

NEW INVESTIGATION ON THAMUDIC E INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN HISBĀN 2001

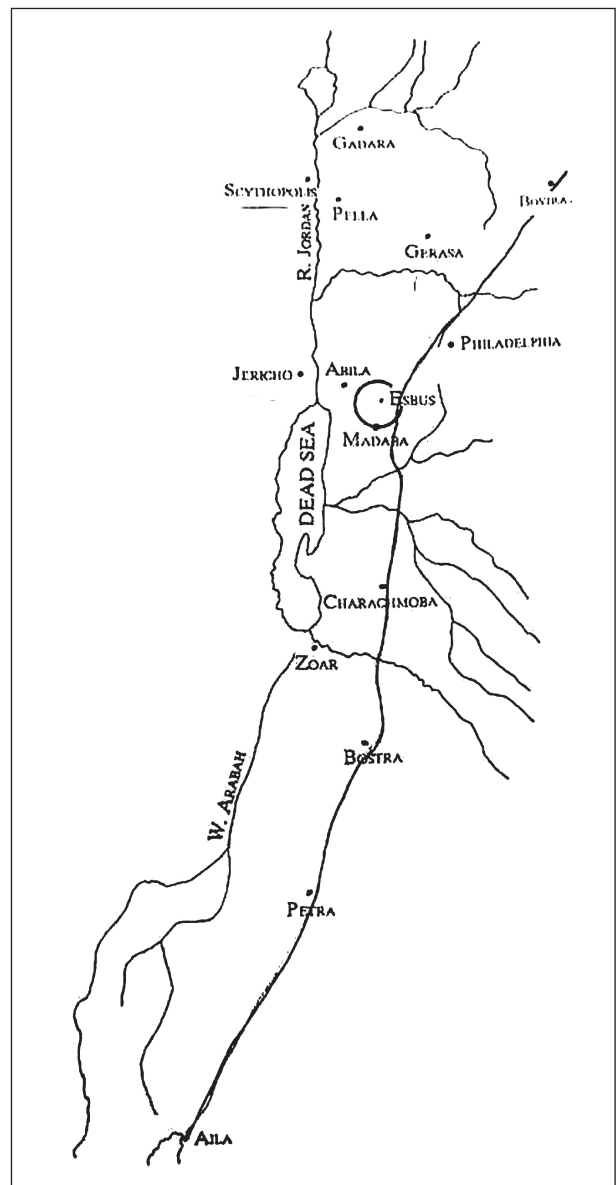
Adeeb Abu Shmais

Introduction.

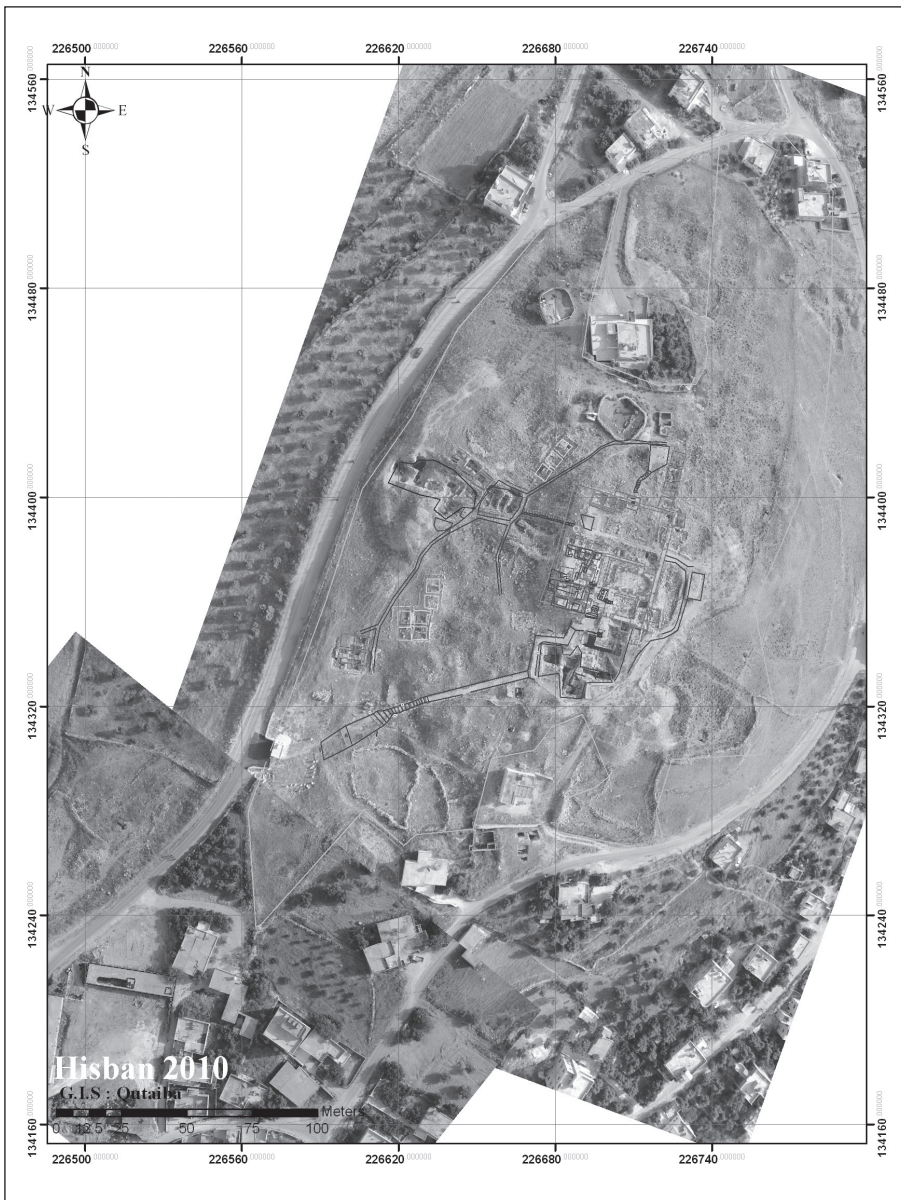
The pre-classical Northern Arabic language goes back to 4th century BC (الخريشة 2000). The pre-Islamic¹ language called Thamudic E flourished in central and north Arabia (South East Jordan, Syria and south west Iraq). The other parallel language was called Safaitic that persisted until 6th century AD (Literature). If we follow the influence of these languages, we will find names mentioned in the Bronze Age scripts, Bible and some other names mentioned in the *Quran*. This research is on the background on the Arabic people from their literature which include the reaction towards cultures through the history of the region.

Hisbān is a village situated 10km north of Mādabā city. Tall Hisbān stands like a watchtower overlooking Mādabā's fertile plans on the King's highway that lead to the two Roman roads Esbus-Levies and Esbus-Jericho (Ibach and Robert 1994) (Figs. 1, 2). The village retained its importance on the main road from 'Ammān to Mādabā until the present. Phase I excavations, took place in 1968 and restarted in 1971 to 1976. The ongoing Phase II excavations began in 1996 conducted by LaBianca and covered the Islamic period. The project has provided valuable evidence that explained the regional history of the sedentary

1. Before the innovation of Islam at the middle of 7th century AD there were north Arabic and south Arabic languages that included Ethiopic, but these two dialects have the same root in spite of the difference of Ethiopic. The south Arabic language is more sophisticated since it contained all of the Arabic and the mixed part of Aramaic (Nab-Palm) as a result of the pre-urbanized life style. So I can say the old Arabic language. Thamudic E inscriptions (King 1990).



1. Map showing Hisbān location on the King's highway road; via Nova Traiana.



2. Tall *Hisbān* excavations.

area of *Hisbān*. They referred to the earliest occupation on the *tall*, the late Iron Age I cave and moat, the Iron II reservoir and its destruction, the Aramaic inscriptions, the late Hellenistic fort, the Roman road, the stairway leading to the Roman temple on the acropolis, the Byzantine churches and related cemetery and the early Islamic occupation level until the late middle Islamic period (650-1300AD), and some evidence to the late part of Ottoman period.

This inscription was discovered on a boulder of a Mamluk fort which reused the foundations of the Late Hellenistic fort. (Moreover Thamudic and Safaitic inscriptions discovered on some stones used to build the Apse of Stepha-

nus Byzantine complex too; Umm Ar Raṣās). One of the most significant outcomes was the recovery of *Hisbān* inscriptions which record the historical events.

1- The merchant inscriptions: The 7 Aramaic Ostracons are records of goods dated to 6th century BC (Studies 1969). Recent studies clarified some Arabic and Canaanite names mentioned in it, as ‘bin’ rather than ‘ber’. It represents a list of names of Aramaic; Arab traders who moved along the caravan routes (The King’s Highway) which crossed *Hisbān*. (Cross 1994; Richelle and Wrigl 2009: 127-138 said that there is Safaitic and Thamudic names in the Aramaic Ostracons too). They used to say

- Ammonite Inscriptions² was limited to the Old Testament.
- 2- Studies in 1969 and 1976 discovered the impression of a seal written in Latin on Rhodian jar handle from the Hellenistic period. Various Greek inscribed coins dating from Hellenistic to the late Byzantine period were also classified and studied.
 - 3- An Umayyad glass weight, (Studies 1976; Van Elderen 1993), and other Arabic inscribed coins.
 - 4- An Arabic Inscription found on a dressed stone which was reused in the Nabulsi Turkish building in the traditional village belonged to the Umayyad structure.
 - 5- Temple priests inscription: Fragment of plaster in the acropolis church. (Studies 1969). Three Greek mosaic inscriptions recovered outside the mound, North chapel. (Merling and Geraty 1994).
 - 6- In 2001 a new discovery of part of a Greek inscribed lintel, it might belong to the main entrance of the acropolis church. Unpublished report 2001 in the information center at DoA.
 - 7- Talmudic E. inscription discovered (Abu Shmais 2001). The text was written in square script. I was requested by Dr. LaBianca to publish this inscription.
 - 8- Administrative inscriptions as well as coins from the Hellenistic to the Ottoman period.
 - 9- Funerary stone inscriptions.
 - 10- Safaitic and Thamudic inscriptions discovered in ‘Ammān. ‘Ammān citadel, Jabal Al Luwaybidah Byzantine church, Abū Jābir cistern, Al Yādūdah, (more than one cistern, it was called Ruffyah caves), Mādabā city, Abū Nuṣayr tomb and Al Jubayhah cistern. More texts first long discovered by Knauf 1982 at Uraynibah, more than one found by Daviau *et al.* 2000 and under one of Nabulsi’s palaces in Hisbān, there are several inscriptions found

2. They used to say Ammonite Inscriptions which means the limited area mentioned in the Old Testament. As we know the background of old researchers of Hisbān related to Biblical studies, so they always have in their mind the regions and the names mentioned in the Old Testament and the language, so in the Ammonite region the language is Ammonite and in Moab region it became Moabite language and so on. But we have to consider it all from the old Arabic known as Aramaic language in this period.

- on pieces of Roman column/shafts exposed by vandals looking for gold. This column was reused as a foundation or basement of Nabulsi traditional building³ (Fig. 3). Many Wusum of this epigraphy was observed.
- 11- An Arabic cursive line inscribed on the glazed medieval Islamic pottery that referred to the congress of Hisbān during Mamluk period. (Walker 2003).
- 12- There is evidence of ‘Amrat tribe’⁴ around Mādabā, from the mid-2nd century BC until 2nd century AD (Harrison 1996)

The discovery of these inscriptions confirms the importance of maintaining and preserving historical records. This inscription has been carved into hard limestone on a medium size flat smooth surface of rough cut stone. Geological name ‘Nubian’. (Abed *et al.* 1994). It was found on the north east corner of a previously excavated Mamluk fort. The stone was found on the second course from the top of the massive tower wall by Adeeb Abu Shmais in June 2001 after 3 years excavations.

Tall Hisbān (see Fig.1) is standing on the King’s Highway like a watchtower looking on Mādabā’s fertile plain, and leads to the two Roman roads of Esbus-Levies and Esbus-Jericho (Ibach and Robert 1994)

The four lines of text inscribed on the flattened surface of this boulder reads from right to left. Measurements of the stone 146-143cm long, 74-64cm high and 60cm thick, the height of letters are 5-2.5cm and consists 67 letters. The inscriptions are very faint and like small tiny dots on the surface of the stone, indicating that it was inscribed by a sharp iron chisel. The rock was broken at the right corner at the beginning of the script resulting in the loss of a small section of the first letter. This could have occurred during the rebuilding of this boulder in the Mamluk fort (13AD) (Fig. 4). Damage to other letters occurred during this period.

Transliteration:

- 1- (..)fsh b(..) qdm bnty zn jy bd
 (..)ف ش ب (..) ق د م ب ن ت ي ظ ن ج ي ب د
- 2- h ysh‘ h s dh s r l njl b(..) yq dh dl

3. These inscriptions were found during a visit in 2018.

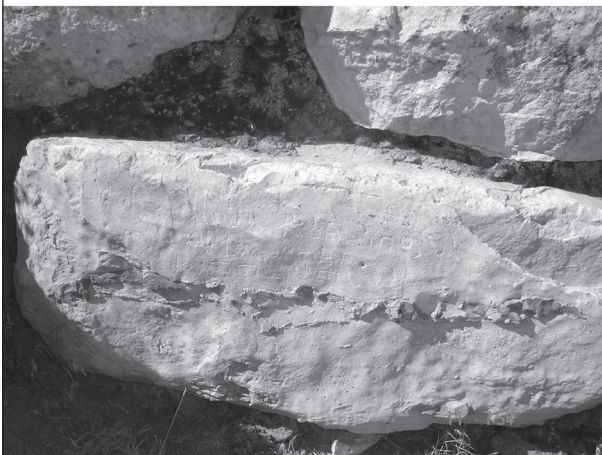
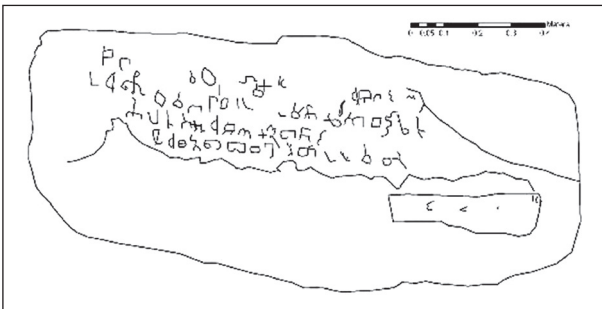
4. During the Hellenistic period a Nabataean tribe the ‘Amrat tribe’ 160 BC, mentioned in Maccabees 9:35 are amongst other tribes during the later Greek era.



3. Shaft of Roman column used as a foundation or basement of Nabulsi traditional building.



4. The fort reused during Mamluk period.



5. Drawing of the inscription. The lime composition shows the chert layer.

هدي ش ع ح ص ذ ص ر ل ن ج ل ب (..) ي ق ذ دل
 3- shkr flt hdd
 (.. It could be (the) instead of H, the space could have two letters)
 the kz dh
 ش ك ر ف ل ت ح د د
 (.. الاقرب ال بدل هو الفراغ لاكثر من حرف)
 ال ك ظ ذ

4- h 'y al dh al 'mrt wdd
 ه ع ي ال ذ ال ع م ر ت و د د
 There is some scratching at the bottom of the inscription (maybe part of the letter 'm' is still clear, this could be the name of the writer). The letters are well made and engraved by a sharply pointed chisel the average depth: 0.5-1mm The forms of letters are quite correct. Letters, in general, take square or angular shape (well known as south Arabic, Thamudic style).

An inscription inscribed on a rough cut elongated stone boulder of a memorial structure (Fig. 5).

Translation:

- 1- L (..) fsh (b..) qdm bnty zn jy (..) bd
 This Stone was erected as a memorial to the spirit of the lost leader (..fash son of qadim), where his tribe wished to dedicate this remote area to his memory.
- 2- h ysh' h s dh s r l njl (bn) yq dh dl
 The writer of the inscription was "Najl son of Yaq", referring to a 'bad disease' (a tribal dispute) that hit their tribe and resulted in their dispersion into groups (family tribes, Sar, dal and 'Ay) to settle in the empty lands by the guide *Najl*.
- 3- shkr flt hdd (..) the kz dh
 Here they spent the hot and dry season. They prayed and begged to the Goddess Lat Hdd

to help them in this disaster. There is a new scratch on (..) this space

- 4- H ‘y al dh al ‘mrt wdd ‘Ayy’, a family tribe from the main tribe of ‘Amrat’, gave their large “salam”, peace and love to the Goddess who aided and helped them in this incident.

Language Analysis

If the missing letter is (n and l or more than one letter) then the complete word is Nfsh: “*nafs*” which in Arabic is a person’s name; *nafsah* himself, (his spirit). This was well known (Nab.Pal. J39.343a/2,343b; C1859). *qaber*, *qabrato*: his tomb/spirit. *Nafsh* is in Aramaic and colloquial Hebrew. (Ibn Manzur 1955/56, vol.6: 233).

The right corner of the rock was broken, destroying one or two letters at the beginning of the inscription, though the end part remained. This was followed by 3cm dotted line, apparently an attempt at writing. This could be *nafsh* which has the same meaning in Arabic. This represents a shepollith case known to happen in the Arabic/Semitic languages.

Qdm: *qadim* “comer” proper name is well known and attested in Safaitic, this means ‘the brave man’ (Ibn Manzur 1955/56, vol.12: 465; ICAP: 149, 777; CIS: 55; CIK: 454/2; SIJ: 22.35; WH: 27.151a; HCH: 107). The root of the word is *qdm*: come or pass this area. This was followed by a 5cm empty space.

Bnty: “*ban*” appear *bnnat*: ask about and stress on (Ibn Manzur 1955/56; ICAP: 506.694; CIS: 8.9.39; HCH: 100.101; LP: 640-1; SIJ: 313.423; WH: 3648) this was followed by a 2cm empty space.

Zn: *zann* thought, believe and doubt (ICAP: 4.608). The shape Z is definitely Safaitic. Mendenhall G. lectures. The name derivative is *Zanun*; person who has no attempt to do any thing. *Zan*: Branch of weakness, (Safaitic tribe) (Ibn Manzur 1955/56, vol.1.272; C155: 209; SIJ: 101,793; LP: 46, 572; WH: 2193; HCH: 37-44 etc.).

jj: *jayy*, watery or low land. *Jayya*: place where water settled, *Jeyyeh*, a valley in Macca (Ibn Manzur 1956, vol. 14: 159; R: 2786/2).

Bd: *bad* destruction, *Badda*: desire, to move from, (departure of the tribe). *Badi*: from *Bedouin* (Ibn Manzur 1955/56, vol. 11.78)

Badd: desire (CIS: 473, 3339; WH: 1500, 1954).

H Ysh: letter H “article” means ‘the’. It’s dated from old south Arabic languages; here it is a case of Aramaic influence. The verb ‘*washa*’ means spreading out or dispersion into groups (Ibn Manzur 1955/65, vol. 8: 394)

h s: *h ss a it* means fast running also uncultivated or waste land (moor) (Ibn Manzur (1955/65, vol.7: 13). *hasas*: skin disease (WH: 984; CIS: 551,601; SIJ: 64,65; WH: 168,265).

Dh: from, of the tribe.

s r: *s arr*: storm, shout and escape, destructive windy days, and also cold weather (Ibn Manzur vol. 4: 45, Sar: cry; WH: 984; CIK: 537,2; (Sar family tribe, group of ‘Amrat’)

l *njl*: *najel*: the name of the writer, the son, noble. *Najal*: ploughing cut. The name *Manjal*: means sickle (Ibn Manzur vol. 11: 647).

Yaq: name, *ayq*; tie, the joint between hand and arm (Ibn Manzur vol. 10).

Dh: from, of the tribe

DI: *dall*: to show, indicate. *dalil*; to guide (Ibn Manzur vol.11: 247; LP: 999 (Dal family tribe, group of ‘Amrat’)

Shkr: *shoker*, thank, thank god (ICAP: 343, 314). The letter K was recently closed, became as the D letter leading to confusion in later texts (Ibn Manzur vol.4: 423).

F Lt hdd, lat: crush. The mother Goddess is in both Nabataeans and Safaitic cultures, from the classical Arabic language. Later it was associated with god Hadad. Hadad: storm God, is well known among the North Arabic Tribes (Aramaic). The first ‘*d*’ letter is difficult to be considered ‘*d*’, it is a mistake. This example is mentioned in the letters list of Al Jawf (Winnett and Reed 1970; Rusan 1987: 474, 492; JS: 149, 150; ICAP: 48, 80; CIK: 244; WH: 2050).

’L lat: the deity appears to have been the chief of the Safaitic pantheon. In this inscription she asked for deliverance (*flt*) security (*Salam*) and acceptance.

The inscription provides a religious action; mentioning a Nabataean and Palmyrene Goddess written in the classical north Arabic dialect. This Goddess is well was known among the Arabic tribes.

Dh, the space could have more than one letter, but it is not clear: a part of the letter still appears here but the other parts were erased. It could be

the article ‘the’, used in Aramaic language, but it was from south Arabic language. ‘H’ is used also at the beginning of the second line of the inscription.

Kz: *qyz*: very hot, muggy, settled in summer season (Ibn Manzur 1955/56, vol.7: 457).

Dh: from, of the tribe.

h ‘y al: *H*: the, an article mentioned above.
 ‘y: ‘Ayya: no way to think, not accepting any order. ‘Ayy’ al: tribe or family of ‘Jurm’ tribe, al: of (Ibn Manzur vol. 15: 111; Impotent CI: 422.6; CIS: 168; WH: 2468; LP: 468).

Al: the element ‘al’ is universally believed to refer to the family relationship of the person to whom he is related. It is comparable the Arabic al to express the individual’s familial or tribal affiliation.

dh al: from the tribe of

‘mrt: ‘Amrat’ name of tribe, there are thirteen texts written by members of this tribe, eight of them are in the square script, including this one. J.T. Milik suggested that the Amrt tribe were a semi-nomadic tribe in Mādabā area. These tribes have been familiar with the languages of settled lands, Nabataean and Greek, and with the nomadic tribes, though they had closer contact with their settled cultures (CI: 467, 1096, 1166; CIS: 17.431; LP: 270.377; SIJ: 277.54; W: 81206; ISB: 15.290). This leads me to the conclusion that the population of the semi-nomadic tribes were greater than nomadic tribes.

Wdd “*wodd*”: name of an old Arabic god, mentioned in *Quran*. *Wadd*: love, “*salam*”. Dad: paternal uncle (in Arabic and Aramaic language) (SIJ: 578, 83,190; Ibn Manzur vol. 14; CIK: 581; WH: 17, 159; CIS: 32, 1901; JS: 552; ICAP: 1051; SIJ: 578, 83,190) (one of the main gods in Al Faw area, South Arabia), indicating that the tribe had settled in this area. There are a few letters, words scratched, that were erased under the chert layer as mentioned above, and there are some scripts which were added later. These letters cannot be understood though the text letters are clearly complete. The chert deposit had a variable width from right to left 4-20cm this composition make the stone harder than any other kind of lime stone (Fig. 5).

Conclusion

The majority of the Talmudic E inscriptions contain useful information, referring to their culture and environmental events, festivals, land, animals and plants *etc.* The inscriptions usually contain the words “son of”, proving the relationship of their Arabic affiliations and the tribal kinship. The inscription ‘Dh’ is the main evidence referring to kinship. The inscription was written in classical Arabic making it easy to read and understand.

Nafsh spirit of Qadem: this pronunciation is Aramaic and written in the North Arabic dialect. This tribe would have been affected by the Aramaic language, as a result of being settled in previously occupied sites, situated on the main trade routes where the majority of the inscriptions were discovered. The Aramaic language replaced the Hebrew language which was later replaced by Arabic in the Middle Eastern countries. They would have been merchants related to their still Semi-nomadic tribes retaining their diplomatic and logistic functions.

This is the traditional way of building memorial structure⁵ or cairn, but this boulder has a rectangular form. It is possible this cairn had an architectural shape representing the position of the horseman from the tribe of Ben Qadim (leader) which was probably well established and influential during the Nabatean period.

In addition to my research, ACOR undertook in 1993, a baseline study of the historic areas of Mādabā city. The survey team directed by Timothy Harrison looked to place data to the cultural and historical sites of the town of Mādabā.

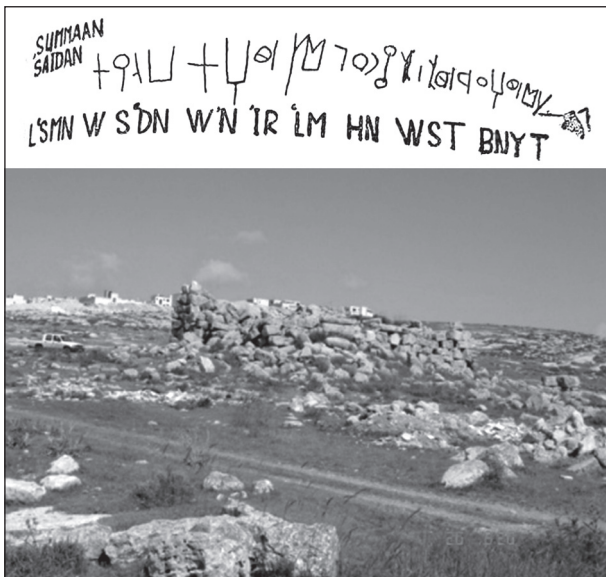
The work provided an overview of the occupational and archaeological remains and highlighted some facts mentioned in the historical records. The systematic collection of surface pottery sherds yielded reliable evidence

5. This is the traditional way of building memorial structure or cairn, it is a feature consisted of small mound of stones covered the grave and called in Arabic *rujm*. So this features/Rujum covered a large area in the eastern Jordanian desert. It is like collapse of stones, which always has Safaitic and Thamudic inscriptions. But this boulder/the inscription are more rectangular in form. So this cairn possible has an architectural shape where the tribe settled as residential people whom used to build the tombs in a form.

of the areas settlements as well as archaeological remains. The preliminary analysis of the sherds distribution suggested that the town began to re-expand during Nabataean-Hellenistic period.

Historical records of Hellenistic period mentioned that Mādabā region played a role in the conflict, when John Hyrcanus I captured the town of Mādabā (ca. 130BC) in an effort to gain control of the commercial King's Highway (1 Maccabees 9; 35-42; cf. Josephus's Antiquities of the Jews 3.1.2 and 4). Hyrcanus II, his successor offered the town and other villages in Trans Jordan to the Nabataean King Aretas III. Evidence of inscriptions indicated Mādabā town remained within Nabataean influence until the region was annexed to the Roman province of Arabia in 106AD until the 3rd century AD. These funerary steles were erected by the commander (Strategus), during the 46th reigning year of Aretas IV, 38AD (CIS II, RES and Clermont Ganneau 1897c). The second funerary inscription mentioned a family that belonging to Beni Amrat Tribe (Harrison 1996).

The *stela* commemorated the erection of a tomb and crowning pyramid by Abgar Ision, son of Monoath, of the Amrat tribe, for the death of his son Selaman in 108 AD. (Milik 1958: 243-46; Milik 1980). For three centuries the Amrat tribe was present in and around Mādabā from the mid-2nd century BC to the beginning of the 2nd century AD.



6. Qasr 'Ayn Al Baydā inscription found on plaster of the cistern, and photo of the building, in addition it is called Qasr Umm Hulaylīfah and also Umm Ar Rujūm.

The Nabataeans and the Greeks had a much closer relationship with the genatic cultures of the Near Eastern settled areas.

The majority of the Thamudic square scripts are geographically spread in south Syria, north east part of Jordan and northern area of Saudi Arabia. A number of these are kept in the Jordan archaeological museum in 'Ammān. The present inscription, considered one of the best documents mentioned in the historical records, enables us to learn about the culture and historical events that took place in this area.

- 1- The greater similarity in the shapes of letters.
- 2- It was inscribed in an accurate and special way, e.g. (b, k, r, h and m), were placed in right angles. These letters are monumental in style and shape, e.g. Bani 'Amrat letters.
- 3- Each script was generally short.
- 4- It was a reused big cut stone, unable to be rolled, so its original place wasn't too far from the new position.
- 5- The economy and social life during Nabataean and Greek cultures had an influence on their inscriptions.
- 6- This style became the diplomatic line between Bani Amrat branches (the settled tribe and their relatives in the region).
- 7- Thamudic inscriptions found in Qasr 'Ayn Al Baidā in 'Ammān dated to Iron II, (ca. 580 BC). The Arab names discovered, in the inscription, goes back to late Bronze Age (Mendenhall 1974; 1975 العابدي) (Fig. 6).

Abbreviations

- CI Harding, G.L.
 CIS Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, parts IV and V
 ICAP An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions. USA Toronto Univ. 1971
 CIK W. Caskel, Gamharat an-Nasab das genealogische werk des Hisam ibn Muhannad al Kalbi, Leiden, 1966. 2vols. References are to vol.2, Register, by page and column.
 HCH G.L. Harding, The cairn of Hani', in ADAJ II, 1953.
 ISB S.G. Oxtoby, some inscriptions of the safaitic Bedouin, American oriental series, 50, New Haven, 1968.
 J A. Jamme, texts nos. 1- 2127
 JS A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, Mission archeologique en Arabie, vols. I-II and Atlas, Paris, 1909,1914.
 LP Littmann E. Safaitic inscriptions, Leyden, 1943 (Pubs. of the Princeton univ. expn. To Syria, d.v.

- iv, section C)
 R repertoire d'Epigraphie semitique, tomes I-VIII.
 SIJ F. V. Winnett, Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan,
 University of Toronto Press, 1957.
 WH F.V. Winnett, and Harding, 4000 Safaitic texts,
 forthcoming.
 WR F. Wustenfeld, Register zu den genealogischen
 Tabellen, 1853.

Bibliography

- المراجع والمصادر العربية**
 الخريش، حمد فواز
 2000 كتابة عربية بالخط الثمودي من الأردن. الرياض، أدوماتو :2
 .59
 الدباغ، تقي الدين
 1978 بعض مظاهر الفكر الديني القديم في بلاد الشام. جامعة بغداد،
 مجلة كلية الآداب :23 :65.
 العابدي، محمود
 1975 نحن والآثار. أمانة عمان الكبرى، ص: 79-80.
 معلوف
 1986 المنجد في اللغة والأعلام. المكتبة الشرقية، ط 26، بيروت.
 Bender, F.
 1994 The Nubian - Arabian Shield of South Jordan.
 Pp. 110-111 in O. Rimawi, M. Abu-Qudira,
 M. al-Saideen, R. Sadaqah and W. Al-Hasimi
 (eds.), *A Geology of Jordan and Adjacent Areas*.
 Translated by: Moh'd Kamal Khdeir *et al*.
 Clark, V.A.
 1979 *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*.
 Pp. 30-43. Unpublished.
 Cross. F.M. and Geraty, L.T.
 1994 The Ammonite Ostraca from Tell Hesban. Pp.
 169-175 in D. Merling; L. David; T. Geraty and
 R.S. Boraas (eds.), *Hesban after 25 Years*. Berreïn
 Springss, MI: Institute of Archaeology, Siegfried
 H. Horn Archaeological Museum.
 Graf, D.F.
 1997 Safaitic-Thamudic Inscriptions. *The Oxford
 Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*.
 Vol.4: 44718.
 Harding, G.L.
 1971 *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic
 Arabian Times and Inscriptions*. Toronto.
 Harding, G.L, and Winnett. F.V.
 1962 Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns, *ADAJ* 18:
 165.
 Harrison, T.
 1996 *History of Madaba, Madaba Cultural Heritage*.
 Pp:1-2.
- Heshbon Seminary Studies*
 1969 Vol. VII: Pp: 137, 150, 225-228.
 1973 Vol. XI: Pp: 126-132.
 1976 Vol. XIV: Pp: 133, 143-149, 157.
 Robert, D. and Ibach, Jr.
 1994 Two Roads Lead to Esbus. Pp. 65-79 in D.M.
 David; L.T. Geraty and R.S. Boraas (eds.), *Hesban
 after 25 Years*. Berreïn Springss, MI: Institute of
 Archaeology, Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological
 Museum.
 Ibn Manzur.
 1956 *Lisan al 'Arab*. Vols.2: 12/ 3:344,/ 7:456, /11:467,
 /12:465, /13:59: 86-89.275-276,/ 14:245. (Arabic
 text). Beirut.
 King, G.M.H.
 1990 Early North Arabian Thamudic E. Unpublished
 Ph.D. Dissertation, *School of Oriental and African
 Studies*, University of London.
 Macdonald, M.C.A.
 1980 Safaitic Inscriptions in the Amman Museum and
 other Collections II, *ADAJ* 24: 185-191.
 Macdonald, M.C.A.
 2000 Reflection on the Linguistic Map of the
 Pre-Islamic Arabia, *Arabian Archaeology and
 Epigraphy*. 11(1): 28-35.
 Matthieu, Rand Michael, W.
 2009 Hisban Ostracon A1. *ADAJ* 53: 127-138
 Mendenhall, G.
 1974 *Lectures in University of Jordan*.
 Milik, J.T.
 1980 La tribu des Bani 'Amrat en Jordanie de l'epoque
 grecque et Romaine. *ADAJ* 24: 41-54.
 Oxtoby, S.G.
 1968 *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*, Vol. 50.
 USA Oriental Society.
 Rusan, M.M.
 1987 *Thamudic and Safaitic Tribes; Comparison
 Studies*. (Arabic text): 474-492.
 Van Elderen, B.
 1993 Byzantine Christianity at Hesban. Pp. 143-150 in
 D. Merling; L. David; T. Geraty and R.S. Boraas
 (eds.), *Hesban after 25 Years*. Berreïn Springss,
 MI: Institute of Archaeology, Siegfried H. Horn
 Archaeological Museum.
 Walker, J.B. and Labianca, Q.S.
 2003 The Islamic Qusur of Tall Hisban. Preliminary
 Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons. *ADAJ* 47:
 443-448.