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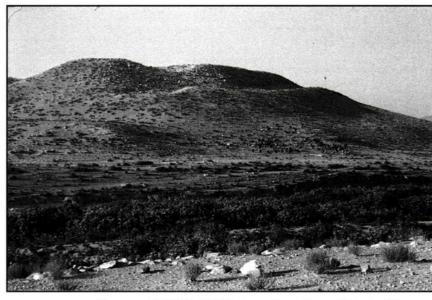
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Moab's Northern Border Khirbat al-Mudayna on the Wadi ath-Thamad



The mound of Khirbat al-Mudayna sits on the south bank of the Wadi ath-Thamad at a place that may have served the ancient world as a ford. *Photograph by M. Daviau*.

By P. M. Michèle Daviau

biblical texts that mention its wars with Israel (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:4–5), from the royal inscription of its king, Mesha, who boasted of his successes, and from the inscriptions of its seventh century Assyrian overlords (Dearman 1989). The precise geographical limits and the cultural characteristics of ancient Moab are less well known. The Moabites float in our imagination somewhere east of the Dead Sea, north of Edom and south of Ammon. But this haziness has begun to be resolved. Thanks to the extensive survey of Miller, central Moab south of the Wadi al-Mūjib has been intensively explored, and the published results have encouraged new excavation projects, such as the work of Routledge (1995:236) at Mudaynat 'Aliya and of Mattingly (1996:69) on the Karak plateau (1995).

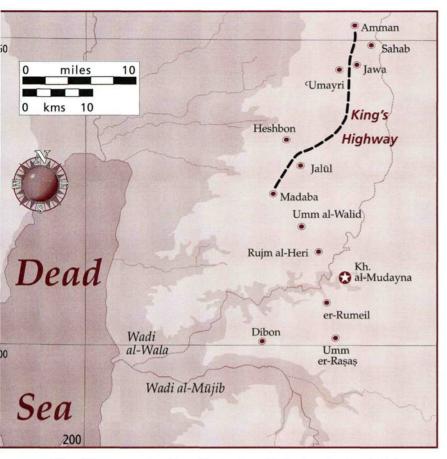
The assessment of the character of settlement north of the Wadi al-Mūjib has depended primarily on the excavations at the Moabite city of Dibon (modern Dhiban) by Canadian archaeologists Winnett (Winnett and Reed 1964) and Tushingham (1972) in the 1950s. Though they uncovered only a limited amount of Iron Age architecture, they recovered important Iron Age pottery from tombs. The similarity of this ceramic material with that collected by Glueck and Miller formed the foundation for Moabite ceramic typology. While it is clear that this Moabite style of pottery appears at Iron Age sites south of Dhiban, the extent of its distribution further north remains to be determined. Current excavations at Khirbat al-Mudayna on the Wadi ath-Thamad (Daviau) and at Madaba (Harrison 1997) represent the beginning of this search for Moab's northern border. Only an elaborate study of large collections of such pottery and its association with other features of the material culture from Iron Age sites will succeed in determining the degree to which these cultural correlates are indicators of ethnicity (Finkelstein 1996:203) and bring the nation/state of Moab into archaeological focus.

Khirbat al-Mudayna

Beginning in 1897, explorers travelling through central Transjordan from Madaba to the Wadi al-Mūjib made lists of tell sites and fortresses clearly visible in the landscape. Although not the first to visit the site of Khirbat al-Mudayna (aka Khirbet el-Medeiyineh)2, Brünnow and Domaszewski documented the major features of the tell and its position on the Wadi ath-Thamad. They also published a sketch showing the tell and its surrounding embankment (1904: figs. 14, 15). Later, Musil visited the site, prepared a plan of the mound (1907: fig. 137), and took photographs (Musil 1907: fig. 136). Now that Khirbat al-Mudayna was on the tourist map of Moab, other explorers and archaeologists would follow, most notably N. Glueck, who was the first to collect and publish pottery and figurines from the site (1934: fig. 4; 1939: fig. 45).3 Unfortunately, the name Khirbat al-Mudayna appears at six sites in modern Jordan, and this has caused some confusion in published reports (Miller 1979, 1989).

The current research and excavation at Khirbat al-Mudayna (Daviau 1995)4 aim to investigate the Iron Age settlement and gather evidence for the nature of its cultural, religious (Mattingly 1989), and political affiliations (Dearman 1989). Exploration of the region surrounding Khirbat al-Mudayna is designed to investigate the relationship of sites to one another during the Iron Age and to assemble a settlement history of the Moabite plateau. Analysis of pottery and artifacts from these sites may demonstrate the extent of Moabite control and the location of a frontier zone between Moab and Ammon. The project is three-pronged, involving research into reports of the early explorers, currently undertaken by J. P. J. Olivier (University of Stellenbosch); regional site survey, directed by A. Dearman (Austin Presbyterian Seminary); and surface survey and excavation of the site itself, directed by Daviau.

The 1995 season was a brief four-day surface survey of the tell and of the mound of debris on its northeast slope that



Map of Ammon and northern Moab: where did the Iron-Age border between these two polities run? Within the scope of the Kh. al-Mudayna on the Wadi ath-Thamad project, analysis of pottery traditions, iconographic styles, script forms, and the apparently strategic web of settlement locations has begun to help define Moab's northern frontier. Mudayna's Iron Age II pottery, for example, is significantly different from that of the Ammonite sites of Tall al-Umayri and Tall Jawa.

was designed to collect pottery and artifacts and determine their technological, typological, and chronological characteristics. With a corpus of nearly 3,000 sherds and 19 artifacts, including several figurines, it was clear that Glueck's identification of this site as a Moabite settlement was intended to relate it to sites with similar ceramic ware form types south of the Mujib. The pottery is significantly different from late Iron Age II pottery at Ammonite sites such as Tall Jawa south of Amman (Daviau 1993: fig. 5; 1994: fig. 7), as well as Tall al-'Umayri (Herr 1989) and Jalūl (Younker, personal communication), both currently being excavated by the Madaba Plains Project. But where was the northern boundary for these "Moabite" pottery traditions? Can these pottery forms be securely dated and associated with the political entities that flourished during the Iron Age on the Transjordanian plateau? What architectural traditions and settlement types are represented, and how do these correspond to traditions at sites in the region of Amman, the central city of ancient Ammon? Only excavation and regional survey of the area north of the Wadi al-Mūjib can yield evidence to address such questions.

The Iron Age settlement at Khirbat al-Mudayna was founded on a narrow oval hill that runs northeast/south-

west. Located at a distance of 500 m south of the lip of the wadi, the tell is surrounded by gently rolling hills on the south and west sides and by steep cliffs on the northeast bank of the Wadi ath-Thamad. Although the tell appears to those crossing the wadi to rise steeply (30 m high) out of the plain at its north end, it is in fact lower than the surrounding hills and depended on watch towers (Regional Sites 2, 7, 8, 10) to connect it with neighboring sites, such as er-Rumeil to the west and Rujm al-Heri to the north.

Excavation on the Tell: The Fortification Wall

The first full season of excavation (1996) brought to light the major features of a fortified town consisting of a free-standing casemate wall (Field B) and a six-chamber gate (Field A). The 5.00 m thick wall system can be traced at ground level around the entire tell, enclosing an area 80.0 x 140.0 m. It consists of two parallel walls, intersected by cross walls at intervals that formed narrow rooms parallel to the wall line. The builders of the walls used small and medium size limestone boulders (0.25-0.50 m) in boulder-and-chink construction. No ashlar masonry was evident in the wall itself although such stones were present in the collapse of a monumental building on the tell itself. Casemate walls of similar size and construction techniques were common in Iron Age Israel and Judah (Lapp 1981) and at sites in Ammon such as Tall al-'Umayri (Clark 1991) and Tall Jawa (Daviau 1994: figs. 2, 3). Other examples in Moab itself appear at Lehun (Homès-Fredericq 1992) on the north bank of the Wadi al-Mūjib and at Khirbat al-Mudaynat

^cAliya (Routledge 1995), although at these sites the wall was an integrated part of the adjoining buildings with the casemate rooms serving as broad rooms within the houses.

Outside the casemate wall, at a slightly lower level on the slope of Khirbat al-Mudayna, ran a roadway flanked on its outside edge by an earthen embankment. Although further excavation is needed to understand fully the construction and function of these features, the embankment must have added significantly to the fortress-like appearance of the site.

The Six-Chamber Gate

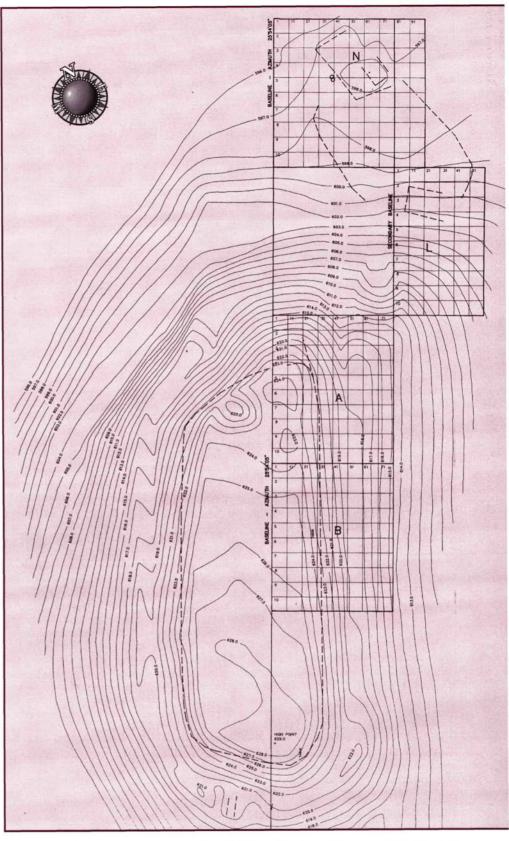
A tower flanked the roadway as it approached the gate. Positioned on the northeastern tip of the tell, the tower measured 4.00 m on a side and was formed of medium and large boulders (0.50–1.00 m). Due to collapse and subsequent erosion at this exposed location, its superstructure has disappeared. The gate itself is better preserved. It was fronted by a bastion 3.50 m thick. Both the tower and bastion probably supported a second or even third story above their foundations, raising the height of the northern defenses and increasing visibility for the watch towers on the surrounding hills. The north face of the bastion curved sharply south to form the outer, east face of the casemate wall.

Three rooms (R101, R102, R103) forming the eastern half of the gate complex opened onto a 4.00 m wide central roadway that passed in front of similar rooms on the west side. The walls that separated one room from another were 1.60 m thick and remained standing a maximum of 2.50 m above the original floors. The back, east wall of the gate was less impressive, but it was protected by the proximity of the casemate wall which ran south from the northern bastion. Each gate room measured 2.00-2.50 m wide, 3.50 m long and opened onto the central roadway at its west end. The overall size of the gate was 15.50 x 15.00 m, somewhat smaller than similar gates in Israel and Iudah at the same time. Six-chamber gates with rooms flanking a central road at Gezer, Lachish, Megiddo, and Hazor ranged in size from 17.00 x 17.00 m to 24.00 x 25.00 m (Herzog 1992: table 2). The small size of Khirbat al-Mudayna and the location of its gate on the narrow end of the tell side by side with a large (12.00 m diameter) depression cut into the bedrock are factors that determined the space available for the gate building.

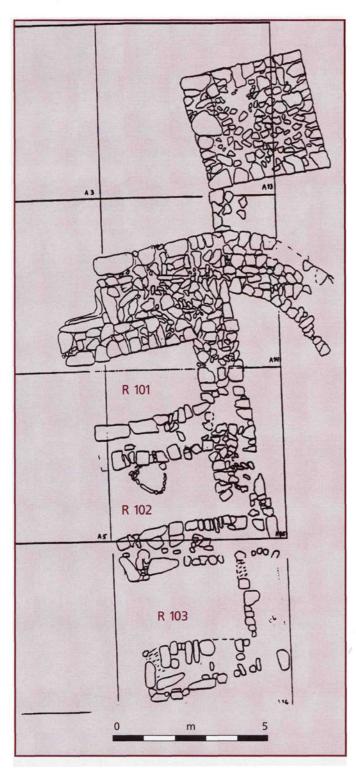
The most outstanding find from the gate was a stone basin smashed in situ where it fell into Room 103. The basin measured 0.60 x 1.40 m and was cut from a single block of limestone. Numerous cut marks were etched on the upper surface of its rim, suggesting industrial use, while graffiti decorated both interior and exterior surfaces. Several of these incised drawings seem to represent a loom. The group also includes a carefully incised palm tree, a checkerboard, and a donkey. Beside the basin, excavators unearthed wooden beams, part of the collapsed ceiling which had been burnt in antiquity. Because they had smoldered where they fell, the beams were so well preserved that J. Hansen (Boston University) could identify the wood as olive, carob, and mulberry.

Monumental Architecture and Artifacts

South of the gate there is evidence of a monumental building (B200) faced with ashlar masonry. Each stone was hammer dressed and cut into rectangular slabs. The largest of these blocks



Grid layout and pre-excavation topography of Khirbat al-Mudayna. The narrow hill of the tell sits about half of a kilometer south of the lip of the Wadi ath-Thamad from which it rises fairly sharply. Excavation has uncovered major features of an Iron Age fortified town consisting of a free-standing casemate wall in Field B and a classic six-chamber gate in the northwest corner of Field A. Survey work and plan by Robert T. Force, Ontario Land Surveyor.



Gate complex 100. Three eastern rooms (R 101, 102, 103) compose one-half of the widely known six-chamber gate. A square tower flanks the central roadway leading up to the gate. This gate was built on a smaller scale than the gates discovered at Gezer, Hazor, Lachish, and Megiddo.

measured $0.36 \times 1.11 \text{ m} \times 0.24 \text{ m}$ thick. Outside Building 200 was a work area with a stone platform, a scatter of unfired clay loom weights (donut-shaped) and a collection of ground stone tools including extra large hand grinders. The most outstanding of these tools was a basalt, lower milling stone that measured $0.67 \times 0.77 \text{ m}$ on its upper surface and stood

0.25 m tall. At one end, the concave crushing surface rose to 0.29 cm, forming an edge or rim over which the person using the millstone would lean. The upper, loaf-shaped millstone used with this lower stone was 0.17 m wide, 0.64 m in length, and 0.17 m in height. It weighed 28.00 kg (62 lbs). Such finds suggest an important building with its associated crafts and industries that will be better understood as our work of excavation continues.

Special Finds

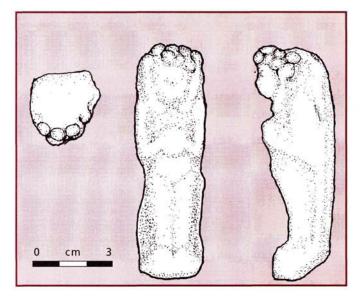
Any attempt to define the cultural characteristics of ancient peoples depends heavily on the evidence from pottery and small finds. The major source for such finds at Khirbat al-Mudayna is the dump on the northeast slope of the earthen embankment where hundreds of sherds and numerous figurines have been collected, beginning with Glueck during his two visits to the site (1939: fig. 18a). During the 1995 and 1996 seasons, two female figurine heads and the torso of a female holding a disc(?) were found on the dump, while the gate complex produced fragments of zoomorphic figures. The female figurines share similarities with the female pillar figurines recovered in the room of a house at Bālū^c, an Iron Age site south of the Wadi al-Mūjib (Worschech 1995). Since several of these female figures appear to be holding a disc at the waist with both hands, they differ considerably from the Judean examples where the most common stance depicts a female holding her breasts (Albright 1943: pls. 55, 56).

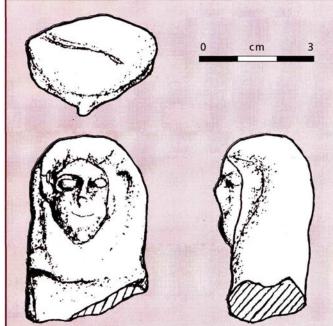
A second important indicator of culture is writing style, both the content of a text and the script in which it was written. Only one fragment of an Iron Age written text has been recovered from Khirbat al-Mudayna to date. This consisted of a small sherd with four incised letters, *s*, *y*, *d*, *n*. Based on published Moabite seals (Timm 1989), Dearman suggested that this incomplete text represents a personal name, probably [Chemo]sh-yadin. Herr (personal communication, July 1996, Amman) identified the script as Moabite rather than Ammonite. Of special interest was the shape of the final letter.

Seals also provide evidence for cultural and political affiliation. At Khirbat al-Mudayna, no seals have yet been found, although one complete seal impression on a clay bulla and two fragmentary bullae were recovered during the 1996 season. All three impressions were merely decorative and at present have no known parallels from other sites in the region.

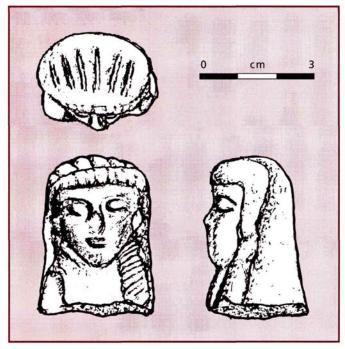
In Search of a Border: The Regional Survey

In order to locate the cultural characteristics identified so far at Khirbat al-Mudayna within a cultural sphere, it is necessary to determine the extent of similar material culture at neighboring sites. Within the survey area, an isolated site with the remains of a one-room structure yielded two female figurines each holding a disc in both hands at waist level. While these figurines argue for a homogeneous Moabite culture, the discovery at the same site of anthropomorphic ceramic vessels (or statues) comparable to those from Ḥorvat Qitmit (Beit-Arieh 1995) and En Ḥaṣeva (Cohen and









Clockwise from upper left:

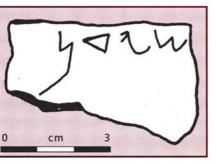
- 1) Mould-made ceramic figurine (WT 021) found at Regional Survey Site 13, located south of the watchtower site of er-Rumiel. The female figurine has attached pellets representing her hair.
- 2) Head of a free-standing female from Kh. al-Mudayna.

3 and 4) Kh. al-Mudayna also produced ceramic figurines including this drawn and photographed head of a female figurine (WT020). The top view shows details of her hair-do. *Photograph by Robert Mittelstaedt*.

Yisrael 1995) in the Negev presents a problem. Such figures have been identified as Edomite, and their find sites have previously been restricted to settlements near the south and west sides of the Dead Sea. Further study will certainly be needed to understand their association with Moabite culture and religion.

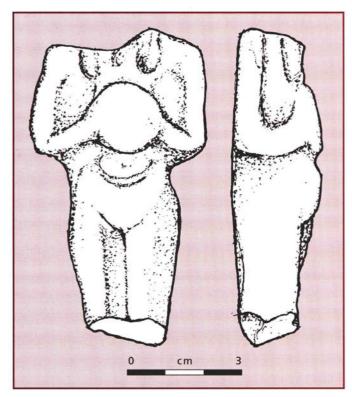
At the same time, collection of pottery at sixteen sites

in the Regional Survey produced clear evidence of regional characteristics that can be used to determine a border between two cultural spheres, at least on the level of ceramic technology and formal typology. Of the sites with Iron Age pottery, two were settlement sites and five were watch towers. With the exception of Rujm al-Heri, all sites—including the watch towers—yielded pottery with disc bases. These



✓ Incised sherd with Moabite Script. The four letters are (r-to-l) S y d n. Of these, the yod and the nun are especially diagnostic. Since writing style is a potential marker of culture, the discovery of this Moabite inscription helps to place Kh. al-Mudayna within the cultural orbit of ancient Moab.

∇ A female holding a disc at her waist. This ceramic figurine (WT 015) was also recovered at Site 13. The site's material culture finds, such as the figurines, and its topographic situation suggest that it was an Iron Age cultic place. This figurine differs from those produced in neighboring Judah in which the female figure ordinarily cups her breasts.



vessels were made of ceramic fabrics comparable to the ware types identified in the sherd corpus from the 1995 surface collection at Khirbat al-Mudayna. By contrast, Rujm al-Heri, a settlement site that was heavily fortified and strategically located on a prominent ridge three km north of Wadi ath-Thamad, produced pottery with double disc bases, a common feature of Ammonite pottery. This base form is known from Jalul, which is in sight of Rujm al-Heri, and from Tall Jawa, Tall al-'Umayri (Herr 1989: fig. 19.11.15) and Amman itself (Dornemann 1983: fig. 82:784-87). The watch towers or forts (RS 2, 8) on the north side of the wadi that had a good view of Rujm al-Heri, er-Rumeil, and Khirbat al-Mudayna all appear to have pottery of the sort usually characterized as Moabite. They appear also to be in close association with the settlements south of Wadi ath-Thamad and Wadi al-Mūjib. Here we have our first clue that these small forts served as markers of Moab's northern border.

The forts themselves present a second clue: they form a semi-circle of fortified towers on the southeast, north and northwest sides of Khirbat al-Mudayna. In this constellation,

they served as visual inks between several Iron Age settlements, indicating the strategic importance of the wadi and the settlements along its south bank. No settlements comparable to Khirbat al-Mudayna and er-Rumeil line the north bank; instead, a line of sites appears on the heights several kilometers north of Wadi ath-Thamad. While the position of a border may vary with changes in the political and military situation, the importance of such a frontier zone is apparent from both the location of sites along the wadi and the efforts made to strengthen their fortifications. These factors serve as the beginning of our search for Moab's northern frontier.

Notes

- ¹ The lack of excavation at well stratified sites has made it difficult for archaeologists to establish a secure pottery sequence for Moab.
- 2 Aka Khirbet el-Medeiyineh on Wadi eth-Themed. The spelling of geographical names is being revised by the Royal Geographical Centre of Jordan. Variation in spelling will continue to be seen in current publications until a standard list is made available.
- ³ Although Glueck collected pottery at Khirbat al-Mudayna (which he transliterated Kh. el- Medieyeneh), he makes no mention of the Nabataean settlement at the foot of the tell. It too was covered with easily recognizable pottery when we first visited the site in 1995. Two buildings, one probably a small shrine (Field N), and the other a reservoir (Field L), are currently being excavated.
- ⁴ The Wadi ath-Thamad Project is sponsored and funded in part by Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, ON, Canada and by participants and volunteers. The Project is affiliated with ASOR and with ACOR in Amman where the team lives during its stay in Jordan. Excavation and survey is approved and supported by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. Special thanks are due to its Director, Dr. G. Bisheh.
- ⁵ A quern of similar size recovered in an Iron Age I context at Tall al-^cUmayri (Clark 1996:241), may contribute, with full documentation, to our understanding of food processing and industrial activities that made use of such large installations.

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Project. Daviau has published numerous articles and a book, *Houses and Their Furnishings in Bronze Age Palestine* (Sheffield, 1993).