

Madi, M./Mousa, S.

1988 *Tarikh Al-Urdun fi-l- Qarn Al-^cIshreen 1900-1959*, 2nd ed. Amman: Al-Muhtasib.

Musil, A.

1907-1908 *Arabia Petraea, Teil II: Edom*. Vienna: A. Hölder.

Parker, S. T.

1986 *Romans and Saracen: A History of the Arabian Frontier*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Pirenne, J.

1961 *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qataban et sa datation d'après l'archéologie et les sources classiques, jusqu'au Périple de Mer Erythrée*. Leuven: Peeters.

Pritchard, J. B., ed.

1955 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.

RES = *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique*. Paris.

Schick, R.

1995 *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeology Study*. Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press.

Shahîd, I.

2002 *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* 2/1. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.

SHAJ = *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*.

Starcky, J.

1966 *Petra et la Nabatene. Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplement VII*. Paris.

Strabo

1966 *Geography*. Transl. Jones, H. L. London: Loeb Classical Library.

Zayadine F./Fares-Drappeau, S.

1998 Two North Arabian Inscriptions from the Temple of Lat at Wadi Iram. Pp. 255-258 in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 42.

- Ansari, A. R.
1982 *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia*.
Riyadh: University of Riyadh.
- Bowersock, G. W.
1983 *Roman Arabia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Cantineau, J.
1932 *Le Nabatéen II*, Paris: Leroux.
- Glueck, N.
1934-35 *Exploration of Eastern Palestine*, II. AASOR XV.
- Graf, D. F.
1992 The "God" of Ḥumayma. Pp. 67-76 in: *Intertestamental Essays in honour of Jozef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Kapera, Zdzisław J. Krakow: Enigma Press.
- Harding, G. L.
1971 *An Index and Concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto.
- Healey, J. F.
1993 *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Saleh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester.
- Herling, L.
2002 *Wadi Muḥarraḡ, Ad-Disi*. Pp. 40-41 in *Munjazat* No. 3.
- Herodotus
1961-66 *History*. Transl. Godley, A. D. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kaḥḥaleh, O. R.
1997 *Mu^cjam Qaba'il Al-^c Arab Al-qadima wal-haditha I*, 8th ed. Beirut: Al-Risalah.
- Al-Kalbi
1924 *Kitab Al-Asnam*, ed. Zaki, A. Cairo.
- King, G.
1988 Wadi Judayd Epigraphic Survey: A Preliminary Report. Pp. 307-317 in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 32.
- Lindner, M.
2003 *Über Petra hinaus*. Rahden/Westf: Verlag Marie Leidorf.

- ² Parker 1986: 102-04.
- ³ Bowersock 1983: 174.
- ⁴ 908: 229-230.
- ⁵ 1934-35: 62: Site 36.
- ⁶ 1976: 24; 1986: 102-04 with Fig. 47 (here Fig. 2).
- ⁷ 1935: 62.
- ⁸ So MacDonald 2000: 48, and note 141.
- ⁹ Starcky 1966: col. 979.
- ¹⁰ Healy 1993: H3, 1.9 where Abdo, Obodat and Ruma identify themselves as "masons" (*psly*).
- ¹¹ See Jean-Hoftijzer 1965, s.v. p. 38.
- ¹² Cf. *RES* 1, 294, 5).
- ¹³ Cantineau II, 1932: 94-95.
- ¹⁴ King 1988: 314.
- ¹⁵ Graf 1992: 70.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* 71.
- ¹⁷ Al-Ansari, 1982: 24-25 and 104-105.
- ¹⁸ Graf 1992: 70ff.
- ¹⁹ Kahhaleh I, 1997: 147.
- ²⁰ Farès-Drappeau/Zayadine 2004 forthcoming.
- ²¹ Al-Dheeb 1995: 31,1; 51, 12; for the Judham clan, see Kahhaleh, I, 1997: 147, after Kalbi and Tabari.
- ²² Lindner 2003: 228 and Fig. 57.
- ²³ 2002: 192.
- ²⁴ Schick 1992: 112.
- ²⁵ Herling 2002: 41. The site was is well-known: In World War I the British warships bombarded 'Aqaba from the sea, whereas the Turks moved their defenses to Umm Nusaylah (Madi, Mousa 1988: 40). The circular structures were built by the Turks to hide their canons and machine guns. Unfortunately this site is threatened by the urban development of 'Aqaba and the presence of a quarry south of the site (Herling, *loc. cit.*).
- ²⁶ Cantineau II 1932: 16, l.1.
- ²⁷ Graf 1992: 71.
- ²⁸ *Geog.* 16, 423.
- ²⁹ Pirenne 1961.
- ³⁰ 1983: 151.
- ³¹ *Geog.* 16.4.24.
- ³² Herodotus, *Hits.* III, 108.
- ³³ Abbadi 2001:482-83.
- ³⁴ Cantineau 1932 s. v; Harding, 1971 s. v.
- ³⁵ *RES* 675 and 1100.

Bibliography

Abbadi, S.

2001 A New Safaitic Inscription dated 12-9 BC. *SHAJ*, VII, 481-84 (see *Abhath Al-Yarmouk* 13/03/1997:141-151).

In addition of the unjustified allegation that Syllaëus deceived the Roman general, Strabo reports: "This came to pass because Obodas, the king, did not care much about public affairs and particularly military affairs... and because he put everything in the power of Syllaëus". It is true that Syllaëus was ambitious and probably poisoned Obodas and other dignitaries in Petra to have free access to the Nabataean throne. In any case he was certainly not willing to let the Romans put their hand on the lucrative trade of frankincense and myrrh, in which he probably had personal interests. But it is improbable that he indicated the wrong road to expose himself and his 1000 men to the danger of death by thirst and hunger. It is more likely that the Romans had no knowledge of the country they were going to cross and that they depended on the legendary accounts of Greek geographers and historiographers. They reported that Arabia Felix (Yemen) was exhaling delicious smells from the aromatic trees. To justify the high prices of frankincense and myrrh they claimed that, the trees were protected by flying snakes "and the only way to get rid of them is by smoking them out with storax" (another aromatic plant, *ʿabhar* in Arabic)³².

A Safaitic inscription from northeastern Jordan at Wadi Al-Hashad, near As-Safawi on the Syrian-Jordanian borders is dated: *snt 'ty sly mrm whrs h snt fh b'clšmn ġwt wslm wqbl lq 'hb*: "the year Sly came from the Roman Province of Arabia". Abbadi assumed that this inscription refers to Syllaëus who traveled to Rome at least twice between 12 and 9 BC³³. The name Sly is common in Nabataean and in the North Arabian inscriptions³⁴. In the Miletus inscription³⁵, which was dedicated by Syllaëus on his way to Rome in Greek and Nabataean, the Nabataean *epitropos* qualified himself as *'h mllk'*, brother of the king. This was the official title of the Nabataean prime minister. It would be abnormal for minister Syllaëus not to mention his official title. On the other hand, *rm* in the Safaitic inscriptions does not refer to Rome but rather to the Roman Province of Arabia. The inscription of Al-Hashad is a funeral commemoration of several persons who died, probably in fighting and were grieved by *Taim bn msk bn qtl bn brd bn hmt*, and he grieved for *gyr*, *qtl*, and *mtl* in the year that *sly* came from the Roman Province (of Arabia) and he was weak that year. So O Ba'lsamen grant succour and security and acceptance to him who is in love". *Sly* was probably a relative of *Taim* who went to the nearby Province of Arabia for business or was captured by the Romans. *Taim* appears to be in trouble (he was weak *hrs*, probably sick) and asked Ba'al Shamen, the Syrian god to deliver him. There is no hint in this inscription to the social rank of *Sly*/ Syllaëus.

Notes

¹ The stone with inscription was bought from Mr. Ali Salim Uwaydah At-Ta^cmari by the Numismatic Museum of the National Bank in Amman (*Al-Ahli*) in 2004. I am grateful to Dr Nayef Gossous, Director of the Numismatic Museum, for allowing me to publish the inscription.

Seleucid King Antioch XII and was buried in 'Obodat. Paleographic arguments are also in favour of a later dating of this dedication: the closed aleph in *byt*' instead of the three branched of the earlier period, the square *ha*' in *bnslh* in line 3, although the same letter in *bnwh* is in three branches like in the classical type. Finally the folded leg of the *ta*' is similar to the same letter in the inscription of Salkhad, dated to 56 AD²⁶. It should be noted that the

term *bayt* in this inscription designates the temple and the verb *bnh* has the meaning "to build, to found". 'Obodat II must be excluded for he reigned for a short time, probably for one year in 61 BC²⁷. In our case 'Obodat III is the only candidate. The 7th year of his reign is equivalent to 23 BC, three years after the campaign of Aelius Gallus into Arabia by order of Augustus in 26 BC.

In conclusion the new Nabataean inscription from South Jordan contains information about a Nabataean temple, which, was built in the Ras An-Naqab area in 23 BC. 'Obodat is not followed by his royal title *mlk*' as it is the case in the Miletus inscription. However the mention of the 7th reigning year is in favour of identifying him as the king.

Excursus

Expedition of Aelius Gallus into Arabia

The failure of Aelius Gallus expedition was attributed by Strabo to the minister Syllaeus who was designated as the guide of the Roman troops and who was in command of the 1000 Nabataean soldiers in support of Gallus. According to Strabo who was a friend of the Roman general "Syllaeus acted treacherously in all things and pointed out neither a safe voyage along the coast, nor a safe journey by land, misguiding him (Gallus) through places that had no roads..."²⁸. However it appears that Gallus made a mistake, first by building long vessels to cross the Red Sea and lost many of them on account of the coral reefs, which are difficult to negotiate if the sailors are inexperienced. When the road followed by the Roman army is considered there seems no treachery on the part of Syllaeus, for this was the regular access to Yemen through Negrana (Nejran), Asca, Nashaq and Athrula, probably *yt* or modern Baraqish in the Jawf of Yemen²⁹. A bilingual Greek-Latin inscription was found in a cemetery in this city and "dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century AD". Bowersock³⁰ is inclined to attribute this inscription to a later presence of Greek and Latin speakers in *yt*. Strabo states that Aelius Gallus conquered the city of Athroula/Baraqish and "placed a garrison in it"³¹. However it would be surprising that this short inscription, probably a tombstone for a cavalryman would be the only evidence for the military garrison which probably left traces of occupation as late as the third-fourth century AD.

interest is the assertion made by Arab geographers that the Hismah in southern Bilād Ash-Shām was the territory of the Beni Judham, a clan who extended from Tabuk to Udhruh in South Jordan. Judham were the first tribe to be established in the Eastern Delta of the Nile and in Alexandria, they even spread to Tiberias¹⁹. The gods they venerated were Al-Uqaysir in Masharif Ash-Sham (the borders of Syria, that is, provincia Arabia) and Al-Mushtāri who is identified with *hwr* or Jupiter by Al-Kalbi. The Nabataean graffiti of Humaymah and a Thamudic inscription from Wadi Ramm with '*bd hwr*'²⁰ give support to the well-established cult of *Hwr* in the Hismah desert. The same personal name with the theophoric '*bd hwr*' is attested in the Hismah of Saudi Arabia²¹. Surprisingly the Ammarin bedouins of Bayda who live in the housing compound between Siq Al-Bārid and Debedbeh venerate Sheikh 'Ahwar at Jebel Suffahah and built for him a shrine with a mosque on the highest point of the mountain²². This is indeed the best evidence for the continuity of the ancient cults in South Jordan.



Fig. 3

The Judham converted to Christianity and built several monasteries in the

Hismah together with the Ghassanid confederation. Shahid lists Dayr Hismah, Dayr Damdam in the Hismah and Al-Qunfudh in the area of Ayla-Aqaba²³.

When the Muslim army attacked the Byzantines in 8 H (629AD) at Mu'tah in South Jordan, the Judham sided with the Christian army and supported Emperor Heraclius in 14 H (634/35AD), when he attacked Antioch. Later they converted to Islam after Farwah bin 'Umayr Al-Judhami, a leader of Ma'an who accepted Islam, possibly as early as 614 AD and hosted the Muslim troops for two nights when they arrived in Southern Jordan. The Byzantines seized him and killed him at 'Afrah near Tafileh²⁴.

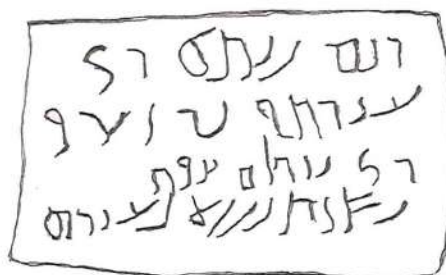


Fig. 4

L. 3: Nasala can be identified with good probability with Umm Nusaylah, an ancient *tell* which dominates the eastern entrance of Ayla/Aqaba. It preserves the remains of more than fifty buildings, mostly of circular shape with Nabataean remains²⁵.

L. 4: 'Obodat is most probably a Nabataean king because of the dating by his reigning years. Three Nabataean kings bear the same name: 'Obodat I (93-85 BC) is to be excluded because he was honored by the title of '*lh*, god, (after his death in the Naqab), after he defeated the

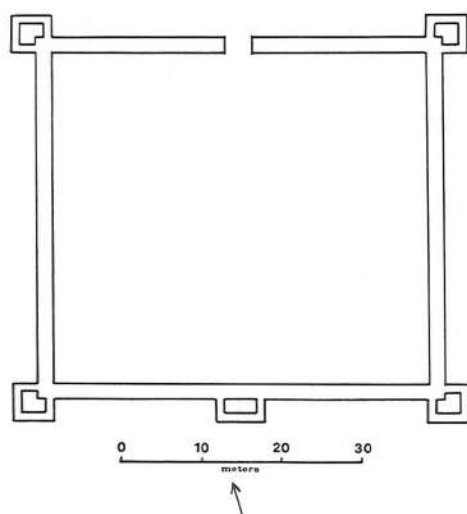


Fig. 2

“royal palace” (line 23), and simply dwelling” (line 25). The best parallel for *byt* in the meaning “temple” is the Thamudic E/Hismaic dedication of Allat temple in Wadi Ramm/Iram: *wbny bt lt d 'l 'd*: ... and he built the temple (*bt* for *byt*) of Allat of the clan Al-‘Ad. The dedicant was not a simple mason “who participated in the building of structures”⁸. If the author of the inscription was a mason or worker, he would rather indicate his profession as was the practice in Wadi Ramm/Iram, in four cases: *bny*’ masons, *šyd*’ plasterers, *'mny*’ workers⁹. The same examples appear at Madā’in Saleh/Hegra¹⁰,

L. 2: In the name of the dedicant *hw[r]*, there are faint traces of the *ra*’ (Figs. 3-4). In both inscriptions of Allat temple and this dedication, the persons who ordered the dedications are the founders of the temple. The meaning of *bny* “to built, to found” (a temple) is well attested in the North Semitic languages¹¹. The meaning: “to found” is confirmed by the inscription of King Bod ‘Astart, king of the Sidonians “who built this temple (*hbt z bn*) for his god Eshmun,

the holy lord”¹². It is evident that the king founded the temple and was not the mason who constructed it!

The personal name *hwr* is well-attested in the Nabataean realm¹³. In the theophoric names *'bd 'l hwr*, *whb'l hwr* and *tm 'l hwr* in Wadi Judayid¹⁴, east/southeast of Humayma/Auara, the names suggest a cultic interpretation for *hwr*¹⁵. The Thamudic personal name *'bd hwr* refers to the planet Jupiter, “the third star that is next to the body of the three in the tail of Ursa major”¹⁶. The god Horus in the Egyptian pantheon, *hr* or *hwr* in the Semitic languages could be at the origin of the theophoric Semitic names. However component names with the Egyptian god are not common in Northwest Arabia, although a statuette of this god was found at Qaryat Al-Fau deep in Central Arabia¹⁷.

The theophoric personal name *'bd 'l hwr* is attested at the dam of Auara in a Nabataean graffito. Graf¹⁸ assumed that the name Auara, Haurra is derived by the Greeks from, the Arabic term *hwr* white or *hawwar* to whiten, make white. This assumption is reasonable. However since the name Auara is the feminine Arabic adjective *hawra*’, white, it is not necessarily a reference to the god *hwr*, a masculine name. The adjective is derived most probably from the whitish hills around Humaymah/Auara. On the other hand, Graf assumed that the god *hwr* is to be identified with the Nabataean god Du-Shara or Qos (Graf 1992: 75).

This interpretation is less probable, because the god *hwr*, Jupiter is equivalent of the planet Al-Mushtari

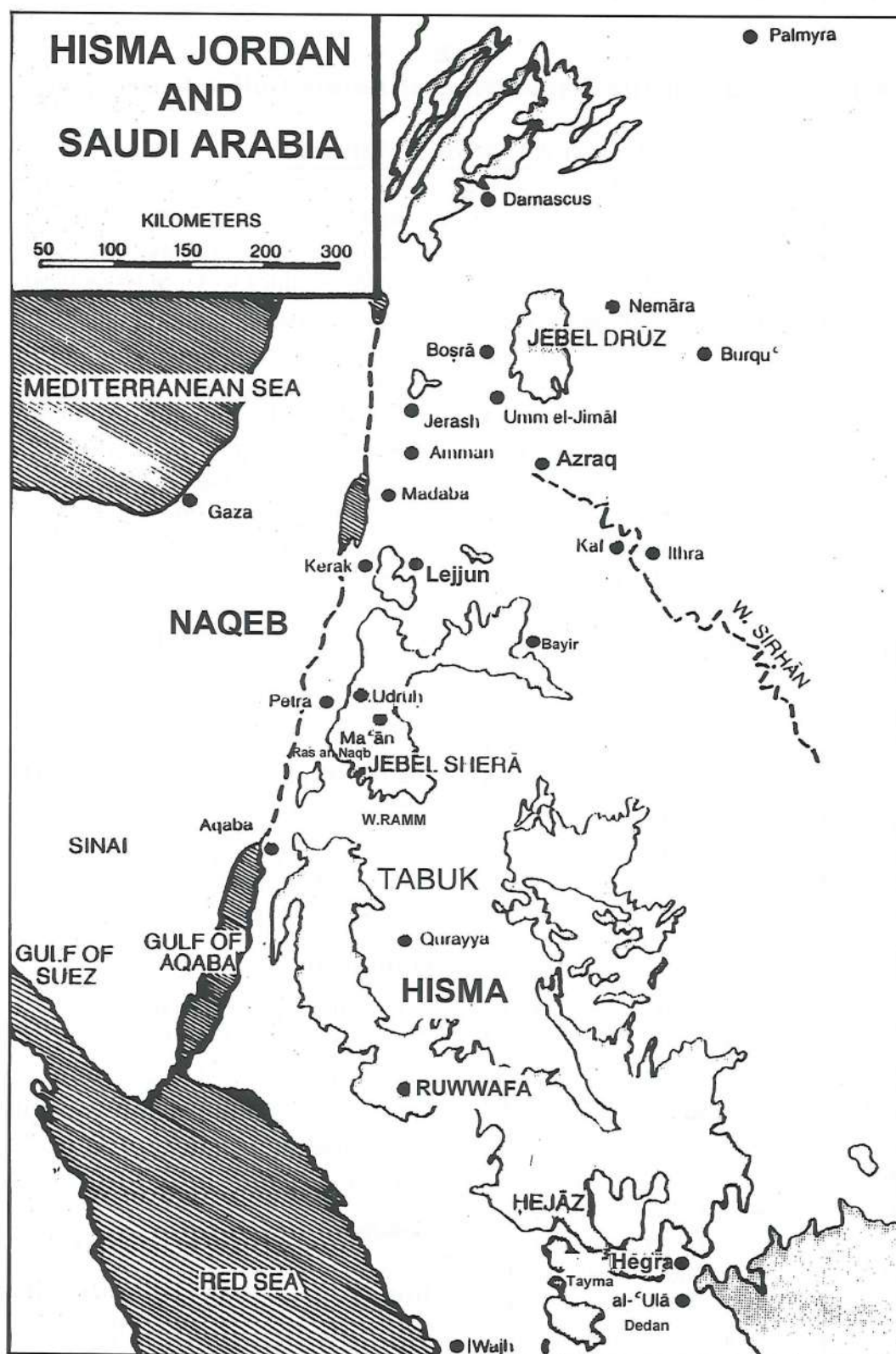


Fig. 1