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## CONTENTS

# REVIEW ARTICLES

## A Major Catalogue of Toponyms for the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods

**David F. Graf**

Leah Di Segni and Yoram Tsafrir with Judith Green, *The Onomasticon of Judaea Palaestina and Arabia in the Greek and Latin Sources. Vol. 1. Introduction, Sources, Major Texts*, Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2015. 456 pp. ISBN-10: 9652082015.

Vol. II, Part 1: *Aalac Mons — Arabia, chapter 4*, Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2017. 1-688 pp. ISBN-10: 9652082023.

Vol. II, Part 2: *Arabia, chapter 5 — Azzeira. Research, Bibliography, Indexes and Maps*, Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2017. 689-1414 pp., 12 color maps. ISBN-10: 9652082287.

The inspiration for this massive project was professor Michael Avi-Yonah, whose contributions to the historical geography of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Palestine were enormous. The initial intention was to publish just the references to the toponyms with the original Greek and Latin texts (and a Hebrew translation), but the project evolved, thankfully, to the present edition. This ambitious enterprise has a predictable checkered career, but also is a story of deep commitment and dedication. As a result of illness, Avi-Yonah in the 1960s became dependent on his assistants, Avraham Negev and Yoram Tsafrir, and eventually was forced to transfer the directorship of the project over to Tsafrir. At the time, Leah di Segni, Judith Green, and, for a brief time, Joseph Patrich and Shifra Schnoll, were added to the staff. The current authors are mainly responsible for assembling, translating and editing the sources, providing the commentary and relative bibliography.

The entries have been culled from over 1300 sources by 750 authors. The documents include literary sources, inscriptions, papyri, coins, administrative sources, geographical lists, and ecclesiastical records (conciliar lists and sermons). The geographical scope includes the entire State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority, but also southern Syria (the Hauran and Jebel Druze), most of Jordan and the Sinai. Included also are peripheral areas that were never part of Judaea-Palaestina or Arabia (Upper Galilee, the northern coast of modern Israel to Mount Carmel, the northern Golan and northern Sinai). There are some apparent inconsistencies in these external regions. For example, Abila in Abilene in Syria, Chalchis in Chalcidike in Phoenicia, and Eitha in Auranitis are excluded, which were part of Philip I's domain and later Agrippa II's kingdom, whereas

Arca in Phoenicia is included. The major exclusion is Northwest Saudi Arabia (clearly part of Nabataea and the province of Arabia), ostensibly because it was outside the framework of Israeli archaeologists (while Syria-Phoenicia and Jordan are included). Purely archaeological sites that cannot be identified with an ancient toponym are also excluded. The entries include also geographical features (mountains and rovers), ethnic names, and administrative units or regions. As a result, this larger geographical purview greatly expands that of the precursor volume of the *Roman Imperii Romani: Judaea-Palaestin*a (1994) by the same authors. The chronological limits of the entries are the mid-fourth century BCE to the Islamic Conquest with a few earlier exceptions (e.g. Herodotus) and some later Byzantine sources (chronographers and conciliar documents).

**Vol. I: Introduction, Sources, Major Texts**

After a brief introduction to the project, a list is provided of the Bibliographical and Sigla abbreviations (17-31) to be used in the volumes of the *Onomasticon*. The annotated bibliography of the "Primary Sources" are then listed (33-141) that can be used for easy reference for the abbreviations that are used in the subsequent volumes of the *Onomasticon*. The following list of "Major Texts" includes 70 documents extending from *PCairi Zenon* no. 59004 = *CP*JII, no. 2a, in 259 BCE (no. 1) to the Byzantine official Nilus Doxapatriaticus' list of the metropoleis and bishops in the Jerusalem patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1143 (no. 70). Each listing is followed by a brief but helpful summary, providing the date of the document and recent relevant bibliography. Primary sources are listed in chronological order and include the familiar and expected: literary sources like Pliny, Josephus, Ptolemy's *Geography*, Jerome, Georgius Cyprius (but nothing strangely from the geographer Strabo), standard administrative documents the *Itinerarium Antonini* (no. 8), the Egyptian official Theophanes' travels between Egypt and Asia Minor between 311 and 322 CE (no. 9-12), the *Notitia Dignatum* (nos. 23-26), and the Beersheba tax edict (no. 49). Two basic documents often cited are accessible in fold outs: the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (no. 20) at 218-219 and the Madaba Mosaic Map (no. 52) at 314-315 (fairly miniature in size). There are also the rather obscure and less familiar sources: *P. van Schlerlung* G 110, a fifth century list of 62 towns and places between Egypt and Asia Minor in geographical order probably used by Christian pilgrims (no. 32), *Conc. CP AD 536*, a petition of 97 monks from various monasteries in the East to the Emperor Justinian, thirty of which are from the three Palestines (no. 39), and the *Epistola archimandritarum Arabia*, two Syriac letters sent to the Monophysite bishops and abbots of Arabia in 560/570 with only a small number of the toponyms recognizable from Greek and Latin sources (no. 60). Interspersed among these sources are the better known lists of Bishops attending the Church Councils and other ecclesiastical documents. These matters make the introductory volume essential for using the subsequent catalogue entries.

It is difficult to overestimate the value of having so many important documents at your fingertips in such a single marvelously compact and inexpensive volume. As the editors expressed, correctly, "Readers who have paged through vol. 1 will only realize the significance and scope of the *Onomasticon* project as they begin using the subsequent volumes". The remainder of volume I consists of an index of all the toponyms to be discussed in the *Onomasticon* (365-394), lists of all the sacred places

(394-412) and monasteries (3413-422), and the toponyms in Latin and English (423-443) and Greek (444-454) that appear in volume I. It is destined to be the most used of all the volumes, indispensable in facilitating the use of all the subsequent volumes with the separate entries.

**Vol. II.1: Aalac Mons — Arabia, chapter 4**

Volume II, in two parts, covers the entries from Aalac Mons to Azzeira and presents the structure to be followed in the subsequent volumes. The listings of the letter "A" constitute the most of any letter in the alphabet and the entry of "Arabia" represents the largest amount of space in the *Onomasticon*, other than that for "Jerusalem", which will comprise an entire separate volume. The discussions have been updated in regard to editions to 2011 and in regard to research to 2012. The sources are listed in chronological order, followed by the original Greek or Latin text, and an English translation. Many entries are followed by related supplementary texts (including Syriac and Arabic in transliteration when based on earlier Greek sources). The numbered sources are followed by a brief commentary on the site, its history, and archaeological evidence, followed by the recent research bibliography. The coordinates used for locating the sites is that of the Israel Cassini Soldner (ICS) Grid of the British Mandate period, updated by the more recent New Israel Transverse Mercator Grids (NIG) and the World Geodetic System (WGS84). The entry on "Jerusalem" encompasses so many references and such an extensive bibliography that it will comprise a separate volume. It is inevitable that a collection of such massive data will contain lacunae and errors; these will be dealt with in subsequent volumes (If there is a significant time lapse in the appearance of the volumes, it seems advisable to provide these additions and corrections in a final supplementary volume).

The identification of the toponyms with ancient sites is for the most part judicious, exemplary and admirably cautious. After beginning with a brief entry on the obscure "Aalac mons" near Paneas, there are quite extensive treatments of a number of toponyms such as "Adraa" (122-143) "Adru", modern Udhruh (149-152), "Aeon", associated with John the Baptist (159-168), "Aere" in the Hauran (171-180), the port of "Aila" on the Red Sea (212-252), Alexandrium (267-282). "Anthedon", a city just north of Gaza (348-367), "Antipatis" (371-390), "Apollonia", between Jaffa and Caesarea (412424). There are some biblical sites of interest associated with legendary and historical figures: "Abemoud", the birthplace of Elisha the prophet and "Anathoth" (336-343), a village near Jerusalem that was the home of Levite priests (Josh 21:18) and Jeremiah (37: 12-14; cf. Jos. *Ant*. 10.114), and "Aphthia", the Judean village of the rustic Phani son of Samuel whom the Zealots appointed as high priest (*BJ* 4.155 at 408-409).

There are a number of entries on toponyms, clans and topography in southern Syria that will have to be up-dated. These include Aatheoeni (7-8), Abibendi (49-50), Acilanos (66-68), Acraba (81-84), Alipheni (284), Alsadamos (288-290), Ariseni (963), Astaroth (1150-1156), and Athela (1166-1168). The editors and researchers will have to supplement these entries with the recent volumes of the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, *IGLS* XIV; *La Batanée et le Jawlan Oriental* (ed. A. Sartre-Fauriat and M. Sartre; Beirut 2016), *GLS* XV; *Le plateau du Trachôn et ses bordures* (ed. A. Sartre-

Fauriat and M. Sartre; Beirut, 2014); and, soon to appear, *Le Djebel Druze* (ed. A. Sartre-Fauriat and M. Sartre), *IGLS* XVI.

The Two eras of Agrippa in 55/56 and 60/61 (84) are correctly accepted, rejecting the recent proposal there were three eras. This now seems to be the accepted option **(**D.M. Jacobson, *Agrippa the II: Last of the Herods* [London & New York: Routledge, 2019]: 173-177). On the other hand, the suggestion that the title *mētrokomai* in Syria is an "administrative centre in an imperial estate" (179) should be questioned, as it represents a misunderstanding of Maurice Sartre's fundamental essay ("Les métrokômiai de Syrie du Sud", *Syria* 76 [1999]: 197-222); the interpretation of the title remains more complex and a satisfactory solution remains a puzzle (D.F. Graf in Jacobson, *Agrippa II*: 165-167).

"Ad Dianam" (88-90) fails to cite René Mouterde, "La Statio ad Dianam du Portorium de Syrie près le Golfe d'Aqaba", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 98/4 (1954): 482-487. For a possible candidate for site, see U. Avner, "Nabataeans in the Eilat Region, the Hinterland of Aila", *ARAM* 30/1-2 (2018): 605, who reports on an unexcavated "Nabataean" temple ca. 100 m. south of the Yotvata Spring in the Wadi 'Arabah.

A fascinating village in the Golan named "Agrippinia" (198-200) is connected to Agrippinia, Claudius' wife in 49-54, which suggests a possible association with the beginning of Agrippa II's rule in 54/55. There is a coin featuring Agrippina the Younger that is commonly identified with a mint in Caesarea Paneas, but the coin may have been issued earlier between 46 and 52 CE, and therefore pre-dates Agrippa II's acquisition of that city and the territories east of the Sea of Galilee (Jacobson, *Agrippa II* [ 2019]: 179-181 with Fig. A2.6). Is it possible that the village "Agrippinia" should be associated with Agrippina the Elder?

The bibliography on "Ammanitis-Amnman" is fairly sparse: Missing is A. Northedge, *Studies on Roman and Islamic Amman*, Vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 1992). For the Nabataean-Roman era add F. Zayadine, "The Excavations of the Roman Forum at Amman (Philadelphia) 1964-1967", *ADAJ* 19 (1974): 71-91, and, the excavation at the Amman Citadel where a coin of Aretas IV in the Lower Terrace was discovered with shreds of Nabataean painted fine ware: F. Zayadine, M. Najjar and J.A. Greene, "Recent Excavations on the Citadel of Amman (Lower Terrace): A Preliminary Report", *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 299-311.

Some toponyms associated with milestones remain controversial. "Aisia" (258-262) is located by Eusebius in his *Onomastico*n as near the Red Sea adjacent to Aila, but recent milestones recorded in the Wadi 'Arabah mention an "Osia" that seems to refer to Yotvata. The association with Aisia is left unresolved by the editors. The identification of "Amatha" with Azraq appears incorrect (296-298; cf. D. Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan* [2004]: 60); a milestone at Bostra that reads *ad Hamatha mil*(*lia*) *pas*(*suum*) *xciii* (Sartre, *IGLS* XIII/1 [1982] no. 9101) places it in the region, but a milestone at Azraq confuses the issue as it gives a different toponym for Azraq and a puzzling shorter distance to Bostra (295). The editors cautiously avoid a decision.

On occasion, the comments offer speculation that seems unnecessary. The toponym "Amathus", the fortress city in Peraea (298-308), is identified with a site in the ravine of Wadi Zarqa (309), rather than Tell Amatha, the likely location for the fortress, which has never been excavated, although it is considered among the "largest and most

impressive Hellenistic sites" in the region (see D.F. Graf, "The Rise and Fall of the Peraea", *ARAM* 29 [2017]: 419).

The entry on "Arabia", as mentioned, is the largest in the *Onomasticon*, excluding "Jerusalem". As a consequence, the entry is divided into five parts: part 1, Land and People (435-537); part 2, "Arabia sinus" (537-569); part 3, "Arabia ad Aegyptum" (5695-585); part 4, "Early Arabia and Nabataea" (585-688); and, continuing in Volume II.2, with part 5, "Provincia Arabia" (689-861), and part 6, "Biblical References and Exegeses" (861-873). The geographical borders are somewhat fuzzy and arbitrary, violated occasionally in the sources listed. The references to "Arabia" in Egypt (east of Nile) are excluded, as well as "eastern Arabia" (the Syrian Desert and Mesopotamia), and southern Arabia (Hegaz, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen). Such geographical extensions obviously would have complicated the scope of the enterprise, but raises the question why the southern Hauran and Transjordan (outside of biblical references) were included.

Part 1, the "Land and People" (435-537), begins with a string of references from Herodotus to Stephanus of Byzantium arranged in chronological order without commentary, except briefly on occasion, but comprising a valuable compendium, followed by a brief observations derived from the sources (536-537). The emphasis is on the "mixture of fact and fictions", "vague generalizations", and imprecise geography that characterize the sources. These flaws in the source material do not prevent the editors from indulging in a general ethnic stereotype of Arabs, ignoring the diverse particular cultures within the immense geographical extent of Arabia. The Arabs are portrayed as having dark skin and hair, perforate their ears, live in tents, raise camels and sheep, engaged in plunder, noisy, circumcise, practice human sacrifice, and worship shapeless stele as idols. A few observations suffice to expose the fragility of this general depiction. Arabs as "noisy" is built on a false Byzantine etymology (sources 156 Hesych. and 216 Suid.). The references to "Arab archers" refer to those with Antiochus III at Magnesia (Livy 37.40.12; App. *Syr*. Xi.vi.32) or later with the Medes and Persians who supported Cassius (Luc, *Phars*. VII.514-519), or just general anonymous ascriptions. Omitted from the list are the numerous references in Josephus to "Arab [Nabataean?] archers" in the Roman siege at Jotapata (*BJ* III.168, 212, 262) and Jerusalem (V.290, 551, 556), although they are later mentioned briefly in part 3 (no. 387). The famous Arab Ituraean archers are also omitted (see E. Dabrowa, "Cohortes Ituraeorum", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 63 (1986): 221-230, and E.A. Myers, *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East: Reassessing the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010: 178-179).

The focus of Part 2, "Arabia sinus", is the Gulf of Suez (the Heroonpolite or Heroopolitan Gulf), excluding the Gult of Gulf of 'Aqaba (which is dealt with previously in the lengthy entry on "Aila, Ailana, sinus Aelianitius" (212-252). Essentially, the focus is the narrow Suez land bridge that separates the Red Sea from the Mediterranean. For the Sinai Peninsula, there is an entry on "Arselaus", a monastery in the Sinai probably near Mount Sinai and Saint Catherine (985-987) and later volumes will include entries on "Pharan I" (the town in southern Sinai) and "monasterina Sina mons 1" (Saint Catherine's in the Sinai). The Nabataean Sinai sanctuary communities lack an ancient toponym and are purely archaeological sites, which are outside the scope of the *Onomasticon*.

Part 3, "Arabia and Aegyptum [Arabia bordering on Egypt]" refers to the western and northern part of the Sinai, but excluding the nome of "Arabia" in Egypt with its important center of Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wadi Tumilat identified with ancient "Pithom", the location clearly in Hellenistic times of a large Arab population, and an important entry point for Arabs into Egypt (D.F. Graf, "The Arabs in Ptolemaic Egypt", *ARAM* 30, 1-2 [2019]: 365-383). The inclusion of "Augostamnica" (1180-1184), a late Roman province in the eastern Delta of Egypt that engulfed the nome of "Arabia" makes its exclusion inconsistent. The focus is rather the coastal road between Pelusium on the eastern edge of the Delta to Gaza in Palestine. The main sites of Mount Casius and Ostracine are a focus, but attention is also drawn to Qaṣrawet (s.v. "Autei" 1224-1225). In this region, the two early Nabataean inscriptions are unaddressed at Tall al-Šhqafīya dated to the first half of the first century BCE (E. Littmann and D. Meredith, "Nabataean Inscriptions from Egypt-II", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 [1954]: 227-230) and to 35/34 BCE (Z.T. Fiema and R. Jones, "The Nabataean King-List Revised: Further Observations on the Second Nabataean Inscription from Tell esh-Shuqafiyeh in Egypt", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 34 [1990]: 239-248). Reference is also missing to P. Arthur, and E.D. Oren, "The North Sinai Survey and the Evidence of Transport Amphorae for Roman and Byzantine Trading Patterns", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 193-212, which is equally missing in P. Figueras, *From Gaza to Pelusium* (Jerusalem: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2000). The sources compiled (no. 268-308) are just a brief segment (569-585) for the entry on "Arabia" and it is puzzling why parts 2 and 3 of Arabia were not combined.

Part 4, "Early Arabia and Nabataea" (pp. 585-688 = nos. 309-526) is substantial. There is at least one major omission in the list of sources. The recently published important epigram of Posidippus of Pella mentions a "Nabataean king" (*P.Mil. Vogl.* VIII, p. 509, col. II.151-6). Its importance is that it demonstrates the Nabataean dynasty was established as early as 272-252 BCE, a century before the previously attested reference to a Nabataean king at Elusa (see D.F. Graf, "The Nabateans in the Early Hellenistic Period: The Testimony of Posidippus of Pella", *Topoi. Orient-Occident* 14 [2006]: 47-68). This early date is supported by Rachel Barkay's study of the anonymous Nabataean coinage, previously dated to after 112 BCE, which shows there were at least three earlier types, the first overstrikes of third century Ptolemaic rulers, suggesting a date by the end of the third century BCE (see "The Earliest Nabataean Coinage", *Numismatic Chronicle* 171 [2011]: 67-73 = *Coinage of the Nabataeans*, *Qedem* 35 [Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2019]: 7-11). Although cited in the bibliography, the listing of sources in U. Hackl, H. Jenni, and C. Schneider (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer: Textsammlung mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 51, Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003) does not appear to have been followed closely.

The comments provided at the end of an entry are usually brief and reasonable, but occasionally present interpretations that are questionable. For example, in the account of the Tobiad establishment of the fort at Tyros "in the country of "Esbonitus <Hesbon>" against the Arabs (no. 383 = Jos. *Ant.* XII, 229-230, 233), the Nabataeans are questioned as the "Arabs" mentioned (630), in spite of the encounter with the Nabataeans in

northern Transjordan recorded in the Zenon papyri almost a century earlier (58-581, no. 310 = *P.S.I*. IV no. 406) and later in 31 BCE, during Herod's campaign against the Nabataeans in the area of Philadelphia where he encountered a Nabataean fortress or "palisaded camp" (*chraka*), commanded by the Nabataean strategos Elthemo with a substantial army (*BJ* 1.380-85; *Ant.* 15.147-160). As for "Tyros", Villeneuve has suggested the fort may be better identified with The 'Herodium' in the foothills facing Arabia that Herod constructed (*BJ* 1.419), rather than the Tyros (Ṣīr) of the Tobiads ("Sour, forteresse proche d'Iraq al-Amir: hellénistique ou hérodienne?", *Topoi* 14 [2006]: 280).

But there are more important issues to address. The major qualm I have with the part on "Early Arabia and Nabataea" is with the geographical exclusion of vital parts of the Nabataean realm. It is declared suddenly that toponyms south of Aila are "beyond the geographical limits of this work" (298). But in excluding the Hedjaz, important cities of the region (e.g. Taymā' and Hegra) are omitted where Nabataean presence is extensively attested. These few major sites would have expanded the toponyms of the *Onomasticon* only slightly. It is also clear that the Hejaz was an integrated and well organized part of the Nabataean kingdom. Laïla Nehmé has collected all the attestations of Nabataean governors in her essay "*Strategoi* in the Nabataean Kingdom: A Reflection of Central Places?", *Arabian Epigraphuc Notes* 1 (2015): 103-122. The list includes 25 *stratēgoi*, of which nine are in the Hegaz, and five of which constitute new additions to the corpus at Taymā' and in the northwest part of the Peninsula. Moreover, after the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom, Jews emerge as leaders of the communities at Taymā' by 203 CE and at Meda'in Salih (Hegra) by 356 CE: see M. Al-Najem and M.C.A. Macdonald, "A New Nabataean Inscription from Taymā'", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 20 (2009): 208-217, and R. Stiehl, "A New Nabataean Inscription", in R. Stiehl and H.E. Stier (eds.), *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*: *Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10.1968*, Band 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970): 87-90.

Although Leuke Kome is mentioned (no. 536 = Str. XVI, 21-24), it is excluded from consideration as a toponym because of geography (1174), in spite of the evidence of a Nabataean centurion who collected taxes at the port (*PME* 19). The village is probably to be located at Aynuna in a bay of the Gulf of Aqaba, where recent excavations have exposed what appears to be administrative building adjacent to a string of warehouses (see the reports by K. Juchniewicz, "The Port of Aynuna in the Pre-Islamic Period: Nautical and Topographical Considerations on the Location of Leuke Kome", *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* XXVI/2 [2017]: 31-42; M. Gawlikowski, "A Nabataean Trading Station in the Northern Hijaz", *ARAM* 30, 1-2 [2018]: 395-402, and "Looking for Leuke Kome", 281-291 in A. Manso, C. Zazzaro, and D.J. Falco (eds.), *Stories of Globalisation: The Red Sea and the Persian Gulf from Late Prehistory to Early Modernity*. Selected Papers of Red Sea Project VII [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019]). Just to the east, 30 km west of Tabuk, near the Saudi Jordanian border, almost a thousand new Nabataean inscriptions have been recorded along what is designated the "Darb al-Bakra". These texts mention a governor, centurion, guards, cavalry, and gate-keepers probably involved in transporting commerce from South Arabia. Included in the caravans are Hegrites, Moabites and a Jew. Only one text is dated to the Nabataean era (41/2 CE), with six other texts dated to the post-annexation period ranging in date from 124 to 456 CE. See L. Nehmé, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, A., al-Ghabban,

M. Macdonald and F. Villeneuve, *The Darb al-Bakrah. A Caravan Route in North-West Arabia Discovered by Ali I. al-Ghabban. Catalogue of the Inscriptions* (Riyadh: Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage, 2018).

In fact, even further afield, it has been suggested the borders of Nabataea may have extended even to South Arabia based on a still not properly published Sabean-Nabataean bilingual inscription from Marib, which supports a well-established Nabataean presence in this deep and remote region of Arabia far from the heart of Nabataea (cf. Strabo 16.4.21), ostensibly a vestige of Aelius Gallus' campaign in 26/25 BCE. G.W. Bowersock has proposed this text may represent a remnant of Augustus' attempt to organize the Nabataean kingdom into a province that he associates with Gaius Caesar's campaign in ca. 1 BCE that never achieved that objective due to unforeseen circumstances ("The Nabataeans under Augustus", *Philorhômaios kai philhellèn: homage à Jean-Louis Ferrary* [Genève, 2019]: 225-233). Whatever may be the case, the *Onomasticon* has chosen to operate with a truncated Nabataean kingdom.

The Greek and Latin inscriptions mentioning "Nabataea, Nabataeans" are listed in a special section at the end of the listing of literary sources. These texts are all from the Aegean and Italy (677-680, nos. 516-520). There are also other texts with the ethnic "Arabs" in the Aegean that could have been included, some of which are fairly recent (D.F. Graf, "Arabs in the Aegean in the Early Hellenistic Period", *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jorda*n 11 [Amman, 2013]: 197-210). In this regard, it is often expressed as odd such ethnic attestations are absent in the Nabataean Aramaic inscriptions within the kingdom. But this ignores other texts in a different script where such professions of identity are present. The ethnic "Nabataean" is used by at least seven individuals who designate themselves as "Nabataean" (*nbṭy*) in Safaitic texts (A. al-Jallad and K. Jaworska, *A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions* [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019]: 102, and for the references see. OCIANA, s.v. "Nabataean"). There are others Safaitic texts which show a shared identity and cooperative interaction with the "Nabataeans" (Z. al-Salameen, Y. al-Shdaifat and R. Haransheh, "Nabataean Echoes in al-Ḥarrah: New Evidence in light of recent field work", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 150 [2018]: 60-79).

In fact, the first Nabataean Aramaic inscriptions have emerged in which individuals identify themselves with the ethnic "Nabataean". At Umm al-Jimāl, the author designates himself as "the Nabataean" ([*n*]*bṭy'*) in the year 161 CE after the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom (Z. al-Salameen and M. Hazza, "New Nabataean Inscriptions from Umm al-Jimāl", *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 4 [2018]: 88-89), and another of undetermined date appears in the *Darb al-Bakra* texts (UJadh Nab 295). These occurrences are not surprising: ethnic designations normally are used in foreign contexts or as points of past reference. After the disappearance of the Nabataean dynasty, under foreign rule, Nabataean identity obviously would still linger in the transition generation and for a time. It is also a reminder that script is not the critical factor in expressing identity. It is now clear that within the Nabataean realm, various scripts were employed by individuals. In regard to Thamudic inscriptions, which appear throughout the Nabataean realm, individuals' petition to the Nabataean god Dushara and in a few instances in the environs of Madaba, the Nabataean fortune deity Sa'ab (see D.F. Graf and M. Zwettler, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 335 [2004]: 53-89). For bilingual Thamudic-Nabataean Aramaic texts see H. Hayajneh, "Ancient North

Arabian-Nabataean Bilingual Inscriptions from Southern Jordan", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 39 (2009): 203-222. The steady stream of splendid studies of M.C.A. Macdonald, collected now in *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia* (Ashgate, 2009) also provide important illumination of the region and period.

**Vol. II.2: Arabia, chapter 5 — Azzeira**

Part 5, "Provincia Arabia" (689-861 = nos. 528-950), begins with the Babatha archive (*P.Yadin* no. 12), ostensibly because Petra is designated as a *metropolis*. But this honorary status is already known from a series of Greek texts dating as early as 114 CE in the reign of Trajan from the so-called Market places along the Colonnaded Street to Qasr al-Bint (no. 734 = M. Sartre, *IGLS* XXI, *Pétra et la Nabatèn Meridionale* [Paris, 1993]: nos. 22, 37, 46 48), mentioned at no. 734, but assigned to the later entry on "Petra". In contrast, the earlier section on "Early Arabia and Nabataea" begins with a literary source followed by a papyrus (no. 310). If papyri are given priority, this would be the place to cite P.Mich no. 466 (*Michigan Papyri* VIII *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis* [Ann Arbor, 195] no. 466, ll. 21-23), which mentions legionaries stationed near Petra in 107 CE, shortly after the annexation. The method in organizing the large entries and sections needs clarification and a more uniform and systematic organization, perhaps an outline at beginning of the entry so the reader is prepared for what follows, or in listing sources in chronological order.

Following the papyri, the literary sources include standard documents like the *Notitia Dignitatum* (655), and end with a string of references from the Church Historians. The inscriptions are listed in a special section (721-742), which includes the first military diploma from Arabia dated to 142 CE (no. 720). There has been subsequently two additions: see W. Eck, "Ein Diplom für die Hilfstruppen der Provinz Arabia, ausgestellt unter Hadrian, wohl im Jahr 126", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 197 (2016): 227-230, and W. Eck and A. Pangerl, "Ein Diplomeragment aus zeit Hadrians, wohl Ausgestelt für ein Veteranen der Provinz Arabia", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 209 (2019): 258-262.

After some Supplementary Texts (743-779), there are two valuable lists: Appendix 1 of the "Civil and Military Governors of Arabia" (779-837) and Appendix 2, a briefer list of the "Financial procurators of Arabia" (837-844).

In the summary section at the end of the list, it is asserted that Bostra, in the far north, was from the beginning the capital of the province, where the legion was garrisoned, first the *VI Ferrata* and then until the end of the Roman province in the seventh century, the *III Cyrenaica*. Here it should be noted that Hannah Cotton and Werner Eck have argued the capital remained Petra for a time before being relocated at Bostra: see H. Cotton and W. Eck, "Roman Officials in Judaea and Arabia and Civil Jurisdiction", *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 96 (Leiden Brill, 2005), 23-44, at 40; W. Eck, *Judäa — Syria Palästina. Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur* (Tübingen: 2014) 192 and n. 30). This view is supported by a governor buried at Petra in 127 CE (*IGLS* XXI, no. 51). It means that the evidence of the *Via Nova Traiana*, professed in milestones as *a finibus Syriae usque ad mare rubrum*, with a *caput viae* from Bostra (e.g. *IGLS* XIII/1: 9101) must be dismissed as a later development. Sartre

already suspected that Petra served as the initial *caput viae* between 111 and 115 CE (*IGLS* XIII/i: 175), and the stretch between Petra and Philadelphia appears to be the first stretch completed in 111 CE (Graf, *Rome and the Arabian Frontier* [1997]: VI, 31). In any case, it is now clear that the southern border of the province extended to Hegra in the Hejaz, where an inscription in 177 CE attests its Roman civic status and its incorporation into the province (793), but the editors add "probably not most of the Hejaz" (859), which is defined by the Nabataean texts cited above and below. For the larger perspective, see A. Lewin, "Rome's Relations with the Arab/Indigenous People in the First-Third Centuries", in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out. Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014): 113-144.

In this respect, recently published inscriptions from Dumah in North Arabia indicate it came under sway of Rome immediately after the annexation: see Laïla Nehmé, "New Dated Inscriptions (Nabataean and Pre-Islamic Arabic) from a Site near al-Jawf, Ancient Dūmah, Saudi Arabia", *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 3 (2017): 121-164. The new texts from the Darb *al-Bakra* in NW Arabia near Tabuk cited above demonstrate the same was true of the northwest Arabia. For Taymā', there is a new text dated to the era of the province in 203 CE cited earlier (in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 20 [2009]: 208-217). Roman penetration of Arabia appears to have extended even further. New Latin texts have appeared on the Farasan Islands in the Red Sea hundreds of kilometers south of Hegra: see F. Villeneuve, C. Philipps, and W. Facey, "Une inscription latine de l'archipel Farasan (sud de la mer Rouge) et son contexte archéologique et historique", *Arabia* 2 (2004): 143-190; F. Villeneuve, "Une inscription latine sur l'archipel Farasan, Arabie Séoudite, sud de la Mer Rouge", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (2004): 419–429; F. Villeneuve, "Farasan Latin Inscriptions and Bukharin's Ideas: No Pontifex Herculis! And Other Comments", *Arabia* 4 (2007): 289-296; and F. Villeneuve, "L'armée romaine en mer Rouge et autour de la mer Rouge aux IIème et IIIème siècles apr. J.C.: à propos de deux inscriptions latines découvertes sur l'archipel Farasan", in A.S. Lewin and P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest*, BAR International Series 1717 (Oxford, Archeopress, 2007): 13-27.

Special attention is given to the earthquake in 551 and 554 CE (861), ignoring the ones around 113-114 CE and 363 CE that affected Petra and surrounding regions (See K.W. Russell, "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the mid-8th Century AD", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (1985): 37-59, at 39), which appear to have had dramatic effect on the region (e.g., M. Korjenkov and T. Erickson-Gini, "The Seismic Origin of the Destruction of the Nabataean Forts of Ein Erga and Ein Rahel, Arava Valley, Israel", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 [2003]: 39-50, and K.W. Russell, "The Earthquake of May 19, A.D. 363", *BASOR* 238 [1980]: 47-64).

Part 6, "Biblical References and Exegeses" (861-873) concludes the entry on "Arabia" (nos. 951-983). This brief section lacks any reference to the fundamental work of I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries BC* (Leiden: Bril, 1982), although appearing in the bibliography.

Parr 6 is followed by a brief entry on "Arabia II, Nea Arabia" (873-874), a province which appears in the Verona List that had been assigned to 328-337 CE, which T.D. Barnes suspected was "an accurate representation of the provinces of the Roman Empire as they existed in late 314" (in "Emperors, Panegyrics, Prefects, Provinces, and Palaces (284-317)", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 [1996]: 539-355, in agreement with A.H.M Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* [Oxford 1964]: I, 43 and III, 4 n. 9 and 381, who earlier proposed a similar date; cf. Jones, "The Date and Value of the Verona List", *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 [1954]: 21-29). The name "Nea Arabia" has been associated with the Egyptian nome of "Arabia" (by G.W. Bowersock), but the editors prefer the view of Philip Mayerson that it was a sector that included Idumaea, because of its inclusion of Eleutheropolis in the province (*P.Oxy*. L., no. 3574). It should be observed that the nome of "Arabia" dates to the early Hellenistic period (Graf, *ARAM* 30, 1-2 [2019]: 376). Whatever the case, the editors dismiss the controversy as of little significance, noting this "province" disappears after the early fourth century.

Among the toponyms that follow, my interest was peaked by the following entries: "Arad" (877-871), "Arba", the biblical name for Hebron (887-889), "Arbel", a village north of Tiberias (890-900), "Archelaeus", in the Jordan Valley, the location of a Herodian royal palace (905-908), "Areopolis-Rabbath Moab- Rabban Moab" (910-933), "Arethusa", a coastal city freed by Pompey (Jos. *BJ* 1.156-157), whose location defies identification (934-036), "Aramathaea", the headquarters of a toparchy in Samaria (940-955), the two "Arindela" in Arabia, one in the 'Arabah and the other on the Transjordanian plateau (945-946 and 955-963), the "Arnon", the modern Wadi Mūjib (968-980), "Arsinoe", a city in the north Golan (987), "Asabai" a military post in Arabia (ND *Or*. 37.32), probably to be identified with Azraq based on a milestone with the toponym "Basie" found at the site (991-992), "Ascalon" (997-1131), "Auara", identified correctly with Humayma, Aramaic *Ḥawara* (attested in a Nabataean inscription at the site), representing Roman Auara (1168-1175), "Augustopolis", modern Udhruh (1184-1198), but wrongly located on the *Via Nova Traiana* (see D.F. Graf, *Rome and the Arabian Frontier* [1997]: VI, 4-5), "Aurantis", the Hauran in southern Syria (1211-1219), "Ausitis", the perplexing home of Job, located from Edom to Batanaea (1219-1224) and "Ashdod" (1233-1265). All should whet the appetite of scholarly researchers, and I am sure in my selections I have let others fall into the cracks that will be equally fascinating to others.

The brief entry on "Aramaua" (882-883), is properly identified with Wadi Ramm in southern Jordan. The editors could have drawn notice to the reference to the "City of Pillars" of Iram, associated with the tribe of 'Ad, mentioned in the Quran (89: 6-14). Its identification with the legendary lost city of Ubar in the "Empty Quarter" in the southeast of the Arabian Peninsula should now be put to rest with the publication of a Thamudic inscription of the first century CE from the Wadi Ramm sanctuary that indicates a member of the tribe of 'Ad built the temple (S. Farès-Drappeau and F. Zayadine, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 42 [1998]: 246-248). The indication that there was "no village at the place" (883) ignores the residential complex adjacent to the site (excavated by L. Tholbecq, "The Nabataeo-Roman Site of Wadi Ramm (Iram): A New Appraisal", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 42 (1998): 247-248.

The volume ends with a list of the complete and extensive "Research Bibliography" for volume II (1269-1324), the Index of toponyms that appear in Latin and English, Greek, and Syriac and Hebrew (1325-1392), followed by a "Comparative Chart of Map Coordinates", and 12 color maps.

**Conclusion**

After a century, the *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions* of Edward Robinson conducted in 1838 remained the standard for the topography of biblical lands. In 1939, the *Journal of Biblical Literature* issued a centenary volume of his pioneering exploration in which F.-M. Abel described his work as the "authoritative precursor of contemporary exploration in Palestine" (1939: 372). Robinson's methodology was admirably precocious for the time. Accompanied by the Arabist Eli Smith, Robinson demonstrated that a large proportion of the ancient place-names were retained by the modern Arab population. In the same centenary volume, Albrecht Alt added that "in Robinson's footnotes are forever buried the errors of many generations" (1939: 374). But these pronouncements were made before the advances of the multiple excavations and extensive surveys after WW II, that were accompanied by the epigraphic explosion of the modern era that further refined and improved toponymic research. It was a desideratum that a new assessment of the ancient toponyms be provided for scholars. The *Onomasticon* is designed to provide just such a topographical guide for Judaea and the surrounding regions for future generations.

Any enterprise of this magnitude will have cracks and fissures. My comments I hope will be found helpful and constructive. The editors are cognizant that lacunae and mistakes will occur and the intention is to publish the appearance of future new editions of the sources, any relevant scholarly publications to the existing bibliography, and any corrections in *addenda* and *corrigenda* in subsequent volumes. This will require readers to keep abreast of each volume of the *Onomasticon* as they unfold. If there is a lapse in publication for the subsequent volumes representing letters B to Z, it might be best to reserve these additions to a subsequent final supplementary volume. What is clear is that these volumes will be indispensable and highly important for research of the regions of *Judaea-Palaestina-Arabia* for generations to come. It is a pity that neither Michael Avi-Yonah who initiated the project nor the late Yoram Tsafrir who directed the project were able to see the publication of these first installments of this magnificent enterprise. At least Yoram Tsafrir was alive for a few days after the introductory Volume I came off the press. The subsequent volumes will be a tribute to the almost 50 years he spent with the project, as well as the current editors' dedication and diligence to make these initial volumes available to the scholarly public. We can only wait eagerly for the following volumes to appear.

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