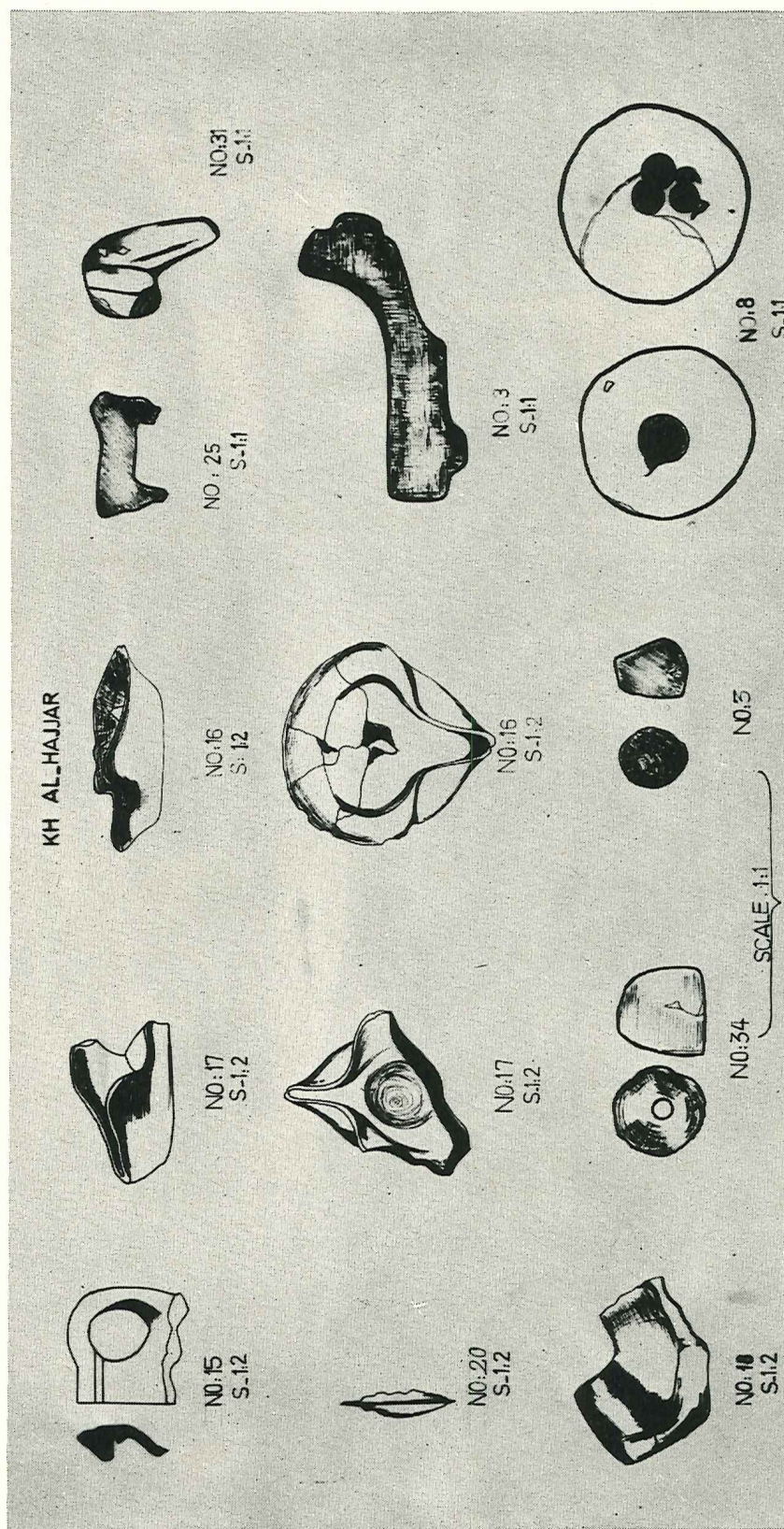


Fig. 3. Area B, Square 2, Locus 12, cook pot fragments «in situ.»



Objects drawn to show perspective.

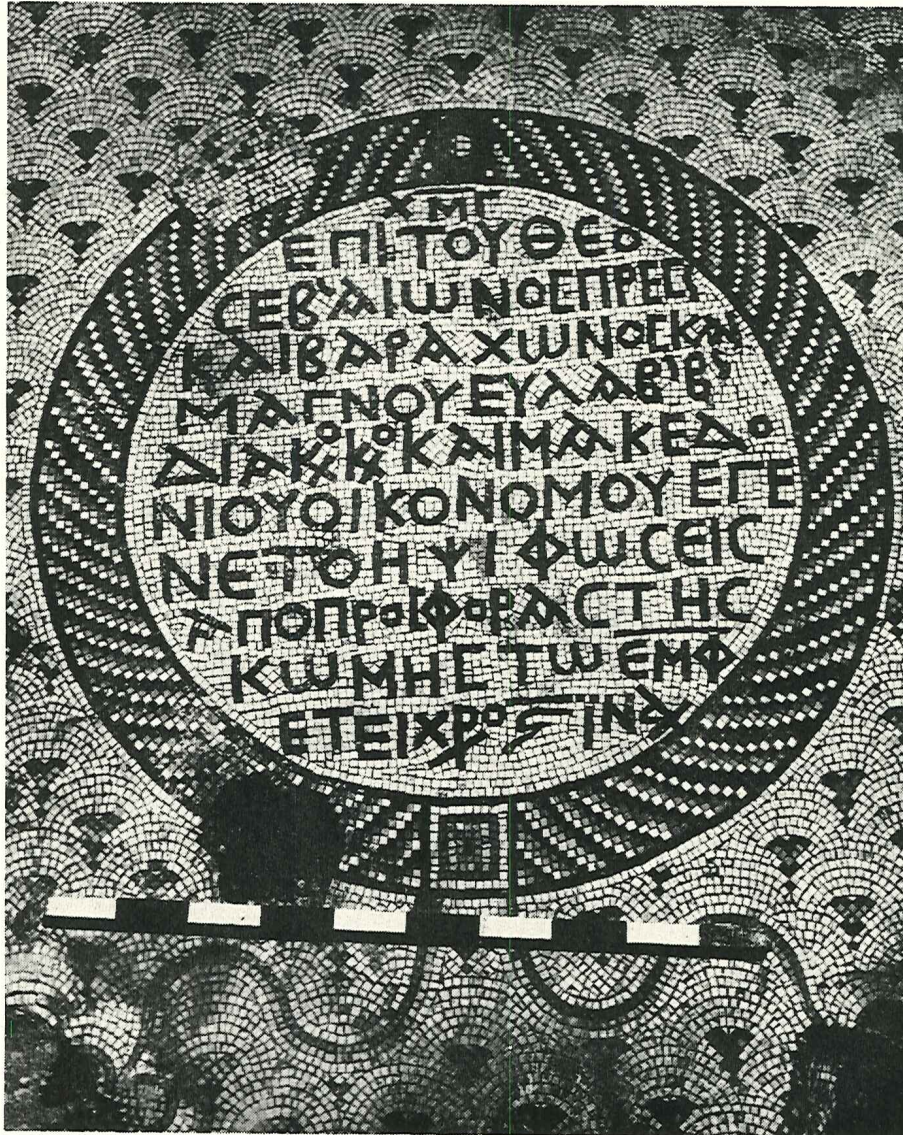
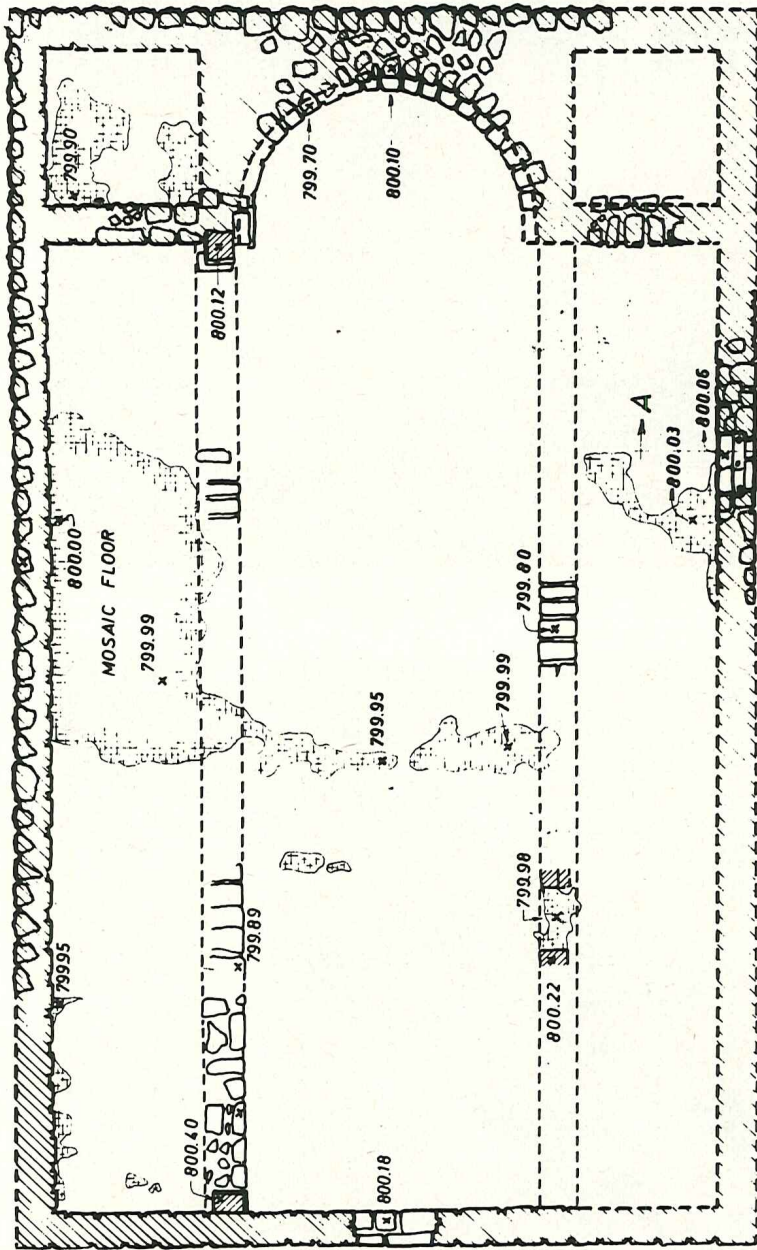


Plate 1. The inscription from Maqati



NOTE: THE ELEVATION OF 800 METERS ABOVE SEA LEVEL WAS ARBITRARILY CHOSEN.

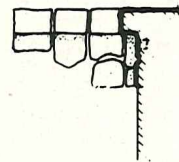
SALAYTA DISTRICT CHURCH

MADABA

DRAWN JANUARY 1973

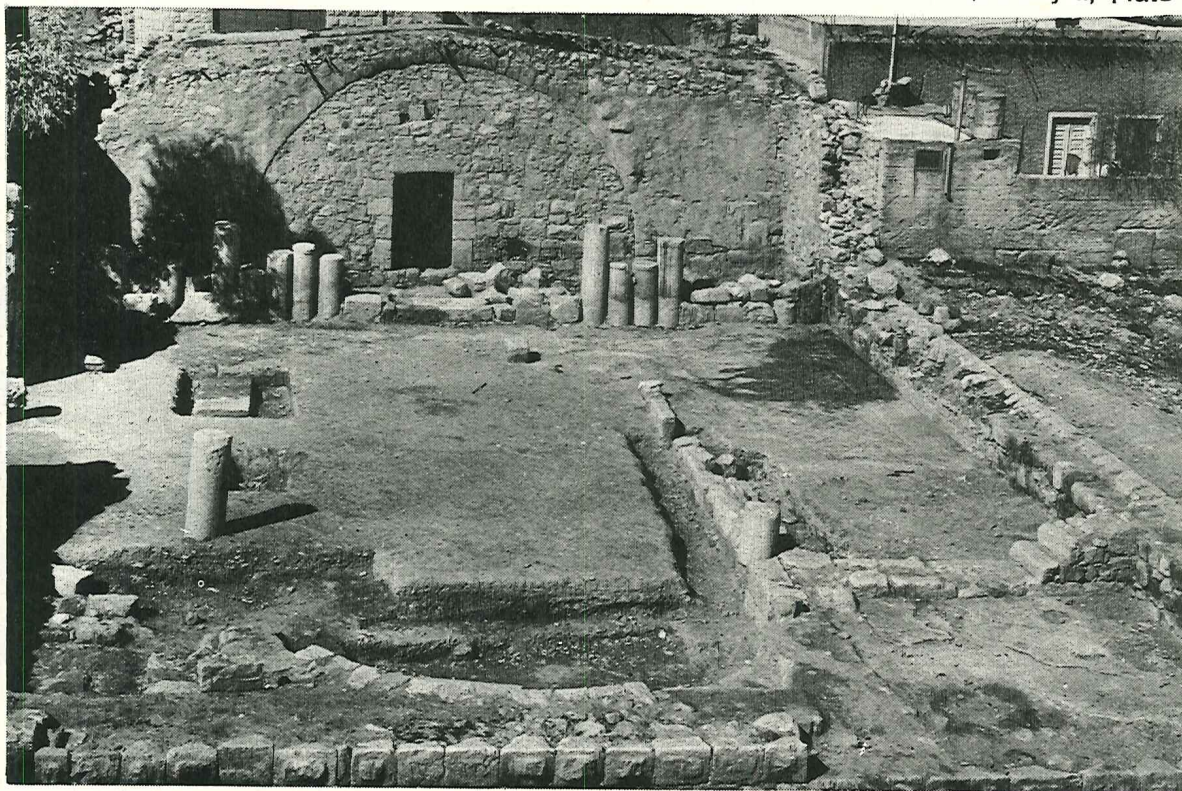
BY BERT DEVRIES

SCALE METERS

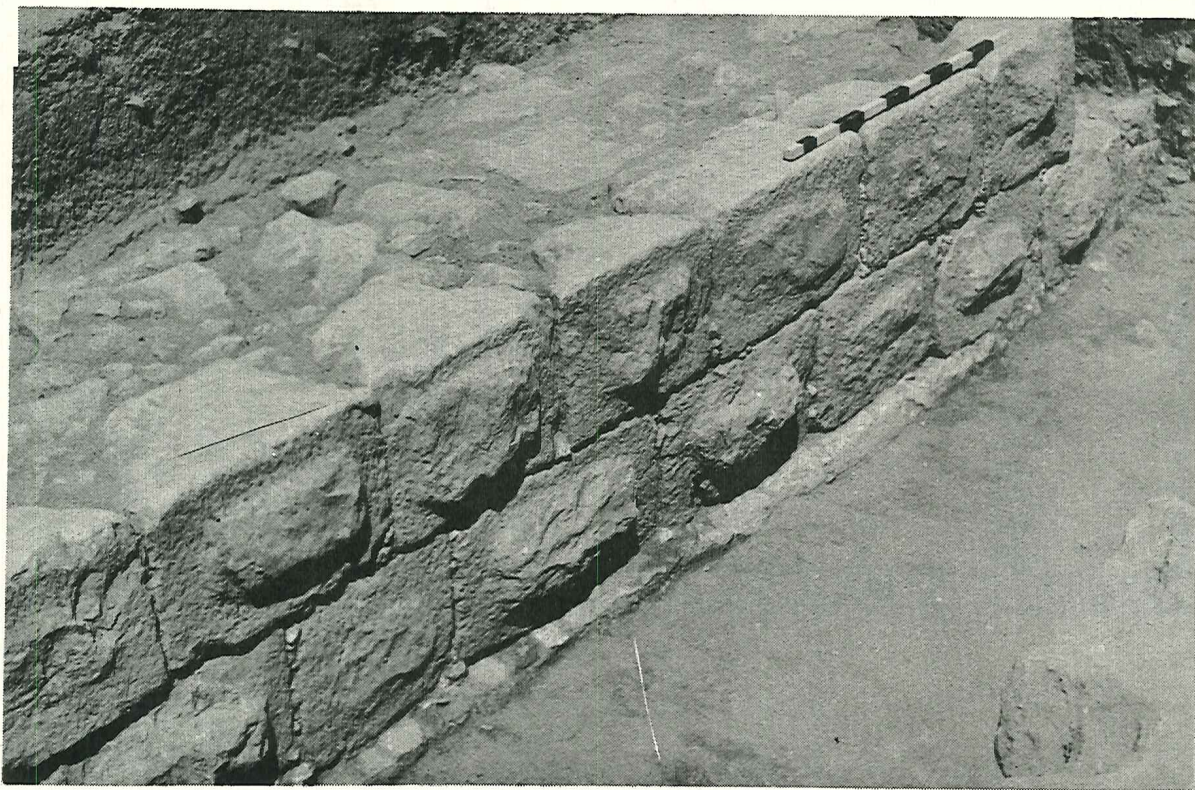


SECTION A-A

DOUBLE SCALE



A. General view of Salayta District Church as seen looking west.



B. Outside face of the east wall of church.



A. Western doorway, partially blocked up.



B. Doorway in south wall of church.



B. Square panel in western part of the north aisle.



A. Mosaic floor in north aisle of church.



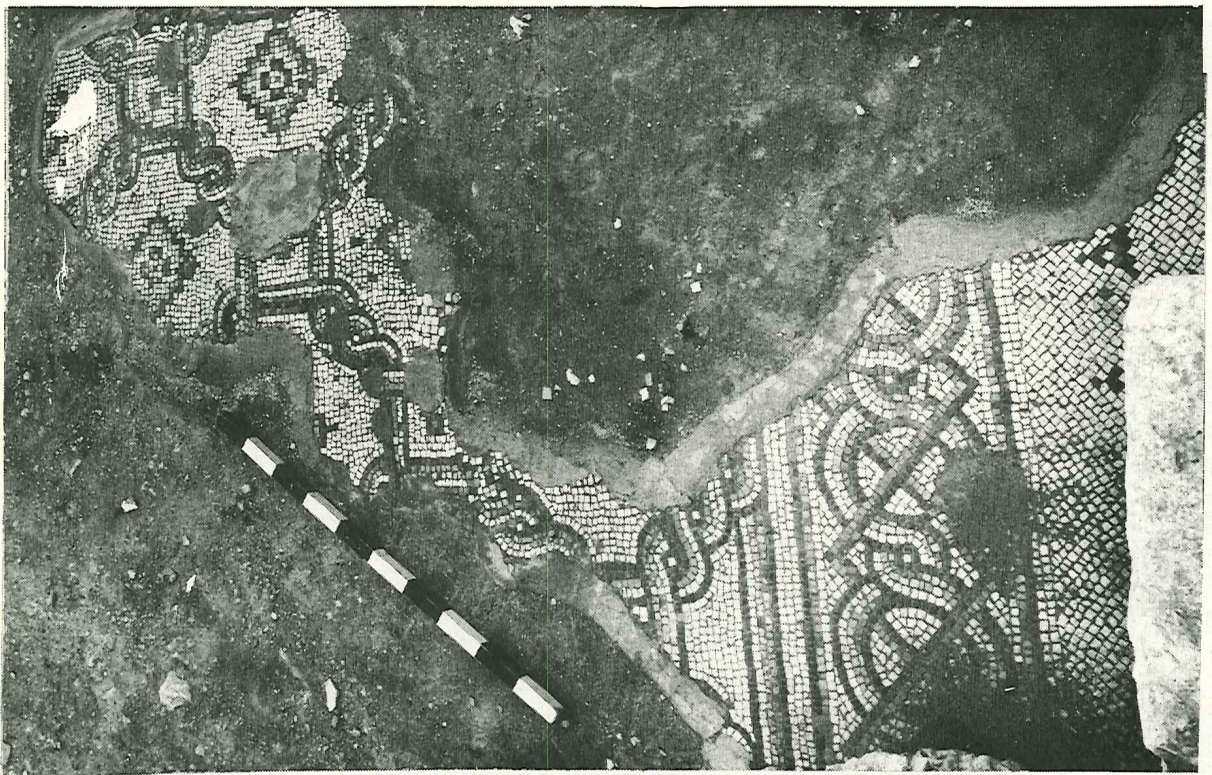
A. Large rectangular panel in north aisle of church.



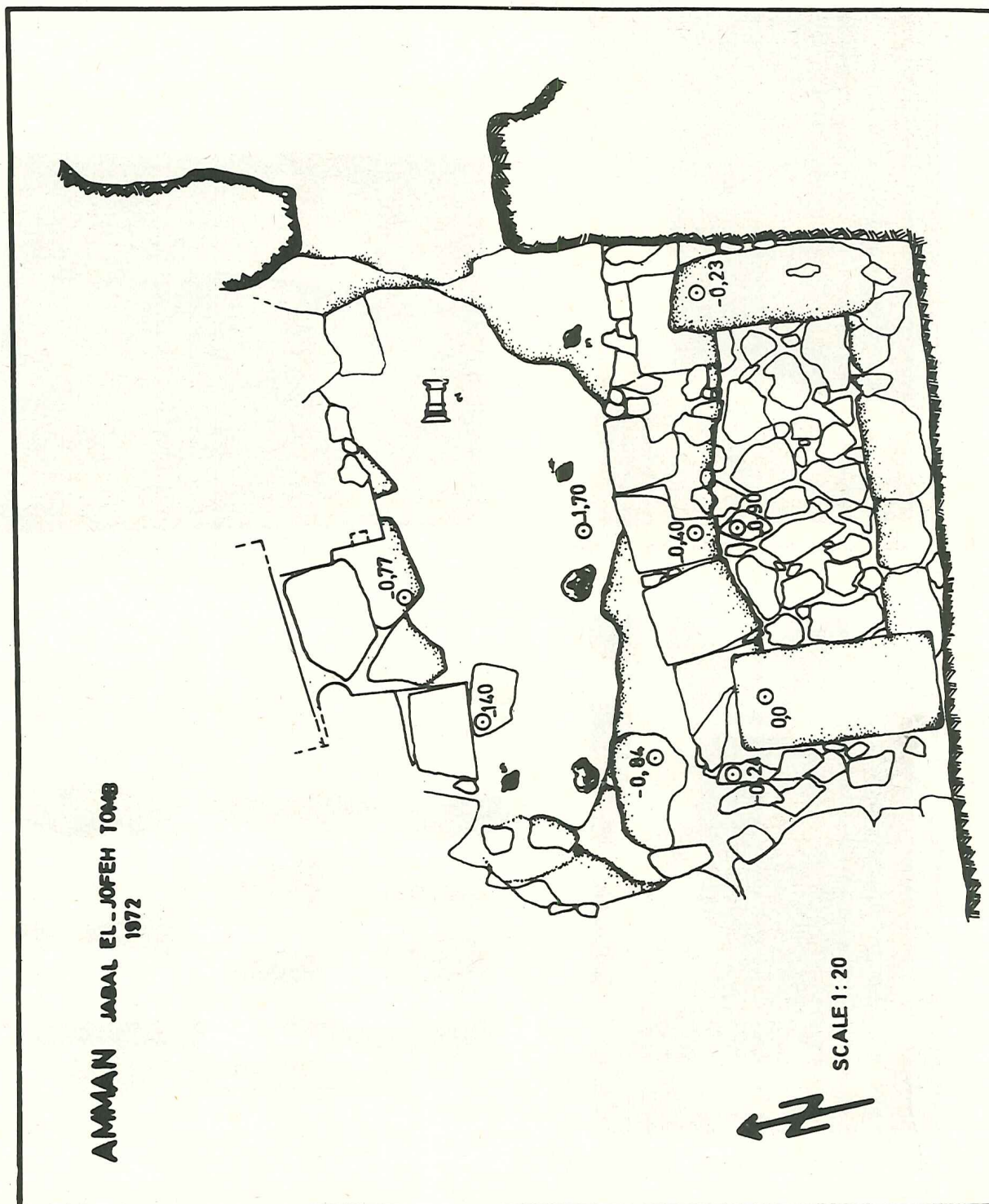
B. A fragment of the mosaic floor in the nave of the church.



A. Another fragment of the mosaic floor in the nave of the church.



B. Fragment of mosaic floor in the south aisle.



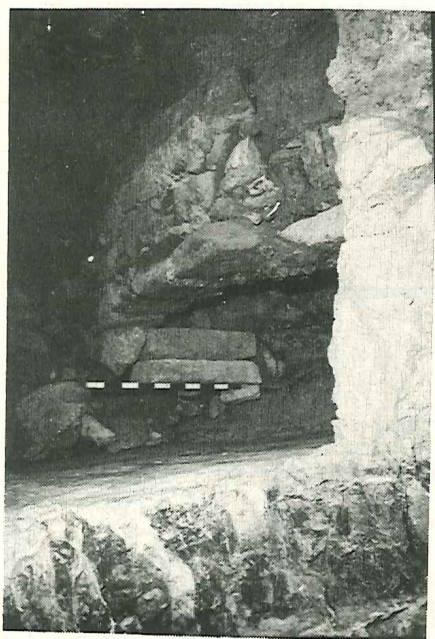


Fig.1. A grave along the southern side of the cave.

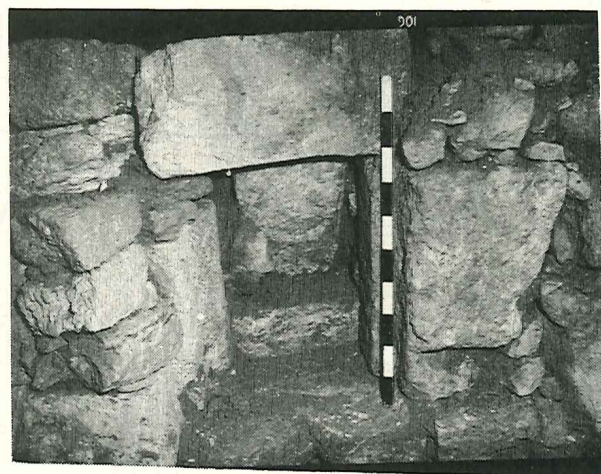


Fig. 2. The entrance to the tomb

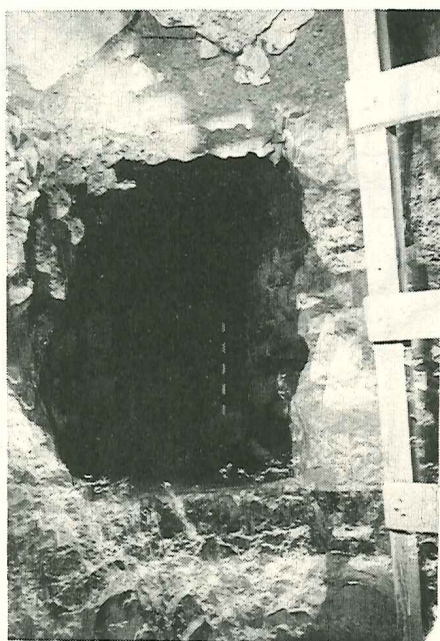


Fig. 3. The newly formed opening in the Eastern side

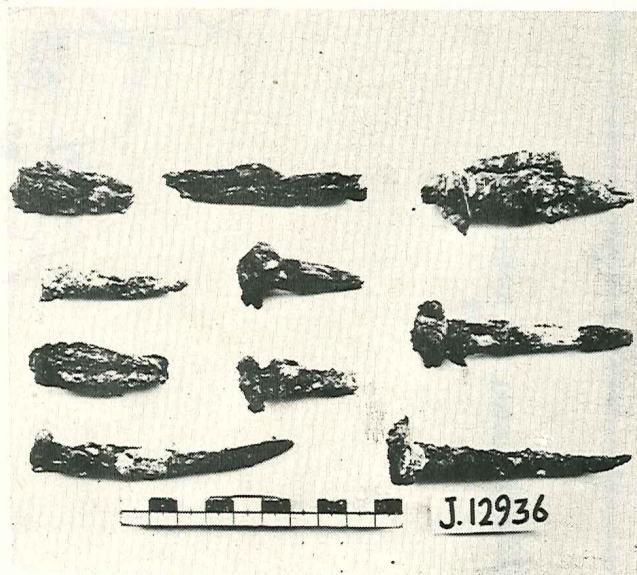


Fig. 4. Iron nails



Fig. 2. Lamps from Jabal Jofeh Tomb



Fig. 1. Lamps from Jabal Jofeh tomb

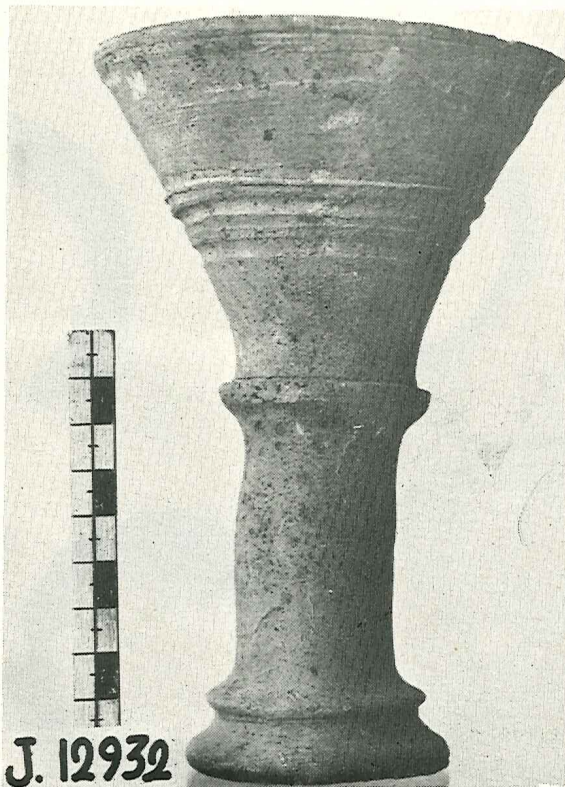


Fig. 3. Candlestick from Jabal Jofeh tomb.

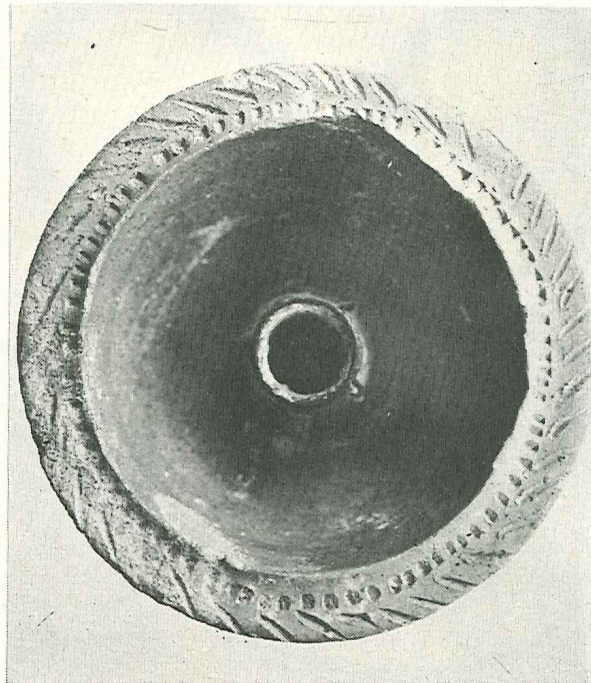


Fig. 4. Rim and Spout of candlestick



Fig. 1. Glass flask.



Fig. 2. Bronze Bracelets from Jabal Jofeh tomb.

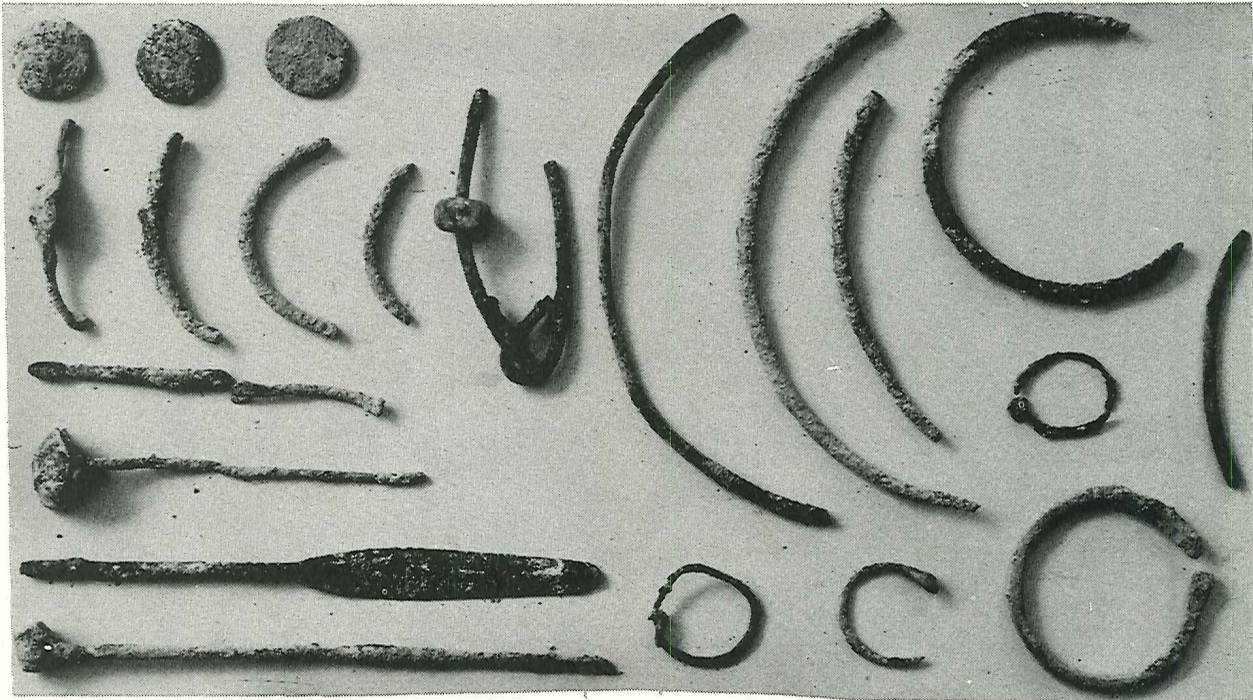


Fig. 1. Bronze objects from Jabal Jofeh tomb

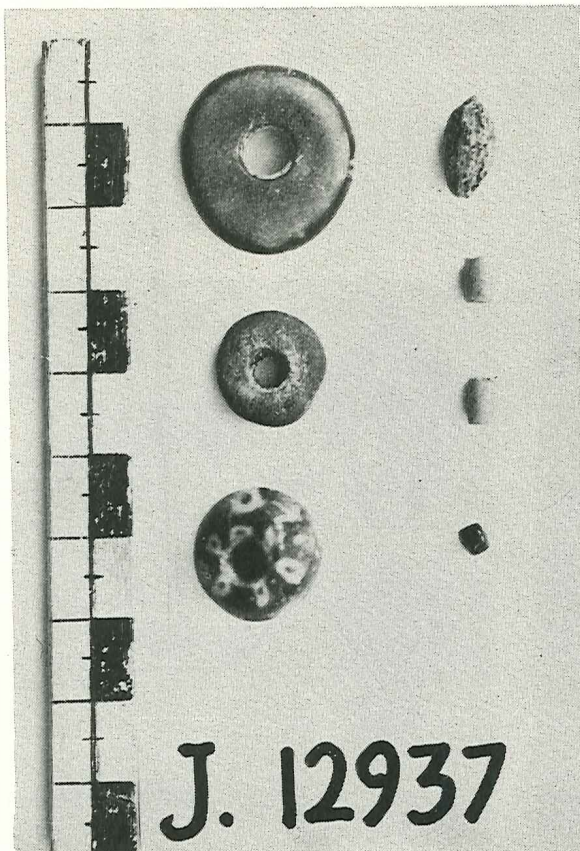


Fig. 3. Olive seed and Beads from Jabal : Jofeh tomb

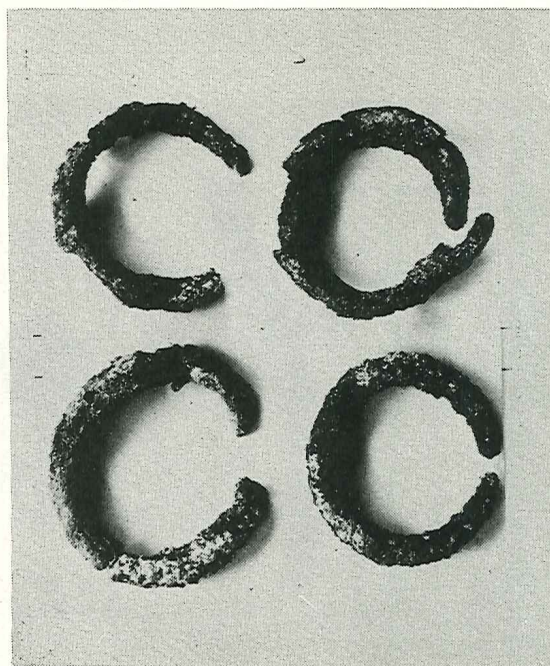


Fig. 2. Iron Bracelets

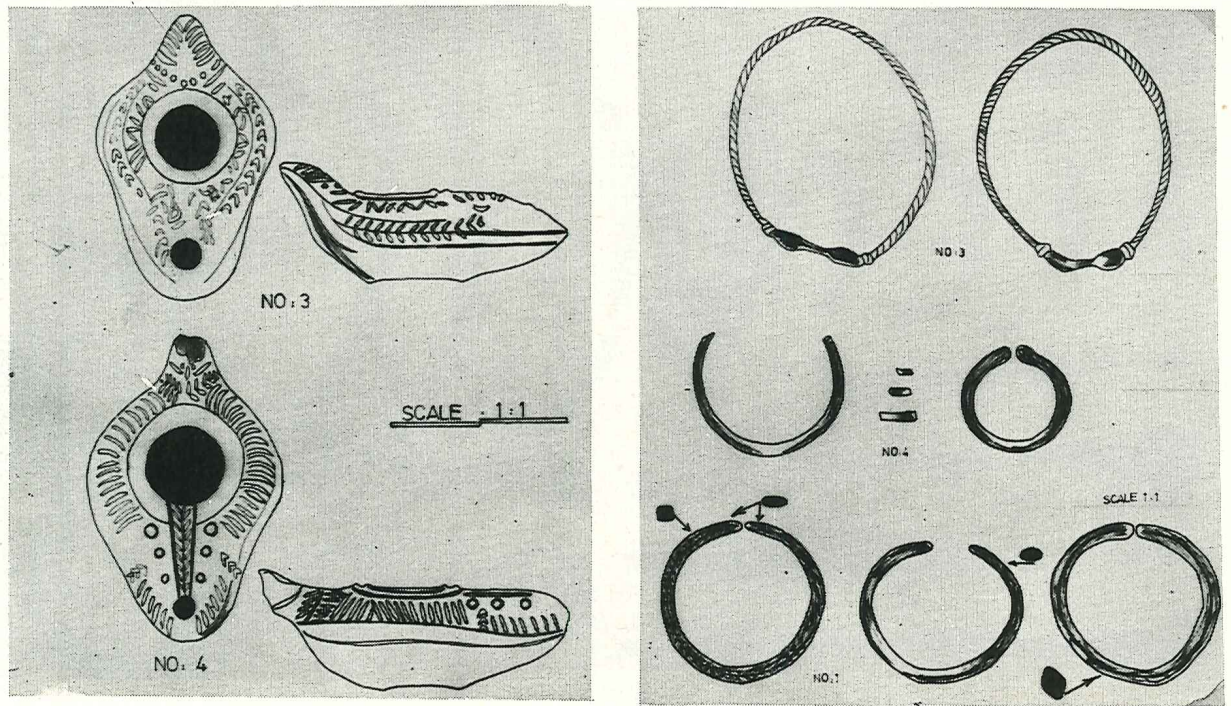


Fig. 1.

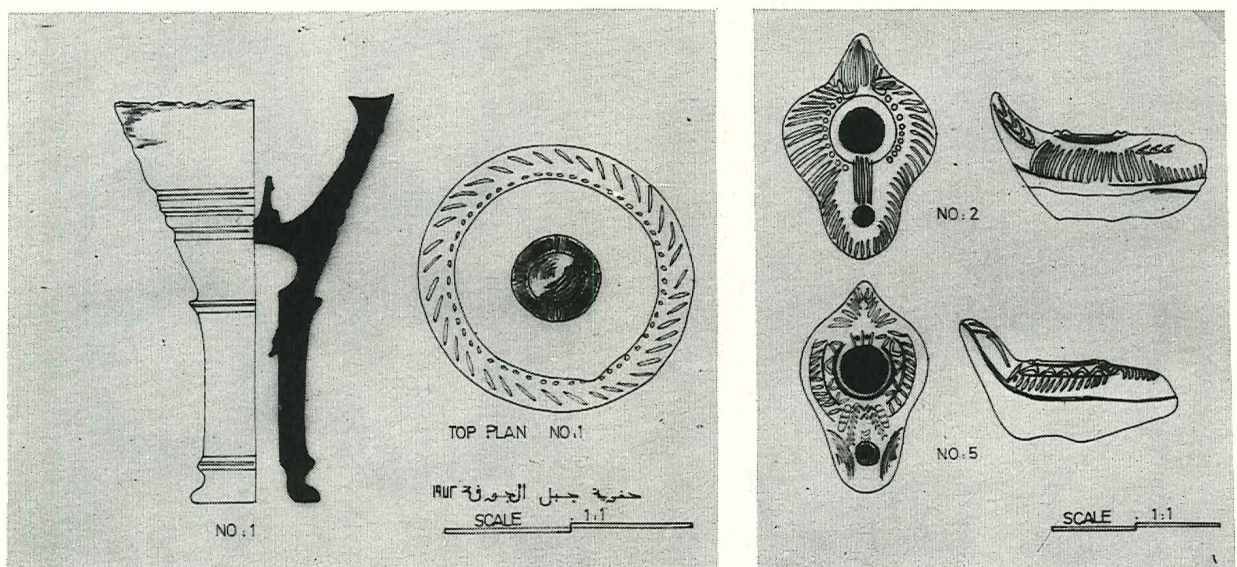
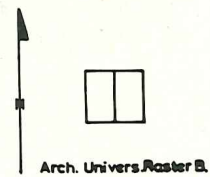
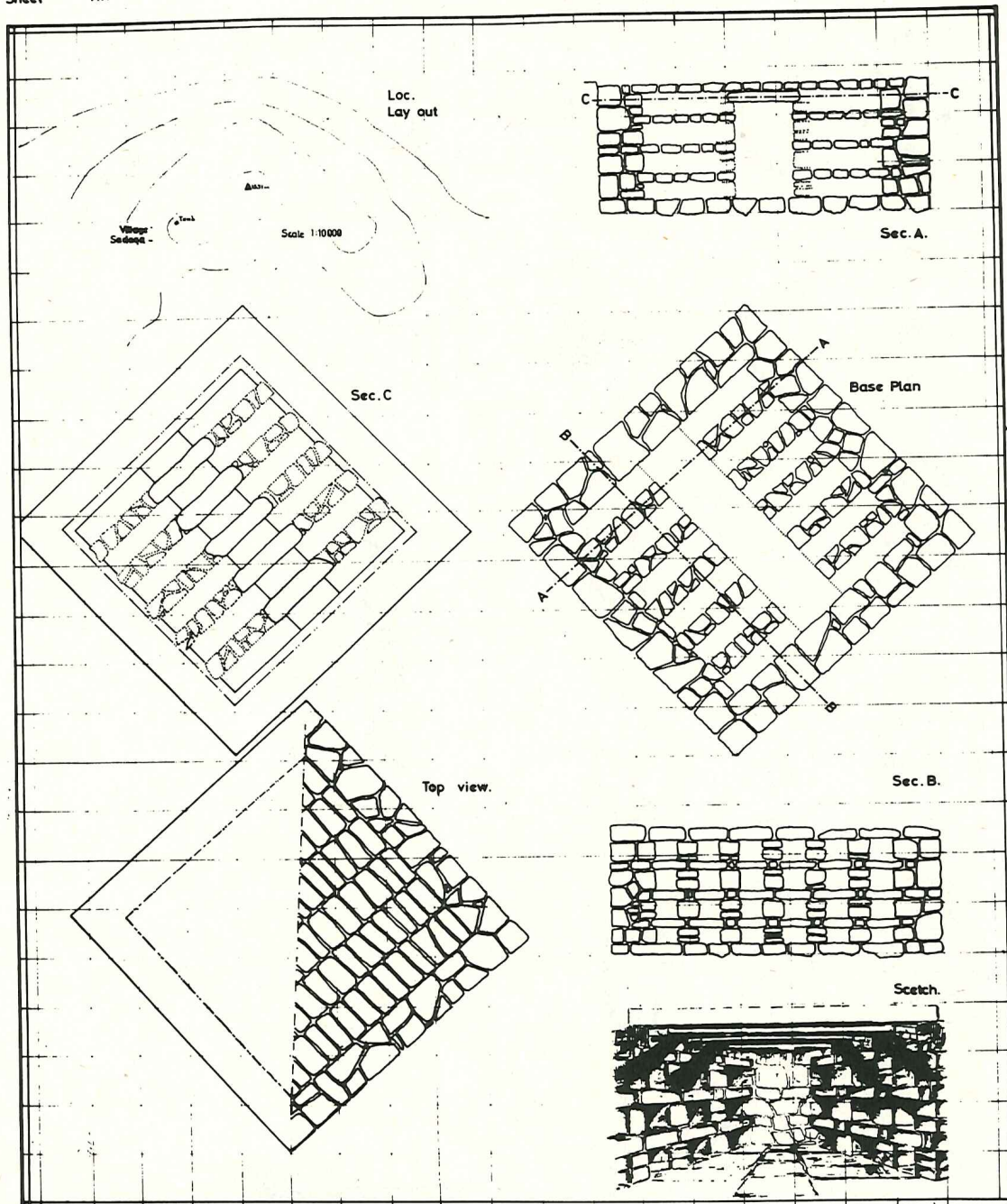


Fig. 2.

Gen Index Nr. F. I. 3
 PL Index Nr 1/4
 Site Nr.
 Sheet Nr.

Block Nr.
 Scale 1:50

SADAQA



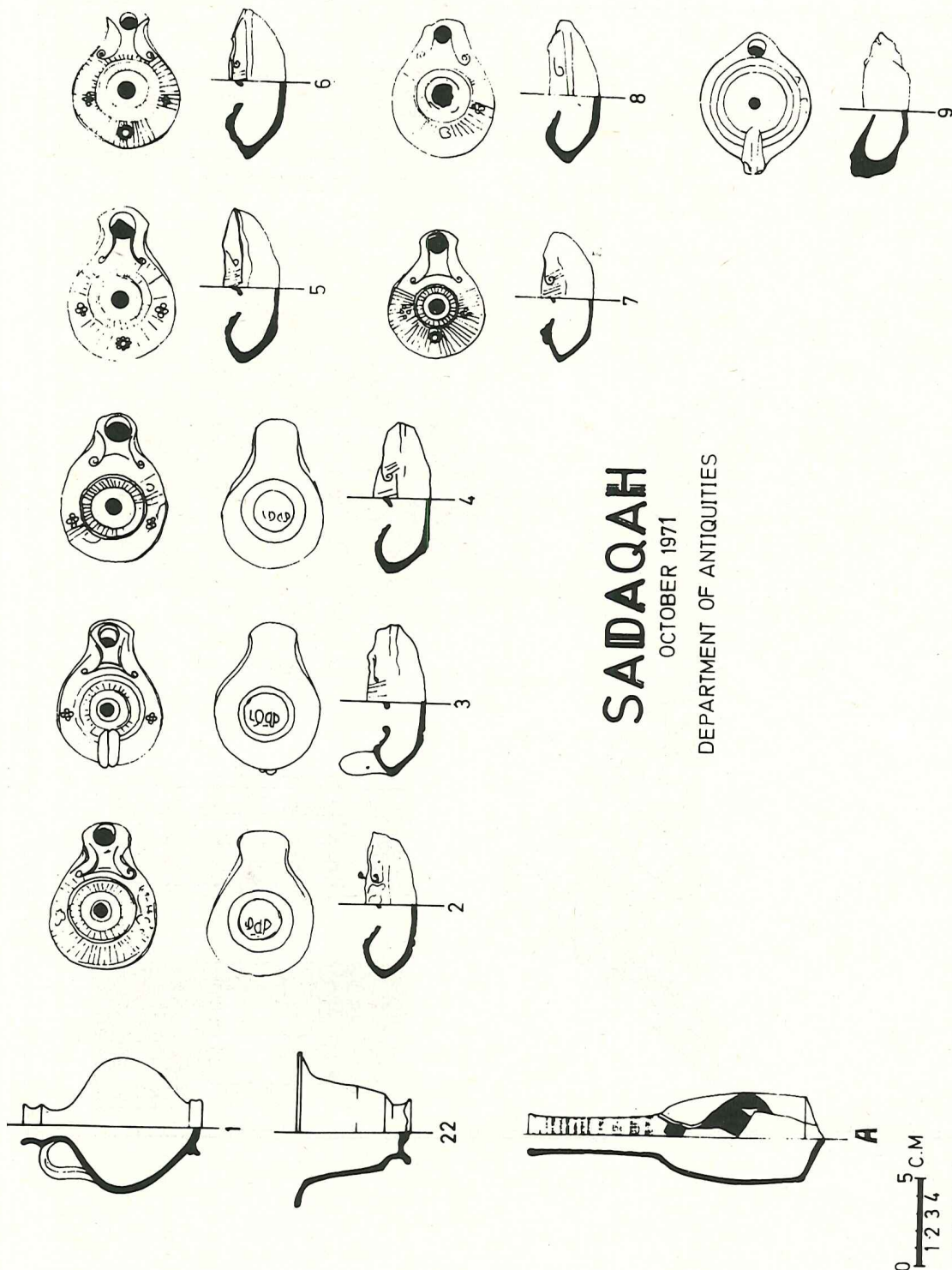




Fig. 1. Three lamps with the same Nabatean inscription.

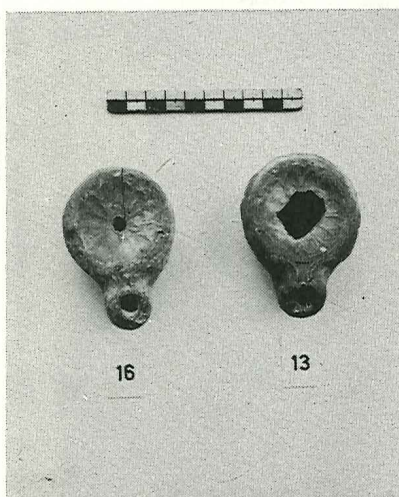


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

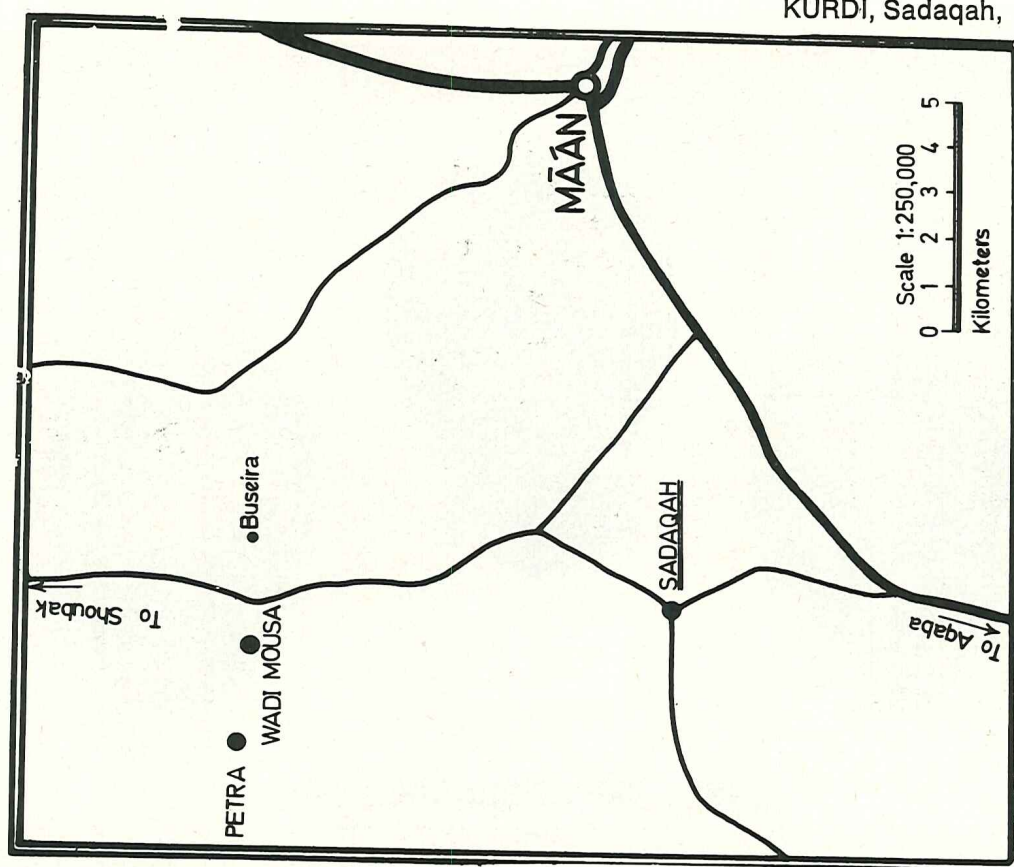


Fig. 1. A map locating Sadaqah



Fig. 2. Slabs covering the tomb (top view)



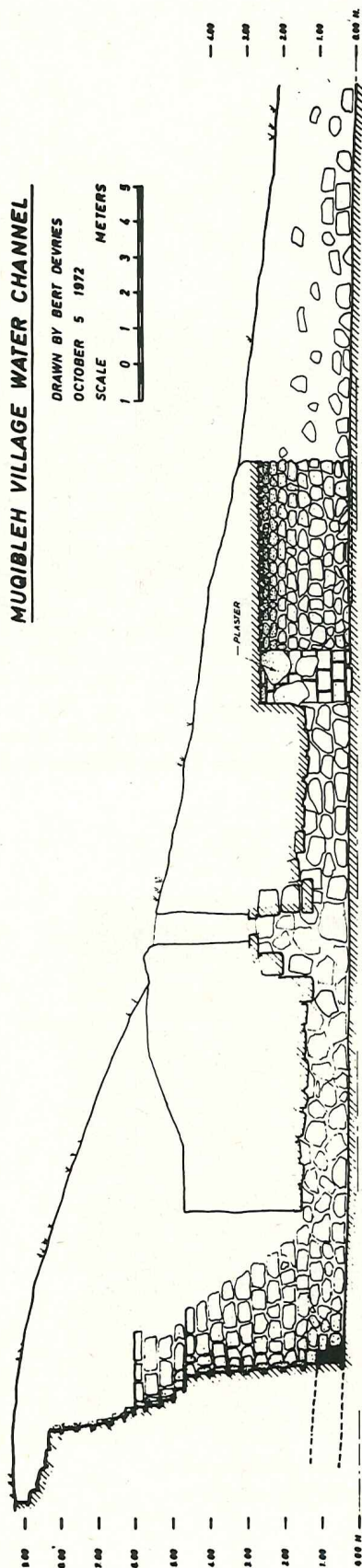
Fig. 3. The north-western side of the shaft (top view)

MUGIBLEH VILLAGE WATER CHANNEL

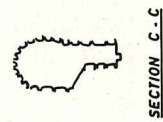
DRAWN BY BERT DEVRIES

OCTOBER 5 1972

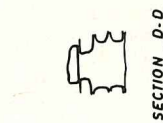
SCALE METERS



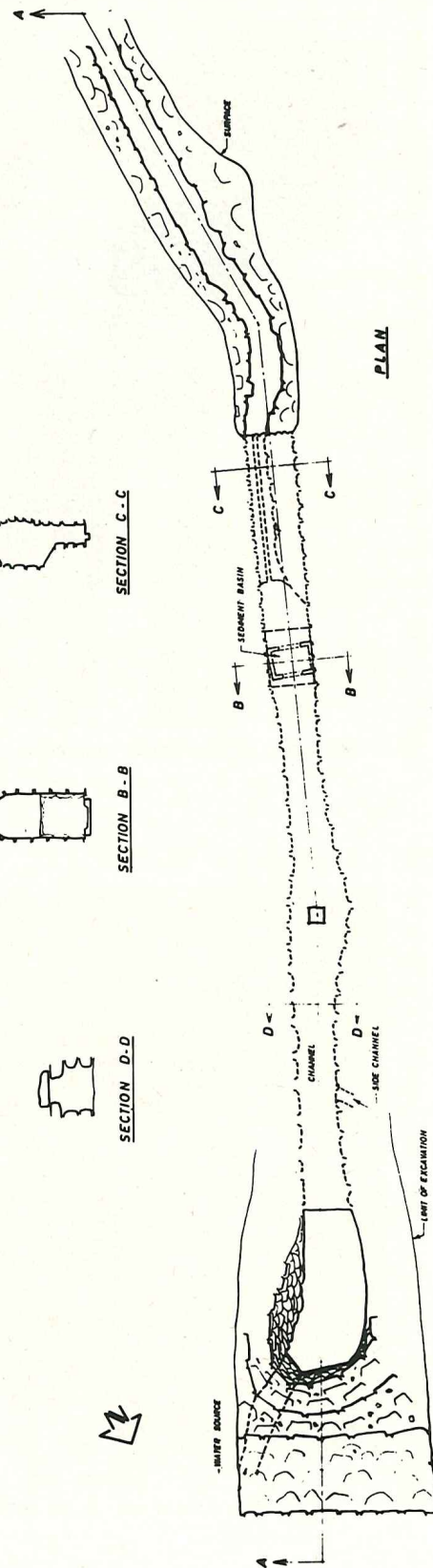
SECTION A-A



SECTION B-B



SECTION C-C



PLAN



Fig. 1. The open end of the water tunnel at Mugibleh.



Fig. 3. The dam and large «well» above and to the spring at Mugibleh. The 2 m stick stands at the entrance to the continuing small tunnel. The workman is preparing a new wall prior to covering the well.



Fig. 2. The wall or dam above the spring of Mugibleh. The portion above the 2 m stick, was above ground prior to excavation.

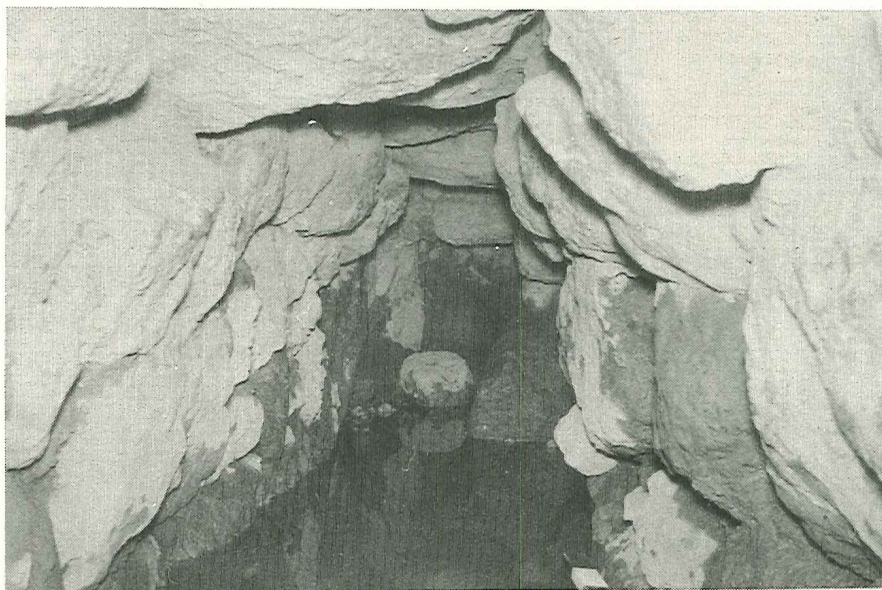


Fig. 1. Inside the water tunnel of Mugibleh. Note the corbel arch roof.

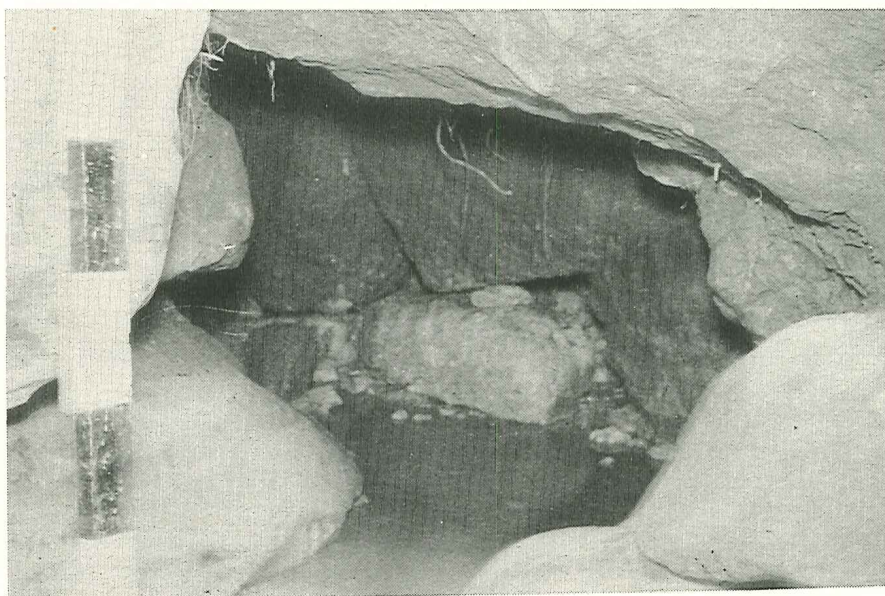
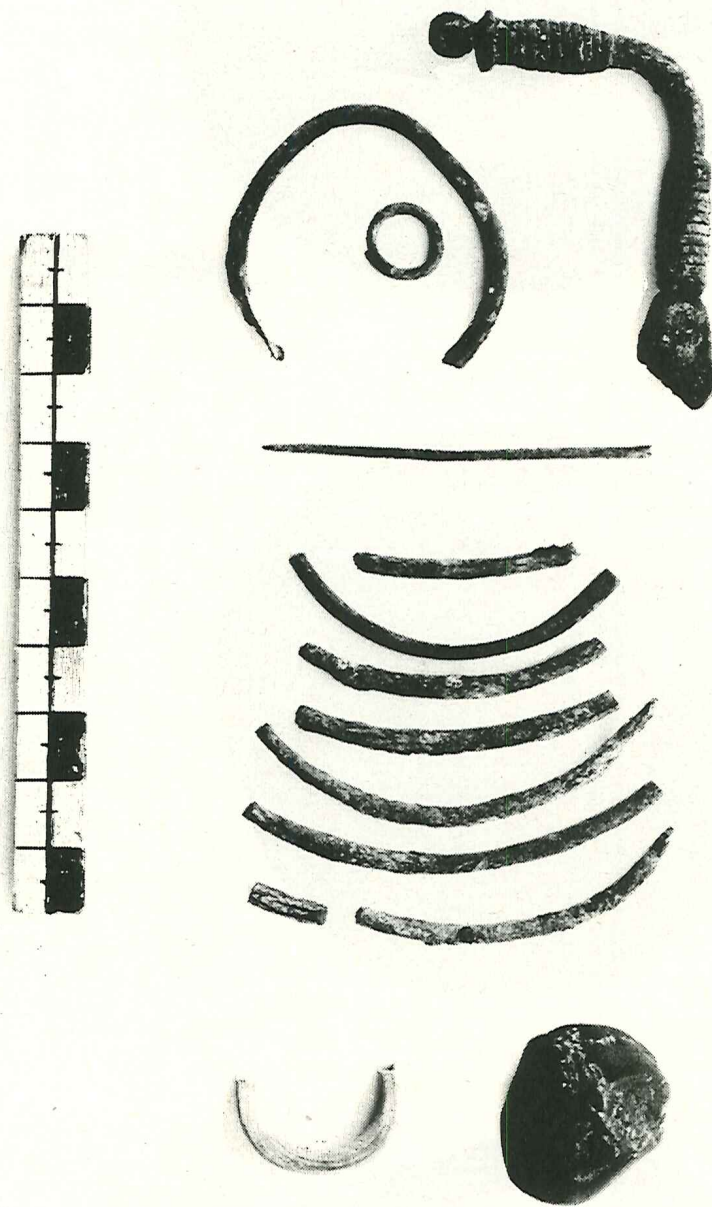
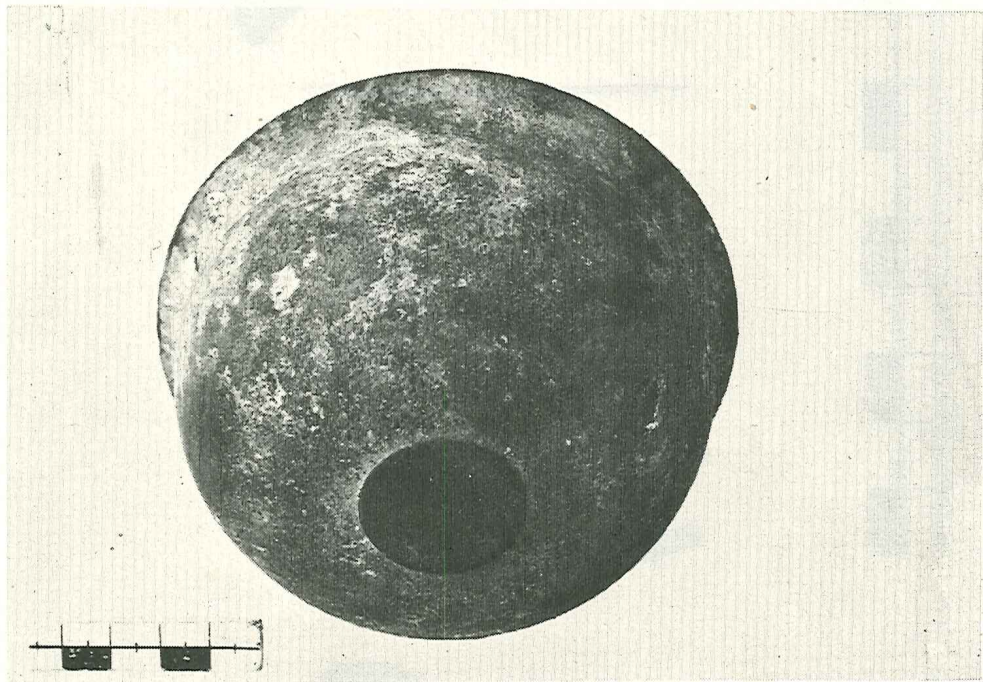
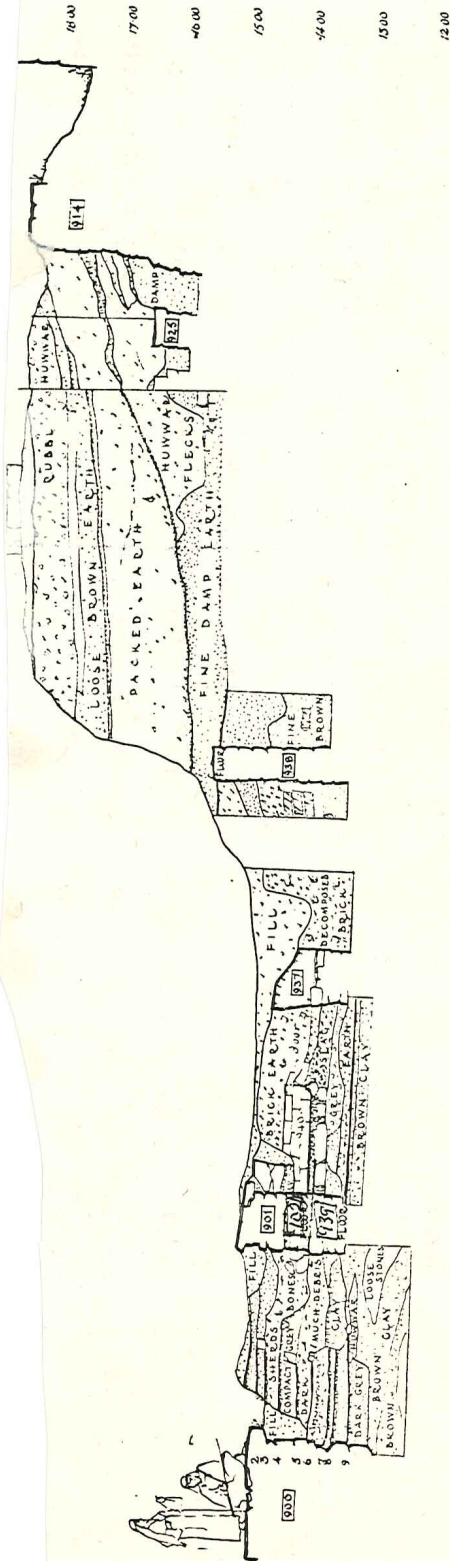


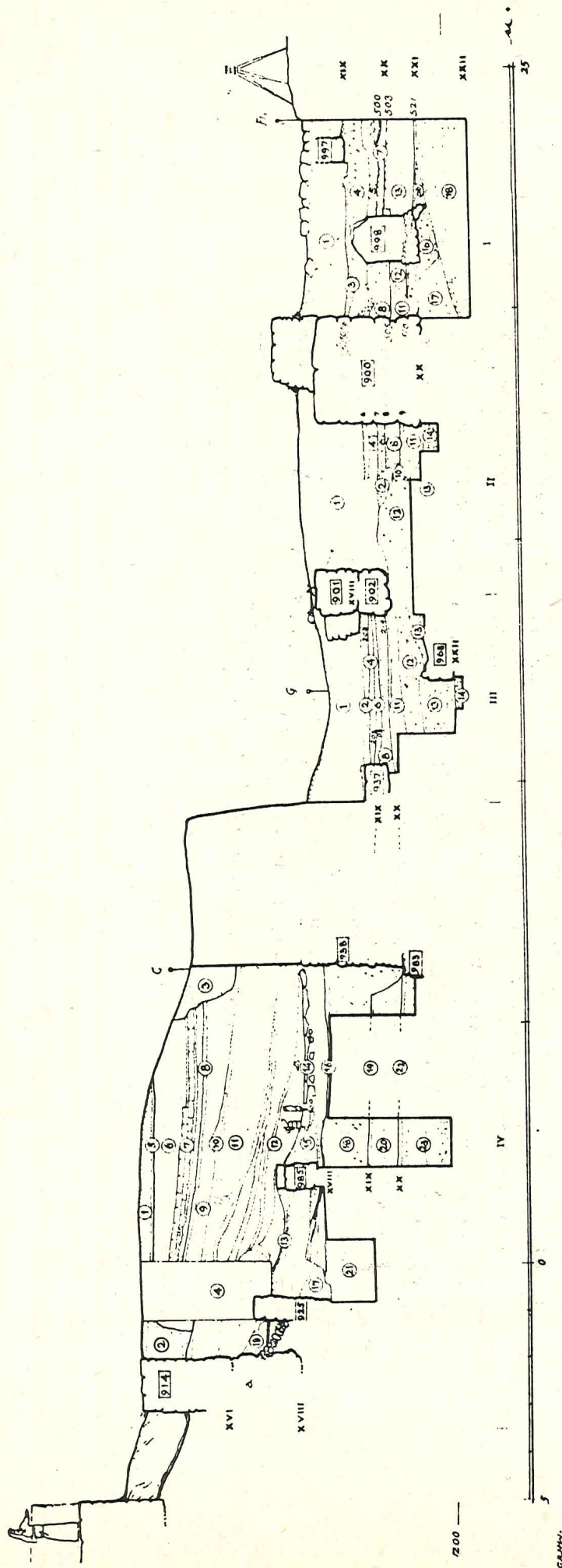
Fig. 2. The small north tunnel at Mugibleh.







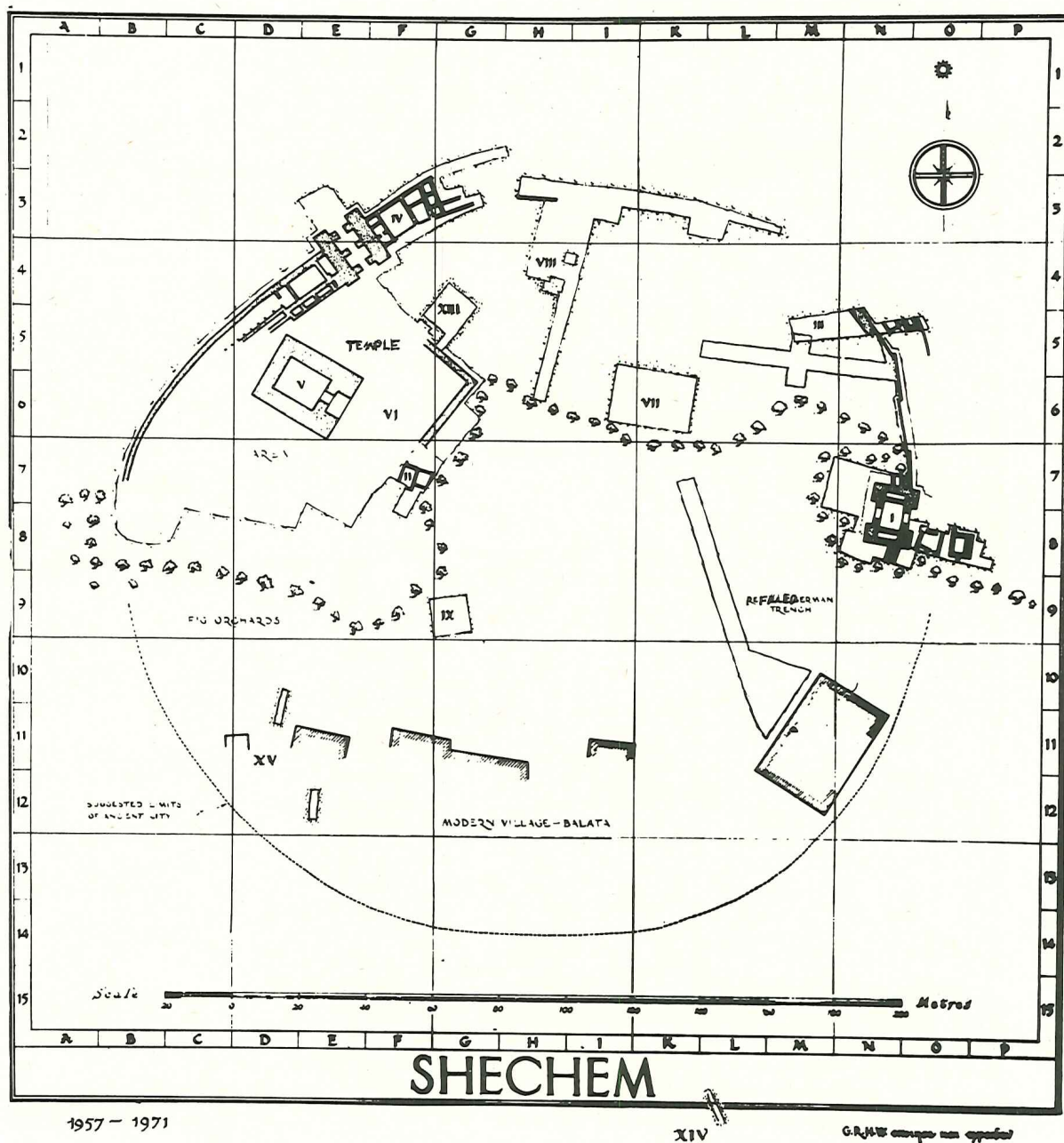
East-West Section through Field VI showing the main phases of streets and courtyard temple of the early part of the Middle Bronze Age. At the left is Wall 900, erected at the beginning of MB II B to separated the sacred area from the city. Beside it are nine street Levels. Below Street 9 was a surface and small binor silo of Stratum XXI (MB II A). Streets 9-7 belong with the original Wall 939 (Stratum XX,BM II B Phase 4). Street 6, covered with destruction debris, belongs with Wall 902 and the lowest of the floors drawn in the center of the sketch (Stratum XIX). Streets 5-4 were associated elsewhere with Walls 901 (Stratum XVIII): see Fig. 4. At the top left is Wall 910 of Stratum XVII, resting on fill over a huge robber pit, with floor level given its approximate level to its right. This suggests that , while we have no means of providing a certain date for the fragmentary remains of Streets 1-3, their depth below the final courtyard temple (Stratum XVII) suggests their attribution to the second phase of Stratum XVIII. It is thus clear that Field VI preserved four levels of courtyard temples , all contemporary with Wall 900.



A view looking south to the balk, connecting Wall 900, and the street levels with the Fortress Temple of MB II C. The eastern wall of the latter is beneath the human figure. Wall 914 was constructed to hold the fill in place under this wall of the temple. Below to its left is Wall 925, interpreted as the second phase of Stratum XVIII.

The stone altar at the top (see Fig: 3 as Sellin found it) belongs certainly to Stratum XI and possibly to XII. Beneath it the debris marked "rubbly" (fig. 3; 5-6 here) is the fill within the altar of Temple 2b of Strata XIV-XIII. Below that is a layer of white marl bricks for coping of the altar of MB II C, Temple 1b (Layer 7, Stratum XVI). Below its fill of bricks and " loose brown earth " is the paved, sloping courtyard level 8, leading up to the entrance of Temple 1a of the beginning of MB II C. The " packed Earth " below (Layers 9-11 is fill with tip lines leading left to cover the ruins of the courtyard temples.

Toombs, Tell Balâtah, Plste



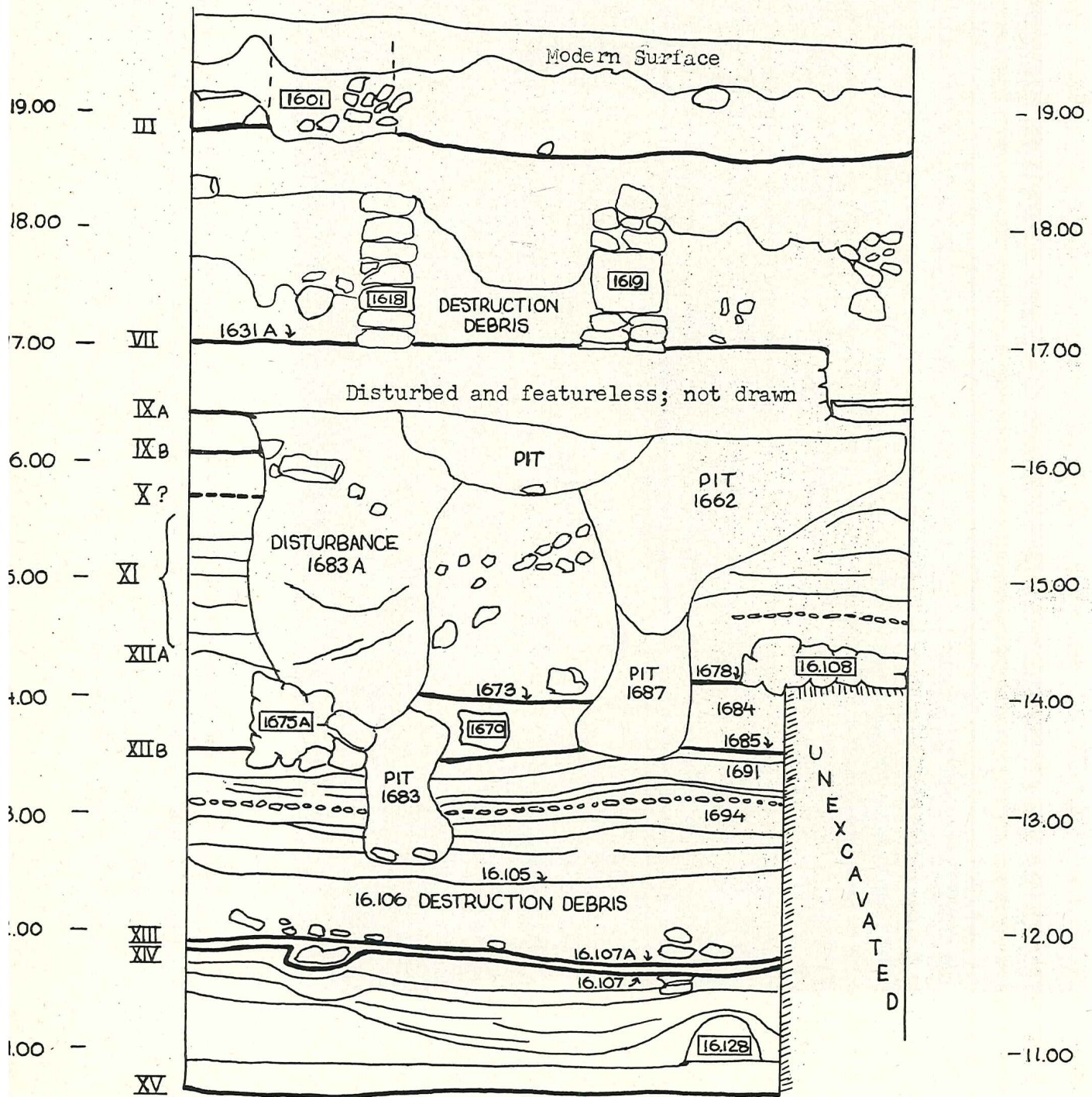
1957 - 1971

Fig. 1.

		Stratum	Date	Field I	Field II	Field III	Field IV	Field V-VI	Field VI-2	Field VII	Field VIII	Field IX	Field XIII																		
Hellenistic	I	ca 150/128		DEERS		DEERS				Stratum I		Phase 1																			
	II	ca 150/128								II		2																			
	IIIA	ca 225-190		401	Hellenistic House	Phase 1 Walls	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	IIIA		3a																			
	IIIB	ca 250-225								IIIB		3b																			
	IVA	ca 300-250								IVA		4a																			
	IVB	ca 331-300								IVB		4b																			
ABANDONMENT Ca. 475-331 B.C.																															
Persian	V	ca 600-475	Shards							V		5																			
Iron II D	VIA	ca 724-		412a	Shards Present In the Wash-down the slope	German Excavation	Granary	German Excavation	German Excavation	VIA	German	6																			
	VIB	ca 600								VIB																					
Iron II C	VII	ca 748-724		412b						Iron II Building	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	VII	German	7														
	VIII	ca 600-748													VIII			8a													
Iron II B	IXA	ca 850-810		175						Iron II Building					German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	IXA	Phase 1.	9a										
	IXB	ca 918-860																	IXB			9b									
Iron IIA	XA	ca 950-918		176 AND FLOORS 490															Iron II Building	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	XA	2.	10					
	XB	ca 975-950																						XB			10				
ABANDONMENT Ca. 1150/1125 - 975 B.C.																															
Iron IA	XI	ca 1200		178																					Debris behind Wall B		Temenos 9	LB Phase 1	Strata 11-12 (Layers 3-4)	3.	11
LB IIB	XII	ca 1350/10		127A		Wall B		10	2.															13-15 (Layers 5a-c)	12 a	(LB Phase 1)					
LB IIA	XIII	ca 1400-1350		127B		Palace		10	3.															16a (Layers 6a)	12 b.	(LB Phase 2)					
LB IB	XIV	ca 1450-1400		127				10	4.		16b (Layer 6b)	12 c.	(LB Phase 3a)																		
ABANDONMENT Ca. 1550-1450 B.C.																															
MB II C	XV	ca 1600-1550	WALL B		MB Phase 1a-d	WALL B	Temenos 7	MB IIC Phases	17 (Layer 7)	5	13	MB II C House In Area 4																			
	XVI	ca 1650-1600	WALL A		MB Phase 2a-b	NW Gate Erected	Temenos 6 (Layers 1-3)	1-3			14	MB II C Drain																			
MB II B	XVII	ca 1675-1650					Temenos 5 909-910				15																				
	XVIII	ca 1700-1675					Temenos 4 901				16																				
	XIX	ca 1725-1700					Temenos 3 902																								
MB II A	XX	ca 1750-1725					Temenos 2 939	WALL D			17																				
	XXI	ca 1800-1750					Temenos 1b 999	Cobbled Pavement			18																				
	XXII	ca 1800-1800					Temenos 1a 968				19-20																				
Chalcolithic	XXIII						Chalcolithic A (Ghassulian)	Same																							
	XXIV											Chalcolithic B (Pre-Ghassulian)																			
Virgin Soil over marl (huwwar) bedrock was reached In Fields V, VI, VIII and IX																															

Virgin Soil over marl (huwwar) bedrock
 Was reached in Fields V, VI, VIII and IX

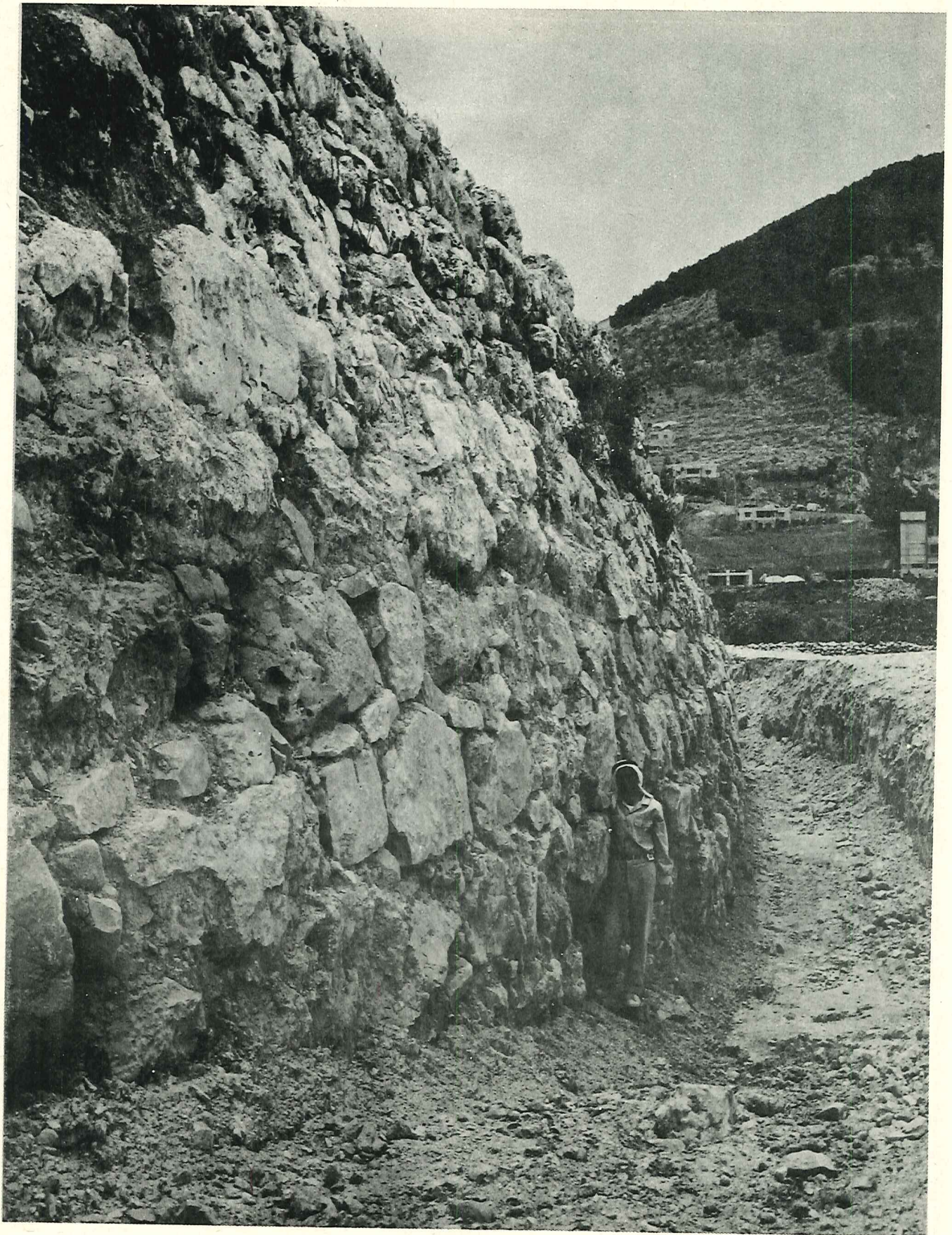
Fig. 2



Section of the east edge of Field VII, Area 9, showing the stratigraphy in the center of the tell. The Roman numerals indicate the floors and surfaces of the strata clearly preserved here. Note that Strata I-II, IV-VI and VIII are not represented at this spot, owing to disturbance.



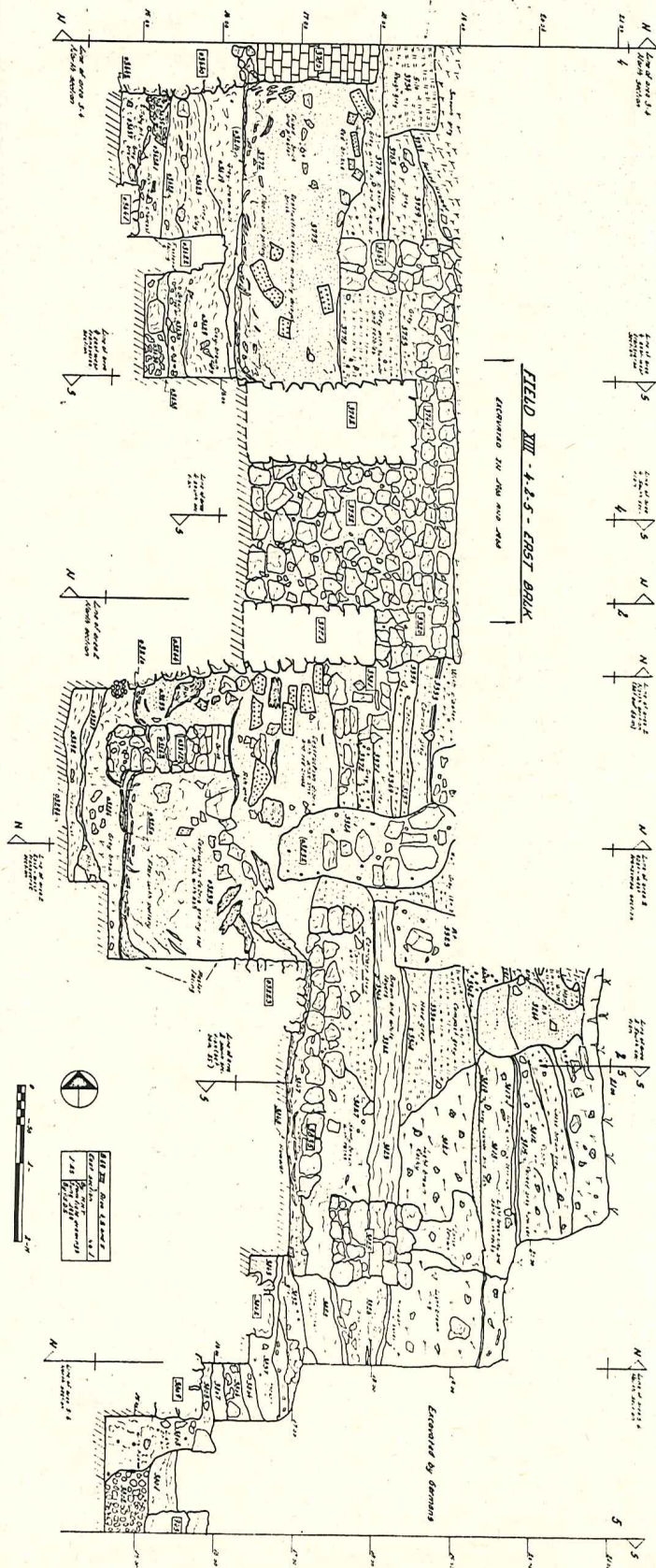
Segments of three lime kilns from the lowest LB phase in Field VII. The two lowest kilns probably represent the " reconstruction phase " of the midfifteenth century, before the development of the Late Bronze city-state. A similar reconstruction phase in Field XIII features a kiln for baking brick. (Photo by Lee C. Ellenberger.)



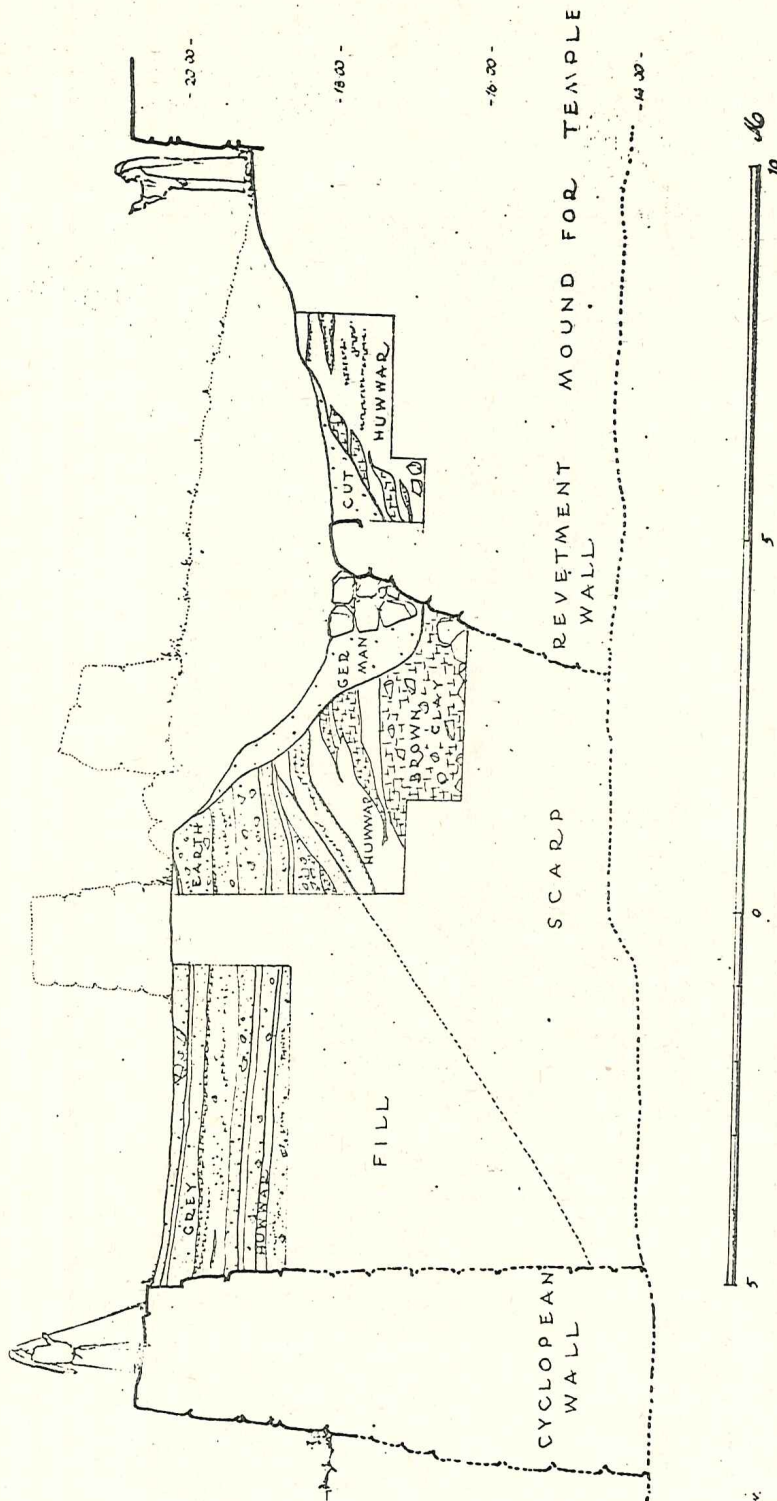
Wall A to the west of the temple, after clearing by bulldozer in 1972. (Photo by Lee C. Ellenberger).



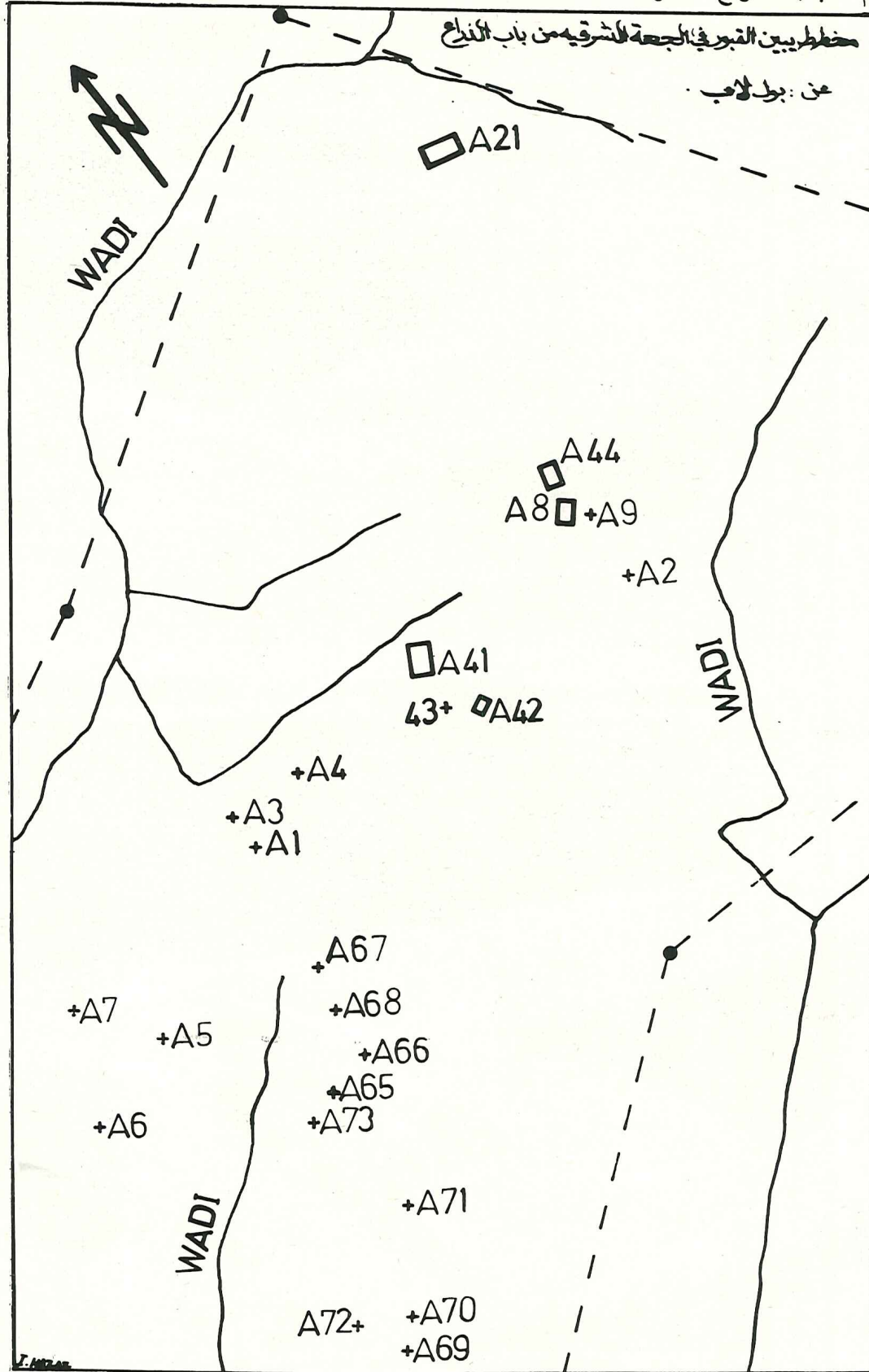
Air photograph by Lee C. Ellenberger of the tell, showing Wall A and Northwest Gate in the foreground, the Temple, and excavated ruins of Field VI in lower center, Fields XIII and VII, left of center, Field III in shadow at center far left, and Field I (East Gate) visible above it. Fields II and IX can be seen above the temple after consultation with Fig. 1. Ellenberger's work on the Balātah Expedition has been of exceptional sensitivity and merit.

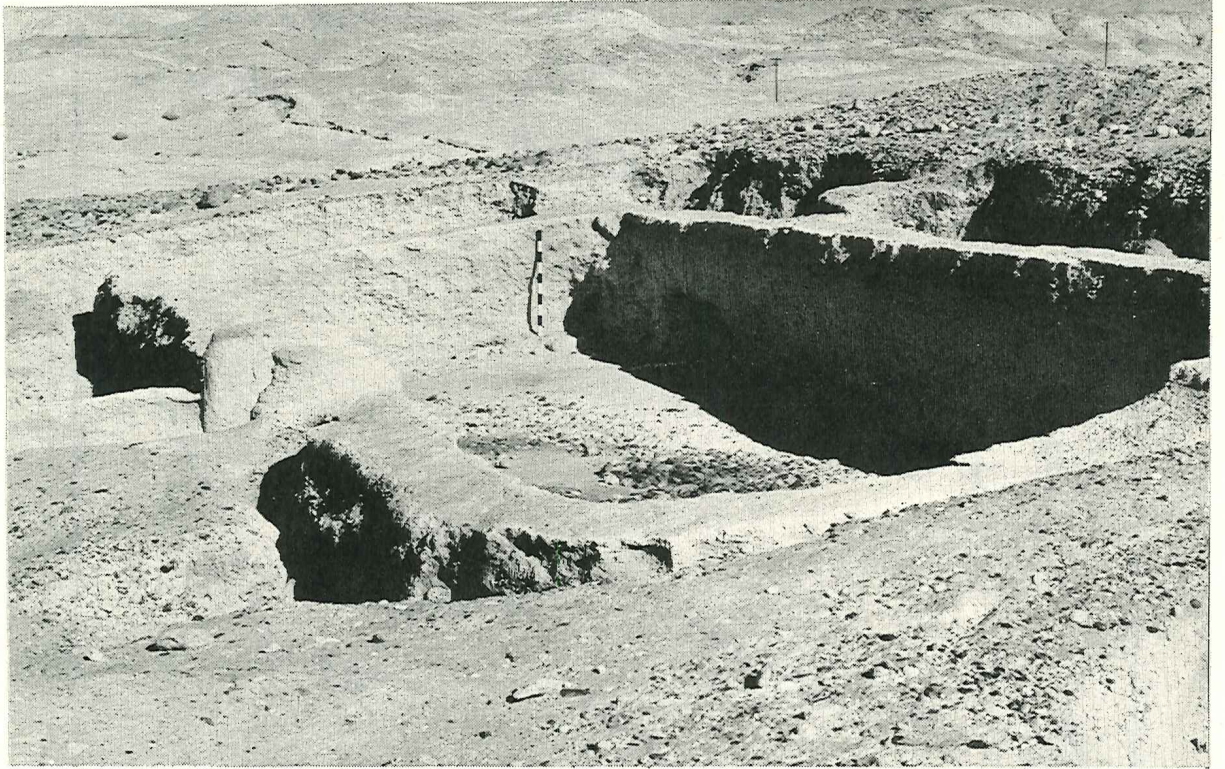


The complex east bulk of Field XIII, with area 5 (right) connecting it to Pteris VI and the Nes-Temenos Wall of the Ptolemaic Temple. Immediately to its left is Wall 3646, on the face excavated, which appears to have been the Temenos Wall of the MB II B Courtyard Temple. A few references must indicate the stratigraphy. In the center, cut by a later pit, the topmost floor shown is 3535 of Stratum XI. To the right above its level is floor 3619 with destruction debris above it of Stratum XI. Directly below it is Wall 3585 of Stratum XIII with associated destruction debris of the Amarna period. To Stratum XIV of the Pre-Amarna Late Bronze I B below Walls 3721, 3749, 3780 (extreme left) and crosswall 3755. The same walls (with the possible exception of 3280) were all founded in MB II C, and rebuilt in the Late Bronze Age. The last floors of Stratum XV, showing some of the massive Egyptian destruction debris. On top of them are 03216 at far left and 3648 at the right, where excavation was not carried below it. At bottom left Wall 3641 belongs to the latest of the MB II B levels.

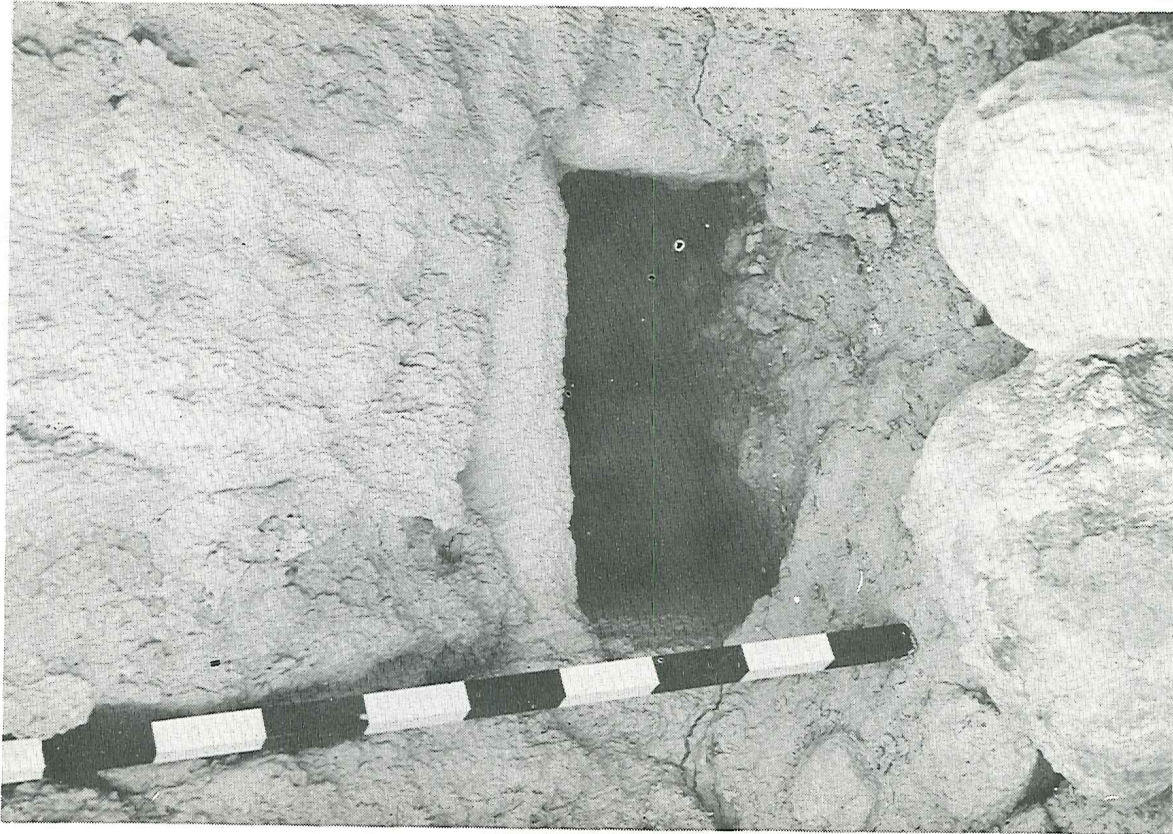
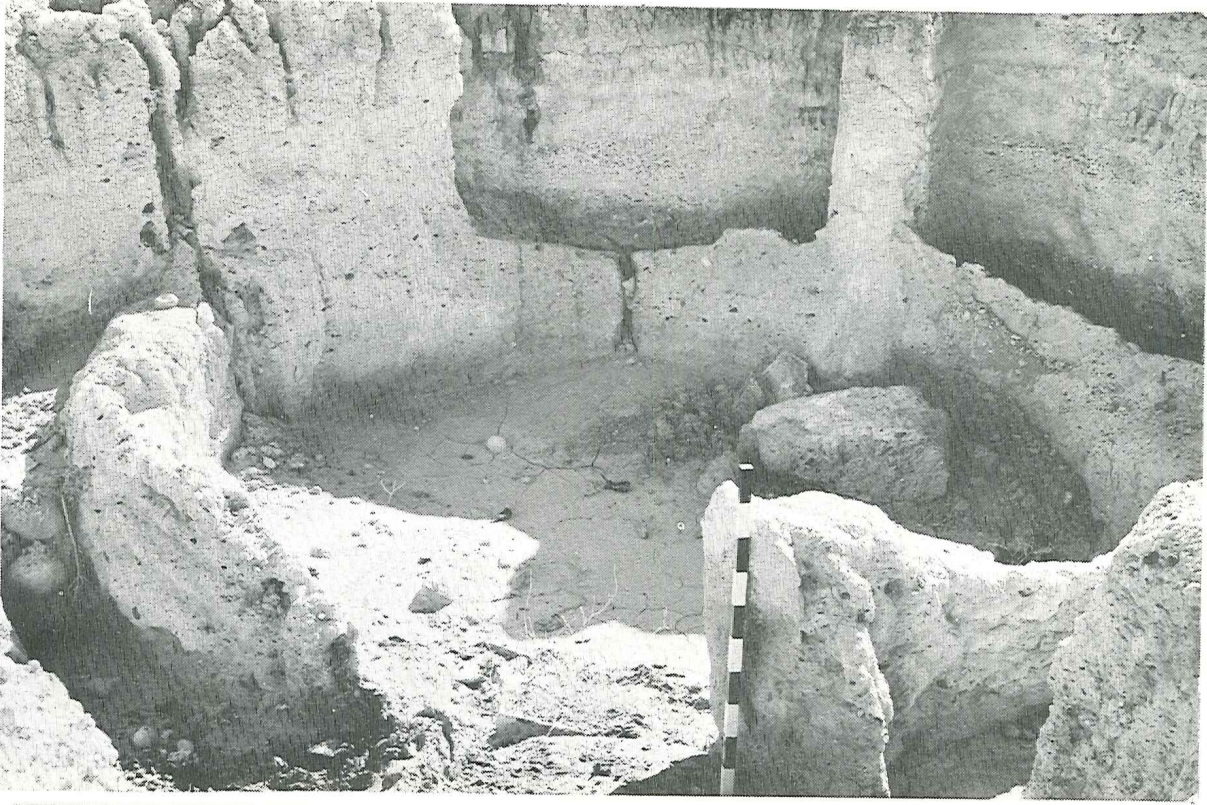


The western side of the mound of Balatah, showing the western wall of the Fortress Temple (right) , resting on the C Earthen Embankment with its revetment wall, erected in Stratum XIX. The area labeled " Scarp " was the enlargement of the Embankment in Stratum XVIII or XVII. The " Cyclopean Wall " is Wall A, still standing 10 meters high- all debris was finally bulldozed from its face in 1972. Note how the layers of earth against the interior face of Wall A are horizontal . Their debris content is that of the C Earthen Embankment, the top of which has been pulled down to create this fill and to make it possible to erect the wall from the inside .

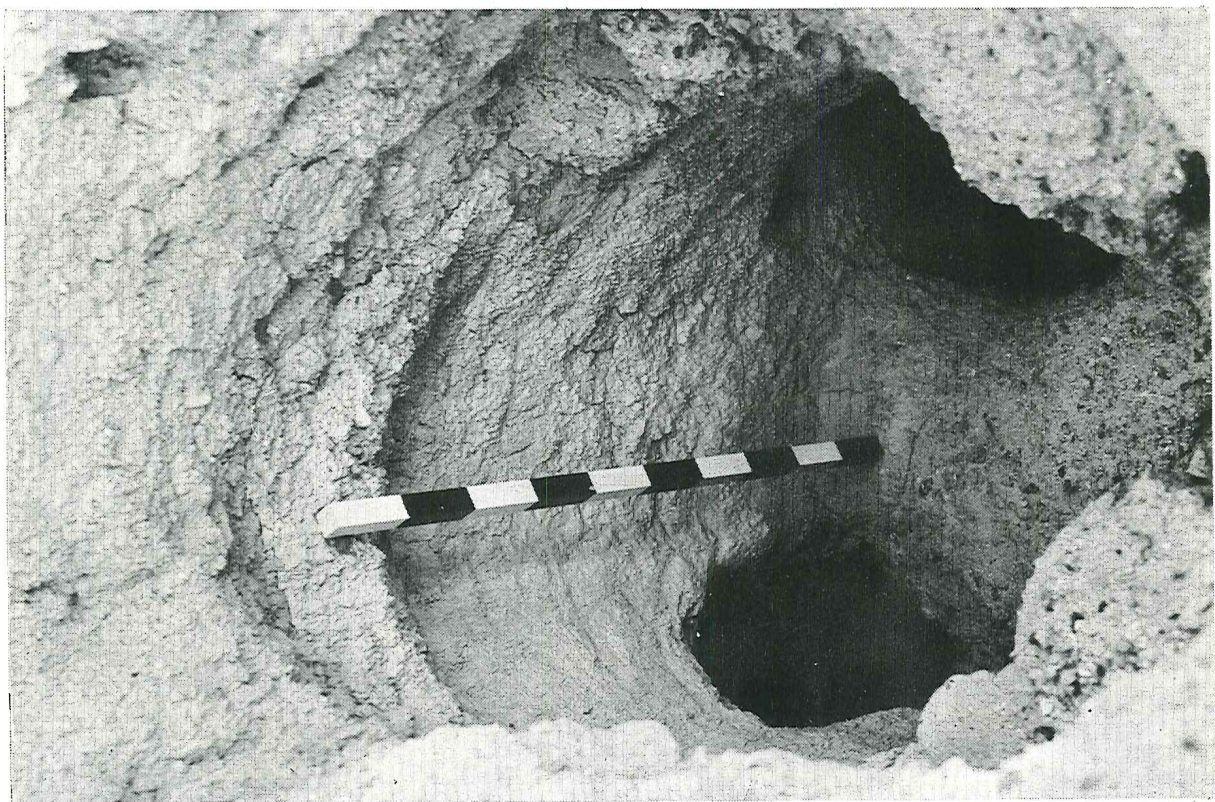
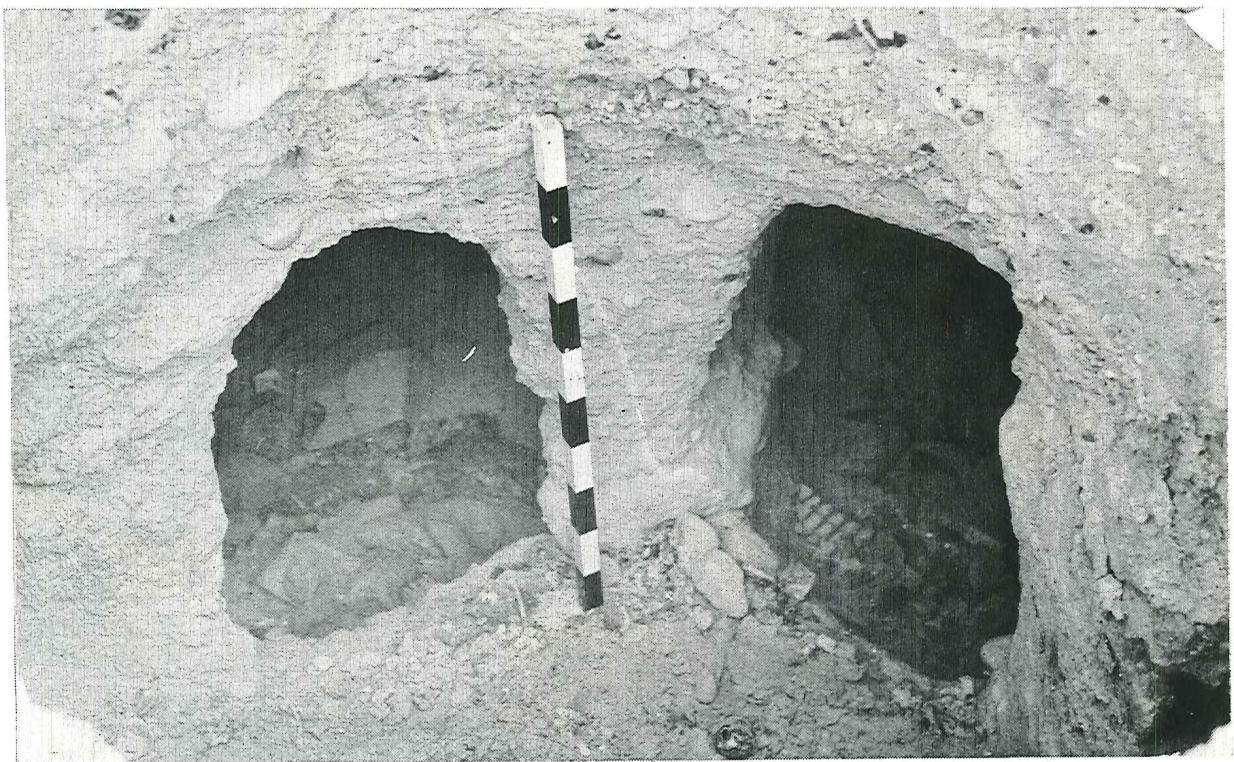




ب — النوع الثاني من قبور باب الذراع



قبة باب الذراع من النوع الثاني مستدير الشكل



مقابر باب الذراع (العصر البرونزي القديم



١ — أم الرصاص (مادبا) البرج قبل الترميم



ب — البتراء : البوابة التذكارية بعد ترميمها



١ — قلعة الرض (عجلون) الواجهة الشرقية بعد الترميم



ب — قلعة الرض (عجلون) الواجهة الشمالية قبل الترميم



جرش : المدرج الجنوبي منظر للقبو المنهار قبل الترميم



جرش : مدخل المرحلة الثانية من المدرج بعد تنظيفه تمهيدا لترميمه



جرش : الواجهة الجنوبية لبوابة عمان بعد انتهاء الترميم



جرش : الجزء الغربي من الواجهة الشمالية لبوابة عمان قبل الترميم

وكيفية تسجيلها ، والمعالجة العلمية لفن النحت وطريقة تصنيف المكتشفات . نجد في نهاية الكتاب خمس لوحات لتوجيه القارئ وتحوي تسلسل العصور مع الطبقات السكنية التي تمثل كل عصر .

يعتبر هذا الجزء من مدخل الآثار الشرقية مرجعا هاما لطلاب الآثار والعاملين في هذا الحقل كذلك لمن له اهتمام بآثار وتاريخ الشرق فتصنيف الكتاب وأسلوبه يساعد القارئ على فهم التطور الحضاري في المنطقة .

ونرجو أن لا يطول صدور الجزء الثاني .

الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم
دائرة الآثار العامة
عمان

للسيطرة ثانية فأعادوا بناء بابل بشكل جديد ، وهي المدينة الضخمة التي تركت لنا أهم الآثار البابلية .

٢ (الميديون والفرس) (ص ٢٨٦ - ٢٩١) الذين يعتبر منهم مزيج من الحضارات المجاورة التي سبقتهم .

٣ (الهلينية والفرثية) (ص ٢٩١ - ٢٩٩) التي تعاصر العصر الهليني والروماني في فلسطين ومصر ، وأهم ما يمثل المرحلة المتأخرة لهذه الفترة مدينة الحضر .

يلي ذلك ثلاثة فصول اضافية تتعلق بالحفريات

٣ - الاناضول والمستعمرات التجارية الاشورية (ص ١٧٠ - ١٧٤) أهم المخلقات المنسوبة الى هذه الفترة مجموعة كبيرة من لوحات الاجر المكتوبة بالخط المسماري اكتشفت في مدينة كيولتبه (Kultepe) واسمها القديم

كارم - كانش شمالي قيساريه . تشيهر هذه اللوحات مع ما رافقها من مكتشفات الى استعمار الاشوريين لاواسط الاناضول عن طريق تجار استوطنوا المنطقة ، وكان لهذا أثر بالغ على تطور الكتابة والفن في الاناضول في الالف الثاني ق.م .

يخص المؤلف الفصل الخامس لمن يسمون بشعوب الجبال الذين سادوا معظم بلاد الشرق في النصف الثاني من الالف الثاني قبل الميلاد .

١ (الحوريون والميتانيون (ص ١٨٠ - ١٨٤) في شمالي ما بين النهرين عاصمتهم كاشوكاني التي لم تكتشف بعد وأهم مدنها يورجان تيبى (نوزي) وتل عطشانه .

٢ (الكاشيون (ص ١٨٤ - ١٩٣) عاصمتهم عقرقوف (قديما دور - كوريجالزو) على بعد بضعة كيلومترات من بغداد حيث ما زالت الحفريات جارية .

٣ (الحثيون (ص ١٩٤ - ٢٠٦) عاصمتهم بوغازكوى - خاتوشا - ١٥٠ كم شرقي أنقره ، حيث تم اكتشاف عدد كبير من المعابد والمسكن وكذلك سور المدينة بمداخلها الرئيسية ، يوجد في الشمال الغربي خارج المدينة مركز ديني مع تماثيل كثيرة قطعت في الصخر . حوالي ١٢٠٠ ق.م أحرقت المدينة من قبل شعوب البحر وبذلك تواجه الحضارة الحثية نهايتها .

٤ (العصر الاشوري المتوسط (ص ٢٠٧ - ٢١٣) ، بانتصار الحثيين على الميتانيين حوالي ١٣٦٠ ق.م استطاع الاشوريون التخلص من الحكم الميتاني والعودة الى السيطرة ، واتخذ هؤلاء من قلعة شرقاط (آشور) على شاطئ دجلة عاصمة لهم .

٥ (الفترة العيلامية المتوسطة (ص ٢١٣ - ٢١٧) أهم مدن هذه الفترة تشوغازامبيل (قديما دور - أونتنش) وأبرز ما فيها الزقوره التي يبلغ ارتفاعها ٢٥ م ، وقد كشف عن عدد من معابد وقصور المدينة .

عنوان الفصل السادس الامبراطورية الاشورية وجيرانها وللمؤلف باع طويل في دراسة وبحث هذه الفترة ويلخصها في مؤلفه هذا فيستعرض :

١ - العواصم الاشورية الاربعة (ص ٢٢٦ - ٢٤٥) : آشور ، نمرود خورس أباد ، نينوى ، كل من هذه المدن مميزة تختلف عن الاخرى وتضم كل منها عددا كبيرا من المعابد والقصور وفي ثلاثة منها زقوره .

٢ - بلاد بابل حتى ٦١٢ ق.م (ص ٢٤٥ - ٢٤٧) التي وقعت منذ القرن التاسع ق.م تحت سيطرة الاشوريين .

٣ - ايران في العصر الحديدي القديم (الفترة العيلامية الاخيرة) (ص ٢٤٧ - ٢٥٤) والى هذه الفترة تعود آلاف القطع البرونزية معظمها من القبور وغالبا ما كان أصحاب هذه الحضارة من القبائل الرحل .

٤ (الآراميون في شمال سوريا وجنوبي الاناضول (ص ٢٥٢ - ٢٥٦) بعد القضاء على الحكم الحثي أصبح المجال مفتوحا أمام الآراميين لتأسيس عدد من الممالك أهمها : بيت أكوستي التي ضمت أحلب وارباد (تل رفعت) ، ويعودي بعاصمتها صمأل (سنجرلي) بيت أديني وضمت تل بارسيب (تل أحمر) ، وبيت باخياني ومركزها كوزانا (تل حلف) .

٥ (الاناضول تحت سيطرة الاورارتيين والفريجيين (ص ٢٥٧ - ٢٧٣) .

الفصل السابع والاخير يضم :

١ (الامبراطورية البابلية المتأخرة (ص ٢٧٨ - ٢٨٥) .

أتاح احتراق نينوى الفرصة للبابليين

السومريين والساميين وقد قسمه المؤلف الى الموضوعات التالية

١ (عصر فجر السلالات بمراحل يختلف العاملون في الآثار العراقية في تسميتها الا أن المؤلف هو :

أ (عصر ميزيلم والتي تمثل مرحلة انتقالية لظهور السلالات السومرية .

ب (سلالة أور الاولى .

وتقسيمات أخرى لهذا العصر تظهر في مؤلفات كثيرة تحت التسمية .

فجر السلالات الاول .

فجر السلالات الثاني .

فجر السلالات الثالث أ ، ب .

وهذان التقسيمان المختلفان نابعان عن

ان التقسيم الاول يعتمد على تصنيف

فني لعدد من المكتشفات وأما التقسيم

الثاني فهو خلاصة تتابع الطبقات

السكنية وخاصة في منطقة دياي

(ص ١١٠ - ١٢٤) .

٢ (حضارات الخليج العربي - الفارسي والمتأثرة بحضارة ما بين النهرين .

٣ (ايران في أواسط الالف الثالث ق م والمميز بفخار ملون بأشكال هندسية وطيور ، وينسب الى هذه الحضارة عدد كبير من التماثيل الصغيرة من البرونز والنحاس (ص ١٢٦ - ١٢٧) .

٤ (العصر البرونزي القديم الثاني في الاناضول (ص ١٢٨ - ١٢٩) .

٥ (السلالة الاكادية ، التي يستهلها المؤسس سرجون وهذا أول برهان يؤكد انتشار السلطة السامية على نطاق واسع فطور هؤلاء الكتابة السومرية وقواعدها الا أن عاصمتهم ما زالت مجهولة ، كما أن وضوحاً يطرأ على ديانة وآلهة الشرق في أواسط الالف الثالث ق م (ص ١٢٩ - ١٣٤) . نارام سن هو أشهر ملوك الاكاديين بعد سرجون .

٦ (ايران في العصر الاكادي .

٧ (العصر البرونزي القديم الثالث في الاناضول .

٨ (القوط وسلالة أور الثالثة السومرية (ص ١٤٠ - ١٥٠) ويتولى القوط حكم

البلاد بعد أن قضوا على العرش الاكادي .

أهم موقع يتمثل فيه هذا العصر هو تلو

(جرسو) حيث ظهرت أعداد كبيرة من

المكتشفات أبرزها تماثيل الحاكم جوديا

وابنه أورنجزسو المصنوعة من الديوريت .

كما أن هنالك عدد كبير من تماثيل للنساء

ولوحات دينية تنسب الى هذا العصر ،

وأشهر ملوك هذه الفترة أورنامو ، وشولجي

واييسين .

الفصل الرابع : يبحث في آثار الشرق في مستهل الالف الثاني قبل الميلاد ويستعرض المؤلف حضارة كل منطقة على حده .

١ - حكم الساميين الغربيين (ص ١٥٤ -

١٦٨) الذين تحالفوا مع الغلاميين للقضاء

على سلالة أور الثالثة . عرف هؤلاء

الساميون في الكتابات السومرية باسم

« مارتو » وأطلق عليهم البابليون القدماء

اسم « أمورو » ، وقد جاء العموريون الى

شمالي العراق على شكل قبائل رحل

ودخلوا وظائف الدولة وتمكنوا من التسلق

الى الحكم . وتظهر آثارهم في عدد من

المخلفات المعمارية والاختام الاسطوانية

وكذلك في الكتابات البابلية القديمة .

الابحاث والنظريات حول هذه الفترة كثيرة

وتكاد تكون معقدة ويكتفي المؤلف بالاشارة

اليها علماً بأن أهمية خاصة للنتائج المترتبة

على دراسة النصوص البابلية في هذا

المجال .

٢ - فترة الميلايين القديمة (ص ١٦٨ - ١٧٠)

المثلة الى الان في عدد قليل من التماثيل

والاختام الاسطوانية التي يغلب عليها

الطابع البابلي القديم .

مراجعة كتاب

Barthel Hrouda
Handbuch der Archäologie
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Anatolien, Munchen (1970).

الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم

يستعرض في الفصل الاول (ص ٢٧ - ٤٨)
عصور ما قبل التاريخ من الباليوليثي وحتى
النيوليثي ما قبل الفخار وما بعد الفخار ومن ثم
الحجري النحاسي .

ويحوي الفصل الثاني العصر التاريخي المبكر
في بلاد ما بين النهرين والذي يقابله العصر
البرونزي القديم في الاناضول وشمال سوريا
وفلسطين .

يتفرع عن هذا العصر : فترة الوركاء وتيبسي
جاورا (ص ٧٦ - ٧٨) نسبة الى الموقعين الهامين
الاول في جنوب العراق والثاني في شماله :
وأهم ما يتطرق اليه المؤلف هو تصنيف الاثار
المعمارية وخاصة المعابد التي كشف عنها في كلا
الموقعين ، ومما يميز هذه الفترة عما سبقها ظهور
أقدم كتابة وأقدم أختام استطوانية في طبقة
IVa في الوركاء يلي ذلك عصر جمدت نصر
نسبة الى موقع جمدت نصر الى الشمال الشرقي
من بابل والذي اشتهر عن طريق خزف ملون
نسب الى الموقع أيضا .

وأهم معالم هذا العصر المعمارية هي التي
وجدت في أقدم طبقات منطقة ديالي (تل أسمر -
خفاجي - وتل عقرب) وفي الطبقة الثالثة من
الوركاء يقابل هذا العصر في عيلام في الجنوب
الغربي من ايران فترة ما قبل العصر العيلامي .
وتبحث مادة الفصل الثالث في ظهور

كان من المفروض أن يخرج هذا الكتاب إعادة
لطبعة قديمة تدعى المدخل في الاثار لعالم الاثار
المشهور فالتر أندريه ، الا أن سعة الموضوع
وكثرة نتائج الحفريات والابحاث التي تمت في
السنين الاخيرة قادت المؤلف الى اخراج كتاب
مستقل يشكل الجزء الاول من المدخل في الاثار
الشرقية . يضم هذا الجزء بلاد ما بين النهرين .
ايران ، تركيا ، ومن المفروض أن يضم الجزء
الثاني آثار سوريا وفلسطين وقبرص .

بلغت عدد صفحات الكتاب « ٣٣٨ » صفحة
متوسطة الحجم ومن الورق الجيد ويتخللها عدد
كبير من الرسومات الايضاحية وبشكل خاص
للآثار الهامة المعمارية والفخارية وفي نهاية الكتاب
« ١٢٢ » صورة للمكتشفات البارزة ، وهو مزود
في آخره بخارطتين شاملتين لمعظم المواقع الاثرية
في المنطقة المشار اليها أعلاه . يستعرض المؤلف
في مقدمته (ص ٩ - ٢٤) الحدود الجغرافية
والزمنية والاصطلاحات الدارجة في البحث ،
كذلك موجزا عن تاريخ الحفريات الاثرية ،
فتسمية العصور ومسائل التسلسل الزمني .

ويشاهد القارئ عرضا مفصلا للمراجع مصنفة
بشكل عملي اذ تضمنت مراجع عامة في بداية
الكتاب وأخرى تبعا لتسلسل العصور لدى
مناقشتها كل على حده ، كما أنه لم يغفل عن
استعراض تقارير الحفريات مع أهم النتائج التي
تبينت في هذه الحفريات . يقسم المؤلف مجلده
الى سبعة فصول رئيسية :

المحصنة أو القلعة شمالي الموقع من هجومهم كما تبين ذلك من الحفر التجريبية فيها . أطوال هذه المدينة ٣٤٠ × ١٣٠ م ويحيط بها سور من الطوب عرضه ٣م وأبراج تحصينية تم الكشف عن واحد منها في الطرف الشرقي .

أصبح للمدينة فيما بعد سور منيع من الحجر بلغ سمكه حوالي ١٣م وقد تبين أن القبور المستطيلة (Charnel houses) هي من مخلفات سكان المدينة ، الا أنه لم يعثر الى الان على بيوت تعاصر النوعين الاول (Shaft tombs) والثالث Cairn burial كما أنه لم يكشف النقاب بعد على مباني هامة في المدينة .

لم يترك لنا سكان المنطقة القدماء أية آثار مكتوبة ، الامر الذي يتعذر فيه علينا اعطاء أرقام تاريخية دقيقة للمراحل الزمنية التي مر بها المكان .

ان دراسة مكتشفات باب الذراع المحفوظة الى الان في المدرسة الامريكية للابحاث الشرقية في القدس العربية ومتابعة أعمال الحفر والاستقصاء الاثري في الموقع نفسه ومواقع أخرى حوله ، ستكشف حتما عن تفاصيل وأدلة أخرى تبرز من خلالها المكانة الحضارية التي كان يتمتع بها باب الذراع عبر مراحل العصر البرونزي القديم ومدى انتشار حضارة هذا العصر في المنطقة .

كما يستدل من التطور الذي نشاهده من خلال صناعة الفخار وأشكاله ومن التقاليد المتعارف عليها في أقدم القبور الى أن انتهى ذلك بالقضاء على الحضارة في نهاية الالف الثالث ق م ، ان ذلك لم يكن من مخلفات شعوب مختلفة وانما ذلك كله تركه شعب واحد ، كما وأنه لا يشاهد انقلاب مفاجيء في المفاهيم والحياة اليومية . لذا يستحسن أن يعطى هذا التطور تسمية تتفق معه وهي : العصر البرونزي القديم ، نلاحظ من خلاله مراحل مختلفة نتيجة لبعض التحولات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والعمرانية .

ومن الملاحظ أن بعض الموجات البشرية قد جاءت واختلطت بسكان المنطقة ، أهمها التي جاءت من الشمال في المرحلة الثالثة للعصر البرونزي القديم EB III (حوالي ٢٥٥٠ - ٢٢٧٥ ق م) والذين من مخلفاتهم فخار مصقول بالالوان (أحمر فاتح وبني وأسود) وتزيينه زخارف بارزة ويعرف هذا الفخار باسم فخار خربة الكرك من مميزات هذه المرحلة أيضاً أبنية مستديرة ، أوضحها التي وجدت في خربة الكرك قرب بحيرة طبرية والمنسوب اليها الفخار المشار اليه والذي ظهر منه أمثلة في باب الذراع .

ينتهي تاريخ باب الذراع مع نهاية العصر البرونزي القديم اذ قضى جماعة « أمورو » على تلك الحضارة كما تبين أعلاه . لم تسلم المدينة

الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم

رئيس قسم الحفريات

دائرة الآثار العامة - عمان

القدماء (٣٥) فقد عرفوا بالسومرية باسم «مارتو» والبابلية القديمة باسم «أمورو»، حتى أن نصوص مدينة ماري البابلية تشير إلى أسماء عدد من هذه القبائل مع الدور الذي لعبته في تسلم مقاليد الحكم في شمالي ما بين النهرين . وبالنسبة لآثارهم في باب الذراع فيظهر أن المنطقة كانت من نصيب هذه القبائل في الغزوات الأولى وهذا ما يبرر التسمية المرحلة الانتقالية الأولى : Intermediate Brone zl

التي تنطبق على عدد آخر من المواقع التي عثر فيها على مثل هذه القبور . ويرى بول لاب دلائل للمرحلة الانتقالية الثانية Intermediate Bronze II ممثلة في عدد من قبور ظهر مرزبانه في أواسط فلسطين كان قد أشرف بنفسه على حفرها ودراستها (٣٦)

هناك عدد كبير من المواقع التي عثر فيها على مثل هذه القبور من أهمها (٣٧) : أريحا تل أكتانو في غور الاردن ، تل المتسلم في مرج ابن عامر ، ظهر مرزبانه وعين سامية والجيب شمالي القدس ، تل الدوير وتل العجول جنوب فلسطين، عمان والحصن في شرقي الاردن ، يمكن لدارسي هذه المكتشفات تصنيف القبور بشكل دقيق واظهار الفوارق بينها وهذا ليس مجال بحثنا الا أن العلماء متفقون تقريبا على تأريخها بعد المرحلة الثالثة من العصر البرونزي القديم وأنها متصلة بالتقلبات السياسية والعسكرية التي تميز نهاية هذا العصر .

ليس لدينا أي دليل بأن الموقع قد استعمل في العصر البرونزي المتوسط أو بعد ذلك ويظهر أنه حجر كليا وغالبا ما يعود ذلك إلى أسباب تتعلق بصعوبة تحصينه .

فأهمية باب الذراع تعود إلى كبر حجم المقبرة مع تنوع المقابر ومحتوياتها والتي نستطيع من

خلالها استقراء حلقة كاملة لتسلسل التاريخي في الألف الثالث ق.م كما أننا لم نشهد مقبرة تضاهي باب الذراع في غناها بالموجودات . وهذا يشير إلى أن الموقع كان مركزا حضاريا هاما لمنطقة واسعة الاطراف إذ لا يعقل أن تكون هذه المقابر التي قدر عددها بأكثر من ٢٠ ألف قبر لمنطقة محصورة في باب الذراع أو أنها كانت مجرد مقبرة تدفن بها الموتى بل أنها على علاقة وثيقة بديانة ومعتقدات السكان .

مع أن أعمال البحث والاستقصاء لم تصل نهايتها إلى أننا لا نتردد عن القول بأن مواقع العصر البرونزي القديم في المنطقة الممتدة ما بين البتراء ومأدبا محدودة ، والمعروف منها مبين على الخارطة (لوحة ٥) وهي بدورها غالبا ما تمثل مرحلة متأخرة من العصر البرونزي القديم

يتضح من خلال دراسة المنطقة المشار إليها أنها كانت تضم عددا كبيرا من المخيمات السكنية والتي لجأ سكانها إلى باب الذراع لاداء الطقوس الدينية وفي مرحلة معينة لتقديم الضرائب التي فرضت عليها من قبل رؤساء دينيين أو سياسيين .

كما أننا نستدل من المكتشفات والظروف المحيطة بها على أن في باب الذراع تطور حضاري فيه نوع من التجانس ، إذ لا يشاهد انقلاب مفاجئ في وسائل الانتاج التي تتضح من خلال ما كشف عنه . والملاحظ في كل المراحل أن الناس الذين تعاقبوا على المنطقة احترموا مخلفات من سبقهم واستعملوا المنطقة ذاتها دون مساسها بأذى الا هؤلاء الذين تنسب إليهم المقابر المتأخرة، فقد هاجموا ودمروا العديد من المدن البرونزية القديمة كما وأنهم نبذوا حياة المدنية وفضلوا العيش في مخيمات تارة ومتنقلين تارة أخرى ، ومع ذلك فقد قلدوا من سبقهم في كثير من العادات مثل دفن الموتى وصناعة الاواني الفخارية والادوات المعدنية .

Amorites and Canaanites, London (1966), p. 6ff.

(٢٦) انظر حاشية ٣٠ .
(٢٧) توزيع القبور مع اوجه المقارنة بينها مبين عند لاب ، راجع حاشية ٣٠

D. O. Edzard

Die Altorientischen Reich I, Fischer Weltgeschichte, Frankfurt (1965), p. 167ff.
K. Kenyon

عن ألف سنة ، التسمية المقترحة لهذه الفترة هي:
المرحلة الانتقالية بين العصرين البرونزي القديم
والمتوسط . لا يؤخذ بهذه التسمية من قبل جميع
العاملين في الآثار الشرقية فيطلق عليها بول
لاب : (٣٠) Intermediate Bronze Age I

كاثلين كنيون (٣١) Early Bronze — Middle Bronze
أميران وأولبرايت وغيرهما: (٣٢) Middle Bronze I
رولان ديفور : (٣٣) Early Bronze IV

مع أن النقاش حول هذا الموضوع معقد وطويل
الا أنه هام وممتع ولم يصل الى نهايته بعد وقد
تطرق اليه المؤلف في أطروحته وخلاصة القول أن
أصحاب القبور هم جماعة رحل غير متحضرين
ولا شك أنهم ساميو الاصل وليس من البعيد
أنهم جاؤوا سكان المدن في فلسطين وشرقي
الأردن كما هو الحال في شمالي سوريا والرافدين
لفترة طويلة وقاموا بغزوات متعددة الى أن أمكنهم
القضاء على أعدائهم من سكان المدن رغم
تحصينها بعد ذلك قطنوا المناطق المحتلة في
مخيمات سكنية . ومن الواضح أنهم لم يأتوا
بعادات وتقاليد جديدة بل أخذوا الكثير من تقاليد
ولربما معتقدات السكان القدماء هذا ما يظهر من
أسلوب دفن موتاهم ، وأشكال الاواني الفخارية
والادوات المعدنية التي لا تختلف بطابعها العام
عما عرفناه في العصر البرونزي القديم

لم تكن هذه المرحلة الانتقالية لنشاهدها فقط
في الجنوب من سوريا ، بل ان هناك أدلة واضحة
على وجودها في مصر وبلاد ما بين النهرين ، أي
أنها شملت معظم بلاد الشرق (٣٤) ، وأن
المجموعات القبلية وراء هذا التحول هي نفسها
التي ترد في سجلات السومريين والبابليين

ما هو مصقول ومغطى بقشرة رقيقة ملساء أو
مطلي بأشكال هندسية ، وألصق على جوانب
العديد منها أياد مختلفة الاشكال والاحجام
وموضوعة أفقيا .

وهناك عدد وافر من الاواني المعروفة بأباريق
أبيدوس Abydos-Shaped pots مصرية الاصل
كما عثر فيها على لوحات ودبسات من الحجر
ومجموعات من الخزف وكذلك أسلحة تضم فؤوسا
وخناجر طويلة . وقد عثر على بقايا قماش وخشب
شملة الحريق

يوجد قبر واحد (لوحة ٢ - أ) مستدير الشكل
يختلف عن بقية المقابر بمحتوياته التي يعيدها
الحقارون الى أواخر العصر البرونزي القديم
الاول (٣٩) (EB IB) كما أن الطوب المستعمل
في جدرانها غير منتظم الشكل بخلاف المقابر
المستطيلة الا أن نظام المدخل يطابق الوصف
أعلاه .

النوع الثالث والاخير Cairn burials عبارة
عن حفرة مفرغة مقطوعة في الطين وجد في كل
منها هيكل عظمي واحد بصحبته بضعة أواني
فخارية صنعت باليد عدا العنق الذي تظهر عليه
آثار العجلة . وقد ملئت الحفرة بالحجارة لتشكيل
في النهاية كوما فوق سطح الارض .

في الحقيقة أن هذه المقابر ليست متجانسة في
أشكالها الا أنه لم يكشف الا على عدد قليل منها
مما لا يسمح بتصنيفها من جديد . على أي حال
تختلف هذه المقابر مع موجداتها عن النوعين
سالفين الذكر وتنسب الى الجماعة الذين جاءوا الى
البلاد في أواخر الألف الثالث ق.م ودمروا
المنطقة فيكون قد قضي مع قدومهم على حضارة
العصر البرونزي القديم التي استغرقت مدة تزيد

(٣٢) R. De Vaux
Palestine in the Early Bronze Age, CAH 46,
(1966), p. 8
(٣٣) R. Amiran
Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, Jerusalem
(1969), p. 79ff.
(٣٤) P. Lapp
The Dhahr Mirzbaneh...., p. 86ff.

(٣٩) P. Lapp
The Dhahr Mirzbaneh Tombs, New Haven
(1966), p. 116.
(٣٠) K. Kenyon
Jericho I, p. 180ff Jericho II, p. 32ff.
(٣١) W. Albright
The Archaeology of Palestine, London (1961),
p. 80

أخرى تميل الى الاعتقاد بأن أصحاب القبور الذين غالبا ما قدموا من الشمال على شكل موجات رئيسية ثلاث قد استوطنوا المناطق الخصبة كالساحل السوري الفلسطيني ومرج ابن عامر والاعوار وبعض المناطق الجبلية مثل القدس ومنطقة الخليل وبعض المواقع في شمالي الاردن . وقد أمكن تتبع قدمهم الى فلسطين وجنوبي سوريا في عدة دراسات (٢٥) ، واستنتاجا من مقارنات للادوات التي عثر عليها في القبور مع ما عاصرها في مصر وشمالي سوريا فقد كان الشعب الجديد على علاقة وثيقة مع شعوب المنطقة المجاورة وأصبح معها تبادل حضاري وعلاقات تجارية (٢٦) .

لم تكن هذه الجماعات متحضرة وأخذت تمارس حياة الرعي وانصاف البداوة ولربما أيضا حياة زراعية بدائية ولا بد أنهم استفادوا من حضارة من سبقهم في المنطقة في الالف الرابع ق.م ، هذه الحضارة التي كانت منتشرة على نطاق واسع في صفتي الاردن (٢٧) وادخلوا الكثير من معرفة وتقاليدها أخرى في الوطن الجديد .

كشفت الحفريات أيضا عن مخيم لم يستوف الدراسة بعد ويمكن أن ينسب بدون تردد الى الجماعات الاولى التي قطنت باب الذراع ، الا أنه لم يبق الامر على هذا الحال اذ تطور فن العمارة في العصر البرونزي القديم الثاني والثالث فظهرت أبنية للسكن محاطة بسور حصين وأدخلت تحسينات على البضائع كما استعملت عجلة الفخار في صنع الاواني الفخارية الملونة وغير الملونة وأصبحت وسائل الانتاج تقتصر بحياة المدينة ، غير أنه من الملاحظ أن هذا التطور لم يتم بسرعة كما هو الحال في أريحا القديمة حيث أقيمت في أواخر العصر البرونزي القديم الاول (المرحلة المبكرة) أبنية سميكة من الحجر والطوب على أساسات من الحجارة الثقيلة وذلك

تبعاً لتقليد خاص في فن العمارة اتضحت معالمه في أريحا (٢٨) ، وسرعان ما تضاعفت هذه الابنية معززة بتحصينات تبقى هذه المخلفات تمثل مرحلة انحطاط في العمارة الفلسطينية اذا ما قورنت بما سبقها من حضارة تعرف باسم حضارة غسول - بئر السبع .

النوع الثاني من قبور باب الذراع (Charnel huose) (لوحة ٣ - أ) عبارة عن غرفة مستطيلة الشكل جدرانها مبنية من الطوب على طبقة من الحجارة غير المنتظمة ، أطوالها ١١ر٥٠ × ٥٠ر٥٠م حتى ٧ × ٥ م ، (لوحة رقم ٣ - ب) تبين مدخلها في الجانب العريض كما هو الحال في المعابد والبيوت الكنعانية . يغطي جانبي المدخل لوحتان حجريتان ولوحة أخرى أغلق بها . يوصل المدخل بأرضية الغرفة درجة أو درجتان . غالبا ما رصفت أرضية الغرف بالحصى . أعيد استعمال هذه القبور أكثر من مرة في العصر البرونزي القديم الثاني والثالث .

وقد شوهد حريق شمل عددا من هذه المقابر وتشير الدلائل أن عملية الحريق كانت قد تمت من قبل مهاجمين للمنطقة في النصف الثاني من الالف الثالث ق.م وأعطى فحص المواد المحروقة أرقاما تتراوح ما بين ٢٤٠٠ - ٢٣٠٠ ± ٢٥٠ ق.م موجودات هذه القبور : أكوام من العظام والاولاني الفخارية بلغ ارتفاعها أحيانا أكثر من المتر بعض هذه الاكوام كانت مصنفة حسب أحجام العظام ، فيظهر أن العظام الكبيرة وضعت على جانب ، الصغيرة على جانب آخر والجماجم منفصلة عنها وكذلك حال الاولاني الفخارية ، الا أنه عثر أيضا على هذه الاكوام بشكل يخالف هذا التصنيف . الاولاني الفخارية مصنوعة على العجلة كما هو الحال في معظم فخار العصر البرونزي القديم الثاني والثالث من هذه الاولاني

Excurs III, IV

(٢٧) للاطلاع على مدى انتشار حضارة ما قبل المهاجرين الجدد، راجع ما كتبه ديفو حاشية ٧ ، كذلك رابت حاشية ٢١

(٢٨) انظر حاشية ٦

(٢٥) انظر De Vaux حاشية ٧ Ibrahim حاشية ١٦
H. Kantor
The Early Relations of Egypt with Asia, in:
JNES I (1942), p. 185; Tab. p. 205.
انظر ايضا حاشية ٩ Ibrahim حاشية ١٦

المقابر قد غيرت الكثير في أساليب حياة ومعطيات سكان فلسطين مما يجعلنا نعتقد أنه مع قدومهم قد دخلت المنطقة عهداً جديداً من المفضل تسميته العصر البرونزي القديم الأول (٢٢) (مرحلة مبكرة) الذي تلا العصر الحجري النحاسي وليس جزءاً منه مع أن التسمية (Proto Urban) تتناسب وواقع الشعب الجديد إلا أنها تبدو غير مرضية إذ ترتبط مع ما تبع من تطور . تتفق هذه الدراسة في تقسيم مراحل العصر البرونزي القديم بشكل عام مع البيانات التي ظهرت عند بول لاب في باب الذراع ، ولا مجال هنا للدخول في تفاصيل النقاش حول هذا الموضوع .

يستنتج من تصنيف للمكتشفات في باب الذراع (خاصة الاواني الفخارية) ومن التقلبات الطارئة على أقدم مجموعة من القبور ، والتي صعب تمييزها ، بأن ثلاثة استعمالات ضمن عصر واحد قد مرت عليها يسميها بول لاب (٢٣) . (EB IA, B, C) معالم مثل هذا التطور يظهر أيضاً عند كاثلين كنيون لدى دراستها لمقابر أريحا (Proto Urban A.B.) مع العلم بأن (Proto Urban C.) غير ممثل في أريحا وتبحث عنه كنيون في مواقع أخرى في فلسطين (٢٤) .

يجعلنا هذا التصنيف مع ما يرافقه من أدلة

(Meser) تل الأساور (١٥) ، وعدد من المواقع في غور الاردن أهمها : تل أم حماد الشرقي (١٦) تل الشونة (١٧)

تم الكشف في باب الذراع عن مخيم سكني لم تكن أساساته واضحة المعالم إلا أن لوجودها أهمية كونها تنسب الى أقدم مقابر الموقع التي أوجزت مزاياها .

يختلف العاملون في الآثار الفلسطينية في تسمية هذه الفترة فيطلق عليها وليم أولبرايت (١٨) (Late Chalcolithic) الأب دي فو Eneolithique Supérieur وأخيراً (Chalkolithique supérieur) (١٩)

كنيون وبازل هنسي (٢٠) ، (Proto Urban A.B.C.) ، وبول لاب وأرنست رايت وروث أميران (٢١) ، (Early Bronze I, A, B.) في الحقيقة لم يكن الخلاف بين هؤلاء اسماً بل أن هناك تباين في المفاهيم في النظرة الى التقلبات الاجتماعية والحضارية وتفاوت في النتائج المترتبة على أعمال الحفر وتصنيف المكتشفات في المواقع الاثرية المختلفة والتي من شأنها تقرير الانتقال من عصر الى آخر . على أي حال ليس من السهل على طلاب الآثار فهم وجهات النظر المنوّه عنها . ان دراستي للمادة مع تبعيتها للاراضيات السكنية تشير الى أن الجماعات التي خلفت لنا مثل هذه

RB 74 (1967), p. 539ff.

K. Kenyon (٢٠) Archaeology in the Holy Land, p. 84ff;

Jericho 1, p. 4 ff

Jericho 11, p. 3 ff

J. Hennessy (٢١) The Foreign Relations..., p. 6ff.

(٢١) لا يتفق الثلاثة في تفاصيل هذه التسميات بالإضافة الى ان ارنست رايت استعمل سنة ١٩٢٧ في رسالته الاصطلاح كالكوليثي متأخر وغير رأيه فيما بعد ، راجع :

E. Wright (٢٢) PPEB; EI 5 (1958), p. 37ff.

BASOR 189 (1968), p. 12ff.

(٢٢) انظر Ibrahim حاشية ١٦ .

P. Lapp (٢٣) Palestine in the Early Bronze Age, in: Near

Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth century, Essays

in Honor of Nelson Glueck, New York (1970), p.

101ff.

(٢٤) انظر حاشية ١

M. Dothan (١٤)

IEJ 7 (1957), p. 127f.; 217ff.

IEJ 9 (1959), p. 13ff.

M. Dothan (١٥)

IEJ 3 (1953), p. 263.

N. Glueck (١٦)

A Chalcolithic Settlement in the Jordan

Valley, in: BASOR 97 (1945), p. 10ff.

M. Ibrahim (١٧)

Leistenbenkelkeramik ... Appendix, Tel Umm

Hammad as-Sarqi (unpubl.)

H. de Contenson (١٨)

Three Soundings in the Jordan Valley, in: ADAJ

IV-V (1960), p. 12ff.

انظر Ibrahim حاشية ١٦ Tel as-Sunā

W. Albright (١٩)

COWA, p. 58

R. De Vaux (١٩)

RB 68 (1961), p. 588ff;

P. Lapp (٢٠)

مصطحبين بأعداد كبيرة من الاواني الفخارية ،
في معظم الحالات وعاء من البازلت وحالات أخرى
وعائين ، دبسه أما من الرخام ، الحجر القاسي
أو البازلت ويظهر أن الاسواره كانت هدية
نادرة .

هنالك شكلان رئيسيان يغلب وجودهما بين
الاواني الفخارية : أ) جره محلاه بأذنين أحيانا
واحدة بين الحافة والكتف و (أو) بيدين
ملصقتين على الجانب . ب) صحن عميق قاعدته
منبسطة وحافته منحنية الى الخارج . كثيرا ما
يكون القسم العلوي من الاواني مزخرفا بصقوف
من نقاط متلاصقة محفورة (صف واحد في أغلب
الاحيان) . جميع المكتشفات الفخارية مصنوعة
من طينه واحدة بواسطة يد ماهرة ولم يهتد
صانعوها الى عجلة الفخار كما هو الحال في
عصور متأخرة . نجدها من الخارج مغطاة بقشرة
رقيقة مصقولة ويظهر عليها من جراء الشوي لمعان
بين الرمادي والاسود ، وتشير أدلة كثيرة على
أنها صنعت خصيصا لتدفن مع الموتى ولم يسبق
أن استعملت لاجراض أخرى .

اقتصرت وجود هذا الصنف من الفخار في أغلب
حالات هذه المرحلة على القبور كما تبين من
المصادر المنوه عنها أعلاه الا أنه كشف عنها في
أرضيات سكنية تكاد تخلو من الابنية كما هو
الحال في أريحا ^(٩) ، تلول أبو العلايق بالقرب
من أريحا ^(١٠) ، حفر سكنية في تل الفارعة
قضاء نابلس ^(١١) ، خربة الكرك على بحيرة
طبريا ^(١٢) ، في مرج ابن عامر ^(١٣) ، ميصر ^(١٤)

يتراوح عمقه ٢١٠ م يتسع في قسمه السفلي
ويتفرع عنه تجويف آخر أو أكثر تم فيها دفن
الموتى . المدخل يضيوي الشكل تقريبا وباتجاه
الاسفل سرعان ما يأخذ شكل مستطيل زواياه
قوسية ثم يتسع عند القاعدة ويأخذ في
الاستدارة .

مقابل ذلك يوجد بين هذه القبور مداخل
اسطوانية الشكل بزوايا منحنية . وقد أحكم سد
المداخل بتراب كلسي من نفس الصخر الذي قطع
فيه القبر ، وفي حالات أخرى أفضل من الاولى
صنع للمدخل غطاء على شكل لوحة حجرية
كبيرة وأجلس بدقة تحت الفوهة بقليل . أما
مداخل التجاويف (الغرف) الجانبية فقد أغلقت
بواسطة ثلاثة أو أربعة حجارة غير منتظمة الشكل
تتخللها حجارة أصغر حجما ، كما وجد خلف كل
مدخل درجة تؤدي الى أرضية الغرف الفرعية .

والجدير بالذكر أنه تم الكشف عن أكثر من
خمسین غرفة تابعة لثلاثين قبرا من نفس الفترة
الزمنية ولم يسبق أن فتحت منذ أن أغلقت أول
مرة ، وظهر في السقوف وبعض الواجهات الأخرى
حزوز القطع من جراء شفرات صوانية بلغت
أطوالها ١٠ × ١٣ سم .

محتويات القبور : غالبا ما احتوى القبر على
كوم من العظام لعدد من الموتى ألقيت على أرضية
من الرمل الناعم ، الكبيرة منها مرتبة بالتوازي
والصغيرة دون انتظام ووضعت الجماجم على
حده . تمثل الجماجم رجالا ونساء وأطفالا

M. Dothan ,
Some Problems of the Stratigraphy in Megiddo
XX, in: EI5 (1958), p. 38ff.

K. Kenyon ,
Some Notes on the Early and Middle Bronze
Age Strata of Megiddo, in: EI 5 (1958), p. 52ff.

E. Sukenik ,
Archaeological Discoveries at Affula, in: JPOS
21 (1948), p. 1ff.

Ibid ,
Late Chalcolithic Pottery from Affula, in: OEQ
68 (1936), p. 150ff.

طبقات XVII-XVI في بيسان ، راجع :
G. M. Fitzgerald, The Earliest Pottery of Beth Shan.

B. Hennessy ,

The Foreign Relations of Palestine during (٩)
the Early Bronze Age, London (1967), Square E
III-IV.

J. B. Pritchard ,
The Excavations at Herodian Jericho 1951,
in: AASOR 32-33 (1958), p. 14ff.

R. De Vaux RB 68 (1961), p. 563f. (١١)

B. Meisler and M. Stekelis, (١٢)
The Excavations at Beth Yerah (Khirbet el-Kerak),
in: IEJ 2 (1952), p. 165ff; 218ff.

(١٣) كثيرا ما توجد مكتشفات هذا العصر مصنفة تحت اسم
حضارة مرج بني عامر Esdraclon Culture حيث وجدت
لاول مرة والمواقع المهمة المعنية : تل التلسم في المراحل
٧-٧١ والطبقات XX-XIX راجع :

للتعرف على تاريخ فلسطين وأجزاء أخرى من شمالي سوريا في هذه المرحلة التاريخية .

بالنسبة لعصور سبقت فقد عرفنا طرق أخرى لدفن الموتى : ففي العصر الحجري ، المتأخر المرحلة التي سبقت استعمال الفخار (Pre-Pottery Neolithic) عشر الحفرون على الموتى مدفونين تحت مصاطب البيوت (٥) وبعد ظهور الفخار (Pottery Neolithic) نقلت جثث الموتى خارج المنطقة السكنية وأودعت لقوى الطبيعة دون أن يولوا اهتمامهم (٦) أما في العصر الحجري النحاسي (حضارة غسول - بئر السبع) فقد أولوا اهتماما أكثر فهي إما أن وضعت في جرار كبيرة كما هو الحال في تليلات الغسول أو في صناديق من الفخار مستطيلة الشكل محاطة بزخارف وأشكال هندسية وحيوانية ، وأحيانا صنعت من الحجر ، غالبا ما عثر عليها مصحوبة بعدد من الاواني الفخارية في كهوف بعيدة عن مناطق السكن (٧) يلي ذلك المرحلة التي تنسب اليها مقابرنا في باب الذراع والتي أمكن تقسيمها الى ثلاثة أنواع رئيسية يمثل كل منها مرحلة زمنية .

النوع الاول والاقدم (٨) (Shaft tombs)

(لوحة رقم ١ - أ ب) عبارة عن تجويف عمودي مقطوع في الصخر الطري (ترسبات متحجرة)

الدراسات عنه في حل عدد من المشكلات في حلقة التسلسل التاريخي فحسب بل أنها أضافت معلومات جديدة عن حياة وتقاليده أناس الالف الثالث ق.م في المنطقة وأعطت أرقاما تاريخية جديدة غير التي ذكرها أولبرايت كما ورد أعلاه .

تركزت أعمال الحفر والاستقصاء الاثري على مقبرة تشغل مساحة واسعة وفي منطقة سكنية تنسب اليها بعض المقابر (لوحة رقم ٤) تبين المقابر التي تم حفرها .

تعتبر المقبرة من أغنى المقابر التي عرفها الشرق القديم وأكثرها استمرارا في الاستعمال اذ لا نبالغ اذا قلنا أن فقط عدد الاواني الفخارية التي عثر عليها خلال الفصول الثلاثة يتجاوز ٢٥ مليون آنية ، عدا الادوات المعدنية واللقى الاخرى ، كما واستمر استعمال المقبرة دون انقطاع فترة زمنية تزيد على الالف سنة ، أي من أواخر الالف الرابع حتى أواخر الالف الثالث ق.م . يبدأ تاريخ الموقع مع موجات بشرية هاجرت الى المنطقة في هذا الوقت المبكر .

يلاحظ المتتبع لآثار المنطقة والتطور الحضاري فيها أن القادمين الجدد مع بزوغ العصر البرونزي القديم قد استخدموا طريقة جديدة لدفن موتاهم لم نعرفها من قبل وأصبحت مقابرهم ومحتوياتها مع ما يحيط بها من تقاليد دينية أهم مصدر لنا

K. Kenyon Archaeology in the Holy Land p. 53, ٥
Ibid Burial Customs at Jericho, (٦)

(٧) تتطلب هذه المصدايق دراسة تفصيلية لاهيتها من الناحيتين الدينية والحضارية في الالف الرابع ق.م . ، على أي حال فقد عثر عليها بكيات كبيرة ومتنوعة في يازور Azor بالقرب من تل أبيب وام قطنه ، راجع :

J. Perrot, Une tombe à Ossuaires du IV^e millénaire à Azor, près de Tel-Aviv, in: Atiqot 3 (1961), p. 1ff.

R. De Vaux, Palestine during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, in: CAH 47 (1966), p. 32ff.

(٨) هناك وصف تفصيلي ودقيق للدكتور بول لاب من خلال مثال لا قدم مقابر باب الذراع ، راجع :

P. Lapp, BASOR 189 (1968), p. 14ff.

مقابر اريحا التي تطلق عليها كاتلين كنيون

Proto-Urba A, B.
K. Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 4ff., figs. 2-22;
Jericho II, p. 3ff., figs. 1-13

في هذا العدد من الحولية دراسة شاملة ، أعداد كبيرة من هذه القبور كشف عنها في تل المتسلم و (مجدو)

P.L.O. Guy

Megiddo Tombs, in: OIP 33 (1938), Tombs 9, 903, 1103, 1106, 1126, 1127

R. M. Enberg

Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age

G. M. Shipton

Pottery of Megiddo, in: SAOC 10 (1934)

كذلك مقابر تل الفارعة التي ينسبها ديفو الى العصر الكالكوليثي المتأخر راجع :

R. De Vaux

Les fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah, in: RB 68 (1968) p. 557ff.

J. L. Hout

Typologie et Chronologie Relative de la céramique du Bronze Ancien à Tell el-Far'ah, in: RB 74 (1967), p. 517ff.

قام بتصنيف مقابر عي Proto Urban الدكتور كالواي ، راجع :

J. A. Calaway

Pottery from the Tomb at Ay, London, (1964).

اضواء على تاريخ باب الذراع

الدكتور معاوية ابراهيم

وأن آخر تاريخ هو القرن الحادي والعشرون ق.م وأعاد معظم الاواني الفخارية الى القرن الثاني والعشرين ق.م (٢) . لدى اعطائه مثل هذه الارقام التاريخية اعتمد أولبرايت على مقارنات من مواقع أخرى مثل أريحا وتل بيت مرسيم (فلسطين) وأدر على بعد بضعة كيلو مترات الى الشمال الشرقي من مدينة الكرك ، علما بأن الحفر في الموقعين الاخيرين قد جرى من قبل أولبرايت نفسه .

قلما ورد ذكر باب الذراع في تقارير علماء الآثار وبقي الموقع بعيدا عن أنظار الزوار حتى عام ١٩٦٥ . ففي ذلك العام لاحظ العاملون في الآثار في القدس أوان فخارية في حوزة تجار العاديات وبين أيدي السياح والمواطنين الذين أعادوا مصدرها الى باب الذراع فأسرعت دائرة الآثار بالتعاون مع المدرسة الاميركية للابحاث الشرقية في القدس للقيام بأعمال حفر منظمة في هذا الموقع تحت اشراف الدكتور بول لاب ، توقفت الحفريات بعد ثلاثة فصول متتالية (١٩٦٥ - ١٩٦٧) قبل اتمام العمل (٤) .

كشفت الحفريات النقب عن موقع أثري نعتبره من أهم المواقع الاثرية في البلاد ولم تسهم نتائج

قامت سنة ١٩٢٤ المدرسة الاميركية للابحاث الشرقية في القدس تحت اشراف وليم أولبرايت بأعمال حفر على نطاق ضيق في موقع باب الذراع على الجانب الشرقي للبحر الميت في منطقة تدعى اللسان (١) وهو من أوائل المواقع الاثرية التي جرت فيها أعمال الحفر في منطقة شرقي الاردن الا أن النتائج التي ظهرت للقائمين على العمل لم تنشر الا بعد مضي عشرين سنة لعدم تمكن هؤلاء من اعطاء تاريخ دقيق للآثار المكتشفة أو على الأقل نسبها الى مرحلة معينة من حلقة التسلسل التاريخي ، كما لم يلاحظ الحفاريون الأوائل علاقة المكتشفات هذه مع تعاقب الارضيات السكنية التي تشكل التعاقب الزمني للموقع الاثري . حتى وبعد الانتهاء من العمل بزمن طويل لم يكن بالامكان تأريخ المكتشفات من لقي وأساسات معمارية الا أنها نسبت الى العصر البرونزي القديم بشكل عام (٢) ، دون ملاحظة تطور الاواني الفخارية ، من حيث صناعتها ، أشكالها وأصنافها ، ولم تكن مقارنتها مع مكتشفات معاصرة في فلسطين صحيحة تماما .

قال أولبرايت أنه غير محتمل أن يغطي فخار باب الذراع فترة زمنية تتجاوز القرنين على الاكثر

على ملاحظاته واقتراحاته هذا بالإضافة الى مقالاته وابحائه التي استشهد بها هنا . P. Lapp

The Cemetery at Bab ed-Dra, Jordan, in : Archaeology 19/2 (1966), p. 104ff; RB 73 (1966), p. 552ff; RB 75 (1968), p. 86ff. Bab ed-Dra' Tomb A 76 and the Early Bronze I in Palestine, in: BASOR 189 (1968), p. 12ff; The Cemetery at Bab ed-Dra', Jordan in: Archaeological Discoveries in the Holy Land, compiled by the Archaeological Institute of America, New York (1927), p. 35ff.

(١) W. Albright
The Archaeological Results of an Expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea, in: BASOR 14 (1924), p. 2ff.; Bibliotheca Sacra LXXX, p. 262ff.; Biblica 5, p. 413ff.

(٢) W. Albright
Early Bronze Pottery from Bab ed Dra'in Moab, in: BASOR 95 (1944), p. 3ff.

(٣) انظر حاشية (٢)
(٤) اتقدم هنا بالشكر الجزيل للدكتور بول لاب (المتوفي)

الفعلي للقرارات التي اعتمدها في هذا
الصدد كل من المؤتمر العام والمجلس التنفيذي .

١١ - ويدعو المدير العام الى تقديم تقرير للمجلس

التنفيذي في دورته ٩٢ عن تطبيق هذا
القرار حتى يدرس المجلس التدابير
الواجب اتخاذها .

المهندس يوسف العالمي

مساعد مدير الآثار لشؤون الصيانة والترميم

دائرة الآثار العامة - عمان

نزاع مسلح (لاهاي ، ١٩٥٤) .

٣ - ويذكر من جديد بقرارات مجلس الامن ٢٥٢ (١٩٦٨) في ٢١ مايو - أيار ١٩٦٨ ، ٢٦٧ (١٩٦٩) في يوليو - تموز ١٩٦٩ ، و ٢٩٨ في سبتمبر - أيلول ١٩٧١ ، والقرارين ٢٢٥٣ و ٢٢٥٤ بتاريخ ٤ و ١٤ يوليو - تموز ١٩٦٧ للذين أقرتها الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة بشأن التدابير والاعمال المتعلقة بوضع مدينة القدس .

٤ - ويذكر بالقرارين (٣٣٤٢) (٣٣٤٣) اللذين أقرهما المؤتمر العام في دورته الخامسة عشر وبالقرارات ٢ ر ٤ ر ٤ - ٤ ر ٣ ر ١ ، ٤ ر ٣ ر ١ ، ٤ ر ٣ ر ١ التي أقرها المجلس التنفيذي في دوراته ٨٢ و ٨٨ و ٩٠ .

٥ - ويذكر على الاخص بالفقرة ٢ من القرار ١ و ٣ الذي أقره المجلس التنفيذي في دورته ٨٨ والذي دعا فيه المدير العام الى ضمان وجود اليونسكو في مدينة القدس للسهر على التقيد بالقرارات التي أقرها في هذا الصدد كل من المؤتمر العام والمجلس التنفيذي .

٦ - ويرى ان المجلس التنفيذي ، المنعقد في دورته ٩٠ ، قد لاحظ في قراره ١ و ٣ و ٤ ان موقف اسرائيل لا يتجاوب بطريقة مرضية مع القرارين ١ و ٣ و ٤ ، ١ و ٤ و ٤ الصادرين عن المجلس التنفيذي كما جاء في خطاب المدير العام المؤرخ ١٨ يوليو - تموز ١٩٧٢ وان المجلس قرر بالنظر لموقف اسرائيل ، ان يطرح هذه المسألة على المؤتمر العام للنظر فيها بموجب المادة ٣ ر ١٣ (الوثيقة

١٧/٥ - الفصل الفرعي ٤/٣٧ . . .

صون التراث الثقافي واحيائه) من اجل التوصل الى تطبيق فعال للقرارات التي اعتمدها المؤتمر العام والمجلس التنفيذي في هذا الصدد .

٧ - ويسدرك ان اسرائيل ماضية في انتهاك القرارات في هذا الموضوع ، وهو موقف يمنع المنظمة من اداء رسالتها ، وتحقيق أهدافها المحددة في ميثاقها التأسيسي .

٨ - يأسف لاستمرار اعمال التنقيب عن الآثار التي تجريها اسرائيل في مدينة القدس .

٩ - ويوجه نداء عاجلا الى اسرائيل :

أ (لاتخاذ جميع التدابير اللازمة للحرص الدقيق على صون كل المواقع والمباني والآثار وغيرها من الممتلكات الثقافية ولا سيما تلك الموجودة في مدينة القدس القديمة .

ب (لمتنع عن أي تغيير في طابع مدينة القدس .

ج (لمتنع عن أي اعمال للتنقيب عن الآثار او نقل الممتلكات الثقافية ، وعن أي تغيير في طابعها او معالمها الثقافية والتاريخية . وخاصة فيما يتعلق بالمواقع الدينية المسيحية والاسلامية .

د (لتقيد بدقة بأحكام الاتفاقية الخاصة بحماية الممتلكات الثقافية في حالة قيام نزاع مسلح (لاهاي ، ١٩٥٤) بالقرارات المذكورة اعلاه .

١٠ - يدين موقف اسرائيل ويدعو المدير العام الى ضمان وجود اليونسكو وجودا حقيقيا في مدينة القدس من اجل ضمان التنقيذ

(١) لقد صدر الجزء الاول من كتاب عن المواقع الاثرية باللغة الانجليزية (الضفة الشرقية)

The Archaeological Heritage of Jordan
The Archaeological Periods and Sites .

Part I (East Bank)

وهو يشمل جميع المواقع الاثرية بالاردن والتي قدرت بحوالي ٤١٧ موقع مع تاريخها مزود بالخرائط التفصيلية مبيناً عليها المواقع الاثرية كما يشمل على مقدمة تاريخية عن الاردن الاثري من قبل مختصين من دائرة الآثار ، ومن المنتظر أن يصدر الجزء الثاني وفيه جميع المواقع الاثرية مع التفاصيل الكاملة والتي تشمل شرح تاريخه والحفريات التي تمت به وما نشر عنه من منشورات أو كتب لكي يساعد علماء الآثار والمهتمين بالضفة الشرقية من الاردن .

(٢) لقد اشتركت دائرة الآثار بمندوبها المهندس يوسف العلمي في مؤتمر الخبراء الحكوميين الذي عقد في باريس في نيسان سنة ١٩٧٢ بطلب من منظمة الامم المتحدة للتربية والعلم والثقافة (اليونسكو) لتحضير مسودة اتفاقية بخصوص حماية التراث العالمي الثقافي والطبيعي . وذلك نظراً لكون التراث الثقافي والطبيعي مهددان بتدمير متزايد ، ليس للأسباب التقليدية للاندثار فحسب ، وانما ايضاً بالاحوال الاجتماعية والاقتصادية المتغيرة التي تزيد من خطورة الموقف بما تحمله من عوامل الاتلاف والتدمير الاشد خطراً . وقد تم وضع مسودة اتفاقية وتوصيات من اهمها انشاء صندوق التراث العالمي بحيث تكون لديه الموازنة والمخصصات للمساعدة في انقاذ التراث العالمي . واحيل الموضوع

للمؤتمر العام لليونسكو لمناقشته في دورته السابعة عشر وحين عقد في الفترة ما بين ١٧ / ١٠ - ٢١ / ١١ / ٧٢ بباريس بمنظمة اليونسكو ونقش وتمت الموافقة عليه وارسل للدول الاعضاء للتصديق عليه لكي يصبح فعالاً وقد تمت موافقة الحكومة الاردنية على هذه الاتفاقية نظراً لاهمية هذه الاتفاقية في مساعدة الدول في انقاذ تراثها العالمي .

(٣) كما اشتركت دائرة الآثار العامة بمندوبها في المؤتمر العام السابع عشر لليونسكو والذي عقد بباريس بمنظمة اليونسكو وكانت أهم الاشياء التي بحثت موضوع الاتفاقية الخاصة بحماية التراث العالمي الثقافي والطبيعي والذي سبق شرحه . ثم قضية القدس والتعديلات الاسرائيلية وعدم تقيد السلطات الاسرائيلية بقرارات المنظمة وقد خصص يوم كامل لعرض القضية من جميع جوانبها وفي النهاية تم اتخاذ القرار التالي :

(بأغلبية ٥٤ صوتاً ومعارضة ٣ أصوات وامتناع ٢٠ صوتاً) .

ان المؤتمر العام ،

١ - اذ يدرك الاهمية الاستثنائية التي تتسم بها الممتلكات الثقافية الواقعة في مدينة القدس القديمة ، ولا سيما المواقع الدينية ، لا بالنسبة للبلاد المعنية فحسب ، وانما ايضاً للانسانية جمعاء بسبب ما لهذه الآثار من قيمة فريدة من النواحي الثقافية والتاريخية والدينية .

٢ - ويذكر من جديد بأحكام الاتفاقية الخاصة بحماية الممتلكات الثقافية في حالة قيام

وإثناء عمليات الترميم في الواجهة الامامية جرى اكتشاف بئر وتم تنظيفه ويرجع تاريخ استعماله الى العصر المملوكي (القرن الثالث عشر)

(٤) أم الرصاص (مأدبا) :-

لقد بوشر لأول مرة في مدينة أم الرصاص الاثرية بأجراء الترميمات ، وكان البرج الاثري متصدع ومنهار عدة اجزاء منه ولذا تم تقوية الاساسات من جميع الجهات وتنظيف الردم من الداخل وكذلك تم اعادة بناء بعض المداميك لمنع الجدار من السقوط نهائياً وسيستمر العمل خلال سنة ٧٣ (لوحة رقم ٤ - أ) .

(٥) البتراء :-

١ - البوابة التذكارية :- لقد تم ترميم الدعامات الجنوبية للبوابة خلال السنوات الماضية وقد تم نهائياً ترميم البوابة ودعمها واعادة المداميك المتساقطة الى مكانها كما اعيدت بعض الاعمدة في واجهاتها وتم تنظيف الساحة الامامية (لوحة رقم ٤ - ب) .

٢ - الجدار الاستنادي :- لقد اعيدت الاجزاء المتساقطة نتيجة للامطار السابقة كما تم اكماله من جهة المتحف وكذلك تم تسهيل الساحة الامامية لقصر البنت أمام الحزنة .

(٦) طبقة فحل :-

لقد جرى تسييج المنطقة الاثرية كمرحلة اولى لمنع التعديات عليها وحفظها للمستقبل لاجراء الحفريات الاثرية اللازمة والتي من المنتظر البدء بها في سنة ١٩٧٤ .

(١) المتحف الاردني عمان :-

أ - عمل دراسة للعملة القديمة وتصويرها وتصنيفها وذلك لعمل كتالوج ، ومن المنتظر ان يصدر خلال سنة ١٩٧٤ .

ب - تنظيم معرض للحلي والمجوهرات القديمة ضمن اسبوع الفنون الجميلة الذي اقيم بعمان .

(٢) متحف الفسيفساء :-

لقد أنشيء متحف للفسيفساء في قبو الجناح الشرقي بالمدرج الروماني وعرض فيه ٦٠ لوحة فسيفساء تم ترميمها وجمعها من منطقتي مأدبا وجرش وقدم افتتاحه وسيجرى خلال السنة القادمة اكمال هذا المتحف في قبو الجناح الغربي بالمدرج الروماني وبوشر بعمل دليل للمتحف مبيناً فيه صور للقطع وشرح عنها وسيصدر في سنة ١٩٧٣ .

(٣) متحف التراث الشعبي :-

لقد تم افتتاح متحف التراث الشعبي بالتعاون مع نادي احياء التراث الاردني في الجناح الشرقي للمدرج الروماني بعمان .

(٤) متحف الجامعة الاردنية :-

ضمن برنامج التعاون في حقل الآثار بين الجامعة الاردنية ودائرة الآثار تم الاتفاق على ان تقوم دائرة الآثار بالاشراف الفني على متحف الجامعة الاردنية وتزويده بالقطع الاثرية المختلفة كي يصبح مركزاً للابحاث والدراسات الجامعية مستقبلاً . وقد تم تعيين أمناء متحف من قبل الجامعة الاردنية وقامت دائرة الآثار بتزويد المتحف بالقطع الاثرية اللازمة .

د - نشاطات اخرى

ج - المتاحف

منجزات دائرة الآثار العامة

١٩٧٢

المهندس يوسف العلمي

أ - الحفريات الأثرية

راجع مقال الدكتور معاوية إبراهيم بعنوان
« الحفريات الأثرية بالأردن خلال عام ٧٢ »
(صفحة ٩٢) .

ب - الصيانة والترميم

(١) عمان : - لقد تم اكمال مشروع ساحة الفورم
والذي استمر طيلة الاربع سنوات
الماضية . وقد اجريت بعض
الترميمات في مدرج عمان في
الجدار العلوي المحيط بالمدرج واكمل
حتى نهايته كما أعيد تبليط الممر
العلوي الملاصق له واجريت
تصليحات في المداخل العلوية كما
جرى تنظيف المدخل الشرقي حتى
نهايته واثناء عمل المدخل الشرقي
لساحة الفورم وجدت ارضية
فسيفساء تم الكشف عنها واحاطتها
بسور ويمكن للشخص مشاهدتها
اثناء عبوره الى ساحة الفورم .

(٢) جرش :

أ - بوابة عمان (قوس النصر) : - ان اعمال
الترميمات في بوابة عمان (قوس النصر) ،
استمرت وتم انجاز الواجهة الجنوبية

جميعها بحيث اعيدت كما كانت عليه حسب
الاثباتات والموجودات المتوفرة في المنطقة
كما وجرى ترميم البناء الذي يدعث القوس
من الجهة الشرقية (لوحة رقم ١)
وفي الواجهة الشمالية تم ترميم الجزء
الشرقي ولا زال العمل مستمراً في الجزء
الغربي والذي ينتظر الانتهاء منه في سنة
٧٣ .

ب - المدرج الجنوبي : - بعد ان تم ترميم
المداخل الرئيسية للمدرج وساحة الاوركسترا ،
بوشر في ترميم المداخل العلوية للمدرج
حيث يوجد ثلاثة مداخل معظمها متهدم
أزيلت الاقربة والانقاض وتم دعم الجدران
وسيستمر العمل في هذه المداخل خلال
السنوات القادمة . (لوحة رقم ٢)

(٣) قلعة الربض (عجلون) :

لقد أعيد ترميم بناء جدار القلعة والمتهدم في
الواجهة الرئيسية ورفع هذا الجدار في
حدود عشرة مداميك (لوحة رقم ٣ - أ)
كما جرى ترميم واعادة بناء الجدار الشمالي
(لوحة رقم ٣ - ب) وقد جرى اغلاق بعض
الفتحات العلوية في الجهة الغربية وكذلك
الجدران العلوية المحيطة بها في الجهة
الجنوبية والشرقية .

عروشها • ومع أن الوازع الديني حمل العباسيين على اصلاح المساجد الا أن القصور بقيت مهجورة مهملة حتى جاءت معاول المنقبين لتبعثها من جديد •

انتهى تقرير الاستاذ بن دوف اليهودي بايجاز • اذا كانت هذه التقارير صادرة عن عدو كان يأمل بايجاد مركز هيكله وبقاياه ليكون في ذلك المبرر لاعادة بنائه - اذا كان هذا ما كتبه عدو فماذا كان منقب عربي سيكتب عن هذه المكتشفات العظيمة التي ستفتح صفحة جديدة في تاريخ العرب في مدينة القدس بدأ يكتبها العدو مضطرا •

ولما دعي الجنرال موشي دايان وزير الدفاع الاسرائيلي لمشاهدة هذه الحفريات ظهر عليه الامتعاض وأمر بازالة هذه الطبقة العربية الى ما تحتها من الطبقتين البنطية والرومانية وازالتهما أيضا بعد أن تنتهي دراستهما والتوقف عند طبقة هرودس - باني الهيكل الثاني • وقد اشترط دايان بأن يكون عرض هذا الكشف ما لا يقل عن عشرين مترا حول الحرم الشريف •

وهكذا يمكن اعتبار عبد الملك بن مروان الروح التي حركت الاتجاه نحو أهمية القدس وعمل على اعادة عمرانها كأحد مراكز دولته العظيمة فبنى قبة الصخرة وشرع في بناء المسجد الأقصى وأتمه ابنه الوليد كما بنى الوليد المبنى الثاني أو القصر الجنوبي وما جاوره من الأبنية الأخرى كما أمر بتبليط الشوارع وأضاف الجغرافي العربي « اليعقوبي » في القرن التاسع سببا في بناء قبة الصخرة فوق الأسباب السياسية والاجتماعية سببا فنيا قوميا وهو أن تغطي قبة الصخرة على عظمة قبة القيامة •

ان سقوط الأسرة الاموية ومجيء الأسرة العباسية قد قطع الصلة بين مركز الخلافة في العراق وبين دمشق والقدس ، وأخذ المركز الديني لمدينة القدس في الاضمحلال والنسيان • ودعمت هذا السبب حوادث طبيعية كزلازل سنة ٧٤٧ - ٧٤٨ م الذي دمر القسم الأكبر من أبنية الأمويين واعتبره العباسيون جزءا إلهيا لظلم بني أمية فأصبحت ديار الظالمين خاوية على



دهان احمر على القصارة على الجناح الغربي من المبنى الاموي الثاني

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المبنى الرابع :

على المسجد .

ذكر المؤرخ الجغرافي « لي استرانج » Le Strange أن اسم باب البلاط في سور القدس في عهد الأمويين مأخوذ من كلمة « بلاتيوم » أي القصر باللغة اللاتينية . ولقد ذكر المقدسي في كتابه « أحسن التقاسيم لمعرفة الأقاليم » أن باب البلاط أو باب القصر العظيم كان في الجنوب الشرقي من الحرم من المدينة وكان يؤدي إلى القصر العظيم .

وتشير المصادر العربية إلى وجود دار الاخماس في الجنوب من الحرم - وقد يكون المبنى الثاني ، فإذا صدق هذا الاستنتاج فإن عمال الخليفة كانوا يسكنون في الطابق الأرضي من القصر وكانوا يدخلون إلى الحرم من الباب المزدوج ، وقد يكون ذلك منطبقاً أيضاً على المبنى الثالث كما وردت الإشارة إلى ذلك في جنيزة القاهرة (٨) وكان المبنيان متلاصقين .

أما المبنى الرابع فقد يكون مسجداً بالنسبة للغرفة التي وجدت فيه مستعملة كمصلى بدلالة المحراب من جهة القبلة .

يذكر المقدسي في القرن العاشر وصفاً لأسوار القدس وأبوابها ويذكر منها باب الوليد ، وقد ذكره بهذا الاسم مؤرخ عربي آخر هو ابن عبد ربه على حين أن مجير الدين لم يذكره في القرن الخامس عشر ، أما لي استرانج فيجعل باب الوليد في الشمال الغربي من السور ، ولم يذكر المصدر الذي اعتمده في هذا التعيين ، وهو الباب الوحيد الذي ألحق باسم بانيه ويجب أن يكون في السور الجنوبي على الجسر القادم من المبنى الثاني (شكل ١ : ٥) إذا كان الوليد قد بناه حقيقة . وقد بقي هذا الجسر أو الجناح صالحاً للمرور حتى القرن العاشر ، ثم تنوسى أو تم تخريبه فلم يذكره أي مرجع بعد هذا التاريخ .

لشمال من المبنى الثالث وللغرب من السور الغربي اكتشف مبنى أموي رابع ، وظهر أن جداريه الشرقي والجنوبي بنيا من حجارة ضخمة بما يقارب حجارة عصر هرودس وأيام خراب الهيكل الثاني ، وهو يختلف في جدرانه عن جدران سابقه من حيث أنها بنيت من صف واحد من الحجارة وقد دقت حجارة الوجهين دقاقة ناعمة وطللي الوجه الداخلي بالقصارة . وما تبقى من أوصافه في البلاط والفسيفساء والطين وطراز البناء فإنه متشابه تمام التشابه لسابقه ويمتاز بما فيه من قطع الزخارف ذات الألوان الحمراء والزرقاء والسوداء والخضراء وبفصوص زجاجية أبعادها نصف في نصف سم كانت ترصع سقفاً أو واجهة داخلية ولا تزال هذه القطع لاصقة بالطين . ومع أن مخططة أموي صرف فإن البعض يجعله من بناء العباسيين في القرن التاسع .

استنتاجات :

هكذا نستطيع أن نستنتج أن حركة العمران عادت إلى القدس في العصر الأموي بعد أن خربت في نهاية عصر الهراذسة على أيدي الرومان ، أعاد الأمويون بناء الأسوار المحيطة بالمدينة وأقيمت أبنية فخمة ضمنها ومع أننا لم نكشف حتى اليوم سوى ثلاثة أبنية فإن الحفريات القادمة ستكشف أبنية أخرى .

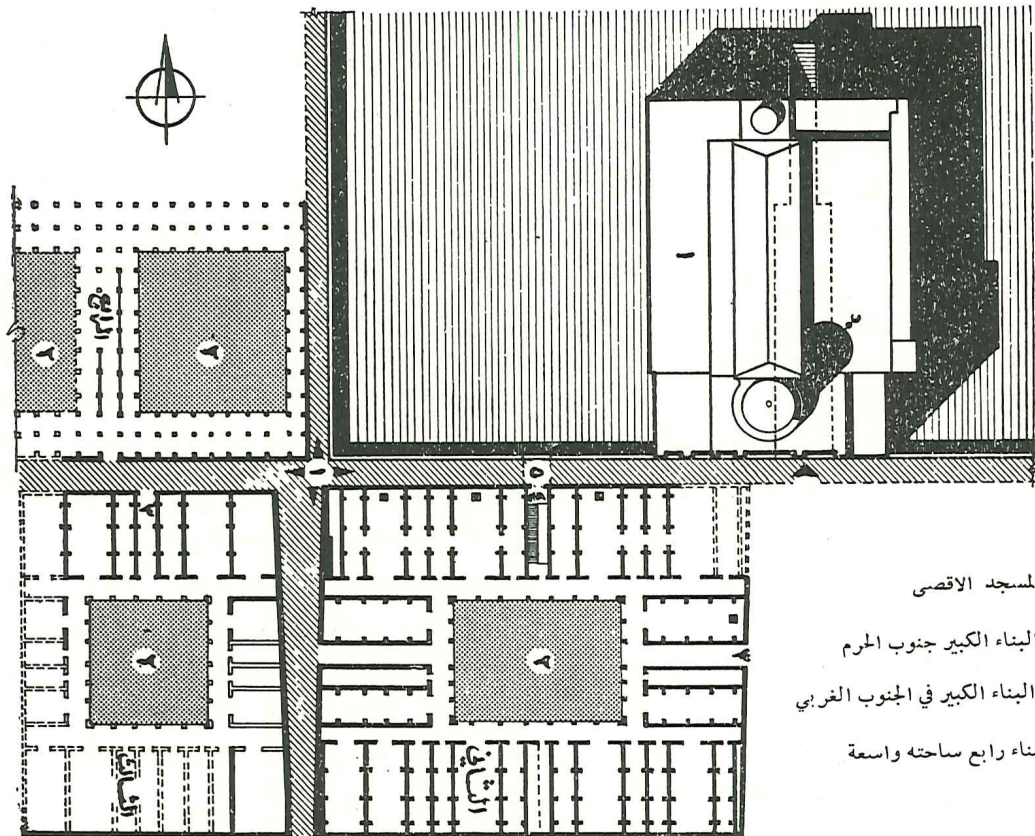
وأصبح من الضروري أن نعيد النظر في قوس ولسون - قرب باب السلسلة - والأقواس الأخرى الملاصقة لسور الحرم التي قال عنها المكتشف ورن أنها من بناء القرن السادس ونحن نميل إلى أنها من عمل الأمويين وذلك من دراسة طراز البناء ودق الحجارة والقصارة فإنها كلها أموية وكل الدلائل تشير إلى أن المبنى الثاني كان لأحد الخلفاء الأمويين . كما كانت أبنية غيره تلاصق الحرم من الجنوب مخصصة لرجال الدولة والقومة

(٨) الجنيزة حفرة كالعبر تلقى فيها الكتابات الدينية حتى تبلى من ذاتها .

من حجارة ضخمة يزن بعضها ٣ - ٥ أطنان لم يبق منها الا القواعد . وكان مدخله من الشارع الغربي يمر بين المبنى والجدار الغربي لهذا المبنى الثالث يقع تحت باب المغاربة للمدينة Dungan Gate ومن المنتظر أن يكون شكله كشكل الباب الشمالي في الطراز الأموي .

وان ما اكتشف منه الى الان لم يوضح أنه كان فيه أروقة ولا قاعات كما تأكد وجود ذلك في المبنى الثاني على حين أن بلاط هذا المبنى كان كبلاط المبنى الثاني بالضبط . وفي بعض القاعات وجدت الفسيفساء ذات الاتساع ٢٥ × ٢٥ سم وفي المبنى مصارف ومجاري . غير أن جدرانها أقل ضخامة مما كانت في جدران الثاني بحيث لا

يتجاوز سمكها ١٢٠ سم . وكان الوجه الخارجي مبنيًا من حجارة أبعادها ٨٠ × ١٢٠ سم وحجارة الصف الداخلي من حجارة أصغر ٢٥ × ٣٥ سم . وبين الصفيين يملأ الفراغ الطين الأموي المعروف . وقد بنيت الجدران على أسس عمقها ثلاثة أمتار . ولقد جمعت من خنادق الحفر كميات من شقف الفخار والنقود من القرنين الثاني عشر والثالث عشر مما ساعد على كتابة معرفة تاريخه . ويعود سبب تخريبه الى أعمال الصليبيين عندما أرادوا أن يحيطوا المنطقة بسور فامتدت أيديهم الى حجارته . وقد ابتدأ السور الصليبي من الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية واتجه شرقا حتى برج كبريت قرب الموضع المعروف ببيت محسي Gatei Mahse بعد أن اجتاز فوق الجدار الجنوبي المهدوم .



الاول : المسجد الاقصى

الثاني : البناء الكبير جنوب الحرم

الثالث : البناء الكبير في الجنوب الغربي

الرابع : بناء رابع ساحته واسعة

- ١ - شوارع مبلطة بين الابنية والحرم .
- ٢ - ساحات مبلطة في المباني الثلاثة .
- ٣ - البوابة الشرقية للمبنى الثاني .
- ٤ - بوابة الخروج من المبنى الثاني الى الشارع
- ٥ - بقايا جسر يجمع بين المبنى الثاني والحرم ٦ - الباب المزدوج تحت المسجد الاقصى .

ملاصقة لأسوار المدينة فلم تكن هناك فائدة من وجود أبراج خاصة فيها .

وقد تهدمت أسوار هذه القصور ولم يبق منها فوق سطح الأرض سوى أجزاء قليلة الارتفاع . أما تحت الأنقاض فقد بقي منها ما يصل الى أربعة أمتار ، ويظهر أن هذه البنايات جزئت ببناء فواصل لتحول الى مساكن شخصية فيما بعد ولا سيما في العهد العباسي (القرن التاسع) وقد تراكت الأنقاض فوق المستوى الأموي نحو المتر حتى قامت فوقها المصطبة العباسية ولم يبق سكان البيوت الجديدة باصلاح قنوات الماء التي تصب في الآبار ولا مجاري المياه القذرة .

كانت القدس قد تعرضت لخراب واسع أثناء الفتح الفارسي سنة ٦١٤م . واستمر حتى الفتح العربي سنة ٦٣٨م . وبدوافع مختلفة قام عبد الملك بن مروان الخليفة الأموي الخامس (٦٨٥ - ٧٠٥ م) باعادة بناء القدس وتجميلها بالمساجد والقصور . واستمر ابنه الوليد (٧٠٥ - ٧١٥ م) ينفذ مخططات أبيه وانجاز مشروعاته حتى تجاوزها في الاتساع فعاد الى القدس المجد الذي كانت عليه أيام هرودس الكبير . وقد دخلت حجارة هرودس في الأبنية الأموية بعد أن نحتت على الطراز العربي كما نشاهد في أبنية الأقصى وقبة الصخرة - وكثيرا ما كان البناء الأموي يبني حسب مخططات عصر هرودس دون أن يعرف ذلك البناء الاسلامي .

ومن أهم ما تركه البناء العربي في هذه المنطقة الشارع الفاصل بين الحرم وبين القصور وكان مبطلا ببلاط ناعم ابعاد البلاط الواحدة ٢٥ × ٣٥ سم و ٦٠ × ٧٠ سم وكان معدل عرض الشارع ٤٣٠ سم .

المبنى الثاني :

انه أوسع بناء وجد في هذه الحفريات وكان أبعاده ٩٦ × ٤٨ مترا أي يكاد يكون باتساع المسجد الأقصى الحالي وكان سمك جداره الخارجي نحو ثلاثة أمتار وكانت ساحته قد بلطت ببلاط أبعاده ٣٠ × ٤٠ سم و ٦٠ × ٧٠ سم .

وكانت المياه تنصرف في مصارف الى آبار يتسع الواحد منها لثمان مئة متر مكعب من الماء . وكان يحيط بالساحة من الجهات الأربع أروقة مسقوفة حسب المخطط الأموي المألوف في جميع أبنيتهم . وعلى الأعمدة كانت السقوف التي تسقف الأروقة ومن خلفها القاعات وكانت القاعات تمتد حتى تلاصق الأسوار . ومن القاعات تصعد أدراج الى الطبقات العليا . وبلغ اتساع قاعات الجنوب والشرق ١٧ مترا بينما هي في الشمالي والغربي ٢٠ مترا . وبين القاعات بنيت فواصل . وقد بنيت الأسوار مزدوجة - واجهة خارجية من حجر منحوت وواجهة داخلية وملء الفراغ بينهما بالطين الأموي القوي الحاصل من جبل التراب بالتبن وقامت الأسوار على قواعد كانت تنزل في الأرض نحو تسعة أمتار . وعلى الأرض من الداخل أقيمت المنافع البيئية كالمطابخ ودورات المياه والحمامات .

ومن أهم المخلفات التي جمعها الحفارون قطع من الرخام الأبيض والأعمدة والتيجان وشعريات الشبائيك وقطع الدرابزين كما وجد على بعض الحجارة أجزاء من الرسوم الملونة لأشكال هندسية وزخارف نباتية - وكلها من صناعة الأمويين . وأهم من ذلك الحمامات كالتى وجدت في قصور خربة المفجر وخربة المنية وكانت هذه الحمامات تقام في الجهات الغربية المقابلة لمداخلها الشرقية .

يظهر أن خراب هذا المبنى نتج عن زلزال سنة ٧٤٧ - ٧٤٨م . ولقد رمم هذا البناء في القرن الثامن أو التاسع وقد رفعت الأنقاض المتراكمة أرضية البناء الجديد نحو المتر . وتعرض هذا البناء لخراب أفظع في العهد الفاطمي وفي الحكم الصليبي كما سيأتي .

المبنى الثالث :

جلت الحفريات في غربي المبنى الثاني عن مبنى ثالث قام على أساسه من الجنوب السور العثماني لمدينة القدس في القرن السادس عشر . ولقد بني جداره الشمالي من حجارة مدقوقة دقا ناعما أصبحنا نرى منه فوق الأرض ما ارتفاعه نحو المترين . ولاحد الأبواب عتبة وخوخة (تقسم الباب الى نصف ارتفاعه) وبني جداره الشرقي

وهي عبارات تعبر عما يخالغ نفوس العائدين الى القدس ليبدأوا تعمير الهيكل .

القصور العربية

ولكن فرحه أخذ يتلاشى عندما اكتشف ثلاثة قصور أموية استمرت مسكونة من قبل أمراء القدس من العهد الأموي والعباسي والفاطمي حتى نشبت الحربين بين الفاطميين والسلاجقة امتدت خمس سنوات وأضعفت البلاد بحيث أصبحت لقمة سائغة للصليبيين فلم يجدوا صعوبة في اجتياح هذه الديار . وزاد الطين بلة عندما اجتاح البلاد زلزال سنة ١٠٣٣ م . في أيام الخليفة الفاطمي الظاهر - ذلك الزلزال الذي صدع أبنية الحرم الشريف وقضت على القصور الأموية الثلاثة . لقد حمل الوازع الديني الفاطميين والسلاجقة على اصلاح المساجد ولكن القصور بقيت خرابا . ومما تبقى بعد هذا الزلزال غرفة صغيرة كانت مصلى ضمن مقبرة واسعة . ولقد ضاعت قبور هذه المقبرة عندما هدمها الصليبيون وبنوا بجاراتها سورهم . ولقد اكتشفت ناصية قبر كتب عليها اسم مسلم من سنة ١٠٠٢ م . وقد يكون المصلى والقبور حوله من عصر السلاجقة الذين فتحوا القدس سنة ١٠٧١ م ولقد وجدت

كتابات كوفية من النوع الذي يكتب عادة على نواصي القبور . منها بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هو الله الذي لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم . . . باقي آية الكرسي (٤) .

وكان قد أعيد بناء السور الصليبي سنة ١١٨٢ أي قبل استرجاع القدس من قبل صلاح الدين بخمس سنين سنة ١١٨٧ . وبقي السور قائما حتى أمر المعظم الأيوبي سنة ١٢١٩ م . بهدمه خوفا من رجوع الصليبيين . واستمر الخراب

في سور القدس حتى أمر ببناء الأسوار السلطان سليمان القانوني وامتدت يد الإصلاح العثمانية حتى شملت جميع أبنية الحرم الشريف .

وتوسعت حفريات اليهود في سنة ١٩٧٠ حتى اكتشفت ثلاثة قصور أموية وتولى الحفر فيها الاستاذ ميير بن دوف المساعد للبروفسور مازار . وقد جاء في تقريره (٥) :

اتضح منذ ابتداء الحفر بجوار الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية لسور الحرم الشريف (٦) ان الحاكمة التي يقع فيها الحفر بين جدار الأقصى والسور العثماني كانت تضم بناية واسعة مساحتها نحو سبعة دونمات ونصف الدونم . وبتاسع رقعة الحفر كشفت بنايات أخرى لا تقل في اتساعها عن هذه البناية . وظهر فيما بعد أنهما تكونان مبنى واحدا ويمتد حتى أسفل مدرسة البنات التي بنيت في العهد الاردني في حي المغاربة (٧) .

المبنيان الثاني والثالث بنيا على طراز أموي واحد بحيث كان لكل منهما ساحة مكشوفة في الوسط تحيط بها أروقة مسقوفة مع سلسلة من القاعات تمتد على طول الجدران من الجهات الأربع .

هذه الأبنية في شكلها طبق الأصل لما وجد في قصور الاردن (الحراة) وفلسطين (خربة المفجر وخربة المنية) وسوريا والعراق (قصر الحير) كما وصفها كرزويل في كتابه « العمارة الاسلامية الاولى » وكان لكل قصر منها أبراج في الزوايا معظمها مستدير . وفي أكثرها أضيفت أبراج في منتصف الأسوار الخارجية وغالبا ما تكون أنصاف دائرية . ولم يسبق ان اكتشفت مثل هذه الأبراج في القدس قبل هذا الاكتشاف، وتفسير ذلك أن أسوار القصور القدسية كانت

سلمت المقبرة اليوسفية خلف السور الشرقي - خلف باب الرحمة .

(٥) Meir Ben - Dove : The Omayyad Structures Near the Temple Mount 1969 — 1970.

(٦) هم يسونه جبل البيت .
(٧) هدمها اليهود فيما بعد .

(٨) ولقد ورد في تاريخ الاخشيديين ان ملوكهم الاربعة أوصوا ان يدفنوا في تربة بيت المقدس وقد نفذت وصاياهم . وعيننا حاول الباحثون العثور على قبور هؤلاء الملوك بعد ان طمس الصليبيون ما تبقى من الأبنية الاسلامية في جنوب الأقصى . لعل هذا الاكتشاف يزيل شيئا من هذا الغموض . . . انني لا استبعد ان تكون هذه المقبرة هي مقبرة عظماء المسلمين لم تسلم كما

الأبنية القوية البنيان - وباستثناء الشقوق الناتجة عن الهزات الأرضية فانها كلها بحالة سليمة . ولقد حفرت في أمكنة غير ملاصقة لجدار الحرم أي أن الحفريات في خنادق ترابية وكانت الأقواس غير مركزة ولا متصلة بجدار الحرم . وهذه المسافة التي لا تزيد على عشرين مترا دعمت بأنايب معدنية خشية انهيارها ويمكن مشاهدة جزء منها من باب الحديد) .

هذا ما سجله الخبير الأجنبي ولكنه ما كاد يغادر البلاد حتى استؤنف الحفر لا سيما في ١٩٧١/١٢/٢١ فحصلت التصدعات والشقوق التي دعت الى انذار خمس عائلات باخلاء منازلها . وبالفعل فقد تم اخلاء عائلتين . ولما كانت هذه الحفريات غير قانونية زيادة عما تلحقه من الضرر بالمنتفعين من العرب فإن الحق والواجب يدعوان لايقافها حالا .

وأذاعوا أنهم وجدوا قطعاً مكتوبة من سفر أشعيا وقطعا من الكاروبيهيم الملائكة المجنحة التي كانت توضع في الهيكل والطشت الذي كان يتوضأ فيه الكاهن ولكن هل وجود هذه القطع من الانتيكات يبرر عزهم على هدم صروح الحضارة القائمة في الحرم الشريف لانها ليست يهودية - أي يهدمون حضارة أعطاها الزمن والفن قيمتها - ليقوموا حضارة جديدة طارئة . على العالم الراقي أن يحول دون حدوث هذه الكارثة .

ولقد فرح البروفسور بنيامين مازار مدير الحفريات باسم الجامعة العبرية عندما عثر على درجات تؤدي من الشارع الى الباب المزدوج Double Gate الذي يحلو له أن يظنه باب خلدة الذي كان يتألف مشيين - يمشي في أحدهما الحاخام ويمشي في الآخر جمهور المصلين حتى يصلوا الى الهيكل . وهو يزعم أن هذا المدخل هو الأقصى التحتاني وزاد فرحه عندما وجد كسرة حجر كتب عليها بالعبرية كلمة قربان .

وفي تقريره عن حفرياته (٢) أن الجدار الجنوبي للأقصى فوق الصخر الطبيعي شرقاً وغرباً هو بناء اسلامي ، ولكن ما تحت هذا المستوى في منطقة الحفر العميق - يسبق الفتح العربي ، وقال ان تحت الأنقاض - أي تحت البناء الاسلامي ٣٤ مدمكا - منها ١٢ من عصر هرودس ثم تأتي ١٩ مدمكا من عصر الرومان ، أسوار مدينة ايليا كابتولينا وهنالك بضعة مداميك من العصر البرنزي وهي التي عاصرت الفتح الفارسي سنة ٦١٤ م .

ودار الحفر حول الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية حيث كان يقوم ما يعرف بقوس روبنسون الذي سمي باسم مكتشفه Robenson وكان هذا المكتشف يظن أنه نهاية لعدة أقواس كانت تبدأ في المدينة العليا في تل صهيون - حيث يقوم مقام النبي داود والقلعة وتقطع الوادي حتى تصل الى جبل الموريا في الشرق حيث كان الهيكل قائما .

وعلى هذه الجسور والقناطر كانت الطريق التي يسلكها هرودس فتوفر الهبوط الى الوادي والصعود الى جبل الهيكل .

ولكن أعظم فرح غمر قلبه عندما وصل الحفر الى المدمك الخامس عشر تحت قوس روبنسون حيث عثر على كتابة عبرية من أيام الامبراطور جوليان - الذي يسميه تاريخ الكنيسة المسيحية بالجاحد - بسبب اضطهاده للمسيحيين من سكان الامبراطورية وقد أحرقت في زمانه عدة كنائس مسيحية ولا سيما في عسقلان ودمشق . وقد مات سنة ٣٦٣ م . والكتابة مأخوذة من سفر أشعيا ٦٦ : ١٤ « كانسان تعزيه أمه . هكذا أعزيكم أنا في اورشليم تعزون . فترون وتفرح قلوبكم وتزدهر عظامكم كالعشب وتعرف يد الرب عند عبيده ويحنق على أعدائه » .

(٢) B. Mazar : The Excavation in the old city of Jerusalem Near the Temple Mount 1969 - 1970.

وقد أصدرته سنة ١٩٧١ الجمعية الاثرية الاسرائيلية .

الحائط الشمالي من المبكى ويجري تنفيذها دون رقابة هندسية الأمر الذي تسبب في تصدعها وهدد بانهارها وان عائلتين عربيتين من العائلات الخمس قد تم اجلاؤهما في اليومين الماضيين .

زار هذه الحفريات المستشار الخاص والخبير الدولي بالحفريات والآثار الأستاذ ريموند لومير الاستاذ في جامعة لوفان (بلجيكا) وأمين عام المجلس الدولي للمنشآت التاريخية الذي انتدبه المدير العام لمنظمة اليونسكو لزيارة القدس وتقديم تقرير عن الاتهامات التي تضمنتها الشكوى الاردنية ضد سلطات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي بما تقوم به من مخالفات عن طريق الحفريات والهدم والتغيير لمعالم الأماكن الحضارية والتاريخية في مدينة القدس وقد جاء في تقرير هذا المستشار بالنسبة للحفريات في المنطقة التي تصدعت الأبنية فوقها : (وقد قمت من ناحيتي بفحص الأبنية فوق المنطقة التي جرت فيها عملية الحفريات ولم أشاهد هناك أي أثر لهبوط أو تشقق حديث لتلك المباني) .

(وهذه الممرات الأرضية التي يبلغ طولها عشرين مترا أسندت على أنابيب معدنية ومع ذلك فإنه من المؤكد أن هذا الاجراء هو حل مؤقت . ولا بد من اهتمام بالغ لتثبيت ذلك بشكل نهائي اذا ما أريد تلافي الازعاجات التي تؤثر على استقرار واستتباب الابنية المقامة عليها) .

(ان وجود القلق لدى الملاكين لهذه الأبنية حول هذا الموضوع هو أمر مفهوم ومبرر . ويستحسن أن يطمأنوا حول هذه النقطة . ولا يشكل تنفيذ هذه الأعمال الضرورية لتدعيم الأبنية مشاكل كبيرة من ناحية فنية ولكن يعتمد كل ذلك العناية والحرص الذي يجب أن يرافقا تحقيق ذلك) .

(وفيما يتعلق بالممرات (سراديب) التي تجري فيها الحفريات والتي يقوم فوق بعضها عدد من أشهر الأبنية الاسلامية في القدس منها سوق القطانين وبعض المساجد والأضرحة الشهيرة والمدارس والمحاكم وغيرها ، فهي من

١٩٧١/٧/٧ كلاما صريحا لدافيد شانيري أراح الستار عن أهداف الصهاينة من الحفريات الان وبعد مضي أكثر من أربع سنين على تحرير القدس نود أن نوجه نداء الى الدوائر والهيئات ذات الصلاحيات بأن الوقت قد حان كي تجري عمليات الكشف عن حائط المبكى على المكشوف وفي وضوح النهار - وليس فقط في أعماق الأرض ويجب مصادرة جميع البيوت الملاصقة لحائط المبكى وعلى امتداده وعلى بعد عشرين مترا على الأقل ويجب تنفيذ الخطة كما تم في حي المغاربة المقابل للمبكى في حزيران ١٩٦٧ . ويجب أن نقوم بحفريات مماثلة في الحائطين الشرقي والشمالي حتى نتمكن من رؤية جميع الأبواب المؤدية الى جبل البيت تماما كما حصل لساحة المبكى عند ازالة المباني العربية الملاصقة لسور الحرم في الحي المغربي رغم الصعوبات والضجة التي قامت في حينه بعنف .

وفي جريدة معاريف الصادرة في ١٤/١٢/١٩٧١ أنذرت السلطات سكان خمسة منازل عربية بسرعة اخلائها فورا بسبب تصدعها من جراء الحفريات التي تجريها وزارة الأديان تحت هذه المنازل وعلى امتداد ٢٠٠ متر من الحائط الغربي للحرم .

ومن أبرز المنشآت التاريخية المهددة بالخراب حي باب السلسلة وحي باب الحديد وحي باب الحبس (حي المجلس الاسلامي) ضريح الملك حسين وضريح الزعيم الاسلامي مولاي محمد علي ومسجد الأميرة خاتون وجامع المدرسة العثمانية فوق باب المطهرة وجامع الخليلي وزاوية ومئذنة قايتباي وسوق القطانين .

نشرت جريدة دافار في ١٦/١٢/١٩٧١ أنه لا يمكن أن تقرر وقف عمليات الحفر الى الأبد . ويجب كشف طول حائط المبكى كاملا . وطول هذا الحائط ، كما تحدده وزارة الأديان هو ٤٨٥ مترا - تم حتى الان كشف ما يقارب ثلاثمائة منها .

تقول جريدة معاريف في ١٤/١٢/١٩٧١ ان هذه الحفريات تقوم بها وزارة الأديان على طول

القدسسي . وأشار الناطق بلسان وزارة الأديان الذي أفضى بهذا النبأ بأنه يوجد قرار مبدئي بهذا الشأن . وقد طلب الى دائرة الأشغال العامة تقديم اقتراحاتها لازالة أنقاض مباني دار أبو السعود وبناء جسر يؤدي من ساحة حائط المبكى الى الحرم القدسسي عبر باب المغاربة . وستظهر مساحة واسعة عند ازالة الأنقاض التي تشكل الان ستارا يحجز الوصول الى حائط المبكى . وفهم أن كافة العمليات من ازالة أنقاض وإنشاء مباني جديدة سيجري تنفيذها بإشراف خبراء بعثة الآثار التي تقوم بحفرياتها في الجزء الجنوبي لأسوار الحرم القدسسي بإدارة البروفسور مازار .

معاريف ١٩٧١/٢/٢٢ :

قررت لجنة اعداد وتنسيق الحفريات داخل القدس القديمة الطلب بعدم اقامة مباني فوق بقايا السور الذي تم اكتشافه في الحي اليهودي ويرجع تاريخه الى عهد الهيكل الأول . وقد أرسلت اللجنة المذكورة كتباً الى المؤسسات المسؤولة طالبا تأمين المحافظة على هذا السور .

استمرار الحفريات حول الحرم القدسسي الشريف

رغم قرار منظمة اليونسكو في ١٠/١٠/١٩٦٩ الهذي ندد بأعمال الحفريات في المناطق المحتلة ، وخاصة القدس والذي يدعو سلطات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي الامتناع كلياً عن الحفريات وخاصة حول الحرم القدسسي . رغم ذلك فسلطات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي ما زالت تواصل حفرياتها ، فقد ذكرت جريدة (يديعوت) في عددها الصادر بتاريخ ١٩٧١/١/٥ أن هذه الحفريات وصلت قرب الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية للحرم الى عمق (٣٥) متراً ، وكتبت نفس الجريدة في عددها الصادر بتاريخ ١٩٧١/٣/١٥ أن هذه الحفريات توسعت وامتدت الى بقعة تقرب من (٨) أمتار من مدرسة بنات الأقصى العربية ، وربما يكون هذا الامتداد ، توطئة للاحاق تشييعت في المدرسة تمهيدا لهدمها ، وقد اتخذ قرار بهدمها فعلاً .

نشرت جريدة (عل همشمار) الصادرة في

عمليات الحفر التي تجريها للكشف الكامل عن حائط المبكى الذي يهدف الى اعادة هذه الدرة الثمينة الى سابق عهدها . وما اجراءات الحفر التي تلجأ اليها الا عمليات مقدسة تهدف للكشف عن الحائط وازالة المباني الملاصقة له رغم كل العراقيل التي تقف في الطريق .

نشرت جريدة معاريف الاسرائيلية بتاريخ ١٩٧٠/١٢/٧ خبراً خطيراً جاء فيه ما يلي :

ألصقت يوم أمس في شوارع القدس منشورات تحذر من انهيار حائط المبكى اذا ما استمرت الحفريات الأثرية بالقرب منه . ودعا الموقعون على تلك المنشورات اليهود المخلصين لمعارضة مبادرة الحفريات واحباطها وأكدوا أن برنامج وضع الحائط الجنوبي وقسم من الحائط الغربي حتى باب المغاربة تحت تصرف وسلطة المنقبين عن الآثار ، يمس بقدسية المكان ويمنع ويحول دون وصول المصلين . ويعرض حائط المبكى الى المخاطر (انتهى الخبر) .

والحائط الجنوبي المشار اليه آنفاً ، يشكل جزءاً من الحائط الجنوبي للمسجد الأقصى المبارك ، كما يشكل الحائط الغربي ، قسماً من حائط الحرم الشريف والذي يضم المتحف الاسلامي والمأذنة الفخرية وعمارة المتحف الاسلامي كلها للانهار ، وسيؤدي انهيارها لتنفيذ مرحلة جديدة من التوسع اليهودي في سبيل انشاء هيكلهم الذي يحلمون به .

وبتاريخ ١٩٧١/١/٥ نشرت جريدة (يديعوت) الاسرائيلية خبراً أكثر خطورة مما سبق ، وأوردت فيه أن الحفريات عند الزاوية الغربية الجنوبية للحرم (جبل البيت كما يسمونه) قد وصلت الى عمق (٣٥) متراً عن سطح الأرض .

هآرتس ١٩٧١/٢/٢٢ :

علم أن واجهة حائط المبكى الممتدة اليوم على طول (٦٠) متراً ستوسع قريباً بضم عشرة أمتار اليها بعد تنفيذ مشروع ازالة خرائب المباني الواقعة تحت باب المغاربة المؤدي الى الحرم

١٩٦٨/٧/٢٦ -

طلبت حركة المركز الحر الأذن لتسجيل استجوابا على قائمة أعمال الكنيست بشأن توقيف الهدم الجاري على الأبنية المحيطة بالحائط الغربي ، بناء على طلب وزير الخارجية وقد أوضح المستر اليغاز شوستاك استجوابه بتضمينه تقريراً اخبارياً يفيد أنه بعد أن أخليت الأبنية موضوع البحث وهي المجاورة لباب المغاربة وبعد أن تم تعويض أصحابها ابتداء الهدم وفي الأسبوع الماضي وبعد أن كتب وزير الخارجية الى وزير الأديان يطلب اليه توقيف الأعمال خشية أن يكون بينها بعض الأبنية ذات القيمة الأثرية طلب وزير الأديان من العمال أن يستبعدوا الآلات . وقد أوضحت مصادر وزارة الخارجية في الليلة الماضية ٧/٢٥ أن المستر ايبان طلب أن يتوقف العمل لمدة محدودة للبحث عما اذا كانت المنطقة التي يجري فيها العمل تقع ضمن المناطق المشمولة بالاتفاقيات الدولية المتعلقة بحفظ المواقع التاريخية والذي يبدو أن المسألة ستكون موضع اهتمام اللجنة الوزارية المختصة . ويعاد الى الأذهان أن ممثلي اليونسكو في اسرائيل والاردن موجودون للمحافظة على المواقع التاريخية منذ حرب حزيران .

نشرت جريدة معاريف الاسرائيلية بتاريخ ١٧/٩/١٩٦٩ أنهم اكتشفوا عشية رأس السنة العبرية الجديدة تحت التلة الرملية المؤدية الى باب المغاربة - البوابة الغربية التي كانت المدخل الرئيسي للهيكل للقادمين من المدينة العليا . وعند ازالة هذه التلة سيعودون لاستخدام البوابة الكبيرة كباب للدخول الى هيكل سليمان .

أذاعوا أنهم كشفوا شارعاً مبلطاً يسير بمحاذاة السور الجنوبي للمسجد الأقصى وأن الباب المنفرد في هذا السور هو باب خلده الذي كان يؤدي الى الهيكل مع أن باب خلده مذكور بأنه الباب الجنوبي للهيكل هرودس .

نقلت جريدة ידיعوت في عددها الصادر في ٢٨/١٠/١٩٧٠ تصريحاً لوزير الأديان قال فيه : ان وزارة الأديان الاسرائيلية تسعى بواسطة

وتستشعر الهيئات العلمية الأثرية غضباً شديداً لاجراء هذه الحفريات دون تشاور مسبق مع البعثة التي قامت بالحفريات السابقة . مع العلم بأن بعض الحفريات الجارية قد شملت الخنادق التي فتحتها البعثة البريطانية - الافرنسية - وقد بلغ بهؤلاء الاسرائيليين الحد حتى أنهم دعوا الأب رولان ديفو لمشاهدة حفرياتهم ، رغم أنه لم يسمع بتاتا في تاريخ الحفريات الأثرية العلمية وأوساطها ان قام منقب بحفر مكان سبق لمنقب آخر الحفر فيه دون اذن صريح - ويمكن التأكيد بأن الأشخاص الذين قاموا بأعمال الحفر كانوا ما بين ٢٠ - ٢٥ عاملاً مأجوراً وعدداً من المتطوعين والطلاب من الجامعة العبرية وأنهم مارسوا العمل تحت اشراف موظفين غير مؤهلين بتاتا .

وبناء على كل ذلك يتضح أن الحفريات قد جرت في أرض وقفية ضد توصيات المؤتمر السابق الذكر وضد مصالح المسلمين والمسيحيين ، وحتى ضد مصلحة قسم من الطائفة اليهودية ، وأيضاً ضد القواعد العلمية والأصول الأثرية المعتمدة من قبل الهيئات العلمية .

١٩٦٨/٧/١٥

وفي الأسبوع الماضي أعلن البروفسور بنيامين مازار - من الجامعة العبرية عن العثور على قطع صغيرة يعتقد أنها من آثار الهيكل الثاني .

١٩٦٨/٧/٢١

وجد مازار أسرجة من الفخار في طبقة العصر البزنطي من القرن الرابع الميلادي وعلى أحدها رسمت المنارة السباعية التي أصبحت خاصة بالتقاليد اليهودية . وظهرت على الغنائم التي حملها جنود تيطس الى روما بعد تخريب الهيكل سنة ٧٠م لتعرض في يوم الاحتفال بهذا النصر المؤزر . ولكن وجد مع هذا السراج أسرجة أخرى زينت برسوم تشبه سنابل القمح من النوع الذي ورثه المسلمون عن صناع الروم قبلهم في هذه البلاد .

تدخل ايبان في الحائط تحت الاستجواب

وفيما تعتبر الوثيقة الأولى بمثابة مجموعة من التوصيات فإن الوثيقة الثانية تعتبر نظاما وميثاقا ملزما لجميع الدول الموقعة عليه (٢) .

حفريات الحرم القدسي

ان الحفريات التي جرت في القسمين الجنوبي والغربي لحائط الحرم الشريف تستدعي اهتماما خاصا ، ذلك لأن تاريخ المنطقة التي شملتها الحفريات يعتبر ذروة في تاريخ التقاليد الاسلامية والمسيحية واليهودية بالنسبة لاي موقع آخر في العالم . والحفريات البريطانية - الافرنسية التي جرت بجوار هذه المنطقة بين سنتي ١٩٦١ - ١٩٦٢ لم تسمح لها دائرة الاوقاف الاسلامية بالاقتراب من جدار الحرم . وقد علمت من المفوض العام لمنظمة اليونسكو أن اعتراض دائرة الاوقاف الاسلامية على الحفريات التي أجراها الدكتور مازر تحت رعاية الجامعة العبرية كانت أشد كثيرا من الاعتراضات على الاقتراحات البريطانية - الافرنسية . لكن هذه الاعتراضات لم تصل الى حد المجابهة المفتوحة تجنباً للانتقام من قبل السلطات الاسرائيلية .

وقد ألمحت جريدة (البوست) الاسرائيلية الى اعتراضات العرب ضد الحفريات ، لكن مدير الآثار الاسرائيلي اعتبر القسم العربي من القدس مندمجا بالقسم الغربي وأنه يشكل وحدة أثرية تخضع لقانون الآثار الاسرائيلي . وقد استعمل صلاحيته بموجب هذا القانون لمنع بعض اليهود المتدينين من اجراء أية حفريات بدون تصريح وبأساليب غير علمية .

ومما ينبغي تأكيده وجود اعتراضات شديدة من قبل الهيئات الأثرية ضد هذه الحفريات . وقد اعترف مدير الآثار في الجامعة العبرية بأن المسؤول عن الحفريات لا يملك الخبرة للحفر تحت الجدار وأنه قد يسفر عن تدمير موجودات أثرية عظيمة القيمة لأصحاب الأديان الثلاثة .

قدم الدكتور بول لاب مدير مدرسة الآثار الامريكية في القدس مذكرة احتجاج على قيام سلطات اسرائيل بسرقة المخطوطات الأثرية في المناطق العربية المحتلة . وكذلك مواصلة هذه السلطات العبث بالمناطق الأثرية ، هذا نصها :

مقدمة :

من الموثيق والأنظمة التي تتعلق بالمحافظة على الآثار في المناطق التي تقع تحت الاحتلال تلك التوصيات التي أقرها المؤتمر العام لعلماء الآثار في دورته التاسعة التي انعقدت في نيودلهي في ٥ كانون الأول ١٩٥٦ والميثاق الدولي الذي أقرته في المؤتمر الدولي المنعقد في لاهاي سنة ١٩٥٤ لحماية الممتلكات الثقافية في النزاعات المسلحة .

وتنص المادة (٣٢) من الميثاق الأول على أنه : (في حالة أي نزاع مسلح يقتضي على الدولة التي تحتل أراضي دولة أخرى الامتناع عن القيام بأية حفريات أثرية في المنطقة المحتلة . وفي حالة العثور على أية آثار بمحض الصدفة ، خاصة خلال الانشاءات العسكرية ، فإنه يتحتم على الدولة المحتلة اتخاذ جميع الاجراءات الممكنة لحماية الآثار التي يتم اكتشافها والتي ينبغي تسليمها عند انتهاء الاحتلال الى السلطة المختصة في المنطقة التي كانت واقعة تحت الاحتلال مع جميع الوثائق المتعلقة بذلك) .

ويتضمن الميثاق الثاني عددا من الشروط الاخرى التي لا يتسع هذا المجال لسردها . وكلها تنطبق على الأوضاع التي سيرد ذكرها ، وستتم الإشارة الى أي شرط من هذه الشروط في سياق البحث . وعلى العموم فإن الميثاق يمنع ازالة الممتلكات الأثرية بدون اشراف مندوب معتمد من منظمة اليونسكو . ويشترط مساعدة أولئك الموظفين الذين كانوا مسؤولين عن الممتلكات لمواصلة المحافظة عليها أثناء الاحتلال .

(٣) لقد اثبت النص الكامل لهذه المذكرة في كتابي (مأساة بيت المقدس) ص ١٧٧ - ١٩٤ .

الخيرية والزوايا والمدارس التاريخية الواقعة في منطقة المبكى أسرعوا في هدم الأبنية الملاصقة لزيادة امتداد الجدار شمالا وجنوبا .

قال البروفسور بينامين مازار الاستاذ في الجامعة العبرية هنا أن الحفريات للآثار عند حائط المبكى في القدس القديمة تهدف الى الكشف عن الطبقات الدنيا للهيكل الذي بناه هناك الملك سليمان .

وقال البروفسور مازار الذي بدأ الحفريات قبل خمسة أسابيع أن العمل في الموقع الذي يجاور المسجد الأقصى سيستغرق ست سنوات . ويبلغ طول منطقة الحفريات ٧٠ مترا وعرضها عشرة أمتار . وقال مازار أن علماء الآثار وصلوا حتى الان الى الطبقة الرابعة عشرة من الحجارة من أعلى الحائط ، وان قطع فخار ونقودا ذهبية تعود للعصر الفارسي وجدت في الحفريات .

في ٣ آذار سنة ١٩٦٨ أعلن البروفسور بينامين مازار الذي تولى الاشراف على الحفر باسم الجامعة العبرية أنهم وجدوا في الجدار الجنوبي قطعة من وعاء حجري كتب عليه كلمة قربان باللغة العبرية كما زعموا أنهم عثروا على ٥ درجات كانت تصعد الى الهيكل .

وقال مازار أن الحفريات الجارية في المنطقة الجنوبية من سور الحرم تبلغ مساحتها ١٥ × ٧٠ مترا والمقرر أن تجري الحفريات على طول السور الجنوبي .

وحتى ١٤ تموز ١٩٦٨ كانت أعمال الحفر مستمرة بجوار الحائط الجنوبي .

احتجاج الهيئة الاسلامية بالقدس

في ١١/٧/١٩٦٩ رفع الشيخ حلمي المحتسب رئيس الهيئة الاسلامية بالقدس مذكرة احتجاج الى ليفي أشكول رئيس حكومة اسرائيل هذا نصها : -

ان هذه الحفريات تجري على مشهد من المسلمين وبشكل استفزازي مؤلم . وفي كل ذلك

اعتداء صارخ على حقوق المسلمين وقديسية أماكنهم الدينية .

ولقد سبق أن أعلن المسلمون رأيهم بهذا الأمر . وهو لا يتعدى ما قرره اللجنة الدولية ، وأشير اليه في عدة كتابات وتصريحات بأن ملكية الجدار الغربي وما يحيط به من أبنية هي وقف اسلامي تعود للمسلمين وحدهم ، وليس لليهود أي حق فيها الا الزيارة فقط .

ان استمرار هذه الحفريات في أرض تملكها الأوقاف الاسلامية واستمرار هذا الهدم للأماكن الاسلامية ومواصلة العمل تحت سور الحرم الشريف بالاستناد الى القوة وسلطة الحكم ، يعتبر استمرار للاعتداء على قدسية هذا المكان وتحديا مثيرا لشعور المسلمين وعدم المبالاة بحقوقهم منذ أقدم العصور .

لهذا فأني أعود وأقدم هذا الاحتجاج بكل شدة معلنا أن المسلمين يحتجون على هذه التصرفات ولا يقبلون بها . آملا أن يوضع حد لها وأن تكونوا عند تصريحاتكم بالمحافظة على الأماكن المقدسة وعدم المساس بها .

قيم دولي على الآثار في البلاد العربية

عينت منظمة اليونسكو الدكتور كارل برونر قيما على الآثار والمخلفات الثقافية في البلاد العربية ليضع حدا لتعديلات اسرائيل على الآثار في الأجزاء التي احتلتها في حرب حزيران سنة ١٩٦٧ وفي ١٢/١٢/١٩٦٧ - حضر برنر الى عمان وأخذ يسمع الى الشكايات التي قدمتها دائرة الآثار الاردنية ودائرة الأوقاف وأمانة القدس الربية . وبعد أن أمضى أربعة ايام في عمان يدرس الاعتداءات الاسرائيلية غادرها بعد تقريره بهذا الشأن .

وقد عقدت منظمة اليونسكو اجتماعا في باريس ناقشت فيه تقرير القيمين خلال شهر حزيران سنة ١٩٦٨ .

مذكرة الدكتور بول لاب

واستمر حاميا للمدينة اليوسية التي احتلها
الأشوريون حتى سنة ٧٠٠ ق.م وقد لاحظت
الدكتورة كينيون أن اليوسيين كانوا يبنون
جدراناً استنادية يملأونها بالحجارة والأنقاض
حتى يوفروا بسطة Platform واسعة تقام
عليها الأبنية فوق هذا السفح .

وفي الموسم الثاني سنة ١٩٦٢ كشفت أن هذه
الأسوار هدمت أربع مرات في التاريخ وأعيد
بناؤها أربع مرات كان آخرها سنة ٥٨٧ عندما
هدمتها بابل ودمرت القدس واختفت معالم
المدينة اليوسية بعد أن خدمت نحو ٨٠٠ سنة .

عندما عاد نحميا من السبي البابلي سمح له
الفرس باعادة بناء الأسوار ولكن على مقياس
أضيق . وهناك ولا سيما في الشمال ظهر
السور الذي بناه هيرودس ومن بعده اغريبا
Agrippa ٤٠ - ٤٤ م وقد اضطر تيطس
لهدمه عند عصيان اليهود ومهاجمة الهيكل سنة
٧٠م وقد أدى الحفر هنا الى اظهار شارع مبطل
من القرن الميلادي الأول . وفي الموسم الأخير
الذي جرى سنة ١٩٦٤ كادت النتائج تقنع
الدكتورة كينيون أن المدينة اليوسية كانت
شرقي أسوار الحرم وعلى هذا السفح المنحدر
الى وادي قدرون . ولم تكن المدينة على جبل
المريا حيث يقوم الحرم الشريف اليوم . ولهذه
النتائج أهمية خطيرة في تاريخ المدينة المقدسة .

الحفريات الاسرائيلية

قبل حرب حزيران ١٩٦٧ كان اليهود يقرأون
تقارير حفريات المدرسة البريطانية فيغناظون
منها ، لأنها لم تأت على هواهم عندما كانت تذكر
أن الحفريات التي أجرتها على أحدث الأصول
العلمية لم تتوصل الى تعيين مكان الهيكل .

لذلك كان في طليعة ما بادروا للقيام به بعد
دخولهم القدس القديمة ١٩٦٧ هو الاسراع في
القيام بأعمال الحفر والتنقيب للوصول الى
أهداف سياسية بعيدة عن الحق والعلم مهما
كانت النتيجة . . وبعد أن فرغوا من أعمال
الجرافة في ازالة الأبنية الاسلامية والأوقاف

اليوسية وأن يجعلها عاصمة له ، كما بنى فيها
ابنه سليمان الهيكل المشهور ، هكذا كتب للقدس
أن تلعب دورا هاما في تاريخ التوراة . ولكن
أين كانت عاصمة داود وأسوارها وذكرياتها ؟
هذه مشاكل بقيت صعبة الحل حتى قام علماء
الآثار يحاولون حلها ففي سنة ١٨٦٧ أجرى وارن
warren البروفسور الانكليزي حفريات خارج
السور الجنوبي الشرقي من الحرم الشريف .
وبعد ثلاثين سنة قام بلس Bliss وديكي
Dickey بحملة أخرى في نفس المكان وبعد
ثلاثين سنة أخرى قام مكليستر Macalister
بتنقيبات ثالثة . وانتهت هذه الحفريات بوضع
مخططات ظهرت فيها ما كان يسمى حلا لتلك
المشاكل .

ولكن الآنسة كثلن كينيون Kethleen Kenyon
ما كادت تنتهي من حفرياتها في أريحا سنة ١٩٥٨
حتى عازمت على اعادة الحفر في المكان المذكور
بوسائل علم الآثار الحديثة لأنها كانت تشك في
النتائج التي توصلت اليها البعثات السابقة .
وما كادت تعلن عن عزمها باسم المدرسة
البريطانية لعلوم الآثار في القدس حتى انضمت
اليها المدارس الافرنسية والاميركية في القدس .
وهكذا بدأت موسمها الأول سنة ١٩٦٠ .

على هذا السفح الذي ينحدر الى وادي سلوان
حتى عين أم الدرج قامت كينيون بحفر عدة
خنادق ، اظهر العلوي منها أن ما ظنته الاكتشافات
السابقة سور المدينة اليوسية التي استولى عليها
داود حوالي ١٠٠٠ قبل الميلاد - ما هو الا السور
الروماني الذي قام على أسس هيلانية لا تتجاوز
القرن الثالث قبل الميلاد . وهناك عثرت على
الآبار والصهاريج التي تعود الى المدينة الرومانية
التي بناها هديران سنة ١٣٥ م باسم ايليا
كابيتولينا Alea Capitolina وكلما توسعت
في الحفر نحو الشمال كانت تقترب من
التحصينات القديمة . حتى وصلت الى سور
يمكن ارجاعه الى سنة ١٨٠٠ قبل الميلاد . وقد
جدد ورمم بعد حوادث طرأت عليه حوالي سنة
١٤٠٠ ق.م وهو السور اليوسي الذي وقف
في وجه الغزو الاسرائيلي ثم رمم مرة ثانية

وجوده في الحرم الشريف • غير أن نتيجة التحقيق لم تظهر بعد •

واللجنة توالي البحث والتنقيب لتجلو الحقيقة • ويخفر محل اجتماعها نفر من الجند شاكي السلاح وقد دعت الى الاستجواب نحو خمسين شخصا • وكادت هذه الحادثة تفضي الى عاقبة سيئة ، فقد هاج الأهلون وحنقوا على المتدخلين في هذه الحادثة حتى ساد الاضطراب وعم الرعب وتوقع الناس حدوث فتنة • واتفق في بعض الأيام أن تخاصم اثنان من القرويين ، فذاع الخبر بحدوث فتنة فأقفلت الأسواق والمخازن وتسارع الناس الى بيوتهم مضطربين جازعين • غير أن الحكومة المحلية سكنت روعهم وخفضت مخاوفهم فعادوا الى أعمالهم في اليوم الثاني

وترى الأهلين هناك متجمهرين متشوقين الى ادراك النتيجة وانجلاء الحقيقة ومعرفة ما عثر عليه الانجليز في تنقيبهم من العاديات الثمينة •

وفي موسم ١٩٢٣ ١٩٢٤ كشف مكليستر برجا على تل أوفيل خارج الأسوار وظنه كروفوت في حفرياته التي قام بها ٢٦ - ١٩٢٨ من عهد داود وسليمان ولكن الدكتور كنيون أعادته الى عهد اليونان والمكابيين من القرنين الثالث والثاني قبل الميلاد • كما اكتشف المذبح العالي لليبوسيين في خندق على جبل أوفيل خلف السور •

وفي سنة ١٩٢٦ اكتشف كروفوت سورا جنوبي السور الحالي قال انه سور سليمان • ولكن الدكتور كنيون تقول انه لا يتجاوز القرن الأول قبل الميلاد • وفي سنة ١٩٣٧ أذاع كروفوت أنه اكتشف بوابة أسوار مدينة داود التي كان اتساعها ثلاثة أمتار ونصف وارتفاعها سبعة أمتار • وقد بنيت من حجارة غشيمة •

حفريات الدكتور كنيون

لقد وقفت قلعة القدس اليبوسية في وجه الغزو الاسرائيلي فاصلا بين ما اغتصبوه في الشمال والجنوب منها ، وبعد أن أمضى داود تسع سنين في حبرون استطاع أن يفتح القلعة

سليمان ، فلما لم يجد شيئا زاد في الرشوة حتى مكنوه من دخول الغار تحت قبة الصخرة واقتلع البلاط فوجده راكبا فوق الصخر مباشرة • وليس تحته أي فراغ أو قناة - كما زعم سلفه وارن قبل أربعين سنة فليس هناك قناة لجرى دماء الضحايا • كما أنه لم يجد بثر الأرواح الذي كانت تروي الأساطير أنه في الغار عندما تزعم الرواية اليهودية أن كبير الكهنة كان ينجي الأرواح منه بعد موت أصحابها • ولم يجد اثرا لدماء الذبائح فوق الصخر • وأثبت ما جاء عن مذبح هيكمل هرودس الذي كان يبعد عن قدس الأقداس في الكهف ٢٢ ذراعا وأنه بني من حجارة غشيمة وكانت مساحته ٣٠ ذراعا مربعا • وكان يرتفع عن الأرض ذراعا واحدا أي أنه كان خارج الهيكل •

كل هذا حملة على أن يبحث عن مدينة داود وسليمان خارج هذا المكان - ربما في حاكورة عائلة الامام في الجنوب من خارج الأقصى ، تصديقا للرواية ، التي تقول أن مدينة داود لم تعد وادي صادوق الفاصل بين أوفيل والمريا التي تقوم عليها الصخرة - واستدل من الفخار الذي جمعه أن مدينة القدس بدأت حياتها المدنية قبل الميلاد بنحو ثلاثة آلاف سنة وليس بألف وخمسمائة سنة كما كان يظن •

سرقه الحرم

وقد جاء في مقتطف سبتمبر سنة ١٩١١ : كان جماعة من الانكليز ينقبون في القدس عن الآثار القديمة فسولت لهم نفوسهم أن يحتفروا في الحرم الشريف • فأغروا كبير حراسه بالمال وأتموا عملهم ليلا • فلما نهض الأهلون في الصباح وعرفوا بالحادثة ثارت ثائرتهم ورفعوا الاحتجاجات والشكاوى الى المراجع العليا في الآستانة فاهتمت بهذا النبا وألفت لجنة للتحقيق في المسألة رئيسها عزمي بك متصرف طرابلس الشام واعضاؤها الفريق هاشم بك ومرعي باشا مدير أوقاف حلب • وشاع أن المحتفرين عثروا على خزائن سليمان وتاجه وصولجانه وتابوت العهد والألواح الحجرية الى غير ذلك مما يظن

حتى وصل الى الباب الذهبي الذي سماه العرب باب الدهرية وتسمى فتحته الأولى باب الرحمة وفتحته الثانية باب التوبة (توما توما) .

أغرى وارن خدم الحرم فسمحوا له بدخول الغار تحت الصخرة . وادعى أنه أزاح غطاء حجريا فوجد تحته مجرى دماء الضحايا . وقد بنى حكمه على ما جاء في التلمود من أن الصخرة كانت هي المذبح وكان عليها مجرى تسيل منه دماء الضحايا الى الغار ومنه تجري في قناة الى وادي قدرون . ولكنه نسي أن المذبح كان في زمن سليمان وخلفائه مصنوعا من المعدن . ولو فرضنا أنه نصب فوق الصخرة فان آثاره قد أمحت ولم يبق منها حفر أو بناء ، حتى قام الحفار باركر فدحض ادعاء وارن هذا كما سيجي .

قنطرة ولسون

يقوم باب السلسلة على قنطرة كبيرة فوق جسر اكتشفه توبلر Tobler وسماها باسم المستر ولسون مدير المساحة في بريطانيا . على هذه القنطرة وغيرها من القناطر أقيم الطريق الذي كان يوصل بين المدينة العليا عند باب الخليل وبين المدينة السفلى على جبل المريا - عبر وادي تربيون الذي كان ينخفض كثيرا عما هو عليه الان (حارة الواد) وقد بنيت الطريق فوق الأنقاض التي ملأت الوادي ، نتيجة للحروب المدمرة . وقد اقيمت أقواس ونصبت قناطر فوق الردم لتقلل الهبوط .

ويبلغ ارتفاع قنطرة ولسون ٢١ قدما واتساعها ٢٤ قدما وطراز بنائها بزنيطي وحجارتها ليست بضخامة حجارة الأسوار .

وفوق قنطرة ولسون كان الأمير تنكز المملوكي قد بنى مدرسته الشهيرة سنة ١٣٢٠م والتي استعملت في تاريخ متأخر محكمة شرعية .

قنطرة روبنسون

عندما كان العالم الأثري روبنسون يقوم بمسح أثري حول الحرم عثر في سنة ١٨٦٤ على قوس

أو قنطرة في زاوية الحرم الجنوبية الغربية على بعد ١٣ قدما من الزاوية الفخرية - زاوية آل أبي السعود - وافترض روبنسون انها نهاية الجسر الذي كان يصل المدينة العليا على جبل صهيون في الغرب بالمدينة السفلى على جبل المريا في الشرق وقال انها بنيت في القرن الخامس أو السادس بعد الميلاد . ويبلغ اتساعها ٥٠ قدما وارتفاعها ٢١ قدما وقد بنيت من حجارة ضخمة كحجارة السور . ويرجع غيره هذا القوس الى أيام هرودوس . وللجنوب من قنطرة روبنسون طمرت حجارة كبيرة على عمق ٣٥ - ٥٥ قدما وقد ظهرت في حفريات اليهود بعد سنة ١٩٦٨ وبعضها منحوت أمس وعلينا أشكال حروز وسهام . وقد تكون من بقايا سور هرودوس الذي كان يمتد حتى باب المغاربة - باب المدينة الجنوبي - الذي لم يبق منه فوق سطح الأرض الا عشرة أقدام بينما لا يزال الباقي تحت الأنقاض . ويمتد سور هرودس الى الشرق حتى يلتقي بالزاوية الجنوبية الشرقية من سور الحرم .

حفريات باركر

قام الكابتن باركر سنة ١٩٠٩ - ١٩١١ بالبحث عن كنوز سليمان . وقد سمحت له السلطات العثمانية بذلك لشدة حاجتها الى المال . حفر في سلوان شمالي عين أم الدرج وكشف الأسراب اليبوسية التي كان الماء يجري فيها من المنبع في عين جيحون شرقا الى داخل المدينة في عين أم الدرج غربا وكان يعتقد أن يؤاب قائد جيش الملك داود دخلها ومنها فتح المدينة اليبوسية .

ثم حول نشاطه الى الجهة الجنوبية وبحث عن مداخل سرية توصله الى الأقصى التحتا . فلم يجد الا الصخر على عمق بضع سنتيمترات ووجد قنوات الماء التي يجري فيها ماء المطر الساقط عن أسطحه الأقصى ليتسرب الى الصهاريج القريبة التي كانت تسد شيئا من الحاجة الى المياه في أواخر السنة . وهو ما أدت اليه الحفريات الحالية وخابت الآمال في إيجاد مداخل الى الأقصى .

ولما رشا الحرس مكنوه من دخول اسطبلات

من ذلك اندفاع المحسنة انجيلا بوردت كوت لتقديم عون مالي لتحسين موارد الماء في القدس .
فقام السير شارل وارن S. Warren بعمل مسح تمهيدي لتحقيق هذا المشروع الخيري .

وهنا قدم القنصل البريطاني في القدس اقتراحا يدعو الى توحيد جهود الأفراد في شكل من الأشكال المنظمة . واستجابة لهذا الاقتراح تداعت جماعة من العلماء في لندن لدراسة الاقتراح ونتج عن ذلك الاجتماع تأسيس مؤسسة التنقيب الفلسطينية The Palestine Exploration Fund في ٢٢ حزيران سنة ١٨٦٥ فكانت أول جمعية علمية تقوم بالتنقيبات . واحتلت مكانة خاصة كرائدة في دراسة الآثار .

وفي الوقت ذاته كان شاب موظف في القنصلية الفرنسية بالقدس اسمه كليرمونت غانو Clermont Ganneau يزاول هوايته في اكتشافات أثرية خاصة . وقد وفق لاكتشاف آنية مزدانة برسوم خرافية بديعة النقوش . وجدها في قبر على طريق الآلام داخل القدس القديمة . ورأت المؤسسة أن تضم جهوده الى أعمالها لتستفيد منه .

وفي سنة ١٨٧٤ اكتشف تماثيل جوبيتر وفينوس ملقاة في المجاري تحت المحكمة الشرعية قرب باب السلسلة ، ثم نزع البلاط من ساحة المغاربة حتى زاوية السور الجنوبي فلم يجد أكثر من مخلفات العصر الاسلامي .

وقد ركزت المؤسسة أعمالها على مدينة القدس - لما لها من المكانة الدينية لدى عقلية القرن التاسع عشر التوراتية . ولذلك وضع المهندسان شارل ولسون وشارل وارن الاسس لدراسة طبوغرافية القدس ومعرفة تاريخها .

حفريات وارن

في سنة ١٨٦٧ قام السير شارل وارن باسم مؤسسة التنقيب الفلسطينية بحفريات خلف أسوار الحرم واهتدى الى سور تحت الأنقاض يبدأ من الزاوية الجنوبية الشرقية . وقد أخذ في الابتعاد جنوبا وغربا حتى التقى بباب المغاربة

Dungan Gate أحد أبواب المدينة من الجنوب . واعتقد أنه السور الذي دافع عن ييوس الكنعانية في وجه غزو جيش داود الاسرائيلي في أواخر القرن الحادي عشر قبل الميلاد .

وفي سنة ١٨٧١ حفر وارن تحت باب السلسلة في الغرب من الحرم ، فاكشف أبنية قامت على صفين أو ثلاثة من الأعمدة تعلوها عقود انصاف دائرة . كما كشف عن طريق مرصوف يحاذي السور من الغرب ومن الجنوب . وتعمق الحفر تحت هذا الرصيف الى ٥١ قدما حتى وصل الى الصخر الذي بنيت عليه قواعد الأسوار . ثم دار حول السور الجنوبي وحفر في حاكورة عائلة الامام الى أن وصل الى الباب المنفرد في سور الأقصى ، الذي يعلوه قوس اسلامي أو صليبي لا علاقة له ببناء الهيكل . ثم وصل الى البوابة الثلاثية التي بنيت على الطراز البزنطي . وواصل حفرياته حتى وصل الى الباب المزدوج الذي كان يفتح الى الأقصى التحتا الذي هو من أبنية عصر جيوسنتيان في القرن السادس بعد الميلاد . وقد عثر على كتابة باللغة اللاتينية على حجرين من حجارة البناء الضخمة وقد وجدت مقلوبة على قاعدة تمثال من عهد الانطونين - انطونيوس بيوس وانطونيوس أوريليوس - معظم الحروف لا تزال مقروءة وهي تذكر خلفاء الامبراطور هدران بالتبني .

يقول المؤرخ بروكبيوس الذي كان أسقفا لمدينة القسطنطينية سنة ٦٥٠م أن الأقصى التحتا وما يسمى اسطبلات سليمان ومهد عيسى كلها من أعمال - جيوسنتيان الذي سبقه بقرن وربيع القرن - وقد أخذ حجارته من محاجر القدس المعروفة بمحاجر سليمان - بين بابي العمود والساهرة . وقد نقلتها عجلات كان يجر الواحدة منها أربعون ثورا ، لضخامتها .

ثم دار وارن حول الزاوية الجنوبية الشرقية التي تعد من أضخم أبنية العصر الروماني ومشى مع السور الشرقي وأجرى سبرا في الأنقاض المتراكمة هناك فهبط به الحفر الى عمق ثمانين قدما ، حتى وصل الى الصخر . ثم واصل تحرياته

الحجارة وأشكال الأقواس •

وفي سنة ١٨٣٩ أخذ المبشر الاميركي باركلي يزيل الأنقاض التي تراكت في باب البراق (الذي يعرف الان باب المغاربة) ليكشف حدود الهيكل القديم ومدخله • واكتشف في شمالي العتبة الضخمة أربعة مداميك من حجارة ضخمة تدل على أن البناء روماني • وتحت هذا الباب حنية في الواجهة فيها محراب - ذكرى لمربط براق النبي عليه السلام يوم الاسراء والمعراج • وعلى هذا المحراب بني مسجد البراق الذي هدمه اليهود في حفرياتهم سنة ١٩٦٨ لتوسيع جدار المبكى •

وكان باركلي يظن أنه اكتشف أحد الأبواب الأربعة التي ذكر المؤرخ اليهودي يوسيفوس بأنها كانت مداخل الهيكل • وتحت الباب درج منحوت في الصخر يصعد من الأرض الواطئة الى ساحة الحرم •

وفي سنة ١٨٥١ عرض العالم ليارد بعض التماثيل الضخمة للثيران والمسوخ المجلوبة من العراق فأعجب بها الجمهور البريطاني • ولقد رأى البعض أن الأراضي المقدسة لا بد وأنها تخبيء مثل هذه العجائب • وكان ذلك ناشئا عن الرغبة الملحة في البحث عن المواقع الأثرية التاريخية المذكورة في التوراة •

ولقد أظهرت رحلة العالمين الاميركيين ادورد روبنسون وغالي سمث كثيرا من أسماء القرى العربية لا تزال تلفظ كما وردت في التوراة • ولم يكونا يعرفان انها كنعانية الأصول • وزاد في أهمية الموضوع معلومات وثيقة نشرها جورج غروف •

لهذه الأسباب زادت رغبة كثير من الانكليز في زيارة الأراضي المقدسة ، والعمل على خدمتها -

صخر القدس الأعلى كلسي رملي فيه بعض الصوان ، كما يرى الان في صخور بناية الروضة وفي محاجر سليمان • والأسفل حجر كلسي أبيض سهل النحت صالح للبناء لانه يقسو عندما يتعرض للهواء ، وهذا ما سهل على السكان حفر الآبار والحياض العظيمة والأنفاق الكبيرة • وكان لها شأن عظيم في تاريخ المدينة (١) •

رواد التنقيب

منذ أن صمم اليهود على التجمع في فلسطين واقامة دولة لهم فيها أخذوا يعملون على البحث عن بقايا الهيكل المهدوم • وقد ساعدهم على البحث عنه ارساليات التبشير وrehبان الأديرة •

ففي سنة ١٨٠٠ درس الأب فنسنت سلسلة المداخل المؤدية الى الحرم الشريف ، والأنفاق التي كان الماء يجري فيها من النبع في سلوان الى داخل أسوار المدينة القديمة • وكان أهمها نفق سلوان الذي بلغ طوله ٥١٧ مترا وكان المؤرخون يفترضون أن جيش الملك داود دخل منه واحتل سالم اليبوسية حوالي سنة ألف قبل الميلاد •

وفي سنة ١٨٢٢ كان يعيش في القدس مبشر سويسري اسمه كونراد شيك وقد اكتسب خبرة ممتازة في التعرف على تاريخ مدينة القدس القديمة • وقد ركز بنوع خاص على دراسة التضاريس الصخرية التي تقوم عليها أبنية القدس الحالية • ولقد تخيل صورة لهيئة الهيكل على جبل مريا حيث شزع ابراهيم يضحي بابنه وحيث يقوم مسجد الصخرة - حسب ظنه •

ولقد أكد أن الأقصى التحتا وما يسمى باصطبلات سليمان والمكان المسمى مهد عيسى تعود الى عصر جوستينيان من القرن السادس بعد الميلاد وقد استدل على ذلك من طراز دقاقة

(١) جغرافية الكتاب وتاريخه تأليف فوست كنت وترجمة غبريل - بيروت سنة ١٩٢٣

الحفريات حول الحرم

محمود العابدي

موقع القدس

• تربيون بها •

بنى اليبوسيون أول حصن لهم في (تل أوفيل) بمساحة نحو سبعين دونما ، وأخذت المساحة تتسع عند لزوم التوسع بسبب كثرة السكان وذلك ببناء سلاسل يملأ خلفها بالصخور والأتربة لتوفير مساحات جديدة حتى امتدت الأبنية الى ما يقارب عين العذراء •

هذه هي المدينة التي فتحها داود حوالي سنة ١٠٥٠ ق م •

ومنذ أيام سليمان وما بعده الى أيام المكابيين ١٦٠ ق م أخذت بعض الأبنية تقام على السفح في غربي وادي تربيون الى ان اتصلت بتلة صهيون حيث تقوم القلعة الحالية ومقام النبي داود • وهو أعلى من أوفيل بنحو ثمانين قدما • في شمالي أوفيل حفر خندق عمقه عشرون قدما ليفصل المدينة عن صخور الشمال • وبني فيه سور • هذا الخندق هو الواقع بين المتحف ومقبرة باب الساهرة الى حي المصراة • والمرتفع الصخري يسمى تل أكرا ، وفي أسفله مغارة الهدمية حيث بني موقف السيارات الحالي • وفي جنوب الخندق محاجر سليمان والسور الحالي •

ولقد وصف المؤرخ يوسيفوس مدينة القدس في أيامه (منتصف القرن الأول بعد المسيح) بقوله المدينة مبنية على تلين الواحد مقابل الآخر - بينهما واد يشطرهما • والبيوت متقابلة على طرفي التلين والتل الغربي (صهيون) أعلى من التل الشرقي (المريا)

كان موقع القدس مسكونا منذ فترة الاستقرار والتحضر الأولى بدليل ما وجده المنقبون من نماذج الفخار التي وجدت في قبر على منحدر تل أوفيل (عوف ايل) جنوب المدينة الحالية - ذلك التل الذي كان نواة للمدينة اليبوسية التي سبقت المدينة الاسرائيلية وقد أرجع العلماء هذا الفخار الى العصر البرونزي القديم (٣٠٠٠ - ٢١٠٠ ق م) •

قامت القدس القديمة على تل الظهور (أوفيل) وهو موقع غير مناسب لمدينة يراد لها الاتساع اذ يلف حولها من الشرق وادي قدرون وينحدر بالتدرج للجنوب الشرقي ، وعرضه أقل من مئتي متر • ويجري فيه خلال الشتاء والربيع جدول ولكنه يجف في الصيف • ويتصل قدرون في الجنوب بوادي هنوم (جهنم) الذي يمتد الى الغرب نحو نصف ميل ثم يدور الى الشمال • وأخيرا يتصل بوادي تربيون (باعة الجبن) الذي يمتد شمالا وهكذا يكون موقع القدس القديمة محاطا من ثلاث جهات بالوديان ولا يتصل مع مستوى الأرض الا من الشمال ، وهذا هيا لها درعا واقيا من هجمات الأعداء • وهناك سبب أهم لاختيار هذا الموقع لمدينتنا هذه هو وجود عين العذراء (عين جيحون) على جانب وادي قدرون جنوب شرقي الموقع •

يمتد وادي تربيون من باب العمود شمالي المدينة مسافة نحو كيلو متر ونصف حتى يلتقي بوادي هنوم في الجنوب • وترتفع الآكام في شرقيه وفي غربيه نحو ٥٠ - ١٥٠ قدما ومن كثرة هدم المدينة وتراكم الأنقاض امتلأ وادي

المختلفة لما ترددت في القول بأنني أضعها في الصف
الاول بين الآثار الفريدة في بلاد الشرق وغير
بلاد الشرق .

ان كل أثر في أي بلد عربي انما هو ملك
للأمة العربية كلها ، تعتز به كجزء من تاريخها ،
والدراسات النبطية وآثار البتراء وغيرها من
آثار الاردن ليست ملكا لآبناء الاردن وحدهم بل
يشاركهم في الاعتزاز بها كل عربي عاشن أجداده
في هذا الوطن ، وهي جديرة بكل عناية ورعاية،
وارجو من كل قلبي أن يكون الوقت قد حان لتقصي
علينا رمال الصحراء ما احتفظت به من أسرار ،
وتكشف لنا عن الكثير مما نجهله حتى الان عن
الانباط وغير الانباط .

من موضوعات أصل الى نهاية هذا البحث مؤكدا
أنه برغم ما تم من تقدم في الدراسات النبطية
في السبعين عاما الاخيرة فأنا ما زلنا بعيدين عن
اليوم لذي نستطيع أن نقول فيه أننا نعرف كل
ما نريد معرفته عن الانباط .

لقد أولت دائرة الآثار منطقة البتراء وغيرها من
المناطق كل ما تستطيعه من عناية في حدود
ميزانياتها المالية المحدودة ، ولكن ترميم الآثار
وصيانتها والحفر عما لم يتم الكشف عنه سواء
في البتراء ، أو في غيرها ، يحتاج الى مجهودات
أكثر والى ميزانية أضخم فعسى ألا تضن الدولة
بذلك .

ان آثار البتراء فريدة في نوعها ، واذ سألني
سائل في أي مكان أضعها بين آثار الحضارات

الدكتور أحمد فخري

والارومة لا ينتسبون في الحقيقة الى العرب ولا الى الانباط القدماء الذين عمروا البتراء وكانت لهم حضارة مزدهرة فيها .

« والذين يتكلمون العربية من هؤلاء الجماعة فكلماتهم لا تزيد عن المائتين لفظة على وجه التقريب . وقد يغلب على الظن بأنهم التقطوا تلك الكلمات القليلة من رعاة الماعز البدو الذين يرتادون تلك الجروف العميقة في فصل الشتاء على مر السنين .

« وهذه الجماعة من الناس منعزلة منذ القدم عن عشائر البدو وعن القرى ، مساكنها الكهوف والمغاور تلجأ اليها (كالوحوش تقريبا) ولا تعرف عن مدينة العصر الحاضر الا النزر اليسير . ويلبسون أسمالا بالية ، ولا فراش ولا متاع لهم ، ولا يمارسون زراعة أو غيرها . وفي فصلي الربيع والصيف ينام أفراد هذه الجماعة بالعراء ، وفي النهار يستظلون أفياء الشجر في سفوح الجبال التي تشرف على وادي عربة .

« ولا يعرفون نظام الأسرة وليس لهم مذهب يدينون به (فيما يظن) ويتفاهمون بتلك الالفاظ العربية القليلة وبالاشارات .

وفيههم طبع وحشي فهم ينفرون من الناس واذا رأوا أحدا قادما عليهم ذعروا منه وتفرقوا الى الكهوف وتواروا بين الصخور » .

ويضيف العجلوني قائلا :

« وقد فطن (بيك باشا) الى البدول هؤلاء فكان يرسل اليهم الكساء والغذاء وصاروا يطمئنون الى الجنود شيئا فشيئا حتى سكنوا اليهم وألفوا الاختلاط مع الناس والاستئناس بزوار هذا المكان التاريخي الشهير .

« وعرف بيك باشا الانكليز والسياح بهم ووظف بضعة أشخاص منهم أدلاء للسياح »

يمثل هذا الوصف حالتهم فيما بين عامي ١٩١٧ و ١٩٢٤ ولكن هل تغيرت حالتهم كثيرا منذ ذلك التاريخ ؟ لقد طرأت على حياتهم الاجتماعية تطورات غير قليلة وخدم الكثيرون منهم

في الجيش وسافروا الى مختلف بلاد الاردن والى خارج الاردن ، وزادت صلتهم بدائرة الآثار ، وأصبح الكثيرون منهم يعرفون القراءة والكتابة . ولكن ما زال أغلبهم فقراء يعيشون في عزلتهم وان كانت حياتهم الاجتماعية قد تحسنت بعض الشيء نتيجة لانتشار بعد مظاهر المدنية في المنطقة كلها بوجه عام .

لقد اتصلت بالبدول في أواخر شهر نوفمبر ١٩٦٧ وعرفت من مشايخهم بعض ما كنت أريد الوقوف عليه ، وهم يتكونون من ست عائلات ، ولكل عائلة (ويسمونها «خمس») تشبيها بأصابع اليد الواحدة) زعيم من أبنائها ، وزعامة العائلات الستة في الوقت الحاضر في عائلة الفقير وزعيمهم هو الشيخ هويل الفقير ، وعدد « البدول » كلهم يتراوح بين أربعمائة وخمسمائة شخص .

ولست أريد الحديث عن البدول ووصف عاداتهم ، فليس هذا هو غرضي الان وانما أريد فقط أن أقول أن اتصالي بهم زادني ثقة بان فرصة دراستهم كمجموعة ما زالت سانحة ميسورة ، كما زادني هذا الاتصال ثقة بأن هؤلاء البدول ، وهم على وشك الانقراض ليسوا الا بقية من سكان البلاد الاصليين الذين غلبتهم قبائل البدو على أمرهم ففروا بأرواحهم ليعيشوا في أماكن موحشة لا يطمع فيها أحد .

تختلف لهجة البدول عن لهجة جيرانهم ، ولهم عادات خاصة بهم ، ويعبرون عما يريدون قوله بكلمات لا يكاد يفهمها جيرانهم ، ويصحبونهم بمهمات واشارات خاصة بهم ، وفي رأيي أنه اذا كان هناك أمل في معرفة ما عساه أن يكون باقيا من لغة الانباط أو عاداتهم ، فان ذلك يمكن تحقيقه بدراسة لهجات البدول وسكان الاغوار ، ودراسة عاداتهم ونظامهم الاجتماعي دراسات علمية صحيحة ، ويا حبذا لو كان من يقوم بها من أبناء الاردن الذي يعرف لهجات البدو ، وبخاصة المنطقة الجنوبية من البلاد .

خاتمة

والان ، وقد عرضت بعض ما كنت أريد عرضه

وليس الامر قاصرا على ذلك ، اذ يوجد حتى الان في مصر ، في بعض جهاتها النائية لغات أخرى غير اللغة العربية ، يتخاطب بها بعض السكان الذين ظلوا لا يعرفون غيرها ومن يتعلم منهم اللغة العربية يستخدمها كلغة ثانية مثل لغة أهل سيوة ولغة البشارية ولغتين في بلاد النوبة وهما الماتوكي والفيادتشي .

ونجد الشيء نفسه ، في العراق فما زال البعض منهم يستخدمون مفردات كثيرة من لغة البلاد القديمة في اللهجات الدارجة ، وفي العراق ، وفي سوريا ما زالت توجد بعض القرى التي ما زال أهلها يستخدمون الآرامية أو السورانية فيما بينهم .

ولو أردنا ضرب أمثلة أخرى لوجدنا الكثير من ذلك في جهات مختلفة من العالم بين مجموعات تعيش في شبه عزلة في بعض المناطق الجبلية أو النائية لان أمثال هذه المجموعات الصغيرة تعيش منطوية على نفسها بعد أن غلبها على أمرها الوافدون الجدد وأجلوهم عن أرضهم فلم يجدوا أمامهم الا الانطواء على أنفسهم .

كان الانباط يعيشون في بلاد أدوم ومؤاب ، وكانت لهم لغتهم وديانتهم وعاداتهم فهل قضى وصول العرب المسلمين على ذلك كله ؟ وهل يمكننا أن نسلم بحدوث ذلك ونحن نعرف سماحة المسلمين الفاتحين ، ونعرف وعورة المنطقة ونعرف ايضا أنها منذ ذلك الفتح لم تشهد عصرا مزدهرا شبيها بأيام الانباط ، أو حاولت أي حكومة من الحكومات صبغ المنطقة بطابع معين منذ الفتح العربي حتى قبيل العصر الحاضر .

ومما يدعو للأسف ، بل ومما يدعو الى الحزن ، أنه لم يتم عمل أي مسح لغوي للهجات الدارجة في أي بلد عربي ، ولم يرق أحد في الاردن حسب ما أعلم ، بعمل أي دراسات انثروبولوجية جادة ، أو أي دراسات لغوية في منطقة بلاد أدوم ومؤاب حتى يمكننا الاعتماد عليها لاجابة السؤال الذي طرحته ، وفي اعتقادي أن هناك أملا كبيرا في وجود أثر اللغة الانباط وعاداتهم بين سكان المنطقة .

يلاحظ بعض زائري آثار البتراء وجود بعض السكان الذين يعيشون في المقابر المنحوتة في الصخر ، وقلما يابه الزوار لوجودهم اذ يظنون أنهم من حراس الآثار وعائلاتهم .

وغالبا ما ينتهي تفكير الزائر عند هذا الحد ، ولكن موظفي دائرة الآثار وسكان وادي موسى والعلماء المهتمين بدراسة حضارة الانباط يعرفون أنه يوجد بعض مئات قليلة من السكان الذين يعيشون في بعض المقابر الصخرية وفي شعاب الوديان ، فاذا سأل سائل عن اسم القبيلة التي ينتمون اليها لا يسمع الا أنهم قوم فقراء اسمهم « البدول » وانهم لا ينتمون لاي قبيلة معروفة وانهم ، هم وأجدادهم من قبلهم ، يسكنون في هذه المنطقة في الكهوف الصخرية فاذا ألح السائل لمعرفة المزيد عنهم لم يسمع الا بعض جمل غير محددة عن مدى أمانتهم أو اتباعهم لشعائر الدين ، وغرابة عاداتهم ونفورهم من غيرهم من الناس .

واعترف أن هذا كان كل ما عرفته عنهم حتى شهر نوفمبر ١٩٦٧ عندما قرأت كتاب اللواء محمد علي العجلوني « ذكرياتي عن الثورة العربية الكبرى » - عمان ، ١٩٥٦ فاذا به يذكر « البدول » . كان اللواء العجلوني من أوائل الضباط الذين انضموا الى جيش الملك حسين بن علي ، وخاض المعارك التي دارت بينهم وبين الاتراك ، ويذكر العجلوني في ذكرياته أن بعض رجال الجيش ، وهو منهم قضا ثمانية وعشرين يوما في البتراء استعدادا لمعركة معان وأنهم كانوا يضعون أمتعتهم في الخزنة . ونقرأ في صفحة (٥٥) ما يأتي ، أنقله كما هو :

« وكهوف بتراء آتخذ مليئة بالمهاجرين الارمن الذين نفاهم الاتراك الى الجنوب فكنا نختلف اليهم ونبتاع منهم البندورة المجففة وهم يغسلون لنا ألبستنا ، وكنا نستمتع أحيانا الى الذين يحسنون الموسيقى التركية منهم ونعاملهم بالرفق والانسانية .

« ومن غريب المصادفات أنهم وهم يجهلون اللغة العربية كانوا جيرانا لجماعة من الناس ما هم الا رواسب جنسيات قديمة مجهولة الاصل

على صلة طيبة ببيزنطة وكان يعهد اليها الرومان بحراسة تخوم سوريا . فبالرغم من العثور على نقوش كثيرة في منطقة بلاد الغساسنة ، ويرجع تاريخها الى قبيل ظهور الاسلام ، فانا لا نجد من بين تلك النقوش ما يمكن أن نقول عنه أنه من نوع الخط الذي كتب به نقش زبد أن نقش حران .

وقد أتيت لي هنا في عمان فرصة مناقشة هذا الموضوع مع زميلي الدكتور نامي وتدارسنا النقط التي أثارها جروهمان ومبليك وتعقيبات ستاركي وتردده فقال أنه بالرغم من ذلك كله فما زال مؤمنا بصحة ما نشره قبل خمسة وثلاثين عاما وهي أن الخط العربي مأخوذ من الخط النبطي ووعدني بأنه سيعاود الكتابة في هذا الموضوع .

والان ، وقد أصبح موضوع أصل الخط العربي مفتوحا للمناقشة فعلينا أن ننتظر بعض الوقت حتى تظهر وثائق جديدة ، أو تكتب بحوث جديدة ، لنتمسك بالنظرية القديمة وهي أن الخط النبطي هو الاصل أو نقبل النظرية الجديدة وهي أن الخط العربي مستمد من الخط السورياني ، ذلك الخط الذي كان يستخدمه كتاب الديوان في بلاط ملوك الحيرة .

هل اندثرت لغة الأنباط اندثارا تاما ؟

وأخيرا أهمل الى آخر نقطة في هذا البحث ، وهي ليست في حقيقة الامر موضوعا استجد فيه شيء أو تغير فيه رأي ، ولكنه اقتراح أو شبه توجيه أرجو أن يضعه أحد القراء في ذهنه ويؤليه شيئا من عنايته ، وهذا الموضوع هو التساؤل عما اذا كانت لغة الأنباط قد تبخرت واختفت تماما من الوجود أم أن هناك أملا في وجود بقية منها ؟

لقد انتشر الاسلام بين الأنباط وانتشرت معه لغة القرآن ولهجات القبيلة أو القبائل التي خرجت لنشر الدعوة ، فهل قضى ذلك على كل أثر لديانة الأنباط ولغتهم وعاداتهم بين يوم وليلة ؟ الجواب

على ذلك أن مثل هذا الامر لا يمكن حدوثه أو توقعه ، اللهم الا في ظروف نادرة غير مألوفة ، فعندما يغير الناس دينهم ، ويتركونه الى دين جديد ، تبقى بعض مظاهر الدين القديم ، خصوصا بين الطبقات الساذجة والفقيرة التي لم يكن لها نصيب من تعليم ، وكذلك الامر في شأن العادات فان تغييرها يحتاج الى قرون طويلة ، وخصوصا اذا لم يكن فيها ما يتعارض مع الدين الجديد تعارضا صريحا .

ولكن اذا وصلنا الى موضوع اللغة فانا نجد أنها تستمر فترة طويلة مستخدمة بين أولئك الناس ، في صورة من الصور ولو على نطاق ضيق . ولنضرب مثلا بمصر ، لقد دخلها الاسلام ، ومعه كثير من القبائل العربية التي سرعان ما انتشرت في أكثر أرجاء البلاد ، ولم يمض وقت كبير حتى أصبحت اللغة العربية لغة الدواوين ، ولا شك أيضا في أنها كانت الى حد كبير لغة التخاطب بين الوافدين الجدد ومن اختلطوا بهم من أهل البلاد ، فهل اختفت اللغة القبطية بمجرد انتشار اللغة العربية ؟ والجواب على ذلك بالنفي ، فقد ظل الكثيرون من سكان مصر من مسيحيين ومسلمين يستخدمون اللغة القبطية كلغة للتعامل حتى القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي على الأقل ، كما بقيت بعض قرى الصعيد تتحدث بها كلغة تخاطب ، وليس كلغة الكنيسة القبطية فقط ، حتى القرن الثامن عشر بل ووائل القرن التاسع عشر اذ نعرف مما كتبه علماء الحملة الفرنسية على مصر ، أن القائد «بونابرت» أظهر رغبته في سماع اللغة القبطية يتحدث بها اثنان فيما بينهما . كان ذلك عام ١٨٠٠ فاحضروا له من بلدة قفط في الصعيد رجلا وزوجته ، وكانا متقدمين في السن . ومع التسليم بأنه لا يوجد الان في مصر عائلة واحدة تتكلم فيما بينها اللغة القبطية كلغة متوارثة عن الاجداد فان في اللغة العربية المستخدمة الان في مصر ، سواء في الدلتا أو في الصعيد ، مئات من الالفاظ التي ترجع الى اللغة القبطية ، وهي بدورها من اللغة المصرية القديمة ، ولا يقتصر الامر على المفردات بل نجد أثر لغة البلاد القديمة في تركيب الجمل في بعض اللهجات ، وهي غريبة على اللغة العربية الفصحى .

الخط العربي الشمالي وتطوره في كتابة
الفرآن (١٦)

ومن بين العلماء الذين قبلوا رأي الدكتور
نامي « الأب ستاركي » ولكن عالما محققا آخر وهو
الدكتور « ميليك » (J. T. Milik) تقدم منذ
سنوات قليلة برأي آخر اذ قال أنه عند بحثه عن
أصل الخط السوراني وجد أنه يمكن تفسير
أصل كثير من الحروف العربية ، والخط العربي
القديم بوجه عام اذا قارناها بالخط السوراني
وليس الخط النبطي .

ولكن قبل أن يعلن « ميليك » رأيه بسنوات
كثيرة سبقه « أدولف جروهان » (١٧) في عام
١٩٥٤ الى التساؤل عما اذا لم يكن يوجد الى جانب
الكتابات العربية التي عثر عليها في سوريا ، وفي
زبد وفي حران ، مصدر تأثير آخر في العراق
حتى يمكن تفسير بعض مميزات الخط الكوفي
في النسخ القديمة من القرآن ، تلك النسخ التي
كتبت في الكوفة ، وهي المدينة التي شيدت على
بعد ثلاث كيلو مترات شمالي الحيرة وحلت
مكانها كعاصمة في القرن الاول الهجري .

واذا رجعنا الى ما ذكره العرب أنفسهم عن
أصل الخط العربي نجد أكثر من رواية وبينها
كثير من التناقض ، ولكن احدى هذه الروايات ،
ويرجع تاريخها الى القرن الثاني الهجري ، جديرة
بالذكر وقد لفت اليها جروهمان الانظار وهي ما
رواه « البلاذري » في كتاب فتوح البلدان (١٨) ،
ويقول فيها أنه قبل ظهور النبي عليه الصلاة
والسلام وضع ثلاثة من قبيلة طيء هذا الخط
الذي أخذوه عن السوراني في « بقا » وهي بلدة
على مقربة من الحيرة عاصمة اللخمين وتبعد
حوالي ١٦٠ كيلو مترا الى الجنوب من بغداد ،

وأنه سرعان ما انتشر هذا الخط ووصل الى
الحيرة والى الانبار (١٩) . وأخيرا أتوا بهذا الخط
الى مكة ، أتى به أحد المسيحيين ، وكان يسمى
« بشر » وهو أخو الاكيدر أحد زعماء كندة ، وكان
في الدومة .

ويناقش ستاركي هذا الموضوع في ملحق
قاموس التوراة (٢٠) ، ويقول أنه لو صرفنا النظر
عن النظرية القائلة بأن الخط النبطي هو أصل
نقش « زبد » ونقش « حران » (٢١) ، فإن الامر
يصبح أكثر سهولة ، ونستطيع أن نقول أن
الخط العربي في عصوره الاولى مشتق من الخط
السوراني الذي كان مستخدما في عاصمة
اللخمين .

ومما يدعو الى الاسف أن المنطقة التي تقع فيها
عاصمة اللخمين لم تحفر حفرا علميا منظما حتى
الان ، وبالتالي لم يعثر فيها على نقش واحد من
هذا النوع مع أننا نعلم علم اليقين ، أن الكتابة
كانت معروفة في هذه المنطقة وقد ذكر ياقوت
نص نقش تأسيس الدير الذي شيدته الاميرة
المسيحية « هند » أم الملك اللخمي « عمرو » الذي
عاش في منتصف القرن السادس الميلادي .

وعلى أي حال ، فمن المعقول أن يكون في بلاط
ملوك الحيرة محررون للرسائل وأن أولئك الكتاب
كانوا يستخدمون الخط الديواني في كتابة ما
يلزم تحريره الى رعايا اللخمين الذين يتحدثون
بالعربية ، وكان منهم الوثنيون والمسيحيون .
ولكن قبل أن نميل الى الاخذ بالرأي الذي يقول
بالبحث عن أصل الخط العربي عند اللخمين ،
أو نرجحه ، يجب أن لا ننسى أنه في الوقت الذي
ازدهر فيه اللخميون كانت هناك دولة أخرى
عربية الاصل ، وهي دولة الغساسنة التي كانت

على مسافة ٧٠ كيلومترا غربي بغداد .

Starcky, Suppl. au Dictionnaire de la Bible.
Col. 1933

(٢١) « زبد » في جبل شبت جنوب شرقي حلب والتعش المشار
اليه مكتوب بثلاث لغات وهي اليونانية والسورانية
والعربية وتاريخه عام ٥١٢ ميلادية . اما نقش حران
فهو مكتوب باليونانية والعربية وتاريخه ٥٦٨ ميلادية .

N. Abbott The Rise of North Arabic Script
and Its Kuranic Development (Chicago,
1939, p. 4 and pl. V.

A. Grohmann, Einführung und Chrestomathie
zur arabischen Papirus Kund, (1954) p. 90

(١٨) البلاذري — فتوح البلدان (طبعة القاهرة ، ١٩١١)
صفحة ٤٧٦ .

(١٩) معسكر الساسانيين في العراق في ذلك الوقت : وهو

كاد أن يكون فنا مندثرا في القرن الرابع
الميلادي .

الخط النبطي والخط العربي

أصل الان الى الموضوع الرابع ، وهو موضوع
أصل الخط العربي ، وهل هو مأخوذ أو مشتق
من الخط النبطي .

انتشر الخط الآرامي واللغة الآرامية انتشارا
واسعا في أكثر بلاد آسيا العربية لمدة عدة قرون،
وقد اتخذت شعوب كثيرة ممن تفرعت عن
الكنعانيين أو الآراميين هذا الخط كوسيلة
لتسجيل وثائقهم .

وعندما ضعف نفوذ الدولة السلوقية ، أخذت
بعض الشعوب التي تعيش في المناطق الداخلية
من البلاد ، مثل الانباط والتدمريين ، تعود الى
ما كان لها من لغات أصلية ، وأخذت طرق كتابتهم
تختلف فيما بينها حتى أصبح لكل قوم منهم
أسلوبه الخاص .

واذا درسنا الخط النبطي بوجه عام ، نجد
فيه بعض التغيرات التي نشأت تبعا لازمنة
كتابتها ، وإذا درسنا أيضا النقوش النبطية التي
عثر عليها في الاردن وفي حوران ، وفي جبل
الدروز ، وفي الحجر (مداين صالح) وفي صحراء
سيناء نجد اختلافات فيما بينها ، وذلك راجع الى
بعض التطورات المحلية في كتابة بعض الحروف .

والنقطة التي أريد الحديث عنها الان ليست
الخط النبطي أو أصله أو تطوره انما هي موضوع
آخر متفرع منه ، فالفكرة السائدة منذ وقت غير
قصير هي أن الخط العربي مشتق من الخط
النبطي ، وهذا ما دافع عنه الدكتور خليل يحيى
نامي في عام ١٩٣٤ ودعمه بأدلة متعددة ، وقد
قبل آراءه عدد كبير من المستشرقين المتخصصين
في هذه الدراسات وبينهم الدكتور « نابيا
أبوت » في كتابها الذي طبع عام ١٩٣٩ عن نشأة

الانباط دخلوا في فترة ضعف واضمحلال منذ
النصف الثاني من القرن الاول الميلادي ، وخضعوا
لحكم الرومان المباشر منذ عام ١٠٦ ميلادية .

أما الامر الثاني فهو أن العناصر الاصلية في
الفن القبطي معروفة ، وبقي الانباط محافظين
على بعضها حتى آخر أيامهم ، ولكن الانباط ولوا
وجوههم في أيام ازدهارهم ، نحو حضارات أخرى
فاقتبسوا منها ما راق لهم ، ولم يقتصروا على
الفن اليوناني والفن الروماني فقط بل كان لفنون
بارثيا وأرمينيا والبلاد السورية أثر عليهم ، زد
على ذلك ما نتوقعه أيضا من وراء صلتهم بمصر
وبجنوبي الجزيرة العربية .

ومن المعروف أن مصر ، بعد أن ضعفت
وخضعت لحكم الرومان ، واستبدلت دينها
القديم بالمسيحية ، أراد مسيحيوها أن يبتعدوا
قدر استطاعتهم عن الوثنية وكل ما يتصل بها ،
وولوا وجوههم شطر بلاد أخرى وفنون أخرى
وكان من يأتي للمساعدة في تشييد بعض
الكنائس المسيحية وزخرفتها عمال من سوريا
وارمينيا ، ولهذا فمن المعقول ، والاقرب الى
المنطق ، أن نعتبر ما ظهر من تشابه بين الفن
النبطي والفن القبطي راجعا الى أن كلا منهما
استقى من مصادر واحدة .

وليس معنى رفض نظرية التأثير المباشر لفن
الانباط على الفن القبطي في مصر انكار وجود
أي علاقة بين الانباط وبين سكان وادي النيل ،
بل الامر على العكس من ذلك ، فقد كانت بين
الانبيين صلات غير قليلة ، وكان كثير من الانباط
يقيمون في مصر ، وكان منهم من يحمل التجارة
اليها عبر الصحراء ، وكان كثير من الانباط
يعملون جنودا في نقاط الحدود التابعة للجيش
الروماني ، وعثر على كثير من النقوش النبطية
في سيناء وفي الصحراء الشرقية ، كما عثر أيضا
على معابد صغيرة شرقي قناة السويس ، ولكنها
خالية من النقوش ويظن أنها نبطية ، ولكن هذا
كله لا يقدم لنا أي دليل على أن الكنائس المصرية
في القرن الخامس الميلادي أخذت بعض عناصرها
الزخرفية في فن النحت من الفن النبطي الذي

وهناك رأي ثالث وهو أن العاصمة الاقدم لم تكن في البصيرة أو في أم البيار ، بل كانت في الـ « جايا » وتعرف الان تحت اسم « الجي » وهي ضمن منطقة عيون موسى شرقي السيق ، وفي هذه المنطقة آثار من أقدم آثار الانباط تنتشر حول القرية وفوق قمم المرتفعات المحيطة بها .

واذا وازنا بين المواقع الثلاثة ، وحللنا ما ساقه أصحاب هذه النظريات من أدلة ، ودرسنا اعتراضات من اعترض عليها فأنا نصل الى نتيجة تقول بأن مكان « أم البيار » لا يمكن الاخذ به لضعف أدلة جلك وتصميمه على أن ما وجده من بقايا الجدران وقطع الفخار يجب أن تكون بقايا حصن من عهد دولة « يهودا » وافترضه دون أسباب مقنعة اقناعا تاما ، ان هذا الحصن لم يستمر عامرا الا الى أوائل القرن السادس قبل الميلاد ، فان ما ساقه من أدلة لا تكفي لقبول هذه النظرية .

وكذلك الامر في النظرية الخاصة بموقع « جايا » فانها جزء من البتراء ولا ينطبق عليها وصف صخرة الادوميين .

والواقع أن كلا من « أم البيار » و « جايا » بعيدان عن الطريق الرئيسي للقوافل ، فاذا كان الانباط الاوائل عند قدومهم مع درب القوافل قد استقروا في مكان ما فالمعقول أن يكون هذا المكان واقعا على الدرب نفسه ، وهذا ما ينطبق على موقع البصيرة فهي تقع على درب السلطان الذي يسمى ايضا طريق السلطان وفي مكان تتوفر فيه المياه والاراضي الصالحة للزراعة بعكس أم البيار ، كما أن وجود ذلك التل المنيع يتفق مع الوصف الوارد بشأن « صخرة الادوميين » .

حل الانباط الاوائل حول البصيرة ، ولم يمض عليهم وقت طويل حتى ثبتوا أقدامهم وتكاثروا وانتشرت قراهم في رقعة كبيرة حولهم ، وخصوصا في المناطق التي كانت عامرة في عهد

الادوميين ، ومن بينها « البتراء » وكان زعماءهم يقيمون في البصيرة الى أن حان الوقت الذي ازدادت فيه ثروتهم وازداد نفوذهم فاختاروا مكانا أشد منعة وأكثر أمنا لهم ، ووجدوا في البتراء خير ما يحقق هدفهم فجعلوها عاصمة لهم وخصنا يحفظون فيه أموالهم . ومن المحتمل جدا أن يكون انتقالهم الى العاصمة الجديدة « سلع البتراء » في مستهل القرن الرابع قبل الميلاد .

مدى انتشار الفن النبطي

ولنترك الان موضوع العاصمة وننتقل الى موضوع اخر وهو مدى انتشار الفن النبطي .

في عام ١٩٣٥ بدأ يظهر في مصر اتجاه جديد في دراسة الفن القبطي وهو الفن الذي انتشر في مصر بعد انتشار المسيحية ، وذلك بعقد مقارنات بينه وبين الفنون الاخرى في البلاد الشرقية المجاورة مثل سوريا وبين فنون بلاد أخرى مثل الهند وغيرها . وكان من بين الامثلة التي ساقها بعض أولئك الباحثين وعلى رأسهم « اتيين دريوتون »^(١٤) أمثلة من النقوش التي عثر عليها في بعض الكنائس المسيحية في أهناسيا المدينة في محافظة بني سويف وفي البهنسا في محافظة المنيا ويرجع تاريخها الى القرن الخامس الميلادي .

وبالرغم من أن الكثيرين من المتخصصين في الفن القبطي والمتخصصين في الفن المصري القديم رفضوا نظرية التأثير المباشر من الفن النبطي ، فان المهتمين بالدراسات النبطية تلقفوا هذا الرأي وتمسكوا به حتى الان دون نظر الى الاعتراضات لانهم وجدوا في هذه النظرية رفعا من شأن الانباط والفن النبطي^(١٥) ، وفاتهم أمران على جانب كبير من الاهمية ، أولهما فارق الزمن فان ما عثر عليه في مصر كان زخارفا لكنائس من القرن الخامس حتى القرن السابع الميلادي بينما ما قدموه من أمثلة من الفن النبطي يرجع تاريخه الى القرن الاول الميلادي على الاكثر ، وينسون أن

(١٥) احدث المتسكين بهذه النظرية « نلسون جلك » في كتابه Deities and Dolphins الذي ظهر في عام ١٩٦٥ - انظر مثلا صفحة ٥٣٤ من ذلك الكتاب .

E. Drioton « Art Syrien et art Copte », Bulletin (18) de l'association de amis de l'art Copte III (1937), pp. 29 - 40.

أيضا أنهم أتوا الى بلاد أدوم في القرن الخامس قبل الميلاد أي أن اقامتهم في الحجاز كانت نحو قرن من الزمان ، فهل اتخذوا البتراء منذ استقرارهم في بلاد أدوم عاصمة لهم ؟

كان الرأي السائد هو أن البتراء كانت عاصمتهم منذ البداية ، ولكن المتفق عليه الان هو أنه كانت للانباط عاصمة ، وأن هذه العاصمة كانت في بقعة أخرى قبل أن تنتقل الى البتراء - وبعبارة أخرى أن « سلع » وصخرة « أدوم » المذكورتين في التوراة تدل على مكان آخر .

وجد هذا الرأي من يدافع عنه بحرارة في شخص العالم الفرنسي الأب ستاركي الذي حدد مكان تلك العاصمة الاقدم في موقع أثري يسمى « بصيرة » وهي على مسافة خمسين كيلو مترا تقريبا شمالي البتراء ، وفي موقع استراتيجي هام تحيط به منطقة مزروعة تتوفر لها المياه الكافية ، وهي فوق جبل مخروطي الشكل تتوجه خرائب قديمة ويصعب الوصول الى قمته الا من طريق واحد فقط . ويعترف ستاركي بأنه لا يوجد بين تلك الخرائب التي فوق قمة الجبل أي شيء من تلك المميزات المعروفة عن فن الانباط .

ولم يسلم هذا التحديد من النقد ، وبخاصة من « نلسون جلك » الذي رفضه وأراد بدوره أن يحدد مكان تلك العاصمة « صخرة أدوم » « بأنها أم البيار » وهي موقع في داخل منطقة البتراء غربي الجزء الاوسط من المدينة ، وفوق تل يرتفع مائتي متر تقريبا عما حوله . ويعتمد « جلك » في هذا التحديد على ما كشفت عنه حفائره التي أجراها هناك بالاشتراك مع مسز هورسفيلد ، وكشفت عن وجود خزانات للمياه وآثار يرجع تاريخها الى العصر الحديدي ، ويرى في هذا المكان انسب موقع ، بل المكان الاوحد لسلع المذكورة في التوراة ولكن هذا الرأي وجد معترضين كثيرين .

ويتكرر هذا الشك فيما سبق ان اتجه اليه بعض العلماء من أن الانباط جاء ذكرهم في نص آشوري من عهد الملك « آشور بانيبال » (٦٦٨ - ٦٦٣ ق م) اذ ورد اسم « النباياتين » (Nabaiteans) بين من أخضعهم في حروبه ضد العرب ، ولكن ليس هناك ما يعزز القول بأنهم أجداد الانباط .

واذا رجعنا الى اللغة العربية فانا نجد أن « نبط » تدل على الماء عندما يخرج من باطن الارض ، ثم تطور معناها فأصبحت بمعنى يظهر أو يتجلي (١٣) .

والخلاصة أن كلا من الموطن الاصلي للانباط وأصل اسمهم ما زالا موضوعين مفتوحين للمناقشة ، وكل ما نستطيع قوله ، حسب معلوماتنا الحالية أن « النبط » اسم لقوم وليس اسما لمنطقة ، كما أن أول ذكر مؤكد للانباط لا يرجع الا الى عام ٣١٢ ق م أي في أواخر القرن الرابع قبل الميلاد عندما هاجم « انتيجونس » Antigonos Cyclops الانباط ونهب عاصمتهم البتراء .

أين كانت أول عاصمة للأنباط ؟

وأنتقل الان الى موضوع آخر هو الموضوع الخاص بالمكان الذي قامت فيه أقدم عاصمة للانباط ، هل كانت في البتراء ، أم أنها كانت في مكان آخر .

لا يمكننا ، حتى الان ، تحديد تاريخ معين لخروج الانباط من موطنهم الاصلي في جنوبي الجزيرة العربية ، ولا يمكننا أيضا تحديد تاريخ دقيق لمدة اقامتهم في الحجاز ، أو تحديد المدة التي قضوها هناك قبل أن يهاجروا منها الى أدوم . ولكن هناك من القرائن ما يجعلنا نرجح ترجيحاً كبيراً أنهم بدأوا هجرتهم الاولى في القرن السادس قبل الميلاد ، كما أنه من المرجح

١٣) قارن ذلك بترجمة كلمة « أو - دو - مو » التي اشرت اليها في الهامش رقم (١١) .

الثالث أنهم هاجروا من اليمن ، واني أميل شخصيا الى قبول الرأي الاخير .

لم يكن أولئك القادمون بدوا من الصحراء ويجهلون الحضارة ، بل كانوا ، أو كان بعضهم على الأقل ، يعرفون الزراعة وبعض أساليبها المتقدمة ويعرفون أيضا كيف يستفيدون من مياه الامطار وذلك باقامة السدود ، واقامة خزانات المياه ، المفتوحة منها والمغلقة ، وبالرغم من أنهم كانوا يميلون لحياة البداوة بوجه عام الا أن فريقا كبيرا من بينهم كان يميل الى الحياة المستقرة في قرى أو مدن آمنة .

ومن الثابت الان أنهم لم يأتوا من موطنهم الاصلي في جنوبي الجزيرة العربية الى ادم ومؤاب مباشرة بل استقروا فترة من الزمن في الحجاز ، وقد تركت تلك الإقامة التي امتدت فترة غير قصيرة ، أثرها فيهم اذ ألفوا عبادة الآلهة التي وجدوها في موطنهم الجديد في وسط شبه الجزيرة العربية وشمالها ، فلما نزحوا من ذلك الموطن بعد أن أقاموا على الأقل قرنا من الزمان هناك ، حملوا معهم آلهتهم الجديدة وبعد أن كانوا قد تركوا عبادة آلهتهم التي كانت في جنوبي الجزيرة .

لم تكن المنطقة التي حلوا فيها ، وهي بلاد ادم ومؤاب خالية من السكان بل كانت عامرة بأهلها ، وكانت قد شهدت في عصور سابقة حضارات قديمة ، كانت على درجة من التقدم منذ الالف الثالث قبل الميلاد ولم تكن بمعزل عن تيار النفوذ المصري في منتصف الالف الثاني قبل الميلاد ، وقامت فيها مدن ودويلات صغيرة في ذلك الوقت وفي أوائل الالف الاول قبل الميلاد

كما نعرف من التوراة ومن نتائج الحفائر اذ عثر على كثير من آثار العصر الحديدي في كثير من الاماكن في هذه المنطقة .

وحدث مع الانباط عند قدومهم ما يحدث دائما في مثل هذه الظروف ، وهو تأثير القادمين الجدد بالسكان القدامى ، وظهور نوع من الثقافة المشتركة بعد أن يتم الاختلاط بين الاثنين ، ثم تأتي بعد ذلك مرحلة الاستيعاب .

وهنا نقف أمام تساؤل جديد وهو أصل أو معنى كلمة « نبط » أو « أنباط » . كان لقب ملوك الانباط هو « ملك النبط » فهل كان اسما للمكان أم اسما للقبيلة أو القبائل الجديدة التي وفدت أو كان اسما لقوم عاشوا في المنطقة من قبل ؟

يجد القارىء في المؤلفات التي ظهرت عن الانباط أن أول اشارة الى اسمهم وردت في التوراة ، في سفر التكوين في الاصحاح ٢٥ الآية ١٢ - ١٣ عند الحديث عن سيدنا ابراهيم وابنه اسماعيل . فقد ذكرت التوراة أن أول من ولد لاسماعيل هو ابنه « نايوت » وتكرر ذكر هذا الاسم في الاصحاح (٢٨) الآية ٨ - ٩ عندما ذهب « عيسو » ابن ابراهيم الى اسماعيل وتزوج « مهلات » أخت « نايوت » أي تزوج من بنت أخيه .

وبالرغم من أن عيسو هو المذكور في التوراة بأنه « أبو الادوميين » (١١) فإن الاتجاه العلمي الحديث في السنوات الاخيرة يشك في أن الانباط المعروفين هم المذكورون في التوراة أو أن أصل اسمهم مشتق من « نايوت » رغم التشابه بين الكلمتين (١٢) .

من ان عيسو التوام الاكبر لرفقة ولد احمر اللون ، ولكنا نعرف ايضا انه لم يسمى « ادم » . ومن المعروف ايضا ان اسم « ادم » ورد في النصوص المصرية القديمة كما ورد ايضا في النصوص الاشورية وكان ينطق « او - دو - مو » ويمكن تفسيرها بأنها مشتقة من كلمة بمعنى « يخرج » أو « ينتج » وربما أصبحت فيما بعد بمعنى « أرض » أو « تربة » .

(١٢) هذا رأي نلسون جلك في كتابه Deities and Dolphins

(١١) لم ترد كلمة « ادم » في التوراة كاسم لمكان أو منطقة جغرافية محدودة وانما وردت كاسم قوم أو شعب ، فنجدها مثلا تذكر كبلاد ادم ، وكحقل ادم ، وبرة ادم .. الخ . وهناك اختلاف في الرأي بين العلماء على معنى كلمة ادم فيفسرها البعض على انها اسم اله (مثلا : عبد ادم) ، واحيانا ان معناها احمر كصفة للون احجار المنطقة وبخاصة في المنطقة الشرقية من وادي عربة ويفضل البعض تأكيد اصلها الى ما ورد في التوراة

بوضع المؤلفات الجادة الرصينة عن آثارها ، وبخاصة آثار البتراء وتسجيل جميع النقوش النبطية ، أينما كانت ، وقد تم الجزء الأكبر من ذلك قبل بدء الحرب العالمية الأولى ، ووجدت من أقبل عليها من كبار علماء الاستشراق ، وتلقت هذه الدراسات مددا جديدا من نتائج الحفائر في الاردن وخارج الاردن ، وكان هذا مددا جديدا يؤكد أحيانا ما سبق الوصول اليه من نتائج ، وفي أحيان أخرى يثير الشك فيما سبق قبوله أو يهدمه ، كما أخذنا نقف على معلومات كثيرة جديدة في بعض النواحي الحضارية ، وبخاصة في الفنون .

وفي مثل هذا البحث لا يمكن الدخول في التفاصيل ، واكتفى بذكر بعض الاتجاهات الحديثة في دراسة تاريخ الانباط مكتفيا بالخمس الآتية : -

- أ - أصل الانباط وبدء استقرارهم في بلاد أدوم ومؤاب .
 - ب - أين كانت أول عاصمة لهم ؟
 - ج - مدى انتشار الفن النبطي .
 - د - الخط النبطي والخط العربي .
 - هـ - هل اندثرت لغة الانباط اندثارا تاما ؟
- ولنبدا الان مناقشة النقطة الاولى منها .

أصل الانباط وبدء استقرارهم في بلاد أدوم ومؤاب

الانباط عرب ، ولا شك في ذلك على الاطلاق ، ولكن هل كانوا من سكان المنطقة الاصليين أم أتوا من مكان آخر ؟ والجواب على ذلك أنه من المتفق عليه أنهم أتوا من شبه الجزيرة العربية ، ولكن الجديد في الموضوع هو تحديد المنطقة التي كانت في يوم من الأيام موطنهم الاصلي الذي نزحوا منه .

ان دراسة لغتهم وعاداتهم وديانهم ، وبعض مظاهر حضارتهم لم تحل هذه المشكلة حلا تاما حتى الان ، بل يمكننا أن نقول أنها عقدتها بعض الشيء . فهناك رأي يقول بأنهم أتوا من نجد ، ورأي ثان بأنهم هاجروا من حضرموت ، والرأي

وكذلك ما ورد في القسم الخاص بالعملات النبطية في المتحف البريطاني G. F. Hill' Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia (British Museum). London. أما في الديانة فلدينا

عنها شيء غير قليل في البحوث التي نشرها « ليمان » و « ديسو » و « ستاركي » وغيرهم ، وأحدث ما ظهر في هذا الموضوع ما كتبه « ماريا هوفنز » وذلك في مقالها عن ديانا شمال ووسط الجزيرة العربية في المؤلف الكبير المعروف تحت اسم « قاموس الميثولوجيا » الذي ظهر في عام ١٩٦٢ H. W. Haussig, Wörterbuch der

Mythologie (1965). وفي ميدان الآثار بوجه عام ، وتاريخ الانباط فان أحدث المؤلفات هو كتاب « نلسون جلك » الذي أشرنا اليه من قبل واسمه الكامل Nelson Glueck. Deities and Dolphins: The Story of the Nabataeans

وقد نشر فيه نتائج حفائره في خربة التنور ، وقارن ما عثر عليه في تلك الحفائر بما يماثلها أو يشابهها من مناطق كثيرة أخرى وبالرغم مما يوجد في هذا الكتاب من مأخذ فهو من الكتب التي لا يمكن تجاهلها عن آثار الانباط وتاريخهم ، ويحتوي على أسماء أهم المراجع كما نجد فيه أيضا نتائج دراسات هذا العالم في حصر المناطق الاثرية النبطية في الاردن وفي صحراء النقب وسيناء .

موضوعات للمناقشة

والان ، وبعد هذا العرض السريع لبعض النواحي في الدراسات النبطية ومدى التقدم فيها وأهم ما ظهر فيها من بحوث هي في الواقع متصلة بحضارات سامية أخرى مثل حضارة السبائيين ، والشموديين ، واللحيانيين ، والصفويين ، والتدمريين ، والعبرانيين ، والاراميين ، والعرب وغيرهم ، يحق لنا أن نقف لتساءل عما اذا كان أولئك العلماء متفقين تماما على جميع النقاط . والجواب على ذلك أن الدراسات النبطية سارت في الطريق الذي تسير فيه كل الدراسات المماثلة ، ولكنها لا زالت في مستهلها حتى الان .

بدأت هذه الدراسات بسيطة ومحدودة وعلى هامش الدراسات السامية الاخرى ، ثم جاء اليوم الذي وجدت فيه من يعنى بها عناية خاصة ، وذلك

وعلى أي حال ففي كل ميدان من ميادين الدراسات القديمة نجد علماء يحتلون أرفع مكانة في دراساتهم في التاريخ أو في اللغة أو في الديانة أو في الحضارة دون أن يكونوا قد قاموا مرة واحدة بالاشتراك في الحفائر بل أن بعضهم لم يقدر له ، ولو مرة واحدة في حياته ، زيارة البلد الذي ظهرت فيه تلك النقوش ، وإنما تعتمد بحوثهم كلها على ما سبق أن نشره الآخرون وما يصل إليه من زملائه الآخرين .

وقبل أن أنتقل من الحديث عن وضعوا أسس الدراسات النبطية ومن لمعت أسمائهم فيما تم من حفائر أرى من الاوفى تلخيص موقفنا الان من الدراسات النبطية .

أهم ما يجب معرفته عن الدراسات النبطية في الوقت الحاضر

نجد في ميدان النقوش أن ألع اسمين هما « ستاركسي » (J. Starcky) و « ميليك » (J.T. Milik) وقد نشر كل منهما مقالات كثيرة عن النقوش وقد عهدت اليهما الاكاديمية الفرنسية بنشر الجزء الثاني من النقوش النبطية في الـ CIS (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum) ومنذ سنوات قليلة ظهر بحث ممتاز للآب « ستاركسي » عن الأنباط في ملحق قاموس التوراة Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible, Fasc. 39 (1964) art. «Petra et La Nabatène», Col. 886 - 1017 الذي صدر عام ١٩٦٤ . وهو بحث علمي جدير بصاحبه جمع بين دفتيه خلاصة ما توصل اليه العلماء ونتائج بحوثه الشخصية .

أما في ميدان اللغة فما زال مؤلف « كونتنو » الذي صدر في جزئين عامي ١٩٣٠ ، ١٩٣٢ المصدر الرئيسي حتى الان، Contineau, L. Nabatien, 12 Vols. Paris, ولكننا نجد أيضا المزيد عن هذا الموضوع في كتاب أحدث منه وهو كتاب العالمين « جان » و « هوفسيجر » Jean et Hofziger, Des inscriptions semitiques de (Leiden, 1960). وفي ميدان النميات (العملة) توجد اشارات كثيرة في بعض البحوث ولكن لم يصدر في الاعوام القريبة أي بحث يحل محل مقال «ديسو» R. Dussaud, «Numismatique des rois de Nabatène», Journal Asiatique. 1904, L. p. 189 — 238.

ومنذ عام ١٩٢٥ ، بعد استقرار الحالة في منطقة البتراء ، بدأ بعض الأثريين يفكرون في القيام بعمل حفائر منتظمة ولمدد طويلة في البتراء فكانت حفائر الابتاذ «هورسفيلد» والسيدة زوجته (G. and A. Horsfield) منذ عام ١٩٢٩ وكذلك حفائر نلسون جلوك (Nelson Glueck) بالاشتراك مع مسز هورسفيلد ، وذلك أهم ما جرى من حفائر بين الحربين العالميتين الاولى والثانية .

وبعد الحرب العالمية الثانية بدأت دائرة الآثار نشاطا ملموسا في حفر المناطق الاثرية سواء في البتراء أو في المناطق الاخرى ، واستئن مديرها اذ ذاك «لانكستر هاردنج» (G. Lankester Harding) منذ عام ١٩٥٤ سنة جديدة وهي اشتراك الدائرة مع علماء من جمعية الآثار البريطانية في القدس أو مدرسة الآثار الامريكية للبحوث الشرقية في القدس ليقوموا بالاشراف على الحفائر ، وتمدهم دائرة الآثار بكل ما يلزمهم من عمال وأدوات العمل والاقامة ، وقد حظيت البتراء بعناية كبرى ولكن كانت هناك حفائر أخرى ناجحة مثل حفائر « خربة التنور » التي أشرف عليها « نلسون جلوك » وقد سار المرحوم الدكتور عوني الدجاني على نفس السياسة فارتبط بأسماء عدد من البريطانيين والامريكيين باسم البتراء ومن أهمهم « كيركبريد » (D. Kirkbride) و « رايت » (F. J. Par) و « بار » (C. R. H. Wright) و « هاموند » (Philip C. Hammond) و « بنت » (C. M. Benett) ونشر كل منهم نتائج بحوثه في حولية دائرة الآثار العامة الاردنية وغيرها من المجلات العلمية .

ومن الخطأ أن يعتقد انسان أن الذين يقومون بالحفائر ويعثرون على آثار جديدة أو نقوش جديدة هم وحدهم الذين يقومون بالكتابة عنها علميا . فان العثور على آثار مدينة أو معبد أو بعض اللوحات والتماثيل والنقوش شيء ودراستها دراسة علمية كاملة شيء آخر . فمن المحتمل جدا أن يكون العالم الذي يرأس الحفائر متخصصا في تاريخ احدى الحضارات مثلا أو متضلعا في لغة من اللغات القديمة ، ولكنه يعثر على أشياء تحتم عليه الاستعانة بآخرين .

— أول مؤلف علمي جاد عن آثار البتراء وحدها فهو مؤلف العالم الألماني « دالمان » وعنوانه : « البتراء ومبانيها المقدسة المنحوتة في الصخر » .

G. Dalman, Petra und Seine Felsheiligtümer, Leipzig, 1908.

ثم نشر بعده كتابا آخر في عام ١٩١٢ وفيه المزيد من البحوث عن البتراء وهو كتاب Neue Petra-Forschungen und der heilige Felsen von Jerusalem, Leipzig, 1912. وما زالت بحوث دالمان في هذين الكتابين وما نشره فيهما من رسوم ومقاطع لما فيها من آثار أهم مصدر حتى الآن وما زالت آراؤه في تاريخ أكثرها قبولا بوجه عام لدى أكثر رجال الآثار (١٠) .

هذه هي أهم المؤلفات التي نعتبرها حتى الآن المصادر الرئيسية حتى قيام الحرب العالمية عن الآثار النبطية والنقوش وغيرها بوجه عام ، ولكن الى جانب هذه المؤلفات توجد معلومات أخرى ومجموعات من النقوش النبطية في مؤلفات علماء آخرين مثل « دوتي » (Charles Daughty) و « هوبر » (Charles Huber) و « دي فوجيه » (Euting) و « أوتينج » (Melchior de Vogue) و « شابو » (Jean Baptiste Chabo) و « ليتمان » (Enno Littmann) وقد نشر كل ما ظهر منها حتى عام ١٩٠٧ في الجزء الأول من سجل النقوش السامية (Corpus Inscripticonum Semiticarum) أما ما استجد بعد ذلك حتى عام ١٩٦٥ فهي في الجزء الثاني .

بعد الحرب العالمية الاولى

دخلت الدراسات النبطية بعد انتهاء الحرب العالمية الاولى مرحلة جديدة فلم يعد من السهل اصدار مؤلفات ضخمة في عدة مجلدات باسم شخص واحد ، وقنع العلماء بنشر بحوثهم في مقالات في المجلات العلمية الخاصة بعلوم الاستشراق .

الاولائل اقتصر في أغلب الحالات على الوصف العام وترديد الاعجاب الشديد بالمكان وبالأثار . ونشر بعض رسوم لها . ولكن حدث في عام ١٨٦٤ أن زارها الدوق « دي لين » (Duke de Lynes) ونشر عن آثارها مؤلفا ما زالت له مكانته رغم مضي أكثر من قرن من الزمان على كتابته . لم يكتب « دي لين » بوصف ما رآه من آثار وعمل رسوم لها بل عقد مقارنات وخرج من دراساته بأنها من العصر النبطي أي أنها بدأت في القرن الثاني قبل الميلاد ولكن المباني الكبيرة التي يظهر فيها تأثير العمارة اليونانية والرومانية ظهورا واضحا فإن تاريخها الى القرن الأول قبل الميلاد وما تلاه . وهو تقدير صحيح بوجه عام .

واحتلت آثار الأنباط جزءا كبيرا من المؤلف الهام الذي نشره « كليرمون جانو » (Ch. Clermont - Gannean) الذي كتبه في ثمانية أجزاء ظهرت بين أعوام ١٨٨٨ و ١٩٢٤ وفيما كتبه « رينيه ديسو » (R. Dussaud) مؤلفه عن رحلته الأثرية في مناطق الصفا وجبل الدروز ، وقد نشر في باريس عام ١٩٠١ وكذلك مؤلف العالم « ماكليه » (F. Macler) وهو تقرير عن مهمته العلمية التي أوفد فيها لدراسة المناطق الصحراوية في وسط سوريا والذي نشره في عام ١٩٠٤ . ولكن أهم المؤلفات عن آثار هذه المنطقة من العالم حتى وقت نشره هو المؤلف المعروف باسم « الولاية العربية » لمؤلفيه برنيو فون دوماسفسكي (٩) ، ومن أهم المؤلفات التي ظهرت أيضا قبل الحرب العالمية الاولى مؤلف الأبين « جوسمان وسافيناك » عن آثار العلا ومدائن صالح ، وفيها كثير عن الآثار النبطية ، وتكاد تكون في المرتبة الثانية في الاهمية بعد البتراء .

كانت كل هذه المؤلفات التي ذكرناها تتحدث عن آثار الأنباط كجزء من آثار منطقة كبيرة . أما

(١٠) نتائج بحوث دالمان والرسوم الهندسية التي قام بعملها المهندس المعماري (نيوتون) منشورة باللغة الانكليزية أيضا في حوليات جمعية الآثار الفلسطينية عام ١٩١١ (Annual of Palestine Exploration Fund, 1911).

(٩) ما زال هذا المؤلف يحتل مكانة كبيرة بين المصادر العلمية ومرجعا لا يمكن الاستغناء عنه لكل من يريد دراسة تاريخ المنطقة وآثارها ، وقد جمع فيه المؤلفان خلاصة ما كتبه القدماء او المحدثون مع تحليل لما ورد فيها من معلومات وآراء ..

ويذكر بوركهات أنهم تركوا القافلة على أن يلحقوا بها فيما بعد وذهب وبصحبه دليله الى مكان يذكره تحت اسم « werak وراك » وهو خطأ في قراءة ما كتبه اذ كان يقصد دون شك « الوعيرة » القريبة من وادي موسى (٦) ، ومن هذه القرية استأجر أدلاء محليين رافقوه الى عيون موسى ونصحوه أن يذبح العنز هناك ولا داعي للمشقة ، وقالوا له بأن هذا هو ما يفعله الحجاج الآخرون ، ولكنه صمم على أن يوفي بنذره كاملاً ولا يذبح العنز الا عند القبر نفسه فوق الجبل ، وأخيراً وصلوا الى قرية الجي واستأجر شخصاً من أهلها يعرف الطريق الصاعد الى القبر ولكي يحمل العنز وقربة ماء .

ويستمر بوركهات في سرد قصته فيقول أنه بعد أن ترك القرية بدأت الآثار تظهر أمامه ولكن لم يكن في استطاعته أن يتضي وقتاً طويلاً في زيارتها خوفاً من إثارة شكوك الدليل ، وعلى أي حال فقد أشار الى المقابر المكعبة قبل مدخل السيق كما ذكر أيضاً مقبرة المسلات ، ومر في السيق وزار الخزنة ووصف واجهتها وعمل رسماً تقريبياً لها . ولم يكتف بذلك بل زار بعض المقابر الأخرى ، ومن وصفه يمكننا أن نقول أنه زار المقبرة المعروفة باسم مقبرة الجرار و « المقبرة الكورنثية » كما زار بقايا المعبد .

وكان اهتمام بوركهات بالآثار واستغراقه بعض الوقت في زيارتها بدلاً من القاء نظرة عابرة جاهلة عليها جعلت دليله يشك في أنه من الباحثين عن الكنوز وأنه جاء الى هذا المكان ليسرق ما فيه من أموال وجواهر فرفع بندقيته وهدده بأنه سيطلقها عليه اذا استمر في زيارة الآثار . ولكن ذلك لم يثن بوركهات عن عزمه واستمر في سيره بين الخرائب حتى وصل الى مكان يقع الى جنوبي

« أم البيارة » حيث يظهر جبل هارون واضحاً ، ويقول العالم الشاب أن الشمس كانت على وشك الغيب وكان متعباً منهوك القوى فقرر أن يذبح العنز هناك ثم عاد أدراجه في الظلام الى قرية الجي . ويختم بوركهات مذكراته فيقول بأنه يحتمل جداً أن تكون الآثار التي زارها عند وادي موسى هي مدينة البتراء ، ويزيد على ذلك قوله بأن « يوسيبوس » (٧) ذكر أن قبر هارون قريب من البتراء .

كان بوركهات أول أوروبي تقع عيناه على آثار البتراء بعد أيام الصليبيين وأول من لفت أنظار العالم إليها بعد أن لفها النسيان ، فأخذ الرحالة الآخرون والزائرون المثقفون يذهبون إليها ، وكثيراً ما نقرأ في كتاباتهم مدى ما كانوا يلاقونه من مشقة ومضايقات وابتزاز للمال من سكان المنطقة سواء ممن كانوا يسكنون في وادي موسى أو من كانوا يعيشون في كهوف البتراء نفسها ، ولكن مع مرور الزمن ، وبعد أن مضى أكثر من مائة سنة أصبحت زيارة الآثار شيئاً مألوفاً ، بل أصبحت مورد رزق هام لأهل المنطقة كلها ، أما أولئك الذين كانوا يسكنون في المقابر وفي شعاب الوديان داخل منطقة البتراء نفسها فما زالوا هناك ، وأصبحت الآثار المورد الأكبر لهم للحصول على المال سواء ما يسرقونه منها أو ما يحصلون عليه من أجور كعمال للحفائر وحراس للمنطقة (٨) .

تقدم الدراسات النبطية حتى بداية الحرب العالمية الاولى

لم يقصر المهتمون بدراسة الآثار في تسجيل آثار البتراء وغيرها منذ بدء زياراتهم لها في القرن الماضي ، ولكن أكثر ما كتبه الرحالة

بزيارة الاجانب للآثار حتى لا يترتب على ذلك تدخل الحكومة في شؤونهم ، ووصل بهم الامر الى حد مهاجمة اول نقطة بوليس من جنود الفرقة العربية الذين ارسلتهم حكومة شرقي الاردن لحماية زائري الآثار وقتلوا افرادها القليلين ، ولكن موقف الحكومة الحازم وانزال العقاب الشديد على المعتدين كان درساً لهم في اشد الحاجة اليه .

(٦) الويرة على مسافة كيلومترين من الاستراحة الحكومية في وادي موسى - وفيها بقايا الحصن الذي شيده الملك « بودوان الثاني » عام ١١٢٧ ميلادية اثناء الحروب الصليبية .

(٧) « يوسيبوس » كتب تاريخه حوالي عام ٣٢٧ ميلادية .

(٨) لم تصبح زيارة آثار البتراء آمنة تماماً الا بعد عام ١٩٢٥ . كان سكان منطقة وادي موسى لا يرحبون

في وادي موسى « وهي دون سلع البتراء » ، وينطبق عليها أيضا الإشارة الى حصن « أسويط » الذي ذكره النويري في وصفه لرحلة السلطان بيبرس (١٢٦٠ - ١٢٧٧ م) وهي الرحلة التي قام بها من مصر الى الكرك مارا على مقربة من البتراء ، فمن المحتمل جدا أن يكون حصن أسويط هو ما نجد بقاياها في المكان المعروف باسم الحابس الى الشمال من السيق (٣) الذي يقود الى داخل مدينة البتراء .

ومما هو جدير بالذكر أن النويري ذكر اسم المنطقة تحت كلمة « بدرية » وسمى الجبال التي حول البتراء « جبل بدر » وهو تحريف مقبول لكلمة البتراء اليونانية الأصل ومعناها « الصخرة » وكلمة « سلع » معروفة في اللغة العربية (٤) ، وهي أيضا معروفة في العبرية ، وورد ذكرها في التوراة . وكانت المنطقة تعرف أيضا باسم « الرقيم » وقد وردت مكتوبة « رقم » في النقوش النبطية وذكرها أحد الحجاج المسيحيين عند وصفه لرحلته التي قام بها عام ١٢١٧ ميلادية اذ أشار اليها عندما ذكر أنه تقدم في سيرة مع القافلة ، وترك على يمينه « أرخيم التي كانت في وقت ما عاصمة للعرب » وهو يشير دون شك الى البتراء .

وظلت الأمور تسير على وتيرة لا تكاد تتغير ، وأصبحت الكلمة العليا لقبائل البدو ، ومن قبل الحياة الى جوارهم ، لا يكاد الامر يستقر فيها ولكن سير القوافل ظل كما كان حتى حل القرن التاسع عشر عندما زار المنطقة رحالة من نوع آخر فكانت زيارته فاتحة عهد جديد في تاريخ البتراء وتاريخ الأنباط .

زيارة بوركهارت لآثار البتراء

أخذت أوروبا في القرن الثامن عشر تتطلع الى

الامام بكل ما يمكن معرفته عن بلاد الشرق والبلاد الاسلامية تمهيدا لما كانت ترمي اليه من استيلائها على خيراتهم ومد نفوذها السياسي الى بلاده كما حدث في الهند من قبل ، ولهذا شجعت بعض الحكومات والجمعيات العلمية عددا من الرحالة المثقفين للحصول على كل ما يمكن الحصول عليه من معلومات . ومن ألمع الاسماء بين أولئك الرحالة اسم شاب سويسري مستشرق وهو « جون لويس بوركهارت » تعلم اللغة العربية واعتنق الاسلام وأصبح يتسمى باسم « الحاج ابراهيم » وكان يعمل لحساب الجمعية الجغرافية البريطانية .

كان بوركهارت في دمشق عام ١٨١٢ وصحب القافلة التي كانت في طريقها الى القاهرة وأثناء سفرهم في الاردن سمع بوركهارت من دليله المرافق له ومن أشخاص آخرين في القافلة عن وجود آثار كثيرة في مكان في الجبال عند وادي موسى ، وقد أثبت ذلك في مذكراته اليومية في يوم ٢٢ أغسطس (آب) في كثير من الحماس وقال أنه مشتاق كل الشوق لرؤية وادي موسى وما فيه من آثار (٥) .

أراد بوركهارت أن يتخلف في عيون موسى ثم يسير بعد ذلك رأسا الى القاهرة دون الذهاب الى العقبة ، ولكن الدليل رفض ذلك رفضا باتا تجنباً لما عسى أن يتعرض له من أخطار في الطريق ، ولكن هذا الرفض لم يثنه عن عزمه . كان بوركهارت قد سمع ممن حدثوه أن الطريق الى أعلى جبل هارون يمر بين الآثار ، ولهذا دبر في نفسه أمرا . فعندما كانت القافلة تسير بين الشوبك والعقبة ومروا على مقربة من وادي موسى قال أنه نذر لله ويجب أن يوفي به وهو أن يذبح عنزا عند قبر النبي هارون ، فلم يجرؤ الدليل على الاعتراض خوفا من اغضاب النبي هارون واستنزال اللعنة على نفسه فقبل مرافقته .

بين الجبال ، وتطلق احيانا على المناطق الجبلية الملاى بالاخاديد . وقد ذكر ياقوت في « معجم البلدان » أماكن كثيرة كان يطلق عليها « سلع » ووصف التي عند وادي موسى بأنها حصن قوي .

(Yaqut, Mu'gam al-Buldan, 111, p. 117)
John Louis Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, (٥)
(London, 1829) .

(٣) كلمة « السيق » التي يستخدمها الناس في الوقت الحاضر وتتردد في جميع المؤلفات ليست ، في رأي عدد من العلماء ، الا تحريفا من الاجانب لكلمة « الشق » التي ما زال يستخدمها اهل المنطقة كاسم لذلك الطريق الضيق بين الصخور والذي يتحتم على زائر البتراء ان يسلكه للوصول الى قلب مدينة البتراء .

(٤) كلمة « سلع » معروفة في اللغة العربية بمعنى الشق

مما كانوا يجنّونه من أرباح يحصلون عليها من سير القوافل على الدرب الكبير .

ومما زاد الطين بلة ، ان الاحداث السياسية التي عمت هذه المنطقة قللت من مكانة مدينة البتراء ونقلت مركز الاهمية التجارية الى مدينة تدمر التي أصبحت المحطة الرئيسية على الدرب او الدروب التي تخترق الصحراء وتربط موانئ البحر الابيض المتوسط بداخل البلاد السورية ثم تسير الى العراق وما وراء العراق .

الأنباط في آخر أيامهم

ولكن بالرغم من اضمحلال أهمية البتراء ، ثم زوال الأنباط فيما بعد كقوة سياسية تسيطر على المنطقة فان بلادهم ظلت عامرة ، وبالرغم من استمساك بعضهم بديانتهم القديمة وعبادة ما ألفوه من معبودات ، فقد وجدت الديانة المسيحية قبولا من البعض الآخر في وقت مبكر ، ولم يحل القرن الرابع الميلادي حتى كانت المسيحية (١) قد قويت بينهم الى الدرجة التي أصبح فيها للبتراء أسقف اشترك في مجمع نيقيا عام ٣٢٥ كما ورد أيضا اسم أسقف البتراء في مجمع «سارديس» (٢) . وكان لذلك الأسقف من الشجاعة ما جعله يقف الى جانب « أثناسيوس » في الصراع الذي كان ناشبا في الكنيسة المسيحية اذ ذاك .

أما آخر الوثائق التي وصلت الى أيدينا وفيها إشارة الى المسيحية فهي الإشارة الى أن أحد أساقفتها كان ابن أخ للإمبراطور الروماني « مورييس » الذي حكم بين عامي ٥٨٢ و ٦٠٢ ميلادية .

ولم يمض وقت طويل حتى خضعت البلاد لجيوش المسلمين وانتشر الاسلام ، وزاد التدهور

الذي كان قد أخذ يسود في المنطقة ، ولم نعد نسمع شيئا عن المسيحية أو المسيحيين في البتراء ، بل يكاد الانسان يعتقد أن أكثر أهل البتراء تركوها في القرن السابع الميلادي ، وانتقلوا الى القرى القريبة من موارد المياه الثابتة في وادي موسى وما جاوره .

وفي أيام الحروب الصليبية ، جعل الصليبيون بلدة الكرك نقطة ارتكاز لتهديد طريق الحج وقوافل التجارة ، ولكنهم لم يعينوا أسقفا لها . ونسي الناس الأنباط أو كادوا ، وتعرضت معابدهم ومسارحهم ومنازلهم وقبورهم وحصونهم وما ابتدعوه من أعمال الري وتخزين المياه في البتراء وفي عشرات القرى النبطية الاخرى الى الخراب والتدمير سواء من تأثير مرور الزمن والاهمال أو على يد البدو الذين ظلوا يعيشون في المنطقة .

وانتهت مملكة الصليبيين عام ١١٨٧ ميلادية ، ولكن ذلك لم يكن له أي رد فعل على أحفاد الأنباط ، ومع ذلك فقد ظل ذكر المنطقة يتردد في كتابات بعض الحجاج المسيحيين الذين كانوا يأتون من بلادهم لزيارة بيت المقدس والأماكن المقدسة الاخرى التي ارتبط اسمها بحوادث هامة في كتاب العهد القديم أو كتاب العهد الجديد على السواء لان بعض أولئك الحجاج كانوا يحرصون على زيارة جبل هارون وعيون موسى ثم يواصلون سفرهم الى سيناء التي شهدت خروج بني اسرائيل ثم يذهبون الى مصر .

وفي بعض ما كتبه جغرافيو العرب ومؤرخوهم اشارات كثيرة الى الاردن عامة وإلى المنطقة الجنوبية أيضا ، ومن بين تلك الاشارات ما ذكره ياقوت في كتابه « معجم البلدان » الى « سلع التي

السادس الميلادي ان الانباط في سيناء كانوا يعبدون الشمس وكانت للاله « ذو الشرى » مكانة ممتازة بينهم .

(٢) مدينة سارديس (Sardis) في آسيا الصغرى على مسافة ٨٠ كم شرقي ازمير ، وهي مدينة قديمة ، وكانت عامرة في العصر الحديدي وازدهرت كثيرا في العصر اليوناني الروماني ولعبت كنيستها دورا هاما في أيام المسيحية .

١ « كان الوثنيون والمسيحيون يعيشون معا في البتراء حتى القرن الخامس الميلادي على الأقل اذ نعرف من قصة « معجزة الراهب برسوم » المذكورة في تاريخ الكنيسة والتي حدثت بين اعوام ٤١٩ و ٤٢٢ ما يؤكد حياة الوثنيين والمسيحيين في مكان واحد — وتتلخص هذه المعجزة في انه بمجرد ان رفع الراهب برسوم يديه بالدعاء سقطت الامطار ونجا الناس . ونعرف مما كتبه بعض الحجاج المسيحيين في القرن

الهام ويحصل على ما يفرضه من أتاوة أو مكوس مقابل السماح بمرور القوافل في بلاده والتعهد بحمايتها ان كان قادرا على ذلك ، يستطيع أن يجني أرباحا طائلة كما نفهم أيضا بسهولة ما كان يجنيه من يشترك في هذه التجارة ، وهذا ما فعله الأنباط .

لم يكن هذا الدرب هو الوحيد الذي يمر ببلاد أدوم ومؤاب ، بل كان هناك درب آخر ذو أهمية كبيرة وهو الدرب الذي يربط بلاد الشام بمصر وما وراءها من بلاد شمال أفريقيا . كانت تتجمع فروع هذا الدرب في دمشق ومنها تتجه القوافل الى بصرى ثم تعبر بلاد الاردن مرة بمؤاب وأدوم ومنها الى بلدة العقبة ثم تقطع شبه جزيرة سيناء الى مصر .

كانت هذه القوافل تتعرض لمهاجمة قبائل البدو أثناء سيرها في بلاد مؤاب وأدوم والنقب ، ولهذا فمن الخير لاصحاب القوافل أن تكون هناك حكومة قوية أو زعماء ذوو نفوذ وسلطة حتى يتوفر لها الأمن المطلوب ولا يضير أصحاب القوافل أن تشاركهم الحكومة أو الزعماء في جزء من الربح .

وهناك حقيقة أخرى يجب أن لا ننساها ، وهي أن أهمية الطرق التجارية لا تقتصر على نقل السلع وتحقيق الحصول على الثروة ، بل هي في الوقت نفسه شرايين حيوية لنقل الثقافة من بلد لآخر ، وعليها تنتقل الأخبار ، وما يستجد من مذاهب وآراء ، وكان كل سوق من الأسواق التي تحط فيها بعض الوقت ميدانا لتبادل الفكر والمعرفة .

استقرار الأنباط في أدوم ومؤاب

استقر الأنباط في بلاد أدوم ومؤاب منذ أواخر القرن الخامس قبل الميلاد أو أوائل القرن الرابع، وثبتوا أقدامهم فيها ولم يمض عليهم وقت طويل حتى أصبحت دروب القوافل خاضعة لسيطرتهم . وتقدموا في حضارتهم ، وأثروا ، وأصبحت لهم عاصمة منيعة ومدن أخرى ، وأصبحوا مملكة يتولاها ملك مهم منذ أوائل القرن الثاني قبل الميلاد .

لم يكن الأنباط غافلين عما يجري حولهم من أحداث ، بل أدركوا ان وجودهم مهدد اذا لم يشاركوا في توجيه التيارات السياسية التي تهب على المنطقة ، فكانوا على صلة مستمرة بما يجري في البلاد التي تقع الى الشمال منهم في سوريا ، والى ما يحدث في شمال الجزيرة العربية، وعلى صلة وثيقة بكل ما يجري في فلسطين ،

وفي النقب وسيناء ومصر . بل ان الظروف السياسية التي سادت في أيام ازدهارهم جعلتهم على صلة كبيرة ومستمرة بروما وحكام الرومان .

كانت أعظم فترات الازدهار في تاريخ الأنباط هي الفترة التي تشمل القرن الأول قبل الميلاد والقرن الاول الميلادي ، وفي بعض فترات ذلك الازدهار زاد نفوذ الأنباط السياسي فامتد جنوبا حتى شمل مداين صالح وشمالا حتى شمل دمشق، اما نفوذهم التجاري فقد امتد الى ما هو أبعد من ذلك بكثير .

واذا كنت اخترت القرن الاول قبل الميلاد والقرن الاول بعد الميلاد فان تاريخهم يرجع الى ابعد من ذلك ، كما سبق القول ، ونحن نعرف أنهم كانوا أقوياء وأغنياء وأنهم كانوا قد اتخذوا البتراء عاصمة لهم في القرن الرابع ق م . ، ولكن هناك من القرائن ما يجعلنا نعتقد أن بدء استقرارهم في بلاد أدوم كان قبل ذلك بوقت طويل .

واذا كان الرومان قد قضوا على استقلال الأنباط السياسي عام ١٠٦ م وأصبحت بلادهم منذ هذا التاريخ تابعة لروما فان لغتهم ومظاهر حضارتهم بل وكيانهم القومي ظلت مستمرة فترة من الزمن امتدت بضعة قرون .

ولم يكن السبب فيما حدث للانباط راجعا فقط الى العوامل السياسية الخارجية وأهمها طبعاً التوسع الروماني ، أو كان راجعا الى ما أحاط بالبيت المالك من ضعف بل ان السبب الرئيسي يرجع الى حد كبير الى تشجيع الرومان لنقل التجارة عن طريق البحر الاحمر بعد أن عرفوا سر الرياح الموسمية من العرب هناك فآثر ذلك تأثيرا كبيرا على الانباط لحرمانهم من جزء كبير

اتجاهات حديثة في دراسة تاريخ الأنباط

الدكتور احمد فخري

مدوا فيه نفوذهم التجاري والسياسي والثقافي على بعض جيرانهم .

استقروا في أول الأمر في بلاد « أدوم » ثم « مؤاب » ، وبسطوا نفوذهم على طرق القوافل التي تمر عبرها وأهمها درب القوافل الكبير الذي كان يربط بين بعض المواقع على المحيط الهندي في جنوبي الجزيرة العربية وبين شاطئ البحر الأبيض المتوسط ، تحمل قوافله تجارة الهند وما وراءها ، كما تأتي بالعطور والبخور والبان والمر من جنوبي الجزيرة من اليمن وحضرموت وتخرق بلاد اليمن ، ومنها الى الحجاز مارة بمكة والمدينة ثم العلا ومدائن صالح ، ثم الى التيماء ودومة الجندل حتى تصل الى بلاد أدوم ومؤاب ، ثم تتجه شمالا الى بصرى ومنها الى غزة أو غيرها من موانئ فلسطين ، وكانت تتفرع من هذا الدرب عند كل محطة كبيرة من محطات القوافل دروب فرعية تربطه بكثير من البلاد التي في شرقي شبه الجزيرة العربية على الخليج ، وما بعدها ، كما تربطه أيضا بالموانئ التي على البحر الأحمر في الجهة الغربية ، كما تربطه أيضا ببلاد العراق وسوريا وغيرها .

وكان التجار يحرصون بطبيعة الحال على ألا تعود قوافلهم الا وهي محملة بكل ما تجده في أسواق الشام من بضائع ومصنوعات محلية أو مجلوبة من مصر والاناضول والعراق ومختلف بلاد حوض البحر الأبيض المتوسط ، وتبيع ما حملت من بضائع في كل محطة في طريقها أثناء عودتها الى الجنوب ، ولهذا يمكننا أن نفهم بسهولة أن من يتحكم في جزء من هذا الدرب التجاري

مقدمة *

للموقع الجغرافي لأي بلد من البلاد أثر قوي على سير أحداث التاريخ فيه ، ومنذ فجر التاريخ حتى أيامنا الحالية لعبت الاردن دورا غير قليل في سير الأحداث في هذه المنطقة من بلاد الشرق العربي لانها بحكم موقعها الاستراتيجي الهام تتحكم في طرق المواصلات بين بلاد المنطقة سواء في السلم أو في الحرب .

ويضطر المهتم بدراسة تاريخ الأردن أو آثاره الى دراسة أحداث وآثار البلاد المجاورة لان الاردن لا يستطيع أن يبقى بمنأى عن أحداث المنطقة ، ولا يمكن أن يبقى بعيدا عن الصلة بجيرانه والتأثر الثقافي بهم . ولست أقصد من هذا البحث تقديم عرض سريع لتاريخ الأردن في العصور القديمة ، وانما أقصر حديثي في موضوع الأنباط على ناحية واحدة منه ، وهي عدد محدود من بعض الاتجاهات الحديثة في دراسة تاريخهم .

ولكن قبل التحدث عن تلك الاتجاهات أرى لزاما علي ، كتمهيد للموضوع ، أن أتحدث حديثا عاما ، وفي حيز ضيق ، عن الأنباط أنفسهم وأذكر شيئا عن تاريخ الدراسات النبطية ، وأهم ما ظهر فيها من بحوث ، وأبدأ بالحديث عن أهمية طرق القوافل التي تمر بالاردن وأثرها في تاريخه .

أهمية طرق القوافل

يمتاز تاريخ الأنباط بأنه تاريخ قوم عاشوا في الجهة الشرقية من الاردن ، وتطورت حضارتهم في المنطقة نفسها ثم ازدهرت ، وجاء اليوم الذي

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