ARCHAEOLOGY

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SUMMARY

Philadelphia (Amman) was part of the Roman Province of Arabia which was formed in A.D. 106 with Bostra as its capital. Evidence for a Christian community in Philadelphia appears at the beginning of the 4th century, but it comes through stories of martyrs such as that of six Christian friends who died during the persecution of Diocletian in A.D. 303. A certain Bishop Kyrios of Philadelphia attended the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325. There was an increase in settlements and prosperity during the 6th century due to Emperor Justinian’s encouragement of the development of trade routes crossing the province, the assurance of political security for the Christian Arab tribes, and the peace that was established with the Persians. This resulted in the spread of Christianity and the building of churches throughout Jordan, and it is in that context that a church adjacent to a cave was built at Darat al-Funun.

An inscription bearing the name of the Roman god Herakles found at the site has led to speculation as to whether an earlier monument, perhaps dedicated to that god, existed at or near this site. Byzantine churches were often built above Roman temples and at this site there are many Roman elements, including columns and inscriptions. The cave was probably in use before the church was built and probably had some religious significance since the plan of the church was dictated by the presence of the cave. Perhaps it held, or was thought to hold, the tomb of one of the ‘Amman martyrs or some other significant person.

An inscription mentioning St. George was also found at the site. The relationship between Herakles and St. George is relevant to our structure. Herakles, known for his strength, was one of the heroes of classical
mythology. St. George is, of course, known for slaying a dragon. F.-M. Abel (1908: 570) commented: “The metamorphosis of Hercules into St. George is easy since the two characters have physical strength as an attribute.” There is a further association between St. George and al-Khadr al-Akhdar, the legendary being of Islam. The common factor that al-Khadr shares with St. George is that they both appear as horsemen. There is some evidence that the cave was associated with al-Khadr well into the 20th century. This is a very special site, a place where, it seems, there was a continuity in cult spanning millennia—one cult taking the place of another, each embodying some of the features of the earlier one. The Christian church, perhaps dedicated to St. George and perhaps on or near the site of a shrine dedicated to Herakles, in turn, became a memorial of al-Khadr.

**THE EXCAVATION**

Under the sponsorship of the Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation and in cooperation with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, excavations at the site were conducted in 1993 under the direction of Pierre M. Bikai of the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR). The first phase of excavations was from July 5 to September 9, 1993. In this phase, the project concentrated on the church proper. In the second phase, from September 28 to November 2, 1993, areas to the west and south of the church were excavated. Subsequently, the pottery and other materials were processed and the documentation phase began. In 1994, the booklet, *The Byzantine Church at Davat al-Funun*, in English and Arabic, and a preliminary report were published (Bikai, Sha’er, and Fitzgerald 1994a, b).

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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Graf, Fawwaz al-Khraysheh, Erkki Sironen, Ludvig Koenen, Marie-Jeanne Roche, Shucri Sahuri, and Thomas Paradise. The restoration drawing is by Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos who also advised on the architecture in general. Traianos Gagos, Marjo Lehtinen, and Robert Caldwell were consulted on the Greek inscriptions. Nayef Goussous located an important reference on the coin. The pottery drawings are by Larissa Najjar, Ahmed Moman, and May Sha’er. The drawings of the marble furnishings are by Larissa Najjar. The photographs are by Suha Shoman, Sarkis Lapajian, Nadim Mohssen, Patricia M. Bikai, and Pierre M. Bikai; the plans are by Samir Shraideh, Qataiba al-Dasouki, and Patricia M. Bikai. The text was edited by Patricia M. Bikai with the assistance of Helen M. Cecil, Martha Joukowsky, and May Sha’er. All of their efforts are appreciated.

During the course of the excavation, the site was divided into eight areas. Within those areas, when appropriate, the locus system was used, thus there were designations for the finds as Locus 1.25, meaning Area 1, Locus 25. During the last part of the excavation, Latin locus numbers were used, thus the designation 7.V for Area 7, Locus V. For purposes of this presentation, if an area produced more than one of a type of find, they were designated as, for example, Locus 1-6L meaning Area 1, no specific locus, lamp number 6, or as Locus 7.V-5P meaning Area 7, Locus V, pottery sherd no. 5. The area designation “Locus 9” was used for finds and pottery that were recovered on the surface in the preliminary survey.

On the ground plan, only those loci that produced finds presented are marked. All of the original documentation is archived at ACOR. Under agreement with the Department of Antiquities, the finds are housed at Darat al-Funun.

The church itself had very little fill above the floor, only 15 to 45 cm. It was known that the site had been used as a garden since at least the 1930s. Hence the excavators expected the stratigraphy to be disrupted, and this proved to be correct. The field books are full of entries such as “… a cartridge shell and other modern rubbish were found.” Mixed in with that debris, however, were older elements. Only one sealed locus was found: the northernmost grave in Area 1 (Tomb 6) was still sealed with slabs. The only other cultural deposits were found in Area 7, particularly Locus V which was a dump; however, this was not sealed.

Pierre M. Bikai
THE SITE

The church is on Jbel al-Webdeh at the junction of Nimer ibn 'Adwan Street and Mallah Street (Fig. 1). It lies on a ridge of a steep slope overlooking two valleys, Wadi Saqra and Misdar al-Madhneh (Valley of the Minaret), west of Jbel al-Qal'a. The immediate area rises in two rounded platforms from the hill, the uppermost consisting of high calcareous rock penetrated by at least four caves and a large water cistern. Three of the caves have the remains of mosaic floors: the large cave north of the church, the cave north of the apse (unexcavated), and a cave under the house to the north of the church. The church itself lies on the flat platform of the lower terrace and in front of the largest cave.

PRIOR RESEARCH

The first to describe the church was Major C. R. Conder who visited in October 1881 and included it in his Survey of Eastern Palestine. Conder called it the Western Chapel (1889: 56; see Fig. 2), saying that it was built south of a cave and that, "The apse, the window in the south wall, and three pillars of the aisles remain, with four [columns] which belonged to a porch 10 feet wide in the clear." He also describes the remains of a cornice in the southern window and says that a drawing was made of a capital in rough Ionic style. He also reports that in the cave, "... on the west wall in a south-west angle is a rock-cut sarcophagus. There is another recess in this wall, and one also in the north wall." He continues: "The excavation is 18 feet across, and 20 feet to the back." It is not clear if he himself conducted the excavation, but if he did, he did not document his results beyond that brief description. Finally, he states that the cave was probably, "sacred as the tomb or cave-dwelling of some saint."
The site was visited in 1905 by the Dominican fathers M.-R. Savignac and F.-M. Abel (1908: 596-97) who noted an excavation in the cave, and stated that it was recently disturbed. They also saw parts of columns on the platform in front of the cave, as well as a pedestal which they report was found by Circassians digging for gold. On it (Fig. 3), the following Greek inscription could be read:

МАΡΣΑΝ ΔΙΟ
ΓΕΝΟΤΣ
ΜΝΑΣΙΑ Δ
ΗΜ ΑΝΑΡΟ
ΔΙ ΑΠ ΤΕΓΕΡΣΕ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕ
ΤΗΝΚΑΙ
ΗΒΟΤΑΙΗ
ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΙΜΗΣ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Gatier (1986: 52) reads this as: “The Council and the People honour Martas, son of Diogenes, gymnasiarach ... for life, constructor of the Heraklion, councilor and president, as proof of esteem.” The mention of a “Heraklion,” a sanctuary dedicated to the god Herakles, may be important in our understanding of the remains.

Savignac and Abel returned to the site in 1908 and recorded another dedicatory inscription that had been found in the area near the pedestal, again by the Circassian excavators; they had the inscription in their possession; this inscription is now lost. It was in Greek on a slab of white marble (Fig. 4). On it, two important names are mentioned, that of a “priest of St. George,” who built the church and a certain Polieuctus who was bishop of Philadelphia, ancient ’Amman (Abel 1908: 568-70). Abel’s translation reads: “By the willingness of God and the intention of the humble priest of St. George for the good health and long life of our sovereigns and thanks to his generosity, this temple was built under the Saint Bishop Polieuctus and for the good cure of Talassamachia ....” A question, first raised by J. T. Milik (1960: 167-69), was whether the priest mentioned here belongs to this church or to another church. If he was a priest of this church, then the structure was dedicated to St. George. On the same visit, Abel (1908: 570) reports that the excavators had
uncovered chancel screens, a capital with a cross on it, and two other fragmentary Byzantine inscriptions.

Lieutenant Colonel F. G. Peake (Peake Pasha) lived in the house adjoining the church from 1920 until 1939 while he created and commanded the Arab Legion (Jarvis 1943: 70). During Peak’s residence, the Byzantine church was used as a garden. A 1935 photograph of that garden (Fig. 6) shows column drums that do not appear in earlier surveys. It is possible that they were still buried until the garden was created and that a rough restoration was done at that time; this is indicated by the fact that one of the column drums (of column no. 7) was placed up-side-down on a base (Figs. 9 and 27).

B. Bagatti (1973: 274) visited the site in 1948, accompanied by G. Lankester Harding, who was then Director of Antiquities. He reported that the structure was still intact and published pictures taken that year, one of which shows some of the columns still in place, and the area as a garden with a Corinthian capital in the middle (Fig. 5). The elements at the site that are first mentioned by Bagatti are Roman horned altar, a piece of a cross inscribed in a circle, and a rosette near the entrance. Bagatti said that the altar confirmed the presence of a pagan cult at the site pre-
ceding its Christian use. Based on the paleography of the Christian inscription, which has small letters within the larger ones, and a small circle in the crossstroke of the letter N, Bagatti (1973: 276-77) concluded that the inscription with the name of St. George should be dated to the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century. On a second visit in 1973 Bagatti (1973: 276-77) saw a poorly preserved bas-relief with a victory.

S. Saller and B. Bagatti (1949: 225-26) mention the church in their general survey of Christian monuments in Jordan. A. Augustinovic (1972: 43) included it in his list of churches in the area dedicated to St. George or to St. Elijah; solely on the basis of the mention of Saint George in the inscription, he also included the structure among shrines in Jordan dedicated to the Islamic figure, al-Khadir. Two photographs of the site were published by A. Ramadan (1985: pl. 26); one of them is from 1984 and the other is the same as the one published by Jarvis (1943: facing p. 111). R. Khouri (1989: 10), in his guidebook to ‘Amman, says that it was originally a Roman temple, dedicated to Hercules, later converted to a Christian church. A. Norledge et al. (1992: 60) give a brief description of the church, calling it a “basilical chapel” that can be compared with the memorial church in Jerash. The church was mentioned by M. Piccirillo (1993: 262) as one dedicated to St. George, based on the inscription. Finally, C. Kanellopoulos (1994: 82-83) discussed the site and the Herakles inscription in relation to the Great Temple on Jebel al-Qal’a.

Preliminary Survey

Before the excavations began, observations were made concerning the state of the site. Three types of columns were found. There were two displaced columns of black granite. Of the large limestone columns, nos. 3 through 8 initially seemed to be in situ (Fig. 7). Conder’s plan (Fig. 2), however, indicates only the presence of columns 3, 4, and 5. Of column 2, only the pedestal remained in place. This was clearly a recent development, as a 1984 photograph (Ramadan 1985: pl. 26) shows a column drum seated on the pedestal. A few column drums lay scattered about the site. Smaller limestone columns, belonging to the narthex, were also found.

FIG. 7

Within the vicinity of the church, the block with the Herakles dedication stood next to a modern wall covering the northern third of the apse. The block with a rosette-patterned cross was found built into the south wall of the modern residence and what Bagatti had called a Winged Victory was located as well. Also found were the base of the church’s ambo as well as the two small columns supporting it. The horned altar was found in front of the residence north of the church. Finally, there were fragments of marble, apparently from the chancel furnishings, scattered on the surface.

The Church

The church consists of a rectangular hall laid out in an east/west direction with a semicircular apse to the east (Figs. 8-9). There is an entrance to the west which is not in the center of the western wall. West of the entrance is a narthex or porch. To the north is a cave and, to the south, a rectangular room that may have been part of a second entrance to the church.
Area 1: Outside of the west wall
Area 2: South aisle
Area 3: Nave
Area 4: North aisle
Area 5: Apse and center chancel
Area 6: South of the apse
Area 7: Southern approach
Area 8: The cave and the area in front of it
[Area] 9: Surface

- Mosaic
- Bedrock
- Unexcavated

FIG. 8
This structure is built in an unusual manner. Part of the northeast section and the whole of the northwest section, including the narthex, is cut into bedrock (Fig. 10). As the bedrock in the northeast area rises to 5 m above the floor of the church, this was a substantial undertaking. Although the bedrock would have originally sloped down towards the south and was obviously already open at the location of the cave, a great deal of rock had to be carved to level the platform that holds the church.

The main hall is divided into three parts by two rows of three columns standing on square bases (Fig. 11). The columns have an average diameter of ca. 66 cm and are 3.91 to 3.92 in height. The columns were set on square bases measuring 1 m on a side. The pedestal of column 5 has the letter π on its upper surface. The top of the in situ first drum of column 8 has a K on its upper surface. The columns may have been topped with Corinthian capitals.
reused from an earlier Roman monument, but this is not certain.

The church measures ca. 14.8 m by 12.5 m, while its central part (the nave) is about 6.8 m wide (to the center of the colonnades) and the two side aisles are just under 3 m wide. Normally in such churches the spacing between the columns is equal, but in this case it is not. The two columns in front of the cave are 6.8 m apart while the distance between the columns to the west is 4 m.

The chancel, which is about 3.4 m in depth, is divided into three sections. The semicircular apse has a diameter of about 5.8 m (Fig. 12). The nave sits 20 cm below the chancel area, while the chancel is about 10 cm below the apse area. The apse and the central part of the chancel were paved with *opus sectile*, one pattern in the apse and another in the chancel. The side areas of the chancel have the remains of mosaic floors. At the western end of the southern part of the apse was a slightly displaced hexagonal column base measuring 0.43 by 0.79 cm (Fig. 13). The black granite columns are an exact fit to this base. Two of those columns were found and both are 1.8 m in height. They may have functioned as part of the support for the eastern termination of the colonnade, but it is not certain that this is their original location. On the northern side of the displaced column base there is what appears to be a slot for a chancel screen. As a screen across the apse is unlikely, perhaps it and its supposed partner to the north supported decorations. At the western end of the colonnade were pilasters. Only the northern pilaster base is preserved (Fig. 14).
A chancel screen was originally attached to columns 3 and 4. Slots for the screen were found on the north and south sides of column 4 (Fig. 15), but column 3 has a slot for the screen on the south side only. At a height of ca. 2.5 m, columns 3 and 4 also have small square slots on the south and north sides (Fig. 16), respectively, indicating that a wooden pole, perhaps supporting hanging curtains or lamps, was between columns 3 and 4. Three bases for the chancel screen were found in situ, and another one was found built into a modern wall to the south of the site.

South of the apse is a room which was probably a sacristy. It measures 3 m by 3.3 m and had a mosaic floor. North of the apse, and at about 4.3 m east of the chancel screen, there is a plastered surface which seems to be covering the wall of another cave. This was left unexcavated due to the presence of a modern terrace and staircase. In Fig. 9, the northeast corner is restored to match the southeast corner but there is no evidence that the two were identical.

The maximum diameter of the cave to the north is 8 m east/west and 8.7 m north/south (Fig. 18). There are four niches in the cave walls, one in the east (Niche D: in the east wall, 0.84 m wide and 0.98 m above the floor; Fig. 18); another in the north wall (Niche C: 0.61 m wide and 1.24 m above the floor; Fig. 18); and two niches in the west wall (Niche A: 1.86 m wide and 0.40 to 0.44 m above the floor; and Niche B: 1.11 m wide and 0.43 m above the floor; Fig. 17). Niche A, the largest of the four, has two parts: below is what appears to be the remains of a sarcophagus, i.e., parts of two sides of the upper rim of a sarcophagus cut into bedrock and finished with plaster: 1.35 m above the floor is a niche, 0.5 m wide, 0.6 m high.

About 2.2 m into the cave, there are two steps descending to the innermost part of the cave (Fig. 20). West of the steps, a grave was cut through the mosaic (Tomb 10). Against the eastern wall of the cave, there is a structure built of large and well-cut rectangular pink limestone blocks (Fig. 19). The structure measures about 2 m by 4 m (walls included). The western face of this feature is aligned with the columns 3 and 4 in the church proper. Thus this feature is probably a device to create a single line across the front of the church. It also appears that the bedrock of the west wall of the cave was cut back to bring it into alignment with the rest of the building (Figs. 9 and 21). In front of the cave there is a mosaic floor. In the
eastern part of the mosaic, a rectangular outline, devoid of any tesserae, could be traced (Fig. 11). That gap probably marks the position of the pulpit (Fig. 22). The rectangular room on the south side of the church measures about 3.7 m by 6 m and had a mosaic floor. Only a small section of this richly-colored pavement was found in the northeast corner of the room.

Among the finds were pieces of baked brick tiles (Fig. 23), indicating that they were the material used for covering the roof. Furthermore, some small fragments of plaster with a reddish color were found, which indicates that some of the walls were plastered and painted. In the southeastern part of the church was a channel, approximately 20 cm wide, carved into bedrock. In one small area, its top was still sealed with plaster. Whether the channel led to a cistern was not determined.

Two steps lead up from the church to the narthex which is about 13 m wide and 2.8 m in depth and has colonnade to the west (Figs. 24, 26). Three of the four column bases and part of the stylobate are in place. The columns themselves are ca. 48 cm in diameter. Again, there are remnants of a mosaic floor in the narthex area. The narthex itself, as well as the door to the church, are shifted from the center to the south to accommodate the construction to the bedrock which rises to a height of ca. 1.75 m on the northern side of the narthex and angles toward the southwest in that area. The bedrock rises toward the east and reaches more than 4 m in height above the cave (Fig. 27).
At first glance, the church appears to be of the basilica type with the standard division into a nave, two aisles, and an apse to the east. On closer examination, however, we see more than a basilica, since a cross shape is given to the structure by the alignment of the cave, the southern room, and the wide spaces between the columns in front of the cave (Fig. 25). The intercolumnar spacing between columns 3 and 5, as well as 4 and 6, was determined by width of the cave. In order to have the transept as a uniformly-shaped rectangle, the structure in the east part of the cave was built and the bedrock in the west part of the cave was shaped so that the church would be more or less symmetrical. This north/south axis creates an emphasis on the northern part of the structure, an emphasis which is further enhanced by the presence of the ambo or pulpit as well as the baptismal font in the northern aisle. However, this is not a truly cruciform-shaped church which emphasizes the center, rendering it of the centralized type. Such a church was described by Gregory of Nyssa (4th century A.D.) in a letter to Amphilochius (Schaffé and Wace 1988: 540) that discusses the construction of the Church of the Martyrs; he says: “The form of the chapel is a cross, which has its figure completed throughout, as you would expect, by four structures. The junctions of the buildings intercept one another, as we see everywhere in the cruciform pattern. But within the cross there lies a circle, divided by eight angles (I call it the octagonal figure in view of its circumference) … .” That type of plan is also known from the pilgrim Arculf’s description and plan of the Church of Jacob’s Well near Shechem-Neapolis (Tsfarir 1993: 6). In Jordan, the remains of one church, apparently built in the shape of a cross, exist in the city of Jerash, i.e., the Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs (Crowfoot 1931: 30-33). That church has the intersection of two sets of two rows of columns, one running east/west and the other north/south. The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo
originally had a tri-apsidal shape at its eastern end (Saller 1941), creating a cross shape within a square, as is usual in cruciform church plans. A cruciform-shaped church with a semi-circular apse at its eastern end and a centrally placed dome can be found at Ezraa in the Hauran area. It is the Church of St. Elie, renamed as the Church of St. George by the local population, and constructed in the year A.D. 515 (Lassus 1931: 13-48). Thus, it is usual in a cruciform-shaped church to have a central space where the two arms of the cross meet, so that the central space is most emphasized in the plan, but this is not the case of the church at Jebel al-Webedeh. Here, the whole transverse axis terminating in the cave is stressed. Thus we have a church with its focal point being the cave to the north, creating a mixture between the basilica type and the cruciform type. Another church built next to a cave, rather than on top of it, is the Church of al-Khadr in Jifna (Augustinovic 1972: 17-18). It has a cave to the north, a rectangular hall, and a chancel with a semi-circular apse at the eastern end. The entrance of the church is to the south.

The square central area in the center of the church suggests the existence of a dome. Architect C. Kanellopoulos (personal communication) points out that the first circular central dome was incorporated into Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in A.D. 532-37, when the problem of placing a circular dome on top of a square base was solved by the creation of the pendentive. In this church, we have a large central area that would not have received a great deal of light without a dome of some type. Kanellopoulos proposes that if this area was domed, it may be that a square wooden dome was used.

When the church was being planned, the builders laid out an east/west basilica, but they also created a north/south axis by making the intercolumnar distance in front of the cave match the width of the cave. In order to have the transept as a uniformly shaped rectangle, a small structure inside the cave was built to the east and the bedrock was shaped to the west, so that the building would be more or less symmetrical. There is an entrance and narthex to the west, but there was also a porch and another entrance to the church to the south.

**Baptismal Font**

In the western part of the northern aisle there is a baptismal font (Fig. 27). The location of this font is unique as fonts are normally located in separate spaces, in apsidal spaces, or towards the ends of rooms (Ben-Pechat 1989: 170). The font is cut into the floor; its exterior measures 1.5 m by 0.8 m. The interior is ca. 1 m by 0.5 m, and it is ca. 0.65 m deep, a depth consistent with the average depth of baptismal fonts, which is just under 1 m. It is oriented north to south. Some patches of double waterproof plastering are still in evidence. A molded edge rimmed the font; this sealed the floor mosaics and finished the edge. A fragment of floor mosaic is preserved east of the font.

A similar oval font is found in a church in Kursi (Ben-Pechat 1990: 502) dated to A.D. 585 by an inscription in the mosaic floor. Ben-Pechat (1989: 165-88) documents other oval fonts, but those have attached steps. No other examples were found in which the font is located in the western part of one of the aisles. Its placement, however, allowed the initiate to enter from the west and move within the church in the peripheral sight of the gathered assembly. The depth of the font allowed for submersion, sometimes called “full immersion,” or the pouring of water over the candidate. The initiate could be easily assisted out of the font on the eastern side, then anointed, clothed and led into full view of the assembly for the concluding rites. Within the diversity of architectural forms for baptismal fonts, this font is simple, but it provides for the liturgical ritual of Christian initiation.
**Opus Sectile**

The church's nave, part of the chancel, and apse were paved with marble. Of this pavement, only two small sections remain, one in the northern part of the central bay of the chancel (Figs. 28-29) and another in the northern part of the apse (Figs. 29-30). The pavement of the apse consists of large red squares, smaller white squares, and yellow triangles. The section in the chancel consists of yellow triangles and white and gray marble. Since yellow triangles were used in both parts, they may be part of a single overall pattern. Scattered fragments of displaced pavement were found in the excavation (Fig. 31).
Mosaics

The rest of the church, including the narthex, was paved with mosaics of which only fragments now remain. The mosaics were set in mortar above a layer of cobbles (Fig. 32). Most of the mosaics were made of large tesserae, mainly in white, but with some red, yellow, and blue. No patterns could be seen in the mosaic of the sacristy (Area 6), but those in the northern chancel (Fig. 33) and the north aisle, adjacent to the baptismal font (Fig. 34) include a cross and scattered flowers in red, blue, and yellow. The flowers themselves are either cross-shaped, laid out within the grid of the square tesserae, or are in the shape of a triangle.

The mosaic south of the cave is made of large white tesserae but includes a cross in the northwest corner comprised of tesserae smaller than those of the background (Figs. 21 and 35). That cross may mark a tomb. This mosaic is different from the mosaic near the baptismal font which may indicate that it is a re-paving; i.e., it is possible that the whole northern aisle, including the area in front of the cave, once had a mosaic similar to the one near the font. Damage caused by simple wear due to traffic in front of and in the cave could have necessitated a re-paving.
FURNISHINGS

Several marble pieces were found that most probably originally came from the chancel area (Figs. 39-40). There are fragments from the chancel posts and others from chancel screens. Abel (1908: 570) reported that chancel screens had been uncovered in the excavations.

1. Locus 8-1S: Chancel screen fragment with leaf.
2. Locus 8-2S: Chancel screen fragment with leaf.
3. Locus 8-3S: Chancel screen fragment with leaf.
4. Locus 8-4S: Chancel screen fragment with leaves.
5. Locus 1-1S: Chancel screen fragment.
7. Locus 8-5S: Chancel screen fragment with vine motif.
8. Locus 7-VIII-1S: Inscribed fragment of a marble altar table; on the inscription, see inscription no. 8, *infra*.
10. Locus 8-7S: Chancel screen fragment.
11. Locus 5-1S: Chancel screen fragment.
12. Locus 8-9S: Fragment of the top of a chancel post.
13. Locus 1-2S: Fragment of a small column.
14. Locus 8-10S: Chancel post fragment.
15. Locus 9-1S: Chancel screen fragment with part of the stem of a leaf.
16. Locus 2-1S: Part of a reliquary cover. A reliquary with a similar lid was found in the East Church at Pella (McNicol *et al.* 1992: pls. 106-107a).
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

1. The large limestone stone altar is 1.2 m high; its maximum width is 0.72 m; the round top has a diameter of 0.6 m (Fig. 41). It has four horns and four baetys between the horns. It was found on the upper level of the site, in front of the house. The first report that this piece was at the site is by Bagatti (1973: 276) who saw it in 1948. It was not reported by the earlier explorers and may have come to the site in the era of Lieut. Col. F. G. Peake.

2. A fragment of a small horned altar in limestone was found in Locus 1 (Fig. 42).

3. A floral-patterned stone (62 by 78 cm) was found built into a wall into the east wall narthex; Locus 1 (Fig. 43). It is similar to the lintel of the main door of the East Church at Pella (McNicol et al. 1992: fig. 24) and to part of the entablature of the propylaia of the cathedral at Jerash, an entrance that is originally from the second half of the 2d century (Kraeling 1938: 204-6, fig. 3).

4. One Corinthian capital was the only example found (Figs. 44-45). That capital, now restored on column 4, is seen in a photograph of the garden from 1935 (Fig. 6). Conder (1889: 56) says that he made a drawing of a capital in rough Ionic style which raises a question as to whether the Corinthian capital was originally part of the church or whether it was brought in to decorate the garden. It must be noted, however, that the capital fits the columns.
Although the capital is in poor condition, it appears that all four sides were elaborated to an equal degree and that it was therefore meant to be seen in the round. At the base of the capital is a simple undorned astragal from which a double row of acanthus leaves rise. Above these, helices spring from heavy bipartite acanthus leaves. Corner volutes, of which no fragment survives, probably sprang from these as well. The bipartite acanthi lack a fluted cauliculus; it has been replaced with a cuplike feature, a stylistic element not uncommon in the area (Kanellopoulos 1994: 39). The helices terminate at a tendril which may have been topped by a boss decorated with a fleuron. The abacus is rendered with a simple indented arcing pattern on all sides and appears to have been uncrowned. The capital is very similar to, but not identical with, the capitals of the temenos of the Great Temple of Amman which is dated to A.D. 161-66 (Kanellopoulos 1994: fig. 19).

5. The columns are described in the section on the church. Six drums of the large columns were examined by Thomas Paradise and found to be of brecciated non-fossiliferous limestone. They range from a beige-white to pinkish-beige and the limestone clasts are cemented by a similar calcareous matrix. The lithology was identified through conventional microscopic observation and acid test confirmation (15% of 1 molar HCl).

6. Rosette in two pieces, measuring ca. 1 m in diameter (Fig. 46). This originally came from Qasr Mushatta which is some 25 kilometers east of Amman. Mushatta was begun in A.D. 743, the Umayyad period, but never finished. Most of the carved reliefs from Mushatta were moved to Berlin at the beginning of this century (Enderlein and Meinecke 1993), so it is a mystery how this single rosette came to be at this site. Bagatti (1973: 274), who visited the site in 1948, was the first to report the rosette. It is therefore likely that it came to the site during the period when it was a garden. The rosette was moved to the National Museum of Jordan in 1991.

7. Cross in a circle; limestone relief. It had been reported by B. Bagatti (1973: 276-77) and is now built into the south wall of the house that is north of the church, thus it is only partly visible (Fig. 47). Abel (1908: 570) reported that a capital with a cross on it had been found by the excavations. It is possible that this piece is what he saw.

8. Pedestal in limestone. The square top measures 76.4 cm on a side (Fig. 48).
EARLIER REMAINS

Prior to the construction of the church, the cave may have been the tomb of a revered person or used for some other sacred purpose; this can only be assumed only because it was incorporated into the church. The area south of the cave was also used before the church was built, for in the southeastern part of the church, were the remains of an earlier north/south wall plastered on its eastern face. The stones in the exterior faces of the wall are well-cut, while the gaps between the two rows were filled with smaller uncut stones. Only one course of the wall was found, and apparently it was built immediately on bedrock. Stones that were part of this wall were found below the bedding of the mosaic. At about 20 cm below the top of that underlayment, a hard packed surface was found, below which, at depths varying from 5 to 10 cm, was bedrock. A rectangle cut out of bedrock just outside of the southern edge of the church’s apse seems to be aligned with the wall. The north/south wall in Area 6 antedates the church. The foundations of the south wall of the church were nearly one meter wide and could pre-date the construction of the church. Most importantly, however, is the fact that the whole platform has been cut out of bedrock, a substantial undertaking. If it had been possible to remove the mortar bedding flooring and even the mosaics themselves over the whole area, further evidence of a Roman building might have been found.
Later Remains

West of the church's entrance, nine burials were uncovered, some of which had complete skeletal remains (Fig. 49). In three of the burials were the remains of more than one individual. The bodies were laid in an east/west direction with the head to the west. The graves were built by digging through the mosaic floor west of the church. Some were excavated down to bedrock. One- or two-coursed walls lined the edges. Above most of the burials were large rectangularly cut stones. One of the graves, Tomb 3, had its walls built of well-cut stone blocks with a layer of plaster incised with a chevron pattern. That type of plastering was sometimes used during the Umayyad period. A coin dating to the latter part of the 7th century (infra) was found in the only burial that was still sealed. The others, including Tomb 10, at the entrance to the cave, had all been disturbed.

South of the church (Fig. 50), particularly in area 7.V, was an abundance of Islamic pottery in what appeared to be a dump. This indicates that the site continued to be in use during the Islamic era. As the pottery consists mainly of storage jars and cooking pots as well as other objects of everyday use, it would seem that some part of the site was used for domestic purposes. The church building was probably impacted by the major earthquake of A.D. 749, an earthquake that brought final ruin to the Great Temple on al-Qa'la (Kanellopoulos 1994: 85. The collapse of that temple would have been visible from our site.
INSCRIPTIONS

1. The inscription mentioning Herakles remains at the site (Fig. 51). P.-L. Gatier (1986: 51-54, inscription 29) gives a full bibliography and commentary. It retains the letters in the same condition as in the year 1905 when Savignac and Abel deciphered them for the first time; see above; see also C. Kanellopoulos (1994: 82-83).

2. During the excavations, part of a Greek inscription (Fig. 52) on finely hewn pink limestone was recovered from the modern era wall built across the front of the cave (Locus 8; see photo on page 82). Although only a few letters can be read, Erkki Sironen suggests that it refers to the Roman Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98-117). As it is in the accusative case, it is probably a dedication to him. The transcription by Sironen is:

\[ \ldots \Theta \text{<e>o} \text{Né} \text{ρους} \text{υίον} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{Γερμανικ láν} \text{Δακíλλáν} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{λαντóλκρáτóρα} \ldots \]

His translation is:

\[ \ldots \text{THE SON OF DIVINE NERVA} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{GERMANICUS DACICUS} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{THE EMPEROR} \ldots \]

An inscription with very similar elements was found in Petra (SEG 32, 1982: 430, no. 1550).

3. An inscription on white marble (Locus 1.50) bears portions of two letters are at the beginning of two lines respectively (Fig. 53).

4. The St. George inscription described by Abel (1908) has disappeared (Fig. 4). Gatier (1986: 61-62, inscription 43) gives a full bibliography and commentary. Bagatti (1973: 276-77) dated it to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century on the basis of the paleography. Milik (1960: 167-69) dated it to ca. 590 as a Bishop Polieuctus of that era is known from Rihab; Gatier (1986: 62), however, would prefer Polieuctus to be a bishop of Amman. L. Koenen (personal communication) noted that the St. George inscription mentions "sovereigns"—in the plural; that title appears in a dating formulas of the era. It may refer to the joint rule of Justin II and Tiberias II, December 12, 574 to October 5, 578, although they were really only joint emperors for the last nine days of Justin's
life, *i.e.*, in late A.D. 578. The name Talassamachia is otherwise unknown, but it seems to have the sense of “one who fights the sea” and may refer to a sailor or traveler (Gatier 1986: 62).

5. Abel (1908: 570) reports a second Greek inscription of the Byzantine era that is now lost (Fig. 54). Gatier (1986: 62, inscription 44). The meaning is unclear.

6. Another very fragmentary inscription was also seen by Abel (1908: 570); it too is now lost. He reported reading, $\text{Ε} \lambda \text{α} \text{ε} \text{ε} \text{i}$†; see Gatier (1986: 62-63: inscription 45).

7. A small fragment of marble was found during the excavations (Locus 1.41) with the Greek letters ϊώ, obviously a small part of a larger inscription (Fig. 55). The letters are executed in a style similar to the inscription found by Savignac and Abel (1908) that mentions St. George. However, the ϊώ on this piece has decorative lines on either side. Similar decoration is found on an inscription in mosaic found at the Church of Bishop Surges at Um er-Rasas. That inscription is dated A.D. 587/88 (Piccirillo 1987: 206; 234).

8. A section of a marble altar table was recovered (Locus 7-VIII-1S) with a cross and an Semitic inscription, $\text{م} \text{ل} \text{س}$, on the bottom side; below the inscription is a cross (Figs. 56-57).

The script is similar to an inscription found at the Church of Saint George at Khirbat al-Mukhayyat on Mount Nebo, which is dated to A.D. 535/36. The Mount Nebo inscription could be Christo-Palestinian Aramaic reading “bisalameh” meaning “in peace” (Piccirillo 1993: 178). Our inscription, if read in the same manner, would be “salaam,” also “peace.”
9. A Safaitic inscription was found in two pieces built into the wall across the entrance to the cave (Locus 8). The wall was demolished at the beginning of the excavation. This stone has a drawing of a camel surrounded by Safaitic writing and some symbolic marks (Figs. 58-59).

Commentary by David Graf:

Transcription: \( lbd’l \ bn \ h\dot{\jmath}\smash{m}n \ bn \ smm \ bn \ ‘\dot{m}y \ bn \ b\dot{b}’l \ bn \ h\dot{\jmath}m \ h\dot{\jmath}k\dot{r}t \); translation: the she camel (was drawn) by BD’L, son of HS MN, son of SLM, son of ‘MY, son of H’B’L, son of HSM. The names of by BD’L, HS MN, SLM, ‘MY, and HSM all appear elsewhere in Safaitic (Harding 1971: s.v.). The letter \( s \) of HS MN is very faint and HSM is only a possible reading, as there is a straight line before the letter \( s \) and a circle superimposed over it that I am regarding as secondary, but the other readings seem assured. A new name appears to be H’B’L, but H’B (Clark 1980, no. 577), H’BN, and H’BR all appear in Safaitic (Harding 1971: s.v.). The “she-camel” (BKRT) is a typical focus of many of the Safaitic inscriptions, reflecting the importance of the camel for Bedouin life in Arabia. The accompanying marks of seven parallel lines (top left corner) also appear to the left of the camel’s neck in a cluster effect and to the right of its tail in the form of a ladder. They have been interpreted as magical symbols, perhaps representing the Seven Planets which control man’s destiny (Winnett and Harding 1978: 26).
10. A second Safaitic inscription (Figs. 60-61) was found built into the wall of Tomb 6 (Locus 1.43). It depicts a horseman with a lance and an animal with long horns, possibly an oryx. The drawing is framed by a circular line. At the top left corner are seven lines intersecting the frame and at the bottom left corner are seven other parallel lines with a crossing line passing through them. According to Fawwaz el-Khraysheh, the Safaitic can be transcribed as: “lm’n bn msk h’r and translated as: the donkey [as?] belongs to M’N the son of MSK.” The drawing on this stone is similar to one found on a Safaitic inscription in the Jordan University Museum.

11. A block inscribed in Kufic, a form of early Arabic which was in use in the 7th century (Figs. 62-63), was found in Locus 1.45. It has a geometric pattern of triangular hatching, the meaning of which is not known. The fact that there are only geometric designs could suggest iconoclastic influence. Several letters can be seen, but the only word that can be read is إللهـ, “Allahumme,” which means, “God of all.”

Safaitic script was used by Arab tribesmen who were living in the desert in pre-Islamic times. “Safa” signifies a group of volcanoes in the region. These contained a layer of basaltic lava which, with time, became fragments of black/brown stone with a glassy exterior that could be used as a writing surface. The script was used from the 1st century B.C. until at least the 3rd century A.D., but it may have continued in use after that (Winnett 1957: 1-2). The drawings that accompany the texts are usually animals, geometric symbols or female figures (Oxtony 1968: 25). The drawings were executed either by pecking out the area or by incising its outline (Clark 1980: 46-47). The former technique is evident in the camel drawing, while the latter is used for the drawing of the horse.

Inscriptions nos. 8, 9 and 10 were found in the vicinity of, or in association with, tombs dug through the mosaic floor of the church, i.e., in contexts dated to after the church was built. The tombs cut through the mosaic floor but rise above that floor. It seems that the floor was already covered with fill when the tombs were excavated. A wall with a wooden door was built in the modern era across the front of the cave; it was still standing when this excavation started. When that wall was dismantled, inscription no. 9 was found in it. The wall was built near a tomb (Tomb 10)
that cuts through the mosaic at the southwest corner of the cave. It is possible that inscription no. 9 was originally associated with that tomb and that it was removed and re-used in the nearby wall. Similarly, inscription no. 11 was found in the northern part of the narthex, built into a circular wall belonging to an Ottoman septic tank. In the immediate vicinity there are nine tombs, one of which (Tomb 6) produced inscription no. 10. The same tomb that yielded inscription no. 10 also produced a coin (infrac) dated to the second half of the 7th century.

The stones on which these three inscriptions are carved do not exist in the region of 'Amman but come from some distance. Such stones are usually associated with cairns or burials (Oxoby 1968: 15-17). It is suggested here that these stones were brought to this site as grave goods from the northern desert. Conservatively, inscription no. 110 can be dated to the post-church era, as both the context and the coin found in the same tomb as no. 8 date to the 7th century. The evidence from this site would seem to suggest that Safaitic lasted considerably longer than is generally thought.
According to its style and its dimensions, this Nike relief belongs to the series of the sculptures recovered from Khirbet et-Tannur, a Nabataean temple discovered in the 1930s southeast of the Dead Sea, and excavated in 1937 by N. Glueck (see Glueck 1965 for a summary of the excavation). The temple is located on an isolated and bare summit which overlooks the confluence of Wadi al-Hasa on the north-northeast (this wadi marks the boundary between the ancient territories of Edom and Moab), and Wadi al-La’ban on the west-southwest. The Cincinnati Art Museum purchased half of the collection in 1939; the other parts of the finds are at the National Museum in ‘Amman, in Jerusalem, and in private collections.

DESCRIPTION

Nike with both arms extended (Figs. 65-68). White limestone; a natural hole at the level of the knees. The left side of the relief is missing; it would have been carved on a separate block, so the left forearm (elbow level) and the left wing are missing. The relief is badly damaged: the head (probably hammered off), and the legs and right forearm are missing. The remaining surface is very eroded. Dimensions: height: 54.5 cm; width: 33 cm; and depth: 22-27 cm. Nike dimensions: skirt height: 22 cm; girdle width: 11 cm; and hemline width: 23 cm. The short peplos with apoptygma is at knee level; the girdle is under the breast; the neckline is heart-shaped; and the skirt has deep folds. The right wing has four long feathers.

NABATAEAN PARALLELS

This relief can be included among a series of Nikai found in the excavations of Khirbet et-Tannur, where it can take four forms: There are eleven reliefs of the same type of Nike as this one, although the workmanship shows different hands (Glueck 1965: pls. 179-182, 190). There are also: a unique Nike with an elongated body, and in a very different style at the Jordan University Museum (pl. 184a, b); an incense altar decorated with two Nikai that was dedicated by Alexandros Amrou (pl. 188); a rounded altar with two Nikai (pl. 189); and a Nike holding a Zodiac with a Tyche bust (pl. 47). The closest parallel to the present Nike is the relief of Glueck’s 1965: pl. 182c. Nike is also represented in a few reliefs from Petra. For example, there is one in the Petra Museum (Parr 1957: pl.
IV, A), that holds a palm and a cornucopia, like some of the Nikai from Tannur (see Glueck 1965: pl. 182 b). The excavations of the Petra Church recovered a lintel showing a Nike extending her right hand to a “tondo” with a bust of the Zeus-Serapis type (Roche, in press); that piece falls within the type that combines Nikai with busts of divinities. A fragment of a Nike can also be seen at the Museum of Um Qeis, ancient Gadara (personal observation). However, it is in the Hauran that the figure of Nike enjoyed the greatest popularity; the type represents about twenty per cent of all sculptures (Bolleti 1991: 78). These have some characteristics that differ from the Nabataean ones: Nike sometimes has the peplos open over a breast; she may seem to rest instead of flying; and she is often related to the dead, while in the southern Nabataean examples, she is associated only with divinities (Bolleti 1991: 78-79).

COMMENTS

The relief is too damaged to discern if Nike was holding a cornucopia, like a Tyche (see, for example, Glueck 1965: pl. 182 a, b) or a regular wreath; however, the missing hand probably held a palm. We know from a reconstructed figure from Tannur that these little Nikai were standing on a half globe which is supposed to represent the celestial globe and, thus, the supreme power of the divinity. These symbols of success and universal power were associated with the male god of Tannur, Qos-Hadad, while the symbols of fecundity were associated with the goddess.

In the original model of Nike, the Samothrace Nike, the peplos is pressed to the body but extends to both sides to express the fact that the goddess is flying. Our example follows the Petra examples (see below), but the local sculptors of Tannur had difficulty rendering movement, so the Khirbet et-Tannur Nikai, like the Hauran Nikai, are paradoxically static. The Nike figure became very popular in Hellenistic and Roman times when it took on a political significance: victory and success are gifts of the gods. The victorious generals and kings were supposedly favored and protected by the divinity; because of that power, they are able to protect their people. In the Semitic world, the Nike combines the Hellenistic concept of Victory with the Semitic concept of Gad, a divinity who protects and is associated with other divinities. In Nabataea, Nike first appears on Nabataean coinage at the time of Aretas II (ca. 110-96 B.C.), minted in Damascus (Mesheuer 1975: 86, no. 1A). It was probably copied from Seleucid coinage, but retained a religious function. The dating of the Khirbet et-Tannur sculptures is a difficult matter (McKenzie 1988; Roche 1994); however, the late 1st century A.D. or the early 2d century can be suggested.
LAMPS (Fig. 72)

STEATITE LAMP

Locus 7. Nearly complete, the lamp is triangular in shape, 15 cm long, 5 cm wide, and 3 cm high (Fig. 69). It has a small knob handle, while the opposite, pointed end is blackened. The side walls of this lamp have vertical tool marks. Steatite was used in Yemen to manufacture cooking pots and incense burners as well as lamps because of its ability to conduct heat (Whitcomb 1994: 27). Such vessels have been found at Aqaba/Ayla, and are dated to the late Abbasid and early Fatimid periods with those bearing the vertical tool marks are of later manufacture (Whitcomb 1987: 7). A similar stone lamp was found at Mount Nebo decorated with intersecting straight lines forming trestlework (Saller 1941: 299).

BRONZE LAMP FILLER

Locus 7. V: Circular lamp filler; approximate diameter, 5 cm. It has a small spout at one end, and directly opposite to that is a broken-off bronze attachment, with a three-leaf flower on each side. Such objects are known to be common in the Late Byzantine and Early Islamic periods (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 168).

MOLDED CLAY LAMPS

Two complete clay lamps and a number of fragmentary ones were recovered.

1. Locus 1.48-1L: Complete lamp of pinkish white ware with a burnt tip; pointed oval shape with a channel nozzle and a pointed handle (Fig. 70). Its top has a decoration of arcs and dots around the filling hole, as well as a pattern of vine tendrils and dots. Late 8th and 9th centuries (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 152, no. 626).

2. Locus 7. V-1L: Nearly complete lamp, nozzle broken, shaped as a pointed oval with a double channel nozzle. It is of orange-brown clay and has its tip burnt. It has a tongue handle, and a slightly ringed base in a pointed oval shape. The channel has a herring-bone pattern, while around the fill hole is a pattern formed by a zigzag and grapevine pattern. A lamp found at al-Qal’a (Northedge et al. 1992: fig. 141: 5) is very similar in its shape and channel nozzle as well as its decoration of bunches of grapes and semicircles (which are more triangular in the latter). The al-Qal’a lamp is dated to the 5th/11th centuries as it is associated with the destruction of Abbasid-Fatimid Building 3.

3. Locus 1-6L: Fragment of a lamp with channel nozzle, whitish clay (Fig. 71). It appears to have been large. The
channel has an Arabic inscription, ئلا (meaning unclear), underlined by a wavy line and dots (two remain) below the fill hole. On one side of the channel is the figure of a stylized bird with a long beak and back-turned head.

4. Locus 1-3L: Fragment from the top part of a lamp. It is of grayish ware with calcite inclusions. It appears to have had a channel nozzle. It has decoration of scrolls and grapes.

5. Locus 9-1L: Sherd from a lamp, the burnt part of the channel, decorated with a herring-bone pattern and a grapevine decoration on its side.

6. Locus 9-2L: Lamp sherd, burnt whitish ware. The channel is decorated with a wavy line and dots, and is outlined on the side with dots.

7. Locus 9-3L: Sherd from the top part of a lamp, whitish-brown ware decorated with a pattern of scrolls and grapes.

8. Locus 9-4L: Lamp sherd of pinkish ware, with a decoration of a grapevine and a flower separated by a tendril.

9. Locus 1-1L: Lamp sherd of whitish ware. Part of the fill hole is outlined by dots followed by a pattern of interlocking lines forming triangles and in turn filled with dots.

10. Locus 1-2L: Lamp sherd, filling hole and channel, light pink clay, traces of a pattern of grapevines and tendrils, with the remains of a herringbone pattern apparent on the channel.

11. Locus 3-1L: Lamp sherd, handle, and part of the fill hole. The handle and hole are outlined with a string of dots and what appears to be a leaf motif. A similar lamp was found among the early Abbasid pottery from a pit in room A of the Umayyad Building C at al-Qal'a (Northedge et al. 1992: fig. 149: 1). It appears to have had similar shape and decoration; it has a pattern of dots outlining the handle and the filling hole, next to the leaf motif.

12. Locus 8-1L: Lamp sherd of light pinkish-white clay with a handle and part of the filling hole. The hole has a ridge and thus the lamp is probably of the channel nozzle type. There are traces of decoration to the side of the hole.

Channel nozzle lamps are well attested in the Abbasid period, and usually have pointed nozzles, high pointed handles and designs such as the grapevine around the filling hole (Sauer 1982: 333). The channel nozzle lamp was also found in the Umayyad period, along with the candlestick lamp, and they sometimes were decorated with dots around the filling hole, or had Arabic writing (Sauer 1986: 325). Oval shaped channel-nozzle lamps have been found at Pella, one bearing a decoration of scrolls and grapevines, while the other has a decorative pattern of semicircles and dots. These have been dated to the late Abbasid period (Walmsley 1991: fig. 7: 3 and 4). At Jerash, such lamps have also been found and were dated to the later Abbasid period. One of these has a decorative pattern of grapevines, scrolls and florals, while another has a pattern of scrolls flowers and birds; these have been dated to the second half of the 8th century or later (Gawlikowski 1986: 120, pl. XIVB); the bird on this is similar to no. 3. Also at Jerash, a lamp with a pointed oval shape and a channel-nozzle was found, bearing a pattern of vegetal scrolls, with the channel flanked along its two sides by a stylized bird with a back-turned head; it has been dated to the 9th century (Scholl 1986: 165, fig. 1: 11); on that lamp, the bird is also similar to that of no. 3.
POTTERY

There was almost no pottery that could be identified as Roman or Byzantine. There was also no stratified pottery. However, since relatively few groups of pottery from 'Amman have been published, these drawings and descriptions are included as examples of the 'Amman corpus. Much of the pottery recovered is typical of all phases of the Islamic period. Sherds from the Umayyad period came mostly from light-colored wheelmade vessels with painted lines or with floral and geometric patterns in hues of red, purple or brown. Most of the Abbasid, and possibly Fatimid, sherds came from an area south of the church (Area 7.V), which was apparently an ancient dump. There, quantities of pottery fragments were found, and some vessels could be restored. Ayyubid/Mamluk pottery is represented here mainly by sherds of poor quality handmade ware. These are of bowls with thick edges and bearing painted geometric decorative designs in dark brown and greyish colors.

HANDMADE PAINTED POTTERY (Fig. 73)

This is represented by poor wares of light brown or grayish color. The pottery is shaped by hand and painted with darker colors, such as brown or purple. The painted patterns are mainly geometric designs made up of triangles and squares. This type of pottery is known to be Ayyubid/Mamluk (ca. A.D. 1174-1516; Sauer 1982: 335).

1. Locus 1-8P: Fragment of a handle. Ware: 2.5Y 6/6 light red. The ware is poor and contains calcite temper. It has a yellowish slip on its exterior and is painted with blackish-brown crossed lines.

2. Locus 8-2P: Probably the upper part of a bowl. The rim is broken, but appears to be everted. Again the ware is very poor with many calcite grits. A purple painted line runs below the rim with the remains of a geometric design of triangles below that.

3. Locus 8-3P: The upper part of a bowl. Ware: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red; slip, above which is painted decoration (2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown), made of a thick line running below the rim with the design below.

4. Locus 8-4P: Flattened rim of a large bowl; ware: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red; coarse ware with many calcite grits and the firing is poor. Paint (5YR 4/4 reddish brown) appears at the top of the rim in the form of one thick band, and below it as two thin bands followed by a decoration of two diagonal bands.

5. Locus 8-5P: Lower part of a bowl with a slightly concave disc base; ware: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. It is of thick, coarse ware with calcite grits, burnt interior. The base and outer surface have a geometric decoration of lines, triangles, and squares in paint (2.5YR 4/8 red).

6. Locus 8-7P: Probably the rim of a small bowl or cup; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow; paint: 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; geometric decorations.

7. Locus 8-6P: Upper part of a bowl. Ware: 2.5YR 6/6 light red, many calcite grits. Interior paint: 2.5YR 4/4 brown.

GLAZED WARE (Fig. 73)

8. Locus 1-2P: Slightly everted rim of a bowl with a gently sloping body. Ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink, fine wheelmade ware; glaze: 5G 6/2 pale green.
9. Locus 1-3P: Thickened everted rim of a rounded wheelmade bowl with a slight carination; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink, medium-fine. It is broken-off just a little below the rim, and at that point, it appears to have had perforations. There are remains of overall glaze: 5G 6/2 pale green.
10. Locus 1-4P: Thickened flattened rim of a small bowl, pinkish brown medium ware with a brown glaze on the interior surface and rim.
11. Locus 1-5P: Thickened flattened rim of a small bowl; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink, probably made with use of a mold. The top of its rim has a molded geometric design of triangles and dots (7.5YR 5/8 strong brown); the rest of the body, interior and exterior, has a green and brown glaze.
12. Locus 1-7P: Part of a small bowl or cup of coarse grayish ware, slightly pointed rim angles towards the exterior. Its gray exterior surface has incised hatching forming triangles. The interior has drip glazing of green and brown. The base is flat and the exterior is incised with a pattern of squares and dots. This vessel might have been shaped with the use of a mold.
13. Locus 1-6P: Wheelmade ring base which belonged to a bowl with the remains of glaze along its exterior and interior surfaces (white, yellow and blue). Apparently there is an underglaze painted design which was outlined with a darker color.
14. Locus 2-1P: Everted rounded rim of a wheelmade bowl; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink; glaze (5G 6/2 pale green) on the inner and outer surfaces.
15. Locus 3-1P: Simple rounded rim of large wheelmade bowl of pinkish ware, remains of glaze on the interior and exterior surfaces (blue, yellow, white, and brown).
17. Locus 3-3P: Slightly everted rounded rim of a rounded wheelmade bowl with remains of a greenish blue glaze on the outer surface, while its inner surface has a glaze of a dark brown color.
18. Locus 3-4P: Everted rounded rim of a wheelmade bowl with a rounded body; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink, fine ware, with remains of a glaze interior and exterior, 5G 6/2 pale green.
19. Locus 5-1P: Part of a flat disk base of a rounded wheelmade bowl; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink, fine; exterior and interior glaze: 2.5Y 8/4 pale yellow.
20. Locus 8-1P: Thickened rim of a rounded wheelmade bowl; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink with a thick glaze (5G 6/2 pale green) on the inner and outer faces as well as on the rim.
21. Locus 9-1P: Flat disk base of a wheelmade bowl with a white exterior surface; the interior surface has a glaze of yellow and dark brown. The remaining part of the base has a single perforated hole.
22. Locus 7-V-4P: Wheelmade bowl with a slightly everted simple rounded rim; ware: 7.5YR 7/4 pink. The upper part of its body is carinated and then slopes gently to a ring base. Glaze, interior: blue; exterior: 5G 6/2 pale green. A bowl of similar shape, ware, and decoration was found in the destruction layer of Abbasid-Fatimid Building I, at Jebel al-Qal’a (Northedge et al. 1992: fig. 137: 1).
24. Locus 7-V-3P: Bowl with s-shaped body, wheelmade; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze interior and exterior; mixed: 10YR 8/8 yellow and 5G 6/2 pale green.

According to Sauer (1982: 333), glazed ware of the Abbasid period (ca. A.D. 750-969) is usually polychrome green, purple and yellow on the interior of plates that have simple rims and disk or ring bases. Fatimid (ca. A.D. 969-1071) glazed pottery can have yellow, green, brown, and white "splashed" glaze on plate interiors, glazed bowls with simple rims and splayed sidewalls, as well as bowls with widely flanged rims (Sauer 1982: 334). However, according to Sauer (1982: 335), monochrome glazed bowls in green, yellow, or brown are of the Ayyubid-Manluk period (ca. A.D. 1174-1516), as are vessels with molded designs or painting under the glaze, as well as with slip trailing.
25. Locus 1-13P: Wide, flanged rim of a basin with thick straight walls; ware: pinkish brown, coarse with many calcite grits, and with a lighter color for the slip. It is decorated with wavy band combing just below the rim.

26. Locus 1-14P: Wide thickened rim of a jar of heavy coarse ware, light pinkish color with a light beige slip. The top of the rim is incised with wavy band combing, while below the rim there are two rows of thumb impressions. Umayyad (Northedge et al. 1992: fig. 151.6).

27. Locus 7.V-7P: Nearly complete flanged wheelmade rim of a jar of a light pinkish ware. The rest of the body appears to have been handmade. Remains of two loop handles appear on one of its sides; there was probably another pair at the opposite side. Below the rim there is an incised pattern of wavy band combing followed by a wavy zigzag combed band.

28. Locus 7.V-8P: A large jar (or pithos) of pinkish ware; its upper part is decorated with wavy zigzag combing that form squares. The rim is thick, flanged and wheelmade, while the rest of the body is handmade. Its upper part is rounded with the walls gently sloping to a flat base. It has two pairs of loop handles. A handmade jar from Jebel al-Qal’a (Northedge et al. 1992: fig. 137: 8) is similar in form and make to Locus 7.V-8P and Locus 7.V-9P, except that
it has two handles instead of two pairs of handles.
29. Locus 7.V-9P: Pithos of pinkish ware, handmade and
decorated with a combed pattern of wavy bands, straight
lines, and interlocking semi-circles. It has a thick wheel-
made rim, an upper rounded body with gently sloping
walls and a flat base, with two pairs of loop handles
attached to the shoulders (see no. 28 above).
30. Locus 7.V-12P: Large jar. The rim is wheelmade but
the rest of the body appears to have been handmade. The
rim is thick, widely flanged and is similar to that of no. 28,
above. The clay is pinkish-gray, with a gray core and a gray
slip. It has a pair of handles, and probably has another pair
on the opposite side. At least the upper part of its body has
a rounded globular shape. What remains of this jar does
not retain any decoration.
31. Locus 7.V-13P: Rim and upper part of a large jar of
light pinkish-white clay and slip and two pairs of handles.
The rim is thickened, widely flanged with a channel
between the rim and shoulder. The rim is wheelmade with
no neck, while the rest of the body is handmade. It has a
globular upper body with no decoration. On the inside of
the vessel are deep finger impressions opposite to where
the handles are attached.
32. Locus 1-17P: Wheelmade rim of a jar, the body of
which appears to have been handmade. The rim is splayed
and rounded at the top. The ware is light pinkish-brown.
In addition, there are numerous body sherds that came
from handmade vessels bearing combed decoration. In
most cases, the pattern is in the form of wavy bands.

**Wheelmade Pottery (Incised or Plain)** (Figs. 74-76)
33. Locus 7.V-10P: Wheelmade, nearly complete bag jar
(restored) of well-fired pinkish clay with a pinkish slip. It
has a simple rim, a long neck with a ridge, and two han-
dles on the shoulders. The lower part of its body is wider
than its top, and then it diminishes to a single point. It is
decorated with straight and wavy band combing. A simi-
lar "bag jar" was found at Jebel al-Qal'a; it is incomplete,
has one handle and wavy band combing (Northedge et al.
1992: fig. 137: 4). This jar came from the destruction of
Abbasid-Fatimid Building I.
34. Locus 7.V-11P: Wheelmade "bag jar," smaller than
Locus 7.V-10P, but it appears to have a similar shape. It
has a simple, slightly everted rim and a straight neck. It has
one remaining handle but undoubtedly had two. It is
made of yellowish clay and is well-fired. Umayyad (Sauer
1986: fig. 11).
35. Locus 2-14P: Flanged rim of a large wheelmade bowl
of a grayish color. The edge of the rim has a pattern of
incised band combing.
36. Locus 1-15P: Wheelmade rim of a bowl with relatively
thick walls. The rim is thickened to the outside. It is
made of reddish-brown ware with an outer whitish slip
and straight band combed decoration.
37. Locus 6-1P: Handmade bowl; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish
yellow, fine.
38. Locus 5-5P: Handmade bowl with slightly everted
rim; ware: 5YR 7/4 pink, fine.
39. Locus 9-6P: Handmade bowl with incurving rim; fine
ware: 5YR reddish yellow. Umayyad (Northedge et al.
1992: fig. 151.1).

**Wheelmade Painted Pottery** (Fig. 76)
40. Locus 3-7P: Rim of a plate; ware: 5YR 7/4 pink, fine
ware with some inclusions. Int. slip: 10YR 8/2 white;
paint: 7.5YR 4/4 brown.
41. Locus 1-26P: Rounded rim of a plate; ware: 5YR 7/6
reddish yellow; int./ext. slip: 5YR 3/2 pinkish white;
int./ext. paint: 2.5YR 4/4 brown.
42. Locus 8-8P: Flattened rim of a plate; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow; ext. paint: 2.5YR 5/6 red.
43. Locus 1.43-2P: Rounded rim and neck of a jug; ware: 2.5YR 6/6 light red, fine ware; Int./ext. slip: 5YR 6/8 light red. Painted int./ext.: 5YR 4/8 red.
47. Locus 1-16P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 5YR 8/4 pink. Ext. paint: 2.5YR 4/4 brown. Umayyad (McNicoll; Smith; and Hennessy 1982: pl. 147.2).
48. Locus 1.40-1P: Rim and neck of a jar. The rim is thickened and flattened at the top; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Slip: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown; Ext. paint: 10YR 5/4 weak red.
50. Locus 1-10P: Rim and neck of a jar; ware: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow, fine. Slip int./ext.: 10YR 8/2 white. Paint: 2.5YR 6/6 light red.
52. Locus 1.22-2P: Body sherd from a bowl; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow, fine. Int./ext. slip: 5YR 8/2 pinkish white. Ext. paint: 2.5YR 4/4 brown.

Wheelmade White Ware (Fig. 77)
56. Locus 7.V-14P: Rim of a jug; ware: int.: 7.5YR 8/2 pinkish white; ext.: 10YR 3/2 white.
57. Locus 7.V-15P: Upper part of a jug with a vertical loop handle which has a turban-shaped knob at its top; ware: 10YR 8/2 white.
69. Locus 7.V-21P: Strainer jug fragment; ware: int.: 7.5YR 8/2 pinkish white; ext.: 10YR 8/2 white, Abbasid.

There were other wheelmade body sherds of this type of whitish ware, sometimes appearing as slightly pinkish or yellowish. Such vessels are typically Abbasid (Sauer 1982: 333). Vessels of similar ware and shape have also
been found at Pella (Walmsley 1991: fig 7: 1, 2, 7) and classified as belonging to the later Abbasid era.

**Wheelmade Plain Ware (Fig. 77)**

74. Locus 1.VI-1P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 10YR 6/3 pale brown, fine with some sand and temper. Int. slip: 7.5YR 7/4 pink.
75. Locus 1.41-3P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown, fine.
76. Locus 6.IV-1P: Rim; ware: 5YR 7/8 reddish yellow, fine. Umayyad (Sauer 1986: fig. 4.119).
77. Locus 1.45-1P: Rim; ware: 5YR 7/8 reddish yellow, fine. Umayyad (Sauer 1986: fig. 4.121).
78. Locus 3-9P: Rim of a jug; ware: 10YR 6/3 pale brown, fine; slip: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown.
79. Locus 3-10P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red; slip: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown. Umayyad (Sauer 1986: fig. 4.121).
80. Locus 3-8P: Rim of a large bowl; ware: 10YR 6/1 light gray; slip: 10YR 8/2 white. Umayyad (Sauer 1986: fig. 4.120).
81. Locus 3-12P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 5YR 7/4 pink, fine, incised.
82. Locus 3-14P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown; slip: 10YR 7/4 very pale brown.
83. Locus 3-15P: Rim of a jar; ware: 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown; slip: 10YR 7/4 very pale brown.
84. Locus 3-17P: Rim of a jar; ware: 2.5Y 7/4 pale yellow.
85. Locus 1.41-4P: Rim of a jar; ware: 7.5YR 8/4 pink, fine; slip: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown.
86. Locus 3-23P: Rim of a jar; ware: 5YR 7/4 pink, fine; ext. slip: 7.5YR 7/2 pink.
87. Locus 1-29P: Rim of a bowl; ware: 5YR 7/8 reddish yellow; int. slip: 5YR 6/2 pinkish gray. Umayyad (McNicoll; Smith; and Hennessy 1982: pl. 147.3).
88. Locus 3-26P: Rim of a jar; ware: 10YR 6/3 pale brown, fine; slip: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown. Umayyad (Sauer 1986: fig. 4.114).
89. Locus 3-27P: Rim of a jar; ware: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red, fine.
90. Locus 3-28P: Rim of a jar; ware: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow, fine; slip: 10YR 8/2 white. Umayyad (Sauer 1986: fig. 4.120).

**Cooking Ware (Fig. 77)**

91. Locus 1-30P: Lid; ware: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown, fine.
92. Locus 1.VI-4P: Lid; ware: 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown, fine. Umayyad (Northedge et al. 1992: fig. 133.3).
93. Locus 1.41-2P: Cooking pot; ware: 5YR 5/8 yellowish red.
94. Locus 1.VI-5P: Bowl; ware: 5YR 4/6 yellowish red, coarse.
95. Locus 8-10P: Cooking pot; ware: 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown.
96. Locus 8-11P: Cooking pot; ware: 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown.
97. Locus 8-12P: Cooking pot; ware: 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow.
98. Locus 8-13P: Cooking pot; ware: 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown. Abbasid (Walmsley 1991: fig. 5.4).

**18th Century Vessel**

99. Locus 7-1P: English 18th century ink bottle of gray ware with a brown-colored glazed surface (Fig. 78).
RESTORATION

Restoration and conservation were an integral part of this project. The following lists the efforts that were undertaken. Column bases 3 through 8 were in situ as was the north pilaster. The location of column 1 remains under modern construction. One of the black granite column drums was restored to the general location of column 1, but it lacks a base. The hexagonal base of column 2 was set in place against the apse and the second black granite column was placed on it. Column 3 was found with a small drum in situ on the base. Two drums were re-erected above it, as was a capital obtained from a private collection (Fig. 79). That capital was probably originally from this site or was from the same Roman monument as the other elements used by the Byzantine builders. Column 4 had large single drum in situ and a top drum was added, as was the capital found in the garden. Copper reinforcement was used to brace the column to the base.

Column 5 had one in situ drum and no modifications were made. Column 6 had one drum in situ, but it was damaged. It was repaired and two drums added. Column 7 was found with one drum set up-side-down on the base; this was apparently done during the 1930s. Because that restoration is also a part of the history of the monument, it was left as was. Column 8 had one drum in situ and one drum was added. Drums were restored with titanium rods between them except on column 4. A reversible mortar was used to patch the broken areas of the columns. When restored, the three complete columns had only a 1 cm difference in height; they were 3.91 to 3.92 cm.

Three chancel base parts were in situ and one other stone found in the garden was restored to the north of those bases. North of that, other stones which are the approximate size of chancel stones were set along the line of the chancel screen to consolidate the area. The horned altar, found on the upper level of the site, was moved to its present location in the cave to protect it. The Herakles inscription was also moved into the cave. In the cave, the northern part of the structure to the east was rebuilt.

Parts of other walls were rebuilt in areas where only their foundations survived. The southern wall was raised by 60 cm over the in situ foundation, as were the walls to the west and south of area 7. The eastern wall and the apse were reconstructed based on traces carved into the
bedrock. The western wall was left as it was found. The base of the pulpit or ambo and what appeared to be the two supporting colonnettes belonging to it were restored to the gap in the mosaic; that seemed to have been where the pulpit originally was. The remaining mosaics were consolidated. As almost all of the mosaics and opus sectile flooring were lacking and only the mortar bedding survived in most areas, the bedding was covered with sand and then a cement floor, divided into opus sectile-like segments by wood, was installed.

The three southern narthex column bases were in situ. The fourth base was located, but it was built into a wall south of the site and it was decided to leave it there. Drums scattered in the vicinity were restored to the three narthex bases. It is possible that the two black granite columns belong to the narthex. Finally, as much of the pottery as possible was restored (Fig. 80) and it is now on exhibit at Darat al-Funun.

**Dating**

The baptismal font from Kursi, which is similar to the font at Darat al-Funun, is dated to A.D. 585 by an inscription in the mosaic floor. The now-lost St. George inscription can probably be dated to A.D. 574-78. The mosaic in the Church of the Apostles at Madaba, dated by its inscription to A.D. 578 (Piccirillo 1993: 106, 117, 129, 265, 268), is the closest parallel to the mosaic in the room to the south of the church proper. It would therefore seem that the construction of the church dates to the late part of the 6th century. If the St. George inscription is interpreted as belonging to this church, then both the name and the construction date are relatively certain.

The coin in it indicates that Tomb 6 was built during, or after, the latter part of the 7th century. The tombs in the narthex were cut through the mosaic which may indicate that the site had entered into a new phase. On the other hand, it may simply mean that the narthex was going out of use and was being used for burials. As we have seen, there was another entry into the building from the south.

There are quantities of Umayyad and Abbasid material, lamps in particular, but also other pottery, scattered about the site, but after the period of the tombs, there is no building activity evidenced. There was also Ayyubid/Mamluk pottery, but nothing that is certainly from the Fatimid/Crusader eras. Except for the pottery, however, there is little evidence for activities at the site from about the 8th century until the end of the 19th century.
INTERPRETATION

BACKGROUND

Philadelphia (Amman) was part of the Province of Arabia which was formed in A.D. 106 with Bostra as its capital. Jordan was subdivided into four regional areas during the Byzantine period, based on Byzantine imperial administration; division for ecclesiastical purposes followed the administrative division. The metropolitan city of Provincia Arabia was Bostra, and the province included the episcopal sees of Madaba, Esbus (Hesban), Philadelphia (Amman) and Gerasa (Piccirillo 1993:43). The settled peoples of the Province of Arabia spoke Aramaic and were Arabs (Trimingham 1979: 78). Evidence for a Christian community in Philadelphia appears at the onset of the 4th century (MacAdam 1992: 41), but it comes only through stories of martyrs such as the six Christian friends who were betrayed during the persecution of Diocletian; in A.D. 303, Theodorus, Julian, Eubulus, Malcamon, Mocimus, and Salamones were transported to Philadelphia by the Romans and executed. Two Philadelphia Christians, Moses and Silvanus, shared their suffering (MacAdam 1992: 41-42). Another story speaks of two martyrs who died at Philadelphia, Zenon and Zenas, whose martyrdom is dated to the first year of the Emperor Maximianus. Both were Philadelphians; Zenas was the “slave/companion” of Zenon; they were beheaded in June of 304 (MacAdam 1992: 42). Of the other martyrs whose names are known, there are six from Philadelphia: Cyril, Aquila, Peter, Domitian, Rufus and Menander. Finally, there is St. Elianus who had a shop near the “Gerasa gate of Roman Philadelphia” and was taken captive after he visited imprisoned Christians. He was interrogated and, because he refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods, was tortured and martyred (MacAdam 1992: 42).


There was an increase in settlements and prosperity during the 6th century due to Emperor Justinian’s encouragement of the development of trade routes crossing the province, the assurance of political security for the Christian Arab tribes, and the peace that was established with the Persians. This resulted in the spread of Christianity and the building of churches throughout Jordan (Piccirillo 1993: 44); it is in that context that the church at Darat al-Funun was built.

HISTORY OF THE DARAT AL-FUNUN SITE

There was an important cult of Herakles in ancient Philadelphia. On Roman coins of the city is a chariot with a domed canopy supported by four pillars; the chariot is drawn by four horses. This is the chariot of a procession connected to the cult of Herakles (Spierkerman 1978: 250-51, pl. 55, nos. 21-22). There must have been a major monument dedicated to Herakles in ancient Amman, but where was that monument? It is usually thought to be the large temple on Jebel al-Qal’a. A study of the inscription carved on that temple showed, however, that it is not at all certain that it was dedicated to Herakles (Kanellopoulos 1994: 48-49, 81-83). On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine where on Jebel al-Webedeh a structure large enough to have been a major temple could have been built. However, the inscription bearing the name of the Herakles, and the second inscription which perhaps refers to the Emperor Trajan, lead to speculation as to whether an earlier monument, perhaps dedicated to Herakles, existed at or near this site. Byzantine churches were often built above Roman temples and here there are many Roman architectural elements, including the inscriptions, columns, and the carved entablature stone built into the western wall of the church. The wall found below the level of the mosaics in the southeast part of the church is evidence of an earlier structure at the site; that wall, however, by itself is not substantial enough to be a testament for a major building. On the other hand, the substantial effort involved in the leveling of bedrock over such a large area was more likely undertaken in the Roman era.

The cave was certainly in use before the church was built since the church had its design partially dictated by the presence of the cave. It would seem that the cave had
some significance. If there had been a Roman shrine at the site that shrine may have been built in the 2d century on the evidence of the entablature fragment built into the western wall, and even in the early part of that century or the previous one if the Trajanic inscription was placed here when the Roman monument was in use.

The Corinthian capital and the horned altar may have been introduced to the site in this century, but the columns and their bases, the entablature, and the Herakles and Trajan inscriptions were not. The entablature and the Herakles inscription were more likely at the site before the Byzantine era. They are heavy pieces and would not have been brought to this site as building material. If the inscription and the entablature were at the site, then it is also possible that the columns and their bases were also already present, as were other now-lost architectural elements. The 6th century builders may have simply rearranged the elements of a Roman shrine that had perhaps fallen into disrepair, but at which the cave still had some significance. Perhaps by the Byzantine period, the now-shattered sarcophagus in niche A held, or was thought to hold, the tomb of one of the Amman martyrs or some other significant person.

The relationship between Herakles and St. George, both mentioned on inscriptions found here, is relevant. Herakles (called Hercules by the Romans), known for strength and courage during his twelve labors, was one of the heroes of classical mythology. St. George is, of course, known for slaying a dragon. Abel (1908: 570) states: “The metamorphosis of Hercules into St. George is easy since the two characters have physical strength as an attribute.” The Roman-era cult of Herakles was, in turn, an evolution of the cult of the Iron Age Ammonite god, Milkom. According to Bowsher (1993: 136), “Milkom/Moloch was worshipped throughout Ammonitis, and a later identification with Hercules is perhaps reflected in the general popularity of the latter throughout the region in the Roman period.” It is thus possible, though there is no evidence to support it other than what happened at the site later, that the cave was a sacred site as early as the Iron Age.

Augustinovic (1972) cites various shrines in the region dedicated to St. George that are built on Roman-era foundations. For example, in Lebanon, there is one at Sarba which was once a temple of Serapis; St. George the Blue (Mar Jirjis Azrak) in Moughaire was built over a temple of Adonis; and, in Edde, the St. George’s Church was built on the cella of a Roman temple; there are other examples at Amchit and Chakkia (Augustinovic 1972: 40, 42; Taylor 1967: pl. 103). Moreover, the church at Ezara, mentioned earlier, was built over a temple (Augustinovic 1972: 42). Augustinovic (1972) also discusses the association of al-Khadr, the legendary being of Islam, with Mar Elias (St. Elias or Elijah) and with Mar Giro (St. George). “El Khadr (‘The Green One’, ever-young and immortal), universally venerated in the Islamic world, is a legendary superhuman being, who unseen wanders the world, and who from time to time reveals himself in exceptional circumstances generally to rescue someone from grave danger or to manifest to him a particular divine grace” (Augustinovic 1972: 9). He gives a list of churches in the area dedicated to St. George or St. Elias where the cult of al-Khadr was also present. Indeed, he makes it clear that these three, al-Khadr, Elijah, and George, are so confused that it is often difficult to discern which one is being commemorated. The common factor that al-Khadr shares with St. George is that they both appear as horsemen. Many of the structures dedicated to them are associated with caves, and the shrines involved are often used by Christians and Moslems alike.

We should therefore ask whether the Jebel al-Webdeh church continued to be a sacred area after the advent of Islam. While quantities of ceramics later than the church were found during the excavations, little architecture was associated with those materials. What modifications there were, however, as well as the concentrations of Islamic-era materials, were discovered outside of the main building. This may indicate that the structure was still respected, if not still in use. Many of the shrines to al-Khadr continued to be sacred space even after they had collapsed, e.g., at Ajlun and Qal’at er-Rabab (Augustinovic 1972: 46); this may be the case with our shrine.

As noted, except for some pottery and lamps, the site disappears from our view in about the 8th century and does not appear again until Condor reports his visit and reports an “excavation” at the end of the 19th century. Savignac and Abel’s visits in 1905 and 1908 are witnesses
to further treasure hunting. According to Ali Maher (personal communication), during World War I, his great-uncle, Musa Bermamet, fought on the side of the Bedouin against the Turkish occupation. The home of the Bermamet family was about a kilometer from Darat al-Funun. Ottoman troops surrounded the house to try to capture Bermamet, but he escaped on horseback and went to the cave. He threw himself on the sarcophagus (in Niche A) and prayed to al-Khadr; he promised never to fight again. Turkish troops searched the area but failed to find him. So when our site re-emerges from darkness, it is a Khadr.

According to Nimer Pasha al-Hmoud, his grandfather of the same name was governor of Salt and it was he who began building the main house above the church in 1918. Peake Pasha lived in it from 1921 to 1938. In the 1920s, Ismail Hakki Abdo built the two houses above Peake's residence; the one to the east was built first. Peake objected to the construction, saying that it would destroy the antiquities that were there; these included caves with Byzantine remains. But construction proceeded. In 1994, those houses were incorporated into Darat al-Funun.

During the time that they were being restored, small soundings were made in the area. A few small sections of walls were located, but it appeared that the antiquities that had been reported to be there had indeed been cleared to build the houses.

The main house was a British officer's club from 1938 to 1956 and, from 1956 to 1975, a private school (the Arab School for Girls). It is said that the girls from the school used to pick up the mosaic cubes at the church. During Bagatti's visits in 1948 and 1973, he records elements at the site—the horned altar, Nike relief, and rosette—that were probably introduced as decorations for the garden. After 1975, the property was essentially abandoned and people were again digging in the garden for gold.

This is a very special site, a place where, it seems, there was a continuity in cult spanning millennia—one cult taking the place of another, each embodying some of the features of the earlier one. The Christian church, perhaps dedicated to St. George, and perhaps on or near the site of a shrine dedicated to Herakles, in turn, became a memorial of al-Khadr. It is fitting that it is now protected.

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