



THE NABATAEANS AND ASIA MINOR

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ABSTRACT

The Nabataean period (c. 312 BC- AD 106) stands out as a period of prosperity, expansion, cultural growth and a relative political unity. It is clear that the Nabataean commercial activities as well as their involvement in the lucrative trade of aromatics had been the major acknowledged influence on the Nabataean urban settlements, economic development and architectural renaissance.

This paper focuses on the international Nabataean relations with the west and their influences on the Nabataean cultural achievements. The specific question of this work investigates the influence of international maritime and long distance trade as well as the influence of Asia Minor on the Nabataean culture. It discusses the south-western Asia Minor archaeological evidence uncovered in Nabataea. Attention focuses on the nature and extent of the Nabataean material remains found in the Mediterranean and south west Anatolia and discusses the south-western Anatolian influence on the cultural achievements of the Nabataeans.

KEYWORDS: Nabataeans, Nabataean trade, Mediterranean basin, southwestern Anatolia, Asia Minor, Lycia

INTRODUCTION

Nabataea has long been viewed as a crossroads of cultures, influenced by the movements of trade over its territory linking the producers of the major esteemed commodities at that time with the consumers. Nabataea, whose inhabitants included very keen aromatics' tradesmen, expanded its commercial relations and activities in regions adjoining the Mediterranean basin. Aromatics' trade, which was based on the movement of the monsoons, has had far-reaching effects on the economy and urban development of Nabataea. Analysis of the evidence presents a more clear picture about these relations and proves the role of trade in the cultural diffusion. Long distance trade played an integral role in the diffusion of features of other civilizations in Nabataea, and the existence of foreign influences in Nabataean culture is to be attributed certainly to trade relations. Patrich sees that "diffusion and fusion of styles and motifs were inevitable in the open Hellenistic and Roman world, a world of religious tolerance and syncretism, and in a society of kings and rich merchants, eager to expose their wealth by artistic patronage" (2007:80)

Many basic and luxurious commodities were circulated in the markets where the Nabataeans were present, but the basic two commodities for exchange were frankincense¹ and Myrrh². The impact of the Nabataean involvement in this trade is twofold: to make a profit and to import items not available locally. In addition, trade promoted interaction, and social and cultural change.

Unfortunately, no Nabataean literary record exists to elucidate the cultural relationship between the Nabataeans and other nations and cultures. There is not yet sufficient evidence to reconstruct the patterns of commercial connections between the various Mediterranean sites and Nabataea. Hence investigation must be based on Greco-Roman literary sources that yield only scattered information³ as well as the Nabataean remains uncovered outside the political borders of Nabataea.

Unfortunately, the nature of Nabataean contacts with the Anatolian civilizations is not documented in historical sources. A Greek in-

scription found in Priene in Asia Minor written in honor of a certain Moschion proves the significant status that Petra enjoyed during this early period. It mentions Moschion who was a member of a delegation around 129 BC "to Alexandria, to king Ptolemaious and to Petra of Arabia" (Retsö 2003:337).

Archaeological materials uncovered in Petra and Oboda has revealed ample evidence for links with Asia Minor. As we shall discuss below, various imported objects from this region were found in Nabataea including marble and pottery which confirm these links. Additionally, we assume that the Nabataeans were influenced and inspired by the rock-cut architectural style of the civilizations of Asia Minor that existed in modern central and south western Turkey and these include the Phrygian and Lyco-Carian civilizations. Some of the Lycian tombs, for example, are furnished with inscriptions whose contents, sequence of statements and patterns are similar to the Nabataea tomb inscriptions of Hegra as we shall highlight below.

Brief history of the Nabataeans

The Nabataeans⁴, or *Nabtu* as they referred to themselves in their Aramaic inscriptions, are identified as people who settled the southern part of the Levant and the northern parts of Arabia as early as the fifth century BC, or may be earlier, and formed a thriving kingdom that reached its apogee around the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD.

The Nabataean kingdom flourished and reached its height during the last decades of the first century BC and the first decades of the first century AD, and extended to cover wider geographical areas including parts of northern Arabia and the Negev close to the Mediterranean coast. This prosperous civilisation declined gradually during the last decades of the first century AD until Trajan annexed it in AD 106 and formed the so-called Provincia Arabia and Bostra became the capital of the new province.

The distinguished geographic location of the Nabataean kingdom was the main reason for its wealth and power. The Nabataeans controlled

and monopolized the inland incense route which passed through their kingdom and extended to the Persian Gulf, southern Arabia, Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean (Graf and Sidebotham 2003:70). To organize and effectively manage the flow of commodities, they constructed installations along these routes as early as the fourth century BC, controlled the harbours and imposed taxes on commodities (Schoff 1912: 29).

It seems that Nabataea gained reputational status during the classical period which is seemingly attributed to Nabataean monopolization and control of the highly esteemed commodities of that time: frankincense and myrrh. Therefore, it is not surprising to find many foreigners sojourning in Petra as mentioned by the Greek geographer Strabo in his *Geography* (XVI.4.21). It is not surprising also to find also foreign names, or names of foreigners alongside the Nabataean names in their inscriptions⁵ (Littmann 1914).

During the Greco-Roman periods, frankincense, myrrh and other commodities were carried to the whole world through two major international trade and commercial routes: the first is the Incense Trade Route that carries the trade of Arabia, East Africa and India and the second is the Silk Road which passes via Parthia and Asia (Thorley 1969:209). The main trade route for the Nabataeans was the incense one, which runs from southern Arabia to the Mediterranean coast (Van Beek 1958). These highways of commerce and cultural exchange remained essentially the same over long period of time.

The Nabataeans were active mercantile middlemen, participating in the transportation of goods and facilitating their passing through their lands and harbors, taking twenty-five percent of the value of the goods as mentioned in the *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Schoff 1912:29). Part of this trade was based on what they produced locally (al-Salameen 2004).

The prosperous trade of frankincense, myrrh and other products from the southern parts of Arabia Felix, in addition to the incoming merchandise from India and East Africa, led to a renaissance and the flourishing of many ancient cities located along the routes. As a result of

their international contacts, various remains have been found outside the borders of the Nabataean kingdom. Nabataean cultural remains were found in various places of the world and outside their kingdom which suggest that they were active internationally. These remains including coins, inscriptions, pottery and architecture have been uncovered in various places outside the Nabataean kingdom and this includes Southern Arabia, Qaryat al-Faw, Marib, Tenos, Rhodes, Delos, Cos, Miletus, Rome, Pozzuoli, Antioch, Palmyra, Tyre and Demir north of Damascus as we shall discuss below⁶.

In addition, some examples suggest Nabataean contacts with India. Fragments of Indian red polished and rouletted ware have been found at some of the Nabataean sites, which confirms the existence of Nabataean trade, or at least contact with western India (Gogte 1999).

Nabataean contacts with Asia Minor in general and the south western parts of Anatolia in particular should not be ruled out. We should admit that a true picture of these contacts is hard for us because we lack sufficient records from indubitably Nabataean or Anatolian sources.

Below, a brief historical introduction about the civilizations that existed in central and south western Anatolia is presented. This is followed by a discussion on the similarities and analogies between these civilizations and the Nabataeans in terms of the rock-cut features and tomb architecture. A comparison between the contents of the Nabataean tomb inscriptions of Hegra and those uncovered in Lycia is highlighted in order to comprehend and strengthen the influence argument. Ancient trade routes, imports from Asia Minor to Nabataea as well as evidence pertaining to Nabataean activities in the Mediterranean will be discussed then.

Brief history of Asia Minor from the end of the second millennium BC till the classical periods.

In the eighteenth century BC, the Hittites⁷, a people of Indo-European origin started their rule in the central plateau of Asia Minor and established an empire that was one of the instrumental powers in the area. Later and in around 1200 BC the Phrygians migrated from

Thracia and Bosphorus and invaded Anatolia and replaced the Hittites and had their political independence till they were conquered by the Lydians in 695 BC and remained part of the Lydian⁸ state. Lydia (c. 900-547 BC), which was based in the city of Sardis, covered all of western Anatolia and reached its zenith as well as its political and cultural development when Croesus ascended its throne (c. 560-547 BC).

The Carian and Lycian civilizations, which were all established at the crossroads of Asia Minor and Europe, flourished and prospered between the eighth and fourth centuries BC (Akurgal 1978:16). Those people immigrated into Anatolia during the Minoan times and lost their power around 300 BC (Akurgal 1978:16). They established many cities which were furnished with a considerable number of rock-cut tombs.

Between 547-300 BC most parts of Asia Minor were under the domination of the Persian Empire. Upon ascending the throne, Cyrus started attacking the neighboring countries and expanded his borders to the west and reached Anatolia, most likely to control the trade routes and the major ports of the Mediterranean⁹.

The Achaemenid Persian Empire (550-330 BC) extended from north India and Central Asia to Anatolia in the west and various territories were incorporated in this empire and this includes Babylonia, the Levant and Asia Minor. This empire was invaded by Alexander the Great forces in 330 BC. Later those people were incorporated into the Roman Empire.



Map (1) Showing the Major Civilizations of Anatolia as well as the main islands in the Mediterranean (Drawn by the Author)

The most prominent legacy of the Iron Age Anatolia is the rock-cut remains of Phrygia in central Anatolia and these are dated centuries earlier before the appearance of the Nabataean kingdom. Rock-cut remains are also the strongest heritage left by the Nabataeans.

Phrygian rock-cut architectural remains include rock-cut facades, niches, idols, stairs, platforms in addition to other structures mostly cultic in character. Rock-cut niches and idols common in Phrygia are mostly linked with the rock-cut step monuments which are concentrated in the Phrygian highlands (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:9) and appear in many forms some of which are surrounded by a large imitation of façades (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:29).

These rock-cut features were constructed close to water sources and they have been interpreted as waterside shrines (Barnett 1953). Additionally, there are rock cut holes or cavities inside the Phrygian niches and these were cut to receive sacrifices and votive offerings (Haspels 1971:92).

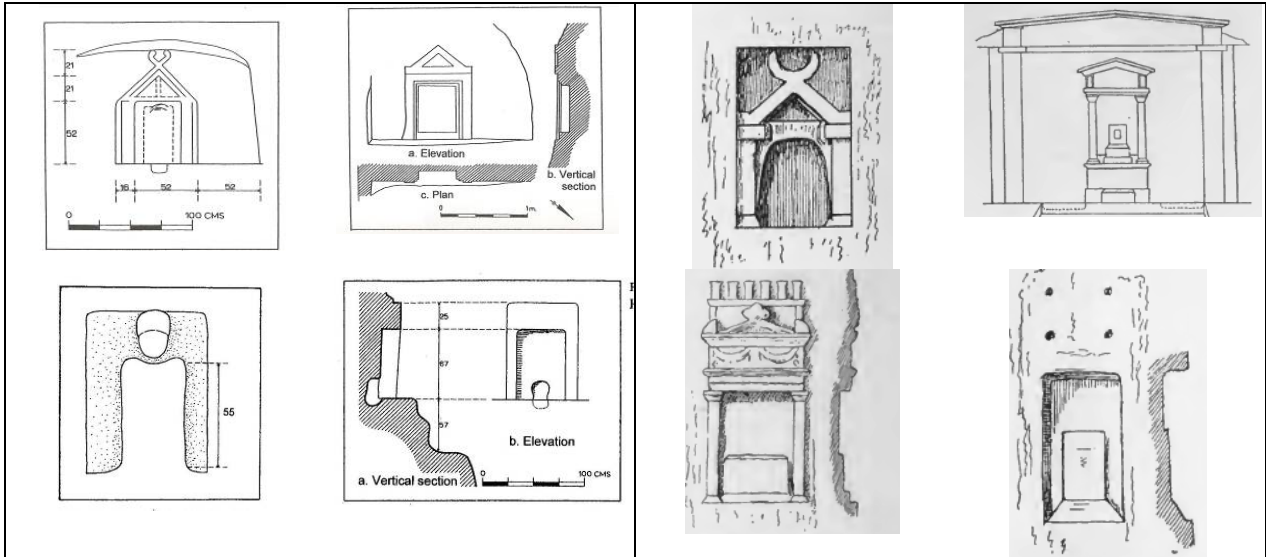
The Phrygian Niches and idols bore several similarities with the Nabataean ones, even though they are much earlier than the Nabataean ones. Like the Phrygian niches, the Nabataean ones appear in different forms also (Patrich 1990) and some of those which were found in Petra were surrounded by a large imitation façades, similar to some Phrygian niches. Like the Phrygians, water played a major rule in the Nabataean rituals and in Petra we have a number of cultic areas containing niches that have water installations associated with them (MacDonald 2006).

Bedal supports this assumption saying that "it is not surprising that the Nabataeans perceived water as sacred and that the many examples of ornamental water display in Petra held religious significance. Numerous religious icons, inscriptions, and sanctuaries are found in association with springs, catchments pools, and channels throughout the city and its environs" (Bedal 2003:99). One the features associated with the niches are the cup-holes in the floor of the niche that may have been used for libations or votive offerings (Wenning 2001:88).

Small rock-cut basins are found in some Phrygian cultic sites and some of them are

found inside the shrines and some are lined with channels to transfer water to the basin to be used in the sacrificial rites (Berndt-Ersöz 2003: 235). Similar examples are attested in

Petra and its vicinity and these were probably used for ritual purification (see for example Healey 1993:10; Raymond 2008).



Phrygian idol niches (Berndt-Ersöz 2003)

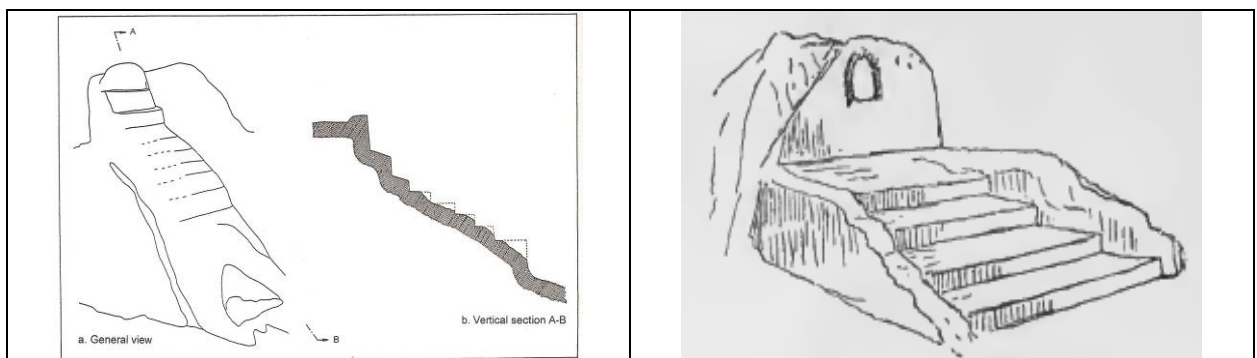
Nabataean idol niches from Petra (Dalman 1908)

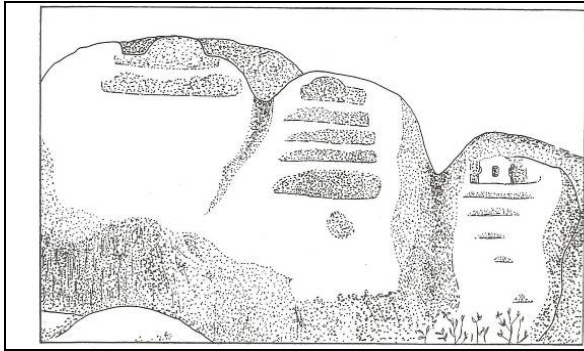
Plate (1) Showing rock-cut niches from Petra and Phrygia

Step monuments are common in Phrygia and these are monuments and sanctuaries that are characterized by steps varying in number, and above them are different kinds of rock-cut features and some of them end with a platform of a single idol (Berndt-Ersöz 2003: 55). The Phrygians had believed that their main goddess lived in the rocks and they dedicated various monuments to her including monumental rock-cut facades, stepped altars and niches. The stepped altars are open-air sanctuaries and may be divided into three major categories: stepped altars with on idol at the top, stepped altars with arch stepped stylized idol and stepped

altars with a platform at the top (Tamsü and Palot 2009: 1005-1014).

Similar sanctuaries are common in Petra and can be seen, for example, in al-Khubthah and Al-Madras and other cultic places in the Nabataean capital Petra. These include steps or staircases leading to niches, platforms, benches, or pedestals below in front of the niches or water channels associated with the niches. These rock-cut stepped monuments have been classified into different categories including singular and multiple niche stepped monuments and some of them are characterized by arched or apsed arch niches (Raymond 2008: 78, 132).





Step niches from Phrygia (Berndt-Ersöz 2003)



Stepped-niches from Petra (Dalman 1908:272, 135)

Plate (2) Showing stepped-niches from Petra and Phrygia

To sum up, cult niches and step monuments in Phrygia are almost always linked with platforms, steps, benches, basins and cup marks (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:76-85). In Nabataea, we have typical parallels examples totally hewn out of the rock and these niches are almost always linked with steps, platforms, libation holes, cisterns, water channels and sometimes with banqueting halls (Raymond 2008).

This similarity in shape and the major components of these rock-cut features is surprising and may not be considered accidental. The Phrygian state vanished before the emergence of the Nabataeans and therefore direct contacts between the Phrygians can not be assumed. We assume, at least Nabataean knowledge of the Phrygian civilization and their cultural achievements. This is supported by other archaeological evidence from Anatolia, as we shall discuss below, that supports the argument that the Nabataeans were influenced and inspired by the Anatolian civilizations, or at least had some kind of knowledge of these civilizations.



Map (2) Showing the major settlements in Lycia and Caria (Drawn by the Author)

The other Anatolian civilization that is of interest here is the Lyco-Carian. Their geographical locations within the wider region of south western Anatolia as well as the natural environment made them ideal locale for settlement.

Caria flourished around the middle of the first millennium BC and extended from the borders of Lycia to the east of Phrygia and those were described by Herodotus as being of Minoan descent (*Histories* 1.171). The Lycians¹⁰, on the other hand enjoyed a period of prosperity between the sixth and the fourth centuries BC and established many important settlements some of which played an important role in the maritime trade and this includes Myra, Patara and Telemessos (modern day Fethiye) and these bound with a considerable number of rock-cut tombs. It is most likely that some of these ports witnessed Nabataean activities. One of the major harbors established here was Myra whose name was derived from the Greek word Myrrh, that was one of the major commodities that were exported to the west by the Nabataeans. It is worth mentioning that myrrh did not grow in Anatolia at all and it was imported to the whole world from Arabia and Somalia (Van Beek 1958), and therefore the importation of this commodity to this part of the world must had been through Arabia and Nabataea.

Myrrh was available only in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula as well as the Somali coast (Van Beek 1958), and therefore it seems plausible to assume that it was conveyed to this city from Arabia through the Nabataeans who worked as middlemen. According to Herodotus from the 5th century BC: "*Arabia is the only country which produces frankincense, myrrh,*

cassia and cinnamon...the trees bearing the frankincense are guarded by winged serpents of small size and various colors." (III). According to Hieronymus of Cardia, who is cited by Diodorus Siculus, a number of Nabataeans were "accustomed to bring down to the sea frankincense and myrrh and the most valuable kind of spices which they produce from those who convey from what is called Arabia Eudaemon" (Diodorus XIX.94.5).

The most prominent type of architecture left by the Lycians and Carians who settled the Land west of Lycia (hereafter mentioned as Lyco-Carian) is the rock-cut tombs which are to be found in a number of costal ports such as Limyra¹¹, Pinara and Tlos. Limyra was an important Lycian settlement as early as the fifth century and Pericles made it the capital of Lycia. Phoinike (modern day Finiki) was the main port of Limyra during the classical times and its name may indicate connections and links with Phoenician traders (Keen 1998:212). There are other rock-cut tombs scattering in Caria as well especially in the regions of Dalyan and Caunos and these share some similarities with the Nabataean rock-cut facades.

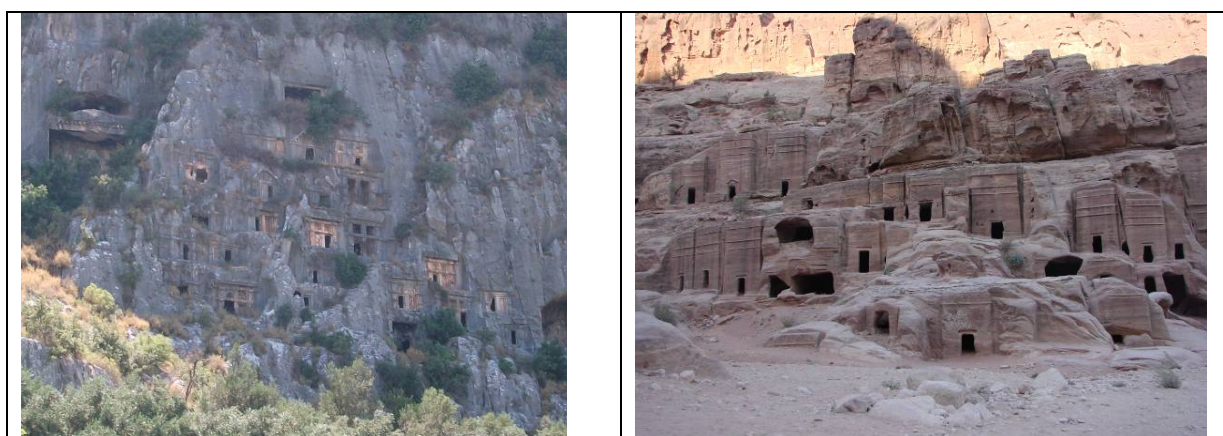
Studies have shown the presence of foreign influence in the Lycian culture from Greece and Persia. Toteva concluded that the western parts of Asia Minor had been in close contacts with the Greek world long before the Persians arrived on the historical scene. It seems that, as a

result, the region had gradually become part of the western Greek cultural milieu, and has been exchanging specific elements of art, architecture and customs during the first half of the first millennium BC (Toteva 2007:159).

Comparison between the Nabataean and Lyco-Carian rock-cut tombs (Construction Techniques and architectural elements)

Nearly 900 rock-cut tombs survive at Petra, Hegra and Maghayir Shu'aib (Anderson 2005: 168) and these share many common features. They were classified typologically depending largely on the main architectural and artistic features. Influences coming from Assyria, the Greco-Roman world, Egypt and Persia have been proposed¹². Here, I assume, that there was an Anatolian influence, but the evidence, either Phrygian or Lycian, is not contemporary to the Nabataean period and may be dated prior to their emergence in northern Arabia. Hence, I argue that there was a Nabataean knowledge of the civilizations that existed in Anatolia during the period between the eighth and the fourth centuries BC.

The Nabataeans, Lycians and Carians¹³ had traditionally taken special care with regard to the burial of their dead. They built simple and elaborated tombs which were designed to house generations of the family.



**Plate (3) Lycian necropolis in Myra (to the left) and Nabataean Necropolis in Petra (to the right)
(Photographed by the Author)**

Rock-cut architecture is one of the main attractive achievements not only for the Nabataeans¹⁴ but for Lycians and Carians also. The later are interesting features of Anatolian archi-

itecture in general and the type of this kind of architecture varies from one province to another (Roos 1989:17).

Rock-cut burial monuments uncovered in Anatolia and Nabataea have been studied comprehensively and classified typologically into categories depending on stylistic and architectural characteristics. As far as the Nabataean rock-cut tombs are concerned, various studies and typological classifications of the Petra and Hegra tombs have been presented by scholars and these were based on architectural and artistic considerations (see for example Bruñnow and von Domaszewski 1904; Dalman 1908; McKenzie 1990; Netzer 2003 and Wadeson 2010, Jaussen and Savignac 1909-1914)¹⁵. The number of the rock-cut tombs of Petra and Hegra is around 900 tombs. The carving of these hewn facades started normally from top to bottom as can be concluded from the unfinished tombs.

Regarding the Lycian ones, Zahle recorded one thousand and eighty-five known examples and these were classified into for major categories:- monumental tombs, pillar tombs, Gothic sarcophagus and rock-cut house-tombs (1983: 142-43), and few tombs were decorated (Keen 1998: 185).

The innovation of the rock-cut architecture in Nabataea during the Nabataean period was a sudden breakthrough. This sudden appearance of rock-cut architecture is surprising, and this type of architecture was not common in the region at all prior to the appearance of the Nabataeans in the middle of the first millennium BC. Its appearance may be attributed to social and cultural transformations as well as exogenous influences attributed to contacts with other regional and international civilizations.

External influences are obvious in Nabataea and can be seen in most of the material remains and this includes the adaptation of Assyrian, Egyptian, Anatolian and Greek architectural and artistic elements. The monuments clearly provide an opportunity to contrast image from the Greco-Roman world as well as and the Greek influence is clear in the presence of pediments, metope and triglyph, entablatures, cornices as well as capitals. Judith McKenzie concluded that the baroque architecture of Ptolemaic Alexandria as depicted in second style Pompeian architecture wall painting

is reflected in the classical architecture of Petra (1990:33-59).

As a matter of fact, the facades do not only portray imported architectural features but native elements were incorporated also. These include the pure Nabataean capital that appears in a considerable number of facades, images of vases and eagles which appear also in some of the rock-cut features of Hegra.

The architecture of the Lyco-Carian and Nabataeans represent the diverse nature of their societies and points to settlement hierarchy in both regions. Both civilization hewn and created rock-cut facades with precise calculation and full symmetry. Additionally, there are certain design principles which reflect a unity in the methodological approach that was adopted to cut the monuments.

A. Decoration of the external surfaces of the Lyco-Carian and Nabataean facades

Some of the rock-cut facades in Caria and Lycia are furnished with Doric capitals, metopes and triglyphs as well as pediments (triangular gables) and these Greek elements developed between the seventh and fourth centuries BC. The tympanum in one of the Carian facades is decorated with two shields in relief and there is an acroterion over the pediment in the form of a stylized palmette (Roos 1985: 42, pl. 11,29,65). We have similar examples from Nabataea. The Treasury façade provides a good example for cultural interaction reflecting external artistic influences. In the lower storey of the façade there six Corinthian columns and a frieze and its central part is surmounted by a pediment. The upper storey is furnished with a *tholos* made between two bays crowned by broken pediments.

The south western Anatolian rock-cut facades were sometimes decorated with gables or the Syrian arch. Some of these pediments are surmounted with emblematic design as well as acroterion sculpture (Cormack 2004:53). This is also paralleled to the pediment of the Treasury in Petra.

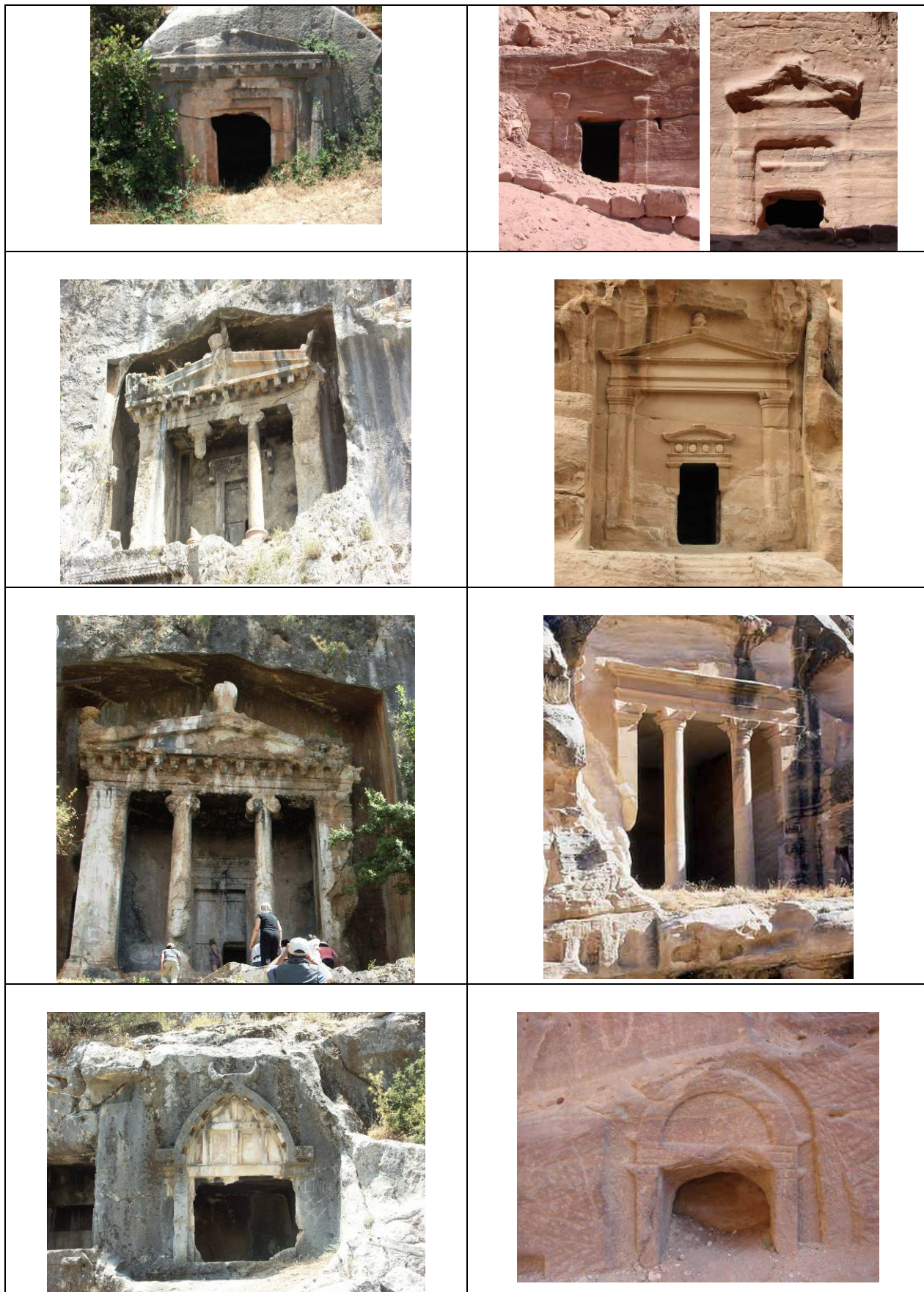


Plate (3) Nabataean (to the right) and Lycian rock-cut tombs (to the left) (Photographed by the Author)

There are some similarities with regard to the decoration of the external surfaces of the rock-cut façades between the Nabataean and Lyco-Carian cultures. Columns are common in both cultures, and they are either engaged or freestanding, but the types of the capital are not the same as different capital orders were employed such as the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian (Cormack 2004:52) and sometimes there is a plain ledge protruding over the top of the engaged column that reminds us of the Nabataean one. The Nabataeans, on the other hand, used the Nabataean-Corinthian as well as the plain capitals that are not decorated.

It is a commonly held opinion among scholars that the Nabataeans followed the Greco-Roman, Hellenistic and Ptolemaic architectural patterns (McKenzie 1990:99). Interestingly,

there are similarities in the design, nature and ownership of the Lyco-Carian and Nabataean rock-cut tombs.

Lycian façades are mostly unornamented except the profiles on the doorframe and the carved ornaments at the upper corner of the doorway (Cevic 2003:99). The simple Lycian façades have one major entrance and another false one beside it. Reliefs on the Lyco-Carian rock tombs are rare and the carved decorations that exist in many cases are the egg and dart decoration and palmettes on the acroteria (Roos 1989:66). The majority of the Nabataean tombs¹⁶, on the other hand, are unadorned consisting of similar simple features, but of course there are some exceptional façades that are architecturally sophisticated monuments.



Plate (4) Nabataean capitals (left) Lyco-Carian capitals (right) (Photographed by the Author)

B. Locations of the Lyco-Carian and Nabataean façades

Most of the Lycian tombs are normally located in public places within the city walls indi-

cating that their decorative styles were meant to serve propagandistic as well as funerary features serving as highly visible symbols of their owners' wealth and power (Childe 1978:4-7). The sculptured decorations on a considerable

number of the Lycian funerary monuments appear to be a mixture of Greek, Near Eastern as well as local Anatolian elements and the rock-cutting in Lycia was conducted by artists familiar with the Greek carving patterns and techniques (Childe 1978:3-7). As far as the Nabataeans are concerned, tombs are also located normally inside the city, like those in Petra, presenting the social and wealthy position of their owners, and their sculptural decorations appear to be a mixture of Near Eastern as well as Mediterranean and conducted by sculptors familiar

with the arts of the Mediterranean basins west as the southwest coast of Anatolia.

C. Construction technique in the rock-cut tombs in Lyco-Caria and Nabataea

Intensive investigations in Nabataea and the Lyco-Carian rock-hewn architecture have revealed similarities in the construction techniques. Cutting facades in the rock was conducted normally from top to bottom in both cultures and this is proved by the abundant examples of the unfinished facades scattered in areas belonging to these civilizations.

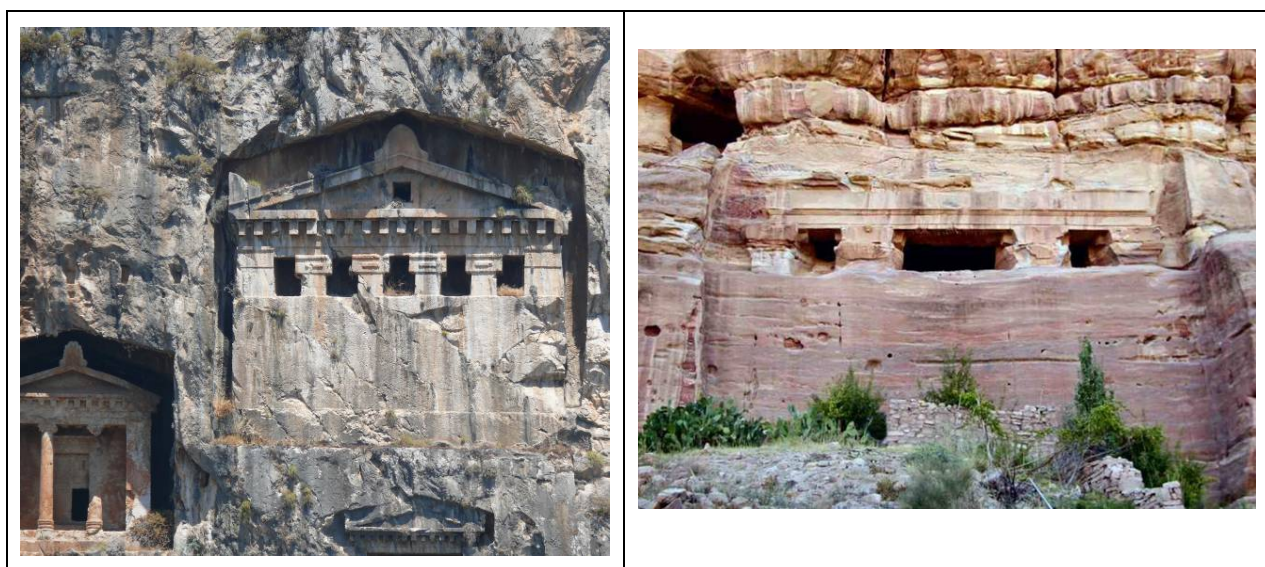


Plate (7) the unfinished tomb in Caunos in Caria (left) and Petra (right) proving the adoption of the same cutting technique (Photographs by the Author)

D. Rock-cut tomb internal arrangements in Lyco-Caria and Nabataea

Most of these tombs belong to families and their internal size is comparatively small and all is entered through steps. The Lycian burial chambers have flat ceilings and most were designed with three burials couches (triclinia)¹⁷ with enough space between couches to allow movement (Cevic 2003:105).

Generally speaking, most Lycian rock-cut tombs contain three rock-cut benches used for burial along three walls of the chamber. Some Lycian rock-cut chambers are furnished with niches cut into the side and rear walls. The Nabataeans, on the contrary buried their dead in rock-cut graves in the floor of the chamber or

in loculi (niches) hewn in the side and back walls of the chamber itself, similar to some of the Lycian tombs.

The triclinia were constructed within the Nabataean funerary complexes near the tombs and not inside it, even though some tombs do not have adjoining triclinia. The Turkmaniyah tomb inscription in Petra hints the triclinium was part of the Nabataean tomb complex (Healey 1993:p. 238).

Triclinia in Petra are either linked with tombs or cultic and residential units, but are mostly associated with funerary complexes. The distribution of the burials inside the Nabataean and Lyco-Carian tombs is not the same.



Plate (5) The interior of the rock-cut caves in Lycia (to the left) and Nabataea (to the right)
(Photographed by the Author)

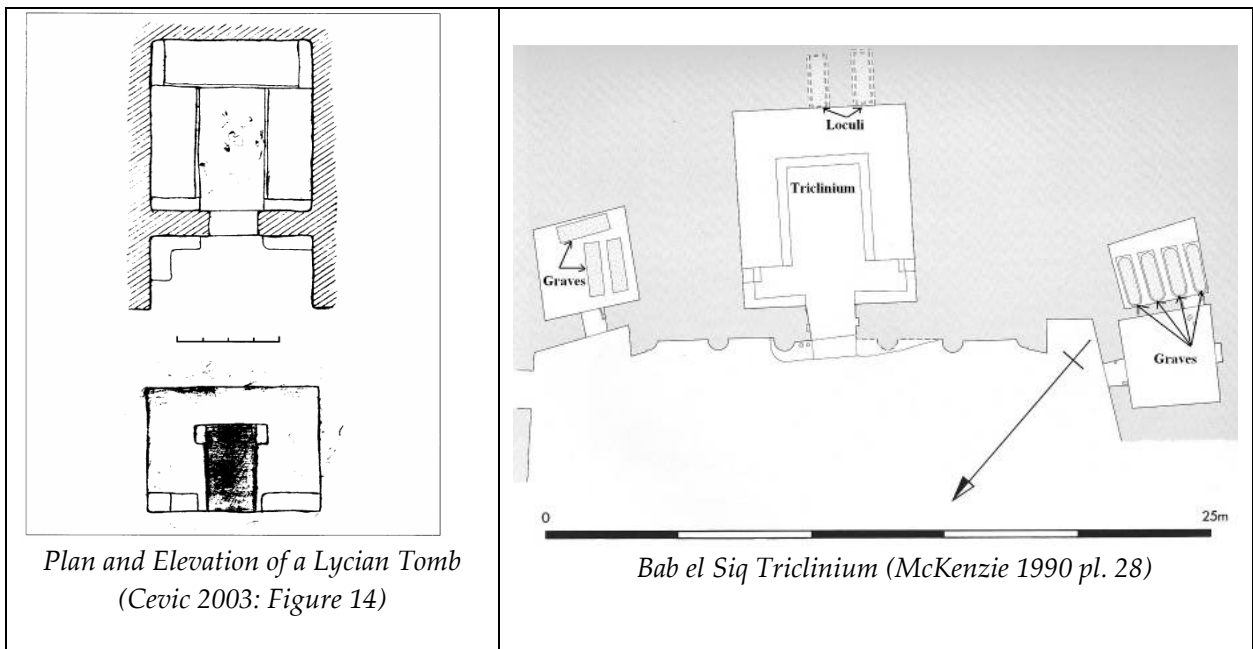


Plate (6) Showing the internal plan of the Nabataean and Lycian rock-cut tombs

There are differences in term of the general distribution of the burial places. The Lycian tombs rise up the rock face like multi-storey apartments (Cevic 2003:101) meanwhile the Nabataean tombs are not arranged in the

same Lycian manner, but there is one exception from Petra.

To sum up, it is evident that the architectural elements adopted by the Nabataean and Lycian architects in their rock-cut facades seem

to have many shared similarities with regard to the style, technique and function and all can be considered as monumental constructions intended for public display and to achieve the desired funerary function.

Lycian and Nabataean tomb inscriptions

A chain of languages was used throughout the ancient world during the second half of the second millennium BC and these include Aramaic and the Anatolian sub branches of the Indo-European languages. As a matter of fact, there is no link between these languages as each belongs to a different linguistic family.

Aramaic was the main written language adopted by the Nabataeans and it was the language of diplomacy, trade and administration used by the Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians becoming the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid period (553 BCE - 330 BC).

The most important Nabataean inscriptions are those sepulchral ones uncovered in Hegra in northern Arabia and these are usually written above the entrances of the rock-cut tombs (Healey 1993) The length of these inscriptions reach ten lines some times and they contain the names of the owner(s) as well as his legal rights,

and impose fines upon any one violates the regulations of the tombs.

The Lycian language, on the contrary, belongs to the Indo-European language family and most of the texts written in this language are sepulchral (Bryce 1986:42 ff) and these are carved on the rock-cut tombs and concerned primarily with instructions for burials. Bryce summarized the information contained in the Lycian sepulchral inscriptions into the following categories (1986:72):

1. Statement of ownership and identification of the tomb owner.
2. The list of eligible tomb occupants.
3. Accommodation arrangement within the tomb.
4. Statement of what constitutes a violation of the owners' instructions.
5. The disciplinary agents responsible for punishing offenders and sometimes the penalty to be inflicted
6. Arrangements made with the local *minti*
7. A quasi-dating formula
8. Instructions for sacrificial rites in honor of the deceased.



Plate (8) Tomb inscription from Lycia (left) and Nabataea (right) (photographed by the Author)

The information included in the Nabataean tomb inscription follows the same Lycian pattern and contains almost the same information. There are striking similarities between the Nabataean and Lycian rock-cut tomb inscriptions as seen in the comparative table below. Both types of texts are formulaic, the formulae vary,

but within different limits (Pembroke 1965:218; Healey 1993:1, 2, 3) and both contain regulations concerning the tomb ownership as well as the names of eligible tomb occupants. The following table shows these similarities between the sepulchral inscriptions written on the Lycian and Nabataean tombs:-

	Lycian evidence	Nabataean Parallel
Statement of ownership and identification of the tomb owner as well as list of eligible tomb occupants (the persons who are eligible to be buried in the tomb is the owner of the tomb, his wife and their descendants, his parents as well as collaterals	<i>"this tomb Khertuhi has built (it), (son) of Tu.... For himself and (his) wife and his children and the descendents of his grandmother" (Bryce 1978:223).</i>	<i>"this is the tomb and platform and enclosure which Hawshabu son of Nafiyu son of Alkuf, the Taymanite, made for himself and his children and Habbu, his mother, and Rufu and Aftiyu, his sisters and their children" (Healey 1993:1).</i>
Regulations concerning the tomb ownership.	<i>"others, (however) let it not be permitted (?) To their descendants to place them within" (Bryce 1978:221).</i>	<i>"and no-one has the right to write for this tomb any deed of entitlement or to bury in it any non-relative other than by hereditary title" (Healey 1993:3).</i>
Accommodation arrangement within the tomb.	<i>"and he has allocated the upper chamber to his wife and the descendants of Mnneteida, and he has allocated the lower chamber to his own household" (Bryce 1978:223)</i>	<i>"and to 'Aminu belongs a third of this tomb and burial chamber and to Arsaksah two thirds of the tomb and burial chamber. And her share of the burial-niches is the east side and burial niches and so for 'Aminu, his share of the burial-niches is the south-east (?) side of the burial-niches which are in it" (Healey 1993:24)</i>
Statement of what constitutes a violation of the owner's instructions.	<i>"and whoever places anyone (else) with them in the chamber of this (tomb) or lays out anyone (else) there, and whoever erases/alters these instructions will pay muntata cattle as a penalty to the mother of the sanctuary" (Bryce 1986:84).</i>	<i>"and whoever alters or does not do according to what is written above shall be liable to our lord in the sum of two thousand Haritite Sela's" (Healey 1993:9). "And let no stranger be buried in this...and if anyone does other than this, he shall be liable to our lord in the sum of a thousand Haretite sela's" (Healey 1993:5).</i>
The disciplinary agents responsible for punishing offenders and sometimes the penalty to be inflicted	<i>"if (anyone) places anyone (else) upon them, the huwedri gods and the Lycian itlehi will punish him" (Bryce 1981:81).</i>	<i>"and may Dushara, the god of our lord curses whoever removes this Wushuh from this burial-niche forever" (Healey 1993:11).</i>

The Lycian and Nabataean tombs were owned mostly by families and the inscriptions of these families contain details about arrangements inside the tomb, which were mostly built by males during their lifetime and in some cases it was the woman who did this (Pembroke 1965:225; Healey 1993:1).

The Nabataean and Lycian burials indicate the social position of the tomb owners. Nabataean burials and their inscriptions refer to the relationship between the tomb type and socio-economic position of the owner (McKenzie 1990:115) and the Lycian inscriptions reflect socio-economic aspects also. The

vast majority of the Lycian tomb owners and occupants ranked amongst the political, military and social elites (Bryce 1979:296). Many of the Nabataean rock-cut tombs in Hegra were owned also by high-ranking military and civilian officials (Healey 1993: 6, 19, 24, 31, 32, 34, 38) and also the Lycian ones (Bryce 1979:296).

Fines and curse formulae were common in Asia Minor and the Ancient Near East¹⁸ and they are common also in the inscriptions of the Lycian and Nabataean rock-cut tombs. The Nabataean and Lycian sepulture texts refer to fines imposed on those who violate the tomb regulations. The Greek inscriptions of Lycia contain penalties to be imposed upon any person guilty of tomb violation and wrongful use of a tomb (Bryce 1979:176). A number of Lycian tomb inscriptions refer to disciplinary agents responsible for punishing persons who misuse the tombs and Bryce classified those authorities into two main categories: those which are deities or have religious nature and those which are secular in function and character (Bryce 1981:81) One of the Lycian inscriptions reads as follows "*if (anyone) places anyone (else) upon them, the huwedri gods and the Lycian itlehi will punish him*" (Bryce 1981:81). In another example we find that "*Tarhunt and all (?) the gods will punish him*" (Bryce 1981:81). Another example says that "*whoever arranges anyone (else) within on top, or whoever places anyone (else) within upon (them) will pay aitata cattle by-way of penalty qebeliyat to the pntrenni mother of this*" (Bryce 1986:90). The Nabataean tomb inscriptions from Hegra imposed two main types of fines and penalties upon those who violate, misuse or change what has been inscribed and this include the curse and payments that should be made either to the god or to the king or the governor (Healey 1993:1.3.5 .8.16). curses occurs frequently in Hegra tomb inscriptions (Healey 1993:1, 2, 8, 11, 16, 19). One of the Nabataean inscriptions reads "*and may Dushara, the god of our lord curses whoever removes this Wushuh from this burial-niche forever*" (Healey 1993:11).

Another text from Hegra reads as follows "*and whoever alters or does not do according to what is written above shall be liable to our lord in the sum of two thousand Haritite Sela's*" (Healey 1993:9).

It is clear from the aforementioned discussion that both types of texts, Nabataean and Lycian, bore similarities in term of the sequence pattern of the statements the formulae used as well as resemblance regarding the social significance of the owners of these tombs. The pattern, content and arrangement of the Nabataean sepulchral texts were not common in northern Arabia or southern Levant before the appearance of the Nabataeans. It is likely that the Lycian tomb inscriptions were the source that inspired the Nabataean architects and scribes to imitate and write the texts according to the Lycian style of writing sepulchral texts.

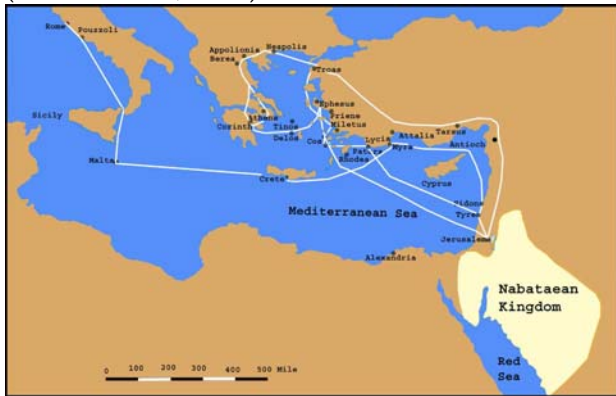
Ancient Sea Trade Routes

Links between Nabataea, Asia Minor and the Greek Islands were basically attributed to commercial activities and partnerships. Commodities were carried through sophisticated networks of inland and maritime routes. Judging from the Missionary travels of St. Paul during the first century AD we might know the sea routes that were in use in the Mediterranean basin during the classical periods and these were normally used for commercial purposes.

St. Paul made three major Missionary trips in the Mediterranean basin. His first Missionary Journey was made between AD 46-48 when he visited the north east Mediterranean coast from Antioch and reached the eastern border of Lycia in Asia Minor (Acts:13-14). In this journey, he started from Antioch and then went through the following main stations:- Salamis, Paphos, Perga in Pamphilia, Attalia, Perge, Pisidian Antioch, Derbe, Attalia and from here he sailed back to Antioch (Acts:13-14).

The second Missionary Journey was longer and made between AD 49-51. This Journey started also from Antioch and then he went to through the following stations (Acts: 15:36-4;16-18): Tarsus, Derbe, Lystra and some other cities of Galatia. He then went to Troas, Samothrace, Neapolis, Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus and he then returned to Palestine and arrived in the Palestinian port Caesarea to Jerusalem and finally to Antioch.

The last Journey, the Third Missionary one took place between AD 53-57. In his journey he desired to reach Ephesus and he visited Galacia and then reached Ephesus. After that he headed towards Troas and then continued his journey towards northern Greece. He returned through Assos and passed via Mitytline, Chios, Samos, Miletos and then he returned back to Jerusalem (Acts 18:23-28;19-21)



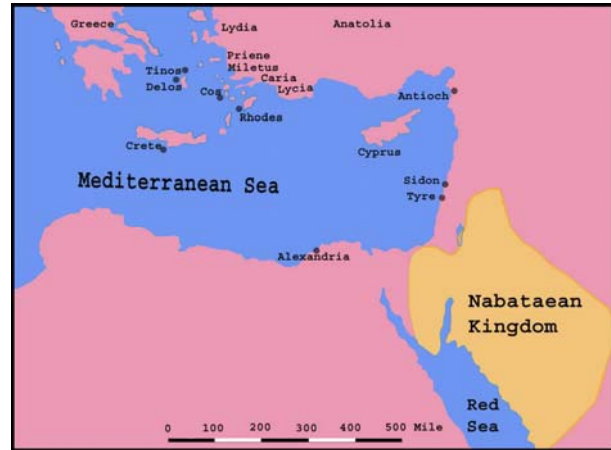
Map (3) Showing the routes of St. Paul travels (Drawn by the Author based on Acts)

It may be assumed that these routes through which St. Paul traveled were a well known and the favored one for the Levantine and Arabian travelers and merchants. The Nabataean Minister Syllaeus¹⁹ most likely traveled to Rome through this route around 9/8 BC and left a bilingual inscription in Miletus in Caria during his visit to Rome (Cantineau 1978:46). Various Nabataean evidence has been found in the stations where St. Paul passed which means that the St. Paul's route was the same one adopted by the Nabataeans.

Epigraphic evidence from the second century BC suggests Arabian merchants' activities in the Mediterranean basin. A bilingual Minaean-Greek inscription from Delos mentions Minaeans who erected an altar to their deities there (Sidebotham 1986:98). One of the Delphic Hymns to Apollo describes how "the Arab smoke is spread towards Olympus" which reflects the use of incense imported from Arabia (Retso 2003:256).

As far as the Nabataeans are concerned, it seems that they were very active in this region. The survival of Nabataean texts in the region under consideration has sparked additional interest and aided researchers the range of the

Nabataean activities. Let us start from the west, from Italy, where epigraphic materials indicate the existence of a temple in modern day Pouzzoli (ancient Puteoli), which denotes the existence of a Nabataean community there. It seems from these texts that the Nabataean god Dushara was known in this region.



Map (4) Showing the major settlements in the Mediterranean basin that witnessed Nabataean activities (Drawn by the Author)

Small Nabataean betyls were found also in Pouzzoli and there are many Latin inscribed fragments that mentions DVSARI SACRVM meaning "Sacred Dushara" dated probably to the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD (Schmid 2004: 420-421).

Two Nabataean inscriptions were found in Pozzuoli the first of which mentions the restoration of a sanctuary made in the 8th year (50 BC) of Malichus and this temple was dedicated for the life of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans, and of Huldu his wife, queen of the Nabataeans, and children, in the month August, the 14th of his reign (AD 5)" (CIS II 158).

In addition, another Nabataean commemorative inscription was found at Pozzuoli and records the offering of two camels apparently by Nabataean merchants and the text reads "These are two camels offered by Zaidu, son of Taimu, and Adelze, son of Haniu, to the god Dushara who heard us. In the 20th year of the reign of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans, who loves his people" (CIS II 157). The last hint to the existence of Nabataeans in Pouzzoli to people from Petra in particular in this part of the world is an undated funerary Greek text made

in memory of Tholomaios son of Thaimallos the *Petraean* "who is from Petra" (Durand 2008, volume 2: 229).

Nabataean epigraphic evidence has been found in Rome also. A bilingual funerary Nabataean-Latin inscription dated to the second half of the first century AD was uncovered there and it is dedicated for the memory of Abd-Aretas dedicated by Abgarus the *Petraean* "who is from Petra" (CIS II 159). A bilingual Greek-Latin inscription was found in Rome and mentions Nabataean envoys in Rome (Roche 1996:90-92).

Additionally, Nabataean inscriptions have been found in a number of the Greek Islands. A fragment of a bilingual Nabataean-Greek text was found in Delos²⁰ and it is a part of an inscription dedicated to the Nabataean god Dushara (Roche 1996:83-85). Another bilingual Nabataean-Greek text was uncovered in Cos and dedicated the construction of *rb't* "temple, sanctuary" to the Nabataean goddess al-'Uzza/Aphrodite and written c. 9 BC (Roche 1996: 78-82).

There are also Greek inscriptions pertaining to the Nabataeans in the Mediterranean basin. A Greek funerary stele was uncovered near Delos mentions the name of Zaidos the Nabataean (*Ζαίδε Ναβαταῖε*) (Roche 1996: 85). Another Greek dedicatory text inscribed on an altar and found in one of the Greek Islands and mentions the name of the Nabataean god Dushara (Roche 1996: 78).

The last Greek evidence for Nabataean presence in Greece is a Greek inscribed marble stele dated to the second half of the second century BC was uncovered in Tinos mentioning Salamenes Edemonus the Nabataean (Schmid 2004: N. 26)

As far as the south-western part of Anatolia is concerned, only one Nabataean text was uncovered there in Miletus. Passing by Miletus, the well-known Nabataean Minister Syllaus engraved a bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription, in one of his trips to Rome, dedicated it to the god Dushara for the welfare of King Obodas (c. 9/8 BC) (Cantineau 1978:46). The return of this minister from Rome is attested in a Safaitic inscription dated to the second half of the first quarter of the first century BC (Abbadī 1996).

Nabataean texts has been uncovered also in Sidon on the Eastern Mediterranean coast and this bilingual Nabataean-Greek inscription was written on a marble tablet and dedicated in honor of Aretas probably the fourth (CIS II 160).

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the Nabataean archaeological finds concentrate on the largest and most well known cities and Islands in the Mediterranean Basin. This means that they were energetic, mobile and active people. The number and distribution of the discovered texts indicate to a fairly strong Nabataean knowledge of the cultures that existed in this part of the world.

The most prominent Nabataean evidence uncovered in the Mediterranean basin is the Nabataean texts which have been discussed above. The other important Nabataean evidence uncovered in various parts of the world, and indicates the worldwide Nabataean activities, is the distinguished Nabataean pottery. This has been uncovered in Egypt, the Arabian Gulf states, various parts of Arabia as well as Palestine (see Durand 2008, volume II: 104-106). Nabataean pottery in the Mediterranean basin is scanty and the only fragment of a Nabataean painted ware comes from Antioch (Schmid 2007:14).

Three sites in the Mediterranean basin and Europe presented Nabataean coins which are mostly dated to the region of the Nabataean king Aretas IV (9 BC- AD 40) and some of them are dated to the region of the last Nabataean king Rabel II (AD 70-106) and these were all found in Antioch and Cyprus (Roche 1996 77; Schmid 2004: 420).

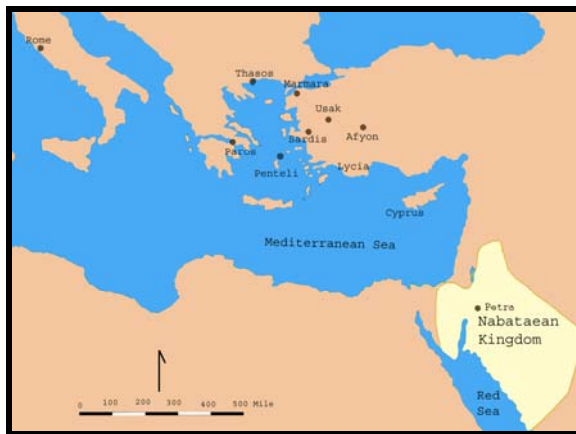
Finally, Johnson assumes that pottery unquantaria probably of Nabataean origin have been found in a number of non-Nabataean sites in Asia Minor and Europe and this include Dacia, Rome, Yugoslavia and Argos (1987:68-9). He sees that the similarities of these pottery objects to Nabataean forms probably represent trade items (1987:69)

Imported Items from Asia Minor and the Mediterranean Basin to Nabataea

The imported pottery to the Nabataean kingdom from other places was abundant. Archaeological fieldworks conducted in a number of Na-

bataean sites confirm that the Nabataeans participated in long distance trade, and consequently a monetary system was developed to facilitate their commercial transactions²¹. Fieldwork carried out in some Nabataean cities like Petra and Oboda have revealed a variety of foreign material evidence reaching Nabataea which suggests an increased scope of importation.

Nabataean trade with the Greek islands and probably the western Mediterranean was seemingly prosperous. Pottery originated from the Mediterranean basin have been found mostly in the Nabataean sites of Petra and Oboda (Durand 2008 volume II: 130-132). Inscribed amphorae fragments dated to the period between the third and second century BC and imported from Rhodes and Cnidos have been found in Petra, Oboda and Nessana (see for example Horsfield 1942: nos. 101-103; al-Khairi 1991: fig. 51.; Negev 1986:9).



Map (5) Showing the locations of the major quarries from which marble was imported to Petra (Drawn by the Author based on Reid 2004:131-134; Appendix B)

One of the most common types of the imported pottery to Nabataea was the Eastern and Western Sigillata. Various types of the Eastern Sigillata have been uncovered particularly in Petra and Oboda and dated between the second century BC and the first century AD. (for example see Negev 1986, Schneider 1996: N. 19-28; Sieler 2004, figs. 9-11). Western Sigillata imported from Italy and Gaul and dated mostly to the first two centuries AD have been found in Petra and Oboda (Negev 1986: fig 44; Sieler 2004: 5-1; Horsfield 1942: nos. 388-391). Excavations conducted at Oboda and Petra

revealed pottery fragments imported from Western Europe and this include fragments of the Pompeian red-glazed ceramic (Schneider 1996: n. 117-119) as well as imported Roman pottery (Negev 1986: figs. 132-134).

Imported pottery from Asia Minor, dated between the second century BC and first century AD has been found in Oboda and Kh. Dharih (Durand 2008: volume II: 127-129). Quantities of Eastern Sigillata fragments imported from Asia Minor have been discovered in these two Nabataean sites, and it has been suggested that they originated particularly from the Gulf of Iskenderun as well as Ephesus in south western Turkey (for example see Negev 1986, Schneider 1996: N. 19-28; Sieler 2004, figs. 9-11; al-Khairi 1991: figs 1-18).

In addition, fragments of glazed ceramic originated from Asia Minor and dated to the period between 50 BC and AD 50 have been found in Oboda and Petra (Durand 2008 II: 133-137). The imported ceramic to Nabataea includes lamps imported from Asia Minor and dated approximately to the first century BC have been discovered in some Nabataean sites such as Oboda and Petra and these were originated from Ephesus (Negev 1986: nos. 1095-1098; Grawehr 2006: nos. 551-555).

Finally, marble was imported into Nabataea most likely from quarries in Asia Minor. Marble, which was not available locally, has been uncovered in a number of Nabataean sites such as Petra and Kh. ed-Dharih and it has been suggested that these all originated from Anatolia (Chambon 2002: 85; Kreikenbom 2002). Quantities of marble²² were discovered in Petra and these are dated to the Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine periods. From the Petra Small temple abundant marble has been revealed and these were analyzed using Isotopic Analysis and the samples tested have proven that this marble was entirely originated in western Anatolia, the Balkan Peninsula and the Cyclades (Reid 2004:131-134, see Appendix B).

CONCLUSION

The Nabataeans and the Occident were concerned with the aromatics trade of the Arabian Peninsula and this led to active overseas com-

merce which made possible the splendors of various Nabataean architectural and artistic elements mostly not a local innovation in character.

Long distance trade for the frankincense, which sprang up during the classical period, had direct and remarkable impact on the Nabataean architecture, culture, economy and urban development especially in the capital, Petra and greatly accelerated the growth of the Nabataean civilization. Foreign cultural concepts were transmitted over time and they are obvious in any study on Nabataea. The diffusion of south western Anatolian and Greek cultures in Nabataea may be attributed certainly to trade relations.

In many aspects of its life, Nabataea reflects multiple outside influences from different directions. There are artistic, architectural and iconographic similarities between Nabataean and other parts of the world including the Greco-Roman world, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Mesopotamia and of course Arabia. The study revealed similarities between the Phrygian rock-cut cultic features and the Nabataean ones even though they were not contemporaneous. It also revealed common similarities between the Nabataean and Lyco-Carian rock-cut tombs in terms of construction techniques, style, the decoration of the external surfaces of these rock-cut facades as well as the content of sepul-

chral texts inscribed on the tombs which follow the same sequence patterns, statements and formulae. The uncovered archeological evidence in Nabataea supports this assumption. Imported artifacts and items from Asia Minor have been found in some Nabataean sites, especially at Petra and Oboda, and those include quantities of the Eastern Sigillata fragments in addition to quantities of marble that has been uncovered in mostly in Petra. Isotopic Analysis has proven that this marble certainly originated in Western Anatolia.

The distribution of Nabataean artifacts such as pottery, coins and inscriptions is a reliable indication of trade activities. Nabataean relations with Italy, Greece and south western Anatolia is clear from the discovered archaeological evidence. The study of the discovered material remains indicates that the Nabataeans were indeed a strong presence in the Mediterranean and Anatolia.

To sum up, the large-scale expansion of the Nabataean commercial activities initiated economic and cultural interaction linking northern Arabia and south western Asia Minor. Cultural materials uncovered in Nabataean sites testify to this contact and to the transmission of cultures from these regions in Nabataea. As a result, this situation initiated social complexity especially in the two major populated cities in Nabataea: Petra and Hegra.

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NOTES

1. This is the resin of *Boswellia*, *Carterii*, *B. Frereana* and *B. Sacra* (Dalby 2000:167). It grew in Arabia, mainly in southern Arabia, and East Africa, including Somaliland (van Beek 1960:72) and it was used as a medicine and as an ingredient in perfume in addition to other cultic and religious uses (ibid 83). The frankincense trade is known to have existed prior to the first millennium BC. The Deir al-Bahri reliefs dated to the 15th century BC and inscriptions of Thutmose II record the tribute of the chiefs of Retenu "Palestine", including jars of incense and myrrh which are mentioned as part of the harvest of the Land of Retenu (Groom 1981).
2. This is the resin of *Commiphora myrrha* and other species (Dalby 2000:168). It was used like frankincense. In addition, it was used as an ointment, perfume, medicine and in embalming (Herodotus III 107; see also Groom 1981). The use of this item goes back to the 15th century BC as evidenced in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir al-Bahri (van Beek 1960:72). The product is widely attested in literature. Strabo mentions that it is a product of Chatramotitis) in Arabia (XVI.IV.4). Further information concerning the use of myrrh is provided in the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides who says that it is applied to the face mixed with cassia and honey. It clears sycosis when rubbed in with ladanum, wine and myrtle wine, strengthens falling hair and heals sores in the eyes (Dalby 2000: 119).
3. For more information about the Nabataeans in the classical sources see (Hackl *et al* 2003).
4. For more information about the Nabataeans see (Hammond 1973; McKenzie 1990; Bedal 2003; Negev 1986a; Schmid 2001; Hackl 2003).
5. In his study on the Nabataean inscriptions from the southern Hauran Littmann classified the foreign names in these inscriptions into the following categories: Greek and Latin names, Persian Egyptian, Aramaeans and Hebrew names (1914: XVII-XVIII).
6. For more details about the Nabataean finds outside the borders of Nabataea see for example (Roche 1996; Schmid 2004; Wenning 1987; Potts 1991 and Durand 2008).
7. For more information about the Hittites see (Bryce 1998; Macqueen 1999)
8. For information about the Lydians see (Christopher 2003)
9. For details regarding the Archaemenid Asia Minor see (Christopher 2007)
10. The Lycians were mentioned in various ancient resources. They were called Lukka in the Hittite and Egyptian texts that are dated to the Late Bronze age and they were of the most important Troy's allies in the war against the Greeks. (Bryce 1986:3).
11. There a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription written above one of the entrances of the rock-cut facades and this is the only Aramaic text from that area. It reads as "Artima, son of Arzapiya, made this ossuary, and whoever (this) ca(ve.....that (belongs) to him (Lipinski 1975:162-164)
12. for more details regarding these influences see for example Brünnow and Domszewski 1904-1905:158-61, 169, 172; McKenzie 1990:33-59; Anderson 2005.
13. Carian influence on the rock-cut tombs of late Hellenistic/ early Roman period Jerusalem has been discussed by Berlin (2002).
14. Art and architecture are considered the most outstanding Nabataean achievements. They reflect international Nabataean interaction as well as absorption of foreign artistic elements and

- incorporating them in a homogeneous style that reflects uniqueness and an ability to produce this "mixture" in a fascinating way. McKenzie sees that most of the designs of the Nabataean rock-cut tombs were more influenced by the Hellenistic art of Alexandria (1990: 33–59).
15. For detailed information about the classifications and typologies of the Nabataean façade tombs see (Wadeson 2010).
 16. The Nabataean tombs, which are all found associated with settlements, are divided into two main groups regarding their construction features: stone built and rock-cut tombs. The grave goods uncovered in these tombs are relatively limited and restricted particularly to female tombs???. There are some indications pointing to the existence of the cult of the dead in Nabataea as some rock-cut tombs were constructed beside rock-cut features that might indicate some kind of funeral ceremonies (Examples??).
 17. Chamber with three benches
 18. For a discussion on this particular subject see (Stanley 1959).
 19. Josephus mentioned that the Nabataean Minister Syllaeus travelled twice to Rome (Antiquities XVI.9.2; XVI.10.8-9; XVII.3.2; XVII.4.3).
 20. In his study of the origin and design of Nabataean water-supply system Oleson compares the Nabataean public cisterns uncovered in Humayma in southern Jordan with the public cisterns seen at Delos which are similar in their design and assumed similarities between the Nabataean and Hellenistic ones (Oleson 1995:717). Oleson says "At Delos, for example, Nabataean merchants could have seen this type of cistern in operation and easily have comprehend the splendidly simple principles of the design and its appropriateness to conditions in Nabataean lands. It is also possible, although ultimately probably impossible to document, that the Nabataeans noticed the roofing designs in the context of military structures rather than cisterns, and brought it home to facilitate the construction of dwellings" (Oleson 1995:718).
 21. For more details regarding the Nabataean numismatics see (Meshorer 1975).
 22. This marble decorated not only the freestanding sculpture but was used also to produce statues (McKenzie 2003: 1969)