

The Beginning of Settlement in Adom, Southern Jordan During the Iron Age

Dr. Talib Al Smadi

Abstract

This paper concentrates on three main issues:

First, it shows that there is a great contrasting between the Biblical traditions and the archaeological evidence in terms of the beginning of settlement in Adom, Southern Jordan. The Biblical sources mention that there were settlements in Adom as early the Late Bronze Age, at the time when the Israelites made their Exodus from Egypt around 1220 B.C. Furthermore, there are conflicting statements in the Old Testament itself on the matter of the route the Israelites used within the Kingdom of Adom, for example between the tradition of Numbers, Judges and Deuteronomy. This confusion causes a great doubt to the Biblical traditions as being untrustworthy historical sources.

Secondly, the archaeological excavations and surface surveys in different sites in Adom, such as Buşayrah, Ṭawilān, Umm al-Biyārah and Tall al-Halifah indicate that the beginning of settlement in Adom does not go back earlier than the end of the 9th Century B.C. at the very earliest. These settlements point to flourishing and prosperous kingdom during the 8th and especially the 7th Centuries B.C. Thus all the excavation sites and surveys would support the results reached by C.M. Bennett that settlement in Adom is to be dated to the 9th Century B.C. Furthermore, the copper smelting in the Wādiy `Arabah had occurred simultaneously with advent of Assyrians in the 8th Century B.C.

Thirdly, Archaeological finding such as pottery, seals, architectural elements and stratigraphies from these extensively excavated sites, indicate some kind cultural continuity from the Adomiye period down to the Nabataean period. Such evidence would invalidate the cultural gap proposed by N. Glueck and those who followed him, from the 8th century down to the 4th Century B.C. Therefore, we can say with confidence that the Nabataeans were the inheritors of the Adomiye civilization when they established their kingdom at the same time of the downfall of the Adomiye Kingdom in the 6th Century B.C.

* *Associate Professor - Department of Archaeology and Tourism - Faculty of Arts - Mu'tah University
- Al-Karak - Jordan*

بداية الاستيطان في أدوم، جنوب الأردن، خلال العصر الحديدي

د. طالب الصمادي *

الملخص

تركز هذه الدراسة على ثلاثة أمور رئيسية:

أولاً. هناك تناقض كبير بين المصادر التوراتية والأدلة الأثرية فيما يتعلق ببداية الاستيطان في الدولة الأدومية. فالمصادر التوراتية تشير إلى أن الاستيطان في مملكة أدوم يعود إلى العصر البرونزي المتأخر وذلك عند قدوم الإسرائيليين في أثناء خروجهم من مصر حوالي عام 1220 ق.م وطلبهم من ملك أدوم السماح لهم بالمرور عبر الدولة الأدومية، وهذا الكلام يتناقض مع الأدلة من الواقع الأثري. كذلك هناك تناقض كبير في أسفار التوراة نفسها حول هذا الأمر، فنجد مثلاً أن الرواية في سفر العدد تتناقض مع تلك في سفر التكوين وتلك في سفر التثنية، وهذا الأمر يضع التوراة في موضع تساؤل وشك ومن ثمّ فلا يمكن اعتبارها مصدراً تاريخياً موثقاً.

ثانياً. الأدلة الأثرية من خلال التنقيبات والمسوحات الأثرية تؤكد أن الاستيطان في الدولة الأدومية لم يبدأ قبل القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد على أبعد تقدير، وأن هذا الاستيطان قد ازدهر وانتعش في القرنين الثامن والسابع قبل الميلاد. فاللقى الأثرية والأواني الفخارية والطبقات السكنية المكتشفة في عددٍ من المواقع الأثرية مثل بصيرة، طولان، أم البيارة وتل الخليفة وغيرها من المواقع الأثرية التي جرت فيها تنقيبات أو مسوحات أثرية، كلها تؤكد وتدعم الاستنتاج الذي خرجت به كريستال بنت والذي يبين أن الاستيطان في أدوم لم يبدأ قبل القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد، ومن ثمّ فإن الأدلة الأثرية تتناقض بشدة مع الأدلة من المصادر التوراتية. وما يدعم ذلك أيضاً أن استخراج النحاس من وادي عربة كان متزامناً مع قدوم الآشوريين ومن ثمّ فهذا يدعم فكرة ازدهار الاستيطان الأدومي في القرنين الثامن والسابع قبل الميلاد.

ثالثاً. تشير اللقى الأثرية مثل الأواني الفخارية، والأختام، والعناصر المعمارية والطبقات السكنية من تلك المواقع الأثرية التي جرت فيها تنقيبات مكثفة، إلى استمرارية حضارية من العصر الأدومي إلى العصر النبطي. ومن هنا فإن هذه الأدلة تثبت عدم صحة نظرية نلسون جلوك ومن تبعه من علماء الآثار، لذلك فيمكننا القول من خلال هذه اللقى الأثرية أن الأنباط العرب كانوا ورثة الحضارة الأدومية؛ حيث أسسوا دولتهم على أنقاض الدولة الأدومية التي قضى عليها الطريد البابلي، نابونائيد، في القرن السادس قبل الميلاد.

* أستاذ مشارك - قسم الآثار والسياحة - كلية الآداب - جامعة مؤتة - الكرك - الأردن

I. INTRODUCTION:

The beginning of settlement in Jordan may go back to the early Iron Age or even earlier to the Bronze Age. The surveys and excavations conducted in the Northern and Central Jordan, show that these areas have been densely inhabited since the Late Bronze Age and have had continuous occupation with some gaps.

In contrast, the picture is slightly different in Southern Jordan (Adom). However, until the last three decades, many archaeologists believed that there was a gap in the history of settlement in Southern Jordan spanning 600 years; from the Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Late Bronze Age (from the 19th -13th Centuries B.C). This hypothesis had been advocated by Nelson Glueck, during his surface surveys in Southern Jordan and Southern Palestine between 1934-1938, and based on the Biblical tradition, many archaeologists followed him. However, this hypothesis is now being considered out of date, because the excavations conducted at many sites in Southern Jordan do not fit the Biblical accounts upon which Glueck had based his hypothesis. These excavations indicate that the beginning of settlement in Adom is to be dated to the end of the 9th Century B.C. at the very earliest. But, as Weippert pointed out, the history of the Adomytes as a settled population may go back to the 12th Century B.C.⁽¹⁾ Although this date is unlikely since the excavations conducted by C.M. Bennett at Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah do not fit it and show the settlement in Adom should be dated to the 9th Century B.C. at the very earliest.

This paper deals with the beginning of settlement in Southern Jordan, Adom, from the written sources as well as from the archaeological excavations, in an attempt to reconstruct the history of settlement there in the Iron Age.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

The land to the East of the Jordan River has not received much archaeological attention compared to that situated West of the river. Furthermore, the Southern part of Jordan, which had played a significant role in the history of Jordan, has received much less attention from archaeologists.

The Kingdom of Adom lies in the Southern part of Jordan. In Old Testament times, the Adomytes were the neighbors of the Israelites, Mu'ābites as well as `Ammunites. Accordingly, Adom extended from the Wādiy al-Hasā (Zered) in the North to the Wādiy Hiṣmah, which stretches to the Gulf of `Aqabah on the Red Sea and Arabia in the South. To the West, Adom was restricted by the Wādiy `Arabah and to the East by the Syrian Desert [See Map: 1]. Meanwhile there is an argument that the Adomyte territories extended to the west of Wādiy `Arabah at some stages of their history.⁽²⁾

The location of the land of Adom is very important, since it lies between the Wādiy al-Hasā on the north and the Gulf of `Aqabah on the South. It is a high, rough mountainous area that reaches an elevation of 5, 600 feet above sea level. Therefore, people enjoy plenty of rainfall in winter. Hence, its physical geography was formed by limestone in the North then changed gradually to the Nubian sandstone and granite in the region around `Aqabah.⁽³⁾

Nelson Glueck was the pioneer in conducting surveys in Jordan and Palestine; he did the most extensive work ever done in Southern Jordan between 1934 and 1938.⁽⁴⁾ Thus, according to his surveys, the settlement in Jordan started during the Early Bronze Age IV period between 2350-1850 B.C., where civilization flourished during this period. Then during the whole Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Age, there was a gap in occupation in Southern Jordan and Southern Palestine from the 19th-13th Centuries B.C. for a period of 600 years. After that the Adomiye settlement flourished during Iron Age I from the 13th Century to the 8th Century B.C. where are has a highly developed civilization, from the 8th Century B.C. on, there was a rapid decline in the strength of Adom.⁽⁵⁾ Then Glueck made some excavations at Tall al-Halifah, located on the shore of the Gulf of `Aqabah, between 1938-1940, to support his conclusions about the gap in occupation.⁽⁶⁾

In fact, there are many scholars who disagree with the conclusions drawn by Glueck, because, Adom is a natural stronghold which provides excellent places for settlement. Therefore, the surface survey such as that done by Glueck does not reveal whether or not there was continuity in occupation nor its length. As Bartlett mentions, it is impossible, from the surface survey, to tell whether people lived in tents or caves, as do some today, thus it is difficult to suppose discontinuity in the settlement in Southern Jordan.⁽⁷⁾

In contrast, Bennett conducted some excavation at Buşayrah,⁽⁸⁾ Ṭawilān,⁽⁹⁾ and Umm

al-Biyārah.⁽¹⁰⁾ From these excavations, Bennett concluded that archaeological evidence does not support Glueck's conclusion, and therefore, the beginning of settlements in Adom does not go back earlier than the 9th Century B.C. Indeed, as Dornmann says, if we want to understand how the distribution of settlement in Jordan in the past was, we better look at the present distribution. The distribution of people in Southern Jordan now reflects their distribution in the past. Thus there are still a great number of people in Southern Jordan today, nomadic or semi-nomadic types of life.⁽¹¹⁾ Therefore, these people do not use pottery in their daily life and may have used leather for water, milk and food that did not last for long.

III. Archaeological Surveys:

There are Many archaeological surveys, were conducted in Southern

Jordan in the last three decades. These surface surveys that have been done by Weippert in 1974,¹² and others in Wādiy `Arabah and in the south of the Dead Sea Area by Rast and Schuab in 1973.⁽¹³⁾ Furthermore, the extensive surveys conducted by MacDonald and others in 1979 to the South of the Wādiy al-Hasā, from the Western Edge of the plateau leading up to the Southeastern plain of the Dead Sea, have come up with great results.⁽¹⁴⁾ The work team has continued their survey in 1981 from Wādiy La`abān to the East as far as Wādiy al-`Ali.⁽¹⁵⁾ Then in 1982, MacDonald with a new team of archaeologists have continued the survey in the area of Wādiy al-`Ali, Wādiy al-Ahmar, Wādiy ar-Ruweyhi and Wādiy Abū ad-Diba`.⁽¹⁶⁾

According to Clark, the survey of 1993 in the Wādiy al-Hasā North Bank shows decline in the Late Bronze Age population is gradually reserved during Iron Age. These surveys show that Iron I sites are poorly represented, where we have only 12 sites, which form 3.1% of ceramic total.⁽¹⁷⁾ But it is with Iron Age II (918-539 B.C.), that a virtual population explosion takes place in the Eastern Wādiy al-Hasā, for we have recorded 97 sites, formed 25.1% of the ceramic total yielding Iron II pottery, most of Iron Age II sites are modest farmsteads.⁽¹⁸⁾

According to Finkelstein, there are some cracks in Bennett's theory. He based this implication on the publications of Weippert where he published Iron I material from two sites in northern Adom.⁽¹⁹⁾ These sites are located North and East of al-Ṭafilah – hirbat Abū Bannā and hirbat Mašmil, and he added that identical material was collected in four more sites in the vicinity: hirbat al-Qūṣah al-Hamrā, hirbat as-Sab`ah, hirbat at-Tuwānah and hirbat Umm Še`ir.⁽²⁰⁾ Meanwhile Sauer suggested that Iron I -A pottery might be found at Buṣayrah.⁽²¹⁾

MacDonald pointed out that the Middle Bronze Age (1550-1200 B.C.) and Late Bronze Age (1200-918 B.C.) were not represented in the surveys that are conducted in 1981 and 1982,⁽²²⁾ but in that the 1979 season, the Late Bronze Age period was better represented than the Middle Bronze Age.⁽²³⁾ It seems very likely to mention that the sites, which are included in this survey, from which we would be able to make some comments, depending on their distribution. According to MacDonald, the survey revealed some evidence of Late Bronze Age associated with Iron Age I pottery at different sites, especially at Ras ar-Rhāb, hirbat `Ayun Ġuzlān, al-Gazrain, hirbat al-Burbeṭah and Rabābah.⁽²⁴⁾ Furthermore, Late Bronze Age materials are found at many sites associated with Iron Age I at aš-Šurābāt and Baydar Radwān.⁽²⁵⁾ [See Map: 2].

During the 1982 survey, MacDonald found Iron Age I (1200-918 B.C.) pottery at al-Mabrā; a site seems to have been a large village.²⁶ Moreover,

Iron Age I pottery was also found at hirbat Abū Bannā, on the west bank of Wādiy La`abān and to the northwest of this site where the hirbat Mašmil is located. At the latter site, foundations of a small building are still visible.⁽²⁷⁾ Furthermore, Iron Age I materials were also found at the sites of al-Qūṣah al-Hamrā, at-Tuwānah, hirbat as-Sab`ah, hirbat Umm ar-Rās and rogam Hanāzir.⁽²⁸⁾ Thus, as MacDonald mentions, there are no Iron I sites including Abū Bannā to be recorded between Wādiy al-Hasā and al-Ṭafilah.⁽²⁹⁾

Iron Age I materials associated with Iron Age II (918-721 B.C.) were found at the sites of hirbat an-Nūhah and hirbat Bahlūl where these sites show occupations in the Adomiye Period.⁽³⁰⁾ Also, MacDonald found a great deal of Adomiye pottery at the sites of hirbat al-`Adānin, rogam Karakā and hirbat Karakā.⁽³¹⁾ Furthermore, Iron Age I pottery associated with Iron II objects were found at the sites of hirbat al-Burayṣ, hirbat Hobūl al-Hardūn, `Ayn ad-Dāhis, Umm Ṣuwānah,⁽³²⁾ and, at ad-Ḍayr.⁽³³⁾ Iron Age II A-B (918-605 B.C.) pottery was found at rogam Jāyiz, where there are some architectural remains apparent at this site. Furthermore, Iron II A-B pottery was found at the sites of rogam Mhāwiš, hirbat ad-Drāj, hirbat al-Mdaiyil,⁽³⁴⁾ hirbat an-Nhās, hirbat Duwwār and hirbat aš-Ṣadid.⁽³⁵⁾ Iron II C (605-539 B.C.) pottery has been found at the sites of al-Maghaz, hirbat Dbā`ah and hirbat al-Hābis.⁽³⁶⁾

Lindner points out that, in recent years several Iron Age II (Adomiye) sites have been discovered and distributed, among them Ba`jah III and Umm al-`Alā (as-Sādeh).⁽³⁷⁾ Iron II pottery of the type found at other sites like Umm al-Biyārah, Umm al-`Alā and Ba`jah III was predominant.⁽³⁸⁾ Furthermore, in the stronghold of Jabal al-Qṣir, there is nothing to indicate an origin during a Jewish-Adomiye struggle before the 8th Century B.C.⁽³⁹⁾ There is no architecture in Adom before the 8th-7th Century B.C. and, as Bienkowski pointed out, the bulk of the Adomiye settlement sites do not precede the 7th Century B.C.⁽⁴⁰⁾

As far as the Jabal al-Qṣir is concerned, the original occupation occurred during Assyrian control in the 8th Century B.C. (732 B.C.). The Adomytes were forced by Assyrian control and not only became settled but also mine process and trade copper. They certainly had to engage with the Arabian trade at the Northern end of the incense road.⁽⁴¹⁾ All of this is leading to the maximum of Adomiye settling activity in the 7th-6th Century B.C.⁽⁴²⁾ According to Lindner in 1994, a team of North Hasā Group (NHG) found pottery, which was recognized and dated as Iron Age (Adomiye) Ware. The team discovered four Adomiye mountain stronghold: Ba`jah III, Umm al-`Alā (as-Sādeh), Jabal al-Qṣir and Adomiye fortress of hirbat al-Mu`allaq.⁽⁴³⁾ Moreover, Lindner states that 53 Iron II pottery sherds were discovered in the Jabal aš-Ṣāfiḥ area and consist of household and storage ware. The most striking discovery was the

high percentage of Iron II C pottery sherds.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Furthermore, there are Iron II pottery at the site of ad-Drāj III, consist of storage jars with two handles. Fragments of a large bowl with a ring base belong to the Iron II period. A detail of ad-Drāj III is pointing to a late Iron II fortress.⁽⁴⁵⁾

It seems possible that ad-Drāj III was built as a fortress to protect the Iron II inhabitants against aggression from the east. We do not know when exactly the Adomiye settlements were left; it was probably at the time when the Adomiye State perished.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The above mentioned surveys show that Iron Age I is poorly represented in the survey which argues with the results of the archaeological surveys of MacDonald between Wādiy al-Hasā and al-Ṭafilah in the Iron Age II are well represented in the surveying area in the South of Jordan. Meanwhile there are no indications of Persian occupation from the 6th –the 4th Century B.C. in that area.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Therefore, it seems very difficult to make a reconstruction of the beginning of settlement in Southern Jordan at the present time. This implication is based mainly on that the archaeological evidence from the excavations which have been conducted by Bennett at the sites of Umm al-Biyārah, Ṭawilān and Buṣayrah, shows that the beginning of settlement in Adom does not go back earlier than the beginning of the 9th Century B.C.⁽⁴⁸⁾ However, few archaeologists did not accept this date such as Sauer, Weippert and Finkelstein.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The results of the surface surveys conducted by MacDonald have pushed the settlement period in the Southern Jordan even before the period posited by Nelson Glueck. Furthermore, the results of these surveys are filling in the gaps that Glueck has proposed.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Despite that excavations are still critical in providing us with stratified material as well as pottery dating sequence; therefore, it is necessary to rely upon materials from Palestine to date our material from Adom precisely.⁽⁵¹⁾ MacDonald acknowledged that most of the parallels for his Wādiy al-Hasā survey materials were taken from Palestinian and Syrian sites.⁽⁵²⁾

According to MacDonald and his survey team of the 2000 season, there is very little evidence of the Early Bronze settlement in his surveyed territory. Moreover, there is no evidence of Middle Bronze and only one sherd from the Late Bronze period. Furthermore, there is some evidence of Iron I presence, but, as MacDonald points out, this is probably near the end of the period. Thus, the well-represented materials from the Ceramic Periods come from the Iron II Period.⁽⁵³⁾ Meanwhile, the survey conducted by MacDonald shows that Iron II material were found at 16 sites and 17 plots within the survey territories, but Iron I materials were found at 2 sites and 1 plot only.⁽⁵⁴⁾ These sites are hirbat aš-Šari`ah, hirbat al-`Adāwin, hirbat as-Sir, hirbat `Ābūr, hirbat at-Tlaytuwāt, hirbat Muġāmis, roġum al-Qirān, roġum Umm al-`Izām and hirbat ad-Dabbah⁽⁵⁵⁾.

IV. Adom in the Written Sources:

IV. 1. Egyptian Sources:

Egyptian sources provide us with little information about the land of Adom. Meanwhile, some of these sources refer to Adom as "The Land of Sa`ir", while other sources used the term of "The Land of the Šāsū People".⁽⁵⁶⁾ According to Bartlett, Egyptian sources did not mention Adom in period the New Kingdom, that is to say from the 14th-12th Centuries B.C. to the reign of Rameses (Ramsiys) III (r. 1184-1167 B.C.); therefore, we have only the Šāsū peoples in this Area⁽⁵⁷⁾.

In this context, Egyptian Texts mention that King Seti I (r. 1318-1301 B.C.) had campaigned against those people who lived in the Sinai (Saynā') Peninsula and Southern Palestine. The texts indicate that Seti I had fought against the Šāsū-Bedouins, who lived in the mountainous areas of Syro-Palestine that is called in the text "Upper Retenu".⁽⁵⁸⁾ While in the text of the Pharaoh (al-Far`ūn) (Merneptah (r. 1224-1214 B.C.) we found some information indicating that there are a few Nomadic families sought refuge in the Eastern Frontiers of Egypt, but, unfortunately, the text does not tell where those people came from, or how they made their way to Egypt.

The archaeological excavations at the site of Timnā in the Wādiy `Arabah, revealed a temple ascribed to the Goddess Hāthūr, that may be dated to either the 12th Century B.C. in the time of Rameses (Ramsiys) III (r. 1184-1167 B.C.) or even to the reign of Seti I. This is indicated by the actual workers and the technological abilities used in building of that Temple which are attributed to the local Adomiyye people.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Thus, the implication would be that the Adomiyyes were actually existed in the Late Bronze Age, because in the topographical lists of Rameses II (R. 1290-1224 B.C.) uncovered at Tall al-Amarna (Tall al-`Amārnah), the Land of Adom was mentioned as the "Land of Sa`ir".⁶⁰ Furthermore, in the list of Rameses III, there are cities and towns mentioned distributed along the trade route from Damascus through Jordan such as Ti-pu-n (Dibān), U-ba-l (Wādiy al-Mūjyb) and Ya-ru-tu (al-Yārut).⁽⁶¹⁾ Thus it could be implied that this list of localities would indicate a trade route directed from Damascus through `Ammun, Mu`āb and Adom, and therefore, it would be very likely that the Egyptians were familiar with the land of Jordan and the Šāsū people.

Furthermore, during the excavations at Buşayrah, Bennett found an Egyptian faience vessel that was the only Egyptian object to be found at Buşayrah. The faience has a Hieroglyphic Inscription, and from its shape and decorations, it would be implied that it came from an Egyptian relief chalice. Bennett, however, infers that the faience may be used as a symbol of an Egyptian friendship toward Adom.⁽⁶²⁾ Therefore, it would be possible that it is

related to the prince Hadad of Adom, who fled to Egypt, and when he returned, if it happened, would be in the 10th Century B.C. and brought this faience with him.⁽⁶³⁾ Meanwhile, our implication from this faience would be that there were settlements of some importance in Adom and a large trade –to some extent – perhaps in the 10th-9th Centuries B.C. between Egypt and the Kingdom of Adom.

With regard to the date of the earliest occupation at Buşayrah, it is useful to correct the misleading statement by Sauer that “Some tenth Century B.C. finds have come from Buşayrah”.⁽⁶⁴⁾ His reference to one fragment of an Egyptian faience relief decoration was still being applied to faience vessel in Egypt in the 8th Century B.C. Bennett commenced that if the fragment was an heirloom, it may have been brought back in the 10th Century B.C. by Prince Hadad, the Adomyte King who fled to Egypt according to the First Book of Kings.⁽⁶⁵⁾ This is, of course, pure speculation indeed.⁽⁶⁶⁾ It is not even clear that Hadad ever returned.

IV. 2. Biblical Sources:

According to Biblical traditions the Adomytes were descendants of Esau (‘lyso) who was one of the sons of Isaac, and Esau was Adom or the father of Adom. Furthermore, these Biblical accounts tell us that Adom had an organized kingdom that was ruled by a king before any king ruled over the children of Israel. In addition to that, these accounts mention a list of kings who ruled over Adom, such as Jobab, who ruled over the area of Bozrah (modern Buşayrah) and after his death, Hušām ruled over the land of the Temānites.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Weippert points out that, those kings had ruled during the last part of the 12th Century B.C. and continued down to the 11th Century B.C. Weippert implies that none of these kings was a successor to his predecessor because each one of them ruled over a different city.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Thus, it is possible that those rulers, who ruled over different cities simultaneously, were children of the same king. Moreover, it is possible that those rulers were like princes or they were ruling City-States as had been done before during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages of Syria-Palestine as well as the Assyrian and Babylonian Kingdoms of Mesopotamia.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The second source of the Biblical accounts records that, during the Israelite’ Exodus from Egypt around 1220 B.C., the Israelites asked the Adomyte king to allow them passage to the Land of Canaan. According to these accounts the king of Adom denied their petition to pass through his land.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Thus, based on this untrustworthy evidence, it would be correct to imply that the Adomyte Kingdom was strong enough to protect its territories and secured their frontiers by showing military power to their refusal. Therefore, according to the Book of Deuteronomy, the Israelites passed through the land of Adom to the East,

then to the North from Aylah and `Isun-Gābir and along the Wādiy `Arabah without entering the land of the Mu`ābites.⁽⁷¹⁾ In fact, it was assumed that the Mu`ābites had allowed the Israelites passage through the Northeastern corner of their country.⁽⁷²⁾ Thus, it is possible to assume that this evidence is against the Biblical Tradition of Deuteronomy.

Furthermore, in the Book of Numbers, we found another account showing that the King of Adom refused passage along the King's Highway to Moses and his people,⁽⁷³⁾ despite assurances that they would turn neither to the right nor to the left.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Presumably they reached the neighborhood of Jabal Hārūn and Wādiy Musa town by the Wādiy `Arabah route. Apparently, the King had the strength and authority to enforce his decision and Moses led his people elsewhere.⁽⁷⁵⁾

This conflicting statement of the Biblical accounts of Number,⁽⁷⁶⁾ and Deuteronomy,⁽⁷⁷⁾ are likely to be considered a good reason to suspect the value of the Biblical traditions. Furthermore, it could be implied from these Biblical accounts that the existence of a certain settlement in Adom, at any rate, is very likely at this time. Weippert states that the Biblical account does not support the existence of an Adomyte state at the transitional period from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age I periods.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In contrast, Selms in his reference to Albright mentions that the origin of the monarchy in both Adom and Mu`āb may be dated, at least, two centuries earlier than the kingship of Šā`ul.⁽⁷⁹⁾ According to Selms, it is possible if we know that Šā`ul ruled in the last part of the 11th Century B.C. then the implication would be that the Adomyte Kingdom was to be dated to the last part of the 13th Century B.C. This hypothesis advocated by Selms, based on the opinion of Albright, is not supported by neither historical nor archaeological evidence. Even the evidence from the Biblical accounts does not mention whether or not the Adomyte had a state at this early period.

Moreover, the Biblical traditions mention that Šā`ul defeated Adom for the first time at the end of the 11th Century B.C.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Then King David subdued Adom and gained control over the copper mining in the Wādiy `Arabah.⁸¹ Meanwhile, Rothenberg, supporting the Biblical accounts, argues for the existence of the copper mining in the Wādiy `Arabah in the Iron Age I, and, therefore, he puts it back in the time of King Solomon (r. 971-931 B.C.) in the 10th Century B.C. Then later he changed his mind and points out that the early Iron Age copper mining of Wādiy `Arabah operated only during the Iron Age I period, 12th- 11th Centuries B.C.⁽⁸²⁾ Meanwhile this claim for copper mining in the 10th-9th Centuries B.C. appears to be un supported. As Knauf and Lenzen pointed out that, there is nothing to indicate any significant concentration of settlement in Southern Jordan before the end of the 8th Century B.C.⁽⁸³⁾ Thus it is very

likely to conclude that the Adomiytes took over the copper mining area Wādiy `Arabah in order to exploit it and that at the same time they founded towns and villages in the region.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Thus the roots of the animosity between Israel and Adom in the late 11th-10th Centuries B.C. should be sought in the struggle to control the Arabian Trade-Routes. As Finkelstein states, in the 7th Century B.C., the equilibrium of Judah and Adom relations changed and the political and cultural influence of Adom expanded beyond the Jordanian plateau and reached the Beer Šeba (Be'ir as-Sabi`) valley.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Another possible friction zone may have been the contest over the exploitation of the Wādiy `Arabah copper resources. However, there seems to have been some confusion in these Biblical accounts, because such confusion would lead to the implication that there is another reason to suspect the value of these Biblical accounts based on archaeological evidence.

Finkelstein states that "The Adomiyte State of Iron II, did not emerge from avoid then but rather from a relatively dense sedentary occupation in Iron I. Furthermore, the rise of the Adomiyte monarchy was apparently the outcome of the continuous strife with Israel. The southward expansion of the early Israelite monarchy in the late 11th-10th Centuries B.C. was a stimulating force behind the emergence of early political institution in Adom".⁽⁸⁶⁾

According to Aharoni, the campaigns of King Šišonq I on Southern Palestine may be extended east of the Wādiy `Arabah, for the goal of Šišonq's Southern campaigns was to regain control over the Arabian trade.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Apparently, the Iron Age occupation in Adom reached its peak in the 8th-7th Centuries B.C. possibly as a result of the Assyrian activities in the region.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The Adomiytes may or may not have survived the end of their civilization, which was brought about by the King Nabūnā'id (r. 556-539 B.C.) in the year 553/552 B.C.,⁽⁸⁹⁾ until they were forced to resume their nomadic –pastoral life, which most probably had never entirely disappeared. Thus the end of the Adomiyte use of Jabal al-Qšir coincides with the end of the 6th Century B.C.⁽⁹⁰⁾ As Lindner points out that, the Jabal al-Qšir survey revealed a large amount of Iron II pottery, commonly known as "Adomiyte". This type of pottery vessels argued by Finkelstein as being Iron I, is very problematic if his chronology to be accepted since they all represent storage containers, which is unlikely. Thus it is sufficient to say that the homogenous finds from Jabal al-Qšir fit into the large complex of Iron Age II pottery from Southern Jordan. These types of pottery are very well represented at sites like Ṭawilān, Bušayrah, Umm al-Biyārah, Ba`jah III and as-Sādeh.⁽⁹¹⁾

IV. 3. Assyrian and Babylonian Sources:

During the Iron Age II-A (918-721 B.C.) and Iron Age II-B (721-605 B.C.),

the Assyrians became the dominating power in the Ancient Near East. The states of Syria-Palestine became vassals of Assyria, a situation continued until the Iron Age II-C (605-539 B.C.) when the Babylonians replaced the Assyrians as a dominant power.⁽⁹²⁾ Neo-Assyrian history in the Near East begun in the time of the King Šalmanaššar III (r. 858-824 B.C.). He appeared with his troops in Central and Southern Syria and extended his power to these areas after his victory in the battle of Qarqar about 853 B.C.,⁽⁹³⁾ in the north of Syria. As a result, the opponents were forced to subdue to him and pay him tribute.⁽⁹⁴⁾ At first he encountered considerable opposition when he marched against the State of Hamah on the Orontes River (Nahr al-`Āšy) for the first time. At the City of Qarqar, where the battle took place, he was confronted with a coalition of Syrian and Phoenician states supported by Egyptian and Arab contingents.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Although, the annals of Šalmanaššar III did not mention the Kingdom of Adom by name, but, apparently, the implication is that Adom was among those kings. Furthermore, as Bartlett and Weippert mention, Adom had been a Judean province until it was able, at some time between 848 and 841, to gain its independence.⁽⁹⁶⁾

In a clay tablet from the year 728 B.C., Tiglāt-Pilaššar III (r. 744-727 B.C.) mentions the kings Sānib of Bet-`Ammun, Salamān of Mu`āb, and Quasmalak of Adom among his tributaries.⁽⁹⁷⁾ In the year 701 B.C., Sennacherib (r. 705-681 B.C.) made several campaigns against Hezekiah of Judah and confederates, the Phoenician and Filisṭin states. The `Ammunite King Pūdūili, Kamoš-Nadāb of Mu`āb and Aiārammū of Adom, refused to become involved in the anti-Assyrian league and rendered tribute to Sennacherib as proof of their loyalty.⁽⁹⁸⁾ In the Inscription of Isārhadūn (r. 680 – 669 B.C.) and Āšūrbānīpāl (r. 667-627 B.C.), Pūdūili and his successor `Amminadāb I, Mūšūri King of Mu`āb and Qaus-Gābir King of Adom appear as loyal vassals.⁽⁹⁹⁾

According to Weippert, we are only in possession of the sparse information that the last Neo-Babylonian King Nabūnā'id laid siege to the "City of Adom" and probably captured it in the second half of the 3rd year of his reign around 553 B.C.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ In Babylonian usage the term "City of ..." designates the capital of a country. In the case of Adom this would most probably be Bozrah (Modern Buṣayrah).⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The later Iron Age would seem to have been a period of relative prosperity and population growth, perhaps fostered by growing importance of trade with Arabia. A major trade route paralleled the Desert Highway and extended north through `Ammān, Damascus into Northern Syria and southern Anatolia. Furthermore, this period saw the appearance of the first multi-community polities, essentially small kingdoms like Adom, Mu`āb and `Ammun with fortified capitals that functioned as administrative, and possibly

religious, centers.⁽¹⁰²⁾

Cuneiform business documents discovered at Ṭawilān near Wādiy Musa, but written at Harrān in the accession year of the Achaemenid King Dārius, gives evidence of the business dealings in northern Syria of an Adomyte businessman by the name "Qossāmā b. Qosyādā" living in Ṭawilān. These business dealings can be most easily explained if they took place within the Persian satrapy of "Beyond the River" indicating that Adom was a Persian province.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Thus, apparently, the regional Kingdoms of Jordan and Palestine came under the control of a Persian Satrap with subordinate governors after 500 B.C., despite that the survey, conducted by Clark, produced no archaeological evidence of Persian domination. Meanwhile literary texts attest copper production in the Wādiy `Arabah after 586 B.C. and even after the destruction of the Kingdom of Adom by Nabūnā'id in 553 B.C.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Thus, it is likely that Persian control over Eastern Wādiy al-Hasā and over most of Palestine was sporadic and ephemeral at best.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The first Assyrian reference to Adom appears in the records of Adad-Nirāri III (r. 810-783 B.C.), which records the states that paid tribute to the King of Āšūr, Adad-Nirāri, including Adom.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Thus, Tiglāt-Pilaššar III has to be considered as a great figure in the Neo-Assyrian history, due to his shrewd administrative ability. Therefore, the kingdoms that stretched from Damascus to Samaria, including the Kingdoms of Jordan became Assyrian provinces. Meanwhile, the records mention Qaus-Malakū, King of Adom U-du-mu-a-a among those kings who paid tribute to Tiglāt-Pilaššar III, including gold, silver, tin, iron and linen garments.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

In the annals of Sargūn II (r. 722-705 B.C.), the unnamed ruler of Adom is listed among those kings who paid him tribute.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Moreover, in the annals of Sennacherib, we found that the king of Assyria received tribute from Pūdūili, King of `Ammun, Kammūšun-adbi, King of Mu'āb and Aiarammū (variant account: Malikrammū),⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ King of Adom as well.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

In the Annals of King Isārhadun, the names Qaus-Gābir, King of Adom, Musuri, King of Mu'āb and Pūdūili, King of `Ammun appear among other 22 Kings who were employed in transportation of various materials to Ninevah for building the palace of the king. These materials contained long beams, pine trees and Lebanese products.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Furthermore, the same King, of Adom appears in the records of Āšūrbānipāl among others who brought heavy gifts to the king of Assyria.⁽¹¹²⁾ Moreover, it has been mentioned in these annals that Āšūrbānipāl had pressed the people of subjugated countries into military service to help him in his wars against Egypt and the Arabs. Accordingly, Āšūrbānipāl states in his annals that: "In my ninth campaign I called up my troops (and) marched directly against Uāte, King of Arabia (`Aribū), because

he had broken the (agreements protected by) oaths (sworn to) me and did not remember that I had treated him with clemency; he had cast away the yoke away... He refused to come (and to inquire about (the state of) my health and held back the presents tamartu) and his heavy tribute".⁽¹¹³⁾

Apparently, it seems clear that the Arabs were threatening the presence of the Assyrians in the kingdom of Adom. Therefore, many scholars have seen that the Arabs extended the Adomyite territories to the Southern part of Judah because of the pressure on its eastern borders.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Thus, this would lead to the implication that the Arabs were living in the eastern desert under the ruler Gešūm/ Gašmū of the Qedarites, who was the father of Qainu, the king of Qedar.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Therefore, this situation forced the Assyrians to construct fortresses along the edge of the eastern desert to protect themselves against the raids of the Arabs.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ These fortresses mentioned by Glueck were dated between the 13th and 8th Century B.C.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Meanwhile Bennett found no reason for an early date and she would rather bring them down to the 8th Century B.C.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

At the end of the 7th Century B.C., the Babylonians replaced the Assyrians after their victory over the Assyrians in the battle of Necho, North of Carchamiš, around 605 B.C.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Furthermore, Jehoiakim, the King of Judah, had offered some assistance to the Egyptians to stand against the Babylonians. Thus Nabūhadnaṣṣar of Babylon secured Judah from the south and isolated it as a buffer zone, and then took its people into exile to Babylon in 587 B.C. In contrast, the Kingdoms of Jordan submitted to the Babylonian domination by paying tribute. Therefore, these kingdoms were saved from the destruction that happened in other states.⁽¹²⁰⁾

Accordingly, the destruction of the Kingdom of Judah, attributed to the Babylonians, seems to have been partially not correct, because the Adomyites took advantages of that destruction. Therefore, as it has been pointed out, the destruction was partially done by the Adomyites, and partially by the Babylonians. As a matter of fact, the Adomyites migrated into southern Judah and took possession of the land.⁽¹²¹⁾ Aharoni, from an ostrakon of a storage jar found at Arad, implied that the destruction of the Judean monarchy conducted because of the Adomyites' attack sided with the Babylonians in 598/ 597 B.C.⁽¹²²⁾

On the other hand, Aharoni inferred from another ostrakon found at the same site, that the Adumeans' attack had occurred during the reign of Jehoiakim of Judah when Nabūhadnaṣṣar launched his first campaign between 600 –598 BC.⁽¹²³⁾ According to different sources, Nabūnā'id had campaigned against the Arabs of northwestern Arabia to control the trade routes that passed by. Therefore, it has been argued that Nabūnā'id was responsible for the destruction of the Kingdom of Adom in the 6th Century B.C. for many

reasons: First, the decline of Adom's economy because of the loss of control over the trade routes between Arabia and the Mediterranean markets. That trade, which passed through Adom, was very important for their existence. (124) Secondly, as Bartlett has mentioned, the downfall of the Kingdom of Adom would be attributed to the heavy tribute laid upon Adom by the Assyrians in the 8th-7th Centuries B.C. and then by the Babylonians who followed their footsteps. (125) In contrast, Lindsay emphasized that the campaigns of Nabūnā'id against the Arabs had caused the Adomytes' incursion as far as Didān "al-'Ula" in northwestern Arabia. (126) In fact, this assumption seems to be unlikely because it is impossible for the Adomytes to flee toward Didān, where Nabūnā'id had resided at Taymā where he established a kingdom. According to Parr, who argues in favor of that flee, if that happened, it would not have occurred immediately after the Babylonian attack, but it may have been delayed until the 5th or even 4th Century B.C., when Didān was flourishing. (127) Thus, this would give an interpretation to the relations between the Qurayyah pottery and that of the latest Adomyte pottery. (128) Therefore, this would also lead to the implication that there was uninterrupted sedentary occupation throughout the Persian and Nabataean Periods. (129)

Hart concludes, from his archaeological survey in Adom that there is little or no evidence for the Early Iron Age in the area surveyed. (130) No sherds found to be dated to the 12th-11th Centuries B.C. A few sherds of perhaps the 10th-8th Centuries B.C. were found but nearly all recovered were 7th-5th Centuries B.C. forms. Thus Adomyte civilization in a settled form cannot be said to have started much before 700 B.C. A few buildings of unclear function, possibly a farm building or watchtowers, unfortified groups of buildings were found. Therefore, according to Hart, it is not clear whether there is any direct continuity between the Adomyte and Nabataean occupation. (131) He adds that all excavated material was standard Adomyte Iron Age, and thus he concludes that it seems probable that the only major period of use was in the 7th-5th Centuries B.C. (132) On the other hand, Bartlett points out that there was continuity between the Adomytes and Nabataeans, as evidenced from the sites of Tall al-Halifah, Buṣayrah and Ṭawilān. (133) He adds that, "There are two features that may suggest continuity between the Adomytes and the Nabataeans is that peoples do not appear and disappear and a land does not just fill up and empty again. The population changes its ethnic content, develops its culture and traditions, but unless major disaster strikes, it does not just stop". (134)

V. Archaeological Evidence to the Settlement:

V.1. Building Remains:

According to Biblical accounts, it would be clear that Adom was occupied

in the Early Iron Age or even earlier, that is that despite the fact archaeological evidence does not fit well. Meanwhile, four sites in Adom have been extensively excavated which revealed no indication of occupation before the end of the 9th Century B.C. Bennett conducted some archaeological excavations at Buşayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah, while Glueck dug at Tall al-Halifah. According to Bienkowski there is no conclusive evidence for settlement in Adom during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and the four major sites excavated by Bennett are to be dated to the 7th-6th Centuries B.C.⁽¹³⁵⁾

Buşayrah is a natural stronghold lying in the north of Adom within the mining area of Finān. It is located at a distance of 22 K.M. South of al-Ṭafilah, and 4 K.M. West of the King's Highway. Thus Buşayrah is the most important and largest site in Adomiye Iron Age.⁽¹³⁶⁾ It was excavated during the 1971-74 and 1980. Apparently, there were four main reasons for chosen this site for excavation.⁽¹³⁷⁾ First, the identification of Buşayrah with Biblical Bozrah, a very important Adomiye town and, possibly Capital at some stage. Second, the verses in the Old Testament, especially the Passages of Numbers XX: 14-21, which mention that the King of Adom refused to allow the Israelite's coming from Egypt to pass through his land. Third, Buşayrah is proximity with the important copper mining area of Finān played a significant role, as it was the main copper production area of the Southern Levant. Fourth, Buşayrah seems to be the most prominent site that can provide a good chronological sequence for the history of Adom.

During her excavations at Buşayrah, Bennett discovered a royal building, which was called "Acropolis". In fact, the City was divided into Upper and Lower Towns. The Upper Town consisted of the "Acropolis" (Area A) with palatial and / or temple buildings. The Lower town, of ordinary domestic buildings, surrounds the Acropolis.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Concerning the identification of Buşayrah with Biblical Bozrah, there is nothing to confirm or deny this equation with Bozrah, for very little epigraphic material was found. Even though, Biblical Scholars are in favor of the identification of Buşayrah with "Bozrah".⁽¹³⁹⁾

It is not clear whether occupation at Buşayrah began in the 10th-9th -8th Centuries B.C. Hence, there was definitely no occupation that could be associated with the time of the Exodus, that is in the late 13th Century B.C.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Although the function of the Acropolis is not clear because there are no inscriptions found which may throw some light on the nature of these buildings whether they were palaces or temples.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Meanwhile Buşayrah shows a unique architecture, where buildings A and B are likely to be called palaces, therefore, Buşayrah is to be considered the most prominent site in Adom (Figures: 1&2). In the Iron Age II Period, Buşayrah was a substantial administrative center dominated by three large buildings and fortified by a town wall. Therefore, it

is reasonable to suggest that Buṣayrah was an administrative center; on a minor scale, Ṭawilān probably had a similar regional function.⁽¹⁴²⁾ However, regardless of its function, Buṣayrah seems to have the potential in providing a very good chronological sequence for the history of Adom.⁽¹⁴³⁾ This implication is based on the evidence that the area around the acropolis represents Adomiyye houses that were built in a local tradition as well as on the painted pottery of an Adomiyye style is found associated with.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ This is very likely, as Oakeshott pointed out, that the pottery is remarkably homogenous.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

According to Finkelstein, a significant quantity of Iron Age I sherds from Buṣayrah published as Iron II, he would like to be put in the 11th Century B.C.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ He argues that the pottery found in different sites in Adom supplies enough evidence for the existence of an earlier occupation.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

On the other hand, as Bennett pointed out, the problem that appeared during the excavation at Buṣayrah was that the Roman pottery sherds of the 1st and 2nd Centuries A.D. were found under the Iron Age sherds of the 8th Century B.C. This would lead to the interpretation that the Romans reused the foundations of their predecessors; therefore, we faced the overlapping of layers.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Furthermore, Bennett uncovered some evidence of Assyrian influence in the Acropolis. In her reference to Turner, Bennett states that the bathroom units that were found in the units of the Acropolis first appeared in Āšūr in the palace of Sargūn II at Horsabād and in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Therefore, it is possible that the Acropolis Building at Buṣayrah had some Assyrian influence.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ On the contrast, Sauer states, the large public structure of Buṣayrah can best be compared with the Iron Age II-A (918-721 B.C.) public buildings of Samaria.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Therefore, Bennett concluded that the earliest evidence for the occupation in Adom, perhaps, goes back to the 9th Century B.C. and the flourishing period of the Adomiyye settlement occurred during the 7th Century B.C.⁽¹⁵²⁾ Thus, apparently, the site of Buṣayrah contained occupation down to the Persian period, then abandoned, for there is some evidence of fire destruction, and probably rebuilt during the Roman period in the 1st/2nd Centuries A.D.⁽¹⁵³⁾

The Second site was Ṭawilān, which lies to the East of Petra. Its height is 1400 m. above sea level, and is situated near Petra above `Ayn Musa. It was excavated from 1968-70 and in 1982. According to the excavator, there were two main reasons for its excavation:⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ First, the survey conducted by Nelson Glueck has suggested that Ṭawilān was a very important Adomiyye site, dating from the 13th -6th Centuries B.C.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Second, Glueck proposed to identify Ṭawilān with Biblical Timān.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Glueck's identification had been based largely on the texts of the Old Testament,⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ which mention Bozrah and Timan, suggesting the location of Bozrah to the North of Adom and

that of Timān to the South. Since Bozrah is likely to be modern Buṣayrah located to the North, then the relative position of Timān is thus indicated to the South; therefore, Timān fitted Ṭawilān.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Thus the original objective of Bennett's excavations was to ascertain the validity of Glueck's identification.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Apparently, the archaeological excavations did nothing to substantiate the equation of Ṭawilān with Timān and proved it to be incorrect.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Bennett challenged Glueck's conclusion of the continuous occupation in Adom. Her argument is based on that the sites of Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah flourished in the later phases of the Iron Age that was not before 800 B.C.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Therefore, the conclusion, accepted by most archaeologists, would be that Adom was not occupied by a developed sedentary civilization before the 9th Century B.C.⁽¹⁶²⁾

Ṭawilān seems to be one of the largest Adomiye sites, because much of the sites were ploughed in later times for agricultural use. Therefore, it seems to be difficult to imply whether it was fortified or not, for, as Bennett pointed out, there is no evidence of defensive walls and the conclusion would be that the natural defenses were sufficient.⁽¹⁶³⁾ Thus, it seems very likely, from the archaeological point of view, that Ṭawilān was the Capital of the Adomiyes, flourished during the 7th Century B.C. Bennett implied from her excavations in the three main Adomiye sites (Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah), that there is no epigraphically evidence of father to son succession in the ruling line. This would give an indication of the political system of the Adomiye Kingdom that could be described as "Šayhs" or "Semi-Nomadic" tribal line. Therefore, it would be very likely that there were contemporary capitals in different parts of the kingdom and each one had a different ruler or Šayh. This would reflect the old system of city-states that was flourished in the Near East during the Early Bronze Age in particular. The other opinion would be that there were different capitals built in Adom according to weather, winter-capital, summer-capital or northern capital and thus southern capital either ruled contemporaneously or successively. Hence Buṣayrah could have been the Northern Capital, Sela` would be another and Ṭawilān or Tall al-Halifah at other times.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ According to Oakeshott, it would certainly be safer not to regard Ṭawilān as a Capital but to see it as being simply an unfortified agricultural town.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Meanwhile, Bennett continued to regard Ṭawilān as possibly the Capital of the Adomiyes during part of their history.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ This idea rests largely on the Book of Genesis, in which are named "Kings who reigned in the land Adom".⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ It is true that none of the kings was of his predecessor and that to each one is attributed a different city.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Furthermore, as Weippert points out, the Genesis king-list may have been just a list of local rulers, perhaps even contemporaries.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ Thus Bennett was correct in concluding that Buṣayrah could have been the capital at one period,

Ṭawilān at another, and so on.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Meanwhile, according to Bienkowski, there is very little archaeological support for regarding Ṭawilān as a capital.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ The excavations at Ṭawilān revealed a scarab seal with two standards, an altar decorated with a crescent surmounted by a star symbolizing the Moon-God or symbolizing the Goddess `Ištār (`Aštār).⁽¹⁷²⁾ According to Bennett, the God Quas in the Adomiye religion, which is well known, would imply that this might be the first record of a symbol of the Adomiye God worshipping.⁽¹⁷³⁾

Although Bennett proposed that Ṭawilān was flourishing in the 7th Century B.C.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ This date is based on what is so called "Negev Ware" found in early pits. This pottery has been dated to the Early First Millennium B.C., for Glueck found it at Tall al-Halifah and dated it to the 10th Century B.C. to the time of King Solomon (r. 971-931 B.C.). Based on that, he identified Tall al-Halifah as Biblical `Isun-Gābir.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Meanwhile, according to other archaeologists, Tall al-Halifah has been shown to date to no earlier than the 8th Century B.C.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

Finally, based on archaeological materials, Bennett dated the site of Ṭawilān to the 8th Century B.C., depending on series of houses, walls and towns uncovered associated with pits containing storage jars of this period. Bennett noticed eight phases of occupation at the site; the first one was the use of the site as a source of clay that goes back to the 10th-9th Centuries B.C. However, a fully developed Adomiye sedentary occupation apparently happened after the Kingdom became a vassal to Tiglāt-Pilašsar III in the 8th Century B.C.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

The third site is Umm al-Biyārah that was a great massive rock overlooking Petra from the west; it rises 300 m. from the Petra basin. Bennett excavated this site in 1960, 1963 and 1965. There were two namely, aims for the excavations: First, to disprove the identification of Umm al-Biyārah with Biblical Sela`, and, Second, to obtain stratified Adomiye pottery.

Bennett's excavations showed that there was extensive occupation in the first half of the 7th Century B.C. but none that could be dated to the period of Amaziah in the 8th Century B.C. However, the Old Testament does not mention an actual occupation at Sela` under Amaziah.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ The identification of Umm al-Biyārah with Biblical Sela` was proposed by Glueck in 1933, at the time of Amaziah.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ This identification is not acceptable by most archaeologists because the excavations and historical sources proved that there is nothing to support this identification and that it is invalid.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Other references such as the Book of Jeremiah⁽¹⁸¹⁾ associates Sela` with Bozrah to the North (the Capital of Adom) and perhaps modern Buṣayrah.⁽¹⁸²⁾ However, according to Bennett, Umm al-Biyārah is a one period site and represents a single period of occupation.⁽¹⁸³⁾

The excavations at Umm al-Biyārah revealed a flourishing small community

building dated to the 7th Century B.C. These excavations uncovered a royal seal impression of Qaus-Gābir who seems to have been the King of Adom. Qaus-Gābir is mentioned twice in Assyrian inscriptions of the times of Isārhadun and Āšūrbānipāl.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ However, this seal impression may reflect an Egyptian influence incorporating the God-name in the name of the king either as a prefix or as a suffix. Evidence as such existed in the names of the Egyptian Pharaohs, for example, Amenhutep III (r. 1405-1367 B.C.), and Amenhutep IV = Ahenātun (r. 1367-1350 B.C.).

The fourth site is Tall al-Halifah, which is located at about 3.5 K.M. to the West-Northwest of `Aqabah. Glueck identified this site as `Isun-Gābir, although he mentions that there is no proof for this identification, but according to him, if it is not the case, it should be located within its vicinity.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

Bienkowski demonstrates that the Iron Age material from the main excavated sites, Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah, does not pre-date the 7th Century B.C. (Iron II).⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ Furthermore, Finkelstein states that, there is no site with a full sequence of Iron Age stratigraphies has been excavated, implying that there is nothing to say about early Iron Age occupation. Bienkowski says that it may be significant that the excavations at Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah all reached bedrock with stratigraphical evidence for occupation earlier than Iron II. Thus there is nothing to indicate that the Iron II material pre-date the 7th Century B.C.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ At Umm al-Biyārah and Ṭawilān, bedrock was reached throughout whole-excavated areas. Iron II pottery dating to the 7th-6th Centuries B.C. was abundantly present.

According to Bienkowski, there are many parallels to what Finkelstein insists on as Iron I pottery sherds, in clear Iron II Adomiye contexts. Furthermore, none of the material claimed as Iron I in northern Adom is found in a stratified sequence and so its relative date cannot be proved conclusively. Accordingly none of the material claimed as Late Bronze or Iron I in Adom have been found in an excavated and stratified sequence, and therefore, all of these materials came from surface surveys and therefore, with the pottery identified by parallels from Palestine.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Thus, the lack of a sequence is, of course, a major problem in Adomiye archaeology, since none of the Adomiye sites extensively investigated. Busayrah, Ṭawilān, Umm al-Biyārah and Tall al-Halifah appear to have continuous Iron Age sequence and they do not have any Pre-Iron Age II remains.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾

The location of Tall al-Halifah far from the seashore of the Gulf of `Aqabah puts its identification with `Isun-Gābir in question. Glueck offered an interpretation to the location of Tall al-Halifah, far from the seashore. Therefore, the people chose this site for settlement far from the seashore, for protection from the sea waves and to be in the center of the southern end of the Wādiy

ʿArabah when the wind blew strong.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

The Biblical accounts indicate that King Solomon had built ships on the seashore of the Red Sea at ʿIsun-Gābir to break the monopolism of Midianite traders who possessed camel caravans.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ Thus it would be implied that the trade of spices and incense was restricted among these people. Therefore, by doing that, the sea trade of different commodities from South of Arabia and the Far East could land directly at ʿIsun-Gābir and then it would be transported by land under Solomon’s control.⁽¹⁹²⁾

Furthermore, during his excavation at Tall al-Halifah, Glueck uncovered a gate dated to the 10th-9th Centuries B.C. to the time of Solomon.⁽¹⁹³⁾ Later on, Glueck changed his opinion and dates these gates to the 8th -7th Centuries B.C. and considered the gate of Tall al-Halifah, to be contemporary with the gates of Palestine.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ This gate has analogies at Tall al-Mutasallim (Megiddo IV), Tall ʿArad, Periods X-VIII and Tall ad-Duwayr (Lachish) of the same period, and thus is supported by the evidence from Tall al-Mutasallim, Tall Abū Šušāh (Gezer) and Tall al-Qadah (Hazor), that all belong to the time of Solomon.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

Meanwhile, the excavations conducted by Glueck at Tall al-Halifah, have revealed five distinguished periods of occupation. According to Glueck, the first settlement of ʿIsun-Gābir was in the time of King Solomon in the 10th-9th Centuries B.C., while the second period was restricted to Jehoshaphat of Judah in the 9th Century B.C. Jehoshaphat is described in Biblical accounts as “The one who made the unsuccessful attempts to revive the sea trade between ʿIsun-Gābir and Arabia that trade had been flourishing in the time of Solomon before”.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Therefore, according to Glueck, after the destruction of the Taršiš ships of Solomon, Jehoshaphat would have relied upon camel caravans.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

The third period of occupation at Tall al-Halifah was attributed to Uzziah in the 8th Century B.C. According to the Biblical tradition, Uzziah is described as an active person who “Rebuilt Elat (which is probably another name for ʿIsun-Gābir) and made possible sea trade down to the Red Sea.”⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ Then, based on these traditions, “Then the Adomiytes drove the men of Judah out of Elat and regained possession of it until this day”⁽¹⁹⁹⁾. However, the third layer of occupation was apparently destroyed by fire, then a new settlement was built completely that became known as Period IV and dated from the end of the 8th Century B.C. to the end of the 6th Century B.C. This date, given to this stratum, was based on a seal impression of Qaus-Anal that was probably another Adomiyte king.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ Furthermore, Glueck pointed out that the Adomiyte pottery found in Level IV at Tall al-Halifah belongs to the Adomiyte period, while the pottery found in levels I-II must be attributed to the time of King Solomon and must be dated to the 10th-9th Centuries B.C.²⁰¹

In fact, there is an argument among scholars that the Tall al-Halifah, Stratum IV was not an Adomiye settlement and possibly a Nabataean one. ⁽²⁰¹⁾ According to Meshel this settlement was rebuilt under Assyrian auspices and remained subject to Assyrian influence. This is evidenced by the large quantity of Assyrian pottery found in the site and the plenty information in some sources on the development of trade between Assyria and Arabia. ⁽²⁰³⁾ On the other hand, Bartlett mentions a different conclusion based on the seal impression of Qaus-Anal and the pottery associated with it, all of which support an implication of an Adomiye settlement. ⁽²⁰⁴⁾

V. 2. The Pottery:

It seems very clear that pottery played a significant role in providing a coherent date to the settlement of Southern Jordan in the 9th Century B.C. The pottery evidence coincides with the architectural evidence, which is compromised. Meanwhile, this evidence does not fit with the information from written sources, which indicate that settlement in Adom goes back to the 12th Century B.C. or even earlier.

Adomiye pottery was distributed over a wide area of Southern Jordan. It is found at Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān, Umm al-Biyārah and Tall al-Halifah, ⁽²⁰⁵⁾ it is also found at hibat al-Adānin, ⁽²⁰⁶⁾ at Timnā, hibat Duwwār, hibat aš-Šadid and hibat an-Nhās. ⁽²⁰⁷⁾ The Adomiye pottery is also found at Huraybah (Didān), ⁽²⁰⁸⁾ Dibān and Qurayyah. ⁽²⁰⁹⁾

Glueck and later Bennett date the pottery uncovered in some of the Adomiye sites to Iron Age II, depending on a seal impression mentioning Qaus-Anal, King of Adom. ⁽²¹⁰⁾ Meanwhile many of the scholars, involved in Adomiye settlement dating, disagree with this conclusion. This disagreement is based mainly on the results reached by Rothenberg from his excavations at Timnā, of which pottery he dated to the Late Bronze Age, to the 13th Century B.C. ⁽²¹¹⁾ It is also based on the survey conducted by Parr and others in Northwestern Arabia, which shows a close connection as the pottery from Timnā. Therefore, according to Lindsay, Adomiye pottery is to be considered as a good analogy to that of Timnā, and thus, should be dated to the same period. ⁽²¹²⁾

Furthermore, during his survey in northern Hijāz, Dayton came upon a large quantity of Adomiye pottery at the site of Huraybah and at Maḡā'ir Šua'ib, which is typical of Iron Age II pottery. ⁽²¹³⁾ Meanwhile, Glueck found a great difficulty in distinguishing between the Adomiye and Midianite pottery, because of the homogeneity between them. ⁽²¹⁴⁾ Therefore, since Midianite pottery is dated to the Late Bronze, 14-13th Centuries B.C., so must Adomiye pottery have the same date. ⁽²¹⁵⁾ However, from this conclusion, we imply that Adom was the center of the caravan trade routes that passed from Arabia in the south to Gazzah in the west and Syria in the north. Accordingly, the downfall of

the Kingdom of Adom has to be attributed to different reasons. First, it is to be ascribed to the decline of the economy because of the loss of controlling over the caravan routes between Arabia and the Mediterranean Sea. Secondly, it is to be attributed to the heavy burden laid upon the Kingdom of Adom by the Assyrians in the 8th-7th Centuries B.C. and finally to the Babylonian domination of the country in the 6th century BC.

V. 2. 1. Pottery Forms:

Adomiye pottery is mostly 'wheel-made'; red-slip brown or black and, less commonly, white. This type of pottery is decorated with horizontal and vertical lines as well as bands of strokes on the rim. It could best be described as thin, handmade, with yellow-brown firing and red burnishing. The decorations are of red and black paint including slashes on the rim, parallel lines and crenellated decorations. In fact, two groups of pottery could be distinguished: One, painted, that belongs to the elite or ruling class and, another, coarser, that belongs to the rest of the normal people, or so-called the "daily life style".

V.2.1.1. Bowls:

Different shapes of bowls could be distinguished in Adomiye pottery, which can best be compared with those of Adūni-Nūr.⁽²¹⁶⁾ Meanwhile, the distinctive feature is of red paint inside and outside and even on the disc and ring bases. These are decorated with strap; loop pedestals painted and bar handles (Figure: 3). Other forms contain pedestal or ring bases, decorated with suspension holes or crenellations, which are distinctive to Adom. Accordingly, three types of bowls could be distinguished in Adomiye sites; namely, (1) shallow bowls, (2) deep bowls and (3) globular bowls. The first type is represented at Buşayrah as shown above in (Figure: 4). It has a pedestal base, cutting rim applied at the carination.

Deep bowls with tripod bases exist in the Adomiye pottery. These are decorated with series of triangles or rows of embossed decorations (Figure: 5: A), while other forms are of naked bowls found at Ťawilān. This type is decorated with thumb impression, a style of decoration found on Assyrian pottery. The existence of this type would lead to the implication that it is of an Assyrian influence; while other types are decorated with ladder style on the outside, a type that seems to be of a local distinctive feature to Adom (Figure: 5: B).

The most abundant type of vessels is the platter with sides flaring from the base, which is found in all phases of occupation at Buşayrah and at Adūni-Nūr (Figure: 6: A). Open bowls, with rounded to flange rims appeared at Buşayrah, Sahāb and Tall al-Fār`ah (Figure: 6: B). This form has a base ranging from ring, flat to pedestal. It has a bar-handle type flanked with knobs on each side below the rim. It is decorated with short parallel strokes on the rim while others

have geometrical designs including blobs, panels of vertical and horizontal lines as well as cross-hatching.

A beaker type appeared at Buṣayrah and at Tall al-Mazār⁽²¹⁷⁾ (Figure: 6: C). Its base ranging from round to flat, it's decorated with horizontal lines on the carinated body or plain. This type is typical of Assyrian bowls, which might represent an Assyrian influence.⁽²¹⁸⁾

Globular bowls with vertical necks were uncovered at the sites of Buṣayrah and Tall al-Halifah (Figure: 6: D). Their color is of creamy buff ware and has ring bases with some flat exceptions, and characterized by thin walls. These forms appeared with or without handles, while other forms show either two or four loop handles. The thick rim ranges from being flaring to a spout with a pinch mouth, and decorated with composite horizontal lines, vertical lines and cross bars of two lines. Thus each type of decoration forms a large "X" mark, while in the middle it forms a small "x" mark.

V.2.1.2. Cooking Pots:

Apparently, the most common type of cooking pots is the one, which has one, two or more, handles stretching from the rim to the shoulder (Figure: 7). This type was uncovered at Buṣayrah,⁽²¹⁹⁾ Sahāb⁽²²⁰⁾ and Besān (Bet-Šān).⁽²²¹⁾ Few examples reveal two or three ridges with triangular rims, while others show two loop handles and horizontal bar handles above the shoulder.

The most common types of cooking pots are the ones with handles, ribbing rims and round bases (Figure: 8: A). Other types of cooking pots found at Buṣayrah are the ones decorated with a rope handle (Figure: 8: B), or the ones with an angular body

(Figure: 8: C) with parallels found at Sahāb.⁽²²²⁾

V.2.1.3. Cups:

Archaeological excavations at different sites in Adom revealed many types of cups among the corpus of pottery. Some of these types are plain, without handles and have carinated bodies that lead to the assumption of an Assyrian influence (Figure: 9: A). The second type is a cup with a tripod base, with or without crenellations. Thus the function of these types may have been used as censers (Figure: 9: B).

Adomiye sites have also provided us with other five types of cups, some of which appeared either with or without handles. The first type of cups is called censers, that appeared in Tall al-Halifah and in `Ammān tombs (Figure: 10: A). It has a tripod base with a single loop handle. Its decoration ranges from a single horizontal row of holes to double rows below the rim or near the bottom.

The second type appeared at the sites of Buṣayrah, Umm al-Biyārah, Tall al-Halifah and Sahāb (Figure: 10: B). This type appeared with handles and

usually creamy buff color and flat bases. The third type is found at Buṣayrah and Tall al-Halifah (Figure: 10: C). It has carinated shoulders, rounded bases and the colors ranging from dark grayish brown to reddish buff ware. Decorations form horizontal bands of dark-red brown paint to dark brown paint with dots in between. The fourth type has tripod bases and vertical sides that appeared to be restricted to Buṣayrah (Figure: 10: D). This type is decorated with vertical and horizontal lines and cross-hatching on the rim. The fifth type has double carinated shoulders, which appeared to be restricted to Tall al-Halifah (Figure: 10: E). It has a high-everted rim and rounded base. Its decoration contains two horizontal bands of dark brown paint over a white background of the outer surface.

V.2.1.4. Bottles:

Excavations conducted at Buṣayrah,²²³ Jūfah⁽²²⁴⁾ and Adūni-Nūr⁽²²⁵⁾ uncovered of similar types of bottles (Figure: 11). The forms have rounded bases, buff slip, brown yellow, red colors and decorated with horizontal lines. This type of bottles exemplifies a typical Assyrian bottle, especially in the shape, neck and the ridges at the base that would represent an Assyrian influence.⁽²²⁶⁾

The type of bottles found at Buṣayrah seems to have been of Assyrian imitation type. However, the original type is without painting, while the local one is polished with rib and bands of red and black painting.

V.2.1.5. Lamps:

There are many types of lamps found during the excavation. The first type, of a high pedestal base, is handmade while turning the wheel inside (Figure: 12: A). This type seems to be distinctive of Adom. The second type has a flat base and narrow nozzle (Figure: 12: B), while the third type is likely to be a cultic object, called "cup and saucer", that could be used as a lamp (Figure: 13). This type has knobs on the body, and is parallel to that found at Tall ad-Duwayr.⁽²²⁷⁾ The type found at Buṣayrah is of a rounded, stump and pedestal base. One of these types appeared to have a pedestal base, dividing the lips from the body. This type, apparently, found at Umm al-Biyārah, is common at Buṣayrah.⁽²²⁸⁾

V.2.1.6. Jugs:

Many types of jugs were uncovered during the excavations in Adom. The first type of jugs was found at Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah. It has one handle that goes from the shoulder to the middle of the neck (Figure: 14). Meanwhile, the types of jugs appeared at Buṣayrah⁽²²⁹⁾ have parallels at Tall al-Fār`ah.⁽²³⁰⁾ They have a ring base and one loop handle that goes from the neck to the shoulder (Figure: 15: A). Its color ranges from red, pink to burnished slip. The second type of jugs is of white-fired clay, ring base,

cavity mouth, one loop handle attaching the rim to the shoulder (Plate: 15: B). The decoration is of plastic design.⁽²³¹⁾ The most distinctive type of jugs is that found at the sites of Tall al-Halifah⁽²³²⁾ and Timnā.⁽²³³⁾ It has a flattened base, light grayish buff slip covered with a dark reddish brown paint (Figure: 15: C). Its decoration includes geometrical designs including net and appliqué decorations. This type of jugs is dated to the Late Bronze Age, 13th-12th Centuries B.C. However, according to Parr, it is difficult to give a precise date to this type of pottery, since it is identified as a Midianite pottery. This is absence in Tall al-Halifah.⁽²³⁴⁾ Theoretically, it is possible to give a life span to the painted pottery from 500-600 years.

V.2.1.7. Juglets:

The juglets that appeared at the sites of Buṣayrah and Tall al-Halifah have ring bases; two handles attaching the shoulder to the middle of the neck (Figure: 15: D). These types are decorated with horizontal bands of dark brown paint to dark reddish dots with a burnished slip. This type would represent an imitation of the Cypro- Mycenaean type.

V.2.1.8. Jars:

Adomiye sites revealed four types of jars. The first type is a storage jar that appeared at Tall al-Halifah (Figure: 16: A). It is a wet smoothed, light reddish buff ware with fine light grits. This type is a Minaean imitation in being two Minaean letters. This form has a rounded base, two loop handles attached to the body. It is decorated with grooves covering the whole body from outside. Glueck dates this type to the 8th Century B.C.⁽²³⁵⁾

The second type of jars is a large ovoid pithoi appeared at Tall al-Halifah (Figure: 16: B). This type of jars is wet smoothed, reddish brown surface and collared rim. The decoration is band horizontal grooves where it can be seen four grooves below the loop handles and three grooves below the collared rim which is marked with two grooves. Meanwhile, there are some forms appeared with four loop handles.

The third type a whole mouth jar, which seems to be restricted to Tall al-Halifah (Figure: 16: C). It is wet smoothed and slightly thickened rim, decorated with bands of horizontal grooves separated by bands of spaces.

V.2.1.9. Industrial Pots:

This type of pottery is a cylindrical jar found at Buṣayrah. It has everted collared rim with bases ranging from rounded to roughly flattened bases (Figure: 17). It has a whole mouth, which forms the beginning of its appearance in Adom.⁽²³⁶⁾ The close parallel to this type is found at Tall al-Qadah (Hazor)⁽²³⁷⁾.

Finally, it seems to be likely that Adomiye painted pottery could best be compared with the Nabataean. Thus Adomiye pottery is very likely to be

considered the prototype, indicating continuity to the Nabataean period.

Assyrian influence seems very little on the Adomiye pottery with the exception of the ones found at Tall al-Halifah, which points out to a strong Assyrian influence. According to Bennett, Adomiye pottery from all of the excavated sites supports a date of the 9th Century B.C., which date is given to the beginning of settlement in Adom, on archaeological evidence. Furthermore, recent excavations at the Adomiye site of Ġarah, revealed some pottery forms of Assyrian types, which shows parallels to that of Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān, Umm al-Biyārah, and Tall al-Halifah.⁽²³⁸⁾

VI. Discussion and Conclusion:

Written sources and the archaeological evidence oppose one another on the question of the beginning of settlement in Adom. According to Biblical accounts, settlement in Adom goes back to the Early Iron Age I, or even to the Bronze Age. On the contrary, archaeological evidence from the excavations at different sites in Adom, such as Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān, Umm al-Biyārah and Tall al-Halifah, shows that settlement in Adom does not go back earlier than the 9th Century BC. The only interpretation proposed to such situation is that the people who lived during the Late Bronze and Iron Age, lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic type of life, or lived in caves and thus did not use pottery for daily use. Meanwhile, during the Late Bronze Age, the land of Adom was apparently inhabited by nomadic elements. Egyptian sources speak of Šāsū of Adom specifically as Šāsū of Sa`ir. However, this hypothesis has no support from the archaeological perspective.

Bennett's excavations in Southern Jordan between "1960-1982" did much to lift the Adomiyes from obscurity of Biblical commentaries. The three sites of Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah are still the only sites to have been extensively investigated. Bennett concludes from her excavations at these sites that there is no evidence of occupation in Adom before the 9th Century B.C. The generally accepted synthesis of Adomiye archaeology was that of Glueck who had conducted the first exhaustive survey of Jordan in 1932-1934. Relying on Biblical traditions, Glueck postulated an Adomiye Kingdom from the 13th Century B.C. on and an occupational gap from the end of Iron II to the Nabataean Period ^(6th-4th) Centuries B.C.

Adomiye pottery seems to have been distributed following the caravan trade-routes that stretched between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabia Peninsula. It is sometimes found side by side with Midianite pottery. Thus, it is widespread over large areas extending as far as Huraybeh (Didān), Qurayyah, and Ġazzah.

Adomiye pottery is dated to the 8th Century B.C., despite this factor some sherds of jars were found at the site of Timnā in Wādiy `Arabah. These types

are decorated with lines and dots dated to the Iron Age I.⁽²³⁹⁾ Hereafter, this date is unlikely because of the homogeneity with the corpus of pottery found in the Adomiye sites that would reflect a date of the 8th Century B.C. Meanwhile, Bennett's excavations at Umm al-Biyārah dated Adomiye pottery to the 7th Century B.C. Her work at Ṭawilān and Buşayrah revealed strong evidence for continued occupation into the Persian period.⁽²⁴⁰⁾

The archaeological evidence from surface surveys and excavations conducted in many parts of Adom shows that the date of the earliest settlement in Adom goes back to the end of the 9th Century B.C. At this time there is a significant concentration of settlements in Southern Jordan.⁽²⁴¹⁾ However, recent surveys in northern Adom have reported sites of Iron Age I date.⁽²⁴²⁾ Apparently the dating is based essentially on published parallels from Palestinian and Syrian sites, as mentioned elsewhere in the text. Thus we should be cautious about this early dating.⁽²⁴³⁾ Furthermore, there is clear archaeological evidence for Adomiye copper mining and smelting dating from the 8th Century B.C. on the Finan region. Therefore, it has been suggested that the Adomiyes began to exploit this area at the same time. Meanwhile, there is no evidence for Iron I copper smelting sites that could be associated with village settlement.

In Assyrian sources, Adom was first mentioned as an Assyrian tributary in the inscriptions of Adad-Nirāri III in 796 B.C., King of Assyria. It is possible that the Assyrians stimulated copper production and agriculture in Adom towards the end of the 9th Century B.C. This would have been a logical result of their interest in the area's major trade-routes and economic resources.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Furthermore, Bennett frequently noted that the earliest archaeological evidence for Adomiye settlement coincided with the campaigns of Assyrian King Tiglāt-Pilaşşar III.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

Concerning the relationship between the Adomiyes and the Nabataeans and the end of the Adomiye Kingdom, Bennett argued for a considerable continuity through the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods. Although that testifies the fact that archaeological support is scanty, since no identifiably Persian materials were found in the Wādiy al-Hasā survey,⁽²⁴⁶⁾ and the surface surveys found little evidence for direct continuity.⁽²⁴⁷⁾

The surface survey conducted by Hart in Adom, gives substantial supporting evidence in clarifying the situation during the Iron Age. It has long been realized that Glueck's identification of Adomiye pottery as being early Iron Age was incorrect. Furthermore, it is also shown that before the 7th Century B.C. there was little in the way of settlement on the plateau.

The excavations at Adomiye site of Grārah revealed some pottery vessels that are identical to what we have from the major Adomiye sites: Buşayrah,

Ṭawilān, Umm al-Biyārah and Tall al-Halifah. Some of these forms are common throughout Palestine and Jordan at the end of the Iron Age and is to be dated to the 7th-6th Centuries B.C.⁽²⁴⁸⁾

The close analogies between the Adomiye material culture and that of the Negev, would point to the same people who worked this culture in the Negev Desert in the 8th Century B.C. Meanwhile, we know from archaeological as well as the Assyrian written sources that Adom flourished in the 8th-7th Centuries B.C. Apparently during the 6th Century B.C. the Adomiyes were forced to extend their territories west of Wādiy `Arabah under Babylonian aggression, which brought about the end of Adomiye monarchy in the middle of the 6th Century B.C.

Bennett concluded that the region of Adom was not inhabited prior to the 9th Century B.C., a date has been accepted by all archaeologists working in Southern Jordan. But Finkelstein insists that Iron I sherds were found in Adomiye sites including Buṣayrah, Ṭawilān and Umm al-Biyārah and were wrongly dated to Iron II. ⁽²⁴⁹⁾ According to him, Iron I pottery appeared in the publications from 27-30 sites but was not identifiable as such. Thus Finkelstein is convinced that evidence for Iron I settlement in Adom is presented from north to south.⁽²⁵⁰⁾ Clearly, he based his opinion on the surface surveys conducted by Glueck, which show that during his archaeological survey of Adom, Glueck discovered scores of Iron I-II sites in Northern and Central Adom. Then after the Bronze Age came an occupational gap during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, while during the Iron Age I, it appeared a highly developed Adomiye civilization, which flourished between the 13th and 8th Centuries B.C. From the 8th Century B.C. until the emergence of the Nabataeans there was a second settlement gap in Adom. ⁽²⁵¹⁾ However, this hypothesis presented by Nelson Glueck is superseded by recent archaeological excavations and therefore, is to be considered out-dated now.

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(Endnotes)

1 VIII. ENDNOTES

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- 56- Bartlett 1972: p. 26.
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- 60- Bennett 1973: p. 1; Aharoni 1979: p. 183.
- 61- Redford, D. 1982. "Contact Between Egypt and Jordan in the New Kingdom: Some Comments on Sources", `Adnān Hadidi (ed.), in Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, Vol. I. `Ammān: Department of Antiquities, pp. 115-119, especially p. 119.
- 62- Bennett 1975: p. 16.
- 63- Bennett 1975: pp. 16-18.
- 64- Sauer 1986: p. 14.
- 65- I Kings 11: 14-22.
- 66- Bennett 1975: pp. 17-18; Bienkowski, p. 1990 a: p. 103.
- 67- Gen. 36: 31-39.
- 68- Weippert 1982: p. 155.
- 69- In the 19th and 18th Centuries B.C., we have the King Šamši Hadad, who ruled over the Kingdom of Āšūr, and his sons Yasmah Hadad and Išmi Dagan were ruling over the Cities of Māri and Carchamiš (respectively).
- 70- Numb. 20: 14-21; Deut. 2: 26-28.
- 71- Deut. 2: 1-8.
- 72- Van Zyl. A.H. 1960. The Moabites. A. Van Selms (ed.), Pretoria Oriental Series. Leiden: E.J. Brill, especially p. 8. Van Zyl states that: "... It seems as though Israel trekked through the land of Moab. Consequently it was assumed that the Moabites allowed them to cross through the north-eastern corner of their country). But this assumption is contrary to the tradition of Numbers, Judges and even Dt. 2:8, according to which the Israelites passed the land of Edom to the e. and thence they went due n. without entering the country of the Moabites".
- 73- See Bienkowski, P. 2000. "Transjordan and Asyria", L.E. Stager, J.A. Greene and M.D. Coogan (eds.), in The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond: Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer. Indiana: Winona Lake, Harvard Semitic Museum Publications, pp. 44-58, especially pp. 49-50. There is a good discussion of the King's Highway or the Royal Road, which passed through Transjordan and still known by that name. In the Old testament the King's Highway appears in a Transjordanian context prior to the Israelite conquest, and it has been suggested that the term has been borrowed from an Assyrian administrative terminology.
- 74- Numb. 20: 17-21; see also Dt. 2: 27-28.
- 75- Raikes, T. 1985. "The Character of the Wadi Araba", `Adnān Hadidi (ed.), in Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, Vol. 2. `Ammān: Department of Antiquity, pp. 95-101, especially, p. 100.
- 76- Numb. 20: 14-21.
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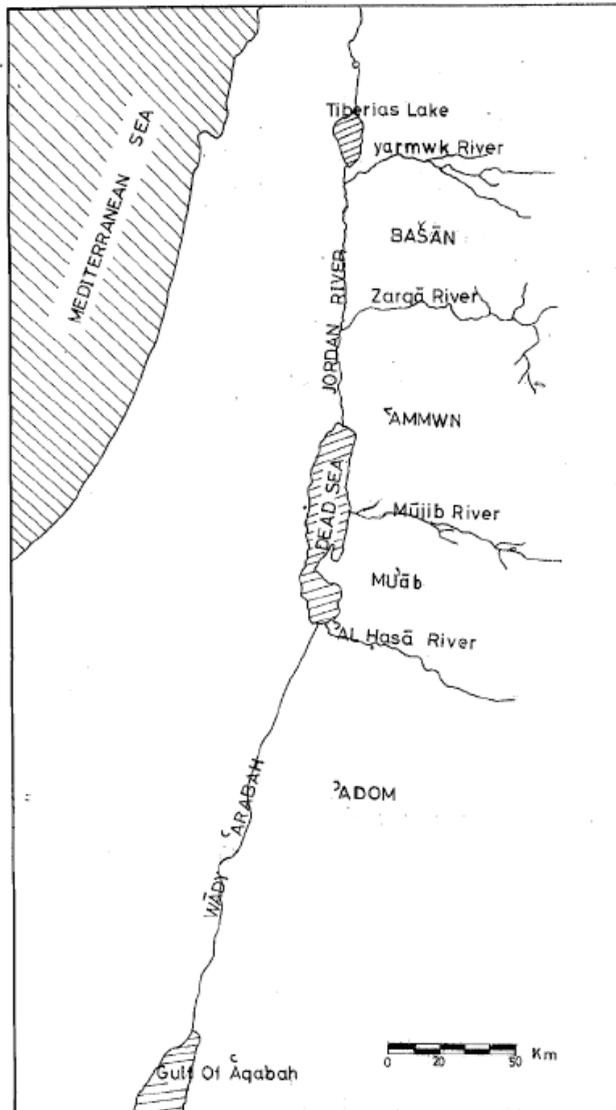
- 83- Knauf, E.A. and C.J. Lenzen, 1987. "Edomite Copper Industry", `Adnān Hadidi (ed.), in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, Vol. III. `Ammān: Department of Antiquities, pp. 83-88, especially, p. 86. Knauf and Lenzen point out that, in supporting the evidence of copper production in the Wādiy `Arabah, there are no material culture remains that that can be dated earlier than the 8th Century B.C., and thus could be identified as "Adomiye".
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- 88- Hart, S. 1986. "Some Preliminary Thoughts on Settlement in Southern Edom", *Levant* 18: pp. 51-58, especially p. 54. See also, Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 103.
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- 91- Lindner et al. 1996: p. 159.
- 92- Sauer 1982 a: p. 77.
- 93- The Assyrians under the King Šalmanašsar III, fought against the alliance of 12 kings under the leadership of King Hadad-Idri of Damascus in the battle of Qarqar (modern Qarqir, about 80 k.m. Northwest of Hamāh), in 853 B.C. Apparently, the reason behind this battle was economically to control the wood resources of Lebanon to build their establishments at home. See Pritchard 1969: pp. 278-79; Šmādi, Ṭ.A. 1997. "al-`Awāmīl al-Iqtīšādīyah half al-Sayṭarah al-Āšūriyah al-Hadīth fi Sūriyah wa Filasṭīn", *Manšūrāt Majallat Rayāt Mu'tah* (In Arabic), Vol 3 (No. 3): pp. 15-29, especially p. 19. See also Bienkowski, 2000: p. 45.
- 94- Pritchard 1969: pp. 278-79.
- 95- Weippert 1987: P. 97.
- 96- Bartlett 1972: p. 30; Weippert 1987: p. 98.
- 97- Weippert 1987: p. 99; Bennett 1983: p. 16. See also Van Zyl 1960: p. 149, Bienkowski 2000: p. 45, Table 1, p. 48.
- 98- Pritchard 1969: p. 287.
- 99- Pritchard 1969: p. 291; Van Zyl 1960: p. 151.
- 100- Nabūnā'id was in conflict with the priests of Babylon due to his elevation of the Moon-God Sin of Harrān. This conflict was over the principal God of the Babylonian Pantheon, Mardūh. Thus a possible desire to create a commercial empire in Arabia controlled through domination of the trade routes and need to build a new center from which to combat the growing power of Persia. See Pritchard 1969: pp. 562-63. See also Bawden, G. 1983. "Painted Pottery of Tayma and Problems of Cultural Chronology in Northwest Arabia", John F.A. Sawyer and David J.A. Clines (eds.), in *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, pp. 37-52, especially, p. 41.
- 101- Weippert 1987: p. 101.
- 102- Clark et al. 1994: p. 47.
- 103- Weippert 1987: p. 102; See also Bartlett 1990: p. 26.
- 104- Knauf and Lenzen 1987: p. 87.
- 105- Clark et al. 1994: p. 47.
- 106- Pritchard 1969: p. 281; Bennett, C.M. 1978. "Some Reflections on Neo-Assyrian influence in Transjordan", Roger Morray and Peter Parr (eds.), in *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*. England: Warminster Press, pp. 164-171, especially, p. 165. See also, Mitchell, T.C. 1982. "Israel and Judah from Jehu until the Period of Assyrian Domination", J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds.), in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol.III, part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 488-510, especially, p. 499.

- 107-Pritchard 1969: p. 282; Bennett 1978: p. 165.
108-Bartlett 1972: p. 33.
109-Van Zyl 1960: p. 151.
110-Pritchard 1969: p. 287. "...their heavy tamartu – presents to me and kissed my feet."
111-Pritchard 1969: p. 291; Bennett 1978: p. 165; Bennett, 1982. "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan", `Adnān Hadidi (ed.), in Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, Vol. 1. `Ammān: Department of Antiquities, pp. 181-187, especially p. 181.
112-Pritchard 1969: p. 294. The annals mention that Qaus-Gabir King of Adom, Mūšūri, King of Mu'ab and `Amminadbi, King of `Ammūn, "among others who brought heavy gifts (tamartu) to me and kissed my feet.
113-Pritchard 1969: p. 297; Bennett 1983: p. 16.
114-Lindsay 1976. "The Babylonian Kings and Edom, 605-550", Palestine Exploration Quarterly 108: pp. 23-39, especially p. 31.
115-Bartlett 1979: P. 60.
116-Bennett 1978: p. 169; 1982: p. 182.
117-Glueck 1937: p. 15.
118-Bennett 1978: p. 165.
119-Aharoni 1979: p. 405.
120-Lindsay 1976: p. 26; Van Zyl 1960: pp. 155-57.
121-Bennett 1973: p. 2.
122-Aharoni 1970: p. 24.
123-Aharoni 1970: p. 28.
124-Bennett 1973: p. 4; Aharoni 1979: p. 40.
125-Bartlett 1972: p. 37.
126-Lindsay, J. 1976: p. 38.
127-Parr, P. 1982. "Contact Between Northwestern Arabia and Jordan in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages", `Adnān Hadidi (ed.), in Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, Vol. I. `Ammān: Department of Antiquities, pp. 127-133, especially p. 132.
128-Parr, 1982: p. 132.
129-Parr 1982: p. 132.
130-Hart, S. 1987. "The Edom Survey Project 1984-1985: The Iron Age", `Adnān Hadidi (ed.), in Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, Vol. III. `Ammān: Department of Antiquities, pp. 287-290, especially, p. 287.
131-Hart, S. 1987: p. 287.
132-Hart 1987: p. 289.
133-Bartlett, 1990: pp. 25, 34. According to Bartlett, the continuity between the Adomyites and the Nabataeans can be demonstrated by two things: First, "The last Nabataean inscriptions reveal that they spoke a language akin to later Arabic they used the Aramaic script, inherited doubtless from the script used under the Persian administration". Secondly, "The divine name "Qaws" used by Adomyite Kings and their subjects in their onomasticon, remained in use and appears in Nabataean inscriptions".
134-Bartlett, 1990: p. 34.
135-Bienkowski, P. 1995. "Observations on Late Bronze-Iron Age Sites in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan", Levant 27: pp. 29-37, especially p. 29.
136-Bennett 1983: p. 9.
137-Bennett 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1983. "Excavations at Buseirah (Biblical Bozrah)", John F.A. Sawyer and David J.A. Clines (eds.), in Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, pp. 9-17.
138-Bennett 1977: p. 9; Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 102.
139-Glueck 1935: p. 83; Bennett 1973: p. 4; 1974: p. 19; 1975: p. 15; 1977: p. 9. See also, Bartlett, J. 1989. Edom and the Edomites. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, especially pp. 45-46.
140-Bennett 1974: p. 19; 1983: p. 16.
141-Bennett 1973: p. 4; 1978: p. 169.
142-Lindner et al. 1996: p. 160.

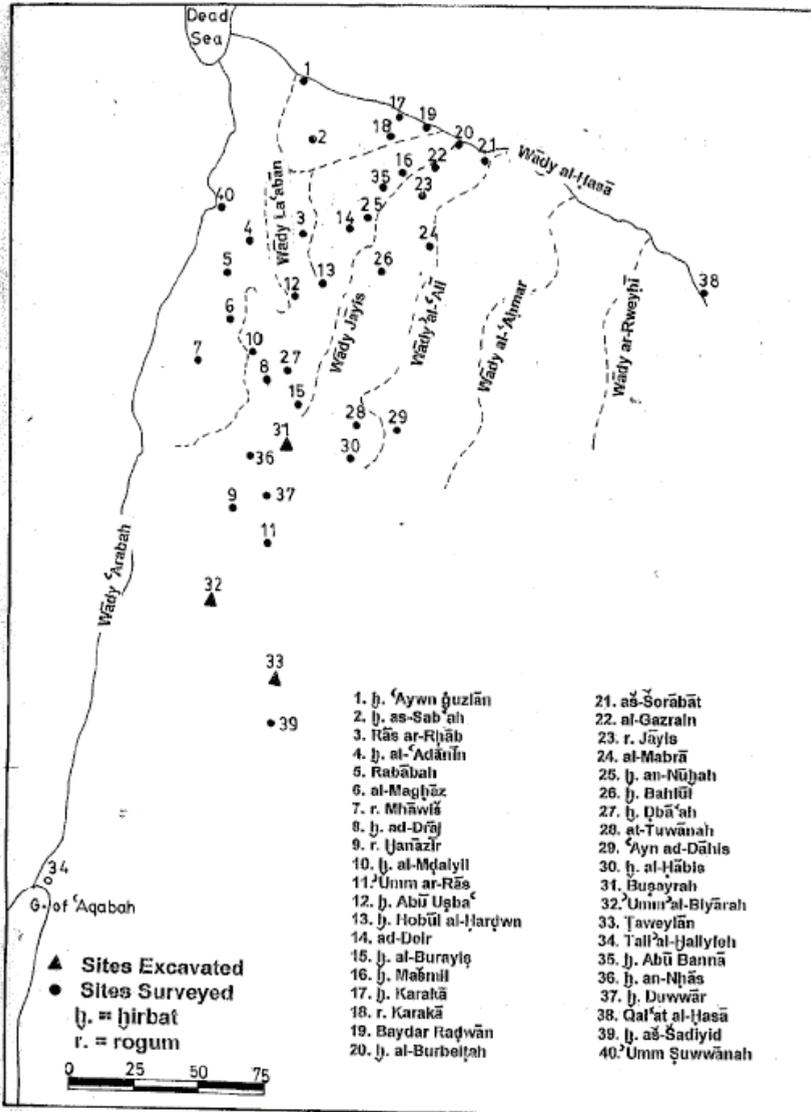
- 143-Bennett 1973: p. 4.
 144-Bennett 1975: p. 15; Parr 1982: p. 131.
 145-Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 102.
 146-Finkelstein 1992 a: p. 161.
 147-Finkelstein, I. 1992 b. "Stratigraphy, Pottery and Parallels: A Reply to Bienkowski", *Levant* 24: pp. 171-172, especially, p. 171.
 148-Bennett 1974: p. 13; 1982: p. 183.
 149-Bennett 1982: p. 187.
 150-Bennett 1978: p. 169; 1982: pp. 184-7.
 151-Sauer 1982 a: p. 82.
 152-Bennett 1974: p. 19; 1977: p. 10.
 153-Bennett 1974: pp. 13-18; 1975: p. 2; 1983: p. 13.
 154-Bennett, C.M. 1969. "Tawilan (Jordanie)", *Revue Biblique* 76: pp. 386-90; 1970. "Tawilan (Jordanie)", *Revue Biblique* 77: pp. 371-74; 1971. "A Brief Note on Excavations at Tawilan, Jordan 1968-1970", *Levant* 3: pp. iv-vii; 1984: pp. 1-24.
 155-Glueck 1935: pp. 82-83; See also Bienkowski, P. 1990 b. "The Chronology of Tawilan and the 'Dark Age' of Edom", *ARAM* 2 (1&2): pp. 35-44, especially, p. 37.
 156-Glueck, N. 1935: p. 83; 1940: pp. 2-18; Bienkowski, 1990 b: p. 37.
 157-Amos I: 12.
 158-Glueck 1935: p. 83; Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 97.
 159-Weippert 1982: p. 154; Bienkowski 1990 a: pp. 95-96.
 160-Bennett 1971: p. vii; 1984: p. 1; Weippert 1982: p. 154; Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 97.
 161-Bennett 1975: p. 15; 1984: p. 19.
 162-Bartlett 1972: pp. 32, 35.
 163-Bennett 1967-1968: p. 55.
 164-Bennett 1984: p. 19.
 165-Oakeshott, M.F. 1983. "The Edomite Pottery", John F.A. Sawyer and David J.A. Clines (eds.), in *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, pp. 53-63, especially, p. 53. See also Bienkowski 1990 b: p. 37.
 166-Bennett 1984: p. 19.
 167-Gen. 36: 31-39.
 168-Weippert 1982: p. 155.
 169-Weippert 1982: p. 155.
 170-Bennett 1984: p. 19.
 171-Bienkowski 1990 a: pp. 99-100.
 172-Bennett 1969: Pl. VI b; 1984: Pl. VI.
 173-Bennett 1971: Pl. VI.
 174-Bennett 1984: p. 4.
 175-Glueck, N. 1938 a: pp. 3-18; 1939 b: pp. 8-22; 1940: pp. 2-18; 1967. "Some Edomite Pottery from Tell el-Khaleifeh, Parts I & II", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 188: pp. 8-38; 1969. "Some Ezion-Geber: Elath Iron II Pottery", *Eretz – Israel* 9: pp. 51-59.
 176-Pratico 1985: p. 22; Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 100.
 177-Bennett 1971: pp. v-vii; 1984: pp. 2-4.
 178-Jeremiah 49: 17.
 179-Glueck 1935: p. 82.
 180-Bennett 1967. "A Cosmetic Palette from Umm el-Biyara", *Antiquity* 41 (163): pp. 197-201, especially, p. 197.
 181-Jeremiah 49: 13.
 182-Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 92.
 183-Bennett 1966: pp. 380-81; Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 92.
 184-Bennett, C.M. 1967: p. 197; 1967-1968: p. 53. See also, Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 91.
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- 188-Beinkowski, 1995: p. 29; See also Bienkowski, P., R. Adams, R.A. Philpott, and L. Sedman, 1997. "Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan: The Stratigraphy", *Levant* 29: pp. 41-70, especially, p. 41.
- 189-Bienkowski 1992: pp. 168-69. This is the case for the site of aš-Šūrābāt, for the pottery uncovered during the excavations in a stratified layers can be dated to the to the Iron Age II, which matches the date for the architectural remains.
- 190-Glueck, N. 1938 a: p. 7; 1938 b: pp. 3-4.
- 191-I Kings 9: 26-28.
- 192-May, H.G. 1984. *Oxford Bible Atlas*. 3rd Edition. Edited by Herbert G. May, G.N.S. Hunt, R.W. Hamilton and J. Day. New York: Oxford University Press, especially p. 66.
- 193-Glueck 1939 b: pp. 15-16.
- 194-Glueck, N. 1969: p. 51.
- 195-Yadin, Y. 1981. "Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer", *Israel Exploration Journal Reader* 1: pp. 132-138, especially p. 138.
- 196-Glueck 1940: p. 18.
- 197-Glueck 1940: p. 18.
- 198-II Chron. 26: 1- 2.
- 199-II Kings. 16: 6.
- 200-Glueck 1938 b: p. 11; 1940: p. 13.
- 201-Glueck 1940: p. 8.
- 202-Bartlett, 1979: p. 54.
- 203-Meshel, Z. 1976. "On the Problem of Tell el-Khaleifeh: Elath and Ezion-Geber", *Eretz – Israel* 12: p. 120.
- 204-Bartlett 1972: p. 31.
- 205-Bennett 1983: p. 16; Oakeshott 1983: p. 82.
- 206-MacDonald, B. and Scotia, N. 1983. "The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Sites of the Wadi el-Hasa Survey 1979", John F.A. Sawyer and David J.A. Clines (eds.), in *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, pp. 18-28, especially, p. 19.
- 207-Rothenberg and Glass 1983: pp. 84-85.
- 208-Parr 1982: p. 132; see also Rothenberg and Glass 1983: p. 85.
- 209-Dayton, J.E. 1972. "Midianite and Edomite Pottery", *Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 5. London: School of Oriental and African Studies and the Institute of Archaeology, pp. 25-37, especially, p. 26.
- 210-Glueck 1940: p. 10; Bennett 1982: p. 184.
- 211-Rothenberg, B. 1972. *Timna Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*. London: Thames and Hudson, p. 71.
- 212-Rothenberg and Glass, 1983: p. 86. They mention that the Timnā Midianite pottery is basically "foreign" to the region, the dating of the Midianite pottery of Timnā is based on well-dated Egyptian inscriptions, found in the same archaeological context as the Midianite pottery and not on typological comparison. See also Lindsay 1976: p. 23.
- 213-Dayton 1972: p. 26.
- 214-Glueck 1935: p. 83. See also Rothenberg and Glass 1983: pp. 83-84. Glueck noted especially the large number of decorated "Adomiye" sherds found in the survey of Ṭawilān. He dated these sherds to Iron Age I, but later he changed his minds, comparing the decoration from Ṭawilān, Timnā and Tall al-Halifah, he decided they all belong to to Iron Age II. However, because of the great similarity of the Adomiye decoration from Ṭawilān to these common in Palestine in the Late Bronze Age and in Iron Age I, Glueck concluded that some of the Ṭawilān pottery might belong to Iron Age I.
- 215-Dayton 1972: p. 25.
- 216-Amiran, R. 1969. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*. Jerusalem: Massada Press, p. 101.
- 217-Yassine 1984: Figs. 3,7.
- 218-Amiran 1969: p. 300.
- 219-Bennett 1982: Fig. 2; Oakeshott 1983: Fig. 2.

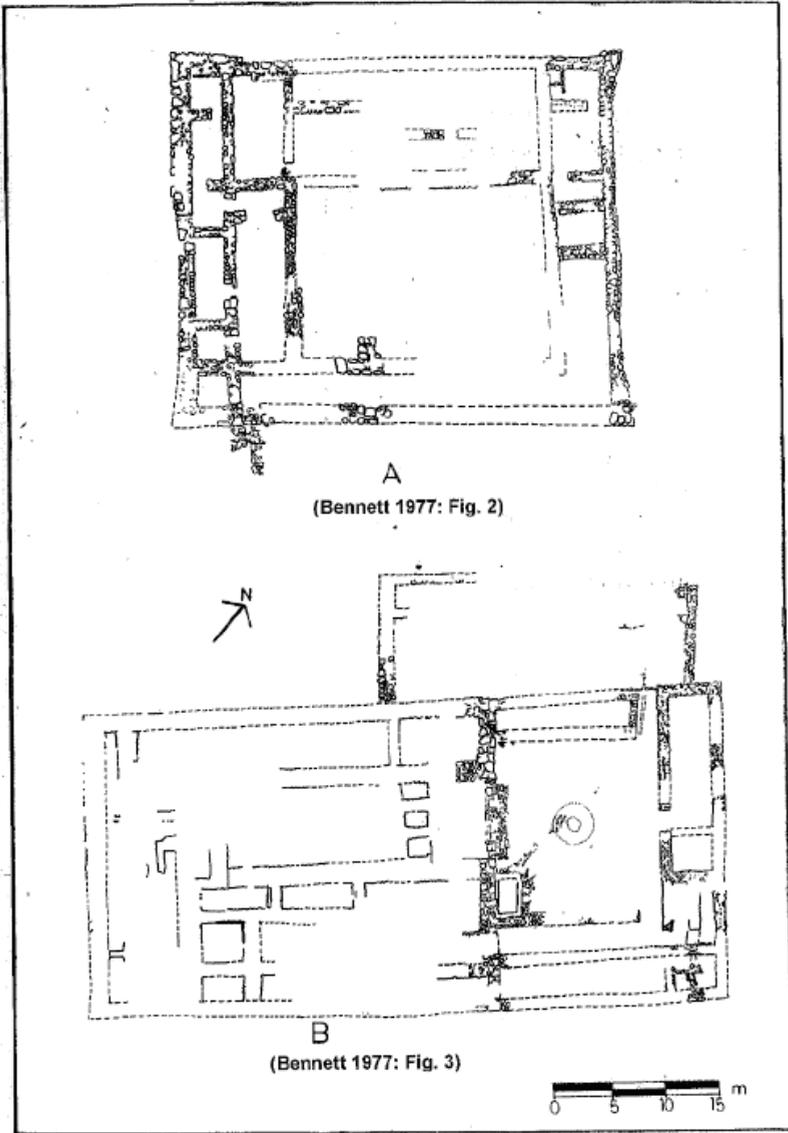
- 220-Amiran 1969: Pl. 101.
 221-James 1966: Fig. 69.
 222-Amiran 1969: Plate 101.
 223-Bennett 1982: Pl. 4.
 224-Dajani 1966: Pl. 5.
 225-Amiran 1969: Pl. 101.
 226-Amiran 1969: p. 300; Bennett 1978: p. 169; 1982: pp. 184-87.
 227-Amiran 1969: p. 306.
 228-Oakeshott 1983: p. 61.
 229-Oakeshott 1983: Fig. 3.
 230-Kenyon 1979: Fig. 66.
 231-Oakeshott 1983: p. 59.
 232-Glueck, N. 1967: Fig. 5.
 233-Rothenberg and Glass 1983: p. 87, Fig. 6: 8-9; Glueck 1967: Fig. 1.
 234-Parr 1982: p. 129; Rothenberg 1972: p. 71; Rothenberg and Glass 1983: p. 84.
 235-Glueck 1967: p. 24.
 236-Bennett 1974: p. 20.
 237-Yadin, Y. 1961. Hazor III-IV. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Fig. CCXVIII.
 238-Hart, S. 1988. 'Excavation s at Ghrareh, 1986: preliminary Report', Levant 20: pp. 89-99, especially, pp. 95-96, (Figure 7: 1, 4, 8, 11).
 239-Aharoni 1962: pp. 66-67.
 240-Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 103.
 241-Weippert 1982: p. 154.
 242-Weippert 1982: p. 156; MacDonald 1988: pp. 171-81.
 243-MacDonald 1988: pp. 291-92.
 244-Bennett 1982: pp. 181-82; Bienkowski 1990 a: p. 103.
 245-Bennett 1983: p. 16; Pritchard 1969: p. 282.
 246-MacDonald 1988: p. 291.
 247-Hart, S. 1987: p. 289; Bienkowski 1990 a: pp. 106-107.
 On the contrary, Bartlett found strong evidence for continuity from the Adomiytes to the Nabataean Periods.
 See Bartlett 1990: p. 25.
 248. Hart 1988: pp. 95-98.
 249. Finkelstein 1992 a: p. 159.
 250. Finkelstein 1992 a: p. 159.
 251. Glueck 1935: pp. 138-39; See also Finkelstein 1992 a: p. 159.



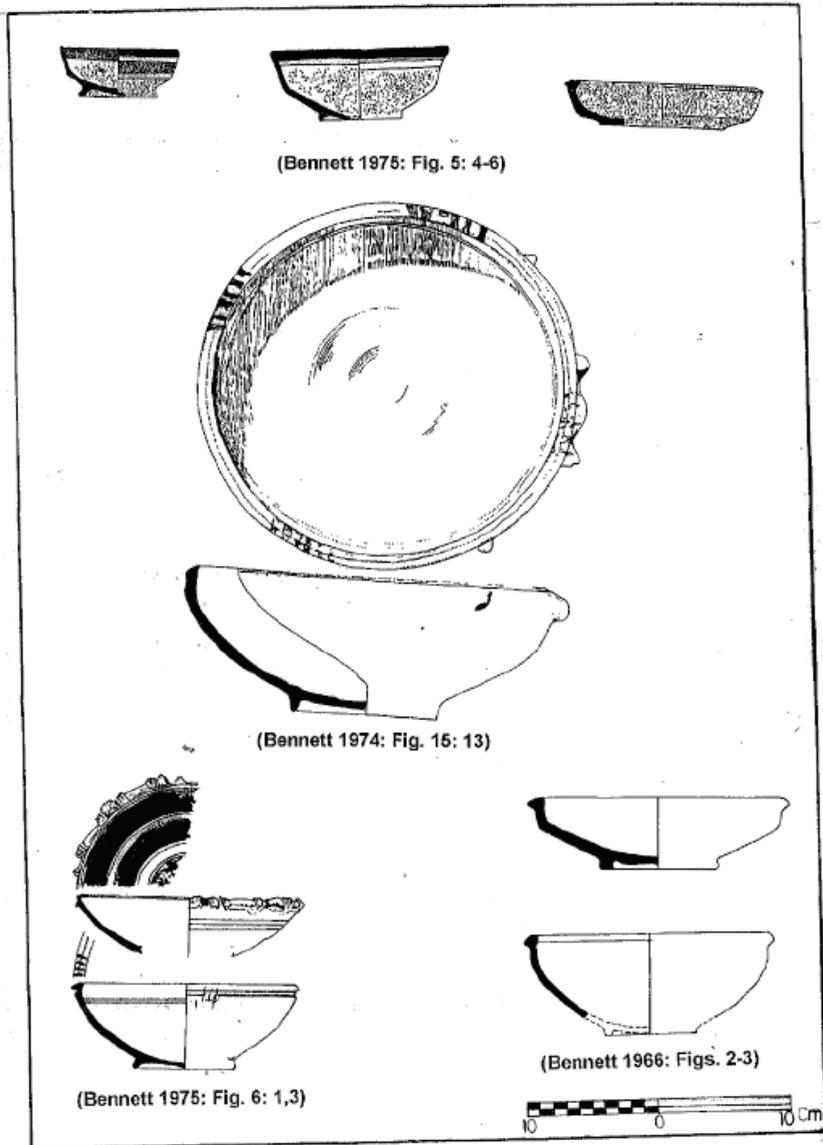
(Map:1) ʿAdom and the Surrounding Areas



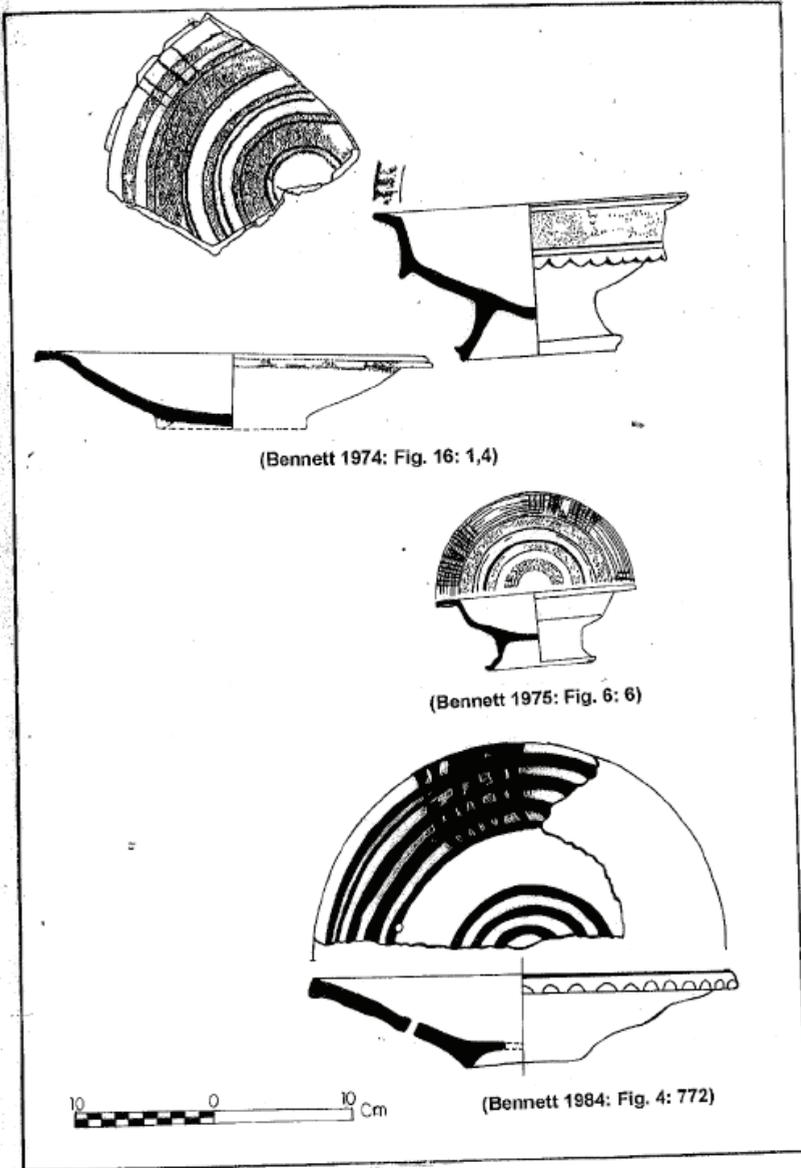
[Map: 2] Distribution of 'Adomiye Sites



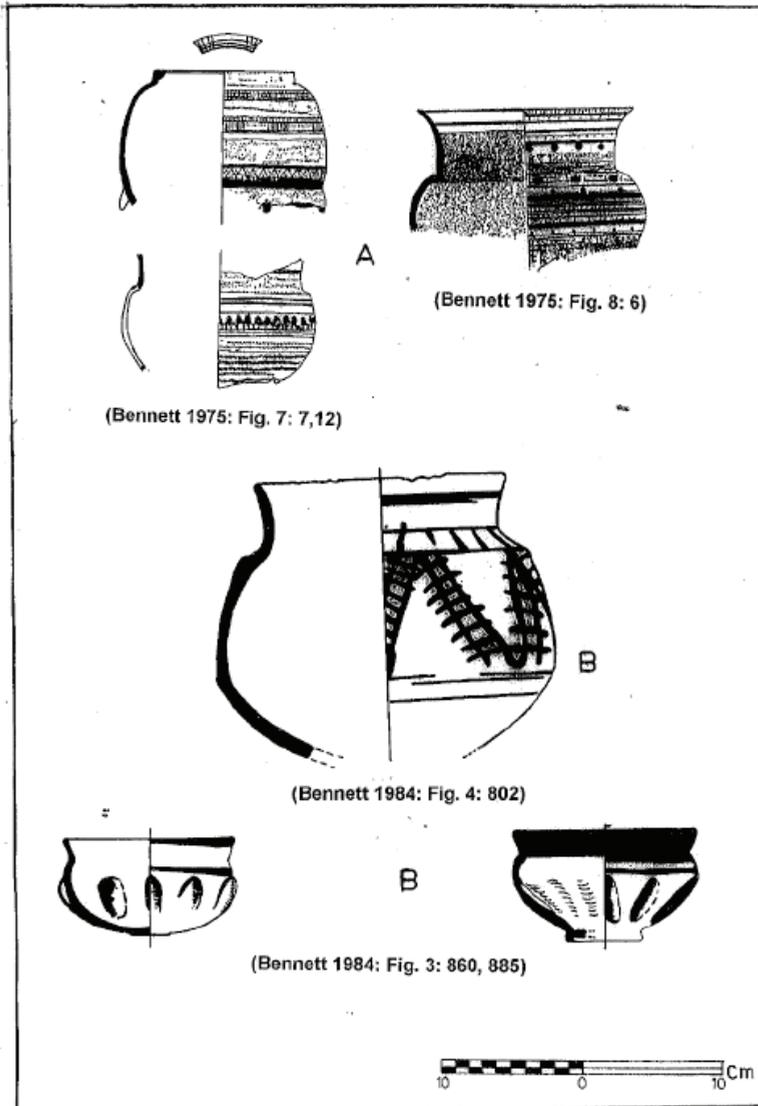
(Figure:2)



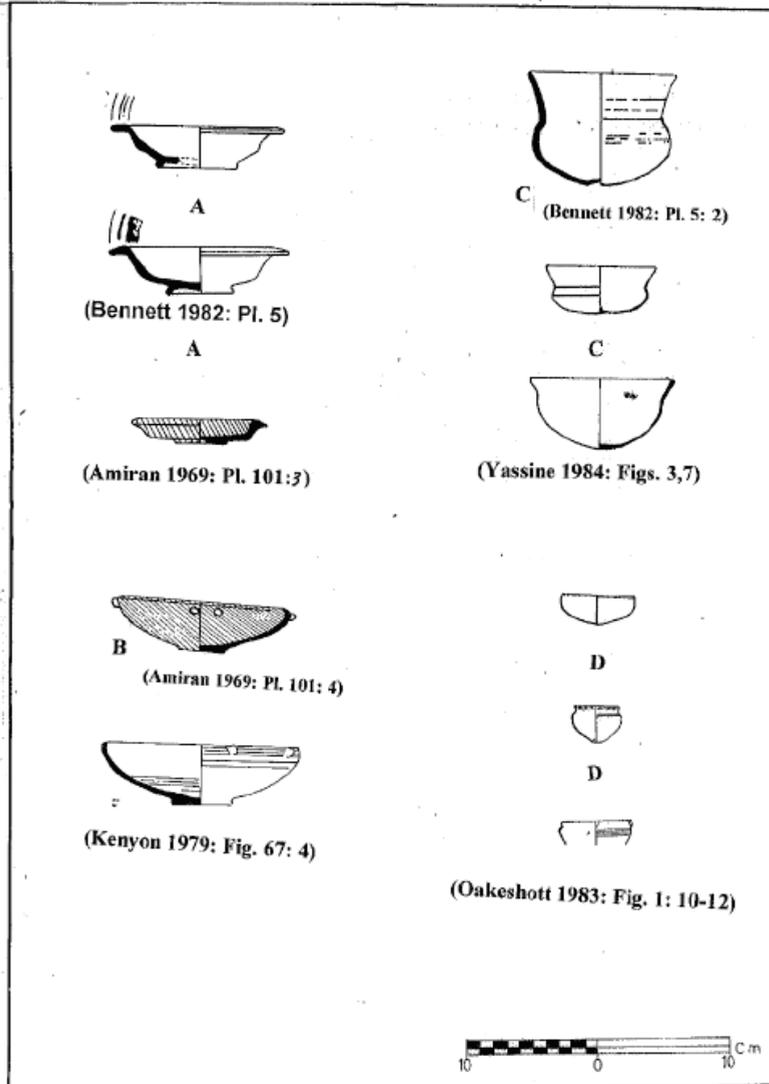
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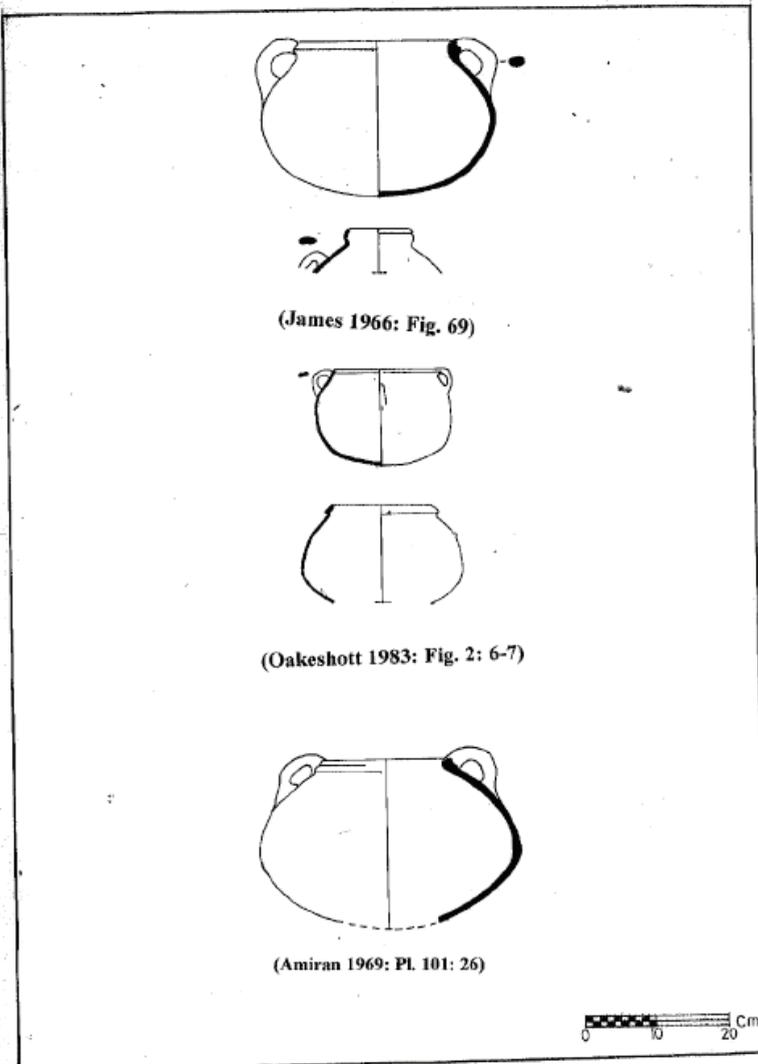
(Figure:4)



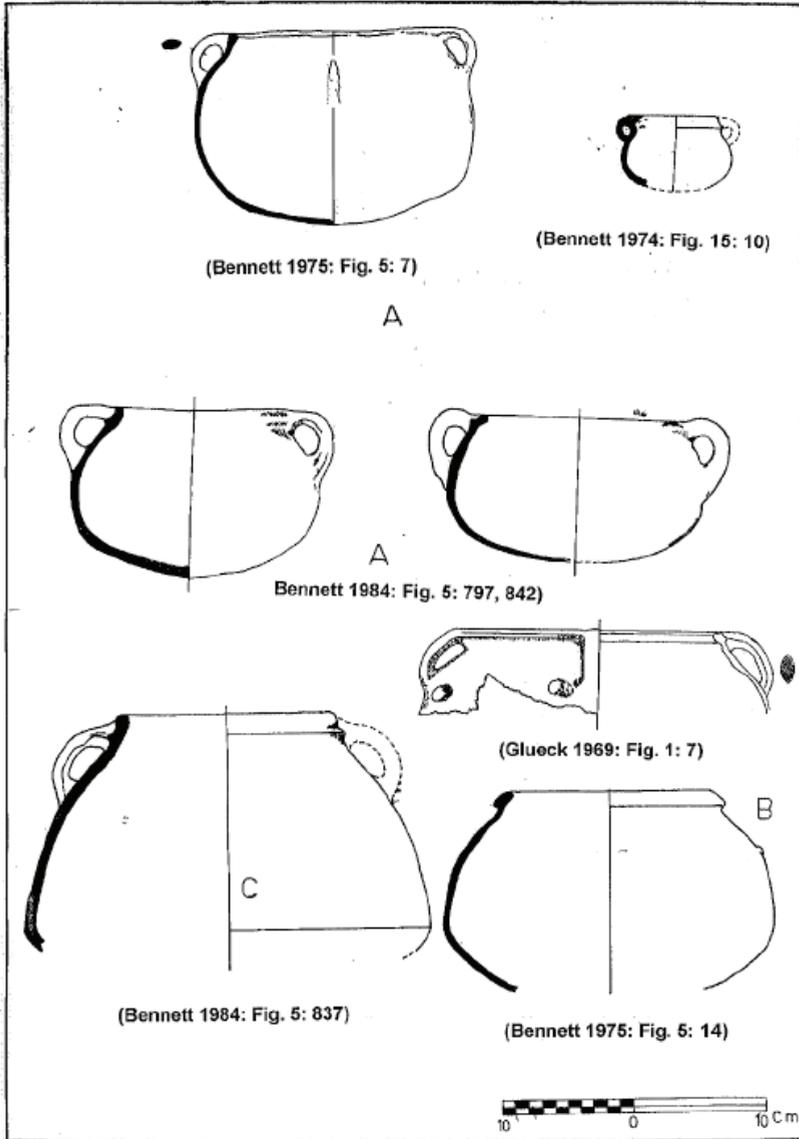
(Figure:5)



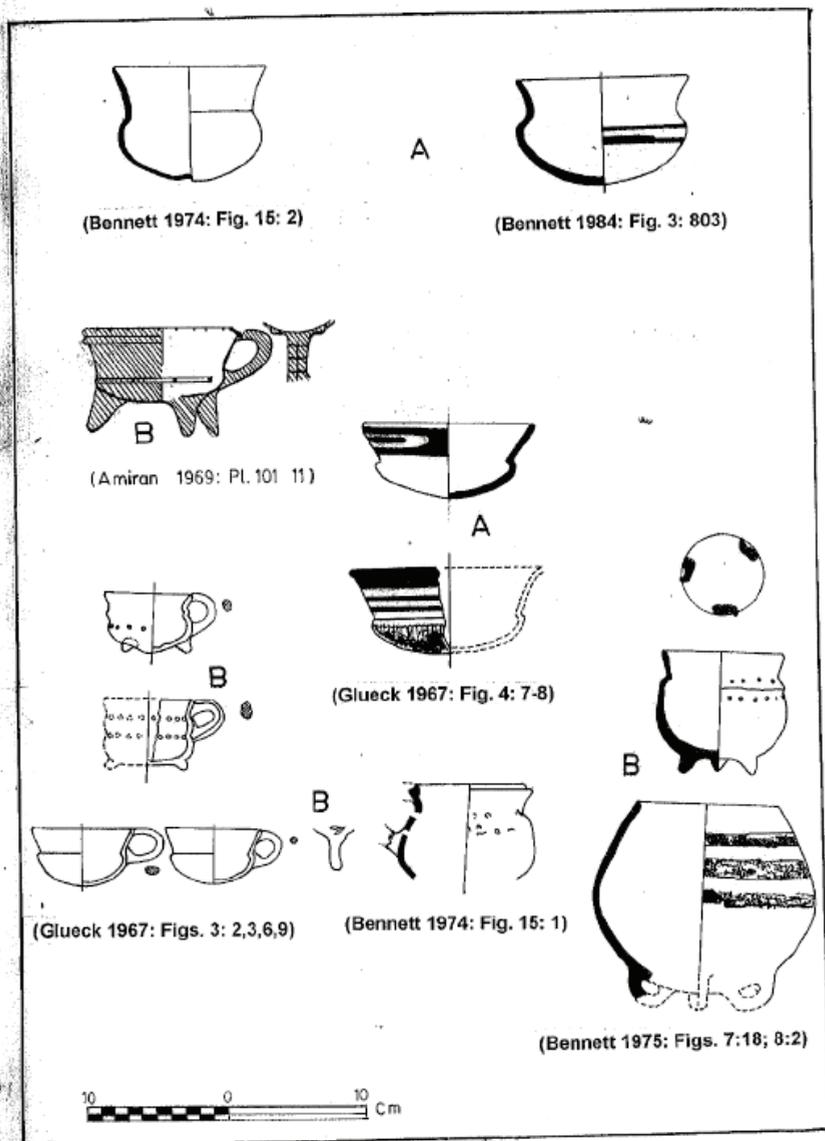
(Figure:6)



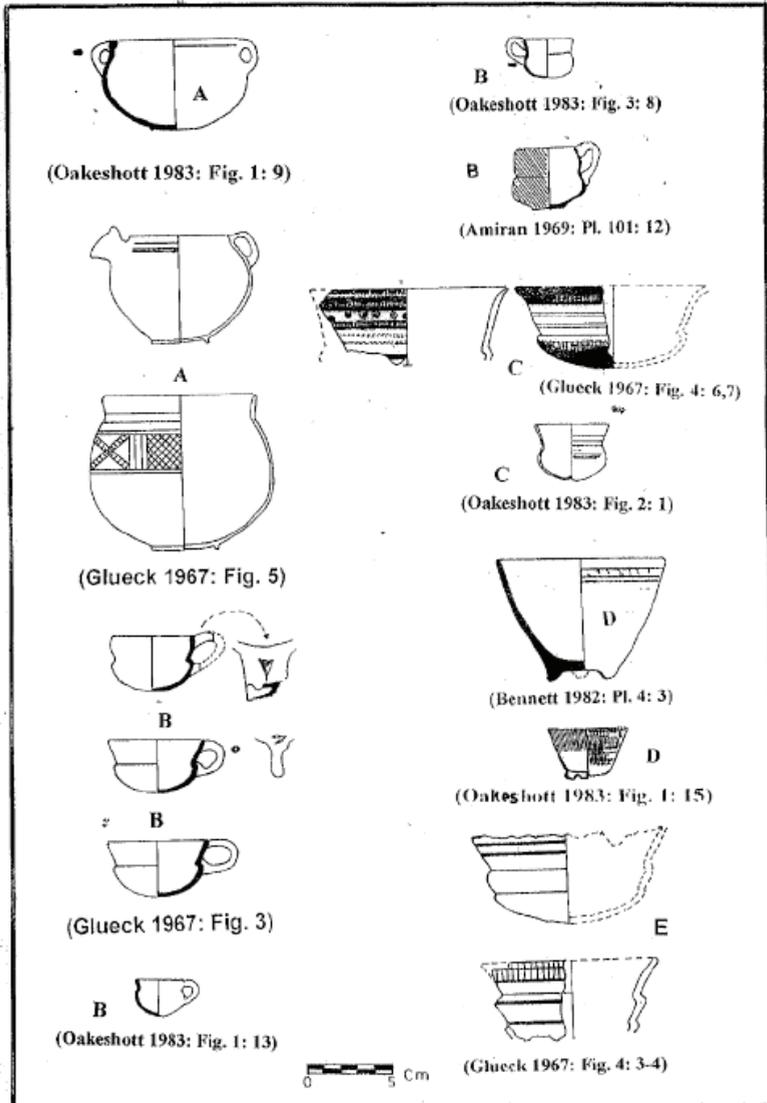
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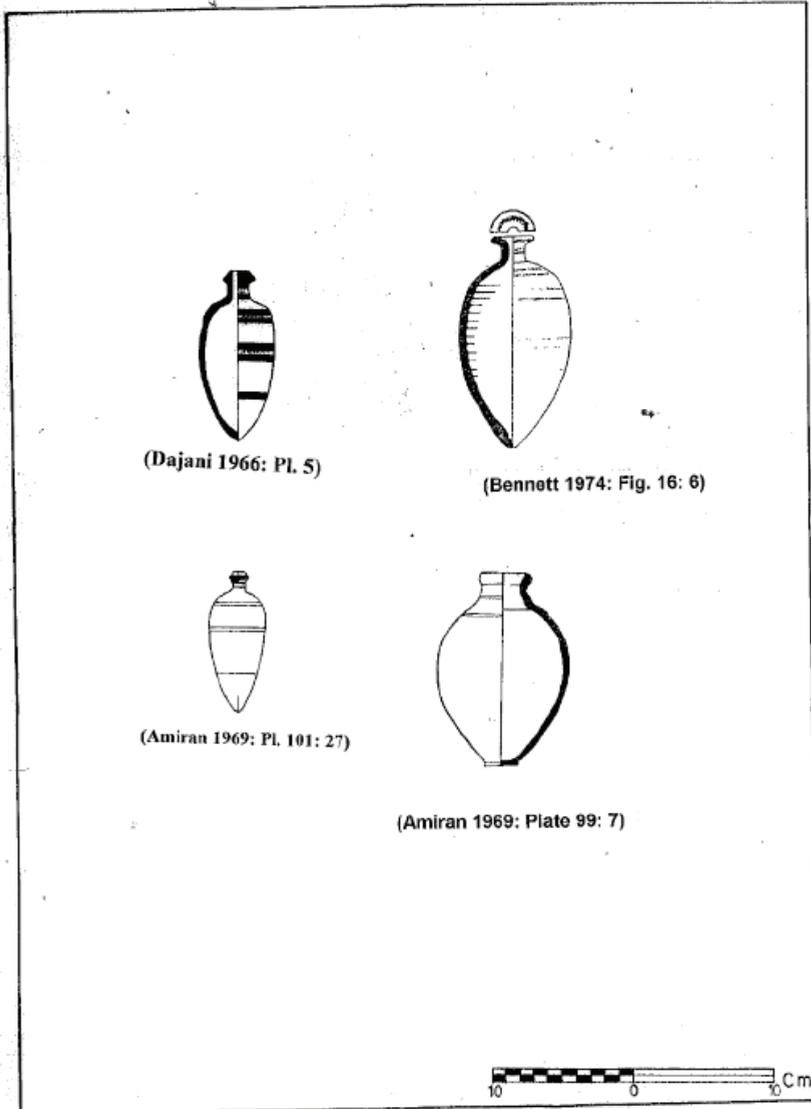
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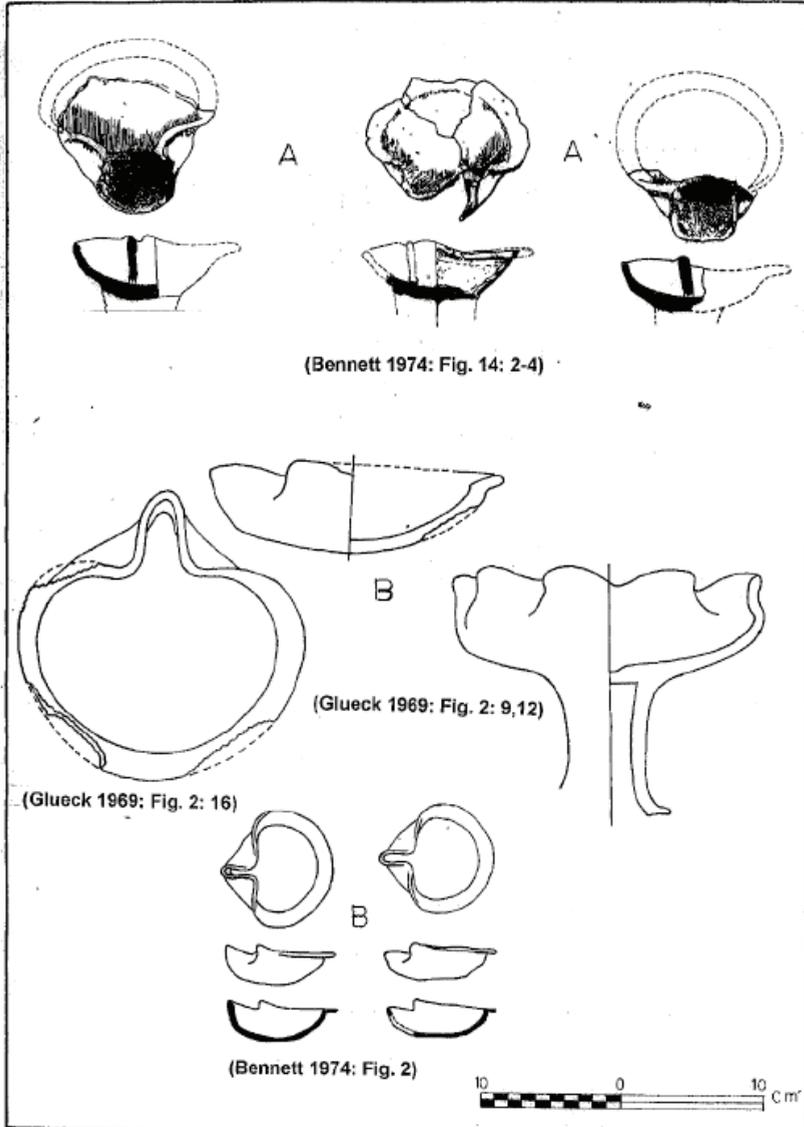
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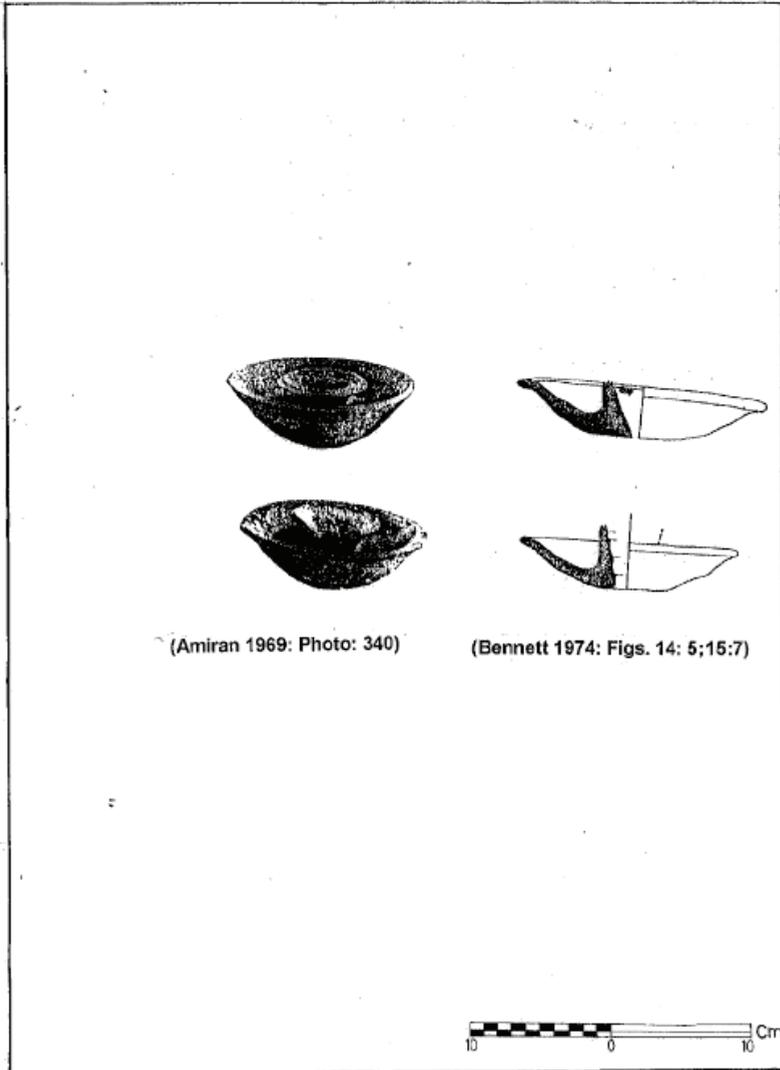
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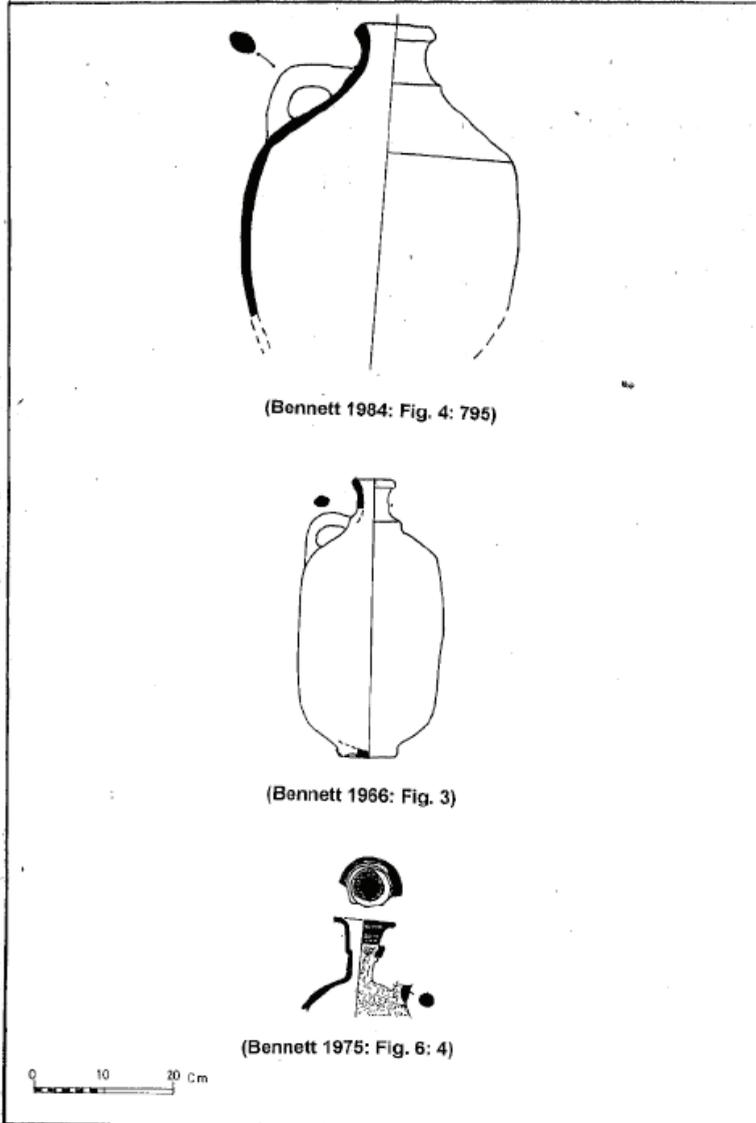
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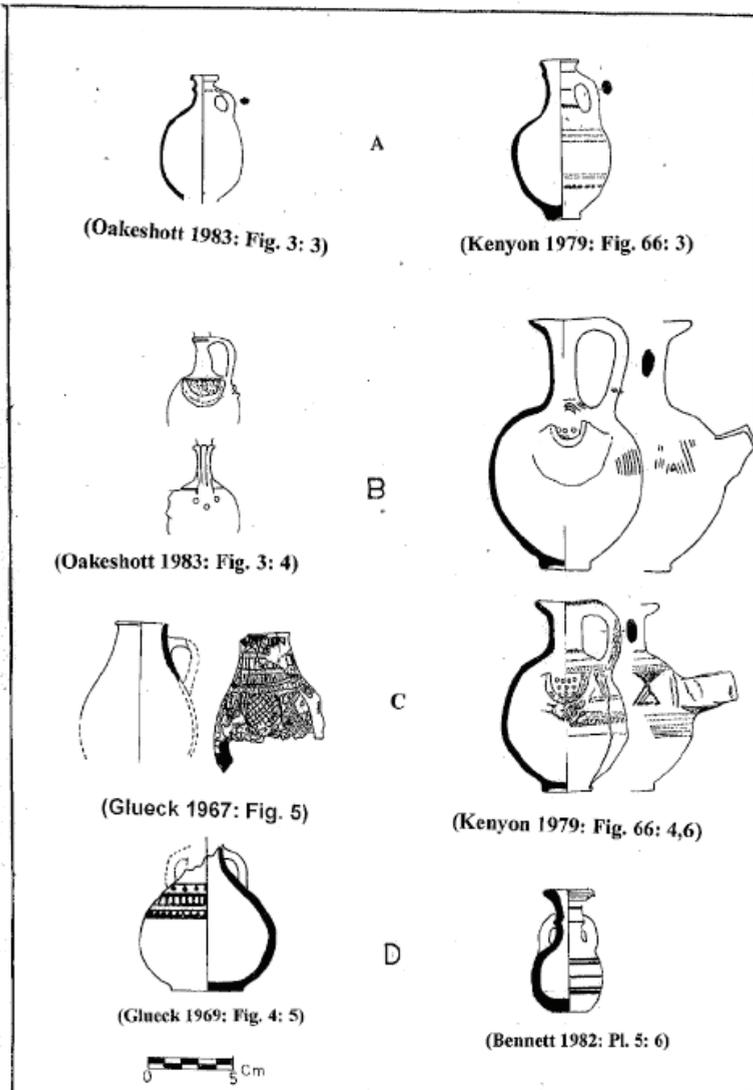
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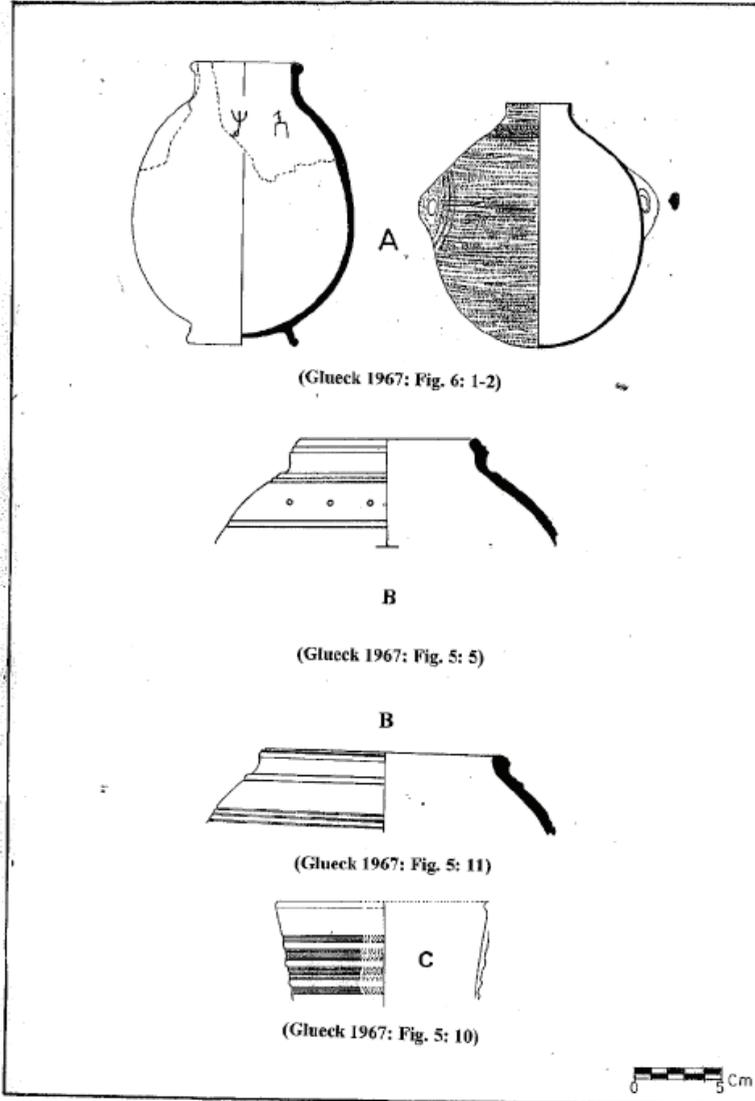
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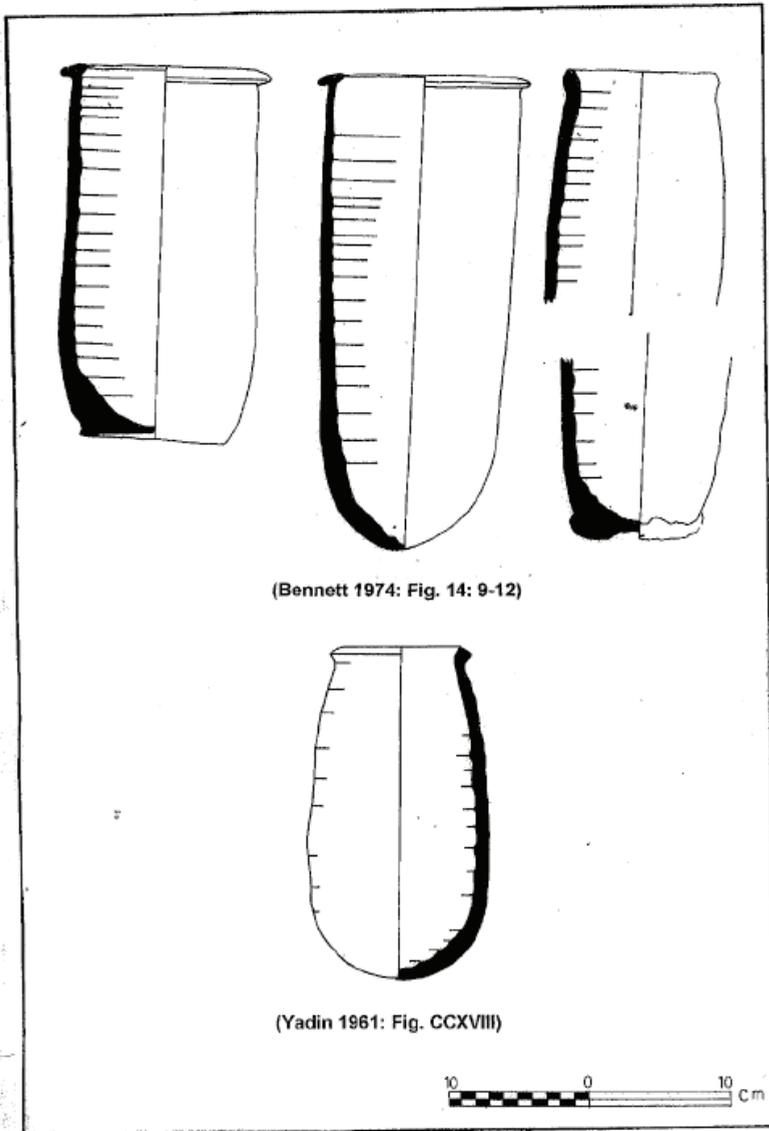
(Figure:14)



(Figure : 15)



(Figure:16)



(Figure:17)