

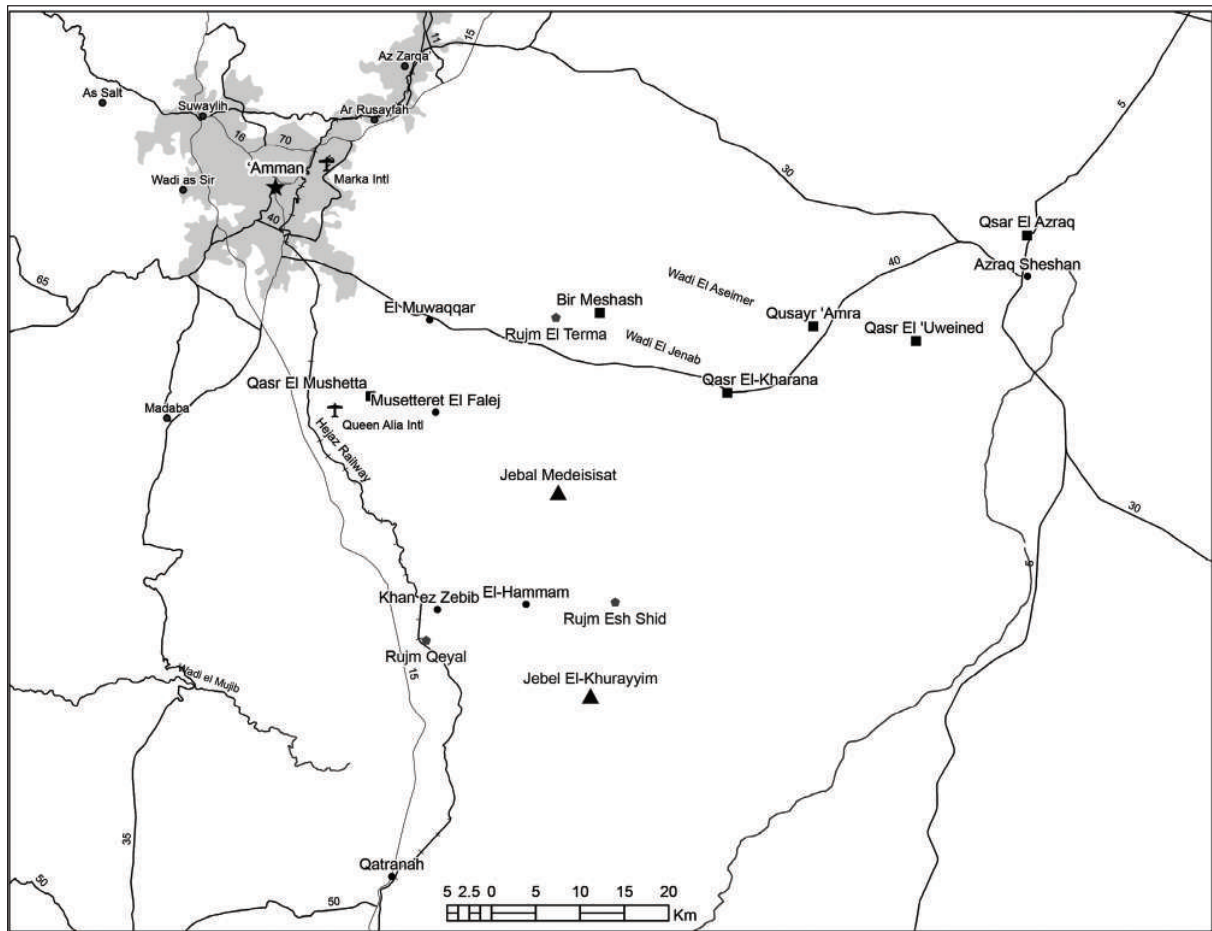
Central Jordan Epigraphic Project In Memory of Fawwaz al-Khraysheh and George E. Mendenhall

The stimulus for this project began with the Hinterland Survey of the Madaba Plains Project (MPP) directed by Dr. Øystein Labianca of Andrews University, when some “trimal marks” (*wusūm*) were discovered in a cave at Khirbat ar-Ruṣayfah near al-Yadūdah in 1992. In a meeting at various epigraphers and archaeologists at the cave in 1995 organized by Dr. Labianca, it was observed that many of the *wusūm* were similar to the camel brands and tribal marks recorded by Henry Field during his earlier exploration of Jordan (Field 1952).

However, Dr. Khraysheh surmised that beneath many of the symbols there appeared to be several Thamudic texts with the graphemes later distorted by modern visitors to the cave who enlarged, corrupted, and even imitated some of the graphemes. But the “palimpsest” theory was never pursued because of the discovery of other Thamudic inscriptions in the region. In 1982, E. A. Knauf discovered at Uraynibah west, *ca.* 15km southeast of Mādabā, the longest and most eloquent Thamudic inscription ever found, which preserves a rare dedication to the Nabataean fortune deity Ṣa‘ba, and which has a close par-

allel at Mādabā, implying perhaps a Nabataean sanctuary in the vicinity (Graf and Zwettler 2004). Later, more lengthy Thamudic texts were found by Michele Daviau in the Wādī ath-Thamad Survey just south of Uraynibah (Daviau *et al.* 2000: 277). These texts seem to suggest that the “middle ground” between the Safa'ic Inscriptions in the north of Jordan and the so-called “Hismaic” texts of the Wādī Ramm region in the south was actually a Central Jordan population that used the Thamudic script. Jordan called “Thamudic E” (King 1990) (FIG. 1).

For this reason, an epigraphic survey was organized to explore this region and test this hypothesis. The first season was conducted in July 15-26 in 1996, focusing on the area east of the desert highway between al-Yadūdah, Khān az-Zabīb and al-Qaṭrānah. The staff included David F. Graf from the University of Miami (Coral Gables, Florida), Fawwaz al-Khraysheh of the Department of Epigraphy in Yarmouk University's Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (Irbid, Jordan), and George E. Mendenhall, Professor Emeritus of The University of Michigan as the consultant of the project. In addition, three of Dr.

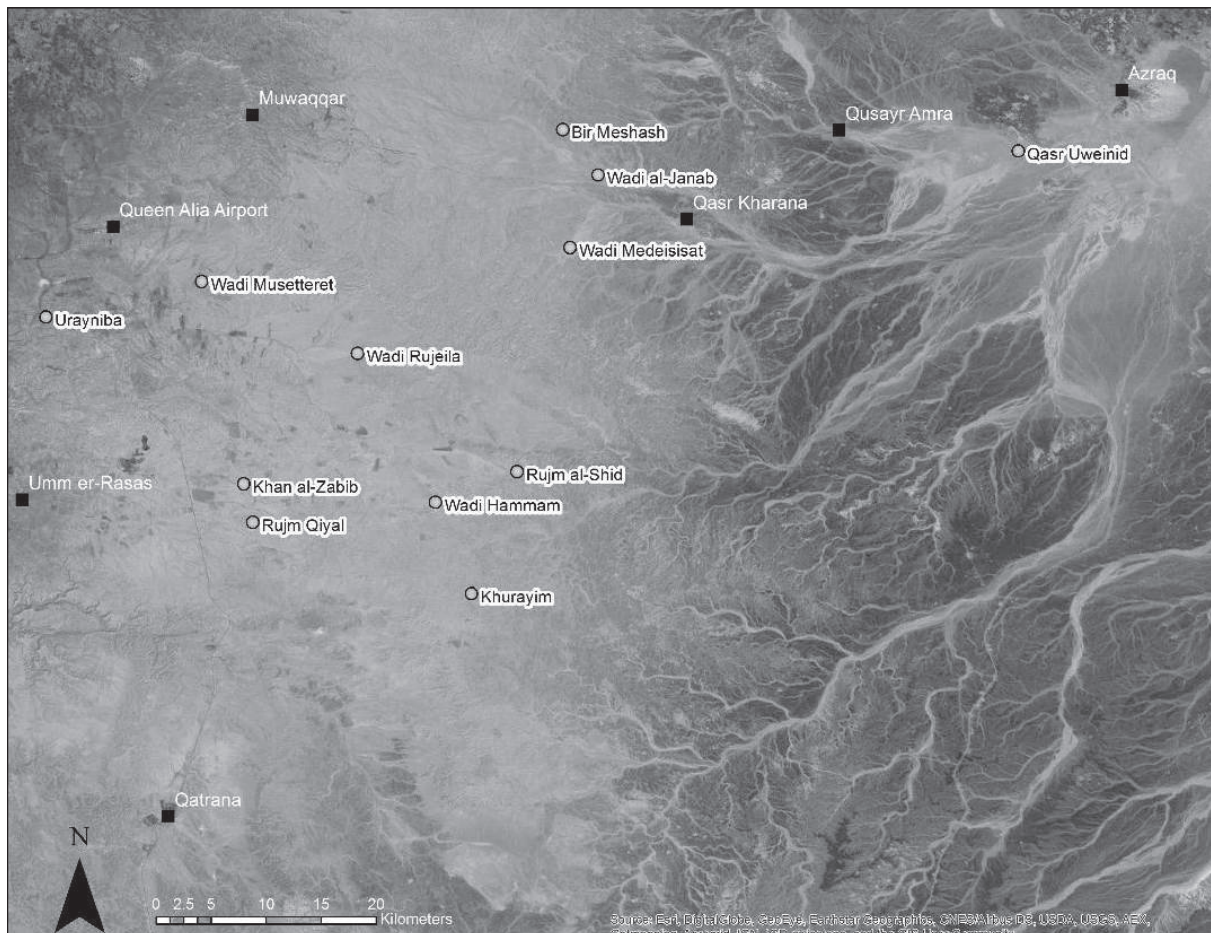


1. Survey map.

Khaysheh's graduate students also participated in the effort: Mohammad I. Ababneh, Mohammad Jarrah, and Mohammad Haza'a. The survey extended as far as 25km east of the Desert Highway, essentially the areas on the periphery of the Queen 'Alia Airport. The time was limited, so only forays into this extensive region were possible.

Most of this extensive region is characterized by gravel desert, penetrated rarely by larger surface stones, and only sufficient in a few areas to be gathered into occasional cairns or small "watch-towers." Nevertheless, 40 pre-Islamic North Arabian texts were discovered, almost all of the Thamudic E variety. Three areas were particularly productive. The first was the Wādī Janāb area about 25km east of 'Amman and some 5km south of the Amman-Azraq highway. Some 15 Thamudic texts were recorded from about a half

dozen stones in a cairn in the area and several more from a nearby cairn that also contained a number of modern Arabic graffiti and tribal marks. The second productive area was 5-15km southeast of the Queen 'Alia International Airport, where several cairns were found with Thamudic texts, but without any pottery. The third area where texts were concentrated was the region of Khurayyim, some 60 km south of 'Amman and about 20km east of Khān az-Zabīb. Pottery was found at all of these sites, predominantly of the Nabataean-Roman era, with a few possible Byzantine sherds. These sites are all located near modern new agricultural projects utilizing irrigation from recent wells dug in the region. In the process of developing these cultivated areas, many cairns and sites were damaged or destroyed. At one cairn, seven texts were found on a single broken stone. At Rujum



2. Graf Survey Map, revised 2.

ash-Shīd, there is a well-constructed tower (*ca.* 4×6m) of probable Nabataean-Roman date, judging from a few sherds found in its environs. The eastern wall is particularly well preserved, but the other walls are all collapsed. Five small Thamudic E texts were found on stones of the structure and a number of others were in the immediate area with many *wusūm*. Several other towers were found SE of Rujum ash-Shīd at about 5 km intervals, but they lacked any pottery or inscriptions although some stones were marked with modern graffiti and tribal marks. In addition, a visit was also made to the region of al-Lajjūn where Bruce Routledge of the University of Pennsylvania informed us of several Thamudic or Safaitic texts discovered during his survey of the region about 5km SE of al-Lajjūn just south of the al-Qatrānah-Karak highway (FIG. 2).

The importance of the finds is that they represent the first substantial corpus of Thamudic E texts ever discovered in the ‘Amman-Mādabā region, just east of the Ammonite-Moabite plateau. Although their number was not as impressive as the Thamudic E texts found in the Wādī Ramm region in the south, and certainly the enormous quantities of Safaitic texts in the *ḥarra* region of NE Jordan, their number is still significant for this location. It seems clear that Thamudic E is typical of the Transjordan plateau as far north as the region of ‘Amman if not further. In addition to collecting pre-Islamic epigraphic texts, the survey also recorded many modern bedouin tribal marks (*wusūm*) from the region, primarily occupied in recent times by the Banī Ṣakhr.

In regard to the script of the pre-Islamic texts, the majority appear to be in that designated as

Thamudic E (King 1990). The typical Thamudic E grapheme of *d* appears in many texts, supporting the designation of the script as Thamudic E. The content of the texts is brief, most preserving the name of an individual and his patronym. Many of the texts are fragmentary, incised on broken and fragmented limestone or flint. The only deity invoked in the texts is LT, but DŠR appears once in a theophoric personal name. Several typical expressions also occur in the inscriptions like DKRT LT (“[O goddess] Lat, remember PN”) or L’NT LT (“O [goddess] LT curse PN”). The personal names that appear are mostly known from other Safaitic and Thamudic texts. One text contains seven names in a genealogy followed by a (missing) tribal name, which is quite exceptional in Thamudic E. Although female names appear rarely in the texts, one stone from Wādī Janāb bears two texts from different women and a third text from the brother of one of the women on the same stone.

The epigraphic results of the first season of the Central Jordan Survey prompted a second season. This took place between June 13 and 28 in 1997. The expedition team was comprised of Dr. David F. Graf from the University of Miami, Dr. Fawwaz al-Khaysheh of the Department of Epigraphy in Yarmouk University’s Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (Irbid, Jordan), and Dr. George E. Mendenhall (Professor Emeritus, University of Michigan). The three universities provided funding and equipment in support of the project. Several students from Yarmouk University also assisted in the fieldwork and recording of the texts. The focus of the second season was the area east of ‘Ammān between Muwaqqar and Azraq. In this region, at least 68 stones were found inscribed with 104 texts. These stones were almost all located on the tops of hills and high points in the region. Four particular areas were productive: (1) the area 20km east of Muwaqqar between Wādī Janāb and Kharrānah; (2) the area just north of the Muwaqqar-Azraq highway east of

Bīr al-Mushāsh on the hills of Jabal Šafrā’; (3) The area north of Quşayr ‘Amra on the hills of Tulūl al-‘Āliyānd (4) the lava area of Ḥarrat ‘Uwaynid just north of Qaşr ‘Uwaynid. Of the more than 100 texts collected, almost all were in Thamudic E, but a few Safaitic texts were found in areas (2 and 4). Although the region was penetrated occasionally by a few Safaitic texts, the predominant script was Thamudic E. The majority of the stones with clearly incised texts were deposited at the *aş-Şayyād* (Hunt-er’s) Hotel in Azraq, with the cooperation of its owner Lydia A. Hassan, who generously agreed to store the stones at the Hotel for future study. Some of the texts were quite faint and were taken to Yarmouk University for further study. In this context, only a few of the texts can be discussed.

The Thamudic Tribes of Central Jordan

The majority of the almost 147 texts recorded contain merely names and on occasion genealogies of two generations. The unusual aspect of these mostly fragmented mundane texts is that they also contain six “tribal” or “clan” names designated by *dhul*. These “tribal” names are more frequent in Safaitic than Thamudic inscriptions (al-Rusan 1986), so the number of tribal names for this small corpus of primarily Thamudic texts is significant. From the close to 10,000 recorded Thamudic E inscriptions in the Ḥismādesert in the south, Geraldine King assembled 23 tribes (King 1990: 691), and another half-dozen can now be added to the Ḥismā occurrences (Corbett 2010: 427, *s.v.* ‘*āl*, “family, tribe”). and a few scattered more from the Jordanian plateau (all of which constitute less than 1%). In contrast, the “tribal” names in the Central Jordan corpus constitutes about 4% of the texts, significantly higher than where there is a larger concentration of Thamudic texts.

The problem is the exact meaning of *dhul* is ambiguous and complex (Harding 1969: 5). The pronoun *dhu* suggests some kind of affiliation for an individual, but *l* can also refer

to various social groups including family, clan, or the sub-branch of a tribe, not just a tribe or ethnic group (Musil 1928: 47 and 480). The *l* in North Arabian texts is often associated with Arabic *'āl*, which Lane identifies with family “relations, kinsfolk, [or] household followers” (1970: 127-128). All of these social groups presumably are bound together biologically by a common ancestry normally portrayed in a genealogical tree or lineae stemming from an eponymous ancestor. But as these families expand to external families (by marriage or alliance), the genealogy becomes artificial, part truth and part fiction. With regard to the modern Rwala Bedouin tribe, the larger social groups can “split, subdivide and coalesce”, so that members know only three generations and certainly not the eponymous ancestor (Lancaster 1981: 24-32). In between the gaps, there are inventions. For example, the lengthier Safaitic genealogies extend frequently to six generations and at times as many as twelve or fifteen generations (Milik 1985: 183-188). But after four generations, there is occasionally a different order in the lineage, insertions, and misspellings (Winnett and Hardin 1978: 21). In contrast, Thamudic inscriptions rarely extend beyond the grandfather. Another case is the prototype genealogy of al-Kalbi constructed in the Ummayyad period (Caskel 1966: 22) in which its economic agenda created such ancestral fictions (Smith 1885: 5-6). In essence, the tribal structure is not stagnant, but constantly developing and changing. The assumption of a successive generations of blood relatives of patrilineal descent must be regarded with suspicion (Smith 1885: 35; Dresch 1988: 55-56). The translation of *dhul* as “tribe” is then just an educated guess, complicated by the existence of these other familial social groups, so that a family or clan may just as well be at stake as tribe in the use of *dhul*.

As a prototype for a tribe in the Mādabā region, the ‘Amrat tribe may be considered. A Nabataean-Greek bilingual inscriptions from Mādabā dated to AD 108/9 for a Mun‘at of the

tribe of ‘Amrat (*l'mrāt*) locates them at Mādabā (Milik 1958: 245). As a consequence, they have been associated with the Iambri (I Macc. 9: 32) and Odomera (9:66) who resided at the city in the second century BC. This correlation is supported by Josephus, who calls them the Amaraioi Arabs, who dwelt in the vicinity of Mādabā (*AJ* 13.11-18). As the Mādabā tomb inscription of the Nabataean strategos Itaybel and his son indicates (*CIS* II, 196 = *RES* 674), the town was well within the Nabataean realm in AD 37. The identity of the Amaraioi as “Nabataeans” was already proposed by Clermont-Ganneau, based on the personal name *y'mrw* in a Nabataean inscription dated to AD 39 at Umm ar-Raṣāṣ, 16 miles SE of Mādabā (1897: 185-218 on *CIS* II, 139), which suggests the tribe was prominent throughout the region. As a result, it is assumed that Mādabā was occupied by a “Nabataean elite” (Ferguson 2016: 419) or a heavily “Nabateanized” population (Ferguson 2015: 377). In the fourth century AD, Uranios still identified Mādabā as “a city of the Nabataeans” (*FGrH* 675 F8).

As further evidence of their wide-ranging activities, there are a number of Safaitic texts attesting the ‘MRT tribe that distributed over an extensive territory in northern Jordan well beyond Mādabā: at the cairn of Hani' (H5), the Wādī Shām (C 2947), Dayr al-Kahf (Clark 1977: 1a-b), but also further east in the region of H4 in Jordan at Qā' al-'Arqadiya (Clark 1979: no. 628), Qaṣr Burqu' (Macdonald and Harding 1976: nos. 8, 10, 12), and Ruwayshid (Kraysheh 1995: nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6). These Safaitic texts indicate that the ‘MRT tribesmen are well integrated into the Nabataean realm. The texts indicate they petition the Nabataean gods Lāt and Dhūsharā (Macdonald and Harding 1976: no. 10), date their texts to the “year the Nabataean king died” (Khraysheh 1996: no. 1, *snt mt mil nbṭ*), perhaps monitored the movements of the Nabataean king Rabbel (Clark 1979: 628, *nṣr l rb l*), and even rebelled against Rome (*l l-rm*), the year Caesar left Bosra, perhaps during the

visit of Hadrain to the region in AD 129/130 (Khaysheh 1995: no. 6, *snt brlqsr lbsry*). More important, the Safaitic-Nabataean bilinguals at Qaṣr Burqu‘ indicate the tribemen were bilingual, and familiar with Nabataean Aramaic (Milik 1980: 41-54, MNT 8 = MNT 2c; MST 10 = MNT 2a; MST 12 = MNT 1). The name ‘MRT retained its resiliency, and was a name for various tribes in the modern period: see Musil 1908: 515, index, s.v.; and 1927” 589, index s.v.). As a result, given the popularity of the name, it is possible that there is more than one tribe named ‘MRT. But as will be noted below, the activities of some tribes is quite extensive, covering vast areas of the Syrian-Atabian landscape. It is just as possible that if this is correct, the *Amaraioi* tribe was composed of both sedentary and pastoralist segments.

With these considerations in mind, we can discuss the six texts that mention a *d’l* or “tribe” in our small corpus of texts from Central Jordan, two of which are of exceptional interest.

No. 1. Tribe of QDM: Wādī Mudaysīsāt (FIG. 3)

L-TM[.] bn MLG bn TM [.....] d’l ‘QDM whd ‘l [.....] [M]D’T bn T....

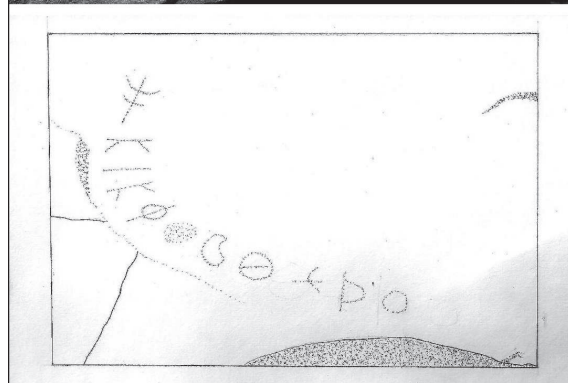
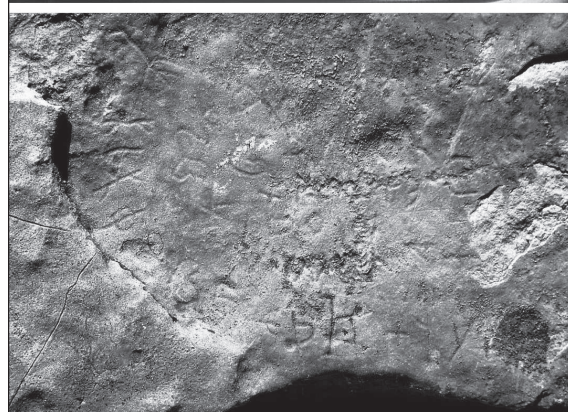
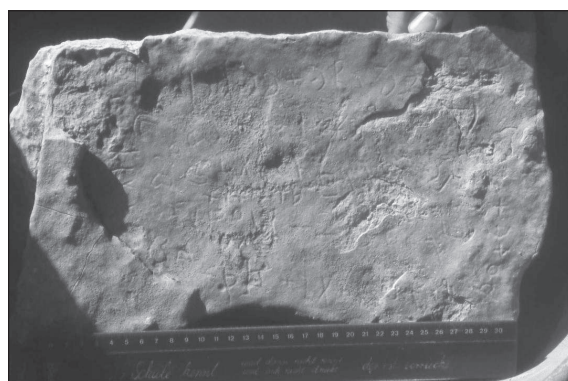
By TM son of MLJ son of TM [.....] of the tribe of ‘QDM and he mourned [for] MD’T bn T....

The name TM is common in Safaitic and Thamudic (*HIn* 136).

The name MLJ is known in Thamudic E: See King 475, KnEG 1. See Arabic *malaja* ‘suckling kid’ and *malij* ‘foster brother, illustrious man’. For MLJN in Thamudic E, see King 580: KJC 8, 273, 760, 762.

The name MD’T appears once in Thamudic: Hu 38.5 (see *HIn* 534). See also King 545 for MD’, which appears in Safaitic (6) and Thamudic E: TIJ 111. Note also *myd’* in Nabataean: Cantineau 113. See Arabic *da‘ā* ‘claim’ and *madda‘I* ‘claimant’.

The tribal name ‘QDM is new. The restoration of the “D” is based on the frequent occur-



3. No. 1. TRIBE ‘QDM.

rence of ‘QDM as a personal name: see *HIn* 60 for ‘QDM in Safaitic (26), and note QDM in *HIn* 478: Safaitic (222) and Thamudic (5), and add for Thamudic E King 536, AMJ 71 to JS 672, and TIJ 206, 326, 355. For Nabataean, see Cantineau 141, *qdmw*. For Arabic, cf. *qadanma* ‘precede, come before’, *Qadīm* ‘ancient’ and see CIK 454,2 for Qadim, and 459,2 for Qudam.

No. 2. Tribe of RWH: Wādī Mudaysīsāt (FIG. 4)

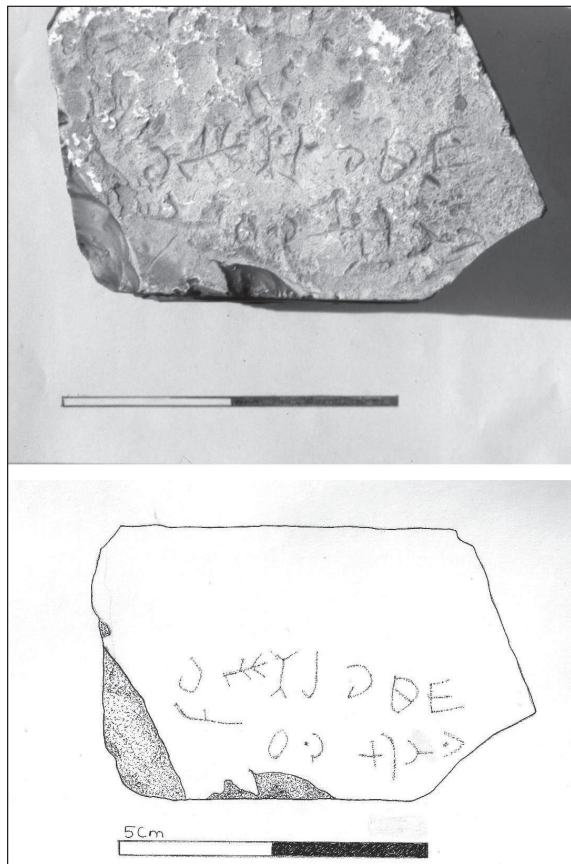
...bn SLT bn ‘KR d’l RWH

...son of SLT son of ‘KR of the tribe of RWH

The name could be read as SLT, which appears in Safaitic a few times: WH 42 and 3396: see HIn 324, and add Ababneh no. 242. See Arabic *salīt* ‘bald-headed’. It seems less likely that it be read as STT, which is new, although ST is known in North Arabian: HIn 316 lists Lihyanite (1), Safaitic (3), and Thamudic (3). See Arabic *sitt* ‘lady’ and *satt* ‘vice, defect’. But SLT is preferable.

The name ‘KR is known previously only in Safaitic: HIn 428. But for Thaamudic E, see King 527-528 for *krw* in TIJ 316, Perhaps with a Nabataean ending, and see Arabic *‘akkār* (“one who returns to fight after fleeing”) and for the Arabic name CIK 150,2 *‘Akkār*.

As a personal name, RWH appears frequently: HIn 290, lists Safaitic (16) and Thamudic (1 = WT 29). See the Arabiac name *Rūh*: WR 387. The Tribal name RWH also is known elsewhere in North Arabia. At Umm al-Jimāl, it appears in a Safaitic inscription on a stone in the west wall



4. No. 2. RWH.

of a house in the eastern part of the town, which reads *L-WHB bn ŠMT d'1 RWH* (C 5162 = LP 1269). It also appears in a Palmyrene text dated to AD 132, a dedication by a ‘Ubaydu, a Nabataean from the Rawāh (*rwḥy* ['] I) tribe, who was a cavalryman at the fort and camp at ‘Ana’(‘n). an island on the Middle Euphrates. The dedication is for Shay al-Qaum, “the good and bountiful god who does not drink wine” (CIS II, 3973 = RES 285 and 2065 = PAT 0319)--the “protector of the clan” or “conductor of the group”(Sourdel 1952:81-84, Healey 2001:143-147), or “protector of caravans” (Teixidor 1977: 88-89). From Umm es-Salabikh near Aleppo, a text dated to AD 225 refers to another “strategos” and his lieutenant from the same town of ‘Ana on the Euphrates, some 115 km northwest of Palmyra (Cantineau: 1931: 178-180, no. 4 = PAT 275). What the Palmyrene officials were doing so far from this post remains unknown.

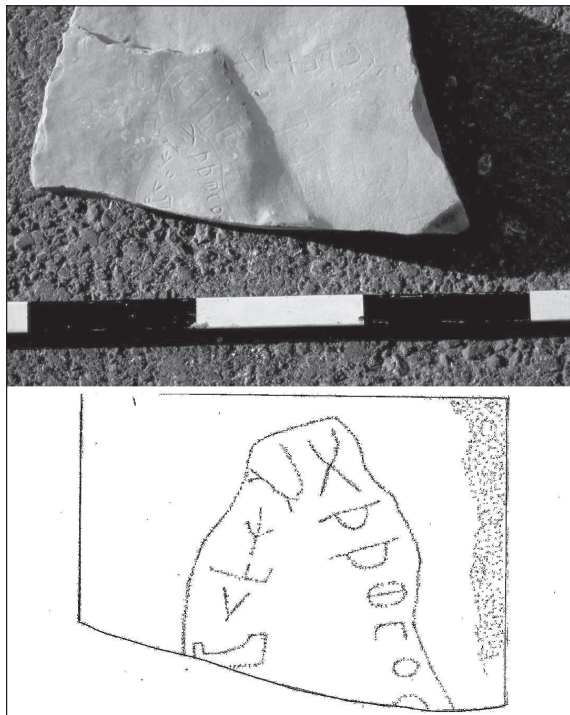
msk d'1 ḥdd wr'[y]

msk of the tribe of *ḥdd* and he pastured.

The name MSK occurs frequently in ancient North Arabian texts, especially in Safaitic where it appears over a hundred times (HIn 545, lists 110 times). But is also fairly frequent in Thamudic E, see King 546-547, *msk* in TIJ KJC 131 ~ i, KU 1, IIIH101; add WHPS 07-001-02.8. For the Arabic name, see CIK 401,1 *Masik* and cf. Arabic *masaka* ‘seise’, *masuka* ‘be tenacious’, and *misk* ‘musk’.

For ḤDD, see HIn 216, who lists two Safaitic texts, once is a personal name and the other is a geographical location or place. For the latter see SIJ127: “And he has gone down to Khadad. So O Dhu-Shara grant immunity from harm” (*wwr d ḥdd ḥdšr rwḥ mb's*). The location of Khadād is unknown.

The verb *r'[y]*, ‘he pastured’, is common in Safaitic. Its appearance in Thamudic is exceptional and use in this text in an unusual manner. Normally, the phrase *wr'[y]*



5. No. 3 HDD.

pastured”) is a transitive verb combined with a phrase or word designating the particular place or animals involved., but here it appears without an object. See WH p: 637 and Ababneh no. 59 for discussion.

No. 4. Tribe of FLTT: Wādī Janāb (FIG. 6)

l 'qrbn wwg'm 'l srd wr 'y d' l FLTT

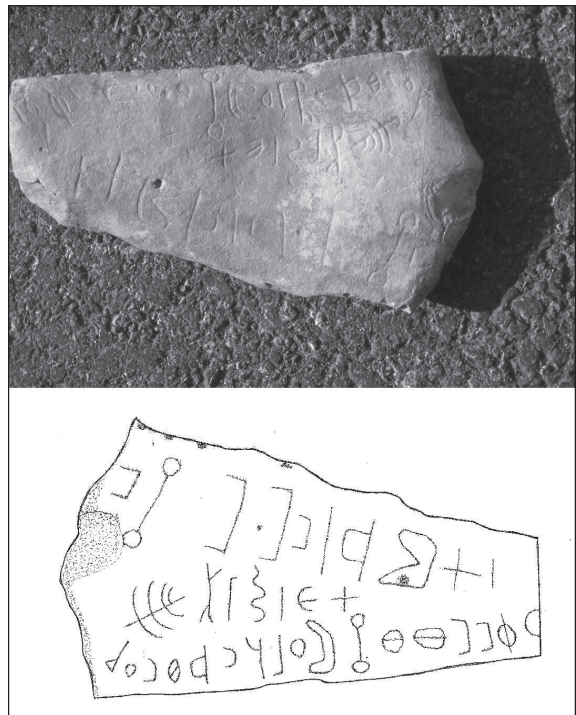
By 'QRBN and he grieved for SRD and he pastured, the tribe of FLTT

The name 'QRBN is attested in Safaitic, but only once in Thamudic (*HIn* 437). This is its first appearance in Thamudic E. For the Arabic name see CIK 574, 1 'Uqrubān, which seems to represent Arabic 'male scorpion' The name also appears in Palmyrene (Stark 107).

The verb *wgm* (he grieved) with the preposition 'l appears regularly in Safaitic (Ababneh no. 87), but is unusual in Thamudic.

The name SRD is attested a few times in Safaitic (*HIn* 315), but is new in Thamudic E.

As observed in the previous text, the transitive verb *ra'y* (to shepherd, tend, pasture) normally appears in Safaitic with an object (ani-



6. No. 4. FLTT.

mals, specific places, or plants), but appears here again without an object.

Although the personal name FLTT (Arabic *falaṭ* 'surprise, unexpected event) occurs frequently in Safaitic (*HIn* 471 lists 71 times: add Clark no. 201 and 350, and Ababneh nos.180. 349, 350,), but is rarer in Thamudic E (AMJ 107, KJA 208, KJC 228; PH 345 bis g; and WHPS R 206). This is its first appearance as a "tribal" name.

The stone contains a second text: TMDŠR Bn BJR. The name TMDŠR ("servant of DŠR", the Nabataean god) is known elsewhere in Thamudic E (in CSP 2 at Mafrāq, as re-read by King 624, with p, 484, and WHPS 390.4 in the Wadi Hafir in the Ḥismā). It is significant here as representing a Nabataean element in our texts. In Nabataean Aramaic, it occurs as *tymdwsr*: see Cantineau 156 and Negev 1217, where it is listed for North Arabia (1), the Sinai (6), and the Hauran (2).

The name BJR is rare. *HIn* 93 list only BJRT: Safaitic (8) and Thamudic (JS 757 uncertain). But see CIK 219, 2 *Bajara* and Arabic *bajair*

(large bellied) and *Bajīr* ('abundant'). The name appears elsewhere in Thamudic E only in JS 707. (King 477).

No. 5. Tribe of *WD'*: *Wādī 'Amra* (FIG. 7)

l 's bn hn'lh bn 'sr bn 'st bn 'mrt bn hn'lh bn shb bn zdlh d'l wd' fhlt slm

By 'S son of HN'LH son of 'SR son of 'ST son of 'MRT son of HN'LH son of SHB son of ZDLH from the tribe *WD'*, Oh Lat grant security.

The genealogy of eight generations is long for Thamudic, where two or three generations are typical. The names are also familiar in North Arabian texts, but more common in Safaitic. Other are rare in each script.

The personal name 'S is common in Safaitic, but also frequent in Thamudic E, see *HIn* 41. For the latter, add King 471 and WHSJ 653.3, 654.4. See Arabic 'ās 'myrtle', 'aws 'gift' and CIK 213,2-215,2 *Aws*. The name occurs as 'wšw in Nabataean (Cantineau 57-58).

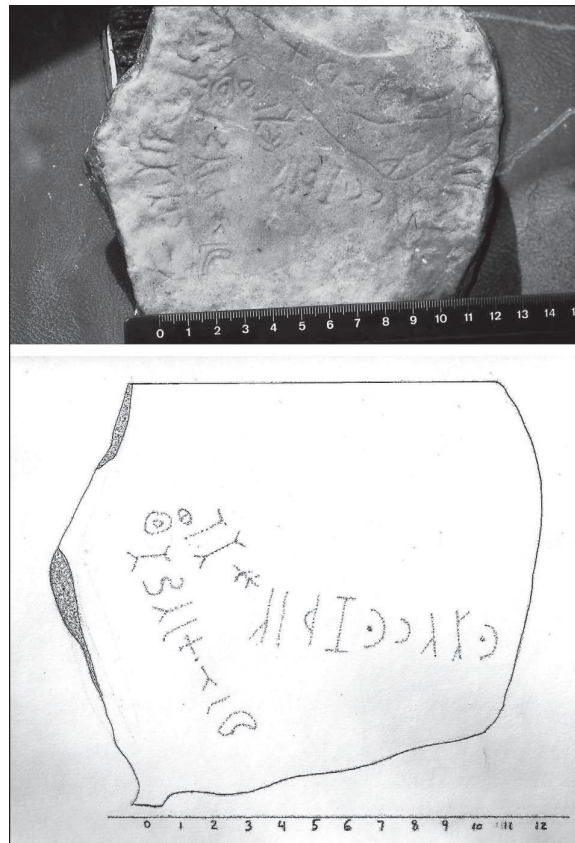
HN'LH See Arabic *Hāni* 'servant': CIK 278, 2-279,1. The name is fairly frequent in Thamudic E: King 559, lists AMJ 132, KJC four times, and TIJ five times; add WHSJ R 445.6, R 742.2; R 749.3. It also occurs in Lihyanite (*HIn* 626), but not in Safaitic as far as I am aware.

'**SR** See Arabic *Aisar*: CIK 145,2. The name appears in Safaitic ten times (*HIn* 423), and Thamudic E eight times (King 472).

'**ST** is rare, appearing only in Safaitic twice (*HIn* 41).

'**MRT** The name 'MRT appears frequently in Safaitic, both as a personal name (*HIn* lists 48 times) and as the name of a tribe (Harding 1969: no. 86). The personal name is also known in Nabataean (Cantineau 133, 'mrt) and Palmyrene (Stark 106). In Thamudic E, it is less frequent than Safaitic: King 531 lists six times and once in a 'mixed text' (WTI 48).

SHR See Arabic *Sāhira* and CIK 498,2 Arabic *Sāhir*; 'sleepless, wakeful, and sahara 'evening, night' and for "a fountain that runs day



7. No. 5. *WD'*.

or night": Lane 1451-52. The name appears in Nabataean (Cantineau 149 *Šhrw*) but in Safaitic rarely (*HIn* 333). It also is rare in Thamudic E: KJC 606, but add WHSJ R 379.3; and R310.9 for *Shrt* (cf. Arabic *saharāt*).

ZDLH Theophoric name: Arabic *zayd* 'increase' + Allah. See CIK 604,1 *Zaidallah*. It appears in Lihyanite (*HIn* 297) and Nabataean (Cantineau 93, *zyd'lh*) and is frequent in Thamudic E: King 506 cites AMJ 72, 132, KJB 71; KJC 5, 138, 144, and add 9 more occurrences in WHPS p. 406. But as far as I know, not in Safaitic: see *HIn* 297.

WD' (Arabic "to outshine") is rare as a personal name in North Arabian: *HIn* 643 lists it twice in Safaitic and perhaps one in Thamudic (Hu 294, 27?). The middle grapheme *D* is clearly that of Thamudic E, not the Safaitic *G* (cf. Ababneh no. 362 and Clark no. 101. As far as I am aware, this is the first attestation of the tribe of *WD'*).

In sum, there are some unusual aspects of this Thamudic E text. The eight generations in the genealogy is much longer than usual. The theophoric names with Allāh (HN' LH and ZDLH) are typical of Thamudic, but are absent in Safaitic. In contrast, the expression *fhlt slm* is attested in Safaitic (Clark 1979: 410 nand 422), but not Thamudic.

No. 6. Tribe of TTS: *Wādī Amra* (FIGS. 8, 9)

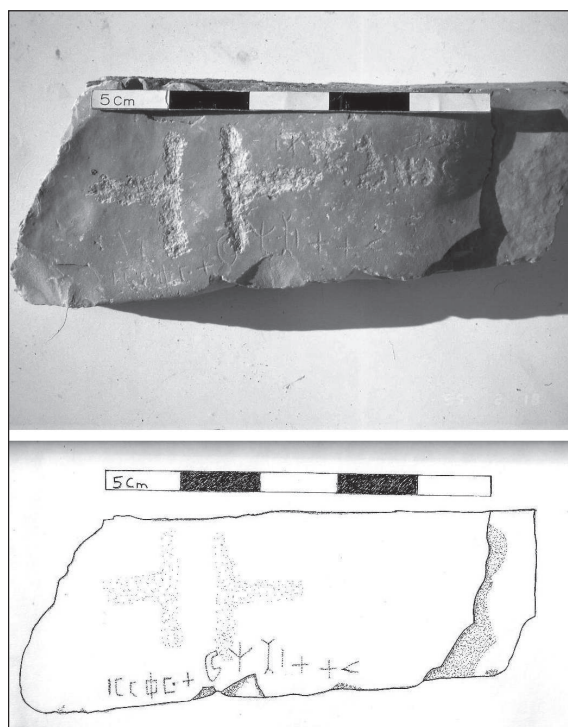
l brq bn tm d'l tts

by *brq* son of *tm* of the tribe of *tts*

The name BRQ is attested in North Arabian (HIn 102), in both Safaitic (4) and Thamudic E: TIJ 11; cf. BRQY in WHPS 07-001-02-17. See CIK 224,2 for Arabic *Bāriq* and *Barrāqa*. An cf. Ar. *Bāriq* 'shining, gleaming'. The name TM is also attested in North Arabian: HIn 136 cites Lih (3), Safaitic (230) and Thamudic (22). For Thamudic E, see King 483, for more occurrences (30). See CIK 542, 1 for Taim. The name TM (Taym 'servant') is known also in Nabataean (Cantineau 155, tymw) Palmyrene (Stark 117).

The name of the tribe is clearly TTS. The personal name TTS is listed as occurring twice as a personal name (HIn 129), but in both instances (C 2308 and 2309,) the name is *ths*, a name familiar in Safaitic (HIn 130). In regard to TTS, there is a struggle to find an Arabic name. Oxtoby observed TTS "resists attempts at a Semitic etymology" (Oxtoby at ISB 176, who suggests emending it to *hts*, "the roebuck" in his text, which does not occur either in North Arabian). It seemed clear TTS represents a foreign name. The Greek name *Τατας* was earlier proposed (Wuthnow 11, and cf. C 2896). More compelling, Müller suggests TTS represents a Latin name, ostensibly 'Titus', in spite of that name normally rendered in Aramaic as TYT-WS.

More importantly, this is not the first time the tribal name TTS occurred. In an earlier text that was without provenance, located in the Archaeological Museum at the University of Jordan (Museum Registration no. P.U. 107, formerly



8. No. 6a. TTS.

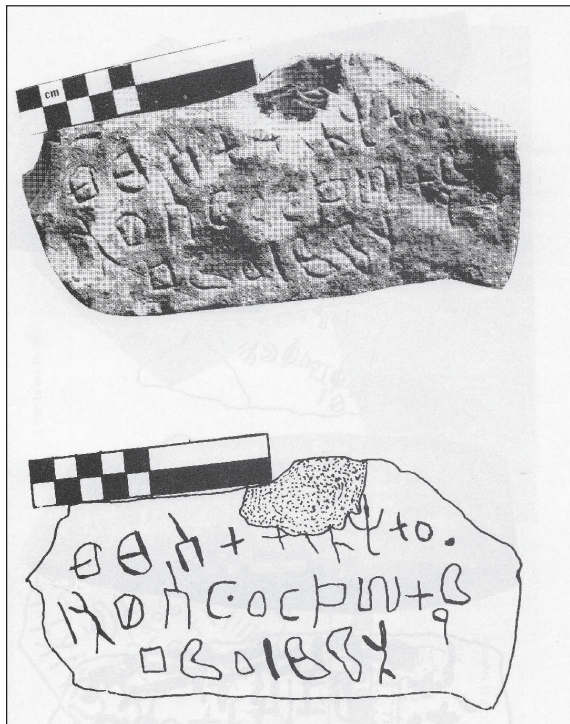
in the collection of Dr. Yousef Shwihat), which was published by Macdonald (1980: 185-208, at 188 with Pl. CXV and designated SIAM no. 41). Unfortunately, the text has subsequently disappeared. The text, inscribed on a piece of tabular flint with a red-brown crust, is read as:

l-'ws bn 'bd fty mn 't d[l] [t]ts w wjm 'l mn'

By 'WS son of 'BD, the young servant of MN'T, of the tribe of [T]TS, and he grieved for [M]M'.

The letters of 'l and the first letter of the tribal name are damaged, but the restoration proposed by Macdonald seems evident. It is possible *D'l* may refer to the *fty*, rather than his master.

If indeed, the tribe is named after the later Emperor Titus (AD 79-81), the circumstances seem best associated with the earlier time when he was the commander of the Roman army during the Jewish Revolt (AD 66-73). During his campaign against the Jewish rebellion, the Nabataean king Malichos II supplied 1000 cavalry and 500 archers to assist the Roman army Titus (Josephus *BJ* 3.68). The composition of the Nabataean cavalry must have been scattered



9. No. 6b. TTS.

and diverse, involving probably contingents from the various regions of the kingdom (Graf 1994: 265-311). This may be reflected in some Safaitic texts related to the ‘MRT tribe. One of these texts from from H4/Ruwayshid suggests the ‘MRT Tribe constituted a cavalry unit, ostensibly a unit in the Nabataean army: Ms 64: “By ‘QRB bn ’BGR, is identified as a horseman in the camp of the tribe of ‘MRT (*l-’qbr bn ’bgr b mšrt ’l ’mrt frs*). The term *mšrt* suggests a “camp, barracks” (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 706, s.v. *mšry*, and 1050 s.v. *rb2* for Nabataean Aramaic *rb mšryt*’, “the commander of the camp, indication of a military function” and *rb pršy*’ for commander of the cavalry). The terminology suggests a military organization of some nature, and probably integration of the tribal contingent into the Nabataean army (see Graf 1994: 265-311). Another Safaitic text of the ‘MRT Tribe indicates they followed the movements of the Nabataean king Rabbel (II?) (Clark 1979: 628, *nzr l rb ’l*). Another text of the same tribe is dated to “the year the Nabataean king died” (Kraysheh 1995: no. 1). These asso-



10. Rujum ash-Shīd.



11. ‘Uwaynid.



12. Wādī as-Samīr.



13. Wādī Mudaysisāt.

ciations with the Nabataeans makes it possible the TTS Tribe was part of the cavalry units that the Nabataeans provided the Roman commander Titus during the Jewish Revolt. If the ‘MRT tribe can be connected with the Mādabā tribe of similar name, the proposal becomes even more attractive. The inscriptions are just east of ‘Amman, and they could have been used in the assault on Jerusalem, the subjection of the rebels in Peraia east of the Jordan, or the campaigns in the Dead Sea area, taking the name of Titus as a badge of honor for their participation in the Roman campaign. As is well known, the region between Mādabā and al-Yadūdāh, south of ‘Amman is the traditional horse-breeding region in Jordan.

There also is a parallel for a tribe at Palmyra bearing the name of a member of the Roman imperial family. In AD 79/80, a tower tomb in the northwest necropolis at Palmyra was dedicated in Greek to Malikū son of Muqīmu, son of Būlbarak, a member of the “tribe of Claudius” (Yon 2012: no. 461 = CIS 4122 = PAT 0471). This is the sole mention of the *phylē Klaudias* at Palmyra, that is both ephemeral and mysterious, presumably named after the Emperor Claudius sometime during his reign of AD 41-54. The Aramaic version implies the clan of Ḥawmal was a component part of the tribe. But the circumstances for the adoption of name remain obscure (Galikowski 2003: 9; cf. Milik 1972: 259-264; Sartre 1996: 387). It is possible it represents an honorific title conferred to the tribe for some exceptional service rendered to Roman imperial administration (cf. Smith 2013: 231 n. 116). Whatever the case, the *phylē Klaudias* at Palmyra provides an example of a tribe named after the Emperor, supporting the suggestion that the “Tribe of Titus” here is a result of some act of imperial administration, probably associated with the Roman quelling of the Jewish Revolt and the participation of the tribe as part of the supporting Nabataean military cavalry contingent.

Abbreviations

- AAAS = *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*.
- Ababneh = Ababneh, *Neue safaitische Inscripten*, 2005.
- BAH = *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*.
- Cantineau = Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen II*, 1932.
- CIK = Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišam ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, vol. 2: *Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln, Das Register*, 1966.
- CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, II (Aramaic), V (Safaitic).
- Clark = Clark, *Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions in Jordan*, 1979.
- FGrH = F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.
- HIn = Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*. Near and Middle East Series 8. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971).
- King = King, *Early North Arabian Thamudic*, 1990.
- IGLS = *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*.
- Negev = Negev, *Personal names in the Nabataean Realm*, 1991.
- PAT = Hillers and Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, 1996.
- Stark = Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscription*, 1971.
- WH = Winnnet and Harding, *Safaitic Inscriptions* 1978.
- WHSJ = Corbett. *Mapping of the Mute Immortal*, 2010.

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