

# Kamid el-Loz in the Bequa'a plain / Lebanon

Continuity and change in the settlement of a region

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## Continuity and Change in the Settlement of a Region

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*In 1997 the archaeological research in Kamid el-Loz has been taken up again, now under the directorship of Professor Dr. Marlies Heinz from the Oriental Department of the Albert-Ludwigs-University, Freiburg, Germany.*

*Aim and scientific interests of the new excavations in Kamid el-Loz are the settlement history from earliest times up to today, the cultural development of the area as a transit area and the influence of this special use of the Beqa'a valley on the development of Kamid el-Loz. Kamid el-Loz is not yet very well known in its settlement history as well as in its settlement functions prior to the Late Bronze Age. The new excavations will explore the still unknown history, but not only the development prior to the Late Bronze Age, but also and especially the activities that took place in Kamid el-Loz following the Late Bronze Age.*

*Our first results concerning the roman settlement have been excavated in the so called «Kuppe» - area - our report concentrates on the results here. Meanwhile, further excavations up to 2002 enlarged our knowledge enormously and nearly «overtakes» the results presented here.*

### Foreward

*After an interruption of more than 15 years, the excavations in Kamid el-Loz / Lebanon could be resumed in 1997, now under the lead of Prof. Dr. Marlies Heinz, Oriental Seminar of the Albert-Ludwigs-University in Freiburg / Germany. Four excavation campaigns (1997, 1999, 2000, 2001) and one evaluation campaign (1998) have been conducted since then. This first preliminary report will present the results of the first three campaigns including the results of the evaluation campaign 1998. The first campaign in 1997 was made possible by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. In 1998, a first evaluation of the ceramic finds took place on location. We are grateful to the Office of Foreign Affairs*

*(Auswärtiges Amt, then still in Bonn) and the German embassy in Beirut / Lebanon for their financial support of this campaign. Since then, we have received extensive and varied support from the German embassy in Beirut. Our special thanks to Dr. Wolfgang Erck, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Lebanon until 1997; Dr. Peter Wittig, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Lebanon from 1997 to 1999; and Dr. Hubert Lange, Cultural Representative at the German embassy in Beirut until 1998, Dr. Konrad Arz von Straussenburg, Cultural Representative since 1998 and Dr. R. Rohde, Cultural Representative since 2001.*

*Since 1999, our excavations in Kamid el-Loz have been financed by the Gerda Henkel-Stiftung /*

Düsseldorf. We wish to thank the foundation for its support. Our thanks also go to the foundations committee, whose positive decision was crucial in starting our interdisciplinary excavation and research program. Special thanks also to Dr. Elisabeth Hemford for her competent, interest-oriented and friendly supervision of our research.

Material support was provided by the *Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft* of the Albert-Ludwigs-University and the Presidents Office of the Albert-Ludwigs-University, Freiburg. Our thanks to all responsible parties.

We are grateful to Dr. Ing. Wolfgang Zick of the Geodetic Institute of the University Karlsruhe (TH) for his excellent cooperation and advice in surveying matters. We would also like to thank him for arranging the cooperation with our valued colleagues, Heide Heckmann (Diplom-Ingenieurin) and Iris Holzer, (Diplom-Ingenieurin). Ms Heckmann and Ms Holzer were the specialists who developed our surveying grid, thus laying the foundation for our subsequent work. Prof. Dr. Hans-Ulrich Nuber put us in contact with our knowledgeable colleague and pottery expert Dr. Peter Knötzele, who offered his help and advice with the inventory of the pottery finds, especially the Roman records. We would like to thank Dr. Ernst Künzl (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz), Dr. Markus Gschwind (German Archaeological Institute, Damaskus) and PD Dr. Michaela Konrad (Albert Ludwigs Universität, Freiburg und Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München) for their advice and their willingness to discuss many questions concerning the excavation results.

Many thanks to all the above mentioned colleagues for their efforts and the friendly and successful cooperation.

Throughout the years, we always enjoyed a warm welcome and received help from many sources in Lebanon.

In the beginning, our work in Kamid el-Loz was overseen by Dr. Camille Asmar, Director General of Antiquities until 1998, and by Dr. Mohammad Toufiq Rifai, representative of the DGA for the Beqa'a plain. The interim was then taken by Dr. Chaker Ghaban and Assad Seif. In 2000, Mr. Frédéric Husseini was appointed Director General of Antiquities. Our

heartfelt thanks to all of them for their extensive help and advice with the organization of the project and for their continued interest in our work, without which neither the start nor the completion of our research would have been possible.

All our campaigns were accompanied by Suzy Hakimian, curator at the Beirut National Museum, Tania Zaven, M.A., coordinator of the archaeological projects in the Beqa'a plain and, since the campaign in 2000, our glass specialist for the excavations, and Prof. Dr. Helen Sader of the American University in Beirut (AUB), who aided our projects as an excavation philologist. We thank them for their continual help and advice, their organizational and scientific support, and especially for the friendly welcome into the circle of Lebanese archaeologists.

Further support in the Lebanon was given to us by Prof. Dr. Helga Seeden (American University of Beirut - AUB), for which we would like to express our gratitude.

Lodging in Beirut has always been provided by the «Orienthaus» of the Deutsche Morgen-ländische Gesellschaft, led by Prof. Dr. Angelika Neuwirth (director from 1994 B 1999) and since 1999 by Prof. Dr. Manfred Kropp. Our special thanks go to Dagmar Domiati, who has organized the stay of our constantly changing groups with unfaltering patience and helpfulness.

Many thanks also to Dr. Barbara Stuart and Dr. Hans Curvers, Beirut, for their friendship and the support with which they have followed our work in the Lebanon for many years.

My personal thanks go to Dr. Karin Bartl (Privatdozentin, FU-Berlin) for the many years of cooperation in Germany and Lebanon, for the discussion of our archaeological findings, and for her advice and help through all the years of our joint archaeological work.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the mayor of Kamid el-Loz, Haidar Shadé al Hajj, for his friendly and helpful support of our work on the Tell.

The excavations in Kamid el-Loz would not have been possible without our many competent co-workers from Kamid el-Loz, who represented a major force in the excavation activities, and without the friendly welcome extended to us by the people of Kamid el-Loz - many

thanks to our colleagues on the dig and to our friends in the village.

Finally, I wish to extend a heartfelt thank - you to all the participants, without whose efforts, helpfulness, cooperation, humor and patience even on the most exhausting days the excavation would not have been possible: Marie-Reine Aboujaoudé, Christopher Alves, Carmen Bauer, Albrecht Bierschenk, Dominik Bonatz, Karen Focke, Alessandra Gilibert, Dieter Guldin, George Hanna, Michael Kaiser, Amira Anis el Khoury, Judith Kirchofer, Lisa Kirsch, Peter Knötzele, Lars Petersen, Regine Pruszinsky, Michael Sommer, Diana Sommer-Theohari, Ghassan Tannouri, Hassan Yahya; for the surveying, Heide Heckmann and Iris Holzer; for help with the graphics, Michael Leicht; and for the translation of this report into the English language, Kerstin Fest, Hendrik G. Herlyn and Diana Sommer-Theohari.

## I. Introduction

Compared to the surrounding regions of the Near East, relatively few archaeological studies have been conducted in the Lebanon, which is perhaps best known archaeologically as the home of the Phoenicians. Nevertheless, the excavations and surface surveys conducted since the 19<sup>th</sup> century along the coast, in the Arqa plain and in the Beqa'a plain have already demonstrated the great archaeological potential of this region.

Since antiquity, the fertile soils of the Beqa'a plain (Figs 1 and 2) have supported human settlement. Flanked by the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges to the west and east and thus isolated from the surrounding areas, the region also served as a passage and transit area due to its open north-south extension. To a large part it was the presence of these geographical contradictions that sparked our interest in resuming the excavations in Kamid el-Loz and in studying the influence of such conditions on the cultural development of a region.

A further incentive for studying the *Tell* and the region was offered by the diverse history of the greater Levant region and its integration with the history of the «classical» study area in Near Eastern

archaeology as well as its close ties to events that extended far beyond the Levant south to Egypt.

The study area and region together thus offer multiple opportunities for studying the interplay of a geographical area and its cultural development, for reconstruction of the local historical development, and for placing local events into the context of the regional history and their integration into the supra-regional developments in the Near East. These various aspects ultimately led to our resumption of the archaeological work in Kamid el-Loz in 1997.

## II. The Work in Kamid el-Loz between 1963 and 1981

Located in the southeastern part of the Beqa'a plain, Kamid el-Loz (Fig. 2) is one of the largest and highest *Tells* in the region. The slightly ovoid hill has a north-south extension of ca. 300 m and an east-west extension of ca. 240 m. Its highest point lies at 949.8 m above sea level and about 26 m above the plain.

Excavations in Kamid el-Loz started in 1963 under the leadership of Prof. Dr. R. Hachmann, University of the Saarland, Saarbrücken, and Prof. Dr. A. Kuschke, Johann Gutenberg-University, Mainz. From 1965 until the final campaign in 1981, the excavations in Kamid el-Loz were led solely by Prof. Dr. R. Hachmann<sup>1</sup>. One of the main research goals at the time was the documentation of evidence of pre-Hellenistic settlements. In accordance with the research practices of that period, the primary efforts of the campaign were centered around the excavation of the temple and palace areas. Therefore, the excavations were concentrated in the area around the central hilltop and the areas adjacent to the north (Hachmann 1989: 30, Fig. 8). The main records included settlement and usage records for the Late Bronze Age, with scattered records from the Middle Bronze, Iron and Persian Age.

Table 1 - Chronological Overview<sup>2</sup>

Middle Bronze Age	ca. 2100 - 1600 BC
Late Bronze Age	ca. 1600 - 1200 BC
Iron Age	ca. 1200 - 550 BC
Persian Age	ca. 550 - 350 BC

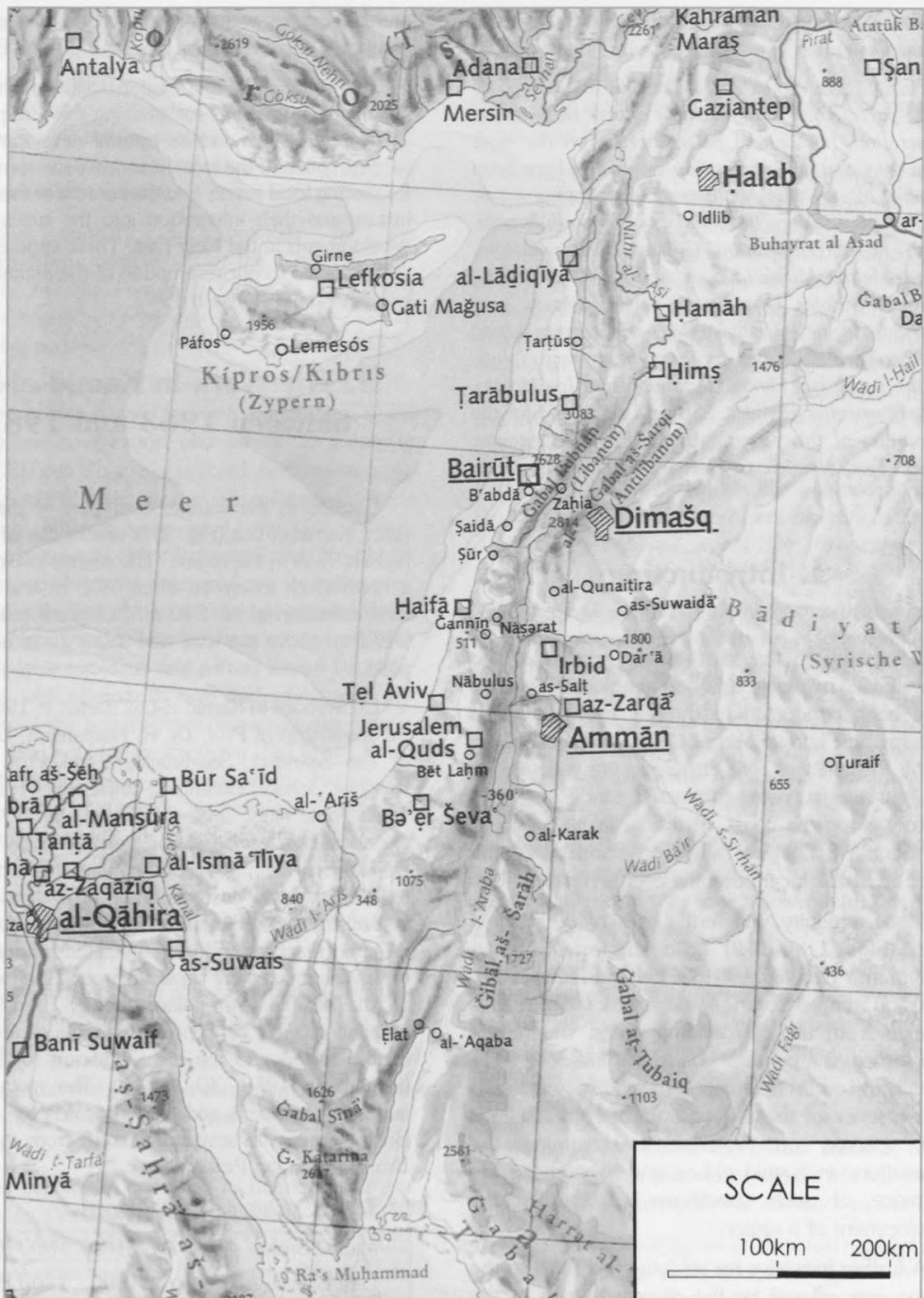


Fig. 1 - Lebanon and the Levant.



Fig. 2 - The Beq'a'a.

During the Late Bronze Age, the highest point of the settlement was occupied by a so-called «palace», a so-called «treasury» and a workshop area (Hachmann 1989: 69, fig. 22). To the north, this area of official functions was adjoined by a Late Bronze Age temple and additional house-like buildings (a residential area?). A city gate points to the fortification of the settlement.

The material findings document an affluent settlement. Especially the small objects indicate an upper layer of Egyptian origin or with close Egyptian ties. Written records from the Amarna archive in Egypt mention a place named *Kumidi*, which was considered identical with the modern town of Kamid el-Loz by Eduard Meyer in 1897 (Hachmann 1989: 89ff; Heinz 2000 / 4: 359ff.). Clay tablets from Kamid el-Loz serve as further evidence of a connection with Egypt, and together those texts indicate a dominant Egyptian administration in *Kumidi* in the 16<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The foundation of the Late Bronze Age city on an older settlement is primarily documented by the temple complex from the Middle Bronze Age, which was erected as a predecessor of the Late Bronze Age cult edifice in the same location. But besides the data from the temple building itself and a few indications of residential houses (?) on the northern slope, we are still lacking information about the settlement which might aid in reconstructing a picture of the Middle Bronze Age settlement in *Tell Kamid el-Loz* and the functions of this settlement (or city?). Furthermore, comprehensive documentation of pre-Middle Bronze Age settlements is also lacking to date.

Remains of a settlement from the Iron Age could be followed from the hilltop to the northwest slope (Hachmann 1989: 43ff.). The outline, functions and the larger structural context of these findings remain unclear. They are an indication that the settlement was still inhabited during the Iron Age, although, based on the currently known records, it no longer had the same importance as in the Late Bronze Age. After the Iron Age, the location was merely used as a graveyard. A Persian Age cemetery with 94 grave sites covered the hilltop area of the *Tell*, overlaying the settlement remains from the Iron Age. So far, no indication of an affiliated Persian Age settlement has

been found. In the course of the excavations from 1963 to 1981, the work on the *Tell* was extended to include an extensive survey of the Beqa'a plain (Marfoe 1995)<sup>3</sup>. The results of this survey allowed the incorporation of the *Tell* into the system of the local-regional settlement while at the same time documenting the history of the settlement of the Beqa'a plain.

### III. The new beginning in Kamid El-Loz since 1997

In 1997, the excavations in Kamid el-Loz were resumed, now under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Marlies Heinz, Albert-Ludwigs-University, Freiburg. The new leadership has defined new research goals and, in accordance with changing research interests, developed a new excavation program for the *Tell*.

#### 1. The Research Goals

The settled hill of Kamid el-Loz is the result of a settlement history spanning at least 3000 years. The excavations to date have only revealed sections of this period which primarily include about 300 to 400 years of event history in the Late Bronze Age. With the new excavations in Kamid el-Loz, we attempt for the first time the documentation of the political and cultural-historical significance of all (!) phases of settlement and all settlements that developed here during the 3000 years of settlement history.

Our main research interest was directed toward the reconstruction of the local, regional and supra-regional history during the entire period of utilization. We attempted to clarify the course of this history through the examination of the causes and interactions of synchronous and diachronous cultural developments in this same local, regional and supra-regional context. In constructing our initial explanations, biogeographical factors such as climate, water, vegetation and fauna as well as the topographical situation of the study area and the social, economic and political conditions were taken into consideration as potentially influential factors in the cultural development of the area.

Specifically, the research and excavation concept in Kamid el-Loz addresses the following topics:

### **1.1. The Settlement Kamid el-Loz and its Material and Cultural Records**

- Area-wide survey of the settlement structures, functional interpretation of the architectural findings, analysis and socio-economic interpretation of the settlement structures.

- Evaluation of the material records (findings) in respect to the crafts and the state of technical development, trade and aspects of the social, political and economic order.

### **1.2. Kamid el-Loz in its Historical-Political and Natural-Geographical Contexts**

- Reconstruction of the biogeographical conditions of the Beqa'a plain during the respective settlement phases (climate, flora and fauna, soils) and the various uses of its biogeographical potential by the settlers.

- Analysis of the potential influence of the *topographical* conditions in Kamid el-Loz on settlement and utilization during the different phases of settlement.

- Reconstruction of the settlement history from its beginnings to the most recent use, including a discussion of the construction of a mosque and graveyard on the *Tell* since the 1980s.

- The integration of the settlement and utilization history of Kamid el-Loz into the history of events in the Near East on a local, regional and supra-regional level.

- Integration of the settlements into local, regional and supra-regional settlement and economic systems, and determination of the causes of the respective settlement and utilization methods as well as the reconstruction of the respective developmental processes.

- Determination of the role and function of Kamid el-Loz in the local, regional and supra regional power systems during the changing periods.

A final comparative analysis of the individual results leads to an explanation of the causes and backgrounds which, over the past 3000 years,

have influenced the continuity and change of the settlement and utilization of the *Tell* Kamid el-Loz.

The topographical conditions of the Beqa'a plain (1.2.1 see below) as well as the political and economical developments within the greater Levant area (1.3 see below) have led to the formulation of additional research priorities and questions for the scientific program in Kamid el-Loz.

#### **1.2.1. Natural Area and Cultural Development**

As described above, the Beqa'a plain is bordered by two mountain ranges, the Anti-Lebanon and Hermon to the east, and the Lebanon Mountains to the west (**Fig. 1**). However, these barriers are partly broken by depressions and clefts which allow for connecting routes to the Syrian steppe on one side and the coastal area on the other. To the north, the Beqa'a plain merges with the Syrian flatlands, while to the south it borders the Palestinian plain. Thus, on the one hand, the Beqa'a plain was (and still is) well separated from its neighbors, yet, on the other hand, it has always served as a passage and transit region, due to the presence of various routes and its open north-south axis. Kamid el-Loz is situated near a cleft which allows access to the Beqa'a plain from the east. Important overland connections passed in the immediate vicinity of the settled area. This location afforded protection while at the same time allowing a clear view across wide parts of the plain.

Such settlement conditions are not without effect on the political, economic and cultural development of an area. Against this specific topographical background, in *Kamid el-Loz* we search for indications of possible interactions between factors that influence the cultural development in a secluded region and the effects caused by the same region's possible function as a transit and passage area. Thus, one of the focal points of our research is the examination of the mutual influences of certain biogeographical conditions (the Beqa'a plain as a simultaneously open and secluded area) and the cultural development.

### 1.3. The Development of Hierarchically Structured Settlement Systems: Formation of Rural and Urban Settlement Types

Under certain conditions, the settling of a region can lead to the rise of hierarchically structured settlement systems, i. e., settlement structures in which certain settlements adopt centralized functions that exceed mere local requirements and become relevant to all other neighboring settlements. This process is usually driven by the interaction of local, regional and supra-regional developments. The central functions and «services» of a town develop in response to and in mutual interaction with the requirements of the local inhabitants and the population of the immediate and the outlying areas. When examining the reasons for and the process of development of centralized settlements - and cities - in certain regions, we believe that the special topography of the Beqa'a plain as a simultaneously open as well as enclosed area and the political-economic requirements and intentions of the local and neighboring elite play an important role in the formation and shaping of such systems and settlement forms.

Within a hierarchically structured settlement with a radius of 10 km, Kamid el-Loz represents the largest hill in the southern Beqa'a plain (Marfoe 1995). From the Late Bronze Age settlement period come the first indications pointing to a superior function of Kamid el-Loz as seat of the Egyptian administration. But even before the Egyptian occupation, Kamid el-Loz appears to have been an urban settlement in the Late Bronze Age. In part, our current research interest is directed toward the developmental history of the town before the Egyptian occupation, i. e., the background and the causes that started the urbanization process in Kamid el-Loz and led to the formation of a hierarchically structured settlement system in the Beqa'a plain. On the other hand, we are interested in the period following the Egyptian occupation, especially the events and factors that led to the de-urbanization process during the Iron Age.

### 1.4. The Extension of Interests in the Research and Findings in Kamid el-Loz beyond the «Traditional» Time Frame of Near Eastern Archaeology in the Near East

For the first time, we consider all settlement records on the *Tell* Kamid el-Loz up to its modern day utilization as part of the *Tell's* history and incorporate them into our excavation program, along with the Hellenistic and Roman settlement phases in the area, thus going beyond and redefining the traditional historical-chronological boundaries of the «classical» Near Eastern archaeology in the Near East.

Table 2 - Chronological Overview<sup>4</sup>

Iron Age	ca. 1200 - 550 BC
Persian Age	ca. 550 - 350 BC
Hellenistic Period	ca. 350 - 50 BC
Roman Period	ca. 50 BC - 350 AD

The new excavation and research program includes the extensive opening of the settlement during Hellenistic and Roman times as an important part of the *Tell's* utilization. With this approach, the Near Eastern archaeological program of the University of Freiburg explicitly exceeds the goals of the older excavations, which were limited to the study of the pre-Hellenistic period.

#### 1.4.1. What can the Excavation in Kamid el-Loz do for the Exploration of the Hellenistic Roman Period?

The new excavation concept in Kamid el-Loz allows the first insight into the composition of a Hellenistic-Roman settlement. To date, there are no corresponding findings from the Lebanon. With the present excavation, the Near Eastern archaeological program of the Albert-Ludwigs-University / Freiburg addresses a problem which roots in the structures of the archaeological sciences over the years. While the geographical area - the Lebanon - is part of the classical research area of Near Eastern archaeology, the excavations to date did not incorporate the examination of this «late» period. The study of these periods was relegated to the realm of the Old History, the classical and provincial Roman

archaeology, which, however, did not consider the Near East as part of its primary, «classical» research area. Thus, our work in Kamid el-Loz brings together the research areas of all participating branches for the first time in a local setting. The Hellenistic-Roman settlement in Kamid el-Loz lies directly below the recent surface, i. e., it represents the youngest and therefore not built-over settlement in this area which we were able to document to date. Beginning with this (almost) undisturbed area, we developed the stratigraphic and chronological results for the reconstruction of all settlement phases on the *Tell*, another unique opportunity for the Lebanon and the Beqa'a plain.

## 2. The Procedure in Kamid el-Loz

The primary work effort in Kamid el-Loz is directed toward area-wide excavations which will document large parts of the respective settlements in an appropriate context. This process reveals settlement structures, the size of settlements at various times, modifications in the building structure or continuity in the setup and structure of settlements, which can then be used as the basis for further interpretation of the economic and social conditions. Kamid el-Loz is almost ideally suited for this approach. The area size of the hill is large enough to document settlement structures, while at the same time its size limitations make it feasible to attempt the study of several epochs within an appropriate area.

In order to find explanations for the developments mentioned above, we are developing models in the context of our excavation program while incorporating theoretical aspects of cultural philosophy, settlement geography, economic sciences, ethnology, anthropology and sociology. The juxtaposition of the archaeological material with models aimed at explaining the processes and phenomena requires a combination of large-scale settlement excavations, analysis of regional settlement patterns and a knowledge of supra-regional political developments, especially when examining the background of settlement and urbanization processes. Therefore, parallel studies of the excavated settlement, its surroundings, and the political history of the region and its neighboring areas are necessary in order to address the questions posed here.

The excavation employs the so-called *Fundstellensystem*. An area size of 10 m by 20 m proved to be a sensible dimension for the working areas, while the registration-system (*Fundstellensystem*) makes it possible to put stratigraphical observations and the assignment of findings and results into a verifiable and understandable context.

Due to the lack of secure surveying points, the old survey grid could not be reconstructed satisfactorily. Therefore, in 1997 a new grid was set up (see below).

### 2.1. Surveying - Tell Kamid el-Loz in August 1997

#### Heide HECKMANN and Iris HOLZER

One of the highest priorities of the first excavation in Kamid el-Loz after 1981 was the reconstruction of the original excavation grid. Since no surveying sketches could be located among the documentation of the Saarbrücken campaign, and extensive field surveys on location failed to turn up any of the original survey markers, the entire *Tell* had to be re-surveyed.

A contour plan, drawn up for the first excavations in 1964, was still available. This plan (scale 1: 400) also contained the position of the grid points of the old grid. Despite extensive walking surveys, not a single marker could be found in the field. The conventional use of surveying sketches for the reconstruction of the survey grid was not possible in Kamid el-Loz, since relevant documents were missing. The only landmark identical with the old excavations - unfortunately only marked on the older plans of the excavation areas - was the modern cemetery wall (**Fig. 3: a - b**). Attempts to reconstruct the old grid on the basis of this wall failed, since the small scale (1: 7000) of the maps from which the measurements were taken only allowed for a plotting accuracy of ca. 1 m. These conditions precluded the reconstruction of the old grid.

A new survey grid was constructed and oriented on the magnetic north, to ensure an approximate parallelism with the old grid. It was fit in place on a plateau with an area of 30 m by 15 m (excavation area

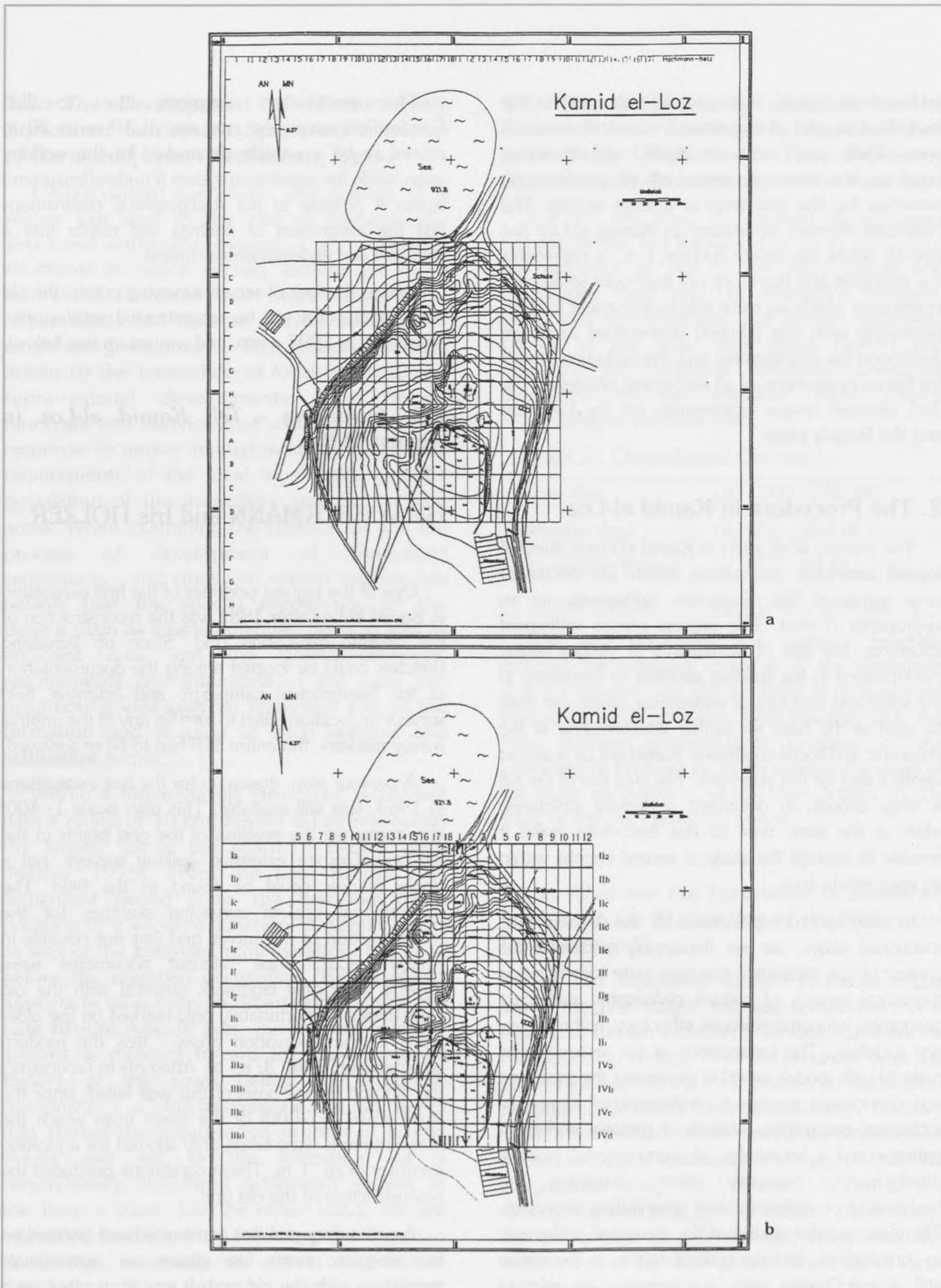


Fig. 3 -

«Hilltop», **Fig. 3: a-b**)<sup>5</sup>. The point of origin cemented in place in this location was given the coordinates 1000/1000 to avoid the occurrence of negative coordinates even in case of a large-scale grid extension. The elevation of 949.08 m at the TP J231 (located in the modern cemetery of Kamid el-Loz) was used as a height reference. The TP (trigonometric point) is a natural rock (stone), marked by red circles. From this point, the elevations of the individual excavation areas were determined by leveling. In order to map the topography of the *Tell*, 13 marked record points (*Aufnahmepunkte*) were set. These points also were the origin for all additional points, recorded in a polar fashion with a Leica tachymeter TC 500 (in the field, the data were copied from TC 500 to an external storage unit - Husky Hunter - and the coordinates were calculated). The total topographic record included 950 markers. A polar star and a solar observation were conducted to determine the geographic position of the grid. The consistently good weather allowed for an unproblematic execution of all observations during the day and at night.

Upon conclusion of the topographic records an opportunity arose to create a relation between the old and the new measuring system. This relation is not tied to the cemetery wall but to the TP within the cemetery. It is based on the assumption that the old and the new orientation toward magnetic north are nearly identical. Both systems can now be determined to within 40 cm in their position toward each other. The accuracy depends on the plotting accuracy of the contour plan, which was available with a scale of 1: 400. To increase the accuracy, identical points would have to be found which are known in both systems. As a final step, the contour plan was drawn up.

## 2.2. Selection of the Excavation Areas since 1997

One of our research goals in Kamid el-Loz is the reconstruction of the settlement history. For the study of the most recent settlement we selected the nearly undisturbed «Hilltop» area and the «Northeast Slope».

### 2.2.1. Area «Hilltop» (*Kuppe*)<sup>6</sup>

The excavation was started in 1997 in the Hilltop area (**Fig. 4**), which confirmed the suitability of the area for our research project. In 1999, we extended the excavation area toward the northeast, an extension that was continued into the 2000 campaign (see D. Bonatz and A. Gilibert below for the results from the area «Hilltop»). The excavations in the area «Hilltop» were begun in 1997 under the lead of Dieter Guldin; in 1999, they were continued and extended by Dominik Bonatz, Lars Petersen and Michael Sommer, and in 2000, they were taken over and extended again by Alessandra Gilibert, Judith Kirchhofer and Lars Petersen, assisted by Hassan Yahya of the Lebanese University, Beirut, and by volunteer George Hanna.

### 2.2.2. Temple Area

1997 also saw the resumption of the studies in the temple area (**Fig. 3b: If16**). While the hilltop and its adjacent areas were searched for signs of the most recent settlements, the excavation goal for the temple area was the documentation of a possible predecessor to the oldest building in this location known to date, the temple from the Middle Bronze Age<sup>7</sup>. In 1997, Michael Kaiser began the studies in the temple area; the excavations were continued by Christopher Alves and Judith Kirchhofer in 1999.

## 3. Initial Results

The research project described above is designed as a long-term concept and is being developed parallel to the excavations. Our reports present the material and results of 18 months of excavation activity as well as the first analytical-historical evaluation of the settlement situation in and around Kamid el-Loz (Michael Sommer).

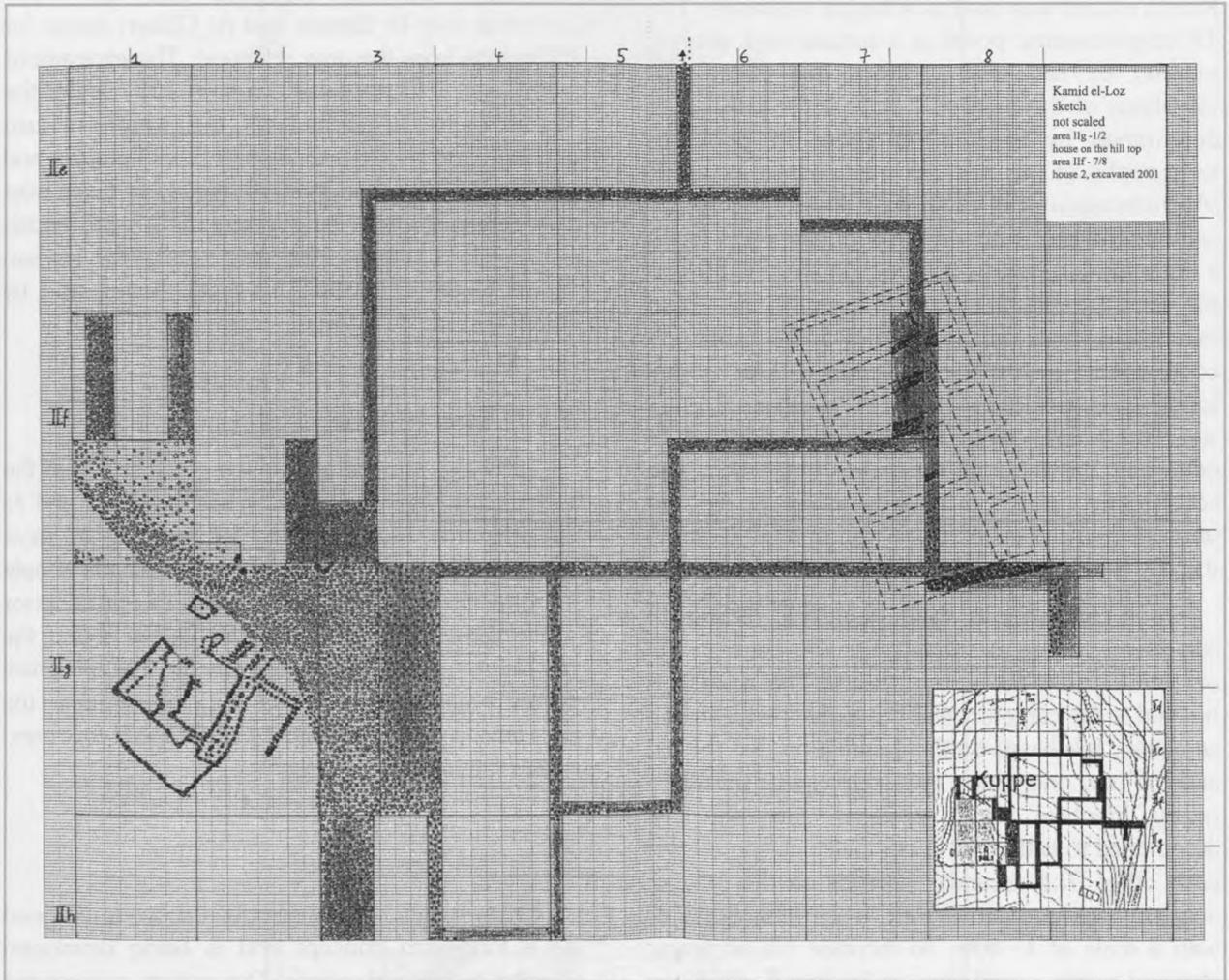


Fig. 4 - Plan of the Tell with excavation area «Hilltop» (with excavated areas 2000).

## Notes

1- An overview of the work conducted to date as well as a comprehensive bibliography of the publications concerning Kamid el-Loz can be found in R. Hachmann, *Kamid el-Loz, 1963-1981. German Excavations in Lebanon*, in: *Berytus*, Vol. XXXVII, 1989: -187.

2- The dates are based on K.H. Bernhardt, *Der alte Libanon*. 1976: 227, Leipzig.

3- Marfoe, L., *Kamid el-Loz 13. The Prehistoric and Early Historic Context of the Site. Saarbücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde*, Band 41. 1995, Bonn.

4- The dates are based on K.H. Bernhardt, *Der alte Libanon*. 1976: 227, Leipzig.

5- The designation of quadrants and areas in the new plan follows the previous system (see **Fig. 3: a-b**) to facilitate the localization of the new excavation areas. This was accomplished by retaining the quadrant names, now in reference to the new grid, and by marking the areas with letters (north-south direction) and numbers (east-west direction). Deviating from the Hachmann system, lower case letters were used for the north-south designations for easy differentiation and as a reminder that since 1997 the excavations are based on a new grid (**Fig. 3b**).

6- In 1999 and 2000, the excavation area "Hilltop" was extended to the north and east (**Fig. 4**). The reason for this extension was the so-called "Glacis" (see contribution by D. Bonatz / A. Gilibert), which covered the area of the hilltop and whose dimensions had to be determined. After it became apparent in 1999 that the extension of the "Glacis" stone layer was larger than originally expected, we decided to determine the size of the "Glacis" through a probing system during the 2000 campaign. The probing results showed, however, that even in 2000/1 the actual dimensions of the stone layer could not be determined (blue coloured trenches show the so far known extension of the glacis). At this time it is obvious that there will be a considerable addition to the eastward extension of the stone layer. Surface surveys of the agricultural field that borders the *Tell* in the east indicate the presence of the stone in this area also. Its extension to the south and southwest is still entirely unknown.

7- At this time, the results of our work in the temple area cannot be correlated with the results of the Saarbrücken excavation. Those in charge of the analysis of the Saarbrücken results were unable to supply us with measurements from the last temple excavation for our initial report. Thus, the correlation of areas and findings will only be possible upon publication of the Saarbrücken results.

## IV. Kamid el-Loz 1997 and 1999: The Excavations on the «Hilltop» (Kuppe) (AREA II G 1-3)

Dominik BONATZ and Alessandra GILIBERT

### 1. Introduction

During the excavation campaigns of 1997 and 1999, Areas II f 1-2 and II g 1-3 were opened in the vicinity of the hilltop of *Tell Kamid el-Loz*<sup>8</sup>. This paper presents the architectural and stratigraphic results of the studies in these areas. Results of the ongoing studies in the excavation area «Hilltop» during the 2000 campaign have already been taken into account in this report if they were relevant in explaining the results of 1997 and 1999.

The areas mentioned are located at the northern edge of the hilltop, called «Kuppe», of the *Tell* (Figs 4 to 6), from where the terrain slopes steeply to the north and northwest toward the Beqa'a plain<sup>9</sup>. Here, the recent ground level follows the 945 m contour line. This means that it lies about 4 m lower than the trigonometric point at the center of the *Tell*, which has been built over by a modern mosque, complete with grave yard. The excavation area «Kuppe» still lies 23 m above the Beqa'a plain, emphasizing its prominence in the topography of the *Tell* and its surroundings.

The discovery of a Hellenistic (?)–Roman settlement with architectural finds in this excavation area leads to the addition of a more recent building phase to the originally constructed sequence of building layers, which placed the end of the building periods (building layer 1) in the Iron Age (Echt 1984: 42-43 and 60, fig. 3)<sup>10</sup>.

## 2. Progress of the Excavations

### 2.1. The Excavation 1997

Under the guidance of D. Guldin, work begun in 1997 in Areas II g 1 and II f 1 (Fig. 4). The youngest building structures were found in Area II g 1 on the layer of FS 10 and 15. Only in 1999 it became clear

that these represent the western part of a house, dating back to the Roman/Late Roman period<sup>11</sup>. In 1997 the western Wall A and the southern Wall B with an anterior, L-shaped structure (C) were documented as part of this building (Fig. 7). Immediately to the northwest of this structure, a work area with bread ovens (*tannur*) and a smelting furnace could be documented (see 3.4.). While the findings in this section had been disturbed by several burials during late Islamic times, there is no question that this area formed part of the domestic economic domain of the Roman house.

In the northeast of Area II g 1 and in the southwest of II f 1 workers discovered a diagonal layer of stone, composed of several rows (see appendix). Initially explained in part as the base structure of a Roman road, it was found during the excavations in 1999 to be part of a much more extensive structure. This gave rise to new speculations about the importance and function of this installation.

### 2.2. The Excavation 1999

Following the 1997 excavations in Area II g 1, in 1999 sections of Areas II g 2 and II g 3 were exposed down to the level of Roman development. In order to clarify the stratigraphic situation in the entire excavation area «Hilltop», follow-up studies were conducted in Area II g 1. In the course of this campaign the Roman edifice in II g 1-2 was dug out completely and a large part of the stone structure, subsequently referred to as «Glacis», could be exposed (Figs 5 to 9 and appendix).

## 3. The Building in II g 1-2 (under consideration of the results of 2000)

### 3.1. Description of the Building

The excavation in II g 2 succeeded in exposing the eastern half of the building already documented in II g 1. Thus the complete plan of the building is now available, as far as contained in the findings (Figs 8, 9 and appendix). It consists of three rooms, stretching in parallel sequence from northwest to southeast (Rooms 1-3) (Figs 10 and 11). The inner rooms are roughly of the same width (2.5 m). Their



Fig. 5 - Complete view of excavation area "hilltop" (from the east).



Fig. 6 - Complete view of excavation area "hilltop" (from the north).

length cannot be determined with any certainty, since in all three rooms one of the terminating walls was not preserved or never existed originally. The interior corner points of the longitudinal walls indicate that the western room (1) must have had a length of 3.5 m, the middle room (2) 2.5 m, and the eastern room (3) 3.5-4.0 m. The rooms are separated from each other by walls of varying thickness. Between Rooms 1 and 2 there is a wall foundation (H) consisting of two parallel rows of quarrystones with a thickness of 0.8 m. The wall (D) between Rooms 2 and 3 consists of two parallel rows of larger quarrystones, filled in with smaller stone fragments, with a width of 1.0 m. The northern wall (F) of Room 2 and the southern wall (B) of Room 1 were constructed in the same fashion, while the wall (E) delimiting the building to the east was built without a stone filling, like Wall H. It appears that Wall A on the west side of the building



Fig. 7 - The southern part of the house, unearthed after the excavations in 1997.

had also been constructed originally using this technique. Later it was widened toward the west (i.e., in the direction of the room's interior) by the addition of another row with a quarrystone filling. While Walls A, B, and D have been preserved up to five layers high, only one to two layers remain of Walls C, E, and F. They must have served as the foundation for a rising brickwork of clay bricks. The findings in Room 3 indicate that the foundation reached below the floor level. Here, the remains of an underlining of pebble gravel stones for the floor covering lie on top of the lowest wall level of Walls D and F (**Fig. 11**).

The reinforcement of the brickwork on the sides of the entrance (?) in the southern part of Room 2 and the concentration of fallen stones in this area indicate the likely presence of large, rising walls in this location. Therefore the building must have contained two stories, at least in this particular section.

South of Room 2 an L-shaped stone installation has been exposed (**Fig. 7**), preliminarily interpreted as a wall foundation and thus labeled «C». It consists of a single-coursed, relatively thin row of whitish, uncut stone blocks. The diameter of these stones, compared to those employed for the other walls of the building, lies within the range of the bigger, containing stones (ca. 15-30 cm) rather than the smaller stones used as a fill-in (ca. 5-15 cm). The L-shaped stone row stretches 4.5 m northwest-southeastward, then bends northeastward for 1.5 m and meets the massive head of Wall D slightly off its axis. No interlock whatsoever can be detected, Wall

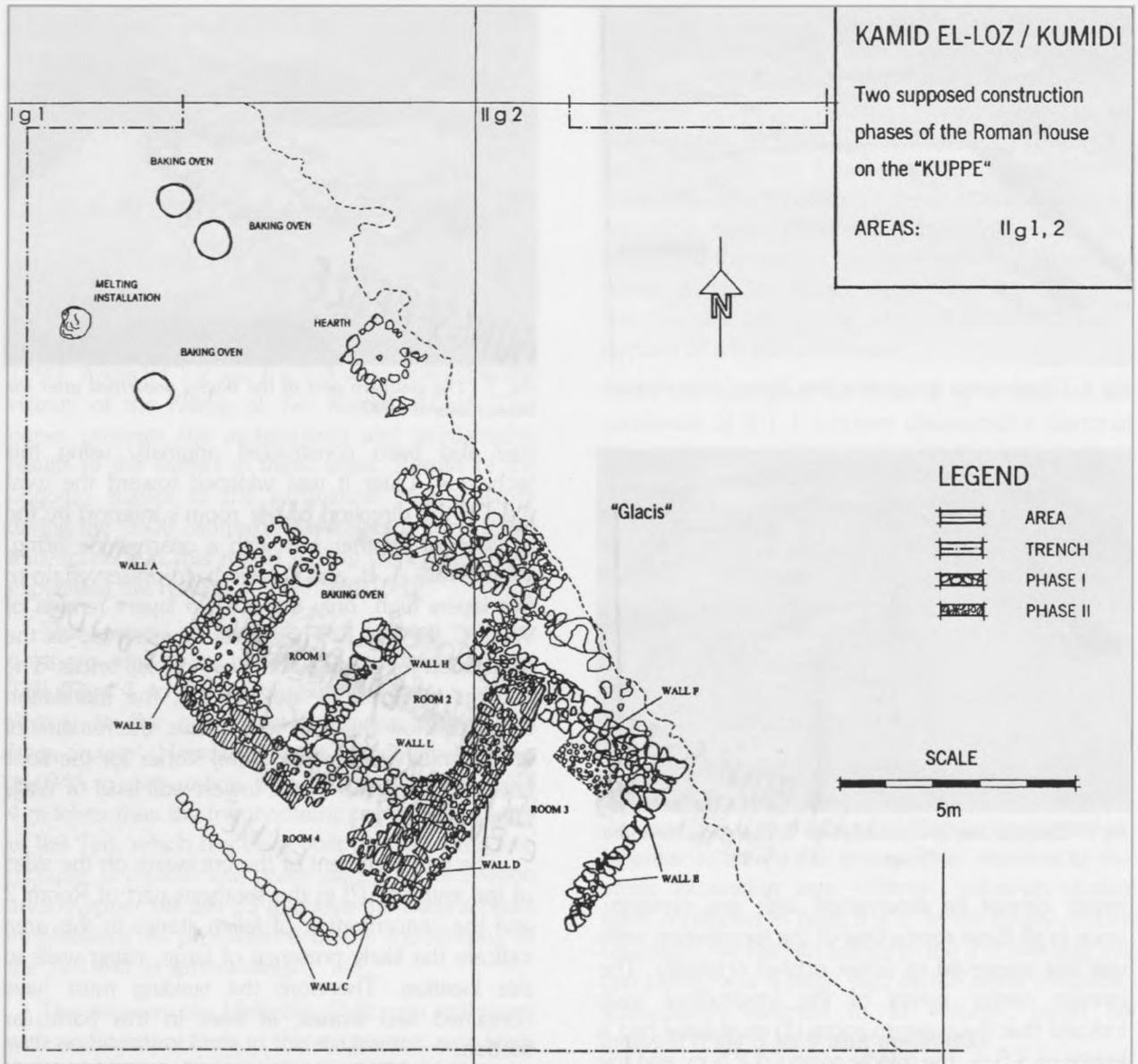


Fig. 8 - Reconstruction drawing of construction phase 1 and 2.

D being well defined as a massive construction of homogeneously red, roughly cut and accurately placed stone blocks. It should be noted, however, that Wall C's only massive stone block has been employed at the meeting point of the two foundations, suggesting an attempt to strengthen a statically stressed point. Overall, however, the thinness of Wall C, and consequently its fragility, seems at odds with a building characterized by relatively strong wall foundations. If Wall C, a wall built on stone foundations but certainly not a true

stone wall, ever supported a ceiling, this most certainly was a light structure. The same overall fragility excludes the use as a stairway leading upstairs, something that a corridor-like *cul de sac* could suggest. It is nonetheless possible that a lower stairway existed here of which no trace has yet been found, leading not to a second floor but simply to a doorway. Indeed, Wall C could have been merely a low wall marking an enclosure. A third possibility would be the existence of a terrace extending in front of the rather massive door (a gate?), for which



Fig. 9 - The Roman house in II g 1-2.



Fig. 12 - Bread oven (tannur) at wall A, Room 1 (FS 60/1997).



Fig. 10 - Rooms 1 (right) and 2 (left) of the house.



Fig. 13 - Bread oven (tannur) (FS 25/1997), with an abutment stone for a post in the background (FS 44/1997).

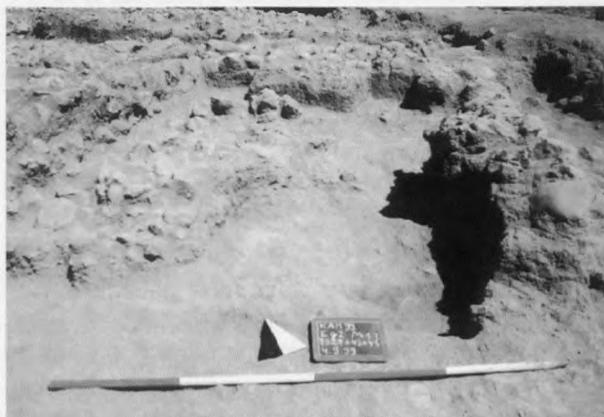


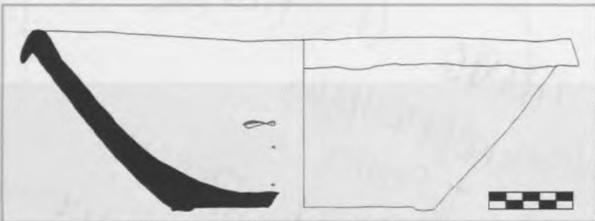
Fig. 11 - Room 3, FS 29/1999 and areas FS 42 and FS 43/1999, disturbed by burials. In the background, the preserved remains of the floor covering FS 26/1999.



Fig. 14 - Hearth installation (FS 56/1997).



Fig. 15 - Mortarium (KF 18/1999) in situ at the base of Wall E (FS 39/1999).



Pl. 1 - Mortarium (KF 18/1999) - drawing.

Wall C could have been a containing and strengthening structure.

Within the space defined by Wall C (labelled Room 4), some square meters of a compact loam layer (FS 607/2000) have been exposed. The loam layer was spread over a rather thickly packed level of pebbles and pottery sherds. It seems likely that this was the underlining for a trodden surface, if not the remains of a floor. The extent of this layer could not actually be followed but has been documented for an oblique stretch between Wall C and the quite disorderly heap of stones labeled «L». The distribution of «L», limited in its boundaries, does not indicate the rubble of collapsed stones but rather a threshold foundation or, possibly but not very likely, a fill-in done on purpose in order to close the passage leading into Room 2.

Besides the entrance above Room 4, other entrances may have existed on the north side of Rooms 1 and 2, where no brickwork was preserved or could be documented. However, the proximity to the remains of adjoining wall extensions (M, P, I, and G) immediately to the north render this explanation quite unlikely. Room 1 rather suggests a half open work area (see 3.4 and **appendix**), a possibility further supported by the bread oven (*tannur*) (FS 60/1997)

which was inserted here in a niche in the brickwork at the end of Wall A (Fig. 12). North of this room, several abutment stones were found, forming the foundation of a post (FS 44/1997) which may have supported an open roof structure (Fig. 13). In between there are three bread ovens (FS 25, Fig. 13 and FS 26/1997) and a hearth area (FS 56/1997, Fig. 14). These findings suggest the presence of an open courtyard belonging to the house between Room 1 and the roof construction located to the north of it.

The eastern room (Room 3) (Fig. 11) must have had a separate entrance from the outside, since there is no possible connection to the middle room (Room 2) through Wall D. The entrance to Room 3 can be expected in the south where the antique brickwork may not have been preserved due to a recent disturbance and a series of Islamic burials.

#### Pottery depositions

A remarkable non-architectural feature concerning the building warrants mentioning: along the foundation base of Wall B and Wall E, on their external side, two foundation deposits were excavated, both including almost intact plain ware domestic vessels.

The first foundation deposit was excavated in 1999 near the south-eastern corner of Wall E (FS 39/1999). The foundation deposit consists of one ring-footed, curled-rim *mortarium* dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (KF 18, Fig. 15 and Pl. 1). An old, man-made, sub-circular hole runs through the base of the vessel.

The second foundation deposit was excavated in 2000 in the proximity of the south-western corner of Wall B (FS 604/2000, Fig. 16). It contained two well-conserved vessels deposited standing on a bed of several aptly chosen pottery sherds, such as the foot of an amphora and broken fragments of a plate. The first vessel is a large inverted ovoid jar with false ring base dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (KF 1/2000, Fig. 17 and Pl. 2). The jar has been found without one of the two handles, which must have broken in antiquity. The second vessel is a wheel-ridged, neckless, plain-rimmed cooking pot dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (KF 2/2000, Fig. 18 and Pl. 3). The vessel is smooth and burnished; the material is local, defined by inclusions of lime and volcanic materials. The pot was buried in a broken state.



Fig. 16 - Pottery deposit in situ at the base of Wall B (FS 604/2000).

These vessels had not been abandoned, but carefully deposited, which explains their relatively good condition. The two foundation deposits are homogeneous and likely to date to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Almost certainly the deposition took place before the foundations of the building were sealed. The vessels were not objects of prestige but rather already used, even partially broken domestic instruments: the deposition took place in a modest, domestic environment. Even if the reasons which led to the deposition are still obscure, they are likely to be connected to foundation rituals, something which could be used as a clue to gain a better understanding of the nature of the building<sup>12</sup>.

A remarkable quantity of large pottery sherds was found at the southwestern outer corner of Wall A, in a pit along the wall's foundation (II g 1, FS 603/2000). The fragments, mostly wall shards, were found thickly packed one above the other, as if consciously placed in a space-saving way. They belonged to at least eleven different vessels, most probably cooking ware jugs dating to the Early Roman period. But for a few exceptions, the sherds do not fit together. Since the dimensions of the sherds make it unlikely that, once broken, the vessels could be kept in use, we may imagine that the full sherd amount of the broken vessels was discarded or deposited in different places, of which we have found one. It seems interesting to compare this find with the two foundation deposits discussed above: do they bear witness to one and the same practice?

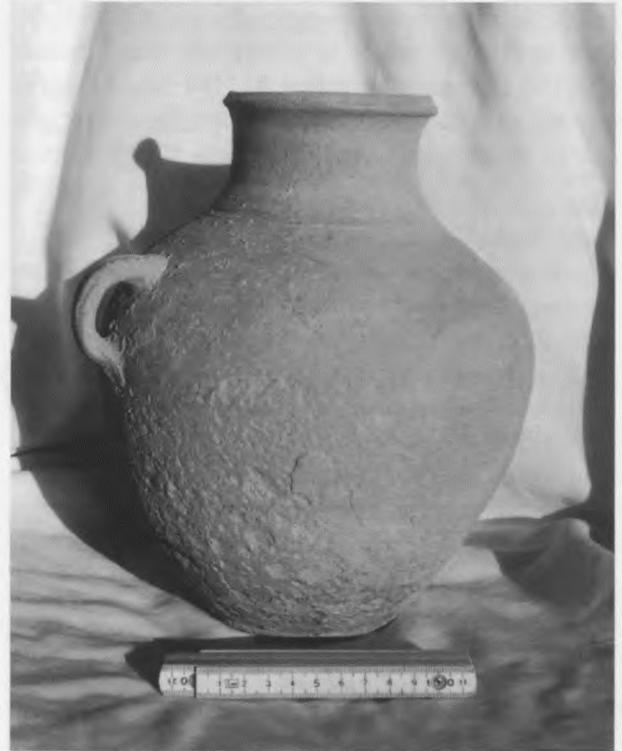


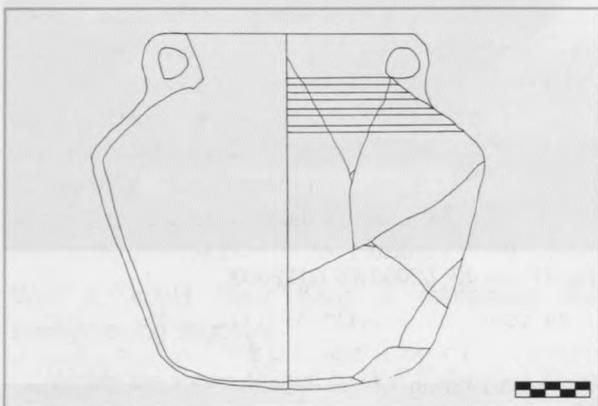
Fig. 17 - Jar, KF 1/2000 (FS 604/2000).



Fig. 18 - Cooking pot, KF 2/2000 (FS 604/2000).



Pl. 2 - Jar, KF 1/2000 (FS 604/2000).



Pl. 3 - Cooking pot; KF 2/2000 (FS 604/2000).

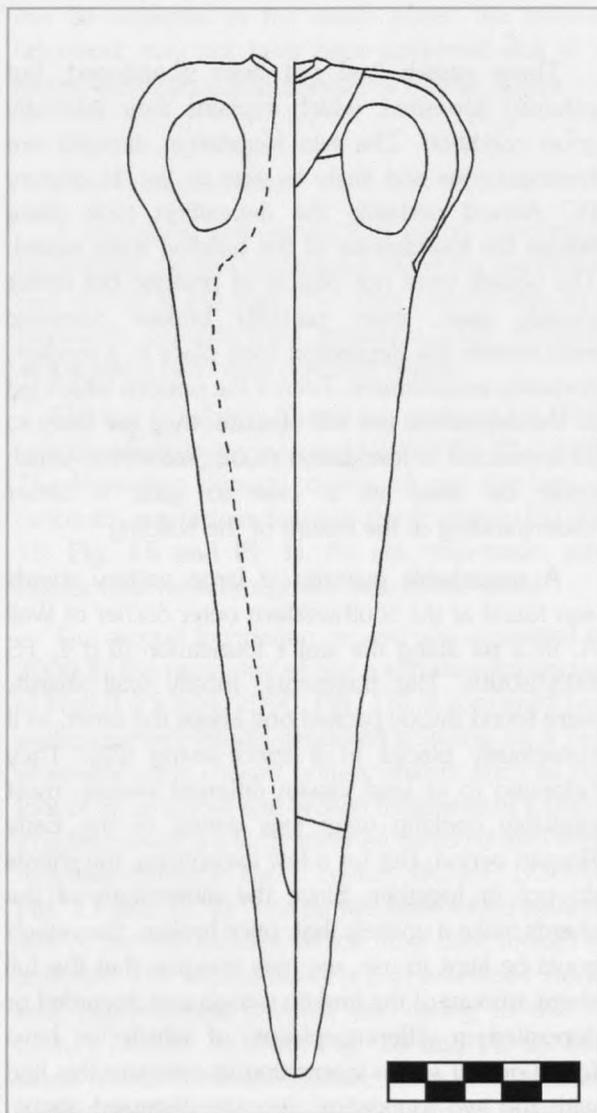
### 3.2. The Stratigraphy of the Building in II g 1-2

#### Previous Hellenistic Settlement (Layer 4)

During the last days of the 2000 campaign stratigraphically relevant structures were exposed, which seem to document the existence of a Hellenistic settlement prior to the Roman building (Fig. 8). Some clusters of stones have been exposed in the area around Wall E. They could be preliminarily interpreted as a NE/SW oriented wall associated with a rectangular installation, the latter plastered with white mortar. Next to them, almost certainly belonging to the same period, an *amphorisko* (FS 511/2000, KF 5: Fig. 19 and Pl. 4) was unearthed. The *amphorisko*, whose material is comparable to those of Sidon, is likely to date to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.



Fig. 19 - Amphoriskos (KF 5/2000) in situ between Wall F and the northern edge of the "Glacis" (FS 511).



Pl. 4 - Amphoriskos (KF 5/2000) - drawing.

### Early Roman Phase (Layer 3)

Walls H, F, and E must have been erected during the first Roman construction phase (Fig. 8), since Wall H was built over on its southern corner point by the reinforcement of the entrance area from Room 4 into Room 2, and Wall F was built over by the northern end of Wall D (Fig. 10). It cannot be stated with certainty whether Rooms 2 and 3 were already separated by an interior wall in place of the later Wall D at this time, or whether they formed a single room. The former possibility appears more likely, however. The deposition of vessels at the corners of the older building (see above) most likely dates back to the laying of its foundations. The discovery of another shard deposit in the southwestern corner of Room 1 (FS 603/2000) indicates that the walls (A and B) of this room also belong to the first construction phase. This already leads to a rectangular ground plan of 10 m in length for the first construction phase, divided into at least 2, more likely 3 rooms. At this time the building had at least one entrance in the southern part of Room 2. The pottery from the interior of Rooms 2 (= FS 51/1999)<sup>13</sup> and 3 (= FS 13 and FS 29/1999)<sup>14</sup> supports the dating of the building to the Early Roman period.

Remains of wall extensions (M, P, I, G) north of the building can be assigned to the same phase. However, the findings here are clearly disturbed by the installation of the «Glacis»; therefore this topic will be discussed in detail below.

### Late Roman Phase (Layer 2)

During the second construction phase (Fig. 8) two architectural interferences took place which clearly changed the structure of the building.

On the one hand, the walls (A and B) on the west side of the building and on the south side, besides the entrance to Room 2, were widened. An L-shaped wall (C) was built anterior to the entrance, creating an entry corridor (Room 4) oriented parallel to the southern front of the building. During this process, the southern entrance (Room 5) into Room 2 was blocked and set higher in the same place. The installation of the bread oven (*tannur*), for which a niche was set into the western wall (A) in Room 1 (FS 60/1997, Fig. 12), occurred during this phase. The three bread ovens (FS 25 and FS 26/1997) and the hearth area (FS

56/1997) in the adjoining courtyard north of Rooms 1 and 2 are also attributed to the same floor level (Figs 13 and 14)<sup>15</sup>. A smelting furnace (FS 6/1997, Fig. 20) situated at the northwestern edge or possibly outside (?) the courtyard likely also belongs to this phase.

On the other hand, Rooms 2 and 3 were clearly redefined as separate entities by the construction of the wide Wall D. While, due to the lack of pertinent findings, nothing can be said about the floor level in Room 2, in Room 3 the installation of a floor corresponding with construction phase 2 could be documented (FS 26/1999, Figs 10 and 11). The interior of the older usage phase was filled with quarystones and leveled with a trodden layer of clay. The quarystones could be the remains of older, fallen brickwork. On top of this lies a kind of stone floor made of pebbles, which could only be documented in the northern part of the room, due to disturbances by burials and pits in the southern half of the room (FS 26/1999). The actual walking surface on top of this stone floor consisted of a trodden clay floor (FS 9/1999). Since no remnants of a similarly complex floor construction could be found in the interior of Room 2, it becomes clear that this floor was a result of the restructuring of the building and the connected demarcation of Room 3.

A dating of the later usage phase of the building based on pottery is problematic. The pottery from the layer above the walking surface (FS 9/1999) in Room 3 consist of common utilitarian types found from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC through the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>16</sup>. However, the presence of a few late dating types suggests that they date back to the Late Roman period<sup>17</sup>.



Fig. 20 - Smelting furnace with dross remains, containing ceramic inclusions (FS 6/1997).

### 3.3. Inventories and Installations in the Building Area

Among the installations of the Roman building in II g 1-2 is a bread oven (*tannur*) (FS 60/1997), which was set into a niche in the northwestern corner of Wall A in Room 1 (Fig. 12)<sup>18</sup>. Three additional bread ovens (FS 25 and FS 26/1997) and a hearth area (FS 56/1997) were documented northwest of it in the courtyard area of the house (see appendix). As discussed above (3.2.), these installations likely date to the same period as the bread oven in Room 1. The diameter of a bread oven (*tannur*) (Fig. 13) measures a little over 50 cm, its clay walls are up to 4 cm thick. Repairs of fractures, which have been covered with clay and reinforced by ceramic sherds, indicate that the oven was in use for an extended period of time. The hearth measures 0.4 by 0.6 m (Fig. 14). It is rectangular in shape and surrounded by quarrystones. The floor inside this enclosure has been burnt solid by the heat. South of the hearth area, adjoining the short wall extension O, there is a circular installation, delimited by stones, which may represent a storage facility. In the immediate vicinity of the bread oven in FS 25/1997, a pit-like installation lined with pottery sherds and smeared with clay, with a drainage channel was unearthed (FS 6/1997, Fig. 20). The presence of dross remnants with lead inclusions indicates that this was a smelting furnace. All these installations point to various domestic and trade-related activities which took place in the courtyard and work area northwest of the building.

Among the small finds in this area, two spindle whorls are worth mentioning (Pl. 44: a from FS 8/1997 and Pl. 44: b from FS 4/1997)<sup>19</sup>. While these finds do not offer proof that wool was spun *in situ*, they fit well into the general picture of domestic housekeeping activity in this area.

*In situ* finds are widely missing from the inventories from the interior rooms of the building. From Room 1 (FS 33/1997) another spindle whorl (Pl. 44: c) should be mentioned, along with a bone needle which may have served as a distaff (Pl. 44: k), and a light spearhead (Pl. 45: e). From the level above the walking surface in Room 3 (FS 9/1999) we have yet another spindle whorl (Pl. 44: f), a fragment of a knife or (Pl. 45: h) and a bronze coin

(Pl. 47: g). The coin image is strongly rubbed down, but on its front an eagle can be made out and on its back a female head with a city crown<sup>20</sup>.

Findings outside of the building include a knife blade (Pl. 46: a) east of Wall E of Room 3 (FS 39/1999), a light spearhead (Pl. 45: e) in the northwestern exterior area (FS 18/1997), and three additional spearheads (Pl. 45: d, e and g) on the «Glacis» north of the building. Together with the finds from the inside of the building (Pl. 45: f and h), these finds can be partially explained as *militaria*; on the other hand, it is possible that they represent simple utilitarian tools (Pl. 46: a) or hunting implements. Therefore, they only offer few clues to a military presence in this area of Late Roman settlement. They give no indication as to a possible military function of the building.

With the exception of the vessels unearthed at the corners of the house, no complete vessels could be documented from the interior or the courtyard area. The discovered pottery fragments are part of small and mid-sized vessels, mostly bowls and closed containers such as jugs or bottles<sup>21</sup>. In all cases they were designated for household use. Since none of the pieces can be assigned to a certain context beyond the location where they were found, the reconstruction of an actual room inventory is impossible. The absence of any fragments of storage vessels from the interior as well as the courtyard area of the building seems remarkable.

### 3.4. Typology and Function of the Building

As described above (4.1.), the building originally consisted of two, later of three rooms with an L-shaped entrance area outside the southern front. The eastern room (Room 3) is characterized by the fact that it is only accessible from the outside. Rooms 1 and 2 lead into an open courtyard in which various household installations were situated (3.3.). These characteristics allow for a closer determination of the typology of the building under functional considerations.

The same characteristics can be found in private residential houses from the Roman-Byzantine period in the Palestinian area<sup>22</sup>. In that area, the

comparable houses are located in smaller settlements and towns. Farm houses comprise a much larger area and cannot be compared with the house in Kamid el-Loz. The basic unit of the Palestinian house consists of a single-room building with an open courtyard area in front or behind it (Hirschfeld 1995: 21). The number of living rooms can be two or more. It must be considered that the houses are often two stories high, which doubles the number of living rooms on the upper level (Hirschfeld 1995: fig. 7-10). In the case of the house in Kamid el-Loz, we can also assume the presence of two stories, at least concerning Room 2. Different from the living rooms are so-called «shops» or «workshops» (Hirschfeld 1995: 98-99, fig. 6, 11, 13). These are rooms which were only accessible from the outside, i.e., from the courtyard or the street. The missing connection to the actual living area indicates a different, i.e., economic function of these rooms. Obviously, Room 3 of the house in Kamid el-Loz falls under this category.

In houses whose main entrance opened to the outside, i.e., not to the courtyard, occasionally an entrance hall is present (Hirschfeld 1995: fig. 7). The L-shaped structure (Room 4) of the house in Kamid el-Loz can be considered such an entrance hall. It offers a practical wind shelter on the unsheltered side of the house and allows the storage of vessels and instruments which should not be stored in the interior of the building<sup>23</sup>.

In Palestine, the open courtyard behind the house contains the same installations as found in Kamid el-Loz (Hirschfeld 1995: figs 7, 13). Besides bread ovens and hearth areas, various L-shaped or semicircular wall structures should be noted that are labeled as enclosures for animals or demarcations of storage areas (Hirschfeld 1995: figs 13, 19). The wall extensions (G, I, M, O, and P), which at present have not been specifically identified, and a circular stone structure in the center of the courtyard of the house Kamid el-Loz (**see appendix**) could therefore be considered as installations for storage facilities or possibly in connection with the keeping of small animals. Finally, in comparison with the installations in the courtyard area of Palestinian houses (Herzfeld 1995: fig. 7) the posts in the northern court area

may be explained as supporting structures for a *porticus*, a roof-like structure covering part of the courtyard.

Thus, the Roman building in Kamid el-Loz shows all the characteristics of a private household, including the pertinent work areas. Furthermore, neither its architecture nor its installations indicate a further function, e.g. a military installation. The possible presence of single *militaria* among the inventory of the building (see 3.3.) does not contradict this conclusion. As local citizens, the inhabitants of the building during Roman times may well have had an obligation to aid in the defense of their area or in other military activities.

## 4. The «Glacis» (II f 1-2 / II g 1-3)

### 4.1. Description of the Construction

During the excavations in 1997 a dense layer of field stones was discovered in Area II f 1, which initially was considered a base structure of a road from the Roman period. However, in the process of the 1999 excavations, additional parts of this stone layer were uncovered over an extensive area. At the end of the campaign it became apparent that, in the northern part of Areas II g 1 and 2, the southern edge of the stone layer extended from northwest to southeast, and from there across the entire northern and eastern section of Areas II f 1, II g 2, and II g 3 (**Fig. 4**). Additional soundings during the final campaign in the summer of 2000 indicated a further extension of the stone layer toward the north up to the Areas II e 3-7, toward the east to Area II g 8, and toward the south into Area II h 3 (**Fig. 4**).

In its southern and eastern extension the elevation of the stone layer remains more or less evenly at 943.5 to 944.00 m above sea level, while it drops noticeably in accordance with the slope of the *Tell* surface toward the north. In Area II g 2 there is already a difference in elevation of 1.5 m between the southern edge of the stone layer (944.00 m) and the northernmost point in this area (942.00 m). The northernmost point of the stone layer, which could be recorded in 2000 in Area II e 6, lies at an elevation of 938.70 m.

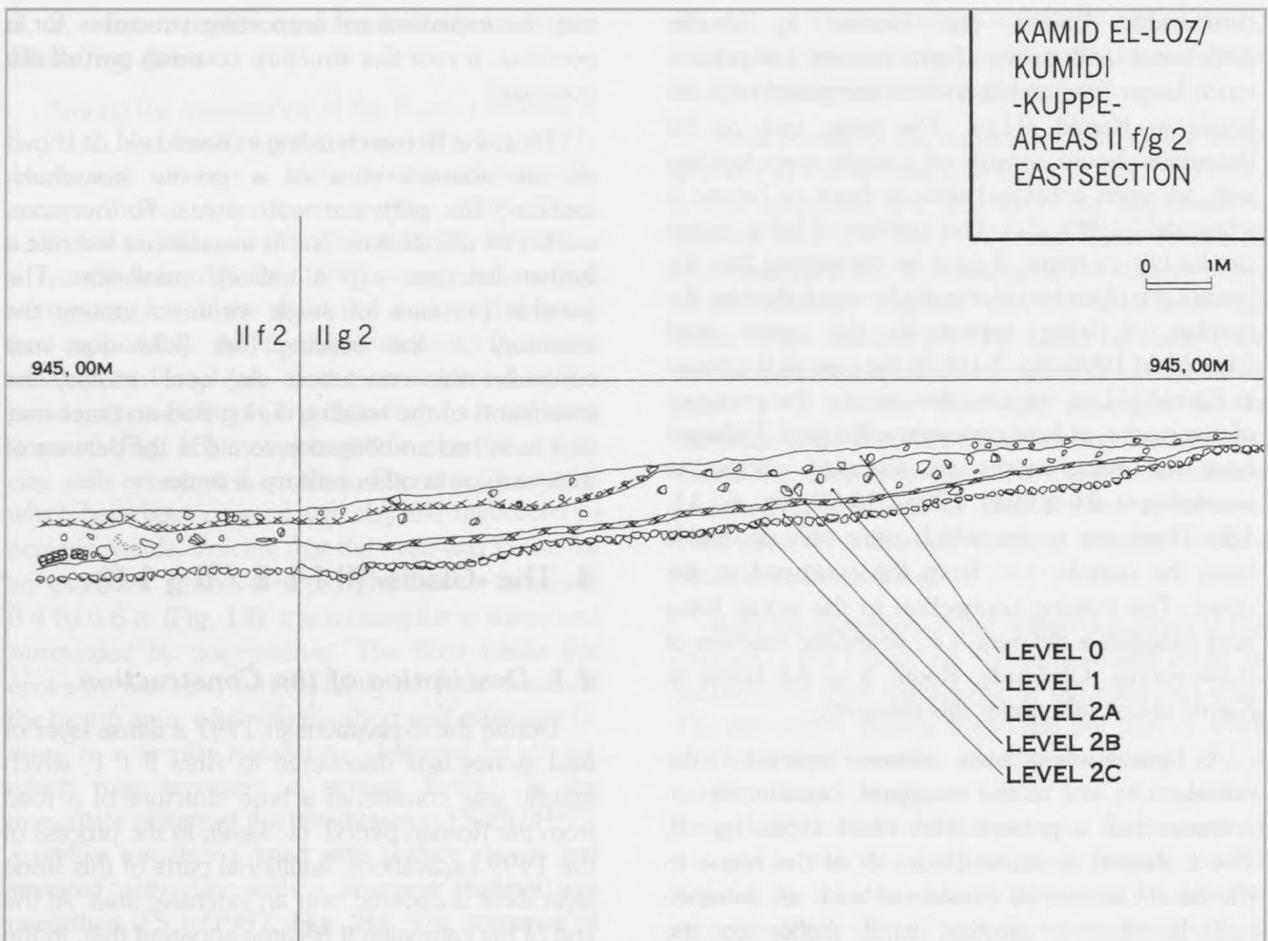


Fig. 21 - East profile of the «Glacis» and the overlaying layers in II g/f 2.

Based on these extensions, the assumption that the stone layer would represent a road had to be dropped early on. Instead the installation of a «Glacis» was considered. This interpretation remains questionable. Other functions of the structure, such as a protection against erosion, might be possible too. However, until a clearer idea of the actual extension of the stone layer and its function can be developed. Therefore, we will use the term «Glacis» as a technical term in quotation marks for the time being. The description of the mode of construction of the «Glacis» will be carried out based on the findings in Areas II g 2 and 3.

The apex of the installation is marked by a series of larger, slab-like stones. To the south, the stone layer continues with a width of about 2.5 m, until it abruptly

ends without noticeable demarcation (Fig. 5). North of the slab-like stones, the «Glacis» initially drops steeply, but changes to only a slight downslope after ca. 2.5 m (Fig. 6).

At its core, the «Glacis» is constructed of three layers (Fig. 21). The base consists of a compact layer of fist-sized stones. They are covered by a soil layer intermixed with pottery sherds, which served to diagonally level out the natural slope of the *Tell* surface. Its thickness varies between 0.15 and 0.5 m in this area. The top level is a compact layer of trodden clay (0.05 to 0.10 m thick) which forms the actual walking surface of the «Glacis».

There are no findings indicating any buildings on top of or additions near the edge of the «Glacis». Based on the pottery finds<sup>24</sup> from the fill-in layer (2b)

between the trodden clay layer (2a) and the stone layer (2c) of the «Glacis», its construction can be dated to the Late Roman period.

#### 4.2. Comparisons

Kharayeb is located south of Sidon, 3 km north of where the river Qasmieh flows into the Mediterranean. The discovery of numerous terracottas from the so-called Favissa of Kharayeb led to the first excavations in 1946. Besides the uncovering of the Favissa with its large number of terra-cotta objects, these excavations also documented a large, rectangular building to the east (Chéhab 1951-52: Plan B). This plan already reveals the remnants of an extensive stone layer, which were recorded in the test cuts and which were documented on a much larger scale during the second campaign in 1969 (Kaoukabani 1973: Plan I). The extent of the stone layer, its architectural character, the demarcation of its edges with set rows of stones and its relationship to the building architecture are reminiscent of the findings in Kamid el-Loz. Contrary to Kamid el-Loz, the area in Kharayeb does not show any noteworthy drop in elevation, which in this case precludes an interpretation as a Glacis from the beginning. Unfortunately the excavators do not discuss the stone layer in their brief excavation reports (Chéhab 1952-53; Kaoukabani 1973), so that we have no insight into its significance. Based on the terra-cottas from Favissa, Kharayeb can be dated between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

No other comparable structures from the Hellenistic, Roman or Late Roman periods are known to us from the Lebanon or adjacent regions of Syria and Palestine. The findings in Kamid el-Loz thus stand alone, and their further explanation will only become possible after additional excavating.

### 5. The Stratigraphy in Areas II g 1-3

Throughout the entire region of the excavation areas of 1999, beneath the surface (Layer 0) there lies a cultivated layer up to 1.00 m thick without architectural findings (Layer 1). This layer has been disturbed by recent interference and by Islamic burials in the 19<sup>th</sup> (?) and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Islamic

burials also cut through the architectural horizon of Layer 2. This Layer 2 represents the phase of a later Roman development on the *Tell Kamid el-Loz*. It contains the restructured building in Areas II g 1-2 and the «Glacis» adjacent to the north of it. The installation of the «Glacis» obviously occurred after the Early Roman construction phase (defined as Layer 3), from which date the original plan of the building and the wall remnants M, P, I, and G to the north it (Fig. 8). These walls are an indication that the «Glacis» was constructed later, since it partially covers the wall extensions (Fig. 8). On the other hand, the course of the edges of the «Glacis» conforms to the northeasterly direction of the Walls W and E of the building, which leads to the assumption that this part of the building was taken into consideration when the «Glacis» was constructed. Therefore, it seems that the «Glacis» was built during a later phase, when the extension of Room 3 had already been completed. We therefore suggest the subdivision of Layer 2 into a younger (a) and an older (b) phase; the «Glacis» belongs to the younger phase.

To date, no architectural remains older than Layer 3 could be documented in these areas. However, the findings of the 2000 campaign between building and «Glacis» indicate a Hellenistic settlement phase (see above, 3.2), preliminarily indicated here as Layer 4.

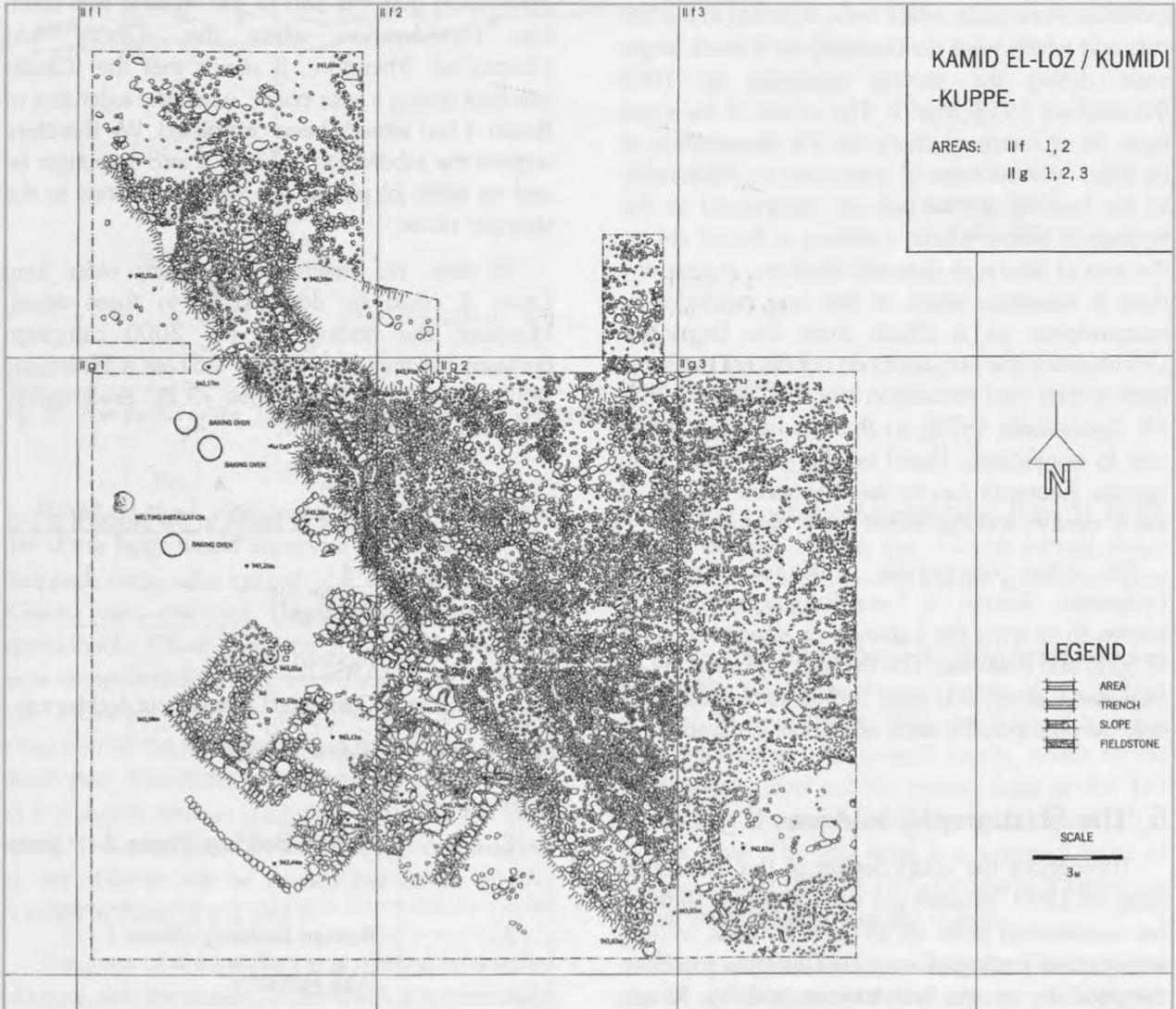
Table 3 - Sequence of layers in the Areas II g 1-3

Layer	Findings
0	Modern Surface
1	Cultivation Layer without Architecture - Islamic Tombs
a	
2	Roman Building, Phase 2 - «Glacis»
b	
3	Roman Building, Phase 1 - Wall Remains
4	Hellenistic Settlement (?)

### 6. Interpretation of the Excavation Results of 1997 and 1999

The excavations in Areas II g 1-3 on the «Kuppe» of Tell Kamid el-Loz strongly indicate a longer settlement phase from the Early to the Late Roman period. During this entire time the house in II g 1-2 remained in use, although it was restructured or extended at least once. Its character as a residential and utilitarian building remained largely unchanged. No other houses could be discovered in the buildings vicinity. Thus it stands as a single residential unit that faces the imposing area covered by the «Glacis» to the north. During the Late Roman period, when the «Glacis» must have been constructed, both structures

formed a unit. To date, the findings of the excavations offer no explanation for the function of this unit. There are no indications of fortified structures that would support a military function; such installations should have been present near the apex of the «Glacis». A possible function as a water storage system or aqueduct is contradicted by the topography and natural setting of the Tell, which do not indicate any need for such a complex water supply system. Nevertheless, both interpretations should not be discarded as hypotheses for further research in this area. Only future excavations will be able to shed more light on the extent and significance of the Roman buildings on the Tell of Kamid el-Loz.



Appendix: Plan of the Roman house in II g 1-2 with the adjoining «Glacis».

## Notes

8- The division into areas followed the grid system, modified by the surveying results of Heckmann und Holzer 1997 (see introduction Heinz, Chapter 2.1., pl. 3). For the older grid, see R. Hachmann, *Vermessung des Tell Kamid el-Loz und Organisation der Grabung*, in: Hachmann und Kuschke 1966: 31-42, Fig. 9.

9- Immediately to the northwest of II f 1 lies the adjoining excavation area of the temple from the Late Bronze Age (Area I f/g 14-16), which today lies 5-6m lower.

10- According to the survey descriptions in Marfoe (1995: 196, Site 050), while in Kamid el-Loz ceramics from the Hellenistic and Roman period were found, no corresponding building finds could be documented for these periods. Sparse building remnants are only known again from the Byzantine period. The excavator comments as follows on the post-Iron Age findings: "The deserted tell was used as a cemetery during the Late Iron Age. Later, in Roman times, it served as garbage depository. Two single buildings date from even later times. In IJ 12 a one-room, stone house containing Byzantine pottery was excavated, and in IG 15 and IF 15 a building with a lime plaster floor was exposed" (Hachmann 1989: 68).

11- The ceramics from the FS 10 and FS 15 confirmed even then the rough dating of this settlement area to the Roman-Late Roman period. The types 0003 (Pl. 14: b), 0019a (Pl. 12: c), c (Pl. 12: f), f (Pl. 12: d), g (Pl. 12: g), 0025a (Pls 7: h and 11: d), b (Pl. 11: e), c (Pl. 7: i), d (Pl. 7: g), 1066a (Pl. 7: b), b (Pl. 7: c), 1098b (Pl. 14: e), 1100c (Pl. 14: d), 1105c (Pl. 12: i), 1108a (Pl. 14: g), 1112 (Pl. 11: i), 1117a (Pl. 13: c), 1204 (Pl. 14: c), 6400a (Pl. 6: m), 6442 (Pl. 8: b), 9742 (Pl. 28: h), 9744 (Pl. 8: i) represented here encompass a time frame from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

12- For comparison, a pottery depot at the base of a wall extension in the Roman settlement Tel Anafa should be mentioned. The excavators connect the filling in of the pit with pottery with the building's phase ROM IB (Herbert 1994: 118, pl. 91B).

13- Represented are the rims of small to medium-sized vessels, e.g. closed forms: Type 0019a (Pl. 18: c), b, (Pl. 18: d), 0025c (Pl. 17: h); e.g. open forms: Type 1085b (Pl. 17: b), 1116c (Pl. 17: f), 1118b (Pl. 17: i). Remarkable is a fragment of type 1306 (Pl. 17: k), which in comparison with the ceramics from *Tell Anafa* can be called a "Black-slipped predecessor of Eastern Sigillata A (ESA)" In *Tell Anafa*, this ware was found in the Strata HELL 2A-ROM IB, which means that they date from 125 BC to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (see Herbert 1997: 275ff.)

14- Represented are the rims of small to medium-sized vessels of mostly open forms, e.g.: Type 1090c (Pl. 21: b), 1110c (Pl. 9: b), 11476 (Pl. 21: f), 1205 (Pl. 20: a), 1305 (Pl. 21: c).

15- The floor level for all installations lies at 943.15 - 943.14 m.

16- Represented are the rims of small to medium-sized vessels, e.g. closed forms: Type 0004a (Pl. 24: e), 0020c (Pl. 24: a), 0025d (Pl. 24: c); e.g. open forms: Type 1066c (Pl. 26: b), 1071c (Pl. 25: d).

17- The bottle rim Type 0025d (Pl. 24: c) in FS 9 is a later variation of Type 0025c (Pl. 17: h), found in the FS 51/1999 (Room 2).

18- For a comparable installation of a bread oven within a wall extension, see the findings from a Late Hellenistic building in *Tell Anafa* (Phase HELL 2C) in northern Israel (Herbert 1994: 56, pl. 29B).

19- For illustrations and dates of the small finds, see the chapter by Petersen.

20- A dating of the coin to the Late Hellenistic to Early Roman period is being suggested; see Petersen Pl. 47: g.

21- For the types represented here, see the statements in footnotes 11, 13, 14 and 16.

22- Summarized in Hirschfeld 1995. The Palestinian area offers the most suitable basis for comparison for the architectural findings in Kamid el-Loz, since settlement findings in this area from the Roman-Byzantine periods have been archaeologically documented and published most extensively. While Hellenistic-Roman settlements have been found in excavation locations in the Lebanon such as *Tell Hizzine* and *Tell Ghasil*, there is no suitable architecture for comparison (see *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 18, 111-112 for *Tell Hizzine* and *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 16, 87-102 and 19, 29-50 for *Tell Ghasil*). In *Tell Kazel* on the coast of Syria, Hellenistic-Late Hellenistic and Byzantine layers have been exposed (Gubel in Badre *et al.* 1990: 23 - 41). However, the only remains of buildings from the Late Hellenistic layer 2b (Badre *et al.* 1990: pl. IV) are also without comparative value for the architectural findings in Kamid el-Loz.

23- Very similar entrance situations can be found in Palestinian houses from the Iron Age. However, the L-shaped walls are located in the inner courtyard of the buildings (see houses from the layer IVb in *Tell el-Fara'ah*, Chambon 1984: pls. 11, 17). They resemble a miniature version of the Iron Age gate installations, which also show the same L-shaped structure.

24- This concerns the FS 3, 4, 6, 14, 32, 34, 44, 47, 49, 59, 64 in II g 2 and the FS 201, 202, 205, 209,



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## V. Kamid el-Loz 1997 and 1999: The Sounding in the Temple Area

Carolin JAUB

### 1. Introduction

Area I f 16 is situated on the northwest slope of the *Tell* (Fig. 3-b), 5-6 m below the excavation area "Hilltop"<sup>25</sup>. Sixteen years after the end of the previous campaign, the excavation goal for 1997 was primarily the clarification of the state of preservation of this area. In 1999, in the southern part of the area (from an elevation of 935 m) the first building levels were reached, in (and below) which no further recent disturbances could be expected.

### 2. The Saarbrücken Excavation

Under the leadership of R. Hachmann, University of Saarbrücken, various phases of a temple from the Late Bronze Age were unearthed in Areas I F 13-16, I G 13-16 and I H 13-16, among others. This installation from the Late Bronze Age was based in Areas I F 14-15 and I G 14-15 on a temple from the Middle Bronze Age, which has not yet been comprehensively published<sup>26</sup>.

### 3. Working-Fields within the Area

#### 3.1. Work Domain South

In the southwestern corner of the area, a work area was present at an approximate elevation of 935 m (Figs 22 to 24). It contained two ovens, placed side by side (between 1.5 m / 3 m to 1.5 m / 5 m) with openings facing to the northwest. The western oven (with a diameter of 0.6 m) was slightly larger than the eastern oven (with a diameter of 0.5 m). Their clay walls have been preserved up to a height of 0.27 m and show the discoloration typically found in ovens B black on the inside, red on the outside. North of these ovens extended a working and walking surface of pale gray loam with

a few scattered (animal) bones and charcoal fragments. Farther to the north, the walking surface was replaced by ochre-colored loam soil. To the east of the two well-preserved ovens was an additional oven chamber which had already been destroyed while still in use, had been repaired with stones and was most likely used as an open fire place. On a slightly higher level (ca. 15 cm) this destroyed oven partially covered a fire place.

In the west, an ash lense (Figs 23 and 24, 2.25 m / 1.5 m - 3.25 m / 2.75 m) with several animal bones, a few charcoal particles and several pottery fragments had been preserved. At an elevation between 934.80 m and 934.60 m, it was located at a lower level than the walking surface (935 m). In the excavators' opinion it must have served as a garbage pit in the vicinity of the ovens. A soil sample was taken for chemical analysis; the results are not yet available.

South of this ash lense and west of the ovens a concentration of numerous pottery fragments was discovered *in situ*. These could be assigned to two different vessels with diameters at their rim of 28 cm and 58 cm, respectively. However, the actual shape of the vessels could not be reconstructed. In addition, a processed bone, a bronze point and a fragment of another stone tool (not illustrated) were found in the working area.

The working area lies higher than all other sections of the excavation area. An extension of the excavation area will clarify the context of its function and construction.

Based on the analysis of the very little pottery and small objects, this area, findspot 9, can be preliminarily dated to the late middle bronze - late bronze age (see J. Kirchhofer, findspot 9).

#### 3.2. The "Tomb"

In the southern part of the area, between wall 1 and Work Domain South, an u-shaped structure of stone blocks, the so-called "tomb", was set low in the ground (Figs 22 to 24). The clay floor of the work domain partially extended over the upper edge of this structure, which, at an elevation of ca. 934.84 m, lay about 0.16 m below the walking surface.

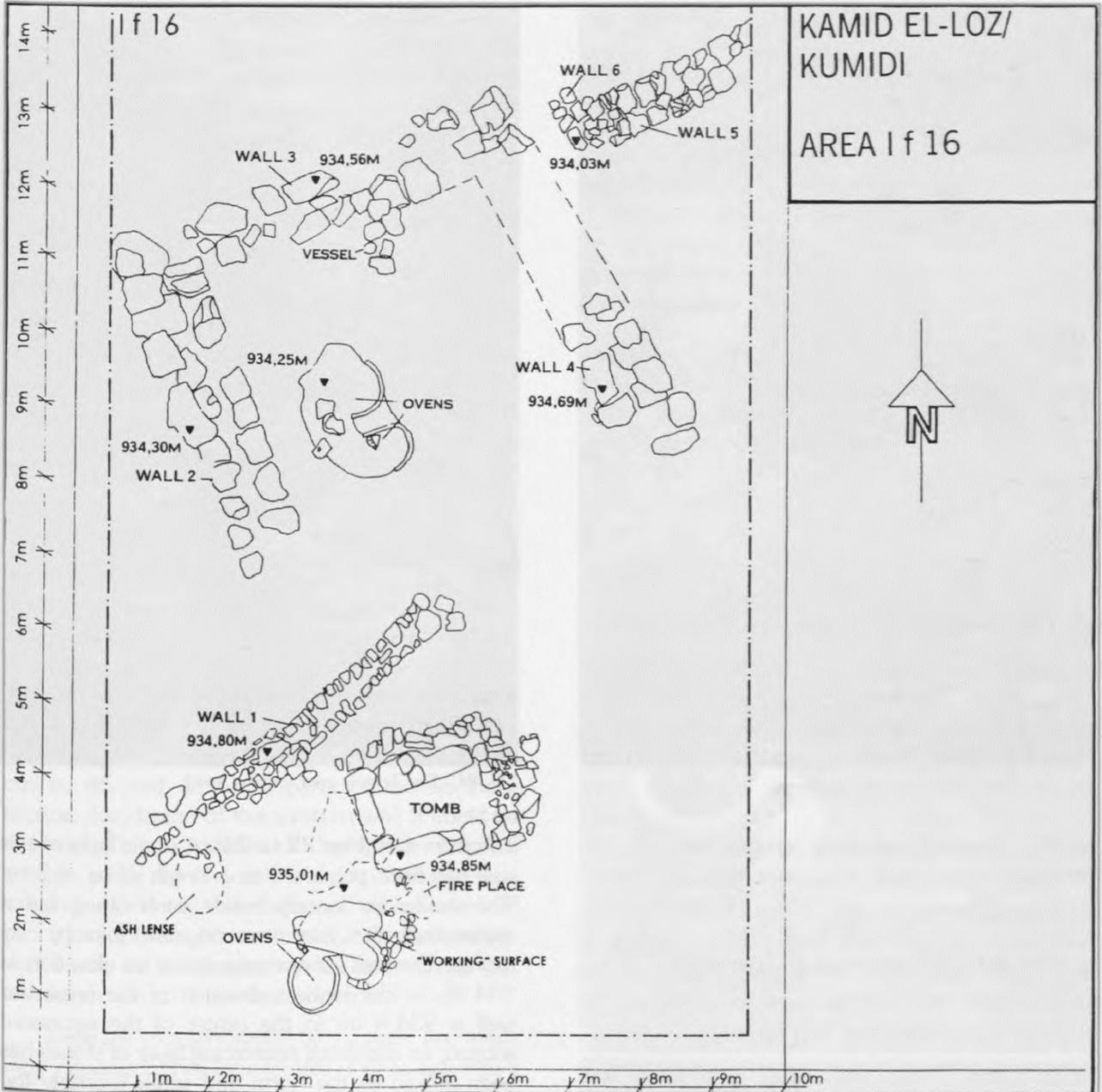


Fig. 22 - Plan of the Temple area.

The so-called "tomb" consists of 3 roughly hewn, square lime stone blocks. The northern and southern blocks are 2.25 m long (elevation of their upper edges: 934.85 m and 934.79 m, respectively), the connecting block is 0.85 m long (elevation of the upper edge: 934.83 m). The blocks were set into the soil to a depth of 0.8 to 0.9 m (the elevation of their lower edges lies between 933.97 and 933.87 m). They do not directly abut each

other; instead, they are connected by single, smaller stones in the corners. Inside the "tomb" chamber, the soil had been disturbed to an elevation of 933.56 m. Underneath lay an ash layer, containing pottery fragments (see J. Kirchhofer, findspot 31) and animal bones. From elevation 933.41 m on, the ash layer blends into an ochre-colored loam soil into which the stone blocks had been set.



Fig. 23 - The "Tomb".

The building structure and shape of this installation are most consistent with a "tomb" chamber. Due to the disturbance of the chamber, certainly in recent times (and perhaps already in anti-quity?), which only left a small section of the southwestern part of the area undisturbed, the structure cannot be dated with certainty.

It seems likely that the installation was constructed before the creation of the work area; however, it cannot be excluded that it was set in place while the work area was already in use. In this case, too, further insight into the function and structural context of the installation will only be gained after an extension of the excavation area.

### 3.3. Wall 1

The southern half of the area is traversed by wall 1, made from unhewn quarystones (ca. 15 cm by



Fig. 24 - The Temple area looking north.

15 cm in size) (Figs 22 to 24). A single layer of this wall has been preserved to a length of ca. 6.3 m. The stones lay loosely beside each other, but it seems likely that they were originally joint by clay mortar. The wall's lower edge lies at an elevation of 934.46 m, the highest elevation of the preserved wall is 934.8 m. In the center of the excavated section, an additional reinforcing layer of stones has been affixed to the north and south (possibly the threshold of a door?). To the southwest of this reinforcement, wall 1, which in this section only shows a stone row design, is disturbed by the garbage pit built into Work Domain South.

To the northwest of the wall, on the level of the wall's lower edge, remnants of a spread clay floor were discovered which continued on the north side as a 1.1 m wide strip of reddish-brown loam in a westerly direction. Directly above this level lay a 0.05 m thick ash/burn layer, covering an area of 1 m by 2 m, which contained a few burnt bone remnants.

For the purpose of C14-dating, a soil sample with charcoal was taken north of the wall; the results are not yet available. Pottery from the undisturbed floor context date this area to the late middle bronze - late bronze age (see J. Kirchhofer, findspot 19)

The disturbance of wall 1 indicates that it was constructed earlier than the younger garbage pit in Work Domain South. The upper edges (elevations: 934.85 m, 934.79 m, 934.83 m) of the stone blocks forming the so-called "tomb" lie ca. 0.3 m above the lower edge of wall 1 (934.46 m); however, the stratigraphic-constructional context is still unknown.

### 3.4. Central Complex

Situated roughly in the center of the excavation area (coordinates: 6.5 m / 0.5 m B12.5 m / 0.5 m - 8.5 m / 9 m-13.5 m / 6 m) was a complex of 3 walls (walls 2, 3, 4) and two ovens, referred to as the "Central Complex" (Figs 22 to 24). The lower edges of the walls 2, 3 and 4 were founded at elevations between 934.16 m and 934.24 m above sea level. They were about 1 m wide, constructed of partially lightly hewn stones (ca. 45 cm by 45 cm). In some parts of the northern section, two layers of the western wall 2 could be exposed. Only fragments of the northern wall 3 remain; while some stones from the first layer are missing, its overall extension and direction could be reconstructed quite accurately. Of the eastern wall 4 only a 3 m long section has been preserved, its connection to 3 has been disturbed.

Inside the area surrounded by the walls, two ovens were preserved. They were located close to wall 2 (at a distance of ca. 1.25 m) and opened toward the wall, i. e., towards the west. As in Work Domain South, one of the ovens here was smaller than the other (diameters: ca. 0.6 m vs. ca. 0.75 m). The oven walls were preserved to a height of ca. 0.2 m and showed the same typical discoloration as the ovens in Work Domain South. In and around the ovens was a gray floor of spread clay, covering an area of ca. 2 m by 1 m at an elevation of 934.25 m. In the entire complex, no ashes and only very few bones were found, i. e., there is no clear indication of any activities. The opening of the ovens towards wall 2 is puzzling, since

this must have impeded work around the ovens considerably. The corresponding elevations highly suggest that the ovens and wall 2 date to the same time.

Inside a circular stone setting along the southern edge of wall 3, a vessel was found which contained a few bone fragments and charcoal as well as several bronze objects, including two needles, a bronze bracelet, a bronze ring and a spear head including the shaft (Fig. 25)<sup>27</sup>.

The complex forms part of a (larger?) building unit. While the lower edges of walls 2, 3 and 4 are founded at lower elevations (between 934.16 m and 934.24 m) than wall 1 (at 934.46 m), the disturbance of the Central Complex may well have been caused by the constructional structure representing wall 1. To date, the structural and chronological relationships of these building units to each other remain unclear. Based on the pottery and small objects this complex can by now roughly be dated to late middle bronze - late bronze age (see J. Kirchhofer, findspot 24).



Fig. 25 - Vessel with bronze objects.

### 3.5. Wall 5 and Wall 6

East of the Central Complex (**Fig. 22**) lies wall 5, whose extension runs parallel to wall 3 and slightly offset toward the south. It is a quarystone-wall, partially preserved in two layers constructed of stones between 20 by 25 cm to 45 by 45 cm in size. Its lower edge follows an elevation of 334.12 m above sea level. The wall has been dug out to a length of ca. 2.5 m and cuts across the eastern boundary of the excavation area.

Partially built over by wall 5 and diverging from it at an approximately perpendicular angle toward the north was wall 6, which founded on a lower level. Its extension can be traced in a northward direction and needs to be clarified through further excavation. It is possible that the Central Complex and the structure formed by walls 5 and 6 were in use at the same time. The pottery from this area allows a chronological designation to the end of the middle bronze age (see J. Kirchhofer, findspot 47)

## 4. Conclusion

At this point, it is not yet possible to show functional connections or definite stratigraphical assignments between the areas defined here and the building structures. The excavation goal in this area, i. e., the demonstration of veritable structures, has been reached.

As they stand now, the findings give no indication as to a possible sacral function of the area; it rather points toward the carrying out of household activities. In view of the traditional "durability" in the use of cult sites in the Ancient Orient, a potential cultic use cannot be excluded. Further insights into these questions can be expected with the extension of the excavation area.

## Notes

25- See the report by D. Bonatz and A. Gilibert

26- Literature published to date: R. Hachmann: Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles au *Tell de Kamid el-Loz* en 1973. In: *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* XXX. Paris 1978. S. 29-34. und M. Metzger: Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Kamid el-Loz, Libanon (1964-74). In: Christina Albertina. *Forschungsbericht und Halbjahresschrift der Universität Kiel*. N.F. 6. (Kiel 1977. S. 5-40.

27- Later to be published in detail.

## VI. The Pottery of the «Hilltop» (Kuppe) and of the Temple Area

Judith KIRCHHOFER, with a contribution from Peter KNÖTZELE

### 1. Introduction

The pottery registration of the seasons 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000 was mainly performed by Carolin Jauß, Amira Anis el-Khoury, Lisa Kirsch, Peter Knötzele, Regine Pruszinsky, Michael Sommer, Diana Sommer-Theohari, and Hassan Yahya. Karen Focke and Alessandra Gilibert carried out the drawings of pottery and small finds on the spot.

The present paper reports on the pottery inventory of chosen, as relevant judged find-spots from the 1997-, 1999-, and 2000-campaigns, areas "hilltop" (Kuppe) and temple<sup>28</sup>. This pottery is dated primarily on the basis of the rim sherds. Bases, handles, spouts and decoration patterns are of secondary rank for the purpose of dating, and will be used at best to support the dating process.

For the 2000-campaign only the archaeologically complete vessels as well as a sherds' depot from the "hilltop" will be dealt with, since they are relevant for the "Roman house". The pottery is classified according to find-spots. The scale of the catalogue drawings is 1: 3,5.

### 2. Recording Method

The recording method was elaborated in 1997. The basic parameters for the pottery analysis are recorded on the spot and are entered into an Access database adapted to the needs of the excavation. The team always register find-spot, find-date, relevance of find-spot, total number of sherds for each find-spot as well as ware, form, decoration and pattern types, and their respective number.

All sherds are stored separately according to their find-spots. Only the pottery resulting from find-spots declared as relevant by the trench supervisors,

is registered. Every sherd belonging to the relevant find-spots, even the belly ones, are entered into the statistics. In order to leave open access to eventual later enquiries or corrections, the pottery of the so-called irrelevant find-spots is also stored in Kamid el-Loz. A find-spot is irrelevant if it contains debris, modern traces, is disturbed, or belongs to the surface.

#### 2.1. Ware Description

The definition of the ware types is based on naming the clay sort, kind of temper, size and amount of the temper particles, sort of firing, degree of hardness resulting from firing, and definition of the core color, i.e. the clay color at the edge of break according to Munsell's Soil Color Charts<sup>29</sup>. The vessels' way of production, as hand-made or produced on the potter's wheel, is also differentiated and recorded. The exact description of the ware types is made in the ware catalogue.

#### 2.2. Rim and Pot Forms' Typology

Sherds are classified according to the following main categories: rims, bases, bellies, handles, and spouts. The category "other forms" has been left open for ambiguous cases.

Rim sherds and, if possibly conserved, whole vessels are further subdivided into closed, open, cooking, storage and other purposes' pots. This division is based on the following criteria<sup>30</sup>. Closed pots are characterised by a pronounced neck and an upright or lightly inclined rim. Open pots are marked by their wide opening; the bowls' depth is usually smaller than the rim's diameter. Cooking pots are bulbous and, if completely preserved, round-bottomed vessels without a neck. Often they still preserve charred, sooty spots on their outside. Storage pots appear as open and closed forms as well; essentially they are distinguished by means of their big size.

The general form "belly" has been only formally introduced and provided with a type number: the decorated belly sherds require a decoration type as well as a form type number for their registration. Undecorated belly sherds are not classified according to form types.

### 2.3. Decoration Types and Patterns

Decoration styles are also differentiated and their respective patterns are recorded by means of drawings according to types. The following decoration types have been distinguished: plastic and applied decorations and paintings. Plastic decorations are shaped into the clay of the same pot. They are either embossed, impressed or carved in it. Whereas applied decorations are applied on the pot out of additional clay.

### 3. Choice of Places and Regions to be Compared

In order to date the sherds and consequently the strata in which they were found and registered, it is also necessary to compare them with the pottery originating from other geographic areas.

Our comparing areas lay either in the vicinity of Kamid el-Loz (Anafa, Israel; Antiochia, Turkey; Palestine in general; *Tell 'Arqa*, Lebanon; Beirut, Lebanon; *Tell Hayyat*, Palestine; Syria and Lebanon in general; Khirbet Slim, Joya, Qrayé and Qasmieh, Lebanon; Dura Europos, Syria; Iraq el Amir, Jordan; Kamid el-Loz, Lebanon; Lachish, Israel; *Tall Munbaqa*, Syria; *Tell Afis*, Syria; the Levant in general), or they stood under similar external (Hellenistic-Roman) influences (Mediterranean countries; Stobi, Macedonia), which found expression, among other things, in similarities of the pottery.

### Notes

28- A complete presentation of the pottery and its analysis according to criteria like form and ware as well as place of finding and context follows in a special investigation. The emphasis of pottery's documentation here lies on the dating of the respective find-spots mentioned in this preliminary report.

29- *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, New Windsor, NY 1994.

30- Heinz, Marlies, *Die Keramik aus Saar/Bahrain*, in: *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 25, Berlin 1994, 126ff.

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## Pottery of Hilltop/Season 1997

## FS 10

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison		Dating	Commentary	Quantity
5	a		XXXI, XXXIII, XX,					2, 1, 3,
		9742	XLIII	/				3
	b	7538	XXXIII	/				1
	c	7506b	XXXI	/				1
	d	9741	XX, XXV, XXVII,	XXXI, XLIII, XLVIII	/			4, 1, 2,
	e	7567	XXV	/				4, 4, 4
	f	7543	XXVII	/				1
6	g	7500b	XXV	/				1
	a	1093	XXV	/				2
	b	1086a	XXVII	Lapp (1961)	type 41; K	200-150 BC		1
				Anderson	pl. 48; 420	late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
	c	1110b	XLVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 41; H	200-150 BC		1
	d	1074b	XLIII	Anderson	pl. 47; 411	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		2
				Anderson	pl. 51; 452	late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
	e	1097b	XXII	Hayes (1972)	fig. 3, form 6; c	late 1 <sup>st</sup> -early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		1
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 9, form 32.3	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD		
				Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; D and J	200-150 BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 253.6; A	75 BC-20 AD		
	f	6414e	XLVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 253.3; A	75-25 BC		1
					pl. II; 43a/f and 73 and 76a			
	g	6409b	XXXV	Waage	and 77f/k	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c.-150 BC		1
				Chapman	fig. 19; 213	Bronze Age-Middle Iron Age		
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 3, form 6; A1	late 1 <sup>st</sup> -early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		
	h	6408f	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 41; J	200-150 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 53; L	50-31 BC		
	i	6412b	XXII	Lehmann (1998)	fig. 8; 18	580-540 BC		1
				Anderson	pl. 76; 642	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		
			Anderson	pl. 79; 669	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD			
			Anderson	pl. 79; 672	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD			
j	6416b	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; D	200-150 BC		1	
k	6408b	XXVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 14.1; A and C	50-68 AD		2	
			Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; R	0-68 AD			
			Lapp (1961)	type 253.1; B	75-25 BC			
l	6401b	XXVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 251.2a; A	75-25 BC		1	
m	6400a	XXVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 14.1; A and C	50-68 AD		1	
			Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; R	0-68 AD			
			Lapp (1961)	type 253.1; B	75-25 BC			
			Lapp (1961)	type 253.4; C	75-25 BC			
n	6401c	XXVIII	Dyson	fig. 5; 117	about 256 AD		1	
			Hayes (1972)	fig. 33, form 107; 2	600-650 AD			
7	a	1185	XX	Lapp (1961)	type 251.2a; A	75-25 BC		1
				Lehmann (1998)	fig. 7; 6	600-580 BC		
				Chapman	fig. 24; 293	Iron Age in Palestin		
				Lapp (1961)	type 41; F	200-150 BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 53; L	50-31 BC		
	b	1066a	X	Lapp (1961)	type 151.1; D	200-150 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; A	200-150 BC		
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 12, form 49.6	230-300 AD		
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 35, form 181; 12/13	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.-1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD		
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.1; A	200-150 BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; K	50-68 AD		
	c	1066b	X	Hayes (1972)	fig. 12, form 49; 1	230-300 AD		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; H and K	50-31 BC and 50-68 AD		
	d	1069d	XLVIII	Hayes (1972)	fig. 22, form 81; B8	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 252.2; A	75-25 BC		
				Anderson	pl. 54; 474	late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
	e	1082a	XXV	/				1
	f	1191	XVII	Hayes (1972)	fig. 3, form 5; B8	late 1 <sup>st</sup> -early 2. c. AD		1
	g	0025d	XLIII	Hayes (1972)	fig. 3, form 7; 4	Flavian-early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 11; F	0-70 AD		
h	0025a	XXXI, XLIII	Dyson	fig. 2; 26	about 160 AD		3	
			Lapp (1961)	type 11; B	75-50 BC			
			Lapp (1961)	type 32.1; A	75-29 BC			
			Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; B	200-100 BC			

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity	
	i	0025c	XLVIII	Lapp (1961) Herbert Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 11; B PW210 type 11; F type 11; G	75-50 BC 98-20 BC 0-70 AD 0-50 AD	1	
	j	0025b	XLIII	/			1	
	k	95	XXXIII	Waage Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961)	pl. IV; 410h fig. 4, form 8; 32 type 54.1; C	Augustus-early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 50-68 AD	1	
	l	0019f	XXXVI	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 11.3; H type 11.2; B and C	50-29 BC 175-50 BC	4	
	m	0021b	X	Lapp (1970)	fig. 9; 1 and 2	332 BC	5	
<b>FS 15</b>								
8	a	6414a	XXXV	/			1	
	b	6442	/	Dyson Hayes (1972)	fig. 11; 290 fig. 34; form 161.1	about 256 AD after 79 AD		
	c	6448	XXII	Dyson Dyson Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	fig. 11; 290 fig. 14; 453 type 31.2; A-5 type 92; B	about 256 AD about 256 AD 50-68 AD 0-50 AD	1	
	d	1116h	XXVIII	Hayes (1972) Anderson Anderson	fig. 8, form 27; 9 pl. 27; 226 pl. 46; 394	160-200 AD 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S.	1
	e	1116g	XXVIII	Hayes (1972) Anderson	fig. 7, form 23; A11 pl. 27; 226	early-middle 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S.	1
	f	6423b	XXVIII	Lapp (1961) Anderson	type 253.3; A pl. 27; 228	75-25 BC 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S.	1
	g	6400c	XXVIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 253.1; B type 253.4; C	75-25 BC 75-25 BC	Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S.	1
	h	9744	XXVIII	Anderson	pl. 18; 122	2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Comparison: T.S.	1
	i	9743	XXVIII	Lapp (1961) Anderson	type 158.1; D pl. 18; 113	75-55 BC 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S.	1
	j	11913	XXXI	Robinson	pl. 19; M 54	middle 1 <sup>st</sup> -early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	Belonging to FS 10, pl. 26:e	
	k	11918	XX	Robinson	pl. 22; M 94	late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		1
9	a	9742	XLIII	/				3
	b	1115c	XLVIII	/				1
	c	7504b	XX	/				1
	d	7543					Belonging to FS 10, see pl. 22:f Decoration: 11913, see pl. 25:j	
	e	7510	XXXI	/				1
	f	7506b	II, XXXI, LIV	/				1, 1, 1
	g	7504a	XXV	/				2
	h	7546	XXXI	/				1
	i	7541	XXVII	/				1
	j	7563	XLIII	/				1
	k	7511	XLVIII	/				1
10	a	7506a	XXXI, LIV	/				1, 1
	b	9741	XX, XLVIII, XXXI	/				1, 1, 5
	c	9702	XLIII, XXXI, XLVIII	/				1, 5, 5
	d	7599	XX	/				1
	e	7522	XXXI	/				1
	f	7501	XVII	/				1
11	a	1115b	XLVIII	Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Anderson	fig. 10, form 39.1 type 51.2; E pl. 41; 355	1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD 50-31 BC 4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
	b	0033b	XXXIII	Dyson Hayes (1972) Anderson Waage	fig. 11; 283 fig. 18, form 63;1 pl. 52; 461 pl. X; 897k	about 256 AD 375-400 AD late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD end 3 <sup>rd</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	Comparison: ARSW. To big	1
	c	1149	XXV	Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961)	fig. 5, form 11 type 21.1; E	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 150-100 BC		1
	d	0025a	XLVIII	Dyson Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	fig. 2; 26 type 11; B type 32.1; A type 71.1; B	about 160 AD 75-50 BC 75-29 BC 200-100 BC		1
	e	0025b	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 13; A	50-68 AD		1

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity	
	f	0026b	XLVIII	Lapp (1961) Hayes (1972)	type 71.1; B fig. 34, form 161.1	200-100 BC after 79 AD	Comparison: cooking pot	1
	g	0005c	XLVIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1970)	type 71.1; B fig. 6; 4 and 5	200-100 BC late 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		1
	h	0005a	XXV	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1970) Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; A fig. 6; 4 and 5 type 11.2; A	175-100 BC late 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC 175-100 BC		2
	i	1112	XIII	Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; P	0-50 AD	Comparison: cooking pot	1
	j	1083b	XLIII	Dyson Lapp (1961)	fig. 11; 290 type 21.1; D	about 256 AD 200-100 BC		1
	k	0011c	XLIII	Dyson	fig. 9; 207	about 256 AD		1
	l	0020e	XLIII	Lapp (1970) Dyson Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	fig. 9; 3 fig. 3; 46 type 21.1; A type 21.1; H type 45.2; B	332 BC about 160 AD 200-100 BC 200-29 BC 50-68 AD		1
	m	1124	LV	Anderson Dyson Lapp (1961)	pl. 83; 705 fig. 19; III D; 3 type 253.6; A	middle 4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD 75-20 BC	Comparison: brittle ware	1
12	a	14	II, X, XXV	Anderson Anderson Lapp (1970) Lapp (1961)	pl. 39; 336 pl. 45; 382 fig. 9; 1 and 2 and 3 type 21.1; A	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD 332 BC 200-100 BC		1, 1, 1
	b	0021b	XLIII	/				1
	c	0019a	XX, XXXII	/				1, 1
	d	0019f	XXXI, XXV	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 11.3; H type 11.2; B and C	50-29 BC 175-50 BC		1, 2
	e	0021a	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; B	175-50 BC		1
	f	0019c	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; C	175-100 BC		1
	g	0019g	XXXVI	Anderson Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	pl. 76; 646 type 11.2; C type 11.2; D type 54.1; B	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD 175-100 BC 50-68 AD		1
	h	1105f	XLIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 45.1; B type 45.3; A	50-68 AD 0-68 AD		1
	i	1105c	XLIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 45.1; A type 45.3; A type 54.1; A	50 BC-50 AD 0-68 AD 50 BC-68 AD		1
	j	1074c	XLVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 72.1; K	50-68 AD	Comparison: cooking pot	1
13	a	1205	XLVII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Anderson	type 158.1; G type 51.2; J pl. 18; 113	75-25 BC 50-31 BC 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC		1
	b	1116f	XLVIII	Hayes (1972) Hayes (1972)	fig. 12, form 50; 46 fig. 6, form 17B	230-325 AD 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		3
	c	1117a	XLVIII	Waage Hayes (1972) Hayes (1972)	pl. 1; H18 fig. 12, form 49; 8 fig. 18, form 62; 15	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC 230-300 AD 350-425 AD	Comparison: ARSW	3
	d	1066e	XLIII	Hayes (1972) Waage Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961)	fig. 8, form 27; 11 pl. 1; H26 fig. 8; form 27; 9 type 51.2; A	160-200 AD late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC 160-200 AD 175-100 BC	Comparison: ARSW	1
	e	1066d	XLIII	Dyson Lapp (1961)	fig. 1; 8 type 51.1; L	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC 50-68 AD		1
	f	1085b	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 51.8; B	50-31 BC		2
	g	1121c	XLVIII	Anderson	pl. 18; 113	2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC		1
	h	1169	XX	Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	fig. 22, form 81; B8 type 151.3; B type 52.2; B	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD 200-150 BC 50-31 BC	1	1
	i	1144	XXXI	Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Anderson	fig. 3, form 5; C30 type 251.2a; A pl. 35; 297	middle 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 75-25 BC 1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		1
	j	6439	XX	/				1
14	a	66	XXXI	/				1
	b	3	XVII	Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; L	150-107 BC	Comparison: with handle	1

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity
				Lapp (1961)	type 34.1; A	0-50 AD	
				Anderson	pl. 82; 701	2 <sup>nd</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	
	c	1204	/	Hayes (1972)	fig. 5, form 11; 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	1
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 5, form 12; 1	early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.4; A	200-150 BC	
	d	1100c	XXXI	Hayes (1972)	fig. 3, form 6; 41	end 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	1
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 9, form 32; 4	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.3; F	150-107 BC	
				Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; C	200-150 BC	
	e	1098b	XXII	Hayes (1972)	fig. 9, form 32.1	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	1
				Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; P	175-100 BC	
	f	1098e	XX	Chapman	fig. 19; 81	Bronze Age-Middle Iron Age	1
				Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; J	200-150 BC	
				Anderson	pl. 39; 336	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	
	g	1108a	XLIII, XXV	Hayes (1972)	fig. 14, form 57	325-400 AD	1, 1
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 14, form 57	325-400 AD	
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 14, form 58; 5 and 15	290-375 AD	
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 14, form 58;5	290-375 AD	
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 23, form 83	420-460 AD	
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 23, form 86	late 5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	
				Hayes (1972)	fig. 14, form 58	290-375 AD	
	h	1108h	I	Hayes (1972)	fig. 14, form 58; 1	290-375 AD	1
15	a	1090c	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 11.2 ; B	175-50 BC	1
				Lapp (1961)	type 45.1 ; A	50 BC-50 AD	
	b	0032b	XLIII	Lapp (1970)	fig. 4; 1	middle 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	1
	c	7508	XLIII	/			1

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## FS 51, IIg1

16	a	1060b	XXVIII	/			1
	b	6480	XLIII, LI	/			1, 1
	c	6469	XLVIII	Waage	pl VII; MR4	end 2 <sup>nd</sup> -early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Comparison: T.S.
				Hayes (1972)	2, form 2; 4	Flavian-(70-80 AD)	Comparison: T.S.
				Lapp (1961)	type 13.1; A	50-31 BC	Comparison: T.S.
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.1; A	200-150 BC	Comparison: T.S.
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.3; A	200-100 BC	Comparison: T.S.
				Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; B	200-150 BC	Comparison: T.S.
	d	6473	XXXI	Waage	pl X; LA1	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	1
	e	6447	LV	Hayes (1972)	10, form 39.1	1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	1
				Hayes (1972)	26, form 92.1	middle 5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD or earlier	
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.6; A	50-68 AD	
				Lapp (1961)	type 53; H	75-31 BC	
	f	6401f	XXVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 251.2a; A	75-25 BC	1
	g	9701	XXXI, XLVIII	/			5, 10
	h	9756	XXXIX	Robinson	pl. 33; M 358	6th c. AD	1
							Comparison: cooking pot with handle
17	a	1075e	XXII	Lapp (1961)	type 72.1; K	50-68 AD	1
	b	1085b	XLVIII	Waage	pl II, 54a	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c.-150 BC	2
				Dyson	fig. 2; 35	about 160 AD	
				Hayes (1972)	6, form 14/17; 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.8; B	50-31 BC	
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.8; D	50-68 AD	
				Lapp (1961)	type 52.2; F	50-68 AD	
				Anderson	pl 18; 113	2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	
	c	1116a	XXVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; A	175-100 BC	1
				Lapp (1961)	type 54.2; C	50-31 BC	
				Anderson	pl 40; 345	2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	
				Waage	pl XII; 30	about 10 BC	Comparison: T.S.
				Waage	pl XII; 30	about 10 BC	Comparison: T.S.
				Hayes (1972)	6, form 17B 11	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Hayes (1972)	7, form 23; A11	early-middle 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Hayes (1972)	8, form 27; 9 and 12	160-200 AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Anderson	pl 27, 225	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Anderson	pl 27, 225	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Anderson	pl 40, 344 and 345	2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Anderson	pl 46, 394	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.
				Anderson	pl 46; 394	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	Comparison: T.S.

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity
	d	19g	XLIII	Anderson Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	pl 52, 459 type 11.2; C type 11.2; D type 54.1; B	late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD 175-100 BC 175-100 BC 50-68 AD	Comparison: T.S. 1
	e	11a	XLIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Dyson	type 21.1; C type 29; A fig. 9; 207	200-100 BC 200-150 BC about 256 AD	1
	f	1116c	XXXI	Waage Waage Waage	pl XII; 18 (No. 97) pl XII; 28 (No. 103) pl XII; 30 (No. 103)	about 10 BC about 10 BC about 10 BC	Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S. Comparison: T.S.
	g	1122b	XXVIII	Anderson Waage	pl 27; 226 pl I; H10	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC-1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Comparison: T.S. 1
				Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961)	3, form 5; C30 type 253.3; B	middle 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 75-25 BC	
	h	0025c	XXXI	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 11; B type 11; F type 11; G	75-50 BC 0-70 AD 0-50 AD	1
	i	1118b	XI	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 52.1; B type 51.2; G	50-68 AD 50-31 BC	1
	j	1119	XXVIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 51.8; D type 52.1; D	50-68 AD 50-68 AD	1
	k	1306	XLVII				Comparison: black slipped predecessor from ESA 1
18	a	1066a	XXXI	Herbert Hayes (1972) Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Dyson Lapp (1961) Waage Waage Hayes (1972) Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	12, form 49.6 35, form 181; 12/13 type 151.1; A type 151.1; D type 51.1; A type 51.1; K fig. 1; 8 type 51.1; L pl I; H26 pl I; H26 8, form 27; 9 8, form 27; 9 type 51.2; A type 51.2; A	125 BC - early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD 230-300 AD 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.-1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD 200-150 BC 200-150 BC 200-150 BC 50-68 AD 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC 50-68 AD late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC 160-200 AD 160-200 AD 175-100 BC 175-100 BC	1 1
	b	14	XLIII	Lapp (1970) Lapp (1961)	fig. 9; 1 and 2 and 3 type 21.1; A	332 BC 200-100 BC	1
	c	0019a	XXII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Anderson	type 11.2; B type 11.2; B type 11.2; C pl 76; 646	175-50 BC 175-50 BC 175-100 BC 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	1
	d	19b	XLIII	Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lehmann (1998) Lehmann (1998) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; H type 45.2; B type 71.1; N1 fig. 3; 22 fig. 8; 5 type 71.1; P type 11.2; A type 11.2; B type 11.3; H type 21.1; G type 21.1; H	200-29 BC 50-68 AD 50-70 AD 750-700 BC 580-540 BC 0-50 AD 175-100 BC 175-50 BC 50-29 BC 140-50 BC 175-29 BC	1
	e	9721	XXV	/			1
<b>FS 13, IIg2</b>							
19	a	1102	XLIII	/			1
	b	1110c	XXXI	Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Hayes (1972) Lapp (1961) Lapp (1961)	10, form 40. 1 type 41; H 5, form 11; 1 type 53; F type 71.1; H	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD 200-150 BC 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD 140-100 BC 150-100 BC	1
				Lapp (1961)	type 72.1; K	50-68 AD	Comparison: cooking pot with handle
	c	6419b	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 14.2; A	50-68 AD	1
	d	6480	XXVIII	/			1

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison		Dating	Commentary	Quantity
	e	0008d	XXV	Chapman	fig. 7; 32	Middle Iron Age		1
	f	1066b	XXVIII	Dyson	fig. 1; 8	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC		1
				Hayes (1972)	12, form 49; 1	230-300 AD		
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.1; A	200-150 BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; H and K	0-68 AD		
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; H and K	50-31 BC and 50-68 AD		
	g	1274	XXXI	Robinson	pl. IX, 875p	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		1
				Robinson	pl. II, 25	end 4 <sup>th</sup> - early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC		
				Anderson	pl. 45; 382	5 <sup>th</sup> - 6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
				Lapp (1961)	type 53; E	150-100 BC		
				Hayes (1972)	9; form 32,2	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD		
			XX, XXX, XXXI,					3, 1, 1,
20	a	9701	XLIII, XLVIII	/				3, 1
	b	1205	XLV	Lapp (1961)	type 158.1; G	75-25 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; J	50-31 BC		
				Anderson	pl 18; 113	2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC		
	c	6479	XLVIII	Dyson	fig. 2; 19	about 160 AD		1
				Lehmann (1998)	fig. 8; 18	580-540 BC		
				Anderson	pl 76; 642	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		
				Anderson	pl 79; 669	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		
				Anderson	pl 79; 672	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		
	d	9720	XXV, XXXI	/				1, 1
	e	92	XLVIII	Lapp (1961)	type 21.2; B	50-31 BC		1
				Lapp (1970)	fig. 1; 1	middle 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		
				Lapp (1970)	fig. 3; 7	about 500 BC		
				Anderson	pl 78; 658	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		
				Lapp (1970)	fig. 4; 1	middle 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; C	175-100 BC		
<b>FS 29, IIg2</b>								
21	a	111	XXV	Lehmann (1998)	fig. 12, 7	360-300 BC		1
	b	1090c	XXXI	Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; B	175-50 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 45.1; A	50 BC-50 AD		
	c	1305	XXXV	Waage	pl. IV, 410k	Augustus - early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		1
	d	6492	XXX	Lehmann (2000)	fig. 10a, 3	end 5 <sup>th</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		1
	e	8610	XXX	/				1
	f	1147	II	/				1
<b>FS 39, IIg2</b>								
22	a	1239	XXXI	Waage	pl VI; 473k	Augustus-early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; K	175-100 BC		
				Lehmann (1998)	fig. 6; 18	700 -580 BC		
				Anderson	pl 78; 656	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		
	b	107	XLIII	Chapman	fig. 9; 14	Middle Iron Age		1
				Anderson	pl 78; 658	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: to small	
	c	69	XXXI	Lapp (1961)	type 13; C	50-68 AD		1
	d	45	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 71.2; A	200-150 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 13; C	50-68 AD		
	e	51	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; B	200-100 BC		1
	f	6450	XXXI	Hayes (1972)	23, form 85; A1	middle 5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.1; A	200-150 BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 151.3; A	200-100 BC		
				Lapp (1961)	type 45.2; B	50-68 AD		
23	a	6405a	XII	Dyson	fig. 16; 5			1
	b	6406c	XLIII	Lehmann (1998)	fig. 3; 19	750-700 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; J	150-100 BC		
	c	9741	XXXI, XLIII	/				1, 4
	d	9701	XXII	/				1
	e	9721	XXIII	/				1

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity				
<b>FS 9, IIg2</b>											
24	a	0020c	X	Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; N1	50-70 AD	1				
				Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; F	140-50 BC					
				Lapp (1970)	fig. 9; 3	333 BC					
				Dyson	fig. 3; 46	about 160 AD					
				Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; A	200-100 BC					
				Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; H	200-29 BC					
				Lapp (1961)	type 45.2; B	50-68 AD					
				b	1273	XVI		Chapman	fig. 24; 105	Iron Age in Palestin	1
								Lehmann (1998)	fig. 11; 3	360-300 BC	
								Oggiano	fig. 6; 14	Iron Age	
								Hayes (1972)	3, form 7; 4	Flavian-early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	
								Lapp (1961)	type 11; F	0-70 AD	
	Anderson	pl 43; 376	4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD								
	d	72	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; G	37 BC-68 AD	1				
				Anderson	pl 78; 660	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD					
	e	0004a	XLIII	Anderson	pl 78; 660	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	2				
	f	106	LV	/			1				
	g	6426	II	/			1				
	h	9741	XXXIII	/			2				
	25	a	94	XVI	/			1			
		b	1072b	XVI	/			1			
					Chapman	fig. 24; 239	Iron Age in Palestin				
		Dyson	fig. 1; 18	hellenistic	1, 1						
		Lapp (1961)	type 151, 1; A	200-150 BC							
Robinson		pl. II, 75a	end 4 <sup>th</sup> - early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC								
d		1071c	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; N1	50-70 AD	1				
e		51	XLIII	Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; B	200-100 BC	1				
f		103	XLIII	Anderson	pl. 83; 716a	middle 4 <sup>th</sup> - 6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD	1				
g		9702	I	/			1				
h		9701	XLIII	/			14				
26		a	1274	XVI	Hayes (1972)	13, form 52; 19	280-350 AD	1			
					Hayes (1972)	21, form 73; 2	420-475 AD				
					Robinson	pl. IX, 875p	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c. AD				
					Robinson	pl. II, 25	end 4 <sup>th</sup> - early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC				
	Anderson				pl. 45; 382	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD					
	Lapp (1961)				type 53; E	150-100 BC					
	Hayes (1972)				9; form 32,2	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD					
	b				1066c	XVI	Hayes (1972)		12, form 49.6	230-300 AD	1
							Hayes (1972)		35, form 181; 12/13	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2. c.-1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	
							Lapp (1961)		type 151.1; A	200-150 BC	
		Lapp (1961)	type 151.1; D	200-150 BC							
	Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; A	200-150 BC	1							
	Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; K	50-68 AD								
	Hayes (1972)	12, form 49; 1	230-300 AD								
Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; H and K	50-31 BC and 50-68 AD									
Dyson	fig. 1; 8	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC									
Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; L	50-68 AD									
Waage	pl I; H26	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC									
Waage	pl I; H26	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC									
Hayes (1972)	8, form 27; 9	160-200 AD									
Hayes (1972)	8; form 27; 9	160-200 AD									
Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; A	175-100 BC	1								
Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; A	175-100 BC									
c	9778	XXXI	/			1					
d	11913	XIIX	Robinson	pl. 19; M 54	50-early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD	1					
<b>Selected Pottery of Hilltop/Season 1999</b>											
27	a	1069a	/	Lapp (1961)	type 11.3; F, p. 148	150-100 BC	/				
				Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; A, p. 157	200-100 BC					
				Anderson	pl 52; 457	late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD					
				Anderson	pl 83; 705	middle 4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD					
				Hayes (1972)	5, form 10; B4	late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD					
				Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; N1, p. 187	50-70 AD					
	b	1071c	/	Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; N1, p. 187	50-70 AD	/				
	c	1079d	/	Hayes (1972)	7, form 23; A	middle 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.-early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	/				
	d	1098b	/	Hayes (1972)	9, form 32:1	early-middle 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD	/				
	Lapp (1961)	type 153.1; P, p. 207	175-100 BC	/							
	e	1108a	/	/			/				



Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison		Dating	Commentary	Quantity
	g	1066d	/	Dyson	fig. 1; 8	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC		/
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.1; L, p. 172	50-68 AD		
	h	1066e	/	Waage	pl I; H26	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		/
				Waage	pl I; H26	late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		
				Hayes (1972)	8, form 27; 9	160-200 AD		
				Hayes (1972)	8; form 27; 9	160-200 AD		
				Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; A, p. 173	175-100 BC		

### The Pottery-Depot of Hilltop/Season 2000

#### FS 603, IIg1

30	a	7616		Lehmann	fig. 11; 8	360-300 BC		1
				Chapman	fig. 32; 314	Iron Age	Part of an associated tomb group, similar as in Tell Fara.	
	b	45	XXII	Lapp (1961)	type 71.2; A, p. 188	200-150 BC		1
				Lapp (1961)	type 13; C, p. 153	50-68 AD		
	c	1071b		Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; N1, p. 187	50-70 AD		1

### Pottery of Temple/Season 1999

#### FS 9, If16

31	a	1147	XXXIX	Frank	Abb. 1; 27/30-H0/H1	early Late Bronze Age		1
				Frank	Abb. 27	early Late Bronze Age		
	b	1083b	XLII	Marfoe	fig. 69; 8	Middle Bronze Age II B		1
				Marfoe	fig. 92; 5	Late Bronze Age I-II B		
	c	12a	XXX	Marfoe	fig. 65; 7	Middle Bronze Age II		1
				Marfoe	fig. 76; 4	Late Bronze Age I-II B		
	d	19h	XXXIV	Marfoe	fig. 62; 8	Middle Bronze Age II A		1
	e	19b	XXXIX	Marfoe	fig. 98; 8	Late Bronze Age I-II B		4
	f	12b	XXXIV	Marfoe	fig. 94; 2	Treasury		2
	g	65	XII	Marfoe	fig. 81; 6	Late Bronze Age I-II B	Decoration: 9708, see pl. 49: c	1
32	a	1091	XXXIX	Marfoe	fig. 64; 1	Middle Bronze Age II B		1
				Thalmann	fig. 49; 11	Middle Bronze Age II - Late Bronze Age		
	b	111	XXXVII	Marfoe	fig. 63; 7	Middle Bronze Age II B		1
	c	9708	XII	/			Belonging to 65, pl. 48:g	

#### FS 19, If16

33	a	1144	LXVI	Marfoe	fig. 77; 6	Late Bronze Age I-II B		1
	b	1158	XLIX	Marfoe	fig. 62; 6 and 8	Middle Bronze Age II A		1
	c	6414c	XXXIII	Marfoe	fig. 61; 7	Middle Bronze Age II A		1
	d	45b	XVII	/				1
	e	9717c	XLV	/				1
	f	9710	XLV	/				1

#### FS 24, If16

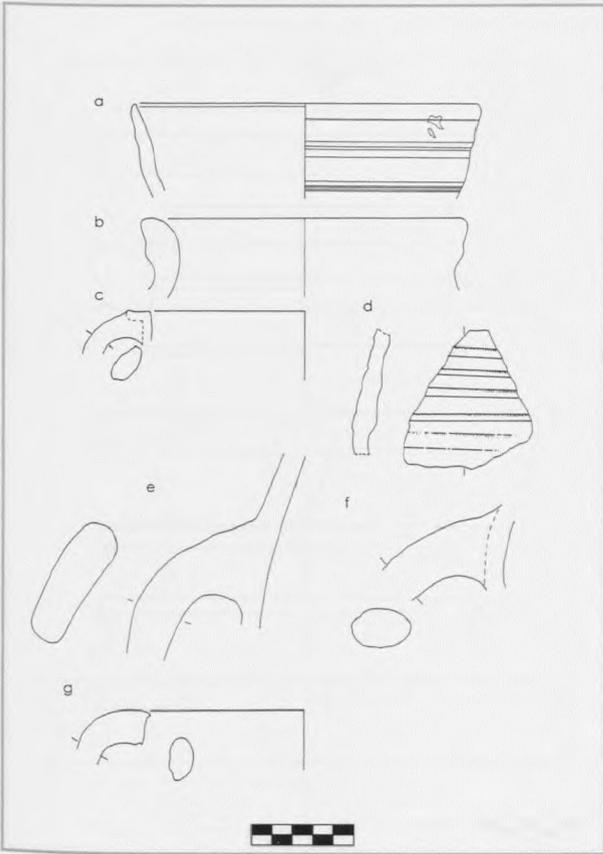
34	a	1266	XXXII	Frank	Abb. 4	early Late Bronze Age		1
				Badre	fig. 3; 13	Early Bronze Age		
				Marfoe	fig. 52; 1	early Bronze II/III		
	b	93	XLIV	/				1
	c	1105g	XXI	/				1
	d	38	XXX	/				1
	e	1242	XXX	Marfoe	fig. 69; 7	Middle Bronze Age II B		1
	f	19a	XXIII, XXX	Marfoe	fig. 61; 4	Middle Bronze Age II A		1, 1
				Marfoe	fig. 77; 3	Late Bronze Age I-II B		
	g	44	XLIII	/				1
	h	9721	VI	/				1

Plate no	Object no	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity	
<b>FS 31, If16</b>								
35	a	48	LIV	Marfoe	fig. 91; 3	Late Bronze Age I-II B	1	
	b	9732	LXVI	/			1	
<b>FS 47, If16</b>								
36	a	1106a	XLV	Marfoe	fig. 62; 5	Middle Bronze Age II A	1	
	b	75	XXX	Marfoe	fig. 62; 7	Middle Bronze Age II A	1	
	c	100	XXX	Metzger	Taf. 112; 13	Late Bronze Age I-II B	Comparison: to big 1	
	d	9708	IV	/			1	
	e	9738	XXX	/			2	
	f	9736	XXVII	/			1	
	g	9780	XXV	/			1	
	h	9749	II	Hayes (1972)	23; form 83; 2	420-460 AD	1	
	i	9710	IV, III	Falconer	fig. 17	Middle Bronze Age II A	1	
	j	9718	XXVII	/			1	
	k	9786	XXX	Marfoe	fig. 64; 7	Middle Bronze Age II B	1	
	37	a	1251	VIII	Frank	Abb. 24	early Late Bronze Age	1
		b	1252	XLVI	Herbert	pl. 54, PW 461	125 - ? BC	Comparison: cooking pot 1
c		71	XII	Marfoe	fig. 99; 2	Late Bronze Age I-II B	1	
d		1106b	XXXIII	Marfoe	fig. 62; 8	Middle Bronze Age II A	1	
				Falconer	fig. 13; 8	Middle Bronze Age II		
				Frank	Abb. 1	early Late Bronze Age		
				Frank	Abb. 20	early Late Bronze Age		
				Frank	Abb. 25	early Late Bronze Age		
e	9734	XXIII	/	Badre	fig. 3; 1	Early Bronze Age	1	
f	17b	XXXVIII	/			1		
g	117	XXXVIII	Marfoe	fig. 65; 7	Middle Bronze Age II	1		

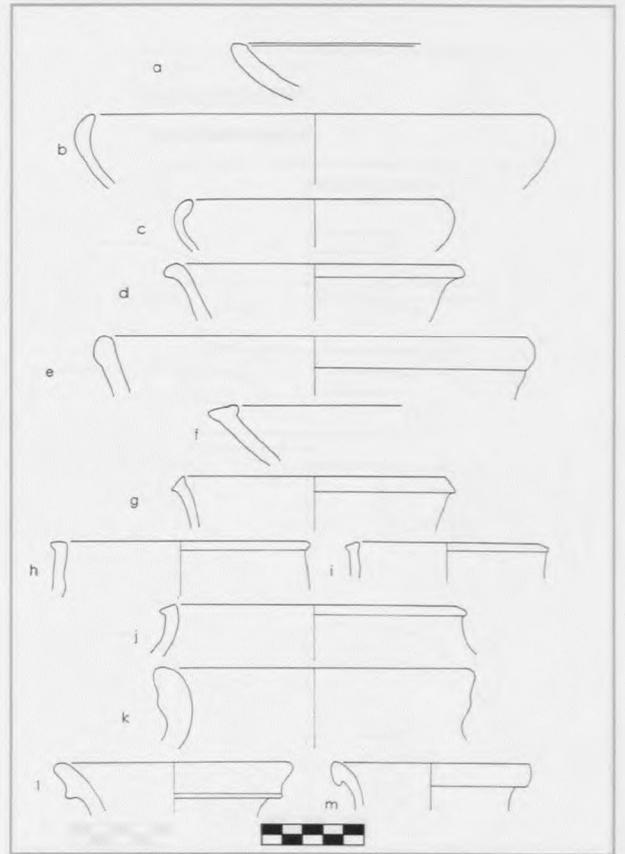
**Archaeological Complete Vessels of Hilltop/Season 1999/2000**

Plate no	Object no	Small Finds no	Year	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity	
38	a	KF 1, IIg1, FS 604	2000	1112	/	Anderson	pl. 79; 665	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1st c. AD	Comparison: cooking pot	1
						Lapp (1961)	type 71.1; P	0-50 AD		
						Dyson	fig. 4; 57	late 3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC. Similar form in 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD		
						Dyson	fig. 5; 136	about 256 AD		
						Dyson	fig. 7; 154	about 256 AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 51.2; K, p. 173	50 BC-68 AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 52.2; B, p. 175	50-31 BC		
						Chapman	fig. 18; 209	Bronze Age-Middle Iron Age		
						Dyson	fig. 16; 5/7/9			
						Dyson	fig. 4; 115	about 256 AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; B, p. 146	175-50 BC		
						Lapp (1961)	type 45.1; B	50-68 AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 45.3; A	0-68 AD		
						Thalmann	fig. 27	Bronze Age		
Lapp (1961)	type 54.1; A	50 BC-68 AD								
Lapp (1961)	type 11.2; B	175-50 BC								
Lapp (1961)	type 45.1; B	50-68 AD								
Lapp (1961)	type 45.3; A	0-68 AD								
Lapp (1961)	type 54.1; A	50 BC-68 AD								
39	a	KF 5, IIg2, FS 511	2000	6479/	Herbert	pl. 11, PW 69	98-75 BC	Comparison: Semifine tapered amphoriskos	1	
					Dyson	fig. 2; 19	about 160 AD			
	b	KF 4, IIg8, FS 1412	2000	6499/	Herbert	pl. 15, PW 111	late 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC - 20. c. AD		1	
					Hayes (1976)	pl. 37; 341	end 1 <sup>st</sup> BC c. - 1 <sup>st</sup> half 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD			
				Hayes (1976)	pl. 37; 343	end 1 <sup>st</sup> BC c. - 1 <sup>st</sup> half 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD				

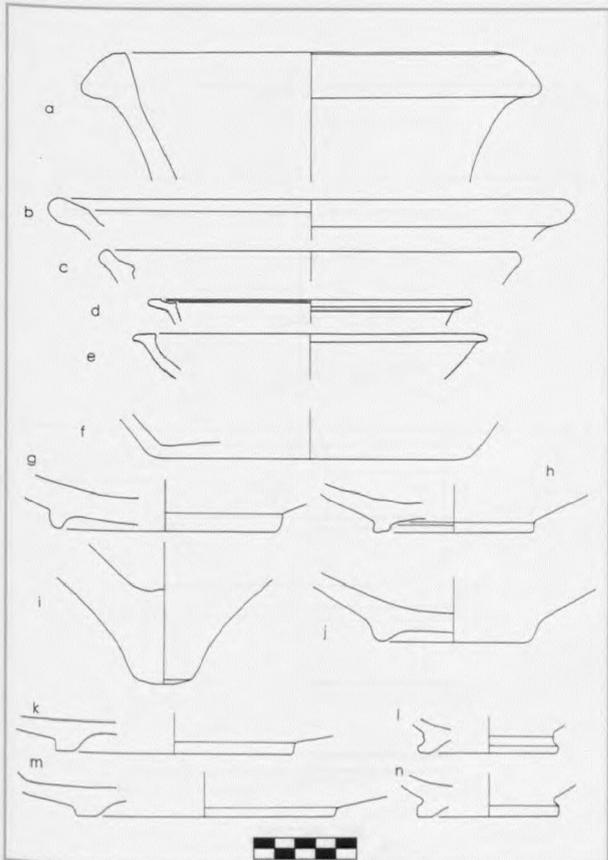
Plate no	Object no	Small Finds no	Year	Type	Waregroup	Comparison	Dating	Commentary	Quantity	
						Hayes (1976)	pl. 20; 161	early - middle 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: Surface worn on account of soilaction. Sandy orange-red clay. Fine lime and dark-coloured inclusions and mica. Apparently a local Macedonian product.	
						Hayes (1976)	pl. 19; 156	early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: Italian unguentaria	
						Robinson	pl. 18; M6	middle 1 <sup>st</sup> - early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD		
	c	KF 1, IIg2, FS 506	2000	69	/	Herbert	pl. 23, PW 201	98-75 BC	Comparison: cooking pot	1
						Herbert	pl. 21, PW 187	98-75 BC	Comparison: cooking pot	
						Lapp (1961)	type 71. 2; A	200-150 BC		
						Lapp (1961)	type 71.2; A	200-150 BC		
						Lapp (1961)	type 13; C	50-68 AD		
						Hayes (1976)	pl. 34; 294	1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Comparison: Palestinian cooking pot	
						Hayes (1972)	pl. 37; 325	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. - 7 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
						Tufnell	pl. 93; 460	4 <sup>th</sup> - 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC		
						Tufnell	pl. 93; 463	4 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 13; C	50-68 AD		
40		KF 18, IIg2, FS 39	1999	1100a	/	Herbert	pl. 38, PW 349	125-110 BC	Comparison: mortaria	1
						Lehmann (1998)	fig. 6; 18	700-580 BC		
						Lehmann (1996)	Taf. 26; 165/1	650-580 BC		
						Oggiano	fig. 2; 5	Iron Age		
						Hayes (1972)	14, form 32/58	late 3 <sup>rd</sup> -early 4 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 53; C	175-100 BC		
				6408c		Lapp (1961)	type 14.1; A and C	50-68 AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 21.1; R	0-68 AD		
41		KF 2, IIg1, FS 604	2000	69	/	Hayes (1976)	pl. 29; 249	middle 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD		1
						Hayes (1976)	pl. 34; 287	1 <sup>st</sup> - 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD		
						Hayes (1976)	pl. 34; 288	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD		
						Lapp (1961)	type 13; C	50-68 AD		
				6472		Dyson	fig. 5; 132	about 256 AD		
						Anderson	pl 41; 353	4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		
						Anderson	pl 48; 424	late 4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> c. AD		



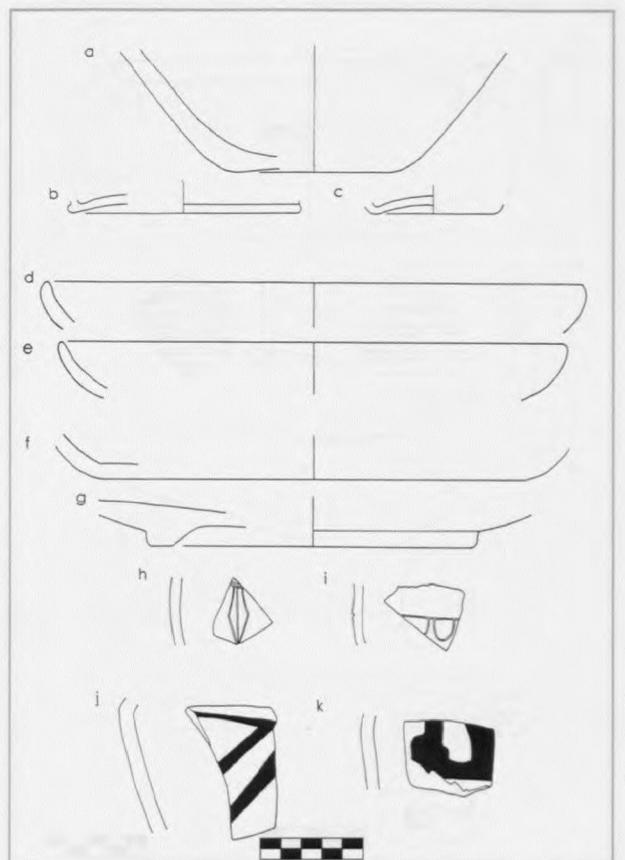
Pl. 5 -



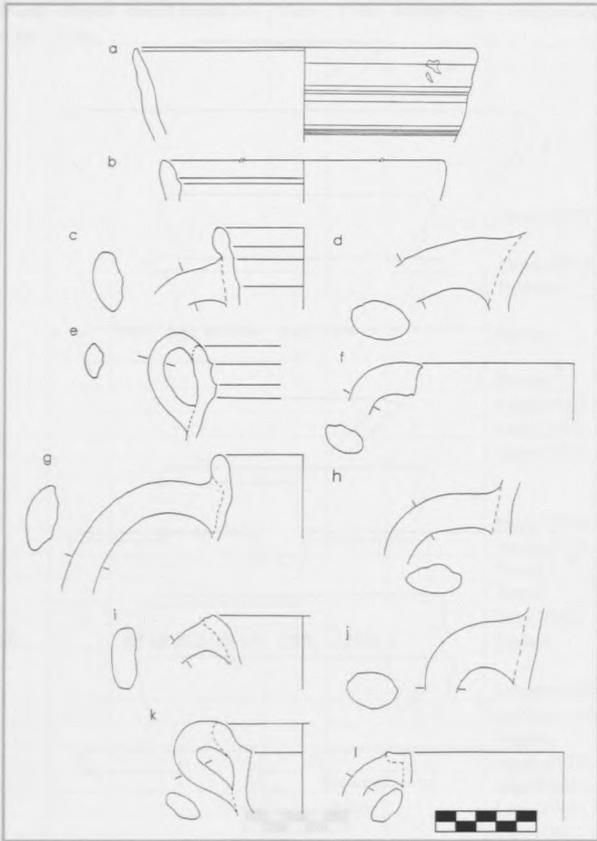
Pl. 7 -



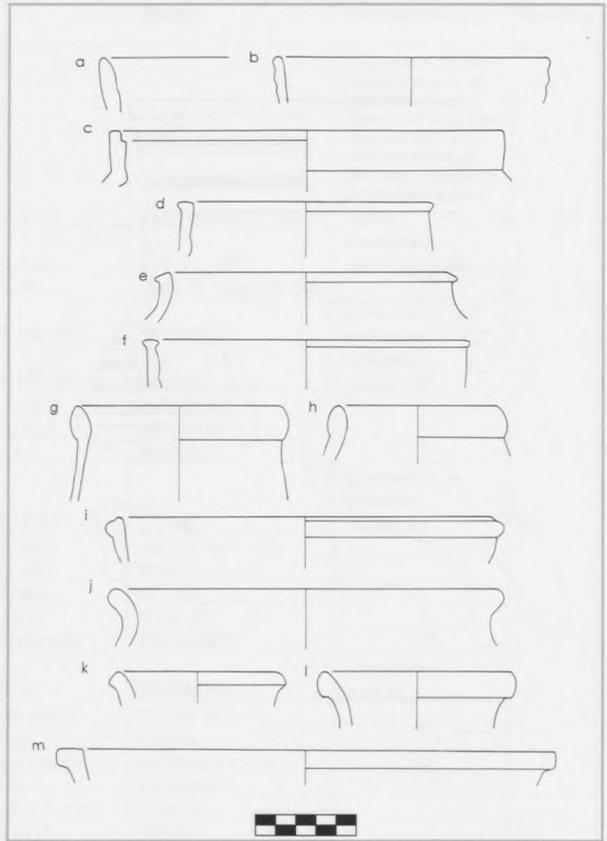
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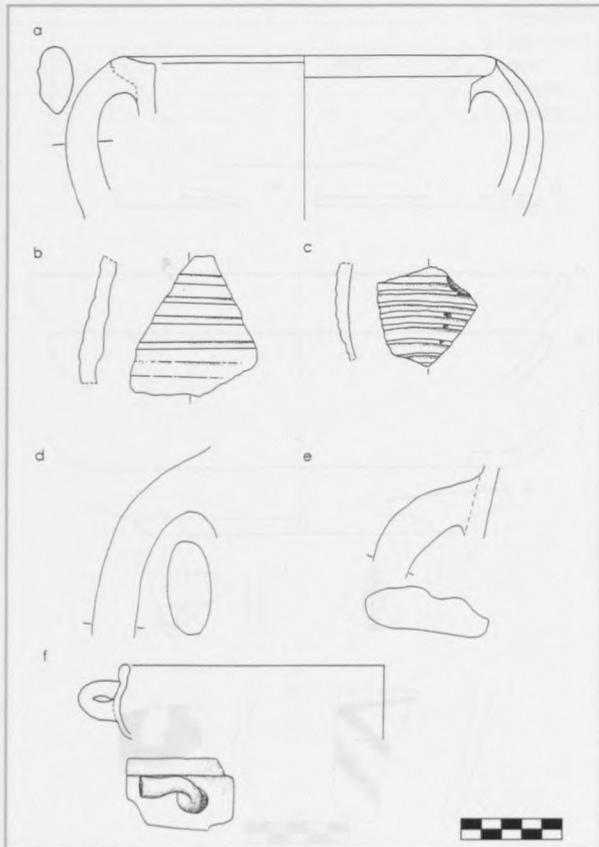
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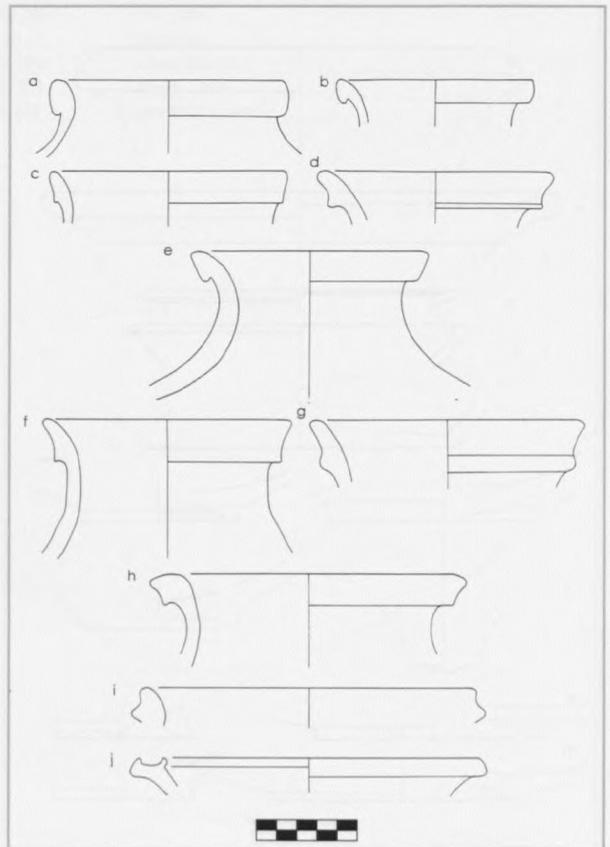
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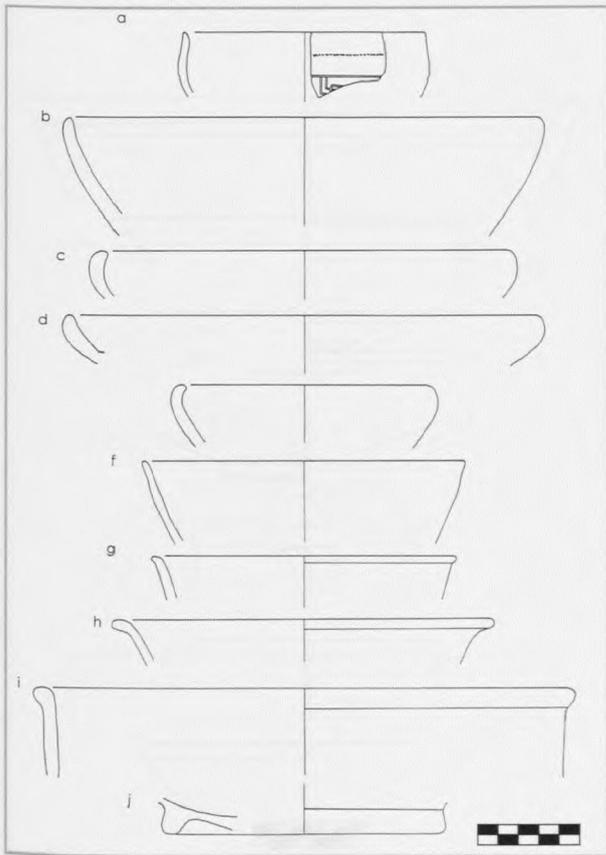
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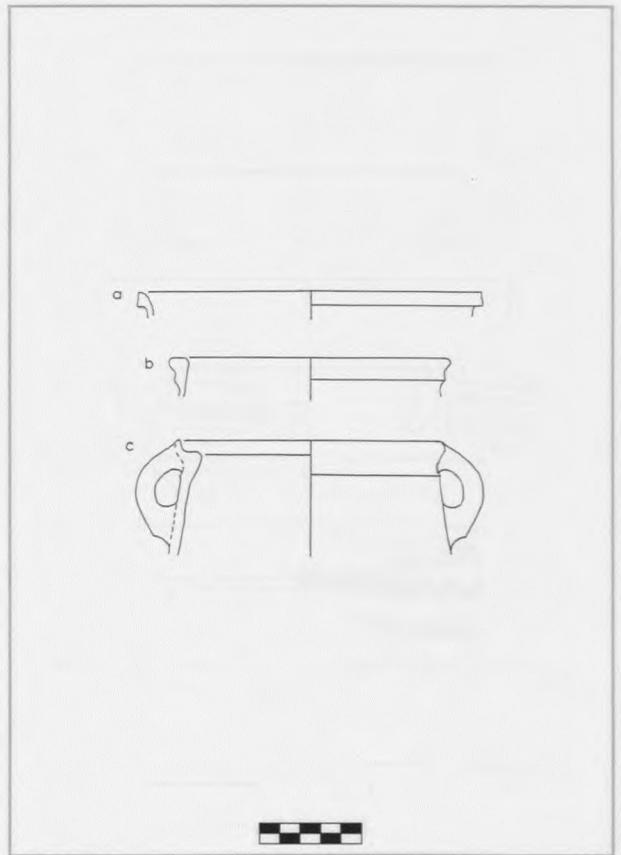
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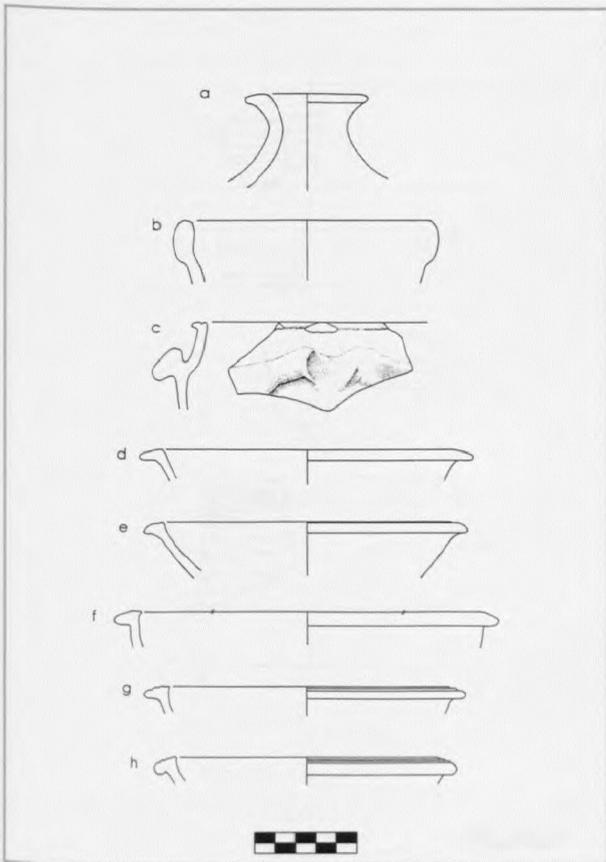
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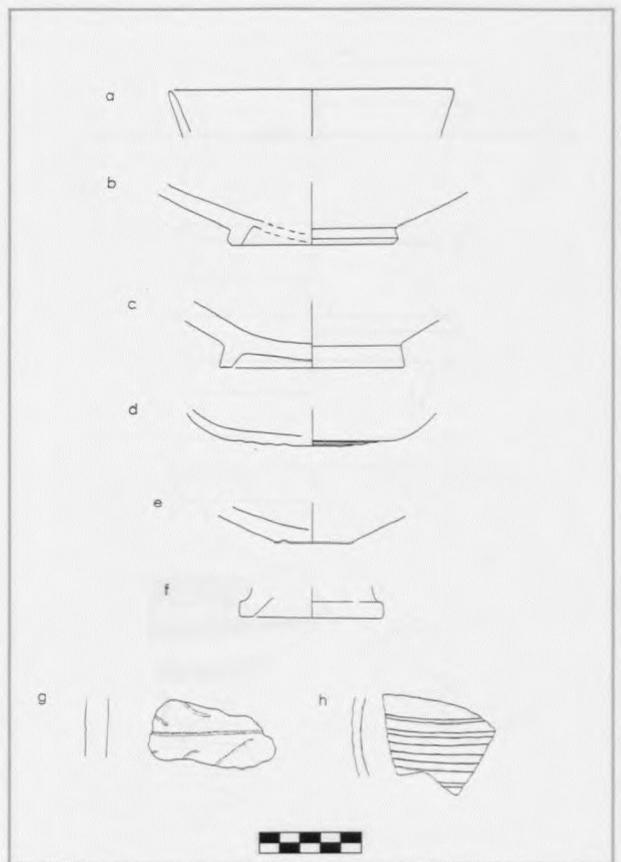
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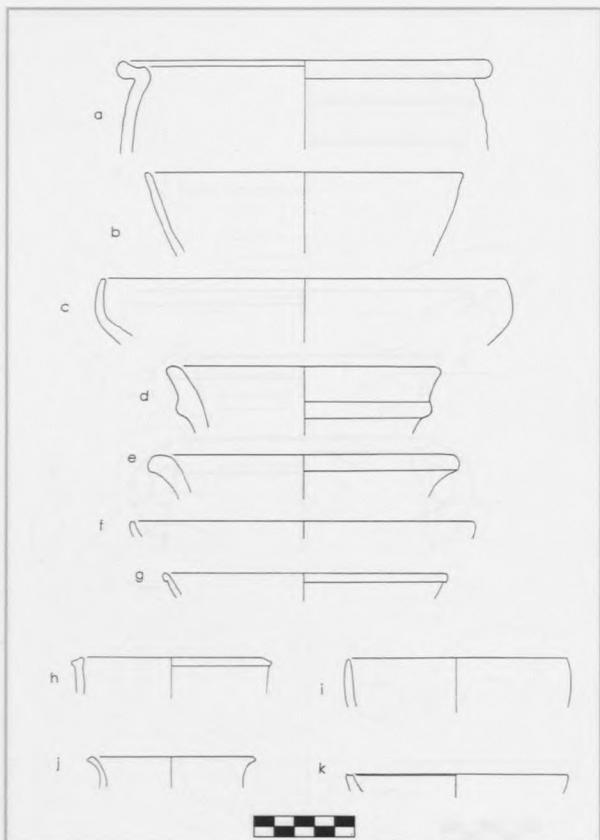
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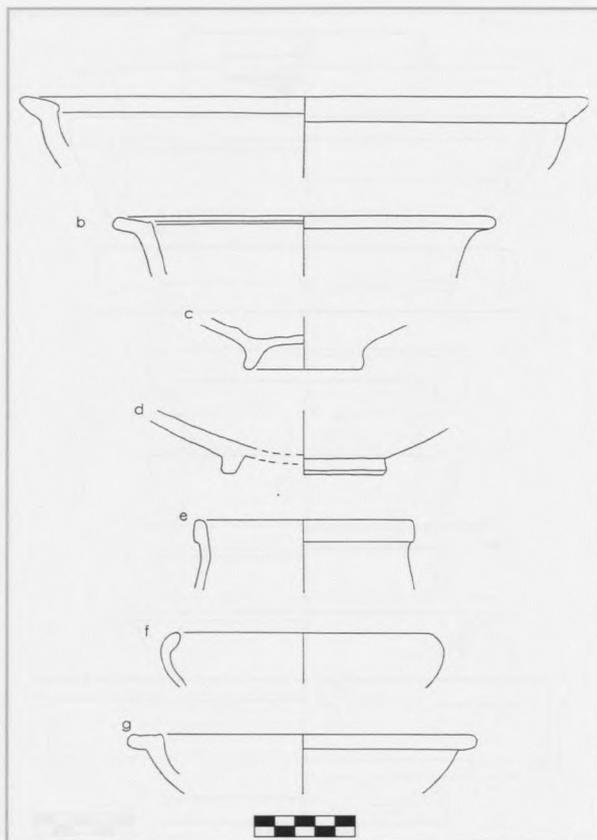
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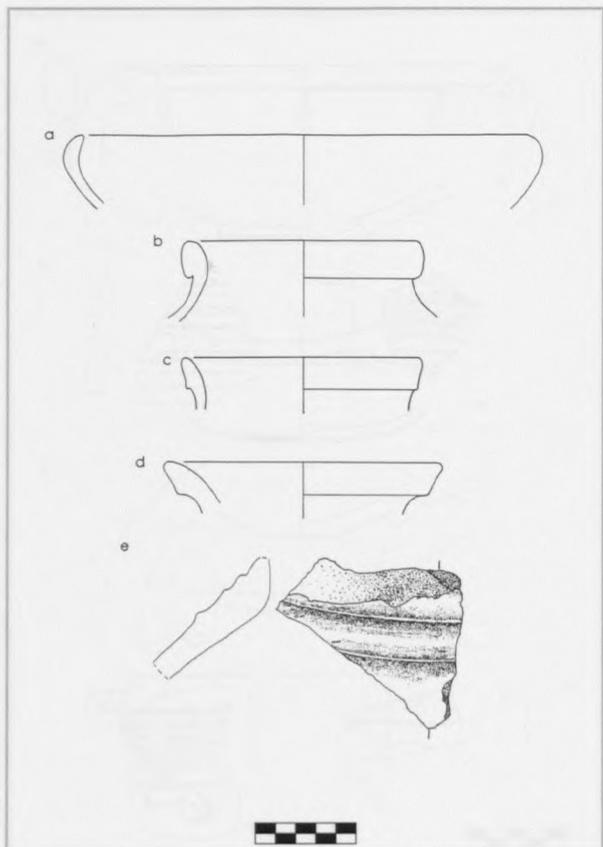
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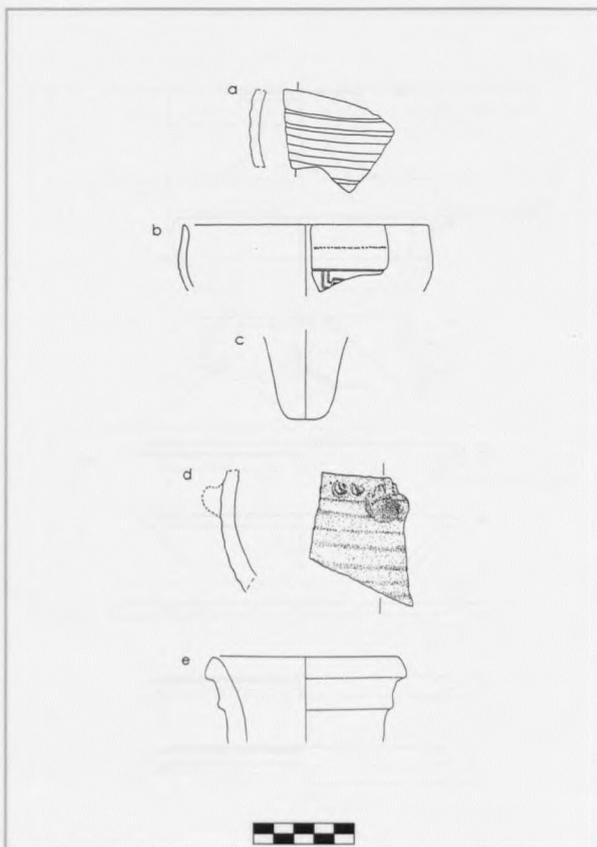
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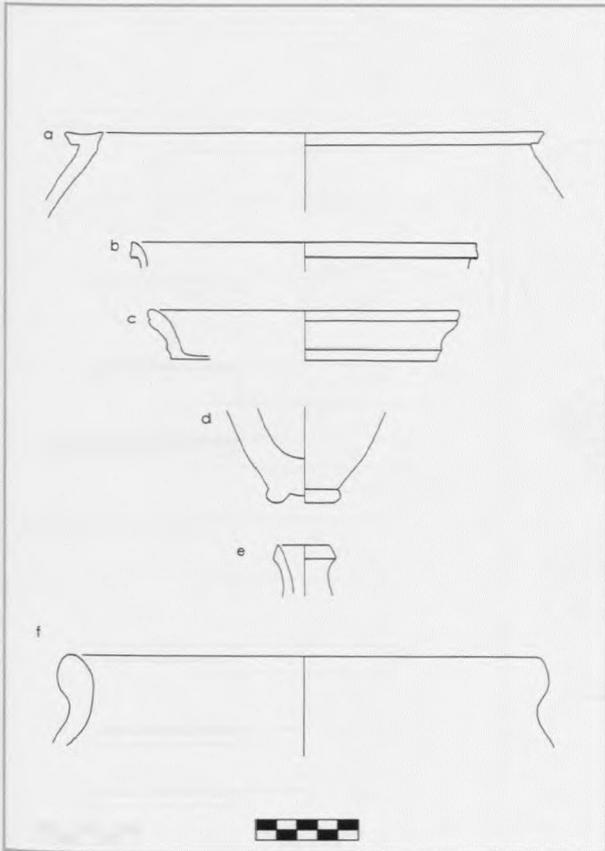
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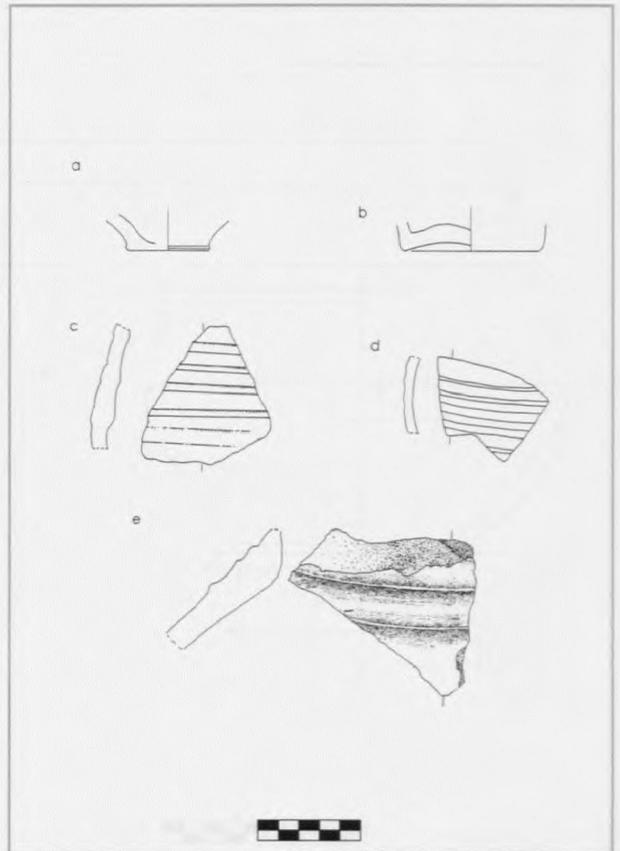
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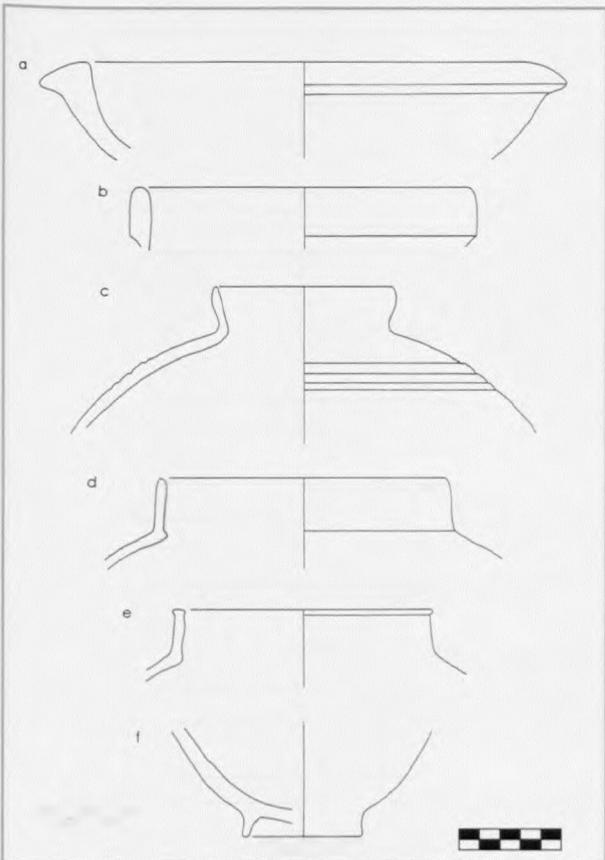
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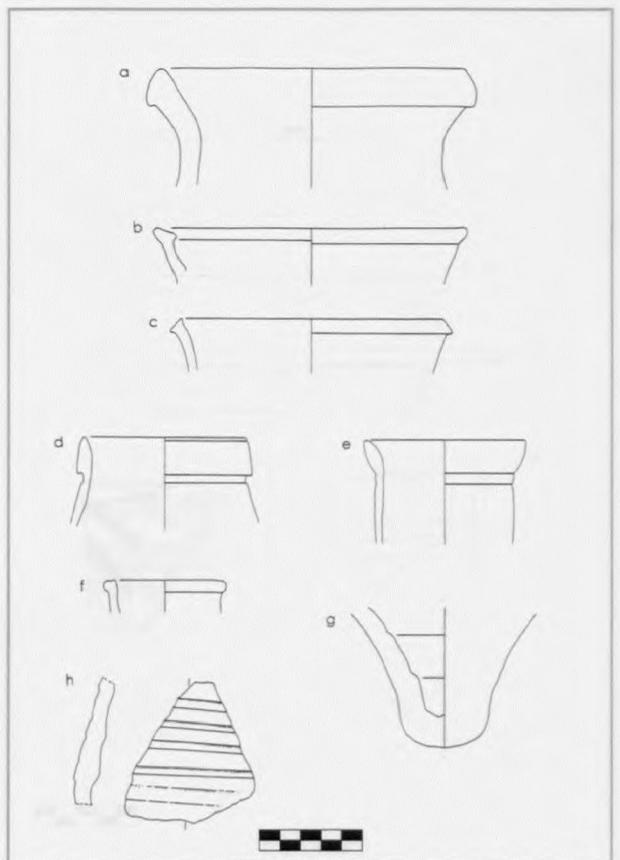
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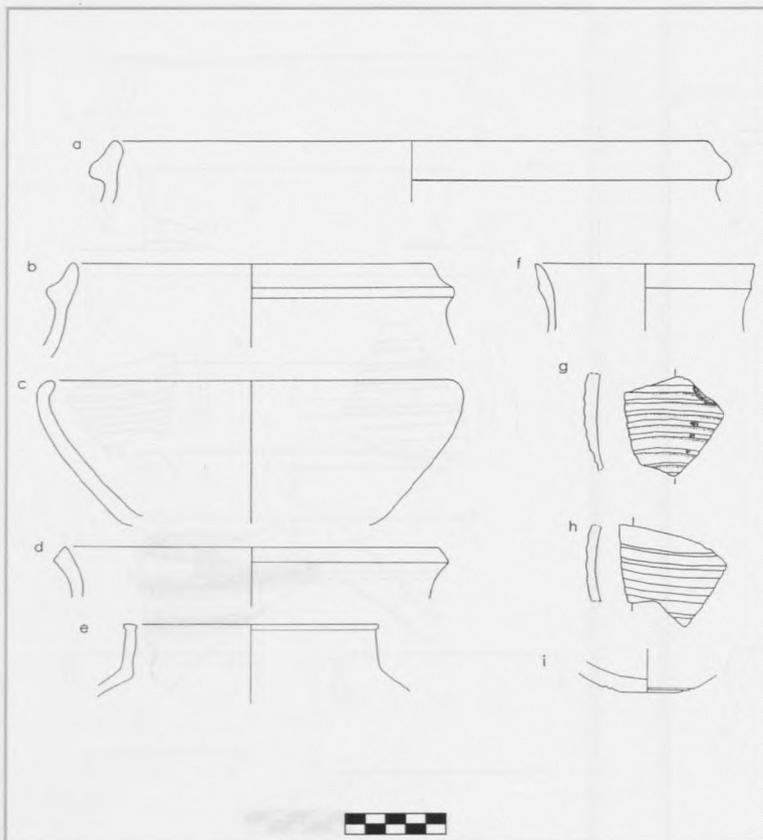
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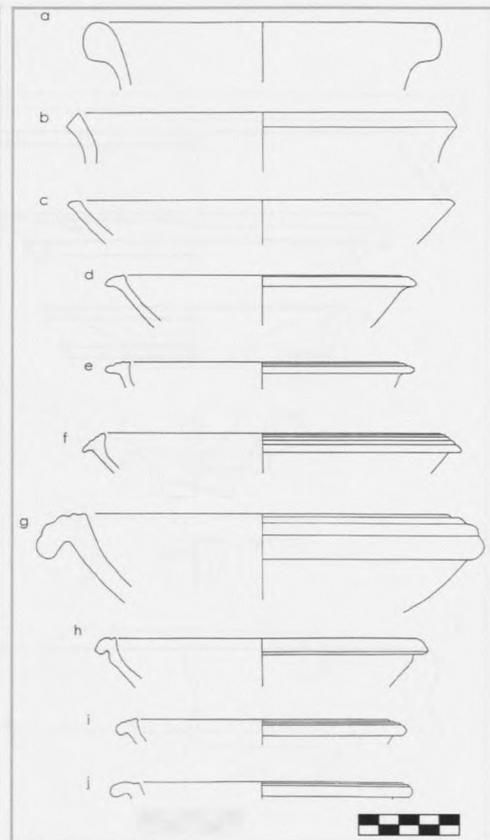
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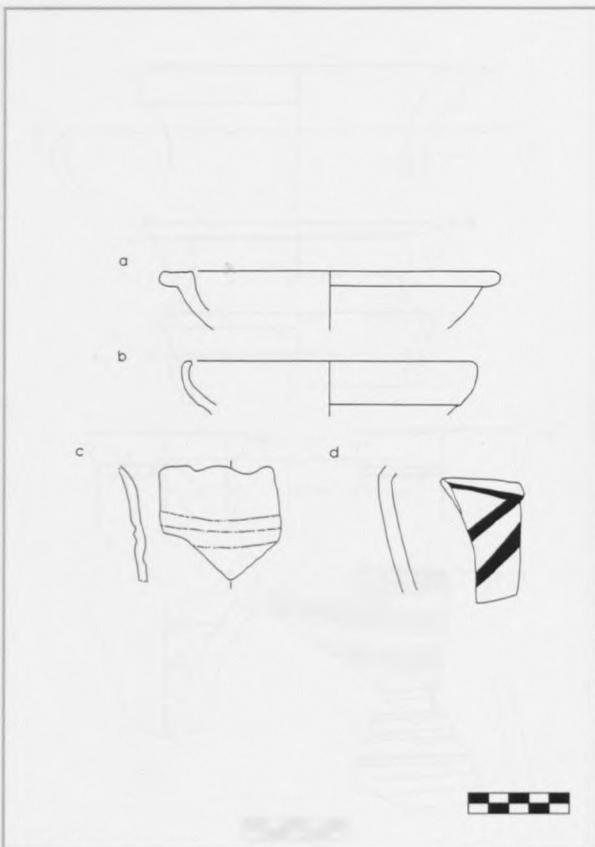
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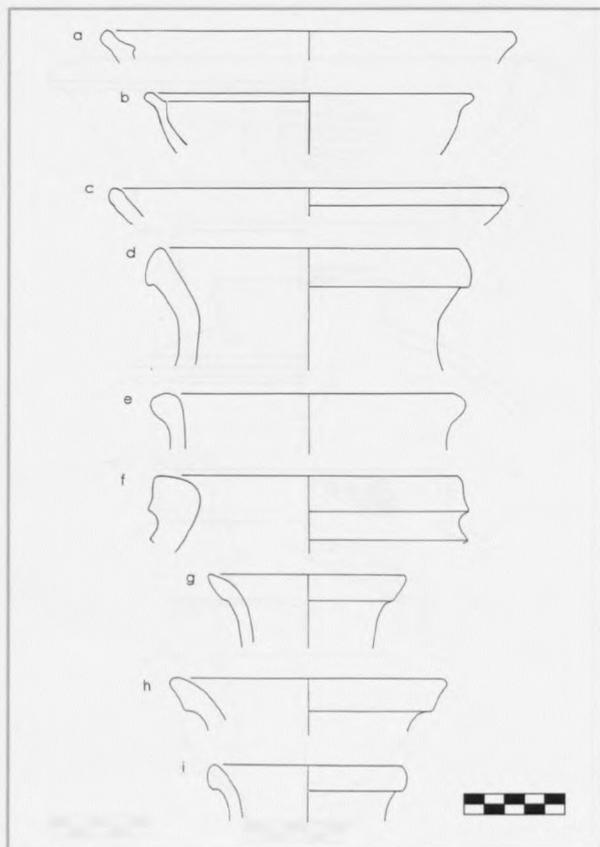
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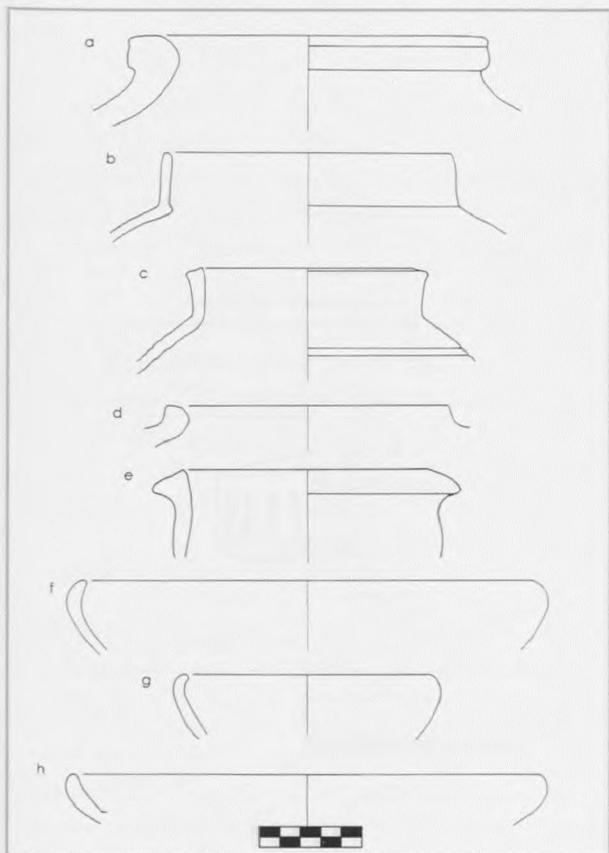
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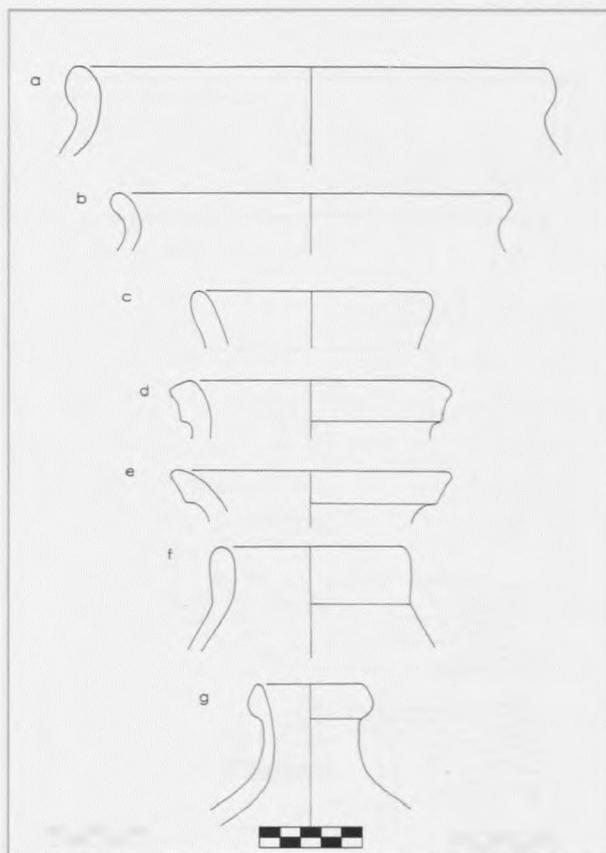
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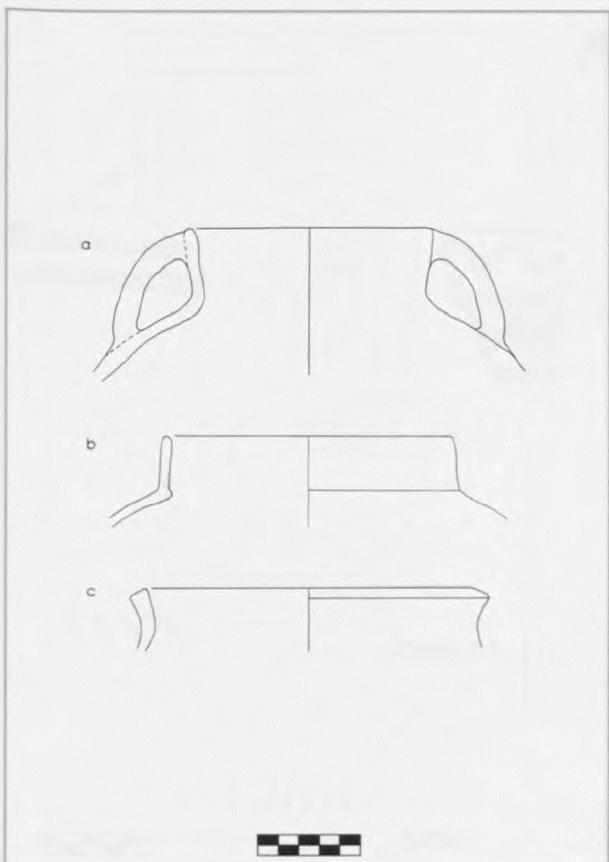
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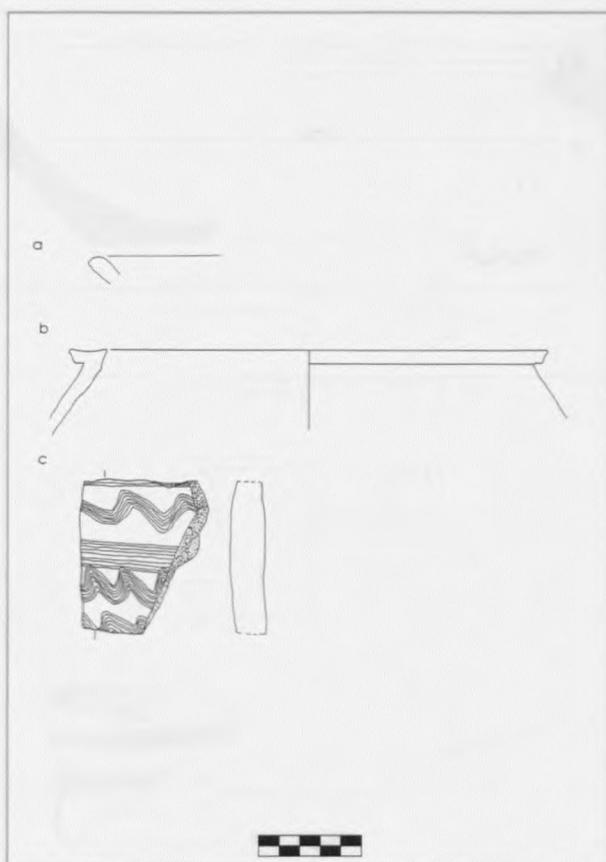
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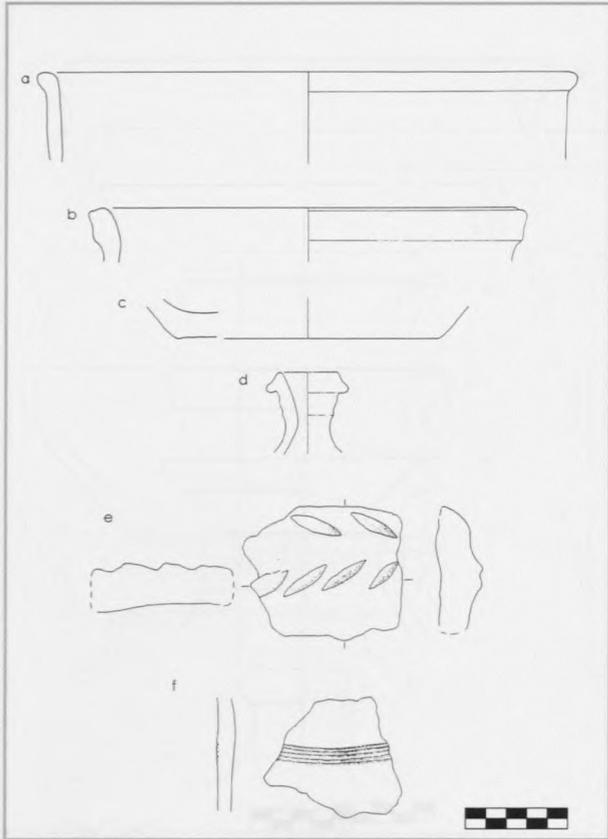
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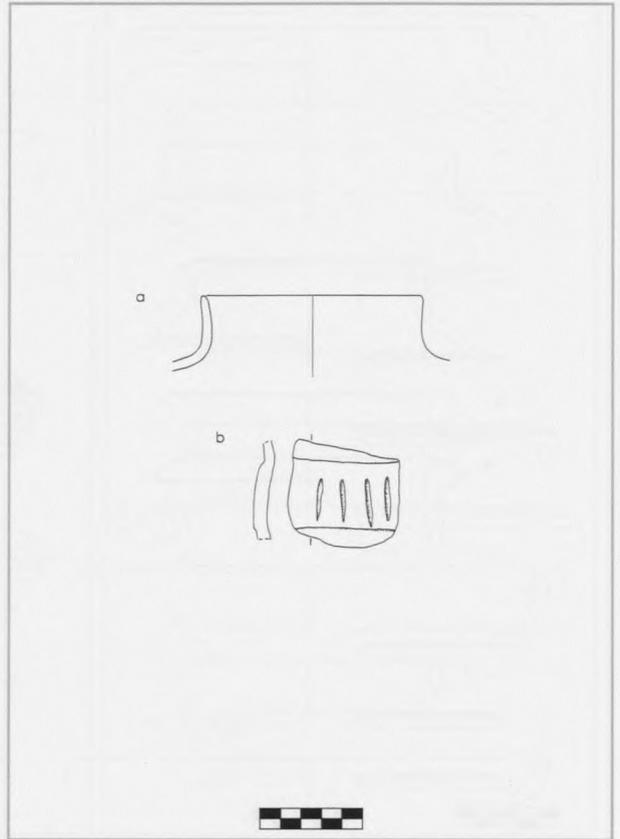
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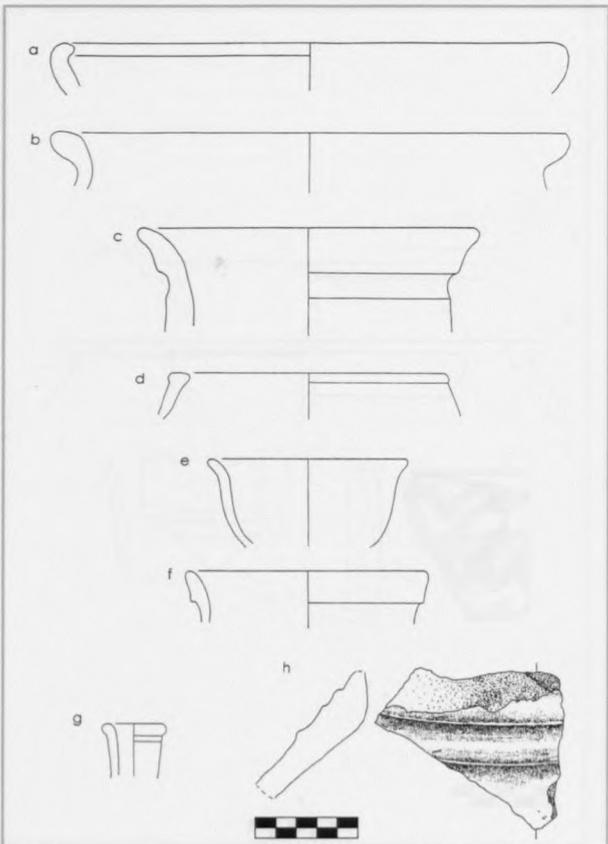
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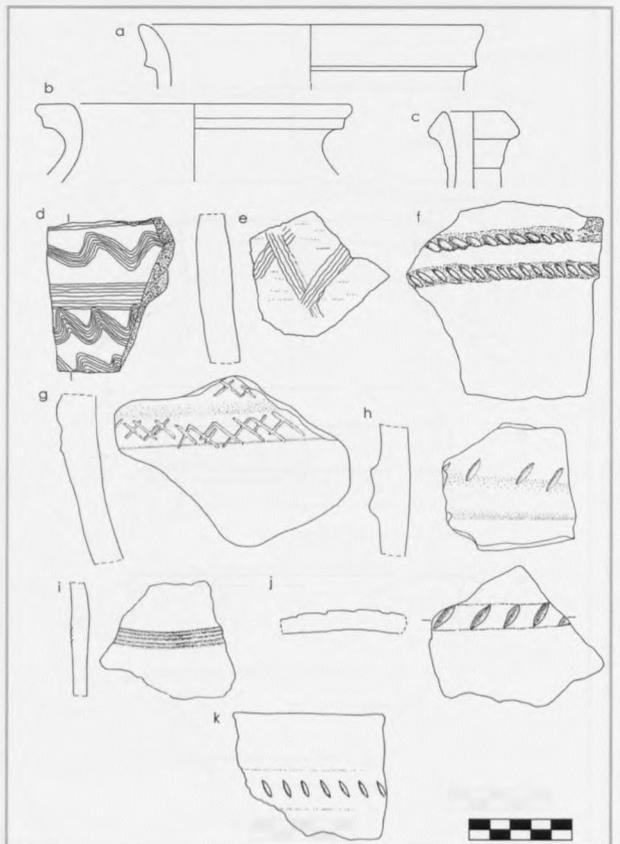
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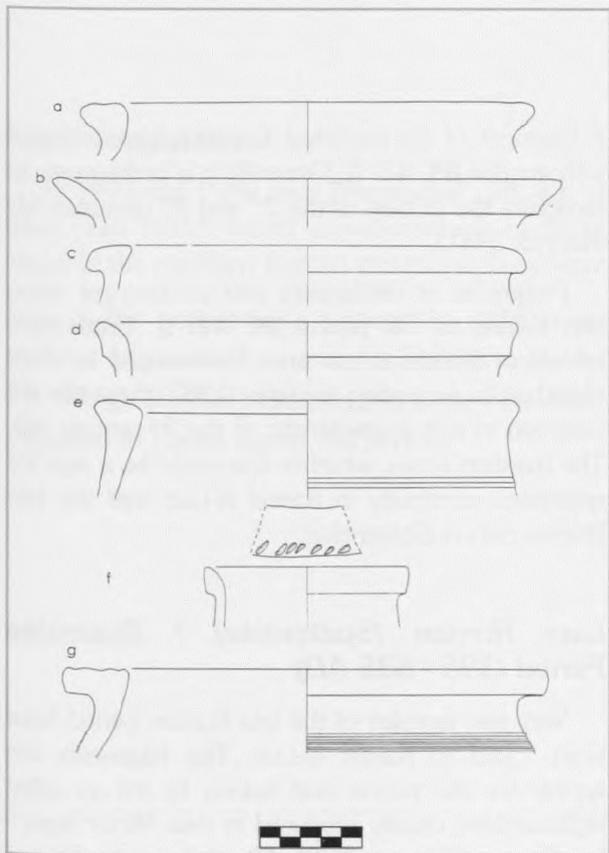
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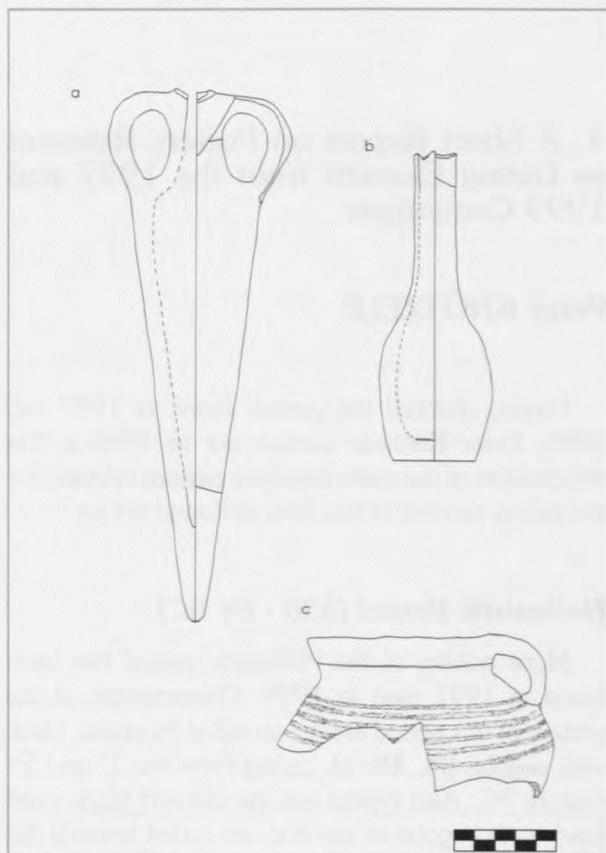
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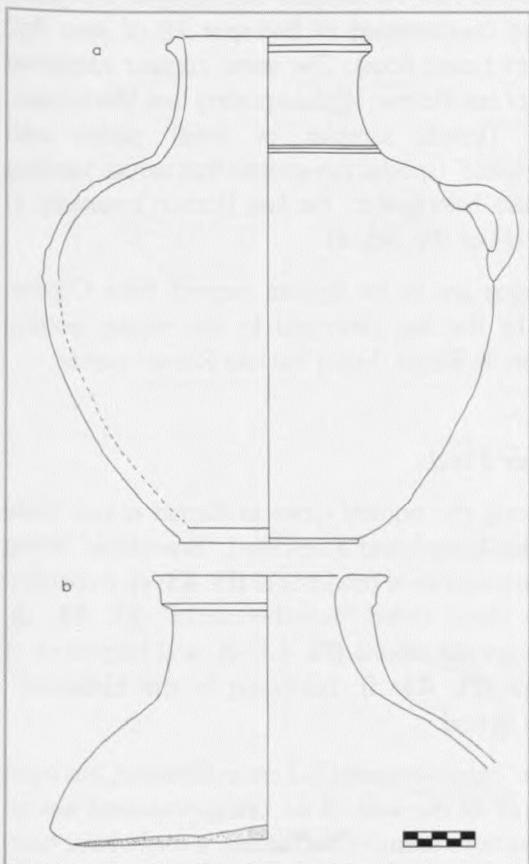
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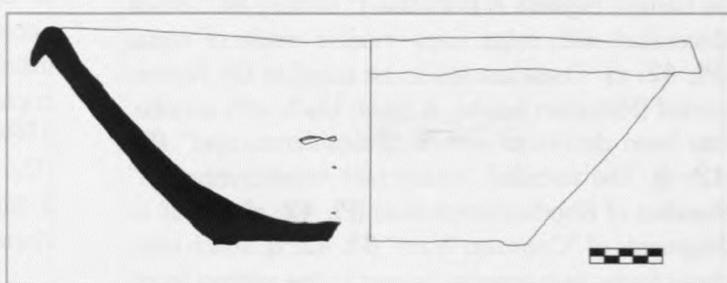
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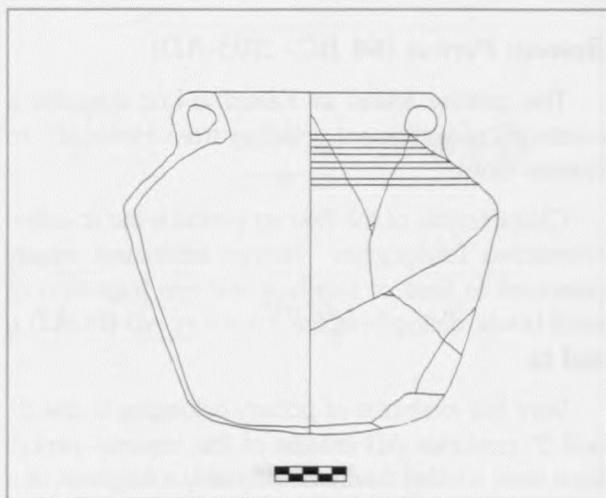
Pl. 39 -



Pl. 38 -



Pl. 40 -



Pl. 41 -

#### 4. A Short Report on Pottery Relevant as Dating Element from the 1997 and 1999 Campaigns

##### Peter KNÖTZELE

Having checked the pottery found in 1997 and 1999, Peter Knötzele carried out in 1999 a first delimitation of the main historical periods relevant for the dating process of the finds in Kamid el-Loz.

##### *Hellenistic Period (330 - 64 BC)*

More pottery of the Hellenistic period has been found in 1997 than in 1999. Characteristic of the pottery of this period are the so-called fishplates, black with engobe (Pl. 42: a), dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Also typical are the red and black small bowls with engobe or slip and rim curled towards the inside (Pl. 42: b), dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> and at least as Eastern Sigillata A from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Bowls decorated with relief copy models made of metal (Pl. 42: c). These are still to be found in the Roman period (Megarian bowls). A plate, black with engobe, has been decorated with a "Palmettenstempel" (Pl. 42: d). The so-called "rhodischen Amphorenhenkel" (handles of Rhodian amphorae) (Pl. 42: e) as well as fragments of "Common Ware" (Pl. 42: f), which copy those forms with engobe, belong to the pottery found in 1997 and 1999.

##### *Roman Period (64 BC - 395 AD)*

The pottery found in Kamid el-Loz suggests a continuity of settlement activities from Hellenistic to Roman times.

Characteristic of the Roman period is the so-called "römisches Tafelgeschirr" (Roman tableware), mostly preserved as base or ring-base and rim fragments of small bowls, dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Pl. 42: g and h).

Very few examples of pottery belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (middle of the imperial period) have been handed down. So probably a fragment of a relief bowl with an unusually thick wall (Pl. 43: h) and

a fragment of an imported Egyptian plate covered with engobe (Pl. 43: i). Generally it is problematic to recognize the pottery of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Kenrick 1981).

Fragments of brittle-ware (red cooking-pot ware) also belong to this period (Pl. 42: i). Brittle-ware vessels of Kamid el-Loz are characterized by their ribbed walls. According to Hayes (1997) these ribs are common in and characteristic of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The question arises, whether this might be a sign for settlement continuity in Kamid el-Loz until the late Roman period (Spätantike).

##### *Late Roman (Spätantike) / Byzantine Period (395 - 635 AD)*

Very few samples of the late Roman period have been found in Kamid el-Loz. The fragments are typical for the period and belong to the so-called sigillata-plate, usually produced in Asia Minor (type - late Roman C, Hayes 3) (Pl. 43: a) during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. All samples belonging to this group occurred concentrated in find-spot 12 of area Ilg2 (filling of house floor). The same context contained copies of late Roman sigillata-pottery (see Mackensen, 1984). Typical samples of small plates with "Deckelpfalz" (special rim-groove that serves keeping a lid) also belonged to the late Roman inventory in Kamid el-Loz (Pl. 43: b).

Missing are so far sigillata imports from Cyprus, which by the way belonged to the regular pottery inventory in Beirut during the late Roman period.

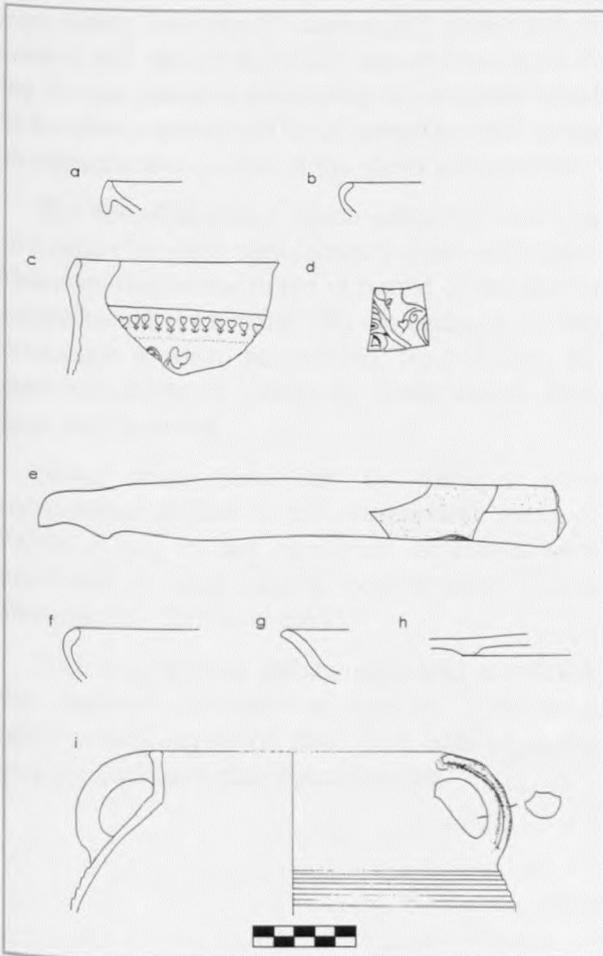
##### *Further Finds*

Among the pottery types in Kamid el-Loz there have also been found a so-called "Brennhilfe" (firing aid) (see below local production) (Pl. 43: c), a rounded pottery object called "Scheibenrundel" (Pl. 43: d), several spindle whorls (Pl. 43: e), and fragments of oil-lamps (Pl. 43: f), belonging to the Hellenistic-Roman period.

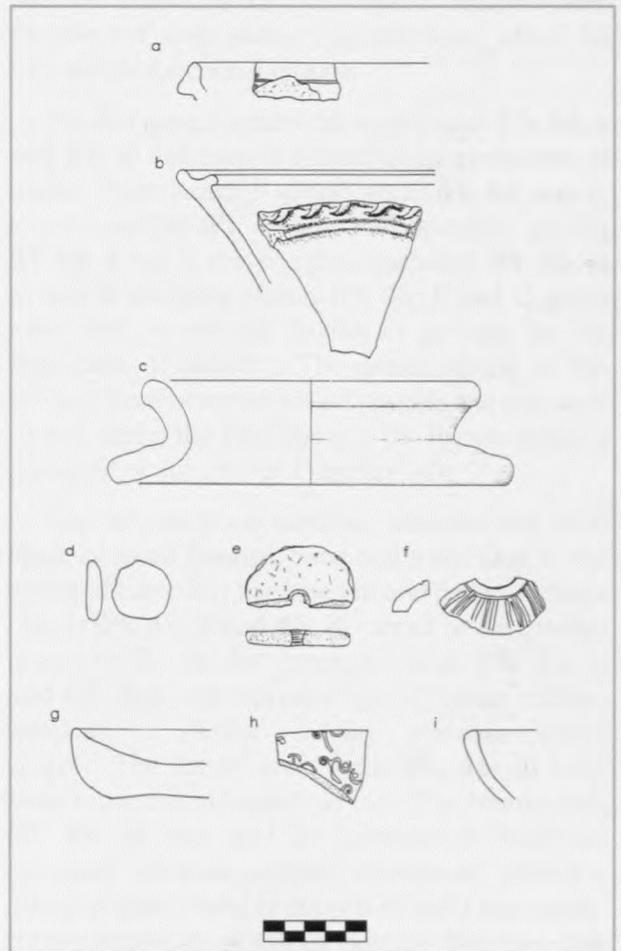
The "Scheibenrundel", 3 cm in diameter, has been made out of the wall of an orange-coloured vessel. Two functions seem to be possible, it might have been used as a gambling-stone, or as a lid for a small vessel.

**Local Production**

In 1997 and 1999 two “Brennhilfen” (Pl. 43: c) have been found, which are comparable to those found in the northern Roman provinces. They were used in the pottery-firing process. In addition we found a fragment of an incorrectly fired vessel lid (Pl. 43: g), another indication that pottery has been produced in Kamid during this period.



Pl. 42 -



Pl. 43 -

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- Kenrick, P. 1981. Fine Wares of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods; in: Matthers, J: *The River Qoueik, Northern Syria and its Catchment*. BAR Int. Ser. 98, 439 ff.
- Mackensen, M. 1984. Eine befestigte spätantike Anlage vor den Stadtmauern von Resafa. *Ausgrabungen und spätantike Kleinfunde eines Surveys im Umland von Resafa-Serginpolis Resafa*, Vol I, Mainz.

*Hellenistic Period (333 - 64 BC)*

The pottery assemblage of the Hellenistic period in Kamid el-Loz is represented by a small number of fragments. The most significant find is a fragment of a black-glazed kylix, which is dated to the 3rd or 4th century BC. This fragment is decorated with a simple geometric pattern. Other fragments include a fragment of a black-glazed bowl and a fragment of a black-glazed plate. The pottery is made of a fine, light-colored clay and is decorated with a simple black glaze. The fragments are found in a trench, which is dated to the Hellenistic period. The pottery is similar to the pottery found at other sites in the region, such as Resafa and Serginpolis.

*Roman Period (64 BC - 395 AD)*

The pottery assemblage of the Roman period in Kamid el-Loz is represented by a large number of fragments. The most significant find is a fragment of a black-glazed kylix, which is dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD. This fragment is decorated with a simple geometric pattern. Other fragments include a fragment of a black-glazed bowl and a fragment of a black-glazed plate. The pottery is made of a fine, light-colored clay and is decorated with a simple black glaze. The fragments are found in a trench, which is dated to the Roman period. The pottery is similar to the pottery found at other sites in the region, such as Resafa and Serginpolis.

*Late Roman / Byzantine Period (395 - 638-640)*

The pottery assemblage of the Late Roman / Byzantine period in Kamid el-Loz is represented by a large number of fragments. The most significant find is a fragment of a black-glazed kylix, which is dated to the 4th or 5th century AD. This fragment is decorated with a simple geometric pattern. Other fragments include a fragment of a black-glazed bowl and a fragment of a black-glazed plate. The pottery is made of a fine, light-colored clay and is decorated with a simple black glaze. The fragments are found in a trench, which is dated to the Late Roman / Byzantine period. The pottery is similar to the pottery found at other sites in the region, such as Resafa and Serginpolis.

*Further Work*

The pottery assemblage of the Late Roman / Byzantine period in Kamid el-Loz is represented by a large number of fragments. The most significant find is a fragment of a black-glazed kylix, which is dated to the 4th or 5th century AD. This fragment is decorated with a simple geometric pattern. Other fragments include a fragment of a black-glazed bowl and a fragment of a black-glazed plate. The pottery is made of a fine, light-colored clay and is decorated with a simple black glaze. The fragments are found in a trench, which is dated to the Late Roman / Byzantine period. The pottery is similar to the pottery found at other sites in the region, such as Resafa and Serginpolis.

## VII. The Glass Finds

Tania ZAVEN

Since its first campaign in 1997, the site of Kamid el-Loz, in the south eastern Beqaa, has yielded over 594 glass fragments. During those four campaigns, the fragments derived from closed contexts as well as unstratified levels. This was due to a massive site cleaning carried out before reaching the original, undisturbed ground level. A proper typology was established for 282 cast glass as well as the remaining 312 blown glass fragments. The form type series relied on the shape, decoration and manufacturing method.

The earliest glass fragments found on site were cast. This tableware consisted of either bowls or cups dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. As for the blown glass it dated back to the Roman period and onwards. A complete report of the glass material will be presented as soon as the stratigraphical sequence of the site is accomplished.

The Syro-Palestinian region played a major role as a center for glass manufacturing since early times. However, the precise origin of Kamid el-Loz glass is somewhat still unidentified. On site evidence of glass production is yet to be revealed. Nevertheless, the glass-manufacturing center for these vessels must have been regional.

Some observations can be gathered from comparative studies of the surrounding areas of Kamid el-Loz. In fact, significant similarities were noted with the glass material found in upper Galilee (manufacture, form and color).

Such geographical vicinity might lead us to think that regional traditions as well as commercial relations between inland cities were adopted in this area for trade and glass manufacturing.

## VIII. The Small Finds

Lars PETERSEN

### 1. Introduction

During the extensive excavation campaigns in 1997 (45 small objects found), 1999 (39 small objects found), and 2000 (38 small objects found), a total of 122 small objects were recorded and subsequently deposited in the archives of the National Museum in Beirut.

This catalog presents those small objects found in the hilltop area during the aforementioned excavation campaigns in 1997, 1999 and 2000 that came from an undisturbed context and may offer clues for the interpretation of the archaeological findings. There are 35 small objects, made of metal (bronze and iron), stone, clay and bone, which fall into several functional groups.

The first group contains the small objects (**Pls 44: a and 45: a**) that may be related to the production of textiles. These include 9 spindle whorls (**Pl. 44: a to i**), a loom weight (**Pl. 44: j**), two spinning distaffs (**Pl. 44: k and l**) plus one disc attachment (**Pl. 45: a**) as well as two bone objects (**Pl. 45: b and c**) which were used as weaving shuttles or as tools for the production of ceramics. The precise dating of this group of small objects is not yet possible, but they were current during the Iron Age and the Roman Imperial period (5<sup>th</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD).

The second group contains weapons and tools made of metal (bronze, bone and iron). Due to the extent of corrosion the function and dating of these objects (**Pls 45: d and 46: d**) cannot be determined unequivocally. As the "weapon" finds (**Pls 45: d and 63: b**) do not represent typical Roman military weapons, a Roman military presence seems unlikely. The curved knife blade (**Pl. 46: a**) most likely represents a household tool. The bronze stick (**Pl. 46: d**) was used for cosmetic or medicinal purposes. In their current, unrestored state the dating of these metal findings is virtually impossible, but a comparison of shapes indicates that they date to the Roman Imperial period (1<sup>st</sup> century AD).

The third group contains ornamental objects (plate 64a - d), two glass beads (Pl. 47: a and b), an earring (Pl. 47: c) and a bracelet (Pl. 47: d). They date to the Roman Imperial period.

The fibulas (Pl. 47: e and f) belong to the group of elbow shaped bow fibulas (Poppa type 1), which are represented by numerous specimen from the Iron Age cemetery at Kamid el-Loz. The specimen presented here belong to scattered finds from destroyed tombs from the Iron Age. Thus, they can be dated with certainty to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Of the seven coins found to date, the bronze coin (Pl. 47: g) presented here preliminarily be dated to the late Hellenistic/early Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC).

Three fragments of oil lamps (Pl. 48: a to c) were discovered. One oil lamp (Pl. 48: c) was preserved almost entirely. This lamp belongs to the type with a simple rounded spout and dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

Even though exact dating is difficult for most of the small objects presented here, it appears likely that the majority dates to the early Roman Imperial period (1<sup>st</sup> century AD).

## 2. Catalogue

### 2.1. Objects for Production of Textiles

#### 2.1.1. Spindle Whorls Group A

- Pl. 44: a

Spindle whorl; black stone; plane convex with central drill hole and rounded edge; outer surface smoothed and polished; diameter 2.7 cm, height 1.5 cm  
KL 1997: 9; II g 1; FS 8

- Pl. 44: b

Spindle whorl; black stone; plane convex with central drill hole, outer surface smoothed and polished, the domed surface clearly shows shallow, narrow grinding grooves and two ornamental grooves along the lower edge; diameter 2.7 cm, height 1.1 cm  
KL 1997: 23; II g 1; FS 4

- Pl. 44: c

Spindle whorl; stone, plane convex with slightly outwardly domed side and central drill hole; surface smoothed and polished; domed side with traces of grinding and two ornamental grooves along the lower edge; diameter 3 cm, height 1.3 cm  
KL 1997: 30; II g 1; FS 33

- Pl. 44: d

Spindle whorl; sand stone; plane convex with outwardly domed side and central drill hole; abraded surface; two ornamental grooves in the bottom area of the domed surface; diameter 2.5 cm, height 1.6 cm  
KL 1997: 37; II f 1; FS 29

#### 2.1.2 Spindle whorls Group B

- Pl. 44: e

Spindle whorl; stone; about halfway preserved; flat shape with rounded edges and central drill hole; surface smoothed; two concentric ornamental grooves around the drill hole on the upper side; diameter 3 cm, height 0.6 cm  
KL 2000: 5; II f 1; FS 7

- Pl. 44: f

Spindle whorl; burnt clay; slightly conical shape with strongly flattened surface, rounded outer edges and central drill hole; abraded upper surface; diameter 2.3 cm, height 0.7 cm  
KL 1999: 7; II g 2; FS 9

#### 2.1.3 Spindle whorls Group C

- Pl. 44: g

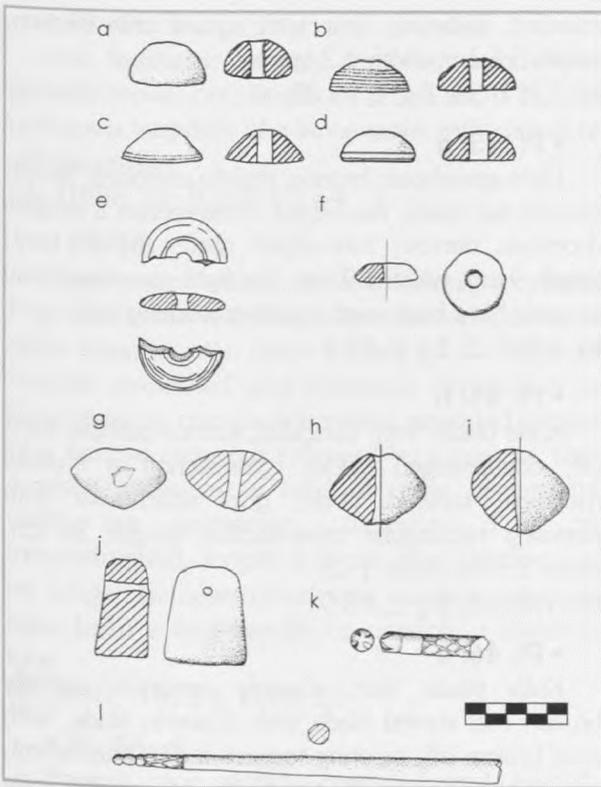
Spindle whorl; burnt clay; doubly coniform with rounded edges and central drill hole; upper surface clay-based, partially peeling; diameter 3.4 cm, height 2.1 cm  
KL 1997: 41; II g 1; without FS

- Pl. 44: h

Spindle whorl; burnt clay; doubly coniform with rounded edges and central drill hole; upper surface clay-based; diameter 3.2 cm, height 2.5 cm  
KL 1999: 8; II g 2; FS 12

- Pl. 44: i

Spindle whorl; burnt clay; doubly coniform with rounded edges and a slightly oblique drill hole



Pl. 44 -

running from one conical point to the other; surface strongly abraded on one side; diameter 3.6 cm, height 2.7 cm

KL 1999: 3; II g 3; FS 210

• **Pl. 44: j**

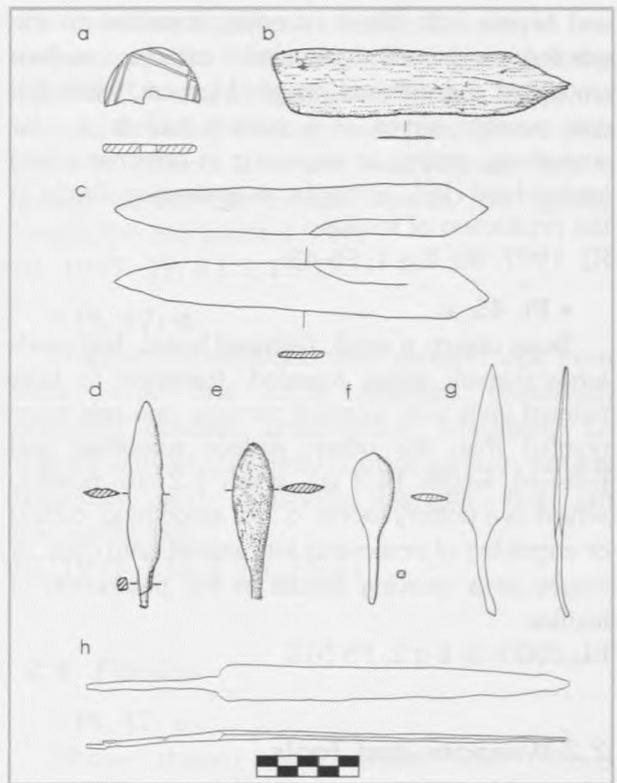
Loom weight; burnt clay; square shape with inwardly slanted sides; the upper half of the wide sides with drill hole; surface smoothed; clay-based; length 2.1 cm, width 1.1 cm, height 3.3 cm

KL 1997: 28; II g 1; FS 1

• **Pl. 44: k**

Fragment of a bone pin; cross-section round; surface smoothed and polished; preserved end with rounded edges and slightly concave head area, segmented by four deep, irregular grooves which radially extend from the side area onto the head area (rosette ornament); this is followed by two surrounding grooves, interrupted by an unsegmented area; the remainder of the preserved part is decorated with cross-hatched grooves which create a rhombic pattern; diameter 0.7 cm, length 3.8 cm; possibly functioned as a spinning distaff.

KL 1997: 21; II g 1; FS 33



Pl. 45 -

• **Pl. 44: l**

Bone pin; lower end broken off; cross-section round, tapered from the breaking point to the preserved end; surface smoothed and polished; preserved end decorated: surrounding groove, above it a cross-hatch pattern of grooves contained by another surrounding groove; this is followed by an undecorated area and finally an area worked into a convex, almost semi-spherical rounding which forms the end of the pin; diameter 0.3-0.8 cm, length 13.8 cm; possibly functioned as a spinning distaff.

KL 1997: 29; II g 1; FS 33

• **Pl. 45: a**

Bone disc; about halfway preserved; disc-shaped with central drill hole, surface smoothed; decoration on the display side: two engraved, irregular squares made of deepened grooves; diameter 3.5 cm, height 0.3 cm; possibly functioned as an attachment for a spinning distaff.

KL 1997: 43a; II g 1; FS 18

• **Pl. 45: b**

Bone object; partially broken off; a small, flattened board, one end arrow-shaped, the other

end broken off, edges rounded; transition to the pointed end with rounded corners; surface smoothed and polished; length 11.5 cm, width 2.5 cm; possibly served as a pottery tool (e. g., for smoothing, cutting or engraving of ornaments into leather-hard clay), or maybe as a weaving shuttle in the production of textiles.

KL 1997: 40; II g 1; FS 43

• **Pl. 45: c**

Bone object; a small, flattened board, both ends arrow-shaped; edges rounded; transition to both pointed ends with rounded corners; one end more pointed than the other; surface smoothed and polished; length 14.3 cm, width 1.2 cm; possibly served as a pottery tool (e. g., for smoothing, cutting or engraving of ornaments into leather-hard clay), or maybe as a weaving shuttle in the production of textiles.

KL 2000: 3; II g 2; FS 512

## 2.2 Weapons and Tools

• **Pl. 45: d**

Light spearhead; bronze; corroded; bay-leaf shaped, elongated blade, slightly bent; surface slightly outwardly convex; one end pointed, the other ending in a fastening spur with rectangular cross-section; length 7.5 cm, width 1.4 cm

KL 1997: 10; II f 1; FS 21

• **Pl. 45: e**

Light spearhead; bronze; corroded; shape of blade an irregular rhombus, one end of which is replaced by the fastening spur; resembles a cross-sectioning arrowhead; underside of the blade slightly convex, upper side more pronouncedly convex, tapering to a long, flattened area towards both cutting edges; fastening spur with rectangular cross-section; length 5.5 cm, width 1.6 cm; a possible explanation for the unusual shape of this light spearhead could be that an originally bay-leaf shaped spearhead broke off during production or use and was reworked for continued usage.

KL 1997: 24; II g 1; FS 18

• **Pl. 45: f**

Light spearhead; bronze; strongly corroded; bay-leaf shaped, cross-section disc-shaped with convex broad sides and sharp cutting edges, blade point

rounded, fastening spur with square cross-section; length 5.6 cm, width 1.2 cm

KL 1997: 32; II g 1; FS 33

• **Pl. 45: g**

Light spearhead; bronze; slightly corroded; lancet-shaped, flat blade; two-edged; cross-section a shallow rhombus; narrow, four-edged shaft, slightly bent; length 9 cm, width 1.7 cm; this light spearhead may possibly have been used a leather working tool.

KL 1999: 2; II g 2; FS 4

• **Pl. 45: h**

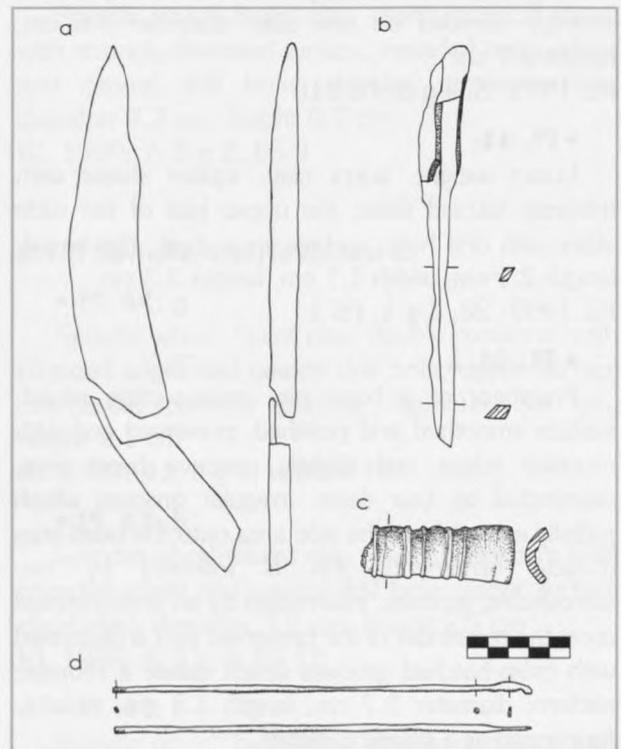
Knife blade; iron; corroded; surface partially burst off; double-edged blade; cross-section a shallow rhombus; tapered blade; grip attachment with narrowly rectangular cross-section; length 36 cm, width 2.5 cm (scale 1: 2)

KL 1999: 5; II g 2; FS 9

• **Pl. 46: a**

Knife blade; iron, strongly corroded; partially broken out; curved blade with drawn-in blade; both ends broken off; tapering towards a grip attachment, now missing; length 19 cm, width 2.6 cm; this knife blade may have been used as a butcher knife.

KL 1999: 19; II g 2; FS 39



Pl. 46 -

- **Pl. 46: b**

Iron fragment; strongly corroded, fragmented, partially broken out; length 14.3 cm, width 1.2 cm; perhaps a fragment of a lance point with central rib still discernible.

KL 1999: 24; II g 2; FS 64

- **Pl. 46: c**

Fragment of a small bone tube; only a cylinder fragment preserved; originally cylindrical, using an outer bone mantle; outer surface of the segment roughly smoothed and polished; decoration on the outwardly convex side with a repeated pattern of a narrow cross-bar followed by a groove, then a wider cross-bar; a total of three ornamental units are preserved; diameter 2.5 cm (reconstructed), length 5.3 cm; the function can no longer be determined with certainty: it could have been a tool handle or possibly a make-up tube.

KL 1997: 18; II g 1; FS 33

- **Pl. 46: d**

Bronze pin; slightly corroded and partially broken off; cross-section rectangular; upper end flattened (hammered), forming a hook or possibly a spoon; length 8.1 cm; possible function as a cosmetic or medical instrument.

KL 1999: 23; II g 2; FS 44

### 2.3. Ornaments

- **Pl. 47: a**

Black glass bead; torus-shaped with central drill hole through the flattened side; decorated by an inlaid, irregularly shaped white stripe around the circumference of the bead; diameter 1.1 cm, height 0.7 cm

KL 1997: 25; II g 1; FS 4

- **Pl. 47: b**

Light blue glass bead; rectangular with central drill hole (parallel to its longitudinal axis); slightly rounded edges; length 0.7 cm, width 0.7 cm, height 0.6 cm

KL 1997: 12; II g 1; FS 4

- **Pl. 47: c**

Bronze earring with a glass bead; bronze wire slightly corroded; wire with round cross-section,

the ends bent together in an elliptical shape; one end wound into three spirals through which the other end has been inserted to form a clasp; the wire is threaded through one light green glass bead; in addition, a second, much thinner wire is wound around the bronze wire in two spirals; length 2.4 cm, width 1.9 cm

KL 1997: 19; II f 1; FS 28

- **Pl. 47: d**

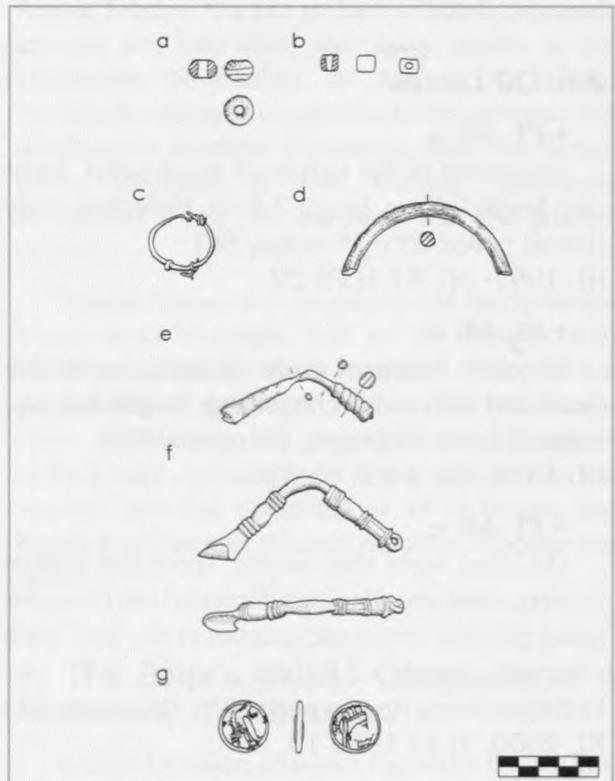
Fragment of an unadorned bracelet made from bone; only one circle segment preserved; originally circular; cross-section irregularly D-shaped with an outwardly convex surface; surface smoothed and polished; diameter 6.2 cm (reconstructed)

KL 1997: 33a; II g 1; FS 41

### 2.4. Fibulas

- **Pl. 47: e**

Elbow shaped bow fibula with ribbed mouldings on each arm; bronze; corroded; two fibula shanks and part of the needle holder



Pl. 47 -

preserved, both shanks cylindrically thickened, diameter slightly increasing toward the outside, decorated with spiral-shaped groove ornaments (barrel-shaped segment); length 5.5 cm; Fibula type Poppa 1; Iron Age (5<sup>th</sup> century BC)

KL 1997: 27; II g 1; FS 1

• **Pl. 47: f**

Elbow shaped bow fibula with ribbed mouldings on each arm; bronze; slightly corroded; needle missing; one barrel-shaped segment accompanied by two chased discs, found in a symmetrical arrangement on both sides of the bow angle; length 7.6 cm; Fibula type Poppa 1; Iron Age (5<sup>th</sup> century BC)

KL 1999: 11; II g 2; FS 30

## 2.5. Coin

• **Pl. 47: g**

Bronze coin; corroded; front: female head, Greek marginal inscription illegible; back: eagle, Greek marginal inscription illegible; diameter 1.8 cm; Hellenistic/early Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>– 1<sup>st</sup> century BC)

KL 1999: 6; II g 2; FS 9

## 2.6. Oil Lamps

• **Pl. 48: a**

Fragments of the handle of an oil lamp, burnt clay; length 3.7 cm, height 3.4 cm; Hellenistic/early Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>– 1<sup>st</sup> century BC)

KL 1997: 36; II f 1; FS 29

• **Pl. 48: b**

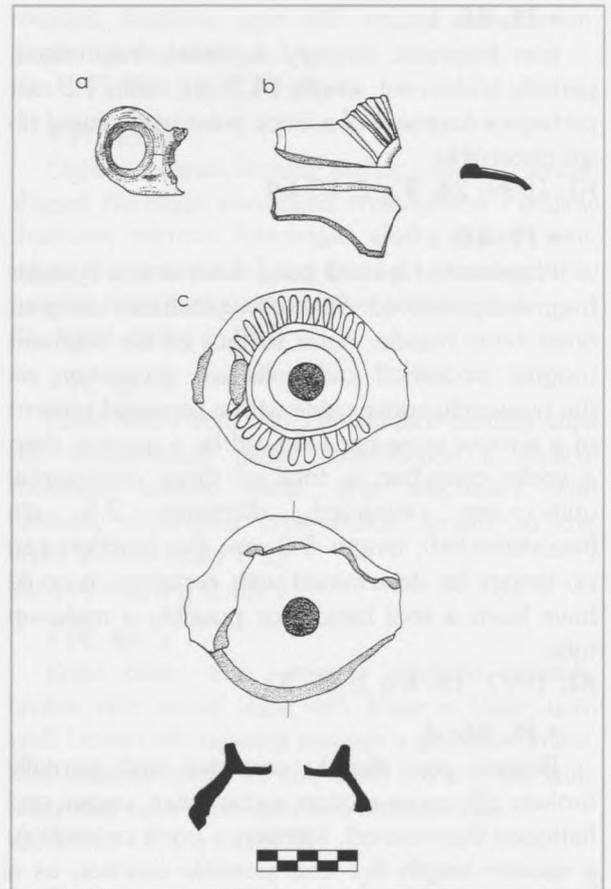
Shoulder fragment of an oil lamp, burnt clay decorated with radial channeling; length 4.6 cm, width 2.5 cm; Hellenistic (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC)

KL 1999: 14; II g 2; FS 32

• **Pl. 48: c**

Oil lamp, burnt clay; handle, spout and bottom missing; outer shoulder area decorated with irregular radial grooves; concentric grooves in the disc; black covering; length 7.8 cm, width 6.2 cm; Hellenistic/early Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>– 1<sup>st</sup> century BC)

KL 2000: 7; II f 1; FS 10



Pl. 48 -

## **IX. Animal Bones and Soil Samples**

**Annotation by Marlies HEINZ**

Animal bones and soil samples have been collected throughout every season. The results of their analysis will be published in a future report.

## **X. The Beqa'a Valley in Antiquity: a Regional-Historic Survey**

**Michael SOMMER**

Archaeological results and the history of events are posited an odd relation within the field of ancient history: Archaeology provides the historian with indispensable information, especially when historic sources in the narrower sense of the word, that is texts, are scarce. Viewed from the point of historic research it is an ancillary science in the best sense. Vice versa this is also the case: Only the semantics of history render the relics of material culture readable. In this sense this article aims to be a help to read.

The campaign of 1999 could reaffirm the assumption of a continuous settlement at Kamid el-Loz during Hellenistic and Roman times. Much of the history of the Beqa'a Valley during these epochs still remains in the dark. At least for the time of the Roman Empire, one can go back to some epigraphic material and the, albeit speculative, results of the excavations of Baalbek, as well as to isolated occasional passages in classical historiographic and geographical literature. Knowledge about the Beqa'a during Hellenism is even scantier. Statements concerning it can only be made with the greatest caution.

Political history and geography will hardly be the wrong tracks to insight, both are the dimensions in which every historic event happens<sup>31</sup>. Many of the peculiarities of the regional history of the Beqa'a Valley are related to the geography of this subregion of the Levant. As many aspects also emerge from the specific historical constellations of a border and transit zone between different domains of power and culture.

### **1. The Beqa'a Valley: Geography of a border and transit region**

Today's Lebanon, in which the entire Beqa'a lies, is divided into four, very different main landscapes



Fig. 26 - The Beqa'a Valley in Classical Antiquity.

(Fig. 26): The partly very narrow coastal region that broadens only at the promontories that project into the Mediterranean Sea, the antique Phoenicia; the up to 3000 m high range of the Lebanon mountains running parallel to the coast; a plateau between the range of the Lebanon and the valleys of the Anti-Lebanon; and finally in the east, the mountain range of the Anti-Lebanon running parallel to the coast and the Lebanon that forms a geographical union with Mount Hermon, which is adjoining in the south and is also about 3000 m high<sup>32</sup>.

The Lebanon forms the highly structured north-western part of the transit zone between the alpidian highland of Anatolia and the Arabian mainland. The main determinant of the geographical developments at the Levant is the great Continental rift valley - an extension of the East-African rift valley, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aquaba - that runs parallel to the

coast line, from there across the Red Sea and the Jordan rift to the flats between the hills of Galilee and the Hermon (El-Ghor fold). It continues in the Beqa'a Valley in a north-eastern direction and finally leads into the Orontes valley (El-Ghab fold) in north-western Syria. At the west of this important tectonic line lies - from the south to the north - the Judaeen Plateau, the Galilean hill zone, the Lebanon mountains, the Jebel Ansarijya, and, as the most southern foothill of the Taurus massif, the Amanus mountains. In between deep valleys are formed by the respective western branches of the main rift line, which link the coast line - otherwise isolated by the mountains - with the hinterland<sup>33</sup>.

As the coastal plain and the edge of the steppe around Damascus are difficult to pass, the Jordan-Leontes-Orontes valley is predestined to be a main axis between the north (Anatolia, Northern Syria)

and the south (Palestine, Egypt). Side valleys also make the access to the coast (valleys of Nahr Fidar, Nahr el-Kelb, Nahr Awali, Leontes) and to Central Syria (Wadi Baradi, plain of Aanjar) easier. That the Beqa'a Valley can be passed through in virtually every direction is the basis of its importance for the traffic throughout the ages.

Like the Phoenician coastal plain, the 10 to 15 km wide Beqa'a Valley, the centre of the Central Lebanese plain (height: 1000 m above the sea), is fertile alluvial land. Though the northern part (around Hermel) has an arid steppe climate, the southern part of the plain, that is protected by the Anti-Lebanon, enjoys a more Mediterranean climate (there is enough precipitation for rain-dependent farming). There have been widespread marshes and lakes in this area until recently. The line dividing the two parts forms the watershed between Orontes and Leontes (Litani) at about the height of Baalbek. The two rivers, that also bear water during summer, and the numerous springs in the surrounding mountains and hills make an intensive watering system and, consequently, farming possible<sup>34</sup>.

Kamid el-Loz, the antique Kumidi, is located on the south-eastern edge of the Beqa'a where the alluvial land merges with the hills of the Jerbal Aarbi. Here erosion has formed a wide earth crater that results in a slightly sloping terrain. Near Kamid el-Loz a side valley links the Beqa'a with the pass to Damascus, that continues through the Wadi Barada and which has been an important transport link in antiquity. The hillside location of the settlement allows for a control of not only the road but also of a greater part of the Beqa'a.

Taking geography into account affirms the continuity of the Beqa'a plain as a historic site. Its easy accessibility has also always linked it with the surrounding land. The history of the Beqa'a can therefore neither be separated from that of the Levant or Syria nor from the events of major politics.

## 2. Inner conditions of Hellenistic states: Structural principles

Johann Gustav Droysen, the antiquissimus auctor of the study of Hellenism, considered - in the wake of Hegel - the great synthesis of Orient and

Occident, which prepared the grounds for the upcoming Christianity, as the epoch's main characteristic<sup>35</sup>. This fundamentally teleological view soon made way for a more secular interpretation, yet the image of Hellenism as a 'world-culture' (Hermann Bengtson) embracing the whole *oikouméne* and as an epoch of the 'blending' of Oriental and Occidental elements prevailed.

Nevertheless, periodisation is problematic in more than one way: Neither Hellenism's spatial nor temporal expansion can be securely limited. The Hellenistic states had no general profile concerning size or structure. In themselves they were not homogenous social, juridical and political unities, let alone monolithic entities. The only big common trait was the type of the charismatic hereditary monarchy<sup>36</sup> of Macedonian origin, which appeared in different regional forms but was nevertheless structurally unified. The Hellenistic states were thus distinctly different from the other political entities in antiquity.

The constitutive element in the Hellenistic monarchy is the 'victorious king' who is constantly proving his achievements by the means of grandiose ventures (military campaigns, parades, religious celebrations, foundations) thus securing the loyalty of his subjects<sup>37</sup>. The king was protector and benefactor, he was conqueror and the Gods' favourite. Alexander, the archetype of the heroic monarch, had set the standards for all times with his *anábasis*, the conquest of the Persian Kingdom and the campaign to India. The structural weakness of the kingdom lay in its inability to deal with defeat and in its political military activism, which was prescribed by Alexander's model. Wars with ever changing alliances were part of political everyday life.

The charismatic ruler rather than administrative or juridical unity was the centre of the state identity in Hellenism. Even had they wanted to, the political, economical and also cultural unification of their states would have lain beyond the powers of the Macedonian rulers. Hellenisation, however, was never part of the 'program' of Hellenism<sup>38</sup>. Diversity in all areas dominated life. Indigenous societies and Greek towns each kept their own unique character. Greeks and Persians, Aramaians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Jews, Egyptians or Arabs lived rather

next to each other than with each other on the grounds of the Hellenistic states.

Only the Greek city, the polis, had a special status in the Seleucid confederation. The proclamation of urban freedom (*eleuthería*) and autonomy (*autonomía*) as well as the naturalness with which the ruler and *poleis* dealt with each other on a basis of 'international' law (with representatives and alliances) were more than a mere facade. Thus the king honoured political tradition and could appear as a benefactor (*euergétes*) and protector (*postátes*) and at the same time legitimise his rule<sup>39</sup>.

The degree of urban autonomy differed from city to city and was influenced by various factors. There were cities that had been granted absolute freedom of taxes by the king<sup>40</sup>, and those who could decide for themselves in internal matters but had to pay a tribute to the centre. Privileges like these, also including the freedom of garrisons and the right to strike coins, enhanced the status of a polis: Apart from the Greek towns in Asia Minor and the newly founded Hellenistic settlements, more and more Oriental towns, especially the Phoenician coastal towns, which were already structurally similar to the Greek *poleis*, strove for a position similar to that of the Greek cities<sup>41</sup>.

After the pattern of the Greek cities, also the Oriental temple states formed economically and politically autonomous entities within the Seleucid Empire. The central power restricted itself accordingly to its goals and possibilities to a minimum of intervention. The social structures of the indigenous communities were hardly changed when the Macedonian monarchy took the place of the Achaemenides<sup>42</sup>.

Ptolemyic Egypt with its colonies in Syria and Asia Minor was more unified than the Seleucid Empire. Here the king's exclusive claim to property in 'arm-acquired' lands was a matter of fact for the Lagidian monarchy. Without Greek cities - except Alexandria - only the many temples could have been counted as autonomous cells. In their administration the king reserved himself certain wide-ranging rights<sup>43</sup>. The king also limited his monopoly of landed property by giving land (*gê klerouchiké*) to active soldiers, mostly Macedonians. This land then became hereditary property of the families. Many of these plots of land were located in Koile-Syria, which was strategically

important for the Ptolemaic Kingdom and therefore constantly embattled<sup>44</sup>. An institution similar to the urban autonomy in the Seleucid Empire, however, did not exist. The Ptolemaic Kingdom was equally divided into 40 *nomoi* under the control of a *nomárchos*, who was subordinated in the bureaucratic hierarchy to the *dioiketês* ('house manager'), the head of administration. The civilian branch of administration was supplemented by military officials (*strategoí*) directly subordinated to the king.

### 3. Hellenistic Syria (333 - 64 BC)

The structural principles of Hellenistic power ideology, cultural heterogeneity, administrative structure and property relations were the basis from which the historical events in Syria, the buffer zone between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, unfolded. The main conditions had been established by Alexander's conquest and a line of Ancient Near Eastern kingdoms (including Egypt).

In 336 Alexander III had come to power after the murder of his father Philipp II of Macedonia<sup>45</sup>. After consolidating the Macedonian hegemony in Greece (336/335) Alexander crossed the Hellespontos (334) and resumed the war against the Achaemenides already started by Philipp. After two victories (Granicus 334, Issus 333) the way to Syria and Egypt, now stripped bare by Persian troops, was open. Only the Levant towns of Tyre and Gaza resisted Alexander and forced him to an extended siege.

What role Alexander had intended for Syria in his empire is not really clear<sup>46</sup>. After the defeat of Tyre and Gaza the region became a mere zone of passage, first on the way to Egypt, where Alexander stayed for some time (founding Alexandria and visiting the oasis of Siwa), then on the way to Mesopotamia (before the battle of Gaugamela 331): With the conquest of the centres of the Persian Empire (Babylon, Susa 331, Ekbatana 330) Alexander's focus of action shifted to the East. At any rate, Alexander had personally secured the hinterland (Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon) after the conquest of Tyre against regularly invading Arab tribes<sup>47</sup>.

The role of Syria became more important after Alexander's death (323) as a struggle for power broke loose among the members of the Macedonian elite<sup>48</sup>.

A suitable legitimate heir did not exist. After a compromise agreed on in Babylon, Perdikkas became finally 'regent of the Empire'. Others of Alexander's followers were compensated with satrapies and important military posts: Ptolemy got Egypt, Lysimachus got Thracia, Antigonus got Phrygia and Seleucus became commander of the cavalry. This interim solution was irrelevant already in the year of Alexander's death. In the four so-called Wars of the Diadochs the protagonists of the successor generation fought in changing alliances for power.

The land bridge of the Levant was an especially embattled region during these confrontations: In the first war (321/320) Ptolemy advanced from Egypt into Palestine and Phoenicia (320) but was driven out again by Antigonus. In 313, however, the Ptolemaic fleet was plundering the Syrian coast. Shortly afterwards (312) Demetrius, Antigonus's son, had to defend Syria against Seleucus, who had conquered the Babylonian satrapy and was aiming for westward expansion. Bitterly embattled during the third war, the major part of Syria was taken by Ptolemy after the battle near the Phrygian Ipsus, in which Antigonus died. Only the northern part around the estuary of the Orontes was secured by Seleucus, who made this region the centre of his realm by founding and re-founding the four big cities (*tetrápolis*).

Already Antigonus had started the building of a capital for his realm in Northern Syria (302). Seleucus now founded in a short time Seleucia in Pieria, Antioch of Pieria, Apamea and Laodicea on Sea. The *tetrápolis* was only a part in the greater colonisation scheme of the early Seleucids<sup>49</sup>, but it was an important part: In the Oriental trade, in which the Seleucids were competing with Ptolemaic Egypt, Northern Syria was an important intersection of the routes of the caravans to Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean Sea<sup>50</sup>. At the same time the Lagids were expanding their posts in the southern part of the Levant: The province «Syria and Phoenicia» was established, cleruchs were settled and, last but not least, the strategically important island of Cyprus was acquired<sup>51</sup>.

The border region Syria with its exceptional resources and its geostrategic location was predestined to become the bone of contention between the successor states of Alexander's Empire. It was the ideal

site for the constant demonstrations of strength necessary in a charismatic monarchy. Consequently a series of no less than six «Syrian Wars» (275-271, 260-253, 246-241, 219-217, 202-195, 170-168) broke out in and around Syria. In these wars both sides attempted with more or less success but with great expenses to get hold of the whole of Syria. Even when Ptolemy III, taking advantage of the confusion around the succession to the throne in the Seleucid Empire, advanced to the *tetrápolis* and beyond into Central Syria and Mesopotamia during the Third Syrian War - the so-called Laodice War - his success was ephemeral. Only Seleucia in Pieria remained Ptolemaic for 27 years. Generally, the Seleucids were able to defend and keep Northern and Central Syria in the third century.

A fundamental change on the political map only appeared in the Fifth Syrian War when the Seleucid king Antiochus III ('the Great') managed to get hold of the entire Syria but also of the coastal region, that had been controlled by Egypt up to this point. Syria including Gaza now belonged to the Seleucid Empire, which was not able to enjoy its victory very much. Antiochus could demonstrate the Seleucid authority reaching to the borders of India for a last time in an *anábasis* modelled on Alexander's and Seleucus's I campaigns, but Rome - a power new and structurally different from the Hellenistic monarchies - had been playing a part in the major politics of the Eastern Mediterranean since 201. Near Magnesia in Asia Minor Antiochus's Macedonian phalanx was defeated by the Roman legions (189), and in the following year the Romans dictated the terms of peace (Peace of Apamea) which drove the Seleucids almost completely out of Asia Minor and which strengthened Rome's most important allies in the East, Rhodes and Pergamum. A last effort by the Seleucids to upset Rome's balance of power failed in 168: A Roman envoy, the senator Popilius Laenas, put Antiochus literally in his place<sup>52</sup>. Now it was obvious that there was no way to stand up against Rome in the East.

The series of political defeats robbed the Seleucids of their prestige and ended in their decline. Being attacked from both sides by the Romans in the West and the Parthians in the East, the empire, already reduced to its Syrian core, broke apart from within in the course of 100 years. Traits of this

disintegration were endemic confusions about the succession as the direct consequence of the loss of prestige and the formation of quasi independent dynasties on Seleucid territory. The first one was the Seleucid satrapy Commagene in 170 when its governor Ptolemy emancipated himself from the Empire and founded his own dynasty. After the Rebellion of the Maccabees, Hasmonaean Judaea followed after having been promised factual autonomy by the Seleucid Demetrius II (105). Already in the second century the Phoenician coastal towns wrestled extensive autonomy from the capital. Finally, an increasing number of nomadic tribes from the Arabian desert entered Syria and got partly involved in a process of sedentarisation. Settling down also brought the formation of autonomous territories (tetrarchies), which would shortly afterwards cover the remains of Seleucid Syria. Sanctuaries of importance in later Roman times like Emesa (Homs) and Heliopolis (Baalbek) were influenced and stimulated by Arabian cults<sup>53</sup>.

Syria, which was temporarily under Armenian control and was increasingly sinking into anarchy, was thus ripe for a third - after Greece and Asia Minor - expansion of Rome towards the East. Its executor Cn. Pompeius (Magnus), the supreme commander in the Orient, who had been given special authority after a *plebiscitum* in 67, moved into Antioch after his victories over Mithridates of Pontus, tribes from the Caucasus and nomads from Asia Minor and Syria, and finalised the fate of the remains of the Seleucid state by establishing the Province of Syria (64).

Despite the turbulent historic events the basic social, economical and cultural patterns of Syria survived the erosion of the Seleucid Empire and Rome's take-over. The region's geographical location at the intersections of the cultural spheres and power domains of the Middle East, Egypt and Europe was echoed in the social organisation of Hellenistic Syria. Achaemenid and Mesopotamian traditions continued as Graeco-Macedonian elements entered. The economical system was, as in Seleucid times, a copy of the Ptolemaic «economy of balance»<sup>54</sup>, which was in itself a combination of traditional «centralist» Egyptian *oikos*-economy and Greek elements (increased importance of private capital in production and export).

The massive influx of Greeks and Macedonians («third Greek colonisation») into Syria in the wake of Alexander's campaign increased with the advent of Seleucid and Ptolemaic colonisation politics (before 300) and resulted in two linguistically, culturally and socially sharply divided groups: A Graeco-Macedonian ruling «elite» which was joined by a rapidly Hellenising indigenous upper class of various Syrian and Phoenician towns<sup>55</sup>, and the inferior, not easily definable group of *laoi* («people»), whose majority might have been leaseholders and slaves (*sómata laiká*), but in any case were natives who were, nevertheless, a heterogeneous group<sup>56</sup>. The smallest unity of all economical and political structures was the *laoi's* village (*kóme*). *Laoi* could work on municipal land (*chóra*) or royal property. In this case a *komomisthotés* (a tax leaseholder) functioned as a mediator between the king and the village dwellers. The towns and villages were subjected to a royal provincial government with the *dioikistés* (administrator), the *strategós* (military commander) and the local *oikónomoi* (minor royal finance representative).

Greek particles in the Oriental world of the *laoi* were apart from the newly founded and the Hellenised Oriental towns, regions with garrisons and cleruchs. These contributed to the Hellenisation of their respective surroundings which was nevertheless not enough to give the entire region a Greek character. Even in Syria, which had together with Asia Minor the densest Greek population, Hellenised regions remained merely islands in an environment with extremely vital indigenous cultural traditions<sup>57</sup>.

The religious traditions remained unchallenged in many places. The Macedonian government even opened the doors for Oriental cults on their way to the West: Mystery religions (the cults of Isis, Serapis, Mithras, Cybele) had their roots in the East as did the Hellenistic ruler cult and, last but not least, Christianity. Especially the Greco-Macedonian settlers in the East became entranced by regional deities and cults. Syria itself became a melting pot of manifold syncretisms, that radiated from Heliopolis and Emesa into the entire Roman Empire. Finally, the Rebellion of the Maccabees, initiated by religious Jews against their own Hellenised authorities,

proved the continuity of religiously motivated norms and traditions in a very tangible way<sup>58</sup>.

Nevertheless, the partial Hellenisation of Syria had prepared the ground for the seamless and mostly easy take-over by the Roman administration after Pompey's annexation. The already established structures were only marginally altered by the hegemonic authorities in power: the *Pax Romana* could build on a tradition of imperial power that went far beyond the Greeks.

#### 4. Syria in the Roman Empire (64 BC - AD 337)

When the Roman commander and later triumvir Pompey incorporated the rest of the Seleucid Empire into the Imperium Romanum almost in passing by as Alexander did, the conquest was politically no sudden break. The disintegration of the Seleucid power domain had been on its way for 100 years: Internal conflicts had made a weakened empire an easy prey for the expanding powers in East (Parthians) and West (Rome). The new Pompeian structure of Rome's sphere of interest in the Middle East was only the last episode of the 250-year-long history of the already agonised Seleucid Empire<sup>59</sup>.

The year 64 is also no actual break because the complex power relations originating in Hellenism remained with only a few modifications for the time being. The Greek cities, especially big Hellenistic royal residences, still saw themselves as autonomous entities, and Rome affirmed this status by using names like *Antiochia libera*, *Seleucia libera*, etc. and by the continuation of privileges like the one of striking coins<sup>60</sup>. The new province, basically the central part of the old Seleucid Empire, was the perfect bridgehead for further Roman expansion politics in the Near East. The two legions stationed in the area also made Syria to an object of political aspiration for the members of the Roman ruling class. Crassus prepared from Antioch his campaign against the Parthians (54/53), which failed horribly.

In the meantime, however, the Roman presence did upset the regional balance of power in Syria: At the Euphrates the two most powerful successors of political Hellenism, Rome and the Parthians, directly faced each other. This was the foundation for an

almost 700-year-long neighbourhood full of tension, if one adds Byzantium and the Sassanian Empire. Rome's repeated and energetic attempts to fortify Syria and to erect a military border in the steppe were the results of the precarious political situation<sup>61</sup>, but it would not isolate Syria from its eastern hinterland. At the Euphrates, Zeugma became an important hub for the Orient trade which was indispensable for Rome<sup>62</sup>. Trading increased under the conditions of a predominantly peaceful country and this would also benefit Syria, whose towns remained links between the routes of the caravans though the steppe and the harbours at the Mediterranean. A good number of settlements in Syria were partly or entirely economically dependent on long distance trade<sup>63</sup>.

By taking the place of the crumbling Seleucid Empire Rome also forced the numerous autonomous local powers to a new political orientation. Already in 141 BC, Judaea under the Hasmonaeans emancipated itself from the Empire as a late result of the Maccabean Rebellion and pursued an energetic expansion policy. At the Seleucid periphery the Nabatean Empire had developed after proto-statal beginnings in the fourth century in Northern Arabia. The Beqa'a Valley, the mountains of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon and Mount Hermon had become the home of the Ituraeans in the second century BC. They had come from the south of Arabia and formed their own state with the capital Chalkis (Aanjar). They also attempted expansion, especially towards the Phoenician coast (Batrun)<sup>64</sup>. The post-Seleucid and still half-nomadic successor states entered with the establishment of the province of Syria into a relationship with Rome, which limited their room for action but did not touch their inner structures. The oasis town of Palmyra first resisted incorporation into the Roman system of clientele, but joined the Roman Empire in AD 14-17, while still hanging on to its inner autonomy. In the direction of Anatolia the principalities of Osrhoene and Commagene completed the circle of Roman client states around Syria.

Antioch, the seat of the Syrian governor<sup>65</sup>, became the control centre of the client states at the periphery in the first phase of Roman rule in Syria. The system of indirect rule over wide parts of the Syrian-Palestinian land bridge brought Rome the advantage of a profitable and not too expensive control of large

parts of the area. The Syrian politics of the first *princeps*, of Augustus, consequently included the client rulers into Rome's strategic concept against the Parthians. In the numerous conflicts in and between the client states the *princeps* functioned as a referee - decisions were made in Rome without the need of sending a single legionnaire<sup>66</sup>. Thus the Syrian confederation remained intact apart from a few fundamental changes<sup>67</sup>, until late into the first century AD.

A real turning point in Rome's politics towards the Near East did appear only after the end of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. The Flavian Dynasty (69-96) increased the military engagement and began the expansion of Rome's direct rule. The initial for this development was the Jewish Revolt of 66-70, that drastically exposed the weaknesses of the system of indirect rule. The defeat of the rebellion put an end to the empire of Agrippa II, Commagene followed (72), finally the last dominion of the tetrarchs in Syria, Emesa (ca. 72-78), disappeared. Trajan then annexed the last former client state, the Nabatean region (106). The consequent conversion of indirect to direct rule was obviously the result of a changed strategic doctrine and was closely connected to similar measures taken in other parts of the Empire (Danube region, Black Sea region). The resulting frontier, with its «inner lines» comparably easy to defend, was from now on the «backbone of the Empire's military structure<sup>68</sup>» and was complemented with a shift of economical, political and cultural foci to the East.

The expansion of Rome's military engagement in Syria required a systematic improvement of the infrastructure: When M. Ulpus Traianus, the father of the later emperor, was governor, the Roman troops were building a sewer system near Antioch (ca. 75), at approximately the same time the great artificial harbour of Seleucia was built. Being governor of Syria became one of the most popular posts in the Empire and was seen as a special award (cf. Tac. Agric. 40). That Syria was being increasingly noticed by the emperor is proved by the epithets protesting a close affiliation with the emperor that were chosen by many towns: *Claudia Apamea*, *Flavia Samosata*, *Aelia* (for Damascus and Jerusalem)<sup>69</sup>. The major part of the dense web of roads all over the province was also constructed in Flavian times<sup>70</sup>.

In the early and high times of the Empire the relation between the Roman centre and the provinces underwent a fundamental change. In republican times the provinces had been mere objects of Roman politics and sources of taxes before, but Rome's conversion into Empire brought along a successive levelling out between Rome, Italy and the provinces. An increasing number of provincials were granted the Roman citizenship either individually or collectively. The Roman citizenship was quickly spreading throughout the Greek East since the early time of the Empire. This can also be noticed by the increasing use of Latin names, often in addition to the Greek names. Apart from the settlement of veterans it was mainly the elevation of towns into the state of a *colonia*, a settlement of Roman citizens, that was of the greatest importance<sup>71</sup>. Since provincials had been able to become members of the Senate for the first time under Claudius (41-54) the number of *patres* of Oriental origin was steadily rising. This is also a sign of the shift of focus from Italy to the provinces, especially to the Eastern part of the Empire.

Rome was also supporting the establishment of a propertied elite in the provincial towns. Only this could guarantee a steady high tax revenue, which increasingly burdened the towns. The local notables (*decuriones*) were personally responsible for a timely delivery of their respective town's payments. This was a heavy burden, that was steadily increasing because of the growing bureaucracy in late antiquity. This contributed to a weakening of the towns and of their economical efficiency from the third century AD onwards. An exception, however, were the towns in the East, which obviously had access to more resources and were less likely to give in to economical crises. This is one of the reasons for the - compared with the West - greater durability of the Eastern Roman Empire in the chaos of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>. In any case, the urban populations of the East, especially of Syria, were, other than in the West, still increasing between the third and fifth century<sup>73</sup>.

A symbol for the growing importance of the Province of Syria was the Eastern journey of the emperor Hadrian and his generous building politics, which stood in the tradition of Philhellenism. Hadrian visited Antioch, that had been hit by an earthquake fifteen years earlier, and the oasis of Palmyra, which

he included into the Roman fortification system, as well as Heliopolis, the religious centre of the former Ituraean state. The visit was the begin of extensive building activities: Probably still Hadrian initiated the building of the Small (Bacchus) Temple, the expansion of the Jupiter Temple and the building of the Mercury Temple (now vanished) followed. With Heliopolis in its renewed splendour, a centre of worship of imperial importance had been established. It was located at the intersection of two main roads<sup>74</sup> and attracted a great number of pilgrims, thus the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the Romanised *Ba'al Biq'ah*, was spread throughout the Empire<sup>75</sup>.

The 180 years between the establishment of the province by Pompey and Trajan's rule can be seen as a phase of steady intensification through the political immersion of the Near East by Rome but also by wide-reaching conquests. Trajan annexed the Nabatean Empire, for a short time even the entire Mesopotamia as the provinces Assyria and Mesopotamia, as well as Armenia. Syria provided the deployment area and supply basis for these operations. Legions from other parts of the Empire were massed there before the Parthian campaign<sup>76</sup>. Antioch took on the role of a "second capital", from where the campaigning emperor could also deal with civilian matters.

Hadrian for strategic reasons surrendered a major part of his predecessor's conquests and contented himself with the Euphrates border. In Rome's predominantly politics towards the Near East heavily fortified Syria and its neighbouring provinces Judaea and Arabia were strategic corner-stones. With a total of six legions, garrisoned in Samosata, Zeugma, Raphanaeae, Jerusalem and Damascus, the region was one of the most militarised areas of the whole Empire. In addition to that a network of supporting garrisons covered the country<sup>77</sup>. But despite this massive concentration of troops inner conflicts spread like a wild fire, this was shown by the Bar-Kochba Rebellion (132-135), that could only be defeated with the help of additional legions<sup>78</sup>. Nevertheless, Hadrian's defence system could withstand the threats in the long term.

The first test took place when the Parthians entered Syria a generation later at the Upper Euphrates and defeated the Roman army there (161). The new double leadership (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, both since 161) reacted promptly:

Emperor Lucius Verus started from Rome to Antioch and led the campaign to the East. This brought Roman troops again deep into Mesopotamia and resulted in a substantial gaining of land at the Upper Euphrates (up to the confluence of Euphrates and Habur). Thus a strategic basis for repeated advances against the Parthian and later the Sassanian Empires had been acquired and at the same time the defensive ability of Syria had been improved<sup>79</sup>.

The events of the years 193/94 show what importance Syria had achieved in the internal affairs of the Empire. After the murder of Commodus (end of 192) the legate of the province, Pescennius Niger, considered himself strong enough to make an attempt for the throne. The circumstances of his elevation - an atmosphere of a public holiday<sup>80</sup> - illustrate the broad support of this popular governor, and this seemed to have been enough temptation and challenge to undertake usurpation. Pescennius Niger's government in the East was only an episode, but the legitimate *princeps*, who came to Syria in 194, had himself won his political and military spurs in Syria<sup>81</sup>. With the Severian dynasty (193-235) Syria finally came into the narrower focus of the Empire's politics. Septimus Severus spent a good part of his long rule in Syria, from where he led his two Parthian campaigns (195 and 197/98) and from where he started his journey through the Near East, which lasted several years (around 200). Together with his son Caracalla he became consul in Antioch in 202. By dividing the Province of Syria he initiated a substantial change-over in the provincial administration (**Fig. 27**). The south-western part, *Syria Phoenice*, was divided from the rest, now called *Syria Coele* ("the hollow Syria")<sup>82</sup>. This was done primarily to avoid a concentration of strong legionary powers in a single hand (there were now two legions in *Syria Coele*), and thus to prevent future attempts of usurpation by Syrian governors.

The political importance of Syria increased further under the Severians as this dynasty was closely connected to the region. Already Septimus Severus, a provincial from Lepcis Magna in North Africa, a colony of Tyre, felt closely connected to this Phoenician metropolis. Even more important was the emperor's family ties to a priest dynasty from Emesa: The Syrian centres of worship, among them Heliopolis/Baalbek, attracted more and more

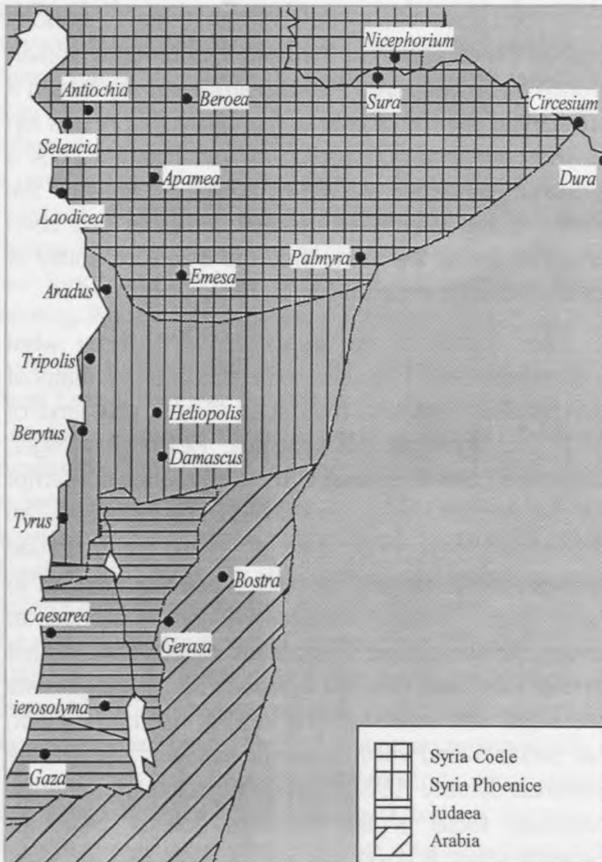


Fig. 27 - Roman provinces in Severian times (ca. 200 AD).

pilgrims, the cult of the sun god Jupiter Heliopolitanus became increasingly popular. Four women of the Emesene priest family, Iulia Domna, Iulia Maesa, Iulia Sohaemias and Iulia Mamaea gained a certain influence in Roman politics and achieved the status of a metropolis for their home town, which soon became the administrative centre of the Province of *Syria Phoenice*<sup>83</sup>. The publicity of the cult reached its climax when the young emperor Elagabal (218-222) called himself *sacerdos Dei Solis Elagabal* on his coins<sup>84</sup>. The official spreading of Oriental images of cults and religions corresponds with the gradual acculturation of the numerous soldiers coming from various parts of the Empire, who had been stationed - very often for decades - in Syria and took on local practices there<sup>85</sup>.

The circumstances of Roman foreign affairs had been changing rapidly since about 220, as the Parthian Arsacid Empire - already weakened by an internal feudalisation and disintegration process - fell prey to a rebellion that started in Persis and brought

the dynasty of the Sassanians to power. Gradually the structures of the Persian Empire changed: The Sassanian established a rigid, centralist bureaucracy and went into a military offensive, picking up Achaemenid traditions of imperial claims and Zoroastrian religion politics<sup>86</sup>. The second Sassanian king, Šapur I (243-273), «king of Iran and Non-Iran» defeated the Romans badly. It was the worst defeat the Roman Empire had ever had to endure on an Asian battlefield. Around 252 Šapur crossed the Euphrates invading and occupying Syria up to Antioch. The counter offensive of the emperor Valerianus (253-260) was successful at first: in 256 Antioch was reclaimed and the old borders of Syria were re-established, in 259 Valerianus prepared for a campaign against the Persians. The following defeat against Šapur's troops near Edessa, where the emperor was captured alive by the Sassanians, caused a severe crisis for Rome: Ursupers rose all over the country against the legitimate emperor Gallienus (till 268). Even graver was the dissolution of two parts of the Empire caused by external pressure: The Gallic Empire of Postumus in the West and the «kingdom» of Palmyra in the East.

Palmyra, which could hang on to its special status confirmed by Hadrian (129) since the incorporation into the Empire, is the epitome of the survival of local cultural traditions and social structures within the Empire. For centuries Oriental and Graeco-Roman influences intersected here. The town fashioned itself accordingly to the type of the polis, especially when it was granted the status of a *colonia* by the Severians. This constellation makes the later kingdom a specific Roman phenomenon<sup>87</sup>.

The source of Palmyrene wealth was the Orient trade of the Roman Empire. Its main route in the second and third century lead through the Syrian steppe via Emesa and Palmyra to the Euphrates and along it via Ctesiphon to the Persian Gulf and from there to India. Palmyrene merchants had settlements in the Parthian and later in the Sassanian Empire and political and family connections to the nomadic tribes in the Syrian-Arabian steppe. The oasis town was thus controlling a network of secure economic connections, that made the lucrative trade with India accessible for the Palmyrenen merchants<sup>88</sup>.

The sudden ascent of Palmyra was made possible by the power vacuum after Valerianus's defeat against

Šapur I. This had practically bared the eastern flank of Roman troops and caused an usurpation attempt in Emesa (261). Gallienus could face both dangers only with the substantial support of Palmyrene troops - a unique event: A local dignitary, the *decurio* Septimius Odaenathus of Palmyra, recruited own troops, repulsed the enemy's attack and penetrated deep into the alien territory. Honours were heaped upon Odaenathus (*restitutor totius Orientis, vir consularis, imperator et dux Romanorum*) but soon he became the victim of a palace revolt<sup>89</sup>. This brought his son Vaballathus to power (266/67). From Rome's perspective an illegitimate pretender had now come to power, who, unlike the Roman official Odaenathus, could not be integrated into the provincial administration. The various titles of Vaballathus («king of kings» in the Persian tradition and at the same time the Roman *vir clarissimus, consul, dux Romanorum, imperator*) show how Western and Eastern influences merged in the oasis. Nevertheless, the Palmyrene leaders did not want emancipation from the Empire<sup>90</sup>. Palmyra rather became for a short time a second centre of the Roman Empire. Its power increased dramatically under Zenobia, who ruled for Vaballathus, but disappeared as quickly.

Zenobia's troops, recruited from Palmyrene and Syrian provincials and nomads, controlled central parts of the Roman Near East: The Provinces of *Syria Coele* (with Antioch), *Syria Phoenice*, Judaea, Arabia, Egypt (with Alexandria) and in addition also parts of Asia Minor<sup>91</sup>. Only when Aurelianus gained free hand in the West he could think about reclaiming these territories. It needed two campaigns with many losses until Rome had entire control over the oasis town again: Palmyra was widely destroyed and never got back its economical and political importance. Rome's loss of control in the Eastern provinces remained at first an episode, but it was an indication of change. The Oriental component of the Empire got more profile in the third century<sup>92</sup>. Consequently the Greek East gained more and more weight in the Empire. Furthermore, Rome found well-armed opponents in the Sassanians, who were ready to take advantage of any discernible weakness of the Empire.

Also the regained stability under Diocletian and Constantine could not disguise the latent threat to the Roman position. The measures taken by Diocletian

and his colleagues in the tetrarchic period (293-305) aimed for a rationalisation of the administration and taxation of the Empire. As a consequence the number of provinces was increased<sup>93</sup>. In Syria the two former provinces were affected by the reform: *Syria Coele* and *Syria Phoenice* were converted into four new provinces (*Syria I* with Antioch, *Syria II Salutaris* with Apamea, *Phoenice I* with the Phoenician coastal towns, and *Phoenice II Libanensis* with Emesa, the Beqa'a Valley, the two mountain ranges of the Lebanon, the Anti-Lebanon and the Palmyrene)<sup>94</sup>. The Eastern provinces got improved border protection and a line of massive fortifications that also with Palmyra as an important garrison. Measures taken to improve the military infrastructure also included a new expansion of the road system<sup>95</sup>.

From the third century onwards Christianity gained influence in the political, social and cultural development of the Roman Eastern provinces, at the same time the Oriental elements gained strength. The new upper class of the later Roman Empire, the administrative body that dominated in the East, had from the beginning less to set against the rapidly progressing Christianisation than the conservative Western Roman senatorial aristocracy. As a consequence the Church could get hold of an organisational foothold in the East much earlier: Analogous to the new provincial structure, units like the patriarchies with (since the Council of Nicaea, 325) fixed religious and political competences were established<sup>96</sup>. The transition from pagan to Christian practices was comparably fluent in Syria. Since Constantine many existing temples had been converted into churches. The longest surviving pagan cult was the one in Heliopolis, which existed until the sixth century.

Roman rule, prolonged by Byzantium, lasted in Syria after Constantine's death (337) for exactly 300 years till 636 when the Arabs defeated the Byzantine troops in the Battle of Gabita. Despite external signs of Hellenisation and Romanisation Oriental tradition and Syrian identity had always been alive in the region. Paradoxically enough: during the 700 years of Roman rule it was not the acculturation of Syria by the Occident, but rather the re-Orientalisation of the core land of Hellenism that was progressing. Syria increasingly became the antipode in the Empire, first for Rome, then even more clearly for the orthodox Byzantium.

## 5. The Beqa'a Valley in Hellenism: Aspects of regional history

The following survey cannot be more than a preliminary study due to the meagre available sources. Apart from geographical factors it was the border position between Ptolemaic and Seleucid domains that influenced the Beqa'a's regional history and the history of its settlements during Hellenism (Fig. 28). The Ptolemaic border forts of Gerrha and Brochoi were located in the southern part of the plain and profited from the natural barrier of an expansive area of bogs and lakes (*limne*, today drained) near the modern town of Aanjar. Between the wetland and the mountains of the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon only a small accessible corridor remained on each side, which could be so effectively defended by Gerrha (in the east) and Brochoi (in the west) that Antiochus III tried to conquer them several times in vain during the Fourth Syrian War (221, 228) (Pol. V, 46, 1-7)<sup>97</sup>.

Both places cannot be exactly localised: Gerrha might have been located near Aanjar (*ain al-Jaar* = source of Gerrha)<sup>98</sup>; Brochoi might have been on the other side at the eastern slope of the *Jebel al-Baruk*. They formed the northern border of the populated Ptolemaic territory. This does not mean that the military control of the Nile empire was cut short here, and that Seleucid control began. A substantial no man's land lay between the Gerrha-Brochoi line and the most southern Seleucid outpost (*Arethusa*, near Homs, dependent on *Apamea*). The northern, less fertile part of the Beqa'a Valley was probably exposed to the nomadic tribes of the surrounding mountains<sup>99</sup>.

The Beqa'a had lost its old linking function between north (Asia Minor) and south (Palestine, Egypt) as well as west (Phoenicia) and east (Mesopotamia) that had lasted for thousands of years during the Ptolemaic-Seleucid confrontations in the third century<sup>100</sup>. Urban settlements like Hama and Homs were depopulated in the third century and were revived only after 200 years when the settlement of the region was propagated, probably by the Phoenician coastal towns<sup>101</sup>.

Apart from the function as a border fortress against the Seleucids Gerrha and Brochoi could also improve the security of the fertile southern Beqa'a, which was always threatened by invading nomads to an extent

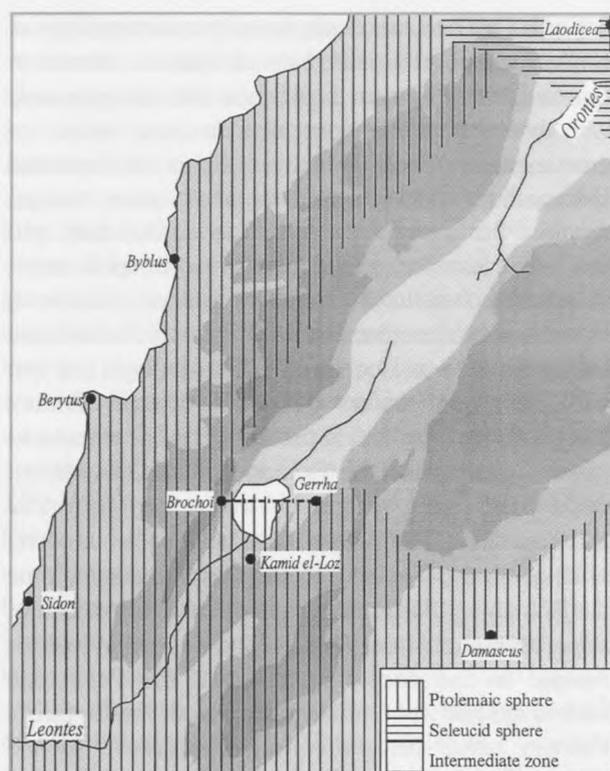


Fig. 28 - Imperial spheres in the Hellenistic Levant (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC).

that this part of the plain could be used for agriculture (Zenonpap. Cairo I, 59063). One can assume continuity here from pre-Hellenistic times, nevertheless the settlements of the cleruchs must have brought substantial demographic changes. These must have also influenced the appearance of settlements. It is questionable to what extent the settlements of soldiers and veterans in the region were the cause of a Hellenisation as the cleruchs could be from very different origin (Macedonians, Greeks, Thracians, Syrians, Anatolians)<sup>102</sup>.

The conquest of the entire Syria by Antiochos III (finalised in 198) was followed after a few years by the Peace of Apamea (188) and consequently by the weakening of the Seleucid Empire. The increasing threat by nomads was in the long run balanced out by the relative fertility of the land and the renewed possibilities for long distance trade since the Fifth Syrian War. Thus the Beqa'a Valley underwent massive demographic and structural changes especially during the Seleucid era.

With the Seleucid conquest a phase of restructuring set in. The northern Beqa'a Valley was repopulated, probably because of an initiative of the central power. Some settlements picked up older traditions but were now given dynastic names (Laodicea ad Libanum, Epiphania/Hama). Most villages continued to have Semitic names and therefore show the predominantly local character of the colonisation<sup>103</sup>. Abila, Chalkis and Heliopolis/Baalbek appeared in the context of Pompey's conquest of Syria as veritable cities in the southern part of the plain (Ios. ant. Iud. 14, 3, 2; Strab. XVI, 2, 18)<sup>104</sup>. Prerequisite of such an urbanisation was the agrarian development of the land that had provided the necessary surplus<sup>105</sup>. Strabon still presented the Massyas (Beqa'a) Valley around AD as an agrarian region (Strab. XVI, 2, 18: «But the people on the plain are farmers.»). The contribution of the Phoenician coastal towns in this colonial movement was probably substantial: Their influence spread for the first time beyond the mountains of the Lebanon so that the citizens of Emesa/Homs could well call themselves Phoenician during the time of the Roman Empire<sup>106</sup>.

A counter movement to the re-population and urbanisation of the Beqa'a Valley was the infiltration of Syria by Arabian Ituraeans (during the later period of the disintegration of the Seleucids). Their settlements were located in the Anti-Lebanon and Hermon (Luk. 3, 1) in the second century. From there they started their conquests of the southern Beqa'a probably even before 100. In the wake of the Armenian expansion, the Ituraeans under Ptolemy, who called himself *tetrárches kai archiereús* on his coins, left like the Hasmonaeans in Judaea the confederation. With the traditional Hellenistic title Ptolemy affirms the now loose connection between his tribal sheikhdom and the Seleucid authorities<sup>107</sup>. Ptolemy connected in his title also, again like his Hasmonaeon neighbours, politics and religion as he functions as ruler and high priest (*archiereús*). The theocratic component was obvious.

The Ituraean occupation was part of a whole series of rebellions of semi-nomadic mountain tribes against the settled population on the plains of the Levant<sup>108</sup>. Also the other establishments of states on Seleucid ground, like the one of the Nazarini in the area of Arados (cf. Plin. hist. nat. V, 81f.) or that of the Hasmonaeans after the Rebellion of the Maccabees,

belong to this category. In principle, these settlements were repetitions of similar processes that had changed the ethnic and political landscape of Syria as early as the Bronze and Iron Age (Amorites, Arameans, Hebrews, etc.).

The Ituraeans did not interrupt every form of continuity. Even the name of the Ituraean capital (Chalkis) shows the influence of Greek linguistic and cultural elements. 'Chalkis' (copper) also signifies probable copper mining, which might have begun with the settlements of Phoenicians in the southern Beqa'a<sup>109</sup>. Next to Chalkis, the political centre of the Ituraeans, stood Heliopolis/Baalbek as the main centre of worship personally linked to the ruler-high priest. The question to what extent an older tradition of worship<sup>110</sup> was continued at the watershed between Orontes and Leontes must be left unanswered as sources are extremely scarce. Surely, elements of Graeco-Hellenistic, Phoenician and Arabian-Ituraean religions were merged in the syncretism of Heliopolis<sup>111</sup>.

After the southern Beqa'a the Ituraeans also occupied the northern part, the mountains of Anti-Lebanon, Mount Hermon and Lebanon, Trachonitis and Batanaia (in the south-east) and the hills of Galilee. They threatened the northern Phoenician towns of Byblus and Aradus as well as Damascus. Tyre and Sidon, that had taken their fates into their own hands as the Seleucid Empire was breaking apart, obviously were able to defend their territories effectively against the Ituraeans. Probably Sidon was already controlling the inland up to the Leontes<sup>112</sup> in Ptolemaic times and thus blocked a further expansion of the Ituraeans in the south-east.

The settlement and Hellenistic acculturation of the Ituraeans seem to have been progressing rapidly. In any case, by the time of the Roman Empire the tetrarchy presented itself as an internally stable and wealthy community, that was after all able to pay the extremely high tribute of 1000 talents to Pompey when approaching in 64 BC.

In the last decade of the Seleucid Empire the political structure of the Levant and the Beqa'a crystallised in the way it would fundamentally also remain after the Roman conquest - though with the big difference that now the Roman Empire had the power over a multitude of local urban and ethnic domains.

The parameters had shifted considerably. The Roman Empire had a wholly different repertoire of integration and government mechanisms than the Seleucids could have ever used. Thus, also for the Beqa'a with all its territorial, social and cultural continuity a new epoch began with the Roman conquest.

## 6. The history of the Roman Beqa'a Valley

An essential element of Roman rule in all parts of the Empire was the building of roads. Two sources provide information about the traffic routes in the Roman Beqa'a Valley: The *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti* from the time of Caracalla (211-217) and the later *Tabula Peutingeriana* (around 350/60). The Roman roads recorded there mostly followed the old trade routes that connected the Syrian desert with the Phoenician coast and Northern Syria with Palestine and Egypt since the Bronze Age. Baalbek was in the centre of the Roman road system, where the main axis running from north to south between Apamea and Emesa branched out: to the west crossing the Lebanon to Berytus, and to the south via Abila to Damascus.

The structure of settlements was influenced by a tribal society in the process of sedentarisation when the Romans appeared. The Ituraeans had used the power vacuum of the disintegrating Seleucid Empire in the first century and coming from Arabia had taken the fertile Beqa'a Valley. Their sphere of influence stretched from there to the Phoenician coast to the Upper Jordan. Its political centre was Chalkis ad Libanum<sup>113</sup>, which can be identified with Aanjar on the grounds of the descriptions by Strabon and Josephus. The passage to Damascus can be controlled very well from there (Aanjar and Majdel). Aanjar is located in the fertile core region of the Beqa'a and lies near Baalbek, the Ituraean religious centre<sup>114</sup>.

After Actium (31 BC) Roman annexations and the establishment of smaller tetrarchies changed the political structure and the appearance of the settlements in the region: Chalkis became the centre of such a unit (termed *basileia* by *Ios. ant. Iud XIX, 5, 1*) and had changing owners until it was incorporated into the Province Syria under Claudius. The northern end of the Beqa'a (south of Laodicea ad Libanum) was also the home of a miniature client state of the tetrarchy

type, which was given, according to Cassius Dio (LIX 12, 2), to a certain Sohaemus by Caligula<sup>115</sup>. The bigger part of the Ituraean heritage came gradually under Roman control. As early as 15 BC Agrippa elevated Berytus to a *colonia*, moved veterans there and gave wide parts of the Beqa'a to the city<sup>116</sup>. Under Tiberius the urban territories of Damascus, Tyre and Sidon reached so far that the *chórai* of Damascus and Sidon touched, Tyre's *chóra* reached up to the Upper Jordan.

The following territorial order can therefore be reconstructed in all caution for the Beqa'a Valley in the Early Roman Empire (**Fig. 29**): In the north at the upper reaches of the Orontes the client state of Sohaemus was located; from approximately the height of the sources of the Orontes the Beqa'a Valley belonged to the territory of Berytus that probably also included Heliopolis and today's Zahle and Shtaura<sup>117</sup>. A narrow stripe, maybe between Kabb Elias and Aanjar, was the territory of the Ituraean rump state Chalkis. In the south the *chórai* of Sidon and Damascus touched. A possible border line between the two could have

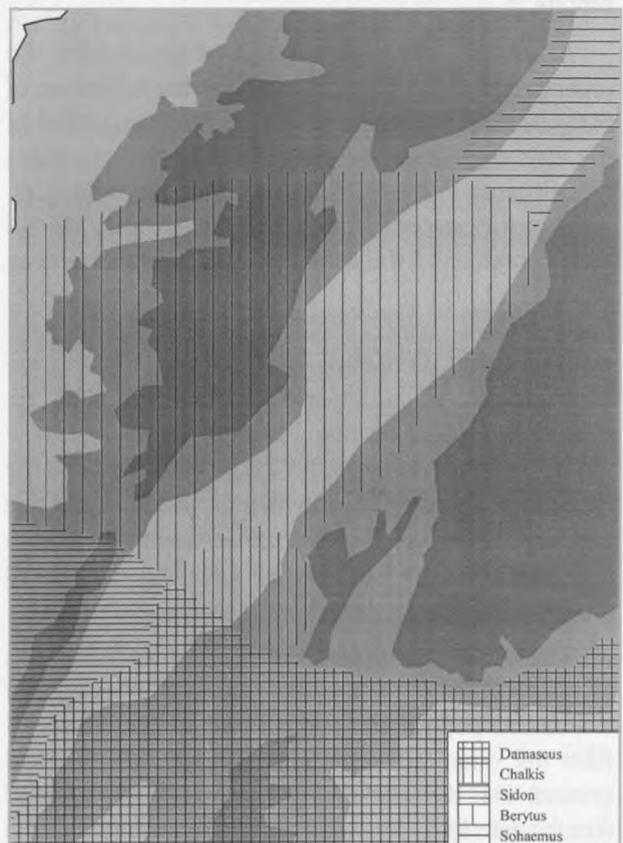


Fig. 29 - Territories in the Early Roman Beqa'a Valley (38-49 AD).

been the Leontes<sup>118</sup>. Further in the south the territory of Tyre reached up to the Upper Jordan and might therefore also have included the farthest south of the Beqa'a Valley.

Thus there were no less than three different types of Roman rule in the Beqa'a Valley alone: From indirect (client kingdoms - Chalkis, northern Beqa'a) and semi-direct rule (*civitates* after the pattern of the Greek poleis - Damascus, Sidon and Tyre) to direct control over a *colonia civium Romanorum* (Berytus). Each type had also fundamentally different forms of landed property and settlement. Also different cultural, social and political forms dominate in each case.

The citizens of Berytus collectively had the Roman citizenship, for citizens of *civitates* this was only true in single cases. Numerous colonies, among them Berytus, were founded by the settlement of veterans who were given tax free property<sup>119</sup>. A direct consequence of the founding of veteran colonies in the provinces was a thorough Romanisation. This was also the case in Berytus: The area of the *colonia* experienced an extent of Roman acculturation unique in the East. Inscriptions and coins present the territory as a Latin linguistic enclave in the middle of a Graeco-Orientially shaped cultural landscape<sup>120</sup>. Politically, administratively and also culturally the colony was a copy of Rome on a smaller scale. This is illustrated by the Roman juridical academy founded in the third century, which made Berytus an intellectual centre in late antiquity. Giving land to veterans caused new conditions of ownership which allowed wealthy citizens to rise quickly to the top of Roman society: Examples are the priest M. Licinius Pompenna Potitus Urbanus of Baalbek, who was awarded a 'state' horse by Hadrian (IGLS VI, Nr. 2791: *donato equo publico a divo Hadriano*), and M. Sentius Proculus of Berytus who even became a Roman senator<sup>121</sup>.

The consequence of this development was a deep linguistic and cultural gap between the Central Beqa'a belonging to Berytus and the south. In the environment of Heliopolis Latin inscriptions are clearly dominating, yet the few epigraphic documents of the southern Beqa'a Valley are all in Greek. The mere number of preserved points towards a clear difference between the two parts. One can therefore assume that also the part of the Beqa'a Valley belonging to Berytus profited from Berytus's elevation to a colony of Roman

citizens and the resulting privileges, and that the Central region was developing faster and more effectively and was probably more densely populated than the south or the far north.

The south divided between Damascus and Sidon and the area around Chalkis do not seem to have participated in this development. No Latin inscriptions have been found and the amount of epigraphic material on the whole is neglectable. The assigning of the area to the *civitates* Sidon, Damascus and Chalkis had obviously hindered its Romanisation.

During the early stages of the principality all parts of the plain have in common a peripheral location in relation to the centres outside the region (Berytus, Damascus, Sidon, Tyre), at the same time bigger agglomerations of settlements were practically lacking in the Beqa'a. Agriculture dominated the plain (Strab. XVI, 2, 18: «But the people on the plain are farmers.»), the centres of trade were obviously located beyond the mountains, which is surprising considering the Beqa'a's exceptional position.

There is no information regarding the organisation of farming in Roman Phoenicia and its neighbouring regions. There would not have been much difference to Antioch, where, similar to Italy, a steadily rising concentration of landed property on big *latifundia* and *villae rusticae* took place<sup>122</sup>. Rich members of the urban upper class often acquired large areas. They pursued farming and stock-breeding on the largest scale on their estates or leased the land divided into small plots to small farmers<sup>123</sup>. Centres of these agricultural large-scale enterprises where thousands of slaves could be employed were splendidly equipped mansions<sup>124</sup>. Probably also in the fertile Beqa'a Valley, which was virtually inviting large-scale farming, more and more *latifundia* appeared in addition to traditional farming. An indication of this could be a mosaic from the fourth century recently found in Lala (southern Beqa'a) which would fit very well into the context of a luxurious mansion (unpublished).

A change of the peripheral status of the Beqa'a Valley came only with the gradual ascend of Heliopolis/Baalbek to an important site of worship due to its favourable location. Faced with a growing number of pilgrims a religious service centre developed around the temples of the Heliopolitan trinity (Jupiter, Venus, Mercury) from the second century onwards,

which included a porticus, two theatres and luxurious residential buildings<sup>125</sup>. Heliopolis also acquired with the time a central position in the region's economy and administration. It was consequently elevated to a *colonia* in Severian times. The sanctuaries seem to have owned land and were exempted from taxes, analogous to their situation in the Seleucid Empire<sup>126</sup>.

Since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century numerous temples and altars developed also in the surrounding of Baalbek, obviously mostly filial sanctuaries of the Heliopolitan temples (Fig. 30). Again the central Beqa'a Valley was most affected by this development. No less than 20 smaller and bigger temples are preserved between El-Lebwe and Ain el-Baid, among them the magnificent temples of Niha<sup>127</sup>. Compared to this, Roman temples in the south are scarce (Majdel Aanjar, Deir el-Ashayr, Bekka, Manara, Ain Harsha). It is no incident that many of these temples were also dedicated to the deities of the Heliopolitan trinity, mostly to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The building program was founded in the religion politics of the Severian dynasty which had elevated to worship of Sol Invictus Elagabal to the status of an imperial cult.

Assumptions about the military concentration in the Beqa'a Valley in Roman times are hard to make. The nearest legion was stationed at Raphanaeae on the Orontes not far from Emesa. That does not mean that the Beqa'a was completely free of Roman garrisons. Strabon describes how Pompey had freed the region from the frequent attacks by robbers from the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Probably a permanent fortification of the plain was necessary, the veterans settled in the area of Berytus have surely contributed to this. Additionally numerous auxiliary units stationed around Damascus are epigraphically proved<sup>128</sup>. Presumably Syria, being a heavily militarised border region, was entirely covered by a network of garrisons. Auxiliary troops were recruited from the local population and supported the border protection mostly with mounted units (*alae*). Regular troops with fortified camps developed out of the temporarily organised units since the early stages of the Empire<sup>129</sup>.

On the whole the Roman Beqa'a Valley offers the picture of a rather peripheral area in a region otherwise steadily gaining political and economical importance. The traffic routes economically and militarily important for the Roman East that crossed

the Beqa'a from the north to the south and from the east to the west made the plain a transit region without establishing hubs of international trading like Zeugma, Damascus, Palmyra, Dura Europos or the Phoenician coastal towns. A significant exception is Heliopolis where a local Ituraean site of worship became a religious centre influencing the whole Empire, and which also took on central functions in other areas (trade, administration).

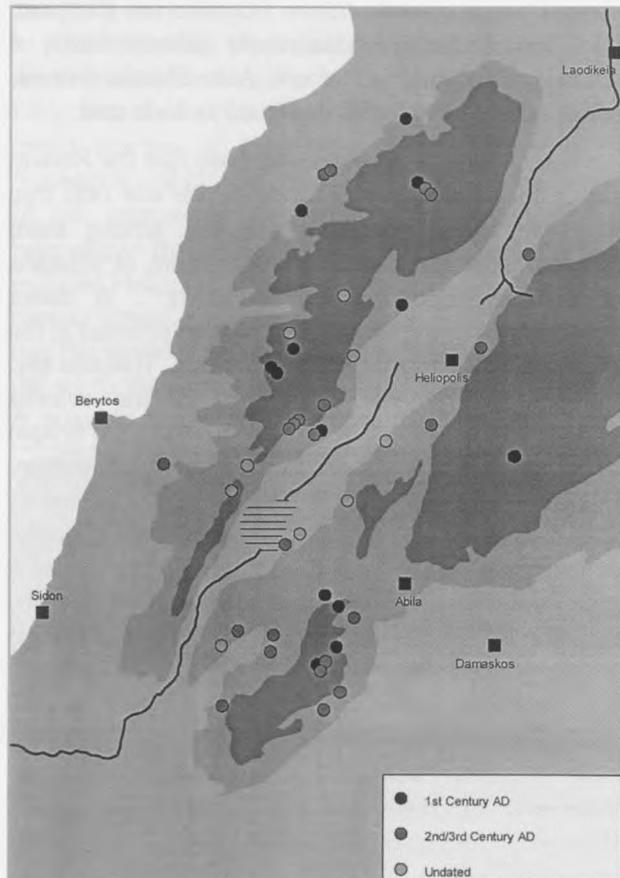


Fig. 30 - Temples of the Roman Beqa'a Valley.

## 7. Kamid el-Loz: Archaeological results in the light of regional history

The attempt to put the archaeological results of Kamid el-Loz into a historical context can in the present state of research only be simplistic and provisional. At any rate, the campaigns since the summer of 1997 have proved that there was no such thing as the presumed hiatus in the continuity of settlement in the Graeco-Roman epoch.

The evidence for the Hellenistic Beqa'a Valley and the importance of the region of the Lebanon in Hellenistic times could be considerably improved by corresponding results in Kamid el-Loz. Hardly any material relics of the region from Ptolemaic and Seleucid times have been preserved, epigraphic documents are scarce, thus the reconstruction of historical events depends on a few literary documents (above all in Flavius Josephus, Strabon, Polybius and Poseidonus) and some Ptolemaic papyri.

Other than on the arid northern Beqa'a which was frequently attacked by nomads, the conditions for settlements and farming around Kamid el-Loz remained good. The political situation was stable before and after the Seleucid conquest during the Fifth Syrian War. Nevertheless the Ptolemaic-Seleucid front line in the central Beqa'a impaired long distance trade in the third century. The Seleucid conquest of Southern Syria and Palestine on the other hand lifted the blockade from 300 AD onwards and gave the merchants new freedom. The settling down of the Ituraeans since the late second century seems to have been peaceful and quick. One has to assume, however, that profound changes in the structure of settlement, population and society were the consequence of the settlement of Ptolemaic cleruchs first and then of the invasion by the Ituraeans.

To affirm (or contradict) historical developments like these with the local archaeological results is not possible at this stage, as the excavations of Kamid el-Loz have not progressed that far. It is still too early to make statements about the architecture found so far.

The work on the «hill-top» (Area II g 1-3, cf. Bonatz/Gilibert) carried out since 1997 is of special importance for the classical period of the settlements. Two units, whose relation is still unsure, are discernible: The «Roman building» and the «glacis» originally interpreted as a military complex. Two antique (Roman) layers of settlements are stratigraphically discernible (layers 2-3). The excavation campaign 2000 delivered for the first time indications of an older (Hellenistic) settlement (layer 4, second century BC) beneath them.

The architectural outlay of the building refers to private houses in smaller settlements in Roman Palestine, and might also archaeologically prove the structural dependence of this part of the Beqa'a Valley

on the southern Levant since Ptolemaic dominion, which has been historically diagnosed. Corresponding equipment provides an, at least slight, clue that the building in question might have housed military personnel in Roman times. To draw a connection to the literary witnesses of the presence of auxiliary troops in the region would be hurried though.

The function of the layer of stones called «glacis» is also unsure. Interpreted as a road, a fortress and a water reservoir the late Roman complex still eludes explanations. A military use would fit into the greater historical picture (expansion of the defence complexes since the late third century AD), but this cannot be proved with the available material.

As archaeological results are only partially available and survey data of the nearer surrounding area are still lacking, traces of a settlement, typically shifting to the plain in Roman times<sup>130</sup>, can hardly be expected. Nevertheless the tombs buried in the surrounding hills suggest a settlement in the area of Kamid el-Loz in late antiquity, surpassing the already found architecture on the hill-tops. The appearance and expansion of such a settlement are unknown due to the lack of results. If the assumption is right that the Leontes was the border between the territories of Damascus and Sidon, Kamid el-Loz would have belonged to Damascus. The living conditions of the local population might have been therefore similar to those described by John Chrysostomos (Mat. 61,7). The status of the settlement could have been that of a *kóme* (village community) in the Damascene *chóra*.

## Notes

- 31- For the relation of geography and history see I. GEISS: «Geographie und Mitte als historische Kategorien. Anmerkungen zu einem Aspekt des 'Historikerstreits'», *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 39 (1991), 979-994.
- 32- Cf. E. Wirth: «Vorderasien», in: H. Mensching/E. Wirth: *Fischer Länderkunde*, Vol. 4: *Nordafrika, Vorderasien*, Frankfurt am Main 1981, 166-263.
- 33- Cf. J. J. Branigan/A. R. Jarrett: *The Mediterranean Lands*, London 1969: 515-518.
- 34- Cf. É. De Vaumas: *Le Liban. Montagne libanaise, Beeka, Anti-Liban, Hermon, Haute Galilée libanaise. Étude de géographie physique*, Paris 1954, 313f.
- 35- Still fundamental for the concept of Hellenism J. G. Droysen: *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Darmstadt 1998, Vol. 1-3.
- 36- Cf. H.-J. Gehrke: «Der siegreiche König. Überlegungen zur Hellenistischen Monarchie», *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 64 (1982), 247-277, based on Max Weber's sociology of government. Cf. also M. Weber: «Die drei reinen Typen der legitimen Herrschaft», in: Id.: *Soziologie, Weltgeschichtliche Analysen, Politik*, Stuttgart 1956, 151-166.
- 37- Cf. Gehrke: «König», 254f.
- 38- For a different opinion see E. Will: *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J. -C.)*, Nancy 1979, 246f. and C. Préaux: *Le monde hellénistique. La Grèce et l'Orient de la mort d'Alexandre à la conquête romaine de la Grèce (323-146 av. J. -C.)*, Paris 1978, Vol. 2, 680-682, with thesis that Hellenism has failed because of the failure of its Hellenisation program. See also the author's article in *Klio* 82 (2000), 73-90 («Babylonien im Seleukidenreich. Indirekte Herrschaft und indigene Bevölkerung»).
- 39- Cf. H.-J. Gehrke: *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, München 1995, 177f. For the important problem of the polis in the Hellenistic confederation see A. Heuss: *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus in ihren staats- und völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1937.
- 40- Cf. OGIS 223: «[...] we grant you [the citizens of Erythrai in Asia Minor] the exemption of not only the other taxes but also from the contribution to the Celtic fund [...]»
- 41- Cf. F. Millar: «The Phoenician Cities. A Case Study of Hellenisation», *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 29 (1983), 55 - 71, 68.
- 42- Cf. for Babylonia: J. Oelsner: «Kontinuität und Wandel in Gesellschaft und Religion Babyloniens in hellenistischer Zeit», *Klio* 60 (1978), 101-111; Sommer: «Babylonien».
- 43- Cf. F.W. Walbank: *Die hellenistische Welt*, München 1983, 109f.
- 44- Cf. G. Hölbl: *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung*, Darmstadt 1994, 61f.
- 45- For Alexander the Great see: R. Lane Fox: *Alexander the Great*, London 1983; S. Lauffer: *Alexander der Große*, München 1981; H.-J. Gehrke: *Alexander der Große*, München 1996.
- 46- Important were surely the harbours at the Mediterranean Sea as a basis for the fleet. The administrative centre of Syria and the seat of the satraps was in Persian times Damascus, which was conquered by Alexander's general Parmenion after Issus. Cf. Droysen, *Hellenismus*, Vol. 1, 177.
- 47- Cf. *Ibid.*, 185.
- 48- For the complicated history of the diadochs see Gehrke: *Hellenismus*, 33-40. For Syria in this period E. Honigmann, «Syria», *RE IV A*, 1549-1727, 1609-1614.
- 49- Cf. S. Sherwin-White/A. Kuhrt: *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, London 1993, 29f.
- 50- Cf. M. Rostovtzeff: «Syria and the East», in: *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol.7, 157-196; 173-176.
- 51- Cf. Hölbl: *Ptolemäerreich*, 24f.
- 52- Popilius presented the Seleucids with a senate decree demanding a complete retreat from Egypt. When Antiochus asked for some time to think this over, the Roman drew a circle around him and remarked, he should decide the question before leaving the circle.
- 53- On Arabian cults in Syria see Honigmann, «Syria», 1579.
- 54- This term is confusing, because the economical primate of the royal oikos remained unchallenged despite the decentralization under Greco-Macedonian influence. For Ptolemaic economy see J. Bingen: *Le papyrus Revenue Laws - Tradition grecque et adaption hellénistique*, Opladen 1978.
- 55- Convincingly proved by Greek and bilingual inscriptions and the adaptation of Greek political institution Millar: «Phoenician cities», 60-63.
- 56- Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Hellenismus*, Darmstadt 1955, Vol.1, 269.
- 57- Cf. J. Gerber: «Hellenisierung», in: *Der Neue Pauly*, Vol. 5, 301-307.

- 58- Cf. K. Bringmann: «Die Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion durch Antiochos IV. Ein Konflikt zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus?», *Antike und Abendland* 26 (1980), 176-190.; Also id.: *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa. Eine Untersuchung zur jüdischen-hellenistischen Geschichte (175-163 v. Chr.)*, Göttingen 1983.
- 59- For last phase of the Seleucid Empire see Gehrke: *Hellenismus*, 127; Sherwin-White/Kuhrt: *Samarkhand*, 217-229; Rostovtzeff: *Hellenismus*, Vol.2, 664-685. For the actual Roman occupation of Syria see G. Downey: «The Occupation of Syria by the Romans», *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 82 (1951), 149-163; F. P. Rizzo: *Le fonti per la storia della conquista Pompeiana della Siria*, Palermo 1963.
- 60- The privilege of coinage was withdrawn only in the first century, in Laodicea as late as 124. Cf. J.-P. Rey-Coquais: «Syrie Romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien», *JRS* 68 (1978), 44-73; 50.
- 61- For the Roman-Persian confrontation cf. J. Wiesehöfer: *Das antike Persien*, Zürich/München 1993; B. Isaac: *The Limits of Empire*, Oxford 1992; D. Kennedy/D. Riley: *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air*, London 1990. For the wars in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century: M. H. Dodgeon/C.N. Lieu: *The Roman Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 226-263*, London 1991.
- 62- Cf. Honigmann: «Syria», 1623. Zeugma was replaced by the border fortress Nisibis in northern Mesopotamia which had been first conquered by Trajan in 114. With the Roman-Persian contract of 298 it acquired even a monopoly in the transit trade. Cf. J. Sturm, «Nisibis», *RE* XVII, 714-757, F. Millar: *The Roman Near East. 31 BC-AD 337*, Cambridge, Ma. 1993, 483.
- 63- Cf. *Ibid.*, 16.
- 64- For the Hasmonaeans E. Bickermann: *Die Makkabäer*, Berlin 1937; Nabataeans R. Dussaud: *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955; Ituraeans *ibid.*, 176ff.; A. H. M. Jones: «The Urbanisation of the Ituraean Principality», *JRS* 31 (1931), 265-275.
- 65- In the Republican time this position was filled by a former consul or praetor, a proconsul or prepraetor. Since the *restitutio rei publicae*, the 'return' and the administrative re-ordering of the state by Augustus (January 27 BC) the provinces were divided into «senatorial» (as before under the administration of a proconsul or propraetor) and «imperial» (under the control of a imperial legate) provinces. The principal kept the control over all provinces that had legions, among them Syria, where two legions were stationed. For the *restitutio*: D. Kienast: *Augustus. Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, 72-74.
- 66- This happened for example during a war between Judaea and the Nabataeans (9 BC) and conflicts in Judaea after the death of Herod the Great (4 BC). Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 39-42.
- 67- This effected predominantly the gradual diminishing of the Ituraean territory, as the Herodian territory as well as some bigger Syrian cities (Tyre, Sidon, Damascus) expanded, cf. Jones: «Ituraean Principality», 266f. An even deeper intrusion was the establishment of the Province Judaea out of the Herodian realm (AD 6). Judaea was controlled by a prefect of equestrian rank, cf. Millar: *Near East*, 44. The phase of Roman experimenting with Judaea, however, was not over yet: Claudius re-established for a short time the entire Herodian Kingdom (AD 41-43) and made Agrippa I to its king. After Agrippa's death traces of the Judaeian autonomy still remained. His son Agrippa II continued to rule as king in a rump state that he could expand under Claudius (around 49) to the southern Beqa'a Valley as the territory of the last Ituraean state was added to his realm. Agrippa II was also the patron of the temple in Jerusalem. Cf. K. H. Bernhardt: *Der alte Libanon*, Leipzig 1976, 215f.
- 68- F. Millar: *Das römische Reich und seine Nachbarn (Fischer Weltgeschichte, Vol. 8)*, Frankfurt am Main 1966, 118.
- 69- Cf. Honigmann: «Syria» 1627.
- 70- For the roads see the itinerary in Honigmann, *ibid.*, 1645-1680.
- 71- Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 88; 199f.
- 72- For urban economy in late antiquity: J. Martin: *Spätantike und Völkerwanderung*, München 1995, 65-73.
- 73- Cf. A. Cameron: *Das späte Rom*, München 1994, 136.
- 74- Here the Orontes road coming from the north (Apamea) branched off to the west (Berytus). Cf. the presentation on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Honigmann: «Syria», 1647-1650; see also the explanations in the historio-topographical section.
- 75- Cf. Bernhardt: *Libanon*, 217f.
- 76- Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 103.
- 77- Cf. *ibid.*, 108. A precise proof where exactly the garrisons were located is not possible due to the source situation.
- 78- Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 210f.
- 79- Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 111-116.
- 80- Cf. Herod. II, 7, 7-8.
- 81- Septimius Severus (emperor 193-211) had served around 180 as legate of the *legio IV Scythica* in Zeugma

and thus knew about the importance of the province. Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 119.

**82-** The precise separation lines are hard to reconstruct. But because the legion stationed on the Orontes was on the territory of *Syria Phoenice*, this province probably spread beyond Damascus, thus including the Beqa'a Valley and Mount Hermon. Cf. *ibid.*, 122f.

**83-** Cf. Honigmann: «Syria», 1686f.; for the family Millar: *Near East*, 303-306.

**84-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 307f.

**85-** Cf. *Ibid.*, 127.

**86-** Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 258.

**87-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 326f.

**88-** Cf. J. Cantineau *et al.* (ed.): *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris 1930ff., No. 96.

**89-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 167-169; Isaac: *Limits*, 220-222.

**90-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 335: «[...] a claim to joint rule with successive emperors, Claudius and Aurelian, far away in Europe. [...] The facts suggest that it was not a separatist movement, designed to detach Syria, or the whole Near East, from Roman rule, but an abortive claim to the Empire.» Palmyrene coins from Antioch point into the same direction as they bear apart from *Re(x)*, *Im(perator)*, *D(ux) R(omanorum)* *Vaballathus* also the name of *imperator Augustus*. Only in the last phase of the Palmyrene Empire the name of *Augustus* seems to disappear. Cf. *Ibid.*, 172.

**91-** Cf. Isaac: *Limits*, 222f.

**92-** Cf. F. Millar: «Paul of Samasota, Zenobia and Aurelian: The Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiances in Third-Century Syria», *JRS* 61 (1971)1-17.

**93-** For the tetrarchic period see S. Williams: *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, New York 1985, and now W. Kuhoff: *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*, Frankfurt am Main 2001.

**94-** For the possible dating of the new ordering of the provinces in Constantine times cf. Honigmann, «Syria», 1695.

**95-** Cf. *ibid.*, 1694; Millar: *Near East*, 180-188.

**96-** Cf. Martin: *Spätantike*, 127.

**97-** Cf. St. Grainger: *Hellenistic Phoenicia*, Oxford 1991, 90-93.

**98-** Quite plausible Honigmann: «Syria», 1617.

**99-** Important for the northern Beqa'a in Ptolemaic times is also the survey by A. Kuschke: *Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa'*, Herbst 1972, Wiesbaden 1976.

**100-** Cf. St. Grainger: *The Cities of Seleucid Syria*, Oxford 1990, 59.

**101-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 113.

**102-** Cf. Rostovtzeff: *Hellenismus*, Vol. 1, 256.

**103-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 114.

**104-** Cf. W. Schottoroff: «Die Ituräer», *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 124-152; 140.

**105-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 114: «Urban centres do not develop in isolation, but in the context of rural settlement and a local agricultural surplus. Here therefore is a case of expansion and of both urban and rural growth, in the southern Beqa'a.»

**106-** Cf. Millar: «Phoenician Cities», 58f.

**107-** Cf. Schottoroff: «Ituräer», 138.

**108-** Cf. Grainger: *Cities*, 183.

**109-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 150.

**110-** See: H. Sader: «Von Baal zum Zeus Heliopolitanus. Baalbek von der Vorgeschichte bis zum späten Hellenismus», in: M. Van Ess/Th. Weber (ed.): *Baalbek. Im Bann römischer Monumentalarchitektur*, Mainz 1999, 41-44; 42.

**111-** Cf. Th. Weber: «Baal der Quelle. Zur geographischen Lage und historischen Bedeutung von Baalbek-Heliopolis», in: Van Ess/Weber: *Baalbek*, 1-13; 7.

**112-** Cf. Rostovtzeff: *Hellenismus*, Vol.1, 269 with the statement that indications of Sidonian colonies of the Ptolemaic epoch could be found as far as Palestine.

**113-** Cf. Strab. XVI, 753: «After the Plain of Makras the partly mountainous region of Massyias follows. In the mountainous part lies Chalkis, which is the acropolis of Massyias.» and Strab. XVI, 755; *Ios. ant. Iud.* XIV, 7, 4. Against Aanjar with rather unconvincing arguments: E. Will: «Un vieux problème de la topographie de la Beqa antique: Chalkis du Liban», *ZDPV* 99 (1983), 141-146.

**114-** Cf. Jones: «Ituraean Principality», 265.

**115-** A member of his dynasty has probably erected the Tower of Hermel (1<sup>st</sup> century). Cf. K. St. Freyberger/F. Ragette: «Stadt des Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Baalbek als Kultzentrum in römischer Zeit», in: Van Ess/Weber: *Baalbek*, 45-67; 58f.

**116-** Some authors - Jones: «Ituraean Principality», 266; Schottoroff: «Ituräer», 145; H. Bellen: *Grundzüge der römischen Geschichte*, Vol. 2: *Die Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Darmstadt 1998, 19 - argue that Heliopolis/Baalbek had already the status of a *colonia* (Iulia Augusta Felix Heliopolis) under Augustus and that the territory in question belonged to this city. Strab. XVI, 2, 18 does not mention a *colonia* Heliopolis. The most probable

interpretation is Millar: *Near East*, 124: Heliopolis became a *colonia* under Septimius Severus and the middle Beqa'a Valley fell to Berytus in 15 BC. See note 87.

117- For this see Strab. XVI, 2, 19: «[...] And it [Berytus] got two legions who had been settled there by Agrippa, who added a great part of the Massyas [Beqa'a Valley] to the territory, namely up to the source of Orontes.» The same Plin. nat. hist. 5, 78. Both sources only name Berytus (Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus), they do not mention Heliopolis/Baalbek.

118- Sidon's territory reached around AD 120 at least till Bab Marea (in the region of today's reservoir), as can be seen without doubt in IGLS VI, Nr. 2989 (Sidonian calendar).

119- Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 88.

120- For the inscriptions cf. IGLS VI. For the coins: RPC I, 648-651. About Berytus as a Roman colony: R. Mouterde: «Regards sur Beyrouth phénicienne, hellénistique et romaine», *MelBeyr* 40 (1964), 145-190; Millar: *Near East*, 279f.

121- For Sentius Proculus cf. R. Cagnat: «M. Sentius Proculus de Beyrouth», *Syria* 7 (1926), 67-70.

122- Excellent examples of luxurious estates have been preserved in the area of 'Dead Cities', between Apamea and Antioch. Cf. W. Ball: *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire*, London 2001, 206-233. For the situation in the 4<sup>th</sup> century: Ioh. Chrys. Mat. 61,7; Iul. Mis. 362 C.

123- The living conditions of these small farmers have been painted in dark colours by Ioh. Chrys. (in Mat 61,7): They had not only to pay extremely high rent to their lords, they also had to do *corvée*.

124- For *latifundia* and *villae rusticae* see: H. Kloft: *Die Wirtschaft der griechisch-römischen Welt. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1992, 205f.

125- Cf. Freyberger/Ragette: «Jupiter Heliopolitanus», 50-52.

126- Cf. M. Rostovtzeff: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft im römischen Kaiserreich*, Leipzig 1929, Vol. 2, 8.

127- Cf. Bernhardt: *Libanon*, 218-221.

128- Cf. Rey-Coquais: «Syrie Romaine», 68.

129- Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 123-126.

130- Cf. the results of the excavations of Gindaros in northern Syria: The publication of the Hellenistic-Roman material by N. Kramer will follow shortly.