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# RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE

QASR] BINT FAR'UN AT PETRA

## I. ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS

by P. J. Parr.

### Introduction.

Ever since the early days of its work at Petra, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem has concerned itself with the Qasr el-Bint temple and its environs. In 1959 excavation at the foot of the Arched Gate at the western end of the colonnaded street not only proved this building to be the monumental entrance to the temple precinct, as previously suggested by von Domaszewski and others, but also revealed its true plan for the first time, thereby making possible significant advances in the discussion of its date<sup>1</sup>. In the same year, a sounding at the north-east corner of the Qasr itself established the previously unappreciated fact that the temple rested on a podium and was approached up a flight of monumental steps<sup>2</sup>. These were important additions to knowledge; but the main task, that of excavating the temple precinct, or **temenos**, itself, was too great for the resources of the School, and it fell to the lot of the Jordanian Government to clear the greater part of this area, at various times during 1963 and 1964. In the course of this work the salient features of the plan of the temenos were revealed, and many important discoveries made, the most prominent being a number of reliefs and inscriptions. The sculpture is discussed in a preliminary fashion by Mr. G. R. H. Wright in the second part of this report (below), while the inscriptions are the subject of a separate studies by the Abbé Jean Starcky, Mrs. C. M. Bennett and Mr. John Strugnell, in this Volume and elsewhere. One of them must be mentioned here, however, since its discovery was the direct cause of further investigations being carried out. (Fig 10, pl VI ). This text is in Nabataean, on a block of sandstone forming part of a row of benches along the southern side of the temenos ( described in greater detail below ), some 25m. east of the Qasr. It was uncovered, apparently, early in 1964, but seems not to have been noted until the summer of that year, when the writer made

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( 1 ) P. J. Parr, *P. E. Q.*, 1960, p. 131 f.; G.R.H. Wright, *P.E.Q.* 1961, p. 124 ff.

( 2 ) P. J. Parr, *op. cit.*, 1960 p. 133, and G.R.H. Wright, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 8ff.; J. Starcky and J. Stugnell, *Revue Biblique*, 1966. 236 - 247.

photographs and squeezes of it. The fact that this inscription was *in situ* and was built into a free-standing structure so close to, and so obviously related to, the Qasr el-Bint, made it of very great value. In 1965, with the authorization of the late Dr. Awni Dajani, then Director of Antiquities, the block was studied by the Abbé Jean Stracky and Professor John Strugnell. Their findings have already appeared in a volume of the *Revue Biblique*; it is sufficient to record here that the stone proved to be the base for a statue ( which was not found) of Aretas IV (9 B.C. - 40 A.D.), and the inscription to be dated palaeographically to not later than the beginning of the first century A. D.

The discovery of this new material bearing on the date of the *temenos* and the Qasr, together with the fact that the Jordanian Department of Antiquities was contemplating the resumption of its work of clearance, made it imperative that further stratigraphic excavation should be carried out in the area, with the principal aims of establishing the exact relationship between the inscription and the temple, and of obtaining complementary dating evidence from the latter building itself. After protracted consultations the present writer was invited to undertake this work, before the larger scale clearance got under way. These initial investigations took place during four weeks in September and October 1965. The work was financed and equipped by the Department of Antiquities, largely with monies made available by the United States Agency for International Development ( USAID); incidental expenses were met by the British School of Archaeology (Petra Excavation Fund). The archaeological staff was composed mainly of volunteers from Miss K. M. Kenyon's excavation team in Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>, and the architect, on this as on other occasions, was Mr. G. R. H. Wright, whose report on certain aspects of the work appears below. To these colleagues, and especially to Mr. Wright, the best thanks of the writer are due. Grateful acknowledgement is also made of the assistance, of many kinds, provided by Dr. Dajani, Mr. Ralph Iler, Miss K. M. Kenyon, Dr. Paul Lapp, and Mr. Tom Zavishlock. Without the interest and co-operation of these people the work described in this article would not have taken place, and our knowledge of Petra's history would be considerably Less.

The following account of the Qasr el-Bint sanctuary and of the results of the recent work is of a preliminary nature only, and will be followed by a fuller treatment in the final report of the British School's excavations. It must be emphasized that a complete study of the temple area could not be undertaken in 1965, with the time and resources available, and that as a consequence many problems remain unsolved and many aspects of the area uninvestigated. It is confidently felt, however, that a solid basis for future work has been established, and that the outlines of this should be made available to other scholars without delay .

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( 3 ) Miss J. Farrell, Miss M. Geschier, Mr. T. Holland, Miss A. Searight, Miss G. Smith, and Mr. T. Strickland.



### General Description of the Sanctuary Area.

In view of what has been said in the last paragraph it will be appreciated that the description of the Sanctuary which follows is incomplete, and may even be inaccurate in detail. The plan published will almost certainly have to be revised on a future occasion. In particular, the structural details of the long southern wall of the *temenos* and of adjacent benches and other features have been insufficiently examined; even a cursory inspection reveals evidence of repairs and rebuildings, all of which have a bearing on the chronological development of the area and should, properly, be investigated. Such detailed investigation is a task for the future.

The Qasr el-Bint sanctuary area stretches for some 200 m. along the southern bank of the wadi Musa, from close under el-Habis in the west to the Arched Gate in east (Fig. 1, pl. I) This gate undoubtedly formed the monumental entrance to the temple precinct, at least during the later stages of the temple's history, although there were other entrances as well, as we shall see. It has been described many times before, most recently by G. R. H. Wright<sup>4</sup>. Our description of the temple area, therefore, may conveniently start within the gateway, and with two structures attached to that monument.

The first of these is a small tower-like building contiguous with the northern pier of the gate (see the plan, Fig. 18, pl. XI). It is poorly preserved, but what little remains was fully excavated in 1960; it will be discussed in the final report. It seems clear that in origin it is earlier than the present gateway, being founded on a wall which was partly destroyed when that monument was built<sup>5</sup>. The other structure attached to the gate adjoins its southern pier. It is again of tower-like proportions, although it is considerably larger than the northern building, and is preserved to a much greater height (Fig 2, pl. I and fig. 3, pl. II) It has only been partly cleared, and very inadequately studied; hence, little can usefully be said about its plan or function. However, one point is clear and deserves mention, namely, that it is entered from the *temenos*, by means of an imposing doorway. This fact suggests forcibly that the southern "tower" is an integral part of the sanctuary area, and had a rôle to play in the religious ceremonies which took place therein. It is possible that it is a vestibule belonging to some building lying further south. A glance at Bachmann's plan<sup>6</sup> shows that the ruins most closely adjacent to the gate on this side are those of the baths, and although excavation would be required to establish the relationship of these various structures, it may, perhaps, be tentatively suggested that the newly exposed "tower" is the main entrance to these baths. It

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( 4 )            *Op. cit.*, 1961 p. 124 ff.; *Revue Biblique*, 1966, p. 404 ff.

( 5 )            P. J. Parr, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

( 6 )            W. Bachmann et. al., *Petra* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos, Heft 3 ), 1921, plate I.

has hitherto been assumed that this complex of building was approached from the colonnaded street through a doorway some 10 m. east of the Arched Gate, but this doorway seems hardly imposing enough to be the main entrance, and the doorway in the **temenos** might appear more suitable. The association of the baths with the sanctuary that this suggestion implies is by no means impossible. There is much evidence ( some of it collected by Ginouvès<sup>7</sup> for ritual bathing in connection with both classical and ancient oriental religions, and a bath-house might well form one of the adjuncts of this sacred area in Petra.

The façade of this "tower" or vestibule forms an angle with the southern boundary wall of the **temenos** ( Figs. 2 and 3, pl. I, II ). As stressed above, this wall is not necessarily a homogeneous structure, and further investigation might well reveal that it had a complicated history. The same can be said even more emphatically about the various structures which about the wall, lining the southern side of the **temenos**. The first of these structures is a low paved dais filling the corner formed by the boundary wall and the "vestibule" façade; it is about 3 m. wide, 15 m. long, and one step high. At the rear of the dais, against the boundary wall, is a stone seat or bench with a simple moulded profile. Next to this dais, and separated from it by a gap of about 30 m., is another stone platform, about the same length as the dais but slightly wider. This has no bench associated with it, and it is approached from the **temenos** up three shallow steps. It seems likely that this is the remnant of a flight of steps leading south out of the **temenos**; and the fact that it lies on the axis of the small prostyle hexastyle temple shown on the German plan<sup>9</sup> suggests that it is, in fact, the stepped approach to that monument<sup>10</sup>. It is true that there is no obvious doorway in the boundary wall at this point, but if, as seems probable, the steps are denuded, the original flight might well have risen to a threshold at a higher level than the surviving top of the wall. Further west still, these steps are succeeded by a small water basin ( not shown on the plan; see Fig. 4, pl. II ), and then comes the beginnings of another broad flight of stairs, ( 16.50 m. X 2.00 m ), consisting of

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- ( 7 ) R. Ginouvès, **Balnéotiké : Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque**. Paris, 1962
- ( 8 ) It must be pointed out, however, that the baths, in the form in which they are visible today, are almost certainly considerably later than the original sanctuary, which, as we shall see, cannot date from after the early 1st. century A. D. The baths, on the other hand, by virtue of the fact that one of their chambers is roofed with a pendentive dome ( see W. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 39 ), can hardly be earlier than the 2nd. century; such a dome occurring before this date would be so unusual as to be revolutionary. None of this is evidence against our postulated association of baths and sanctuary, however, since the "vestibule" might well be a later addition to the **temenos**, or the baths may have been rebuilt. Without excavation we cannot solve these problems.
- ( 9 ) W. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-9, and fig. 43.
- ( 10 ) Starcky has already noted that this small temple opens off the Qasr el-Bint **temenos**. See **Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible**, VII ( Fasc. 39 ), col. 975.



only two visible steps, and here coinciding with an opening in the *temenos* wall. Where this leads remains unknown.

The main feature of this southern side of the Qasr precinct now appears : it is the double row of benches which stretches for some 73 m. in the direction of the temple ( Figs. 3 and 5, pl. III ). The benches, of large sandstone blocks, actually comprise three tiers, but the uppermost tier is a plinth or pedestal and only the lower two are true seats. They are provided with a projecting moulding, but otherwise they are quite plain. A fuller description of the western end of the row of benches will be given in the section of this report dealing with the 1965 excavations.

The benches end about 20 m. east of the Qasr el-Bint, at a point where the southern wall of the precinct is interrupted by another doorway ( Fig. 6. pl. III ). This is 3.50 m. between jambs, and is of a monumental nature, being framed within pilasters and quarter columns resting on engaged pedestals. Although preserved ( as is the *temenos* wall here ) to a height of some 3 - 4 m. , there is unfortunately no evidence for the original appearance of its upper part. Its threshold is approached from the *temenos* by means of a flight of four or five steps, now much destroyed, and within the doorway there is another paved area, a small part of which has been excavated. Bachmann's reconstructed plan of the Qasr el-Bint<sup>11</sup> shows this entrance as leading into a courtyard surrounded on three sides by rooms, but there seems to be no evidence for this on the ground, and most of Bachmann's walls are hypothetical. There is, in fact, almost no evidence to show how the area immediately south of the *temenos* was arranged. The baths and the small temple already been mentioned as occupying some of this area at the eastern end of the site, but for the central and western part there is no more than a suggestion of another long wall running parallel to the *temenos* wall a few metres away from it<sup>12</sup>. One point of interest may be noted here in this general connection, namely that the level of the paving uncovered within the doorway is only about 1m. higher than the paving of the *temenos* itself. This shows that there is no considerable and abrupt rise in the ground level south of the *temenos*, as has sometimes been assumed. A study - admittedly perfunctory - of the level of the remains of the small temple and of the baths ( which are preserved to roof height ) relative to that of the colonnaded street and the *temenos*, as well as evidence from excavations further east along the street<sup>13</sup>, tends to confirm this conclusion. It seems clear that the flattish area of ground on the left bank of the wadi Musa, on which the street and sanctuary were sited, extends somewhat further south than the present contours suggest, and that the buildings south of the street and *temenos* were on much the

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(11) Op. cit., p. 58, fig. 50.

(12) Ibid., plate I.

(13) Not yet published.



same level as those monuments themselves. Not only does this augur well for the productivity of future excavations in this area, but it has a bearing on the problem of the orientation of the Qasr el-Bint, as we shall see below .

West of the doorway at the end of the benches, the wall of the **temenos** continues for another 8 m. , until it is within 5 m. of the eastern flank of the Qasr. For this entire stretch it is abutted by a massive masonry pedestal, 2 m. wide and preserved to a height of 2 m. , the purpose of which is unknown. The **temenos** wall then makes a right-angled turn to the south, and although it has been traced for only a few metres in this new direction there can be little doubt that it runs parallel to the side of the temple, presumably turning west again to follow the rear wall of that building, and eventually joining up with the partly visible wall which forms the western boundary of the precinct. The Qasr would thus be encompassed on three sides by a **peribolos**, but it is important to note that the **peribolos** did not enclose the area immediately in front of the temple, forming (as the German Plan shows ) an axial courtyard arranged symmetrically around the monumental altar. In actual fact, the paving of the **temenos** stretches, unbroken by wall or step, from the altar to the Arched Gate : the establishment of this fact is, perhaps, one of the most significant results of the Jordanian Government's work on this site.

We thus come to the Qasr el-Bint itself. As in the case of the Arched Gate, this building has been discussed by so many scholars that no further treatment of its main features is called for here. The reader is referred to Mr. Wright's discussion with full bibliography, in the **Palestine Exploration Quarterly**<sup>14</sup>, and to a critical appraisal of this by the Abbé Jean Starcky in the **Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible**. A few new details concerning the building will be noted in the following section of this report.

West of the Qasr a short stretch of the end wall of the **temenos** is visible, including the exhedra shown on Bachmann's plan. One or two fragments of masonry recorded on the latter, however, can no longer be seen, and are not therefore drawn on the new plan published here. At the same time it must be emphasized that the work of the German surveyors, wherever it has been checked, has proved to be remarkably accurate, and it is reasonably certain that these additional lengths of wall did exist in 1917. They should, therefore, be added to our plan.

Little can be said about the long northern boundary of the **temenos**. In one or two places lengths of walling are visible, and their alignments are noted on the plan. The arrangement of this side of the sanctuary area is unknown, and it is likely that it has been subjected to so much erosion that all remains other than foundations have disappeared. At only one point did new evidence emerge, near the north-west corner of the area.

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(14) P. E. Q., 1961, p. 8 ff.



Here, roughly on a line with the western wall of the Qasr, a short return in the northern boundary wall is now exposed. As Mr. Wright points out in his discussion below, this is suggestive of an entrance to the **temenos** on this side, axial to the Qasr and altar.

Before leaving our description of the Qasr el-Bint precinct mention must be made briefly of one other feature, namely the paving itself. This has not been completely cleared or studied, but even a casual inspection shows that it is by no means continuous and homogeneous. Some of the interruptions and irregularities are no doubt the result of repairs, but there are places which are entirely devoid of paving slabs and where the surrounding slabs are laid with a straight edge. An example is shown on the plan, opposite the approach steps to the small temple; another (not planned) was investigated a few metres north of the masonry pedestal at the western end of the southern boundary. Here it was clear from the stratigraphy that an area, of unascertained dimensions, had been deliberately left free of paving. No trace of foundations was observed, and it seems unlikely that any substantial building ever stood on this spot. These unpaved areas may perhaps have been the emplacements of temporary booths or pedestals connected in some way with the rituals performed here; or could they possibly be the sites of small sacred gardens, or of tethering areas for the sacred and sacrificial animals which might well have been found in the **temenos**?<sup>15</sup>

#### **The 1965 Excavations.**

The stratigraphic excavations of 1965 were concentrated at the western end of the **temenos**, and had for their main objects the establishment of the date of the Qasr and the elucidation of the plan of its approach steps and altar. So far as the plan is concerned, the chief results of the work are summarized in Mr. Wright's account below and on the accompanying drawings. A more detailed treatment must await further study of the evidence, and will appear in the final report. In this present article attention will be directed towards the chronological aspect. Evidence relevant to this came from three areas, each of which will be discussed separately.

##### **(i) The Southern Temenos Wall and Benches.**

As already stated, the base of the statue of Aretas IV was found built into the benches along the southern side of the **temenos**, about 5m. from their western end. Excavations were conducted to establish the relationship of these benches with the **temenos** wall, and of the wall with the Qasr.

An inspection of the remains uncovered by the Department of Antiquities at this point revealed that the final 7m. stretch of benches is structurally distinct from the seats to the

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(15)

Lucian mentions sacred oxen, horses, bears, lions, etc., allowed to browse in the great court of the temple at Hierapolis. (*De Dea Syria*, edited by H.A. Strong and J. Garsang, 1913, p. 78, paragraph 41).



east (see Figs. 7 - 8, Pl. IV - V). The differences are of both design and build. The eastern benches - i.e. the main row - are constructed entirely of dressed stones, and both tiers of seats are provided with a projecting lip - a sort of cornice - which is chamfered. The chamfered lip on the lower bench is not visible on the published photograph, having been broken off at its point. The short row of benches to the west, however, is much more poorly built, having only an ashlar facing with a rubble and earth core behind. (Fig 9, Pl. V). Only the upper tier of benches here is moulded, although the moulding is more elaborate than is the case with the western seats. In view of all this there can be little doubt that the two adjacent sections of benches are of different dates.

It is, however, by no means easy to establish their relative sequence. The evidence of the masonry is inconclusive. It might at first sight appear that the eastern benches overlap slightly the western, and so are later in construction; but at the same time it must be recognized that the overlap is so small that the western masonry, if later, could easily have been inserted into this position. More informative is the evidence of the paving in front of the benches, which in this part of the **temenos** is manifestly homogeneous and of one period. It will be observed (Fig. 8, Pl. V) that the slabs run beneath the eastern benches, which are thus later than, or more probably contemporary with, the paving. At the foot of the western benches, however, the slabs are broken, and there is a gap of between 10 and 40 cms. between the paving and the lower bench. (Fig. 9, Pl. V) This gap runs the entire length of the western seats and coincides with them, save for a slight extension to the east. It is, moreover, clear that the paving was deliberately cut after it had been laid, since the broken edge is rough and chipped, unlike the normal finished edges of the slabs. The purpose of this later cutting is not evident, but it can surely only be associated with the erection of the neighbouring benches, which would thus seem to be later than those to the east. In the opinion of the writer this conclusion is probable, though by no means certain; certainty on this point could only be achieved by a complete dismantling of the structures, which is obviously undesirable.

Fortunately for our present purposes, the relative chronology of the two adjacent rows of benches is not of vital importance. What is important, and quite certain, is that the western benches are structurally later than the main **temenos** wall at their rear; they are clearly built up against it, and a trench dug through the rubble core of the benches showed the foundation blocks of the **temenos** wall continuing down below the level of the paving into the underlying wadi deposits. There is no break in the masonry of the wall coinciding with the break in the benches, and the wall is presumably contemporary with the paving. If our arguments above have been correct, then the most likely sequence of building in this area is ( i ) the **temenos** wall, paving, and eastern benches, followed by ( i i ) the cutting of the paving and the erection of the present western benches. It is logical to suppose ( and in fact there is some archaeological evidence for this, though not yet fully worked out ) that the benches of phase (i) originally ran the whole length of the **temenos**, and were later replaced by the existing western seats; the cutting of the pavement might then be associated with the destruction or removal of the



original structures. The interval of time involved is, of course, quite unknown, but our conclusion is that the western row of benches is later, by some probably fairly considerable period of time, than the **temenos** wall.

Now it is in the plinth belonging to the western benches that the Aretas IV statue base is situated (Fig. 10, Pl. VI). It is cut on the face of an ashlar block, about 30 x 50 cms. in size, and is patently in its original position, there being no evidence at all of its being reused stone from elsewhere. It is, in fact, only one of several inscriptions which were formerly displayed in this plinth; some 1.50m. to the east there is another, almost identical, block with a few surviving Greek characters, while in the close vicinity are two stones recessed for the affixture of, presumably, bronze or marble plaques (visible in the photograph, Fig. 7, Pl. IV. Whether or not all of these were statue bases is a moot point; it is certainly tempting to imagine here a row of Nabataean royal portraits. Be that as it may the Aretas base provides us with a terminus ante quem of about the beginning of the first century A.D. for the western plinth and benches, and thus for the **temenos** wall, which must, however, be a good deal earlier than this.

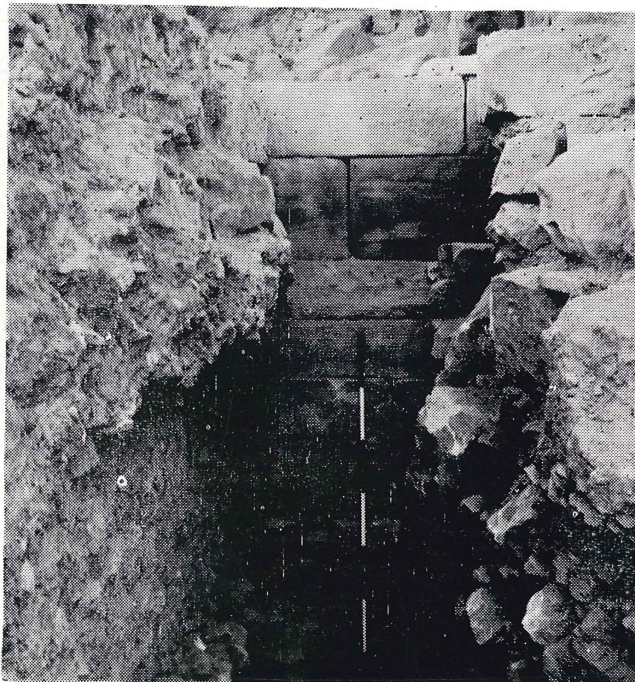
With this date established, the next stage is to investigate the relationship of the **temenos** wall with the Qasr itself. Again it must be stressed that the nature of the remains and the limited scale of our operations did not permit this investigation to be carried to an entirely satisfactory conclusion. In the present state of affairs our arguments have to be based largely on a consideration of the plans of the relevant structures, unsupported by stratigraphic evidence, and it is quite possible that minor building phases have not been recognized. In this connection we may note that, to the west of the doorway which marks the end of the benches, the **temenos** wall appears on the published plan to continue on not quite the same alignment as the corresponding wall behind the benches; the change of direction is very slight, but it could indicate that this portion of the wall is of a different period. However, since only the upper courses of the wall were uncovered it would be dangerous to base any argument on this change of direction, and in the absence of any certain indication to the contrary it may be assumed that the **temenos** wall on either side of the doorway is of one build and one period.

We have already seen that the **temenos** wall changes direction at a point some 5m. from the Qasr, and then runs southwards, more or less parallel to the flank of the temple. This change of direction would obviously make no sense if the Qasr - or an earlier building on the same plan - were not there, and since there is no evidence whatsoever for an earlier monumental structure beneath the Qasr (as we shall see later), the **temenos** wall is clearly later than or contemporary with the temple itself. The latter supposition is, of course, the more probable; the lay-out of **temenos** wall and temple is a unified one, manifestly part of a single design. Excavations in the intervening space between the podium of the Qasr and the corner of the **temenos** wall produced much evidence for the later history of this area, but the levels contemporary with and earlier than the buildings were very much disturbed by massive drains





**FIG. 10**  
The dedicatory inscription of Aretas IV.



**FIG. 11**  
the top of the scale ).  
Northern wall of Qasr podium, showing unfinished state of chamfer moulding ( just below



ferred. This chamfer moulding occurs on the main eastern face of the podium also. On the northern face, with which we are dealing, however, the chamfer is unfinished, being left in a rough state; neither is there any sign on it of weathering, such as occurs elsewhere. It can be assumed then that this face of the podium was never visible after the Qasr had been built; sometime during the course of construction a change of plan occurred - probably an increase in the width of the stepped approach - and the unfinished die wall was covered by the rubble fill forming the ramp for the steps.

The lower part of the construction trench is filled with stones, and the upper part with a layer of purple stony earth. This upper layer extends across the entire section, and at the northern end it is overlain by other stony deposits, all presumably derived from the building activities on the temple.

**C. Construction of Stepped Approach.** The final stage is represented by the construction of the approach steps. Before this, however, there is evidence of some slight occupation on the surface of the débris left by the construction gangs and masons who had erected the main building. This consists, in the section under review, of the remains of a clay oven and some building blocks which could be part of a wall. The remains are quite slight, however, and in view of the unfinished podium wall, as well as of other stratigraphic indications elsewhere, a major occupation phase between the construction of the Qasr and the provision of its steps cannot be postulated.

The first task in the erection of the steps was evidently the construction of a stone gutter on the line of their foot (Figs 12 and 13, pl. VII) This gutter stretches across the entire width of the approach, except for a gap of 6 m. in the centre, corresponding in size with the central intercolumniation of the main façade of the temple. Below the gutter is an enclosed drain, and although its course was not traced we have little hesitation in suggesting that its ultimate destination was a cistern rather than the wadi, in view of the known preoccupation of the Nabataeans with water conservation.

Following the construction of drain and gutter the filling of heavy stones and earth would have been put in position, and on the ramp so formed the steps built. In this particular area none of the steps survive, although a little of the bedding layer of stones and concrete in which they were set can still be seen at the top of the section. Elsewhere, however, some marble slabs remain in position, giving some idea of the former appearance of the temple approach. In the second part of this report Mr. Wright makes additional comments on its arrangement.

A few metres to the west of this main section a small sounding was dug against the outer edge of the gutter at the foot of the flight of steps. This showed clearly its foundation trench cutting through a series of gravel and sand layers ( Fig. 13, pl. VII ). As noted above, bed

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rock was very close to the surface here, and the gravelly and sandy deposits are to be interpreted as the work of the wadi in the pre-temple phase. Any later structures and deposits had presumably been removed, either by erosion or by man at the time of the construction of the temple, when the whole area might well have been deliberately levelled.

Many important aspects of the work done in 1965 in this area of the temple steps must await the final publication for discussion. Here only the chronological implications need be stressed. The first significant fact is the absence of any substantial building on the site prior to the erection of the Qasr. This by itself is persuasive evidence for an early date for this building, since it is unlikely that this focal part of Petra would have been left undeveloped for long after the initial architectural embellishment of the city; and there is evidence for this embellishment elsewhere at least as early as the 1st. century B. C.<sup>17</sup>. The second point to note is that the pottery found in the levels associated with the construction of the temple supports this argument. Although the material is not yet available for detailed study, preliminary inspection in the field left no doubt that the painted Nabataean fragments belonged to the early style of that ware, as isolated by the writer<sup>18</sup>, to be assigned generally speaking to the period from c. 60 B. C. to c. 25 A. D. Further study will make possible greater precision.

(iii) **The Altar.** ( Fig. 16, pl. IX ) Excavations in the vicinity of the monumental altar revealed much evidence for its original plan and appearance; some of this is noted by Mr. Wright below. From the chronological point of view most of the evidence related to the later history of the area, and this will be considered in the final report. It is only necessary to note here that beneath the south-west corner of the altar steps two earlier phases of remains were discovered, consisting of short stretches of foundations or walls. The excavations were too exiguous to throw light on the nature of these remains; they do not, however, suggest monumental architecture, and are probably to be equated with the slight structures found beneath the Qasr steps.

#### **Discussion and Conclusion.**

The evidence we have cited - epigraphic, architectural, and archaeological leads us to conclude that the Qasr el-Bint was constructed not later than the early years of the 1st. century A. D. with a date of a generation or so before being more likely. This conclusion is at striking variance with opinions expressed on many occasions by the writer and by Mr. Wright, and the mistaken nature of our earlier assumptions are freely acknowledged. Basing our arguments

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(17) Cf. P. J. Parr, "The Beginnings of Hellenisation in Petra", in *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine su les cultures périphériques* (VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'archéologie classique) 1965, p. 529.

(18) *Ibid*, p. 530-1 and plate 132(1); *P.E.Q.*, 1960, p. 134-5; *Illustrated London News*, November 17th. 1962, p. 789 and figs. 10 and 17.

partly on the testimony of analogous buildings elsewhere, and partly on the presumed contemporaneity of the Qasr and the Arched Gate ( a matter to which we shall return in a moment ), we had been led to think that Qasr could not be earlier than the Antonine period<sup>19</sup>. This opinion can obviously no longer be sustained. Arguments based on analogy are notoriously weak; the difficulties to which they have given rise in the case of another Petra monument), we had been led to think that the Qasr co by Wright in a recent volume of this **Annual**<sup>20</sup>. Nor, in the case of the Qasr, do the analogies all point in the same direction; Starcky, following Kohl and Will in their discussions of the stucco decoration and of the plan of the **adyton** respectively has suggested a date in the reign of Aretas IV ( 9 B.C. - 40 A.D. ) for the temple.<sup>21</sup> This conclusion, based on comparative studies, is obviously nearer the truth than the former opinion of the present two authors; but even Starcky's date may be too low, in the light of the new archaeological evidence, and the reign of Obodas II ( c. 28 B.C. - 9 B.C. ) is equally likely<sup>22</sup>.

In view of all this we are compelled to look once more at the question of the date of the Arched Gate at the eastern end of the Qasr **temenos**. We had earlier assumed that temple and gate were contemporary, but this is evidently not so. It is generally agreed today that the gate can hardly be much earlier than the end of the first century A.D.; Starcky suggests the reign of the last Nabataean king, Rabbel II ( 70-106 A. D. ), while Wright and the present author would prefer to place it in the second half of the 2nd. century<sup>23</sup>. It is clear, then, that this cannot be the original gateway to the **temenos**, and there is in fact some slight archaeological evidence for an earlier gate, on the site of or close to the later. This comprises, in the first place, some building blocks and architectural members ( including part of a pilaster with applied stucco ) found re-used in what is probably<sup>24</sup> a massive foundation platform underlying the present gateway and, secondly, the newly discovered relief panels, described below by Mr. Wright, which stylistically seem more at home in the early part of the 1st. century A.D. than later, and which could well come from a monumental archway. These are tentative suggestions only; a more detailed analysis of the remains in the neighbourhood of the present gate must be made before there is hope of proving the existence of an earlier monumental entrance to the **temenos** from the east.

~~temenos~~

- (19) Cf. Wright, **P.E.Q.** 1961, p. 33 and p. 126; Parr, **Illustrated London News**, November 10th. 1962, p. 746; Parr, **Le Rayonnement des Civilisations** ....., p. 530.
- (20) **A.D.A.J.**, VI - VII (1962), p. 24 ff.
- (21) Starcky, **Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible** VII, col. 975 - 978 with references.
- (22) The temple of Ba'al Shamin at Si in the Hauran, which, as Mr. Wright discusses below, has a courtyard with benches similar to this at Petra, was begun in 33/2 B.C.
- (23) Parr, **P.E.Q.**, 1960, p. 131 ff; Wright, **P.E.Q.** 1961, p. 126; *Revue Biblique*, 1966, p. 417 - 419; J. Starcky, **op. cit.**; col. 947 - 8.
- (24) Parr, **P.E.Q.** 1960, p. 132 and plate XXII A.



### **Postscript : The Deity of the Qasr el-Bint.**

If this important question, that of the identity of the god - or goddess - worshipped in the Qasr, has been relegated to a postscript it is simply because the archaeological evidence has as yet thrown almost no light on it. It is generally assumed that it is the shrine of Dushara, and certainly it would not be inappropriate for the head of the Nabataean pantheon to be revered in what is obviously the most important sanctuary in Petra<sup>25</sup>. Until evidence to the contrary appears, therefore, we may accept this attribution. Two items of a primarily archaeological nature do have a bearing on this matter, however, and it may not be out of place to conclude this part of the report with a mention of them.

( i ) **The Cult Statue.** According to the Byzantine writer Suidas, Dushara was worshipped at Petra in the form of a square aniconic stone, and Starcky suggests that this would have been placed in the Holy of Holies of the temple, in other words in the central chapel of the tripartite **adyton**. Anthropomorphic representations of Dushara are also known, however especially on coins; they appear at Bosra certainly on those of Commodus ( late 2nd. century A. D. ), and possibly also on some of the final issues of the independent Nabataean kingdom<sup>26</sup>. It is probable that the Qasr el-Bint boasted such a divine image, at least in the latest stages of its history. During the 1959 excavations a fragment of a marble hand, about four times life size, ( Fig 14 pl. VIII ) discovered in the debris close to the north-east angle of the podium, representing the final destruction of the temple. The hand, which is clenched and might originally have been holding some object, is surely from an acrolithic statue of Greco-Roman style, and its size indicates its importance. A cult statue some 6-7 m. tall would fit comfortably in the space available in the Holy of Holies.

( ii ) **The Orientation of the Qasr.** The temple faces slightly east of north, and thus conforms approximately to the orientation of some other Nabataean temples, for example the so-called temple of Dushara at Si and the small temple at Umm el-Jemal. However, other Nabataean shrines are differently placed: the temples of Ba'al Shamin at Si and of Allat at Rumm face south-east, while the Tannur sanctuary points due east. The reasons for this variation, and the wider problems concerning the orientation of ancient temples, cannot be discussed here, but some attempt should be made to explain the strange siting of the Qasr el-Bint, at right angles

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(25) See, for example, Starcky in *Bible et Terre Sainte* No. 73 ( April 1965 ), p. 18. A recent attempt by Yadin to identify the Qasr el-Bint with the temple of Aphrodite at Petra mentioned in documents from the Judean desert does not convince the present writer; cf. Yadin, *Jarbericht Ex Orinete Lux* 17, 1963, p. 234 ff., and the author's reply in *ibid.* 19, 1966, p. 550 ff.

(26) C.R. Morey, "Dusares and the Coin Types of Bosra", in *Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Sect A, Pt. 4; Appendix. See also D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran*, 1952, p. 62.

to its temenos<sup>27</sup>. The orientation of the **temenos** is, of course, dictated by the configuration of the ground and the presence of the wadi; the **question** is, why was not the temple itself orientated the same way, facing east? It has been suggested that the reason was a purely practical one, namely that by siting the temple at right angles to the wadi advantage was taken of the natural rise of the ground to the south to provide **an impressive approach** to the Holy of Holies<sup>28</sup>. But, as we have seen, there is little to suggest that the ground level behind the Qasr is in fact much higher than the level of the **temenos in front**, so that this suggestion loses much of its force. The present writer once proposed that the temple was designed to face a postulated original main entrance to the city from the north along the wadi Abu Ollega, which joins the wadi Musa just opposite the monumental altar; but for various reasons this no longer seems a feasible answer. It may be that the Nabataean architects were simply following, in this single particular, the recommendation of Vitruvius, that temples built along rivers should face the river banks ( Book IV, Chapter 5 ). The answer to the problem may never be known; but perhaps, in the context of this interim report, a little further speculation might be allowed. Had the temple faced east, the view from the Holy of Holies - the scene spread before the eye of the cult statue - would have been a limited one, restricted to the **temenos** and the buildings lining the wadi, and closed by the wall of dark sombre sandstone which bounds the city on the east. Facing north, however, the view is very different ( Fig, 15, pl. IX ). Looking along the line of axis of temple end altar, the eye is drawn to the flat summit of a mountain, the Jebel el-Mu'eisrat, while a little to the right rises the limestone plateau of Jebel esh-Shara, the mountains of which Dushara was lord<sup>29</sup>. Might not the orientation of the Qasr el-Bint towards the north symbolize or commemorate in some way the connection of the deity with the mountain tops, and underline the predilection of the Nabataeans for the high places?

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- (27) We may note in passing that this arrangement is not unique. The temple of Ba'al Sheamin at Palmyra, for example dating in its present form from 130-1 A.D., but with elements of its **temenos** going back to at least 23 A.D., is flanked on both sides by great peristyle courts which are much more imposing than the small courtyard immediately in front of the **cella**. In this case the temple faces south-east. See P. Collart, *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, VII, 1957, p. 67 ff. and Plate I.
- (28) Wright, *P.E.Q.* 1961, p. 10.
- (29) But see Starcky, *op. cit.*, col. 986-7, for a critical discussion of this generally accepted association of Dushara with Jebel esh-Shara.



## II. SOME ASPECTS CONCERNING THE ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

by G. R. H. Wright

The work of clearance effected by the Department of Antiquities at Petra in the years subsequent to 1961 has revealed many new architectural details and has clarified much that was hitherto only to be imperfectly apprehended. With respect to the area extending from The Arched Gate to the Qasr Bint Far'un ( the Sanctuary area ) it is possible to set down some of the more important novelties and revisions as follows ].

### 1. The Arched Gate<sup>1</sup> ( Pl. XII, XIII Figs. 1 , 2 )

The removal of the debris which choked the Southern two piers has permitted for the first time a full set of drawings to be made of this interesting feature.

( Figs 1 - 3 ) It has also rendered visible on the East face details of the setting of the Gate into the wall flanking the street to the South. ( Pl. XIV, XV, Fig. 3 - 4. ) This is of importance in that it demonstrates clearly the force of previous statements that the Gate is a later addition to the street and its layout<sup>2</sup>.

The same clearance on the West face has been extended to reveal partially a tower like construction which effects the junction between the Gate and the South Wall of the Sanctuary Area. This tower complex corresponds to a somewhat similar feature to the North of the Gate. The detailed interpretation of both these structures is involved and since the South tower

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( 1 ) V. R. E. Brunnow and A. v. Domszewski: **Die Provincia Arabia**, Strassburg 1909, Vol I pp. 178 - 79, 314 - 15 (Dreifaches Tor ) Henceforth Brunnow and Domszewski. Th. Wiegand et Alii : **Petra** ( Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz — Kommandos. Heft 3 ) Berlin 1921 ( Das Strassentor ). Henceforth Wiegand;

P. J. Parr : **Recent Discoveries at Petra. P.E.Q.** Jan-June 1957 pp. 1. ff.

**Excavations at Petra. P.E.Q.** July-Dec 1960 pp. 124-135;

G. R. H. Wright : **Petra - The Arched Gate**, 1959 - 60 **P. E. Q.** July-Dec 1961 pp 124 - 135. Henceforth Arched Gate.

( 2 ) c. f., e. g. , Brunnow and Domszewski p 178; Parr **Excavations** p. 131, Wright - p. 126.



is still heavily encumbered with fill, little of use can be achieved at this stage by discussing the function and form of the latter. It is, however, of the greatest importance since it is said to be the provenance of a fine group of figured reliefs which once formed the ornament of a monument evidencing pilasters and piers. There is a report that the circumstances of the discovery of these relief blocks suggested that they had been tipped into the artificial fill of the tower room. All this may suggest that the blocks appertain to the superstructure of the present Gateway or to a completely destroyed Gateway which preceded it. This however at the moment remains only a bare suggestion and the determination of the original provenance of these sculptures, together with an analysis of their style is a matter of primary importance. Important not only for the dating of the Gate and its environs but indeed for the whole area under discussion.

To make a preliminary advertisement of this sculpture is not easy, mainly because there is no certainty as to exactly which pieces comprise the group. The best that may be done is to select for illustration a few examples which outline characteristic features. ( v. Plates XVI - XIX ). These may be remarked on generally as follows.

There are several blocks or fragments deriving from the coffered decoration of pilasters or piers exactly similar to the manner of the angle pilasters of the East Face of the Gate. ( v. Plate XVI ) Since these blocks have not been defaced it is evident that they were not accessible at the time of the iconoclastic destruction of all such ornament *in situ*<sup>3</sup>. Their preservation thus helps in the interpretation of the defaced subjects remaining on the Gate<sup>4</sup>.

A noticeable feature of the reliefs is their fine «Rankenwerke» (v. Plate XVII). This genre of ornament has been little studied in English; indeed it is difficult to find an English name for it<sup>5</sup>. Floral Scrollwork is perhaps as descriptive as any and the title of the survey published by Toynbee and Ward Perkins, «peopled Scrolls»<sup>6</sup> indicates the main characteristic of this form:

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- ( 3 ) P. J. Parr has linked this activity with the decree of the Caliph Yazid II ( 720-724 AD ) ordering the destruction of all images and likenesses in his dominions. c. f. Crowfoot in **Gerasa City of the Decapolis**. New Haven 1938 pp 172 - 3.
- ( 4 ) c. f. Brünnow and Domaszewski, pp. 178,9, fig. 205; p. 315 fig 346.
- ( 5 ) A diffuse treatment of its orinetal background in French is given by R. Vallois : **I'Architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Delos**. Paris 1944. v. Rameaux de vigne et autres hélices végrtales, pp. 290 ff. He sees an Asiatic genre of metal working behind all these things ( v. p. 298 ), as indeed did Wiegand with direct reference to such decoration on the Khazne v. Wiegand p. 10.
- ( 6 ) v. **Papers of the British School at Rome**, XVIII, 1950 pp. 1 - 43.

that is for animal figures to grow into or out of it.<sup>7</sup>

Meurer in his work, «Vergleichende Formenlehre des Ornaments und der Pflanze» Dresden 1909 (v. Abteilung XVII) shows that the basic patterns involved are old ones which may be found in Egyptian and Mycenaean ornament. The genre as we know it in architecture took shape in late classical-Hellenistic times with the naturalising of the elements ( c.f. The Tholos at Epidauros, v. Meurer p 404 Taf. 6, p 406 figs. 7, 8 ), was prolifically employed in Imperial art ( c. f. Meurer Taf. 8a, Text ill. 12), and survived or re-emerged in Mediaeval-Renaissance decoration ( c. f. Meurer Text ill. 14-17).

In the Imperial Age its popularity seemed to reach three distinct apogees, respectively in Augustan<sup>8</sup>, Flavian<sup>9</sup> and Severan times<sup>10</sup>. Such an analysis pertains mainly to Rome itself, and it is by no mean clear how far it is applicable to the East wher the form may be said to have had its original main development. Although the material for a demonstration is lacking or has never been assembled, it is not improbable that the development in the East was continuous<sup>11</sup>.

A good survey of Augustan «Ranken» is given in «Die Ranken der Ara Pacis» Th. Kraus, Berlin 1953, while von Blankenhagen considers not only Flavian examples, but has a most

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- ( 7 ) This characteristic provides the framework for an illuminating account of « Acrotères, antéfixes, chapiteaux hellénistiques à décor mêlé, humain et végétal » by Ch. Picard (*Revue Archéologique* 1963 II pp. 143 ff.) which greatly elucidates the early development of the form. Some aspect of this question ( and these of considerable relevance to Petra ) have been interpreted by E. Will in *Le Relief Culturel Gréco - Romain*, Paris, 1955 v. Piliers à rinceaux. pp. 445 - 455.
- ( 8 ) The outstanding Augustan manifestation is on the Ara Pacis, c. f. *Peopled Scrolls*, p. 8.
- ( 9 ) Domitian's Palace on the Palatine and the Forum of Nerva give a date of around 90 A.D. for the large scale employment of the motifs «in the ornamentation of official monuments» ( c. f. *Peopled Scrolls* pp. 11 - 12 ).
- ( 10 ) The restoration of the Domus Palatina gave the impulse for the renewal of the style in Rome itself, but this had been anticipated by a decade or so in the great Severan building programme at Leptis Magna in North Africa ( the Emperor's birthplace ) extending from c. 193 - 216 A. D.
- ( 11 ) This matter is well brought out in *Peopled Scrolls* c. f. p. 30 «It was moreover in the Eastern Provinces of the Empire that the new principles ..... first made themselves felt whether by infiltration from beyond the frontiers or by re-emergence of submerged native elements within them ..... Some of the new features ( **in Rome** ) ..... were anticipated several generations in the East. Also p. 42. « from the fourth century onwards some of the motifs ..... had been established in the West ..... but for all the relatively high proportion of surviving material from Italy and the Western Provinces there are many gaps in the continuity which can hardly be explained except in terms of a continuously developing tradition elsewhere».



useful general historical summary extending from Augustan to Severan times in his «Flavische Architektur und Ihre Dekoration», ( Berlin 1940). Another very useful brief historical outline can be found in «Severan Art and Architecture», J. B. Ward perkins ( *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXVIII 1948- v. p 78 ). A consideration of these detailed studies would seem to show that the «Ranken» at Petra have little relation to Severan forms<sup>12</sup> and perhaps they suggest the Augustan period. However it is not easy to be dogmatic. Once again we are dealing with an entity known to have developed in the Hellenistic East, but which is more familiar from its expression in Imperial Art. In these circumstances early dating of Eastern examples is difficult to prove or disprove.

Certainly the most surprising feature of the Petra reliefs is their prominent exhibition of Gallic shields and other martial paraphernalia.(v. Plate XVIII). The historical occasion for this display, if it can be determined, must constitute an important advance in our knowledge of Petra.

Representation of Gallic arms on monuments has been for long under investigation: S. Reinach, for example, published important studies<sup>13</sup> at the end of last century. « Les Armes Gauloises » by P. Couissin ( *Revue Archéologique* XXV 1927 p 128 p 138 - 176, 305 - 325, XXVI, p. 43 - 79 ) gives a full coverage of the subject and the recent work on the Arch at Orange ( *L'Arc d'Orange*, R. Amy et Alii, Paris 1962) finds little to add in this connection ( v. Chapter III, Panneaux et Trophées, pp 77-88). Of all the barbaric neighbours of the Greeks and Romans the Gauls seem to have afforded the greatest inspiration to classical artists<sup>14</sup>. The vehicles for the expression of this have been well analysed by Couissin ( XXV pp. 142-150 ) and this forms a useful background to the consideration of the Petra reliefs.

Of the Gallic arms depicted at Petra the most salient is the long oval shield with prominent umbo and midriff the **Thyreos** (v. Couissin, XXV, p 307, figs. 59-65 ). This is the characteristic arm of the Gauls and is represented abundantly on monuments. It comes into evidence in the mid third century B. C. « The earliest portrayals of it are on Greek coins and in the Pergamene sculpture... The shield was made of wood, perhaps occasionally of

- (12) The stylistic distinctions between the Severan and earlier forms of « Rankenwerke » are exhaustively drawn out by von Blankenhagen ( v. Chapter XI ) and a useful summary of this matter is given in **Peopled Scrolls** at p. 18. «Broadly speaking the Flavian taste for vigorous three dimensional modelling and for ornament which however rich never loses interest in the individual constituent elements, may be contrasted with the contemporary (Severan ) tendency to rely on broad over all effects in which contrast of the patterned surface with the deeply undercut shadowed ground plays a prominent part. » In achieving this effect the use of the drill is decisive - v. e. g. Plate XXV 2.
- (13) v. S. Reinach. **Les Gaulois dans l'Art Antique** ( *Revue Archeologique* 1888 II. pp. 273 ff.) and **Les Galates dans l'art alexandrin** ( *Mon. Piot* XVIII 1911 ).
- (14) c. f. Couissin XXV, p. 138.

basketry, and the wooden shields came to be fitted with iron umbos, and more rarely with iron edges<sup>15</sup>». One such shield belonging to a Celtic mercenary has been preserved in the Fayyum sands.

The curvilinear decoration shown on the Petra examples is very typical<sup>16</sup>. ( v. Plate XVIII, 9 ) However in addition to this type of decoration there appears on the shields at Petra a most unexpected representation. Two of the examples illustrated here bear severed heads. That shown in Plate XVIII, 6 is most probably the representation of an umbo in the form of a Gorgoneion. This usage is known, witness the Thyreos on which the Dying Gaul of Florence is resting. This is doubtless the result of Greek influence ( c.f. Couissin, XXV, p 315 ). The other severed(?) head, however, although present only in part and that defaced, clearly has nothing in common with the Gorgon and cannot represent an umbo (v. Plate XVIII,7 ). It is moreover a « Rankenkopf ». Can this head be in some way a reflection of the savage Gallic practice whereby they decapitated vanquished enemies, often suspending these trophies at their bridles?<sup>17</sup> Such severed heads are shown on monuments.<sup>18</sup>

The Gauls, as is well known, once made a practice of going naked into battle carrying only their weapons<sup>19</sup> and they are often represented in this state of « barbaric nudity ». However this was an archaic custom which died out as successive tribes came under more sophisticated influences. Therefore it is not disconcerting at Petra to find representations of casques and cuirasses associated with offensive arms. The casque shown on Plate XVIII,8 is not an exact parallel to any reproduced in Coussin (v. p 47) but it is in the style of figs. 101 and 102 ( deriving from Pergamam and Miletos ). This is said to be an archaic type. The cuirasses shown ( v. e. q. Plate. XVIII, 7 ) can be paralleled from Pergamam and Miletos (c. f. Coussin figs. 115 and 117); they witness Hellenic influence<sup>20</sup>.

The occasions for a display of Gallic arms on a monument at Petra do not suggest themselves as numerous. Broadly speaking, outside of Gallic lands, monuments of this nature can be divided into two groups. Trophies ( or their representations ) commemorating the defeat of

(15) v. T. G. Powell, *The Celts*. London 1958. p. 107.

(16) c. f. *ibid.* pl. 50.

(17) v. *ibid.* p. 108.

(18) v. *ibid.* pl. 50. For a far reaching discussion of this question v. p. Lambrechts *L'exaltation de la tete dans la pensee et dans l'art des celtes*, Bruges, 1954.

(19) This it seems is not to be reckoned as bravado but rather expresses a ritual invocation for protection (c.f. *ibid.* p. 108).

(20) The complete effect of these reliefs was probably not far removed from the Trophy Capital now in the Aniquarum Sommunale at Rome v. von Mercklin *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, Berlin 1962 No. 625 pp. 263 which may have been associated with a monument of Domitian.



Gauls, or monuments relating to Gauls serving as mercenaries. The latter explanation would seem to be more in point at Petra, yet the semblance given by the fragments discovered is more suggestive of the former. There are records of Gallic mercenaries in Syria and Palestine and Egypt ( v. Couissin, XXV, pp 148-150). Moreover a series of funerary stelai from Sidon witness the presence in that area of mercenaries armed in the Gallic manner<sup>21</sup>. These latter were not Galatians but their Anatolian neighbours ( Carians, Pisidians, Lycians). This consideration is of importance at Petra, for it must be noted that as yet the Petraean finds relate to Gallic arms and not necessarily explicitly to Gauls or Galatians.

It is, of course, possible that there is no historic occasion for this display at Petra and that these «trophy» representations are more or less whimsical and frivolous. In this connection an interesting analogy could be drawn from an anecdote concerning Herod the Great. In order to decorate one of his classic monuments in genre and avoid infringing the second Commandment he resorted to «trophies». ( The whole episode is amusingly recounted - v., for convenience, A. H. M. Jones, *the Herods of Judaea*, Oxford 1938. pp 93 - 4 ). The same motive would not obtain at Petra but simple imitation may have been at work.

Another line of conjecture is possible. Aspects of several Petraean reliefs seem to find a parallel in a fragment from the Propylaion of the Temple of Augustus of Pisidian Antioch ( v. for convenience *Les Trophees Romains*. G. CH. Picard, Paris, 1957, Plate XII). This forms part of a trophy of the Battle of Actium. The marine associations here take the form of Tritons ( as, together with Tritonesses, they do in other monuments commemorating the battle - v. Picard pp 259-260). Thus may be provided some interpretation of the Petra fragment illustrated in Plates. ( XVII, 5 , XVIII, 6 ). Supposing the various fragments from Petra form part of a homogenous group. the association of motives refering to the Battle of Actium together with Gallic items, bizarre though it sounds, would not be known. For many years after the event, the Battle of Actium retained its precedence as the victory which constituted the true power of Rome in its triumph over the old Oriental monarchies; but «monuments of the years 27-20 B. C., without ceasing to accord prime importance to the defeat of Cleopatra, associate with it the defeat of the Northern Barbarians.....» ( c.f. Picard p 268 ). This is of striking interest, but Petra was not a Roman province. Can these reliefs be thought of in connection with a monument of the time when Obodas II competed with Herod for the favour of Augustus?

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(21) v. Couissin, XXV. p. 149, Notes 4 and 5. These monuments are catalogued by Macridy Bey, *Revue Biblique* 1904 I. pp. 546 ff. v. also Jalabert *Rev. Arch.* -904 II. pp. 1 ff. and Perdrizet *Rev. Arch.* 1904 I. 235 ff.

(22) v. Brünnow and Domaszewski, pp. 175 - 178 and pp. 307; H. Kohl, *Kasr Firaun in Petra*. Leipzig 1910. G. R. H. Wright. *Structure of the Qasr Bint Far'an P. Q.* Jan-June 1961 pp. 8 - 37. Henceforth *Qasr*.



## II Qasr Bint Far' un and Altar, ( pl. XX, Fig. 5 )<sup>22</sup>.

At the Western end of the sacred area approaching the cliffs of el Habis the various activities of the Department of Antiquities have again made additions to our understanding of the area. This in the main was derived previously from German work carried out before and during the First World War. Wiegand deals with the confines of the area and notes correctly that they were only then to be determined on the West and the North.<sup>23</sup> Subsequent natural processes and clearance have changed this picture. The Western wall is now almost totally obscured and many details visible in Wiegand's day are now lost ( our plan, Parr, was made with the help of two small soundings in this quarter). However in compensation erosion has revealed somewhat more on the North. There the suggestion of a return is now visible approximately on the line of the West Wall of the Qasr. This raises a strong presumption for an axial approach to the Qasr from the North which had previously been conjectured by P. J. Parr.<sup>24</sup> Since the clearance to pavement level more to the East has shown that there is no wall in that area, Bachman's «Annahme» of symmetrically positioned exedrae (v. Wiegand fig. 50) which Wiegand thought had great probability must now be abandoned. However this area is to be interpreted it extends undivided from the Arched Gate to the boundary wall West of the Temple.

On the axis of the Temple 22m. to the North of the facade a ruinous cube of masonry has always been visible. Brunnow and Domaszewski published detailed drawings ( v. p 306 )<sup>25</sup> and Wiegand described its construction very observantly ( p57 ). They interpreted it, however, in utterly contradictory fashions: the former considered it an altar and the latter as the foundation of a later ( «Spatantike» ) cistern.<sup>26</sup>

In 1965 P. J. Parr directed soundings about this monument to determine as far as possible its nature and chronology. The details of his interesting findings are contained in his report, but here the general aspect of the monument may be indicated as revealed by this work. In spite of Wiegand's circumstantial assertions the monument must be an altar. It consists of a podium almost square ( 13.50m broad by 12m long standing (at present) some 3m high, approached by steps flush with its sides extending forward another 6m. The body of the altar appears to be constructed of large roughly squared blocks ( c 1.35x0.50 x 0.40m) coursed in thick beds of mortar ( more than 5 cms deep). This mass was once revetted with marble or other fine stone, which has been stripped away entirely, leaving the present faces considerably inferior

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(23) v. Wiegand p. 56 and Abb. 50.

(24) v. Qasr, p 10, Note 1.

(25) These drawings are to be regarded in the light of Wiegand's comment p. 57, Note 80.

(26) On the analogy of a similar structure on the opposite ( North ) bank of the Wadi Musa so interpreted, plus the use of «hydraulic» cement. ( c.f. p 47 ).

to the setting out lines apparent on the foundations. Where these are visible in depth ( at the South-East Angle ) they are of more finely dressed blocks similar in dimensions but set with little or no mortar.

The body of the altar was constructed in one unit and the steps set against it. This is the normal course of construction, and the foundations appear to run on uninterruptedly beneath both units. However there are difficulties of interpretation which may be indicated briefly. A marble base moulding at the transition between the well and the die wall is shown by fragments still *in situ* to have returned a metre or so around the front face of the body of the altar<sup>27</sup> in a manner which indicates it was intended to be seen. On the contrary the masonry above and below it on this face has never been dressed back to take the revetting slabs. Therefore it seems that after the rubble and aggregate of the steps were set against it this stretch of moulding was never seen. Old plundering has facilitated the examination of the core of the steps and no trace of any earlier system of stepped approach is discernable. Perhaps the only reconciliation of these conflicting details lies in a suggestion that the steps were originally designed not to run flush with the sides of the altar, but to be inset a metre or more and the base moulding was returned around the front of the body of the altar for this distance. However in the course of construction this intention might have been abandoned. Some support for this contention may be derived from a study of the foundations, since at the front of the steps deep foundations extend not to the angles but stop approximately 1.30ms short thereof, and thence to the angles give over to a different shallower type.

In addition to the soundings about the altar, P. J. Parr was able to follow up the Department's clearances and investigate the stepped approach to the Qasr el Bint itself. This work as far as it has proceeded shows the system suggested in the 1961 survey of the Qasr<sup>28</sup> to be in outline correct. The steps, at the beginning of which was an elaborate runnel and drainage system, apparently rose in two stages: a principal initial flight giving on to a platform, whence a minor flight ascended to the Temple facade. A similar system seems in evidence at the Altar, and the height of the Altar is approximately (that of the platform in the approach of the Temple, Pl. XX ). All of which suggests a conscious concern for design. Structural problems in this connection will be further clarified by Parr's detailed studies.

Finally these falls to be noted an important addition to our knowledge of the Qasr arising from a different set of circumstances. Of recent years the Department of Antiquities has restored the fallen South-East angle of the Qasr (v. Plate XIX, 11). This work has been effected from the original masonry, and has resulted in clearing the great heap of confused blocks

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(27) c. f. Somewhat analogous arrangements in the Qasr podium and steps (v. *Qasr*, pp. 20, 21) with suggestion of similar problems ).

(28) v. *Qasr*, figs. 2 and 3.



which formerly lay in the vicinity. Since the consolidation sensibly stopped short of the entablature, these elements alone remain on the ground and may now be examined with much more ease than Wiegand indicated (v. p 61).

So far as the Pilaster capital (v. Plate XIX, 10 ) is concerned this is now shown clearly to be similar to the capitals of the Khazne ( « Khaznetypus » ), as Wiegand remarked ( p 61 ). That is, one of Schlumberger's heterodox forms<sup>29</sup>. In addition a great deal of interesting detail concerning the construction of the frieze is made apparent. This affords pleasing confirmation of previous conjectures based on distant observation of the elements *in situ*<sup>30</sup>. While the triglyphs were built up in three courses, the construction of the metopes was highly ingenious. These all bore elaborate ornament in the form of roundels, some with a rosette medallion, and others with busts. In both instances the periphery of the roundel was assembled in sectors, and the central medallion inserted separately. (v. Plate XIX, 11, 12).

This discovery allows an important fragment observed in 1960 to be associated definitely with the frieze of the Qasr. At some juncture all ornament bearing human likenesses displayed at Petra was defaced. The results of this are clearly to be marked on the Pilasters of the Arched Gate ( v. Supra). Apparently before this date one bust had fallen from its emplacement in a metope. It was unearthed in 1960 and is of the greatest significance since its relatively undamaged state affords the only stylistic evidence for the date of the figural decoration of the Qasr. ( v. Plate XIX, 13 ).

### III The Sanctuary Area.

From the days of the first European visitors it has been thought that the area South of the Wady Musa extending from the Arched Gate to the Qasr Bint Far' un may have constituted some sort of sacred precinct. But exactly what sort of a precinct has never been made clear. Perhaps the most important immediate aspect of the work of the Department of Antiquities will be in elucidating this matter.

In the first instance the revelation that the area comprehended a bank of seats running the length of its South side ( the West side is still buried and the North destroyed ) suggests in more detail the analogy of the Sanctuaries in the Hauran - Si', Sahr and Sur.<sup>31</sup> Certainly there is nothing similar, for example, at Jerash. The differences, however, are obvious. The Northern temples are of the Square Iranian plan and the rectangular area with the peripheral seating is symmetrically disposed in front of the temple and forms an integral part of the design

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(29) v. M. Schlumberger, *Les formes anciennes du chapiteau corinthien en Syrie, en Palestine et en Arabie*. Syria, 14 (1933) pp 233 - 317. c. f. *Arched Gate* p 132.

(30) v. *Qasr*, p. 23 fig. 9 and p. 37 Note 3.

(31) Starcky, *Dictionnaire de la Bible - Supplément*, Paris 1963 Cols 975, 1008.



of the monument<sup>32</sup>. At Si there is an inscription which apphes to this area the Term Theatron ( transliterated into Nabataean characters).<sup>33</sup> This aspect is one of those which most closely link these temples with the supposed Achaemenian prototype at Susa.<sup>34</sup>

The general question of the relation of such features to temples of this period has been considered by C. Hopkins.<sup>35</sup> He states (p 17), «It is noteworthy that the Theatron, a court with raised steps around three sides, occurs in the Hauran only in company with the Temples of Iranian design ....». In truth the «Sanctuary Area» at Petra more nearly approximates the outer court at Si, both having their entrance Gateways in the form of a Roman Triumphal Arch. However no seating was preserved in the corresponding area at Si'. This matter introduces most interesting liturgical questions, and a praiseworthy attempt to consider them is that of the Abbé Starcky (v, Cols 1006-1016) for as yet they have been by-passed in the main. In raising this general issue it can be seen how important is the work of the Department of Antiquities in the Sanctuary Area at Petra.



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- (32) v. H. C. Butler, *Syria* IIA, London 1919, p. 373 ill. 324 (Si); p. 429, ill. 371 (Sur): and p. 442, ill. 387 (Sahr).
- (33) *C.I.S.* II 164, c. f. Butler p 368.
- (34) c. f. C. Hopkins, *The Parthian Temple. Berytus* VII, 1942, p 17.
- (35) v. *ibid* c. f. M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art* ( Yale Classical Studies 1935 pp. 157 ff. ) at p. 205. N.B.E. Gerstad in *die Ursprungsgeschichte der Römischen Kaiserfora*, *Opuscula Archoologica* III 1944 pp. 40 - 72, considers the general question of Eastern temple courts in a most interesting and an expected light.

# III. THE TEMENOS INSCRIPTIONS

by J. Starcky and Crystal-M Bennett.

At intervals, since 1959, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem have been clearing the temenos of the Qasr in Petra. It is very probable that this is the Temple of Dushara of which the lexicographer Suidas talks ( under the word Theusares.)<sup>1</sup>. Several inscriptions were uncovered, six of which have recently been published. Two are Nabataean<sup>2</sup>, the more ancient of which and dating about the beginning of of the Christian era, is still *in situ* (Point C of pl. XXI, cf. pl. XXII, a). A third, also *in situ*, (pl. XXV. c) is Greek<sup>3</sup>. The other three are votive altars, about 204-208, offered by the Legate of Arabia, Q. Ajacius Modestus<sup>4</sup>. To these six texts, already known, we must add the Nabataean inscription commemorating the repairs to a statue of Rabbel I in about 67 B.C., and which was discovered in 1897 between the Qasr and the Triumphal Gate. It is engraved on a plinth which is different from the blocks carrying the dedications recently found in the temenos, which is surely later in date than the inscription. Despite many enquiries and searches, the writers have not been able to trace the plinth and have had therefore to refer to the photograph given in Ch. Clermont-Ganneau's *Album d'Antiquites Orientales* (XLV, 1): it is probably one taken by Father Germer-Durand, who discovered the inscription.

Most of the unedited inscriptions which are published here come from the double bench abutting the southern wall of the temenos, which P. J. Parr describes above, but four other inscribed altars have been found in the south east angle near the Triumphal Arch in the area where the three already published, had been found. As Mohammed Murshed, the official of

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- ( 1 ) See the reports by P. J. Parr and G.R.H. Wright above.
- ( 2 ) J. Strugnell and J. Starcky, *Petra : deux nouvelles inscriptions nabateennes*, *Rev. Bibl.*, LXIII, 1966, p. 236 - 247, with an important post scriptum by P. J. Parr. One, a marble plaque found in the south east angle of the peribolos, names Maliku II and his wife, Shuqailat; the other dedicates a statue to Aretas IV and starts out *slm' dnh hrtrt*. J. T. Milik has suggested the reading *slm' dnh dhrrt*, which overcomes the syntactic difficulty which embarrassed the writers. J. Starcky saw the stone again in September 1967: it is damaged at this point and if *dh* is to be read, the second letter is almost entirely restored and very narrow.
- ( 3 ) *Loc. cit.* p. 243, the note and pl. IX, a. Height of base; 51 cms; width; 26.5 cms. At point E of pl. I. We are grateful to Mr. G. R. H. Wright for kindly drawing up this plan.
- ( 4 ) P. J. Parr and J. Starcky. *Three Altars from Petra*, *ADAJ*, VII, 1962, p. 13 - 20.



the Department of Antiquities, who was directing the work in 1963, has informed us, in both cases, the fragments of these seven altars were scattered in the sand at various levels. At that time, work had not yet begun on clearing the tower to the south of the Arch.

The new fragments show a text, style of writing and moulding identical to those already known and, although for three out of the four altars, the part giving the name of the dedicator has not been found, it is almost certainly Q. Ajacius Modestus. We start this paper, therefore by giving what is left of these altars<sup>6</sup> and have numbered them IV to VII to follow on nos I, II, III, already published. No. III was only a fragment giving the end of two consecutive lines ( L SEPTIMI and ARABICI ), while no. I, dedicated to Apollo ( APOLLONI ) and no. II, where the god's name is lost, give us the complete dedication, spread over three of the four faces - the front (A), the back (B) and finally, the left side (C) - a most odd order, which we shall attempt to try to explain when dealing with our no. VI.

#### IV. Altar to Liber Pater ( pl. XXII, b).

Only two fragments of the coping remain, with the same moulding as the preceding altars: fascia, torus and cavetto ( the bottom of which forms another fascia ), filleté, body. ( ADAJ VI-VII, p. 14 and pl. V, 1 ). The left hand fragment is broken on all sides except for the top: Height 14 cms; width 21.5 cms; thickness 15.5 cms : pinkish sandstone.

On the upper fascia : LIBER ( O P ) ATRI

On the body : ( PRO SALUTE IMP ) CAE. LSE

( PTIMI SEVERI PII PER ) TINACI ( S )

The left hand side, which in the case of Nos. I and II, bore the third part of the text, has not been preserved, and the right hand side is uninscribed. If, as everything indicates, the dedicator is truly Q. Ajacius Modestus, then it is easy to complete the text. The interest of

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( 5 ) CIS II, 349. The pedestal, 72 cms. high and 52.5 cms. wide, had been seen again by G. Horsfield in 1936 and the squeeze of it which he took and presented to the Ecole Biblique, Shows the loss of more letters in the centre and to the right.

( 6 ) We are very grateful to Dr. Awni Dajani, Director of the Department of Antiquities, who authorised and encouraged us to publish the inscriptions from the temenos and gave us all necessary help in studying them *in situ*. F. Zayadin, from the same Department, assisted us in Petra in September 1967. Father Pierre Benoit, Director of the Ecole Biblique, had seen and photographed some of these inscriptions with one of the two writers, and has been kind enough to let us have his photographs.

what is preserved lies in the dedication to Liber Pater, one of the two protective gods of the Severan dynasty, the other being Hercules.

Of course, Ajacius may have had in mind the titular god of the Sanctuary, Dushara, since the latter was assimilated to Dionysos<sup>7</sup>. But he chose the appellation Liber Pater as was done at Leptis Magna in Septimius Severus's native country: this fact, added to the content of the other dedications, precludes any other conclusion than a pure coincidence in the present case.

A bi-lingual Latino-Punic text from Leptis Mgagna identifies Liber Pater<sup>8</sup> with the West Semitic god Shadrapha and a Punic inscription from the same town associates him with Milk'ashtart, the two divine names being followed by the expression *rbt 'lpqy* - to be translated as «the Lords of Leptis» and not «the Lady of Leptis»<sup>9</sup>. Milk'ashtart, then, is here, as everywhere else, a god and not a goddess<sup>10</sup>. At Oumm el-'Amed, south of Tyre, he must equate Hercules, as the sculptures recovered in his temple suggest<sup>11</sup>. H. Seyrig has shown that he was none other than the Hercules - Melqart of Tyre, and considered as the son of Astarte: Milk'ashtart = Melk ( qart son of ) Astarte.<sup>12</sup>

Thus it was the young Tyrian god who was venerated by the Punic city of Leptis Magna: and it is he, who, under the name and with the attributes of Hercules, appears on the coinage of Septimius Severus between 196 and 198.<sup>13</sup> From 194, when Septimius was fighting Pescennius Niger, he struck gold and bronze coins with the effigies of Hercules and Liber Pater and with the legend - DIS AVSPICIB (us). At the time of the secular games in 204, the Emperor and his son Caracalla called the gods by the legend DI PATRII: this can also be read on the coinage of Geat for the years 200-202.<sup>14</sup> It is the Latinivalent of the Punic formula «The Lords of Leptis».

Liber Pater alone is represented with the characteristics of Dionysos with the Panther on

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- ( 7 ) cf. J. Starcky, *Suppl. au Dict. de la Bible*, VII, 1964, c. 990.
- ( 8 ) G. Levi Vida. *The Phoenician God Satrapes*, BASOR, 87, (1942), p. 31. Cf. W. Roellig, in Haussig, *Wörterb .der Myth.*, I, p. 287. Shadrapha is nearer to Asclepios than to Dionysos.
- ( 9 ) Cf. H. Donner and W. Roellig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, I, p. 22, no. 119; II, p. 124, cf. p. 111 for *rbt* masculine plural.
- (10) *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 28.
- (11) M. Dunand et R. Duru, *Oumm el Amed*, p. 124 and 159; cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XL, 1963, p. 28.
- (12) H. Seyrig.
- (13) H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, V, p. 47, 49, 55 ff., 60 and 113.
- (14) *Loc. cit.*, p. 29 ff and 125- 128 for the *dii auspices* : for the *dii patrii*, p. 204, 3 i 8 f., 341, 344; cf. p. LXXXVII ff, p. CL and *passim*.



some Septimius Severius's denarii from 194 to 198.<sup>15</sup> After his victory over the Parthians in 198, the Emperor erectes on the Aventino «an enormous temple to Dionysos and Hercules»<sup>16</sup> and modifies the ritual of the secular games in order to introduce his ancestral gods<sup>17</sup>.

It is easy, therefore, to understand that the governor Ajocius Modestus should recommend the health of the three emperors to Liber Pater. At the other end of the Empire, at Lambaesis, Q. Ranius Cassianus, tribune of the Legio III Augusta, erected an altar near the Arch of Septimius Severus, to the same Liber Pater, described as ancestral god ( deus patrius ) and protector ( conservator ) of the ( three ) Augusti<sup>18</sup>.

#### V. Altar, the dedication of which has been lost (pl. XXIII, a - c ).

The coping and part of the body of this altar has disappeared, but much of the text has been preserved and corresponds to that of Altars I and II, to which the reader is referred. The distribution of the text on the various faces is also the same. Existing height of 2Face C, 57 cms ( base, body, baguette and lower fascia ); width 38.5 cms; average height of letters 3.5 cms. Face A, width 42 cms; height of letters, Line 1 - 3.5 cms; following lines 2.5 to 3 cms. Face B, opposite Face A, has the same width; letters, 3.5 cms. Face D is uninscribed but similarly tooled. Sandstone.

#### Face A

On the body : [ PR ] O. SALUTE. IMP C [ AES L SEP ]  
[ TI ] MI. SEVERI. PII. PERTIN [ ACIS ]  
[ AV ] G ARABICI ADIABENIC [ I ]

5 [ PAR ] THICI MAX ET IMP CAES, M. AVR  
[ AN ] TONINI AVG [ ET. P. SEPTIMI  
GETAE CAES ET ] IVLIAE A [ V ] G [ MAT ]  
[ RIS C ] ASTR [ OR ] UM TOTIVSQ [ VE ]  
[ DOMUS ] D [ IVIN ] AE.

- ( 15 ) Loc. cit., p. 29, 31, 34, 56, 60. On the cult devoted by Caracalla to Dionysos, cf. A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, 1953, p. 192 and Mattingly, V. p. 255. On a bronze coin of 210, Hercules crowns Caracalla and Liber Pater crowns Geta; loc. cit., pp. 402 and CLXXXIV.
- ( 16 ) Dio Cassius, LXXVI ( LXXVII ), 16, 3; A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 191, who also emphasises the importance taken by the bacchic thiasos ( p. 192, cf. 167 ).
- ( 17 ) Loc. cit., p. 191 f. and Mattingly, V. p. CLXXIII.
- ( 18 ) Cf. H. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, p. 192; R. Cagnat et M. Besnier, *Rev. Arch.*, 1928, p. 283.

**Face B**

[Q] AICIUS MODES  
TVS CRESCENTIA  
NVS VC [X] V VIR  
SF LEG AVGG

5 [PRPR COS] DES

**Face C**

CVM DANACIA QV [AR]  
TILLA AVRELIAN [A UXORE ET]  
Q AIACIO C [ENSORINO CELSINO]  
ARABIAN [O ET L AIA]

[CI] O MO [DESTO AVRELIANO]  
[PRISCO AGRICOLA SALVI]  
[ANO FILIS]

For comments, see ADAJ, VI - VII, p. 17 - 20.

**VI. Altar dedicated to Pax (pl, XXIII, d).**

Top part of the front an altar, the coping with a moulding as described above. Existing height: 37 cms; ( it was 65 cms. in 1963 before the stone was cut in two to carry away the inscribed part ); width of the cornice on Face A 57.5 cms; width of the body 48 cms; Left side: existing thickness of body 22 cms ( height 16.5cms: Height of letters 3 - 4 cms: Pinkish sandstone.

**Face A**

On the upper fascia, a little towards the left : PACI.

On the body : PRO SALVTE IMPP CAESS L SEPTIMI  
[SE] VERI PII [PER] TINACIS AVG ARABICI  
[ADIABENICI PARTHICI M] AXIMI ET I [MP]

There is nothing inscribed on what is left of the right side, which is also uninscribed on the other altars. On what remains of the left side, one would expect to find some of the text relating to the wife and sons of the governor, but this side C is also uninscribed. The back, that is to say, Face B, which mentions Ajacius, has been lost. Our altar, therefore, gave a short text on the front and back sides. If we assume that this short text had first been contemplated for all the altars, we can then explain an anomaly in the succession of faces A. B. C. In effect, Face C, carrying the end of the text, is oddly inserted between Face A in the front and Face B behind<sup>1</sup>. In fact, it would have been added as an afterthought on some of the altars.

The part of the text which has been preserved has only one variant: the abbreviation IMPP CAESS in the plural. The dedication to the goddess PAX deserved attention, however.



Her cult is attested from the time of Julius Caesar, who, in 44 B.C., issued denarii with her effigy. In the year 13 B.C., Augustus constructed the Ara Pacis and in 75 A.D., Vespasian, after his victory over the Jews, erected the Temple of Peace. Although the dedications to PAX are not very numerous, her cult was well established prior to the Severans<sup>20</sup>.

Pax and Victoria were synonymous. This is clearly seen on the coinage of Septimius Severus and his sons, because one cannot isolate the coins representing the goddess from those showing Mars Pacator or Pacifer.<sup>21</sup> But the emphasis is laid on the epithet by the way in which the god of war is represented, a leaf in the hand and his arms at ease. H. Mattingly stresses the desire for Peace which marked the reign of Septimius Severus. He and his sons are Fundator pacis and Pacator urbis, and, in this latter function, they are compared with the god Sol, whose bust is shown on the reverse<sup>22</sup>.

The goddess Pax herself appears on the denarii at the beginning of the Emperor's reign: she is sitting on a low stool, holding a leaf in her right hand and a cornucopia in the left with the legend PACI AVGUSTI. With PACI AETERNAE, the type is more imposing: the goddess is seated on a throne and holds a sceptre (denarii and sestertii of 197-198). She appears without any legend on a denarius of 196, and under the name of Fortuna redux on the denarii struck in the Orient during the war against Pes cennius Niger<sup>23</sup>.

Whatever date is adopted for Ajacius Modestus's legateship, certainly later than the victory over the Parthians (198) and earlier than the campaign against Great Britain (208), the dedication to Pax expresses a fact as well as a wish. On the contrary, it is hope mixed with fear which is expressed in our next dedication.

## VII. Altar to Spes and Temperantia (pl. XXII, c).

Two fragments remain, forming the top of Face A with the same moulding as the other

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- ( 20 ) Cf. C. Koch, in Pauly-Wissowa, XVIII, 4 (1949). c. 2430 - 2436; G. Wissowa in Roscher's Lexicon, III, c. 2021 - 2030. On Pax Nemesis, victorious over the rebel Jews of Alexandria, see M. Rostovtzeff, Pax Augusta Claudiana, Journ. of Eg. Arch., XII, 1926, p. 24 - 29.
- ( 21 ) H. Mattingly, V. p. 60 and 153 for the first ( Septimius Severus, 197- 198 ) and p. 371. f. for the second (Caracalla, 210 - 213 ).
- ( 22 ) Loc. cit., p. LXXXVIII, XCII, XCIX, etc. With Sol : p. 221, 246, 258. A parallel figure to Mars Pacifer is Minerva Pacifera, peculiar to the coinage of Clodius Albinus, p. c37, 64, etc. ( but taken over on a denarius of Geta, p. 243 ).
- ( 23 ) Loc. cit; PACI AVGUSTI, p. 32 and 35; PACI AETERNAE, p. 61 and 154; without a legend, p. 44; the Fortuna redux, p. 93 and CXIX.
- One would expect « Spei et Temperantiae ». But the absence of *et* does not allow a translation of « for the hope of temperance », because such a formula would not be a dedication.



altars. Width of cornice 52 cms. Existing height 40 cms. Thickness at right 40 cms. (but nothing is left of the body, that is Face D, which, elsewhere, is uninscribed). On the left, on Face C, the body is preserved up to 19 cms. in height and 26 cms. in width and, as this surface is also uninscribed, we must conclude that Altar VII, like the preceding one, did not mention the wife and sons of the governor. The average height of the letters is 3 cms. Sandstone.

On the lower fescia of the coping:

SPEI TEMPERANTIAE

On the body :

PRO SALVTE IMPP CAESS L S [ EPTIMI ]  
SEVERI PII [ PE ] RTINSCIS AV [ G ARABICI ]  
ADIABEN [ ICI ] PART [ HICI MAXIMI ET ]  
IMP CAES [ M AVRILI ANTONINI AVG ]

The altar is dedicated to two deified personifications: the first already ancient in Rome, the second poorly attested in the cult, but who seems to us to fit here into a precise historical context.<sup>23a</sup>

Spes had a temple in Rome from the First Punic war onwards and represented, above all, the hope of victory. She had inspired dedicatory inscriptions in several Italian towns. The representations of her on reliefs and coins are in an archaizing style, which confirms the antiquity of this personification. In her right hand, the goddess offers a half-opened flower, symbol of hope, and with her left, she raises her garment in order to step out towards the realisation of this hope<sup>24</sup>. She appears already like this on some coins of Claudius, the reference to the emperor being expressed by the legend SPES AVGVSTA<sup>25</sup>.

Some denarii of Septemius Severus and Julia Domna invoke the Bona Spes during the battles waged by the Emperor against his competitors in the first years of his reign<sup>26</sup>. Before long, the hopes of the Roman people are centred on Caracalla and Geta. Between 196 and 202, the issues of denarii and aurei with the effigy of Caracalla and Geta and with the traditional figure of Spes on the reverse, increase in the Orient as well as in Rome. The usual legend is SPES PUBLICA, the Hope of the State, but a sestertius, an aureus and some denarii are also known with the legend SPEI PERPETVAE<sup>27</sup>. This hope, stirred up by the princes

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( 24 ) Cf. G. Wissowa, in Roscher's Lexicon, IV, under the word Spes.

( 25 ) H. Mattingly, I, p. 182 and pl. 34, II.

( 26 ) Loc. cit., V, p. 87, 90, 92, 102, 105, 107, 111.

( 27 ) Loc. cit., p. XCIV, CXI, CXL, CXXXVIII, CXXV, etc. and the references given in the index of legends.



after their association with power, was mingled with fear, because it was foreseen that once the Emperor was dead, Caracalla would not willingly share the ruling of the Empire with his younger brother. The apprehensions of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna are reflected in the many issues consecrated to the goddess Concordia<sup>28</sup>.

It seems likely that the governor Ajacius Modestus also shared these misgivings: otherwise it is difficult to explain the double dedication to Spes and to Temperantia. The personification of this last Virtue is not attested in the cult or on Roman coins<sup>29</sup>. Here, then, it comes, only as an additional title given to Spes, in the manner of an adjective. The princes are the Hope of the Empire, but one wishes them moderation. It is true that Temperantia corresponds to the Greek Sophrosyne, whose cult is attested in Asia Minor and at Laodicea in the Lebanon<sup>30</sup>. However, the purely Roman context of our series of dedicatory inscriptions does not suggest that the legate might have been thinking of the goddess Sophrosyne.

Indeed, the other divintties have a truly Roman aspect. The goddess of Hope appears as Elpis in the Alexandrine series of coins dedicated to the personified Virtues, but this Elpis is considered as a Roman type<sup>31</sup>. In the same way, Peace is shown in Alexandria with attributes very little different from Pax, but the latter was too well established in Rome for one to imagine that, in the case of Ajacius Modestus, he was alluding to the Greek Peace, Eirene of Alexandria<sup>32</sup>.

The cult of the Virtues was very developed in Rome and was on the increase, reflecting the imperial tendencies towards directivism. The boundary between the actual personification where the Virtue is the object of a cult, and the abstract and moral allegory becomes progressively fainter<sup>33</sup>. Under the reign of Septimius Severus, of the twenty odd Virtues attested both by a definite type and a legend, there are very few who, like Pax or Spes, had their temples or altars. It is important, however, at this point, to keep this series in sight, because coins with

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( 28 ) Loc. cit., p. CLXV, cf. CLVIII, CLXXII, etc.

( 29 ) In the 4th century, the Carthaginian Martianus Capella will introduce, in the retinue of Mercury and Philologia, the four cardinal virtues of Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Might, the third being distinguished by its reserve and disinterestedness (11,129, edition F. Eyssenhardt, coll. Teubner, p. 37f). This does not go beyond literary allegory.

( 30 ) See in Roscher's Lexicon, the articles by Hofer on Sophrosune (vol. IV) and Temperantia (vol. V) and more recently that of Türk, in Pauly-Wissowa, IIIA, col. 1107. (H. Seyrig has brought to our notice that the epitaph of the priestess of Sophrosyne is not from Emesus, but from Laodicea in the Lebanon, cf. IGLS, V, 2686.

( 31 ) R. S. Poole, A Cat. of the Greek Coins in the Brit. Mus., Alexandria, p. LII.

( 32 ) Loc. cit., p. LI. Besides, in spite of the Greek interpretation of several types, the origin of this odd series of personifications is Roman, p. L.

( 33 ) See the article Personifikationen ( Römische ) by L. Deubner in Roscher's Lexicon III, particularly col. 2082.

the Virtues on the reverse, appear in groups which are significant of the time of issue<sup>34</sup>.

We have already stressed the Roman character of Liber Pater, who, here, is the romanised deity of Leptis Magna. The same must be said for the Apollo of our Altar No. I. His semitic counterpart was not evident<sup>35</sup>. In fact, the same god is concerned who figures with the legend Apolloni Augusto on some denarii and bronzes from the beginning of Septimius Severus's reign, at the same time as DIANA LVCIFERA was appearing on the coins of Plautillus and above all, Julia Domna<sup>36</sup>.

The dedications of our altars bear clear witness then that, one hundred years after the annexation, the great sanctuary at Petra had opened its doors to Roman cults. It is true that other evidence assures us that oriental cults lived on in Petra, but the following texts add further emphasis to the presence of Rome.

#### VIII. Dedication to a governor of Arabia ( pl, XXIV, d ).

A block of sandstone found on the paving of the temenos, at the foot of the double bench and amid other blocks, immediately to the east of the gate which opens on to temenos about

[..... ]  
[πρεβευτήν Σε-]  
βατοῦ ἀντιστρα-  
τήγου ἀναδεδει]  
γμένον ὑπατον  
Ἀδριανῆ Πέτρα  
ἡ μητρόπολις  
τεμῆς χάριν

- 
- ( 34 ) List of the Virtues, H. Mattingly, V, p. 629. The introduction gives the appropriate details on these successive issues and their relation to events.
- ( 35 ) A. D. A. J., VI - VII, p. 19.
- ( 36 ) H. Mattingly, V, p. LXXXIX and CXV; references p. 664 and 666. Pescennius Niger, the rival of Septimius Severus, struck denarii to Apollo Sanctus at his capital Antioch : Apollo Sanctus was shown with a laurel branch in his hand because he was the god of Daphni. ( p. CXI, 71 and 74 ).



15 metres from the Qasr<sup>37</sup>. It certainly stood on the plinth above the series of inscribed bases, one of which was that carrying the dedication to Aretas IV (Point C of pl. I). The block is broken at the top on the right, and has lost its upper part, probably in view of a re-use. The inscribed face is carefully dressed, the left and right sides are also tooled, the bottom and rear being simply trimmed off. Existing height 57 cms; width 72 cms; thickness 61 cms. Average height of letters 5 cms. The inscription had 8 (or 7) lines, but the first 4 (or 3) have been carefully hammered out.

To ..... legate of Augustus, consul designate, Adriana Petra the metropolis, in order to honour him.

For the restoration of the titles of the legate, one should refer to R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, III, 1909, p. 281. The title of the town, Adriana Petra metropolis, can be read on the coins of Hadrian one of which, exceptionally, is dated: 39, that is to say, 137 A.D.<sup>38</sup> It is likely that Petra took the name of the Emperor at the time of his visit in 130. The title of metropolis, already attested in 124, by a papyrus coming from the «Cave of the Letters» in Nahal Hever (Wadi el-Habra), to the south of Ein Gedi<sup>39</sup> perpetuates an honorific appellation used from the time of the Nabataean king.<sup>40</sup> The terminus ad quem of our dedication falls about 221/22, the probable date of Petra's elevation to the status of Colonia by Elagabalus.<sup>41</sup> Between 130 and 222 the names of a score of legates of Arabia are known.<sup>42</sup> The fact that the inscribed block must have occupied the first place above the bench

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- ( 37 ) At point E of plate I. For details of the wall, see P. J. Parr's article, It was Ali Marmeh, of the Department of Antiquities, who, in 1964, cleared the area of the temenos where the bench is and noted the exact positions of the inscribed blocks. We are very grateful to him for giving us his observations, because some of these blocks have now been removed in order to clear the paving alongside the bench.
- ( 38 ) G. F. Hill, *Numism. Chron.*, 5th series, IV, 1924, p. 16 f., no. 33 and pl. II.
- ( 39 ) H. J. Polotsky, *Isr. Expl. Journ.*, 1962, p. 260.
- ( 40 ) In reference to a Greek inscription from the ancient harbour of Beirut, dedicated «to the Fortune of Adriana Petra, the metropolis», R. du Mesnil du Buisson and R. Mousterde recall Strabo's text : «the metropolis of the Nabataeans is the town called Petra » (XVI, 4,21 ), *Mel. de la Fac. Or. (Univ. Saint Joseph )*, VII, 1921, p. 383 - 386. We had seen this inscription again, still in the same place, in a wall of the restaurant « Lucullus », but it was removed from there during the recent demolition of the building. The stone bore only the text cited above.
- ( 41 ) F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, p. 353 : S. Ben Dor, *Berytus*, IX, 1948 - 1949, p. 43.
- ( 42 ) Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, III, 1909, p. 287 - 291; C. B. Welles in *Gerasa*, 1938, p. 591s; H) - G. Pflaum, *Les gouverneurs de la province romaine d'Arabie de 193 à 305*, in *Syria*, 1957, p. 136 ss : H. Seyrig, *Antiq. syriennes*, III, p. 184; H. J. Polotsky, *Isr. Expl. Journ.*, 1962, p. 259; P. J. Parr and J. Starcky, *Ann. of the Dep. of Ant. of Jordan VI - VII*, 1962, p. 18.

of the temenos, invites us to look among the first legates, particularly as the dedication to Claudius Alpinus ( in the next inscription), who was perhaps the first governor of the province, is its nearest neighbour, at least above the plinth. Besides, if the hammering out is not due to re-use, but merely witness of a desire to suppress the memory of a legate, then one can think of Haterius Nepos, legate in 130,<sup>43</sup> because an inscription from Gerasa dated to the same year and mentioning a governor of Arabia is erased where the name should have been<sup>44</sup>.

**IX. Dedication to Tiberius Claudius Albinus ( pl. XXIV, b ).**

Block of dark red sandstone **in situ** at the **extreme western** edge of the eastern part of the bench ( see above, P. J. Parr), and Point F on PL. XXI. The base of the block is not horizontal and it sits therefore on an uneven filling of about 12 cms in height, which here replaces the continuous plinth which runs above the series of bases in the western section of the bench. The bases of the eastern section are not sharp on **their upper edge**, which has the appearance of a convex quadrant, and their height decreases as one goes towards the east. They do not seem to have carried any inscriptions and perhaps only made up the back-piece of the upper bench. Our inscribed block did not rest directly against the wall of the temenos and the gap of 5 cms. was filled with rubble and mortar. The front and side faces of the block are dressed; the lower left angl has been damaged. Height 56 cms; width 54.5 cms; thickness 42.5 cms.

The inscription had at least seven lines, but in large part has disappeared because of erosion. What is left is only legible on photographs taken under oblique light. Height of letters: L. 1 : 7 cms; L. 2 ff : 5 cms.

[ T ] I CLAVDIO TI F QVI A LPI [ NO ]  
 ADLECTO IN [ TER QUAESTORIO [ S. . ]  
 INTER TRI [ BVNI] CI [OS PRAE] . . TORI  
 VRBANO[  
 ]O.[

]VS[  
 ]R[

Ti (berio) Claudio Ti (berii) f ( ilio) Qui (rina tribu) Alpino/adlecto inter questorios..  
 inter tribunicios praetori/urbano ....

( 43 ) H. J. Polotsky, loc. cit.

( 44 ) C. B. Welles, in Geraas p. 402, no. 58. The radiated governor of No. 153, a dedication to Geta in 209/211, could be Scribonius Tenax or L. Alpinus Avitianus, cf. H. G. Pflaum, loc. cit., p. 137.



To Tiberius Claudius Alpinus, son Tiberius of the Quirina tribe, admitted among the quaestors and tribunes, urban praetor ...

In the missing parts, the *cursus* of Claudius Alpinus probably covered his other praetorian and consular offices. Our personage is known under different names, the combination of which is Tiberius Claudius Augustanus Alpinus Lucius Bellicius Sollers,<sup>45</sup> we first read the end of Line 1 as A (gustano) B (ellicio) S (ollerti), but H-G. Pflaum reads Alpino on our photographs, which agrees well with the traces visible and avoids odd abbreviations.<sup>46</sup> Thus we get the same form of name as that in the military inscription from Verona, which his wife, Claudia Marcellina, daughter of the senator Tiberius Claudius Marcellinus, had had inscribed. (Dessau, 2710). The inscription gives his equestrian career, among which was the prefecture of the Gallica ala, stationed in Syria in 88 A.D. under Domitian. Illegitimate son of Tiberius Claudius Alpinus, procurator of Britain, Claudius Alpinus was adopted by Bellicius Sollers, who was probably of senatorial rank. Under the name of Augustianus Bellicus he is imperial procurator in Dalmatia (Dessau, 5968). Then he begins his senatorial career with his admission into the order of the former quaestors: *adlecto inter quaestorios*.

Later on he is admitted into the former tribunes of the people: [et] or [it(en)] - *inter tribunicios*. The patricians were exempt from this, but, being from equestrian origin, Claudius Alpinus had to pass through this tribunate ( or through the aedility)<sup>47</sup>. The following degree, the praetorship, is, in this case, the urban praetorship. One of Pliny's Letters, written about 105, confirms this office: «Sollers, *vir praetorius*, asks the Senate for the authority to open a market on his estate», near Verona<sup>48</sup>. An inscription from this town attests finally that « Bellicus Sollers» reached the peak of the senatorial career, the consulate ( *suffect* ), Dessau, 1031.

H-G Pflaum dates the procuratorship in Dalmatia in the beginning of Trajan's reign (98-117), a little before his admission into the senatorial order. The *terminus ad quem* for the beginning of his urban praetorship is the 1st January 104, but it cannot be much earlier than that because meantime he has been admitted to the former quaestors and subsequently to the former tribunes. It is somewhat surprising that, in our inscription, he has abandoned his name of Bellicius, which recalled his elevation to the senatorial order. What was his office then in Petra when he was honoured in this way?. Had Trajan entrusted him with a special mission, something connected with the organisation of the Province of Arabia, created in 105/

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( 45 )            *Prosop. Imperii Romani*, I, B 103, p. 362f. ( A. Stein ); H-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, I, 68, p. 160 - 163, with all the useful references.

( 46 )            We are also grateful to him for the reading of the last word visible, *urbano*. We should also like to thank H. Seyrig, who has given us the benefit of his wisdom and inexhaustible knowledge.

( 47 )            R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, 4th édition, p. 94.

( 48 )            *Epist.*, V. 4, 1; cf. 13,4 and H-G. Pflaum's commentary, I, p. 160 - 162.

106?. Or, more simply, was it not as a legate of Augustus that his name appeared in such a preeminent place in the temenos of the Qasr?.

First of all, this office eventually held by Claudius Alpinus must be dated between the annexation and 119 at the latest because, by this latter date, Bellicius was then settled in Latium, where he ran a tile-making factory up until 123, the probable date of his death.<sup>49</sup> Now, from III until 115, Gaius Claudius Severus was governor of Arabia.<sup>50</sup> We do not know the names of his successors until 125,<sup>51</sup> but judging from the course of Bellicius's career it seems preferable to date his hypothetical legateship before that of Claudius Severus. It must be admitted that the latter was already on the spot in March 107; or rather, that by this date, elements of the legion of the «consular Claudius Severus» was taking part in the building of the Via Trajana. Claire Préaux has shown that this legion must be the III Cyrenaica from Alexandria. She reckons that the main body of this unit had been moved to Arabia as early as 105, with only the Headquarters remaining in Alexandria until 119.<sup>52</sup> But, in this case, the legate of the Legion, that is, Claudius Severus, already a consular, would have been at the same time, legate of the new province,<sup>53</sup> which would have given him two legateships in Arabia. This is an unlikely hypothesis. It is therefore admissible that only a detachment of the III Cyrenaica had left Egypt for Arabia and that Claudius Severus always had his residence in Alexandria. Consequently, the first ( or second ) legate of Arabia might well have been our Claudius Alpinus and it is this occasion that he would have received the title of 'consul suffect'. It was said that this first legate was Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, who put into effect the annexation ordered by Trajan; but this has been opposed with good reasons, on the grounds that no text gives him this title,<sup>54</sup>

We said above that the statue of Aretas IV was standing on the upper plinth above the double bench. Other royal statues may have stood to right and left, because the bases which flank that of the dedication to Aretas are hollowed out towards the middle, in such a way as to take an inscribed plaque and the four mortices of each of the cavities are still visible.<sup>55</sup> It is not mere chance that the governors of Arabia, successors to the Nabataean kings, have been honoured by a dedication in the very place where the royal statues were erected.

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( 49 ) cf. H. G. Pflaum, I, p. 163.

( 50 ) Milestones (Provincia Arabia, III, p. 287) and Inscription from Gerasa of 115 (SEG, VII, 844).

( 51 ) H. J. Polotaky, *Isr. Expl. Journ.*, 1962, p. 259.

( 52 ) With reference to papyrus Michigan 488 in *Mélanges Joseph Hombert, Phoibos*, V, 1950-1951 : Une source nouvelle sur l'annexion de l'Arabie par Trajan, les papyrus Michigan 465 et 466, p. 123 - 139.

( 53 ) Cf. Ritterling, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XII (1925), 1514, where will also be found the history of the III Cyrenaica ( 1506-1517 ); cf. D. Sourdél, *Les cultes du Hauran*, p. 129.

( 54 ) Cf. *Provincia Arabia*, III, p. 287 ( against Liebenam).

( 55 ) Cf. Above, P. J. Parr. Dimension of the hollow and therefore of the plaque about 40 x 40 cms. for **b**; 48 cms in height and about 30 cms. wide for **d**; cf. pl. I, 1.



## X. Greek Dedication. ( pl. XVIII ).

Some seven metres from the preceding inscription and in the same position, at point G of Plate XXI ( cf. pl. XXII, a), a block of sandstone, 69 cms. high and 82 cms. wide, bears two lines of Greek in large letters ( L. 1 : 6.2 cms; L. 2 : 4.6 cms ). The absence of tooling on the right face and what remains of the text suggests that it continued to the right on a block now lost. The adjoining block on the left, which is very worn, could also have carried part of the text. We must add that further to the right, remains of masonry represent the base of another inscribed stone, which has also disappeared ( c.f. pl, XXII, a ).

[.]·λχο[ν-----η]μητρο[

Line 1 bears the name of the person honoured - perhaps Malchos. But an A before the X is a possibility and we get, therefore, a name ending with -achos. His patronymic follows and then the name of the dedicator, in this case, certainly the town itself, Petra. At the beginning of Line 2, we have the title of the town, metropolis or metrocolonia, which would bring us, in the latter case, to a date after 221/222.

## XI. Dedication to Andromachos, prefect of an ala. ( pl. XXV, a).

To the left of the inscribed stone No. X, more than fifteen other stones stand in line, but their surface, unfortunately, has weathered so badly, that no trace of any letters can be found. It seems that this range of joining blocks had been used as the support for other inscribed stones. In any case, it is at the foot of this support that the inscriptions nos. XI, XII and XIII were uncovered, the three of them belonging to the period after the annexation.

The fragments which make up the inscribed stone no. XI came out of the sand which covered the lower bench, a few metres from stone X ( point H on pl. XXI). Pinkish sandstone, height 36.5 cms., width 91 cms; thickness at least 60 cms. (the back is damaged). The upper part has moulding, sloping backwards from bottom to top : fillet, reversed flange, listel, which suggests a statue, perhaps equestrian, erected on this base. The inscribed face and the two side faces are dressed. The body, 20 cms. high, carries three lines of Greek letters : L. 1 : 6. cms; L. 2 : 4.3 cms; L. 3 : 5 cms.

Μ(ἄρχω) Οὐλπίῳ Ἀνδρομάχῳ Οὐλπίου  
Διογένους υἱῷ ἐπάρχῳ εἴλης β̄ Αὐριανῆς  
δεχ(α)δαρχῶ τῆς προγεσ(ραμμένης) εἴλης



To Marcus Ulpus Andromachus, son of Ulpus Diogenes, praefect of the Ala II Auriana, the decurion of the above named Ala.

Dot after the first letter, before the Figure 8 and after dedarch. We owe the reading of the penultimate word of the text to H. Seyrig.

The eparch Andromachus is not otherwise known, but the ala he commanded is attested by three texts, which locate it in Cappadocia. The mutilated epitaph CIL III (suppl.) 6743 commemorates a decurion from the Ala II Ulp (ia) Aur (iana) and was discovered on the right bank of the Euphrates, near Pingan, that is, near the bend which the river makes coming from the east and turning southwards. The decurion's name is lost, but that of his brother, the author of the cippus, is Julius Philippus, duplicarius of the same Ala. It is not dated, but the title of Ulpia suggests that the Ala had been created by Trajan. Under Hadrian, it is mentioned by Arrian, then legate of Cappadocia, in his *Ektaxis kat' Alanon*.<sup>56</sup> At the beginning of the 5th Century, the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or.38,22) again mentions «the Ala Auriona» near Pingan, in Dascusa.<sup>57</sup>

Mention in our texts of decurions from the Ala II Auriana implies that it was then stationed in Petra, but it remains to ascertain the circumstances which brought about this temporary change in the garrison.

The translation *dekadorchos* ( or *dekadorchês* ) for « *decurio* » is attested by literary sources ( Polybius and Josephus ), as well as by papyri and inscriptions. *Dekorchos* ( or *dekorchês* ) or simply *dekouriôn* or an iota with a chi above it is also met. P. Magie, who gives the examples known in 1905 considers that *dekorchos* and its variants as well as *hekatontorchos* are appellations imitated from *chiliorchos* which, itself, would be authentic Greek, because it was in use in the Macedonian army.<sup>58</sup> In fact it is rather the matter of an imitation by Alexander of a Persian military institution, and this would also explain the terms *dekadarchos* and *hekatontarchos*, which appear as early as the Hellenistic period.<sup>59</sup> These terms, then, were available when a translation in Greek of the words *decurio* and *Senturio* was needed.

## XII. Dedication of an *optio* of the III Cyrenaica (pl, XXV, b).

Two or three metres to the east of the preceding inscription (at Point I in Plate I), a dark

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- ( 56 ) Ed. E. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, IIB, Text, 126, 12, (1), p. 851. Note that he mentions its name just after « the Equites Sagittarii from Petra .... under the command of *dekadarchoi* ».
- ( 57 ) In addition to the comments in CIL, see Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1233 : W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*, I, 1936, p. 239f; B. d' Orgeval, *L'empereur Hadrian*, 1950, p. 371 and 407.
- ( 58 ) *De Romanorum juris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in graecum sermonem conversis*, p. 20 and 130. See also L. Robert, *Rev. des ét. anc.*, LXII, 1960, p. 278f.
- ( 59 ) E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien*, 1966, p. 68.



pink sandstone block was lying at the foot of the bench; it showed the remains of the four last lines of a Latin inscription. (Letters : 6.5 cms ). Broken at the top; existing height 49 cms; width 58 cms; tickness 51 cms. The block must have fallen from above the range of blocks previously described.

[ ——— ] O  
COL . . . . NO  
OPT. L [ EGIO ] NIS  
F C

..... metrocolonia, so-and-so, optio of the legion has had this done.

Initially we had read the penultimate line : Opt (io) L (egionis) III Cyr (enaica), but an abbreviating stroke would be required above L; another possibility is OPTLEG III CYR<sup>60</sup> Anyhow, the traces are in favour of the reading LEGIONIS, which we owe to H. Seyrig. But, whatever the case, it concerns the III Cyrenaica appointed to the province of Arabia sometime between 119 and 127.<sup>61</sup> Its headquarters were in the capital of the province, Bosra, where it is still attested at the beginning of the 5th Century (Notitia Dignitatum Or. 37, 21). Some detachments of the Legion are mentioned in various localities<sup>62</sup> and the excavations which are taking place in Petra will not fail to produce evidence of its presence in this second capital town of the province.

The optio was the non-commissioned officer, who could eventually replace his officer, namely the centurion. When the imperial governor, who was also the legate of the Legion promoted an optio to the rank of a centurion, the grateful optio occasionally, at least from the time of Septimius Severus, erected a statue to him.<sup>63</sup> Such might have been the case of our optio, who would have urged the metrocolonia to bear the expenses. At the very earliest, then, the inscription dates to the time of Caracalla.

### XIII. Dedication to the procurator Valerius Julianus (pl. XXV, d).

Very near the preceding inscription, one or two metres to the east and 6 metres from the inscription *in situ* No X, a big block of sandstone, with six lines in Greek, was found resting against the bench, almost in the position where it is seen on plate XXII, a, at point J. On the range of blocks, the remains of the blocking on which it must have been erected, can still be

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- ( 60 ) A. E. Gordon, *Supralineate Abbreviations in Latin Inscriptions*, 1948, p. 82.  
( 61 ) Ritterling, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XII, 1509f; H. Seyrig, *Ant. Syriennes*, III, p. 138.  
( 62 ) *Pauly-Wissowa*, XII, 1511.  
( 63 ) A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des Römischen Heeres*, 1908, p. 42.

seen. Height, 58 cms; width, approximately 74 cms; thickness, 56 cms. Letters about 6 cms. Dressed on the inscribed face and the two side faces. A small break at top right.

Ουλέριον Ιούλιανόν τόν  
κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον τῶν  
Σιββ· ἢ μητρόπολις καὶ μητροχολ[.]  
τόν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην  
δια ...ρ· Θεοδώρου καὶ Αριστεῖ-  
ου στρατηγῶν

To Valerius Julianus, the eminent procurator of the Augusti, the Metropolis and Metrocolonia to its benefactor, through the efforts of Theodoros and Aristeios, the strategoi.

Ligature MHTP (p.3) in a single monogram. Ivy leaf at the end of line 4 and at the beginning and end of line 6. Between the ivy leaf and the first letters of line 6, marks which belong to no letter (not D). The beginning of line 5 is illegible: the stone cutter must have made a mistake and has not rewritten his text, something like *dia tēs pr(onoios)*: unless we have an abbreviated name after “*dia*” P. Rey-Coquais suggests AVPP, that is Aurelii; the two PP seem certain. We have found no record of this abbreviation despite the numerous Aurelii known. In any case, this gentilium refers to Caracalla rather than to Marcus Aurelius.

In fact, our dedication is later than 221/222 - the probable date of Petra’s elevation to the rank of colonia. Mention of two Augusti may allude to Philip the Elder and his son Philip, promoted Augustus in 246, or else to Decius and his son Herennius, Augustus in 251, or to Trebonius and Volusius (251-253), or again to Volusius and his son Gallian (253-259), to say nothing of the joint reigns of the Tetrarchy. The procurator Valerius Julianus is not known. A person, bearing the same name, but whose title is unknown, appears at the same time as his mother, in an inscription of his father, a procurator of the Lugdunum and Aquitania Province, but his name is lost (CIL IX, 4678). H-G. Pflaum dates his career in the 2nd rather than in the 3rd Century.<sup>64</sup> But, if our procurator is his son, he would have fulfilled his office in the middle of the 3rd Century at the earliest. The ligature also does not favour a high date.

Valerius Julianus is “*kratistos*”, that is, *vir egregius*, a distinctive title of the equestrian class, from which the procurators were chosen. His office must be the fiscal procuratorship of the



Province of Arabia, a hundred year old office created by Trajan, one of the first holders of the office being L. Valerius Firmus.<sup>65</sup> Under Antoninus, C. Vibius Celer was the imperial procurator of Arabia, after having been prefect of the Ala stationed in Palmyra.<sup>66</sup> At the end of the same century, it was Q. Maecius Laetus and shortly afterwards, L. Didius Marinus, Q. Aurelius Attilianus and finally, in 221/222, Timesitheus, the future prefect of the Praetorium<sup>67</sup> Twice, Timesitheus, in his office of procurator, had replaced the legate ( Dessau, 1330): this emphasises the importance of the office exercised by our Valerius Julianus, one of the successors to the illustrious Timesitheus.

The two strategoi, Theodorus and Aristeus, are the two magistrates who managed the colonia of Petra. It must be recalled that Palmyra, once a Roman colonia, was also controlled by two strategoi.<sup>68</sup> A Nabataean inscription from Hegra is dated «on the days of Maliku and Ba'fat, the strategoi».<sup>69</sup> That should refer to the strategoi of Petra rather than of Hegra, because Hegra, not being a Roman colonia, would not have had strategoi at its head.

It is worth noting the two Greek names of the magistrates. The first correspond to Wahbu or Zobaidu, or to some other personal name drawn from a smitic root meaning « to give». It is more difficult to guess what was the Nabataean name of Aristeus.

#### XIV. Christian funerary stele (pl. XXVI.a).

Found in the temenos, eight metres to the north of the bench and twelve to the west of the Arch ( at point K ). Height 96 cms; width 27 cms; thickness - maximum 16.5 cms. Letters: 1. 2; 6 cms; dressed on the inscribed face; pinkish sandstone.

Under a simple Greek cross and engraved parallel to the long sides:

ZHCI

Ligature of H and C, dot above C and I. To the right, a horizontal stroke of abbrevia-

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- ( 65 )      Loc. cit., p. 183, no. 86 and *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, 1950, p. 55.
- ( 66 )      *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, I, p. 365, no. 155.
- ( 67 )      Op. cit., II, p. 580, no. 219; p. 765, no. 295; p. 792, no. 308; p. 811, no. 317.
- ( 68 )      J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des Inscr. de Palmyre*, III, 5 ( of 224/5 ); 22(242/3 ); 14 (254); 10 (262), etc. On the number and functions of the strategoi in the towns of the Empire, see W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung in Römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1900, p. 286 - 288.
- ( 69 )      Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, I, 1909, p. 213, no. 57.

tion. We propose the reading zês(as) i, having lived ten years.<sup>70</sup> The angular writing suggests the 5th or 6th Century<sup>71</sup>. This solitary stele does not allow us to conclude that there was a cemetery in the temenos area.<sup>72</sup> Christian evidences are still rare in Petra, the most important being the inscription of the Bishop Jason, the date of which is 446, A.D.<sup>73</sup> The Petra museum also keeps the top of another stele (24x19 cms) of the same pinkish sandstone with a potence cross and probably from the same origin.

**XV. Mark on an ashlar stone (Pl. XXVI, b).**

A block, with moulding on the front side, kept in the museum at Petra. We have not been able to discover its origin but we include it here in case of future discoveries. Nummulitic white limestone with reddish veins. Height of the front side 13 cms, comprising a flange between two plain fillets. The under part shows a large plain fillet all along the back edge, Hereby suggesting a lintel. The upper surface (34 cms width and 30 cms depth), is dressed and bears 4 Greek letters, 4 cms. in height:

Obo d ( as )

It is the name, either of the stone cutter or the contractor. Here we have the normal vocalisation of the well-known Nabataean name "Obodat"<sup>74</sup>, but Josephus vocalises with or as second vowel, which shows that this one had no phonetic value. ( N.B.F. Zayadin wonders if the block was not part of a bench with moulding or the edge, the name being that of the person for whom the seat was reserved ( Obodas II?). On the other hand, he has measured the corresponding parts of the temenos bench a has ascertained that the block could not have come from there)

**XVI. Half drum of a column with a Nabataean inscription ( pl, XXVI, c ).**

Origin unknown, in the Petra museum. Diameter 46 cms; radius 24 cms; height 32 cms;

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( 70 ) Cf. Reginetta Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, 1954. For the abbreviation ZHC, p. CXVII. For the dot on the numeral, p. 351, fig. 386; p. 357, fig. 393, etc. For the absence of the word "Etn, p. 62, no. 38; p. 243, no. 248; p. 393, no. 403. For the ligature of H and C, p. CXV. For the form of the cross, p. CXXVI and pl. III (simple crosses, potence crosses, etc). For the absence of the formula of deposition, p. LXXV.

( 71 ) Op. cit., p. CXf.

( 72 ) Cf. op. cit., p. CXXVIII f.

( 73 ) *Die Provincia Arabia*, I, p. 393 and III, p. 345.

( 74 ) J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, I, p. 40 and 47.



usual diagonal dressing; reddish sandstons. 2 lines of Nabataean; height of the **unu** of **Qainu**: 10 cms. Writing of the 1st or 2nd Century A.D.

qynw

Qainu

br 'mw âlm

son of 'Ammu, peace.

The two names are known, but it is more usual to have 'myw, 'Ammayu than 'Ammu, and Qainu is attested mostly in the Sinaitic graffiti.<sup>75</sup> The reason for this invocation on a drum is unclear : perhaps Qainu had taken part in erecting the building from which this block came.

### XVII. Fragment of a funerary inscription.

Broken, except on the right (23 X 14 X 11 cms). Hard limestone, ivory coloured. Found in 1966 by Mohammed Salaam on the surface near the most northern tower of the defences, commonly called the Conway High Place<sup>76</sup>, between Wadi Matahah and Wadi En-Nasara, according to the plan A of the Horsfields.<sup>77</sup> Remains of 10 lines in Greek. Letters, 18 to 29 mms.

]- - - [-  
]οπαε..  
]το διητα  
].ους πολυ-  
5 ἐνθ' ἴδε χεῖρα  
ε]ύμβον  
].εαθας  
]εθας  
]ουτα  
10 ]ε.[-

( 75 ) Op. cit., I, p. 132 and 142.

( 76 ) P.J. Parr, Rev. Bibl., 69, 1962, p. 64ff.

( 77 ) Quart. of the Dep. of Ant. of Palestine, VII, 1938.

It is a metric inscription, in which certain expressions characteristic of funerary texts can be recognised: lines 5 and 6 : enthade kcitai ... tumbon.<sup>78</sup> In Line 2, perhaps the accusative patera ( or a compound adjective ) and at the end of Line 4, the beginning of an adjective. In Line 10, a numeral, preceded, in Line 8, by an adjective. On the stone, Line 10, read ( t ) and not ( p ) as the photographs suggest.

The writing, with the projecting oblique strokes, is not earlier than the 2nd Century A.D.

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( 78 )

This latin word in Greek form is to be read, for example, on two funerary stelae from Kerak, R. Canova, op. cit., p. 80, no. 59 and p. 160, no. 181, cf. p. LXXX.