

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
HESHBON EXPEDITION

THE THIRD CAMPAIGN AT *TELL HESBÂN* (1973)

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The third campaign at *Tell Heshbân* was conducted from June 20 to August 14, 1973.¹ Heshbon's history from literary sources and a description of *Tell Heshbân* and its geographical location² have already been covered in previous reports. For this reason these will not be discussed in this report.

Organization

Andrews University was again the major sponsor of the expedition, but sizable subventions were once more made by Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman (ACOR) thanks to the generosity of the late ACOR board member H. Dunscombe Colt. Smaller contributions came from several private individuals. Again a word of thanks is due to all those who, through their financial support, made the expedition possible and thus shared in its success.

As in 1971 the headquarters were in the American Com-

¹ For the 1968 season, see R. S. Boraas and S. H. Horn, *et al.*, *Heshbon 1968* (*AUSS*, 7 [1969]: 97-239); *AUM*, Vol. 2, 1969; Horn, *ADAJ*, 12-13 (1967-1968): 51-52; Horn, *BA*, 32 (1969): 26-41; Horn, *RB*, 76 (1969): 395-398; A. Terian, "Coins from the 1968 Excavation at Heshbon," *AUSS*, 9 (1971): 147-160; E. N. Lugenbeal and J. A. Sauer, "Seventh-sixth Century B.C. Pottery from Area B at Heshbon," *AUSS*, 10 (1972): 21-69.

For the 1971 season, see R. S. Boraas and S. H. Horn, *et al.*, *Heshbon 1971* (*AUSS*, 11 [1973]: 1-144), *AUM*, 6, 1973; Horn, *ADAJ*, 17 (1972): 15-22; Horn, *RB*, 79 (1972): 422-426; R. G. Bullard, "Geological Study of the Heshbon Area," *AUSS*, 10 (1972): 129-141; J. A. Sauer, *Heshbon Pottery 1971* (*AUM*, Vol. 7, 1973); A. Terian, "Coins from the 1971 Excavations at Heshbon," *AUSS*, 12 (1974): 35-46.

² W. Vyhmeister, *AUSS*, 6 (1968): 158-177; Boraas and Horn, *Heshbon 1968*, pp. 97-98.

munity School on the western outskirts of Amman. The school plant was graciously placed at the disposal of the expedition by the school board through the good offices of its chairman, Richard Undeland of the United States Embassy in Amman. It provided once more excellent facilities for housing most of the staff members and kitchen personnel, and for the various archaeological headquarters activities.

The staff of 59 consisted of 49 overseas members and 10 Jordanians. The foreigners came from the United States of America, Canada, Germany, Norway, South Africa and Australia. Nearly half of them were students. The host country was represented by several members of the staff of the Department of Antiquities and students of the University of Jordan who had majored in archaeology.

The director of the expedition was again Siegfried H. Horn. Roger S. Boraas served once more as the expedition's chief archaeologist. Their responsibilities were the same as in previous seasons. Continuity in staff assignments was achieved to a great extent by the fact that seven members had been with the expedition from its beginning in 1968, while another 17 members served the Heshbon expedition for the second season in 1973. In the following list staff members are mentioned in connection with their major assignments, although a few shifts took place during the season.

Area A, on the summit of the acropolis where the remains of a Byzantine church had been discovered in 1968, was once more supervised by Bastiaan Van Elderen, who from 1972-1974 served in Amman as the director of ACOR. Work continued here in three of the six Squares previously opened while two new Squares were opened in the western part of the Area. The Square supervisors of Area A were Emmet A. Barnes, Douglas R. Clark, Ann O. Koloski, Paul E. Moore, and Eric C. Schilperoort.

Area B, on the shelf below and south of the acropolis, stood again under the supervision of James A. Sauer, who as the

expedition's pottery expert was also responsible for all pottery reading. Since it was anticipated that the new Square D.4 which lies between Squares B.3 and D.3 would correlate more closely to the Squares B.1-3, this new Square was also under Sauer's supervision, as well as two minor soundings (labeled B.5 and B.6), north and west of Squares B.1 and B.2. The Square supervisors of Area B were Adil Abu Shmais, James R. Battenfield, Susan A. Hamilton, Norman Johnson, Philip J. Post, David Undeland, and Udo Worschech. In Square D.4 Elizabeth G. Burr and Samir Ghishan served as supervisors.

For Area C, on the western slope of the *tell*, the work was continued in three of the five Squares previously excavated. Henry O. Thompson served as supervisor of this Area as in both previous seasons. The Square supervisors of Area C were B. Michael Blaine, Ibrahim Hajj Hasan, Nabil Salim Qadi, Thomas J. Meyer, Omar Daoud, and Douglas J. Stek.

Area D, which covered the remains of the ascent to the summit from the south and which lay between Areas A and B, was again supervised by Lawrence T. Geraty. Work was continued in all five Squares previously opened. The Square supervisors of Area D were Ali Musa, Jack B. Bohannon, Lillian A. Foster, Lutfi Ostah, Richard C. Mannell, Julia Neuffer, Catherine Schilperoort, and John W. Wood.

Work in the Roman-Byzantine Cemetery F on the southwestern slope of *Tell Heshbân* was continued and several new tombs were discovered. Dewey M. Beegle, the supervisor, was assisted by Timothy Smith, Mary Stek, Anita Van Eldern and Donald H. Wimmer.

G was the Area designation for several soundings made at different places on the *tell* and in a cave at its western slope. Dewey M. Beegle also supervised these probes and was assisted by Ghazzan Ramakhe and Leonard P. Tolhurst.

The archaeological and topographical survey team which explored the area around *Tell Heshbân* was headed by S. Douglas

Waterhouse. He was assisted by B. Charlene Hogsten and Robert D. Ibach, while the following staff members served part time in this project: Ali Musa, Eugenia L. Nitowski, and Sami Abadi.

Bert De Vries, Albright Fellow of ACOR for 1972-1973, served the expedition for the third time as surveyor and architect. His assistant was Gary Roozeboom. Mary Stek helped as drafts-woman. They continued the survey of the *tell* and its surroundings (see Contour Map, Fig. 1), made plans and elevations of all architectural remains as these were excavated, and were frequently called upon to provide levels for various excavated features.

As in 1968, Avery V. Dick was chief photographer. His assistants were Paul J. Bergsma and James H. Zachary. Eugenia L. Nitowski helped with the darkroom chores.

Øystein LaBianca, assisted by his wife Asta, was the expedition's anthropologist and was responsible for the animal bone material, while Eugenia L. Nitowski took care of the human skeletal material.

Hester Thomsen was again responsible for all pottery operations in camp, which included supervising of the washing, drying and sorting of all sherds retrieved during the excavations, and the registration of the more than 30,000 sherds retained for further study. Aina E. Boraas used her skills to restore pottery as much as possible.

Marion E. Beegle was registrar of objects, and Elizabeth C. Sanford served as conservator. It was the first time that the expedition enjoyed the presence of a professional conservator on its staff.

The camp director was once more Vivolyn Van Elderen. Mohammad Adawi, the major-domo of ACOR, served just as in previous seasons as the expedition's cook. He had four assistants.

All legible coins were identified by Abraham Terian. His 1973 coin article is scheduled for a future number of the *AUSS*.

The Department of Antiquities, which through Director-

General Yacoub Oweis issued the excavation permit, was as usual most helpful in many ways. Mohammad Murshed Khadija, one of the department's officials, was loaned to the expedition and once more served as its foreman, mainly in charge of the 130 villagers hired as local laborers. Ali Musa and Ibrahim Hajj Hasan were assigned as the department's representatives and served also in other capacities, as has already been mentioned above. Thanks are also due to Mr. Oweis for having secured a permit for conducting the regional survey, for loaning equipment to the expedition when needed, and for various other courtesies extended. Much of the success and the smooth operation of the expedition is due to the cooperation and helpfulness of the officials of this department in general and to Mr. Oweis in particular.

*Aims*³

Since it was possible that the 1973 season would be the last season of the Andrews University excavations at *Tell Heshbân*, all decisions concerning field tactics were conditioned by this possibility. For this reason portions of some Squares were reduced in the hope to reach bedrock along the fullest possible extent of the main east-west and north-south axes as well as along the north balk of Area B. It was anticipated that in this way we might obtain the most complete stratigraphic record of the three seasons of work on the site. In addition, special problems received specific attention, such as the western dimensions of the Byzantine Church on the acropolis, the occupational stratigraphy on the eastern slope of the *tell*, location of the Roman road "from Esbus to Livias," the search for additional tombs, the location of outlying settlements in the immediately adjacent

³ The strategy, methods, and techniques employed were essentially the same as in the previous seasons and their description needs therefore no repetition (see *Heshbon 1968*, pp. 110-117). It may be repeated here that the letters A-G stand for Areas A-G; the first numeral after these letters, for the number of the Square referred to; and the following numeral preceded by a colon to the locus number; hence A.3:14 means Area A, Square 3, Locus 14, while D.6 refers merely to Area D, Square 6.

region, and the improvement of ecological data-gathering and artifact conservation in the field.

Accomplishments

We shall summarize the work of the 1973 season by reporting only the new material found for each of the periods involved, beginning with the earliest.⁴ It is assumed that the reader is acquainted with the accomplishments of the two preceding seasons.

Iron I (1200-900 B.C.) Stratified materials occurred in Areas B and C, with miscellaneous sherds from the Iron I period recovered just over bedrock in the sounding G.1. In Square C.1 such remains appeared to be in dump layers lying just above bedrock. In Area B there appeared structures which seemed to be three walls crossing a declivity in bedrock. They enclosed some mixed soil and ash layers in which Iron I pottery was found. The precise functions of these walls did not yet become apparent, but the soil sequences and ceramics involved suggested domestic settlement. The pottery evidence indicated that these remains belonged to the early Iron I period.

Iron II/Persian (ca. 700-500 B.C.). Stratified materials were found in Areas B and C, with sherds in mixed loci in Area D. On the west slope a few soil layers were dated to this period in Square C. 1, but the first elements of what seemed to be possible Iron Age defense structures occurred further up the slope (Squares C.3 and possibly C.2) in the form of major buttressed masonry following the contour of the bedrock on which it was founded. Only foundation courses remained to be traceable, the super-

⁴ Period divisions adopted for this report follow the scheme worked out by James A. Sauer, *Heshbon Pottery 1971*, pp. 1-7. Stratum designations with Arabic numerals have been adopted by the authors of reports on Areas B and D as means of distinguishing the accumulated stratification within each respective Area. Hence the numerical sequences vary from one Area to the other, consequently designating remains of different periods in some instances. Designation of Strata by Roman numerals is reserved for site-wide Stratum identifications, as indicated in *Heshbon 1968*, pp. 114-115.

structures having long since fallen or been removed by later occupants.

The most notable structural remains in Area B from this period were parts of a thick cement floor in Square B.1 and parts of a possible retaining wall in Squares B.2 and 4 of a large open-air reservoir on the south shelf of the *tell*. The floor comprised three superimposed layers of cement over bedrock, the top of which was nearly level. The possible eastern retaining wall of this installation consisted in part of the plastered faces of bedrock cut vertically and in part of a contiguous well-built header-stretcher wall of which a 16.00 m. length was exposed in Squares B.2 and 4 without reaching its corners. The season's work allowed no more than the exposure of eight courses of the header-stretcher wall and of the comparable depth of the faces of the bedrock portions of the reservoir's eastern retaining wall. The dates for the construction of this installation and its most recent use—7th and 6th cent. B.C.—were determined on the basis of the few sherds retrieved from the wall and cement, and from ample ceramics in the layer of clay lying just above the cement floor. The available time did not allow us to ascertain the size of the installation, nor whether the cement floor and plastered retaining wall were connected.

The discovery of this installation reminds one of the fact that the Biblical Heshbon was famous for its pools at the gate of Bath-rabbim, as attested in Song of Solomon 7:4. Only future excavations may show whether the installation of Area B can be one of the pools mentioned in the Bible.

Early Hellenistic (332-198 B.C.). The only trace of occupation from this period was what seemed to be a layer of fill laid over bedrock in the sounding G.1 on the east slope of the *tell*. This layer, also containing some Iron Age I sherds, may have been the makeup for a plaster surface.

Late Hellenistic (198-63 B.C.) Extensive evidence from this period was recovered in Areas B and D, with supplemental

material in Area C. Squares B.1, 2 and 4 contained a massive accumulation of soil layers which had been produced by filling in the "reservoir" after it was abandoned. While the bulk of the pottery evidence from these layers came from the Iron II/Persian period, it became clear that Hellenistic settlers were responsible for this fill when an indisputable Hellenistic sherd was found in a non-intrusive locus near the bottom of the accumulated soil layers. The depth and volume of this fill suggested that the settlers had conducted extensive clearing operations of earlier occupational debris over sizable portions of the *tell*, possibly the acropolis.

Evidence of their domestic facilities included storage pits cut into bedrock and some storage jars found in Area B, while clues to a somewhat sparse and perhaps temporary habitation in Area C were provided by a possible hearth and a firepit. Various evidences of Hellenistic remains in Area D also suggested that the occupants of this period used considerable portions of the site.

That they intended to keep control of the site is most clearly apparent in the major masonry they constructed in Areas B and D. It seems that Hellenistic occupants constructed the first of a series of phases of a major defense wall surrounding the acropolis. This wall, D.1:4, was set firmly on bedrock and was nearly two meters thick. Similarly impressive wall foundations were dug into the "reservoir" fill by later occupants of the south shelf of the *tell*. Wall B.1:17 = B.2:62 with its conspicuous foundation trenches is also of a size that suggests defensive purposes. Problems attended both these constructions thus interpreted, as the details reported below will make clear, but these walls represent the most massive masonry erected on the site up to that time as far as our present evidence goes. One of these walls, D.1:4, continued to serve the occupants of Heshbon for centuries. Only scattered sherds were found in Area A (Square 6) from this period, suggesting that later clearing operations may have removed existing remains of the Hellenistic period.

Early Roman (63 B.C.-A.D. 135). This period is represented at Esbus, as Heshbon was called in the Roman period, by a more diverse and widely dispersed range of evidence than any earlier period.

In Area A where the column support wall of the Byzantine church rested on foundations constructed in the Early Roman period, additional wall foundations were found. At the end of the 1973 season it was still unclear what functions some of these walls had performed. Concern to maintain an adequate water supply in the acropolis may have led to the construction of Cistern D.6:33. It was cut in bedrock and fitted with a neck built of ringed header stones.

There may have been an attempt to buttress the perimeter wall (D.1:4) around the acropolis by means of a parallel battered support wall founded on trimmed bedrock ca. 1.50 m. south of the perimeter wall. Whatever its intended function may have been, numerous accumulated soil layers were found in the intervening space. Wall fragments, traces of *huwwar* surfaces, a door sill and storage pits indicated that additional domestic or public structures had occupied the space lying south of this support wall. The remains of this period, however, were partially disturbed by earthquake activity which was most apparent in Square D.3.

The complex accumulation of Early Roman remains on the south shelf of the *tell* gave us the clearest sequence of occupation history for the period. In Cave B.4:74 and in a "room" spanning the northern portion of Square B.4 and the southern portion of Square B.2 were series of soil layers which from both ceramic and coin evidence could be dated as Early Roman I (63-37 B.C.) occupation deposits. Smaller accumulations from the same period were found in Cave B.4:171. This domestic occupation came to an end by a major earthquake, probably the one recorded by other sources for 31 B.C., which caused the collapse of the ceiling of Cave B.4:171 so that it was never used for domestic purposes

again, rendered Cave B.4:74 unusable except for a waste dump, and caused the redesign and repair of other living space in the Area.

During the Early Roman II-III period (37 B.C.-A.D. 73), according to the coin and ceramic evidence, the occupants of Esbus began an extensive redesign of the facilities on the south shelf. They constructed the first of a series of plastered surfaces over an extensive sector (running east-west for the greatest portion of the Area). It seems from the smoothness, thickness and physical composition of the layers tested, that the builders wanted to provide an adequate surface for extensive foot traffic, possibly leading to an access to the acropolis. An apparent stairway forming the south edge of this facility confirmed test results on some of the plaster samples in that the layers were of insufficient strength to support wheeled traffic of any size.⁵ Whether this comprised a forum, plaza, roadway or market place was not clear to us.

In Area C the major structure from the Early Roman period was the large and well-built stone Wall C.1:40/63 set on bed-rock in a foundation trench which followed roughly a scarp in the natural rock. The wall was 1.40 m. thick and survived to a height of over two meters. Its size as well as its placement suggested that it was part of the Early Roman defense system on the west side of the city.

Additional evidence of activity from this period was recovered in Cemetery F where Tomb F.18 had been cut and first used in the Early Roman period, as evidenced by six datable coins found in the tomb as well as by the pottery recovered from it.

Late Roman (A.D. 135-324). Late Roman remains on the acropolis included a substantial stone platform in Area A, Square 6, and three walls comprising the most impressive construction in

⁵ Samples submitted to the laboratories of the Natural Resources Authority of Jordan were given preliminary analysis. An oral report of the results of these preliminary tests allowed this conclusion to be made before the 1973 season ended.

Square A.7. Both the platform and the walls had obviously been parts of public facilities, but the precise nature of their function was not learned. They indicated that a major structure had stood on the west side of the acropolis in Late Roman times.

During this period the south slope of the acropolis was drastically redesigned. After the destruction of what may have been a municipal or other public building, partially recovered in Square D.3, a monumental stone stairway leading up to the acropolis from the south was constructed. Portions of the stairs were recovered in spite of extensive robbing and later intrusions in both Squares D.3 and D.2. A coin found in the makeup materials for the stair construction had been issued by Trajan (A.D. 98-117), indicating that the stairs must have been laid during or after his reign. This monumental stairway seemed to connect the extensive plaster layers of Area B with any public structure that stood on the summit of the acropolis during this period.

The most significant find made in the layers of this period was a rare coin of Elagabalus (A.D. 218-222) minted at Esbus. The reverse bears the imprint "Esbous" underneath a four-columned temple facade and a statue of a deity or of the emperor in the center. The obverse shows the head of the emperor and the usual inscription surrounding it.

Evidence from the Late Roman period recovered in Area C was limited to some fill layers in pits. During this period Tomb F.12, discovered in the 1973 season, was cut from the rock and first used while Tomb F.18, constructed in the Early Roman period, was reused.

Early Byzantine (A.D. 324-491). The bulk of evidence from this period was recovered from the south slope and shelf of the *tell*, from the church on the acropolis, and from some tombs.

The chief feature of the Early Byzantine period found on the south slope was a water channel running north-south. This channel of which portions were recovered in Squares D.2 and D.3 was carefully covered with neatly fitted stones. In this period the

south exterior wall of the Christian church was constructed together with a catch basin and a drain to bring water, probably from the roof, into the Cistern D.5:5 (excavated in 1971). Further constructions carried out during this period included a staircase over the water channel on the south slope and surfacings and rooms south of the church inside the acropolis perimeter Wall D.4:4, which continued as the main acropolis fortification. Cistern D.6:33, constructed in Early Roman times, continued in use.

The evidence found in Area B showed that the plaster layers leading to the stairway were repeatedly resurfaced during the Early Byzantine period, although interruptions must have occurred, as an intrusive pit in Square D.4 and other evidence showed.

Tomb F.18 was reused also in this period, while Tomb F.16 was cut in Early Byzantine times. It must have been used several times, as indicated by the layered skeletal remains in one chamber and the apparently single burial deposits in the other.

Late Byzantine (A.D. 491-640). The main evidence of this period recovered was found on the acropolis and south slope, and in the tombs. Inside the basilica two portions of mosaic floor were discovered in the western extremity of its nave. The earlier included a border pattern suggesting that it had been near the end of the nave. It was bounded on the west by a Roman wall still in use in Late Byzantine times. Above it lay a second mosaic which seemed to continue westward through a possible doorway. Tracing it toward the west was impossible because of the balk and had to be postponed to a later season's work.

Outside the basilica on the north was a substantial room comprised of reused Roman walls in which portions of a mosaic floor of a mid-sixth century style survived. This confirmed evidences discovered in previous seasons that the Byzantine builders reused structural remains of the Roman period.

On the south side of the basilica a new water drain took the

roof water into Cistern D.6:33, while new rooms and spaces were arranged south of the church.

Although no remains of the period survived in Area B on the south shelf, traces of a retaining wall were recovered in Square C.1 on the west shelf.

The Late Roman tomb F.12 was reused twice in the Late Byzantine period and several other tombs cleared in the 1973 season were first constructed and used (F.11a, F.11b, F.14 and F.17). Paritally cut, but apparently never used, was Tomb F.15.

Umayyad (A.D. 661-750). This season provided our first indisputably identifiable stratified Umayyad remains at *Tell Heshbân*. Dug down through the Byzantine floor in the room north of the basilica on the acropolis was a well-built *ṭabun* which seemed to have been built in the late 7th or 8th centuries. While evidence on the south slope of the *tell* was badly disturbed, the sector just inside the acropolis perimeter wall indicated that Cistern D.6:33 remained in use and that the surrounding surface remained partially intact. On the west slope only a pair of soil layers running up to a possible retaining wall (Square C.3) indicated settlement there during the Umayyad period. Though no tombs were found from this period, ceramic and soil stratification evidence suggested that some people must have opened Tomb F.18 in Umayyad times, but filled it after an inspection.

‘Abbāsīd (A.D. 750-969). Improved ceramic distinctions were made possible by the recovery of an isolated stratified *‘Abbāsīd* construction for the first time at *Tell Heshbân*. While some sherds from the period had been identified in dump layers in Square C.2 on the west shelf and in a pit on the south shelf (Square D.4), it was a stone-lined pit with its foundation trench and interior soil layer (Square B.6) which allowed the recovery of a small group of homogeneous *‘Abbāsīd* pottery for the first time in the series of seasons conducted thus far. This represented another step in the establishment of an increasingly refined ceramic horizon for East Jordan.

Following this occupation *Tell Hesbân* was apparently abandoned until the early stages of Late Islamic civilization revived the use of this site with major new construction activities over the existing ruins.

Ayyūbid-Mamlūk (A.D. 1174-1516). Extensive remains of this period found in previous seasons were further clarified by the 1973 excavations. Portions of the vaulted room just inside the south perimeter wall of the acropolis were recovered in Areas A (balk removal in Squares A.3 and 4) and D (Square D.6). Additional traces of similarly constructed rooms were found in Square A.6. Indicative of the sizable settlement in this period was the extensive bath installation overlying the west portion of the Byzantine basilica. It reused portions of both the earlier Byzantine and Roman structures along the western edge of the acropolis. This bathing complex consisted of a small entrance corridor which led into the bathing room that had a heated stone floor and a stone basin into which hot and cold water was led by separate pipes from two water tanks in the next room. The hot water tank rested on a brick-lined firing chamber which was fed from the stoker's room. The excavation of this bathing facility consumed much time, and since the Department of Antiquities wanted to preserve this installation it was impossible to ascertain the nature of the underlying remains of the church, or find its possible western terminus in this sector.

West of the bathing installation a narrow corridor between two long walls with a series of earth floors suggested the existence of additional commercial or domestic structures along the west perimeter wall of the acropolis.

On the south slope of the acropolis extensive pits outside the perimeter wall (D.4:4—now used in a fourth and final stage of its function as an acropolis boundary) indicated in conjunction with building remains three stages of occupation. The pits appeared to have been created by robbing earlier stone for construction purposes. Traces of *Ayyūbid-Mamlūk* occupation were also found

in the other Areas and surroundings, but none were important enough to warrant detailed description in this summary.

Evidence that the occupants of *Tell Heshbân* had opened, then filled and resealed, tombs occurred in two instances (Tombs F.14 and F.18).

A probe was made outside and inside the south wall of the ruin of a large building standing in the present village. The evidence of stratification, ceramics and one Ayyūbid coin (Al-'Adil, A.D. 1196-1218) suggested that the construction of this building had taken place during the Ayyūbid-Mamlūk period.

The activities of the Survey team resulted in tracing the route of the Roman road leading from Livias in the Jordan valley toward Eshbus. A major portion of this road was located. It brought the known route to about a kilometer from the *tell*, where traces disappeared and allowed at least three options for connections north, east or south. The evidence included milestones, curbing stones, portions of sub-surface roadbeds, foundations of guard-towers and road stations as well as ceramic samples gathered from ground surface soil.

Equally important were the results of the Survey team's effort to locate and collect pottery from the ground surface of 103 sites lying within a radius of ten kilometers of *Tell Heshbân*. This was the beginning of what can become an extended portrait of the density and nature of regional settlement to which the occupants of *Tell Heshbân* were economically, politically, and perhaps militarily related during the various cultural periods involved.

At the close of the 1973 season several major and some minor unsolved problems remained. Chief among these questions were the following: Where and what was the nature of the western terminus of the basilica? Were the cement floor in Square B.1 and the plastered retaining wall in Squares B.2 and B.4 parts of

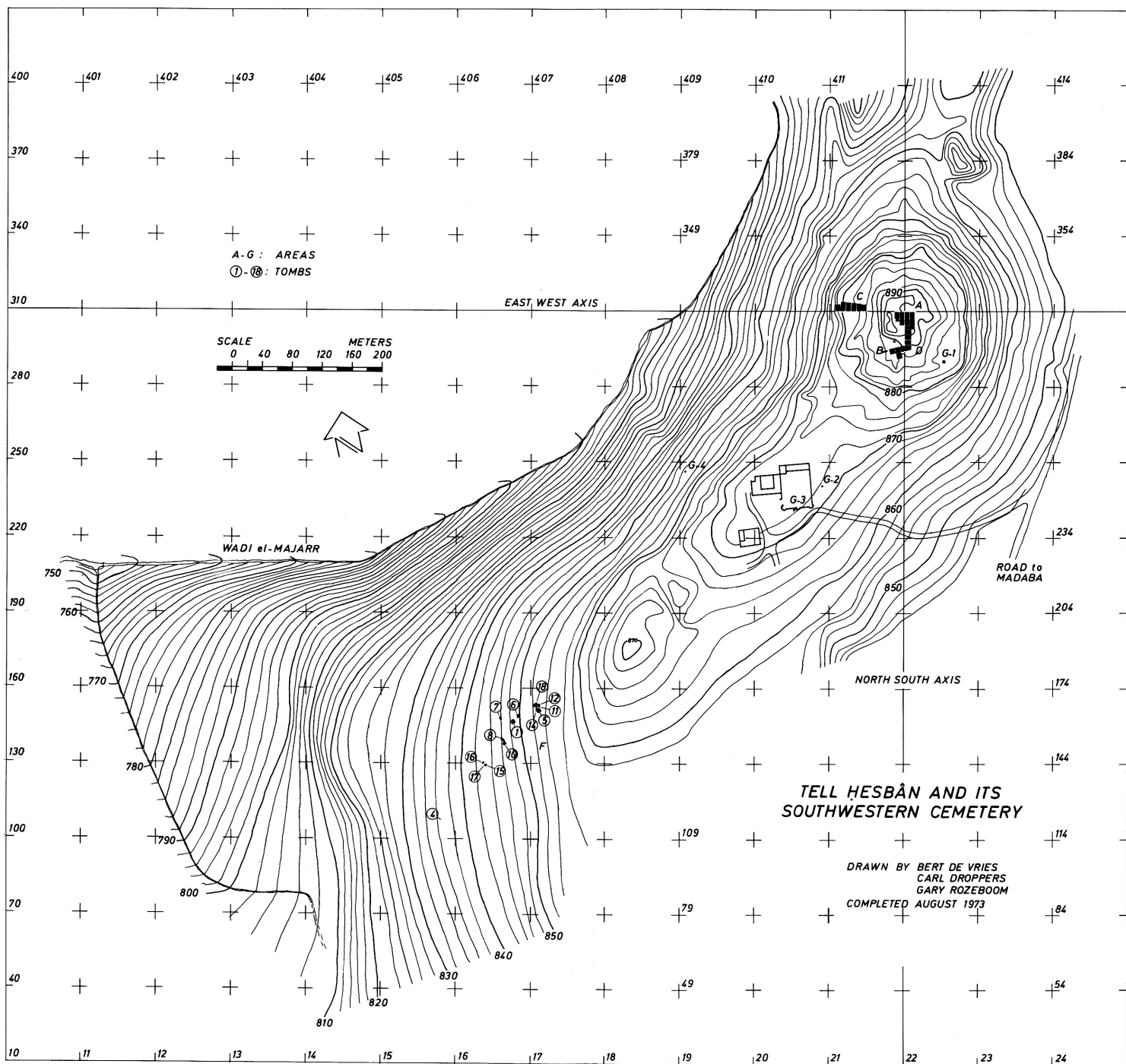


Fig. 1. Contour Map of *Tell Hesbân* and the area to the southwest of the *tell* where the ancient Cemetery F is situated. Areas A-D and G excavated during the 1968, 1971 and 1973 seasons are shown in black. Numbers enclosed in circles indicate tomb numbers.

a constructed water reservoir? If not, what were they? Was the major Early Roman stone wall in Square C.1 part of the western defense installations? Were the substantial Iron II masonry remains in Square C.3 also defensive in function? Were the newly found indications of an occupation of the *tell* in the Iron I period indicative of a relatively minor settlement, or simply the accidentally minor clues of a more extensive occupation? Could gaps still existing in our knowledge of Heshbon's history possibly be closed by a more refined analysis of all data already recovered, or only by further excavations in sectors of *Tell Heshbân* not yet touched by our tools? These unanswered questions clearly showed that our task at ancient Heshbon was not yet complete.