The History of the Ituraean Arabs

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Abstract

This paper attempts to discuss some aspects of Ituraean history, as very few people have ever heard of the Ituraean state. Yet, this small state resisted the Romans. The little we know about the Ituraeans comes from Greek and Roman historians and geographers. They were nomadic tribes from northern Arabia who wandered and traded, and then moved to reside with the Edomites in the east of Jordan, before settling in north-east Palestine, in Galilee, and finally establishing their permanent settlements and an independent state with Chalcis in the mountains of Lebanon as their capital. Today and due to the renewed efforts of archaeologists and historians, the extent of the Ituraean state is at last better known. Nevertheless, Ituraean history still needs further investigation.

The name "Ituraeans"

About the year 732 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser, the king of Assyria, deported the Israelites who were living in Galilee and replaced them with people from Babylon and Syria\(^1\). It is probably for this reason that Isaiah describes the area as "Galilee of the Gentiles"\(^2\), since it was a cosmopolitan mix of Jews, Aramaeans, Ituraeans, Phoenicians and Greeks. Galilee first appears in the Bible in a reference to "the king of Goyim in Gilgal"\(^3\), probably best-translated "king of the nations of Galilee" referring to the presence of distinct ethnic groups living in the area\(^4\). The earliest known reference to the Ituraeans as a people is in the Bible, in a list of Ishma'il's sons\(^5\). Thus, the name Ituraea was derived from Ishmael's son Ietur, who was considered to be the progenitor of the Ituraeans\(^6\). They were known to the Greeks as the Itouraï\(^7\), and were mentioned in the works of Dio Cassius, Josephus, Pliny, Strabo and others. "They were known to the Roman authorities as a notorious tribe of robbers"\(^8\). In the Notitia Dignitatum, they are mentioned by their name and gentilic affiliation\(^9\). In addition, they are mentioned in a "World History" of A.D. 416-417\(^10\). Itur as a personal name also appears in several Nabataean inscriptions found in the region of Umm el-Jimāl\(^11\).
The Origins of the Ituraeans

Sometime during the fifth century B.C., a nomadic tribe known as the Ituraeans migrated from al-Hegāz\(^{(12)}\) and settled at first in eastern Jordan\(^{(13)}\) in the days of the king Saul\(^{(14)}\). According to Genesis, they settled in the Arabian Peninsula and Syria, but the more recent 1 Chronicles puts them in the east of Jordan\(^{(15)}\). Dio Cassius mentions that they were in Arabia\(^{(16)}\), while Strabo describes them as strong warriors\(^{(17)}\). It appears that the Ituraeans moved gradually and that were or no hostilities between them and the Edomites then residing in the area. The other movement of the Ituraeans was to the northeast of Palestine, from which this region came to be known as Al-Ituræa\(^{(18)}\). Luke, (3: 1) also mentions that this area was known as “Iturea” in A.D.29: “in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar (28 A.D.), when Pontius Pilatus (26-36 A.D.) was Governor of Judea, and Herod prince of the province of Galilæa, and Philip, his brother, prince of Iturœa and the Trachonitis region”\(^{(19)}\). J. Ali, following Hasting, mentions that at the time of Luke the region of Ituræa lay north-east of Galilee,\(^{(20)}\) and that the Roman road from Damascus to Tiberius passed through this region\(^{(21)}\). Further evidence of their residence in this area comes from the Greek or Latin translation of the Old Testament that mentioned the conflict between the Ituræans and the Jews\(^{(22)}\). On several occasions, the Jews attempted to attack the Ituræans; each time they were either defeated, or bought off with expensive gifts\(^{(23)}\), indicating the Ituræans’ wealth. It also appears that the Ituræans before the second century B.C., moved towards Damascus, and then to Al-Biq’a and the Mediterranean coast\(^{(24)}\).

The Ituræans’ territories

As indicated above the Ituræans did not settle only in one place, and this is true of all Arabian tribes. Nevertheless, they finally settled for the rest of their history in the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and the surrounding areas\(^{(25)}\). Geographically, the region of the Ituræans in Lebanon was in the mountain ranges running from north to south, the towering Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Beyond them run two rivers: the Orontes and the Lífán\(^{(26)}\). In this region, the Ituræan Arabs settled and built their state\(^{(27)}\). They left their name in the Gezîn region of Lebanon in the name of Hayfûra\(^{(28)}\). In this context, Hourânî says, “if we want to understand the basic construction of modern Lebanon, we have to return to the period of Alexander’s capture of Tyre\(^{(29)}\). Arian mentions\(^{(30)}\) that Alexander left his siege of Tyre and moved towards the land of the Arabs in the Lebanon mountain to make them join him, either by war or by agreements\(^{(31)}\). This indicates that some other Arab tribes had begun to settle with the Ituræans in the southern Lebanon and the southern Bqâ’, and that then, in the first century A.D. they expanded to the whole Lebanon region\(^{(32)}\). They became wealthy by controlling the caravans that passed through their lands to the Mediterranean. All goods that passed to the coast of Lebanon had to pass the Ituræan tax collectors and in this way
they grew rich and powerful. Thus, the Ituraeans are an example of the Arab tribes' in Syria and Lebanon\(^ {33}\).

The Seleucids gained control of the Ituraeans early in the second century B.C., but at the end of that century there is evidence of an increasing assertion of local independence in the Phoenician cities as royal control broke down\(^ {34}\). This may also have been the case with Ituraean cities which were neighbors of Phoenicia\(^ {35}\). However, this independence applied to the autonomy of individual cities, not some wider political and cultural entity of the time\(^ {36}\). There is a small amount of evidence for occasional political cooperation between Phoenicians, Jews and the Ituraeans in the late Hellenistic period\(^ {37}\), but there is a plenty of evidence of conflict between the Phoenicians and the Ituraeans\(^ {38}\). The formation of the new Arab states was a result of the conflicts at the end of the Seleucid kingdom. Thus, new Arab tribes from the desert penetrated and supported the Nabataeans who expanded the area of their control to Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine. The clear Arabian penetration of these regions was the result of confusion at the time of the last Ptolemaios at ‘Anǧar 20 B.C.\(^ {39}\). These tribes gained control of the trade routes, and then their sheikhs settled in some places establishing independent states. One of these states was Iturea ruled by Ptolemaios son of Mennaios in al-Biqā̀ and Wādī Baradā, and Dionysus in Tripoli\(^ {40}\). The Ituraean rulers belonged to one of the small Arab dynasties, which settled in several places in Syria.

The Ituraeans before the Christian era controlled Cœle-Libanon, with Chalchis (‘Anǧar) in al-Biqā̀ their capital\(^ {41}\). From Chalchis they extended their control over Lebanon to the Phoenician shore, thus controlling the famous road at Theouprosopon (Rāṣ es – Šaqqa), and the port of Botrys (Bafrūn)\(^ {42}\). Such a rich and expanding provincial state caught the eye of Rome as early as Pompey’s conquest of Syria in 64 B.C. In the Roman period, they were in Cœle Lebanon, and were known either as “Arabs” or “Syrians”\(^ {43}\). The “Syrians” must be understood as other Arab tribes.

The existence of the Ituraeans in Lebanon was neither marginal nor casual. They controlled most of Lebanon as mentioned above, and had their local authorities in several places governed by hereditary\(^ {44}\). They formed one of the Arab states in Syria and Lebanon, and strongly resisted the Roman control of the region\(^ {45}\). The Romans’ early attempts to subdue the Ituraeans failed for a variety of reasons, the most important of which was their power\(^ {46}\). They were known as raiders of the coastal cities between Tyre and Theouprosopon (Rāṣ es – Šaqqa), damaging Byblos and the fields of Beirut\(^ {47}\), and as interceptors of the caravan trade. Pompey executed the Ituraean ruler, and freed Beirut and Byblos from the Ituraeans control\(^ {48}\). All historians agree that Pompey attempted to bring order to the general area by invading the powerful Ituraean kingdom since they strongly resisted Roman
control. The Ituraeans tribal sheikh was called Ptolemaios son of Mennaios\textsuperscript{59}, ruler of the Ituraean homeland, the eastern mountain and the northern Beqā', in addition to the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and had 8000 cavalry under his command\textsuperscript{50}. At the time when Pomy was creeping on Lebanon, he found Tripoli and its neighborhood in the hands of an Ituraean called Dionysos, who shared the kingship with Ptolemaios son of Mennaios\textsuperscript{51}. When the Romans needed to support their control they fought the settlers, and Dionysos was captured by the Roman leader Penpios, who gave orders to cut off Dionysos' head\textsuperscript{52}. Then Penpios penetrated deeply into Lebanon, where he destroyed the forts of Gigartos and Senān and Porma\textsuperscript{53}.

Pompey's activities in organizing and expanding the province of Syria indicate the spread and control of the Ituraeans over Lebanon. Pompey invaded the Ituraeans strongholds in the Lebanon hills, Byblos (Gebel) and Botrys (al-Bafran), then he killed the prince of Tripolis, "Dionysos", and "Kinras" prince of Byblos, and obliged Ptolemaios son of Mennaios prince of 'Angar (Chalcis) to pay a thousand talents\textsuperscript{54}. Although the Romans diminished the Ituraeans authority in 64 BC, the Ituraeans continued to manage their state affairs. They remained responsible for the internal security and for the defense of Syria against the raids of the nomads\textsuperscript{55}. Just before the Roman conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C., Aristobulus\textsuperscript{56} fought the Ituraeans, and obliged the inhabitants to be circumcised, if they wanted to remain in their country\textsuperscript{57}, and to adopt Jewish religious customs, and obey Jewish laws\textsuperscript{58}. However, he was not entirely successful since Galilee developed a reputation for independence and rebellion against authority\textsuperscript{59}. Thus, the Ituraeans had evolved their own distinctive accent\textsuperscript{60}. Because the Romans depended on the Ituraean Arab state, among other Arab tribes of the eastern borders Pompey allowed these states to retain their independence either for the defense of Rome, or for providing security for the Romans when needed\textsuperscript{61}. After Augustus Caesar had enlarged the province of Syria by adding Cilicia, he divided Syria into "Northern Syria" and "Southern Syria", the first remaining in the hands of the Romans, and the later under the control of Hims and the princes of 'Angar. Zenodorus the Ituraean prince had control over Ba'albek and Wadi El-Bigā' until 24 B.C. But, when he neglected his duty of guarding the security of his region, Herod was given Batanaea, Trachonitis (El-Łeğgone), Auranitis (a'urān), and some parts of Zenodorus's domain around Paniās\textsuperscript{62}. After the death of Zenodorus in 20 B.C., Galilee and the legğa were added to Herod's kingdom. In addition, the civil war in 14 B.C. resulted in the war hero Agrippa being given lands in Beirut and Ba'albek. He therefore brought two detachments, the Legions Macedonia and Augusta, to fight the Arab tribes of Lebanon. But these tribes continued to invade the area, so Quirinius was obliged in A.D.6–7 to attack them and levied some of them as auxiliary forces for the Roman army. Then Iturae was divided into three states, 'Angar (Chalcis), Abyla (Wadi Barada), and Arca. These states remained administratively independent until the end of the first century A.D\textsuperscript{63}. But during the first century A.D. the Romans changed
their policy and began to absorb some of the Arab states, some of which disappeared while others were incorporated into the Roman province of Syria. Among the latter was Iturœa in A.D. 93 (64).

In the first centuries B.C. and A.D. the Romans based its rule of the Iturœans on the status quo, confirming the Iturœan dynasty and making it clients; “these in turn served Rome well and became acculturated, appearing as philhellenes, philoromaioi” (65). The following period is one of “absorption and direct rule through annexation, which had already begun in the first century A.D. with the incorporation of Iturœa under the Flavians” (66). This absorption within the Roman system effected important changes in Roman frontier policy, and brought a long Roman-Iturœan confrontation (67). One of the four Roman auxiliary units was under the command of Seres, ruler of the Iturœans; when the Roman army was at full strength, each legion contained six thousand six hundred and sixty soldiers (68).

Trajan found it necessary to consolidate Roman territory in the Near East, and, in A.D. 93, sent troops to the Iturœans capital “An̄gar”, and placed the state under Roman control, at which point it ceased to exist as an independent state. However, the Iturœan economy and lifestyle were not disrupted especially for those who lived in the Anti-Lebanon region, and it might even have contributed further to the wealth of the people. Under Roman control, the Iturœans maintained a low level of political independence and were free to interpret outside elements in a distinctly Iturœan manner. The Iturœans retained their identity, reflected in several cultural forms, although they had already assimilated Graeco-Roman culture and those of other Semitic tribes. However, they kept their identity in several respects. Firstly, they had settled in Lebanon long before the Romans appeared in the first century BC. Secondly, they were still close to the Arabian Peninsula, their homeland, with its large ethnic and linguistic reservoir. Thirdly, they lived adjacent to the Nabateans in Damascus in 85 BC. (69). “But the Iturœans who settled on the Mediterranean littoral were Judaeized, Hellenized, and Romanized, and thus lost much of their Arab identity” (70).

The language of the Iturœans

The heterogeneous population of the Iturœans was reflected in the range of languages in use. Latin would have been little heard outside the army camps and the governor’s administrative staff; even in the veteran colonies Latin soon disappeared. Greek was the dominant language amongst the bulk of the urban populations, used by immigrant and Hellenized natives alike, though many must have been bilingual. Both the urban population, and there in the countryside spoke various dialects of Aramaic, such as Syriac, Palmyrene, Nabatean, as well as Ancient North Arabian dialects, such as
Thamudic and Sairaitic, all of which were written languages, surviving in inscriptions and occasionally in documents\(^{(71)}\). The Ituraeans have left us no documents of their own, so we have to rely entirely on what has been written about them in inscriptions in different languages, especially Greek. In fact, all of the Ituraean proper names found in the ancient writings point either to an Arabic or to an Aramaic origin\(^{(72)}\) (See chart 1).

**The religion of the Ituraeans**

The Romans’ good relationship with Syria after the occupation needs no proof\(^{(73)}\). The Romans tried to make close and friendly relations with the people of the East, by honoring their deities and constructing great temples for them. Ba’albak, for example, received a great attention in order to satisfy the conquered population\(^{(74)}\). Some archaeologists assume that the temples of Ba’albak were dedicated to Jupiter, Mercury and Venus\(^{(75)}\); historians point to the inscriptions found at Deir al- Qal’ah and Athens which mention the names of these deities of Heliospolis\(^{(76)}\). This Roman Trinity is similar to the Phoenician Trinity: the Father, Mother and Son or, Ba’al, Ashtrot and Melqart, respectively\(^{(77)}\). This Trinity was worshiped by the Romans in its eastern form under different names\(^{(78)}\), in an attempt to syncretism between the Arab settlers in the region and the Roman newcomers\(^{(79)}\).

In addition, a religious inscription mentioning Ba’albak was found in the Hermel region\(^{(80)}\). This inscription is written on a square stone base 40 cm high. The Ba’albak Trinity is found on three faces\(^{(81)}\). One face bears the Father Symbol, the Mother is on the other and the Son deity on the third face\(^{(82)}\). The relation between the Ituraeans and Hermetic can be seen in the small Ituraean state, which was at Hermel\(^{(83)}\). They shared borders and had marriage relations with these Arab tribes\(^{(84)}\). A discovery of an inscription mentioning the Ba’albak Trinity was found on an animal track connecting Ba’albak and Arfosa and Caesarea of Lebanon (‘Arca), also indicates the relation between these three cities\(^{(85)}\). There is also a tomb found north of Ba’albak, which has been dedicated to one of ‘Arca princes\(^{(86)}\). An analysis of the Ituraean religion and coins reveals some aspects of the relation between the Ituraean state and Ba’albak\(^{(87)}\).

The Ituraeans were a well-known Arab group who also served in the Roman army\(^{(88)}\). The Ituraean soldiers were among the seven units of Equites described as *indigenae*. These are: the *Ala I* Augusta Ituraeorum (sagittariorum), and the following Cohorts: Cohort I Augusta Ituraeorum (sagittariorum), and Cohors I Ituraeorum, Cohors I Ituraeorum (civium) R(omanorum), Cohors II Ituraeorum (equitata), Cohors III Ituraeorum, and Cohors VII Ituraeorum. Some of the names of the Ituraean soldiers who fought in the Roman army are Arabic; others are Aramaic\(^{(89)}\).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart: 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ituranean Personal Names in Greek Inscriptions</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscription number</th>
<th>Greek or Latin transcription</th>
<th>Arabic equivalent</th>
<th>The meaning</th>
<th>Occurrences of the name</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ἀβαβουζι</td>
<td>لَهَب</td>
<td>Love</td>
<td>Wuth. 6: H. 172. Cant. 93: St 87.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ἀνθονω</td>
<td>نَجْنَك</td>
<td>experienced</td>
<td>Wuth. 23: H.I 206.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIG III 4371</td>
<td>Βαργατος</td>
<td>برَعَطا</td>
<td>Son of the giver</td>
<td>Wuth. 33: Cant. 75 (Br r); St. 78 f. (Br r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ραγειβιδος</td>
<td>رَيَّ بَل</td>
<td>Guard of Ba’il</td>
<td>Wuth. 96: Cant. 147 (R’y); St. 112 (R’y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Βελιαθος/Βηλιαθος</td>
<td>بَل</td>
<td>Ba’il</td>
<td>Wuth. 35 f.: St. 76 (Blybh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Βαρεχβδος</td>
<td>بَرَك 1</td>
<td>Blessed B’il</td>
<td>Wuth. 33: H.I 102(Br’l) Cant. 75 (Brk(w); St. 79(Br’y);k(w/y).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIG III 11083</td>
<td>Αναμος</td>
<td>انْعَم</td>
<td>Soft</td>
<td>Wuth. 21: H.I 80 (n:m); Cant. 121 (n:m); St. 79 (n:m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIG XVI 157</td>
<td>Θωμος</td>
<td>Tym</td>
<td>Love</td>
<td>WUTH. 52:6 54. H.I. 141 (Tym); Cant. 155 (Tym’/w); St. 117 (Tym’/w/y) Hypocretic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ναυλος</td>
<td>نَعْلٍ 1</td>
<td>Sandal?</td>
<td>Wuth. 81: H.I. 593?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

At the climax of the Ituraean Arabs power from the first century B.C. to the end of the first century A.D., they ruled a region that today belongs to Jordan (east of the Dead sea), Syria (south and east of Damascus), Palestine (Galilee). At the end of the first century A.D., the Romans conquered the Ituraean state, then the Ituracans were subjected to Roman influence, and their relations ran along analogous lines. They reached the shores of the Mediterranean and were Judaized, and lost much of their Arab identity. After the Ituracans’ rule ended, they disappeared from the history and assimilated with the people of Lebanon.

تاريخ اليطوريين العرب

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ملخص

يسعى هذا البحث إلى تناول بعض الوجه المتعلقة بتاريخ اليطوريين، والتي لم يصلنا من أخبارها إلا القليل، مع أن هذه الدولة تصدت للروماني. أما المعلومات القليلة التي وصلتنا عنهم فمصادرهم المؤرخين والجغرافيون اللبناني والرومان.

иتنعرف من هذه المصادر أن اليطوريين كانوا قبائل تنتمي في شمالي شرق فلسطين. وانتهى الأمر باليطوريين إلى تأسيس دولتهم المستقلة، والتي جعلوا عاصمتها كالكيس في جبال لبنان.

وقد أتى الأبحاث المتصلة التي يجريها الآثريون والمؤرخون إلى تعريفنا تعرفاً أدق بحدود دولة اليطوريين، وإن كان تاريخهم ما يزال في حاجة إلى مزيد من أبحاث المؤرخين واهتمامهم.
The paper was received on Feb. 17, 2003 and accepted for publication on Oct. 9, 2003

Notes

2) Isaiah 9: 1; Matthew 4: 15.
3) Joshua 12: 23.
4) See, F. Hitti, Tārīf Soriya wa Lubnān wa Filisfīn, part I, translation H. George and R. 'Abd Al-Karīm, revised and edited by J. Gobra'īl, part, 1, Beirut: Dār al-aqāfa, 1958, p. 269-270: “At the end of the Seleucid period Galilee was occupied for a long time by non-Jewish people, and now the Itureans an Arab tribe, speaking Aramaic live in this region. They gave the people of Galilee the choice either to leave the country or to be circumcised. Thus, most of Jesus’ disciples were not Jews and spoke Hebrew as a foreign language”.
5) The Bible, p. 104: “Peoples of the Arabian desert are descendants of Qattourah”; Genesis 25: 14, 15, 16; I Chr. 1: 31; 5: 18-23, see under the title: “From Shem to Abraham”.
8) Ibid., p. 28.
9) Ibid., p. 28, “The Notitia Dignitatum is an official listing of all ancient Roman civil and military posts, other than municipal. It survives as a 1551 copy of the now-missing origin and is the major source of information on the administrative organization of the late Roman Empire”, (see I. Robert, Notitia Dignitatum. Teubner: 1999, catalogue no. 1352, p. 2).
11) For the inscriptions that have been found, see E. Littmann, Semitic Inscriptions, Sec. A. Nabataean Inscriptions, Leyden 1914, Nos. 54, 64 and 65 which reads ‘smyw bt frt yfr “Asnamu daughter of Yafīn”.
13) Yetūr, Naphish, and the Hagarenes are located in 1 Chronicles 5: 19 in Trans- Jordan; see John Gill, “Exposition of the Entire Bible, 2 Samuel 8: 12, p. 7; See, the clarification in The New Testament, 2nd ed.,
15) Gene. 25, 13, 14, 15; 1 Chr. 1:29-33.
16) Dio Cassius, XLIX.
17) Strabo, Geog., XVI, II. 10.
19) Luke, 3 : 1 : Ψυλλίππου ... τετραχροῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τροχωνίτιδος χώρας
22) Vigouroux: Dictionnaire de la Bible, volume VI, Col. 1039.
23) Ibid.,
25) Ibid., Col. 1040; Al-Madani wal-Zu‘bi, p. 35: “The Itureans were a new power for Lebanon, they fixed freedom and glories, and united with the people to defend Lebanon against the Romans' attacks which began in 64 B.C. and ended in 20 B.C.; R. Dussaud, p. 13-14.
27) Pliny considers <Arqa among the Ituraean provinces, and it seems that the two castles Gobeil and Za‘artara belong to the Ituraean state.
28) Al-Madani wal-Zu‘bi, p. 34; according to F. Anīs, Mu’gam ‘Asmā‘ al-Mudun wi Qurax al-Lubnāneih. Beirut 1992, p. 62: Hītore means “folk of the mountain”, or the district of the mountain”, and it is in Gezēn; and according to ,baqa and Armalah, al-Dawather al-Servēne ĥi Lubnāx wa Sīriyas. al-Mashriq 1939, p. 397: means "the mountain", or the "living mountain" (Gezēn).
32) Y. Hourāni, op.cit (n. 28), p. 56-57.
33) R. Dussaud, p. 11; Josephus to the existence of the Ituraean authority, the ruler was Sohaem, ruling over Anti-Lebanon region (Josephus, Ancient Jewish History, 14: 13, 14, p. 433); The Ituraean ruler Sohaem was also mentioned in the Annals of the Roman historian Tacitus 12: 23.


35) Ibid., p. 66.

36) Ibid., p. 66.

37) Ibid., p. 66.

38) Ibid., p. 153f.


40) Ibid., p. 108.

41) A. Rostom, Tārīḵ al-Yunān min Phliopos al-Maccdoni elā al-Fat... al-Rūmānī, Beirut: Lebanon University Puplications, 1969, p. 127: under the title “Aretas III of Damascus”: The scholars see that Ptolemy son of Mennaios ruler of ‘Anjar had control at the time of Aretas III over Al-Galile, Haurān, Wādi Barada, Al-Biqā', Lebanon coastal area, especially Botrys (Bafrūn) and head of Shaq’a, and he built the northern Lebanon hills forts in Gigartos (kegorta), Senān and Boromah above Byblos and al-Bafrūn...”; See also F. Hitti, p. 270-271.

42) Ibid., p. 11


44) Ibid. p. 35.


48) Ali, J., p. 444, mentions that the name Mennaios could be the Arabic name مَنْئِیْس.

49) H. Lammens, pp. 211-212.

50) Ibid. p. 211.

51) Ibid. p. 212.

52) Ibid. p. 212.

53) A. Rostom, p. 148; see Y. Hourāni, 1972, pp. 56 – 57 : “... existence of the Arab (Ituraeans) at Zağarta and al-Batrūn, and in the caves of the shore”

54) I. Shahīd, p. 18.
55) Juda Aristobulus is the first Hellenized king of Judea and the first to take the title of King or Basileus. He is son of Hercanus I. He seized the throne from his mother and killed his siblings.

56) Not everyone who is circumcised is necessarily a son of the Covenant.

57) Josephus, (Antiquity 13. 319): “Aristobulus conquered the Ituraeans of Lebanon and forcibly converted them to Judaism”; see H. Graets, *History of the Jews*, 1887 – 89, Vol. 2, p. 37: The polytheist Ituraeans were forced to convert to Judaism by Aristobulus or were probably assimilated: see I. Shahid, p. 10.


59) Mathew 26: 69, 73.

60) A. Rostom, p. 148.

61) Ibid., p. 149.


63) I. Shahid, p. 19.

64) Ibid., p. 148

65) Ibid., p. 148.

66) Ibid., p. 148.


68) See A. Rostom, *Aṣr Augustos Caesar wa Khulafa’ah* (44 BC-69AD), part 2, the Lebanon University publications, Beirut:1965, p. 148

69) I. Shahid, p. 146.

70) D.A. Kennedy, p. 25.


74) A. Mekha’īl, *op.cit* (n. p. 61.

75) Ibid., p. 61.

76) Ibid., p. 62.

77) Ibid., p. 62.

78) H. Seyrig, p. 115.

79) H. Seyrig, Bas-Relief de la Triade de Baalbek Trouvé à Fneideq, *Bulletin de Musée de Beirout*, 1955, 12, p. 27.

80) A. Mekha’īl, p. 62.

81) Ibid., p. 62.

83) Ibid., p. 85.


88) See chart 1, p. 12.