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University of Melbourne (Australia) PH.D. 1980

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A STUDY OF NEW SAFAITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM JORDAN

BY

VINCENT A. CLARK

A THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

1979

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Addenda & Corrigenda

p. 135. Note 14. Add "See also J. Ryckmans, "Aspects nouveaux du probleme thamoudeen", in Studia Islamica, 5, 1956, p.5 and note 2."

p. 144. For the paragraph "Also to be rejected ----- is being made." read "Also to be noted in this regard is Winnett's comment on the name KḤSMN (SIJ 24), which "would seem to be the Safaitic equivalent of the well-known *al-Ḥaisumān*", relating the *k* here to the Minaean preposition *k* and comparing this to the Hebrew *'kaph veritatis'*.[29] This Hebrew usage implies that a comparison is being made."

p. 193. No.89. For "he [returned] (to camp)" read "he [was on a journey]".

p. 195. No.95. Possibly read this as "so O 'LT take (it) away!"

p. 196. No.98. For "repay evil!" read "requite (evil?)".

p. 197. For "----- see the Ar. *ḥārifa*, "to repay evil" read "----- see the Ar. *ḥārifa*, "to requite, deflect (good or evil)"."

p. 198. No.104. After "----- *'ḫwn* (HTap 43, C 2534)" add "The retention of the consonantal termination *n* before the affixed pronoun *h* is difficult to explain."

p. 200. No.107. For "in the desert in the ḤRT" read "in the desert and the ḤRT".
For "O LT" read "O 'LT".
The following comments, "The use of *f* ----- etc.", should be deleted. Instead read "The author of this text has here distinguished between two different types of desert, *mdbr* - open gravel desert, and *ḥrt* - volcanic desert."

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p. 205. No.131. For "see the Ar. -----" read "it is probably related to the Ar. *'aẓuma*, "to be great, big"."

p. 206. No.139. Instead of *mdy bn w*[...] read *m*[*dy bn w ..*]. After "----- illegible." add "The present reading is based on the photograph and the hand copy made in the field."

p. 214. For "[..] complete relief(?)" read "[..].....".
For "A similar expression ----- illness" read "A similar expression may occur in SIJ 123, where Winnett has translated "complete relief". Note, however, that the Ar. *jalama* has the meaning "to shear (a sheep)". As the present text is unclear no reading is suggested".

No.190. Rather than *ḥrs fḥbb* read *ḥbb fḥbb* (see text no.88).

p. 220. No.213. For *'w*[*h*] *mt* perhaps read *'wl mt*.

No.214. For "and he waged war upon *H'ŠWH*(?)" read "and his allies(?) waged war against him."
For "in which case the text would read "and his allies waged war"" read "in which case we may read, as here, "and his allies waged war against him"."

p. 238. No.290. Add to the commentary "See no.296.

p. 241. No.300. Add "See no.104a".

p. 245. No.318. For "the blind one" read "the incapacitated one".
For "blindness" read "blindness, injury, damage".

p. 255. No.363. For "and the shelter was illuminated(?)" read "and he fled to the shelter". Delete "The meaning of ----- On the other hand". Also delete "giving the reading ----- the shelter"."

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p. 258. No.378. For "seems to be an unlikely name" read "seems impossible, as *'ayn* and *ḥ* cannot be found in immediate sequence in any Semitic word".

p. 259. No.381. Add to the commentary "*njd* here may also simply be a common noun - "high plateau"."

p. 268. No.419. For "he was avenged" read "he took revenge".

p. 271. Read "La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie -----".

p. 276. No.442. Rather than FBRQN read perhaps ŠBRQN.

p. 279. No.451. Read "extremely".

p. 284. No.478. Rather than "myrrh" read perhaps "bitter herbage".

p. 314. No.612. Perhaps read *l hnnt b(n) mhn*.

p. 318. No.628. For *nẓrm rb' l* read *nẓr l rb' l*. Delete "The use of the active participle ----- conjunction".

p. 326. No.661. For "generic" read "gentilic".

p. 332. No.688. For *ḡdr* read *ndb*.
For "he was on the lookout for pools of rainwater" read "he was awaiting wailing for the dead(?)".
For "while *ḡdr* ----- rain"." read "while *ndb* is to be related perhaps to the Ar. *nādib*, "wailing for the dead"."

p. 340. No.727. For "for the blood-horse(s)" perhaps read "during the hot season".

p. 354-355. NO.796. For "he awaited the successful raid", read "he awaited the raid for two days". For "The word *ymn* has been taken as an adjective, "happy, successful"." read "The word *ymn* here is an adverbial usage, "for two days"." Delete "It may ----- more likely one."

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p. 385. No.939a. After *w*[...] add *b'l*.

p. 388. No.954. For "probably" read "possibly". Add to the end of the commentary "Alternatively we may derive this name from the root *smw*, from which comes the well-known name Sami".

p. 395. No.981. Delete *bn*. For "son of WḤD read "he was alone". Delete the following comment".

p. 402. No.1004. For *wjl smn wrl* perhaps read *wjls mn wrl*. For "and he collected the fat of a wrl-lizard" perhaps read "and he sat down for (to catch?) a lizard".

p. 405. No.1008. For *wjl smn ḫqr* perhaps read *wjls mn bqr* and for "and he collected the fat of a cow" perhaps read "and he sat down for (to catch?) a cow."

p. 406. No.1011. Add to the commentary "See nos.1004 and 1046 for another reference to the tribe of ṮY'."

p. 469. Add to the Index of Tribes (b.) the entry ṮY' - 1004, 1011, 1046.

p. 495. To the entry Seven dots add 471.
To Seven strokes add 12, 289, 716-718.

p. 505. K. Petráček, read "semantischen".

p. 508. For Trimmingham read Trimingham.

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PREFACE

In this study a significant new corpus of previously undiscovered and unpublished Safaitic graffiti has been presented. These inscriptions were discovered and personally copied and photographed by the writer during the course of two visits to Jordan, the first between April and August, 1976 and the second between October and December, 1977. These texts have been presented here in transliteration, translation and facsimile, together with a discussion of a number of points which have arisen from their study.

I wish to express my gratitude to all those who assisted in any way with this project. In particular, a great debt of gratitude is owed to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, especially to the director Dr. Adnan Hadidi, for making it possible to begin this work. For his support and continual encouragement during my time in Jordan I wish to express thanks to Dr. James A. Sauer, the director of the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman. Mr. Thomas Pickering, previously the ambassador of the United States of America to Jordan, provided invaluable assistance and support.

In Australia, for extending to me all necessary assistance and facilities, I wish to thank the staff of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Melbourne - particularly Dr. John A. Thompson, whose enthusiasm and suggestions prompted me to begin this project, and whose interest has helped to guide it to completion.

Special assistance was provided by a University of

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Melbourne Faculty of Arts Travel Grant-in-aid for my trip to Jordan in 1977. Without such financial support this work would not have reached completion in its present form.

The colour slide film used to record the inscriptions found in 1977 was generously provided by the Agfa-Gevaert Company. This film yielded excellent results.

For her careful and patient typing of a large part of this manuscript, thanks are due to Ms. Diana Every.

My gratitude is extended to my friends for their continued patience and interest during the time it has taken to complete this work - in particular to Marilyn Leguier, who often bore the brunt of my unsociability during the last year.

Finally, deep gratitude must be expressed to Gerald Lankester Harding, who died in London on 11th February, 1979. His contributions to the field of North Arabian epigraphy, in particular Safaitic, have been considerable. Although our acquaintance was not of long standing he extended to me his friendship and experience. His passing is felt as a great loss.

Vincent A. Clark

25th October, 1979.

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Bottom : Site M (looking south).

3. Top : Text No.1; Centre : Nos.13-15; Bottom : No.48.

4. Top : No.64; Centre : No.69; Bottom : No.192.

5. Top : Nos.366-367; Centre : Nos.410-411; Bottom : No.424.

6. Top : Nos.535-538; Centre : No.550; Bottom : Nos.625-628.

7. Top : Nos.622-624; Centre : Nos.698-699; Bottom : Nos.724-725.

8. Top : Nos.809-810; Centre and Bottom : Nos.820-821.

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9. Top : No.895; Centre : No.1004; Bottom : Nos,1005-1008.

10. Top : No.1046; Centre : No.1190; Bottom : Nos.1194-1197.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE PRESENT WORK.

AAAS	Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes.
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan.
Ar.	Arabic.
ARNA	F.V. Winnett & W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
BM	British Museum registration numbers (see RyBM).
BP I	A.van den Branden, Les textes thamoudéens de Philby, Vol.I.
BP II	Ibid, Vol.II.
C	Safaitic inscriptions in Corpus, unless indicated as Sab.C, for which see Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars IV, Inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas continens.
CIK	W. Caskel, Ǧamharat an-Nasab - Das Genealogische Werk des Hišam Ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi. References are to page and column.
Cl.Ar.	Classical Arabic.
CNAI	V. Clark, "Some New Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions from Northern Arabia".
Corpus	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars V, Inscriptiones saracenicas continens.
DM	Damascus Museum registration numbers.
Dozy, Supplément	R. Dozy, Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes.
Dunand	Safaitic texts copied by M. Dunand and published in Corpus.

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Dussaud	Safaitic inscriptions in R. Dussaud et F. Macler, Voyage archéologique au Ṣafâ et dans le Djebel ed - Druze.
ESA	Epigraphic South Arabian.
Eut	Texts collected by Julius Euting.
Gl	South Arabian inscriptions collected by Eduard Glaser.
Ḥaḍ	Ḥaḍrami.
HCH	G. Lankester Harding, "The Cairn of Hani'".
HFSIM	" " " , "Further Safaitic Texts in the Iraq Museum".
HIn	" " " , An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions.
HNST	" " " , "New Safaitic Texts".
HSDT	" " " , "A Safaitic Drawing and Text".
HSIL	" " " , "Safaitic Inscriptions from Lebanon".
HSIM	" " " , "Safaitic Inscriptions in the Iraq Museum".
HST	" " ,"The Safaitic Tribes".
HTap	" " , "Safaitic Inscriptions from Tapline in Jordan".
Hu	Charles Huber, Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie.
IM	Iraq Museum registration numbers.
ISB	W.G. Oxtoby, Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin.

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Ja	South Arabian inscriptions published by A. Jamme. (See Hln, p.xix for a listing).
Jaf	A. Jamme, "Safaitic *f* as a preposition and a particle indicating a temporal succession".
JaMIL	" " , Minaean Inscriptions Published as Liḥyanite.
JaMisc	" " , Miscellanées d'ancient arabe, Vols.I-VIII.
JaNSHI	" " , "New Safaitic and Hasaean Inscriptions from Northern Arabia".
JaS	" " , Safaitic inscriptions, published as follows: JaS 1, "A Safaitic Inscription from the Negeb". JaS 2-23, "Safaitic Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia". JaS 24-38, "New Safaitic and Hasaean Inscriptions from Northern Arabia". JaS 39-43, "The Pre-Islamic Inscriptions of the Riyadh Museum". JaS 44-176, "Safaitic Inscriptions from the country of ᶜArᶜar and Ra's al-ᶜAnānīyah". JaS 177-180, "Four New Safaitic Texts".
JaSAMP	" " , "The Safaitic Collection of the Art Museum of Princeton University".
JaSE	" " , "The Safaitic Expression *rġm mny* and its variants".
JaSG	" " , "The so-called Safaitic Gods slḥ and n'r".
JaSICA	" " , "Safaitic Inscriptions from the Country of ᶜArᶜar and Ra's al-ᶜAnānīyah".
JaSISA	" " , "Safaitic Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia".
JaSm	" " , "Safaitic *mlk*, "Lord" of the Tribe".

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JaSN	A. Jamme , Safaitic Notes.
JaSV402	" " , "Safaitic Vogüé 402".
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JS	Inscriptions in A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, Mission Archéologique en Arabie.
Lane, Lexicon	E.W. Lane, An Arabic - English Lexicon, 8 vols..
Liḥ	Liḥyanite
LP	E. Littmann, "Safaitic Inscriptions", in Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909, Division IV, Section C.
LP, Vocabulary	" " , Vocabulary in LP.
LSI	" " , "Semitic Inscriptions (Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, Part IV).
LTS	" " , Thamūd and Ṣafā.
MH	M.C.A. Macdonald and G.L. Harding, "More Safaitic texts from Jordan".
Michigan	Safaitic texts published by W. Worrell. See WoFSG.
Min	Minaean.
Qat	Qatabanian.
R	Inscriptions in Repertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique, Vols. I-VIII.
Rees	Inscriptions in R. Dussaud, "Les relevés du Capitaine Rees dans le désert de Syrie".
Rev	Review article.

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RNP I,II & III	G. Ryckmans, Les Noms Propres sud - sémitiques Vols. I-III.
RVP,M	" " , "Inscriptions safaïtiques de Transjordanie".
Ry	" " , Inscriptions sud-arabes, published in Le Muséon (for details see Hln, p.xxix).
RyBM	" " , "Inscriptions safaïtiques au British Museum et au Musée de Damas".
RyDM	" " , Safaitic inscriptions in the Damascus Museum published in RyBM.
RyF	" " , "Inscriptions safaïtiques relevés par Henry Field".
SA	South Arabian.
Sab	Sabaean.
Saf	Safaitic.
SIJ	F.V. Winnett, Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan.
Tay	Taymanite.
Tham	Thamudic.
VdBIT	A. van den Branden, Les inscriptions thamoudéennes.
Vogüé	C.J. de Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, Vol.2, "Inscriptions sémitiques".
WA	F.V. Winnett, "Thamudic Inscriptions from the Negev".
Waddington	Inscriptions copied by Waddington. See G. Ryckmans, "Inscriptions safaïtiques relevées par Waddington".
WAM,S	Safaitic inscriptions in F.V. Winnett, "An Arabian Miscellany".
Wetzstein	Inscriptions copied by J.G. Wetzstein. See J.G. Wetzstein, Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen

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(Wetzstein)	nebst einem Anhange über die sabaïschen Denkmäler in Ostsyrien. See also, D. Müller, "Die Ḥarra - Inschriften und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklungsgeschichte der südsemitischen Schrift".
WH	F.V. Winnett and G.L. Harding, Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns.
WLT	F.V. Winnett, A Study of the Libyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions.
WoFSG	W. Worrell, "Four Safaitic Graffiti".
WRH	F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, "An Archaeological - Epigraphical Survey of the Ḥā'il Area of Northern Saudi-Arabia".
WTay	Taymanite inscriptions in ARNA.
WTI	Thamudic inscriptions in ARNA.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZFPE	Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

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A Note on Transliteration

The following system of transliteration of Safaitic and Arabic has been used throughout this work :

* 𐩠	ا	*ʾ (ʾalif)*	𐩵	ض	*ḍ*
𐩡	ب	*b*	𐩶	ط	*ṭ*
𐩢	ت	*t*	𐩷	ظ	*ẓ*
𐩣	ث	*ṯ*	𐩸	ع	*ᶜ (ᶜayn)*
𐩤	ج	*j*	𐩹	غ	*ḡ*
𐩥	ح	*ḥ*	𐩺	ف	*f*
𐩦	خ	*ẖ*	𐩻	ق	*q*
𐩧	د	*d*	𐩼	ك	*k*
𐩨	ذ	*ḏ*	𐩽	ل	*l*
𐩩	ر	*r*	𐩾	م	*m*
𐩪	ز	*z*	𐩿	ن	*n*
𐩫	س	*s*	𐪀	ه	*h*
𐩬	ش	*s̄*	𐪁	و	*w*
𐩭	ص	*ṣ*	𐪂	ي	*y*

The Arabic *tāʾ marbūṭa* (ة) has been represented generally as *-a*, except before a following vowel, in which case it has been represented as *-at*. Consistency has not always been possible, especially in the names of places and in the titles of books and journal articles. All Safaitic and Arabic words given in transliteration have been represented in *italicized* type, as have all other non-English words.

* For a more detailed table of the Safaitic alphabet see pages 70 - 71, below.

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INTRODUCTION

a. Some Geographical Notes.

The desert of eastern Transjordan, a desolate and forbidding wasteland strewn with myriad basalt boulders, is undoubtedly one of the most inhospitable tracts of land on the surface of the Earth. From a little to the east of Mafraq in northern Jordan the highway to Baghdad passes for approximately 160 km through what is known as the Harrat ar-Rājil. This is a landscape of black basalt boulders and rocky outcrops intersected by numerous gullies and at times the road traverses open areas of mud flats, which have formed in depressions along the courses of the occassional wadi beds or in low lying areas.

This region is virtually trackless except where the road to Baghdad, the Tapline track and a few rough tracks across the mud flats and along the wadi courses traverse it. Otherwise it can be crossed only on foot, as the basalt boulders, which average 50 - 100 cm in diameter, are closely strewn in most places. Between the boulders is a hard sedimentary limestone soil mingled with basalt fragments, gravel and chert fragments.

Vegetation is sparse here with only a few stunted desert shrubs growing between the boulders. After rain the mud flats and wadi courses may spring to life with grasses and herbaceous growth which may survive for a considerable time afterwards.

From the highway the prospect is of a sea of black boulders shimmering in the sunlight, undulating gently towards the horizon without visible break but with the occassional higher ridge or peak looming out of the general landscape. Many of these peaks are extinct volcanic cones or plugs. In comparatively recent geological eras volcanic

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activity was widespread in this area, although no activity has been reported during historical times. The lava beds overlie the earlier Eocene, Oligocene and Miocene limestones and marls which are the basic strata of the region and which lie exposed to the east and west of the Ḥarra . This lava flow has been broken up into scores of boulders by the combined effects of extremes of temperature and the buckling movements in the Earth's crust. The main centre of volcanic activity was centred about Jebel Druze in southern Syria, while lesser centres of importance were Jebel Says in Syria, Jebel Jathūm and Jebel 'Ashakif on the eastern side of the Jordanian Ḥarra , Jebel al-ᶜAritayn to the west of it and Jebel Buraik and Jebel Maqqal in northern Saudi Arabia. Numerous other volcanic cones are to be seen throughout the region. The lava extends over the Syrian border up to the region of Jebel Druze and Jebel Says and as far north as the regions known as al-Lajā and as-Safā. To the south it extends into Saudi Arabia, running parallel to the Wādī Sirḥān to the east of it. To the east the lava belt ends abruptly and the mud flats and gravel plains overlying the limestone run right up to its edge, which in some places rises up abruptly above the plain. This edge of the Ḥarra is fairly regular, despite the occassional island of basalt in the plain and the numerous promontories and bays along its edge which give it some of the character of a sea shore. It is possible here to follow the edge of the lava, remaining on the flat plain where the going is relatively easy, from H4 to al-Wisād on the Saudi Arabian border using the edge of the Ḥarra as a guide. To the west, however, the edge of the lava flow is less clearly defined, as the basalt appears to thin out, giving way to an undulating, gravel covered surface with occassional volcanic plugs and

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a scattering of basalt boulders.

This region is almost totally devoid of water supplies except during rain. Any precipitation drains rapidly into the soil and into the limestone substratum, although it may accumulate on the surface of the mud flats forming shallow lakes for a few days before seeping away or evaporating. Perennial water supplies are to be found only on the outskirts of the lava country - at Burqu' in the east, at 'Azraq in the west and at Jāwā in the northwest - although subterranean water is obtainable in many of the wadi beds. The main drainage pattern is to the south and west along an extensive depression which runs between Jebel Druze and Jebel 'Ashakif towards 'Azraq. The main wadis of this system are the Wādī Rājil and the Wādī al-ᶜAbd. On the eastern side of the Harra the drainage is towards the north along the Wādī Mūqat towards the pools at Burqu'.

The desert climate is harsh, with summer temperatures rising to over 40°c. Ground temperatures can become intolerable in the open, as the black basalt rocks absorb heat, becoming impossible to touch. The hottest months are June, July and August but daytime temperatures may be extreme for some months before and after summer. At night the temperature drops considerably but in summer it is never cold. In the winter months of December, January and February the temperature averages about 10°c but may drop much lower, with occassional falls of snow. Strong winds are common, usually coming from the west or southwest. Rainfall occurs in the period between December and January but occassional localised showers may occur at other times. After rain the desert tracks become impassable for some days. Dew may fall at night, giving new life to the desert plants. Generally the total annual precipitation does not exceed 200mm.[1]

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As a consequence of this terrible inhospitality of the country it is extremely sparsely populated today. The Mafraq to Baghdad highway passes from west to east and the Trans-Arabian oil pipeline road - Tapline - traverses it from southeast to northwest. Straggling villages are to be found along the Baghdad highway but the area is largely populated by government employees, Tapline employees and military personnel. Most of the villages are found to the west in the region between Mafraq and H5, where the ground is not so thickly littered with basalt boulders. Here are a few agricultural and pastoral communities, the people of which may be termed *rāʿiya*, that is, semi-nomadic pastoralists who return to their houses to plant crops when the seasons are good. These people may often be members of the larger Bedouin tribes who are in the process of becoming settled. The region is also peopled by scattered Bedouin families with their camels and goats, who wander through in search of pasturage. During the summer months few of these are to be seen but numerous tents were observed by this writer during October and November, especially in the area to the south of H4. Departing from their age-old traditions these Bedouin are now to be seen moving their belongings in the back of a deisel truck or receiving water supplies from a government tanker. The region is shared between the Arabian Ruwala with its associated clans, the Jordanian Banī Sakhr and the Huwaytāt in the south.

b. The Antiquities of the region and the Safaites.

It would seem that this desert region has supported an itinerant nomadic population since prehistoric times while the more permanent settlements are of quite recent date. The earliest evidence of a population in the area comes from numerous sites where flint implements have been found[2] or rock drawings observed.[3] Most of our evidence comes, however, from historical times.

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The nomadic peoples of the desert have often caused trouble for the settled dwellers of the "Fertile Crescent", the desert providing an excellent refuge for these marauders when pursued. From time to time governments have sought to contain these nomads and have established outposts in the desert to contain them to the inner, least accessible desert areas and thus protect the settled population. One such period was the Roman and Byzantine one, the period in which the Safaitic tribes inhabited the desert areas and were, no doubt, at times confined to the Ḥarra and its fringes, an area which would have provided excellent refuge for them. The lava country is indeed full of the traces of its nomadic inhabitants during the literate period - inscriptions in Safaitic, Kufic and Arabic; the ruins of numerous animal enclosures; a few ruined buildings and numerous burial cairns. It is not possible, however, to form a definite picture of the desert population at any one period but, with the exception of the modern one, it is the Safaitic period which is the best documented.

The Safaitic inscriptions which provide this documentation are to be found from Lebanon[4] and Dura Europus[5] in the north to Badana and Sakāka[6] in Saudi Arabia to the south, from the Negev[7] and Umm al-Jamāl[8] in the west to Ruṭba[9] in Iraq to the east (see Map 1). The area of their greatest concentration seems to have been along the edges of the Ḥarrat ar-Rājil and in the Haurān and Ruḥba regions of southern Syria, although not enough it as yet known of other regions. The texts themselves are found written on the rocks that surround burial cairns, at camping spots, lookouts or at places where people have merely passed by.

Considered individually these inscriptions appear to offer a meagre and unrewarding field for study, being little more than graffiti,

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a large number of them providing no more information than the name of the author and that of his father.[10] A considerable number, nevertheless, do yield information of a religious, sociological or historical value, albeit of a rather enigmatical nature at times. This information must be gleaned with care as variant readings are often possible and the texts are often loath to surrender their true message. Consequently much of the work done in this field cannot claim to be definitive and anyone editing new epigraphic material or proposing reinterpretations of already published material must lay himself open to constructive criticism.

The name Safaitic has been given to those inscriptions which were written in an evolved type of script of the South Arabian branch of the alphabet, although its exact relationship to the other South Arabian scripts is not known. This question will be discussed more fully below.[11] The term "Safaitic" has been derived from the region of as-Safā, a volcanic wasteland to the northeast of Jebel Druze in southern Syria. No inscriptions have been found in this region but like many names which preserve inaccuracies the term has been accepted rather than seek one more appropriate.[12] The language of these inscriptions belongs, it would seem, to the North Arabian branch of the Semitic language family and has affinities to Arabic.

c. The Finding and Recording of the Inscriptions of this Collection.[13]

The inscriptions of this collection, numbering 1197, were hand-copied and photographed during the course of a number of visits to the Harrat ar-Rājil during 1976 and 1977.

During 1976 all photographs taken were black-and-white negatives. For the 1977 visit to Jordan the writer was fortunate to

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receive a contribution of Agfa CS18 colour slide film from the Agfa-Gevaert Company, for which he is deeply grateful. As a consequence the procedings of the 1977 trip were recorded entirely on colour slide film acheiving much more satisfactory results. The facsimiles of the inscriptions were made from careful tracings taken directly from the projected image of the negative or slide on a horizontal desk screen. They are, consequently, accurate reproductions of the originals, careful attention being also given to the hand-copies made in the field.[14]

The epigraphic sites visited and recorded were given alphabetic seriation from A to P from west to east along the Baghdad highway and from north to south from the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya to the Qā^{c} Abū al-Ḥusayn to the south of H4. These sites are described in detail below.[15] Some details of the expeditions themselves are now given as a background to the study of the texts.

The writer's first encounter with Safaitic inscriptions outside of scholarly publications and museums took place on 3rd May 1976 at Jāwā. None of the inscriptions recorded there are included here, however, as they are to be published shortly by M.C.A. Macdonald, who has just completed an intensive epigraphical study of the area around Jāwā. The night of 3rd May was spent in what is hopefully called a "hotel" at the settlement of H4 (Maḥaṭṭat al-Jūfur) and on the following morning, together with a Department of Antiquities district inspector, a driver and a guard from the local police, the writer set out along the track to al-Wisād. The intention was to check the statement of W. G. Oxtoby:[16]

> "If the region explored in 1958 and 1959[17] offers any indication, then there are still thousands of texts to the south, in a direct line along the edge of the *ḥarra*. How far they will be seen to

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extend through eastern Jordan and into northern Arabia is a story that remains to be told by future expeditions."

Indeed the publication of texts by A. Jamme[18] already proved the existence of Safaitic inscriptions in northern Saudi Arabia but the area between the Wadi Mūqat and al-Wisād was largely *terra incognita* as far as epigraphy was concerned. The principal aim of this trip was to fill that gap, at least partially.

At the point where the H4 to al-Wisād track first encounters the edge of the Ḥarra lies Site H. The inscriptions at this spot were copied throughout the day while the writer's companions drooped in the extreme heat, finally sleeping in the shade of the Department of Antiquities "Landcruiser". Later that night the party returned to Amman.

On 6th June a one day exploratory trip was taken along the Baghdad highway. The principle spot investigated was the Murabb as-Suweiᶜid, (Site B of this collection) where some texts were copied before the work was stopped by an unidentified person armed with a machine-pistol, who demanded that the writer leave the spot at once. Naturally this was done *post haste* but with the intention to return to this most important site as soon as possible. This return was effected on 13th June, in the company of Mr. Richard Dorset, a keen amateur archaeologist who assisted in a number of ways. On this trip Site A, to the west of H5 was discovered and recorded, before visiting the Cairn of Hani,[19] now home for a family of foxes, and travelling on to Murabb as-Suweiᶜid. That afternoon and the next day were spent copying texts at points (b.) and (c.) before returning, exhausted, to Amman, once again with the intention of returning to the site to explore it further, a hope not realized until the following year.

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Just before leaving Jordan to return to Australia, on 22nd August, the writer was conveyed on a rapid and somewhat cursory survey of the area between H4 and al-Wisād by Mr. Thomas Pickering, the then U.S. Ambassador to Jordan. During this a number of sites were visited and a number were selected to be revisited in the future. Among these were Sites G, I, M and P of this collection. In addition the inscriptions of Sites N and O were fully recorded.

In October 1977 the writer returned to Jordan with the assistance of a University of Melbourne, Faculty of Arts, Travel Grant-in-Aid, in order to visit and record the inscriptional sites discovered on 22nd August the previous year. Accordingly, on 14th October the first trip was made to the Ḥarra in the Toyota Landcruiser recently purchased by the American Centre of Oriental Research in Amman. The first site visited was Murabb aṣ-Ṣuweiᶜid, in order to check and rephotograph a number of texts recorded in the previous year and to continue the survey of the site. Accordingly points (d.) and (e.) were located and recorded, amidst a most trying plague of flies.

Travelling on along the highway towards the east to the right of the road near Tell al-'Ashqaf a conical cairn becomes visible some 2km off the highway, atop of what is probably an eroded volcanic plug. Here were recorded the inscriptions of Site E. From this elevated spot another cairn is visible some 3km further to the south. The track which leads from the highway to Site E continues on tc pass close to this second cairn after dipping through a shallow, dry wadi bed. This second cairn marks Site F.

After sleeping in the open alongside this track the next day was spent at the Qāᶜ ash-Shahba, where the inscriptions of Site D were recorded on the top and eastern face of a volcanic plug which rises abruptly

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above the qā^{c} on its western side. Returning towards Amman later that day a group of cairns to the south of a northward sweep of the highway was visited, after negotiating some extremely rough terrain. Here, however, Site C, only one inscription was found among the six to eight cairns at the site.

On 20th October Site A, recorded the previous year was revisited and partially rephotographed before driving on to H4 and then south along the track to al-Wisād. Upon reaching the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya at Site H, turning northwest site G, located the previous year, is reached after about 1km. Recording began here in the early afternoon. After a pleasant night under the stars and a slight westerly breeze work here was concluded in the early morning before proceding to Site I, located in the previous year. That afternoon Site M, also noted in the previous year, was visited and recorded before returning to Amman later that night.

On 25th November a trip was made with the intention of visiting Site P, a large site located the previous year and which was clearly of some significance. Travelling on the Baghdad highway as far as H4 and then turning off towards al-Wisād an incredible sight awaited as the Qā^{c} Abū al-Ḥusayn was reached. This qā^{c} was found to be completely covered by an extensive rain-water flood, only inches deep but covering the desert as far as the eye could see to the south and east and completely blocking passage to the south.[20] With the purpose of this trip thwarted the writer turned back towards H4 to examine that part of the edge of the Ḥarra between Qā^{c} Abū al-Ḥusayn and Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya, along the edges of the Qā^{c} al-Ladhāyim and the Qā^{c} al-Mahfūr. Here three new sites were located and recorded - Sites J, K and L - before returning to Amman.

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One final visit was made to the region on 4th December. Driving to 'Azraq ad-Durūz the track towards al-ᶜAritayn was followed as far as the Tapline track, which it crosses. Tapline was then followed as far as the al-Wisād border post. Here the track to H4, which crosses the Qāᶜ Abū al-Husayn, turns off to the north. Site P is located on the edge of the Qāᶜ Abū al-Husayn. The work of recording inscriptions began here at mid-morning in bitter weather, with a cold southerly wind blowing. By early afternoon it was evident that a violent storm was imminent and work was abandoned in order to return to Amman. A large number of texts were left unrecorded.[21] The return drive to Amman was a memorable one, being made in the dark into the teeth of a raging thunder storm and swirling clouds of dust.

d. The Aims of the Present Study.

The intention of this study has been to shed further light upon the language, history and society of pre-Islamic North Arabia, particularly upon the people known as the Safaites. These were a nomadic people, closely related to the later Arab bedouin tribesmen, who inhabited the north Arabian desert during the first few centuries of the Christian era. The exact place of these people in the linguistic and cultural history of the Near East is still obscure and it was initially hoped that they might be made more a part of the overall picture than had previously been possible. However, the studies arising from the evaluation of this new epigraphical material, rather than completing our knowledge of these peoples, has tended to highlight the many lacunae in our present state of knowledge of them.

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This is not to say, however, that this new material will not make an important contribution to the study of the Safaitic peoples. Any new textual collection, if properly presented, must make significant contributions. Nevertheless, the usual enigmatical nature of these terse, unvowelled texts precludes that many definite conclusions may be drawn. As a consequence the expressions "perhaps", "possibly", "might be" and so on will be seen to occur frequently throughout this work. Despite this the study of the texts has provided vital details about the culture and society of pre-Islamic North Arabia, about a people and an area largely ignored by students of the region of the Near East.

* * * * *

The present study has been divided into two parts.

Part One contains a series of short discussion chapters, each devoted to some matter, or matters, arising from the consideration of these new inscriptions. These discussions draw widely upon previously published works in this field. They include the following : a survey of previous Safaitic text publications, including an evaluation of them; a description of the sites where the graffiti of the new collection were found, together with a survey of the texts from each in order to determine the nature of the site; a study of the drawings which accompany the texts; a study of Safaitic paleography based upon the texts of this collection, including an attempt to classify the types of script used and a discussion of the relationship between Safaitic and Thamudic; an evaluation of the so-called

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"historical" texts; notes upon matters of orthography and syntax arising from the new texts; notes about Safaitic religion; a discussion of the personal and tribal names of this new collection. Finally some overall observations are made about this study and the problems which it has raised, together with suggestions for future research in this field of epigraphy.

Part Two consists of the transliteration, translation and annotation of the 1197 new graffiti recorded by the writer in 1976 and 1977, followed by a comprehensive series of indices and facsimiles of all of these texts.

Footnotes to the Introduction.

1. Accurate and up-to-date data on the geography, geology and climate of this region are difficult to obtain. Much of the information furnished here was gained from personal enquiry and observation during 1976 and 1977.
2. See H.Field, North Arabian Desert Archaeological Survey, 1925-1950. Microlithic flints were picked up by this writer at Sites H and P.
3. Such rock drawings have been seen by this writer at Jāwā and at Site A. See also G.Horsfield and N.Glueck, "Prehistoric rock-drawings in Transjordan", in American Journal of Archaeology, Vol.37, 1933, p.381 - 386.
4. G.Lankester Harding, "Safaitic Inscriptions from Lebanon", in ADAJ, Vol.XVI, 1971, p.77 - 82.
5. C.C.Torrey, "Safaitic Inscriptions"; see C 5175 - 5180.
6. JaSICA, WAM, etc.
7. A.Jamme, "A Safaitic Inscription from the Negev", in ʿAtiqot, Vol.2, 1959, p.150 - 151.
8. LP 1269 - 1279.

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9. ᶜAdil Nājī, *"Kitābat Safawiyat min Sahra' ar-Rutba"*, in Sumer, Vol.18, 1962, p.165 - 170 and Plates 1 & 2.

10. See W.G.Oxtoby, "Kilroy in the Desert", in ADAJ, Vol.XV, 1970, p.21 - 23 and Plate 1.

11. See below, p. 58 - 64.

12. See below, p. 78.

13. See Maps 2, 3 and 4.

14. See the Index of Texts, Photographs and Figures. In this index any text which was not photographed has been indicated by the notation "No Photograph".

15. See Chapter Two, The Sites and the Inscriptions.

16. See ISB, p.34.

17. That is, the Wadi Mūqat.

18. See especially JaSICA, JaSISA and JaNSHI.

19. See G.Lankester Harding, "The Cairn of Hani'", in ADAJ, Vol.II, 1953, p.8 - 56.

20. It is probably to such a flood that the Safaitic author referred when he used the word *nql* (see text No.70).

21. It is hoped that this site may be revisited in the near future.

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CHAPTER ONE

A HISTORY OF SAFAITIC EPIGRAPHIC RESEARCH - A SURVEY

The present collection of texts will bring to some 14000 the number of Safaitic texts published to date.[1] This appears to be an enormous number but two factors must be kept in mind when considering this material. Firstly nearly half of this number represents material published prior to 1950 (but copied much earlier in many cases) and its value for modern scholarship is much reduced by the fact that it may be unreliable.[2] Secondly the short and often enigmatical nature of the texts themselves means that a large number of them need to be studied before any sort of a picture can be built up of the people who left them for posterity in the Syrian Desert. This chapter is not intended to be a review of previous publications but rather a summary of earlier text publications and of the problems of methodology which have become evident from a study of them.

The existence of countless thousands of inscriptions in the pre-Islamic North Arabian dialect known as Safaitic was not revealed to western scholarship until the year 1858, when Cyril Graham published his copies of a few short inscriptions seen by him in the Syrian Desert in the previous year.[3] In the years which followed much interest was aroused and a considerable number of these texts was discovered and published by various travellers and scholars. However,it was not until the year 1901 that all of the letters of the Safaitic alphabet were correctly identified and the inscriptions could be read properly, although the problem of the identification of some unusual letter forms still exists today.[4]

The monumental work of the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars V,

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Inscriptiones Saracenicas continens, (Paris, 1950) containing 5380 texts edited by G. Ryckmans, incorporated the greater part of all Safaitic inscriptions published up until that time as well as 2600 previously unpublished texts copied by M. Dunand and his wife. Much of the material published in the Corpus represented inscriptions which had been published initially fifty or more years previously.[5] Therein lies the main problem which confronts anyone wishing to consult this work.

W.G. Oxtoby believes that "the Corpus represents a massive summation of the material and will surely continue to serve as the foundation of further Safaitic Studies".[6] While this is partially true it must be stressed that the Corpus suffers from severe drawbacks which render it a trap for the unwary. In addition to the fact that the commentaries and translations of the texts are in Latin and the transliterations are in the Hebrew script, neither of which can be considered to be adequate media for coping with this material, the actual material itself presents massive obstacles to anyone using this volume. Most seriously it includes no indexation of any kind, apart from the Index Tabularum, nor does it give any concordance of the texts which it has published, many of which were copied and published by more than one person previously.[7] The illustrations of the texts are often unreliable, usually through no fault of the Corpus editor himself, but this has left doubts hanging over the interpretation of much of the material. To compound this the editor does not always read the text as it is shown on the facsimile, often altering the reading of letters so as to obtain what appeared to him to be a satisfactory reading. There are, of course, very few photographs of these texts available and it is not possible to

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review the readings provided in most instances.[8] These problems have not prevented scholars from attempting to reconstruct or reinterpret many of the Corpus texts, basing their attempts upon the published facsimiles. Such efforts are largely speculative and often appear to serve little purpose.[9] Despite this apparently harsh criticism due credit must be given to the Corpus editor, G. Ryckmans, who had to work with what material was available to him and whose scholarship is generally sound. Credit, too, must go to the early pioneers, who must have often worked under difficult conditions with material which they did not fully understand. Without their efforts Safaitic epigraphy would not have advanced to its present-day position. Nevertheless the Corpus must be approached with care and it is high time that a new epigraphical survey of southern Syria was made to restudy this material.[10]

Two groups of texts were published in the 1940's which were not included in the Corpus. In 1941 W.H. Worrell published four graffiti from one stone.[11] His readings of them are not entirely accurate and they require some correction.[12]

The year 1943 saw the publication of 1302 texts by E. Littmann.[13] This work was a masterly undertaking and has remained most important for Safaitic studies. Littmann's introductory sections, about the inscriptions, their language, and the people who wrote them was the first major attempt to analyse this epigraphic material systematically after the correct identification of all of the letters of the alphabet. This lengthy discussion has remained the basis for all future study in this field, although some of his conclusions, after 46 years, have required modification. Also of immense value is his "Vocabulary" and the material contained in the commentaries upon many of the texts.

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As regards the presentation of the texts themselves the researcher is immediately faced by the problem of the accuracy of the facsimiles of the inscriptions. Littmann makes no reference at all to the taking of photographs or of using photographs in the preparation of the facsimiles. As all of the texts were copied in 1904-5 and 1909 this is scarcely surprising but the fact remains that it is only with great care and meticulous application that an accurate facsimile of one of these graffiti can be produced in the field by hand. As regards the inscriptions LP 1 - 768, which were copied by the author himself, it is probably safe to assume that the letters of the texts have been accurately read in most instances even if their exact forms have not been accurately preserved. The facsimiles of these texts indicate care in presentation. Problems arise only when there is some doubt as to the reading of a particular text. Littmann notes that he took care to interpret the inscriptions in the field as he copied them, in order to achieve greater accuracy,[14] but copies based upon this practice may reflect the subjective interpretation of the copyist rather than being an accurate reflection of what actually appears upon the stone. On the other hand copies made by one who does not know what it is he is copying represent the opposite extreme. Extraneous marks on the rock may assume the status of letters, while unclear letters may be omitted or altered. The exact shapes of the letters are probably not preserved nor is the exact appearance of the text as a whole. Such is indeed the case with the inscriptions LP 769 - 1268, which were copied by "servants of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition"[15] and LP 1299 - 1302, copied by Gertrude Bell.[16] Also dubious are LP 1291 - 1298, which were copied by means of tracings made at Princeton, to where the stones

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had been removed. Inspection of these reveals that they are probably inaccurate[17] and attention has been called to this by A. Jamme, who in 1971 published a new study of this material.[18] This study has revealed the inaccuracy of some of Littmann's copies and provides more accurate readings of some of the texts.[19]

In 1951 a preliminary report was made concerning an expedition to the region of Jāwā in north-eastern Jordan to copy new Safaitic inscriptions,[20] but it was not until 1957 that the final publication of this 1950 expedition appeared.[21] This work contained 1009 new Safaitic inscriptions and is most important for the light it throws upon the history, language and way of life of these people, and this despite the usual terse nature of the texts themselves. These Professor Winnett has treated in masterly fashion, although once again the question of the accuracy of the text facsimiles must be raised. It would appear that all of the facsimiles have been prepared from hand copies made in the field, some of which were made by persons who did not know what it was they were reproducing.[22] Photographs were taken of a number of the texts, some of which have been reproduced only photographically. This is unfortunate, as both photographs and hand copies should be studied in conjunction with one another for the greatest accuracy to be achieved. Nevertheless Winnett's work remains extremely valuable.[23]

Also due to Winnett is the publication of a collection of 21 Safaitic texts from northern Saudi Arabia[24] from photographs presented to the author by Aramco officials. Although small this is a most useful collection, as it represents the more southerly area of Safaitic occupation, an area which is still largely unknown.

Since 1951 a total of 312 Safaitic texts have been published

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by G. Lankester Harding, who generally speaking has displayed great care in providing as accurate as possible reproductions of each text.[25] This material has proved to be of great value, particularly the publication in 1953 of the findings at the Cairn of Hani'.[26] This coupled for the first time both epigraphical research and archaeological material, a task which is still largely ignored and which appears to be a most vital one.

Apart from the publication of the Corpus material G. Ryckmans has been responsible for the publication of 41 texts in 1951 and 1955. It is interesting to note the occurrence of texts in the vicinity of Palmyra, although the suggested reading of some of these is open to doubt.[27] Also of great importance is the publication of a number of stone bowls from the Damascus Museum, upon which Safaitic texts had been inscribed. Unfortunately the provenance of bowls of this type remains unknown.[28]

The Iraqi scholar ʿĀdil Nājī has published one Safaitic text from the Rutba region, near H3, in Iraq.[29] This is a most interesting text but, as noted elsewhere,[30] its historical significance is doubtful.

Another Iraqi, Fuad Safar, has published a number of interesting texts in both Safaitic and Aramaic, two being apparently bi-lingual.[31] These come from the region of the Wadi Haurān. Unfortunately the copies of these which have been published are so poor as to be of little use. Safar's readings of the texts are likewise unreliable.

In 1969 an important publication of new texts was made by W.G. Oxtoby.[32] This scholar published 480 previously unpublished Safaitic graffiti from the vicinity of the Wadi Mūqat, some 10km to the south of the pumping station H4 in eastern Jordan. This material has

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been well presented but it suffers from a number of shortcomings. Most serious, from the present writer's point of view, is the question of the accuracy of the published text facsimiles, many of which were not apparently prepared from photographs. the author states:

> "We made hand copies of all texts, and photographs of such as seemed to be *interesting, photogenic or difficult.*"

(The italics are mine). Such an arbitrary approach in what should be a careful, scientific study cannot be condoned. As there is generally no indication which of the text facsimiles have been prepared from photographs doubt must rest upon the accuracy of all of them (references to photographs appear to be only accidental, as in the case of ISB 420). While it may be assumed that Oxtoby's copies are fairly accurate this cannot be accepted without some misgiving. In instances in which problems arise concerning the reading of a text this failing is particularly noticeable.

Oxtoby's treatment of these texts has been bitterly attacked by the reviewer A. Jamme.[34] However, upon checking some of Jamme's criticisms, it becomes apparent that some of the alleged anomalies or shortcomings of Oxtoby's presentation seem to exist only in the mind of the reviewer. For instance he declares that Oxtoby has left "partly undeciphered" ISB 75. Likewise this text has been "gratuitously declared incomplete". Neither of these accusations are founded in fact. The reasons for the text being partly undeciphered has been clearly stated by Oxtoby (ISB, p.51-52) and nowhere does Oxtoby declare the text to be "incomplete"![35] Other examples of quite unfounded criticism abound in this review[36] and this represents a most unfortunate chapter in the study of Safaitic epigraphy. One would expect to find co-operation and understanding of the many problems faced by the epigrapher in this limited

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field, rather than vitriol and unfounded criticism.

A.Jamme himself has published 188 Safaitic texts since 1959,[37] JaS 1 being from the Negev, while the remainder are from northern Saudi Arabia, from the vicinity of Badana or along the Trans-Arabian oil pipeline.[38] Representing the most south-easterly Safaitic material yet discovered this is most valuable and important. However, it can only be assumed from the facsimiles that this inscriptional material has been accurately presented, as Professor Jamme has published virtually no photographs in support of his readings.[39] It should be noted that JaS 2-23 and 24-38 have been read solely from photographs taken by others and the actual texts were not seen by the editor. As will be realised it is often not possible to obtain accurate or complete readings simply from photographs. This being the case it is unfortunate that Jamme has not published those photographs from which his readings have been derived.[40] Numerous references to the work of A.Jamme will be found throughout the present work.

The Syrian scholar ᶜAlī Abū ᶜAssāf published a number of texts from the Damascus Museum[41] and from the Damascus and Palmyra Museums.[42] The first of these is, unfortunately, rather unreliable but, happily, the author has published excellent photographs of the texts. From an examination of these it becomes apparent that the hand drawn facsimiles are not accurate representations of what in fact appears upon the stones.[43] The author's treatment of this material shows that he was basically unfamiliar with it. In his second publication of such material a most interesting stone bowl[44] covered with a number of texts was presented. The treatment of this is sound but, unhappily, the remainder of the material has again been poorly dealt

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with. It is to be hoped that further study of this most important material will be undertaken in the future.

The study of 24 new texts from the Amman and Irbid Museums of Jordan was published in 1976 by M.C.A. MacDonald and G. Lankester Harding.[45] This is most valuable and has been admirably presented, both photographically and in facsimile, and well analysed.

In 1977 two Safaitic texts from a stone found at Deir el-Kahf in northern Jordan were published by the present writer.[46] It is unfortunate that the facsimile of this stone does not exactly reproduce the original forms of the letters in all cases, although, with one exception,[47] all letters have been correctly read.

The year 1978 saw the long awaited publication of 4087 new Safaitic texts by F.V. Winnett and G. Lankester Harding.[48] These texts are from the region of Burqu^{c} and the Wadi Mūqat, in the vicinity of H4. This monumental work represents a landmark in the study of North Arabian epigraphy and will prove to be of great value to future researchers. Nevertheless, once again the publication of the all-important text facsimiles is not entirely satisfactory. Photographs of a number of the texts have been included in the publication and from an examination of them and the corresponding facsimiles of the texts it is evident that the facsimiles have been produced with care and should be considered to be reliable. However, the Plates which reproduce these facsimiles are too crowded (71 Plates for 4087 texts; Plate 28, the most extreme case, illustrates 90 texts!). The handling of the textual material by these two scholars is good, although the comments on many of the texts are unfortunately brief and there are a considerable number of typing errors to be found throughout the volume. What is of importance,

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however, is that this large corpus of material has been accurately presented to the scholarly world.

In addition to the publication of texts a considerable number of discussions have been published concerning related matters, particularly by A. Jamme and G. Ryckmans. Many of these are referred to throughout this present work and a full list of relevant works is to be found in the Bibliography.

It is clear from this brief survey, and from the various criticisms levelled at some of the text publications, that this field of epigraphical research is fraught with problems of a serious nature. These are compounded by the following : a). Some, at least, of the persons who have recorded this material in the field or prepared it for publication, have not been sufficiently familiar with it or did not take sufficient care in the recording or presentation of the texts. This is made worse by the fact that little, if any, use has been made of photography in many instances. These factors alone have meant that the publication of much of the Safaitic material must be regarded as not entirely reliable.

b). The often curt and laconic nature of the Safaitic texts themselves, which are little more than graffiti in most cases, has given rise to many problems of interpretation and, consequently, to considerable disagreement at times regarding their translation.

c). The conditions experienced by epigraphers attempting to work in the field must influence, at least to some extent, the accuracy of the work or the care expended upon it. Extremes of weather can be experienced at any time in the deserts of northern Arabia and this makes the work of the researcher often most uncomfortable and trying. Furthermore,

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the available light or shade can often make an inscription practically illegible or impossible to photograph. Some texts will always be virtually unreadable and many have been damaged, either maliciously or otherwise.

Any person wishing to undertake research into North Arabian epigraphy in the field should be aware of these problems and be prepared to strive for the attainment of accuracy and great care in the recording of texts, avoiding impulses to rush, improvise or side-step difficulties. The penalty of such an approach is familiar to this writer, who was compelled to revisit in 1977 a number of the sites recorded in 1976 in order to recopy or rephotograph texts over which insufficient care was exercised initially.

It is the writer's belief that, in this study, a beginning at least has been made at overcoming the aforementioned difficulties, and the material here presented represents as closely as possible the original forms of the inscriptions. It has been attempted to discover as accurately as possible the original meaning of each text as originally recorded by its Safaitic author.

All of the text facsimiles presented here, with the exception of only a few,[49] have been prepared from either black-and-white negatives or from colour slides and are to be regarded as accurate copies of the originals. A few texts were not photographed, usually because they were not suitable for photographing at the time when they were recorded. In a very few instances photographs proved to be illegible. Tracings were made directly from the projected images of the texts, or when no photograph was available, the unretouched hand copy has been used to produce the facsimile. In most cases both hand copy and

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photograph were available and both have been utilized to produce facsimiles which are as true to the originals as possible. The outlines of the stones upon which the texts were found has not been indicated as it has little significance, considering both the graffiti-like nature of the texts and the irregular shape and size of the rocks, the configurations of the surfaces of which can rarely be adequately expressed by means of a two-dimensional drawing.

Footnotes to Chapter One.

1. In this writer's opinion this number is to be increased by the inclusion of many texts which have been published as Thamudic, particularly those from the more northerly Thamudic areas, in Winnett's "Tabuki Thamudic". See ARNA and also TIJ for a number of these texts.
2. HCH, p.8. See also JaSN for many comments concerning the unreliability of the Corpus. In many instances, however, Jamme's readings are equally as unreliable.
3. Cyril C. Graham, "Notiz des Herrn Cyril C. Graham zu den von ihm copierten Inschriften", in ZDMG, Vol. XII, 1858, p.713f and, by the same writer, "On the Inscriptions Found in the Region of the el-Hārrah in the Great Desert South-east and East of the Haurān", in JRAS, Vol. SVII, 1860, p.286-297.
4. See Below, Chapter Four, "The Paleography of the Safaitic Inscriptions".
5. A full bibliography of the material published in the Corpus is to be found in ISB, "Bibliography. 1. Safaitic Inscriptions Included in the Corpus", p. 114-116. For summaries of this early work see the Corpus, p.xi-xiii, LTS, p.92-95 and ISB, p.4-6.
6. ISB, p.5.

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7. A Concordance has now been provided by G.L. Harding in HIn, p.705-756.
8. The find sites of much of this material need to be revisited and the material photographed. This is also true of much Thamudic material, particularly those texts copied by Philby (see BP).
9. For example see the work of A. Jamme in JaSN, where many of his readings are as doubtful as those he claims to be correcting, and this despite his many accusations of "gratuitous" restorations or "arbitrary correction or misreadings of letters" (JaSN, p.5). See for instance my comments about LP 4 in the commentary upon text No.1 of the present collection.
10. For reviews of the Corpus see ISB, "Bibliography", p.116-117.
11. See WoFSG.
12. See the comments upon WoFSG, Michigan 3, in the commentary upon text No.1 of the present collection.
13. In LP.
14. LP, "Preface", "Of all Safaitic inscriptions only my copies published here have been read before being copied".
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid, p.291-293.
17. In particular see the facsimiles of LP 1294, 1297 and 1298.
18. JaSAMP. This study must throw some doubt upon Littmann's readings of other texts as well, just as it has upon his readings of texts which he should have been able to read accurately under museum conditions.
19. Jamme's reading of the end of LP 1291, "the year Ma^{c}tūh has saved the encounter of Faw^{c}at", cannot be accepted simply because it does not make sense. Littmann's reading "the year in which the torrent passed along with his camels" is equally as unacceptable because his transliteration of the text appears to be inaccurate (*snt mr hsl m^{c} 'blh - mr* and *'bl* cannot be read here). The wide differences in the readings of these two scholars precludes any judgement upon the actual reading of this text. Likewise LP 1294 needs reinterpretation. LP reads the quite impossible *hhṯṯ*, "the drawing", as the final word of the text. Jamme rightly rejects this reading (JaSAMP) but his reading of the word which appears to be *rb* as "he was the

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cont.. 19. owner" (of the camel in the drawing which accompanies the text) cannot be accepted. It may be from the (hollow) root *ryb* or *rwb*, "to feel disturbed" or "to feel drowsy, perplexed" respectively.

20. F.V. Winnett, "An Epigraphical Expedition to North-Eastern Transjordan", in Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No.122, 1951, p.49-52.

21. As SIJ.

22. See SIJ, p.3.

23. The epigraphic material of the Jāwā region has been systematically recopied and photographed and the whole area carefully surveyed by Mr. Michael Macdonald, as a part of the Jāwā excavation project. These are to be published as a part of the Jāwā final report.

24. In WAM.

25. See HNST, HCH, HSIM, HSDT, HFSIM, HSIL and HTap.

26. See HCH.

27. See Daniel Schlumberger, La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest, "Recueil Épigraphique", par H. Ingholt et J. Starcky, avec une contribution de G. Ryckmans.

28. See RyBM. See also CNAI, p.39-40.

29. ᶜĀdil Nājī, "*Kitābat Safawiyat min Sahra' ar-Rutba*", in Sumer, Vol.18, 1962, p.165-170.

30. See below, p. 93 - 94.

31. Fuad Safar, "Inscriptions from Wadi Haurān", in Sumer, Vol.20, 1964, p.9-27.

32. See ISB.

33. Ibid, p.32-33.

34. See A. Jamme, Rev.ISB.

35. Ibid, p.282.

36. See, for instance, the unfounded remarks about ISB 62 ("gratuitously declared incomplete"), ISB 156 (the incorrect reading of *b* for *h*), ISB 52 (the incorrect reading of *b* rather than *r*) - all on p.282 of the review; the comments about ISB 177 (p.282 & 285) are likewise unfounded, with the exception of the reading of the first name as ᶜLS. Other examples abound.

37. See the entries under A. Jamme in the Bibliography for the details of these publications.

38. JaS 30 and 39-43 are of unknown provenance.

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39. It should be noted that the photographs of JaS 2-23 (in JaSISA, Tav.L-LV) have the appearance of having been retouched or somehow highlighted. If this is so it cannot be condoned as it is a misleading practice.

40. It may be significant that Jamme's facsimile of IM 51045 shown in JaMisc.II, pl.1, is far from accurate when compared to the photograph published by Harding (HSIM, pl.2 and HFSIM, Pl.3). Jamme claims to have made new tracings of the texts on this stone from enlarged photographs of it. For instance he reads HFSIM 51045c = JaMisc.II, IM 51045b as *l km bn mdn wzrm d' l rjs fdsr mrjt*, "By Kamm, son of Madan and of Zaram, him of the clan Rigs. And O Dū-Šarā, [grant] pasture grounds." This should read: *l km bn md^{c} wdrm [d'] l rjs fdsr mrjt*, "By KM son of MD^{c}, and he was burnt up (with hunger, passion?), [he of the tribe of] RJS, so DŠR (grant) pastures!"

41. ^{c}Alī Abū ^{c}Assāf, "*Kitābāt ^{c}Arabiya Safawiya Jadīda fil-Mathaf al-Watanī bi-Dimašq*", in Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes, Vol.23, 1973, p.201-209.

42. ^{c}Alī Abū ^{c}Assāf, "*Kitābāt Safawiya Jadīda fī Mathafī Dimašq wa-Tadmur*", in Annales Archéologique Arabes Syriennes, Vol.25, 1975, p.141-145.

43. The present writer was able to verify this observation during a visit to the Damascus Museum in October 1977. Unfortunately a detailed study of the texts was not possible. Most regretably it was observed that some of these texts had been highlighted with ink *before* having been photographed or correctly read.

44. DM 21039.

45. See MH.

46. See CNAI, 1a & b.

47. In CNAI 1a the name HLHT should read HLST, as pointed out to this writer in private correspondence from F.V. Winnett and from M.C.A. Macdonald. The alternate reading of these texts proposed by A. Jamme (JaMisc. VIII, p.12-17) is rejected by the present writer.

48. See WH.

49. See the Index of Texts, Photographs and Facsimiles, where indication has been made of those texts which were not photographed.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE SITES AND THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions of the present collection represent the epigraphical gleanings from sixteen sites which extend from the western edge of the Jordanian Ḥarrat ar-Rājil to its south-eastern edge near the Saudi Arabian border. Rather than being the result of an intensive regional survey (as are the materials presented by Oxtoby in ISB and by Winnett and Harding in WH) they represent a wideflung sampling of sites. It was hoped that such a sampling might provide some interesting comparisons between the sites in such matters as palaeography. These hopes were not fully realised but systematic surveying in the future may well answer some problems relating to regional variations in script or dialect. This awaits the enthusiasm of some future researcher.

There follows a description of the epigraphic material from each of these sixteen sites, together with an evaluation of the nature of each of the sites as far as can be determined from the texts found at each. For instance, was a site used principally as a camping spot, a burial site or a lookout post? In many cases all three functions may have been combined. Many of these texts have come from on or around cairns, which have been constructed from piles of basalt rocks and boulders and it has been considered that most of the inscription sites were burial sites. This is something which has yet to be verified by archaeological research and in many cases the complete absence of any reference to such a use in the accompanying inscriptions would suggest that not all of the cairns cover burials, or if they do,

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that these burials are not all to be attributed to the Safaites. W.G. Oxtoby has suggested that the cairns which are to be observed all along the eastern edge of the Jordanian Ḥarra served as "lighthouses" to caravans which were following the eastern edge of the basalt desert.[1] If they did indeed serve as landmarks then it is most unlikely that they were initially constructed as such.[2] Indeed, in the case of a number of cairns observed by the writer it seems unlikely that they are even to be attributed to the Safaitic peoples. In a number of cases inscriptions found at a cairn surrounded it, or were nearby, but none were found in the cairn structure itself. In other cases inscribed stones had been incorporated into a cairn at a later date. The absence of any reference to the grief of the author or to any type of building activity further supports this.

There can be no doubt in the cases of the cairn of Hani'[3] and that of S^{c}D son of SBḤ[4] that these were funerary in nature and purpose. However, in the case of the latter it should be noted that a second cairn at the site did not appear to have been used for a burial.[5] A. Jamme has suggested that no cairn which can be attributed to the Safaites can be called a tomb or burial.[6] This belief is clearly fallacious, as pointed out by G.L. Harding.[7] Jamme points to the preservation of such perishable items as hair and copper in the Cairn of Hani' to suggest that this cairn could not be pre-Islamic in date. As noted by Harding there is nothing unusual in the fact that these items were preserved. Jamme further points to his own excavation of a cairn in the region of ^{c}Ar^{c}ar as proving that no Safaitic cairn was a burial:

> "The most orderly cairn I have seen is the first site visited by the expedition, and located at the edge of the cliff west of the pipeline mark 616.02. The almost circular wall is about 1m. high and

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> approximately 4m. in diameter, and the stones are rather well set together. The inside is a disorderly pile of stones. In the lower half of the height of this pile, there is an accumulation of sand that has sifted down between the rocks and has hardened by the rain. All soundings ended on the rocky ground."[8]

This description, which is by no means clear, does not give any indication of the presence or otherwise of inscriptions, the description of the cairn itself is unclear and the nature of the "soundings" which the author says he carried out is not specified. Jamme also states his belief that the cairns are "landmarks or rally signs" or :

> "L'emplacement même de la plupart des cairns définit leur fonction: ils sont des points de repère pour les bedouins. Les autres sont des restes d'un campement des nomades,..."[9]

This view is partially supportive of that of Oxtoby, that is, that the cairns were "lighthouses". As pointed out by Harding[10] such landmarks are not needed by the bedouin and this idea cannot be supported. However, as already suggested, it may be that not all of the cairns represent Safaitic burials as the Safaites have not been the only inhabitants of the region to erect cairns over their dead upon prominent points of the landscape. In following this practice they are a part of the Arabian nomadic tradition. Some of the cairns may predate these people and others may postdate them. The absence of human remains in a cairn does not mean that the cairn was not used as a burial site. The shallowness of the burials, which may have even been made above the ground,[11] would in many instances mean the complete, or almost complete, disappearance of the human remains, from the actions of weather or of animals. The fact remains that to date only two cairns have been scientifically examined, those of Hani' and of Sa^{c}d (the

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"soundings" of A. Jamme must be discounted). Until further such work is carried out few definite conclusions may be drawn. From what evidence we have the Safaitic people did practise cairn burial, as has the region's nomadic population for untold generations.

In the discussion which follows both the nature of each site and the nature of the inscriptions from each is outlined and comments are made about the probable use, or uses, to which the Safaitic tribesmen put each site.

Site A. (Texts 1 - 28. Maps 2 & 3a.)[12]

The inscriptions of this site were found along the eastern face of a prominent basalt outcrop, or volcanic plug, some 50 - 100m to the north of the Baghdad Highway, at a point where the road makes a slight curve to the south in order to avoid the rocky outcrop. A modern settlement of three houses lies to the northwest of this and a small cairn, without any inscriptions near it, is located upon the northern edge of the outcrop. Without exception the inscriptions from this site were written upon large slabs of basalt which form an integral part of the outcrop. None were upon loose stones.

The content of these inscriptions would indicate that the site was used as a camping place by the Safaitic tribesmen. Indeed the area to the north and west was being used for grazing purposes on the two occassions when this writer visited the spot. The presence of the settlement nearby may be an indication that some type of water supply may have been available. Text No.23 relates that the author dug a well (*ḥfr*), while Nos.20 and 21 state that the authors "pastured amidst plenty" (*mjd*). No.20 refers to "soft, even ground" (*dmṯṯ*) in the vicinity, a description which would apply to the land to the north and west. No.17 tells that the author encamped at this spot (*ḥll*), while

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the author of No.1 halted here to take shelter from the heat, apparently while on the move with a flock of sheep. He may have built a shelter for himself and the text tells that he made use of an enclosure (*ḥbst*) to restrain and shelter the sheep. Today a number of dry-stone enclosures are to be seen to the north of this site. Two other texts contain appeals for assistance to the deity RḎW.

Site B. (Nos.29 - 279. Maps 2 & 3b. Plate One, Top).[13]

This is, in fact, a number of sites, located around the edges of the Murabb as-Suweiʿid, a small mud-flat, which is almost totally enclosed by basalt covered hills and which is traversed by the Baghdad Highway. Inscriptions were found at five spots around the edges of this flat, designated Points a - e. Point a. lies some 100m from the highway to the south, as one enters the flat from the west. Point b. is a further 200m to the south on a rocky "island" which rises above the flat. Point c. is on the westernmost tip of a spur which projects into the flat, around a cairn. Point d. is on the same ridge but some 100m further to the east. Point e. lies north of the highway around a cairn which may postdate the inscriptions which are around it.

The texts at Point a. were found inscribed on rocks on the hill slope and are associated with no other human artefacts, with the possible exception of a number of rough stone corrals. The texts (nos.29 - 32) may have been left by persons encamped at the spot or merely passing by. They give no clues from their content. Accompanying Nos.30 - 32 are drawings of two gazelles, which may suggest that the authors were hunting.

The texts from Point b. (Nos.33 - 140) all seem to indicate

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that the site was used as an encampment. A number lay claim to "this encampment" (*hdr* - No.34 etc.), refer to pastoral activities or lay claim to animals. References are made to "rain-water floods" (*nql* - Nos.70, 98), evidently in the Murabb as-Suwei^{c}id itself. The authors of Nos.35 and 98 state that they pastured in the region known as the "RHBT", a possible reference to this spot, although the traditional Ruhba is in the Jebel Says region of Syria. The author of No.107 states that he spent the spring in the desert in the HRT, a possible reference to the region as the Harra (*wdt' mdbr ḥrt*). A number of texts refer to physical defects suffered by the authors, such as fever (or madness) (*ms* - No.94) or a squint (*ḥwl* - No.95). The author of No.130 states that he was partially paralysed (*flj*). A number of interesting drawings were also found here (for which see Chapter Three).

The texts from Point c. (Nos.141 - 265) are of a similar nature to those from the previous spot, referring to the area as *hdr*, *hnql* and ^{c}*rdt* ("valley"). No.190 states that the author was keeping watch (*ḥrs*) and that he was in love (*ḥbb*). This spot would have made an excellent lookout, being the highest point in the surrounding landscape. No.214 refers to the waging of war and there are a number of texts which contain supplications to deities for plunder, relief and so on.

From Point d. No.268 refers to the keeping of a lookout (*tzr*).

The texts of Point e. (Nos.269 - 279) give little information. No.277 requests the goddess 'LT for security whilst on a journey and No.279 tells of a brother who was far away. No texts were found upon the cairn at this spot.

Site C. (No.280. Maps 2 & 4).[14]

Only one text, together with a drawing of a camel, was found

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here. A number of cairns were located nearby but no inscriptions were found on or near them.

Site D. (Nos.281 - 375. Maps 2 & 4. Plate 1, Centre).[15]

The texts from this site were found along the top and the eastern face of a high rocky outcrop overlooking the Qā^{c} ash-Shahba, to the north of the Baghdad Highway. There were no cairns at this site. The views commanded from the top of this outcrop were excellent in all directions except to the south. Text No.310 tells that the author was keeping watch. Nos.363 and 296, on the other hand, refer to the authors having taken concealment here. Other texts refer to *hdr* or *hnql*, while the author of No.324 tells that he wintered at this spot. A few texts, accompanying animal drawings, lay claim to these animals. All of these references would suggest that the spot was primarily a camping ground, with the high ground providing a lookout point.

Site E. (Nos.376 - 406. Maps 2 & 4).[16]

This site lies to the south of the Baghdad Highway by some 3km, the texts being from around a tall, conical cairn located upon a rocky knoll standing above a sea of basalt boulders. The cairn appears to be a fairly recent structure (Plate 1, Bottom). The texts are mostly to the north of the cairn on the surrounding rocks, while a number, on small stones, have been built into the cairn structure. These texts offer little clue to the nature of the site but it may have been used as a halting place. Hence No.378 refers to *hẓlt*, indicating that the author took shelter at the spot, while the author of No.396 seems to have used the higher ground to escape from a flood (*hrb m ḡṯt*). The author of No.381 seems to have been engaged in hunting (*ṣyd*).

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Site F. (Nos.407 - 424. Maps 2 & 4).[17]

All of the inscriptions from this site were found upon a number of small rocks which formed a part of a one course stone fence around the southern edge of a cleared area, in the centre of which stands a large cairn. No other inscriptions were found and all of the inscribed rocks gave the appearance of having been moved. The lack of signs of erosion on the cleared surface indicate that it was probably cleared quite recently. The age of the cairn was impossible to determine. The contents of the texts is rather interesting. The authors of Nos.410, 416, 417, 421 and 422 all built for an individual named ^{c}D, a person who was probably a woman (see No.412). Thus the cairn may date to the Safaitic period and may have been that of a woman, the first such attested, although another is to be found at Site H. The author of No.424 was involved in a rebellion against Rome and appeals to B^{c}LSMN as "god of S^{cc}", the town of Si^{c}a in the Haurān.

Site G. (Nos.425 - 553. Maps 2 & 5).[18]

The inscriptions of this site were found around two cairns on the south side of the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya. Nos.425 - 538 were all around a large cairn close to the edge of the qā^{c}, on a small rocky promontory. Nos.539 - 553 were located on the north and east sides of a smaller cairn which lay some 30m to the south of the larger one. The inscriptions from this site are remarkable for their lack of interest. No indication is to be found as to the occupant of the cairn, if indeed it was one of the Safaites, although the author of No.442 tells that he grieved for four separate individuals. No.487 mentions *hrjm*, indicating that the cairn was there in Safaitic times. No.465 refers to the spot as a "hiding place" (*strt*) while Nos.451

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and 518 call it *hdr*. The author of No.440 states that he took sheep as spoil (presumably of a raid). A number of texts speak of the suffering of the authors : ulcers and blindness in one eye (No.426), weakness (No.460), thirst (No.517). This latter was clearly inscribed at a different time to No.538, which tells that the author was present at a rain-water flood. These texts suggest, then, that the site may have been a burial site or an encampment, or both.

The texts around the smaller of the two cairns are likewise uninformative. Only No.530 provides any details other than names, referring to gazelles, drawings of which accompany the text.

Site H. (Nos.554 - 706. Maps 2 & 5).[19]

Inscriptions from this site were found around two cairns on a low rise which forms the southern shore of the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya. A third cairn a little to the southeast had no texts near it. No.578 refers to this rise as "prominent ground" (*ndr*), stating, apparently, that he visited it during "year after year of abundance" (*^{c}m f^{c}m ḡtl*). No.603 tells that the author "was alone in the fertile land" (*whd bhrf*), presumably another reference to this spot.

Texts Nos.611 - 706 are from the second of the two cairns, which apparently was built for a woman known as HRJ, of the tribe of TM. This is the second cairn which may perhaps be attributable to a woman. Three almost identical texts were written "For HRJ", identifying the cairn as being hers (Nos.620 - 622) and the authors of Nos.623, 624, 626, 627, 631, 632 and 636 all either "grieved for" or "built for" HRJ. Both HRJ and ^{c}D, from Site F, were women of the tribe of TM. In addition to building for HRJ the authors of Nos.626 and 627 grieved for an individual named NSR. The author of No.638 grieved for FDWT. The names of a number of tribes have been recorded

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at this spot, these being TM, BS', ᶜMRT, DF and JR. The author of No.628 states that he spent the spring at the site with the animals which were giving birth (*bntj*), whilst awaiting RB'L. The author of No.687 states that he encamped here and in Nos.646 and 703 the spot is called *hdr*. The author of No.637, a member of the tribe of JR, states that he was trading salt (*mlḥ*). So it would appear that, in addition to being a burial site, this spot was also used as a camping ground by a number of tribes.

Site I. (Nos. 707 - 819. Maps 2 & 5).[20]

The inscriptions from this site were found around two adjacent cairns on the top of the basalt ridge which borders the Qāᶜ al-Mahfūr. They were some 20 - 30m from the edge of the mud-flat, where there were two or three circular dry-stone structures, some 4 - 5m in diameter and still standing to a height of about three courses (Plate 2, Top). These may be the structures called *mᶜmr* in No.762, the author of which states that he "plastered the structure and went down to water" (*sj ḥmᶜmr fwrd*). The author of No.750 claims to have been "master of a serene abode" (*rb qr sf*), while that of No.756 states that he "suffered from thirst far from this dwelling place" (*njr bᶜd hskn*). The spot is called *hdr* in No.764. Other texts suggest that the spot was used as a lookout point. The author of No.725 "watched the desert" (*tzr ḥmdbr*), and that of No.804a was on the lookout (*nzr*). In No.765 the spot is called a "lookout" (*mnzr*). The author of No.796 was awaiting the return of "the successful raid" at the site (*tnzr ḥdb' ymn*). Three texts tell that the authors were watching gazelle snares (*nzr/tzr ḥjr* - Nos. 784, 790 and 811). No.803 speaks of wells in the vicinity and five texts (Nos. 746, 763, 785, 805 and 808) contain prayers to the deity RDW. These texts all suggest

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that the spot was frequented both as a camping ground and as a lookout. When the present writer visited the spot a nomad encampment was close by and the view commanded from the ridge was excellent over the desert to the east.

Site J. (Nos.820 - 874. Maps 2 & 5).[21]

The inscriptions of this site were found around two small cairns on a low promontory of the basalt which marks the point of junction between the Qā^{c} al-Mahfūr and the Qā^{c} ad-Dumaytha. No texts were found on the cairns themselves. No.867 calls the spot *hdr*, while the authors of Nos.821 and 868 lay claim to young she-camels, drawings of which accompany the texts. No.820 is accompanied by drawings of two armed men. The authors of Nos.827 and 838 state that they grieved, but they do not say for whom, while the author of No.850 was "maddened by grief for a loved one" (*wlh ʿl ḥbb*).

Site K. (Nos.875 - 894. Maps 2 & 5).[22]

This site is situated upon a low promontory which juts out into the mud-flats at the conjunction of the Qā^{c} ad-Dumaytha and the Qā^{c} al-Ladhāyim. This promontory, which is strewn with small rocks, is only slightly higher than the surrounding flats. A small cairn is located here but no texts were found upon it. The texts give no indication as to the nature of the site, although Nos.890 and 891 speak of the authors' grief for their companions.

Site L. (Nos.895 - 905. Maps 2 & 5).[23]

These inscriptions were found around two small cairns. They were on rocks scattered about the site, although one rock, with texts Nos.903 and 904, had been built into one of the cairns, which appeared to be a modern one. A track, sufficiently wide to allow a vehicle to be driven along it, led up to this cairn from the

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qā^{c} some 50m away to the north. The texts give little indication as to the nature of the site. No.901 refers to it as *hzlt*, "this shelter". The author of No.895 tells of a maiden for whom he shed tears and an excellent drawing of the lady in question accompanies the text.

Site M. (Nos.906 - 996. Maps 2 & 5).[24]

These texts came from around a large cairn located on the top of a high promontory of basalt, which juts to the northeast into the Qā^{c} al-Ladhayim (see Plate 2, Bottom). Situated as it is the site commands an excellent view (see Plate 2, Centre) but the texts here do not refer to its use as a lookout, although the author of No.957 states that "he was awaiting the king" here (*tzr hmlk*). No.958 tells that a camel herd returned to the spot a number of times, where two wells provided water and the land was covered with autumn herbage (*mrbl*). The authors of Nos.906 and 909 state that they grieved, while that of No.912 grieved for a brother and that of No.929 for a maternal uncle. These texts suggest that the spot was a camping ground, although none specifically call it such.

Site N. (Nos.997 - 1002. Maps 2 & 5).[25]

Texts at this site were found on the rocks to the north of a large cairn on the ridge top, which overlooks the entrance into a bay of the Qā^{c} Abū al-Husayn from the north. Text No.1001 calls the site *hm^{c}mr*. The authors of Nos.997 and 1000 tell that they were seeking green pastures at the site. There is no indication that the cairn is to be attributed to the Safaites.

Site O. (No.1003. Maps 2 & 5).[26]

One isolated text, containing only personal names, was located here, on the southern shore of the bay of the Qā^{c} Abū al-Husayn

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mentioned with regard to the previous site.

Site P. (Nos.1004 - 1197. Maps 2 & 5).[27]

This site is located to the west of the Qā^{c} Abū al-Husaym, behind an abandoned building of recent date, probably connected with the disused landing strip which lies just to the north in the qā^{c}. The texts come from around two cairns. The texts indicate that one of these cairns was that of an individual named either SYD (Nos.1004, 1011) or SWD (Nos.1005, 1006, 1007, 1010). Possibly these were two persons. The author of No.1004 relates that he escaped from Rome, that he grieved for SYD, who had been killed, and for a son of his paternal uncle, who had been taken captive by the TY'. The author of No.1011 likewise grieved for SYD, whom he states was murdered by the TY', and the author of No.1046 says that he grieved at the cairn of a murder victim of the TY'.[28] Two other texts, Nos.1160 and 1191, express grief but are not specific. The author of No.1118 states that "the army (or troop) overcame him" (*hjs glbh*). In No.1082 the site is called *hm^{c}mr* and it would appear that, in addition to being a burial site, this was also used as a camping ground. No.1174 tells that the camels grew fat (*ny 'bl*). No.1004 tells of the rather curious activity of "collecting the fat of a *wrl*-lizard" (*jl smn wrl*), while the author of No.1008 was "collecting the fat of a cow" (*jl smn bqr*). Nos.1093 and 1195 tell of illnesses suffered at this spot. The tribes of ^{c}MN, 'ST, 'RDY, JRS and '[T]Y were represented here.

* * * * *

This survey has revealed that only the inscriptions of Sites F, H and P make definite references to building of a cairn for a specific individual. These are ^{c}D at Site F, HRJ at Site H and SWD, or SYD, at Site P, the first two being women. The unusual nature of

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the evidence from Site F makes the attribution of the extant cairn at the site to ^{c}D rather uncertain. Of the remaining sites, Sites Bc. and d., D and I were all used as lookout points, although only Site I is specifically termed a *mnzr*, or "lookout spot". At a number of sites (I, N and P) a *m^{c}mr*, "dwelling, structure", is referred to. This may have been some kind of stone structure, as the reference to plaster in No.762 implies.

The evidence from most of the sites suggests that the primary purpose of each was as a camping place, although this does not preclude the possibility that the cairns at many of them are attributable to the Safaitic tribesmen, despite the lack of any definite reference to them. The evidence in no way provides any support for the theory of W.G. Oxtoby that the cairns served as "lighthouses" (most of them are not particularly prominent and, as noted already by Harding, the true bedouin do not require such aids to navigation). Nor does it support A. Jamme's "rally point" theory to the complete exclusion of their function as burial cairns. No doubt the cairns were built at camping sites, and no doubt separated tribesmembers did meet near them. One would expect that; the dead were not carried to isolated places for burial. If the cairns are not in fact Safaitic burials then, in most cases, they represent nomadic burials from some other period, despite Jamme's "soundings".

It is to be hoped that in future researchers in this field will take note of the surroundings in which the inscriptions they record are to be found, noting their relationships to both the landscape and to any nearby structures, so that further work into this aspect of Safaitic studies can be carried out.

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Footnotes to Chapter Two.

1. See ISB, p.33-34 and, by the same writer, "Kilroy in the Desert", in ADAJ, Vol.XV, 1970, p.21 - 23.
2. See V.A. Clark, "New Epigraphical Material from the Harra Region of Jordan", in ADAJ, Vol.XXI, 1976, p.114.
3. See HCH.
4. See G.L. Harding, "The Cairn of Sa^{c}d", in Archaeology in the Levant, Essays for Kathleen Kenyon edited by P.R.S. Moorey and P.J. Parr, p.243 - 249.
5. Ibid, p.243, Cairn A.
6. See JaSICA, p.42 and also "L'Article de A. Van Den Branden sur L'Expression Safaïtique *'tm ^{c}l hr*", in Al-Machriq, Vol.64, 1970, p.323 - 324.
7. G.L. Harding, op.cit., p.246.
8. See JaSICA, p.42.
9. A. Jamme, in Al-Machriq, op.cit., p.323.
10. G.L. Harding, op.cit..
11. The burial of Sa^{c}d was made above ground level and was contained within a type of cist chamber, constructed roughly from stones, See G.L. Harding, op.cit., p.245.
12. Map reference : Jordan 1 : 50,000, Sheet 3354 II, El-Aritein, 034582. All map references have been taken from the series Jordan 1 : 50,000, compiled by the Ministry of Economy and the United States Agency for International Development to Jordan. Prepared from aerial photography dated 1961.
13. Map reference : Sheet 3454 1, Wadi el-^{c}Abd, 543741 (point a.), 547738 (point b.), 549736 (point c.), 553736 (point d.) and 545745 (point e.).
14. Map reference, Sheet 3554 IV, Tulūl esh-Shahbā, 598764, approximately.
15. Map reference, Sheet 3554 IV, op.cit., 634776.
16. Map reference, as previous site, 728784.
17. Map reference, as previous site, 744773.
18. Map reference, Sheet 3654 III, Qā^{c} Abū el-Husein, 154606.
19. Map reference, as previous site, 163598.
20. Map reference, as previous site, 159575.

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21. Map reference, as previous site, 159575.
22. Map reference, as previous site, 145557.
23. Map reference, as previous site, 143546.
24. Map reference, as previous site, 150537.
25. Map reference, as previous site, 118516.
26. Map reference, as previous site, 013519, approximately.
27. Map reference, as previous site, 125442, approximately.
28. These TY' were almost certainly the tribe of Tayyi' bin 'Audad, the allies of the Lakhmids. See the discussion of this tribe in Chapter Eight, below.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ROCK DRAWINGS

Rock drawings, showing a variety of subjects and displaying various degrees of artistic and technical refinement, accompany about ten percent of the inscriptions in this collection.[1] At times the author of an inscription has indicated that he was responsible for the drawing in question but in other cases it is possible that drawings and inscriptions found on the same stone are not contemporary. This is often very difficult to determine but was noted in some instances. Unless the text accompanying a drawing specifically refers to it the possibility that the two were not executed contemporaneously must always be kept in mind.

A number of the drawings were not found in association with texts on the same rock but were found on the same site as texts. These have been noted nevertheless and some reference is made to a number of them.

The most usual method employed to execute a drawing appears to have been to peck out the entire area of the body of the person or animal to be depicted, thus leaving the subject standing out in marked contrast to the dark surface of the surrounding rock. Sometimes this has been done inside a clearly incised outline (No.69) and sometimes not (No.259). In some cases areas of the picture within the outline have not been pecked out so as to highlight some specific feature of the drawing such as the breasts or nipples of a woman (No.895).

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The second technique was simply to incise the outline of the subject, thus allowing any relevant details to be incised within this outline. Drawings of this type are sometimes difficult to detect, being very finely or shallowly engraved and often of dark patination, as the dark outer surface of the rock was not deeply scored.

The subject matter of these pictures is quite varied and may provide valuable information about the way of life in the desert at this time and about the wild and domestic animals to be found there. Some points of interest about the drawings of this collection are discussed here[2] but the detailed study of the entire corpus of drawings found to date still awaits the attention of some future researcher.

The most interesting drawings are those depicting human activities. Many of these also depict animals and, together with the large number of animal drawings which do not include persons, they attest to the obvious close connection between man and animal, both domesticated and wild, in the life of the desert region under consideration.

The usual range of wild animals and birds are depicted and need no comment here. Of interest, however, are three drawings showing horsemen in the act of spearing animals. In two cases, Nos. 972 and 1190, the animal in question is a camel. In No. 972 this appears to have been a young camel, while in No.1190 it is larger and has an unusual marking on its hump, resembling somewhat a hand and arm. It is not clear how this should be interpreted; it may represent camel trappings or possible a camel brand.[3] As it appears most unlikely that wild camels would have existed in the region at this time, one

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must assume that these drawings depict the exploits of the artist while engaged in raiding enemy herds, although one would expect that in such cases the enemy camels would have been driven off as booty rather than slain. Indeed, such a scene has not been found elsewhere to date, to this writer's knowledge, although scenes showing the spearing of other animals are found,[4] and the evidence of these drawings remains unique and enigmatical. In the third case, that of the drawing accompanying No. 192, a horseman is shown in the act of driving a lance down the throat of an animal which may be a hyena. The animal in question is a quadruped with four toes, or claws, on each foot, a striped body and bristles along its back and tail. Below this animal, on the same rock, are three footmen aiming bows and arrows at it. The shape of this animal, its four toes, erectile hair and its stripes suggests that it was a striped hyena, a beast which is still found in the region today.[5] It may have been hunted for its flesh.[6]

A number of other drawings depict persons in association with animals of a domestic nature. A common scene is a mounted man, sometimes referred to as *hfrs*, "the horseman", while No. 59, at least, shows a man mounted on an ass and wielding a mace. Many of the horsemen, too, are armed. That of No. 367 holds a round shield, while a man on foot holds the horse by a head-rope. The drawing accompanying No. 289 shows a man, presumably the author, holding a she-camel by the head-rope, while that of No. 367 depicts a hobbled bull-camel.[7]

The many texts giving the authors' genealogies and referring

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to an animal shown in the accompanying drawing, such as *hbkrt* (No.88), *hjml* (No.367), *hfrs* (No.194), *hʿr* (No.59) and so on, need no explanation, indicating as they do the authors' claims over the animals depicted.

The occurrence of dogs in a number of drawings probably indicates that the Safaites used them for hunting purposes. Thus in No. 550 we see what appears to be two dogs pursuing four gazelles. However, the lower of the two animals identified here as dogs is very poorly executed and may be intended to depict a fallen gazelle upon which the upper dog has leapt. On the rock on which are found Nos. 308 - 309 are depictions of five ostriches, a gazelle and what may be two dogs. However, in this latter case there is no indication that the dogs were involved in hunting the other animals.

Apart from the depictions of armed horsemen already mentioned there are a number of other scenes showing armed men. No. 557 shows a single bowman, holding a bow and arrow in one hand and arrows in the other. In No. 821 appears a bowman, wearing a sword and with some object (a quiver?) over his shoulder. Opposite him is a swordsman with upraised sword and shield; a scabbard hangs at his waist. One is led to believe, in this case, that the bowman is the Safaitic artist, as he is surrounded by four groups of seven dots, while the swordsman is unprotected by this magical device. On the same rock is a drawing of a single camel and, accompanying No. 820 on another face, of a pair of copulating camels;[8] alongside them is a drawing of what may be a camel litter.

The drawing accompanying No. 48 is most noteworthy, depicting

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as it does a mounted man with some unusual features. The body of this rider is shown in profile, while the head and face are shown frontally; the feet appear to be turned backwards. On his head is a most unusual headdress. The part immediately above the face reminds one of the hair style worn by some Parthian noblemen[9] but the conical device surmounting this is most unusual and appears to have a feather (?) attached to it at the top. The stripes covering the body indicate that distinctive clothing was being worn.[10] Similar stripes cover the body of the horse also, suggesting that it too was covered by some type of trappings. In the accompanying text this drawing is referred to as *hfrs*, translated here as "the horseman"; presumable this applies to the author of the text as it does in most other cases. However, the unusual nature of the drawing raises some problems. The trappings on the horse, the unusual clothing of the rider and his strange headdress suggest that this is not an ordinary Safaitic horseman who is being depicted here. Is this to be interpreted as a drawing of a Safaite who was employed in the service of the Parthians, or of some other power such as Rome or Palmyra? This may be so but it must be borne in mind that this drawing was found at a site in the centre of the Ḥarrat ar-Rājil, Murabb as-Suweiᶜid, far from Roman or Parthian control. Then, the peculiar stance of the figure is suggestive. He appears to be seated *backwards* on the horse. This is surely not a mere accident or mistake on the part of the artist. Is this picture, then, intended to portray a prisoner? His arms do not appear and may have been bound. In that case the ropes (or halter)

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may be securing him to the horse. (The significance of the long stroke with the twist in the middle of it which trails behind the mounted figure is not clear). If this does indeed depict a prisoner then the word *hfrs* may have been intended to indicate that the horseman in this case was a captive of the author of the text. Or does *hfrs* here mean "the Persian"? As noted below,[11] the word usually employed to refer to the Persians or Parthians was *md* or *mdy* and this would be the first recorded instance of the word *frs* being used in this way. If this interpretation is correct, and there is no means of determining this, the following invocation in the text, *hrdy ḡnmt*, may be a victorious exclamation, "O RDY plunder!", rather than a hopeful request, "O RDY grant plunder".

In the case of three other drawings from the same site, Murabb aṣ-Ṣuwei^{c}id, male figures are shown with horizontal stripes on their bodies. These are in No. 59 (a man on an ass), No. 64 (stylised profile of a man) and No. 69 (the copulating couple).[12] In none of these instances, however, is the striping as elaborate as in No. 48 and they probably depict something different. This may be some style of clothing, as noted for the drawing of No. 69.[13]

The drawing accompanying texts No. 724 - 725 is most interesting. Below No. 724 is a group of figures with upraised arms, who may be dancing. Another figure appears partially inside the group of dots which surrounds the text. To the right of the text is either a crescent moon or the letter *m*. Further to the right, alongside No. 725 are two figures with upraised arms, one of whom holds what appears to be a lasso or a standard on a pole

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(which has the appearance of a balloon on a string!). The other figure of this pair appears to be female. Altogether eight figures appear on this rock.

Of considerable significance is the drawing which accompanies text No. 69. This shows two figures in full frontal view, to the right a female with upraised arms, accentuated hips and flowing, wavy hair; her nipples and pubic area have been accentuated by not having been pecked out, so that the remaining black rock surface contrasts sharply with the paler area of her body. To the left is a very thin male figure. He has upstanding hair and appears to be wearing a striped dress which reaches down to his ankles (?). This couple seem to have been intended to have been shown in the act of coitus, as an incised line, possible intended to represent the phallus of the male, extends from his body directly to the pubic area of the female; where it crosses the pecked out area of her body it is still visible as it appears to have been incised after the drawing of the female was completed. The patination of the whole is uniform but it is possible that the drawing has been tampered with or that the line interpreted here as the phallus is fortuitous. If this does indeed depict a copulating couple then it is, so far, unique in Safaitic art and, although the concept of coitus is naively depicted the execution of the two figures is quite refined.

A female figure is depicted in No. 895, where the drawing shows a woman with upraised arms, erectile hair and heavily accentuated hips. Like the previous drawing of a woman the body

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has been shown by pecking out the rock surface but leaving untouched the nipples. Unusual features are the fact that the head is not connected to the body and it appears to be wearing earrings of a rounded, pendant type. Also the toes, or possible the toenails, are rather long. In the accompanying inscription this woman is identified as *hrd*, "a maiden". It is clear that this drawing and text have no religious significance, despite the postulation that such female figures may represent priestesses or goddesses,[14] a view which has already been questioned by Oxtoby.[15]

A number of drawings depict human figures which are probably to be regarded as male. Some of these are highly stylised, such as in No. 64 (side view, head shapeless), 210 (frontal, upraised arms, almost a stick figure) and so on. However, four examples do provide more interest. The drawing with text No. 225 shows a figure with upraised arms and erectile hair; the fingers are accentuated and between the legs is what may be the phallus. Behind the figure is an inexplicable object. No. 426 shows a frontal view of a rather contorted figure who is probably dancing. The legs are bent unnaturally upwards and all fingers and toes are shown. An appendage between the legs may be the phallus. No. 856 gives a frontal view of a figure in an equally unnatural pose, very similar to the previous, except that the fingers and toes are not shown. Finally, a drawing shown on Pl.26, unaccompanied by an inscription, gives a frontal view of a figure with erectile hair, a curiously flat, wide head, long neck and fingers and toes all individually depicted. This drawing was found amongst many inscribed rocks and may or may not have been the work of a Safaitic artist.

The numerous drawings of stylised human figures accompanied by seven dots or strokes, and the probably related seven dots

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surmounted by a stroke or blob, are referred to by Oxtoby[16] and described in more detail by Winnett and Harding, who illustrate numerous examples.[17] These figures may represent the authors of the accompanying inscriptions, the seven dots, which are generally clustered about the feet, being a protective device on behalf of the drawing, the text or even of the author himself. Noteworthy here is the case of the motif which accompanies the text of No.699, in which the figure is clearly intended to be female.

The significance of the seven dots or strokes has already been noted;[18] it is probably to ensure their greater efficacy that the seven strokes are sometimes seen to intersect a line which has been drawn about the inscription. The purpose of this line too is clearly to protect the text. Also to be noted here is the symbol which takes the form of a rayed disc. In the case of text No.83 this has taken the form of a spiral. This is often interpreted as a solar symbol but the use of such a motif in this way would be a little surprising, as the Rwala bedouin, the present-day successors to the Safaitic tribes in this region, regard the sun as an enemy, which would destroy life or aid the vision of an enemy. In the Rwala tradition the sun is an old, sterile woman, jealous of life.[19] Of course such a tradition need have no relationship to the religious or cosmological beliefs of the Safaitic peoples. The disc may be interpreted as a star.[20]

Finally, a rock from Murabb as-Suwei^{c}id, unaccompanied by any text, and removed by some 200m from Site d. (see Map.3), provides a drawing of a battle scene, shown on Pl.18. This

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drawing may or may not be Safaitic in origin and cannot be used as evidence for that period. It depicts a mounted man either attacking or being attacked by two footmen. He has clearly been lanced in the chest by the footman to the right and seems to be holding aloft his own lance. The relationship of this to the figure on the left is uncertain. The cross-hatching on the body of the mounted man may indicate that he wore armour, or at least some unusual type of clothing. The footman on the right has diagonal hatching across his body and this is also to be interpreted as some type of apparel. The figure on the left has been poorly executed and little can be said about it, although it too may be wearing distinctive clothing.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

1. This percentage does not include the often found groupings of seven dots, circles or short strokes, which, in the opinions of Winnett and Harding "represent the Seven Planets which control the destinies of men" and were "possessed of magical properties and were designed to protect the inscription or drawing against mutilation" (WH,p.26). See also ISB, p. 27 - 29 in this regard. The figure seven is well known in Semitic tradition as a magical number (See for instance, E. Dhorme, Les Réligions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie, p.74f.) and this writer sees no cause to doubt Winnett and Harding's hypotheses here. See also below, p.53f. The relatively scarce occurrence of drawings in such collections as SIJ, LP and JaS is rather noticeable but is not readily explained.
2. A full list of the drawings and their subject matter is to be

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found in the Index of Drawings. Some discussion of Safaitic drawings may be found in LTS, p. 115 - 121, ISB, p. 25 - 30 and WH, p. 22 - 27.

3. The camel of No. 345 has a tribal (?) mark, or brand, on its hump which resembles the letter *d*.
4. E.G. Dussaud 135=C 457-8, WH 627 etc. - horseman lancing a gazelle; HCH 78, LP 1292, WH 865 - horseman lancing a lion, and so on.
5. *Hyaena Hyaena*. See H. Field, North Arabian Desert Archaeological Survey, 1925-50, pp. 8, 67, and B. Nelson, Azraq, Desert Oasis, p. 162 - 164.
6. See B. Thomas, Arabia Felix, p. 59 - 62 for the eating of hyenas in Oman & the Ḥaḍramawt and A. Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouin, p. 20, for the same practice in northern Arabia.
7. As is the case with Rees 74=C 5310.
8. See No. 1085 for another possible depiction of copulating camels.
9. See Roman Girshman, Iran, Parthians and Sassanians, Fig. 79 (the official on the right) and Fig. 123 (the figure on the right).
10. Note the attire of the official in Ibid, Fig. 123.
11. See below p. 89 - 90.
12. See also the drawing on Pl.18, discussed below, p.54f.
13. See below, p.52.
14. As in LTS, p. 118 - 119.
15. ISB, p. 29. See also ARNA, p.75, note 19 and JaSV 412.
16. Ibid, p. 27.
17. WH, p. 25 - 26.
18. See above, note 1.
19. See Alois Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouin, p. 1f.
20. See below, p.128 - 131.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PALEOGRAPHY OF THE SAFAITIC INSCRIPTIONS

a. The Decipherment of the Script.

The accurate decipherment of the Safaitic script was not begun until 1882 when Joseph Halévy managed to identify sixteen of the twenty-eight letters correctly.[1] Prior to this Otto Blau in 1861[2] and David Müller in 1876[3] had made some largely unsuccessful attempts at a beginning of decipherment but were hampered by the relatively small number of texts discovered up to that time; these consisted solely of those found by Cyril Graham and Johann Wetzstein.[4] It was the publication in 1877 of another group of texts by Charles de Vogüé which gave Halévy sufficient material to begin his successful work. Following from this five more letters were identified in 1883 by Franz Praetorius in his review of the work of Halévy.[5]

The remaining seven letters were not identified until 1901 when Enno Littmann published his study entitled Zur Entzifferung der Safâ-Inschriften.[6] Since that time considerable refinements have been made in the identification of the varying forms of the letters while most attention has been focused upon the publication of new epigraphic material and its interpretation. To date no comprehensive study of the paleography of these inscriptions has been made, largely owing to the lack of published photographs and, in fact, the situation has altered little up to this day.[7] This chapter is not intended to be such a

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comprehensive study but merely a beginning, based on the inscriptions published in this study. It investigates the relationship of the Safaitic script to other South Semitic scripts and looks carefully at the internal paleography of Safaitic itself.

b. The Origin of the Safaitic Script.

The Safaitic script is clearly related to the monumental script which was in contemporary use in southwestern Arabia, known as Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA). Because it has been supposed that this script was only fully developed by the settled civilizations of southwestern Arabia and was only later adopted by the nomadic inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula who employed it to inscribe the graffiti-like records of their passing, attempts have been made to trace the development of the various North Arabian examples of the script from their South Arabian counterparts. This task has met with some difficulties.

Such a view was clearly influenced by those early decipherers of Safaitic and Thamudic, who were forced to rely heavily on the decipherment of the South Arabian monumental script for the recognition of many of the letter forms of the North Arabian inscriptions. Such a necessity, coupled with the beliefs that such a script could only have been developed by a settled and civilized people, that South Arabian was earlier in time and that the Arabian Peninsula has been a witness to a continuous folk movement from south to north, as is evidenced by Arab tradition, leads naturally to such a supposition.

This early position has been adhered to by a number of scholoars in this field, most notably E. Littmann,[8] F. V. Winnett[9] and W. G. Oxtoby.[10] Such a view maintains that the South Arabian monumental script provided the impetus for the later North Arabian developments. Adherents to this

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view may point to the close similarities between most of the letters of the Safaitic script and those of the South Arabian. Variations can be explained as independent developments once the influence of the parent script was removed and by the different exigencies of writing graffiti on various types of rock under various conditions, as opposed to the creating of monumental inscriptions.

A. Jamme[11] is also of the opinion that the Safaitic script was derived directly from a South Arabian predecessor, in this case Minaean/Dedanite, which uses a script which is distinct from the more southerly South Arabian scripts.

Opposed to this view generally are the great majority of French scholars, led by M. Rodinson,[12] who have held the view that both the South Arabian and the North Arabian branches of the script stemmed from a common ancestor.[13]

Rodinson has claimed, not without reason, that the South Semitic script was ultimately derived from the areas to the north of the Arabian Peninsula, from contacts with the first inventors of the alphabetic system of writing.[14] This is a question far beyond the scope of the present work.[15] This South Semitic script represents a conglomeration of various elements and influences, a factor which may go a long way towards explaining the variations in the letter forms between dialects and regions.

The common ancestry of the South Semitic scripts is evidenced by the preservation in all of them of the phonemes /t̲/, /ḥ̲/, /d̲/, /ḍ̲/, /ẓ̲/ and /ḡ/, not found within the North Semitic group of languages. Hence, Rodinson argues,[16] both North and South Arabian must have derived from a common ancestor, a so-called "Proto-Semitic" group who spoke a language which still preserved these phonemes at the time when the South Semitic offshoot began to develop. Such reasoning does not necessarily hold true

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because, if the postulated "Pro-Semitic" common ancestor did not use a South Semitic dialect, then those South Semitic groups who adopted the alphabetic system of writing could easily have invented their own repertory of signs to represent the missing phonemes.[17] There appears to be little reason to assume such a total dependence on the original alphabet that the introduction of new forms could not be made independently, following on from the initial stimulus provided.

The actual North Arabian dialects are not closely related morphologically to the South Arabian, although they clearly use a related script. Both may have derived their scripts independently from the assumed common ancestor and then developed independently, the South Arabian becoming a monumental script and hence more stylised than the North Arabian. In view of the lack of anything but circumstantial evidence as to the internal relationships of the South Semitic scripts and the apparent lack of continuity in any hypothesised chain of development of the script, this view is quite tenable.

Nevertheless this question should not be considered as closed. A common ancestor has yet to be recognised. Some would see this as being the Sinaitic script,[18] others as the script of the Byblos pseudo-hieroglyphs.[19] Still others believe that the early Greek script provided the medium for the transfer of the art of writing from Phoenicia to South Arabia.[20] However, both the Sinaitic and the pseudo-hieroglyphs of Byblos remain partially undeciphered and the Greek hypothesis, despite the obvious close similarities between the archaic Greek script and that of South Arabia, must remain merely as an unlikely speculation without any sound foundation.

The whole question must centre around the six letters which are unique to South Semitic, and the letters *j* and *f*, the paleography of which is mentioned here briefly.[21]

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t - this is identical in ESA, Safaitic and Thamudic,[22] being written as 𐩲 or a slight variation thereof. In Dedanite it is generally 𐩱 and is similar in Liḥyanite, where a slight variant form 𐩰 is also found. The form used in Winnett's Taymanite script[23] is 𐩹 or 𐩹 , while in the South Arabian rock graffiti, which bear many resemblances to Thamudic, both the forms 𐩲 and 𐩹 are to be found equally.

h - this takes the form, 𐩩 , 𐩩 , 𐩩 or a similar variation in both Safaitic and Thamudic and is clearly related to the ESA form 𐩠 . The difference between them may be explained by the differing requirements of inscribing monumental texts as opposed to mere graffiti and the same can be said for the Dedanite and Liḥyanite forms 𐩩 , 𐩩 , which are clearly closer to the ESA from than is the Safaitic or Thamudic.

d - this letter presents a wide variety of forms. The common Safaitic form is 𐩢 , which is also found in Thamudic, where the forms 𐩢 , 𐩢 , 𐩢 , 𐩢 , 𐩢 and other variations are also attested. The Dedanite and Liḥyanite texts employ the form 𐩢 , which is clearly related to the Safaitic and Thamudic forms,[24] while the form used in the ESA texts 𐩣 , is seemingly far removed from the northern forms so that there appears to be no close relationship between them.

ḍ - this letter appears to take a number of forms in Safaitic, 𐩭 being the most usual, while 𐩭 , 𐩭 and 𐩭 are also found. The Thamudic and Liḥyanite form is much the same, being variants of either 𐩭 or 𐩭 , as is also the case of the form employed in the South Arabian graffiti. The ESA and Dedanite forms are 𐩭 or 𐩭 , which appear to be similar to the northern forms but with one additional stroke.

ẓ - this is a letter which may be difficult to recognize, principally because of the rarity with which it occurs. It is obvious in

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ESA, where it is found as , which is rather far removed from the various Safaitic forms of the letter , , , , and so on. This letter is rather rare in Thamudic and Lihyanite but appears to be found both as (in ARNA, Tham.40) and as (Euting 526, in JaMisc.V). Of these latter the first form is closest to Safaitic while the second is nearer to ESA forms.

$\bar{g}$ - this letter is found written as in both ESA and Dedanite; in Lihyanite the closely related variants and are also found. In Thamudic this occurs as , , , and , the last being also found in Safaitic, where other closely related forms also occur. It appears that in the case of this letter the southern texts, together with Dedanite and Lihyanite, form a group apart from the northern forms found in Thamudic.

j - this occurs as in ESA, a form which is found as or in Lihyanite and Dedanite and as or in Safaitic and Thamudic. Here too forms and sometimes occur, which seem to bear a closer relationship to the Lihyanite form than do the rounded forms,but it should be noted that both the Safaitic and Thamudic forms are far removed from that of the ESA script.

f - this letter is found as in ESA, while in Dedanite and Lihyanite it has become or . However, the forms found in the two northern scripts of Safaitic and Thamudic are quite different, being or , which appears to bear little or no relationship to the ESA, Dedanite or Lihyanite forms of the letter.

No comments need be made here concerning the remaining letters of the South Semitic scripts, all of which show close relationships between dialects and regions as regards their forms. A chart of the eight letter forms discussed here follows:

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	ESA	Min.& Lih.	Tay.	Thamudic	Safaitic
t					
h					
d					
ḍ					
ẓ					
ḡ					
j					
f					

Of the eight letter forms which have been considered here only that of *t* is clearly similar in the two extremes of north and south, although the forms of the intermediate groups of Dedanite and Lihyanite are quite different. In the case of all of the other letters the northern dialects of Safaitic and Thamudic form a group apart, displaying close similarities to one another, while the intermediate groups of Dedanite and Lihyanite generally show closer links to the script of ESA, the only exceptions being in the letters *t* (just mentioned) and *d*, the latter being closer to Safaitic and Thamudic.

Despite these differences between the various groups there is no reason to postulate, as does Rodinson, an independent development for each after the initial impetus from a common ancestor. It is possible in the case of each letter to demonstrate some interrelationship while, at the same time, it is not possible to trace a development from one to another, or from south to north. In fact the picture which emerges is one of close interrelationship, coupled with a limited independent development. The fact that most of the independent features occur within the forms of those letters not found in Northwest Semitic would tend

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to indicate that the proto-Semitic ancestor of South Semitic may not have used the phonemes /t̲/, /ḥ̲/, /d̲/, /ḍ̲/, /ẓ̲/ and /ḡ̲/, as in the case of most of the other phonemes common to both South Semitic and Northwest Semitic there is little variation of form within the various dialects of South Semitic itself. The two exceptions to this, /ǰ/ and /ʃ/, do not necessarily disprove this theory as both letters display considerable variation in pronunciation between the two groups and even between dialects within the groups, a difference which is not nearly so marked among the remaining phonemes. This variation may explain the difference in the paleography of these two letters if the people who were adopting the alphabetic script did not recognise the particular phonemes within the alphabet of the primary group.

To conclude, how much of the variation in the letter forms may be attributable to accident or to the whims of individuals beginning new trends within their own family groups, trends which then spread more widely or else remained within close confines of time or space, cannot be estimated but these factors may have played a significant role, particularly with regard to the many variations which can be found in the letter forms of any particular group.

c. The Internal Features of the Safaitic Script.

The internal development of the Safaitic script is a subject which has been largely ignored or avoided to date. This is no doubt due to a number of factors, among which have been: the lack of accurate copies of inscriptions upon which to base any discussion; the already noted almost total absence of any means of determining relative chronology; and the overwhelming nature of the task itself, which confronts the researcher with a multiplicity of stylistic variations

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of each of the letter forms, each of which may be significant or may perhaps be due to the accidents of engraving, personal whim or the circumstances in which they were engraved. The problem will be touched upon only briefly here in the hope of providing some direction for later research and of elucidating some matters already raised elsewhere.

To begin, it is necessary to consider briefly the question of the origin of the Safaitic script.

It is not known exactly when this script was first introduced into northern Arabia and into the present-day regions of southern Syria, Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. A commonly held view has been that it first appeared during the course of the first century B.C., its first manifestations being the so-called "square" script. Such a dating has been based on two unproven premises - (i.) that the square script was the earliest type because it displayed some close similarities to the ESA monumental script from which it was believed to have been derived, and (ii.) that historical references in these texts relate events which must have occurred during the first century B.C.. The likelihood that the Safaitic script should not be considered as derived from the ESA has already been discussed.[25] Such a conclusion would partially invalidate the argument for a first century B.C. date for the square script without doing away with the possibility that, paleographically, this script may be the oldest. As for the historical reasons, the uncertainty surrounding the identification of the events will be discussed in some detail[26] and the possibility that the square script might not be datable to the first century B.C. destroys the entire premise for such a dating.

A second theory, held by A. Jamme,[27] is that the ESA script

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employed by the Minaeans at al-ᶜUlā provided the example and the impetus for the development of the Safaitic script. Jamme believes that for Safaitic:

> "the dependence from South-Arabian is manifest..... However, the geographical location of the Safaitic area requires that the contacts were made with the Minaeans of the trading post of al-ᶜUlā. Unfortunately, the northern Minaean cursive lettering is not known well enough to be of great help at the present time. However, taking into consideration both the epigraphical development of the Safaitic letters and the general historical outline of the Minaean colony of al-ᶜUlā, I would suggest the period including the end of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the third as a plausible date for the beginning of the Safaitic script".[28]

Firstly, as already indicated, "the dependence from South Arabian" is by no means "manifest"; it is merely the interrelationship between Safaitic and South Arabian which seems certain. Secondly, the mere geographical proximity (or otherwise) of one group of people to another does not necessarily demand contact between the two nor does it preclude contacts with other groups. To assert that the Safaites must have been influenced by the Minaeans and that, therefore, the first appearance of Safaitic is to be dated to the "end of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the third" is quite as invalid a historical argument as that used to date the square script to the first century B.C., an argument which Jamme himself rightly condemns.

Following from this theory Jamme has provided a scheme for the internal development of the Safaitic script, beginning with Minaean forms and attempting to show a typological development of the letters *ṯ, ẓ, ḫ, ḍ, ḡ, ṣ, r and s̄* within Safaitic itself.[29] This chart contains

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a number of forms which can only be regarded as dubious[30] and must also be questioned with regard to the assumed typological development of the various letters, a development which may be traced hypothetically but not in fact. We have almost no idea how any one particular form of a particular letter came to be used or what influenced the various trends in form, nor of the chronological significance of any one form as regards another. At the present stage no particular pattern can be observed.

At the risk of appearing to be subjective and to be using artificial classifications, the inscripions of this collection have been grouped into five categories: the square script, the 90° script, the formal script, the fine script and the common script, the features of which will be discussed in due course (Pages 70-71 show examples of each of these categories). The greatest problem involved with the adoption of such a system is that there will always be some texts which will not fit neatly into any one category but rather display features of more than one or even of none of them. The categories suggested here are only intended to be a tentative beginning to a paleographic study, a task for which not enough reliable data yet exists and which may yet prove to be impracticable.

The features of the square script are already well known but its date is still a matter for debate. In addition to those who believe it to be the oldest manifestation of the Safaitic script[31] there are those who do not see it as necessarily early,[32] those who do not think it is the earliest but do not attempt to date it[33] and those who think that it is a late development.[34] The use of this script was widespread geographically but rather uncommon; at the present stage most examples come from the area to the north of the Baghdad Highway,

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in northern Jordan and southern Syria. A large number of texts, the scripts of which would best be described as either formal or common, display some letter forms which could be closely related to the square forms. There is no paleographic reason to date this type of script to any particular era or even to give it a chronological position relative to the other types of script. However, the square, almost monumental style of this script, coupled with its relatively infrequent use, does suggest that this may have been one of the earliest manifestations of Safaitic, a style which quickly gave way to other, more easily inscribed styles of script shortly after its first introduction. It may have first been introduced into the area of southern Syria by a tribe coming from the south or it may have been a local development in this region. In this collection No.424, from Tell al-Ashqaf, Site F, is the sole example of this type of script.

The 90^{0} script is one in which a number of the letters, especially *b*, *ḥ*, *s*, *k* and *m* are usually placed at right angles (90^{0}) to their usual stance, while the forms of the *s* and the *k* show remarkable similarity to the ESA forms of these letters. The patination of these texts is usually darker than is normally observed in the other scripts, with the exception of that of the square script, which is also usually dark.[35] Despite the obvious subjectiveness of such observations they seem to be generally valid if considering the overall corpus of known texts and when comparing individual texts on the same stone. Unfortunately, once again we are hampered by a lack of photographic evidence but in this writer's personal experience this observation holds true. This type of script is usually finely and shallowly incised into the rock. It is more common than the square script; in this collection Nos. 29, 172, 364, 434, 556 679, 722, 809, 831, 1001, 1022, 1028, 1074, 1077, 1088, 1123, 1129 and 1159 belong to this classification.

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The formal script is very elegant, in a style which seems to be mid-way between the square and the common. As noted, it may display some characteristics of the square script and the letters are always very precisely incised. Many longer texts, often containing prayers, are inscribed using this style and they are often boustrophedon. All of the letter forms are clearly distinguished; the *r* often takes the form of ꝑ or ꝛ, the *d* may have a hooked tail and the *ʿayn* is always a definite circle. Examples of this style are Nos. 1, 116 - 117, 410, 620, 626 - 627, 631, 633, 895, 1004, and so on. This type of script appears to have been widely used.

The fine script is not common in the regions from which the material of the present collection has come but Nos. 415, 418, 419, 420, 423, 630, 640, 726, 900, 997 - 1000 provide examples. Texts written in this script are in very fine characters, shallowly incised, and are often difficult to make out. At times the letters are no more than a fine, shallow scratching of the rock surface. Texts in this type of script are unknown further south than Site N of this collection[36] but become much more frequent further to the north. They are most common in southern Syria, forming perhaps fifty percent of those texts presented in the collection of LP. They are also very common in the Corpus collection and that of SIJ. In this style of script the letters *ḥ* and *ṣ* are often written at right angles to the general stance of the text, as in the 90° script.

Finally there is the great remaining bulk of material, classified here merely as "common". Within this group many variations occur but it is not clear whether it is possible to subdivide the category or not.

The following text figure shows the various classifications used here. The arrangement of the five categories does not necessarily

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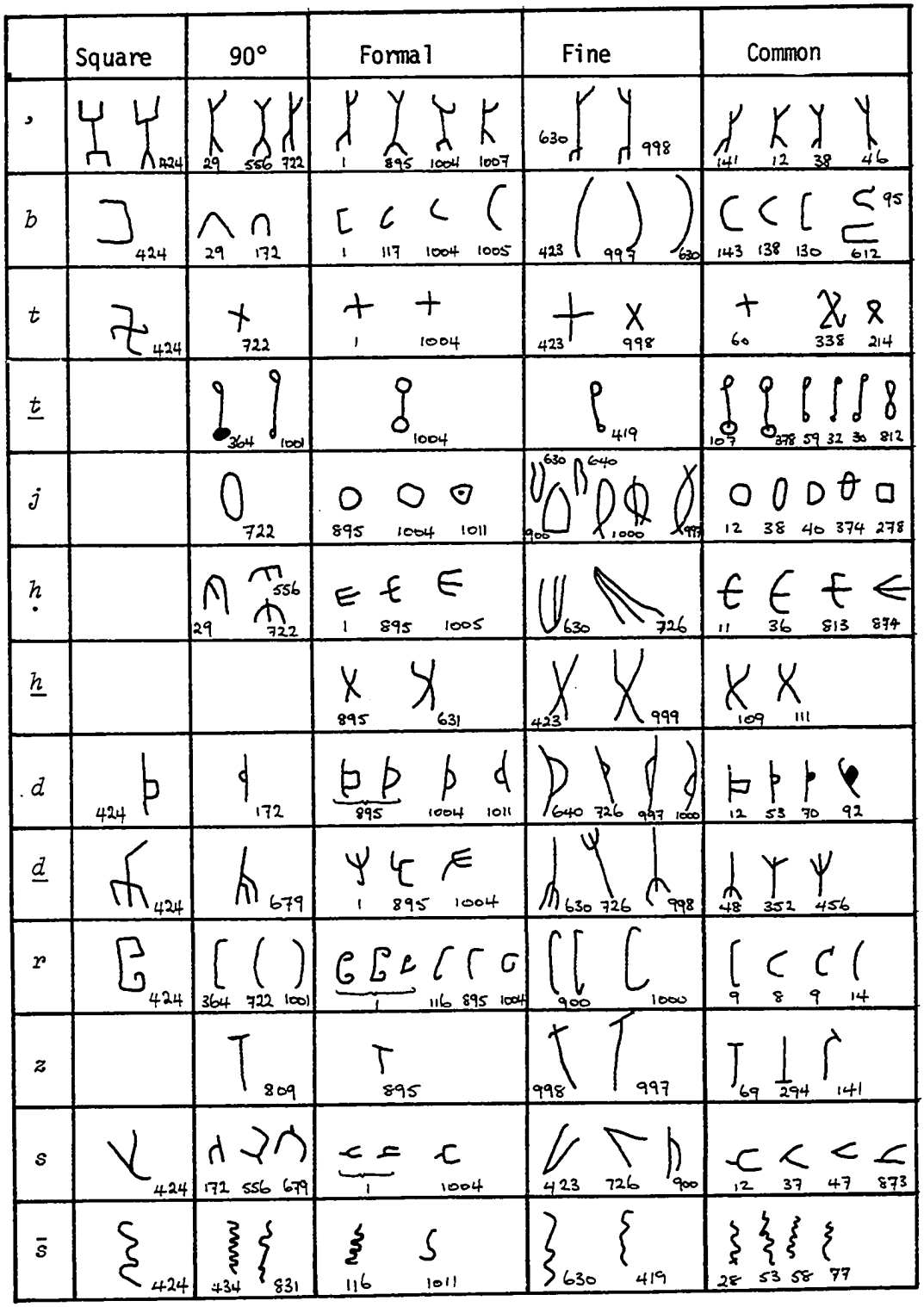
imply any chronological development of the script.



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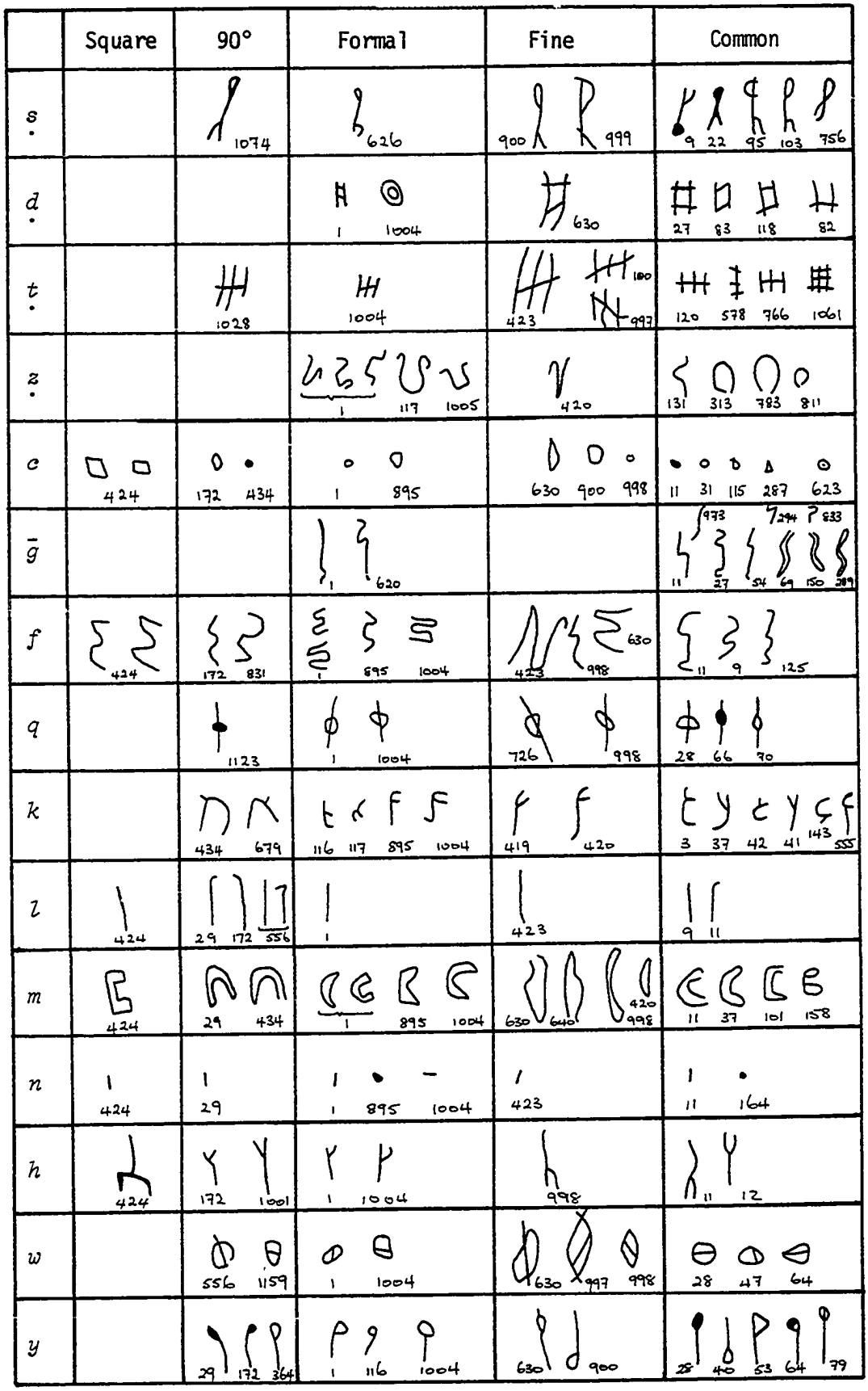

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The following should be noted concerning the individual forms from this collection:

'alif - presents no unusual forms.

b - is a letter sometimes confused with *r*, particularly in the common script. It is usually clearly distinguishable in the other styles. A careful examination of the forms usually allows the distinction between the two to be made. Note the elongated form in No.612 and the form ⊂ in No.95.

t - note the swastika form in No.424, the sole representative of the square script here. This is the typical form of the letter in the square script and may be exactly paralleled in a number of texts in the Thamudic A/Hejazi script.[37] The occurrence of this swastika form in No.388, which, for the lack of a better category, is to be classified as common, may be paralleled by a similar example in SIJ 207. The form in No.214 may have resulted from a slip on the part of the engraver. It is not the letter *ṣ*.

ṯ - the two circles are not always clearly formed and may be no more than a blob (No.755); sometimes the letters *'alif* or *ṣ* have been found to have been deliberately altered so as to resemble *ṯ* (e.g. Nos. 1095, 476) and this should always be watched for when editing texts. It can often be detected through slight variations in the patination of the letter.

j - the forms found in Nos.630, 640 and 841, in the fine script, may be related to the Lihyanite form of the letter, which the other styles do not seem to be. The usual shape ranges from circular, through ovoid, lozenge-shaped and rectangular. A style consisting of two opposite elipses, whose ends overlap, is found occasionally in the fine script (No.997). At times a line may bisect the letter, making it appear to be *w* (No.374, 1000), but it is doubtful whether this should constitute

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a separate form or be regarded as the result of error or vandalism. A possible form ⊙ is discussed below.

h - there is nothing unusual to be noted about this letter in the present collection of texts.

ḥ - no unusual forms occur here; it should be noted that some examples of this letter may appear to be very like the form of *t* and confusion may occur as a result of an incorrect reading.[38]

d - there are no unusual forms here but the reversal of the stance of this letter in many examples from Site F should be noted; this is a Thamudic trait, although found also in Safaitic.

ḍ - the usual form of this letter is the three-pronged pitch-fork shape. In the square and formal scripts this often has a hooked tail or a curved or bent vertical stroke, a feature also found in the more northerly examples of the Thamudic script. The form found in No.895 is new to Safaitic but occurs in Thamudic,[39] as is also the case with the lattice-work form identified in No.320 (where the reading of this as *ḍ* is not entirely certain).[40]

r - this is represented by many variations. It may be difficult to distinguish from the letter *b*, as is the case with the common type especially (see Nos.8, 851 etc.). A number of unusual forms are to be noted. In text No.1 each of the three examples of this letter are different; the first two are typical but the third - - resembles an *s* with inturned extremities; this is most unusual. Note too the form in No.895, which may be mistaken for the letter *l*, being almost identical to the hooked form of this letter; *l* here, however, takes its most common form of a vertical stroke.[41]

z - this presents no unusual features here.

s - this displays the usual range of forms. Only that employed in No.424, the text in the square script, is at all unusual, mainly because

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of its stance.

$\bar{s}$ - the usual forms of this are displayed here. Note that the form 2 is most commonly to be found in the divine name DS̄R, especially when the text employs the formal script, as is the case with No.1046. It also occurs in the badly damaged text No.422. This form is closest to the ESA and Thamudic form of this letter.

$\underset{\cdot}{s}$ - the only example to note here is in No.756, where it resembles the letter $\underline{h}$, but with one end closed.[42]

$\underset{\cdot}{d}$ - the usual forms of this occur. The form 田 in No.570 is to be paralleled by that in the divine name RḌW in WH 3736a. A form ◎ is read here as $\underset{\cdot}{d}$. It has been variously identified as m, by René Dussaud,[43] as j, by G.L. Harding,[44] but more usually as $\underset{\cdot}{d}$, by H. Grimme,[45] A. Jamme[46] and G. Ryckmans.[47]

$\underset{\cdot}{t}$ - the lattice-like form of No.1061 is similar to those of WH 1475c and of the Thamudic text WRH 160.

$\underset{\cdot}{z}$ - three basic forms of this occur. The semi-eliptical form, with one open end and no appendages (as in No.13) and the similar form, the ends of which are almost closed together ᗡ (as in No.313), are mainly restricted to the common script. The third form with appendages ⊂ , ∩ , is that most often found in the remaining categories of the script.

c - this ranges from a mere dot (No.27), to a small circle (No.1), a larger circle (in LP 4), to a triangle (No.287) and a square (No.424). In No.623, as in SIJ 613, it takes the form of a small circle with a dot in the centre.

$\bar{g}$ - many variations occur in the form of this letter but it is generally a vertical stroke with one or two crooks in it (Nos. 1, 48, 54 etc). An alternative form is ⫽ , which may be joined at one end or

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at both (Nos.150, 289). The example in No.27 is close to some forms of $\bar{s}$, as is that of No.296, which resembles the form of this letter which is found in the divine name DS̄R noted in No.1046.

f - no unusual forms are to be noted. This letter is dealt with above.[48]

q - note that in No.630, in the fine script, the vertical stroke of this letter does not extend far beyond the central loop and may, in fact, be the letter *w*.

k - this displays a wide range of variations to the basic form. That of the 90° script is closest to the form used in ESA, Liḥyanite and some types of Thamudic. The style used most commonly in the formal script is close to that of the more northerly examples of Thamudic (Tabuki, or Type E). The common script shows what may be a degeneration of these forms.

l - two basic forms occur, the simple vertical stroke and the vertical stroke with a crook in one end. There may be some significance in this variation. For instance the crooked style is more common at some sites than at others. At Site D the crooked form comprises about half of the total examples of this letter, while at others the proportion is much lower. It seems to occur more to the east than at westerly sites and is more usually to be found in the 90° and the common scripts.

m - forms of this found in the fine script are often very similar to those of the phoneme *j* from the same script (see Nos.410, 420, 630 etc). In No.158 it resembles the formal style of *r* but with two ends closed completely over, giving it something of the appearance of the letter *ṯ* (ᗷ). This form can be found occassionally in Thamudic (eg. in JS 520, 455).

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n - this is most usually a short vertical stroke, at times not clearly differentiated from the simple form of *l*. In the more southerly areas this may take the form of a dot in many instances,[49] although the short stroke is still found and the dot does occur elsewhere. This dot form is that most often found in the more northerly Thamudic texts. In Nos.9 and 1004 this letter is a short horizontal stroke.[50]

h - there is nothing to note here.

w - is quite regular.[51]

y - this is quite normal. Note should be taken, however, of a few cases in which the circle is merely an illformed blob at the end of the vertical stroke (No.987 for example); in such cases care must be exercised to distinguish *y* from *l*.

d. The "Safaitic/Thamudic" Inscriptions.

The distinction between inscriptions classified as Safaitic and those classified as Thamudic is not always clearly observable, particularly among those texts from southern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. In many instances it would be possible to classify the script used as Safaitic, showing Thamudic features, or vice versa. In content, too, many texts labelled "Thamudic" show no basic difference from Safaitic. This has given rise in some cases to the use of the term "Safaitic/Thamudic" when referring to this type of text and the question of the basic distinction between Safaitic and Thamudic is one which needs to be closely investigated, a task far beyond the scope of the present work. Nevertheless, the present collection of texts does give rise to a number of questions in this regard, particularly as some of them do come from regions which are geographically closer to the Thamudic regions than those of previous collections.

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Inscription No.895, from Site L, shows features which are Thamudic, particularly in the forms taken by the letters *ḏ*, *n* and *k*. The personal names are Safaitic but the verb *ḏkr* is more usual in Thamudic than in Safaitic. The tribe of ZYD, is unknown in Safaitic but may occur in Thamudic as ZYDW.[52] Further south, at site P, the texts Nos.1004 - 1011, 1046 and others show features which may be considered Thamudic in the forms of *d*, *ḏ*, *r*, *s̄*, *k* and *ḍ*, although there is nothing about the contents of these to suggest that they are anything but Safaitic.

In other collections similar features may also be observed. Many of the letter forms of the texts published by A. Jamme show what could be considered to be Thamudic features, while in both letter forms and content HNST 1 and Amman 3a and 3b[53] are Thamudic.

Against this a large number of texts which have been published as Thamudic show no notable difference from Safaitic but seem to have been labelled "Thamudic" because of their geographical location rather than any other consideration. Many, if not all, of the Thamudic texts introduced by the *lām auctoris*, which is a distinguishing feature of the Safaitic inscriptions cannot be distinguished from Safaitic in any way. Into this category fall many texts in Winnett's Tabuki, or Thamudic E, script,[54] most of which have been found in the regions of Wadi Rūm and Wadi Sirhān.[55] Also worthy of note here are a number of inscribed stone bowls and tripod saucers, the script of which is to be considered as "Safaitic/Thamudic", as is in some cases their content.[56] The style of the tripod saucers is South Arabian but, unfortunately, not one of these has been derived from legitimate archaeological research and their exact provenance and significance must remain unknown.

There are a number of questions which are immediately raised by these observations: are the classifications of Safaitic and Thamudic

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to some extent artificial or inappropriate and, if so, what is the relationship between these inscriptions and the remaining material classified as Thamudic but which is clearly quite different, in both script and content, from the Safaitic and Tabuki-type Thamudic under consideration?

As regards the name Safaitic this is clearly artificial as aṣ-Ṣafā is an uninhabited volcanic region in southern Syria which is visited after rainfall by the local semi-nomads, the *ʿArab aṣ-Ṣafā*, in search of grazing for their sheep and goats.[57] It is because of the occurence of the inscriptions now known as Safaitic in regions similar to the Ṣafā, the presence of the present-day *ʿArab aṣ-Ṣafā*, and the existence of a deity titled *Zeus Safatēne* in a Greek inscription from Ṣamad in the Jebel Druze region of Syria[58] that the term "Safaitic" has come to be applied to the inscriptions left by these ancient people. Unfortunately we have absolutely no indication as to the name used by these people to describe themselves and no other sources provide any clues. It is possible that they considered themselves to be members of their tribal group before anything else and did not have cause to refer to themselves as anything else. On the other hand a number of instances of the name Thamūd occuring in inscriptions are known[59] and this name is also well known from later Arabic sources.

It is the writer's opinion that the Safaitic and Thamudic material described above should be classified together as a homogenous language and script group, although displaying the usual expected minor variations in language and script which may be due to regional, tribal or temporal factors.[60] Winnett has noted that his Thamudic E script should be considered the latest[61] and, in fact, texts in this form of script from the Wadi Rūm area can be dated to the second or third centuries A.D., a period in which the Safaitic script was still in use.

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The other types of Thamudic script may be earlier but dating is very difficult. On purely paleographic grounds the letter forms such as the "horned" *'alif* of some Thamudic texts[62] should be considered as being early.

If, then, we are to consider the Safaitic and later style of Thamudic as one script and one language, the people who spoke and wrote this must have covered the whole of northwestern Arabia, eastern Jordan and southern Syria during the early Christian era and, despite the obvious misnomer, the term "Safaitic" should probably be applied to all of these inscriptions so as to distinguish them from the remaining groups of Thamudic, to which they bear so little resemblance.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. These were *'alif, b, t, h, ḥ, d, r, s̄, t, ᶜayn, q, k, l, m, n and y*. See J. Halévy, "Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa", Journal Asiatique (7è Series), X, 1877, p.293-450, pl.i - iv; XVII, 1881, p.44 - 83, 179 - 251, 289 - 314; XIX, 1882, p.461 - 508.
2. O. Blau, "Zur hauranischen Altertumskunde", ZDMG XV, 1861, p.437 - 456.
3. D. Müller, "Die Harra-Inschriften and ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklungs-geschichte der südsemitischen Schrift", ZDMG XXX, 1876, p.514 - 524.
4. See above, p.15.
5. F. Praetorius, in Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland, 1883, col. 804 - 806.
6. See the Bibliography. In the same year see also J. Halévy, "La fixation définitive de l'alphabet safaïtique", Révue Sémitique IX, 1901, p.128 - 145, 220 - 233.
7. Of course the publication of photographs necessarily entails considerable extra expense, which must militate against such practice.
8. LSI, p.113.

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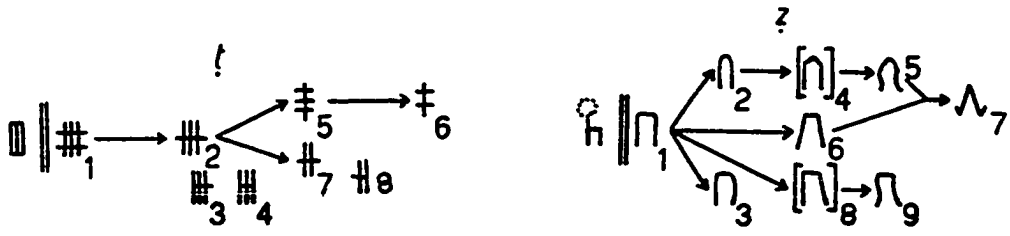
9. SIJ, p.1, and as demonstrated by his treatment of texts such as SIJ 39, 688 etc.. Winnett appears to have subsequently modified this view.
10. ISB, p.6, 8 and 47.
11. JaSICA, p.53 - 54.
12. See A. van den Branden, RevISB, p.261.
13. M. Rodinson, "Les Sémites et l'Alphabet", p.131 - 134.
14. Ibid.
15. See for this problem, G.R. Driver, Semitic Writing, from Pictograph to Alphabet, p.123f and 144f; D. Diringer, The Alphabet, Vol.I, p.145 - 183. et al..
16. Rodinson, Op. cit..
17. Note, however, that at least some of these phonemes occur in the Sinaitic and Proto-Palestinian inscriptions.
18. E.g. W.F. Albright, "The Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from Sinai and their Decipherment", in Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 110, 1948, p.6 - 22.
19. E.g. M. Dunand, Biblia Grammata, (Beirut, 1945).
20. E.g. J. Pirenne, La Paléographie des Inscriptions Sud-Arabes.
21. The phoneme /ś/ which is not found in either Safaitic or Thamudic is not discussed here.
22. In referring to Thamudic here I speak particularly of the Tabuki and Hijazi scripts. The Najdi script is closer to Lihyanite and to the ESA rock grafitti.
23. See ARNA, pl. 1; this is A. van den Branden's "Thamoudéen primitif" (see vdBIT, Pl. I).
24. See ARNA, p.109, where Winnett would derive the Hijazi and Tabuki Thamudic forms, and the Safaitic, from the form 𐤇.
25. See above, p.58 - 60.
26. See below, p. 86 - 90 particularly.
27. Ja SICA, p.53 - 54.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid, Pls. 1 and 2, p.611 - 612. This chart is included here:



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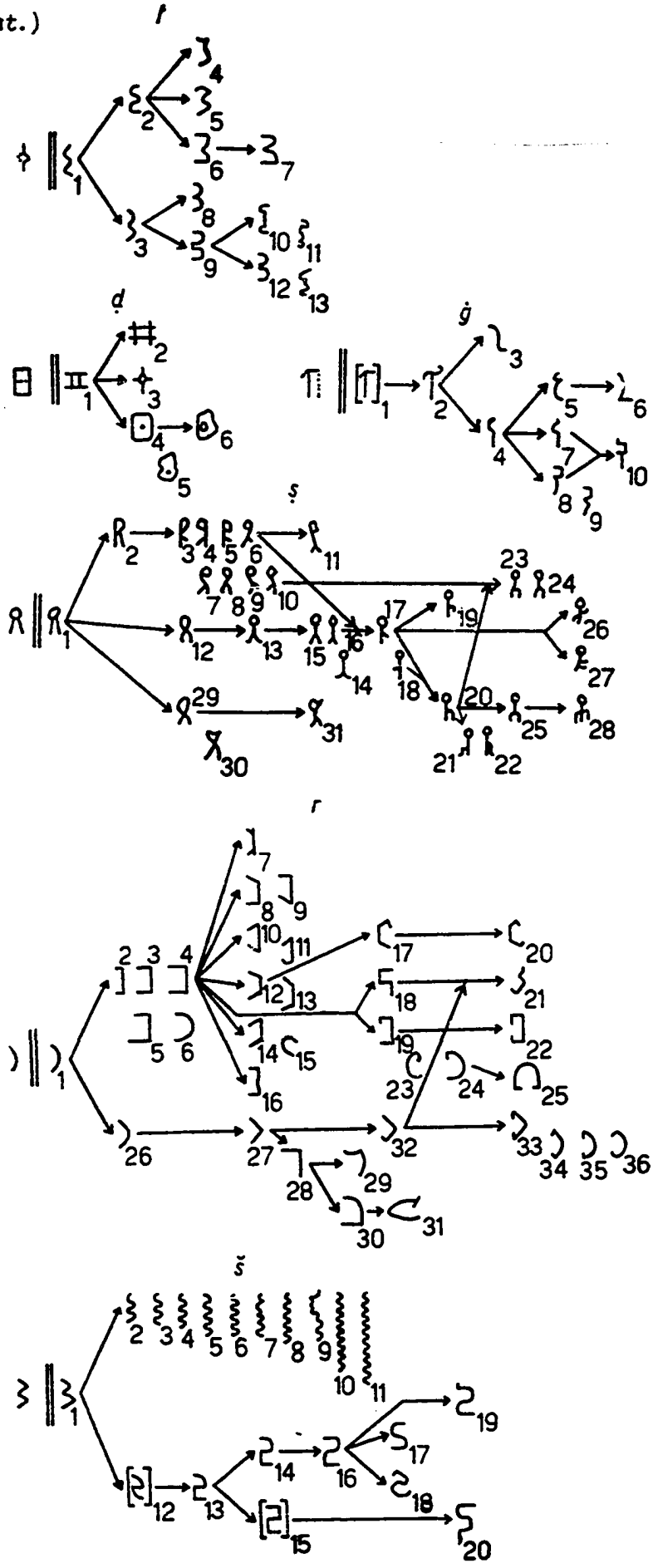
29. cont.)



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30. For instance the Minaean form given as *f* is really *q* (!) while that of *ṣ* is a rather unusual form. Examples of the forms shown on the schemas are not actually listed so that they cannot be verified. Forms which this writer considers as dubious are, at the least : *ṭ 6,7,8; ḍ 4,5; ḡ 1,2,6,10; ṣ 27, 28; r 7,18,21,25.* One wonders from where Jamme has derived the examples given, as in his discussion of those letters not shown on his schemas, he provides numbers of examples (JaSICA p.46 - 53).
31. E. Littmann, F.V. Winnett, W.G. Oxtoby, op.cit..
32. G.L. Harding, in SIJ, p.19 and A.F.L. Beeston in RevSIJ, p.185.
33. M. Rodinson and A. Van den Branden, op.cit..
34. A. Jamme, JaSICA, p.53 - 54.
35. SIJ 748 - 750 should be noted here (see SIJ, Pl.VII, Mlll - 113). SIJ 748,in a most noteworthy form of the square script, appears to have the lightest patination; SIJ 750 in the fine script is darkest, while SIJ 749, also in the square script, is midway between the two.
36. JaS 35 - 38, in the fine script, are from southern Jordan, "from the area between al-Wasad and Gyaratayn" (el-Aritein, the Jordanian pumping station?); their exact location is not known." See A. Jamme, "New Safaitic and Hasaean inscriptions from Northern Arabia", Sumer, XXV, 1969, p.141.
37. See for example, E. Anati, Rock-Art in Central Arabia 3, figs.57 and 58; JS 27 etc.. It is uncommon to find this form. In Tham. the swastika form may also have the value *ḡ*; see A. Van den Branden, Les textes thamoudéens de Philby, I, p.55 - 56 and the review of this by J. Ryckmans in Bibliotheca Orientalis, 17, 1960, p.202.
38. This mistake may have been made by A. Jamme in JaS 108, where we should read *whṛṣ ʿl ʾhṛṣ*, "and he was on the lookout for ʾHRṢ". Jamme has read the name here as ʾTRṢ.
39. For example in ARNA 14.
40. See No.320 of the present collection for a discussion of this form.
41. See my remarks in CNAI, p.38, where it is stated that such a form of the letter *r* is a "later" feature. This interpretation should be discounted at present as it is not possible to give relative dates to the types of script at the present time.
42. In CNAI 1a the second name should be read as HLṢT, rather than as

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42 cont)

HLḤT. The letter Ṣ in this case is very like Ḥ but with one end nearly closed. I am grateful to Prof. F.V. Winnett and M.C.A. Macdonald for pointing this out to me in personal communications.

43. R. Dussaud, "Les relevés du capitaine Rees dans le désert de Syrie", Syria,X, 1929, p.144 - 163. See Rees 6b, 47 and 50.
44. In HNST 8 and HCH 194.
45. H. Grimme, "Nachprüfung der 'safatenischen' Inscriften der Sammlung Rees", Archiv für Orientforschung, VIII,1932,p.105.
46. In JaS 15,22,82b,101a,103b,108,118,132a,166.
47. In C 5164, 5224, 5276 and 5279 - "littera ṣ forman praebet circuli circulo inscripti" (C 5164). Also see RVP, Amman 8.
48. Above p.62. Jamme (in JaSICA, p.53) states "the only letter, which, in my opinion, could be of importance in determining the *terminus ante quem non* is *f*" but this writer can see no cause for such a belief and Jamme does not support his statement.
49. This is very common in the collections of HTap and JaSICA.
50. As also in JaS 135a.
51. See JaSICA, p.47 where Jamme's comments have no apparent paleographic significance; all of the variant forms listed by him can be explained as accidents of engraving.
52. This may be an Aramaicised form of ZYD. See Hu. 268 - 66 = Eut.307. A tribe ZD is named - HCH 109.
53. See RVP, p.258 and Pl.5.
54. See WLT , p.42 - 54 and Pls.I and VII and ARNA, pl.1.
55. See TIJ, ARNA, WAM etc.. There are too many examples to list here.
56. See CNAI, p.39 - 40 and Fig.1 and Pl.1. The script of CNAI 2 would be Safaitic were it not for the occurrence of Tham forms of *ḏ* and *ṛ* in the Tham. expression *ḏkrt lt*. The writer is informed, in personal correspondence from M.C.A. Macdonald, that more of these vessels have now been acquired by the Amman and Damascus museums.
57. R. Dussaud et F. Macler, Mission dans les Régions Désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne, p.53 - 54.
58. R. Dussaud et F. Macler, Voyage Archéologique au Safā et dans le Djebel ed-Drūz, p.192 - 193.

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59. WH 3792a and c (Saf.), JS 280, 300 (Tham.), Gl.1285/3 (Min.). See also Sab C 338/17, R 3902 bis, 130/2, 5054 (Sab.).
60. F.V. Winnett, ARNA, p.76, Tham.18 and A. Jamme, JaMisc.II, p.9, have both suggested this interpretation and classification.
61. WLT , p.53 - 54. See also D. Graf, op.cit., p.7 - 9 and ARNA, p.59 - 60 for Nabataean temples later used by persons using Thamudic script.
62. For example see JS 305, 637, ARNA Tham.25 etc..

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Chapter Five

THE SAFAITES IN HISTORY

It is generally believed that the Safaitic people inhabited the deserts of northern Arabia between the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.[1] but there is no means by which the limits of time can be definitely fixed,as all historical references made by these people themselves are extremely brief and often ambiguous, while it is almost impossible to recognise the Safaites in the literature of other peoples who were in the region.

G. Lankester Harding believes that the date of the disappearance of these texts is yet to be determined[2] and that they may have been written over a longer period than is at present generally accepted. On the other hand, A. Jamme would push the date of the first appearance of the script back as far as the end of the fourth century B.C.[3] The present writer inclines to a later date for both the first appearance of the script and for its eventual disappearance. However, this new collection of texts sheds virtually no light on the problem. Broadly speaking this problem is that the generally laconic nature of the inscriptions allows for widely varying interpretations of the historical nature of their content within certain time limits, which are,the first appearance of texts written in a type of South Arabian script in Northern Arabia at some undetermined date in the mid 1st millennium B.C. and the general introduction of the Arabic script during the seventh century A.D..

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While there is virtually nothing which would allow us to give a definite date to any of the Safaitic texts there is enough evidence to enable us to fix them a little more definitely within broad outlines and each new collection of texts adds its small contribution to the solution of this problem.

The first use of the Safaitic script has been assigned by F.V. Winnett [4] to the first century B.C., on grounds which have never been proved, using a circular argument from paleography to historical events and back again. Winnett believes the so-called square form of the script to be the oldest, basing his argument on its similarity to the South Arabian monumental script and on the interpretation of the events described in the inscription SIJ 688. This refers to "the struggle with the people of the Jews" (*nzz 'l yhd*), a "struggle" which he identifies with that between the Arabs of Trachonitis and Herod the Great, which took place in 12 B.C. [5] On the basis of this text he has dated another - SIJ 78, which refers to a rebellion by the tribe of ʿWḎ "in the year the Persians came to Bosra" (*snt 'ty hmdy bsry*) - to the first century B.C., equating this reference to "the Persians" with some as yet unknown Persian invasion of Syria, thus altering his original position that this Persian invasion was that of the Sassanids in 612 A.D. [6] E. Littmann [7] is also clearly of the opinion that the square script is archaic, as is W. G. Oxtoby.[8]

There is, however, some divergence of opinion in this regard; for instance G. Lankester Harding "is not convinced that the square script is necessarily older than the more common type".[9] M. Rodinson [10] is not convinced of this either and in this he is followed by A. van den Branden.[11]

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A. Jamme[12] considers the square script to have been a later development, basing his argument of paleographic grounds. Some closer examination of all views as to the dating of the texts needs to be made at this point, historical considerations being taken into account here and paleographic ones in the previous chapter. While this study adds little to our understanding of the true date of the inscriptions it is aimed at clarifying some problems and disposing of some misconceptions.

Firstly it should be stated that there is nothing at all in the inscriptions which would indicate a firm date in the first century B.C. for any of the events mentioned in them. Winnett's interpretation of SIJ 688 is supported by unsubstantiated observations, that is, either that the square form of the script is the oldest (first century B.C.) and that therefore the events related in SIJ 688 are to be dated to this period, or that the events related occurred in the first century B.C. and that therefore the square script must date to that time.

The event described in SIJ 688 as *nzz 'l yhd* is one about which there can surely be no definite historical opinion. As pointed out by M. Rodinson[13] the verb *nzz* does not have the meaning given it by Winnett. The basic meaning of this doubled root is "to seep, ooze (of water)";[14] the second form in Ar., *nazzaza* (with the preposition *ʿan*), has the meaning "to remove someone (from)", while the third form, *nāzza*, has the meaning "to vie with someone in glory". It is on the basis of this third form meaning that Winnett has read "in the year of the struggle with the people of the Jews", a reading which is inappropriate for this root and which must be considered to be a rather uncertain basis for a historical reconstruction.

As noted above,Winnett would equate this "struggle" with events during the reign of Herod the Great but it is obvious that this text

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contains little hint as to the true identification of this event. The system of dating followed by the Bedouin is one which has always been notoriously difficult for the historian, relating as it does to events which had particular significance to the tribe and which were then used to date the year in which they occurred. Such dates may have derived from historical events, natural phenomena, personal deeds by members of the tribe, the death of an eminent person and so on.[15] Often, too, these events may be referred to in an abbreviated form, a practice which makes the identification of the events extremely difficult.

As a consequence, the words *snt nzz 'l yhd* may refer to the revolt of the Arabs of Trachonitis or it may refer to some other event. If we were to read *nzz* as a verb of the 2nd form, which is possible, then the Ar. sense of "to remove someone", may be appropriate. We could then read "in the year of the removal of the people of the Jews" and perhaps relate this to the events of 70 A.D., in which sections of the Jewish people were carried off into slavery, following the crushing of the Jewish revolt by Titus.

The Judaeo-Aramaic meaning of the root *nzz* should also be noted here, that is "to be unsteady, to be disturbed, to vibrate",[16] which could give rise to a reading of "the year of the disturbance/unrest of the people of the Jews". Such an interpretation could refer to the revolt of 4 B.C. at the death of Herod the Great, to the revolt of 66 - 70 A.D., to that of 116 A.D. or to that under the emperor Hadrian in 132 - 135 A.D.. Such dates may seem rather late but there is no real basis for ascribing the event to any particular one of these events or for assuming that the square script is necessarily the oldest type.

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Winnett's historical interpretation of SIJ 78 relies heavily on his dating of the square script. Originally identitying *hmḏy* with the Persians (Sassanids), he dated this inscription to 614 A.D.[17] but later revised this, after analysing SIJ 688, to a date in the first century B.C.. Such an interpretation requires the identification of *hmḏy* with the Parthians,[18] an identification which this writer considers likely, but it is not possible to arrive at an exact date. The text itself is dated to *snt ʾty hmḏy bṣry*, "the year the Parthians came to Boṣra"; another text, in square script, C 4448, is dated to *snt ḥrb hmḏy ʾl rm bbṣr*, "the year the Parthians fought the Romans at Boṣra", which is probably a reference to the same event. There is, however, no reference to such an event in the classical historians, so we must assume that this was not a happening of major significance to the Romans although it was so for the Safaitic Arabs, who may have been involved in it in some way. There is nothing to indicate that the word *ḥrb* here refers to a major battle and no other clues are provided by the text.[19]

The use of the term MḎY to refer to the Parthians, however, was usual from the first to the third centuries A.D., as pointed out by Zichy-Woinarski:

> The use of the term HMḎY, found also at Hatra, is indicative of the period (1st - 3rd A.D.), for the kings of Parthia were by then of the Median-Atropatenian branch, and Artabanus III, himself, had long been known as "King of Media" to the people of Mesopotamia. It seems to have become the custom for the people west of the Hadrianic *limes* to refer to the Parthians as "Medes" and the area where they lived as "Media".[20]

While not completely rejecting a date in the first century B.C. (or even earlier) for the first appearance of the Safaitic script it now appears that a date in the first or even second century A.D. would

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also be possible from the limited evidence available from those texts which refer to the YHD and the MDY.[21]

Before leaving the question of the YHD mention must made of C 1270, the end of which reads [*w*]*b*^{c}*lsm*[*n slm*] *mb's 'l yhd*, "[and] B^{C}LSM[N grant security] from harm from the people of the Jews". It seems that the period in which the Arabs of the Syrian Desert could have been under threat from the Jews is limited to the reign of Herod the Great (37 - 4 B.C.), during which time the aforementioned revolt of the Arabs of Trachonitis occured, and no later than the death of Agrippa in 44 A.D., after which time Judaea became a Roman province under Roman administration. Such a text then may provide us with a date between 37 B.C. and 44 A.D. but a word of warning should be sounded as regards this text, C 1270, as the facsimile on which this interpretation is based may not be accurate and care should be exercised when using is as evidence.[22]

It is possible that these texts first appeared before 106 A.D., the year in which the Romans annexed the Nabataean state, as some texts mention the Nabataeans (but see below, p.93). Unfortunately, with these references also, it is impossible to fix a definite date for the events mentioned.

Of considerable import here are the texts WH 2113 and C 3680, which are dated to *snt hrb nbt*, "the year of the Nabataean war".[23] R. Dussaud believes[24] that Safaitic tribesmen assisted the Romans in the overthrow of the Nabataean capital of Petra in 106 A.D. and that this is what was meant by the *hrb nbt*. E.Littmann would interpret this date formula much the same way.[25] However, as noted by Winnett and Harding,[26] this takeover appears to have been largely a peaceful one. Accordingly we should seek another interpretation for this event.

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Such an alternate interpretation is provided us by F.V. Winnett, who would relate the "Nabataean war" to the revolt of Damasī, who was the son of the Nabataean governor of Hegra, against the Nabataean state at the time of the succession of Rabbel II to the throne in 71 A.D..[27] During this revolt some of the Safaitic Arabs may have taken the side of the rebel, as Winnett attempts to demonstrate. Such an event would naturally have been of some considerable significance to the Safaitic tribesmen and it would be quite normal to find a year dated by this.[28]

Both SIJ 287 and SIJ 823 are dated to *snt mrd dmsy*, "the year of the rebellion of Damasī". The author of SIJ 287 was of the tribe of MḤRB while that of SIJ 823 was of ḎF, both of which tribes may have been involved in the revolt.[29] In fact SIJ 287 states that the tribe of MḤRB was definitely involved in a rebellion. Winnett's justification for including ḎF is the occurrence of the verb *qṣṣ*, which he translates as "to follow" in the sense "that he joined the other members of his tribe in whatever they were doing",[30] while implying that the tribe was on the move at the time.

Following from this Winnett has included ISB 57 as another example of a text which refers to this revolt. The end of this text reads *wqṣṣ snt mlk rb'l*, which Winnett translates as "and he *qṣṣ* the year that Rabbel became king".[31] The verb *qṣṣ* here may be an abbreviation for a longer statement, perhaps *qṣṣ b^{c}d mḥrb*, the tribal name MḤRB having been already mentioned earlier in the text, in which case this may well refer to the year of the revolt of Damasī, dated to the accession year of Rabbel II. The nature of the Safaitic texts indicates that abbreviations, or even omissions, are quite possible. The verb may also be related to the Arabic third form *qāssa*, "to retaliate, settle accounts with".[32]

Winnett goes on[33] to date SIJ 287 to between 91 and 131 A.D.,

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"if we assume that the author was between 20 and 60 years of age when he engraved the inscription telling when he was born", as this text states that its author was born (at Jāwā) "in the year of the revolt of MḤRB and the year of the revolt of Damasī".[34] The estimate given here of the author's age is rather subjective and this writer would suggest a much lower estimate of between 15 and 45 years of age, this being closer to the expected lifespan of the average Bedouin as an adult member of his tribe. This, obviously, is not a particularly reliable means of dating a text but an approximate date would be around the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries A.D.. Projecting from this approximate date for SIJ 287, Winnett would place SIJ 281, 832 and ISB 57 earlier, in the belief that these authors were looking back on an event in which they were personally involved when referring to this revolt. Thus he would date these texts to between 71 A.D. and the end of the first century A.D.. If this is so then the extremely unusual square script employed for ISB 57 must be dated to this time and would indicate either the contemporaneity of this type of script with the common type (in which the other texts concerned with this event are inscribed) or the fact that there was only a very short time lapse between the use of the two types. Of course alternate interpretations of the events related in ISB 57 are possible, one being that it refers to the accession of Rabbel I before 87 B.C..[35] It may also relate to some other event entirely.[36]

A number of other texts refer to the presence of the Nabataeans in the region.

WH 2815 is dated to *snt mrʾt nbṭ ʿl ʾl rm*, "the year of the Nabataean revolt against the Romans". Winnett and Harding believe that "the inscription must date from after the Roman annexation of Nabataea in 106 A.D.",[37] a view which is accepted by G.W. Bowersock.[38] However,

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no such revolt is known and its date must remain unknown. It should be noted that the presence of Nabataeans in the area is attested for some two centuries following the annexation of the kingdom by Rome[39] and that the present-day bedouin tribe of Huwaytat regard themselves as descendants of the Nabataeans.[40] Accordingly it is quite possible that references to these people may be dated considerably later than 106 A.D..

SIJ 296 is dated to *snt 'sr ḥrṯt wškt*, "the year ḤRṮT took WŠKT prisoner". The ḤRṮT here referred to may be the Nabataean ruler Aretas IV (9 B.C. - 40 A.D.). Such an interpretation must remain in the realm of conjecture as there is no indication that the ḤRṮT named here was a Nabataean at all, let alone a king.[41]

A text which may refer to a tribal revolt against the Nabataeans is LP 4, which appears to be dated to *snt mr'(d) nbṭ ʿwḏ*, "the year ʿWḎ rebelled against Nabataea",[42] which probably indicates that the Nabataeans claimed to exercise some control over the Bedouin tribes within their sphere of influence.

Text No.628 of this collection states *wdṭ' bntj nẓrn rb'l*, "he spent the spring with the animals which were giving birth, while watching for RB'L", a possible reference to the ruler Rabbel I or II. Text No.661 reads *l drb bn qn hnbṭ[y]*, "By DRB son of QN, the Nabataean", an indication that a Nabataean was present in the desert with the Bedouin, perhaps as an envoy, an exile, a trader or something similar.

A text, which its editor presumes to refer to the death of a Nabataean king by the name of ʿObodat, originates from near Ruṭba in Iraq.[43] This is dated to *snt mt ʿbdt*, "the year ʿBDT died". There were at least two Nabataean rulers with the name ʿObodat, both of whom ruled during the first century B.C.[44] and ʿĀdil Nājī would assign this text to one of these. Winnett and Harding are of the same opinion and believe that this text must be dated to the first century B.C..[45] However,

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the personal name ᶜBDT occurs on a number of occasions in the Safaitic inscriptions, where it clearly refers to ordinary persons[46] and there can be no reason here to assume that the case of this text is any different and that the ᶜBDT here is a Nabataean king, no matter how tempting such an identification may appear.

Also of some interest here are the texts C 742 and C 2670, both of which mention the Nabataeans. C 742 is dated to *snt wsq d̲ʾl rhy nbṭ mḡwṭ*, "the year the Nabataeans contended with the lord of RHY at MḠWT".[47] The end of C 2670 reads *snt wsq d̲ʾl rhy nbṭ wḥrs ḥwlt*, "in the year the Nabataeans contended with the lord of the people of RHY; and he was on the lookout for ḤWLT".[48]

As argued convincingly by Winnett and Harding[49] the "people of RHY" may be identifiable with the Arab state in northern Syria from 129 B.C. to 242 A.D..[50] The name of this city in Aramaic was ʾUrhay, while in Classical Arabic it was al-Ruhāʾ, names which support the identification of the Safaitic RHY with this state.[51] It would be by no means unusual to find that the Safaitic Arabs had had contacts with this state or that their inscriptions should refer to it.[52] There is, however, no evidence which would suggest that the Nabataeans had ever "contended with" the city of Edessa and it suggested here that the *ʾl rhy* were probably not the people of Edessa but were located much nearer to the Nabataean area. According to the genealogical work of Al-Kalbi[53] one of the eighteen sons of ᶜAmr b. al-Ḡaut̲ b. Ṭaiyiʾ was named Ruhā and it is believed by A. Sprenger,[54] followed by W. Caskel,[55] that this person, as the eponymous ancestor of a sub-group of the Ṭaiyiʾ, gave his name to a town in northern Ḥijaz. This Ruhā has been identified as al-Quraiya[56] or as Ḥāyil.[57] Caskel identifies it with the Arē Kōmē of Pliny,[58] a town within the Nabataean realm. It should be noted that none of these identifications are definite. The *ʾl rhy* may have been

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the people of Edessa, those of a town in northwestern Arabia or those of a tribe.

Leaving the Nabataeans we find a considerable number of possible historical references still to be considered. Of considerable interest are the texts WH 3792a and 3792c; the end of WH 3792a reads *wwrd tltt 'shr snt hrb jsm 'l tmd*, "he was present for three months in the year in which JSM warred with the people of Thamūd". WH 3972c refers to this war in much the same terms - *snt hrb jsm tmd*. Winnett and Harding are unsure whether the name JSM here refers to a person of some importance or to a tribe[59] but text No.421 of this collection makes it clear that JSM was in fact a tribe or clan. What is of significance here are the references to the Thamūd, which are the first found to date in the Safaitic inscriptions. Winnett and Harding believe[60] that this war took place either during the first century B.C. before the Nabataeans overran al-Hijr, the traditional centre of the Thamūd,[61] a date which they consider unlikely on the grounds that there are no other references to the Thamūd in sources for this period or, "if the struggle took place after 106 A.D., it must surely have been after the end of Roman rule at al-Hijr; otherwise we should have expected the Romans to have been involved in the struggle and to be mentioned in the inscriptions".[62] This would date the war to post-305 A.D., the end of the reign of Diocletian, the last Roman emperor to control al-Hijr.[63]

There are a number of problems to be raised in association with this reconstruction. Firstly an Arabian people known as Tamad is known from eighth century B.C. Assyrian records[64] and it seems quite likely that these are the later Thamūd, so there can be no objection to an early date on the grounds that these people were not known in early times. Secondly, despite the well-attested limited area inhabited by the traditional Thamūd in the region around al-Hijr in the northern Najd,

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there can be no reason to assume that they were limited exclusively to this area at all times. Indeed, as noted by Winnett,[65] very few inscriptions of the Thamudic type have been found near al-Ḥijr, and it is only the later Arab tradition which ascribes this region to them.[66] The so-called Thamudic type of script in its many variations is to be found from the Wadi Sirḥān throughout central Arabia and as far south as the south-west of the Arabian Peninsula. The people of Thamūd are referred to by the Minaeans and even if all of those peoples who used the Thamudic script did not belong to the same ethnic group, the actual spread and influence of these people was considerable. In Roman times Thamudic mercenaries served in the Roman forces in the provinces of Arabia and Palestine.[67] Later ethnographic pressures such as the movement of tribes from south to north in the Peninsula may have forced the Thamūd to restrict themselves geographically to the northern Najd.

As noted by M. Rodinson,[68] some of these Thamūd were no doubt nomadic and others sedentary, a feature of tribal society in Arabia at all times. This being the case there is no cause to assume that the war referred to in WH 3792a and 3792c was directed against al-Ḥijr itself, and hence the observations of Winnett and Harding are probably without foundation.

Their remarks concerning the Romans may also show a misunderstanding of the supposed situation. The question as to whether there was ever a Roman garrison stationed at al-Ḥijr must remain debatable for the time being[69] but regardless of the presence or otherwise of such a garrison at the town during a "war" between these two parties, there is no reason to assume that this would, of necessity, have become involved or that the Safaitic inscriptions, or any others, should refer to its role in any such fighting. A tribal war could be a rather

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limited affair, being more a series of swift raids than a protracted campaign and would have been directed, in this case, against the Thamūd and not against the Romans. Given these factors, a foreign garrison force may not have felt obliged to intervene or may not have had an opportunity to do so. There would have been little cause for the Romans themselves to have recorded such an event even if they were involved in it.

As a consequence to these observations it can only be concluded that WH 3792a and 3792c are seemingly of little value for historical reconstruction.

This leads to the investigation of those texts which do actually refer to the Romans, who are referred to as *rm*, *hrm*, *'l rm* or *'l hrm*. These terms may be equally applied to the Romans or to the Byzantines, no distinction between the two apparently being made in either these texts or in classical Arabic.[70] This allows a wide time span between the Roman conquest of Syria in 63 B.C. and the eventual ousting of the Byzantines by the Muslims from Damascus in 635 A.D..[71]

There is evidence of Roman interest in strengthening their frontier which faced the Syrian and Arabian deserts in present-day Syria and Jordan in certain periods and this could have been as a result of pressure from the Bedouin of whom the Safaites would have formed a part.

When the Romans annexed the kingdom of Nabataea in 106 A.D. they seem simply to have taken over the Nabataean fort system, perhaps adding some new forts of their own in order to protect their new road, the *Via Nova*, leading from Bosra to Aqaba, which was completed in 111 A.D.. In order to garrison this the *Legio III Cyrenaica* was stationed at Bosra.[72]

The Late Roman Period (135 - 324 A.D.)[73] witnessed a slow

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strengthening of the *limes* in Jordan but it was not until the Late Roman IV period (284 - 324 A.D.)[74] that intensification of the border fortifications took place under the emperor Diocletian. In this period the number of known border forts between Bosra and Aqaba increased from 14 to 30, with great attention being given to the northwestern end of that great route into central Arabia, the Wadi Sirhān, the most important development being the introduction of a second legion, the *Legio IV Martia*, which was stationed at the camp of Lejjūn. At the same time the former province of Arabia was reduced to the area of Transjordan north of the Wadi Hasā, while the area to the south as far as Aqaba became a part of the province of *Palestina salutaris*, garrisoned by the *Legio X Fretensis*.

These fortifications were maintained until at least the end of the Early Byzantine II period (363 - 392 A.D.), a late fourth century Roman historian noting that Arabia was "filled with strong camps and castles".[75]

Present-day southern Syria during the Late Roman period and the Early Byzantine I - II periods was filled with settlements and fortifications such as those at Qasr Burqu^{c}, an-Namara, Deir el-Kahf and in the Hauran and the Leja.[76]

The Early Byzantine III - IV periods (392 - 491 A.D.) saw the beginning of a decline in the maintainence of the *limes*, a decline which continued throughout the Late Byzantine period (491 - 640 A.D.), indicated by the gradual abandonment of many of the forts, a process probably influenced by the rise of the Lakhmid and Ghassanid states, which acted on behalf of the Byzantines, keeping order along the desert fringes.

It is certain that this activity along the borders of the Roman and Byzantine empires would have somehow concerned the Safaitic tribesmen, as is indicated by references in their inscriptions which

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refer to the "Romans" but what this relationship was is by no means clear.

None of the inscriptions which refer to the Romans give information of a type which would enable us to date them with any certainty. This problem has already been noted with respect to those texts mentioning *hmdy*, the Parthians, and their relations with Rome. A date between the first and third centuries A.D. has been suggested for these. None of the other references, as we shall see, are any more specific.

A number of texts record a revolt (or revolts) against the Romans by Arab tribes. In two cases known to date it is the tribe of ^{c}WD[77] and in No.424 of this collection it is the tribe of ^{c}BST which revolted. No other details are known but a number of other texts may refer to events connected with these revolts. Such texts are those which refer to persons escaping from, or fleeing from, the Romans.[78] Some of these texts may be interpreted as being people fleeing from forced military service with the Romans.[79] Note should be taken here of LP 94, which reads *wnfr mn rm fhylt snt III*, "and he fled from Rome, and O LT (a pious exclamation), in the year 3", which E. Littmann considers to be a date in the third year of the era of Bosra,[80] that is, dating to 108 - 109 A.D.. That such an interpretation is correct is possible but cannot be proven.

The inscription LP 435 is dated to *snt wsq 'l qdm hrm*, "in the year that the tribe of QDM contended with the Romans";[81] it is impossible to suggest a date for such an event, as is likewise the case with C 4439 which is by an individual *d'l df wsr snt trq 'l rm smt bn 's hq^{c}sy*, "of the tribe of DF, and he returned in the year the Romans came upon SMT son of 'S, the Q^{c}SY, by night",[82] which may refer to a Roman punitive raid against the Arabs.

There are a number of other texts which may refer to the Romans

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but they provide us with no means of determining any dates and, in many cases, the readings are so uncertain as to preclude any speculation.

There is, finally, the question of a number of texts which clearly refer to something of historical consequence but which cannot be assigned to any particular event because of the vagueness of the statements. Such texts contain references to *hmlk*, *qṣr* and *hsltn*, none of which can be definitely identified.

The word *qṣr* has been variously interpreted as "Caesar"[83] or as "castra",[84] referring to the Roman army. The second interpretation appears to be the most likely. Accordingly, in WH 1698 and WH 1725b we read the date formula *snt njy qṣr hmdnt*, "the city", refers to Boṣra, and that this event may be related to that described in SIJ 78 ("the year the Parthians came to Boṣra"), C 4448 ("the year the Parthians fought against the Romans") and SIJ 88 ("the year the Roman army ejected the Parthians").[86]

The word *hsltn* may be translated as "the government, the ruling power". Littmann believes,[87] followed by G. Ryckmans[88] and Winnett,[89] that it refers to the Roman, or Byzantine, imperial power. This may be so but circumstantial evidence, in at least one case, points elsewhere.

Texts in which the word *hsltn* occurs are LP 424, 540, C 66, 1952, 2802 and SIJ 281. LP 424 and 540 refer to persons "fleeing from *hsltn*".[90] In LP 540 *hsltn* was represented at the southern Syrian town of en-Namara (Saf. *nmrt*) and could have been the Nabataean government (before 106 A.D.), the Roman, the Byzantine, the Parthian or the Ghassanid.

None of the examples of this term to be found in the Corpus can be accepted with certainty as the copies of them are unreliable. Both C 1952 and 2802 are dated to *snt ṭrq 'l qm[r h]sltn*, "the year in which [the] government came upon the tribe of QM[R] by night". C 66 may read *wnjy [h]n msltn*, "and he escaped [here] from (the) government".

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It is only in SIJ 281 that some clue is gained regarding the application of this word. This text is dated to *snt mrd mhrb hsltn*, "the year in which MHRB rebelled (against) the government". Now the name MHRB belongs to either an important individual or to a tribe[91] and in SIJ 287 we learn that MHRB was involved in a rebellion, probably that of Damasī.[92] If SIJ 281 refers to the same event then the word *hsltn* here would be the Nabataean state and the date would be about 71 A.D.. Of course it is not necessary that this word should be regarded as referring to the same government on every occasion on which it is used.

The final word to be considered here is *hmlk*, which may be translated in some cases as a personal name, HMLK, but elsewhere as "the king". It cannot be related to any known ruler, despite Littmann's attempt to equate it with the Roman emperor Hadrian, a Nabataean king or even the Lakhmid ruler of al-Hira, Imru'uqais.[93]

A. Jamme suggests reading *hmlk*, or simply *mlk*, as "lord of the tribe", reading *mlk* as the title of the tribal chieftain, "the lord".[94] Such a position, seems to be untenable and probably arises from this writer's lack of understanding of the nomadic tribes about which he writes. Among these people it would have been impossible for any person, no matter what his status or his popularity, to have taken the title *mlk*, "king", or "lord" of his tribe. In fact the position of tribal leader would have fallen upon an influential and experienced tribal family head, or *shaykh*, whose power could never be absolute and whose continued leadership depended upon his own adherence to the tribal policy and custom, which was, and still is, arrived at by democratic means.[95] The title of *mlk* was generally only applied to foreign rulers by the Arabs.[96] It seems that A. Jamme's interpretation is due to a misunderstanding of this subject, although it must be recognised that the social organization of the Safaites is still largely unknown.

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The texts in which the word *hmlk* occurs are C 2746, 3064, LP 619, 644,[97] SIJ 705, 911, ISB 95, 163 and No.957 of this collection, where some further discussion of these texts is entered into.[98]

Finally the question of the disappearance of the Safaitic script must be given some brief consideration. The most commonly accepted date for this, as already noted, is the early fourth century A.D. but there are no compelling reasons why such a date should be accepted as definitive.

The reasons most commonly advanced for the acceptance of such a date are (i) the absence of any trace of Christianity in the inscriptions, (ii) the increasing use of languages, and scripts, which were not Safaitic from the fourth century onwards, (iii), the Lakhmid and subsequent Ghassanid conquest of the Arabs of the region, an event which it is supposed would have put an end to the independence of the Safaitic tribes and hence to their use of their own script, (iv) the lack of references in the Safaitic texts which could be interpreted as mentioning recognisable historical events after the third century A.D. and (v) what appears to be a complete absence of references to any persons, tribes or events ascribable to the Safaites in the works of the early Arab historians and geographers. It is generally assumed that these people either settled, were assimilated into other population groups, were conquered or somehow disappeared some centuries before the time of the Muslim conquest of Syria.

Alone none of these arguments are compelling and this terminus in the fourth century should not be considered as definitive.

In fact, as noted elsewhere,[99] there can be no reason to assume such a date as it is presumed that the regions inhabited by the Safaitic peoples continued to be inhabited by them, although probably with some population changes, until a much later date.[100] Barring violent conquest by other groups or a gradual assimilation into sedentary populations, there is no cause to believe that the Safaites should have degenerated

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to such an extent as to have lost the art of writing and, indeed, until the advent of the Arabic script no other script was put to common use in the region.[101]

If we accept this greater time span for the texts then this will have some significance for the projected population of the region -

> "If indeed the Safaitic script was employed until the beginning of the Muslim era this would account in part for the large number of inscriptions which are to be found. Spread over a period of some six centuries it can be assumed that the population of the area need not have been unusually large to produce such a quantity of texts. If, however, we accept a time span of only three or four centuries we must assume that the Safaites were rather prolific authors. Even assuming a time span of six centuries their output is surprising, despite the graffiti nature of most of the inscriptions."[102]

At the conclusion of this study of the historical rammifications of the Safaitic inscriptions it seems clear that many of the earlier attempts to find definite historical allusions in them have been either unjustified or unproven.[103] It should also be clear that, from an overall impression of these texts which do contain some historical allusions, it is possible to place these people within their historical milieu, albeit without ascribing to them any exact dates.

The references to Jews, Parthians, Nabataeans, Romans and Thamūd, enable us to place the Safaites firmly within the first three centuries A.D.. They may have appeared earlier than this but conclusive evidence is lacking. The date of their disappearance is much less clear but the Muslim conquest is the latest possible date, after which time the eruption of peoples from the Arabian Peninsula would have forcibly carried these tribes into Syria and beyond.

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Footnotes to Chapter Five

1. R. Dussaud, La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant d'Islam, p.139; F. V. Winnett, in SIJ, p.1 - 2; W. G. Oxtoby, in ISB, p.6 - 8, et alios.
2. In HST, p.22 and personal communication.
3. JaSICA, p.53 - 54.
4. In SIJ, p.3.
5. SIJ, p.95; World History of the Jewish People, The Herodian Period, Eds. M. Avi-Yonah and Z. Baras, p.87.
6. F. V. Winnett, "An Epigraphical Expedition to North-Eastern Transjordan", BASOR,122, 1951, p.49 - 52.
7. LSI, p.106 and p.142, text No.33; also LTS, p.96 - 97 and his comments quoted in the notes to SIJ 38.
8. ISB, p.6.
9. Quoted from SIJ, p.19, notes to SIJ 78.
10. M. Rodinson, Rev. SIJ, Arabica,VI, 1959, p.215 - 216.
11. A. van den Branden, Rev.ISB, Bibliotheca Orientalis,XXVII, 1970, p.261.
12. JaSICA, p.53 - 54. The question of the "square script" is discussed in Chapter Four under Paleography.
13. M. Rodinson, op.cit., p. 215 - 216.
14. It should be noted that W. G. Oxtoby recognizes a word *nzz* in ISB 49, where he reads it as "springs of water". In fact his facsimile and the resulting treatment of this text is so poor that nothing can be concluded about it except that no reading is possible; consequently any speculation about it must remain fruitless. A. Jamme's comment re this text (in Rev.ISB, Orientalia,40, 1971, p.278) is valid but his retranslation of it is nothing but speculation.
15. See WH, p.7.
16. M. Jastrow, Dictionary, Vol. II, p.890; M. Rodinson, Rev.SIJ, Arabica,VI, 1959, p.215.
17. F. V. Winnett, op.cit., p.49 - 52.
18. This identification is made by B. G. Zichy-Woinarski, Parthians or Persians, A New Point of View Relevant to their Later History, (unpublished thesis in the Baillieu Library, University of

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Melbourne) p.169 - 172. See below for a discussion of the Parthians in Saf. inscriptions.

19. The Parthians are known to have occupied Syria and Palestine from 42 to 37 B.C. and the texts may date to this era. There is no evidence concerning events at Bosra, however, and while the references may indicate this period, a later date may be preferable. Dated to this same year is a revolt by the tribe of ʿWD against Rome; see SIJ, p.12, for details of this event. Not all of the texts which refer to this event are in the square script.

20. B.G. Zichy-Woinarski, op.cit., p.171; U. Kahrstedt, Artabanos III and Seine Erban, p.11 - 20.

21. It should be noted that this event would not have occurred during the reigns of the Nabataean rulers Malichus II (A.D. 40 - 71) and Rabbel II (A.D. 71 - 106), both of whom used Bosra as their political capital. See Philip C. Hammond, The Nabataeans - Their History, Culture and Archaeology, p.38.

22. Corpus, Tab. XXII, Wetzstein 154 + 155.

23. C 220 may also read *snt ḥrb nbt* but the facsimile (Corpus, Tab.XCV, Dunand 1298) is poor. WH 2113 reads *wgzz snt ḥrb nbt*, indicating one of the prime interests of the Bedouin - warfare, that is, raiding for plunder (*gzz*).

24. R. Dussaud, op.cit., p. 139.

25. E. Littmann, in LSI, p. 144, text No.45.

26. WH, p.7. See G.W. Bowersock, "A Report on Arabia Provincia", Journal of Roman Studies,61, 1971, p.228.

27. F.V. Winnett, "The Revolt of Damasī: Safaitic and Nabataean evidence", BASOR,211, 1973, p.54 - 57; WH, p.7.

28. Ibid, for a full discussion of the evidence for this revolt. Winnett's hypothesis is sound but, as usual, other interpretations cannot be dismissed.

29. Winnett, on the basis of SIJ 787, would also include the tribe of MSKT in this revolt but there is insufficient evidence to support this.

30. Winnett, op.cit., p.56. In this case what they were doing was involving themselves in the revolt, i.e. the "Nabataean War". The text reads: .... *d² l df wq(s)ṣ bᶜd df snt mrd dmṣy* ..., "....

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of the tribe of DF, and he followed after DF in the year of the revolt of Damasī ...".

31. Ibid, p.56.

32. See V.A. Clark, "New Epigraphical Material from the Ḥarra Region of Jordan", ADAJ XXI, p.115 note 11.

33. Winnett, op.cit., p.57.

34. SIJ 287 reads: *l ḥr bn 's bn ḥr d' l mskt wld bhdr snt mrd mhrb wsnt mrd dmsy whrs hsn' fhlt wdsr slm wmwjd.* It cannot be entirely dismissed that this text was written "On behalf of ḤR", rather than "BY ḤR", thereby recording a particularly noteworthy of propitious birth. If so then the date could be much closer to 71 A.D..

35. The exact dates and details of the reign of Rabbel I are unknown but he may have inflicted a defeat on the Seleucid Antiochus XII in 87 B.C.. See V.A. Clark, op.cit., p.115, note 11 and Philip C. Hammond, The Nabataeans - Their History, Culture and Archaeology, p.17.

36. A. Jamme reads ISB 57 as "he was a narrator the year he has possessed Rabb'il" (JaSm, p.511), a rather fanciful reading. He rejects Oxtoby's reading of *qss* ("he followed in pursuit" - see Winnett, op.cit., p.56) in favour of a reading "he was a narrator" because"'followed in pursuit' should have a complement"; however, the same applies if it is read as "he was a narrator" if we relate its use to that in Arabic. Furthermore the reading "he has possessed Rabb'il" makes no sense and the suggested reading of F.V. Winnett must be preferred. A. Jamme reads this verb as "he was a narrator" in JaS 75b, 88, 145a and 170.Winnett and Harding read it as "to track, follow" in WH 1019 and 1849 and as "to take revenge" in WH 2584.

37. WH, p.406 - 407.

38. G.W. Bowersock, op.cit., p.228.

39. P.C. Hammond, op.cit., p.38 - 39.

40. P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, p.70.

41. See SIJ, p.51, where Winnett claims that ḤRṮT must be either Aretas III or Aretas IV.

42. E. Littmann reads this as: *snt mrq nbt jw d,* in the year in which the Nabataeans passed by this valley", considering the

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text to be unfinished. Accordingly he believes that this text refers to one of the Nabataean rulers of the Ḥaurān, prior to 106 A.D.. Alternately, it may date to 106 A.D. or just after, the Nabataeans in question being engaged in fleeing from the Roman conquerors. As already indicated this later interpretation is unlikely as the Roman annexation seems to have been a peaceful one. I read the verb here as *mr*[*d*], rather than *mrq*, as one half of the circle of the *q* Littmann's copy is a dotted line, indicating uncertainty in the reading. Reading *mrd* allows the last word to be read as the well-known tribal name ᶜWD. The letter *ᶜayn* in this case is rather large but this is also the case in the proper name ᶜN'M in the same text. A. Jamme (JaSN, p.63, Note 70) gratuitously alters the *ṯ* of *nbṯ* to *('l)*, treating it as a preposition; he reads *snt mrq nb ('l)* ᶜ*wd*, "the year Nawb has slipped away (to) ᶜAwīd", a most unlikely reading. He offers no justification for his revised reading.

43. ᶜĀdil Nājī, *"Kitābah Safawiyah min Sahrā' ar-Rutbah"*, Sumer, Vol. 18, 1962, p.165 - 170.

44. See G.W. Bowersock, op.cit., p.222 - 223.

45. WH, p.8.

46. HIn, p.398.

47. This is the translation suggested by WH, p.500; the text is a difficult one, its reading hinging on the word *d'l*. WH believe this to be "him of the people of", hence "the lord of", but this is a most unusual expression; one would expect to find a word such as *mlk* here. A. Jamme (JaSN, p.94) would read "in the year Wāsiq, he of the tribe of Rahay, has dug a well"; such a reading is most unlikely as one would expect the verb *nbṯ* to immediately follow the word *snt*. Furthermore, the use of the verb *nbṯ* with the meaning suggested by Jamme would be rather unusual. An alternate reading suggested here would be "in the year of WSQ, of the clan of RHY of the Nabataeans", referring to some unknown event. To this writer's knowledge no clan or family by the name of RHY is known from Nabataean sources.

48. In WH, p.500, we find the statement "C 2670 mentions the people of RH who are to be identified with the RHY of C 742 because of the similarity of the contexts in which the names occur.

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(Final -*y* is sometimes unrepresented in Safaitic writing)." These comments are unnecessary as an examination of the facsimile of C 2670 (Corpus, Tab. LXII, Dunaud 207a) shows that the name is written here in full, RHY, not as RH, as stated. A. Jamme would read this text in the same way as C 742 (see the previous note).

49. WH, p.500 - 501. There are no known historical references to a conflict between Nabataea and Edessa.
50. J.B. Segal, Edessa, 'The Blessed City', p.9 - 15.
51. See also Winnett and Reed, ARNA, p.82, notes on text No.26, for the word *rhwy* in JS 486; and JaMisc. V, p.35, who rejects Winnett's interpretation. Jamme quotes W. Caskel, Ǧamharat an-Nasab - Das Genealogische Werk des Hišam Ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi, Band II, p.490 A, and states his belief that the "Ruḥâwites" were a part of the Arabian tribe of Maḏḥig, from the area to the southwest of Teimâ'. Winnett and Harding, WH, p.500, state: "It is doubtful, however, that such an apparently insignificant tribe meets the requirements of the contexts in which RH/RHY appears in Saf.". These "requirements" do not suggest that the RHY were necessarily an important population group.
52. See also WH 3605, which reads *l mlkt bn srk wgnm mrhy*, "By MLKT son of SRK; and he carried off booty from the Edessenes (?)".
53. See W. Caskel, op.cit., Band II, p.59 and Band I, Tafel 252.
54. A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad, 1-3, Berlin 1869. See W. Caskel, op.cit., p.59.
55. W. Caskel, Ibid.
56. Ibid, p.59, note 8.
57. By A. Sprenger, op.cit..
58. See W. Caskel, op.cit., p.59. See also the word *rhwy* in the Thamudic inscriptions Hu 280, JS 267, 486 and 599. A. van den Branden, in vdBIT, p.147, states that *rhwy* is the name of an "ethnic" group.
59. There are a number of other texts which may refer to this same JŠM; C 4757 is dated to *snt myt jšm bn sr*, C 269 and LP 288 to *snt jšm whn' l* and WH 1276 to simply *snt jšm*, an apparent abbreviation.
60. WH, p.8 and p.520 - 521.
61. Winnett and Reed, ARNA, p.42 and p.130 - 131; M. Rodinson, "Les sémites et l'alphabet, les écritures sud-arabiques et éthiopiennes", p.138; R. Dussaud, op.cit., p.132f.
62. WH, p.521.
63. G.W. Bowersock, "The Greek-Nabataean Bilingual Inscription at

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Ruwwāfa, Saudi Arabia", in Le Monde Grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux, 1957, p.513 - 522.

64. The TMD are mentioned in the annals of Sargon II, in the year 715 B.C.; J.B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.286.

65. ARNA, p.130 - 131.

66. Ibid, p.42, 44; see also the numerous references in the Qur'ān to the Thamūd.

67. D.F. Graf, "The Saracens and the Defence of the Arabian Frontier", BASOR,229, Feb. 1978, p.12.

68. M. Rodinson, "Les sémites et l'alphabet", p.138.

69. D.F. Graf, op.cit., p.1 - 26. The Romans may have patrolled the area without actually establishing permanent garrisons.

70. Cl. Ar. *rūm* may refer to Greeks, Romans or Byzantines.

71. It is not suggested here that the Saf. script continued in use until this time although it may have done so. See below, p. 102-103.

72. G.W. Bowersock, "The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia", ZFPE, Vol. 5, 1970, p.37 - 47; M.P. Speidel, "Arabia's First Garrison", ADAJ, Vol. XVI, 1971, p.111 - 112; S. Thomas Parker, "Archaeological Survey of the *limes arabicus*, A Preliminary Report", ADAJ, Vol. XXI 1976, p.19 - 31.

73. Here I follow the archaeological scheme proposed by James A. Sauer, Heshbon Pottery 1971, p.1 - 7. These divisions are:

Early Roman I	63-37 B.C.
Early Roman II	37-4 B.C.
Early Roman III	4 B.C.-A.D. 73
Early Roman IV	73-135
Late Roman I	135-193
Late Roman II	193-235
Late Roman III	235-284
Late Roman IV	284-324
Early Byzantine I	324-363
Early Byzantine II	363-392
Early Byzantine III	392-450
Early Byzantine IV	450-491
Late Byzantine I	491-527
Late Byzantine II	527-565
Late Byzantine III	565-614
Late Byzantine IV	614-640

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74. S. Thomas Parker, op.cit., p.26 - 27.
75. Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.8.13, quoted by S. Thomas Parker, op.cit., p.27.
76. A. Poidebard, La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie, (Paris, 1934).
77. C 1292 and 4438. Of these C 4438 is in the square script.
78. E.g. in LP 87 (=C 3787) the author states that he *nfṛ mn rm*. Similar texts are LP 94, 157 and C 1713; LP 406 is dated to *snt njy wdn mrm*, "the year WDN escaped from the Romans". There are a number of other such texts.
79. So E. Littmann in LSI, p.109.
80. LP, p.xii; he lists the following texts as giving possible dates in the era of Bosra - Vogüé 360 (year 5), Vogüé 381 (year 15), LP 1064 (year 18) and LP 162 (year 42).
81. E. Littmann, LP, p.116, would read this "in the year in which the tribe of Kadam drove away the tribe of Harim". The "tribe of Harim" here is the Romans and the translation of *wsq* as "to drive away" is inappropriate here as this meaning is usually applied to the driving of camels (Hava, Dictionary, p.869).
82. The verb *ṭrq* is to be translated as "to come upon by night", with the sense of "delivering a blow to" in so doing. See the Ar.*ṭaraqa*, "to knock, ring (a bell), beat (wool, a carpet etc)", and "to come to someone by night". G. Ryckmans (in C 4439) reads "aggressa est".
83. F.V. Winnett, SIJ 88, p.21.
84. J.T. Milik, Rev. SIJ, Syria Vol.37, 1960, p.179, and WH, p.272, text WH 1698.
85. WH, p.272.
86. *snt njy qṣr ḥmḏ*.
87. LP 424, p.114.
88. Corpus, p.15, C 66.
89. SIJ 281, p.48.
90. LP 424 - *snt njy mn hsltn*, "the year he escaped from the government" and LP 540 - *snt njy mnmrt hsltn ʿl ʾl ʿwḏ*, the year in which he escaped from NMRT (en-Namara) of the government to the tribe of ʿWḎ".
91. See SIJ 281 and the commentary thereon.
92. See above, p. 91.
93. LP, p.81 - 82, 160, 165.
94. A. Jamme, "Safaitic *mlk*, 'Lord' of the Tribe", Orientalia, Vol.39,

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1970, p.504 - 511.

95. Philip K. Hitti, "History of the Arabs", p.28.

96. But see Philip K. Hitti, op.cit., p.28 for exceptions to this rule.

97. A. Jamme would include LP 1065 in this list but his attempt to read this text (op.cit., p.508 - 509) is as fanciful, and as fruitless, as Littmann's (LP, p.242 - 243). The poor copy precludes any attempt at interpretation.

98. See below, p. 389. To this list should be added WH 387 and 1700a.

99. V.A. Clark, op.cit., p.116 - 117.

100. G. Lankester Harding notes "At some time just before or just after the coming of Islam the old scripts were abandonned, and we have no further records of the Safaitic tribes". ("The Safaitic Tribes", op.cit., p.22).

101. See F.V. Winnett, - BASOR,122, 1951, p.51 - 62 for a similar view.

102. V.A. Clark, op.cit., p.117.

103. A view supported by M.C. MacDonald in a personal communication to the writer.

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CHAPTER SIX

NOTES ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND GRAMMAR.

The Safaitic language, although it employed a script which perhaps was derived from that of South Arabia, was not a branch of the South Arabian languages but of the North Arabian. As such it is similar to Thamudic, to which it is closely related. Amongst the North Arabian languages, that to which the closest parallels may be drawn (for which sufficient data is available for comparison) is Classical Arabic. This is particularly the case with the vocabulary and, to a lesser degree, the grammar, orthography and syntax. Nevertheless it should be kept in mind that Classical Arabic does not always provide the best, nor the only, parallels. However, a discussion of comparative linguistics cannot be entered into here, even if sufficient data was available for Safaitic (which it is not).

a. Orthography

i). A major problem for the study of Safaitic linguistics is the complete absence of any indication of vowelling in the texts. Another is the scanty nature of the material provided by the texts, which are generally terse and often enigmatical, being little more than graffiti and open to more than one interpretation in many instances. Despite these handicaps successful attempts have been made to elucidate both the orthography and the grammar of the inscriptions. Unfortunately it is not possible to write a "grammar" of the Safaitic language but in 1943 E. Littmann assembled all that was then known about the orthography and grammar and this work has remained the standard reference ever

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since.[1] Later discussion of note have been undertaken by W.G. Oxtoby[2] and by F.V.Winnett and G.L.Harding[3], neither of which have added substantially to Littmann's work. The study of the epigraphical material presented in the present work has prompted comments upon a few points, which, although discussed elsewhere previously, require further elucidation.

As regards the orthography, it was Littmann's initial proposal that vowels, short or long, and diphthongs were not represented in script and that the weak consonants *'alif*, *wāw* and *yā'*, when written, had full consonantal value.[4] He later treated this theory in more detail[5] and Oxtoby has fully agreed with him in this.[6] However, in their most recent publication Winnett and Harding have asserted that this theory is inaccurate, citing a number of examples from their new epigraphic material to illustrate this.[7] None of these examples provide satisfactory evidence. They are discussed here.

byt in WH 1322 is equated with the Arabic *bait*. Thus the editors believe that the middle radical represents a diphthong. There is no reason to assume here that the letter *y* does not have full consonantal value, although the word is usually to be found written as *bt* (eg. in SIJ 975). The occurrence of an exception cannot disprove the rule and some other explanation may apply. Moreover, in their commentary on this text the editors state:

> "In view of the fact that the inscription is accompanied by a drawing of three ostriches, the author probably intended to write *ḥḥyt*, "the animals" (creatures),

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> rather than *hbyt*, but neglected to insert a medial stroke in the second letter of the word."

In the light of this comment it is difficult to see how *byt* can be accepted as an example of the writing of a diphthong. The word *hyt* would be a feminine form.

hytn in WH 1022 is equated by Winnett and Harding with the Arabic *ḥīṭān*, "swarms of locusts". Although in Arabic orthography this is written with the long vowel *-ī-* this does not provide an exact model for the Safaitic usage and the letter *y* here may have its full consonantal value.[8]

rhyl in WH 641a cannot be so read. The end of this text should read *wflth mlhy l hslt*, "and deliver him from contention regarding the (horse-) stealing".[9]

rhyl in WH 1407b is a doubtful reading. No photograph of this text exists and the hand copy seems poor. The drawing supposedly referred to by the text *(htt)* does not appear upon the facsimile (Plate 28), which is suspicious.

ᶜyr in WH 284 and 744a are considered to be parallels to the Arabic *ᶜair*, "ass". This word is usually written as *ᶜr* in Safaitic and these exceptions may suggest a variation in the vocalization, in which the letter *y*, rather than dropping out, was given full consonantal value. The example in WH 744a seems uncertain, as the letter read as *ᶜayn* more resembles *j* or *z*.

wlt (WH 1586a), *ᶜwdt* (WH 752) and *kwr* (WH 3396) are all examples of the letter *w* being given its full consonantal value. In Classical Arabic this has become a long vowel.

syf of WH 2327 and 3500 is a verb, "to pass the

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summer (here)". It may be the equivalent of the Arabic 2nd form verb *sayyafa*, rather than be a 1st form verb. The Safaitic verbs with middle radical *w* or *y* lose this in the 1st form, indicating that it has become a long vowel in pronunciation. Winnett and Harding have considered *syf* in both of these examples to be a noun but this is clearly incorrect.[10]

The author of WH 385 and 2065 was a certain ŠWKT son of 'SD, while that of WH 2084, 2427 and 2603 was ŠKT son of 'SD. Hence Winnett and Harding have assumed these to be the same person, sometimes spelling his name with a long vowel or diphthong and sometimes not. This is unlikely and the two spellings seem to represent different persons. Before assuming that they were identical more evidence is required than one homonymous ancestor. The same can be said of the case of HYFT son of ŠRQT in WH 434 and HFT son of ŠRQT in WH 505 and 1980.

In the light of these points Winnett and Harding's belief "that in Safaitic writing the diphthong was sometimes represented, sometimes not" (WH 385) appears to be baseless and Littmann's original assertion that long vowels and diphthongs were not represented in Safaitic orthography seems to remain valid. The present collection of texts provides no evidence which would suggest the contrary.

ii). The apparent interchangeability of the consonants *w* and *y* in some instances is again to be observed in this new collection of texts. Most commonly this seems to occur when either of these is the final radical of a word. For example see the words *štw* (No.324),"he spent the winter" (usually *šty*);

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bnw (No.585), "he built" (usually *bny*); and the two forms of the divine name RDW and RDY. This orthography apparently represents some variation in pronunciation of these words. Further anomalies occur. A number of examples are to be found in this collection of texts of the apparent substitution of the letter *'alif* for either *w* or *y* when these occur as the final radical. This corresponds to a similar change in some nouns with a final weak radical in Classical Arabic, where *hamza* is substituted for final *w* or *y*. For example see the divine name RD' (No.304) and the personal names SN' (No.22, *sny*), 'D' (No.55, *'dy*), HT'T (No.1162, *htw*) and JH' (No.288, *jhy*).

iii). As noted by Oxtoby[11] doubled consonants which are not separated by an intervening vowel are not written twice. Exceptions to this rule are the liquid letters *l* and *n*, which seem to be written either as a single letter or doubled. For example see the words *zlt* (No.378) and *zllt* (No.313) and *hl* (No.687) and *hll* (No.17). It may be that we should seek some other explanation for this phenomenon, rather than suggesting that these letters provide exceptions to the rule. Nouns such as *zllt* may have had a vowel structure which was different from that of the forms such as *zlt*. It may be a plural, a different word from the same root, or perhaps an indication of a dialectical variation between tribal groups or over a period of time. As regards verbal forms such as *hl* and *hll*, or *zl* and *zll*, the doubled form is clearly the second form of the verb.

iv). The assimilation or elision of letters is something which occurs in Safaitic. Winnett and Harding believe that the letter most commonly lost is *n*, in words such as *tzr* (Arabic

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ittazara, from *intazara*).[12] The occurrence of the word *bt* (for *bnt*, "daughter") six times in the WH collection has suggested to the editors that this is the more usual form :

> "The form bnt (Ar.bint) appears in WH 1861, but since in Safaitic a vowelless n is usually assimilated to the following consonant, the form bt is more common." (WH 1943)

It should be noted that the form *bt* does not occur in the present collection of texts but rather the form *bnt* is to be found six times. This tends to suggest that modification of the theory that "the form bt is more common" is required. Clearly both forms occur with equal frequency, which may be further evidence of dialectical changes between groups or over a period of time. Another common example of the elision of the letter *n* is the preposition *mn*, which is often represented orthographically simply as *m*. Sometimes the form *mn* is found in places where *m* would seem more likely, as in *mn njd* of No.381.

The assimilation of the letter *h* may sometimes occur also. This usually is the case when the 3m pronoun suffix *h* and the vocative particle *h* occur together. Text No.2 reads *fs^{c}dh rdw* (for *fs^{c}dh hrdw*?). No.1029 reads *wslmh jd* (for *wslmh hjd*?). No.259 reads *bn b'bh ^{c}rdt* (for *bn b'bh h^{c}rdt*?), this being an example of assimilation between the 3m pronoun suffix and the definite article.

v). Metathesis may be attested in the personal name WSBN of No.1110, which should probably be read as SBWN, as in Nos.476 and 553.

vi). In text No.202 a word *fld* is attested. As no such root

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occurs in Arabic it may perhaps be related to the root *fls* (Arabic *falasa*, "to escape (from calamity)", or *fallasa*, "to deliver, save") or to the well known *flt*, which is less likely. Interchange between the emphatics *s*, *d* and *t* is something which is not otherwise attested within Safaitic. Perhaps *fld* simply represents an error on the part of the Safaitic writer in this instance.

b. Grammatical Notes.

Concerning the actual grammar of these new inscriptions little need be said, although there are a number of points which should be raised.

i). The present writer is in agreement with A. Jamme[13] about the appearance of the word *bn* at the end of an inscription. Whenever this has occurred it has been assumed generally that the word is to be read as "son of" and the text has been considered to be unfinished. However, when there is no indication from the text itself that the author had intended to go on then we should assume that the word *bn* is a verb with the meaning "he remained (here)" (see No.9).

ii). A second form verb appears to occur in text No.316 (*slm*). It may occur elsewhere also but this form is generally difficult to detect.

iii). A ninth or eleventh form verb occurs in No.168 (*twll*). This is indicated by the doubling of the final radical. In the light of the above discussion concerning the doubling of the liquid letters *l* and *n* an eleventh form is perhaps the more likely, the doubling of the final radical indicating the presence of the long vowel between them. A derivative of either a ninth or eleventh

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form is the word *qbll* (No.410).

iv). Text No.725 presents the first attested example of the use of the definite article with the word *mdbr*, in the expression *wtzr hmdbr*, read tentatively as "and he watched the desert".[14] The use of the verb *tzr* here is unusual as one would expect *nzr*.

v). The identification of the duals and plurals of nouns remains unclear in some cases. The usual dual form appears to be represented by a final *n*. Thus in No.104 the word *'hn* has been read as a dual, "two brothers". The plurals of nouns are generally of the broken plural type, which may be difficult to recognize because the long vowels have not been indicated in the orthography. In the present collection *zbyn* in No.550 is clearly a plural, as the accompanying drawing depicts four gazelles. However,in WH 3151 the same word appears to refer to only two gazelles and has been read as a dual form. In No.803 a form *b'ry* may occur (the reading of the last two letters is uncertain). This may be a plural noun, "wells", but the ending in *-y* is rather difficult to explain. It may rather be a *nisba* form, referring to the author of the text. Hence, "the B'RY" (perhaps "the well-digger").

vi). A feminine form of the demonstrative pronoun *d* is attested four times in these texts, in Nos.412, 620, 621 and 622. This takes the form *d't*, corresponding to the Arabic *dāt*. Here, however, the Arabic long vowel is a fully consonantal *'alif*.

vii). In text No.316 the word *rtl* may have been used adverbially, with the sense "foolishly", in the expression *wslm rtl*. As noted above,the verb *slm* here appears to be a second form, meaning

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"to submit". If this is the case then *rṭl* must have adverbial force.

viii). Twice in the present collection the adverb *hn*, "here", occurs, in No.603 and 1000. This word is not usually expressed but is to be understood, in contexts such as *wḥll*, "and he encamped (here)". Littmann would recognize this word in LP 1211 and 1213. However, it does not appear upon the facsimile of either of these texts and its existence must remain doubtful. The present examples seem more certain. No.603 reads *fhrḍw slm hn*, "and O RDW (grant) security here". No.1000 reads *fwhy ṭf mjjd hn*, "and he endeavoured to be near to green pastures here".

ix). Text No.305 appears to be introduced by an initial *b* rather than by the usual *lam auctoris*. A number of texts lack the initial preposition altogether (eg.No.1000).

x). A. Jamme[15] believes that a preposition *f* does not occur in Safaitic and has analysed the various supposed examples of its occurrence. He appears to be correct in his rejection of this preposition in all of the texts which he discusses, that is in LP 146[16], 359, 398, 406, 835, 925, 1010, 1267, 1300 and SIJ 463.[17] However, the accurate reading of LP 835 and 1267 is precluded, as the facsimiles of these as provided by Littmann are poor and no reconstruction should be suggested.

Oxtoby would read the preposition *f* in the expression *w'rḥ fḥwlt*, "and he gave [the animals] rest in Ḥawālat", in ISB 79.[18] This translation is doubtful.

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Winnett and Harding would read this preposition nine times in the WH collection of texts. Of these WH 1245 and 1692 cannot be verified, as the text references in the Lexicon of WH are incorrect. WH 2023 is an incomplete text and cannot be taken into consideration. In WH 2327 and 3500 the expression *fṣyf* has been read as "in summer" but, as already pointed out above, this is a verb, "and he spent the summer (here)". The reading of WH 2831 is, as noted by Winnett and Harding, uncertain. The suggested readings of WH 799, 1679 and 1900 are more acceptable but only that of WH 1900 seems completely certain.[19]

Thus it would appear that the occurrence of the preposition *f* is far from well attested and more examples of its use need to be discovered before it is accepted as a Safaitic preposition. In the present collection it does not occur.

xi). The preposition *'l*, "to, until" (Ar. *'ilā*), is somewhat uncommon. It occurs in text No.1 in the expression *wzllt ḍ'nh ḥbst 'l slm*, "and an enclosure sheltered his sheep until deliverance".

xii). In texts Nos.412, 779 and 1046 the expression *lh* has been employed to indicate the dative of possession. In Nos.412 and 1046 we read *wlh rjm*, "and this is his/her cairn", while in No.779 we read *wlh b's*, "and misfortune was his" (or "adversity was his lot").

xiii). In No.1004 we find an absolute object *sbyt* in the

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following expression, *wwjm ʿl bn ddh msby sbyt hty'*, "and he grieved for the son of his paternal uncle whom the TY' took as a captive".

It is possible that the various points raised here concerning the orthography and grammar of these new inscriptions does not represent all that could be said about these matters and further study of the material may yet provide material for discussion. This material may have added little to the overall knowledge of the Safaitic language but it is only by the gradual accumulation of small details that this knowledge will be advanced.

Footnotes to Chapter Six.

1. See LP, p.xii - xxiv.
2. See ISB, p.8 - 13.
3. See WH, p.12 - 15.
4. See LSI, p.114 - 121.
5. LP, op.cit..
6. ISB, p.10.
7. WH, p.12.
8. Note that the end of this text cannot be read as proposed by Winnett and Harding if we are to assume that the facsimile on Plate 22 is accurate. The letters *lt* are not there and it appears that the word *hytn* constitutes the final word of the text.
9. *lhy*, Ar. *lāhā*, "to quarrel, contend with"; *l*,prep.; *slt*, Ar. *sallah*, "secret theft" and *sallāl*, "horse-thief".
10. See WH, p.12.

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11. ISB, p.10.

12. WH, p.13.

13. JaSM, p.99f.

14. Elsewhere this word is always written without the definite article. See WH, p.14.

15. See JaSf for this author's views.

16. Jamme's reading of LP 146 is not entirely accurate. The end of this text reads *fhlt wb^{c}lsmn s̄y^{c} hjs hrdf fnqd̲*, "and O LT and B^{c}LSMN accompany the troop (which is) riding behind and (grant) deliverance!". Jamme, however, would translate "And, o Lat and Ba^{c}alsamīn, the driver of the rear was accompanied, and has escaped from danger". Jamme believes the word s̄y^{c} to be "the perfect in the passive voice. It cannot be an imperative (as in LiSi), which would refer to some assistance to be given in the future, because the end of the text indicates that the help has been successful" (JaSf, p.413). However, the word s̄y^{c} here is indeed an imperative, being an invocation to the two deities for their protection. The final word, rather than indicating that the help has been successful, is a further plea to the deities - *fnqd̲*, "(grant) deliverance!". This is similar to the expression *fwqyt* in LP 925 (see JaSf, p.414). The expression *hjs̄ hrdf* is the equivalent of "auxiliary force", *rdf* being an adjective comparable to the Arabic *radīf*, "following behind, auxiliary".

17. See JaMIL, p.95. Jamme reads SIJ 463 as follows : *l wdm bn ḫlq wr^{c}y fhrdw myr*, "By Wadam son of Ḫaliq. And he has pastured (here). And, o Rudā!, provide food", which reading appears to be basically correct. Winnett had read this text *l wdm bn ḫlq wr^{c}y fhlj wmyr*, "By Wadam son of Khulāq. And he tended the flocks in the Leja and provided (them) with food". Milik, in Rev.SIJ, p.180, was the first to recognize that *f* here was not a preposition but a conjunction. However, he failed to recognize the divine name RDW.

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18. Oxtoby, in ISB 79, states, "For uses of f as a preposition see L (that is LP) 335,359, 408, etc." It should be noted that *f* as a preposition is only read by Littmann in LP 359 (see LP, Vocabulary, p.338), where it cannot be read as such anyway.

19. Winnett and Harding read the preposition *f* as if it were well attested and not the subject of any controversy. They fail to make any reference to the arguments of A.Jamme, in JaSf.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SOME NOTES ON SAFAITIC RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

Of the relatively small percentage of Safaitic inscriptions which contain more than the name and genealogy of the author, a number can be considered to be direct prayers to a deity, or deities. In the present collection of texts forty-five contain divine names within such a context. Like most of the known texts which are manifestly religious in nature, these new inscriptions offer little that is of substance for a study of Safaitic religious beliefs or customs.

Discussions of Safaitic religion have been made by H. Grimme,[1] E. Littmann,[2] R. Dussaud,[3] G. Ryckmans[4] and W.G. Oxtoby,[5] among others. Cultic practices are referred to by G. Ryckmans[6] and F.V. Winnett and G.L. Harding.[7] There is little purpose to be served here by a reiteration of these discussions. Only a few points need to be made regarding the inscriptions of this new collection.

The following deities are invoked here : 'LT/LT (13 times), RḎW (18 times), RḎY (7 times), RḎ' (RḎY?, once), DS̄R (4 times), YṮ^{c} (4 times), B^{c}LSMN (once), JD (once) and N'R (once). These figures are unusual in the fact that the name of the deity RḎW occurs more frequently than does that of 'LT/LT. This appears to be nothing more than chance, however. Together these two deities represent the most popular and most commonly invoked gods of the Safaitic pantheon (if, indeed, we may speak of a Safaitic "pantheon" at all, implying as it does some kind of ordered relationship between the various numens).

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The Deities referred to in the present text collection.

a. 'LT/LT - this deity appears to have been the chief of the Safaitic pantheon. In the present collection she is asked for deliverance (*flt*), security (*slm*), acceptance (*qbll*), rest (*rwh*), healing (*l'm*), retribution (*ᶜqbt*) and blood vengeance (*t'r*). On three occassions she is appealed to in association with the deity DŠR (Nos.410,422 and 1011). The text of No.95 may be interpreted as a bitter rejection of this goddess by a person who believed himself one of her victims - *whwl fbᶜd h'lt*, "... and he suffered from a squint, so O 'LT keep away!" Alternatively we may read"... and he suffered from a squint, so O 'LT drive (it) away!"

b. RDW/RDY - about this deity W.G. Oxtoby notes:

> "Rudā is identified by Littmann[8] as the planet Venus, the name's spelling rḍw and rḍy providing the two forms of the deity, and the former corresponding to Arsū of the pantheon of Palmyra."[9]

A. Jamme rejects this interpretation:

> "This gratuitous identification rests of E. Littmann's imagination which went as far as to interpret *rḍw* and *rḍy* as male and female respectively! The interchangeability of Safaitic *w* and *y* is indicated by the two forms of the verb *štw* = *šty*, etc."[10]

At first sight Jamme's criticism appears to be a valid one. The interchangeability of Safaitic *w* and *y* has been noted elsewhere in the present study[11] and there is no obvious reason why this explanation of these two similar forms should not pertain here.

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Further evidence of the changeability of these two letters comes from the present collection, where in text No.304 this divine name has been written RD', probably for RDY.

Nevertheless, a peculiar feature of a number of the Safaitic religious texts is to be observed - a small percentage of them are direct invocations to a deity for help. These begin *h + name of deity + s^{c}d.* In nearly all such instances the deity invoked in this context is RDW (see Nos.13,343,376,517 and 763 of the present collection). To this writer's knowledge the divine name RDY is never to be found in such a context. This seems to be a clear indication that the two names RDW and RDY represent two different numinous concepts, albeit possibly both being aspects of the one deity.

Winnett and Harding support the theory that RDW was male and RDY female :

> "These two names seem to denote the planet Venus in its two aspects of evening and morning star, RDW being thought of as male and RDY as female."[12]

There is, however, absolutely no evidence to suggest that RDY was female, although both names occur in invocations where the imperative singular of the verb has been used without any indication of gender.[13] If RDY was female the texts provide no evidence of it.

RDW is to be identified with the Palmyrene deity Arsū. At Palmyra this deity was the numen of the planet Venus and a male god, like his South Arabian counterpart Attar. It has been suggested by J. Starcky[14] that RDW/Arsū is to be identified with the god Ruldaiu,

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listed in an Assyrian inscription as being one of the gods of the Arabs of Adumatu.[15] This identification has been accepted by T. Fahd[16] and others. Ruldaiu is the result of the Assyrian attempt to express the phoneme /ḍ/.[17] Starcky further believes that RḌW was originally the god of the nomadic Nabataeans. Those of them who were sedentary worshipped this god under the name DS̄R, which was merely an epithet for RḌW. To Starcky this explains why the sedentary Nabataeans did not worship the god RḌW by name, whereas this deity was very popular among the Thamudic and Safaitic nomads.[18] There is, however, little concrete evidence which would support such a view. See, however, the discussion of the god DS̄R, which follows.

c. DS̄R/D̲S̄R - is a Nabataean deity which is usually considered to have been borrowed by the Safaites. This god is considered by G. Ryckmans to be the Safaitic solar deity,[19] a deity presumably depicted symbolically as a rayed solar disc which often accompanies the inscriptions.[20] This view appears to be accepted by the majority of authorities.[21]

In the present collection of texts this deity is invoked for "safety and acceptance" (*slm wqbll*), "shelter" (*w'l?*), and "blood-vengeance" (*ṯ'r*). In three of these four instances DS̄R is associated with the goddess LT (see above). Text No.410, containing the name of the god DS̄R, is accompanied by a rayed disc.

A feature of texts containing an invocation to this deity is the form of the letter *s̄* in the divine name. This is often found as ⅃ , rather than in the more usual form of the letter. Such a form occurs in Nos.422,1011 and 1046, while in No.410 the *s̄* is of the usual type.

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The nature of this deity is something to which we have already alluded briefly. As noted, DŠR was the foremost god of the Nabataeans and was thought to have been a solar deity among the nomadic Safaites. The rayed disc found with many Safaitic inscriptions is thought to be a symbolic representation of this deity. This view needs to be re-examined. Note should be taken of the fact that in the traditions of the Rwala bedouin the sun was thought of as an enemy, a vindictive old woman, rather than as a friendly spirit.[22] Although this tradition is a product of a much later time than that of the Safaitic texts it does stem from a traditional nomad (bedouin) milieu, of which the Safaites were undoubtedly a part. If DŠR was a solar deity there is no trace in the Safaitic texts of beliefs similar to those of the Rwala. The Rwala tradition may be of significance in regard to the nature of DŠR.

As noted above, J. Starcky is of the belief that among the Nabataeans DŠR was an epithet of the god RḌW, the name given to the major deity by those elements of the people who were still nomadic.[23] Among the settled people RḌW became an anonymous deity, "The One of Shara", so named after a mountain range known as Jebel Shara. DŠR was venerated at a village at the foot of this range, where a spring issued forth. This village was known as Gaia and DŠR is named in Nabataean texts as "God of Gaia".[24] Starcky has pointed out that an examination of classical sources shows that DŠR and RḌW were in fact one and the same :

> "According to the Alexandrian lexicographer Hesychios, Dusares (the Greek form of Dushara) was identified with Dionysus, as the god of vegetation and vineyards. The equation Orotal-Dionysus (made by Herodotus)[25]

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> thus suggests that the real master of the Shara was none other than Ruḍa, which would explain the curious absence of this divine name in Nabataean texts."[26]

If this identification by Starcky is correct then we may assume that among the Safaites also DS̄R and RḌW were one and the same, unless the veneration of DS̄R by these people was a secondary borrowing from the Nabataeans. If this was so then it is possible that the Safaitic worshippers of the god DS̄R did not recognise the identity of the deity.

Two further points may lend support to the identification of these two deities, although the evidence is not of a positive nature. Firstly, on those occasions when more than one deity has been invoked in an inscription the names of both RḌW/RḌY and DS̄R are not found together. Secondly, the rayed disc, which is usually identified as a solar disc,[27] need not be so identified. It may, on many occasions, be identified as a star, a point noted by Winnett and Harding.[28] If it is to be so interpreted, the identity of DS̄R as an aspect or appelation of RḌW seems quite possible. DS̄R may be an aspect of the planet Venus.

Brief mention should be made here of the views of T. Fahd, who has noted that the epithet *du-šâr-ra* of the Babylonian storm god Hadad may ultimately have been derived from an Arabian context.[29] Fahd believes that the traditional nomads of Central Arabia preserved the original nature of the god Hadad as a vegetation deity :

> "... son nom, tel qu'il nous est parvenu, semble figurer dans les tablettes assyro-babyloniennes, où il est écrit ^{d}*du-šâr-ra;* il est représenté sous la forme d'un taureau

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> et est adoré comme protecteur de la végétation.
> "Si cette explication nous paraît mieux répondre aux caractéristiques primitives de cette divinité, c'est parce que l'Arabie centrale, où des traditions antiques purent échapper aux altérations hellénistiques, conserva à Dû š-Šarā son caractère originel de dieu de la végétation."[30]

As pointed out by A. Caquot it would be unwise to identify the Nabataean DŠR with the Sumero-Babylonian *du-šár-ra*.[31] Like the names of other North Arabian deities, DŠR is an epithet; the god remains anonymous to all but his devotees. This epithet is simply a derivation from the name of the range of Jebel Shara, being a purely local name.

The true nature of DŠR may remain open to question but his identification as a solar divinity seems unlikely.

d. YṮ^{c} - references to this deity in the present text collection contain nothing of note. In No.214 he is appealed to for "vengeance and delivery from misfortune" (*nqmt wfṣy mb'š*); in No.350 he is asked for "relief" (*rwḥ*); in No.610 he is asked for "help" ($s^{c}d$). In this latter text YṮ^{c} is invoked alongside RḌW. As already noted by Oxtoby,[32] there is no suggestion to be found in the contexts in which this name occurs that YṮ^{c} was anything but a part of Arabian polytheism. There is no evidence which would connect him with the Christian Jesus.[33] His association with RḌW in text No.610 provides a further confirmation of this. Little can be adduced about the nature of this deity but the name itself may provide some clue.

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It has been pointed out by F.V. Winnett[34] that the name YT^{C} is to be considered as cognate with the Hebrew *yesha^{c}*, "salvation". This identification seems indisputable. Thus the name may be classified along with other deified abstract principles in the Arabian "pantheon", such as Wadd ("love"), S^{C} ("companion, protector" - as in S^{C}HQM) and JD ("fortune").

e. B^{C}LSMN - the sole reference to this deity in the present collection of texts is a most interesting one. It occurs in text No.424, a text which tells of the author's involvement in a rebellion against the "people of Rome". B^{C}LSMN is invoked to provide "security" (*slm*). What is of significance here is the epithet applied to this deity - *'lh s^{cc}* - translated here as "god of S^{CC}". The word *s^{cc}* here is almost certainly to be identified with the town of Si^{C}a, classical Seia, a town located close to Suweida in the southern Hauran, and a major cult centre of the Syrian deity Ba^{C}alshamin.[35] This deity was worshipped by the Nabataeans and at Palmyra. The discovery of the present text lends support to the belief of R. Dussaud that :

> "Le nom de *Be^{c}elshamin* a été emprunté par les Safaïtes probablement aux sédentaires du Hauran qui vénéraient ce dieu dans le grand sanctuaire de Si^{C};"[36]

This is not to say, of course, that the worship of the "Lord of the heavens" was not indigenous among the Safaitic peoples or their ancestors. We may perhaps assume that veneration of this deity was common to all of the peoples of Northern Arabia, both nomads and sedentaries. Nevertheless, the rather infrequent reference to this deity in the Safaitic inscriptions[37] does suggest that he was not a

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major deity with them, as he was with the Nabataeans or the Palmyrenes. The present text, while it may do no more than indicate that its author knew that Si^{c}a was a major cult centre of the deity, may, on the other hand, be evidence of the borrowing of this deity by the Safaitic peoples.

f. JD - text No.1029 contains the following invocation : *wslmh jd whd* (or *wslm hjd whd*), "and protect him (O) JD; he was alone". Alternatively we may read : "and protect him (O) JD WHD!". In the first instance JD appears to be a divine name corresponding to the Palmyrene Tyche, or Gad.[38] This JD is the numen of fortune, fate or luck and is usually found in Safaitic in a more specific context, as the JD of a particular tribe. JD was the tribal patron. Thus R. Dussaud states:

> "*Gad-^{c}Awîdh* était le dieu patron de la notable tribu safaïtique Aweidènoï, qui ne tarda pas à se sédentariser dans le Ḥaurân et à se fondre avec les Nabatéens. Nous ne reviendrons pas sur le gad, que nous avons étudié à Palmyre. *Gad-Dayf* est le dieu particulier de la tribu Ḍayf."[39]

This statement now clearly requires modification as the present text has what appears to be a reference to JD, without relating this deity to any particular tribe, unless we are to interpret the word *whd* as a tribal name, which seems unlikely. The enigmatic nature of the text makes interpretation rather difficult. The final word *whd*, may be a verb, the subject of which would be the author of the text, that is "he was alone". Alternatively we may be justified in reading it as an epithet of the divine name JD. Thus JD WHD, "the

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one JD"(?), perhaps being intended as a statement of the uniqueness of this fortune deity. A third possibility is that we should read "JD of WHD", WHD being the name of an individual. Thus "the Fortune of WHD". An individual named WHD may have experienced particularly good luck and this text represents an appeal to the fortune deity who had been so beneficient to this WHD.

The text C 1713 is another text which contains a prayer to the deity JD. It may be an example of the last possibility just referred to - an appeal to a fortune deity of a praticularly lucky person. It reads : ... *whl hdr nfr m hrm whl hwlt fhjd whb'l fsy*, ".... and he encamped at this encampment, fleeing from the Romans and the horsemen of HWLT. So O JD of WHB'L (grant) deliverance!".[40] It is difficult to determine how the words *fhjd whb'l fsy* could be read in any other way.

g. N'R - A. Jamme denies the existence of this deity in Safaitic inscriptions[41] but text No.98 of the present collection appears to contain an invocation to this deity. This reads : *whn'[r] hrf*, "and O N'[R], requite (evil).The letter *r* has been partially obscured by a camel drawing, which accompanies the text. N'R would appear to be the equivalent of the Palmyrene deity Nār or Nūr.[42]

* * * *

It can be seen from the points raised here with regard to the various divine names to be found in the present text collection that there still remains some doubt surrounding the nature of some of the Safaitic deities. Much more needs to be done before a definitive study of Safaitic religion can be made. In fact, it is possible that such a study may never be possible as the texts, and their accompanying drawings are loath to surrender their secrets. Nevertheless, careful

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study of already published material and of all new material discovered may lead us towards a better understanding of the beliefs of these pre-Islamic tribesmen.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven.

1. H. Grimme, Texte und Untersuchungen zur safatenische-arabischen Religion, mit einer Einfuhrung in die safatenische Epigraphik, (Studien zur Geschishte und Kultur des Altertums, XVI/1), Paderborn, 1929.
2. E. Littmann, Thamūd and Safā, p.105-108.
3. R. Dussaud, La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam, p.140-147.
4. G. Ryckmans, "Les religions arabes préislamiques", in Histoire générale des religions, eds. M.M. Gorce and R. Mortier, Vol.IV, 2nd edition, (Bibliothèque du Muséon, XXVI), Louvain, 1951, p.307-332 and p.526-534.
5. ISB, p.20-25.
6. G. Ryckmans, "Le sacrafice dbh dans les inscriptions safaitiques", in the Hebrew Union College Annual, XXIII, 1950-1951, p.431-438.
7. See WH, p.31-32.
8. See E. Littmann, Thamūd and Safā, p.107.
9. ISB, p.21.
10. A. Jamme, Rev.ISB, p.277.
11. See above, p. 115-116.
12. In WH, p.31.
13. See the discussion of this by F.V. Winnett in ARNA, p.75, especially note 19.
14. J. Starcky, "Petra et la Nabatène. Religion", in Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, facsimile 39, Col.991.
15. See J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, (Third Edition with Supplement, 1969), p.291, an inscription of Esarhaddon.

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16. T. Fahd, Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la Veille de l'Hégire, p.144f.
17. J. Starcky, op.cit., Col.991. See Additional Note, p.137.
18. Ibid.
19. G. Ryckmans, "Les réligions arabes préislamiques", p.314.
20. See A. Jamme, JaSV402, p.18.
21. See ISB, p.22.
22. See A. Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouin, p.1.
23. J. Starcky, op.cit., Col.991.
24. J. Starcky, "Paganism in North Arabia", New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.I, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967), p.718.
25. Herodotus, Histories, III, 8.
26. J. Starcky, "Paganism in North Arabia", op.cit., p.718.
27. See above, p. 54 ; also JaSV402, p.18.
28. See WH, p.26.
29. T. Fahd, op.cit., p.72-73.
30. Ibid, p.73.
31. A. Caquot, Review of T. Fahd, op.cit., in Syria, Vol.XLVII, 1970, p.187-191. See p.189.
32. ISB, p.22-23.
33. That YT^{c} might be equated with the Christian Jesus was first suggested by F.V. Winnett, "References to Jesus in Pre-Islamic Arabic Inscriptions", in The Muslim World, Vol.XXXI No.4, October 1941, p.341-353. This theory was apparently accepted by E. Littmann, "Jesus in a Pre-Islamic Arabic Inscription", in The Muslim World, Vol.XL, No.1, January 1950. This was rejected by G. Ryckmans, on the grounds that the name occurs in pre-Christian contexts in Southern Arabia (G. Ryckmans, "La Mention de Jesus dans les Inscriptions Arabes Préislamiques", in Analecta Bollandiana, Vol.LXVII, 1949, p.63-73. Despite the fact that many of the Safaitic texts must date to early Christian times they contain no hint of Christianity.
34. Ibid.
35. See R. Dussaud, op.cit., p.147. Also, Topographie Historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale, p. 368 - 369.

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36. R. Dussaud, La Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam, p.147.
37. G. Ryckmans, "Le ciel et la terre dans les inscriptions safaïtiques", in Mélanges bibliques redigés en l'honneur de André Robert, p.359.
38. J. Starcky, "Palmyre. Religion", in Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible, Tome Sixieme, Col.10-6-1097.
39. R. Dussaud, op.cit., p.144.
40. The Corpus eidter reads this as *whl ḥwlt fhjd whb ḥl fsy*, "Et intravit apud Ḥawālatum. Et o Gadd, da robur liberationem". The second *ḥl* here cannot be read as the *ḥ* is *'alif*. A. Jamme (JaSN, p.92) would read the end of this as *fhjd whr (dy) fsy*, "And O Gadd and O Ru(dā), he was delivered". Jamme has restored the letters *dy* here although they cannot be read at all on the original. Jamme's reading of these two letters is entirely gratuitous and must be rejected. Instead of *dy* the letter *'alif* is quite clear on the facsimile. The letter read as *r* is clearly *b*, hence the name WHB'L. The word *ḥl* here is to be read as a noun, not as a verb as read by the Corpus. For *ḥl* meaning "horses" see WH 54. The same word may mean "horsemen". The preposition *m* is not repeated before *ḥl*, as is also the case in WH 3736a.
41. A. Jamme, "The so-called Safaitic gods slḥ and n'r", in Bibliotheca Orientalis, Vol.XXVII, No.3/4, Mei-Juli 1970, p.177-178.
42. See G. Ryckmans, "Les religions arabes preislamiques", p.314.

Additional Note. The Deity RDW/RDY : the Assyrian form of the name of this deity, Ruldaiu, may be an indication of the early pronunciation of this divine name. The final *-aiu* may represent the vocalization *Ruday(u)*, indicating that the early consonantal form of the name was *RDY* among the north Arabian tribes. Thus,among the Safaitic peoples, the form RDY may predate the form RDW.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

SAFAITIC ONOMASTICS, GENEALOGIES AND TRIBES

a. Onomastics and Genealogies

As a large number of the Safaitic inscriptions consists only of names, some being the name of the author only and some listing his genealogy also, the study of onomastics must be an important aspect of any venture into the field of Safaitic epigraphy.

Much work in this area has already been undertaken, in particular by Enno Littmann[1] who has discussed at some length the various classifications of names, hypothesizing as to their origin and formation and listing possible meanings for many of them. Littmann's studies must be considered to be the basis for all future work in this regard and require very little modification even today. A. Jamme has made some contribution to the morphological analysis of the personal names, isolating various nominal patterns and thus providing a supplement to Littmann's work.[2]

A great leap forward in the study of onomastics was made in 1971 with the publication by G. Lankester Harding of his monumental work An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names & Inscriptions which lists alphabetically all personal, family, clan and place names found in South and North Arabian inscriptions published up until 1967. As noted by the author[3] the publication of this work largely supersedes the earlier work of G. Ryckmans, Les Noms Propres Sud-Sémitiques, Vols. I-III. Of course, as noted

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by Harding himself[4] such a work is, of necessity, out of date even before it appears, as the publication of new texts and the re-interpretation of others adds to or alters the known repertory of names. With the publication in 1978 by F. V. Winnett & G. L. Harding of Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns some of these additions and alterations are already noted.[5] Various reviewers of HIn have also added their contribution in this regard.[6] In the present work all names which do not appear in HIn have been distinguished by an asterisk when they occur in the Index of Personal Names[7] and if the reader has recourse to the text in which such a name occurs he will find some discussion entered into or a possible etymology suggested. At various points it has been found necessary to emend entries in HIn. These instances are noted in the commentaries upon the individual texts.

The practice, begun by F. V. Winnett[8] and continued by W. G. Oxtoby[9] and Winnett & Harding,[10] of listing the name of an author's father, when this is known, has been followed here, despite the criticism aimed at it by A. Jamme.[11] The present writer accepts Jamme's point that it is not possible to assign two different texts to the same author merely because the consonantal structures of the names in both are identical. However, the listing of the genealogy, whenever it is known, can do no harm provided it is kept in mind that it may not be the same person who is represented in each case. If only an author's name and that of his father are known, doubt must prevail. Where three generations are given there is less doubt. As Jamme notes,[12] if four or more generations are given it is fairly safe to assume that the same persons are represented in both cases. The same

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is the case if the tribe is listed or texts are found on the same or adjacent stones. The more common the occurrence of any name the more doubt must accrue when considering homonymity. It is natural to assume that if the Safaitic script was in general use over some centuries that duplication of names might have occurred over several generations.

This whole problem is exacerbated by the fact that the Safaitic script is purely consonantal and for a great number of names more than one vocalization is possible. This point has been realized since Safaitic studies first began and yet editors continue to vocalize names in their translations, based on Classical Arabic onomastics and on the Greek vocalization of many names which can be identified as Safaitic (or Arabic). No editor, including the present one,[13] has avoided following this practice at some time. Despite the justification of Winnett and Harding:

> "The procedure can be justified . . . on the ground of convenience for it is much easier, when dealing with the long Saf. genealogies, to use vocalized rather than unvocalized names. No harm can be done if the tentative nature of the vocalization is kept in mind and if the same consonantal skeleton is always vocalized in the same way."[14]

In the opinion of the present writer this position is untenable as being unscientific, misrepresentative and serving to perpetuate possible misconceptions about the Safaitic onomasticon. Perhaps in many instances the suggested vocalization is correct but we do not know this with certainty. Hence in this new collection of texts the policy adopted by Macdonald & Harding in 1976[15] has been adopted; that is, all personal names, place names, tribal

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names and names of deities have been left unvocalized and no suggestions concerning possible vocalization have been made. The listing of a possible etymology or of a Classical Arabic parallel which employs the same consonantal structure does not imply that this is the vocalization which should be accepted for any particular Safaitic name.

As regards the construction of genealogical tables the same note of caution must be sounded. Winnett and Harding have made up a number of these[16] and they are most useful provided that care is exercised in their compilation and application. In the present work suggested emendations and extensions to tables from Winnett and Harding have been made and a number of new tables constructed.[17] This study of genealogies is most important, especially when one considers that a great number of Safaitic texts consist of nothing more than names and genealogies. Nevertheless, it is precisely this fact which could lead to attributing too much to these genealogical charts.

The present collection attests to 182 new personal names for Safaitic although some of these are known in other Arabian dialects such as Thamudic, Sabaean and so on, or are variants from the same root as other attested names. In the notes following the texts these points have been noted. In some of these cases, and in all cases of entirely new names, reference is usually made to an Arabic root, or roots, to which the name may be related. In some cases, following the practice of HIn, reference to personal names in Classical Arabic is also made.[18] The names all fit into the known categories of Safaitic onomastics. Some points of

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interest are discussed here.

A number of new names which belong to the category - *prepositional prefix + x(+h)* (*x* = the root) are attested in this collection. The most common is the *b*-prefix, while the *k* and *l* prefixes also occur.

In the case of the *b*-prefix most would recognise two basic patterns: *b + x + h* and *b + x*. In the first case the *h* is the 3m (or feminine) pronoun suffix. This type of name is well known[19] and this collection adds a new example in the name BQMH (No. 83), the central element being the equivalent of the Arabic *qawm*, which, among the Bedouin, refers to a sub-tribe under its own *shaykh*.

A. Jamme denies the existence of this category of personal names,[20] declaring that in each case a suitable root with the first radical *b* exists and that consequently the *b* cannot be a preposition in these cases. This, however, leaves unexplained the final *h* which can only be explained as the personal pronoun suffix and not as a theophoric ending as Jamme suggests.[21] In fact an *h*-suffix ending is very rare in Safaitic amongst personal names the first radical of which is not *b*, a fact which suggests that there is something special about this type of name, a point which Jamme appears to have overlooked. Winnett and Harding[22] find that "his (Jamme's) argument is far from convincing", while also suggesting that the final *h* in some cases may be *tā' marbūṭa*, a suggestion which cannot be accepted at present.

Furthermore, before rejecting the traditional analysis of names of this category Jamme denies the existence of the two names B'BH and B'MH in both the Corpus and in LP, a position which is

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fully justified by an examination of the facsimiles in question.[23] However, the existence of the name B'BH has since been attested in WH 2219 and in Nos. 259, 671 and 790 of this collection. B'MH remains otherwise unknown.

The question remains as to the significance of the preposition *b* in these names. Littmann has suggested[24] that it means "taking the place of", thus indicating that the child was a replacement or compensation for a relative who had recently died. Such an interpretation seems unlikely. Oxtoby[25] believes that it means "for" and that names such as B^{c}MH, "'for his uncle' may be a way of naming after a relative without actually using the relative's name". Why parents would want to name a child after a relative without using the relative's name is not explained by Oxtoby and is rather implausible but the suggestion that *b* means "for" seems the most acceptable explanation. It may in fact mean "for" in the sense of "on behalf of".

In the second category, without the pronoun suffix *h*, the status of the element *b* is less certain. In some cases it may be a preposition but it may also be taken as the equivalent of the Arabic *'abū*, as noted by Winnett and Harding.[26] This is difficult to assess and must remain only an attractive theory at present. New names in this category in the present collection are B'YS (1063), BḤRM (1149) BHNNT (584), BḤY (606) and BMD (1137).

Similar comments may be made about the names of the pattern *k + x + h* and *k + x*. In this case the preposition *k* has the meaning "like". In this collection two names are of this type - KḤLH (No.205) and K^{c}LYN (No.776). Jamme[27] rejects this category

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of name because he believes that each name previously explained as being of this pattern can be explained in some other fashion, mostly from roots of which *k* is the first radical, and because the preposition *k* is unknown otherwise in Safaitic. However, the mere absence of this well-known Arabic preposition in contexts other than onomastic is hardly to be wondered at considering the nature of the Safaitic texts themselves. Such an argument would allow A. Jamme to reject any new feature which might occur in a text on the same grounds and is quite unacceptable. As for his attribution of many of the *k*-names to roots with *k* as the first radical, many of his suggested names render rather surprising meanings[28] and once again one is faced with the problem of the purpose of the suffix *h*. In cases where the *h*-suffix is not found Jamme's etymologies may be acceptable.

Also to be rejected in this regard is Winnett's comment on the name KḤSMN (in SIJ 24) which "would seem to be the Safaitic equivalent of the well-known *al-Ḥaisumān*", relating the *k* here to the Minaean definite article and comparing it to the Hebrew *Kaph veritatis*.[29] The Safaitic definite article is clearly *h* while the Hebrew usage implies that a comparison is being made.

Another name of the same type in this collection is L^{C}MR (in Nos. 221, 222, 224 and 400 (?)). This type of name, *l+x*, is rather unusual and is to be compared to the *b+x* type. The *l* here is probably a preposition meaning "for" and ^{C}MR is a name, thus "For ^{C}MR".

A number of new composite names of the pattern *bn + x* are attested in the new collection. These are BN'S (424), BNBḤL (386)

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BNḤR'L (596), BNSḤL (225) BN^{C}TM (114, 410, 623, 624) and BNKML (1105).[30]

New theophoric names are JDD'L, "God renews" (218), JR'T'L "Courage of God" (1073), DL'L "Submission to God" (1125), ^{C}N'LH "Appearance of 'Allah"(579) and 'SMNWT" (225, 226). This last is a variant of the name 'SMNT, providing evidence that the name of the deity known from Qur'ānic sources[31] as *Manāt* may have been pronounced originally as *Manwat* or *Manawat*.

Finally a number of interesting names occur which might be called "nick-names". There are, for instance, the names 'ŠRM (351) "having the tip of the nose cut off", 'FDR (1191), "Wild Goat", 'QḤM (416) "Driven from the land by drought".

b. The Safaitic "Tribes"

In the present collection eighteen names are to be found introduced by the expression *d'l* or *d't 'l*, one which is usually translated as "of the tribe of". A further name, RM, is prefixed by *'l* alone. Where *d'l* or *d't 'l* occur the elements *d* and *d't* are pronouns which refer to the author or to a person referred to in the text. The element *'l* is universally believed to refer to the family relationship of the person to whom it is connected. It is to be compared to the Arabic *'āl*, آل.

Nevertheless, there can be no certainty about the rendering of the element *'l* as "tribe", as noted by G. L. Harding in his excellent study entitled "The Safaitic Tribes".[32] As Harding points out, an "examination (of the texts) does not, unfortunately, clarify the problem at all, and it is doubtful whether it will ever

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be solved".[33] It seems apparent that the word *ʾl* must have been used either with more than one meaning[34] or else was used rather loosely to express the relationship of an individual to a social grouping, be it family, sub-tribe, tribe or people. As noted by Harding[35] groups such as ḌF and ᶜWD were almost certainly major tribes, that is, large groupings of persons related by lineage or by political or social affiliation. However, if we were to assume that every name prefixed by *dʾl* was a "tribe" in this sense then the area in which the Safaitic texts are to be found would have been home to over 100 tribes! This is surely too great a number.[36] On the other hand, if we assume that most of the *dʾl* prefixed names which occur only irregularly were the names of smaller tribal units (sub-tribes or families) then a more realistic picture emerges. It is noteworthy that nowhere in Arabic does the word *ʾāl* appear to have been used to mean specifically "tribe", but rather

> "the clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*".[37]

From Musil's description it would appear that the word *ʾāl* (Musil's *âl*) referred not to the overall tribe but to the sub-tribe or clan amongst the Rwala bedouin of the early part of this century. To denote the larger tribal group the Rwala used the word *qabīla*, while to denote a man's immediate blood kin they used *ahl*. Lane,[38] however, suggests a much more general meaning for *ʾāl*, never directly referring it to tribal relationships, but preferring to render it as "relations, kinsfolk, household, followers". This is more in

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keeping with the suggestion made above, that *'l* may have been used loosely by the Safaitic tribesman to express the relationship of an individual to a larger social grouping, be it his immediate kin, his wider family or his tribe. Significantly, the Safaitic inscriptions employ no other word to express any sort of family or tribal group.[39]

This rather indeterminate use of the word *'l* is borne out by the inscriptions themselves. As noted, some of the names prefixed by this word were probably large tribes while others were smaller groups. A clear example of this is to be found in WH 21, which reads: *l nṣr bn whb'l d'l ḍf mn 'l qn'l* - "By NṢR son of WHB'L of the tribe of ḌF, from the 'family' of QN'L". ḌF here is clearly a larger group than QN'L, although both have been prefixed by *'l*. ḌF, as already noted, was probably deserving of the designation "tribe"; QN'L, which is to be found nowhere else prefixed by the word *'l*, may have been a sub-tribe or, as suggested by Winnett and Harding, a "family".

In some instances, as when used to prefix the word *rm*, (Romans, Rome) as in No.424 of this new collection, the word *'l* clearly means "the people of". Thus the author of No.424 claimed to have "rebelled against the people of Rome", meaning that he was involved in a rebellion against Roman authority in the region. In such cases the word *'l* is applied to these people (Romans, Jews etc.) by analogy to the Safaitic use of the word - it indicates a social (or cultural) grouping of people.

The question remains to what extent we can draw analogy from the Classical Arabic usage of the word *'āl* or from the social structure of the nomadic Arabian tribes of Islamic times (such as

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the Rwala) when discussing the Safaitic peoples. Although in many instances Classical Arabic usage does provide the closest parallels to that of Safaitic, this is not always the case. Hence, although the Safaitic word ʾl is probably identical to the Arabic ʾāl morphologically, semantically it may have been used rather differently. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. As regards the question of social structure, it is doubtful whether the situation can be clarified at present. The only word used to express social groupings in Safaitic was ʾl and the apparent indeterminate nature of this word precludes precision. However, the Safaitic bedouin were clearly members of a nomadic society of camel herders (and some sheep herders). The picture of themselves which they have left preserved in their inscriptions, enigmatic as it is at times, suggests that basically they differed little from their Islamic successors, except in the practice of religion and the matter of their literacy. If this be the case, as indeed it seems to be, then the Safaites were a part of the stable conservative Arabian nomadic tradition and there is no reason to assume any radical differences between their social structure and that of the bedouin tribes of later times.

* * * * *

The present collection of texts throws no light upon this vexed question. Nevertheless a study of the tribal names which occur here does provide some interest. There follows a list of all of the names prefixed by ʾl in this collection. Comments follow each name.[40]

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1. 'ṬY - 1011 - Reading uncertain. A new name in this context, from the Qā^{C} Abū al-Ḥuṣayn.

2. 'RDY - 1007 - A new "tribal" name, from the Qā^{C} Abū al-Ḥuṣayn.

3. 'KT - 1006 - A name previously attested in JaS 39, 43 and 47, all from Saudi Arabia, exact provenance unknown. This example comes from the Qā^{C} Abū al-Ḥuṣayn. This distribution suggests that 'KT were a southern group.

4. BS' - 623 - This name is known from C 5279 (somewhere in the Ḥarrat ar-Rājil), IM 46940b (provenance unknown but probably the Ruṭba' region), and JaS 2 and 13 (Badana - Jamme reads BH' in both instances). This example comes from the Qā^{C} al-^{C}Arqadiya (Site H). This may have been an eastern or south-eastern group.

5. TM - 410,412, 442,620, 621,622 633. These texts are from Site F (central Ḥarrat ar-Rājil) and Site H (Qā^{C} al-^{C}Arqadiya). This tribe had a wide distribution from the Jebel Druze region to northern Saudi Arabia.

6. TYR - 438 - A new "tribal" name from the Qā^{C} al-^{C}Arqadiya.

7. JR - 119,637 - This name is so far attested from Jāwā, Wādī Miqat, Burqu^{C} and the Jebel Druze region. These two examples come from Murabb aṣ-Ṣuwei^{C}id (119) and the Qā^{C} al-^{C}Arqadiya (637). No.637 represents the most southerly occurrence of this group yet recorded.

8. JRS - 1010 - This is a new "tribal" name from Qā^{C} Abū al-Ḥuṣayn.

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9. JS̄M - 421 - This name occurs in WH 3792a and 3792c in a context which would suggest that it was the name of a tribe or people, rather than that of a person. This example tends to confirm that JS̄M was indeed a "tribe". It occurs at Site F, in the central Ḥarrat ar-Rājil.

10. ḤẒY - 1 - This name occurs fifteen times in texts from the region of Jāwā and the Cairn of Hani'. This example is from the same region. As suggested by Harding (HST, p.21) this was probably a small tribe, or sub-tribe, in the H5 region. It should be noted, however, that MH 7, supposedly from the Burqu^{c} region, contains this name.

11. ZHR - 998 - This example comes from the Qā^{c} Abū al-Ḥusayn. It was previously attested from the Cairn of Hani' (HCH 103).

12. ZYD - 895 - A new name from the Qā^{c} al-Ladhāyim. As suggested (see No.895) the name may be the same as that of the Thamudic "tribe" ZYDW (Eut.307 = Hu 268-66).

13. ḌF - 630 - The occurrence of this name once only in this collection is in marked contrast to its occurrence 29 times in WH and 8 times in SIJ. All other examples of the name occur in northern Jordan or in southern Syria in the region of Jebel Druze and Namāra. This example is from the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya and represents the most southerly finding of this tribal name. Evidently this tribe was restricted to northern areas.

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14. ᶜBD - 192 - This name is known from Tell al-ᶜAbd only (SIJ 682) and from RVP,M2 which is of unknown provenance. This example, from Murabb aṣ-Ṣuweiᶜid, is in the same general area as Tell al-ᶜAbd.

15. ᶜBS̄T - 424 - This name is known otherwise only from al-ᶜIsāwi in southern Syria (C 3262). This example is from Site F in the Ḥarrat ar-Rājil.

16. ᶜMRT - 628 - This tribe is known from the Cairn of Hani' (HCH 191, 194), Wadi Sham (C 2947), Deir al-Kahf (CNAI 1a and 1b) and the Burquᶜ region (MH 8, 10, 12). The present example is from the Qāᶜ al-ᶜArqadiya. The distribution suggests a northern group.

17. ᶜMN - 1004 - This name has been attested previously in the Badana region (JaS 23). This example is from the Qā Abū al-Ḥuṣayn.

18. NMR - 900 - A new name from the Qāᶜ al-Ladhāyim.

The known distribution of these names does suggest that some of the groups, or tribes, were restricted in their geographical distribution, the clearest examples being ḤZY and ḌF, which seem to have been restricted to the north. However, two major obstacles stand in the way of any geographical distribution study at present. Firstly the area to the south of the Baghdad Highway is still largely unexplored and until some systematic exploration is instituted no firm conclusions should be reached. Secondly

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it is perhaps unjustifiable to assume that Safaitic tribal or social groupings remained stable in themselves or were restricted to the same geographical region over a period of some centuries. Small tribal groupings were in a state of constant fluidity during Islamic times, although larger groups tended to be more stable. There is no reason to assume that the Safaites were any different in this respect. Also we do not know to what extent the Safaitic tribes may have migrated or changed their grazing grounds permanently or temporarily. Thus a wide distribution of a particular name may represent different eras separated by a migration. Furthermore, similar names which do not appear to belong to a large tribe and are widely distributed may belong to two (or more) unrelated groups separated by time, space or tribal affiliation. Unfortunately these are all problems which cannot be resolved at present and our knowledge of the paleography of the Safaitic script does not permit us to elucidate the situation.

* * * * *

Two other names occur in this collection which, by their context, suggest that they were names of either a tribe or a people but were not Safaitic. These are ṬY' (Nos. 1004, 1011 and 1046) and ḤWLT (Nos. 681 and 957). Both names are already attested elsewhere.

The question of the ḤWLT has already been discussed in SIJ and HST, p.9 and 20. They were clearly not a part of the Safaitic group but were their enemies. Their identity is not known. No. 957 provides further evidence that ḤWLT were enemies. It reads *fy's l t̲'r m ḥwlt*, "and he despaired of exacting blood-revenge

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from the ḤWLT".

Regarding ṬY' Harding writes:

> "... it would seem from their activities that they were perhaps a minor tribe, at least with the Safaites. The famous tribe of Ṭayya bn 'Audad, related to the Lakhmids, can hardly be intended here."[41]

Despite this it seems likely that the famous tribe of Ṭayya' are intended. In all of the contexts in which the name ṬY' occurs they are spoken of as a people distinct from, and apparently enemies of, the Safaites. C2795 reads *wwlh ʿl ʾsyʿh ḥrbn ʾl ṭyʾ fhlt wjdʿwd nqmt m ṭyʾ*, "and he was grief-stricken for his companions fighting the tibe of ṬY'; so O LT and JDʿWD grant vengeance from ṬY'". This clearly indicates the enemy status of the ṬY'. JaS 10 is further evidence that the ṬY' were enemies: *l ʿdrʾl bn ḥnn bn ʿdrʾl wʾtm ʿl ḥr wtly ʿl ḥr ṭyʾ fḥrb*, "By ʿDR'L son of ḤNN son of ʿDR'L, and he finished off ḤR, and ṬY' had followed after ḤR and waged war".[42] The texts of this collection provide further evidence. Nos.1011 and 1046 refer to one who was *mqtl ṭyʾ*, a "murder victim of ṬY'", and demand vengeance. No.1004 tells of someone taken captive by ṬY' (*msby sbyt hṭyʾ*). Finally C5089 tells that the author *rʿy hʾbl ʾl ṭyʾ*, "pastured the camels of the tribe of ṬY'", suggesting that he was employed to herd their camels, a task they were either unable or unwilling to do themselves. These references suggest that the ṬY' of the inscriptions were the tribe of Ṭayyi' who were allied to the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra. This central Arabian tribe had established themselves as allies of the Lakhmids in southern Mesopotamia by the third century AD and were a powerful and warlike people. Among the settled Aramaic speaking Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia their name became synonymous for the warlike camel-herding nomads of the Syrian steppes.[43]

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This tribe was certainly a contemporary of the Safaitic peoples and their activities suggest that they would have come into contact with them. This contact would have almost certainly been mostly hostile.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight

1. In particular in LSI, p.121 - 129 and in LP, p.xxiv-xxviii.
2. JaSN, p.120-141. Unfortunately many of Jamme's readings must be viewed with suspicion and require careful study.
3. HIn, Preface, p.vii. See also the various reviews of this work (consult the Bibliography).
4. Ibid.
5. WH, p.18.
6. See the list of review articles under the entry: G. Lankester Harding, An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions, in the Bibliography.
7. See below, p. 443.
8. In SIJ.
9. In ISB.
10. In WH.
11. See JaSICA, p.54-56.
12. Ibid, p.55.
13. See CNAI.
14. WH, p.14.
15. MH, ADAJ XXI, 1976, p.120.
16. WH, p.20-21.
17. See Nos.567, 651, 689, 821, 836 and 907 of this collection.
18. The basic reference used for this purpose was W. Caskel, Gamharat an-Nasab; das genealogische Werk des Hisām ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi, Vol.II, abbreviated here as CIK followed by the page and column number.

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19. See LP, p.xxiv; LSI, p.123, etc..

20. JaSN, p.133-138.

21. Ibid., p.133.

22. WH, p.19.

23. B'BH in C 4081, 4474, etc., LP 213, 847 and 1218. B'MH in C 495, 724 and 2323.

24. LP, p.xxiv.

25. ISB, p.13 and the *b*-prefix names in the Index of Names.

26. WH, p.19.

27. JaSN, p.139-141.

28. For example, KZLH, "Allah has become niggardly" (C 3480) or K^{c}MH, "His kiss on the mouth", or perhaps "Kiss of Allah" (SIJ 453).

29. SIJ, p.9.

30. See also No.1131 for a name read as BNTRH (?).

31. Qur'ān, sura LIII 20.

32. G. L. Harding, "The Safaitic Tribes", in Al-Abhath, Vol.XXII, 1969, p.3-23. This is abbreviated here as HST.

33. Ibid, p.5.

34. As opposed to my earlier view expressed in CNAI, p.37.

35. HST, p.20-22.

36. In more recent times the region within which the Safaitic graffiti are to be found is home to no more than four major tribes and up to ten or twelve lesser ones.

37. A. Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, p.47-48.

38. Lane, Lexicon, p.127-128.

39. It should be noted, however, that a word *'hl* is found in WTl 48a, which appears to be Safaitic, rather than Thamudic. See ARNA, p.86 and Plate 5.

40. For further details about previously attested tribal names references should be made to HST.

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41. HST, p.21.

42. The expression *'tm ʿl* is to be related to the Ar. *tammama* or *'atamma ʿalā*, "to finish off a wounded man" (see Lane, Lexicon, p.315). *tly* - Ar. *tallā*, "to follow". Jamme considers the word *ty'* here to be an active participle. He reads "and he came together with Hayr and he was equerry for Hayr, going to and fro, and he fought". This translation seems most unlikely. The word *'tm*, if from the root *'tm*, refers to the splitting of the skin between the vagina and rectum of a woman. By analogy it is used to mean "to come together (of an assembly of women)" and it may mean "to rip". It is unlikely that it would mean "to come together with" as suggested by Jamme, apparently in a sexual sense (in JaS 3 he has translated "he engaged in sexual relations with Hayr"). Jamme's rendering of this word is inconsistent in that in JaS 2, 10, 14, 17 and 19 he has translated *'tm ʿl hr* as "he came together with Hayr" while in JaS 3 he has read *'tm hr*, "he engaged in sexual relations with Hayr". This later, however, should probably be restored as *'t[m ʿl] hr*, the stone having been damaged, as indicated by the photograph and facsimile. Even if the word *ʿl* is missing in this case this does not necessarily imply a different meaning for the text (as pointed out by A. van den Branden, "L'expression Safaitique 'TM ʿL HR", in Al-Machriq, Vol.63, 1969, p.735). Finally, it seems unlikely that six different authors would have recorded that they "came together with Hayr (sexually)", presumably at the same place at the same time. JaS 3, 4 and 5 are all on the same stone and are texts by a father, son and grandson! Apparently the authors of JaS 2, 3, 10, 14, 17 and 19 were all involved with the finishing off of the wounded HR (not Hayr as read by Jamme - there can be no reason to assume a dipthong *-ay-* in this name). A. van den Branden, op. cit., suggests an entirely different reading, while rejecting Jamme's initial one. He would read *'tm ʿl* as "s'arrêter à" and *hr* not as a personal name but as a noun meaning "tombeau". It is doubtful that the verb *'tm* would have been used with this meaning. It may mean "to remain" but not "to stop" and the preposition *ʿl* would be inappropriate in such a context. Jamme has rejected this interpretation on the grounds that the cairns where the texts were found could not have been tombs ("L'article de A. van den Branden sur L'expression Safaitique *'tm ʿl hr*", in Al-Machriq, Vol.64, 1970, p.323-324). The context of JaS 10 seems to preclude the reading of the word *hr* as "tomb". HR is a common Safaitic personal name.

43. J. S. Trimingham, Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times, p.200, note 131.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the foregoing chapters a number of matters have been discussed which have arisen from the study of the new Safaitic inscriptions, which have been translated and annotated in Part Two, which follows. As such, the preceding discussions are not to be considered to be a comprehensive study of the present state of knowledge about the Safaitic peoples or about Safaitic epigraphy. They represent only a discussion of points which have arisen from the consideration of the new material. Even in this regard the discussions may not be comprehensive and indeed it is hoped that further study of this new epigraphical material may lead to further elucidation of some of the problems which still beset this field of epigraphy.

This new study reinforces the view that the Safaitic peoples were nomadic (either fully so, or at least semi-nomadic, probably with elements of both) and were a part of the conservative Arabian nomadic tradition. As such they were the ancestors of today's bedouin, although the problem remains as to how far we may draw analogies between traditional bedouin society and that of the Safaites. In the absence of any other source of comparison this is often our only resource. Presumably at least some of these Safaites were involved in a process of settling into permanent or semi-permanent villages, an almost continual process on the desert fringes. This process may have played a part in the eventual

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disappearance of those persons who used the Safaitic script to record their passing.

It will have become apparent from the preceding pages that our knowledge of these peoples, their language and culture, is neither detailed nor extensive. Much is still to be discovered and much may never be discovered. Being nomadic the Safaites have left us little evidence of their sojourn in the region, apart from the thousands of rather enigmatical graffiti. Nevertheless, careful study will yield some information and a number of points have been discussed here. These have tended to highlight the gaps in our knowledge and the difficulties in attempting to interpret the available evidence. Some points which may be relevant to future research in this field have been raised here.

In Chapter One a survey has been made of all previous publications of Safaitic texts and the problems associated with these publications have been raised. For texts to yield the maximum of information great care needs to be exercised in their recording - both by hand and photographically. Many of the sites recorded in the early days of Safaitic research need now to be systematically re-recorded - a tiresome but necessary task. In doing this, and in all future new research, careful note should be taken of the exact location of the inscriptions and of the actual surroundings of each site. This will enable future researchers to identify accurately the various locations of texts. Chapter Two has gone on to point out the need to link epigraphical research to

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archaeological survey and excavation. At present the Safaitic peoples are known only from their inscriptions.

In Chapter Three a brief study has been made of the drawings found in association with the new inscriptions. These drawings have significance in that they elucidate the way of life, the religion and possibly even the history of the ancient artists. They need to be studied together with the inscriptions themselves.

The paleography of the inscriptions of this collection has been discussed in Chapter Four but it is clear that no definite conclusions may be drawn from such an investigation in our present state of knowledge. Five categories of script have been outlined but it is not yet possible to draw conclusions from such a division, which may even appear to be rather arbitrary in some instances. These categories cannot be arranged chronologically, as it is not possible to determine which style of script is earliest, nor from which parent script Safaitic was ultimately derived. The argument that the square script was the earliest is not tenable, as has been demonstrated. A matter of great importance, which has not yet been tackled, is the question of the relationship between Safaitic and Thamudic. In many cases the division between the two appears to be quite arbitrary and further research needs to be done to clarify the situation.

Chapter Five has shown that those historical arguments that have been based upon the content of the inscriptions will not withstand close scrutiny. Indeed, in most cases, the

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so-called historical references in the inscriptions are so enigmatical, or open to more than one interpretation, that we can do no more than locate these people within a rather broad time scale. It is clear that they belong to the time of the Roman occupation of Syria and Palestine, but when they first appeared and when they subsequently disappeared cannot be accurately determined, nor can most of the historical allusions be definitely recognised. The present collection of texts has little to offer in this regard and it would be rash to believe that future discoveries will change the situation. However, a firmer link between epigraphy and archaeology may produce more concrete results.

Some grammatical points, which are relevant to the present text collection, have been raised in Chapter Six. These add little to the studies made previously by Enno Littmann. Nevertheless,a few important points have been raised, about both the orthography and the grammar.

In Chapter Seven the contents of those new texts, which contain appeals to deities, have been discussed. The unity of the deity RDW/RDY has been suggested and the anonymous god DŠR has been tentatively identified as an aspect of RDW. DŠR was not a solar deity as is sometimes proposed. B^{c}LSMN has been named by text No.424 as "god of Si^{c}a", thus positively identifying him as the Syrian deity worshipped in the Haurān and at Palmyra. Nevertheless, our knowledge of Safaitic religious beliefs and practices remains slight and must rely upon comparisons with those of related neighboring cultures.

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The final chapter discusses the Safaitic personal and tribal names. Some 182 new personal names are to be found in the new text collection and some of these are discussed in this chapter, others where they occur in a particular inscription. Particular attention has been paid to the category of name *preposition + x + (h)*, a type that has caused some dispute. This class of name has occurred on a number of occasions in this collection of texts. In the discussion of the tribal names some attempt has been made to study the geographical distribution of the names of this collection, in an attempt to associate certain tribal groups with specific regions. This may be the beginning of a study of the variations in the script and dialects of Safaitic - variations which may be due to tribal, regional or temporal factors. A number of texts which refer to *'l ṯy'* have been considered and it has been concluded that these ṮY' were indeed the famous pre-Islamic Arabian tribe of Ṭayyi' bin Audad, the allies of the Lakhmid rulers of al-Ḥira. These ṮY' appear to have been the enemies of the Safaitic peoples.

* * * * * *

Despite the rather negative nature of much of the preceding discussion, it is still believed that this new body of inscriptional material has added significantly to the present state of knowledge of the Safaitic peoples. However, this knowledge is still too limited to enable us to draw any definite conclusions about such things as the historical setting, the religious beliefs or the development

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of the script of the Safaites. Even such things as the study of grammar or of onomastics must remain indefinite because of the enigmatical nature of these terse, unvowelled graffiti. In the past, unscientific research has tended to exacerbate the problems, although the very nature of the inscriptions precludes that some of the problems will be ever solved. In the future careful research may produce significant results, providing vital information about pre-Islamic Arabia and about a people and a region considered by many to be largely peripheral to the main stream of Middle Eastern culture and history. The present study, to a small degree, has hopefully served to fill in a few details about an area of human history still largely unknown. It has, in any case, added a considerable number of hitherto unpublished texts to the corpus of Safaitic inscriptions.

For Safaitic research to be carried forward in the future it is hoped that renewed exploration will take place, in south-eastern Jordan in particular, in areas to the east and south-east of 'Azraq, which is largely *terra incognita* for epigraphic research. More information about the relationship between Thamudic and Safaitic may be derived from such a study. More exploration in Syria may likewise produce evidence of the eventual disappearance of the Safaitic peoples as they began to settle down. Finally, it is vital that this epigraphical research be linked to archaeological excavation of Safaitic sites. The present writer hopes to begin to carry out some of these tasks during a seven month visit to Jordan from December 1979 to June 1980, during which time a survey of south-eastern Jordan will be made and a number of cairns excavated.

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PART TWO

THE INSCRIPTIONS

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SITE A - Baghdad Highway, between Jebel al-'Asfar and Jebel al-^{c}Aritayn. (Inscriptions from the eastern face of a rocky outcrop, approximately 100m to the north of the Baghdad Highway, at a point where the road is made to loop slightly to the south in order to avoid this outcrop. The site is approximately 5km to the northeast of Jebel al-^{c}Aritayn and 6km to the south-south-east of Jebel al-'Asfar. In the gully to the west of the site is a modern settlement of three houses. There is no sign of any burial cairn at the site and the texts are spread out along the rocks on the crest of the knoll. The general impression is that the site was a lookout post. Nos.1 - 28 and Map 2).

1. *l ḡyr'l bn 'n^{c}m bn rf't d̲'l ḥẓy*
wwq^{c} wẓll ^{c}l ḥr fmn^{c}t wẓllt d̲'nh
ḥbst 'l slm

By ḠYR'L son of 'N^{c}M son of RF'T, of the tribe of ḤẒY; and he stopped in the night and sheltered (here) against the heat; and an enclosure restrained and sheltered his sheep until deliverance.

This inscription is on an upright projection of basalt. Seven strokes accompany the beginning and it has been partially enclosed by two unconnected lines. The text has been very well executed in a script which displays features of both the square and the more usual rounded script. Here this has been classified as the "Formal script" (see Chapter Four, The

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Paleography of the Safaitic Inscriptions, p.69). The story of this inscription seems to be that the writer halted at this spot and sought shelter during a period of great heat. Whilst there he kept his sheep enclosed in some kind of enclosure to prevent their wandering and to protect them. He remained at the spot until relief from the heat was obtained.

HZY is a tribal name which has so far been found only in the region of Jāwā and the Cairn of Hani' (HST, p.9).

wqᶜ may occur with the meaning given here in Michigan 3 (WoFSG, p.217-218), the end of which has been read by A.Jamme (commentary on JaS 5 in JaSISA, p.202) as *d̲ʾl slm wʾs̄rq fḥll wwqᶜ*, "of the clan Salam. And he went eastward and encamped (there) and fell". It seems most unlikely that the author would record that "he fell" and we should probably read "of the tribe of SLM, and he went eastwards; and he encamped and he stopped for the night (here)". We would relate it here to the Ar. *waqqaᶜa*, "to halt during the night, to rest". However, in Michigan 3 Worrell would read this word as *wqṣ*, "he had his neck broken", a most unlikely reading. From the available photograph it was not possible to make out the correct reading of this word and hence confirm either Jamme's or Worrell's reading.

The expression *ẓll ᶜl ḥr* is interesting in its use of the preposition *ᶜl*; LP 412 provides an interesting parallel for this : *fẓll ʾh̲t ᶜl ʾh̲h fḥlt slm ld̲ s̄rd*, "and he provided shelter for a sister against her brother, so O LT grant security to the one who ran away!" (One would expect to find *ld̲ʾt s̄rdt* if the expression refers to *ʾh̲t* but this may be a

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reference to the author of the text, who may have been forced to flee his tribe because of his actions). Littmann translates this as "And he made a sister give shelter to her brother. So O Allāt, (give) peace to him who ran away!". This reading is rather difficult to accept as it makes little sense.

The use of the word *ḥr* is previously unattested in Saf. but it is to be compared to the Ar. *ḥarr*, "heat".

The expression *fmn^{c}t wzllt ḏ'nh ḥbst* is interesting. The word *ḥbst* is new; see the Ar. *ḥabasa*, "to confine, enclose", hence "enclosure". As this word is clearly a feminine form the two verbs are likewise in their feminine forms. The verb *mn^{c}* may occur in SIJ 807 but the ending of this is obscure, perhaps because the copy may be inaccurate; see the Ar. *mana^{c}a*, "to prevent, hinder, protect".

The preposition *'l* has been used here in a temporal sense, as in LP 353, the only other example of such a usage. A.Jamme's reference to a preposition *'l* , meaning "to", in LP (4) and 361 must be discounted. In LP 361 this word is a noun, with the meaning "tribe, clan". Jamme would restore the word *'l* in LP 4 on the basis of LP 361 but such a restoration is unjustifiable in this instance, as this word does not appear on the facsimile (see JaSN, p.63, Note 70).

Nos.2 - 5 are on the same stone.

2. *l ws^{c} bn ^{c}wḏ ws^{c}dh rḏw*

By WS^{C} son of ^{C}WḎ, and may

RḎW help him!

The expression *ws^{c}dh rḏw* is unusual in that one would expect to

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find the name of the deity placed before the verb and that this name would be introduced by the vocative particle *h*. This vocative particle may have been assimilated by the preceding 3m. pronoun suffix.

3. *l mfkr*

By MFKR.

This is a new name. It is apparently to be derived from the root *fkr;* see the Ar. *fakara,* "to reflect, ponder".

4. *l yr bn znn*

By YR son of ZNN.

5. *l jrr*

By JRR.

6. *l jmr bn dr^{c}*

By JMR son of DR^{C}.

Other texts which may be by the same author are Nos.458, 545, 1017, ISB 254 and WH 2383a, all from the opposite side of the Harrat ar-Rājil. ISB 254 is an identical text and, if Oxtoby's copy can be considered accurate, is in a similar hand.

7. *l bn^{c}d hlbdq*

By BN^{C}D, ... (?).

BN^{C}D is a new compound name. It may also read BN^{C}DH, although no name ^{C}DH is known. The ending is most obscure and no reading is suggested here. It may be a separate text, "By BDQ", but this is an unknown name. The letters are very crudely formed.

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Nos.8 - 10 are on the same rock.

8. *l rfṣt bn rj*

By RFṢT son of RJ.

The name RFṢT is previously unattested, although it recurs in Nos.9 and 14; see the Ar. *rafīṣ*, "partner, one who shares". The name RJ is previously attested only in WH 3797b; it recurs in No.57.

9. *l rfṣt ḥ[..]'wnḥ*

By RFṢT [.....].

This text has been damaged. The letters *'wnḥ* may not belong to this inscription. The text may be unfinished, the author having begun, encountered difficulties and begun again. No.8 may have been his second attempt. The letter read here as *ḥ* may indeed be the word *bn*, the *n* having been written in a horizontal position. It should be noted, however, that the occurrence of the word *bn* alone at the end of a text does not necessarily imply that the text was left unfinished. In many cases it should be read as it stands, as a verb, with the meaning "he remained (here)" - Ar. *banna*. In cases in which these letters occur at the end of a text and there is no trace of any further letters nor any other evidence to suggest that the scribe had left his work unfinished *bn* should probably be read as a verb. A.Jamme is of the same opinion and lists a number of examples in JaSN, p.99f.. In the case of this text the scribe has clearly left his work unfinished or perhaps tried to erase a part of it.

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10. *l ndr bn brqt*

By NDR son of BRQT.

11. *l ᶜhd bn ḥmm bn ḡbn ḥrft*

By ᶜHD son of ḤMM son of ḠBN, bad luck!

It would appear that some misfortune had befallen the author. The word *ḥrft* is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *ḥurfa* , "bad luck".

12. *l ʾhd bn jhd*

By ʾHD son of JHD.

The name JHD is new but see CIK 264/1, Juhāda. See also the name JHDT in WH 1750. Winnett and Harding have read this name as ḎHDT but the facsimile (WH, Plate 34) clearly shows JHDT. The reading of the name JHDT in WH 3912 is rather doubtful. The editors have read this as two texts, WH 3912a and 3912b but it is clearly one only. The omission of the word *bn* cannot be assumed.

Nos. 13 - 15 are on the same stone.

13. *h rḏw ḏwd fsᶜd ḥd*

O RḎW, he was infested with vermin,

so help ḤD!

A most unusual invocation. The word *ḏwd* is new to Saf. but see the Ar. *ḏuwād*, "vermin" and *ḏāda*, "to be maggot ridden". Thus it would seem that the author had been afflicted with some kind of vermin infestation. The form of the appeal to the deity RḎW is a common one and, as in this case, such appeals are often enclosed by a cartouche. The word order here is strange as one

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would expect to find *l ḥḍ wdwd fhrḍw s^{c}ḍh* or *hrḍw s^{c}ḍ ḥḍ wdwd*. Nevertheless the meaning seems clear. The name ḤḌ seems to occur in WH 2470, although WH read ḤḌB. The letter read as *b* appears to be part of the letter *'alif* of a name ḤB'L in WH 2469. The letters *fst* may not belong to this text. HIn 222 refers to the Ar. *ḥāda*, "to enter into" for this name but it is equally possible that it is from the same root as the Ar. *ḥadda*, "to stir, frighten" and *ḥadīd*, "foolish".

14. *l rfst*

By RFST.

See Nos.8 and 9.

15. *l 'z bn ^{c}zz'l*

By 'Z son of ^{C}ZZ'L.

The name 'Z is previously unknown and of unknown derivation. A name 'WZN occurs in the Sab. text R 3991/2 and there may be some connection between these two names, both sharing a hypothetical root *'wz*. However, such a root is unknown.

16. *l jn wṣl*

By JN, he arrived.

The verb *wṣl* is attested only in LP 406 and is to be compared to the Ar. *waṣala*, "to arrive". If the letter *w* here is read as a conjunction less likely readings occur. Possibly we should

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consider that the conjunctive *w* has been assimilated by the initial letter of the verb *wṣl*, although such an elision is not well attested.

17. *l ḥd bn nṣr whll*

By ḤD son of NṢR, and he encamped (here).

The verb *ḥll* is a very common one. As this verb is not generally followed by an identification of the spot at which the author "encamped" it must be assumed that he did so at the spot at which the inscription was found. Hence the translation "and he encamped (here)". A.Jamme favours a similar translation (as in JaSICA, JaS 57b).

Nos.18 - 22 are on the same stone, around drawings of what appear to be four ostriches and a camel. The surface of the rock has been badly damaged.

18. *l r'y bn n'ṭy*

By R'Y son of N'ṬY.

The initial name is read as R'Y rather than the unknown B'Y, despite the close resemblance between the first letter of the name and the letter *b* of *bn* . However R'Y is not common and a reading B'Y cannot be ruled out. See the Ar. *ba'ā*, "to boast, glory in". The second name of the genealogy appears to be N'ṬY, the reading being quite clear. This, however, is an unattested name. The occurrence of a prefix *n* is virtually unattested in Safaitic personal names (but note the well known name NḠBR -

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HIn 596). If the *n* here is disregarded too large a space would result between *bn* and the ensuing name ʾṬY. The possibility that this *n* was a mistake and should be regarded as dittography to the *n* of the preceding *bn* must be seriously considered. A name ʾṬY is attested - HIn 54.

19. *l mqtl bn nhr*

By MQTL son of NHR

One is tempted here to read the second name as NSR, as in the preceding No. 17, but the stance of the letter is wrong and its tail is too long for it to be anything other than *h*.

20. *l ṣḥ wmj[d ..] hdmṯt*

By ṢḤ and he [pastured amidst plenty ..] this even soft ground (?).

The personal name ṢḤ is found only in C 871. The following six letters have been badly damaged but it is possible to read *wmj* quite certainly and the following *d*, although less clear, seems certain in the context (see the following text, No. 21). The verb *mjd* may possibly be read in C 2473 and the Corpus editor restores it in C 308. The noun *mjd* occurs in C 158 and in No. 997 of this collection. See the Ar. *majada*, "to pasture amidst plenty, to satiate cattle with green pasture". The following letter(s) are totally obliterated. One, or possibly two letters, would fit the gap; perhaps we should assume a reading of the preposition *b*. The final word, *dmṯt* is new in Saf. and one would expect to find *dmyt* here, referring to the drawings which accompany the texts. However, the *ṯ* is quite certain, for, although the rock surface is badly chipped

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it would seem too much of a coincidence that a fortuitous chip had added an extra loop to the letter *y*, thus transforming it to a *t*. In fact the writing of *t* appears to have been quite deliberate. See the Ar. *damt*, "soft, even ground, sandy ground".

21. *l r'y b n[..]y mjd*

By R'Y son [of ..]Y; he pastured amidst plenty.

This may be by the same author as No. 18 on the same stone but the second name is impossible to read.

22. *l shr bn sn'*

By SHR son of SN'.

SN' is a new name, although both the editor of Corpus and HIn 332 would read it in C 861. However, in this case it is to be read as the well known name HN', as the letter read as *s* is clearly *h* in the facsimile (Corpus, Tab.XCIII, Dunand 1206). The derivation of this name is uncertain but see the Ar. *sanā*, "to irrigate" *(snw)* or *sanā*, "to be high in rank" *(sny)*.

23. *l mlt bn mrwn whfr*

By MLT son of MRWN, he dug a well.

The verb *hfr* is otherwise unknown in Saf.; see the Ar. *hafara*, "to dig a well". This text has been enclosed by a line, inside of which is a drawing of a camel and its calf.

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Nos.24 and 25 are on the same stone.

24. *l hjml bn rh*

By HJML son of RH.

25. *l 'bny bn ẓ*

By 'BNY son of Ẓ

This text appears to be unfinished unless the final letter, read here as *ẓ*, is in fact a ligature of the letters *bn* or *bl*, both of which are attested names.

26. *l 'wr*

By 'WR.

This name occurs only in WH 3303.

27. *l ḏb^{c}n bn ḡlb*

By ḎB^{C}N son of ḠLB.

28. *l s̄qwy*

By S̄QWY.

An identical text to this, although in a different hand, is RVP,M2. This is the only other attested occurrence of the name.

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SITE B - Murabb aṣ-Ṣuwei^{c}id. (Nos. 29 - 279 and Map 3).

Point (a.) (Nos. 29 - 32).

29. *l ʾmn bn lḥy*

By ʾMN son of LḤY.

No. 33 is an identical text.

Nos. 30 - 32 are on the same stone.

30. *l bs bn kbr*

By BS son of KBR.

The name BS may be compared to the Ar. *biss*, "cat", being a type of pet-name.

31. Enclosed by a semi-eliptical line and accompanied by drawings of two gazelles and by two groups of seven short strokes which are joined to the enclosing line.

l ʾbd bn ṯʾt

By ʾBD son of Ṯʾt.

Both are attested names although the derivation of Ṯʾt is unknown; see, however, the Ar. *ṯaʾā*, "to tear, perforate (a skin)".

32. This text was incribed at the same time as the previous one, which is by a brother of this author. No. 30 was later inscribed over the top of this text. A long stroke, intersected by seven short ones, accompanies the inscription.

l ḥbwt bn ṯʾt

By HBWT son of Ṯʾt.

The name HBWT is new; see the Ar. *ḥabwat*, "dust-coloured",

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possibly referring to the child's complexion or to a dust storm at the time of his birth.

Point (b.) (Nos. 33 - 140).

33. *l 'mm bn lḥy*

By 'MN son of LḤY.

This is an identical text to No. 29. However, the style of the script is different, leading to the conclusion that the authors were two separate individuals or that the same person had identical texts incised by two different scribes.

34. *l lḥy bn 'yl hdr*

This is the encampment of LḤY son of 'YL.

This text may be by the father of the author of the preceding text and of No. 29. The expression *hdr* is a common one and is almost certainly used to indicate that the spot at which the text was located was the campsite of the author of the text. It is to be compared to the use of the word *dār*, "house, tribe etc." in Arabic and to the use of this and related terms to indicate traditional tribal camping grounds by the Bedouin. In such a context it is not intended to imply ownership of the land but rather the traditional right to use it as a camping spot and grazing ground.

The order of the words in this text is unusual, consisting as it does of three lines all reading in the same direction and beginning with the centre line. No. 724 may be by this author's grandson while another grandson may have been the author of WH 456, 517a and 2008.

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35. In very fine letters.

l mry wr^{c}y hrḥbt

By MRY, and he pastured the RḤBT.

"The Ruḥba", *hrḥbt*, is the traditional name of the fertile region to the south of Jebel Says in southern Syria - "Haec regio circiter 30km a Djebel Seys versus meridiem distat; irrigatur aqua plurium torrentium qui in eam confluunt ita ut propter fertilitatem reputetur" (Corpus, p.37, notes to C 223).

36. Accompanied by seven short strokes and a T-shaped figure.

l ḥd bn

By ḤD son of ...

This text is probably to be considered as unfinished as the final *n* is only lightly incised, indicating perhaps that the author left the text unfinished.

37. *l 'byn bn msky*

By 'BYN son of MSKY.

A camel drawing accompanies the text.

Nos. 38 and 39 are on the same stone.

38. *l 'bjr*

By 'BJR.

The following text is probably by a son of this author.

39. *l s^{c}d bn 'bjr*

By S^{c}D son of 'BJR.

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40. *l ḥt bn bny*

By ḤT son of BNY.

No. 200 may be by the same author.

Nos. 41 - 45 are on the same rock.

41. *l bjd bn hf*

By BJD son of JF.

Nos. 43 and 45 are by brothers of this author.

42. Accompanied by a drawing of a camel.

l 'rs bn ytm bn nsl bn mᶜtm wbrrt

By 'RS son of YTM son of NSL son of MᶜTM, and beneficence(?).

The final word is unusual. One would expect to find *wbkrt*, or simply *hbkrt*, referring to the camel drawing, but the word is unmistakably *wbrrt* an unattested word. It could be a mistake for *wbkrt* but it is taken here as a noun from the root *brr;* see the Ar. *barra*, "to bestow bounty, beneficence".

43. *l smk bn hf*

By SMK son of HF.

This author is a brother of the authors of Nos. 41 and 45.

44. *l thn'*

By THN'.

This name has not been previously attested in Safaitic but it occurs in the Tham. text TIJ 281, while THN'M occurs in the Sab. text R 4942. It is most probably to be derived from the same root as the well known Saf. name HN'; see the Ar. *tahanna'a*, "to rejoice, be glad".

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45. *l njr bn hf*

By NJR son of HF.

By a brother of the authors of Nos. 41 and 43.

46. *l d̲'b bn s^{c}d bn jrm*

By D̲'B son of S^{c}D son of JRM.

No. 219 may be by the same author, although the name of the grandfather is omitted.

47. *l ws^{c} bn sqy*

By WS^{c} son of SQY.

SQY is a new name, for which see the Ar. *saqā*, "to water, give to drink".

48. *l 'd̲nt bn ykn bn rjl bn 'lh bn hrb bn flṭ hfrs hrḍy ḡnmt*

By 'D̲NT son of YKN son of RJL son of 'LH son of HRB son of FLṬ is the horseman. O RḌY grant plunder.

The noun *hfrs* here may be translated either as "the horse" or as "the horseman" but the drawing of the mounted man which accompanies the text suggests that the latter is the correct alternative. For another possible interpretation of this word as "the Persian" and for a discussion of this drawing see p. 51, above.

Nos. 49 - 54 are on the same rock. A number of incised lines without any pattern accompany the texts.

49. *l ^{c}znb*

By ^{c}ZNB(?).

This text has been mutilated. It is very crudely executed in large, pecked out letters. The name, if such it is, is unattested and seems

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unlikely; both ^{c}Z and ^{c}ZN are known names so perhaps this should be read *l ᶜzn b*[.. , the text being considered incomplete, or *l ᶜz nb* , *nb* being an unattested verb of unknown meaning.

50. *l ḥlt bn jd*

By ḤLT son of JD.

The name ḤLT is rare, being possibly found in C 2985 and Tham.JS 403 and 466. Nos. 51 and 52 are by brothers of this author.

51. *l ḡrzt bn jd*

By ḠRZT son of JD.

No. 69 is perhaps by the same person.

52. *l ʾbyn bn jd*

By ʾBYN son of JD.

See also Nos. 64, 154 and 952.

53. *l ᶜzn bn ḡzy bn jrr bn ʾbyn bn ndʾ bn s̄ddt*

By ^{c}ZN son of ḠZY son of JRR son of ʾBYN son of NDʾ son of S̄DDT.

All names in this genealogy are already attested in Safaitic.

54. *l tlḥ bn ḡzy*

By TLḤ son of ḠZY.

The name TLḤ may occur possibly in C 3466, where the editor would derive it from the root *lwḥ* , "to shine, appear (star)". Harding, however, would relate it to *wlḥ* , "to overload" (HIn 135). Either derivation is possible, the one suggesting that the son was a "shining light" and the other that he was a "burden". The author is the brother of the author of No. 53, who provides a fuller genealogy.

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55. *l snh bn 'd*

By SNH son of 'D'.

Neither name is otherwise attested in Saf., although SNH is found in Tham. WTI 17; see Ar. *sanih*, "aged". 'D' is not known but 'D'T is found in C 1785; see the Ar. *'adā*, "to pay, make restitution".

Nos. 56-59 are on the same stone.

56. *l ᶜrjn bn khl*

By ᶜRJN son of KHL.

This inscription is by the brother of the author of No. 59 and the uncle of that of No. 58.

57. *l ḏbᶜ bn 'slm bn ḏkr*

By ḎBᶜ son of 'SLM son of D̲KR

58. *l s̄ddt bn khl WASM bn khl*

By S̄DDT son of KHL [WASM] son of KHL.

The wasm which divides the text in this case is unusual because of its form and its position. These usually occur closer to the beginning of the text and are of the type ∘‖∘, not ⌊o∘⌋ as in this case. Note also that the first loop is twice as large as the second. It may be of significance that this divides the names of the author's father and grandfather, both of whom bore the name KHL, a curious but not unknown phenomenon in a culture where it was more usual to name children after their grandparents. The wasm itself may have had some magical purpose, the significance of which is now lost. It may also be that this is to be read as two texts: "By S̄DDT son of KHL. By J'L son of KHL."

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59. *l tbrt bn khl bn ᶜll hᶜr*

This ass belongs to TBRT son of KHL son of ᶜLL.

This text accompanies a drawing of a man mounted on an ass and holding aloft what may be either a club or a lasso.

The name TBRT is attested only in SIJ 704 and WH 2220. *hᶜr* here refers to the ass represented in the drawing; this word occurs in LP 457, C 3064 etc.; see Ar. *ᶜayr*, "wild or domestic ass". Obviously in this case the ass is a domesticated one.

Nos. 60 - 61 are on the same stone.

60. *l ngbr bn ḫlt ht[g]ṭ*

This fertile [land] belongs to NGBR son of ḪLT.

The last word here is difficult. The shape of the second last letter bears no comparison to any known letter except *r* but if it were to be read as such then the letter has been reversed from its usual stance, a most unusual phenomenon in Saf.. If we read *htrṭ* we could conceivably translate "the misfortune", relating this word to the Ar. *waṛtah*, "misfortune", but this makes little sense in the context. A more likely reading is to be suggested here; that is, that the word should be read as *htgṭ*, meaning either "fertile land", from the root *gwṭ*, or possibly "hiding place, shelter", from the root *gṭy*. Neither of these possibilities have been previously attested. No other readings suggest themselves.

61. .....]*l bn ᶜy bn* [..]'*l* [.....

.....]L son of ᶜY son of [..]'L [.....

A drawing of a horse (?), lightly pecked into the rock face, with an almost totally erased text over its back. The text has been

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heavily scored in a deliberate attempt to obliterate it and only a few letters are still legible. The only discernable complete name here is ᶜY, which is unattested. See the Ar. *ᶜayiya*, "to stammer" and *ᶜayya*, "to be unable".

62. Accompanying a much mutilated drawing of a camel.

l rj hjml

This camel belongs to RJ.

The name RJ is known only from WH 1893, 3666 and 3797b. The word *jml* refers to a bull-camel.

63. *l mq bn lḥy*

By MQ son of LḤY.

MQ is new as a name; see the Ar. *maqqa*, "to suck". It would be possible to read the name as LMQ, as the text begins with four vertical strokes all of which could be read as the letter *l*. In this instance three of these strokes have been disregarded as no name LMQ is attested in Saf. either. However, LMQ may occur as a place name in Sab. - HIn 520 - and see also the Ar. *lamaqa*, "to write, erase, fix the eye upon".

64. *l ʾbyn bn jd bn ḥrb bwy tll*

By ʾBYN son of JD son of HRB,

he came to stop at the ruins(?).

This text is accompanied by drawing of a she-camel and calf. A stylised human figure is to the right of the text. The author is probably the same as that of No. 52 but in this case the name of the grandfather has been added. No. 952 is by a son of this author.

The end of the text is problematical. The verb *bwy* is read by A.Jamme in C 1828 (JaSN, p. 66, note 81) as the Ar. *bawā*, "to halt at one place".

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This is presumably the Ar. verb *bawwa'a*, "to come to halt, stay, in a place", although the phonetic shift from Saf. *y* to Ar. *'alif* is not entirely certain. The word *ṯll* has been equated here with the Ar. *ṯalāl*, "remains of a ruined house", although no such ruins were observed at the site. It may be that this word is to be equated with the Ar. *ṯalīl*, "unretaliated, unrevenged", in which case the end of the inscription would be read as "he came to stop (here) unavenged".

65. *l mqm sq*

By MQM, he was driving cattle.

The verb *sq* is new and may be from the root *swq*, "to drive cattle, camels", or from *sqy*, "to water, to give to drink". In this second case one would expect to find an object to the verb. The word *sqy*, where it occurs in ISB 366, is probably not to be read as a verb but rather as a noun, the words *hjry wsqy brkt* being read as - "the stream and a drinking place, a pool" (see JaRev.ISB, p.282 - 283).

66. *l whb'l bn ldn bn m'qn*

By WHB'L son of LḎN son of M'QN.

67. *l bšt bn ᶜly*

By BŠT son of ᶜLY.

This text is on a broken rock accompanied by a drawing of a stallion(?). The rock has been heavily weathered. The name BŠT is unknown; see the Ar. *bašša*, "to be cheerful". It may be that the beginning of this text is missing as the rock has been broken immediately above the letter read here as the *lam auctoris*. We may, however, be justified in the assumption that the stone was broken before the text was inscribed. A number of letters, probably from another inscription,

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are visible above the back of the horse. Those which can be made out are *dhsl*, about which it would be unwise to venture an opinion.

68. *l bn' bl*

By BN', he was cured.

The use of the verb *bl* is not attested previously, although the noun *bll*, "recovery", occurs in C 1046 and 5124.

69. *l grzt bn jd h*[...]

By GRZT son of JD, the [...].

This inscription accompanies a drawing of a male and female human figures which appear in full frontal view and may be shown in the act of coitus. The text has been partially defaced but is still legible, with the exception of the last word, which has been erased. A number of lightly scratched lines criss-cross the stone. The text is by a person with the same name as the author of No. 51. For a discussion of the drawing see below, p.52.

Nos. 70 - 75 are on the same rock.

70. *l bnjd bn hrb wbrt hnql*

By BNJD son of HRB, and the rain-water floods bestowed bounty.

For the verb *brt* , which is new in Saf., see the Ar. *barra*, "to bestow bounty". This word may occur in C 2041, although the letter *b* in this case is markedly different in shape to the example in the word *bn* earlier in the text. In this case the Corpus editor renders *brt* as "submissio" but a much more likely reading is "beneficence". The word *nql* is well known but its meaning has not been satisfactorily

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explained. It is probably to be related to the Ar. *náqīl*, "flood water coming from land which has been rained upon". As the verb *brt* is in a feminine form here the word *nql* must also be feminine. In Arabic it may be of either gender.

71. *l nybt*

By NYBT.

72. *l 'ryn*

By 'RYN.

73. *l kḏbt*

By KḎBT.

This is a new name; see the Ar. *kāḏibat*, "lie, falsehood".

74. *l ḥ[.]y[.....]q hdr*

This camping place belongs to Ḥ[.]Y [.....].

There is almost no trace of the missing letters on the photograph nor does the hand copy show them. The text was very lightly engraved.

75. *l [yh]b*

By [YH]B.

The reading of this name here is somewhat doubtful. It is previously unattested in Saf. and may be derived from the root *whb*.

76. *l ᶜsr bn msq*

By ᶜSR son of MSQ.

Neither name is previously attested. For ᶜSR see the Ar. *ᶜasara*,

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"to be difficult, harsh" and for MSQ see the Ar. *sāqa*, "to drive cattle" or *saqiya*, "to water".

77. *l s̄t bn ḥs̄[ʾ]*

By S̄T son of ḤS̄[ʾ].

Neither name is known, although S̄T is probably a defective form of the known name S̄TY. A.Jamme would read the name S̄T in C 1868 (JaSN, p.78, note 112) but this is to be read as a verb, "to spend the winter". For ḤS̄ʾ see the Ar. *ḥas̄aʾa*, "to kindle a fire". The final letter of this name appears, in the copy, to read *ẖ* but this does not seem possible.

78. *wtr bn ᶜdy bn ḥmʾl*

WTR son of ᶜDY son of ḤMʾL.

This diverges from the usual practice of introducing the text with the *lam auctoris*. This may have been an unintentional omission on the part of the scribe.

78a. *l rbnt*

By RBNT.

This is on the same stone as No.78. The name is new although RBN is quite common.

79. *l ʾry bn ʾqᶜ*

By ʾRY son of ʾQᶜ.

The name ʾRY is attested in WH 2506 only, while ʾQᶜ is found in Sab. Ja 547/1; see the Ar. *qāᶜa*, "to limp, lag behind".

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80. *l šrd bn mn^{c}t b[n] flṭ*

By ŠRD son of MN^{C}T son of FLṬ.

This text is on the same rock as a drawing of an ass, or onager, the head of which is incomplete.

Nos. 81 - 82 are on the same stone.

81. *l ḥbb bn y^{c}mr bn mlk*

By ḤBB son of Y^{C}MR son of MLK.

Some comment is necessary here about the name ḤBB, which is listed as occurring 57 times in previously published Saf. inscriptions by HIn 172. In fact, in many instances in which the word *ḥbb* occurs and has been read as a personal name it is in fact a common noun meaning "friend, loved one". Both Littmann (LP 328, 359) and Oxtoby (ISB 67) recognize this but the editor of the Corpus only renders *ḥbb* as "amicus" when it is qualified by the pronoun suffix *h*. Winnett is inconsistent in that he renders the expression *wwjm ^{c}l ḥbb* as "and he grieved for Ḥabīb" in SIJ 216 and 227 but as "and he grieved for a friend" in SIJ 456. The only difference between these three texts is the addition of the verb *fl*, "he was journeying in the desert" to SIJ 456. The word *ḥbb* is used commonly in the Arabian dialects as both a personal name and as a common noun and it is only the context which, in many cases, will determine which use was intended. In the case of the expression *wwjm ^{c}l ḥbb* it seems likely that we should consider *ḥbb* as a common noun as the occurrence of this word in this expression is far more common than that of any other personal name in the same context. If it were to be found in this expression in a group of texts from one particular site then it would be reasonable to assume that an individual named ḤBB was buried in the vicinity. This, however, is not the case.

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With these comments in mind some remarks about some previously published inscriptions will be in order.

SIJ 227 ends with the expression *wwjm ʿl ḥbb*, not *wwjm ʿl ḥbb wʿl (y)tm* as read by Winnett. In fact the words read by him as *wʿl (y)tm* belong to another text which is below the position of SIJ 227 on the same rock but which he has not attempted to translate. This text, to which the present writer has given the number SIJ 227a, is not a good copy but appears to read : *l bs ḥ[rnḥ]r w[wjm] ʿl ḥrt wʿl dtm*, "By BS is the [...] and he grieved for HRT and for DTM". Note that the reading of the last name as DTM is quite certain although the stance of the *d* is reversed. Winnett reads this name as (Y)TM, and as a part of SIJ 227, without any apparent justification.

LP 1231 is listed in the Vocabulary by Littmann (LP, p.313) as containing an example of *ḥbb* as a common noun. This example should be deleted as the text in question does not contain this word.

LP 1285 does not contain *ḥḥbb* as read by Littmann, but rather *ḥḥrb*.

The inscriptions C 23, 96, 1047, 1494, 1777, 1822, 2099, 2292, 2489, 3095, 3607, 4826 and 5376 all contain the word *ḥbb* in circumstances which suggest that it should be read as "friend, loved one" rather than as a personal name. The inscriptions C 304 and 305 have the feminine form *ḥbbth*, "his beloved" (see JaSE, p.346). A number of these texts from the Corpus require further comment as the reading proposed by the editor is not always satisfactory.

C 1047 ends with the expression *wḡḏb bʾṯr ḥbb* ,"and he was angered at (the sight of) traces of a friend". Corpus renders the first word of this pericope as *wḡḏr* but the letter read as *r* is identical to those read as *b* in the remainder of the text. The verb *ḡḏb* may occur in LP 475.

C 1822 and 2489, together with LP 398 and possibly LP 359, contain

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the expression *ḥbb fḥbb*, "a friend, and he was a loved one".
C 96 ends with the expression *wwjm ʿl ḥbb wʿl ḥbb wʿl ḥbb*. The explanation offered by the Corpus editor for this most unusual expression is rather unlikely : "Vocabulum *(ḥbb)*, cum ter repetatur absque suffixo, videtur esse nomen proprium tres distinctas personas designans." In fact the word *ḥbb* is probably thrice repeated in order to emphasise the affection of the author of the text for his friend and could be read as "a friend three times over".

82. *l tbn bn ḥwst bn ql wmlḥt nqth fḥrd[y]*
slm wnjʿ [ḥmt]
By TBN son of HWST son of QL, and his she-camel grew fat; so O RD[Y] grant security and pasturage (...?).

The name TBN is attested only from WH 3013 and from Tham. TIJ 141, although both SIJ 804 and HTap 33 read this name, incorrectly, for the name TBʿ. In both of the latter the letter read as *n* in this name is clearly different to the *n* of the word *bn* in the same texts and can only be read as *ʿayn*. The name TBʿ, however, is otherwise unknown and no root *tbʿ* exists. The name HWST occurs in WH 508 only.
The word *mlḥt* here is a verb in the feminine form to agree with its subject *nqt*, "she-camel", for which see C 2998, HTap 53 and ISB 426. For the verb *mlḥ*, which is new to Saf., see the Ar. *malaḥa*, "to grow fat, become beautiful".
The divine name RDY is restored here,although it is difficult to make out on the stone. The letter *d* has been scratched into the rock only lightly, while the *y* is only a faint vertical stroke. However, it seems clear that a divine name must be read here and RDY is the only one which would suit the context and the available space.

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The ending of this text is rather difficult. The reading of [*hmt*] is extremely dubious and it is tempting to end the text with the word *nj^{c}*, a verb which occurs quite frequently in Saf.. The editor of the Corpus translates this verb as "dolore affectus est" (as in C 23) while Littmann reads "he longed, mourned (for)" (as in LP 4). In fact it would seem that we are dealing here with two verbs with entirely different roots and meanings. When it is followed by the preposition *^{c}l* this verb always has the meaning "to yearn, grieve for".

. It may also have this meaning when standing alone if the context indicates such a reading (as in C 763). There are, nevertheless, a number of instances in which the context of an inscription is a pastoral one and the reading "he yearned" is unsuitable. In such cases we must relate the Saf. verb *nj^{c}* to the Ar. *naja^{c}a*, "to seek for pasturage". Such cases are, apart from the present one, C 898, 1679, 4717 and LP 4. The relevant parts of these texts read :

C 898 , *wr^{c}y hhmr fhlt slm wnj*[^{c}], "and he pastured the donkey(s), so O LT grant security and pasturage".

C 4717, *wr^{c}y hnhl bql wnj^{c} bry srqt*, "and he pastured in the valley on a paucity of fodder and he sought pasturage in a well-watered place". The word *srqt* here is difficult to explain. Perhaps we should read it as *sbqt*, considering it to be an adjective qualifying the noun *ry* (*rwy*), translating "in a previously well-watered place".

C 1679, *wwjd 'tr 'l df fnj^{c} wrml mw wrd*, "and he found the traces of the tribe of DF, and he sought pasturage and the water of the watering-place was exhausted". It would also be possible to read *nj^{c}* here as "he grieved". See also JaSN, p.55 - 56, note 57; Jamme's reading does not agree with the one suggested here.

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LP 4, *wwjd sfr 'nᶜm fnjᶜ wrᶜy h'bl snt mrd nbṭ* ᶜ*WD* , "and he found the inscription of 'NᶜM; and he sought pasturage and pastured the camels in the year ᶜWD rebelled against Nabaṭaea". In this case, as in C 1679, the verb *njᶜ* is separated from the preceding statement by the use of the conjunction *f*, rather than *w* and thus indicating the introduction of a new idea. The conjunctive *w* following *njᶜ* links it to the verb *rᶜy*. Note also the revised reading of the final pericope of this text. The verb read by Littmann as *mrq* is in fact the well known *mrd* and the last word is the tribal name ᶜWD. For a further discussion of this text see above, p. 106, note 42.

83. *l bqmh bn jd bn ḍbᶜn*

By BQMH son of JD son of DBᶜN.

The name BQMH is new and appears to be a composite name of a well known type, consisting of the elements *b + qm + h*. For the element *qm* see the Ar. *qawm*, "tribe, people".

84. *ḏll bn yzᶜ kr*

ḎLL son of YZᶜ came back.

The name YZᶜ is new; see possibly the Ar. *wazaᶜa*, "to incite, urge". The verb *kr* is also new; see the Ar. *karra*, "to return to a place, come back". This verb may occur in LP 818.

85. *l mṭr bn ḍfr* [*lb*]

By MṬR son of ḌFR, [he was thirsty].

The end of the text is uncertain; perhaps read the verb *lb* , as here for which compare the Ar. *lāba*, "to be thirsty", or perhaps *labba*, "to stop at a place". A.Jamme would read this verb as "to halt (here)" in C 941, 1522, 3428 and 4947 (JaSN, p.59, note 65, p.72, note 97, p.106).

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Nos. 86 - 87 are on the same rock.

86. *l nh[ṣ]*

By NH[Ṣ].

This name is known only from WH 1226; it recurs in No. 96.

87. *l ts^{c} bn qḏrt*

By TS^{C} son of QḎRT.

The name TS^{C} is known only from WH 317 while QḎRT is new. For the latter see the Ar. *qaḏara*, "to be filthy, defiled", an unusual root from which to derive a personal name.

88. *l m^{c}s bn fr$^{\flat}$ hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to M^{C}S son of FR$^{\flat}$.

The word *bkrt* refers to a female camel which still retains its youthful vigour. The age at which it ceases to to be a *bkrt* and becomes a *nqt* varies from tribe to tribe but it is probably before it reaches the age of six years (Lane, Lexicon, p. 240). It is a very common word in Safaitic. A drawing of the camel in question accompanies the text.

89. *l ẓ̄[bn] [ṣ]r*

By Ẓ̄[BN], he [returned] (to camp).

Ẓ̄BN seems the most likely restoration of the name although the shape of the letter read as *b* resembles *ẓ*. The hand copy definitely shows the word *ṣr* but neither letter appears clearly on the photograph. The text is on the same stone as No. 88 and has been partially defaced.

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90. *l hy bn ḏhbn whjml*

By HY son of ḎHBN, and the camel (is his).

The expression *whjml* expresses the claim of the author to proprietorship over the camel which is depicted alongside the text.

Nos. 91 - 94 are on the same stone. Many criss-cross lines have been scratched over the surface of the rock. These, together with text No.94, are earlier than the other texts. Two wasm signs were later additions to the stone.

91. *l mjl bn ʾqd(m)*

By MJL son of ʾQD(M).

It would appear that the scribe misjudged the space which was available to him on the rock and had to reinscribe the entire text immediately below his first attempt. In this case the letter *d* was written on another face of the rock and there was no space at all for the *m* to follow.

92. *l mjl bn ʾqdm hdr*

This is the encampment of MJL son of ʾQDM.

The name MJL is new although it may occur in LP 832, the copy of which is rather poor; Littmann would read this name as M^{C}N but A.Jamme reads MJL (JaSN, p.107); see the Ar. *jalla*, "to be illustrious, great".

93. *l mtln hsfr*

This inscription is by MTLN.

This name is new and of uncertain derivation. Perhaps it is to be derived from the root *lyn*, in its 5th form; see the Ar. *lāna*, "to be soft, smooth". It is possible that MTLN was the scribe responsible for all of the texts on this rock, to which *hsfr* would then apply.

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94. *l blqt hm[s] m'dd*

By BLQT, this unfortunate fever/madness.

The reading of the word *ms* is not altogether certain as the letters both have most unusual forms. For this word see SIJ 279 and the Ar. *mass*, "onset of fever, insanity". The word *m'dd* is new but *'dd* is found as a noun in C 879 with the meaning "misfortune; see the Ar. *'idd*, "misfortune, adversity".

95. *l h^{c}ṣd bn yd whwl fb^{c}d h'lt*

By H^{C}ṢD son of YD, and he suffered from a squint,

so O'LT keep away!

The name H^{C}ṢD is previously unattested, although ^{C}ṢD is common. Winnett and Harding would read this name in WH 3374 (H^{C}[Ṣ]D) but the facsimile (Plate 60) shows this name as H^{C}D and it is so listed in HIn 605. No reason is offered for the revised reading H^{C}[Ṣ]D. The name YD is read with some certainty although the letter read as *y* has been heavily overscored. The loop of this letter can just be made out from the photograph. This name occurs only in C 1642 and 2160. The verb *hwl* occurs only in C 4677, where the editor gives it the meaning "migravit". However, such a usage seems unlikely. Instead we have related this to the Ar. *hawila*, "to suffer from a squint". Even today eye ailments are common among the Bedouin. The final invocation is rather unusual and the suggested reading is only a tentative one. It appears to be an appeal to the goddess 'LT to leave alone the author of the inscription, perhaps because he feared that it was she who had brought about his eye complaint. On the other hand the final invocation could be a plea to the deity for unspecified assistance - "and he was far away, O 'LT".

The text has been scored over by a later vandal.

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Nos. 96 - 98 are on the same stone. No. 96, accompanied by a pecked out camel drawing, is the latest text on the stone as the camel drawing partially obscures text No. 98.

96. *l nhṣ bn rsl bn sb bn msk*

By NHṢ son of RSL son of SB son of MSK.

97. *l ʾdm bn [ʾf]mt bn bʾs̄*

By ʾDM son of [ʾF]MT son of BʾS̄.

The second name has been partially obscured by two large wasm which have been engraved over it. Close examination of the photograph suggests the reading ʾFMT, a name otherwise known only from SIJ 607.

98. *l yᶜlh bn hr bn zᶜht bn hls wrᶜy hrhbt bnql whnʾ [r] hrf*

By YᶜLH son of HR son of ZᶜHT son of HLS,

and he pastured the RHBT by the rain-water floods,

and O NʾR repay evil!

The name ZᶜHT is new and its derivation is obscure. The name seems rather unlikely but it is difficult to check as it is in deep shadow on the photograph; the hand copy is clear.

The region of the RHBT is also referred to in No.35, where the author of that text was also engaged in pasturing his animals. In the present case this is an area where rain water has collected (*nql*).

The end of the text has been damaged by the camel drawing. The divine name read here, NʾR, is not firmly attested but the editor of Corpus would identify it in C 743 and 1970, relating it to a Palmyrene celestial deity. However, A.Jamme disagrees with such an identification,

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arguing that no such deity exists (JaSG, p.178). Upon examination of the facsimiles of the texts in question, however, it becomes apparent that neither viewpoint can be upheld as the copies are so poor that to venture any definite opinion would be unjustified. In the opinion of this writer in regard to this text the only possible reading of the letters is as given above. For the word *ḥrf* see the Ar. *ḥārifa*, "to repay evil". In SIJ 752, however, Winnett would relate this word to the Ar. root *ḫrf*. This seems unlikely as no shift from the Saf. *ḥ* to the Ar. *ḫ* can be attested.

Nos. 99 - 103 are on different faces of the same stone on which were Nos. 96 - 98.

99. *l ṯlbt bn ᶜbyr bn rs̄'t*

By ṮLBT son of ᶜBYR son of RS̄'T.

The name ṮLBT is new but it recurs in No. 457; see the Ar. *ṯalaba*, "to rebuke, blame". The name ᶜBYR is also new and is probably to be regarded as the diminutive form of ᶜBR, which occurs in WAM, S5. Also unattested is RS̄'T, which may be derived from the root *rsw*, for which see the Ar. *rāsā*, "to give a bride".

100. *l ᶜs̄mn bn ᶜm*

By ᶜS̄MN son of ᶜM.

ᶜSMN is listed in HIn 422, to which entry should be added WH 521,(2394?), and 3249. It recurs in No.1056 of the present collection.

101. *l ḥrm bn rmᶜ bn mnhl*

By HRM son of RMᶜ son of MNHL.

The name HRM is new in Saf. but is found in Qat.; it recurs in No. 268. A.Jamme would read this name in C 12, rather than accepting the

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reading "the Romans" suggested by the Corpus editor. Nevertheless, this reading must remain doubtful as the facsimile of the text is very poor.

102. *l ʾḥwl*

By ʾḤWL.

103. *l ms bn yᶜlh*

By MS son of YᶜLH.

104. *l nsml bn ʾnmr bn nql wwlh ᶜl ʾḥnh fhlt ᶜqbt*

By NSML son of ʾNMR son of NQL, and he was dejected with grief for his two brothers, so O LT grant retribution!

The name NSML is unattested; it appears to be derived from the 7th verbal form of the root *sml;* see the Ar. *insamala,* "to hasten". The expression of grief *wlh ᶜl* is a common one but while it may simply mean "to grieve, lament" it more properly suggests grief or passion taken to the point of distraction (Lane, Lexicon, p.3060). *ʾḥn* here appears to be the dual form of the noun *ʾḥ*, "brother", the plural of which is either *ʾḥw* or *ʾḥwn* (HTap 43, C 2534). The word *ᶜqbt* here is to be related to the Ar. *ᶜiqāb,* "requital, retribution". This word occurs in a similar context in C 3661, the end of which reads *hlt ᶜqbt*, not *hlt ᶜqrt* as read by the Corpus editor, who, on every occassion on which this word occurs, has read it incorrectly as *ᶜqrt,* which he translates as "exterminum" (C 1927, 3661), or as a proper name ᶜQBT (C 3818, 4305). In C 3661, basing

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his reading on R.Dussaud's copy (Corpus, Tab.XXXVIII, Dussaud 194) and not on that of Littmann (Corpus, Tab.XLVIII, LSI 17), he reads *ʿqrt* although there is no doubt, reading from Littmann's copy that this is to be read as *ʿqbt*. In the cases of C 1927, 3818 and 4305 the word *ʿqbt* occurs in the expression *brʾy ʿqbt*, for which see SIJ 124 and LP 834. Note also the occurrence of a verb *ʿqb* in C 4404 (which the Corpus editor would read as *ʿqr*). The end of this text reads : *whlt ʿqb bhrm d̲ʾs[lf]* , "O LT bring retribution upon the Romans who have laid waste", perhaps referring to a Roman raid which had razed the author's camp or cultivated land. The reading of the verb *ʾslf* is not certain as Dussaud's copy is poor (Corpus, Tab.XLII, Dussaud 513). Elsewhere in Saf. this verb occurs with the meaning "to scratch out (an inscription)" (eg. in SIJ 39, C 25 etc.). Here it may mean "to flatten, raze, lay waste". The Corpus editor would read this part of the text as : *whlt ʿqr bhr[j] d̲ʾslf*, a reading which ignores the form of the letters *b* and *r*, which are clearly differentiated in this text, and of the letter *m*, which he reads as *j* in this instance. An alternate reading here would be : *whlt ʿqb bhr md̲ ʾslf*, "and O LT grant retribution, in the form of diarrhea, from him who would erase (this)"; for the noun *hr* compare the Ar. *hurār*, "diarrhea".

104a. *l ʾh̲n w*[...]

By ʾH̲N, and [...].

The name is new; see the Ar. *ʾah̲ann*, "speaking through the nose, snuffling". This recurs in No.300. The end of the text has been erased.

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105. *l ᶜs̄ bn lkᶜn wsr*

By ᶜS̄ son of LKᶜN, and he made a journey.

The name LKᶜN is new although LKᶜ occurs as a personal name in Min. Ry 702; see the Ar. *lakaᶜa*, "to be contemptible". For the verb *sr* see C 874.

106. *l s̄' bny ᶜl jd*

By S̄'; he built for JD.

The name S̄' seems unlikely; perhaps we should read the known name S̄N', considering the hand copy to be defective as there is no photograph of this text. On the other hand it may be a defective form of the known names S̄'Y or S̄Y'. The expression *bny ᶜl* is a common one which may refer to the practice of erecting cairns over the dead.

Nos. 107 and 108 are on the same stone.

107. *l jᶜn bn sᶜd bn ktl bn ḏbᶜn wdṯ' mdbr fḥrt fḥlt slm*

By JᶜN son of SᶜD son of KTL son of ḎBᶜN, and he spent the spring in the desert in the ḤRT; so O LT grant security!

The use of *f* preceding the word *ḥrt* here appears to be prepositional rather than conjunctival. In the latter case it would be introducing a feminine verb, which seems unlikely, "and he spent the spring in the desert and it was hot". If *f* here was to be a conjunction the fact that it is *f* and not *w* would separate *ḥrt* from the preceding statement, just as the following *f*, used as a conjunction, separates it from the invocation to the deity. This leaves a strong possibility

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that *f* here is a preposition, despite A.Jamme's opinion that this preposition was not used in Saf. (see JaSf).

108. *l jm bn l'mn*

By JM son of L'MN.

Nos. 109 - 111 are on the same stone.

109. *l ḫr bn fn*

By ḪR son of FN.

110. *l ḫrmn bn 'ḫb ḥm*

By ḪRMN son of 'ḪB, he was growing old.

The verb *ḥm* is new; compare the Ar. *ḥamma*, "to become old" or perhaps *ḥāma*, "to be thirsty, desperately in love".

111. *l kddh bn ḫbb s'mr*

By KDDH son of ḪBB .....(?).

The name KDDH is probably a compound of the elements K + DD + H, although Harding (HIn 496) would relate it to : "CIK 367,1 Kadāda; or dd?". The end of the text is obscure; possibly we should read *bn 'mr* but the *s* seems clear on the photograph.

112. *l sm bn ldf bn d'y*

By SM son of LḎF son of D'Y.

Nos. 113 - 115 are on the same stone.

113. *l wškt bn sjm*

By WŠKT son of SJM.

The name WŠKT occurs only in JaS 118 while SJM is only in C 1164.

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114. *l bn^{c}tm bn rb bn ^{c}yn*

By BN^{C}TM son of RB son of ^{C}YN.

BN^{C}TM is a new name, although ^{C}TM is found; it recurs in Nos. 410, 623 and 624. ^{C}YN is also new in Saf and it recurs in the following text. See CIK 580/2, ^{C}Uyaina and CIK 217/1, 'A^{C}yan.

115. *l ^{c}yn bn rb bn ^{c}yn wbny whll*

By ^{C}YN son of RB son of ^{C}YN, and he built

and he encamped (here).

This author was a brother of that of the preceding text. He obviously encamped at this spot and built something, possibly a cairn.

Nos. 116 and 117 are on the same stone. It has been broken and is divided into two registers by two horizontal lines.

116. .....] *bn s̄kt bn nzr bn ^{c}ry b*[.....

.....] son of S̄KT son of NZR son of ^{C}RY [son of....

Both the beginning and the end of the text are missing. The author was evidently a relative of the author of the other text on the rock, No. 117, but the exact relationship cannot be determined.

117. .....]*s̄ bn k^{c}mh bn nzr bn ^{c}ry bn slf bn tmn wb*[.....

.....]S̄ son of K^{C}MH son of NZR son of ^{C}RY son of

SLF son of TMN and[.....

The beginning and end of this text, too, have been destroyed.

118. *l rmy bn 's bn tm bn rwd*

By RMY son of 'S son of TM son of RWD.

The name 'S son of TM should be read in DM 17748, where the

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translator, ᶜAlī ʾAbū ᶜAssāf (in AAAS, 23, 1973), reads it as "SR son of TM". The present writer has seen this inscription and it is clear that the first name is ʾS, not SR. This text may be by the son of the author of DM 17748.

119. *l lbʾt bn ᶜjj [bn ᶜ]zzt dʾl jr*
wwjm ᶜl mjl
By LBʾT son of ᶜJJ [son of ᶜ]ZZT of the tribe of JR, and he grieved for MJL.

The name ᶜJJ is attested only in Tham. (HIn 407). The only possible restoration of the third name here is as suggested - ᶜZZT. The tribal name is known from Jāwā, Burquᶜ and from southern Syria (HST 8). The final name is read here as MJL, a name which is otherwise known only from texts Nos.91 and 92 of this collection. The letter *l* of this name has been poorly incised and is intersected by another line, which appears to be merely an extraneous stroke on the rock.

120. *l td*
By TD.

121. *l ᶜrt bn tb*
By ᶜRT son of TB.

Nos.122 - 125 are on the same stone.

122. *l ʾsd bn bjt*
By ʾSD son of BJT.

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123. *l ᶜsb bn nsl*

By ᶜSB son of NSL.

124. *l hfy bn kbr*

By HFY son of KBR.

125. *l ʾrsm bn hyf*

By ʾRSM son of HYF.

The name ʾRSM occurs only in C 2702. For the name HYF see the Ar. *hayafa*, "to have one blue and one black eye".

126. *l tʾm bn ʾs*

By TʾM son of ʾS.

No. 183 may be by the same author.

Nos. 127 and 128 are on the same stone.

127. *l gbh bn bt*

By GBH son of BT.

The name GBH is otherwise known only from C 223.

128. *l mᶜs bn lb*

By MᶜS son of LB.

129. *l snʾt bn ʾkmd*

By SNʾT son of ʾKMD.

SNʾT is known only from C 3065.

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130. *l bny wf[l]j*

By BNY, and he was partially paralysed(?).

The hand copy shows the last word as *fhj*, an impossible reading. Unfortunately no photograph exists for this text. A restoration *flj* gives the only likely reading; see the Ar. *fulija*, "to have half of the body paralysed", or possibly *falaja*, "to till the earth", a less likely reading in view of the total absence in the Saf. texts of references to agricultural activities.

131. *l ᶜẓm' bn ḥdd*

By ᶜẒM' son of ḤDD.

The name ᶜẒM' is new; see the Ar. *ᶜaẓmā*, "brown, withered".

132. *l ḡddt bn mrj*

By ḠDDT son of MRJ.

133. *l mwl bn 'b[...*

By MWL son of 'B[...

The rock on which this text was found was partially buried and could not be cleared; hence the uncertainty of the reading of the ending. The name MWL occurs only in LP 109.

Nos. 134 and 135 are on the same rock.

134. *l ᶜwd bn ḥrm*

By ᶜWD son of ḤRM.

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135. *l ᶜn[q] bn mdf*

By ᶜN[Q] son of MDF.

ᶜNQ is the most likely restoration of the first name although the stone surface has been badly flaked, largely destroying the final letter. The name MDF is unknown previously; see the Ar. *daffa*, "to go at leisure".

Nos. 136 and 137 are on the same stone.

136. *l ʾwst bn kt b[...*

By ʾWST son of KT[....

The end of the text has been damaged and is quite illegible. Perhaps we should read the second name as KTBN, although KT is an attested name.

137. *l ᶜmr bn [...*

By ᶜMR son of [...

The end of the text has been destroyed.

138. *l ʾdn bn ḥtm*

By ʾDM son of ḤTM.

The name ḤTM occurs only in C 2390.

139. *l s̄ddt bn mḏy bn w[..]*

By S̄DDT son of MḎY son of W[..].

The end of the text has been very badly weathered; about two letters are illegible.

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140. *l q[y]n*

By Q[Y]N.

This text is on the same rock as No.118. The middle letter of the name has been damaged but the reading is fairly certain.

Point (c.) (Nos.141 - 265).

Nos. 141 and 142 are on the same stone.

141. *l dl bn ᶜtk snt mzgy*

By DL son of ᶜTK in the year of trouble.

The word *mzgy* is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *zāga*, "to deviate, be troubled" and *'azāga*, "to mislead". What the exact meaning of the words *snt mzgy* is is not clear, hence the rather vague translation "in the year of trouble".

142. *l 'lht bn sl*

By 'LHT son of SL.

143. *l škr bn fny*

By ŠKR son of FNY.

144. *l 'slm bn rt' l*

By 'SLM son of RT'L.

145. *l ᶜr bn 'l*

By ᶜR son of 'L.

This is on the same stone as the previous text.

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146. *l mbḥ wfl*

By MBḤ, and he escaped.

The name MBḤ is known only from C 369. The verb *fl* is new but this word occurs as a noun in WH 1151; see the Ar. *falla*, "to escape".

147. *l ʾzmr bn ḥṯmt*

By ʾZMR son of ḤṮMT.

148. *l ḡr*

By ḠR.

149. *l dʾy bn qdm*

By DʾY son of QDM.

150. *l ḡṯ bn ḥz*

By ḠṮ son of ḤZ.

The name ḤZ is new; see the Ar. *ḥazza*, "to be lucky".

151. *l mtn bn qtl*

By MTN son of QTL.

The inscriptions SIJ 690 and 703, from Tell al-ᶜAbd, may be by the same author.

152. *l ḥrmn bn tmn*

By ḤRMN son of TMN.

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153. *l r^{c}ly bn ḥṯmt*

By R^{C}LY son of ḤṮMT.

The name R^{C}LY is found in WH 171 only; this text is probably by the same author. See the Ar. *ra^{c}ala*, "to spear someone". No. 147 may be by this author's brother.

154. *l ʾbyn bn jd*

By ʾBYN son of JD.

Possibly by the same author are Nos. 52 and 64, while No.952 may be by his son.

Nos. 155 - 159 are on the same stone.

155. *l bẓḥ*

By BẒḤ.

This name also occurs in WH 2276 and 3834. It is of unknown derivation.

156. *l ʾbd bn s̄mt*

By ʾBD son of S̄MT.

157. *l bdn bn ḡlm bn y^{c}ly*

By BDN son of ḠLM son of Y^{C}LY.

158. *l ^{c}mr bn s̄ll*

By ^{C}MR son of S̄LL.

The second name appears to be S̄LLL but a close examination of the photograph shows that the final *l* is a later addition to the stone as its patination is noticably lighter.

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159. *l ḫzn bn s̄mt*

By ḪZN son of S̄MT.

This is by a brother of the author of No. 156. Seven dots accompany the inscription.

160. *l jd bn ḫfy*

By JD son of ḪFY.

161. *l ᶜrb bn wqs*

By ᶜRB son of WQS.

162. *tbnbbn*

A most unusual text, accompanying a rather crude drawing of an equid. There are no other letters on the rock at all and no interpretation of the text can be suggested here. Three similar texts beginning with the element *tbn* are known : C 934, LP 566 (also with a drawing of an equid) and LP 647. See also No. 178 of this collection.

163. *l ʾlht bn ʾfl*

By ʾLHT son of ʾFL.

164. *l ḥls bn ṯfyt bn ʾḥsn*

By ḤLS son of ṮFYT son of ʾḤSN.

This text is on another face of the stone on which is the previous text. The name ṮFYT is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *ṯafā*, "to follow".

165. *l snm*

By SNM.

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166. *l bnṣḥ*

By BNṢRḤ.

167. *l wṯry bn wsmt bn msk*

By WṮRY son of WSMT son of MSK.

The surface of this rock has been extensively chipped but the reading of the text is quite certain. WṮRY is a new name; see the Ar. *waṯara*, "to be smooth, soft, fat".

168. *l jr ftẇ[ll]*

By JR, and he suffered from giddiness(?).

The end of this text is damaged and the reading is not entirely certain. The verb *ṯwll* is a little difficult to explain but it is perhaps to be considered as the Ar. 9th or 11th form of the verb *ṯawila*, "to be giddy, mad"; these forms suggest a permanent physical quality, hence "he suffered from (permanent) giddiness".

Nos. 169 - 171 are on the same stone.

169. *l jfft bn mqḥn*

By JFFT son of MQḤN.

170. *l nfl b[n] 'ny*

By NFL son of 'NY.

This text is only very lightly engraved and rather difficult to make out.

171. *l ql bn jlḥ*

By QL son of JLḤ.

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Nos. 172 - 175 are on the same stone.

172. *l fdy bn bs^{c}h*

By FDY son of BS^{C}H.

The name BS^{C}H is new; it is probably a compound name consisting of the elements B + S^{C}; see the Ar. *sa$^{c}\bar{a}$*, "to go, run".

173. *l 'rs bn $\bar{s}$r*

By 'RS son of $\bar{S}$R.

174. *l jmr bn bn*

By JMR son of BN.

175. *l ^{c}ns bn wsmt*

By ^{C}NS son of WSMT.

176. *l ^{c}sm bn wqs*

By $^{C}\dot{S}$M son of WQS.

177. *l ^{c}bt bn ^{c}mr bn 'byn*

By $^{C}\dot{B}$T son of ^{C}MR son of 'BYN.

178. *tbbybn*

This enigmatic text is accompanied by a crude drawing of a camel. No translation can be suggested here; see the comments on No. 162.

179. [*l*] *'^{c}d bn ^{c}wl*

[By] 'CD son of ^{C}WL.

The beginning of the text has been damaged.

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180. *l ʾdm*

By ʾDM.

Nos. 181 and 182 are on the same stone.

181. *l ᶜmr bn ʾlh*

By ᶜMR son of ʾLH.

182. *l kšdy bn ʾslm*

By KŠDY son of ʾSLM.

(A photograph of Nos.181 and 182 has been published in V.A.Clark, "New Epigraphical Material from the Harra Region of Jordan", in ADAJ XXI, 1976, p.116, Fig.2.)

Nos. 183 - 188 are on the same stone.

183. *l tʾm bn ʾs*

By TʾM son of ʾS.

This is possibly a text by the same author as No. 126. Note, however, that the script style is different.

184. *l [rtʾ]l bn tʾm*

By [RTʾ]L son of TʾM.

This text has been deliberately altered so that the reading of the initial name is not certain. The author was probably a son of the author of the preceding text.

185. *l hwr*

By HWR.

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185a. *l* ^{c}m

By ^{C}M.

The letter *m* is incomplete.

186. *l whs̄ bn d'y hdr*

This is the encampment of WHS̄ son of D'Y.

187. *l sr bn yynh*

By SR son of YYNH.

The name YYNH is read clearly on both the hand copy and the photograph but its derivation is not known.

188. *l* m^{c}*tl bn* [.]*dm* [.*r*]*wh jlm*

By M^{C}TL son of [.]DM, [..] complete relief(?).

The name M^{C}TL occurs only in SIJ 344; the first letter of the second name is unreadable. Introducing the final pericope, [*r*]*wh jlm*, was probably either the conjunction *f* or *w*, although no trace of either remains visible. A similar expression occurs in SIJ 123 and Winnett's translation has been adopted here. The author is probably recording his recovery from an illness.

189. *l jhr bn nhf*

By JHR son of NHF.

NHF is a new name although a name NHFN occurs in Sab. - HIn 602.

190. *l wqf bn frq bn slm wfdl hrs fhbb*

By WQF son of FRQ son of SLM, and he

kept excellent watch; and he was in love.

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The verb *fḍl* is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *faḍala*, "to excel". The word *ḥrs* is to be related to the Ar. *ḥars*, "watch, caution" and *ḥāris*, "keeper, guardian". This word occurs in ISB 438, where it is translated as "to raid", while the form *'ḥrs* occurs in C 1868, where it is translated as "depraedatus est". In both cases it should be rendered as "to guard, watch", which is the primary sense of this root. A secondary meaning is "to steal and eat sheep or goats" (Lane, Lexicon, p. 546) but it is doubtful whether this is the meaning intended here. The verb *ḥbb* may indicate that the author was a sufferer from that common complaint of the Arab, love-sickness.

191. .....]*m bn 'bd bn s̄mt*

.....]M son of 'BD son of S̄MT.

The stone has been broken and the beginning of the text is missing. No. 156 is by a certain 'BD son of S̄MT.

192. [...]*s̄ bn ḥj bn s^{c}d ḏ'l ^{c}bd whll*

[By ..]S̄ son of HJ son of S^{C}D of the clan of ^{C}BD, and he encamped (here).

This text accompanies a drawing of what appears to be a horseman spearing a striped hyena (see above, p. 48). Below this are three smaller human figures all wielding bows and arrows. The beginning of the text has been damaged and a later wasm occurs at the end of it. The clan name ^{C}BD occurs only in SIJ 682 and RVP,M3b.

Nos. 193 and 194 are on the same stone.

193. *l mr bn tly*

By MR son of TLY.

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The name TLY occurs in C 2494 and 3497. The Corpus editor, however, reads this as TRY in C 2494 and as Y[^{C}]LY in C 3497. Nevertheless the name is clearly TLY in both cases, as an examination of the facsimiles will demonstrate (C 2494 = Dunand 95, Corpus Tab.LVII; C 3497 = Vogüé 288 = Waddington 265, Corpus Tab.XII and XIX). See also JaSN, p. 136.

194. *l slḥ bn snm ḥfrs*

This horse belongs to SLḤ son of SNM.

The word *ḥfrs* has been executed in much finer letters than the rest of the text and it appears that the author was forced to use smaller letters because of the limited space available on the stone. Consequently the dot on the stone following the name SNM may have been where the author began to inscribe this word before deciding to use smaller letters.

Nos. 195 and 196 are on the same stone. They are enclosed by two groups of seven dots.

195. *l bny bn mlqf*

By BNY son of MLQF.

The letter *m* of the name MLQF is of an unusual shape.

196. *l ᶜbšt bn ly*

By ^{C}BŠT son of LY.

Both are attested names but note that Harding (HIn 522) would equate both the names LY and LWY with the Ar. *laʾā*, "to be slow". However, the Ar. *lawā*, "to twist, avert, deviate", would be another possible derivation.

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Nos. 197 - 199 are on the same stone. An irregular series of dots partially encloses No. 197.

197. *l šll bn hrf bn 'bjr*

By ŠLL son of HRF son of 'BJR.

198. *l bjd bn qdm'l*

By BJD son of QDM'L.

199. *l hr*

By HR.

200. *l ht bn bny slk*

By HT son of BNY; he passed by (this place).

By the same author may be No. 40. The verb *slk* is new; see the Ar. *salaka*, "to travel, go along". This is probably to indicate that the author passed by the spot whilst on a journey.

201. *l mṯn [bn] wtf bn fltt*

By MṮN [son of] WTF son of FLTT.

202. *l hmsk bn wqr wḏll whrdy fld*

By HMSK son of WQR, and he was abject;

and O RDY grant salvation.

An occurrence of the verb *ḏll* is unrecognised, although the Corpus editor reads a word *ḏl* in C 2865, to which he gives the meaning "humilitas". It is suggested here that the reading of this text should be as follows : *slm l ǧbn sm wḏll* , "security for ǦBN; he was deaf and abject". The Corpus editor considers the end of the text

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to be incomplete, reading *sm wdl l...* . There is, in fact, no indication to be gained from the facsimile of this text (Dunand 304a, Corpus Tab.LXVII) that it should be considered as incomplete. See the Ar. *dalla*, "to be weak, abject, humble". A.Jamme, JaSN, p.31, note 13, agrees with this reading of C 2865 but reads the name as ḠFN rather than as ḠBN.

The verb *fld* is new and of uncertain derivation. However, it is suggested here that it is to be equated either with the root *fls*, see the Ar. *falasa*, "to save, deliver", or with the well known Saf. word *flt (fltt)*, "deliverance".

Nos. 203 and 204 are on the same rock.

203. [*l*] *sby bn drbt*

[By] SBY son of DRBT.

The initial *lām auctoris* does not appear on the hand copy but it may appear on the very edge of the stone in the photograph.

204. *l msk bn lqt*

By MSK son of LQT.

The name LQT occurs previously only in C 2225. The etymology of this name is uncertain but the roots *lqy* or *lyq* seem the most likely alternatives; see the Ar. *laqiya*, "to meet someone" and *lāqa*, "to befit, suit".

205. *l khlh bn kmd*

By KHLH son of KMD.

The name KHLH is a hitherto unattested name in Saf. although it occurs in Tham. JS 70. It is a compound of the elements K + HL + H. KMD is possibly a compound of K + MD , "Like a Persian" but see

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also the Ar. *kāmid*, "sad, stern".

Nos. 206 and 207 are on the same stone.

206. *l shb bn ḫl*

By SHB son of ḪL.

207. *l ᶜlyn bn ḥrmt*

By ᶜLYN son of ḤRMT.

208. *l ḫl*

By ḪL.

This is probably by the father of the author of No. 206.

209. *l lk't bn ql hdr*

This is the encampment of LK'T son of QL.

The name LK'T is new; see the Ar. *laka'a*, "to prostrate one's self".

Nos. 210 and 211 are on the same stone.

210. *l jhf bn mr bn 'byn bn ᶜḏ*

By JḤF son of MR son of 'BYN son of ᶜḎ.

The name JḤF is new; see the Ar. *jaḥafa*, "to scrape, peel off", and also CIK 255/1, Jāḥif.

211. *l'yf*

By YF.

This name occurs in WH 1658 but is of unknown derivation, although Winnett and Harding believe it may be a mistake for YFᶜ, an attested name.

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212. *l nsl bn ʾm*

By NSL son of ʾM.

213. *l smt ᶜw[h] mt*

By SMT, he was smitten by death(?).

The expression *ᶜwh mt* is unusual. See the Ar. *ᶜāha*, "to be smitten, crippled by". One would expect to find the definite article *h* before *mt* but this may have been assimilated to the preceding *h* of *ᶜwh*. This text may have been written by somebody else on behalf of SMT after his death or it may reflect a fear of death on the part of SMT or perhaps a blow inflicted by death on someone closely related to him.

214. *l hmsk bn wqr whrb hʾswh fhyṯᶜ nqmt wfsy mbʾs*

By HMSK son of WQR, and he waged war upon HʾSWH(?);

so O YṮᶜ grant vengeance and delivery from misfortune.

This inscription is possibly by the author of No. 202. The word following the verb *hrb* is difficult to explain but it clearly refers to a group of people who were engaged in warfare. This word is possibly to be related to the well known Saf. word *ʾsyᶜ*, "allies", in which case the text would read "and his allies waged war". However, it is not possible to verify the hand copy as this word is in deep shadow on the rock in the photograph.

The word *fsy* is found in C 1137 in a similar context : *wfsy hyʾlt mbʾs* ; in C 3792 we should read : *fsyt ldṯ sʾr*, "deliverance to him who leaves untouched (the inscription)". See also C 2172 : *l ᶜbṯ fhrd fsy lʾl klʾt mn mlk bn msk*, "By ᶜBṮ, and O RD grant deliverance

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to the clan of KL'T from MLK son of MSK"; a text which probably refers to an inter-tribal feud.

215. *l zdh bn 'wst bn hsm*

By ZDH son of 'WST son of HSM.

Nos. 216 - 218 are on the same stone.

216. *l njs̄ bn rb'l bn 'sw[r]*

By NJS̄ son of RB'L son of 'SW[R].

Harding lists LP 1149 as containing an example of the name NJS̄ (HIn 582) but this name is clearly NJF, as read by Littmann.

217. *l tbr bn ['][hb bn hll*

By TBR son of ['][HB son of HLL.

218. *l jdd'l*

By JDD'L.

This name is unattested previously although both JDD and JD'L are to be found.

219. *l d'b bn s^{c}d*

By D'B son of S^{C}D.

This is possibly by the same person as No. 46.

220. *l tlm bn s̄mq*

By TLM son of S̄MQ.

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Nos. 221 - 224 are on the same stone.

221. *l jld bn l^{c}mr bn mlk*

By JLD son of L^{C}MR son of MLK.

The name L^{C}MR is new and recurs in Nos. 222 and 224. It is a compound of the elements L + ^{C}MR.

222. *l ḥlb bn l^{c}mr bn mlk*

By ḤLB son of L^{C}MR son of MLK.

This is by a brother of the previous author. Another brother was responsible for No. 224.

223. *l ʾṣ[^{c}] bn stt bn smr*

By ʾṢ[^{C}] son of STT son of SMR.

The name ʾṢ^{C} is restored here on the basis of a small dot which follows the letter *ṣ*; this name occurs in HTap 59 and WH 2699.

224. *l jwl bn l^{c}mr*

By JWL son of L^{C}MR.

JWL is new as a personal name although a name JWLM occurs in LP 605. See the Ar. *jāla*, "to ramble about", and CIK 261/1, al-Jauwāl.

Nos. 225 - 227 are on the same stone.

225. *l tm bn bnsḫl bn ḏmsn bn ʾsmnwt*

By TM son of BNSḪL son of DMSN son of ʾSMNWT.

The name BNSḪL is new, although the element SḪL occurs in WH 3171. DMSN is uncommon, recurring in No.226 and in SIJ 818, which may be by an uncle of this author. The name ʾSMNWT is also new but a variant form ʾSMNT is found in Saf., Tham. and Liḥ.. This name recurs

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in the following text, No. 226. Attention is drawn here to SIJ 818, which reads : *l sbl bn dmsn bn ḡny[m] bn 'smnt bn zkrt*. The author of this text was possibly an uncle of the present author although here an extra name, ḠNY[M], has been added between DMSN and 'SMNT and the latter is written without the W. Both of these facts may be explained as errors on the part of one of the authors but such an argument must be used with caution. Winnett reads the name DMSN as DMRN but it is clearly the former.

226. *l 'smnwt bn dmsn hlt l'm*

By 'SMNWT son of DMSN; O LT grant healing.

This is probably by an uncle of the previous author, rather than by his great-grandfather. The word *l'm* is new; see the Ar. *la'ama*, "to heal, repair".

227. *l nqm*

By NQM.

228. *l rf't bn whd bn 'mr*

By RF'T son of WHD son of 'MR.

229. *l smdt bn ᶜd'l*

By SMDT son of ᶜD'L.

This is on the same stone as the previous text. The name SMDT is new although SMD occurs in Tham. Hu 107 and 302.

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Nos. 230 and 231 are on the same rock.

230. *l ʾslm bn rṯʾl whrḏw ḡnmt*

By ʾSLM son of RṮʾL, and O RḎW grant plunder.

A finely traced line surrounds the names of this inscription. This is probably by the author of No. 144.

231. *l [s]lm bn [ḏbᶜ] hjml*

This bull-camel belongs to [S]LM son of [ḎBᶜ].

This text has been deliberately mutilated. A drawing of a camel accompanies it.

Nos. 232 and 233 are on the same stone.

232. *l mnᶜm bn šrk bn tḥs fhlt rwḥ*

By MNᶜM son of ŠRK son of TḤS; and O LT grant relief.

233. *l [m]šyl bn srm bn nᶜmy wwjm*

By [M]ŠYL son of SRM son of NᶜMY, and he grieved.

The name MŠYL is new (the entry under this name in HIn 548 for WH 2680 should be deleted); see the Ar. *šāla*, "to be raised".

Nos. 234 and 235 are on the same stone.

234. *l ḥ[bb] bn smr bn hnn*

By Ḥ[BB] son of SMR son of HNN.

This text is in very crude letters. The name SMR is unattested in Saf. but may occur in Lih.JS 304. It is possible that this name should be read as ʾMR, the *ʾalif* having been deliberately altered. The end of No. 111 may read *ḥbb bn ʾmr*.

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235. *l ṣll bn [lb] bn ʾmr*

By ṢLL son of [LB] son of ʾMR.

This is a very faint text which has been deliberately defaced. The reading of the name LB is uncertain as it has been damaged severely.

Nos. 236 and 237 are on the same rock, along with a drawing of two camels.

236. *l ʾshʾlh bn ql*

By ʾSHʾLH son of QL.

No. 587 may be by the same author and No. 873 may be by his son. Similar texts are WH 2521 and 3838.

237. *l zᶜkrt bn drh*

By ZᶜKRT son of DRH.

The name ZᶜKRT is unusual. It is attested in Saf. - HIn 299 - but its derivation is obscure. The same person was probably the author of No. 252 and WH 3793, which are identical texts.

238. *l [wᶜ]r bn dl bn wmʾl*

By [Wᶜ]R son of DL son of WMʾL.

This text has been mutilated. The name WMʾL is new, although WMMʾL occurs in C 4512 and LP 833. It is possible that this should read ḤMʾL, the initial *ḥ* having been vandalised.

239. *l ṯmj bn ᶜtq*

By ṮMJ son of ᶜTQ.

The name ṮMJ is known only from Tham. TIJ 58.

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Nos. 240 - 243 are on the same stone.

240. *l yḥr[s] bn [zr]j wnjr*

By YḤR[S] son of [ZR]J, and he was suffering from thirst.

The name YḤRS is new; see the Ar. *ḥarasa*, "to keep watch". The second name appears to be ZRJ, a name of unknown derivation. The verb *njr* may occur in C 404, where the editor reads *nᶜr*. A careful examination of Wetzstein's copy of this text (Corpus Tab. Wetzstein 4) rules out the reading suggested by the Corpus editor. The copy made by Wetzstein, however, is very bad. For *njr* see the Ar. *najara*, "to suffer from thirst". This verb also occurs in WH 422b.

241. *l ḏl bn ryṭ*

By ḎL son of RYṬ.

The name ḎL is known only from C 3066, while RYṬ occurs only in LP 983.

242. *l rḥl bn ᶜrṣ*

By RḤL son of ᶜRṢ.

The name ᶜRṢ occurs only in C 4787 and in Tham. WA 907b.

243. *l sr*

By SR.

Nos. 244 and 245 are on the same stone.

244. *l jrf bn bᶜm[h] b[n bhl] wh'lt rwḥ*

By JRF son of BᶜM[H] son [of BHL] and O 'LT grant relief.

This stone was partially buried and could not be cleared, hence the uncertainty of the reading of the centre of the text. Nevertheless

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enough of the letters are visible to make the reading reasonably certain.

245. *l qdmt*

By QDMT.

Nos. 246 - 250 are on the same stone.

246. *l ᶜrs bn rbᶜ*

By ᶜRS son of RBᶜ.

247. *l bḡyḍ bn wrk bn wzl*

By BḠYḌ son of WRK son of WZL.

The personal name WRK is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *waraka*, "to recline on the hip". WZL may occur in WH 280; however, both the present example and WH 280 could be the name WZY. No root *wzl* is known.

248. *l jdn bn qmṣt*

By JDN son of QMṢT.

249. *l w[.]b [....*

By W[.]B [....

The end of the text has been damaged and is impossible to make out. A stick-figure and seven dots are alongside the text.

250. *l ʾrsᶜ bn ʾnhb bn ʾṯwb*

By ʾRSᶜ son of ʾNHB son of ʾṮWB.

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Nos. 251 - 254 are on the same stone.

251. *l dtm bn hrb*

By DTM son of HRB.

252. *l z^{c}krt bn drh*

By Z^{C}KRT son of DRH.

This is an identical text to No. 237.

253. *l m^{c}d bn wh[dy] bn 'mr (bn)*

By M^{C}D son of WH[DY] son of 'MR (son of).

WHDY is new although WHD is found elsewhere. The reading is confirmed by the occurrence of this name in Nos. 255 and 256, which are by brothers of this author.

This text may have been left unfinished as the final *bn* is considerably smaller than the rest of the text, which, if it had been continued, would have run into No. 254. There are fourteen dots surrounding one end of this text.

254. *l swd bn šw'*

By SWD son of ŠW'.

Nos. 255 and 256 are on the same rock. No. 257 is on another face of the same stone.

255. *l k^{c}mh bn whdy bn 'mr bn qn*

By K^{C}MH son of WHDY son of 'MR son of QN.

This text is by a brother of the authors of Nos. 253 and 256; here another name has been added to the genealogy. A drawing of a human

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figure with upraised arms and erectile hair accompanies the text. Both Nos. 255 and 256 are enclosed by a line. A rayed disc is at the end of this text.

256. *l šly bn whdy*

By ŠLY son of WHDY.

The name ŠLY is new; see the Ar. *šalā*, "to set off, depart".

257. .....*h]md bn hnmr hbkrt*

.....H]MD son of HNMR, the young she-camel.

A drawing of a camel follows the text. The beginning of the text has been deliberately erased so that at least two names are totally illegible. The reading HMD is uncertain; this name is attested only in C 1302.

258. *l hwhd bn 'mr hdr*

This encampment belongs to HWHD son of 'MR.

The name HWHD is known only from Rees 152 and SIJ 501; the latter is probably by a son of the present author, although Winnett reads this text as *l ᶜmh bn hwhd bn 'mt wnzr hsmy* but the third name is almost certainly to be read as 'MR, not 'MT. The final letter of this name is in fact the letter *r* inscribed twice, one example lying on its side and the other facing in the correct direction; perhaps the author had intended to change the direction of the text and then changed his mind. This cannot be read as the letter *t* firstly because it does not have the correct form of the swastika *t* and, secondly, because such a swastika form would be quite out of place in this inscription, which is in the common script (see above, p.69).

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Nos. 259 and 260 are on the same rock. An extremely crude drawing of an animal and its young one accompanies this text. No. 259 is inscribed between the legs of the larger animal.

259. *l jšn bn b'bh ᶜṛdt*

By JŠN son of B'BH, (the) valley.

It should be noted here that the entry in HIn 89 for B'BH is incorrect; here the texts LP 84 and 1218 are listed for this name but this should read instead LP 213, 847 and 1218. Nevertheless, with the exception of WH 2219, none of the listed examples of this name can be accepted as certain, as, in each case, the facsimile of the text leaves the reading in some doubt. This name recurs in Nos. 671 and 790. The word *ᶜṛdt* refers to the sloping side of a valley or mountain; here it must refer to the valley of the Murabb as-Suweiᶜid. One would expect to find the definite article *h* before this word but it has probably been assimilated by the *h* of the preceding name B'BH.

260. *l 'dly*

By 'DLY.

This is an unattested name, although a name 'DL is known. The text has been very poorly executed and a number of other letters are to be seen above the animal's back but these make no coherent sense.

Nos. 261 - 263 are on the same stone. All of these texts have been deliberately mutilated.

261. *l mj bn thm bn wm'l bn qh[n]*

By MJ son of THM son of WM'L son of QH[N].

For the name MJ see C 4269. The name THM is new and of unknown

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derivation. The reading appears to be quite certain. The letter *'alif* in the name WM'L has been deliberately mutilated to resemble *t*. QHN is an unknown name of unknown derivation.

262. *l [s̄]tm bn [.]d[.] bn ᶜ[w]l*

By [S̄]TM son of [.]D[.] son of ᶜ[W]L.

The name S̄TM occurs only in C 3469; the second name is largely illegible with the exception of the centre letter *d*. The final name is restored as ᶜWL because the size and shape of the visible traces of this mutilated letter would seem to indicate that it was *w*.

263. *l hs̄[ll] bn [jḥ]l*

By HS̄[LL] son of [JḤ]L.

The name HS̄LL is new to Saf. but it is to be found in Liḥ. JS 167. It recurs in Nos. 965 and 966. Jamme would read the name (H)S̄LL in SIJ 652, where Winnett reads ('')S̄LL (JaSN, p.125); however, neither reading can be verified but, judging from the "tiny triangle in the upper extremity of the first letter" (Jamme), the reading ('')S̄LL seems more likely. Jamme believes that this "tiny triangle" may "be safely discarded as adventitious"(!).

264. *l mqḥn bn ᶜmrn*

By MQḤN son of ᶜMRN.

265. *l s̄hr bn mḏy*

By S̄HR son of MḎY.

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Point (d.). (Nos. 266 - 268).

Nos. 266 and 267 are on the same stone.

266. *l ʾs bn šḳr bn ḥn*

By ʾS son of ŠḲR son of ḤN.

267. *l rbt wjm*

By RBT, he was grief striken.

268. *l qn bn ḥrm wṭẓr*

By QN son of ḤRM, and he was on the lookout.

See No. 101 for the name ḤRM. The author was probably keeping a lookout from the ridge where the text was found, a good vantage point, being considerably higher than the surrounding landscape.

Point (e.). (Nos. 269 - 279).

269. *l jḥmn bn lḥn bn mnʿm*

By JḤMN son of LḤN son of MNʿM.

Both names are new in Saf.; however, a name JḤM is found - HIn 154 - and LḤN occurs in Tham. - HIn 521.

270. *l ʾḥsn bn jfft*

By ʾḤSN son of JFFT.

Another text, which has been totally obliterated with the exception of the initial *l* and a final *r*, was on the same stone.

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271. *l snn*

By SNN.

This name is new, although both SN and SNNT are known.

Nos. 272 - 275 are on the same rock.

272. *l h^{c}dr bn ^{c}wd*

By H^{C}DR son of ^{C}WD.

273. *l nmr bn h[...]*

By NMR son of H[...].

The last name has been obliterated save for the initial letter.

274. *l b's bn tmn*

By B'S son of TMN.

275. *l hl bn [l]hy*

By HL son of [L]HY.

The initial letter of the second name is difficult to make out as it has been damaged.

276. *l 'm[t] bn hn*

By 'M[T] son of HN.

The final letter of the initial name has been vandalised so that it bears little resemblance to any letter. However, from careful examination it appears to be *t*, the vertical stroke having been elongated. This is an attested name - HIn 73 - but see the comment on SIJ 501 under No. 258.

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277. *l brn bn šb bn mhr bn mhlm wsyr fhlt slm*

By BNN son of ŠB son of MḤR son of MḤLM,

and he was on a journey, so O LT grant security.

For the verb *syr* see C 62.

278. *l ᶜḏ ʾb jlmn mt*

By ᶜḎ, father of JLMN, he died(?).

This seems an unlikely reading but it is difficult to suggest any other reading. No text written by "X father of Y" is known to this writer in Saf. and the expression "he died" would necessitate that someone else wrote the text, unless the verb refers to JLMN.

279. *l bqr bn dw[s] wbᶜd ʾḫh*

By BQR son of DW[S], and his brother was far away.

The name DWS is new in Saf., being attested, however, in Lih. JS 237. The author is lamenting his separation from his brother. The verb *bᶜd* occurs with this meaning in C 3664 and HCH 137; it recurs in No. 459, below.

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SITE C - Shafayit ʾAbū - Burayk. (No. 280; Map 4).

280. *l ʾmn ḥjml*

This bull-camel belongs to ʾMN.

This text is unusual in that, being clearly a claim to proprietorship over the camel depicted, it does not give more of the author's genealogy. This is perhaps due to the obvious haste with which the text was inscribed, as it is quite poorly executed. It is strange, too, that no other text was found at this spot, although Site O is another such single text site.

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SITE D - Qā^{c} ash - Shahba. (Nos. 281 - 375; Map 4).

Nos. 281 - 289 are on different faces of the same stone.

281. *l d[w]lt bn nhb*

By D[W]LT son of NHB.

The name DWLT is unattested previously; see the Ar. *dāla*, "to elapse, change", and CIK 235/2, ad-Duwail.

282. *l ḏb^{c}n bn syq hmlm wḏmyt*

By ḎB^{C}N son of SYQ, the blameworthy one,

and (he made) a drawing.

The name SYQ is unattested; see the Ar. *sāqa*, "to drive cattle, impel". The end of the text is unusual. The word *hmlm* appears to be a type of surname, or nick-name, applied as a further distinguishing appellation to the author's name; see the Ar. *mulīm*, "blameworthy person" (from the root *lwm*). At the end of the text one would expect *whḏmyt*, or simply *hḏmyt*; this word probably indicates that the author was also the artist responsible for at least one of the camel drawings found on this stone, although none occur on this face of it.

283. *l bn*

By BN.

Nos. 284 - 286 are on the same face of this stone, with a drawing of a camel.

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284. *l š̄ᶜbn bn wl bn ʾᶜzm bn frzl hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to $\bar{S}^{C}$BN son of WL son of ^{C}ZM son of FRZL.

^{C}ZM is known only from WH 3880a. The fourth name is read here as FRZL, although the initial letter resembles *š̄*; a name ŠRZL, however, does not seem possible. This name FRZL also occurs in WH 957, 2870, LP 855 (which Littmann has read as FRZL but which HIn 465 has listed as FRZN) and in SIJ 446 (where Winnett also has read FRZN). Consequently, the entry in HIn 465 for the name FRZN should be deleted and included under FRZL.

285. *l ʾrš̄t*

By ʾRŠ̄T.

This text was inscribed in large, crude letters. This name could also be read as ʾBŠ̄T.

286. This is a long text which has been inscribed over the back of the camel. It is in letters so small as to be unreadable with the naked eye. As a consequence it must remain undeciphered for the present.

287. *l rjf bn sᶜd*

By RJF son of S^{C}D.

This text has been very crudely executed in very thin letters. The name RJF is new; see the Ar. *rajafa*, "to shake, tremble". The letter read as *f* is not entirely certain, being poorly formed.

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288. *l j[h]' [bn hl bn ᶜ]mn*

By J[H]' [son of HL son of ᶜ]MN.

This text has been deliberately mutilated and is almost illegible. As a consequence the reading is difficult. JH' is not a known name; possibly see the Ar. *jaḥā*, "to widen (a wound)",or *'ajḥā*, "bald".

289. *l wmtn bn ḡddt hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to WMTN son of ḠDDT.

This inscription accompanies a drawing of a man holding a she-camel by a head rope. It is on the same face of the stone as the previous text. The name WMTN is new although WMT occurs in WH 1047.

Nos. 290 - 292 are on the same stone.

290. *l ᶜly bn ḥm'*

By ᶜLY son of ḤM'.

The second name here is new; see the Ar. *ḥami'a*, "to be angry, muddy" and possibly CIK 296/2, Ḥamāya.

291. *jls bn hwf*

JLS son of HWF.

There is no *lām auctoris* at the beginning of the text. HWF is unattested; see the Ar. *hawwāf*, "cowardly".

292. *l ḥjrn*

By ḤJRN.

This name is attested only in JaS 175.

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293. *l dᶜms*

By DᶜMS.

This name is new in Saf. but compare the Ar. *duᶜmūs*, "a black insect which appears in stagnant water pools", and *duᶜaymīs*, a name applied to one who displays cunning and skill, especially as a guide. Lane, Lexicon, p.883, has the following entry :

" دُعَيْمِيص الرَّمْل was the name of a certain cunning, or knowing, or skilful, man; ..... he was a black slave, very cunning or knowing or skilful, and an expert guide of the way."

Nos. 294 and 295 are on another face of the stone on which were Nos. 290 - 292.

294. *l ᶜwz bn wdᶜl bn yqf bn n[hn ḡ]wn*

By ᶜWZ son of WDᶜL son of YQF son of N[HN, he felt oppressed].

ᶜWZ is a new name; see the Ar. *ᶜawiza*, "to be wanting, destitute". The reading of NHN is uncertain; it is attested only in SIJ 340. The reading of the last word as *ḡwn* is likewise uncertain. This verb is new in Saf. but compare the Ar. *ḡāna*, "to feel oppressed (in the mind), be thirsty".

295. *l dln bn ᶜr b[n]yqf*

By DLN son of ᶜR son of YQF.

The name DLN is new; it is probably derived from the root *dll*. The author was probably a cousin of the author of the preceding text.

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296. *l ᶜly bn ḥm' whmrt nqth bhgybt*

By ᶜLY son of HM', and his she-camel(s)

was (were) concealed in the low ground.

This text was enclosed by a thin, irregular line; it is probably by the author of No. 290. The word *hmrt* is new; see the Ar. *hamara*, "to conceal". The subject of this verb is *nqth*, which may be either singular or plural. The word *gybt* is new in Saf. and may be compared to the Ar. *gābat*, "depression, low ground", or to *gayābat*, "covert, screen". This may refer here to a concealing area of low ground in the vicinity or possibly to a stone enclosure which was located some 200m to the north of this knoll. Such an enclosure could conceivably be referred to as a *gayāba*. The reason behind this concealment may have been the presence in the vicinity of hostile persons or of raiders from another tribe.

297. *l 'rs bn zhm*

By 'RS son of ZHM.

298. *l hb[t*

By HB[T

The stone on which this name was engraved was broken, destroying part of the last letter, which seems clearly to have been *t*. There may originally have been more of this inscription but this is impossible to determine.

Nos. 299 and 300 are on the same rock.

299. *l ᶜbl*

By ᶜBL.

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300. *l [db]n bn ʾḥn*

By [DB]N son of ʾḤN.

The two initial letters of the name DBN have been damaged by deliberate chipping of the rock surface. The reading, from the photograph, seems certain, although the hand copy shows DḪN. The second name, ʾḤN, is new; see the Ar. *ʾaḥann*, "speaking through the nose, snuffling". The final letter of this name has been tampered with but the reading is clear. Jamme would read the name ʾḤN in C 440 but it is impossible to be certain of the reading from the facsimile (Vogüé 132b; JaSN, p.114).

301. *l ʾjd*

By ʾJD.

This inscription has been crudely inscribed in shallow, coarse letters. It has been enclosed in a rough cartouche. The name itself occurs in WH 1053 and 1796 (the entry in HIn 22 is incorrect, listing only WH 2151, where this name does not occur); it recurs in No. 321 of this collection, which is an identical text without the cartouche.

302. *l ḥnn*

By ḤNN.

303. *l ᶜbdʾlh*

By ᶜBDʾLH.

This theophoric name is unusual in a pre-Islamic context, occurring only in LP 715 to date.

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304. *h rḍ' s^{c}d rf't bnt knt*

O RḌ' help RF'T daughter of KNT.

This is a common invocation formula, made unusual by the fact that it was inscribed by, or for, a woman and by the form of the name of the deity. The occurrence of the letter *'alif* in this latter may be seen as a scribal error, which may have arisen from the vocalization of this name as *Ruḍā*, rather than as *Ruḍaw* or *Ruḍay*, the usual forms of this name. In Arabic this deity was known as *Ruḍā'*. The name RF'T is usually found as a male name but here is clearly that of a woman because of the following *bnt*, "daughter of". It is unlikely that the final name should be read as TKNT.

Nos. 305 and 306 are on the same stone.

305. *b qds bn jḥr*

By QDS son of JḤR.

The occurrence of the letter *b* at the beginning of this text, rather than the usual *lām auctoris*, is strange. Whether this imparts a different significance to the text is unlikely, although the preposition *b* tends to indicate the agent while *l* indicates possession. It is also possible that this letter is merely a badly formed *l*.

306. *l jḥr*

By JḤR.

This is almost certainly by the father of the previous author, considering the juxtaposition of the two texts on the same rock.

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307. *l frhz h^{c}r*

This ass belongs to FRHZ.

This is on another face of the same stone as the previous two texts. It accompanies a drawing of an ass. The following text may be by the same author.

Nos. 308 - 310 are on another face of the same stone, along with drawings of five ostriches, two dogs and a gazelle.

308. *l frhz bn hfy hdmyt*

This drawing is by FRHZ son of HFY.

This text is probably by the same author as the previous, although here he has included the name of his father.

309. *l ^{c}bd' l*

By ^{C}BD'L.

310. *l ^{c}bd bn kn hrs b hdr*

By ^{C}BD son of KN; he kept watch at this encampment.

The place at which this text was found would have made an excellent lookout post, providing good views to the east, south and west. A higher hill just to the north provides an excellent all-round view. The preposition *b* has been written above the line of the text, indicating that the author may have originally omitted it.

Nos. 311 - 315 are on the same stone.

311. *l t^{c}r bn r^{c}y*

By T^{C}R son of R^{C}Y.

The name T^{C}R is listed in HIn 145, which incorrectly shows C 92,

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where the name is actually I'R; this text is listed again, correctly, under I'R in HIn 142.

312. *l rᶜy bn 'fn*

By RᶜY son of 'FN.

This may be by the father of the previous author. The name 'FN is new but it recurs in No. 314; see the Ar. *'afīn*, "weak-minded". The known name 'FL is not to be read here as the letters *l* and *n* are clearly differentiated here.

313. *l ᶜbd'l bn ḥrs ḥzllt*

This shelter belongs to ᶜBD'L son of ḤRS.

The word *ẓllt* may refer to the enclosure mentioned in No. 296. It may also refer to some other shelter, no trace of which now remains.

314. *l s̄kr bn 'fn*

By S̄KR son of 'FN.

This text is by a brother of the author of No.312.

315. *l sᶜ*

By Sᶜ.

316. *l ṯmmt bn 'swr wslm rṭl*

By ṮMMT son of 'SWR, and he submitted foolishly(?).

ṮMMT is a new name in Saf., although it occurs in Sab. C 541/15 and Winnett and Harding would read it in WH 1373c, a difficult text. The final expression is obscure; the verb *slm* does not seem to have been used in its usual sense here and has been translated

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as a 2nd form verb, for which see the Ar. *sallama*, "to submit, give up". The following word, *rṭl*, appears to be an adverbial usage; see the Ar. *raṭl*, "weak, foolish, remiss". The expression is most unusual.

317. *l k[r]b bn 'ml*

By K[R]B son of 'ML.

The letter *r* here has been tampered with and appears to have two extraneous appendages attached to the middle of its convex side.

Nos. 318 and 319 are on the same stone.

318. *l ḥy ḥdrt bn syd*

By ḤY, the blind one, son of SYḌ.

The word *ḥdrt* seems to have been an epithet of the author. This leaves the problem, however, that this seems to be a feminine form. Perhaps it is a noun used adjectivaly; see the Ar. *darāra*, "blindness".

319. *l ḥrj*

By ḤRJ.

320. *l tmn bn '[d]l*

By TMN son of '[D]L.

The form of the middle letter of the name 'DL is rather strange, consisting of a grid pattern formed by three vertical lines and four horizontal ones. Such a form is alien to the Saf. script but is occassionally found in Tham., in the script classified by Winnett as Thamudic B (WLT, p.34 and Pl.X). However, in Tham. WRH 160 a

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similar letter is read as *ṭ* but no name 'TL is attested in Saf..

321. *l 'jd*

By 'JD.

See No. 301 of this collection.

322. *l dhrt*

By DHRT.

This name is previously unattested; see the Ar. *dahara*, "to discard, drive away". It is possible that this name should be read in C 334, where the Corpus editor reads the name DHLT. The letter read as *l* in this instance is slightly curved and may be the letter *r* instead (see Corpus Tab.XCVIII bis, Dunand 1006).

323. *l hwf*

By HWF.

This is a new name in Saf.; see the Ar. *hawwafa*, "to surround, put to the side".

324. *l drh bn ᶜnq bn shb wstw hdr*

By DRH son of ᶜNQ son of SHB,

and he wintered at this encampment.

The verb, written here as *stw*, is usually found as *sty*, as in C 2820, SIJ 104 etc.. A sound shift between the weak consonants *w* and *y* is not unknown but is not well attested in Saf. and may provide a hint at dialectical divergencies within the language itself.

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325. *l ḫzn bn mḫf*

By ḪZN son of MḪF.

No.332 may be by a brother of this author.

326. *l ḫzr bn ᶜd*

By ḪZR son of ᶜD.

327. *l byẓl hdr*

This encampment belongs to BYẒL.

This is a new name, consisting possibly of the elements B + YẒL, the second element being derived from the root *ẓll*, although this would be an unlikely pattern. An alternative reading might be : *l by ẓl hdr*, "By BY, he sheltered (at) this encampment". For the name BY see HIn 125.

328. *l ʾṯᶜ b[n*

By ʾṮᶜ son [of ...

This text is very faint and is clearly unfinished. Possibly the author had begun to trace out the text, prior to engraving it more definitely, but then abandoned it for some reason.

Nos. 329 and 330 are on the same stone, together with a drawing of a camel. Both the texts and the drawing are very faint, the letters of the texts being very fine and the camel drawn only in outline.

329. *l dd*

By DD.

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330. *l shm*

By SHM.

This name is found only in C 1731 and 2633; the size of the letter *h* is rather small relative to the other letters.

Nos. 331 - 333 are on the same stone, along with seven dots.

331. *l ᶜrby bn db*

By ᶜRBY son of DB.

This text may be by the author of WH 228 and 843.

332. *l ktm bn mhf*

By KTM son of MHF.

The name KTM is found in WH 1030; here, however, the first name of the inscription, read as KTM by Winnett and Harding, appears to be HTM, while the second reading of this name in the same text is clearly KTM. HIn omits to list a number of occurrences of the name KTM; these are C 204, 902, 1338 and 2274.

No. 325 may be by a brother of this author.

332a. *l bs'*

By BS'.

333. *l [yḡ]bt bn [wrm ....]*

By [YḠ]BT son of [WRM ....].

This text has been severely mutilated. The name YḠBT is unattested; see the Ar. *ḡabba*, "to go away at intervals, to seize with fever intermittantly". The name WRM is read with some certainty, although damaged. The end of the text is illegible.

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333a. *l nql bn shrn*

By NQL son of SHRN.

The second name here is read as SHRN, a known name, rather than as SHBN, which it appears to be, which has no known root.

334. *l 'yl bn mry*

By 'YL son of MRY.

These two names occur in Nos.34 and 35 of this collection, of which No.34 may be by a son of the present author, in which case No.35 may have been written by his father MRY.

Nos. 335 - 340 are on the same rock.

335. [*l*] *wr' bn hdy*

[By] WR' son of HDY.

The initial *lām auctoris* has been totally obliterated.

336. *l wsmt bn hdy*

By WSMT son of HDY.

This text is by a brother of the previous author.

337. *l qrsm bn ᶜnq*

By QRSM son of ᶜNQ.

This text, and the following, are inside an enclosing line.

338. *l ḥs̄b bn r*[..*h*]

By HS̄B son of R[..H].

The second name is largely illegible.

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339. *l ᶜml bn l[d]'*

By ᶜML son of L[D]'.

The name LD' is new, although a name BN LD' may occur in ISB 34; see the Ar. *laddaʾat*, "quarrelsome".

340. *l khl bn s̄ty bn ᶜlj*

By KHL son of S̄TY son of ᶜLJ.

341. *l 'sd bn ms' hnql*

This area watered by rain belongs to

'SD son of MS'.

This is on another face of the same stone as the previous text. The name MS' is new to Saf. but may occur in WTay 16; see the Ar. *māsiʾ*, "impudent". The mudflat area overlooked by the rocky outcrop where this text was found is aptly termed *nql* here, referring to its propensity to flood after rains.

342. *l s̄hr bn ysk bn [.]s̄dm*

By S̄HR son of YSK son of [.]S̄DM.

In reference to the name YSK, HIn 670 lists C 1905 as containing this name; this is incorrect as the name in question is clearly YSᶜD. The final name here is damaged at the beginning; it may read HS̄DM, a name attested in Qat. - HIn 616.

343. *h rḏw sᶜd s̄kr*

O RḎW help S̄KR.

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344. *l šmt bn ṣrm*

By ŠMT son of ṢRM.

The same author may have been responsible for No. 812.

345. *l ʾbyn bn btnt ḥjml*

This bull-camel belongs to ʾBYN son of BṬNT.

This text accompanies a camel drawing, which has what may be a tribal brand on its hump. This resembles the letter *d* and was probably inscribed here as an aid to identification of the camel referred to in the text.

346. *l ʿmd bn ʿsd*

By ʿMD son of ʿSD.

Nos. 347 - 350 are on the same stone.

347. *l bddh bn ẓrr*

By BDDH son of ẒRR.

This text is almost identical to SIJ 142. The stance of the letter *b*, however, varies by 90° between the two texts.

348. *l ʾḫwn bn ʾr[ṣ]b*

By ʾḪWN son of ʾR[Ṣ]B.

The reading of the second name is uncertain as the third letter has been damaged. Nevertheless it appears to be ʾRṢB, an unknown name of unknown derivation. It is possible that the text is to be considered as incomplete, the final *b* being the first letter of *bn*, as a name ʾRṢ is attested.

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349. *l ṣ^{c}rn bn db*

By Ṣ^{c}RN son of DB.

Ṣ^{c}RN is known only from WH 200.

350. *l dhml bn h'ṣ' bn m[...] bn flṭt w^{c}nw fhyṯ^{c} rwḥ*

By DHML son of Ḥ'Ṣ' son of M[...] son of FLṬT,

and he was taken captive, so O YṮ^{c} grant relief.

The name Ḥ'Ṣ' is unattested; this text shows signs of having been tampered with and the name may originally have read B'BH. Ḥ'Ṣ' would perhaps be related to the Ar. *ḥawiṣa*, "to be bold, daring". The third name is almost entirely obliterated, while the *l* of FLṬT resembles *y*. The verb ^{c}*nw* is new; see the Ar. ^{c}*anā*, "to be a captive, to submit". The author had probably escaped, or been released, from his captivity when he inscribed this text and is requesting "relief" after his ordeal. It should be noted also that the root ^{c}*nw* may have the sense of being mentally oppressed and the supplicant may have been requesting "relief" from this.

351. *l ^{c}lhm bn ḏkr bn 'šrm*

By ^{c}LHM son of ḎKR son of 'ŠRM.

The name 'ŠRM is new; see the Ar. *'ašram*, "having the tip of the nose cut off".

352. *l 'll bn 'ḏh[n] w'blh n^{c}r*

By 'LL son of 'ḎH[N], and his camels

were tormented by flies.

The name 'ḎHN is unattested but compare the Ar. *ḏahana*, "to be clever, understand". The verb *n^{c}r*, with this meaning, is new; see

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the Ar. *na^{c}ira*, "to be harrassed by flies (beast)". This word is read twice in the Corpus, with the meaning "abiit, amovetur"; however, in this author's opinion it cannot be attested. In C 404 (Wetzstein 4) not one word can be read with certainty and the word *n^{c}r* cannot be read at all, while in C 3170 the word read as *n^{c}r* appears to be *nzr*.

Nos. 353 - 356 are on the same stone.

353. *l b'sh bn 'mn bn bjt bn bs'*

By B'SH son of 'MN son of BJT son of BS'.

354. *l sbn bn ^{c}mr bn b'sh bn ^{c}mn bn bjt bn [bs']*

By SBN son of ^{C}MR son of B'SH son of ^{C}MN son of BJT son of [BS'].

This text is undoubtedly by a grandson of the author of the previous one, although the name of this author's great grand-father is written as ^{C}MN while the corresponding name in the genealogy of the preceding text is written as 'MN. From this it would appear almost certain that one of these authors made a mistake when inscribing this name. The final name here is almost illegible but the visible traces of the letters and the name BS' in the preceding text make the restoration virtually certain.

355. *l $\bar{s}$ll bn r^{c}l bn bs'*

By $\bar{S}$LL son of R^{C}L son of BS'.

This text is by a cousin of the author of No.353. The name R^{C}L is new in Saf. but is found in Lih.JS 257; see also CIK 488/1, Ri^{C}l. There can be no question here of reading the known name R^{C}Y. A drawing of

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a human figure is between this text and the next.

356. *l ʾqdm bn ln bn ḥy*

By ʾQDM son of LN son of ḤY.

This text is probably by the same author as SIJ 731, 741 and 782, all of which are from Tell al-ᶜAbd. This text is in very large letters.

357. *l ḥy bn ʾᶜzm ḥjml*

This bull-camel belongs to ḤY son of ʾᶜZM.

A drawing of a hobbled bull-camel accompanies the text.

358. *l ᶜdy bn ᶜnh bn ḥ̄gym*

By ᶜDY son of ᶜNH son of Ḥ̄GYM.

ᶜNH is a new compound name, consisting of the elements ᶜN + H; see the Ar. *ᶜanna*, "to appear, occur". Jamme (JaSN, note 46, p.51) would identify this name in C 820, where the reading is, however, doubtful. Ḥ̄GYM is likewise unattested; see the Ar. *ḡ̄aym*, "anger, thirst".

359. *l ʾlh*

By ʾLH.

Nos.360 - 363 are on the same stone.

360. *l ʾnm bn ᶜhd*

By ʾNM son of ᶜHD.

361. *l ᶜrn bn ʾns*

By ᶜRN son of ʾNS.

For the name ᶜRN, which is new, see CIK 574/1, ᶜUraina.

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362. *l ᶜzz bn ʾns*

By ᶜZZ son of ʾNS.

This text is by the brother of the previous author.

363. *l ʾns bn ʾbjr wnr hstrt*

By ʾNS son of ʾBJR, and the shelter was illuminated(?).

This is by the father of the two previous authors. The meaning of the end of the text is difficult to determine. The verb *nr* is to be compared to the Ar. *nāra*, "to shine" and *ʾanāra*, "to light up, illumine". However, to what the expression *wnr hstrt* might refer is not clear. It may refer to the light cast by a fire or perhaps by some celestial phenomenon. On the other hand we may perhaps read the verb *nr* as "to escape", Ar. *nāra* and *tanawwara*, giving the reading "and he escaped (to/from) the shelter" (see C 295, where the verb *nwr* is translated "fugatus est").

364. *l yṯᶜ bn rbn*

By YṮᶜ son of RBN.

Nos. 365 - 367 are on the same rock, accompanied by a drawing of a horse on which is mounted a man holding a shield in his left hand. A second man holds the head-rope of the horse. Behind it is a bird with upraised wings.

365. *l tmn bn bjt*

By TMN son of BJT.

366. [*l*] *wᶜl bn rbn*

[By] WᶜL son of RBN.

The *lām auctoris* is partially obscured by the drawing of the horse.

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367. *l ḡḍ bn rbn hfrst*

This mare belongs to ḠḌ son of RBN.

This text appears to be by a brother of the authors of Nos.363 and 366. The initial letter of the name ḠḌ here more resembles the form of *s̄* than of *ḡ* but a name S̄Ḍ does not seem likely. It may perhaps be read as S̄LL, the two letter *l* having been deliberately altered to resemble *ḍ*. The occurrence of the word *frst*, "mare", is new in Saf. although the masculine form *frs* is quite common.

Nos. 368 - 370 are on the same stone. Drawings of five ostriches are on the stone also.

368. *l ᶜbn bn hb'*

By ᶜBN son of HB'

369. *l wᶜl bn dbn hnᶜm*

These ostiches are by WᶜL son of DBN.

The word *nᶜm* here is the plural form of *nᶜmt*; see the Ar. *naᶜām̄at*, plural *naᶜām̄*, "ostrich". This word occurs twice elsewhere with the meaning "ostriches"; in WH 1677b we read *fḍᶜf hhl bᶜd hnᶜm*, "and the horses were weak after the ostriches", apparently referring to the weakening of the horses' stamina while pursuing ostriches; WH 1700a reads *w's̄rq bhyl bᶜd hnᶜm*, "and he went eastwards with the horses after the ostriches", referring to an ostrich hunt. In both cases Winnett and Harding read the word *nᶜm* as "grazing livestock".

370. *l bᶜmh bn rb'*

By BᶜMH son of RB'.

The name RB' should be read in LP 1194, where RB'(L) is unjustifiably restored.

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Nos. 371 - 375 are on the same stone.

371. *l jrḏ bn mlk bn hjml*

By JRḎ son of MLK son of HJML.

372. *l ṯwr*

By ṮWR.

373. *l ʾl bn njyt*

By ʾL son of NJYT.

This text has been deliberately mutilated but is still legible.

Nos.374 and 375 are enclosed by a line and accompanied by a camel drawing.

374. *l tmn bn bjt hjml*

This bull-camel belongs to TMN son of BJT.

This text is possibly by the author of No.365. Another text was originally inscribed above the camel's back, alongside this one, but it has been completely erased. The *j* of the name BJT has been altered to resemble *w*.

375. *l bʾlḥ b*[*n*]

By BʾLḤ, he remained (here).

This text is in very faint letters. No trace of any other letters can be made out.

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SITE E - Between Tell al-'Ashqaf and Tell al-'Ashqaf al-Janūbi

(Nos. 376 - 406 and Map 4).

376. *h rḏw s^{c}d rsl bn ḏyf*

O RDW help RSL son of DYF.

The name DYF is new in Saf.; it is a variant of the common DF.

Nos.377 - 378 are on the same rock.

377. *l ktby*

By KTBY.

This name occurs only in C 840.

378. *l ^{c}ḥḏṯ bn mrr ḥzlt*

This abode belongs to ^{c}HDṮ son of MRR.

The name ^{c}HDṮ is unattested and seems to be an unlikely name. Perhaps the *^{c}ayn* should be regarded as a fortuitous chip on the rock or perhaps the name is an error for 'HDṮ. For *zlt* see C 3204 and WH 564. See also the Ar. *zalla* , "abode" and *zulla* , "awning, booth". This refers to some shelter of perishable material long since vanished. A.van den Branden (Rev.ISB, p.262) believes that the word *zlt* (or *zllt* in the case of ISB 32) refers to a tomb but this is most unlikely, quite apart from the fact that there was no trace at all of a burial at this site.

379. *l 'ḥsn bn jnn*

By 'HSN son of JNN.

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380. *l shr bn ʾs bn ᶜmr*

By SHR son of ʾS son of ᶜMR.

381. *l ʾs bn yshh wsyd ᶜr mn njd*

By ʾS son of YSHH, and he hunted onagers from NJD.

This text may mean that the author came from the area of the Najd in order to hunt wild asses or that he went to the Najd for the same purpose. The latter meaning seems the more likely. This is the first recognised usage of the name of the regign of Najd in a Safaitic inscription.

Nos. 382 - 385 are on the same stone.

382. *l ᶜmr bn s̄ll*

By ᶜMR son of S̄LL.

This may be by the same author as No.158.

383. *l ʾdd bn rjl bn drr bn jrmt*

By ʾDD son of RJL son of DRR son of JRMT.

This may be by a grandson of the author of ISB 94.

384. *l rjl bn drr*

By RJL son of DRR.

This is by the father of the preceding author and possibly by a son of the author of ISB 94.

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385. *l ʾbs̄ bn ḥdln*

By ʾBS̄ son of ḤDLN.

The name ʾBS̄ is new; see the Ar. *ʾabās̄a*, "to gather, collect (a crowd)", or possibly *bās̄s̄a*, "to be affable, cheerful". See also CIK 225/1, Bas̄s̄a.

Nos.386 and 387 were found on adjacent small stones which had been incorporated into the structure of a conical-shaped cairn on the site.

386. *l bn bḫl*

By BN BḪL.

This is a new compound name, although the element BḪL is known.

387. *l jr bn msky*

By JR son of MSKY.

388. *l bsʾ bn ḥnʾt wnfy*

By BSʾ son of ḤNʾT, and he was an exile.

The verb *nfy* is new; see the Ar. *nafā*,"to be exiled, driven away". A defective form of this verb may occur in ISB 166 and in C 12, both of which attest the verb *nf*. However, the readings of both of these texts are uncertain (the copy of C 12 = Dunand 1345e, Corpus, Tab.XCVI, is so poor that almost no conclusions may be drawn from it).

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Nos.389 - 404 are all on a large slab of basalt which juts from the edge of the knoll where the texts of this site are located. There is a drawing of a camel on the rock, alongside No.399. The previous text, No.388, was also on this slab but was located at its top edge and does not form a part of the present group.

389. *l frd*

By FRD.

390. *l 'sr bn wdᶜl*

By 'SR son of WDᶜL.

The name 'SR is listed in HIn 43 as occurring in LP 309, where it is also read by Littmann. However, from the published facsimile it would appear that this name is, in fact, to be read as 'S, the sign read as *r* being the tail of the letter *s̄* of the name NS̄L in the adjacent text LP 308.

391. *l ᶜjb bn ḥrs*

By ᶜJB son of ḤRS.

392. *l jn'l [bn]*

By JN'L, [he remained (here)].

The letters *bn* have been damaged, perhaps in a deliberate attempt to erase them. It is possible that the scribe had intended to include a longer genealogy but changed his mind after having already inscribed this word.

393. *l dmṯ*

By DMṮ.

This name occurs only in WH 859.

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394. *l ẓll bn yṯ^{c} [bn] ḥm bn s̄jn*

By ẒLL son of YṮ^{C} [son of] ḤM son of S̄JN.

395. *l ḫrs bn qṯ[^{c}]*

By ḪRS son of QṮ[^{C}].

The rock face is damaged immediately following the letter *ṯ* so that the letter *^{c}ayn* is damaged; more letters may have originally followed this.

396. *l lḥm ḫrb m ḡ̄ṯṯ*

By LḤM; he fled from heavy rain.

The name LḤM is attested only in WH 3463. *ḫrb* is to be read here as a verb; see C 65 and the Ar. *ḥaraba*, "to flee, escape". The noun *ḡ̄ṯṯ* is new, although the form *ḡ̄ṯ* occurs in C 4902 with a similar meaning. The author may have moved to this area to avoid a flood, as the area where the text was found would not have been prone to flooding. Rain floods in the low-lying areas of the Ḥarra turn them into quagmires in which man, beast or vehicle quickly flounder if unwary.

397. *l brk bn bkr*

By BRK son of BKR.

398. *l msr bn ^{c}s̄q bn ^{c}ḏr wwjm ^{c}l ḥbb*

By MSR son of ^{C}S̄Q son of ^{C}ḎR, and he grieved for a loved one.

The name MSR is new; see perhaps the Ar. *miṣr*, "Egypt", or perhaps it derives from the root *ṣrr* or *ṣwr*. For a discussion of the word *ḥbb* see above, No.81.

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399. *l [ḥt]ln*

By [ḤT]LN.

This name is known only from WH 647 and 727.

400. *l ʾḫyl bn [ʾz]mr wh[b]ʾ*

By ʾḪYL son of [ʾZ]MR, and there was a dust-storm(?).

The reading of the last word is uncertain; see the Ar. *habā*, "to rise in the air (dust, smoke)" and *habāʾ*, "dust rising in the air".

401. *l ʾbjr hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to ʾBJR.

402. *l ld bn slm*

By LḌ son of SLM.

403. *l flj bn s̄dy*

By FLJ son of S̄DY.

The letter *j* of the name FLJ has been altered to resemble *w*.

404. *l smr bn* [...]

By SMR son of [...].

The last name has been defaced. At least two more texts were originally on this stone but are now illegible.

405. *l ljm bn ʾmr bn whd*

By LJM son of ʾMR son of WḤD.

The name LJM is attested only in WH 3067. In this collection No.228

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may be by a brother and No.981 by the father of the present author.

406. *l wd^{c} l bn 's bn [^{c}]br bn whd*

By WD^{C}'L son of 'S son of [^{C}]BR son of WHD.

The name WD^{C}'L is known only from C 308, while ^{C}BR is uncertain, just as in WAM,S5, the only other possible occurrence of this name in Saf.. Possibly we should read this name as ^{C}MR.

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SITE F - Between Tell al-'Ashqaf and Tell al-'Ashqaf al-Janūbī

(To the south of Site E, Nos.407 - 424 and Map 4).

Nos.407 - 409 are on the same stone.

407. *l drb bn ḥrb bn bṯ*

By DRB son of ḤRB son of BṮ.

408. *l 'slm bn ṣm*

By 'SLM son of ṢM.

409. *l ḥjml bn slm ḥnql*

This area watered by rain belongs to ḤJML son of SLM. The term *nql*, "area watered by rain" does not seem at all apt for the spot in which this text was located, which was undulating stony desert. Although a small torrent bed, the Wādī al-Miḥdath, lay about 200m to the north it is doubtful that the term *nql* would refer to this, as it seems to refer to areas of low-lying mud-flats where water collects after rains (see Nos. 78, 98 etc.).
These observations tend to reinforce the impression given by this site that some, if not all, of the inscribed stones had been moved from their original location, although when and why this might have occurred is difficult to assess (see p. 37 , above).

Nos.410 and 411 are on the same rock, along with a drawing of the sun and seven dots.

410. *l bn^{c}tm bn qymt bn ^{c}ḏr bn ḏl bn 's wbny ^{c}l ^{c}d*
ḏ'l tm whll fhlt wdṣr slm wqbll w^{c}ty m^{c} 'lh
wwjm ^{c}l fṣ'l w^{c}l ḡṯ

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By BN^{C}TM son of QYMT son of ^{C}DR son of DL son of 'S, and he built for ^{C}D of the tribe of TM; and he encamped (here); so O LT and DŠR grant security and acceptance; and he rebelled, together with his tribe; and he grieved for FS'L and for ĠT.

For the formula *fhlt wdšr slm wqbll* see JaS 71a and WH 682. The following pericope is unusual; for the verb *^{c}ty* see the Ar. *^{c}atā*, "to be proud, haughty", and *^{c}atiyy*, "rebellious". The use of the word *'l*, "tribe", in this way is new to Saf.. The final letter of the pericope is read here as *h*, although it more closely resembles *s*; however, a reading *'ls*, "madness, treachery", would not suit here. What this rebellion of BN^{C}TM and his tribe entailed is impossible to determine but it may have resulted in, or been caused by, the death of ^{C}D.

411. *l mqm bn slmn w^{c}dm*

By MQM son of SLMN, and he was destitute.

The verb *^{c}dm* is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *^{c}adima*, "to be lacking, destitute". This may have been an expression of grief over the loss of ^{C}D.

412. *l ^{c}d bnt 's bn hn'l d't 'l tm wlh rjm*

For ^{C}D, daughter of 'S son of HN'L, she of the tribe of TM, and this is her cairn.

This text may have been inscribed on behalf of ^{C}D by her father 'S, who inscibed his own text, No.413, on the same stone. It should be noted here that ^{C}D is clearly a woman while in No.410 ^{C}D appears to

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be a man. Possibly the author of No.410 made an error by inscribing *d̲'l* rather than *d̲'t 'l*. For this feminine form of this well-known formula see Nos.620 - 622, below. For the expression *wlh rjm*, without the definite article before the noun see WH 3420.

413. *l 's bn ḥn'l wwjm ᶜl bnth wbny*

By 'S son of HN'L, and he grieved

for his daughter and he built (for her).

414. *l b[j]d wwjm ᶜl 'mh [?] ᶜl [..'ḡ]f*

By B[J]D, and he grieved for his mother .....

This text has been damaged by No.413, which is inscribed over it. The name may read BMD, rather than BJD, but it is difficult to tell from the photograph. A letter may have been entirely lost after the word *'mh*, as one would expect to find a conjunction here. After *ᶜl* one or two letters may have been lost. The letter read as *'alif* may be *h;* it has been badly damaged by the *w* of *wjm* of No.413.

Nos.415 - 420 are on the same stone.

415. *l bdrl bn 'nᶜm*

By BDRL son of 'NᶜM.

This text may have been inscribed by the father of the author of SIJ 348, where the author's tribe is given as HZY. Note that the letter *d* here is reversed, as it is also in the same name, BDRL, in SIJ 85. The letter *q*, which is to be observed above the name 'NᶜM, is probably to be disregarded or considered as a wasm or a tribal mark.

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416. *l tmn[ᶜ] bn yqm bn ʾqhm wbny ᶜl ᶜd*

By TMN[ᶜ] son of YQM son of ʾQHM,

and he built for ᶜD.

The only other possible occurrence of the name TMNᶜ is in SIJ 466, where the reading is doubtful; the reading of the final *ᶜayn* here is also doubtful. The name ʾQHM is new; see the Ar. *ʾuqhama*, "to be driven from land by drought".

417. *l wd bn bn bn wᶜln wbny ᶜl ᶜd*

By WD son of BN son of WᶜLN, and he built for ᶜD.

418. *l ᶜwl bn s̄mt bn mrdl*

By ᶜWL son of S̄MT son of MRDL.

Note that the letter *d* of the name MRDL is reversed here, as in WH 1906.

419. *l msk bn bdrl t̲ʾr*

By MSK son of BDRL; he was avenged.

The verb *t̲ʾr*, with the meaning "to take revenge" occurs in HCH 72 and elsewhere, where it is usually found as part of a prayer formula addressed to a deity, as in No.1004, below. Here it is a simple statement.

420. *l tmlh bn msk bn bd[rl] b[n] ḥz[y] wwjm*
ᶜl ddh d̲nt wᶜl ḥb ʾh̲th

By TMLH son of MSK son of BD[RL] son [of]

HZ[Y]; and he grieved for his paternal uncle D̲NT

and for his sister's loved one.

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This text is by a son of the author of the previous one and perhaps by a grandson of the author of No.415, although that person was a certain BDRL son of 'N^{C}M, whereas here the father of BDRL is given as HZ[Y]. Note, however, that in SIJ 348 a certain BDRL son of 'N^{C}M gives the name of his tribe as HZY and it is possible that the author of the present text had confused the name of his great-grandfather with that of his tribe, or eponymous ancestor, HZY. This is, however, speculation that cannot be verified. The word *dnt* appears to be the name of the author's paternal uncle, DNT, although this name is new; see the Ar. *dənna*, "to be weak, decrepit". The final pericope provides a personal touch, with the author expressing his grief over his sister's loved one.

Nos.421 and 422 are on the same stone.

421. *l s^{c}dlh bn t'l bn br d'l jšm wbny ^{c}l ^{c}d*

By S^{C}DLH son of T'L son of BR of the tribe of JŠM, and he built for ^{C}D.

The name T'L is rare; see HIn 127, where SIJ 923 is listed as containing this name. However, it does not occur in this text, which should be deleted from this entry in HIn. The name BR occurs only in C 1079, and possibly in No.25 of this collection. The tribal name JŠM is unattested as such but the text WH 3792a and 3792c refer to *snt hrb jšm ('l) tmd*, which is probably referring to this tribe. As a personal name JŠM is well known.

422. *l ^{c}qrb bn 'qdm wwjm ^{c}l ^{c}d f[h.....]*

fhlt wdšr w'lh 'bb^{c}nsh

By ^{C}QRB son of 'QDM, and he grieved for ^{C}D and [.....], so O LT and DŠR shelter him ....

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This text is rather fragmentary. The letters are only lightly incised and the surface of the rock has been badly worn. As a consequence, the entire middle part of the text is illegible and the end is difficult to make out; no sense can be made of this ending but it may consist of an invocation to the two deities mentioned. The word *w'lh* has been read here as an invocation, rather than as the divine name 'LH, the existence of which in Safaitic texts is uncertain. See the Ar. *wa'l*, "shelter, refuge".

Nos. 423 and 424 are on the same stone. This was removed to the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman for closer study, as text No.424 could not be fully read in situ.

423. *l ḥtst bn fs*

By ḤTST son of FS.

It should be noted that the name FS does not occur in C 3898, although it is so listed by HIn 467.

424. *l 's bn bn's d' l ᶜbšt fmrd ᶜl 'l rm*
fhbᶜlsmn 'lh sᶜᶜ slm

By 'S son of BN'S, of the tribe of ᶜBŠT;
and he rebelled against the people of Rome;
so O BᶜLSMN, god of Sᶜᶜ, grant security!

The name BN'S is a new composite one and is interesting in the light of the Arab custom of naming a son after the paternal grandfather. BN'S here may well be an epithet, "son of 'S", rather than the personal name of the father of the author. The tribal name ᶜBŠT occurs elsewhere only in C 3262. The verb *mrd*

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is to be found with the preposition *mn*, rather than *ʿl*, in a similar expression in C 4438. The final invocation to the deity BʿLSMN is most interesting because of the pericope *ʾlh sʿʿ*, read here as "god of Sʿʿ". Sʿʿ is clearly the town of Siʿa, or Siʿ, the classical Seia, not far from the town of Suweida in the southern Haurān. This town was a major cult centre of the god BʿLSMN and contained a temple which was dedicated to him. R.Dussaud is if the opinion that the Safaites may have borrowed the veneration of this deity from the sedentary peoples of the Haurān (see La Pénétration des en Syrie avant l'Islam, p.147) and this text is evidence that the Safaites did indeed recognise BʿLSMN as a deity who was particularly associated with the town of Siʿa. Note here, too, the use of the word *ʾlh* to mean "god", the first such attested usage in Safaitic. An alternative reading would be *ʾl hsʿʿ*, "god of (as)-Sʿʿ", although such a use of the word *ʾl* is rare (but see text No.918). Also the name of the town is not prefixed by the definite article in normal usage and so this alternative seems to be rather less likely than that suggested above.

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SITE G - South shore of the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya. (From around two cairns on a low promontory of basalt which juts into the mud-flat; Nos.425 - 538 were around a large cairn closest to the qā^{c}, while Nos.539 - 553 were around a smaller cairn. See Map 5).

425. *l bnhn'*

By BNHN'.

This name occurs in C 1254, although neither the Corpus editor nor HIn recognise it. The editor of the Corpus has equated the three texts Dussaud 233, Wetzstein 61 and Wetzstein II 1e (not Wetzstein II 1d(a) as listed by both the Corpus and HIn 713) with C 1254. However, an examination of the facsimiles of these texts makes it clear that Dussaud 233 is, in fact, an entirely different text and in both Wetzstein 61 and Wetzstein II 1e the name BNHN' is quite clear. See also JaSN, p.103, where Jamme reads Dussaud 233 as C 1254 and the two other texts by Wetzstein as C 1254a.

426. *l ^{c}bd bn yṯ^{c} bn s̄ll wqrḥ f' ^{c}wr*

By ^{c}BD son of YṮ^{c} son of S̄LL; and he was afflicted with ulcers and blind in one eye.

A dancing figure, of most unusual posture, accompanies the text (see above, p.53). The word *qrḥ* is new; see the Ar. *qariha*, "to be covered with ulcers". The verb *'^{c}wr* is the 4th form of the well known *^{c}wr*, which is often found in imprecation formulae, such as *w^{c}wr ld y^{c}wr hsfr* (C 58). This curse of *^{c}wr* is regularly rendered as "blindness" or as a verb, "strike blind!". Such a translation, however, is not strictly accurate as this verb has the sense of

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"blindness in one eye", not of complete blindness. A secondary sense is "to mar, injure, spoil" and it is probably this meaning which should be applied to the common curse, so that the pericope of C 58 just quoted would read "Injure him who would injure this inscription". In the present case the verb *ʾᶜwr* is clearly intended to refer to some physical infirmity suffered by the author, who is also afflicted by what seems to have been ulceration of the skin.

Nos. 427 - 430 are on the same rock.

427. *l* [....] *bn ḫzn*

By [....] son of ḪZN.

The initial name has been obliterated. Although some traces of it can still be seen, they are insufficient to suggest any reading.

428. *l qhr bn lbʾ*

By QHR son of LBʾ.

QHR as a personal name is known only from Tham.WTI 85; see the Ar. *qāhir*, "victorious".

429. *l sb bn ʾwsʾl bn* [ʾ]ᶜ[*l*]

By SB son of ʾWSʾL son of [ʾ]ᶜ[L].

The *ʾalif* of the final name here is very faint and the *l* resembles *r*. The same author probably inscribed No.976.

430. *l ᶜṣr b*[*n ṣ*]*wm*

By ᶜṢR son [of Ṣ]WM.

There may have been another letter at the end of the text. The first letter of this last name may be *h*.

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431. *l smry*

By SMRY.

This is a new name although SMR is well known.

432. *l ʾsrr bn ml( )k bn ʿbs*

By ʾSRR son of MLK son of ʿBS.

Two marks, resembling the letters *b* and *ʿayn*, facing in the wrong direction and in a different hand, appear between the *l* and the *k* of the name MLK; these should be disregarded or treated as wasm. It is not possible to determine whether they are earlier or later than, or contemporary with, the inscription.

433. *l ḥnnt bn ḥwd*

By ḤNNT son of HWD.

This text may be by the grandson of the author of WH 2245.

434. *l s̄k bn ʿym*

By S̄K son of ʿYM.

The name ʿYM occurs in WH 3421 only; see the Ar. *ʿāma*, "to thirst for milk".

435. *l ql bn ʾsrk*

By QL son of ʾSRK.

436. *l ʾsll bn ʾʿl*

By ʾSLL son of ʾʿL.

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437. *l ʾlht bn [ʾ]ml*

By ʾLHT son of [ʾ]ML.

The initial letter of the second name has been altered and may read either *ʾalif* or *ḥ* .

Nos. 438 - 441 are together on the same stone.

438. *l shm bn ʾsd dʾl tyr*

By SHM son of ʾSD of the tribe of TYR.

The tribal or clan name TYR is new and rather unusual; it is probably to be derived from the root *tyr*, "to swell and dash together (of waves)". Such a name may indicate that this is not to be considered as a tribal one but rather as being generic, with the sense of "the people of the waves", perhaps referring to a seafarer. It is certainly an unusual name to find amongst desert dwellers. It may be, however, that this should be read as the also unknown tribal name ḤYR, the initial letter being *ḥ* rather than *t*.

439. *l sᶜd bn rḥl wqy[y] ᶜl wd bn wd*

By SᶜD son of RḤL, and he prevailed upon WD son of WD.

The name RḤL is new to Saf. but may occur in Tham. JS 14; a name RḤLT is known from Saf. SIJ 678 and 750. The word which follows is a verb, shown in the hand copy to be *qyṣ* . An examination of the photograph, however, shows that the final letter is probably to be read as *y* . The expression *qyy ᶜl* can be related to the Ar. *qawiya ᶜalā*, "to prevail upon someone". The

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remainder of the text apparently preserves the name of the person so prevailed upon, WD son of WD.

440. *l dhm bn h's bn [.]srn wḡnm hḍ'n*

By DHM son of H'S son of [.]SRN,

and he took the sheep as spoil.

The third name has been damaged by a thick scouring of the rock surface, which has obliterated the initial letter and damaged the second. The missing letter was not one executed with a vertical stroke and may have been *b*, *ḥ* or *w*; a name BSRN is known from Tham. BP II 275g. This text illustrates the bedouin "sport" of raiding; "plunder" is something commonly requested of the deities.

441. *l ṣḥr bn 's bn ᶜmr*

By ṢḤR son of 'S son of ᶜMR.

This text was possibly left by the author of No.380 from Jebel al-Ashqaf, although there are variations in the script between the two texts.

442. *l ['by]d bn jfft bn lb'n bn mᶜn bn fbrqn*

ḏ'l tm wwjm ᶜl 'dᶜl wᶜl m[..y] wᶜl mᶜ[n] wᶜl js̄m

By ['BY]D son of JFFT son of LB'N son of MᶜN

son of FBRQN of the tribe of TM, and he grieved

for 'DᶜL and for M[..Y] and for Mᶜ[N] and for JS̄M.

The reading of the first name as 'BYD is uncertain. The hand copy reads ṢMHD but it is clear from a close examination of the photograph that this name has been tampered with. The name LB'N is new in Saf. but is found in both Sab. and Ḥaḍ., while LB' is

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to be found in Saf. (HIn 508). The name read here as FBRQN is rather enigmatical and no possible derivation for such a name can be suggested by this writer. Were it not for the circumstance of it being isolated between the words *bn* and *d³l* it would be difficult to read this as a name at all. Possibly it represents a foreign name or a distortion of such. The name 'D^{C}L may occur in WH 3788, as listed by HIn 32, but Winnett and Harding have read this name as 'DWL. The letter read as *w*, however, is small and may well be *ᶜayn*. The name M^{C}N is read as the space occupied by the damaged letter is very small. Note the *j* of the name JŠM, which has a dotted centre.

443. *l šᶜfn bn ḥbb*

By Š^{C}FN son of ḤBB.

The name Š^{C}FN is new; see the Ar. *šaᶜifa*, "to be enamoured of".

444. *l zmrt bn nybt*

By ZMRT son of NYBT.

ZMRT is a new name, although ZMR is quite common; see CIK 605/2, Zamīra. This text is inside an enclosing line.

Nos. 445 - 448 are on the same stone.

445. *l kfl bn ḥdt*

By KFL son of ḤDT.

The name KFL is known only from WH 3684. This text shows signs of deliberate mutilation.

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446. *l bdn*

By BDN.

447. *l ['] m[r] b[n] ^{c}tq*

By ['] M[R] son [of] ^{C}TQ.

The first name has been deliberately altered by vandalism. The initial letter of the first name resembles a badly formed *t*.

448. *l ^{c}bs bn s̄r*

By ^{C}BS son of S̄R.

The script of this text is of the type classified here as the 90° script, with the letters *b*, *s* and *s̄* being at right angles to their normal stance.

Nos. 449 - 455 are on the same stone. Nos. 454 and 455 are alongside crudely executed drawings of donkeys, while an equally crude ostrich appears below No. 453. Three groups of seven dots accompany the texts.

449. *l ṣrm*

By ṢRM.

450. *l 'mr bn dr^{c}*

By 'MR son of DR^{C}.

The letter *r* of the name DR^{C} has been altered on the stone but the alteration contrasts clearly with the darker patination of the original letter.

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451. *l ᶜnm bn ḥrtt ḥdr*

This encampment belongs to ᶜNM

son of ḤRTT.

The name ᶜNM is new in Saf. but may occur in Tham. TIJ 293, the reading of which is extemely difficult; see CIK 188/1, ᶜAnama.

452. *l ẓnn bn fḍj*

By ẒNN son of FḌJ.

453. *l ᶜḍy bn s̄ḥb*

By ᶜḌY son of S̄ḤB.

454. *l ᶜz bn ʾmr hᶜr*

This ass belongs to ᶜZ son of ʾMR.

455. *l bnn bn bḥrmḥ hᶜr*

This ass belongs to BNN son of BḤRMḤ.

456. *l ᶜḏr bn whs̄*

By ᶜḎR son of WḤS̄.

This text is roughly enclosed by a broken line.

Nos. 457 and 458 are on the same stone.

457. *l s̄ql bn ṯlbt*

By S̄QL son of ṮLBT.

The name S̄QL is new, although S̄QLT is attested. ṮLBT is known only from No. 99 of this collection.

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458. *l jmr bn dr^{c}*

By JMR son of DR^{C}.

This text has been written as two lines, both reading from left to right. A text with apparently identical names is No. 6 from Jebel el-^{C}Aritayn on the opposite side of the Harrat ar-Rājil. Possibly by the same author too are Nos. 545, 1017 and WH 2383a.

Nos. 459 and 460 are on the same stone.

459. *l jbn b^{c}d*

By JBN, he was far away.

The name is a new one; see the Ar. *jabana*, "to be low spirited, faint hearted". This may be an epithet used by the author in place of his personal name to indicate his grief at separation from his tribe or family, an interpretation suggested by the use of the verb *b^{c}d*. The text may read "By the low-spirited one; he was far away". The verb *b^{c}d* occurs with a similar meaning in No. 279.

460. *l h's y[ẓlh] hmnt*

By H'S; weakness is overshadowing him (?).

This translation is doubtful, if only because of the damaged letters. Such a usage of the verb *ẓl*, in the imperfect, is unknown and the interpretation of the word *hmnt* must depend on the reading of the preceding damaged word. See the Ar. *munnat*, "strength, weakness". *mnt* here could conceivably be the name of the goddess Manāt, although she is otherwise unattested in Safaitic religion.

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Nos. 461 and 462 are on the same stone.

461. *l bḫlh bn ḡbn hbkr*[*t*]

This young [she]-camel belongs

to BḪLH son of ḠBN.

The drawing of the camel has been badly weathered and is nearly indistinguishable from the surface of the rock.

462. *l ʾwst bn ʾsyb*

By ʾWST son of ʾSYB.

This inscription is possibly by the same author as SIJ 937, from Tell el-ᶜAbd. The two texts have been inscribed in similar hands.

Nos. 463 and 464 are on the same stone.

463. *l sᶜhm bn rbn bn* [ᶜ]*nd*

By SᶜHM son of RBN son of [ᶜ]ND.

The reading of the name ᶜND is uncertain as the initial letter of the name has been damaged. However, only a small letter would fit the lacuna. Note that SIJ 964 is by a certain SᶜHM bn RB and it is possible that the second name should be read as RBN as the small size of the letter *n* may occassionally cause it to be overlooked by the copyist.

464. *l ḥr bn ʾṣll*

By ḤR son of ʾṢLL.

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Nos. 465, 465a and 466 are on the same stone.

465. *l ᶜdy bn ʾf[l] hstrt hrḏw wqyt*

This hiding place belongs to ᶜDY son of ʾF[L]; O RḎW grant protection.

The final letter of the second name has been heavily scoured by a later vandal. The author was apparently hiding or sheltering in this spot from some threat or danger. For the word *wqyt* with the sense of "protection" see C 1682.

465a. *l hᶜwḏ bn nf*

By HᶜWḎ son of NF.

466. *l hys bn whs*

By HYS son of WHS.

467. *l [j]rr bn ṯ[bb] bn [ʾ]ḥb b[n ᶜ]m[r]t*

By [J]RR son of Ṯ[BB] son of [ʾ]ḤB [son of ᶜ]M[R]T.

This text appears to have been deliberately altered so as to be rendered unreadable. It appears to read, at first glance, *l wrz bn tss sn shb ᶜhjmṯt* , but upon closer examination it is possible to distinguish the original forms of most of the letters. From the patination it would seem that this vandalization took place not long after the text was originally inscribed. The name ṮBB is new; see the Ar. *ṯabba*, "to be completed".

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468. *l [j]mt bn hrst*

By [J]MT son of HRST.

HRST is new; see the Ar. *harisa*, "to be gluttonous".

Nos. 469 - 471 are on the same stone.

469. *l n'f bn hnk*

By N'F son of HNK.

N'F is a new name; see the Ar. *na'ifa*, "to quench one's thirst".

470. *l mš̄ᶜr bn š̄ᶜr bn mnᶜ*

By MŠ̄ᶜR son of Š̄ᶜR son of MNᶜ.

471. *l hj bn hrb bn hy*

By HJ son of HRB son of HY.

Nos. 472 - 475 are on the same stone.

472. *l hlt bn mš̄ll*

By HLT son of MŠ̄LL.

This text was executed in very fine, faint letters. The name MŠ̄LL is new; see the Ar. *šalla*, "to have a dried, withered hand".

473. *l ᶜmm bḡr*

By ᶜMM, it rained abundantly.

The verb *bḡr* is new to Saf.; see the Ar. *baǧara*, "to rain in abundance".

474. *l bhm bn kml*

By BHM son of KML.

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475. *l dl bn 'f[k]l*

By DL son of 'F[K]L.

'FKL is an attested name but the reading is not certain as the two final letters cannot be seen on the photograph. The hand copy reads 'FRL, an unlikely name, and we have restored 'FKL.

Nos. 476 and 477 are on different faces of the same stone.

476. *l ṣbwn bn bhjh*

By ṢBWN son of BḤJH.

This inscription is a rather square script and appears to have been vandalised.

477. *l bll bn rhq*

By BLL son of RHQ.

This text has been enclosed by a broken line, resembling a rough cartouche, to which seven strokes have been attached perpendicularly.

478. *l zm bn rfl bn ḫfy bn ʿn [h]mrr*

[The] myrrh (?) belongs to ZM son of

RFL son of ḪFY son of ʿN.

The name RFL occurs only in LP 1281. The reading of the end of the text is uncertain. The word *mrr* may refer to the precious aromatic myrrh, which may have been carried through the region by caravans. If so it would be the first such reference in a Safaitic inscription. On the other hand it may be related to the verb *mrr*, with the meaning "to pass through", with the sense of "the one who was passing by".

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Nos. 479 - 483 are on the same stone.

479. *l jrm bn m[z] bn s̄ᶜ*

By JRM son of M[Z] son of S̄ᶜ.

480. *l wzy bn*

By WZY, he remained (here).

481. *l hm[r]*

By HM[R].

Both the *m* and the *r* here are lying at right angles to their more usual position. The form of the *r* is unusual.

482. *l fnq bn hj bn drh*

By FNQ son of HJ son of DRH.

483. *l yhld bn ᶜrt*

By YHLD son of ᶜRT.

484. *l [s]rm bn yhm'l*

By [S]RM son of YHM'L.

Nos. 485 - 487 are on the same stone.

485. *l 'd bn ᶜm*

By 'D son of ᶜM.

486. *l qrsm bn nzl*

By QRSM son of NZL.

The name NZL occurs elsewhere only in WH 3723.

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487. *l bnfr' w[...] h[r]jm*

By BNFR', and he [...] this cairn.

This composite name is a new one, although the element FR' is to be found alone. The remainder of the text is very difficult to read. The expected verb following the conjunction is impossible to make out and the noun *rjm* is not restored with complete certainty.

488. *l ᶜd bn znt bn ᶜkk*

By ᶜD son of ZNT son of ᶜKK.

The text has been enclosed by a rough line, as has ISB 392, which appears to be by the same author. ISB 390 is probably by this author's brother, while SIJ 766 and ISB 408 may be by the father. ISB 392, 390 and 408 are from the Wadi Mūqat, some 35km to the north of the present text and SIJ 766 was found at Tell el-ᶜAbd.

Nos. 489 and 490 are on the same stone.

489. *l whbn bn ṣrm*

By WHBN son of ṢRM.

490. *l bnyᶜmr bn 'ᶜbd*

By BNYᶜMR son of 'ᶜBD.

WH 636 may be by the same author.

491. *l [y]ḥb[n] bn 'kbr*

By [Y]ḤB[N] son of 'KBR.

This is a very faint, badly weathered inscription. The name YḤBN is new; it is from the root *ḥbb*.

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Nos. 492 and 493 are on the same rock.

492. *l hysr bn ḏhd*

By HYSR son of ḎHD.

493. *l smm bn ḥrs*

By SMM son of ḤRS.

Nos. 494 - 497 are on the same rock.

494. *l s̄rk bn bqrt*

By S̄RK son of BQRT.

This text has been enclosed by a line.

495. *l [jrm]*

By [JRM]

This text has been badly mutilated and is largely illegible. It has been enclosed by a rough cartouche.

496. *l whb[n] bn s̄[r]ḫ*

By WHB[N] son of S̄[R]Ḫ.

The reading of the second name is doubtful as nothing of it can be made out from the photograph, while the hand copy reads S̄[L]Ḫ, an unattested name. The name S̄RḪ is known only from WH 346l. The rock surface here has been badly damaged.

497. *l rs̄bn bn ḥrtt bn ḥrb*

By RS̄BN son of ḤRTT son of ḤRB.

No. 573 was apparently by the same author.

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498. *l ʾṯy*

By ʾṮY.

499. *l klb*

By KLB.

500. *l ʾhk bn sny bn hmlk*

By ʾHK son of SNY son of HMLK.

ʾHK is known only from WH 2624. A text which might be by a brother of this author is BM 122182b (see RyBM), from near ʾAzraq in Jordan.

501. *l zmt bn rbn*

By ZMT son of RBN.

No name ZMT is formerly attested; see the Ar. *zamuta*, "to have a grave mien" and CIK 611/2, Zumait.

502. *l rs̄bn*

By RS̄BN.

This is the name of the author of No. 497 but the hand is different.

503. *l sʾlt bn dd*

By SʾLT son of DD.

504. *l slm bn ᶜly (wasm)*

By SLM son of ᶜLY.

What appears to be a wasm follows this text and there are a

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number of other marks on the rock. All have a similar patination and must be roughly contemporary.

Nos. 505 - 507 are on the same stone.

505. *l hnf bn ḥrt*

By HNF son of ḤRT.

HNF is a new name; see the Ar. *hannafa*, "to hasten".

506. *l ᶜwl bn bnt*

By ᶜWL son of BNT.

507. *l ʾl bn f[..]*

By ʾL son of F[..]

This is a very faint text which is almost illegible. The end is impossible to make out at all.

508. *l mṯ bn ʾmrr bn ᶜtf*

By MṮ son of ʾMRR son of ᶜTF.

The name MṮ is attested in WH 3553, although WH read MT[ᶜ]. The letters *l* and *t* appear before the beginning of this text but both have been deliberately erased.

509. *l slj bn wsmt*

By SLJ son of WSMT.

Seven dots are above this text.

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510. *l rb'l bn 'swr*

By RB'L son of 'SWR.

This text is possibly by the same author as SIJ 220, an identical text in the same hand, and WH 344. SIJ 220 is from Jathūm, while WH 344 is from near Qasr Burqu^{c}. Two groups of seven dots are with the text, one above and one below it.

511. *l sly bn ḥwr*

By SLY son of ḤWR.

Nos. 512 - 515 are on the same rock.

512. *l qrṣ bn ḏkr*

By QRṢ son of ḎKR.

The word *bn* and the initial letter of the second name have been deliberately mutilated.

513. *l 'bḡḍ bn m^{c}n*

By 'BḠḌ son of M^{c}N.

This text is possibly by the same author as ISB 322, 469, WH 22, 644, 2904 and 3782.

514. *l nḥm bn s̄dy*

By NḤM son of S̄DY.

This text is possibly by the same author as ISB 192 and 246. The hand of all three appears similar but this is unverifiable from Oxtoby's hand copies.

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515. *l ʾt̲ᶜ bn ḥft*

By ʾT̲ᶜ son of ḤFT.

Nos. 516 and 517 are on another face of the rock on which were Nos. 512 - 515.

516. *l r[j bn]n[j]r bn bjt [w]r mn[y]*

By R[J son of]N[J]R son of BJT,

he rejected death.

A difficult text which has been badly damaged. The reading of the ending is uncertain. The word *wr* here may be a verb; see the Ar. *warra*, "to reject". This text may mean that the author was on the verge of death but recovered.

517. *h rḏw sᶜd bn [..] bn qḏyt ḥmnjr wflṯh*

O RḎW help BN[..] son of QDYT, the one

suffering from thirst, and deliver him!

The text has been deliberately mutilated so as to erase much of the name of the supplicant. The name QDYT is new; see the Ar. *qādiyat*, "emigrant". The next word provides the reason for the plea to the deity - the author is suffering from thirst (for the verb *njr* see No. 240).

Nos. 518 - 526 are on the same rock, along with drawings of five gazelles and an ostrich.

518. *l d[ᶜ]l bn hᶜwḏ hdr*

This encampment belongs to D[ᶜ]L son of HᶜWD̲.

The name DᶜL is new; see the Ar. *daᶜala*, "to coax".

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519. *l smd*

By SMD.

This name occurs elsewhere only in WH 3334. Although HIn 327 lists WH 401 as possibly containing this name WH read it as S^{c}D. An examination of the facsimile of this text, however, reveals the name to be SJD, a previously unattested name; see the Ar. *sajada*, "to bow down" and *sajjād*, "worshipper".

520. *l dl bn mnf*

By DL son of MNF.

521. *l ʾhwd bn [^{c}n]y*

By ʾHWD son of [^{c}N]Y.

The name ^{c}NY is in WH 3105 only. The reading of this name here is uncertain as the stone has been weathered at this point. In the case of WH 3105 the editors believe ^{c}NY to be an error for ^{c}LY : "probably the author intended ^{c}LY". However, there is nothing to substantiate such an hypothesis and the name must be read as it appears. See the Ar. *^{c}anā*, "to mean, intend".

522. *l nẓr*

By NẒR.

523. *l ^{c}bd*

By ^{c}BD.

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524 and 525. This text has been very poorly executed and is largely illegible. This was originally thought to be two separate texts but closer examination suggests that this is only one. It may read :

l tqr[.]ws[.]ml[.]j bn slm

By TQR [.....] son of SLM.

No name TQR is attested and the derivation of such a name would be difficult to determine.

526. *l flj*

By FLJ.

This name is enclosed by a line.

Nos. 527 - 532 are on the same stone.

527. *l ᶜyt*

By ᶜYT.

This name is only in WH 1520.

528. *l ʾmy*

By ʾMY.

529. *l ᶜnb*

By ᶜNB.

This name may recur in WH 3738 and in No. 549. See the Ar. *ᶜannāb*, "grape seller" and CIK 190/1, ᶜAnnāb.

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530. *l yṯ^{c}* [....

By YṮ^{C} [....

Another word may have followed this name but it is now illegible.

531. *l s^{c}d bn wjd*

By S^{C}D son of WJD.

532. *l jm*

By JM.

Nos. 533 and 534 are on the same stone.

533. *l šrd bn ^{c}mr bn šll bn 'bl*

By ŠRD son of ^{C}MR son of ŠLL son of 'BL.

This text is probably by a son of the author of No. 158, from Murabb as-Suwei^{c}id, and No. 382, from Tell al-Ashqaf. Here the ancestry is traced back one more generation to 'BL, which is an unattested name; see the Ar. *'abila*, "to be a skilled manager of camels" or possibly *balla*, "to moisten, enjoy, etc.".

534. *l qḥf bn ḥdln bn bjdt bn fhrn bn* [*bql*] *bn yshh*

By QḤF son of ḤDLN son of BJDT son of FHRN son of [BQL] son of YSHH.

The name QḤF is attested only in Tham. WTI 51 . The reading of the name BQL is reasonably certain although the rock has been damaged at this point.

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Nos. 535 - 538 are on the same stone.

535. *l ns' bn 'hlm bn hm^{c}d bn whdy*

By NS' son of 'HLM son of HM^{C}D son of WHDY.

536. *l šdy bn 'hlm bn hm^{c}d*

By ŠDY son of 'HLM son of HM^{C}D.

This text is by a brother of the previous author.

537. *l hrmn bn smm*

By HRMN son of SMM.

538. *l 'hlm bn hm^{c}d whdr bnql*

By 'HLM son of HM^{C}D, and he was present at the rain-water flood.

This is by the father of the authors of Nos. 535 and 536.

Inscriptions Nos. 539 - 553 were found around a second, smaller cairn some 30m to the south of the former site.

Nos. 539 and 540 were together on the same stone.

539. *l bs^{c}dh bn whb*

By BS^{C}DH son of WHB.

540. *l gt bn hzl*

By GT son of HZL.

541. *l dmn*

By DMN.

This name is to be found in C 300, where it is read as DM, and

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it is so listed in HIn 384. The facsimile (Corpus, Tab. XCVIII, Dunand 1389) clearly shows this name to be DMN; see the Ar. *damina*, "to guarantee, to be afflicted with a chronic disease".

542. *l dkr bn ᶜdr*

By DKR son of ᶜDR.

This inscription was on another face of the same rock as the previous.

543. *l ᶜdy bn ᶜns*

By ᶜDY son of ᶜNS.

A later addition to this stone could be read as *l rb* , "By RB".

544. *l ᶜwdt bn wᶜd*

By ᶜWDT son of WᶜD.

545. *l jmr bn [d]rᶜ*

By JMR son of [D]Rᶜ.

Nos. 6, 458 and 1017 are identical texts to this one.

Nos. 546 - 549 are on the same stone.

546. *l qšft bn ʾslḥ*

By QŠFT son of ʾSLḤ.

The name QŠFT is new; see the Ar. *qašīfa*, "to lead a painful life".

547. *l ḏḥ bn ss[l]*

By ḎḤ son of SS[L]

No name SSL is known and it seems a most unlikely reading. It

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appears quite clearly on the stone as SSL but perhaps we should read it as the known name YSL, assuming either an error by the scribe or a deliberate alteration of the word by a vandal.

548. *l jḥs̄n bn ʾsd*

By JḤS̄N son of ʾSD.

The name JḤS̄N occurs only in WH 1496.

549. *l ḥbb bn ᶜnb*

By ḤBB son of ᶜNB.

See No. 529 for the name ᶜNB.

550. *l drḥ bn ᶜṯmt ḥẓbyn*

These gazelles are by DRḤ son of ᶜṮMT.

The inscription is roughly enclosed by a line, while drawings of four gazelles and two dogs accompany the text. ISB 1 is possibly by the same author and the hands of both are similar. The word *ẓbyn* is new in Saf., although the dual fem. form *ẓbytn* is found in ISB 70. Here it would appear to be a plural and it refers to the accompanying drawing, which has been well executed.

551. *l rjl bn msk*

By RJL son of MSK.

By the same author may be ISB 8.

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552. *l j^{c}tm*

By J^{C}TM.

553. *l b^{c}mh bn zr bn 'my bn sbwn*

By B^{C}MH son of ZR son of 'MY son of SBWN.

The name SBWN occurs in No.476. Note also No. 1110, which reads "By ZR son of 'MY son of WSBN son of MN'L". In this case the name WSBN may be an error for SBWN, which is an example of the nominal QTWL formation (see JaSN, p. 126 - 127).

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SITE H - South shore of the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya. (From around two cairns on a low rise approximately one kilometre to the south-east of the previous site. Nos. 554 - 610 are on or about the more northerly while Nos. 611 - 706 are around the second cairn some 50m to the south-east. A third cairn further to the south-east has no inscriptions near it. See Map 5).

554. *l ḥsn bn y^{c}mr*

By ḤSN son of Y^{c}MR.

Nos. 555 and 556 are on the same stone.

555. *l wkyt bn ḏkrn [bn ḥ]qm*

By WKYT son of ḎKRN [son of Ḥ]QM

556. *l ʾwsʾl bn mnḥl*

By ʾWSʾL son of MNḤL.

MNḤL is not previously attested as a personal name; see the Ar. *naḥl*, "gift", or *nāḥil*, "lean". This name recurs in Nos. 761 and 1097 of this collection. The text is in a square form of script.

557. *l mlkt bn jḏl*

By MLKT son of JḎL.

JḎL is attested as a personal name only in C 2921. It is also found as a tribal or clan name (HIn 156). This text is enclosed by a line, inside of which also is a drawing of a human figure holding in one hand a bow and arrow and, in the other, what appear to be three arrows. There is also a drawing of a rayed

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solar disc consisting of five concentric circles, from which the spoke-like rays are emanating. Seven dots appear below the figure's bow arm and seven short strokes are between the text and the enclosing line. (A photograph of this text can be seen in V.A. Clark, "New Epigraphical Material from the Harra Region of Jordan", in ADAJ, XXI, 1976, p.116, Fig.3).

558. *l šj^{c}t bn ʾṣhb*

By ŠJ^{C}T son of ʾṢHB.

This text is enclosed by a line.

Nos. 559 and 560 are on the same stone; two series of seven dots accompany them.

559. *l hnʾ bn bjt bn ḏhl rʾh*

By HNʾ son of BJT son of

ḎHL; he saw it/him (?).

The word *rʾ* is read in C 1338 and 5263, where it is considered to be a verb and is related to the Ar. *raʾā*, "to see". The final *h* here is to be read as a 3rd person pronoun suffix. What it was that the author saw, however, is far from obvious, although the text seems to assume that the reader would also see it.

560. *l nmr bn ṯ^{c}t bn ʾṯm*

By NMR son of Ṯ^{C}T son of ʾṮM.

The name ʾṮM occurs only in Tham. TIJ 257.

561. *l snnt*

By ṢNNT.

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Nos. 562 - 567 are on the same stone.

562. *l mtl bn ʿwd bn rbn*

By MTL son of ʿWD son of RBN.

The name MTL is known in Saf. only from RyF 1.

563. *l lhbn bn d'y bn bs' bn 'sd*

By LHBN son of D'Y son of BS' son of 'SD.

The name LHBN is known only from WH 1981.

564. *l rmn bn rmt bn d'[y] bn bs' bn 'sd*

By RMN son of RMT son of D'[Y] son of BS' son of 'SD.

This text is by a nephew of the author of the previous one.

565. *l ʿm bn yṯʿ bn rbn bn bs'*

By ʿM son of YṮʿ son of RBN son of BS'.

566. *l jhfl bn d'y*

By JHFL son of D'Y.

567. *l jlhm bn d'y bn bs'*

By JLHM son of D'Y son of BS'.

It would appear from texts Nos. 562 - 567 that the authors of these were all interrelated. This view is supported by the fact that all of these inscriptions were closely juxtaposed on the same stone. Furthermore, No. 602 is by the father of the authors of Nos. 563, 566 and 567. This allows the following

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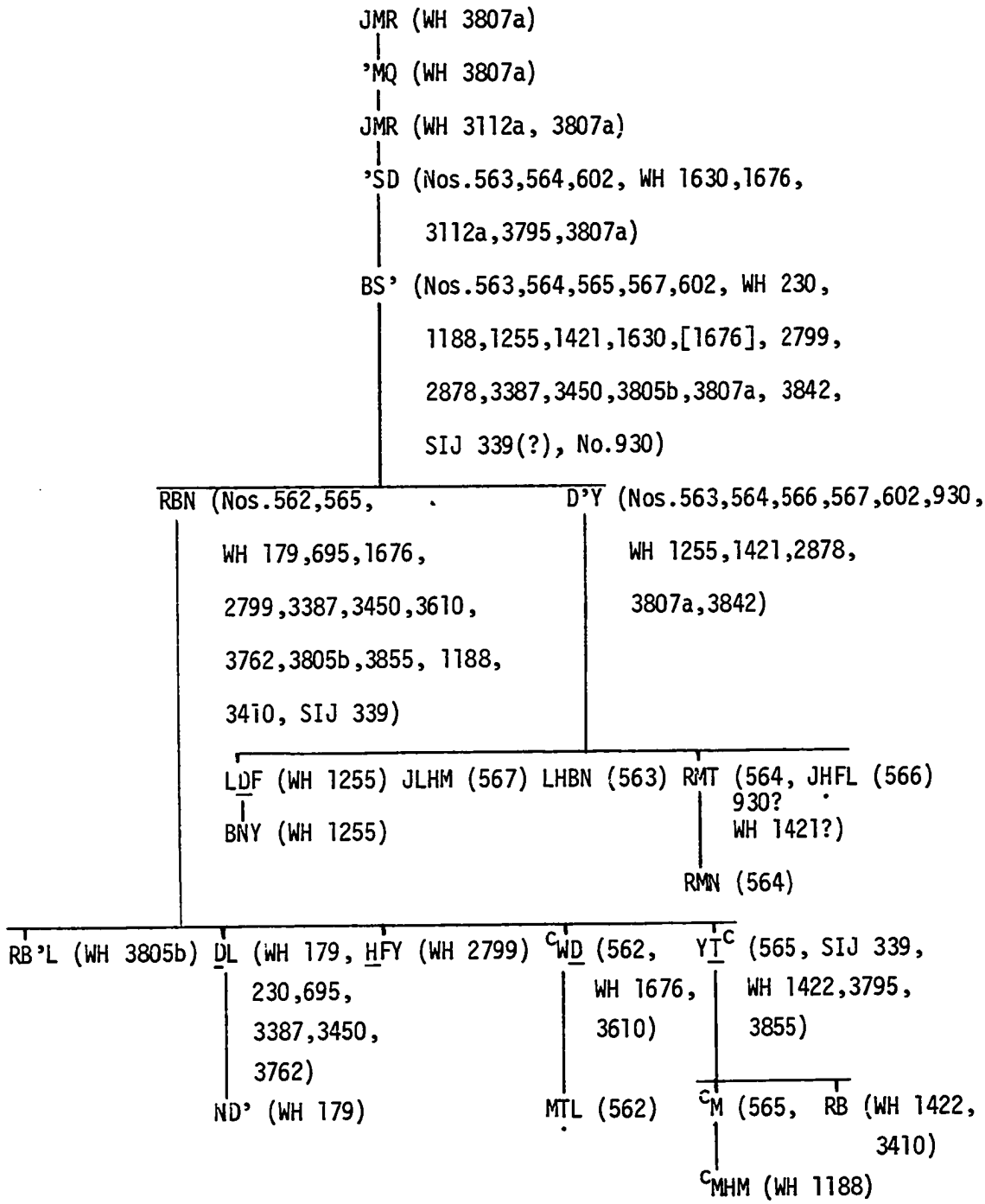
tentative genealogical table to be constructed, utilizing material from WH and incorporating the genealogical table drawn up under WH 230 :



The inclusion in this chart of texts containing only two generations or with doubtful readings must remain tentative but it is suggested

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that it is largely an accurate representation of the family relationships shown.

568. *l ḥdln bn ʿwʿl*

By ḤDLN son of WʿL.

This text is surrounded by a line.

569. *l qrn bn ʿwḏ*

By QRN son of ʿWḎ.

This text is enclosed by a rough line and seven dots have been drawn near its beginning.

570. *l ḏhdt bn ṣwl*

By ḎHDT son of ṢWL.

The letter *ḏ* of the name ḎHDT here is unusual, consisting of a rectangle, which has been disected internally by two lines crossing at right angles. A similar occurrence of such a form is to be noted in WH 3736a.

571. *l ʿl bn ʾtʿ*

By ʿL son of ʾṮʿ.

Possibly by the same author are Nos. 715, 919 and WH 3847.

Nos. 572 - 574 are on the same stone.

572. *l ḫrʿt bn ʿḥm bn jḏl*

By ḪRʿT son of ʿḤM son of JḎL.

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573. *l rs̄bn bn hrṯt bn hrb*

By RS̄BN son of HRṮT son of HRB.

This text is by the same author as No. 497, an identical text from the previous site. The script of these is identical.

574. *l* [...] *bn ftk*

By [...] son of FTK.

The first name is entirely missing owing to the flaking away of the surface of the rock.

575. *l qdm bn rb*

By QDM son of RB.

576. *l slm b*[*n*] *ḏb*

By SLM [son of] ḎB.

The initial part of the text, *l slm*, is in different hand to the rest, the letters being larger and thicker. The *n* of *bn* appears more like the letter *l* but this reading of the text is supported by No. 800, which reads "By SLM son of ḎB".

577. *l h'b bn 'ṯ*^{c}

By H'B son of 'Ṯ^{C}.

The name H'B occurs only once previously in Saf. in HTap 30.

578. *l mrṯ bn zlm hndr* ^{c}*m f*^{c}*m ḡtl whrdy flṯ*

By MRṮ son of ZLM, this prominent ground year after year of abundance; and O RḎY grant deliverance!

The name MRṮ is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *marita*, "to have little

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hair" and the Ar. personal name Murait (CIK 432/1,2). Both Ryckmans and Harding (HIn 541) recognise MRT as a possible place name in C 1874, the ending of which is most obscure, probably because of the inaccuracy of the orignal copy of the text. Upon examination of the facsimile (Corpus, Tab.LXXIII, Dunand 500a) it becomes apparent that the word in question cannot be read as MRT, the letter read as *m* being quite unlike the other examples of this letter in the same text, while the letter read as *r* is clearly *b* when it is compared to the other examples of both *r* and *b* which occur in the text. Unfortunately, no alternative reading of this can be suggested here. The name MRT, however, recurs in Nos. 595, 599 (which is by a son of the present author) and 649.

The word *ndr* is new but may be compared to the Ar. *nādir*, "prominent ground, rise, promontory", a description which aptly describes the low rocky promontory where the text was located. There can be no question of reading the common expression *hdr* here as the letter *n* is clear and unambiguous.

As regards the expression *ᶜm fᶜm* the interpretation given by Winnett (SIJ 72) has been followed, rather than that suggested by A.Jamme (in Jaf, p.416f). Jamme's interpretation of the expression cannot be readily accepted. In those instances in which he does recognise the use of this expression he would render it by "a whole day", relating the word *ᶜm* to the Ar. *ᶜayām*, "day" and *fᶜm* to the Ar. *faᶜm*, "full". Such an interpretation results in the most unlikely readings, such as "and he grieved a whole day" (SIJ 119) and "this place belonged to ..... a

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whole day" (SIJ 171). At the same time Jamme rejects as "hard to accept" Winnett's reading of texts such as SIJ 119 because he cannot imagine a person grieving "year after year" (Winnett). What this inscription (SIJ 119) seems to imply is that the author, each year that he returned to this spot, felt some grief for a lost loved one, relative or friend, who may have been buried there or been closely associated with the spot during life, perhaps because of some event which had occurred there. Such traditional association of people and places is quite usual in bedouin society. In this writer's opinion it is quite impossible to accept that a bedouin would grieve for only "a whole day", or that he would lay claim to a particular place for a similar period, as Jamme would have us believe. Furthermore, the identification of the word *ʿm* with the Ar. *ʿayām* cannot be supported. One would expect to find this written as *ʿym*, although a form *ʿm* cannot be discounted. The identification of *ʿm* with the Ar. *ʿām*, "year", is less of a problem in this respect. Finally, as regards Jamme's objection that we should expect to find the word *snt* employed for "year", rather than its synonym *ʿm* (Jaf, p.416), it must be stressed that the word *snt* is usually attested only in reference to a specific year, referring to a specific event - "the year of ..." (but see WH 2829 for the expression *snt fsnt* - the first such attestation). At the same time the word *ʿm*, referring to time, is only to be found in the idiom *ʿm fʿm*. The evidence points to Winnett's original interpretation being the correct one.

The word *ġṭl* is new; it is to be related to the Ar. *ġaṭyala*, "to have an abundance of livestock, crops or fodder". Here it seems to be a substantive, describing several years of abundance.

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579. *l ᶜn'lh bn nh*

By ᶜN'LH son of NH.

ᶜN'LH is a new composite theophoric name. Both ᶜN and ᶜN'L are attested. NH is found only in C 42 and LP 851.

580. *l kᶜmh bn r..*

By KᶜMH son of R..

This text is clearly unfinished, although no trace of any other letters was observed on the rock.

Nos. 581 - 584 are on the same rock.

581. *l jrm'l bn ᶜly bn dsm*

By JRM'L son of ᶜLY son of DSM.

The name DSM is new; see the Ar. *dusmat*, "grey-black colour, dusty, greasy", relating, it would seem, to a person of dusky complexion. This text was enclosed by a line.

582. *l 'st bn mlḏ bn r[jl]*

By 'ST son of MLḎ son of R[JL].

'ST is known only from SIJ 525 and C 4601. The text is very faint and a faint drawing of a camel accompanies it.

583. *l (wasm) ḏr [b]n [b]ᶜmh*

By (wasm) ḎR [son] of [B]ᶜMH.

584. *l bhnnt bn j[..]*

By BHNNT son of J[..].

BHNNT is a new name; see the Ar. *hannānat*, "weeping woman,

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female mourner". The last two letters of the second name are illegible.

585. *l ḥbb bnw*

By ḤBB, he built (?).

The word *bnw* here may be a verb, perhaps a variant of the well known *bny* "he built". On the other hand the text may have been left unfinished, although there is no trace of any other letters on the stone.

586. *l dr bn bᶜmh bn fd*

By DR son of BᶜMH son of FD.

This is possibly by the author of No. 579. The name FD is known only from WH 1788 and C 1828. Seven strokes are above the text.

Nos. 587 - 590 are on the same stone.

587. *l ʾshʾlh bn ql*

By ʾSHʾLH son of QL.

This text has been badly weathered and is clearly older than the other three texts on the stone, all of which are in good condition. Perhaps by the same author is No. 236, while No. 869 is perhaps by this author's son.

588. *l ʾs bn hyft*

By ʾS son of ḤYFT.

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589. *l mry bn [k]zl*

By MRY son of [K]ZL.

The initial letter of the second name has been damaged but appears to be *k*. However, no name KZL is attested, nor is there any root *kzl* in Arabic. It is probably to be explained as a compound name of the elements *k + zl;* see the Ar. *zalla,* "to slip, err", or perhaps *zāla,* "to cease, pass away". Attention should be drawn here to A.Jamme's reading of the inscription C 3480 (JaSN, p.139), where he reads the second name as KZLH, a "new theophorous name" (which would read "LH, or Allah, has become dried up, niggardly"!). The editor of the Corpus, however, reads this as KZDH, a reading which is quite clear on the facsimile (Corpus, Tab. XI , Vogüé 274). Jamme's reason for changing this reading from KZDH to KZLH is "the little dot to the left of the centre of the third letter is too small compared to the letter height to be a part of the letter". Anyone who is familiar with Safaitic inscriptions will acknowledge that such inconsistencies in letter sizes do occur. In fact, Jamme's correction of this name is difficult to understand, coming as it does from one who has, in the past, accused others of "arbitrary corrections or misreadings of letters" (JaSN, p.5). Here it should be stressed again that the facsimiles reproduced in the Corpus cannot be relied upon fully and any reconstruction or rereading of these texts without access to the actual inscription itself is to a large extent fruitless speculation.

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590. *l ʾlht bn ṣl*

By ʾLHT son of ṢL.

This inscription is identical to No.142.

591. *l mḏr bn ʾjht*

By MḌR son of ʾJHT.

Nos. 592 - 596 are on the same stone.

592. *l ngbr bn jd*

By NGBR son of JD.

593. *l jd bn zdh*

By JD son of ZDH.

This is perhaps by the father of the previous author.

594. *l slm bn mskr*

By SLM son of MSKR.

595. *l ʾnᶜm bn h[.]r bn ws[l ..]r*

By ʾNᶜM son of H[.]R son of WS[L ...]

This inscription is almost illegible, being in very fine, small letters and badly weathered. The end is impossible to make out.

596. *l bnḥrʾl bn gnm bn sll bn wzy*

By BNḤRʾL son of GNM son of SLL son of WZY.

BNḤRʾL is a previously unattested composite theophoric name; see the Ar. *ḥurr*, "free, generous".

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597. *l hfy bn 'dn bn ᶜbd*

By HFY son of 'DN son of ᶜBD.

This is on another face of the same rock on which were Nos. 592 - 596. WH 2851 may be by this author's father.

Nos. 598 and 599 are on the same stone.

598. *l hddn bn ᶜdr*

By HDDN son of ᶜDR.

A crude drawing of a human figure accompanies this text.

599. *l mrt*

By MRT.

See No. 578.

600. *l drb bn ntn bn dhl*

By DRB son of NTN son of DHL.

This text is probably by a son of the author of No. 656 and SIJ 756. No. 689 may be by a brother. What appears to be a drawing of a human figure accompanies the text.

601. *l ᶜbd bn wtn bn bty*

By ᶜBD son of WTN son of BTY.

The name WTN is attested only from Rees 168 - 169, WH 1840 and 3892. Rees 168 may be by the same author but the copies made by Rees are so poor that this cannot be stated with certainty. The name BTY is new, although BTYT is known (HIn 109).

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602. *l d'y bn bs' bn 'sd*

By D'Y son of BS' son of 'SD.

For this author's genealogy see the chart under No. 563. Accompanying the text is a stick figure, below which are seven dots.

603. *l jrd bn mṛṭ bn ẓlm wṣḥd bḥrf fḥrḍw slm hn*

By JRD son of MRṬ son of ẒLM, and he was alone in the fertile land, so O RḌW grant security here.

This text is by a son of the author of No. 578. The noun is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *rīf*, "fertile land, cultivated land". It occurs as a verb in SIJ 873 and HTap 55, with the meaning "to pasture in fertile land". The word here may refer simply to the spot where the text was found when it was providing good pastures, or it may refer to the cultivated lands of Syria, Palestine or Mesopotamia. The use of the adverb *hn*, "here", at the end of the text, however, would tend to suggest that the area referred to as *rf* was in fact the Qā^{c} al-^{c}Arqadiya . The use of *hn* as an adverb is unattested elsewhere in Saf., although Littmann tentatively reads this in LP 1211 and 1213, despite the fact that it does not appear in the facsimile of either text.

Note that in this instance a rayed disc has been drawn between the words *slm* and *hn*.

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604. *l s̄bt*

By S̄BT.

Nos. 605 - 607 are on the same stone.

605. *l ʾby bn rbʾl*

By ʾBY son of RBʾL.

606. *l bḥy bn ʾby*

By BḤY son of ʾBY.

This is apparently by a son of the previous author. The name BḤY is unattested previously; it is probably a compound of *b + ḥy* ; see the Ar. *ḥayy*, "life".

607. *l shwy bn sb*

By SHWY son of SB.

SHWY is new; see the Ar. *sahā*, "to shave".

608. *l ẓnn bn ḥjj bn sᶜdʾl*

By ẒNN son of ḤJJ son of SᶜDʾL.

A drawing of a human figure, a rayed solar disc and seven dots accompanies the inscription.

Nos. 609 and 610 are on the same stone, along with a camel drawing.

609. *l slm ḥbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to SLM.

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610. *l ḥlk bn ḥyt whyṯ^{c} s^{c}dh whrdw flṯh*

By ḤLK son of ḤYT, and O YṮ^{C} help him and O RDW deliver him.

The following inscriptions, Nos. 611 - 706, are from the second cairn, some 50m to the south-east of the former.

611. *l zdh*

By ZDH.

612. *l hnn tb mhn*

By HNN; curse him who is contemptible!

An unusual text. The imprecation is a new one. For *tb* "curse" or "cut off" see the Ar. *tabba*, "to cut off" and *tabbaba*, "to utter a curse". The word *mhn* is considered here to be derived from the root *hwn* ; see the Ar. *hāna*, "to be weak, comtemptible".

Nos. 613 and 614 are on the same rock.

613. *l rbn bn drh*

By RBN son of DRH.

614. *l ^{c}hyn bn ḡnṯ bn yhl*

By ^{C}HYN son of ḠNṮ son of YHL.

^{C}HYN is known only from C 4487 and SIJ 397.

615. *l shm bn md^{c} bn s̄ddt bn ^{c}ḏ*

By SHM son of MD^{C} son of S̄DDT son of ^{C}Ḏ.

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616. *l ʾḥsn bn ʾkr*

By ʾḤSN son of ʾKR.

The letter *ʾalif* of the name ʾḤSN is unlike the usual forms of this letter, more closely resembling the letter *h* . A similar form occurs in Nos. 620 and 666, below. The name ʾKR occurs previously only in SIJ 625 and not in WH 2040 as listed by HIn 61.

617. *l ʾnh bn bjt*

By ʾNH son of BJT.

ʾNH is found in C 4145 and WH 378. As noted by WH this name could be read as the better known ʾLH. Here the letter read as *n* is midway between the size of the initial *l* and the following *n* of *bn*, which word is, however, in smaller letters than the rest of the text.

Nos. 618 and 619 are on the same stone.

618. *l wqs whwb ᶜl ʾḫh*

By WQS, and he grieved for his brother.

For the expression *hwb ᶜl* with the meaning "to grieve for" see WH 73.

619. *l w[s]mt [bn ᶜ]tf*

By W[S]MT [son of ᶜ]TF.

This inscription appears to have been deliberately defaced. The restoration of the *s* of WSMT is fairly certain but the following *bn* is impossible to make out and has been restored only on the assumption that another name follows. The next letter is either *ᶜayn* or *n*, as it occupies only a small space. ᶜTF is found in Saf. C 884 and Tham. TIJ 292.

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The inscriptions 620, 621 and 622 are almost identical texts. Nos. 620 and 621 are on the same stone and No. 622 is on an adjacent one. All three were inscribed by different hands "for ḤRJ", an individual who was clearly a woman. The content of these texts, and of others from the cairn, make it clear that this was a cairn erected for ḤRJ, the only one as yet discovered which belonged to a woman.

620. *l ḥrj bnt ḡṯ ḏ't 'l tm whrjm*

For ḤRJ daughter of ḠṮ, she of the tribe of TM, and this is the (her) cairn.

ḤRJ is a name attested in Saf. and Lih. but it is nowhere found as the name of a woman. The 3rd person feminine demonstrative pronoun *ḏ't* occurs here for the first time in Saf.; it is equivalent to the Ar. *ḏāt* ; the expression *ḏ't 'l* replaces the commonly found masculine form *ḏ'l* . The same pronoun recurs in the two following texts and in No. 412. The expression *whrjm* has the sense "and this is her cairn", the *h* having demonstrative force. An alternate interpretation would be that *hrjm* represents a 4th form verb with the sense "a cairn was erected". It should be noted that the two following texts merely read *wrjm*. The occurrence of a 4th form verb prefixed by *h* is not attested, nor is the use of *rjm* as a verb. In all three of these texts the authors remain unknown.

621. *l ḥrj bnt ḡṯ ḏ't 'l tm wrjm*

For ḤRJ daughter of ḠṮ, she of the tribe of TM, and a cairn (was built).

The letter *ḡ* of the name ḠṮ here resembles the letter *s̄* but

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there can be no doubt as to the reading. The scribe began to inscribe the *ḡ* of this name immediately following the *bn* of *bnt* but, realising his mistake, wrote *t* instead, without bothering to erase the beginnings of the incorrect letter. As a result traces of this can be seen on the stone and the letter *t* is not aligned to the rest of the text.

Nos. 622 - 624 are on the same stone.

622. *l ḥrj bnt ḡṯ ḏ' t 'l tm wrjm*
For ḤRJ daughter of ḠṮ, she of the tribe of TM, and a cairn (was built).

623. *l bn^{c}tm bn ^{c}ḏr wwjm wbny ^{c}l ḥrj*
By BN^{C}TM son of ^{C}ḎR, and he grieved and he built for ḤRJ.

Note that two of the three examples of the letter *^{c}ayn* here consist of small circles with a dot in their centres.

624. *l ḥṯ bn bn^{c}tm bn ḏr wbny ^{c}l ḥrj*
By ḤṮ son of BN^{C}TM son of ḎR, and he built for ḤRJ.

The name ḤṮ is attested only in the Had. text J 892/7 (HIn 608); see the Ar. *haṭṭa*, "to lie, mix", or perhaps *hāṭa*, "to be excited, confused". This text would appear to be by the son of the author of the previous one. However, here the name of the grandfather is given as ḎR, while in the previous text it is ^{C}ḎR. Both readings are perfectly clear. One may assume that one of the texts contains an error, probably the present one.

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Nos. 625 - 629 are on the same stone.

625. *l ʾsd bn slmt d̲ʾl bsʾ*

By ʾSD son of SLMT, of the clan of BSʾ.

The clan or tribal name BSʾ is attested in C 5279 and IM 46940b.

626. *l slmt bn nṣr bn slmt wwjm ᶜl nṣr wbny ᶜl ḥrj*

By SLMT son of NṢR son of SLMT, and he grieved for NṢR and built for ḤRJ.

This text is either by the father of the author of the previous one or by his nephew. The author of the following text expresses identical sentiments to these. Possibly NṢR was also buried in this vicinity.

627. *l mḡyr bn ᶜqrb bn krzn wwjm ᶜl nṣr wbny ᶜl ḥrj*

By MḠYR son of ᶜQRB son of KRZN, and he grieved for NṢR and he built for ḤRJ.

628. *l brd bn ṣrf d̲ʾl ᶜmrt wdt̲ʾ bntj nẓrn rbʾl*

By BRD son of ṢRF, of the tribe of ᶜMRT, and he spent the spring with the animals which were giving birth, while watching out for RBʾL.

The name ṢRF is new; see CIK 538/1, Ṣarif.

For the tribal or clan name ᶜMRT see HST, No.86 and CNAI 1a and 1b.

The word *ntj* is new; compare the Ar. *natūj*, "animal on the point of giving birth. Alternatively it may be a place name.

The use of the active participle *nẓrn* is unusual here, as

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one would expect to find a simple verb introduced by a conjunction. RB'L is a well known name; here it may simply be the name of an individual Safaitic tribesman or it may be the name of one of the Nabataean kings who bore the name, possibly Rabbēl II (c70 - 96 A.D.).

629. *l ᶜd*

By ᶜD.

This text is on the same stone as the previous. It is much older, having a darker patination, and is in crude letters. The name is known only from C 3357 and is of uncertain derivation.

630. *l qhs̄ bn jᶜ[d] d̲ l df*

By QHS̄ son of JᶜD of the tribe of DF.

Part of the letter *d* of the name JᶜD has been destroyed. The tribe of DF is well known and had a wide distribution (HST, No.79). This inscription was executed in tall spindlely letters of approximately 25cm in height. No. 640 is probably by the same person.

Nos. 631 - 633 are on the same stone.

631. *l qymt bn msk bn wʾl wbny ᶜl ḫrj*

By QYMT son of MSK son of W'L,

and he built for ḪRJ.

632. *l mhrb bn ᶜd̲r wbny ᶜl ḫrj*

By MHRB son of ᶜD̲R, and he built for ḪRJ.

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633. *l t'm b[n] ẓhr d' l tm*

By T'M son of ẒHR, of the tribe of TM.

The letter *n* of the word *bn* does not appear on either the photograph or the hand copy. It has been restored here, although the possibility that we should read the text as it stands cannot be discounted; that is : "By T'M father of ẒHR". The possibility of *b* representing *'abū*, "father",in some cases is mentioned in WH, p. 19 but this is not well attested.

634. *l ʿwḏ bn ʿmrn*

By ʿWḎ son of ʿMRN.

635. *l mtʿ bn sʿd*

By MṮʿ son of SʿD.

This text is preceded by three vertical strokes similar to the letter . They do not seem to form part of the text, however.

636. *l slmt bn ṣr wbny ʿl ḥrj*

By SLMT son of NṢR and he built for ḤRJ.

This appears to be by the author of No. 626, in which the author also "built for ḤRJ".

637. *l mhl b(n) hd( ) [ḏ' l] jr wmlḥ*

By MḤL son (of) HD( ) [of the tribe of]

JR, and he traded in salt.

The name HD may be complete or a letter may have been obscured by a growth of lichen, which covered the rock at this point. It

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would seem that this is either complete or that a very small letter was obscured. The word *d'l* has been restored with some certainty as the upper parts of these letters are still visible. The verb *mlḥ*, "to trade in salt" is attested in SIJ 37, 329 and WH 24.

Nos. 638 and 639 are on the same stone.

638. *l ḡlb bn ḥrḍ wwjm ᶜl fḍwt*

By ḠLB son of ḤRḌ, and he grieved for FḌWT.

The name ḤRḌ is known only from WH 2833a, while FḌWT is new; see the Ar. *faḍā*, "to be broad, empty". Perhaps we should read this as the well known name FḌJ, of which the letter *j* has been altered. The letter *t* is located inside the incised lattice pattern which follows the text and it may not in fact be a part of the name.

639. *l ḥḍ ym*

By ḤḌ, he spent the day (here).

ḤḌ is found in C 3200 only. The word *ym* is taken to be a verb; see the Ar. *yāma*, "to spend a day". It would also be possible to read the unattested personal name ḤḌYM, which could be South Arabian in origin (for South Arabian names occurring in Safaitic inscriptions see WH 1425).

640. *l qhs̄ bn jᶜd*

By QḤS̄ son of JᶜD.

This is probably by the same author as No.630.

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641. *l ẓnn bn ḥjj bn s[ᶜd]'l*

By ẒNN son of ḤJJ son of S[ᶜD]'L.

This is an identical inscription to No. 608. The name SᶜD'L has been badly written. As is also the case with No. 608, a human figure and seven dots accompany the text.

642. *l ldf bn yškr*

By LḎF son of YŠKR.

Nos. 643 and 644 are on the same stone.

643. *l hm*

By HM.

644. *l khl bn ḥrb*

By KHL son of ḤRB.

645. *l rḡb bn ᶜjr*

By RḠB son of ᶜJR.

Nos. 646 - 648 are on the same stone.

646. *l jrmt bn yᶜly hdr*

This encampment belongs to JRMT son of YᶜLY.

647. *l wᶜl ḫn nbt bn dhl*

By WᶜL son of NBT son of DḪL.

This text is by the author of WH 704, where three more generations are added to the author's genealogy. No. 654 and ISB 297 may be

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by the present author's father (see the genealogical chart in WH 704). A cruciform figure, possibly intended to be human, is drawn over a circle of seven dots alongside this inscription.

648. *l m^{c}wṯ bn brṣ*

By M^{C}WṮ son of BRṢ.

The name BRṢ is new; see the Ar. *barisa*, "to be leprous".

649. *l qdm bn rḍ bn ml'*

By QDM son of RḌ son of ML'.

Nos. 650 - 656 are on the same stone.

650. *l h's bn 'mn bn bh'*

By H'S son of 'MN son of BH'.

651. *l ^{c}ṯmn bn k[ṯb]ṯ*

By ^{C}ṮMN son of K[ṮB]Ṯ

There is some difficulty involved in the reading of the name KṮBṮ as both of the middle letters have been damaged. The letter *ṯ* is almost impossible to make out on the photograph, while the *b* resembles *m*, as its centre is damaged. There is also a problem with the recognition of this name in other texts. The inscriptions C 2121, 2211, 2516, 2523, 2570, 2582, 3850, 4668, 4745, 4777 and 4972 all have the name of the same individual, whom the Corpus editor has called "Kathīrat". An examination of the facsimiles of all of these texts will show that in some cases

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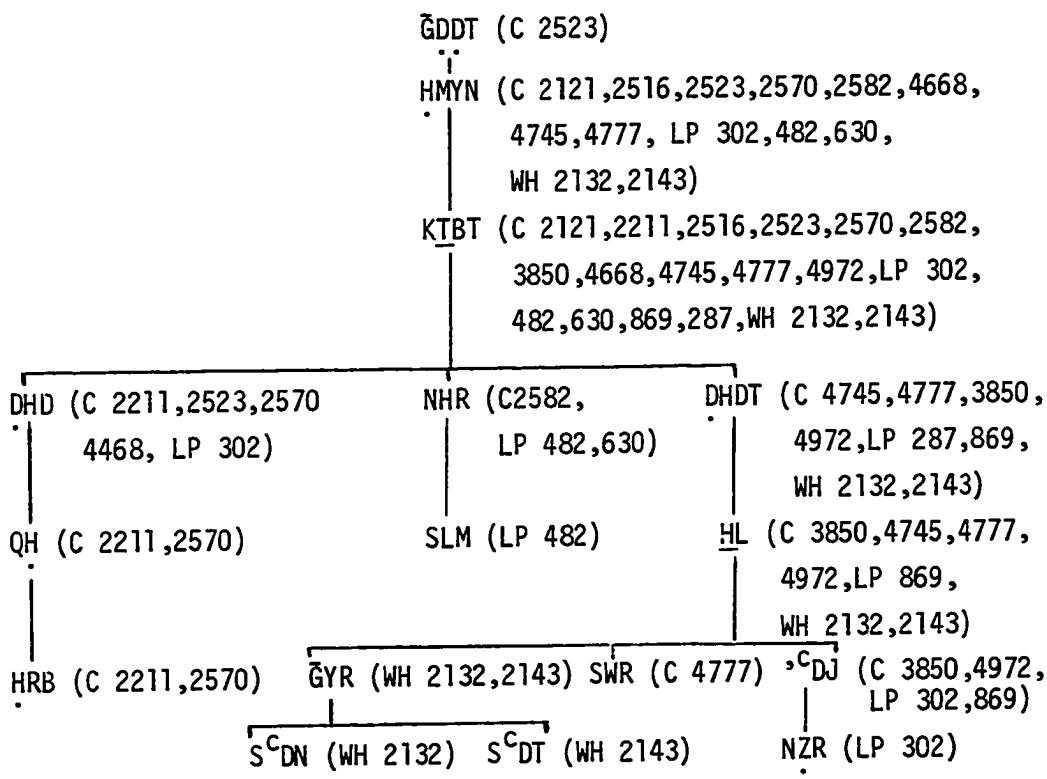
it would seem that this name is to be read as KṮRT, while in others it seems to be KṮBT. Likewise Littmann recognises the name KṮRT five times, but in fact all of these, LP 287, 302, 482, 630, and 869, appear to be KṮBT. In the WH collection the name KṮBT occurs in WH 537, 1272, 2132, 2143 and 2285. In the case of all of these examples the name is listed as KṮRT in HIn 495. Nevertheless, as noted by Winnett and Harding, in WH 1272, this name should probably be read as KṮBT in all instances where it occurs, a view which is strengthened by the examples of this name in WH 2132 and 2143, where the forms of the letters *b* and *r* are clearly distinguished from one another. A family-tree, based upon some of the inscriptions just mentioned, is presented under WH 1272; this chart should be further extended as follows.:



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It should be noted with regard to this chart that the NZR of LP 302 lists his genealogy as NZR son of ʿDJ son of ḤL son of DHD son of KṬBT son of HMYN. It would appear that he wrote the name of his great-grandfather mistakenly as DHD, as it is almost certain that it should read DHDT, as evidenced by the other texts with this genealogy.

652. *l slm bn mhr*

By SLM son of MHR.

653. *l klb bn ʿbdn bn mrṭ*

By KLB son of ʿBDN son of MRṬ.

654. *l nbṭ bn dḥl*

By NBṬ son of DḤL.

For this author's possible family-tree see WH 704.

655. *l ʾḥ bn ḥwlt*

By ʾḤ son of HWLT.

The name HWLT is unattested as a personal name in Saf., although it is well known as the name of a people or tribe. See CIK 322/2, Ḥawāla.

656. *l ntn bn dḥl*

By NTN son of DḤL.

This is perhaps by the father of the author of No.600. WH 1493 may be by another son of this author; WH have read the last name

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as DH(R) but this should almost certainly be amended to DHL. SIJ 756 is an identical text and No. 654 is probably by this author's brother.

657. *l mškr bn 's bn bddh*

By MŠKR son of 'S son of BDDH.

This text is on another face of the rock on which are Nos. 654 - 656. ISB 115 is by the same author, WH 2507 and 3841 may be by his father, while brothers may have written ISB 116 (ŠKR), WH 2530 and SIJ 1009 (RBT).

Nos. 658 - 660 are on another face of this rock.

658. *l 'dm*

By 'DM.

659. *l hl'l bn bhrb bn yll bn mn'l*

By HL'L son of BHRB son of YLL son of MN'L.

660. *l š[..] bn wly*

By Š[..] son of WLY.

This text has been partly obliterated by No. 658.

661. *l drb bn qn hnbt[y]*

By DRB son of QN, the Nabataean.

The final letter appears to be a badly formed *y* . The generic word *nbty* is new in Saf., although the noun *nbt* is quite common. DRB may have actually been a Nabataean or the word *nbty* may have

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been an epithet. The text has been surrounded by a line, inside of which are seven dots and a human figure.

Nos. 662 - 666 are on the same stone.

662. *l ʾlht bn yrᶜ*

By ʾLHT son of YRᶜ.

The name YRᶜ is new; see the Ar. *yariᶜa*, "to be faint-hearted".

663. *l mnʾl bn [wr]ʾ*

By MNʾL son of [WR]ʾ

The second name has been badly damaged. The restoration of *w* seems fairly certain but the next letter looks more like *s̄* or *ḡ* , neither of which would produce an acceptable name. It may, indeed, be an altered *r*.

664. *l ᶜbl bn ʾyl*

By ᶜBL son of ʾYL.

665. *l ʾyl bn zmhr*

By ʾYL son of ZMHR.

This text is by the father of the author of the previous one. It has been enclosed within a line.

666. *l ʾlwḏ*

By ʾLWḎ.

This name occurs only in WH 2522, 2495 and probably 2212. As in this latter the letter *ʾalif* here resembles *ḥ*. See also No.616.

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667. *l ᶜd*

By ᶜD.

Nos. 668 - 672 are on the same stone.

668. *l ᶜ[ms] bn bzr*

By ᶜ[MS] son of BZR.

The *m* of ᶜMS has been altered and the *s* looks like the letter *h*. Close examination of the photograph suggests the reading ᶜMS, a name found only in C 12 and LP 632.

669. *l khl bn dl bn rbn*

By KHL son of DL son of RBN.

A brother of this author may have been the author of WH 179 (see the family-tree under WH 230).

670. *l dhmt bn bzr*

By DHMT son of BZR.

This author was a brother of the author of No. 668.

671. *l b'bh bn bzr*

By B'BH son of BZR.

This is by a brother of the authors of No. 668 and 670.

672. *l ᶜdl l ᶜrd bn tᶜl'*

By ᶜDL; by ᶜRD son of TᶜL'.

This is a peculiar text. It would appear from the hand and the position of the letters that this is to be read as one text,

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despite the apparent repetition of the *lam auctoris*. Possibly one of the individuals named wrote the text for the other, in which case we might read "By ^{C}DL for ^{C}RD" or "For ^{C}DL son of ^{C}RD".

Nos. 673 - 677 are on the same stone.

673. *l w^{c}l bn ḥṭbṭ bn ḡyr*

By W^{C}L son of ḤṬBṬ son of ḠYR.

This text has been partly incised over Nos. 674 and 677. It is enclosed by a line. The hand copy shows the first name as W^{C}, an unlikely name. Here we have read the common name W^{C}L. The name ḤṬBṬ is new; see CIK 321/2, Ḥāṭibat and the Ar. *ḥaṭaba*, "to pick up firewood".

674. *l qn' l [bn t' l]*

By QN'L [son of T'L].

The end of the text is almost impossible to make out and the reading suggested here is by no means certain. The name T'L occurs in No. 421 of this collection.

675. *l ml'*

By ML'.

676. *l nmr bn ṯ^{c}[.. .] bn[y]*

By NMR son of Ṯ^{C}[.. .], he built

Perhaps the second name should be read as Ṯ^{C}T, as a certain NMR son of Ṯ^{C}T was the author of No. 560. Between two and four letters could have been obliterated here. None of them can be read.

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677. *l bdy bn zj[r]*

By BDY son of ZJ[R]

The name BDY may occur in C 299, where the Corpus editor reads BDN. Jamme identifies this name as BDY but his reading of the entire text is doubtful (JaSN, Note 69, p. 60). The word *qbll* cannot be read at the end of C 299 (see Corpus , Tab. XCVIII, Dunand 1389a). For BDY see CIK 219/1, Bādiyat, or CIK 218/1, Baddā, as in HIn 209. The name also occurs in WH 1182 and 3217.

678. *l 'lht bn [..m]*

By 'LHT son of [..M].

The second name has been so poorly inscribed that it is almost impossible to make out the letters.

679. *l 'yḏ bn hmsk*

By 'YḎ son of HMSK.

The name 'YḎ may occur in C 5249; it is of unknown derivation.

Nos. 680 and 681 are on the same stone.

680. *l šmt bn hmlk*

By ŠMT son of HMLK.

681. *l nmr [.....] hwlt*

By NMR [.....] HWLT

This text has been so finely and lightly incised that it is almost invisible. Only the beginning and the end can be made

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out at all. The hand copy shows that up to nine letters may be unidentifiable in the middle of the text. The word *ḥwlt* may be the name of the people who appear to have been enemies of the Safaites (see SIJ 717).

Nos. 682 and 683 are two contiguous texts on the same rock.

682. *l jmḥ*

By JMḤ.

683. *l bll bn ʾḫyl*

By BLL son of ʾḪYL.

Nos. 684 - 686 are on the same rock.

684. *l s̄mt bn dṯn bn kᶜt*

By S̄MT son of DṮN son of KᶜT.

This text is perhaps by a son of the author of WH 3607; WH 3639 and 3798 are probably by the present author's uncle.

685. *l ᶜly bn [dd] bn dḫl*

By ᶜLY son of [DD] son of DḪL

686. *l sʾlt bn d[d]*

By SʾLT son of D[D].

This text is by the author of No. 503 and by the brother of the previous author. The final letter *d* is very badly formed.

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Nos. 687 and 688 are on the same stone.

687. *l ǰzl bn ʾsn whl*

By JZL son of ʾSN, and he encamped (here).

The name JZL is known only from WH 3895 and from Tham. Hu 80/2.

688. *l ǰrmy bn snm wtzr ḡdr fhrdy slm*

By JRMY son of SNM, and he was on the
lookout for pools of rain-water,
so O RDY grant security!

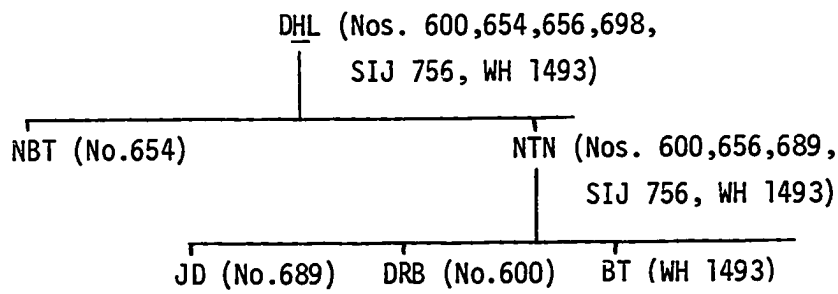
JRMY is a new name although forms such as JRM, JRMT, JRMN etc. are all found. *tzr* here is an 8th form verb with the meaning "to watch out for, await", while *ḡdr* is to be compared to the Ar. *ḡudur*, "pools of water left by rain". The author is praying for the security which will be afforded him if he discovers pools of water in this barren area.

Nos. 689 and 690 are on the same stone, along with seven dots surmounted by a crude human figure with outstretched arms.

689. *l jd bn ntn bn dḫl*

By JD son of NTN son of DḪL.

This author's family-tree may be tentatilvely reconstructed as follows :



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690. *l t^{c}l bn lḥmt*

By T^{C}L son of LḤMT.

Nos. 691 and 692 are on the same stone.

691. *l ^{c}tq bn ḥm^{c}d*

By ^{C}TQ son of HM^{C}D.

692. *l ʾdn bn ^{c}b[d]*

By ʾDN son of ^{C}B[D].

This is possibly by the father of the author of No. 597.

Nos. 693 and 694 are on the same stone, along with seven dots and a legless human figure.

693. *l ʾdn bn brr*

By ʾDN son of BRR.

Perhaps by the same author as WH 2512, 2971 and 3384.

694. *l kfry bn bnt*

By KFRY son of BNT.

695. *l bnḥrb bn ʾb ḥjml*

This bull-camel belongs to BNḤRB son of ʾB.

This text is accompanied by a drawing of a male camel. Above this is another inscription which has been completely defaced.

Nos. 696 and 697 are on another face of the stone on which was the previous text. This stone has been broken in two and the last

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four letters of No. 697 are on the smaller piece, along with a headless drawing of an animal.

696. *l jrs̄ bn ḥdm*

By JRS̄ son of ḤDM.

JRS̄ is found as a personal name in LP 246 and in Tham. Eut 130 only. It may be the name of a place in WH 1859. The name ḤDM is likewise rare, being found only in C 2293 and WH 1020 (the latter may read ḤDMT); here the letter *ḥ* may have been a scribal error for *ʾalif*, the intended name being the more common ʾDM.

697. *l wtr bn qdm bn rbʾl*

By WTR son of QDM son of RBʾL.

Nos. 698 and 699 are on the same stone, accompanied by a human figure which has seven dots between its legs.

698. *l ʾsḏ bn ᶜwḏ*

By ʾSD son of ᶜWḎ.

699. *l ḥmṭ bn ʾmz bn ᶜwḏ bn rbn*

By ḤMṬ son of ʾMZ son of ᶜWḎ son of RBN.

No. 562 is perhaps by an uncle of this author. See also the family-tree under WH 230 and No. 567 of this collection, to which this author should perhaps be added.

700. *l ʾḏn bn [nzl]*

By ʾḎN son of [NZL].

The second name here is very indistinct on the photograph.

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Nos. 701 and 702 are on the same stone.

701. *l swd bn qlm bn rs[f]*

By SWD son of QLM son of RS[F].

The final letter of the text is difficult to make out from the photograph but it appears to be *f*.No name RSF is known but see the Ar. *rasafa*, "to walk like a shackled man". WH 2866, which has been read from a hand copy only, reads "By SWD son of QDM" and it is possible that this was the same person. The photograph of No. 701 clearly shows the name QLM.

702. *l ʾb bn [ᶜ]hm*

By ʾB son of [ᶜ]HM.

Nos. 703 and 704 are on the same stone.

703. *l jᶜn bn dhl hdr*

This encampment belongs to JᶜN son of DHL.

704. *l ms bn bnn bn ldn*

By MS son of BNN son of LDN.

705. *l ᶜdr bn bᶜmh bn rd bn [ql]*

By ᶜDR son of BᶜMH son of RD son of [QL].

706. *l ʾḡsm bn ẓᶜl*

By ʾḠSM son of ẒᶜL.

The name ẒᶜL occurs in WH 2153, where the editors consider that it is a mistake for the name ẒᶜN, as no root *ẓᶜl* exists. However, in both cases the letter is clearly written as *l*,not *n*.

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SITE I - Qā^{c} al-Mahfūr . (Inscriptions from around two adjacent cairns on the ridge overlooking the mud-flat, approximately 2km to the south of the previous site. See Map 5. Nos. 707 - 819.)

707. *l ʾ^{c}fr bn fnq*

By ʾ^{c}FR son of FNQ.

WH 2906 and 3667 are perhaps by the same author. See the family tree under WH 241.

Nos. 708 and 709 are on the same stone.

708. *l whḍ*

By WHḌ.

709. *l hwsl bn ʾml*

By HWSL son of ʾML.

HWSL is not an attested name; see the Ar. *wasala*, "to make entreaties to God", and *wāsil*, "seeking God's favour".

710. *l jdlt bn hṛt*

By JDLT son of HṚT.

This was on another face of the rock on which were the two previous texts. The form of the letter *ḥ* here is noteworthy as it has been given a tail.

Nos. 711 - 713 are on the same stone.

711. *l tnn bn zmhr*

By TNN son of ZMHR.

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712. *l hmsk bn whd*

By HMSK son of WHD.

713. *l rb bn dr*

By RB son of DR.

714. *l [nj]b*

By [NJ]B

This inscription has been badly mutilated. This name is known only from SIJ 562, where it may be read rather as NJBT. In this instance it would also be possible to read this name as NJR , which is attested in WH 3324 and 3392.

715. *l ᶜl bn ʾtᶜ*

By ᶜL son of ʾTᶜ.

This text was not completed by the scribe, as the engraving of the letters *ʾalif* and *t* is only light compared to the other letters, which have been more deeply incised. Seven dots accompany the text. Possibly by the same author are Nos. 571, 919 and WH 3847.

Nos. 716 - 718 are on the same rock.

716. *l ytᶜ bn mkl*

By YTᶜ son of MKL.

717. *l tmn*

By TMN.

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718. *l hbl*

By HBL.

This text has been executed very crudely.

719. *l ys̄kr bn ᶜjr*

By YS̄KR son of ᶜJR.

720. *l tmn bn qṣyt*

By TMN son of QṢYT.

Nos. 737 and 811 are identical texts from the same site.

721. *l ns' bn ẖrṯt*

By NS' son of ẖRṮT.

The name ẖRṮT is not attested in Saf. but does occur in Tham. (see HIn 218), where it is to be found in a number of inscriptions in the form of Thamudic script which most closely resembles Safaitic (see Chapter 4, "The Paleography of the Safaitic Inscriptions).

722. *l lb't bn 'ḥjr*

By LB'T son of 'ḤJR.

The same author was possibly responsible for WH 2804, although the style of the script does not correspond.

723. *l jn w(l)[b]wq( )th[.]l[ḥf]*

By JN and [.....]

This is a problematical text. It gives the impression that the writer was not familiar with the script or that the text itself may be incomplete. Some of the letters are very indistinct and

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some are clearly unfinished. No interpretation of this text can be suggested here.

Nos. 724 and 725 are on the same stone, along with drawings of a number of human figures and what may be a crescent moon. No. 725 is completely surrounded by a series of small dots. (For a description of the drawings see Chapter 3, "The Rock Drawings).

724. *l mṯ^{c} bn ^{c}mdn bn lhy bn 'yl*

By MṮ^{C} son of ^{C}MDN son of LHY son of 'YL.

No. 34, from Murabb as-Suwei^{c}id, is perhaps by this author's grandfather, while WH 456, 517a and 2008 are by the author's brother.

725. *l nd' bn ḏl wtzr hmdbr*

By ND' son of ḎL, and he watched the desert.

The same author may have been responsible for WH 179. The expression *wtzr hmdbr* provides some difficulty as the verb *tzr* has the meaning "to watch for, to await", which does not suit the context here. Perhaps this was intended to be the verb *nzr* and should be read as "to watch (over)",as here. It should further be noted that the word *mdbr* has never previously been attested with the definite article. In many cases this is clearly idiomatic, as when the word is prefixed by the preposition *m* or *l*, neither of which are usually followed by the article. However, there are a number of instances in which this does not apply; these are ISB 58, SIJ 911, C 1244, 2579, 4985, WH 742,

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1025, 1066, 1198, 1361, 1604, 2327, 2395b, 2453, 2621, 2816, 3500 and 3800. Most of the examples of this in the WH collection read *wr^{c}y mdbr*, where one would expect to find the definite article. No satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon readily presents itself.

726. *l rs̄h bn qdy bn swd b[n ..]*

By RS̄H son of QDY son of SWD son [of ..].

The final name is illegible, as the stone has been damaged.

727. *l hy bn n^{c}mn bn rs̄h whr[s] hhrr fhlt*

By HY son of N^{c}MN son of RS̄H, and he was on the lookout for the blood-horse(s), so O LT!

This author is the grandson of the previous one and the son of the author of WH 421, 946, 950 and 954. The noun *hrr* is new but it may be compared to the Ar. *hurr*, "blood-horse, thoroughbred horse". Apparently the appeal to the goddess was to seek aid in finding the horse(s). An alternative reading would be "...and HRR was on the lookout for him, so O LT!".

728. *l whd bn ʾml bn ql*

By WHD son of ʾML son of QL.

Nos. 729 and 730 are on the same stone.

729. *l hrb b[n] dd b[n ...]*

By HRB son [of] DD son [of ...].

The end of this text has been deliberately mutilated.

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730. *l h[n] bn ʾṯ*^{c}

By H[N] son of ʾṮ^{C}.

Nos. 731 - 733 are on the same stone.

731. *l ʾsd bn m[ṯ]mn*

By ʾSD son of M[Ṯ]MN.

Identical texts are No. 755 and WH 3601.

732. *l db bn* ^{c}*bdʾ*

By DB son of ^{C}BDʾ.

733. *l s̄rqt bn ykbr bn* [...]

By S̄RQT son of YKBR son of [...].

This text is by the author of WH 2442.

Nos. 734 and 735 are on the same rock.

734. *l* ^{c}*bd bn* ^{c}*bdy*

By ^{C}BD son of ^{C}BDY.

735. *l dʾft*

By DʾFT.

This name is found in ISB 348. It recurs in No. 768.

Nos. 736 and 737 are on the same stone.

736. *l hʾs bn zjr*

By HʾS son of ZJR.

WH 1193, 1769 and 1824 are possibly by the same author, while

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WH 1198 and 1330 may be by his great-grandsons.

737. *l bṣ bn lhy*

By BṢ son of LHY.

The name BṢ occurs only in C 4594 (note that the reference in HIn 107, to C 4595 is to be corrected to C 4594. The other listed example of this name, C 2037, should be deleted, as it does not occur in this text). The second name, LHY, is new; see the Ar. *lahiya*, "to divert one's self, to forget".

738. *l ṣrmt bn qṭl*

By ṢRMT son of QṬL.

A mark, in the form of the letter *d*, is below the start of the text.

Nos. 739 and 740 are on the same stone. A drawing of a gazelle accompanies them.

739. *l w^{c}l bn wṣṭ*

By W^{c}L son of WṢṬ.

The second name, WṢṬ, appears to be morphologically impossible. It must be the result of an error on the part of the scribe.

740. *l wlm ww[j]^{c}*

By WLM, and he grieved.

WLM is a new name; see the Ar. walima, "to give a feast". A name WLMT occurs in C 1157. The *j* of *wj^{c}* has been mutilated.

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Nos. 741 - 746 are on the same stone.

741. *l tmn bn qsyt*

By TMN son of QSYT.

An identical text to Nos. 720 and 815.

742. *l ᶜnn bn nql*

By ᶜNN son of NQL.

743. *l jd bn zdh*

By JD son of ZDH.

An identical text to No. 593 from Site H on the Qāᶜ al-ᶜArqadiya .

744. *l bd[d] bn [ḥ]wll*

By BD[D] son of [Ḥ]WLL

This text has been badly defaced . Neither name, as read here, is attested and the reading must remain doubtful.

745. *l mᶜly bn ᶜly wnjr*

By MᶜLY son of ᶜLY, and he was suffering from thirst.

For the verb *njr* see No. 240.

746. *l wrᵓ b[n ḥnᵓ] whrḏw sᶜdh*

By WRᵓ son [of HNᵓ], and O RḎW help him.

The centre of the text has been damaged but the reading is certain.

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Nos. 747 - 754 are on the same stone.

747. *l b'sh bn wd*

By B'SH son of WD.

748. *l dl̇ bn srt*

By Ḍ̇L son of SRT.

749. *l ᶜsb*

By ᶜSB.

750. *l bs' bn bzr wrb qr sf̣*

By BS' son of BZR, and he was

master of a serene abode.

For this author's possible family-tree see WH 3489. For the verb *rb* see WH 802; *qr* is to be compared to the Ar. *qarra*, "to settle in a place", while *sf̣* is compared to the Ar. *sāfi*, "serene, pure, limpid". The author is stating that his encampment at this spot was a peaceful one. Other translations, however, may be possible.

751. *l kl*[ ]

By KL[ ]

This name may be incomplete as faint traces of more letters can be made out on the stone.

752. *l ''sd*

By ''SD.

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752a. *l nd*

By ND.

752b. *l n̄gny*

By N̄GNY.

This is an unattested name, possibly derived from the verb *ḡny*, "to be wealthy".

753. *l tmn bn wḍ*[.]

By TMN son of WḌ[.]

754. *l nd' bn 'yl wtẓr b^{c}d*

By ND' son of 'YL, and he was awaiting B^{C}D.

It would be possible to regard the word *b^{c}d* here as an adverb: "and he was looking out into the distance".

Nos. 755 - 759 are on the same stone.

755. *l 'sd bn mṯmn*

By 'SD son of MṮMN

WH 3601 is an identical text.

756. *l ^{c}s̈s bn ndy wnjr b^{c}d hskn*

By ^{C}S̈S son of NDY, and he was suffering from thirst far from this dwelling place.

The name NDY is new; see the Ar. *nadā*, "to be generous". The word *b^{c}d* is a preposition here. *skn* is attested in C 777 and possibly in WH 2100.

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757. *l ḥfy*

By ḤFY.

This is a new name; see the Ar. *ḥafiya*, "to walk barefooted, to show honour to".

758. *l ḥjml bn [..]r wr^{c}y h'wn*

By ḤJML son of [..]R, and he pastured (during) this season.

Most of the second name here is illegible. The word *h'wn* is obscure; it may be a place name, H'WN, but it has been read as a noun here, related to the Ar. *'awān*, "time, season". This is rather indefinite and the reading suggested here is not entirely certain. There may be other possibilities for the reading of this word.

759. *l ḥ[l] bn snm bn mhr[n]*

By Ḥ[L] son of SNM son of MHR[N].

This text is only very faintly engraved on the rock and was most difficult to make out.

Nos.760 - 765 are on the same stone.

760. *l ^{c}bdy bn j[m]*

By ^{C}BDY son of J[M].

761. *l mnḥl bn 'bjr*

By MNḤL son of 'BJR.

For the name MNḤL see No.556.

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762. *l jrmt bn 'dn w sj hm^{c}mr fwrd*

By JRMT son of 'DN, and he plastered

the structure and went (down) to water.

This text is perhaps by the author of WH 353. For the verb *sj* see the Ar. *sajja*, "to plaster, coat with clay" and for *m^{c}mr* see WH 1631. This word evidently refers to a dwelling place, or to some kind of structure. The use of the verb *sj* here clarifies this somewhat, as it makes it appear that the *m^{c}mr* was something that could be plastered with mud plaster. Thus some of the roughly constructed stone circles which are to be found near many of the find spots of Safaitic inscriptions may be interpreted as rude dwellings. Naturally enough one would no longer expect to find traces of mud plaster remaining on these walls. At this site were a number of these stone walls, of a type which are usually called "sheep pens".

763. *h rdw s^{c}d ^{c}bd bn jm*

O RDW help ^{c}BD son of JM!

The prayer is on behalf of a brother of the author of No. 760, which is on the same stone.

764. *l n^{c}my bn ^{c}zzt wtzrh tm bhdr*

By N^{c}MY son of ^{c}ZZT, and TM was awaiting

him in this encampment.

WH 1372 may be by the same author. It would be possible to read also "and he was awaiting HTM" here.

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765. *l kfy bn ṣbn wsry lhmnzr*

By KFY son of ṢBN, and he travelled

by night to this lookout spot.

It should be noted that a certain KFY son of ṢBWN was the author of WH 1370 and 1444 and it should be considered as a possibility that the name ṢBN here is a defective form of ṢBWN, the same author being responsible for all three texts. The verb *sry* is to be found in SIJ 453; see the Ar. *sarā*, "to travel during the night", a verb which is followed by the preposition *l* and the indirect object, as is the case here. Here the spot where the text was located is referred to as *mnzr*, "a lookout spot", a word which occurs in WH 1612, 1663 and 1664. Situated as it is, on a ridge overlooking the desert to the east, this spot is an ideal vantage point.

Nos. 766 and 767 are on the same stone.

766. *l ḥtt bn jlhmn*

By ḤTT son of JLHMN

The second name is new, although JLHM is quite common. Perhaps we should read *l ḥtt bn jl hmn* , "By ḤTT son of JL, this fate/gift". See the Ar. *mann*, "gift, favour" or *manā*, "fate". Either of these alternatives assumes that the reader will recognize the allusion.

767. *l rds*

By RDS.

This name recurs in No. 787 and in C 1723.

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Nos. 768 - 779 are all on the same boulder, covering four faces of it. Nos. 768 and 769 are on the same facet of this, along with drawings of an ostrich and a rayed solar disc.

768. *l d'ft bn qsyt*

By D'FT son of QSYT.

769. *l ᶜzz bn qsyt hr'* [..]

By ᶜZZ son of QSYT, this view [..].

This is by a brother of the previous author. The letters following the genealogy are much fainter. Following *hr'* are two more letters which are illegible, hence the translation suggested here must remain tentative.

Nos. 770 - 775 are on another facet of the rock, along with drawings of four ostriches.

770. *l qn bn jn'l*

By QN son of JN'L.

771. *l hl bn hm jn*

By HL son of HM; he was concealed.

The verb *jn* here is to be compared to the Ar. *janna*, "to conceal". Here it has an intransitive sense.

772. *l b'sh*

By B'SH.

773. *l ᶜmdl bn mᶜs*

By ᶜMDL son of MᶜS.

This author may have been responsible also for SIJ 981 and 986.

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774. *l d̲'b bn 'yl*

By D̲'B son of 'YL.

775. *l bn^{c}yl fw*[.....]

By BN^{C}YL, [.....].

This is a new compound name; the element ^{C}YL is attested. The end of the text is illegible.

Nos. 776 and 777 are on another face of the boulder.

776. *l k^{c}lyn bn md̲kr w*[*ḥ*..]

By K^{C}LYN son of MD̲KR and [...].

The name K^{C}LYN is new; it is clearly a composite name, consisting of the elements *k* + ^{c}*lyn*. MD̲KR is found only in the name BNMD̲KR in SIJ 496. The text is clearly unfinished, as the letter *ḥ* is incomplete. No trace of any further letters is on the rock.

777. *l bhlt bn 'nhm*

By BHLT son of 'NHM.

BHLT is a new name, probably derived from the same root as the well attested BHL.

Nos. 778 and 779 are on another face of the boulder. No. 778 is surrounded by seven groups of seven dots and one group of seven short strokes. Two rayed solar discs accompany the texts.

778. *l bdn bn 'hm bn 's̄yb bn ^{c}mdn*

By BDN son of 'HM son of 'S̄YB son of ^{C}MDN.

This text is perhaps by the author of WH 823, where one group of the magical seven dots and a rayed solar disc are also to be

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found. The family-tree reconstructed under WH 704 should probably be expanded with reference to the present text.

779. *l bddh bn s̄bn wb's lh fhrḍy s^{c}d hytm*

By BDDH son of S̄BN, and adversity was his lot, so O RḌY help the orphan!

wb's lh - *l* here is a preposition indicating possession, hence the translation "adversity was his lot" (lit. "adversity was to him"). The reason for this adversity and the plea to the god RḌY is provided by the final word of the text, *ytm* , "orphan", for which compare the Ar. *yatīm* .

Nos. 780 - 782 are on the same stone. Seven dots and a human figure accompany No. 780.

780. *l b'sh bn tmn bn bjt*

By B'SH son of TMN son of BJT.

By the same author is No. 808, while No. 365, WH 2735 and 3852 are probably by his father.There is a mark resembling the letter ^{c}*ayn* on the rock between the *t* and the *m* of TMN which is probably to be disregarded.

781. *l ^{c}m bn qdm whwb*[...]

By ^{c}M son of QDM, and he grieved [...]

Perhaps by the same author are WH 821, 1659, 1892 and 2593a. The last word has been erased.

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782. *l nd' bn dl bn rbn*

By ND' son of DL son of RBN.

The same author was responsible for No. 725 and WH 179. His brother may have written No. 669. See the family-tree under WH 230.

Nos. 783 and 784 are on the same stone.

783. *l ḥsd bn ʿjb*

By ḤSD son of ʿJB.

784. *l šhb wnzr ḥjr*

By ŠHB, and he was watching the gazelle snares.

The word *ḥjr* here has been compared to the Ar. *jarra* , "snare for gazelles", described by Lane, Lexicon, p.400 as "a staff, or stick, tied to a snare, which is hidden in the earth, for catching gazelles". This translation, however, is by no means certain and it should be noted that the same word, *ḥjr*, occurs in WH 1230, where it is translated "to leave" (from the root *ḥjr*), and in C 1783, in the phrase *wrʿy ḥjr*, where it is translated "camelus (selectior)" (from the root *ḥjr*). This word occurs in a similar context to the present example in two further texts from this site, Nos. 790 and 811, neither of which throw any more light upon its usage.

785. *l 'dm bn [db bn ḥl] whrdw ḥlw*

By 'DM son of [DB son of ḤL],

and O RḌW make (life) agreeable!

The reading of the restored letters is fairly certain. The word

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hlw is new; see the Ar. *halā*, "to be sweet, pleasant, agreeable". Literally the end of the text would read "O RDW sweetness!" The text is accompanied by a drawing of a human figure and seven dots.

786. *l b'mrh bn jl*

By B'MRH son of JL.

This is perhaps by the author of WH 3373; although WH read the father's name as JD, the facsimile (Plate 60) shows JL.

Nos. 787 and 788 are on the same stone.

787. *l rds bn hwd*

By RDS son of HWD.

The name HWD is new in Saf., although it occurs in Sab. C 403/1; see the Ar. *hāda*, "to collect, store (water)".

788. *l db bn ᶜbdy*

By DB son of ᶜBDY.

Nos. 789 - 793 are on the same stone.

789. *l wᶜl bn hyt*

By WᶜL son of HYT.

This text is enclosed by a type of cartouche. The name HYT is new; see the Ar. *hāta*, "to guard, protect". This name recurs in No. 811, which may be by the same author.

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790. *l b'bh bn ᶜsft wnzr hjr*

By B'BH son of ᶜSFT, and he was

watching the gazelle snares.

See No. 784. This text is enclosed in a cartouche.

791. *l fr' bn [..*

By FR' son of [..

The text may be unfinished. The letter *n* of *bn* has been deliberately erased. A later stroke on the rock makes the letter *b* resemble *k*.

792. *l ᶜbdy bn wrdn*

By ᶜBDY son of WRDN.

The name WRDN occurs only in WH 1473.

793. *l ᶜll bn ᶜbd' l*

By ᶜLL son of ᶜBD'L.

794. *l hn' bn jrhm*

By HN' son of JRHM.

The name JRHM occurs only in C 3845.

795. *l 'bd bn tmt*

By 'BD son of TMT.

TMT is found only in C 1876.

796. *l ᶜj wtnzr hdb' ymn*

By ᶜJ, and he awaited the successful raid.

The exact meaning of the words *wtnzr hdb' ymn* is not certain. The

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verb *tnzr* means "to await, watch" and we may assume from this that the author did not actually take part in the raid. For the word *dḅ'* meaning "to raid" see WH 94. Here the word is a noun and no doubt refers to a raiding party. The word *ymn* has been taken to be an adjective, "happy, successful". It may, however, mean "Yemeni", the raiding party having come from the Yemen. The translation suggested here seems the more likely one.

797. *l ᶜl bn 'mr*

By ᶜL son of 'MR.

WH 3477 may be by the same author and WH 3480 and 3622 by two of his sons.

798. *l jmr bn rb*

By JMR son of RB.

Nos. 799 - 804 are on the same rock.

799. *l bnyt bn yfᶜ*

By BNYT son of YFᶜ.

800. *l slm bn ḍb*

By SLM son of ḌB.

See No. 576, which may be by the same author.

801. *l nql*

By NQL.

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802. *l ywn bn ᶜy[t]*

By YWN son of ᶜY[T].

This author was possibly the father of the author of ISB 220. The letter *t* of ᶜYT has been largely obliterated but has been restored with reference to ISB 220.

803. *l bnyᶜmr hb'[ry]*

The [wells] belong to BNYᶜMR.

The end of the text is difficult, as the letters are poorly incised and appear to have been defaced. The word *b'ry* could be the plural of the noun *b'r*, "well". If so, we may assume that the wells were in the vicinity of the find spot of the text, although no wells are to be found there today. These may have been no more than shallow wells, dug into the alluvium by BNYᶜMR himself. *hb'ry* may also be a *nisba*, referring to the author.

804. *l jdl ḥlk*

By JDL; he was very black.

For the verb *ḥlk* see the Ar. *ḥalaka*, "to be intensely black". JDL may have been of African extraction, or merely of a very dark complexion.

804a. *l h'by wnẓr*

By H'BY, and he was on the lookout.

Nos.805 - 807 are on the same stone.

805. *l s̄ddt bn kddh whrdw sᶜdh*

By S̄DDT son of KDDH, and O RDW help him!

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806. *l ʾqrḥ*

By ʾQRḤ.

807. *l ḥrtt*

By ḤRTT.

808. *l bʾsh bn tmn bn bjt w(l) ḥrḏw sᶜdh*

By BʾSH son of TMN son of BJT,

and O RḎW help him.

No. 780 is by the same author. The conjunction *w* is to one side of the axis of the inscription. It would appear that the author changed his mind about the direction of the inscription on the rock,preferring to continue in a straight line rather than following the contour of the rock. The position of the *w* indicates his original intention and the letter *l* which follows this was probably the beginning of the vocative *h* before the name of the deity.The occurrence here of a second *l*, on the correct axis, may have been the result of this confusion.

Nos. 809 and 810 are on the same stone.

809. *l nmrn bn bzz*

By NMRN son of BZZ.

810. *l ᶜmlt bn lbʾn*

By ᶜMLT son of LBʾN.

The name ᶜMLT is known only from ISB 60. The text has been deliberately damaged, with each letter being joined to the preceding and following one.

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Nos. 811 - 816 are on the same stone.

811. *l w^{c}l bn hyt wtzr hjr*

By W^{C}L son of HYT, and he was

watching the gazelle snares.

See Nos. 784 and 790.

812. *l s̄mt bn sṛm bn nmr*

By S̄MT son of SRM son of NMR.

The same author may have written No. 344, from the Qā^{c} ash-Shahba.

813. *l [j]zḥ bn k[l] h't^{c}*

By [J]ZH son of K[L], O 'T^{C}.

This text has been badly defaced, with some of the letters having been deliberately altered. No name JZH is known, although JZHN occurs in WH 3872. See the Ar. *jazḥ*, "present, gift". The deity is here called 'T^{C} , rather than the more usual YT^{C}.

814. *l s̄ḥr bn 'sd ḥdmyt*

The picture is by S̄HR son of 'SD.

Either the word *ḥdmyt* or *bn 'sd* appear to have been added as an afterthought, as both diverge from the same part of the stone, following the name S̄HR, giving the text a forked appearence.

815. *l tmn bn qsyt*

By TMN son of QSYT.

An indentical text to Nos. 720 and 741.

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816. *l yšḳr bn ḏb*

By YŠḲR son of ḎB.

817. *l j[ḥn] bn nḏ' ḥbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs

to J[ḤN] son of NḎ'.

A drawing of a camel accompanies the text. The first name is badly weathered and only the first letter is read with certainty.

818. *l 'ḥlm bn šᶜbn wṙḥ*

By 'ḤLM son of ŠᶜBN, and he went away.

For the verb *ṙḥ*, with the meaning "to go away (in the evening)", see LP 460, C 2072, RyDM 6822 and so on.

819. *l ḏj[j.....]hᶜr*

The ass belongs to DJ[J .....].

The letters of this text have been only lightly traced on the stone and they have subsequently been defaced. A drawing of an ass accompanies the text.

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SITE J - Qā^{c} al-Mahfūr (Inscriptions from around two cairns on a slight rise at the southern end of the Qā^{c} al-Mahfūr, where it merges into the Qā^{c} ad-Dumaytha. No texts were found on the cairns themselves but were all located on rocks between the two. Numbers 820 - 874. Map 5).

Nos. 820 and 821 are on a large boulder which is the main feature of the site. Associated with No.820 is a drawing of a pair of copulating camels, the female kneeling beneath the male. Below them is an object which may be a camel litter or saddle. Seven dots accompany the text, which extends over two faces of the boulder. Associated with No.821 is a drawing of a camel on an adjacent face of the rock, ownership of which is claimed by the author. With the text on the same face of the rock are two human figures in warlike posture. To the left is a figure holding an upraised sword and a shield. The second figure, to the right, is holding a bow and arrow and carries an object on his back which might be a quiver. He is surrounded by four sets of seven dots and is probably the author of the text. Both figures are wearing what are probably to be interpreted as sheaths for their swords.

820. *l ḥmṭn bn srdt bn ʾḥsn ḥdmyt*

This picture is by ḤMṬN son of

SRDT son of ʾḤSN.

The name ḤMṬN is new, although both ḤMṬ and ḤMṬṬ occur elsewhere. See this author's family-tree under No.836.

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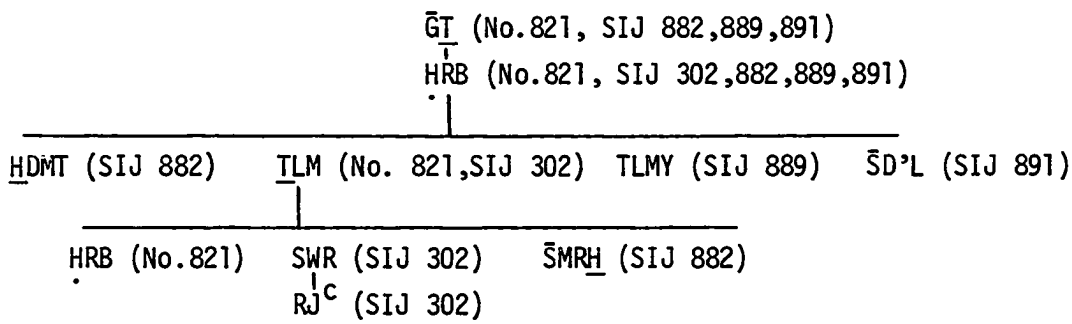
821. *l ḥrḍ bn ṯlm bn ḥrḍ bn ḡṯ ḥbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to

HRB son of ṮLM son of HRB son of ḠṮ.

SIJ 302, from Jāwā, may be by a nephew of this author; SIJ 889 and 891 may be by his uncles and SIJ 882 by a cousin. The family-tree would be as follows :



822. *l ḡlm bn 'ḥsn bn ḡlm*

By ḠLM son of 'HSN son of ḠLM.

823. *l ldn bn š[ᶜ]*

By LḎN son of Š[C].

824. *l lqṯ*

By LQṮ.

825. *l 'lḥt bn 'mr*

By 'LHT son of 'MR.

Two sets of seven short strokes accompany the text.

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826. *l mṭr bn msk bn ṣm*

By MṬR son of MSK son of ṢM.

Accompanying this is what may be an incomplete drawing of a crude human figure.

827. *l drr bn ʾrs bn zẖm bn ṣm wḥwb*

By DRR son of ʾRS son of ZẖM son of ṢM, and he grieved.

The author's father has left us inscription No. 297, from the Qāᶜ ash-Shahba, while WH 2493 is by his brother. See the family tree under WH 2424.

828. *l ḥsln bn hd bn wqf*

By ḤSLN son of HD son of WQF.

This text has been enclosed by a number of rough lines, inside of which are seven strokes and a rayed solar disc. The name ḤSLN is perhaps to be recognised in ISB 204 and LP 663; here the second letter more resembles *h* than *s* but a reading ḤHLN is not possible.

829. *l db bn bdn*

By DB son of BDN.

830. *l ᶜk bn ẖd*

By ᶜK son of ẖD.

Two groups of seven dots accompany the text. The name ẖD is to be found only in C 622.

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831. *l ᶜbs bn s̄fr*

By ᶜBS son of S̄FR.

Possibly by the same author are WH 1654, 2586, 2642, 3004, 3656 and HCH 184. All are in a similar type of script.

Nos. 832 and 833 are on the same stone.

832. *l mmsk*

By MMSK.

This is a new name but see the common MSK (HIn 545).

833. *l ḡṯ bn msk*

By ḠṮ son of MSK.

Nos. 834 - 838 are on the same stone.

834. *l ṣdqt bn jdy*

By ṢDQT son of JDY.

ṢDQT is found, to date, only in Had. (HIn 369) but it recurs in the following text. See CIK 535/1, Ṣadaqa.

835. *l bny bn ṣdqt*

By BNY son of ṢDQT.

This is by a son of the previous author. Seven dots separate this text from the one following.

836. *l srdt bn ʾḥsn [bn] ḡlm*

By SRDT son of ʾḤSN [son of] ḠLM.

No. 820 is by this author's son and Nos. 822, 854 and 856 are

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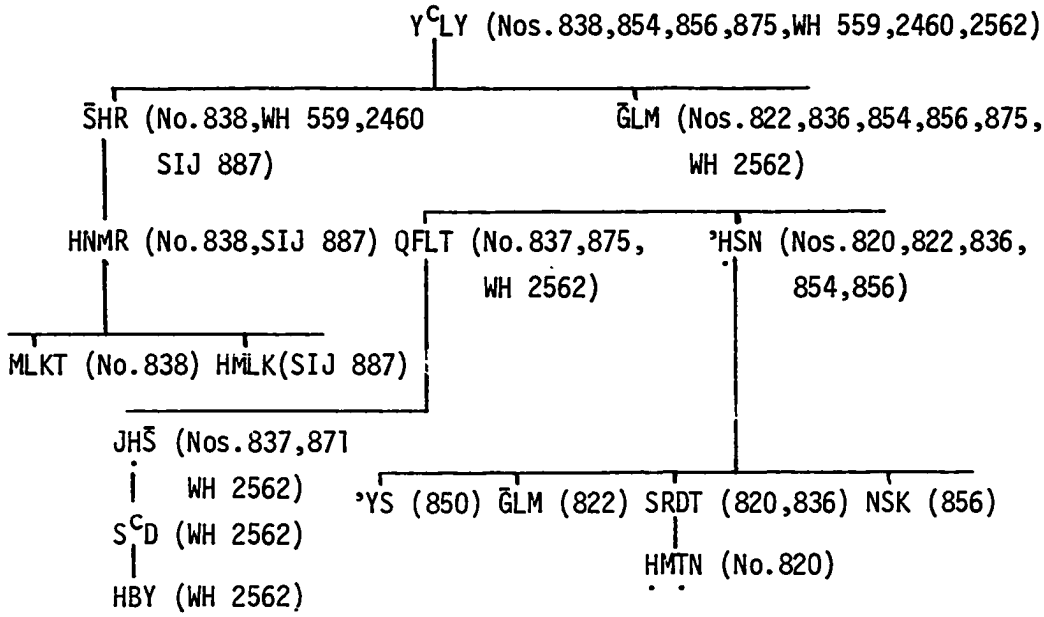
by brothers. The family-tree is as follows :



837. *l jhṡ bn qflt*

By JHṠ son of QFLT.

See the preceding family-tree.

838. *l mlkt bn hnmr bn šhr bn y^{c}ly wwjm*

By MLKT son of HNMR son of ŠHR

son of Y^{C}LY, and he grieved.

SIJ 887 is by this author's brother; note that Winnett has read ŠKR rather than ŠHR. See the family-tree under No.836.

839. *l z^{c}f bn ^{c}m*

By Z^{C}F son of ^{C}M.

839a. *l ql*

By QL.

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Nos. 840 - 842 are on the same stone.

840. *l jrm bn drh*

By JRM son of DRH.

WH 2594 is perhaps by the same person.

841. *l dkr bn bhjrh*

By DKR son of BHJRH.

Texts which are possibly by the same author are WH 2768, 2786, 3146 3153 and ISB 248.

842. *l škr bn hᶜbd*

By ŠKR son of HᶜBD.

843. *l bʾsh bn jᶜtm*

By BʾSH son of JᶜTM.

No.992 may be by the same author.

844. *l [ᶜtq] bn hm[ᶜ]d bn ʾgšm*

By [ᶜTQ] son of HM[ᶜ]D son of ʾGŠM.

The initial name has been deliberately mutilated but appears on the hand copy as ᶜTQ, a name which occurs only in C 5167. It cannot be made out from the photograph. The letter *ᶜayn* of HMᶜD has been mutilated also.

845. *l msk bn sm bn kᶜmh bn gt*

By MSK son of SM son of KᶜMH son of GT.

No.826 may be by this author's son. A drawing of a human figure and seven dots accompany the text.

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Nos. 846 and 847 are on the same stone.

846. *l ẓl bn bs' [bn ..] sby bn ml bn mšr*

By ẒL son of BS' [son of ..] son of

SBY son of ML son of MŠR.

The centre of the text has been completely erased.

847. *l fḥmn*

By FḤMN.

848. *l nhbṭ bn y^{c}mr*

By NHBṬ son of Y^{C}MR

This has been enclosed by a rough line and seven strokes accompany it. The name NHBṬ is known only from SIJ 450.

849. *l ḥrmn bn yṭ^{c}ṭ*

By ḤRMN son of YṬ^{C}Ṭ.

850. *l 'shr bn 'rs wwlh ^{c}l ḥbb*

By 'SḤR son of 'RS, and he was maddened

with grief for a loved one.

This same author may have also written WH 2493. The verb *wlh ^{c}l*, while it may merely have the sense of "to lament, grieve", more properly indicates grief or passion carried to the point of distraction (See Lane, Lexicon, p.3060).

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851. *l jrrt bn fl'*

By JRRT son of FL'.

The name JRRT is new, although JRR occurs (HIn 158). Note that both of the letters *r* of this name are reversed in stance.

Nos. 852 and 853 are on the same stone.

852. *l slj bn rjl*

By SLJ son of RJL.

The same author may have inscribed WH 3448.

853. *l s̄ntt bn ḏhmt*

By S̄NTT son of ḎHMT.

S̄NTT is a new name, of rather unusual meaning; see the Ar. *s̄anat*, "piece of roast meat" and *s̄anīṭat*, "noeud coulant" (Dozy, Supplément, p.791). This name recurs in Nos.932 and 1090.

854. *l 'ys bn 'ḥsn bn ḡlm bn y'ly*

By 'YS son of 'ḤSN son of ḠLM son of Y'LY.

This text is enclosed by a line, inside of which are seven dots. See the family-tree under No.836, above.

855. *l mtr' bn s*

By MTR son of S.

There is no trace of any other letters on the stone and it can only be presumed that the text is unfinished.

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856. *l nsk bn ʾhsn bn ḡlm bn yᶜly*

By NSK son of ʾḤSN son of ḠLM son of YᶜLY.

This is enclosed by four groups of seven dots and accompanied by a dancing figure and a drawing of a camel. It is by a brother of the author of No.822 and 854. See the family-tree under No.836.

857. *l bhl bn brzt*

By BHL son of BRZT.

Drawings of four ostriches accompany the text. WH 2581 and 3658 may be by the same author, although WH read the initial name as RHL in both instances. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the initial letter is to be read as *b* not *r*, as the two are clearly distinguished in these texts. ISB 107 may also be by this author, although Oxtoby reads the second name as BRRT, a name which is otherwise unattested.

Nos. 858 - 862 are on the same stone.

858. *l mᶜnn bn ʾhm*

By MᶜNN son of ʾḤM.

This is enclosed by a cartouche. By the same author may be WH 1810 and 3175.

859. *l hrm bn*

By ḤRM, he remained (here).

860. *l ʾqdm bn sbʾ*

By ʾQDM son of SBʾ.

The name SBʾ is previously unattested in Saf., but see CIK 491/1,

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Sāba', and the Ar. *saba'a*, "to purchase wine, to flay, flog". This name is cited in WH 1221 by HIn 308 ("not certain") but this reference is to be deleted.

861. *l bjj bn '[wy]t*

By BJJ son of '[WY]T.

Both names are new in Saf.; both BJ and BJT occur, and BJJ is from the same root as these. See the Ar. *bajja*, "to lance, prick, make mischief". The reading of the name 'WYT is not certain, as the two middle letters are damaged. This name occurs in Tham. JS 357.

862. *l flṭ*

By FLṬ.

This text has been enclosed by a line, from which project nineteen short strokes.

863. *l ḥy bn qdm*

By ḤY son of QDM.

See the family-tree under No. 907.

Nos. 864 and 865 are on the same stone. Drawn alongside them are two camels, one very poorly executed and the other only very faintly traced. Also with the text is a group of seven dots, from which a straight line projects.

864. *l ḥrr bn ᶜdy*

By ḤRR son of ᶜDY.

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865. *l ʾhm wjml*

By ʾHM, and a camel.

The expression *wjml* is peculiar as one would expect to find either *whjml*, "and this is his camel", or simply *hjml*, "this camel belongs to ...". It may also be a verb with the meaning "to be, make, beautiful", or possibly "to herd camels", although the latter sense is unattested. The associated camel drawings suggest a connection with camels.

866. *l msk bn njh bn yṯ^{c}t*

By MSK son of NJH son of YṮ^{C}T.

WH 1300 and 1357 are probably by the same author. The text is enclosed by a rough line which is intersected by seven strokes.

867. *l ḥrb bn jmr hdr*

This encampment belongs to

ḤRB son of JMR.

Nos. 868 - 870 are on the same stone, along with a camel drawing and seven dots.

868. *l tlmy bn ^{c}dy hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to

TLMY son of ^{C}DY.

869. *l (l) m^{c}[l] bn [..]*

By ( ) M^{C}[L] son of [..].

A badly mutilated text. One of the initial letters *l* is probably to be disregarded. The final name is quite illegible.

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870. *l qml bn hrb*

By QML son of HRB.

This text has also been damaged but can still be read.

Nos. 871 and 872 are on the same stone.

871. *l hrj bn ḡzyt*

By HRJ son of ḠZYT.

872. *l nhd [bn] jr*

By NHD [son of] JR.

873. *l ʾlht bn ʾshʾlh bn ql*

By ʾLHT son of ʾSHʾLH son of QL.

This text is enclosed by a cartouche. Other texts which may possibly be by this author are WH 1786, 2889, 3326, 3328, 3677 and HTap 39. This may be by the son of the author of Nos. 236 and 587.

874. *l s̄hr bn hls bn ʾhlm wʾhd*

By S̄HR son of HLS son of ʾHLM,

and he was seized.

The verb *ʾhd* here appears to be in the passive voice, as it makes little sense if treated as an active verb, with the meaning "to seize, take possession of". Such an active usage would usually govern a direct object (as for example in WH 1516). Consequently we have read it as the passive "he was seized", presumably relating to his being taken captive, an event which would probably have been familiar to his contemporaries.

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SITE K - Qā^{c} ad-Dumaytha and Qā^{c} al-Ladhāyim (Inscriptions from around a small cairn just to the north of the conjunction of these two mud flats. The ground on which it is situated is only slightly higher than the surface of the adjoining qā^{c}. No inscriptions were to be found on the cairn itself. Numbers 875 - 894 and Map 5).

875. *l jhs̄ bn qflt bn ḡlm bn y^{c}ly*

By JḤS̄ son of QFLT son of ḠLM son of Y^{c}LY.

This is by the author of No. 837. For his genealogy see under No.836.

876. *l ^{c}ly bn yslm bn lḡyn*

By ^{c}LY son of YSLM son of LḠYN.

WH 3500 may be by the author's father, while the author of WH 3406 could have been his paternal uncle.

Nos. 877 - 881 are on the same rock.

877. *l b'lt bn mṯ^{c}*

By B'LT son of MṮ^{c}.

The name B'LT is to be found in WH 711 only.

878. *l s̄m[.] bn 's*

By S̄M[.] son of 'S.

The third letter of the initial name is most unusual. It would seem that the scribe began to incise a letter, made an error which he did not erase, and then reinscribed another letter over the top. What now appears upon the stone is unidentifiable.

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879. *l jmr bn yṯ^{c}*

By JMR son of YṮ^{C}.

By the same author may be ISB 335.

880. *l slj bn yṯ^{c}*

By SLJ son of YṮ^{C}.

This author was probably brother to the previous one.

881. *l ʾlh bn w^{c}r*

By ʾLH son of W^{C}R.

882. *l hknf bn yd^{c}*

By HKNF son of YD^{C}.

Alongside this text is a crude drawing of a human figure.

883. *l y^{c}ll bn yslm*

By Y^{C}LL son of YSLM.

Alongside the text is a drawing of a human figure and seven dots.

884. *l mdd bn jr bn t[...lt]b^{c}[.]*

By MDD son of JR son of T[.....].

Most of the second half of the text is illegible.

885. *l mrd bn bn^{c}bḏy*

By MRD son of BN^{C}BDY.

BN^{C}BDY is a new compound name. The letter *b* of *bn* here has been altered to resemble *ḥ* .

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Nos. 886 and 887 are on the same stone.

886. *l yᶜmrn bn ʾhbb*

By YᶜMRN son of ʾḤBB.

887. *l hyft*

By HYFT.

Nos. 888 - 890 are on the same stone. They are enclosed by a line.

888. *l ql bn mᶜs bn ql*

By QL son of MᶜS son of QL.

889. *l nhb bn mᶜs*

By NHB son of MᶜS.

WH 1778 may be by the same author. He is the brother of the previous author.

890. *l ḏhdt bn ᶜtmt wwlh ᶜl ʾs̄yᶜh*

By ḎHDT son of ᶜTMT and he was dejected with grief over his companions.

891. *l ʾmz bn ytᶜ whwb ᶜl ʾs̄yᶜh [whl]*

By ʾMZ son of YTᶜ, and he grieved for his companions [and O ...].

The end of the text has been deliberately erased, probably by the scribe. The erased letters, as far as can be determined, seem to have been *whl* , which suggests that an invocation to the goddess LT may have been to follow. The "companions" of this and the previous text were either absent or dead.

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Nos. 892 + 894 are on the same stone.

892. *l h^{c}dr bn hyf[t]*

By H^{C}DR son of HYF[T].

The final letter has been partially obliterated by the weathering of the rock surface.

893. *l jdy bn 'shm*

By JDY son of 'SHM.

894. *l lhy bn ydy bn dhmt*

By LHY son of YDY son of DHMT.

This inscription may be by the author of WH 2290. The name YDY occurs nowhere else.

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SITE L - Southern edge of the Qā^{c} al-Ladhāyim (Inscriptions from around two small cairns. One rock, upon which were Nos.903 and 904, was incorporated into the structure of the larger cairn but was probably built into it by later builders. The other texts were found on rocks scattered about the site, to the east and north-east of the larger cairn. A track, leading up from the qā^{c} to this cairn from the north has been cleared of rocks. From this site the previous one is clearly visible, about one kilometer away across the mud flat. Nos. 895 - 905 and Map 5).

895. *l jdlt bn ḥjnt d' l zyd dkr ḥrd fdm^{c}*

By JDLT son of HJNT of the tribe of ZYD;

he remembered a maiden, so he shed tears!.

HJNT is new as a personal name in Saf., although it occurs in Qat. as a family or clan name (HIn 178); see the Ar. *ḥajana*, "to bend, be curved". ZYD is a new tribal name in Saf. but it occurs in Tham. Eu 307 (Hu 268-66) as ZYDW, a possibly Aramaicised form of the same name. However, there may be no relation between the two tribes as ZYD itself is a popular name. For the noun *ḥrd* which is new in Saf., see the Ar. *ḥarīd*, "virgin, bashful woman", and *ḥarīdat*, "maiden". The accompanying picture clearly depicts this maiden. The verb *dm^{c}* is also new to Saf.; compare the Ar. *dami^{c}a*, "to shed tears". It may be no coincidence that the theme of this inscription, the remembrance of a maiden now departed and the lamentation over her memory, is one of the most common themes in the pre-Islamic ode, or *qasīda* , the appearance of which may postdate this inscription by a number of centuries (see R.A.Nicholson,

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A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 77f, and I. Lichtenstadter, Introduction to Classical Arabic Literature, p. 20 - 27).

Finally, it should be noted that the script of this text displays a number of unusual letter forms, notably *n*, *d*, *ḏ*, *k* and *r*, all of which bear some resemblance to Thamudic forms. See the discussion of the paleography of this inscription in Chapter Four, "The Paleography of the Safaitic Inscriptions".

896. *l ḥdln bn s'lt*

By ḤDLN son of S'LT.

The letter *d* of ḤDLN is reversed. Seven dots accompany the text.

897. *l 'jrb*

By 'JRB

Seven dots accompany the text. The name is to be found in WH 2675.

Nos. 898 - 900 are on the same stone.

898. *l sry bn frḫ*

By SRY son of FRḪ.

899. *l 'ḏl bn sry*

By 'ḎL son of SRY.

This is presumably by a son of the previous author.

900. *l 's bn ᶜqrb ḏ'l nmr wᶜyq jn'l [....] wsy[.]*

By 'S son of ᶜQRB, of the tribe of NMR,

and he impeded JN'L [.....].

This text is in very fine, faint letters, some of which are

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quite illegible. The tribe of NMR is previously unattested, although this is a common personal name. The verb *ʿyq* is also new in Saf.; see the Ar. *ʿāqa*, "to impede, delay". Nothing much can be made of the ending here but the last word may be either *syd*,"to hunt",or *syr*,"to return".

901. *l jmr hzlt*

This shelter belongs to JMR.

902. *l ʿmr bn rbn*

By ʿMR son of RBN.

Nos. 903 and 904 are on the same stone.

903. *l ʿbdy*

By ʿBDY.

904. *l qsyt*

By QSYT.

905. *l ʾbll*

By ʾBLL.

This name occurs only in LP 848 and 859.

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SITE M - Qaᶜ al-Ladhāyim (Inscriptions from around a cairn on high ground overlooking the mud flat at its south-eastern end. Nos. 906 - 996 and see Map 5).

Nos. 906 and 907 are on the same stone.

906. *l ʾshm bn tᶜr whwb*

By ʾSHM son of TᶜR, and he grieved.

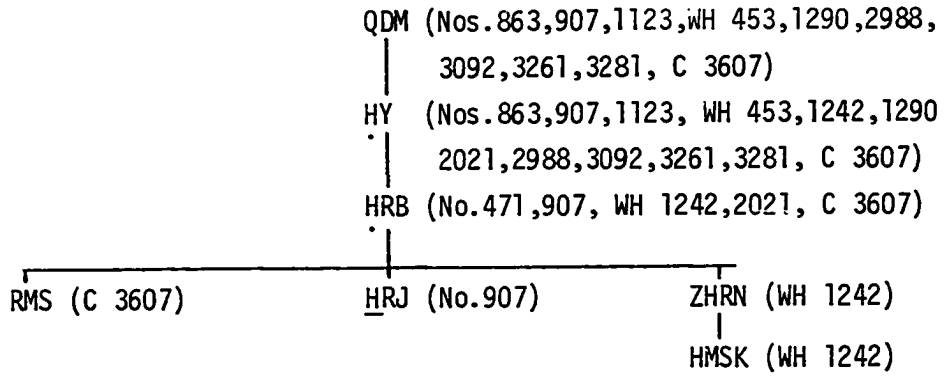
Note that the name TᶜR is not to be found in C 92 as listed by HIn 145.

907. *l hrj bn hrb bn hy bn qdm wnšt l htyt fhrdy ġnmt*

By HRJ son of HRB son of HY son of QDM,

and he journeyed to HTYT, so O RDY grant plunder!

For the verb *nšt* with the preposition *l* , see WH 1243. The word *htyt* must be the name of a place, presumably that from which the author hoped to obtain plunder. His family-tree is probably to be reconstructed as follows :



908. *l hhrm bn šddt*

By HHRM son of ŠDDT.

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Nos. 909 - 911 are on the same stone.

909. *l ʾsrk bn mqtl wwjm*

By ʾSRK son of MQTL, and he grieved.

910. *l ᶜmdn bn [dd] bn ʾf*

By ᶜMDN son of [DD] son of ʾF.

The middle name has been almost completely erased.

911. *l sm[m] bn [ʾ]jd b[n ...] bn ᶜ[..]*

By SM[M] son of [ʾ]JD son [of ...] son of ᶜ[..].

This text has been badly damaged by No.905, which has been engraved over it.

912. *l msk bn ḫzn bn ᶜbd wwjm ᶜl ʾḫh*

By MSK son of ḪZN son of ᶜBD,

and he grieved for his brother.

Note the forms of the letters *k* and *j* here; the *k* takes the form of an *s* with an added appendage at the top, while the *j* has a small circle inside the larger one.

Nos. 913 and 914 are on the same rock.

913. *l yʾsʾl bn ᶜm*

By YʾSʾL son of ᶜM.

This author's probable genealogy has been reproduced under WH 127.

914. *l ḥr bn sny*

By ḤR son of SNY.

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Nos. 915 and 916 are on the same stone.

915. *l btyh bn frq*

By BṬYH son of FRQ.

916. *l frq bn ḫzr bn sbḥ*

By FRQ son of ḪZR son of SBḤ.

This author was probably the father of the previous one. The inscription is enclosed by a line and the surface of the rock within this enclosure has been covered by criss-cross scratched lines.

917. *l db bn ᶜbdy hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to DB son of ᶜBDY.

No.788 may be by the same author. The word *hbkrt* here is in a different hand and does not follow on from the genealogy but rather runs parallel to it, in the same direction.

Nos. 918 - 923 are on the same rock.

918. *l bʾs bn ḥbb hh[w]b ʾl rdw*

By BʾS son of ḤBB, this misfortune of the god RDW!

ḥwb is usually found as a verb (see No.618); see the Ar. *ḥawb*, "grief, distress, affliction". The use of the word *ʾl* with the meaning "god" is not well attested (see No.424), and the end of the text may equally read "O affliction to RDW!". Such maledictions directed at the gods are not unknown (see, for instance, No.95). When used verbally *ḥwb* takes the preposition *ᶜl* but the usage in this case would be different as the word *ḥwb* would be a curse directed at the deity, rather than an expression of grief.

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919. *l ᶜl bn ʾṯᶜ*

By ᶜL son of ʾṮᶜ.

Nos. 571 and 715 are identical texts.

920. *l ᶜl bn bn[srb]*

By ᶜL son of BN[SRB].

The end of the text is almost illegible. The name BNSRB is new but the reading cannot be considered certain. See the Ar. *sarb*, "sour milk" and *sirb*, "small bedouin tent".

921. *l ʾbn bn[ᶜwl]*

By ʾBN son of [ᶜWL].

The second name has been damaged.

922. *l ʾjr[l]n bn ms*

By ʾJR[L]N son of MS.

The initial name is unusual; see the Ar. *jaral*, "hard, stony ground". The letter *ʾalif* resembles *ḥ*, the *j* may be *w* and the letter read as *l* has been damaged and resembles *q*. Hence the reading is quite doubtful.

923. *l rjj bn ql*

By RJJ son of QL.

RJJ is a new name in Saf., although it occurs in Sab. R 5072.

924. *l ᶜml bn rbn*

By ᶜML son of RBN.

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925. *l sr bn 'rhm*

By SR son of 'RHM.

The name 'RHM is new; see the Ar. *rahima*, "to forgive, show mercy". With this text is a very crude drawing of a human (?) figure, seven dots and seven short strokes.

Nos. 926 - 929 are on the same stone.

926. *l slmn*

By SLMN.

927. *l mrt bn ḡlmt*

By MRT son of ḠLMT.

928. *l ḡrb bn hyd*

By ḠRB son of HYD.

929. *l slh bn sll wwlh ᶜl hlh*

By SLH son of SLL, and he was dejected with grief for his maternal uncle.

By the same author may be WH 1470, although WH read the first name as SNH. Here the reading SLH is certain.

930. *l ᶜwdt bn ws* [.....]

By ᶜWDT son of WS[.....].

The text is partially buried in the ground and has been mutilated.

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931. *l ʾsd bn ṣm bn mᶜs*

By ʾSD son of ṢM son of MᶜS.

By the same author may be WH 105, while WH 538 and 3624 may be by his father.

Nos. 932 - 936 are on the same stone.

932. *l s̄ntt bn dʾy*

By S̄NTT son of DʾY.

933. *l rbn bn yẓr bn mẓl*

By RBN son of YẒR son of MẒL.

MẒL is a new name; see the Ar. *ẓalla*, "to remain, last" and *ʾaẓalla*, "to be shady".

934. *l rmmt bn dʾy bn bsʾ hbkrt*

This young she-camel belongs to

RMMT son of DʾY son of BSʾ.

This author is probably to be identified with the father of the author of No.564, where the name is given as RMT. See also the genealogy under No.567. A drawing of a camel accompanies the text. WH 1421 is by the same author, although they would read the last name as BBʾ.

935. *l bjt bn ḥrm bn kbr*

By BJT son of ḤRM son of KBR.

By the same author are WH 2514 and 2592. No.1174 may be by his father.

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936. .....*hr*]*ḏw yṯddt*

.....O RD]W .....(?).

Most of this text has been obliterated and little sense can be made of what remains.

Nos. 937 - 949 are all on the same large boulder.

937. *l jd bn* [*d*]*ḫl bn 'hm*

By JD son of [D]ḪL son of 'HM.

938. *l zwm bn wmm*

By ZWM son of WMM.

ZWM is a new name; see the Ar. *zāma*, "to hush someone (by word)". WMM is only in C 5062.

939. *l ᶜmr bn ᶜṯq*

By ᶜMR son of ᶜṮQ.

For other inscriptions which may be by the same author see WH 547.

939a. *l ḏrḥ bn* [*bl*] *w*[...]

By DRḤ son of [BL] and [...].

939b. *l jlyt*

By JLYT.

This name is only in C 5264.

940. *l* [*rwt*] *bn wn*

By [RWT] son of WN.

The inscription has been deliberately mutilated. The first name

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appears to be RWṬ, which is new, but the reading is very uncertain; see the Ar. *rāṭa*, "to repair to a summit (wild beast)".

941. *l mty bn ᶜmr*

By MTY son of ᶜMR.

942. *l ḥrb bn jmr*

By ḤRB son of JMR.

No.867 is by the same author.

943. *l [d'y] bn b*

By [D'Y] son of B.

The text is unfinished. It has been very poorly inscribed and is difficult to make out.

944. *l ᶜbt bn 'yl*

By ᶜBT son of 'YL.

945. *l ḥj bn fklt*

By ḤJ son of FKLT.

The name FKLT is new but the name FKL occurs (see HIn 470). Note the form of the letter *k*, which more resembles the letter *z*; such a form is rare but not unknown (see the example in the name FKL in WH 796). If we were to read this name as FZLT no possible derivation could be suggested for it.

946. *l 'yl bn zmḥr*

By 'YL son of ZMḤR.

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947. *l yṯ^{c} bn jr bn msky*

By YṮ^{C} son of JR son of MSKY.

Perhaps by the same author is WH 3613, while No.387 may be by his father.

948. *l ḥy bn wqs*

By ḤY son of WQS.

949. *l ḥjn*

By ḤJN.

This is a new name in Saf., although it occurs in Sab. C 541/23; see also CIK 286/2, Ḥujn, and the Ar. *hajana*, "to be born of a slave woman, to be half-blooded".

Nos. 950 and 951 are on the stone.

950. *l ṣmry bn ḥbb bn jzl*

By ṢMRY son of ḤBB son of JZL.

951. *l s̄ddt bn bjt*

By S̄DDT son of BJT.

Nos. 952 - 954 are on the same rock, enclosed by a line and accompanied by seven strokes and a rayed disc.

952. *l ʾslm bn ʾbyn bn jd bn ḥrb*

By ʾSLM son of ʾBYN son of JD son of ḤRB.

This inscription is probably by the son of the author of No.64 from the Murabb aṣ-Suweiᶜid. See also Nos.52 and 154.

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953. *l kmš bn 'slm*

By KMŠ son of 'SLM.

This may be by a son of the previous author.

954. *l hsm bn s'lt bn mrr*

By HSM son of S'LT son of MRR.

The name HSM is new; it is probably to be derived from the root *smm*, see the Ar. *samma*, "to poison", or perhaps *sāma*, "to offer for sale, to impose a difficult task".

Nos.955 and 956 are on the same stone.

955. *l fr' bn wqs*

By FR' son of WQS.

956. *l [bh]' bn mr'*

By [BH]' son of MR'

By the same author may be SIJ 536, WH 2733,3294,3757 and 3381. See the family-tree under WH 782.

957. *l ḥrs bn brzt bn 'yl wtzr ḥmlk fy's l ṯ'r mḥwlt*

By ḤRS son of BRZT son of 'YL, and he was awaiting the king, and he despaired of exacting blood-revenge from the ḤWLT.

The word *ḥmlk* may be a proper name, HMLK, or, as translated here, a common noun, "the king". Unfortunately there can be no means of determining which reading is the correct one, nor can this

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"king" be identified. The reading given here is perhaps to be preferred, as other texts also refer to *hmlk* in similar contexts. The historical questions raised by this word have been discussed elsewhere (see Chapter Five, "The Safaites in History", p.101) but some comments need to be made concerning two texts in which it occurs with the probable meaning "king". These are C 2746 and 3064. Other texts in which it occurs are LP 619, 644, SIJ 705, 911, ISB 95, 163, WH 387 and 1700a.

C 2746 - the relevant part of this is to be read *wsyr snt whf hmlk hmš* , "and he journeyed in the year the king drew near to HMŠ". For *whf* see the Ar. *wahafa*, "to draw near to". The word HMŠ may be either a place name or a common noun, "stony area", perhaps referring to the Harra; see the Ar. *mušāšat*, "stony area". The Corpus editor reads this pericope as *wsyr snt whb hmlk hmr*, but this involves the incorrect reading of two letters - *whb* should probably be *whf* and *hmr* should be *hmš*. A.Jamme (JaSm, p.506-507) would read this as *wsyr snt wh whml shm*, "and he has journeyed (here) the year of sadness. And he has wandered in the summer's burning heat". Such a reading involves three incorrect identifications of letters : the *w* of *whml* does not exist -it is the letter *f* (as noted by Jamme elsewhere on the same page); the *s* of *shm* cannot be so read when it is compared to the *s* of the preceding *snt* - rather it is the letter *k* ; the final letter of the text, *š* , is dismissed as belonging to "some small flourish which also includes the small broken line immediately below *r* of *syr* - the facsimile of the text does not justify such a dismissal.

C 3064 - the relevant part of this text should be read as follows :

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wsyr mmdbr hsf hḍ'n snt hsf ᶜr hmlk bsr[r] yrhn , "and he came from the desert, the sheep having been swallowed up, in the year the asses of the king were swallowed up in the [lowland] of YRHN". For the verb *hsf* see the Ar. *hasafa*, "to sink down (of land)" and also WH 2006 (?) and 2411, in which the word *'hsf* apparently refers to "soft tracts of land", evidently quicksand. This was located in a low-lying spot known as YRHN, the location of which is unknown. For the word *srr* see the Ar. *sirr* or *sirār*, "low-lying part of a valley". The editor of Corpus reads this word as *srw*, which would be possible from the facsimile, which shows the last letter of the word to be damaged. A.Jamme (JaSm, p.507) would read this text as *wsyr mmdbr hsf hḍ'n snt hsf ᶜrhm bkl srr yrhn*, "and he has journeyed (here) from the desert (where) the sheep have disappeared the year a lion has penetrated into all lowland of Yarhān". Such a translation involves the incorrect reading of *bkl* - the *b* here is manifestly not to be so read. It is the letter *l*. Furthermore the word *ᶜrhm* is untranslatable and cannot be read as "lion", while the verb *hsf* cannot be read as "has penetrated", as this would be equivalent to the Ar. *hasāfa*. It is most unlikely that the author would have used the word *hsf* twice with two entirely different meanings, nor is the Safaitic *s* interchangeable with the *s̄* of Arabic.

To return to our present text, No.957, the reason for the author's despair may well have been the tardiness of the *hmlk* whom he was awaiting. The verb *y's* is attested in SIJ 118 and C 4276; in both

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instances it is followed by the preposition *m*, governing a noun. Here it is succeeded by the preposition *l*, which introduces another verb.

958. *l ᶜnzt bn bnjd wtwr jl ᶜd ᶜm*
wsqt nḇṯn db wmrbl

By ᶜNZT son of BNJD, and the camel herd
returned time after time for a number of years,
and two wells watered the riding-animals
and the land covered with autumn herbage.

twr is perhaps a 3rd form verb; see the Ar. *tāwara*, "to return time after time". For *jl* see the Ar. *jawl*, "herd of camels/horses" and also WH 925 and 1873. The next expression, *ᶜd ᶜm*, is unusual. For *ᶜd* see the Ar. *ᶜadad*, "number, quantity" and for *ᶜm* see the Ar. *ᶜām*, "year", although this word has not as yet been attested in Saf. outside of the expression *ᶜm fᶜm* (see No. 578). An interpretation of the expression which would be equally possible, and perhaps preferable would be "an abundance of days" or "many days" (presumably during the autumn), relating *ᶜd* to the Ar. *ᶜidd*, "abundance, great number" and *ᶜm* to the Ar. *ᶜayām*, "day", a reading which A.Jamme would prefer (see JaSf, p.416 and also No. 578 of this collection).
For the verb *sqt* see the Ar. *saqā*, "to water"; here it is in the feminine, presumably because of the following noun *nḇṯn*, which may be a dual or a plural form. This is the first occurrence in Saf. of the word *nḇṯ* as a noun but it occurs as a verb in WH 217. For the word *db* see the Ar. *dābba*, (pl. *dawābb*), "beast, riding-

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animal" and for *mrbl* the Ar. *mirbāl*, "land covered with autumn herbage". A major problem raised by this translation is that the text seems to refer to irrigation of the land by the well waters. However, we may read the word *mrbl* as quite separate, "and (the) land (is) covered with autumn herbage". Even though this requires a fairly liberal translation it may be justifiable by appealing to the usually enigmatic nature of these inscriptions. This should, of course be a last resort and the possibility that this text should be translated in some other way must be kept in mind.

Nos. 959 and 960 are on the same stone.

959. *l ḫrj bn ṣrḥ*

By ḪRJ son of ṢRḤ.

The name ṢRḤ is new, although HIn 372 lists it in WH 1711.

960. *l ᶜr ṣ[yḥ]*

By ᶜR, ...(?).

This text is in poorly formed letters. No meaning can be adduced for the word *ṣyḥ*, the letters of which may have been altered.

961. *l ḥdln bn (n) zjy*

By ḤDLN son of ( ) ZJY.

ZJY is known only from SIJ 927. The letter *n* after *bn* is probably to be disregarded.

Nos. 962 and 963 are on the same stone.

962. *l wsmʾl bn yḫtyr*

By WSMʾL son of YḪTYR.

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963. *l ᶜrfn bn wsm'l*

By ᶜRFN son of WSM'L.

The name ᶜRFN occurs only in C 3681.

Nos. 964 - 967 are on the same stone, along with a human figure and seven dots.

964. *l mlk bn dhr*

By MLK son of DHR.

This may be by the same author as WH 3730. The following text appears to be by his brother.

965. *l hs̄ll bn [dhr]*

By HS̄LL son of [DHR].

The second name is virtually illegible.

966. *l 'lht bn hs̄ll*

By 'LHT son of HS̄LL.

The author was the son of the previous one.

967. *l s[l.] bn wḥ[d]*

By S[L.] son of WḤ[D].

This text is almost illegible. Nothing can be made of the third letter of the first name, while the final letter of the second name is either *d* or *y*.

Nos. 968 and 969 are on the same stone.

968. *l slm bn ᶜry bn wṣt*

By SLM son of ᶜRY son of WṢT.

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969. *l smm bn jd bn ḫbṭ*

By SMM son of JD son of ḪBṬ.

The following text is probably by this author's paternal uncle.

Nos. 970 and 971 are on the same stone.

970. *l ḥwl bn ḫbṭ*

By ḤWL son of ḪBṬ.

The name ḤWL is new; see the Ar. *ḥāla*, "to strike with fear".

971. *l smm*

By SMM.

972. *l brd bn ẓll bn whm ḥfrs*

This horseman is BRD son of ẒLL son of WHM.

Accompanying this text is a drawing of a horseman who is spearing a young camel. Presumably the author is identifying the horseman of the drawing with himself by the use of the word *ḥfrs*.

Nos. 973 - 976 are on the same stone.

973. *l rs̄bn bn ḡddt*

By RS̄BN son of ḠDDT.

WH 3703 may be by the same author.

974. *l mlk bn ws*

By MLK son of WS.

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975. *l nt[n] bn dī bn ᶜlj*

By NT[N] son of DL son of ᶜLJ.

976. *l sb bn ʾwsʾl bn ʾᶜl*

By SB son of ʾWSʾL son of ʾᶜL.

No.429, from the Qāᶜ al-ᶜArqadiya , is probably by the same person.

Nos. 977 - 979 are on the same stone.

977. *l qsyt bn ḥbṭ bn nql bn ᶜmdn*

By QSYT son of ḤBṬ son of NQL son of ᶜMDN.

For a number of inscriptions probably by this author's father see WH 1554. See also Nos. 969 and 970 of this collection.

978. *l ḥl bn mlkt*

By ḤL son of MLKT.

979. *l ʾswr bn mlk*

By ʾSWR son of MLK.

One would be tempted to regard the authors of Nos. 978 and 979 as brothers were it not for the fact that there is absolutely no trace of a letter *t* after *mlk* in No. 975.

980. *l ʾṭᶜ bn jlmh*

By ʾṬᶜ son of JLMH.

Nos. 981 - 984 are on the same stone.

981. *l ʾmr bn whd*

By ʾMR son of WHD.

See Nos.228 and 405, which may be by sons of this author.

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982. *l jrm bn ᶜly bn wst bn hn'*

By JRM son of ᶜLY son of WST son of HN'.

This text has been mutilated but is still legible.

983. *l 'jr*

By 'JR.

For the letter read here as *j* see above, p.74. This is a known name (HIn 22); it may also be read as 'DR, which would be new; see the Ar. *'adarra*, "to be a polygamist".

984. *l drbt bn mᶜly bn w[...]*

By DRBT son of MᶜLY son of W[...].

The last name has been almost totally obliterated.

985. *l ᶜm*

By ᶜM.

Nos.986 and 987 are on the same stone, with other, illigible texts.

986. *l sbᶜ bn s̄ddt*

By SBᶜ son of S̄DDT.

987. *l srb bn yᶜll*

By SRB son of YᶜLL.

Nos.988 and 989 are on the same stone and are largely illegible.

988. *l ᶜdy bn '[t.]*

By ᶜDY son of '[T.].

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989. *l bn[jr.]*

By BN[JR.]

990. *l hf bn ᶜml bn mᶜmr*

By HF son of ᶜML son of MᶜMR.

The name MᶜMR is new in Saf. but see CIK 397/1, Maᶜmar.

Nos. 991 - 994 are on the same stone.

991. *l jᶜtm bn ᶜm'b*

By JᶜTM son of ᶜM'B

Probably by the same author is ISB 451. Note the unusual compound name ᶜM'B.

992. *l b'sh bn jᶜtm*

By B'SH son of JᶜTM.

No.843 is perhaps by the same author.

993. *l rgb bn 'db bn dhmt*

By RGB son of 'DB son of DHMT.

994. *l sm bn mᶜ[.]*

By SM son of MᶜS[.].

This text is incomplete. The last name was perhaps intended to be MᶜS, as a certain SM son of MᶜS was author of No.927 of this collection and of WH 538 and 3624.

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Nos. 995 and 996 are on the same stone.

995. *l mlyt*

By MLYT.

996. *l bnhn' bn mlyt*

By BNHN' son of MLYT.

This is clearly by a son of the previous author. For the compound name BNHN' see No.425.

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SITE N - Qā^{c} Abū al-Ḥusayn (Inscriptions from around a large cairn on the ridge top overlooking the narrow entrance to a bay formed by the qā^{c} in the basalt. Nos.997 - 1002 and Map 5).

997. *l rmzn bn mfny bn rmzn bn n^{c}mn bn whb wwhy tf 'mjd*

By RMZN son of MFNY son of RMZN son of N^{c}MN son of WHB, and he endeavoured to be near to green pastures.

By the same author is WH 1034. See the author's family-tree under WH 54. The verb *why* is new in Saf.; see the Ar. *waḥiya*, "to purpose, aim at" and *waḥḥiya*, "to endeavour". Also new in Saf. is the verb *tf* ; see the Ar. *taffa*, "to be near to". The noun *'mjd* occurs in C 158, while the form *mjd* is in C 308 and 2473; in MH 6 and 11 the noun *mjdt* occurs as something which was requested from the god JD DF; compare the Ar. *majada*, "to pasture in a fat land, to satiate cattle with green pasture". Note also the occurrence of *mjd* as a verb in Nos.20 and 21.

998. *l ^{c}mr bn 'jlḥ bn ḥrs d' l zhr w'frq fhlt slm*

By ^{c}MR son of 'JLḤ son of ḤRS, of the tribe of ZHR, and he was afraid, so O LT grant security!

This is on another face of the same rock as the previous text. The tribal or clan name ZHR occurs in HCH 103 only. The verb *'frq* is new in Saf. but compare the Ar. *fariqa*, "to fear, be frightened". Here it is probably a passive of the 4th form.

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999. *l ḥlṣ bn tm*

By ḤLṢ son of TM.

WH 932, 936, 941 and 944 may be by the same author.

1000. *rhl frjj wr[ᶜ]y h[..hlh] fwḥy ṭ[f] mjjd hn*

RHL, and he was confused, and he pastured the [....], and he endeavoured to be near to fat green pastures here.

The text is not introduced by the usual *lam auctoris* and the first word may not be a personal name. The verb *rjj* is new; see the Ar. *rajja*, "to shake, be confused". The letter *ᶜayn* of *rᶜy* is restored on the basis of the context of the text; it is not on the hand copy. After the letter *h* three or four letters have become illegible. The noun *mjjd* is new but see *'mjd* in No.997. Here it appears to be an intensive form. *hn* as an adverb occurs in No.603.

1001. *l ṯbr hmᶜmr*

This habitation belongs to ṮBR.

1002. *l 'ḥwn bn ḏ'bt*

By 'ḤWN son of Ḏ'BT.

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SITE 0 - Qā^{c} Abū al-Ḥusayn (An isolated inscription on a rock outcrop on the southern shore of a bay in the basalt formed by the qā^{c}. Inscription No.1003, Map 5).

1003. *l skrn bn wtr bn* ^{c}*mm*

By SKRN son of WTR son of ^{c}MM.

Beneath the inscription on the rock is a strange drawing or design. What it represents is unclear.

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SITE P - Qāᶜ Abū al-Ḥusayn (Inscriptions from around two cairns which are located behind an abandoned building to the south of a disused landing-strip. The building is modern in origin. More inscriptions were located around another cairn further to the west but time did not permit that they be copied. Nos.1004 - 1197 and Map 5.).

1004. *l mlk bn ʾḥwḍ ḍʾl ᶜmn wjl smn wrl*
snt njy m kl rm wwjm ᶜl syd mqtl
fhlt tʾr mn qtlh wwjm ᶜl bn ddh
msby sbyt htyʾ
By MLK son of ʾḤWḌ, of the tribe of ᶜMN,
and he collected the fat of a *wrl*-lizard
in the year he escaped from all of Rome.
And he grieved for SYD, who was killed.
So O LT take blood vengeance from his killing!
And he grieved for the son of his paternal
uncle, whom the TYʾ took as a captive.

For the reading of the last letter of the second name as *ḍ* see Chapter Four, "The Paleography of the Safaitic Inscriptions", p. 74 . The tribal or clan name ᶜMN is new. The following pericope, *wjl smn wrl*, may refer to the collecting of the fat of a lizard, possibly for medicinal purposes, as in folk medicine such fat has many applications. Note that inscription No.1008 (following) seems to refer to the collecting of the fat of a cow. The verb *jl* is difficult of interpretation; see the Ar. *jalla*, "to become great, increase in size, to take the main

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part of, to collect (dung for fuel)". Clearly related to this is the Hebrew *gālal*, "to be round, to make heaps, to roll together" and *galīm*, "heaps". The Syriac and Aramaic usage is similar to the Hebrew (see F.Brown, S.R.Driver and C.A.Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, p.164). Hence the sense of the root seems to be "to roll together, to heap up, to increase" and hence the translation given here, "he collected". For the word *smn* compare the Ar. *samīn*, "fat" and for *wrl* see the Ar. *waral*, "large lizard, monitor" (see A.Musil, Northern Naǧd, p.15). The expression *njy m kl rm* appears to be boasting on the part of the author; he claims to have escaped from "all of Rome" or from "all of (the) Romans". It is to be understood that he escaped from a Roman patrol, or patrols, the symbol of Roman imperial power. The word *syd* here may be a personal name, as translated, or it may be a common noun, "a chief, a tribal ruler". The authors of a number of following inscriptions grieve for a certain SWD and these may be the same person, although it is difficult to account for the difference in the middle radical of the word. *mqtl* is a passive participle, translated here as an adjectival clause, "who was killed". The expression *ṯ'r mn qtlh* is an imperative invocation to the deity. *mn* is a preposition, while *qtl* is a noun comparable to the Ar. *qatl* or *qātil*, "killing, murder".

See also the expression *ww[jm ᶜl ..]b bn ʾḫh mn qtl* in CNAI 1b, which was translated as "and he [grieved for ..]B, the son of

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his brother who was killed". It has been pointed out by Prof. A.F.L.Beeston (private correspondence) that *mn* here cannot correspond to the Ar. *man*, which is not used with a specific noun antecedent. Hence the last two words of this must be read as "from being killed" and the restored verb *wjm* must be discarded in favour of some other, perhaps *w[qy]*, "he defended". In the expression *msby sbyt* the word *sbyt* is an absolute object of the participle *msby* (for which see the expression *msby ḥwlt* in HCH 132). For the word *sbyt* see C 1361, the final pericope of which reads *wwjm ʿl ʿsh sbyt qbr*, which seems to mean "and he grieved for his companion, captive of a tomb". The *ḥty'* here are almost certainly the well known pre-Islamic tribe of Ṭayyi' (for which see CIK 57 - 61 and also Chapter Eight, "Safaitic Onomastics, Genealogies and Tribes", p.153).

Nos.1005 - 1008 are on the same stone.

1005. *l zʿn bn 'ḥwd wwjm ʿl swd trḥ*

By ZʿN son of 'HWD, and he grieved for SWD, being grief-striken.

This is by a brother of the previous author. For this usage of the word *trḥ* see C 2526 , SIJ 98 and LP, Vocabulary, p.346. It has been used as a participle.

1006. *l ḥr bn 'sd d' l '[k]t wndm ʿl swd*

By HR son of 'SD, of the tribe of '[K]T, and he sorrowed for SWD.

The middle radical of the tribal name is quite clear on the

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stone but appears to be of a rather unusual form. It may be *s̄, f, k* or *h*, but of these only *k* produces a known tribal name. For the tribal name 'KT see JaS 39, 43 and 47, all of which are from somewhere in northern Saudi Arabia. For the verb *ndm* see C 2240.

1007. *l sry bn hn' d'l 'rdy wbny ᶜl sw[d]*

By SRY son of HN', of the tribe of 'RDY,

and he built for SW[D].

The tribal name is new; see the Ar. *radiya*, "to be exhausted (by disease)", which produces a rather unusual tribal name. The final letter of the text appears to be *y*, but on the basis of the other inscriptions upon the same rock it may be read as a poorly formed *d*, giving the personal name SWD.

1008. *l mṭl bn ᶜbdlh wjl smn bqr*

By MṬL son of ᶜBDLH, and he

collected the fat of a cow.

For the suggested translation of the expression *wjl smn* see the discussion of text No.1004.

Nos.1009 - 1011 are on the same stone.

1009. *l ḥr bn sᶜd*

By ḤR son of SᶜD.

1010. *l tmlh bn ṣfdy d'l jrs wwjm ᶜl swd wtrḥ*

By TMLH son of ṢFDY, of the tribe of JRS,

and he grieved for SWD, and he was grief-striken.

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The name SFDY is new; see the Ar. *safad*, "gift, fetter". The tribal name is also new; see the Ar. *jarasa*, "to emit a gentle sound". The word *trḥ* is here used as a verb.

1011. *l nqm bn rsn d̲'l '[ṯy] wwjm ᶜl [sy]d*
mqtl ṯy' fhlt wdS̄r t̲'r
By NQM son of RSN, of the tribe of '[ṮY],
and he grieved for [SY]D, a murder victim of ṮY'.
So O LT and DS̄R grant blood-vengeance!

The name RSN is attested only in LP 1248. The tribal or clan name is difficult to read, especially the middle letter. No tribal name 'ṮY is attested but it occurs as a personal name in WH 2122 and 3360. The reading of SYD is rather uncertain, as the stone surface is worn and the letters are faint. If the reading is correct it would correspond to the name of the person lamented in No.1004; it cannot be read as SWD, as in the other inscriptions from this site. The expression *mqtl ṯy'* is unusual and *mqtl* has been interpreted as a passive participle, "murdered", and hence "a murder victim".

1012. *l 'ḫyl bn drmn*
By 'H̲YL son of DRMN.

The name DRMN is new, although DRM occurs.

Nos.1013 - 1019 are on various faces of the same rock. Nos. 1013 and 1014 are together on the same face and No.1013 is almost totally enclosed by a line, which is intersected by

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a group of seven strokes and another of nine strokes. Seven strokes also accompany No.1014.

1013. *l rb bn ᶜqrbn bn mqbr bn tr*

By RB son of ᶜQRBN son of MQBR son of TR.

MQBR is new as a personal name, although QBR occurs. TR is known only from C 1294.

1014. *l whbn bn swd*

By WHBN son of SWD.

Nos.1015 - 1017 are on another face.

1015. *l ᶜbd'l bn ᶜll*

By ᶜBD'L son of ᶜLL.

1016. *l nfrt bn tlm*

By NFRT son of TLM.

Perhaps by the same author is SIJ 914.

1017. *l jmr bn drᶜ*

By JMR son of DRᶜ.

Other texts which may be by the same author are Nos.6, 458, 545, ISB 258 and WH 2383a.

Nos.1018 and 1019 are on another face.

1018. *l ᶜbdy bn 'n'l*

By ᶜBDY son of 'N'L.

Identical texts are SIJ 991, ISB 128, WH 384 and 3717.

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1019. *l mr' bn [h]^{c}d*

By MR' son of [H]^{C}D.

The name H^{C}D is new; it is probably to be related to the names ^{C}D and H^{C}WD. The initial letter of the name has been damaged.

1020. *l d'yt bn 'yst*

By D'YT son of 'YST.

Nos.1021 - 1023 are on the same stone.

1021. *l jmr bn 'mr bn brqt wl[d] mhb*

By JMR son of 'MR son of BRQT,

and he delighted in a loved one.

The reading of the verb is uncertain, as it has been damaged. It appears to read *ld* , for which compare the Ar. *ladda*, "to delight in, to find delightful". *mhb* here is to be compared to the Ar. *muhibb*, "a lover, loved one, friend".

1022. *[l r]ml bn hbm [h..]*

[By R]ML son of HBM [...].

HBM is a new name; it is perhaps to be related to the Ar. *būm*, "owl". The end of the text is worn and very faint.

1023. *l mt^{c} bn jrmh*

By MT^{C} son of JRMH.

Other texts by this author may be WH 2885, 3553, 3619 and 1340. In all of these cases WH have read the second name as JLMH but

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it should be noted that, with the exception of WH 1340, the letter read as *l* does not have the form of the initial *lam auctoris* but is slightly curved and should be read as *r*. WH 1340 appears to read *l mtn bn jlmh* and is probably not by the same author, as suggested reservedly by the editors.

1024. *l hsy bn bwh*

By HSY son of BWH.

Neither name has been attested previously. HSY may be derived from the root *swy;* see the Ar. *sawiya,* "to be worth, equivalent to", and *'aswā,* "to make equal". BWH may be related to the Ar. *bāha,* "to remember, understand" and *būh,* "hawk, owl".

1025. *l b's*

By B'S.

1026. *l bnbnt bn l^{c} bn jrmt bn wr*

By BNBNT son of L^{C} son of JRMT son of WR.

The first two names are new. BNBNT is a typical compound name. L^{C} is unusual but is to be compared to the Ar. *lā^{c},* "anxious, faint-hearted, afflicted by pangs of love".

Nos. 1027 and 1028 are on the same rock.

1027. *l hm bn gt bn y^{c}ly*

By HM son of GT son of Y^{C}LY.

Probably by this author's father are WH 2428, 2574 and 3528a. The following text is probably by his uncle.

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1028. *l šhr bn y^{c}ly bn btnt*

By ŠHR son of Y^{C}LY son of BTNT.

This text, and the preceding one, are possibly to be included in the family tree under No.836. By the same author may be WH 559 and 2460, while WH 2430, 2434 and 3438 could be by his father.

Nos.1029 - 1037 are on various faces of the same boulder.

1029. *l jrmh bn z^{c}m wslmh jd whd*

By JRMH son of Z^{C}M, and protect him

(O) JD; he was alone.

References to the deity JD are uncommon (C 1713, WH 1447, 1568a and 2580). In most instances JD is referred to as the "fortune" of a particular tribe, usually ^{C}WD. However, among the settled Arabs of Nabataea and Palmyra the concept of a protective deity, known simply as Gad, sometimes written with an epithet, was common. Here we are probably to read the letter *h* both as the 3m. pronoun suffix and as the vocative particle, the latter having been assimilated to the former. The last word, *whd*, appears to be a verb providing the reason forthe author's plea to the deity - "he was alone". It may also be an additional plea to the deity, "and avert evil" (see the Ar. *hadda*, "to avert evil, to thrust back". It may be considered to be an epithet of this god,but this would require the definite article to be prefixed to it. (See above, p.133-134).

By the same author may be WH 1344 and 3457.

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1030. *l ḥmrn [w]*

By ḤMRN [and].

The text appears to have been left incomplete as traces of the letter *w*, which has been deliberately erased, can still be made out.

1031. *l ʾšyb bn bnn*

By ʾŠYB son of BNN.

This text has been enclosed by a line.

Nos. 1032 and 1033 are on another face of the boulder.

1032. *l jrrm [bn ..]y*

By JRRM [son of ..]Y.

JRRM is a new name; see the Ar. *jarrama*, "to cut short, accuse falsely". The end of the text has been deliberately defaced.

1033. *l mhl bn ᶜm*

By MHL son of ᶜM.

Nos. 1034 and 1035 are on another face, along with another mutilated text which is largely illegible.

1034. *l frq bn [ḫ..]*

By FRQ son of Ḫ[..].

The end of the text is illegible.

1035. *l ḥmʾl bn qn*

By ḤMʾL son of QN.

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Nos. 1036 and 1037 are on another face of the boulder.

1036. *l s̄ᶜ l bn hm' l*

By S̄ᶜL son of HM'L.

This author is probably the son of the previous one.

1037. *l d'b bn ᶜll*

By D'B son of ᶜLL.

Nos. 1038 - 1042 are on the same stone.

1038. *l 'mrr bn ᶜtq*

By 'MRR son of ᶜTQ.

WH 3095 may be by the same author.

1039. *l mhd*

By MHD.

This is a new name. See the Ar. *mahuda*, "to be of pure racial stock, to be unmixed".

1040. *l hfy bn 'mrr*

By HFY son of 'MRR.

This author is probably a son of that of No. 1038. By the same person may be WH 3033.

1041. *l b[d] bn ml[..]*

By B[D] son of ML[..].

This text is badly damaged. The reading of the first name is fairly certain but the second is quite uncertain.

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1042.

By L'F son of [']MR[R].

The second name is very faint and has been damaged. WH 3048 may be by the same author, while No.1040 of the present collection may be by his brother and No.1038 by his father.

Nos.1043 - 1045 are on the same stone.

1043. *l dkr*

By DKR.

1044. *l dd bn hr*

By DD son of HR.

1045. *l dkrn*

By DKRN.

1046. *l swd bn mj wlh rjm mqtl ṭy' trḥ*
fhdšr ṭ'r

For SWD son of MJ, and this is his
cairn, a murder victim of ṬY'. Grief!
So O DŠR grant blood-vengeance!

For the expression *mqtl ṭy'* see No.1011. See also No.1004. It would appear that the ṬY' tribe were causing trouble for the Safaitic people of this area. SWD is grieved for in a number of other texts from this site and his cairn is presumably one of those to be observed at the spot. The text appears to have been written on his behalf. For the expression *wlh rjm* see No.412 and WH 3420.

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1047. *l qdmt bn 'hwf*

By QDMT son of 'HWF.

For this author's possible family-tree see WH 2475.

1048. *l [hrb] bn [ᶜj] bn syd*

By [HRB] son of [ᶜJ] son of SYD.

The text appears to have been deliberately altered not long after the original was inscribed. This is evidenced by a number of lines which are finer than the rest of the incising but of similar patination. At first glance the text reads : *l ṣbw bn yw bn syd* , which gives two rather unlikely names. Close examination, however, reveals that the *ṣ* is indeed *h* and the *w* is probably *b;* thus the initial name would read HRB. The initial letter of the next name has also been altered, from *ᶜayn* to *y,* while the second letter has been altered to resemble *w* by the addition of an extraneous stroke through the centre of the *j*.

Nos. 1049 - 1050 are on the same stone.

1049. *l br' bn nẓr*

By BR' son of NẒR.

For other texts possibly by the same author see WH 3557c.

1050. *l hsn*

By HSN.

This is an unattested name, which may be derived from the root *snn;* see the Ar. *sinn,* "teeth, age".

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1051. *l s̄n' bn wdd*

By S̄N' son of WDD.

1052. A drawing of a horseman. This accompanied three texts which have been almost completely erased by deliberate vandalism, although the drawing is untouched.

1053. *l njt bn 'ḫwf*

By NJT son of 'ḪWF.

NJT is a new name, although NJ is known; see the Ar. *najja*, "to hasten". The author was probably the brother of the author of No.1047.

1054. *l ḡ̄dd*

By ḠDD.

This may be a new name, although the name ḠDDT is well known. Note that the name appears to occur in WH 792 (as listed by HIn 456) but it is read as ḠDD(T) by WH, on the basis of the genealogy of WH 395a. However, in the case of WH 792 there is no space for the proposed restoration of the letter *t* and the name was clearly written as ḠDD. To restore this to ḠDDT on the basis of WH 395a, which has only two names, is perhaps stretching the evidence a little too far.

Nos. 1055 - 1062 are on the same stone.

1055. *l yḫld*

By YḪLD.

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1056. *l d'b bn ᶜsmn*

By D'B son of ᶜSMN.

For the name ᶜSMN see No.100.

1057. *l ᶜjr bn wst w'l mnb ᶜqbt*

By ᶜJR son of WST; he took refuge

from an agent of retribution (?).

The meaning of the end of this text is rather difficult to determine. For the verb *w'l* see WH 822. *nb* may be related to the Ar. *nāba*, "to act as an agent". For the word *ᶜqbt* see No.104. Other readings of this may be possible.

1058. *l zby*

By ZBY.

1059. *l bjt bn qdmt bn 'hwf*

By BJT son of QDMT son of 'HWF.

This is probably by a son of the author of No.1047.

1060. *l nbt*

By NBT.

1061. *l ( ) 'ws'l wl mlty [w]hr m[h]b'[.]*

By ( ) 'WS'L and by MLTY., [and] he (they)

returned from [the] [well].

An *ᶜayn* appears before the initial name but is probably to be ignored. The rest of the text is extremely difficult. It seems

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to be an instance of double authorship, although the occurrence of such texts is denied by A.Jamme (JaSN, p.97 - 98). Winnett and Harding (WH, p.17) believe that double authorship does occur but it does not take the form found here, in which the *lām auctoris* has been repeated. Note that in all three examples of the letter *w* in this text the cross stroke has been lengthened so that the letter resembles *q*. Note also the unusual form of the letter *ṭ* of MLṬY, a form found in WH 1475c. The verb *ḥr* may refer to both authors or only to one of them. For this verb see WH 2327. The end of the text is uncertain. The letter read as the definite article seems to have been altered to resemble *y* and it is uncertain whether another letter follows the *'alif*. If there is another letter it is faint and rather smaller than the preceding letters; it may be *r* or *f*.

1062. *l dl bn dhr wb[ḍ.]*

By DL son of DHR, and [he...].

The end of the text is uncertain. It appears to read *wbḍ* and another letter may follow. However the letter *ḍ* is uncertain and the following traces of what may be a letter are very faint.

Nos. 1063 and 1064 are on the same rock.

1063. *l ḏwr'l bn b'ys*

By ḎWR'L son of B'YS.

B'YS is new. It is a compound name, of which the element *'ys* is well known.

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1064. *l ẓll bn mᶜly*

By ẒLL son of MᶜLY.

WH 3138 may be by the same author.

Nos. 1065 and 1066 are on the same stone.

1065. *l bnt bn ḥnn*

By BNT son of ḤNN.

1066. *l ᶜll bn mt bn jld*

By ᶜLL son of MT son of JLD.

1067. *l ḥy bn ḥdm*

By ḤY son of HDM.

1068. *l ᶜmd bn ḥkmn*

By ᶜMD son of HKMN.

This is on another face of the same rock as the previous text. The name HKMN is new; see the Ar. *kamana*, "to lie hidden, lurk in ambush".

1069. *l ḥmᶜḏ*

By HMᶜḎ.

1070. *l mn'l bn jd bn s̄jᶜt*

By MN'L son of JD son of S̄JᶜT.

This is perhaps by the son of the author of WH 1808 (not WH 1818, as listed by HIn 564).

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Nos.1071 - 1083a are upon various faces of the same stone.

Nos.1071 - 1077 are on one face.

1071. *l bnklbt bn y^{c}ll*

By BNKLBT son of Y^{C}LL.

For this author's possible family-tree see under WH 299a.

1072. *l wrd b....*

By WRD son [of ...?].

This text may be unfinished. If not it is difficult to make any sense out of it.

1073. *l [j]r[']t'l*

By [J]R[']T'L.

JR'T'L, if the reading is correct, would be a new theophoric name. The two doubtful letters appear to have been deliberately altered. See the Ar. *jaru'a*, "to be bold, courageous".

1074. *l shb bn msk*

By SHB son of MSK.

1075. *l hwmr*

By HWMR.

This name is almost certainly to be read as HJMR, as there is no root *wmr* . The *w* may be the result of a scribal error or of the deliberate mutilation of the text. HJMR would be a new name but the form JMR is common.

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1076. *l ḡṣbn*

By ḠṢBN.

This is a new name; see the Ar. *ḡaṣaba*, "to compel, violate".

1077. *l b'sh bn 'hm*

By B'SH son of 'HM.

This may be by the same author as WH 2378,2739,2779,3074 and ISB 23. Note that in all of these the script is very similar.

Nos.1078 - 1080 are on another face of the same stone.

1078. *l thmn bn 'ml*

By ṮHMN son of 'ML.

1079. *l jlḥn bn 'ḥ*

By JLḤN son of 'Ḥ.

Possibly by the same author are WH 102 and 129.

1080. *l ᶜljn bn ḥbn*

By ᶜLJN son of ḤBN.

Both of these names are new. ᶜLJN is clearly to be related to the well known name ᶜLJ, while ḤBN would be a compound of *ḥ* + *bn*. It is also possible that ḤBN should be read as ḤBL but the final letter is rather small. The name ḤBN may recur in No.1103.

Nos. 1081 - 1083a are on another face of the rock, along with drawings of two gazelles, one of which has long horns while the

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other has none.

1081. *l rmd bn šk*

By RMD son of ŠK.

RMD is a new name; see the Ar. *ramida*, "to suffer from ophthalmia" and *ramād*, "ashes". RNP I, p.200 lists the name RMD as occurring in Dussaud 64 (C 1337) but an examination of the facsimile (Corpus, Tab.XXVIII) shows this name to be BJD, as read by the Corpus editor.

1082. *l ʾḫwn bn ᶜmdn ḥmᶜmr*

This dwelling-place belongs to

ʾḪWN son of ᶜMDN.

This text has been partly incised over another much fainter one, which cannot be read except for the last few letters, which are *ᶜmrm*.

1083. *l ḥbb bn* [...]

By ḤBB son of [...].

The end of the text is illegible.

1083a. *l kr bn ʾl*

By KR son of ʾL.

The second name may also read ʾN.

Other illegible texts also occur on this stone.

1084. *l ḥkm bn jnʾl*

By ḤKM son of JNʾL.

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1085. *l ᶜhm bn hb*

By ᶜHM son of HB.

This is accompanied by drawings of two camels.

Nos.1086 and 1087 are on the same stone, accompanied by two clusters of seven dots and a line of seventeen dots.

1086. *l slm bn jd'l*

By SLM son of JD'L.

By the same author may be WH 1390,2349 and 2787.

1087. *l qdm'l bn ᶜll*

By QDM'L son of ᶜLL.

1088. *l ykbr*

By YKBR.

1089. *l klb*

By KLB.

This text has been enclosed by a line.

1090. *l nql bn s̄ntt*

By NQL son of S̄NṬT.

Nos.1091 - 1093 are on the same stone.

1091. *l ẓhr bn h's*

By ẒHR son of H'S.

WH 2332 and 2342 are possibly by the same author.

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1092. *l s^{c}d bn hrn*

By S^{C}D son of HRN.

The second name is new but see the Ar. name Hārūn (CIK 280/1). A wasm or a crude drawing follows this text.

1093. *l 'b[y]n bn 'm[rd] w^{c}ll ṯrḏw j[..]b[.]*

By 'B[Y]N son of 'M[RD], and he was ill, so RḎW [...].

Possibly by the same author are WH 304,901, 2801 and 3772. One would expect to find the vocative particle before the name of the deity but it is not always employed. Unfortunately the end of the text is largely illegible and so the nature of the author's plea to the deity must remain unknown.

1094. *l whb bn 'nhk bn kdn*

By WHB son of 'NHK son of KDN.

Nos. 1095 and 1096 are on the same stone.

1095. *l d'bn bn [^{c}b ll]*

By D'BN son of [^{C}B; he was overtaken by the night (here)].

The reading of the second name is uncertain as it has been mutilated. The word *ll* appears as a noun in WH 1199. Here it is a verb; see the Ar. *'alāla*,"to be overtaken by the night".

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1096. *l mn'l bn ᶜmrt*

By MN'L son of ᶜMRT.

There is an erased text alongside this one.

1097. *l b[tl] bn wḏ't bn [ḥ]mm [bn .]mjt [bn] mnḥl*

By B[TL] son of WḎ'T son of [H]MM

[son of .]MJT [son of] MNḤL.

This inscription has been deliberately vandalised. The name WḎ'T is new, although WḎ' is known; it recurs in No.1120a. This is accompanied by an animal drawing, alongside which is an erased text, and three groups of seven strokes.

Nos.1098 - 1107 are on the same rock. Nos.1098 - 1101 are together on the same face of the stone.

1098. *l ᶜtn bn yᶜll*

By ᶜTN son of YᶜLL.

1099. *l mrḡm bn sr*

By MRḠM son of SR.

MRḠM is a new name, although RḠM is known; see the Ar. *raḡama*, "to dislike".

1100. *l [mlyt] bn yfᶜ*

By [MLYT] son of YFᶜ.

The initial name has been badly mutilated.

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1101. *l ḥjj bn ʾbyn bn mr[b]b*

By ḤJJ son of ʾBYN son of MR[B]B.

The last name is new; see the Ar. *marbūb*,"reared child, step-child, child of a slave". The second last letter has been altered to resemble *s*.

1102. *l klb bn rnyt*

By KLB son of RNYT.

RNYT is a new name; see the Ar. *ranā*, "to gaze at with delight" and *rānā*, "to equal in beauty".

Nos.1103 and 1104 are on another face of the rock. There are traces of other, illegible texts on the same face, over which these two have been inscribed.

1103. *l ndʾ bn hb bn [hbn] wkḡḍb*

By NDʾ son of HB son of [HBN] and ....(?).

The end of the text is problematical. The letters *wkḡḍb* are in a different hand to the rest of the text and may not belong with it. However, they cannot be associated with anything else on the stone. As the letters stand they do not appear to make any sense, although *ḡḍb* may be the verb "to be angry". It may also be read as *ḡḍr* , "to acquire wealth; to give an abundance (God)".

1104. *l yḥmʾl bn mrʾt*

By YḤMʾL son of MRʾT.

WH 564 may be by the same author.

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Nos.1105 - 1107 are on another face of the rock, along with a number of illegible inscriptions.

1105. *l bnkm[l]*

By BNKM[L].

This is a new compound name.

1106. *l b^{c}mh*

By B^{C}MH.

1107. *l dm[l] bn ^{c}[...]f[.....]*

By DM[L] son of ^{C}[.....].

This has been badly damaged and the end is illegible.

Nos.1108 and 1109 are on the same stone.

1108. *l mqtl bn [.*

By MQTL son of [..

The stone has been broken and no more of the text has been preserved.

1109. *l dhnt h[k]d[.]*

By DḤNT, the [...].

The end of the text is largely illegible.

Nos. 1110 - 1112 are on the same rock.

1110. *l zr bn 'my bn wsbn bn mn'l*

By ZR son of 'MY son of WSBN son of MN'L.

See No.553, which may be by this author's son. The name WSBN here may be an error for SBWN.

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1111. *l b'mṙh bn jn*

By B'MRH son of JN.

No.786 and WH 3373 are perhaps by the same author.

1112. *l qdm'l bn mḏy*

By QDM'L son of MḎY.

1112a. *l jy[.] b[n] yfl*

By JY[.] son [of] YFL.

This is a faint text. It has been damaged. The initial name may read JYL but it is difficult to make out.

Nos.1113 - 1117 and 1121 are on the same stone.

1113. *l bḥṙmh bn ṙb[ḏ]*

By BḤṘMH son of RB[Ḏ].

1114. *l mḏr bn nṣ̄l*

By MḎR son of NṢ̄L.

For this author's possible genealogy see WH 2419.

1115. *l ᶜly bn mlk*

By ᶜLY son of MLK.

1116. *l 'bḡ̄ḏ*

By 'BḠ̄D.

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1117. *l sll bn s̄n'*

By SLL son of S̄N'.

Nos.1118 - 1120 are on the same stone.

1118. *l s̄^{c}[fn] hjs̄ ḡlbh*

By S̄^{c}[FN]; the army overcame him.

js̄ here is the Ar. *jays̄*, "military force, army", while *ḡlb* is to be compared to the Ar. *ḡalaba*, "to overcome". What this military force consisted of can only be surmised. S̄^{c}FN - No.443.

1119. *l hjrm bn 'wdd*

By HJRM son of 'WDD.

WH 3922 is probably by the same person.

1120. *l tlm bn s̄^{c} bn wst*

By TLM son of S̄^{c} son of WST.

Perhaps by the same author are WH 2289 and 3234.

1120a. *l wd't*

By WD'T.

For this name see No.1097.

1121. *l yslm*

By YSLM.

On the same rock as Nos.1113 - 1117.

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Nos. 1122 - 1124 are on the same stone.

1122. *l y^{c}t bn mkl*

By Y^{C}T son of MKL.

Y^{C}T is new but a form Y^{C}TT occurs in WH 585 and 784.

1123. *l ḥy bn qdm*

By ḤY son of QDM.

See this author's possible family-tree under No.907.

1124. *l ʾl bn nsb̄*

By ʾL son of NS̄B.

This is the first attested occurrence of the name NS̄B in Saf., but see CIK 445/1, Nās̄ib, and the Ar. *nis̄s̄āb*, "archer".

Nos.1125 - 1138 are on the same rock.

1125. *l ḥ^{c}mm bn mrʾ*

By Ḥ^{C}MM son of MRʾ.

Ḥ^{C}MM is a new name, although ^{C}MM occurs.

1126. *l s̄nʾ bn ḏlʾl*

By S̄Nʾ son of ḎLʾL.

ḎLʾL is a new theophoric name; see the Ar. *ḏalla*, "to be humble".

1127. *l sm[ry] bn ḥbb*

By ṢM[RY] son of ḤBB.

This text has been damaged but the reading is fairly certain.

No.950 may be by the same author.

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1128. *l [bln] bn rf't*

By [BLN] son of RF'T.

The initial name has been almost completely obliterated but the most likely restoration seems to be BLN (HIn 117).

1129. *l lhn bn b's*

By LHN son of B'S.

The name LHN occurs in C 1013, which reads *l dr'l bn lhn sn* (see JaSN,p.101). It does not occur in C 899, as listed by HIn 512. See the Ar. *lahin*, "intelligent".

1130. *l qdm*

By QDM.

1131. *l [bntṯrh] bn jd*

By [BNṮRH] son of JD.

This has been tampered with to the extent that the initial name is almost impossible to make out. It may read BNṮRH, an unattested compound name, consisting of the elements *bn* + *ṯr* + *h*. The following text is also by a son of JD.

1132. *l jbt bn jd*

By JBT son of JD.

1133. *l jb[t]*

By JB[T].

This is partially inscribed over the top of the previous text, which is by an author with the same name.

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Nos.1134 and 1135 are on the same stone.

1134. *l [.]b bn 'bjr*

By [.]B son of 'BJR.

1135. *l rhl*

By RHL.

Nos.1136 and 1137 are on the same stone.

1136. *l fḍj*

By FḌJ.

The letter *j* here is smaller than usual.

1137. *l jrdn bn bmd*

By JRDN son of BMD.

The name BMD is a new compound name, *b + md*.

Nos. 1138 - 1142 are on the same stone.

1138. *l ḏl bn 'sd*

By ḎL son of 'SD.

This and the following text have been mutilated.

1139. *l j[ll]m bn br[r]*

By J[LL]M son of BR[R].

The reading of both names is uncertain. JLLM is unattested elsewhere; see the Ar. *jalama*, "to shear, cut off",or possibly *jalāl*, "majesty", the name being of South Arabian origin. See also No.1032, where the name JRRM may in fact be JLLM.

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1140. *l yškr bn df^{c}t*

By YŠKR son of DF^{C}T.

1140a. *l slj bn kbr*

By SLJ son of KBR.

1141. *l hd[y] bn wd^{c}'l*

By HD[Y] son of WD^{C}'L.

1142. *l mlk bn ndm*

By MLK son of NDM.

Nos.1143 and 1144 are on the same stone.

1143. *l bnḥrb bn 'sh'lh*

By BNḤRB son of 'SH'LH.

This is enclosed by a line and accompanied by two rayed discs. The name BNḤRB is attested in C 5228 only.

1144. *l zhr bn yqll*

By ZHR son of YQLL.

YQLL is new ; see the Ar. *qallala*, "to lessen, diminish".

1145. *l ḫygt bn šrqt*

By ḪYGṮ son of ŠRQT.

The first name is unattested and of unknown derivation. Perhaps the author had intended to inscribe the well known name ḪYFT instead.

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1146. *l ʾḥb bn ʾlh*

By ʾḤB son of ʾLH.

This is enclosed by a line.

Nos.1147 and 1148 are on the same stone.

1147. *l s̄jn bn s̄ᶜ bn jj bn ᶜly bn ḥsd bn ᶜqrbn*

By S̄JN son of S̄ᶜ son of JJ son of

ᶜLY son of ḤSD son of ᶜQRBN.

For the name JJ see WH 121. Its derivation may be from the root *wjj* ; see the Ar. *wajja*, "to be swift".

1148. *l ʾnhm*

By ʾNHM.

1149. *l bḥr[m] w[b]rk*

By BḤR[M], and he was blessed (?).

This text seems to have been altered. BḤRM is an unattested name; it may be a compound of the elements *b + ḥrm*, the second element being a well known name. The scribe appears to have made a mistake while writing the letter *m* and to have incised the correct letter, *m*, directly over the error. The initial of the name has clearly been altered to resemble *ḥ* , as has the *b* of *brk*. The use of *brk* as a verb is new; here it may be a passive use of the 3rd form. See the Ar. *bāraka*, "to bless, invoke a blessing upon".

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Nos.1150 - 1153 are on the same stone.

1150. *l k[ḥ]l*

By K[Ḥ]L.

This is a new name; see the Ar. *kaḥala*, "to annoint the eyes with collyrium". The middle letter of the name, *ḥ*, is of an unusual form and may be an altered *r*. For a name KRL see WH 347.

1151. *l kmd bn 'kbr*

By KMD son of 'KBR.

1152. *l ḥ^{c}sd bn kddh*

By Ḥ^{C}SD son of KDDH.

1153. *l jmr*

By JMR.

Nos. 1154 and 1155 are on the same stone.

1154. *l hmsk bn skrn*

By HMSK son of SKRN.

1155. *l 'nm bn tnn bn zmhr*

By 'NM son of TNN son of ZMHR.

No.711 may be by this author's father.

Nos.1156 - 1158 are on the same stone.

1156. *l s̄ddt bn mn'l*

By S̄DDT son of MN'L.

For other inscriptions possibly by this author see WH 1244.

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1157. *l ʾshʾlh*

By ʾSHʾLH.

1158. *l ẓrr bn ʾbyn*

By ẒRR son of ʾBYN.

1159. *l [..]mn bn bᶜmh hᶜr whʾtn*

This ass and this female ass belong to [..]MN son of BᶜMH.

The beginning of the first name has been so badly weathered that it cannot be read. Likewise the drawings of the asses are almost invisible.

Nos.1160 - 1169 are on the same stone as No.1159. Most of these are very poorly incised.

1160. *l s̄ᶜ fẖwb*

By S̄ᶜ, and he grieved.

1161. *l sry bn yfrʾ*

By SRY son of YFRʾ.

The second name, YFRʾ, is new in Saf., although FRʾ occurs. However, the Ar. *farāʾ*, "wild ass, onager", is only found as a noun and no verbal form is attested but this may be related to the Hebrew *ferāʾ*, "to run" (from the root *fry*).

1162. *l ḥṭʾt*

By ḤṬʾT.

This is a new name of unknown derivation. See perhaps the

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Ar. *ḥaṯā*, "to scatter, to pour ashes, dust, upon" (from the root *ḥṯw*).

1163. *h rḏw s^{c}d*

O RḎW grant help!

This plea does not appear to be connected to any of the other inscriptions upon this stone.

1164. *l ḥt bn m[d^{c}]*

By ḤT son of M[D^{C}].

The final name may be as read here but only faint traces of it can be made out. The hand copy shows MQ^{C}, an unlikely name .

1165. *l ^{c}lyn*

By ^{C}LYN.

1166. *l ['][sḫr bn ^{c}mrt*

By [']SḪR son of ^{C}MRT.

1167. *l ʾl*

By ʾL.

1168. *l jḥ[.] ḥw[....]*

By JḤ[.....].

So little of this inscription remains legible that nothing can be made of it beyond the first few letters. The name JḤ may be complete.

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1169. *l [.l]m bn ᶜtft*

By [.L]M son of ᶜTFT.

The initial letter of the first name is quite illegible.

The second name is unattested and of unknown derivation.

1170. *l sᶜd bn šll*

By SᶜD son of ŠLL.

What appears to be a wasm accompanies this text but it may be a separate text reading *l ᶜl* , "By ᶜL".

1171. *l 'ys*

By 'YS.

This name has been engraved partly over a crude outline drawing of an animal.

Nos. 1172 - 1174 are on the same stone.

1172. *l yᶜly bn hmsk*

By YᶜLY son of HMSK.

WH 1082 may be by a son of this author.

1173. *l jlm bn ḥrtt*

By JLM son of ḤRTT.

1174. *l ḥrm bn kbr wny 'bl*

By ḤRM son of KBR, and

(the) camels grew fat.

Perhaps by this author's son are No.935, WH 2514 and 2592. The

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expression *ny ʾbl* is new in this form. One would expect to find the definite article used before the noun but it may have been unintentionally omitted by the scribe. The verb *ny* is usually to be found written as *nwy*, which may indicate that *nwy* is a 2nd form verb, "to emigrate, go off", as in C 781, SIJ 210 and WH 298. Here, however, the form *ny* is clearly a 1st form verb, as in C 2075; see the Ar. *nawā*, "to grow fat (of she-camels)".

Nos. 1175 - 1180 are on the same stone. The surface of this is covered with scratchings and is badly chipped and weathered, making the reading of the texts difficult.

1175. *l ᶜzn bn [d]b*

By ᶜZN son of [D]B.

Note that WH 3464 is by a certain "ᶜZN son of DR", who may be the same person. Owing to the stance of the letters the reading of the second name as DB is fairly certain here and, were it not for the difference between the letter *b* of *bn* and the second letter of the name DR in WH 3464, then one would be able to read this name as DB in both instances.

1176. *l ᶜk bn [ǧlḥ]*

By ᶜK son of [JLḤ].

Only faint traces of the last name can be made out.

1177. *l yṯᶜ bn [....*

By YṮᶜ son of [...].

Nothing can be read of the end of the text.

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1178. *l bṭ*

By BṬ.

1179. *l q̇s̄*[.]

By Q̇S̄[.].

There may have been another letter to this name but it is difficult to determine. Q̇S̄ is an attested name (HIn 482). A very crude drawing of a horseman lies alongside this text.

1180. *l ḥ*[*y*]*f*

By Ḥ[Y]F.

1181. *l ʾkbr bn s̄*[*ᶜ*]

By ʾKBR son of S̄[ᶜ].

This has been enclosed by a line of dots.

1182. *l yʾsʾl bn yᶜly*

By YʾSʾL son of YᶜLY.

WH 1785 is probably to be ascribed to the same author, despite the absence of the letter *n* of the word *bn*.

1183. *l* [*ᶜ*]*mr bn yᶜs̄b*

By [ᶜ]MR son of YᶜS̄B.

An identical text is WH 657. The name YᶜS̄B is found only in these two texts and in the following one, which is by a brother of ᶜMR. This text was found on another face of the rock on which was the previous one, together with Nos.1180,1181 and another illegible inscription.

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1184. *l nmr bn y^{c}šb*

By NMR son of Y^{C}ŠB.

This is by a brother of the previous author.

1185. *l ^{c}m bn m[r'])t*

By ^{C}M son of M[R'])T.

The restoration of the second name may be confirmed by WH 3259, which could be by the same author. The reading of the letter *r* is fairly certain.

Nos.1186 and 1187 are on the same stone.

1186. *l kmd bn mjl*

By KMD son of MJL.

1187. *l yġṯ bn ḥjr*

By YĠṮ son of ḤJR.

The name ḤJR is to be found elsewhere only in WH 3025.

1188. *l bnt bn ḥṭṭ*

By BNT son of ḤṬṬ.

1189. *l ^{c}wḍ bn ḥnnt*

By ^{C}WḌ son of HNNT.

Perhaps by the same author is WH 1823.

1190. *l bḥlh bn bnsrḥ ḥdmyt*

By BḤLH son of BNSRḤ is this picture.

A drawing of a mounted man spearing a camel accompanies the text.

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Nos.1191 and 1192 are on the same stone. A drawing of what may be a horse or an onager accompanies them.

1191. *l ʾfᶜn bn ʾfdr bn [ʾ...] wwjm*

By ʾFᶜN son of ʾFDR son of [ʾ...],

and he grieved.

The first two names are new. The derivation of ʾFᶜN is obscure, unless it can be related to the root *fᶜy*, for which see the Ar. *ʾafᶜā*, "viper". For the name ʾFDR see the Ar. *fadar*, "wild goat"; the letter *f* of this name has been damaged by a later mark made on the rock. The third name has been largely obliterated.

1192. *l mlk bn wqf bn ʾsd wtb*

By MLK son of WQF son of ʾSD,

and he suffered a loss.

The verb *tb* occurs in No.612,where the meaning may be different. Here it may be related to the Ar. *tabba*, "to suffer a loss", although it would be possible to translate it in the same way as in No.612, "he uttered a curse". In this case the context is quite different.

1193. *l yslm bn dr*

By YSLM son of DR.

Nos.1194 - 1197 are on the same rock.

1194. *l qnt bn khl bn ᶜnzt*

By QNT son of KHL son of ᶜNZT.

The name ᶜNZT is found only in WH 2958 and the two following texts.

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1195. *l khl bn ᶜnzt bn ḥmd wjll ᶜll*

By KHL son of ᶜNZT son of ḤMD,

and illness was common to all.

This person was the father of the previous author. The end of the text seems to refer to a common outbreak of sickness amoung the persons accompanying KHL but it is rather unusual that there is no plea to a deity for deliverance made here. The verb *jll* is probably a 2nd form; see the Ar. *jallala*, "to be general, common to all". The use of *ᶜll* as a noun is new; see the Ar. *ᶜillat*, (pl. *ᶜilal*), "illness".

1196. *l qs bn khl bn ᶜnzt*

By QS son of KHL son of ᶜNZT.

This is by a brother of the author of No.1194 and a son of the previous author.

1197. *l ᶜṭs bn ṯḥn bn s̄w' wl' ḥf*

By ᶜṬS son of ṮḤN son of S̄W',

and he was distressed by thirst.

The name ṮḤN is new; see the Ar. *ṭaḥḥān*, "miller". The final letter of this name is clearly *n* and so it cannot be read as the known name ṮḤL. The 3m.pronoun suffix may have been assimilated to the following *ḥ* of *ḥf* here, which would allow the translation "and thirst distressed (him)". For the verb *l'* see the Ar. *'al'ā*, "to fall into distress". For the word *ḥf* see the Ar. *ḥayf*, "vehement thirst".

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An Index of Safaitic Personal Names Occurring in this Collection.

The names are presented here in alphabetic order, following the order of the Arabic alphabet. Where it is known, the name of the author's father has been given. Uncertainties in the reading of names are indicated by square brackets [ ], while uncertainties in the reading of the texts themselves are indicated by round brackets ( ). Names previously unattested in Safaitic onomastics are prefixed by an * asterisk.

'SD - 752.

'B - 363,695;
bn [^{c}]HM,702.

'BJR - 38,39,197,401,761,1134.

'BD - bn TMT (read $\bar{S}$MT?),795;
bn T^{c}T,31;
bn $\bar{S}$MT,156,191.

*'B$\bar{S}$ - bn HDLN,385.

'B$\bar{G}$D - 1116;
bn M^{c}N,513.

'BN - bn [^{c}WL],921.

'BY - 606;
bn RB'L,605.

'BYD - bn JFFT,442.

'BYN - 177,1158;
bn 'M[RD],1093;
bn BTNT,345;
bn JD,52,64,154,952;
bn ^{c}D,210;
bn MR[B]B,1101;
bn MSKY,37;
bn ND',53.

'B[..] - 133.

'T^{c} - 328,571,577,715,730,919;
bn JLMH,980;
bn HFT,515.

*'TM - 560.

'TWB - 250.

'TY - 498.

'JD - 301,321.

'JRB - 897.

'JRLN - bn MS,922.

'JLH - bn HRS,998.

'JHT - 591.

'HB - bn HLL,217;
bn [^{c}]M[R]T,467.

'HBB - 886.

'HJR - 722.

'HSN - 164,820;
bn 'KR,616;
bn JFFT,270;
bn JNN,379;
bn $\bar{G}$LM,822,832,
854,856.

'HLM - 874;
bn $\bar{S}^{c}$BN,818;
bn HM^{c}D,535,536,538.

'HWD - 1004,1005.

'HWL - 102.

'H - 1079;
bn HWLT,655.

'HB - 110;
bn 'LH, 1146.

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'HD - bn JHD, 12.
*'HN - 104a, 300.
'HWF - 1047, 1053, 1059.
'HWN - bn 'R[S]B, 348;
bn D'BT, 1002;
bn CMDN, 1082.
'HYL - 683;
bn DRMN, 1012;
bn ['Z]MR, 400.
'D - bn CM, 485.
*'D' - 55.
'DB - bn DHMT, 993.
'DD - bn RJL, 383.
'DCL - 442.
'DM - 180, 658;
bn ['F]MT, 97;
bn [DB], 785.
'DL - 320;
bn SRY, 899.
*'DLY - 260.
'DN - 758;
bn BRR, 693;
bn CBD, 597, 692;
bn (NZL), 700.
'DNT - bn YKN, 48.
*'DH[N] - 352.
'RHM - 925.
'RS - 850;
bn ZHM, 297, 827;
bn SR, 173;
bn YTM, 42.
'RSC - bn CNHB, 250.
'RSM - bn HYF, 125.
'RST - 285.
'R[S]B - 348.
'RY - bn 'QC, 79.
'RYN - 72.
'ZMR - 400;
bn HTMT, 147.
'S - 126, 183, 410, 878;
bn BDDH, 657;
bn BN'S, 424;
bn TM, 118;
bn HN'L, 412, 413;
bn HYFT, 588;
bn SKR, 266;
bn CBR, 406;
bn CQRB, 900;
bn CMR, 380, 441;
bn YSHH, 381.
'ST - bn MLD, 582.
'SHM - 893;
bn TCR, 906.
'SHR - bn 'RS, 850;
bn CMRT, 1166.
'SD - 438, 548, 563, 564, 602, 814, 1006, 1138, 1192;
bn BJT, 122;
bn SLMT, 625;
bn SM, 931;
bn CWD, 698;
bn MTMN, 731, 755;
bn MS', 341.
'SR - bn WDCL, 390.
'SRR - bn MLK, 432.
'SRK - 435;
bn MQTL, 909.
'SLM - 182, 953;
bn 'BYN, 952;
bn DKR, 57;
bn RT'L, 144, 230;
bn SM, 408.
'SMNWT - 225;
bn DMSN, 226.
'SN - 687.
'SH'LH - 1143, 1157;
bn QL, 236, 587, 873.
'SWR - (216), 316, 510;

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bn MLK, 873.

'Š - bn LK^{C}N, 105.

*'ŠRM - 351.

'ŠYB - 462;
bn BNN, 1031;
bn ^{C}MDN, 778.

'S[^{C}] - bn STT, 223.

'SLH - 546.

'SLL - 464;
bn '^{C}L, 436.

*'Z - bn ^{C}ZZ'L, 15.

'^{C}BD - 490.

'^{C}D - bn ^{C}WL, 179.

'^{C}ZM - bn FRZL, 284.

'^{C}FR - bn FNQ, 707.

'^{C}L - 429, 436, 976.

'ĠSM - 844.

'F - 910.

'FDR - 1191.

'F^{C}N - bn 'FDR, 1191.

'FKL - 475.

'FL - 163, 465.

['F]MT - bn B'Š, 97.

*'FN - 312, 314.

*'QHM - 416.

'QDM - 91, 92, 422;
bn SB', 860;
bn LN, 356.

'QRH - 806.

*'Q^{C} - 79.

'KBR - 491, 1151;
bn Š[^{C}], 1181.

'KR - 616.

'KMD - 129.

'L - 145,1083a,1167;
bn H[..], 507;
bn NJYT, 373;
bn NŠB, 1124.

'LL - bn 'DHN, 352;

'LH - 181, 359, 1146;
bn HRB, 48;
bn W^{C}R, 881.

'LHT - bn 'SH'LH, 873;
bn 'FL, 163;
bn 'MR, 825;
bn [']ML, 437;
bn SL, 142, 590;
bn HŠLL, 966;
bn YR^{C}, 662;
bn [..]M, 678.

'LWD - 666.

'M - 212.

'MR - 228, 235, 253, 258, 454, 797, 825;
bn BRQT, 1021;
bn DR^{C}, 450;
bn ^{C}TQ, 447;
bn QN, 255;
bn WHD, 405, 981.

'MRD - 1093.

'MRR - 1040, (1042);
bn ^{C}TF, 508;
bn ^{C}TQ, 1038.

'MZ - bn ^{C}WD, 699;
bn YT^{C}, 891.

'ML - 317, (437), 709, 1078;
bn SBWN, 553;
bn QL, 728.

'MN - bn BJT, 353, (354?);
bn BH', 650;
bn LHY, 29, 33.

'MY - 528;
bn ^{C}SBN, 1110.

'N'L - 1018.

'NS - 361, 362;
bn 'B, 363.

'N^{C}M - 415;
bn H[.]R, 595;
bn RF'T, 1.

'NM - bn TNN, 1155;

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bn ^{C}HD, 360.

'NMR - bn NQL, 104.

'NH - bn BJT, 617.

'NHB - bn 'TWB, 250.

'NHK - bn KDN, 1094.

'NHM - 777, 1148.

'NY - 170.

'HK - bn SNY, 500.

'HM - 858, 865, 1077;
bn 'ŠYB, 778.

'HWD - bn [^{C}N]Y, 521.

'WDD - 1119.

'WR - 26.

'WS'L - 1061;
bn '^{C}L, (429), 976.
bn MNHL, 556.

'WST - bn 'ŠYB, 462;
bn HSM, 215;
bn KT, 136.

*'WYT - (861).

'YD - bn HMSK, 679.

'YS - 1171;
bn 'HSN, 854.

'YST - 1020.

'YL - 34, 664, 724, 754, 774, 944, 957;
bn ZMHR, 665, 946;
bn MRY, 334.

'[..] - 988.

B'BH - 259;
bn BZR, 671;
bn ^{C}SFT, 790.

B'S - 1025, 1129;
bn TMN, 274;
bn HBB, 918.

B'SH - 772;
bn 'MN, 353, (354?);
bn 'HM, 1077;
bn TMN, 780, 808;

B'Š - 97.

B'LT - bn MT^{C}, 877.

B'LH - 375.

B'MRH - bn JL, 786;
bn JN (or JL?), 1111.

*B'YS - 1063.

BT - 127.

B[TL] - bn WD'T, 1097.

BT - 407.

BJT - 122, 365, 516, 617, 780, 808, 951;
bn BS', 353, 354;
bn HRM, 935;
bn DHL, 559;
bn QDMT, 1059.

*BJJ - bn '(WY)T, 861.

BJD - 414;
bn QDM'L, 198;
bn HF, 41.

BJDT - bn FHRN, 534.

BHJRH - 841.

BHJH - 476.

BHRB - bn YLL, 659.

*BHR[M] - 1149, (or BHRB?).

BHRMH - 455;
bn RBD, 1113.

*BHY - bn 'BY, 606.

BHLH - bn BNSRH, 1190;
bn GBN, 461.

BD - bn ML[..], 1041.

BDDH - 657;
bn ŠBN, 779;
bn ZRR, 347.

BDRL - 419;

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bn 'NᶜM, 415;
bn HZ[Y], (420).

BDN - 446, 829;
bn 'HM, 778;
bn ḠLM, 157.

BDY - bn ZJ[R], 677.

BR - 25(?), 421.

BR' - bn NZR, 1049.

BRD - bn SRF, 628;
bn ZLL, 972.

BRR - 693, (1135).

BRZT - 857;
bn 'YL, 957.

BRS - 648.

BRQT - 10, 1021.

BRK - bn BKR, 397.

BZR - 668, 670, 671, 750.

BZZ - 809.

BS - bn KBR, 30.

BS' - 332a, 353, (354), 355, 565, 567, 934;
bn 'SD, 563, 564, 602;
bn BZR, 750;
bn HN'T, 388;
bn [..], 846.

BSᶜDH - bn WHB, 539.

*BSᶜH - 172.

*BS̄T - bn ᶜLY, 67.

BS - bn LHY, 737.

BT - 1178.

BTNT - 345, 1028.

BTY - 601.

BTYH - bn FRQ, 915.

BZH - 155.

BᶜD - 754(?).

BᶜMH - (583), 1106, 1159;
bn [BHL], 244;
bn RB', 370;
bn RD, 705;
bn ZR, 553;
bn ṢD, 586.

BḠYD - bn WRK, 247.

BQR - bn DW[S], 279.

BQRT - 494.

BQL - (534).

*BQMH - bn JD, 83.

BKR - 397, 1127.

BLQT - 94.

BLL - bn 'HYL, 683;
bn RHQ, 477.

BLN - bn RF'T, (1128).

BL(?) - 939a.

*BMD - 1137.

BN - 7, 174, 283;
bn W'LN, 417.

BN' - 68.

*BN'S - 424.

*BNBHL - 386.

BNBNT - bn Lᶜ, 1026.

BNT - 506, 694;
bn HTT, 1188;
bn HNN, 1065.

*[BNTRH] - bn JD, 1131.

BNJD - 958;
bn HRB, 70.

BN[JR] - 989.

*BNHR'L - bn ḠNM, 596.

BNHRB - bn 'SH'LH, 1143.

BNSHL - bn DMSN, 225.

BNSRH - 166, 1190.

BNSRB - (920).

BNᶜBDY - 885.

*BNᶜTM - bn DR (ᶜDR?), 624;
bn RB, 114;
bn ᶜDR, 623;
bn QYMT, 410.

*BNᶜD - 7.

*BNᶜYL - 775.

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BNFR' - 487.
*BNKML - 1105.
BNM[..] - 985.
BNN - 1031;
bn BḤRMH, 455;
bn S̄B, 277;
bn LḎN, 704.
BNHRB - bn 'B, 695.
BNHN' - 425;
bn MLYT, 996.
BNY - 40, 130, 200;
bn SḎQT, 835;
bn [M]LQF, 195.
BNYT - bn YF^{C}, 799.
BNY^{C}MR - 803;
bn '^{C}BD, 490.
BN[..] - 517.
BH' - 650;
bn MR', (956).
BHL - (244)
bn BRZT, 857.
BHLT - bn 'NHM, 777.
BHM - bn KML, 474.
*BHNNT - bn J[..], 584.
*BWH - 1024.
*BYZL - 327.
T'L - (674);
bn BR, 421.
T'M - 184;
bn 'S, 126, 183;
bn ZHR, 633.
THS - 232.
TS^{C} - bn QḎRT, 87.
TLH - bn ḠZY, 54.
TLMY - bn ^{C}DY, 868.
TM - 764(?), 999;
bn RWḎ, 118.
TMT - 795.
TMLH - bn SFDY, 1010;
bn MSK, 420.
TMN - 117, 152, 274, 717;
bn '[D]L, 320;
bn BJT, 365, 780, 808;
bn QSYT, 720, 741, 815;
bn WḎ[.], 753.
TMN^{C} - bn YQM, 416.
TNN - bn ZMHR, 711, 1155.

THN' - 44.
T'R - bn R^{C}Y, 311.
TBB - bn ['']HB, (467).
TBR - 1001;
bn ['']HB, 217 (see 467).
TBRT - bn KHL, 59.
TBN - bn HWST, 82.
TR - 1013.
T^{C}T - 31, 32, (676);
bn 'TM, 560.
T^{C}R - 906.
F^{C}L - bn LHMT, 690.
*T^{C}L' - 672.
*TFYT - bn 'HSN, 164.
TQB[T] - 524.
*TLBT - 457;
bn ^{C}BYR, 99.
TLM - 1016;
bn ḤRB, 821;
bn S̄^{C}, 1120;
bn S̄MQ, 220.
TLY - 193.
*TMJ - bn ^{C}TQ, 239.
TMMT - bn 'SWR, 316.
*THM - bn WM'L, 261.
THN' - 44.
JBT - 1133;
bn JḎ, 1132.
*JBN - 459.
JJ - bn ^{C}LY, 1147.
JHR - 305, 306;
bn NHF, 189.

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JHŠ bn QFLT, 837.
JHŠN - bn 'SD, 548.
*JHF - bn MR, 210.
*JHMN - bn LHN, 269.
*JHN - 1168(?);
- bn ND',817(?).
JD - 50, 51, 52, 69, 106, 154, 592, 1131, 1132; bn HBT, 969; bn HFY, 160; bn DHL, (937); bn ZDH, 593; bn ŠJ^{C}T, 1070; bn DB^{C}N, 83; bn NTN, 689, bn HRB, 952; bn HRBB, 64.
JD'L - 1086.
*JDD'L - 218.
JDL - 804.
JDLT - bn HJNT, 895; bn HRT, 710.
JDN - bn QMST, 248.
JDY - 834; bn 'SHM, 893.
JDL - 557, 572.
JR - 168, 872;
- bn T[..], 884;
bn MSKY, 387, 947.
*JR'T'L - (1073).
JRD - bn MRT, 603.
JRDN - bn BMD, 1137.
JRD - bn MLK, 371.
JRR - 5; bn 'BYN, 53; bn T[BB], (467).
JRRT - bn FL', 851.
*JRRM - 1032.
JRŠ bn HDM, 696.
JRF - bn B^{C}M[H], 244.
JRM - 46, 495; bn DRH, 840; bn [^{C}]LY, 982; bn M[Z], 479.
JRM'L - bn ^{C}LY, 581.
JRMT - bn 'DN, 762; bn WR, 1026; bn Y^{C}LY, 646.
JRMH - 1023; bn Z^{C}M, 1029.
JRMY - bn SNM, 688.
JRHM - 794.
JZH - bn K[L], (813).
JZL - 950; bn 'SN, 687.
JŠM - 442.
JŠN - bn B'BH, 259.
J^{C}TM - 552, 843, 992; bn ^{C}M'B, 991.
J^{C}D - 630, 640.
J^{C}N - bn S^{C}D, 107; bn DHL, 703.
JFFT - 270; bn LB'N, 442; bn MQHN, 169.
JL - 786.
JLH - 171, (1176).
JLHN - bn 'H, 1079.
JLD - 1066; bn L^{C}MR, 221.
JLS - bn HWF, 291.
*JLLM - bn BR[R], (1139).
JLM - bn HRTT, 1173.
JLMN - (278?).
JLMH - 980.
*JLHMN - 766.
JLYT - 939b.

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JM - 532, (760), 763;
bn L'MN, 108.
JMT - (468).
JMH - 682.
JMR - 867, 901, 942, 1153;
bn 'MR, 1021;
bn BN, 174;
bn DR^{C}, 6, 458, 541, 1017;
bn RB, 798;
bn YT^{C}, 879.
JMRT - 383.
JMH - 682.
JN - 16, 723, 1111.
JN'L - 392, 770, (900), 1084.
JNN - 379.
JH' - bn[HL], (288).
*JHD - 12.
*JWL - bn L^{C}MR, 224.
JY[.] - bn [Y]F[L], 1112a.
*H'S' - bn M[...], 350 (read B'BH?).
HBB - 443, 585, 918, 1083, 1127.
bn JZL, 950.
bn ^{C}NB, 549.
bn Y^{C}MR, 81.
HBT - (298).
HT - bn BNY, 40, 200;
bn M[D^{C}], 1164.
HTLN - 399.
*HT'T - 1162.
HTMT - 147, 153.
HJ - bn HRB, 471;
bn S^{C}D, 192;
bn FKLT, 945.
HJJ - bn 'BYN, 1101;
bn S^{C}D'L, 608, 641.
HJR - 1187.
HJRN - 292.
HJNT - 895.
HD bn NSR, 17.
HDT - 445.
HDD - 131.
HDDN - bn ^{C}DR, 598.
HDR - 36.
HDLN - 385;
bn BJDT, 534;
bn ZJY, 961;
bn S'LT, 896;
bn W^{C}L, 568.
HR - 199;
bn 'SD, 1006;
bn 'SLL, 464;
bn S^{C}B, 1009;
bn SNY, 914.
HRB - 251, 497, 573, 644, 870;
bn BT, 407;
bn TLM, 821;
bn JMR, 867, 942.
HRB - bn HY, 471, 907;
bn DD, 729;
bn GT, 821.
HRT - 505, 710.
HRTT - 451, 807, 1173.
HRTT - bn HRB, 497, 573.
HRJ - 319;
bn GZYT, 871.
HRS - 313, 391, 493, 998;
bn BRZT, 957;
bn QT[.], 395.
HRD - 638.
HRF - bn 'BJR, 197.
HRM - 134, 859;
bn KBR, 935, 1174.
HRMT - 207.

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HSD - bn ^{C}JB, 783;
bn ^{C}QRBN, 1147.
HSLN - bn HD, 828.
HSM - 215.
HSN - bn Y^{C}MR, 554.
*HŠ['] - 77.
HŠB - bn R[..]H, 338.
HD - 639.
*HTBT - bn ĞYR, 673.
HTT - 1188;
bn JLHMN, 766.
*HZ - 150.
HZL - 540.
HZY - (420).
HFY - 757.
HKM - bn JN'L, 1084.
HL - (785);
- bn SN̄M, (759);
bn [L]HY, 275.
HLB - bn L^{C}MR, 222.
HLT - 60;
bn JD, 50;
bn MŠLL, 472.
HLS - 98;
bn TFYT, 164.
HLK - bn HYT, 610.
HM - 771.
* HM' - 290, 296.
HM'L - 78, 1036;
bn QN, 1035.
HMT - bn 'MZ, 699.
HMR - (481).
HMRN - 1030.
HMD - 1195.
*HMTN - bn SRDT, 820.
HMM - bn ĞRN, 11.
HN'L - 412, 413.
HNK - 469.
HNN - 302, 1065.
HNNT - bn HWD, 433.
HWR - 511.
HWD - 787.
HWF - 323.
*HWLT - 655.
HY - 356, 471;
bn DHBN, 90;
bn SYD, 318;
bn QDM, 863, 907, 1123;
bn N^{C}MN, 727;
bn WQS, 948.
HYT - 610.
HYT - 789, 811.
H[.]R - bn WS[L], 595.
H[.]Y - 74(?).
HB' - 368.
HBB - bn 'MR(?), 111, 234, (SMR?).
HBT - 969, 970;
bn NQL, 977.
HD - 830.
HDM - 696, ('DM?).
HR - 1044;
bn FN, 109.
*HRTT - 721.
HRJ - 623, 624, 626, 627, 631, 632, 636;
bn HRB, 907;
bn SR, 959;
bnt ĞT, 620, 621, 622.
HR^{C}T - bn ^{C}HM, 572.
HRMN - bn 'HB, 110;
bn TMN, 152;
bn SMM, 537;
bn YT^{C}T, 849.
HZR - bn SBH, 916;
bn ^{C}D, 326.
HZN - 427;
bn ŠMT, 159;
bn ^{C}BD, 912;

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bn MḤF, 325.
ḤD - 13.
ḤTST - 423.
ḤTM - 138.
ḤF - bn ᶜML, 990.
ḤFT - 515.
ḤFY - 160, 308;
bn ʾDN, 597;
bn ʾMRR, 1040;
bn ᶜN, 478;
bn KBR, 124.
ḤL - 206, 208;
bn HMJN, 771;
bn [ᶜMN], (288);
bn MLKT, 978.
ḤLʾL - bn BḤRB, 659.
ḤLS - bn ʾḤLM, 874;
bn TM, 999.
ḤLL - 217.
*ḤWF - 291.
ḤYD - 928.
*ḤYḠT - bn ŠRQT, 1145.
ḤYF - 125, 1180.
ḤYFT - 588, 887, 892.
DʾFT - 735;
bn QSYT, 768.
DʾY - 112, 186, 566, 932;
bn BSʾ, 563, 564, 567, 602, 934, (943?);
bn QDM, 149.
DʾYT - bn ʾYST, 1020.
DB - 331, 349, (1175);
bn BDN, 829;
bn (ḤL), 785;
bn ᶜBDʾ, 732;
bn ᶜBDY, 788, 917;
bn [.L], (785).
DBN - 369;
bn ʾḤN, (300).
DTM - bn ḤRB, 251.
DṮN - bn KᶜT, 684.
DJJ - (819).
DḤ - bn SSL (YSL?), 547.
*DḤRT - 322.
DḤMT - 853, 894, 993;
bn BZR, 670.
DḤML - bn HʾSʾ(?), 350.
DḤNT - 1109.
DḤL - 559, 600, 647, 656, 685, 703;
bn, ʾḤM, 937.
DD - 329, 503, 686, 729;
bn ʾF, (910);
bn ḤR, 1044;
bn DḤL, 685.
DRB - bn ḤRB, 407;
bn QN, 661;
bn NTN, 600.
DRBT - 203;
bn MᶜLY, 984.
DRR - 384;
bn ʾRS, 827;
bn JMRT, 383.
DRᶜ - 6,450, 458, 545, 1017.
*DRMN - 1012.
DRH - 237, 252, 482, 613, 840;
bn [BL] , 939a;
bn ᶜNQ, 324.
*DSM - 581.
Dᶜ[ᶜ]L - bn HᶜWD, 518.
*DᶜMS - 293.
DL - bn ʾF[K]L, 475;
bn ᶜLJ, 975;
bn WMʾL, 238.
DMṮ - 393.
DML - bn ᶜ[...], (1107).
DHR - 964, (965), 1062.
DHM - bn HʾS, 440.

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DWS - (279).
*DWLT - (281).
D̲'B - bn 'YL, 774;
bn S^{C}D, 46, 219;
bn ^{C}S̄MN, 1056;
bn ^{C}LL, 1037.
D̲'BT - 1002.
D̲'BN - bn [^{C}B], 1095.
D̲R - 624, 713;
bn B^{C}MH, 583, 586.
D̲KR - 57, 512, 1043;
bn 'S̄RM, 351;
bn BHJRH, 841;
bn ^{C}ḊR, 542.
D̲KRN - 1045;
bn [H]QM, 555.
D̲L - 725;
bn 'S, 410;
bn 'SD, 1138;
bn DHR, 1062;
bn RBN, 669, 782;
bn ^{C}TK, 141;
bn MNF, 520.
*D̲L'L - 1126.
D̲LL - bn YZ^{C}(?), 84.
*D̲LN - bn ^{C}R, 295.
D̲HBN - 90.
D̲WR'L - bn B'YS, 1063.
R'Y - bn (N)'TY, 18, 21(?).
RB - 575;
bn D̲R, 713;
bn ^{C}QRBN, 1013;
bn ^{C}YN, 114, 115.
RB' - 370.
RB'L - 605, 628, 697;
bn 'SWR, (216), 510.
RBT - 267.
RBḊ - 1113.
RB^{C} - 246.
RBN - 364, 366, 367, 501, 562, 669, 699, 782, 902, 924;
bn DRH, 613;
bn [^{C}]WD, 463.
bn YZR, 933
RBNT - 78a.
RT̲'L - 144, 230;
bn T'M, (184).
RJ - 8, 62;
bn N[B]R, (516).
*RJJ - bn QL, 923.
*RJF - bn S^{C}D, 287.
RJL - (582), 852;
bn 'LH, 48;
bn DRR, 383, 384;
bn MSK, 551.
RHL - 1000;
bn ^{C}RS 242.
*RH̲L - 439.
RḊ - 752a;
bn [QL], 705.
RDS - 767;
bn HWḊ, 787.
RD[.] - 744.
RSF - (701).
RSL - bn SB, 96;
bn DYF, 376.
RSN - (1011).
*RS̄'T - 99.
RS̄BN - 502;
bn HRT̲T, 497, 573;
bn S̄DDT, 973.
RS̄H - 727;
bn QḊY, 726.
RḊ - bn ML', 649.
*R^{C}L - bn BS', 355.
R^{C}LY - bn HT̲MT, 153.
R^{C}Y - 311.
RḠB - bn 'DB, 993;
bn ^{C}JR, 645.

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RF'T - 1,1128;
bn WHD, 228.
bnt KNT, 304.
*RFST - 9, 14;
bn RJ, 8.
RFL - bn HFY, 478.
*RMD - bn SK, 1081.
RMZN - bn MFNY, 997.
RM^{C} - bn MNHL, 101.
RML - bn HBM, 1022.
RMMT - bn D'Y, 934.
RMY - bn 'S, 118.
RH - 24.
RHQ - 477.
RHL - 1135.
RWD - 118.
*[RWT] - (940).
RYT - 241.
ZJR - (677), 736.
ZJY - 961.
ZHM - 297;
bn SM, 827.
ZDH - 593, 611, 743;
bn 'WST, 215.
*ZRJ - (240).
Z^{C}F - bn ^{C}M, 839.
Z^{C}KRT - bn DRH, 237, 252.
Z^{C}M - 1029.
ZM - bn RFL, 478.
*ZMT - bn RBN, 501.
*ZMRT - bn NYRT, 444.
ZMHR - 665, 711, 946.
ZNT - bn ^{C}KK, 488.
ZHR - bn YQLL, 1144.
ZWM - bn WMM, 938.
Z[...] - 1155.
S - 855.
S'LT - 896;
bn DD, 503, (686);
bn MRR, 954.
SB - bn 'WS'L, 429, 976;
bn MSK, 96.
*SB' - 860 (SR'?).
SB^{C} - bn SDDT, 986.
SBN - bn ^{C}MR, 354.
SBY - bn DRBT, 203.
SJM - 113.
SHWY - bn SB, 607.
SHB - 324.
SHRN - 333a.
SHM - 330.
SR - 243, 1099;
bn 'RHM, 925;
bn YYNH, 187.
SRB - bn Y^{C}LL, 987.
SRT - 748.
SRDT - bn 'HSN, 820.
SRK - 920.
SRY - 899;
bn FRH, 898;
bn HN', 1007;
bn YFR', 1161.
STT - bn SMR, 223.
S^{C}D - 192, 219, 287,
635, 1009;
bn JRM, 46;
bn RHL, 439;
bn SLL, 1170;
bn KTL, 107;
bn HRN, 1092;
bn WJD, 531.
S^{C}D'L - 608, (641).
S^{C}DLH - bn T'L, 421.
*SQY - 46.
SKRN - 1154;
bn WTR, 1003.
SLJ - 509, 852;
bn KBR, 1140a;
bn YT^{C}, 880.
SLH - bn SNM, 194;

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bn SLL, 929.
SLF - bn TMN, 117.
SLL - bn WZY, 596.
SLM - 190, 402, 409, 525, 609;
bn JD'L, 1086;
bn DB, (576), 800;
bn [DB^{C}], (231);
bn ^{C}RY, 968;
bn ^{C}LY, 504;
bn MŠKR, 594;
bn MHR, 652.
SLMT - 625;
bn NSR, 626, 636.
SLMN - 411, 926.
SLY - bn HWR, 511.
S[L.] - bn WH[D], 967.
SM - bn LDF, 112.
SMD - 519.
SMR - 223.
SMRY - 431.
SMK - bn HF, 43.
SMM - 493, 537, 971;
bn JD, 969;
bn [.]JD, 911.
*SN' - 22.
SNM - 165, 194, 688;
bn MHR[N], 759.
*SNH - bn 'D', 55.
SNY - 914;
bn HMLK, 500.
SHM - bn 'SD, 438;
bn MD^{C}, 615.
SWD - 1005, 1006, [1007],
1010, 1014;
bn ŠW', 254;
bn QLM, 701;
bn MJ, 1046;
bn [..], 726.
SWR - 372.
SYD - 1004, 1011 , 1048.
*SYQ - 282.
Š' - 106.
ŠB - bn MHR, 277.
ŠBT - 604.
ŠBN - 779.
*ŠT - bn HŠ', 77.
ŠTM - bn [.D.], 262.
ŠTY - bn ^{C}LJ, 340.
ŠJ^{C}T - 1070;
bn 'SHB, 558.
ŠJN - 394;
bn Š^{C}, 1147.
ŠḤR - bn 'SD, 814.
ŠDDT - 53, 908, 986;
bn BJT, 951;
bn ^{C}D, 615;
bn KDDH, 805;
bn KHL, 58;
bn MḎY, 139;
bn MN'L, 1156.
ŠDY - 403, 514;
bn 'HLM, 536.
ŠR - 173, 448.
Š[R]Ḥ - 496.
ŠRD - bn MN^{C}T, 80.
ŠRQT - 1145;
bn YKBR, 733.
ŠRK - bn BQRT, 494;
bn THS, 232.
Š^{C} - 479, (823), 1160,
(1181);
bn JJ, 1147;
bn WST, 1120.
Š^{C}'L - bn HM'L, 1036.
Š^{C}BN - 818;
bn WL, 284.
Š^{C}R - bn MN^{C}, 470.
*S^{C}FN - [1118];
bn HBB,443.

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S̄CHM - bn RBN, 463.

S̄FR - 831.

S̄QL - bn T̲LBT, 457.

S̄QWY - 28.

S̄K - 1081;
bn CYM, 434.

S̄KT - bn NZR, 116.

S̄KR - 343;
bn 'FN, 314;
bn FNY, 143;
bn HCBD, 842;
bn HN, 266.

S̄LL - 158, 426, 1170;
bn HRF, 197;
bn RCL, 355.

*S̄LY - bn WHDY, 256.

S̄MT - 156, 159, 191;
bn D̲TN, 684;
bn SRM, 344, 812;
bn HMLK, 680.

S̄MQ - 220.

S̄M[.] - bn 'S, 878.

S̄N' - 1117;
bn D̲L'L, 1126;
bn WDD, 1051.

S̄N'T - bn 'KMD, 129.

*S̄NTT - 1090;
bn D'Y, 932;
bn DHMT, 853.

S̄HB - 453, 784.

S̄HR - bn H̲LS, 874;
bn MD̲Y, 265;
bn YSK, 342;
bn YCLY, 838, 1028.

S̄W' - 254, 1197.

S̄[..] - bn WLY, 660.

SB - 607.

SBH - 916.

SBN - 765.

SBWN - 553;
bn BHJH, 476.

SH - 20.

SHB - bn H̲L, 206;
bn MSK, 1074.

SHR - bn 'S, 380, 441;
bn SN', 22.

*SDQT - 835;
bn JDY, 834.

SRH - 959.

SRF - 628.

SRM - 344, 449, 489;
bn NCMY, 233;
bn NM[R], 812;
bn YHM'L, 484.

SRMT - bn QL, 738.

SSL - 547 (YSL?).

SCRN - bn DB, 349.

SFDY - 1010.

SL - 142, 590.

SLL - 929;
bn S̄N', 1117;
bn [LB], 235.

SM - 408, 414(?), 826, 827;
bn KCMH, 845;
bn MCS, 931, (994).

SMT - 213.

*SMDT - bn CD'L, 229.

SMR - bn HNN, 234.

SMRY - bn HBB, 950, 1127;
bn BKR, (1127).

*SNN - 271.

SNNT - 561.

SWL - 570.

SYD - 318.

DB - (576), 800, 816(?).

DBC - (231);
bn 'SLM, 57.

DBCN - 83, 107;
bn SYQ, 282;
bn G̲LB, 27.

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DR - 1193.
DFR - 85.
DF^{C}T - 1140.
DL - bn RYT, 241;
bn SRT, 748.
DMN - 541.
DHD - 492.
DHDT - bn SWL, 566;
bn ^{C}TMT, 890.
*DYF - 376.
TB - 121.
*THN - bn SW', 1197.
TD - 120.
THMN - bn 'ML, 1078.
ZBY - 1058.
ZR - bn 'MY, 1110, 553.
ZRR - 347;
bn 'BYN, 1158.
Z^{C}N - bn 'HWD, 1005.
*Z^{C}HT - bn HLS, 98.
ZL - bn BS', 846.
ZLL - bn M^{C}LY, 1064;
bn WHM, 972;
bn YT^{C}, 394.
ZLM - 578, 603.
ZNN - 4;
bn HJJ, 608, 641;
bn FDJ, 452.
ZHR - 633;
bn H'S, 1091.
^{C}'D - 629.
^{C}B - (1095).
^{C}BT - bn 'YL, 944.
^{C}BD - 523, 597, 912;
bn JM, 763;
bn ^{C}BDY, 734;
bn KN, 310;
bn WTN, 601;
bn YT^{C}, 426.
^{C}BD' - 732.
^{C}BD'L - 309, 793;
bn HRS, 313;
bn ^{C}LL, 1015.
^{C}BD'LH - 303.
^{C}BDLH - 1008.
^{C}BDN - bn MRT, 653.
^{C}BDY - 734, 788, 903, 917;
bn 'N'L, 1018;
bn J[M], 760;
bn WRDN, 792.
^{C}BR - bn WHD, (406).
^{C}BS - 432;
bn SR, 448;
bn SFR, 831.
^{C}BST - bn LY, 196.
^{C}BT - bn ^{C}MR, 177.
^{C}BL - 299, 692;
bn 'YL, 664.
^{C}BN - bn HB', 368.
*^{C}BYR - bn RS'T, 99.
^{C}TF - 508.
^{C}TQ - 239, 447, 1038;
bn HM^{C}D, 691.
^{C}TK - 141.
^{C}TN - bn Y^{C}LL, 1098.
*^{C}TFT - 1169.
^{C}TMT - 890.
^{C}TMN - bn K[TB]T, 651.
^{C}J - 796;
bn SYD, (1048).
^{C}JB - 783;
bn HRS, 391.
*^{C}JJ - bn [^{C}]ZZT, 119.
^{C}JR - 645, 719;
bn WST, 1057.
*^{C}HDT - bn MRR, 378.
^{C}D - 410, 416, 417, 421;
bn ZNT, 488;
bnt 'S, 412.

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^{c}D'L - 229.
^{c}DL - 672(?).
^{c}DY - 864, 868;
bn 'F[L], 465;
bn '[T.], 988;
bn HM'L, 78;
bn ŠHB, 453;
bn ^{c}NH, 358.
^{c}D - 210, (278), 326, 615, 663.
^{c}DR - 398, 542, 598, 623, 632;
bn B^{c}MH, 705;
bn DL, 410;
bn WHŠ, 456.
^{c}DY - bn ^{c}NS, 543.
^{c}R - 960;
bn 'L, 145;
bn YQF, 295.
^{c}RB - bn WQS, 161.
^{c}RBY - bn DB, 331.
^{c}RT - 483;
bn TB, 121.
^{c}RJN - bn KHL, 56.
^{c}RD - 672(?).
^{c}RS - bn RB^{c}, 246.
^{c}RS - 242.
*^{c}RFL - bn WSM'L, 963.
*^{c}RN - bn 'NS, 361.
^{c}RY - 116;
bn SLF, 117;
bn WST, 968.
^{c}Z - bn 'MR, 454.
^{c}ZZ - bn 'NS, 362;
bn QSYT, 769.
^{c}ZZ'L - 15.
^{c}ZZT - (119), 764.
^{c}ZN - bn [D]B, 1175;
bn ĞZY, 53.
*^{c}ZNB - 49(?).
^{c}SB - 749;
bn NŠL, 123.
^{c}SD - 346.
*^{c}SR - bn MSQ, 76.
^{c}Š - bn LK^{c}N, 105.
^{c}ŠQ - 939;
bn ^{c}DR, 398.
^{c}ŠMN - 1056;
bn ^{c}M, 100.
^{c}SBN - bn MN'L, 1110.
^{c}SR - 430.
^{c}SS - bn NDY, 756.
^{c}SFT - 790.
^{c}SM - bn WQS, 176.
^{c}TS - bn THN, 1197.
^{c}TF - (619).
^{c}TQ - bn HM[^{c}]D, (844).
*^{c}ZM' - bn HDD, 131.
^{c}QRB - 900;
bn 'QDM, 422;
bn HZN, (427);
bn KRZN, 627.
^{c}QRBN - 1147;
bn MQBR, 1013.
^{c}K - bn [JLH], 1176;
bn HD, 830.
^{c}KK - 488.
^{c}L - bn 'T^{c}, 571, 715, 919;
bn 'MR, 797;
bn BNSRB, 920.
^{c}LJ - 340, 975.
*^{c}LJN - bn HBN, 1080.
^{c}LL - 59, 1011, 1037, 1087;
bn ^{c}BD'L, 793;
bn MT, 1066.
^{c}LHM - bn DKR, 351.
^{c}LY - 67, 504, 745;
bn HSD, 1147;
bn HM', 290, 296;
bn [DD], 685;

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bn DSM, 581;
bn MLK, 1115;
bn W[S]T, (982);
bn YSLM, 876.

^{c}LYN - 1165;
bn HRMT, 207.

^{c}M - 100, 485, 839, 913, 985, 1033;
bn QDM, 781;
bn M[R']T, 1185.

^{c}M'B - 991.

^{c}MD - bn ^{c}SD, 346;
bn HKMN, 1068.

^{c}MDL - bn M'S, 773.

^{c}MDN - 778, 977, 1082;
bn [DD], 910;
bn LHY, 724.

^{c}MR - 380, 441, 941;
bn 'BYN, 177;
bn 'JLH, 998;
bn 'LH, 181;
bn B'SH, 354;
bn RBN, 902;
bn $\bar{S}$LL , 158;
bn $^{c}\bar{S}$Q, 939;
bn Y$^{c}\bar{S}$B, 1183;
bn [...], 137.

^{c}MRT - (467), 1096, 1166.

^{c}MRN - 264, 634.

^{c}MS - (668).

^{c}ML - bn RBN, 924;
bn L[D]', 339;
bn M^{c}MR, 990.

^{c}MLT - bn LB'N, 810.

^{c}MM - 473, 1003.

^{c}MN - (288);
bn BJT, 354, ('MN?).

^{c}N - 478.

*^{c}N'LH - bn NH, 579.

^{c}NB - 529, 549.

^{c}ND - (463).

^{c}NZT - 1194, 1196;
bn BNJD, 958;
bn HMD, 1195.

^{c}NS - 543;
bn WSMT, 175.

^{c}NQ - 337
bn SḤB, 324;
bn MDF, (135).

*^{c}NM - bn HRTT, 451.

^{c}NN - bn NQL, 742.

*^{c}NP - bn HḠYM, 358.

^{c}NY - (521).

^{c}HD - 360;
bn HMM, 11.

^{c}HM - (702);
bn JḎL, 572;
bn HB, 1085.

^{c}HYN - bn ḠNṬ, 614.

^{c}WD - bn HRM, 134.

^{c}WḎ - 2, 272, 569, 698;
bn RBN, 562, 699;
bn ^{c}MRN, 634;
bn HNNT, 1189.

^{c}WḎT - bn WS[?], 930;
bn W^{c}D, 544.

*^{c}WZ - bn WD^{c}L, 294.

^{c}WL - 179, (262);
bn BNT, 506.

^{c}Y - 422;
bn [..]'L, 61.

^{c}YT - 527, (802).

^{c}YN - 434.

*^{c}YN - 114;
bn RB, 115.

ḠBN - 11, 89, 461.

ḠBH - bn BT, 127.

ḠṬ - 410, 620, 621, 622,

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821, 845;
bn HZ, 150;
bn HZL, 540;
bn MSK, 833;
bn Y^{C}LY, 1027.
ḠRB - bn HYD, 928.
ḠRZT - bn JD, 51, 69.
ḠZY - 54;
bn JRR, 53.
ḠZYT - 871.
*ḠSBN - 1076.
ḠD - bn RBN, 367.
*ḠDD - 1054.
ḠDDT - 289, 973;
bn MRJ, 132.
ḠLB - 27;
bn HRD, 638.
ḠLM - 822, 836;
bn 'HSN, 822;
bn Y^{C}LY, 157, 854, 856.
ḠLMT - 927.
ḠNT - bn YHL, 614.
ḠNM - bn SLL, 596.
ḠYR - 673.
ḠYR'L - bn 'N^{C}M, 1.
FBRQN - 442.
FTK - 574.
FHMN - 847.
FD - 586.
FDY - bn BS^{C}H, 172.
FR' - 88, 791;
bn WQS, 955.
FRH - 898.
FRD - 389.
FRZL - 284.
FRQ - 915, 1034;
bn HZR, 916;
bn SLM, 190.
FRHZ - 307;
bn HFY, 308.
FS - 423.
FS'L - 410.
FDJ - 452, 1136.
*FDWT - 638.
*FKLT - 945.
FL' - 851.
FLJ - 526;
bn ŠDY, 403.
FLT - 48, 80, 862.
FLTT - 201, 350.
FN - 109.
FNQ - 707;
bn HJ, 534.
FNY - 143.
FHRN - bn [BQL], 534.
QTL - 151.
QHŠ - bn J^{C}D, 630, 640.
QHF - bn HDLN, 534.
QDS - bn JHR, 305.
QDM - 149, 777, 863, 907, 1123, 1130;
bn RB, 575;
bn RB'L, 697;
bn RD, 649.
QDM'L - 198;
bn ^{C}LL, 1187;
bn MDY, 1112.
QDMT - 245;
bn 'HWF, 1047, 1059.
QDYT - 517.
*QDRT - 87.
QDY - bn SWD, 726.
QRSM - bn ^{C}NQ, 337;
bn NZL, 486.
QRS - bn DKR, 512.
QRN - bn ^{C}WD, 569.
QS - bn KHL, 1196.
*QŠFT - bn 'SLH, 546.

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QS̄[.] - 1179.
QSYT - 720, 741, 768, 769, 815, 905; bn HBT, 977.
QT[C] - 395.
QFLT - 837.
QL - 82, 209, 236, 587, (705), 728, 738, 839a, 873, 888, 923; bn 'SRK, 435; bn JLH, 171; bn MCS, 888.
QLM - bn RS[F], 701.
QMST - 248.
QN - 255, 661, 1035; bn JN'L, 770.
QN'L - [bn T'L], 674.
QNT - bn KHL, 1194.
*QHR - bn LB', 428.
QHN - (261).
QYMT - bn CDR, 410; bn MSK, 631.
QYN - 140.
KBR - 30, 124, 935, 1140a, 1174.
KT - 136.
KTBY - 377.
KTL - bn DBCN, 107.
KTM - bn MHF, 332.
KTBT - (651).
KHL - (1150).
*KHLH - bn KMD, 205.
KDDH - 805, 1152; bn HBB, 111.
KDN - 1094.
*KDBT - 73.
KRB - bn 'ML, (317).
KRZN - 627.
*KZL - (589).
KS̄DY - bn 'SLM, 182.
KCT - 684.
*KCLYN - bn MDKR, 776.
KCMH - bn R[?], 580; bn ḠT, 845; bn NZR, 117; bn WHDY, 255.
KFRY - bn BNT, 694.
KFL - bn HDT, 445.
KFY - bn SBN, 765.
KL - (813).
KLB - 499, 1089; bn CBDN, 653.
KL[?] - 751.
KMD - 205; bn 'KBR, 1151; bn MJL, 1186.
KMS̄ - bn 'SLM, 953.
KML - 474.
KN - 310.
KNT - 304.
KHL - 56, 58; bn HRB, 644; bn DL, 669; bn S̄TY, 340; bn CLL, 59; bn CNZT, 1194, 1195, 1196; bn KHL, 58.
L'F - bn ['']MR[R], 1042.
L'MN - 108.
LB - 128; bn 'MR, (235).
LB' - 428.
LB'T - bn 'HJR, 722; bn CJJ, 119.
*LB'N - 806; bn MCN, 442.
LJM - bn 'MR, 405.
LHM - 396.

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LHMT - 690.
LḤN - bn B'S, 1129.
LḤY - 29, 33, 63, (275);
bn 'YL, 34, 724;
bn YDY, 894.
*LD' - (339).
LD - bn SLM, 402.
LḌF - bn D'Y, 112;
bn YS̄KR, 642.
LḌN - 704;
bn S̄[C], 823;
bn M'QN, 66.
LC - bn JRMT, 1026.
*LCMR - 224, (400);
bn MLK, 221, 222.
LḠYN - 876.
LQT - 204.
LQṬ - 824.
*LK'T - bn QL, 209.
*LKCN - 105.
LN - bn HY, 356.
*LHN - bn ṂNCM, 269.
LHY - 737.
LY - 196.
M'QN - 66.
MBḤ - 146.
MṬ - bn JLD, 1066.
*MTLN - 93.
MTN - bn QTL, 151.
MTY - bn CMR, 941.
MṮ - bn 'MRR, 508.
MṮC - 877;
bn JRMḤ, 1023;
bn SCD, 635;
bn CMDN, 724.
MṮMN - 731, 755.
MṮN - bn WṬF, 201.
MJ - 1046;
bn ṮHM, 261.
*MJL - 119, 1182;
bn 'QDM, 91, 92.
*MḤD - 1039.
MḤRB - bn CḌR, 632.
MḤD - 1039.
MḤL - bn HD, 637.
MḤLM - 277.
MḤF - 325, 332.
MDD - bn JR, 884.
MDC - bn S̄DDT, 615.
*MDF - 135.
*MḌKR - 776.
MḌY - 139, 265, 1112.
MR - bn 'BYN, 210;
bn ṮLY, 193;
bn YS̄B, 1183.
MR' - 956, 1125;
bn [H]CḌ, 1019.
MR'T - 1104, 1185.
*MRBB - (1101).
MRJ - 132.
MRD - bn BNCBDY, 885.
MRDN - 418.
MRR - 378, 954.
MRṬ - 599, 653;
bn ZLM, 578, 603;
bn ḠLMT, 927.
MRWN - 23.
MRY - 35, 334;
bn [K]ZL, 589.
MS - 922;
bn BNN, 704.
*MS' - 341.
*MSQ - 76.
MSK - 96, 167, 551, 833, 1074;
bn BDRL, 419, (420);
bn ḤZN, 912;
bn SM, 826, 845;
bn LQT, 204;
bn NJH, 866;

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bn W'L, 631;
MSKY - 37, 387, 947.
MS̄R - 846.
MS̄^{C}R - bn S̄^{C}R, 470.
MS̄KR - 594;
bn 'S, 657.
*MS̄LL - 472.
*MS̄YL - bn SRM, (233).
MṢ - bn Ṣ^{C}LH, 103.
*MṢR - bn ^{C}S̄Q, 398.
MḌR - bn 'JHT, 591;
bn NS̄L, 1114.
MṬR - bn S(?), 855;
bn DFR, 85;
bn MṢK, 826.
MṬL - bn ^{C}BDLH, 1008;
bn ^{C}WḌ, 562.
MẒ - bn S̄^{C}, (479).
MẒL - 933.
M^{C}TM - 42.
M^{C}T̲L - bn [.]DM, 188.
M^{C}Ḏ - bn WH[DY], 253.
M^{C}S - 773, 889, 931;
bn FR', 88;
bn QL, 888;
bn LB, 128.
M^{C}L - (869).
M^{C}LY - 1064;
bn ^{C}LY, 745;
bn W[...], 984.
M^{C}MR - 986.
M^{C}N - 513;
bn FBRQN, 442.
M^{C}NN - bn 'HM, 654.
M^{C}WT̲ - bn BRS, 648.
M^{C}[.] - 994.
MṚGM - bn SR, 1099.
MḠYR - bn ^{C}QRB, 627.
*MFKR - 3.
MFNY - bn RMZN, 997.
*MQ - bn LHY, 63.
*MQBR - bn T̲R, 1013.
MQTL - 909, 1108;
bn NHR, 19.
MQḤN - 169;
bn ^{C}MRN, 264.
MQM - 65;
bn SLMN, 411.
MKL - 1122.
ML - bn MS̄R, 846.
ML' - 649, 675.
MLT - bn MRWN, 23.
*MLJ - bn SLM, 525.
MLḎ - bn R[JL], 582.
MLTY - 1061.
MLQF - (195).
MLK - 81, 221, 222, 979, 1115;
bn 'HWD, 1004;
bn DḤR, 964;
bn ^{C}BS, 432;
bn NDM, 1142;
bn HJML, 371;
bn WS, 974;
bn WQF, 1192.
MLKT - 978;
bn JḎL, 557;
bn HNMR, 838.
MLYT - 995, 996;
bn YF^{C}, (1100).
ML[..] - 1041.
*MMSK - 832.
MN^{C}L - 659, 1110, 1156;
bn JD, 1070;
bn ^{C}MRT, 1096;
bn WR', 663.
*MNḤL - 556, 1097;
bn 'BJR, 761.
MN^{C} - 470.

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MN^{C}T - bn FLT, 80.
MN^{C}M - bn ŠRK, 232.
MNF - 520.
MNHL - 101.
MHR - 652;
bn MHLM, 277.
MHRN - (759).
MHL - bn ^{C}M, 1033.
MWL - bn 'B[?], 133.
M[..Y] - 442.
M[...] - 1164.
*N'TY - 18, (21), (or 'TY?).
*N'F - bn HNK, 469.
NBT - 1060;
bn DḤL, 647, 654.
NBR - bn BJT, (516).
NTN - bn DḤL, 600, 656, 689.
- bn DL, (975).
NJB - (714).
*NJT - bn 'ḤWF, 1053.
NJR - bn HF, 45.
NJŠ - bn RB'L, 216.
NJH - bn YṬ^{C}T, 866.
NJYT - 373.
ND' - 817;
bn 'YL, 754;
bn ḌL, 725, 782;
bn ŠDDT, 53;
bn HB, 1103.
NDM - 1142.
NDY - 756.
NḌR - bn BRQT, 10.
NS' - bn 'HLM, 535;
bn ḤRṬT, 721.
NSR - 17.
NSK - bn 'HSN, 856.
*NŠB - 1124.
NŠL - 123, 1114;
bn 'M, 212;
bn M^{C}TM, 42.
*NŠML - bn 'NMR, 104.
NSR - 627, 636;
bn SLMT, 625.
NZR - 522, 1049;
bn ^{C}RY, 116, 117.
NZL - 486, (700).
N^{C}MN - bn RŠH, 727;
bn WHB, 997.
N^{C}MY - 233;
bn ^{C}ZZT, 754.
NGBR - bn JD, 592;
bn HLT, 60.
NGNY - 752b.
NFRT - bn ṬLM, 1016.
NFL - bn 'NY, 170.
NQL - 104, 742, 801;
bn SḤBN, 333a;
bn ŠNTT, 1090;
bn ^{C}MDN, 977.
NQM - 227;
bn R[SN], 1011.
NMR - 681, (812);
bn Ṭ^{C}T, 560, 676(?);
bn H[...], 273;
bn Y^{C}ŠB, 1184.
NMRN - bn BZZ, 809.
NH - 575.
NHB - 281.
NHBT - bn Y^{C}MR, 848.
NHR - 19;
bn M^{C}S, 889.
NHS - (86);
bn RŠL, 96.
NHD - bn JR, 872.
*NHF - 189.
NHM - bn ŠDY, 514.
NHN - (294).
NYBT - 71, 444.
H'B - bn 'Ṭ^{C}, 577.
H'S - 460, 1091;

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bn 'MN, 650;
bn ZJR, 736;
bn [.]SRN, 440.

HB - 1085;
bn [HBN], 1103.

HBL - 718.

*HBM - 1022.

*HBN - 1080, (1103).

*HBWT - bn T̲^CT, 32.

*HT̲ - bn BN^CTM, 624.

HJ - bn DRH, 482.

HJR(?) - 784, 790, 807.

HJRM - bn 'WDD, 1119.

HJS̄ - 1118.

HJML - 371;
bn RH, 24;
bn SLM, 409;
bn [..]R, 758.

*HJN - 949.

HHRM - bn S̄DDT, 908.

HḊ - 637;
bn WQF, 828.

HDM - 1067.

HDY - 335, 336;
bn WD^C'L, 1141.

HR - 98.

HRB - 64, 70, 952;
bn [^CJ], (1048);
bn FLT, 48.

HRR - bn ^CḎY, 864.

*HRST - 468.

*HRM - 268;
bn RM^C, 101.

*HRN - 1092.

*HSM, - bn S'LT, 954.

*HSN - 1050.

*HSY - bn BWH, 1024.

*HS̄LL - 966;
bn [JH]L, (263);
bn [ḊHR], 965.

H^CBD - 842.

*H^CD̲ - (1019).

H^CD̲R - bn H̲YF[T], 892;
bn ^CWD̲, 272.

*H^CSḊ - bn KDDH, 1152;
bn YD, 95.

*H^CMM - bn MR', 1125.

H^CWD̲ - 518.

*HḠYM - 358.

HF - 41, 43, 45.

HQM - (555).

*HKMN - 1068.

HKNF - bn YD^C, 882.

HM - 643;
bn S̄JN, 394;
bn ḠT̲, 1027.

HMD - bn HNMR, (257).

HMSK - 679, 1172;
bn SKRN, 1154;
bn WHD, 712;
bn ẆQR, 202, 214.

HM^CD̲ - 536, 538, 691, 1069;
bn 'ḠSM, (844);
bn WHḊY, 535.

HMLK - 500, 680, 957.

HMM - bn [.]MJT, (1097).

HN - 266;
bn 'T̲^C, (730).

HN' - 982, 1007;
bn BJT, 559;
bn JRHM, 794.

HN'T - 388.

*HNF - bn HRT, 505.

HNMR - 257;
bn S̄HR, 838.

HNN - 234, 612.

HNNT - 1189.

HWHD - bn 'MR, 258.

HẆD - 433.

HWR - 185.

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*HWSL - bn 'ML, 709.
*HWL - bn HBT, 970.
*HWMR - 1075, (=HJMR?).
HYSR - bn DHD, 492.
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W'LN - 417.
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bn ^{C}MM, 1003;
bn QDM, 697.
*WTRY - bn WSMT, 167.
WJD - 531.
WHD - 405, 406, 708, 712, (967), 981;
bn 'MR, 228;
bn 'ML, 728.
*WHDY - 256, 535;
bn 'MR, (253), 255.
WHS - 456;
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bn BN, 417;
bn WD, 439.
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WD^{C}'L - 1141;
bn 'S, 406.
WD^{C}L - 390;
bn YQF, 294.
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WR' - (663);
bn HDY, 335;
bn [H..], 746.
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*WRK - bn WZL, 247.
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WST - 968, 1057, 1120;
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bn ^{C}WD, 2.
WSM'L - 963;
bn YHTYR, 962.
WSMT - 175, 509;
bn [^{C}]TF, (619);
bn MSK, 167;
bn HDY, 336.
WS[..] - 930.
WSKT - bn SJM, 113.
WSBN - bn MN'L, 1110.
WST - 739.
WSL - (595).
*WD'T - 1120a;
bn [H]MM, 1097.
WD[.] - 753.
WTF - bn FLTT, 201.
WTN - bn BTY, 601.
W^{C}D - 544.
W^{C}R - 881;
bn DL, (238).
W^{C}L - 568;
bn HTBT, 673;
bn HYT, 789, 811;
bn DBN, 369;
bn RBN, 366;
bn NBT, 647;
bn WST, 739.
WQR - 202, 214.
WQS - 161, 176, 618, 948, 955.
WQF - 828;
bn 'SD, 1192;
bn FRQ, 190.
WKYT - bn DKRN, 555.
WL - bn '^{C}ZM, 284.
WLM - 740.
WLY - 660.

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WMM - 938.
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bn JR, 947;
bn RBN, 364;
bn S̄LL, 426;
bn HM, 394.
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*YHBN - bn 'KBR, (491).
*YHRS - bn [ZR]J, (240).
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Y^{C}LL - 987, 1098;
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Y^{C}LY - 157, 646, 838, 854, 856, 1027, 1182;
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bn HMSK, 1172.
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bn MLK, 81.
Y^{C}MRN - bn 'ḤBB, 886.
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*YHB - (75).
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HWLL - (744).

SRH - 959, is out of alphabetical order, between the entries for SDQT and SRF.

KR - bn 'L, 1083a.

MRḠM - 1099, is out of alphabetical order, between the enties for M^{C}[.] and MḠYR.

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'ḫ	,n.	, brother, 279, 618, 912.
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'l	,prep.	, until, 1.
'lh	,n.	, god, 424, (or *'l*?).
'm	,n.	, mother, 414.
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'wn	,n.	, season, 758.
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b'r	,n.	, well, (1061).
b'ry	,n.	, well(s), 803.
b's	,n.	, misfortune, adversity, 214, 779.
br	,v.	, (*brr*), to bestow bounty, 70.
brrt	,n.	, beneficience, 42 (or *bkrt*?).
brk	,v.	, to be blessed, (1149).
b^{c}d	,v.	, to go away, be far away, 95, 279, 459.
b^{c}d	,adv.	, far (from), 756.
bḡr	,v.	, to rain abundantly, 473.
bqr	,n.	, cow, 1008.
bkrt	,n.	, young she-camel, 88, 257, 284, 289, 401, 461, 609, 817, 821, 868, 917, 934.
bl	,v.	, to be cured, 68.
bn	,v.	, (*bnn*), to remain, 375, (392), 480, 859.
bn	,n.	, son, 1094.
bnt	,n.	, daughter, 304, 412, 413, 620-622.
bnw	,v.	, to build(?), 585.
bny	,v.	, to build (for - *^{c}l*), 106, 115, 410, 413, 416, 417, 421, 623, 624, 626, 627, 631, 632, 636, 676, 1007.
bwy	,v	, to come to stop at, 64.

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tb ,v. , a. to curse 612.
b. to suffer a loss, 1192.
trḥ ,part. , grief striken, 1005, 1010, 1046.
tzr ,see *nzr*.
tǧṭ ,see *gwṭ*.
tnẓr ,see *nzr*.
twr ,v. , to return time after time, 958.

t'r ,v. , to be avenged, to exact blood vengeance, 419, 957, 1004, 1011, 1046.
twll ,v. , to suffer from giddiness, 168(?).

jr ,n. , (*jrr*), gazelle snares, 784, 790, 811.
jš ,n. , army, troop, 1118.
jl ,v. , to collect, 1004, 1008.
jl ,n. , camel herd, 958.
jll ,v. , to be common to all, 1195.
jlm ,adj. , complete, 188.
jml ,n. , bull-camel, 62, 90, 231, 280, 345, 357, 374, 695, 865.
jn ,v. , to be concealed, 771.

ḥb ,n. , loved one, 420.
ḥbb ,n. , loved one, 398, 850.
ḥbb ,v. , to be in love, 190.
ḥbst ,n. , enclosure, 1.
ḥr ,n. , heat, 1.
ḥr ,v. , (*ḫwr*), to return, 1061.
ḥrr ,n. , blood horse(s), 727.
ḥrb ,v. , to wage war, 214.
ḥrs ,v. , to keep watch, 190, 310.
ḥrf ,v. , to repay evil, 98.
ḥrft ,n. , bad luck, 11.
ḥḍr ,v. , to be present, 538.
ḥfr ,v. , to dig a well, 23.
ḥl ,v. , to encamp, 687.
ḥll ,v. , to encamp, 17, 115, 192, 410.
ḥlk ,v. , to be very black, 804.
ḥlw ,v. , to make agreeable, 785.
ḥwb ,v. , to grieve (for - *ʿl*), 618, 781, 827. 891, 906, 1160.
ḫwb ,n. , misfortune, 918.
ḥwl ,v. , to suffer from a squint, 95.

ḫrd ,n. , maiden, 895.
ḫrṣ ,v. , to be on the lookout, 727.
ḫl ,n. , maternal uncle, 929.
ḫmr ,v. , to conceal, be concealed, 296.

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ḏb ,n. , riding animals, 958.
ḏṯ' ,v. , to spend the spring (at), 107, 628.
ḏd ,n. , paternal uncle, 420, 1004.
ḏr ,n. , encampment, 34, 74, 92, 186, 209, 258, 310, 324, 327, 451, 518, 646, 703, 764, 867.
ḏmṯt ,n. , soft, even ground, 20.
ḏmᶜ ,v. , to shed tears, 895.
ḏmyt ,n. , drawing, 282, 308, 814, 820, 1190.
ḏwḏ ,v. , to be vermin infested, 13.

ḏ ,pron. , in expression *ḏ'l*, 1, 119, 192, 410, 421, 424, 438, 442, 625, 628, 630, 633, (637), 895, 900, 998, 1004, 1010, 1011.
ḏ't ,pron.f. , 412, 620, 621, 622.
ḏkr ,v. , to remember, 895.
ḏll ,v. , to be abject, 202.

r' ,v. , to see, 559.
r' ,n. , view(?), 769.
rb ,v. , to be master, 750.
rjj ,v. , to be confused, 1000.
rjm ,n. , cairn, 412, 487, 620, 621, 622, 1046.
rḥ ,v. , (*rwḥ*), to go away (in the evening), 818.
rṯl ,adv. , foolishly(?), 316.
rᶜy ,v. , to pasture, 35, 98, 758, 1000.
rf ,n. , (*ryf*), fertile land, cultivated land, 603.
rwḥ ,n. , relief, 188, 232, 244, 350.

sbyt ,n. , captive, 1004.
strt ,n. , shelter, 363, 465.
sj ,v. , to plaster, 762.
sr ,v. , to make a journey, 105.
sry ,v. , to travel by night, 765.
sᶜd ,v. , to help, 2, 13, 304, 343, 376, 517, 610, 746, 763, 779, 805, 808, 1163.
sfr ,n. , inscription, 93.
sq ,v. , (*sqy*) to water, 958.
sq ,v. , (*swq*) to drive cattle, 65.
skn ,n. , dwelling place, 756.
slk ,v. , to pass by, 200.
slm ,v. , to protect, 1029.
slm ,v.2nd form , to submit, 316.
slm ,n. , deliverance, security, 1, 82, 107, 277. 410,424,603,688,998.
smn ,n. , fat, 1004, 1008.
snt ,n. , year, 141, 1004.

s̄tw ,v. , to winter (at), 324.
(*s̄yᶜ*) ,n. , *'s̄yᶜ* (pl.), allies, companions, (214?), 890, 891.

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ṣr ,v. , (ṣyr), to return (to camp), 89.
ṣf ,adj. , (ṣyf), serene, 750.
ṣyd ,v. , to hunt, 381.
ṣyr ,v. , to be on a journey, 277.

ḍ'n ,n. , sheep, 1, 440.
ḍb' ,n. , raid, 796.
ḍrt ,n. , blind person, 318.

ṭf ,v. , (ṭff), to be near to, 997, 1000.
ṭll ,n. , ruins, 64.

ẓbyn ,n.pl. , gazelles, 550.
ẓl ,v. , to overshadow, 460, (yẓl).
ẓll ,v. , to shelter, 1.
ẓlt ,n. , abode, shelter, 378, 901.
ẓllt ,n. , shelter, 313.

ʿtẏ ,v. , to rebel, 410.
ʿd ,n. , number, 958.
ʿdm ,v. , to be destitute, 411.
ʿr ,n. , ass, onager, 59, 307, 381, 454, 455, 819, 1159.
ʿrḍt ,n. , valley, 259.
ʿqbt ,n. , retribution, 104, 1057.
ʿl ,prep. , for, against, 1, 104, 106, 119, 398, 410, 413, 414, 416, 417, 420, 421, 422, 424, 439, 442, 618, 623, 624, 626, 627, 631, 632, 636, 638, 850, 890, 891, 912, 929, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1010, 1011.
ʿll ,v. , to be ill, 1093.
ʿll ,n. , illness, 1195.
ʿm ,n. , a. year, 958.
b. in the expression ʿm fʿm, year after year, 578.
ʿrw ,v. , to be taken captive, 350.
ʿwr ,v.4th form , 'ʿwr, to be blind in one eye, 426.
ʿwh ,v. , to be smitten by, 213(?).
ʿyq ,v. , to impede, 900.

ḡṯt ,n. , (ḡyṯ), heavy rain, 396.
ḡdr ,n. , pools of rain-water, 688.
ḡṯl ,n. , abundance, 578.
ḡlb ,v. , to overcome, 1118.
ḡnm ,v. , to take as plunder, 440.
ḡnmt ,n. , plunder, 48, 230, 907.
(ḡwṯ) ,n. , tḡṯ, fertile land, 60.
ḡwn ,v. , to feel oppressed, 294(?).
ḡybt ,n. , low ground, 296.

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f ,conj. , passim.
f ,prep. , in, 107.
frs ,n. , a. horse, 194.
b. horseman, 48, 972.
frst ,n. , mare, 367.
frq ,v. 4th form , *'frq*, to be afraid, 998.
fṣy ,n. , delivery, 214.
fḍl ,v. , to do well, be excellent at, 190.
fl ,v. , to escape, 146.
flj ,v. , to be partially paralyzed, 130(?).
flḍ ,n. , salvation(?), 202.
flṭ ,v. , to deliver, 517, 578, 610.

qbll ,n. , acceptance, 410.
qtl ,n. , killing, 1004.
qr ,n. , (*qrr*), abode, settlement, 750.
qrḥ ,v. , to be afflicted by ulcers, 426.
qyy ,v. , to prevail (upon - *ʿl*), 439.

kr ,v. , (*krr*), to come back, 84.
kl ,adj. , all, 1004.

l ,prep. , for, by, 412, 779, 1046 and passim.
l' ,v. , (*l'y*), to be distressed by, 1197.
l'm ,n. , healing, 226.
lb ,v. , (*lwb*) to be thirsty, 85.
lḍ ,v. , to delight in, 1021.
ll ,v. , to be overtaken by the night, 1095.

m ,prep. , from, 214, 396, 957, 1004, 1057, 1061.
(see also *mn*).
m'dd ,part. , (*'dd*) unfortunate, 94.
mt ,v. , (*mwt*), to die, 278.
,n. , (*mwt*), death, 83, 213.
mjjd ,n. , green pastures, 1000.
mjd ,v. , to pasture amidst plenty, 20, 21.
,n.pl. , *'mjd*, green pastures, 997.
mḥb ,n. , (*ḥbb*), lover, loved one, 1021.
mḍbr ,n. , (*ḍbr*), desert, 107, 725.
mrr ,n. , myrrh(?), 478.
mrbl ,n. , (*rbl*), land covered with autumn herbage 958.
mrḍ ,v. , to rebel, 424.
mzgy ,n. , (*zwg*), trouble(?), 141.
ms ,n. , fever, madness, 94.
msby ,part. , (*sby*) taken captive, 1004.
mʿ ,prep. , together with, 410.

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m^{c}mr ,n. , (*^{c}mr*), structure, dwelling, 762, 1001, 1082.
mqtl ,part. , killed (or murder victim), 1004, 1011, 1046.
mlḥ ,v. , a. to grow fat, 82.
b. to trade in salt, 637.
mlk ,n. , king, 957.
mlm ,adj. , (*lwm*), blameworthy, 282.
mn ,prep. , from, 381, 1004.
mnt ,n. , (*mnn*), weakness, 460.
mnjr ,part. , (*njr*), suffering from thirst, 517.
mnẓr ,n. , (*nẓr*), lookout spot, 765.
mn^{c} ,v. , to restrain, 1.
mny ,n. , death, fate, 516.
mhn ,adj. , (*hwn*), contemptible, 612.

nb ,n. , agent, 1057.
nbṯn ,n.dual(?) , (two) wells, 958.
ntj ,n. , animals giving birth, 628.
njr ,v. , to suffer from thirst, 240, 745, 756.
nj^{c} ,v. , to cause to grieve, 82.
njy ,v. , to escape, 1004.
ndr ,n. , prominent ground, rise, 578.
ndm ,v. , to sorrow (for - *^{c}l*), 1006.
nr ,v. , (*nwr*), to be illuminated, 363.
nsṯ ,v. , to journey (to - *l*), 907.
nẓr ,v. , to watch, 784, 790, 804a.
,v. 5th form , (*tnẓr*), to await, 796.
,v. 8th form , (*tẓr*), to be on the lookout, 268, 688, 725, 754, 764, 811, 957.
nẓrm ,part. , watching out for, 628.
n^{c}r ,v. , to be tormented by flies (camel), 352.
n^{c}m ,n. , ostriches, 369.
nfy ,v. , to be exiled, 388.
nqt ,n. , (*nwq*), she-camel, 82, 296.
nql ,n. , rain water flood, area watered by rain, 70, 98, 341, 409, 538.
nqmt ,n. , vengeance, 214.
ny ,v. , (*nwy*), to grow fat, 1174.

h ,3m pron. , passim.
h ,vocative particle, see Index of deities (p.469).
hb' ,v. , to rise in the air (dust), 400.
hrb ,v. , to flee, 396.
hf ,n. , (*hyf*), thirst, 1197.
hm ,v. , (*hmm*), to grow old, 110.
hn ,adv. , here, 603, 1000.

w ,conj. , passim.
w'l ,v. , to take refuge, 1057.
,v. , to provide shelter, refuge (for), 422.

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wjʿ	,v.	, to grieve, 740.
wjm	,v.	, to grieve (for - *ʿl*), be grief striken, 119, 233, 267, 398, 410, 413, 414, 420, 422, 442, 623, 626, 627, 638, 838, 909, 912, 1004, 1005, 1010, 1011, 1191.
whd	,v.	, to be alone, 603, 1029.
why	,v.	, to endeavour, 997, 1000.
wr	,v.	, (*wrr*), to reject, 516.
wrd	,v.	, to go down to water, 762.
wrl	,n.	, *wrl* - lizard, monitor, 1004.
wṣl	,v.	, to arrive, 16.
wqʿ	,v.	, to stop in the night, 1.
wqyt	,n.	, protection, 465.
wlh	,v.	, to be dejected with grief (for - *ʿl*), to be maddened by grief, 104, 850, 890, 929.

yʾs	,v.	, to despair (of - *l*), 957.
ytm	,n.	, orphan, 779.
ym	,v.	, (*ywm*), to spend the day, 639.
ymn	,adj.	, successful, happy, 796.

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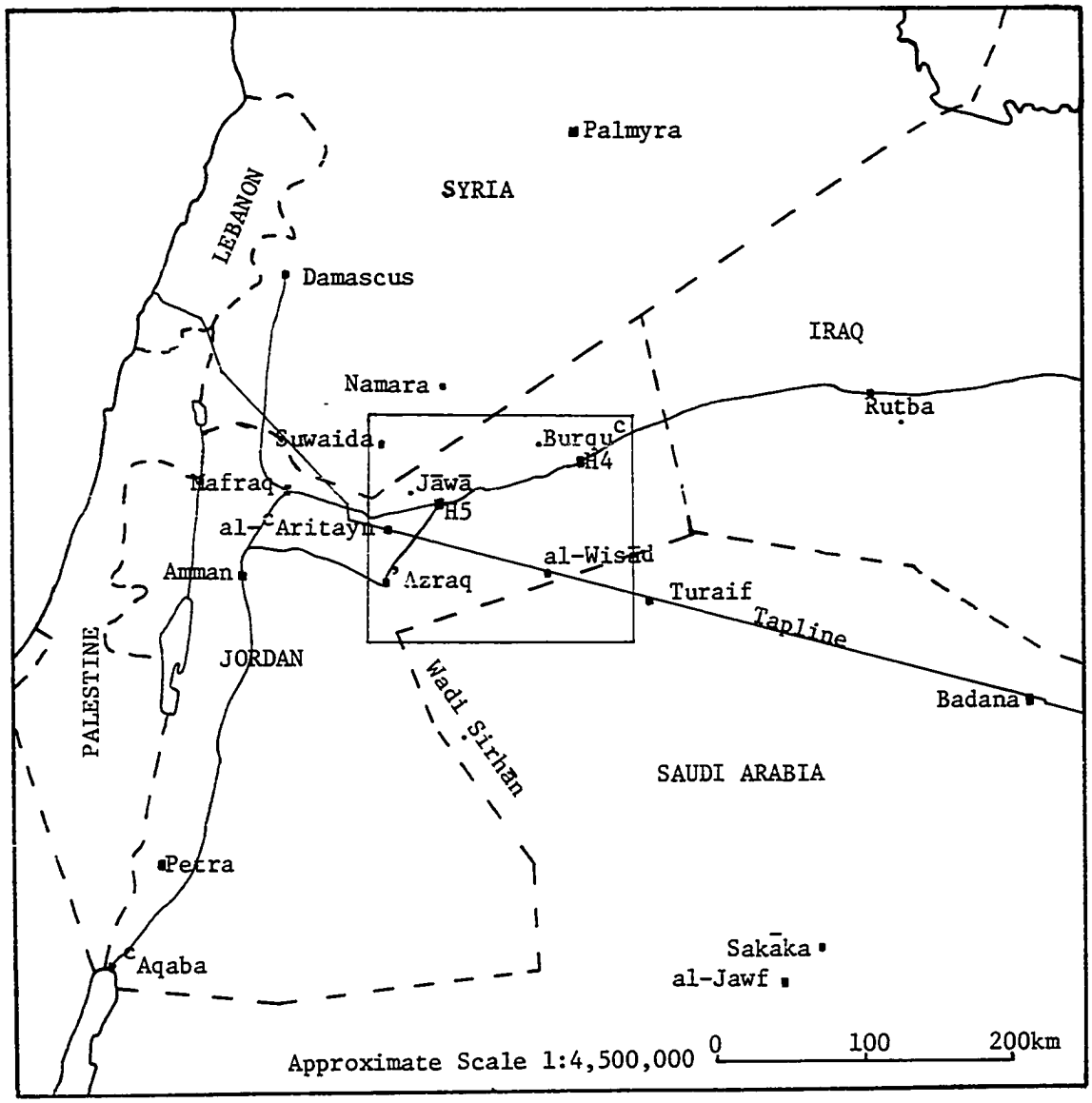

Map One - showing the general area over which the Safaitic peoples ranged. This includes eastern Jordan, southern Syria, western Iraq and northern Saudi Arabia. The enclosed area is enlarged in Map Two.

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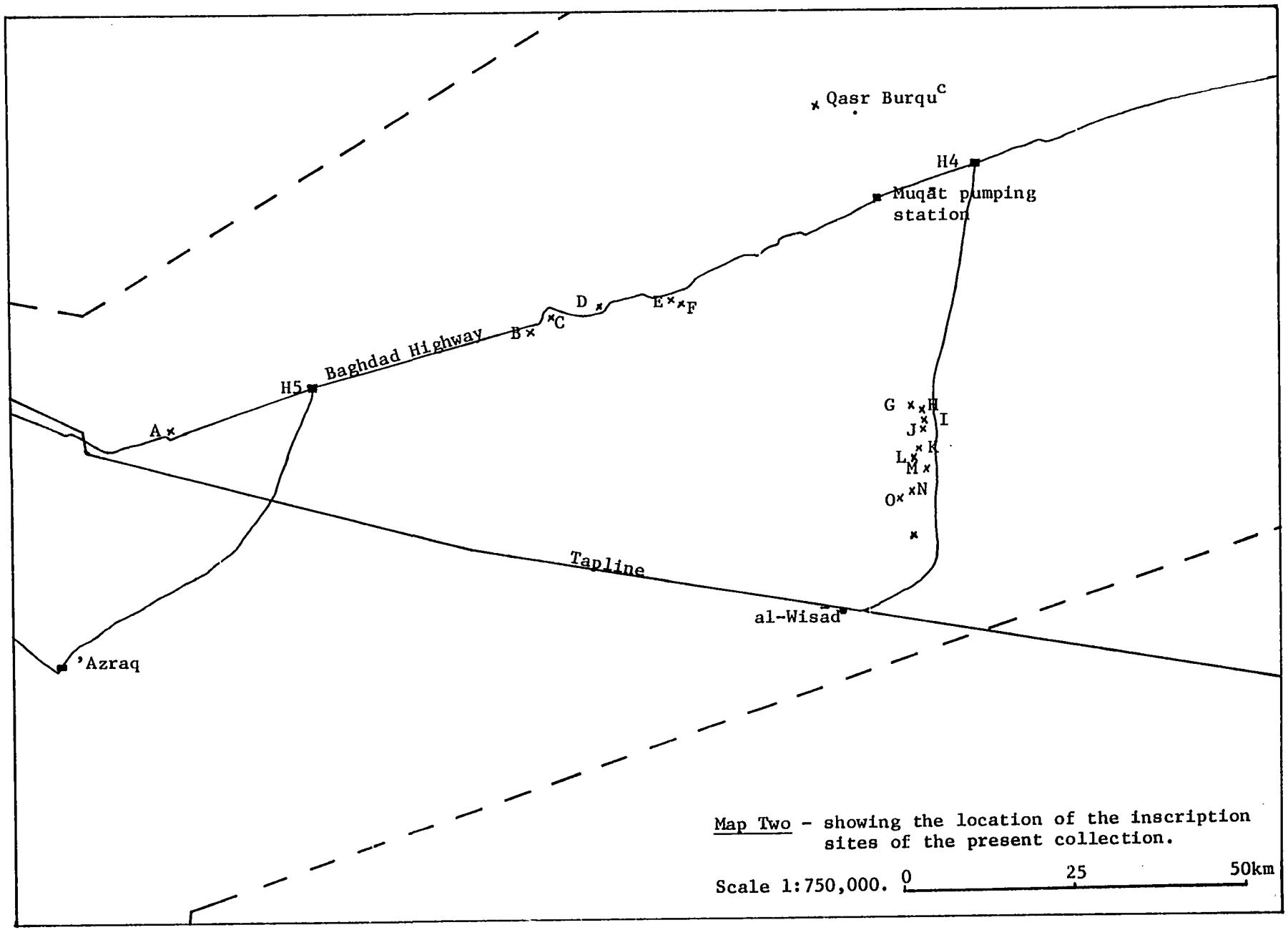
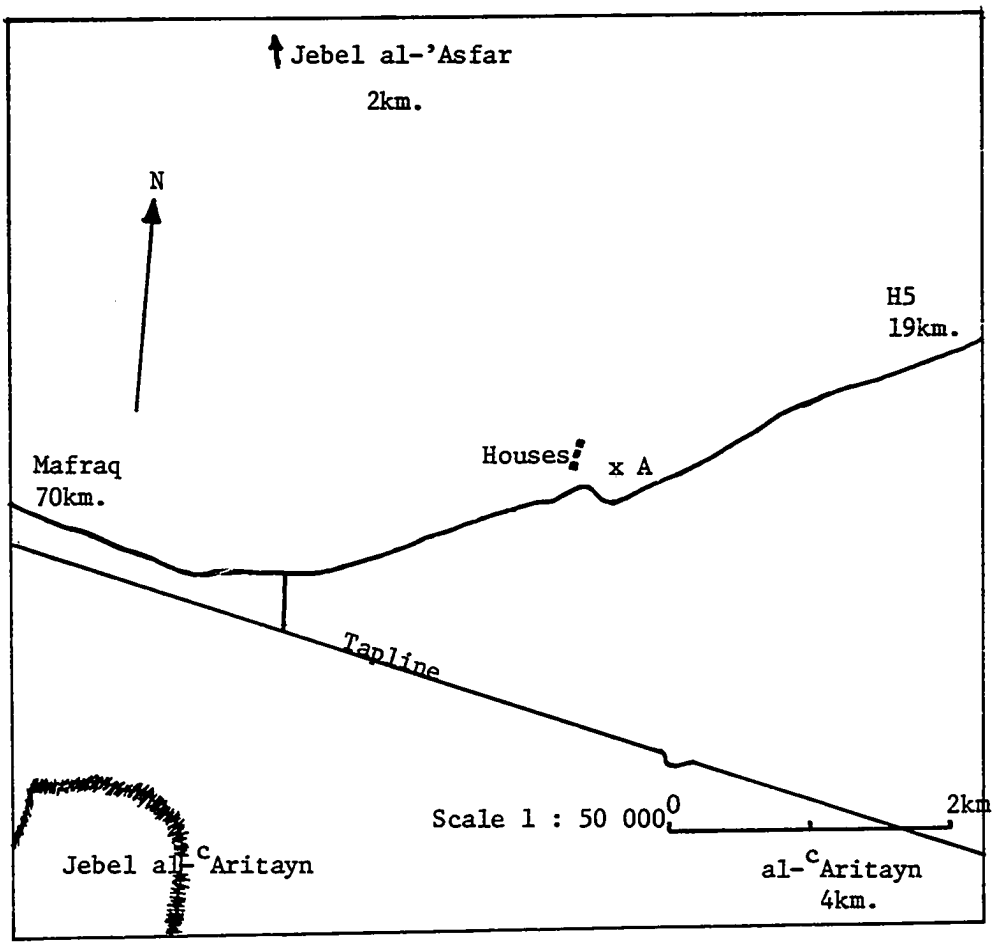
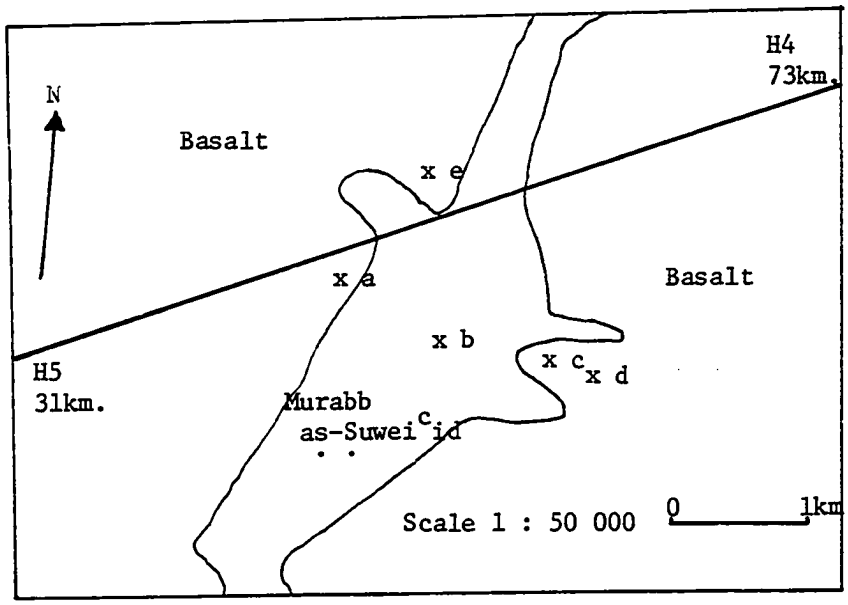


Map Two - showing the location of the inscription sites of the present collection.

Scale 1:750,000.



Map 3a - Site A.



Map 3b - Site B.

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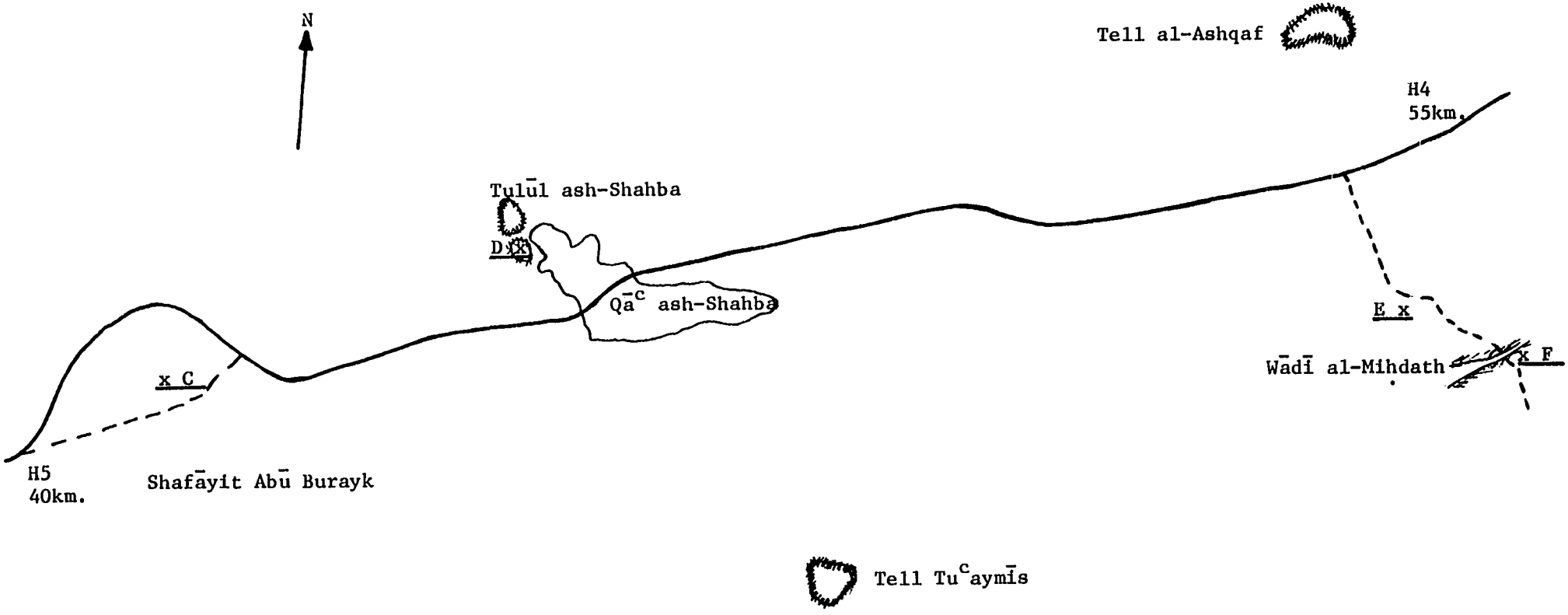
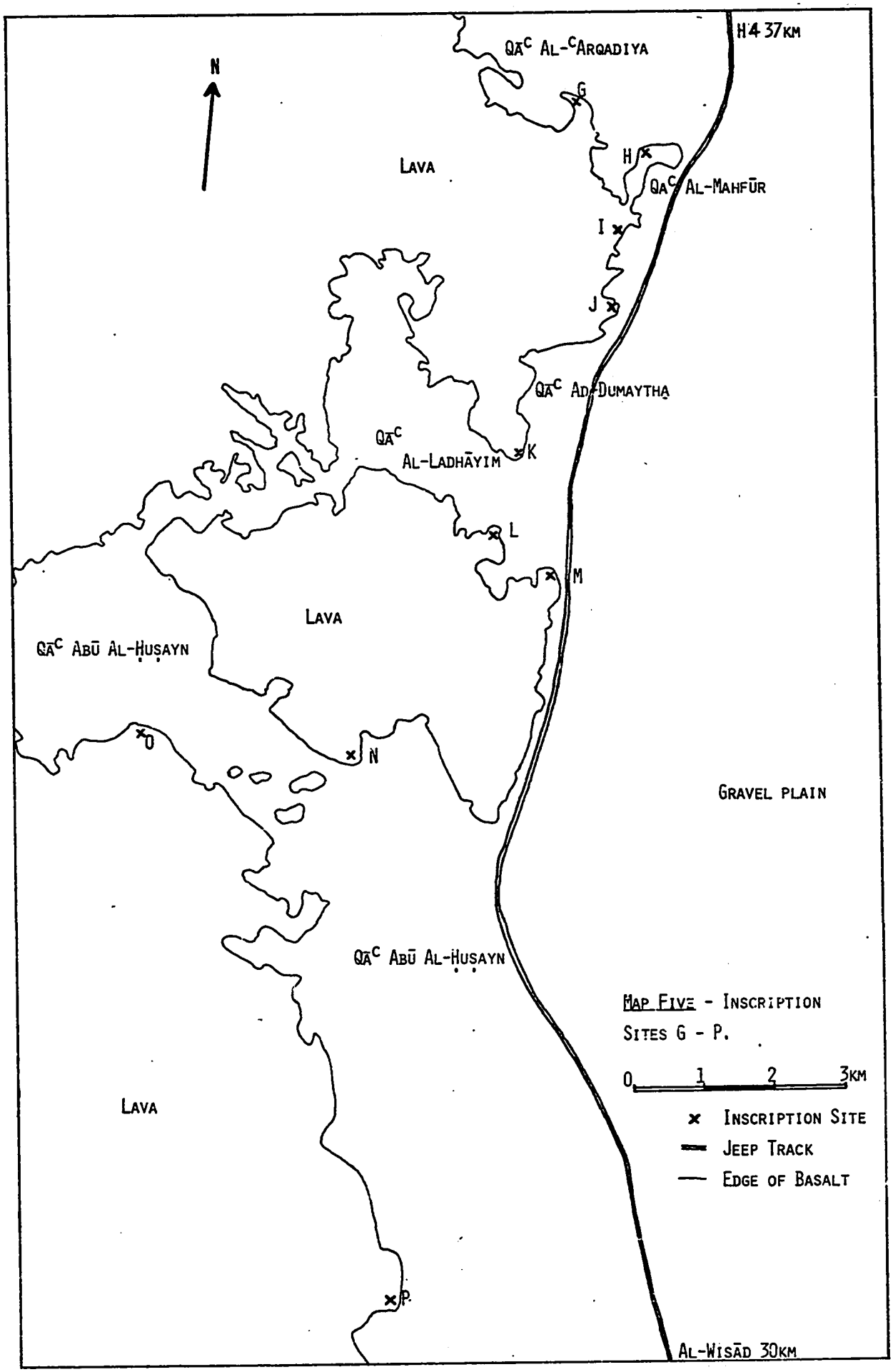


Map 4 - Sites C, D, E and F.



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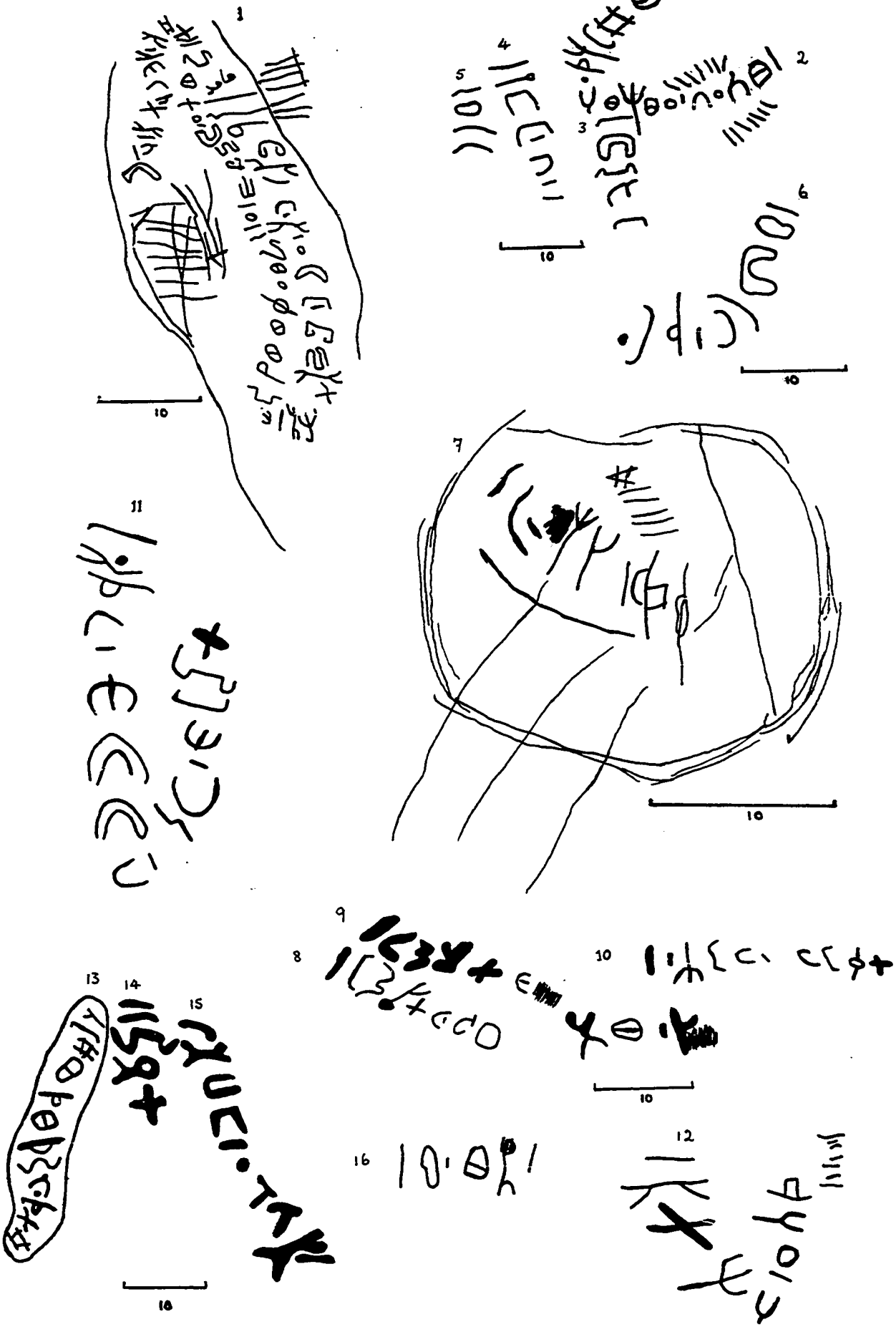

Fig. 1 Texts 1-16.

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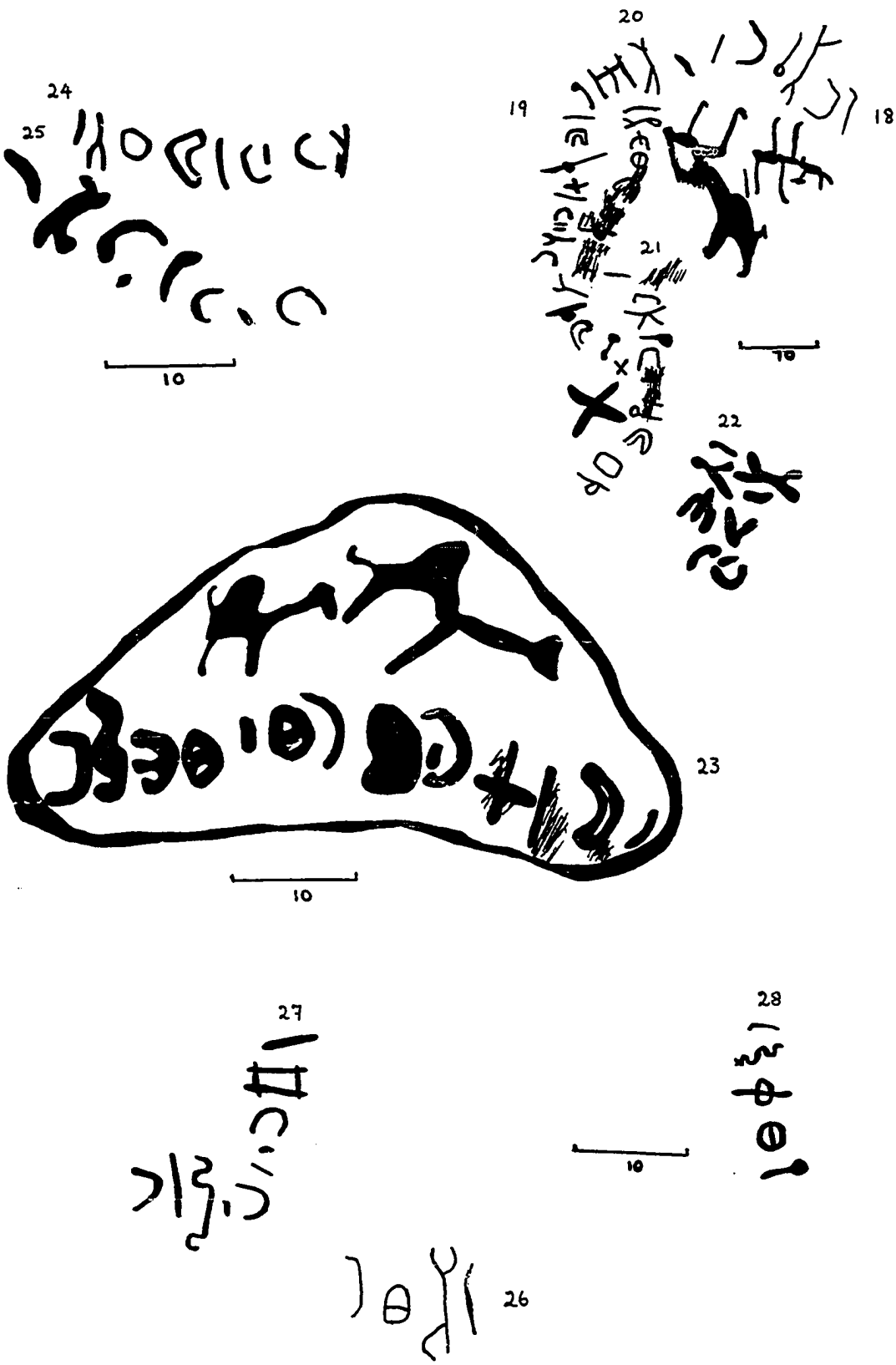

Fig. 2 Texts 17-28.

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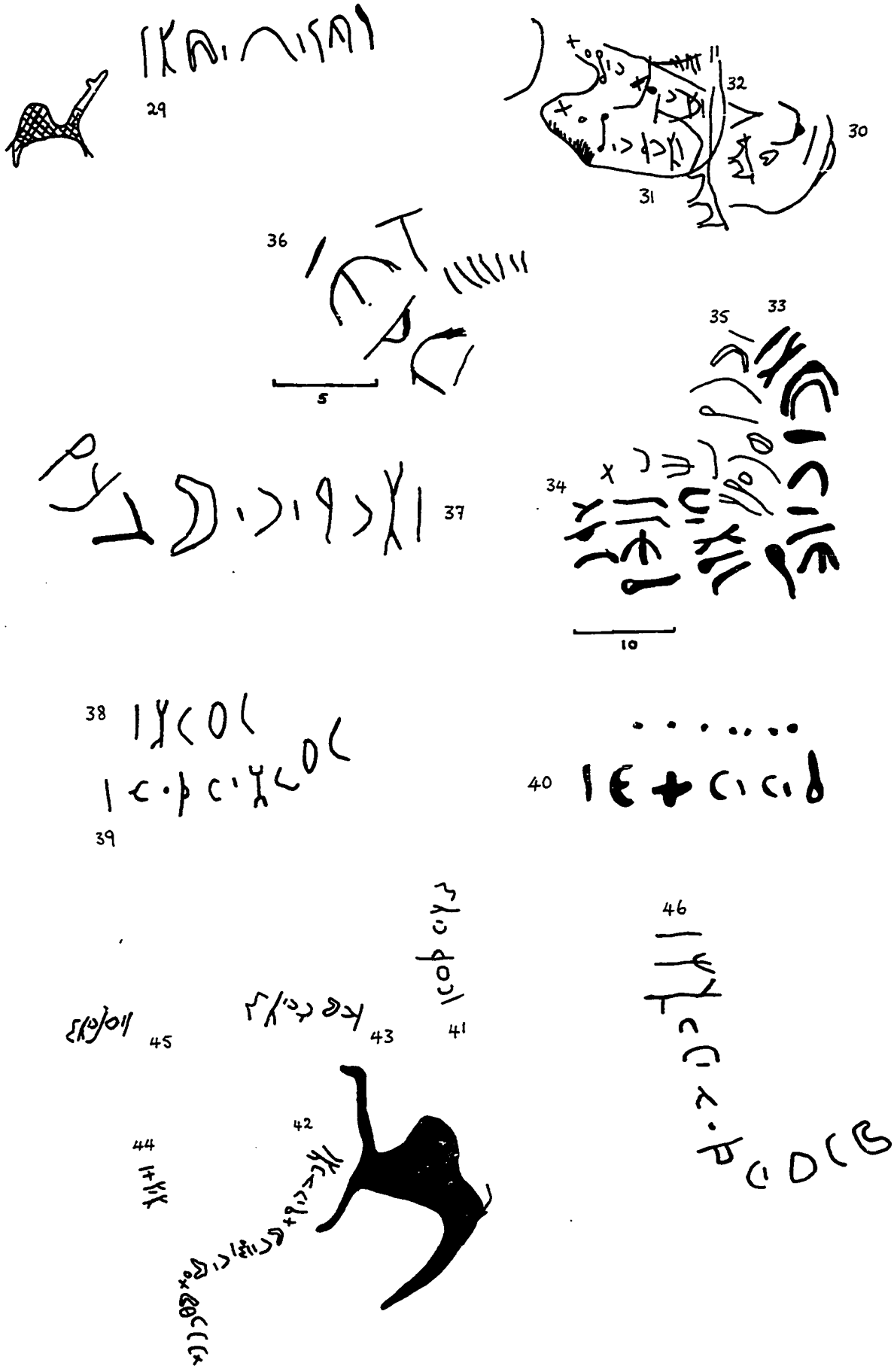

Fig. 3 Texts 29-46.

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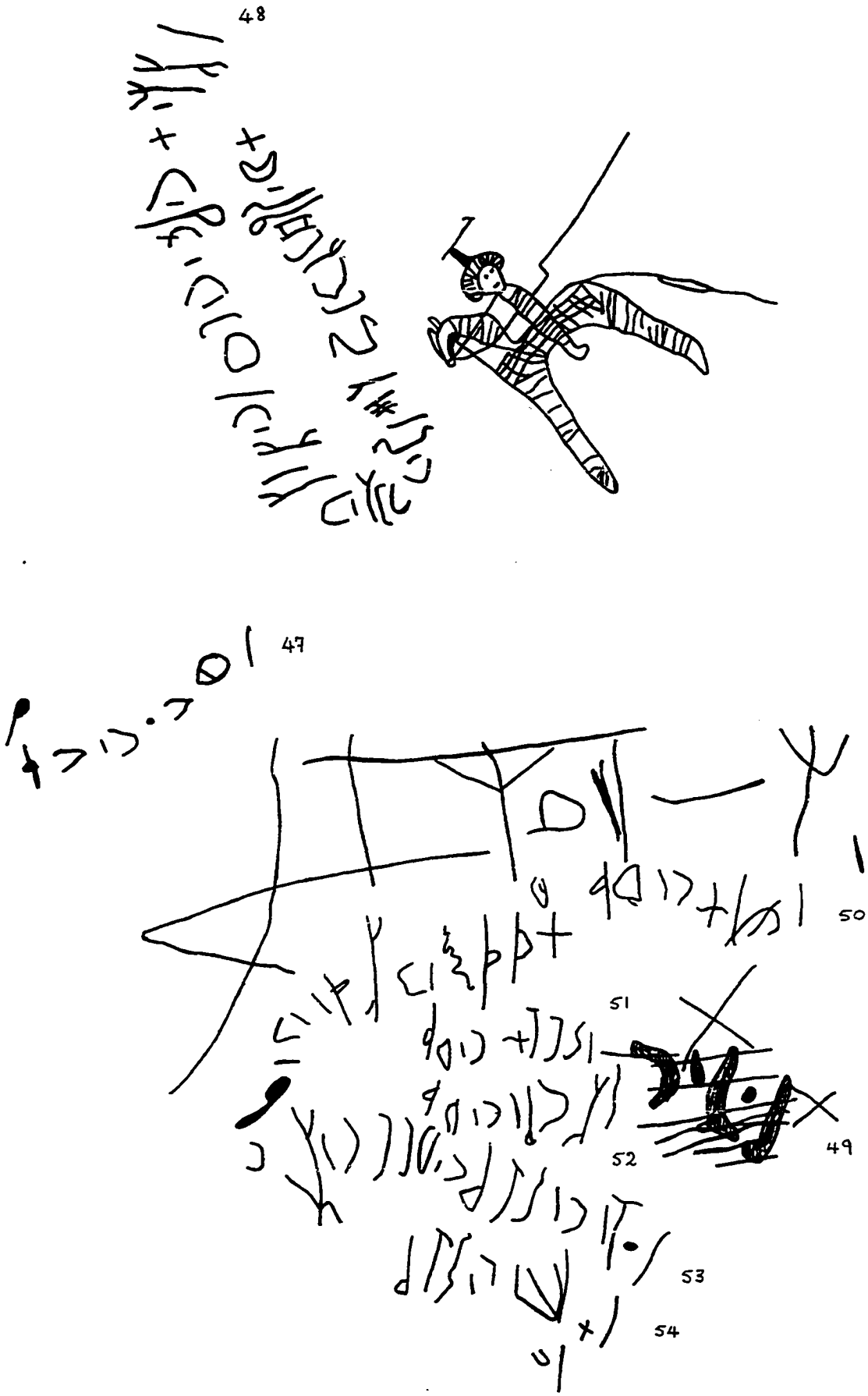

Fig. 4 Texts 47-54.

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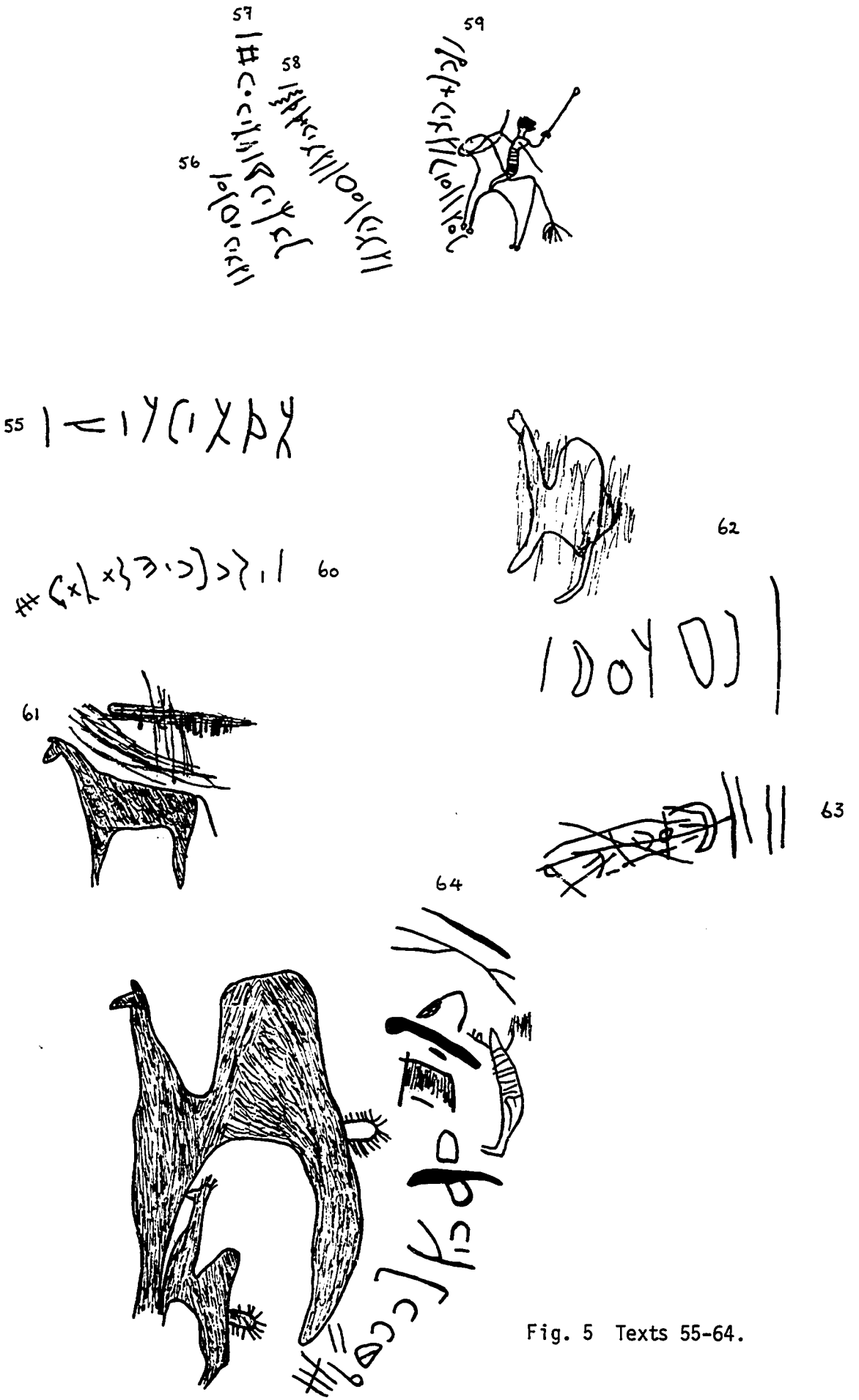

Fig. 5 Texts 55-64.

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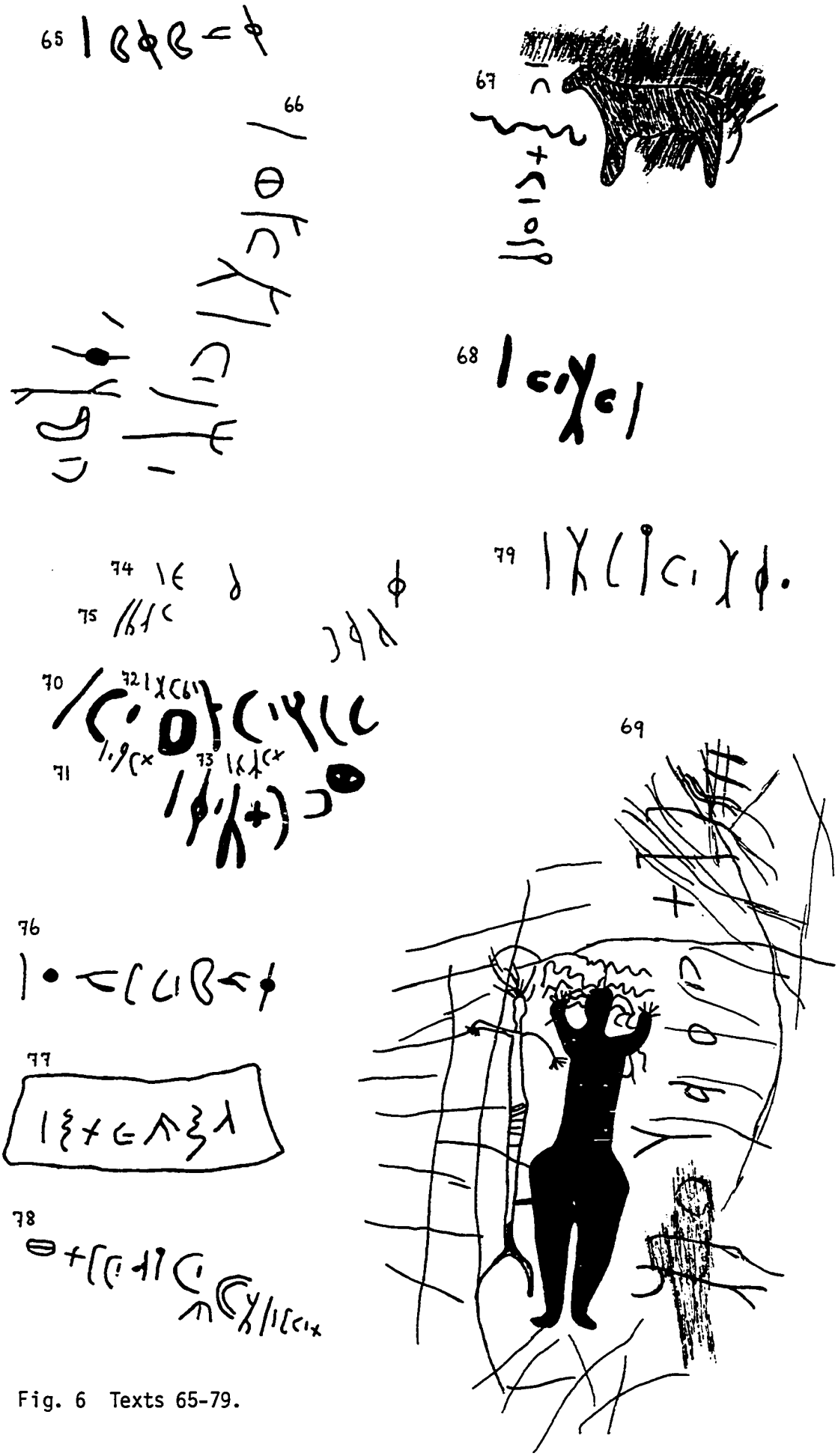

Fig. 6 Texts 65-79.

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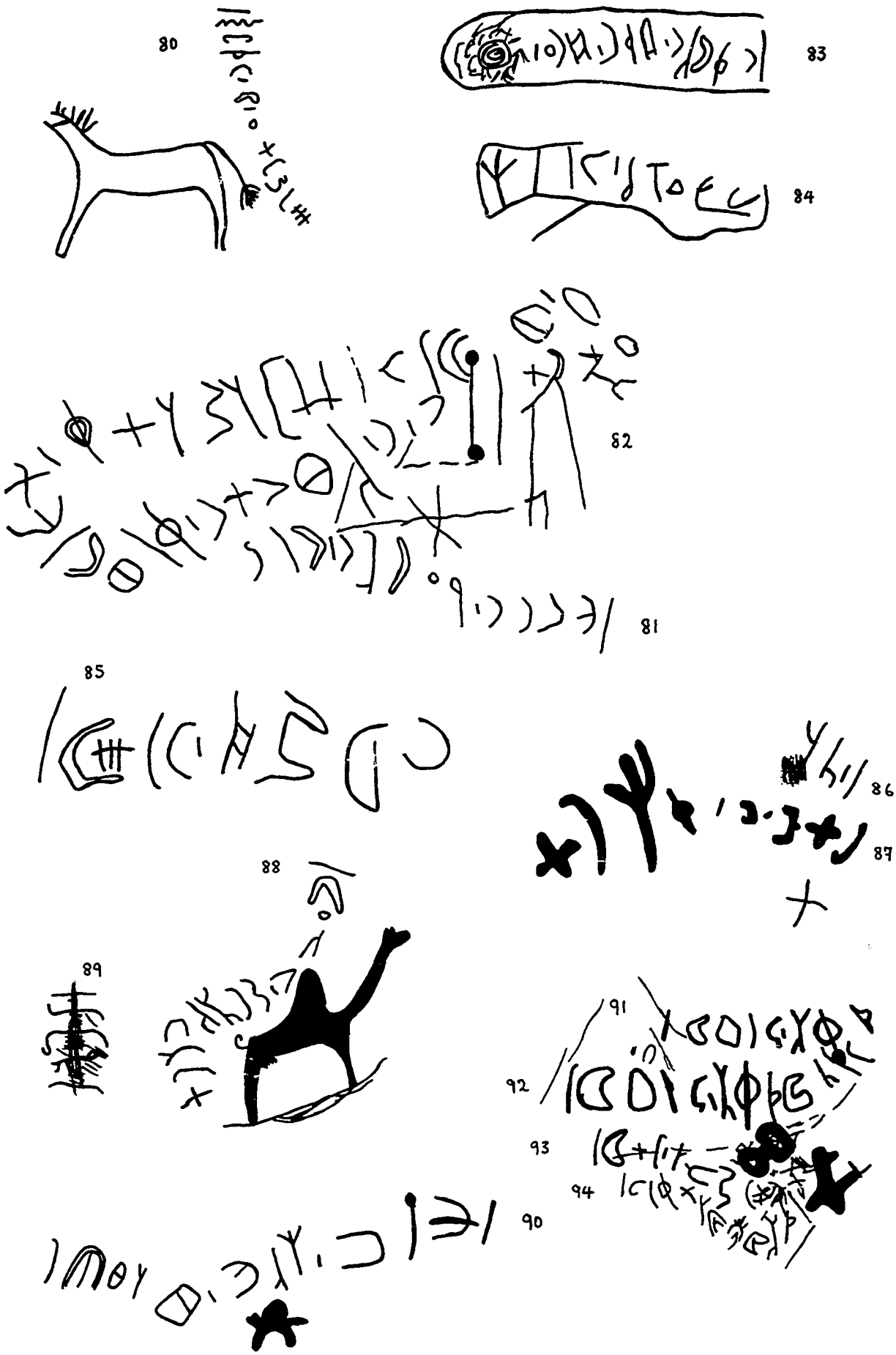

Fig. 7 Texts 80-94.

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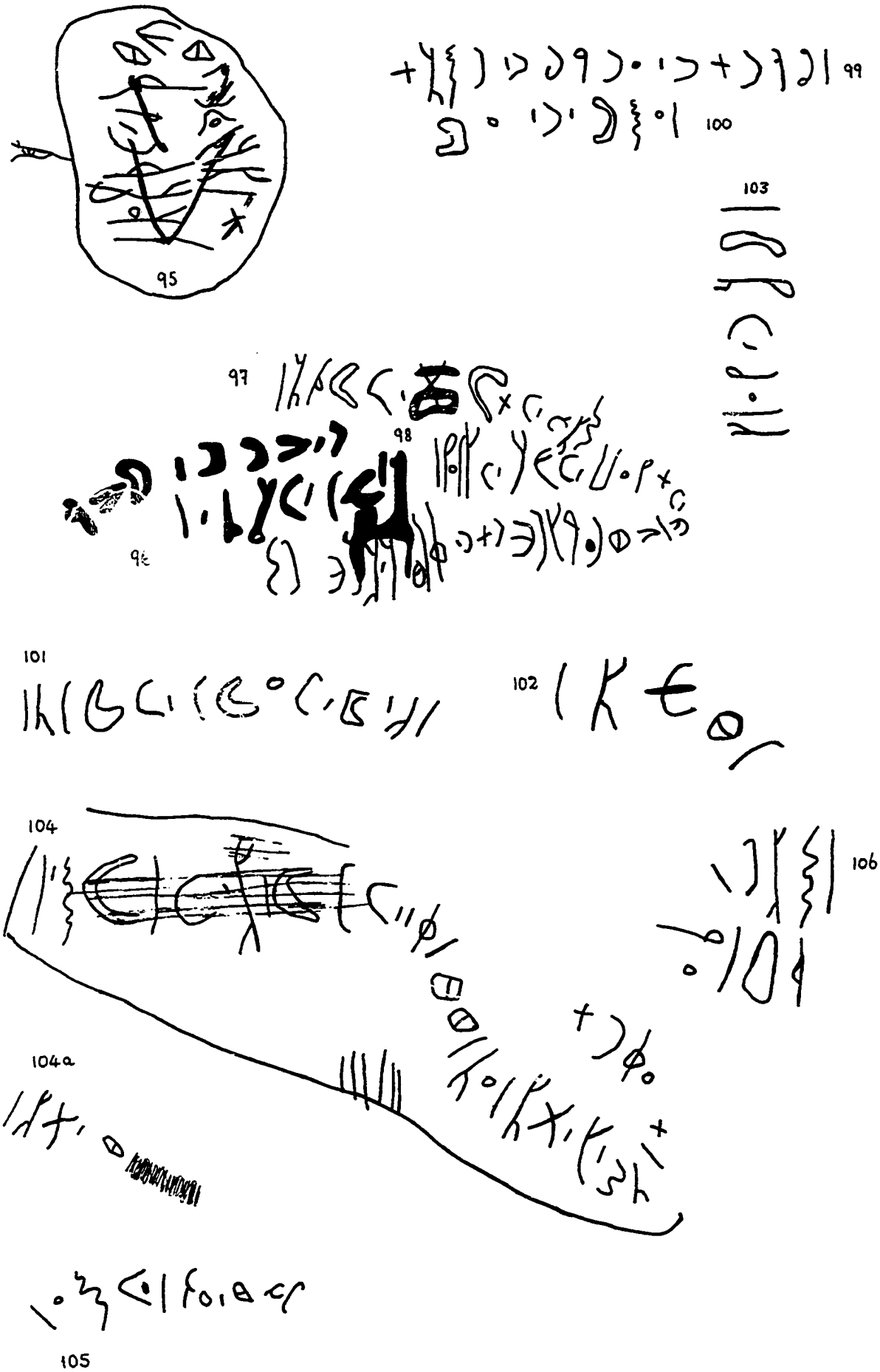

Fig. 8 Texts 95-106.

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Fig. 9 Texts 107-118, 120-129, 140.

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Fig. 9a Text 119.

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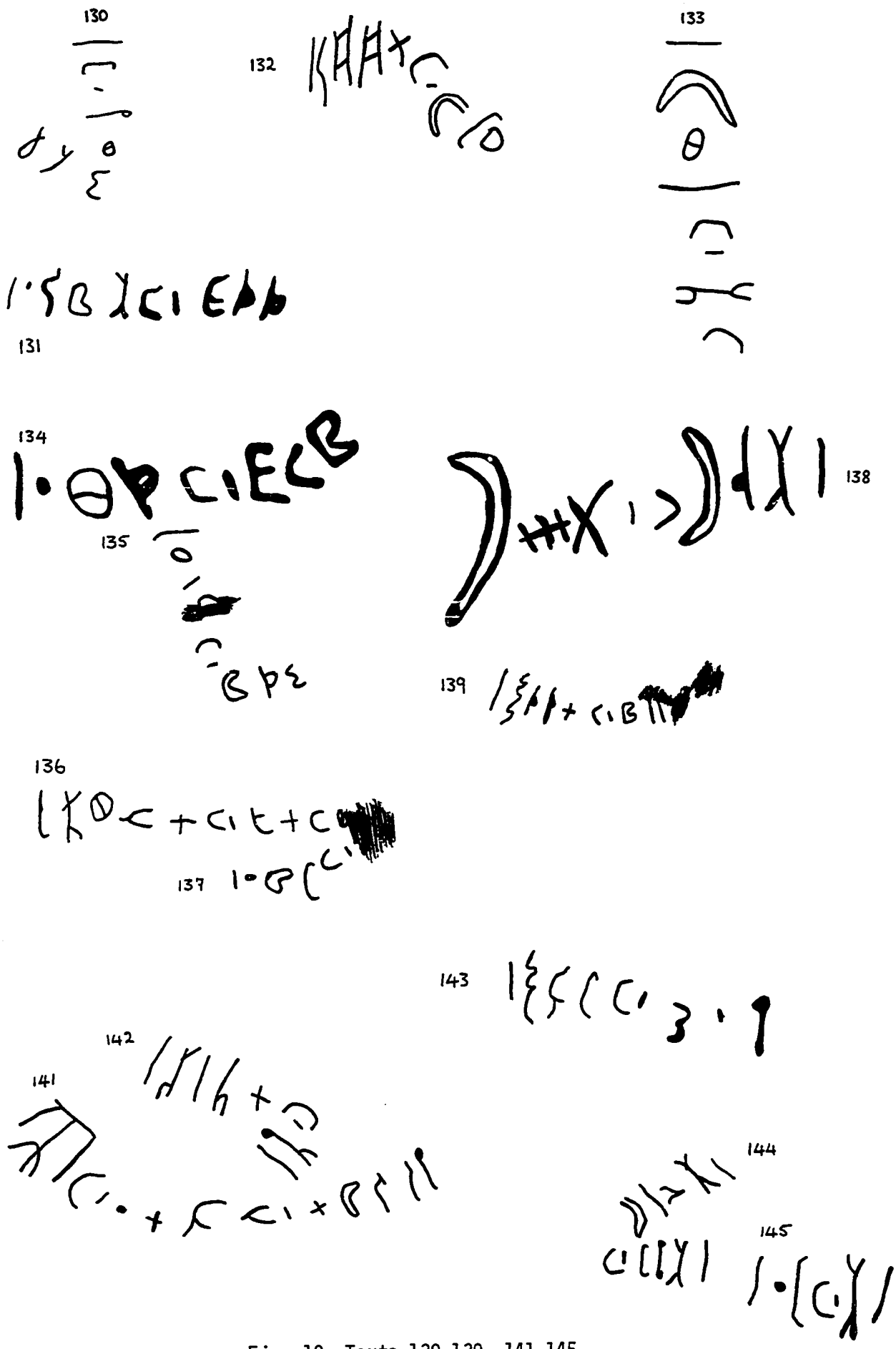

Fig. 10 Texts 130-139, 141-145.

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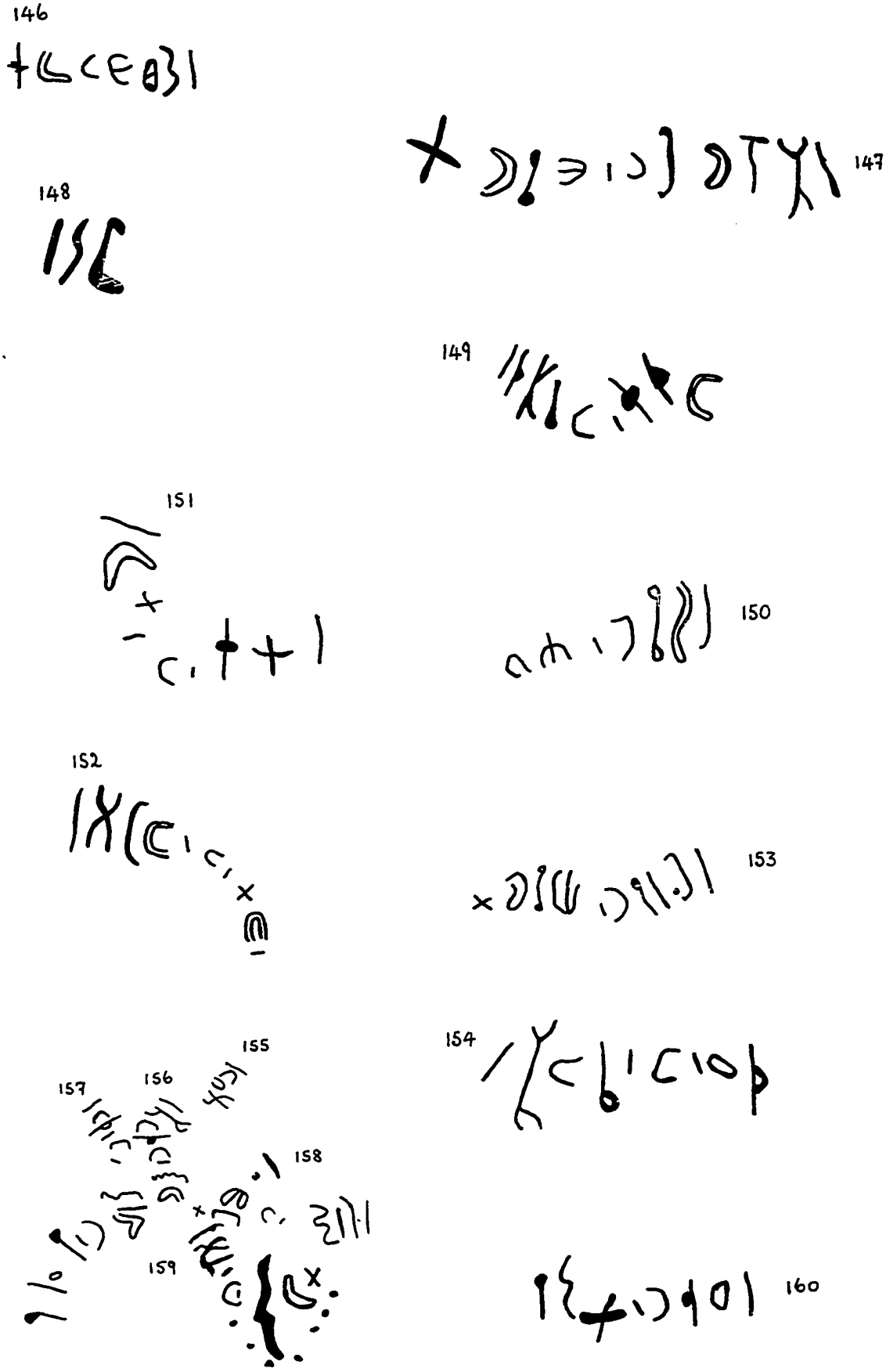

Fig. 11 Texts 146-160.

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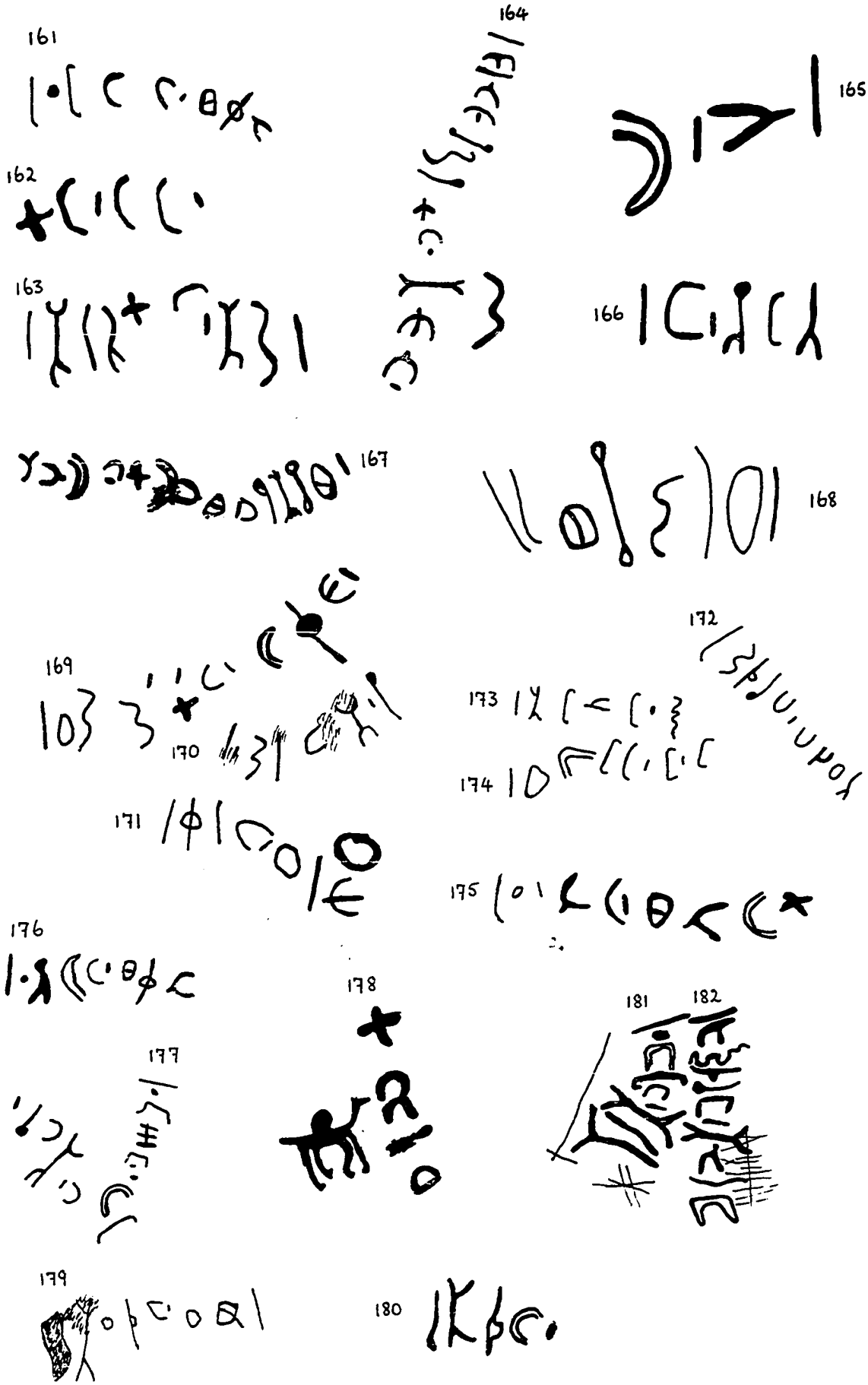

Fig. 12 Texts 161-182.

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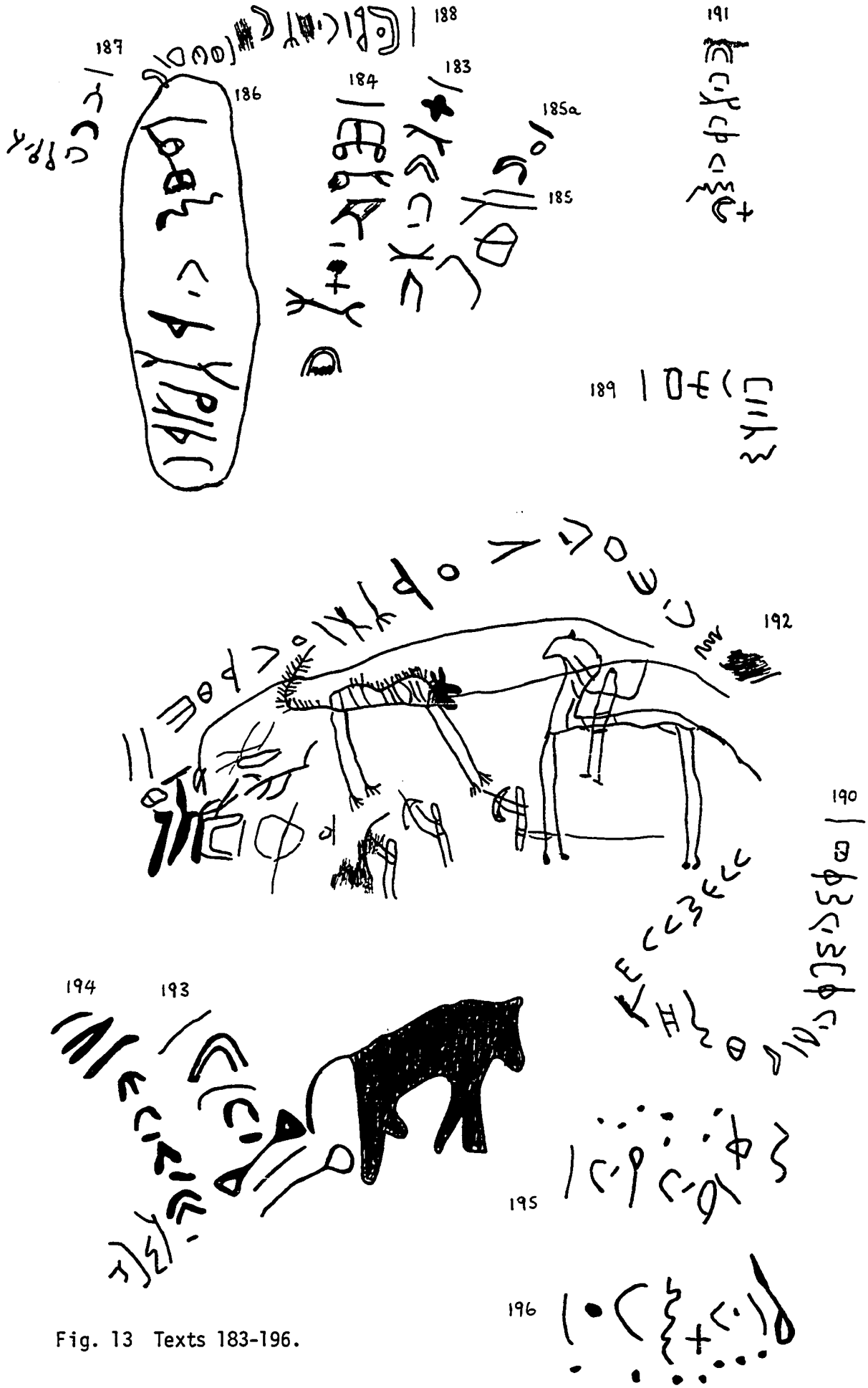

Fig. 13 Texts 183-196.

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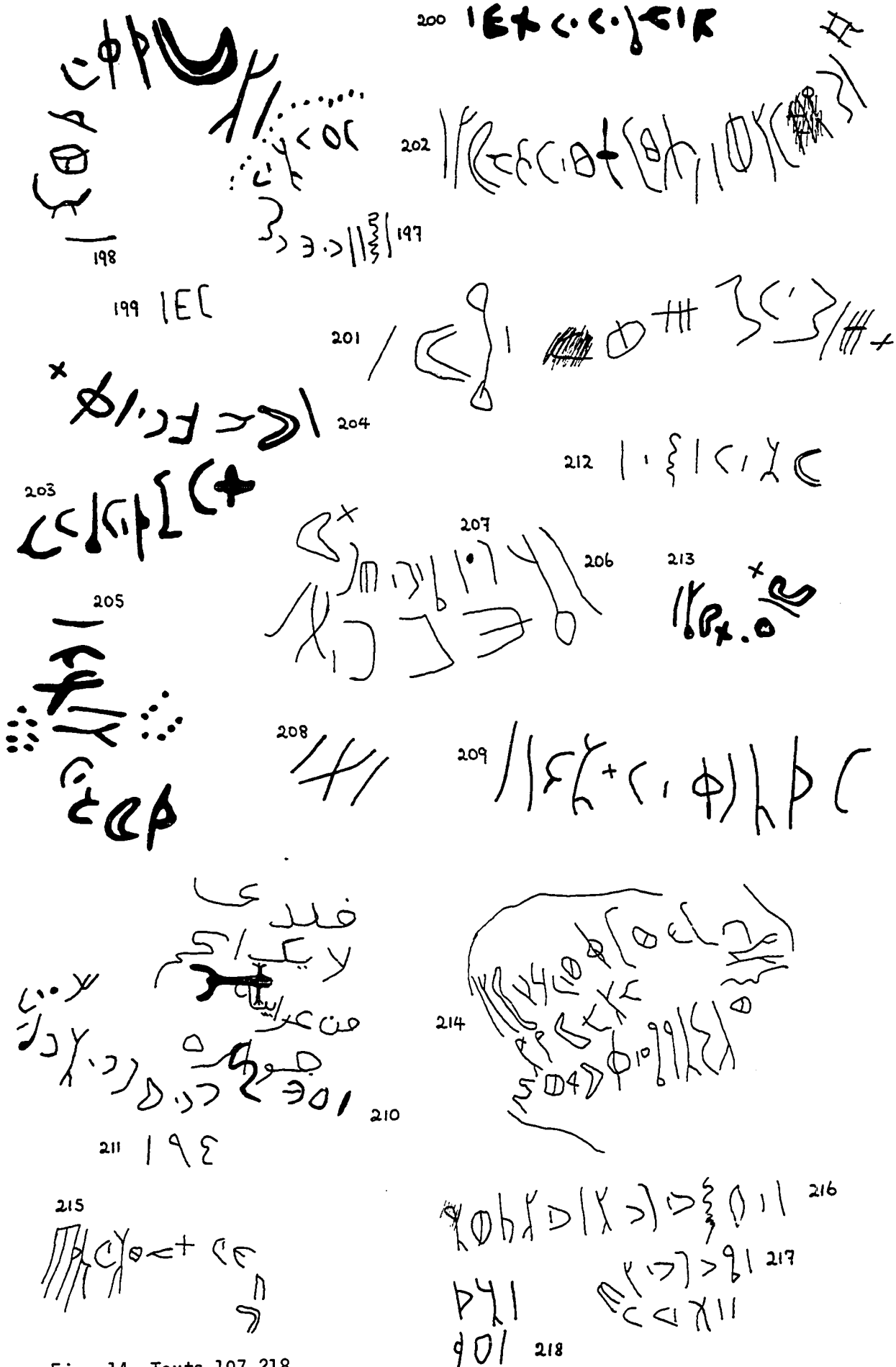

Fig. 14 Texts 197-218.

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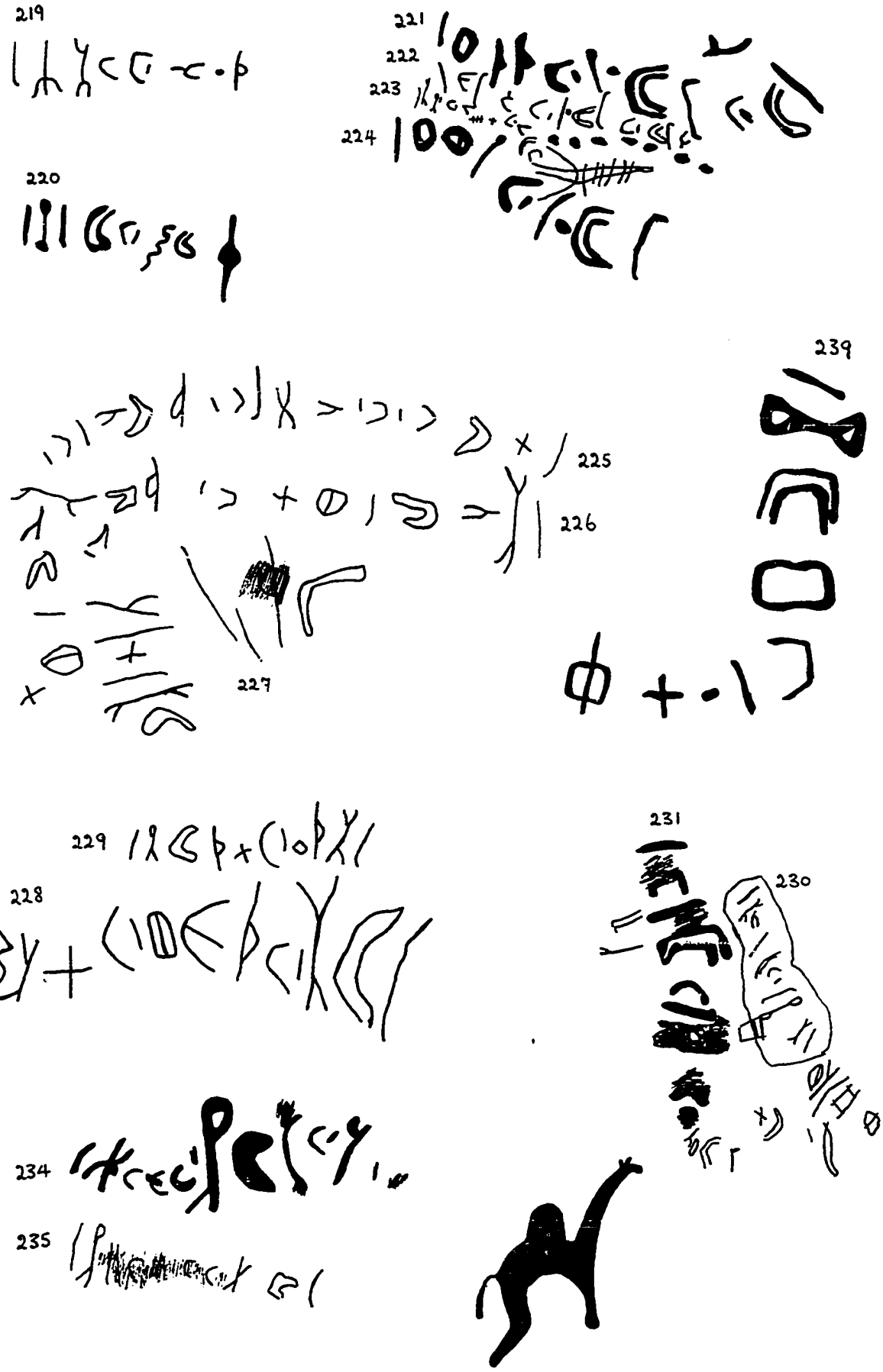

Fig. 15 Texts 219-231, 234-235, 239.

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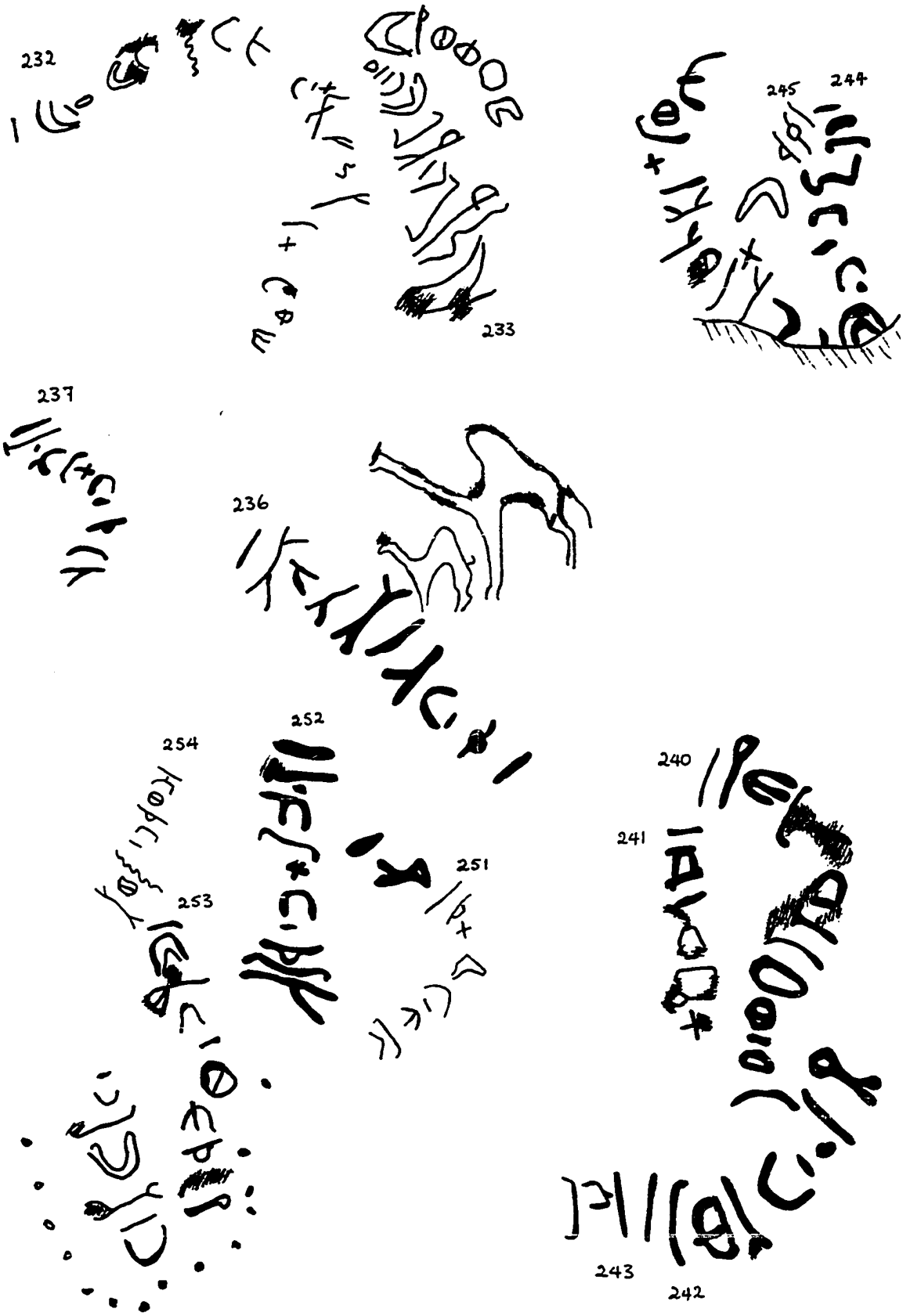

Fig. 16 Texts 232-233, 236-238, 240-245, 251-254.

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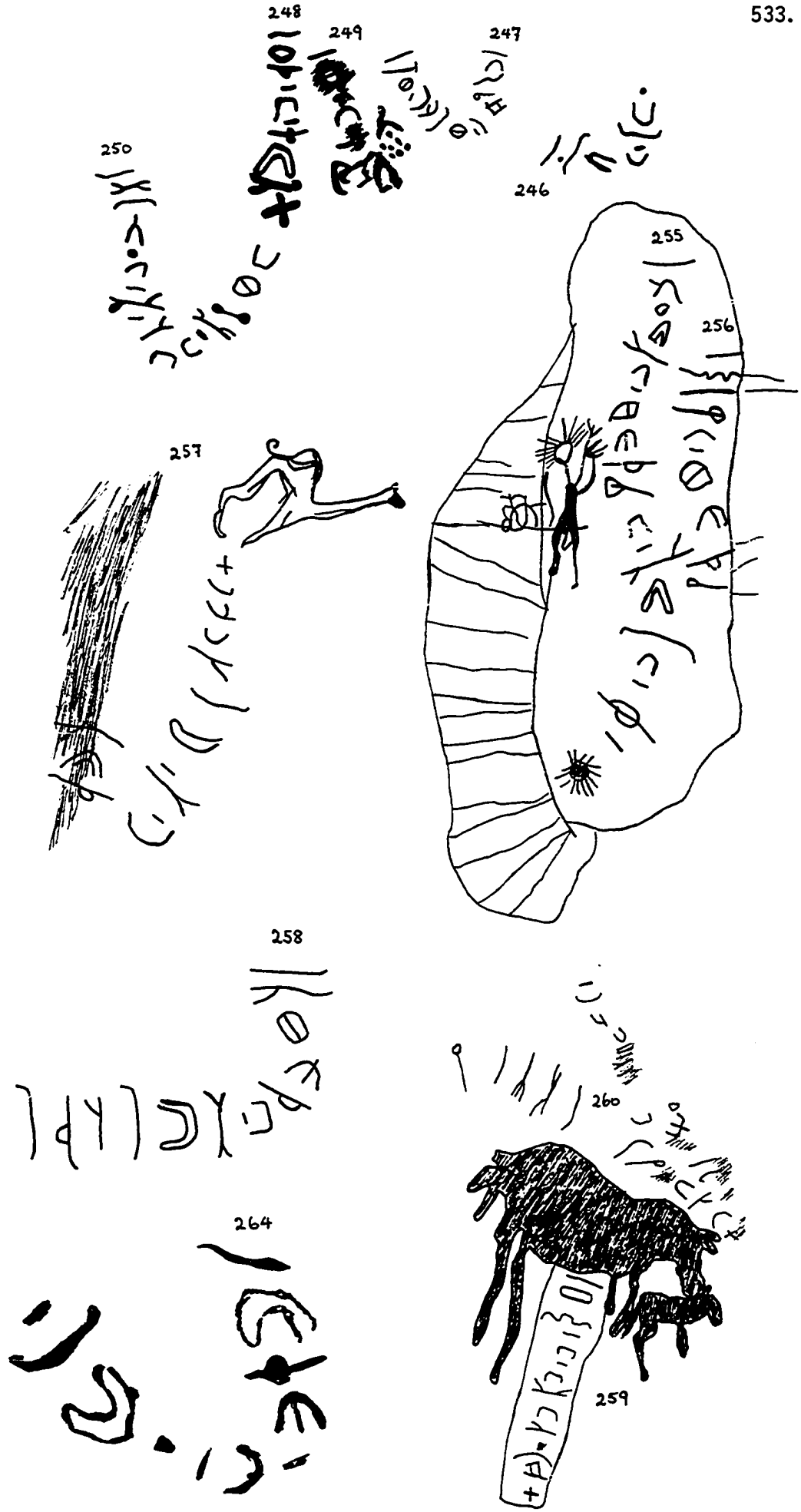

Fig. 17 Texts 246-250, 255-260, 264.

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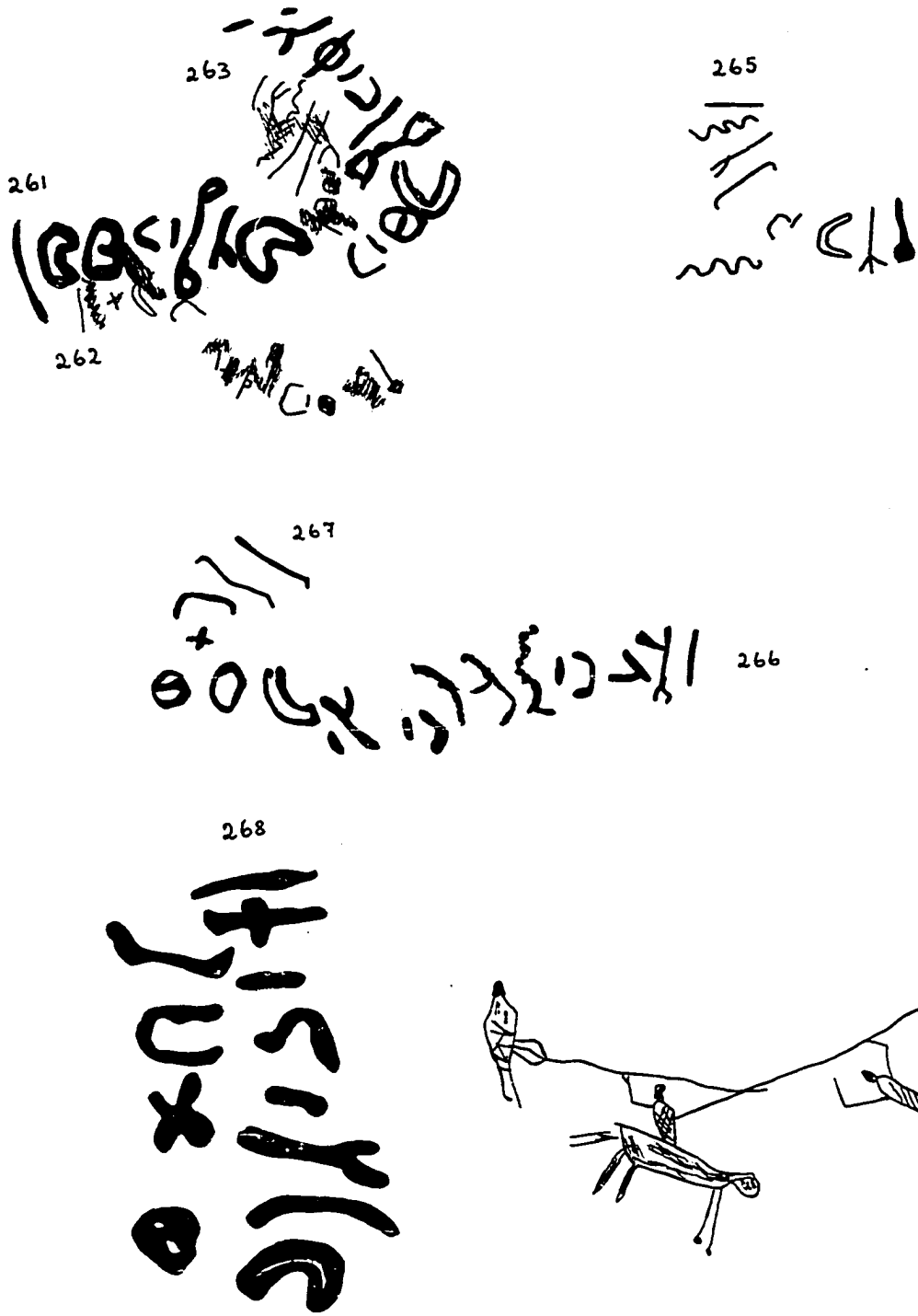

Fig. 18 Texts 261-263, 265-268.

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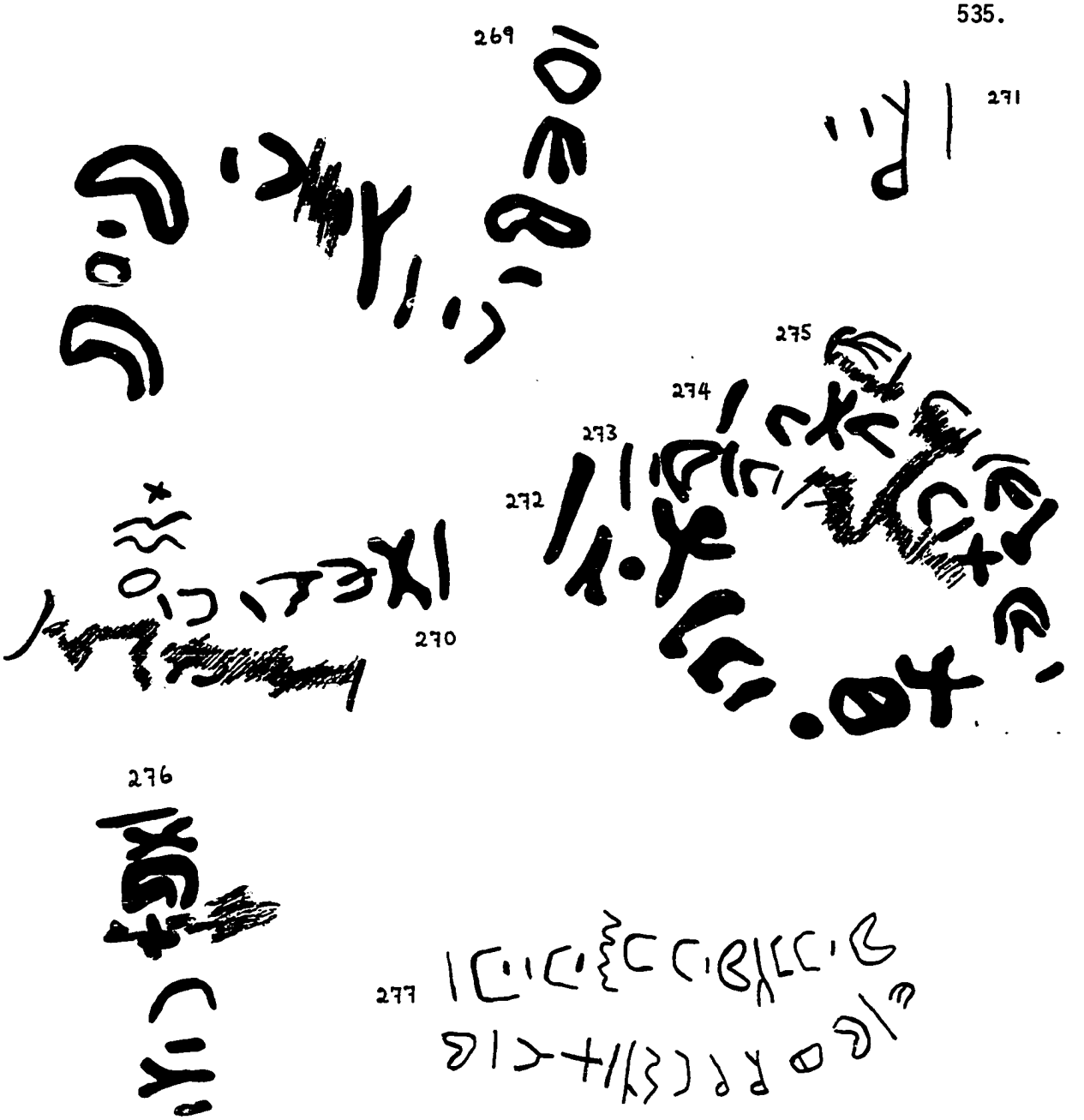

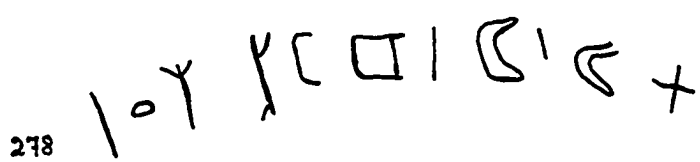

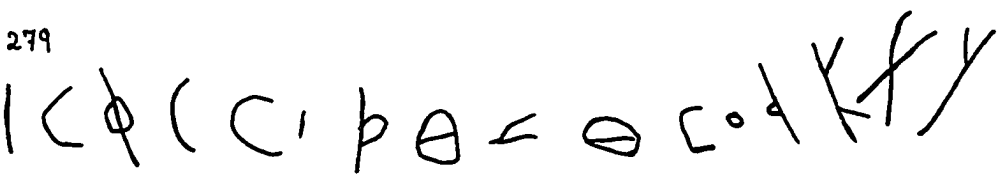

Fig. 19 Texts 269-279.

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Fig. 20 Texts 280-287.

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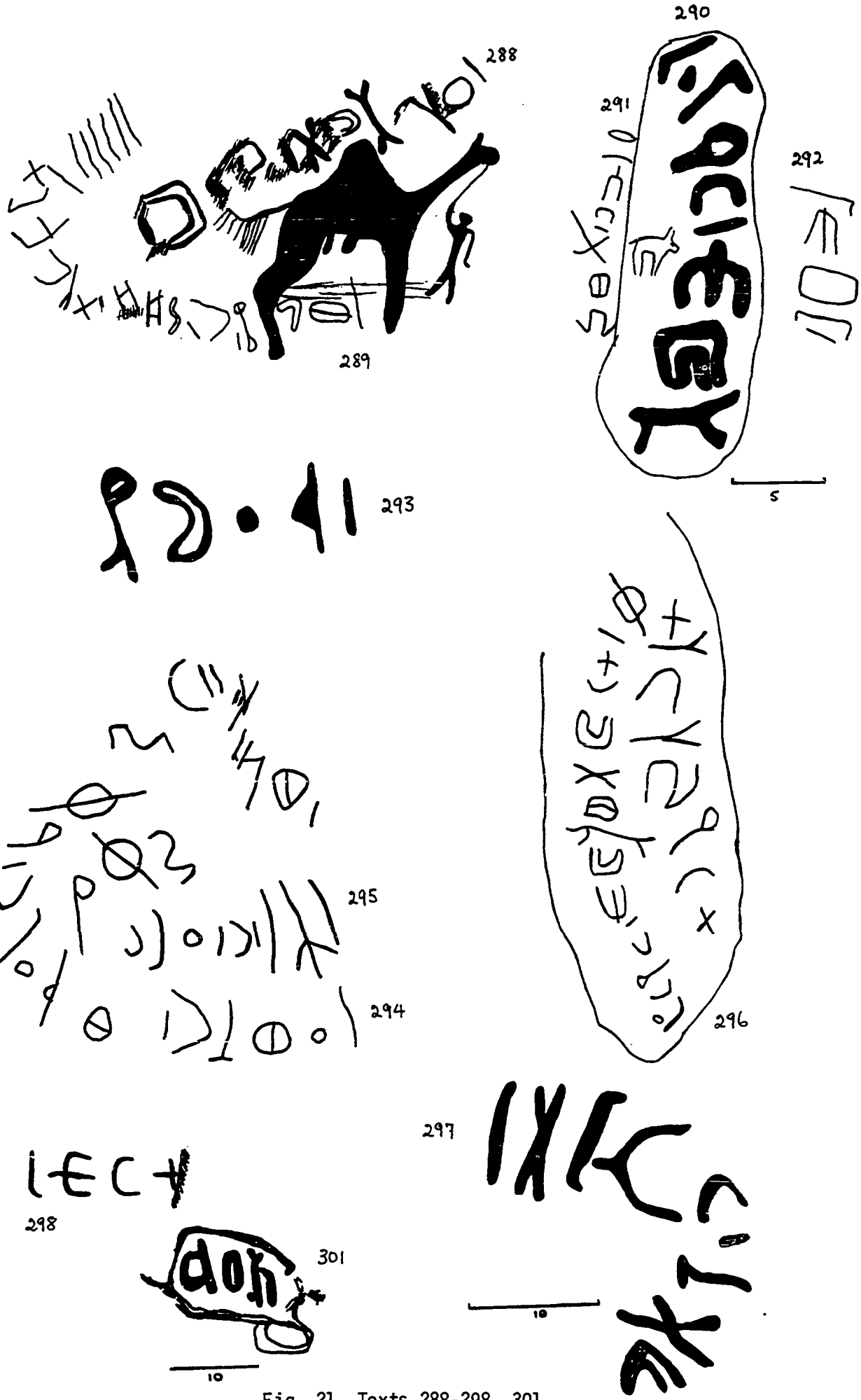

Fig. 21 Texts 288-298. 301.

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Fig. 22 Texts 299-300, 302-315, 317.

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Fig. 23 Texts 316, 318-333a.

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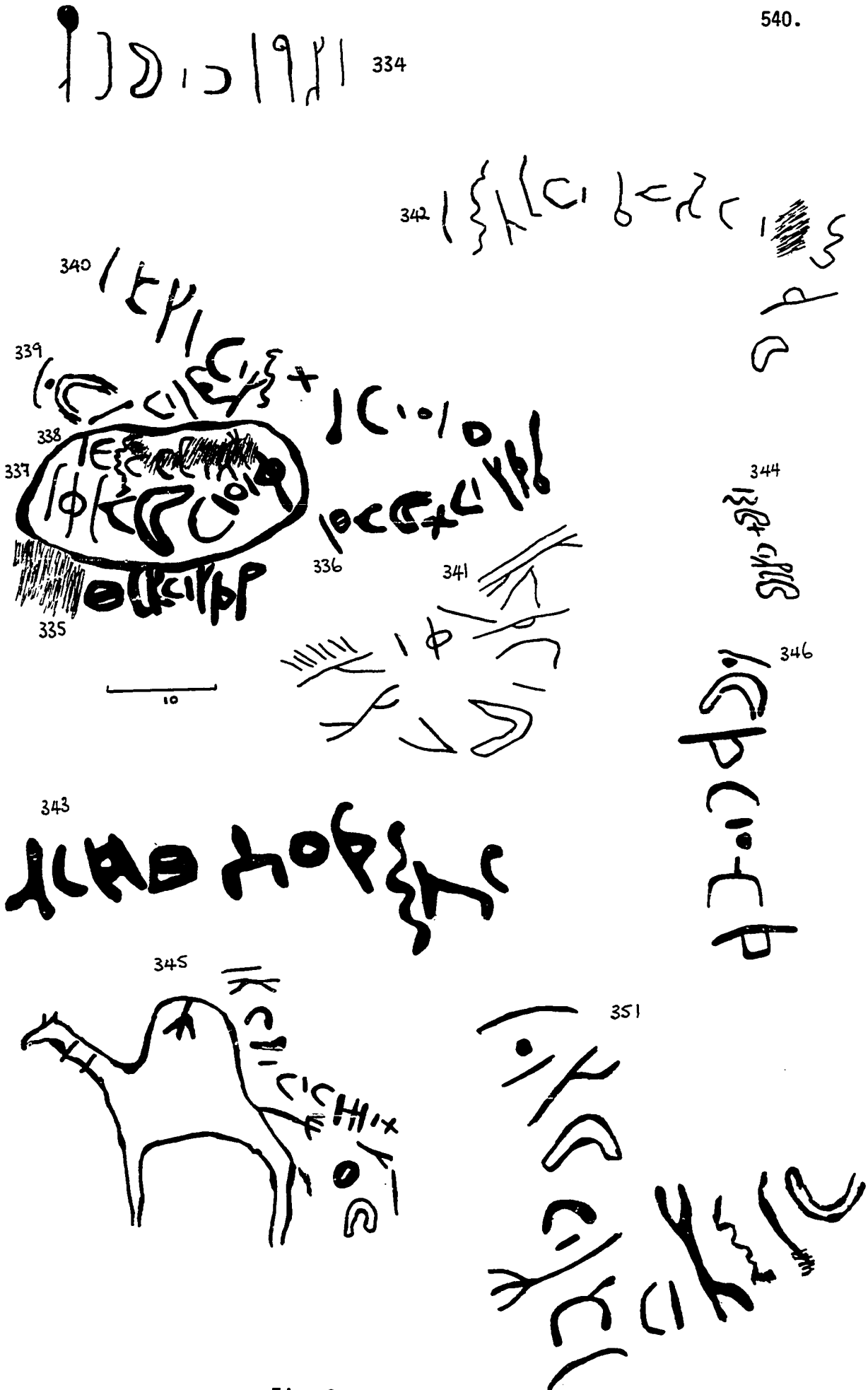

Fig. 24 Texts 334-346, 351.

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Fig. 25 Texts 347-350, 352-359.

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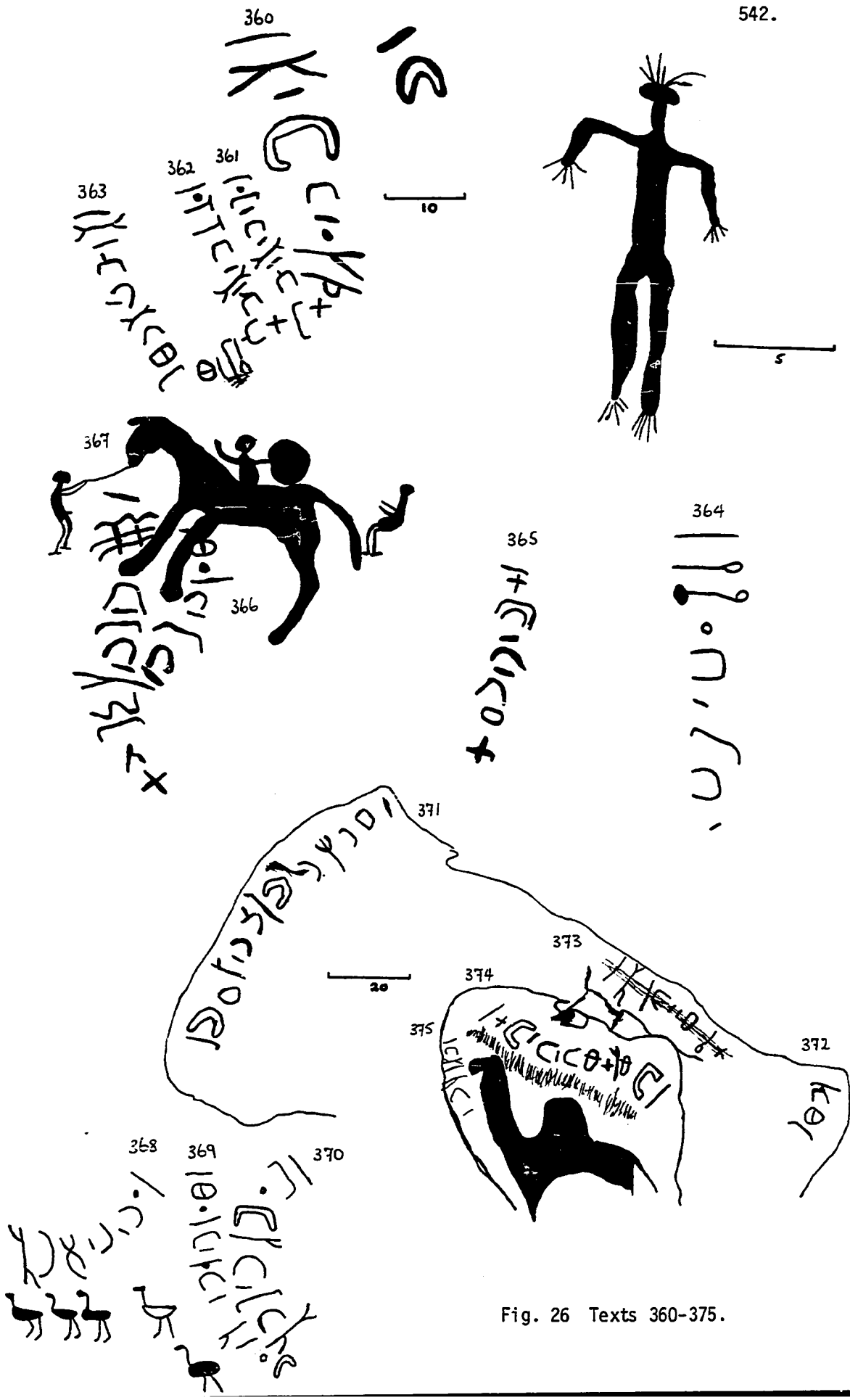

Fig. 26 Texts 360-375.

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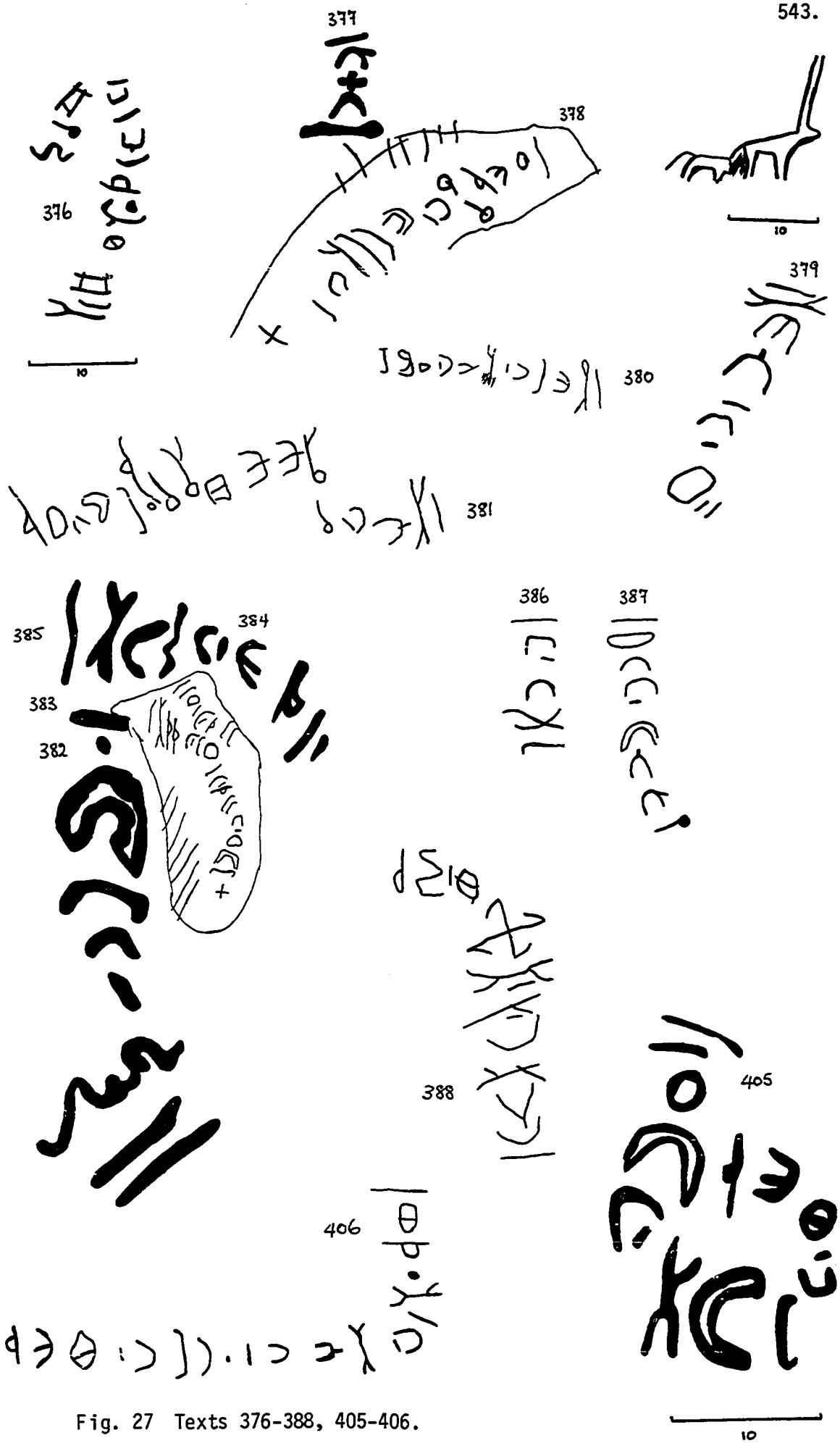

Fig. 27 Texts 376-388, 405-406.

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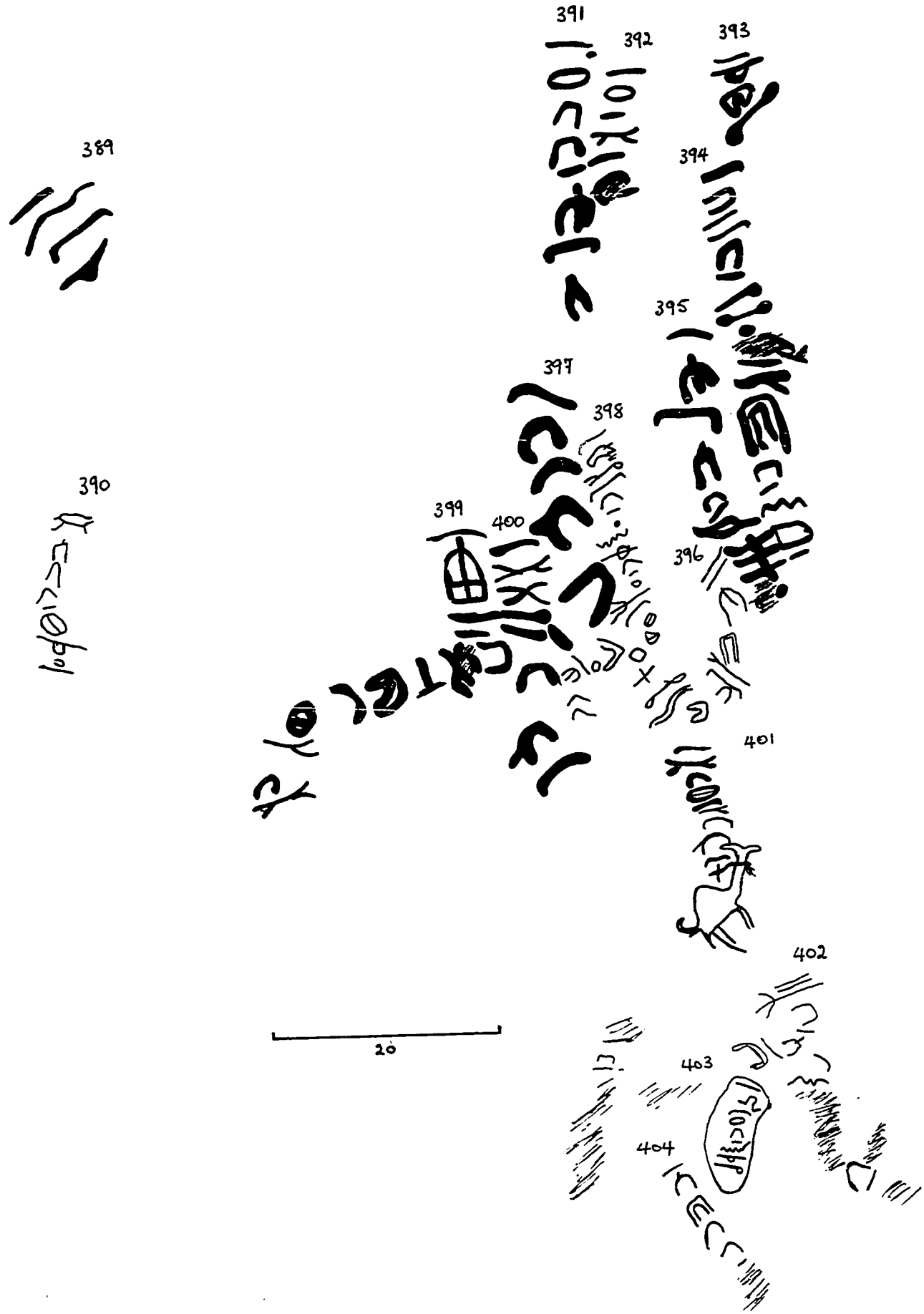

Fig. 28 Texts 389-404.

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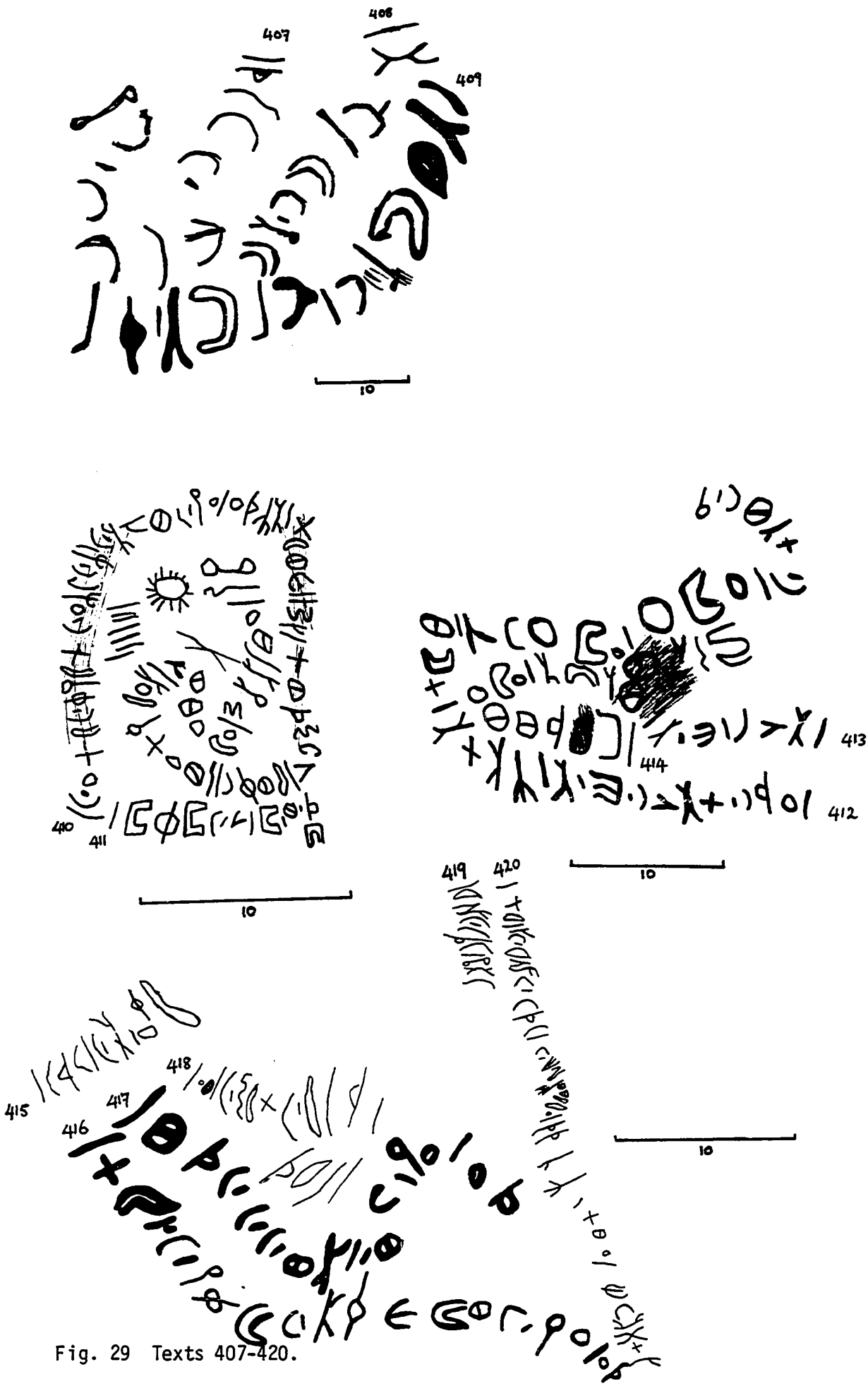

Fig. 29 Texts 407-420.

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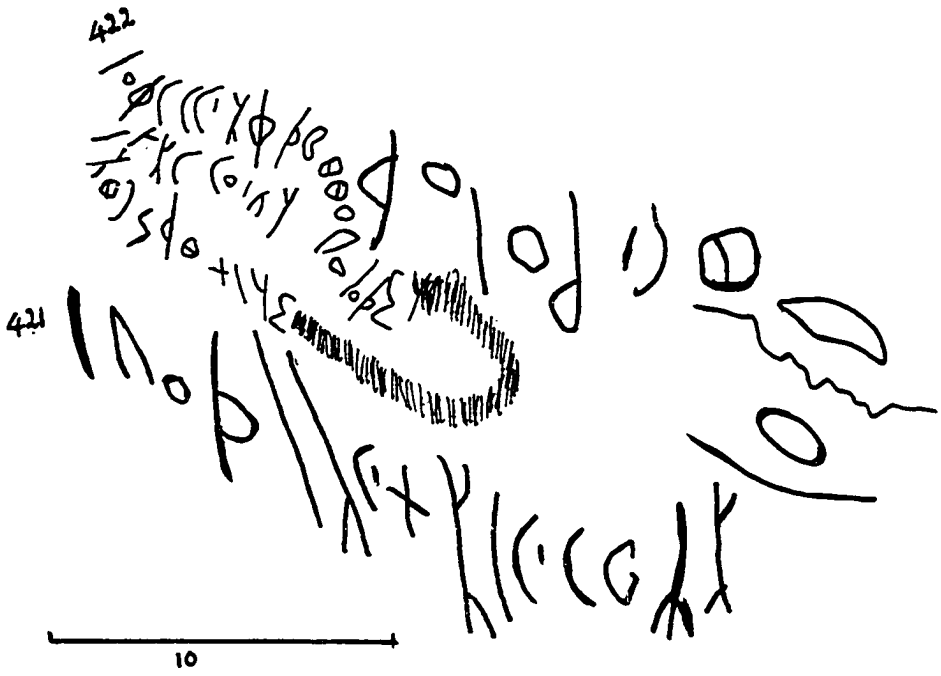

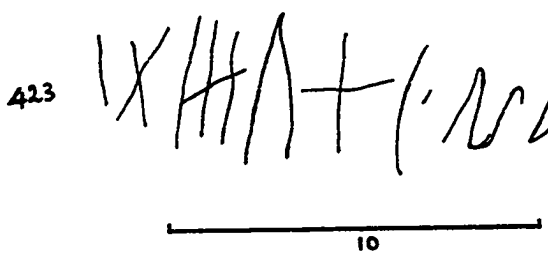

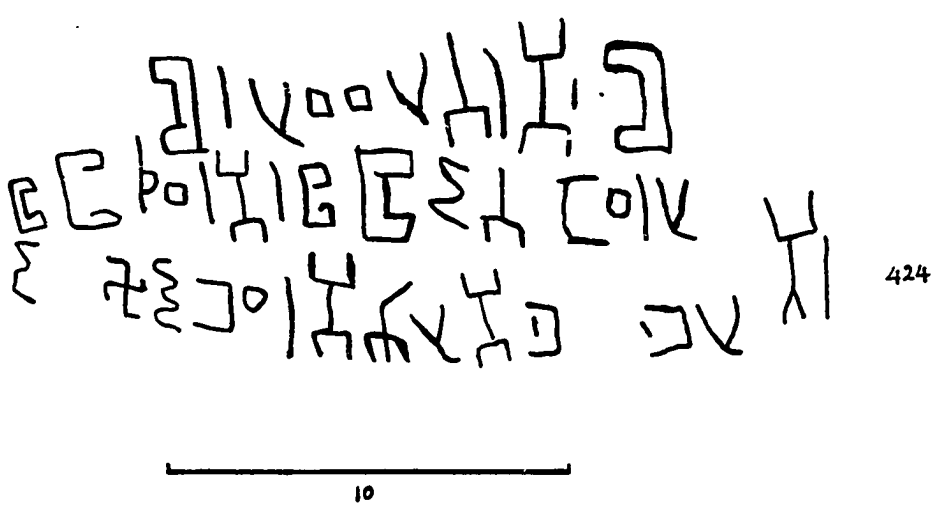

Fig. 30 Texts 421-424.

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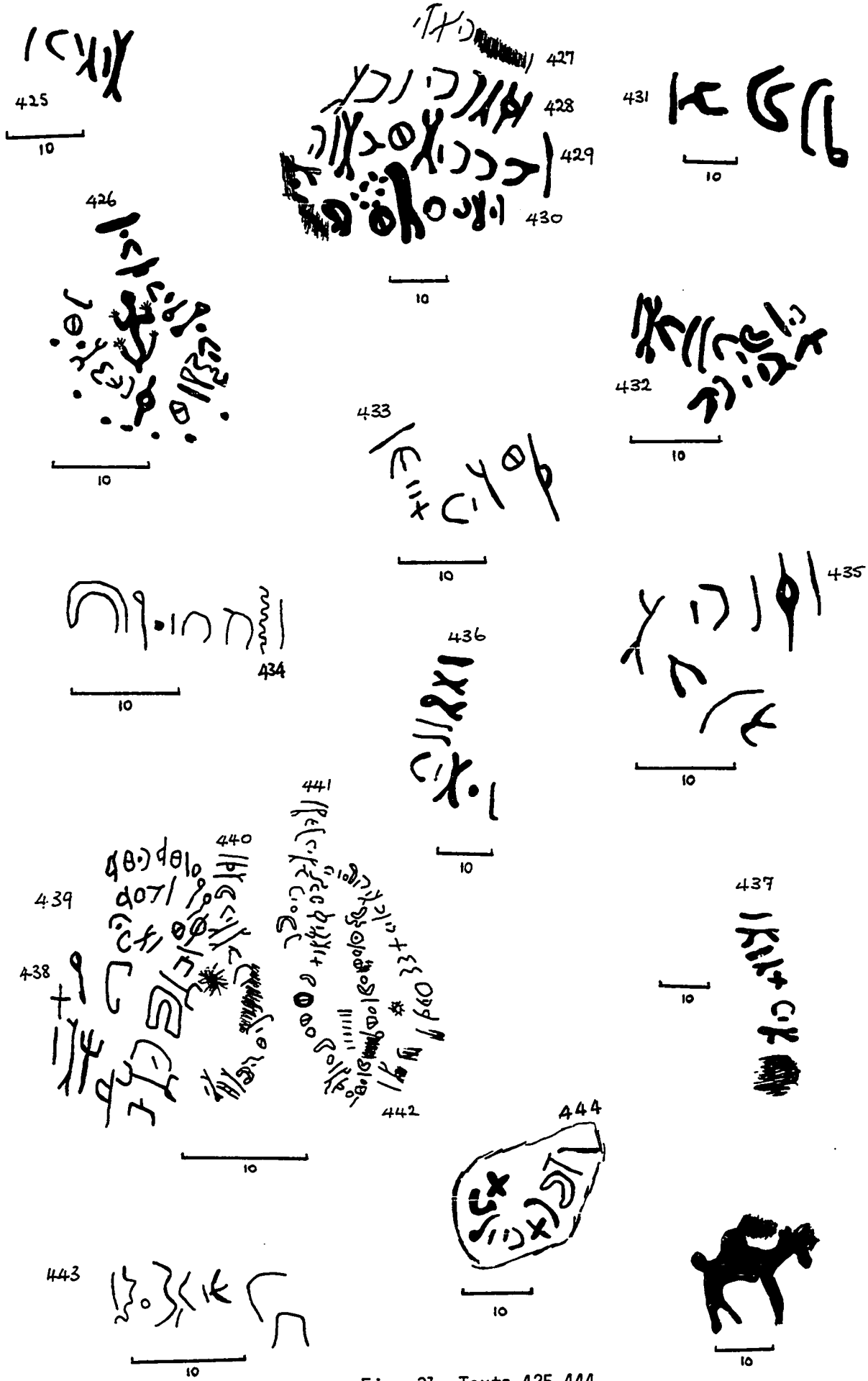

Fig. 31 Texts 425-444.

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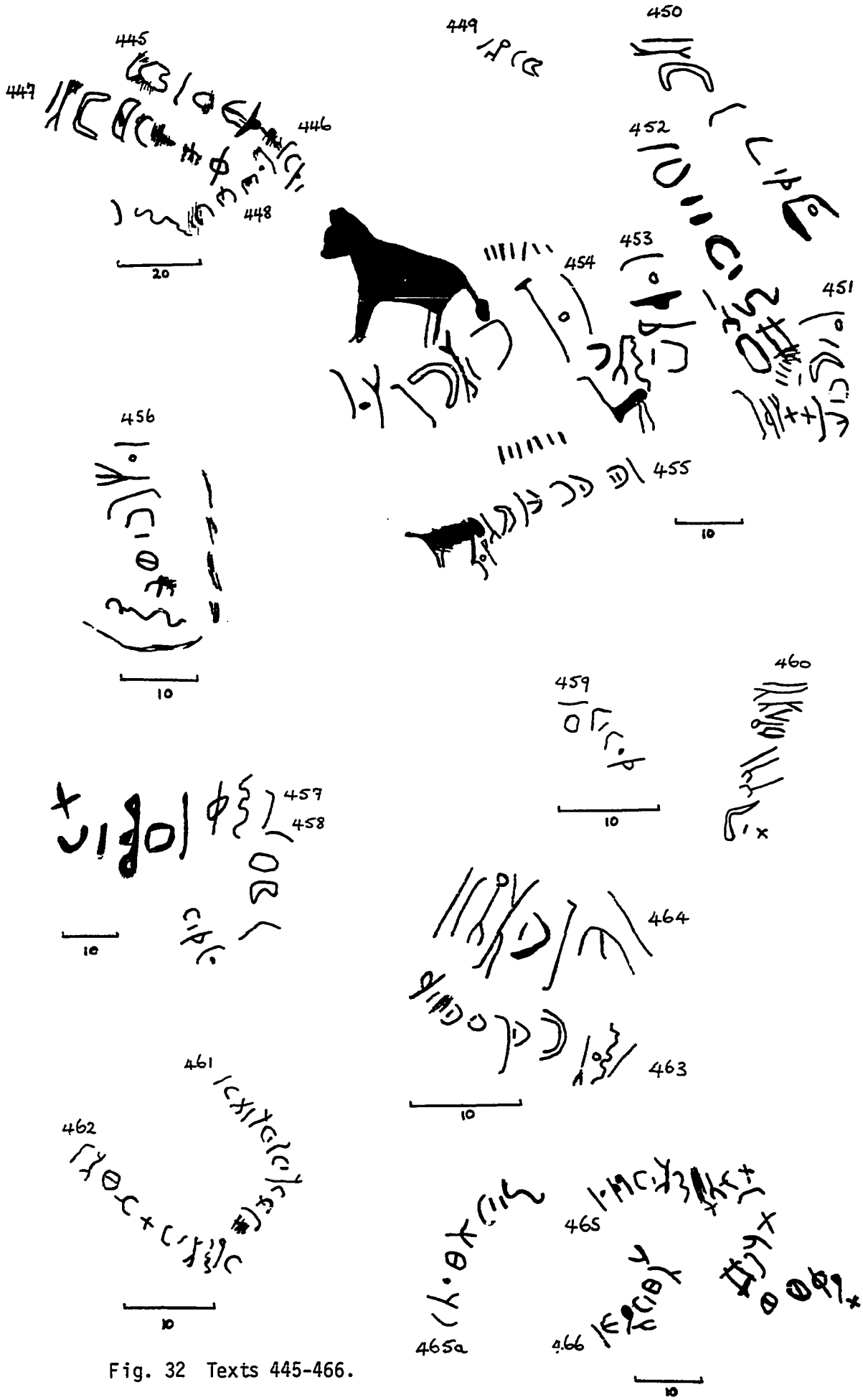

Fig. 32 Texts 445-466.

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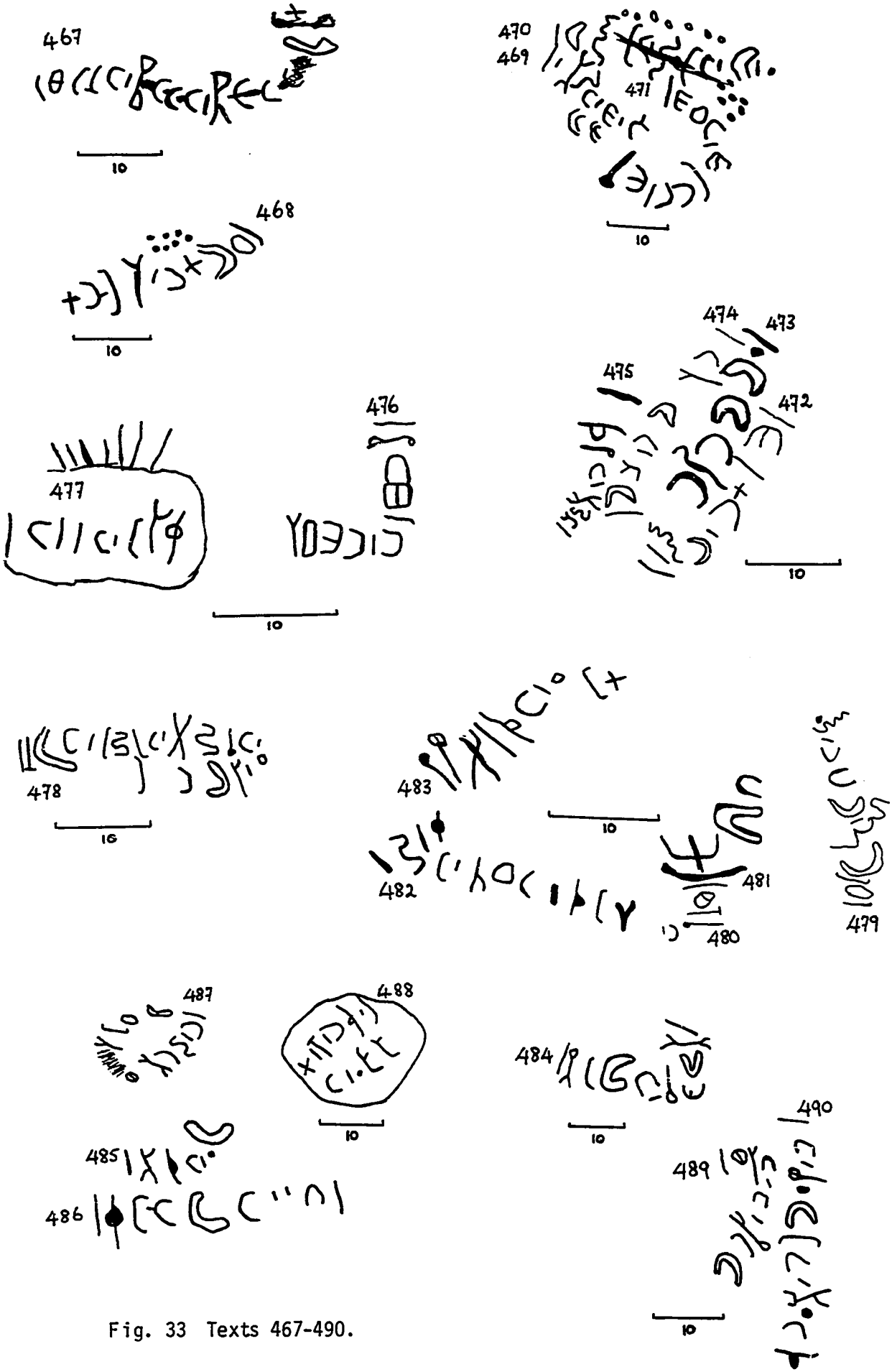

Fig. 33 Texts 467-490.

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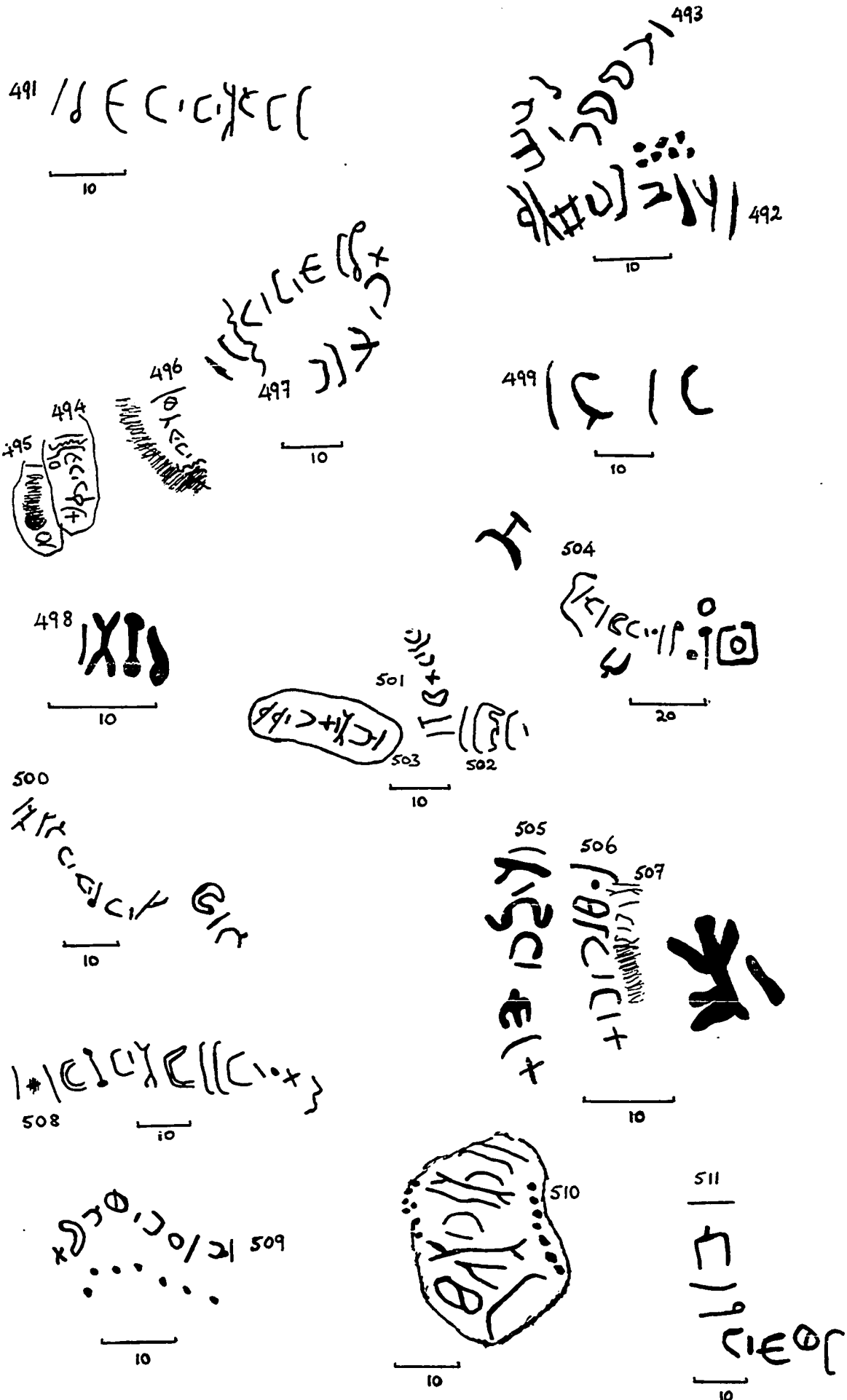

Fig. 34 Texts 491-511.

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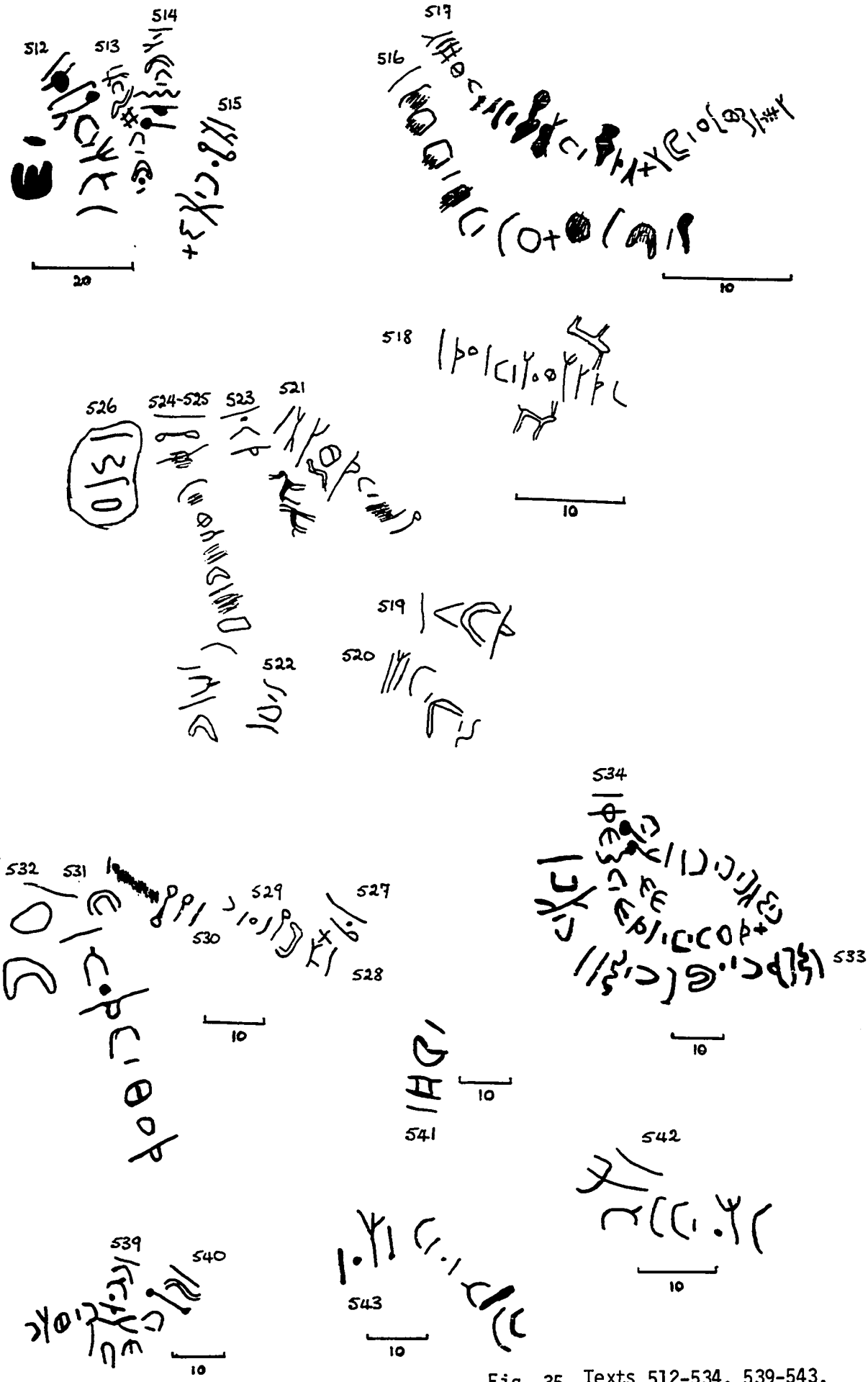

Fig. 35 Texts 512-534, 539-543.

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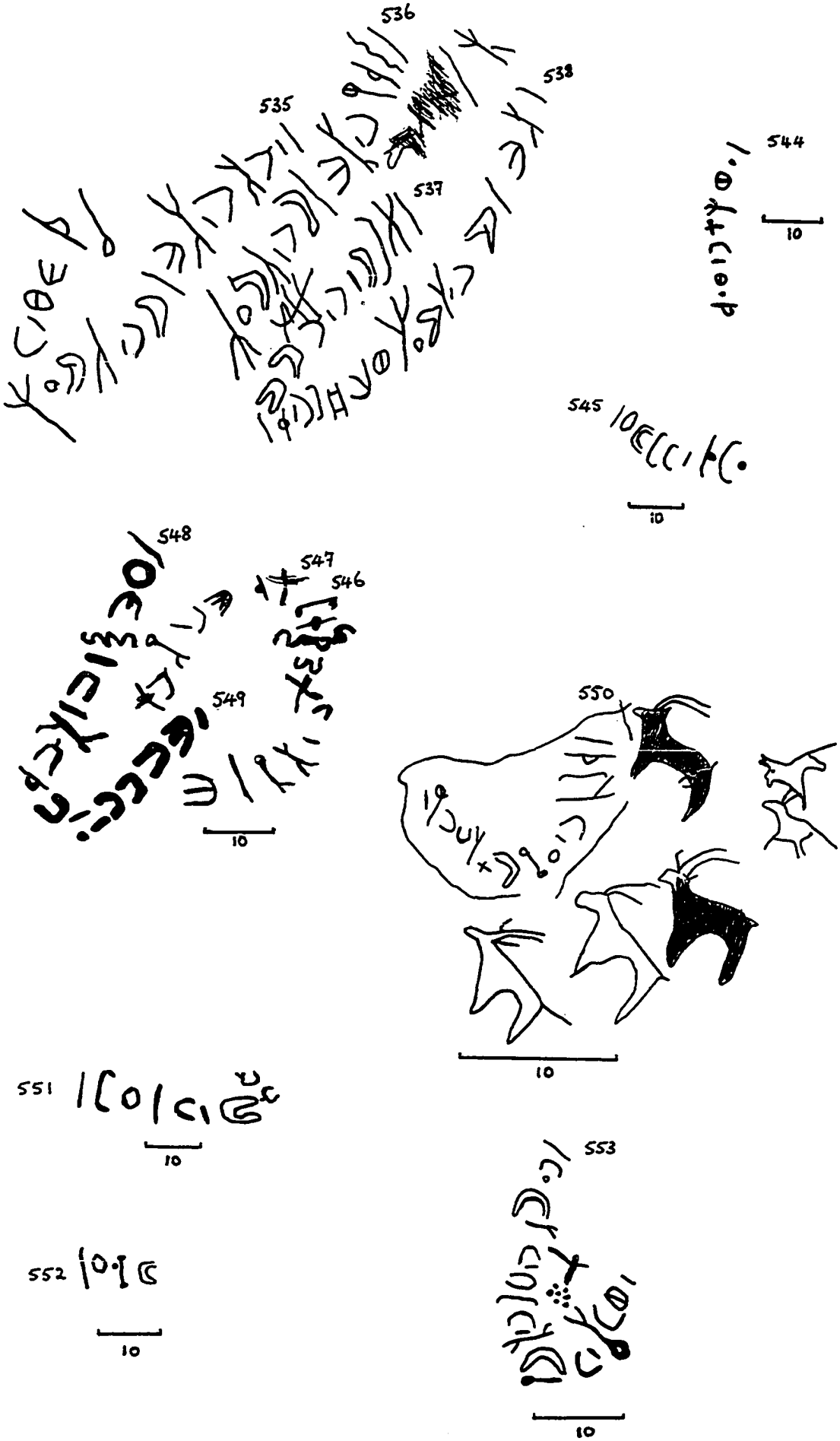

Fig. 36 Texts 535-538, 544-553.

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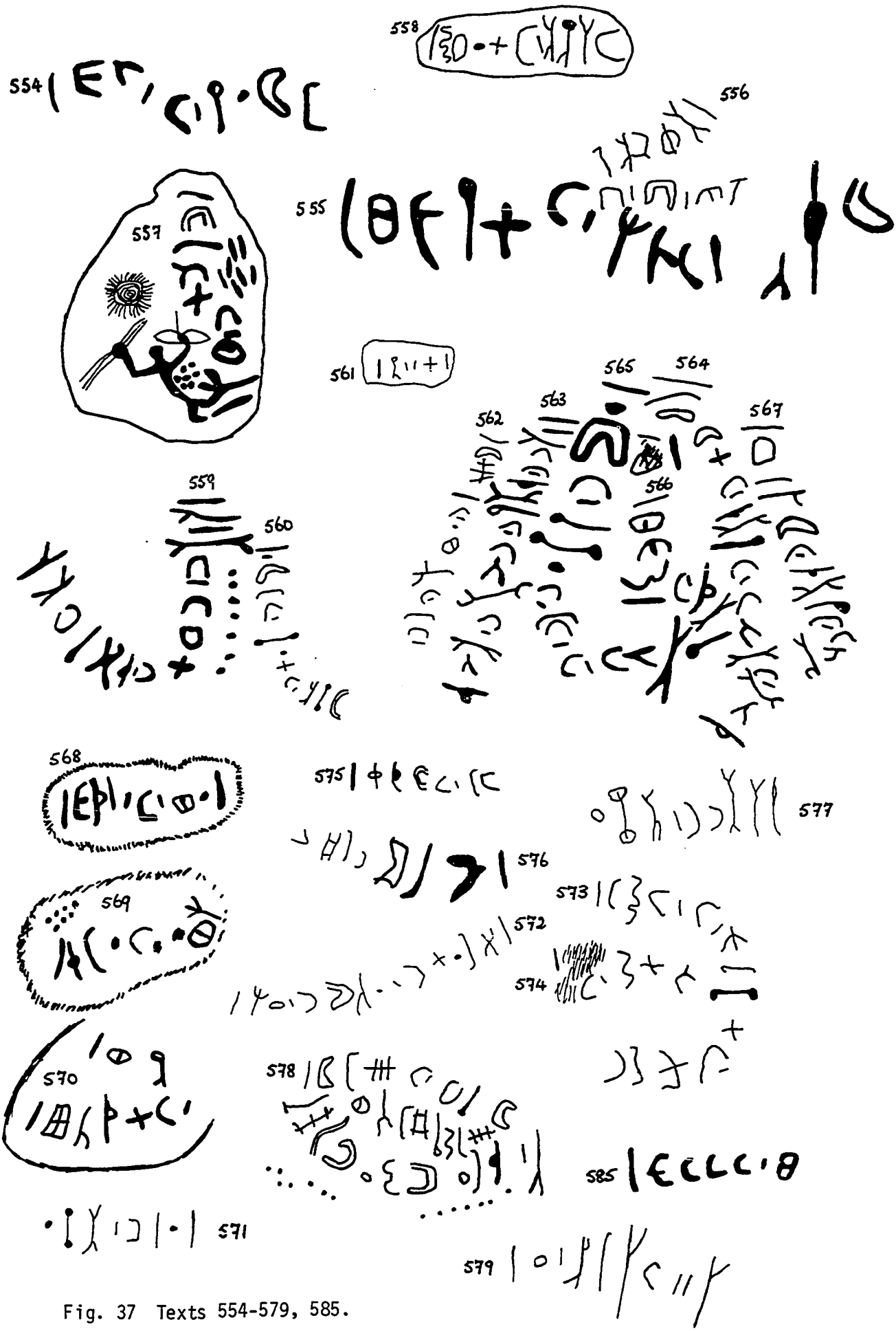

Fig. 37 Texts 554-579, 585.

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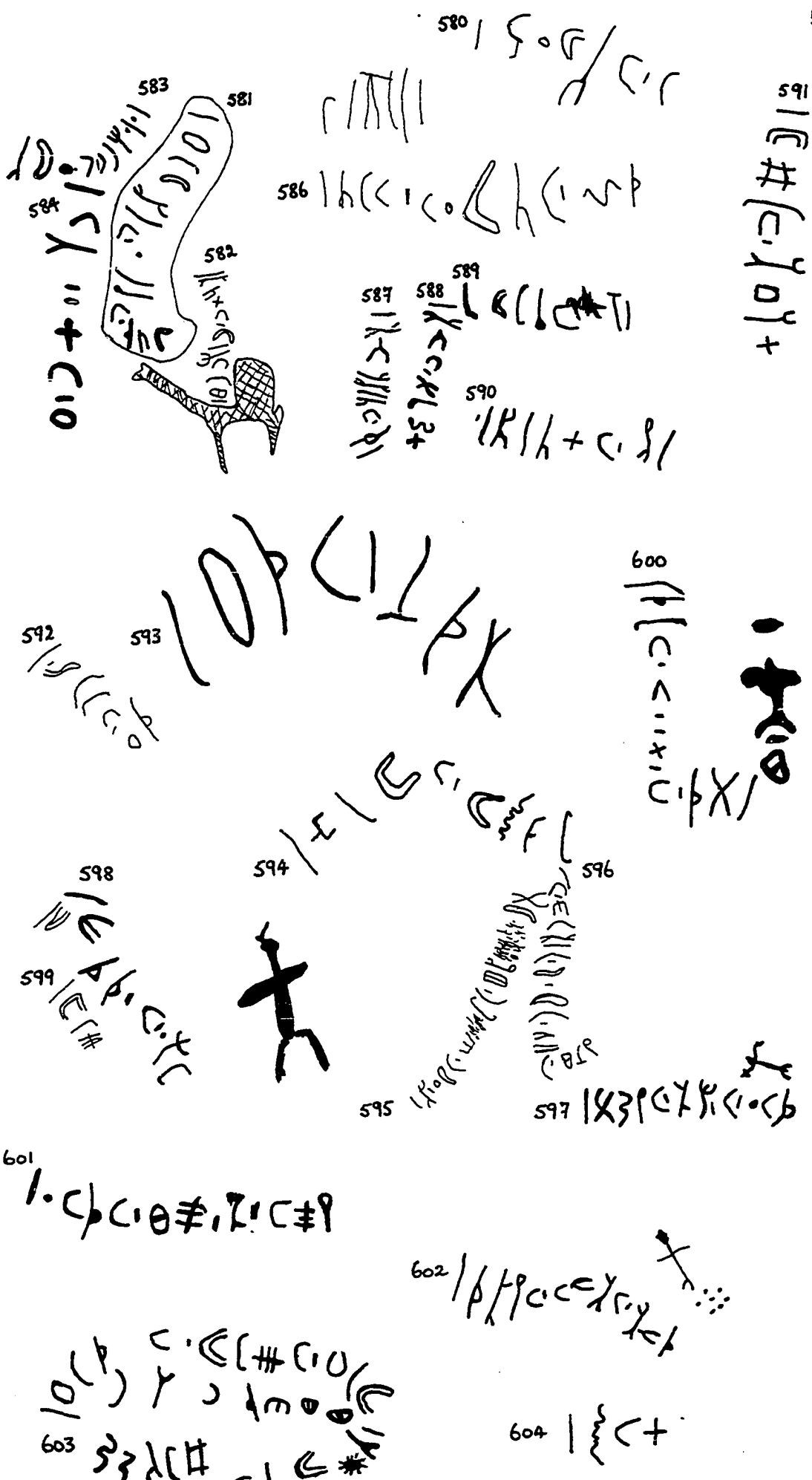

Fig. 38 Texts 580-584, 586-604.

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Fig. 39 Texts 605-619, 625-630.

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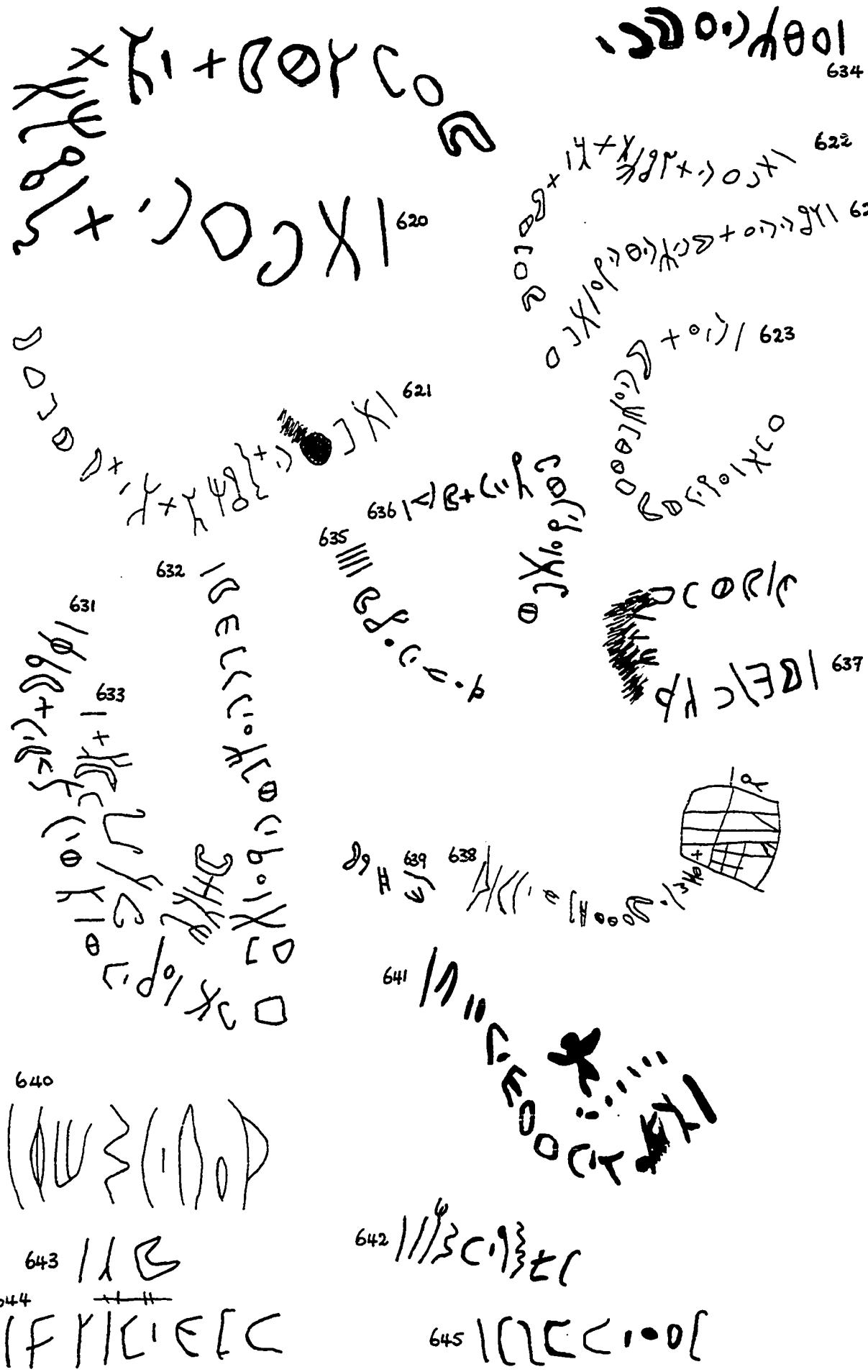

Fig. 40 Texts 620-624, 631-645.

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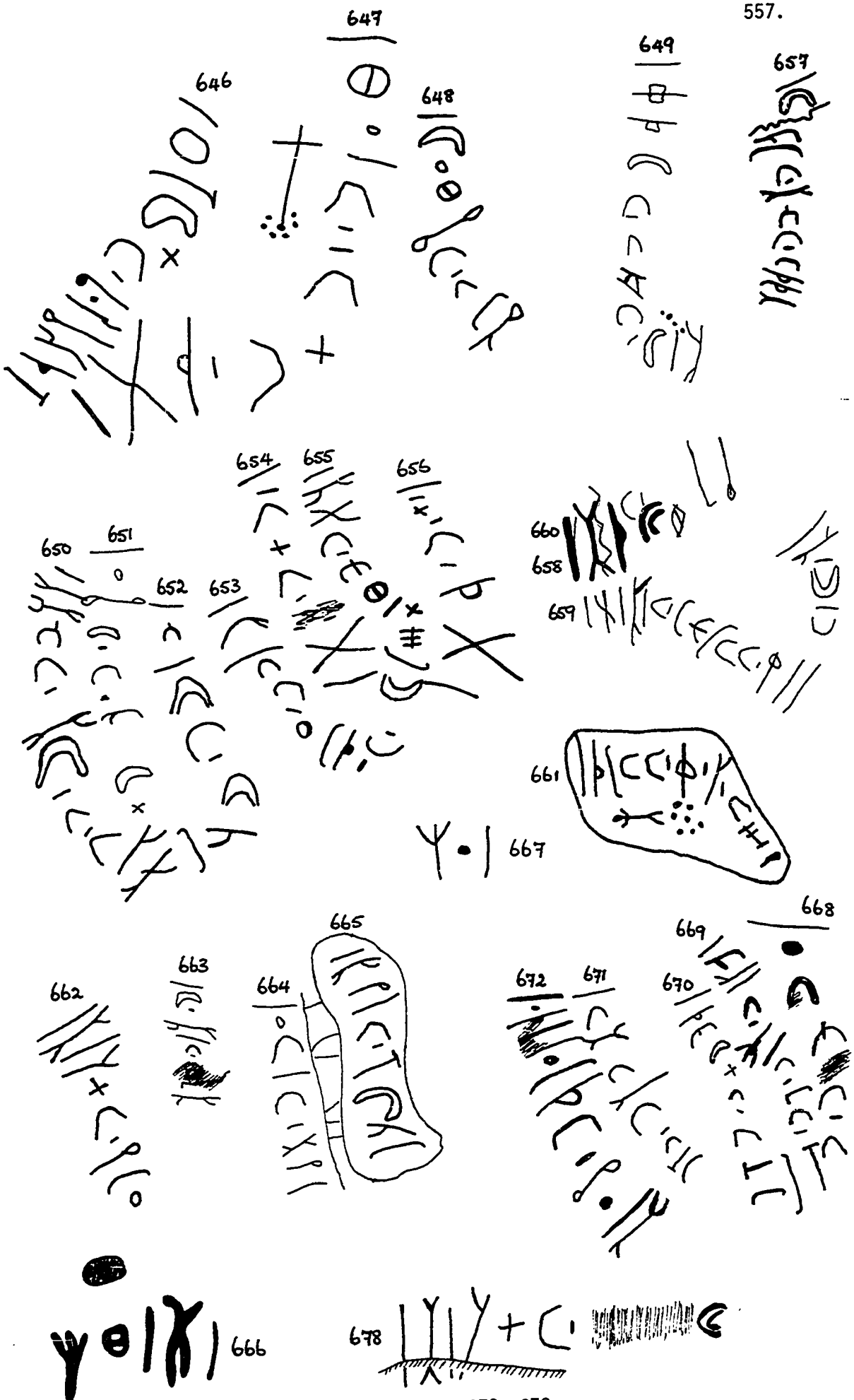

Fig. 41 Texts 646-672, 678.

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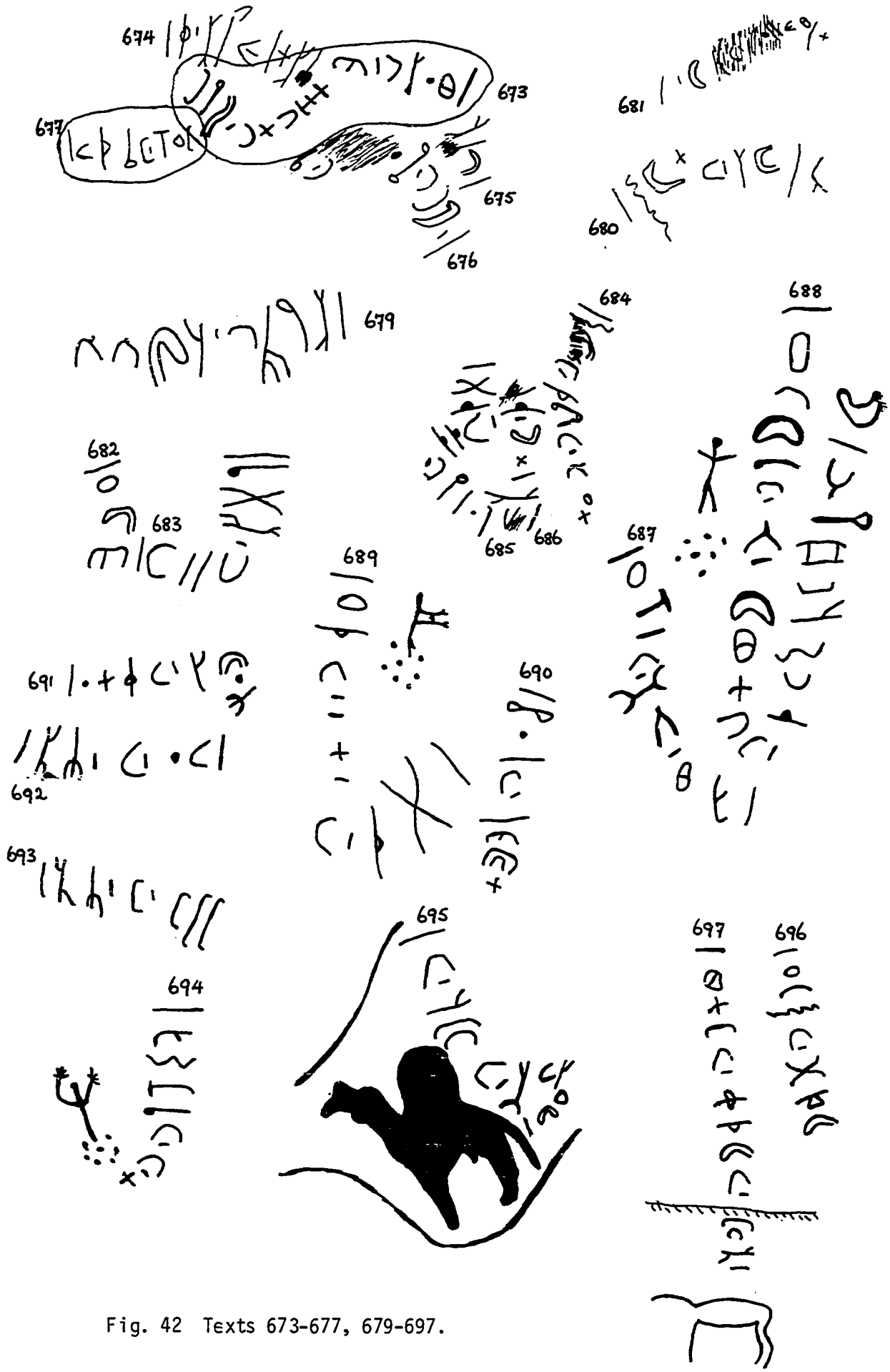

Fig. 42 Texts 673-677, 679-697.

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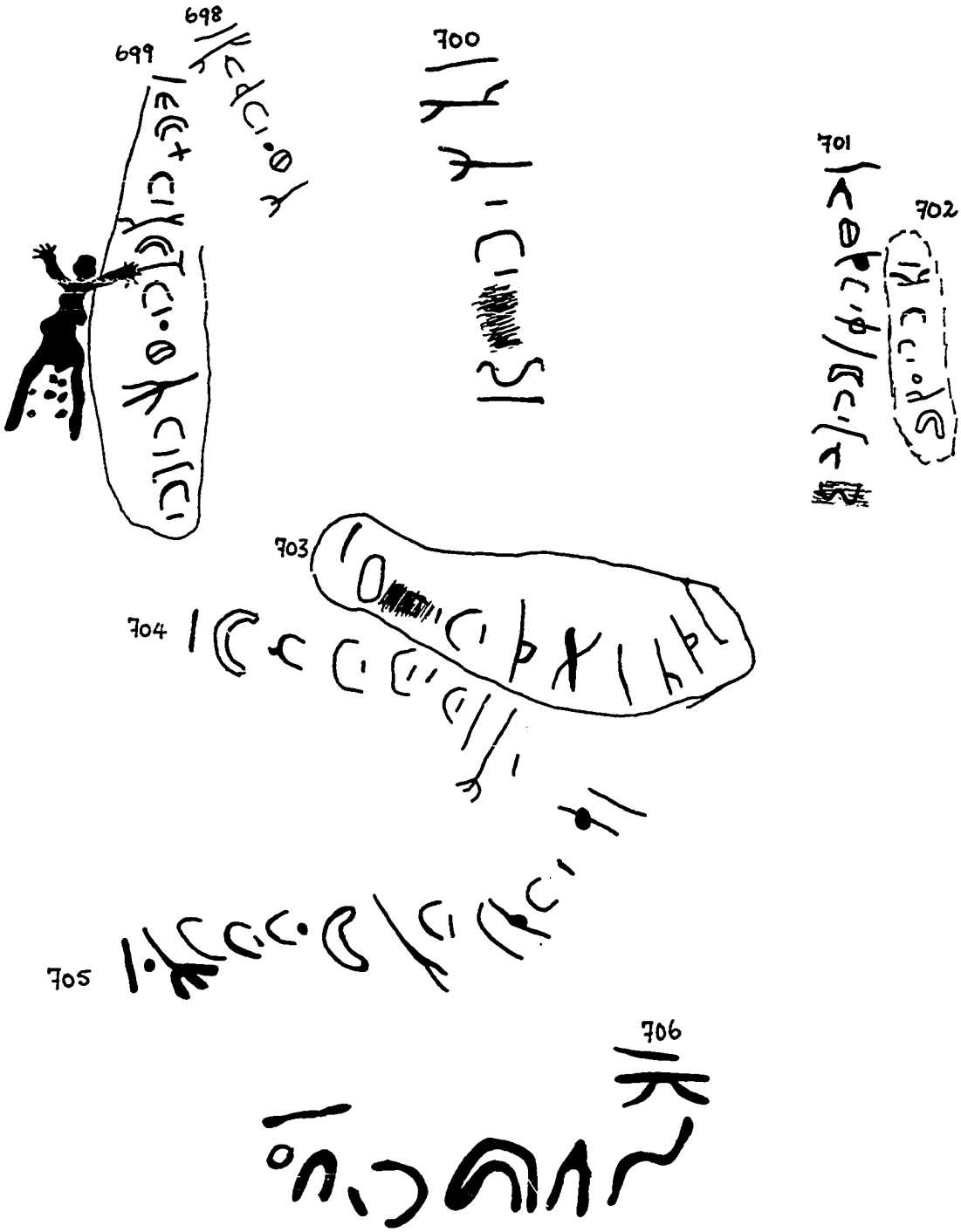

Fig. 43 Texts 698-706.

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Fig. 44 Texts 707-723, 726, 728.

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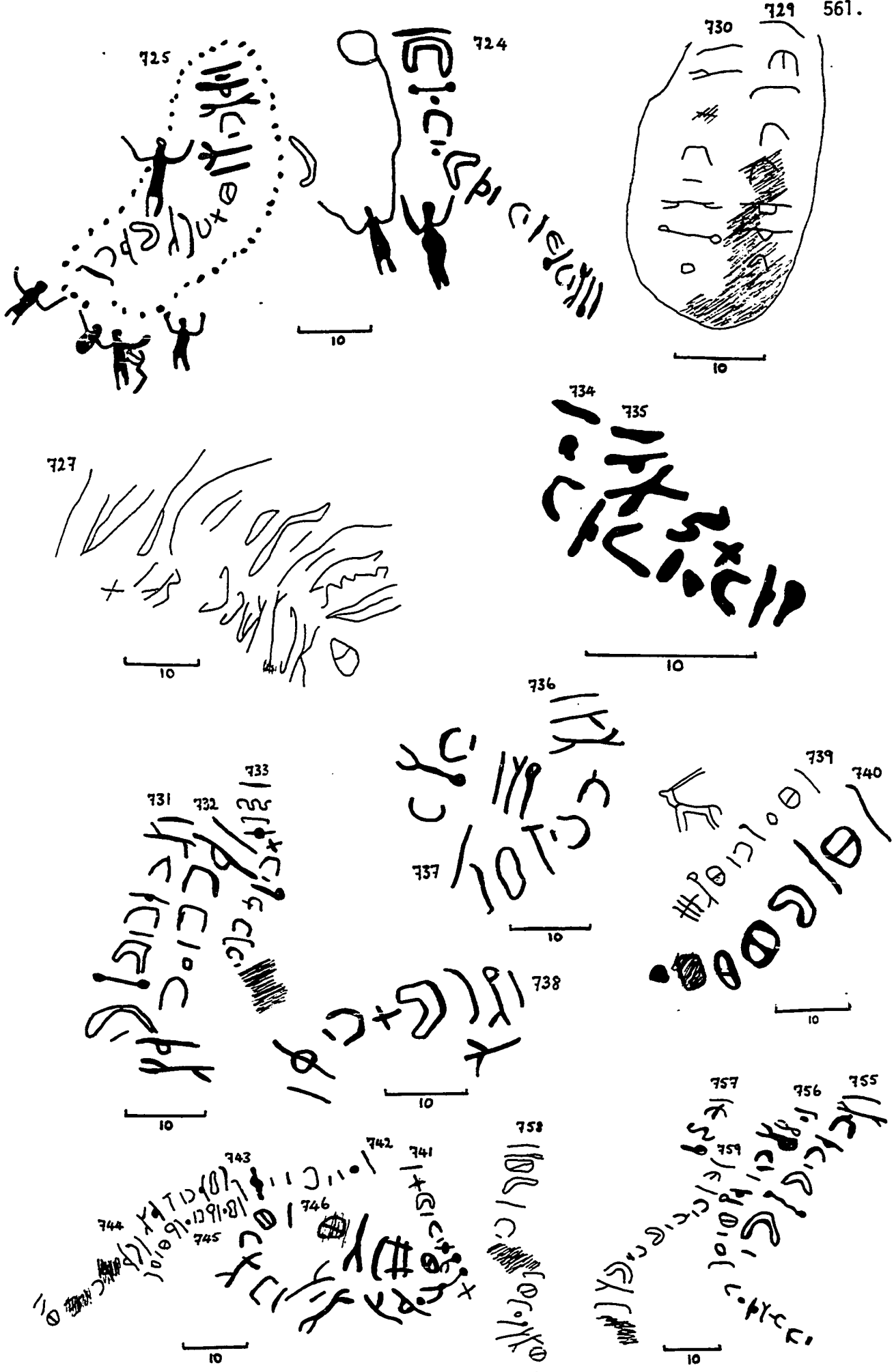

Fig. 45 Texts 724-725, 727, 729-746, 755-759.

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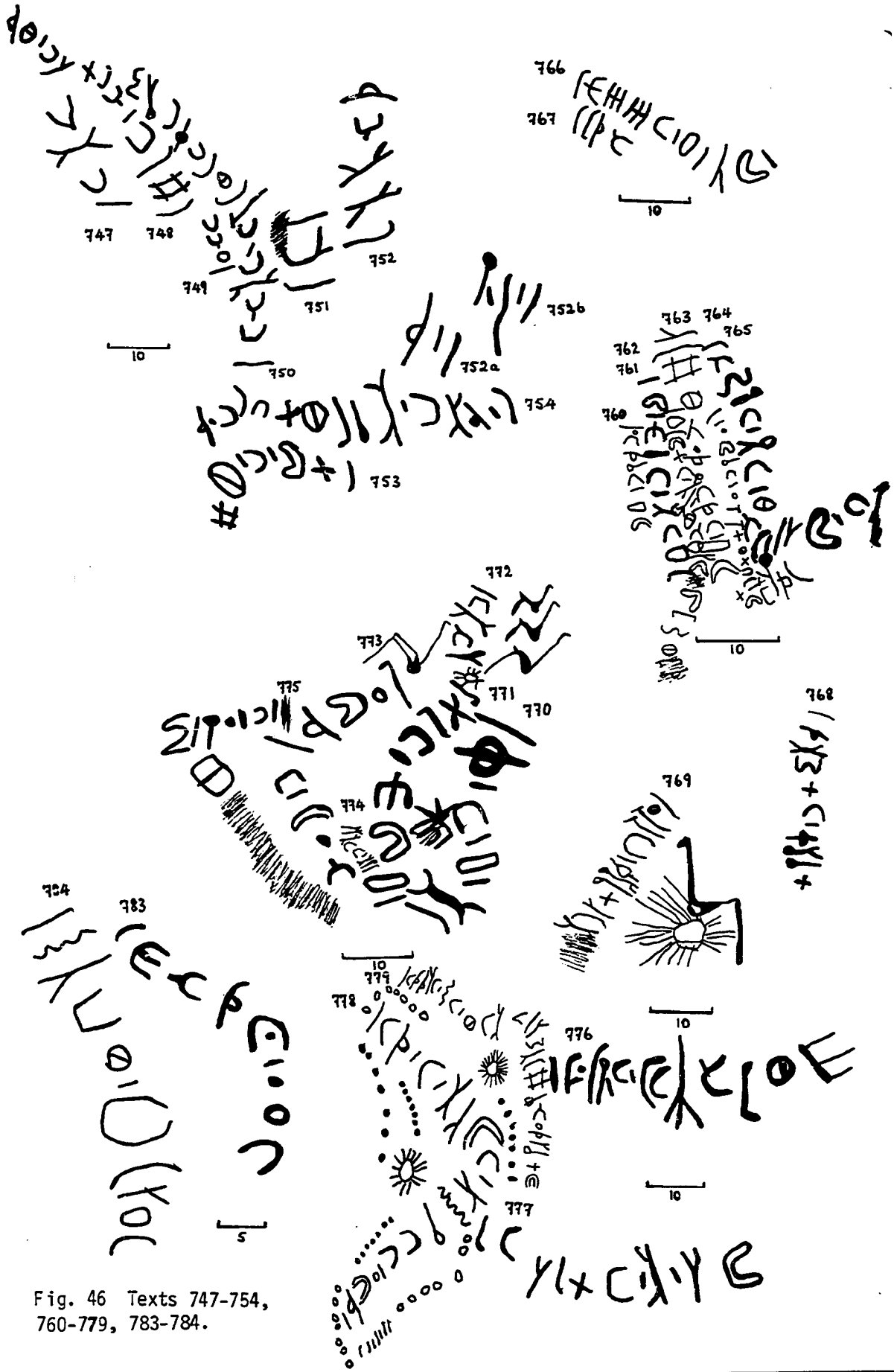

Fig. 46 Texts 747-754, 760-779, 783-784.

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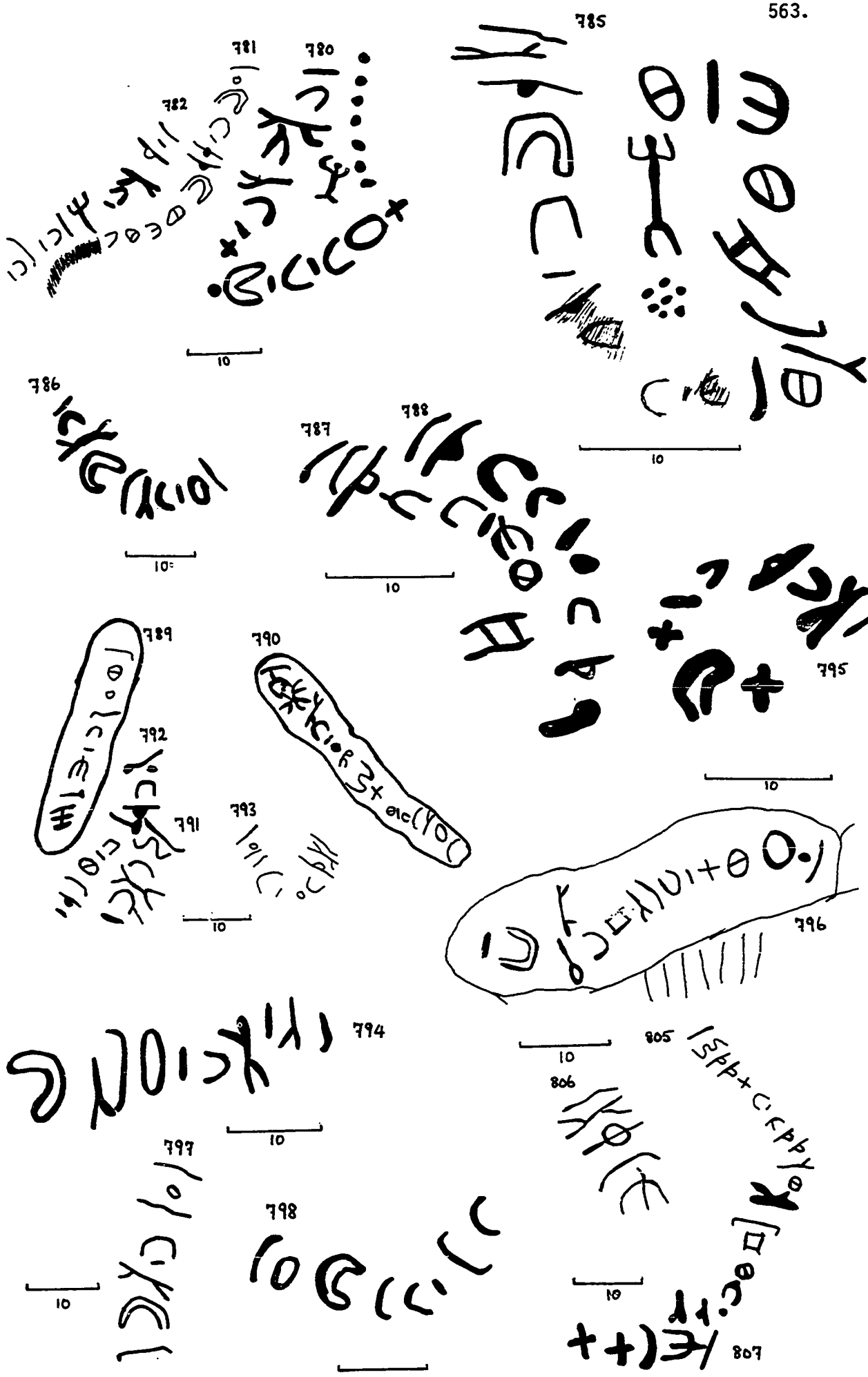

Fig. 47 Texts 780-782, 785-798, 805-807.

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F.ig. 48 Texts 799-804, 808-819.

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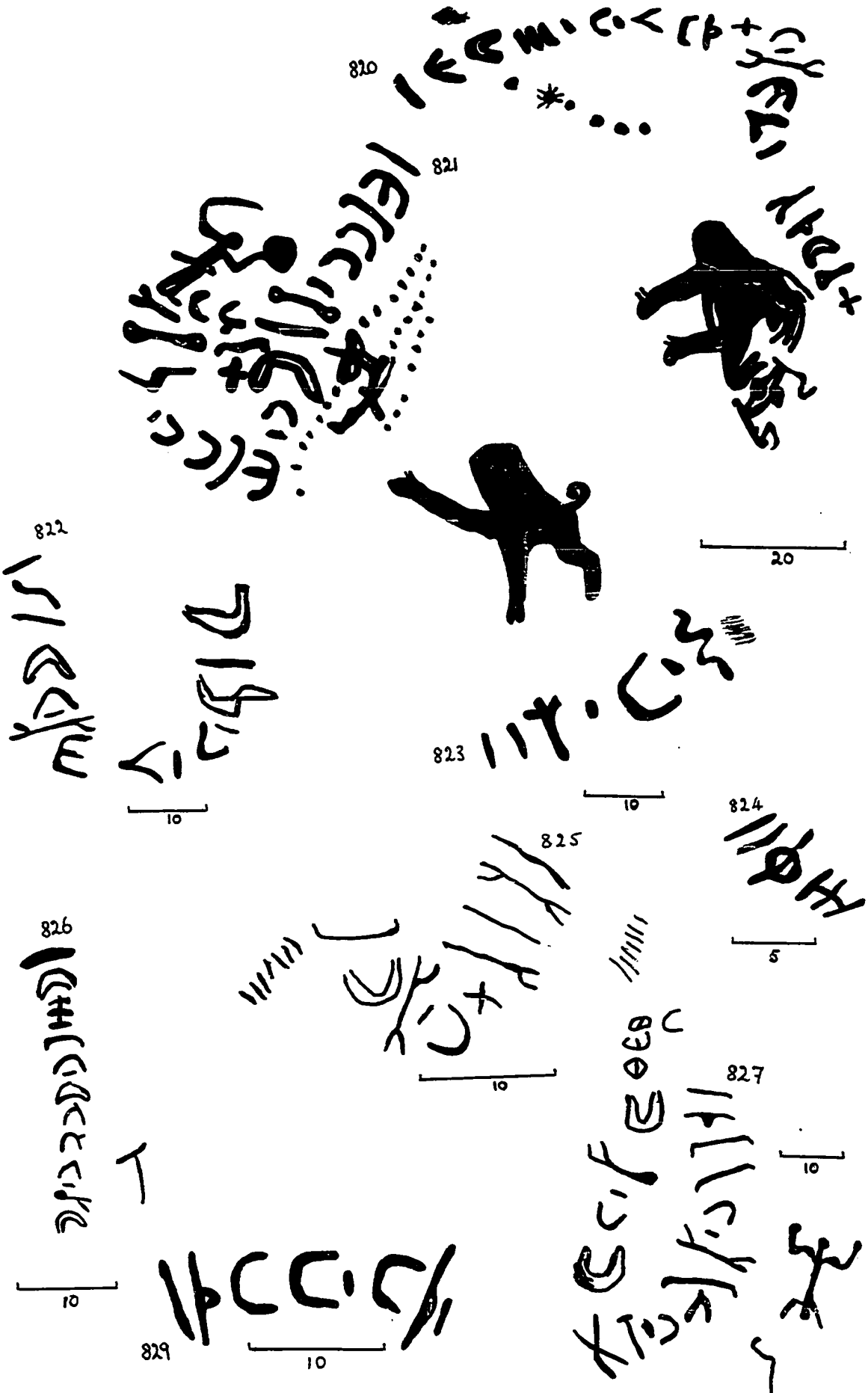

Fig.49 Texts 820-827,829.

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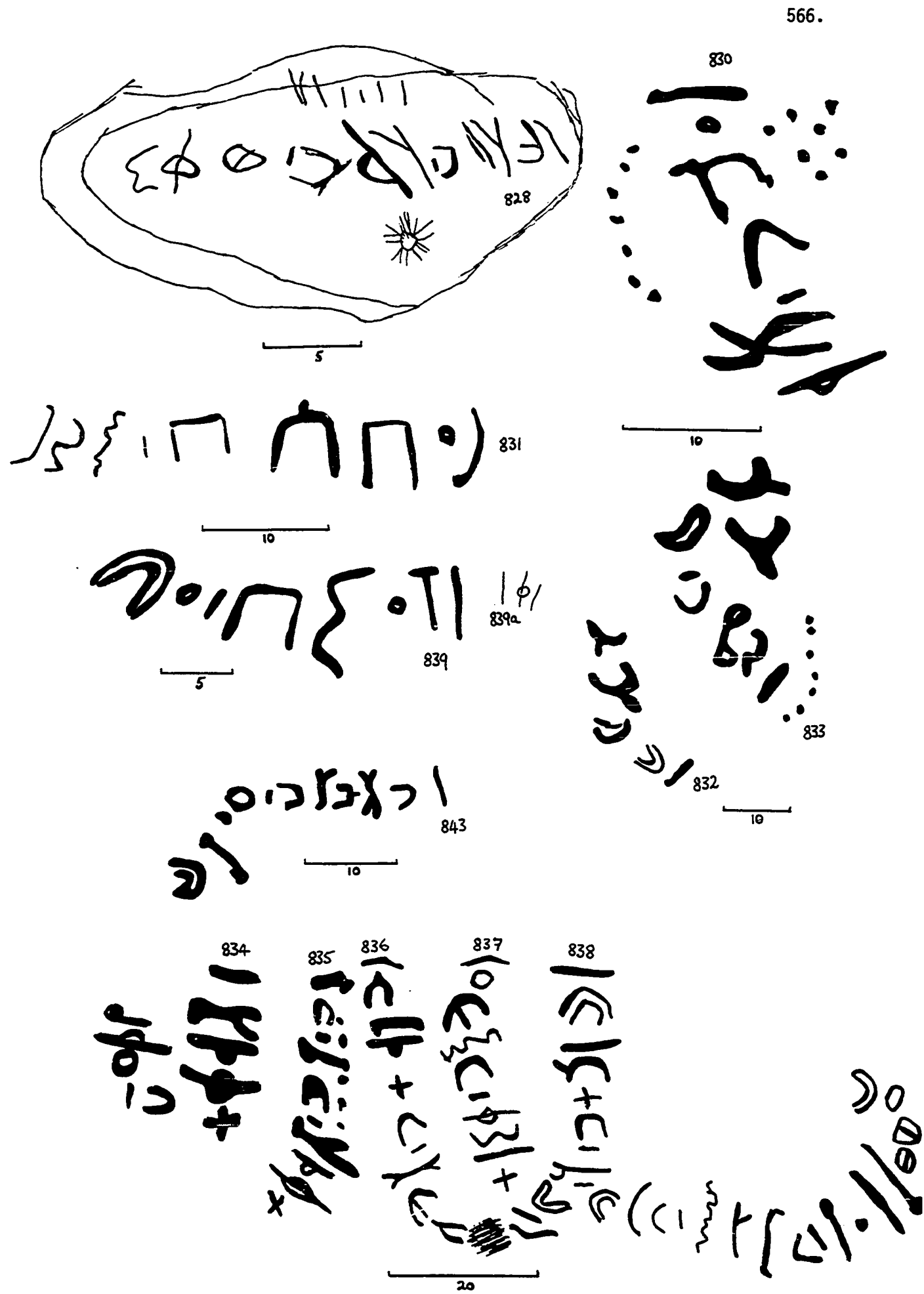

Fig. 50 Texts 828, 830-839, 843.

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Fig. 51 Texts 840-842, 844-856.

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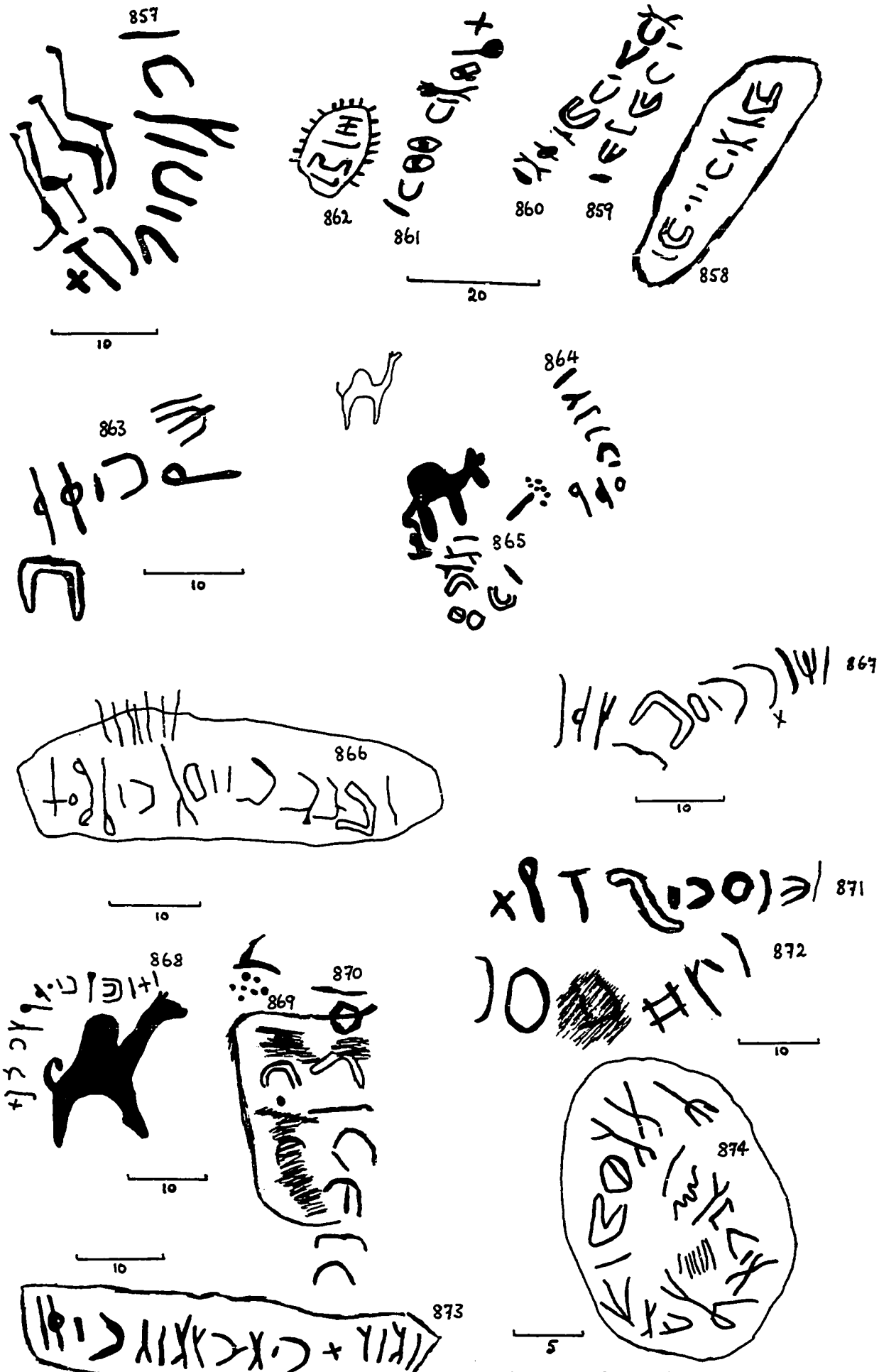

Fig. 52 Texts 857-874.

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Fig. 53 Texts 875-890.

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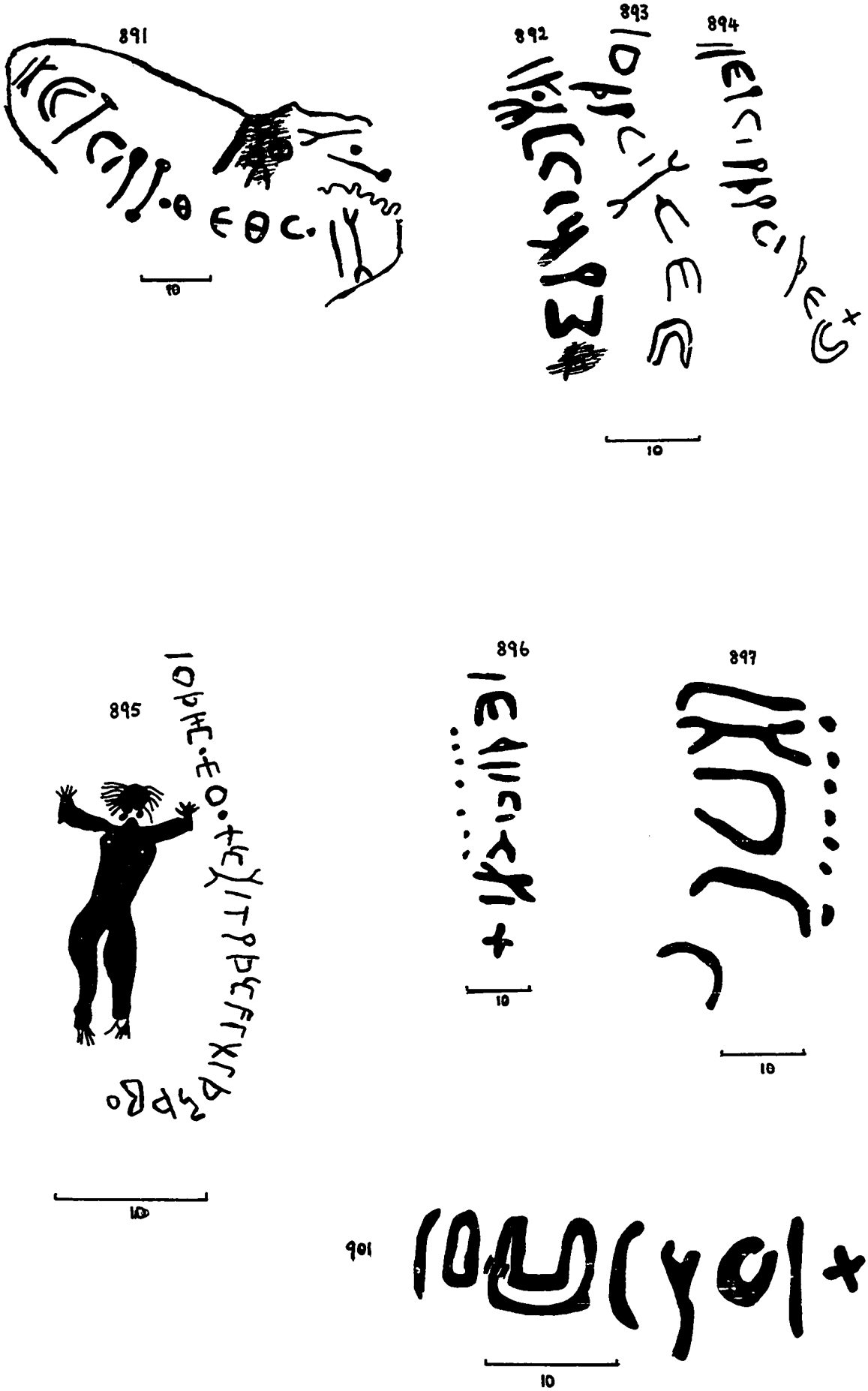

Fig. 54 Texts 891-897, 901.

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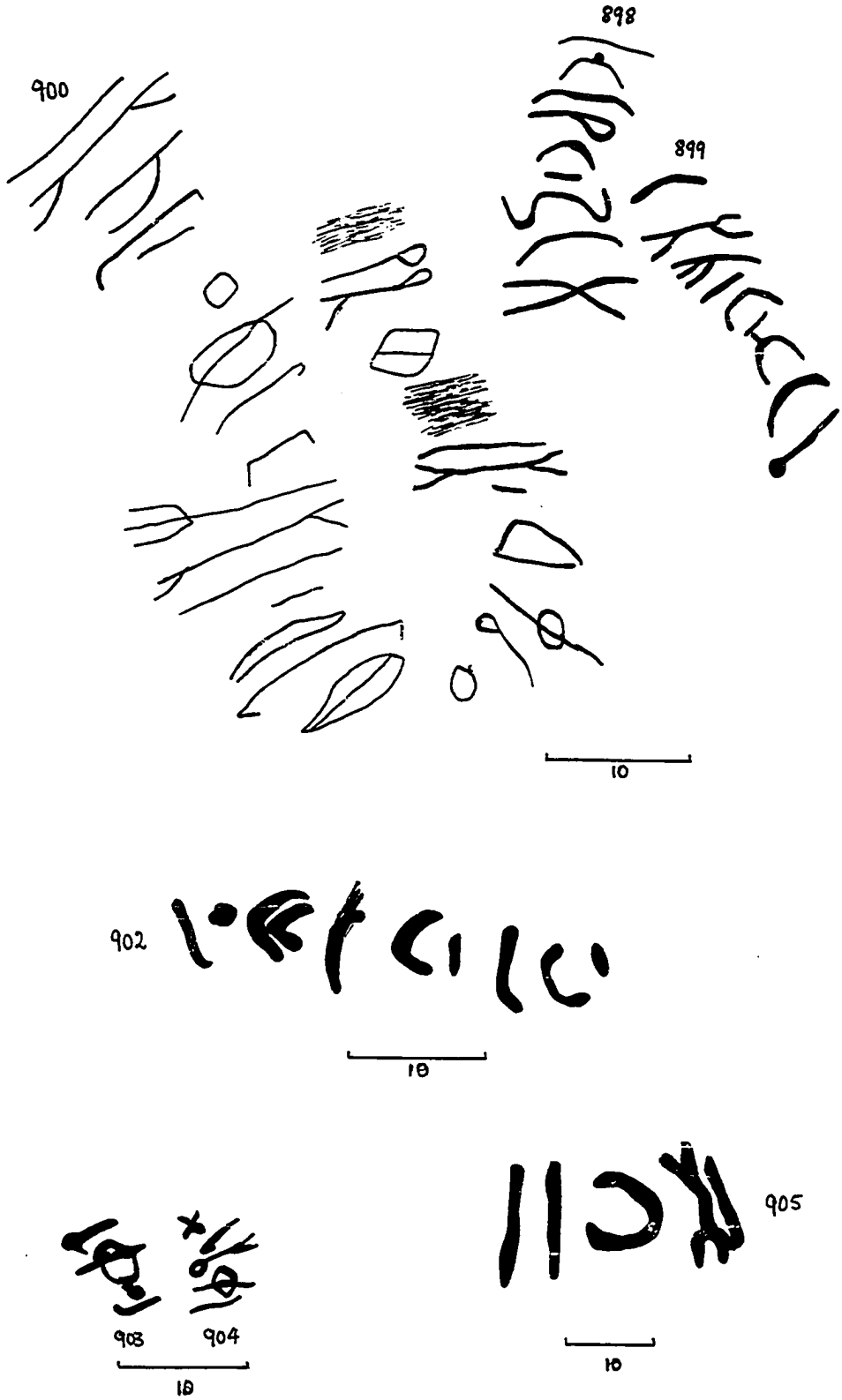

Fig. 55 Texts 898-900, 902-905.

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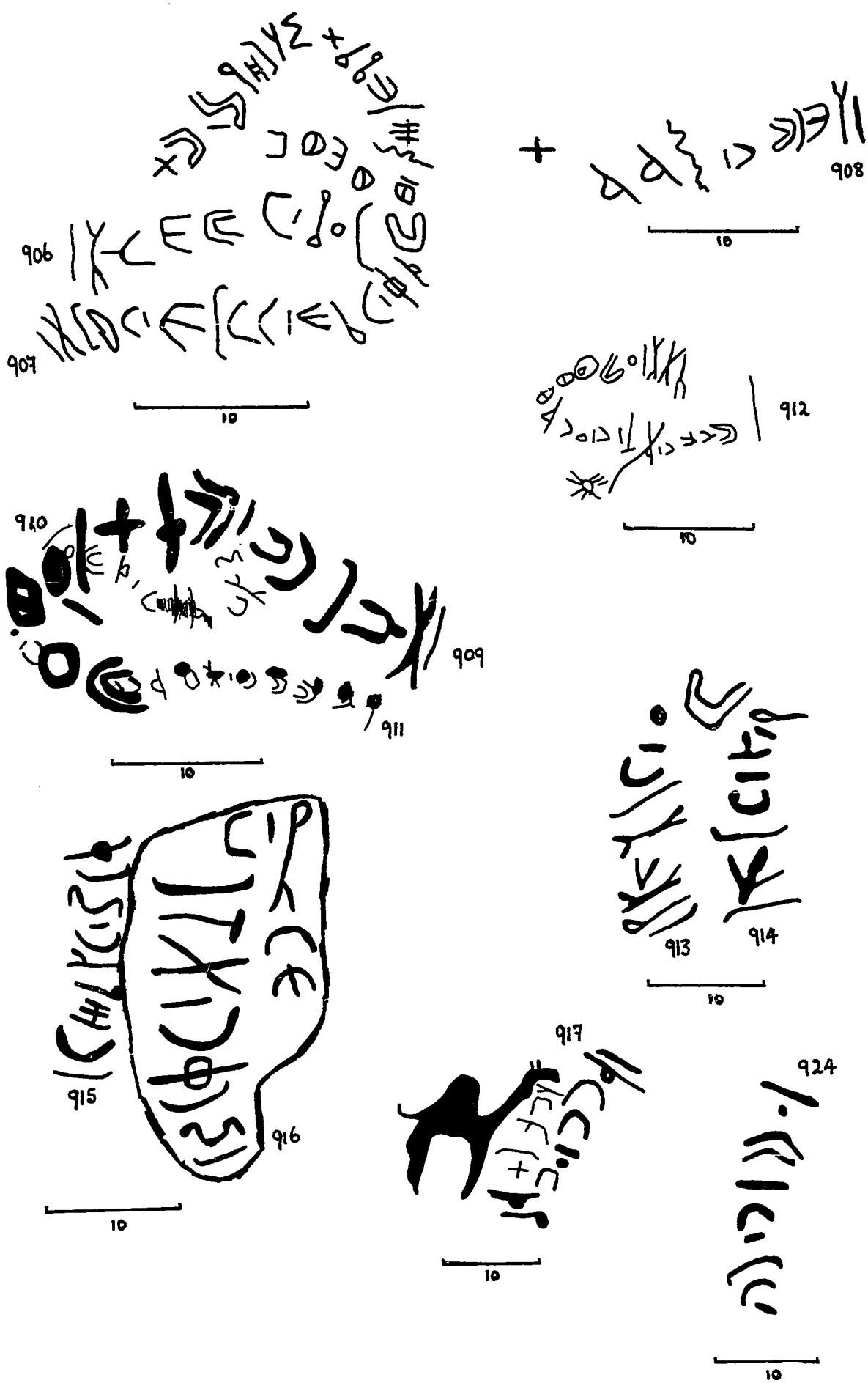

Fig. 56 Texts 906-917, 924.

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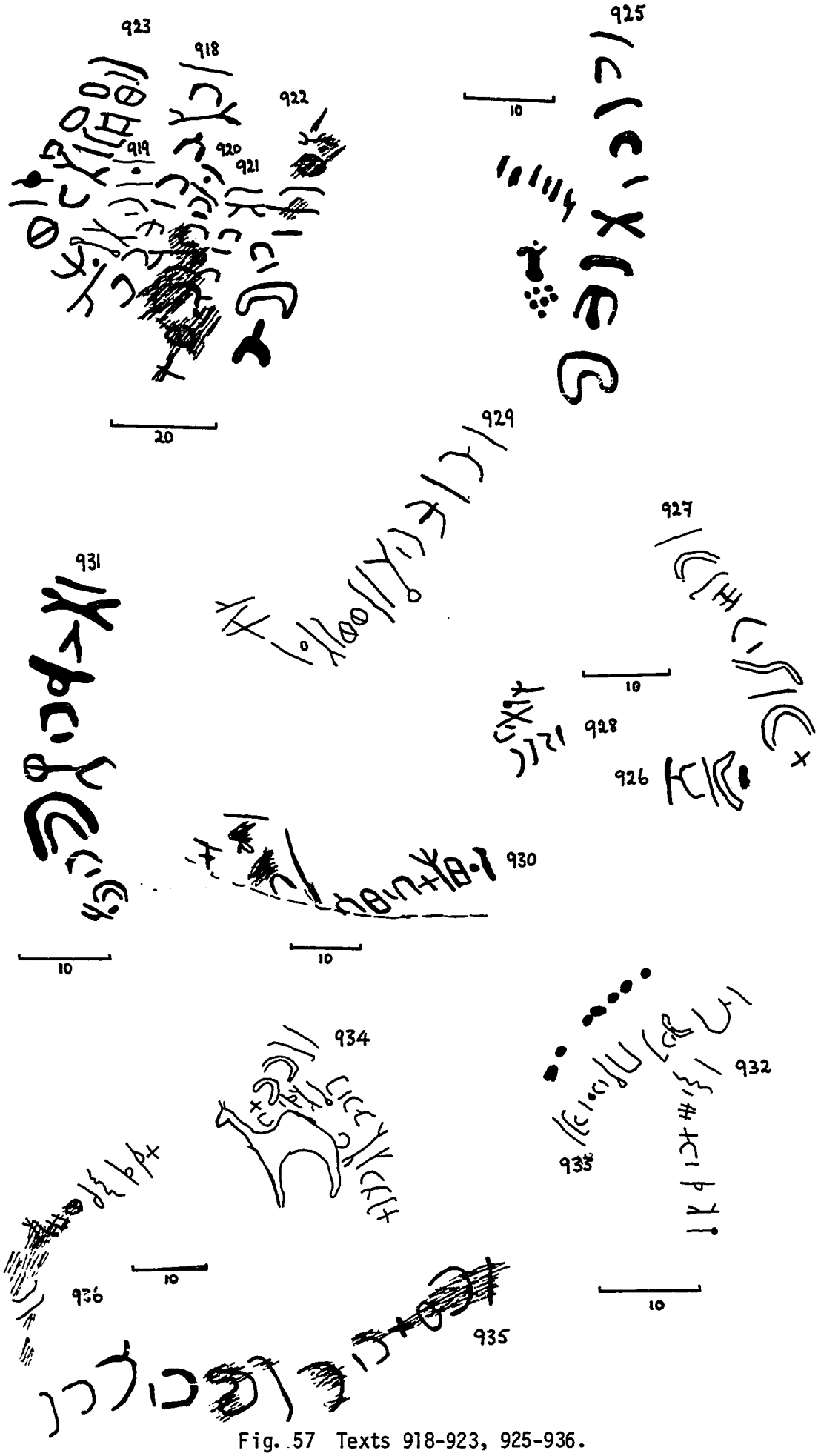

Fig. 57 Texts 918-923, 925-936.

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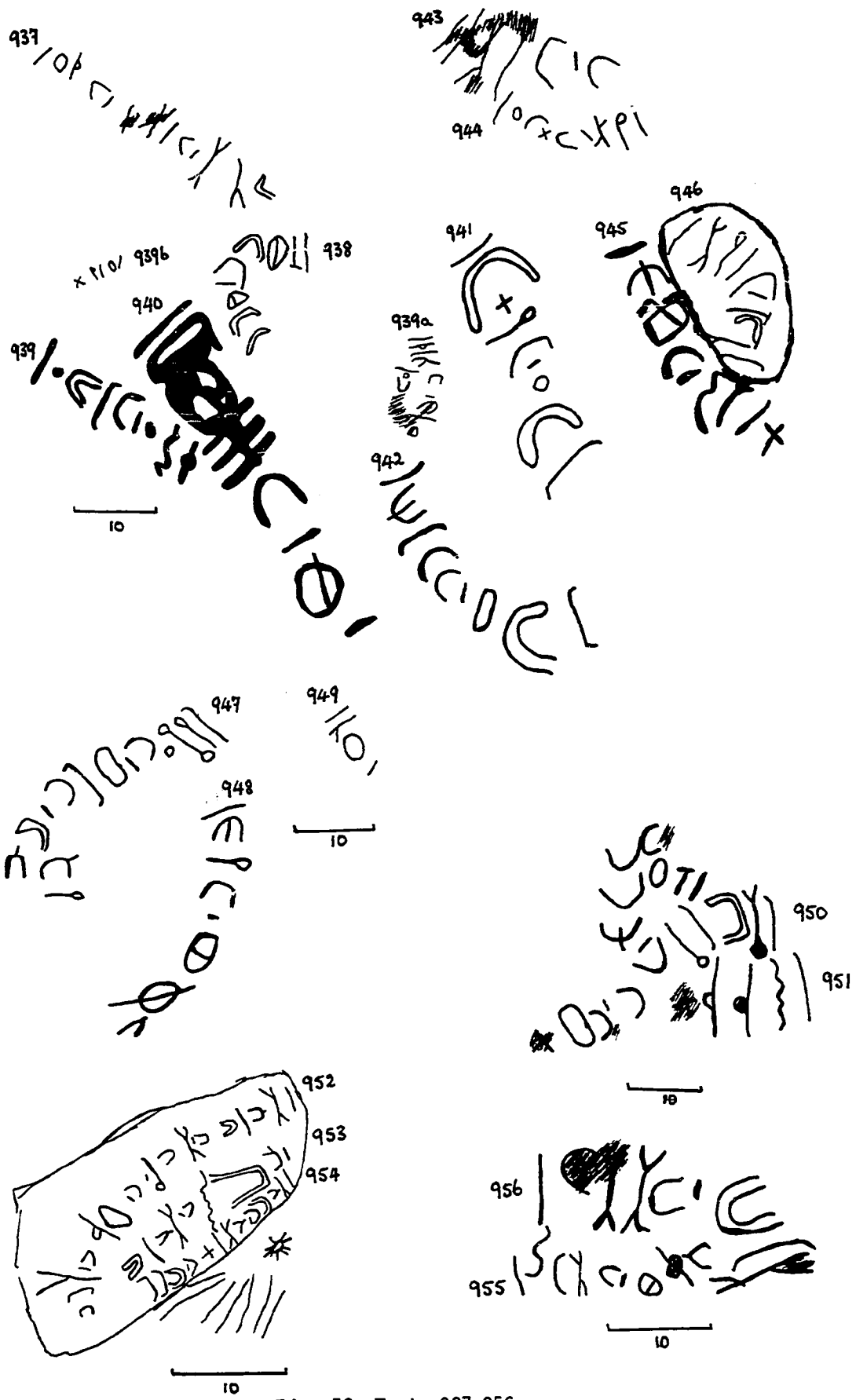

Fig. 58 Texts 937-956.

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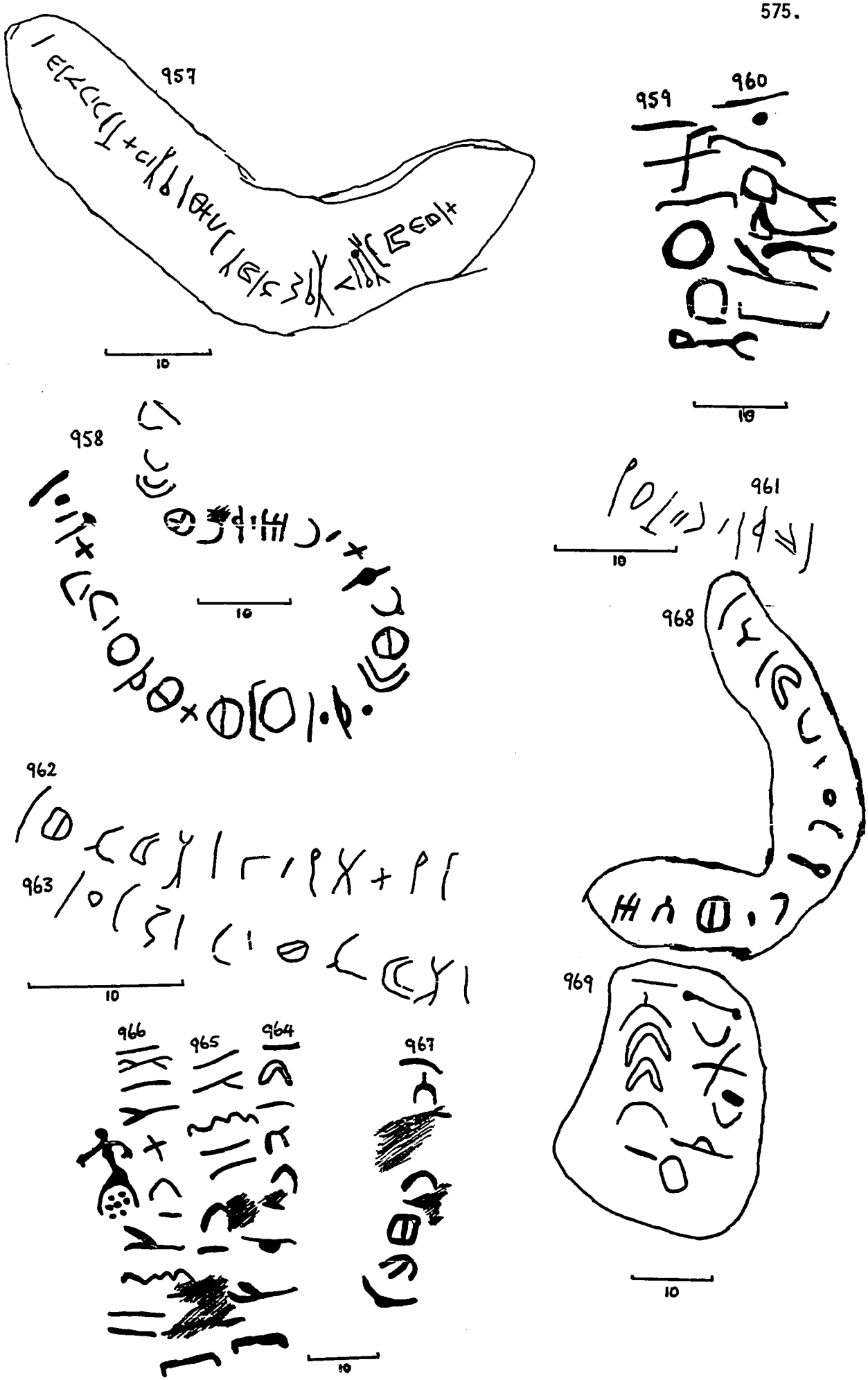

Fig. 59 Texts 957-969.

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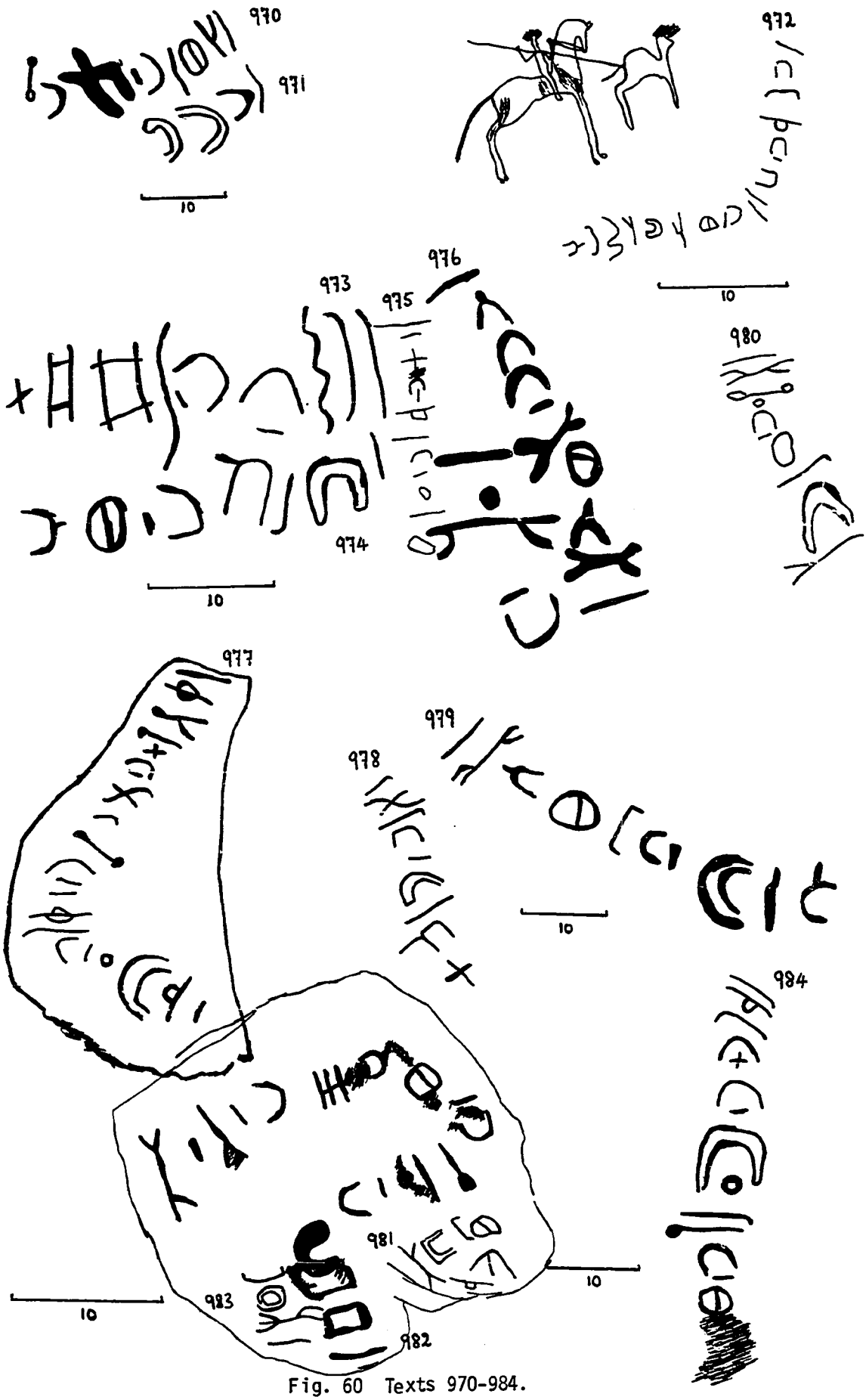

Fig. 60 Texts 970-984.

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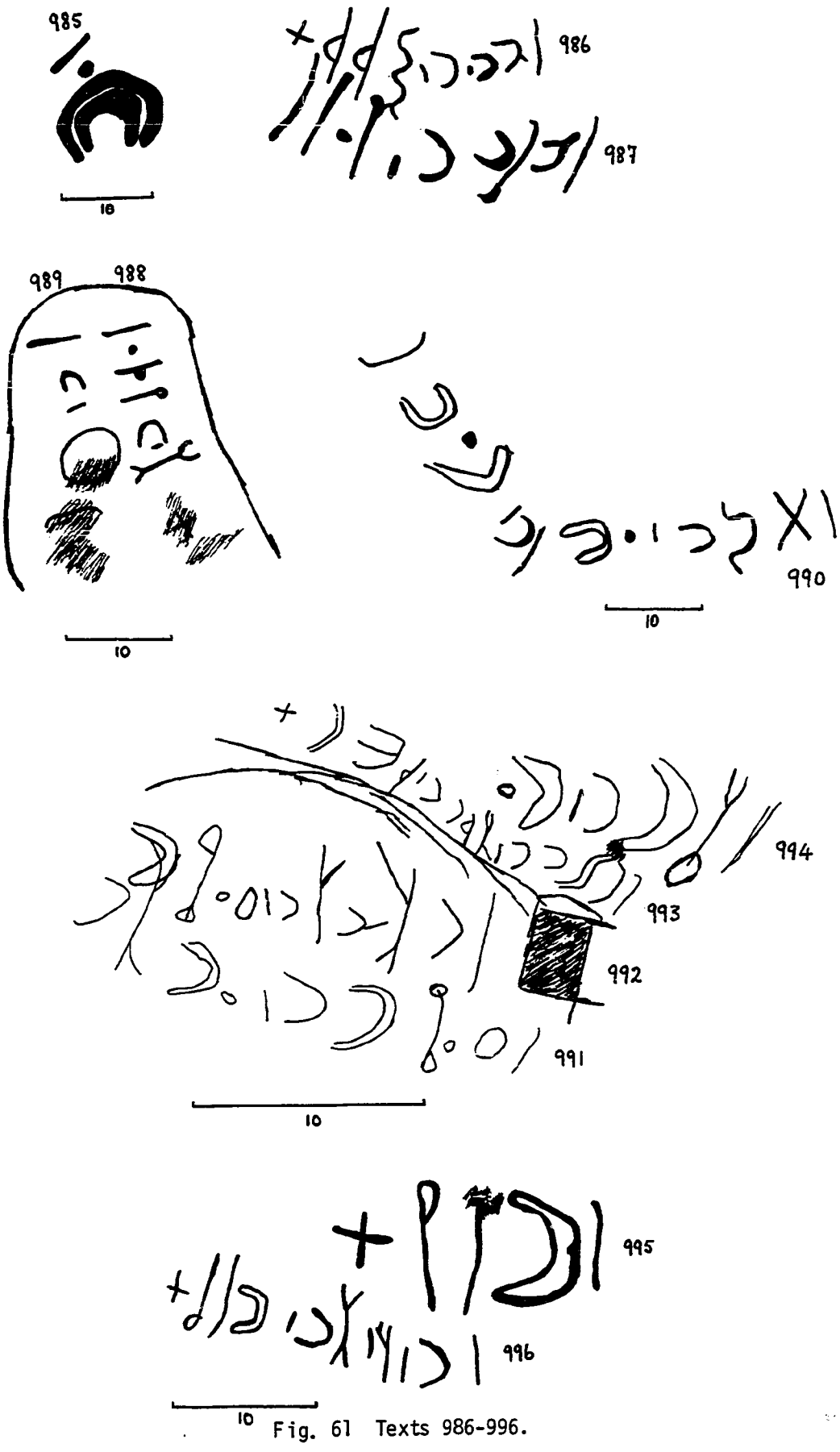

Fig. 61 Texts 986-996.

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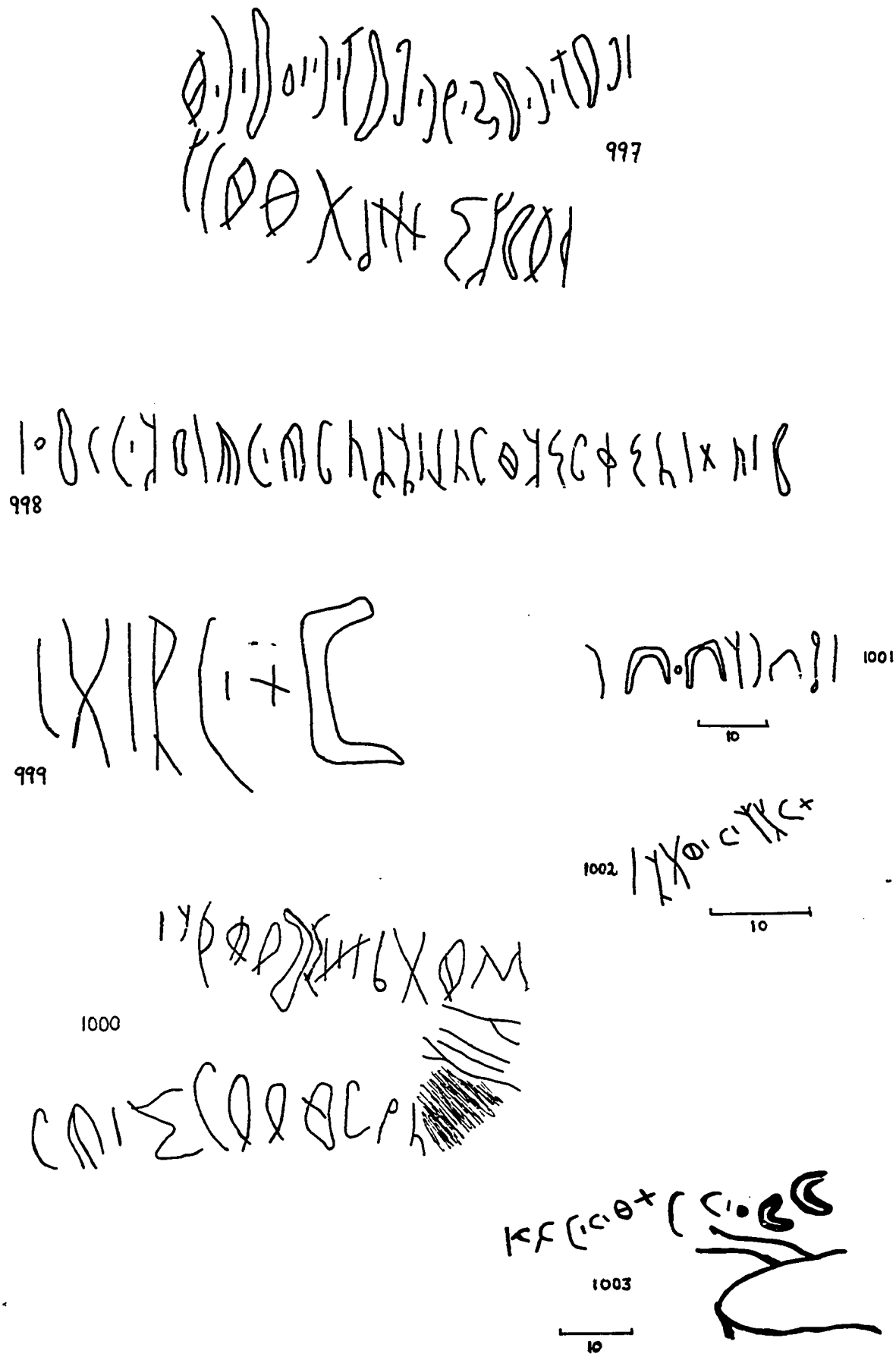

Fig. 62 Texts 997-1003.

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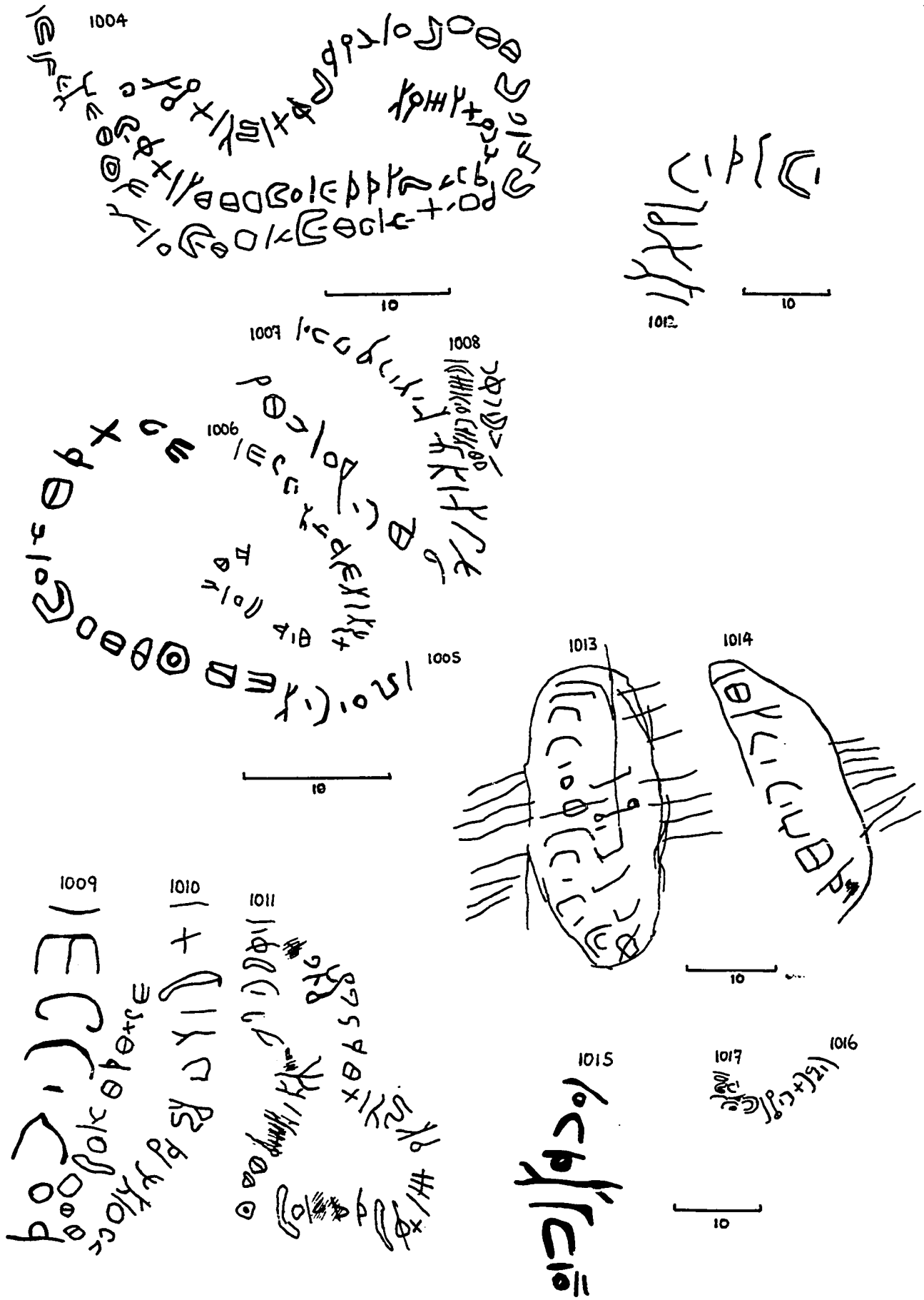

Fig. 63 Texts 1004-1017.

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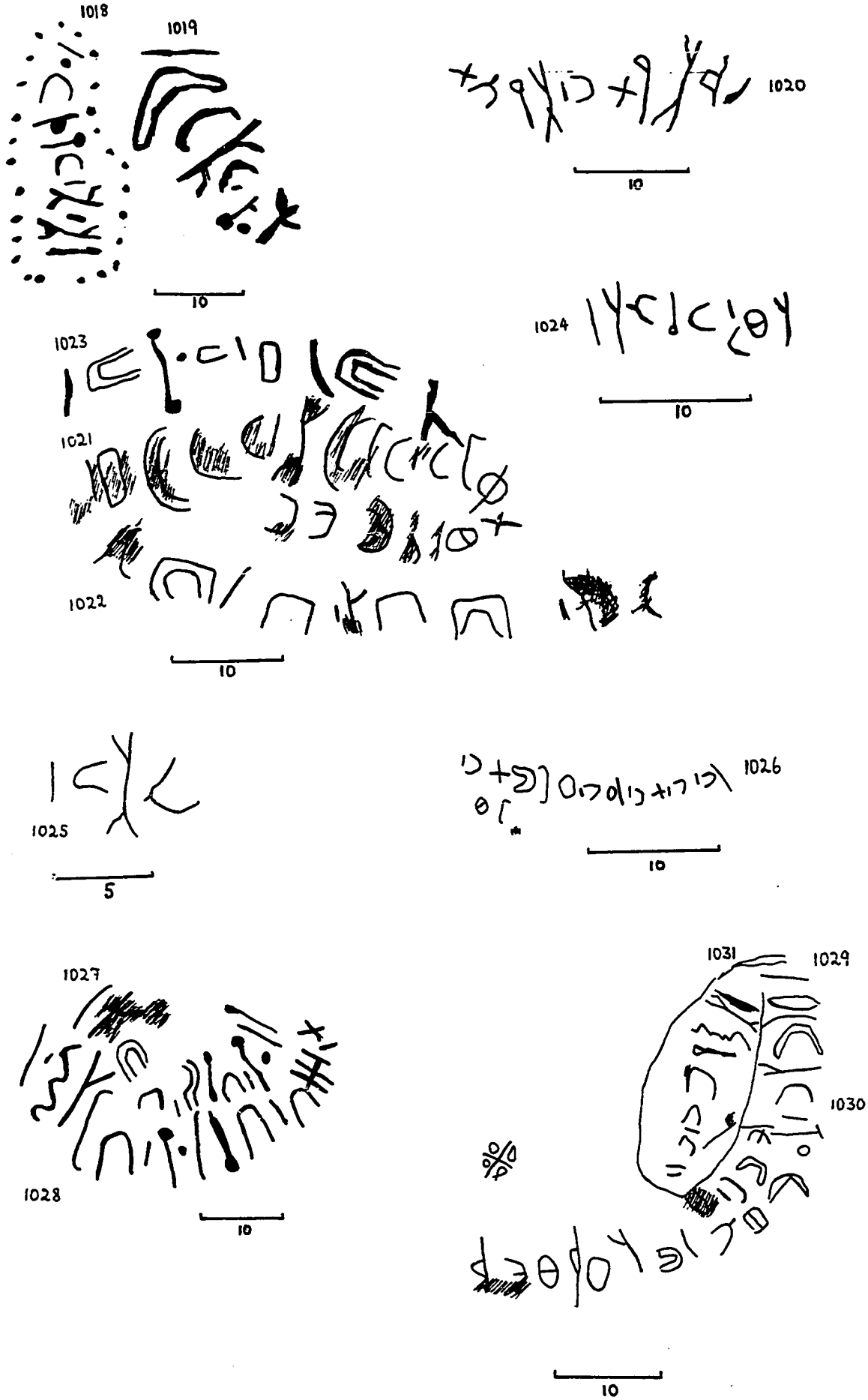

Fig. 64 Texts 1018-1031.

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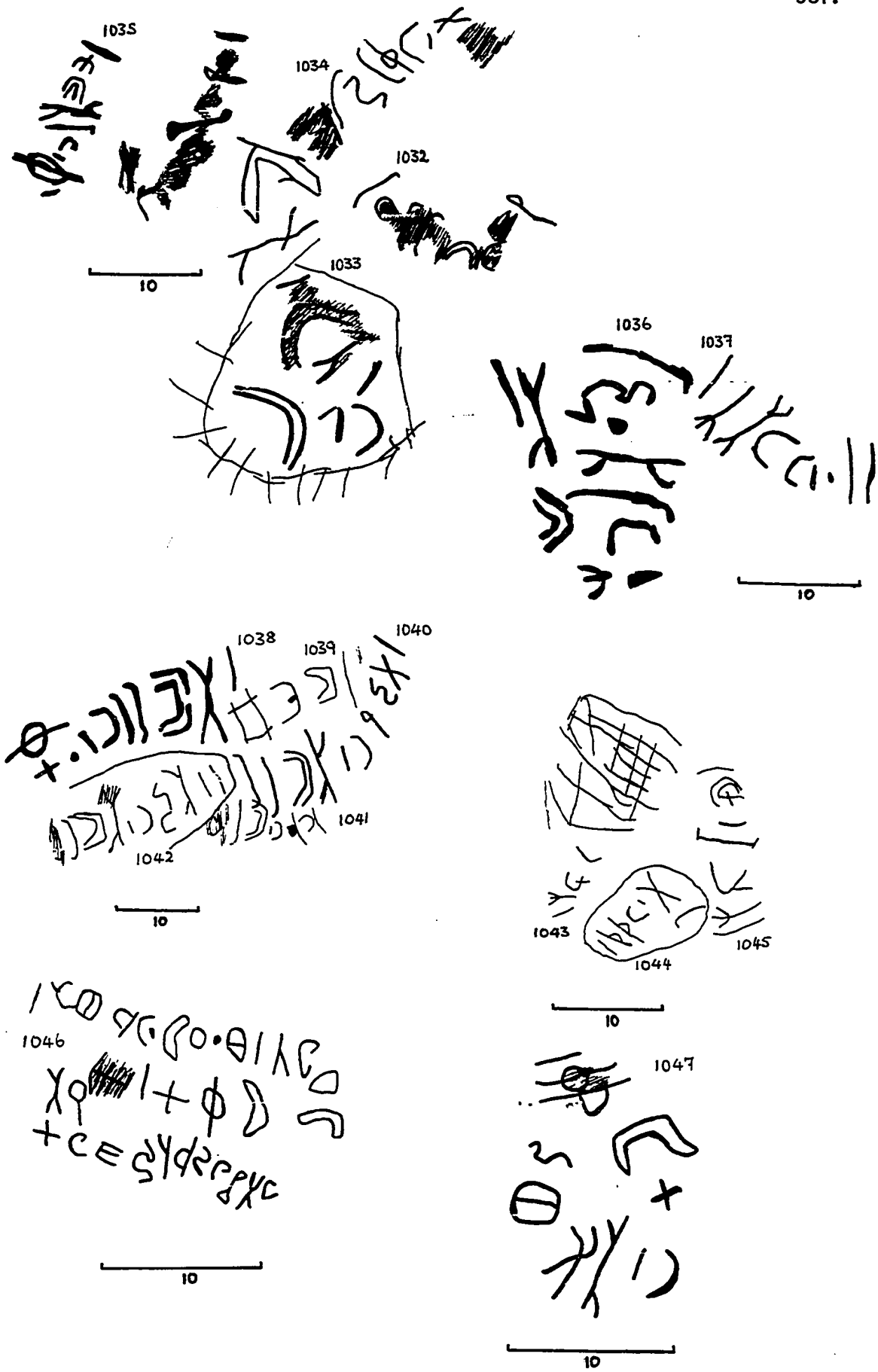

Fig. 65 Texts 1032-1047.

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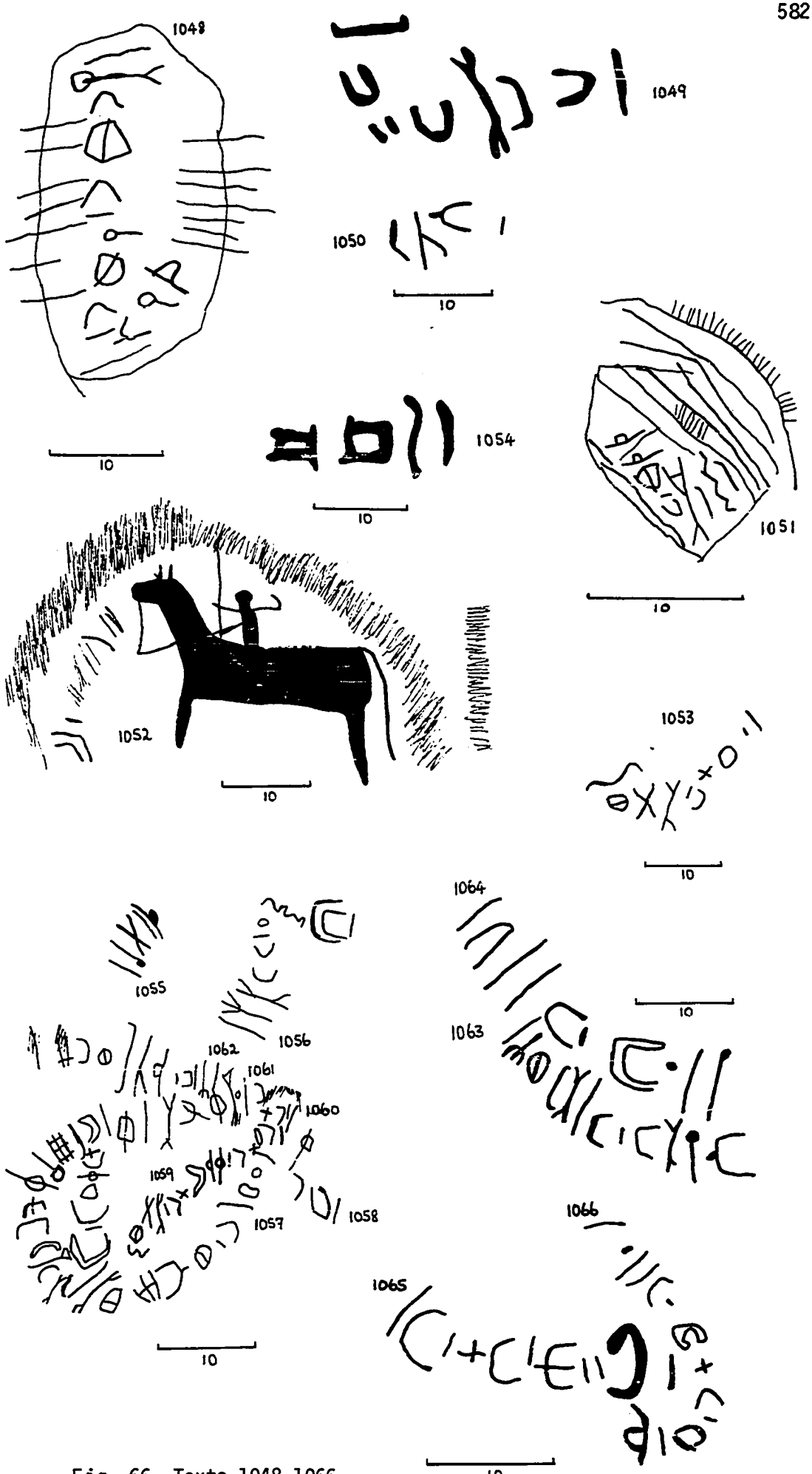

Fig. 66 Texts 1048-1066.

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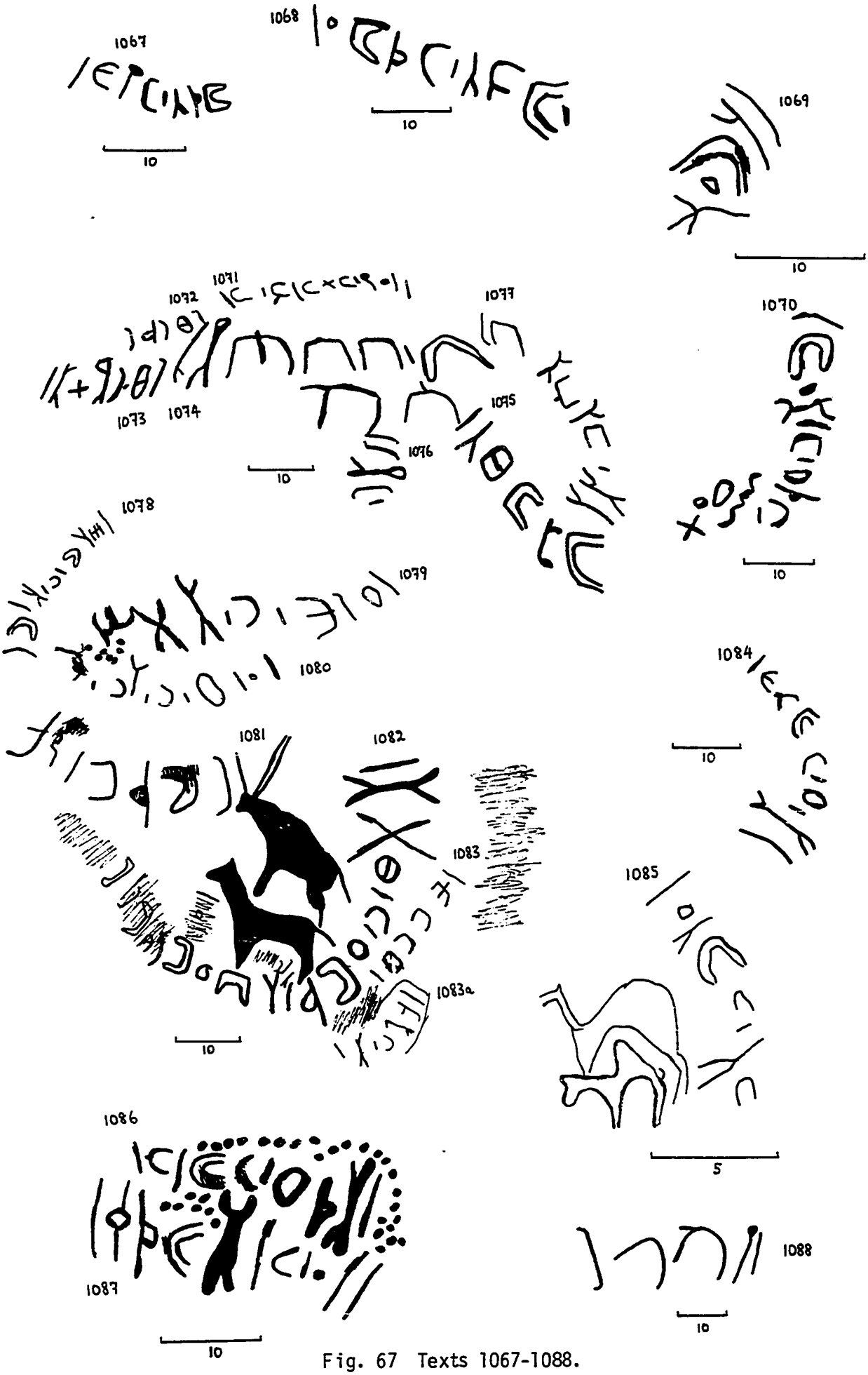

Fig. 67 Texts 1067-1088.

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Fig. 68 Texts 1089-1107.

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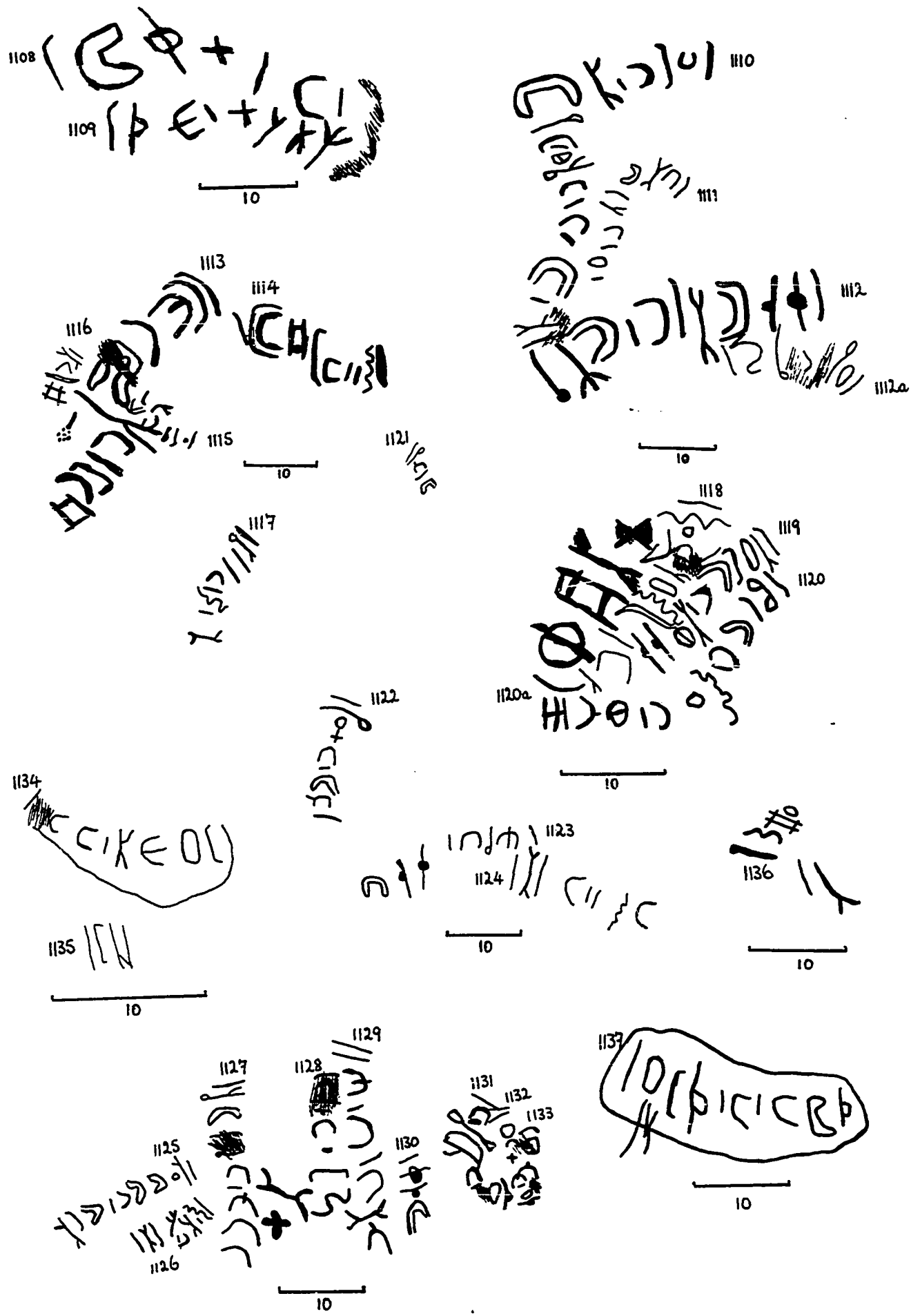

Fig. 69 Texts 1108-1137.

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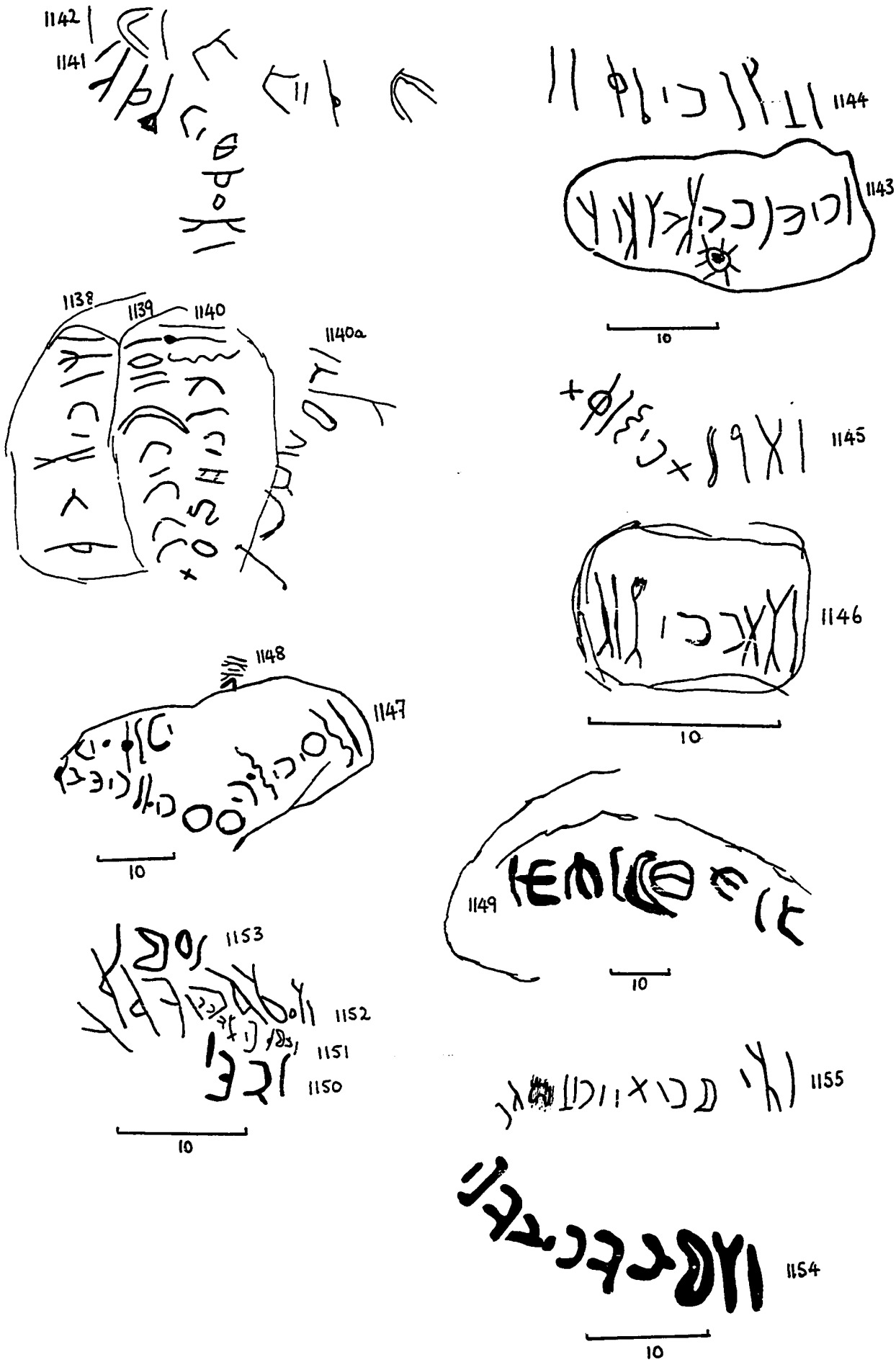

Fig. 70 Texts 1138-1155.

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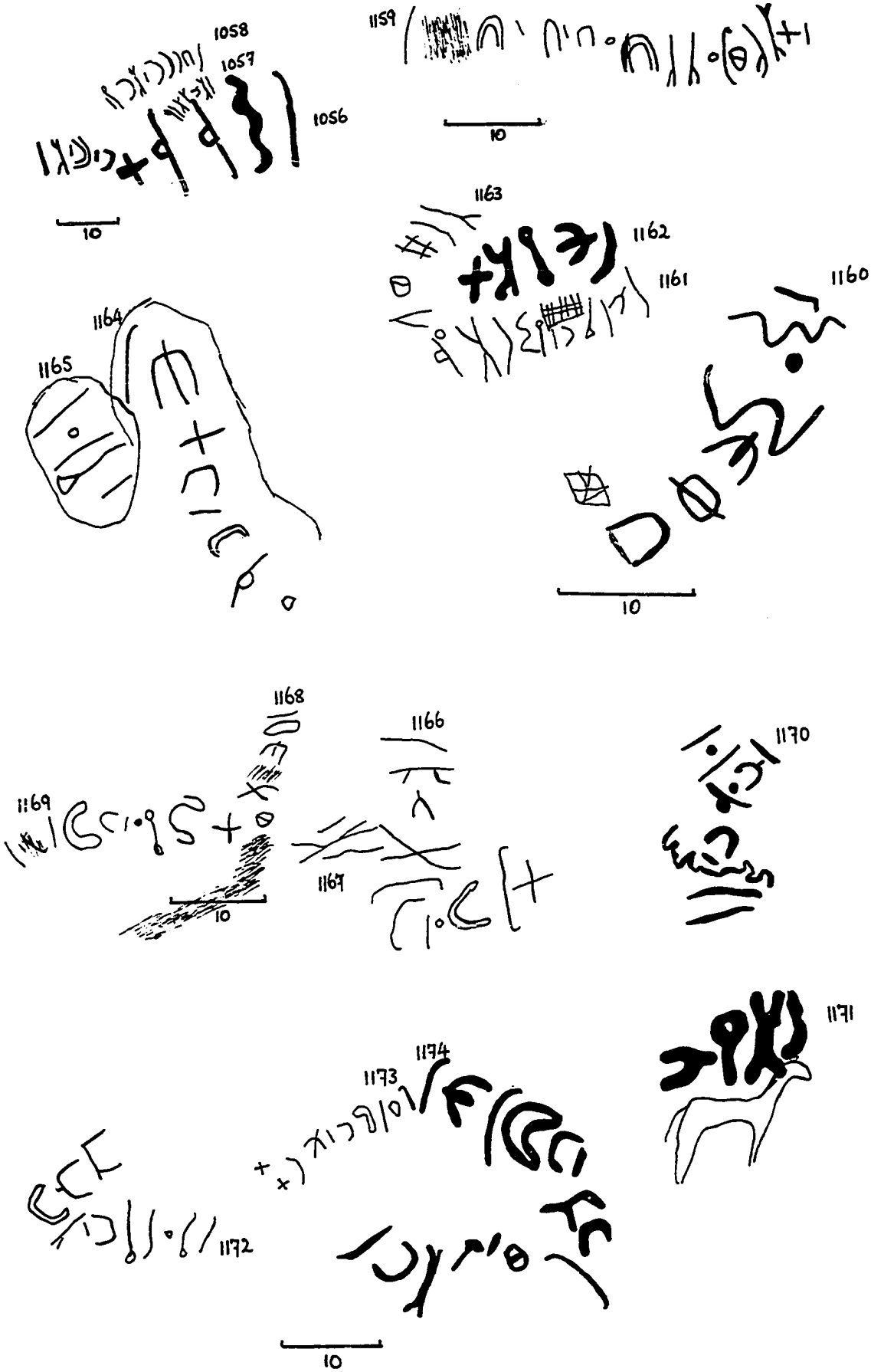

Fig. 71 Texts 1156-1174.

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Fig. 72 Texts 1175-1189.

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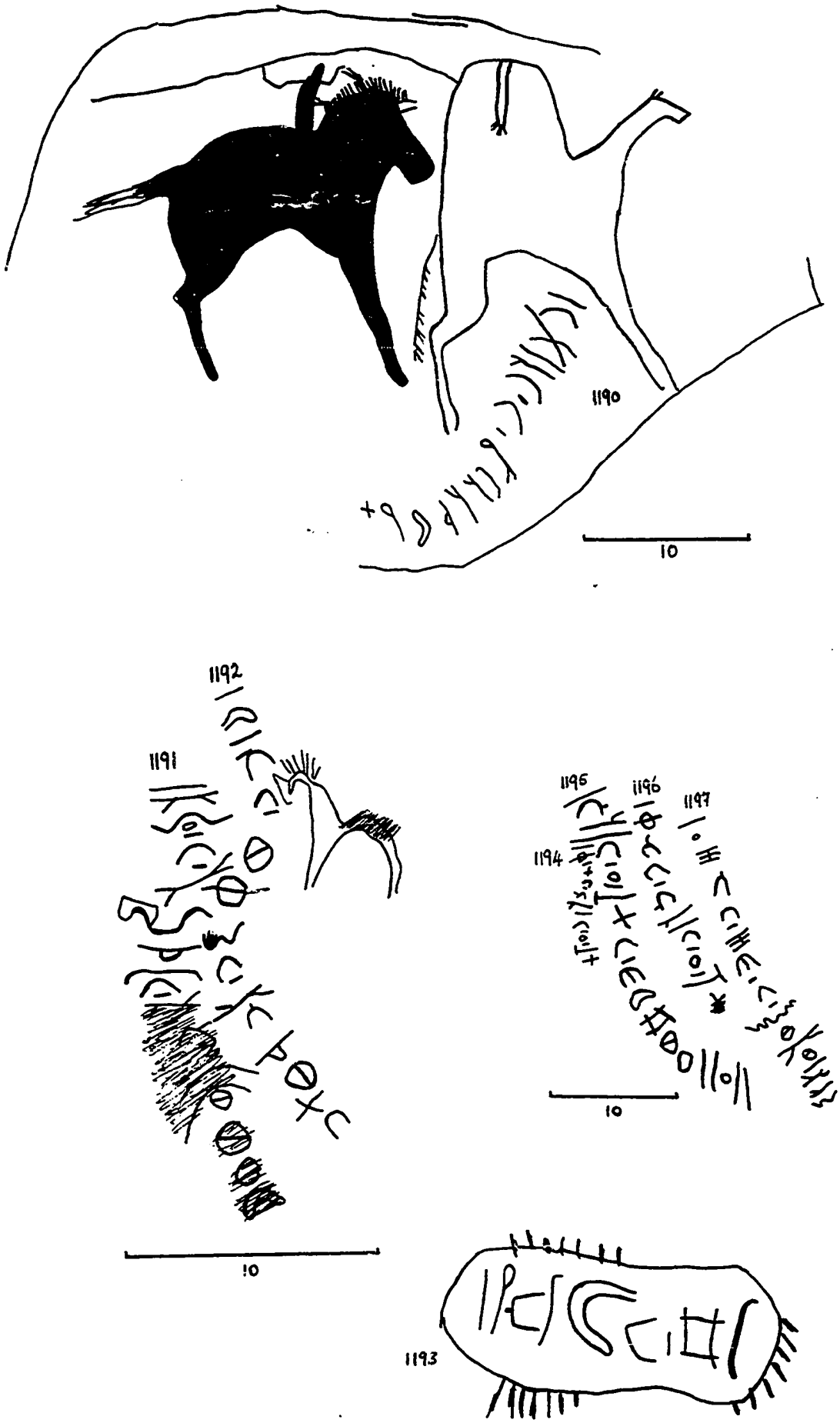

Fig. 73 Texts 1190-1197.

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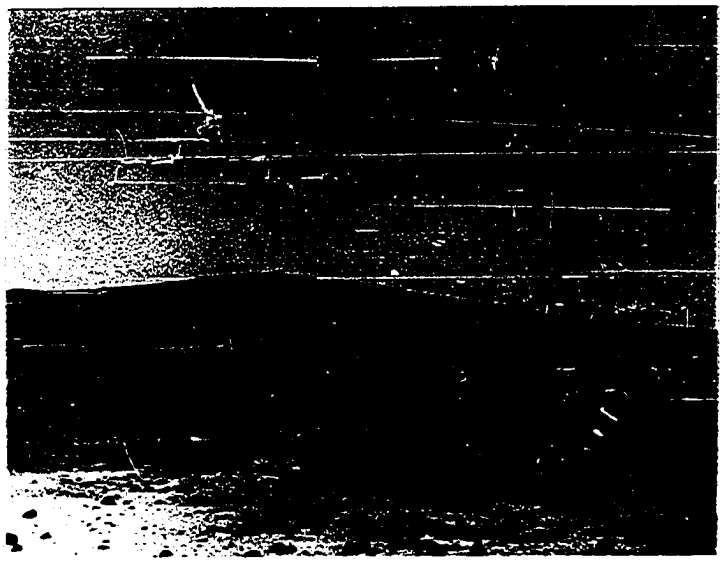

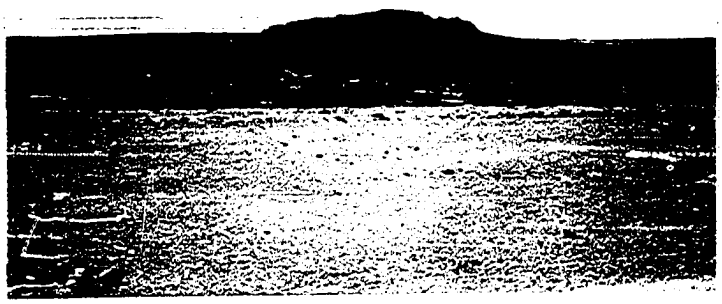

Top - Site B, Murabb as-Suwei^{c}id (Point c. on ridge top).
Centre - Site D, Qa^{c} ash-Shahba. Bottom - Site E (Tell al-Ashqaf behind).

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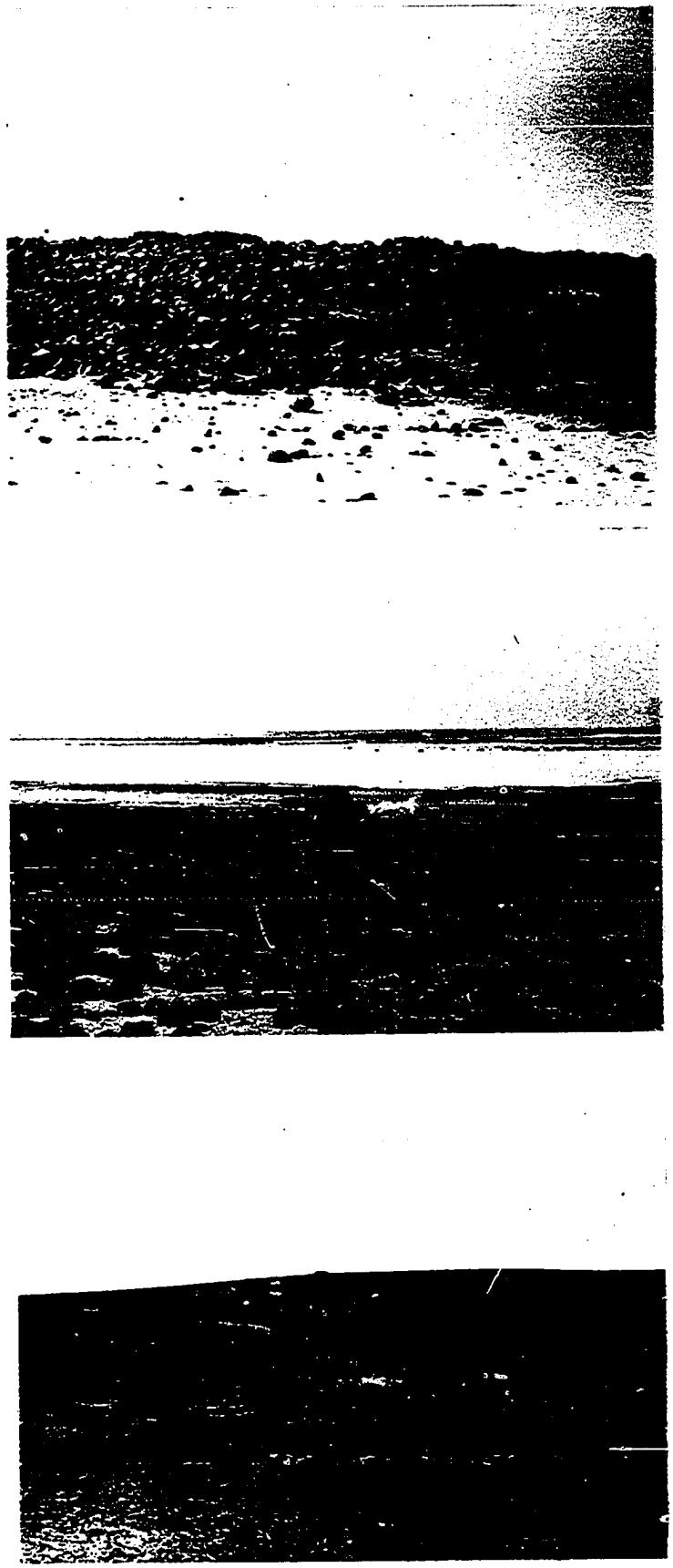

Top - Site I (looking west). Centre - Site M, view eastward from the edge of the Harra . Bottom - Site M (looking south).

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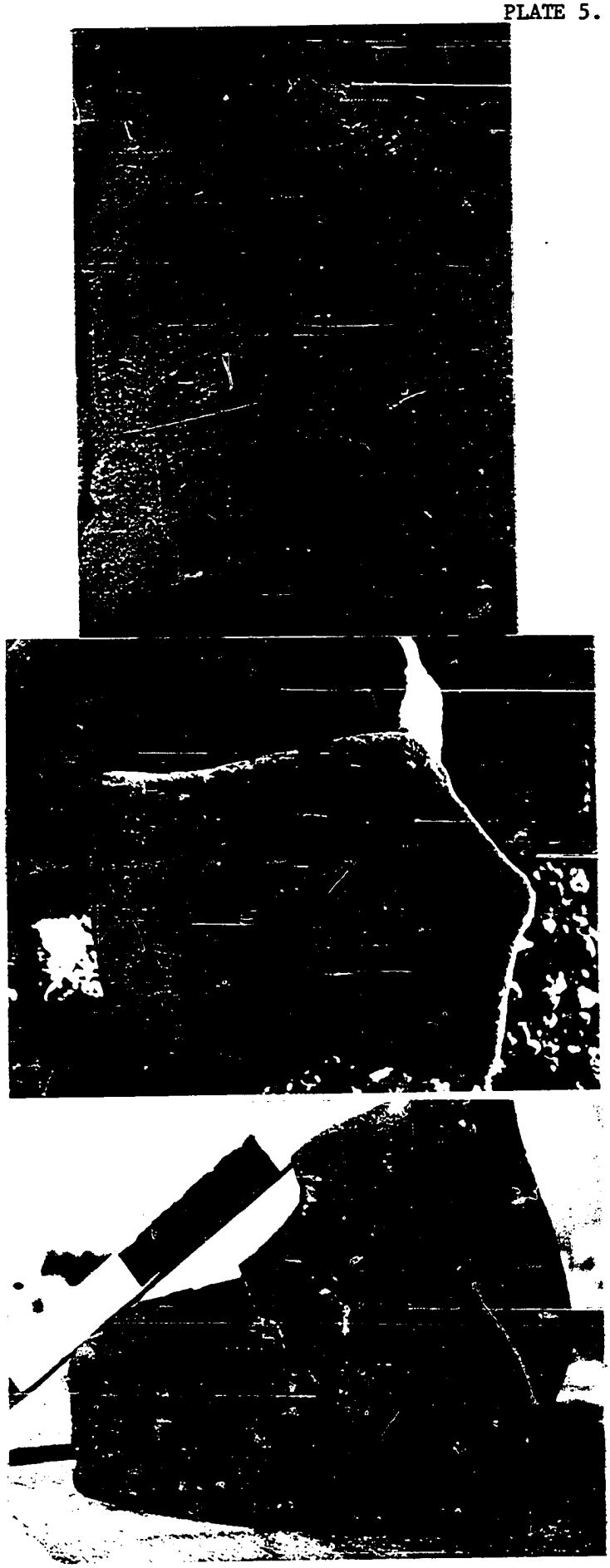

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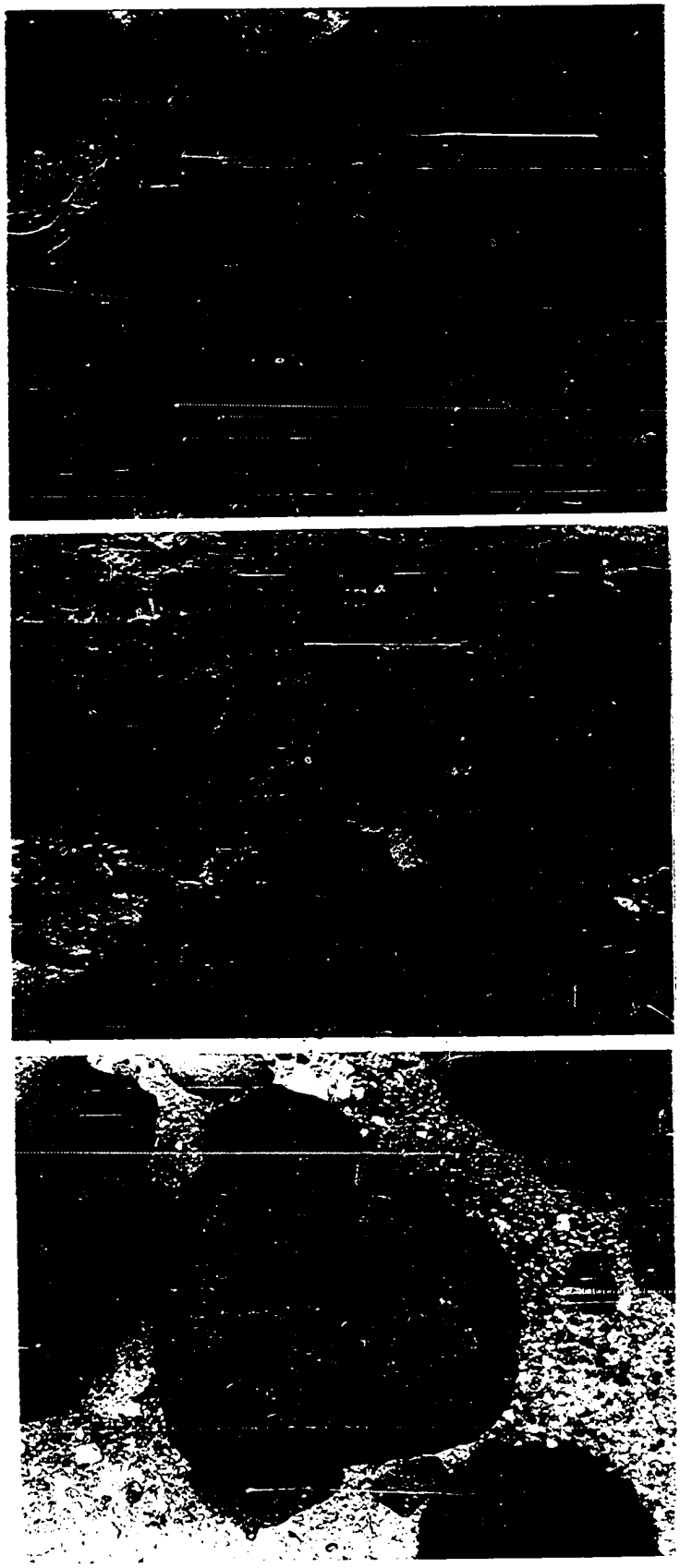

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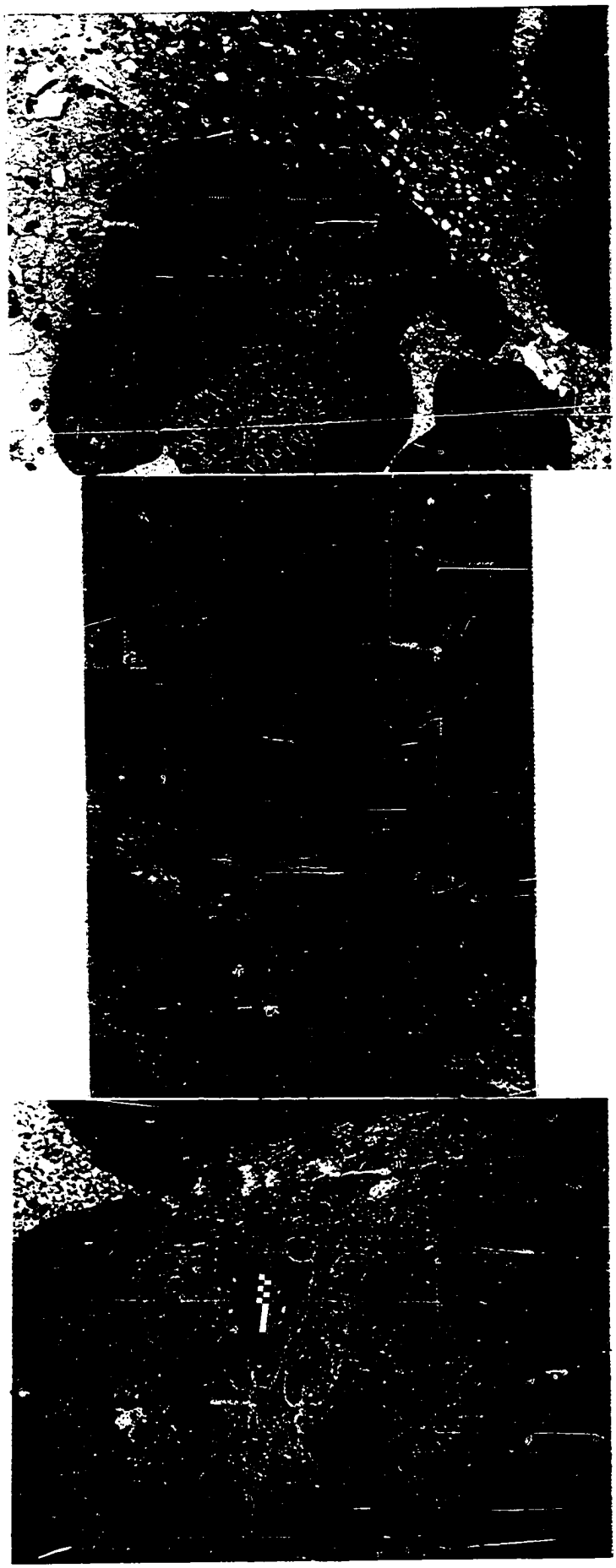

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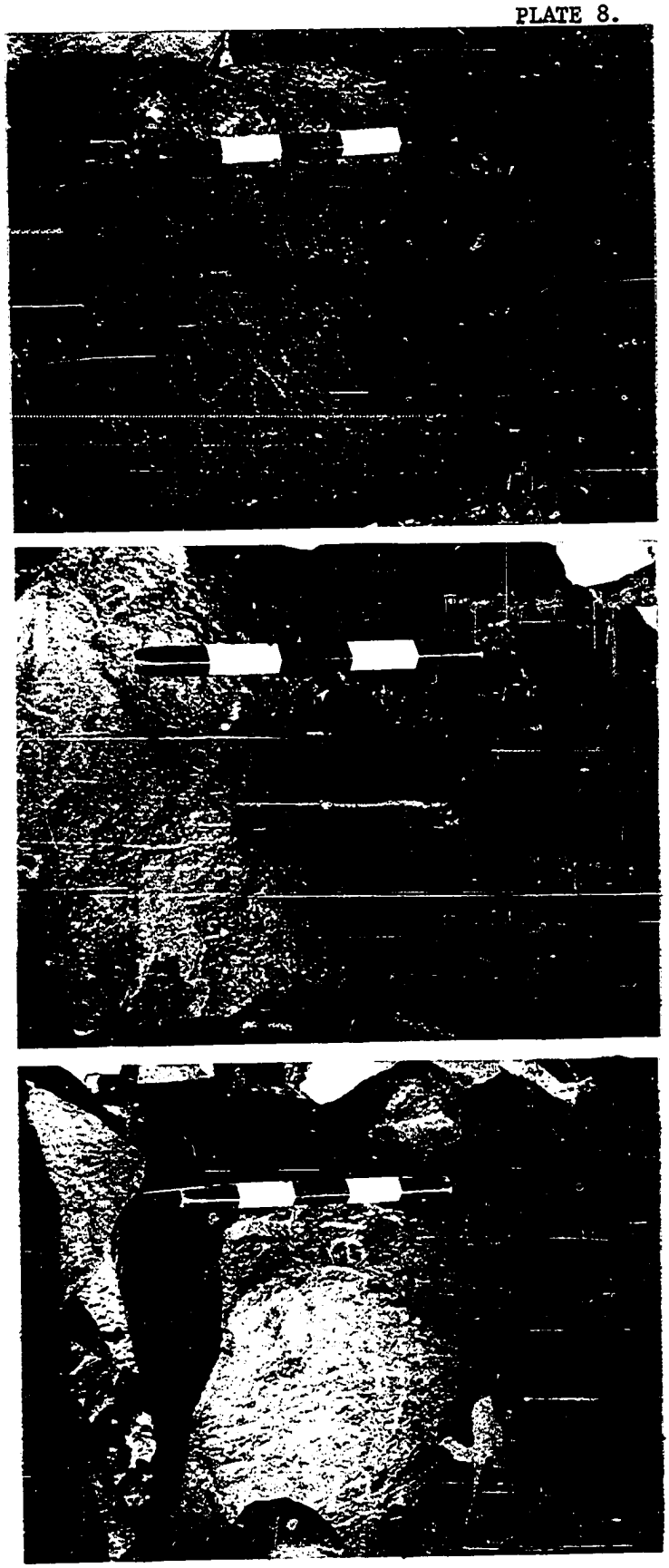

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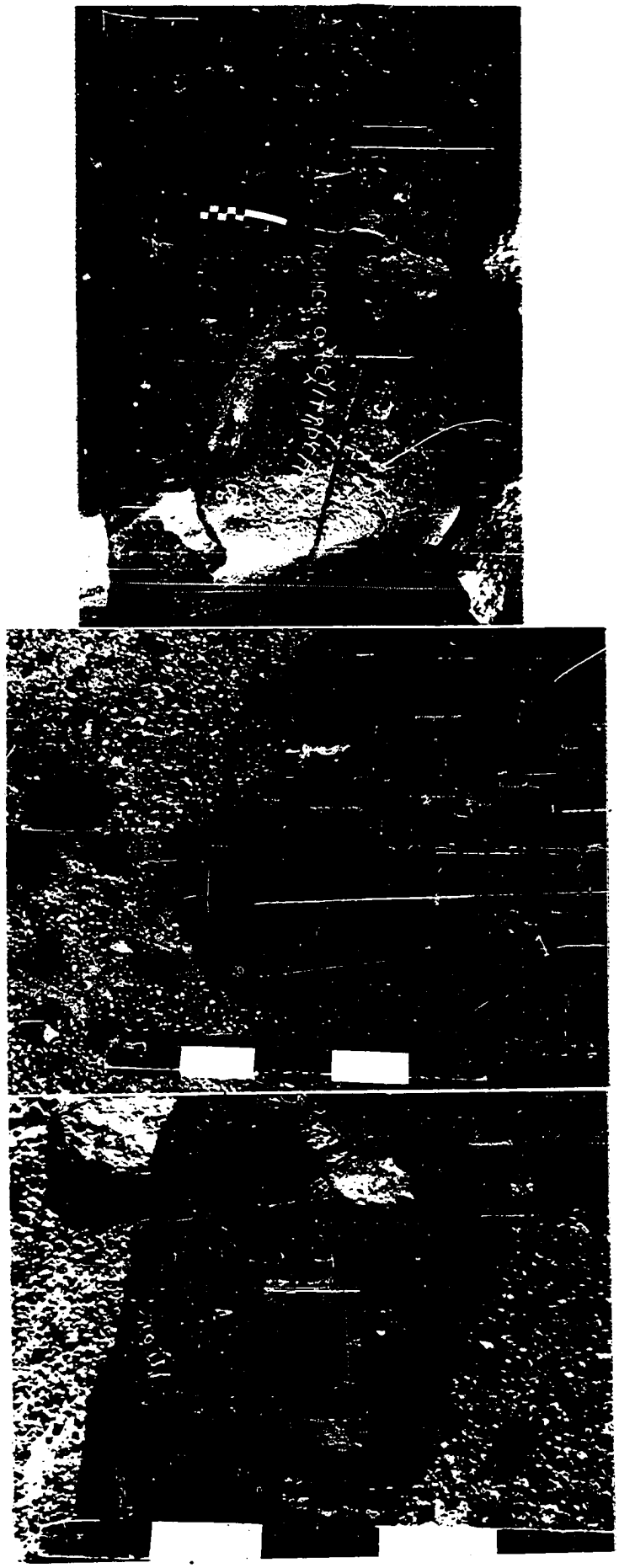

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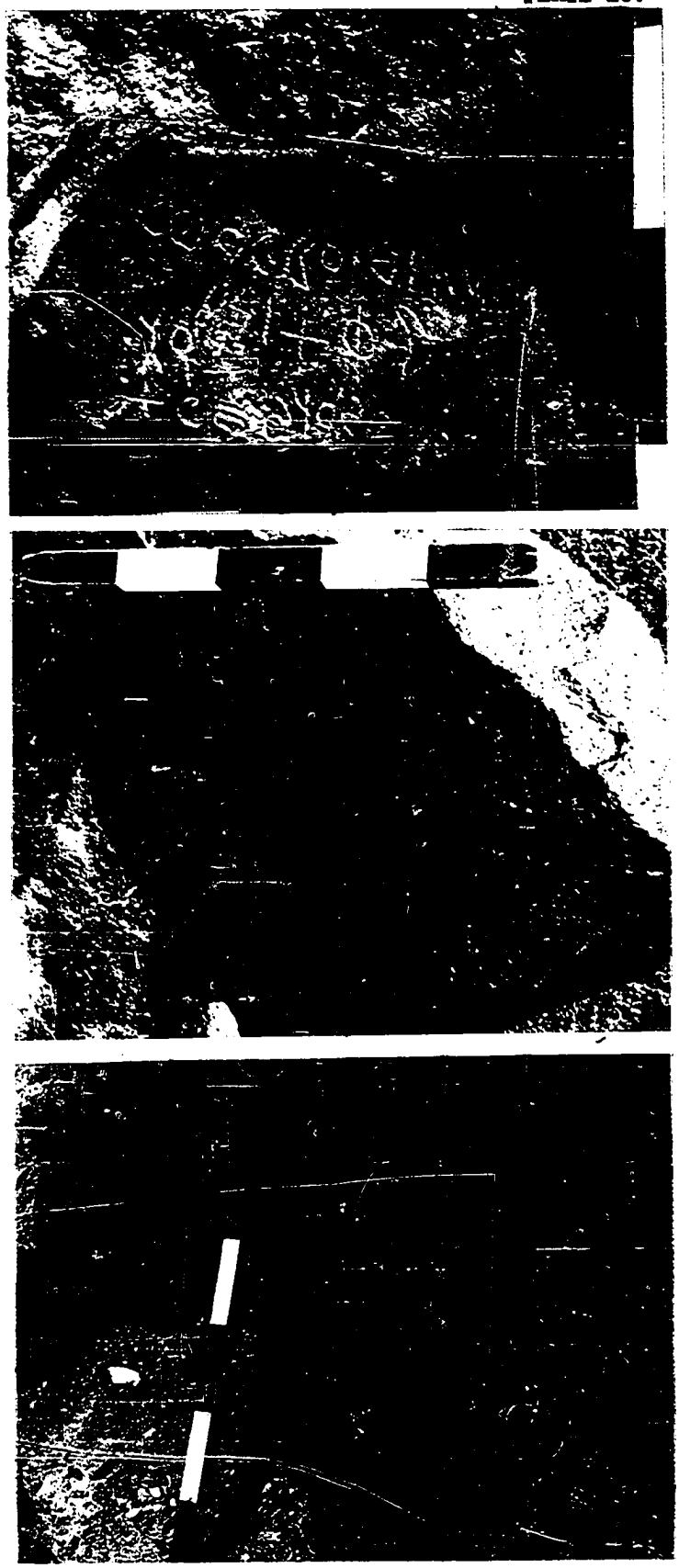

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