

The Nabataean`s ports on the Rea Sea

Dr. Rageh Z. Mohamed

Curator of Nubian Museum

Aswan-Egypt

Introduction

From documents and Nabataean inscriptions which were discovered on many cliffs of valleys leading to the ancient ports on east and west the coasts of the Red Sea, comes proof of Nabataean activities and commerce from the 4th century B.C. to AD2nd century. The Nabataeans were not content living in a small area but colonized areas of North Arabia and the Middle East, establishing themselves as merchants and excellent seaman. Nabataeans were in a good position geographically in the ancient world to set up an efficient trade system (map1). Being centrally located, the Nabataeans were able to get commodities from as far away as India (fig 1) (¹).

Their capital at Petra, The city of Nabataeans, was a perfect location to control the incense route from south Arabia, today's Yemen, through Palestine to the Mediterranean (²). Petra sat at the crossroads of two major ancient routes, the King's Highway and the incense route (³). From its base fortress city, it established a wealthy commercial crossroads position between the Arabian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman cultures and civilizations. This was a crucial trade route between the high areas of Jordan, the Red Sea, Damascus and Southern Arabia and formed the Nabataean Empire`s lifeblood, over which they maintained control and ensured the safety of the caravans (⁴). Numerous Nabataean inscriptions have been founded in the desert valleys between the Red Sea and the Nile valley in Egypt (fig 2). Enno Littman has published a map showing six probable Nabataean tracks to the Nile (map2). Therefore, it is quite understandable that Nabataeans used Egyptian ports on the Red Sea and Egyptian elements can be found in the Nabataean pantheon (⁵).

The Nabataean ships used to sail in the Red Sea from a very early period, seeking the incense land. This incense might have been provided from South Arabia, East Africa and India, as the famous aromatic resin is still a South Arabian production. The best frankincense is still comes from Dhofar on the southern coast of Arabia and through the old trade route which historically connected south west Arabia (Yemen) with North Arabia and the Mediterranean regions and which were either by the sea or overland along the Arabian shores. (⁶).

As traders, Nabataeans became exporters for many exotic goods to all over the world. Its inhabitants grew wealthy by imposing taxes on goods which passed through their town, Petra,

and in return offered protection from marauding tribes. There is a certain irony in this, as no doubt in their earlier nomadic days; the Nabataeans themselves would have been caravan raiders. Once settled, the Nabataeans realized that trade required peace and security, so they adopted a policy of avoiding confrontation wherever possible with neighbours jealous of their wealth (⁷).

Nabataean Maritime Activities in Ptolemaic periods

The information regarding Nabataean “piracy” in the Red Sea in the Ptolemaic period (Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny), must be connected with the policy of the Ptolemies, since the robbery of Ptolemaic ships by the Nabataeans was only a natural answer to Egyptian commercial policy on the Red Sea. The result was a punitive expedition by the Egyptian navy under Philadelphus or Euergetes I, which for a while put an end to the endeavours of the Nabataeans to become a maritime power(⁸).

The most important traffic was in Arabian goods, brought to Transjordan and Palestine by the Nabataean caravans: incense and myrrh are the staple commerce. It seems therefore that the measures taken by the Ptolemies to establish control over the Nabataeans were in the main successful and led to an intent cordiale, the result of which was a lively caravan trade both between Petra and Alexandria and between Petra and the Asiatic dependencies of Egypt. No wonder therefore if a contemporary of Zenon tells us that it was the traffic with the Nabataeans which made Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia 'rich in gold'. Also the Zenon Papyri tell us of the relations between his agents and the Nabataeans as Zenon bought various aromatics in Palestine (fig3) (⁹).

Petra became the node of Arabia trade owing to its situation as a trading centre on the caravan routes between Mesopotamia and South Arabia as well as between Syria, Palestine and Egypt (map 3). The Nabataeans gained wealth from commerce, so when the Ptolemies tried to monopolize the navigable trade and capture the commercial activities in the Red Sea by establishing many post points and ports on its coast, and by improving their friendship with the Arabia Felix people, the Nabataeans realized the danger of commercial newcomers in the Red Sea and tried to attack the Ptolemies' interests in the area and sometimes they put their hand on their goods. Accordingly Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, devoted himself to promote Egyptian commerce and built a great fleet of three tons burden to guard against the Nabataean raids and Ptolemy maintained his control over the northern section of the Red Sea as well as the Gulf of Aila (¹⁰).

From accounts in both Diodorus and Strabo the navy of the Ptolemies managed to suppress the Nabataeans' effort to stop the Egyptian inroad into Arab trade. But the encounter between Nabataeans and Ptolemies provides an intriguing glimpse into the competition between these two great powers in the second century BC (¹¹).

The organization and safeguarding of travel around the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula as well as the colonizing activities of Ptolemy II and III in these areas, also had as an ulterior motive the acquisition of elephants for war and other economic concerns.

Under Ptolemy II, Ptolemaic troops probably occupied a settlement situated in the area between what would now be the cities of Eilar and Aqabah and founded a new colony there called 'Berenike', also recently founded, and this time clearly with the help of the Milesians, was the new colony of Ampelone, situated on the Arabian coast north of modern day Jeddah. The incense trade route also had to be protected, since it went deeper into the interior of the Arabian Peninsula. For this reason there had to be co-operation with the South Arabia Minaeans and Sabaeans who transported their wares along this route. The northern section near Petra on the Mediterranean - and especially towards Gaza - was controlled by Nabataeans who had set up way-stations equipped with proper cisterns for their caravans in the central Negev (¹²). In this way, the Nabataeans in the eastern and southern border regions of Cole Syria found themselves caught between the Ptolemaic and Seleukid spheres of influence. Armed clashes between Nabataean "pirates" and the Ptolemies in the Red Sea may have first occurred only in the second century (¹³).

Following the Arabian coast from the Suez Gulf to the Bab el-Mandeb road, up to about 270 harbours and bases were constructed as the sites of future cities(¹⁴). The series of harbours, from north to south, begins with the ancient site near modern-day Abu Sha`r, north of Hurghada. Two caravan routes coming from the region of the Nile Valley (at modern-day Qena) and which were already in use during the time of the Ptolomies led to this important harbour (¹⁵). Since Euergetes continued with his father's policy as a result of the need for war-elephants, he founded more bases on the coast, among them Adulis on the island of Massawa (Eritrea), Which later went on to be of great importance for trade between the Romans and the Aksumites.

As far as Ptolemaic trade in the south and southeast is concerned, three main routes can be discussed briefly: one followed the Nile upstream into the Meroitic Empire, the second led to

the Red Sea by ship and then from the coast by various land routes (which could be avoided by going through the canal) to the Nile. Finally, the third was the so-called incense route on the Arabian Peninsula and to use this, it was essential that the Ptolemies keep control of Coele Syria. In addition to the trade in such products as ivory, incense and spices from the interior of Africa and from the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, there was trade with India. Embassies were exchanged with the Maurya king Asoka (¹⁶).

The later Ptolemies, especially Euergetes II were not satisfied with control of the African trade, but tried to renew the early Arabian trade policy of Philadelphos to establish direct relations between Egypt, India and Arabia(¹⁷). No less important was the fact that a weakened Egypt was no longer able to impose its wishes upon the Nabataeans. As a result of all this, the Nabataeans acquired control both over the caravan road across the Sinaitic peninsula, and even over part of the Red Sea route to Egypt. Their kingdom was thus extended considerably to the south and west, and their port on the eastern shore of the gulf of Ella (Akaba) maybe became the open harbour of Luke Come (White Village). This absorbed the previously existing harbours and entered upon a lively intercourse with the Egyptian harbours of the Ptolemies (¹⁸).

Nabataean Maritime Activities in the Roman periods

As allies of the Romans, the Nabataeans continued to flourish throughout the first century AD. Their power extended far into Arabia along the Red Sea to Yemen, and Petra remained a cosmopolitan marketplace. They might have long been a bulwark between Rome and the wild hordes of the desert but for Trajan, who reduced Petra and broke up the Nabataean nationality as the short-lived Roman province of Arabia Petraea (¹⁹).

The policy of Trajan and his followers seems reasonable enough, and the extra- ordinary, almost fabulous, growth of the Transjordanian towns in the second century A.D. is also explained. Trajan took a firm hold of Petra and made her a part of his new Arabian province, clearly explaining to the inhabitants that henceforth their trade was not only to be with Egypt by way of the Red Sea, but also with Damascus and the coasts of Phoenicia and Syria by way of the Transjordanian towns. It cannot be doubted that Trajan's schemes were due both to the situation in Alexandria and Palestine which we have just described, and also to his attitude towards Parthia and Mesopotamia. His policy in Arabia and Transjordan was followed by his successors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus, and later by the dynasty of Severus. (²⁰).

The Nabataean Maritime route on the Red Sea:

The Nabataean Arabs had a far greater maritime capability than is generally realized. According to archeologist Nelson Gluek, "the Nabataeans ventured far overseas and over distant lands in their mercantile undertakings, and were much influenced in their course by the phenomenon of dolphins and of the extremely important even though subsidiary dolphin attribute of some gods and goddesses(²¹). Merchandise from the Orient and from Southern Arabia passed through their hands, bringing great revenues and making these Arab merchants the envy of the Greeks and other contemporary peoples(²²). In addition to their own ports of Aila (near Aqabah) and Luke Come (on Saudi Arabia's Red Sea coast), the Nabataeans were welcome in many ports or cities, through military or diplomatic agreement. The Nabataean seafarers were also frequent visitors in Alexandria, Egypt; Miletus in Asia Minor; the major Roman port of Puteoli near Naples; and perhaps the island of Rhodes(²³).

Wherever the Nabataeans ventured, they had the habit of creating Nabataean settlements. For instance, they did this at Selah, just outside of the Edomite capital of Busheira. They did this at Medina Saleh, located 12 kilometers from Dedan (modern Al Ula), the ancient capital of the Thamuds and Lihyanites who lived in Saudi Arabia. They also did this at Jenysos just a few kilometers south of the ancient port city of Gaza. They did this at Bostra, near Damascus and they also developed settlements at all the major places along the overland caravan routes between Aila and Gaza and Damascus (²⁴).

Therefore, it is that we find that the unnamed Arabs on the Indian Ocean also created settlements in India, Sri Lanka and eventually in Canton China. It should come as no surprise that they may have developed settlements at Mouza and Cane (²⁵).

For centuries, incense moved from Southern Arabia to the temples of Europe via the overland Incense Route. During the last century BC, the Himyarite people of southern Arabia began to secretly export incense to Nabataean ships from an island off their coast. They would float the incense out to the island using inflatable rafts made of animal skins. Then, out-of-sight from anyone observing from land, the Nabataean dhows would carry the incense up the Red Sea to Egyptian ports. In 25 B.C., the Himyarite people overthrew the other south Arabian kingdoms (with a little help from the Nabataeans who tricked the Roman army into fighting for them). From that time, the maritime incense trade flourished on the Red Sea (²⁶).

An ancient shipping manual, 'The Periplus of the Eruthraean Sea by an unknown author describes much of this trade. The principle ports for incense trade were Cane, Aden and Muza in the south, and Berinek, Philotera, Myos Hormos, Leuke Kome, and Aila in the north. These ports had routes that led them to Gaza and Alexandria (²⁷).

Nabataeans moved trade from Southern Arabia to their port of Leuke Come by boat, and then overland to Alexandria. "Arab" merchants also brought Indian and Asian goods to the ports on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea (28).

That Egypt's commerce with India and Troglodyte was increased to so great an extent under the diligent Roman administration. In earlier times, not so many as twenty vessels would have dared to traverse the Red Sea far enough to get a peep outside the straits (Bab-el-Mandab), but at the present time, even large fleets are dispatched as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia, from which the most valuable cargoes are brought to Egypt and thence sent forth again to other regions (29). Strabo himself witnessed the flourishing state of Alexandria only five years after the Roman conquest, and very shrewdly observed the active trade that went through its several harbours. He says, 'Among the happy advantages of the city, the greatest is the fact that this is the only place in all Egypt which is by nature well situated with reference to both things, both to commerce by sea, on account of the good harbours, and to commerce by land, because the river easily conveys and brings together everything into a place so situated, the greatest emporium in the inhabited world (30).

Soon after the annexation of Egypt, Emperor Augustus in 26 BC commissioned his prefect in Egypt, Aelius Gallus, to invade southern Arabia by land(31). This land onslaught caused considerable damage to the Sabaeans as far as Marib, and allowed the Himyarites, close friends of the Nabataeans to soon take control of most of Southern Arabia. Some writers have thought that around AD 1 Augustus launched another devastating attack - this time by sea - which resulted, in the words of Periplus, 'in sacking Eudaemon Arabia(Aden) ' which declined into, 'a mere village after having been a fully fledged city (polis) (32). The total frankincense harvest was around 3000 tons as Strabo tells us, so many of dhows would have to transport the entire harvest up the Red Sea(33).

Nabataeans used many ports:-

Nabataeans used many ports on south Arabia coast like *Aden* port; the ancient city of Aden is located at the southwest corner of Yemen. The old port was built in the back of the bay. It is a natural bay protected from the wind and waves. It the ideal starting point for seas journeys. During the later part of the Roman Empire, Aden was an active port with shipping links to India, China and to Africa. Eritrea and Somalia could be reached in only a few days of sailing. The whole African East Coast, including the islands of Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia had very early trade relations with the kingdom of Awsan through the harbour of Aden. *The Periplus* gives a detailed description of the Red Sea Ports and part of the Arabian Coast east of *Bab Al-Mandab*. He remarks on Aden "Eudaemon" Arabia, a settlement along the sea shore, belonging to the kingdom Saba, has favorable places for anchorage and fresh water supply.

Freights are coming from India and Egypt: diamonds, sapphires, ivory, cotton, indigo. Cardamom, pepper, dates, wine, myrrh, and frankincense (34).

Cane port is located on the southern coast of Yemen. Strabo tells us that ships regularly left Cane for Indian, Sri Lanka, and perhaps China. Once Aden was destroyed, the majority of shipping moved to Cane. This was only natural, as Cane had become the principle port in southern Arabia for exporting frankincense. By the time of the Romans, the camel caravans through the desert had become a thing of the past, and Strabo, ever interested in such things, doesn't even acknowledge the existence of caravan trade in Arabia. Rather, he points to the maritime trade that was taking place on the Red Sea. (35).

While the Periplus mentions many other smaller fishing ports and places of interest on the Arabian coast and along the Persian Gulf, it does not mention any other port as handling Indian or Chinese goods. From this we can conclude that all Asian shipping was handled in *Cane, Mocha, Luke Come*, or the Egyptian ports on the Red Sea (36).

We have already established that they regularly used *Cane* and *Mouza* as places to pick up goods. *Mocha (Mokha)* port was known in the Greco-Roman era like a principal port of trade, this port became a busy centre of trade. Once the Nabataean Empire was handed over to the Romans, many Nabataean merchants relocated here and continued trade with India and China during her golden age (37).

On the west coast of the Red Sea the Nabataeans used all the ports on this side, there is evidence in these ports about the Nabataeans like Rhapta, the last port in Azania. They used Egyptian ports on the Red Sea like Myus Hormos, which is a large harbour with an oblique entrance. In front are three islands (38).

In 1993, researchers from the University of Southampton suggested that old Quseir was in reality the site of Myos Hormos. This port was a hub for trade during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and was engaged in trade with India and perhaps China. It was by any standards one of the great trading centres of the ancient world, hundreds of amphora and old pottery artifacts were found, among them there are Nabataean pottery(fig4) (39).

As the Nabataeans were known to prey on Red Sea shipping, it was desirable to have a safe port as far to the south as possible. From *Bernice* there were overland routes through the Eastern desert to the Nile valley. These routes were protected by caravansaries that provided the caravans with water and shelter. When the Nabataeans began to export incense via the

maritime route on the Red Sea, Bernice developed into a trade emporium. Some of the cargoes included: spices, myrrh, frankincense, pearls and textiles. These were all shipped via Bernice to Alexandria and Rome. Until 1994 little was known about the port of Bernice. It was even unclear when the port had been abandoned. However, in 1994, S. E. Sidebotham, a professor of ancient history at the University of Delaware began an excavation of the site (40). The ruins of Berenike are located on the shore of the Red Sea, close to the border between Egypt and Sudan, in a deserted area just south of the village of Arab Saleh (Baranees). This village, at approximately 15 km is inhabited by the Ababda, a nomadic people that live traditionally from herding sheep, goats and camels. The only feature indicating the remains of an ancient town is a hilly patch, covered with fragments of coral and pot shreds (41).

The Nabataeans maintained three ports on the Red Sea:-

Aila Port

This was the first port for the Nabataeans on the Red Sea, They used it early when they moved from South Arabia to the north and stayed around this port in the 6th century B.C. Aila, located at the northern end of the Gulf of Aqaba, was used almost exclusively by Arab boats, as the Gulf of Aqaba was known for its foul winds, making it a very difficult port for the square-rigged European boats (42). Arab *Dhows* however, could sail much closer to the wind, and could better utilize Aila, providing it with goods from Southern Arabia. It is interesting to note that the Romans ended their road at Aila, rather than continuing farther down the Arabian coast.

Akra port

The Nabataeans conquered Hegra (Agra) near Madain Saleh (Northwest Saudi Arabia now) in the first century B.C., which had an important trading post known as Akra port (Al wageh now). The port, which is situated south of Luke Come, is mentioned by Strabo as the port for Agra city (43). This port used in Lihianet kingdom period between 2nd to the first century B.C. The classical sources named this port Agra, Akra, Kara (44).

Now there is much evidence the Nabataeans used this port and its Nabataean name was 'Kara Koma' which consisted of two parts - Kara being the name of the area and Koma being the port or village. Also the excavations near this area discovered ruins for a Nabataean temple near from this port. The plan of this temple was like Petra's temples and around it was discovered much Nabataean pottery, bronze, inscriptions and many others from Nabataean period (45).

Luke Come Port

The Nabataeans maintained a port on the Red Sea known as Luke Come (meaning white village.) This harbour later served as a port of trade for European ships as well as the smaller Arab dhows that would come loaded with freight from Arabia(46). The Nabataeans/ Romans maintained a customs office at Luke Come as well as a centurion and a detachment of soldiers. The usual customs tax on luxury goods was 25 percent (47).For many years historians and archeologists have wondered about the location of the Nabataean port city of Luke Come, This village is mentioned in several ancient writings, such as Strabo's history, the Periplus of the Eruthraean Sea, etc.

Strabo says the account of the attempted Roman invasion of Arabia. The Romans built boats on the Egyptian side and sailed them to Luke Come "After enduring great hardships and distress, he arrived on the fifteenth day at Luke Come, a large mart in the territory of the Nabataeans, with the loss of many of his vessels, some with all their crews, in consequence of the difficulty of the navigation, but by no opposition from an enemy. These misfortunes were occasioned by the perfidy of Syllaesus, who insisted that there was no road for an army by land to Luke Come, to which and from which place the camel traders travel with ease and in safety from Selah, and back to Selah, with so large a body of men and camels as to differ in no respect from an army (48).

The Roman expedition lost many vessels along the way to Luke come, because of the difficulty of navigation. To sail across the Red Sea is quite easy. To sail north to Aila however, would have been a very tricky job for Roman boats with square 'lug sails.' This may be an indicator that the Nabataeans were using 'lateen' sails by this time allowing them to tack in the wind. Most of the year the north-eastern arm of the Red Sea (Gulf of Aqaba) is plagued with winds from the north west, making the journey up the sea almost impossible, unless you had a triangular sail and knew how to tack. The Roman boats were not capable of this.

The famous naval historian, Lionel Casson calculated the location of Luke Come from the port of Myos Hormos. He assumed that the Myos Harbour (*Mussel Harbor*) was located at Abu Sha'r. He defends this opinion of his translation of the Periplus Maris Eruthraean. He came to the conclusion that Luke Come was located in the vicinity of Aynunah on the shores of Saudi Arabia. also he goes on to mention some of the other educated guesses that have been made concerning the location of Luke Come, such as Haura and Yanbu further south on the

Saudi Arabian coast(49). North of Myos Hormos the Red Sea splits into TWO branches. The *Periplus* tells us to take the EAST branch and go north for two or three runs (50). He doesn't tell us where to find the port, because we will run into it at the end of the "bay." Today this place is known as Aqaba, or in ancient times Aila (51). The *Periplus* says this port was used by small craft (there is no deep Harbour at Aila proper), and that it was loaded with freight from Arabia. It is also interesting to note that the *Periplus*, which was written to describe "Trade on the Red Sea", does not mention Aila at all. This obvious oversight can now be understood by identifying the "White Village" with the known port of "Aila." (52) Aila was a place built of white sand structures. Excavations are currently taking place, but the Nabataean port has been mostly destroyed. It did, however, contain a lot of mud buildings. The *Periplus* informs us that the "*White Village*" had a road attaching it to Petra. This is very true. The Romans built the Via Traiana over the top of the existing road that was known in ancient times as "*The King's Highway*." This road linked Aila with Petra and north to Damascus. It fits the description of the *Periplus* perfectly. There was a fort in Aila and the city was definitely under the control of Malichus, the king of the Nabataeans (53). The *Periplus* then tells that after this harbour, extending "far" down the Red Sea there are a variety tribes living in huts along the coast who are practicing piracy. It then adds that to set a course along the coast of Arabia is altogether risky, since the region lacks harbours, offers poor anchorage, is fouled with rocky stretches, and cannot be approached because of cliffs. This is why it is important for sailors to sail to the "Burnt Island" before approaching the coast. Several historians have suggested that the "burnt island" is *Jabal at Ta'ir*, which has a nearly dead volcano. (Casson, Muller, Schoff) Then sailing down this coast, there is on the left hand shore, the port of Muza (54).

This sounds like a perfect description of the Saudi coast, looking south from Aila. That is why we cannot find Luke Come along that barren coast. It never was there. There are two other considerations that must be taken into our calculations. The fort and taxation centre at Luke Come demonstrates to us that foreign caravans would frequent the place, and that they would be taxed. Nabataean caravans and boats were part of internal trade, and may not have been taxed in the same way. Interestingly enough, to date this is the only reference we have of the Nabataeans taxing goods passing through their land. most commentators have placed Luke Come at Al-Haura, which lies in a bay protected by Hasani Island midway between Al-Wajh and Yanbu on the Saudi Arabian coast (55).

One suggestion has been put forward that Luke Come was actually Aila port. Modern day Aqaba contains a few ruins from ancient times. However, the modern city and port have almost obliterated the old ruins (56).

It holds the position of a market town for the small vessels sent there from South Arabia; and so a centurion is stationed there as a collector of one-fourth of the merchandise imported, with an armed force, as a garrison (57). From all these opinions we cannot divide the place of the Luke come, because Strabo and the Periplus of the Eruthraean, doesn't tell us where we find the port on the Red Sea and they gave us general documents and no any identified describe for the site of Luke come port on the northeast coast of the Red Sea . According to ancient writers, Luke Come was the jewel of the Red Sea, a bustling seaside market town that served as a key transshipment point for spices, gems and other goods on route to the Mediterranean from Arabia Felix or modern-day Yemen. But today, Luke Come is counted among the world's "lost cities." Contemporary explorers and archeologists have been unable to locate the site of the fabled harbor town, despite various theories as to where it must have been.

Conclusion

The Nabataeans left us with few written records. In their place we are left with the magnificent ruins of the cities of Petra, Hegra, Elusa, Bostra, and others. These magnificent cities declare to us the greatness of the Nabataeans. They, more than any other Arab people or civilization attained greatness. Their cities and monuments declare their greatness, and their architectural styles declare their contacts with other civilizations. What other Arab civilization can boast such greatness, derived from their trade alone?

And if this is not enough, Nabataean temples were built in Italy, Naples, Egypt, Turkey, and throughout Arabia. It is my conclusion that the Nabataeans were the only Arab people who had the ability, the infrastructure, and the connections necessary to conduct maritime trade with India. And they are the only Arab civilization who seemed to have profited handsomely from foreign trade.

Along with this, their architecture, religious practices and symbolism, and even their language portray evidence of contact with India. And they, of all the Arab civilizations have their names recorded in Chinese history!

The ancient historians tell us that it was the Arab traders who brought the goods to Egypt, but they don't tell us which Arab traders. While there may have been a number of different types of Arab traders working at the same time, it is evident from the wealthy and culturally rich Nabataean ruins, that the Nabataeans must have been principle players in the trade on the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean. The Nabataeans had ports on the Red Sea like Aila, Akra, Luke come and they used all Red Sea ports.

Bibliography

- (¹) Gogte 1999: 69-85.
- (²) Taylor 2001: 10.
- (³) Groom 1981: 126.
- (⁴) John Southland 2000: 3.
- (⁵) Littman 1953: 1-27.
- (⁶) Charlsworth 1924: 59.
- (⁷) El Gowhary 1912: ; Glueck 1964: 175
- (⁸) Holbl 2001: 56.
- (⁹) Papiri Greci E Latini 1917: PSI406, PP.133-134; Papyrologica Florentina 1993:.30.
- (¹⁰) El Gowhary 1972:
- (¹¹) Polybius1925:425-27.
- (¹²) Diod. XIX: 4-8-9.
- (¹³) Tarn 1929: 15-16.
- (¹⁴) Pliny VI: 16S.
- (¹⁵) Richard & Valérie 2000 : 237.
- (¹⁶) Bengtson H.1938 : 194 – 5.
- (¹⁷) Rostovtseff 1941: 414.
- (¹⁸) Rostovtseff : 1941: 428.
- (¹⁹) Bowersock 1983: 41.
- (²⁰) Rostovtseff 1932: 45.
- (²¹) Gluek 1965 : 177.
- (²²) Groom 1981: 30.
- (²³) Bob Lebling 1979: 7.
-
- (²⁴) Isac 1980: 889; Negev 1986: 91.
- (²⁵) Raschke 1978: 661; Doe 1971: 55.
- (²⁶) Wissman 1964: 453
-
- (²⁷) Miller 1969: 135.
-
- (²⁸) Diodorus III : 47-9.
- (²⁹) Strabo XVII: 1.13.
- (³⁰) Strabo XVII: 1.13.
- (³¹) Strabo XVI: 4.23-4.

-
- (32) Periplus 1989: 26; Pliny VI: 32, 160 & 12, 30, 55; MacAdam 1989.
- (33) Strabo XVII: 1.13.
- (34) Periplus 1989: 44.
- (35) Strabo XVI: 4.23-4.
- (36) Periplus 1989: 26
- (37) Bowersock 1983: 23.
- (38) Geography 22 : CE XVI. IV : 4 -17.
- (39) <http://www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/Quseir/>.
- (40) Sidebotham & Wendrich 1995: 143.
- (41) Wendrich & Sidebotham 1995: 144 - 45.
- (42) Periplus 1989: 144.
- (43) Strabo XVI: 781.
- (44) Winnett 1970: 130.
- (45) Ghaban 1994: ; Al Ansary A.R. 1970:
- (46) Periplus, 1989: 144
- (47) Strabo XVI: 781
- (48) Strabo XVI.IV: 24.
- (49) Periplus 1989: 144.
- (50) Periplus 1989: 144.
- (51) Dan Gibson 2004:
- (52) Periplus 1989: 144.
- (53) Dan Gibson, 2004:
- (54) The Periplus Maris Eruthraean 1989: 20 - 21.
- (55) Dan Gibson 2004:
- (56) Periplus 1989: 144.
- (57) Bob Lebling 1979: 7.

References.

- Al Ansary A.R. 1970, "The chronology of Lihyan" BFA, Riyadh univ.
- Ali Ben Hamed Ghaban 1994, Primary report about Akra port, Al dara, 4, year19, Riyadh.
- Bob Lebling 1979. Where was Leuke Come? Washington Bureau, Arab News, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, April 23.
- Bowersock G.W 1983. Roman Arabi London.
- Browning M. 1982. Jerash and Decapolis chatto and windus, London.
- Charlsworth M.P.1924, The trade routes and commerce of Roman Empire, Cambridge University.
- Claude Orrieux 1983. Les papyrus de Zenon, Paris.
- Cook .S.A. 1934. The Augustan Empire 44B.c.to70A.D.The Cambridge ancient history, vol. x., Cambridge Univ.
- Dan Gibson 2002. Nabataean Trade Routes, copyright, can Books, E-Mail.<http://www.nabataen.net/trader.Html>.
- Dan Gibson, south Arabia, copyright 2002. Can books, E-Mail/<http://www.nabataea.net/sarabia.Html>.
- Diodorus S.1971.The Library of history, Trans by Russel Mand C.H.old father, XIX .London.
- Doe, B. 1971. Southern Arabia, London.
- Durant1939. The life of Greece, New York.
- El Gowhary, Y. 1912. The trade activities in the Red Sea during the Roman Empire , African Studies Review.
- Gluek N. 1964. The other side of Jordan, ASOR, New Hoven.
- Gogte, Vishwas, D. 1999. "Petra the Periplus and ancient Indo-Arabia maritime trade" ADAJ, Vol. XLII, Amman.
- Groom N. 1981. Frankincense and Myrrh, London.
- Hammond P., 1973. The Nabataeans their history, culture and Archaeology, Sweden Harding.
- Isac B. 1980. "Trade routes to Arabia and the Roman army" BAR, No.71, London.
- Jane Taylor 2001, Petra and the lost kingdom of the Nabataeans, London and New York.
- John Southland, 1924. [Http// www.ourgypt. Net featurestorie, part1, html](http://www.ourgypt.Net/featurestorie/part1.html), P3.Carlesworth, M.P.
- John Southland 2000. Petra, part1, Hyperlink [http// www.Tourgypt.Net featurestorie, part1, html](http://www.Tourgypt.Net/featurestorie/part1.html).

-
- MacAdam, H. 1989. 'Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy of Alexandria', in *Arabie Pre-Islamique*, Strasbourg.
- Meshorer Y. 1975. *Nabataean Coins*, the institute of archaeology Qedem, No3, Jerusalem.
- Negev, A. 1986. "The date of the Petra –Gaza road" PEQ1067, London.
- Nelson Gluek 1965. *The story of the Nabataean*, New York.
- Papiri Greci E Latini 1917. *Pubblicazioni della societa Italiana*, Vol.4, Firenze.
- Papyrologica Florentina 1993. vol. XXIV, Mostra documentaria –September.
- Paul Johnson 1987. *A history of the Jews*, New York.
- Philip H. 1957. *History of Syria*, 2nd Ed, London.
- Pliny G., *Natural history*, Trans by H. Rackham, Bk8, London.
- Polybius 1925. *Historia*, Trans. By W. R. Paton, Bk 13, London.
- Raschke, M. 1978."New studies in Roman commerce with East" ANRW, Vol2, Berlin.
- Richard, A.Lobban, Jr and Valerie de L. 2000." Elephants in ancient Egypt and Nubia"
Anthrozoos, Tufts Univ. North Graften.
- Rostovtzeff M. 1932. *Caravan cities*, Trans by D. and T. Talbot M., Rice, Oxford.
- 1953. *The social and Economic history of the Hellenistic world*, oxford.
- 1978. *New studies in Roman commerce with the East*, ANRW, vol2. Berlin.
- Starky J. 1955. "The Nabataeans. A history sketch" BA, vol. X V III, part4, Jerusalem.
- Sidebotham S.E. and Wendrich W.Z. (Eds.) 1995. *Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert; Leiden (Research School CNWS)*.
- Strabo 1983. *The Geography of Strabo*, Trans by Harce L.J., London, Bk 16, 1982, Bk17.
- Tarn W.W. 1979."Ptolemy II and Arabia, JEA. VOL. 15, London.
- The Perilpus Maris Eruthraei* 1989. Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary, Lionel Casson, Princeton University Press.
- Van Beek G. 1958. *Frankincense and Myrrh in ancient south Arabia*, JAOS 78.
- Wendrich W.Z. & Sidebotham S.E. 1995. "Port of Elephants and Pearls"; *Egypt Today*, December, pp. 144-145.
- Winnett, F., & Reed W.L. 1970. "Ancient records from North Arabia" Toronto Univ.
- Wissman, H. 1964. *Himyer ancient history*"Le Museum, Vol.72.
- Wright T. 1970. *Early Christianity in Arabia*, London.