

The mere number of divine names attested at Palmyra leaves no doubt in K.'s mind that the Palmyreneans were polytheists, it seems. This assumption squares badly with the attestations of second to third century CE Greek philosophy and schooling at Palmyra (15), and the observation that these 'gods' were hardly differentiated beyond three or four types (160). The high number of divine names as opposed to a low number of divine iconographic types is most probably an attestation of the ethnic complexity of Palmyra: various groups paid allegiance to basically the same god(s) under various traditional names. The more than 200 dedications to the 'anonymous god'¹³ indicate in all likelihood that 'implicit monotheism' was not completely absent from Palmyra, i.e. the assumption that all traditional deities are manifestations of a 'basic divinity' behind them all.

Occasionally, K. takes archaeological features (iconography and architecture) into consideration. That he ignores archeology is explained by the fact that no archeological record for Palmyra — as opposed to the vast archaeological record of, however, limited utility — yet exists. 'Archeology' refers to the (no longer) 'New Archeology' (minus its nomothetic illusions, i.e. to the study of past human behavior and its economic and social presuppositions and consequences on the basis of material culture remains, 'archaeology' to the art-historical study of ancient objects.¹⁴ Settlement patterns, food processing and consumption habits, and the distribution of wealth as evidenced by household inventories would be the *conditio sine qua non* for any meaningful discussion of Palmyra's social structure, and the task will be worth its while, one distant day, to correlate the archeological with the epigraphical record.

In order to contextualize K.'s book in yet another respect: this review is also meant to form another skirmish in the 'New Trojan War', fought by the Neo-Trojans (archeologists and historical anthropologists) on the one side against the last Trohanicans (philologists who still think that history can still be construed as some sort of text) on the other.¹⁵ With a horse like K. in their stable, the Trohanicans have no need of an Odysseus in the ranks of their opponents.

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Frösén, Jaakko, Antti Arjava, and Marjo Lehtinen, eds., *The Petra Papyri* I. American Center of Oriental Research Publications 4. Amman 2002. xix + 142 pp.

The present volume will, without doubt, receive reviews by papyrologists, philologists and paleographers in due course. It is, however, also of interest for the historian of the eastern Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the coming of Islam, and it is in such a perspective that it is reviewed here.

Petra was partially destroyed in the earthquake of 363, which only contributed to its declining ability to administer itself ... the accumulated evidence of Christian activity at Petra in the fifth century is quite small, confirming the period as one of decline. Negligence and damage to the city's water supply system probably was a main cause of the abandonment of the city ... No remains from the Early

¹³ The most recent is J. Naveh, *IEJ* 52 (2002) 243-5.

¹⁴ In the Near East, archeology has only reluctantly and selectively been received, with the danger that one or another practitioner now continues his/her old fashioned archaeology under the label of 'poststructuralist' archeology, cf. J. Müller-Clemm, 'Archäologische Genderforschung: (K)ein Thema für die Palästina-Archäologie?', *lectio difficilior* 2/2001 (www.lectio.unibe.ch).

¹⁵ Cf. M. Korfmann, 'Hisarlik und das Troja Homers — Ein Beispiel zur kontroversen Einschätzung der Möglichkeiten der Archäologie', B. Pongratz-Leisten & al. ed., *Ana sadi Labnani lu allik* (Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig; AOAT 247; 1997) 171-84.

Moslem period have been found at Petra ... Petra is not even mentioned in the early Moslem sources or by the early Arab geographers. Its final destruction was caused by the earthquake of 749, but by that time the city had already been abandoned for many generations.

These remarks might be taken as representative of the standard perception of late antique Petra at the end of the 80s of the last century.¹ For the 6th century, this picture is now changing. The deacon, later archdeacon, (Flavius) Theodoros son of (henceforward s.) Obodianos² left an archive with documents dating from 537 to ca. 593 (4), discovered in a storeroom of the 'Petra' Church complex (4-8).³ 6th century Petra still had a landowning and tax-paying upper class with possessions between Augustopolis (Udruh) and Kastron an Sadakathon (Şadaqa), if not also in Wādī 'Arabah and beyond (see *infra*); it still had *politeuomenoi* / *curiales* (city-counsellors; 3,3; 4,3; 15 fr. 16) and a tax collector.

The fact that Theodoros's private archive was found in a church might be due to his having taken holy orders; but Theodoros probably died on his estate at Zadakatha, and the archive was deposited in the church after the death of his heirs.⁴ Taking into account that the Nessana papyri derive from a similar architectural context, and that in pre-Roman, Nabataean times too the temple functioned as public registry,⁵ the archaeology of the papyri might indicate that the imperial administration was beginning to retreat from the southern Palestinian periphery⁶ and that administrative duties were gradually handed over to the only bureaucracy left functioning in the country, the Church and her clerics. In the course of the Muslim conquests it will usually be the bishop who signs a city's capitulation. It seems that, after some centuries of full-blown statehood, Petra was gradually reverting to pre- (or sub-) state conditions.

The reviewer takes issue with the (repeated) statement that the 'historical record for Petra ... ends abruptly at the beginning of the 7th century' (Z.T. Fiema, 37). A town or city at Petra (or somewhere else in southern Transjordan) was, over the past 5000 years, the exception rather than the rule.⁸ Given the ecological variety and (relative) hydrological wealth of the Petra region, stationary human presence there was the rule, not an exception. A substantial late antique house of at least two stories at 'Ain Brāk continued well into the early Islamic period (7th/8th centuries).⁹ At least one Muslim geographer, al-İṣṭakhrī (writing 340 AH/ 951-52 CE), mentions Petra under the

¹ J. Patrich, *The Formation of Nabataean Art* (Jerusalem and Leiden 1990) 28f.

² For his family relationships, see 9f., and now L. Koenen et al., 'The Decipherment and Edition of the Petra Papyri: Preliminary Observations': L.H. Schiffman ed., *Semitic Papyrology in Context*, (CHANE 14; Leiden and Boston 2003) 204 (ibid. 202, Theodoros' birth and death are fixed at 514/591)

³ As it is one of at least 4 churches, it would be more appropriate to call it the Theotokos Church (10).

⁴ Koenen, 'Decipherment', 202, n. 4 and 204.

⁵ Cf. J.F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans. A Conspectus* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 136; Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001) 173.

⁶ Also evidenced by the appointment of the Ghassanid client kings, one of whom is reported to be mentioned in a still unpublished papyrus from the archive (4).

⁷ That Petra is not mentioned in 'Document 2' of the Beersheba Edict (ibid.) is meaningless, because its 2nd and 3rd columns are lost; 'Document 4' does not belong to the 'Edict' which has nothing to do with the *annona* and is not to be dated prior to Justinian: cf. Leah Di Segni, 'A New Fragment of the Beersheba Tax Edict': Paper presented at the International Conference of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Barcelona, September 2002.

⁸ E.A. Knauf, 'The cultural impact of secondary state formation: the cases of the Edomites and Moabites': P. Bienkowski ed., *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan* (Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7, Sheffield 1992) 47-54.

⁹ S. Farajat, M. Marahla and H. Falahat, 'The Excavations at Khirbat Braq': U. Hübner, E.A. Knauf and R. Wenning ed., *Nach Petra und ins Königreich der Nabatäer. Notizen von Reisegefährten für Manfred Lindner zum 80. Geburtstag* (BBB118; Bodenheim 1998) 120-31; squatter occupation of the Theotokos Church ended probably with the earthquake of 747/748 (phase X, reviewer's dating).

name of *Raqīm* (Variant *Raqm/Raqam*): ‘as for *Raqīm*, that is a town in the vicinity of the *Balqā*’; it is small, all its houses and walls are excised from (the) rock as if it were (made from) a single stone’ (*wa-ammā Raqīm fa-innahā madīna bi-qurb al-Balqā wa-hiyya ṣaḡhira mankūta buyūtuhā kulluhāwa-jidrānuhā min ṣakhr ka-annahā ḥajr wāḥid*).¹⁰ *Raqīm* is a good Arabic transcription from *rqym*, a possible orthography (in Late Aramaic) of *Rqem*, the Aramaic name of the place which renders in turn Nabataean Arabic **Raqm(u)*.¹¹ The form *Raqīm* could also have been influenced by Surah 18:9, where the Seven Sleepers are presented as *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf wa-r-raqīm* (‘the people of the cave and of ar-*Raqīm*’). The reviewer favors the hypothesis that Muhammad localized the legend of the Seven Sleepers at Petra and its tombs, already a miraculous spot by his time, much in the same way as he localized (wrongly) the lost tribe of Thamud (Surah 7:73-78 and parallels; 15:80-84) at Hegra (where during Thamud’s tribal existence the Salamaeans hold sway) and attributed to the people of ‘Ād and their *Iram dāt ‘imād* more splendor than Wādī Ramm has ever seen (Surah 26:123-140; 46:21-26; 89:6-8). In this case, there would be a Koranic reference to Petra, which caused its Muslim interpreters much headache after they learned of the Christian localizations of the legend (at Ephesus or in Spain). Yāqūt (s.v.) still ponders the question of whether ar-*Raqīm* was the name of the town from where the sleepy friends came, or the name of the mountain which contained the hollow. To locate Petra ‘in the vicinity’ of the *Balqā* is quite feasible for someone who placed *Ṣuḡhar* (Zoar) on the border between aṣ-*Ṣarāh* and al-*Balqā*:¹² immediately after the quote, *Istakhri* tackles the Dead Sea. In the course of the 9th century, the central administration was retreating from southern Jordan,¹³ and in 375 AH/ 985-6 CE, when Muqaddasī wrote his *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, the Koranic sanctuary had relocated to the vicinity of ‘Amman where it remains to this very day¹⁴ — and this time with the definite article (as in the Koran), which is significantly missing in *Istakhri*’s text. The two miserable late Roman rock-cut tombs of this *Raqīm* could never have been referred to as a ‘small (and wondrous) town’ by *Istakhri*, but they could have helped relocate the tradition to a more accessible place for pilgrims¹⁵ if it had previously been linked to the Nabataean tombs of Petra. The identification of *Istakhri*’s *Raqīm* with Petra would have become common knowledge long since, had not Abulfeda (672/1273-732/1331) in his *Taqwīm al-Buldān*¹⁶ merged the description of *Istakhri*’s *Raqīm* with the location of the northern one, which made it easy to refute, by reasons of geography, its

¹⁰ *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1870) 64.

¹¹ Cf. for the various forms and their attestations M. Weippert, ‘Archäologischer Jahresbericht’, *ZDPV* 82 (1966) 274-330, 296-9.

¹² *Masālik al-mamālik*, 13. A journey of two days separates the *Balqā* from Jerusalem, and Jericho from Zoar; from Zoar it is one day to *Jibāl aṣ-Ṣarāh*, and a further day from there to the (southern) end of aṣ-*Ṣarāh* (ibid., 66).

¹³ Indicative is Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (ed. de Goeje), 155, where everything from Moab to Midian (both included) is thrown together under the heading of aṣ-*Ṣarāh* (originally only the landscape between Wādī l-*Ġuwair* and Naqb *Ištār*).

¹⁴ Replacing the indigenous toponym ar-*Rajīb*. Cf. *Aḥsan*, 175; and for the site A. Walmsley, ‘Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Jordan and the Crusader Interlude’: B. MacDonald, R. Adams and P. Bienkowski eds., *The Archaeology of Jordan* (Levantine Archaeology 1; Sheffield 2001) 515-59, 534-6.

¹⁵ A procedure well attested in the history of Christian pilgrims’ sites in the Holy Land: the Lot tradition moved from the southern tip of the Dead Sea to its northern end, and even the window through which St. Paul escaped from Damascus could, at one time, be visited in the course of an afternoon’s walk from Jerusalem. Cf. for the transfer of the Moses-Spring (Num. 20) from Petra to Mount Nebo H.E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montreuil* (Šöbak): *Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 14; Wiesbaden 1990) 247f.

¹⁶ Ed. Reinaud and de Slane 1840, 227.

identification with Petra, already established in the 18th century by A. Schultens¹⁷ on sound philological grounds. That Raqīm reflects the indigenous Aramaic and/or Arabic name of Petra indeed receives further proof from Magister Th(i)etmar, who passed there in 1217¹⁸ on his way from Shobak to the Sinai and reports: *Dimisi ad dextram Archim, quondam metropolim Arabum, ciuitatem magnam, sed modo desertam, et petram, unde Moyses eduxit aquam contradictionis, que aqua diuiditur in duos riuulos, per quos illa terra irrigatur* (XV 10f.) — surely not to irrigate the pasture for the bedouin's camels! That he reports the name before he passed the Spring of Moses, and the Siq¹⁹ lends authenticity to his report: he got the name from his local (Christian Aramaean?) guide, whom he had picked up at Shobak,²⁰ and whose individual or collective memory might well have lacked the precision of a modern historical topographer. It is true that Thietmar found the Nabataean city seemingly deserted.

In istis rupibus inueni excisas in petra mansiones hominum pulchras ualde et ornatas, palacia et caminatatas, oratoria et cameras, et omnia commoda, que ualent ad usum hominum. Omnes habitationes iste deserte erant et a nullo inhabitantur.

But then, the place was somehow populated enough still to feed two monks of St. Aaron's monastery,²¹ as it had fed three crusader garrisons in the 12th century,²² and Thietmar, crossing the southern half of the city's tell, did not peep into Wādī l-Mu'aisara or similar abodes hidden from the sight of the occasional traveler. It is necessary to recall that Archim was not completely, but only 'sort of' desolate, and that recent surveys have led to the discovery of small-scale, but nearly ubiquitous middle to early Late Islamic settlement activities in the Petra region (e.g. next to Sidd al-Ma'ājīn, in the Beīḍa-area and north of it); all these sites have in common that they tried to be as invisible as possible, especially for passing travelers and soldiers.²³

It is after the crusades (and undoubtedly as a result of the demographic upheavals they induced²⁴) that Petra's ancient Semitic name is forgotten,²⁵ St. Aaron's monastery deserted and,

¹⁷ In the index of his *Vita Saladinis*, s.v. Errakimum. E. Robinson's objection (*Biblical Researches in Palestine* II, 653) is baseless, because Fl. Josephus did not look for the biblical Kades where Robinson thought it was located.

¹⁸ Cf. R. Schick, 'Ecclesiastical History of Petra': Z.T. Fiema et al., *The Petra Church* (ACOR Publications 3; Amman 2001) 1-5, 2 for two references to the Melkite monastery of St Aaron from the 8th and 10th centuries. For the Petra area during the crusades, cf. also H.E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montreal*, 19; 248.

¹⁹ Ibid. 12ff.: *postea transiui per rupes altissimas, uia arcta et horribile Erant enim scopuli hinc inde super me ad instar murorum. Vel parietum erecti et quandoque desuper clausi ad modum testudinis arcuate; uia quidam profunda, in altem tendens, tenebrosa, quia sepe propter clausuras et conueniencias scopulorum hinc inde aerem uidere non potui.*

²⁰ And probably not from Josephus (or Eusebius' *Onomastikon* and its Latin translation by Jerome), as suggested by R. Hartmann, 'Die Namen von Petra', *ZAW* 30 (1910) 143-51, 150, although Thietmar's phrasing recalls somehow *Antiquitates* IV 82 (where there is no trace of Moses' rock, though; and Jerome, mentioning the rock, does not refer to the metropolis). Thietmar's guide could easily have been instructed by his parish priest.

²¹ XVI: *Tandem ueni ad montem Or, ubi Aaron mortuus fuit. In cuius summitate est ecclesia constructa, in qua habitant duo Greci monachi christiani.*

²² Li Vaux Moysse / el-Wu'aira, el-Ḥabīs / al-Aṣwīt, and Hurmuz; cf. R.M. Brown, 'A 12th century A.D. sequence from southern Transjordan: crusader and Ayyubid occupation at el-Wu'eira', *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 31 (1987) 267-88; Manfred Lindner, 'Late Islamic villages in the great Petra region and medieval "Hormuz"', *ADAJ* 43 (1999): 479-500.

²³ Cf. in addition to *ADAJ* 43, 479-500 M. Lindner, E.A. Knauf, U. Hübner, and J. Hübl, 'From Edomite to late Islamic. Jabal aṣ-Ṣuffaha north of Petra', *ADAJ* 42 (1998) 225-40.

²⁴ Cf. C.H. Brooker and E.A. Knauf, Review of Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (1980), *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 104 (1988), 184-8.

in 739 AH / 1338-9 CE, transformed into a Muslim sanctuary (RCEA 5777).

How does the new evidence from Justinian's Petra fit into the historical situation between Nabataean heritage and the (as we know) impending domination of the Muslim Arabs? Petra in the 6th century is still surprisingly Nabataean.

Among the personal names of the aristocracy, there are among Greek (like Dorotheos and Theodor), Latin (like Vale[n]s) and Biblical (like Abraamios) names two names with Nabataean origins: Obodianos, the father of Theodor, and Dusarios (twice). It is hardly conceivable that these names were given without any memory of, and pride in, the local past, even if we have no way to estimate that memory's shape and contents.

Arabic toponyms are, of course, evidence for an Arabic-speaking population in and around Petra in the 6th century (4), but they do not represent a 6th century CE innovation in that region. Petra and Wādī Mūsā had Arabic names from the beginning of their Nabataean occupation in the 4th, if not 5th, century BCE, even if these names are not attested before the 1st century CE (Raḡmu and al-Gai'). Property at *Doumaeiṯa* and *Khapharnaas* (*P.Petra* 2,92f)²⁶ is among the possessions divided between Theodoros and his maternal uncle. It is by no means impossible that *Doumaeiṯa* is the best known bearer of this name²⁷, Dūmat al-Jandal / el-Jōf. A temple of Dusares of al-Gai' was established at Duma in the 1st century CE; vice versa, the icon (*timtāl*) of an Arab-Byzantine military soldier must have found its way to Duma in the 6th century,²⁸ Petraean trade with and investment in Duma is easily conceivable, especially under the umbrella of the Ghasanid phylarchate.²⁹ In *Chapharnaas*, nothing or just a toponymic affirmative like *-a*, *-an*, *-o*, *-on*, *-ain* might be missing. The name is reminiscent of Khirbet en-Nahās in Wādī 'Arabah, an ancient copper mining and smelting site of the Feinān region (linked to Petra by an ancient road via Naḡb en-Namala), in the vicinity of which two late Byzantine sites are recorded.³⁰ If *Jainath* (*P.Petra* 15, fr. 5,2) can be restored to 'Amath al-Gonainath (cf. the commentary *ad locum*), one might think of either 'Aima (M 92), Khirbat Hemāta (N 29) or, less likely, Jennīn (N 15).³¹ To *ḡsamithathēs* (again, the beginning of the name is not necessarily missing), one might compare (but for the form of the name only, not its location) Šamṯah or Šamṯah (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.) (a comparison is feasible if the 'emphatic' consonants were still glottalized in the Petra region during the 6th century).

What does link the Petra Papyrus find with post-Nabataean Arabic and Arabs is a burned

25 When Sultan Baibars passed there in 1276, the village next to Moses' Spring was called 'Udmā; cf. F. Zayadine, 'Caravan Routes between Egypt and Nabataea and the Voyage of Sultan Baibars to Petra in 1276 A.D.', *SHAJ* 2 (1985) 159-73. Baibars took the same route as Thietmar, just in the opposite direction. Is it accidental that the only post-Byzantine coin found in the Theotokos Church excavations was minted under Baibars?

26 The plethora of unplaced fragments stemming from this papyrus makes one hope that someone else may still succeed where the editors of the present volume gave up.

27 Ptol. *Geog.* V 19,7 refers to Dūmat al-Jandal under *Doumaitha*.

28 R. Savignac and J. Starcky, 'Une inscription nabatéenne provenant du Djôf', *RB* 64 (1957) 196-217; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣṅām* (ed. R. Klinke-Rosenberger 1942), 35, lines 6-9.

29 The Greek form could, however, also be interpreted as a diminutive, *Dumayyit instead of *Duwaimat, 'little Duma', in which case the place might have been situated anywhere between Gaza (where the document was written) and the Wādī Sirhān.

30 B. MacDonald, *The Southern Ghors and Northeast 'Arabah Archaeological Survey* (Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 5; 1992) 266 sites #160 and #161. Site #160 is too small to present more than a *villa rustica* (more care could have been invested by the surveyor to inquire after its present name), whereas #161, Khirbet el-Ghuweib, is a village site and at present under cultivation again.

31 Site numbers according to R. Wenning, *Die Nabatäer — Denkmäler und Geschichte* (NTOA 3: 1987).

wooden box found with it, bearing the personal name Nāyif/Nā'if in Arabic.³² On the basis of the stratigraphic context, this inscription must belong to the growing corpus of pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions.³³

Stephanous, his wife, is not just one of the first cousins of Theodoros (24), she is the daughter of Theodoros' maternal uncle — the *bint al-'amm* which is to this very day the Arab man's first bridal choice. If this was the Nabataeans' and their 6th century successors' deep-rooted preference, too, they had no need of invasions or economic crises in order to degenerate.³⁴

The difference between 'free' land and 'emperor's land', *patrimonii iugera* (76), continues the distinction of the royal/imperial domain from 'private' property, which was established in Nabataea by the last Nabataean king(s) (Malichus II and) Rabb'el II.³⁵ It has long been assumed that the Nabataeans compensated for declining profits from the incense trade in the second half of the 1st century CE by investing in agricultural development. The enterprise was in all probability not state-run, because, according to Strabo (*Geog.* XVI 4,26), the Nabataeans held private investments in high esteem, but it stands to reason that the royal family was the most potent investor.

A systematic evaluation of the Petra Archive and of the data it contains on the politics, economy and demography of 6th century Petra and *Palæstina Salutaris* will have to wait until the papyri, unfortunately divided between Helsinki and Michigan before their contents were sufficiently appreciated, are published in their entirety.

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Terry G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme. Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (New Texts from Ancient Cultures). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. xxvi + 192 pp., 4 plates. ISBN 0 472 09612 5 (cloth); 0 472 06612 9 (pbk).

This excellent book provides a new case study in women's history. Its main source is the documentary evidence of Jeme, a settlement which grew up on the walls of the former mortuary temple of Ramses III in Medinet Habu on the west bank of the Nile opposite the famous temples of Thebes. Comprising more than one hundred papyri and several thousand ostraca from the late

³² O. al-Ghul in Fiema et al., *Petra Church*, 151. The fire which helped preserve both the archive and the box could be linked with the Sasanian invasion of Palestine, not in the sense that the Iranian emperor sent a cavalry brigade to Petra in order to raze it to the ground, but in the sense that with the breakdown of law and order the town (or what was left of it) was at the mercy of the Bedouin who might have found it more profitable to side with the Persians.

³³ W. Diem, 'Some Glimpses at the Rise and Early Development of the Arabic Orthography', *Orientalia* 45 (1976) 251-61, 253f.; R.G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (London 2001) 236-43; E.A. Knauf, 'Bemerkungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie I. Eine übersehene frühhocharabische Inschrift vom Nordoststrand des Toten Meeres', *Orientalia* 53 (1984) 456-8.

³⁴ B. Diebner, 'Die Ehen der Erzväter' *Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament* 8 (1975) 2-10; G. Lehmann, 'The United Monarchy in the Countryside: Judah and the Shephelah during the 10th Century BCE'; *TA* forthcoming; E. Freundlich and N. Hino, 'Consanguineous marriage among rural Arabs in Israel', *Israel Journal of Medical Sciences* 20 (1984) 1035-8; M. Khlat and A. Khudr, 'Cousin marriages in Beirut, Lebanon: Is the pattern changing?' *Journal of Biosocial Science* 16 (1984), 369-74; A. Nabulsi, 'Mating patterns of the Abbad Tribe in Jordan', *Social Biology* 42 (1995) 162-74.

³⁵ Cf. H.M. Cotton, 'Land Tenure in the Documents from the Nabataean Kingdom and the Roman Province of Arabia', *ZPE* 119 (1998) 1-11.