

**DESERT DEITIES: SOME NEW EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE
FOR THE DEITIES DUSHARES AND AL-LAT FROM
THE AQABA-MA'AN AREA OF SOUTHERN JORDAN**

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I

In reconstructing the religion of the pre-Islamic Semitic peoples historians of religion have frequently drawn upon the epigraphic and non-epigraphic archaeological evidence from the urban archaeological complexes which have been an important and dominant part of the archaeological achievements of the past century of exploration, survey and excavation, or else in the light of the ethnography of the Bedouin they have extrapolated from Biblical and Quranic texts models of early Semitic religious life.¹ However in contrast to the settled urban religions of the great Semitic city-centred complexes of the Fertile Crescent stand the religions of the large number of Semitic indigenes of the marginal and desert areas of the Ancient Near East. The acknowledged ancient homelands of the Semites, these marginal and desert areas form a soft underbelly to the Fertile Crescent and are climatically and ecologically very different to the more favourable conditions of the Fertile Crescent proper.² These areas provided conditions which are known to have sustained a demographically significant population which contrasted with the lifestyle of the urban centres which were surrounded by their aprons of settled agricultural activity. The inhabitants of these marginal areas were concerned with a semi-sedentary existence which, while now recognized as being quite separate to a statistically significant nomadic minority, nevertheless had its own social structures and characteristics.

Much of the information for the social stratification of these tribal communities, their relationships to their environment and the nature of their languages (and hence their mind) is being reconstructed from the North Arabian inscriptions and rock art.³ Consisting of genealogies, prayers and short statements about personal relationships, human episodes and the environment, these inscriptions, along with the often signed rock art of the area provide evidence of some considerable detail. Relating to the periods from about the sixth century BC to the advent of Islam this epigraphic evidence has begun to reveal lifestyles of considerable significance for the reconstruction of pre-Islamic Semitic culture. The new data augments significantly the urban centred profile which has been extrapolated from the settled areas of the Fertile Crescent. The new epigraphic archaeological material provides well stratified linguistic levels of Semitic culture. Relating quite specifically to the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman-Byzantine periods these epigraphic remains provide significant linguistic and semiological evidence for the life and culture of the Semitic indigenes of these areas. They also provide evidence which, (to pursue the archaeological analogy), is so stratified in terms of comparative Semitic philology and historical linguistics as to facilitate diachronic extrapolations to earlier proto-Semitic and later classical Arabic.

Over the past six years the 'Aqaba-Ma'an Survey of the University of Sydney has explored and mapped the major antiquity and epigraphic sites of the pre-Islamic period in this area in Southern Jordan.⁴ During this period of field work over two thousand North Arabian (Thamudic) inscriptions have been drawn, photographed and recorded. Frequently occurring amongst these inscriptions are prayers and invocations to the deities Dushares and Allat. This study is concerned with the presentation and discussion of a brief selection of North Arabian inscriptions from the 'Aqaba-Ma'an Survey as evidence for the veneration of the deity Dushares within the contexts of the function of this deity in Southern Jordan, and the religion and identity of deities frequently addressed in the graffiti of devotees of neighbouring regions.⁵

II

This section of the study is concerned with the presentation of a selection of the newly discovered North Arabian (Thamudic) inscriptions from the 'Aqaba-Ma'an area of southern Jordan.⁶

Figure 1: AM84/56/21

Transliteration:

WD^c. DŠRY. ZMLT. WGR. KTT

Translation:

prayer to Dū Šārā (is for) companionship, and GR wrote (it)

This inscription is important in that it introduces us to popular devotions to Dushares and contains some interesting philological evidence for the analysis of this sort of popular (or graffito) religious expressions in North Arabian.

The form WD^c is uncertain. The root means either "to be gentle, still or calm", or "to deposit (something with someone for safekeeping)". It could also be explained by reference to the root D^cW which means "to pray" and that is the sense in which I take it here tentatively.

In this inscription the deity's name follows a pattern similar to that in Nabataean and so the deity is identified as being "he of the Sharā".⁷ The Sharā mountains are the ancient mountain homelands of the Biblical Edomites and provide the eastern boundary of the Wadi Arabah and the mountainous interface between the Wadi Arabah and the Old Edomite plateau which stretches out to the South East towards the North Arabian deserts. According to Biblical tradition it was in the Sharā Mountains that Mt Seir was located, the famous domain of Yahweh the deity of the Exodus Israelites who also passed through the area (Numbers 33:42-43). According to the Song of Deborah, Yahweh sets forth from Seir in great power to help his people:

O Lord, at thy setting forth from
 Seir,
 when thou camest marching out of
 the plains of Edom,
 earth trembled; heaven quaked;
 the clouds streamed down in torrents.
 Mountains shook in fear before the
 Lord, the lord of Sinai,
 before the Lord, the God of Israel (Judges 5:4-5).

The later Nabataean inhabitants of these mountains succeeded in establishing the city stronghold of Petra, or REQEM where their deity Dushares and his consort Al-^cUzza were the dominant deities. In this later Hellenistic period Dushares was identified with Dionysius and his consort with Aphrodite with the result that the faceless deities took on the iconographic identities and features of their Hellenistic counterparts and were so portrayed in the Nabataean mosaics, and sculptures of the area.⁸

In this inscription the author identified himself as one GR. Actually the formula GR KTT is typical of many of these prayers as will be seen in the examples that follow. Thus following the careful engraving of the prayer or petition to the deity it seems to have been usual for the devotee to identify himself according to this set pattern of phraseology.

Figure 2: AM85/92C/4

This inscription was located in the Wadi Hafir early in 1985 in the sixth season of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an Survey.

Transliteration:

WD^c. DŠRY. SR

Translation:

Prayer (to) Dushares (for) SR

AM85/92C/4
 10 cm

Similar in content and phraseology (except that the author is not identified), this inscription nicely parallels the previous example. This short invocation or prayer occurs within the context of other North Arabian (Thamudic) inscriptions on a large rock face. The Proper Name SR occurs frequently in Safaitic. This invocation for our purposes, however, emphasizes the frequency of the form WD^c and this suggests that we may be dealing with a popular formulaic expression of devotion to Dushares which was part of the religious phraseology to the North Arabian indigenes of this area.

Figure 3: AMB83/34B/29

Transliteration:

ZR^c. DŠR. ḤTY. °BD. KṬṬ

Translation:

Fructify, O Dushares, ḤTY. °BD
inscribed (this prayer)

Discovered in the fourth season of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an Season in 1983, this inscription provides an interesting contrast with the previous examples. This prayer commences with the form ZR^c which is a common Semitic word usually associated with the sowing of seed and by implication the fertility of mankind, field and animals. The form ZR^c is probably to be construed as in the imperative and by comparison follows in a similar syntactic pattern to the examples already noted which began with the form WD^c. From the point of view of tagmemic analysis these three prayers follow a regular patterning of slots and fillers and this too suggests a predictable religious phraseology. The object of this prayer is ḤTY and again the author of the prayer and the inscription signs his name. In this case it is the well attested North Arabian Proper Name °BD.

Figure 4: AM85/97B/30

This inscription is a good example of a theophoric name in which the theophoric element is the divine name Dushares:

Transliteration:

L °BD DŠRY

Translation:

By °BD DŠRY

Occurring on the corner of a rock face this inscription does not seem to be related to any particular drawing or wider body of inscriptions. As it stands it would appear to be a graffito which for our purposes simply records this name. The form ^cBD may mean "servant", "pious one", or "devotee" and thus this name may mean "devotee of Dushares". However attention is drawn to the wide range of similar North Arabian theophoric names of the pattern:

^cBD + X

Examples worthy of comparison are:

^cBD'L, ^cBD LH, ^cBDŠMSM

^cBD^cTTR, ^cBDLT⁹

Names such as these are valuable onomastic evidence for the reconstruction of the North Arabian pantheon.

Figure 5: AM84/52/36

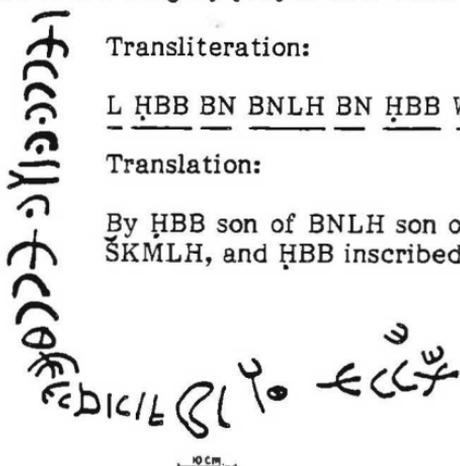
This inscription is situated on a very large panel situated south of Wadi Ram in the upper reaches of the Wadi edh-Dhiqa. The overall panel contains a range of epigraphic and glyptic material which is of considerable interest for the elucidation of the human society and the fauna and avi-fauna of the area in the Roman-Byzantine periods. However of importance for this study is the rather lengthy prayer addressed to Dushares:

Transliteration:

L ḤBB BN BNLH BN ḤBB W DKR DŠR ŠKMLH W ḤBB KTT

Translation:

By ḤBB son of BNLH son of ḤBB, and may DŠR remember ŠKMLH, and ḤBB inscribed (it)



This is an interesting inscription because of its length, content and association with other inscriptions on the same panel. It is possible that it is composed of two inscriptions, the prayer to DŠR being added later. This may explain the logic of the final phrase: W ḤBB KTT: and ḤBB wrote (it).

As it stands in its present form this inscription is composed of three phrases respectively introduced by particles which are distinctive phrase markers. The first phrase, introduced by the *lam auctoris* marker is,

L ḤBB BN BNLH BN ḤBB

By ḤBB son of BNLH son of ḤBB

This phrase, which contains the Proper Names ḤBB and BNLH is further evidence for the frequently recurring practice of *paponomy* in North Arabia.

The second phrase is introduced by the particle marker WAW:

W DKR DŠR ŠKMLH

and may DŠR remember ŠKMLH

This phrase is a prayer to the god Dushares. However in this case the name is written with a DĀL, not with DAL as in the previous examples in this study. Also it is worth noting that the YĀ is missing from the spelling of the divine name. The deity is asked to hold in remembrance (DKR) ŠKMLH. Whether such remembrance is for good or ill we are not told in this inscription. Similar petitions using the form DKRT and addressed to the goddess Allāt occur in the Wadi Ram area.¹⁰ In these instances the wellbeing or benefit of the person, or persons, mentioned may have been inferred. This prayer may have been offered on the occasion of the birth of a new member of the family (i.e. ŠKMLH). However this remains a matter for speculation and further research. The compound name ŠKMLH, with the theophoric element LH, is new, though the Proper Name SKM is attested in Safaitic. Again it is noted that the theophoric element LH is common to other names on this panel (viz. WHBLH and HNLH).

The third phrase is introduced by the particle marker WAW:

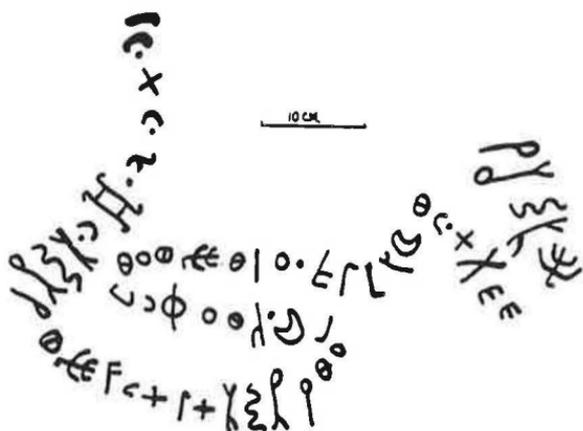
W ḤBB KTT

and ḤBB inscribed (it).

This phrase, as noted above, is typical of a formula frequently found in North Arabian and usually associated with a rock drawing or a prayer. As such it may be appropriate to designate it a signature phrase. As noted above its present position and the variations in the style and execution of the script may suggest that the prayer to which it is appended was drawn some time after the inscribing of the first phrase. On the other hand, it may be that the mention of only one name (i.e. without the genealogy) presupposes the genealogy of the first phrase and as such was added as a post-script. The form KTT is frequently used in similar signature phrases in the Wadi Ram area.¹¹ It is worth noting that the natural rock face on which the last two phrases are written is somewhat uneven and provides a difficult medium. This may account for the more cramped style of the script in the last two phrases.

Figure 6: AM85/97/18

This inscription which was discovered early in 1985 during the sixth season of the survey is located in the small Wadi of Telat Rashd which forms a large eastern bay flowing into the Wadi Hafir.



Transliteration:

L. BNT. BN. ĶND. BN 'FSY.
W. DKRT. LT. 'FSY.
W. CLMNH. W. QRB. W. CWD
W. ŠCN. KLLHM
W. BNT. KTT
D. 'FSY

Translation:

By BNT son of ĶND son of 'FSY,
 and may LĀT bless (remember for good) 'FSY,
 and ^CLMNH and QRB and ^CWD
 and ŠCN, all of them
 and BNT wrote (inscribed) this of the tribe of 'FSY.

This inscription provides good epigraphic evidence for the veneration of the deity Lāt. Also being a lengthy prayer, its content and phraseology provides ample evidence for the philological analysis of the North Arabian language of devotion.

The deity Lāt or al-Lāt was one of the trinity of most venerated deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon.¹² Widely attested throughout the pre-Islamic Near East this deity was worshipped by shepherds and farmers and together with the other two members of the triad (viz. Manat and al-^CUzza), and was associated with the transit of Venus through the zodiac. Within the 'Aqaba-Ma'an area the deity Lat was venerated at Petra and in the Wadi Ram where a large Nabataean sanctuary was dedicated to her.¹³

Etymological discussions of the name Lāt by Arab lexicographers have suggested that it may relate to the Arabic root LTT meaning to mix, or knead, barley meal (*sqwīk*). As T. Fahd has shown this would seem to be an interpretation —

. . . from a revealing association with the 'idol of jealousy' erected in the temple of Jerusalem [Ezekiel 5:15], which can be no other than Astarte [Kings 21:7; 23:6-7, 13-14]. The 'oblation of jealousy' offered by the husband who suspected his wife 'of infidelity', was made with barley-meal. Now Ibn al-Kalbi in al-Asnām, speaks of *taff al-sqwīk* 'kneader of barley-meal', who was a

Jew and after whom was named the square rock of Tâ if, symbol of al-Lat. From this it may be deduced that a ritual similar to the Hebraic ritual of the 'oblation of jealousy' was practised in the vicinity of the sacred stone, symbolising al-Lat and that the matter was regarded as one of the multiple incarnations of the Semitic Ba^cla of which Astarte was the most eminent.¹⁴

Other etymological discussions consider that al-Lât was a consort of Allâh, "or of his prototype Il or El".

However all this may be (and it must be remembered that to a considerable extent these conjectures are based on later Islamic philological considerations), this inscription attests that the deity Lat was worshipped in the 'Aqaba-Ma'an area some considerable distance from urban situations though not all that far from the sanctuary of Allat in Wadi Ram. As with the prayer to Dushares from the Wadi edh-Dhiqa this prayer may be divided into separate phrases or segments according to syntax and content. Thus this inscription may be divided up into three phrases which are introduced by distinctive phrase markers. As with AM84/52/36 the first phrase is introduced by the marker L:

L. BNT. BN. KND. BN. 'FŠY

By BNT son of KND son of 'FŠY

This phrase contains the name and genealogy of the author. Thus it relates a detailed family tree down to the third generation with all the social, legal and punitive implications that such genealogical matrices may imply.

The second phrase is introduced by the particle W which acts as a phrase marker:

W. DKRT. LT. 'FŠY. W. CLMNH

W. QRB. W. CWD. W. ŠCN. KLLHM

And may Lat bless (remember for good) 'FŠY,

And CLMNH and GRB and CWD and ŠCN, all of them

Though some of the Proper Names are still problematical and still require careful philological analyses it may be concluded that five devotees are names as worthy of blessing, or favourable remembrance by the deity Lât.

The third phrase, as with the previous prayer to Dushares from the Wadi edh-Dhiqa, identifies the author and inscriber and adds a subsidiary phrase which identifies his family or tribe:

W. BNT. KTT. D. 'FŞY

and BNT inscribed (it) of the tribe of 'FŞY.

The subsidiary phrase introduced by the particle D follows a regular formula which serves to mark out tribal or family names.

Figure 7: AM85/97/23

Like the previous inscription this inscription is a prayer to the deity Lât.

Transliteration:

L. FŞY. BN. WHBLH

W. DKRT. LT. MN^c

W. 'FŞY. W. NŞBLH.

Translation:

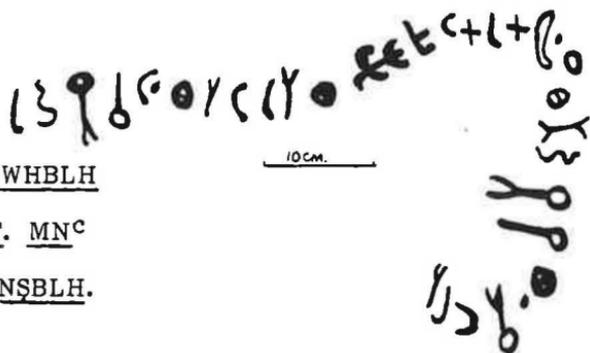
By FŞY son of WHBLH
and may LT bless MN^c
and 'FŞY and NŞBLH

This prayer breaks up into two phrases. In the first phrase the author is identified:

L FŞY. BN. WHBLH

By FŞY son of WHBLH

In the second phrase the prayer to the deity Lât is inscribed along with the names of those on whose behalf the prayer is made:



W. DKRT. LT. MN^c, W. 'FŞY, W. NŞBLH

And may Lāt remember (favourably) MN^c, and 'FŞY and NŞBLH

While this is not the place to discuss in full the etymology of the Proper Names in these two phrases it is worth noting that two theophoric names occur in each phrase viz. WHBLH and NŞBLH. Both names contain the theophoric element LH.

Thus in this section of the study seven examples have been given of the epigraphic evidence for devotion to the deities Dushares and Lāt within the marginal desert areas of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an area of the North West Hejaz.

The third and final section of this study is concerned with some of the implications of this new epigraphic material and some tentative suggestions are offered concerning its analysis for the definition of pre-Islamic Semitic religions of the Near East.

III

These examples of the new epigraphic evidence for the pre-Islamic North Arabian devotion to Dushares and al-Lat fall within the category of folk (or popular) religion by definition. These inscriptions, which are written in free hand by the North Arabian indigenes of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an area, are evidence for the veneration of Dushares and Lat in a particular non-urban context which contrasts sharply with Nabataean city centres such as Petra, Advat and Bosra. Thus it is argued that both the sociolinguistics of these inscriptions and their socio-geographical setting qualify them as evidence of the folk religion of the North Arabians who inhabited the 'Aqaba-Ma'an area in the Roman-Byzantine periods before the advent of Islam. That is to say that this new evidence reveals a level of the veneration of these deities in the non-urban and probably only seasonally settled areas of this part of the North West Hejaz.

Linguistic evidence reveals something of that identity of the devotees of these deities in that as can be seen from several of the examples presented in this study the prayers or devotions inscribed on the desert patina of the sandstone rocks and overhangs of the area are usually in well formed sentence or phrase patterns which reflect a considerable degree of sophistication. The content and phraseology of these inscriptions as well as the well formed lettering, which reflects a controlled use of the mediums used in their execution, reflect a more than just basic literacy. Thus

it would seem reasonable to conclude that on linguistic and technical graphological levels these people belonged to a non-urban society of some considerable sophistication. This in turn reflects on the religion and deities of such a society.

It is perhaps also worth noting that in spite of the frequency of such devotional graffiti which have been found by the 'Aqaba-Ma'an survey no imagery or drawing of the deity usually accompanies such graffiti.¹⁵ Only one such icon has been located near Wadi edh-Dhiqa and in this case the deity to whom the petition is addressed is 'Attarsam, the Morning-Evening Star of Venus'.¹⁶ This non representation of such deities is interesting in that as far as the deity Dushares is concerned his name, as noted above, is essentially a place name, being a nominal sentence compound name meaning "He who is of the Sharā' (mountains)". Thus as with the Sacred Tetragrammaton of the Bible the iconographic representation of this deity seems to have been minimal or at least highly restricted in its Semitic form. The Hellenistic equation of Dushares with Dionysius and al-Lāt with Aphrodite and Venus attests an interesting change in this restriction as can be seen in the Nabataean sculpture and the Mosaics of the Roman-Byzantine period. However it may be argued that this indexes the more urban, sophisticated and syncretistic aspect of North Arabian religion and its Hellenistic acculturation. In the marginal and desert areas such as those where these inscriptions have been located, while the devotees and their drawings of themselves and their animals occur, the iconography of the deity may have been severely restricted.

Ibn Al-Kalbi's *Kitab al-Aṣṣnam* contains traditions about the setting up and veneration of standing stones which are comparatively speaking the equivalent of the Hebraic *maṣṣabôt*; and the eye-idols of Arabia are evidence for a certain degree of stylized decoration of such cult stones. However with the exception of the eye idols at 'Ain Shellaleh and the temple of al-Lāt situated below it at Wadi Ram the vast numbers of prayers and devotional remarks inscribed on the rock faces of the area are void of similar iconographic representations. In this respect, and in these areas, the inscribing of the devotion or prayer is the only evidence left of the veneration of these deities. This is not to say that there may not have been a sacrifice or ritual of which no remains are extant. The *Kitab al-Aṣṣnam* would suggest that it is highly likely that there was something of this sort, however neither epigraphic nor non-epigraphic evidence remains to attest Ibn Al-Kalbi's accounts. In this sense the faces of these deities remain veiled though their veneration, as both the prayers and theophoric names imply, was quite popular.

NOTES

1. (i) Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, Vol.I, London, 1979, pp.149-186. (ii) W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, London, 1927, pp.28-83, cf. pp.109-139, et passim. (iii) J. Teixidor, *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East*, Princeton, 1977, p.65ff.
2. (i) D. Baly, *Geography of the Bible*, London, 1974, pp.6-14, 47-53, 64-68, 82-111. (ii) A.D. Crown, Towards a reconstruction of the Climate of Palestine. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31, 1972, p.313. (iii) W.J. Jobling, The 'Aqaba-Ma'an archaeological and epigraphic survey, 1980-1982. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XXIX-XXX, 1984, pp.264-268.
3. Cf., (i) Alb. Van den Branden, *Histoire de Thamoud*, Beirut, 1966. (ii) E. Anati, *L'Art Rupestre: Negev et Sinaï*, Paris, 1979. (iii) B. Rothenberg (ed.), *Sinai: Pharaohs, Miners, Pilgrims and Soldiers*, Berne, 1979.
4. W.J. Jobling, Preliminary report on the archaeological survey between Ma'an and 'Aqaba'. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, XXV, 1981, pp.105-112.
 _____ . Sydney University 'Aqaba-Ma'an survey, January-February 1981. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, XXVI, 1982, pp.199-209, plates LVI-LVIII.
 _____ . The 'Aqaba-Ma'an archaeological and epigraphic survey. *Liber Annuus, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, XXXII, 1982, pp.467-470, plates 111-113.
 _____ . Preliminary report on the fourth season of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an archaeological and epigraphic survey 1982-1983. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, XXVII, 1983, pp.185-196.
 _____ . Chronique Archéologique: Prospection Archéologique et épigraphique dans la région d' 'Aqaba-Ma'an, 1980-1983. *Syria*, LX, 3-4, 1983, pp.317-323.
 _____ . Jordanien: 'Aqaba-Ma'an Survey 1980-1982. *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXIX-XXX, 1983/84, pp.264-270.
 _____ . The fifth season of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an survey, 1984. *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, XXVII, 1983, pp.197-208.
 _____ . The 'Aqaba-Ma'an archaeological and epigraphic survey. *Australian Foreign Affairs Record*, 55(5), 1984, pp.434-435.

- _____. The 'Aqaba-Ma'an archaeological and epigraphic survey 1980-1984: some notes and reflections. *TRASUS* 2(2), 1984, pp.35-52.
- W.J. Jobling & R.V.H. Morgan. The fourth season of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an archaeological and epigraphic survey 1982-1983: some aspects of geomorphology, climate and epigraphy. *Liber Annuus, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, XXXIII, 1983, pp.396-401, plates 67-79.
5. For detailed studies of data from comparable areas and periods see: (i) J. Teixidor, op.cit. (ii) F.V. Winnett & W.L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia*, Univ. Toronto Press, 1970. (iii) F.V. Winnett & W.L. Reed, An archaeological and epigraphical survey of the Hā'il area of Northern Saudi Arabia. *Berytus*, 22, 1973, pp.53-100, plus 13 plates. (iv) W.G. Oxtoby, *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*, American Oriental Series, 50, New Haven, 1968.
6. It should be noted that these inscriptions are all new unpublished data. The state of the art of North Arabian epigraphy and philology demands that considerable caution be exercised in making final pronouncements in these areas. Hence the transliterations, translations and commentaries offered here remain tentative. Also to facilitate publication detailed philological notes and references have been omitted, however the following have been used in the study and presentation of this new material:
- G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Toronto, 1971.
- Id., with collaboration of E. Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, Leiden, 1952.
- R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Paris, 1967.
- F. Brown, S.R. Driver & C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1968.
- J.G. Hava, *Al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary*, Beirut, 1970.
- J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, Paris, 1930, 2 vols.
- F.V. Winnett & G. Lankester Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns*, Toronto, 1978.
- D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire Des Racines, Sémitiques (ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques)*, Paris, 1970-.
7. (i) See G. Ryckmans, DHU 'L-SHARA in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition), vol.II, 1965, Leiden, pp.246-247. (ii) It should be noted that the Place Name *Dizahab* is attested

in the Hebrew Bible in association with this general area (Deuteronomy 1:1) and reflects a similar morphology of the determinative prefix (cf. S. Moscati [ed.], *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Weisbaden, 1969, pp.13-39).

8. J. Teixidor, *op.cit.*, p.70, et passim.
9. See G.L. Harding, *op.cit.*, 1971, pp.396-397.
10. G.L. Harding, *op.cit.*, 1952, pp.45, 58, 156, 170, 481, 489, 506, 520, 521.
11. G.L. Harding, *op.cit.*, 1952, pp.124, 251, 299, 393, 424.
12. T. Fahd, *al-LĀT* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition), vol.V, 1983, Leiden, pp.692-693.
13. J. Savignac, *Le sanctuaire d'Allat à Iram*, *Révue Biblique*, XLI, 1932, pp.581-596, XLII, 1933, pp.572-589.
14. T. Fahd, *op.cit.*, p.692.
15. However, see Winnett & Reed, *op.cit.*, 1970, Figs 36, 37 and Plates 20, 22, 23.
16. (i) W.J. Jobling, *The Fifth Season of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an Survey 1984*, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, vol.XXVIII, 1984, pp.197-198 and Plate XLII:1. (ii) See Winnett & Reed, *op.cit.*, 1970, pp.72, 76. (iii) See Winnett & Reed, *op.cit.*, 1973, p.59. (iv) J. Teixidor, *op.cit.*, p.68.