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## The Darb al-Bakrah. A Caravan Route in North-West Arabia Discovered by Ali I. al-Ghabban. Catalogue of the Inscriptions.

Laila Nehmé, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Alain Jacques Paul Desreumaux,  
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# The Darb al-Bakrah

A Caravan Route in North-West Arabia

Discovered by Ali I. al-Ghabban

Catalogue of the Inscriptions

Edited by Laïla Nehmé

With contributions by

Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux,

Ali I. al-Ghabban, Michael Macdonald, Laïla Nehmé, and François Villeneuve







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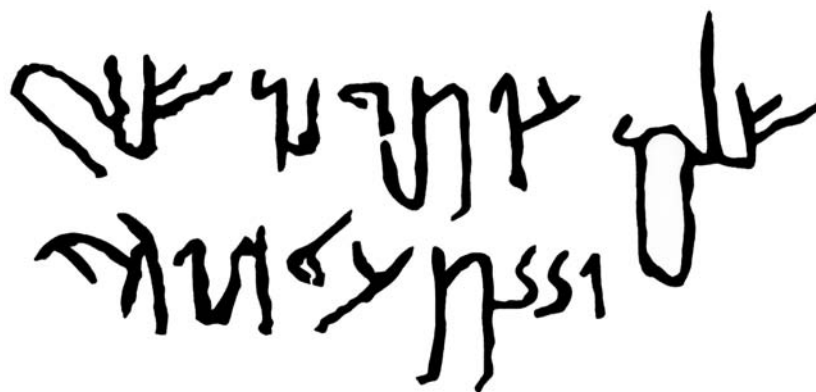
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Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage

Riyadh • 2018



## Foreword

The Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage is responsible for the protection, preservation, studying, and documentation of the antiquities. This is due to its great importance as a cultural heritage of ancestors, through which cultural values are passed from generation to generation and through which we can move from the past to the future, and vice versa.

The SCTH is keen on enhancing programs supporting scientific research and publications of scientific and specialized archaeological researches by the individuals and organizations. The SCTH believes that such an approach shall contribute to the documentation of the national heritage, highlighting its cultural values, and enhancing scientific and educational research in archaeology.

This publication comes within the framework of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques Cultural Heritage Program. The aim of this book is to raise awareness about the cultural and national heritage of the Kingdom; connecting its citizens with their national identity and history. The Arabian Peninsula is the origin of various human civilizations and Islam.

SCTH President

Sultan bin Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud

## Preface

The Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage through its Antiquities and Museums Sector is keen in documenting and introducing the efforts exerted for the protection, raising awareness, and promotion of the national and cultural heritage under the patronage of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques Cultural Heritage Program. This is done by implementation and enhancing the publication policy of the Antiquities and Museums Sector and in support of the goals and objective of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques Cultural Heritage Program. The cultural heritage of the Kingdom is rich; it is the cradle of Islam and a bridge connecting the continents of the world since ancient times.

Vice President of Antiquities and Museums

Jamal Saad Omar





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## Introduction

This volume is the first to be published on the material from the Darb al-Bakrah, which is the name given to the Saudi Arabian part of the ancient caravan track connecting the cities of Ḥegrā, in the Ḥijāz, and Petra, the Nabataean capital, in present day Jordan. The main period of use of this track was the Nabataean and Roman periods (first to third century AD) but it was also used earlier and later. This explains why the largest corpus of inscriptions is the Nabataean one, followed by that of the inscriptions carved in the Ancient South Arabian and Ancient North Arabian scripts and languages.

The track was first identified and surveyed by Ali I. al-Ghabban in 1999, then by a team, of which I was a member, in 2004. Hundreds of photographs were taken during the three day survey of the route and the epigraphic material was divided into various corpuses. The Nabataean and Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions were initially studied in the framework of the Habilitation thesis I presented in 2013 at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris under the title *Epigraphy on the edges of the Roman Empire. A study of the Nabataean inscriptions and related material from the Darb al-Bakrah, Saudi Arabia, 1st–5th century AD*. Only the chapters strictly related to the Darb al-Bakrah were included, with the necessary update, in the present volume.

The inscriptions come from a number of sites and are carved in a variety of scripts and languages, among which are Imperial Aramaic, Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic, Palmyrene, Ancient South Arabian, Ancient North Arabian (Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Hismaic, Safaitic, Thamudic B, C, and D, etc.), and Greek. There are also many Arabic inscriptions and rock drawings, but those will be published in separate volumes.

It is with a great pleasure that I accepted, at Ali al-Ghabban's request, to take in charge the edition of these inscriptions, especially since it gave me the opportunity to work with several distinguished scholars who are also good friends. I am also very grateful to him for having included me in the team in the first place and for having allowed me to study the Nabataean material for my Habilitation. I did my best, in the small amount of time I was given during the last steps of the preparation of the volume, to provide a complete edition of all the inscriptions which were brought to my attention. This includes the inscriptions photographed in 2017 by the Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' team of explorers, and I am very grateful to Abdullah al-Saeed for sending me the photographs of all the inscriptions taken by the Farīq, with their GPS coordinates and interesting geographical information about them. They were all integrated into the corpuses, which required quite a lot of work in the last few months.

There are still certainly many mistakes in the volume, some colleagues will certainly suggest corrections to the proposed readings, which can of course always be improved, but I am very happy to put this material at the disposal of those colleagues who are interested in the epigraphy, languages and history of ancient Arabia.

Laïla Nehmé  
Paris, March 2018

## Transliteration system for Arabic and Nabataean

<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Nabataean</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا	ʾ	Alef	ʾ
ب	b	Bet	b
ג	t	Gimel	g
ד	t̲ or th	Dalet	d
ה	j	He	h
ו	ḥ	Waw	w
ז	ḥ or kh	Zayn	z
ח	d	Ḥet	ḥ
ט	ḏ or dh	Ṭet	ṭ
י	r	Yod	y
כ	z	Kaf	k
ל	s	Lamed	l
מ	š or sh	Mem	m
נ	ṣ	Nun	n
ס	ḏ	Samekh	s
ע	ṭ	ʿAyn	ʿ
פ	ṣ	Pe	p
צ	ʿ	Ṣade	ṣ
ק	ḡ or gh	Qof	q
ר	f	Resh	r
ש	q	Shin	š
ת	k	Taw	t
י	l		
מ	m		
נ	n		
ה	h		
ו	w		
י	y		

**Note also that:**

- the “light” transliterations, with **th, kh, dh, sh** and **gh** (instead of **ṭ, ḥ, ḍ, ṣ** and **ġ**) are used for the toponyms;
- short vowels are transliterated as **a i u** and long ones as **ā ī ū**;
- diphthongs are transliterated as **aw** and **ay**;
- *alif maqṣūrah* is transliterated as **ā**;
- *tā' marbūṭah* is rendered *-ah*, except in a construct, where it is *-at*, and except in words which have become part of the English vocabulary, such as the Hijra.

**Editorial sigla:**

{ } enclose one or more uncertain letter(s);

[ ] enclose one or more restored letter(s);

---- correspond to a lacuna in the text, whatever its length;

a simple . is a lacuna of one letter only;

< > enclose a letter which is unnecessary in the text

A / used in a sequence of letters which are written between { } indicates alternative readings. Thus, *b{d/r}{d/r}w* indicates that the second and third letters may be read either *d* or *r*.



# Le Darb al-Bakra. Une nouvelle branche sur la route commerciale antique, entre al-Ḥigr (Arabie saoudite) et Pétra (Jordanie)

‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghabbān

The text which follows is the same as the one which was published in 2007 in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres*, p. 9–24, with only one or two additions in square brackets.

Si, dans le nord-ouest de l'Arabie (**fig. 1**), le commerce antique pouvait emprunter des itinéraires d'orientations diverses, il n'est guère douteux que la voie commerciale principale menait du Sud de la péninsule vers le Nord, parallèlement à la mer Rouge (**fig. 2**). Quand cette voie parvenait à Yathrib (aujourd'hui Médine), elle se divisait en trois branches. La première se dirigeait vers Madian et Ayla (Elath) et, de là, vers la Palestine et l'Égypte. La deuxième passait par Dīdān (aujourd'hui al-‘Ulā), Taymā’ et Dūmat (aujourd'hui Dūmat al-Jandal), pour gagner Damas ou l'‘Irāq. La troisième suivait un tracé intermédiaire qui, à partir de Dīdān et al-Ḥigr (aujourd'hui Madā’in Ṣāliḥ), rejoignait Tabūk et, de là, Pétra ou Buṣrā de Syrie : c'est elle qui est appelée le Darb al-Bakra, l'objet de cette étude. Bien évidemment, chacune de ces branches comportait des variantes locales.

Le géographe Ératosthène de Cyrène (mort vers 195 av. è. chr.), une des sources de Strabon, est le premier auteur antique qui nous éclaire sur l'itinéraire et la durée d'un déplacement entre la Palestine et le sud de la péninsule Arabique :

« La Kattabanie [= Qatabān] produit l'encens, la Chatramotide [Ḥaḍramawt] la myrrhe. Ces aromates et les autres sont échangés avec les marchands. Pour arriver à eux, ils mettent soixante-dix jours d'Ælana [Ayla ou Elath] à Minaia [Ma‘īn] — la ville d'Ælana se trouve sur l'autre renforcement du golfe Arabique, le renforcement près de Gaza appelé Ælanite, comme je l'ai déjà dit —, mais les Gerrhéens mettent quarante jours pour arriver en Chatramotide. »<sup>1</sup>

Après Ératosthène, nos informations proviennent d'Agatharchide de Cnide, l'auteur d'un ouvrage en cinq livres intitulé *De la mer Érythrée* (vers le milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. è. chr.), dont nous ne possédons plus que les passages reproduits ou utilisés par Artémidore d'Ephèse (début du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. è. chr.), lui-même uniquement connu à travers Strabon d'Amasie, Diodore de Sicile et Photios :

« Près de (l'île) se trouve un cap qui s'étend dans la direction du Roc des Arabes dits Nabatéens et de la terre de Palestine, où Minéens et Gerrhéens, ainsi que toutes les peuplades voisines, acheminent les chargements d'aromates. »<sup>2</sup>

Mais c'est Pline l'Ancien (mort en 79, victime de l'éruption du Vésuve) qui est le plus précis :

« L'encens récolté est transporté à dos de chameau à Sabota [Shabwat], où une seule porte lui est ouverte... Là les prêtres prélèvent au profit du dieu qu'on appelle Sabin [Sayīn] une dîme non à la pesée mais au volume...

1. Strabon XVI.4,4.

2. Strabon XVI.4,18.



On ne peut l'exporter que par le Pays des Gebbanites [Qatabān] ; aussi paie-t-on un tribut également à leur roi. Leur capitale, Thomna [Tamnaʿ], se trouve à 2 437 000 pas de Gaza, port de Judée, situé sur notre littoral, trajet qui est divisé en 65 étapes de chameau. Les prêtres et les scribes des rois reçoivent aussi des parts déterminées. Mais, en outre, gardes, satellites, portiers, serviteurs prennent part au pillage. Tout le long de la route, il faut payer, ici pour l'eau, là pour le fourrage, pour les stations, pour les péages, si bien que les frais, jusqu'à notre rivage, s'élèvent à 688 deniers par chameau. Là il faut encore payer aux fermiers généraux de notre empire. Aussi la livre du meilleur encens vaut-elle 6 deniers ; la seconde qualité, 5 deniers, la troisième, 3. »<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 1. Nord-Ouest de l'Arabie : carte de localisation.

Ces remarques critiques donnent à penser que les 65 étapes entre Tamnaʿ (la capitale de Qatabān) et Gaza se font sur une voie strictement organisée avec, à chaque étape, un caravansérail où les caravaniers peuvent se reposer et faire provision d'eau et de fourrage. Mais ces facilités ont un coût, de même que les gardes qui assurent la sécurité. Et il faut payer encore les taxes réclamées par les autorités religieuses ou civiles.

Ces textes, notamment, nous éclairent sur les revenus importants que procurait le commerce à longue distance entre le Sud et le Nord-Ouest de l'Arabie, pour les caravaniers et les habitants des régions traversées. Mais cette prospérité a connu des hauts et des bas : les bouleversements politiques qui ont affecté la région ou les empires voisins ont fréquemment provoqué des changements d'itinéraire, pour tenir compte des nouvelles modalités de taxation, de l'évolution des conditions de sécurité et du déplacement éventuel des principaux marchés de redistribution.

Pendant près de deux siècles, aux époques assyrienne et néo-babylonienne (du milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> au milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. è. chr.), la voie principale passe par Taymāʿ et Dūmat ; Taymāʿ est alors le centre commercial le plus important du Nord-Ouest de la péninsule. Ensuite, aux époques perse, hellénistique et nabatéenne (du milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. è. chr. au début du II<sup>e</sup> s. è. chr.), la voie la plus empruntée est le Darb al-Bakra ; Dīdān (auj. al-ʿUlā), capitale du royaume de Liḥyān, devient le principal relais, puis c'est al-Ḥigr, ville nabatéenne, au I<sup>er</sup> s. è. chr. Enfin, aux époques romaine et byzantine, on préfère la voie qui longe le rivage de la mer Rouge, en passant par Madian et Ayla ; Palmyre est alors la principale destination. Quant à Tabūk, c'est à l'époque islamique que cette ville devient le lieu de passage obligé des principales voies du Nord-Ouest de la péninsule Arabique, avec l'importance croissante que prend la route du pèlerinage qui mène de la Syrie à Médine et à Makka.

### Le Darb al-Bakra

Le Darb al-Bakra est une voie commerciale de l'Antiquité, qui n'a pas encore été décrite. L'idée dominante chez les voyageurs et les chercheurs qui se sont intéressés aux itinéraires caravaniers entre le Yémen et la Méditerranée — aussi bien ceux de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> s. que du XX<sup>e</sup> —, est que la voie al-Ḥigr - Pétra a été la plus empruntée dans l'Antiquité, comme elle le sera après l'Islam, sous le nom de « route du pèlerinage syrien ».

3. *Histoire naturelle*, XII 63-64.

C'est notamment l'opinion de Charles Doughty, qui a suivi la « route du pèlerinage syrien » en 1876, de Charles Huber qui a visité la région à deux reprises, en 1879 et en 1883, de Julius Euting qui accompagne Huber en 1883, ou encore des deux pères français Jaussen et Savignac qui ont parcouru deux fois cet itinéraire dans les années qui précèdent la guerre de 1914. Le rapport de ces derniers, publié sous le titre *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, reste jusqu'à nos jours la référence majeure sur les antiquités et les inscriptions de la région.

Pour ma part, j'ai été durablement influencé par cette hypothèse, jusqu'à ce que diverses observations m'aient conduit à la réviser. Je suis parti du constat que les inscriptions nabatéennes sont particulièrement nombreuses sur la partie du Darb al-Bakra proche d'al-Ḥigr, alors qu'elles sont presque absentes sur la « route du pèlerinage syrien » entre al-Ḥigr et Tabūk<sup>4</sup>. J'ai alors fait l'hypothèse qu'il existait une autre voie caravanière. J'ai commencé par en rechercher le début aux environs d'al-Ḥigr, en étudiant la géographie et la topographie sur les cartes et en faisant de nombreuses visites sur le terrain. Ensuite, poursuivant à partir de là, j'ai interrogé les bédouins et étudié la distribution des inscriptions liḥyānites et nabatéennes, ainsi que celle des autres vestiges antiques. C'est ainsi que, finalement, durant l'été 1999 (1420 h.), j'ai pu parcourir la totalité de l'itinéraire et mettre en évidence l'existence d'une voie inconnue, le Darb al-Bakra.

Cette voie est presque parallèle à la « route du pèlerinage syrien », qu'elle double à l'ouest. Elle part du village d'al-'Udhayb, dans la région d'al-'Ulā, à 40 km au sud d'al-Ḥigr. Elle prend la direction du nord-ouest, en terrain plat, passe près du village de Thurba et entre alors dans la Ḥarrat 'Uwayrīd<sup>5</sup>. Elle traverse cette dernière, toujours dans la direction du nord-ouest, arrive dans la région d'al-Jaww, traverse le Qā' Lālā, entre dans la Ḥarrat al-Ruhāt, suit le Shu'ayb al-Ataqa, prend la direction du nord et parvient, après 3 km, dans la région d'Umm Jadhāyidh, où se trouve la plus grande concentration d'inscriptions nabatéennes de tout le parcours, ainsi qu'un temple nabatéen au creux d'une vallée, le wādī 'l-Ruwayshid (fig. 3).



Fig. 2. Tracés des principales routes le long du littoral occidental.

4. L'étude des antiquités islamiques de la « route du pèlerinage syrien » a été le sujet de la thèse de doctorat ès lettres, que j'ai soutenue en 1988 à l'Université d'Aix-en-Provence, sous la direction du prof. Jean-Claude Garcin. Elle sera publiée prochainement par l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire [publiée en 2011 aux presses de l'IFAO].

5. Une ḥarra est une zone d'épandage basaltique.



Fig. 3. Umm Jadhāyidh.

À 3 km au nord de ce temple, toujours dans le *wādī* 'l-Ruwayshid, se trouve un grand bâtiment connu sous le nom de Bayt Abū Zayd. On en voit les fondations à la surface du sol, qui s'allongent sur plus de 30 m. Ce pourrait avoir été un caravansérail ou un lieu d'asile (*himā*). À 2 km plus au nord, on parvient à Mafshaq al-Nāqa, où se trouve une sorte de porte monumentale, avec deux montants construits en pierre, entre lesquels le voyageur devait passer. Cette porte indiquait peut-être le lieu où les taxes devaient être acquittées, à moins qu'elle n'ait marqué une frontière tribale. Sur ses pierres, on voit des inscriptions en écritures thamūdéenne, nabatéenne et arabe coufique.

La porte se trouve au plus haut d'un raccourci à travers la montagne, que la voie emprunte après avoir quitté le *wādī* 'l-Ruwayshid qui fait un grand détour vers l'ouest. La voie retrouve à nouveau ce *wādī* à 3 km au nord de Mafshaq al-Nāqa. À cet endroit se trouve une sorte de poste de contrôle, construit en pierre, en forme de tour circulaire, composé de trois murs circulaires successifs, d'un diamètre de 7 m, conservés sur une hauteur de 3 m. Du côté ouest, un autre mur circulaire mesurant 17 m de diamètre, qui dépasse à peine du sol, enveloppe cette tour.

Après cette tour, la route emprunte une passe étroite pour atteindre un *wādī* appelé al-Rāshida, où on trouve un cours d'eau pérenne appelé Ghadīr Abū Ḥalfā. Les panneaux rocheux environnants portent des inscriptions nabatéennes et des gravures. Ensuite, la voie emprunte sur 8 km le lit du *wādī* 'l-Rāshida et gagne le *wādī* 'l-Akhḍar, qu'elle atteint au lieu-dit Mafshaq Shaqrā. Ici aussi, les inscriptions nabatéennes abondent sur les roches de granit qui se dressent dans le lit du *wādī* ou sur les rives.

Plus loin, la voie suit sur près de 2 km le *wādī* 'l-Akhḍar, qu'elle quitte pour franchir une étendue de rochers, coupant un grand nombre de *wādīs* et de ravines, notamment 'Umayrīn, al-Ḥuzaym, Maysūra, al-Zirdāb et al-Radīn. Dans ce dernier *wādī*, on trouve de nombreuses tombes avec, sur l'une d'entre elles, une stèle funéraire nabatéenne datée. Deux kilomètres après le Shu'ayb al-Zirdāb, et à 26 kilomètres du *wādī* 'l-Akhḍar, la route parvient au sommet de la passe d'al-Bakra, nom d'une côte très raide, qui zigzague sur un 0,5 km. Au début et à la fin de cette côte, les panneaux d'inscriptions nabatéennes, lihyānites et coufiques — certaines datées du II<sup>e</sup> s. de l'hégire — abondent, apparemment tracées par les populations locale<sup>6</sup>.

Après la passe d'al-Bakra, la voie pénètre dans une vaste plaine, ceinturée de part et d'autre par des massifs montagneux peu élevés, et atteint Khashm Barak au bout de quelque 20 km. Elle s'élargit alors

6. L'une de ces inscriptions, datée de 151 hégire, a pour auteur un membre de la tribu locale de Balī, dont l'habitat se trouve toujours dans la région aujourd'hui.

en entrant dans la vaste plaine de Tabūk et se dirige vers Quṣayr al-Thamara, en direction du nord-ouest. La distance entre al-Ḥigr et Quṣayr al-Thamara est de l’ordre de 250 km.

Apparemment, la voie du Darb al-Bakra ne se poursuit pas vers le nord, au-delà de Quṣayr al-Thamara, comme le fait la « route du pèlerinage syrien », mais s’incline vers l’ouest en direction des monts Zayta, en bordure du plateau de Ḥismā. Elle pénètre dans une plaine et passe par divers établissements, dont les six principaux sont dans l’ordre ‘Uyūn Rāyis, al-Wiḍām (lieu d’étape naturel), al-Muḥaybil (site d’un habitat ancien), Qarya (site archéologique connu où ont été trouvées des antiquités nabatéennes et midyanites) et al-Ṣiyānī (site important où de nombreuses idoles ont été découvertes en surface). Après al-Ṣiyānī, la voie pénètre en Jordanie, passe par un établissement nommé al-Daysa, suit le *wādī* Ramm et parvient enfin au *wādī* Mūsā et à Pétra.

Le nom de Darb al-Bakra viendrait d’une histoire que racontent les habitants de la région. On rapporte qu’une jeune chamelle (*bakra*) se serait enfuie de son pâturage pendant la nuit ; ses maîtres, lorsqu’ils s’aperçurent de sa disparition, la suivirent à la trace et finirent par la trouver très loin, au lieu-dit Mafshaq al-Nāqa (la porte déjà évoquée, qui se trouve à mi-parcours de la voie) ; elle tenta de sauter par-dessus la porte, échoua et mourut entre les deux montants. Ce serait à la suite de cet incident que la porte aurait été nommée « Mafshaq al-Nāqa » et la voie « Darb al-Bakra ». Même s’il est vraisemblable que l’anecdote est une fable, elle n’en donne pas moins un nom plaisant et original à la voie.

La distance entre Quṣayr al-Thamra et Tabūk est de 10 km environ. Ceux qui veulent s’approvisionner en eau à Tabūk peuvent y passer. Après la conquête de Pétra par les Romains, les échanges commerciaux furent détournés vers Buṣrā. L’établissement de la domination islamique maintint une même orientation. Dès lors, la voie, après Quṣayr al-Thamra, passa nécessairement par Tabūk pour gagner, en direction du nord, Ma‘ān et Buṣrā, itinéraire qu’emprunte d’ailleurs le chemin de fer construit par les Ottomans. Apparemment, Quṣayr al-Thamra se trouvait au carrefour des voies passant par le bassin de Tabūk. On y trouvait une tour d’observation en pierre, soigneusement construite, sur un plateau dominant le point de rencontre des chemins venant de Ḥismā et al-Ḥarra.

[Les recherches menées sur le Darb al-Bakra ont montré pour la première fois que cet itinéraire est le même que celui qui a été utilisé par le Prophète Muḥammad au cours de son expédition à Tabūk. En effet, plusieurs haltes de la route sont mentionnées dans les sources historiques arabes qui évoquent cette expédition (par exemple Qā’ Lālā)].

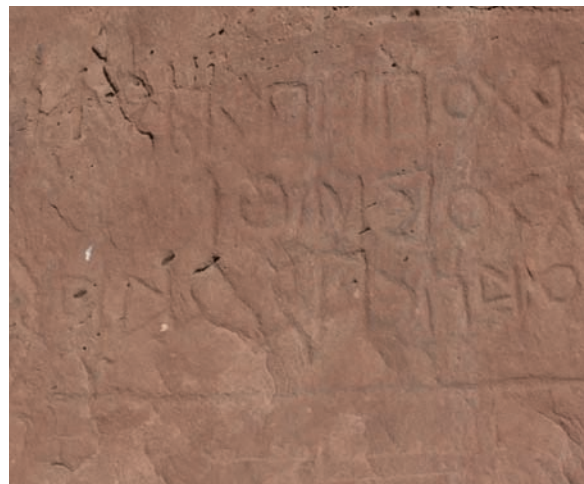
### Principaux vestiges archéologiques sur le Darb al-Bakra

Les antiquités du Darb al-Bakra se répartissent en diverses catégories :

– Plusieurs centaines d’inscriptions arabiques anciennes dans les alphabets nabatéen (**fig. 4**), lihyānite (**fig. 5**), thamūdéen (**fig. 6**) et sudarabique (**fig. 7**) ; la majorité est constituée par les inscriptions nabatéennes qui permettent de reconnaître l’itinéraire que suivait la voie.



**Fig. 4.** Une inscription nabatéenne [UJadhNab 41].



**Fig. 5.** Une inscription lihyānite [JSLih 186].

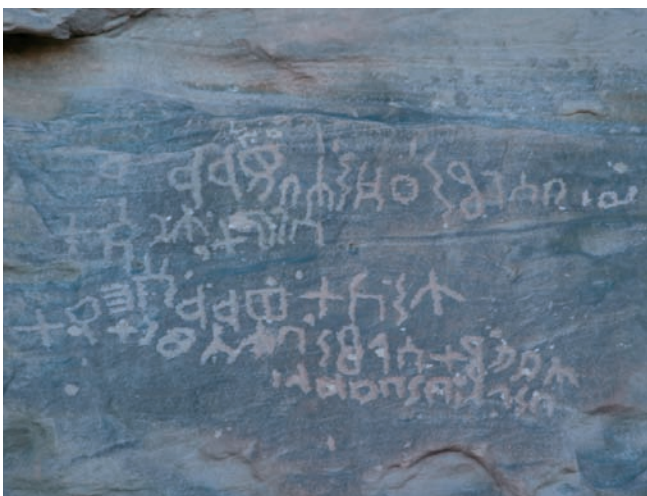


Fig. 6. Inscriptions thamoudéennes.



Fig. 7. Une inscription sudarabique [ArASA 12].



Fig. 8. Une inscription grecque.

- Plusieurs inscriptions écrites dans l’alphabet arabe préislamique.
- Quelques inscriptions grecques, dont une qui flanque le dessin d’un rameau d’olivier (**fig. 8**).
- Un temple nabatéen dans la région d’Umm Jadhāyidh que se trouve à mi-parcours environ. Sur les massifs rocheux aux alentours, les inscriptions nabatéennes abondent ; il se pourrait même que ce soit ici l’ensemble le plus important en un lieu unique. Les murs du temple, qui est détruit, ont été en grande partie emportés par les eaux de ruissellement ; les blocs de pierre taillés qu’on trouve à proximité portent des inscriptions nabatéennes.
- De nombreux observatoires et tours de surveillance, tous construits en pierre, autour des lieux d’étapes et le long de la voie (**fig. 9**).
- Des ensembles de tombes en divers points de la voie ; sur l’une de ces tombes, la stèle rédigée en nabatéen est datée.
- De nombreux points d’eau, bassins naturels et sources ; noter tout particulièrement la source Tarba et celle du *wādī* 'l-Akhdar.



Fig. 9. Vestiges architecturaux.



Fig. 10. Une inscription arabe archaïque.

– Un monument qui semble être une porte, avec deux montants construits en pierre sur lesquels sont gravés des inscriptions nabatéennes. Ce pouvait être le lieu où étaient perçues les taxes, puisque ce monument se trouve dans un défilé étroit, nécessairement emprunté par les caravanes.

– Un ensemble d'inscriptions islamiques anciennes, gravées apparemment par la population locale (fig. 10) ; certaines sont datées du I<sup>er</sup> et du II<sup>e</sup> s. hégire.

– Des structures construites en pierre, notamment de forme circulaires, qu'on peut attribuer à l'Âge du Bronze (fig. 11).

– Un très grand nombre de gravures rupestres de différentes périodes, représentant notamment des animaux sauvages — ibex, lions, autruches, bouquetins — et des caravanes de chameaux (fig. 12-13).

– Des structures construites en pierre,



Fig. 11. Un cairn.



Fig. 12. Premier exemple de gravure rupestre.



Fig. 13. Second exemple de gravure rupestre.

La majeure partie du parcours du Darb al-Bakra, ainsi que les parties les plus remarquables en termes de vestiges et d'inscriptions, se trouvent dans la province de Tabūk (*minṭaqat Tabūk*). Si cette voie fut tout particulièrement empruntée pendant les périodes lihyānite et nabatéenne, elle ne cessa pas d'être active après la conquête du royaume de Nabatène par les Romains (106 è. chr.) et la réorientation des circulations commerciales de Pétra vers Buṣrā : cela est démontré par les inscriptions grecques et par les nabatéennes dont la date est postérieure à la chute de Pétra.

En [2004], j'ai dirigé une prospection de la voie, en compagnie de nombreux collègues, notamment les Drs Ḥusayn Abū 'l-Ḥasan et Laïla Nehmé (CNRS), l'ingénieur 'Adnān al-Jābir et le doctorant Ḥamūd al-'Anazī, depuis al-Ḥijr jusqu'à Tabūk. [En 2005, une nouvelle mission de prospection a permis d'atteindre la frontière jordano-saoudienne]. De nouveaux sites et ensembles de textes épigraphiques ont été enregistrés. Les résultats feront l'objet d'une collection particulière. Le premier volume, en cours de rédaction, traitera des inscriptions, qui offriront la matière pour des études plus approfondies sur le sujet.

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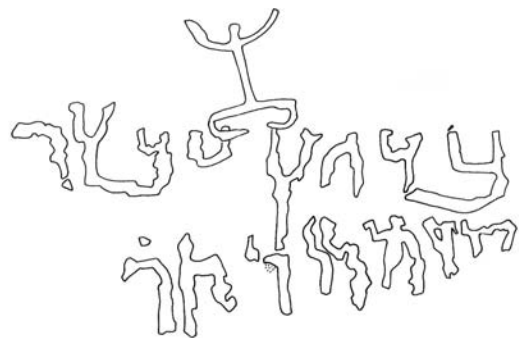
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# Texts in Imperial Aramaic?

Michael C.A. Macdonald, University of Oxford

## UJadhImpAr? 1



The text is carved on the same rock face as the inscriptions carved in Nabataeo-Arabic characters UJadhNab 300 and 301. It is clear that the end of the second line of UJadhNab 301 has been written over part of UJadhImpAr? 1 and this would be the expected relative chronology of the two. The top of the rock shows a drawing, possibly of a hunting scene, with at least one horseman holding a spear. Below the drawing, there are three lines of letters which can be read neither as Ancient North or Ancient South Arabian, nor as Nabataean, nor as Aramaic, even if some of the letters may be read as such (‘, *n*, *d/r*). The + sign, which occurs three times (the second of which may be more recent because it has a lighter colour), is peculiar. The end of the second line of letters is obscured by the drawing of a man with raised arms and curved legs. No satisfactory reading can be given for this succession of letters.

UJadhImpAr? 1 proper is carved in large letters at the bottom of the rock.

It reads:

*brg* {*b*}{*r*} ‘*bdw*

*qdm* {*m*}{*ntw*

‘Barag {son of} ‘Abdū, in the presence of Manātū’.

What has been read as the second word of the first line is problematic. If the letters are indeed *b r* then both have forms one would expect in late Nabataean not Imperial Aramaic. The long vertical line



running from the ligature between the *b-r* and the *n* in the line below appears to be extraneous to the text. Common combinations of letters such as *b-r* often develop a particular shape which is different from the shape each letter has in other, less common combinations, and this might explain the stark difference between *b-r* here and at the beginning of the line. The existence – and, in this case, the extent — of this development suggests that this text is not strictly in Imperial Aramaic but in the early stages of a local development from it, hence the “?” in the siglum.

The second line is clear, apart from the second *m*, which has not been carved in the same manner as the first, and in fact looks like *n-n*. However, *nn* would make no sense in this context and it seems likely that the author intended it as a *m* but for some reason tried to form it in a different way from the first.

### DBv3ImpAr? 1



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

DBv3Nab 3 and DBv3ASA 4 are on the same stone.

Chiselled in large letters. There is a stick-figure drawing of a man to the right of the second line.

*b{d}nw*

*{b}{n}{'}{z}tw*

*ymny*

It is not certain whether the letters in the top left-hand corner of the face belong to this text. They look very different and have not been included in the reading. At the beginning of line 3, there is also an extraneous *š* carved in a quite different technique from the rest of the text.

The reading is difficult and is offered very tentatively since some letters have their Imperial Aramaic forms and others have shapes which are much more developed. Thus, an Imperial Aramaic *m* in line 3, but two very developed shapes for *y* at the beginning and end of the same line, and what could be a very developed Nabataean *ʿ* in line 2. I have read the initial letter in lines 1 and 2 as *b*, but the latter has a far more shallow cup than the former

There is an extraneous diagonal line the lower end of which is above the final letter of line 2 and another at the base of the right vertical of the *m* in line 3. It is, of course, very puzzling to find *bn* rather than *br* in an Aramaic inscription, if indeed this the correct reading. If my reading of line 3 is correct, the significance of *ymny* in this context is not certain, since if it is a *nisbah* one would expect *\*ymnyʿ*.

# The Nabataean and Nabataeo-Arabic Inscriptions

Laïla Nehmé, CNRS – UMR 8167

This *corpus* contains all the texts from the Darb al-Bakrah which were written either in the Nabataean script or in a script which is regarded as transitional between Nabataean and Arabic, for the definition of which see Nehmé 2010a and Nehmé 2017a: 75–78. The Aramaic part of the Darb al-Bakrah epigraphic material also includes two texts in Syrian Aramaic (UJadhSyr 1–2, in a Palmyrene cursive) and two in Imperial Aramaic (UJadhImpAr? 1 and DBv3ImpAr? 1), for which see the contributions of F. Briquel-Chatonnet (with A. Desreumaux) and M.C.A. Macdonald in this volume.

The texts were photographed either by the author or by A. al-Ghabban during the survey of the Darb al-Bakrah undertaken in 2004 (**fig. 1**).<sup>1</sup> For these, the specific authorship of each photograph is not indicated. Some photographs, showing inscriptions which had been previously published by S. al-Theeb but which have not been found in 2004, are reproduced from S. al-Theeb's publications and are identified as such under the relevant photos. Finally, some photographs were provided in 2017 by a team of Saudi Arabian explorers known as Farīq aṣ-Ṣāḥrā', who have very kindly put the photographs and the GPS coordinates of the places where they were taken at our disposal.<sup>2</sup>

Usually, when dealing with texts which are accessible in the field, the epigraphist makes copies *in situ* in order to read the text in the most accurate way possible and to provide a record of what he saw on the stone. In the case of Darb al-Bakrah, however, there was no time, during the survey, to make copies of the texts, and we have therefore worked only from photographs. This means that when a photograph is not of top quality or when an inscription is not very clear, the reading may be improved in the future by an examination of the original.

The inscriptions have been numbered according to a system which consists of the initials of the site where they were found followed by letters indicating the script in which they are written (“Nab” for “Nabataean”) followed by a number. Note that “NabAr” for Nabataeo-Arabic” has been used only for the newly added (2017) inscriptions photographed by Farīq aṣ-Ṣāḥrā'.<sup>3</sup> The initials used for the sites which have yielded Nabataean inscriptions are the following:

1. On the survey and its preliminary results, see al-Ghabban 2007.

2. The Farīq aṣ-Ṣāḥrā' has a website: [www.alsahra.org](http://www.alsahra.org). I am particularly grateful to Abdullah Al-Saeed for the very fruitful exchange of emails we had and for the interesting information he provided on the location of the inscriptions.

3. This is not satisfactory but the existing numbering has been kept for the moment. Thus, the number of most of the Nabataeo-Arabic texts contains only “Nab”, not “NabAr”.

<i>Site name</i>	<i>Siglum</i>	<i>Site no.</i>
al-‘Udhayb	Udh	2
Ṣadr Ḥawzā’	SH	7
Umm Laḥm	UL	8
Jabal Sa‘īdah	JabSa	12
Qā‘ an-Nqayb	QN	39
al-‘Armiyyāt	Ar	40
Suḥ al-Baḡhlā	SB	41
Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt	TM	43
Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd	MBAZ	44
‘Ayrīn	Ay	45
Umm Jadhāyidh	UJadh	38
Ghadīr ar-Rāshidah	GhAr	51
Darb al-Bakrah various 1	DBv1	49
Darb al-Bakrah various 2	DBv1	50
Darb al-Bakrah various 3	DBv1	52



**Fig. 1.** A. al-Ghabban and L. Nehmé on the summit of the outcrop at Umm Jadhāyidh.



They are arranged (also in the table above) in the order in which they were visited, except for Jabal Umm Jadhāyidh, at which the largest number of texts was recorded, which appears at the end, followed by the sites discovered by Farīq aṣ-Ṣāḥrā'. Finally, the sites themselves have received a number, which is not of particular importance and which is reminded here for sake of completeness.

Each text is illustrated by a photograph and a facsimile, except the Farīq aṣ-Ṣāḥrā' ones, for which there was no time to make the facsimiles. The latter, drawn manually in pencil by the author, were then inked by Dan Ky, to whom I am grateful for his excellent work. The drawings were then scanned and included in the catalogue. The general aspect of the facsimiles may be different from one text to the other, depending on the carving technique used. It is hoped that these drawings will help the reader to check the reading of the texts. When several inscriptions appear on one photograph, their respective numbers are given in order to make their identification easier.

Two groups of inscriptions contained in this catalogue have been published previously. Firstly, some of those carved in the area between al-'Ulā and Madā'in Ṣāliḥ were recorded and published by A. Jausen and R. Savignac at the beginning of the 20th century. Those texts already published in their *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (siglum JSNab) are identified here.

The second group of texts is at the site of Umm Jadhāyidh. Some of these were published by S. al-Theeb in 2002 (*Nuqūš jabal umm jadāyid al-nabaṭiyyah*, siglum ThNUJ) and 2005 (*Nuqūš nabaṭiyyah fī 'l-jawf, al-'ulā, taymā'*, siglum ThNUJT). The first book contains 230 Nabataean inscriptions, that is a little less than half of those we photographed at this site in 2004.<sup>4</sup> It is a very valuable publication since it contains the reading and commentary of each inscription. However, some photographs were of very poor quality and the decipherment of the inscriptions was sometimes difficult.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the inscriptions from Umm Jadhāyidh published by S. al-Theeb correspond also to nos 471–738 in his catalogue of the Nabataean inscriptions from Saudi Arabia, published in 2010. This catalogue contains 967 inscriptions but does not include any of those found along the Darb al-Bakrah itinerary, apart from those from Umm Jadhāyidh.<sup>5</sup> Thus, most of the discoveries of Nabataean inscriptions made during the survey, especially north of the site called al-Jaw, are published here for the first time.

The reader will find, at the end of the catalogue, a concordance of the JSNab, ThNUJ and ThNUJT texts with their numbers in this present work.

The commentaries to the texts have been reduced to the minimum and the reasons for choosing a particular reading are rarely given. In most cases, and for readers who are already acquainted with Nabataean epigraphy, these reasons will be fairly obvious. When they are not, the facsimile is intended to explain the suggested reading. One should be aware, however, that some readings are far from certain and in these cases, letters are put between { } and sometimes alternative readings are suggested, as in UdhNab 7, *zb{d/k}{d/r}{š}{w}*.

4. Some of the texts which are published in this book were not found in 2004.

5. See, p. 947, the map showing the sites which have yielded Nabataean inscriptions in north-west Arabia.

## A. The distribution of the inscriptions

The survey of the Darb al-Bakrah was undertaken along what is thought to have been a caravan track and aimed at demonstrating that this, and not the one which follows more or less the Darb al-Ḥajj ash-Shāmī, a little to the east (**fig. 5**), was the ancient route between Petra and Ḥegrā. The Darb al-Ḥajj, which is well known thanks to the work of the Arab geographers,<sup>6</sup> to the exploration made by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac and, above all, to the monumental study published by A. al-Ghabban,<sup>7</sup> corresponds to the line of the Ḥijāz railway.

Relatively few sites, among the ones which were visited during the Darb al-Bakrah survey, have yielded Nabataean inscriptions, and the number of inscriptions varies considerably from one site to the other, from 1 to 572 (see **fig. 1**). The survey started north of the modern city of al-‘Ulā but it does not include the inscriptions from Madā’in Šāliḥ, ancient Ḥegrā, at which there are more than 400 Nabataean texts. These were recorded between 2003 and 2017 by the Saudi-French Madā’in Šāliḥ Archaeological Project and will be published separately. Thus, the southernmost site of the Darb al-Bakrah survey is al-‘Udhayb, between al-‘Ulā and Madā’in Šāliḥ. Going north, one finds Nabataean inscriptions in Umm Laḥm, Ṣadr Ḥawzā’, Jabal Sa’īdah, Umm Jadhāyidh, Ghadīr ar-Rāshidah, Darb al-Bakrah various 1–3, Qā’an-Nqayb, al-‘Arniyyāt, Suḥ al-Baghlah, Ṭal’at al-Midrāt, Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd and ‘Ayrīn.

The number of texts found at each site is given in the following table:

al-‘Udhayb	24	Ṭal’at al-Midrāt	11
Ṣadr Ḥawzā’	1	Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd	2
Umm Laḥm	1	‘Ayrīn	3
Jabal Sa’īdah	1	Ghadīr ar-Rāshidah	20
Umm Jadhāyidh	572	Darb al-Bakrah various 1	26
Qā’an-Nqayb	49	Darb al-Bakrah various 2	2
al-‘Arniyyāt	169	Darb al-Bakrah various 3	20
Suḥ al-Baghlah	11	TOTAL	912

Thus, 912 Nabataean texts were recorded along the Darb al-Bakrah, the majority of which are previously unpublished. The sites which have yielded the greatest number of texts are Umm Jadhāyidh and al-‘Arniyyāt, at about 50 km distance from each other. The site of Umm Jadhāyidh, halfway between Ḥegrā and Tabūk, is the most impressive one. It lies on both flanks of the Wādī Ruwayshid (**fig. 3**) which was probably used as a track in Antiquity. It contains at least one archaeological structure, unfortunately badly looted, of which little can be said without excavation either on its date or its function (a well? a tomb?). The inscriptions are carved on the large basalt and sandstone boulders which form high outcrops overlooking the wadi. The slopes of these outcrops are thus literally covered with inscriptions, in a way which is at present unique at Nabataean sites (**fig. 4**). They are carved in a variety of languages and scripts, including Imperial and Syrian Aramaic (Palmyrene), Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic, Ancient South and Ancient North Arabian, Greek and Arabic. The number of inscriptions, their variety, their quality, the fact that several persons who left their signatures say they come from somewhere else or are going somewhere else, their dates, which cover the fourth/third century BC to the fifth century AD and probably the beginning of the Islamic period, the number of deities mentioned in the texts, all point to this place being a central place, more important than just a caravan stop.

6. The main Arab geographers who described the Arabian part of the Darb al-Ḥajj ash-Shāmī before the fifth century of the Hijra are Ibn Khurādādhbah, al-Ḥarībī, Ibn Rustah and Qudāmah. See al-Ghabban 2011: 86, n. 39.

7. Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1922: vol. 1, p. 49–107) describe the road but the most complete description of it is to be found in al-Ghabban 2011: 83–105 (itineraries) and 147–173 (description of remains).



**Fig. 3.** The Wādī Ruwayshid in the area of Umm Jadhāyidh.



**Fig. 4.** General view of the largest outcrop at Umm Jadhāyidh. Tens of inscriptions are carved on the boulders from the bottom to the top of the outcrop.

## **B. Contents of the inscriptions**

Despite their very formulaic contents, the Nabataean inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah have yielded information which is presented in the following paragraphs. Moreover, the comparison of the contents of the texts, which was made possible by the computer-generated concordance of all the words and names which occur in them, allows us to make useful connections between them.

The texts which contain only names (PN son of PN + *šlm*, *dkyr*, etc.) have not been translated. Besides, very few personal names have been vocalized, since in most cases this would be arbitrary, except when obvious Arabic equivalents were found.

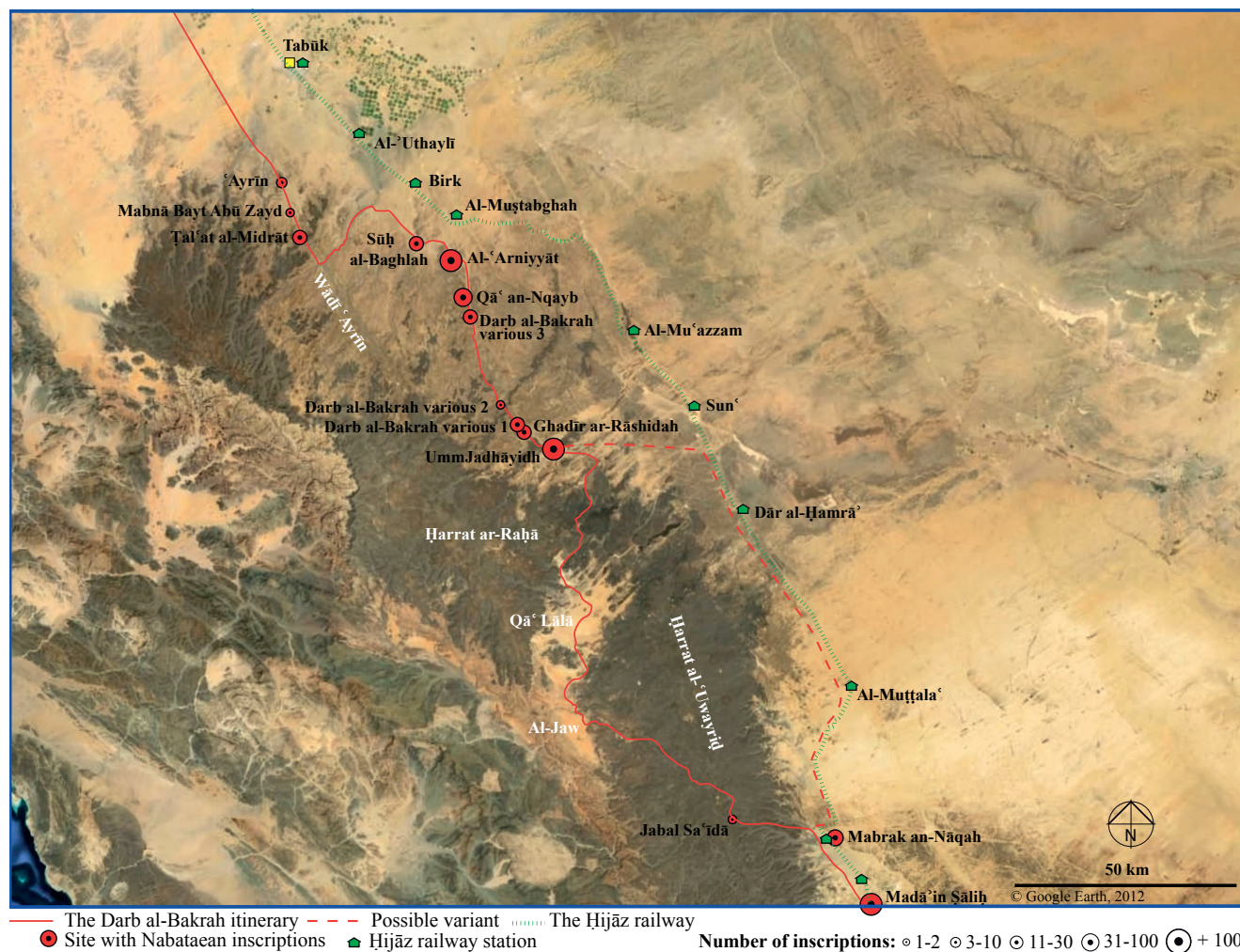


Fig. 5. The Darb al-Bakrah and the Darb al-Hajj ash-Shāmī between Madā'in Šāliḥ and Tabūk.

### B.1. Typology

The vast majority of the inscriptions are signatures using one of the following patterns:

- one or several names only;
- name(s) preceded or followed by the word *šlm*, “may be safe”;
- name(s) preceded or followed by the word *dkyr*, “may be remembered”;
- name(s) preceded or followed by both *dkyr* and *šlm*;
- name(s) followed by the profession of the author;
- name(s) followed by a *nisba* indicating the origin of the author(s);
- name(s) followed by an indication of where the author comes from;
- name(s) followed by the date;

It should be mentioned that not a single text contains the word *bryk*, “may be blessed”.<sup>8</sup>

Most of the individuals who left their signature did so alone, but some were accompanied: we know of two men signing together (ArNab 101, ArNab 162–163?, UJadhNab 28, 39, 192, 389), or three (ArNab 159, UJadhNab 142 and 243), or four (UJadhNab 214). In other cases, the author adds to his name that of his companions or colleagues (UJadhNab 18, “and his companions the cavalrymen in charge of the guard”).

8. On the formulas used in the Nabataean inscriptions, see Healey 1996.



Apart from the simple signatures, the following categories of texts have been identified:

- texts mentioning historical events: one inscription, UJadhNab 109, mentions the year when the king ‘Amrū was “introduced” (*’dhlw*). ‘Amrū is certainly an Arab phylarch but his identity remains uncertain (see the commentary in the catalogue).
- commemorative texts with a particular content:
  - UJadhNab 5, 199: *šlm kl gbr dy ’zl lhgr*’, “May any man who went to Ḥegrā be safe”;
  - UJadhNab 40, 41, 47, 88, 189, 226, 228, 295, 391, 538: *šlm/dkyr... mn qdm* + divine name or simply *mn* + divine name, where *mn qdm* means “in the presence of” the deity.
- texts with religious content:
  - UJadhNab 237: *d’ ’lt dy bnh...*, “This is ‘Allāt, which was made by...”.
  - UJadhNab 313, 345, 364, 368: prayers addressed to al-‘Uzzā.

## B.2. Mention of geographical origin

Several inscriptions contain identifiable forms of *nisba* (gentilic) which give the origin of the author of the text. Also, five texts contain the phrase ... *dy mn* + toponym, “... who is from + toponym”, which indicates where the person(s) who wrote the text come(s) from.<sup>9</sup> To these should be added three possible other mentions of origin, expressed in a different way.

The examples of *nisba* are the following:

- in UJadhNab 40, two persons at least are said to be *hgry*’, “Ḥegrans”;
- in ArNab 165 and UJadhNab 172, a man is said to be *m’by*’, probably “Moabite” and in UJadhNab 511, another one is said to be *m{b}y*’, which may be the equivalent of *m’by*’;
- in UJadhNab 295, a man is said to be *nbty*’, “Nabataean”. It is important to note that usually, people mention their ethnic origin only when they are outside their home country. Thus, the other two previously known examples of *nbty*’ are to be found in a Palmyrene inscription written by a Nabataean horseman,<sup>10</sup> in three Safaitic inscriptions<sup>11</sup> and in a Nabataean inscription from the Wādī Minayḥ in the Egyptian oriental desert.<sup>12</sup> Does this mean that at the time when UJadhNab 295 was written, it was outside the Nabataean kingdom? This is not very likely, and it is possible that this text simply indicates that the road was used by people of various origins, in which case it made sense, for a “Nabataean” man, to specify his ethnic origin;
- in UJadhNab 518, a man is said to be *šlmy*’, which may be a *nisba* derived from the tribal name *šlmw*, mentioned along with *nbṭw* in a tomb inscription from Madā’ in Ṣāliḥ, JSNab 8.
- in DBvI Nab 14, the last line of the text reads *{y}hwd*’, which probably means “the Jew”, as *yhwdy*’ does in JSNab 4. There is no space for a *y* before the *’*. Note that the author of the text does not bear a Jewish name.

The other three possible forms of *nisba* are *mzny*’, “the Maznī”, in UJadhNab 56, in which the reading of the word is clear, *mrzy*’, “the Marzī”, in UJadhNab 36 (in which the third letter was read as a *z* because it is too long and too straight for a medial *n*), *{d/r}w{my}*’ in ArNab 45<sup>13</sup> and finally *gb{b/y}{h/h}y*’ in UJadhNab 196.

The five examples of *dy mn* + toponym are ArNab 20 (*dy mn ’lh{g}rw*), UJadhNab 8 (*dy mn {b/n}{t}n*), UJadhNab 46 (*dy mn qbt*’), UJadhNab 133 (*dy mn {d/r}kl*) and UJadhNab 459 (*dy mn ytrb*).

9. In theory, ... *dy mn* + proper name in Nabataean could also be interpreted as expressing tribal affiliation. However, the normal expression for that in Nabataean would be *dy mn ’l*, “who is from the tribe of”, which is attested in eleven texts, seven of which come from the Ḥawrān (Nehmé and Macdonald forthcoming). There are also several examples of *dy mn* followed by what is certainly a toponym: *dy mn šlhdw* (JSNab 226), *dy mn ytrb* (ThNUJ 163), etc.

10. CIS II 3973, see Teixidor 1973: 405–407.

11. Clark 1979, no. 661 (= CSNS 661) and Macdonald, Mu’azzin, Nehmé 1996: inscriptions no. B1 and B2, p. 444.

12. Nehmé 1999: 154–155, no. 40.

13. These three words, *mzny*’, *mrzy*’ and *{d/r}w{my}*’ have not been interpreted as words for professions because if they were substantives, they would be in the plural and yet there is only one man mentioned in the text.

### B.3. The toponyms

All in all, six toponyms only are mentioned in the texts.

– *hgr*<sup>ʿ</sup>, Hījrā, is the one which occurs most often, four times under three different forms: *hgr*<sup>ʿ</sup> in UJadhNab 5 and 199, *ʿlhgr* in UJadhNab 330 (written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script), and *ʿlh{g}rw* in ArNab 20. It is probable that *ʿlhgr* and *ʿlh{g}rw* are Arabic forms of the toponym, written with the *ʿl* form of the article (as in modern al-Hījr) as opposed to the Aramaic form *hgr*<sup>ʿ</sup>. This would be a very interesting example of shift from Nabataean Aramaic written in Nabataean characters (UJadhNab 5 and 199) to Arabic written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters (UJadhNab 330). As for the form *ʿlh{g}rw* in ArNab 20, it is identical to the one which appears in JSNab 17, dated to AD 267, of which little can be said except that the final *-w* has sometimes been considered as the mark of the flexional ending, whatever the flexion (nominativ, accusativ, genitiv).<sup>14</sup> In both examples of *ʿlhgrw*, JSNab 17 and ArNab 20, the script is calligraphic Nabataean. It is finally worth mentioning that the authors of ArNab 20 and UJadhNab 5, who say that they are from Hījrā (the other two texts do not contain personal names) do not appear in the Nabataean texts recorded at Madāʿ in Šāliḥ.

– *gy*<sup>ʿ</sup>, Gaia, which is the ancient name of Wādī Mūsā, near Petra,<sup>15</sup> is mentioned three times on the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions. In UJadhNab 41 and 402, it is part of the epithet of Dūšārā, saying where he resides (*dwšr*<sup>ʿ</sup> *ʿlh gy*<sup>ʿ</sup>, “Dūšārā the god of Gaia”). In UJadhNab 88, *ʿlh gy*<sup>ʿ</sup> appears alone, without the god’s name. This epithet<sup>16</sup> is known from Avdat and al-Jawf, ancient Dūmah, where it refers to Dūšārā<sup>17</sup>, and from Wādī Ram, where it refers to al-Kutbā.<sup>18</sup> In al-ʿAdnāniyyah, on the Moab plateau, it appears without any specification of the god.<sup>19</sup> In Petra, it is likely to appear in an inscription originally published by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac,<sup>20</sup> carved near tomb Brünnow no. 570 in Jabal al-Mʿayrah, MP 572. I have checked Milik’s rereading of this text which has indeed, l. 2–3, ... *lʿlh ---y*<sup>ʿ</sup> *ʿl[h]*<sup>ʿ</sup> ... possibly to be restored *lʿlh [g]y*<sup>ʿ</sup> *ʿlh*<sup>ʿ</sup>.<sup>21</sup> Finally, a god named in Greek Ἰλααλη appears in a text from Šammāt al-Baradān in the Ḥawrān,<sup>22</sup> where it is associated with his “angel” named Ἰδαροουμα. It is likely that when found in an inscription from Petra, the epithet refers to Dūšārā, and it is also likely, but not absolutely certain, that in UJadhNab 88, it also refers to Dušārā. Note that the city of Petra itself, whether in its Greek (*petra*) or Semitic (*rqm*) form, is not mentioned in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions.

– *ytrb* is mentioned only once, in UJadhNab 459. It corresponds to Yathrib, the pre-Islamic name of al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah. Surprisingly, it does not seem to be mentioned in any Ancient South or Ancient North Arabian inscription<sup>23</sup> and it is the first occurrence of the name in the Nabataean inscriptions. The city is of course mentioned in the Ḥarrān texts which give an account of the Babylonian king Nabonidus’ expedition.<sup>24</sup> It is also mentioned twice in the lists of women who were presented to one of the temples in

14. On this, see Nehmé 2010b: 467, n. 74. On wawation, see now Al-Jallad forthcoming and § I.1.6.

15. On Gaia and the Nabataean remains there, see al-Salameen and Falahat 2012, with references to previous publications.

16. For which see Milik 1972: 428–432, Healey 2001: 89–90, and al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017: 6.

17. Avdat: Negev 1963, no. 10, p. 113; Dūmah: Savignac and Starcky 1957. The orthography in these inscriptions is *gy*<sup>ʿ</sup>.

18. Savignac 1934: 575, no. 17, reread by J.T. Milik (1958: 247) and, correctly, by J. Strugnell (1959: 30). Note also that in a yet unpublished inscription from the Sidd al-Maʿjīm in Petra, MP 621, J.T. Milik reads *ʿlz*<sup>ʿ</sup> *gy*<sup>ʿ</sup> *y*<sup>ʿ</sup> in line 3 of a signature. However, all that can be read on the photograph is *ʿlz*<sup>ʿ</sup> *g*--- and it is therefore impossible to say whether the epithet “from Gaia” applies also to al-ʿUzzā.

19. al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017.

20. Jaussen and Savignac 1902: no. 17, copy p. 583 (= CIS II 423B, DNPf 35, and RÉS 1438, 2125).

21. Milik 1972: 109. Milik reads a *g* before *y*<sup>ʿ</sup> but it is not visible on the stone.

22. Milik 1972: 428–429, photo pl. XV.1.

23 For this, I rely on the expertise of both C. Robin and M.C.A. Macdonald, who searched for *ytrb* in their respective databases.

24. Gadd 1958: Iá-at-ri-bu. Nabonidus H 2, A and B, line 25, among the names of the other cities of Arabia Nabonidus went to after he left Babylon (l. 22–25): “But I hid myself afar from the city of Babylon (on) the road to Tema”, Dadanu, Padakku[a], Hībrā, Iadiḥu, and as far as Iatribu”. See p. 58–59 and 84–85.

Maʿīn.<sup>25</sup> Since the man who wrote UJadhNab 459 says that he is “from Yathrib”, it shows that there were contacts and routes between the region of Medina and the northern Ḥijāz. It shows also that Nabataean Aramaic was used there.

– *{b/n}{t}n* (UJadhNab 8, where the author says he comes from there): the reading of the place-name is doubtful and no satisfactory identification can be proposed for it.

– *qbt* (UJadhNab 46, where the author says he comes from there): this place-name is compared by the editor of the text (ThNUJ 216) to *qbyt*, which is said to appear in an inscription from Petra, MP 666 (= DNPF 92). It is true that in line 2 of the Petra text, the name *qbyt* (which may also be read *qnyt*) was read by G. Dalman in a second edition of the text (1914: 147). The *RÉS* (under no. 1434) suggested that the site mentioned in the Petra text may be equated with Tell Qbiyyah, in the Wādī al-Ḥasā in Jordan, described by A. Musil as a small ruin (1907: 28). However, not only is the line in which *qbyt/qnyt* occurs in the Petra inscription damaged but it is also unlikely that such a distant and apparently insignificant site would be mentioned in the Umm Jadhāyidh text. We are however unable to suggest an alternative for the identification of this site.

– *{d/r}kl* (UJadhNab 133). This place-name, which occurs for the first time in Nabataean, has been compared by S. al-Theeb to Rākāl, mentioned in 1 Samuel 30.29 among other cities of Judah.<sup>26</sup> He also suggests, if the toponym is read *rkn*, that it could be compared with *Rukkan* in the Yamāmah. However, the final letter is more likely to be a *l* than a *n* because it looks like the other *l* in the text and it does not have the form of a final *n*.

#### B.4. Inscriptions indicating a movement from one place to another

There are four ways one can analyse the movements of individuals from one place to another:

– when individuals leave their signature in a particular place but say that they come from somewhere else: UJadhNab 8 (*dy mn {b/n}{t}n*), UJadhNab 40 (the authors are from Ḥegrā), UJadhNab 46 (*dy mn qbt*), UJadhNab 133 (*dy mn {d/r}kl*), UJadhNab 459 (*dy mn ytrb*).<sup>27</sup>

– when the authors use the phrase *dy ʿzl l- + toponym*, “who went to + toponym”, which indicates where the person went to (and thus came back from). To this category belong UJadhNab 5 and 199, where we find the expression *šlm kl gbr dy ʿzl lhgr ʿw kl {gm}l*, “May any man who went to Ḥegrā and any camel be safe”.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, the author of UJadhNab 5, Judayyū son of Gab---- son of Ḥayyū, who appears at the end of the text, is not mentioned in the Nabataean inscriptions from Ḥegrā, and UJadhNab 199 does not contain any personal name.

– when the preposition *ʿilā* (*ʿly*), is used, as in UJadhNab 330, in a context difficult to interpret but in which the phrase *ʿly ʿlhgr*, “to al-Ḥijr”, is clear.

There is one fourth and last way one can identify individuals moving from one place to another, and that is by identifying the signatures which some of them left in several places, either on different rocks within the same site or at different sites. In order to avoid any over interpretation of the material, I have considered that when a man’s name is not followed by that of his father, it may refer to the same person *only* if the handwriting in the various signatures is the same. If it is not, it is possible that we are dealing with different individuals who bore the same name. Of course, using this criterion assumes that the authors of the inscriptions carved them themselves. To take only one example, the name *qšrw* is mentioned in UJadhNab 152.1, 190 and 432, but the handwriting in these three texts is different and *qšrw*

25. Two women are said to come from Yathrib: Maʿīn 93A/4 and 95/12. See Bron 1998, who suggests that the texts are dated to the fourth century BC. I am grateful to C. Robin for the reference to these texts.

26. Brown, Driver, Briggs 1999, s.v.

27. On the toponyms, see above.

28. Note that the expression *kl gbr* occurs also in Madāʿin Šāliḥ, in JSNab 295 (*dkyr kl gbr dy ----*).

was therefore not considered as being the same individual signing three times at Umm Jadhāyidh. Other examples of the same kind are usually commented on in the catalogue of inscriptions.

Before I give a list of the individuals who left their signatures in more than one place, I would like to give two examples of individuals who left their signatures both in one of the Darb al-Bakrah sites and elsewhere:<sup>29</sup>

– ‘Abšalām son of Ḥayyū carved JSNab 313 in Ḥegrā as well as UJadhNab 163 and 233 in Umm Jadhāyidh (fig. 6);

– if we admit that the *rbyb’l* son of *dmsps* of UJadhNab 414 is the same *rbyb’l* as the one mentioned in JSNab 43, carved below

tomb IGN 46 at Ḥegrā, it means that one of the governors of Ḥegrā travelled from there to Umm Jadhāyidh;

– finally, Ġanm/Ġānim son of Ḥa{b/n}ī{b/n}ū left his signature in al-Jawf and carved UJadhNab 448 in Umm Jadhāyidh (fig. 7). The Jawf text, which was read by S. al-Theeb (MAKNJ 30) as *‘nmw br zbynw*, is to be equated with ARNA.Nab 10, and the photograph of this text, given to me by Kh. al-Muaikil in 2003, shows clearly that the first letter of the second name is a *ḥ*, not a *z*, thus *ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*. Both texts are written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters and their script is very similar. Of course, the names being relatively common, the possibility always exists that we are dealing with two different persons.

The search for individuals signing more than once in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions yielded results which are summarized in two tables, one which shows movements from one site to another and one which shows movements within the same site.



Fig. 6. JSNab 313 from Ḥegrā: *dkyr ‘bšlm br ḥyw*, to be compared with UJadhNab 163 and 233 on fig. 9.14.



Fig. 7. a. ARNA.Nab 10 (MAKNJ 30, photo K. al-Muaikil) and b. UJadhNab 448: *dkyr ‘nmw br ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*.

29. Note that there may be more examples of this category. They will be identified only when a complete index of the names which appear in the inscriptions from other sites is available.

In the table below are listed the persons who carved their signatures in at least two different sites. Photographs of the personal names are provided **fig. 8.1–8.4**, with a commentary on the similarities or differences between the handwriting(s).

**Table 1. Individuals who left their signature at different sites:**

<b>fig. 8.1</b> no. 1	<i>ʾšlm br ʾšlmw</i>	ArNab 71 and UJadhNab 84
— no. 2	<i>qwzʾ br šly</i>	ArNab 77, UJadhNab 531, 555
— no. 3	<i>ʾkylw br hzw</i>	ArNab 125, 134, UJadhNab 537
— no. 4	<i>zbd br kmšnʾm</i>	UJadhNab 167 and DBv1Nab 1
— no. 5	<i>mškw br ʾydw</i>	UJadhNab 111, 114, DBv1Nab 4
<b>fig. 8.2</b> no. 6	<i>{d/r}{d/r}yw br zbdwn</i>	UJadhNab 289 and DBv1Nab 12
— no. 7	<i>zbdʾdnwn br ʾnʾm</i>	UJadhNab 191, 317 and DBv1Nab 13
— no. 8	<i>šyʾt</i>	ArNab 140 and DBv1Nab 26
— no. 9	<i>gdyw br hyyw (br gblw)</i>	UJadhNab 500 and DBv3Nab 1
— no. 10	<i>gblw br ʾšlmw</i>	TMNab 1 and UJadhNab 490
— no. 11	<i>zbdw br zydʾlhy</i>	ArNab 82 and UJadhNab 245
<b>fig. 8.3</b> no. 12	<i>yny br grgr</i>	ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380, 511 and 514
— no. 13	<i>yšlm br ʾwdmnwty</i>	QNNab 19 and UJadhNab 186
— no. 14	<i>m{d/r}{y}{d/r}t br rwpt</i>	ArNab 108 and UJadhNab 463
— no. 15	<i>mʾnw br šly</i>	ArNab 65 and UJadhNab 478
— no. 16	<i>ʾbdʾdnwn br rbʾl</i>	QNNab 18, ArNab 132 and 149
— no. 17	<i>šbrh br {m/š}{b/n}{ʿ}{d/r}</i>	ArNab 34 and UJadhNab 308
<b>fig. 8.4</b> no. 18	<i>šmydw br mnʾt</i>	ArNab 59, UJadhNab 370 and 485
— no. 19	<i>šlmw br hnynw</i>	QNNab 15, ArNab 51, UJadhNab 2

**Notes on Table 1** (and see fig. 8.1–8.4):

**no. 8, šyʾt:** there is no patronym after the name in both texts and the handwriting of the name is comparable although not identical.

**no. 13, yšlm:** in QNNab 19, there is no patronym after the name and there are differences in the handwriting. Compare for instance the medial *l*, straight in UJadhNab 186 and hooked in QNNab 19, but the form of the *y* in both texts and the ligature between the *y* and the *š* are comparable. It is therefore likely that we are dealing with the same individual. This means that the author chose the forms of *l* indiscriminately.

**no. 14, m{d/r}{y}{d/r}t:** there is no patronym after the name in UJadhNab 463 but the handwriting of the name is very similar in both texts.

**no. 15, mʾnw:** note that *br* is written differently in the two texts.

**no. 16, ʾbdʾdnwn:** the handwriting in ArNab 132 and ArNab 149 is relatively similar whereas it is different in QNNab 18. It is therefore possible that the author of QNNab 18 is another man.

**no. 17, šbrh:** there is no patronym after the name in ArNab 34 but the handwriting in both texts is very similar and the name, which is quite rare, does not occur anywhere else in our corpus.

It is worth noting that only one individual, *šbrh* (no. 17), wrote his name in the Nabataeo-Arabic script.

The inscriptions mentioned in the table above thus give indications of movements between:

- al-ʿArniyyāt and Umm Jadhāyidh (nos 1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19);
- al-ʿArniyyāt and Sūḥ al-Baghlah (no. 12);

- al-‘Arniyyāt and Qā‘ an-Nuqayb (nos 16, 19);
- Qā‘ an-Nqayb and Umm Jadhāyidh (nos 13, 19);
- Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt and Umm Jadhāyidh (no. 10);
- Sūḥ al-Baghlah and Umm Jadhāyidh (no. 12);
- Umm Jadhāyidh and Darb al-Bakrah various 1 (nos 4, 5, 6, 7);
- Umm Jadhāyidh and Darb al-Bakrah various 3 (no. 9);
- Possibly al-‘Arniyyāt and Darb al-Bakrah various 1 (no. 8)

To these should be added:

- Ḥegrā and Umm Jadhāyidh (UJadhNab 40), Yathrib and Umm Jadhāyidh (UJadhNab 459) as well as several sites which are preceded by *dy mn*, the identification of which is uncertain: *{b/n}{t}n* in UJadhNab 8, *qbt* in UJadhNab 46 and *{d/r}kl* in UJadhNab 133.

The information collected is summarized in the following table, in which is indicated the number of links between the sites:

	Al-‘Arniyyāt	Qā‘ an-Nqayb	Sūḥ al-Baghlah	Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt	Yathrib	al-Ḥijr	Umm Jadhāyidh	DBv1	DBv3
al-‘Arniyyāt		2	1				10	1?	
Qā‘ an-Nqayb	2						2		
Sūḥ al-Baghlah	1						1		
Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt							1		
Yathrib							1		
al-Ḥijr							3 <sup>30</sup>		
Umm Jadhāyidh	10	2	1	1	1	3		4	1
DBv1	1?						4		
DBv3							1		

One can see that Umm Jadhāyidh is linked with all the other sites, and especially with al-‘Arniyyāt, which lies about 50 km to the north-west, and with Darb al-Bakrah various 1, which is only 10 km to the north-west. Al-‘Arniyyāt is also linked to two other sites: Qā‘ an-Nqayb (*c.* 10 km south-east) and Sūḥ al-Baghlah (*c.* 10 km north-west). Finally, four sites are linked only with Umm Jadhāyidh: Darb al-Bakrah various 3 (*c.* 36 km north-west), Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt (*c.* 80 km north-west), al-Ḥijr (*c.* 125 km south-west), and Yathrib (*c.* 420 km south-east), the last two being major settlements. The figures in the table probably reflect the importance of the sites, and it is true that Umm Jadhāyidh and al-‘Arniyyāt are the ones which have yielded the greatest number of inscriptions on the Darb al-Bakrah. It is also worth noting that al-Ḥijr is linked only to Umm Jadhāyidh, and the same is true of Yathrib.

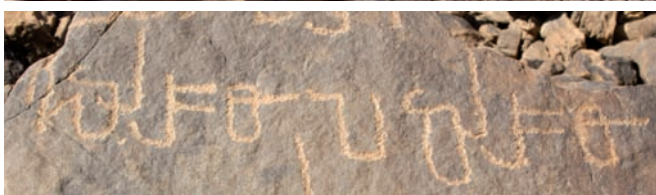
Identifying individuals in various places is extremely interesting because it shows that they were travelling along a route, whether the latter was a caravan route, i.e. was used for commercial purposes, or not. The Darb al-Bakrah offers the best and most numerous examples of these movements from one place to the other.

30. Because the inscription mentions three individuals.

no. 1



ArNab 71



UJadhNab 84

*ʿšlm br ʿšlmw*

The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

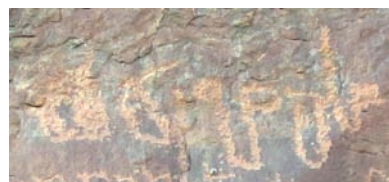
no. 2



ArNab 77



UJadhNab 531



UJadhNab 555

*qwzʿ br šly*

The letter forms in the texts are very similar.

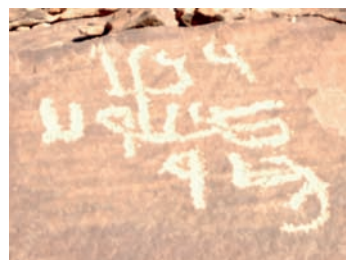
no. 3



ArNab 125



ArNab 134



UJadhNab 537

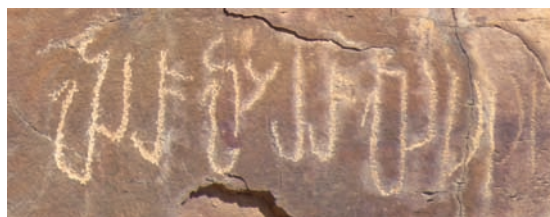
*ʿkylw br hzw*

The letter forms in the texts are very similar.

no. 4



UJadhNab 167



DBv1Nab 1

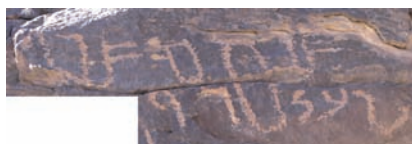
*zbd br kmšn ʿm*

The letter forms in both texts are not identical but the names are quite rare, and it is therefore likely that we are dealing with the same person.

no. 5



UJadhNab 111



UJadhNab 114



DBv1Nab 4

*mškw br ʿydw*

The letter forms in the texts are very similar.

Fig. 8.1. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at different sites, nos 1–5.

no. 6



UJadhNab 289



DBv1Nab 12

*{d/r}{d/r}yw br zbdwn*  
The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

no. 7



UJadhNab 191



UJadhNab 317



DBv1Nab 13

*zbd' dnwn br 'n'm*  
The letter forms in the three texts are very similar (note for example the very long final *m*).

no. 8



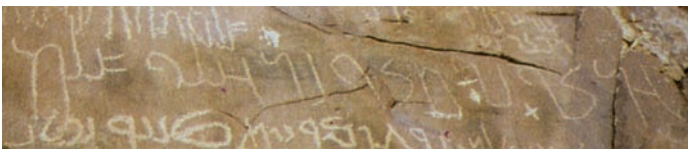
ArNab 140



DBv1Nab 26

*sy't*  
The father's name is not given.  
The letter forms in both texts are not completely identical.

no. 9



UJadhNab 500

*gdyw br hyw (br gblw)*  
The handwriting is the same.

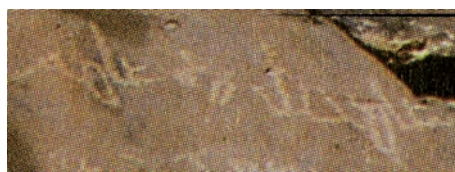


DBv3Nab 1

no. 10



TMNab 1



UJadhNab 490

*gblw br 'šlmw*  
The letter forms in both texts are not completely identical.

no. 11



ArNab 82



UJadhNab 245

*zbdw br zyd'lhy*  
The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

Fig. 8.2. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at different sites, nos 6–11.



no. 12



ArNab 12



UJadhNab 380



UJadhNab 514



SBNab 2



UJadhNab 511

***yny br grgr***

Whenever the name is clear, the letter forms are very similar.

no. 13



QNNab 19



UJadhNab 186

***yšlm br ʿwdmnwty***

The medial *l* is different in both texts and the ligature between the *y* and the *š* is not placed at the same level but we know that the form of the *l* can vary and the ligature between the *y* and the *š* is precisely an argument for *yšlm* being the same individual in both texts.

no. 14



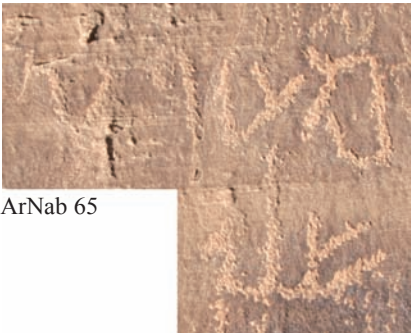
ArNab 108



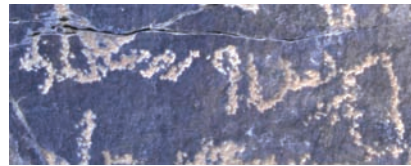
UJadhNab 463

***m{d/r}y{d/r}t br rwpt***

no. 15



ArNab 65



UJadhNab 478

***mʿnw br šly***

Note the difference between *br* in both texts.

no. 16



ArNab 132



ArNab 149

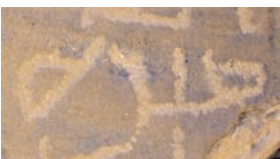


QNNab 18

***ʿbdʿdnwn br rbʿl***

There are more similarities between ArNab 132 and 149 than between the latter two and QNNab 18.

no. 17



ArNab 34



UJadhNab 308

***šbrh***

Despite the differences in the quality of the carving, it is possible to say that both texts were carved by the same man (note the forms of the *š* and of the final *h*).

**Fig. 8.3.** Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at different sites, nos 11–17.

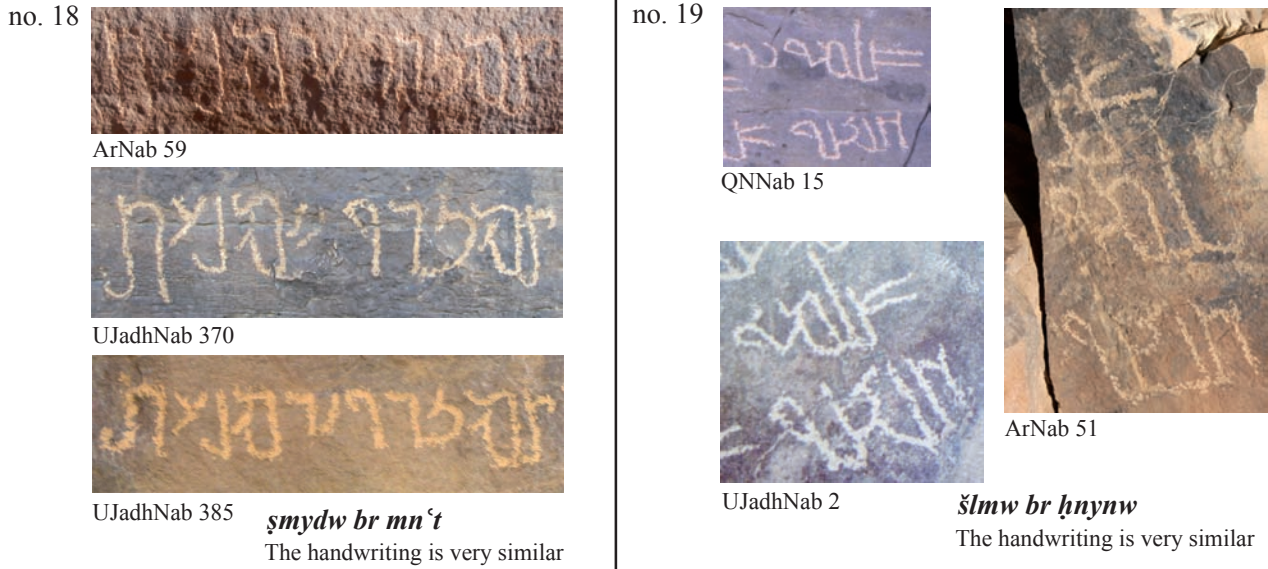


Fig. 8.4. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at different sites, nos 18–19.

The individuals who left their signature several times within the same site are less informative for the understanding of the ancient routes but their signatures are very interesting with regard to the script. They are presented below, arranged by site, and the photographs are gathered in fig. 9.1–9.8.

Table 2. Individuals who left their signature several times at the same site:

<b>al-‘Udhayb</b>		
fig. 9.1 no. 1	<i>’pth br rm’l</i>	UdhNab 6 and 18
— no. 2	<i>tymw br ’pls</i>	UdhNab 11 and 14
<b>Qā‘ an-Nqayb</b>		
— no. 3	<i>hn’t br ‘nmw</i>	QNNab 23 and 46
<b>al-‘Arniyyāt</b>		
— no. 4	<i>gzy’t brt mydw</i>	ArNab 78 and 106
— no. 5	<i>gš{d/r}w br tzn{d/r}{nw}</i>	ArNab 144 and 164
— no. 6	<i>ḥb’lhy br {h}ny</i>	ArNab 1 and 7
— no. 7	<i>ḥršw br tymw</i>	ArNab 68 and 118
— no. 8	<i>mšlmw br {d/r}sy</i>	ArNab 62, 129 and 135
fig. 9.2 no. 9	<i>pyznw</i>	ArNab 48 and 96
— no. 10	<i>štrw</i>	ArNab 65.1, 97, 113 (see commentary to ArNab 65.1)
— no. 11	<i>tymw br mšlmw</i>	ArNab 2 and 3
— no. 12	<i>tps’ br hn’w</i>	ArNab 46 and 120
<b>Umm Jadhāyidh</b>		
— no. 13	<i>’byw br ’šḥq</i>	UJadhNab 4 and 221
— no. 14	<i>’bšlm br ḥyw</i>	UJadhNab 163 and 233
— no. 15	<i>’pls br ‘dywn</i>	UJadhNab 396 and 412
no. 16	<i>b{d/r}{d/r}w br gzy’w</i>	UJadhNab 182 and 248.1
fig. 9.3 no. 17	<i>grgr br yny</i>	UJadhNab 126 and 496
— no. 18	<i>gšm br ḥnyn’</i>	UJadhNab 125 and 205
— no. 19	<i>{d/r}yny br hn’w</i>	UJadhNab 375.1 and 492

— no. 20	<i>hn`w br ply</i>	UJadhNab 261 and 431
— no. 21	<i>w`lw br dmsy</i>	UJadhNab 252 and 284
— no. 22	<i>w`lw br `šrn</i>	UJadhNab 479 and 480
<b>fig. 9.4</b> no. 23	<i>whbyl br `bydw</i>	UJadhNab 133 and 387
— no. 24	<i>zbd`dnwn br š`d`lhy</i>	UJadhNab 188 and 378
— no. 25	<i>zpr br y`mr</i>	UJadhNab 337, 344, and possibly 351
— no. 26	<i>ḥnny br yhw d`</i>	UJadhNab 225 and 293
— no. 27	<i>ḥntlh br `bd`l`šhl</i>	UJadhNab 300 and 367
— no. 28	<i>ḥgy br rgy`w</i>	UJadhNab 55 and 77
— no. 29	<i>ḥnyn` br gšm</i>	UJadhNab 76 and 154
<b>fig. 9.5</b> no. 30	<i>ynmw br ḥbybw</i>	UJadhNab 90 and 333
— no. 31	<i>khylw br ply</i>	UJadhNab 272 and 315
— no. 32	<i>mn`t br `wtw</i>	UJadhNab 383 and 488
— no. 33	<i>m`n`lhy br ntny</i>	UJadhNab 270, 281 and 381
— no. 34	<i>m`n`lhy br tym`lktb`</i>	UJadhNab 59 and 134
— no. 35	<i>nḥšṭb br `bd`dnwn?</i>	UJadhNab 33 and 385
<b>fig. 9.6</b> no. 36	<i>ntny br rb`l?</i>	UJadhNab 98, 271 and DBv3Nab 15
— no. 37	<i>`bdmnkw br `wtw</i>	UJadhNab 318 and 444
— no. 38	<i>`bdrb`l br `qby</i>	UJadhNab 18, 279 and 305
— no. 39	<i>`nmw br zkyyw</i>	UJadhNab 67 and 178
— no. 40	<i>ply br hn`w?</i>	UJadhNab 376 and 506
— no. 41	<i>sy{d/r}w br qrh?</i>	UJadhNab 28 and 282
— no. 42	<i>r`yt br grmw</i>	UJadhNab 484 and 550
<b>fig. 9.7</b> no. 43	<i>rmy br khylw</i>	UJadhNab 264 and 341
— no. 44	<i>šbw?</i>	UJadhNab 46 and 243
— no. 45	<i>šhrw br šlmw</i>	UJadhNab 92 and 207
— no. 46	<i>šḥrw br š`dw</i>	UJadhNab 44 and 93
— no. 47	<i>šly br `wšw</i>	UJadhNab 309 et 538
— no. 48	<i>šlymw br y`mrw</i>	UJadhNab 10 and 215
— no. 49	<i>šlmw br mqymw</i>	UJadhNab 60 and 95
— no. 50	<i>š`ydw br ḥwrw</i>	UJadhNab 106 and 210
— no. 51	<i>tymw br rb`l</i>	UJadhNab 6 and 546
<b>fig. 9.8</b> no. 52	<i>tymw br šlmw</i>	UJadhNab 325 and 513
— no. 53	<i>tym`bdt br whbw</i>	UJadhNab 40 and 173

#### Notes on Table 2:

**no. 6**, *ḥb`lhy*: there is no patronym after the name in ArNab 1 but the letter forms are very similar and the name itself is not very common.

**no. 9**, *pyzrw*: there is no patronym after the name in both inscriptions but the the letter forms are very similar, except for the *y*.

**no. 11**, *tymw*: the name is written twice on the same stone. It is not illustrated in fig. 9.2 because the text is too badly carved to be reduced to a small vignette.

**no. 25**, *zpr*: there is no patronym after the name in UJadhNab 351 and since the name consists of only three letters, it is difficult to be certain that we are dealing with the same individual in the three texts.

**no. 35**, *nhšṭb*: because of the differences between the letter forms in the two texts, we cannot be sure that we are dealing with the same individual. This is particularly true for the *ṭ*, which is drawn in completely different ways (see fig. 9.5). It is also possible that the texts were not carved by *nhšṭb* himself or that the way the *ṭ* was traced was not significant.

**no. 36**, *ntny*: because of the differences between the letter forms of the two texts (see final *y* and *l*), we cannot be sure that we are dealing with the same individual. The overall impression is however that the same person wrote both texts, especially when one looks at the first three letters in each.

**no. 41**, *šyrw*: there is no patronym after the name in UJadhNab 282. The letter forms being fairly different, it is not certain that we are dealing with the same individual.

**no. 44**, *šbw*: there is no patronym after the name in both inscriptions and the letter forms are difficult to compare with only three letters. The identification thus remains doubtful.

The identification of individuals who wrote their name several times in the same area is less interesting than individuals who wrote their name at different sites because one cannot use this information to trace movements from one site to the other. It is however interesting to note, from the point of view of the script, that some differences – assuming that the texts were written by the same person – may not be significant: *l* straight or hooked (in nos 1, 21, 33, 38), form of final *y* (in no. 21), possibly direction of carving of the *ṭ* (in no. 35), etc.

- no. 1   ***ʾpṭḥ br rmʿl***  
UdhNab 6 UdhNab 18  
Note the difference between the two final *l*, but otherwise the letter forms are very much the same.
- 
- no. 2   ***tymw br ʾpls***  
UdhNab 11 UdhNab 14
- 
- no. 3   ***hnʿt br ʿnmw***  
QNNab 23 QNNab 46  
The second text is less well carved than the first one but the letter forms are very much the same.
- 
- no. 4   ***gzyʿt brt mydw***  
ArNab 78 ArNab 106  
The second text is less well carved than the first one but the first name at least is carved in the same way (the patronym is hardly visible).
- 
- no. 5   ***gš{d/r}w br tzn{s/r}{nw}***  
ArNab 144 ArNab 164  
The carving technique is very different in the two but the letter forms are relatively similar.
- 
- no. 6   ***ḥbʿlhy br ḥ}ny***  
ArNab 1 ArNab 7  
The letter forms are relatively similar
- 
- no. 7   ***ḥršw br t}y}mw***  
ArNab 68 ArNab 118  
The letter forms in both texts are difficult to compare but there are no major differences between them.
- 
- no. 8    ***mšlmw br {d/r}sy***  
ArNab 62 ArNab 129 ArNab 135  
There are small differences in the letter forms (ligature between the *m* and the *š* and between the *m* and the *w*, squarish aspect of the *s* in ArNab 129), but the overall aspect is relatively the same.

Fig. 9.1. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 1–8.

no. 9



ArNab 48



ArNab 96

*pyzrw*

Note the difference between the two ys.

no. 10



ArNab 65.1



ArNab 97



ArNab 113

*štrw*

no. 11 See the catalogue, ArNab 2 and 3 are on the same stone.

no. 12



ArNab 46



ArNab 120

*tpš' br hn'w*

The first text is much more nicely carved than the second but the forms of the letters and of the ligatures are very similar in both.

no. 13



UJadhNab 4



UJadhNab 221

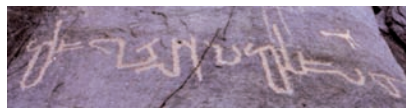
*'byw br 'šhq*

Note the difference between the first two ' . It is much more horizontal in UJadhNab 4 than in UJadhNab 221. The other letter forms are very similar.

no. 14



UJadhNab 163



UJadhNab 233

*'bšlm br hyw*

Note the strong similarities between the two texts, which were carved by an experienced man.

no. 15



UJadhNab 396

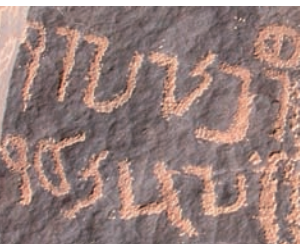


UJadhNab 412

*'pls br 'dywn*

The letter forms are very similar in both texts.

no. 16



UJadhNab 182



UJadhNab 248.1

*b{d/r}{d/r}w br gzy'w*

The first text is more nicely carved than the second but the letter forms in both are relatively similar.

Fig. 9.2. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 9–16.

no. 17



UJadhNab 126



UJadhNab 496

***grgr br yny***

The letter-forms in the two texts are identical.

no. 18



UJadhNab 125



UJadhNab 205

***gšm br ḥnynʿ***

The letter forms in the two texts are identical.

no. 19



UJadhNab 375.1

The text appears only partly on the photograph



UJadhNab 492

***{d/r}yny br ḥnʿw***

It is difficult to compare the letter-forms of these two texts.

no. 20



UJadhNab 261



UJadhNab 431

***ḥnʿw br ply***

The letter forms in both are very similar: ligature between ' and *w*, *br* written as two parallel lines, name *ply*, etc.

no. 21



UJadhNab 252



UJadhNab 284

***wʿlw br dmsy***

The letter forms in both texts look similar but there are noticeable differences: the two forms of *l*, hooked and straight, as well as the form of the final *y*.

no. 22



UJadhNab 479



UJadhNab 480

***wʿlw br ʿsrn***

The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

Fig. 9.3. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 17–22.

no. 23



UJadhNab 133



UJadhNab 387

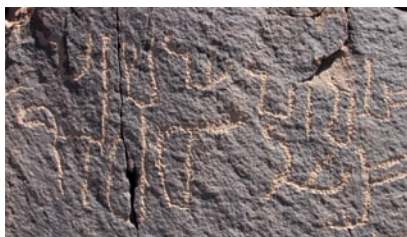
**whbyl br 'bydw**

The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

no. 24



UJadhNab 188



UJadhNab 378

**zbd'dnwn br š'd'lhy**

The letter forms in both texts are difficult to compare for the patronym but they are relatively similar for the first name.

no. 25



UJadhNab 337



UJadhNab 344

**zpr br y'mr**



UJadhNab 351

The letter forms in the first two texts are similar but it is difficult to say that UJadhNab 351 was carved by the same person.

no. 26



UJadhNab 225



UJadhNab 293

**ḥnny br yhwđ'**

The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

no. 27



UJadhNab 300



UJadhNab 367

**ḥnṯlh br 'bd'l'šhl**

The letter forms in both texts are undoubtedly the same but there are small differences: see *nṯ* in *ḥnṯlh* and *'l'* in the patronym.

no. 28



UJadhNab 55



UJadhNab 77

**ḥgy br rgy'w**

The letter forms in both texts are relatively similar but see the form of the *'*, which is different in both texts, as are the ligatures between some of the letters.

no. 29



UJadhNab 76



UJadhNab 154

**ḥnyn' br gšm**

The letter forms are not exactly the same. See the *ḥ*, *y*, *br* and the ligature between *g* and *š*.

Fig. 9.4. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 23–29.



no. 30



UJadhNab 90



UJadhNab 333

***ynmw br ḥbybw***

The letter forms in these two texts, clearly written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, are very similar.

no. 31



UJadhNab 272



UJadhNab 315

***khylw br ply***

The first text is much more nicely carved than the second and the letter forms look therefore different, but the overall impression is that they were carved by the same person.

no. 32



UJadhNab 383



UJadhNab 488

***mnʿt br ʿwtw***

The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

no. 33



UJadhNab 270



UJadhNab 281

***mʿnʿlhy br ntny***

The author wrote the second text more carefully than the first. This resulted in differences in the letter forms, particularly for the ligatures between the letters (see for example the *lh* of the first name), which led the author to change the form of the *l*. Apart from this, the letter-forms are very similar.

no. 34



UJadhNab 59



UJadhNab 134

***mʿnʿlhy br tymʿlktbʿ***

The letter forms in both texts are relatively similar, at least for the patronym and except for the last ʿ.

no. 35



UJadhNab 33



UJadhNab 385

***nḥṣṭb br ʿbdʿdnwn***

There are differences in the letter forms: note especially the forms of the *ḥ* and of the *t*.



Fig. 9.5. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 30–35.

- no. 36     
 UJadhNab 98 UJadhNab 271 DBv3Nab 15  
*ntny br rb'l* There are differences in the letter forms: in the way the final *y* was carved, and in the form of the *l*.
- 
- no. 37    
 UJadhNab 318 UJadhNab 444  
*'bdmknw br 'wtw*  
 Only the carving of the first name can be compared, and it is very similar in both texts.
- 
- no. 38     
 UJadhNab 18 UJadhNab 279 UJadhNab 271  
*'bdbr'l br 'qby*  
 The letter forms in the three texts are difficult to compare but they are not completely similar: note the *'*, much larger in the first, and the *l*, hooked in UJadhNab 18 and straight in UJadhNab 279. This may however be explained by the relatively bad quality of the texts.
- 
- no. 39    
 UJadhNab 67 UJadhNab 178  
*'nmw br zkyw*  
 The letter forms in both texts are very similar.
- 
- no. 40    
 UJadhNab 376 UJadhNab 506  
*ply br hn'w*  
 The letter forms in both texts show differences (*y*, *w*) but no major ones.
- 
- no. 41    
 UJadhNab 28 UJadhNab 282  
*sy{d/r}rw br qrh*  
 The letter forms in both texts are not exactly the same, particularly for the link between the *y* and the *r*, and for the *r*.
- 
- no. 42    
 UJadhNab 484 UJadhNab 550  
*r'yt br grmw*  
 The letter forms in both texts are very similar.

Fig. 9.6. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 36–42.

- |        |   |  |   |
|--------|---|--|---|
| no. 43 | <br>UJadhNab 264   | <br>UJadhNab 341    | <b><i>rmy br k{h}ylw</i></b><br>The letter forms in both texts are very similar.  |
| no. 44 | <br>UJadhNab 46    | <br>UJadhNab 243    | <b><i>šbw</i></b><br>The letter forms in both texts are similar but it may not be the same <i>šbw</i> because there are only three letters in the name. |
| no. 45 | <br>UJadhNab 92    | <br>UJadhNab 207   | <b><i>šhrw br šlmw</i></b><br>The letter forms in both texts are very similar.  |
| no. 46 | <br>UJadhNab 44    | <br>UJadhNab 93    | <b><i>šhrw br š'dw</i></b><br>The letter forms in both texts are very similar.  |
| no. 47 | <br>UJadhNab 309  | <br>UJadhNab 538  | <b><i>šly br 'wšw</i></b><br>The letter forms in both texts are very similar.   |
| no. 48 | <br>UJadhNab 10  | <br>UJadhNab 215 | <b><i>šlymw br y'mrw</i></b><br>The letter forms in both texts are very similar.  |
| no. 49 | <br>UJadhNab 60  | <br>UJadhNab 95  | <b><i>šlmw br mqymw</i></b><br>There are differences in the letter forms, particularly in the form of the two <i>m</i> of the patronym.                 |
| no. 50 | <br>UJadhNab 106 | <br>UJadhNab 210 | <b><i>š'ydw br hwrw</i></b><br>The letter-forms in both texts are very similar.   |
| no. 51 | <br>UJadhNab 6   | <br>UJadhNab 546  | <b><i>tymw br rb'l</i></b><br>The letter-forms in both texts are very similar.  |

Fig. 9.7. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 43–51.



Fig. 9.8. Inscriptions carved by the same individuals at the same site, nos 52–53.

### B.5. Profession or function of the author of the text

The authors of the Nabataean inscriptions regularly give their profession or their title. Since 1998, I have been collecting systematically the words used in the inscriptions to designate these, entering them in a small database. I have kept the latter up to date over the years and it contains presently one hundred entries. It is surprising that this subject of research has never received much attention from scholars specializing in Nabataean studies. Yet we know very little about Nabataean society and Nabataean institutions and a thorough study of the professions mentioned in the texts would probably be very informative. Only a few contributions have been published on the subject since the early 1980s, most of which deal either with administrative, military or religious personnel.<sup>31</sup> We therefore have very little information on, and no global picture of the more “ordinary” professions.<sup>32</sup> In the last few years, I have written on two categories of professions: those connected with building activities on the one hand<sup>33</sup> and the professions exercised by craftsmen and self employed persons on the other.<sup>34</sup> The analysis of the latter has shown that among the ten professions which belong to this category, four concern metalworking while three others are related to incense and cosmetics. If we add to these the category of professions which are most widely attested in the inscriptions, i.e. the ones related to building activities, it is possible to say that the three groups of craftsmen who mention their profession are those who worked the stone, the metal and the perfumes.

Some of the persons who left their signatures at the sites of the Darb al-Bakrah mention their profession and since they are travelling along an ancient route, it is interesting to know which activities are attested among the persons who carved these texts. These professions are arranged below by category with a commentary.

31. Military: Balty 1983, Bowsher 1989, Graf 1994, Briquel-Chatonnet 1995, Teixidor 1995; religious: Healey 2001: 163–165.

32. Apart from the professions related to building and stone cutting activities.

33. Nehmé (Introduction) in Bessac 2007: 15–21 and Appendix 1, p. 22–26: *'mn'*, “sculptor”; *bny'*, “builder” (attested for a niche, an altar, a *stibadium*, a monumental tomb and a simple tomb); *kyl'*, “measurer”, possibly *ngr'*, “carpenter”, *psl'*, “stone-cutter” and *šyd'*, “plasterer”. This category of professions was also dealt with in Nehmé 2015a: 141–144.

34. Nehmé 2017b: *'sy'*, “medical doctor”, *bšm'*, “perfumer”, *glb'*, “barber”, *hml'*, “embalmer”, *trq skt'*, “blacksmith” or “maker of coin dies”, *khly'*, “makeup man”, *nwl'*, “weaver”, *nhš'*, “blacksmith (for copper?)” or “diviner”, *šy'*, “craftsman who manufactures precious metals”, *qyn'*, “blacksmith”.

## B.5.1. Military or assimilated

– **'srtg'**: this word is the Nabataean transcription of Greek *strategos*. In the Darb al-Bakrah corpus, it is attested only in ArNab 104, written by a man who is the “servant” (*lym*) of a *strategos* named 'Abdmankū. In UJadhNab 414, the word **'srtg'** is not explicitly used but it is likely that its author, *rbyb'l*, is the same *rbyb'l* as the one mentioned as a *strategos* in JSNab 43 in Ḥegrā. The *strategos* is a very well known military and administrative function in Nabataean, the equivalent of “governor”.<sup>35</sup> It is attested throughout the Nabataean kingdom and it has recently been the subject of an article by the author in which the reader will find a list of all the men who bore this title in the Nabataean inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> There are two other *strategoī* named 'Abdmankū, one from Ḍmayr in Syria (*CIS* II 161) and one from Umm ar-Raṣāṣ in Jordan (*CIS* II 195). However, 'Abdmankū being a relatively common name in Nabataean, it is unlikely that were dealing with the same individual. It is also difficult, from ArNab 104, to know what the jurisdiction of 'Abdmankū was. The other attestations of Nabataean *strategoī* in north-west Arabia show that they seem to have been attached to the main oases (Ḥegra, al-Jawf), but some of them certainly travelled from one place to another, as shown by ArNab 104 and by two recently published examples from Sarmadā', c. 30 km south-west of Taymā'.<sup>37</sup>

– **hprk'**: this title refers either to a cavalry commander (ἵππαρχος) or a commander, *praefectus*, (ἐπαρχος), less probably to a subordinate commander, a lieutenant (ὑπαρχος).<sup>38</sup> It is borne by a man called 'šdw br syhw in UJadhNab 377. It is a very well known title in Nabataean, attested in five inscriptions from Madā' in Šāliḥ and a few from other places.<sup>39</sup>

– **nṭr r'š'**: this word, the reading of which is almost certain, is attested in ArNab 140 only. It is probably a combination of the active participle of N-Ṭ-R, “to guard, to protect”, and of the word *r'š'*, a substantive in the emphatic state meaning “the leader, the chief”. Another word derived from N-Ṭ-R is also attested in Nabataean, in JSNab 245–246 (here UdhNab 18), in the phrase *pršy' nṭryn*, “the cavalrymen in charge of the guard”. As for *r'š'*, it is attested in other Nabataean inscriptions under this form (*r'š' yn l'bn*, “the chief of the source of the La'bān, near Khirbat Tannūr,<sup>40</sup> and *r'š' tymy*, “the chief citizen of Taymā'”) <sup>41</sup> as well as in the form *ryš* in a fourth century inscription from Ḥegrā.<sup>42</sup> In ArNab 140, *nṭr r'š'* may mean “the bodyguard of the chief”. It is worth noting that this *nṭr r'š'* is called *sy't*, a name not otherwise attested in Nabataean. His brother, who carved his signature immediately to the left (ArNab 141, see the catalogue), bears the name *šl{w}mw*, which may be interpreted as the Jewish name Solomon. If this is right, *sy't* may also be Jewish and acted as a bodyguard to a “chief” the identity of whom is unfortunately unknown.

– **snypr'**, “the ensign holder”: this word is attested only once in our corpus, in UJadhNab 259, where it is perfectly clear. It is a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean but *snypr'* is probably a variant of *smypr'*, attested in JSNab 60 from Ḥegrā. *Smypr'* is derived from Greek σημειοφόρος, which means “the one who carries the ensign”.<sup>43</sup> It is possible, as was suggested to me by M.C.A. Macdonald, that *snypr'* is a transcription of Latin *signifer* in which the /g/ has been absorbed into the following /n/ to produce /ñ/. If this is so, it might suggest that the author of UJadhNab 259 served in the Roman army, where Latin was the official language, rather than in the Nabataean army, which would have been more likely to adopt the Greek term.

35. Savignac and Starcky 1957: 201–203; Graf 1994: 278; Teixidor 1995: 115; Healey 1993: 108.

36. Nehmé 2015b, Appendix.

37. al-Theeb 2014: nos 30 (= al-Hā'itī 2016: 49) and 80.

38. See Nehmé 2017c: 147. On *hprk'* in general: Healey 1993: 108–109.

39. See Graf 1994: 282–289, to which should be added a text from the Jawf area published in al-Muaikil and al-Theeb 1996: no. 5 and two from the area of Taymā' published in al-Theeb 2014: no. 7 and 41 (= al-Hā'itī 2016: no. 27 and 59 respectively).

40. Savignac 1937, but see the commentary of J. Starcky on the meaning of this phrase in Savignac and Starcky 1957: 215–217.

41. al-Najem and Macdonald 2009.

42. For the most recent reading of this text, *ibidem*: 213–214, where the authors provide parallels for the word *r'š'/ryš*.

43. On which see the commentary in Nehmé 2005–2006: 202–203.

The *snypr*' of UJadhNab 259 bears the name *khylw*, which is well attested in the Nabataean inscriptions, particularly in North Arabia.<sup>44</sup> This may indicate that *khylw* was a local recruit. If so, and because the soldiers who were integrated in Roman provincial military units were usually not native of the regions where they were appointed, this may be used as an argument for his belonging to the Nabataean army. All in all, since Roman soldiers and Nabataean soldiers bearing Roman titles are known from Ḥegrā, it is difficult, in this particular case, to determine whether *snypr*' belongs to the first or second category.

– *pršy*', "cavalryman", in UdhNab 18 (= JSNab 245–246) and DBv3Nab 19. This is another well known military title, attested in many places, from Lebanon to al-Sīj,<sup>45</sup> east of al-ʿUlā. It occurs also in several newly discovered inscriptions from the area of al-Jawf just published.<sup>46</sup> One of them, DaJ44Nab8, is dated to year thirty of the Roman province of Arabia, AD 135/136, which shows that Nabataean cavalrymen bearing their Nabataean title served in the Roman army. In al-ʿUdhayb, it occurs in combination with *ntryn* in the inscription mentioned above, JSNab 245–246. The editors of this text suggest that the cavalrymen may have formed the escort of a caravan. According to H. Seyrig, however, the *pršy*' *ntryn* are part of regular troops and this graffito was written by the member of a military detachment which was stationed in al-ʿUdhayb, more precisely in Maqʿad al-Jundī, 7 km south of Ḥegrā, sometime in the second century AD. This detachment, which belongs to the *ala dromedariorum*, is indeed known from several graffiti discovered in the same area.<sup>47</sup> It is impossible, from palaeography, to say whether JSNab 245–246 is dated to the first or second century AD, and therefore both interpretations are possible. The Greek texts, however, are likely to be dated to the second century AD, because three Roman military diplomas concerning the province of Arabia, dated to 126, 142 and 145, mention specifically the *ala I Ulpia droma(dariorum) Palmyr(enorum) (milliaria)*.<sup>48</sup>

– *qtrywn*': UJadhNab 260 (ThNUJ 6) is one of the five attestations of this word in Nabataean, the four others coming from Madā' in Šāliḥ (JSNab 31, *qntryn*', and a more recently published inscription where the word appears as *qntrwn*'),<sup>49</sup> from al-Jawf (*{q}[n]{t}{rywn}*'), where it occurs in a text which is perhaps dated to the early second century AD,<sup>50</sup> and from Sarmadā' near Taymā'.<sup>51</sup> It is the equivalent of Latin *centurio* and one should note the variations of the spelling of the name in Nabataean, here with the assimilation of the *n*. Another Nabataean centurion is known from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (19, 6.31 to 7.1), a first century AD text which mentions the officials who were stationed in Leuke Kome, usually identified either ʿAynūnah or, more probably, with al-Wajh.<sup>52</sup> The centurion of Leuke Kome was a customs officer who collected a tax of twenty-five percent on the goods. The centurions mentioned in the inscriptions were either local Nabataean military officers (JSNab 31 is dated to the reign of king Aretas IV) or Nabataean officers recruited in the Roman army from AD 106 onwards if the date suggested for DaJ144Nab 10 is correct. Roman centurions are of course known from several post-AD 106 Latin inscriptions from Ḥegrā.<sup>53</sup>

44. See Negev 1991, to which should be added at least ThNUJT 59 and ThNIS 7 (with commentary on the name p. 354), 16 (twice), and 20.

45. al-Theeb 2011: nos 1–4, 13, 21.

46. Nehmé 2017c: DaJ144Nab 1, DaJ144Nab 5+6, DaJ144Nab 8. Note also that a complete list of the Nabataean *pršy*' known so far is given on p. 144–146, with a commentary p. 143–148.

47. Most of the graffiti, which do not all mention the *ala*, are in Greek, while two are in Nabataean and one is in Latin. See the list in Seyrig 1941, followed by Speidel 1977: 703–705; Beaucamp and Robin 1981: 59–60; Sartre 1982: 30–33; Graf 1988: 192–203; see also Gatier 2017: n. 31. These lists will be updated with the graffiti discovered during the surveys undertaken in the Jabal Ithlib area during the Madā' in Šāliḥ Archaeological Project, to be published by P.-L. Gatier and M. Sartre.

48. On the *dromedarii*, see now Gatier 2017: references to the diplomas n. 64; on the *dromedarii*, see p. 284–288. On the fact that *δρομεδάριος* may apply to the soldiers of the unit whatever their mount, *ibidem*: 282.

49. Nehmé 2005–2006: 185–186, fig. 127, with commentary.

50. Nehmé 2017c: DaJ144Nab 10, p. 136–137, and see the commentary on the centurion p. 142–143.

51. al-Theeb 2014: no. 5 (= al-Ḥā' iṭī 2016: no. 25)

52. The arguments for an identification with al-Wajh are given in Nappo 2010.

53. al-Talhi and al-Daire 2005, to which should be added new Latin inscriptions found reused in the walls of the so-called south-eastern gate

– *tr*<sup>54</sup>: this word occurs only in UJadhNab 491 (ThNUJT 19.1), the reading of which is clear. The word *tr*<sup>54</sup> is attested in Nabataean in one inscription from Ḥibrān, in the Ḥawrān, which is the dedication of a “door” by a priest of the goddess ʿAllāt.<sup>54</sup> In our text, however, it probably means, as it does in Aramaic, “the gate-keeper, the guard”.<sup>55</sup>

Out of the eleven military titles attested in Nabataean, seven happen to be mentioned in the texts from the Darb al-Bakrah. The four missing, which will not be presented in detail here, are *klyrk*, “chiliarch”, *rb mšryt*, “camp chief”, *nšb*, “archer” and *ʿpytrpy*, *epitropos*.

### B.5.2. Reading and writing

Three words belong to this category. Two of them, *ktb*<sup>56</sup> and *qr*<sup>57</sup>, may not be real professions but they have been included in the list because they express the function of the individual mentioned in the text.

– *ktb*<sup>56</sup>: this word, which is attested in a few inscriptions,<sup>56</sup> occurs in the Darb al-Bakrah corpus in ArNab 161 and UJadhNab 200 (ThNUJ 91). It means “the one who carves the inscription”. It is probable that *ktb*<sup>56</sup> was simply used to designate the person who carved the text.

– *spr*<sup>57</sup>: this is a well known word in Nabataean which means “the scribe”. It is attested in four Nabataean inscriptions<sup>57</sup> and in two more from the Darb al-Bakrah, ArNab 65 and UJadhNab 465 (ThNUJ 157). The characters of ArNab 65 are carefully carved and those of UJadhNab 465 are nicely formed. They may indeed, especially the former, have been carved by professional scribes.

– *qr*<sup>58</sup>: this word, “the reader”, is attested in an interesting inscription, UJadhNab 226, where the author asks to be safe *mn* Dūšarā, probably to be understood as *mn [qdm]* Dūšarā, “in the presence of” Dūšarā. He goes on saying that he would like the “reader” to be safe and another individual, identified as a *m{q} {l/n}y*,<sup>58</sup> not to be safe (*w l' šlm*). In Petra, *qr*<sup>59</sup> occurs in the phrases *šlm qr*<sup>59</sup> *w ktb*<sup>59</sup> and *šlm qr*<sup>60</sup> *šlm ktb*<sup>60</sup>. It occurs also in three inscriptions, in the simple phrase *šlm qr*<sup>61</sup>, “may the reader be safe”.<sup>61</sup>

### B.5.3. Servants

– *lym*, feminine *lymt*, is the normal word used in Nabataean to designate the “servant” or “slave” and there are numerous attestations of it (eleven in the Darb al-Bakrah).<sup>62</sup> Note that in ArNab 104, the author is said to be the servant of a *strategos* and in SBNab 2, a servant (a woman) has a companion (*hbr*) who is a man. In UJadhNab 41, finally, five men are said to be the servants (*lymy*) of a sixth person. The word is translated by “servant” when the father’s name is given and by “slave” when it is not.

The Nabataean inscriptions have yielded two other words related to servants. These are *bd*<sup>63</sup>, attested once in the Wādī Sirhān<sup>63</sup> but widely used in compound proper names such as *bd'lg*, *bd'lhy*, *bd'bdt*, *bdrb'l*, etc., and a doubtful *mtpšh*, “emancipated slave”, possibly attested in inscriptions from Petra.<sup>64</sup>

of the rampart of ancient Hegrā: Fiema, Villeneuve, and Bauzou forthcoming, nos 35004\_i049a, 35004\_i09b, 35004\_i06.

54. CIS II 170.

55. Jastrow 1903, s.v.

56. On the attestations and meaning of the word, see Nehmé 1999: no. 41, commentary p. 156.

57. *Ibidem*. It is possible that the word is attested in a fifth text, from the Jawf area, published in al-Muaikil and al-Theeb 1996: no. 38 (the only copy of this text is in al-Theeb 2010: no. 785). The editors read *kpr*<sup>57</sup> at the end of the text but the *k* may be read as a *s*, especially when one considers that the letter is sometimes open on the left, as in CIS II 963.

58. The reading of this word is uncertain and we were not able to suggest an interpretation for it.

59. Nehmé 2012b: MP 138 (p. 187).

60. Unpublished inscription from Umm al-Biyārah, MP 330, the reading of which was checked in 2002. It will be published in the second volume of the *Atlas archéologique et épigraphique de Pétra*.

61. Nehmé 2012b: MP 52 (p. 174), MP 81 (p. 177), and Dalman 1912: no. 28 (= MP 619).

62. *lym*: ArNab 104, TMNab 8, UJadhNab 41 (ThNUJ 213), UJadhNab 51, UJadhNab 116 (ThNUJ 120), DBv1Nab 25; *lymt*: ArNab 53, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 17 (ThNUJ 32), UJadhNab 91 (ThNUJ 135), UJadhNab 99 (ThNUJ 29).

63. ARNA.Nab 130.

64. Nehmé 2012b, see MP 613–615 (p. 195).

#### B.5.4. Agriculture and stockbreeding

– **{h}š{d/r}**: this word is attested only once in our corpus, in UJadhNab 18. It is also a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. If the reading is correct, it may be derived from Arabic *ḥāšid*, “the one who does not stop taking milk from the she-camel”.<sup>65</sup> The alternative would be to consider it as being derived from Aramaic Ḥ-Š-D, “to suspect”, thus possibly *ḥāšēd*, “suspected”, which is however not a very appropriate name.<sup>66</sup>

– **ssn**: this word is attested only once in our corpus, in UJadhNab 327, where the reading is perfectly clear. It is also a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. S. al-Theeb translates it “the one who plants fruits” and explains it<sup>67</sup> on the basis of Syriac *sīsonō* “date spadix, branch” and Jewish Aramaic *sansan*, “the pointed ribbed leaf of the palm tree”.<sup>68</sup> This may be a little far fetched but no alternative explanation can be given for the moment for this word.

– **šqy**: this word is attested only in UdhNab 11 and it is the first time it appears under this form in Nabataean. It is derived from the root S-Q-Y which, in both Aramaic and Arabic, means, “to water, to irrigate”. It occurs in the Nabataean papyri from the Judaean Desert<sup>69</sup> where *šqy*, plural of *šqy*, is said to mean “irrigation ditches”, a translation which is much more appropriate than the original translation of these papyri by J. Starcky, “souks”, especially in the context of a palm-grove. It is possible that *šqy* in UdhNab 11 means “the one who waters the cattle or plants, who irrigates”.

Outside the Darb al-Bakrah, three professions may be related to this category in Nabataean. According to J.T. Milik, two of them are attested in Petra but they occur in unpublished inscriptions from the Wādī Abū ‘Ullayqah the reading of which cannot be checked, and therefore have to be considered as uncertain.<sup>70</sup> The third one is attested in an inscription from the Tabūk area, ThMNN 888, where S. al-Theeb reads ‘*wpr*’ (the reading has been checked on the photograph) and translates it either as “farmer” or as “the one who irrigates”. In Arabic, ‘*affār*’ means explicitly, among other things, “the one who pollinates the palm-tree”, an activity which was probably widespread in the oases and which was done at particular moments during the year.<sup>71</sup> However, the *w* after the ‘ would then be difficult to explain and it may be simpler to consider Aramaic ‘*ōper*’, “the strong man”.<sup>72</sup>

#### B.5.5. Religion and funerary

– **ḥnt**, “embalmer”: this word is attested only once in our corpus, in UJadhNab 97, where it is perfectly clear.<sup>73</sup> It is a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. The root Ḥ-N-T, in both Arabic and Aramaic, means “to make spicy, to embalm, to prepare for burial”.<sup>74</sup> The chemical analyses undertaken on pieces of cloth discovered in several monumental Nabataean tombs of Madā’in Šāliḥ have shown that the body and the textiles which covered it were coated, probably in order to delay the decomposition of the corpse, with a fatty substance (probably a vegetable oil) and with triterpenic compounds. The strong proportion, in the samples which were analysed, of α- and β-amyrins, which are biomarkers of the *bursaceae* family, led

65. *al-laḡī lā yufattiru ḥalba al-nāqati wa-’l-qiyāma biḡalika*: Ibn Manẓūr: 882.

66. See Jastrow 1903: 509.

67. al-Theeb 2010: 719.

68. Sokoloff 2009, s.v. and Jastrow 1903, s.v.

69. Yadin, Greenfield, Yardeni, Levine 2002: 2: 22; 3:3, 24.

70. These are *nqd* in MP 983 and *r’* in MP 1032, both of which mean “shepherd”. The photographs of the Wādī Abū ‘Ullayqah Nabataean inscriptions were given a few years ago to M.-J. Roche, who was then leading an epigraphic survey in this area south-west of Petra, the results of which are not published yet.

71. Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. ‘*l-’affār*: *laqqāḥ an-naḥīl*, and ‘*afār*: *talqīḥ an-naḥl wa ’iṣlāḥuhu* while ‘*afar* is ‘*awwalu saqyatin suqiyahā az-zar*’, “the first irrigation water received by a cultivated plant”.

72. Jastrow 1903, s.v.

73. This paragraph is the same as the one published in French in Nehmé 2017b: 8–9.

74. Brown, Driver, Briggs 1999, s.v. See particularly Arabic *ḥannāṭ*.



– with other arguments – to the conclusion that the resinous substance examined belongs to this family and, more precisely, to the genus *Canarium* spp (elemi resin).<sup>75</sup> It is possible that the preparation of the bodies before the burial was taken in charge by a *ḥnt*’.

– *khn*’, “the priest”. In the Darb al-Bakrah, this word occurs only once, in a Nabataeo-Arabic text, UJadhNab 561. This title is particularly widespread in Sinai and there are also examples in Wādī Ramm.<sup>76</sup> In UJadhNab 561, as well as in ARNA.Nab 17 (AD 276), which is also written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script, *khn* appears in the emphatic state, i.e. it is not followed by the name of a deity. According to M.C.A. Macdonald (see note 76), this is rather unusual but is found once in Sinai and once probably in Wādī Ramm. What is extremely interesting in the Darb al-Bakrah text is that the author clearly bears a Jewish name, Eleazar son of Isaac (*’l’zr br ’šḥq*), which means that he was probably a Jewish priest, the first one ever known in the Ḥijāz.<sup>77</sup> In this particular case, the absence of divine name could be explained by the fact that the author was not pagan, and therefore there was no need for him to mention the name of God. This may have also been the case in ARNA.Nab 17, despite the fact that the author and his father bear good Arabian names. On the orthography of *’šḥq*, see below, § G.5.

– *šwšp*’. The word *šwšp*’ is attested only once in this corpus, in UJadhNab 401, but it appears also once in Petra, in an inscription carved on a column drum reused as a *nefesh*, published in 1975.<sup>78</sup> J.T. Milik and J. Starcky interpreted it as Aramaic *šawšbīnā*, “the one who leads the bride” and, by extension, the “friend, godfather”. According to them, it is found in the first half of the first millennium BC in Babylonian lexicographical lists and it may be derived from Akkadian *susapinnu*. J.T. Milik, in the corpus of Nabataean inscriptions from Petra, compares it also with Palmyrene *ššbyn*, “groomsman”,<sup>79</sup> but according to him, the Nabataean form, contrary to the Palmyrene one, would have kept the *p* of the Akkadian whereas the final *n* disappeared. The context in which the word occurs in Nabataean is less clear than in Palmyrene, where it appears in a text which is an epitaph set up for someone by a man who had been his groomsman (and therefore presumably a close friend). In the Nabataean examples, all we have is a man who is called *šwšp*’ in Petra, in a text mentioning a *nefesh*, and a man who wrote only *bṭb šwšp*’ in Umm Jadhāyidh. It is possible that UJadhNab 401 should be understood in a wider context. Indeed, inscriptions UJadhNab 400 to 402 may make better sense if they are considered together, and especially if we suppose that the last name of UJadhNab 400, *mḥrbw*, forms also the end of UJadhNab 401. We would therefore have:

- *hn’t br ḥwrw br mḥrbw* (UJadhNab 400);
- *bṭb šwšp’ [mḥrbw]* (UJadhNab 401), “in well-being, the best-man/friend of Mḥrbw”;
- *w dwšr’ ’lh gy’* (UJadhNab 402), “and Dūšarā the god of Gaia”, although the link between this text and the previous ones is not clear.

Outside the Darb al-Bakrah, five professions may be related to this category in Nabataean. These are the *kmr*’, which is attested twice only<sup>80</sup> and which also means “priest”, the *’pkl*, which may be a high rank priest, the *mbqr*’, attested only in Sinai, which may be the priest who was in charge of examining the sacrificial victims and the *ptwr*’, “diviner”.<sup>81</sup> To these should possibly be added *nḥrg*’, “hierodule” the reading of which, in ARNA.Nab 67, is however very doubtful.

75. I. Sachet in Nehmé, al-Talhi, and Villeneuve 2010: 212. See also Mathe, Archier, Nehmé, and Vieillescazes 2009 (analyses by gas chromatography coupled with mass spectrometry). Complementary analyses, undertaken in 2010, have shown the presence of a fatty substance but also of a resinous mixture containing elemi and incense, *Boswellia* spp).

76. See Macdonald 2009: 216–217, and the references to at least some of the Sinai and Wādī Ramm texts n. 38.

77. On *khn* in relation to Judaism, see Robin 2015a: 119–120.

78. Milik and Starcky 1975: 129–130, pl. 46.3 (MP 674).

79. Inv 8 137.7 (see Hillers and Cussini 1996: 418).

80. CIS II 170 in Ḥebrān, which mentions a *kmr*’lt, a “priest of Allāt”, and Hammond, Johnson, and Jones 1986, in Petra, which mentions the part of the offerings which is due to the *kmry*’, “the priests”.

81. For references, see Healey 2001: 163–165.

### B.5.6. Craftsmen

The following paragraphs are almost identical to their equivalent in Nehmé 2017b, where they were published in French.

– **trq skt**<sup>82</sup>: this word is attested only once in our corpus, in UJadhNab 100 (ThNUJ 25), where it is perfectly clear, and it is also a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. In the *editio princeps*, it was read as one single word, *trqskt*<sup>83</sup>, of Greek origin, and translated “the guard”, but no explanation was given in support of this translation. Another possibility, suggested to me by M.C.A. Macdonald, would consist in reading *trqskt*<sup>84</sup> as two words, especially since there seems to be a space between the *q* and the *s*. In Arabic, the root Ṭ-R-Q means “to beat or strike metal”, e.g. a blacksmith, and the word *sikkah* means “a ploughshare, or a die” (= an engraved piece of metal used to strike coins, and by extension the coins themselves).<sup>85</sup> It is therefore possible that Arabic *tāriq sikkat* lies behind the Aramaeized form *trq skt*<sup>86</sup> and means either “a blacksmith” or “a maker of coin dies”. It should also be noted that four words derived from Ṭ-R-Q are attested in the Nabataean papyri from the Judaean Desert,<sup>87</sup> one of which is *trqt*, a verb in the third person feminine of the perfect,<sup>84</sup> in a context which led the editors to translate “she put together, she prepared [because the double deeds written on papyrus or leather were sewn together]”. The editors of the papyrus note that certain forms of the Arabic verb *ṭaraqa* have the connotation of “sewing”, as one sews one’s sole of a shoe upon another or a piece of cloth together. This nuance conveys the sense of “pressing down” endemic to the verb *ṭaraqa*. This verb is thus particularly appropriate for describing how double deeds written on papyrus or leather were sewn together. It is also particularly appropriate for a maker of coin dies.

– **sy**<sup>88</sup>, “craftsman who shapes precious metals”. This appears only once in our corpus, in DBv2Nab 1, but it is otherwise attested in eight Nabataean inscriptions, two from Petra, five from Ḥegrā and one from al-Jawf.<sup>85</sup>

– **qyn**<sup>89</sup>, “smith”: this word is attested only once in our corpus, in UJadhNab 307 (ThNUJ 76), but it is attested elsewhere, in an inscription west of Tabūk,<sup>86</sup> and perhaps in Petra. In Petra, it may occur in an unpublished inscription, MP 529, from the Wādī ad-Dayr area. This text, the middle part of which only is preserved, was photographed by a tourist. The first two letters of the word are visible and the others are missing because the rock face on which the text is carved has come away from the bedrock. The reading *qyn*<sup>90</sup> in this text thus remains very doubtful. The root Q-Y-N is widely attested in the Semitic languages and it means “working the metal”. The profession itself is found in Palmyra and in Hatra. It is interesting to note that in a bilingual honorific text from Palmyra (CIS II 3945), we find an association of metal workers (gold and silver) who have set up a statue of ʾUdaynat. Finally, *qyn* is frequently attested in Nabataean personal names.

The Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions thus provide a relatively wide range of professions and functions related to several kinds of activities: military men, scribes, servants, craftsmen of various sorts,<sup>87</sup> professions pertaining to the sphere of agriculture and stockbreeding or to religious and funerary concerns. Seven of them are new in Nabataean (*hnt*<sup>91</sup>, *{h}š{d/r}*<sup>92</sup>, *trq skt*<sup>93</sup>, *ntr rʿš*<sup>94</sup>, *ssn*<sup>95</sup>, *šqy*<sup>96</sup>, *tr*<sup>97</sup>) or appear under previously unattested forms (*qtrywn*<sup>98</sup>, *snypr*<sup>99</sup>). No trader or caravaner is mentioned.

82. Lane 1863–1893: 1846a and 1387b.

83. Yardeni 2014: 311–312.

84. Yadin, Greenfield, Yardeni *et alii* 2002: 1:47, commentary p. 197.

85. All these inscriptions are presented in detail in Nehmé 2017b: 13–19.

86. al-Theeb 1993: no. 50, p. 126.

87. For other categories of Nabataean craftsmen, outside the Darb al-Bakrah, see Nehmé 2017b.

### C. Family relationships

Some inscriptions give information on the family links which exist between their authors. We thus have examples of father and son writing an inscription together (UJadhNab 59, 112, 496), of father and son writing beside each other on the same rock face (UJadhNab 106–107), of brothers writing together (ArNab 144, UJadhNab 38, 119, 134, 511), of brothers writing beside each other on the same rock face (possibly ArNab 131–132, ArNab 140–141) and finally of brothers writing close to each other on separate rock faces at the same site (UJadhNab 156 and 160) or at different sites (possibly QNNab 19 and UJadhNab 186, with the information provided by QNNab 16).<sup>88</sup> We have also one example of a man writing for his father: UJadhNab 200 (*brh ktbh*, “his son wrote it”). This relatively small number of examples show that few individuals travelled with members of their family and that in most cases, when they did, it was with their brother.

Several persons belonging to the same family, whose genealogical tree can be reconstructed, signed more than once in Umm Jadhāyidh. A good example of this is given by inscriptions UJadhNab 83 and 134, to which should be added UJadhNab 59 and perhaps 426 (fig. 10): *tym'ltb'* is the son of *m'n'lhy*, whose brother is a named *twpw*. Their father is another *tym'ltb'*, whose father is in turn *twpw*. Those who wrote the texts and came to Umm Jadhāyidh are *m'n'lhy* and his brother *twpw*. These texts give a very nice example of the use of pponymy.

Another interesting example of pponymy is given by a series of inscriptions which mention the same names (ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 126, 380, 496, 511, and DBv1Nab 23). They allow us to build the family tree of two brothers, *yny* and *m'n'lhy*, who are said, in UJadhNab 511, to be *mby'*, i.e. possibly Moabites (?) while in SBNab 2, *yny* is said to be the companion (*hbr*) of a woman who is a slave or servant (fig. 11).

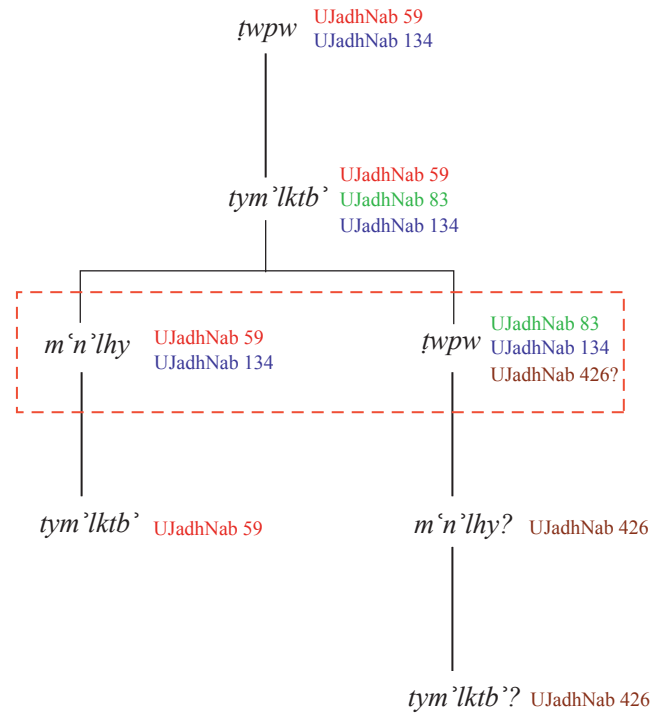
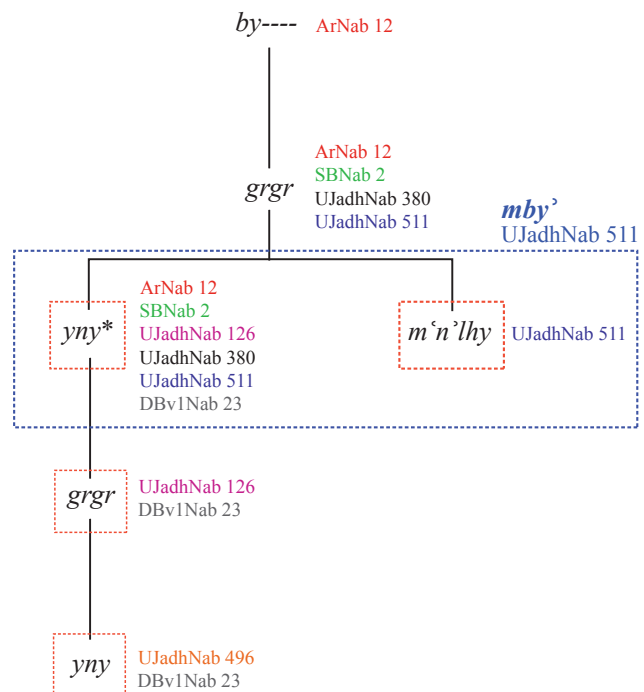


Fig. 10. Family tree of *twpw*.



\* *yny* is also *hbr qšm'l 'lymt bt----t* in SBNab 2.

Fig. 11. Family tree of *yny*.

88. QNNab 19: *yšlm šlm*; UJadhNab 186: *yšlm br 'wdmnmwty*; QNNab 16: *hrbw br 'wdmnmwty*. Considering that *'wdmnmwty* is a very rare name, that QNNab 16 and 19 are carved on the same rock face, it is possible that *yšlm* in QNNab 19 and UJadhNab 186 are the same person.

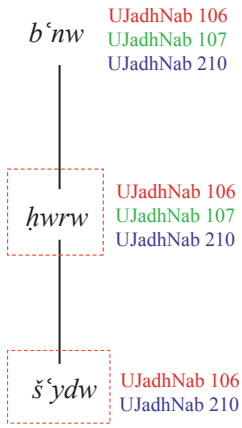


Fig. 12. Family tree of š'ydw.

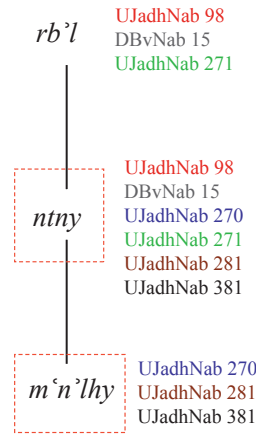


Fig. 13. Family tree of m'n'lhy.

UJadhNab 106, 107 and 210 provide us with the family tree of š'ydw. Both he and his father hwrw left signatures at Umm Jadhāyidh (fig. 12).

Finally, UJadhNab 270, 271 and DBv3Nab 15, along with UJadhNab 98, 281 and 381, provide us with the family tree of m'n'lhy. Both he and his father ntny left signatures at Umm Jadhāyidh (fig. 13).

These are the only examples of genealogies which can be restored on the basis of more than one inscription. They show that only the family of yny and m'n'lhy left signatures at four sites (Sūh al-Baghlah, al-'Arniyyāt, Umm Jadhāyidh as well as further north, at DBv1Nab 23). They are thus present along a significant portion of the route.

### D.7. The bilingual inscriptions

The reading and translation of all the Ancient North Arabian and Ancient South Arabian texts has provided at least two examples of bilinguals, one of a Nabataean text with a Hismaic one (ArNab 31 and ArHism 20) and one of a Nabataean text with an Ancient South Arabian one (UJadhNab 428 and UJadhASA 24).

#### D.7.1. Nabataean-Hismaic



Fig. 14. Bilingual Nabataean-Hismaic inscriptions, ArNab 31 and ArHism 20.

ArNab 31 and ArHism 20 (fig. 14) are written one above the other on the same rock face, the Nabataean below the Hismaic.

ArHism 20, reading M.C.A. Macdonald (see the ASA/ANA catalogue for a longer commentary on the reading):

*l 'wḏ bn bn  
ḏ 'l zhmn w  
mṭy w ṭhwf*

“By 'wḏ son of Bn of the lineage of Zhmn and was on a journey and was impoverished little by little”.

Note that in the Hismaic version, the long vowels are not written, as is normal in an Ancient North Arabian dialect. We therefore have 'wḏ versus 'wydw and bn versus bnw. The Hismaic text is much more informative than the Nabataean one which has only the name of the author and his patronym. It tells

us that *ʿwydw* is of the lineage of *zhmn*, that he “was on a journey and was impoverished little by little”. We may thus consider that the Hismaic text was written first, by a person whose native language was an Ancient North Arabian dialect, and that the Nabataean text is a summary. The author was however aware that long *ī* and long *ū* had to be written in Nabataean.

#### D.7.2. Nabataean-Ancient South Arabian

UJadhNab 428 and UJadhASA 24 (fig. 15) are written one above the other on the same rock face, the Nabataean in smaller characters above the ASA. The Nabataean text reads *whbʿlgyr šlm* whereas the ASA has only *wbhlgr*. The name is new in the onomasticon of both Nabataean and ASA and it is almost certain that the texts refer to the same person.



Fig. 15. Bilingual Nabataean-Ancient South Arabian inscriptions, UJadhNab 428 and UJadhASA 24.

There are orthographic differences between them which are worth commenting upon (see also the commentary of UJadhASA 24 in the ANA/ASA catalogue):

1/ the Nabataean has *whb* whereas the ASA has either *wb* if we consider that the carver missed the *h*, or *wbh* if we consider that he simply misplaced it;

2/ the Nabataean has the definite article *ʿl* in the middle of the name, as is normally the case in Nabataean compound anthroponyms. In the Ancient South Arabian version, the article is either just *l*, written between the two elements of the compound name, or *hl* if we consider that the *h* is part of the article rather than the misplaced *h* of *whb*. Note however that the use of *hl* in names written in the Ancient South Arabian script is very rare. *hl* occurs in *hlʿlt* in a 4th century BC text from the area of Najrān.<sup>89</sup> Also, the names *ʿbdhlʿzy* and *hlʿsd* appear in recently published graffiti in the Ancient South Arabian script photographed by the Saudi-French Archaeological Project in Najrān.<sup>90</sup> The Sabaic definite article being suffixed *-n*, an Ancient South Arabian form of the name would have been *\*whbgyr<sup>n</sup>*. The fact that either

89. So-called inscription of Liʿadharʿīl, dated c. 350–300 BC, published in Robin, al-Ghabban, and al-Saʿīd 2014: § VII, text 1.

90. Robin, al-Ghabban, and al-Saʿīd 2014: fig. 17, l. 3 (*ʿbdhlʿzy*) and fig. 18, l. 1 (*hlʿsd*). Is the graffito of fig. 17 the same graffito as the one found during the Ryckmans-Philby-Lippens expedition in 1951, which contains the name *ʿbdhlʿzy* written “en écriture himyarite” and is mentioned in Ryckmans 1956: 11? As noted by Robin, these examples are the first firm occurrences of the *hl* form of the article in pre-Islamic inscriptions. However, they are not necessarily intermediaries between the Proto-Central Semitic *\*han* (see Al-Jallad 2014: 5 note 20) and the *ʿl* form of the article.

*l* or *hl* was used indicates that the name is probably etymologically Arabic, despite the fact that the *ʾl* is not restricted to Arabic but occurs also in varieties of Ancient North Arabian scripts. It is probable that the author simply meant to use *ʾl* but omitted the *ʾ*. He therefore presumably also misplaced the *h* of *whb*. *3/* the Nabataean has *gyr*, *-gīr*, whereas Ancient South Arabian has *gr*, as expected in the South Arabian orthography where vowels are not written.

The texts were probably carved by someone who wanted to show that he was able to write in both scripts. He knew enough of the orthography of both to write *gyr* versus *gr* for the second part of the name. However, in the Ancient South Arabian version, he probably misplaced the *h* and in the Nabataean one, he gave the *h* a relatively peculiar form. It is difficult to determine which text is the “original” but the Nabataean looks like the hand of someone used to writing Nabataean and the name itself is most probably Arabic. No name built with *gyr* or *gr* is known in Nabataean but one of the meanings of *jār* in Arabic is “protector, one who protects another from that which he fears”.<sup>91</sup>

As far as the date of the texts is concerned, it is difficult to be precise. According to C. Robin (pers. comm.), the letter forms of the Ancient South Arabian text should not be dated later than the first century BC, possibly first century AD.<sup>92</sup> The Nabataean text is impossible to date but nothing prevents it from being first century BC or AD.

### E. The date of the inscriptions

Only ten of the Nabataean texts from the Darb al-Bakrah corpus are dated and it is surprising that only one of them is dated to the regnal year of a Nabataean king. The available data is best summarized in the following table, arranged chronologically:

AD 41–42	UJadhNab 110	ThNUJ 134	Malichos II	year 2
AD 124 or 125	UJadhNab 86	ThNUJ 12	Province of Arabia	year 19
AD 130–131	UJadhNab 454	—	Province of Arabia	year 25
AD 150	UJadhNab 6	ThNUJ 90	Province of Arabia	year 45
AD 151–152	UJadhNab 172	ThNUJ 172	Province of Arabia	year 46
AD 155	UJadhNab 546	—	Province of Arabia	year 49
AD 295	UJadhNab 309	—	Province of Arabia	year 190
AD 303	UJadhNab 538	—	Province of Arabia	year 197
AD 306–306	UJadhNab 297	—	Province of Arabia	year 200
AD 455–456	UJadhNab 109	ThNUJ 132–133	Province of Arabia	year 350

Almost all the inscriptions are dated to after AD 106, i.e. to after the creation of the Roman province of Arabia. One should also note that the interval between the earliest and the latest text represents a large time-span (415 years). Since all the dated texts come from Umm Jadhāyidh, this shows that people came through or to this site over a long period.

As noted above, the texts written in the Ancient South Arabian script have been tentatively dated to before the Christian era (but see M.C.A. Macdonald in the introduction of the ANA/ASA catalogue), which would extend the time period during which some of the sites were visited, although it is impossible to say how far back. The two possibly Imperial Aramaic texts which were identified along the route (UJadhImpAr? 1 and DBv3ImpAr? 1, see the relevant chapter) are difficult to date but may go back to the fourth or third century BC. Finally, the texts written in the “Palmyrene cursive”, studied by Fr. Briquel-Chatonnet and A. Desreumaux, also in this volume, UJadhSyr 1–2, have been dated to the third century AD. All in all, we may assume that the site of Umm Jadhāyidh was visited from the fourth/third century BC to the fifth century AD, i.e. for a little less than one millennium.

91. Lane 1863–1893: 483c.

92. According to M. Arbach (pers. comm.).

The day of the month is mentioned twice, without the word *ywm* in UJadhNab 6 (3 *btšry*) and with the word *ywm* in UJadhNab 309 (*ywm ḥd btšry*). The month is mentioned five times, in UJadhNab 86 (*ʿdr*, “March”), UJadhNab 546 (*ʿlwl*, “September”), UJadhNab 6, 110 and 309 (*tšry*, “October”). The month which is most often mentioned is *tšry*, and it is possible that people travelled more willingly in the autumn. More significantly, it should be noted that winter and summer months are completely missing. A few years ago, H. al-Fassi produced a very useful table showing the travelling timetable between North and South Arabia.<sup>93</sup> This table shows that March and October correspond to the months of the year when the caravans which had left South Arabia in February (to reach the north in April) and September (to reach the north at the end of October) may indeed have crossed the area of the Darb al-Bakrah. Whether these caravans came from South Arabia by land routes or partly by maritime and partly by land routes does not affect the general scheme described above because the cycle depends on the availability of frankincense which is ready for export, after harvest, in February and September. It is therefore normal that winter and summer months are not attested in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions.

The numbers are written either in letters (UJadhNab 309, 110, 538) or, more often, in numbers, for which see § F.7 (UJadhNab 6, 86, 109, 172, 297, 454, 546).

## F. The script(s)

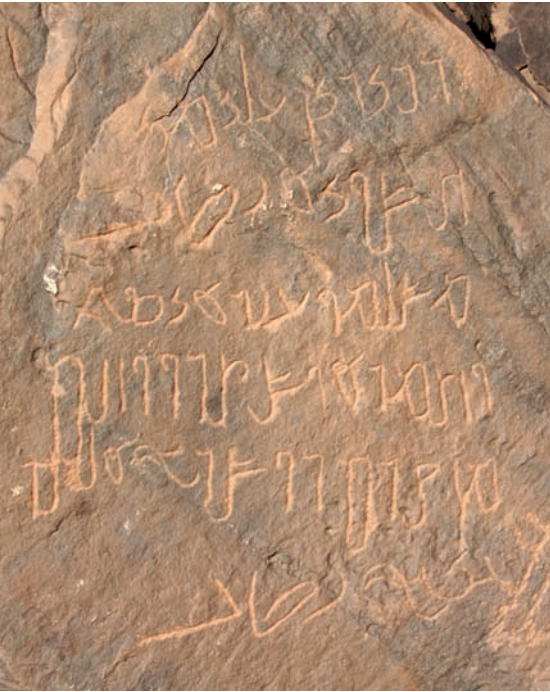


Fig. 16. “Calligraphic” Nabataean inscription UJadhNab 41.

The large majority of the inscriptions published in this chapter are written in the Nabataean script as it is known from the monumental and non-monumental inscriptions dated to the first century AD in Petra and Ḥegrā (fig. 16). Others are written partly or totally in a script which can be described as being transitional between Nabataean and Arabic, the most developed forms of which I have suggested to call “Nabataeo-Arabic” (fig. 17).<sup>94</sup> This label is indeed more appropriate than the one I used in my 2010 article, i.e. simply “transitional”,<sup>95</sup> because this epithet was understandable only in the context of Nabataean and early Arabic epigraphic studies and was therefore confusing. I have also discarded the expression “tardo-nabatéen”, i.e. “Late Nabataean”, suggested by C. Robin,<sup>96</sup> because it implied that this script was, in principle, closer to Nabataean than it was to the earliest examples of the Arabic script. Moreover, since the political entity of the Nabataean kingdom disappeared in AD 106, calling this script “Late Nabataean” could be understood by some scholars, especially archaeologists, as referring to a time period which they would oppose

to “Early Nabataean”, i.e. to the second and first centuries BC, “Late Nabataean” possibly referring for them to the first century AD. “Nabataeo-Arabic” appeared therefore to be the best alternative, at least for the most developed forms of the script. In parallel to this label, I shall use the expressions “classical” Nabataean or, better, “calligraphic” Nabataean,<sup>97</sup> from now on without the inverted commas, to designate the more or less standardized form of the Nabataean script.

93. al-Fassi 2007: Table on pl. VI, p. 98, and commentary p. 70.

94. Nehmé 2015c, Nehmé in Fiema, Al-Jallad, Macdonald *et alii* 2015: 417–422, and Nehmé 2017a.

95. Nehmé 2010a.

96. Robin 2008: 174.

97. This expression is used by Macdonald 2003: 52.



Fig. 17. Nabataeo-Arabic inscription UJadhNab 375.

belong to one of these categories, this is specified in the catalogue. Besides, in the indexes, a \* after an inscription number indicates that it is written in Nabataeo-Arabic and a # indicates that it is written only partly in Nabataeo-Arabic.

### F.1. Dots and other signs used in the script

The Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions show a number of signs, symbols, peculiarities, etc., which are presented below. The most important are the dots which are used above some letters.<sup>100</sup>

#### F.1.1. Dots above letters

The only letters which receive diacritical marks in this corpus of texts are the *r* and the *d* but there is only one example of *r* with a diacritical mark whereas there are numerous examples of dotted *d*. The *k* in *dkyr* of UJadhNab 219 has a dot over it but it is likely to be accidental.

J. Healey, followed by C. Robin,<sup>101</sup> has suggested that in JSNab 17, diacritical dots were placed on the *r* of *hrtt* and on the *š* of *rqwš*. In both cases, however, an examination of the original shows that these are chips in the stone and not dots marked intentionally (fig. 18).

The only examples of dotted *r* are to be found in AyNab 3 (fig. 19), in which both *rs*, in *rbybw* and *br*, are dotted. If one *r* only had been dotted, one may suggest it was accidental, but this is obviously not the case. The text is written in calligraphic Nabataean and since there is no *d* in it, there was no need to distinguish both letters. It is possible that the author, having seen dots on letters which looked like the *r* he was writing,



Fig. 18. The first three lines of JSNab 17 showing the location of the chips in the stone interpreted as dots.



Fig. 19. Dotted *rs* in AyNab 3 : *rbybw br*.

98. Nehmé 2010a: 48–54.

99. This category may ultimately disappear.

100. On the use of diacritics in Nabataean in general, see Healey 1990–1991: 45.

101. Healey and Smith 1989: 78; Robin 2006: 364, and fig. 16.



mistakenly added a dot above the *rs*. Another example of dotted *r* was recorded by Jausсен and Savignac on the *r* of *br* in JSNab 212 but this text is known only from a hand copy and should be checked on the original before any conclusion is drawn from it, especially since the other *r* in the text is not dotted.

In examining the use of the dot above the *d*, one should pay attention to two things: the kind of script in which the text is written and the word in which the dot appears. The reasons are the following: 1/ in the calligraphic Nabataean script, the *d* and the *r* have identical shapes and can easily be confused. This is a well known fact which would explain the use, in Nabataean, of the dot above the *d* to distinguish it from the *r*; 2/ in the Nabataeo-Arabic script, on the contrary, the *d* and the *r* have distinct forms and can hardly be confused. There was thus no need to add a dot above the *d* to distinguish it from the *r*.<sup>102</sup> It is therefore surprising that the majority of the examples of dotted *d* are found in texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters (see the table below); 3/ it has been suggested that since Aramaic *d* was used to represent both the *d* and the *ḏ*, the dot was added on the *d* when it represented an etymological *ḏ*.<sup>103</sup> It is therefore important to know in which words dotted *ds* are used and see whether the roots from which they derive contain an etymological *ḏ*.

In the table below, I have included both the examples given in Nehmé 2010a: 55, 57–58, in which I had listed all the examples of dotted letters which were known to me at the time, and the examples from the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions. The kind of script and the word in which the dotted *d* appears are given throughout.

The numbers in bold correspond to inscriptions in which words other than *dkyr* also have a dotted *d*.

<i>Word</i>	<i>Kind of script</i>	<i>Inscription number</i>	<i>/d/ or /ḏ/</i>	<i>Nb</i>
' <i>dhlw</i> (Arabic)	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>109</b>	<i>d</i>	1
<i>dkyr</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab 3, 4, 11 ( <i>dkr</i> ), 67, <b>105, 109</b> , 118, 122, 178, <b>193</b> , 221, 229, <b>248, 293</b> , 310, 320, 343, <b>375, 386</b> , 405, 467, 547, 548	<i>ḏ</i>	23
<i>dkyr</i>	Nabataean	UJadhNab <b>223</b> , JSNab 123	<i>ḏ</i>	2
<i>dkyr</i>	mixed	QNNab 2	<i>ḏ</i>	1
<i>ḥdh</i>	Nabataean	al-Theeb 1994: inscription B: 36–38	<i>d</i>	1
<i>ydh</i>	Nabataean	Savignac 1932: 591, no. 1 <sup>104</sup>	<i>d</i>	1
<i>Names</i>				
<i>bg{d}t</i>	Nabataean	UJadhNab 398	<i>d</i>	1
<i>brdw</i>	Nabataean	JSNab 321	<i>d</i>	1
<i>ddn</i>	Nabataean	MS83Nab22	both <i>d</i>	1
<i>yhwd'</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>293</b> , 301, <b>386</b>	<i>d</i>	3
<i>kyrd'</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>293</b>	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>bd'ysy</i>	Nabataean	UJadhNab 522	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>bd'yš</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>105</b>	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>bd'l'šhl</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab 300	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>bd'l'[z]{y}</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab 352	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>bdṣd{p/q}w</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>248</b>	both <i>d</i>	1
' <i>bdt</i>	Nabataean	CIS II 344	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>bydw</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>375</b>	<i>d</i>	1
' <i>dy{d}w</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab 220	both <i>d</i>	1
' <i>dyw</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab <b>193</b>	<i>d</i>	1

102. On this, see Macdonald 2009: 220 n. 55.

103. Hoyland 2008: 236 n. 42.

' <i>drw</i>	Nabataean	UJadhNab 223, JSNab 65	<i>ḍ</i>	2
' <i>wd'l</i>	mixed	UJadhNab 69	<i>ḍ</i>	1
<i>qdm</i>	Nabataean	DBv3Nab10	<i>d</i>	1
<i>šwrđwm'</i>	Nabataean	JSNab 181	<i>ḍ?</i>	1
<i>š'dw</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab 105	<i>d</i>	1
<i>š'dw'</i>	Nabataeo-Arabic	UJadhNab 287	<i>d</i>	1
			TOTAL	52

The following remarks can be made:

- the majority of the texts in which a dotted *d* appears are written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters (thirty-nine out of fifty-two) and these represent just a little more than half of the total number of texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic identified on the Darb al-Bakrah. This also means that there are many Nabataeo-Arabic texts in which the *d* is not dotted.<sup>105</sup> The use of the dotted *d* in the latter is therefore not systematic;
- the dot on the *ds* in the Nabataeo-Arabic texts is clearly not used to distinguish *d* from *r* since in all these texts, *d* and *r* have different shapes;
- half of the occurrences of dotted *d* appear in the word *dkyr*, i.e. in a root where the *d* represents a /d/. In the other words (*dhlw*, *hdh*, *ydh*) and in a number of names, the dot is put on etymological /d/. One can therefore not say that the dot was used to distinguish /d/ from /ḍ/ since it is used for both;
- in a number of inscriptions (in bold in the table), all the *ds* in the text, not just the *d* in *dkyr*, are dotted. It is therefore clear that *dkyr* with dotted *d* was not treated as some sort of ideogram. It is the letter *d* itself which was identified by the authors as requiring, in some cases, a dot over it;
- since dotted *ds* appear in texts written in calligraphic Nabataean (JSNab 65, 123, 181, etc.), where it is clearly meant to distinguish it from the *r*, I have suggested that the use of the dot in Nabataeo-Arabic was inherited from Nabataean and was not the consequence of a development of the script. This would be confirmed by the fact that there is not a single diacritical dot on the *ds* of the 6th century AD pre-Islamic Arabic texts. This is best explained by the fact that all the *ds* in these texts are different from calligraphic Nabataean *d*. By the time they were written, the habit of drawing a dot above the letter had completely disappeared.

If the wide use of the dot in Nabataeo-Arabic had been the result of an evolution of the script, one would have expected the dotted letters to be those which started to become homomorphs (*d* and *k*, *n* and *b*, etc.). It is in theory possible, but unlikely, that in the Nabataeo-Arabic texts, the dot was meant to distinguish the *d* from the *k*, because the *k* usually had a base-line which the *d* had not. Whatever the case, the dot is more widely used in the Nabataeo-Arabic texts than in the calligraphic Nabataean ones.<sup>106</sup>

As I have said elsewhere,<sup>107</sup> it is interesting that none of the letters which would receive a diacritical mark in early Arabic<sup>108</sup> received one in Nabataeo-Arabic. It is also surprising that the only letter which regularly received a dot is the *d*, because it is clearly distinct from the *r* (and *k*) in almost all the texts where these letters occur.

104. The dot was noticed by G.M.H. King, it does not appear on the squeeze.

105. There are thirty-two texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters which contain a *d* without a dot and fifteen texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters which do not contain a *d* at all.

106. The proportion of Nabataeo-Arabic dotted *d* is much larger than the proportion of calligraphic Nabataean dotted *d* in relation to the total number of inscriptions in these two categories.

107. Nehmé 2010a: 59.

108. See Robin 2006: 343–345.



Fig. 20. The Zebed inscription (AD 512) (photo C. Robin, facsimile M. Gorea).

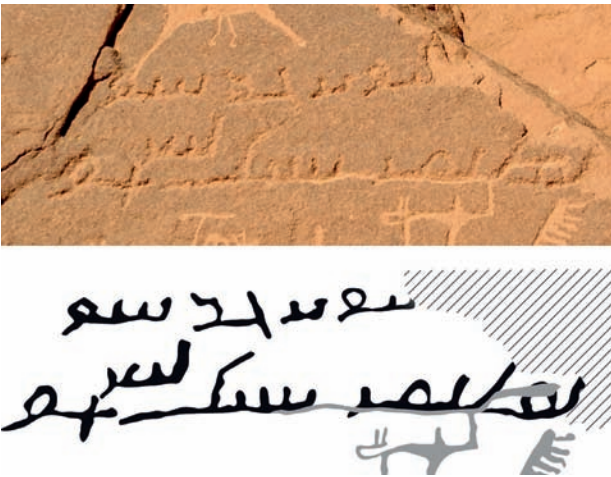


Fig. 21. Himà-al-Musammāt PalAr 1 (AD 513) (photo C. Robin, facsimile L. Nehmé).

It is difficult to explain why almost only the *d* was dotted. The simplest explanation may, as often, be the best: it was introduced, in Nabataean, to distinguish it from the *r*, and it went on being used until it became obvious that it was not useful anymore. In this respect, it is remarkable that the latest occurrence of a dotted *d* in a Nabataeo-Arabic text is the last quarter of the 5th century (Eilat)<sup>109</sup> whereas the earliest pre-Islamic Arabic texts, those of Zebed and Himà (fig. 20–21), which are a few decades later only (AD 512 and 513), do not contain any letter with diacritics. It should also be recalled that in early Islamic texts, the *d* never receives a dot. This loss must have happened sometime during the late 5th century, but how and where is another question, to which there is no answer yet.

F.1.2. Signs

A few signs, geometrical or not, have been identified in the texts. The most common one is an X form sign (fig. 22) which appears just before the beginning of the text in five inscriptions: ArNab 55, DBv3Nab 3, UJadhNab 71, 73 and 74. Note that the three Umm Jadhāyidh ones are carved on the same rock face. If one examines the position of the sign in relation to the inscriptions in these three examples, one can see that it is not exactly aligned with the letters and that it was carved on a part of the surface of the rock which was not the most suitable one for carving. It is clear that the author carved the inscription first and that the sign was added later, as if to highlight it. There is no reason to consider that this sign represented the numeral “4”, but



Fig. 22. X signs carved at the beginning of some inscriptions.

109. Avner, Nehmé, and Robin 2013.

its significance remains obscure. This sign is attested in other inscriptions from north-west Arabia such as ThMNN 752, ThNS 19, DaJ144Nab 9 and 12.<sup>110</sup>



Fig. 23. + sign at the end of ArNab 129.



Fig. 24. Reversed h before UdhNab 8.

In ArNab 129, a + sign appears at the end of the text (fig. 23). It seems to have been written by the same hand as the text. It may mean “4” although there is no way to know why the author would write a numeral at the end of the text.

The meaning of the sign which looks like a reversed h (fig. 24) carved before UdhNab 8, is obscure, and the same is true of the rectangle with a horizontal line in the middle carved apparently by the author at the end of UJadhNab 23 (fig. 25), as well as of the five vertical lines carved after the name in QNNab 35, the last one being much longer than the first four (fig. 26).

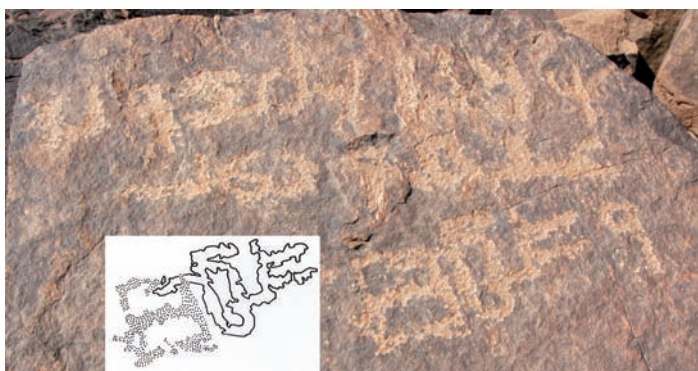


Fig. 25. Rectangle at the end of UJadhNab 23.



Fig. 26. Five lines after the name in QNNab 35.

### F.1.3. Notes on some letters

The identification of the individuals who carved their name several times in the same place or in different places (see above, § B.4) makes it possible to compare the form of the letters they wrote. One can see that some letter forms vary from one text to the other despite the fact that they were obviously carved by the same person. These letters are the following:

- ʾ: in texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, the letter can be written more or less horizontally, as in ʾbyw in UJadhNab 4 and 221 (see fig. 9.2 no. 13);
- ʿ: although it is not absolutely certain that UJadhNab 33 and 385 were written by the same person (see fig. 9.5 no. 35), it is worth pointing out that the line of the ʿ in nḥšʿb in both texts follows two completely different directions;
- y: two forms are used equally in texts written by the same person, one drawn from the top and one drawn from the bottom, both in initial/medial and final positions (see pyzrw in ArNab 48 and 96, fig. 9.2 no. 9; ntny in UJadhNab 98 and 271, fig. 9.6 no. 36; ply in UJadhNab 376 and 506, fig. 9.6 no. 40);
- l: two different forms of l coexist in texts written by the same person, hooked and unhooked (straight), both in medial and final positions (see rmʿl in UdhNab 6 and 18, fig. 9.1 no. 1; wʿlw in UJadhNab 252 and 284, fig. 9.3 no. 21; yšlm in QNNab 19 and UJadhNab 186, fig. 8.3 no. 13; mʿnʿlhy in UJadhNab 270 and 281, fig. 8.3 no. 33; possibly ʿbdrbʿl in UJadhNab 18 and 279, fig. 9.6 no. 38);
- m: this letter does not vary very much in texts written by the same person but there is one interesting difference in the name mqymw in UJadhNab 60 and 95, fig. 9.7 no. 49. In UJadhNab 60, there has been an attempt to draw a ligature between the m and the w which follows it;

110. See Nehmé 2017c: 130, 136.

– *br* is written in different ways in ArNab 65, where it is written normally, and UJadhNab 478, where it is written as two parallel lines, despite the fact that they are probably by the same individual (fig. 8.3 no. 15). These remarks show that the variations between some of the letter forms, at least the *t*, the *y* and the *l*, were not thought by the authors of the texts as being really significant, although it is of course always possible that they were not written by the same individual. However, since they were probably written roughly at the same time, these variations should at least not be considered as being palaeographically meaningful.

#### F.1.4. Peculiarities

Some of the letter forms used in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions are peculiar and would seem very odd if found in Petra or in the legal texts from Madā'in Šāliḥ. Other peculiarities have also been identified. All these are presented below.

– *d*: in the Nabataeo-Arabic text UJadhNab 220, the *d* has a bottom horizontal line and may therefore be confused with a *k*, but it has a dot over it and the name is certainly 'dydw, not 'dykw.



Fig. 27. *whblhy* in UJadhNab 268.

– *h*: in UJadhNab 268 (fig. 27), the first *h* in *whblhy* has the normal medial form whereas the second *h* has what is normally the final form despite the fact that it is also in medial position.

– *w*: both *w* in UJadhNab 269 (fig. 28), written in calligraphic Nabataean, have the form of a *p*, i.e. their bottom part leans strongly to the left.

– *y*: the final *y* in UJadhNab 378, written in calligraphic Nabataean, has the form of a *w* and the same is true of the one in UJadhNab 408.

– *t*: in UJadhNab 136, the loop and the vertical stroke of the *t* of *btb* are not joined.



Fig. 28. 'wydw in UJadhNab 269.

– *l*: in UJadhNab 15, the *l* in *šlm* has a horizontal line at its top which makes it look like a *k*.

– *m*: in UJadhNab 87, the *m* of *šlm* is not closed at the bottom. The same is true of the *m* in 'lym in UJadhNab 116 (whereas the other *ms* in the text are closed) and of the *m* in 'n'm in UJadhNab 191. In UJadhNab 15, the final *m* in *šlm* has a peculiar hook at its top and so does the *l* before it.

– the form of the *s* in UJadhNab 94 (*dmtrys*) and UJadhNab 379 (*rwps*) is very peculiar. It looks like an 8, with the bottom loop larger than the top one, but a vertical stroke is carved below the left part of the bottom loop (fig. 29).

– *lām-alif*: note the form of the *lām-alif* in UJadhNab 288, which is written in calligraphic Nabataean.



Fig. 29. Two examples of peculiar forms of *s*, UJadhNab 94 on the left and UJadhNab 379 on the right.



Fig. 30. Two examples of peculiar combinations of the letters *bd'*, UJadhNab 129 on the left and UJadhNab 202 on the right.

– the combination of the letters *bd'* in the name 'bd'lg' in UJadhNab 129 and 202, both of which are written in calligraphic Nabataean, is unexpected. It is made of three parallel diagonal lines (fig. 30) and it shows that this combination was more or less treated as an ideogram.

– *br* is relatively often written with two parallel lines (fig. 31, where only the clearest examples have been reproduced). This is the case in fourteen texts, all of which are written in calligraphic Nabataean.<sup>111</sup> Sometimes, the two lines are joined at their bottom, as in QNNab 37 or, more or less accidentally, from the top, as in ArNab 109. Sometimes also, the quality of the carving is so bad that it is not certain whether we really have *br* written as parallel lines (ArNab 5). In the examples of fig. 31 at least, *br* seems to be treated as an ideogram and not as two different letters following each other.



Fig. 31. Examples of *br* written as parallel lines.

- there is one clear example of abbreviation, in UJadhNab 86, where *š* is put for *šnt*.
- sometimes, a text written by an individual is reused by another who includes part of what was already carved to write his own text. This is the case, for instance, in UJadhNab 417 and 418 where the author

111. QNNab 16, ArNab 7, SBNab 7, UJadhNab 69, 107, 129, 261, 276, 370, 431, 474, 478, 557 and DBv3Nab 6.



Fig. 32. Example of reused *m* in UJadhNab 73 and 74.

of UJadhNab 418 included *w'lw* of UJadhNab 417 in his own text. In UJadhNab 74, the author probably reused the *m* of *šlm* of UJadhNab 73 in order to write his name, *gšm* (fig. 32). In UJadhNab 135, the authors have reused the word *dkyryn* of UJadhNab 134.

– there are cases, in some texts, in which letters have been metathesized, as in UJadhNab 117, where the author wrote possibly *tym'l'hw* for *tym'l'hw* (but see the comment under *hw* in the table below, § G.3), or UJadhNab 445, where the author wrote *š°dlhy* for *š'd'ly*. Other examples include *qmd* for *qdm* in UJadhNab 228.

### F.2. Carving techniques

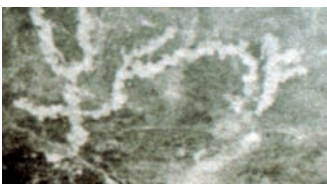
The carving techniques used in the texts, and hence the quality of the carving, vary considerably from one text to another, not only on the same rock face (see for instance QNNab 12–14, 15–19 and UJadhNab 182–185) but also in the same text. They vary from very rough and badly carved letters to very fine ones, possibly carved by professional scribes. Some of the best carved texts are ArNab 46, ArNab 110, UJadhNab 38 and 41, to which may be added UJadhNab 84 and 126.

Examples of inscriptions carved with a very sharp tool include QNNab 12, 14 and 17. Examples of letters made of a succession of dots can be found in QNNab 24 and ArNab 8–10.

Some inscriptions show a combination of techniques. In UJadhNab 62, both lines of the text start with finely carved letters and end with very rough ones, though it is also possible that both parts were not written by the same person. In MBAZNab 2, the *t* has also a much rougher aspect than the first three letters. Other examples of changing technique in the same text include ArNab 145 (the end better than the beginning), ArNab 162 (the last two letters are made of dots), UJadhNab 108 (*šlm* is very rough), UJadhNab 469 (the *šlm* in the third line is made of a succession of dots).

### F.3. Numerals written as ciphers

Seven inscriptions show numerals written as ciphers (fig. 33). These numerals are 19, 25, 45, 46, 49, 200 and 350.



UJadhNab 86: *š* followed by 19 (10+5+4)



UJadhNab 454: 25 (20+5)



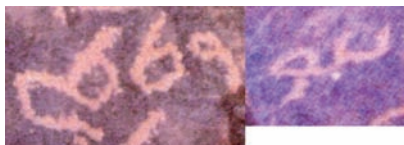
UJadhNab 6: 45 (20+20+5)



UJadhNab 172: 46 (20+20+5+1)



UJadhNab 546: 49 (20+20+5+4)



UJadhNab 109: 350 (2x100+100+20+20+10)



UJadhNab 297: 200 (2x100)

Fig. 33. Numerals written as ciphers.

The following combinations are represented:

- UJadhNab 86:  $10+5+4 = 19$ ;<sup>112</sup>
- UJadhNab 454:  $20+5 = 25$ ;
- UJadhNab 6:  $20+20+5 = 45$ ;
- UJadhNab 172:  $20+20+5+1 = 46$ ;
- UJadhNab 546:  $20+20+5+4 = 49$ ;
- UJadhNab 297:  $2 \times 100 = 200$ ;
- UJadhNab 109:  $2 \times 100$  and, on the following line,  $+100+20+20+10 = 350$ .

All the numerals known to have been used in Nabataean are represented in the texts: 1, 5, 10, 20, 100.

“1” is a simple vertical line, except when it is combined with three others to form “4”, in which case it usually forms a cross, a Greek one in UJadhNab 86 and a St Andrew’s one in UJadhNab 546.

There are five examples of 5, all of which appear in inscriptions dated to the first half of the second century AD. The shape of the 5 in these texts is similar to the one it has in the first century texts, i.e. it resembles that of the Nabataean letter *y*. In later texts, the loop of the sign for 5 tends to disappear and it becomes a vertical or diagonal line which, as rightly pointed out by C. Robin (*et alii* 2014: 1045), is longer than the units which sometimes follow it, which allows to read the numerals 227 instead of 223 in the Namārah inscription (AD 332 instead of 328) and 427 instead of 423 in the Jabal Says one (AD 532–533 instead of 528–529). The sign for 5 seems therefore to follow the same palaeographic evolution as the letter *y*, which ultimately, as shown above, becomes similar to the *b* and *n*.

Of the two examples of 10, one is normal, in UJadhNab 86, while the one in UJadhNab 109 is exaggerated. The latter is reminiscent of the first set of numerals in JSNab 12, which have been read either as 43 (two twenties and three units) or as 33 (three tens and three units).<sup>113</sup> In UJadhNab 109, the last sign probably represents 10 since it has a completely different shape from the previous two signs which almost certainly represent 20 (with the loop closed on the left, as in the Ḥarrān inscription, in Ḥimā-Sud PalAr 1 and in DaJ144NabAr 1 (fig. 34). One has therefore to admit that “10”, when written at the end of a sequence of numerals, may take the form of a final *y*.



Fig. 34. The numerals in a. the Ḥarrān inscription: 463; b. Ḥimā-Sud PalAr 1: 364; c. DaJ144NabAr 1: [4]43.

There are nine examples of “20” used in four different texts and the shape of the sign is different in each one. The sign for “20” seems to have varied considerably in Nabataean, as can be seen in the table published by J.T. Milik and H. Seyrig. The most widely used shape is close to the Arabic numeral 3, the upper loop being usually smaller than the bottom one and being sometimes closed, thus forming a circle, as in UJadhNab 6. That is why we have considered the two signs in UJadhNab 172 as being two

112. I first thought that this numeral should be read  $10+5+1$ , thus “16”, with the single unit crossing the unusually long horizontal line of the 5. However, the juxtaposition of 5 (or another numeral) and 4 in the form of a cross, is attested in Nabataean epigraphy and on coins. See for example an inscription from Avdat dated AD 99 (Jaussen, Savignac, Vincent 1905: no. 2, p. 238–241) and a coin in Milik and Seyrig 1958: fig. 2. It is therefore preferable to read “19”.

113. Healey 1993: 142–143.



signs for “20”.<sup>114</sup> The two signs read as “20” in UJadhNab 109 cannot be read differently: they cannot be “100” because of the signs for “100” which appear just before, and they cannot be “5”, which would be the only possible alternative, since what follows is a “10” (see above). It is probably not accidental that the two “20” in this text, which is the latest of the series, are almost identical to the “20” used in various other late texts.<sup>115</sup>

Finally, there are three examples of “100”, two in UJadhNab 109 and one in UJadhNab 297. They have the perfectly normal shape of Nabataean “100”, i.e. that of the letter *w*. In order to write “200”, the sign for “100” is preceded by two units, thus multiplying the “100” by 2.

All in all, the numerals attested in the inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah work exactly as they do in the other Nabataean inscriptions and as they do in the dated texts from Ḥimā and al-Jawf, i.e. they are multiplied when going from the smallest to the biggest (3x100) and added when either equal (20+20) or going from the biggest to the smallest (20+10+5). The shape of some of the numerals can vary (the 5 and the 20 especially) and the 5 seems to witness the same evolution as the one which affects the *y*.

### G. The anthroponyms

The Darb al-Bakrah corpus of inscriptions contains a large number of personal names, many of which are not attested elsewhere in the Nabataean realm. This can easily be seen from the onomastic index of the inscriptions, at the end of the catalogue, where any name followed by <sup>N</sup> was found in the list of Nabataean names established by A. Negev in 1991, while any name followed by a <sup>O</sup> does not appear in that list. Approximately two thirds of the names were not found in Negev’s list.<sup>116</sup> It would be interesting to compare the names of the Darb al-Bakrah with the names contained in the inscriptions from the Arabian peninsula, a task which is however beyond the scope of this introduction. The same is true of the study which needs to be undertaken specifically on the names which appear in the inscriptions written in Nabataeo-Arabic. The reason is that such a study, in order to be complete and useful, should take into consideration all the texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic known so far (*c.* 150), not only those from the Darb al-Bakrah (*c.* 75). It will therefore be undertaken along with the edition of this corpus. A preliminary examination of the names in the Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah allows however to make the following comments. First, it should be noted that *c.* 80% of these names appear *only* in texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters while *c.* 20% appear in texts carved in both the Nabataeo-Arabic and the calligraphic Nabataean scripts. Besides, if one considers the names which occur *only* in Nabataeo-Arabic, it is interesting that more than 80%, i.e. the vast majority, are not attested in the Nabataean onomasticon, at least not as it is known in Negev 1991 (with some additions by the author).<sup>117</sup> Conversely, if one considers the names which occur in *both* Nabataeo-Arabic characters and calligraphic Nabataean, the proportion is reversed: *c.* 80% are previously known. It is significant that the large majority of names which appear only in Nabataeo-Arabic characters are not previously known in the Nabataean onomasticon. We may tentatively suggest that this either reflects a population change (the cultural background of the people who wrote these graffiti was different, or they came from somewhere else), or reveals the existence of people who did not write much before the end of the third century AD (and who were therefore not visible) and who started to write in this area and with this particular script from the end of the third century onwards.

114. Another reason is of course the fact that if they were read as “100+100”, which is the only alternative, the date of the text, which is written in more or less calligraphic Nabataean, would be 206, i.e. AD 311–312, which would be relatively late for that kind of text. Besides, if “200” was meant, one would expect 2x100 rather than 100+100.

115. In chronological order: al-Najem and Macdonald 2009, Ḥimā-Sud PalAr 1 (in Robin, al-Ghabban, and al-Sa’īd 2014), Jabal Says, DaJ144NabAr 1 (in Nehmé 2017c), Ḥarrān.

116. Note that the entries in Negev 1991 have not been checked and the <sup>N</sup> thus indicates simply that a correspondance was found in the volume.

117. The 1249 names listed in Negev 1991 have been captured in a database to which have been added names mentioned in inscriptions published since 1991. The additions now represent 297 names.

I shall not, in this paragraph, discuss each name at length. This is in line with the policy I have applied in the catalogue itself, where the names are not often discussed and the etymologies not given. This seems to me, in the majority of cases, a relatively useless exercise because of the reading uncertainties. The following paragraphs are therefore either comments on the corpus of names as a whole, based primarily on statistics, or comments on specific categories of names.

### G.1. The most common names

It is easy, first, to compare the names which occur most frequently on the Darb al-Bakrah with those which occur most frequently in the Nabataean realm in general, in order to see whether the two categories match. The following table and its commentary answer this initial question.

#### *The names which appear most frequently on the Darb al-Bakrah (by decreasing number of occurrences)*

Name	No. of occurrences in Darb al-Bakrah	Total no. of occurrences in Nabataean <sup>118</sup>	No. of previous occurrences in Nabataean in North Arabia	Remarks
<i>tymw</i>	63	106	55	
<i>šlmw</i>	26	83	23	
<i>mšlmw</i>	22	12	8	
<i>rb'l</i>	22	30	5	
<i>w'lw</i>	20	440	11	
<i>'nmw</i>	17	59	28	Seven in Nabataeo-Arabic characters
<i>šly</i>	17	35	13	One in Nabataeo-Arabic characters
<i>hwrw</i>	16	49	14	
<i>š'd'lhy</i>	14	37	12	
<i>hn'w</i>	14	76	13	
<i>hyw</i>	14	24	21	
<i>'bd'dnwn</i>	9	1	1	
<i>'bdw</i>	9	44	22	
<i>h{b/n}y{b/n}w</i>	8	16	9	Almost all in Nabataeo-Arabic characters

#### *Commentary:*

The names which are most frequently attested in the Darb al-Bakrah texts are also, usually, widespread in Nabataean in general. This is the case, particularly, for *hn'w*, *w'lw*, and *tymw* as well as for *hwrw*, *'bdw*, *šlmw* and *š'd'lhy* (in light grey above). Some others seem to be proportionally more widespread in the Darb al-Bakrah texts than in the Nabataean realm in general. These are:

- *hyw*, *'nmw* (several in Nabataeo-Arabic) and *šly*: the proportion of these names on the Darb al-Bakrah seems to be higher than in Nabataean in general but not greatly so;
- *h{b/n}y{b/n}w* and *rb'l*: if we consider the number of occurrences of these names in the Darb al-Bakrah texts, the total number of occurrences in Nabataean increases by 50% or more;
- *mšlmw* and *'bd'dnwn*: the Darb al-Bakrah texts provide more attestations of these names than all the other Nabataean inscriptions.

The most significant differences are the widespread use of the names *rb'l* and, written only in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, of *h{b/n}y{b/n}w*.

118. The figures in this column are based on A. Negev's work but include also later additions to his index. The occurrences have not all been checked and the figures are therefore indicative.

If we look at this question of the most widespread names from another point of view, i.e. starting with the list of the names which are the most widely used in North Arabia, the following table can be established. It compares the number of occurrences of a name in north Arabia and on the Darb al-Bakrah.

*The names which appear most frequently in North Arabia (by decreasing number of occurrences)*

Name	Nb of occurrences in North Arabia	Nb of occurrences on the Darb al-Bakrah
<b>tymw</b>	55	63
<b>'nmw</b>	28	17
<b>šlmw</b>	23	26
<b>'bdw</b>	22	9
<b>ḥyw</b>	21	14
<b>'bd'bd</b>	20	3
<b>zydw</b>	16	7
<b>ḥwrw</b>	14	16
<b>šlmn</b>	14	1
<b>hn'w</b>	13	14
<b>'ydw</b>	13	8
<b>šly</b>	13	17

*Commentary:*

Eight names (in bold) out of the twelve which occur most frequently in North Arabia already appeared in the first table above, and this shows that the most common names are usually the same on the Darb al-Bakrah and in North Arabia. Among the four names which do not appear in the first list, two names, *'bd'bd* and *šlmn*, are particularly rare on the Darb al-Bakrah. The last two, *zydw* and *'ydw*, are not significantly less common on the Darb al-Bakrah than in north Arabia in general.

The examination of the two tables drawn above shows that apart from the two names which are overwhelmingly more common on the Darb al-Bakrah than in the Nabataean texts in general, *rb'l* and *ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*, and the other two which are surprisingly less common, *'bd'bd* and *šlmn*, there is not a *real* difference in the use of the names: the most popular ones in the Nabataean regions in general are also the most popular ones on the Darb al-Bakrah.

## G.2. Basileophoric names

There are very few basileophoric names, i.e. names – compound or not – which contain a Nabataean king's name (*ḥrṭt*, *rb'l*, *mlkw* or *'bd*) in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions. Apart from *rb'l*, which is very common in the Darb al-Bakrah texts, the names of the Nabataean kings used as simple anthroponyms are not very common. There are only two *ḥrṭt* (against forty-three in the Nabataean texts in general), seven *mlkw* (against thirty-six) and not a single *'bd* (against ten). As far as the compound names are concerned, I have identified the following basileophoric names:

- composed with *'bd* (these names are both theophoric and basileophoric):<sup>119</sup> three *'bd'bd*, four *tym'bd* and one *'wš'bd*. No other compound name built with *'bd* is attested in Nabataean;<sup>120</sup>
- composed with *ḥrṭt*: four *'bdḥrṭt*. The other compound names built with *ḥrṭt* in Nabataean (outside the Darb al-Bakrah) are *'ḥrṭt* and *nšybḥrṭt*<sup>121</sup> but *'bdḥrṭt* is by far the most common;

119. On this and the fact that the names composed with *'bd* are more common than the names composed with the names of the other Nabataean kings, *ḥrṭt*, *rb'l* and *mlkw*, see Nehmé 2012a: 197–198 and fig. 7.

120. A complete list of Nabataean basileophoric compound names, with all the references, can be found in Nehmé 2012a: 208–216. However, in this list, the second line of the name *whb'bd* (the occurrence of which is very uncertain) should be deleted.

121. It is possible that the name *nšybḥrṭt*, which is supposed to appear in a text copied by H.St.J.B. Philby (Ph261p) in the early 1950s in the Wādī Madhbah, between Taymā' and Khaybar (reading Milik 1976: 146), corresponds in fact to the phrase *nšyb ḥrṭt*, “the kinsman of Ḥārīṭat”, which was read in an inscription found in al-Qaṭī'ah, half-way between Taymā' and Khaybar (al-Theeb 2005: no. 65). For another interpretation of *nšyb ḥrṭt* in this text, “the very noble Ḥārīṭat”, see Robin 2015b: 96–97.

– composed with *rb'l*: five *'bdrb'l*. The other compound name built with *rb'l* in Nabataean is *tymrb'l* but *'bdrb'l* is by far the most common;

– composed with *mnkw*: seven *'bdmnkw*. The other compound names built with *mnkw* are *whbmnkw* and *tymmnkw* but *'bdmnkw* is by far the most common.

The conclusions for the basileophoric names are the same as those presented above for § G.1: the names which occur on the Darb al-Bakrah are the same as those which occur in the Nabataean texts in general, there are no major differences. One may only notice that the names borne by the Nabataean kings in their simple forms (not in compound names) are usually less well represented on the Darb al-Bakrah than elsewhere, especially *hrtt* and *'bdt*.

### G.3. Theophoric names

Theophoric names are usually searched for by identifying divine names which are preceded by a root word, the most common ones in Nabataean being *'wš*, *whb* (both = “gift”), *zyd* (“increase”), *'bd* and *tym*, the latter both meaning “servant”. By extension, however, it is also assumed that whenever any such root word is followed by a name, this name is a divine name or may refer, indirectly, to a divine name. This is the case, for instance, for toponyms such as *gy'* which, if preceded by *'bd'l*, will be considered to mean “servant of [the god of] Gaia”, or in the name *whb'lgyr*, attested in our corpus, which is translated as “gift of the protector” (see § D.7.2). However, we have restricted ourselves to the most obviously recognizable divine names and have left out names such as *hn'kbytw*, *'bd'yš*, *'bd'shn*, *'bdgnwn*, etc.<sup>122</sup> All the names which have been identified as theophoric are presented in the table below and only the new names are commented on. For the others, one should refer to Negev 1991 and other publications.

#### Probable theophoric names (by alphabetical order of the divine element)

Divine element	Name	Nb	Already known or not
'ysy (Isis)	'bd-'ysy	2	already known
'l (El)	grm-'l	1	already known
	hlpt-'l	1	<b>new name:</b> this name derives probably from Arabic <i>ḥalfah</i> , “oath”, thus “oath/promise of El” (Lane 1863–1893: 627c).
	hn-'l	1	already known
	ntyrr-'l	1	already known
	'bd-'l	1	already known
	'wd-'l	1	<b>new name:</b> cf. Arabic <i>'wd</i> , “to seek protection, to take refuge”, thus “protection, refuge of El” (Lane 1863–1893: 2192a).
	pḥr-'l	1	<b>new name:</b> “glory of El”, on the basis of Arabic <i>fahr</i> , “glory, pride of El” (Lane 1863–1893: 2349c).
	rbyb-'l	5	already known
šlm-'l	2	<b>new name:</b> “safety of El”.	
'lktb' (al-Kutbā)	tym-'l-ktb'	4	already known
'lh/'lhy (Ilāh/Ilāhī)	'wš-'lhy	3	already known
	whb-'lhy/whb-lhy	5	already known
	zyd-'lhy	4	already known
	hb-'lhy	2	already known
	hlp-'lhy	1	already known
	m'n-'lhy	8	already known
	m'r-'l	1	<b>new name</b> for which no satisfactory etymology was found. The root M-'R does not exist in Aramaic and in Arabic <i>ma'ir</i> is said of a man or of a part of the body whose hair fell off (Lane 1863–1893: 2723c).

122. For a complete study of the theophoric names in the Arabian peninsula, see Nehmé forthcoming a. Note however that the data is never up to date because of the continuous discovery of new Nabataean inscriptions. For example, the present study includes the inscriptions recorded by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā', which Nehmé forthcoming a does not.

	'bd-'lh	1	already known
	'bd-'lhy	2	already known
	'wt-'lhy/'wt-lhy	5	already known
	'mr-'l	1	already known
	šy-'lhy	2	already known
	šld-'lhy	1	<b>new name</b> for which no satisfactory etymology was found. The root S-L-D does not exist in Arabic and <i>šildā</i> in Aramaic means “decayed carcass”! (Jastrow, s.v.)
	š'd-'lhy/š'd-lhy		already known
	tym-'lhy/tym-lhy	6	already known
'lz' (al-'Uzzā)	'bd-'l'zy	1	already known
'lt (ʿAllāt)	'bd-'lt	1	<b>new name</b> : “servant of ʿAllāt”.
	'lty	1	<b>new name</b> : the theophoric character of this name is not certain because isolated divine names are not usually used as theophoric names in Nabataean. It may be the word 'lt followed by the first person suffixed personal pronoun, -y, thus “my goddess”.
	hn-'lt	2	<b>new name</b> : cf. Arabic <i>hāni</i> ’, “servant”, thus “servant of ʿAllāt”.
	tym-'lt	1	already known
b'l (Ba'al)	b'l-ntn	1	already known
	b'l-ḥwn	1	<b>new name</b> (but published in ThNJUT 27): this name may mean “Ba'al was gracious” on the basis of the meaning of <i>ḥwn</i> in Aramaic (Jastrow 1903: s.v. <i>ḥnn/ḥwn</i> ).
	b'l-t{y}n	1	<b>new name</b> : possibly, “Ba'al dwelt [in the place]” or “Ba'al measured, compared”, according to Arabic <i>tanna</i> (he dwelt) or, better, <i>tāna</i> (he measured) (Lane 1863–1893: 318a).
	ḥn-b'l	1	<b>new name</b> : see above, “Ba'al is gracious”.
g' (Gaia)	'bd-'lg'	7	already known
dwšr' (Dūšarā)	tym-dwšr'	1	already known
ḥwr (Ḥawar)	tym-'l-ḥwr	2	<b>new name</b> : this name may mean “servant of the [god] of ḥwr”, i.e. of Ḥumaymā in southern Jordan. <sup>123</sup> However, <i>ḥwr</i> in UJadhNab 117, which has <i>tym'ḥwr</i> instead of <i>tym'ḥwr</i> , may possibly be equated with the god 'ḥwr, mentioned in a three-line Ancient North Arabian inscription in the Sabaic script from Qaryat al-Faw as well as in several theophoric names in Ḥismaic under the form 'ḥwr (four times) or <i>ḥwr</i> (once). <sup>124</sup> We know nothing else about this deity.
	tym-l'-ḥwr/tym-l-ḥwr		
mnwy/mnwt	'bd-mnwy	1	<b>new name</b> : <i>mnwy</i> is probably the equivalent of <i>mnwt</i> , whether or not the author forgot to write the <i>t</i> .
	'bd-mnwt	3	already known
	'wd-mnwt	2	<b>new name</b> : cf. Arabic 'wd, “to seek protection, to take refuge”, thus “protection, refuge of <i>mnwt</i> ”. The name of the goddess is written with a final <i>y</i> , a feature which is found in other theophoric names such as 'bdmnwt (ARNA.Nab 86) and tymmnwt (JSNab 92 and 93), as opposed to zydmnwtw and others, which are written with a final <i>w</i> .
'bdt (Obodas)	'wš-'bdt	1	already known
	tym-'bdt	4	already known
šlm (Šalm)	'bd-šlm	2	<b>new name</b> : it is the first occurrence, in Nabataean inscriptions, of the Taymanite deity Šalm, known in the first place from the Aramaic stele from Taymā. <sup>125</sup> This divine name is used in theophoric names such as Dadanitic <i>šlm-yḥb</i> (JSLih 382). This theophoric name is attested only in north-west Arabia, which is not surprising since <i>šlm</i> is the god of Taymā'. Note that 'bdšlm occurs in a Taymā' Aramaic text dated to the 17th year of Malichus II, TA14285+TA14286, for which see Macdonald and al-Najem forthcoming a.
qs (Qōs)	qs-bnh	1	<b>new name</b> : “Qōs has built”.

šm' (sky)	'bd-'l-šm'	1	<b>new name:</b> it is the first occurrence in Nabataean of šm', "the sky, heaven" used in a theophoric name. One should however remember that šmy' is used in two Nabataean inscriptions in a context where one would expect to find the name of a deity (after <i>mn qdm</i> , "in the presence of"). One is an inscription from the Jabal Ithlib, copied by Ch. Doughty, <i>CIS II</i> 236 (fig. 35), correctly read by J.T. Milik, photographed and republished by the author. The second is an inscription discovered during the 2016 excavation season at Madā'in Sāliḥ. <sup>126</sup>
	'wd-'l-šm'	1	<b>new name,</b> see above.

The Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions thus contain nineteen new theophoric names built with divine elements some of which are previously known in Nabataean ('l, 'lhy, 'lt, b'l, g', *mnwty*, 'bdt, qs) and others which are new (*hwr*/*hwr*, *šlm*, *šm*'). The root words show a strong influence of Arabic and some of them are new: *bnh* in *qsbnh*, *hlpt* in *hlpt'l*, *m'r* in *m'r'l*, *pḥr* in *pḥr'l*, "glory", possibly *tyn* in *b'ltyn*.



Fig. 35. *CIS II* 236, which mentions *mn qdm šmy*', "in the presence of Heaven".

123. The equivalence of *hwr* with Auara in Ptolemy and with Hauare in the *Notitia Dignitatum* is almost certain. An inscription from Humaymā, published in 1992 by D. Graf (1992: 69–70) says that a man is 'bd'lhwr; i.e., if we accept the suggested interpretation, "the servant of [the god of] *hwr*", whoever this god was, just as we have 'bd'lg'/'bd'lg', "the servant [of the god] of Gaia", usually identified with Dūšarā. Other possible interpretations are given (*al-hawar* = the planet Jupiter or *hwr* = the Egyptian god Horus), but are rejected; see the arguments p. 71–73.

124. Personal communication from M.C.A. Macdonald (10/2012), who classified the inscription, published in al-Ansary 1982: 147, no. 6, as undetermined Ancient North Arabian. The Ḥismaic theophoric names are to be found in King 1990: s.v. *tm-'hwr*, 'bd-'hwr, *whb-'hwr*, *tm-l-hwr* and {'}bd-{'l'h}wr.

125. Calvet and Robin 1997: no. 200, p. 261–263.

126. *CIS II* 236: Milik 1972: 409–410. Both texts are published in Nehmé forthcoming b, with a the commentary on *šmy*'.

#### G.4. Names of women

The large majority of the inscriptions were written by men but a few women are mentioned in the texts. In ArNab 78 and 106, a woman named *gzy't* is said to be the daughter of *mydw*, probably a masculine name. What is interesting is that these two texts are written in a completely different technique: the letters of ArNab 106 are made of a succession of dots carved more or less closely to each other whereas the letters in ArNab 78 are carved as a continuous line. Because of this technical difference, we first thought that the author did not write the texts herself. However, if one looks at the form of the letters in both, one can see that they are almost identical, at least for *gzy't* (the patronym is not completely clear in ArNab 106). They were therefore probably carved by the same person, who just happened to use two different carving techniques.

The same name, *gzy't*, appears in another text, UJadhNab 190, where she is said to be the mother of a person named *qšrw*. If the latter is a masculine name, we may have in this text the occurrence of a person with a matronym (rather than a patronym), which is very rare in Nabataean, if attested at all.

Another interesting case is that of a woman named *'mt*, who is said to be the companion (*hbrt*) of a man named *šly* in UJadhNab 516. This text offers the first occurrence, in Nabataean, of the feminine form of *hbr*. The word, which is known in Aramaic, Hebrew and Arabic, is used in Nabataean in various contexts, among which are the members of religious confraternities,<sup>127</sup> the companions of a cavalryman,<sup>128</sup> the colleagues of a man who built a dam and of another who built a tomb,<sup>129</sup> a group of men who are the servants of a *strategos*.<sup>130</sup> It appears therefore in both religious and secular contexts and it is used particularly for people who exercise the same profession (cavalrymen, builders, servants). It is difficult to determine for what reason *'mt* was the “companion” of *šly*. Were they simply travelling together? The fact that *šly br štrw* and *'mt hbrth* are not linked by a conjunction but are simply put side by side does not help understand the relationship which existed between them. Another text, SBNab 2, provides an example of a man, *yny*, who is said to be the companion of a woman (*qšm'l*) who is in turn the servant (*'lymt*) of somebody else, whose name is lost. This text shows that a man can be the *hbr* of a woman who is a servant. It is probable that *hbr* is to be taken here in a very broad sense.

Another woman, *hrmw*, signs along with a man named *gšm* in UJadhNab 501. Both *gšm* and *hrmw* give the name of their father, respectively *tym'lhy* and *t'y}bw*. They are therefore not brother and sister and probably not husband and wife either. They probably just happened to be in Umm Jadhāyidh at the same time and signed together for a reason unknown to us.

Four women are the slaves (*'lymt*) of a man: *m{d/r}{d/r}{pw}* in ArNab 53, *lbnt* in UJadhNab 17, *w'lt* in UJadhNab 91 and *hndw* in UJadhNab 99. Finally, the name and patronym of two other woman are *hbw* daughter of *yt'w* in UJadhNab 120 and *šdw* daughter of *hrm* in ArNab 87, while *mḥmyt*, in UJadhNab 489 is mentioned with no patronym after her name.

#### Table of women attested in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions

Name	Inscription no.	Notes
<i>gzy't</i>	ArNab 78, 106	daughter of <i>mydw</i>
<i>gzy't</i>	UJadhNab 190	mother of <i>qšrw</i>
<i>hndw</i>	UJadhNab 99	' <i>lymt</i> , “slave”
<i>w'lt</i>	UJadhNab 91	' <i>lymt</i> , “slave”
<i>hbw</i>	UJadhNab 120	daughter of <i>yt'w</i>

127. DNPf 73 = MP 530 in Petra (Cantineau 1930–1932: vol. 2, p. 6–7).

128. UdhNab 18 = JSNab 245–246 in Maq'ad al-Jundī near Ḥeḡrā (*phbrwhy pršy' nṭryn*).

129. Dam: Negev 1961: no. 8; tomb: JSNab 18 (correct reading in Milik and Starcky 1970: no. 89).

130. JSNab 57 (see most recently Nehmé 2005–2006: no. 13, p. 194–198): three men are mentioned followed by *w šryt ḥbryhm 'lymy mlkw w b'qt 'srtyg'*, “and the rest of their companions the servants of Malkū and Ba'qat the *strategoi*”.

<i>hrmw</i>	UJadhNab 501	daughter of <i>t{y}bw</i> , she is accompanied by a man and signs with him
<i>lbnt</i>	UJadhNab 17	' <i>lymt</i> , "slave"
<i>m{d/r}{d/r}{pw}</i>	ArNab 53	' <i>lymt</i> , "slave"
<i>mḥmyt</i>	UJadhNab 489	—
' <i>mt</i>	UJadhNab 516	<i>ḥbrt</i> , "companion" of <i>šly</i>
<i>qšm'l</i>	SBNab 2	she is ' <i>lymt</i> of somebody, <i>yny</i> is her <i>ḥbr</i> , "companion"
<i>šdw</i>	ArNab 87	daughter of <i>hrm</i>

Thus, twelve women are mentioned in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions. Among them, five are slaves and two are the companions of a man. Another one signs along with a man. Compared with the approximately 700 names of men, the women represent less than 2% of the total, which is very little. Almost half of them have a low social status and not much is known of the others.

### G.5. Jewish names

The inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah contain a number of names of Jewish origin. It is important to identify and comment on these because they may provide more information on the otherwise very badly documented Jewish communities in the oases of north-west Arabia in the centuries before Islam. Moreover, recent publications on this subject have led to a re-evaluation of the importance of Judaism in both South and North Arabia. The new material collected from the Darb al-Bakrah thus forms a complement to these studies<sup>131</sup> and the inscriptions written by Jews have to be added to the corpus of internal sources on Judaism in Arabia. They belong to the group of inscriptions written by Jews which were carved in the rock by pilgrims or travellers who wanted to leave behind them a record of their presence in a particular place.<sup>132</sup>

Before giving the list of names, I would like to draw attention to three methodological problems: one is the identification of a particular name as Jewish; the second is the fact that the Jews of Arabia did not necessarily bear Jewish names; the third is that a man bearing a Jewish name was not necessarily Jewish in the religious sense since, as R. Hoyland has pointed out, "it is possible for names to circulate outside of their original community".<sup>133</sup>

Concerning the identification of a name as Jewish, I have considered all biblical names as Jewish, despite the fact that some of them may have been borne by Christians.<sup>134</sup> There is indeed a general consensus among scholars that biblical names, because of their relative rarity and because they are more commonly adopted by converts than non-biblical names, are born only by followers of the Jewish religion. If they were borne by non-Jews (and not by Christians), one would expect names such as Yehūdā, Yūsuf, Ya'qūb, etc. to be widespread among the Nabataeans, but instead they are rarities.

The identification of names as Jewish becomes more complicated when names have Ancient North or Ancient South Arabian parallels. In this case, it is impossible to say whether those who bore them were Jewish, unless there is external evidence. One example will illustrate this. The name *ḥny* occurs in the funerary inscription known as the Māwiyah epitaph published by R. Stiehl (1970), where he is the father

131. Noja 1979, Newby 1988, Robin 2004, al-Najem and Macdonald 2009, Hoyland 2011. On Judaism in the Ḥijāz, see also Lecker 1998 and Gil 1984. Above all, see Robin 2015a.

132. This is one of the categories of inscriptions distinguished by Robin 2004: 841–842.

133. Hoyland 2011: 95.

134. al-Najem and Macdonald 2009: 214, note that Christians also use Old Testament names. Thus *šemū'el* occurs in Syriac in translations of the Old Testament, which is normal, but also as the name of church officials (reference is given to Payne Smith 1879–1901: 4205). C. Robin (2015a: 65 and especially p. 82) recalls that some of the names borrowed from the Hebrew Bible were borne by parents or followers of Jesus (which is normal since they were Jews). Those which are attested in the inscriptions from Arabia are Jacob (*y'qwb*), John (*yhy'*), Joseph (*ywsp*), and Simon (*šm'wn*). Other names, not even used among those close to Jesus, could also be borne by Christians: Isaac, Isaiah, Moses, Samuel. The only name which may be exclusively Jewish is Judah.



of the author, the chief citizen of Ḥegrā, and the son of *šmw'l*. The name was considered by G. Newby (1988: n. 21) as representing the name *Ḥônî*, a name associated with the Hasmonean civil war as well as with the name of several high priests. M.C.A. Macdonald notes that this name, in Nabataean, would have been spelled *\*ḥwny* and, considering the fact that *ḥny* is very common in Safaitic, probably representing *Ḥunayy* (Caskel: 333b, s.v. *Ḥunaiy*), he concludes that *ḥny* in this text is more likely to represent the Arabian name *ḥny* than the Jewish name *Ḥônî*.<sup>135</sup> One other document should, however, be taken into consideration: the name *ḥny* occurs in another text, from the Darb al-Bakrah, UJadhNab 405, written in Nabataeo-Arabic. In this text, *ḥny*'s father is called *nḥmy*, in which one can easily recognize the biblical name *nḥmyh*, Nehemiah. We therefore have two men named *ḥny*, whose fathers bear typical biblical names, Samuel and Nehemiah. It is therefore likely that in each case *ḥny* was a Jew and that he was given this name because of its background in Jewish history. The fact that the *w* is not written in *ḥny* remains a problem (unless one assumes that the /ō/ has been shortened to /o/). Indeed, the long vowel *ū* is almost always written in Nabataean, with only a few exceptions.<sup>136</sup> This is particularly true, for instance, in Greek names written in Nabataean, where ω is rendered by a *w* and o by nothing.<sup>137</sup> The only exceptions are a few words such as *mdkr* for *mdkwr* and *ḥd* for *ḥwd*,<sup>138</sup> which would support the idea that /ū/ could be shortened in certain contexts, and possibly the name *hnpls*, which occurs in an inscription from Sīq al-Bārid in Petra, CIS II 446, according to a re-reading of the text by J.T. Milik, which was checked on a photograph by the author.<sup>139</sup>

This example shows that when dealing with names the consonantal skeleton of which can represent either Arabian or Jewish names, we should not dismiss them out of hand but look at the context in which they are used:

1/ if the father or the grandfather of a man who bears such a name bears a biblical name, it is likely that this man was a Jew, unless he was really not religious, or he had married a non-Jew, which would be surprising if he or his father was a convert;

2/ if the son of a man who bears such a name bears a biblical name, it is also possible that his man was a Jew.

On the other hand, if a man bears a name the consonantal skeleton of which can represent either Arabian or Jewish names and there is *no* external evidence for it to be interpreted as a Jewish name, we should probably consider it as Arabian. The inscriptions give several interesting examples. In the so-called Māwiyah inscription, both the chief citizens of Ḥegrā and Taymā', who are cousins, bear Arabian names, *'dywn* and *'mrw*, whereas their grandfather bears a Jewish name, *šmw'l*. In the case of JSNab 4, which is the only text by someone calling himself *yḥwd'*,<sup>140</sup> the author's name is *šbytw*, otherwise attested only in an inscription from the Tabūk area (Theeb 1993: no. 48). *Šbytw* may be the diminutive *fū'ayl* form of *šbt*, "spider" in Arabic, and not a Jewish name derived from Shabbat, Hebrew *šbt*.<sup>141</sup> The only Hebrew name built with the letters *š-b-t* is Šabtai and the name *šbt* itself occurs in several Safaitic inscriptions.<sup>142</sup> Note that if the name was Hebrew Šabtai, the Safaitic cognate would be *s'bt*, but no such name is known in Safaitic.

135. *Ibidem*, n. 39.

136. Cantineau 1930–1932, vol. 1: 47.

137. See Milik 1976: 148–151 for examples: *'plwnys* = Ἀπολλώνιος, *dydwr*s = Διόδωρος, etc.

138. *mdkr*: CIS II 1280; *ḥd*: JSNab 36.

139. This name is interpreted by J.T. Milik as being derived from Greek οἰνόπωλης, "merchant of wine". If this is true, ω is not represented by a *w* in the Nabataean version of the name. There may be other examples of this omission in personal names (the only list I have searched is the one published in Milik 1976: 147–151, which does not seem to contain other examples).

140. It is not certain whether *yḥwd'* in this text means "Jew" or "Judaean", i.e. inhabitant of the Roman province of Judaea.

141. Robin 2015a: 180, considers that *šbytw* does not seem to be an Arabian name and he compares it with *šbw* (on which see below).

142. CIS V 4418 and Clark 1979: 604, where the reading is certain. The name is derived by G.L. Harding from Arabic *šabba*, "to grow, kindle" (Harding 1971: 337).

The corollary of this is that we inevitably miss those Jews who bore names which are attested only in the Arabian sphere. In the absence of any external sign of Jewishness in or around the texts, these Jews, if they ever existed in north-west Arabia, are completely invisible in the epigraphic landscape. This is particularly well illustrated in the Darb al-Bakrah by UJadhNab 538. The author of this text bears an Arabian name, *šly* son of *ʿwšw*, but he is probably Jewish because he says that he wrote the text “the day of the feast of the unleavened bread”, i.e. Passover. Without this precision, we would have completely missed his Jewishness. The parallels from South Arabia are also worth mentioning. Most of the Jewish texts of this region are identified as such not because of the names they contain but because they mention the “people of Israel”, use the exclamation “Lord of the Jews”, talk about a cemetery reserved to Jews, show a menorah, etc.<sup>143</sup> The authors of the inscriptions, in most cases, bear Ancient South Arabian names and, in one case, it is possible to say that they are of Ḥimyarite origin because they enumerate the six aristocratic houses over which they have authority.<sup>144</sup> Since almost all the inscriptions from north-west Arabia mention only names, these are the only criterion which allows the interpretation of a text as Jewish, hence their importance.

One should also bear in mind the fact that at a later date, among the large number of Jews who are known to have lived in Medina and with whom the prophet Muḥammad had contacts, very few bore a Jewish name or had a father or a grandfather who bore a recognizably Jewish name. The Jews thus bore names which were identical to those borne by Muslims and even by Christians.<sup>145</sup>

Finally, concerning the third point, i.e. the fact that a man bearing a Jewish name is not necessarily Jewish in the religious sense, it is difficult to believe that a convert was not Jewish in the religious sense. Converts are usually identified by the fact that they or their sons bear biblical names, but it is probable that converts did not *necessarily* take biblical names and that biblical names were not exclusively adopted by converts. Indeed, a person who bears a non-Jewish name may or may not change it to a Jewish name on conversion, but is very likely to give his/her children Jewish names. In the absence of any certainty, the only solution, in order to identify Jews, is to assume that, short of evidence to the contrary, when a man bears a biblical Jewish name, he is Jewish and *likely* to have been a practicing Jew.

The reader will find below a list of possible Jewish names borne by authors of the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions, with a brief commentary on each.<sup>146</sup> The method used to identify the names is the following: each name in the onomastic index of the Darb al-Bakrah texts was checked against the index of Jewish names recorded in T. Ilan’s *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, which is likely to contain most of the names used in the period we are dealing with.<sup>147</sup>

#### *Conventions:*

- “Ilan” refers to Ilan 2002 and “Negev” to Negev 1991;
- the transcription of the biblical names is given in the form in which it appears in Ilan 2002.
- the names which are followed by one or two \* are considered as being possibly borne by Jews. One \* indicates a small degree of probability and two \*\* indicate a high degree of probability that the name is Jewish. The names with no \* after them are commented on but have not been considered as being Jewish.
- *ʿbšlm*: UJadhNab 8 (restored from *ʿb----m*), as well as UJadhNab 163 and 233, in which we are dealing with the same man, whose father is called *hyw*, a very popular name in Nabataean. *ʿbšlm* occurs also in two Nabataean inscriptions from outside the Darb al-Bakrah proper. One of them, JSNab 313 (see fig. 6),

143. Robin 2004: 842–844.

144. The text was published by Gajda 2004 but this point is commented on by C. Robin (2004: 848).

145. Robin 2015a: 82.

146. A complete list of Jewish names in the inscriptions from the Hijāz, including the ones from Darb al-Bakrah, can be found in Robin 2015a: 87–91. I have shared with him the unpublished material I had at my disposal.

147. I am very grateful to my friend Lola Mary for helping me check the names against T. Ilan’s *Lexicon*, a long and tedious process.

carved in the Jabal al-Khraymāt area in Madāʾin Šāliḥ, is very interesting because it was written by the same man as the two Umm Jadhāyidh texts. Not only the patronym is the same but the ligatures between the letters are identical to those in UJadhNab 163 and 233. These texts show that people were travelling from Ḥegrā to Umm Jadhāyidh or vice versa. The other text comes from Wādī Ramm and is a prayer to the Arabian goddess ʾAllāt, which makes it unlikely to be Jewish.<sup>148</sup>

This name may have been considered as the equivalent of ʾbšlwm, Abshalom,<sup>149</sup> David's rebellious son. However, the absence of medial *w* suggests that it may have been pronounced ʾAbšalām since medial long *ā* was not written in Nabataean. This in turn suggests that it is a North Arabian formation, and therefore a North Arabian name, rather than a Hebrew one. It should also be noted that the name ʾbsʾlm occurs in several Ancient North Arabian inscriptions: three Hismaic, two of which contain a prayer to the Arabian goddess Lāt<sup>150</sup> while ʾbsʾlm appears in the third (MNM a 1), in a long genealogy of names known otherwise in Ancient North Arabian; seven Dadanic; five Safaitic.<sup>151</sup> In none of these is there any hint that the people are Jewish. In conclusion, it is surely better to consider ʾbšlm as an Arabian name than as a Jewish one.

– ʾylȳr\*: ArNab 18, written in the Nabataean script. This is a Jewish name attested in the pre-Hellenistic period, for which see Zadok 1988 (24(d), 181§49, 282 §721213(a)6, 321 §721513(a)4), who vocalizes it as ʾēlišūr, which may mean “My God is a rock”.

– ʾlʾzr\*\*: UJadhNab 561, written in Nabataeo-Arabic, where he is the son of a man named ʾšhq, on which see below. This is obviously the biblical name Eleazar (Ilan: 65–79) which occurs also, with the same spelling, in the Nabataean papyrus P Yadin 36.<sup>152</sup>

– ʾšhq\*\*: UJadhNab 4, 221 and 561, all written in Nabataeo-Arabic. In UJadhNab 561, he is the father of ʾlʾzr. This name is not previously attested in Nabataean. It is obviously the biblical name Isaac. Note that the spelling ʾšhq, with an initial ʾ and a *š*, is a mixture of Aramaic ʾšhq and Hebrew yšhq.<sup>153</sup>

– hgy: UJadhNab 55 and 77, two inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakraḥ written by the same man. hgy is not found anywhere else in Nabataean. It may be compared with the Jewish biblical name hgy, Hagai (Ilan: 93–94), the post-exilic prophet. His father's name is rgyʾw, which occurs in UJadhNab 26 as the patronym of a man named gmḥw. The name hgy occurs also in three Safaitic, one Hismaic (from Mabrak an-Nāqah north of Madāʾin Šāliḥ, JSSaf 1) and one mixed Hismaic/Safaitic inscriptions.<sup>154</sup> It occurs also in two Ancient South Arabian (Sabaic) texts, including one in the form hgyt.<sup>155</sup> The name is therefore likely to be Arabian, especially since it is not associated with a Jewish name in the only Nabataean inscription in which it occurs.

– ḥzyr<sup>?</sup>: UJadhNab 208 (a single name). This name, which does not occur anywhere else in Nabataean, may be compared with the biblical name ḥzyr, Hezir, a priestly family mentioned in 1 Chr 24:15 (Ilan: 95), but since it occurs in four Safaitic inscriptions (see OCIANA) and since there is no external evidence for it being Jewish, it may be better to consider it as an Arabian name. Robin (2015a: 89) compares it also with ḥazīr (Arabic *khanzīr*), the word for “pig” in Hebrew and Aramaic.

148. Savignac 1933: no. 7 p. 417.

149. As already suggested by Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1922, vol. 2: 215) and Cantineau (1930–1932, vol. 2: 151).

150. Jacobson B.3.C.4 (see OCIANA) and one to be published in Macdonald forthcoming a.

151. See OCIANA, consulted 22nd January 2018. I however express my gratitude to M.C.A. Macdonald who was of great help in collecting the North Arabian comparative material before the OCIANA database was online.

152. Starcky 1954, and see now Yardeni 2001.

153. On the spelling of the name, see Robin 2015a: 92.

154. See OCIANA, 22nd January, 2018.

155. See CSAI, 22nd January, 2018.

– **ḥny\***: ArNab 7, UJadhNab 119, 405. This name, borne by Jews and Arabs, is suggested by T. Ilan (377) to be an abbreviation of *ḥwny*. Ilan specifies that it is not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible but that it clearly belongs, along with its variants, to the family of biblical names such as *ywhnn* and *ḥnnyh*. It is worth noting that in UJadhNab 405, which is written in Nabataeo-Arabic, *ḥny*'s father's name is *nḥmy*, a well known biblical name. It may therefore be that *ḥny* son of *nḥmy* is a Jew. In the AD 356 Māwiyah inscription, the name *ḥny* appears as the son of *šmw'l*, i.e. in a probable Jewish context. It is therefore likely that in both cases, the name is borne by a Jew, despite M.C.A. Macdonald's reservations.<sup>156</sup> In ArNab 7, *ḥny* is the father of *ḥb'lhy* and in UJadhNab 119, he is the son of *krys*. In these two texts, nothing indicates that *ḥny* is a Jew and the inscriptions have therefore not been listed as Jewish ones. C. Robin (2015a: 89, with references) also draws attention on the fact that two Jewish individuals named *ḥny* are known in written sources: a Jewish wine trader from wādī 'l-Qurā, Ghuṣayn son of Ḥannā and the father of the Jewish poet from Taymā', al-Samaw'al b. Ḥannā b. 'Ādiyā.<sup>157</sup>

– **ḥnyn\*\***: UJadhNab 75, 76, 125, 154, 205. According to Ilan (106), *ḥnyn'/ḥnynh* is an Aramaicized variant of the biblical name *ḥnnyh*. The name spelled with a final ' does not occur anywhere else in Nabataean where only *ḥnynw* is known.<sup>158</sup> The probability that *ḥnyn'* is a Jewish name is however not very high. Note that *ḥnn'*, which would be the Safaitic spelling of *ḥnyn'*, occurs in four Safaitic inscriptions (see OCIANA), and *ḥnn*, which could correspond to \*ḥunayn, \*ḥanān or \*ḥanan, is very common in Safaitic.

In UJadhNab 75, *ḥnyn'* appears as a single name; in UJadhNab 76 and 154, written by the same man, he is the son of *gšm*, an Arabian name (cf. "Geshem the Arab" in Nehemiah 2:19 and 6:1-2); in UJadhNab 125 and 205, also written by the same man, he is the father of *gšm*. Thus, in four instances out of five, *ḥnyn'* is associated with the name *gšm*. The authors of UJadhNab 76 and 154 on the one hand, 125 and 205 on the other hand, may be of the same family, and since UJadhNab 75 is written above UJadhNab 76, on the same rock face, *ḥnyn'* of this text is probably to be equated with one of the other *ḥnyn'* in this series.

– **ḥnny\*\***: UJadhNab 225, 293, both written by the same man who is the son of *yhw'd*, a well known biblical name (see below). It is therefore probable, since the name is not attested elsewhere in Nabataean, that *ḥnny* in these two texts is to be equated with the biblical name *ḥnnyh*, Hananiah (Ilan: 103–108). The abbreviated form Hanani is attested in I Kings 16:1 and also in ostraca from Masada. It is worth noting that both texts in which the name occurs are written in Nabataeo-Arabic.

– **ḥnnyh\*\***: UJadhNab 229 (father of *ywmny* and son of *'zmh*) and 310 (son of *'zrw*, on which see below), both of which are written in Nabataeo-Arabic, to which should be added a new text from Madā'in Šāliḥ, MS182Nab1 (see Appendix 1). This is the normal spelling of the Jewish biblical name Hananiah (see above). Note however that in UJadhNab 229, neither the father nor the son of *ḥnnyh* bear Jewish names, which may indicate that the man bearing this name in this particular inscription was not Jewish.

– **ḥbyw\***: UJadhNab 515, father of *ḥrgt*, and see also *ḥybw* in UJadhNab 501, where he is the father of a woman called *ḥrmw*. These names are attested in Nabataean in this corpus only and may be orthographic variations of the biblical name *ḥbyh*, Tobiah (Ilan: 109–110). These two forms are attested respectively in the Mishna and on an ostracon from Masada (see Ilan for references).

156. al-Najem and Macdonald 2009: n. 39.

157. Robin specifies that this is according to the genealogy in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, § 1280 because the genealogy of Samaw'al varies. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, it is al-Samaw'al b. Ḥiyā b. 'Ādiyā (Caskel 1966: vol. 2, p. 510).

158. In several inscriptions from Petra and Ḥegrā as well as in P Yadin 2:26 where he is a possessor of property used in the description of a boundary (son of *tym'lhy*). On the Darb al-Bakrah, it occurs in UdhNab 13 (father of *tym'bd*), QNNab 15, ArNab 51 and UJadhNab 2 (in these three, as the father of *šlmw*), UJadh 1 (son of *m'n'lhy*). In other texts from the Darb al-Bakrah, one may hesitate between *n* and *b* and thus read either *ḥbybw* or *ḥnynw* (see the index of proper names at the end of the inscriptions' catalogue under *h{b/n}y{b/n}w*). Since *ḥnynw* is relatively widespread in the Nabataean texts and since in neither of the inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah it is associated with a Jewish name, it is better to consider it as an Arabian name.

– *yhwđ*<sup>\*\*</sup>: UJadhNab 225 and 293 (written by the same man, father of *hnnny*), 301 (son of {š'yh}----), 386 (single name), 467 (father of 'nmw, a well known Arabian name). It occurs also in one text from al-'Ulā, numbered 'Ulā 1 in Nehmé 2010a: 83 (see Appendix 1), where he is the father of a man named *lhmw* or *nhmw*. In all the inscriptions in which this name occurs, the script is Nabataeo-Arabic. *yhwđ*' (Ilan: 118) is the biblical name Judah and it should be noted that in the Nabataean papyri, the name is spelled *yhwđh* (P Yadin 6:3, 9:12–13). Concerning *lhmw* in 'Ulā 1, one could be tempted to compare it with Laḥmī, who is said to be the brother of Goliath in I Chronicles 20:5, but Laḥmī is in fact part of the *nisba* Bēt ha-Llaḥmī (i.e. of Bethlehem) of Elḥanan son of Ya'ēr, a Judaeen who is said in II Samuel 21:19 to have killed Goliath.<sup>159</sup> Note that I Chronicles is a reinterpretation of II Samuel in order not to contradict the story that it is David who killed Goliath, not Elḥanan. It is therefore most unlikely that *lhmw* is a Jewish name. If the reading *nhmw* is preferred, and it is possible in view of the height of the letter, which is identical to that of the other letters in the text, it may be an alternative spelling of *nḥmy*.

– *ywsp*<sup>\*\*</sup>: UJadhNab 219 (son of 'nmw, a well known Arabian name), written in Nabataeo-Arabic. *ywsp* (Ilan: 157) is the biblical name Joseph. The name *ywsp* occurs also in Nabataean in the AD 203 Taymā' inscription,<sup>160</sup> in JSNab 262 where, according to M.C.A. Macdonald, his father's name, 'wyw, could represent the Jewish name 'wy ('Avī, Ilan: 399), and in the newly discovered inscription from Mābiyāt, dated AD 280.<sup>161</sup> It also appears as the name of the seller of a property in P Yadin 9:5.

– *yny*: ArNab 12,<sup>162</sup> 32 (alone), 88 (father of 'šlm), SBNab 2, UJadhNab 126, 156 (son of 'zr), 380, 496 (twice), 511, 514, none of which are in Nabataeo-Arabic. On the basis of these inscriptions, it was possible to reconstruct the following genealogy: *yny br grgr br yny br grgr br by----* (see fig. 11). According to Ilan (24 and 147), *yny* is a (Palestinian?) variant of (Babylonian?) *yn'y*, which is a hypocoristic, and perhaps Aramaicized, form of the biblical name *ywntn*, Jonathan. This etymology is possible but remains very uncertain. It should be noted that *yny* does not occur in any other Nabataean inscription. In UJadhNab 156, it is associated with the name 'zr, possibly to be equated with Ezra (see below). *Yny* seems to occur once in Safaitic. In conclusion, considering the uncertainty of the etymology and the fact that the name is attested once in Safaitic, we prefer to consider *yny* as an Arabian name.

– *y'qwb*<sup>\*\*</sup>: UJadhNab 124, written in Nabataeo-Arabic. This is the biblical name Jacob. The name is also attested in an inscription discovered at Madā' in Šālīḥ in 2005, MS182Nab 2 (see Appendix 1).

– *lwy*<sup>\*\*</sup>: UJadhNab 19, written in Nabataeo-Arabic, where he is the father of {r}hym, which is attested in one other Nabataean inscription, from the Tabūk area, ThMNN 896. This name may be the Aramaicized form of *lwy*, biblical Levi, a son of Jacob (Ilan: 182–185). It does not occur in any other Nabataean inscription.

– *nḥmy*<sup>\*\*</sup>: this name, which occurs here for the first time in a Nabataean text, UJadhNab 405, which is written in Nabataeo-Arabic, is clearly the biblical name *nḥmyh*, the famous Jewish leader Nehemiah (Ilan: 197–198). He is the father of a man named *hny*, who may also be a Jew (see above). For a possible alternative spelling of the name, *nhmw*, see the commentary on *yhwđ*' above as well as Appendix 1, 'Ulā 1.

– *ntny*: this name occurs in six texts from Umm Jadhāyidh, none of which is written in Nabataeo-Arabic. UJadhNab 98 and 271 were written by the same man, *ntny* son of *rb'l*, and the same is true of UJadhNab 270, 281 and 381, written by *m'n'lhy* son of *ntny*. Note that *rb'l* and *m'n'lhy* are Arabian names. *Ntn* may

159. I thank M.C.A. Macdonald for drawing my attention to the Laḥmī in II Samuel.

160. al-Najem and Macdonald 2009, and see the commentary on the name p. 210 and n. 37 p. 214.

161. On which see Nehmé 2010a: M1, p. 69–70.

162. The numbers underlined with one or two lines are inscriptions written by the same person: one line = *yny br grgr*, two lines = *grgr br yny*.

be compared with biblical Nathan (Ilan: 198–200) but, as R. Hoyland has pointed out,<sup>163</sup> the root N-T-N “is common in names from quite different pre-Islamic backgrounds, and certainly need not be Jewish”.<sup>164</sup> It does not occur anywhere else in this form, with a final *y*, in the Nabataean realm, but it occurs under the form *ntn* on the Nabataean sundial found in Ḥegrā, JSNab 172.1 (fig. 36), where it has been interpreted as a possible Jewish name because he is the father of *mns'*, biblical Manaseh. Compound forms, such as *qsntn* and *b'Intn* are also known in Nabataean. Since the root N-T-N is well attested in Nabataean and since *ntny* in the inscriptions from Umm Jadhāyidh is associated with Arabian names, it has not been considered in these examples as being a Jewish name. It may simply be a hypocoristic of a theophoric name such as *ntn'l*.



Fig. 36. The Nabataean sundial from Madā'in Šāliḥ and the inscription JSNab 172.1 mentioning the Jewish names *mns'* and *ntn* (photo J. Capelle).

– *'zr\**, *'zrw\**: this name is attested in four texts from the Darb al-Bakrah, UJadhNab 156 (father of *yny*,<sup>165</sup> for which see above), 160 (father of *{d/r}ynt*, who may thus be the brother of *yny* of UJadhNab 156), 427 (father of *{nt}{[r]}*) and 310 (father of *hnyyh*, a name considered as Jewish, see above). Note that only UJadhNab 310 is written in Nabataeo-Arabic and that in the latter the name could also be read *'rrw*. *'zr* is attested elsewhere in the Nabataean corpus only in Madā'in Šāliḥ, in JSNab 137, the reading of which, *dkyr 'zr b'tb*, was checked on the rock in 2005, and in P. Yadin 2:49, 3:55 and 4:26 as the scribe who wrote the documents (son of *'wtw*). It should probably be compared with *'zr'*, Ezra, the Arabian equivalent of which would be *'dr* because it derives from the proto-Semitic root *'D-R*, “to be strong”, which is very common in Safaitic. Note also that the names *'drn* and *y'dr'l* are used in Ancient South Arabian.<sup>166</sup> *'zrw* could be an “Arabianized” form of either *'zr* (by adding the typical Arab ending *-w*) or *'zr'* (by substituting the *w* for Hebrew *'*).

– *'qby*: UJadhNab 18, 279 and 305, all written by the same man, the son of *'qby*, named *'bdrb'l*. This name does not occur in this form in the Nabataean corpus, where only *'qbw* is known in a text from Madā'in Šāliḥ, JSNab 74, which was unfortunately not found *in situ*. Note that in JSNab 74, *'qbw* is preceded and followed by two Arabian names, *'bdw* and *[p]th*. *'qby* may be compared with biblical *'qwb*, Aquab (Ilan: 202–203), for which the variant *'qbyh* is known. This parallel is however far from certain and this name cannot be regarded as evidence of a Jewish presence in north-west Arabia, especially since *'qb* is the name of several groups in Ancient South Arabian.<sup>167</sup>

– *'ply*: this name, which occurs in Nabataean only in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions, in eight texts some of which were written by the same author but none of which is written in Nabataeo-Arabic,<sup>168</sup> may be compared with the biblical name *plyh*, Playah (Ilan: 205), although one would expect a letter after the *y* in

163. Hoyland 2011: n. 12 p. 94.

164. Thus, for instance, *ntn* occurs thirty-four times as a personal name in Safaitic. *Natnu* is also mentioned as the king of the Arabian tribe of Nabayoth mentioned in the Assyrian Annals. The element *ntn* is also found occasionally in Ancient North Arabian theophoric names, e.g. *ntn-b'l* (JSLih 81) and *ntn-dd* (possibly in JSLih 186), etc.

165. In this text, the name may be *{d/r}yny* if one considers that the *{d/r}* at the end of line 1 belongs to the name which starts on line 2.

166. Personal communication from C. Robin and CSAI.

167. *Idem*.

168. ArNab 93 (father of *hn't*); UJadhNab 232 (father of *mšlmw*); 259.1 (single name); 261 and 431 (father of *hn'w*); 272 and 315 (father of *khylw*); 376 and 506 (son of *hn'w*). All the names associated with *ply* are Arabian names.

Nabataean (*ply* or *plyw*). As with the preceding name, the parallel is too uncertain for *ply* to be regarded as a Jewish name.

– *šbw*: this name is attested in three Nabataean inscriptions only, two from Darb al-Bakrah, UJadhNab 46 and 343, where no patronym is given, and one from a tomb inscription at Madāʾ in Šāliḥ, JSNab 33, where *šbw* (read *šby* in the *CIS* but convincingly re-read as *šbw* in Healey 1993: 216) is the son of *mqymw*, a well known Arabian name. It may be related to the Jewish biblical name *šby*, Shabi (Ilan: 213), which would be a hypocoristic of a name such as *šbnyh*. The parallels are too uncertain for *šby* to be regarded as a Jewish name. Note that either *šny* or *šby* may also be read in UJadhNab 38.

– *šwšnh*\*\*<sup>169</sup>: this name occurs in one text, QNNab 38, where it may be borne by the mother of a man named *šlh*. Since *šlh* does not seem to be a Jewish name, this would be an example of a Jewish mother giving her son an Arabian name. It is most probably the Jewish name Susannah (Ilan: 451) which occurs in an inscription from al-ʿUlā, JSNab 223, written in characters which are close to square Hebrew.<sup>169</sup>

– *šlw}mw*\*<sup>170</sup>: ArNab 141, written in the Nabataean script, on the same rock as ArNab 140, which was written by his brother *šyʿt*, who is the *nṭr* (bodyguard?) of the chief (*rʿš*). Neither *šlw}mw* nor *šyʿt* occurs in other Nabataean inscriptions. *šlw}mw* may be the biblical name Solomon or represent *šalûm*, the name of other Old Testament figures.<sup>170</sup> Note that *šlw}m* is also found in Palmyrene.<sup>171</sup>

– *šmwʿl*\*\*<sup>171</sup>: this name does not occur in any of the Darb al-Bakrah texts, only in a newly discovered inscription from Madāʾ in Šāliḥ, MS182Nab 2 (see Appendix 1) and in the Māwiyah inscription published by R. Stiehl. It is obviously the biblical name Samuel.

– *šmʿwn*\*\*<sup>171</sup>: this biblical name, Simon (Ilan: 218–235), is attested once in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions, in UJadhNab 220, written in Nabataeo-Arabic, where he has a son named *ʿdy}d}w*, which is probably an Arabian name (cf. the numerous examples of *ʿdd* in Safaitic), and in one unpublished inscription from Madāʾ in Šāliḥ, MS45Nab 2 (see Appendix 1). It occurs also in JSNab 386 and several times in P Yadin 3 as a purchaser of land, possibly the father of Babatha.

Altogether, thirteen names have been recognized as being probably Jewish, five possibly Jewish whereas seven were considered too uncertain to be regarded as Jewish. The data collected above is summarized in the table below, in which the rejected names do not appear:

***Jewish names mentioned in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions and in four new inscriptions from al-ʿUlā and Madāʾ in Šāliḥ (the inscription numbers followed by a \* are written in Nabataeo-Arabic)***

Name	Equivalent	Degree of certainty	Type of name	Inscription number	number of texts
<i>ʿlyšr</i> *	ēl-yāšar	possibly Jewish	non-biblical	ArNab 18	1 text
<i>ʿlʿzr</i> **	Eleazar	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 561*	1 text
<i>ʿšhq</i> **	Isaac	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 4*, 221*, 561*	3 texts
<i>ḥny</i> **	Yohanan? Hananiah?	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 405*	1 text
<i>ḥnyn</i> *	Hananiah?	possibly Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 75, 76, 125, 154, 205	5 texts
<i>ḥnny</i> **	hypocoristic of Hananiah	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 225*, 293*	2 texts
<i>ḥnnyh</i> **	Hananiah	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 229*, 310* + MS182Nab 1*	3 texts

169. See Macdonald 1999: 285.

170. Brown, Driver, Briggs 1999: 1024.

171. *CIS* II 4363 and 4368.

<i>ṭbyw, ṭybw*</i>	Tobiah	possibly Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 501, 515	2 texts
<i>yḥwd'***</i>	Judah	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 225*, 293*, 301*, 386*, 467* + al-'Ulā 1*	6 texts
<i>ywsp**</i>	Joseph	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 219*	1 text
<i>y'qwb**</i>	Jacob	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 124* + MS182Nab 2*	2 texts
<i>lwy'***</i>	Levi	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 19*	1 text
<i>nḥmy**</i>	Nehemiah	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 405*	1 text
<i>'zr*, '{z/r}rw*</i>	Ezra	possibly Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 156, 160, 310* ( '{z/r}rw ), 427	4 texts
<i>šwšnh**</i>	Susannah	probably Jewish	Female Jewish name. biblical	QNNab 38	1 text
<i>šl{w}mw*</i>	Solomon	probably Jewish	biblical	ArNab 141	1 text
<i>šmw'l**</i>	Samuel	probably Jewish	biblical	MS182Nab 2*	1 text
<i>šm'wn**</i>	Simon	probably Jewish	biblical	UJadhNab 220* + MS45Nab 2*	2 texts

All the names except *'lyšr* are biblical and only one is female. They occur in thirty-three different inscriptions, most of which come from Umm Jadhāyidh. Some texts contain more than one Jewish name. This is the case for UJadhNab 225 and 293 with *ḥnny br yḥwd'*, UJadhNab 310 with *ḥnnyh br '{z/r}rw*, UJadhNab 405 with *ḥny br nḥmy*, UJadhNab 561 with *'l'zr br 'šhq*, and MS182Nab 2 with *y'qwb br šmw'l*. Note that the names of some of the most representative biblical figures, such as Abraham, Moses and David, are not attested in the onomasticon of the Jews of Arabia.<sup>172</sup>

## G.6. Greek names

The collection of Greek names given below is only indicative and some may have been missed. Most of them have been identified because they contain a samekh, which usually renders Greek sigma. They have been divided into names previously recorded in Negev 1991 and new names. Unless otherwise specified, the names are listed in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*. I am very grateful to H. Cuvigny for helping me with some of these identifications.

### G.6.1. Names previously recorded as Greek names in Negev 1991

- *'wprns*: Greek Εὐφρόνιος in UJadhNab 265, where he has a son named *mtyw*.
- *'kys*: Greek Ἀχαιός, in UdhNab 4.1, where he has a son named *šly*.
- *'lks* and *'lksy* in UJadhNab 419 (son of 'ln) and 395 (son of {d/r}yṭym{.}) respectively: these names may be hypocoristic of Ἀλεξανδρος such as Ἀλεξᾶς and Ἀλεξίς.
- *'pls*: Greek Ἀπελλᾶς, Ἀπελλῆς, Ἀπολᾶς, Ἀπόλλωσ, in UdhNab 11, 14 (father of *tymw* in both), ArNab 9, UJadhNab 334, 396 (son of 'dywn), 412 (also son of 'dywn).
- *dys*: Greek Διός, in UJadhNab 201 (father of a man whose name is doubtful).
- *{d/r}ms*: cf. Greek Δημάς, Δημής, Δήμος or Δαμάς, in UJadhNab 296.
- *dmsy*: hypocoristic of *dmsps*,<sup>173</sup> Greek Δαμάσιππος, in UJadhNab 252, 284 (in both father of *w'lw*), 458, and 549. This name is also known in JSNab 84 from Ḥegrā and it occurs in five Safaitic inscriptions (*dmsy*), for which see OCIANA.
- *dmsps*: Greek Δαμάσιππος, in UJadhNab 414 (father of *rbyb'l*). This name and patronym, *rbyb'l* son of Damasippos, are well known, and the family of Rabīb'el was very active in the Nabataean administration. A Rabīb'el son of Damasippos was a strategos at Ḥegrā probably between AD 40 and AD 70 and the largest tomb in Ḥegrā, IGN 46, which remained unfinished, was probably his tomb.<sup>174</sup>

172. As noted by Robin 2015a: 167.

173. ARNA.Nab 3 and Savignac and Starcky 1957.

174. On Rabīb'el, see the detailed study in Nehmé 2005–2006: 208–210.



- *dmtrys*: Greek Δημήτριος in UJadhNab 53, 94 (in the latter, son of *mhw{d/r}w*).
- *hnpl{s}*: possibly Greek οἰνοπώλης, “wine merchant” (see Milik 1976: 150), in UJadhNab 353 and DBv1Nab 2, although this is not a likely personal name.
- *lwqys*: Greek Λούκιος (Latin Lucius), in UJadhNab 104.
- *mgs*: Greek Μάγας, Μάγης, Μέγας, in UJadhNab 472 (son of *'ntyks*, another Greek name).
- *nyrks*: Greek Νέαρχος, in DBv1Nab 18.
- *qrqs*: Greek Κιρακος, Κορκᾶς, Κόρακᾶς, Κόρακος, in UdhNab 2.
- *rwps*: Greek Ῥουφος (Latin Rufus), in UJadhNab 379 (son of *k{d/r}ybl*), 464 (father of *{'bdlg}*).
- *trsys*: Greek Θρασέας or Θρασειάς (in Pape and Bensele 1959), in QNNab 12 (son of *rb'l*).

### G.6.2. Names not previously recorded as Greek names in Negev 1991

- *'wns*: Greek Εὔνους? (the *w* normally renders Greek ο, ου or ω) in UJadhNab 65 (father of *p{b/n}*').
- *'ntyks*: Greek Ἀντίοχος in ArNab 33, 166 (father of *m{n}yb*), UJadhNab 472 (father of *mgs*, also a Greek name).
- *g{b/n}s*: cf. Greek Γᾶνις, Γάνος, Γένιος (although for the latter one would expect *gnys*), in UJadhNab 316.
- *{d/r}m{p}l{s}*: Greek Ἐρμόφιλος or other, in UJadhNab 137 (father of *rhymb*l).
- *hlns*: Greek Ἐλανᾶς, Ἐλανος, Ἐλενος, in UJadhNab 273.
- *{h}rqlyds*: Greek Ἡρακλείδης in ArNab 79 (father of *šms{y}*).
- *krys*: Greek Κύριος or possibly Κῦρις in UJadhNab 119 (father of *hny*), 214 (where he has two companions with Arabian names).
- *lysmks*: Greek Λυσίμαχος in UJadhNab 294.
- *nts*: this name, in UJadhNab 462 could be Greek Νότιος, although one would expect *ntys* in Nabataean.
- *nyq{m}{d/r}s*: Greek Νικομηδης (?) in UJadhNab 146 (father of *trsy*).
- *s{w/r}ts*: Greek Σεύθης in DBv1Nab 18.

### G.6.3. Names which do not contain a samekh

- *grgr*: according to M.C.A. Macdonald (pers. com.), *grgr*, which occurs in several texts, could be an Aramaized form of Greek Γρηγόριος, without the ending.
- *zynwn*: this name should perhaps be compared with the Greek name Ζήνων which, according to Ilan (2002: 281), derives from the name of the Greek chief God, Zeus. It is attested in an inscription from Southern Jordan published by W.J. Jobling (1982: 203, pl. 58 no. 5, *šlm zynwn br qymt klyrk' btb l'lm*). Other names contain a *samekh* but no clear Greek equivalent could be found for them. These include *'bsnw{n}* in UJadhNab 306, which can be compared with Αβουζοναίνοσ, a Nabataean name in Greek form occurring in Negev (1991: 131, no. 2067); *gy{s}y'* in UJadhNab 175; *{d/r}sy* in ArNab 62, 74, 95, 129 and 135, UJadhNab 274 and DBv3Nab 12;<sup>175</sup> *ksy* in UJadhNab 274 (hypocoristic of Cassius/Κάσιος?); *'yks* (unless it is read *'ykmr*) in UJadhNab 287 (since Nabataean ' corresponds in Greek either to a vowel, to a *g* or to a hiatus, one should look for names ending in -kas, -kos or -kis); *trsy* in UJadhNab 248.3 (unfinished for *trsys*?).

## H. The deities mentioned in the inscriptions

Six divine names or epithets are mentioned in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions. In some cases, the context allows to suggest an association between an individual and a particular deity. This is true, for instance, when a signature is made by a person *mn* or *mn qdm*, “in the presence of” a particular deity. This association concerns Dūšarā, the main god of the Nabataeans, in the following texts: UJadhNab 40, 41, 47, 226 and 391. In UJadhNab 40 and 391, Dūšarā is associated with *mnwtw* and *mwt* respectively, the second being probably a mistake for *mnwtw*. In UJadhNab 88, the anonymous god mentioned as *'lh gy'*

175. Note that *rsy* is listed in Negev 1991 as occurring in JSNab 34 l. 7, but the beginning of this line was reread as *r{s}y{m} mlkw* (Healey 1993: 219).

refers also probably to Dūšarā. In two cases, UJadhNab 189 and 228, the signatures are made before “all the gods”, *’lhy’ klhm*. Finally, Manātū (this time spelled *mntw*) is mentioned alone once in the same context in UJadhNab 295, and so is the epithet *mry ’lm* in UJadhNab 538.

### H.1. *’lhy’ klhm*, “all the gods”

This anonymous expression, which refers to deities whose names are not given, occurs in two texts from Umm Jadhāyidh, UJadhNab 189 and 228, already mentioned above. In both, a man asks to be remembered in the presence of “all the deities”, *mn qdm ’lhy’ klhm*. In each case, the name of the author is not followed by his father’s name. This expression occurs in three other Nabataean inscriptions, two from Petra and one from Ḥegrā, where it is associated with Dūšarā:<sup>176</sup>

– JSNab 11 line 6 (Ḥegrā), funerary context: *wl’n dwšr’ ’lh mr’n’ w’lhy’ klhm...*, “and may Dūšarā, the god of our lord, and all the gods, curse...”. JSNab 11 is a legal text carved on the façade of tomb IGN 29, a small tomb with one row of crowsteps;

– CIS II 350 lines 3 & 4: <sup>3</sup> *ḥrm w ḥrg dwšr’ ’lh mr’n’ w mwtbh ḥryš’ w ’lhy’ klhm*, “are sacred to and dedicated to Dūšarā, the god of our lord, and his *mōtab* Ḥarīšā and to all the gods”; <sup>4</sup> *ppqdw dwšr’ w mwt{bh} w ’lhy’ klhm...*, “thus, the responsibility of Dūšarā and his *mōtab* and all the gods...”. CIS II 350 is the only legal text carved on a tomb façade in Petra.

– DNPF 28 (Petra): <sup>1</sup> *šlm ’bdmknw* <sup>2</sup> *br ’bydw mn qdm* <sup>3</sup> *dwšr’ w ’lhy’ klhm btb* <sup>4</sup> *w šlm šlm qr*<sup>177</sup>, “May ‘Abdmankū son of ‘Ubaydū be safe in the presence of Dūšarā and all the gods in well-being and may the reader be safe”. The text is a signature written under a niche in the Sidd al-Ma’jīn, at the foot of the Jabal al-Khubthah, north-east of Petra. In the niche, a carved betyl, representing presumably Dūšarā, rests on a rectangular base, the *mōtab*.<sup>178</sup> The monument thus represents one god only, despite the fact that “all the gods” are mentioned in the text. We may suggest, however, that “all the gods” referred to are those who were worshipped in the Sidd al-Ma’jīn area, where almost one hundred cultic niches are carved in the rock.<sup>179</sup> The variety of their shapes points to the fact that several deities were represented in them. We know for instance, from one unpublished inscription, MP 620, carved beside another niche, that a man was the “servant” (*’lym*) of al-‘Uzzā. This does not necessarily imply that al-‘Uzzā was represented in the niche but it is likely that a servant of this deity would devote a niche to her rather than to another deity. In the five inscriptions listed above, the phrase “all the gods” may refer either to some or all of the Nabataean and foreign deities worshipped in Nabataea, to those worshipped in a particular place, or to those worshipped by the author of the text himself. In all cases, it is used to reinforce the strength of the blessing (UJadhNab 189 and 228 with *dkyr* and DNPF 28 with *šlm*), of the curse (JSNab 11), and of the inviolability of the tomb (CIS II 350). In the inscriptions where Dūšarā is also mentioned, it is clear that the phrase expresses a hierarchy between him and the other deities, whose names are not mentioned explicitly. The two occurrences from Umm Jadhāyidh show that the expression was used between Petra and Ḥegrā and not only in these two cities.

### H.2. Dūšarā

The main god of the Nabataeans is mentioned six times in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions, all of which were found at Umm Jadhāyidh and none of which was written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It is also probable that the anonymous god whose epithet is only *’lh g{<l>}y’* in UJadhNab 88 is to be equated with Dūšarā (see § B.3).

In UJadhNab 40, the author, and possibly his companions, who are said to be “Ḥegrans” and whose names are not followed by patronyms, are to be remembered in well-being “in the presence of Dūšarā and Manōtū”.

176. Already listed in Healey 2001: 82.

177. Dalman 1912, no. 28 = Knauf 1991 in which however read *klhn* instead of *klhm*.

178. Dalman 1908: no. 574, p. 309, fig. 254–256.

179. See Roche 1989: 327.

UJadhNab 41 contains the name of five slaves who ask to be remembered in the presence of Dūšarā the god of Gaia, ancient Wādī Mūsā near Petra. The fact that Dūšarā is mentioned specifically as the god of Gaia suggests that these persons came from Petra. The first two texts thus provide evidence for people circulating from Petra and Ḥegrā and to Umm Jadhāyidh.

UJadhNab 47 and 226 are the signatures of men who ask to be remembered in the presence of Dūšarā (in 226, however, *qdm* has been omitted, possibly by mistake). In UJadhNab 391, Dūšarā is associated with Ma[n]ōt (?) and the author asks to be remembered in the presence of both of them. In UJadhNab 402, finally, “Dūšarā the god of Gaia” is mentioned in a context where the link between the god’s name and the name of a person is not clear. Thus, out of six mentions Dūšarā, five appear in signatures which contain a wish (*dkyr* or *šlm*) the execution of which depends on Dūšarā (three) or Dūšarā and Manātū/Manawatū.

### H.3. Al-‘Uzzā

The main goddess of the Nabataeans is mentioned four times in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions, all of which were found at Umm Jadhāyidh (UJadhNab 313, 345, 364, 368) and all of which were written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It should also be noted that in all four texts, the name occurs in the same context, i.e. associated with the word *šm’t* which has been interpreted as a verb in the third person feminine perfect derived from *šm’* used as an optative, thus “may she listen”, followed three times (UJadhNab 313, 345 and 364) by the preposition *l* introducing the name of the person the goddess is asked to listen to.<sup>180</sup> Note that these texts contain the first attestations of the verb *šm’* in Nabataean, and because the suffix conjugation does not have an optative force in Aramaic whereas it is constantly used in wishes, prayers and curses with an optative meaning in Arabic, it is possible that these texts are in fact Arabic. Note that the root Š-M-‘ is also used in the perfect with an optative meaning in Hismaic (King 1990: 65, TIJ 312). Al-‘Uzzā appears therefore systematically in texts which can be interpreted as prayers but what is wished for is never detailed in the texts.

### H.4. ‘Allāt

The other principal goddess of the Nabataeans is mentioned in one text only, UJadhNab 237 (ThNUJ 188), the reading of which is difficult, especially the second part. The initial formula, *d’ ’lt dy bnh ’nmw*, was translated in the *editio princeps* as “this is the votive offering which Ġanm/Ġānim built” (on the basis of *‘ālāh* meaning “oath, curse”). However, one does not “build” a votive offering. M.C.A. Macdonald has suggested to me that *’lt* in this text is probably the name of the goddess ‘Allāt herself, grammatically definite and thus preceded by *d’*. He compares the construction, which is unusual in Nabataean, to Safaitic and Hismaic *nšb hlt*, which he takes to mean “he erected the Lt”, i.e. “he erected [the stone representing the goddess] Lt”, with the implication that the standing stone is Lt.<sup>181</sup> If one then takes *bnh* in the more general sense of “make”, one could envisage the author making something like a standing stone or an image in the broadest sense which represented the presence of ‘Allāt.

### H.5. Manāt

This goddess is attested in three texts from Umm Jadhāyidh, all three being signatures in which the author asks to be remembered in the presence of one or more deities. In UJadhNab 40 and 391, she is mentioned along with Dūšarā (see above), under the forms *mnwtw* and *mwt* (*m[n]wt?*), where the *w* represents probably a long *ō*. In UJadhNab 295, the name of the goddess appears under the form *mntw*. It is the signature of a man who claims to be a “Nabataean” (*mškw nbty*) and who asks to be safe in the presence of Manātū the goddess (*mntw ’lht*).

180. On this formula, see now Nehmé 2017a: 82–83.

181. Macdonald 2012: 291, with references to the inscriptions n. 115.

### H.6. *mry 'lm'*, “the Lord of the world”

This epithet occurs only once in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions, in UJadhNab 538, which is dated to AD 303 and is written in beautiful Nabataeo-Arabic characters. The only other text in which it occurs in Nabataean is JSNab 17, dated to AD 267. Since UJadhNab 538 has a Jewish background because it mentions Passover (*ywm hg 'l-ptyr*), it is probable, as suggested by Robin (2014a: 58) that *mry 'lm'* refers to the God of the Jews.

The main Nabataean deities are therefore represented on the Darb al-Bakrah and the three goddesses of pre-Islamic Mecca mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, al-‘Uzzā, Manāt and Allāt, appear several times. All but one (UJadhNab 237) of the texts in which divine names appear are signatures in which the names occur in two categories of formulas:

– one which is typically Nabataean: *dkyr/šlm mn qdm* + divine name, which happens to be used almost exclusively in texts written in the calligraphic Nabataean script, the only exception being UJadhNab 538, written in Nabataeo-Arabic. In the Darb al-Bakrah texts, the authors ask to be remembered or safe in the presence of either Dūšarā alone, Dūšarā as the god of Gaia, Dūšarā and Manāt, Manāt alone, “all the gods”, and the “Lord of the world”.

– one which is not typically Nabataean: *šm't* + divine name + *l* + personal name, which happens to be used only in texts written in Nabataeo-characters.<sup>182</sup> If this expression had been used later, in early Arabic inscriptions, the texts in which it occurs in the Darb al-Bakrah, UJadhNab 313, 345, 364 and 368, might have been considered as one of their possible ancestors. It seems however (pers. com. from Fr. Imbert) that this invocation, “may + divine name + listen” does not appear in the long list of invocations of the early Islamic period. In fact, the root S-M-‘ itself is almost absent. Fr. Imbert knows of only one, from ‘Ēn ‘Avdat in the Negev, dated to the first or second century of the Hijra,<sup>183</sup> where the author asks God to forgive the sins of So-and-So as well as those of the one who read and of the one who listened. One of the meanings of *sami'a* in Arabic, in some cases followed by the preposition *li-*, is “to accept” (God accepts the praise)<sup>184</sup> and this meaning would actually fit very well the *šm't* in our texts, al-‘Uzzā being asked to accept the prayer of the author.

This short commentary on the inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah which contain divine names has shown that the formulas contained in some of them have parallels in Hismaic (*šm't*), and Safaitic (*d' lt*). It has also shown that the examples of the formula which is typically Nabataean (*mn qdm* + divine name) are almost all written in calligraphic Nabataean (one exception) whereas those which are not typically Nabataean (*šm't* + divine name) are written in Nabataeo-Arabic. Finally, the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions have provided a new and strong argument in favour of interpreting the epithet *mry 'lm'* as referring to the one God of the Jews.

### I. Remarks on the orthography, grammar and vocabulary

Since almost all of the texts are graffiti left by individuals as a record of their presence at a particular place, they contain a large number of proper names and only a small amount of vocabulary. Both the names and the vocabulary are listed in the indexes at the end of the catalogue of the inscriptions. Below are only a few remarks on the orthography, grammar and vocabulary.

182. This paragraph is almost an exact repetition of Nehmé 2017a: 83.

183. Imbert 2011: P 18, with reference to previous publication of this graffito.

184. Lane 1863–1893: 1427c.

## I.1. Grammar and orthography

### I.1.1. Prepositions, pronouns, particles, etc.

The prepositions which are used in the texts are *'ly*, *b-*, *l-*, *mn* and *qdm*, all of which except the first were previously attested in Nabataean. *'ly*, “to”, which is attested in one text only, UJadhNab 330, written in a very developed form of the Nabataeo-Arabic script, is obviously a loanword from Arabic, on which see § I.4 below. It is followed by the toponym al-Ḥijr and it clearly means “to al-Ḥijr”.

The preposition *b-*, “in, for”, is widely used before *ṭb*, in the phrase *bṭb*, “in well-being”, the occurrences of which are not listed in the index because there are too many of them. It is also used before *šlm*, “in peace”, in three texts. In other contexts, *b-* appears before *šnt*, “year” (UJadhNab 546), before *yrḥ*, “month” followed in turn by a month name (UJadhNab 110, 526, 546) or directly before a month name (*bṭšry*, “in Tišrī” [October], UJadhNab 6 and 309). This usage is very common in Nabataean.

*l-* appears several times before *'lm* in the expression *l'lm*, “for ever” (UdhNab 9, QNNab 12, ArNab 166, etc.). In two cases, UJadhNab 5 and 199, written in calligraphic Nabataean, it is used in the same context as *'ly*, i.e. before a toponym, thus *lhgr'*, “to Ḥegrā”. It is worth pointing out, without drawing hasty conclusions, that *l-* is used in the texts written in calligraphic Nabataean whereas *'ly*, which is Arabic, is used in one text written in Nabataeo-Arabic. *l-* is also used before proper names, which is not very common in Nabataean except in dating formulas, as in UJadhNab 110, *šnt trtyn lmnkw*, “year two of Malichos”. We thus have *dkyr bṭb w šlm l'nm* in UJadhNab 40 (other examples in UJadhNab 47, 82, 293, 343, 352).<sup>185</sup> Note that in the cases where the phrase *bṭb w šlm* appears at the end of the text, i.e. *after* the name(s), there is obviously no need for a preposition before the name. Finally, three texts offer examples of *l-* in a particular context, i.e. after the verb *šm't*, which is a perfect with an optative force of Š-M-‘, “listen”, thus *šm't + l* + the divine name *'l'z'*, the goddess al-‘Uzzā being the one who is asked to “listen to/accept” the author’s prayer (UJadhNab 313, 345, 364, see above, § H.3).

*mn* is a relatively common preposition in Nabataean. In the Darb al-Bakrah texts, it is used in two contexts only: to express the origin or provenance of a person, thus *dy mn* + toponym, in ArNab 20, 27, UJadhNab 8, 133, 459; before *qdm* in the phrase *mn qdm* + divine name, as in UJadhNab 40, 41, 47, 88, 189, 228, 295, 391, 538 or *mn* + divine name in UJadhNab 226. *mn* does therefore not have any particular usage in the Darb al-Bakrah texts.

As for *qdm*, it is used only in the phrase *mn qdm* + divine name, for examples of which see the index of vocabulary.

Very few pronouns are used in the texts. One should distinguish between demonstrative, relative, personal and indefinite pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns are, as expected in Nabataean, *dnh* (masculine), and *d'* (feminine), the latter followed by the name of the goddess 'Allāt, in UJadhNab 237. As for *dnh* in UJadhNab 309 and 538, it refers to “the writing”, *ktb' dnh*.

The only indefinite pronoun is *kl* which means “any” (UJadhNab 5 and 199, “any man and any camel”; UJadhNab 84, 110 and 383.1, “any man”). When definite, *kl* means “all”, as in UJadhNab 189 and 228 (*'lhy' klhm*, “all the gods”).

Personal pronouns are not very numerous. The independent personal pronoun *hw*, “he, him” is used after the relative pronoun *dy*, following a personal name, thus So-and-So *dy hw*, “So-and-so who is ...”, in UJadhNab 327. The role of *hw* in that case is to reinforce the subject in the relative clause, a usage attested in other texts.<sup>186</sup> The following enclitic personal pronouns are attested: *-hy* and *-h* for the masculine singular (*-hy* in *'hwhy* and *ḥbrwhy*; *-h*, used more often, in *brh*, “his son”, *ḥbrth*, “his [female]

185. Half of these texts are written in Nabataeo-Arabic, the others are in calligraphic Nabataean.

186. Cantineau 1930–1932: vol. 1, p. 52: *yrḥ kslw dy hw šmr'*, “the month of Kislev which is Šamrā” in CIS II 349.

companion”, *ydh*, “his hand”, *ktbh*, “he wrote it”, see the index for the inscription numbers), *-hm* for the masculine plural in *klhm*, “all of them”.

A few particles are also attested in the texts. The most widely used is the exclamative particle *bly*, which has been translated as “yea!”. Alternatives are *bl* and *bl’*, which are used in the same context (see the index for examples).<sup>187</sup>

The negative particle *l’* is used in four texts. In ULNab 1, it was probably added after the author carved his signature, probably to say “may So-and-So *not* be safe”.<sup>188</sup> This is also true of two inscriptions written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, UJadhNab 10 and 15, where the typical Nabataeo-Arabic *l’* was carved in front of the first word of the text (*dkyr*) after the signatures had been written and for the same reason as in ULNab 1, by somebody who was not the author.<sup>189</sup> Finally, in UJadhNab 226, it is part of the text and is used to oppose *qr’*, “the reader”, whom the author wishes to be safe, to *m{q}{l/n}y’*, the meaning of which I was not able to determine, whom he wishes *not* to be safe.

Finally, the conjunction *p-* is used once in a text written in calligraphic Nabataean characters, UdhNab 18 (JSNab 245–246). This letter was read as a *p-* and not as a *w* because it is ligatured to the following letter, which is normally not the case with the Nabataean *w*. In this text, it clearly has the same meaning as *w*, “and”, as in SNab 11 and other texts. According to J. Healey, *p-* is not necessarily an Arabism, at least when it means simply “and”.<sup>190</sup>

### 1.1.2. Verbs

The only verbs which occur in the Darb al-Bakrah texts are *’dhlw*, which is a causative form of *dhl*, “to enter” (in Arabic), *’zl*, “to go”, *bnh*, “to build”, *ktb*, “to write” and *šm’t*, which is a third person feminine perfect of *šm’*, “to listen, to accept”, used with an optative force and followed by the name of the goddess al-‘Uzzā, thus “may al-‘Uzzā listen/accept” (for all these, see the index). Note that *’dhlw* is used in an AD 455–456 text written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters and it is probably an Arabic loanword (see § I.2 below). The only passive form is *ktyb*, which is the normal form of the passive participle in Nabataean.

### 1.1.3. Substantives

The vocabulary contained in the inscriptions is more varied than are the verbs. Most of the words belong to one of the following lexical categories: kinship (*br*,<sup>191</sup> *brt*, *’b*, *’h*, respectively “son of”, “daughter of”, “father of”, “brother of”), professions (see § B.5 above, where they are arranged by category and discussed) to which should be added the function of the individuals other than their profession (*hbr*, “companion”, *rhm*, “friend”). There are also ten *nisba* forms which have been discussed under § B.2). Other substantives include *’lh*, “god”, *yd*, “hand”, *ktb’*, “the writer” and “the writing”, and finally the expression *ywm hg ’l-ptyr*, “the day of the feast of the unleavened bread”, which is commented on in the catalogue, under UJadhNab 538.

*hbr* is the word normally used in Nabataean to designate a “companion” and it is used particularly, but not exclusively (see above, § G.4) to designate the members of a confraternity, a *symposium*, the Nabataean *mrzḥ’*, which is a fundamental element of religious practice in the Nabataean kingdom. Most examples come from the Petra region,<sup>192</sup> the most famous being the one which mentions the companions

187. On the use of these particles in Nabataean, see Nehmé 2005–2006: 196–197.

188. On *l’*, *ibidem*: 195–196.

189. The *l’* does not appear on the copy of the text, see the photographs.

190. Healey 1993: 76.

191. Note that in UJadhNab 288, *bny*, which is normally used as the plural of *br* in Nabataean, occurs in a context which should be in the singular.

192. On the confraternities in Petra, see Nehmé 2013 and al-Salameen and Falahat 2012. See also, more recently, the collection of articles on ritual banquets in the Nabataean realm published by several authors in *Syria* 94, 2017.

of the confraternity of the god Obodas on the Dayr plateau, DNPF 73: *'bydw br wqyh'l w ḥbrwhy mrzh 'bdt 'lh'*, “Ubaydū son of Waqīh'el and his companions of the confraternity of Obodas the god”. Another interesting example, in which the *ḥbr* may or may not be the member of a confraternity, comes from the Wādī Waqīt area, south-west of Petra, known to have been devoted to the worship of Isis and where traces of *triclinia* have been identified. This text, MP 869,<sup>193</sup> mentions a man who is the “companion and friend”, *ḥbr w rḥm* of another. Since both words are used side by side, they probably do not have exactly the same meaning. In Nabataean, as in Hebrew,<sup>194</sup> it seems that *ḥbr* is used to express membership (of a confraternity, of a group of soldiers, of servants, etc.), i.e. is applied to people who share an activity, a belief, etc., whereas *rḥm*, on which see more below, may have had an emotional overtone, the *rḥm* being also a “friend”. In the Darb al-Bakrah texts, we have an example (SBNab 2) of a man who is said to be the *ḥbr* of a woman named *qšm'l* who is a servant. Also, for the first time in Nabataean, in UJadhNab 516, we have a woman who is the *ḥbrt*, the female companion, of a man.

Two words derived from the root R-Ḥ-M are used in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions. The first is *rḥmh*, “his friend”, in UJadhNab 519. This text and UJadhNab 518 give a nice example of two men probably travelling together. Indeed, the author of 519 carved, immediately under 518, “and may So-and-So his friend be remembered in well-being”. It is therefore likely that they were together when they carved their names. The second is *{r}ḥmny'*, used once in UJadhNab 338 to qualify the four men who wrote the inscription, probably friends who were also travelling together. In Nabataean, *rḥm* is used in many inscriptions in the title of king Aretas IV, *rḥm 'mh*, “the lover of his people”, as well as in a text from Qanawāt, in southern Syria, where two brothers are said to be *rḥmy gd'*, “the lovers of Gad”.<sup>195</sup>

The only month names mentioned are *'dr*, “February-March”, *'lwl*, “September”, and *tšry*, “October”, the latter occurring three times. Note that no summer or winter months are mentioned and this may be an indication as to the periods (spring and autumn?) during which the route was used, although more examples would be required to be certain (see the introduction to § E). The words for day (*ywm*), month (*yrh*), year (*šnt*) are the normal words used in Nabataean and show no peculiarities. Note only that *šnt* is abbreviated once into a simple *š* in a dating formula where there is no doubt that the *š* before the numerals is indeed put for *šnt* (UJadhNab 86).

The numerals, *ḥd*, *trtyn*, *tš'yn* and *m't*, have the form they normally have in Nabataean (1, 2, 90 100).

Note should be made of the almost complete absence of adjectives. The only one is *tb*, used sometimes without the preposition *b-* before it (see index, s.v. *tb*).

Finally, I have to admit that I have found no satisfactory explanation for some sequences of letters. These are *m{q}{l/n}y'* in UJadhNab 226, *ssn'* in UJadhNab 327, *p{m}h* in ArNab 100, *tb{lwh}y* in UJadhNab 214, etc. For *m{q}{l/n}y'*, one may say that this word, the reading of which is uncertain, is opposed to *qr'*, “the reader”. Safety is requested for the latter and its opposite for the former. This word had therefore a negative meaning, whatever it is.

#### 1.1.4. Words which are attested in this corpus only

Some words do not occur elsewhere in the Nabataean corpus. This is the case of the preposition *'ly* and of the verbs *'dḥlw*, *'zl*, *šm't*, *ḥg* and *'l-ptyr*, to which should be added the words for which no satisfactory explanation was found yet (see above). It is also the case for some professions, if their reading and interpretation are correct: *ḥnt'*, “embalmer”, *{h}š{d/r}'*, “the one who does not stop taking milk from the she-camel”, *trq skt'*, “blacksmith” or “maker of coin dies”, *snypr'* (this particular spelling variant), “ensign bearer”.

193. Published by M.-J. Roche in 2012: 64–65.

194. See Brown, Driver, Briggs 1999, s.v.

195. Littmann 1905: no. 3, p. 93–94.

## I.2. Various: formulas, orthographic variants, etc.

### I.2.1. Formulas

Many texts written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script from the Darb al-Bakrah contain the same formulas as the Nabataean graffiti, with an extensive use of the words *šlm* and *dkyr*. This is in marked contrast with the inscriptions from Najrān, none of which contain either of these words and all of which start directly with the name of the author.

We may draw the attention to the use of what appears to be more or less stereotyped formulas such as *tb btb*, “well in well-being” (UJadhNab 84), *ktb ydh*, “he wrote [with] his hand” (UJadhNab 297), *btb l’lm*, “in well-being for ever”: Udhnab 9, QNNab 12, UJadhNab 155, etc.

### I.2.2. Case endings

Concerning the question of the case endings, we may note that in UJadhNab 330, written in the Nabataean script, the toponym *’lhgr* is preceded by the preposition *’ly* and should therefore be in the genitive. In theory, that may have been the case since short *i* would not be written in Nabataean (the same is true for *hg ’l-ptyr*). However, in *py ’lhgrw* of JSNab 17, the presence of the final *-w* shows that the case ending of the genitive was not expressed.

In UJadhNab 222, written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script, the name *’bw ypny* follows *br* and *’bw* is therefore in a position where it should be in the genitive. Another example can be found in *CIS II 805*, where we find ... *br ’bw qmw*. In Arabic, *’bw* has normally a case ending when in the genitive, thus *’ibn ’Abībakri* and not *’ibn ’Abūbakri*.<sup>196</sup>

### I.2.3. Orthography

One should note the use of the *y* in *’ly*, which was therefore presumably pronounced *ilay*. The alternative would be to consider that the *y* was used to write */a:/* in Nabataean or Nabataeo-Arabic texts, which is not likely since this long vowel is normally expressed in the Nabataean script with *’* or *h*.<sup>197</sup> Other Nabataean words, written with a final *y*, may have been pronounced *ay* rather than */a:/*, see for instance *hšy* (Classical Arabic *hāšā*) and *mry* for *mr’*, both in JSNab 17.

The questions of orthography in general require a lot more work and a competence in dialectology and linguistics I do not have.

## I.3. Orthography of the personal names

Some names show orthographic variants. Thus, in UJadhNab 298, the well known Arabic name Tha‘labah is spelled *t’lbh*, with a *t*, whereas in Nabataean, Arabic *t* is consistently written *t*. One possible explanation, suggested to me by A. al-Jallad, is that *t’lbh* in this graffiti is simply an idiosyncratic spelling, the author of the graffiti judging that emphatic *t* (which was probably glottalized, *t’*), was closer to the sound *t* than plain *t*. The spelling of Arabic [θ] also shows variations in Greek words. As explained by A. al-Jallad, [θ] is normally represented in Greek with θ but occasionally, it is represented with τ, as Γαυτος for Γαυθος or Αυιτος for Αυιθος,<sup>198</sup> possibly because Near Eastern Greek had no equivalent to Arabic [θ].

196. Blachère & Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1975: 124.

197. It is only later, in Classical Arabic, that *y* started to represent long */a:/*, as in *banā* for instance. The reason is that *bny* was probably pronounced *banay* in the Hijāz, and was therefore very normally written with a *y*, whereas it was pronounced as */a:/* in Kūfa and Baṣra. It is therefore only when the Quranic text was vocalized that Arab grammarians, who could not alter the consonantal skeleton of the text, had to give to the *y* the value of */a:/*, thus inventing the concept of *alif maqṣūrah* (I thank M.C.A. Macdonald for explaining this to me).

198. Al-Jallad, Daniel, and al-Ghul 2013: 26 and Al-Jallad 2017: 124, § 3.3 on Interdentals.



It is a well known fact that many Arabic personal names written in the Nabataean script end with a *w* and this has been variously interpreted.<sup>199</sup> C. Robin has recently suggested<sup>200</sup> that this *-w* is the equivalent of Arabic *tanwīn* and Ancient South Arabian mimation. If this was true, however, one would expect this ending to be used much more widely in Nabataean in words other than personal names but there are very few such words and most of them are third century texts.<sup>201</sup> Also, the fact that one finds it at the end of *ʿlqbrw*, i.e. with the definite article, excludes the possibility of considering the final *w* as being the equivalent of the Arabic *tanwīn*. The most recent study on this phenomenon, named *wawation*, was undertaken by A. Al-Jallad (forthcoming). He suggests that *wawation* was originally, starting from the 9th century BC, a marker of the nominative case which did not inflect when Arabic anthroponyms or words were used in an Aramaic linguistic context. He also proposes an explanation for the way *wawation* evolved between the 3rd and the 6th century AD, based on his observations of the way triptotic personal names behaved in Aramaic and Arabic contexts.

#### I.4. Arabic loanwords

The question of the Arabic loanwords in Nabataean Aramaic is a particularly interesting one when dealing with a corpus of texts from north-west Arabia. The reason is very simple: north-west Arabia is, along with the Dead Sea region, the area which has yielded the greatest number of Arabic loanwords.<sup>202</sup> The Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions do not contradict this statement and new loanwords have been identified in the texts which deserve special attention in this commentary. These loanwords form one aspect of the Arabic influence on Nabataean Aramaic which, according to the definition given by J. Healey, consists of the “appearance of grammatical forms, syntax and lexica which are known otherwise in Semitic mainly or exclusively in Arabic”.<sup>203</sup> The lexical influence of Arabic on Nabataean has been the subject of only a few contributions since the work undertaken by J. Cantineau in the 1930s.<sup>204</sup> We may cite the articles published by M. O’Connor in 1986, J.C. Greenfield in 1992 and J. Healey in 1995. To these should be added contributions in which the question of the loans is addressed less directly. Finally, A. Yardeni (2014) recently published an article on the Arabic loanwords in the Naḥal Ḥever papyri, a subject which was only hinted at by J.C. Greenfield.

The loanwords which have been identified in the Darb al-Bakrah inscriptions are listed below in alphabetical order.

– *ʿdhlw*: this verb occurs in one inscription from Umm Jadhāyidh, UJadhNab 109. It derives most probably from the root D-Ḥ-L, Arabic *dahala*, which means “enter”, in the third person plural perfect of the causative form, thus “they made enter”.<sup>205</sup> Since the direct object which follows the verb is “‘Amrū the king”, the whole phrase may be translated as “... [when] they made enter/introduced ‘Amrū the king”, meaning probably the year when this king was enthroned or simply given control over this region of northern Ḥijāz.<sup>206</sup> R. Hoyland has suggested a different reading of this inscription.<sup>207</sup> He considers the third letter to be a *g* rather than a *ḥ*, thus *ʿd glw ʿmrw ʿlmlk* which he translates “when ‘Amrū the king

199. See references in Nehmé 2010b: 467–468.

200. Robin, al-Ghabban, and al-Saʿīd 2014: commentary to Ḥimā-Sud PalAr 1.

201. Nehmé 2010b: 467. JSNab 17, 18 and LPNab 41 (*ʿlqbrw*, *qbrw*, *npšw*, *rbw*).

202. Nehmé 2017a: 80. Almost half of the loanwords which were identified in Nabataean or Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions (thirty-three out of sixty-seven recorded so far) come from north-west Arabia.

203. Healey 1995: 78.

204. Cantineau 1930–1932: vol. 2 p. 171–172, 177–180 and Cantineau 1934–1935.

205. Ibn Manẓūr: 1343, explaining the verse *hammāni bātā janbatan wa-daḥīlā*, says *ʿarāda hamman dāḥīla al-qalbi wa-ʿāḥara qarīban min dālika ka-ad-ḍayfi ʿiqā ḥalla bi-ʿl-qawmi fa ʿadḥalūhu fa huwa daḥīlun, wa-in ḥalla bi-fināʿihim fa huwa janbatun*, “he meant one worry/concern inside the heart and another close to the heart like the guest: if he visits/comes to the tribe they make him enter/introduce and he is a guest and if he comes in their yards, he is a stranger”.

206. On the identification of this king, see the commentary to this inscription in the catalogue.

207. First in Hoyland 2008: 63. See also Hoyland 2011: 112 n. 53.

flourished or departed”. It is true that in a calligraphic Nabataean text, this letter would undoubtedly be read as a *g* but UJadhNab 109 is clearly written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters and in this context, it is more likely to be a *h*. Indeed, in the inscriptions written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, what distinguishes the *h* from the *g* is the vertical aspect of the main stem: it is still relatively slanting from top left to bottom right in the *g* while it is almost vertical in the *h* (see examples of Nabataeo-Arabic *h* fig. 37). We therefore prefer to stick to the original reading *dhl*, which is an Arabic loanword because the root does not exist with the meaning “enter” in Aramaic.

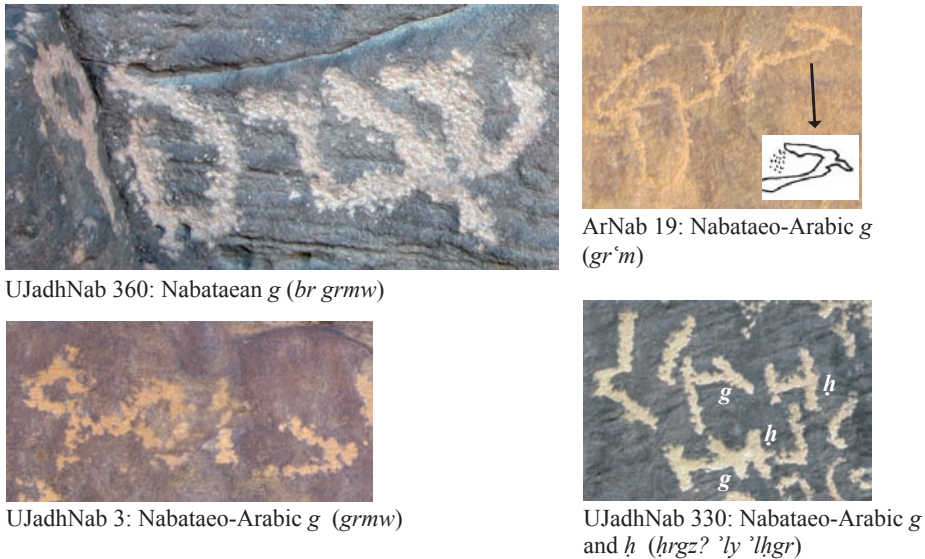


Fig. 37. Examples of *g* and *h*.

A. al-Jallad has also suggested to me that *'dhlw* may be a verbal noun (a *maṣdar*), i.e. a word meaning “the introduction” rather than the verb “they introduced”. According to him, this interpretation would fit better the fact that *šnt* is not followed immediately by the relative clause which starts with *'dhlw* (there is the date in between, and in that case one would expect a conjunction before the verb). *'dhlw* would thus be a clearly Arabic *'ifāl* form (*sanat idhāl*), with the addition of a *w* at the end (a feature which is widely present in the material from the 3rd to the 5th century AD). This is of course possible, but it is also true that the *w* is perhaps better explained, in that example, by a verbal form in the 3rd plural. The absence of conjunction before it may be due to the fact that the author wrote the numerals of the date and then decided to specify that it was at the time when..., the two being juxtaposed, thus “year ...; [the year] they introduced...”.

– *'l*: the *'l* form of the definite article, as opposed to the Aramaic one expressed by an *alif* at the end of the word occurs on the Darb al-Bakrah in three types of contexts.<sup>208</sup> The first is in personal names such as *whb'lgyr*, *'bd'lšm*, *'bd'lg*, *'bd'l[z/l]fy*, *tym'lhwr* and *tym'lktb*. The use of *'l* in the personal names in Nabataean is very common and I shall not comment on it at length in this essay, especially since this question will be fully addressed by M.C.A. Macdonald.<sup>209</sup>

The second context is before the toponym *hgr* (UJadhNab 330, in the Nabataeo-Arabic script) and *h(g)rw* (ArNab 20), both of which refer to al-Hijr.

The third is before the substantive *mlk*, “king”, in UJadhNab 109, which is dated to AD 455–456.

208. On the fact that *'l* should or should not be considered as an Arabic loanword in Nabataeo-Arabic, see Nehmé 2017a: 82, with a discussion of Al-Jallad 2014.

209. In a forthcoming book, *Old Arabic in its linguistic environment*, in which he will include the material from his article “The Form of the Definite Article in Classical Arabic. Some Light from the Jahiliyya”.

The form *ʿlḡrw* was already known from JSNab 17, dated AD 267, i.e. a fairly late text, but it should be noted that the normal Aramaic form *ḡgrʿ* is also attested in Ḥegrā proper, in JSNab 9 line 6 (*bḡgrʿ*, “in Ḥegrā”) dated AD 35–36, in JSNab 38 line 8 (*ʿsrtgʿ dy hw bḡgrʿ*, “the governor who is in Ḥegrā”) dated AD 63–64, and in the so-called Stiehl inscription<sup>210</sup> (*ryš ḡgrʿ*, “chief citizen of Ḥegrā”) dated AD 356. Unfortunately, it seems that we cannot draw any conclusion from the available data: there is no clear distribution of the forms of the toponym between early texts and late texts nor between texts written in calligraphic Nabataean and texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic. Thus, *ḡgrʿ* exists in both early (JSNab 9 and 38) and late (Stiehl) texts whereas *ʿlḡgrʿ/ʿlḡrw* exists both in texts written in Nabataeo-Arabic (UJadhNab 330) and in calligraphic Nabataean (ArNab 20). One may however point to the fact that *ḡgrʿ* is attested only in monumental texts whereas *ʿlḡrw* is attested in both monumental inscriptions (JSNab 17) and graffiti (UJadhNab 330 and ArNab 20). These are the only attestations of the definite article in Nabataean<sup>211</sup> in contexts other than personal names. Indeed, the Arabic definite article which was read in an inscription from Ṣalkhad in southern Syria, LPNab 24, has been convincingly re-interpreted by M.C.A. Macdonald as the substantive *ʿl*, “tribe, lineage”. Thus, *ʿlt rbt ʿl ʿtr*, “Allāt the lady of the place” (Milik 1958: 229) has become “Allāt the lady of the family/lineage of ʿAtar”.<sup>212</sup> The fact that *ʿl* is attested in Nabataean inscriptions from the Ḥawrān with this meaning makes this interpretation probable.<sup>213</sup>

– *ʿly*: this preposition, “to, toward”, is known in Aramaic under the form *ʿl*, while the Arabic form has *ʿilā*, with *alif maqṣūrah*. *ʿly* occurs in the Darb al-Bakrah in one text only, UJadhNab 330, written in Nabataeo-Arabic, where it is followed by *ʿlḡgr*, i.e. al-Ḥijr. The verb which precedes the preposition is difficult to read and interpret but *ʿly ʿlḡgr* certainly means “to al-Ḥijr”. It is a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean and it is probably a loanword from Arabic (unless the inscription itself is considered as Arabic).

– *ḡṣdʿ*: if the reading of *{ḡ}{ṣ}{d/r}* is correct in UJadhNab 18, it may be derived, as suggested by S. al-Theeb, from Arabic *ḡāṣid*, “the one who does not stop taking milk from the she-camel” (see § B.5.4).

– *ṣrq sktʿ*: this expression, used only in UJadhNab 100, refers to the profession of the author. It consists of two words, both of which are considered as Arabic loanwords. The first is derived from the root Ṭ-R-Q, which means “to beat or strike metal”, e.g. a blacksmith and the other may be derived from *sikkah*, “a ploughshare, or a die” (see § B.5.6 for references).

– *ṣṭyr*: in UJadhNab 538, *ʿl-ṣṭyr* is clearly the *ʿl* form of the definite article followed by the Arabic word *faṭīr* which means, “unleavened (dough)”, particularly in the expression *ʿīd al-faṭīr*, “the feast of the unleavened bread”, i.e. Passover (Lane 1863–1893: 2417a). It is worth reminding here here that the word for “feast” used in this text is not Arabic *ʿīd* but Hebrew *ḡg*. The expression *ʿīd ʿl-ṣṭyr*, which combines an Arabic and a Hebrew word may this be an illustration of the *yahūdiyyah*, i.e. the dialect spoken by the Jews in the Ḥijāz.<sup>214</sup>

To these six loanwords, one should probably add the verbe *šmʿt*, which occurs in four Nabataean texts from Umm Jadhāyidh, all written in Nabataeo-Arabic. I have already explained above that the use of this root in the perfect but with an optative force is most probably the result of an Arabic influence.

These new loanwords are interesting because they do not belong to the legal lexicon. Two of them are used to name professions, and this suggests that the individuals concerned may have been Arabic-speakers who did not know the Aramaic words for their professions.

210. Stiehl 1970.

211. In JSNab 17, line 7, there is *ʿl qbrw*, “the tomb”, but it occurs in a passage, *w lʿn mry ʿlmʿ mn yšnʿ ʿl qbrw*, which may be considered as Arabic.

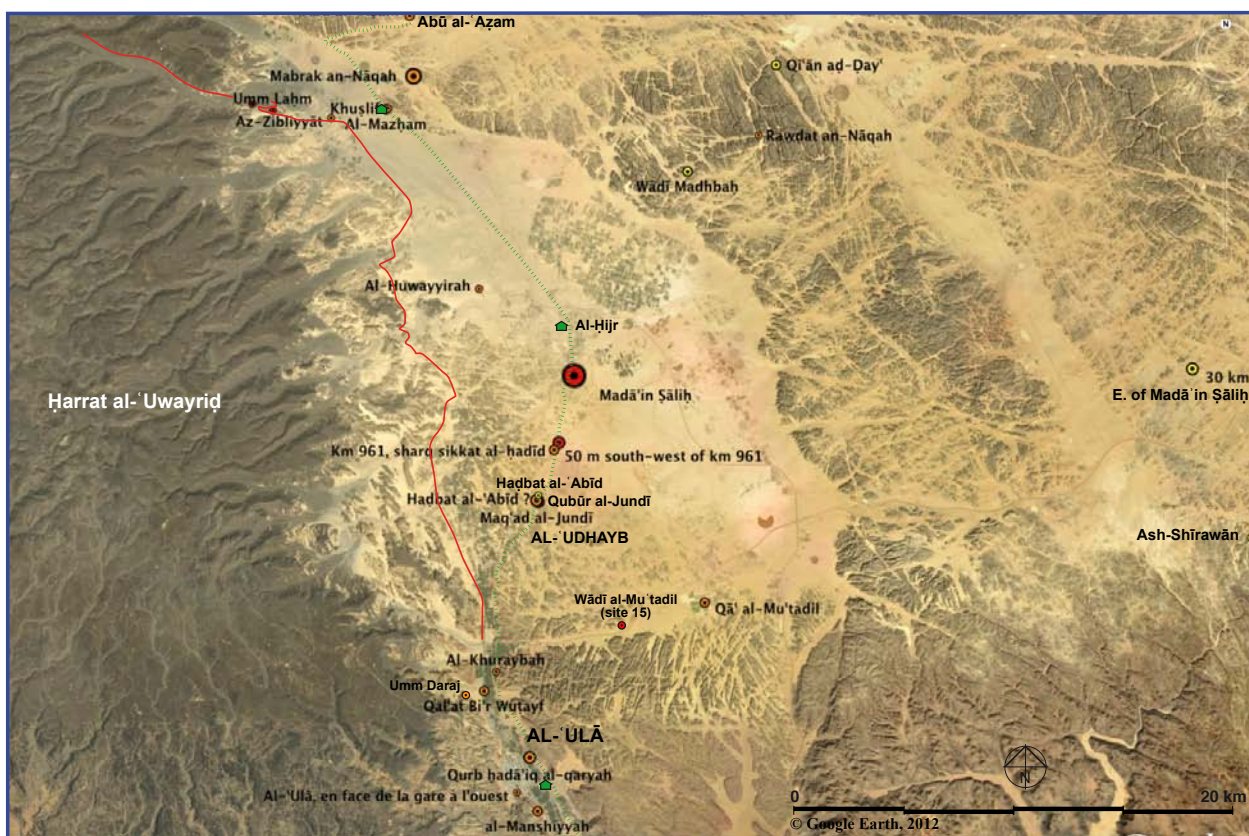
212. In his forthcoming book (see note 208).

213. On the use of *ʿl* for “tribe” in Nabataean, see now Nehmé and Macdonald forthcoming.

214. Robin 2015a: 73–74.

### J. The distribution of the Nabataean inscriptions along the Darb al-Bakrah

In this paragraph, I will examine and comment briefly the distribution of the inscriptions along the Darb al-Bakrah. It would be tempting to compare it with the distribution of the Nabataean inscriptions recorded at other sites in north-west Arabia, an aspect I started to examine in the dissertation version of this essay, but this will be done elsewhere. I will therefore restrict myself here to the Darb al-Bakrah proper.



**Coordinates:** ● Precise (1) ○ Approximate (2) ○ Very approximate (3) ■ Other site/toponym **Number of inscriptions:** ○ 1-2 ○ 3-10 ○ 11-30 ○ 31-100 ● + 100  
 ..... Hijāz railway ■ Hijāz railway halt/ station — Darb al-Bakrah, itinerary followed in 2004

**Fig. 38.** The distribution of the Nabataean inscriptions in the region of Madā'in Šāliḥ.

First, it seems to me that there are still uncertainties on the itinerary followed by the caravans north of Ḥegrā. Indeed, if one looks at the distribution of the Nabataean inscriptions in this area (**fig. 38**), one can see that going north from Ḥegrā, the most important site is Mabrak an-Nāqah, which is not considered to be on the Darb al-Bakrah (thirty-nine inscriptions and probably more). The position of the inscriptions, on the eastern cliff of this narrow passage, the number of Nabataean texts and the presence of texts in other scripts and languages, are arguments for this spot to be some sort of caravan halt, 16 km north–north-west of the residential area of Ḥegrā. From Mabrak an-Nāqah, there are two options: either one continues almost due north, through the sites of Abū al-'Aẓam and Ḥamrā' as-Sikkah, more or less along the line of the Hijāz railway (or a little west but between the railway and the foot of the Ḥarrat al-'Uwayriḍ), or one goes west in order to follow one of the wadis which come down from the Ḥarrah. It is important to keep in mind that the route followed during the 2004 survey happens to be the only modern road which leaves the plain of al-Ḥijr at its northern end in a westerly direction and crosses the Ḥarrah from south-east to north-west (**fig. 39**). Along this road, one site only, Jabal Sa'īdā, yielded a single Nabataean inscription.

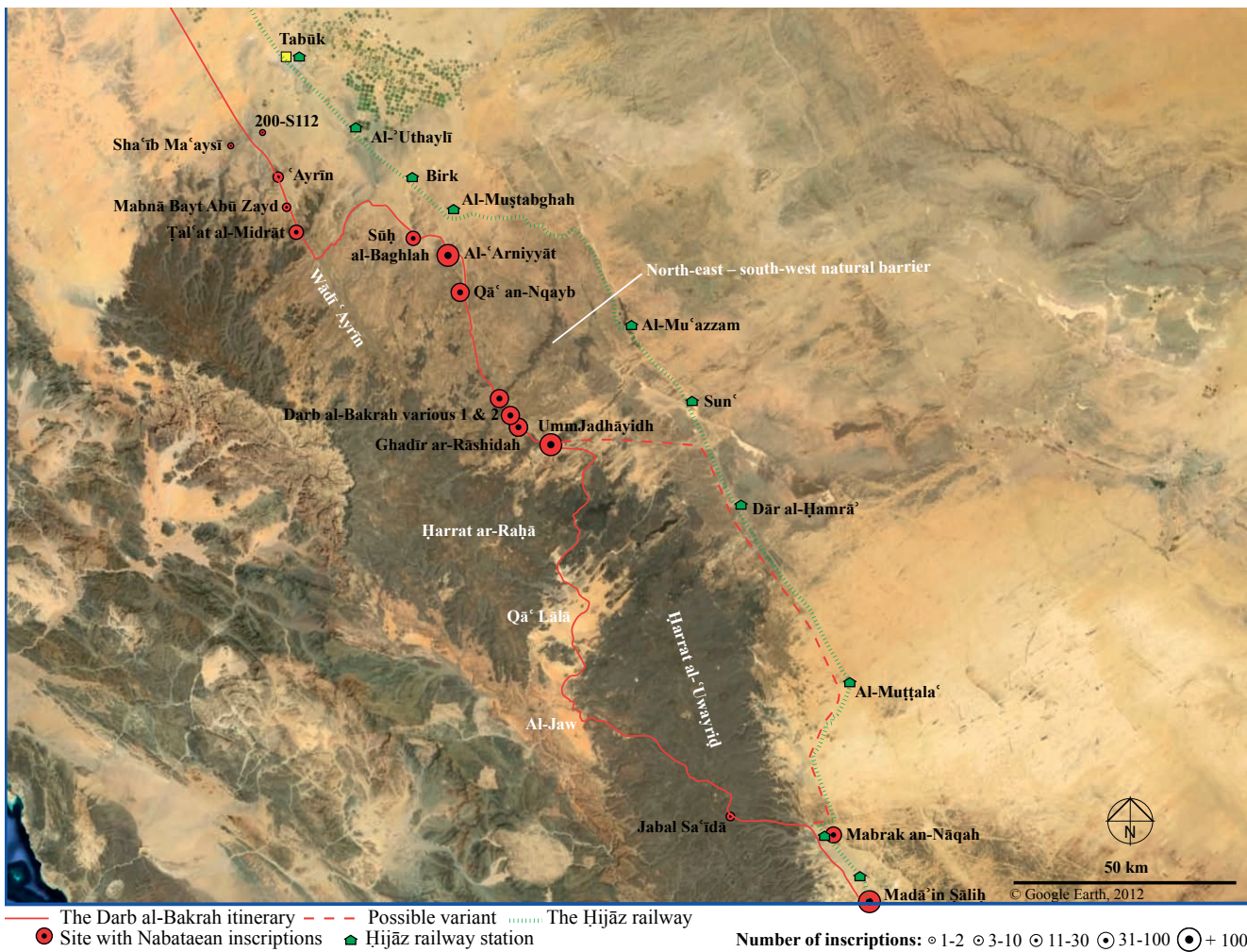


Fig. 39. The Darb al-Bakrah between Madā'in Šāliḥ and Umm Jadhāyidh.

After crossing the Ḥarrah, the road goes down to the plain of al-Jaw and from there to Umm Jadhāyidh through Qā' Lālā. On this portion of the road, i.e. from Jabal Sa'ida to Umm Jadhāyidh, not a single Nabataean inscription was recorded. Considering both this and the fact that climbing up to the Ḥarrah – which is more than 1,500 m above sea level – and crossing it, is a difficult task, one may have to consider the possibility that the ancient track followed the eastern foothills of Ḥarrat al-'Uwayriḍ, not far from the Hijāz railway line (see the possible variant fig. 39, which suggests going west after Dār al-Ḥamrā'). H.St.J.B. Philby and R.E. Bogue copied Nabataean inscriptions in several locations along the Hijāz line, between Abū al-'Azam and al-Muṭṭalā' but not in significant numbers, and none was recorded further north. North of al-Muṭṭalā', the railway line comes closer to the Ḥarrah foothills and turns to the north-west in order to reach Tabūk. If one considers that Umm Jadhāyidh *must* be on the ancient track, one has to assume that the latter comes off the railway line and bends to the west along the foothills of the Ḥarrah in order to reach the Wādī Ruwayshid and Umm Jadhāyidh. This itinerary makes as much sense as the one which comes up the Ḥarrah. It may therefore be worth exploring the area between al-Muṭṭalā' and Umm Jadhāyidh, using first the facilities offered by the new al-'Ulā-Tabūk road and then trying to find a way through the Ḥarrah foothills up to Umm Jadhāyidh.

Between Umm Jadhāyidh and al-'Arniyyāt, the track followed during the 2004 survey is obviously the only possible one: from Umm Jadhāyidh to the north, it follows the Wādī Ruwayshid, which is relatively large, obviously stopping at Ghadīr Ruwayshid, which had a very important reserve of water, and then it crosses a north-east – south-west barrier at a very convenient spot (see fig. 39). After that, it follows a narrower wadi up to Qā'an-Nqayb, where the wadi gets much larger again. We may therefore safely assume that we did follow, between these two sites, the ancient track.

Going back to the area north of al-ʿArniyyāt, one can see on fig. 39 that the Darb al-Bakrah follows first a wide wadi up to Sūḥ al-Baghlah but then, instead of going due north-west in the direction of Tabūk, in a relatively flat area which crosses an alluvial plain, it turns west, goes back south-west for about 15 km before it turns to the north-west towards Ṭalʿat al-Midrāt. The reason for this detour is not obvious: it lengthens the way, it makes one go through a mountainous landscape rather than walk in a plain, it gets away from Tabūk, which may confirm that this oasis was not a stop on the road, etc. The only advantage may be precisely that it avoids walking in an open area. However, one possibly strong argument may be used in favour of the Darb al-Bakrah itinerary. In § B.4 above, I presented the evidence we have about individuals who wrote inscriptions in different places. Among the examples recorded, one finds that there are connections between Umm Jadhāyidh and Qāʿ an-Nqayb (c. 40 km), Umm Jadhāyidh and al-ʿArniyyāt (c. 60 km), Umm Jadhāyidh and Sūḥ al-Baghlah (c. 70 km) and finally Umm Jadhāyidh and two unnamed sites north of it, Darb al-Bakrah various 1 and 2 (respectively c. 10 and 16 km). There are also connections between Qāʿ an-Nqayb and al-ʿArniyyāt (c. 10 km) and between al-ʿArniyyāt and Sūḥ al-Baghlah (c. 10 km), which is not surprising. More interestingly, there is one connection between Umm Jadhāyidh and Ṭalʿat al-Midrāt (c. 110 km), where only a handful of inscriptions were recorded. If one examines the satellite image carefully, one can see that there is no way to connect Umm Jadhāyidh and Ṭalʿat al-Midrāt directly. Indeed, the Wādī ʿAyrīn, which would be a much better candidate south of Ṭalʿat al-Midrāt, ends up more or less in a *cul-de-sac*, and so the way through Qāʿ an-Nqayb and al-ʿArniyyāt makes sense.

The northernmost site with Nabataean inscriptions on the Darb al-Bakrah is ʿAyrīn. There are two or three other sites further north-west, on the last foothills of the Ḥarrat ar-Raḥā (Shaʿīb Maʿaysī, 200-S112, see fig. 39), but the ancient track, from there to the Jordanian frontier, is not precisely known. The Darb al-Bakrah survey did not record any Nabataean inscription north of Tabūk, possibly because the landscape is much less rocky and therefore less suitable for carving inscriptions.

Considering all this, we may take it as relatively certain that the ancient caravan track went from Ḥegrā to the area south-west of Tabūk, passing through Mabrak an-Nāqah, Umm Jadhāyidh, Qāʿ an-Nqayb, al-ʿArniyyāt, Sūḥ al-Baghlah and Ṭalʿat al-Midrāt. There is still, in my view, uncertainty about the route between Ḥegrā and Umm Jadhāyidh (whether *up* to Ḥarrat al-ʿUwayrīd or not) but a survey in the area west and north-west of al-Muṭṭalaʿ, along the foothills of Ḥarrat al-ʿUwayrīd, may dispel this. Further north, one has to assume that the ancient track crossed the flat area between Tabūk and Qurayyah and from there continued north towards the modern border.

### Conclusion and perspectives

The 912 Nabataean and Nabataeo-Arabic texts from the Darb al-Bakrah are not the most informative inscriptions an epigraphist might dream of. Most of them are very short graffiti, sometimes badly written, they contain mainly names and only a few of them are dated. Despite these faults, they are very interesting for several reasons:

- they come from sites most of which were halts on what has been interpreted as an ancient caravan route;
- they give an idea of who was travelling along this route and when;
- the script in which 8% of the texts are written is transitional between Nabataean and Arabic;
- they contain some very interesting texts, such as UJadhNab 109 and UJadhNab 538;
- they provide a number of new words, names, Arabic loanwords, etc.
- they contain a huge number of personal names, c. 20 of which are Jewish.

Despite the length of the present introduction to the texts, a few topics have not been dealt with or not dealt with thoroughly enough. They concern the texts written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script, the names contained in the inscriptions, whether Nabataean or Nabataeo-Arabic, and finally the Darb al-Bakrah as a caravan itinerary and its historical significance in the context of the transarabian land and maritime trade in Antiquity.

As far as Nabataeo-Arabic is concerned, more work is needed on the script itself, its characteristics and development process, as well as on the names contained in the inscriptions. However, it would make no sense to undertake this work on part of the corpus only. Indeed, the Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah represent ‘only’ 50% of the corpus of Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions recorded so far and a complete study of the script and of the names needs to take into account the Nabataeo-Arabic corpus as whole.

Another track of research would be a comparison of the names contained in the Nabataean or Nabataeo-Arabic texts with the names contained in the Ancient South Arabian and Ancient North Arabian ones. This would be relatively easy to do since the possible Nabataean equivalents to the latter have been indicated in the index of ASA/ANA names at the end of the catalogue of these texts. Finally, the number of Jewish names contained in this corpus, the kind of script in which the individuals who bear these names wrote their inscriptions, and the new information contained in some of these inscriptions may be an opportunity to examine again the question of the Ḥijāzī Jews.

Finally, the topic of the Darb al-Bakrah as a caravan itinerary in the context of the transarabian trade routes has been partly addressed recently but a complete evaluation of the material is still needed.<sup>215</sup> Below are a few preliminary conclusions.

Despite the large number of texts which have been recorded at the sites which form the Darb al-Bakrah, one should not attach too much importance to what remains a small section of the ancient routes which crossed northern Arabia. It concerns mainly the way between Ḥegrā and Tabūk and from there to the Jordanian frontier. In the latter section, which is relatively flat and devoid of rocks, the routes are likely to have fluctuated and the itinerary followed during the 2004 survey does not necessarily correspond to the one most widely used in antiquity (no Nabataean inscriptions were found along it).<sup>216</sup> As far as the first part of itinerary is concerned, the survey has shown, and this is important, that the ancient route does not follow the *Darb al-ḥajj ash-Shāmī*, the Syrian pilgrimage road, and hence not the Ḥijāz railway, but runs further west. Some uncertainties remain as to whether the ancient route crossed the Ḥarrat al-‘Uwayriḍ or not but the general layout of the road is now clear.

The inscriptions, the scripts in which they are written, their date and their content invite us to consider that the route was used from the second half of the first millennium BC (with the Imperial Aramaic) to the fifth century AD (latest Nabataeo-Arabic text), by a variety of people. In the early period, we have evidence of people who came from South Arabia, and the available evidence for the later periods, after the turn of the Christian era, points to an integration of the Darb al-Bakrah into a regional communication network which extends from Yathrib, modern Medina, to Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt and possibly from there, further up to Petra.

One can suggest that the Darb al-Bakrah started to be used regularly and intensively only after the Nabataeans had settled in Ḥegrā, and this happened, as we know from the results of the archaeological excavations at Madā’in Ṣāliḥ, in the second half of the 1st century BC. This would explain why the earliest Nabataean inscription on the Darb is dated to AD 41–42. The end of the first century BC corresponds

215. See Nehmé forthcoming c, which was however written before the catalogues of inscriptions were completed.

216. Moreover, as is very well known, in an area where the routes are not determined by the existence of narrow wadis or narrow passages between mountains which force the caravans to go through them, there is not one but several possible routes.

also to the time when the port of Leuke Kome, which may have been located at al-Wajh, became fully active. It is probable that from the end of the first century BC onwards, and if the maritime trade on the Red Sea truly developed to the cost of the trade by land – at least up to a certain latitude – Ḥegrā became a centre of redistribution of the goods. The latter would have been shipped by sea up to Leuke Kome and from there conveyed northwards by land passing through Ḥegrā. Note that we do not know, for the moment, whether the land route *south* of Ḥegrā continued to be used after the end of the first century BC. Before the arrival of the Nabataeans at Ḥegrā, one can tentatively suggest, if the dating of the Ancient South Arabian inscriptions to before the end of the first century BC, as suggested by C. Robin on palaeographic grounds,<sup>217</sup> is correct, that the South Arabian merchants were involved in the land trade, possibly more than were actually the Nabataeans themselves. We do not know to which extent that was indeed the case but these conclusions are in line with those drawn by Robin<sup>218</sup> who demonstrates that the South Arabian kingdoms seem to have stopped being involved in the transarabian trade before the 1st century AD. His main argument is that evidence for this trade is significant only up to the first century BC. After the turn of the Christian era, one single graffito, recorded *c.* 100 km north of Najrān, refers specifically to a caravan.<sup>219</sup> What is certain is that from the end of the first century BC and at least until the mid-third century AD, Ḥegrā was, in Arabia, the equivalent of Myos Hormos in Egypt: a place which controlled the traffic and where, from AD 106 onwards, i.e. at the Roman period, soldiers named *stationarii* kept this traffic under surveillance.

The study of these texts required a great effort, first to sort out thousands of photographs in order to identify and number the texts one by one, then to read them, which meant becoming acquainted with a kind of script, Nabataeo-Arabic, which most scholars specialized in Nabataean epigraphy could not read ten years ago, and finally to make the facsimiles by hand, a process which took hundreds of hours. Neither the catalogue nor the commentary are perfect but the author hopes that this contribution will be useful to anyone interested in the epigraphy and history of this region in the centuries before Islam.

217. This dating is however questioned by M.C.A. Macdonald, see the introduction to the catalogue of the ASA and ANA inscriptions.

218. Robin 2014b, 274–279.

219. Robin 2001. It mentions a Ḥaḍramite who led the southern (*ymnyṭ*) and the northern (*s<sup>2</sup>myṭ*) caravan with a troop of Ḥaḍramites. It is interpreted by C. Robin as a caravan which goes from Yemen to Syria to sell the products brought from Yemen, buys others in Syria and goes back to Yemen.



### Appendix 1: Some new inscriptions from Madā'in Šāliḥ and al-'Ulā

This appendix contains four inscriptions which were either recorded during the archaeological surveys of Madā'in Šāliḥ led by the author between 2002 and 2005 or photographed on the slope of the mountain which overlooks the city of al-'Ulā to the west. Since the publication of the inscriptions from Madā'in Šāliḥ will concentrate first on those which are associated with sanctuaries, it seemed a good idea to present these Nabataeo-Arabic texts in the same context as those from the Darb al-Bakrah survey, especially since three of them have already been mentioned in preliminary publications.

#### MS45Nab 2

Hoyland 2011: no. 16.

This inscription (**fig. 40**) is carved on the quarry face Ith97 in the Jabal Ithlib area, where four other inscriptions, two Nabataean and two Dadanitic,<sup>220</sup> are also carved. It is clearly written in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and reads:

*bly dkyr šm'wn*

*br 'dyw*

“Yea! May Šim'ōn son of 'Adī/'Udayy”.

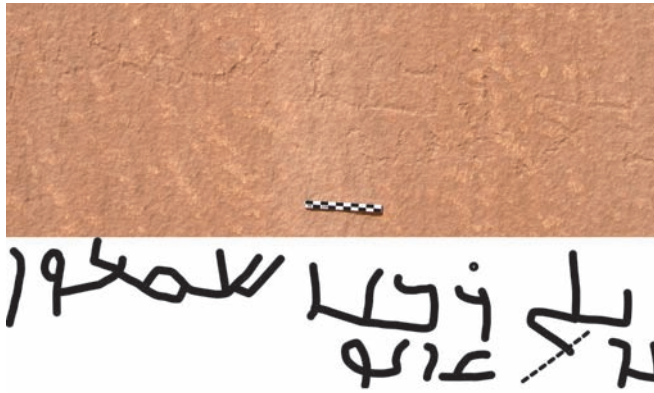


Fig. 40. Inscription MS45Nab 2 from Madā'in Šāliḥ.

Note the dot over the *d* as well as the form of the *š*, which is on its way to Arabic *š*. The *m* is already a small circle.

Here, 'dyw is the father of a man who bears a Jewish name and it is possible that he was also Jewish. This name is attested in Nabataean inscriptions, most recently in two graffiti discovered in the region of al-'Ulā,<sup>221</sup> as well as in the Eilat inscription.<sup>222</sup>

#### MS182Nab 1

This inscription (**fig. 41**) and the following were discovered in 2005, in the area known as Ithlib East, i.e. in the eastern part of the Jabal Ithlib mountains, on the other side of the fence which surrounds the site of Madā'in Šāliḥ, along with four or five texts or fragments of Nabataean texts.

*dkyr ḥnnyh br 'dmyh dy hw bn gzy{z/n} {d/r}{l} [w] {š}[lm]*

“May be remembered Ḥananiah son of 'Adamayah who is the son of Gazī{z/n} and may he be safe”.

220. The Dadanitic inscriptions have already been copied by Ch. Doughty: 1884, pl. VIII, fol. 14.

221. al-Theeb 2011: no. 6 and 9.

222. Avner, Nehmé, and Robin 2013.

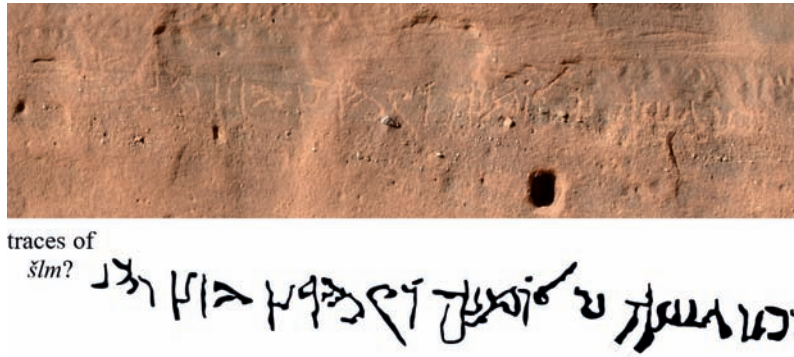


Fig. 41. Inscription MS182Nab 1 from Madā'in Šāliḥ.

The end of the text is not clear and the suggested reading is the one which takes the best account of the traces visible on the rock. The text is not really written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters but it shows features which would place it in the third century AD rather than in the first or the fifth century: the *y* which has almost lost its loop, the *ḥ* which starts looking like the Nabataean *g*, the *h*. Note the dots on both *d* of the text. On the Jewish name *ḥnnyh*, see above, § G.5. Note the possible use of both *br* and *bn* in this text (but *bn* is not between two personal names), unless the end of the text should be read differently, *dy hw bz...*, “who is in ...”.

**MS182Nab 2**

Hoyland 2011: no. 4

*dkyr y'qwb br šmw'l*

“May Ya'qūb son of Šamaw'al be remembered”.

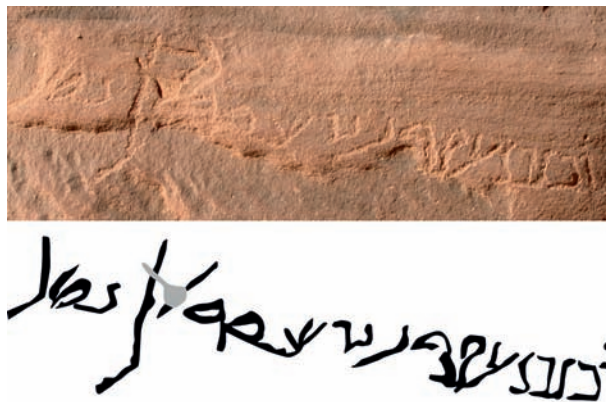


Fig. 42. Inscription MS182Nab 2 from Madā'in Šāliḥ.

The text (fig. 42) is clear and although the letters do not all have Nabataeo-Arabic forms, some show features which are transitional and the text was probably carved more or less at the same time as the previous one. This is the case of the *y*, mainly in *dkyr*, the *š*, the *m*, which is smaller and rounder than the Nabataean *m*, and the *'*, which is apparently a simple slanting line. Note the dot over *dkyr*. Both names are Jewish names, for which see § G.5.

**'Ulā 1**

Nehmé 2010a: 83.

This text (fig. 43) is carved on a large boulder on the slope which overlooks the old village of al-'Ulā. It was discovered by the members of the Madā'in Šāliḥ team during a Friday walk.

*dkyr {l/n}ḥmw br yhw'd' bṭb*

“May {L/N}aḥmū son of Yehūdā be remembered in well-being”.



Fig. 43. Inscription al-‘Ulā 1 from above al-‘Ulā.

Since the first letter of the name has the same height as the other letters in the text, we may suggest that it should be read as a *n* rather than as a *l*. The name *lhmw* was already read in JSNab 136, from Madā’ in Ṣāliḥ, but the name there could also be read with a *n*. For both names, see § G.5.



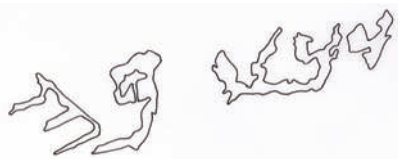


# Catalogue of the Nabataean and Nabataeo-Arabic Inscriptions

by Laïla Nehmé, CNRS UMR 8167, Paris

## Al-ʿUdhayb

### UdhNab 1



*dkyr p{h}*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It is probably unfinished (see UJadhNab 20).

### UdhNab 2 (JSNab 270)

See photo under UdhNab 1



*qrqs  
br ʿytw*

### UdhNab 3 (JSNab 273–274)

Inscriptions UdhNab 3 to 5 are carved on the same rock face.

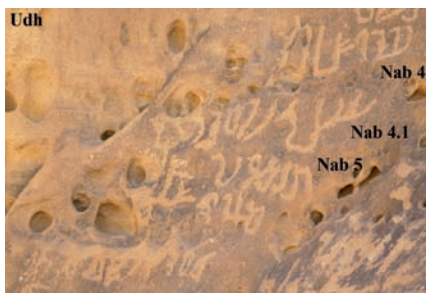


*qwmw bny  
intʿ*

It is surprising to have *bny* here since there is only one person mentioned.

### UdhNab 4

Inscriptions UdhNab 4 to 5 are on the same rock face.



*b{d/r}{d/r}w šlm*

### UdhNab 4.1 (JSNab 275)

See photo and facsimile under UdhNab 4

*šly br ʿky{s}  
š{lm}*

Note the form of the first *š*, which is Nabataeo-Arabic.

### UdhNab 5 (JSNab 277)

See photo and facsimile under UdhNab 4

*tymw br  
mlky šlm*

The two horizontal strokes perpendicular to the vertical stroke of the *l* in *šlm* belong to the *š* of the *šlm* of the second line of the previous inscription.

Below this text, there are a few letters which make no sense, starting with an ʿ.

### UdhNab 6

Inscriptions UdhNab 6 to 13 are on the same rock face.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1a, 1b

Some of the inscriptions on this face correspond to JSNab 250–254.

*l ʿpth br rmʿl šlm*

The same man left his signature in UdhNab 18.

### UdhNab 7

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1a, 1b

*zb{d/k}{d/r}š{w}*

The text is unclear.

### UdhNab 8 (JSNab 251)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1a, 1b

*lwdn br ḥwrw <I> šlm*

The sign which looks like a reversed *h* (as if seen in a mirror) before the beginning of the text has not been read as a letter. Its function or meaning remains obscure. Between *ḥwrw* and *šlm*, there is an extra letter, *l* or *n*.

**UdhNab 9** (JSNab 254)

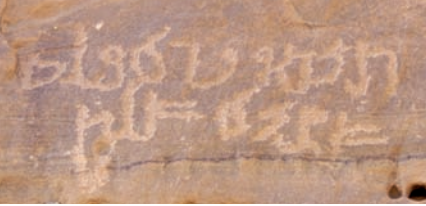
See photo and facsimile on pl. 1a, 1b  
 'bdhrtt br tym' bdt dkyr bfb l'lm

**UdhNab 10**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1a, 1b  
 tymw

**UdhNab 11** (line 2 = JSNab 252)

See also photo on pl. 1a



tymw br 'pls

šqy' šlm

'Taymū son of 'Aflas, the one who irrigates'.

The same man left his signature in UdhNab 14.

**UdhNab 11.1** (JSNab 253)

See photo on pl. 1a

šlm tps'

**UdhNab 12**

On the extreme left of the rock face.

See also photo on pl. 1a



dkyr 'bydw br

šly}

UdhASA 1 is below this text.

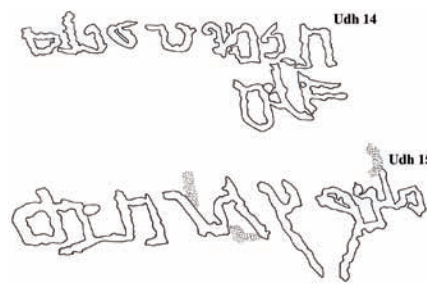
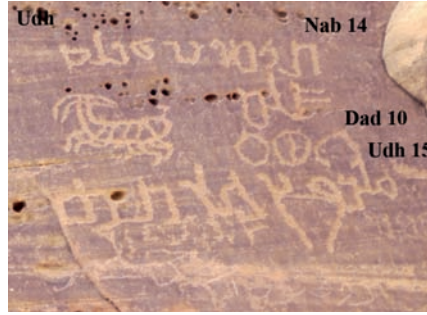
**UdhNab 13** (JSNab 250)

See also photo on pl. 1a



tym' bdt br hnywv šlm

The end of the text has been damaged by a text carved in another script (or *wusūm*) but it is perfectly clear.

**UdhNab 14** (JSNab 243)

tymw br 'pls

šlm

The same man left his signature in UdhNab 11. An animal (a goat?) is drawn to the left of the second line but it is not sure whether it is associated with the Nabataean inscriptions or with the Dadanic text carved between this inscription and the following one (UdhDad 10).

**UdhNab 15** (JSNab 244)

See photo and facsimile under UdhNab 14  
 mlkw br hrtt

**UdhNab 16** (JSNab 242)

UdhNab 16 to 20 form a group of texts carved above each other.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1c

tymw br m'nw šlm

**UdhNab 17** (1<sup>st</sup> line = JSNab 249, 2<sup>nd</sup> line = JSNab 246 1<sup>st</sup> part)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1c

dkyr {d/r}yny btb

br 'šdw

**UdhNab 18** (JSNab 245 and 246 2<sup>nd</sup> part)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1c

'pṯh br rm' l šlm

pḥbrwhy pršy' nṯryn

'Aftah son of Ram'il, may he be safe, and his companions the cavalrymen in charge of the guard'.

The first letter of the second line was read as a *p* because it is joined to the following one, which would not be the case of a *w*. The same man left his signature in UdhNab 6.

**UdhNab 19** (JSNab 248)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1c

šbyl' šlm

**UdhNab 20**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1c

phmw

The *h* has the Nabataeo-Arabic form. It is possible that UdhNab 1 is an unfinished signature by the same man.

**UdhNab 21** (JSNab 247)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 1c

'ršw rm[l]

The second letter is clearly not a *w*. After the *m*, it is just possible to restore [l]. It is possible that the two names are the signatures of two individuals.

**UdhNab 22** (JSNab 241)

šbykw br mn't šlm

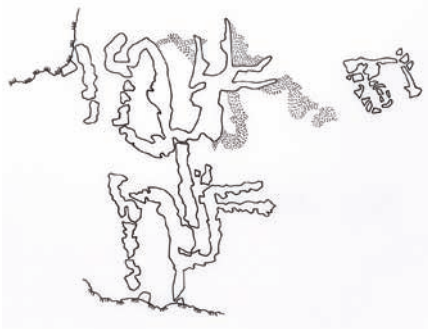
**Ṣadr Ḥawzā'****SHNab 1**

dkyr rby' h br {b/n}{h}{b/y/n}'

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The end is not clear and has suffered from irregularities in the surface of the rock.

Umm Laḥm

ULNab 1



*l' šlmw*

*šlm*

'May Šālimū (not) be safe'.

It is clear, because of the difference in handwriting, that *l'* has been added after Šlmw carved his signature, by someone who did not want him to be safe.

Jabal Sa'īda

JabSaNab 1



*grmw šlm*

Qā' an-Nqayb

QNNab 1



*hn'w br mšlm{w}*

QNNab 2



*dkyr*

*'bw qtnh*

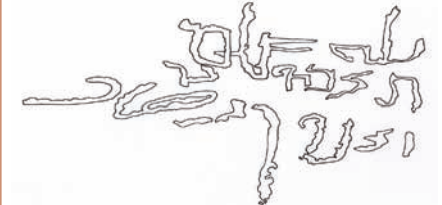
The final *h* has a Nabataeo-Arabic form. Note the dot above the *d*. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 71.

QNNab 3



*h{b/n}{b/n}w  
šlm*

QNNab 4



*bly šlm*

*tymw br*

*zynwn bīb*

*Bly* is an exclamative particle: 'Yea!'. The name *zynwn* is attested in an inscription published by W.J. Jobling (1982), from Southern Jordan.

QNNab 5



*šlm 'byw*

*br*

*šld'lhy*

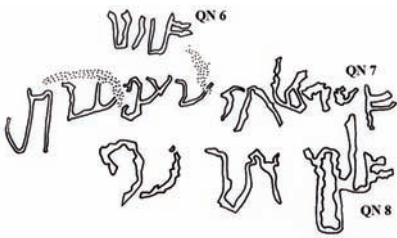
The *b* of the first name could also be read as a *k* but the name *'kyw* is not known in Nabataean, whereas *'byw* is. The father's name *šld'lhy* is rather odd (one would expect *š'd'lhy*) but it is perfectly clear. Compare with *{š}ldllhy* in UJadhNab 352.

See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.



**QNNab 6**

QNNab 6 to 8 are on the same stone. There is an Arabic text on its upper part and several drawings.



*šz{y}{b/k/n}{w}*

There is not a single proper name, in Nabataean, starting with the letters *šz* and although the first two letters of this one are clear, the rest of the reading is uncertain.

**QNNab 7**

See photo and facsimile under QNNab 6

*š'd'lh'y br {m}{d/r}t*

The reading of the father's name is obscured by a *wasm*.

**QNNab 8**

See photo and facsimile under QNNab 6

*šlm hr{b}w*

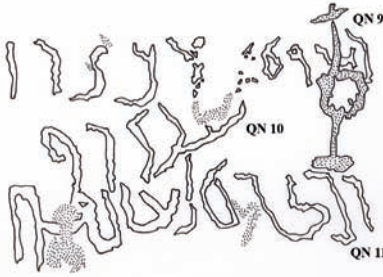
The third letter of the name is more likely to be a *b* than a *y* because the upper horizontal line (see on the photograph, not reproduced in the facsimile) does not seem to belong to the letter. Below this text, there are probably Nabataean letters but no sense could be made of them.

**QNNab 9**

QNNab 9 to 11 are on the same stone, to the left of QNASA 1 and QNDad 1.



*Wusūm* and probably modern letters obscure the reading of parts of the texts.



*m{r}w' br kyrz*

**QNNab 10**

See photo and facsimile under QNNab 9

*'bydw*

**QNNab 11**

See photo and facsimile under QNNab 9

*dkyr 'l'zn{p}t*

The reading of the *p* is far from certain but it seems that there is only one letter between the *n* and the *t* if one takes into account the fact that the diagonal line coming from the top (see the photograph) is extraneous.

**QNNab 12**

QNNab 12 to 14 are carved on the same large boulder. Above them, there is an Arabic text and below them to the right is QNTham C 1.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2a

*dkyr trsys br rm'l btb l'm*

This text is carved in very thin and elegant letters. The author bears a Greek name (Thrasias, Thraseias?). *l'm* is probably a mistake for *l'lm*.

**QNNab 13**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2a

*šlymw br hbr šlm*

**QNNab 14**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2a

*whbw br mn't šlm*

This text is carved in the same kind of script as QNNab 12.

**QNNab 15**

QNNab 15 to 19 are carved on the same rock face, from top to bottom.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2b

*šlmw br*

*hnynw šlm*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 51, UJadhNab 2, and DBv1Nab 19. There are two letters above the *šlm*, one of which is a *š*.

**QNNab 16**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2b

*šlm hrbw br 'wdmnrty*

Note that *br* is carved as two parallel diagonal lines, a feature which occurs in other texts such as ArNab 7, SBNab 7, UJadhNab 69, etc.

**QNNab 17**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2b

*dkyr š'ydw br m't*

*šlm*

This text is carved in very thin letters. The initial *d* looks like a *k*.

**QNNab 18**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2b

*'bd'dnwn br rb'l šlm*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 132 and 149 (compare the form of the final *l* of *rb'l*, which is similar).

**QNNab 19**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 2b

*yšlm*

*šlm*

**QNNab 20**

QNNab 20 to QNNab 31 are carved on the same rock face, and are numbered from top to bottom.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a

*brwlt*

**QNNab 21**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a

*š'd'lh'y šlm*

**QNNab 22**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a

*'nmw br m{w}*

The text is probably unfinished.

**QNNab 23**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a

*hn't br 'nmw*

The same man left his signature in QNNab 46.

**QNNab 24**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a

*b{k}{z/l}ywm*

The letters are made up of a succession of dots rather than of continuous carved lines.

**QNNab 25**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a

*šlm{w}*

QNNab 24 and 25 have been considered as separate texts because there is no *br*

between them and because there seems to be a letter at the end of QNNab 25, best read as a *w* (thus *šlmw*, not *šlm*). Moreover, the carving technique is not absolutely identical, despite the fact that both texts are carved faintly.

**QNNab 26**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a  
*šlm* *ʿšlmw*  
*br* *hlšw*

**QNNab 27**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a  
*dkyr* *{h/t}{m}*

**QNNab 28.** Not attributed

**QNNab 29**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a  
*ʿbd{w}---*

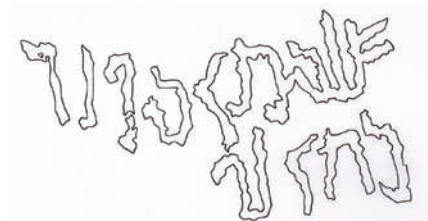
**QNNab 30**

This text and the following one are on an adjacent face of the same rock.  
 See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a  
*grh*  
*br* *ʿbdʿl*

**QNNab 31**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3a  
*ʿ{b}---* *br*  
*ʿbdʿlgʿ*

**QNNab 32**



*šlm tymw br*  
*khylw*

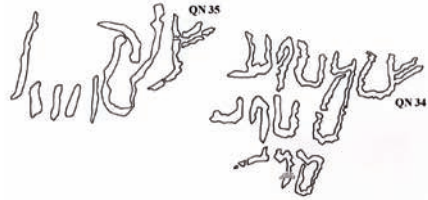
**QNNab 33**



*šly {br} {ʿw}tʿlhy*  
 There is an Arabic text below.

**QNNab 34**

QNNab 34 and 35 are carved beside each other.



*šlm {b/n}{d/r}w{ʿbr}*  
*{b/n}zw{b}*  
*m{d/r}{b}*

Lines two and three may be separate names. In the first line, it is possible that the horizontal line which has been drawn at the end, starting from the bottom of the vertical stroke of the *ʿbr*, does not belong to the letter. On the photograph, one can clearly see that it has a different colour from the preceding letters. The last sign may then be better read as *br*.

**QNNab 35**

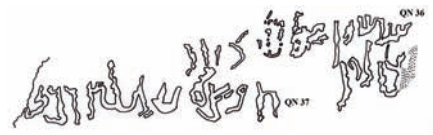
See photo and facsimile under QNNab 34

*šly* ---

The reading *šly* has been preferred to *šlm* because the last letter makes a better final *y* than a final *m*. There are five vertical lines after the name, the last one much longer. They may be signs or symbols.

**QNNab 36**

QNNab 36 and 37 are carved on the same rock. They are very difficult to read.



*ʿbdʿ{d/r}yn šlm*

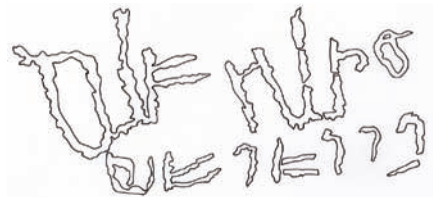
There are a few letters below this text but apart from a *l* and *w*, none of them is certain.

**QNNab 37**

See photo and facsimile under QNNab 36  
*tpšʿ {br} {h}lš dky[r]*

There is an Arabic text below QNNab 37.

**QNNab 38**



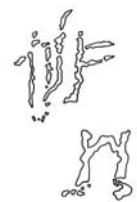
*ʿšlh šlm*

**QNNab 38.1**

See photo and facsimile under QNNab 38.

*p{d/r}{d/r}šw šlm*

**QNNab 39**



*šlm {t}---*

*h*

The end of the first line is illegible and the text is unfinished.

**QNNab 40**

QNNab 40 to 46 are carved on the same rock face. In places the reading is obscured by *wusūm*.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3b

*kwtw šl*

The text is unfinished.

**QNNab 41**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3b

*ʿnʿm br*

*{yṣṣl}y*

The father's name may also be read *yqṣly*.

**QNNab 42**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3b

*ʿlty*

**QNNab 43**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 3b

*šm{ṣ}y*

Below the *wusūm* and Arabic letters which cover the rock face, there are other Nabataean letters which have not been given individual inscription numbers.

**QNNab 44**

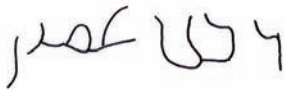
See photo on pl. 4a



*dkyr {ʿ}w---*

**QNNab 44.1**

See photo on pl. 4a



*dkyr ʿmrn*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The Dadanitic text below it is QNDad 2.

**QNNab 45**

See photo on pl. 4a



*ʿšwd*

*šlm*

**QNNab 46**

See photo on pl. 4a



*hnʿt*

*br ʿnmw*

The same man left his signature in QNNab 23. There is an Arabic text below.

**QNNab 47**

*šlm hnʿt*

*{br} t{d/r}p{w}*

QNASA 2 is carved above.

**QNNab 48**

*šlm wt{y}{[---]}*

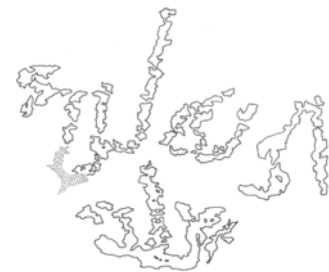
The text may be unfinished but the end is damaged.

**QNNab 49**

*{zyd}----{q}lw šlm*

The beginning of the text has been damaged by the drawing of a truck. We probably have here two names separated by *br*. Not included in the index.

Several Ancient South Arabian texts appear above and below the Nabataean text. These are QNASA 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 which is on a part of the rock face which has split away from the rest.

**Al-ʿArniyyāt****ArNab 1**

*ḥbʿlhy*

*šlm*

The same man probably left his signature in ArNab 7. He does not give his father's name but the writing is comparable and the name is relatively rare.

**ArNab 2**

ArNab 2 and 3 are carved on the same rock face, the surface of which is very irregular and inadequate.





{ty}mw br mšlmw

The man carved his name twice, in ArNab 2 and 3. The same combination of names appears also in UJadhNab 262 and 283 but the script in these two texts is not identical and it is also different from ArNab 2 and 3. These texts have therefore probably not been carved by the same persons. *tymw* and *mšlmw* are very common names.

There is another text above the end of ArNab 2 but it is cut on the photograph and only the *š* is clear.

**ArNab 3**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 2

*tymw {br} mšl{mw}*

See the commentary under ArNab 2.

**ArNab 4**

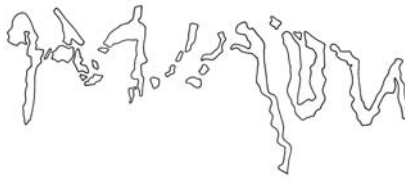


*tymw br {'}šdw*

*šlm b{'}b{}*

The ' of *šdw* is almost entirely restored.

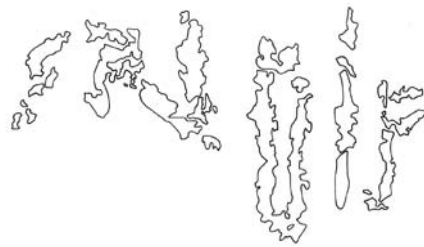
**ArNab 5**



*hrm{n} {br} hgw*  
*[š]lm*

The father, *hgw*, probably left his signature in ArNab 8.

**ArNab 6**



*šlm n{qy}*

The reading of the name remains very uncertain.

**ArNab 7**

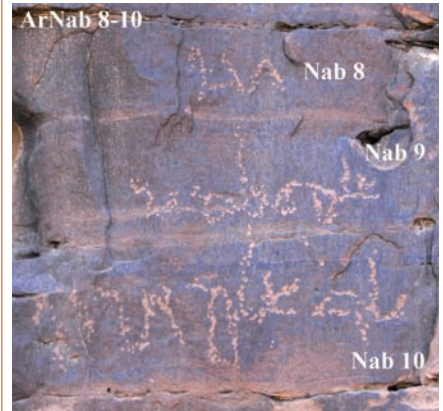


*dkyr hb`lhy br {h}ny*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 1 (see the commentary there). *br* is carved as two parallel lines.

**ArNab 8**

ArNab 8 to 10 are on the same rock face, from top to bottom.



*hgw*

This man's son probably left his signature in ArNab 5.

**ArNab 9**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 8

*šlm `pls br*

The text is unfinished.

**ArNab 10**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 8

*bly šlm hrbw*

**ArNab 11**



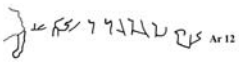


*p`r šlm*

The name *p`r* appears in many inscriptions (see the index) but the author never gives his father's name and it is therefore difficult, with three letters only, to compare the handwriting.

**ArNab 12**

ArNab 12 and 13 are on the same rock face, in faint letters.



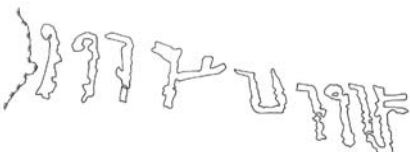
*yny br grgr [b]{r} by--- {šl}m*

The same man left his signature in SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380, 511 and 514. The same names, in reverse order, *grgr br yny*, also appear in UJadhNab 126, 496, and DBv1Nab 23. In UJadhNab 496, it is said that another *yny* is the son of *grgr* (*w yny brh*). It is therefore possible to give the following genealogy: *yny br grgr br yny br grgr br by---*. We know also, from UJadhNab 511, that one of the men named *yny* had a brother named *m`n`lhy*.

**ArNab 13**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 12  
*šlm ḥwrw br tym`lhy*

**ArNab 14**

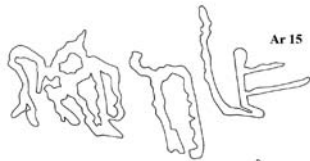


*š{d/r}w{d/r} br `{d/r}{d/r}w{d/r}*

All combinations are possible for the names: *šrwr*, *šdwd*, *šrwd*, etc. and *`drwr*, *`rdwd*, *`drwd* etc.

**ArNab 15**

ArNab 15 and 16 are on the same rock face.



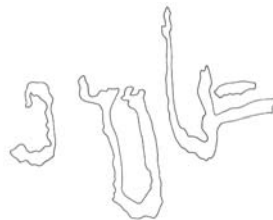
*šlm {h}. {y}*

The reading of the name is very doubtful. The first letter may also be a *t* and the second a large *q*.

**ArNab 16**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 15  
*šlm m{y}{d/r}*  
The reading of the name is very doubtful.

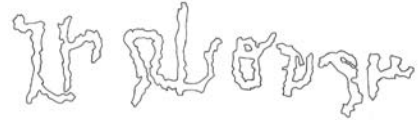
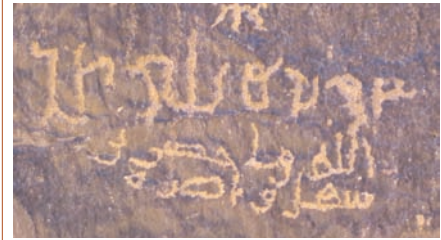
**ArNab 17**



*šlm p*

The text is unfinished.

**ArNab 18**



*`z{y} br `ylysr*

There is an Arabic text below.

**ArNab 19**

ArNab 19 and 20 are on the same rock face.

See photo and facsimile on pl. 4b

*dkyr gr`m br `mrw*

The text is partly carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 66.

**ArNab 20**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 4b

*bly šlm m`yrw br hn`t*

*br y`mw{d/r}w dy mn `lh{g}rw*

'Yea! May Mī'ayr, son of Hāni'at son of Ya'mū{d/r}ū, who comes from al-Ḥijr, be safe'.

The second letter of the first name looks like a *k* but if one compares it with the ' in *y`mw{d/r}w*, one can just see how the author carved the letter which must be a '. The second line is obscured by the drawing of a truck. This is a very interesting text in which the author says that he is from al-Ḥijr, ancient Hegra. Note that the toponym is spelt with the Arabic article.

**ArNab 21**

ArNab 21 to 26 are on the same rock face, along with ArASA 1–2, ArHism 8–15, ArSaf 1, ArC/D 1, and ArThamD 1–3 as well as drawings of female camels. The inscriptions are numbered working from left to right.



*`bd`dnw{n} šlm*

**ArNab 22**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 5.  
 {d/r}my{d/r}n

**ArNab 23**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 5.  
 šlm `mh

**ArNab 24**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 5.  
 šlm 'l{d/r}w{.}  
 In very faint letters.

**ArNab 25**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 5.  
 šlm b{d/r}{d/r}w  
 Both possible names, *bdrw* and *brdw*, are known in Nabataean.

**ArNab 26**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 5.  
 {bly} šlm  
 In very faint letters. On another photograph, one can see *bly* before *šlm*.

**ArNab 26.1**



*tymw br rb'l dkyr*  
*btb*

There is a Hismaic text to the left of it, ArHism 16.

The same sequence of names appears in eight other texts: ArNab 131, UJadhNab 6, 110, 164, 384 and 493, 546, and 562.1. These names are very common in Nabataean and it is therefore difficult to be sure that the texts were carved by the same man, especially since there are differences in the script: in ArNab 26.1, UJadhNab 6, 110, 384 and 493, the *m* and *w* in *tymw* are ligatured whereas they are not in ArNab 131 and UJadhNab 164. Besides, the *y* in *tymw* is much more straight in UJadhNab 164 than it is in the other texts.

**ArNab 27**

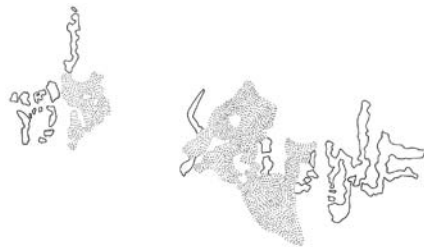


*šlm {h}'lw br hy{d/r}{w/n} dy mn .{m}-*  
 ---

'May {H}'lw son of Hy{d/r}{w/n} who is from .{m}---- be safe'.

The last letter of the father's name looks more like a *n* than like a *w*. It does not have a loop at the top and it is different from the other *ws*. Cf. the Arabic names Ḥaydān and Ḥayrān. What comes after *dy mn* is not visible on the published photograph, it was read on another one.

**ArNab 28**



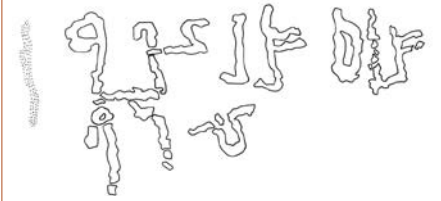
*šlm ---*

**ArNab 29**



*šlmw šlm*

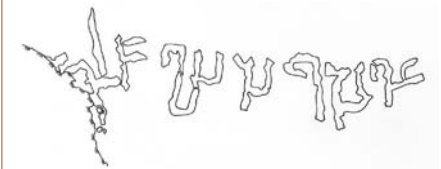
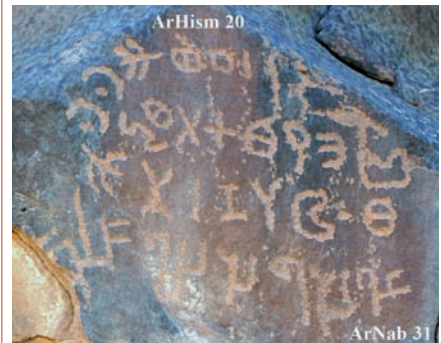
**ArNab 30**



*šlm šnypw*  
*{b}r {d/r}w{.}*

There is at least one, possibly two, vertical line(s) after the first name but they have been considered as extraneous. The *b* of *br*, if read correctly, looks like a *y*. There are several names starting with *rw* in Nabataean but none of them with only three letters. It may also just be possible to read *br* at the end of the first line and therefore to read the second name as *y{d/r}{d/r}w*.

**ArNab 31**



*'wydw br bnw šlm*

There is a Hismaic text, ArHism 20, above the Nabataean one, carved by the same man, *'wq bn bn*. The Hismaic text is much longer and may have been carved first. It may thus be considered that the Nabataean text is a summary of the Hismaic one.

**ArNab 32**





*dkyr y{ny}*

The last letter may be read as a *y* because of the upper horizontal stroke, but it remains uncertain. There is an isolated *w* below the text.

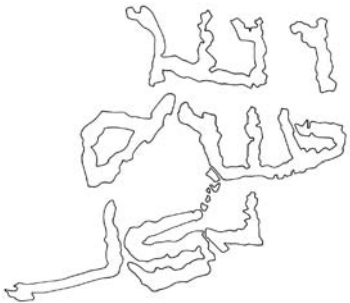
### ArNab 33



*[š]lm y----*  
*{nt}yks*

The same name, Antiochos, appears in ArNab 166 and UJadhNab 472. One would expect it to be spelt in Nabataean with a *ṭ*.

### ArNab 34



*dkyr*  
*{s}brh*  
*bṭb*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The same name appears

in two other Nabataeo-Arabic texts, UJadhNab 308 and 345, but it is not certain whether they were all written by the same man because there are small differences in the script, particularly in the *r*. It may correspond to Arabic Šabira, Šabra or Šubāra).

### ArNab 35

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

ArNab 35 to 44 are carved on the same rock face. They are numbered from top to bottom and from right to left.

*bly šlm zbydw br*

The text is unfinished.

### ArNab 36

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*bly šlm šhrw br {b/n}{h}š*

### ArNab 37

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*‘bdw*

### ArNab 38

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*bly šlm ‘bdrb’l br ‘bd*

For *bly*, see QNNab 4.

### ArNab 39

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*dkyr š’ydw*

### ArNab 40

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*mlkywn br*

----{*k*}*n*

### ArNab 41

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*bly šlm {š}y’t*

### ArNab 42

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*ḥwrw*

### ArNab 43

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*š’lhy*

*šlm*

### ArNab 44

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6a

*bly šlm gnypt*

*br {št}y{d/r/s}{pšw}*

The reading of the father’s name is very uncertain.

### ArNab 45



*šlm grmw br qšm{w}*

*{d/r}w{my’}*

The meaning of the word in the second line is not clear. It may be a *nisba* form indicating the origin of the author. To the left of the inscription is a drawing of a female camel and ArANA 2.

### ArNab 46



*tps’ br hn’w*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 120. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in SBNab 8.

### ArNab 47

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6b

ArNab 47 to ArNab 50 are on the same rock face. ArASA 3 is below ArNab 49–50.

*dkyr š{d/r}y{d/r}w br tymw*

### ArNab 48

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6b

*šlm pyznw*

There is an isolated faint *šlm* before ArNab 48. It has not been given a number.

A man bearing the same name left his signature in ArNab 96. Since he does not give his father’s name, it is difficult to be sure that it is indeed the same man. The script in both texts is very similar, except for the *y*, which has a normal form in ArNab 48 and almost a final form in ArNab 96.

**ArNab 49**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6b

*šlm ḥn' [l] br r{w}----*

It is not sure whether the text continues after *rw*.

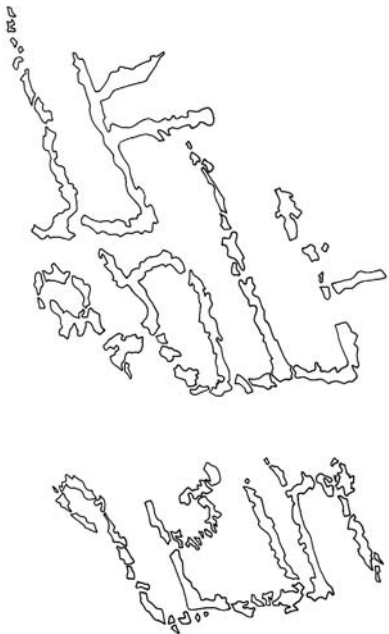
**ArNab 50**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 6b

*šlm {hny}{d/r}{c}*

The name remains very doubtful.

**ArNab 51**



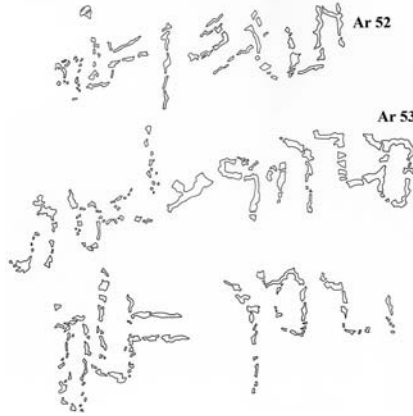
*šl[m]  
šlmw [br]  
ḥnynw*

The script in the three lines being very similar, it is possible that the rock was broken on the left, thus the suggested restitution.

The same man left his signature in QNNab 15, UJadhNab 2, and DBv1Nab 19.

**ArNab 52**

ArNab 52–53 are on the same rock face.



*ḥmyn šlm*

**ArNab 53**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 52

*m{d/r}{d/r}{pw} 'lymt*

*b{d/r}mn šlm*

'M{d/r}{d/r}{pw} the slave of B{d/r}-mn, may she be safe'.

Since 'lymt is feminine, *m{d/r}{d/r}{pw}* is a feminine name.

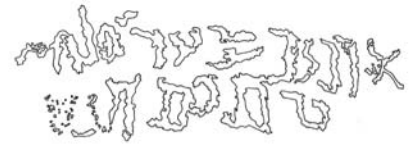
**ArNab 54**



*ḥlmw šlm*

A Hismaic text and two South Arabian ones are carved on the right part of the rock face. They bear numbers ArHism 23 and ArASA 5–6.

**ArNab 55**



*X dkyr š'd'lhy*

*br 'pth*

There is an X sign before *dkyr*, the meaning of which is undetermined. It seems that the first letter of the father's name has been transformed from a *t* to an *'*. The traces of carving after the *ḥ* have not been considered as part of the text.

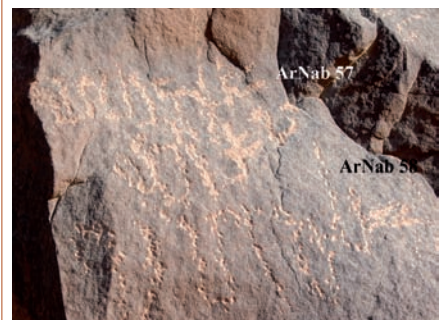
**ArNab 56**



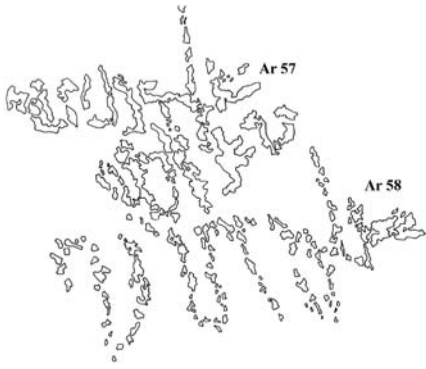
*ḥwrw br  
rbyb'l*

**ArNab 57**

ArNab 57 to 59 are on the same rock face.







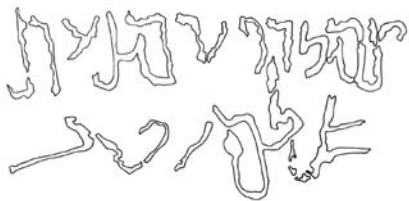
*šlm kl{.}{y}bw*  
*br šlmw*

The reading of the first name is uncertain. The initial *kl* and final *bw* are relatively clear. It is probably the name *klybw*, well known in Nabataean and Arabic (Kulayb).

**ArNab 58**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 57  
*šlm ḥrbw*

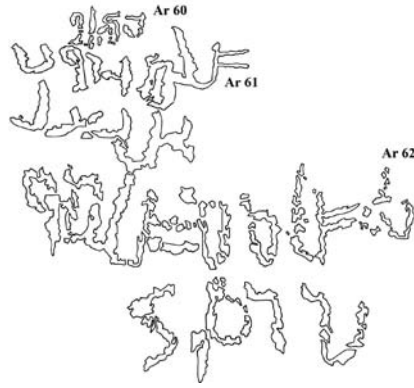
**ArNab 59**



*šmydw br mn't*  
*šlm bṭb*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 370 and 485.

**ArNab 60**



ArNab 60 to 62 are on the same rock face.

*{h}mlw*

**ArNab 61**

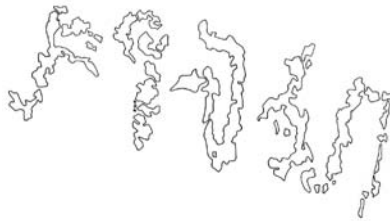
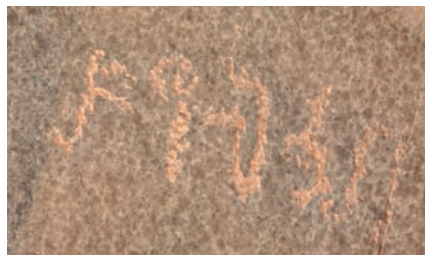
See photo and facsimile under ArNab 60  
*šlm gdw br*  
*{h}n{b}'l*

**ArNab 62**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 60  
*bly šlm mšlmw*  
*br {d/r}sy*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 129 and 135. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in UJadhNab 274.

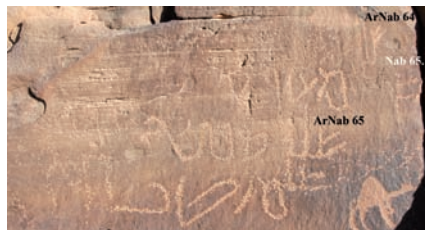
**ArNab 63**



*tymw š*  
The text is unfinished.

**ArNab 64**

ArNab 64 and 65 are on the same rock face.



*šlm m----*

**ArNab 65**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 64

*m'nw br*

*šly spr'*

*šlm bṭb*

'Ma'nū son of Šullay the scribe, may he be safe, in well-being'.

Right and left of this text, there are faint Nabataean letters which may belong to earlier texts: *m'yrw* is visible on the right (see ArNab 65.1) and *šm----* plus other letters on the left. This text was carved by a scribe (*spr'*) and the letters are indeed well formed and rather well carved. The same names appear in UJadhNab 478, in a text which is much more crudely carved, probably not by the same man.

**ArNab 65.1**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 64

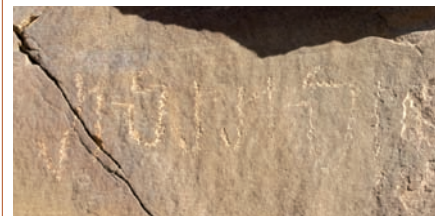
*štrw*

*m'yrw*

The two names are carved one above the other. In ArNab 147, *m'yrw* is said to be the son of *štrw*. The latter appears also in ArNab 97, 113 and 123 (without the father's name) as well as in ArNab 160 (as the father of *tymw*) and UJadhNab 516 (as the father of *šly*). The carving technique (very shallow) and the script being relatively similar in ArNab 65.1, 97 and 113, it is possible that the same man left his signature three times at the site (ArNab 123 is different). A camel is drawn below.

**ArNab 66**

ArNab 66 and 67 are on the same rock face.



*zmḥšmt*

This is a very strange name.

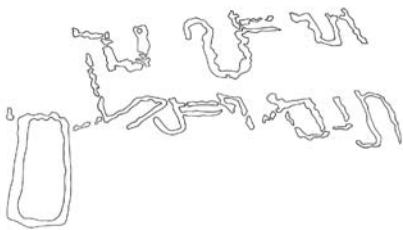
**ArNab 67**



*ʿdrw br ----*  
*šlm*

The name has been read *ʿdrw* because in UJadhNab 223, the *d* and the *r* in the same name are distinguished.

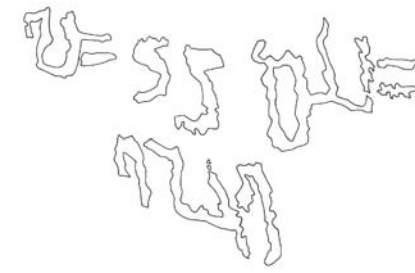
**ArNab 68**



*ḥršw br*  
*t{y}mw šlm*

Since the same names appear in ArNab 118, it is probable that the father's name here should be read *t{y}-mw* rather than *tmw* despite the fact that the second letter looks more like a *n*. ArHism 24 is immediately to the left of this text.

**ArNab 69**



*šlm qyšw br tdy {š}. {d/r}m*  
*w gdw*

The end of the first line appears on pl. 7.

**ArNab 70**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 7

ArNab 70 to 74 are on the same rock face, and are numbered from top to bottom.

*šlm ḥlšt br tymw*

**ArNab 71**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 7

*ʿšlm br ʿšlmw šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 84.

**ArNab 72**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 7

*dkyr ---- ʿ{h}----*

It is possible that *ʿ{h}*, which is carved at a lower level, belongs to another text.

**ArNab 73**

See also photo and facsimile on pl. 7



*mškw*  
*šlm bṭb*

The first line appears on pl. 7.

**ArNab 74**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 73

*šlm ʿmyrw br {d/r}sy bṭb*

**ArNab 75**



*šlm m{d/r}{y}*

The reading of the name is very uncertain.

**ArNab 76**



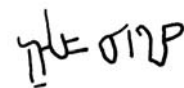
*šlm mšlmw*  
*br ʿptlywn*

The father's name appears also in UJadhNab 319.

**ArNab 77**

See photo on pl. 8a

This text and the following are on the same rock face and ArNab 79 is below them, on another rock.



*qwz' šlm*

The name *qwz'*, written in exactly the same way, appears in two other inscriptions, UJadhNab 531 and 555. It is possible that we are dealing with the same person.

**ArNab 78**

See photo on pl. 8a



gzy't brt mydw  
šlm

The same woman left her signature in ArNab 106, carved in a completely different technique. The father's name was read *mydw* because of the Arabic name Mayyād.

**ArNab 79**

See photo on pl. 8a

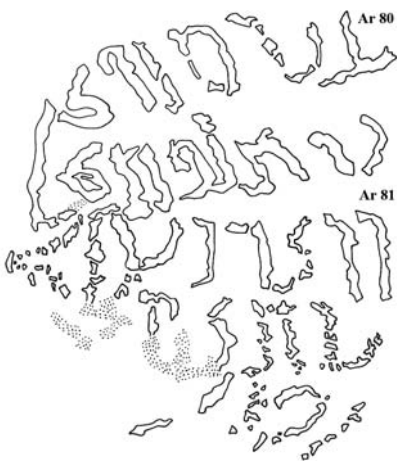


šlm šmš{y}  
br {h}rqlyds

ArASA 7 is carved above ArNab 79. The father's name is a Greek name, Herakleides (see Palmyrene *hrqlyd'*).

**ArNab 80**

ArNab 80 and ArNab 81 are on the same rock face.



'bdmwy  
br hlpt'l

**ArNab 81**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 80

dkyr rb{m/t}.  
br tym  
bṭb

There does not seem to be any letter after the *m* of *tym*.

**ArNab 82**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 8b

ArNab 82 to 84 are on the same rock face

zbdw br zyd'lhy

šlm

There is an isolated *š* below the *z* of *zbdw*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 245.

**ArNab 83**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 8b

hršw br  
'rhr{kn} šl{m}

**ArNab 84**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 8b

dkyr {d/r}{'}{d/w/r}

The reading of the name is very uncertain because some of the letters may belong to ArNab 83. The upper part of another text appears below but the photograph is cut at this point.

**ArNab 85**

ArNab 84 to ArNab 87 are on the same rock face.



šlm wy{z}{l/n}w

**ArNab 86**

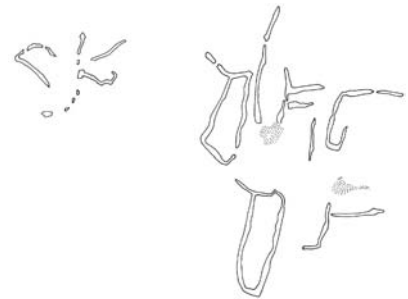
See photo and facsimile under ArNab 85

hwrw br 'b{y}n

**ArNab 87**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 85

šdw brt  
hrm šlm

**ArNab 88**

'šlm br yny

š{l}m

*br* does not appear on the facsimile but it is just visible on the photograph.

**ArNab 89**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 9a

ArNab 89 to 92 are on the same rock face, on which are also carved ArASA 8–9 and ArHism 25, the latter below ArNab 90.

---{d/r}'t [b]r wb{k}t

**ArNab 90**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 9a

p'r bš---

There is a hole in the rock after the *š*.

**ArNab 91**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 9a

'n't šlm

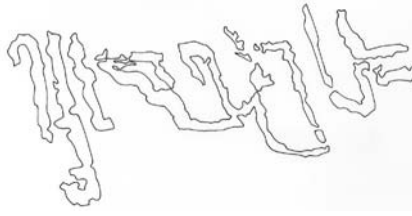
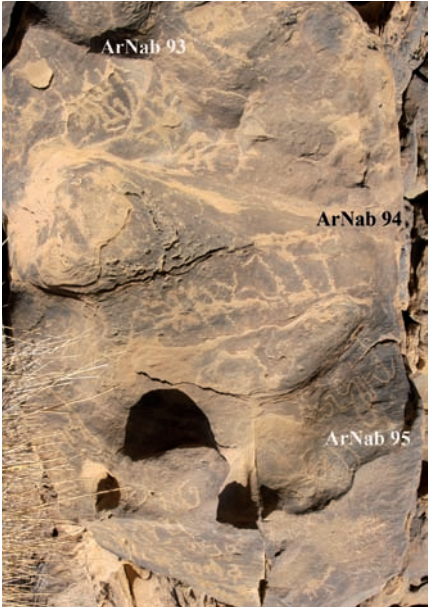
**ArNab 92**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 9a

dkyr---

**ArNab 93**

Several texts appear on the photograph, including, at the bottom, ArNab 90–92, for which see pl. 9a. Only the following texts are visible:

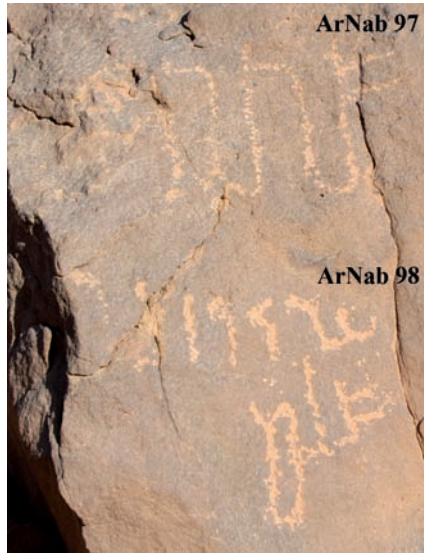


šlm pyznw

A man bearing the same name left his signature in ArNab 48 (see the commentary there). ArASA 10–11 are on the rock face above this text.

**ArNab 97**

ArNab 97 and 98 are on the same rock face.



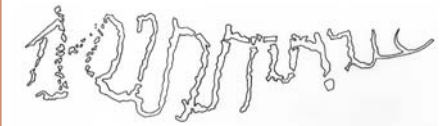
**ArNab 99**



ʿwtʿlly br ḥwrw šlm

ArASA 12 is higher up the same rock face.

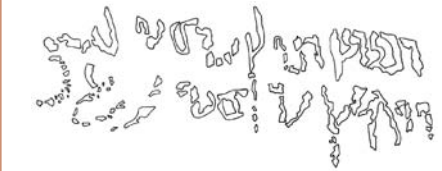
**ArNab 100**



ʿbdhrtt p{m}h

The meaning of p{m}h is unclear.

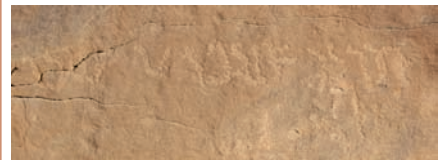
**ArNab 101**



dkryrn ḥwln br ʿbw ----

w whbn br ʿbw btb

**ArNab 102**



dk<d>yr šnypw br {šmkw}

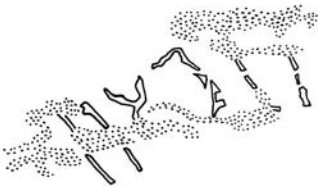
The author wrote an extra d in dkryr.



hnʿt  
br ply

**ArNab 94**

See photo under ArNab 93



...{d/r}ʿ{t}

**ArNab 95**

See photo under ArNab 93



bl šlm {d/r}sy {----}

k{rny}.

bl is probably an equivalent of bly.

**ArNab 96**



štrw

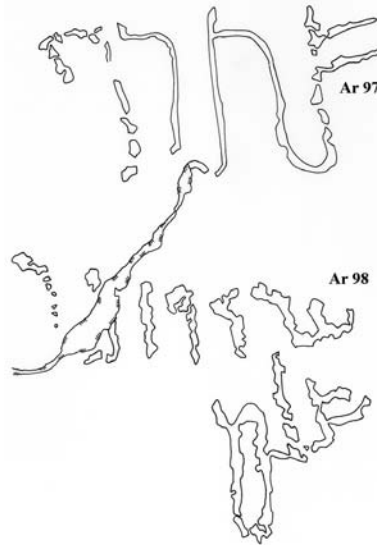
See the commentary under ArNab 65.1.

**ArNab 98**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 97

ʿdywn br

šlm



## ArNab 103



*'mrt w {br} {d/r} {d/r} {z} {yn} w*

The first name is carved in much larger characters. It is possible that it was carved first and that somebody else added later *w br...* The second name is very uncertain.

## ArNab 104



*'{h}wr 'lym*

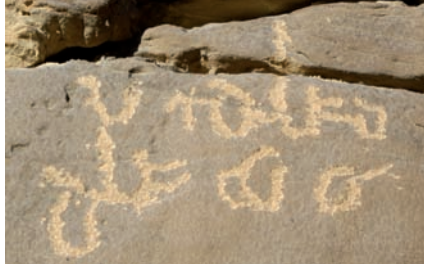
<'bd> 'bdmknw

'srtg' šlm

''{h}wr the slave of 'Abdmankū the governor, may he be safe'.

The author of the text has carved 'bd twice at the beginning of the second line. He is the slave of a governor named 'Abdmankū. Two governors bearing this name are known from the Nabataean inscriptions, one in Ḍmayr, near Damascus, mentioned in *CIS* II 161, and one in Umm ar-Raṣās, in central Jordan, mentioned in *CIS* II 196 (see Nehme 2015b: 118). It is impossible to say whether they refer to the same person. Note that 'lym was translated as 'slave', not as 'servant' because 'hwr does not give his father's name.

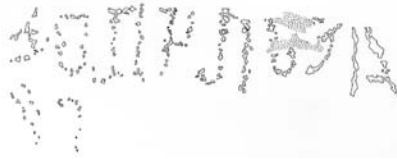
## ArNab 105



*mšlmw br*

'b' šlm

## ArNab 106



*gzy{'}t brt my-*

*{dw}*

The same woman left her signature in ArNab 78, carved in a completely different technique.

## ArNab 107

See photo on pl. 9b

ArNab 107 to 110 are carved on the same rock face as ArASA 20 and 21.



*d{k}y{r} {pny} br tymw*

## ArNab 108

See photo on pl. 9b



*m{d/r}y{d/r}t br rwpt*

*šlm*

It is possible, since this is a rare name, that the same man left his signature, without the father's name, in UJadhNab 463. The script is very similar in both inscriptions.

## ArNab 109

See photo on pl. 9b



*šlm {d/r}{'s}w*

*{br} kštw*

## ArNab 110

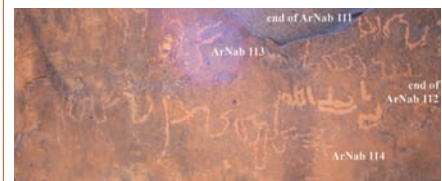
See photo on pl. 9b



*tps' br g{'}{}*

## ArNab 111

ArNab 111 to 114 are on the same rock face.





šlm br `b{gr}

**ArNab 112**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 111  
šlm `bdrb`l

**ArNab 113**

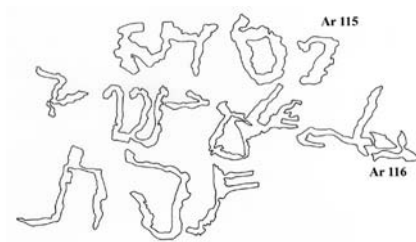
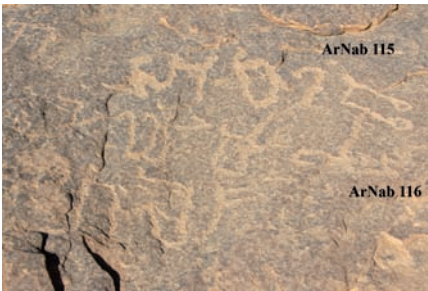
See photo and facsimile under ArNab 111  
štrw  
See the commentary under ArNab 65.1.

**ArNab 114**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 111  
šlm `yd`n br š{hl}w  
The name was read `yd`n because it occurs in a bilingual Hismaic / Nabataean inscription from Southern Jordan where the Hismaic has a *d*, not a *r* (see Hayajneh 2009: no. 5).

**ArNab 115**

ArNab 115 and 116 are on the same rock face.



pmhy

**ArNab 116**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 115  
bly šlm {g}npw br  
šmt{w}  
The last *w* is very uncertain and has not been drawn on the facsimile.

**ArNab 117**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 10a  
ArNab 117 to 119 are on the same rock face.  
bṭb w šlm  
This expression may belong to a text which does not appear entirely on the photograph or, more probably, it is the end of ArNab 118.

**ArNab 118**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 10a  
dkyr hršw br tymw  
The beginning of the text is not clear on the photograph. It is probable that the same man left his signature in ArNab 68.

**ArNab 119**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 10a  
š{d/r}ym {zn} {y}gnb` šlm  
----  
The letters which have been read {zn} may have to be interpreted as *br*. There are several letters below the line (*b*, *r*, *y* and a possible *š*) but they do not make any sense.

**ArNab 120**

ArNab 120 to 121 are on the same rock face.



tpš` br hn`w  
The *š* is obscured by the *w* of {h}{b/n} {y}{b/n}w of ArNab 120.1. The same man left his signature in ArNab 46.

**ArNab 120.1**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 120  
{h}{b/n}{y}{b/n}w  
This name, here and elsewhere (see the index), may correspond to the Arabic names Ḥabīb, Ḥubayb, Ḥubayyib, Ḥubayb or Ḥunayn.

**ArNab 121**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 120  
šlm šlmn bṭb

**ArNab 122**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 10b  
ArNab 122 to 124 are on the same rock face.  
bly šlm š`d`lhy br šwdw

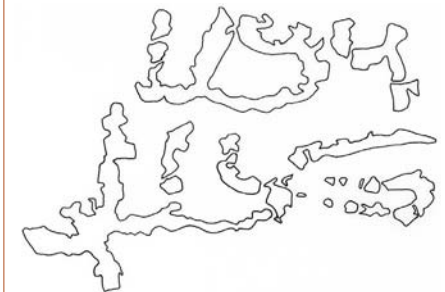
**ArNab 123**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 10b  
{š}{.}trw šlm  
The first name is probably *štrw*, which appears in other texts of al-‘Arniyyāt and Umm Jadhāyidh. See ArNab 65.1.

**ArNab 124**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 10b  
šlm rm`l br {h}y{d/r}----  
The father’s name may also be read {z}- {n}y{d/r}----.

**ArNab 125**



dkyr ṭkylw  
This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The same man left his signature in ArNab 134 and UJadhNab 537 (same name carved in exactly the same way). There is an Arabic text below.

**ArNab 126**

ArNab 126 to 128 are on the same rock face.



*bly šl*

The text is unfinished.

**ArNab 127**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 126

*šlm šlmw*

**ArNab 128**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 126

*šlm {hwm} br {z}wy}*

**ArNab 129**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 11

ArNab 129 to 134 are carved on the same rock face as ArASA 22 (above ArNab 131) and ArANA 3 (above ArNab 134).

*š{lm} mšlmw*

*br {d/r}sy*

There is a cross sign after the father's name. Below this text, there is another, carved in very faint letters, of which only the word *bly*, at the beginning, is legible.

The same man left his signature in ArNab 62 and 135. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in UJadhNab 274 (see the commentary there).

**ArNab 130**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 11

*š'd*

**ArNab 131**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 11

*tymw br rb'l dkyr*

The same sequence of names appears in six other texts: ArNab 26.1, UJadhNab 6, 110, 164, 384 and 493 (see the commentary under ArNab 26.1).

**ArNab 132**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 11

*'bd'dnwn*

*br rb'l šlm*

ArNab 131 and 132 were possibly carved by two brothers. The same man left his signature in QNNab 18 and ArNab 149.

**ArNab 133**

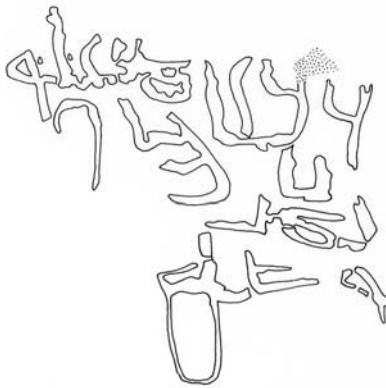
See photo and facsimile on pl. 11

*šl<.>m šhrw*

There seems to be a letter after *šl* but it is probably a mistake.

**ArNab 134**

See photo on pl. 11



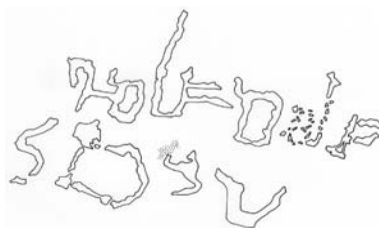
*dkyr tkylw*

*br h{z/r}w*

*bṭb*

*w šlm*

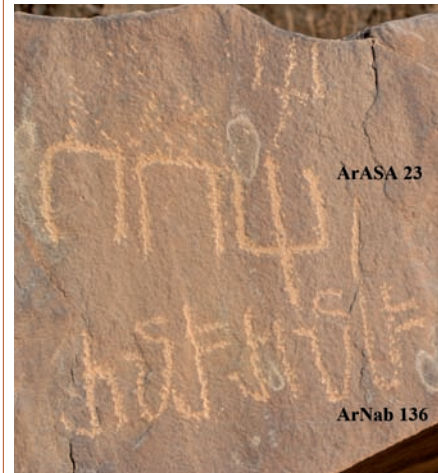
This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script, apart from *šlm*. The same man left his signature in ArNab 125 and UJadhNab 537 (same name carved exactly in the same way). The second letter of the father's name can also be read as a *r* because it has the same shape as the *r* in *dkyr* and *br*. Cf. the Arabic name Hirr.

**ArNab 135**

*šlm mšlmw*

*br {d/r}sy*

The *m* of *šlm* is very faint. The first letter of the father's name may also be read as a *k* but since the name *{d/r}sy* is well attested, *{d/r}* has been preferred. The same man left his signature in ArNab 62 and 129. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in UJadhNab 274 (see the commentary there).

**ArNab 136**

*šlm ḥšmt*

ArASA 23 is above this text.

**ArNab 137**

ArNab 137 to 139 are on the same rock face. ArHism 26 is to the right of them.



*šlm tymw br m{w}*

**ArNab 138**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 137

*zbdw*

**ArNab 139**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 137

*šlm k{d/r}{ml}*

The reading of the name remains very doubtful.

**ArNab 140**

ArNab 140 and 141 are on the same rock face.



*šlm šy't*

*nṭr r'sš'*

'May Šy't, the bodyguard of the chief (?), be safe'.

The reading of *nṭr r'sš'* is almost certain. It is attested in this text only. It is a combination of the root *nṭr*, attested in JSNab 246 (here UdhNab 18) in the phrase *pršy' nṭryn*, 'the cavalymen in charge of the guard' and of the word *r'sš'*, a substantive in the emphatic state meaning the 'leader, chief'. *r'sš'* is attested in other Nabataean inscriptions under this form (*r'sš' yn l'bn*, 'the chief of the source of the La'bān, near Khirbat Tannūr<sup>6</sup>, and *r'sš' tmyy*, 'the chief citizen of Taymā'<sup>7</sup>) as well as in the form *ryš* in a fourth century inscription from Hegra.<sup>8</sup> In ArNab 140, *nṭr r'sš'* may mean 'the bodyguard of the chief'.

**ArNab 141**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 140

*šlm šl{w}mw*

*'hwhy*

'May Šl{w}mw, his brother, be safe'.

Since ArNab 140 and 141 are carved on the same rock face, Šy't and Šalūmū (Biblical Solomon? Or Šalūm?) are probably brothers.

**ArNab 142**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 12

6. Savignac 1937, but see the commentary of J. Starcky on the meaning of this phrase in Savignac and Starcky 1957: 215–217.

7. al-Najem and Macdonald 2009.

8. For the most recent reading of this text, see al-Najem and Macdonald 2009: 213–214, who also provide parallels for the word *r'sš' / ryš*.

ArNab 142 to 161 and ArHism 27 are on the same rock face. They are numbered from top to bottom and from right to left.

*tymw br b'lnn šlm*

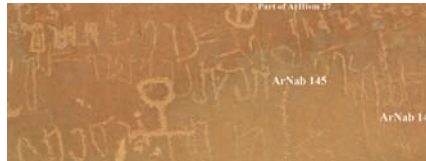
**ArNab 143**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 12

*'n'm br nt{d/r}{y} šlm*

**ArNab 144**

See also photo on pl. 13a



*šlm w'lw w gš{d/r}w br tzn{d/r}{nw}*

The end of the father's name is better read *{nw}* than *{m}*. Indeed, the horizontal stroke which joins the two letters at the top does not seem to belong to the letter. The same man left his signature in ArNab 164. The beginning of the Hismaic text carved above ArNab 144 belongs to ArHism 27.

**ArNab 145**

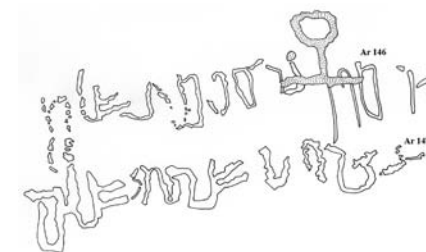
See photo and facsimile under ArNab 144 and photo on pl. 13a

*ḥmt br nšyrw šlm*

The carving technique is not the same at the beginning and at the end of the text, as if it had not been carved throughout by the same person.

**ArNab 146**

See also photo on pl. 13a



*----m{nbr}.{d/r}'lhrmw{n} br 'pth šlm*

The beginning of the text is not clear. It could also be read as two names separated by *br*, i.e. *m---- br 'lhrmw*. The end of the first name is obscured by a *wasm*.

**ArNab 147**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 146 and photo on pl. 13a

*m'yrw br št{rw} šlm*

The two names, probably carved by the same persons, appear separately in ArNab 65.1. The *m* of *m'yrw* is visible only on pl. 13a.

**ArNab 148**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 12

*{n}šrw {br} ----ḥrm šlm*

Despite the fact that the vertical stroke of the first letter continues slightly below the horizontal one, I am not convinced that the first letter could be read as a *g*. *br* between the two names is difficult to read and the letter before the *ḥ* does not have the shape of any Nabataean letter (*y*?).

**ArNab 149**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 12

*'b}d'dnwn br rb'l šlm*

The form of the first *b* is closer to a *y* than to a *b* but this is probably accidental. The same man left his signature in QNNab 18 and ArNab 132.

**ArNab 150**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 12

*š'd'lh{y} šlm*

**ArNab 151**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 12

*bršp{d/r}w šlm*

**ArNab 152**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 142 on pl. 12

*'p{bly} šlm b'nw*

It is possible that *b'nw* is the signature of another person and does not belong to the same text.

**ArNab 153**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 13c

*'bdm---- šlm*

The end of the name is not clear. The final letter (*h*?) may be in fact two letters: *ny*?



**ArNab 154**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 13c

{š}...{wl} br t{y}mw

It seems that the *y* has been added above the *t*.

**ArNab 155**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 13c

ḥkmw br ----

There is another *ḥkmw* in DBv1Nab 25 but the handwriting is not the same.

**ArNab 156**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 13b

This text and the following are to the right of ArNab 142 and 144, on the same panel. The end of the text is above the end of ArHism 27.

šlm 'myrt br bny

**ArNab 157**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 13b

'šlmw

br šmkw šlm

**ArNab 158**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 13b

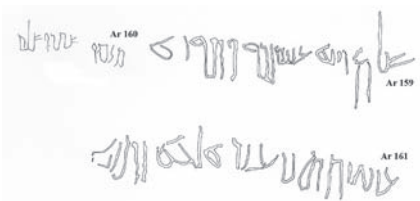
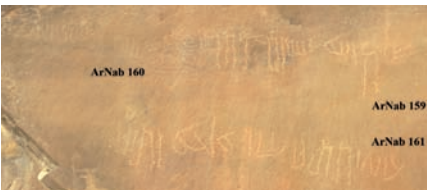
w'lw

šl

The *m* of *šlm* was not carved.

**ArNab 159**

The relationship of this text and the two following with ArNab 142 to 161 is not obvious but it seems that they are carved on the same panel.



šlm zbn' 'bdmnkw w ḥwz'

The *d* of 'bd is written as a straight line. This is a succession of three names, probably of individuals travelling together.

**ArNab 160**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 159

tymw [br] šḥrw šlm

*br* is almost invisible.

**ArNab 161**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 159

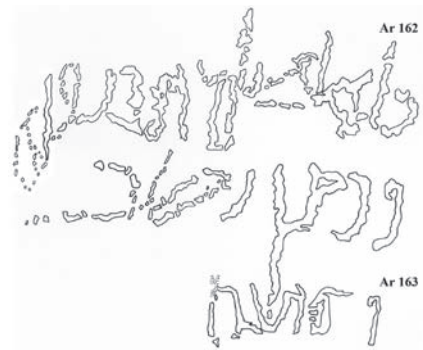
'bdhrtt br 'bd'lg' {k}t{b'}

'Abdhārīt son of 'Abd'algā the {w}rit{er}'.

The *d* of 'bd in the first name is surprisingly joined to the next letter and the *r* is a straight line.

**ArNab 162**

ArNab 162 and 163 are on the same rock face.



bl'l{w} šlm ḥkb {w/p}n{'}'

pkšn bṭb

The ' at the end of the first line is made of a succession of dots. This text is probably a succession of names, to which may also belong ArNab 163.

**ArNab 163**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 162

w 'hn{kn}

This text may be the continuation of the previous one.

**ArNab 164**

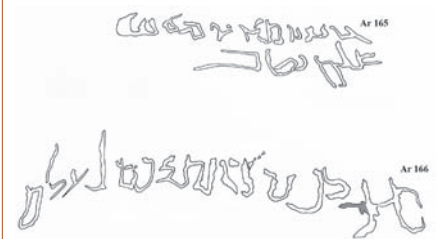
{g}š {d/r}w br t{z}----

šlm

The same man left his signature in ArNab 144. It may correspond to Arabic Jasn. The father's name can therefore be restored as *tzn{d/r}{nw}*, which is just possible on the basis of the traces of the letters which are visible.

**ArNab 165**

ArNab 165 and 166 are on the same rock face.



gdyw br ty{m}w m'by'

šlm bṭb

'Judayyū son of Tay{m}ū, the Moabite, may he be safe, in well-being'.

A crack in the stone has prevented the *m* of *tymw* from being properly carved, but the general shape of what has been traced of the letter is that of a *m*.

*m'by'*, 'the Moabite', appears also in UJadhNab 172. See Nehmé 2010a: 77.

**ArNab 166**

See photo and facsimile under ArNab 165

m{n}yb br {'}ntyks l'lm

The horizontal stroke perpendicular to the vertical one in the first name is probably not part of the letter. There are two other 'ntyks, in ArNab 33 and UJadhNab 472.

Below this text, there are a few letters made of regularly spaced dots but they are not legible.

**Sūḥ al-Baḡlah****SBNab 1**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14a

SBNab 1 to 4 are on the same rock face.

šlm h'lm br zbd'dnwn

There is an isolated *š* above the text.

**SBNab 2**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14a

*šlm yny br grgr ḥbr q{š}m'l 'lymt by----t*  
 'May Yny son of Grgr, the companion of Qa{s}am'til the slave of by----t, be safe'.

The two horizontal lines of the *š* in *qšm'l* are closed on the right.

The same man left his signature in ArNab 12, UJadhNab 380, 511 and 514. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in UJadhNab 126 and 496 (see the commentary under ArNab 12). Note that the author is said to be the 'companion' of a woman who is a servant.

**SBNab 3**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14a

*{d/r}ngy{š} br {r}w{m}----*

The reading remains very doubtful. Very much as in SBNab 2, the horizontal lines of the *š* are closed to the right, unless the letter should be read as a *š*.

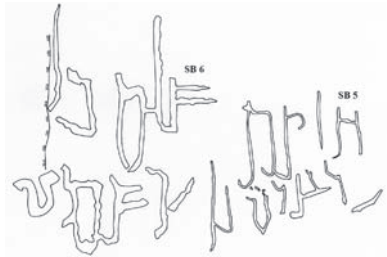
**SBNab 4**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14a

*mšlmw br hn'lt [š]lm*

**SBNab 5**

SBNab 5 and 6 are on the same rock face.



*hlšt*  
*br 'bd{mnn}*

**SBNab 6**

See photo and facsimile under SB 5

*šlm kl----*  
*br šm{yw}*

The end of the text has disappeared because of the erosion of the rock.

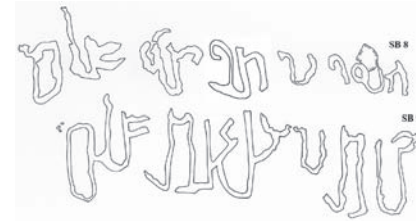
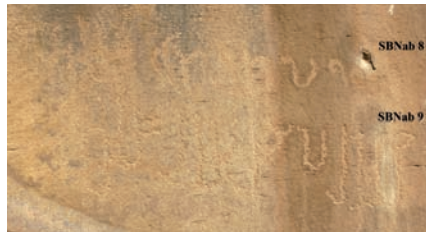
**SBNab 7**



*'wtw br rwḥw*  
*br* is represented by two parallel lines.

**SBNab 8**

SBNab 8 and 9 are on the same rock face.



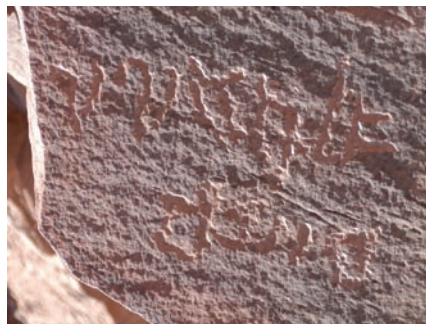
*hn'w br tps' šlm*  
 The same names, in reverse order, appear in ArNab 46 and 120.

**SBNab 9**

See photo and facsimile under SB 8

*qnt br 'nynt šlm*

**SBNab 10**



*šlm {h}bw br*  
*'z{b/n}yh*

**SBNab 11**



*{d/r}{bzy}{d/r}tš{h/s}*  
*bly šlm*  
 The first line is very difficult to read and no suggestion can be made for the name.

**Ṭal'at al-Midrāt**

**TMNab 1**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14b

TMNab 1 to TMNab 4 are on the same rock face.

*šlm gblw*  
*br 'šlmw*

There are traces of letters above this group of texts, among which *šlm š*, *šl*, *š*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 490 and DBv3Nab 6.

**TMNab 2**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14b

*l{w}t*

**TMNab 3**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14b

*q{d/r}wzh*

**TMNab 4**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14b

*šlm 'bdw br ----*

**TMNab 5**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

TMNab 5 to 11 are on the same rock face.

---  
*br ḥwrw š{lm}*

The first line does not appear on the photograph.

### TMNab 6

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

*ʾyš{w} br zydw*

### TMNab 7

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

*phrʾl šlm*

### TMNab 8

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

*pʾr br ---*

*ʾlym {d/r}{k}{d/r}ʾ šlm*

‘Faʾr son of --- the servant of {D/R} {k} {d/r}ʾ, may he be safe’.

### TMNab 9

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

*šly*

### TMNab 10

See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

*zbdw šlm*

### TMNab 11

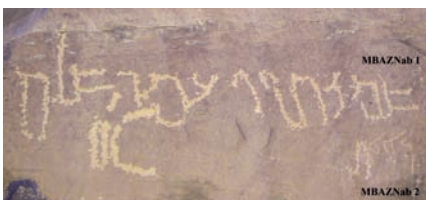
See photo and facsimile on pl. 14c

*šlmʾl šlm*

There are traces of letters to the left of TMNab 11: *šw*.

## Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd

### MBAZNab 1



*šmytw w ʾmr šlm*

### MBAZNab 2

See photo and facsimile under MBAZNab 1

*{d/r}ʾt*

The *t* is not carved in the same technique as the first three letters.

## ʿAyrīn

### AyNab 1



AyNab 1 and AyNab 2 are on the same rock face.

*dkyr qymt  
bʾb*

### AyNab 2

See photo and facsimile under AyNab 1

*dkyr tymʾlhy  
bʾb*

### AyNab 3



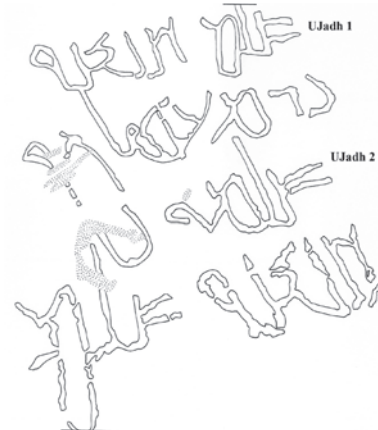
*šlm rbybw br mšlmw*

Note the dots on the *rs*, which is very unusual. See Nehmé 2010a: 57, fig. 13. There are three drawings of camels on the rock as well as two letters in the Latin script.

## Umm Jadhāyidh

### UJadhNab 1 (ThNUJ 1)

UJadhNab 1 and 2 are on the same stone. They were not found during the 2004 survey.



*šlm ḥnynw  
br mʾnʾlhy*

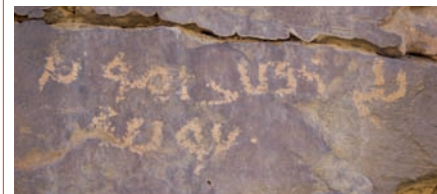
### UJadhNab 2 (ThNUJ 2)

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 1

*šlmw br  
ḥnynw šlm*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 51, QNNab 15, and DBv1Nab 19.

### UJadhNab 3 (ThNUJ 48)

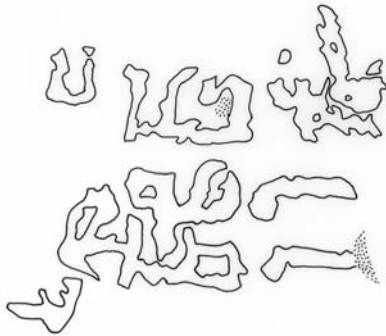


*bly dkyr grmw br  
ʾw{b/n}yw*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read

at the Paris workshop in 2005. The first name was read *gzmw* by S. al-Theeb but the second letter is more probably a *r* than a *z*, especially if compared with the *r* of *dkyr*. Note the dot on the *d* of *dkyr*. Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 73–74.

**UJadhNab 4**



*bl{y} dkyr br*  
*'byw*  
*'šhq*

The text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. A camel is drawn above some letters of the first line. There is no *br* after *'byw* but this is probably an omission. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 221. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*.

**UJadhNab 5 (ThNUJ 89)**



*šlm kl gbr dy 'zl*  
*lhgr' w kl {gm}l w šlm*

*gdyw br gb---*  
*br hyw*

'May any man who went to Hegra and any {cam}el be safe, and may Judayyū son of Gab--- son of Ḥayyū be safe'. The word which follows *w kl* in line 2 was read *g{h}l* by S. al-Theeb but *gml* is more likely. The text commemorates any person and any camel who are going to Hegra (note that the same formula is used in UJadhNab 199). The verb *'azal* is indeed attested in Aramaic with the meaning 'to be gone, to leave, to go, cf. Jastrow, s.v.). The end of the father's name is not legible. This text shows that there was a caravan track between Umm Jadhāyidh and the city of Hegra.

**UJadhNab 6 (ThNUJ 90)**



Al-Theeb 2002



*tymw br rb'l dkyr btb*  
*br h{kt}y*  
*3 btšry šnt 45*

'Taymū son of Rab'l, may he be remembered in well-being, son of Ḥ{kt}y, 3 in Tišrī year 45'.

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. The second line was probably added later, it is not carved in the same style. The name in this line was read *hkmw* by S. al-Theeb. The month of *tšry* of year 45 corresponds to AD 150.

The same sequence of names appears in six other texts: ArNab 26.1, 131, UJadhNab 110, 164, 384 and 493 (see the commentary under ArNab 26.1).

**UJadhNab 7 (ThNUJ 42)**



*bly šlm šlmw br šhrw*

The father's name was read *šmrh* by S. al-Theeb but *šhrw* is perfectly clear.

**UJadhNab 8 (ThNUJ 43)**



*'b---m br bnw br*

*'bd' dy mn {'}{b/n}{t}n'*

'B---m son of Bnw son of 'Abdā, who is from {'}{b/n}{t}n'.

S. al-Theeb reads *'{rw}m br šnw br / 'bd' {l}h mn 'bd{t}n'* but the letter after the first *br* is clearly not a *š* and what he read as *l{h}* is clearly *dy* preceding *mn*. Finally, there is no space for two letters between the ' and the *t* of {'}{b/n}{t}n'.

**UJadhNab 9**



*šlm {'}{bw [b]r {hy}n*

**UJadhNab 10 (ThNUJ 38)**

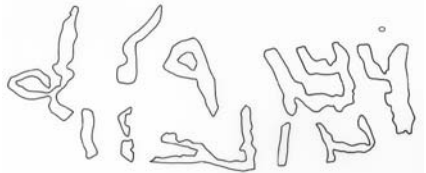
UJadhNab 10 to 13 are on the same rock face.



*dkyr šlymw br y'mrw*  
*btb šmnw*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. The sign before *dkyr* is probably the particle *l'*, 'no' and was probably added *after* the text was carved. The first name is probably better read as *šlymw* than as *šnymw* (S. Theeb). The vertical stroke which was carved below the left vertical stroke of the *m* in *šmnw* is considered as extraneous. According to S. al-Theeb, *šmnw* is the name of the person who wrote the text. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 215. On this text, Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 74.

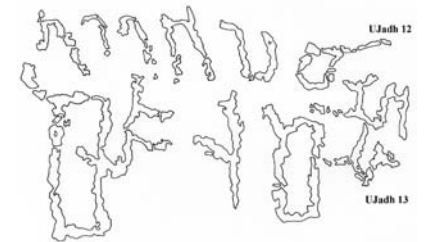
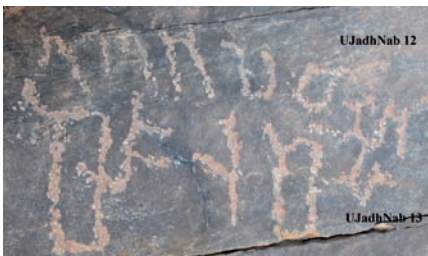
### UJadhNab 11 (ThNUJ 41)



*dkr w'lw*  
*br 'lgzz*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d*. S. al-Theeb reads *dk{y}r* for *dkr* and *'lgwd* for *'lgzz*. There is an extraneous ' below the *r* of *br*.

### UJadhNab 12 (ThNUJ 39)



*hy' br hwrw*

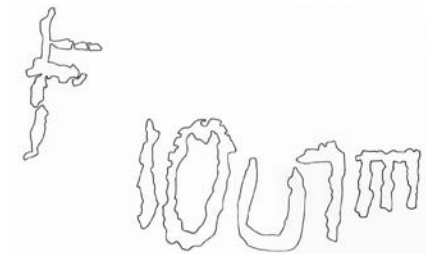
The first name was read 's by S. al-Theeb because of what appeared on his photograph. The new photograph is of much better quality.

### UJadhNab 13 (ThNUJ 40)

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 12

*šlm gšm*

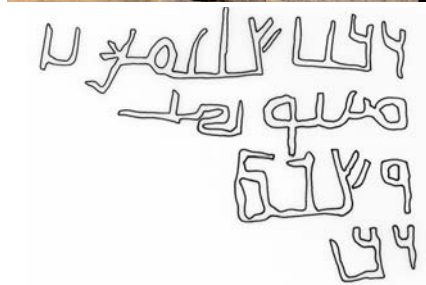
### UJadhNab 14



*{hz}{d/r} b{r} {mn}š*

The reading is very uncertain.

### UJadhNab 15 (ThNUJ 30)



*dkyr šlym{n} br*

*m'nw b'ib*

*w š{l}m*

*dky*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. The sign before *dkyr* is probably the particle *l'*, 'no' and was probably added after the text was carved. It is probably what was read as the *y* of an initial *[bl]y* by S. al-Theeb. The fourth line was cut on his photograph and he was therefore not

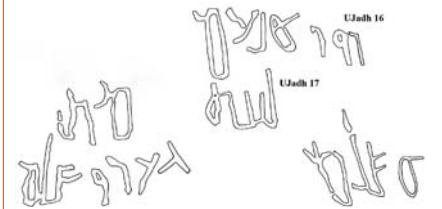
able to read it. It may belong to a new inscription which was left unfinished. The *l* and *m* in *šlm* have peculiar hooked forms. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 74–75.

### UJadhNab 16 (ThNUJ 31)

UJadhNab 16 and 17 are on the same stone.



Al-Theeb 2002



*[dk]rw{n} 'n'm*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey.

### UJadhNab 17 (ThNUJ 32)

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 16

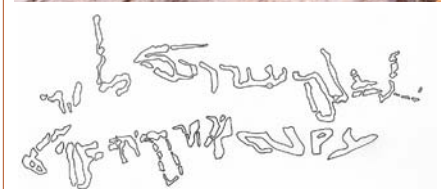
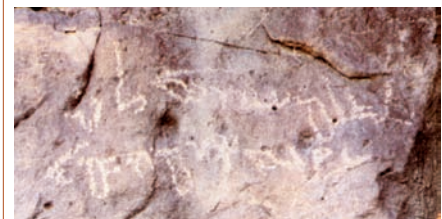
*lbnt ['ly]mt*

*'šlm [br] {g}'{d/r}w šlm*

'Labnat [the sl]ave of 'Aslam [son of] {G}'{d/r}w, may he be safe'.

The father's name may correspond to the Arabic name Ja'd. This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. This is S. al-Theeb's reading, checked on the published photograph.

### UJadhNab 18 (ThNUJ 33)



*bl šlm 'bdb' l br*

*'qby {br} .{d/r}m {h}š{d/r}'*

'Yea! May 'Abdrab'il son of 'Aqabi {son of} ----{d/r}m, the one who does not stop taking milk from the she-camel, be safe'.

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *šrm* for the third name but the *š* is not clear. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 279 and 305. If the reading of *{h}š{d/r}* is correct, it may be derived, as suggested by S. al-Theeb, from Arabic *hāsid*, ‘the one who does not stop taking milk from the she-camel’. It is a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean.

### UJadhNab 19 (ThNUJ 34)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15a

UJadhNab 19 to 22 are on the same rock face. Below 19, there is a two line Ancient South Arabian text, UJadhASA 45.

*dkyr*

*{l/r}{hymw} br lwy' btb*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. It is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of the texts read at the Paris workshop in 2005. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 75.

### UJadhNab 20 (ThNUJ 35)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15a

*hlyw} br tym' lhy' šlm*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. This is S. al-Theeb's reading, checked on the published photograph.

### UJadhNab 21 (ThNUJ 36)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15a

*'bdmknw*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb's reading.

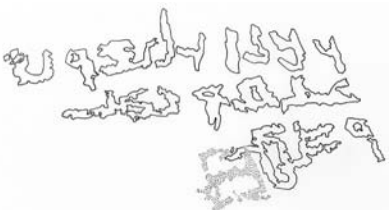
### UJadhNab 22 (ThNUJ 37)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15a

*..{w} šlm*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *{wbln}* but the letters are very uncertain.

### UJadhNab 23 (ThNUJ 14)



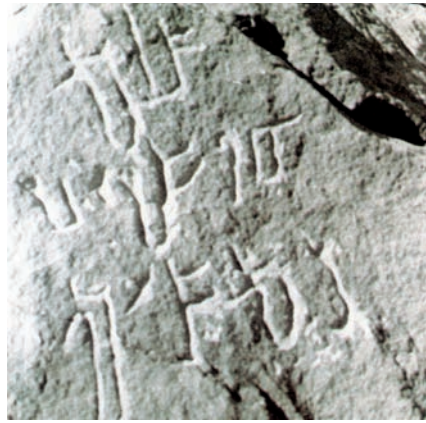
*dkyr hly{p}w br*

*'nmw btb*

*w š{l}m*

The author has forgotten the *l* of *šlm*. The name *'nmw* is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. There is sign after *šlm*. S. al-Theeb reads *gm{y}w* for *hly{p}w*.

### UJadhNab 24 (ThNUJ 15)



Al-Theeb 2002



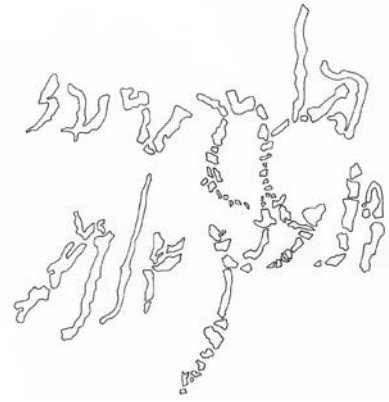
*šlm*

*'wšw} br*

*{n}mš{'}m*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. The father's name may also be read as *nmšbn* and should be checked on the original.

### UJadhNab 25



*mlk{w} br b{d/r}y*

*w l'bn šlm*

### UJadhNab 26 (ThNUJ 140)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15b

UJadhNab 26 to 31 are on the same stone.

*gmhw*

*br rgy'w*

S. al-Theeb's reading of this text (*š{wt}---- br----*) and the others on this stone were either incomplete or wrong because he had at his disposal a very bad photograph.

### UJadhNab 27 (ThNUJ 141)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15b

*'bd' bdt} br 'bw*

Same remark as for UJadhNab 26. The initial *šlm* read by S. al-Theeb belongs to UJadhNab 31.

### UJadhNab 28 (ThNUJ 142)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15b

*w 'bdw*

*br zydw} w sy{d/r}w*

*br qrh*

Same remark as for UJadhNab 26. Note that the final *w* of *sy{d/r}w* is carved above the *d/r* because there was not enough space on the stone at the same level.

Another man named *sy{d/r}w* is mentioned in UJadhNab 282 but since he does not give his father's name in the latter, it is not possible to be sure he is the author of both texts. The handwriting is comparable but not identical (the ligature between the *y* and the *r* is not at the same level).

### UJadhNab 29

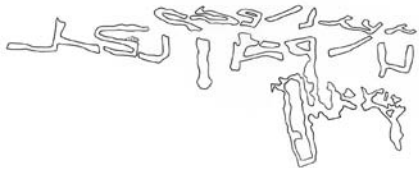
See photo and facsimile on pl. 15b

*šlm*

*gšm*

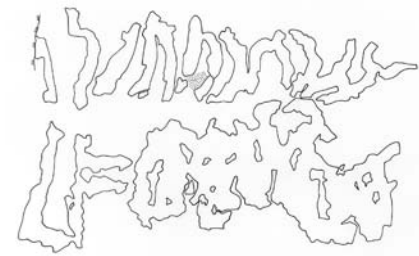
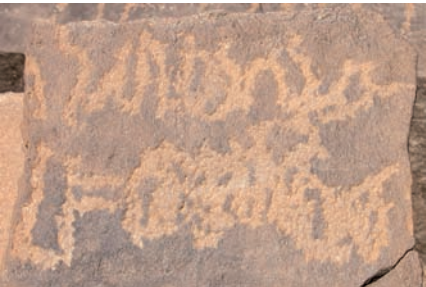
**UJadhNab 30**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15b

*{d/r}ymn***UJadhNab 31**

*dkyr 'p{s}y  
br 'wšw btb  
w šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The doubtful letter in the first name is more likely to be an *s* than a *t* because it is different from the *t* in *btb* (compare the *s* in *CIS II 963*).

**UJadhNab 32**

*'bdhrtt br .----  
'---- šl----*

This text appears on the photograph of ThNUJ 140–142 on p. 313 but it was not read by S. al-Theeb. The second line is illegible. The stone is cut on the left.

**UJadhNab 33 (ThNUJ 209)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 16a

UJadhNab 33 and 34 are on the same stone.

*nḥštb br 'bd'dnwn  
šlm*

There are at least two badly carved letters (*l*?) to the right of *šlm*. A hunting scene is drawn above the text. The same names appear also in UJadhNab 385 but since the shape of the letters is not identical in both inscriptions, they were probably not carved by the same man. S. al-Theeb reads *nḥštb br 'bd'rmn / šlm*.

**UJadhNab 34 (ThNUJ 209)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 16a

*dky[r] 'yšw w š{y}*

This text is mentioned in the commentary to ThNUJ 209. It was misread by S. al-Theeb. The *r* of *dkyr* was omitted by the author.

**UJadhNab 35 (ThNUJ 210)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15c

UJadhNab 35 to 37 are on the same stone. On the top right corner, there is a text which is either Aciént North or Ancient South Arabian, UJadhANA/ASA 1.

*bly dkyr š'ydw br ---- '{d/r}{nwn} btb*

The father's name may be read *'bd'dnwn*, by comparison with UJadhNab 33. S. al-Theeb reads only *'{bd}----* for the father's name.

**UJadhNab 36 (ThNUJ 211)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 15c

*dkyr nšrw br š'y{h/m}  
mrzy'*

'May Našrū son of Š'y{h/m}, the Marzī, be remembered'.

S. al-Theeb read *šbym* for *š'y{h/m}*. The last letter does not seem to be closed at the bottom but it is still better read as *h* or a *m* than as a *t*. *Mrzy'* has been interpreted as a *nisba* form but the toponym or social group from which it is derived has not been identified.

**UJadhNab 37 (ThNUJ 212)**

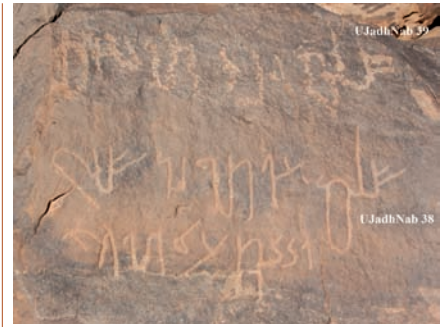
See photo and facsimile on pl. 15c

*ḥwln br 'y}š{b/n}w*

S. al-Theeb reads *'ršnw* for *'y}š{b/n}* *w*. The father's name remains doubtful. *'yšw* would be a better name and it is just possible to read it if one considers the stroke between the *š* and the *w* as accidental.

**UJadhNab 38**

UJadhNab 38 and 39 are on the same stone.



*šlm 'wtw br š{b/n}y*

*w yyt' 'ḥwhy*

'May Ġawtū son of Š{b/n}y and Yayta' his brother, be safe'.

This text is very finely carved, probably by a professional scribe. The reading *š{b/n}y* has been preferred to *šly* because the second letter has the same height as the *š*, whereas one would expect it, if it were a *l*, to be as high as the *l* in *šlm*, especially in a such a well carved text. Both names are known in Arabic.

**UJadhNab 39**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 38

*šlm bnyt w bgrt*

**UJadhNab 40 (ThNUJ 230)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 18a

*bl' dkyr btb w šlm l'nm mn  
qdm dwsr' w mnwtw tym' bdt br  
whbw w ḥ----{z}{d/r}y----'bwš{l}  
ḥgry'*

Yea! May Ġānim (or Ġanm or Ġannām) be remembered in well-being and may he be safe in the presence of Dūšarā and Manōtū. Taym'ubdat son of Wahbū and ḥ----{z}{d/r}y----'bwš{l} the Hegrans'.

Line 3, S. al-Theeb reads *tm br wh---* - for *whbw w ḥ----*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 173. It is possible that the word which starts with *ḥ* is *ḥbrwhy*, his companions. This is a signature by two men and probably their companions, who are all natives of Hegra. *ḥgry'* is the *nisba* form in the plural. UJadhHism 4 is at the bottom of the face.

**UJadhNab 41 (ThNUJ 213)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 16b  
UJadhNab 41 to 43 are on the same stone.

*dkyrwn 'lymy  
hšwy' btb  
mšlmw 'bd'ysy  
w ḥm{d/r}' w šš{d/r}'w w znm  
mn qdm dwšr' 'lh  
gy' btb*

'May the slaves of Ḥšwy' be remembered in well-being: Muslim, 'Abd'īsī and Ḥm{d/r}' and Šš{d/r}'w and Znm, in the presence of Dūšarā the god of Gaia, in well-being'.

The reading given by S. al-Theeb was partly wrong because the photograph he had was of bad quality. This text is very nicely carved. It contains the names of five slaves of a person named *hšwy'*. The list of the slaves starts on line 3 of the text. Note that *dwšr'* is called '*lh gy'*', that is the god of Gaia, modern Wādī Mūsa near Petra. It is therefore probable that at least some of the persons mentioned are natives of the Nabataean capital. *Mšlmw* may be the Arabic name Muslim. The closer Arabic parallels for the other names are Ḥamra or Ḥamda for *ḥm{d/r}'* and Zanama for *znm*.

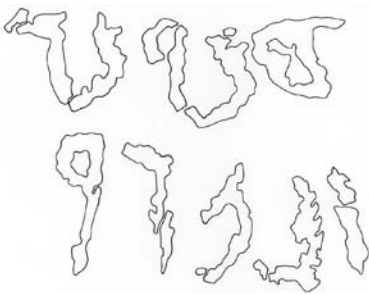
**UJadhNab 42**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 16b

*šhrwt{w}*

This text was presumably added after UJadhNab 41.

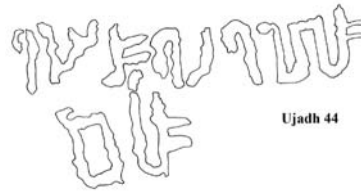
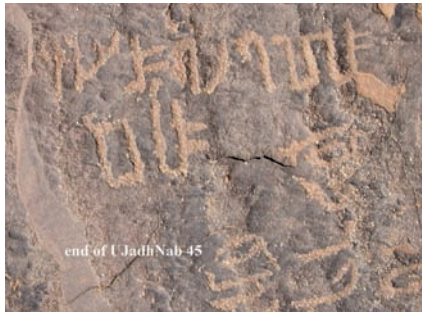
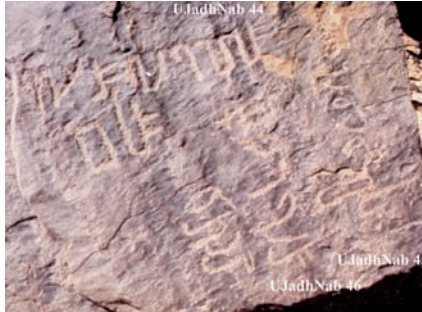
**UJadhNab 43**



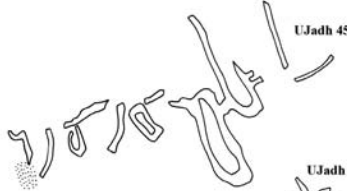
*'bw br  
zbydw*

**UJadhNab 44 (ThNUJ 214)**

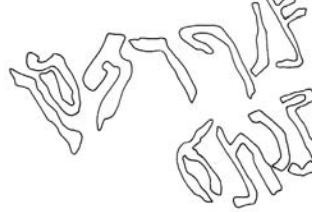
UJadhNab 44 to 46 are on the same stone. However, UJadhNab 44 was photographed in 2004 but not the other two.



Ujadh 44



UJadh 45



UJadh 46

*šhrw br š'dw*

*šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 93. He also, almost certainly, wrote his name, without his father's name, in UJadhNab 151 and DBv1Nab 21 (the handwriting is exactly the same).

**UJadhNab 45 (ThNUJ 215)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 44

*bl šlm 'b' br ----*

S. al-Theeb reads "' ('g') for 'b'.

**UJadhNab 46 (ThNUJ 216)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 44

*šbw dy mn*

*qbt'*

'Šbw who is from Qbt'.

Another man named *šbw* is mentioned in UJadhNab 243 but since neither of them gives his father's name, it is difficult to say whether it is the same man who carved his signature twice (the handwriting is different). He comes from *qbt'*, a toponym for which we are not able to propose an identification.

**UJadhNab 47 (ThNUJ 217)**



*dkrwn tb w šlm*

*mn qdm dwšr' lmlkw br----*

*w š'ydw br b'ntn w 'gb{h}----*

*{hr}----*

'Good remembrance and security in the presence of Dūšarā to Mālikū son of ---- and Su'aydū son of B'ntn and 'gb{h} ---- {hr}----'.

The stone is broken on the left. After *br*, at the end of the second line, there is the trace of one letter but there may be more. The *l* of *b'ntn* is omitted by haplography. The *b* and the *w* in *tb w šlm* are joined. Note the use of the preposition *l* in front of the list of names who are to be remembered in the presence of the Nabataean god.

S. al-Theeb reads *dkyrwn* for *dkrwn* and *r'ntn* for *b'ntn*. The *w* before *š'ydw*, as well as the last two letters at the bottom of the stone, are missing from the reading.

**UJadhNab 48 (ThNUJ 218)**



Al-Theeb 2002





ʿ{krb} br {b}

{k}m {šwm} šlm

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads ʿsl{y}w for ʿ{krb} and k{m}š{m} for {k}m {šwm}. The presence of the w, in the latter, is however very uncertain. There are three letters above the text: ʿ{w}n.

### UJadhNab 49 (ThNUJ 101)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 17

UJadhNab 49 to 54 are on the same stone as UJadhHism 6–11 and several rock drawings. This face is adjacent to that bearing UJadhNab 182–185, UJadhHism 13, and UJadhProblem 5.

hgt šlm

### UJadhNab 50

See photo and facsimile on pl. 17

šlm ʿ----

The end of the text is not legible because UJadhNab 49 was carved over it.

### UJadhNab 51

See photo and facsimile on pl. 17

h{b/g}w ʿlym

r{m}y br z{yd}w

ʿH{b/g}w the slave of {Rm}y son of Za{yd}ūʿ.

The second line is uncertain. The first name may be the Arabic name Hājj. The m in r{m}y has an usual form but this name appears in other texts (UJadhNab 264 and 341 for example).

### UJadhNab 52 (ThNUJ 102)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 17

dkyr

ʿqrbw

### UJadhNab 53

See photo and facsimile on pl. 17

dmtrys

qh

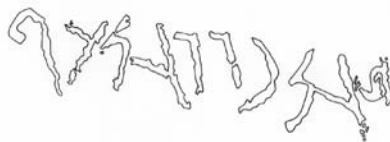
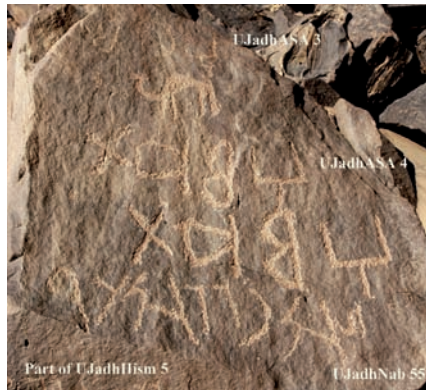
The two letters of the second line do not necessarily belong to the text.

### UJadhNab 54 (ThNUJ 103)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 17

hyw šlm

### UJadhNab 55



hgy br rgyʿw

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 77. UJadhASA 4 is immediately below this text and UJadhHism 5 below that.

### UJadhNab 56

See photo and facsimile on pl. 18b

UJadhNab 56 to 58 are on the same stone.

šlm ḥrmn b{r} wbrw

mznyʿ btb

ʿMay Ḥrmn son of Wabrū the Mzny be safe in well-beingʿ.

mznyʿ is probably a nisba form rather than the profession of the author which, if such was the case, would be in the singular.

### UJadhNab 57

See photo and facsimile on pl. 18b

šlm nšrw br šʿ{dw}

### UJadhNab 58

See photo and facsimile on pl. 18b

bny br qršmw šlm

### UJadhNab 59

See photo and facsimile on pl. 18c

UJadhNab 59 and 60 are on the same stone.

dkyr mʿnʿlh{y}

br tymʿlktbʿ br

ṭwpw w tymʿlktbʿ

brh btb

ʿMay Maʿnʿallāhī son of Taymʿalkutbā son of Ṭwpw and Taymʿalkutbā his son be remembered in well-beingʿ.

This inscription gives the names of several persons belonging to the same family, over four generations: Taymʿalkutbā

son of Maʿnʿallāhī son of Taymʿalkutbā son of Ṭwpw. Maʿnʿallāhī has a brother, Ṭwpw, who signed with him in UJadhNab 134 and who is the only author of UJadhNab 83. In UJadhNab 426, the names are the same (*tymʿlktbʿ br mʿnʿlhy br ṭwpw*) but because they are not in the same order, it is difficult to see how they fit in the genealogical tree, unless one considers that the author of UJadhNab 426 is the grandson of ṭwpw of UJadhNab 83 and 134. If this reconstruction is correct, it would mean that the same names are given to grandfather and grandson (the two Taymʿalkutbā) as well as to uncle and nephew (the two Maʿnʿallāhī and two of the three Taymʿalkutbā).

### UJadhNab 60

See photo and facsimile on pl. 18c

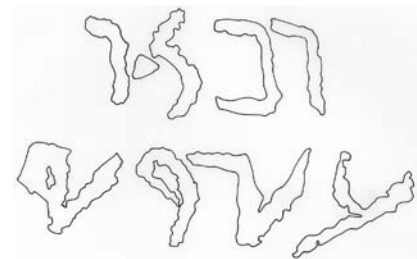
šlmw

br mqymw

dkyr btb

The same names appear in UJadhNab 95, probably carved by the same man, but the forms of m are slightly different in the two texts (the m has a small tail at the bottom left in UJadhNab 60).

### UJadhNab 61 (ThNUJ 8)



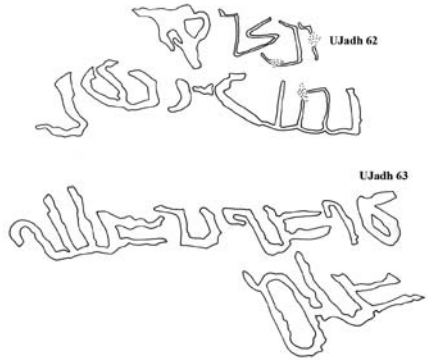
dkyr

ʿbdwbw

S. al-Theeb reads ʿbdw br for ʿbdwbw.

### UJadhNab 62 (ThNUJ 20)

UJadhNab 62 and 63 are on the same rock face.



*dkyr*----

*{nmny} rb'l*

The beginning of each line is finely incised whereas the rest of the text is more roughly carved. It is possible, as suggested by S. al-Theeb, that there was an initial text, *dkyr / nmny*----, which was reused by somebody else who added two hardly legible letters after *dkyr* as well as *y rb'l* at the end of the second line. S. al-Theeb suggests to read *dkyryn / kmny {b}{r} rb'l* but the first letter of the second line is more likely to be a *n*.

**UJadhNab 63 (ThNUJ 21)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 62

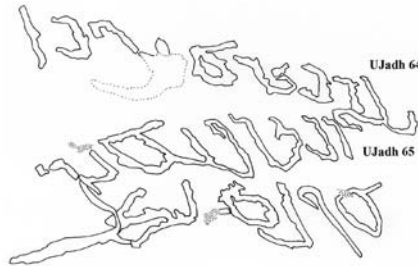
*'wšw br šllw*

*šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *š{m}w* for *šllw* but the two vertical strokes read as *l* are clearly not joined at the top. Because of their height, they are more likely to be two *l*, not *n*.

**UJadhNab 64 (ThNUJ 16)**

UJadhNab 64 and 65 are on the same rock face.



*bly dkyr 'b}{wkn {b}{r} ----*

The end of the text is not visible on any of the available photographs.

**UJadhNab 65 (ThNUJ 17)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 64

*dkyr p{b/n}' br*

*'wns btb*

UJadhProblem 1 is below this text.

**UJadhNab 66**

UJadhNab 66 to 76 are on the same rock face.



*šlm qšm}'l*

The ' is not certain, it may also be read as a *y* but the surface of the stone is irregular at this point and the author had difficulties closing the loop on the left.

**UJadhNab 67**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 66

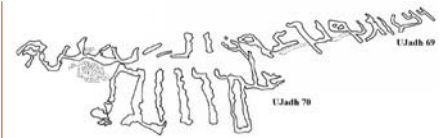
*dkyr 'nmw br zkyw*

*btb*

This text in the Nabataeo-Arabic script was carved when UJadhNab 66 and 68 were already there. That is why *btb* is carved below *zkyw*. Note the dot on the *d* of *dkyr*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 178, also carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script.

**UJadhNab 68**

See facsimile and other photo under UJadhNab 66



*dkyr 'wtlhy w t{h}rm btb*

**UJadhNab 69**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 68

*dkyr hbw br 'wd'l br {b/n}{my}{b/n}*

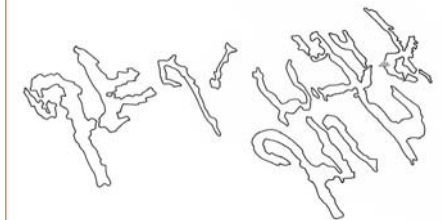
This text is partly carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. *br* is represented by two parallel lines. Note the dot above the *d* of *'wd'l*.

**UJadhNab 70**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 68

*šlm rz{l/n}t*

**UJadhNab 71**



*dkyr 'wšw*

*br rbw*

There is an X sign before the first letter. The text is carved partly in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The signs after the father's name are not clear.

**UJadhNab 72**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 19a

*<d> dkyr 'bd'lšm' br rbw btb*

This text is partly in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note that *btb* is not visible on pl. 19a.

See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

**UJadhNab 73**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 19a

*w šlm {b/n}{k/n}w*

There is an X sign before the beginning of the text. UJadhNab 73 is carved over UJadhNab 74 and 75. It is possible that UJadhNab 73 is the continuation of UJadhNab 72. The name is probably *bnw*.

**UJadhNab 74**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 19a

*šlm gš[m]*

There is an X sign before the beginning of the text. The author of UJadhNab 73 has probably reused the *m* of *gšm* to carve his *šlm* (see UJadhNab 76, where *gšm* is complete).

**UJadhNab 75**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 19a

*{h}nyn' šlm*

**UJadhNab 76**

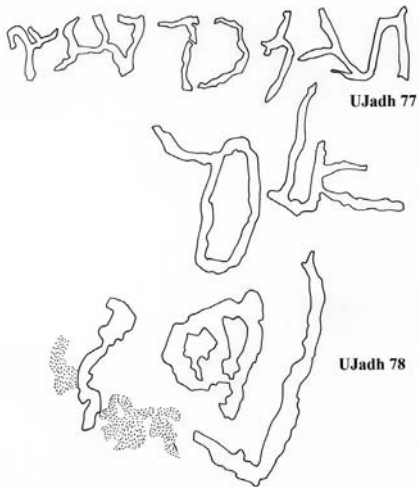
See photo and facsimile on pl. 19a

*hnyn' br gšm šlm*

*hnyn'* and *gšm* are probably the same persons as those mentioned in UJadhNab 74 and 75. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 154 and the same names appear, in a reverse order, in UJadhNab 125 and 205.

**UJadhNab 77 (ThNUJ 22)**

UJadhNab 77 and 78 are on the same stone.



*hgy br rgy'w  
šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *š{b}š* for *rgy'w*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 55.

**UJadhNab 78**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 77

*{k}{d/z/r}' {y}*

The name remains very uncertain.

**UJadhNab 79**

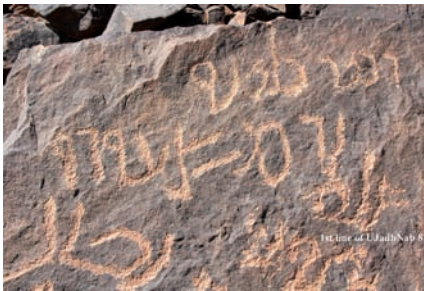


*{mz}{'}{/y}b*

The reading is very doubtful. The *m* could also be read as two letters. The third sign seems to be a combination of two letters ( ' and *y* for example) or a hesitation between two letters. There are also a few letters below the text but they do not make any sense.

**UJadhNab 80**

UJadhNab 80–81 and UJadhProblem 2 are on the same stone.



*dkyr klybw  
br mš'wdw  
bṭb*

There is another text to the right of UJadhNab 80 but only the last letters of three lines are visible on one of the available photographs and it should be

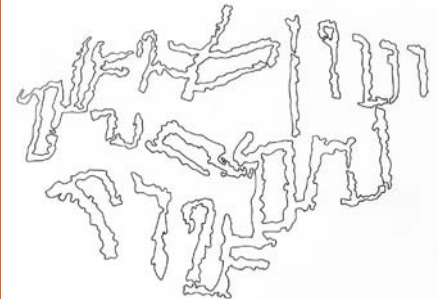
checked on the original: ----*lh* / ----*hṛm* / ----*šlm*.

**UJadhNab 81**



*šlm  
hṛw br  
w{d/r}nw*

**UJadhNab 82**



*dkrwn ṭb w šlm  
lḥm{š} br  
šwdy*

The vertical stroke of the *š* in *lḥm{š}* does not go higher than the horizontal lines, which is unusual. Note the use of the preposition *l* before the name.

**UJadhNab 83 (ThNUJ 18)**



*šlm ḥlpw br 'šdw*  
Part of the *d* and the *w* of *'šdw* are in the shade but are visible on the photograph of S. al-Theeb.

**UJadhNab 88 (ThNUJ 7)**



*'{d/r}{d/r}y br m{y/n}' dkyr*  
*bṭb mn qdm 'lh*  
*g{y}'*  
*'{d/r}{d/r}y son of M{n/y}'*, may he be remembered in well-being in the presence of the god of {Gaia}'.

S. al-Theeb reads *br mn' br kym br bṭy* for *br m{y/n}' dkyr bṭb*. He also considers the last word to be *gny'*, which he interprets as the god of joy and happiness. This would be the first attestation of this god in Nabataean. We prefer to read *g{y}'*, considering that the letter after *g* is a badly formed *y* and that the vertical stroke which follows is the ligature between this *y* and the very archaic form of the '. *Gy'* is the toponym of modern Wādī Mūsā, from which Dūšārā is often said to be the god. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

**UJadhNab 84 (ThNUJ 9–10)**

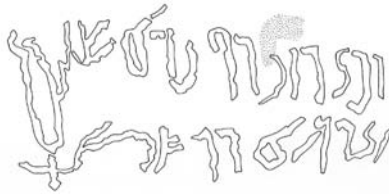


*dkyr bṭb*  
*'šlm br 'šlmw*  
*w dkyr kl gbr ṭb bṭb*  
'May 'Aslam son of 'Aslamū be remembered in well-being and may any good man be remembered in well-being'.  
The same man left his signature in ArNab 71. The text commemorates 'Aslam and any man, *kl* being here an indefinite pronoun. S. al-Theeb read it as two texts and he misinterpreted the second part.

**UJadhNab 86 (ThNUJ 12)**



Al-Theeb 2002



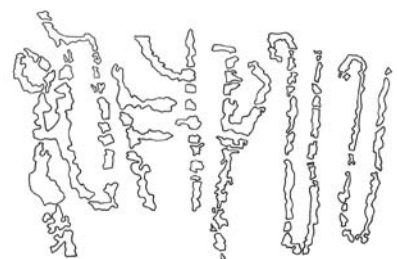
*dkyr zydw br 'šlm*  
*{b}yrḥ 'dr š XIX*  
This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. Note the abbreviation of *š* for *šnt*. The month of *'dr* 19 corresponds to March 124 or March 125 according to whether the text was carved before or after the 21<sup>st</sup> of that month. The numeral of the date is read 16 by S. al-Theeb.

**UJadhNab 87**

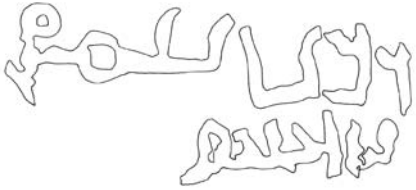


*šhrw br m{rṣ}wdw*  
*šlm*  
Note that the *m* of *šlm* is not closed at the bottom.

**UJadhNab 89 (ThNUJ 19)**



*nwnw br {d/r}šmw*

**UJadhNab 90**

*dkyr ynmw*  
*br ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The loop of the *w* is on the wrong side of the vertical stroke. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 333. For this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 75.

**UJadhNab 91 (ThNUJ 135)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 19b

UJadhNab 91 and 92 are on the same stone.

*w't*

*'lymt*

*kmkmw*

*šlm*

‘Wā’ilat the slave of Kamkamū may she be safe’.

**UJadhNab 92 (ThNUJ 136)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 19b

UJadhNab 92 and 93 are on the same stone.

*šhrw br*

*šlmw šlm*

S. al-Theeb’s reading, *špkrw br ’šlm šlm* was wrong, owing to the bad quality of the photograph. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 207.

**UJadhNab 93 (ThNUJ 137)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 20a

UJadhNab 93 and 94 are on the same rock face.

*šhrw br š’dw šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 44, 151, and DBv1Nab 21 (the handwriting is exactly the same). See the commentary under UJadhNab 44. There is a drawing of a wild animal attacking a camel between this text and UJadhNab 94.

**UJadhNab 94 (ThNUJ 138)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 20a

*šlm dmtrys br mḥw{d/r}w*

S. al-Theeb omitted the *d* of *dmtrys*.

**UJadhNab 95 (ThNUJ 139)**

Al-Theeb 2002



*šlmw br mqymw*

*dkyr btb*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. The same names appear in UJadhNab 60, which was probably carved by the same man, but the *m* has a different shape in the two texts (there is a small tail at the bottom left in UJadhNab 60).

**UJadhNab 96 (ThNUJ 26)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 20b

UJadhNab 96 to 98 are on the same stone.

*šlm šhrw btb*

**UJadhNab 97 (ThNUJ 27)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 20b

*tym’lhwr br qwp’ hnt’*

*dkyr btb*

‘Taym’alḥawar the son of Qawfā the embalmer may he be remembered in well-being’.

On *hnt’*, see the commentary in al-Theeb 2002: 63 and Nehmé 2017b: 7. The root *hnt*, in both Arabic and Aramaic, means ‘to make spicy, to embalm, to prepare for burial’. *t* in this word is the preferred reading for this letter, the alternative being to read it as two letters, which is much less satisfactory.

**UJadhNab 98 (ThNUJ 28)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 20b

*dkyr ntny br rb’l šlm*

*btb*

A man with the same name and father’s name left his signature in UJadhNab 271 and DBv3Nab 15 but there are differences in the script, mainly in the form of the final *y* and final *l*.

**UJadhNab 99 (ThNUJ 29)**

Al-Theeb 2002



*hndw*

*'lymt*

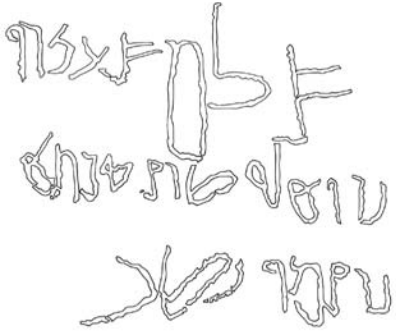
*š’dt*

*šlm*

‘Hindū the slave of Šu’ā{r}at, may she be safe’.

This text was not found during the 2004 survey.

**UJadhNab 100 (ThNUJ 25)**

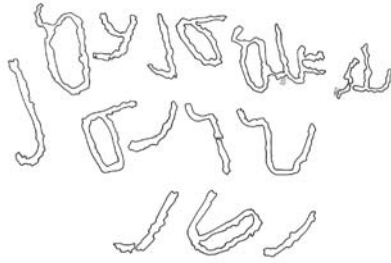


*šlm š'ydw  
br w'lw trq skt'  
br qmw btb*

'May Su'aydū son of Wā'ilū the blacksmith / maker of coin dies, son of Qmw, be safe in well-being'. *trqskt'*, which is the profession of Šu'aydū, is a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. According to T. Zahran, a Greek professor quoted by S. al-Theeb, this word means 'the guard, the steersman, helmsman', but no explanation is given in support of this translation. Unfortunately, I have found no satisfactory translation in the Greek dictionaries for it. Another possibility would consist in reading it as two words, especially since there appears to be a space between the *q* and the *s*. In Arabic, the root *trq* means 'to beat or strike metal', e.g. a blacksmith (see Lane 1863–1893: 1846a) and the word *sikkah* means 'a ploughshare, or a die' (an engraved piece of metal used to strike coins, and by extension the coins themselves (*ibidem*: 1387b)). It is therefore possible that Arabic *fāriq sikkat* lies behind the Aramaeized form *trq skt'* and means 'a maker of coin dies'.<sup>9</sup> See Nehmé 2017b: 9–10.

9. I am very grateful to Michael Macdonald for making this suggestion to me.

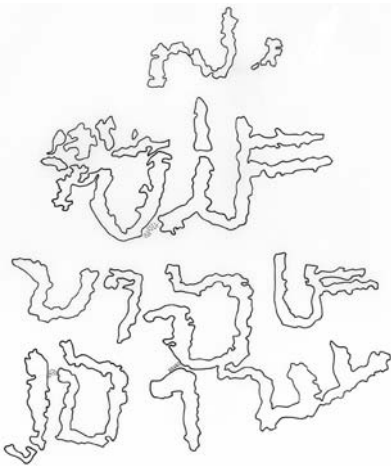
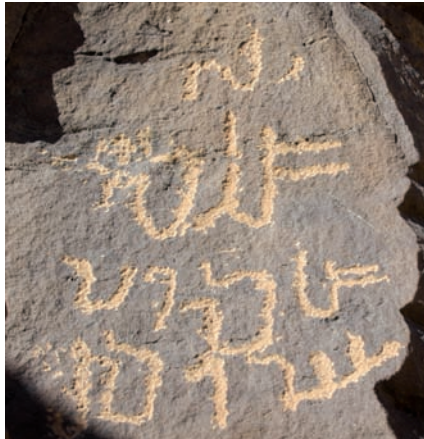
**UJadhNab 101 (ThNUJ 23)**



*bly šlm 'n'm  
br rb'l  
btb*

S. al-Theeb has missed the reading of the third line. Note that the letters in this text are almost never joined.

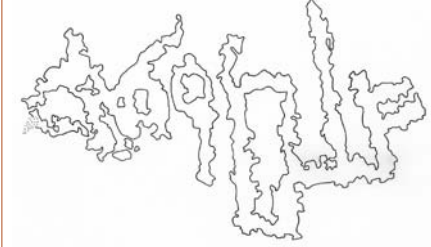
**UJadhNab 102 (ThNUJ 44)**



*bly  
šlmw  
šlmw br  
'bdm{n}*

The first name is repeated twice. The last *n* does not have a final form.

**UJadhNab 103**



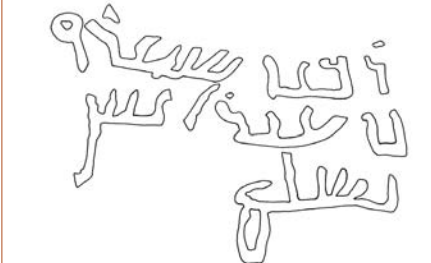
*šlm w'lw}*

**UJadhNab 104 (ThNUJ 24)**



*šlm lwqys*

**UJadhNab 105 (ThNUJ 128)**



*dkyr š'dw*

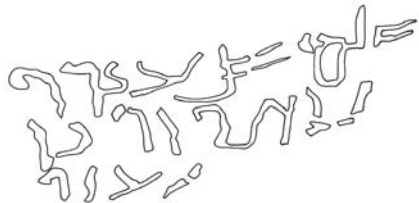
*br 'bd'yš*  
*bšlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. Note the dot above the three examples of *d*. S. al-Theeb reads *š'ydw* for *š'dw* (but there is no space for a *y*) and *'bdybbn* for *'bd'yš*. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 75–76 and Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

### UJadhNab 106 (ThNUJ 129)



Al-Theeb 2002

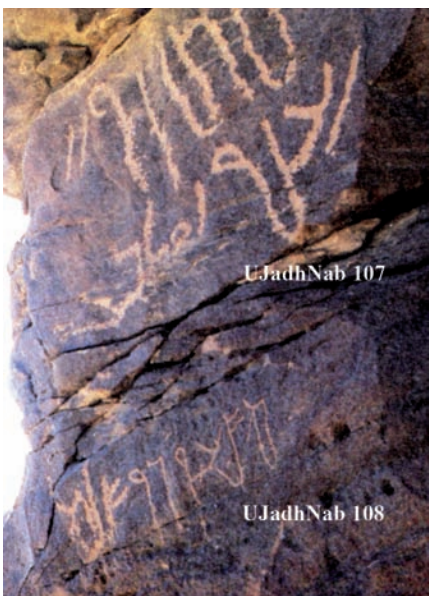


*šlm š'ydw*  
*br ḥwrw br*  
*b'nw*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 210. Ḥūrū is probably the same man as the author of UJadhNab 107.

### UJadhNab 107 (ThNUJ 130)

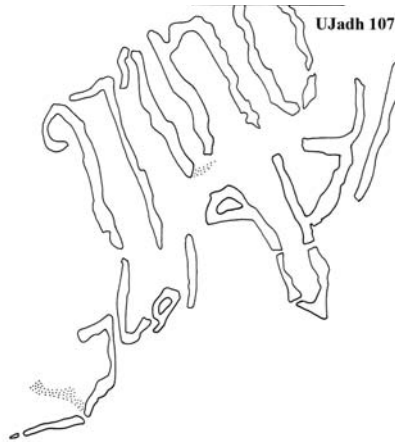
UJadhNab 107 and 108 are on the same stone.



UJadhNab 107

UJadhNab 108

Al-Theeb 2002



UJadh 107



UJadh 108

*šlm ḥwrw br*  
*b'nw bṭb*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey but it was photographed by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' in 2017. On this new photo, *šlm* is entirely visible. The author is probably the father of the author of UJadhNab 106. Note that *br* is written with parallel lines.

### UJadhNab 108 (ThNUJ 131)

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 107

*mš'wdw šlm*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey.

### UJadhNab 109 (ThNUJ 132–133)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 20c

*bly dkyr phmw br*  
*'bydw bṭb w šlm šnt 2x100*  
*+100+20+20+10 'dhlw*  
*'mrw 'l mlk*

'Yea! May Fahmū son of 'Ubaydū/ 'Abīdū be remembered in well-being and may he be safe, year 350 [when] they introduced 'Amrū the king'.

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. It is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of the texts read at the Paris workshop in 2005. It is dated to AD 455–456. It was misread and misinterpreted by S. al-Theeb. The same names appear in reverse order in UJadhNab 375. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr* and of *'dhlw*. This very important text mentions the year 'they' (we do not know who is represented

by this pronoun) introduced a king (probably a phylarch) named 'Amrū. R. Hoyland (2011: 112 n. 53) suggests a different reading and translation of the verb *'dhlw*, preferring to read the third letter *g*, thus *'d glw*, 'when he [the king] departed/flourished' instead of *'dhlw*. It is more likely, however, because of its vertical stem, that this letter is a *h* than a *g*, which would be more slanting in a text written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters. The identification of the king 'Amrū is difficult but he may be either one of the Salīḥid kings or, according to R. Hoyland (2007: 63), 'Amr ibn Ḥujr al-Kindī, who was a leader of the tribe of Kinda and whose son al-Ḥārīṭ was wooed by the Byzantine emperor Anastasius (491–518), the mid-fifth century being therefore a plausible floruit for 'Amr. See also the commentaries in Nehmé 2009: 50–52 and Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 76–77, as well as Robin 2012: 90 and the genealogical tree p. 87.

### UJadhNab 110 (ThNUJ 134)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 21a

*bly dkyr tymw*

*br rb'l bṭb*

*w kl gbr ṭb*

*kyb byrh*

*tšry šnt trtyn*

*lmnkw mlk' mlk*

*nbṭw*

'Yea! May Taymū son of Rab'īl be remembered in well-being as well as any good man. It was written in the month of Tišrī year two of Mankū the king, king of Nabataea'.

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. The same sequence of names appears in six other texts: ArNab 26.1, 131, UJadhNab 6, 164, 384 and 493 (see the commentary under ArNab 26.1). The text is dated to the year 2 of king Malichos II, that is AD 41–42. It commemorates 'any man', as in UJadhNab 5 and 84. Note that Malichos is given his complete title.

### UJadhNab 111 (ThNUJ 125)





*dkyr mškw  
br 'ydw  
bṭb*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 114 and DBv1Nab 4.

**UJadhNab 112 (ThNUJ 126)**

UJadhNab 112 and 113 are on the same rock face.



*'brq br qdm  
w tymw brh šlm  
'brq son of Qādīm and Taymū his son,  
may they be safe'.  
qdm may also correspond to Qadam or  
Qudam.*

**UJadhNab 113 (ThNUJ 127)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 112

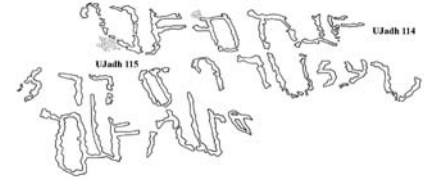
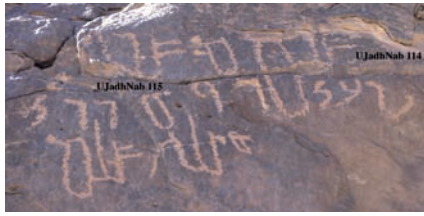
*w'lw br 'mr  
šlm bṭb*

S. al-Theeb's reading, *w'lw br tymw*, was wrong because of the bad quality of the photograph he had.

**UJadhNab 114 (ThNUJ 118)**

See also photo on pl. 21b

UJadhNab 114 to 120 are on the same rock face.



*šlm mškw  
br 'ydw*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 111 and DBv1Nab 4.

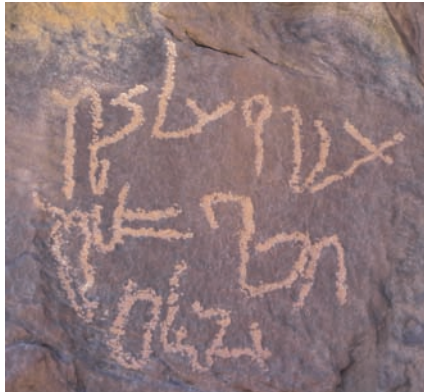
**UJadhNab 115 (ThNUJ 119)**

See also photo on pl. 21b and facsimile under UJadhNab 114

*'{d/r}{d/r}y [br]  
'šlh šlm*

**UJadhNab 116 (ThNUJ 120)**

See also photo on pl. 21b



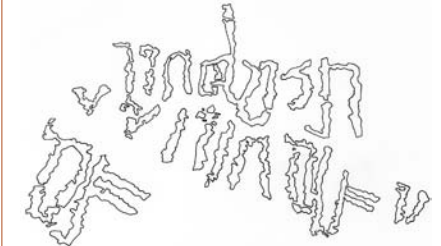
*'bdw 'ly{m}  
h{b}w šlm  
{g}mlm*

'Abdū the slave of H{b}w, may he be safe. Gmlm'.

S. al-Theeb reads 'lm for {g}mlm. Note that the *m* of 'lym is not closed at the bottom. It is possible that {g}mlm is a separate signature.

**UJadhNab 117 (ThNUJ 121)**

See also photo on pl. 21b

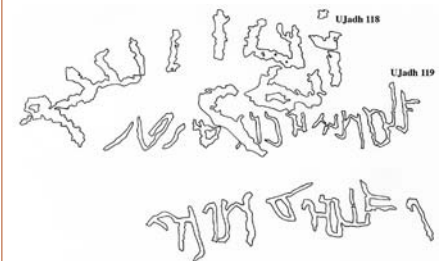


*tym l'hwr  
br šlm [br] hzwz br {g}-  
šm*

In the first name, the letters ' and *l* have been reversed, the name being probably *tym l'hwr*. The first *br* is not below the beginning of the first line. It is possible that this was initially two texts, with *tym l'hwr* and *šlm hzwz br gšm*, later rearranged into one text through the addition of *br* before *šlm*.

**UJadhNab 118 (ThNUJ 122)**

See also photo on pl. 21b



*dkyr z{b/n}y{b/n}w  
bty*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. It is later than UJadhNab 119 because it was carved over it. S. al-Theeb reads *bṭb* for *bty* but the last letter has clearly been carved as a final *y*, although one would expect a *b*. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*. The first name could be Arabic



Zubayb or Zubayn. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 59.

**UJadhNab 119 (ThNUJ 123)**

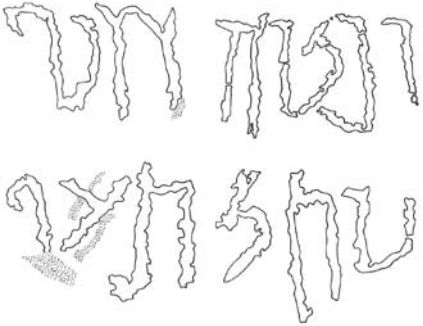
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 118

*šlm hny br kryš btb*

*w šlmw ḥwḥy*

S. al-Theeb reads *hny* for *hny* and *knss* for *kryš*.

**UJadhNab 120 (ThNUJ 124)**



*dkyrh ḥbw*

*brt yt'w*

S. al-Theeb reads *hytw* for *yt'w*. Note the feminine form of *dkyr*.

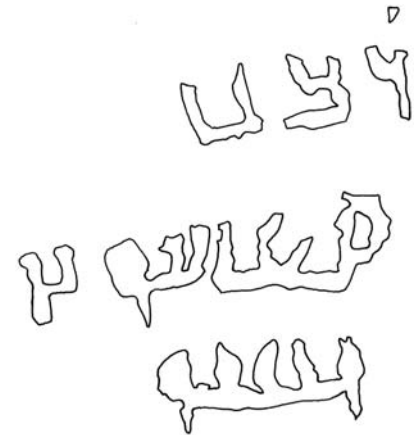
**UJadhNab 121**



*dkyr . {m}'rbw*  
*bfb*

There is an extra letter (*r*?) after the *r* of *dkyr* and two signs after *bfb*. The last one, a long vertical line, looks like a final *n*. This may be an earlier text: *{d/r}.n?*

**UJadhNab 122 (ThNUJ 45)**



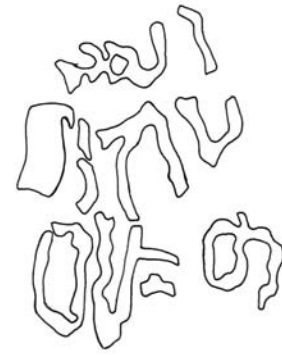
*dkyr*  
*q{'r}'w br*  
*ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. S. al-Theeb reads *qbyr'w* for *q'r'w*, which is also possible, and *'bydw* for *ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*. For *ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w*, see UJadhNab 90.

**UJadhNab 123 (ThNUJ 46)**



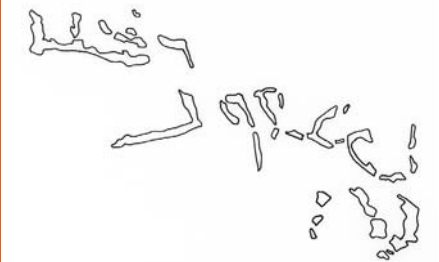
Al-Theeb 2002



*rnm{y}*  
*br hn{'}*-  
*t šlm*

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *hnmt* for *hn{'}**t* but the reading is anyway doubtful.

**UJadhNab 124**



*dkyr*  
*y'qwb*  
*br {y}*

The text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It is unfinished. Note the Jewish name Ya'qūb.

**UJadhNab 125 (ThNUJ 117)**



*šlm gšm br ḥnyn'*

The final ' is visible on another photograph. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 205 and the same names appear in reverse order in UJadhNab 76 and 154.

**UJadhNab 126 (ThNUJ 115)**



*grgr br  
yny šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 496 and DBv1Nab 19. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380, 511 and 514 (see the commentary under ArNab 12). S. al-Theeb suggested reading the name *gdgr*.

**UJadhNab 127 (ThNUJ 116)**



*ḥṭbt br  
tymw  
šlm*

The sign below *šlm* is probably a wasm and not a *l+*'.

**UJadhNab 128 (ThNUJ 114)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22a

UJadhNab 128 to 130 are on the same rock face.

*dkyr 'ptḥ br mšnw  
bṭb w šlm*

The drawing of a man has been carved between the *m* and the *š* of *mš{n}w*. The inscription is later than the drawing because the author has tried to avoid writing over it. Instead, he has carved long horizontal lines to join the *m* and the *š*.

**UJadhNab 129 (ThNUJ 114)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22a

This text is mentioned in the commentary to ThNUJ 114.



*dkyr whybw {br} 'b{d}'lg'*

Note the particular form of *bd'* in '*bd}'lg*', made of three parallel diagonal lines, as in UJadhNab 202. Note that *br* is also carved in the form of two parallel lines. The text was read correctly by S. al-Theeb, except for the *br* which he missed.

**UJadhNab 130 (ThNUJ 114)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22a

This text is mentioned in the commentary to ThNUJ 114.



*'bd' br 'ydw  
w nṭyr'l šlm*

S. al-Theeb's reading of this text in 2002 was very incomplete but he improved it in 2010 (ThMNN 588).

**UJadhNab 131**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22b

UJadhNab 131 and 132 are on the same rock face.

*dky[r] {z}y{d}w  
br tymw šlm*

The drawings of two men, one large and one small, holding weapons (bow, club and sword) cover part of this text and the following one.

**UJadhNab 132**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22b

*{š}'d'l{h}{y} [br]  
h{s}y'*

See UJadhNab 131. The inscription has been damaged by the drawing.

**UJadhNab 133 (ThNUJ 113)**



*dkyr whbyl br  
'bydw bṭb*

*dy mn {d/r}kl*

'May Wabh'il son of 'Ubaydū who is from {D/R}kl be remembered in well-being'.

The end of the text, starting from *dy mn*, is carved to the right of the two lines. The same man left his signature

in UJadhNab 387.  $\{d/r\}kl$  is a place name the exact identification of which is difficult. The final letter is probably a *l*, not a *n*, because it is very similar to the *l* of *whbyl* and it does not have a final form.

### UJadhNab 134 (ThNUJ 112)



UJadhNab 134 and 135 are carved on the same stone.

*dkyryn*  
*m' [n] 'lhy w t'wpw*  
*bny tym 'lktb'*  
*br t'wpw*

See the genealogical tree of the family under UJadhNab 59. Note that the *n* in *m' n' lhy* is almost not visible because it is carved partly in a crack between the ' and the '.

### UJadhNab 135

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 134

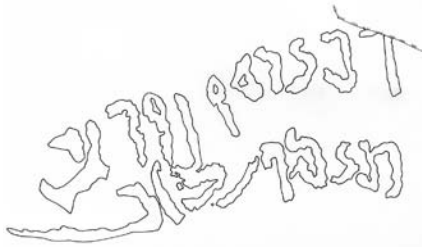
*b {n} y ' {l/n} t lhy šlm*

The text starts after *dkyryn* of UJadhNab 134 but the authors of UJadhNab 135 have reused this word for their own text and one may thus have to read in fact *dkyryn bny* ...

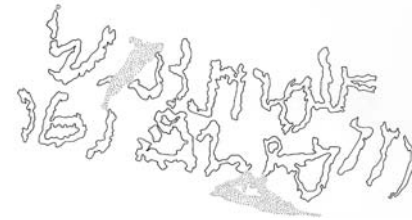
### UJadhNab 136 (ThNUJ 47)

*dkyr 'w {n} wd br*  
*tymw b'ib*

Note the form of the *t*, in which the loop and the vertical stroke are not joined, which is very unusual.



### UJadhNab 137 (ThNUJ 111)



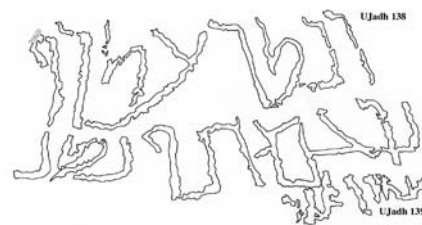
*šlm rhymb l*

*br {d/r} m {p} l {s} b'ib*

S. al-Theeb did not read the second line. The last letter of the father's name, read here as *s*, is very uncertain.

### UJadhNab 138 (ThNUJ 110)

UJadhNab 138 and 139 are on the same rock face.



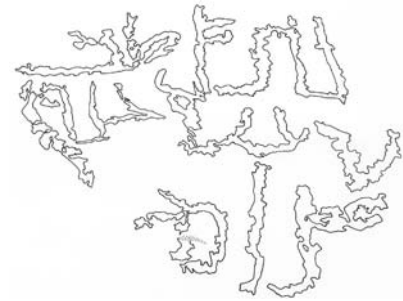
*dkyr 'ydw*  
*br gm'hw b'ib*

### UJadhNab 139

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 138

*' {h} dw š l {m}*

### UJadhNab 140 (ThNUJ 229)



*nḥštb*  
*br 'bdgnwn*  
*šlm*

### UJadhNab 141 (ThNUJ 222)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22c

UJadhNab 141 to 144 are on the same rock face.

*dkyr {k} m {t}*  
*br {tymw}*

S. al-Theeb reads  $\{r\}mt$  for  $\{k\}m\{t\}$ . The reading of the father's name is uncertain but likely.

### UJadhNab 142 (ThNUJ 223)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22c

*dkryn tbyn w 'bd' bdt*  
*w 'lk'*

For a better photograph, where the end of the text is not in the shade, see al-Theeb 2002: 330. S. al-Theeb reads *tryn* for *tbyn*. Note the use of *dkryn* instead of *dkyryn*.

### UJadhNab 143 (ThNUJ 224)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22c

*dkyr {n}.lp{t}*

S. al-Theeb reads *pldlkm* for  $\{n\}.lp\{t\}$ . The thick line between the first two letters of the name has not been considered as part of the text.

### UJadhNab 144 (ThNUJ 225)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 22c

*dkyr bgrt br 'wš {l} {hy}*

S. al-Theeb reads *ngdt* for *bgrt*.

**UJadhNab 145 (ThNUJ 226)**



Al-Theeb 2002



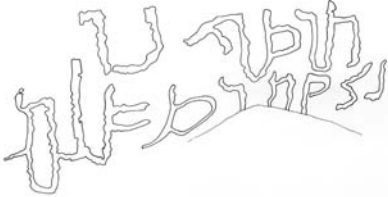
*šlm 'bdšlm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix. This is a theophoric name with the god of Taymā', Šalm.

**UJadhNab 146 (ThNUJ 227)**



Al-Theeb 2002

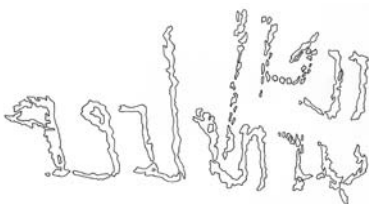
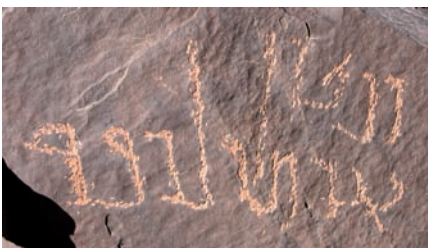


*tršy br*

*nyq{m}{d/r}s šlm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *trqy* for *tršy*. The letter after *nyq* is more probably a *m* than a *t* because the two vertical strokes are closer to each other than those of the *t* in *tršy*.

**UJadhNab 147 (ThNUJ 228)**

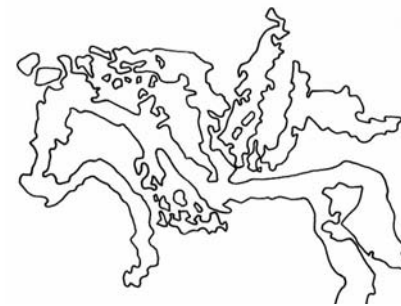


*dkyrn*

*bgrt w lkpw*

Note that the first *w* is joined to the *t* of *bgrt*. S. al-Theeb reads *{n}gdrt* for *bgrt*. The *n* after *dkyr* is probably a mistake because one would expect either *dkyr* or *dkrwn* but not *dkyrn*.

**UJadhNab 148**



*bly ----*

**UJadhNab 149**



*šlm*

*rbyb'l*

*br m {y}.t*

*br rw {y}.t*

**UJadhNab 150 (ThNUJ 104)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23 UJadhNab 150 to 155 are on the same rock face.

*w'lw br wlw šlm*

**UJadhNab 151 (ThNUJ 105)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23

*šhrw šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 44, 93, and DBv1Nab 21 (the handwriting is exactly the same). See commentary under UJadhNab 44.

**UJadhNab 152 (ThNUJ 106)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23

*šlm hrw br hntlw*

Above the text, somebody carved *šl*.

**UJadhNab 152.1**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23

*qšrw*

*šlm*

The name was read *qšrw* because of the Arabic names Qasr and Qušar.

**UJadhNab 153 (ThNUJ 107)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23

*šlm š'd'lh'y br {p..kn}*

*b'tb*

**UJadhNab 154 (ThNUJ 108)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23

*šlm hnyn' br gšm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 76 and the same names appear, in reverse order, in UJadhNab 125 and 205. The *ns* in *hnyn'* are different from the *b* in *br*.

**UJadhNab 155 (ThNUJ 109)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 23

*'mr'l br hrn dkyr*

*b'tb l'lm*

**UJadhNab 156**





*šlm* {d/r}  
*yny br 'zr*  
*bṭb*

The {d/r} at the end of the first line does not necessarily belong to the following name. It is possible that *yny* of UJadhNab 156 and {d/r}ynt of UJadhNab 160 are brothers, sons of 'zr.

### UJadhNab 157

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25a

UJadhNab 157 to 160 are on the same rock face.

*dkyr š{d/r}y{d/r}r w 'tymw bṭb*

The name may correspond to Arabic Šadīd, Šudayd or Surayr.

### UJadhNab 158

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25a

*šlm* .

### UJadhNab 159

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25a

*šlm šk*

The text may be unfinished.

### UJadhNab 160

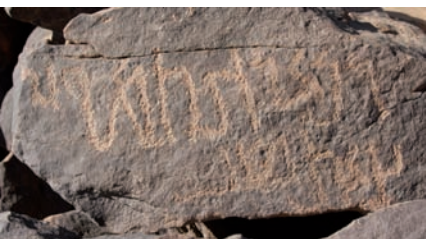
See photo and facsimile on pl. 25a

*šlm* {d/r}ynt

*br 'zr* {bṭb}

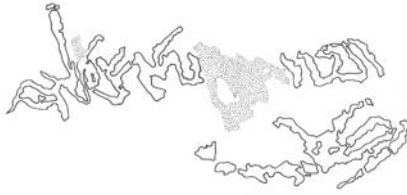
It is possible that *yny* of UJadhNab 156 and {d/r}ynt are brothers, sons of 'zr.

### UJadhNab 161 (ThNUJ 94)



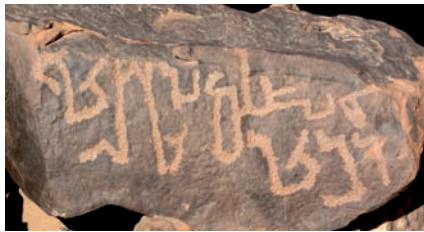
*dkyr ḥtmw br*  
*bnyt bṭb*  
 S. al-Theeb reads {bk}'t for *bnyt*.

### UJadhNab 162 (ThNUJ 95)



*dkyr ---- br 'wš'lyh*  
*bṭb*

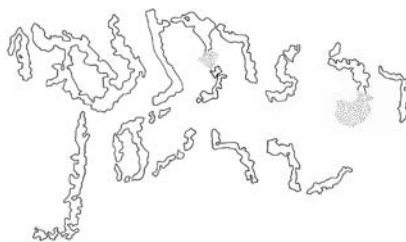
### UJadhNab 163



'bšlm br hyw  
*dkyr*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 233.

### UJadhNab 164 (ThNUJ 96)



*dkyr tymw*  
*br rb'l*

The same sequence of names appears in five other texts: ArNab 26.1, 131, UJadhNab 6, 110, 384 and 493 (see the commentary under ArNab 26.1). S. al-Theeb reads *ry'n* for *rb'l*.

### UJadhNab 165 (ThNUJ 97)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 24

UJadhNab 165 to 168 are on the same rock face. One Hismaic text, UJadhHism 12, is carved in the upper left corner of the rock.



['] {ly}n br šry't  
*šlm*

The upper part of the text is in the shade. For a better photograph of this particular text, see al-Theeb 2002: 304. S. al-Theeb reads *šl{m}n* for ['] {ly}n. The first letter is almost invisible.

### UJadhNab 166 (ThNUJ 98)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 24

*dkyryn ḥzn br ḥgw*

*w '}{/m}{d/r}w w mš {d/r}*

S. al-Theeb reads {br}'šdw mn šmrw for *w '}{/m}{d/r} w w mš {d/r}* but this reading is impossible. The second line may be divided in different ways: '}{/m}{d/r}w w mš {d/r} or '}{/m}{d/r} w w mš {d/r}. The names have not been indexed.

### UJadhNab 167 (ThNUJ 99)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 24

*zbd br kmšn'm*

*šlm*

The same man left his signature in DBv1Nab 1. The handwriting is not the same but it is nevertheless likely that we are dealing with the same person because the name is very rare.

### UJadhNab 168 (ThNUJ 100)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 24

*----.ly br mšlmw*

*šlm* {'lm}

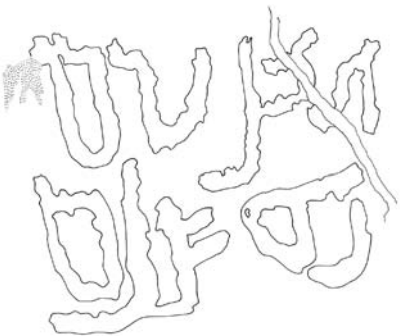
S. al-Theeb reads *šlm* for *----.ly*

**UJadhNab 169**



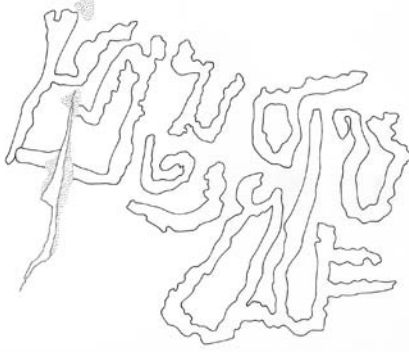
'bd'lg'  
br hlp'lhy  
šlm

**UJadhNab 170**



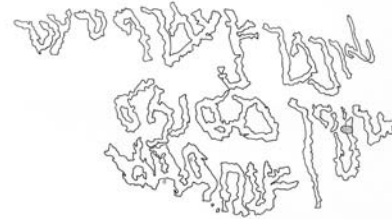
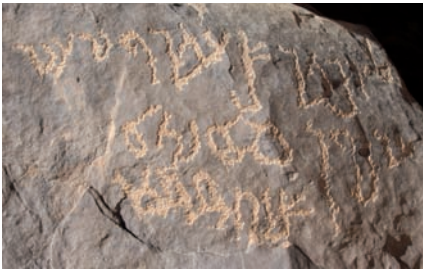
hyn br m-  
b' šlm

**UJadhNab 171**



kw' br {h}yn  
šlm b'tb

**UJadhNab 172**



bly dkyr š'ydw br 'bd-  
'dnwn m'by' šnt 20+20+5+1

Year 46 corresponds to AD 150–151. *m'by'* has been interpreted as a *nisba* form, 'the Moabite' (which appears also in ArNab 165 and possibly UJadhNab 511). On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 77. I had initially read the date in this text as 100+100+5+1, i.e. 206, equivalent to AD 311–312. The signs which are interpreted here as twenties may indeed be read as hundreds but after a careful analysis of the forms of the numeral 20 and 100 in the Nabataean inscriptions, what we have here is more likely to be two 20s. The sign for '100' is indeed much closer to a Nabataean *w* whereas the sign for

'20' can be made of a loop, either closed (as in UJadhNab 172) or open, which makes it look like an Arabic '3'.

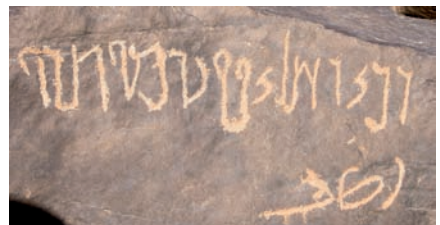
**UJadhNab 173**



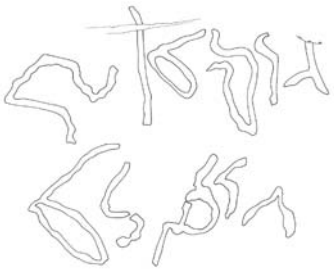
tym' bdt br  
whbw dkyr b'tb  
w šlm w {rmy}{d/r}{t}---  
gyz{d/r}yn br  
'bw šl{m}

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 40. Note that the *h* in *whbw* is closed at the bottom. Starting from the third line, the text is probably a succession of names.

**UJadhNab 174**



dkyr hlypw br mwt{d/r}w  
b'tb

**UJadhNab 175**

----  
*grm'l bny*  
*{g}y{s}y'*

There are traces of letters above *grm'l* which may belong to another name. This would explain the plural *bny*. However, no photograph of the beginning is available.

**UJadhNab 176**

UJadhNab 176 and 177 are on the same rock face.



*dkyr zydq{w}-*  
*my br '{d/r}w*

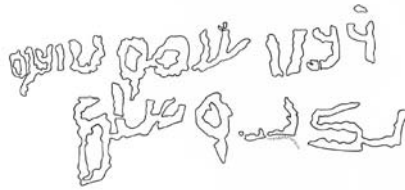
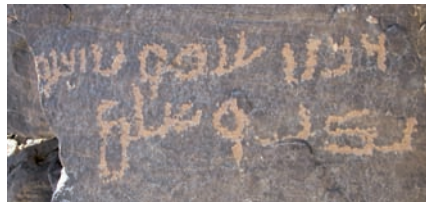
The *w* in the first line is carved almost like a *z*.

**UJadhNab 177**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 176

*dkyr*  
*'smw*

There are two beginnings of signatures on the same stone, *dk* and *dky*.

**UJadhNab 178**

*dkyr 'nmw br zk{yw}*  
*bṭb w šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot on the *d* of *dkyr*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 67. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 77.

**UJadhNab 179 (ThNUJ 197)**

See also photo and facsimile on pl. 25b

UJadhNab 179 to 185 are carved on two faces of the same boulder and UJadhHism 13 is carved vertically on the edge between the two faces. The left face was properly photographed in 2004 but inscriptions 179–181 on the right face are almost unreadable since they were in direct sunlight. For a better photograph, see al-Theeb 2002: 324.



*{gm}ḥw br tymw*  
*šlm*

The first name is difficult to read and must be considered as uncertain (S. al-Theeb reads *{m}tw*).

**UJadhNab 180 (ThNUJ 198)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25b

*šlm mn'm br ntny*

The reading of the first name was checked on another photograph. The inset in pl. 25b shows the beginning of the text (on the adjacent face) and *br ntny* is visible in thinly scratched letters immediately above UJadhHism 13. S. al-Theeb reads *khnw* for *ntny*.

**UJadhNab 181 (ThNUJ 199)**

*dkyr*  
*'myrt*  
*br '{šd}[w]*  
*bṭb*

On the right face of the boulder, not visible on pl. 25b. The first name can be seen better on S. al-Theeb's photograph, but in his reading he overlooked the *t*, which is above the left shoulder of the drawing below, and misread the father's name.

**UJadhNab 182 (ThNUJ 200)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25b

*dkyr b{d/r}{d/r}w*  
*br gzy'w*  
*bṭb*

S. al-Theeb reads *ndrw* for *b{d/r}{d/r}w*.

This is carved immediately below UJadhProblem 5. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 248.1.

**UJadhNab 183 (ThNUJ 201)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25b

*'bw br 'bw šlm*

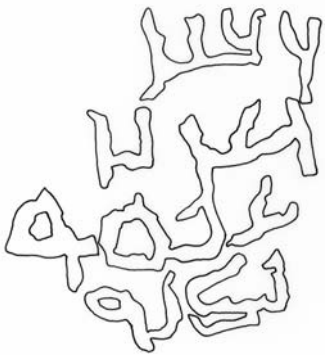
S. al-Theeb reads *mnw* for *'bw*.

**UJadhNab 184 (ThNUJ 202)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 25b  
*dkyr m'nw*  
*br š'ydw br ḥtybw šlm*  
 S. al-Theeb omitted the *w* of *ḥtybw*.  
 Below this text, an isolated *dkyr* is  
 carved in thick letters.

**UJadhNab 185 (ThNUJ 203)**

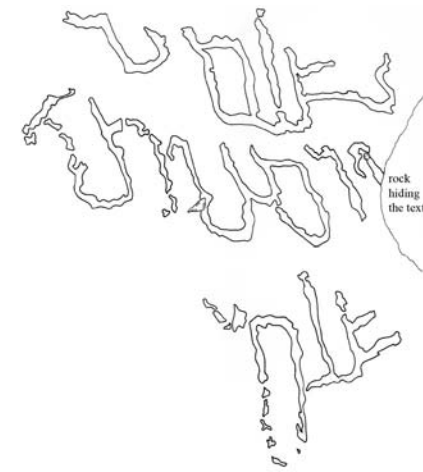
See also photo and facsimile on pl. 25b



*dkyr*  
*hy{n/r} br*  
*'nmw*  
*ḥtḥw*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. S. al-Theeb reads *r'n* for *hy{n/r}*. The last letter could be read as a *r* if we compare it with the *r* in *dkyr*.

**UJadhNab 186 (ThNUJ 204)**



*yšlm br*  
*'wdmnty*  
*šlm*

The beginning of the father's name is hidden by another stone. For a photograph showing this part of the text, see al-Theeb 2002: 324. At Qā'an-Nqayb, QNNab 16 has *šlm ḥrbw br 'wdmnty* and QNNab 19 has *yšlm šlm*. It is possible, considering UJadhNab 186, that *yšlm* is the brother of *ḥrbw* and that the *yšlm* in QNNab 19 and UJadhNab 186 is the same person. S. al-Theeb reads *'wdmnty* for *'wdmnty*.

**UJadhNab 187 (ThNUJ 205)**



Al-Theeb 2002



*dkyr ml{g/h}m[w]*  
*br ḥ{yn} {d/r}{w}*

This text is carved in Nabataeo-Arabic characters. It was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *mngmw* for *ml{g/h}m[w]* and *gnnw* for *ḥ{b/y/n}{r}{d/r}{w}*. For the first name, cf. Arabic Muljam. The father's name is best read as Ḥayyān. What follows *ḥ{yn}* does not necessarily belong to the same signature.

**UJadhNab 188 (ThNUJ 206)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 26  
 UJadhNab 188 to 190 are on the same rock face.

*zbd'dwn br š'd'l-*  
*hy šlm*  
 S. al-Theeb reads *zkr 'rpwn* for *zbd'dwn*.

**UJadhNab 189 (ThNUJ 207)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 26  
*{dk}yr zyd'lhy*  
*mn qdm 'lh{y}'*  
*klhm br tymw*  
 '[May] Zayd'allāhī be remembered in the presence of all the gods, son of Taymū'.  
 S. al-Theeb reads *yd'lhy* for *zyd'lhy* (the *z* is visible below the final *n* of *zbd'dwn* of UJadhNab 188) and *klhm* for *klhm* (there is only one *l*, the second vertical stroke belonging to the *n* of *mn* above). The vertical line between the *q* and the *d* in *qdm* does not belong to the text. This text is interesting because the names of the gods are not given and Zayd'allāhī is to be remembered in the presence of all of them.

**UJadhNab 190 (ThNUJ 208)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 26  
*qšrw br gzy't*  
*šlm*  
 Considering that *gzy't* is a feminine name in ArNab 78 and 106, it is probable that it is also feminine here. If this is correct, we would have a rare instance of a man identifying himself as the son of his mother, rather than of his father.

**UJadhNab 191 (ThNUJ 13)**





*zbd'dnwn*  
*br'n'm*  
*šlm*

Note that the *m* of *'n'm* is not closed at the bottom. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 317 and DBv1Nab 13. S. al-Theeb reads *zkr'dnwn* for *zbd'dnwn* and *mn't* for *'n'm*.

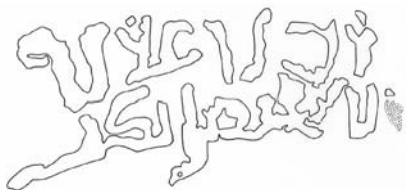
### UJadhNab 192



*dkyr nmyrw*  
*br grmw*  
*w'hyw br <'>*  
*rb'l*

The *'* at the end of the third line does not belong to the text. There is also an extraneous sign between *br* and *gmhw*.

### UJadhNab 193

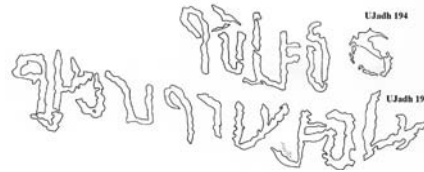


*dkyr'dyw*  
*br {hy}mn btb*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The reading of the father's name is very doubtful. Note the dot on the two examples of *d* in the first line. If the last letter of the father's name was read as a *r*, it could correspond to the Arabic name Uḥaymir but it would be very different from the *r* in *dkyr* and *br*.

### UJadhNab 194

UJadhNab 194 and 195 are on the same rock face.



<'> *mšlmw*

The first letter does not seem to belong to the text.

### UJadhNab 195

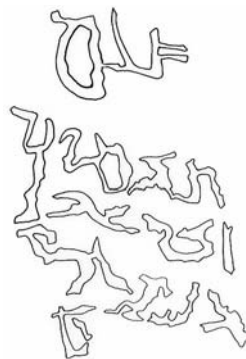
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 194

*{š}lm š'z'dw br mlw*

*š'ydw* would be a better name but the third letter is a straight line. Also, the two strokes of the *š* are very close to each other but they are not joined, hence the reading of the letter as a *š* rather than as a *q*.

### UJadhNab 196

See photo on pl. 27a



UJadhNab 196 to 198 are on the same rock face. Two Syrian Aramaic inscriptions are carved vertically on the same face (UJadhSyr 1–2). One is a four line text carved to the left of UJadhNab 197 and partly over UJadhNab 198. The other is a three line text carved to the right and above UJadhNab 197. See the

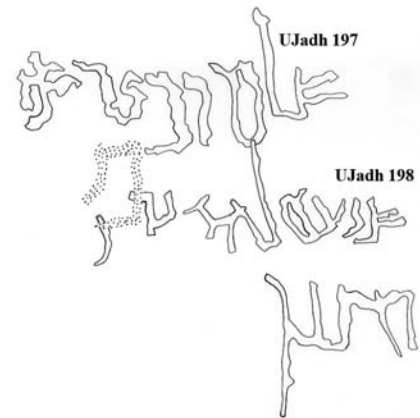
contribution of F. Briquel-Chatonnet and A. Desreumaux in this volume.

*šlm*  
*tymw br*  
*zyd'l*  
*gb{b/y}{h/h}y-*  
*'*

The last *'* was carved below the line. The last word is probably a *nisba* form in the plural applied to Taymū and his father.

### UJadhNab 197

See photo on pl. 27a



*šlm dkyr {š}*

### UJadhNab 198

See photo on pl. 27a and facsimile under UJadhNab 197

*šy'lyh br*  
*rḥnn*

### UJadhNab 199

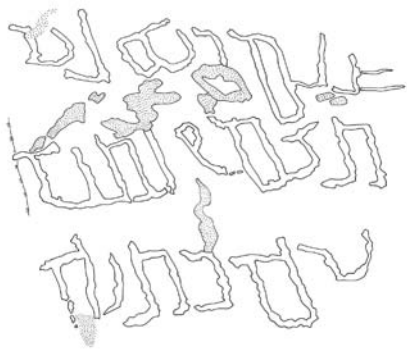


*šlm kl <g>  
gbr dy 'zl  
lhgr' w kl  
gml*

'May any man who went to Hegra and any camel be safe'.

The *g* was carved twice. The text commemorates any person and any camel who went to Hegra and the same formula is used in UJadhNab 5.

**UJadhNab 200 (ThNUJ 91)**



*šlm rb'l br  
tymw ktb'  
brh ktbh*

'May Rab'īl son of Taymū, the writer, be safe. His son wrote it'.

S. al-Theeb suggests to read *tymw ktn' brh ktbh*, in which he translates *ktn'* by Arabic *al-kattān*. However, *kattān* in Arabic can only be derived from the root *ktn*, which means 'to be dirty' or 'to stick two things together with glue'. *kattān* is indeed a substantive meaning only 'linen'. Therefore, the profession of *kattān* would be 'the one who glues things together', which is not very satisfactory. It is much better and much easier to read *ktb'*, 'the writer', especially since the third letter may simply be read as a *b*.

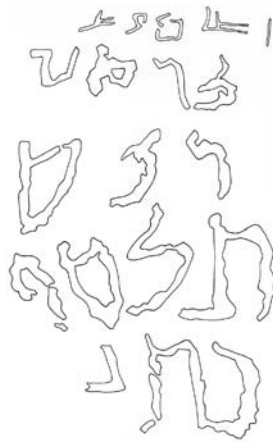
**UJadhNab 201 (ThNUJ 92)**

*{š} šlm {wš}.  
y{d/r}{m/s} br  
{d/r}ys  
tymw  
ktb*

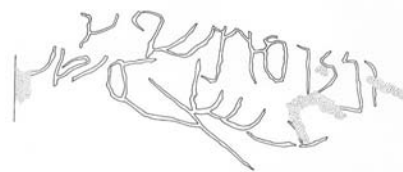
This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. The reading of the first line is doubtful. It is possible that Taymū is the same as the one mentioned in UJadhNab 200. The reading is based on that of S. al-Theeb.



Al-Theeb 2002



**UJadhNab 202 (ThNUJ 88)**



*dkyr mhbbw br  
'bd'lg' btb*

S. al-Theeb reads 'šlg' for 'bd'lg' but such a form of š would be very surprising. The sequence of letters *bd'* in 'bd'lg' is represented as three parallel lines, as in UJadhNab 129.

**UJadhNab 203**



*mšlm {w}*

**UJadhNab 204**



*šhrw br  
š'dw  
šlm*

**UJadhNab 205**

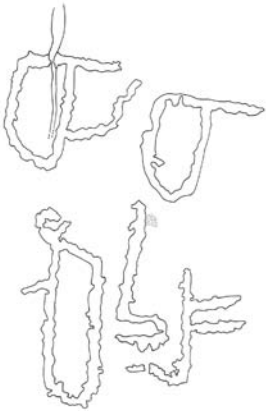




*gšm br  
ḥnyn'  
šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 125 and the same names appear, in a reverse order, in UJadhNab 76 and 154.

**UJadhNab 206**



*'b' šlm*

**UJadhNab 207**



*šhrw br šlmw*

Below the text, there is an isolated *šlm* followed by an unfinished *w*, possibly the name *šlmw*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 92.

**UJadhNab 208**



*šlm  
ḥzyr'*

There are various isolated Nabataean letters on the same rock face, as well as a text which has been scratched over.

**UJadhNab 209**



*tym'lhy  
br rtmnlt*

**UJadhNab 210 (ThNUJ 87)**



*w dkyr š'ydw br ḥwrw  
br b'nw bṭb w šlm*

There is a Greek text above. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 106. Note that the *w* of *w šlm* rests on the tail of the *b* of *bṭb*.

**UJadhNab 211**



*šlm tymw br  
š'd'lhy*

**UJadhNab 212**



*y{l/n}'w šlm*

The name Yan' is attested in Arabic.

**UJadhNab 213**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 212

*dkyr 'bd'lg' br {m/t}{m}{d/r}{w}*

The end of the text is not clear on the photograph and the father's name is very doubtful. The central ' of 'bd'lg' is exactly below the *w* of UJadhNab 212.

**UJadhNab 214 (ThNUJ 85)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 27b

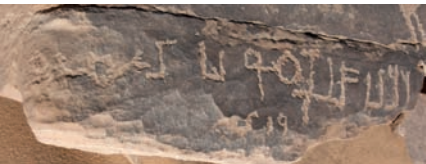
UJadhNab 214 and 215 are on the same rock.

*krz' w krysw tymw  
w 'rtnp t̄b{lwh}y  
šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *krym* for *krysw* and *t̄{why}* for *t̄b{lwh}y*. The *šlm* he reads after *tymw*, which appears to the left of the stone, does not seem to belong to the same text. I have no satisfactory explanation for the word *t̄b{lwh}y*, if this is the correct reading. There is an Arabic text above UJadhNab 214.

**UJadhNab 215 (ThNUJ 86)**

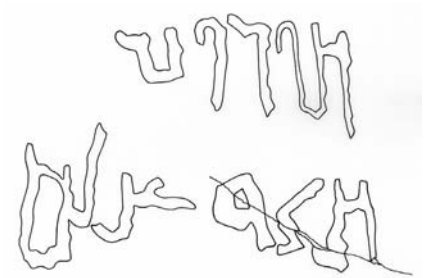
See also photo on pl. 27b



*dkyr šlymw br y'mrw*

This text is carved partly in the Nabataeo-Arabic script, especially the father's name. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 10, the script of which is very similar.

**UJadhNab 216**



*hwrw br  
hyw šlm*

There is a Greek text below.

**UJadhNab 217**



UJadhNab 217 and 218 are on the same rock face.

*šlm ---  
Very faint text.*

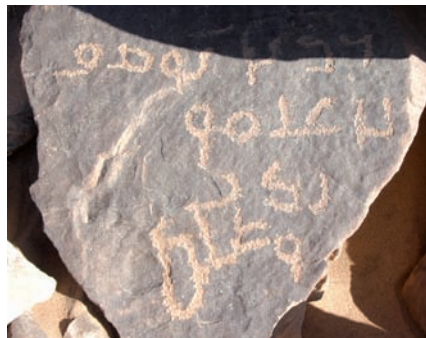
**UJadhNab 218**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 217

*r̄hmnw br {zbd̄t}{d/r}{h}{wm}*  
*šlm*

The text is very faint and the reading of the father's name remains uncertain.

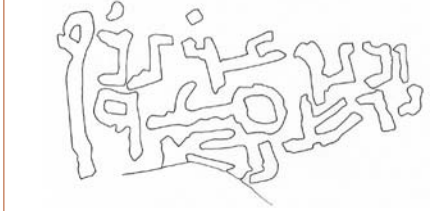
**UJadhNab 219 (ThNUJ 84)**



*dkyr ywsp  
br 'nmw  
b̄t̄b  
w šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. There seems to be a dot on the *k* of *dkyr* but it may be accidental. For this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 77–78.

**UJadhNab 220**



*dkyr 'dy{d}w  
br šm'wn  
b̄t̄b*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The second *d* of '*dy{d}w*' has a horizontal line at the bottom, as if it was a *k*, but this is probably a mistake. Note the dot above the *ds* in '*dydw*'.

**UJadhNab 221**



*bly dkyr 'byw br  
'šhq  
b̄t̄b*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 4.

**UJadhNab 222**



*dkyr bpnw br*  
*'bw yyny*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 78–79.

### UJadhNab 223 (ThNUJ 81)

See also photo on pl. 28

UJadhNab 223 to 228 are on the same rock face.



*dkyr wbrw br*  
*'drw btb*

S. al-Theeb reads *dkyr w'll}w br zky{w} {br} myw* but he had a very bad photograph to work from. Note the dot above the examples of *d* in *dkyr* and *'drw*. See Nehmé 2010a: 58, fig. 11.

### UJadhNab 224

UJadhNab 224 is on another face of the same rock.



*dkyr w'lw*  
*br z{k}y{n}*  
*'b{l/n}dmyw*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. There is another, hardly legible text, above it.

### UJadhNab 225

See also photo on pl. 28

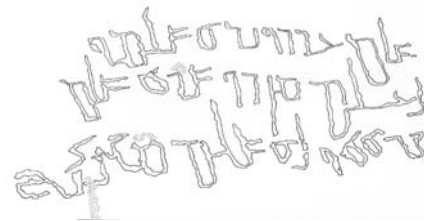


*dkyr hnnny br yhw d'*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 293. Both names are Jewish.

### UJadhNab 226

See also photo on pl. 28



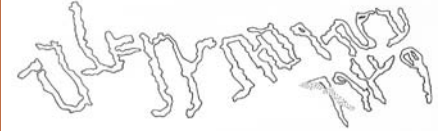
*šlm 'drw br 'šlmw*  
*l'lm mn dwšr' šlm*  
*qr'' w l' šlm m{q}{l/n}y'*

'May 'drw son of 'Aslamū be safe for ever from Dūšarā. May the reader be safe and may the *m{q}{l/n}y'* not be safe'.

The first name was read *'drw* and not *'rdw* because in UJadhNab 223, the first letter has a dot and is therefore a *d*. The reading of the last word is difficult. The first letter is very similar to the other *m* in the text and is therefore certain. The second letter has been read as a *q* because of the loop at its top, but it remains uncertain. The third letter is either a *l* or a *n*. After it, above the line, there is a *y*. The *l/n* is directly joined to the last letter. No satisfactory explanation can be given for this word. This text is a signature with a request from Dūšarā. One would expect to have, in this context, *mn qdm*, but *qdm* has been omitted. The expression *šlm ... w l' šlm ...* is not very common in Nabataean. We have the same use of the negative particle in ULNab 1, where *l'* has been added to an existing text.

### UJadhNab 227 (ThNUJ 82)

See also photo on pl. 28



*{b}{d/r}y{t} w myt šlm*  
*w 'zw{r}*

S. al-Theeb reads *'ytw br hyt šlm*. I have preferred to consider the first sign as two letters rather than as one but the name remains very doubtful. Other readings are also possible.

### UJadhNab 228 (ThNUJ 83)

See photo on pl. 28

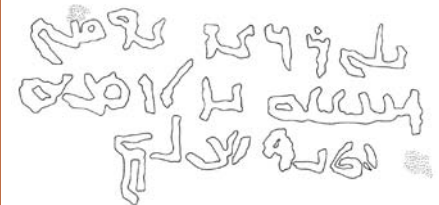
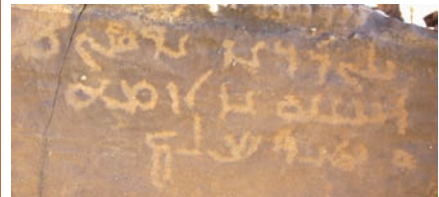


*šlm brn'rt mn qmd*  
*'lhy' klhm*

'May Barna'arat be safe in the presence of all the gods'.

The author reversed the *d* and the *m* (*qmd* instead of *qdm*). Like the author of UJadhNab 189, Barna'arat asks to be safe in the presence of all of the gods, not one in particular.

### UJadhNab 229

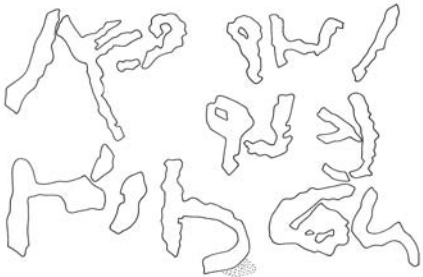


*bly dkyr ywmny [br]*  
*hnnnyh br 'rsh*  
*btb w šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*. There is an extra *y* at the end of the first line (it does not appear on the copy, see the photograph). The third letter of the father's name is not a *m* because of the stroke on its left side, and if it is a

s, the preceding letter cannot be a z, the only alternative being that it is a r.

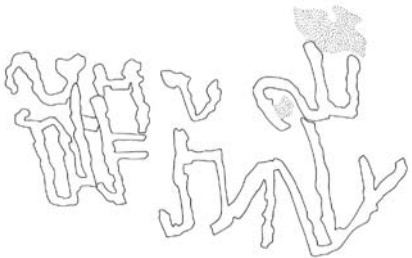
**UJadhNab 230**



{y}rw w {š}.  
{l/n}gyw  
{tyz}br}

The reading is very doubtful. The sign at the end of the first line may be a combination of two letters. The script is mostly Nabataeo-Arabic.

**UJadhNab 231**



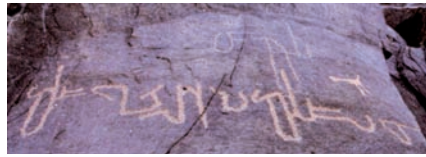
bny br hyw  
'lht šlm

**UJadhNab 232 (ThNUJ 79)**



mšlmw br ply

**UJadhNab 233 (ThNUJ 80)**



Al-Theeb 2002



'bšlm br hyw šlm

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 163. Above the text, šlm ' is carved in thin letters.

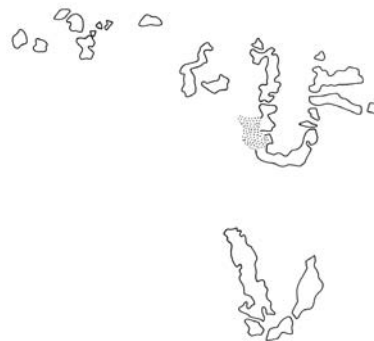
**UJadhNab 234**



bṭb dkyryn nḥšṭb w gblw

The words bṭb and gblw have been carved with a different technique.

**UJadhNab 235**



šry----  
br

The rest of the text has been damaged by a drawing.

**UJadhNab 236**

UJadhNab 236 and 236.1 are on the same rock face.



dky{r} ----{d/r}mw

The text has been damaged (probably on purpose) and is difficult to read on the photograph.

**UJadhNab 236.1**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 236

{w}{ll  
{m}{rkh

**UJadhNab 237 (ThNUJ 188)**



d' 'lt dy bnh 'nmw br

{d/r}----{r}wp.w bšl{m}

'This is 'Allāt, which was made by Ganm/Gānim son of {D/R}---{r}wp. and in salvation (?).

The stone bearing this text lies near an archaeological structure. The second line is very damaged and difficult to work out. S. al-Theeb reads ----škš----{t} for this line.

S. al-Theeb suggested to translate 'lt by 'votive offering' ('ālāh means 'oath, curse' (Brown, Driver, Briggs 1999, s.v.), but one does not 'build' a votive offering. It is therefore better to take 'lt as the name of the goddess, with the implication that in some way the standing stone (which is not explicitly mentioned in the text) is 'Allāt.

**UJadhNab 238.** Not attributed

**UJadhNab 239**



*šlm 'bd'lhy*

**UJadhNab 240 (ThNUJ 171)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

UJadhNab 240 to 248.1 are on the same rock face.

'zzw  
*šlm*

**UJadhNab 241 (ThNUJ 172)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

'bdw *šlm*

**UJadhNab 242 (ThNUJ 173)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

*tymw*

**UJadhNab 243 (ThNUJ 174)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

*dkyryn šbw w šy'lhly w w'lw*  
S. al-Theeb reads *bl'* before *dkyryn* but it is not clear whether the vertical strokes which appear on the photo belong to the text. Moreover, they have the same height and the first one is not likely to be a *b*. Another man named *šbw* is mentioned in UJadhNab 46 (see the commentary there).

**UJadhNab 244 (ThNUJ 175)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

'wtlhy br š'dlhy  
*šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads 'dtlhy for 'wtlhy.

**UJadhNab 245 (ThNUJ 176)**

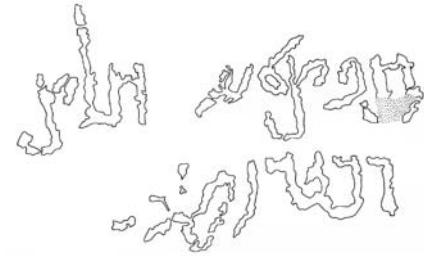
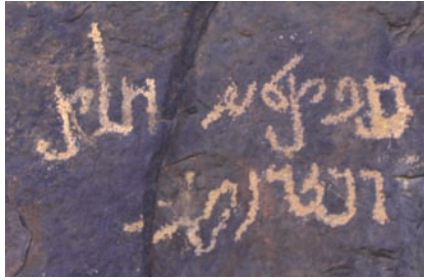
See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

*dkyr zbdw br zyd'lhy*  
*bṭb*

S. al-Theeb read *zyd'l* for *zyd'lhy* because the end of the name was not visible on his photograph. The same man left his signature in ArNab 82.

**UJadhNab 245.1 (ThNUJ 177)**

To the left of the inscriptions shown on pl. 29.



*ḥps' br ḥls*  
*dkyr bṭb*

**UJadhNab 246**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

*lwdn br {t}lm{.}*

The horizontal stroke at the bottom of the *{t}* may or may not belong to the letter. There seems to be a letter starting after the *m*. If it was a *y*, it would mean we have the Greek name *tlmy*, Ptolemy.

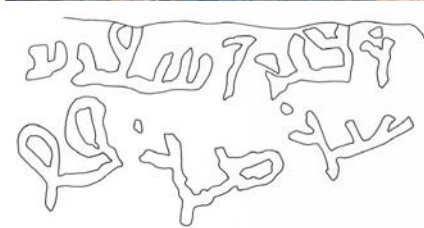
**UJadhNab 247**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 29

*bṭb*

This word may belong to UJadhNab 243 but it is carved in much bigger characters.

**UJadhNab 248**



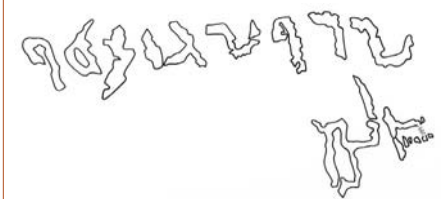
*dkyr {'}{š}{p/q}r br*  
*'bdsd{p/q}w*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above each of the three examples of *d* in the text.

The loop of the letter read as *{p/q}* is on the left side of the stroke, and in the Nabataean script it would be read as a *p*. In the Nabataeo-Arabic script, this is less systematic, as the *q* in *y'qwb* in UJadhNab 124. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 79.

**UJadhNab 248.1**

Below UJadhNab 245, not visible on pl. 29.



*b{d/r}{d/r}w br gzy'w*  
*šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 182.

**UJadhNab 248.2 (ThNUJ 178)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30a

UJadhNab 248.2 to 251 are on the same rock face, along with UJadhASA 46, which is carved below 248.3.

---*m {br}*  
---*{d/r}*

This text was not photographed during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *šlm ḥrm {br} ---{myw}* but the text is hardly legible on the published photograph.

**UJadhNab 248.3 (ThNUJ 179)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30a

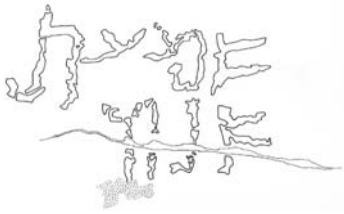
*šlm trsy*

This text was not photographed during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb suggests that both *ḥr{m}y* and *tr{s}y* are possible but the third letter is a *s*. UJadhASA 46 is between this text and UJadhNab 249.

**UJadhNab 249 (ThNUJ 180)**

See also photo on pl. 30a





*šm't*  
*šlm*

In this text, *šm't* is probably a personal name, not a verb (see UJadhNab 313).

**UJadhNab 250 (ThNUJ 181)**



*'bd'lh br*  
*p'rw*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. S. al-Theeb reads *'bd{lhy} br h.n* for the first line but it seems that what comes after *br* is part of the drawing of an animal rather than letters. The father's name may be the Arabic name Fa'r.

**UJadhNab 251 (ThNUJ 182)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 250

*{dkyr} y{h}w*  
*br ---*

S. al-Theeb reads *yn{m}w br 'byd* but the reading of the father's name is very doubtful.

**UJadhNab 252 (ThNUJ 183)**

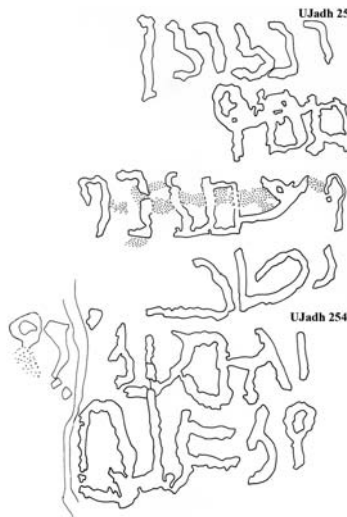


*w'tw br*  
*dmsy*  
*šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 284. The first letter of the father's name is probably a *d*, not a *r* (S. al-Theeb reads *rmsy*).

**UJadhNab 253 (ThNUJ 184)**

UJadhNab 253 and 254 are on the same rock face.



*dkyryn*  
*{tmw}*  
*w {ty}kw*  
*btb*

S. al-Theeb reads *{m}mw* for *{tmw}* and *'m{yrw}* for *'tykw*. The second name has been scratched over and is not clear.

**UJadhNab 254 (ThNUJ 185)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 253

*zhmny [b]{r} {w}-*  
*{q}y*  
*šlm*

*br* is carved partly on the crack. The father's name remains very doubtful.

**UJadhNab 255 (ThNUJ 186)**



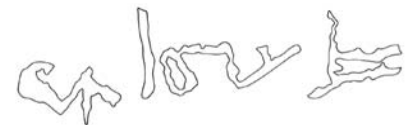
Al-Theeb 2002



*in{y}w šlm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. Letters or signs are carved above the Nabataean text.

**UJadhNab 256**



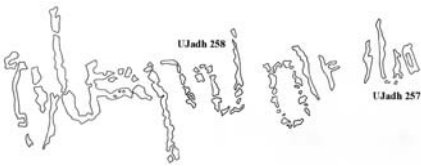
*š'd'ly*

**UJadhNab 257**

UJadhNab 257 and 258 are on the same rock face.







'{y}l{/y} šlm

The name is very doubtful.

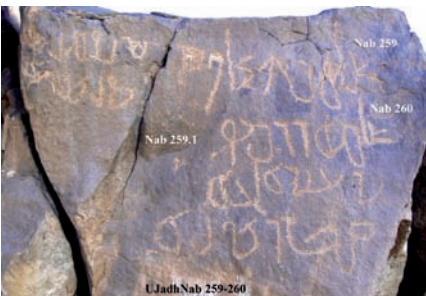
### UJadhNab 258

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 257

lwdn šlm

### UJadhNab 259 (ThNUJ 5)

UJadhNab 259 to 260 are on the same stone.



šlm khylw br npmn----  
snypr'

'May Khylw son of Npmn----, the ensign bearer, be safe'.  
*Khylw* may be the diminutive of Kahl. *Snypr'* is a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. It may be a variant of *smypr'*, attested in JSNab 60 from Hegra. The latter is derived from Greek *Sēmíophoros*, which means 'the one who carries the ensign'.<sup>10</sup> It is possible, as was suggested to me by M.C.A. Macdonald, that *snypr'* is a transcription of the Latin term *signifer* in which the /g/ has been absorbed into the following /n/ to produce /ñ/. If this is so, it might suggest that this man served in the Roman army, where Latin was the official language, rather than in the Nabataean army, which would have been more likely to adopt the Greek term.

10. On which see the commentary in Nehmé 2005–2006: 202–203.

### UJadhNab 259.1

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 259

ply

### UJadhNab 260 (ThNUJ 6)

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 259

šlm 'drmw

br 'bd'lg'

qtrywn'

'May be safe 'drmw son of 'Abd'algā the centurion'.

*qtrywn'* is one of the four attestations of this word in Nabataean, the three others coming from Hegra and the area of Dūmat al-Jandal: JSNab 31 and two recently published inscriptions.<sup>11</sup>

### UJadhNab 261

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

UJadhNab 261 to 275 are on the same rock face located at the highest point of an outcrop. They were photographed from another outcrop and no detailed photograph of the texts is available. A three letter Ancient South Arabian text (UJadhASA 44) is carved at the very top of the rock.

hn'w br ply šlm

*br* is represented by two parallel lines. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 431.

### UJadhNab 262

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

tymw br mšlmw šlm

The same names appear in UJadhNab 283 but the scripts of the two texts are different. The script here is also different from that in the two other occurrences of this sequence of names, in ArNab 2 and 3 (see the commentary under ArNab 2).

### UJadhNab 263

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

tymw

### UJadhNab 264

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

rm{/y} br k{/h}y/w šlm

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 341. Note the ligature

11. Nehmé 2005–2006: 185–186, fig. 127 (Hegra) and Nehmé 2017c: 136–137, DaJ144Nab10 (Dūmat al-Jandal).

between the *m* and the *y*, which is also found in UJadhNab 341.

### UJadhNab 265

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

mtyw br 'wprns

šlm

### UJadhNab 266

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

'šylh br

'myyw šlm

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The fourth letter in the first name is better read as *l* than as *n*, despite the fact that Ġuṣaynah is attested in Arabic. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 79.

### UJadhNab 267

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

šlm

kmš'wh br 'bdw

### UJadhNab 268

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

bly dkyr whblhy br 'w{/š}[/']{/h}y

b{/b}

Note the final form of the second *h* in *whblhy*.

### UJadhNab 269

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

mtyw br 'wydw

Note the form of both *w* in 'wydw'.

### UJadhNab 270

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

m'n'lhy br

ntny šlm

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 281 and 381.

### UJadhNab 271

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

šlm ntny br rb'l

A man with the same name and father's name left his signature in UJadhNab 98 (see the commentary there).

### UJadhNab 272

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

khylw br ply

šlm

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 315.

**UJadhNab 273**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

*dkyr hlms  
btb***UJadhNab 274**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

*{d/r}sy br mšlmw  
br ksy*

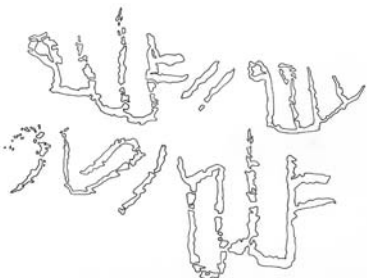
The first two names appear in reverse order in ArNab 62, 129 and 135. The first letter of the grandfather's name is a *k*, despite the fact that it would be tempting to read it as *{d/r}sy*.

**UJadhNab 275**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 30b

*dkyr šl{y} {br}  
'wtlhy  
šlm*

This text is separated from the others by a sort of frame.

**UJadhNab 276 (ThNUJ 189)***'npw br šlgw  
šlm btb*

S. al-Theeb reads *šlyw* for *šlgw*. *br* is represented by two parallel lines.

**UJadhNab 277**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 31a

UJadhNab 277 to 279 are on the same stone.

*'bdmknw  
br ḥmdw  
<šl> dkyr***UJadhNab 278**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 31a

*'wtw br š'dw***UJadhNab 279**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 31a

*'bdb' l br 'qby  
šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 18 and 305.

**UJadhNab 280 (ThNUJ 190)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 31b

UJadhNab 280 to 282 are on the same rock face.

*mlkywn br rm' l šlm*

There is an isolated *šl[m]* above the text.

**UJadhNab 281 (ThNUJ 191)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 31b

*m'n' lhy  
br ntny šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 270 and 381.

**UJadhNab 282 (ThNUJ 192)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 31b

*sy{d/r}'w šlm*

Another man named *sy{d/r}'w* is mentioned in UJadhNab 28 (see the commentary there).

**UJadhNab 283 (ThNUJ 193)**

UJadhNab 283 and 284 are on the same rock face

*tymw br mšlmw šlm*

The same names appear in UJadhNab 262 but the scripts of the two texts are different. The script here is also different from that in the two other occurrences of this sequence of names, in ArNab 2 and 3 (see the commentary

under ArNab 2). S. al-Theeb omitted the final *w* in *mšlmw*.

**UJadhNab 284 (ThNUJ 194)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 283

*w'lw br  
dmsy šlm*

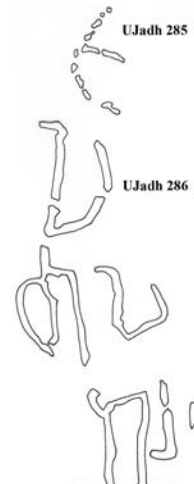
S. al-Theeb misread the father's name (*{rm}{l}*) because of the bad quality of the photograph he was working with). The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 252.

**UJadhNab 285 (ThNUJ 195)**

UJadhNab 285 and 286 are on the same rock face.



Al-Theeb 2002

*'š{d}  
šlm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey and it is not visible on the available photograph. This is S. al-Theeb's reading, which could not be checked.

**UJadhNab 286 (ThNUJ 196)**

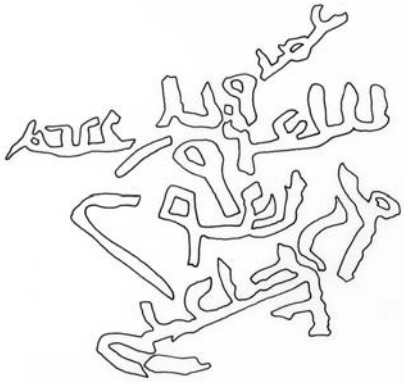
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 285

*w'lw br  
'wš' bdt*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. Only part of the text is visible

on the available photograph. This is S. al-Theeb's reading, which could not be checked.

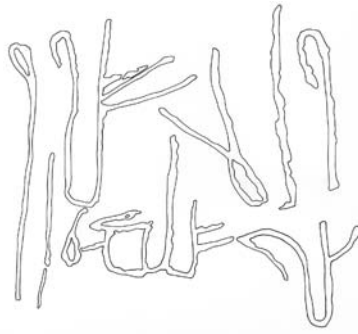
### UJadhNab 287



'mrw br 'yk{mr/s}  
š'dw'  
{y}'wy  
m{r}y {h}nyny

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d* of *š'dw'*. The last letter of the first line is tentatively read as a *s* despite the fact that the loop is rather small. If we compare it with the letter at the beginning of the fourth line, it may also be read *mr*. The sequence of the lines is not absolutely certain but it is the one which makes sense. Only the first man gave his father's name.

### UJadhNab 288



wll'šwp  
bny šlm'l

There are other texts on the same stone but they have not been photographed individually and are not really visible. Note the form of the *l* + ' in the first name.

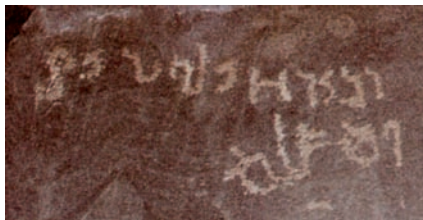
### UJadhNab 289 (ThNUJ 155)



{d/r}{d/r}yw br zbdwn šlm

The same man left his signature in DBv1Nab 12.

### UJadhNab 290 (ThNUJ 156)



Al-Theeb 2002



dkyr hylw br yq-  
wm  
šlm

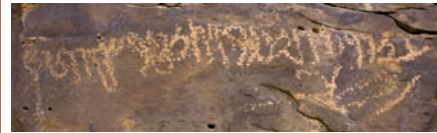
This text was not found during the 2004 survey.

### UJadhNab 291



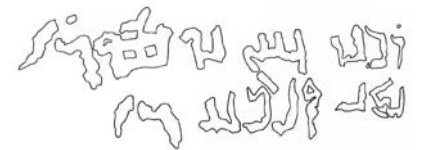
'm{d/r}{d/r}{y} br y'l'  
šlm l'im

### UJadhNab 292



'ydw br tymw w tymw {šl}m dkyry{n}  
b'tb

### UJadhNab 293



dkyr hnnny br yhw'd'  
b'tb w l{k}y{r}d'

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dots on both examples of *d* of the first line as well as on the last name, in which it is less visible because the dot is not really separated from the letter. What comes after *b'tb* is probably another name. It seems that *dkyr* and *b'tb* are not carved in exactly the same technique as the rest of the text. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 225. See Nehmé 2017a: 82, fig. 4.2.

### UJadhNab 294



*lysmks šlm*

This is a Greek name, Lusimachos.

**UJadhNab 295 (ThNUJ 77)**

UJadhNab 295 and 296 are on the same rock face.

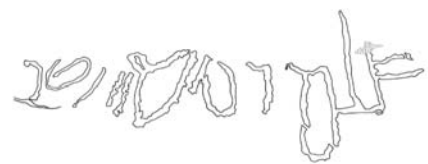


*mškw nbty' šlm mn*

*qdm mntw 'lht'*

'Māsikū the Nabataean, may he be safe in the presence of Manātū the goddess'. This is the only text in this *corpus* in which a man says that he is Nabataean. He asks to be safe in the presence of one of the Nabataean goddesses.

**UJadhNab 296 (ThNUJ 78)**



*šlm {d/r}ms btb*

The two vertical lines between *{d/r}ms* and *btb* have not been considered as part of the text because their colour is lighter. Part of the drawing of the camel runs over *btb*. The letters below the Nabataean text belong to UJadhThamC/D 1 and ThamD 2.

**UJadhNab 297**



*'wpw br*

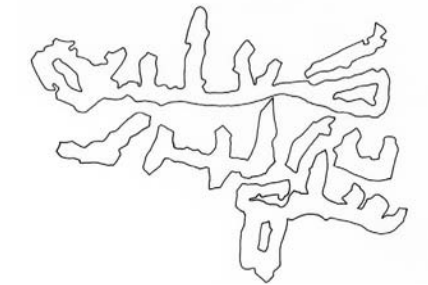
*w' {y}lw ktb ydh*

*šnt 2 x 100 {..}*

'Awfū son of Wā'ilū. He wrote [with] his hand year 200'.

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It was examined at the workshop held in Paris in January 2005. After the number, there is a sign which seems to have been scratched over and which may be the continuation of the date. This is one of the few texts carved by somebody who claims that he carved it himself (as in UJadhNab 201, 309, 313, etc.), but specifying, in this case, that it was carved by his own hand. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 79–80. UJadhHism 16 is below this text.

**UJadhNab 298**



*t'lbh*

*br 'lhrt*

*šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. T'lbh is certainly the Arabic name Ta'laba spelled with a *t* and 'lhrt is the name al-Ḥārīt. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 80 and on *t'lbh* see Nehmé 2017a: 92.

**UJadhNab 299**



*'bw 'mrw br 'šylh*

*šlm šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 80. There are three drawings of camels and a number of apparently random symbols above the text. UJadhHism 16 is to the far left of the face.

**UJadhNab 300**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 32a

UJadhNab 300–301 and UJadhImpAr 1 are on the same rock face.

*hn'lh*

*br 'bd-*

*'l'šhl*

*šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The reading of the first name was suggested to me by Chr. Robin and corresponds probably to Arabic Ḥanzala. The same man probably left his signature in UJadhNab 367. The father's name was read 'bd'l'šhl because of the Arabic name 'Abd'al'ašhal. Note the dot above the *d* of 'bd.

**UJadhNab 301**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 32a

*yhw d'*

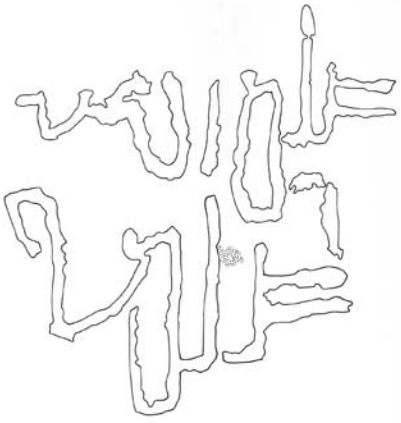
*br {š'yh}----*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the *d* above the *d* of *yhw d'*.

**UJadhNab 302.** Not attributed.

**UJadhNab 303 (ThNUJ 3)**





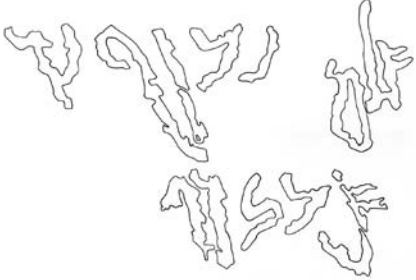
*šlm zny br*  
*šlmw*

S. al-Theeb reads *bny* for *zny*. The *d/r* below *šlm* does not belong to the text.

### UJadhNab 304 (ThNUJ 4)



Al-Theeb 2002



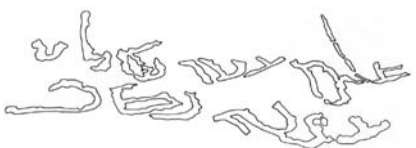
*šlm b'nw br*  
*š'ydw*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey.

### UJadhNab 305 (ThNUJ 74)

See also photo on pl. 32b

UJadhNab 305 to 308 are on the same rock. Where the two faces meet, one finds UJadhHism 17.

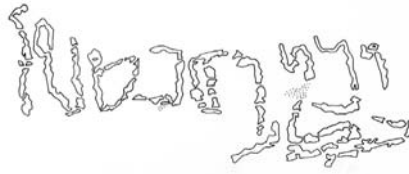


*šlm 'bdrb'l br*  
*'qby btb*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 18 and 279.

### UJadhNab 306 (ThNUJ 75)

See photo on pl. 32b

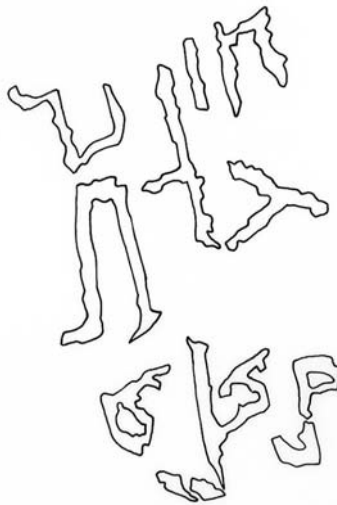


*dkyr 'bsnwn*  
*btb*

The second letter of the name is neither like the *k* of *dkyr* nor like the *b* of *btb*, but *b* is the more probable reading.

### UJadhNab 307 (ThNUJ 76)

See photo on pl. 32b

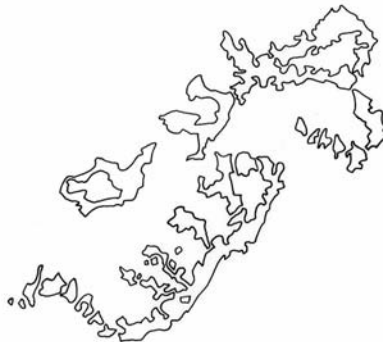


*hzn br*  
*g{d/r}t*  
*qyn'*

'Hzn son of Juddat the smith'.

### UJadhNab 308

See photo on pl. 32b



*{šbr}h*  
*br {m/s}{b/n}{'}{d/r}*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The first name should probably be read *šbrh* since it occurs also in ArNab 34 and UJadhNab 345. The second name remains very doubtful.

### UJadhNab 309

See photo and facsimile on pl. 32c

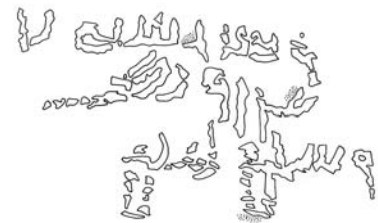
UJadhNab 309 and 315–318 are on the same rock face.

*bly dkyr šly br 'wšw*  
*br 'lh{b/n}h btb w šlm*  
*w ktb' dnh ktb*  
*ywm*  
*hd btšry šnt*  
*m't w tš'yn*

'Yea! May Šullay son of 'Awsū son of 'lh{b/n}h be remembered in well-being and may he be safe. And this writing he wrote the first day of Tišrī, year one hundred and ninety'.

The text is dated to the month of Tišrī year 190 of the Province, that is AD 295. It is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and *bly* is carved on top of the last letter of UJadhNab 316. On this text, see Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 80–81. As in UJadhNab 201, 297, 313, etc., the author claims that he carved the text himself. The same man left his signature seven years later in UJadhNab 538. His grandfather's name, 'lh{b/n}h, probably 'lhn, is not attested elsewhere in Nabataean (compare with the Jewish name 'lhn?).

### UJadhNab 310

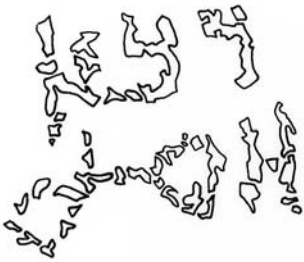


*dkyr hnynh br*  
*'{z/r}rw btb*  
*w šlm l'lm ---*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*. The final letter of the first name should probably be read as a *h*, the name thus produced being *h{b/n}y{b/n}h*. The father's name can be read either 'zrw (cf. Arabic 'Azra and 'zr in three other Nabataean texts from the Darb al-Bakrah, UJadhNab 156, 160, and 427), or 'rrw (cf. 'rr in al-Muraykhi

2008, inscription M 1) and Arabic ‘Irār and ‘Urār.

**UJadhNab 311**

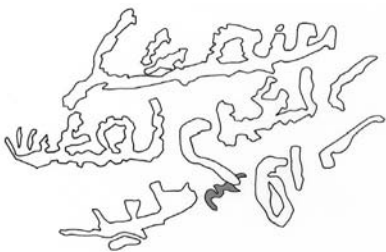
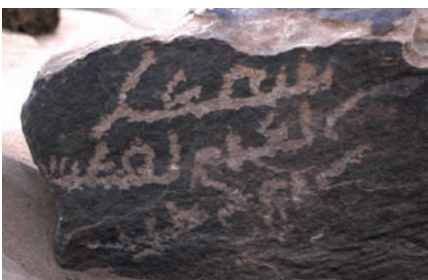


*dkyr*  
*{hr}mh*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. There are a few letters above the text on the photograph: *dk* / *br q*.

**UJadhNab 312.** Not attributed

**UJadhNab 313**

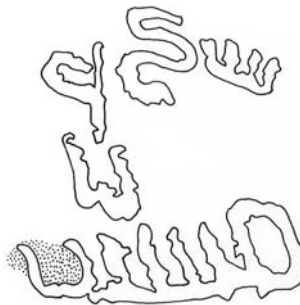


*šm't*  
*'l'zy l{m}š{r}*  
*'{z/r}m ktb*  
*'May al-'Uzzay listen to {M}aša{r}.*  
*'A{z/r}m wrote'.*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. *šm't* is interpreted here as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine perfect of the verb *šm'*, used as an optative, ‘may she listen’, followed by the preposition *l* and the name of the person to be listened to. What follows *'{z/r}m* (in grey on the facsimile) is not considered as a letter (it would be an *'*) because the same name, without an *'*, appears in UJadh 364 and because the *m* has here the form it normally has in final position in the Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions. Finally, *'zmw* occurs in a Taymā' Aramaic inscription, *CIS II 336*, with a final *w*. If it is indeed the same name, it is interesting to have it once with a final *w* in Taymā' Aramaic and without a *w* in Nabataeo-Arabic.

See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

**UJadhNab 314**



*šr{y}.*  
*br*  
*m{š}r*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The letter read as a *{y}* is very doubtful and there may be one more letter(s) after it. The author may be the son of the individual mentioned in the previous text. The reading of the name remains doubtful. Cf. Arabic Mašar.

**UJadhNab 315**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 33a

UJadhNab 315 to 318 are carved on the same rock face as UJadhNab 309.

*khylw br ply š[lm]*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 272. The last word is cut on the photograph.

**UJadhNab 316**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 33a

*dkyr g{b/n}s*

**UJadhNab 317**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 33a

*zbd'dnwn br 'n'm*  
*šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 191 and DBv1Nab 13. Note that *bly* of UJadhNab 309 was carved on top of the *m* of *'n'm*.

**UJadhNab 318**

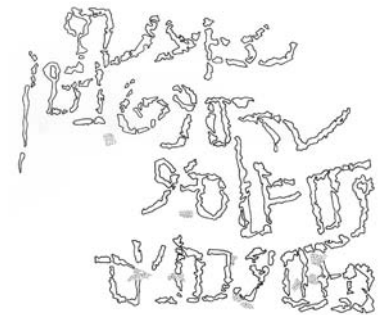
See photo and facsimile on pl. 33a

*'bdmnkw br '{wtw}*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 444. The *šlm* of UJadhNab 317 was carved on top of *'wtw*.

**UJadhNab 319**

UJadhNab 319 and 320 are on the same rock face.



*byš' br p-*  
*{b/n}y 'ptlywn*  
*w šlmw*  
*{tn}' {w/p} ktbh*

‘Byš’ son of P{b/n}y ‘ptlywn and ‘Aslamū {tn}' {w/p} wrote it’.

The name *'ptlywn* appears as a father’s name in ArNab 76. The last line may be interpreted in two ways: ‘{tn}’ and he wrote it’, which is awkward, or ‘{Tn}-’ {w/p} wrote it’. This text is a list of

individuals and only the first one gives his father's name. The names *'p!lywn* and *'šlmw* have been added.

**UJadhNab 320**

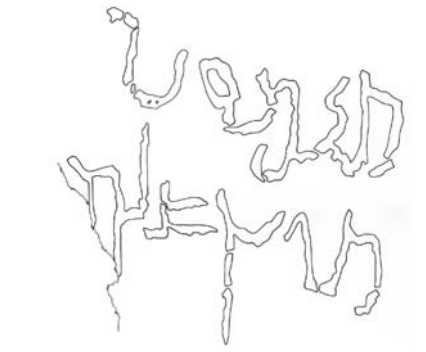


*dkyr*  
*w[h]bw*  
*br ynmw*  
*b!b*  
*'bydw*  
*ktb*

'May Wa[h]bū son of Ynmw be remembered in well-being. 'Ubaydū wrote'.

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The letter which appears after *'bydw* seems to belong to the group of three letters carved vertically to the left of the text: *{d}'f?* Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*. The text was carved by 'Ubaydū for Wahbū.

**UJadhNab 321**



*tymw br*  
*twbn šlm*

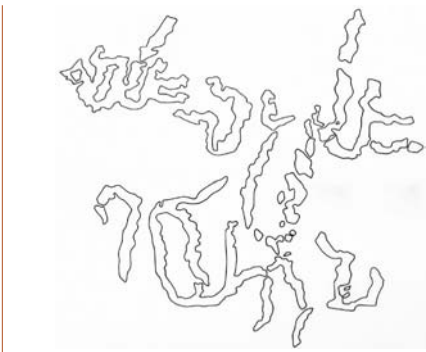
The father's name is probably Arabic *Ṭawbān*. It is not attested before in Nabataean but it appears in several pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions from Najrān (Robin *et alii* 2014) and it is interesting to find it here for the first time in Nabataean.

**UJadhNab 322**



Isolated *šlm* followed by a swastika.

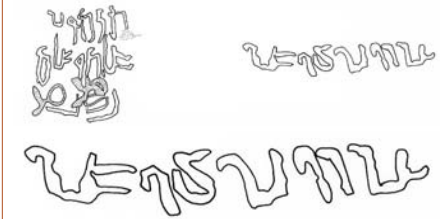
**UJadhNab 323**



*šlm mšlmw*  
*br hn 'w*

**UJadhNab 324 (ThNUJ 72)**

UJadhNab 324 and 325 are on the same rock face. Two Ancient South Arabian texts, UJadhASA 7 and 8, are carved above UJadhNab 324.



*'drw br 'wšw*  
*šl{m}*

**UJadhNab 325 (ThNUJ 73)**

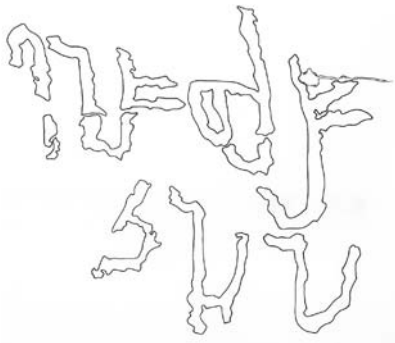
See photo under UJadhNab 324



*tymw br*  
*šlmw šlm*  
*b!b*

S. al-Theeb reads *zymw* for *tymw* but the *t*, although faint, is clear. He also reads *l'lm* after *b!b* but this word does not seem to exist. Two identical signs, which have not been considered as letters, have been carved over *b!b* (they could be read *mrmr* in Nabataeo-Arabic). The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 513.

**UJadhNab 326**



šl[m] 'šdw  
br b{d/r}y

The author has probably forgotten to carve the *m* of *šlm*.

**UJadhNab 327 (ThNUJ 71)**

UJadhNab 327 and 328 are on the same rock face.

dkyr w'lw br  
hbybw ssn'  
dy hw 'b t. {d/r}-  
bt'  
bꞥb

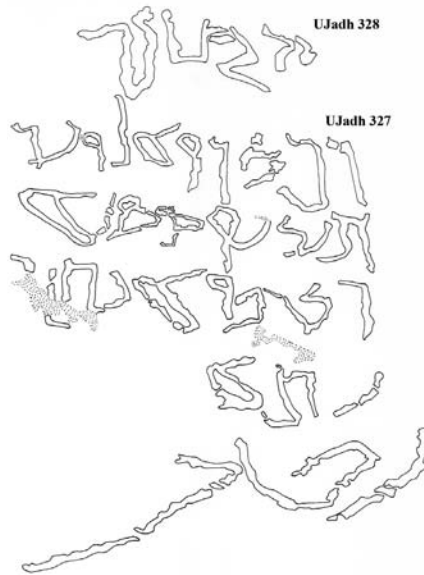
'May Wā'ilū son of Habībū (or Ḥubaybū, Ḥubayyibū, Ḥubaybū), *ssn'*, who is the father of t. {d/r}bt', be remembered in well-being'.

This is the only attestation of *ssn'* in our corpus and it is also a *hapax legomenon* in Nabataean. S. al-Theeb translates it 'the one who plants fruits' and explains it<sup>12</sup> on the basis of Syriac *sīsonō*, 'date spadix, branch', and Jewish Aramaic *sansan*, 'the pointed ribbed leaf of the palm tree'. This may be a little bit far fetched but no alternative explanation can be given for the moment.

S. al-Theeb reads *dy hw 'b twbt'*, 'he who is the monk (priest) of the burial'? This reading is difficult because the letters which follow the *t* at the end of the third line cannot be read as a *w*. There are clearly two letters, the first

12. al-Theeb 2010: 719.

one possibly a *n* and the second one a *d* or a *r*. It is also possible to suggest that the expression starting with *dy hw* aims at explaining who Wā'ilū is: he is the father ('*b*') of a man named *t. {d/r}bt'*.



**UJadhNab 328**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 327

{bry} šlm

**UJadhNab 329**

See photo on pl. 33b

UJadhNab 329 to 333 are on the same rock face.



dkyr whb'lh

**UJadhNab 330**

See also photo on pl. 33b



{hrg}{z/n} 'ly  
'lhgr

p{'}m..

{l/n}{y}{l/n}

{'š}

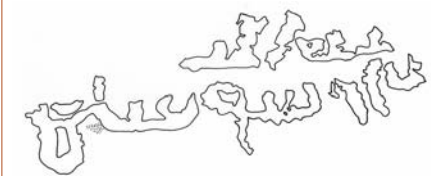
'{hrgz} to al-Ḥijr p{'}m.. {l/n}{y}{l/n} {'š}'.

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. There are two letters before the first line but they do not seem to belong to the text. The same is true, perhaps, of lines 4 and 5. The interpretation of this text is difficult and only the toponym *hgr*, preceded by the article 'l, is clear. Before 'lhgr, one might have the preposition 'ly, Arabic 'ilā, 'to, toward', which is not attested in Nabataean, and before that a form of the Arabic verb *hrg*, 'to go, to depart', which would make perfect sense.

See Nehmé 2017a: 81, 82, fig. 4.1.

**UJadhNab 331**

See photo on pl. 33b



'bd't

br 'wšw šlm

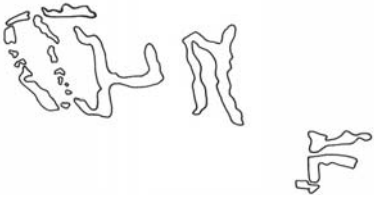
This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The name 'Abd'allāt is not attested in Nabataean. It is the feminine



equivalent of Arabic ‘Abdallāh, the closest parallels of which in Arabic are Awsallāt, Nahdallāt, Sa’dallāt, Wahballāt, Zaydallāt, etc. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

**UJadhNab 332**

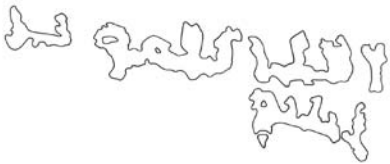
See photo on pl. 33b



ḥbk’  
š

**UJadhNab 333**

See photo on pl. 33b



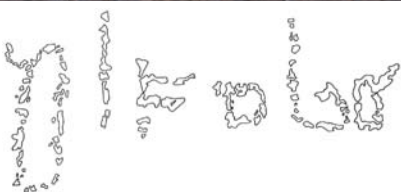
dkyr ynmw br  
ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 90.

**UJadhNab 334 (ThNUJ 49)**

See also photo on pl. 34a

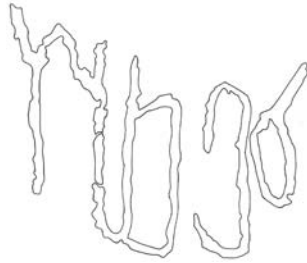
UJadhNab 334 to 358 are on the same rock face, along with several South and North Arabian inscriptions the numbers of which are given in relation to the closest Nabataean inscription in the list below.



’pls šlm

**UJadhNab 335 (ThNUJ 50)**

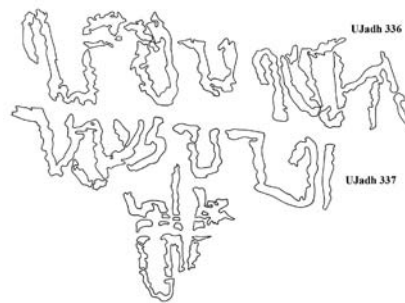
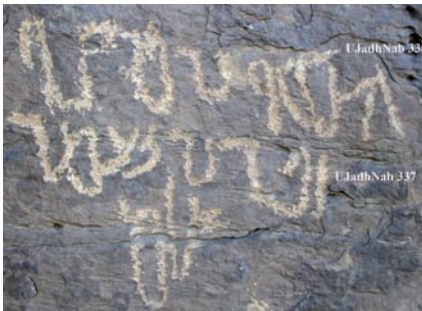
See also photo on pl. 34a



’pth

**UJadhNab 336 (ThNUJ 51)**

See also photo on pl. 34a



hn’w br prqw

**UJadhNab 337 (ThNUJ 51)**

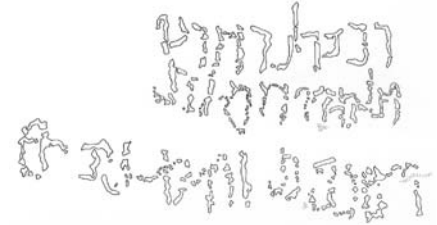
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 336 and see also photo on pl. 34a

zpr br y’mr  
šlm

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 344. The same names may also be mentioned in UJadhNab 394, but the father’s name there is y’m (perhaps unfinished?) and the shapes of the letters are different from those in UJadhNab 337 and 344.

**UJadhNab 338**

See also photo on pl. 34a



dkyr <↳ br ḥrbw

w šlmw w ḥmlt

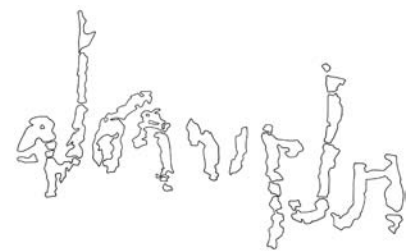
w ’npt {r}ḥmny’

‘May Ḥarbū and Sālimū and Ḥamalat (or Ḥimālat) and ’npt, the ones who love, be remembered’.

There is an Arabic name ’Unāf.

**UJadhNab 339 (ThNUJ 52)**

See also photo on pl. 34a

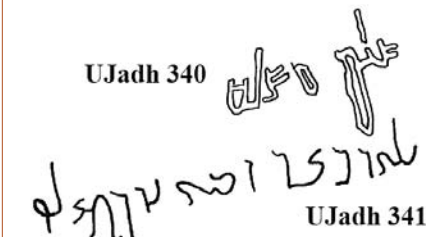


ḥlš br w’lw

**UJadhNab 340 (ThNUJ 53)**

See also photo on pl. 34a

UJadh 340



UJadh 341

šlm mšlm

**UJadhNab 341 (ThNUJ 54)**

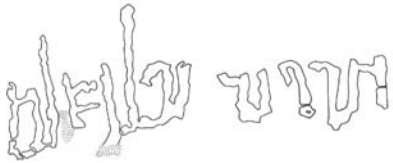
See also photo on pl. 34a

*bly dkyr rmy br k{h}ylw*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 264. The *h* looks more like a *h*.

**UJadhNab 342 (ThNUJ 55)**

See also photo on pl. 34a

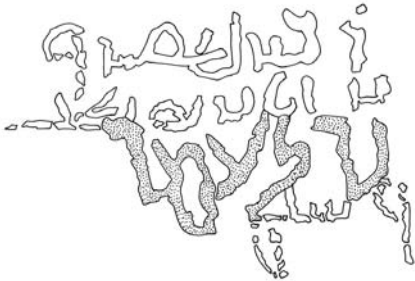


*hrw br npln šlm*

Two Nabataean letters, *š'* (possibly *š'd*) are carved below the end of the text (see pl. 34a). They have not been given an independant number. The Ancient South Arabian text to the left is UJadhASA 13.

**UJadhNab 343**

See also photo on pl. 34a, 34b



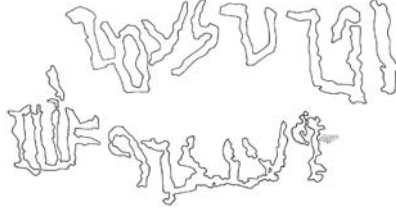
*dkyr l'mrw  
br zb'brh btb  
w šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. Note that *w šlm* was carved below the first line of UJadhNab 344 and that both the *y* and the *r* of *y'mr* of 344 are most probably

carved below 343 (there is a slight difference in the patina). There is a dot above the *d* of *dkyr*.

**UJadhNab 344 (ThNUJ 56)**

See photo on pl. 34a



*zpr br y'mr  
w 'bydw šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 337. The same names may also be mentioned in UJadhNab 394 (but see the commentary there). Finally, the *zpr* mentioned in UJadhNab 351 may also be the same as the one mentioned here since *'bydw* is also mentioned there. Below this text are carved UJadhASA 14 and UJadhHism 19.

**UJadhNab 344.1**

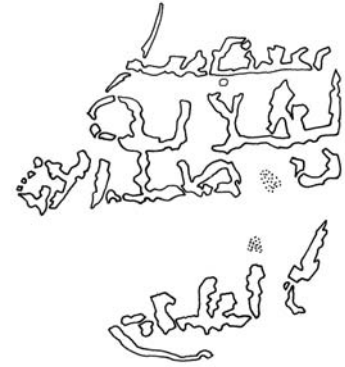
See photo on pl. 34a, 34b

On a part of the rock face bearing 344 to 358, ASA 9–14, Hism 19, and Thamb B 1, hidden on pl. 34a by a rock in front of it. It is to the left of 344 and immediately above Hism 19.

The reading of this text, carved in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, is difficult because the letters between the two *m* can be read in many different ways: *m{b/n}{b/n}{b/n}m* or even *mšm*. The name thus remains very doubtful and has not been included in the onomastic index.

**UJadhNab 345**

See also photo on pl. 34a



*šm't  
l{'}dyw  
br {s}brh  
'l'zy*

'May 'al-'Uzzā listen to {'}Addānū son of Šabirah/Šabra/Šubāra'.

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. Note the dot above the *d* of *'dyw*. On *šm't*, see the commentary under 313. One would normally expect al-'Uzzā to follow immediately this verb.

See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

**UJadhNab 346 (ThNUJ 59)**

See also photo on pl. 34a



*dkyr yn 'wtw w 'šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *'mm* for *šlm*. *btb*, which was read as a second line by him, belongs in fact to UJadhNab 347.

**UJadhNab 347 (ThNUJ 57)**

See also photo on pl. 34a



*dkyr šhrw bṭb*

*bṭb* was originally considered by S. al-Theeb as belonging to UJadhNab 346 but it seems better to attach it to this text.

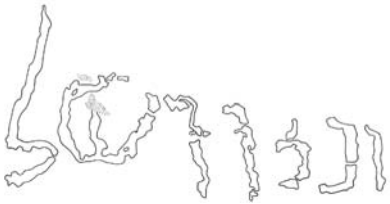
### UJadhNab 348 (ThNUJ 58)

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 347 and photo on pl. 34a

*hn'w šlm*

### UJadhNab 349 (ThNUJ 65)

See also photo on pl. 34a



*dkyr rb'ḷ*

The Ancient South Arabian text above it is UJadhASA 9.

### UJadhNab 350 (ThNUJ 68)

See also photo on pl. 34a



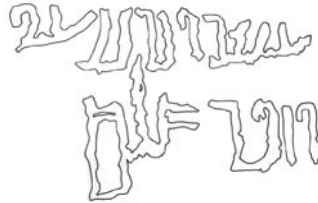
*šlm qs'dr br {bn}hbl*

*w dkyr bṭb*

S. al-Theeb reads *shbl* for *bnhbl* and he has omitted *w dkyr* in the second line. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

### UJadhNab 351 (ThNUJ 63)

See also photo on pl. 34a



*'bydw br y{b/n}'w*

*w zpr šlm*

The *'bydw* mentioned in UJadhNab 344 may be the same as the one mentioned here, since *zpr* is mentioned in both texts.

### UJadhNab 352

See photo under UJadhNab 351 and on pl. 34a



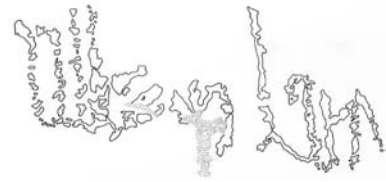
*dkyr {l} 'bd'l'[z]{y}*

*br {š}ldllh*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d* of *'bd'l'[z]{y}*. The end of this name is obscured by the large *q* carved on top of it. The reading of the second name is not absolutely certain because one may read *yḥ* at the beginning, but a close examination of the photograph shows that the small protrusion which appears in grey on the facsimile does not belong to the letter. Compare this name with *šld'lhy* in QN 5. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

### UJadhNab 353 (ThNUJ 64)

See also photo on pl. 34a



*hnpl{s} šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *hnpl{wn}* for *hnpls*.

### UJadhNab 354 (ThNUJ 60)

See photo on pl. 34a

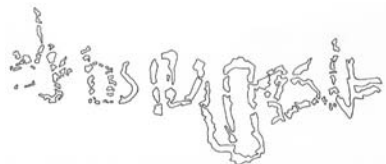


*dkyr r*

The text is unfinished. The Ancient South Arabian text below it is UJadhASA 12.

### UJadhNab 355 (ThNUJ 61)

See photo on pl. 34a, 34b

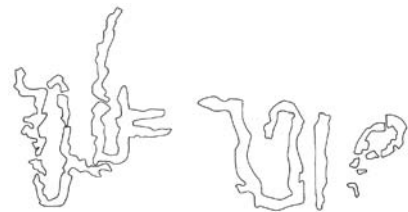


*šly{p}t br {z}yt šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *šlymt* for *šly{p}t* and *{r}yt* for *{z}yt*.

### UJadhNab 356 (ThNUJ 66)

See also photo on pl. 34a



*qzpr šlm*

The South Arabian text above it is UJadhASA 10.

### UJadhNab 357 (ThNUJ 67)

See also photo on pl. 34a

*dkyr {d/r}m{z/n}ny br*

*'bydw bṭb*

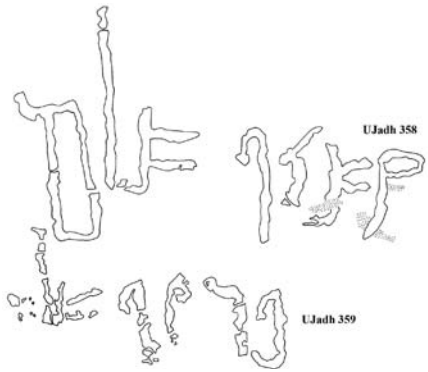
*w šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *rmhy* for *{d/r}m{z/n}ny*. UJadhHism 19 is carved vertically and UJadhThamb 1 horizontally to the left of this text.



**UJadhNab 358 (ThNUJ 69)**

See also photo on pl. 34a



*qšyw šlm*

**UJadhNab 359 (ThNUJ 70)**

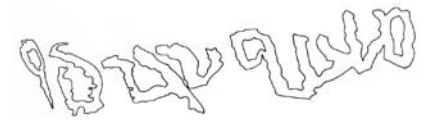
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 358

On the same rock face as UJadhNab 334 to 358 but not visible on pl. 34a.

*prqw šlm*

**UJadhNab 360 (ThNUJ 62)**

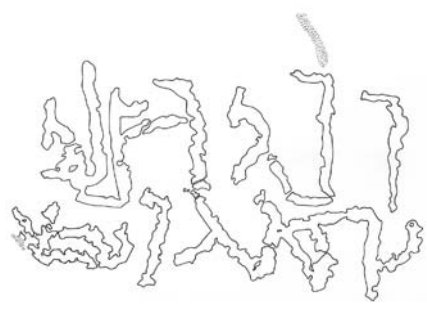
See also photo on pl. 34b



*m'nw br grmw*

This text is partly carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It was examined at the workshop held in Paris in January 2005. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 82.

**UJadhNab 361**



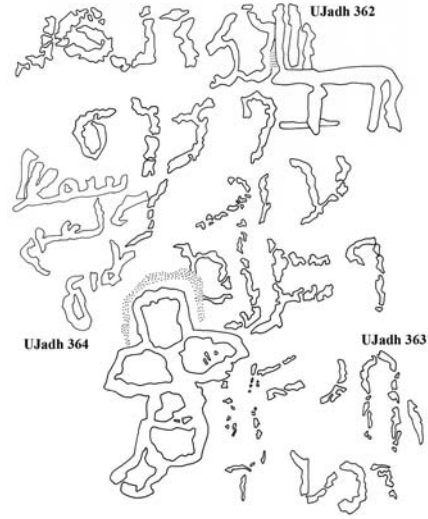
*dkyr šly  
br 'bgr btb*

**UJadhNab 362**

UJadhNab 362 to 364 are on the same rock face.



UJadhNab 362-364



*dkyr btb  
'wyd'  
br zby  
w šlm*

The beginning of this text has been obscured by a drawing but the reading is certain.

**UJadhNab 363**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 362

*{.} {h}bš{w}  
dk{y}r*

**UJadhNab 364**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 362

*šm't  
'l'zy  
l' {z/r}m*

'May 'al-'Uzzā listen to 'A {z/r}m'. This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. For *šm't*, see the commentary under UJadhNab 313. ' {z/r}m appears also in UJadhNab 313. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

**UJadhNab 365**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 35a

*šly dkyr  
w šlm*

**UJadhNab 366**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 35a

*'l'yt br p{'}w  
šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. The reading of the father's name is very uncertain because the first letter could also be read as a *q* and the second could

be either one or two letters. Names such as Ġiyāt and Ġayyīt are known in Arabic, but not preceded by the article.

### UJadhNab 367

See photo and facsimile on pl. 35a

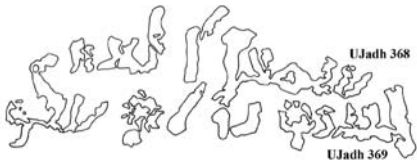
*hn}{l}h*

*br 'bd'l'shl*

*br 'bd'l'shl*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. The reading of the first name is uncertain and is given by comparison with UJadhNab 300, which is probably by the same author. It cannot be read *hbš*, which would also be a good Arabic name (cf. Habaš, Ḥabbāš, Ḥabīs, etc.). Indeed, the third letter would be a good Nabataean *š* but it is very different from the almost Arabic *š* in the father's name. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 82–83, where a different reading was proposed.

### UJadhNab 368–369



*šm't 'l'zy*

*h}{b/n}y}{b/n}w br 'wšw*

'May 'al-'Uzzā listen [to] Ḥunayn/Ḥabīb/Ḥubayb, etc. son of 'Awšū'.

The first and second line of this text had initially been considered as two separate inscriptions. It is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. For *šm't*, see the commentary under UJadhNab 313. See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.

### UJadhNab 370 (ThNUJ 93)

UJadhNab 370 to 372 are on the same rock face.



*šlm šmydw br mn't*

S. al-Theeb reads *qmyrw* for *šmydw*. *br* is represented by two parallel lines. The same man left his signature in ArNab 59 and 485.

### UJadhNab 371

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 370

*qs' {d/r} {d/r} rw*

*šlm*

### UJadhNab 372



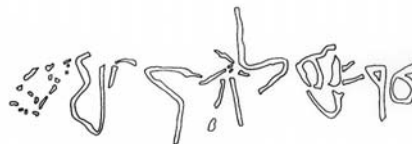
*dkyr ty[mw]*

----

### UJadhNab 373 (ThNJUT 34)

See on pl. 35b

UJadhNab 373 to 376 are on the same rock face.



*'wš' lhy* ----

### UJadhNab 374 (ThNJUT 35)

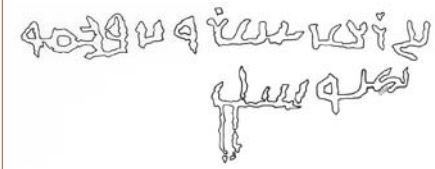
See photo on pl. 35b



*tymw*

### UJadhNab 375 (ThNJUT 38)

See photo on pl. 35b



*bly dkyr 'bydw br phmw*

*bḥb w šlm*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script and was one of those read at the Paris workshop in 2005. Note the dot above both *d*. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 83.

### UJadhNab 375.1 (ThNJUT 36)

See photo on pl. 35b

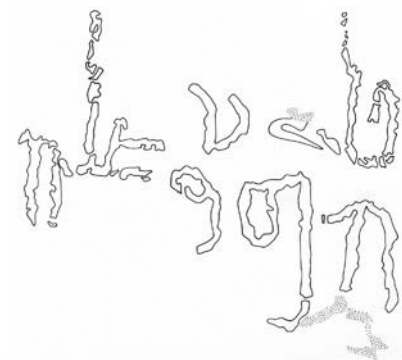
*{d/r} yny br*

*{hn}'w*

Only the end of this text is visible on pl. 35b. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 492.

### UJadhNab 376 (ThNJUT 37)

This text is immediately to the right of UJadhNab 375.



*ply br*

*hn'w šlm*

A man with the same name and father's name left his signature in UJadhNab 506 but there are differences in the script, mainly in the form of the final *y* and final *w*.

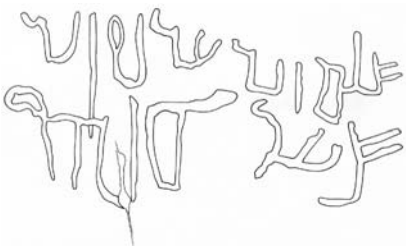
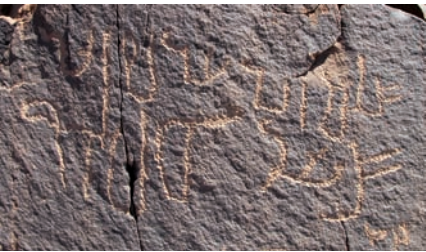
**UJadhNab 377**



*dkyr bṭb*  
*šdw br šyh w*  
*hprk'*  
*šlm*

'May 'Asadū son of Šyh w, the *hipparchos* / *eparchos*, be remembered in well-being. May he be safe'. Šyh w may correspond to the Arabic name Ḍayāḥ. This text mentions a cavalry commander (*hipparchos*) or a commander (*eparchos*), less probably a subordinate commander (*huparchos*).

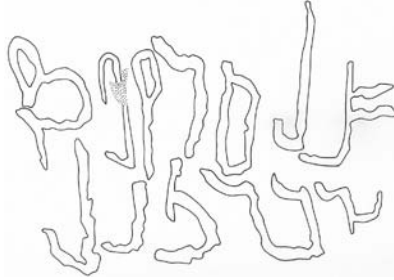
**UJadhNab 378**



*šlm zbd' dnwn br*  
*š'd'lh{y}*

Note the form of the final *y* in *š'd'lh{y}*, which looks like a *w*, as well as the form of the *w* in *zbd' dnwn*, in which the loop seems to be on the wrong, right, side of the vertical stroke.

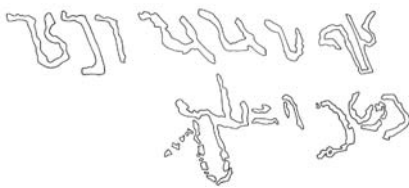
**UJadhNab 379**



*šlm rwps*  
*br k{d/r}ybl*

The final *s* of *rwps* has a peculiar form but compare it with the *s* of *dmtrys* in UJadhNab 94, very similar if not identical. As in the previous text, the loop of the *w* seems to be on the wrong side of the vertical stroke.

**UJadhNab 380**



*yny br grgr dkyr*  
*bṭb w šlm*

The same man left his signature in ArNab 12, SB Nab 2, UJadhNab 511 and 514. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in UJadhNab 126 and 496 (see the commentary under ArNab 12).

**UJadhNab 381**

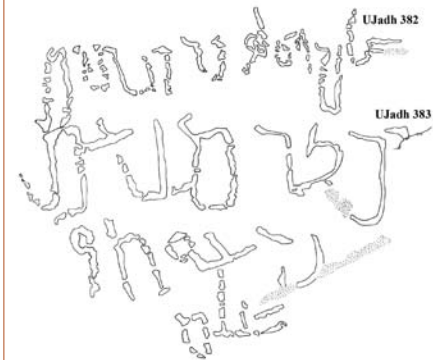


*m'n' lhy*  
*br ntny šlm*

There is an isolated *š* above the text. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 270 and 281.

**UJadhNab 382**

UJadhNab 382 and 383 are on the same rock face.



*šlm w'lw br rbhrt*

**UJadhNab 383**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 382

*dkyr mn't*  
*br 'wtw*  
*šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 488.

**UJadhNab 383.1**

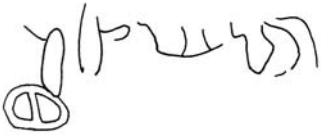
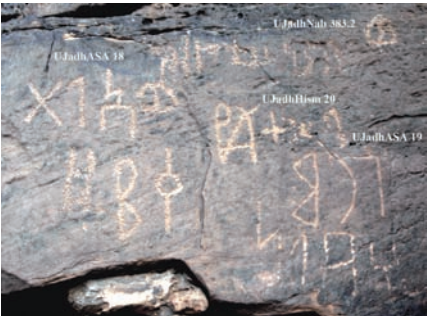




---*ḥmy br šwdy*  
---*bṭb {dk}yr {kl gbr}*.---

It is not certain whether both lines belong to the same text. The South Arabian text carved on top is UJadhASA 16.

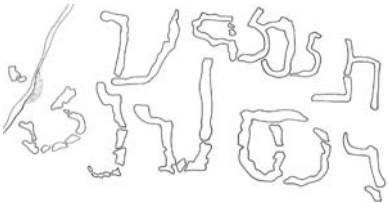
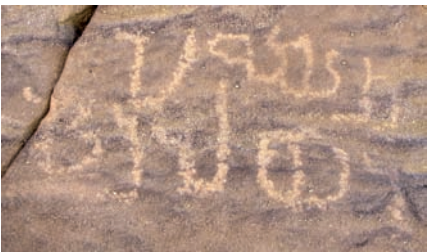
### UJadhNab 383.2



*dkyr 'bdšlm*

There are other texts on the same photograph: UJadhASA 18–19 and UJadhHism 21.

### UJadhNab 384



*tymw br*  
*rb'l dkyr*

The same sequence of names appears in five other texts: ArNab 26.1, 131, UJadhNab 6, 110, 164 and 493 (see the commentary under ArNab 26.1).

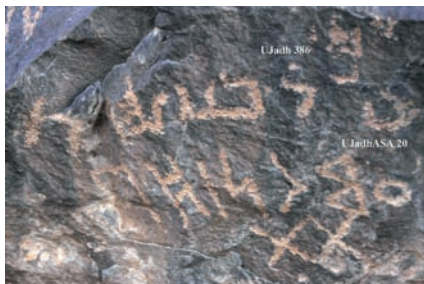
### UJadhNab 385

*nḥšṭb*  
*br 'bd' dnwn*  
*šlm*

The same names appear also in UJadhNab 33 (see the commentary there).



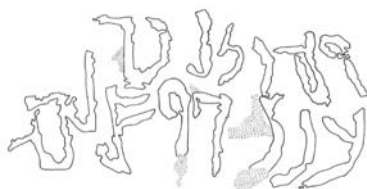
### UJadhNab 386



*dkyr yhw'd'*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Below it is carved UJadhASA 20. Note the dot above both examples of *d*.

### UJadhNab 387



*whbyl br*  
*'bydw šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 133.

### UJadhNab 388

See photo and facsimile on pl. 36

UJadhNab 388 to 390 are on the same rock face together with UJadhASA 42 and UJadhThamC? 1.

*šlm 'z{l} br*  
*'drmw*

There are two or three Greek letters below this text. The *{l}* could also be read as a *{r}* because the upper part of the letter is not entirely visible.

### UJadhNab 389

See photo and facsimile on pl. 36

*šlm bš{d/r} w {d/r}kyt'*

The first name could be Arabic Bišr or Busr. There are two or three Greek letters below the text on the left.

### UJadhNab 390

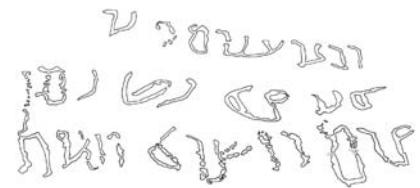
See photo on pl. 36

*š{l}y{m}*  
*'bd' ----*

These may be two different signatures. The end of the second line is not visible on the photograph.

### UJadhNab 391

See also photo on pl. 37a



UJadhNab 391 to 404 are on the same rock face. Several texts in other scripts are carved on it as well: UJadhASA 21–23 and UJadhThamB 2 (see their location on pl. 37a).

*dkyr 'bdm{y} br*  
*'brq' bṭb mn*

*qdm dwšr' w mwt*

'May 'bdmy son of 'brq' be remembered in well-being in the presence of Dūšarā and Ma[n]ōt'.

*mwt* may be a mistake for *mnwt*. The author of the text asks to be remembered in the presence of a pair of gods, one male and one female.

**UJadhNab 392**

See also photo on pl. 37a



*dkyryn kwn{y}wn w mlkywn*

**UJadhNab 393**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 392 and photo on pl. 37a

*šlm htyšw br whb'ly*

**UJadhNab 394**

See photo on pl. 37a and facsimile under UJadhNab 392

*zpr br y{m}*

The names mentioned here may be the same as those mentioned in UJadhNab 337 and 344 but the shape of the letters is different and the father's name here would have to be unfinished (it is *y'mr* in the two other texts).

**UJadhNab 395**

See also photo on pl. 37a



*'lksy br {d/r}yty{m}.}*  
*šlm*

**UJadhNab 396**

See also photo on pl. 37a



*'pls br 'dywn šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 412. UJadhASA 21 is carved below the end of this text.

**UJadhNab 397**

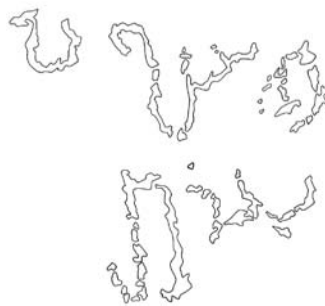
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 396 and photo on pl. 37a

*zydw br {k}{m/r}šmš*

The beginning of the father's name is uncertain because what was read as *kr* (but the *r* is normally not joined to the left) or *km* (but the *m* would have a different shape from the following *m*) may also be read as one letter, *m* (but the general layout of the letter is not in favour of this). UJadhASA 22 is carved below this text.

**UJadhNab 398**

See also photo on pl. 37a



*m'nw br bg{d}t*

There is a dot above the third letter of the father's name. As there is no dot above the *r* of *br*, it is probable that the name should be read *bgdt*, not *bgrt*. See Nehmé 2010a: 58, 14.

**UJadhNab 399**

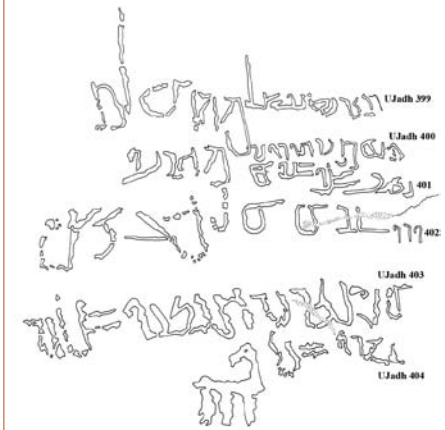
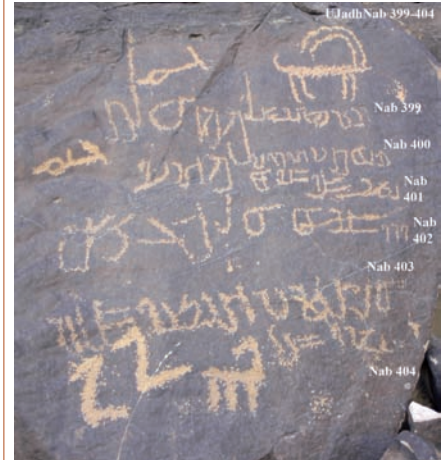
See also photo on pl. 37a

*dkyr btb bšlm hn't*

The reading is certain. *hn't* is not attested elsewhere in Nabataean.

Although the form is identical to the name of the goddess *hn't* (*han-'ilāt*) mentioned in the inscription of the king of Qedar from Tell Mashūṭah in the Nile delta, we are dealing here with the name of an individual.

See Nehmé forthcoming, Appendix.



**UJadhNab 400**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 399 and photo on pl. 37a

*hn't br ḥwrw br mḥrbw*

The last name is carved in much larger letters.

**UJadhNab 401**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 399 and photo on pl. 37a

*bṭb šwšp'*

'In well-being, the best man (?)'.

This text may be the end of UJadhNab 400. The word *šwšp'* is attested only once in this *corpus*, but it is also attested once in Petra, in an inscription carved on a column drum reused as a *nefesh*, published in 1975.<sup>13</sup> This word may be derived from Akkadian *susapinmu* and compared to Palmyrene *ššbyn*,<sup>14</sup> 'groomsman'. According to

13. Milik and Starcky 1975: 129–130, pl. 46.3.

14. Inv 8 137.7, see Hillers and Cussini 1996: 418.



J.T. Milik (unpublished commentary to the Petra inscription), the Nabataean form, contrary to the Palmyrene one, kept the *p* of the Akkadian form whereas the final *n* disappeared. This translation is not very satisfactory because it would be strange that the *šwšp* was standing alone, without the name of the person he had been ‘best man’ of.

#### UJadhNab 402

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 399 and photo on pl. 37a

*w dwsr' 'lh gy'*

The first three letters are much smaller than the others. Note that the *h* of *'lh* has lost a vertical stroke when carved in combination with the *g*.

#### UJadhNab 403

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 399 and photo on pl. 37a

*'nšyr br ḥ{b/n}y{b/n}w šlm*

#### UJadhNab 404

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 399 and photo on pl. 37a

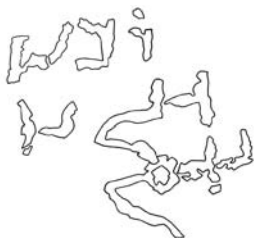
*'ydw šl*

The text is unfinished.

#### UJadhNab 405 (ThNUJ 145)

See also photo on pl. 37b

UJadhNab 405 to 408 are on the same rock face.

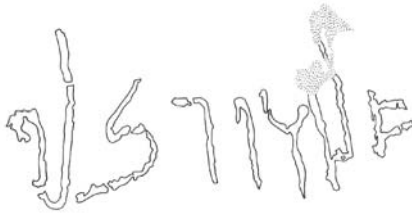


*dkyr  
ḥny br  
nḥmy*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. Note the dot above the *d* of *dkyr*. S. al-Theeb reads *gny* for *ḥ{b/n}y* and *ngmy* for *nḥmy*. See Nehmé 2010a: Appendix 2, p. 83.

#### UJadhNab 406 (ThNUJ 146)

See photo on pl. 37b



*šlm wrylw*

#### UJadhNab 407 (ThNUJ 143)

See also photo on pl. 37b



*dkyr 'bdmknw  
br š'd'lhy*

Note that in al-Theeb 2010, the copies of ThMNN 617 (407) and 618 (408) are reversed.

#### UJadhNab 408 (ThNUJ 144)

See photo and facsimile and UJadhNab 407 and photo on pl. 37b

*šlm lqtt br  
whb'lhy*

#### UJadhNab 409 (ThNUJ 147)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

UJadhNab 409 to UJadhNab 416 are on the same stone.

*mtyn{w} br šlmw*

#### UJadhNab 410 (ThNUJ 148)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*šlm 'nmw  
br rbyb'l*

#### UJadhNab 411 (ThNUJ 149)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*šlm 'bdw*

#### UJadhNab 412 (ThNUJ 150)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*'pls br 'dywn w š{b/l}ywn šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 396. S. al-Theeb reads *'rpwn* for *'dywn*.

#### UJadhNab 413 (ThNUJ 151)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*šlm*

*ghšw*

The word *'bd* is carved below the text.

#### UJadhNab 414 (ThNUJ 152)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*šlm rbyb'{}l}*

*br dmsps*

Rabīb'il son of Damasippos is a well known Nabataean governor (*strategos*), mentioned in several Nabataean inscriptions from Hegra (JSNab 43) and elsewhere (see Nehmé 2015b: 117 n. 20 and 119). On his career, see Milik and Starcky 1970: 142 and Nehmé 2005–2006: 208–210.

#### UJadhNab 415 (ThNUJ 153)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*'bdw br zbdw*

#### UJadhNab 416 (ThNUJ 154)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 38

*ḥyw*

#### UJadhNab 417

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

UJadhNab 417 to 424 are on the same rock face. Most of them are just names, as if they were intended to form a list.

*w'lw*

#### UJadhNab 418

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

*w'lw* [from UJadhNab 417] *w br šmtw  
šlm*

The author used the name *w'lw* of the previous text in order to carve a new one.

#### UJadhNab 419

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

*'lks*

*br 'ln*

Since the name *'lksy* is attested in UJadhNab 395 and since there is a small

diagonal line after the *s* where the rock was not suitable to carve, it is possible that *'lksy* was intended here.

**UJadhNab 420**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

*hwrw*

**UJadhNab 421**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

*mlkw*

**UJadhNab 422**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

*y'mrw*

**UJadhNab 423**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

*'n'm*

**UJadhNab 424**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39a

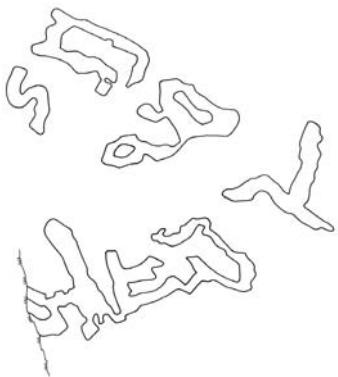
*'bd{nl}t----*

*br h----*

**UJadhNab 425 (ThNUJ 219)**



Al-Theeb 2002



*ty-*

*mw*

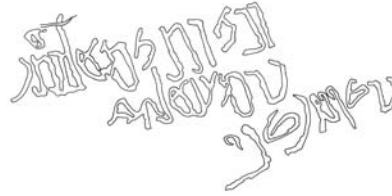
*br mšlm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. There is no *w* visible on the photograph after *mšlm* but it may exist.

**UJadhNab 426 (ThNUJ 220)**



Al-Theeb 2002



*dkyr tym'ktb'*

*br m'n'lhy*

*br twpw btb*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. This inscription does not fit exactly with the genealogical tree of the family given in UJadhNab 59 (see the commentary there), unless this *tym'ktb'* is the grandson of *twpw* of UJadhNab 83 and 134.

**UJadhNab 427 (ThNUJ 221)**



Al-Theeb 2002



*šlm {nt}[r]*

*br 'zr btb*

*l'm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. The end of the first line is not clear on the photograph.

**UJadhNab 428**

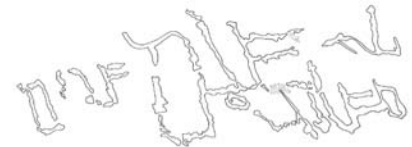
*whb'lgvr šlm*

The second letter is closer to a *t* than to a *h*. Below this text, there is

UJadhASA 24, which reads *wbhlgr*. It is probable that the ASA name is the same as the Nabataean one and that we are dealing with a bilingual.



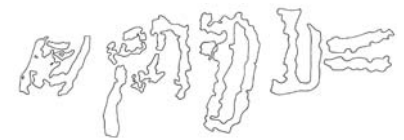
**UJadhNab 429**



*bly šlm š{d/r}ym*

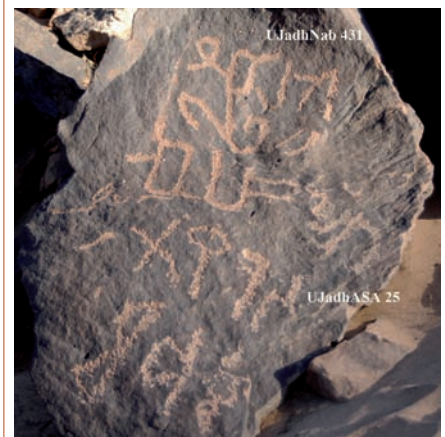
*mšlmw*

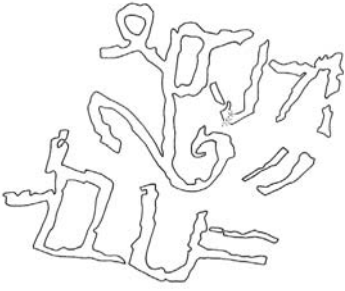
**UJadhNab 430**



*šlm h{yn} br {.}*

**UJadhNab 431 (ThNUJ 187)**





hn'w

br ply

šlm

br is represented by two parallel lines. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 261. UJadhASA 25 is below this text.

### UJadhNab 432

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39b

UJadhNab 432 to 434 are on the same rock face.

qšrw šlm

It could be the Arabic name Qasr or Qušar.

### UJadhNab 432.1

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39b

šlm l{p}w

### UJadhNab 433

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39b

wrylw

### UJadhNab 434

See photo and facsimile on pl. 39b

'dydw b---

'h{b}šw

{br} ---h

The last name may be read ---wmh.

### UJadhNab 435

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40a

UJadhNab 435 to 437 are on the same rock face, together with UJadhASA 26.

zky

šlm

mšlmw br gd---

br 'yšw

There does not seem to be any letter after zky (thus, not zkyw).

### UJadhNab 436

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40a

mt{rw}t br {w}yt' šlm

The first name is very uncertain.

### UJadhNab 437

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40a

'bd' bdt šlm

### UJadhNab 438

On a stone below the rock which bears UJadhNab 435–437.



trsy šlm

The name has been read trsy rather than trsy by comparing the form of the third letter with those in UJadhNab 146 (probably trsy) and 248.3 (trsy).

### UJadhNab 439

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

UJadhNab 439 to 445 are on the same rock face, together with UJadhASA 28–29 and UJadhHism 22–24 (for their exact location, see below).

hwrw br np{d/r}{w} šlm

UJadhASA 28 is carved below the beginning of this text.

### UJadhNab 440

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

'wšw br hn{kby}w

br {d/r}{d/r}{d/r}w

The medial letter of the last name has been damaged by the l of 'ytybl of UJadhNab 445. The father's name could be Arabic Raddād. UJadhASA 28 and UJadhHism 23 are carved to the right of this text.

### UJadhNab 441 (ThNUJ 166)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

dkyr.

rbyb'l br

šlymt šlm

dkyr does not necessarily belong to this text. UJadhHism 24 is carved immediately to the right of this text.

### UJadhNab 442 (ThNUJ 167)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

šlm šs{d/r}w

This text is not visible on the photograph (see al-Theeb 2002: 318). S. al-Theeb reads šqrw for ššrw.

### UJadhNab 443 (ThNUJ 168)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

'šdw

### UJadhNab 444 (ThNUJ 169)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

'bdmknw

br 'wtw

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 318. S. al-Theeb reads šlm before the text but it probably belongs to UJadhNab 441.

### UJadhNab 445 (ThNUJ 170)

See photo and facsimile on pl. 40b

'ytybl br š''dlh[y]

The author carved š''dlhy for š'd'lhy. S. al-Theeb missed the initial ' of the first name. UJadhHism 23 is carved above this text.

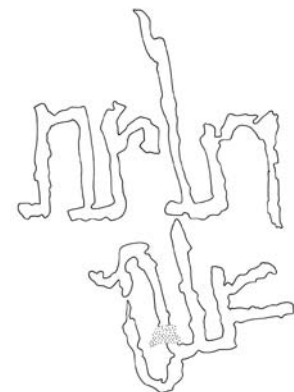
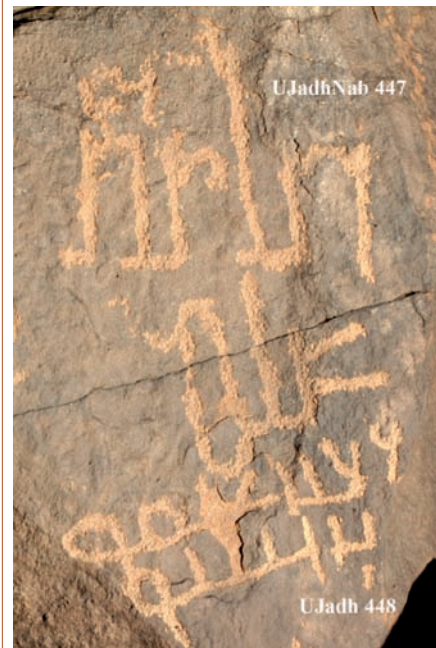
### UJadhNab 446

Below UJadhNab 442, not visible on pl. 40b. It is visible on a very bad photograph, which is not reproduced.

----  
{d/r}y{d/r}w ----

### UJadhNab 447

UJadhNab 447 and 448 are on the same rock face. UJadhHism 21 is carved down the left side of the face.

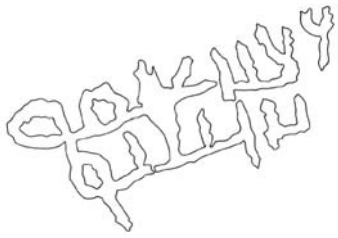


hlst

šlm

**UJadhNab 448**

See photo under UJadhNab 447

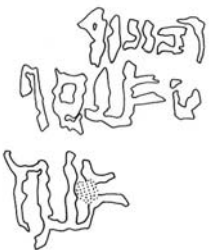


*dkyr 'nmw  
br h{b/n}y{b/n}w*

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script.

**UJadhNab 449**

See photo on pl. 41a



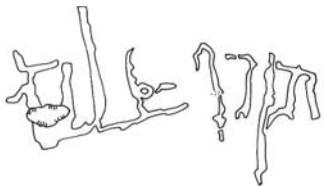
UJadhNab 449 to 451 are on the same rock face, together with UJadhASA 27 which is carved in large letters.

*{m}---{z}w  
br šlmw  
šlm*

In the gap, there seems to be two y.

**UJadhNab 450**

See photo on pl. 41a



*{hz}{d/r}w šlm*

**UJadhNab 451**

See photo on pl. 41a



*h{y}w*

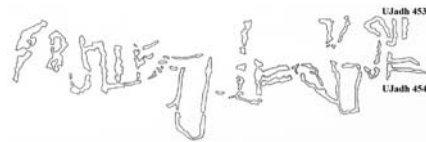
**UJadhNab 452**



*šlm ghšw  
w dkyr {b}b  
b}b*

**UJadhNab 453**

UJadhNab 453 and 454 are on the same rock face.



*zny br  
The text is unfinished.*

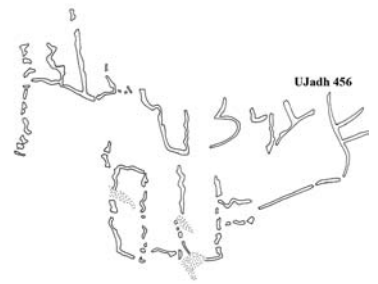
**UJadhNab 454**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 453

*šlmw šlm šnt 20+5  
'Sālimū, may he be safe, year 20+5'.  
Year 25 of the Province corresponds to AD 130/131.*

**UJadhNab 455 (ThNUJ 164)**

UJadhNab 455 and 456 are on the same rock face.



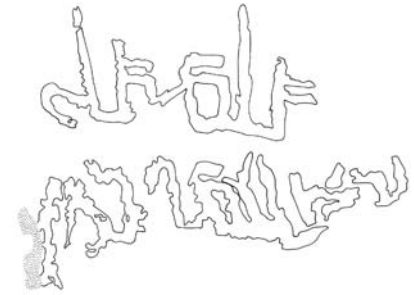
*dkyr qnt br š{h}rw šlm  
b}b*

**UJadhNab 456 (ThNUJ 165)**

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 455

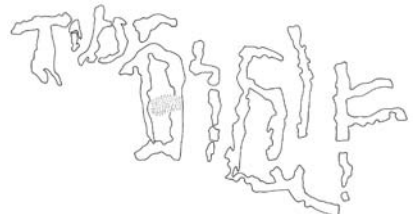
*š'dy br 'lyn  
šlm*

**UJadhNab 457**



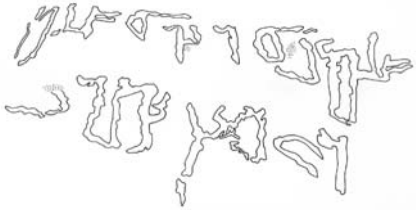
*šlm šly  
br šlymw k---  
The end of the text is not clear.*

**UJadhNab 458**



*šlm dmsy*

**UJadhNab 459 (ThNUJ 163)**



*šlm k' {d/r} br 'šlm  
dy mn ytrb*

'May Ka'a {d/r} son of 'Aslam, who is from Yathrib, be safe'.

This is the only mention of Yathrib in a Nabataean text. It shows that the Nabataean script was used in that city and that there were people moving from Medina to Umm Jadhāyidh, which are more than 400 km distant from each other. As Chr. Robin pointed out (pers. com.), this shows also that the cultural background of Yathrib was not very different, at the period when the graffito was carved, from what it was in the other oases of the area.

**UJadhNab 460**

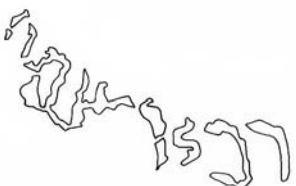


*dkrwn ṭb w šlm {d/r}m---*

The end of the text is illegible.

**UJadhNab 461**

UJadhNab 461 and 462 are on the same stone.



*dkyr 'nmw*

**UJadhNab 462**

See photo under UJadhNab 461



*dkyr šmytw br nṯs*

**UJadhNab 463**



*m {d/r} y {d/r} t šlm*

It is possible, since this is a rare name, that the same man left his signature, with his father's name *rwpt*, in ArNab 108.

**UJadhNab 464**



*<D> šlm { ' } bdlg'*

*br {r} wps*

The ' looks more like a g. There are a few letters below the second line of the text (*byby {rms}*) but I could not make any sense of them.

**UJadhNab 465 (ThNUJ 157)**

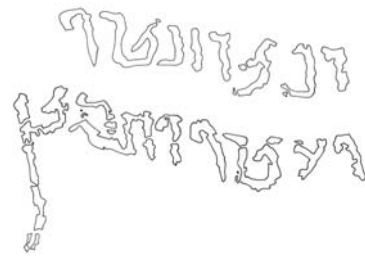
UJadhNab 465 and 466 are on the same rock face.



*'bd' dnwn spr' šlm*

'Abd'adnūn the scribe, may he be safe'. This is the second attestation of a scribe in this corpus (see ArNab 65).

**UJadhNab 466 (ThNUJ 158)**

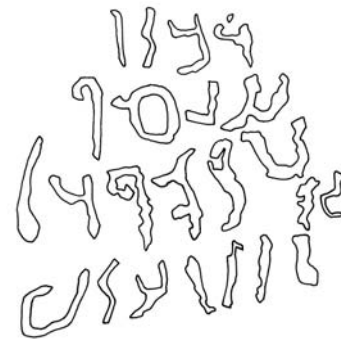


*dkyr zbydw  
w 'ydw w ḥmyn*

**UJadhNab 467 (ThNUJ 159)**



Al-Theeb 2002



*dkyr  
'nmw  
br yhwd'  
--- 'y {n}'*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. It is carved in Nabataeo-Arabic characters. Note the dot on the *d* of *dkyr*. S. al-Theeb reads *n {g} wd* for *yhwd*'.

**UJadhNab 468 (ThNUJ 160)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 41b

UJadhNab 468 to 470 are on the same stone.

*šlm r{g}lyw br  
{d/r}yny*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. S. al-Theeb reads *hblnw* for *r{g}lyw*.

**UJadhNab 469 (ThNUJ 161)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 41b

*š'dw br 'myrt  
br 'hpn  
šlm*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey. *šlm* is carved in a different technique.

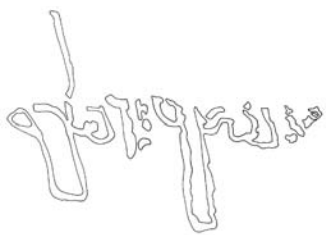
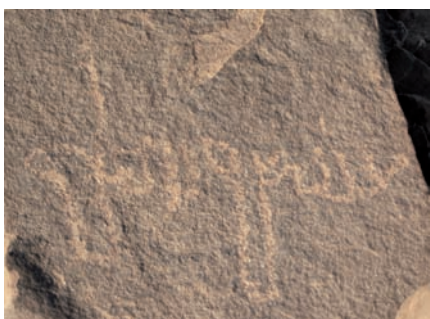
**UJadhNab 470 (ThNUJ 162)**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 41b

*šlm  
š'dw br kmšw*

This text was not found during the 2004 survey.

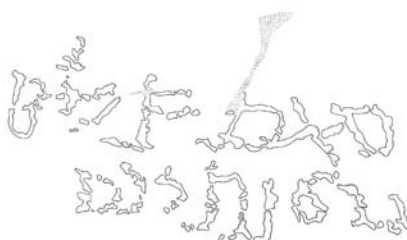
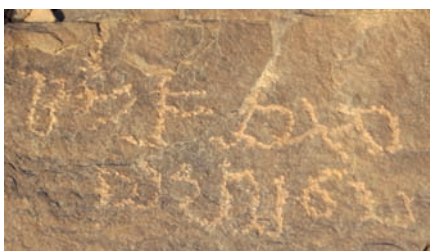
**UJadhNab 471**



*'byšw br mlkw*

**UJadhNab 472**

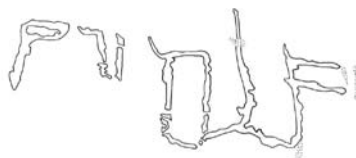
UJadhNab 472 and 473 are on the same stone together with UJadhASA 34.



*mgs šlm  
br 'ntyks*

The same name appears in ArNab 33 and 166.

**UJadhNab 473**



*šlm br q---*

UJadhASA 34 is carved below this text.

**UJadhNab 474**



*dkyr tymw  
br 'm---  
bṭb*

The end of the father's name has been damaged (it may be *'mrw*). *br* is represented by two parallel lines.

**UJadhNab 475**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 42a

UJadhNab 475 to 478 are on the same rock face, along with UJadhASA 35,

which is carved to the left of UJadhNab 477.

*dkyr mlkw*

Above this text, there is another one, which has been completely scratched over.

**UJadhNab 476**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 42a

*dkyr p'r bṭb*

**UJadhNab 477**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 42a

*dkyr w---  
w nw*

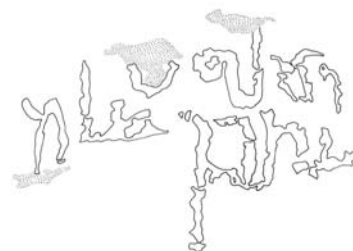
**UJadhNab 478**

See photo and facsimile on pl. 42a

*m'nw br šly*

*br* is represented by two parallel lines. The same names appear in ArNab 65, in a text carved by a scribe which is much more elegantly produced, and probably does not refer to the same man. Below this text, there is another one, which has been scratched over, except for *šlm* at the end (it has not been numbered).

**UJadhNab 479**



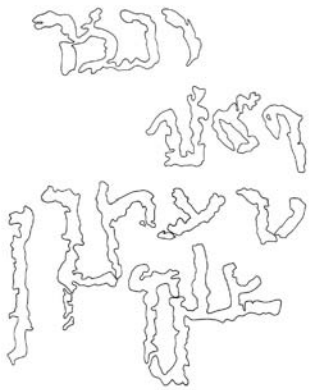
*w'tw br  
'šrn šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 480.

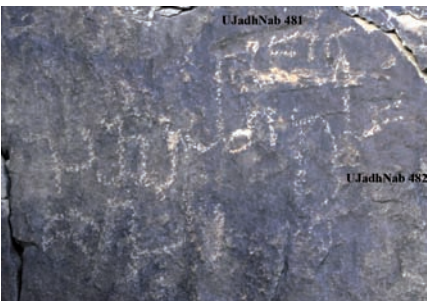
**UJadhNab 480**

*dkyr  
w'tw  
br 'šrn  
šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 479.



### UJadhNab 481



UJadhNab 481 and 482 are on the same rock face.

ʿwšw

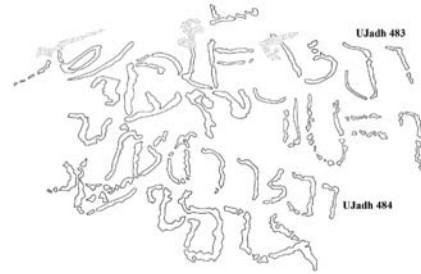
### UJadhNab 482

See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 481

šlm ḥlšt br  
{n}g{d/r}y

### UJadhNab 483

UJadhNab 483 and 484 are on the same rock face.



dkyr šly btb

w šlm

br w'lw

After w šlm, the carving technique of the text changes.

### UJadhNab 484

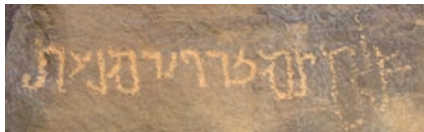
See photo and facsimile under UJadhNab 483

dkyr r'yt br

grmw btb

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 550. The handwriting is exactly the same.

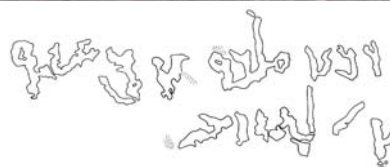
### UJadhNab 485



šlm smydw br mn't

The same man left his signature in ArNab 59 and UJadhNab 370.

### UJadhNab 486



dkyr mlkw br k'bw  
br 'lhzr{'}

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script. It would be tempting to read the father's name as 'lhzrg, corresponding to Arabic al-Ḥazrag, but the last letter is better read as a final y. We have no examples, however of final g in Nabataeo-Arabic or pre-Islamic Arabic texts, and therefore do not know what it would look like.

### UJadhNab 487



dkyr dy{b/n}{r}w br {b}rny btb

This text is carved in the Nabataeo-Arabic script.

### UJadhNab 488 (ThNJUT 17)



Al-Theeb 2005

{l}y mn't br 'wtw

šlm btb

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey. The {l}y before the name was probably meant to be bly. There are two vertical strokes below the š. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 383.

### UJadhNab 489 (ThNJUT 18)



Al-Theeb 2005

šlm mhmyt

This inscription was not found during the 2004 survey and this is S. al-Theeb's reading. UJadhSaf 4 is to the right of it.

### UJadhNab 490 (ThNJUT 19)

See photo on pl. 42b

Inscriptions UJadhNab 490 to 497 are on the same rock face, together with

UJadhThamC 2 and 3 which are at the bottom. They were not found during the 2004 survey.

*šlm gblw {br} šlm{w}*

There seems to be a *w* at the end of *šlm*, not read by S. al-Theeb. The same man left his signature in TMNab 1 and DBv3Nab 6. In UJadh 490 and DBv3Nab 6, *br* is represented by two parallel lines.

#### UJadhNab 491 (ThNJUT 19.1)

See photo on pl. 42b

*ngmt tr*

‘Ngmt the gate-keeper’.

#### UJadhNab 492 (ThNJUT 19.2)

See photo on pl. 42b

*dkyr {d/r}y{n}y br hn’{w}*

S. al-Theeb reads the first name *ryzy*, which is also possible. He also reads the patronym as *hn’{lhy}*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 375.1.

#### UJadhNab 493 (ThNJUT 19.3)

See photo on pl. 42b

*tymw {br} rb’l šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *{kh} tym{w}...rb’*. The two letters before *tymw* may not belong to this text. The same sequence of names appears in five other texts: ArNab 26.1, 131, UJadhNab 6, 110, 164 and 384 (see the commentary under ArNab 26.1).

#### UJadhNab 494 (ThNJUT 19.4)

See photo on pl. 42b

*šlm hzwzw br ‘nmw*

S. al-Theeb reads *šlm h{zrnn} br {sr}m*.

#### UJadhNab 495 (ThNJUT 20)

See photo on pl. 42b

*‘nmw br š{l}m{w}*

*šlm*

#### UJadhNab 496 (ThNJUT 21)

See photo on pl. 42b

*grgr br yny šlm w yny brh*

*bṭb l’lm*

*yny brh bṭb*

S. al-Theeb reads *gdgd* for *grgr* and *ynw* for *yny*. The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 126 and DBv1Nab 23. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380, 511 and 514 (see the commentary under ArNab 12). *yny brh* has surprisingly been carved twice.

#### UJadhNab 497 (ThNJUT 22)

See photo on pl. 42b

*šnhr br hn’t br ‘nmw yšhgrw dkyr*

This may have to be divided into two texts, the second one starting with *yšhgrw* which is carved in slightly smaller characters than the first words.

#### UJadhNab 498 (ThNJUT 23)

See photo on pl. 42b

*dkyr p’r bṭb*

#### UJadhNab 499 (ThNJUT 24)

See photo on pl. 42b

*hn{y} br tymw šlm*

S. al-Theeb reads *hn’* for *hn{y}*.

#### UJadhNab 500 (ThNJUT 25)

See photo on pl. 42b

*gdyw br hyw br gblw šlm*

The same man left his signature in DBv3Nab 1.

#### UJadhNab 501 (ThNJUT 26)

See photo on pl. 42b

*dkyr gšm br tym’lty w hrmw brt t{y}bw bṭb*

It would be tempting to read the father’s name as *tym’lhy* but the letter before the final *y* is definitely a *t*, not a *h*. This text is by a man and a woman whose relationship is not specified.

#### UJadhNab 502 (ThNJUT 27)

See photo on pl. 43a

UJadhNab 502 to 506 are on the same rock face.

*b’lh{w}n*

*{dkyr}*

The reading of the second line is very uncertain but *{dkyr}* is more likely than *{dkwr}*.

#### UJadhNab 503 (ThNJUT 28)

See photo on pl. 43a

*šlm ‘bd’lhy*

*br šlmw*

#### UJadhNab 504 (ThNJUT 29)

See photo on pl. 43a

*šlm hyw br š’d’lhy*

#### UJadhNab 505 (ThNJUT 30)

See photo on pl. 43a

*šlm ‘rgw*

#### UJadhNab 506 (ThNJUT 31)

See photo on pl. 43a

*ply br hn’w ṭb*

A man with the same name and father’s name left his signature in UJadhNab 376 (see the commentary there).

#### UJadhNab 507 (ThNJUT 32)



Al-Theeb 2005

*rb’l br*

*šlmw*

*šlm bṭb*

#### UJadhNab 508 (ThNJUT 33)



Al-Theeb 2005

*tymdwšr’*

*br zydw*

*šlm*

#### UJadhNab 509 (ThNJUT 39)



Al-Theeb 2005

*hn’t br*

*tymw*

*šlm*



**UJadhNab 510 (ThNJUT 40)**

Al-Theeb 2005

{d/r}yw{d/r} br tymw  
šlm

S. al-Theeb reads {y}wywr for {d/r}yw{d/r}.

**UJadhNab 511 (ThNJUT 41)**

UJadhNab 511 and 512 are on the same rock face.



Al-Theeb 2005

dkryn yny  
w m'n'lhy bny  
grgr  
m{b}y' btb

m{b}y' may be the equivalent of m'by' of UJadhNab 172, 'the Moabite'. yny br grgr left his signature in ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380 and 514. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in UJadhNab 126 and 496 (see the commentary under ArNab 12). S. al-Theeb reads ynw for yny and gdgr for grgr.

**UJadhNab 512 (ThNJUT 42)**

See photo under UJadhNab 511

dkyr klbw  
br

The text is unfinished. The *b* in *klbw* has a very rounded form.

**UJadhNab 513 (ThNJUT 43)**

See photo on pl. 43b

UJadhNab 513 to 516 are on the same rock face.

tymw br šlmw

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 325.

**UJadhNab 514 (ThNJUT 44)**

See photo on pl. 43b

yny br grgr

The same man left his signature in ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380 and 511. Same commentary, see above.

**UJadhNab 515 (ThNJUT 45)**

See photo on pl. 43b

hrgt br tbyw šlm

The first name is *hrgt*, not *hgrt* (a misprint in al-Theeb 2002).

**UJadhNab 516 (ThNJUT 46)**

See photo on pl. 43b

šly br štrw

'mt hbrth

šlm

'Šullay son of Šitrū. 'Ammat his [female] companion. May he/they be safe'.

**UJadhNab 517**

UJadhNab 517–521 are on the same rock face. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā'.

See photo on pl. 44a

šlm {d/r}{d/r}m

There is no way to decide whether the first two letters of the name are *d* or *r*. The names *drm*, *rdm*, *ddm* or *rrm* do not seem to be attested in Nabataean or Arabic.

**UJadhNab 518**

See photo on pl. 44a

See UJadhNab 517.

dkyr hn't br q{d/r}ynw šlmy' btb

*qrynw* could be the diminutive of the Arabic name Qarn or Qaran. As for *šlmy'*, it may be a *nisba* derived from the tribal name *šlmw*, mentioned along with *nbṭw* in a tomb inscription from Madā'in Šālih, JSNab 8: *hṛm khlyqt hṛm nbṭw w šlmw*, 'inviolable according to the nature of inviolability among the Nabataeans and the Salamians' (see Healey 1993: 73).

**UJadhNab 519**

See photo on pl. 44a

See UJadhNab 517.

w dkyr tymw br hyw rḥmh btb

'And may Taymū son of Ḥayyū his friend be remembered in well-being'.

This text is probably meant to be the continuation of the preceding one, hence the initial *w*.

**UJadhNab 520**

See photo on pl. 44a

See UJadhNab 517.

šlm {s}'bw br {d}dr{mw}

**UJadhNab 521**

See photo on pl. 44a

See UJadhNab 517.

dkrwn tḥ {w šlm} lms{d/r}{ywn}

mt{k}ty' dnh w ..{d/r}y yqrb t{g}'t{g}'

The reading of this text is difficult, especially the end of the second line, and no satisfactory reading and translation could be worked out for it. *dkrwn* probably means 'remembrance' while *mtkbt'y'* is either derived from *ktb* with an inversion of the *k* and the *t* or a *nisba*. The division of the letters into words is tentative and none of the latter have been included in the indexes. There are a few very faint letters to the right of the beginning of this text but apart from a possible *šlm*, they are illegible.

**UJadhNab 522**

UJadhNab 522–524 are on the same rock, along with a Safaitic text (UJadhSaf 6) and UJadhProblem 6. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā'.

See photo on pl. 44b

dkyr 'bd'ysy br nḥš

bṭb w šlm

The *d* of 'bd'ysy is dotted.

**UJadhNab 523**

See photo on pl. 44b

See UJadhNab 522.

dk{y}r {hyn} br grmw

w šlm

**UJadhNab 524**

See photo on pl. 44b

See UJadhNab 522.

dkyr 'bdmnty br ḥwrw

bṭb w šlm

**UJadhNab 525**

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

dkyr tps' br

ḥlš btb

**UJadhNab 526**

See photo on pl. 45a

UJadhNab 526–529 are on the same rock face. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā'.

*dkyr {h}n̄tln br  
hyw*

The *d* of *dkyr* is very faint but visible. The *h* of *h̄n̄tln* is very uncertain but the name is known in Nabataean.

### UJadhNab 527

See photo on pl. 45a

See UJadhNab 526.

*dkyr w'lw {br} {šl}[m]*

### UJadhNab 528

See photo on pl. 45a

See UJadhNab 526.

*t--- šlm*

### UJadhNab 529

See photo on pl. 45a

*shylw šlm*

See UJadhNab 526.

The name *shylt* is attested in Nabataean (JSNab 280).

### UJadhNab 530

UJadhNab 530–535 are on the same rock face, along with Ancient North and Ancient South Arabian inscriptions (UJadhHism 29–31 and UJadhASA 51–52), as well as UJadhProblem 7. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrāʾ.

See photo on pl. 45b

*hyrn*

Cf. the Arabic name Ḥayrān.

### UJadhNab 531

See photo on pl. 45b

See UJadhNab 530.

*dkyr qwz' br šl{y}  
šlm*

The name *qwz'*, written in exactly the same way, appears in two other inscriptions, ArNab 77 and UJadhNab 555. It is possible that we are dealing with the same person.

### UJadhNab 532

See photo on pl. 45b

See UJadhNab 530.

*b'lt{y}n*

### UJadhNab 533

See photo on pl. 45b

See UJadhNab 530.

*kbyrw*

*{'}l{tt}*

There is no visible *br* between the names which may have been written by

two separate individuals. The second one may be Arabic 'Ulāṭa.

### UJadhNab 534

See photo on pl. 45b

See UJadhNab 530.

*{'}šyšrn  
šlm*

### UJadhNab 535

See photo on pl. 45b

See UJadhNab 530.

*dkyr 'l'z  
br {b/n}'tw btb*

### UJadhNab 536



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

*dkyr 'bd'lg'  
btb w šlm*

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic. 'bd'lg' is a typical Nabataean name and all the other occurrences in the Darb al-Bakrah are written in the Nabataean script. Below it is UJadhThamC 4.

### UJadhNab 537

See photo under UJadhNab 536.

*dkyr  
tkylw br  
h{z/r}w*

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic. The same man left his signature in ArNab 134 and 125.

### UJadhNab 538



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

According to the information given to me by Abdullah al-Saeed, from the Farīq

aṣ-Ṣahrāʾ, this inscription is not located exactly on the Darb al-Bakrah track but about 1,800 m from it (six kilometers, as the crow flies, south-east from Umm Jadhāyidh). It suggests that the author wandered around from the spot where he had stopped over, possibly while on a patrol.

The text is beautifully carved in Nabataeo-Arabic on a sandstone block covered by a black patina, and it is very clear. It should be noted that the same author left his signature seven years earlier in UJadhNab 309.

*bly dkyr šly br 'wšw  
btb w šlm mn qdm  
mry 'lm' w ktb' dnh  
ktb ywm hg  
'l-ptyr šnt m't  
w tš'yn w šb'*

<sup>1</sup> Yea! May Šullay son of 'Awšū <sup>2</sup> be remembered in well-being and may he be safe in the presence of <sup>3</sup> the Lord of world, and this writing <sup>4</sup> he wrote the day of the feast <sup>5</sup> of the unleavened bread, year one hundred <sup>6</sup> and ninety-seven [AD 303]'.  
**Commentary:**

*Reading:*

The first line and the beginning of the second were scratched over, probably intentionally, and this was probably meant to deface the name of the author of the text. Fortunately, the latter is still legible without too much difficulty. All the names and words are known in Nabataean, except for what follows *ywm*, line 4. The last two letters of this line were initially read *hd*, by analogy with *ywm hd*, 'the first day' of UJadhNab 309, written by the same author. However, the letter which follows the *h* is clearly not a *d*, especially if one compares it with the other *ds* in the text, in *qdm* and *dnh*. We therefore, most probably, have to read *ywm hg*, followed, line 5, by *'l-ptyr*. Both *hg* and *'l-ptyr* occur for the first time in a Nabataean or Nabataeo-Arabic text.

*Date:*

The text is dated to year one hundred and ninety-seven (written in letters) of the era of the Roman province of Arabia, which corresponds to AD 303.

*Script:*

The script is clearly transitional between Nabataean and Arabic and fits perfectly well the early 4th century AD. It is very representative of the Nabataeo-Arabic script category. It is rather formal

and the text was carved carefully by a relatively skilled person.

All *ts* in the text have an open form, whether they are in initial, medial or final positions (*ktb*’, *ktb*, *šnt*, *m*’*t*, *tš*’*yn*). This contrasts with UJadhNab 309, where all the *ts* have a ‘calligraphic’ Nabataean form except the one in *šnt*, which is open. It is difficult to draw from this any conclusion on the development of this letter but it surely shows that at this period, end of the third/early fourth century AD, both forms coexisted and were probably equally comprehensible. Note the form of the *m*, which is Nabataeo-Arabic in initial and medial positions (*mn*, *mry*, ‘*lm*’, *m*’*t*) and ‘calligraphic’ Nabataean in final position (*šlm*, *qdm*, *ywm*), as in UJadhNab 309 and as in all Nabataeo-Arabic texts.

#### Language:

The text is expressed mainly in Aramaic (*dkyr*, *bḫb*, *br*, *mry* ‘*lm*’, *mn* *qdm*, *ktb*’, *dnh*). It contains also, like many Nabataean texts, words which could be either Aramaic or Arabic (*bly*, *w*, *šlm*, *ktb*, *šnt*, *m*’*t*, *tš*’*yn*, *šb*’). It finally contains one word which is clearly Arabic *faḫīr*, preceded by the ‘*l*’-form of the definite article. *faḫīr* means ‘unleavened (dough)’, particularly in the expression ‘*īd al-faḫīr*, ‘the feast of the unleavened bread’, i.e. Passover (Lane 1863–1893: 2417a). ‘*l-ptyr*’ is preceded by the word *hg*, the meaning of which is most probably a loan from Hebrew, ‘feast’, rather than a word derived from Arabic ḤG which means, ‘he repaired, betook himself, to, or towards, a person’ (Lane 1863–1893: 513b), hence the subsequent meaning of *hajj*, ‘pilgrimage (to Mecca)’.

It seems therefore that very much like JSNab 17 (for which see Macdonald in Fiema *et alii* 2015: 402–405), the author wrote in Aramaic but used a mixture of other languages, including Hebrew here, for expressions he could not formulate in Aramaic. According to Chr. Robin (pers. comm.), the fact that he uses the Hebrew meaning of *hg* is an illustration of the *yahūdiyyah*, the language spoken by the Jews in the Ḥijāz (see Robin 2015a: 73–74). The author and his father bear well-known Nabataean names, and it is not certain that they were Jewish themselves. Yet the author was clearly aware of the fact that he wrote the day of Passover, of which this text offers the first mention in north-west Arabia. One can also assume that he would not have taken the trouble to specify that he

wrote the text that special day if it was not important for him. Finally, this text shows that for this individual at least, Passover was referred to by a loan from Hebrew in association with an Arabic word, which is interesting from the point of view of the language spoken by the Jews in the Ḥijāz.

#### General:

This text is interesting not only because of its content but also because the same person, Šullay son of ‘Awšū, carved another text, in Umm Jadhāyidh proper, UJadhNab 309, where he adds his grandfather’s name, ‘*lh*{*b/n*}*h*, probably ‘*lhn*h, year one hundred and ninety, i.e. seven years before this one (AD 295 because written in Tišrī). In both cases, he claims that he wrote the text himself. The existence of two texts written in the same area seven years apart shows that the route along which they are written was indeed a caravan itinerary used year after year by the same people.

The author asks to be remembered before a deity whose name is not given explicitly but only through the epithet *mry* ‘*lm*’, ‘the Lord of the world’, which is previously attested in one text only, JSNab 17, dated AD 267. Since this epithet is never used in the Nabataean texts of the first century AD, it is not certain that it refers to Dūšarā or another supreme Nabataean deity. It is also used for Ba‘alšamīn in Palmyrene inscriptions (CIS II 3989 and 3986, *lb*’*lšmyn mr*’ ‘*lm*’). Robin (2014a: 58) suggests that it might refer to the God of the Jews. UJadhNab 538, written on Passover’s day by someone who asks to be remembered before the ‘Lord of the world’ is another argument in favour of this hypothesis. *mry* ‘*lm*’ is thus now used in two texts which belong roughly to the same chronological context, the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century AD, both in north-west Arabia. It may be a coincidence but it may also be significant that it is used only in this area of the former Nabataean kingdom and only at this period.

#### UJadhNab 539

UJadhNab 539–541 are on the same rock, the surface of which is uneven. The texts are difficult to read and some have not even been numbered. From Farīq aš-Šahrā’.

#### See photo on pl. 46a

*bly* *dkyr* {*h*}*{d/r}* [or {*d/r*}*š*{*d/r*}] {*br*} {*dy*}

The reading is very uncertain. Compare the name ‘*dyw*. The reading {*h*}*{d/r}* or {*d/r*}*š*{*d/r*} depends on whether the first letter is a *h* or a *d/r* + *š*. The name *h*{*d/r*} is possibly previously attested in an inscription from Umm ar-Rašās in Jordan (Macdonald 1991: no. 11).

#### UJadhNab 540

##### See photo on pl. 46a

See UJadhNab 539.

*šlm* ’*{hw}*

What follows the ‘ is very uncertain.

#### UJadhNab 541

##### See photo on pl. 46a

See UJadhNab 539.

*hrtt* {*d/r*}*k*{’}{*šk*} *m*{*z/n*} *k*{*d/r*}*q*{’} *t*

No satisfactory reading and translation could be worked out for this text. The end may possibly be *mn* + a place name. Note that there is a gap after *hrt*. The reading of *šk* in the middle is very doubtful. Not included in the indexes.

UJadhNab 542–544. Not attributed.

#### UJadhNab 545



Photo Farīq aš-Šahrā’ 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

*šlm* *zhmn* *br*

*qršmw*

There is a strange drawing above the text.

#### UJadhNab 546



Photo Farīq aš-Šahrā’ 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

This text is carved below the panel bearing inscriptions UJadhNab 261–275, on the same rock face, but it had not been photographed in 2004.

*tymw* *br* *rb*’*l* *dkyr* {*b*}*ḫ**t**b*

*kyb* *bšnt* 20+20+5+4

*byrh* {’*lwl*}

‘Taymū son of Rab’īl, may he be remembered in well-being. Written in

year 49 [AD 155] in the month of Elül'. This text is probably by the same author as UJadhNab 6 (see UJadhNab 6 and the commentary under ArNab 26.1). It is dated to year 45 of the era of the Roman province of Arabia (AD 155), i.e. four years earlier than UJadhNab 6. It provides another example of person travelling along the Darb al-Bakrah itinerary at several years interval.

**UJadhNab 547**

UJadhNab 547–548 are on the same rock face.

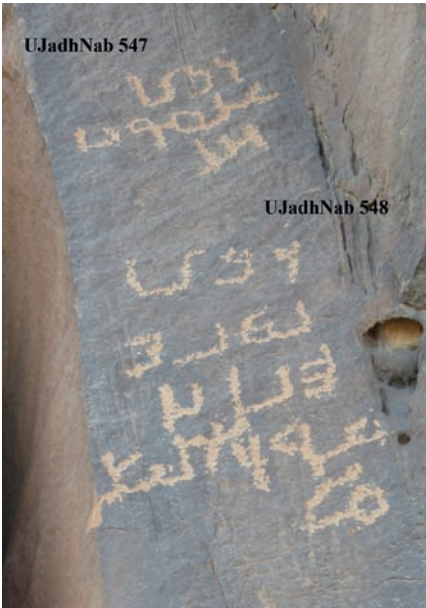


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*dkyr*  
*'nmw br*  
*hb{n/r}*

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic. The *d* is dotted.

**UJadhNab 548**

See photo under UJadhNab 547.

*dkyr*  
*bṭb {k}-*  
*hbl br*  
*'wd'l{š}-*  
*m'*

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic. It is not certain whether the *k* which follows *bṭb* is part of the text. It may be an attempt to write the *h* of *hbl* (Hubal?). If not, we have to assume a name *khbl*. The father's name is new and may be compared with *'bd'lsm'* of UJadhNab 72, written partly in Nabataeo-Arabic characters, both being theophoric names built with *šm'*.

**UJadhNab 549**

UJadhNab 549–558 are on the same rock, along with Ancient South Arabian inscriptions (UJadhASA 48–52) and two Ancient North Arabian ones (UJadhHism 28, UJadhThamC 5).

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*šlm ---- 'bdt br*  
*'ylw ---- šlm*

**UJadhNab 550**

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*r'yt br*  
*grmw*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 484. The handwriting is exactly the same.

**UJadhNab 551**

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*'mr'l br*  
*{ml}.n šlm*

**UJadhNab 552**

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*hn't*  
*br m'r-*  
*'l*

There is a small diagonal stroke before the ' of *m'r'l* but it is too small to be a *b* and it is not considered as being part of the text.

**UJadhNab 553**

See also photo on pl. 46b

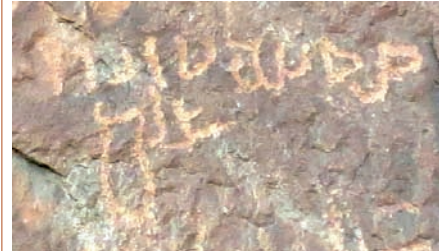


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*qsbnh br zbdw*  
*šlm*

**UJadhNab 554**

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*šlm 'bw*  
*br h{b/n}z' bṭb*

**UJadhNab 555**

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*šlm qwz'*

What follows the  $\text{'}\text{}$  does not belong to the text. The name *qwz'*, written exactly the same way, appears in two other inscriptions, ArNab 77 and UJadhNab 531. It is possible that we are dealing with the same person.

### UJadhNab 556

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*šlm dm{s}y br bnyt*

The letter after the *m* (in *dmsy*) is rounder and more squashed than the *m* and is likely to be a *s*. The name *dmm* is not attested before whereas *dmsy* is (JSNab 84).

### UJadhNab 557

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*šlm ---- br {l}----*

Note that *br* is written with two parallel lines.

### UJadhNab 558

See also photo on pl. 46b



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 549.

*'btbl'*

*br ---- šlm*

There is a very faint text starting with *šlm* below.

### UJadhNab 559

UJadhNab 559–562 are on the same rock. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā'.

See photo on pl. 47a

*šlm zynwn*

### UJadhNab 560

See photo on pl. 47a

See UJadhNab 559.

*šlm bzyzw*

### UJadhNab 561

See photo on pl. 47a

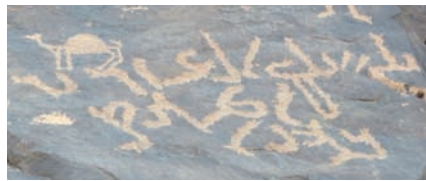


Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See UJadhNab 559.

*bly šlm 'l'zr br*

*'šhq*

*khn'*

'Yea! May Ele'azar son of Iṣḥāq the priest be safe'.

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters and may be dated to the late-third/early fourth century AD. The author of the text is probably a (Jewish) priest (on *khn*, see Robin 2015a: 120). Note that the name *'šhq* is written with an initial  $\text{'}$  and a  $\text{ṣ}$ , which is a mixture of Aramaic *'šhq* and Hebrew *yšhq*. Note that in one of the pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions from Najrān, Ḥimā-Sud PalAr 2, we have *'šhq*, see Robin *et alii* 2014: 1092–1093).

### UJadhNab 562

See photo on pl. 47a

See UJadhNab 559.

*šlm ḥwpw*

*br yyt' btb*

The second name was read *yyt'* and not *yytb* because it occurs also in UJadhNab 38.

### UJadhNab 562.1



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*tymw br rb'l šlm*

The same sequence of names appears in several other texts. See the commentary under ArNab 26.1.

### UJadhNab 563

UJadhNab 563–566 are on the same rock. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā'.

See photo on pl. 47b

*'nytw br nšlw šlm*

### UJadhNab 564

See photo on pl. 47b

See UJadhNab 563.

*'bdmnwty br 'wšw šlm*

The last letter of the first name was read *y* and not *w* because it is different from the first *w* and is closer to the *y* in UJadhNab 565 below.

### UJadhNab 565

See photo on pl. 47b

See UJadhNab 563.

*'bny šlm*

### UJadhNab 566

See photo on pl. 47b

See UJadhNab 563.

*'{h}nbw br {k}----*

*šlm*

The father's name could tentatively be read *{k}{d/r}{ṣ}*.

## Ghadīr ar-Rāshidah

### GhRNab 1–20

GhRNab 1–20 are on the same rock face, along with several Ancient South and Ancient North Arabian texts (GhRASA 1, GhRANA/ASA 1, GhRANA 1–3). This rock face overlooks the largest pool of the ghadīr. The texts are very difficult to read and no detailed photographs are available. From Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā'.

See general photo on pl. 48

### GhRNab 1



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*---- br bn'w šlm*

### GhRNab 2



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*šlm m{hy}*

**GhRNab 3**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

'bd{wšn}.

**GhRNab 4**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

{wydw br}  
[---]tn{m}

The beginning of the second line is on the edge of the photograph. There might be letters before.

**GhRNab 5**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

nšr----?  
br {bd'w} šlm

**GhRNab 6**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

Hardly legible. Possibly ---lbt at the end.

**GhRNab 7**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

tymw br `yšw šlm

**GhRNab 8**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

twrsk

**GhRNab 9**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

šlm zbydw br  
mlkywn

**GhRNab 10**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

---y br `sk{d/r}{d/r}  
--- šlm

**GhRNab 11**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

tymw br {byn}

**GhRNab 12**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

šlm zrq  
br hrmwn h{z/w}{k/n}{t}  
The reading of what follows hrmwn is very uncertain. It is not included in the index.

**GhRNab 13**

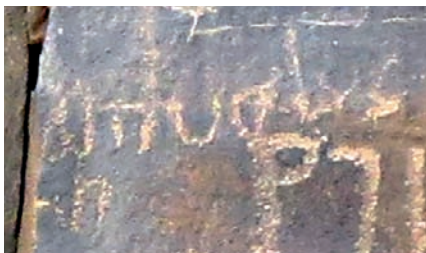


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

.l' br {d/r}t.-  
t

**GhRNab 14**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

dkyr ---- btb

There is a very faint text below this one, of which only a few letters are legible.

**GhRNab 15**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

dynys  
šlm

**GhRNab 16**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

šlw šlm

**GhRNab 17**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

{dk}yr bw{d/r}w br {h}yzwn

Before {dk}yr, there are scratches on the rock but they do not seem to belong to the text.

**GhR 18**

See photo under GhR17.

hn`w br š'wdw

**GhRNab 19**

*šl{m}ʿ {šl}m*

**GhRNab 20**

See photo under GhR 19.

*yʿnʿ{m} w ʿnw*

**Darb al-Bakrah various 1****DBv1Nab 1**

Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*zbd br kmšnʿm šlm*

The same man left his signature in the centre of Umm Jadhāyidh (UJadhNab 167, see the commentary).

**DBv1Nab 2**

See also photo on pl. 49

DBv1Nab 2–13 are on three sides of the same rock cliff.

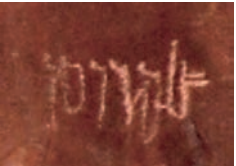


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*šlm {d/r}{d/r}mn*

**DBv1Nab 3**

See also photo on pl. 49

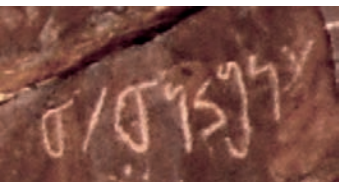


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*ʿ{d/r}ky{d/r}ʿbʿ*

**DBv1Nab 4**

See also photo on pl. 49

See DBv1Nab 2.

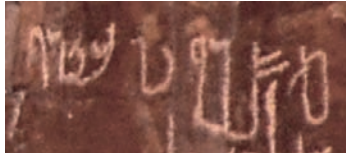


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*mškw br ʿydw*

The same man (with the same handwriting) left his signature in UJadhNab 111 and UJadhNab 114.

**DBv1Nab 5**

See also photo on pl. 49

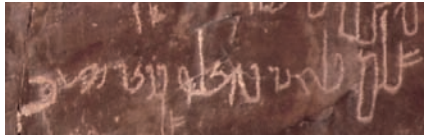


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*šlm ply br khylw dkyr bṭb*

There are two *khylw br ply* but no *ply br khylw* in the inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah.

**DBv1Nab 6**

See also photo on pl. 49



Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*šlm ʿ{d/r}w{d/r}*  
*bṭb*

**DBv1Nab 7**

See also photo on pl. 49

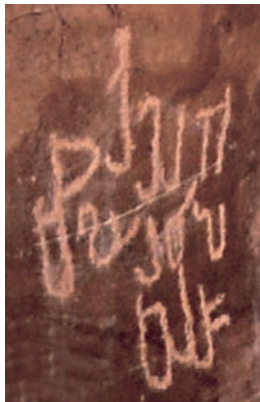


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*hnpls*  
*br ʿn ʿwm*

*šlm*

There is another man named *hnpls* in Umm Jadhāyidh but he does not give his

father's name and his handwriting is not exactly similar to this one.

**DBv1Nab 8**

See also photo on pl. 49



Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*šlm khylw*

The handwriting is not the same as in DBv3Nab 9.

**DBv1Nab 9**

See also photo on pl. 49

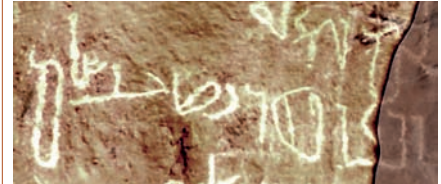


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*dkyr pʿr bṭb w šlm*

**DBv1Nab 10**

See also photo on pl. 49

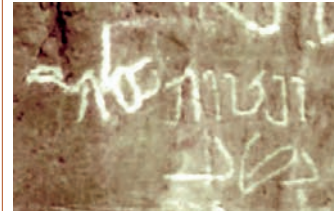


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*dkyr whb ʿlhy*  
*bṭb*

**DBv1Nab 11**

See also photo on pl. 49

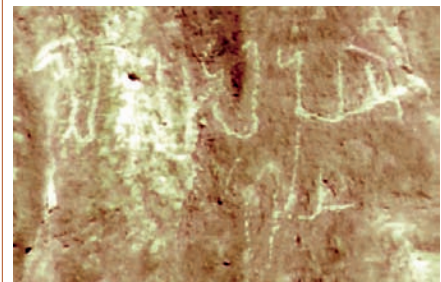


Photo Farīq aš-Šahrāʾ 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*ʿbd{mnwty}*  
*šlm*

The reading *'bd{mnwty}* is preferred to *'bdky{nwty}*. Indeed, one can assume that the author simply forgot to join the strokes of what looks like a *k + y* but which in fact is a *m* (compare with the *m* of *šlm*).

**DBv1Nab 12**

See also photo on pl. 49



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*{d/r}{d/r}yw br zbdwn  
šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 289.

**DBv1Nab 13**

See also photo on pl. 49



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 2.

*zbd' dwn br  
'n 'm šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 191 and 317.

**DBv1Nab 14**

See also photo on pl. 50a

DBv1Nab14–18 are carved on the same rock cliff, along with DBv1ASA 1, *wusūm* and at least two Arabic graffiti. The texts are difficult to read because of the absence of detailed photos of each one of them. The inscriptions are tentatively read from right to left.

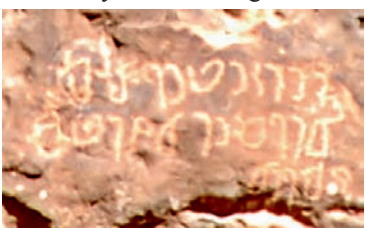


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*dkry* [inversion of *r* and *y*] *bṭb w šlm*  
*'{d/r}wm br '{q}{d/r}{y}.m*  
*{y}hwd'*

The author of the text says that he is a Judean/Jewish.

**DBv1Nab 15**

See also photo on pl. 50a



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 14.

*'bw br ---{z/n}' šlm*

**DBv1Nab 16**

See also photo on pl. 50a



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 14.

*r{my} šlm*

**DBv1Nab 17**

See also photo on pl. 50a and under DBv1Nab16

See DBv1Nab14.  
*dkyr šm{š}y dk---*

There is another *šmšy*, in al-'Arniyyāt, but he is the son of *hrqlyds*. Here, the father's name is not legible on the photograph. The handwriting is not the same and it is not likely that we are dealing with the same person. Note that there is a gap between *dkyr* and what follows.

**DBv1Nab 18**

See also photo on pl. 50a

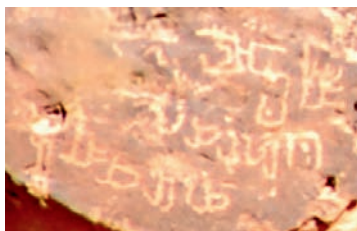


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 14.

*šlm  
nyrks br  
s{w/r}ts šlm*

**DBv1Nab 19**

See photo on pl. 50b

DBv1Nab 19–23 are carved on the same rock, along with DBv1ASA 2 and

Arabic texts. Readings from top right to bottom left. It is possible that these inscriptions belong in fact to site DBv2 and not DBv1.



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*šlmw br  
hnynw šlm*

This man is well known along the Darb al-Bakrah. He left his signature in QNNab 15, ArNab 51, and UJadhNab 2, i.e. in four different locations.

**DBv1Nab 20**

See also photo on pl. 50b

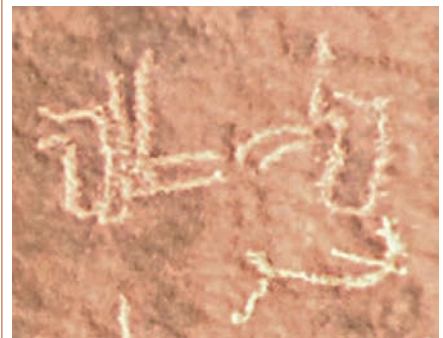


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 19.

*m{n}. šlm  
'{r}*

The first name may tentatively be read *mny*.

**DBv1Nab 21**

See also photo on pl. 50b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 19.

*šhrw šlm*

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 44, 93, and 151 (the handwriting is exactly the same). See the commentary under UJadhNab 44.

**DBv1Nab 22**

See also photo on pl. 50b





Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 19.

zw šlm

### DBv1Nab 23

See also photo on pl. 50b



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv1Nab 19.

grgr br yny šlm

w yny brh

bṭb

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 126 and 496. The same names, in reverse order, appear also in ArNab 12, SBNab 2, UJadhNab 380, 511 and 514 (see the commentary under ArNab 12).

### DBv1Nab 24



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

There are possibly three or four Nabataean inscriptions on this rock but two of them are hardly legible. The one at the bottom reads:

šwdw br

'dr{w} {šlm}

### DBv1Nab 25

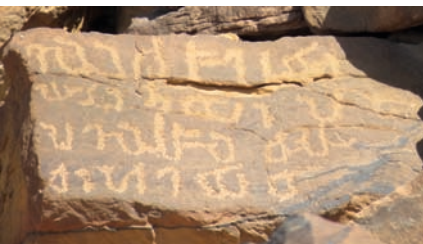


Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

d' npš {h}kmw

br rb'l w y'nw

'lym mšlmw br

'b' w h{d/r}{d/r}{m}

'This is the *nefesh* of Ḥakamū son of Rab'tl and Ya'nū the servant of Mašlamū son of 'Abā and H{d/r}{d/r}{m}'.

There is another *hkmw* in ArNab 155 but the handwriting is not the same. There is also a *mšlmw br 'b'* in ArNab 105. It is likely that the *nefesh* refers here to the text itself. This meaning of the word *npš* was already suggested by M.C.A. Macdonald (2006: 290).

### DBv1Nab 26



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

DBv1Saf 1 and DBv1ThamC 1 are carved on the same stone.

šy'tl šlm

It seems that the *l* after *šy't* was added later and it may therefore not belong to the name, especially since another *šy't*, with a comparable handwriting, left his signature in ArNab 140. There are possibly three smaller letters below.

## Darb al-Bakrah various 2

### DBv2Nab 1

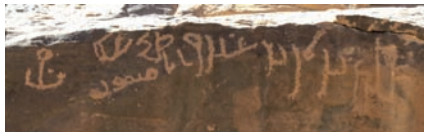


Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

šlm b{d/r}'n br 'bdw sy'

'May B{d/r}'n son of 'Abdū the goldsmith be safe'.

### DBv2Nab 2



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

šlm {h}rmn br tymlhy

## Darb al-Bakrah various 3

### DBv3Nab 1

bly dkyr gdyw

br hyw bṭb

The same man left his signature in UJadhNab 500.

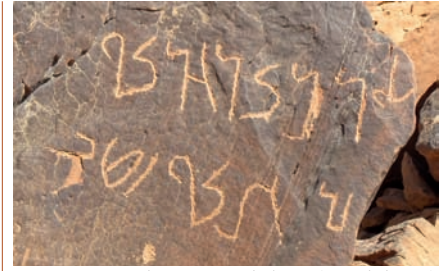


Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

DBv3Nab 2 Not attributed.

### DBv3Nab 3



Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

On the same stone as DBv3ImpAr1 (see a general photo under this number). At the bottom of the rock, one can read the following:

zyd' lhy šlm

The text is followed by an X sign.

### DBv3Nab 4

The rock panel shows two Nabataean inscriptions, DBv3Nab 4–5, along with Ancient South Arabian (DBv3ASA 1–2) and Ancient North Arabian ones (DBv3ANA 1), *wusūm*, and at least two Arabic graffiti.

See photo on pl. 51a

šly br hz{t} šlm

### DBv3Nab 5

See photo on pl. 51a

See DBv3Nab 4.

m'ytw w pbt{w} šlm

### DBv3Nab 6

See photo on pl. 51b

DBv3Nab 6–7 are on the same rock, along with Ancient South and Ancient North Arabian ones, DBv3ASA 3 and DBv3Hism 1–2.

There may be another Nabataean text in the upper right corner of the rock but it is hardly legible.

dkyr gblw br

'šlmw

The same man possibly left his signature in TMNab 1 and in UJadhNab 490, the

latter more likely because *br* is written with two parallel lines.

**DBv3Nab 7**

See photo on pl. 51b

See DBv3Nab 6.

*šlm .{m}----{w}*

**DBv3Nab 8**

Several Nabataean texts (DBv3Nab 8–11) and one Nabataeo-Arabic (DBv3NabAr 1). There seems to be many more texts on the flat surface of the rock but they are not legible.

See also photo on pl. 52a



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*klybt šlm*

**DBv3Nab 9**

See also photo on pl. 52a



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 8.

*khylw*

*šlm*

The handwriting is not the same as in DBv1Nab 8, which has the same name.

**DBv3Nab 10**

See also photo on pl. 52a



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 8.

*qdm šlm*

There is a dot above the *d* of *qdm*.

**DBv3Nab 11**

See also photo on pl. 52a

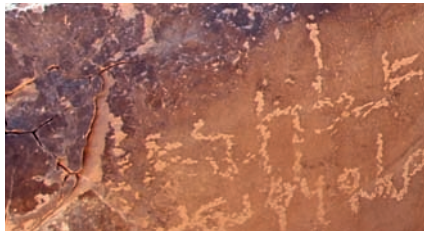


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 8.

*šlm mšl---*

**DBv3NabAr 1**



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*dkr 'qlwd{w} b'ṭb*

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters.

*dkr* is probably Arabic *ḍakara* with an optative force.

**DBv3Nab 12**

See also photo on pl. 52b

DBv3Nab 12–17 and DBv3NabAr2 are written on the same rock. One text, marked by a question mark, was not read.



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*{d/r}sy šlm br*

*tym 'l{t}*

**DBv3Nab 13**

See also photo on pl. 52b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 12.

*zbd' br yny šlm*

**DBv3Nab 14**

See also photo on pl. 52b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 12.

*šlmw br*

*šmkw šlm*

**DBv3Nab 15**

See also photo on pl. 52b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 12.

*ntny br rb'l šlm*

A man with the same name and father's name left his signature in UJadhNab 98 and 271 but there are differences in the script, mainly in the form of the final *y* and final *l*. There is a word after the text: *ryzy?*

**DBv3Nab 16**

See also photo on pl. 52b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

See DBv3Nab 12.

*šlm šlmw br ply*

**DBv3Nab 17**

See also photo on pl. 52b

See DBv3Nab 12.

*'šlmw {br} ----*

*šlm*

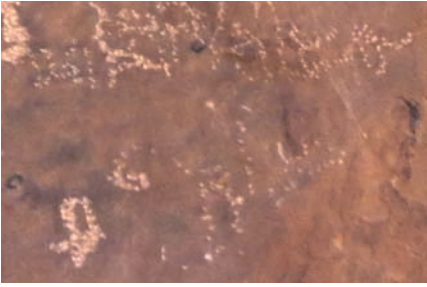


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

### DBv3NabAr 2

See also photo on pl. 52b



Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*dkyr ʿwšw*

*br ʿ---*

The text is written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters.

### DBv3Nab 18

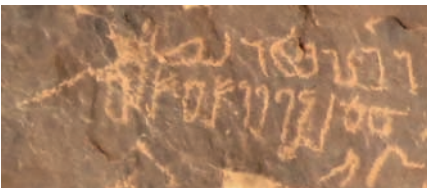


Photo Fariq aš-Sahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

DBv3Nab 18 and 19 are written above each other.

*dkyr pʿr bṭb*

### DBv3Nab 19

See photo under DBv3Nab 18.

*ʿy}{l/n}{k}w prš ʿšlm*

‘May ʿy}{l/n}{k}w the cavalryman be safe’.

On Nabataean cavalrymen, see Nehmé 2017: 143–148.

# Concordance of inscription numbers

Texts previously published in Jaussen and Savignac 1909–1914

JSNab 241	UdhNab 22
JSNab 242	UdhNab 16
JSNab 243	UdhNab 14
JSNab 244	UdhNab 15
JSNab 245	UdhNab 18 1 <sup>st</sup> line
JSNab 246 1 <sup>st</sup> part	UdhNab 17 2 <sup>nd</sup> line
JSNab 246 2 <sup>nd</sup> part	UdhNab 18 2 <sup>nd</sup> line
JSNab 247	UdhNab 21
JSNab 248	UdhNab 19
JSNab 249	UdhNab 17 1 <sup>st</sup> line
JSNab 250	UdhNab 13
JSNab 251	UdhNab 8
JSNab 252	UdhNab 11 2 <sup>nd</sup> line
JSNab 253	UdhNab 11.1
JSNab 254	UdhNab 9
JSNab 270	UdhNab 2
JSNab 273–274	Udh 3
JSNab 275	UdhNab 4.1
JSNab 277	UdhNab 5

## Texts previously published in al-Theeb 2002 (ThNUJ)

In brackets, the number it was given in al-Theeb 2010 (ThMNN)

ThNUJ 1 (ThMNN 471)	UJadhNab 1	ThNUJ 24 (ThMNN 494)	UJadhNab 104
ThNUJ 2 (ThMNN 472)	UJadhNab 2	ThNUJ 25 (ThMNN 495)	UJadhNab 100
ThNUJ 3 (ThMNN 473)	UJadhNab 303	ThNUJ 26 (ThMNN 496)	UJadhNab 96
ThNUJ 4 (ThMNN 474)	UJadhNab 304	ThNUJ 27 (ThMNN 497)	UJadhNab 97
ThNUJ 5 (ThMNN 475)	UJadhNab 259	ThNUJ 28 (ThMNN 498)	UJadhNab 98
ThNUJ 6 (ThMNN 476)	UJadhNab 260	ThNUJ 29 (ThMNN 499)	UJadhNab 99
ThNUJ 7 (ThMNN 477)	UJadhNab 88	ThNUJ 30 (ThMNN 500)	UJadhNab 15
ThNUJ 8 (ThMNN 478)	UJadhNab 61	ThNUJ 31 (ThMNN 501)	UJadhNab 16
ThNUJ 9–10 (ThMNN 479–480)	UJadhNab 84	ThNUJ 32 (ThMNN 502)	UJadhNab 17
ThNUJ 11 (ThMNN 481)	UJadhNab 85	ThNUJ 33 (ThMNN 503)	UJadhNab 18
ThNUJ 12 (ThMNN 482)	UJadhNab 86	ThNUJ 34 (ThMNN 504)	UJadhNab 19
ThNUJ 13 (ThMNN 483)	UJadhNab 191	ThNUJ 35 (ThMNN 505)	UJadhNab 20
ThNUJ 14 (ThMNN 484)	UJadhNab 23	ThNUJ 36 (ThMNN 506)	UJadhNab 21
ThNUJ 15 (ThMNN 485)	UJadhNab 24	ThNUJ 37 (ThMNN 507)	UJadhNab 22
ThNUJ 16 (ThMNN 486)	UJadhNab 64	ThNUJ 38 (ThMNN 508)	UJadhNab 10
ThNUJ 17 (ThMNN 487)	UJadhNab 65	ThNUJ 39 (ThMNN 509)	UJadhNab 12
ThNUJ 18 (ThMNN 488)	UJadhNab 83	ThNUJ 40 (ThMNN 510)	UJadhNab 13
ThNUJ 19 (ThMNN 489)	UJadhNab 89	ThNUJ 41 (ThMNN 511)	UJadhNab 11
ThNUJ 20 (ThMNN 490)	UJadhNab 62	ThNUJ 42 (ThMNN 512)	UJadhNab 7
ThNUJ 21 (ThMNN 491)	UJadhNab 63	ThNUJ 43 (ThMNN 513)	UJadhNab 8
ThNUJ 22 (ThMNN 492)	UJadhNab 77	ThNUJ 44 (ThMNN 514)	UJadhNab 102
ThNUJ 23 (ThMNN 493)	UJadhNab 101	ThNUJ 45 (ThMNN 515)	UJadhNab 122

ThNUJ 46 (ThMNN 516)	UJadhNab 123	ThNUJ 104 (ThMNN 576)	UJadhNab 150
ThNUJ 47 (ThMNN 517)	UJadhNab 136	ThNUJ 105 (ThMNN 577)	UJadhNab 151
ThNUJ 48 (ThMNN 518)	UJadhNab 3	ThNUJ 106 (ThMNN 578)	UJadhNab 152
ThNUJ 49 (ThMNN 519)	UJadhNab 334	ThNUJ 107 (ThMNN 579)	UJadhNab 153
ThNUJ 50 (ThMNN 520)	UJadhNab 335	ThNUJ 108 (ThMNN 580)	UJadhNab 154
ThNUJ 51 (ThMNN 521)	UJadhNab 336	ThNUJ 109 (ThMNN 581)	UJadhNab 155
ThNUJ 51 (ThMNN 522)	UJadhNab 337	ThNUJ 110 (ThMNN 582)	UJadhNab 138
ThNUJ 52 (ThMNN 523)	UJadhNab 339	ThNUJ 111 (ThMNN 583)	UJadhNab 137
ThNUJ 53 (ThMNN 524)	UJadhNab 340	ThNUJ 112 (ThMNN 584)	UJadhNab 134
ThNUJ 54 (ThMNN 525)	UJadhNab 341	ThNUJ 113 (ThMNN 585)	UJadhNab 133
ThNUJ 55 (ThMNN 526)	UJadhNab 342	ThNUJ 114 (ThMNN 586)	UJadhNab 128
ThNUJ 56 (ThMNN 527)	UJadhNab 344	ThNUJ 114 commentary (ThMNN 587)	UJadhNab 129
ThNUJ 57 (ThMNN 528)	UJadhNab 347	ThNUJ 114 commentary (ThMNN 588)	UJadhNab 130
ThNUJ 58 (ThMNN 529)	UJadhNab 348	ThNUJ 115 (ThMNN 589)	UJadhNab 126
ThNUJ 59 (ThMNN 530)	UJadhNab 346	ThNUJ 116 (ThMNN 590)	UJadhNab 127
ThNUJ 60 (ThMNN 531)	UJadhNab 354	ThNUJ 117 (ThMNN 591)	UJadhNab 125
ThNUJ 61 (ThMNN 532)	UJadhNab 355	ThNUJ 118 (ThMNN 592)	UJadhNab 114
ThNUJ 62 (ThMNN 533)	UJadhNab 360	ThNUJ 119 (ThMNN 593)	UJadhNab 115
ThNUJ 63 (ThMNN 534)	UJadhNab 351	ThNUJ 120 (ThMNN 594)	UJadhNab 116
ThNUJ 64 (ThMNN 535)	UJadhNab 353	ThNUJ 121 (ThMNN 595)	UJadhNab 117
ThNUJ 65 (ThMNN 536)	UJadhNab 349	ThNUJ 122 (ThMNN 596)	UJadhNab 118
ThNUJ 66 (ThMNN 537)	UJadhNab 356	ThNUJ 123 (ThMNN 597)	UJadhNab 119
ThNUJ 67 (ThMNN 538)	UJadhNab 357	ThNUJ 124 (ThMNN 598)	UJadhNab 120
ThNUJ 68 (ThMNN 539)	UJadhNab 350	ThNUJ 125 (ThMNN 599)	UJadhNab 111
ThNUJ 69 (ThMNN 540)	UJadhNab 358	ThNUJ 126 (ThMNN 600)	UJadhNab 112
ThNUJ 70 (ThMNN 541)	UJadhNab 359	ThNUJ 127 (ThMNN 601)	UJadhNab 113
ThNUJ 71 (ThMNN 542)	UJadhNab 327	ThNUJ 128 (ThMNN 602)	UJadhNab 105
ThNUJ 72 (ThMNN 543)	UJadhNab 324	ThNUJ 129 (ThMNN 603)	UJadhNab 106
ThNUJ 73 (ThMNN 544)	UJadhNab 325	ThNUJ 130 (ThMNN 604)	UJadhNab 107
ThNUJ 74 (ThMNN 545)	UJadhNab 305	ThNUJ 131 (ThMNN 605)	UJadhNab 108
ThNUJ 75 (ThMNN 546)	UJadhNab 306	ThNUJ 132–133 (ThMNN 606–607)	UJadhNab 109
ThNUJ 76 (ThMNN 547)	UJadhNab 307	ThNUJ 134 (ThMNN 608)	UJadhNab 110
ThNUJ 77 (ThMNN 549)	UJadhNab 295	ThNUJ 135 (ThMNN 609)	UJadhNab 91
ThNUJ 78 (ThMNN 550)	UJadhNab 296	ThNUJ 136 (ThMNN 610)	UJadhNab 92
ThNUJ 79 (ThMNN 551)	UJadhNab 232	ThNUJ 137 (ThMNN 611)	UJadhNab 93
ThNUJ 80 (ThMNN 552)	UJadhNab 233	ThNUJ 138 (ThMNN 612)	UJadhNab 94
ThNUJ 81 (ThMNN 553)	UJadhNab 223	ThNUJ 139 (ThMNN 613)	UJadhNab 95
ThNUJ 82 (ThMNN 554)	UJadhNab 227	ThNUJ 140 (ThMNN 614)	UJadhNab 26
ThNUJ 83 (ThMNN 555)	UJadhNab 228	ThNUJ 141 (ThMNN 615)	UJadhNab 27
ThNUJ 84 (ThMNN 556)	UJadhNab 219	ThNUJ 142 (ThMNN 616)	UJadhNab 28
ThNUJ 85 (ThMNN 557)	UJadhNab 214	ThNUJ 143 (ThMNN 617)	UJadhNab 407
ThNUJ 86 (ThMNN 558)	UJadhNab 215	ThNUJ 144 (ThMNN 618)	UJadhNab 408
ThNUJ 87 (ThMNN 559)	UJadhNab 210	ThNUJ 145 (ThMNN 619)	UJadhNab 405
ThNUJ 88 (ThMNN 560)	UJadhNab 202	ThNUJ 146 (ThMNN 620)	UJadhNab 406
ThNUJ 89 (ThMNN 561)	UJadhNab 5	ThNUJ 147 (ThMNN 621)	UJadhNab 409
ThNUJ 90 (ThMNN 562)	UJadhNab 6	ThNUJ 148 (ThMNN 622)	UJadhNab 410
ThNUJ 91 (ThMNN 563)	UJadhNab 200	ThNUJ 149 (ThMNN 623)	UJadhNab 411
ThNUJ 92 (ThMNN 564)	UJadhNab 201	ThNUJ 150 (ThMNN 624)	UJadhNab 412
ThNUJ 93 (ThMNN 565)	UJadhNab 370	ThNUJ 151 (ThMNN 625)	UJadhNab 413
ThNUJ 94 (ThMNN 566)	UJadhNab 161	ThNUJ 152 (ThMNN 626)	UJadhNab 414
ThNUJ 95 (ThMNN 567)	UJadhNab 162	ThNUJ 153 (ThMNN 627)	UJadhNab 415
ThNUJ 96 (ThMNN 568)	UJadhNab 164	ThNUJ 154 (ThMNN 628)	UJadhNab 416
ThNUJ 97 (ThMNN 569)	UJadhNab 165	ThNUJ 155 (ThMNN 629)	UJadhNab 289
ThNUJ 98 (ThMNN 570)	UJadhNab 166	ThNUJ 156 (ThMNN 630)	UJadhNab 290
ThNUJ 99 (ThMNN 571)	UJadhNab 167	ThNUJ 157 (ThMNN 631)	UJadhNab 465
ThNUJ 100 (ThMNN 572)	UJadhNab 168	ThNUJ 158 (ThMNN 632)	UJadhNab 466
ThNUJ 101 (ThMNN 573)	UJadhNab 49	ThNUJ 159 (ThMNN 633)	UJadhNab 467
ThNUJ 102 (ThMNN 574)	UJadhNab 52	ThNUJ 160 (ThMNN 634)	UJadhNab 468
ThNUJ 103 (ThMNN 575)	UJadhNab 54	ThNUJ 161 (ThMNN 635)	UJadhNab 469

ThNUJ 162 (ThMNN 636)	UJadhNab 470	ThNUJ 197 (ThMNN 671)	UJadhNab 179
ThNUJ 163 (ThMNN 637)	UJadhNab 459	ThNUJ 198 (ThMNN 672)	UJadhNab 180
ThNUJ 164 (ThMNN 638)	UJadhNab 455	ThNUJ 199 (ThMNN 673)	UJadhNab 181
ThNUJ 165 (ThMNN 639)	UJadhNab 456	ThNUJ 200 (ThMNN 674)	UJadhNab 182
ThNUJ 166 (ThMNN 640)	UJadhNab 441	ThNUJ 201 (ThMNN 675)	UJadhNab 183
ThNUJ 167 (ThMNN 641)	UJadhNab 442	ThNUJ 202 (ThMNN 676)	UJadhNab 184
ThNUJ 168 (ThMNN 642)	UJadhNab 443	ThNUJ 203 (ThMNN 677)	UJadhNab 185
ThNUJ 169 (ThMNN 643)	UJadhNab 444	ThNUJ 204 (ThMNN 678)	UJadhNab 186
ThNUJ 170 (ThMNN 644)	UJadhNab 445	ThNUJ 205 (ThMNN 679)	UJadhNab 187
ThNUJ 171 (ThMNN 645)	UJadhNab 240	ThNUJ 206 (ThMNN 680)	UJadhNab 188
ThNUJ 172 (ThMNN 646)	UJadhNab 241	ThNUJ 207 (ThMNN 681)	UJadhNab 189
ThNUJ 173 (ThMNN 647)	UJadhNab 242	ThNUJ 208 (ThMNN 682)	UJadhNab 190
ThNUJ 174 (ThMNN 648)	UJadhNab 243	ThNUJ 209 (ThMNN 683–684)	UJadhNab 33
ThNUJ 175 (ThMNN 649)	UJadhNab 244	ThNUJ 210 (ThMNN 685)	UJadhNab 35
ThNUJ 176 (ThMNN 650)	UJadhNab 245	ThNUJ 211 (ThMNN 686)	UJadhNab 36
ThNUJ 177 (ThMNN 651)	UJadhNab 245.1	ThNUJ 212 (ThMNN 687)	UJadhNab 37
ThNUJ 178 (ThMNN 652)	UJadhNab 248.2	ThNUJ 213 (ThMNN 688)	UJadhNab 41
ThNUJ 179 (ThMNN 653)	UJadhNab 248.3	ThNUJ 214 (ThMNN 689)	UJadhNab 44
ThNUJ 180 (ThMNN 654)	UJadhNab 249	ThNUJ 215 (ThMNN 690)	UJadhNab 45
ThNUJ 181 (ThMNN 655)	UJadhNab 250	ThNUJ 216 (ThMNN 691)	UJadhNab 46
ThNUJ 182 (ThMNN 656)	UJadhNab 251	ThNUJ 217 (ThMNN 692)	UJadhNab 47
ThNUJ 183 (ThMNN 657)	UJadhNab 252	ThNUJ 218 (ThMNN 693)	UJadhNab 48
ThNUJ 184 (ThMNN 658)	UJadhNab 253	ThNUJ 219 (ThMNN 694)	UJadhNab 425
ThNUJ 185 (ThMNN 659)	UJadhNab 254	ThNUJ 220 (ThMNN 695)	UJadhNab 426
ThNUJ 186 (ThMNN 660)	UJadhNab 255	ThNUJ 221 (ThMNN 696)	UJadhNab 427
ThNUJ 187 (ThMNN 661)	UJadhNab 431	ThNUJ 222 (ThMNN 697)	UJadhNab 141
ThNUJ 188 (ThMNN 662)	UJadhNab 237	ThNUJ 223 (ThMNN 698)	UJadhNab 142
ThNUJ 189 (ThMNN 663)	UJadhNab 276	ThNUJ 224 (ThMNN 699)	UJadhNab 143
ThNUJ 190 (ThMNN 664)	UJadhNab 280	ThNUJ 225 (ThMNN 700)	UJadhNab 144
ThNUJ 191 (ThMNN 665)	UJadhNab 281	ThNUJ 226 (ThMNN 701)	UJadhNab 145
ThNUJ 192 (ThMNN 666)	UJadhNab 282	ThNUJ 227 (ThMNN 702)	UJadhNab 146
ThNUJ 193 (ThMNN 667)	UJadhNab 283	ThNUJ 228 (ThMNN 703)	UJadhNab 147
ThNUJ 194 (ThMNN 668)	UJadhNab 284	ThNUJ 229 (ThMNN 704)	UJadhNab 140
ThNUJ 195 (ThMNN 669)	UJadhNab 285	ThNUJ 230 (ThMNN 705)	UJadhNab 40
ThNUJ 196 (ThMNN 670)	UJadhNab 286		

### Texts previously published in al-Theeb 2005 (ThNJUT)

In brackets, the number it was given in al-Theeb 2010 (ThMNN)

ThNJUT 17 (ThMNN 706)	UJadhNab 488	ThNJUT 30 (ThMNN 723)	UJadhNab 505
ThNJUT 18 (ThMNN 707)	UJadhNab 489	ThNJUT 31 (ThMNN 724)	UJadhNab 506
ThNJUT 19 (ThMNN 708)	UJadhNab 490	ThNJUT 32 (ThMNN 725)	UJadhNab 507
ThNJUT 19.1 (ThMNN 709)	UJadhNab 491	ThNJUT 33 (ThMNN 726)	UJadhNab 508
ThNJUT 19.2 (ThMNN 710)	UJadhNab 492	ThNJUT 34 (ThMNN 727)	UJadhNab 373
ThNJUT 19.3 (ThMNN 711)	UJadhNab 493	ThNJUT 35 (ThMNN 727)	UJadhNab 374
ThNJUT 19.4 (ThMNN 712)	UJadhNab 494	ThNJUT 36 (ThMNN 728)	UJadhNab 375.1
ThNJUT 20 (ThMNN 713)	UJadhNab 495	ThNJUT 37 (ThMNN 729)	UJadhNab 376
ThNJUT 21 (ThMNN 714)	UJadhNab 496	ThNJUT 38 (ThMNN 730)	UJadhNab 375
ThNJUT 22 (ThMNN 715)	UJadhNab 497	ThNJUT 39 (ThMNN 731)	UJadhNab 509
ThNJUT 23 (ThMNN 716)	UJadhNab 498	ThNJUT 40 (ThMNN 732)	UJadhNab 510
ThNJUT 24 (ThMNN 717)	UJadhNab 499	ThNJUT 41 (ThMNN 733)	UJadhNab 511
ThNJUT 25 (ThMNN 718)	UJadhNab 500	ThNJUT 42 (ThMNN 734)	UJadhNab 512
ThNJUT 26 (ThMNN 719)	UJadhNab 501	ThNJUT 43 (ThMNN 735)	UJadhNab 513
ThNJUT 27 (ThMNN 720)	UJadhNab 502	ThNJUT 44 (ThMNN 736)	UJadhNab 514
ThNJUT 28 (ThMNN 721)	UJadhNab 503	ThNJUT 45 (ThMNN 737)	UJadhNab 515
ThNJUT 29 (ThMNN 722)	UJadhNab 504	ThNJUT 46 (ThMNN 738)	UJadhNab 516

# Index of personal names

A name followed by (f.) is feminine.

A name followed by <sup>N</sup> was found in Negev's index of personal names (Negev 1991); a name followed by <sup>O</sup> was not found in this index. For names which are incomplete or uncertain, the name(s) found in Negev which may correspond to the reading is/are given after the number(s) of the inscription(s) in which they occur.

An inscription number followed by \* indicates that the inscription is written in Nabataeo-Arabic characters and a number followed by # indicates that it is written partly in Nabataeo-Arabic characters.

When a name has editorial signs, the latter are indicated either in the entry itself, as in <sup>'{b/l/n}dmyw</sup> or, if the name appears in several inscriptions, in ( ) after the inscription number, as in <sup>'wš'lh</sup>y.

When there are two or more possibilities for the reading a particular letter, the various possible names have not *systematically* been included in the index, especially in the case of *d/r*.

## د

<sup>'{b}----</sup> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 31
<sup>'b----m</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 8. N: <sup>'bšlm</sup>
<sup>'b</sup> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 105 – UJadhNab 45, 206 – DBv1Nab 25
<sup>'bgr</sup> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 111 ( <sup>'b{gr}</sup> ) – UJadhNab 361
<sup>{bd'w}</sup> <sup>O</sup>	GhRNab 5
<sup>'{b/l/n}dmyw</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 224*
<sup>'bw</sup> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 101 (twice) – UJadhNab 9 ( <sup>'{bw}</sup> ), 27, 43, 173, 183 (twice) ), 554 – DBv1Nab 15
<sup>'bw ypn</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 222*
<sup>'{b}wkn</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 64
<sup>'bw 'mrw</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 299*
<sup>'bw qtnh</sup> <sup>O</sup>	QNNab 2#
<sup>'byw</sup> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 5 – UJadhNab 4*, 221*
<sup>'{b}yn</sup> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 86 – GhRNab 11 ( <sup>'{byn}</sup> )
<sup>'bsnwn</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 306
<sup>'brq</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 112
<sup>'brq</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 391
<sup>'bšlm</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 163, 233
<sup>'gb{h}----</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 47
<sup>'{d/r}w{d/r}</sup> <sup>O</sup>	DBv1Nab 6
<sup>'{d/r}{d/r}y</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 88, 115. N: <sup>'ddy</sup>
<sup>'{d/r}yw{d/r}</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 510
<sup>'{d/r}wm</sup> <sup>O</sup>	DBv1Nab 14
<sup>'drmw</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 260, 388, 520 ( <sup>'{dr}{mw}</sup> )
<sup>'{w}w----</sup> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 44. N: nineteen different names may correspond to this reading
<sup>'w{n}wd</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 136
<sup>'wns</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 65
<sup>'wprns</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 265
<sup>'wš'lh</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 144 ( <sup>'wš{l}{lh}</sup> ), 162, 268 ( <sup>'w{s}{l}{lh}</sup> ), 373
<sup>'wšw</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 24, 31*, 63, 71#, 309*, 324, 331*, 368-369*, 440, 481, 538*, 564 – DBv3NabAr 2*
<sup>'wš'bd</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 286
<sup>'z{b/n}yh</sup> <sup>O</sup>	SBNab 10
<sup>'z{r}m</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 313*, 364* (N: <sup>'zmw</sup> )
<sup>'h{b}šw</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 434
<sup>'{hw}</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 540
<sup>'{hwm}</sup> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 128
<sup>'{h}wr</sup> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 104
<sup>'hyw</sup> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 192
<sup>'{hy}mn</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 193*
<sup>'{h}nbw</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 566
<sup>'hn{kn}</sup> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 163
<sup>'hpn</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 469
<sup>'yd'n</sup> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 114
<sup>'ylw</sup> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 549

'{y}l{y}°	UJadhNab 257
'ylyŕ°	ArNab 18
'{y}{l/n}{k}w°	DBv3Nab 19
'{y}rw°	UJadhNab 230#
'{y}{s}{b/n}w°	UJadhNab 37
'yšhgrw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 497
'yšw <sup>N</sup>	TMNab 6 ('yš{w}) – UJadhNab 34, 435 – GhRNab 7
'ytw <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 2
'ytybl <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 445
'ky{s} <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 4.1
'{krb}°	UJadhNab 48
'lgzz°	UJadhNab 11*
'{l/b/n}dmyw°	UJadhNab 224*
'{d/r}w{.}°	ArNab 24
'lh{b/n}h°	UJadhNab 309*
'lhzr°	UJadhNab 486*
'lhrt <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 298*
'lk°	UJadhNab 142
'lks <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 419
'lkŕ <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 395
'l'z <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 535
'l'zn{p}t°	QNNab 11
'l'zr <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 561*
'l'yt°	UJadhNab 366*
'lty°	QNNab 42
'm{d/r}{d/r}{y}°	UJadhNab 291
'mh <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 23
'mynw <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 74
'n'wm°	DBv1Nab 7
'n'm <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 41 – ArNab 143 – UJadhNab 16, 101, 191, 317, 423 – DBv1Nab 13
'n't°	ArNab 91
'npt°	UJadhNab 338
'nsyr°	UJadhNab 403
'ntyks°	ArNab 33 ('nt{y}ks), 166 ('ntyks) – UJadhNab 472
'sk{d/r}{d/r}°	GhRNab 10
'p{bly}°	ArNab 152
'pilywn°	ArNab 76 – UJadhNab 319
'pls <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 11, 14 – ArNab 9 – UJadhNab 334, 396, 412
'p{sy}y°	UJadhNab 31*
'p{h}°	UdhNab 6, 18 – ArNab 55, 146 – UJadhNab 128, 335
'shq°	UJadhNab 4*, 221*, 561*
'slh <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 38 – UJadhNab 115
'{q}{d/r}{y}m°	DBv1Nab 14
'qlwd{w}°	DBv3NabAr 1*
'{r/d}{wm}°	DBv1Nab 14
'rhr{kn}°	ArNab 83
'rsh°	UJadhNab 229*
'ršw°	UdhNab 21
'rtnp°	UJadhNab 214
'š{d}°	UJadhNab 285
'šdw <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 4 ('š{d}w) – UdhNab 17 – UJadhNab 85, 181 ('šd{w}), 326, 377, 443, 469
'šwd <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 45
'šlm <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 71, 88, 111 – UJadhNab 17, 84, 86, 346 ('šlm), 459
'šlmw <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 26\$ – ArNab 71, 127, 157 – TMNab 1 – UJadhNab 84, 226, 319, 490 ('šlm{w}), 507 – DBv3Nab 6, 17
'{š}{p/q}r°	UJadhNab 248*

## B

bg{d}t°	UJadhNab 398
bgrt <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 39, 144, 147
b{d/r}'n°	DBv2Nab 1



<i>b{d/r}{d/r}w<sup>N</sup></i>	UdhNab 4 – ArNab 25 – UJadhNab 182, 248.1. N: <i>bdrw, brdw</i>
<i>{b/n}{d/r}w{br}</i> <sup>o</sup>	QNNab 34
<i>{b/n}{h}š<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 36
<i>{b/n}zw{b}</i> <sup>o</sup>	QNNab 34
<i>{b/n}{h}{b/y/n}</i> <sup>o</sup>	SHNab 1*
<i>b{d/r}y<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 25, 326
<i>{b}{d/r}y{t}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 227
<i>b{d/r}mn<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 53
<i>bw{d/r}w<sup>o</sup></i>	GhRNab 17
<i>bzyzw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 560
<i>by----t<sup>o</sup></i>	SBNab 2
<i>byš<sup>c</sup></i>	UJadhNab 319
<i>{b/n}{k/n}w<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 73. See also <i>bnw</i>
<i>b{k}{z/l}ywm<sup>o</sup></i>	QNNab 24
<i>bl{l}w<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 162
<i>{b/n}{my}{b/n}y<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 69#
<i>{bn}hbl<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 350
<i>bnw<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 31 – UJadhNab 8
<i>bn<sup>y</sup></i>	ArNab 156 – UJadhNab 58, 231
<i>bn<sup>y</sup>t<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 39, 161, 556
<i>bn`w</i>	GhRNab 1
<i>b`lh{w}n<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 502
<i>b`lntn<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 142
<i>b`lt{y}n<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 532
<i>b`nw<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 152 – UJadhNab 106, 107, 210, 304
<i>b`ntn<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 47
<i>{b/n}`tw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 535
<i>bpnw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 222*
<i>brwlt<sup>o</sup></i>	QNNab 20
<i>{bry}<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 328
<i>{b}rny<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 487*
<i>brn`rt<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 228
<i>bršp{d/r}w<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 151
<i>bš{d/r}<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 389

## G

<i>g{.}`{.}`<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 110
<i>gblw<sup>N</sup></i>	TMNab 1 – UJadhNab 5 ( <i>gb----</i> ), 234, 490, 500 – DBv3Nab 6
<i>g{b/n}s<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 316
<i>gd----<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 435. N: several Nabataean names start with gd: <i>gdw, gdyw, gdtb</i> , etc.
<i>gdw<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 61, 69
<i>gdyw<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 165 – UJadhNab 5, 500 – DBv3Nab 1
<i>g{d/r}t<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 307
<i>gzy`t<sup>o</sup> (f.)</i>	ArNab 78, 106 ( <i>gzy`t</i> ) – UJadhNab 190
<i>gzy`w<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 182, 248.1
<i>ghšw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 413, 452
<i>g<sup>y</sup>z{d/r}yn<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 173
<i>{g}y{s}y<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 175
<i>gmhw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 26, 138, 179 ( <i>{gm}hw</i> )
<i>{g}mlm<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 116
<i>gnypt<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 44
<i>{g}npw<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 116
<i>{g}`{d/r}w<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 17
<i>grgr<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 12 – SBNab 2 – UJadhNab 126, 380, 496, 511, 514 – DBv1Nab 23
<i>grh<sup>o</sup></i>	QNNab 30
<i>grm`l<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 175
<i>grmw<sup>N</sup></i>	JabSaNab 1 – ArNab 45 – UJadhNab 3*, 192, 360#, 484, 523, 550
<i>gr`m<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 19#
<i>gš{d/r}w<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 144, 164 ( <i>{g}š{d/r}w</i> )
<i>gšm<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 13, 29, 74 ( <i>gš[m]</i> ), 76, 117 ( <i>{g}šm</i> ), 125, 154, 205, 501

## D

$\{d/r\}\{d/r\}\{d/r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 440
$\{d/r\}\{d/r\}m^o$	UJadhNab 517
$\{d/r\}\{d/r\}mn^o$	DBv1Nab 2
$\{d/r\}w\{.\}^o$	ArNab 30
$\{d/r\}''t^o$	MBAZNab 2
$\{d/r\}\{.\}\{d/w/r\}^o$	ArNab 84
$\{d/r\}\{bzy\}\{d/r\}t\{h/s\}^o$	SBNab 11
$\{d/r\}\{d/r\}z\{yn\}w^o$	ArNab 103
$\{d/r\}\{d/r\}yw^o$	UJadhNab 289 – DBv1Nab 12
$dy\{b/n\}\{r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 487*
$\{d/r\}y\{d/r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 446
$\{d/r\}ytym\{.\}^o$	UJadhNab 395
$\{d/r\}ymn^o$	UJadhNab 30
$\{d/r\}yny^N$	UdhNab 17 – UJadhNab 375.1, 468, 492 ( $\{d/r\}y\{n\}y$ ). N: <i>dyny, ryny</i>
$dynys^N$	GhRNab 15
$\{d/r\}ynt$	UJadhNab 160
$\{d/r\}ys^N$	UJadhNab 201
$\{d/r\}\{k\}\{d/r\}'^o$	TMNab 8
$\{d/r\}kyt^o$	UJadhNab 389
$\{d/r\}m---^N$	UJadhNab 460. N: several Nabataean names start with <i>rm</i> or <i>dm</i> .
$\{d/r\}m\{p\}l\{s\}^o$	UJadhNab 137
$\{d/r\}m\{z/n\}ny^o$	UJadhNab 357
$\{d/r\}my\{d/r\}n^o$	ArNab 22
$\{d/r\}ms^o$	UJadhNab 296
$dmsy^N$	UJadhNab 252, 284, 458, 556
$dmsps^N$	UJadhNab 414
$dmtrys^N$	UJadhNab 53, 94
$\{d/r\}ngy\{s\}^o$	SBNab 3
$\{d/r\}sy^o$	ArNab 62, 74, 95, 129, 135 – UJadhNab 274 – DBv3Nab 12
$\{d/r\}\{s\}w^o$	ArNab 109
$\{d/r\}šmw^o$	UJadhNab 89

## H

$\{h\}'lw^N$	ArNab 27
$h\{b/n\}\{b/n\}w^o$	QNNab 3
$\{hz\}\{d/r\}^o$	UJadhNab 14
$\{hz\}\{d/r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 450
$h\{z/r\}w^o$	ArNab 134* – UJadhNab 537*
$hlns^o$	UJadhNab 273
$\{h\}mlw^o$	ArNab 60
$hn^w^N$	QNNab 1 – ArNab 46, 120 – SBNab 8 – UJadhNab 261, 323, 336, 348, 375.1 ( $\{hn\}'w$ ), 376, 431, 492 ( $hn^w$ ), 506 – GhRNab 18
$hn^kbytw^o$	UJadhNab 440
$hn^lt^o$	SBNab 4 – UJadhNab 399
$hn^t^N$	QNNab 23, 46, 47 – ArNab 20, 93 – UJadhNab 123 ( $hn\{t\}$ ), 400, 497, 509, 518, 552
$hndw^o$ (f.)	UJadhNab 99
$hn\{y\}^o$	UJadhNab 499
$\{h\}nyny^o$	UJadhNab 287*
$\{hny\}\{d/r\}\{.\}^o$	ArNab 50
$hnpls^N$	UJadhNab 353 ( $hnpl\{s\}$ ) – DBv1Nab 7
$h^lm^o$	SBNab 1
$hrmwn^o$	GhRNab 12
$\{h\}rqlyds^o$	ArNab 79

## W

$w^lw^N$	ArNab 144, 158 – UJadhNab 11*, 100, 103 ( $w^w$ ), 113, 150, 224*, 243, 252, 284, 286, 327, 339, 382, 417, 418, 479, 480, 527
$w^y\{lw\}^o$	UJadhNab 297*
$w^lt^N$ (f.)	UJadhNab 91

<i>wb{k}t<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 89
<i>wbrw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 56, 223
<i>w{d/r}nw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 81
<i>whb'lgyr<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 428
<i>whb'lhy<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 329, 393, 408 – DBv1Nab 10
<i>whblhy<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 268
<i>whbw<sup>N</sup></i>	QNNab 14 – UJadhNab 40, 173, 320* ( <i>w[h]bw</i> )
<i>whbyl<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 133, 387
<i>whbn<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 101
<i>whybw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 129
<i>{w}yt<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 436
<i>{w}tll<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 236.1
<i>wy{z}{l/n}w<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 85
<i>wlw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 150
<i>will'swp<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 288
<i>w'lw<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 483
<i>{wq}y<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 254
<i>wrylw<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 406, 433
<i>wt{y}{----}<sup>N</sup></i>	QNNab 48. N: <i>wty</i> , <i>wtyqt</i> , <i>wtyrw</i>

## Z

<i>zb'brh<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 343*
<i>zbd<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 167 – DBv1Nab 1
<i>zbd'<sup>N</sup></i>	DBv3Nab 13
<i>zbdw<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 82, 138 – TMNab 10 – UJadhNab 245, 415, 553
<i>zbdwn<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 289 – DBv1Nab 12
<i>zbd'dnwn<sup>o</sup></i>	SBNab 1 – UJadhNab 188, 191, 317, 378 – DBv1Nab 13
<i>{zbd}{d/r}{h}{wm}<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 218
<i>zby<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 362
<i>zbydw<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 35 – UJadhNab 43, 466 – GhRNab 9
<i>z{b/n}{y}{b/n}w<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 118*. N: <i>zbynw</i> , <i>rbybw</i>
<i>z{b/d}{d/r}{s}{w}<sup>o</sup></i>	UdhNab 7
<i>zbn<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 159
<i>zhmn<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 545
<i>zhmny<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 254
<i>zw<sup>o</sup></i>	DBv1Nab 22
<i>{zyd}{----}<sup>N</sup></i>	QNNab 49
<i>zyd'l<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 196
<i>zyd'lhy<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 82 – UJadhNab 189, 245 – DBv3Nab 3
<i>zydwn<sup>N</sup></i>	TMNab 6 – UJadhNab 28, 51 ( <i>z{yd}w</i> ), 86, 131 ( <i>z{y}{d}w</i> ), 397, 508
<i>zydq{w}my<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 176
<i>zynwn<sup>o</sup></i>	QNNab 4 – UJadhNab 559
<i>{z}yt<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 355
<i>zky</i>	UJadhNab 435
<i>zkyw<sup>N</sup></i>	UJadhNab 67*, 178* ( <i>zk{yw}</i> )
<i>z{k}{y}{n}<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 224*
<i>zmhšmt<sup>o</sup></i>	ArNab 66
<i>zny<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 303, 453
<i>znm<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 41
<i>zpr<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 337, 344, 351, 394
<i>zrq<sup>N</sup></i>	GhRNab 12

## H

<i>{h}{y}<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 15. N: <i>hby</i> , <i>hyy</i> , <i>hny</i> , <i>hry</i>
<i>hb'lhy<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 1, 7
<i>hbw<sup>N</sup></i> (f. in UJadhNab 120)	SBNab 10 ( <i>{h}bw</i> ) – UJadhNab 51 ( <i>{h}{b}{g}w</i> ), 69#, 116 ( <i>{h}{b}w</i> ), 120 (f.)
<i>h{b/n}z<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 554
<i>h{b/n}{y}{b/n}w<sup>N</sup></i>	ArNab 120.1* ( <i>{h}{b/n}{y}{b/n}w</i> ) – UJadhNab 90*, 122*, 327 ( <i>hbybw</i> ), 333*, 368-369*, 403, 448*. N: <i>hbybw</i> , <i>hynnw</i>
<i>hbk<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 332

<i>hbr</i> <sup>o</sup>	QNNab 13 – UJadhNab 547* ( <i>hb{n/r}</i> )
<i>{h}bš{w}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 363
<i>hgw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 5, 8 – UJadhNab 51 ( <i>h{b/g}w</i> ), 166
<i>hgy</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 55, 77
<i>hgt</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 49
<i>{h}{d/r}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 539
<i>h{d/r}{d/r}{m}</i> <sup>o</sup>	DBv1Nab 25
<i>hwz</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 159
<i>hwln</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 101 – UJadhNab 37
<i>hwpw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 562
<i>hwrw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 8 – ArNab 13, 42, 56, 86, 99 – TMNab 5 – UJadhNab 12, 106, 107, 210, 216, 400, 420, 439, 524
<i>hzwz</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 117
<i>hzwzw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 494
<i>hzyr</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 208
<i>hzn</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 166, 307
<i>hz{t}</i> <sup>o</sup>	DBv3Nab 4
<i>htbt</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 127
<i>htybw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 184
<i>htyšw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 393
<i>hy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 12
<i>hy{d/r}{w/n}</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 27, 124 ( <i>{h}y{d/r}----</i> ). N: <i>hyrw</i>
<i>hyw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 5, 54, 81, 163, 216, 231, 233, 416, 451 ( <i>h{y}w</i> ), 500, 504, 519, 526 – DBv3Nab 1
<i>{h}yzwn</i>	GhRNab 17
<i>{h}y{k/r}----</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 124. N: <i>hyrw</i> , <i>hyry</i> , <i>hyrt</i>
<i>hylw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 290
<i>hyn</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 9 ( <i>{h}y{n}</i> ), 170, 171 ( <i>{h}yn</i> ), 185* ( <i>h{y/n/r}</i> ), 187* ( <i>h{yn}</i> ), 430 ( <i>h{yn}</i> ), 523 ( <i>{hyn}</i> )
<i>hyrn</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 530
<i>hkb{w/p}n{}</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 162
<i>hkmw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 155 – DBv1Nab 25 ( <i>{h}kmw</i> )
<i>h{ktv}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 6
<i>hlyw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 20
<i>hlypw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 23# ( <i>hly{p}w</i> ), 174
<i>hlmw</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 54
<i>hlp<sup>l</sup>thy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 169
<i>hlpw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 85
<i>hlp<sup>l</sup>l</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 80
<i>hls</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 37 ( <i>{h}ls</i> ) – UJadhNab 245.1, 339, 525
<i>hls<sup>w</sup></i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 26
<i>hls<sup>t</sup></i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 70 – SBNab 5 – UJadhNab 447, 482
<i>{h}{t}{m}</i> <sup>o</sup>	QNNab 27
<i>hm{d/r}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 41
<i>hmdw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 277. N: <i>hmdw</i>
<i>hmyn</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 52 – UJadhNab 466
<i>hmlt</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 338
<i>hms</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 82
<i>hmt</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 145
<i>hn<sup>l</sup>[l]</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 49
<i>{h}n{b}{l}</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 61
<i>h{n/b}z<sup>o</sup></i>	UJadhNab 554
<i>hntlh</i>	UJadhNab 300*, 367* ( <i>hn{tl}h</i> )
<i>hntlw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 152
<i>{h}ntln</i>	UJadhNab 526
<i>hny</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 7 ( <i>{h}ny</i> ) – UJadhNab 119, 405*
<i>hnn<sup>y</sup></i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 225*, 293*
<i>hnn<sup>y</sup>h</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 229*
<i>hny<sup>n</sup></i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 75 ( <i>{h}ny<sup>n</sup></i> ), 76, 125, 154, 205
<i>hny<sup>n</sup>h</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 310*
<i>hny<sup>n</sup>w</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 13 – QNNab 15 – ArNab 51 – UJadhNab 1, 2 – DBv1Nab 19
<i>hps<sup>o</sup></i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 245.1
<i>hsy<sup>o</sup></i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 132
<i>{h}{r/d}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 539

$h\{r/d\}\{r/d\}\{m\}^o$	DBv1Nab 25
$hrbw^N$	QNNab 8 ( $hr\{b\}w$ ), 16 – ArNab 10, 58 – UJadhNab 338
$hrgt^o$	UJadhNab 515
$hrw^N$	UJadhNab 152, 342
$hrm^o$	ArNab 87
$hrmw^o$ (f.)	UJadhNab 501
$\{hr\}mh^o$	UJadhNab 311*
$hrmn^o$	ArNab 5 ( $hrm\{n\}$ ) – UJadhNab 56 – DBv2Nab 1 ( $\{h\}rnm$ )
$hrn^N$	UJadhNab 155
$hršw^N$	ArNab 68, 83, 118
$hrtt^N$	UdhNab 15, UJadhNab 541
$hšwy^o$	UJadhNab 41
$hšmt^o$	ArNab 136
$htmw^o$	UJadhNab 161

## T

$tbyw^o$	UJadhNab 515
$twpw^o$	UJadhNab 59, 83, 134 (twice), 426
$twrsk$	GhRNab 8
$t\{y\}bw^N$	UJadhNab 501
$tkylw^o$	ArNab 125*, 134* – UJadhNab 537*
$tni^o$	UdhNab 3
$tn\{y\}w^o$	UJadhNab 255
$t'lbh^o$	UJadhNab 298*

## Y

$y\{b/n\}'w^o$	UJadhNab 351
$\{y\}gnb^o$	ArNab 119
$y\{d/r\}\{m/s\}^o$	UJadhNab 201
$y\{h\}w^N$	UJadhNab 251
$yhwd^o$	UJadhNab 225*, 293*, 301*, 386*, 467*, DBv1Nab 14 ( $\{y\}hwd'$ )
$ywmny^o$	UJadhNab 229*
$ywsp^N$	UJadhNab 219*
$\{ytyzbr\}^o$	UJadhNab 230 <sup>#</sup>
$yyt^o$	UJadhNab 38, 562
$y\{l/n\}'w^o$	UJadhNab 212
$yny^o$	ArNab 12, 32 ( $y\{ny\}$ ), 88 – SB Nab 2 – UJadhNab 126, 156, 380, 496 (three times), 511, 514 – DBv1Nab 23 (twice) – DBv3Nab 13
$ynmw^N$	UJadhNab 90*, 320*, 333*
$y'nw^o$	DBv1Nab 25
$\{y\}'wy^o$	UJadhNab 287*
$y'l^o$	UJadhNab 291
$y'\{m\}^o$	UJadhNab 394
$y'mw\{d/r\}w^o$	ARNab 20
$y'mr^N$	UJadhNab 337, 344
$y'mrw^N$	UJadhNab 10*, 215 <sup>#</sup> , 422
$y'n^2\{m\}^o$	GhRNab 20
$y'qwb^o$	UJadhNab 124*
$\{yssl\}y$	QNNab 41
$yqwm^N$	UJadhNab 290
$yšlm^o$	QNNab 19 – UJadhNab 186
$yt'w^N$	UJadhNab 120

## K

$k^2\{d/r\}^o$	UJadhNab 459
$kbyrw^N$	UJadhNab 533
$\{k\}\{d/z/r\}'\{y\}^o$	UJadhNab 78
$k\{d/r\}ybl^o$	UJadhNab 379
$k\{d/r\}\{ml\}^o$	ArNab 139

$\{k\}hbl^o$	UJadhNab 548*
$khylw^N$	QNNab 32 – UJadhNab 259, 264 ( $k\{h\}ylw$ ), 272, 315, 341 ( $k\{h\}ylw$ ) – DBv1Nab 5, 8 – DBv3Nab 9
$kw^o$	UJadhNab 171
$kwn\{y\}wn^o$	UJadhNab 392
$kwtw^o$	QNNab 40
$\{k\}y\{r\}d^o$	UJadhNab 293*
$kyrz^o$	QNNab 9
$kl---$	SBNab 6. Several Nabataean names start with <i>kl</i>
$kl\{y\}bw^N$	ArNab 57
$klbw^N$	UJadhNab 512
$klybw^N$	UJadhNab 80
$klybt^N$	DBv3Nab 8
$kmkmw^o$	UJadhNab 91
$kmš'wh^o$	UJadhNab 267
$kmšw^o$	UJadhNab 470
$\{k\}m\{šwm\}^o$	UJadhNab 48
$\{k\}\{m/r\}šmš^o$	UJadhNab 397
$kmšn'm^o$	UJadhNab 167 – DBv1Nab 1
$\{k\}m\{t\}^o$	UJadhNab 141
$ksy^o$	UJadhNab 274
$k'bw^N$	UJadhNab 486*
$krz^o$	UJadhNab 214
$krys^o$	UJadhNab 119, 214
$k\{rny\}^o$	ArNab 95
$kšt'w^N$	ArNab 109

## L

$lbnt^N$ (f.)	UJadhNab 17
$\{l/n\}gyw^o$	UJadhNab 230 <sup>#</sup>
$lwdn^N$	UdhNab 8 – UJadhNab 246, 258
$lwy^o$	UJadhNab 19*
$lwqys^N$	UJadhNab 104
$l\{w\}t^o$	TMNab 2
$lysmks^o$	UJadhNab 294
$lkpw^o$	UJadhNab 147
$\{l/r\}hymw^o$	UJadhNab 19*
$l'bn^o$	UJadhNab 25
$lqtt^o$	UJadhNab 408

## M

$\{m\}---\{z\}w^o$	UJadhNab 449
$mb^o$	UJadhNab 170
$\{m/s\}\{b/n\}\{t\}\{d/r\}^o$	UJadhNab 308*
$mgs^N$	UJadhNab 472
$m\{d/r\}\{b\}^o$	QNNab 34
$m\{d/r\}\{y\}^N$	ArNab 75. N: <i>mdy</i> , <i>mry</i>
$m\{d/r\}\{d/r\}\{pw\}^o$ (f.)	ArNab 53
$m\{d/r\}y\{d/r\}t^o$	ArNab 108 – UJadhNab 463
$mw[---]^N$	QNNab 22. N: a few names start with <i>mw</i>
$mw\{d/r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 174
$\{mz\}\{y\}b^o$	UJadhNab 79
$mz\{d/r\}\{ywn\}^o$	UJadhNab 521
$mḥbbw^o$	UJadhNab 202
$mḥw\{d/r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 94
$m\{hy\}^o$	GhRNab 2
$mḥmyt^N$ (f.)	UJadhNab 489
$mḥrbw^N$	UJadhNab 400
$mtyw^N$	UJadhNab 265, 269
$mtyw\{w\}^o$	UJadhNab 409

$m\{y\}t^o$	UJadhNab 149
$m\{y/n\}^o$	UJadhNab 88
$m\{y\}\{d/r\}^o$	ArNab 16
$mydw^N$	ArNab 78, 106 ( $my\{dw\}$ ). N: $mydw$
$ml\{g/h\}m\{w\}^o$	UJadhNab 187*
$\{ml\}.n^o$	UJadhNab 551
$mlw^o$	UJadhNab 195
$mlkw^N$	UdhNab 15 – UJadhNab 25, 47, 421, 471, 475, 486*
$mlky^o$	UdhNab 5
$mlkywn^N$	ArNab 40 – UJadhNab 280, 392 – GhRNab 9
$\{m/t\}\{m\}\{d/r\}\{w\}^o$	UJadhNab 213
$m\{n\}.^N$	DBv1Nab 20. N: $mnw$ , $mny$
$m\{n\}yb^o$	ArNab 166
$mn'm^o$	UJadhNab 180
$mn't^N$	UdhNab 22 – QNNab 14 – ArNab 59 – UJadhNab 370, 383, 485, 488
$\{mn\}š^o$	UJadhNab 14
$m'\{w\}^o$	ArNab 137
$m'yrw^N$	ArNab 20, 65.1, 147
$m'ytw^N$	DBv3Nab 5
$m'lt^o$	QNNab 17
$m'n'lhv^N$	UJadhNab 1, 59 ( $m'n'lh\{y\}$ ), 134 ( $m'[n]'lhv$ ), 270, 281, 381, 426, 511
$m'nw^N$	UdhNab 16 – ArNab 65 – UJadhNab 15*, 184, 360#, 398, 478
$m'r'l$	UJadhNab 552
$\{m\}'rbw^N$	UJadhNab 121
$\{m\}'š\{r\}^o$	UJadhNab 313*, 314* ( $m'\{š\}r$ )
$mqymw^N$	UJadhNab 60, 95
$m\{r\}w^o$	QNNab 9
$\{m\}rkh^o$	UJadhNab 236.1
$m\{r\}š\{w\}dw^o$	UJadhNab 87
$mškw^N$	ArNab 73 – UJadhNab 111, 114, 295 – DBv1Nab 4
$mšlm^N$	UJadhNab 340, 425
$mšlmw^N$	QNNab 1 ( $mšlm\{w\}$ ) – ArNab 2, 3 ( $mšl\{mw\}$ ), 62, 76, 105, 129, 135 – SBNab 4 – AyNab 3 – UJadhNab 41, 168, 194, 203 ( $mšlm\{w\}$ ), 232, 262, 274, 283, 323, 429, 435 – DBv1Nab 25
$mšnw^o$	UJadhNab 128
$mš'wdw^N$	UJadhNab 80, 108
$mtyt^o$	UJadhNab 227
$mt\{rw\}t^o$	UJadhNab 436

## N

$\{n\}.lp\{t\}^o$	UJadhNab 143
$\{n/l\}gyw^o$	UJadhNab 230#
$\{n\}g\{d/r\}y^o$	UJadhNab 482
$ngmt^o$	UJadhNab 491
$nhš^o$	UJadhNab 522
$nw^o$	UJadhNab 477 (unfinished name?)
$nwnw^o$	UJadhNab 89
$nyrks^N$	DBv1Nab 18
$nhmy^o$	UJadhNab 405*
$nhštb^N$	UJadhNab 33, 140, 234, 385
$ntyrl^N$	UJadhNab 130
$nšs^o$	UJadhNab 462
$\{nš\}\{r\}^o$	UJadhNab 427
$nyq\{m\}\{d/r\}s^o$	UJadhNab 146
$nmyrw^o$	UJadhNab 192
$\{nmny\}^o$	UJadhNab 62
$\{n\}mš\{m\}^o$	UJadhNab 24
$\{n/b\}'tw^o$	UJadhNab 535
$np\{d/r\}w^o$	UJadhNab 439
$npln^o$	UJadhNab 342
$npmn----^o$	UJadhNab 259

<i>nšyrw</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 145
<i>nšrw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 36, 57
<i>nšr</i> ----- <sup>o</sup>	GhRNab 5
<i>n{qy}</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 6
<i>nšlw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 563
<i>{n}šrw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 148
<i>nt{d/r}{y}</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 143
<i>ntny</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 98, 180, 270, 271, 281, 381 – DBv3Nab 15

## S

<i>s{w/r}ts</i> <sup>o</sup>	DBv1Nab 18
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## C

<i>'bd</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 38
<i>'bd</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 8, 130
<i>'bd</i> ----- <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 390. Several Nabataean names start with <i>'bd</i>
<i>'bd'ys</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 105*
<i>'bd'ysy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 41, 522
<i>'bd'l</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 30
<i>'bd'l'shl</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 300*, 367* (twice)
<i>'bd'lg</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 31 – ArNab 161 – UJadhNab 129 ( <i>'b{d}'lg</i> ), 169, 202, 260, 536*
<i>'bd'lh</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 250*
<i>'bd'lhy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 239, 503
<i>'bd'l{z}{y}</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 352*
<i>'bd'lsm</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 72 <sup>#</sup>
<i>'bd'lt</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 331*
<i>'bdgnwn</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 140
<i>'bdw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 37 – TMNab 4 – UJadhNab 28, 116, 241, 267, 411, 415 – DBv2Nab 1
<i>'bd{w}</i> ----- <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 29. N: <i>'bdw</i> , <i>'bdwdw</i>
<i>'bdwbw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 61
<i>'bd{wsn}</i> .	GhRNab 3
<i>'bdhrtt</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 9 – ArNab 100, 161 – UJadhNab 32
<i>'bdlg</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 213, 464 ( <i>'{d}bdlg</i> )
<i>'bdm{y}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 391
<i>'bdm</i> ----- <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 153. N: several Nabataean names start with <i>'bdm</i>
<i>'bdmnwy</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 80
<i>'bdmnwy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 524, 564 – DBv1Nab 11 ( <i>'bd{mnwy}</i> )
<i>'bdmnkw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 104, 159 – UJadhNab 21, 277, 318, 407, 444
<i>'bd{mnn}</i> <sup>o</sup>	SBNab 5
<i>'bd{nl}t</i> ----- <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 424
<i>'bd'bat</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 27, 142, 437
<i>'bd{d/r}yn</i> <sup>o</sup>	QNNab 36
<i>'bd'dnwn</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 18 – ArNab 21 ( <i>'bd'dmw{n}</i> ), 132, 149 ( <i>'{b}d'dnwn</i> ) – UJadhNab 33, 35? (----- <i>'{d/r}{mwn}</i> ), 172, 385, 465
<i>'bdsd{p/q}w</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 248*
<i>'bdslm</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 145, 383.2
<i>'bdrm{n}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 102
<i>'bdrb'l</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 38, 112 – UJadhNab 18, 279, 305
<i>'bydw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 12 – QNNab 10 – UJadhNab 109*, 133, 320*, 344, 351, 357, 375*, 387
<i>'byšw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 471
<i>'bny</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 565
<i>'btbl</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 558
<i>'{d/r}w</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 176
<i>'{dy}</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 539
<i>'dydw</i> <sup>o</sup>	UJadhNab 434, 220* ( <i>'dy{d}w</i> )
<i>'{d/r}{d/r}w{d/r}</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 14
<i>'dyw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 193*, 345* ( <i>'{d}dyw</i> )
<i>'dywn</i> <sup>o</sup>	ArNab 98 – UJadhNab 396, 412
<i>'{d/r}{ky}{d/r}'b</i> <sup>o</sup>	DBv1Nab 3
<i>'{d}dnw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 345*



'drw <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 67 – UJadhNab 223, 226, 324 – DBv1Nab 24 ('dr{w})
'{h}dw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 139
'wd'l <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 69 <sup>#</sup>
'wd'l{š}m' <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 548*
'wdmnwty <sup>O</sup>	QNNab 16 – UJadhNab 186
'wyd <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 362
'wydw <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 31 – UJadhNab 269 – GhRNab 4
'w{b/n}yw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 3*
'wpw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 297*
'wt'lhy <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 33 ('w't'lhy) – ArNab 99
'wtw <sup>N</sup>	SBNab 7 – UJadhNab 38, 278, 318 ('{wtw}), 346, 383, 444, 488
'wtlhy <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 68, 244, 275
'z{wy} <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 128
'zw{r} <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 227
'zzw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 240. N: 'zzw----
'z{y} <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 18
'zl <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 388 ('z{l})
'zr <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 156, 160, 427
'z{r}rw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 310*
'ydw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 111, 114, 130, 138, 292, 404, 466 – DBv1Nab 4
'yk{mr/s} <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 287*
'lht <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 231
'lyn <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 165 ('{l}y{n}), 456
'{l/n}tlhy <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 135
'ln <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 419
'l{p}w <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 432.1
'{l}tt <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 533
'm---- <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 474. N: several Nabataean names start with 'm----
'myyw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 266*
'myrt <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 156 – UJadhNab 181, 469
'{m}{t}{d/r}t <sup>O</sup>	QNNab 7
'mr <sup>O</sup>	MBAZNab 1 – UJadhNab 113
'mr'l <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 155, 551, 55
'mrw <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 19 <sup>#</sup> – UJadhNab 109*, 287*, 343*
'mrn <sup>O</sup>	QNNab 44.1*
'mrt <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 103
'mt <sup>N</sup> (f.)	UJadhNab 516
'nw <sup>N</sup>	GhRNab 20
'nynt <sup>O</sup>	SBNab 9
'nytw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 563
'nm <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 40
'nmw <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 22, 23, 46 – UJadhNab 23 <sup>#</sup> , 67*, 178*, 185*, 219*, 237, 410, 448*, 461, 467*, 494, 495, 497, 547*
'npw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 276
'{n/l}tlhy <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 135
'šmw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 177
'šrn <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 479, 480
'qby <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 18, 279, 305
'qrbw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 52
'rgw <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 505
'{r/d}w <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 176
'{r}w{m}---- <sup>O</sup>	SBNab 3
'{r/z}rw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 310*
'šylh <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 266*, 299*
'{š}šyšrn <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 534
'{ty}kw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 253
'tymw <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 157

## P

{p..kn} <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 153
p{t}w <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 366*

$p'r^N$	ArNab 11, 90 – TMNab 8 – UJadhNab 476, 498 – DBv1Nab 9 – DBv3Nab 18
$p'rw^O$	UJadhNab 250*
$p\{b/n\}'^O$	UJadhNab 65
$p\{b/n\}y^O$	UJadhNab 319
$p\{d/r\}\{d/r\}\{šw\}^O$	QNNab 38.1
$pbt\{w\}^O$	DBv3Nab 5
$phmw^O$	UdhNab 1* ( $p\{h\}$ , unfinished?) 20# – UJadhNab 109*, 375*
$phr'l^O$	TMNab 7
$pyznw^O$	ArNab 48, 96
$pkšn^O$	ArNab 162
$ply^O$	ArNab 93 – UJadhNab 232, 259.1, 261, 272, 315, 376, 431, 506 – DBv1Nab 5 – DBv3Nab 16
$p\{n/b\}'^O$	UJadhNab 65
$pmhy^O$	ArNab 115
$\{pny\}^N$	ArNab 107 (but see also $ply$ above)
$prqw^N$	UJadhNab 336, 359

## §

$\{s/m\}\{b/n\}\{'}\{d/r\}^O$	UJadhNab 308*
$\{s\}brh^O$	ArNab 34* – UJadhNab 308* ( $\{sbr\}h$ ), 345*
$\{s\}..\{wl\}^O$	ArNab 154
$šhylw^O$	UJadhNab 529
$šhrw^O$	UJadhNab 7
$šhrw^O$	ArNab 36 – UJadhNab 96, 151
$šhrwt\{w\}^O$	UJadhNab 42
$sy\{d/r\}w^N$	UJadhNab 28, 282
$sy't^O$	ArNab 140 – DBv1Nab 26 (with an extra l at the end)
$syhw^O$	UJadhNab 377
$šmydw^O$	ArNab 59 – UJadhNab 370, 485
$šmtw^O$	UJadhNab 418
$\{s\}'bw^N$	UJadhNab 520

## Q

$q\{d/r\}wzh^O$	TMNab 3
$q\{d/r\}ynw^O$	UJadhNab 518
$qdm^N$	UJadhNab 112 – DBv3Nab 10
$qwz^N$	ArNab 77 – UJadhNab 531, 555
$qwmw^N$	UdhNab 3
$qwp^O$	UJadhNab 97
$qzpr^O$	UJadhNab 356
$qymt^N$	AyNab 1
$qyšw^N$	ArNab 69
$qmw^O$	UJadhNab 100
$qnt^O$	SBNab 9 – UJadhNab 455
$qsbnh^O$	UJadhNab 553
$qs'dr^O$	UJadhNab 350
$qs'\{d/r\}\{d/r\}rw^O$	UJadhNab 371
$q\{'}r'w^O$	UJadhNab 122*
$q\{r/d\}wzh^O$	TMNab 3
$q\{r/d\}ynw^O$	UJadhNab 518
$qrh^O$	UJadhNab 28
$qrqs^N$	UdhNab 2
$qršmw^O$	UJadhNab 58, 545
$qšyw^O$	UJadhNab 358
$qšm'l^N$ (f.)	SBNab 2 ( $q\{š\}m'l$ ) – UJadhNab 66
$qšm\{w\}^O$	ArNab 45
$qšrw^N$	UJadhNab 152.1, 190, 432

## R

$r'yt^O$	UJadhNab 484, 550
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<i>rb'l</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 18 – ArNab 26.1, 131, 132, 149 – UJadhNab 6, 62, 98, 101, 110, 164, 192, 200, 271, 349, 384, 493, 507, 546, 562.1 – DBv1Nab 25 – DBv3Nab 15
<i>rbw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 71 <sup>#</sup> , 72 <sup>#</sup>
<i>rbhrt</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 382
<i>rbyb'l</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 56 – UJadhNab 149, 410, 414 ( <i>rbyb'l</i> ), 441
<i>rbybw</i> <sup>N</sup>	AyNab 3
<i>rby'h</i> <sup>O</sup>	SHNab 1*
<i>rb{m/t}</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 81
<i>rgy'w</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 26, 55, 77
<i>r{g}lyw</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 468
<i>r{w}----</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 49. N: several Nabataean names start with <i>rw</i>
<i>rwḥw</i> <sup>N</sup>	SBNab 7
<i>rw{y}t</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 149
<i>rwps</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 379, 464 ( <i>{r}wps</i> )
<i>rwpt</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 108
<i>rz{l/n}t</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 70
<i>rhymbt</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 137
<i>{r/l}hymw</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 19*
<i>rhnn</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 198
<i>rhmnw</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 218
<i>rm'l</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 6, 18, 21 ( <i>rm[l]</i> ) – QNNab 12 – ArNab 124 – UJadhNab 280
<i>rmy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 51 ( <i>{r}my</i> ), 264 ( <i>rm{y}</i> ), 341 – DBv1Nab 16 ( <i>r{my}</i> )
<i>{rmy}{d/r}{t}</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 173
<i>rnm{y}</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 123
<i>rtmnl</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 209

## š

<i>{š}----{d/r}m</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 69. N: <i>šmšgrm</i> (but it does not fit in ArNab 69)
<i>š'lh</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 43
<i>šbw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 46, 243 (in Negev, correct <i>šby</i> to <i>šbw</i> )
<i>š{b/n}y</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 38
<i>š{b/l}ywn</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 412
<i>šbykw</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 22. N: <i>šbykw</i>
<i>šbyl'</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 19
<i>šdw</i> <sup>O</sup> (f.)	ArNab 87
<i>š{d/r}w{d/r}</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 14
<i>š{d/r}y{d/r}w</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 47 – UJadhNab 157 ( <i>š{d/r}y{d/r}r</i> , without the final <i>w</i> )
<i>š{d/r}ym</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 119 – UJadhNab 429
<i>šhrw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 133 – UJadhNab 87, 92, 204, 207
<i>šwdw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 122 – DBv1Nab 23
<i>šwdy</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 82, 383.1
<i>šz{y}{b/k/n}{w}</i> <sup>O</sup>	QNNab 6
<i>š{hl}w</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 114
<i>šhrw</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 160 – UJadhNab 44, 93, 151, 347, 455 ( <i>š{h}rw</i> ) – DBv1Nab 21
<i>šy'lh</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 198, 243
<i>{š}y't</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 41
<i>šlgw</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 276
<i>šld'lh</i> <sup>O</sup>	QNNab 5
<i>{š}ldllhy</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 352*
<i>šlw</i> <sup>O</sup>	GhRNab 16
<i>šl{w}mw</i> <sup>O</sup>	ArNab 141
<i>šly</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 4.1, 12 ( <i>šl{y}</i> ) – QNNab 33, 35 – ArNab 65 – TMNab 9 – UJadhNab 275 ( <i>šl{y}</i> ), 309*, 361, 365, 457, 478, 483, 516, 531 ( <i>šl{y}</i> ), 538* – DBv3Nab 4
<i>š{l/b}ywn</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 412
<i>š{l}y{m}</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 390
<i>šlymw</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 13 – UJadhNab 10*, 215 <sup>#</sup> , 457
<i>šlym{n}</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 15*
<i>šlymt</i> <sup>N</sup>	UJadhNab 441
<i>šly{p}t</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 355
<i>šllw</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 63
<i>šlm</i> <sup>N</sup>	ArNab 98 – UJadhNab 117, 527 ( <i>{šl}{m}</i> )

$\{l\}m\}^N$	GhRNab 19
$\{lm\}l^O$	TMNab 11 – UJadhNab 288
$\{lmy\}^O$	UJadhNab 518
$\{lmw\}^N$	ULNab 1 – QNNab 15, 25 ( $\{lm\}w\}$ ) – ArNab 29, 51, 57 – UJadhNab 2, 7, 60, 92, 95, 102 (twice), 119, 207, 303, 325, 338, 409, 449, 454, 495 ( $\{l\}m\}w\}$ ), 503, 513 – DBv1Nab 19 – DBv3Nab 14, 16
$\{lmn\}^N$	ArNab 121
$\{m\}y\}w\}^O$	SBNab 6
$\{my\}tw\}^O$	MBAZNab 1 – UJadhNab 462
$\{mkw\}^O$	ArNab 102 ( $\{mkw\}$ ), 157 – DBv3Nab 14
$\{mnw\}^O$	UJadhNab 10*
$\{m\}wn\}^N$	UJadhNab 220*
$\{m\}t\}^N$	UJadhNab 249
$\{m\}sy\}^O$	QNNab 43 ( $\{m\}s\}y\}$ ) – ArNab 79 ( $\{m\}s\}y\}$ ) – DBv1Nab 17 ( $\{m\}s\}y\}$ )
$\{mt\}w\}^N$	ArNab 116
$\{nh\}r\}^O$	UJadhNab 497
$\{nyp\}w\}^N$	ArNab 30, 102
$\{s\}d\}^O$	ArNab 130
$\{s\}d\}lhy\}^N$	QNNab 7, 21 – ArNab 55, 122, 150 ( $\{s\}d\}lh\}y\}$ ) – UJadhNab 132 ( $\{s\}d\}l\}h\}y\}$ ), 153, 188, 211, 256, 378 ( $\{s\}d\}lh\}y\}$ ), 407, 445 ( $\{s\}d\}lh\}y\}$ ), 504
$\{s\}dw\}^N$	UJadhNab 44, 57 ( $\{s\}d\}w\}$ ), 93, 105*, 204, 287, 470
$\{s\}dw\}^O$	UJadhNab 287*
$\{s\}dy\}^N$	UJadhNab 456
$\{s\}dlhy\}^N$	UJadhNab 244
$\{s\}dt\}^N$	UJadhNab 99
$\{s\}wdw\}^N$	GhRNab 18
$\{s\}z\}dw\}^O$	UJadh 195
$\{s\}yh\}---^N$	UJadhNab 301*. N: $\{s\}ydw\}$ , $\{s\}ydt\}$ , $\{s\}yw\}$
$\{s\}ydw\}^N$	QNNab 17 – ArNab 39 – UJadhNab 35, 47, 100, 106, 172, 184, 210, 304
$\{s\}y\}h\}m\}^O$	UJadhNab 36
$\{s\}d\}r\}w\}^O$	UJadhNab 41, 442
$\{s\}ry\}---^N$	UJadhNab 235. N: $\{s\}ry\}t\}$
$\{s\}r\}y\}^O$	UJadhNab 314*
$\{s\}ry\}t\}^N$	UJadhNab 165
$\{s\}t\}y\}d\}r\}s\}p\}sw\}^O$	ArNab 44
$\{str\}w\}^N$	ArNab 65.1, 97, 113, 123 ( $\{s\}t\}r\}w\}$ ), 147 ( $\{s\}t\}r\}w\}$ ) – UJadhNab 516

## T

$t\}d\}r\}bt\}^O$	UJadhNab 327
$tbyn\}^O$	UJadhNab 142
$tdy\}^N$	ArNab 69
$t\}d\}r\}p\}w\}^O$	QNNab 47
$twbn\}^O$	UJadhNab 321
$t\}z\}---^O$	ArNab 164
$tn\}d\}r\}nw\}^O$	ArNab 144
$\{t\}h\}m\}^O$	QNNab 27
$t\}h\}rm\}^O$	UJadhNab 68
$tym\}^N$	ArNab 81
$tym\}lhy\}^N$	ArNab 13 – AyNab 2 – UJadhNab 20, 209
$tym\}lhwr\}^O$	UJadhNab 97, 117 ( $tym\}lhwr\}$ , letters possibly reversed)
$tym\}lktb\}^N$	UJadhNab 59 (twice), 83, 134, 426
$tym\}lt\}^N$	DBv3Nab 12
$tym\}lty\}$	UJadhNab 501
$tym\}dw\}sr\}^N$	UJadhNab 508
$tymw\}^N$	UdhNab 5, 10, 11, 14, 16 – QNNab 4, 32 – ArNab 2 ( $\{ty\}mw\}$ ), 3, 4, 26.1, 47, 63, 68 ( $\{ty\}mw\}$ ), 70, 107, 118, 131, 137, 142, 154 ( $\{ty\}mw\}$ ), 160, 165 ( $\{ty\}mw\}$ ) – UJadhNab 6, 110, 112, 127, 131, 136, 141 ( $\{tymw\}$ ), 164, 179, 189, 196, 200, 201, 211, 214, 242, 262, 263, 283, 292 (twice), 320*, 321, 325, 372 ( $\{tymw\}$ ), 374, 384, 425, 474, 493, 499, 509, 510, 513, 519, 546, 562.1 – GhRNab 7, 11
$tym\}lhwr\}^O$	UJadhNab 117 (see also $tym\}lhwr\}$ )
$tym\}lhy\}^N$	DBv2Nab 2

<i>tym' bdt</i> <sup>N</sup>	UdhNab 9, 13 – UJadhNab 40, 173
{t}lm{.}N	UJadhNab 246. N: <i>tlm/tlmy</i>
{t/h}{m}O	QNNab 27
{tmw}O	UJadhNab 253
{t/m}{m}{d/r}{w}O	UJadhNab 213
{tn}'{w/p}'O	UJadhNab 319
<i>tps</i> <sup>2</sup> O	UdhNab 11.1 – SBNab 8 – ArNab 46, 110, 120 – UJadhNab 525
<i>tps</i> <sup>2</sup> O	QNNab 37
<i>trsy</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 248.3
<i>trsys</i> <sup>N</sup>	QNNab 12
<i>trsy</i> <sup>O</sup>	UJadhNab 146, 438

## Other indexes

### Toponyms

'lhgr	UJadhNab 330*
'lhgrw	ArNab 20 ('lh{g}rw)
gy'	UJadhNab 41, 88 (g{y}'), 402
hgr'	UJadhNab 5, 199
ytrb	UJadhNab 459
{'}{b/n}{t}'n'	UJadhNab 8
qbt'	UJadhNab 46
{d/r}kl	UJadhNab 133

### Divine names

'l'zy	UJadhNab 313*, 345*, 364*, 368-369*
'lt	UJadh 237
dwšr'	UJadhNab 40, 41, 47, 226, 391, 402
<i>mwt</i> (m[n]wt)	UJadhNab 391
<i>mntw</i>	UJadhNab 295
<i>mnwtw</i>	UJadhNab 40

### Names of Nabataean kings

<i>mnkw</i>	UJadhNab 110
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### Peoples

<i>nbṭw</i>	UJadhNab 110
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## Index of vocabulary

The words *bṭb*, *br*, *dkyr* and *šlm* have not been included in this index (nor the conjunction *w*).

### Abbreviations:

3fsp = 3rd person feminine singular perfect

3mpp = 3rd person masculine plural perfect

3msp = 3rd person masculine singular perfect

adj. = adjective

adv. = adverb

conj. = conjunction

def. art. = definite article

dem. pron. = demonstrative pronoun

excl. part. = exclamative particle

indef. pron. = indefinite pronoun

n. = noun

pers. pron. = personal pronoun

pl. = plural

prep. = preposition

rel. pron. = relative pronoun

vb = verb followed by the form in Roman numerals, e. g. I/II, V, etc.

## D

'b	n. 'father'	UJadhNab 327
'dhlw	vb IV 3mpp 'they introduced'	UJadhNab 109*
'dr	n. month-name, 'Adār', Febr.-March	UJadhNab 86
'hwhy	n. + suffix, 'his brother'	ArNab 141 – UJadhNab 38, 119
'zl	vb. 3msp. 'he went'	UJadhNab 5, 199
'l	def. art.	UJadhNab 109*, 538* and in the toponyms 'ligr and 'ligrw
'lh	n. 'god'	UJadhNab 41, 88, 402
'lhy'	n. 'the gods'	UJadhNab 189 ('lh{y'}), 228
'lht'	n. 'the goddess'	UJadhNab 295
{'lwl}	n. month-name 'Elūl, September'	UJadhNab 546
'ly	prep. 'to'	UJadhNab 330*
'srtg'	n. <i>strategos</i> , 'governor'	ArNab 104

## B

b-	prep. 'in, for'	UJadhNab 6, 86, 105*, 110, 237, 309*, 399, 546
bty	mistake for <i>bṭb?</i>	UJadhNab 118*
bl	excl. part. 'yea!'	ArNab 95 – UJadhNab 18, 45
bl'	excl. part. 'yea!'	UJadhNab 40
bly	excl. part. 'yea!'	QNNab 4 – ArNab 10, 20, 26 ( <i>{bly}</i> ), 35, 36, 38, 41, 44, 62, 116, 122, 126, 129 (commentary) – SBNab 11 – UJadhNab 3*, 4* ( <i>bl{y}</i> ), 7, 35, 64, 101, 102, 109*, 110, 148, 172, 221*, 229*, 268, 309*, 341, 375*, 429, 488 ( <i>{ly}</i> ), 538*, 539, 561* – DBv3Nab 1
bnh	vb. 3msp 'he made, built'	UJadhNab 237
bny	n. pl. of <i>br</i> , 'sons of'	UdhNab 3 – UJadhNab 134, 135 ( <i>b{n}y</i> ), 175, 288, 511
brh	n. + suffix, 'his son'	UJadhNab 59, 112, 200, 496 – DBv1Nab 23
brt	n. 'daughter'	ArNab 78, 87, 106 – UJadhNab 120, 501

## G

<i>gbr</i>	n. 'man'	UJadhNab 5, 84, 110, 199, 383.1 <i>{gbr}</i>
<i>gb{b/y}{h/h}y'</i>	<i>nisba?</i>	UJadhNab 196
<i>gml</i>	n. 'camel'	UJadhNab 5, 199

## D

<i>d'</i>	dem. pron. 'this' (feminine)	UJadhNab 237 – DBv1Nab 25
<i>{d/r}w{my}'</i>	<i>nisba?</i>	ArNab 45
<i>dy</i>	rel. pron. 'who, which'	ArNab 20, 27 – UJadhNab 5, 8, 46, 133, 199, 237, 327, 459
<i>dkyrh</i>	vb. passive (feminine), 'may she be remembered'	UJadhNab 120
<i>dkrwn</i>	n. 'remembrance'	UJadhNab 16 ( <i>{dk}rw{n}</i> ), 47, 82, 460, 521
<i>dnh</i>	dem. pron. 'this' (masculine)	UJadhNab 309*, 521, 538*

## H

<i>hw</i>	pers. pron., 'he, him'	UJadhNab 327
<i>hprk'</i>	n. <i>hipparchos</i> / <i>eparchos</i> , 'cavalry commander' / 'commander, <i>praefectus</i> '	UJadhNab 377

## Ḥ

<i>ḥbr</i>	n. 'companion'	SBNab 2
<i>ḥbrwhy</i>	n. pl. of <i>ḥbr</i> + suffix, 'his companions'	UdhNab 18
<i>ḥbrth</i>	n. + suffix, 'his companion (f.)'	UJadhNab 516
<i>ḥgry'</i>	<i>nisba</i> , 'the Hegrans'	UJadhNab 40
<i>ḥd</i>	numeral 'one'	UJadhNab 309*
<i>ḥg</i>	n. 'feast'	UJadhNab 538*
<i>ḥnt'</i>	n. 'the embalmer'	UJadhNab 97
<i>{hrg}{z/n}</i>	vb. 'to go, to depart'	UJadhNab 330*

<i>{h}š{d/r}</i> '	n. 'the one who does not stop taking milk from the she-camel'	UJadhNab 18
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## T

<i>tb</i>	adj. 'good'	UJadhNab 47, 82, 84, 110, 460, 506, 521
<i>tb{lwh}y</i>	?	UJadhNab 214
<i>trq skt</i> '	n. 'the goldsmith, the maker of coin dies'	UJadhNab 100

## Y

<i>ydh</i>	n. + suffix, 'his hand'	UJadhNab 297*
<i>{y}hwd'</i>	<i>nisba</i> 'Judaean, Jewish'	DBv1Nab 14
<i>ywm</i>	n. 'day'	UJadhNab 309*, 538*
<i>yrh</i>	n. 'month'	UJadhNab 86, 110, 546

## K

<i>khn</i> '	n. 'the priest'	UJadhNab 561*
<i>kl</i>	indef. pron. 'all, any'	UJadhNab 5 (twice), 84, 110, 199 (twice), 383.1 ( <i>{kl}</i> )
<i>klhm</i>	indef. pron. + suffix, 'all of them'	UJadhNab 189, 228
<i>ktb</i>	vb 3msp 'he wrote'	UJadhNab 201, 297*, 309*, 313*, 320*, 457 ( <i>k---</i> ), 538*
<i>ktb</i> '	n. 'the writer'	ArNab 161 ( <i>{k}t{b}'</i> ) – UJadhNab 200
<i>ktb</i> '	n. 'the writing'	UJadhNab 309*, 538*
<i>ktbh</i>	vb. + suffix, 'he wrote it'	UJadhNab 200, 319
<i>kyb</i>	vb. passive, 'it was written'	UJadhNab 110, 546

## L

<i>l-</i>	prep. 'to, for'	UdhNab 9 – QNNab 12 – ArNab 166 – UJadhNab 5, 40, 47, 82, 110, 155, 199, 226, 291, 293*, 310, 313*, 343*, 345*, 364*, 352* ( <i>{l}</i> ), 427, 496, 521
<i>l'</i>	negative part. 'not'	ULNab 1 – UJadhNab 226

## M

<i>m'by</i> '	<i>nisba</i> , 'the Moabite'?	ArNab 165 – UJadhNab 172
<i>m{b}y</i> '	<i>nisba</i> , 'the Moabite'?	UJadhNab 511
<i>m't</i>	n. 'hundred'	UJadhNab 309*, 538*
<i>m{q}{l/n}y</i> '	?	UJadhNab 226
<i>mlk / mlk'</i>	n. 'king', 'the king'	UJadhNab 109*, 110 (twice)
<i>mn</i>	prep. 'from'	ArNab 20, 27 – UJadhNab 8, 40, 41, 46, 47, 88, 133, 189, 226, 228, 295, 391, 459, 538*
<i>mzny</i> '	<i>nisba</i> ?	UJadhNab 56
<i>mrzy</i> '	<i>nisba</i> ?	UJadhNab 36
<i>mry</i>	n. 'lord'	UJadhNab 287* ( <i>m{r}y</i> ), 538*
<i>mt{kb}ty</i> '	n. 'the writings'?	UJadhNab 521

## N

<i>nbty</i> '	<i>nisba</i> , 'the Nabataean'	UJadhNab 295
<i>ntr</i>	n. 'bodyguard'	ArNab 140
<i>ntryn</i>	n. 'guard'	UdhNab 18
<i>npš</i>	n. 'commemorative stele'	DBv1Nab 25

## S

<i>skt</i> '	n. 'ploughshare, die', cf. <i>trq skt</i> '	UJadhNab 100
<i>snypr</i> '	n. 'ensign bearer'	UJadhNab 259
<i>spr</i> '	n. 'scribe'	ArNab 65 – UJadhNab 465
<i>ssn</i> '	? It is a profession	UJadhNab 327

## C

'lym	n. 'slave, servant'	ArNab 104 – TMNab 8 – UJadhNab 51, 116 ('ly{m}) – DBv1Nab 25
'lymy	n. pl. of 'lym, 'slaves'	UJadhNab 41
'lymt	n. 'maidservant'	ArNab 53 – SBNab 2 – UJadhNab 17 ('lyjmt), 91, 99
'lm	n. 'eternity'	UdhNab 9 – QNNab 12 ('llm) – ArNab 166 – UJadhNab 155, 168 ('lm), 226, 291, 310, 427, 496, 538* (mry 'lm')

## P

p-	conj. 'and, then'	UdhNab 18
ptyr	n. 'unleavened bread'	UJadhNab 538*
p{m}h	?	ArNab 100
prš'	n. 'cavalryman'	DBv3Nab 19
pršy'	n. 'cavalrymen'	UdhNab 18

## Ş

şy''	n. 'goldsmith'	DBv2Nab 1
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## Q

qdm	prep. 'in the presence of'	UJadhNab 40, 41, 47, 88, 189, 228 (qmd), 295, 391, 538* – DBv3Nab10 10
qtrywn'	n. 'centurion'	UJadhNab 260
qyn'	n. 'the smith'	UJadhNab 307
qr''	n. 'the reader'	UJadhNab 226

## R

{r/d}w{my}'	nisba?	ArNab 45
r'š'	n. 'the chief'?	ArNab 140
rhm	n. 'friend'	UJadhNab 519
{r}hmny'	n. pl. of rhm, 'the ones who love'	UJadhNab 338

## Š

š	abbreviation for šnt	UJadhNab 86
šb'	numeral 'seven'	UJadhNab 538*
šwšp'	n. 'best man'	UJadhNab 401
šlm	n. 'security'	UJadhNab 47
šm't	vb 3fsp, 'may she listen'	UJadhNab 313*, 345*, 364*, 368-369*
šnt	n. 'year'	UJadhNab 6, 109*, 110, 172, 297*, 309*, 454, 538*, 546
šqy'	n. 'the one who irrigates'	UdhNab 11

## T

tr''	n. 'the gate-keeper'	UJadhNab 491
trtyn	numeral 'two'	UJadhNab 110
tš'yn	numeral 'ninety'	UJadhNab 309*, 538*
tšry	n. month-name 'Tišrī', October	UJadhNab 6, 110, 309*

## Numerals written as ciphers

19	UJadhNab 86	49	UJadhNab 546
25	UJadhNab 454	200	UJadhNab 297*
45	UJadhNab 6	350	UJadhNab 109*
46	UJadhNab 172		



# Sigla and References

## Sigla

ARNA.Nab	Nabataean inscriptions published in Winnett and Reed 1970.
CSAI	The Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions <a href="http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&amp;prjId=1&amp;corId=0&amp;collId=0">http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&amp;prjId=1&amp;corId=0&amp;collId=0</a> .
CIS II	Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions published in <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars II Inscriptiones Aramaicas continens</i> . Paris, 1889–.
CIS V	Safaitic inscriptions published in <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars V. Inscriptiones Saracenicas Continens, Tomus 1. Inscriptiones Safaiticae</i> . Paris, 1950–1951.
DNPF	Nabataean inscriptions published in Dalman 1912.
JSLih	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Jaussen and Savignac 1909–1922.
JSNab	Nabataean inscriptions published in Jaussen and Savignac 1909–1922.
MAKNJ	Nabataean inscriptions published in al-Muaikil and al-Theeb 1996.
MP	Nabataean inscriptions recorded by J.T. Milik, J. Starcky and L. Nehmé in Petra, partly published in Nehmé 2012b.
N	Negev 1991.
OCIANA	The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia <a href="http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana">http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana</a>
P Yadin	Papyri published in Yadin, Greenfield, Yardeni, Levine 2002.
RÉS	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> . Paris, 1900–1968.
ThMNN	Nabataean inscriptions published in al-Theeb 2010.
ThNIS	Nabataean inscriptions published in al-Theeb 2011.
ThNS	Nabataean inscriptions published in al-Theeb 2014.
ThNUJ	Nabataean inscriptions published in al-Theeb 2002.
ThNUJT	Nabataean inscriptions published in al-Theeb 2005.

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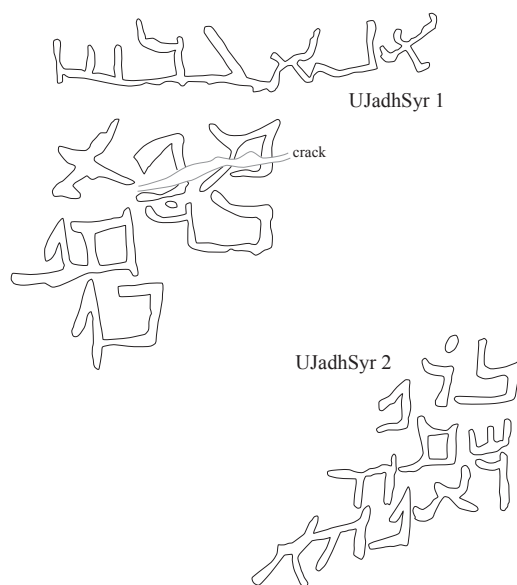
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# Inscriptions de type palmyrénien de Umm Jadhāyidh

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La pierre porte une inscription dans une écriture araméenne syrienne très proche de ce que J. Cantineau a appelé « cursive palmyrénienne »<sup>1</sup>, ainsi que de l'inscription palmyrénienne sur bois trouvée à Socotra<sup>2</sup>. Elle est ici en écriture verticale, un phénomène attesté surtout en syriaque mais pas inconnu en palmyrénien, surtout dans cette forme d'écriture<sup>3</sup>. Le graffiti date probablement du milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle. La forme du *mim* fermé, qui annonce celle du syriaque, montre que l'écriture araméenne de Syrie intérieure reste sans doute assez mal connue.



On distingue sept lignes en deux blocs de textes : le premier, UJadhSyr 1, porte le nom de celui qui a fait l'inscription, le second, UJadhSyr 2, l'invocation à un dieu non nommé.

1. J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*. Le Caire, 1935.

2. C. Robin et M. Gorea, « Les vestiges antiques de la grotte de Hoq (Suqutra, Yémen) », *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 2002, p. 409-445.

3. Cantineau p. 31. A. Desreumaux, « Comment peut-on écrire en syriaque ou Des problèmes du scribe devant sa page blanche », dans C. Batsch et M. Vartejanu-Joubert (éds), *Manières de penser dans l'Antiquité méditerranéenne et orientale. Mélanges offerts à Francis Schmidt par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis*. Leiden, 2009, p. 105-126.

De haut en bas :

### UJadhSyr 1

'n' 'bš

mk'

br ml

kw

« Je suis 'bšmk' fils de Mlkw ».

### UJadhSyr 2

brk

šmh

d'lh'

« Bénis le nom du dieu ».

L'onomastique ne pose guère de question même si les deux premiers anthroponymes ont une forme qui n'est pas connue ailleurs. Le nom 'bš est attesté sous les formes 'bš' et 'bšy à la fois en palmyrénien<sup>4</sup>, en édessénien<sup>5</sup> et en hatréen<sup>6</sup> ; selon Stark, il signifie « austère, sévère » mais Milik<sup>7</sup> l'interprète comme un hypocoristique de 'bdšmš. Mk' est un hypocoristique, probablement le même que celui qui est attesté en palmyrénien sous la forme mky ou plus développé mkbl<sup>8</sup> et en hatréen mky et mkmrt<sup>9</sup>. Stark et Abbadi interprètent ces anthroponymes comme « Qui est comme (ND) ? ». Drijvers et Healey<sup>10</sup>, à propos du nom mkyl attesté en édessénien, rattachent ces noms dans les trois contextes à la racine mkk « être bas, se prosterner (devant la divinité) ». Le nom mlkw (Malikū) est extrêmement courant à Palmyre<sup>11</sup>. C'est encore un hypocoristique formé sur la racine mlk « roi ».

Dans l'invocation, les parallèles suggéreraient que brk « bénir » soit un participe passif : « Béni est (ou soit) », selon une formule très courante, mais en palmyrénien comme en édessénien le mot serait sous la forme bryk. Il s'agit donc plus probablement d'un impératif de forme simple ou intensive, qui n'est pas attesté jusque-là en palmyrénien. Une forme d'accompli de 3<sup>e</sup> personne (« il a béni ») est également possible grammaticalement, mais le nom étant précédé du pronom personnel de 1<sup>re</sup> personne 'n' on aurait plutôt attendu brkt.

L'intérêt essentiel de ce graffiti, outre le lieu où il a été gravé, bien loin de la Syrie, réside dans l'invocation à un dieu dont le nom n'est pas précisé<sup>12</sup>. Le phénomène est bien connu à Palmyre mais on en a également un cas dans une inscription de type édessénien<sup>13</sup>.

4. J.K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1971, p. 42 et 103.

5. H.J.W. Drijvers et J.F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osroene. Texts, Translations and Commentary*, HdO, 1.42. Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1999 : As9:1 et Am3:8, Am3:11, Am3:12.

6. S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1983, p. 41.

7. J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 92. Paris, 1972, p. 392.

8. Stark p. 31 et 95.

9. Abbadi p. 25 et 121-122.

10. Drijvers et Healey p. 150.

11. Stark p. 32-24.

12. A. Kubiak-Schneider, « *Celui dont le nom est béni pour l'éternité* » Une étude des dédicaces votives sans théonyme propre de Palmyre, Thèse de l'Université de Varsovie, 2016.

13. A. Abou Assaf et F. Briquel Chatonnet, « Un autel à encens avec inscription syriaque au musée de Raqqa, Syrie », *Semitica* 41-42, 1993, 183-193.

# The Ancient North Arabian and Ancient South Arabian Inscriptions

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This section of the catalogue contains the Ancient North Arabian [ANA] and Ancient South Arabian [ASA] graffiti recorded on the Darb al-Bakrah Survey in 2004, as well as those photographed in the same, or other places along the route by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' in 2017. In all, graffiti in 14 different scripts were recorded. The largest number are in the Nabataean Aramaic alphabet, but texts in Imperial Aramaic, Nabataeo-Arabic, pre-Islamic Arabic, Islamic Arabic, Palmyrene, ASA, and the ANA scripts (Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Thamudic B, C, D, Hismaic, and Safaitic), were also discovered, as well as some in Greek. Thus the Darb al-Bakrah was clearly a route used by individuals from a large variety of writing traditions, over a long period of time. Besides the large numbers of graffiti in the Nabataean, Arabic and other scripts derived from Aramaic, there are 280 in scripts derived from the South Semitic script-family, that is ASA, and the ANA alphabets (Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Thamudic B, C, D, Hismaic, and Safaitic). Of these, there are:

- 96 in the ASA script;
- 14 in the Dadanitic script, 10 of which are from al-‘Udhayb in the al-‘Ulā oasis;
- 2 possibly in the Taymanitic script;
- 84 in the Hismaic script with concentrations of 27 at al-‘Arniyyāt and 29 at Umm Jadhāyidh;
- 9 in the Safaitic script;
- 16 in the Thamudic B script;
- 22 in the Thamudic C script;
- 4 in a script which could be Thamudic C or Thamudic D;
- 15 in the Thamudic D script;

In addition, there are:

- 7 in letters whose shapes are not sufficiently diagnostic to decide whether they are ASA or ANA;
- 11 in letters which are ANA but not sufficiently diagnostic to be assigned to a particular ANA script;
- and
- 9 ‘Problem’ texts, the scripts of which cannot be identified, either because they are badly carved or because of damage.

The distribution by site of the graffiti in these scripts is as follows:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Scripts</i>	<i>Number of texts</i>	<i>Total for each site</i>
2. al-‘Udhayb [Udh]	ASA	2	
	ANA/ASA (undiagnostic)	1	

	ANA (undiagnostic)	1	
	Dadanitic	10	
	Thamudic B	1	
	Thamudic C?	1	
	Thamudic D	3	19
6. Tharbah [Th]	Dadanitic	1	
	Taymanitic?	1	
	Thamudic B	3	5
7. Ṣadr Ḥawzā' [SH]	ASA	2	
	ANA? (undiagnostic)	1	
	Hismaic	1	
	Thamudic B?	1	5
8. Umm Laḥm [UL]	Hismaic	2	
	Thamudic C?	1	3
22. Al-Mudhannab [Mudh]	Thamudic D	3	3
23. Al-Mathqalah [Math]	Thamudic B	1	
	Thamudic D	1	2
25. Abū Rākah [AbRak]	Hismaic	6	
	Thamudic B	1	7
26. Al-Jaw (Jabal Khadīr) [JJKh]	Dadanitic?	1	
	Taymanitic?	1	
	Hismaic	1	
	Thamudic B	5	
	Thamudic C	4	
	Thamudic C/D	1	13
26. Al-Jaw (Jabal 'Ubayd) [JJU]	Hismaic?	1	
	Thamudic C	4	5
30. Jabal al-'Amīd al-Kabīr [JAK]	ANA (undiagnostic)	1	1
31. Huḍaybāt al-Ṣufūr [HS]	Hismaic	1	
	Thamudic B	1	
	Thamudic C/D	1	
	Thamudic D	2	5
37. Wādī al-Athqah [WA]	ASA	1	
	ANA/ASA (undiagnostic)	1	
	ANA (undiagnostic)	1	
	Thamudic C	1	4
39. Qā' an-Nqayb [QN]	ASA	7	
	ANA/ASA? (undiagnostic)	1	
	Dadanitic	2	
	Hismaic	1	
	Thamudic C?	3	14
40. Al-'Armiyyāt [Ar]	ASA	23	
	ANA/ASA (undiagnostic)	1	

	ANA (undiagnostic)	3	
	Hismaic	27	
	Safaitic	1	
	Thamudic C/D	1	
	Thamudic D	3	
	Problems	1	60
41. Sūḥ al-Baghlah [SB]	ASA	2	2
44. Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd [MBAZ]	Hismaic	5	
	Thamudic B	1	
	Thamudic C	1	
	Problem	1	8
46. Sarbūt ‘Ayrīn [SAy]	Hismaic	5	
	Safaitic?	1	
	Thamudic C	1	
	Thamudic D?	1	8
48. Khawr Ra’īs [Khr]	Hismaic	3	3
49. Darb al-Bakrah various 1 [DBv1]	ASA	2	
	Safaitic	1	
	Thamudic C	1	4
50. Darb al-Bakrah various 3 [DBv3]	ASA	4	
	ANA (undiagnostic)	1	
	Hismaic	2	7
51. Ghadīr al-Rāshidah [Ghr]	ASA	1	
	ASA/ANA (undiagnostic)	1	
	ANA (undiagnostic)	3	5
38. Umm Jadhāyidh [UJadh]	ASA	52	
	ANA/ASA (undiagnostic)	2	
	Hismaic	29	
	Safaitic	6	
	Thamudic B	2	
	Thamudic C	5	
	Thamudic C/D	1	
	Thamudic D	2	
	Problems	7	106
			<b>Total: 289</b>

It is worth examining the distribution of some of these. Clearly, the 912 Nabataean or Nabataeo-Arabic graffiti on the Darb al-Bakrah vastly exceed all those in other scripts put together. But, in an area of north-west Arabia, it is unexpected to find that there are more graffiti in ASA than in any one of the ANA scripts (see the list above). This suggests a South Arabian presence on the road, at some period or periods, either before, and/or contemporary with, Nabataean control of the area. UJadhASA 24 is an unsuccessful attempt at writing a previously unattested name in both Nabataean and ASA, and is the only evidence these texts provide for contact between the cultures. Unfortunately, none of the Nabataean graffiti are superimposed on ones in ASA, or *vice versa*. The only possible relationship seems to be on

pl. 66 where it would appear that DBv3ASA 3 was carved before DBv3Nab 6, since the *b-ṭb* in the latter has been carved on a third line whereas if DBv3ASA 3 had not been in the way, *b-ṭb* would probably have been on the second line. But this single example is of no help in establishing a relative chronology of the Nabataean and ASA graffiti.

Christian Robin (pers. comm.) has remarked that none of the ASA graffiti exhibits letter-forms dating from the Christian era and so he has tentatively suggested ‘les Sudarabiques ont circulé sur le Darb al-Bakra avant tout aux époques perse et hellénistique’, thus placing the carving of these graffiti before Nabataean domination of the northern Ḥijāz. However, this is based entirely on comparing letter-forms in these *graffiti* on rocks far away in the north, with those of *monumental* inscriptions in South Arabia itself, a dating method which does not inspire confidence.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, after weighing up the available archaeological, epigraphic, and historical evidence, Rohmer and Charloux have suggested that:

Dadan and the neighbouring sites of the al-‘Ulā oasis entered a phase of decline in the third century BC, while Hegra developed and became the centre of the region. On the regional scale, this transfer probably reflects a shift in the balance of power between local tribes, to the disadvantage of Liḥyān. On the scale of the peninsula, it probably echoes the decline of Liḥyān’s traditional allies, the Minaeans, in the last two centuries BC.... It may therefore be understood in the light of the end of South Arabian hegemony over caravan trade.<sup>2</sup>

This seems to fit nicely with Robin’s tentative dating of the Darb al-Bakra ASA graffiti to before the turn of the era, and on this basis Nehmé concludes that ‘everything seems to point to a relatively low involvement of the Nabataeans on the roads of Arabia before the last decades BC, this trade being until then the monopoly of the South Arabian merchants.’<sup>3</sup> But it needs to be remembered that all the elements of this scenario are based on fragmentary and disputed evidence. So, while it might seem attractive to assume that South Arabians used this route until they lost the “hegemony over caravan trade” when the Nabataeans established themselves in the area, we should remember that there is in fact no secure evidence for such speculation.

Moreover, apart from at al-‘Udhayb which is within the oasis of Dadan (modern al-‘Ulā), only 4 Dadanitic texts were found along the entire route and this also raises questions which are at present unanswerable. We have no secure chronology for the history of Liḥyān, or for the Dadanitic inscriptions, but if, as Rohmer and Charloux suggest, Liḥyān was already in decline before the establishment of Nabataean hegemony in the first century BC, this would place the *floruit* of Liḥyān in the same periods, i.e. Achaemenid and Hellenistic, as Robin suggests for the ASA graffiti on the Darb al-Bakra. But if this is correct, why are there so few Dadanitic graffiti on the route?

On the other hand, the total of 96 ASA graffiti is tiny compared to the 912 Nabataean texts, and when this is taken with only 4 Dadanitic, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the route was only used extensively *after* the Nabataean conquest of north-west Arabia, towards the end of the first century BC. Of course, individuals would almost certainly have used parts of the route at earlier times and this could explain the Imperial Aramaic, possibly some of the ASA (if they really are pre-first century AD), and the 4 Dadanitic graffiti.

Nevertheless, this tiny number of Dadanitic texts in comparison with those in ASA demands an explanation which, I have to admit, I cannot supply at present. It fits, however, with the remarkable fact that – apart from a few outliers such as the two inscriptions north of Wādī Ramm in Jordan,<sup>4</sup> or those

1. See Macdonald 2015. This point is recognized by Christian Robin himself.

2. Rohmer and Charloux 2015: 313.

3. Nehmé forthcoming.

4. Graf 1983, but note that the inscription which Graf published as Minaic is actually Dadanitic.

on rocks near Taymā' <sup>5</sup> – the vast majority of Dadanitic inscriptions and graffiti are concentrated in and around the oases of al-'Ulā and Madā' in Ṣāliḥ. <sup>6</sup> The reason for this is not clear, but it may be relevant to the lack of Dadanitic graffiti on the Darb al-Bakrah.

The extreme rarity of Taymanitic inscriptions is not really surprising since the geographical position of the oasis means that its routes to the north and north-west would have followed paths much further to the east, even if the Darb al-Bakrah was in use before Taymanitic stopped being written – another unknown, alas.

By contrast, we find small clues which suggest that the influence of the Nabataeans on those who used the Hismaic script in southern Jordan, may also have existed in the northern Hijāz. The author of a bilingual graffito in the Hismaic (ArHism 20) and Nabataean (ArNab 31) scripts was clearly at home using both, while in another Hismaic text (UJadhHism 11) the author uses an Aramaic pronunciation of the common Hismaic phrases *ḏkrt* (“may she be mindful of”) and *ḏ 'l* (“he of the lineage of”) which appear here as *dkrt* and *d 'l*, a phenomenon also found in southern Jordan. <sup>7</sup> In another Hismaic graffito from the same site (UJadhHism 19), the author uses the Aramaicized *dkrt* but the correct Hismaic *ḏ 'l*. Another clear link with the Nabataeans is the name *'bd-ds'r* in UJadhHism 8, which is found in this form for the first time in Hismaic (see the commentary to this text). It is perhaps worth noting that among the ANA texts from this exploration of the Darb al-Bakrah, the Hismaic (84) outnumber all the others put together (82).

The rarity of Safaitic graffiti on the Darb al-Bakrah is not a surprise since this is far to the south-west of the main grazing grounds of the nomads who used this script. More puzzling is the relative paucity of texts in the scripts known as ‘Thamudic’ B (16 texts), C (22), and D (15), scripts which are thought to have been used by nomads in northern and central Arabia. At present I can suggest no explanation for this.

Finally, I am most grateful to Professor 'Alī Al-Ghabbān for inviting me to edit these inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah survey, and to Dr Laīla Nehmé for her constant collaboration and communication while she was editing the Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic and pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions and I was editing those in this section. I would also like to thank her warmly for her meticulous work in editing this volume.

5. Eskoubi 1999 no. 253 (al-Badah); Eskoubi 2007 no 256 (Qī'ān al-Ṣanī'); HE 23 (Minṭar Banī 'Aṭiyah); JSLih 379, 380, (Qā' al-Balī); JSLih 382, 383 (Al-Khabū al-gharbī); JSTham 251.1, 251.2, 251.3 (Khashm Jabalah); 403, 427, 539 (Al-Khabū al-sharqī); and those recorded by the *Epigraphy and Landscape in the Hinterland of Taymā'* Project the publication of which is in preparation.

6. See Hidalgo-Chacón Diez 2015: 139 and fig. 1 on p. 216. It should be noted that even though it is now clear that the kings of Liḥyān ruled Taymā' at one period, their monumental inscriptions and even the graffiti of two of kings of Liḥyān are in Aramaic, not Dadanitic, and only a handful of Dadanitic graffiti have been found in the surroundings of Taymā'.

7. See Macdonald in press.





# Catalogue

The categories used are as follows:

ASA	= Ancient South Arabian
ANA/ASA <sup>1</sup>	= Ancient North or South Arabian
ANA <sup>2</sup>	= Ancient North Arabian
Dad	= Dadanitic
Tay	= Taymanitic
Hism	= Hismaic
Saf	= Safaitic
ThamB	= Thamudic B
ThamC	= Thamudic C
ThamC/D	= A text which could be either Thamudic C or D.
ThamD	= Thamudic D
Problem <sup>3</sup>	= A text which it is difficult to assign to a particular script

The sites are arranged in the order in which they were visited, except for Jabal Umm Jadhāyidh, at which the largest number of texts was recorded, which, following the arrangement in the Nabataean section, appears at the end, but before the sites visited by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' in 2017. All sites at which inscriptions were found are listed, even if Ancient North or South Arabian inscriptions were not found there. The inscriptions from three other sites (numbers 49–51) were photographed by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' in 2017 ([www.alsahra.org](http://www.alsahra.org)) and were not visited by the survey.

The sites in the order in which they appear are as follows:

<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Site name</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>
2	Al-'Udhayb	Udh
6	Tharbah	Th
7	Ṣadr Ḥawzā'	SH
8	Umm Laḥm	UL
12	Jabal Sa'īdah	JabSa

1. This siglum is used when the letter forms clearly belong to the South Semitic script family but are not sufficiently diagnostic to allow them to be identified as Ancient North Arabian or Ancient South Arabian.

2. This siglum is used when the letter forms are clearly Ancient North Arabian but are not sufficiently diagnostic to allow them to be classified as a particular script.

3. This siglum is used when it is uncertain whether the signs are letters or a collection of signs.

22	Al-Mudhannab	Mudh
23	Al-Mathqalah	Math
25	Abū Rākah	AbRak
26	Al-Jaw (Jabal Khadīr)	JJKh
26	Al-Jaw (Jabal ‘Ubayd)	JJU
30	Jabal al-‘Amīd al-Kabīr	JAK
31	Huḍaybāt al-Ṣufūr	HS
37	Wādī al-Athqah	WA
38	Umm Jadhāyidh	UJadh [after site 48]
39	Qā‘ an-Nqayb	QN
40	Al-‘Arniyyāt	Ar
41	Sūh al-Baghlah	SB
43	Ṭal‘at al-Midrāt	TM
44	Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd	MBAZ
45	‘Ayrīn	Ay
46	Sarbūṭ ‘Ayrīn	SAy
48	Khawr Ra’īs	KhR

**From Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā’:**

49	Darb al-Bakrah Various 1	DBv1
50	Darb al-Bakrah Various 3	DBv3
51	Ghadīr ar-Rāshidah	GhR

**Editorial conventions:**

{ } in the transliteration surround a doubtful letter. In the translation, the whole name or word which contains one or more doubtful letters in the original is enclosed in { } to show that this translation is uncertain.

{.} in the transliteration indicates a single letter which cannot be read

[ ] in the transliteration surround a letter which is restored.

<> in the transliteration surround a letter which has been erased in the original.

---- in the transliteration represent two or more letters which are too damaged to read.

= at the end of a line means that the end of the word or name is on the following line.

I have not translated texts which consist entirely of names or ones the reading of which is uncertain.

## 2. Al-‘Udhayb [Udh]

ASA, ANA/ASA, ANA, Arabic, Dadanitic, Greek, Imperial Aramaic, Nabataean, Safaitic, Thamudic B and D, and problematic inscriptions, as well as rock drawings, *wusūm* and other signs were recorded at this site.

### Ancient South Arabian

#### UdhASA 1 = JSMin 210 (?)

at Maq‘ad al-Jundī

See also pl. 1

UdhNab 6–13, some of which = JSNab 250–254, are on the same face.

At the far left of the face below UdhNab 12.



*rbʿl {b}{n}----*  
*ḏ mʿhr*

‘Rbʿl of the tribal section of Mʿhr’.

The name *rbʿl* has been found in Hadramitic, Minaic and Sabaic, as well as Taymanitic, Safaitic and, of course, Nabataean. *Mʿhr* has been found as a group name in Sabaic, Qatabanic and Minaic. It seems probable that this text is JSMin 210 and that Jaussen and Savignac accidentally omitted the ‘ in the group name.

#### UdhASA 2

See pl. 53a

On the same face as UdhANA 1, UdhDad 3 (not visible on pl. 53a) and 9, and UdhThamD 3.

*sʿdʿl*

The form of the ‘ suggests that this is Ancient South Arabian. The name is known from Minaic, Qatabanic and Sabaic, as well as Safaitic, Hismaic, and Thamudic B.

### Ancient North Arabian/ Ancient South Arabian

#### UdhANA/ASA 1

See pl. 53b

The remains of a horizontal text of two or three lines to the right of line 1 of

UdhThamC? 1, which is not legible on the photograph.

### Ancient North Arabian

#### UdhANA 1 = JSLih 368

See pl. 53a

On the same face as UdhASA 2, UdhDad 3 (not visible on pl. 53a) and 9, and UdhThamD 3. Carved horizontally above and to the left of UdhASA 2.

*ʿmr*

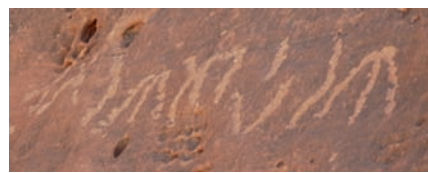
A name which is well attested in ANA. The letter forms are not sufficiently distinctive to identify the script.

### Dadanitic

UdhDad 1–9 plus UdhANA 1, UdhThamD 2 and UdhNab 2, 3, 4.1, and 5 were recorded by Jaussen and Savignac ‘sur un rocher situé à une centaine de mètres à l’est de la voie ferrée, en face de kilomètre 961’ (Jaussen and Savignac 1909–1922, II: 529, and see also p. 202 under JSNab 267). Elsewhere (p. 544) they say that the rock is called ‘Maḥzin’.

#### UdhDad 1 = JSLih 377

On the same rock face as UdhNab 1–2 and some unidentifiable signs. UdhNab 2 is to the left of this text.



*hrsʿ bn hrth*

In Dadanitic, *hrsʿ* has apparently only been found here and in Abū l-Ḥasan 2002: no. 290. However, it is very well attested in Safaitic and Hismaic. *Ḥrth*<sup>4</sup> appears to have been found only here.

#### UdhDad 2 = JSLih 373

Above and to the right of UdhDad 3.



*glḥ*

The personal name *glḥ* is well attested in Safaitic, but in Dadanitic seems to have been found only here, in UdhDad

4. Although the final *h* is not visible on the photograph and is shown as a single vertical line on Jausen and Savignac’s copy of this text, it is clear on Huber’s copy (1891: 440, no. 92)

7, and in Jabal al-Khraymāt no. 3.<sup>5</sup> The latter two texts are by the same man.

#### UdhDad 3 = JSLih 374

Below UdhDad 2 and to the right of an Arabic inscription.



*frsʿ bn m{ḡ}{b}*

The personal name *frsʿ* has been found once before in Dadanitic in JSLih 374<sup>6</sup> but it is common in Safaitic. Jaussen and Savignac read the second name as *mḡln* but the horizontal bar of the *b* (albeit interrupted by a hole in the rock) can be seen on the photograph. Note the very straight *n* in *bn* which is unusual in Dadanitic. This is the first time that the name *mḡb* has been found in a Dadanitic inscription, but it is attested three times in Safaitic (JaS 139, 154, KRS 3202)

#### UdhDad 4 = JSLih 369



*ymn / k{ʿ}{l}*  
*bn / {l}zdt*

The personal name *ymn* does not seem to have been found before in Dadanitic, though it is known in Safaitic. Jaussen and Savignac suggested that the first letter of the name in line 2 could be a *g* or a *l*. We know now that it cannot be a *g* and it is identical in form to the last letter in line 1 and so is probably a *l*. *Kʿl* has been found once in Dadanitic and once in Safaitic. *Lzdt* is unknown in ANA.

5. This is published in Hidalgo-Chacón Diez 2017: 205–206, where the first name is misread as *mlh*, and the text is illustrated only by a transliteration in standardized Dadanitic glyphs which contains the same misreading. For a photograph, on which it is clear that the initial letter is a *g*, see Macdonald 2010: 13, fig. 5. Note that in the caption there is a misprint in the name which should read *Glḥ*, not *Grḥ*.

6. The letters *fr sʿ* occur at the end of JSLih 380 (= Eskoubi 2007: no. 236) but they appear to be part of a bizarre personal name *ʿlhfrsʿ*. Since a word divider is used after *bn* in the second line, the lack of a word divider in line 1 suggests that this must represent a single name.

**UdhDad 5 = JSLih 370**

On the same face as UdhDad 6, a stick figure man, and two signs like Dadanitic *b*'s. It is not clear why Jaussen and Savignac's copy shows the first letter as damaged.



*gs'm*

The name has been found in three Dadanitic texts, in one of which it is the name of a woman (al-'Udhayb 059) but in the other two (JSLih 370, U 001) it is not clear. It is well-known as a man's name in Safaitic.

**UdhDad 6 = JSLih 371**

To the left of the stick figure man.



*km / bn /*

*brg*

The first name is known in Dadanitic from JSLih 365 (where, despite their reading, it is clear on the copy), and from Safaitic and Hismaic. The second name, *brg*, is new in Dadanitic but has been found twice in Safaitic (WH 2887, CEDS 215).

**UdhDad 7 = JSLih 375**

To the left of UdhThamD 1 and below UdhThamD 2.

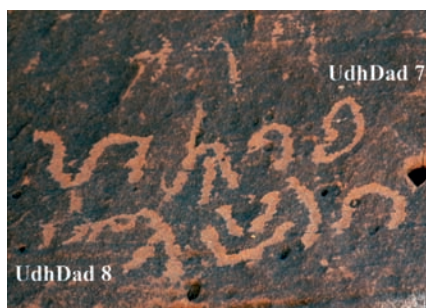


*glh / bn*

*br'h*

This author has left his signature, with the characteristic join between the *b* and *n* of *bn*, elsewhere in the area of al-'Ulā. See Macdonald 2010: 13, fig. 5 (on which see note 5 here). For the first name see UdhDad 2. The second is found in this spelling, with

the *mater lectionis* showing a final /ā/, only in the three signatures of this man (UdhDad 2, 7, and Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt 03, see OCIANA), and once in Safaitic (KHS 13) but it may also be represented in the severely consonantal orthography of Safaitic in the well attested name *br'*.

**UdhDad 8 = JSLih 375**

*'mr*

The name is carved in very small letters immediately after the final letter in line 2 of UdhDad 7 and below the *bn* in line 1. Despite the difference in size between the two texts, Jaussen and Savignac (JSLih 375) took the *h* of *br'h* as belonging to *'mr* and took the two texts as one, reading *mlh bn br' h'mr* and, inexplicably, translating *h-'mr* as 'fils de *'mr*'. For the name *'mr*, see UdhANA 1.

**UdhDad 9 = JSLih 372**

See pl. 53a

On the same face as UdhASA 2, UdhANA 1, UdhDad 3 (not visible on pl. 53a), and UdhThamD 3.

*hzmh / nk /*

*s'l{m}*

'Hzmh had sex with {S'l'm}'.

The name *hzmh* has not been found before, though *hzmt* is known from Safaitic and Hismaic. *S'l'm* is of course common in ANA, usually as a man's name though in AH 076 it is borne by a woman. The verb *nk*, alongside the more common *nyk*, is found once in Safaitic (KRS 2971) but is the more common form in Hismaic.

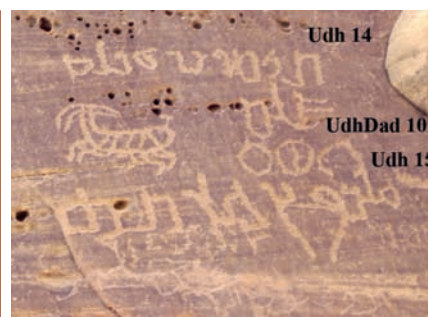
**UdhDad 10**

Apparently not recorded by Jaussen and Savignac.

Three letters between UdhNab 14 and 15 at the far right of the face to the right of a drawing of an ibex looking over its shoulder.

*fw'*

The name has been once found before in Abū 'l-Ḥasan 2002: no. 339 where, however, it is read *s'w'*.

**Thamudic B****UdhThamB 1**

On a rough surface and heavily patinated.



*wddt '---*

'I love '...'

*Wddt* is the first person singular of the suffix conjugation of the verb *wdd* (cf. Arabic *wadidtu/wadadtu*).

**Thamudic C****UdhThamC? 1 = JSTham 216**

See pl. 53b

The two vertical lines to the right of UdhThamD 1 and 2.

*s'ly}t {d/b}{b}{m}* [= JSTham 216]

*wdd-n*

'---

loves me'.

The fourth letter in line 1 is difficult to read from the photograph because there is a slight 'ripple' in the rock face at this point and so it is impossible to tell whether the lower horizontal line (which was not copied by Jaussen and Savignac) is intentional or a scratch. Jaussen and Savignac's reading of the penultimate letter in this line as *h* seems unlikely even on their copy. Curiously, they did not copy the second line, where the reading of the final letter as *n*, if correct, means that the text would have to be Thamudic C, unlike the text to its left where the *n* has its form in Thamudic D. In ANA, geminate verbs are written in full in the 3rd person masculine singular of the suffix conjugation suggesting that they were pronounced \*wadad rather than \*wadda as in Arabic. On the other hand, the 3rd person feminine singular seems to have been written as if pronounced \*waddat, see *wdt* in ThThamB 2 and

*rbt* in UdhThamD 1. The final *-n* is of course the 1st person singular (or plural) pronominal suffix.

### Thamudic D

#### UdhThamD 1 = JSTham 213

##### See pl. 53b

A long vertical text between UdhThamC 1 and UdhTham D 2.

*rbt s<sup>2</sup>qby ṽ{l} kn ṽmt s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>rn* [= JSTham 213]

(a) ‘S<sup>2</sup>qby, the handmaid of S<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>rn, ruled the ṽl Kn’.

or:

(b) ‘S<sup>2</sup>qby, of the family of Kn, trained the handmaid of S<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>rn’.

These alternative interpretations are offered very tentatively and assume that *rbt* is the 3rd person feminine singular of the suffix conjugation of the verb *rbb* ‘to govern, bring up, train’ and that *s<sup>2</sup>qby* is a woman’s name here.<sup>7</sup> The word ṽl in ANA can mean any social group, from a family to an empire such as Rome. An ṽl *kn* is known from Safaitic but this is almost certainly a different group. A personal name *kn* is also common in Safaitic, though as far as we can tell always borne by men. The word ṽmt ‘handmaid, female client’ is found in both ANA and ASA referring to the service of both human and divine masters/mistresses, and is common in theophoric names. In translation (a), I have taken *s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>rn* as the name of a previously unattested deity since someone boasting that she ruled a social group is unlikely to describe herself as the servant of a fellow human being. In (b), *s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>rn* could be the name of either a deity or a human. It has not been found as a divine name, but it occurs in Safaitic twice as a man’s personal name (HaNSB 444, KRS 2861) and once where it is impossible to tell (MKJS 90). Jaussen and Savignac translated this text as ‘Nābit Ḍaqby a soutenu ṽAmatḏaklan’ and Winnett (1937: 40) ‘ṽAmat-shukran reared my young camel ṽ-l-k-n’.

#### UdhThamD 2 = JSTham 217

##### See pl. 53b

A vertical text between UdhTham D 1 and UdhDad 7.

*wdd f ṽtrt* [= JSTham 217]

‘He loves ṽtrt’.

7. The name is also known from JSTham 613 and Eut 74, where there is no indication of the gender of the bearer, and WHI 175 where it is a man’s name.

If the interpretation of UdhThamD 1 offered above is correct, then this must be a separate text since the verb is in the masculine. The translation of the expression *wdd f*, which is common in Thamudic C and D, has given editors a great deal of trouble (see the summary in Winnett and Reed 1970: 74–75) and none of the interpretations proposed so far is really satisfactory. Winnett may well have pointed to a possible solution when he noted that in Classical Arabic verbs signifying desire can take the preposition *fī* governing the object of the desire (Wright 1896–1898: 155, §55d). Although in Classical Arabic the verb *wadda* takes a direct object, nouns from this root are sometimes followed by *fī* governing the object of love. Thus, *al-mawaddata fī ṽl-qurbā* (Qur’ān 42:23), and *Lisān al-ṽArab* (p. 4794a), cites *al-wudūdu fī asmā’i Allāhi ṽazza wajalla*. Very tentatively, I would therefore suggest that in ANA the verb *wdd* may have taken a direct object in some contexts and an object governed by the preposition *f*, in others. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing at present what difference in meaning, if any, there was between *wdd N* and *wdd f N*. A personal name *ṽtrt* does not seem to have been found before.

#### UdhThamD 3 = JSTham 214

##### See pl. 53a

On the same face as UdhASA 2, UdhANA 1, UdhDad 3 (not visible on pl. 53a), and UdhThamD 3. Carved vertically to the left of UdhANA 1 and UdhDad 9.

*s<sup>4</sup>t r{s}mt*

‘The lady {Rṽsmt} [?]’.

*Rṽsmt* has not been found before.

## 6. Tharbah [Th]

Arabic, Dadanic, Taymanitic, and Thamudic B inscriptions, as well as rock drawings were recorded at this site.

### Dadanic

#### ThDad 1

Two lines of text surrounded by rock drawings.

*s<sup>4</sup>lm / bn*

*wd<sup>4</sup>t*

For *s<sup>4</sup>lm* see UdhDad 9. *wd<sup>4</sup>t* is known from Dadanic, Thamudic B, Hismaic and once in Safaitic.



ThDad 1

### Taymanitic

#### ThTay (?) 1

To the left of a crude drawing of a horseman with lance. Possibly a Taymanitic text of three letters reading left-to-right. Theoretically, the letter forms could also be Dadanic, but it is very unusual for Dadanic texts to run left-to-right.



*ṽgb*

*ṽgb* is found as a personal name in Safaitic and possibly in Thamudic B, and as a group name in Hismaic (TIJ 223).

### Thamudic B

#### ThThamB(?) 1

Carved from right to left across a rock drawing.



*b{s<sup>4</sup>}hr wdd q{.}{t}*

‘{Bs<sup>4</sup>hr} loves {Q<sup>4</sup>.t}’.

*Bs<sup>4</sup>hr* has not been found before, but *s<sup>4</sup>hr* is known in Safaitic. For names of this kind see UJadhThamD 1. The word-order S[ubject]-V[erb]-O[bject] is not unusual in Thamudic B where the author’s name is often put first for emphasis.

#### ThThamB 2

In amongst rock drawings.



*wdt wdd d{/h}{h}{w}{h}{r{/g}lrt*  
‘Wdd loves ...’.

It appears that the author, or someone else, may have carved another *{w}dt* just above the beginning of ThThamB 2. *Wdt* is apparently the 3rd person singular feminine of the suffix conjugation of the verb *wdd* (cf. Arabic *waddat*), despite the fact that the masculine is *wdd*. The interpretation of the text is complicated by the fact that the author’s name appears also to be *wdd*. This is known as a name borne by men in Dadanitic, Taymanitic, Hismaic, and Safaitic (see OCIANA), but this is the first time it has been found as the name of a woman. However, cf. the Arabic women’s names *Wadād* and *Widād*. The name may occur again in WAANA 1.

### ThThamB 3



*wdt ‘mrn w s<sup>2</sup>bdn w ‘ly}mn*  
‘She loves ‘mrn and S<sup>2</sup>bd and {‘lymn}’.  
The first letter is damaged but still readable and the last letter has a small extraneous stroke on its right side. The name ‘mrn is known in Taymanitic, Hismaic and Safaitic, and also in Sabaic (see also UJadhASA 20) but the other two names have not been found before. The first is bizarre and the second may possibly be related to the name ‘lym which is apparently found in Dadanitic (JSLih 34, which unfortunately is not illustrated).

### 7. Ṣadr Ḥawzā’ [SH]

ASA, ANA, Hismaic, Nabataean, and Thamudic B inscriptions, as well as rock drawings, and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

#### Ancient South Arabian

### SHASA 1



*b‘llmtnb{/g}{z}---*

The end of the text is cut by the left edge of the photograph. I can make nothing of this.

### SHASA 2



*{k}b’s<sup>2</sup>dd{/d}*

The text apparently reads from left to right. The first letter is difficult to identify but could be a *k* and the last could be *d* if it is part of the text (the technique is different from that of the other letters).

#### Ancient North Arabian

### SHANA (?) 1



It is difficult to identify the script of this short text. The *n* would seem to restrict it to Taymanitic or Dadanitic, but the form of the *m* is foreign to both. The *t* (if such it is) would fit Dadanitic but not Taymanitic. On the other hand, the assimilation of the /n/ in the word *bnt* is the norm in Taymanitic but is extremely rare in Dadanitic.

*s’{/n/l} bt m{/t} [?]*

‘{S<sup>1</sup>n/l} daughter of {Mt}’ [?].

Both *s’/n* and *s’/l* are attested in Safaitic though not as names of women. *Mt*, if this is the correct reading, has been found in Safaitic and Dadanitic, and as lineage name in Hismaic. The use of *bt* for *bnt* is also found in Taymanitic, Thamudic B, Thamudic D (e.g. Eskoubi 2007: no. 51), Safaitic, and Hismaic.

#### Hismaic

### SHHism 1



*{l} bs’qm*

It is not absolutely certain that this is Hismaic but that seems the most likely possibility.

*Bs’qm* has not been found as personal name but *s’qm* is a well-known name in Safaitic and Hismaic. See ThThamB 1 and UJadhThamD 1.

### Thamudic B

### SHThamB (?) 1



*wdd h{/b}*

‘{Hb} loves’.

The name is known from Safaitic.

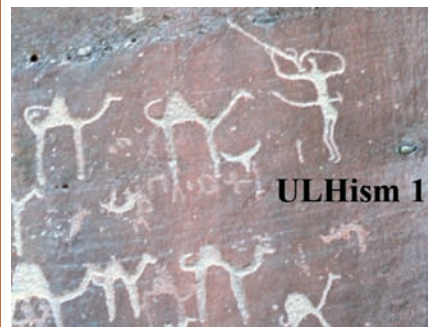
### 8. Umm Laḥm [UL]

Arabic, Hismaic, Nabataean, and Thamudic C inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

#### Hismaic

### ULHism 1

Carved horizontally right to left and then turning downwards. Probably Hismaic (see the dot for *n*?) though the *b* is more like Thamudic B. Over it and around it is a lively modern drawing of a camel raid carved over some earlier figures with similar patina to that of the inscription.



ULHism 1

*lt’nhb’{/s’/b}*

It is difficult to make any sense of this

### ULHism 2

To the right of a 5-line Kufic inscription. It is not certain that it is Hismaic since the letter-forms are not diagnostic.



*s<sup>2</sup>t*

The name has been found in Safaitic and once in Dadanitic (Al-Ḥuraybah 03).<sup>8</sup>

### Thamudic C

#### ULThamC (?) 1



It is difficult to make sense of this vertical graffito in any of the ANA scripts. If read as Thamudic C it would be:

{n}ts{'}rm

## 12. Jabal Sa'īdah [JabSa]

A Nabataean inscription and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

## 22. Al-Mudhannab [Mudh]

Arabic and Thamudic D inscriptions, as well as rock drawings were recorded at this site.

### Thamudic D

Five vertical columns above a crude stick-figure drawing of a horseman spearing an unidentifiable animal.

#### MudhThamD 1

Two vertical columns, starting with the one on the left.

8. It is found as a substantive meaning 'party, faction' in other Dadanitic texts such as JSLih 072.



'n {m}{r}  
bn {'}bqm

'I am {mr} son of {'bqm}'.

{mr} is known (see UdhANA 1) but {'bqm} is not.

#### MudhThamD 2

The next vertical column to the left of MudhThamD 1.



{s}²q

The name is well attested in Safaitic.

#### MudhThamD 3

See the photograph under MudhThamD 2.

Two other vertical lines to the left of MudhThamD 2. They are so crudely hammered as to be illegible from the photograph.

## 23. Al-Mathqalah [Math]

Arabic and Thamudic B and D inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

### Thamudic B

#### MathThamB 1

See pl. 54a

In very small letters on the rump of the drawing of a felid, below and to the right of MathThamD 1.

bb't

As a name this is not known and it is possible that it is a *wasm*.

### Thamudic D

#### MathThamD 1

See pl. 54a

Carved vertically in two parallel lines starting with the line on the left:

'n mhb

'mt

'I am the beloved [or the lover] of 'mt'.

The word *mhb* presumably corresponds either to Classical Arabic *muḥabb* 'one who is loved' or *muḥibb* 'one who loves' (see Lane 1863–1893: 497b–c, s.v. *ḥabīb*).

## 25. Abū Rākah [AbRak]

Hismaic and Thamudic B inscriptions, as well as rock drawings were recorded at this site.

### Hismaic

A photograph of AbRakHism 1–6 was published in Al-Ghabbān 2007: 23, Fig. 13.

#### AbRakHism 1

See pl. 54b

Carved vertically above and to the left of the rock drawings.

w rb't

The name has not been found in Hismaic before but is known from Safaitic, Hadramitic, Qatabanic, and Sabaic.

#### AbRakHism 2

See pl. 54b

Carved vertically in front of the camel on the left.

l s'm

S'm is known in Hismaic.

#### AbRakHism 3

See pl. 54b

Carved horizontally under the camel on the left.



{l} w't

The name is known in Hismaic.

#### AbRakHism 4

See pl. 54b

Carved vertically to the left of and above the camel on the right.

*l mb{l}{t}*

The last two letters, if indeed there are two of them, have run into each other. A name *mbt* has not been found before in ANA.

#### AbRakHism 5

See pl. 54b

Carved between the neck and forelegs of the right hand camel.

*{l} 'm{r}{l}*

'*mrl* has been found once in Safaitic (WH 1564). There are stray scratches at the tops of the first and the final letter. The fourth letter looks more like a *l* than a *r*.

#### AbRakHism 6

See pl. 54b

Carved vertically behind the camel rider.

*w '---*

After the ' there is what looks like an arrowhead pointing downwards.

#### Thamudic B

#### AbRakThamB 1

See pl. 54b

A photograph of this inscription was published in Al-Ghabbān 2007: 23, Fig. 13. Carved in thin strokes horizontally, right to left across the left side of the face. It is earlier than AbRakHism 1 which crosses it. It is also possible that the drawing of the larger camel obscures the beginning of the text. The left side of an initial *w* seems to be just visible at the base of the camel's neck.

*{w}{dd} {s'/'b}{rr} {ḡ}lmt*

*s²krt*

'{S'/'Brr} loves the young slave girl of S²krt'.

The shape of the *m* suggests that the text is Thamudic B, though from the other letter forms it could be read as Dadanitic. Both *brr* and *s'rr* are known in Safaitic and Hismaic, and *s'rr* is found once in Thamudic B (JSTham 32). *S²krt* is found once in Dadanitic.

## 26. Al-Jaw (Jabal Khadīr) [JJKh]

Dadanitic, Hismaic, Taymanitic, Thamudic B, C, and C/D inscriptions, as

well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site. Some of these had been recorded by Jean Koenig and published in Koenig 1971: 145–160, Photographs 34–37, as Tdr 1–2,<sup>9</sup> 4–9.

#### Dadanitic

#### JJKhDad? 1 = Tdr 7

(Koenig 1971: 157–159, photograph 36, taken before the spray-paint graffito).

See pl. 55a

Above JJKhThamC 6.

'*zz / tqṭ / {h}{ḡ}myt*

'*zz* inscribed ... [?]'.

The first two words are in the Dadanitic script but the last word is not, even though it is preceded by a word divider which suggests that it is part of the text. Compare the letters in this word with the *m*, *h*, and *t* of JJKhTham C/D? 1 below. However, the second sign is not a common letter form in any of the ANA scripts, though it occasionally occurs as a variant of *ḡ* or *t* in Safaitic and of *ḡ* in Thamudic B. 'zz is a common personal name in Safaitic and is possibly found on one other occasion in Dadanitic (Ph 395t) occasionally in Hismaic. The word *tqṭ* in Dadanitic is usually taken to mean 'he inscribed', so the meaning of the text is also unclear.

#### Taymanitic

#### JJKhTay? 1

See pls 55a and 56a

= Koenig 1971: 157, photograph 35, taken before the spray-paint graffito, but not read by Koenig.



*{l} ḡt*

The *ḡ* and particularly the *t* are characteristic of Taymanitic, but the *l* lacks the hook which is normal in this script. The name is found in Safaitic and Hismaic but this seems to be its first occurrence in Taymanitic.

9. Tdr 3 is a small group of random signs near a drawing of a horseman which do not seem to form an inscription.

#### Hismaic

#### JJKhHism 1 = Tdr 9

(Koenig 1971: 160–161, photographs 35–37, taken before the spray-paint graffito).

See pl. 55a

*{...} l nḥ{r} bn rḡwt bn qymt bn nṣr*

It is not clear whether the three signs which could be *s²n{h}* at the beginning of the text, immediately below JJKhTay 1, are actually part of the inscription.

All the names have been found before in Hismaic.

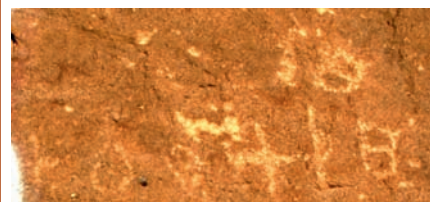
#### Thamudic B

JJKhThamB 1–5 These do not seem to have been recorded by Koenig.

On a surface vandalized with a spray paint graffito which obscures parts of both texts:

#### JJKhThamB 1

Carved horizontally from right to left with the second line above the first.



*wdt {w}{'}t*

*w n*

'She loves {W't} [or: {W't} loves] and {by}'.

It is possible that the upper line is the unfinished 'signature' introduced by *n[m]*. For *wdt* see ThThamB 2. The two letters after the first *t* are both circles with a dot in the middle and are difficult to interpret. The reading above can be no more than a suggestion. *W't* has not been found before.

#### JJKhThamB 2



*wddt lḡdt n{m}*

'I love Lḡdt. {By}'.

It is possible that the text was never completed and that the final letter is the unfinished *m* of the introductory particle *nm* which would have preceded the author's name. For *wddt* see UdhThamB 1. *Lḡdt* has been found once in Safaitic (WH 2214).

**JJKhThamB 3**

See pl. 55b

On the right edge of the photograph:

*wdt lḥs²{n}*

‘She loves {Lḥs²n}’ or ‘{Lḥs²n} loves’.  
Neither *lḥs²* nor *lḥs²n* has been found before.

**JJKhThamB 4**

See pl. 55b

At the right edge of the photograph, below JJKh.ThamB 3, rather faint on the photograph.

*w{d}{t} {'}{s}{t}*

‘{s}t} {loves}’.

The third and fourth letters are crossed by the horns of the ibex drawn below them. There appears to have been another inscription now within the body of the ibex but it is almost completely destroyed by the spray paint graffito. The name *ṣt* has been found in Safaitic.

**JJKhThamB 5**

See pl. 55b

On the left of the photograph below a prehistoric drawing of a bull with circular markings on its body.

*w{d}{t}---*

‘{She loves}’.

**Thamudic C****JJKhThamC 1**

See pl. 55b

At the bottom of the photograph. This does not seem to have been recorded by Koenig.

*ṅ lbd b{q} ----*

*Lbd* is known from Dadanic, Taymanitic and Safaitic (see OCIANA).

**JJKhThamC 2 = Tdr 4**

See pl. 56a

(Koenig 1971: 154–155, photograph 34).

Carved horizontally from right to left.

*ṅ {d}{dw}l*

‘I am {Ddw}l}’

The name has not been found before.

**JJKhThamC 3 = Tdr 5–6**

See pl. 56a

(Koenig 1971: 155–157, photographs 34–35).

Carved horizontally from right to left.

*ṅ ḏy**mḥb qys¹*

‘I am ḏy the beloved of Qys¹’.

ḏy is known in Thamudic B and C, and in Hismaic. *Qys¹* is known from Minaic and has been found twice in Safaitic.

**JJKhThamC 4 = Tdr 1–2**

(Koenig 1971: 149, 153–154, photograph 34).

Carved horizontally from right to left at the far right of the face.

*ṅ ḏwḏr**{m}{ḥb} {r}{d}{n} {b}{n} {'}{dy}*

----

‘I am ḏwḏr

the {beloved} of {Rdn} {son of} {ḏy}

----

ḏwḏr has not been found before. It is tempting to suggest that this may be one of the rare occasions where a long vowel has been expressed and that the name represents \*Abū ḏr. However, if this is correct it is unlikely to represent a *kunya* since we have no evidence for the use of these among the authors of any of the ANA inscriptions. It is more likely to be a personal name of the same form as *Abū Bakr*. *Rdn* has been found once in each of Safaitic and Hismaic. For ḏy see JJKhThamC 3. The letters in line 3 (= Tdr 3) are too damaged for much sense to be made of them.

**Thamudic C/D****JJKhThamC/D 1 = Tdr 8**

See pl. 55a

(Koenig 1971: 159–160, photograph 36, taken before the spray-paint graffito).

Carved immediately below JJKhDad 1 and in places obscured by a spray-paint graffito, but see Koenig 1971: photograph 36.

*ṅ {s¹}{wd} mḥb ms²ḥt*

‘I am {S¹wd} the beloved of Ms²ḥt’.

The text has an ṅ of the Thamudic C type but a s² of a Thamudic D type. *S¹wd* is well known as a man’s name in Safaitic and has been found once in Dadanic (HE 7). *Ms²ḥt* has not been found before.

**26. Al-Jaw (Jabal ḏUbayd)**  
**[JJU]**

Hismaic and Thamudic C inscriptions, as well as rock drawings were recorded at this site. These inscriptions do not appear in Koenig 1971.

**Hismaic****JJUHism (?) 1**

See pl. 56b

Carved horizontally from left to right to the right of the vertical texts, Much abraded.

*l m{r}*

The name is well-known in Safaitic and Hismaic and has been found several times in Dadanic, see also ArHism 18.

**Thamudic C****JJUThamC 1**

See pl. 56b

*{n} b*

‘{I am} ----’.

An apparently unfinished text.

**JJUThamC 2**

See pl. 56b

*{l} {b/t} {n/f} ḏ*

I can make nothing of this.

**JJUThamC 3**

See pl. 56b

----by mḥb----

‘{----by} the beloved of ...’.

**JJUThamC 4**

See pl. 56b

*ṅ {m}{q}mn {m}----*

‘I am ----’.

I can make nothing of this. There are other inscriptions to the left of JJUThamC 4 but they are too damaged to allow any interpretation.

**30. Jabal al-ḏAmīd al-kabīr**  
**[JAK]**

One ANA inscription was recorded at this site

**Ancient North Arabian****JAKANA 1**

A text of four ANA letters with no diagnostic characteristics.

*{s}{l}t*

If this is the correct reading, the name has not been found before.

**31. Huḏaybāt al-Ṣufūr**  
**[HS]**

Arabic, Hismaic, and Thamudic B, C/D, and D inscriptions, as well as rock

drawings, *wusūm* and other signs were recorded at this site.

### Hismaic

#### HSHism (?) 1

Carved from right to left below an Arabic inscription. If it is an inscription and not a *wasm* it could be Hismaic or Safaitic. However, the fact that its patina is lighter than that of the Arabic text even though its lines are only marginally wider and of roughly the same depth as those of the Arabic,<sup>10</sup> would suggest that it is later than the Arabic and therefore a *wasm*.



If it is an inscription it would read:

*l s'bb* [?]

The name has been found once in Safaitic (C 3242).

### Thamudic B

#### HSThamB 1

See pl. 57a

On a rock face with rock drawings and an Arabic inscription.

*h 'r' hb l-y wdd*

*q h-s'r nm dnt*

'O {'r'} give to me the love

of him who is the one who makes [me] happy. By Dnt?'

A deity 'r' has not been encountered before in ANA.<sup>11</sup> *Hb* is the imperative of *whb* found in a number of Thamudic B invocations (see for instance the identical phrase, *hb ly wdd*, in Eskoubi 2007: no. 1). The presence of the -y representing the 1st person singular pronominal suffix in the severely consonantal Thamudic B script suggests that it may have had a consonantal pronunciation as in Arabic 'alayya. *D* would represent the masculine relative pronoun and I would suggest that in *h-s'r* we have the equivalent of Arabic *sarr* '(a man) who rejoices or gladdens another or makes him happy' (Lane 1863–1893: 1338). In the context it

10. The breadth and depth of the lines of a carving affect the rate of patination as does the method of cutting.

11. One might speculate that it is a metathesized form of 'r', the deity of Boṣrā to whom there are invocations at Ḥegrā/Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. But there is no evidence to support this.

seems clear that the person who is to be made happy is the author of the text. The inscription ends with the formula giving the author's name, *dnt*, which has been found twice in Taymanitic.<sup>12</sup>

### Thamudic C/D

#### HSThamC/D 1

Carved vertically immediately to the left of the outline of a camel above the four-line Arabic inscription. All but the first two letters have been destroyed.



'n----

### Thamudic D

HSThamD 1–2 are carved vertically next to each other.

#### HSThamD 1

The right hand text.



12. It is tempting to see in the last four letters the word *mdnt* but I cannot see how such an interpretation would fit the context.

'n *bhl bn* {b}{s}y

'I am Bhl son of {Bsy}'.

*Bhl* occurs as a personal name in Safaitic and as a divine name in HU 670 (Hub 482/3), which is a Thamudic B text. *Bsy* is also found as a personal name in Safaitic.

#### HSThamD 2

The left hand text.



----{m}{h} *bt* 'bt

'---- daughter of 'bt'.

The first name is badly damaged. The second name is known from Safaitic. For *bt* as 'daughter of' see SHANA (?) 1.

## 37. Wādī al-Athqah [WA]

ASA, ANA/ASA, ANA, and Thamudic C inscriptions were recorded at this site.

### Ancient South Arabian

#### WAASA 1



*w't*{r}

The name (if that is what it is) does not seem to have been found before in Ancient South or North Arabian.

**Ancient North Arabian/  
Ancient South Arabian**

**WAANA/ASA (?) 1**

A fragment which could be ASA, Taymanitic or Dadanitic. It is not even certain in which direction it should be read.



If read as

*ntrd*

the *d* is back-to-front,  
but if it reads

*drtn*

the *r* is back-to-front.

Neither is known as a name in ANA or ASA and even if one assumes that the *n* in *ntrd* belongs to a *[b]n* the *b* of which has been lost, the name *trd* is unknown. Only if one assumes that the text read *[b]nt rd* would a known name be produced, and that is known only from Safaitic and once in Hismaic.

**Ancient North Arabian**

**WAANA 1**

Three letters which could be in any ANA script.



*wdd*

This is either a name, *wdd*, on which see ThThamB 2, or an unfinished text of the pattern *wdd N* or *wdd fN*.

**Thamudic C**

**WAThamC 1**

On a fragment of rock broken down the right side but with no loss of text. The inscription reads boustrophedon, a relatively rare arrangement in Thamudic C inscriptions.



*s' d bn s'*

*lmn*

The *l* is on its side in relation to the other letters. *S' d* is an extremely common name throughout ANA. For *s' lmn* see ArASA 21.

For Umm Jadhāyidh (site 38), see after site 48.

**39. Qā' an-Nqayb [QN]**

ASA, ANA/ASA, Arabic, Dadanitic, Nabataean, Thamudic C inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

**Ancient South Arabian**

**QNASA 1**

See pl. 57b

Above QNDad 1 and to the right of QNNab 9–11.

*hfn*

The name is found in Minaic and Sabaic and recurs in QNASA 6. There are *wusūm* and other signs on this rock face.

**QNASA 2**

On a rock face above QNNab 47 and to the left of QNNab44–46 and QNDad 2.



*mwdr*

The name (if that is what it is) has not been found before.

**QNASA 3–7 and QNNab 49 are on the same face in the centre of which is a modern drawing of a pickup (see the photograph under QNNab 49).**

**QNASA 3**

See pl. 58a

*qs' t w' l*

*Qs' t* is the ASA name for the aromatic plant *Saussurea cosus* Falc., see

ArASA 9. The second word (if it is a name) is known from Minaic, Sabaic and Qatabanic.

**QNASA (?) 4**

See pl. 58a

Immediately to the right of QNNab 49, damaged by the back of the pickup in the drawing.

*{m}{l}{t}'*

**QNASA 5**

See pl. 58a

Below QNNab 49 and above a modern Arabic graffito.

*{w}{hbm} / {h}{g/l}{m}'n*

*Whbm* is well attested in Sabaic, and see ArASA 5/1. *Hgm'n* is not known in ANA or ASA, but *hlm'n* has been found once in Hadramitic.

**QNASA 6**

See pl. 58a

*hfn*

For the name see QNASA 1.

**QNASA 7**

At the bottom of the rock face bearing QNASA 3–6, on a part which has split off from the rest.



*{w}{hb}'l*

*{h}{h}'b'*

The first name is known in all the ASA languages and ANA dialects. The second line is cut through the middle of the letters by a break in the rock.

**Ancient North Arabian/  
Ancient South Arabian**

**QNANA/ASA (?) 1**

To the left of the face bearing QNDad 2 and QNNab 39 and 44. Apparently reading from left to right.

*hyw*

*gbr /*

*ngs' <...>*

Four letters have been hammered over at the end of the third line. It would be highly unusual for an ASA text to read left-to-right and the form of the *h* and the *s'* (and the stance of the latter) are not ASA. On the other hand, the form of the *g* is pure ASA and is not found in ANA, while reading the two examples of *g* as *l* produces unlikely roots. *Hyw* is known as a personal name in all the ASA languages and ANA dialects. *Gbr*

is known from Safaitic and Hismaic, and *gbrm* as a lineage name in Sabaic and as a personal name in Hadramitic. *Ngs<sup>2</sup>* is of course the title of the king of Axum, but it is unlikely that this is its meaning here. It is well attested as a personal name in Safaitic.



### Dadanitic

#### QNDad 1

See pl. 57b

Below QNASA 1 and to the right of QNNab 9–11.

*ḏ*<sup>ʿ</sup>  
*s<sup>2</sup>m}r*

It is not certain that the two lines belong together. The form of *ḏ* can only be Dadanitic. The line above (QNASA 1) is clearly ASA not Dadanitic and so presumably does not belong with this text. *S<sup>2</sup>mr* is known as a personal name in Safaitic and Dadanitic. *ʿs<sup>2</sup>mr* is not attested.

#### QNDad 2

See also pl. 4a

Immediately below QNNab 44.1. To the left of QNANA/ASA (?) 1.



*lb<sup>ʿ</sup>t*

The name is known once from Safaitic (WH 1222).

### Hismaic

#### QNHism 1



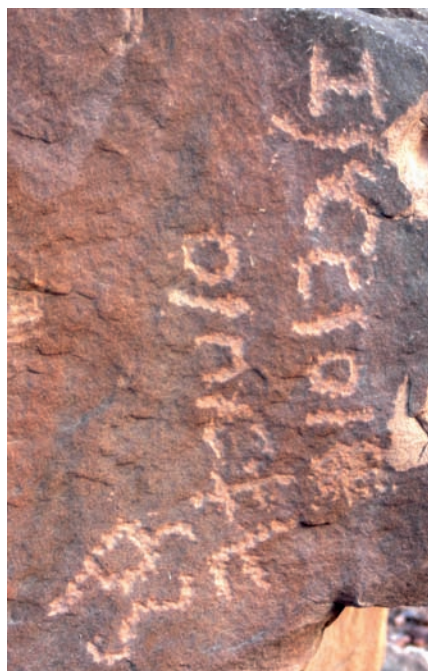
*l ḥrm*

The name is well known in Hismaic and Safaitic.

### Thamudic C

#### QNThamC (?) 1

On the corner of a rock bearing a two-line Arabic inscription and QNNab 12–14, and immediately below and to the left of an unfinished Arabic *Allāh[umma]*. Two vertical columns, the second of which turns upwards again at the end.



*ʿn s<sup>1</sup>b{l}ʿ{r} <. >*

*ʿ{y/r}b {s<sup>1</sup>} {ḏ} kf{d/q}*

If one takes the first letters in line 1 as *ʿn*, as in Thamudic C, the fifth and seventh letters cannot be *n*. The fifth has a slight hook at one end and so could be a *l*, the seventh does not have the hook and so could be an *r*. The letter at the end of the line has been hammered over. It may have been a first attempt at the *ʿ* at the beginning of line 2.

In line 2, the second letter has a slight bulge at one end and so could be a *y*. It is difficult to explain the posture of the third letter. If it is a *b* turned at 90° to the direction of the text, this would be extremely unusual. I have taken the fourth letter as *s<sup>1</sup>* (cf. the third letter in line 1), and the fifth letter as *ḏ* as in Thamudic B.

#### QNThamC 2

See pl. 58b

Carved vertically immediately to the left of a drawing of a female camel.

*l ʿns<sup>1</sup>*

The name is known from Safaitic.

#### QNThamC (?) 3

See pl. 58b

Carved immediately to the left of QNThamC 2.

*l ḥmr*

This text could also be Hismaic. The name is known from Safaitic and Dadanitic.

### 40. Al-ʿArniyyāt [Ar]

ASA, ANA/ASA, ANA, Arabic, Greek, Hismaic, Nabataean, Safaitic, Thamudic C/D, D, and problematic inscriptions, as well as a modern graffito in the roman script, rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

### Ancient South Arabian

A rock face with ArNab 21–26.1, ArASA 1–2, ArHism 9–16, ArSaf 1, ArThamC/D 1, and ArThamD 1–3 as well as rock drawings and *wusūm*.

#### ArASA 1

See also pl. 59

At the far right of the rock face (see pl. 59) to the right of two drawings of female camels and above others. It is below ArNab 26, and above and to the right of ArThamD 1.



*ʿbd<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ly*

The name *ʿbd-<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>-ly* means ‘servant of the Most High’ and contains the Arabic definite article *ʿl-*. The name does not seem to have occurred before in ANA, ASA, or Nabataean, though *ʿbd-<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>-ly* (i.e. ‘servant of the High’) is found in two Nabataean graffiti in Sinai.<sup>13</sup>

#### ArASA 2

See also pl. 59

Two lines carved below a drawing of a female camel facing right, in front of which is ArHism 15 and above which is ArNab 21.



13. These are CIS II 2366 and 3182. Note that the reading of this name in the other three texts cited by Cantineau (1930–1932, II: 126) is extremely doubtful.

'byd

ḏ rymn

'byd of the (tribal) section Rymn'.

The first two letters of the second line seem to have patinated faster than the rest of the text, but they are still legible. The first name has been found in this form as a lineage name in Minaic and as 'bydm as a personal name in Minaic, Qatabanic and Sabaic. *Rymn* is attested as a lineage name in Minaic and Sabaic (CSAI). For the translation of ḏ as '(tribal) section' see Robin 1992: 37.

### ArASA 3

See also pl. 6b

The text runs vertically down the right edge and then along the bottom of the face which bears ArNab 47–50.



*bw{g/l}t {s'}m{l}t [space] d'n / d' {b}*

It looks as though the second word was originally carved as {s'}mnt and was then corrected to {s'}mlt. I can make nothing of this.

### ArASA 4

On a fragment of rock. There is a *wasm* or other sign consisting of two circles separated by a line and what may be an unreadable text above the inscription.



*ngyt*

*qdm*

See UJadhASA 7 and 25 for this combination of names. The first name

is known from Safaitic and Hismaic, note that the *n* is back-to-front here and in UJadhASA 25. The second is found once as a lineage name in Minaic (as-Sawdā' 12), but is very well attested as a personal name (and once as a lineage name) in Safaitic and is found occasionally as a personal name in Hismaic.

**ArASA 5–6 are on the same face as ArHism 23 and ArNab 54.**

### ArASA 5

See pl. 60a

*whbm / ymnyn / 'zgdyn*

'Whbm the Ymny, the 'zgdite'.

For *whbm* see QNASAs 5. The double *nisba* recurs in ArASA 12 where the reading is clear suggesting that nothing has been lost here at the beginning of line 2. The *nisbah ymnyn* is found once in an ASA graffito on Jabal Ramm (southern Jordan, RES 4264). For a discussion of the meaning of the term see Robin 2013: 135. 'zgd does not seem to have been found before.

### ArASA 6

See pl. 60a

At the very top of the face in indistinct letters,

*lhz----*

No name beginning with these letters seems to have been found before in ANA or ASA.

### ArASA 7

See also pl. 8a

On the top right hand corner of the face above ArNab 79.



*rnd*

*Rnd* is the ASA name of an aromatic substance, a species of artemisia.<sup>14</sup>

**ArASA 8–9, ArHism 25, and ArNab 89–92 are on the same rock.**

### ArASA 8

See pl. also 9a

Carved diagonally on the left of the stone.

14. See Sima 2000: 276. I am grateful to Christian Robin for pointing this out.



*s'lm*

On *s'lm* see UdhDad 9.

### ArASA 9

See also pl. 9a

At the bottom of the stone.



*qs't---*

The letters after *t* are obscured by damage to the rock. *Qs't* is the ASA name for the aromatic plant *Saussurea cosus* Falc.<sup>15</sup> It recurs in QNASAs 3.

**ArASA 10–11 are on parts of the same broken-up rock face as ArNab 96.**

### ArASA 10



*mnsr*

Though, with the vocalization *Manṣūr* it is a common Arab name in the Islamic period, the only other occurrence in ASA is in a graffito from Qaryat al-Faw.<sup>16</sup>

### ArASA 11

*qbb*

The name has not been found before in ASA, though 'qbb is known from Qatabanic. However, it occurs once in an unpublished Safaitic inscription.

15. See Sima 2000: 275–276. I am grateful to Christian Robin for pointing this out.

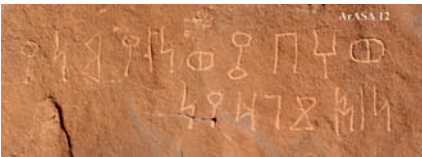
16. See Ryckmans G 1949: 90, 101, no. Ry 407.



ArASA 12–17 are on the same rock face along with two Nabataean inscriptions, one badly damaged and one very lightly scratched, which have not been included in the Nabataean section. For the relationship of ArASA 12 to the other inscriptions on this face see the extreme bottom left hand corner of pl. 60b where the first letters of lines 1 and 2 of ArASA 12 can just be seen.

#### ArASA 12

On the same rock face as ArNab 99 and to the left of ArASA 17



*whbtwn / ymny*

*n / 'zgdyn*

'Whbtwn the Ymnite, the 'zgdite'.

A photograph of this inscription was published in Al-Ghabbān 2007: 19, Fig. 7. See the discussion of this text in Robin 2013: 135 and Fig. 9. *Whbtwn* is known from Sabaic. For the double *nisbah* see ArASA 5.

#### ArASA 13

See pl. 60b

Immediately to the right of a badly damaged Nabataean text and above a lightly scratched one (neither of which are published here).

'*bdwd*

The name is known in Minaic and has been found once in Dadanitic (JSLih 049/1).

#### ArASA 14

See pl. 60b

Immediately below the damaged Nabataean text.

'*bd*

The name is found throughout ANA and ASA except in Qatabanic.

#### ArASA 15

See pl. 60b

Very lightly scratched to the left of ArASA 14.

*hb{r}----*

The rest of the text is cut by the edge of the photograph.

#### ArASA 16

See pl. 60b

Hammered below ArASA 14 and to the right of ArASA 17.

*ms' d /*

'*by*

The first name is found in this form in Safaitic, and as *ms' dm* in Sabaic and Qatabanic, and see also UJadhASA 34. For the second see ArASA 18 and ArHism 19. I am grateful to Christian Robin for correcting my reading of the second name.

#### ArASA 17

See pl. 60b

Finely incised immediately to the left of ArASA 16.

*fwbn*

*bn 'n' m*

The first name has been found several times in Qatabanic and Sabaic and once in Hadramaitic (UPC 17), see also UJadhASA 1 and 15. '*n' m* is probably the most popular name in Safaitic, but is also found occasionally in Dadanitic, Hismaic, Minaic, Hadramitic and Sabaic. All three examples of *n* in this text are back-to-front.

#### ArASA 18

Direct hammered.



'*by*

{*d*}'*n*

For '*by* see ArASA 16 and ArHism 19. I am grateful to Christian Robin for correcting my reading of the second name. The *d*, if that is what it is, is very clumsily drawn. The name *d' n* has not been found before.

#### ArASA 19



An Ancient South Arabian monogram consisting of the letters *d, ' , y, m*.

ArASA 20–21 are on the same face as ArNab 107–110 along with an Arabic inscription and a crude drawing of a truck.

#### ArASA 20

See pl. 9b

Scratched at the top left of the face starting below the end of ArNab 108.



*rfd*

It does not seem likely that the more crudely carved *y* a little way to the right of the rest of the text is part of it. The name *rfd* is known as a lineage name in Sabaic and as a personal name in Safaitic and Hismaic.

#### ArASA 21

See pl. 9b

Carefully chiselled in thick lines below ArASA 20. It does not seem as though anything has been lost in the patch of damage to the left of the text.



*s'lm**s'lmn*

*S'lm* is found Minaic, Sabaic and Hadramitic as well as Safaitic and Hismaic (see ArHism 12). *S'lmn* seems to be found, albeit sporadically, throughout all the ASA languages and in Dadanic, Taymanitic, Safaitic, Hismaic, and Thamudic C (see ArHism 24 and WATHamC 1/1–2).

**ArASA 22****See pl. 11**

On the same face as ArANA 3 and ArNab 129–134.

*thyt*

I am grateful to Christian Robin for this reading. The name does not appear to have been found before.

**ArASA 23**

On a rock above ArNab 136.

*hbb*

*Hbb* is known as a personal and a group name in Sabaic and as a personal name in Safaitic, Hismaic, and Thamudic B. There is a scratched ASA *h* and some pecking above the inscription.

**Ancient North Arabian/  
Ancient South Arabian**

**ArANA/ASA 1**

Three letters at the bottom of the stone carved in thicker letters than the Arabic inscription above.

*bhl*

It could be in Thamudic B or in Ancient South Arabian. There is a slight gap between the horizontal of the *b* and its left vertical. The name is known from Sabaic, Safaitic, and Hismaic.

**Ancient North Arabian****ArANA 1****See pls 59 and 61a**

Carved vertically immediately to the left of ArThamD 2 but too damaged to read.

----t----

**ArANA 2**

Below an Arabic inscription and immediately to the left of a drawing of a female camel facing left on the other side of which are two *wusūm* and ArNab 45. ArANA 2 is a vertical inscription which could be Thamudic D (*brt{k}br*), Thamudic B or Safaitic (*bnt{k}bn*), or Hismaic (*bs<sup>2</sup>t{k}bs<sup>2</sup>*). None of these make sense.

**ArANA 3****See pl. 11**

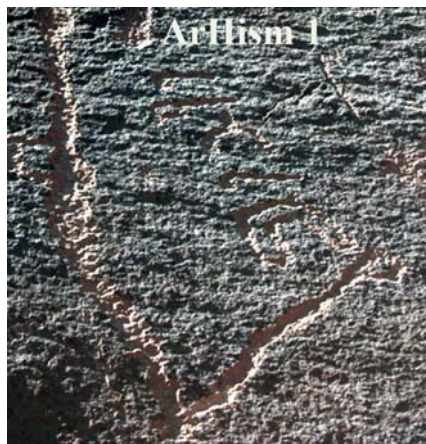
On the same face as ArASA 22 and ArNab 129–134.

*l wtr*

The name is known from Safaitic, Hismaic

**Hismaic****ArHism 1**

Carved vertically below a large outlined female camel.

*l ys'lm*

The text is carved within a sign shaped like a 'V' which is an extension of the camel's front leg. The name has been found once before in Hismaic (CTSS 2b) and is well known in Safaitic.

**ArHism 2–7 are on the same face.****ArHism 2****See pl. 61b***{l} mnt bn d'l bn tmlh*

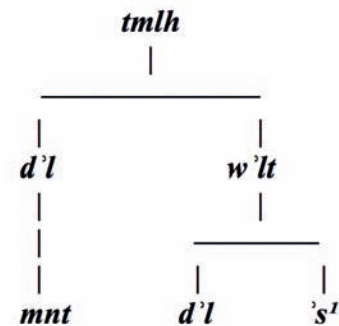
The first letter looks like a *h* but the side-stroke may be accidental. *Mnt* does not seem to have been found before as a personal name in Hismaic but is known in Safaitic. *D'l* has been found once in Hismaic (TIJ 092) and eight times in Safaitic. *Tmlh* is well attested in Hismaic and Safaitic.

**ArHism 3****See pl. 61b***l d'l bn w'lt bn tmlh*

On *d'l* and *tmlh* see ArHism 2, and on *w'lt* see AbRakHism 3.

**ArHism 4****See pl. 61b***l 's' bn w'lt*

The personal name *'s'* is well-known throughout ANA, particularly in Safaitic. The relationship of the authors of ArHism 2–4 can be expressed thus:

**ArHism 5****See pl. 61b***l ms'lm{n} bn st*

A personal name *ms'lm* is common in Hismaic and Safaitic, but *ms'lmn* does not seem to have been found before. The second name has not been found before in Hismaic but is attested twice in Safaitic (ISB 366, AMWR 308).

**ArHism 6****See pl. 61b***l mlk bn kzn*

The personal name *mlk* is common in Hismaic and even more so in Safaitic. *Kzn* has been found once in Hismaic (KJC 366) and twice in Safaitic.



**ArHism 7**

See pl. 61b

Contained within a cartouche.

*l ḥd{n} bn {}{/r}q {}{/s}{}{/h}{}{/b/r}*

While the text looks relatively clear at first sight, the damage to the stone means that there are too many possible readings of the letters after the *bn* to produce a coherent interpretation. A personal name *ḥd* has been found three times in Safaitic. *Ḥdn* is attested once in a Mixed Safaitic-Hismaic inscription (WTI 94).

**ArHism 8–16 are on the same rock face as ArNab 21–26.1, ArASA 1–2, ArSaf 1, ArThamC/D 1, and ArThamD 1–3 as well as rock drawings and wusūm.**

**ArHism 8**

See pls 59, 61a, and 62a

Carved vertically immediately to the left of a drawing of a female camel facing left, with part of an outline drawing of an ibex being attacked from behind by a hound between the second and third letters.

*l 'g*

A photograph of this inscription was published in Al-Ghabbān 2007: 21, Fig. 12. The name is common in both Hismaic and Safaitic.

**ArHism 9**

See pls 59 and 62a

Carved vertically immediately above the horns of the outline drawing of an ibex being attacked from behind by a hound.

*hs'q{l}*

The last character may not be a letter. Neither *hs'q* nor *hs'ql* is known as a personal name.

**ArHism 10**

See pls 59 and 62a

Carved vertically immediately to the left of ArHism 9.

*tl'ḷ*

The name has not been found before, but see ArHism 13 below.

**ArHism 11**

See pls 59 and 62a

Carved vertically immediately to the left of ArHism 10

*l s²qh b[n] s²bdl*

It is difficult to make sense of this. Neither name has been found before.

**ArHism 12**

See pls 59 and 62b

Carved vertically to the right of the middle of ArHism 14.

*'n s'ḷmt*

'I am S'ḷmt'

It is highly unusual for a Hismaic inscription to begin with the 1st person pronoun, though it is very common in Thamudic C and D. On the name see ArASA 21.

**ArHism 13**

See pls 59 and 62b

Carved vertically immediately below the drawing of a horseman chasing an ostrich, with the same light patina as ArHism 12.

*tl'ḷ*

See ArHism 10.

**ArHism 14**

See pls 59 and 62b

Carved vertically to the left of ArHism 12.

*b{s²}tzk*

Although the letters are clear it is difficult to make sense of this.

**ArHism 15**

See pls 59 and 62b

Carved vertically to the left of ArHism 14, over the front of an outline drawing of an animal with a forward-pointing horn, and immediately to the right of a drawing of a female camel facing right.

*l ws'ḷ*

The name has been found once in Hismaic (TIJ 165) and is common in Safaitic.

There is a possibility that, despite the enormous length of the second letter in ArHism 14 and the form of the *z*, these two texts should be read as one *Safaitic* inscription. Thus:

*l ws'ḷ b{n} ḥzk*

As noted above, *ws'ḷ* is common in Safaitic and *ḥzk* is attested eight times.

**ArHism 16**

See also pl 59

Carved vertically immediately to the left of ArNab 26.1 on the rock face in front of that bearing ArNab 21–26, ArASA 1–2 Hism 8–15, ArSaf 1, ArThamC/D 1, ArThamD 1–3.

*l mlk bn 'bdl{h}*

A large extra hook has been added to the final letter. On *mlk* see ArHism 6. The second name is known in Hismaic and Safaitic.



ArHism 17–18 are on the same face.

**ArHism 17**

Carved vertically to the right of ArHism 19

*l khl*

The name is known in Hismaic.

**ArHism 18**

Carved vertically and then curving up again and round and down again between the first two lines.



*{l} mr bn ngm d 'l 'sr <w> <d><r><f>*  
 '{By} Mr son of Ngm of the lineage of 'sr, {and} {he farted}'.

The last four letters, containing the rude remark about the author were presumably carved by someone else and have been hammered over. This is the first time the word *dr̥t* has been found in a Hismaic inscription, though it is known from Safaitic (C 2797, 3261, KRS 2270, etc.) and from mixed Safaitic/Hismaic texts (WTI 19, 41). Both personal names are known in Hismaic, and the lineage name has been found in Safaitic, though it is unlikely to refer to the same group.

### ArHism 19

Carved vertically and then turning to the left in a horizontal line.



*l 'by bn y'ly d 'l hyb*  
 'By 'by son of Y'ly of the lineage of Hyb'.

The first name does not seem to have been found before in Hismaic but is well known in Safaitic, and see ArASA 16 and 18. The second is attested four times in Hismaic and is common in Safaitic. The lineage name, *hyb*, is found as a personal name once each in Hismaic (KJC 183) and Safaitic. (C 4702).

### ArHism 20

See pl. 63a

On the same face as ArNab 31 with which it forms a bilingual.

*l 'wd bn bn  
 d 'l zhmn w  
 mty w thwf*

'By 'wd son of Bn of the lineage of Zhmn and he was on a journey and was impoverished little by little'.

The text starts from right to left at the top, curves round left to right and then curves back again right to left between lines 1 and 2. The same author has carved his name in Nabataean (ArNab 31) below this text. Both personal names are known in Hismaic, for 'wd see also SAyHism 4. The lineage name is known as a personal name in Hismaic and has been found as the name of a group in Safaitic (ASFF 328, AMSI 146) Both *mty* and *thwf* occur in Safaitic but are found here for the first time in Hismaic.

### ArHism 21

Carved vertically to the left of the Arabic inscription and probably unfinished. There is a *wasm* (?) like a large Hismaic *g* to the left of it.



*l qs²*

The personal name *qs²* has been found twice in Hismaic (JSTham 741 and Jacobson B.7.C.1) and five times in Safaitic.

### ArHism 22

Carved on a fragment of rock.



*l ygt  
 bn 's'l<.>  
 m d'*

*l hsd*

'By Ygt son of 's'lm of the lineage of Hsd'.

The text runs boustrophedon starting from left to right. At the end of line 2 there is a letter which the author has erased. Both personal names are known in Hismaic. For *ygt* see also UJadhHism 17. The lineage of *hsd* has been found once before in WTI 11.

### ArHism 23

See pl. 60a

This is on the same face as ArASA 5–6 and ArNab 54.

*l wbr*

The name is well attested in Hismaic. There is a single *w* some way to the right of this text.

### ArHism 24

Two lines carved vertically to the left of ArNab 68.



*l hrb*

*bn s'lmn*

Both names are attested in Hismaic. For *slmn* see ArASA 21.

### ArHism 25

See also pl. 9a

Carved diagonally right to left in the centre of the same stone as ArNab 89–92 and ArASA 8–9.



*l 's'd bn {y}{h}{b/r}*

The first name is well-known throughout Ancient North Arabian (see also UJadhHism 5). The second name

is uncertain and if the reading offered above is correct it is difficult to find an Arabic root suitable for a name in the optative ('May he ...') or the future ('He will ...') with which to compare it.

### ArHism 26

Scratched vertically to the right of ArNab 137–139. The long scratch crossing the middle of the first letter of ArNab 137 does not seem to be part of ArHism 26, which starts with a shorter line crossing the bottom of the first letter of ArNab 137. Any letters beyond the *s'* of the second name are beyond the edge of the photograph.



*l q̄b b{n} kms'*

There appears to be a faint dot after the second *b* which I have taken as the *n* of *bn*. Both names are known in Hismaic.

### ArHism 27

See pls 13a and 13b

On the same face as ArNab 142–158. Carved left to right near the top centre of the face, below the end of ArNab 156 and above the beginning of ArNab 144.



*l {'}dft bn s' dm*

The upper side-bar of the second letter is very short and is slightly obscured by a long scratch which ends on it. *'dft* has been found once in Safaitic (KhBG 380). The alternative *hdft* is unattested in ANA or ASA. *S' dm* has been found in all the ASA languages but is not previously attested in ANA. There is a dot and a vertical line in a lighter patina following the *m*, but they do not seem to be part of the Hismaic inscription.

### Safaitic

#### ArSaf 1

See also pl. 59

ArSaf 1 is on the same rock face as ArNab 21–26, ArASA 1–2, ArHism 8–15, ArThamC/D 1, and ArThamD 1–3 as well as rock drawings and *wusūm*. It is carved vertically to the left of a drawing of a camel-rider spearing an ibex.



*l 's²m{t}*

The second letter seems to be a ' with a curved stem, as in KJC 224 (see King 1990: 762, fig. 45) and MBAZThamC 1/2. The last letter has been hammered over but it can still be seen to be a *t*. The name *'s²mt* is well attested in Safaitic.

### Thamudic C/D

#### ArThamC/D 1

See also pl. 59

ArThamC/D 1 is on the same rock face as ArNab 21–26, ArASA 1–2, ArHism 8–15, ArSaf 1, and ArThamD 1–3 as well as rock drawings and *wusūm*.

Three parallel vertical lines of text carved immediately to the left of a drawing of a female camel facing right and above an outline drawing of an animal with a horn curving forwards and a stick-figure man apparently dancing. Starting at the right:

*wdd f hb{t}t*

*l w'lt*

*bn {s²}'l*

'He loves {Hbtt}. By W'lt son of {S²'l}'.



There is a straight horizontal line a little way below the *t* of line 2 which does not seem to be part of the inscription. The shape of the penultimate letter in line 1 is not entirely certain because of a crack in the rock at this point but it looks like a Hismaic *t*. The form of *t* in Thamudic D is not clearly established and so the reading of this letter as *t* is offered tentatively. The third letter in line 2 must be a ' , but is more like its form in Thamudic C than that in Thamudic D. On the other hand, the third letter in line 3 can only really be a Thamudic D *s²*. This shows how much work still needs to be done to clarify the distinctions between the scripts lumped together in the 'Thamudic pending file'. The names *hbtt* and *s²'l* are known from Safaitic. For *w'lt* see AbRakHism 3.

### Thamudic D

ArThamD 1–3 are on the same rock face as ArNab 21–26.1, ArASA 1–2, ArHism 8–16, ArThamC/D 1, and ArSaf 1 as well as rock drawings and *wusūm*.

#### ArThamD 1

See pls 5, 59 and 61a

The text runs vertically down a ridge between two faces of the rock, starting to the left of ArASA 1, immediately below a *wasm*, and to the right of a drawing of a pair of female camels facing left.

*bnb {t/g}nh'*

The end of the inscription is obscured on pl. 59 by the rock in the foreground and does not seem to have been photographed separately. It is difficult to interpret this text even though the letters are clear.

#### ArThamD 2

See pls 5, 59 and 61a

Carved vertically between the pair of female camels facing left

*{l} s²km*

A photograph of this inscription was published in Al-Ghabbān 2007: 21,

Fig. 12. There is a mark on the rock which makes the first letter resemble a *k*, but it can be seen that this is part of a long line descending from the head of the camel drawn above it. The name is known from Hismaic and Safaitic.

**ArThamD 3**

See pl. 59

Carved vertically on the far left of the rock face, to the right of a Nabataean inscription (beginning *qynw* 'bd...') which is very faint on the only available photograph (pl. 59) and has not been included in the Nabataean section. Only the first four letters of the Thamudic D text are visible on the photograph.

*l rkb*

The name is known from Safaitic and Hismaic.

**Problems**

**ArProblem 1**



It is not certain from the photographs whether or not there are letters on this rock face.

**41. Sūḥ al-Baghla [SB]**

ASA and Nabataean inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

**Ancient South Arabian**

**SBASA 1**

A fragment of an ASA inscription carved on what looks from the photograph to be a mud or plaster surface most of which has broken away and the rest of which is flaking badly.



----{ }lym----

----{t}'f

I can make nothing of this.

**SBASA 2**

Inscribed on the same sort of surface as SBASA 1.



---- s'ymt ----

If this is a name, it does not seem to have been found before in ASA or ANA.

**43. Ṭal'at al-Midrāt [TM]**

Nabataean inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm*, were recorded at this site.

**44. Mabnā Bayt Abū Zayd [MBAZ]**

Hismaic, Nabataean, and Thamudic B and C inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm*, were recorded at this site.

**Hismaic**

On a rock face with MBAZThamB 1, MBAZProblem 1, and drawings and *wusūm*.

**MBAZHism 1**

See pl. 63b

*l rw}{y}*

The name does not seem to have been found before in ANA or ASA.

**MBAZHism 2**

See pl. 63b

*l wd'*

The name is known in Hismaic and Safaitic.

**MBAZHism (?) 3**

See pl. 63b

*l { }{n}{z}*

It is possible that the sign read as *n* is one of a group of dots. The name (if this is what it is) has been found once before in Safaitic (Is.H.963) though 'nzt is well known in Safaitic.

**MBAZHism 4**



*l hy bn ḥltn*

Probably by the author of UJadhHism 11 and 19. The first name is known in Hismaic, Safaitic and Dadanitic. The second does not seem to have been found outside these three inscriptions.

**MBAZHism 5**



*b'd tm}{s²/g}tm*

There is a line of damage before the *b* but this cannot be taken as a *lām auctoris* since it is clearly accidental and is not in the technique used in text. A name *b'd* is known in Safaitic, however if it is a name here it would be difficult to make sense of the rest of the text. Very tentatively I would suggest that *b'd* here may be the preposition and that it may have the same meaning as it does in the Dadanitic *zll* texts, that is 'on behalf of' (Macdonald 2004: 519–520). Thus the text would have been carved 'on behalf of' *tm* or *tm}{s²}tm*, if the reading of the long vertical line with a kink half way down it as *s²* is correct. Such a name is unattested. A faint alternative possibility is that the uncertain letter is a form of *g* which would be new in Hismaic and a little closer to one of the forms of the letter in Safaitic. At least this produces a root Ḡ-Ṭ-M which is known in Arabic, though I know of no divinity with a name or epithet derived from it. This suggestion must remain speculation until examples in clearer contexts have been found.

**Thamudic B**

**MBAZThamB 1**

On a rock face with MBAZHism 1–3, MBAZProblem 1, and drawings and *wusūm*.



*wdd { } t'm*

‘He loves Ṭ’m’.

The name does not seem to have been found before.

### Thamudic C

#### MBAZThamC 1

Carved from right to left with line 2 above line 1.



wdd f ḥrmt  
w ’n ’rb

‘He loves Ḥrmt  
and I am ’rb’.

*Ḥrmt* has been found before in Thamudic B (JSTham 33) and D (JSTham 219<sup>17</sup> and 606) as well as in Safaitic and Hismaic. JSTham 219 shows that it could be the name of a woman. *’rb* has possibly been found before in Thamudic C or D (HE 64), as well as in Safaitic and Hismaic (see also UJadhHism 10).

### Problem

#### MBAZProblem 1

See pl. 63b

On a rock face with MBAZHism 1–3, and drawings and *wusūm*.

If this is an inscription, I can make nothing of it.

## 45. ‘Ayrīn [Ay]

Arabic and Nabataean inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

## 46. Sarbūt ‘Ayrīn [SAy]

Arabic, Hismaic, Safaitic, Thamudic C and D inscriptions, as well as rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

### Hismaic

A rock face with modern Arabic graffiti in spray paint over SAyHism 1–4 and SAyThamC 1

#### SAyHism 1

See pl. 64

Carved vertically, in the centre of the face partially overlaid by the second line of the modern Arabic spray-paint text.

17. I would re-read this as *’n ḥr{m}t bnt ’lt*.

*l {’}tq*

The name is well attested in Hismaic and Safaitic.

#### SAyHism 2

See pl. 64

Below SAyHism 1, carved vertically.

*gnl*

It is not certain whether this is part of SAyHism 1 or a separate text. The name may have been found once in an unpublished Safaitic inscription, and *gn’l* is very common.

#### SAyHism 3

See pl. 64

In large letters carved vertically immediately to the left of SAyHism 1. The second letter is obscured by part of the Arabic spray paint graffiti.

*l {d}’{y}*

There are other marks around the text but they have a different patina. The name has not been found before in Hismaic but is known from three texts in Safaitic (C 1023, HaNSB 196, KRS 2754)

#### SAyHism 4

See pl. 64

In the top left corner of the face, partly obscured by an Arabic spray paint graffiti.

*l ḡt bn ’wḍ bn bhm*

All the names are known in Hismaic and elsewhere. For *ḡt* see JJKhTay 1, for *’wḍ* see ArHism 20, and for *bhm* see UJadhHism 7 and 9.

#### SAyHism 5



Running horizontally from right to left.

*l zdlktb bn rb’l*

An interesting example of the divine name *al-Kutbā* in Hismaic orthography but using the Old Arabic form of the name (found in Nabataean) with the definite article *l’* rather than an ANA form with the article *h-*, or no visible article as in Hismaic. However, the name has not been found before in ANA in either form. Curiously, *rb’l* which is extremely common in Safaitic and Nabataean has not been found before in Hismaic, though *rbb’l* is known.

### Safaitic

#### SAySaf (?) 1



*l lbmr{.}*

The name is unknown in ANA.

### Thamudic C

#### SAyThamC 1

See pl. 64

On the same rock face as SAyHism 1–3, this text is carved vertically at the right of the face.

*’n ’mrīm bb’dyt*

I have taken the small dot after the first *b* as extraneous to the text since it is very small and does not represent a letter in Thamudic C. The personal name *’mrīm* is known from Dadanic. It is difficult to interpret the rest of the text with any confidence.

### Thamudic D

#### SAyThamD (?) 1

Part of an inscription the beginning of which is clipped by the right side of the photograph and the end by the left side. There do not seem to be any other photographs of this text.



*r{.}wnnw’n{.}*

I can make nothing of this.

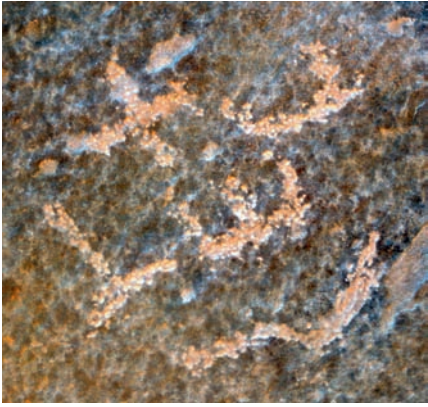
## 48. Khawr Ra’īs [KhR]

Hismaic inscriptions, as well as one in the roman script, together with rock drawings and *wusūm* were recorded at this site.

### Hismaic

#### KhRHism (?) 1

An apparently random collection of letters on a rock beside an outline drawing of a she-camel.



{l} z t r t

If this is a name it is unknown in ANA and ASA.

**KhRHism 2–3 are on a rock face with drawings and wusūm.**

### KhRHism 2

In two horizontal sections at the top of the photograph.



*l bmr t bn s' dhl*

The first name has been found once before in Himaic (JSTham 757), Safaitic (C 1922), and Taymanitic (JSTham 511). The penultimate letter of the second name may have been intended to be a ' of which the lower side stroke has been omitted. *S' d' l* is known in Himaic.

### KhRHism 3

Carved diagonally downwards below KhRHism 2.



*l hds<sup>2</sup> bn r{g}l*

Both names are known in Himaic.

## 38. Umm Jadhāyidh [UJadh]

ASA, ANA/ASA, Arabic, Greek, Himaic, Imperial Aramaic, Nabataean, Safaitic, Syriac, Thamudic B, C, C/D, and D, and problematic inscriptions, as well as rock drawings, *wusūm* and other signs were recorded at this site.

### Ancient South Arabian

#### UJadhASA 1

See also pl. 67b

In the centre of the lower part of the face on which UJadhHism 1–3 are also carved.



{n}zm / y

hs<sup>2c</sup> / m

'db / t

wbn / d-h

lfn /

'{Nzm} Yhs<sup>2c</sup> vassal of Twnb of the (tribal) section of Hlfn'.

The personal name *nzm* seems not to have been found before in Ancient South Arabian. However, *yhs<sup>2c</sup>* has been found in second position in a compound name (as here) in Sabaic, as has the group name *d-hlfn* (see CSAI). For *twnb*, which recurs in UJadhASA 15, see ArASA 17. The word *m'dbt* 'vassal' or 'client' is found once in Qatabanic (Avanzini 2004, II, 3) and three times in Sabaic.

#### UJadhASA 2

{l/g}byn / b<n>

n{l/g}byn / 'mry<sup>n</sup>

'{L/Gbyn} son of {L/Gbyn} the 'Amrite'.



It seems that after he had completed the text, the author was dissatisfied with the *n* of *bn* at the end of line 1 and so hammered it over and carved it again at the beginning of line 2 immediately before the patronym, thus leaving himself no space for the word-divider. The personal names *gbynm* and *lbynm* have each been found once in Qatabanic (Avanzini 2004, I 241 and 208/36 respectively). A social group *'mrm* was well known in the town of Haram in northern Yemen, where, according to Christian Robin 'les inscriptions de Haram montrent que Amīr<sup>um</sup> s'établi dans cette ville durant la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant l'ère chrétienne. Amīr<sup>um</sup> commence dès lors à supplanter Ma'in dans la commerce caravanier'.<sup>18</sup> This might account for the appearance of this *nisbah* here.

**UJadhASA 3–4 are on the same face which they share with UJadhNab 55 and UJadhHism 5.**

#### UJadhASA 3

See pl. 66a

*hrym*

The name, which has not been found before, is pecked at the top of the face above a drawing of a female camel.

#### UJadhASA 4

See pl. 66a

Below the drawing of a camel.

*hmdt*

*hmdt*

The name is carved twice in large letters. It has not been found before. Nabataean UJadhNab 55 is carved below this text and below that is UJadhHism 5.

#### UJadhASA 5

Carved by itself on a rock face.



*yhyy*

18. Robin 1992: 54.

A name known from Safaitic but which does not seem to have been found before in Ancient South Arabian. It is unclear whether this is an example of the name Yaḥyā, the final /ā/ of which is of course expressed by *alif maqṣūrah* in Classical Arabic orthography. In Safaitic orthography, however, the final *y* would have to represent a consonant, as it does in the divine names 'zy and rdy which are also written in Arabic with *alif maqṣūrah*.

### UJadhASA 6

At the top of the rock face above a drawing of a horse.



*rdny*

The inscription and the drawing are carved in different techniques and it is uncertain whether they are connected. The name does not appear to have been found before in Ancient North or South Arabian.

UJadhASA 7–8 are on the same face as UJadhNab 324–325.

### UJadhASA 7

To the right of UJadhNab 325 (= ThNUJ 73).



Carved above UJadhNab 324 (= ThNUJ 72)

*qdm / ngyt*

See ArASA 4 and UJadhASA 25 for this combination of names. See under ArASA 4 for a discussion of the names.

### UJadhASA 8

*s'd d*

*btt*

*ḡw{t}/*

'S'd of the (tribal) section of Btt. {Ḡw{t}}'.



Both *s'd* and *ḡwt* are known in Ancient North and South Arabian, but the lineage name *btt* does not seem to have occurred before in either. However, compare UJadhASA 23 which is by *s'dm d btt*. See also UJadhASA 20 for *d btt*.

UJadhASA 9–14 and UJadhHism 19 are on the same face as UJadhNab, 334–358 (see pl. 34a).

### UJadhASA 9

See pls 34a and 66b

Immediately above UJadhNab 349 (= ThNUJ 65).

*'s'd*

*bn / s'd*

The personal name *'s'd* does not seem to have occurred before. *S'd* is well-known in Safaitic but does not seem to have been found before in Ancient South Arabian.

### UJadhASA 10

See pls 34a and 66b

Above UJadhNab 356 (= ThNUJ 66).

*ḡrm'l*

A name which is very well attested in Safaitic but has not been found before in Ancient South Arabian. It recurs in UJadhASA 21.

### UJadhASA 11

See pls 34a and 66b

*ṣ{m}t*

The name is known from Safaitic and has been found once in Qatabanic (Avanzini 2004, I, 578).

### UJadhASA 12

See pls 34a and 34b

UJadhNab 354 (= ThNUJ 60) is immediately above this text, and UJadhNab 355 (= ThNUJ 61) is immediately below it.

*'s'dt*

*'mt / d{d}{s'}my*

's'dt female client/servant of {Dds'my}'.

*'s'dt* is known as a woman's name in Safaitic (HSIM 49217) but is not found in ASA. The last name looks like *ddnmy*, but it is possible that it is *dds'my* and that the left vertical of the *s'* is also serving as part of the *m*, cf. UJadhASA 22. *Dds'my* has been found as the name of a woman in Sabaic (Ja 722/2).

### UJadhASA 13

See pls 34a and 34b

The end of UJadhNab 342 (= ThNUJ 55) is above the beginning of this text and UJadhNab 343 is below it. The word *ṣ'd* in Nabataean is carved immediately before the beginning of UJadhASA 13.

*ddn / bn / 'lks'*

*Ddn* is found as a personal name in UdhASA 14 and in Qatabanic and Hadramitic, as well as in Thamudic B (JSTham 331,<sup>19</sup> 332, 394 and UdhThamB 1). The second name has not been found before in ASA or ANA but occurs as *'lks* in UJadhNab 419, *'lks'* (twice in Wādī 'Ullayqah, Petra (see Roche 2012: 63) and as *'lksy* in UJadhNab 395 and at Ḥegrā (H 8/2). It is probably an abbreviation of the name *Alexander*, cf. Ἀλεξᾶς Ἀλέξιος (Preisgke 1922: 18, 19 respectively), and the Hebrew form *'lks'* (Ilan 2002: 258–260).

### UJadhASA 14

See pls 34a and 34b

Immediately below line 2 of UJadhNab 344 (= ThNUJ 56) and above UJadhHism 19.

*ddn*

See UJadhASA 13.

### UJadhASA 15



*twbn*

See ArASA 17 and UJadhASA 1. Note that the *n* here and in ArASA 17 is back-to-front.

### UJadhASA 16

A chiselled two-line inscription the second line of which is carved over the first line of UJadhNab 383.1.

19. See Huber's copy (1891: 479).



$\text{'ws}^1 / s^2$

$\{b\}\{s^1/k\}\{t\}$

The personal name  $\text{'ws}^1$  is common in Minaic and in Safaitic. The final letter of line 2 looks like a Hismaic  $t$  and is not found in the ASA alphabet.

### UJadhASA 17



$wdd^1l$

The name is found in Minaic and Sabaic.

### UJadhASA 18

Below UJadhNab 383.2



$w^1lt$

$qm\{d\}$

or (reading boustrophedon starting right-to-left)

$w^1lt$

$\{d\}mq$

These two lines appear to be in the same technique as the monogram (?) to the right of them and are quite different from the technique of UJadhASA 19. The reversed stance of the  $m$  might suggest that the text reads boustrophedon. Neither  $qmd$ ,  $dmq$ , nor  $d\ mq$  have been found in Ancient South Arabian.

### UJadhASA 19

Below UJadhHism 20 and to the right of the second line of UJadhASA 18.

$grm$

$hdln$

$Grm$  is known as a personal name in Minaic and Qatabanic and is very common in Safaitic.  $Hdln$  has also been

found in Minaic as the name of a social group (Ma $\text{'}m$  93B/11).



### UJadhASA 20

UJadhNab 386 is carved above this text.



$\text{'mrn} / d\ b$

$tt$

' $\text{'mrn}$  of the tribal section of Btt'.

On  $\text{'mrn}$  see ThThamB 3. For  $d\ btt$  see UJadhASA 8 and 23.

**UJadhASA 21–23 are on the same rock face as UJadhThamB 2 and UJadhNab 391–404.**

### UJadhASA 21

See also pl. 37a

UJadhNab 396 is carved above this text and 397 below it.



$grm^1$

See UJadhASA 10.

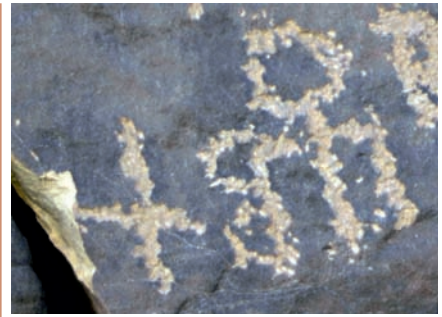
### UJadhASA 22

See also pl. 37a

UJadhNab 397 is carved above this text.

$smt$

For the name UJadhASA 11. Note that the left 'leg' of the  $s$  also serves as the vertical of the  $m$ , as in UJadhASA 12.



### UJadhASA 23

See also pl. 37a

To the left of UJadhASA 21–22 and divided from them by a split in the rock. Above and to the left of UJadhNab 398.



$s^1dm$

$d\ btt$

' $S^1dm$  of the tribal section of Btt'.

On the personal name  $s^1dm$  see ArHism 27. For  $btt$  see UJadhASA 8 which is by  $s^1d\ d\ btt$ . See also UJadhASA 20. Note that the letters in  $btt$  are joined by proximity.

### UJadhASA 24



$wbhlgr$

Note that UJadhNab 428 is immediately above this text and reads  $w\{h\}b^1lgyr\ \bar{s}l\{m\}$ . Given that the names  $whb^1lgyr$  and  $wbhlgr$  are at present unique it seems likely that both the Nabataean and the ASA texts contain the same name and refer to the same person, though it is impossible to tell whether he himself actually carved both. However, if this is correct, one would have to assume that either (1) the carver of the ASA text misplaced the  $h$ , carving  $wbh$  instead of  $whb$ , in which case he would also have omitted the *hamza* of  $\text{'lg}y\text{'r}$  in contrast



to its presence in the Nabataean version of the name; or (2) he omitted the *h* in *whb* altogether, and that *hl* is a version of the Old Arabic definite article found in the name 'bd-hl-'zy in an unpublished graffito in the ASA script found by the Ryckmans-Philby-Lippens Expedition in south-west Saudi Arabia in 1951.<sup>20</sup> To the best of my knowledge, a deity *g{y}r* is not so far attested in Nabataean, Ancient North Arabian or Ancient South Arabian.

### UJadhASA 25

Carved below UJadhNab 431 (= ThNUJ 187).



*ngyt*  
*{q}dm*

See ArASA 4 and UJadhASA 7.

### UJadhASA 26

See also pl. 40a

On the left side of the face, with UJadhNab 435–437 to the right of it and below it



20. See Ryckmans J 1956: 11. Note that, in note 1 on this page, he says that the name also occurs in 'un graffite provenant manifestement d'un Minéan établi à Dedān', but gives no details of this text and I have been unable to trace it.

*mty*  
*s'lm*

The same names recur in UJadhASA 27. *Mty* is found as a personal name in Safaitic. On *s'lm* see UdhDad 9.

### UJadhASA 27

See pl. 41a

Carved in large well-formed letters, with a border below the second line curving round to the end of the text. It is on the same face as UJadhNab 449–451.

*mty / s'lm*

*w wdd hlšt*

'Mty S'lm and he loves Hlšt'.

See UJadhASA 26 for *mty* and UdhDad 9 for *s'lm*. It may be noted that the patronym in UJadhNab 449, just above and to the left of this text, is *šlmw*, but this would appear to be chance since whatever the first name is, it cannot be *mty*. *Hlšt* is well attested in Safaitic and Hismaic though it does not seem to have been found before in Ancient South Arabian. While the letter forms are Ancient South Arabian the formula is typical of Thamudic B.

UJadhASA 28–29 and UJadhHism 22–24 are on one face together with UJadhNab 439–445 (see pl. 40b).

### UJadhASA 28

See also pl. 40b

At the right of the face just to the left of the vertical crack. It is below the beginning of UJadhNab 439 and above UJadhHism 23



*mrg't*

Note that the *m* is reversed. The name is not attested in Ancient North or South Arabian.

### UJadhASA 29

See also pl. 40b

In the top right-hand corner of the face. The carver made a false start carving the top half of the initial *l* and then starting again immediately to the left.



*{l} lbn*

The initial *l* is incomplete and was probably a false start. The personal name *lbn* is attested in Safaitic and Hismaic but does not seem to be attested in Ancient South Arabian. However *lbny* is of course the ASA word for one of the aromatics exported from ancient South Arabia to the North and the word was adopted for 'frankincense' in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and other languages.<sup>21</sup> However, one would have to explain the absence of the *y*. In view of this, it seems safer to regard it as a personal name.

### UJadhASA 30

On the rock face at right angles to the face bearing UJadhASA 31–33.



*s'dt*

*S'dt* occurs once as a man's name in Sabaic and is known from Safaitic and Hismaic where also it is a man's name, whenever it is possible to tell.

UJadhASA 31–33 are on the rock face at right angles to that bearing UJadhASA 30.

### UJadhASA 31



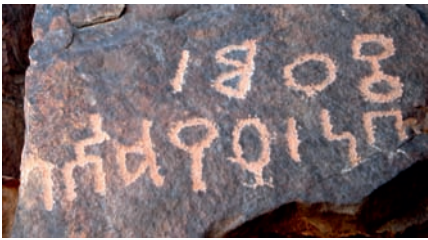
*yhm'l*

The name is known from inscriptions in all the Ancient South Arabian languages and Safaitic.

21. See Sima 2000: 271. I am grateful to Christian Robin for pointing this out.

**UJadhASA 32***whblt*

The name is found occasionally in Sabaic, Minaic and Hadramitic as well as once each in Dadanitic (JSLih 19) and Safaitic (Is.Mu 346). See also UJadhHism 21.

**UJadhASA 33***l'm /**bn / {b}yd'l*

The personal name *l'm* has been found once in Qatabanic and see UJadhASA 36. The first letter of the second name has been altered at the bottom giving it an oval shape and a short stem. The name *byd'l* has been found twice in Minaic (YM 28396, 28975/1), and twice in Sabaic (RES 4907/1 and Ja 2104e). It also occurs twice in Safaitic, in both cases referring to the same person (KRS 519, 521)

**UJadhASA 34**

The text is carved below UJadhNab 473, and UJadhNab 472 is higher up the face to the right.

*ms' d*

On the name see ArASA 16.

**UJadhASA 35**

See also pl. 42a

The author made a first attempt at the first three letters and then repeated the text more successfully immediately below. UJadhNab 475–477 are to the right of the text, and 478 is below it. UJadhNab 482 is on the adjoining rock to the right.

*mn{}**mn't*

The personal name *mn't* does not seem to occur in ASA but is known from Safaitic, Hismaic and once in Thamudic C (JSTham 136).

**UJadhASA 36**

On a rock by itself.

*l'm /*

See UJadhASA 33.

**UJadhASA 37–39 are carved on the right of the face and UJadhHism 26–27 are carved vertically on the left.**

**UJadhASA 37**

See pl. 67a

*khln{}*

*Khln* is found as a personal name in Safaitic and Hismaic, but as a lineage name in Sabaic and the name of a deity in Minaic.

**UJadhASA 38**

See pl. 67a

*y'lgd*

A name which has been read *y'lld* is found in a Qatabanic text (RES 3902 no. 157, of which no photograph has been published) and in two Hadramitic texts (Ja 928/3 and Ja 978). Certainly, in Ja 928/1 (see the photograph in CSAI) the *l* and the *g* are clearly differentiated, as here, making the reading *y'lgd* more likely.

**UJadhASA 39**

See pl. 67a

*kl{n}*

The name may be found in a Sabaic text (RES 4596) and as a group name in a Minaic graffito from near al-'Ulā (JSMIn 37).

**UJadhASA 40***s'lym**knf*

*S'lym* may have been found in a Minaic graffito near al-'Ulā (RES 3291) though Doughty's copy (1884: pl. XIX, fol. 35) suggests that it may in fact be *s'lym{m}*. It is also found in a Minaic text in the Dhammar Museum (DhM 400). *Knf* (alongside *hknf*) is known in Safaitic, and possibly in Sabaic.

**UJadhASA 41***ybzz**r'dt*

Neither name is known.

**UJadhASA 42**

See also pl. 36

Between UJadhNab 388 and 389. UJadhNab 390 and UJadhThamC (?) 1 are also on this rock face.

*šmy{}*

It is uncertain whether the shape following the *y* is part of the inscription. *Šmy* is found as a personal name in Hismaic.

**UJadhASA 43***m'd'l w{s'}dtyd*

The right vertical of the *'* brushes the loop of the *d*, and the *s'* does the same

with the *w*. *M'd'l* is found as personal name in all four ASA languages and also in Safaitic. It is not clear to me what the second part of the inscription means.

### UJadhASA 44

See also pl. 30b

At the top of the face bearing UJadhNab 261–275, immediately above UJadhNab 272.



*'m*

The name is known in Safaitic.

### UJadhASA 45

See also pl. 15a

Between UJadhNab 19 and 20.



*m{s/t}nlst / bnt / hzm*

*bn / s'lm / glwn*

'{Mš/tnlst} daughter of Hzm son of S'lm glwn [?]'.

There appears to be a circle on a short stalk above the second letter, similar to that of the *š*. On the other hand, the three 'prongs' of this letter seem to be joined at the base suggesting that it is a *t*. Neither *mšnlst* nor *mtnlst* seems to have been found before in Ancient South or North Arabian. *Hzm* is known from Safaitic but not in Ancient South Arabian. On *s'lm* see UdhDad 9. *Glwn* has only been found once, as a personal name, in Safaitic (C 4381) and its significance in this text is not clear. *Glwn* is the lineage group of the family of Rbbl bn Hf'm whose grave inscription was found at Qaryat al Fāw,<sup>22</sup> but here it cannot be a *nisba* and it is difficult to find a suitable meaning if it is S'lm's profession.

### UJadhASA 46

See also pl. 30a

Between UJadhNab 248.3 and 249.

*gdm̄t*

The name has not been found before.

22. I am most grateful to Christian Robin for reminding me of this. On the inscriptions see most recently Al-Jallad 2014.



### UJadhASA 47



*qys'rb /*

*{.}{m}tyt---*

The first line is well carved, apart possibly from the last letter. The second is virtually illegible.

Neither name seems to be attested. If I am correct in reading the third letter in line 2 as a *t* then the text must be ASA. If it is not a *t*, then the script could be Thamudic B and the last two characters in line 1 could be *bn*. The second line would then contain the patronym.

### UJadhASA 48

See also pl. 46b

To the left of UJadhNab 549 and above UJadhNab 554.



*tymm*

The name is found as a personal name in Sabaic and Hadramitic, and four times as a lineage name in Qatabanic (CSAI).

### UJadhASA 49

See also pl. 46b

Below UJadhNab 554 and to the left of UJadhNab 555.



*s' dlt rhb*

There is a small extraneous chip in the rock near the top of the *r*. The name *s' dlt* has been found three times in Sabaic and once in Minaic (CSAI). It is found only once in Ancient North Arabian (JSTham 27). By contrast, *rhb* appears to be unknown as a personal name in ASA but is found four times in Safaitic (OCIANA).

### UJadhASA 50

See also pl. 46b

To the right of UJadhNab 555.



*'bd*

Above the text is what could be a *š* upside down (as sometimes in Taymanitic) and letters which have been so effectively hammered over that it is impossible to make them out. Below the text are lines and hammering which could be crudely formed Nabataean letters but which do not seem to make much sense.

### UJadhASA 51

See also pl. 45b

Carved to the right of UJadhHism 29 and above UJadhNab 535, and to the left of a stick figure human with splayed legs (?).



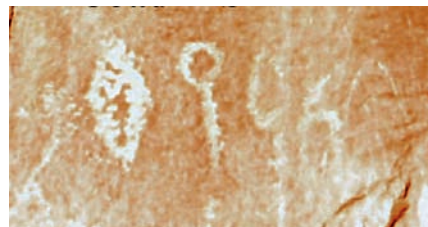
*mš*

The *m* is back-to-front.

### UJadhASA 52

See also pl. 45b

In the bottom right-hand corner of pl. 45b. Four ASA letters:



*k{'}y'f*

It is uncertain whether the inscription is complete.

### Ancient North/South Arabian

#### UJadhANA/ASA 1

See also pl. 15c

In the top left right hand corner of the face, on which UJadhNab 35–37 are carved.



*ḡwṭm*

The text could be Thamudic B or ASA. The name is found in Qatabanic and Sabaic.

#### UJadhANA/ASA 2



This can either be read from right to left as:

*ʿtb*

a name which is found in Qatabanic; or from left to right as:

*btʿ*

‘May he be resolute’, an expression which is found at the end of a number of Ancient North Arabian inscriptions, or beside them, or by itself, see Jacobs and Macdonald 2009: 373 and note 43.

### Hismaic

UJadhHism 1–3 are on the same face together with UJadhASA 1 and UJadhThamD 1.

#### UJadhHism 1

See also pl. 67b

Running vertically from the top of the face, at the left.

*l whblh bn {z}nm w {d}krt lt ʿhl*

‘By Whblh son of {Znm} and may Lt be mindful of ʿhl’.

It is not clear whether the first letter of the second name has a cross-stroke at each end (Hismaic *z*), in which case one of them has coalesced with part of the *b* in UJadhThamD 1, or only at one end (Hismaic *z*). The first name is

well known in Hismaic. *Znm* has been found five times in Hismaic, as well as in Safaitic, but *znm* is not known. The personal name *ʿhl* is quite common in Safaitic, but this is the first time it has been found in Hismaic. The prayer *ḡkrt lt* (‘May [the goddess] Lt be mindful of’), which recurs in UJadhHism 11 and 19 in the Aramaized form *ḡkrt ʿlt*, is common in the Hismaic inscriptions and is found in Nabataean inscriptions in Wādī Ramm in southern Jordan, where there was a temple to the goddess.



#### UJadhHism 2

See also pl. 67b

Running from the centre of the top of the face, to the right of UJadhHism 1, and then curving back up along the right side of the face and down between the first two lines.



*l ʿsʿlh bn qrqr d ʿl bll w ḡkr tmn bn bll w sʿly----t*

‘By ʿsʿlh son of Qrqr of the lineage of Bll and he remembered Tmn son of Bll and Sʿly ...’

The last part of the text has been hammered over and only the final *t* is visible

on the photograph. *ʿsʿlh*, and *bll* are attested as personal names in Hismaic and Safaitic, *tmn* in Hismaic and much more frequently in Safaitic, and *sʿly* twice in Hismaic and numerous times in Nabataean and Safaitic. *Qrqr* is found in two Safaitic inscriptions. *Bll* as a group name has been found once before in a Safaitic inscription (ThSaf 55).

#### UJadhHism 3

See also pl. 67b

Running down the lower left edge of the face.



*{l} {s²} { ʿ } mn bn ʿl{l}ʿ w n{y}ʿ{h} {s²}m*  
Neither name, if read correctly, has been found before. I find it difficult to make any sense of this text.

#### UJadhHism 4

See also pl. 18a

Below UJadhNab 40 (= ThNUJ 230). A cross-shaped *wasm* has been carved over the second and third letters.

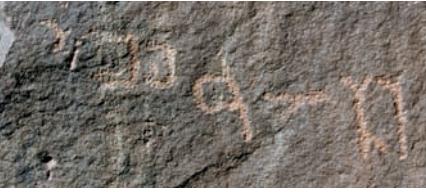


*l ʿfh*

The name is well attested in Hismaic and Nabataean.

**UJadhHism 5**

On the same rock face as UJadhASA 3–4 and UJadhNab 55.



*l ʿs'd bn bs²r*

ʿs'd is known in Hismaic (see ArHism 25) but *bs²r* is not, though it may occur once in Safaitic (C 4933).

**UJadhHism 6–11 and UJadhNab 49–54 are on one rock face together with several rock drawings (pl. 17). A photograph of this face was published in Theeb 2002: 304. It is adjacent to that bearing UJadhNab 182–185, UJadhHism 13, and UJadh-Problem 5 (pl. 25b).**

**UJadhHism 6**

See also pl. 17

Carved boustrophedon starting right-to-left near the top of the face between UJadhNab 49–51 and 53.



*l rkby bn qymt bn mhbl d ʿl ḥṣ{r/y}*

ʿBy Rkby son of Qymt son of Mhbl of the lineage of {Ḥṣt/y}ʿ.

The straight line across the opening of the final letter could be an accidental continuation of a join between the *ṣ* and the *l* in the Nabataean inscription above. However, the breadth and the technique of the line is more in keeping with the present inscription and so it perhaps more likely that the final letter is a *y*. The personal names *rkby* and *mhbl* have not been found before, though *qymt* is known in Hismaic and Safaitic, and see JJKhHism 1. *Ḥṣr* has been found once as personal name in Hismaic (TIJ 304) and once in Safaitic (Is.Mu 430) but not so far as a group name. *Ḥṣy* has been found only once, as a personal name in Safaitic.

**UJadhHism 7**

See also pl. 17

Below UJadhNab 52.



*l bnhgrh bn bhm*

The first name has not been found before, though *bhgrh* is well attested in Safaitic. The second name is common in Safaitic and is now known in Hismaic, see SAyHism 4 and UJadhHism 9.

**UJadhHism 8**

See also pl. 17

Below UJadhNab 53 and above 54 and to the left of UJadhHism 9. Vertical boustrophedon.



*l ʿbdds²r bn sʿfr*

The first name, transliterating the Nabataean form of the divine name, *ʿbd-dwṣr* (CIS II 1225), has not been found before in Hismaic, and it also occurs for the first time in Safaitic in UJadhSaf 2. The Hismaic form, *ʿbd-ds²ry*, has been found once (AMJ 146).<sup>23</sup> The second

23. I thank Jérôme Norris for reminding me that Jamme (1974, 81 and 142) claimed that the patronym in the Taymanitic inscription HU 501 should be read as *ʿbd-[d]s²r*. Kootstra (2016, 76) for a series of reasons which I have argued

name has been found once in Dadanitic (AH 255) and once in Safaitic (QZMJ 253).

**UJadhHism 9**

See also pl. 17

Below UJadhNab 53 and between UJadhHism 8 and 10.



*l bhm bn ʿsʿtfr*

For the first name see SAyHism 4 and UJadhHism 7. The second is new in Ancient North Arabian and is difficult to explain.

**UJadhHism 10**

See also pl. 17

Vertical boustrophedon:

*l ʿrb bn mbʿl*

Both names are known in Hismaic. For the first see MBAZThamC 1.

**UJadhHism 11**

See also pl. 17

Below UJadhNab 54 and to the left of a rock drawing of a man with a bow and what may be a hound. It is carved boustrophedon starting at the top right.

*w dkrt lt ḥy bn ḥṭln d ʿl mḥy*

ʿAnd may Lt be mindful of Ḥy son of Ḥṭln of the lineage of Mḥyʿ.

are not valid, interpreted *ʿbds²r* in HU 501 as a transcription of *\*ʿabd dūṣaray*. In neither case is this convincing, and I would uphold the philologically and culturally more likely interpretation of *\*ʿabd-Wsir* 'Worshipper of Osiris', as suggested in Macdonald 1991b, 15–18. It may be noted that Kootstra assumed a glottal stop at the beginning of the divine name which would have had to be dropped in the combination. However, in Egyptian the name *Wsir* begins with a vowel (*w*), not a glottal stop (□).



For the personal names see MBAZHism 4. Note that the name *hyw* occurs in UJadhNab 5 immediately above the present text. The lineage name *mhy* has not been found before (though it is known as a personal name in Safaitic) but it recurs in UJadhHism 19. See UJadhHism 1 for the expression *d/dkrt lt* and the Himaic inscription studied in Macdonald in press, for a discussion of the occasional use of *d* for /*d̥*/ in Himaic. UJadhHism 19 is by the same author but there he uses *d* in *dkrt* and *d̥* in *d̥l*.

### UJadhHism 12

See also pl. 24

Running diagonally down the left edge of the face bearing UJadhNab 165–168.



*l gs<sup>2</sup>n w gmn w n<sup>z</sup>r gn*

‘By Gs<sup>2</sup>n and Gmn and they were on the look-out for Gn’.

The first name is found 18 times, *gmn* 4 times, and *gn* 55 times all in Safaitic but this is the first time any of them have been found in Himaic. Joint inscriptions are occasionally found in Himaic, as in UJadhHism 13. The verb *n<sup>z</sup>r* is presumably in the third personal plural of the suffix conjugation \*nazarū.

### UJadhHism 13

See also pl. 25b

Just above a drawing of a man, on the ridge between the face with UJadhNab 181 (and the first parts of UJadhNab 179 and 180) and that with UJadhNab 182–185 and UJadhProblem 5, which is itself adjacent to the face with UJadhHism 6–11 and UJadhNab 49–54. It is carved in vertical boustrophedon, starting

top left. A photograph of this face was published in Theeb 2002: 324.

*l zdmnt*

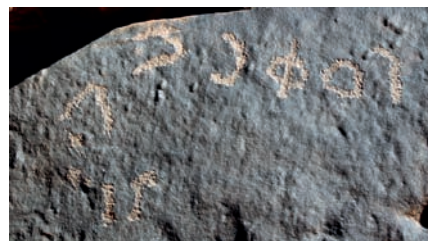
*w grfn bn `nh*

‘By Zdmnt and Grfn son of `nh’.



*Zdmnt* is known from Himaic and Dadanic. *Grf* is known in Himaic and Safaitic but not *grfn*, and *`nh* is found in Safaitic once as a personal name (WH 2857) and once as a lineage name (C 347).

### UJadhHism 14



*l `qrb bn ns<sup>2</sup>l*

Both names are known in Himaic.

### UJadhHism 15

Below UJadhNab 297. The text consists of two lines running from left to right.



*l t'f<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>*

*htt*

‘By T<sup>2</sup>f<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup> ----’

The names *t'f<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>* and *htt* (if the second is a name) have not been found before. It is uncertain whether anything has been lost at the bottom of the stone.

### UJadhHism 16

On the same face as UJadhNab 299. Carved vertically at the far left of the picture. The top of the last letter appears to have been clipped by the edge of the photograph.



*l hn' bn m<sup>2</sup>{y}*

Both names are known in Himaic.

### UJadhHism 17

See also pl. 32b

Between UJadhNab 305 and 306. The text runs right to left along the ridge between the two faces and bends up and round so that the last four letters run in the opposite direction on the upper face.



*l t<sup>2</sup>l bn y<sup>2</sup>gt bn s<sup>2</sup>lh bn {f}try*

The first name has been found once before in Himaic (CH.07-001-01.07), and is known in Safaitic. *Y<sup>2</sup>gt* and *s<sup>2</sup>lh* are known in Himaic. For *y<sup>2</sup>gt* see also ArHism 22. The last name, if the reading is correct, seems to be new to Ancient North Arabian.

**UJadhHism 18–19 are on the same rock face as UJadhNab 334–358 , UJadhASA 9–14, UJadhThamb 1 (see pl. 34a).**

### UJadhHism 18

Carved vertically immediately below UJadhNab 357 and to the left of UJadhNab 350.

See also pl. 34a

*mbyfr*

The reading is clear but the name has not been found before in Ancient North Arabian. UJadhThamb 1 is carved horizontally to the left of this text.



### UJadhHism 19

See pls 34a and b

On the same face as UJadhASA 9–14 and UJadhNab 334–360. At the very bottom of the face, below UJadhASA 14, UJadhNab 344 and 344.1 and to the left of 339 and 345. It is carved boustrophedon starting right to left in the upper line.



*w dkrt lt hy bn ḥtln d 'l mhy*  
‘And may Lt be mindful of Hy son of Ḥtln of the lineage of Mhy’.

By the same author as UJadhHism 11 with the same formula except that in UJadhHism 11 he wrote *d 'l* and here he writes *d 'l*, see also MBAZHism 5. See UJadhHism 1 for the expression *d/dkrt lt*, and for the use of *d* for /d/ see Macdonald in press.

### UJadhHism 20

Below UJadhNab 383.2 and immediately to the right of a monogram in the centre of the face, and above ASA 19.

*l { } {b/r} t*

The reading is too uncertain to make anything of this.



### UJadhHism 21

Carved vertically down the left side of the face bearing UJadhNab 447–448.



*whblt*

See UJadhASA 32.

UJadhHism 22–24 are on one face together with UJadhNab 439–445 and UJadhASA 28–29 (pl. 40b).

### UJadhHism 22

See also pl. 40b

In the top left corner of the inscribed area. The first line begins above the end of UJadhNab 440 and the second line above the end of UJadhNab 445.



*l mḥwr bn { } {h} t*

---d---

*Mḥwr* is known in Hismaic.

### UJadhHism 23

See also pl. 40b

Below UJadhASA 28 crossing the vertical crack and above UJadhNab 445.



*l s²g° bn °dt*

*S²g°* has been found three times before in Hismaic (Jacobson B.3.E.9, JSTham 247, KJB 94), and *°dt* once (CH.R677.1).

### UJadhHism 24

See also pl. 40b

Carved vertically at the far right of the face and curving back on itself. UJadhNab 441 is immediately to the left of it.



*l qs¹ bn s¹d bn bnt*

All the names are known in Hismaic.

### UJadhHism 25

Letters above and below a stick-figure man with arms outstretched and to the left of a bizarre drawing which could be a splayed bull (?).



*{y}{b} y¹t*

I cannot make any sense of this.

**UJadhHism 26**

See also pl. 46b

The end of the second line of UJadhNab 551 is carved across it.



---s'd

There is a more or less horizontal line between lines 1 and 2 of UJadhNab 551, which is thicker and has a lighter patina than the *s'* and *d* of this text. Below it is a much larger mark which obscures the end of UJadhNab 551, and then a shorter vertical line (just above the *s'*) both of the same thickness and patina. These may well cover the beginning of the present text.

**UJadhHism 27**

See also pl. 45b

Carved vertically to the right of UJadhHism 28 and 29 and above UJadhNab 535.

*l s' d*

This is probably the author of UJadhHism 29.

**UJadhHism 28**

See also pl. 45b

Carved vertically to the left of UJadhHism 29 and above UJadhNab 535.

*l km bn s²b bn nmr*

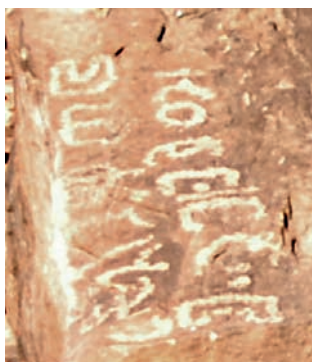
'By Km son of S²b son of Nmr'.

By a brother of the author of UJadhHism 29. All the names are known in Hismaic.

**UJadhHism 29**

See also pl. 45b

Carved vertically in two lines to the left of UJadhHism 30.



*l s' d bn s²b bn nm=  
r {d} {l} {l} {q}tm*

By a brother of the author of UJadhHism 28. The lineage name *'qtm* has not been found before. The shapes of the *{d}* and the following *{l}* are unclear on the photograph.

**Safaitic****UJadhSaf 1***l 'qrb w wgm 'l 'm-h rgmt ----*

'By 'qrb and he grieved for his mother, struck down [by Fate]'.

The forms of the *g* and the *ḡ* show clearly that the script is Safaitic not Hismaic. The name *'qrb* is very well known in Safaitic, as is the verb *wgm*, on which see also UJadhSaf 4. The

final expression is normally *rgm(t) mny* 'brought low by Fate' and it looks as though the author had begun to form the *m* of *mny* when he was interrupted.

**UJadhSaf 2***'bdds²r bn b d k t m*

The forms of the *s²* and the *d* show that the text is Safaitic not Hismaic. The *r* with only one hook is also found occasionally in Safaitic but not in Hismaic where *r* does not have hooks. The last three letters are carved sloping downwards, though there is no reason why they could not have continued in a straight line. The letters are clear but they seem to produce a very odd name which is not attested elsewhere in Ancient North Arabia. On *'bd-ds²r* see UJadhHism 8.

**UJadhSaf (?) 3**

See pl. 68a

On a rock face between two drawings of ibex.

*'bd{d}{ḡ}*

It is difficult to interpret the final letter as anything other than a Safaitic *ḡ*, though it produces an unknown and strange name.

**UJadhSaf 4**

To the right of UJadhNab 489 (= ThNJUT 18). The beginning of the inscription is hidden on the photograph and the end is either in shadow or was lost when the rock was broken.

----*qrb bn 'tm w wgm ----*

'----qrb son of 'tm and he mourned ----'.

A name *qrb* is known in Safaitic, but it could also be [*'qrb*] which is very common, as is *'tm*.

**UJadhSaf 5**

See pl. 67a

To the left of UJadhASA 37-39. Two vertical lines starting on the left.



*l 'mt s'mg*  
*w klmn bn ls'l*

'By the grandmother of S'mg  
and Klmn son of Ls'l'.

This interpretation is offered extremely tentatively since it would be unique in Safaitic for someone to identify themselves as the 'grandmother of someone'. The male personal name *s'mg* has been found once in Safaitic (BS 738) and once in Dadanitic (U 017). *Klmn* has also been found once in Safaitic (CEDS 608). A name *ls'l* has not been found but could perhaps be an incomplete *ls'lm* (C 4936, HASI 65).

### UJadhSaf 6

See pl. 44b

Carved vertically between UJadhNab 523 and 524 and to the right of UJadh-Problem 6.



---- *bn 's<sup>2</sup>'f}* *b{n}* *{s'}**{r}*  
'---- son of *{s<sup>2</sup>'f}* son of *{S' 'r}*'

The reading is uncertain. The area of the face before the first *bn* is covered with marks none of which looks like a letter. I have taken the two small dots after the first *bn* as extraneous to the text. Very tentatively, I suggest that the *n* of the second *b{n}* is vertical rather than horizontal and what could be the small vertical projection of an *s'* can be seen on the following letter, slightly more shallowly carved than the preceding *{n}* which touches it. The last two letters *{r}* are an attempt to make sense of the marks to the left of the *{s'}*.

### Thamudic B

#### UJadhThamB 1

See pl. 34a

Immediately to the left of UJadhHism 18.



*ddn*

The straight *n* suggests that this is Thamudic B. For the name see UdhASA 13 and 14.

#### UJadhThamB 2

See also pl. 37a

Near the top of the face bearing UJadhNab 391–404 and UJadhASA 21–23, between UJadhNab 391 and 392. Reading from right to left



*{l}* *rm{n}**{n}*

A personal name *rmnn* has been found once in Hismaic (AMJ 156).

### Thamudic C

#### UJadhThamC (?) 1

See also pl. 36

Carved horizontally from left to right on the same rock face as UJadhASA 42 and UJadhNab 388–390.



*nwt*

If this is the correct interpretation, the name has been found once before in Safaitic (KRS 3290). It is uncertain whether the sign after the *t* is part of the text.

**UJadhThamC 2–3 are carved vertically at the bottom of the rock face bearing UJadhNab 490–497, immediately below UJadhNab 501 (see pl. 42b).**

#### UJadhThamC 2

See also pl. 42b.

*nbr*

The name is known from Safaitic.



#### UJadhThamC 3

See also pl. 42b

Carved diagonally downwards at the bottom of the face, to the left of UJadhThamC 2.



*n' d'bt*

*bn*

It appears that the first two letters may be reversed, since Tham C inscriptions very often begin 'n 'I am'. The name *d'bt* is unknown but *d'b* has been found once in WTI 57 (= Hub 376, 22) and three times in Safaitic.

#### UJadhThamC 4

Carved below UJadhNab 536.



Photograph Fariq as-Sahra' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

*'mr----*

The first letter has been damaged by later hammering and it is likely that the letters after the *r* have been tampered with and appear as circles.

#### UJadhThamC 5

See also pl. 46b

Carved vertically above UJadhNab 551 and UJadhHism 28

*s'n mlq bn 'm---- [?]*

One would expect a Thamudic C text to begin with 'n 'I am' but the *s'* is clear here and I am unable to explain it. The

name *mlq* is known from four Safaitic inscriptions and from two Thamudic D texts.<sup>24</sup> It is not clear whether the shapes at the end of the text belong to it.



Photograph Fariq as-Şahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

**UJadhThamC/D 1 and ThamD 1 are below UJadhNab 296.**

**Thamudic C/D**

**UJadhThamC/D 1**



'*f*'*s*<sup>2</sup>*r w hnh*  
'{*fs*<sup>2</sup>*r*' and *Hnh*'.

It is difficult to classify this text since the form of '*s*' points to Thamudic D but the form of *s*<sup>2</sup> to Thamudic C. In addition, the second letter is different from the

24. JSTham 207, and Macdonald 1991a: 424, pl. 45 Fig. 1 and Phot. 1.

penultimate letter (and those in line 2 of the adjacent text) so it is unlikely to be a *n*, and anyway one could hardly have '*n*' 'I am' before two names. On the other hand, it is not a clear *f* since it has one curve too many, and cannot be a *s*<sup>2</sup> since the following letter, with the fork at the top, must represent that. On balance *f* seems the least unlikely reading. Neither name seems to be attested, though *hn*' is of course well-known throughout Ancient North Arabian.

**Thamudic D**

**UJadhThamD 1**

See also pl. 67b

The text runs vertically between UJadhHism 2 and 3.

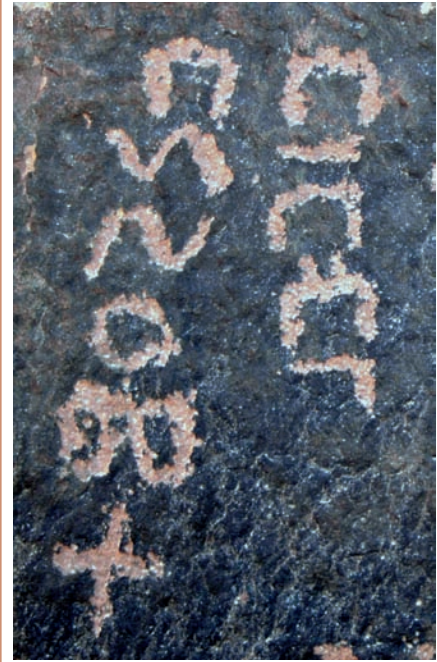


'*n ḥbn bnt q{s*<sup>2</sup>/*n*'  
'I am Ḥbn daughter of {*Qs*<sup>2</sup>/*n*'.

After the first two words, the reading is uncertain. The last letter is unclear on the photograph and the reading suggested is very tentative. The name *ḥbn* has been

found once in Hismaic (TIJ 258) and several times in Safaitic.<sup>25</sup> For *qs*<sup>2</sup> see ArHism 21.

**UJadhThamD 2**



*brb*'*l*

*bn n*'*mt*

*Brb*'*l* has not been found before, though *rb*'*l* is well attested in Nabataean, Safaitic and Taymanitic. Personal names with a prefixed *b*- are occasionally found in Ancient North Arabian, for instance *b-s*'*lm*, *b-s*'*hr* (in ThThamB 1 above), *b*-*gl*, *b*-*hrb* etc. The name *n*'*mt* is attested in Safaitic and Thamudic B.

**Problems**

**UJadhProblem 1**

Below UJadhNab 65.



The combination of crude hammering and a surface unsuitable for carving makes it impossible to identify whether this is a text or a series of signs. It is possible that the fifth sign from the left is the *s*-like sign (see UJadhProblem 4).

25. See OCIANA. Note that Harding 1971b: 175 cites three examples in Safaitic but none of these is correct. In WH 3685 the edition takes *ḥbn* as a noun not a name, in SIJ 550 *r* and *b* are clearly distinguished and the name is *ḥrn*, while the photograph of LP 322 taken by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme (see Is.M.72 in OCIANA) shows that the name in this text is *rhn*.

**UJadhProblem 2**

On the same stone as UJadhNab 80 and 81. Carved across what could be a drawing (?).



It is not certain whether this is an inscription (---{h}lbh in Hismaic?) or a collection of signs. It is possible that the sign read as {h} is the s-like sign on which see UJadhProblem 4.

**UJadhProblem 3**

See pl. 68b

Letters in an unidentified script. Most bear similarities to signs in different alphabets but it is difficult to identify one alphabet in which they would all occur.

**UJadhProblem 4**

At first sight this looks like a Hismaic text which could be read

*l hls' { } {l}*

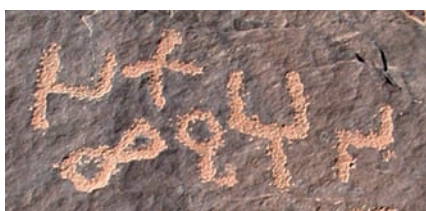
and may be incomplete. The name *hls'* has not been found before in Hismaic but is known in Safaitic. However, the presence of the s-like sign which is found elsewhere as a possible *wasm* and in unexplained groups of signs (e.g. UJadhProblem 1 and 2) together with the merging of the first two letters into an 'anchor' sign, suggest that this too may be a collection of signs. The penultimate sign is unlikely to represent *s* in the present context since it is preceded by a clear *s'*, and there are not enough examples of it in clear Hismaic texts to speculate on whether it represents an unusual form of another letter.

**UJadhProblem 5**

See also pl. 25b

On the same face as UJadhNab 179, 182–185 and UJadhHism 13.

This is a collection of signs, some like ANA or ASA letters, others not. They do not appear to be an inscription.

**UJadhProblem 6**

See also pl. 44b

From a photograph taken by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

Above the end of UJadhNab 524 and to the left of UJadhSaf 6.



Photograph Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

Five letters carved horizontally in a script which I cannot identify.

**UJadhProblem 7**

See also pl. 45b

From a photograph taken by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).



Photograph Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

Apparent letters in the bottom left-hand corner of the pl. 45b.

## 49. Darb al-Bakrah Various 1 (DBv1)

From photographs taken by Farīq aṣ-Ṣaḥrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

### Ancient South Arabian

**DBv1ASA 1**

See also pl. 50a



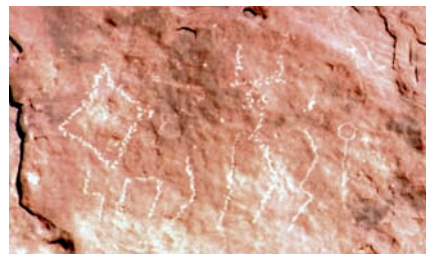
*s<sup>2</sup>ll 'qrb rbn*

All three names are known in Sabaic (CSAI).

**DBv1ASA 2**

On the bottom left-hand corner of the face.

See also pl. 50b



*hrf*  
*ys<sup>2</sup>r / rbn*

*Hrf* is known as a man's name in Minaic and Sabaic, *ys<sup>2</sup>r* has been found seven times as a royal name in Minaic and *rbn* once in Sabaic as a name used as an eponym (CSAI).

### Safaitic

**DBv1Saf 1**

See pl. 65

Carved above DBv1Nab 26. A possible Safaitic inscription apparently in two vertical lines. The angle of the photograph means that the ends of the lines are lost.



*l {d}{b} w t{s<sup>2</sup>}---*  
*fit m---*

'By {Db} and he {longed} [?] the young slave girl of M----'.

The word *fit* has so far been found only in Hismaic (see OCIANA). It is the feminine of *fty* 'slave boy' which is found in a number of Safaitic inscriptions.

### Thamudic C

#### DBv1ThamC 1

See pl. 65

Carved vertically to the left of DBvSaf 1. The angle of the photograph means that only the first two letters can be read with any certainty.



---[w]dd---

If this interpretation is correct, it would appear that the [w] and anything before it was lost when the rock broke above the first *d*.

### 50. Darb al-Bakrah Various 3 (DBv3)

From photographs taken by Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

#### Ancient South Arabian

#### DBv3ASA 1

See also pl. 51a



{l} {t}'t---m  
's' rb{n}  
'{By} {T}'t---m  
Leader of Rbn'.

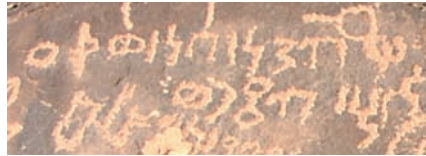
It would seem that DBv1ASA1 and 2 and this inscription may be by members of the same family since they all end with

*rbn*. I have taken 's' here in the sense of 'leader' (Beeston *et al.* 1982: 6).

#### DBv3ASA 2

See also pl. 51a

Above DBv3Nab 5.



[wasm?] ḡs²n / bn / wq'  
'h / ḡtrw  
'[wasm?] Ḡs²n son of Wq'  
brother of Ḡtrw'.

The inscription is surrounded by drawings and symbols. The reading seems clear but, according to CSAI, none of these names is known in any of the Ancient South Arabian languages. However, *wd'* is found in Safaitic, Hismaic and Dadanitic, and *ḡtr* twice as a personal name and once as a lineage name in Safaitic (see OCIANA).

#### DBv3ASA 3

See pl. 51b

To the left of DBv3Nab 6 and below Nab 7



'hw /  
*hn't bn m{w/d}{.}{y}{r}{s²}{k}*  
'hw has not been found before as a name in ASA; *hn't* has been found once in Qatabanic and once in Sabaic. The patronym is unclear. The last letter in the line could be a *w* or a *d* and the name seems to continue vertically up the edge of stone in crudely carved letters of which I can make no sense.

#### DBv3ASA 4

In the top left-hand corner of the face immediately after the end of line 1 of DBv3ImpAram 1.



'y---

### Ancient North Arabian

#### DBv3ANA 1

See also pl. 51a

Below DBv3Nab 5, see pl. 51a).



'b [symbol] *tml*---

The symbol in the middle of the inscription resembles an anchor with two 'handles' on either side of the top. It is difficult to make any sense of the text.

#### Hismaic

#### DBv3Hism 1

See pl. 51b

Carved vertically above DBv3Nab 6.

*l'k' bn zhl*

'By 'k' son of Zhl'.

The name 'k' has been found once before in Safaitic (AMWR 31 see OCIANA). *Zhl* has also been found once in Safaitic (al-Namārah.H 69, see OCIANA).

#### DBv3Hism 2

See pl. 51b

Carved vertically to the left of DBv3Hism 1.

*trdb' y*

It is difficult to make sense of this. The ' was carved over the top of the *l* of *slm* in DBv3Nab 6 and so looks like a *w*.

### 51. Ghadīr ar-Rāshidah (GhR)

From photographs taken by Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org).

#### Ancient South Arabian

#### GhRASA 1

See pl. 48

Above an earlier drawing of a camel which is above GhRNab 7.

'hwd

The name 'hwd, though apparently unknown in Ancient South Arabian (CSAI) is well attested in Safaitic.

#### Ancient North Arabian/ Ancient South Arabian

#### GhRANA/ASA 1

See pl. 48

On the bottom right-hand corner of the face.

*'qrb*

None of the letter forms are diagnostic and they could be Ancient South Arabian or Thamudic B.

### *Ancient North Arabian*

#### **GhRANA 1**

**See pl. 48**

Carved vertically near the top right of the photograph, above GhRNab 1.

*{r}---m---*

The other letters are unreadable

#### **GhRANA 2**

**See pl. 48**

Carved vertically to the right of GhrASA 1.

*l 'y---*

The other letters are unreadable.

#### **GhRANA 3**

**See pl. 48**

Carved vertically above GhRNab 14.

*l m---*

The other letters are unreadable.

# Index of names in the ASA and ANA inscriptions

## Abbreviations:

d.n. = divine name

p.n. = personal name

l.n. = lineage name (tribe, section, clan, family)

*nsb* = *nisbah*

Where a reading is very uncertain it has not been included. When there are two or more possibilities for reading a particular letter, all the resulting names have been included with the different possibilities shown. When a name contains a doubtful letter this is enclosed in { } if there is only one example of the name. However, if there is more than one example in some of which there is no doubtful reading then the { } are omitted and a “?” is placed after the reference which contains the doubtful reading.

When a name occurs in more than one text the one under which it is discussed is put in **bold**.

When a similar name has been found in the Nabataean texts in this collection it is noted in brackets.

The index is arranged in the order of the Arabic alphabet.

## ﺀ

'bt	p.n.	HSThamD 2
{ }bqm	p.n.	MudhThamD 1/2
'bw'dr	p.n.	JJKhThamC 4
'by	p.n.	ArASA 16/2, <b>ArASA 18</b> , ArHism 19 (cf. Nab 'byw)
'im	p.n.	UJadhSaf 4
{ }dft	p.n.	ArHism 27
'r'	d.n.	HSThamB 1/1
'zgdyn'	<i>nisb.</i>	ArASA 5/1–2, ArASA 12/2
's'	p.n.	ArHism 4 — DBv3ASA 1 (cf. Nab 'wšw or 'yšw)
's'd	p.n.	<b>ArHism 25</b> — UJadhHism 5 (cf. Nab 'šdw)
's'dt	p.n.	UJadhASA 12/1
's'lm	p.n.	ArHism 22/2–3 (cf. Nab 'šlm and 'šlmw)
's'lh	p.n.	UJadhHism 2 (perhaps cf. Nab 'š'lh)
's'm{t}	p.n.	ArSaf 1
'sr	l.n.	ArHism 18
'm	p.n.	UJadhASA 44
'fth	p.n.	UJadhHism 4 (cf. Nab 'pth)
'ff}s'r	p.n.	UJadhThamC/D 1
{ }qtm	l.n.	UJadhHism 29/2
'k{ }	p.n.	DBv3Hism 1
'l	p.n.?	QNASA 3 (cf. Nab 'y'lw)
'l's'd	p.n.	UJadhASA 9/1
'lks'	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 13</b> (cf. Nab 'lks and 'lksy)
'lymn	p.n.	ThThamB 3
'mt	p.n.	MathThamD 1/2 (perhaps cf. Nab 'mh)
'mr----	p.n.	UJadhThamC 4
'mryn'	<i>nisb</i>	UJadhASA 2/2
'nh	p.n.	UJadhHism 13/2
'n'm	p.n.	ArASA 17 (cf. Nab 'n'm)
'hl	p.n.	UJadhHism 1
'hw	p.n.?	DBv3ASA 3/1
'hwd	p.n.	GhRASA 1
'ws'	p.n.	UJadhASA 16 (cf. Nab 'wšw)

## B

bb't (?)	p.n.	MathThamB 1
btt	l.n.	<b>UJadhASA 8/2</b> , UJadhASA 20/1–2, UJadhASA 23/2
bhl	p.n.	HSThamD 1
br'h	p.n.	<b>UdhDad 7/2</b>
brb'l	p.n.	UJadhThamD 2/1

<i>brg</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 6/2
<i>{b/s'}rr</i>	p.n.	AbRakThamB 1/1
<i>bs'qm</i>	p.n.	SHHism 1
<i>b{s'}hr</i>	p.n.	ThThamB 1
<i>bs²r</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 5 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>bš{d/r}</i> )
<i>{b}{s}y</i>	p.n.	HSThamD 1
<i>bqktm (?)</i>	p.n.	UJadhSaf 2
<i>bll</i>	l.n.	UJadhHism 2
<i>bll</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 2
<i>(h-)bly</i>	<i>nsb</i>	HSThamB 1
<i>bmrt</i>	p.n.	KhRHism 2
<i>bn</i>	p.n.	ArHism 20/1 (cf. Nab <i>bnw</i> in ArNab 31 = the same person)
<i>bnt</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 24 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>bnyl</i> )
<i>bnḥgrh</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 7
<i>bhl</i>	p.n.	ArANA/ASA 1
<i>bhm</i>	p.n.	<b>SAyHism 4</b> — UJadhHism 7, UJadhHism 9
<i>{b}yd'l</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 33/2

## T

<i>t'l</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 17
<i>t'fīs'</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 15/1
<i>t'n (?)</i>	p.n.	ULHism 1
<i>tl'l</i>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 10</b> ; ArHism 13
<i>tm{s²g}tm?</i>	p.n.?	MBAZHism 5
<i>tmlh</i>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 2</b> , ArHism 3 (cf. Nab <i>tymly</i> and <i>tym'ly</i> )
<i>tmn</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 2
<i>tymm</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 48(cf. Nab <i>tym</i> )

## T

<i>{t}'t----m</i>	p.n.?	DBv3ASA 1/1
<i>t'm</i>	p.n.	MBAZThamB 1
<i>t'm</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 33/1</b> , UJadhASA 36
<i>twbn</i>	p.n.	<b>ArASA 17/1</b> — UJadhASA 1/3–4, UJadhASA 15 (cf. Nab <i>twbn</i> )

## G

<i>gbr</i>	p.n.?	QNANA/ASA 1/2
<i>{g/l}byn</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 2/1, 2
<i>grfn</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 13/2
<i>grm</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 19/1 (cf. Nab <i>grmw</i> )
<i>grm'l</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 10</b> , UJadhASA 21 (cf. Nab <i>grm'l</i> )
<i>gs²n</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 12
<i>glh</i>	p.n.	<b>UdhDad 2</b> , UdhDad 7/1
<i>gmn</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 12
<i>gn</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 12
<i>gnl</i>	p.n.?	SAyHism 2

## H

<i>hbb</i>	p.n.	ArASA 23 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>h{b/n}y{b/n}w</i> )
<i>hbn</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamD 1 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>h{b/n}y{b/n}w</i> )
<i>htt</i>	p.n.?	UJadjHism 15
<i>hds²</i>	p.n.	KhRHism 3
<i>hrb</i>	p.n.	ArHism 24/1 (cf. Nab <i>hrbw</i> )
<i>hrth</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 1 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>hrtt?</i> )
<i>hrs'</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 1 (cf. Nab <i>hršw</i> )
<i>hrm</i>	p.n.	QNHism 1 (cf. Nab <i>hrm</i> and <i>hmrw</i> )
<i>hrmt</i>	p.n.	MBAZThamC 1/1 (perhaps cf. Nabataeo-Arabic <i>{h}{r}mh</i> )
<i>hzk (?)</i>	p.n.?	ArHism 14+15 (Saf?)
<i>hzmh</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 9/1
<i>hs' {r/y}</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 6

<i>ḥṣd</i>	l.n.	ArHism 22/4
<i>ḥs' {y/r}</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 6
<i>ḥd {n}</i>	p.n.	ArHism 7
<i>ḥtln</i>	p.n.	<b>MBAZHism 4</b> — UJadhHism 11, UJadhHism 19
<i>ḥfn</i>	p.n.	<b>QNASA 1</b> ; QNASA 6
<i>ḥmr</i>	p.n.	QNThamC 3
<i>ḥy</i>	p.n.	<b>MBAZHism 4</b> — UJadhHism 11, UJadhHism 19 (cf. Nab <i>ḥyw</i> )
<i>ḥyw</i>	p.n.	QNANA/ASA 1/1 (cf. Nab <i>ḥyw</i> )

## Ḥ

<i>ḥb {t}t</i>	p.n.	ArThamC/D 1/1?
<i>{h/h}b<sup>c</sup></i>	p.n.	QNASA 7/2 (?)
<i>ḥ {g/l}m<sup>c</sup>n</i>	p.n.	QNASA 5
<i>ḥrf</i>	p.n.?	DBv1ASA 1
<i>ḥrym</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 3
<i>ḥzm</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 45/1
<i>ḥdln</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 19/2
<i>ḥlšt</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 27/2 (cf. Nab <i>ḥlšt</i> )
<i>ḥlfn</i>	l.n.	UJadhASA 1/4–5
<i>ḥ {l/g}m<sup>c</sup>n</i>	p.n.	QNASA 5
<i>ḥyb</i>	p.n.	ArHism 19

## D

<i>d'l</i>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 2</b> , ArHism 3
<i>d {d} {s'}my</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 12/2
<i>ddn</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 13</b> , UJadjASA 14, UJadhThamB 1
<i>{d}dw'l</i>	p.n.	JJKhThamC 2
<i>drtm/ntrd (?)</i>	p.n.?	WAANA/ASA 1
<i>{d}'n</i>	p.n.	ArASA 18/2
<i>{d}' {y}</i>	p.n.	SAyHism 3
<i>dnt</i>	p.n.	HSThamB 1/2 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>{d/r}ynt</i> )

## Ḍ

<i>ḏ'bt</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamC 3/1
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## R

<i>rb'l</i>	p.n.	<b>UdhASA 1/1</b> — SAyHism 5 (cf. Nab <i>rb'l</i> )
<i>rb't</i>	p.n.	AbRakHism 1 (cf. Nabataeo-Arabic <i>rby'h</i> )
<i>rbn</i>	p./l.n.	DBv1ASA 1, DBv1ASA 2 — DBv3ASA 1/2 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>{r/z} {b/n} y {b/n} w</i> )
<i>rgl</i>	p.n.	KhRHism 3
<i>rḥb</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 49</b>
<i>{r}d {n}</i>	p.n.	JJKhThamC 4/2 (?)
<i>rdny</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 6
<i>r {s} mt</i>	p.n.	UdhThamD 3
<i>rḏwt</i>	p.n.	JJKhHism 1
<i>r' dt</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 41/2
<i>rfd</i>	p.n.	ArASA 20
<i>rkb</i>	p.n.	ArThamD 3
<i>rkby</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 6
<i>rm {n} {n}</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamB 2
<i>rnd</i>	p.n.	ArASA 7
<i>rw {y}</i>	p.n.	MBAZHism 1
<i>rymn</i>	l.n.	ArASA 2/2

## Z

<i>zdlktb</i>	p.n.	SAyHism 5
<i>zdmnt</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 13/1



<i>znm</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 1 (cf. Nab <i>znm</i> )
<i>zhl</i>	p.n.	DBv3Hism 1
<i>zhmn</i>	l.n.	ArHism 20/2 (cf. Nab <i>zhmn</i> or <i>zhmny</i> )

S<sup>1</sup>

<i>s'bb</i>	p.n.?	HSHism 1 (?)
<i>s'd</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 9/2 (cf. Nab <i>šdw</i> )
<i>{s<sup>1</sup>/b}rr</i>	p.n.	AbRakThamB 1/1
<i>s'd</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 8/1, UJadhHism 24, UJadhHism 27, UJadhHism 29/1 — <b>WATHamC 1/1</b> (cf. Nab <i>š'd</i> , <i>š'dw</i> , <i>š'dy</i> , <i>š'wdw</i> , or <i>š'ydw</i> )
<i>s'd'l</i>	p.n.	UdhASA 2
<i>s'dt</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 30 (cf. Nab <i>š'dt</i> )
<i>s'dlt</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 49</b>
<i>s'dm</i>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 27</b> — UJadhASA 23/1
<i>s'dhl</i>	p.n.	KhRHism 2
<i>s'fr</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 8
<i>s' {l/n}</i>	p.n.	SHANA (?) 1
<i>s'lm</i>	p.n.	ArASA 8 — ThDad 1/1 — <b>UdhDad 9/2</b> (?), UJadhASA 26/2, UJadhASA 27/1, UJadhASA 45/2 (cf. Nab <i>šlm</i> , <i>šlmw</i> , <i>šl'w}mw</i> , <i>š'l}y}m</i> , <i>šlymw</i> )
<i>s'lm</i>	p.n.	<b>ArASA 21/1</b> , ArHism 12 (cf. Nab <i>šlymt</i> )
<i>s'lmn</i>	p.n.	<b>ArASA 21/2</b> , ArHism 24/2 — WATHamC 1/1–2 (cf. Nab <i>šlmn</i> , <i>šlym{n}</i> )
<i>s'ly</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 2 (cf. Nab <i>šly</i> )
<i>s'lym</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 40/1 (cf. Nab <i>š'l}y}m</i> or <i>šlymw</i> )
<i>s'm</i>	p.n.	AbRakHism 2
<i>s'mg</i>	p.n.	UJadhSaf 5
<i>s'n</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamC 5 (or for 'n 'I am' q.v.)
<i>s' {n/l}</i>	p.n.	SHANA (?) 1 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>šlw</i> )
<i>{s' }wd</i>	p.n.	JJkHThamC/D 1 (cf. Nab <i>šwdw</i> or <i>šwdy</i> )
<i>s'ymt</i>	p.n.	SBASA 2?

S<sup>2</sup>

<i>s<sup>2</sup>b</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 28, UJadhHism 29/1 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>šbw</i> )
<i>s<sup>2</sup>bdl</i>	p.n.	ArHism 11?
<i>s<sup>2</sup>g<sup>c</sup></i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 23
<i>s<sup>2</sup>bd</i>	p.n.	ThThamB 3
<i>s<sup>2</sup>t</i>	p.n.?	ULHism 2 (cf. Nab <i>{š}y't</i> )
<i>{s<sup>2</sup>} {c} mn</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 3
<i>{s<sup>2</sup>} 'l</i>	p.n.	ArThamC/D 1/3?
<i>s<sup>2</sup>lh</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 17 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>šy''lhy</i> )
<i>s<sup>2</sup>qby</i>	p.n.	<b>UdhThamD 1</b>
<i>s<sup>2</sup>qh</i>	p.n.	ArHism 11
<i>s<sup>2</sup>krt</i>	p.n.	AbRakThamB 1/2
<i>s<sup>2</sup>krn</i>	d.n./p.n.	UdhThamD 1
<i>s<sup>2</sup>km</i>	p.n.	ArThamD 2
<i>s<sup>2</sup>ll</i>	p.n.	DBv1ASA 1 (cf. Nab <i>šllw</i> )
<i>s<sup>2</sup>{m}r/ s<sup>2</sup>{m}r</i> (?)	p.n.	QNDad 1/2

## Ş

<i>št</i>	p.n.	ArHism 5
<i>šmt</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 11?</b> , UJadhASA 22 (cf. Nab <i>šmtw</i> )
<i>šmy{.}</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 42

## D

<i>đb</i>	p.n.	ArHism 26 — DBv1Saf 1/1?
<i>đbb</i>	p.n.	ArASA 11

## T

<i>t<sup>h</sup>yt</i>	p.n.	ArASA 22
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## C

'bd	p.n.	ArASA 14 — UJadhASA 50 (cf. Nab 'bd, 'bd', 'bdw, 'bydw)
'bd'l'ly	p.n.	ArASA 1
'bdds'r	p.n.	<b>UJadhHism 8</b> , UJadhSaf 2;
'bd{d}{g}	p.n.	UJadhSaf 3
'bdl{h}	p.n.	ArHism 16 (perhaps cf. Nab 'bd'lh, 'bd'lhy)
'bdn	p.n.	ThThamB 3
'bdwd	p.n.	ArASA 13
'byd	p.n.	ArASA 2/1 (cf. Nab 'bydw)
{'tb/bt'}	p.n.	UJadhANA/ASA 2 (or a vb 3msp bt')
{'}tq	p.n.	SAyHism 1
'trt	p.n.	UdhThamD 2
'g	p.n.	ArHism 8
'gb	p.n.	ThTay 1
'dt	p.n.	UJadhHism 23
'dy	p.n.	<b>JJKhThamC 3/1</b> , JJKhThamC 4/2 (?) (cf. Nab {'dy}', 'dyw)
'rb	p.n.	<b>MBAZThamC 1/2</b> — UJadhHism 10;
'zz	p.n.	JJKhDad? 1 (cf. Nab 'zzw)
's'ifr	p.n.	UJadhHism 9
's <sup>2</sup> {ff}	p.n.	UJadhSaf 5?
's <sup>2</sup> q	p.n.	MudhThamD 2
's <sup>2</sup> {m}r/s <sup>2</sup> {m}r (?)	p.n.	QNDad 1/2
{'}{s}t	p.n.	JJKhThamB 4
'{s}{l}t	p.n.?	JAKANA 1
'qrb	p.n.	DBv1ASA 1 — GhRANA/ASA 1 — <b>UJadhHism 14</b> , <b>UJadhSaf 1</b> , UJadhSaf 4 (?) (cf. Nab 'qrbw)
'l{l}'	p.n.	UJadhHism 3
'm	p.n.	UJadhThamC 5
'mr	p.n.	MudhThamD 1/1 (?) — <b>UdhANA 1</b> , UdhDad 8 (cf. Nab 'mr, 'mrw)
'm{r}{l}	p.n.	AbRakHism 5 (perhaps cf. Nab 'mr'l)
'mrtm	p.n.	SAyThamC 1 (perhaps cf. Nab 'myrt, 'mrt)
'mrn	p.n.	<b>ThThamB 3</b> ; UJadhASA 20/1 (cf. Nab 'mrn)
'ns'	p.n.	QNThamC 2
'wd	p.n.	<b>ArHism 20/1</b> ('wydw in ArNab 31 = the same person) — SAyHism 4 (cf. Nab 'wyd', 'wydw)

## G

gṭ	p.n.	<b>JJKhTay 1</b> — SAyHism 4 (cf. Nab 'wtw)
gṭrw	p.n.	DBv3ASA 2/2
gḍmt	p.n.	UJadhASA 46
gs'm	p.n.	UdhDad 5
gs <sup>2</sup> n	p.n.	DBv3ASA 2
glwn	l.n.?	UJadhASA 45/2
gṭw	p.n.?	UJadhASA 8/3? (cf. Nab 'wtw)
gṭwm	p.n.	UJadhANA/ASA 1 (perhaps cf. Nab 'wtw)

## F

frs'	p.n.	UdhDad 3
{f}try	p.n.	UJadhHism 17
fw'	p.n.?	UdhDad 10

## Q

qdm	p.n.	<b>ArASA 4/2</b> — UJadhASA 7, UJadhASA 25/2? (cf. Nab qdm)
qrb?	p.n.	UJadhSaf 4 (see also under 'qrb)
qrqr	p.n.	UJadhHism 2
qs'	p.n.	UJadhHism 24 (cf. Nab qyšw)
qs <sup>2</sup>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 21</b> — UJadhThamD 1? (or qn q.v.) (cf. Nab qyšw)
qys'	p.n.	JJKhThamC 3/2 (cf. Nab qyšw)
qys'rb	p.n.	UJadhASA 47/1

<i>q'{}{t}</i>	p.n.	ThThamB 1
<i>{qmd /d mq}</i>	p./l.n.	UJadhASA 18/2
<i>qn</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamD 1? (or <i>qs<sup>2</sup> q.v.</i> )
<i>qymt</i>	p.n.	JJKhHism 1 — UJadhHism 6 (cf. Nab <i>qymt</i> )

## K

<i>k'{}{l}</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 4/1
<i>kzn</i>	p.n.	ArHism 6
<i>klm{n}</i>	p.n.	UJadhSaf 5
<i>kl{n}</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 39
<i>km</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 6/1, UJadhHism 28
<i>kms'</i>	p.n.	ArHism 26 (cf. Nab <i>kmšw</i> )
<i>k'{}{yf}</i>	p.n.?	UJadhASA 52
<i>kn</i>	l.n.	<b>UdhThamD 1</b>
<i>knf</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 40/2
<i>khl</i>	p.n.	ArHism 17 (cf. Nab <i>khy/lw</i> )
<i>khl{n}</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 37

## L

<i>lbd</i>	p.n.	JJKhThamC 1
<i>lb't</i>	p.n.	QNDad 2
<i>l{b}mr{.}</i>	p.n.	SAySaf 1
<i>lbn</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 29
<i>lt</i>	d.n.	<b>UJadhHism 1</b> , UJadhHism 11, UJadhHism 19 (cf. Nab 'lt)
<i>{l/g}byn</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 2/1, 2
<i>lhdt</i>	p.n.	JJKhThamB 2
<i>lhs<sup>2</sup>{n}</i>	p.n.	JJKhThamB 3
<i>{l}zdt</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 4/2
<i>ls'l</i>	p.n.	UJadhSaf 5
<i>ls'lm</i>	p.n.	ArHism 1
<i>lhz----</i>	p.n.?	ArASA 6

## M

<i>mb'l</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 10
<i>mb{l}{t}</i>	p.n.	AbRakHism 4
<i>mbyfr</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 18
<i>mhw<sup>r</sup></i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 22/1 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>mhw{d/r}w</i> )
<i>mhy</i>	l.n.	<b>UJadhHism 11</b> , UJadhHism 19 (cf. Nab <i>m{h}y</i> )
<i>mr</i>	p.n.	ArHism 18 — <b>JJUHism 1</b> (?) (perhaps cf. Nab <i>m{y}{d/r}</i> )
<i>mrg't</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 28
<i>ms'<sup>d</sup></i>	p.n.	<b>ArASA 16/1</b> , UJadhASA 34 (cf. Nab <i>mš'wdw</i> )
<i>ms'lm{n}</i>	p.n.	ArHism 5 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>mšlm</i> , <i>mšlmw</i> )
<i>ms<sup>2</sup>ht</i>	p.n.	JJKhThamC/D 1
<i>m{s/t}nlst</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 45/1
<i>m{t}</i>	p.n.	SHANA (?) 1
<i>m{t/s}nlst</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 45/1
<i>mty</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 26/1</b> , UJadhASA 27/1, UJadhHism 16 (?) (cf. Nab <i>mtyw</i> )
<i>{.}{m}tyt</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 47/2
<i>m'd'l</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 43
<i>m'hr</i>	l.n.	UdhASA 1/2
<i>m{g}{b}</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 3
<i>{(d) mq/qmd}</i>	l./p.n.	UJadhASA 18/2
<i>mlq</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamC 5
<i>mlk</i>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 6</b> , ArHism 16 (cf. Nab <i>mlkw</i> , <i>mlky</i> )
<i>mnt</i>	p.n.	ArHism 2
<i>mnsr</i>	p.n.	ArASA 10
<i>mn't</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 35/2 (cf. Nab <i>mn't</i> )
<i>mhbl</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 6
<i>mwdr</i>	p.n.	QNASA 2

## N

<i>nbr</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamC 2
<i>ntrd/drtm</i> (?)	p.n.?	WAANA/ASA 1
<i>ngs</i> <sup>2</sup>	p.n.?	QNANA/ASA 1/3
<i>ngm</i>	p.n.	ArHism 18
<i>ngyt</i>	p.n.	<b>ArASA 4/1</b> — UJadhASA 7, UJadhASA 25/1;
<i>nh</i> { <i>r</i> }	p.n.	JJKhHism 1
{ <i>n</i> } <i>zm</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 1/1
<i>ns</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>l</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 14 (cf. Nab <i>ns</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>lw</i> )
<i>nšr</i>	p.n.	JJKhHism 1 (cf. Nab <i>nšrw</i> , <i>nšyrw</i> )
<i>n</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>mt</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamD 2/2
<i>nmr</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 28, UJadhHism 29/1–2 (cf. Nab <i>nmyrw</i> )
<i>nws</i> <sup>2</sup>	p.n.	ThThamB 3
<i>nwt</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamC? 1

## H

<i>h</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> { <i>r</i> }	p.n.	HSThamB 1
<i>h</i> { <i>b</i> }	p.n.	SHThamB (?) 1
<i>hb</i> { <i>r</i> }----	p.n.	ArASA 15
{ <i>h</i> / <i>h</i> } <i>b</i> <sup>ˁ</sup>	p.n.	QNASA 7/2 (?)
<i>hs</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>rn</i>	l.n.?	HSThamB 1
<i>hs</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>q</i> { <i>l</i> }	p.n.	ArHism 9
<i>hmdt</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 2/1, 2
<i>hn</i> <sup>ˁ</sup>	p.n.	UJadhHism 16 (cf. Nab <i>hn</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>w</i> )
<i>hn</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>t</i>	p.n.	DBv3ASA 3/2 (cf. Nab <i>hn</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>t</i> )
<i>hnh</i>	p.n.	UJadhThamC/D 1

## W

<i>w</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>tr</i>	p.n.?	WAASA 1
<i>w</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>l</i>	p.n.	QNASA 3 (cf. Nab <i>w</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>lw</i> , <i>w</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> { <i>y</i> } <i>lw</i> )
<i>w</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>lt</i>	p.n.	<b>AbRakHism 3</b> — ArHism 3, ArHism 4, ArThamC/D 1/2 — UJadhASA 18/1 (cf. Nab <i>w</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>lt</i> )
<i>wbr</i>	p.n.	ArHism 23 (cf. Nab <i>wbrw</i> )
<i>wbhlgr</i>	p.n.	[ <i>wbhlgr</i> ?] UJadhASA 24 (cf. Nab <i>wbhlgyr</i> in UJadhNab 428 = the same person)
<i>wtr</i>	p.n.	ArANA 3
<i>wdd</i>	p.n.	<b>ThThamB 2</b> — WAANA 1 (?)
<i>wdd</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>l</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 17
<i>wd</i> <sup>ˁ</sup>	p.n.	MBAZHism 2
<i>wd</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>t</i>	p.n.	ThDad 1/2
<i>ws</i> <sup>ˁ</sup>	p.n.	ArHism 15 or ArHism 14+15 (Saf?)
{ <i>w</i> } <sup>ˁ</sup> { <i>t</i> }	p.n.	JJKhThamB 1/1
<i>wq</i> <sup>ˁ</sup>	p.n.	DBv3ASA 2/1
{ <i>w</i> } <i>hb</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>l</i>	p.n.	QNASA 7/1
<i>whbtwn</i>	p.n.	ArASA 12
<i>whblt</i>	p.n.	<b>UJadhASA 32</b> , UJadhHism 21
<i>whblh</i>	p.n.	UJadhHism 1 (cf. Nab <i>whblhy</i> )
<i>whbm</i>	p.n.	ArASA 5/1— <b>QNASA 5?</b> (cf. Nab <i>whbw</i> )

## Y

<i>ybzz</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 41
<i>yhm</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>l</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 31
<i>yhyy</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 5
<i>ys</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>lm</i>	p.n.	ArHism 1 (cf. Nab <i>yšlm</i> )
<i>ys</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>r</i>	p.n.	DBv1ASA 2
<i>y</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>t</i>	p.n.?	UJadhHism 25
<i>y</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>lgd</i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 38
<i>y</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>ly</i>	p.n.	ArHism 19 (perhaps cf. Nab <i>y</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> <i>l</i> <sup>ˁ</sup> )
<i>ygt</i>	p.n.	<b>ArHism 22/1</b> — UJadhHism 17

<i>ymn</i>	p.n.	UdhDad 4/1
<i>ymny<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>nisb</i>	ArASA 5/1, ArASA 12/1–2
<i>yhs<sup>2</sup></i>	p.n.	UJadhASA 1/1–2

## Index of vocabulary

The words are arranged alphabetically in the order of the Arabic alphabet, not by roots. The references are arranged in alphabetical order.

### Abbreviations:

- 1s = 1st person singular  
 3s = 3rd person singular  
 1sp = 1st person singular perfect  
 3fsp = 3rd person feminine singular perfect  
 3mpp = 3rd person masculine plural perfect  
 3msp = 3rd person masculine singular perfect  
 act. ptc. = active participle  
 adj. = adjective  
 conj. = conjunction  
 def. art. = definite article  
 encl. = enclitic  
 f. = feminine  
 intro. ptcl. = introductory particle  
 m. = masculine  
 n. = noun  
 obj. = object  
 pass. = passive  
 pass. ptc. = passive participle  
 pers. pron. = personal pronoun  
 poss. = possessive  
 prep. = preposition  
 pr. = pronoun  
 ptcl = particle  
 rel. pr. = relative pronoun  
 vb = verb followed by the form in Roman numerals, e.g. I/II, V, etc.  
 voc. ptcl. = vocative particle

The word *bn* has not been included in this index.

Inscription numbers in **bold** indicate a text in the commentary of which the word is discussed.

د

<i>'ḥ</i>	n. 'brother'	DBv3ASA 2
<i>'s'</i>	n 'leader' (Sabaic)	DBv3ASA 2/2
<i>'l</i>	n. 'lineage'	ArHism 18, ArHism 19, ArHism 20/2, ArHism 22/3–4 — ThThamB 3 — <b>UdhThamD 1</b> , UJadhHism 2, UJadhHism 6, UJadhHism 11, UJadhHism 19, UJadhHism 29/2?
<i>'m</i>	n. 'mother'	UJadhSaf 1
<i>'mt</i>	n. 'female client/ servant'	UJadhASA 12/2, <b>UdhThamD 1</b> ;

'n	pers. pron. 'I'	ArHism 12 — HSThamC/D 1, HSThamD 1 — JJKhThamC 1, JJKhThamC 2, JJKhThamC 3/1, JJKhThamC 4/1, JJKhThamC/D 1 — JJUThamC 1 (?), JJUThamC 4 — MathThamD 1/1 — MBAZThamC 1/2 — MudhThamD 1/1 — QNThamC 1/1 — SAyThamC 1 — UJadhThamC 3 ( <i>n</i> ?), UJadhThamC 5 (or p.n. <i>s'n</i> ?), UJadhThamD 1
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**B**

<i>bt</i>	n. 'daughter'	HSThamD 2 — <b>SHANA (?) 1</b>
{ <i>bt</i> '/ <i>tb</i> }	<i>bt</i> 'vb I 3msp 'may he be resolute' or a p.n. ' <i>tb</i> '	UJadhANA/ASA 2
<i>b'd</i>	prep.? 'on behalf of'?	MBAZHism 5
<i>bnt</i>	n. 'daughter'	UJadhASA 45/1, UJadhThamD 1

**T**

<i>thwf</i>	vb V 3msp pass. 'he was impoverished little by little',	ArHism 20/3
<i>t{s<sup>2</sup>}[w][q]</i>	vb V 3msp 'he longed'	DBv1Saf 1
<i>tqt</i>	vb VIII 3msp? 'he inscribed' (?)	JJKhDad 1

**D**

<i>d</i>	rel pr. m. 'who [is of]' (variant of <i>d</i> )	UJadhHism 11
<i>dkrt</i>	vb I 3fsp 'may she be mindful of' (variant of <i>dkrt</i> ,)	<b>UJadhHism 11</b> , UJadhHism 19

**D**

<i>d</i>	rel. pr. m. 'who [is of]'/ 'him who'	<b>ArASA 2/2</b> , ArHism 18, ArHism 19, ArHism 20/2, ArHism 22/3 — <b>HSThamB 1/2</b> — QNDad 1/1 (?) — UdhASA 1/2, UJadhASA 1/4, UJadhASA 8/1, UJadhASA 18/2?, UJadhASA 20/1, UJadhASA 23/2, UJadhHism 2, UJadhHism 6, UJadhHism 19, UJadhHism 29/2?
<i>dkr</i>	vb I 3msp 'he remembered'	UJadhHism 2
{ <i>d</i> } <i>krt</i>	vb I 3fsp 'may she be mindful of'	<b>UJadhHism 1</b>

**R**

<i>rbt</i>	vb I 3fsp 'she ruled'	UdhThamD 1
<i>rgmt</i>	pass. ptc. f. 'struck down'	UJadhSaf 1
<i>rnd</i>	n. 'species of Artemisia'	ArASA 7

**S<sup>1</sup>**

<i>s't</i>	n. 'lady' (?)	UdhThamD 3
<i>s'r</i>	adj 'making happy'	HSThamB 1/2

**D**

{ <i>d</i> }{ <i>r</i> }{ <i>t</i> }	vb I 3msp 'he farted'	ArHism 18
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## C

'l	prep. 'over, for'	UJadhSaf 1
'mt	n. 'grandmother'?	UJadhSaf 5

## Ġ

{ġ}lmt	n. 'young slave girl'	AbRakThamB 1/1
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## F

f	prep. governing the obj. of wdd	ArThamC/D 1/1 — MBAZThamB 1?, MBAZThamC 1/1 — <b>UdhThamD 2</b>
ftt	n. 'young slave girl'	DBv1Saf 1/2

## Q

qs't	n. 'Saussurea costus Falc.'	ArASA 9 — <b>QNASA 3</b>
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## L

l	intro. ptcl 'by'	AbRakHism 2, AbRakHism 3?, AbRakHism 4, AbRakHism 5? — ArANA 3, ArHism 1, ArHism 2?, ArHism 3, ArHism 4, ArHism 5, ArHism 6, ArHism 7, ArHism 8, ArHism 11, ArHism 15, ArHism 16, ArHism 17, ArHism 18?, ArHism 19, ArHism 20, ArHism 21, ArHism 22/1,; ArHism 23, ArHism 24/1, ArHism 25, ArHism 26, ArHism 27, ArSaf 1, ArThamC/D 1/2, ArThamD 2?, ArThamD 3 — DBv1Saf 1/1 — DBv3ASA 1?; DBv3Hism 1 — GhRANA 2, GhRANA 3 — HSHism 1? — JJKhTay 1? — JJUHism 1 — KhRHism 1?, KhRHism 2, KhRHism 3 — MBAZHism 1, MBAZHism 2, MBAZHism? 3, MBAZHism 4, MBAZHism 5 — QNHism 1, QNThamC 2, QNThamC? 3 — SHHism 1? — SAyHism 1, SAyHism 3, SAyHism 4, SAyHism 5, SAySaf 1 — UJadhASA 29?, UJadhHism 1, UJadhHism 3?, UJadhHism 4, UJadhHism 5, UJadhHism 6, UJadhHism 7, UJadhHism 8, UJadhHism 9, UJadhHism 10, UJadhHism 11, UJadhHism 13, UJadhHism 14, UJadhHism 15, UJadhHism 16, UJadhHism 17, UJadhHism 18, UJadhHism 20, UJadhHism 22, UJadhHism 23, UJadhHism 24, UJadhHism 27, UJadhHism 28, UJadhHism 29, UJadhSaf 1, UJadhSaf 5, UJadhThamB 2 (?), UJadhProblem 4?
l-	prep. 'to'	HSThamB 1/1

## M

m'db	n. 'client' (Sabaic)	UJadhASA 1/2-3
mhb	act. ptc. m. 'lover' or pass. ptc. m. 'beloved'	JJKhThamC 3/2, JJKhThamC 4/2 (?), JJKhThamC/D 1 — JJUThamC 3 — <b>MathThamD 1/1</b>
mty	vb I 3msp 'he was on a journey'	ArHism 20/3

## N

-n?	1s encl. obj. pr. 'me'	UdhThamC 1/2
nʒr	vb I 3msp/3mpp 'he was/they were on the look-out',	UJadhHism 12
nk	vb I 3msp 'he had sex with'	UdhDad 9/1
nm	intro. ptcl 'by'	HSThamB 1/2 — JJKhThamB 2?

## H

h	voc. ptcl. 'O'	HSThamB 1/1
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<i>h-</i>	def. art. 'the'	HSThamB 1/2
<i>-h</i>	3s encl. poss.pr. 'his'	UJadhSaf 1
<i>hb</i>	vb I impv (< <i>whb</i> ) 'give'	HSThamB 1/1

## W

<i>w</i>	intro. ptcl	AbRakHism 1
<i>w</i>	conj. 'and'	ArHism 18?, ArHism 20/2, 3 — JJKhThamB 1/2 — MBAZThamC 1/2 — QNASA 3 (?) — UJadhASA 27/2, UJadhHism 1, UJadhHism 2 (x2), UJadhHism 3, UJadhHism 11, UJadhHism 12 (x2), UJadhHism 13/2, UJadhHism 19, UJadhSaf 1, UJadhSaf 4, UJadhSaf 5, UJadhThamC/D 1 — DBv1Saf 1/1
<i>wgm</i>	vb I 3msp 'he grie- ved' + 'l' 'for'	UJadhSaf 1, UJadhSaf 4
<i>wdd</i>	n. 'love'	HSThamB 1/1
<i>wdd</i>	vb I/II 3msp 'he loved'	AbRakThamB 1/1 (?) — ArThamC/D 1/1 — HSThamB 1 — MBAZThamB 1; MBAZThamC 1/1 — SHThamB 1 — ThThamB 1 — <b>UdhThamC 1/2</b> , <b>UdhThamD 2</b> , UJadhASA 27/2 — <b>DBv1ThamC 1</b>
<i>wdt</i>	vb I 3fsp 'she loved'	JJKhThamB 1/1, JJKhThamB 3, JJKhThamB 4 (?), JJKhThamB 5 — <b>ThThamB 2</b> , ThThamB 3
<i>wddt</i>	vb I/II 1sp 'I loved'	JJKhThamB 2 — <b>UdhThamB 1</b>

## Y

<i>-y</i>	1s encl. obj. pr. 'me' on the prep. <i>l-</i>	HSThamB 1/1
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## Sigla and References

## Sigla

Note that the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions represented by these sigla can be found in the *Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia* (OCIANA, <http://krccm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana>) and the Ancient South Arabian in the *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions* (CSAI, <http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0>)

The Arabic definite article *al-* is ignored in the alphabetic order.

AH	Dadanitic inscriptions in Abū 'l-Ḥasan 1997.
AMJ	Hismaic inscriptions published in scattered articles by W.J. Jobling, and later numbered consecutively under this siglum, with many corrected readings, in King 1990: 608–624.
AMSI	Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Ali Al-Manaser and published in OCIANA.
AMWR	Safaitic inscriptions recorded by M.I. Ababneh and published in OCIANA.
ASFF	Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Sabri Abbadi and published in OCIANA.
BS	Safaitic inscriptions recorded by the Badia Epigraphic Survey and published in OCIANA.
C	Safaitic inscriptions in <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars V. Inscriptiones Saracenicis continens, Tomus I. Inscriptiones Safaiticae</i> . Paris, 1950–1951.
CEDS	Safaitic inscriptions from V.A. Clark's Eastern Desert Survey, published in OCIANA.
CH	Hismaic inscriptions edited in Corbett 2010 and available in OCIANA.
CIS II	Aramaic, including Nabataean, inscriptions in <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars II Inscriptiones Aramaicas continens</i> . Paris, 1889–1954.
CSAI	Corpus of South Arabian inscriptions ( <a href="http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&amp;prjId=1&amp;corId=0&amp;colId=0">http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&amp;prjId=1&amp;corId=0&amp;colId=0</a> ).
CTSS	Hismaic inscriptions in Clark 1980.



- DhM Inscriptions in the Dhamār Regional Museum, Yemen (see <http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0>).
- Eut Taymanitic, Hismaic and Thamudic inscriptions copied by J. Euting and published in Jamme 1974
- Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt See under Jabal al-Khraymāt.
- H Nabataean inscriptions in Healey 1993.
- HaNSB Safaitic inscriptions in Ḥarāḥṣah 2010.
- HASI Safaitic inscriptions recorded by ‘AbdulQader Al-Huṣan and published in OCIANA.
- HE Dadanitic, Taymanitic and Thamudic inscriptions in Harding 1971a.
- HSIM Safaitic inscriptions in Harding 1950.
- HU Hismaic, Taymanitic, and Thamudic inscriptions copied by Charles Huber and published in Huber 1891, as renumbered in van den Branden 1950.
- Hub Huber’s inscriptions by page number and text number as they appear in Huber 1891.
- al-Ḥuraybah Dadanitic inscriptions from al-Ḥuraybah published in OCIANA
- ISB Safaitic inscriptions in Oxtoby.
- Is.H Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Hussein Zeinaddin at al-‘Īsāwī on the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme and published in OCIANA.
- Is.M Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Michael Macdonald at al-‘Īsāwī on the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme and published in OCIANA.
- Is.Mu Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Muna Al-Mu’azzin at al-‘Īsāwī on the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme and published in OCIANA.
- Ja Ancient South Arabian inscriptions published by Jamme.  
722 in Jamme 1962.  
928 in Jamme 1963.  
978 in Jamme 1963.  
2104e in Jamme 1966.
- Jabal al-Khraymāt Dadanitic inscriptions in Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017 and see under Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt in OCIANA.
- Jacobson Hismaic inscriptions recorded by David Jacobson and published in OCIANA.
- JaS 139, 154 Safaitic inscription published in Jamme 1971.
- JSLih Dadanitic inscriptions in Jaussen and Savignac 1914–1922.
- JSTham Hismaic, Taymanitic and Thamudic inscriptions in Jaussen and Savignac 1914–1922.
- JSMIn Minaic inscriptions in Jaussen and Savignac 1914–1922.
- JSNab Nabataean inscriptions in Jaussen and Savignac 1914–1922.
- KhBG Safaitic inscriptions in Khraysheh 2002 and available in OCIANA.
- KhS Safaitic inscriptions in Khraysheh 2007 and available in OCIANA.
- KJB Hismaic inscriptions from site B in King 1990.
- KJC Hismaic inscriptions from site C in King 1990.
- KRS Safaitic inscriptions recorded during the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey led by Geraldine King in 1989 and now published in OCIANA
- Lisān al-‘Arab* See under Ibn Manẓūr.
- LP Safaitic inscriptions published in Littmann 1943.
- Ma‘īn Minaic inscriptions in Bron 1998.
- MKJS Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Michael Macdonald and Geraldine King at Jabal Ṣaq‘ and published in OCIANA.
- al-Namārah.H Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Hussein Zeinaddin on the Al-Namārah Rescue Survey and published in OCIANA
- OCIANA *Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia* (<http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana>)
- Ph Inscriptions copied by H.St.J.B Philby and published in van den Branden 1956.
- QZMJ Safaitic inscriptions recorded by Ḥ. Al-Qudrah, M. Al-Zu‘bī, and S.A. Al-Ma‘ānī and published in OCIANA.
- RES *Répertoire d’épigraphie sémitique*. Paris, 1900–1968.
- as-Sawdā’ Minaic inscriptions in Avanzini 1995.
- SIJ Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett 1957 and available in OCIANA.
- Tdr Dadanitic, Hismaic, Taymanitic, and Thamudic inscriptions in Koenig 1971.

ThNUJ	Nabataean inscriptions in al-Theeb 2002.
ThSaf	Safaitic inscriptions in al-Theeb 2003.
TIJ	Hismaic inscriptions in Harding and Littmann 1952.
U	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Sima 1999.
al-‘Uḏayb	Dadanitic inscriptions from al-‘Udhayb published in OCIANA
UPC	Hadramitic inscriptions in Kitchen 2009.
WH	Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett and Harding 1978.
WHI	Thamudic, Hismaic, and Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett and Reed 1973.
WTI	Thamudic and Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett and Reed 1970.
YM	Ancient South Arabian inscriptions in the Yemen Museum, Ṣan‘ā’ (see CSAI: <a href="http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&amp;prjId=1&amp;corId=0&amp;colId=0">http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&amp;prjId=1&amp;corId=0&amp;colId=0</a> ).

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# The Greek inscriptions at al-‘Arniyyāt and Umm Jadhāyidh

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## ArGr1

One line, hammered.



---ΘΗΠΕΤΡΟΣ

[μνησ]θη ΠΕΤΡΟΣ!

“Remember Petros!”

The first four letters of the first word, *mnēs*, are completely erased, except perhaps for the upper part of the *sigma*, but their restoration is certain due to the presence of the last two letters of the word. This verb in the imperative is indeed extremely common at the beginning of graffiti.

*Petros* is a Greek name which means “rock”. It was used as a personal name by the Christians from the 1st century AD onwards, following the name given to the leader of the twelve Christian apostles. It was not common among non Christians. Since the writer does not mention his father’s name, it is possible that he was a slave. There was a significant proportion of Christians among the slaves in the 2nd and (certainly more) 3rd century AD, a possible date for this graffiti.

## UJadhGr 1

Three lines, incised.

ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ

ΚΑΛΠΟΡΝΙΟ

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ

Λευκιος / Καλπορνιο[ς Διονυσι[ος

“Leukios Kalpornios Dionysios” or, better, “Lucius Calpurnius Dionysius”.

The last letter, obviously -s, of line 2, and the two last letters, -os, of line 3, are missing because the surface of the rock is slightly broken.



Leukios (instead of Loukios which would be expected) is a hellenised form of the Latin forename (*praenomen*) Lucius. Kalpornios (Kalpournios would be expected) is a hellenised form of the Latin family (*gens*) name (*nomen*) Calpurnius. Dionysios is a personal name derived from Dionysos, the Greek god. The writer is a Roman citizen, bearing as such three names, the *tria nomina*: the *praenomen* Lucius, the *nomen* Calpurnius, and the *cognomen* Dionysius (Dionysios). Calpurnius is the name of a very old aristocratic Roman family, *gens Calpurnia*, but the author of this text is certainly not a direct member of the *gens*. In the Roman world, when a slave was freed by a Roman citizen, his sons would become Roman citizens and bear the *nomen* of their father's former owner. In this particular case, an ancestor of the writer was freed by a member of the *gens Calpurnia*. The *cognomen* Dionysios shows that he is an Oriental, but it is impossible to be more specific. Moreover, since the name Dionysios indicates at least loose connections with the pagan cult of Dionysos, the text must be earlier than the end of the 4th century AD, when this cult tends to disappear.

### UJadhGr 2

One line, hammered. There is a Nabataean inscription above it, UJadhNab 216.



ΙΑΛΗC ΑΡΑΖΟΥ

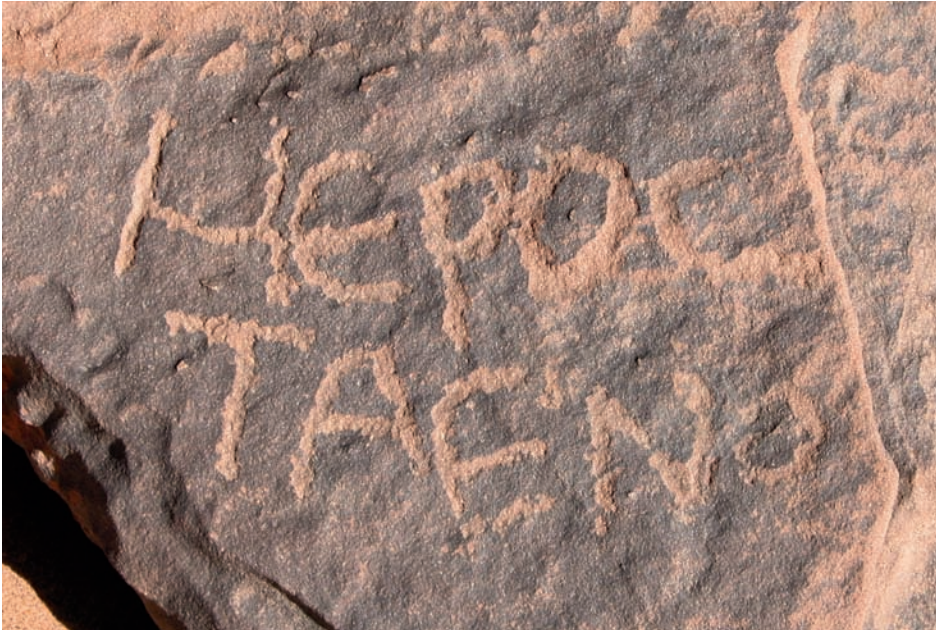
Ιαλης Αραζου

“Iales, son of Arazos”.

Both names sound strange and rare. Iales, as such, seems to be unknown in Greek texts. However, it is probably a Greek approximate transliteration of Latin Valens, normally transliterated as Ouales (for example in funerary steles from Umm al-Jimāl, IGLS XXI 425–427). Arazos is close to Aras and Arase, found in Greek on funerary steles at Boṣrā (IGLS XIII 9211: Aras, son of Zabd; 9212: Arase, also called Sabeina, daughter of Sabeinos) and Umm al-Jimāl (IGLS XXI 581: Arase daughter of Authallos).

### UJadhGr 3

Two lines, hammered.



HEPOC

TAENO

Ἡερος / Ταενο(υ)

“(A)eros, son of Taenos”.

The writer’s name is difficult to read and understand because of the first letter, almost certainly a very clear *eta*, which is completely unexpected, if not impossible, before *en epsilon*. Since *eta* was sometimes pronounced *i*, Hieros could be restored, but this word, which means “sacred”, is not a personal name. I prefer to suggest that the association of the initial *eta* with the epsilon was used to transliterate one of the Ancient North Arabian consonants which have no equivalent in Greek, possibly a *ʿayn*, which would more normally be transliterated in Greek by A (alpha) followed by e (epsilon). This, however, remains speculation. The name is almost certainly equivalent to Ἡρος, commonly found in the cemeteries of the ancient villages in the Levant (for example at Umm al-Jimāl, IGLS XXI 290–293), systematically identified to Semitic patronyms. It is definitely not a Greek name. A Greek transcription of a Latin Varus or Verus does not seem probable. The best hypothesis is the transcription of an Ancient North Arabian name (*ʿr?*). The patronym, Taen, is close to Tan, which corresponds to Semitic *zn*, a very common name in Ancient North Arabian inscriptions, transliterated Τανος, not Ταενος, in a recently published inscription from the Syrian steppe (Villeneuve 2017: 259). Thus it seems better, for Ταενος, to consider Semitic *zʿn*, vocalised as an active participle, *zāʿin*, which was found in a bilingual Safaitic-Greek text from North-Eastern Jordan to be published by A. Al-Jallad and Z. al-Salameen.<sup>1</sup>

1. Personal communication from A. Al-Jallad, February 2018.



**UJadhGr 4**

One line, hammered, between two Nabataean inscriptions written in larger characters, UJadhNab 210 (below) and UJadhNab 211 (above).



MNHCTH ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦOC

μνησθῆ Φιλάδελφος!

“Remember Philadelphos!”.

The name is Greek. It means “who loves his brother(s) or sister(s)”. It was particularly common in Egypt from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, but it was also widely used in the Roman East in general. It is possible that the writer was a slave since he does not mention his father’s name.

**UJadhGr 5:** not attributed.

**UJadhGr 6**

Two lines, hammered. There is a Nabataean inscription below it, UJadhNab 465.



MNHC

AΨΑΛΑΜOCAM

μνησ[θῆ] / Αψαλαμος Αμ[----]!

“Remember Absalamos son of Am----!”.

Only one photograph, dark and without much contrast, is available for this text. This is not a problem for the first line, where the last two letters of the word are erased but can be restored without any doubt: *mnesthe*, “remember!”. In the central part of the second line, one may at first glance read *anamos*. The name Anamos is very common in the Greek epigraphy of the Southern Levant (for example on funerary steles at Umm al-Jimāl, IGLS XXI 196–198), and is a clear transcription of Ancient North Arabian ʾnʿm (Al-Jallad and Manaser 2016: 60, stone 3: bilingual graffito from the Jordanian steppe). This was followed by a patronym of which only the first two letters, Am- are visible. What follows is partly broken, partly erased.

The only real difficulty is at the beginning of line 2, where two letters are clearly written immediately

before the proposed Anamos. The first could be an *alpha* or a *lambda*. The second is almost certainly a *psi*. Should one read Αψαναμος, Apsanamos? This is unknown, but if we observe that the proposed *ν* looks actually much more like a *λ*, we get Αψαλαμος, Absalamos, Absalom, which may be the equivalent of Nabataean *ʿbšlm*, attested in two, possibly three inscriptions from the Darb al-Bakrah as well as in Ḥegrā, on which see § G.5 (p. 81–82) of the introduction to the Nabataean catalogue where it has not been considered as a probable Jewish name.

### UJadhGr 7

One line, hammered, associated with a very stylised rock drawing. The drawing represents a man (narrow head, open arms, legs at right angles, long sex organ). Another stylised drawing is carved immediately to the right of the human figure. It represents an animal with two horns, four legs, and one tail. A star is carved above the animal, on the right on the photograph.



POE

ρϞϞ

This can only be a numeral: 100–70–5, thus 175, and is probably a date. If we consider that it was written according to the era of the Roman province of Arabia, as is common in this area in the 2nd–4th centuries AD, it corresponds to AD 281. We may suggest that the scene is a small memorial for an anonymous traveller killed by an animal in AD 281. This interpretation, however, does not take into account the star, nor the two symbols – or drawings or Semitic letters? – carved to the left of the man's drawing, which remain to be explained.

**UJadhGr 8**

One line, hammered, two or three Greek letters preceded by a small sign. In the middle of Nabataean inscriptions, among which are UJadhNab 388 and 389, carved in larger letters than the Greek ones.



ΘΕΟ

θεο

The *theta* and the *epsilon* are clear. The *omicron*, due its missing top (absent, not erased) is doubtful. Could it be the beginning of an *omega*, the end of which would have been omitted?

θεω

If so, and if in the dative form, it would mean: “to a god” or “to God”, but this is extremely doubtful. θεο as such is meaningless. Could it be the beginning of a theophoric name such as Theodoros or Theophilos which was never completed? Besides, ideally, one should take into account the presence of a sign which looks like a mirrored *s* immediately before the *theta*.

It would certainly be hazardous to suggest that this short series of signs could be an abbreviated formulation of the famous monotheistic slogan of the 3rd–6th centuries AD, quite often written on stones:

εἰς θεός!

“One God!”.

**UJadhGr 9**

Two lines, hammered.



ΜΝΗΘ ΘΕΩΔΩ

ΡΟC ΘΑ ΒΧ

μνη(σ)θ(ῆ) Θε&lt;ό&gt;δω / ροc ΘΑ ΒΧ

“Remember Theodoros!”.

Theodoros is an extremely common Greek theophoric name (meaning “gift of god”). In the Middle East, it often translates Semitic theophoric names. The author made a mistake when writing his name, he wrote Θεώδωρος instead of Θεόδωρος.

I did not find any explanation for the last four letters of line 2. ΘΑ, *theta* and *alpha*, are clear. Are they numbers? 9 and 1? The Β is not as clear, but if this is a Greek letter, it cannot be anything else. The same is true for the final X-shaped sign, normally the Greek letter *chi*. The group of four letters is probably an abbreviation. It is possible that it is encrypted, with Θ meaning θεός (god) and X meaning χριστός (Christ), since Christians in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD made frequent use of that kind cryptograms, especially tetragrams. ΘΑΒΧ does however not seem to be attested; Β could mean βοηθεῖ ! (“help!” “be secourable”), but the meaning of Α is not clear.

### UJadhGr 10

One line, hammered.



(cross) ΣΟΝΑΕ

σονλε

This does apparently not make any sense. It may be an abbreviation, in that case a pentagram. Some letters are strange: the *sigma* and the *epsilon* which, contrary to all the inscriptions in this series, are square, not round, and the N, which is irregular. It is actually not clear in which direction and orientation the text should be read. The first proposed reading corresponds to the most “normal” aspect of Greek letters, with the normal reading from left to right. But a reading from the right is also possible: ελνοc, which sounds better in Greek but still makes no sense. A free reading, also from the right with additionally a top down mirroring, would give ευνοc (not *lambda* but *upsilon*), a possible approximation for Εὔνοc, a real Greek name. But this is very uncertain.

One last possibility would be a reading from the end, but by blocks of letters:

ελ σον, which could be a shortened writing for ἐλέησον, an invocation to God, “have mercy”.

The cross-shaped sign at the left end of the text has a “Latin cross” shape, relatively uncommon among the Christians in Preislamic times in the Middle East. Thus, the interpretation of this graffito as Christian is possible, but certainly not sure.

### Commentary

The technique used to carve these ten graffiti is very similar: they are all hammered, except for UJadhGr 1 which is incised. The shape of the letters is also homogeneous: all *epsilon* and *sigma* are round-shaped (except in UJadhGr 10); the *upsilon* are Y-shaped (not V-shaped); the *mu* are wide, with a central part

U-shape; the *omega* are w-shaped. All these characteristics are common and do not allow to give a precise date to the texts, but they fit particularly well the interval between the 2nd and the early 4th century AD. In UJadhGr 7, I suggested to read a date, possibly AD 281, which would also fit perfectly well with the date suggested on the basis of palaeography.

Except for UJadhGr 7, which seems to me to be some sort of memorial with a date, and with the possible exception of the enigmatic UJadhGr 10 (a prayer?) and UJadhGr 8 (a monotheistic slogan?), these graffiti are signatures of travellers and most of them are preceded by the classical formula “Remember!”.

Except for UJadhGr 1, which has three lines carved in relatively large letters and is the signature of a Roman citizen – a relatively important person, at least if dated to before the early 3rd century AD – the other graffiti are short, carved in small letters, and are relatively discrete when compared with the adjacent Nabataean texts. The writers are indeed modest people: Petros (ArGr 1), Philadelphos (UJadhGr 4), and Theodoros (UJadhGr 9) do not mention their patronym and could be slaves, although this is by no means certain. Iales son of Arazos (UJadhGr 2) and Eros son of Taenos (UJadhGr 3) seem to be ordinary “North-Arabian” individuals (but they write in Greek!). Absalamos son of Am---- (UJadhGr 6) is again a member of a Semitic community.

It is possible that religion, a monotheistic one, played a role in some of these discrete writings. Certainly, various religions are represented here: the pagan tradition in the name of Dionysios (Lucius, Calpurnius Dionysius); Petros is quite probably Christian. Theodoros may have written a (Christian?) tetragram after his name. And as we mentioned above, UJadhGr 8 and UJadhGr 10 could respectively be a short monotheistic proclamation (if not the beginning of an abandoned inscription) and a crypted Christian prayer.

## References

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### IGLS XXI

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Al-Jallad J. and Manaser A.

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Villeneuve F.

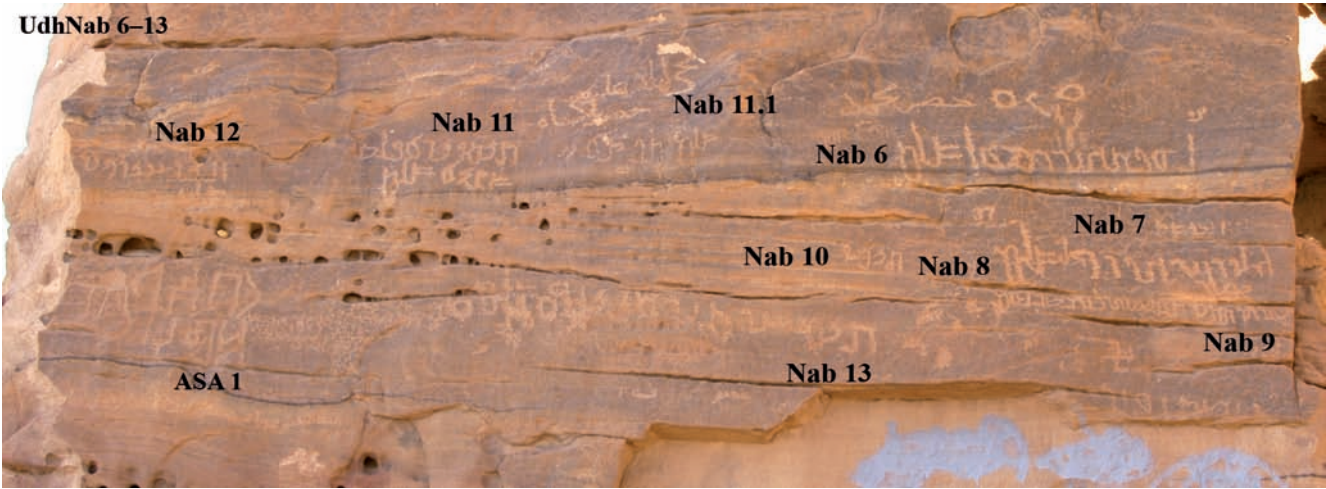
2017. ‘Un pasteur et un soldat? Deux inscriptions grecques d’époque romaine à l’est du Jabal Hawran’, in L. Nehmé and A. Al-Jallad (eds), *To the Madbar and Back Again. Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C.A. Macdonald*, *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*, 92. Leiden: 253–269.



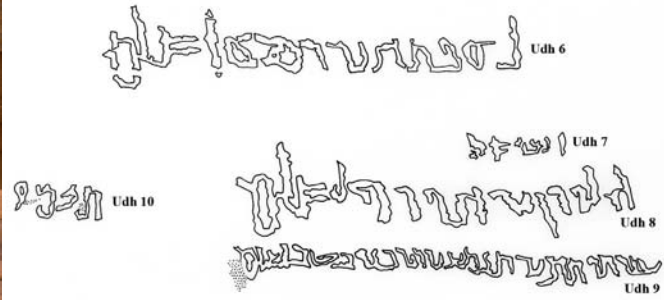
# PLATES



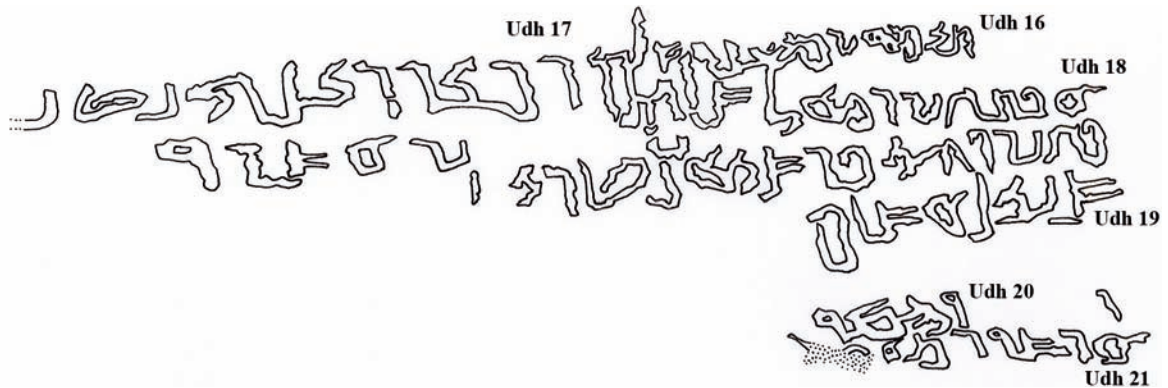




1a. UdhNab 6–13 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UdhASA 1



1b. UdhNab 6–10



1c. UdhNab 16–21





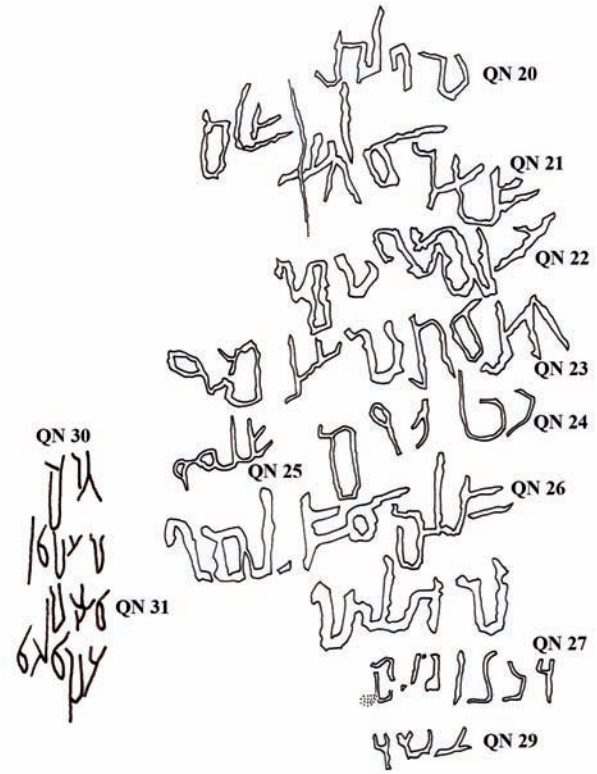
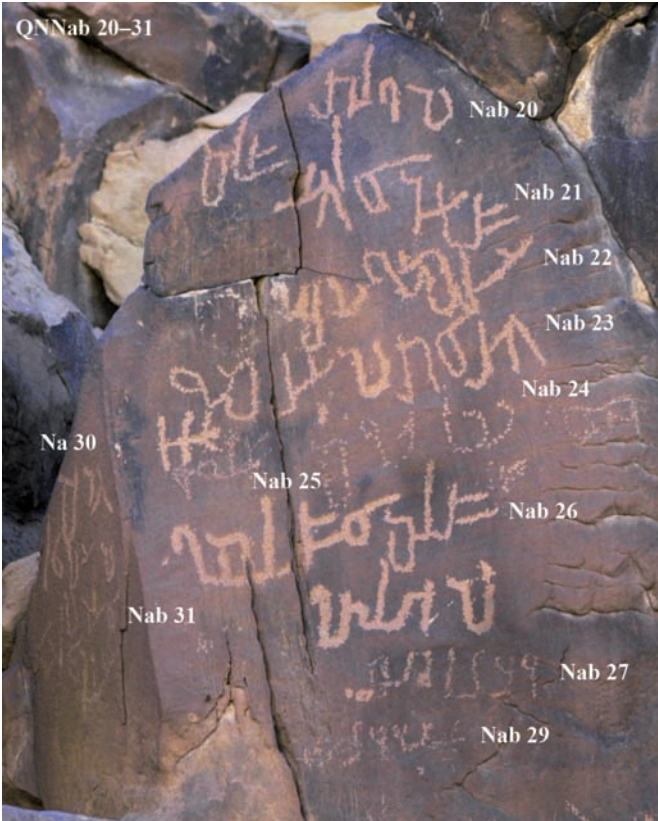
וְנִלְמַדְתִּי מִכֶּם לְעֵתֵי אֵלֶיךָ  
 אֵלֶיךָ לְעֵתֵי אֵלֶיךָ  
 וְהָיָה כִּי אֵלֶיךָ

2a. QNNab 12-14

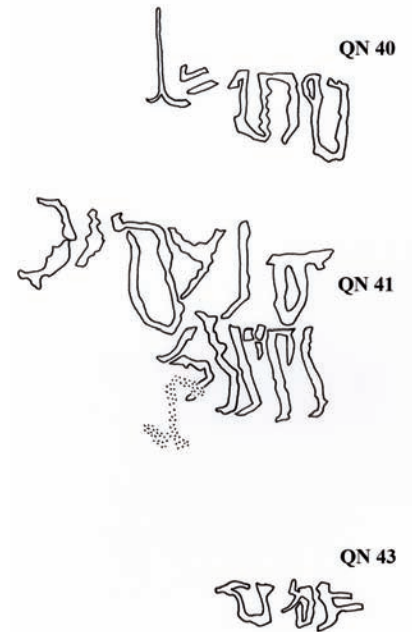


אֵלֶיךָ  
 וְהָיָה כִּי אֵלֶיךָ  
 אֵלֶיךָ לְעֵתֵי אֵלֶיךָ  
 וְהָיָה כִּי אֵלֶיךָ  
 אֵלֶיךָ

2b. QNNab 15-19



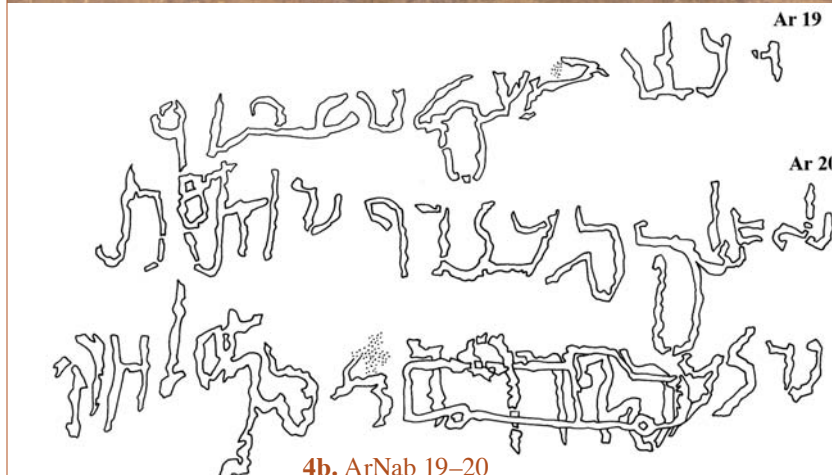
3a. QNNab 20-27, 29-31



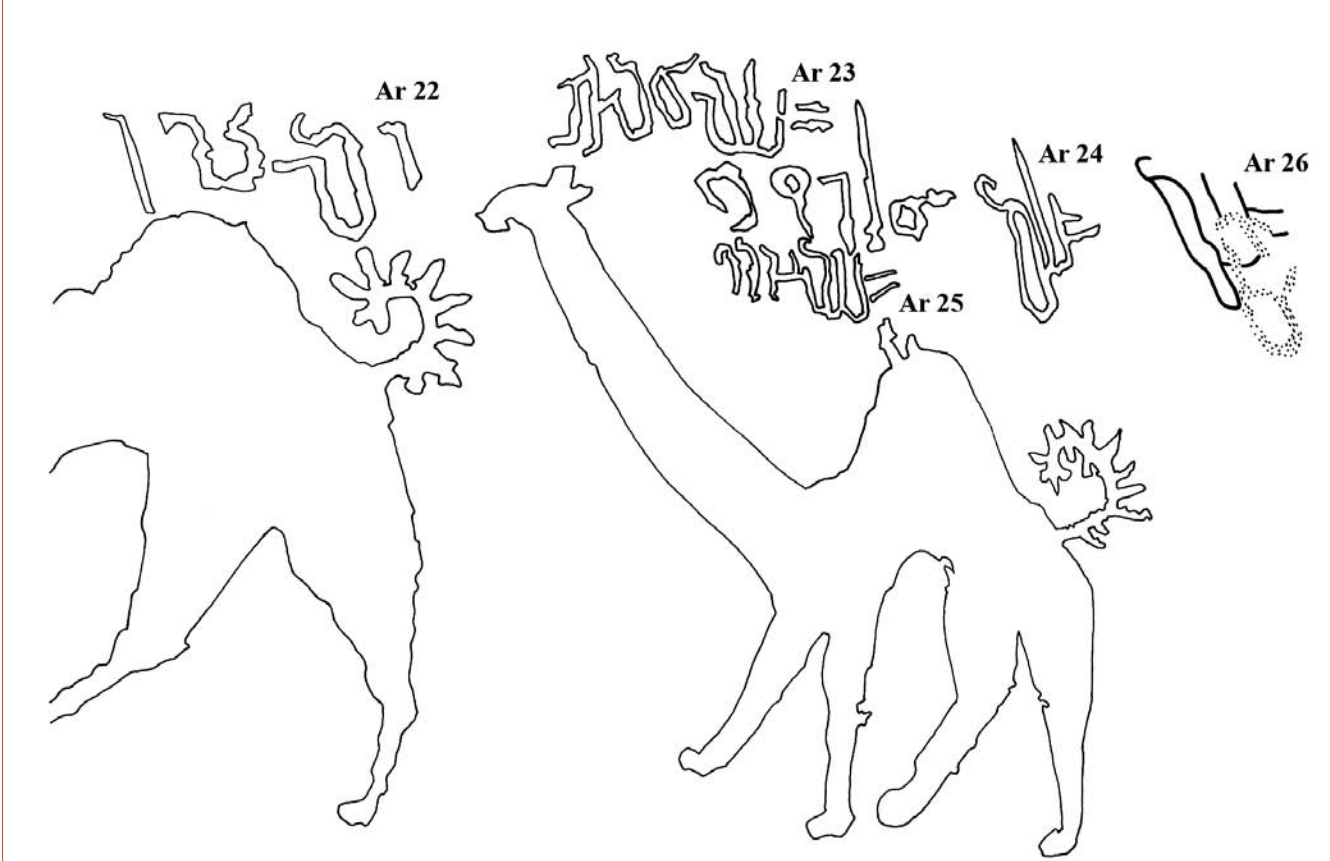
3b. QNNab 40-43



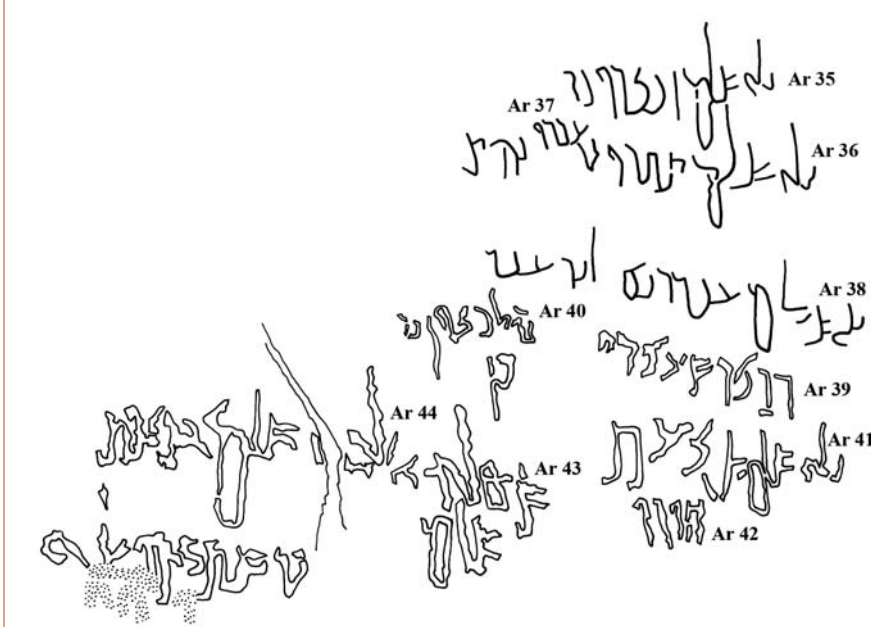
4a. QNNab 44-46 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), QNDad 2



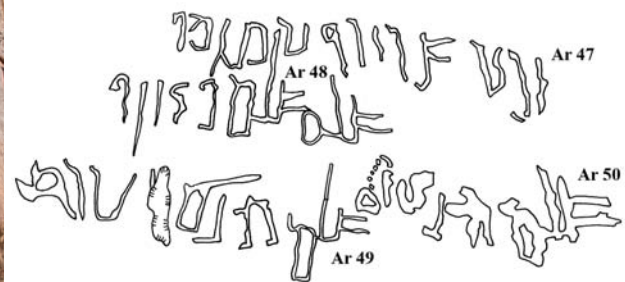
4b. ArNab 19-20



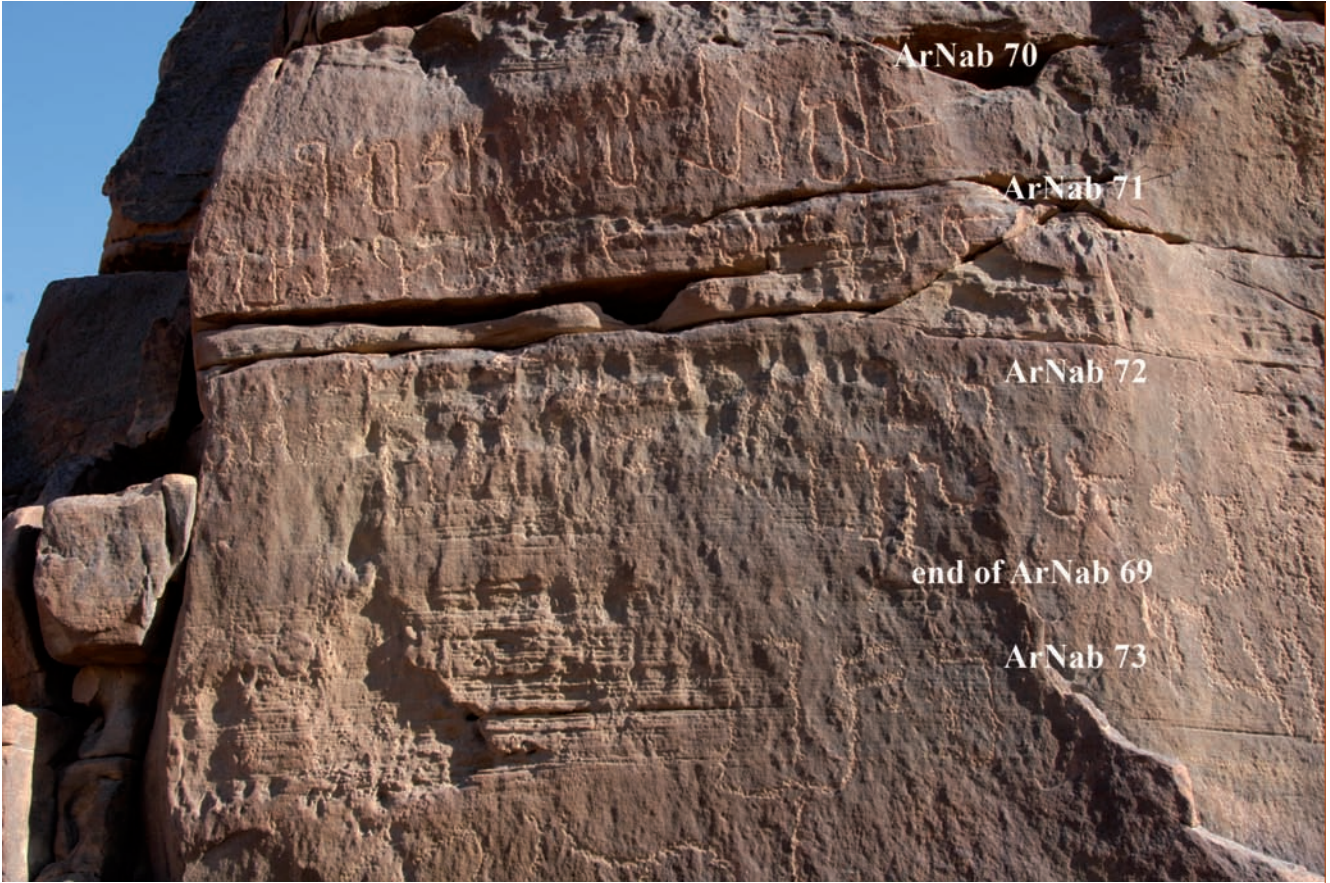
5. ArNab 22-26, ArThamD 1-2 parts



6a. ArNab 35-44



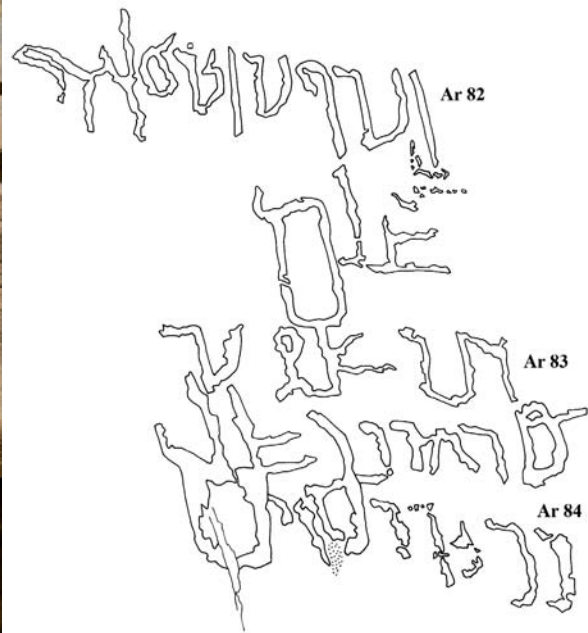
6b. ArNab 47-50, ArASA 3



7. ArNab 70-73

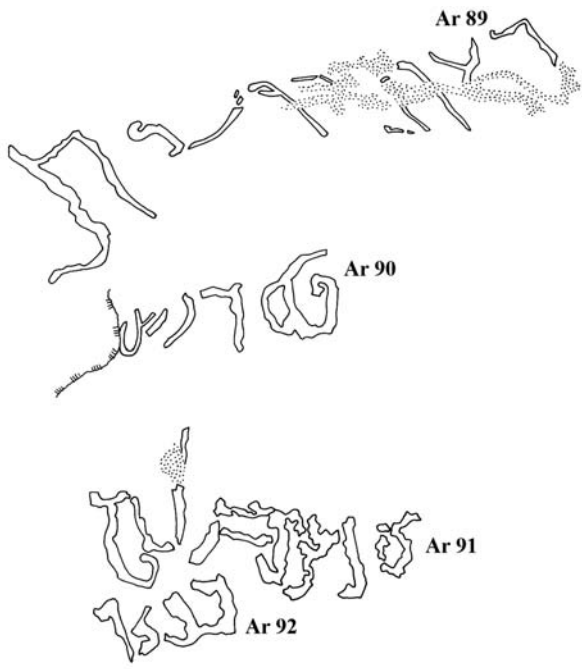


8a. ArNab 77–79 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), ArASA 7

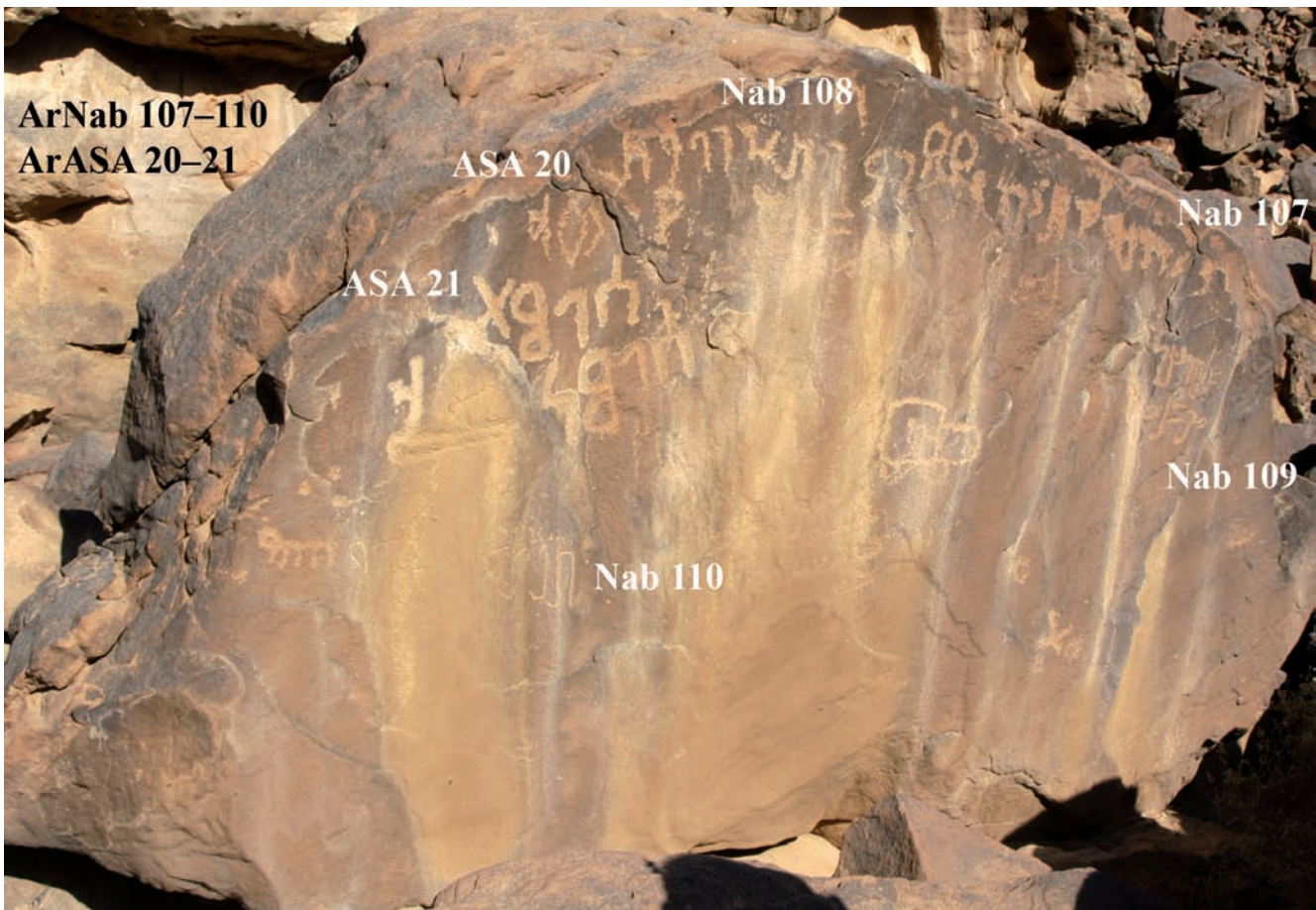


8b. ArNab 82–84



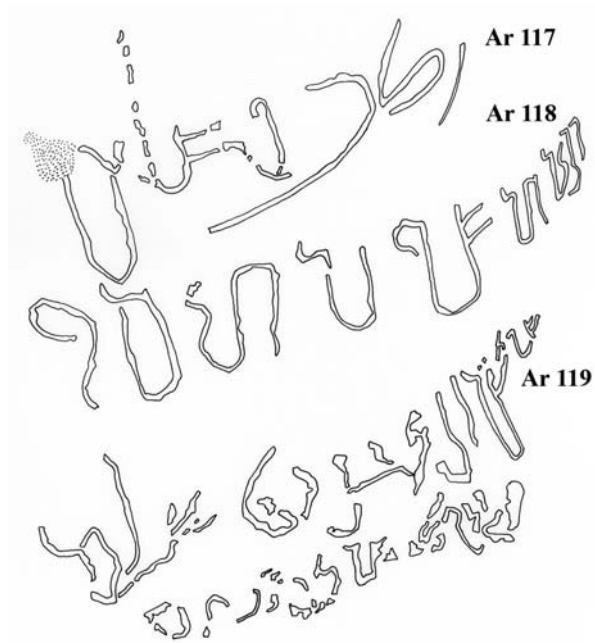


9a. ArNab 89-92, ArASA 8-9, ArHism 25



9b. ArNab 107-110 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), ArASA 20-21

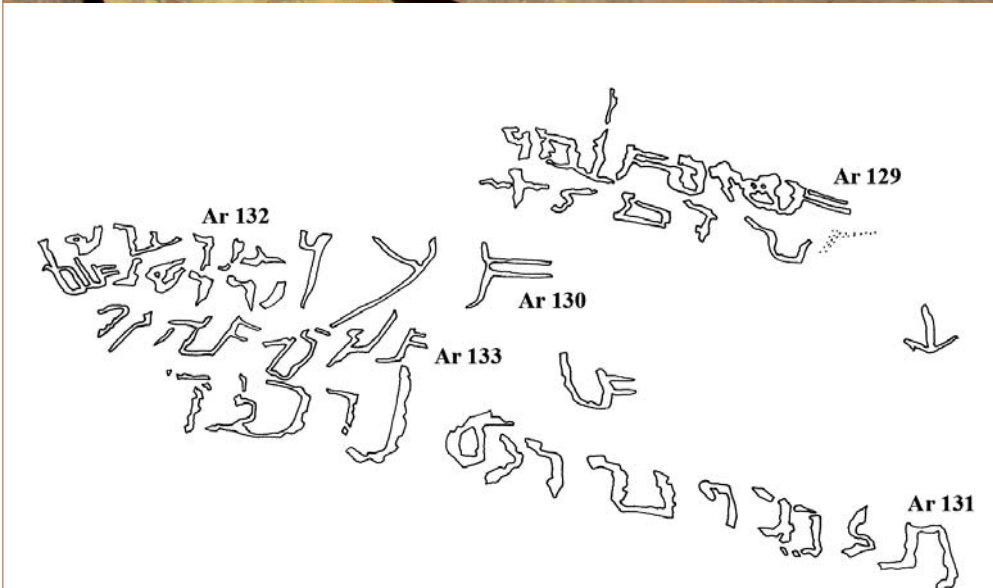




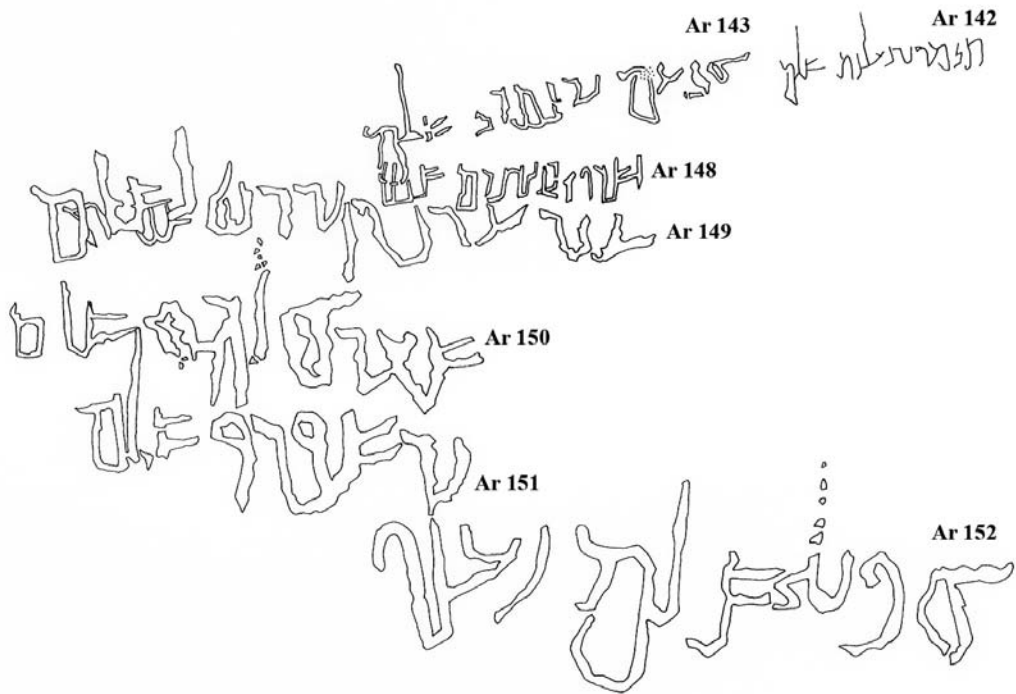
10a. ArNab 117-119



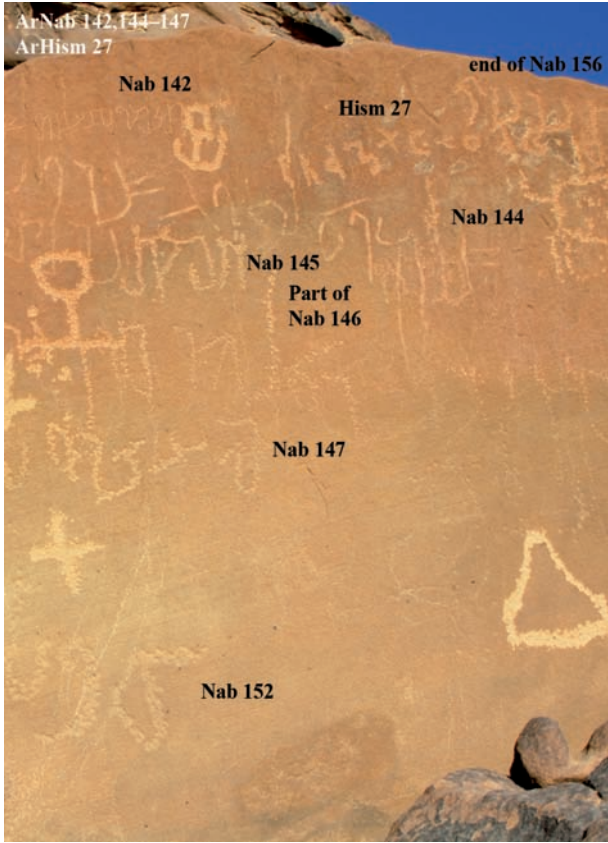
10b. ArNab 122-124



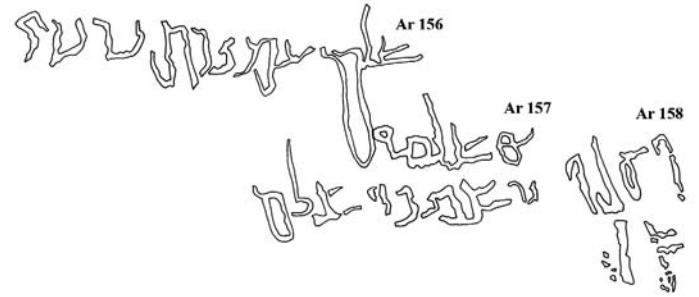
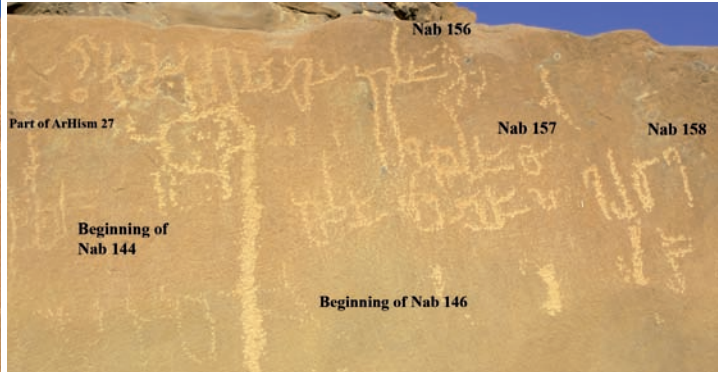
11. ArNab 129-134, ArASA 22, ArANA 3



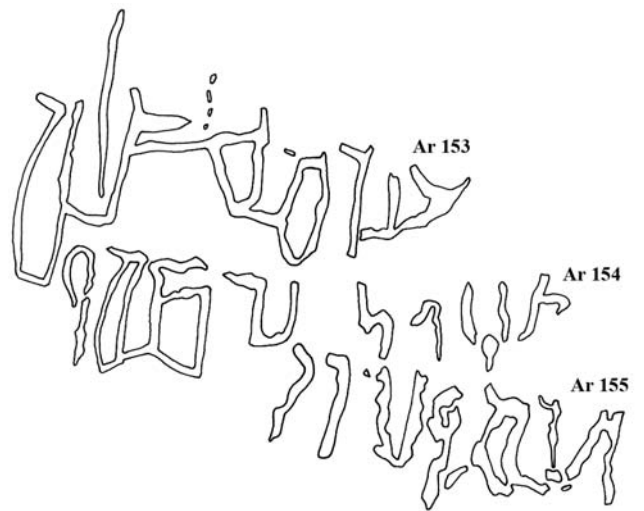
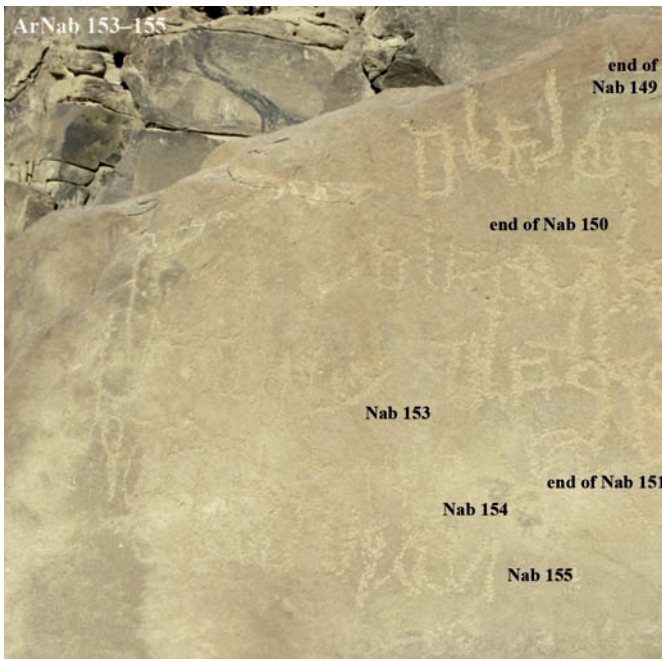
12. ArNab 142, ArNab 143, ArNab 148-152



13a. ArNab 142, ArNab 144–147 (for the facsimiles, see pl. 12 and the catalogue), ArHism 27



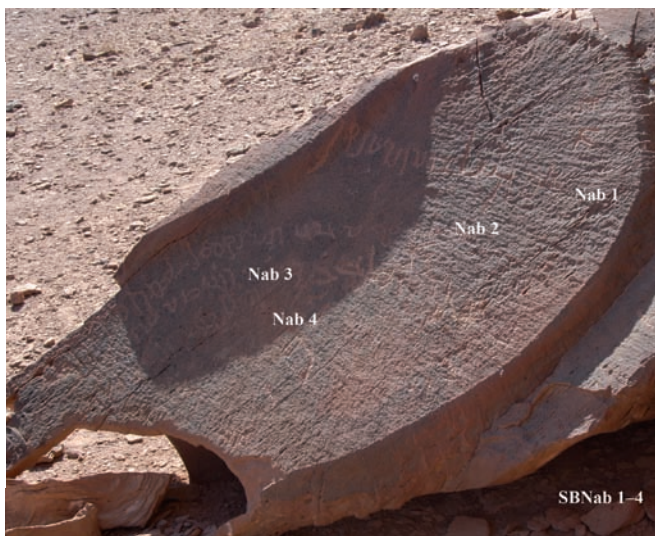
13b. ArNab 156–158, ArHism 7



13c. ArNab 153–155

אדם יצא למדונה  
 אלה יצאו 474 והיו 561  
 (ועצב עמו) 7  
 וטעמו עמו

SB 1  
SB 2  
SB 3  
SB 4



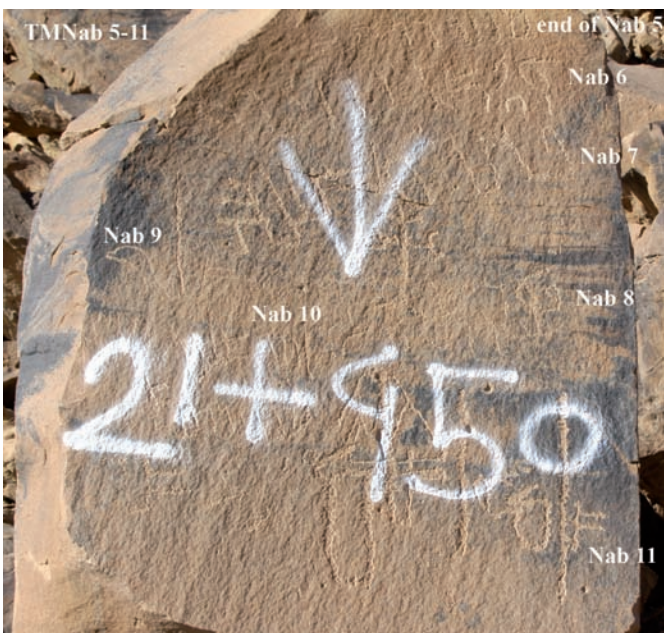
14a. SBNab 1-4



אדם יצא למדונה  
 אלה יצאו 474 והיו 561  
 (ועצב עמו) 7  
 וטעמו עמו

TM 1  
TM 2  
TM 3  
TM 4

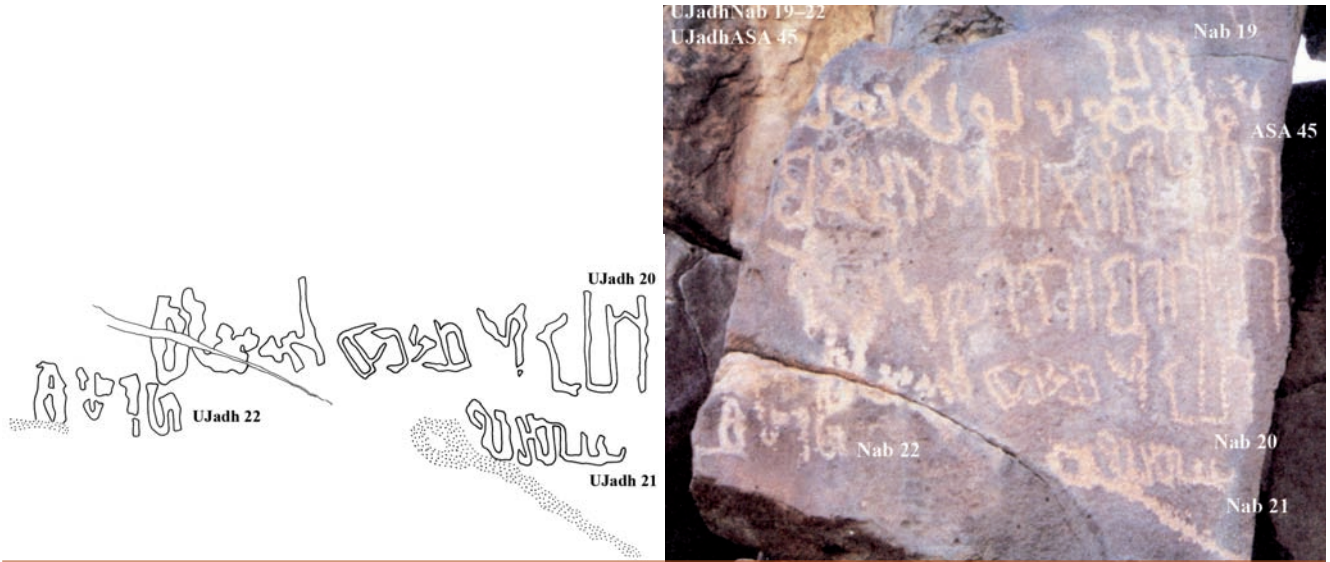
14b. TMNab 1-4



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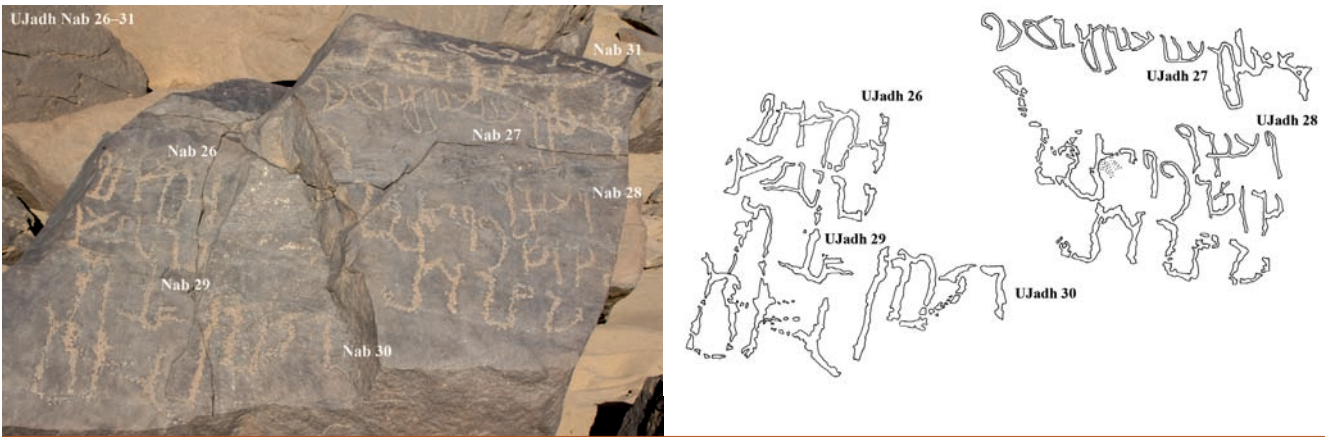
end of TM 5  
TM 6  
TM 7  
TM 9  
TM 8  
TM 10  
TM 11

14c. TMNab 5-11

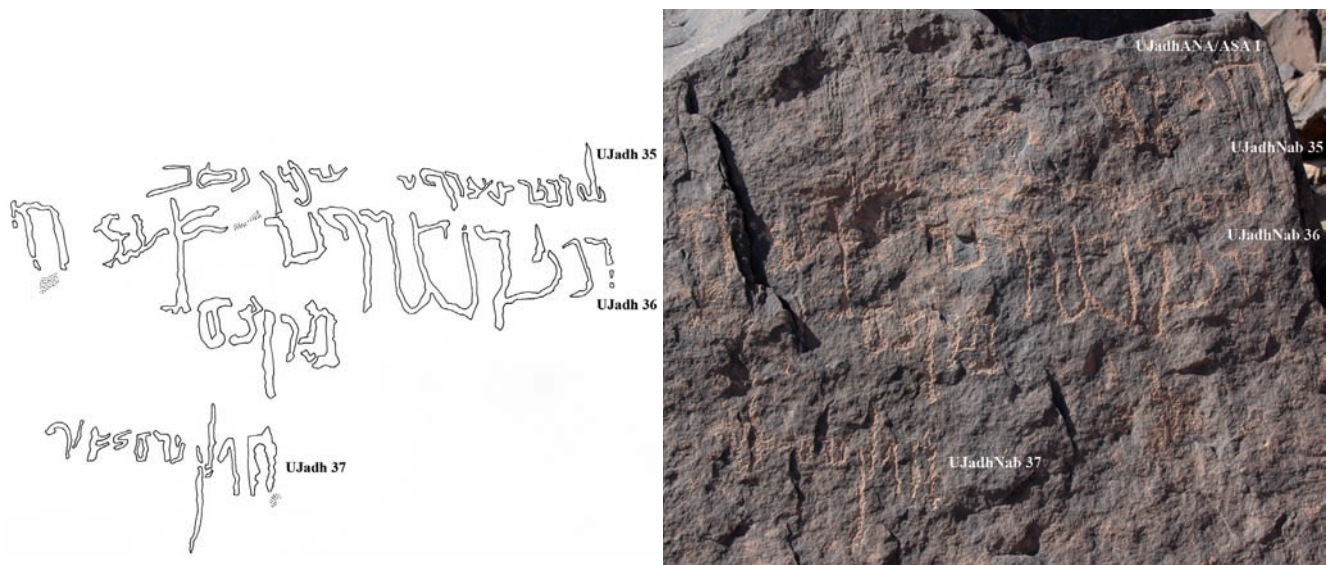


15a. UJadhNab 19-22, UJadhASA 45

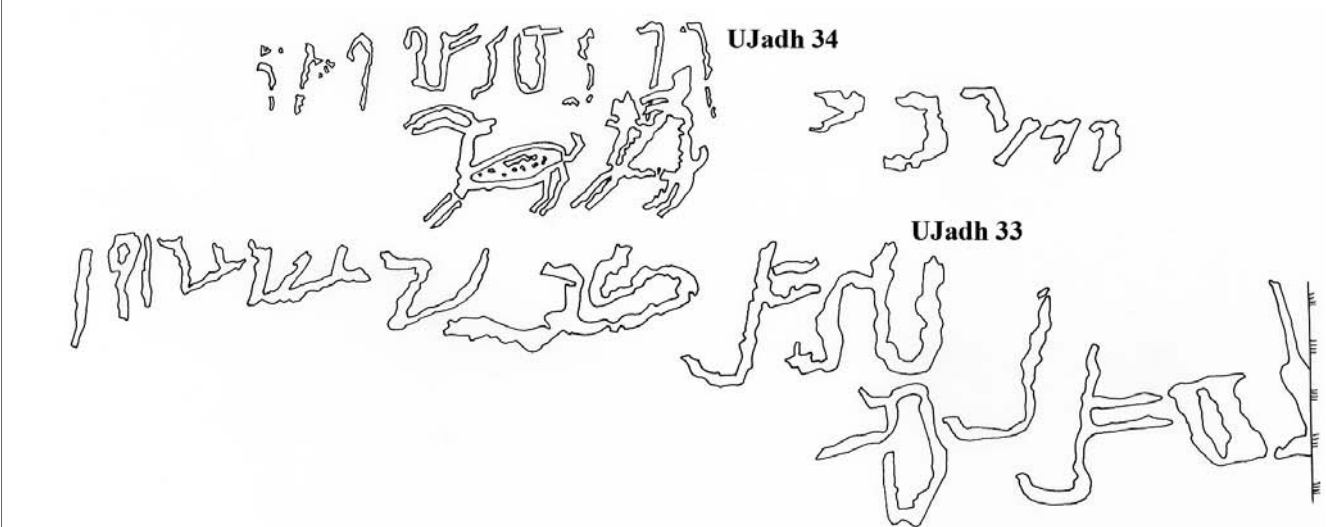
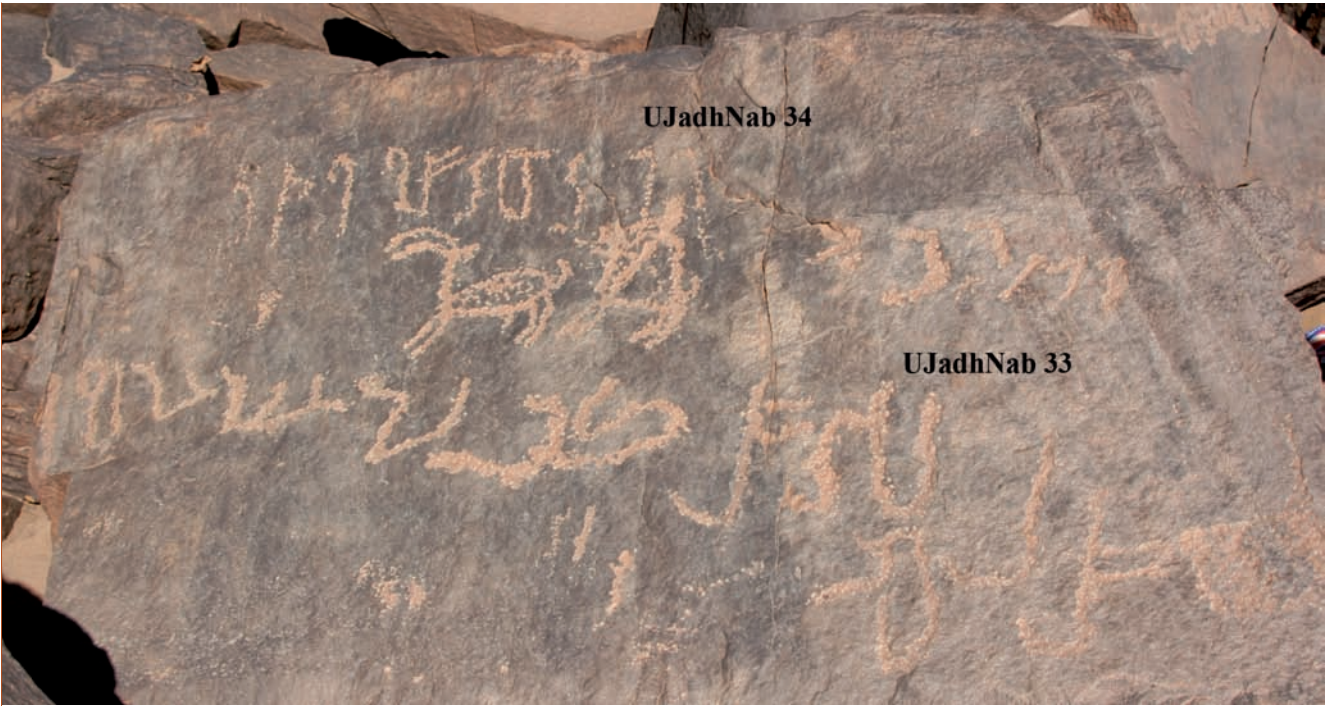
Al-Theeb 2002: 289



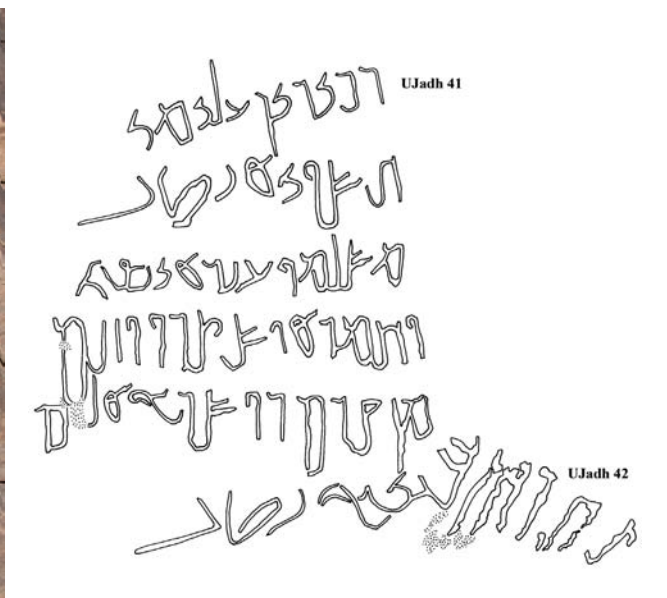
15b. UJadhNab 26-30



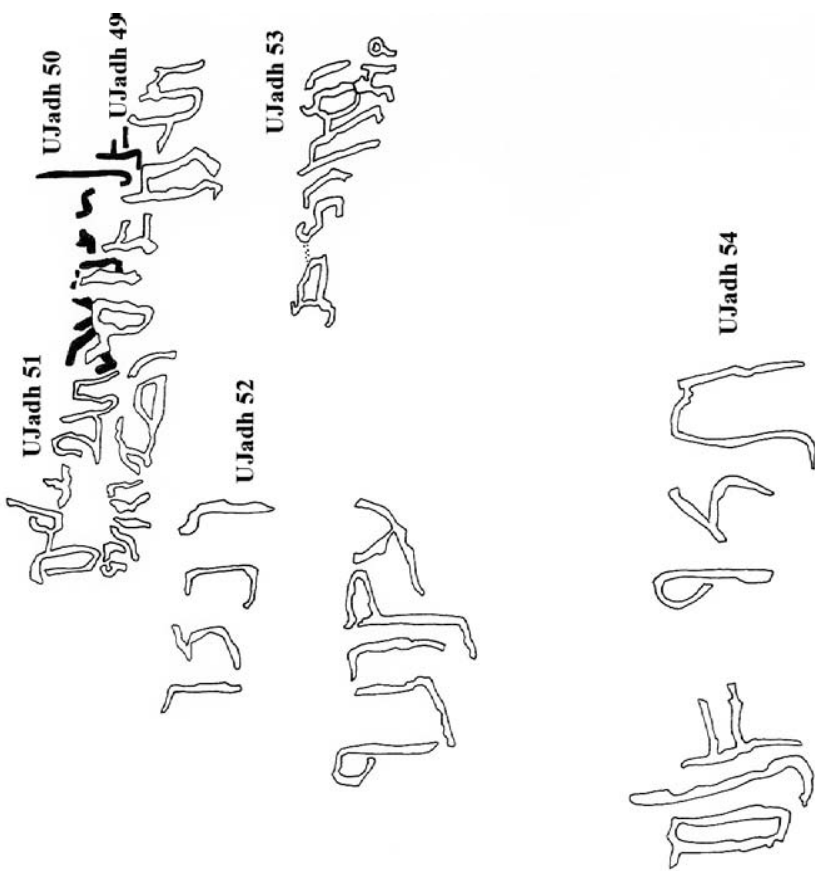
15c. UJadhNab 35-37, UJadhANA/ASA 1



16a. UJadhNab 33-34

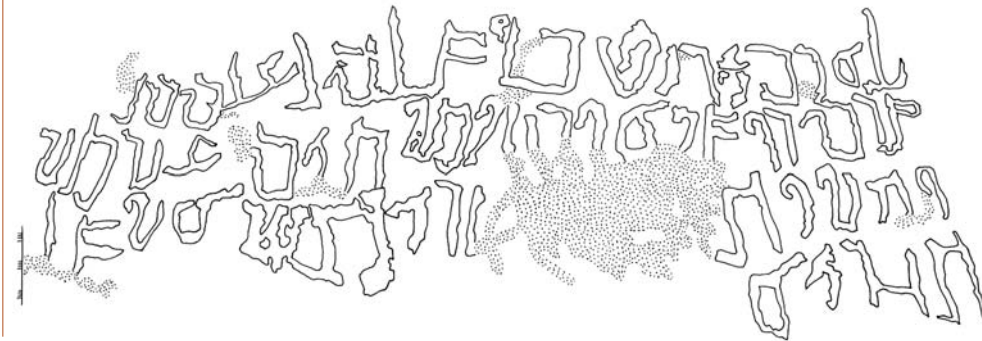


16b. UJadhNab 41-42

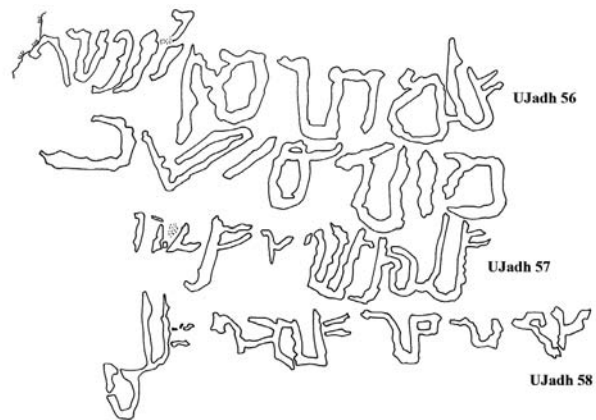
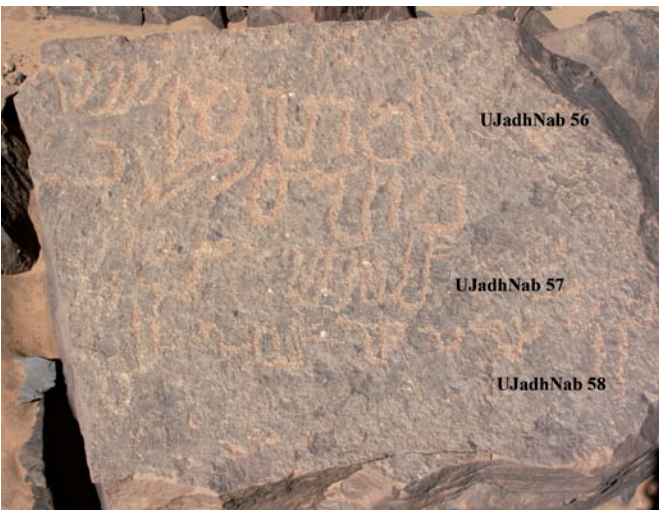


17. UJadhNab 49-54, UJadhHism 6-11





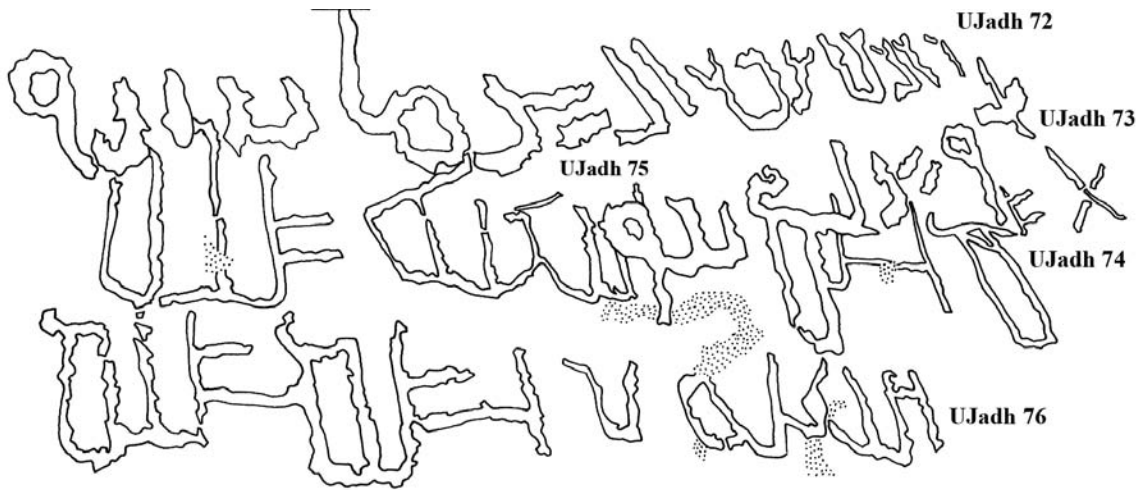
18a. UJadhNab 40, part of UJadhHism 1



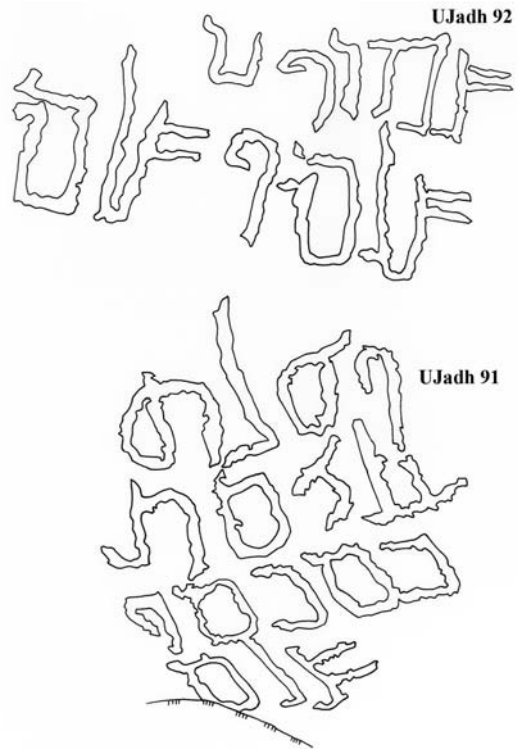
18b. UJadhNab 56–58



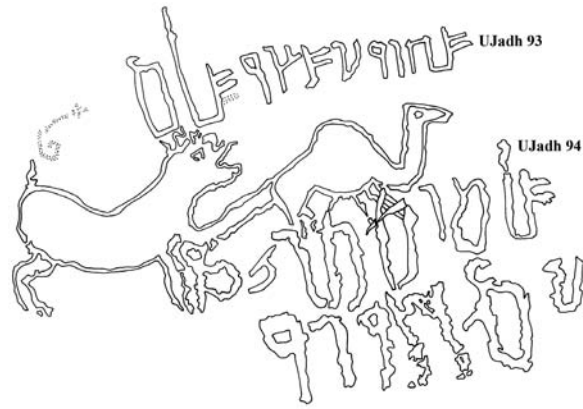
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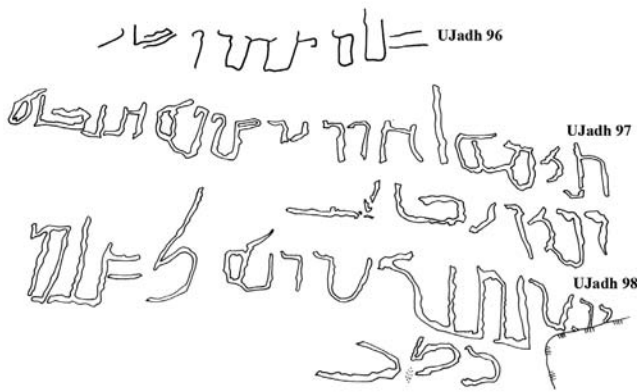
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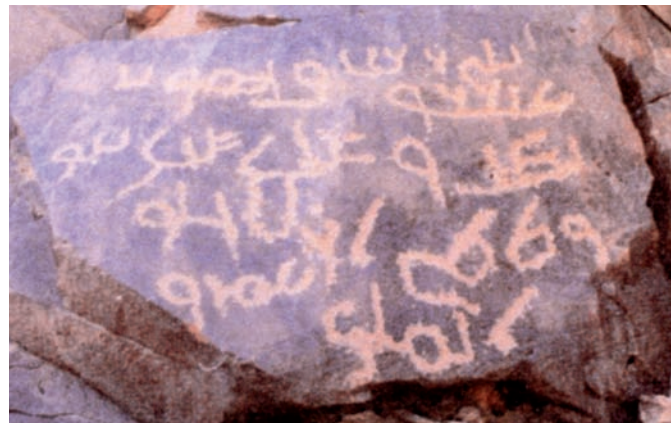
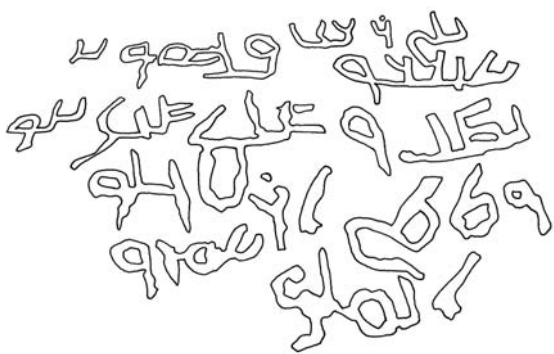
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20a. UJadhNab 93–94

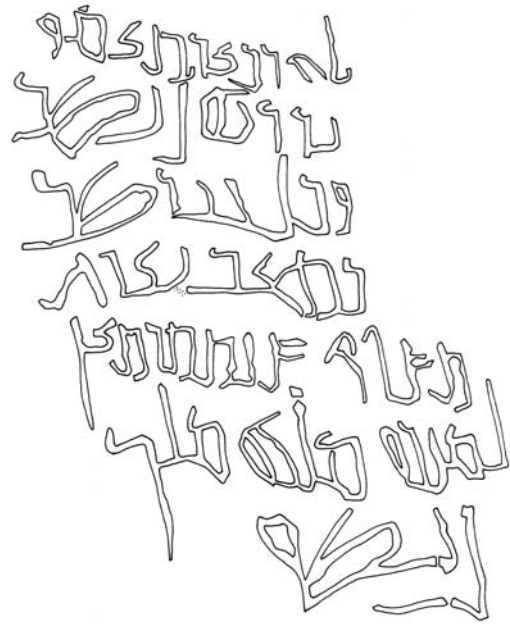


20b. UJadhNab 96–98



20c. UJadhNab 109

Al-Theeb 2002: 311

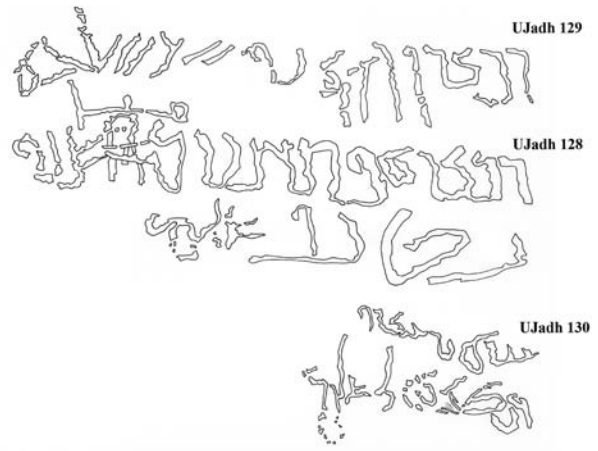


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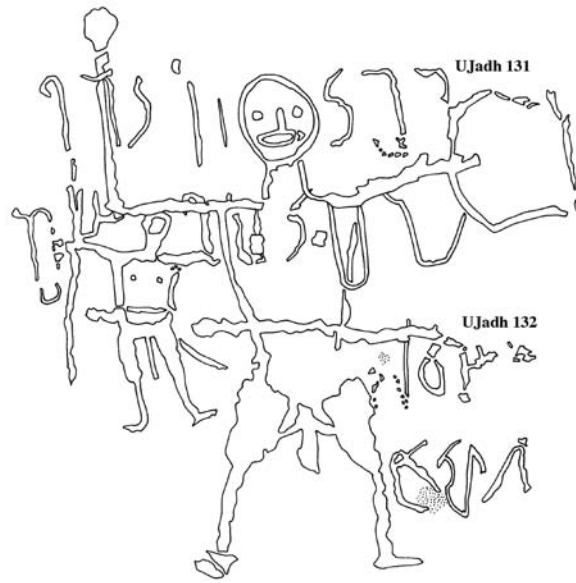
21a. UJadhNab 110



21b. UJadhNab 114-119 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue)



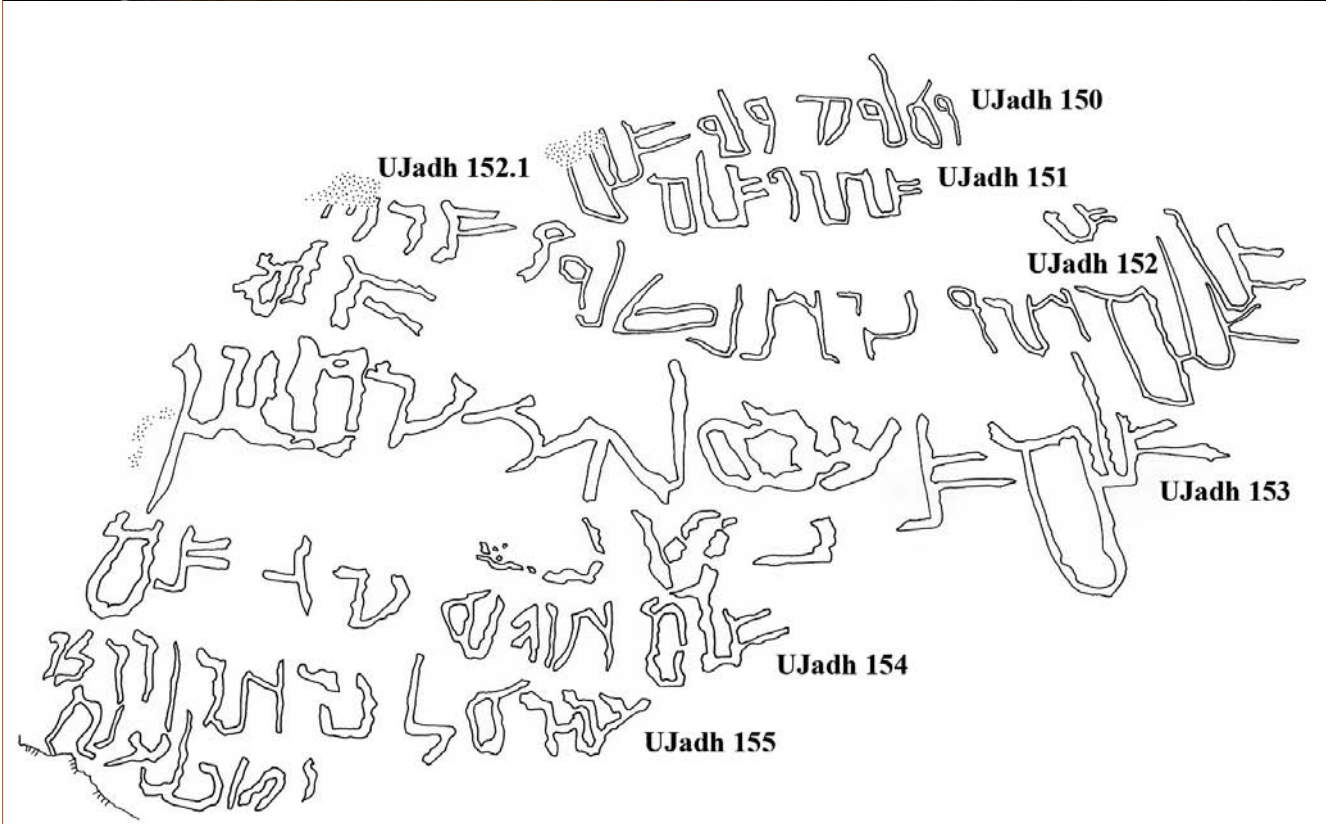
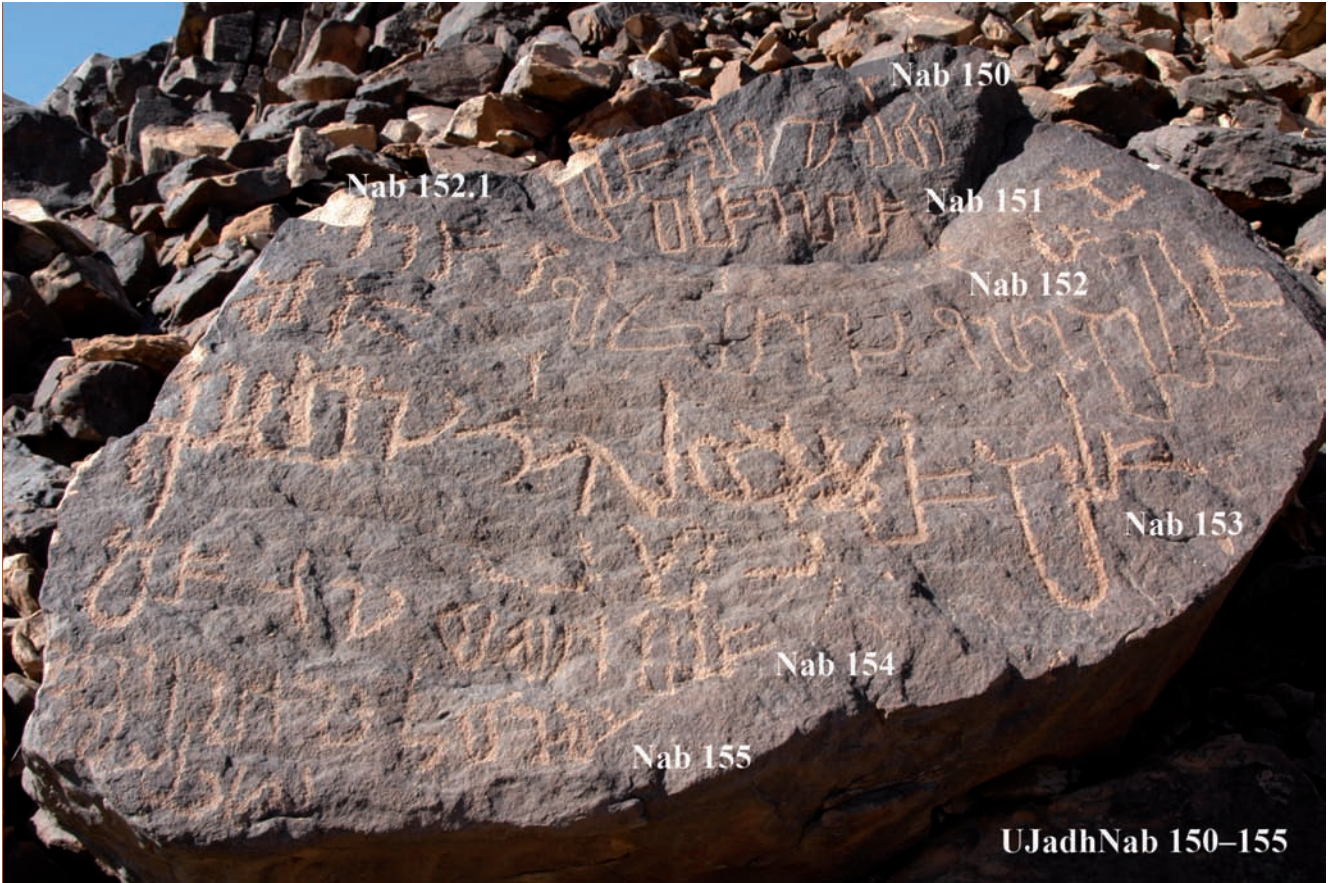
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22b. UJadhNab 131-132



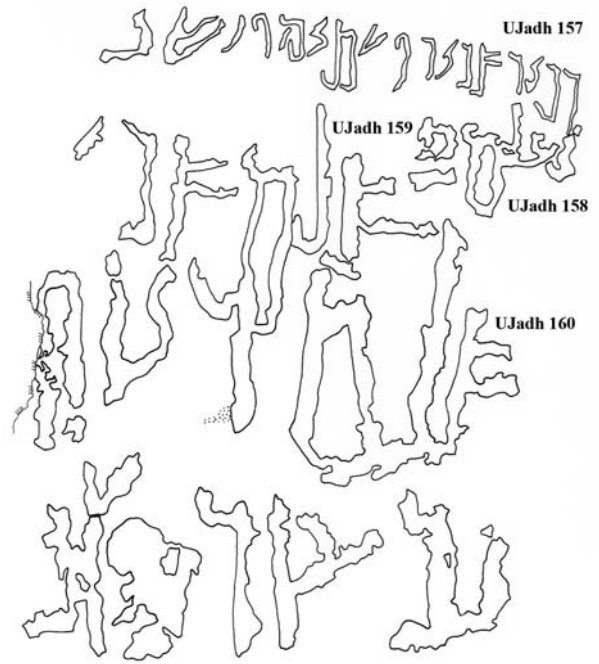
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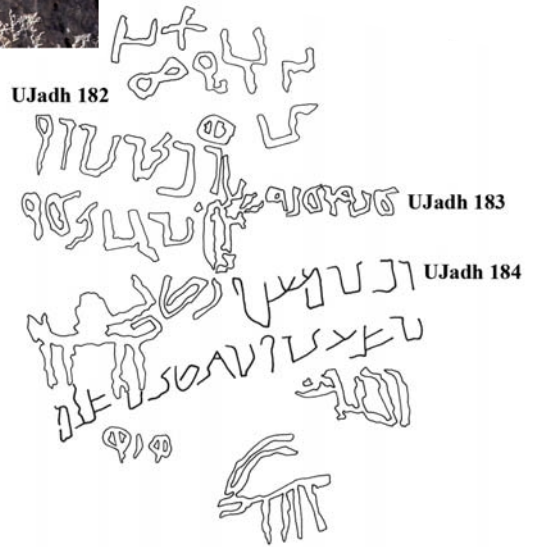
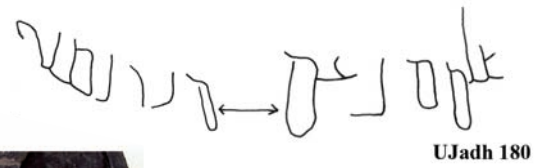
23. UJadhNab 150-155



24. UJadhNab 165-168, UJadhHism 12

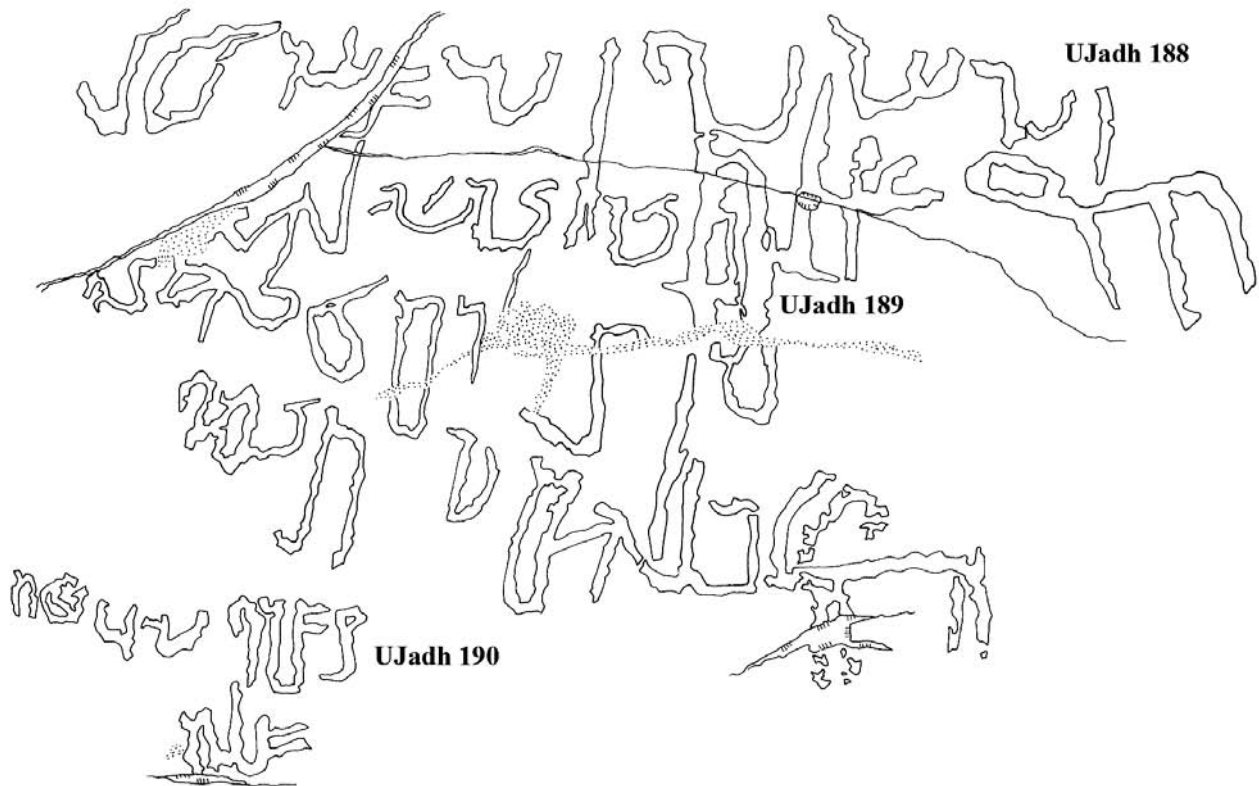
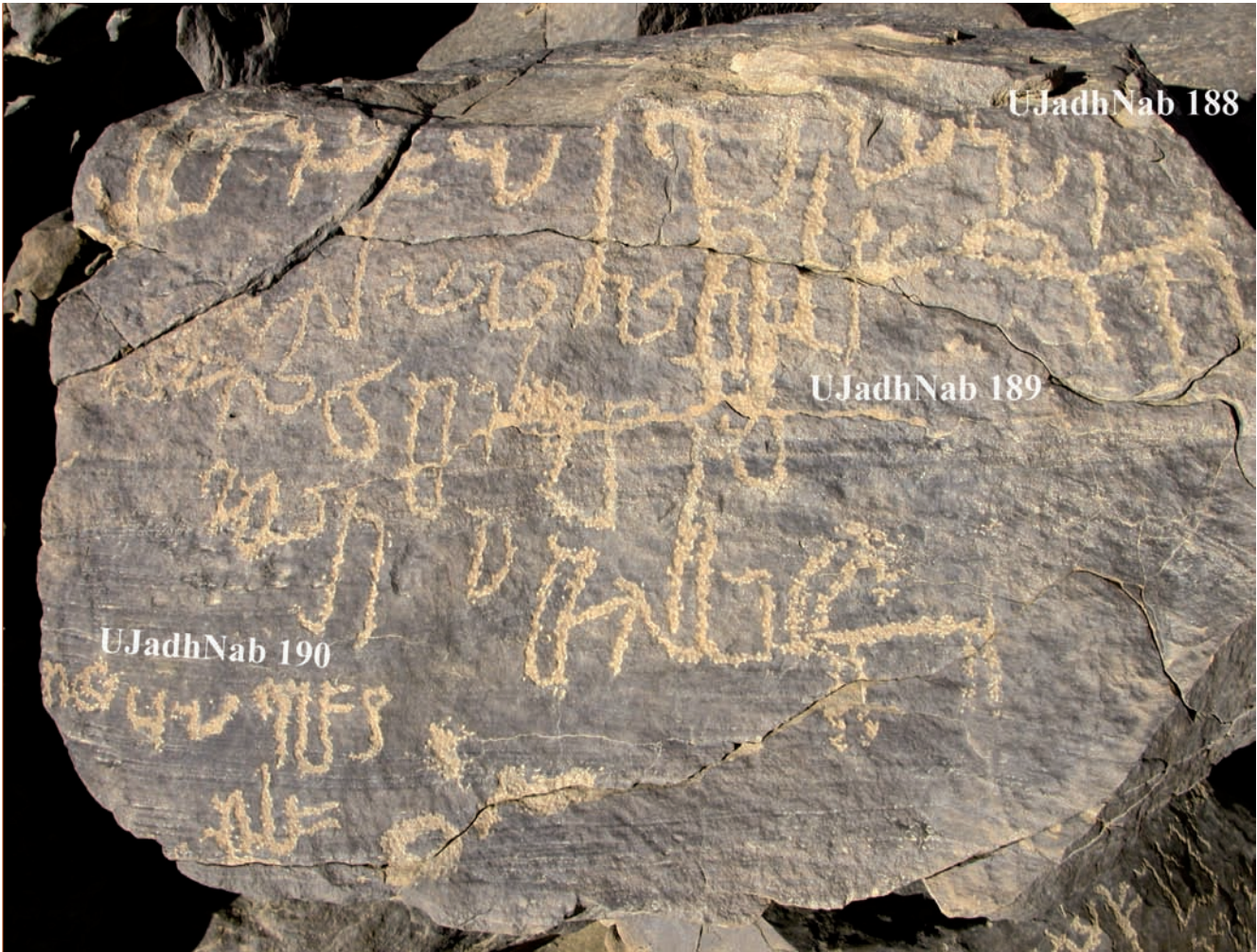


25a. UJadhNab 157-160



25b. UJadhNab 179-180, 182-185, UJadhHism 13, UJadhProblem 5





26. UJadhNab 188–190



27a. UJadhNab 196–198 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UJadhSyr 1–2



27b. UJadhNab 214 and 215



28. UJadhNab 223, 225-228 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue)





UJadhNab 240–247

Nab 243

Nab 244

Nab 247

Nab 240

Nab 242

Nab 241

Nab 246

Nab 245



UJadh 243

UJadh 244

UJadh 247

UJadh 240

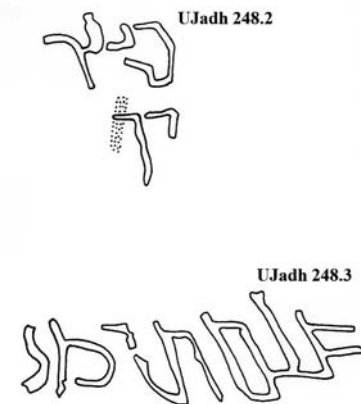
UJadh 246

UJadh 242

UJadh 241

UJadh 245

29. UJadhNab 240–247

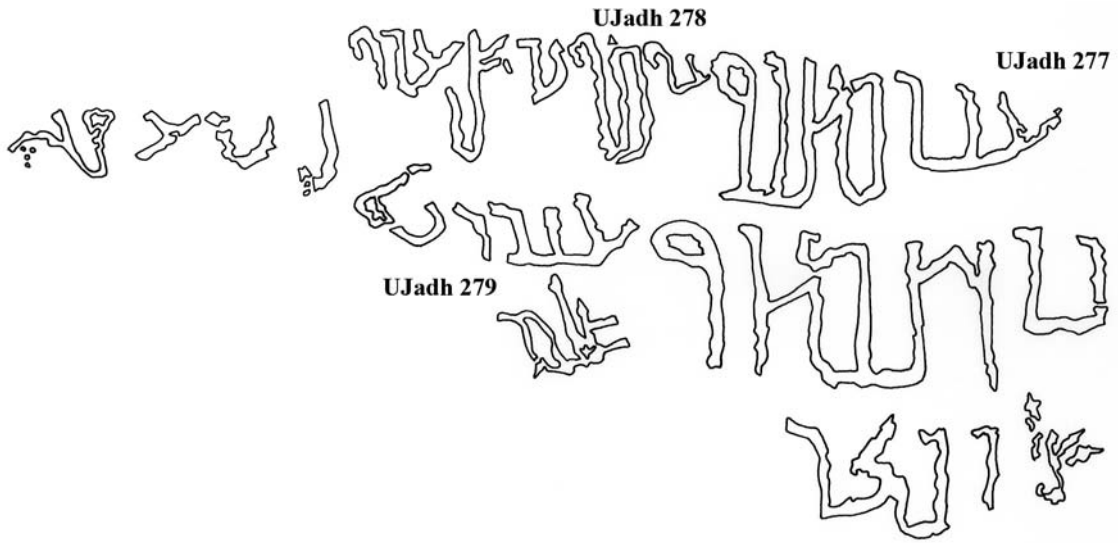


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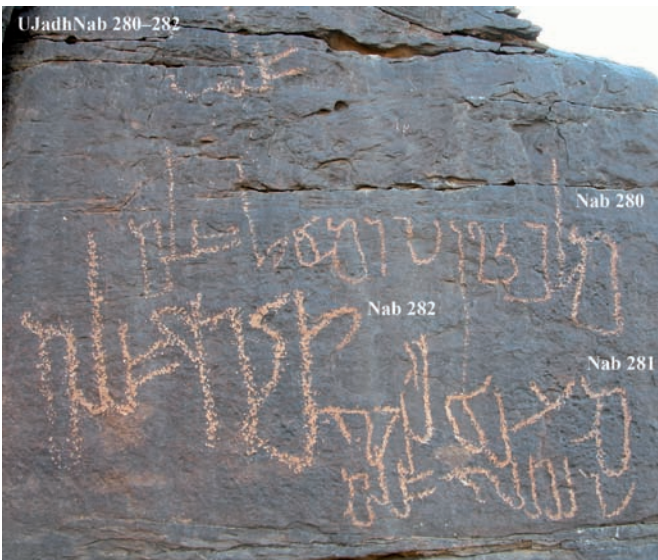
30a. UJadhNab 248.2–3, 249, UJadhASA 46



30b. UJadhNab 261–275, UJadhASA 44



31a. UJadhNab 277-279



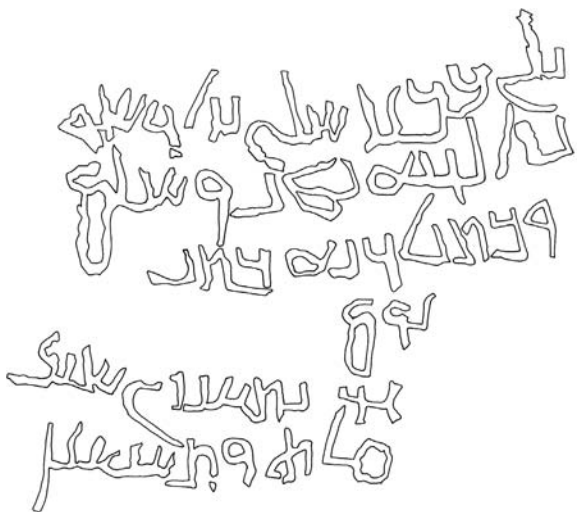
31b. UJadhNab 280-282



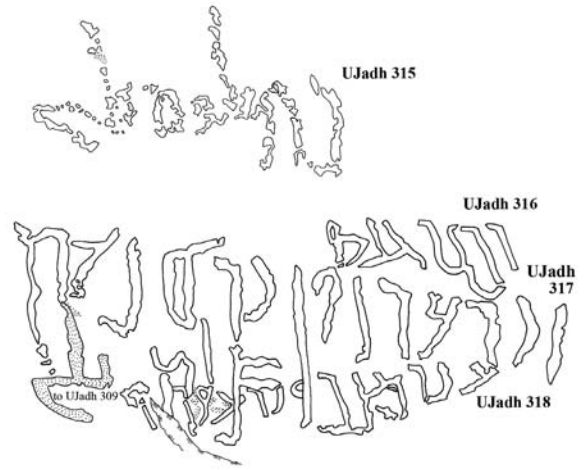
32a. UJadhNab 300–301, UJadhImpAr? 1



32b. UJadhNab 305–308 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UJadhHism 17



32c. UJadhNab 309

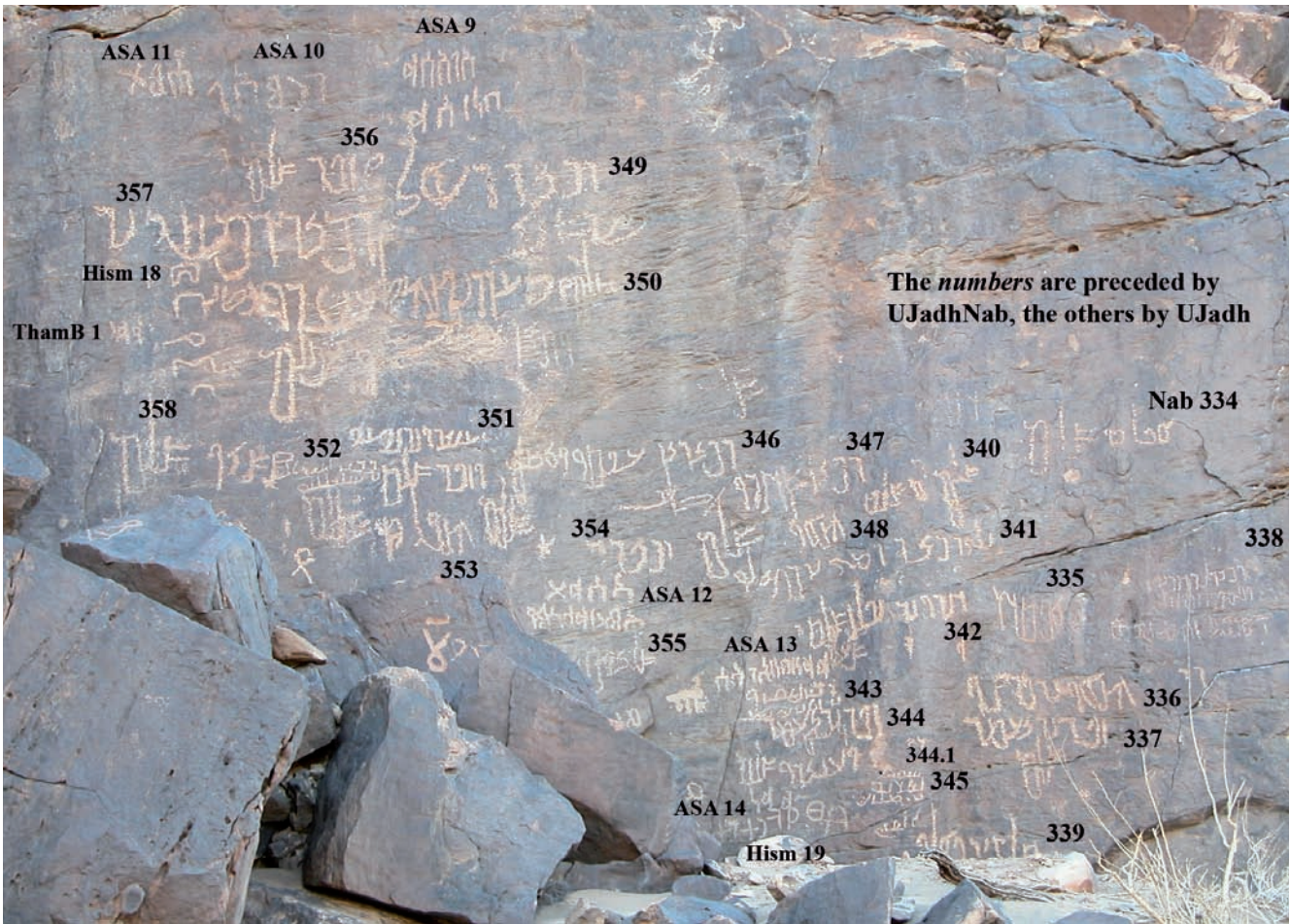


33a. UJadhNab 315-318

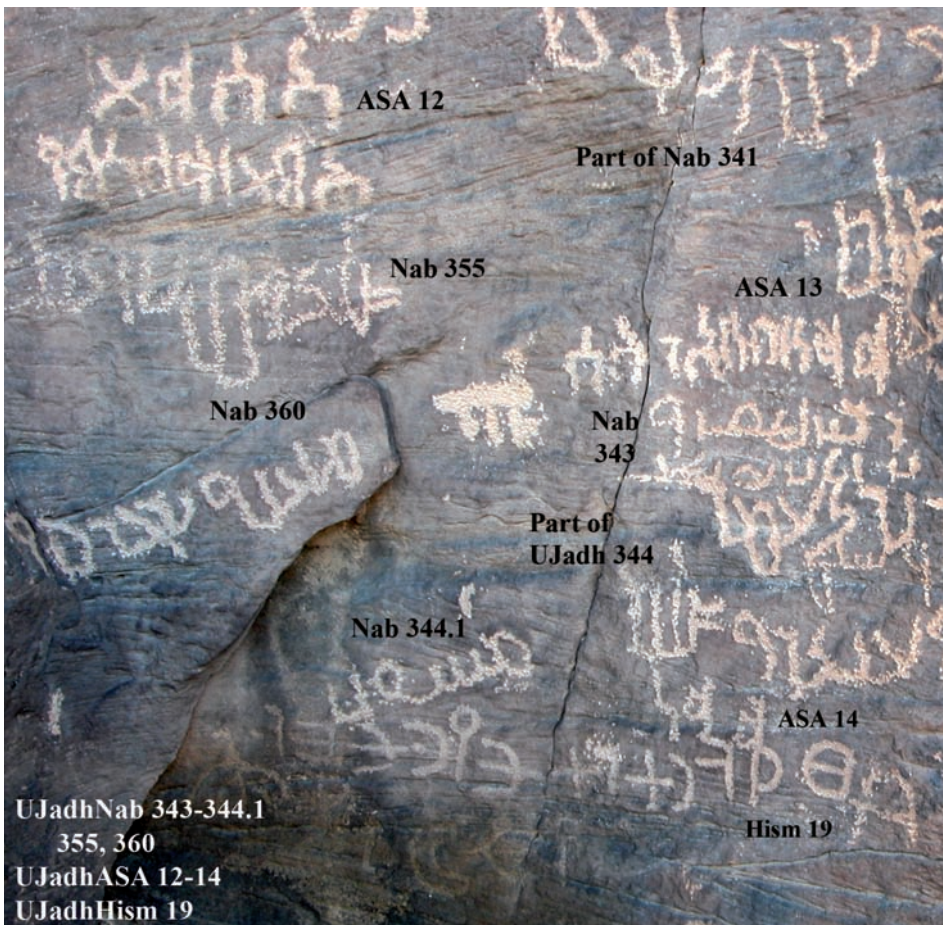


33b. UJadhNab 329-333 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue)

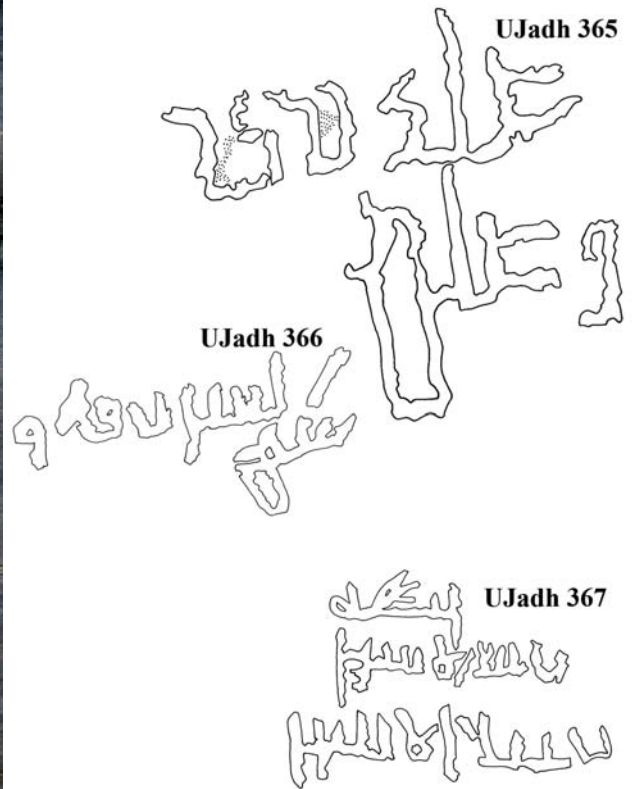




34a. UJadhNab 334–358 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UJadhASA 9–14, UJadhHism 19–19, and UJadhThamB 1



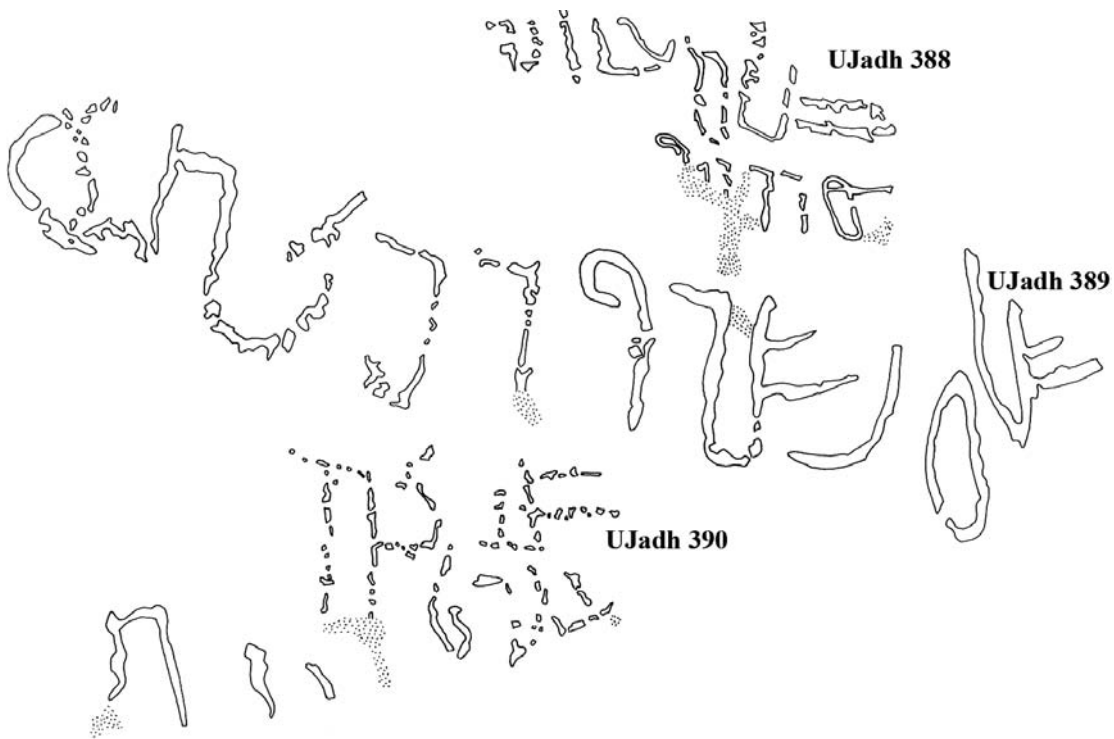
34b. UJadhNab 343, 344.1, 355, 360 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UJadhASA 12–14, UJadhHism 19



35a. UJadhNab 365-367



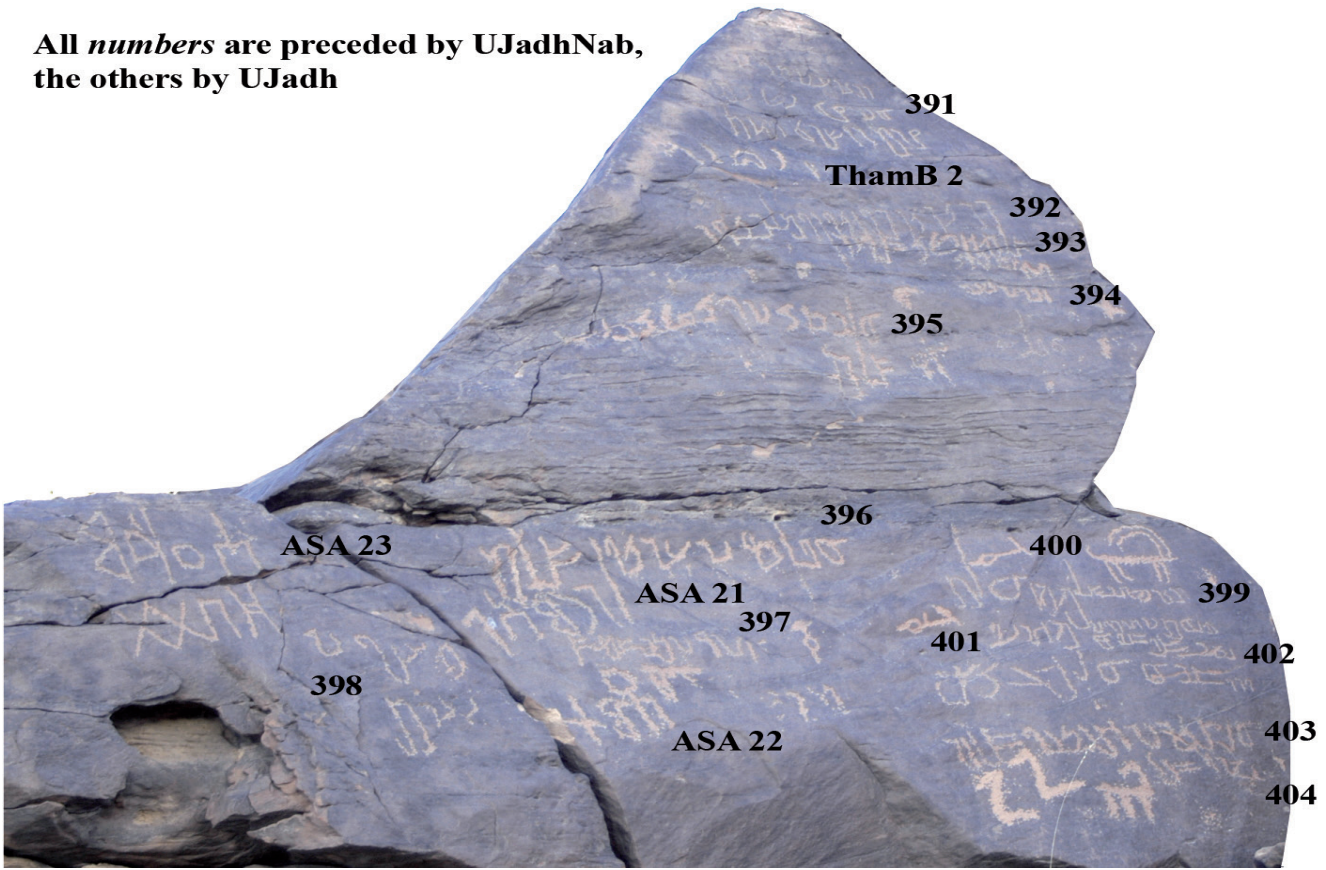
35b. UJadhNab 373-375.1 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue)



36. UJadhNab 388–390, UJadhASA 42, UJadhThamC? 1



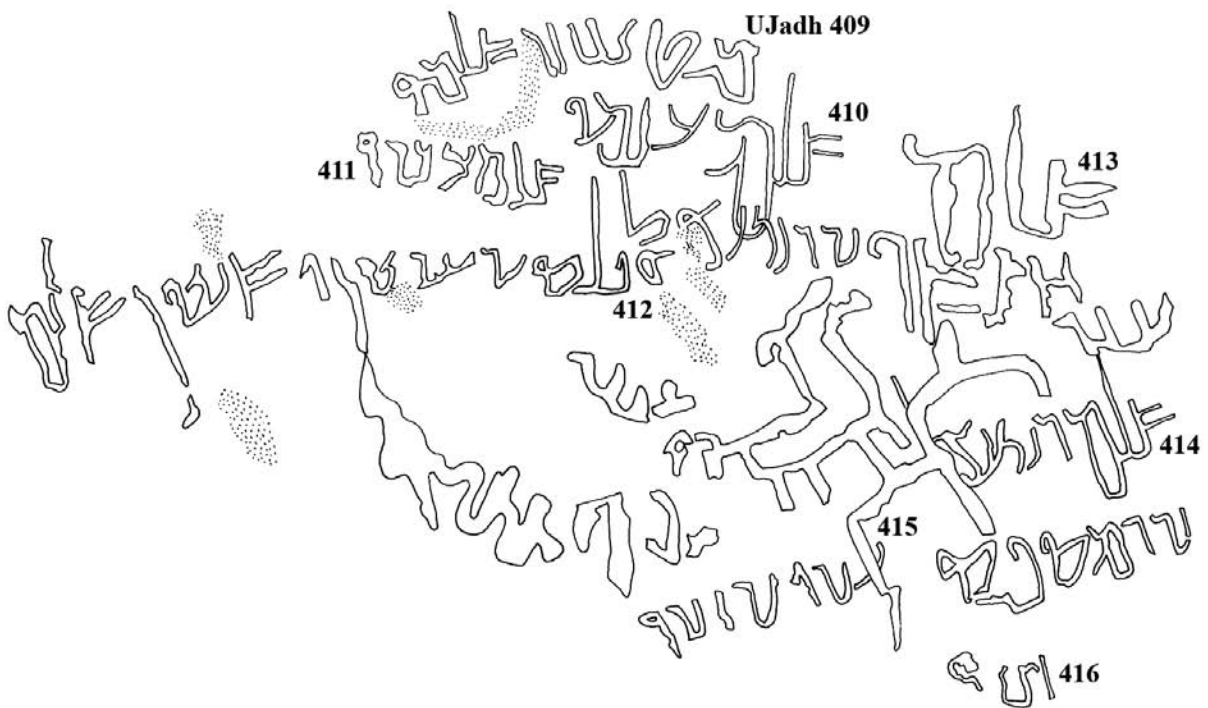
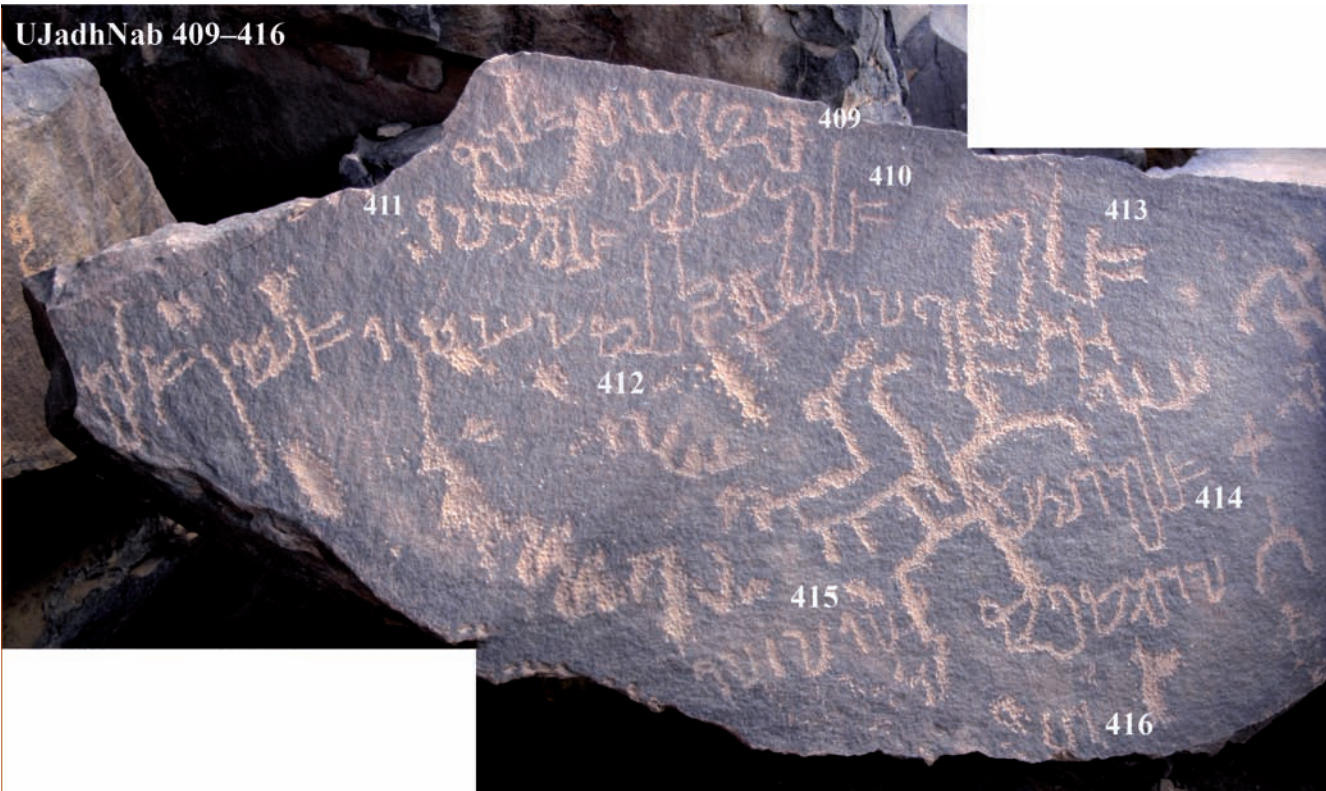
All numbers are preceded by UJadhNab,  
the others by UJadh



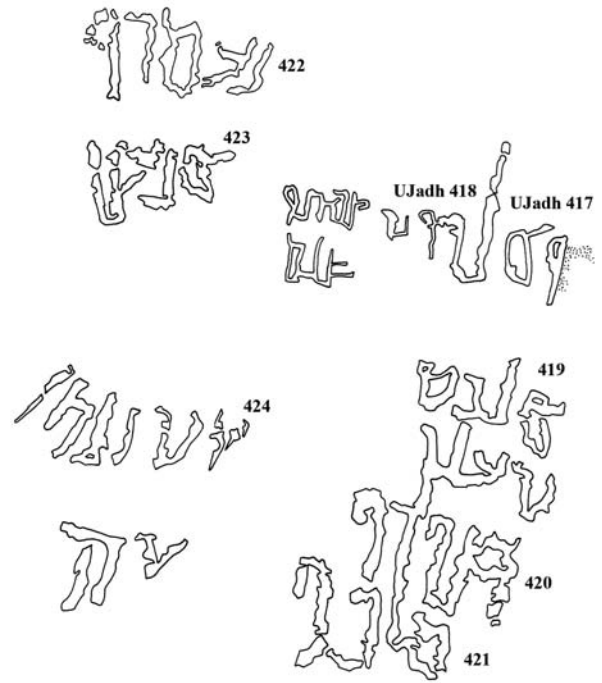
37a. UJadhNab 391–404 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UJadhASA 21–23, UJadhThamB 2



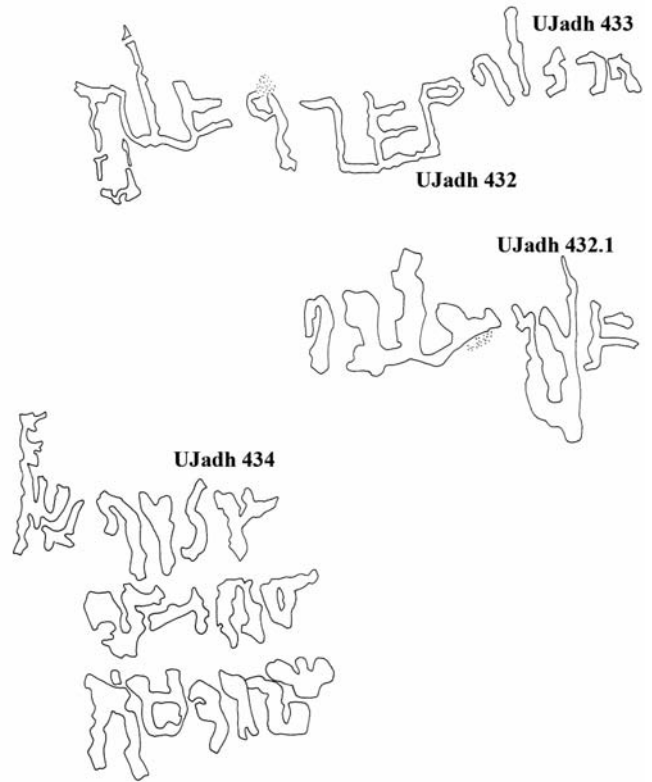
37b. UJadhNab 405–408 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue)



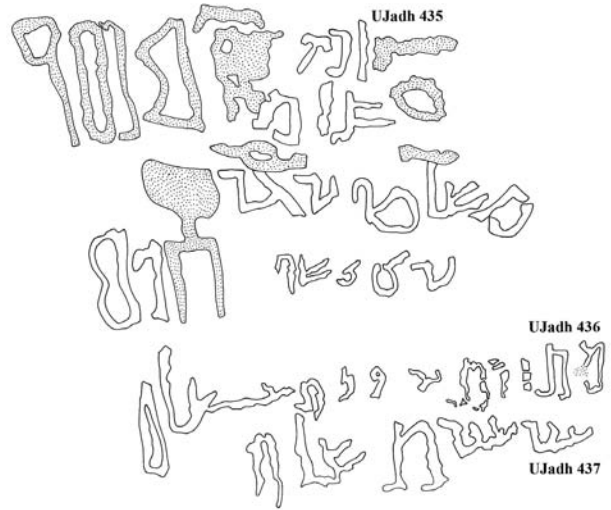
38. UJadhNab 409-416



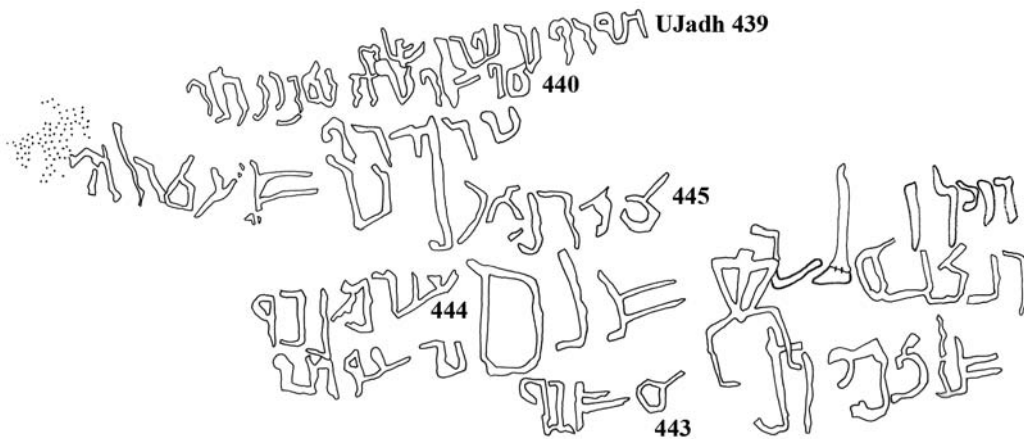
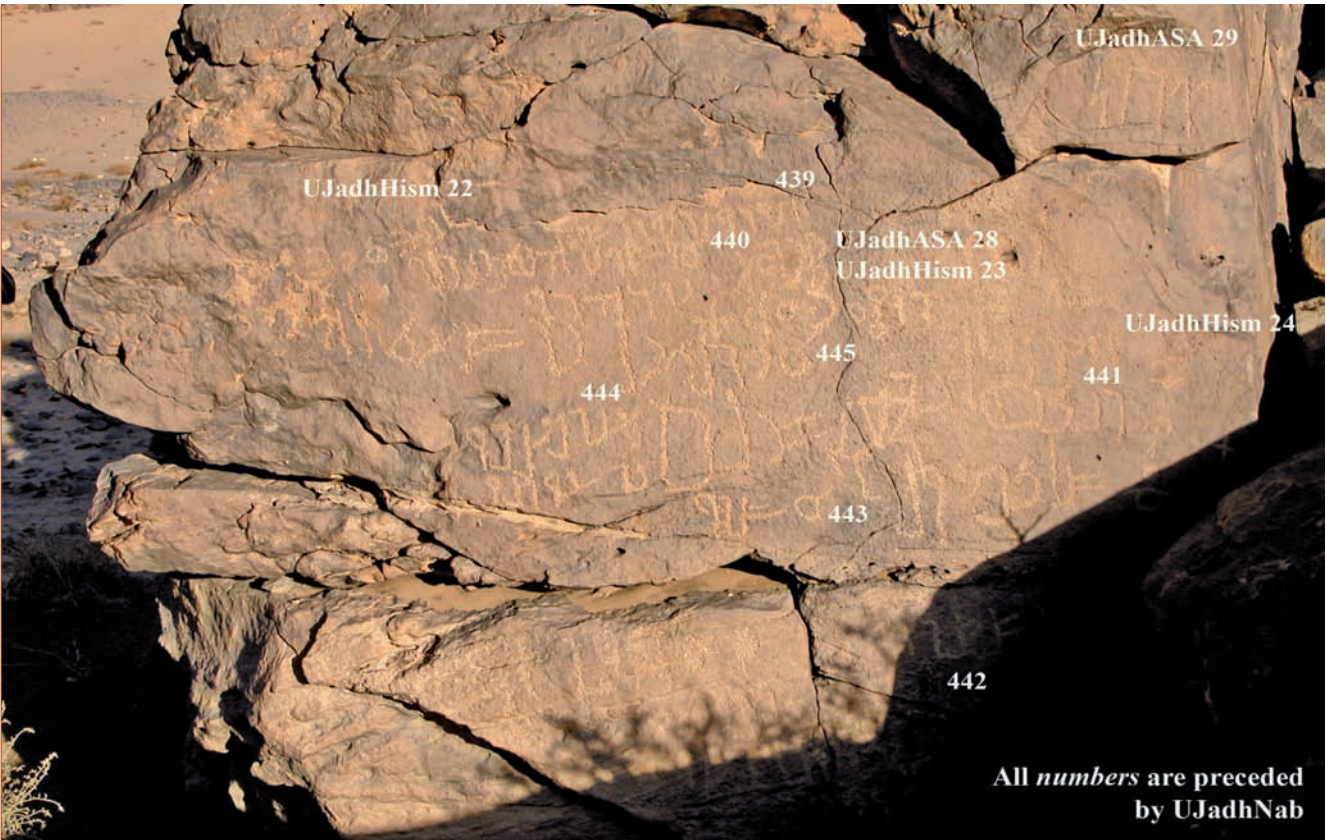
39a. UJadhNab 417-424



39b. UJadhNab 432-434



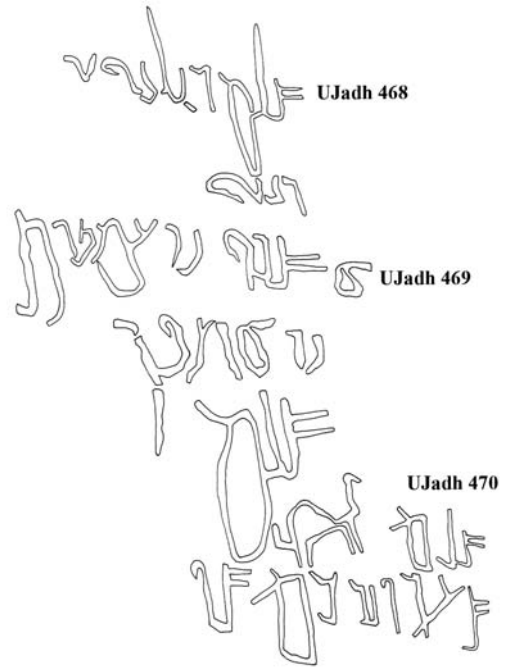
40a. UJadhNab 435–437, UJadhASA 26



40b. UJadhNab 439–445, UJadhASA 28–29, UJadhHism 22–24



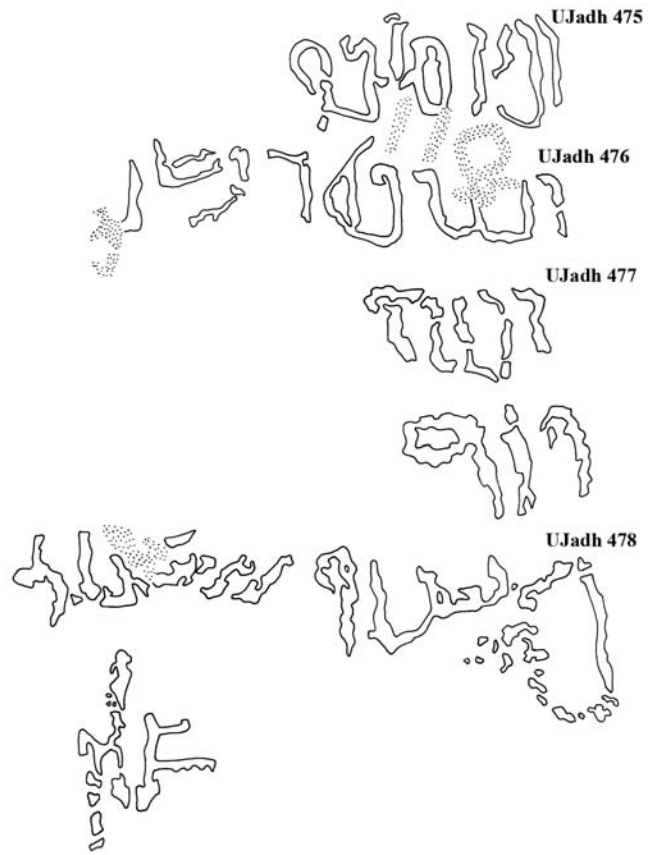
41a. UJadhNab 449–451 (for the facsimiles, see the catalogue), UJadhASA 27



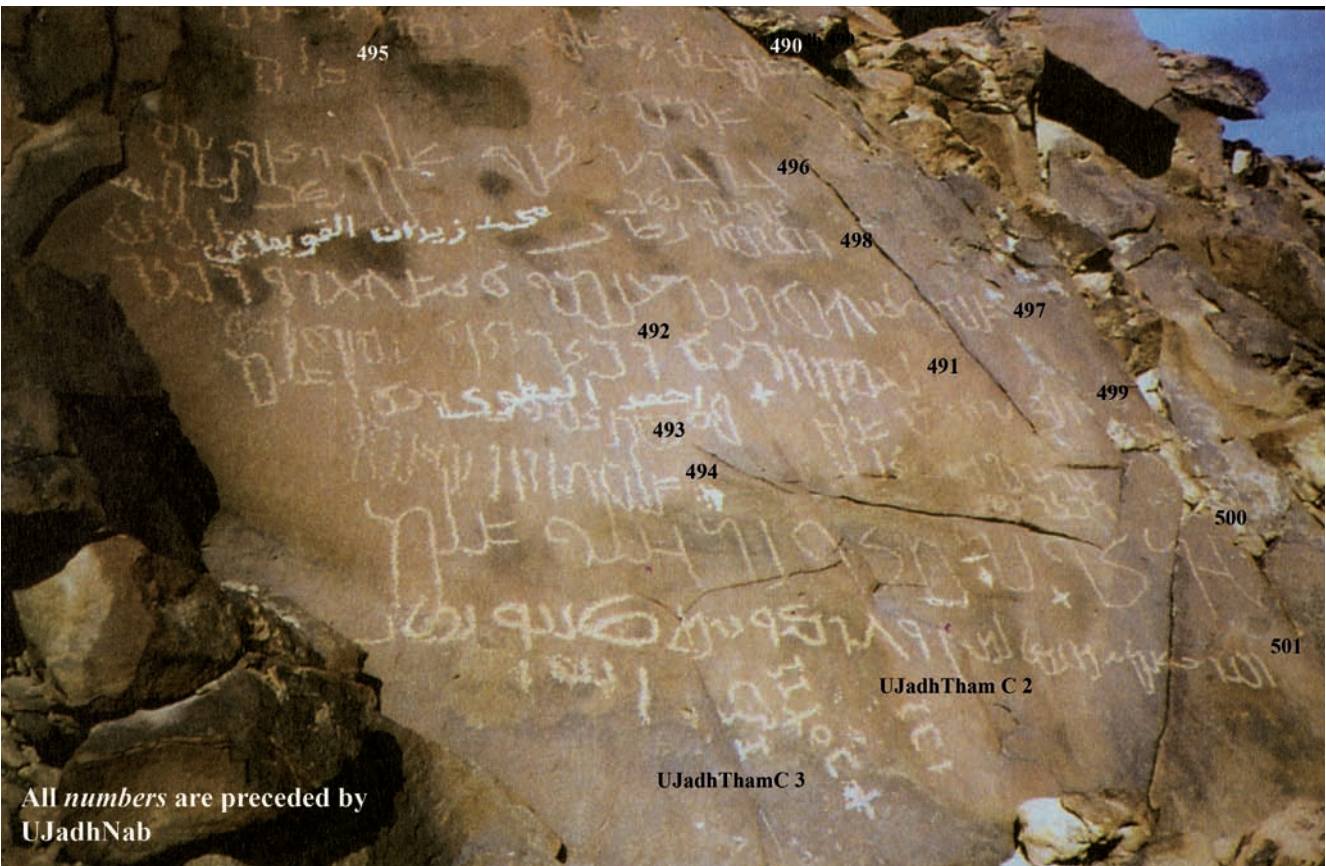
Al-Theeb 2002: 317

41b. UJadhNab 468–470





42a. UJadhNab 475-478, UJadh ASA 35



42b. UJadhNab 490-501, UJadhThamC 2-3

Al-Theeb 2005: 190



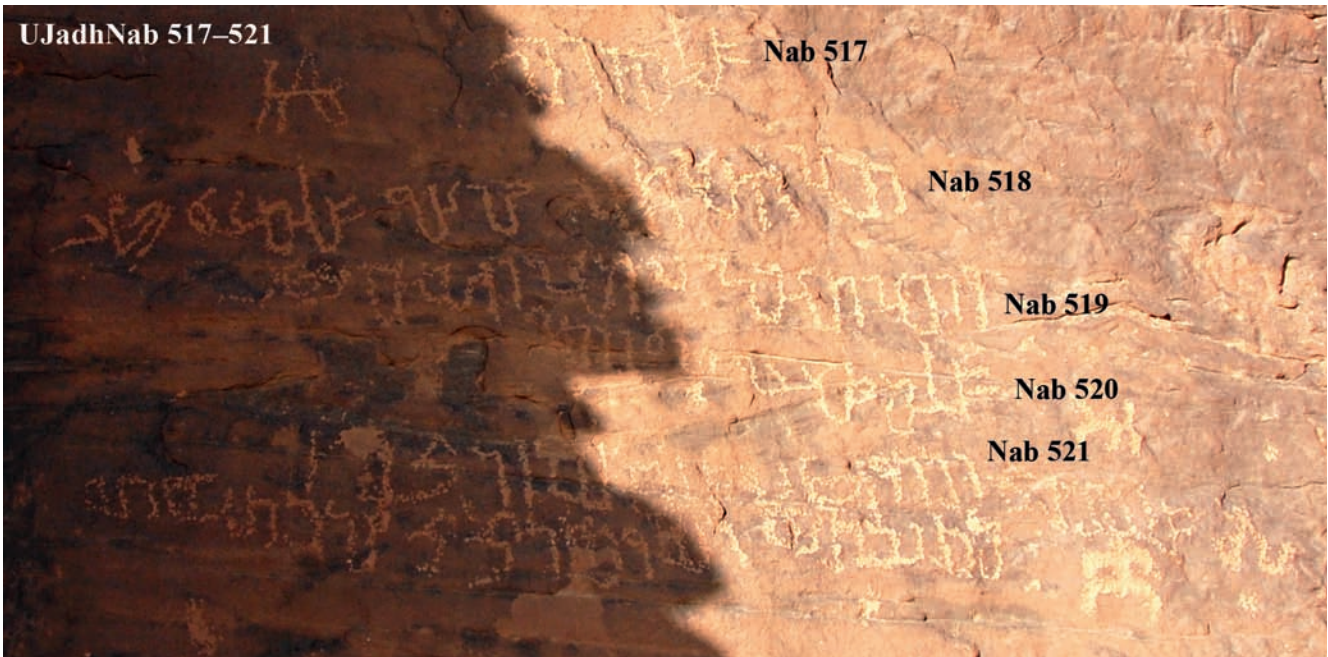
43a. UJadhNab 502-506

Al-Theeb 2005: 191



43b. UJadhNab 513-516

Al-Theeb 2005: 194



44a. UmmNab 517-521

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



44b. UJadhNab 522-524, UJadhSaf 6, UJadhProblem 6



45a. UJadhNab 526-529



45b. UJadhNab 530-535, UJadhASA 51-52, UJadhHism 27-29



UJadhNab 539–541  
[www.alsahra.org](http://www.alsahra.org)

46a. UJadhNab 539–541

Photo Farīq as-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



UJadhNab 549–558  
 UJadhHism 26  
 UJadhTham C 5  
 UJadhASA 48–50

Photo Farīq as-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

46b. UJadhNab 549–558, UJadhASA 48–50, UJadhHism 26, UJadhThamC 5



UJadhNab 559-562

Nab 562

Nab 559

Nab 560

Nab 561

47a. UJadhNab 559-562

Photo Fariq aş-Sahrá' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



UJadhNab 563-566

Nab 563

Nab 564

Nab 565

Nab 566

www.alsahra.org

47b. UJadhNab 563-566

Photo Fariq aş-Sahrá' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



Photo Farîq as-Sabîrî, 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

48. GhRNab 1-18, GhRASA 1, GhRASA/ANA 1, GhRANA 1-3

www.alsahra.org

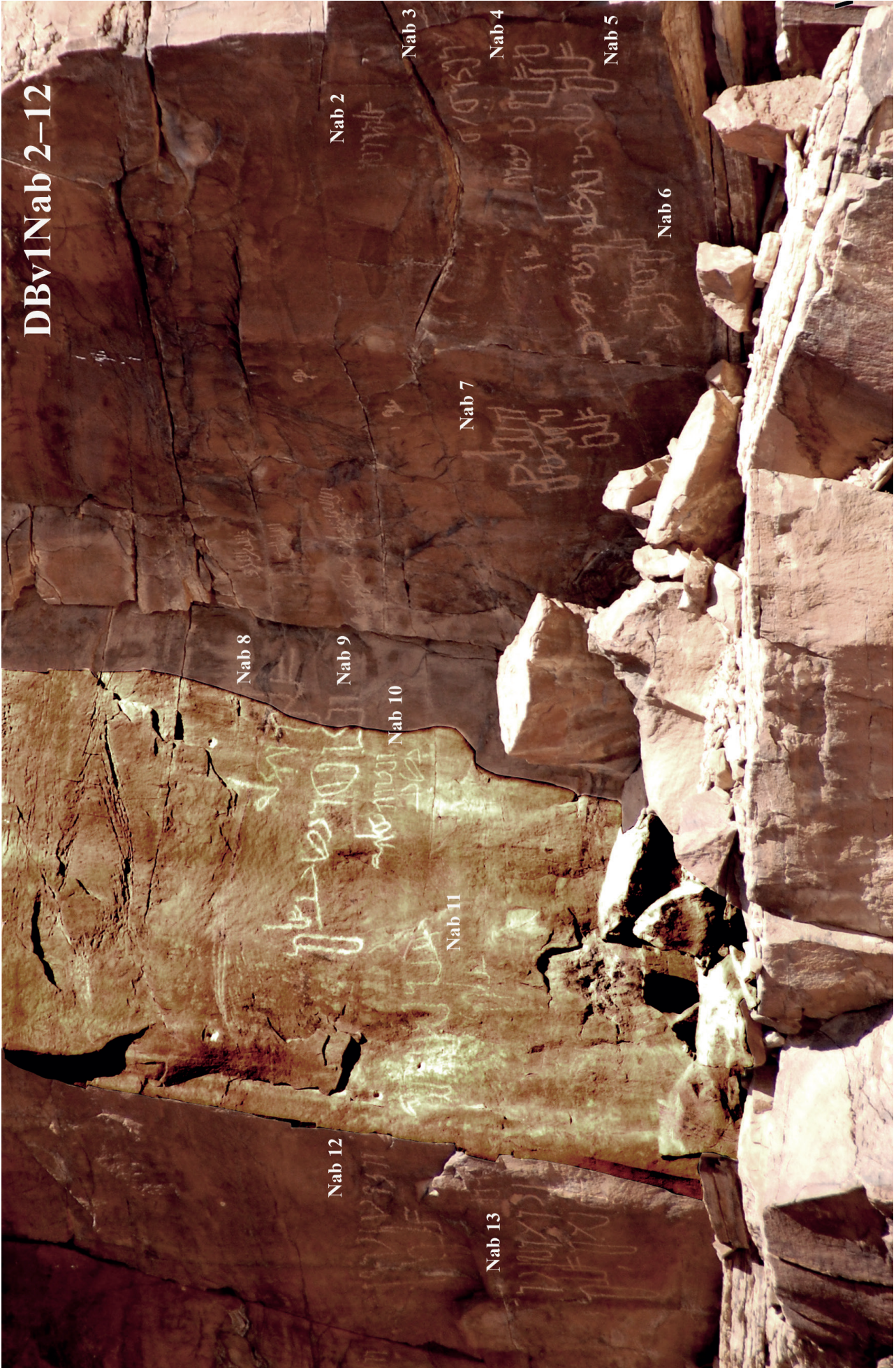
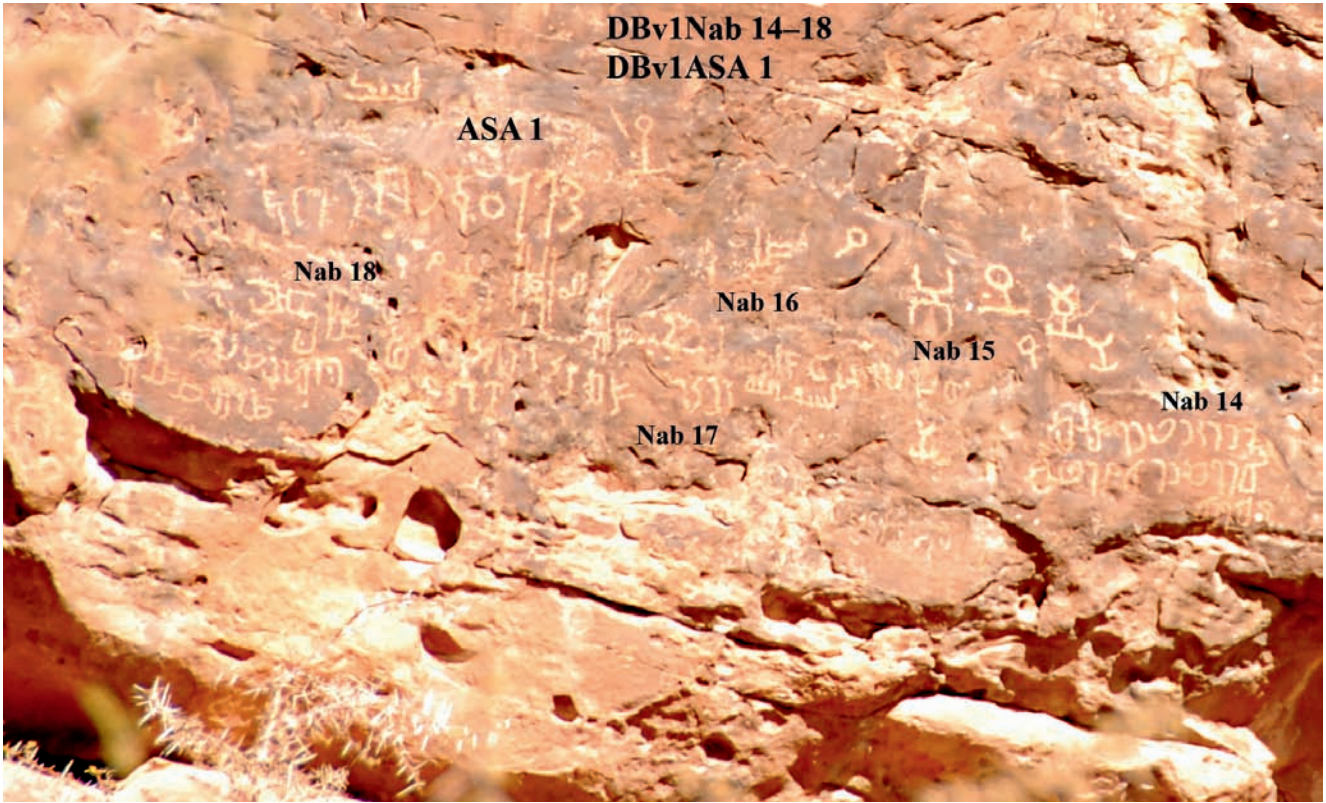


Photo Faruq as-Sahra - 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

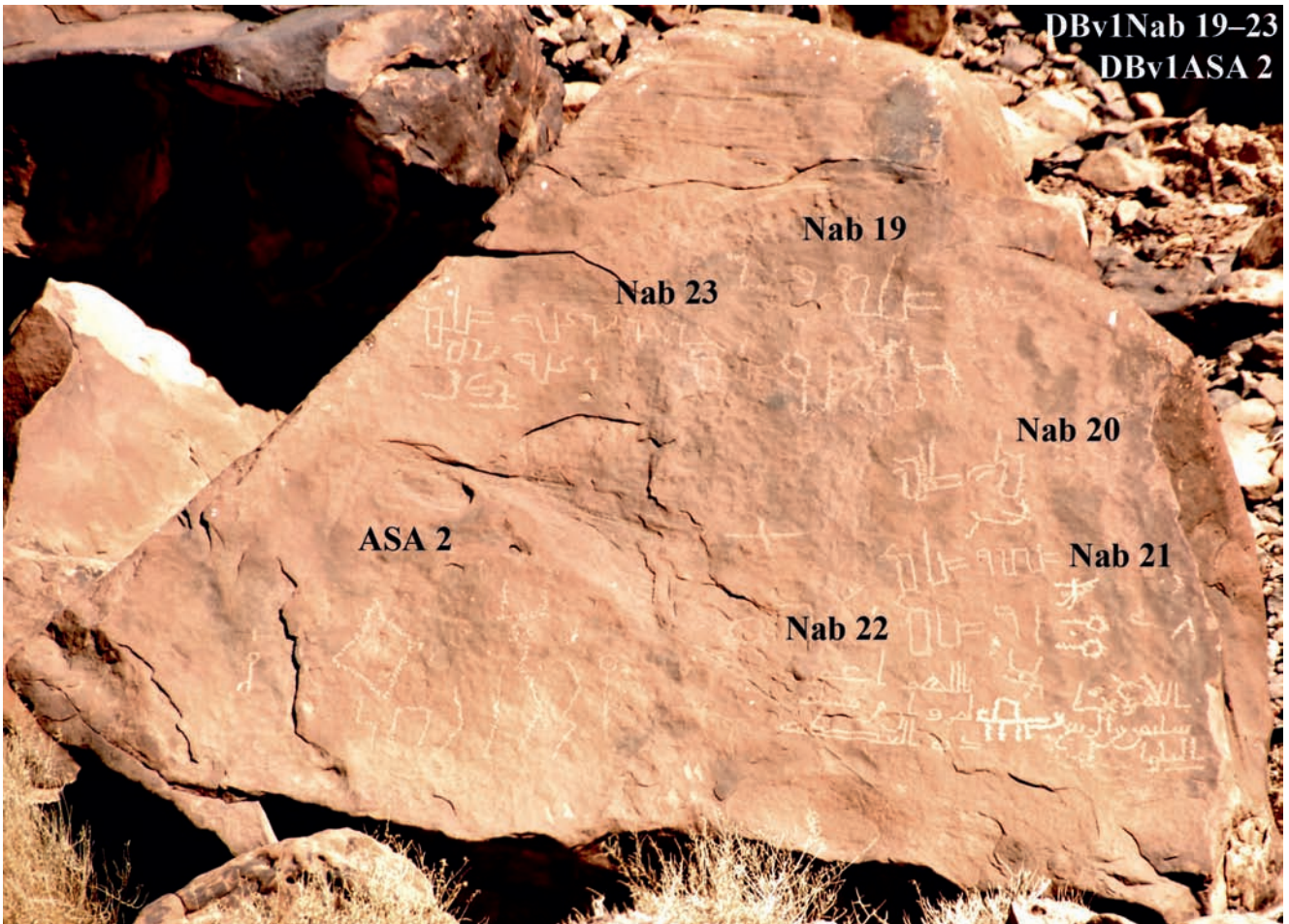
49. DBv1Nab 2-12





50a. DBv1Nab 14-18, DBv1ASA 1

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



50b. DBv1Nab 19-23, DBv1ASA 2

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



51a. DBv3Nab 4-5, DBv3ASA 1-2, DBv3ANA 1

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



51b. DBv3Nab 6-7, DBv3ASA 3, DBv3Hism 1-2

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



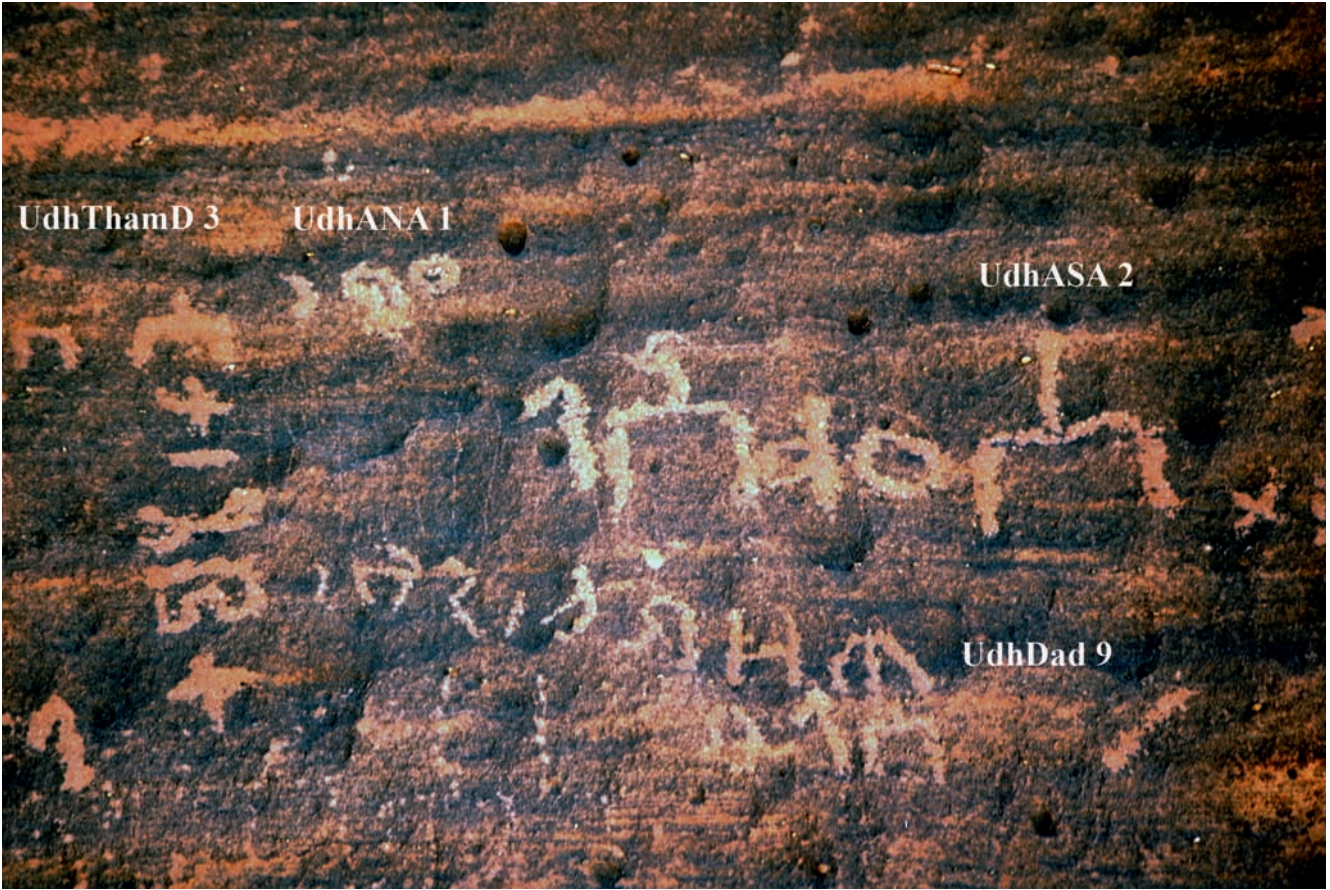
52a. DBv3Nab 8-11, DBv3NabAr 1

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)

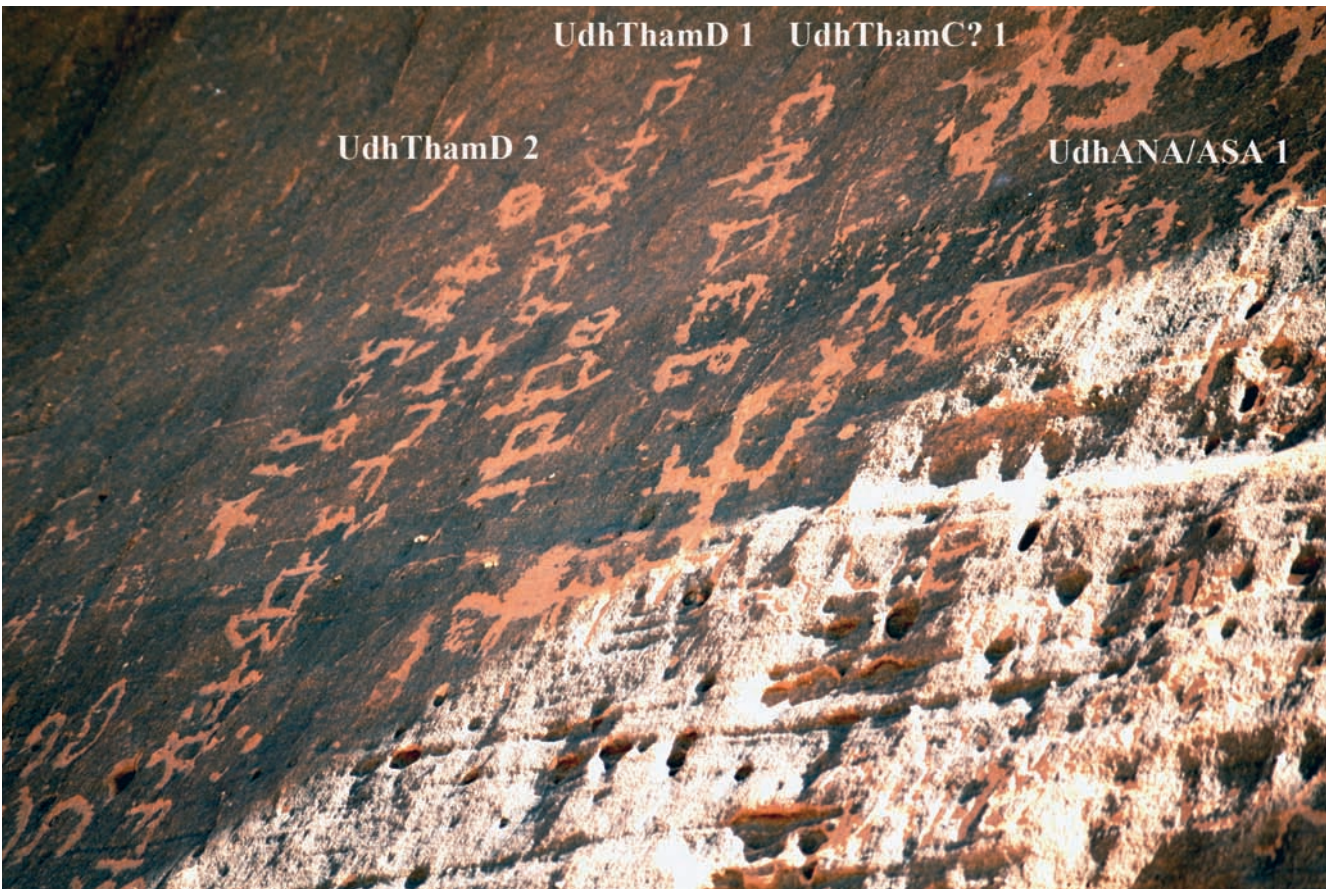


52b. DBv3Nab 12-17, DBv3NabAr 2

Photo Farīq aṣ-Ṣahrā' 2017 (www.alsahra.org)



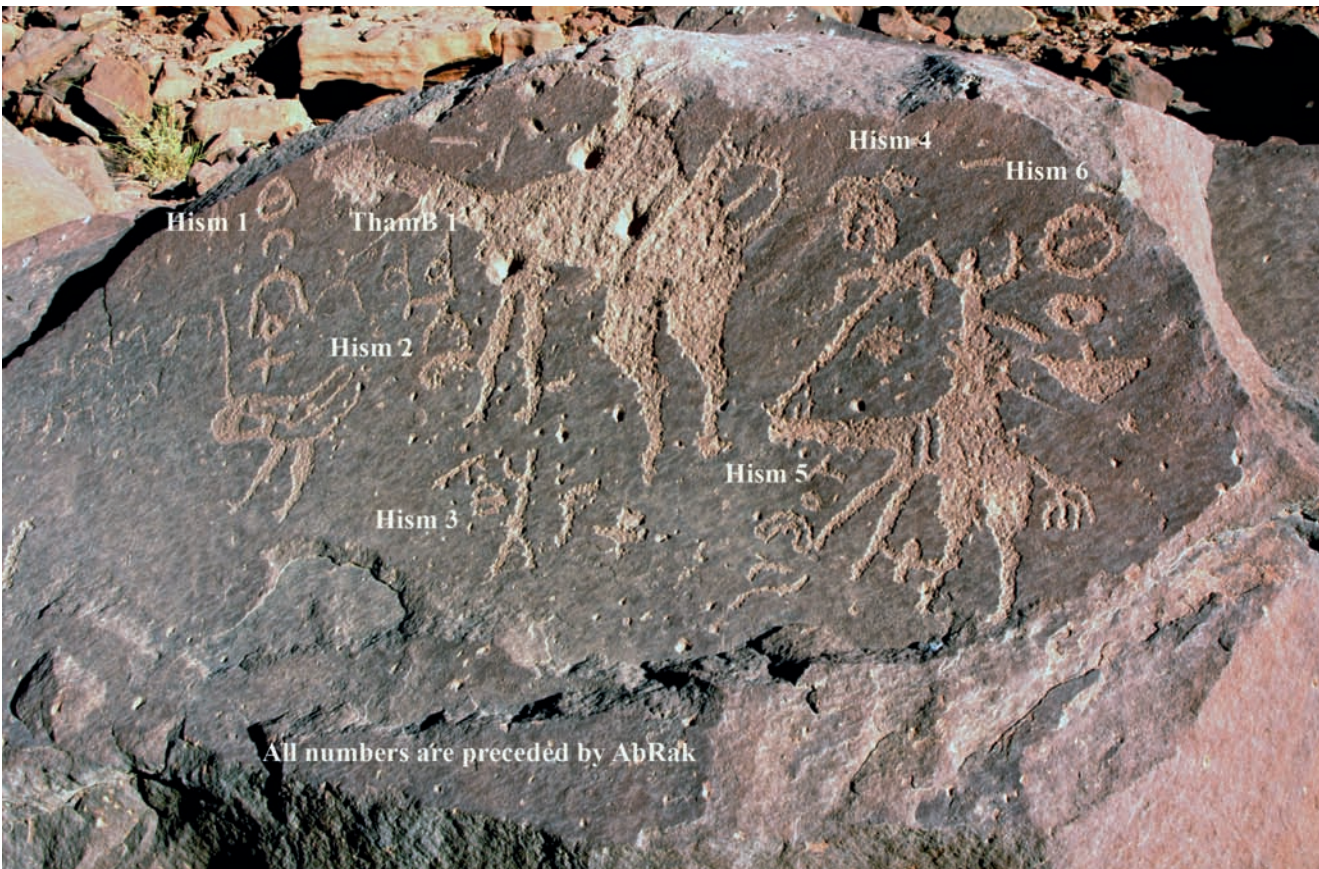
53a. UdhASA 2, UdhANA 1, UdhDad 9, UdhThamD 3



53b. UdhANA/ASA 1, UdhThamC? 1, UdhThamD 1, UdhThamD 2



54a. MathThamB 1, MathThamD 1



54b. AbRakHism 1-6, AbRakThamB 1



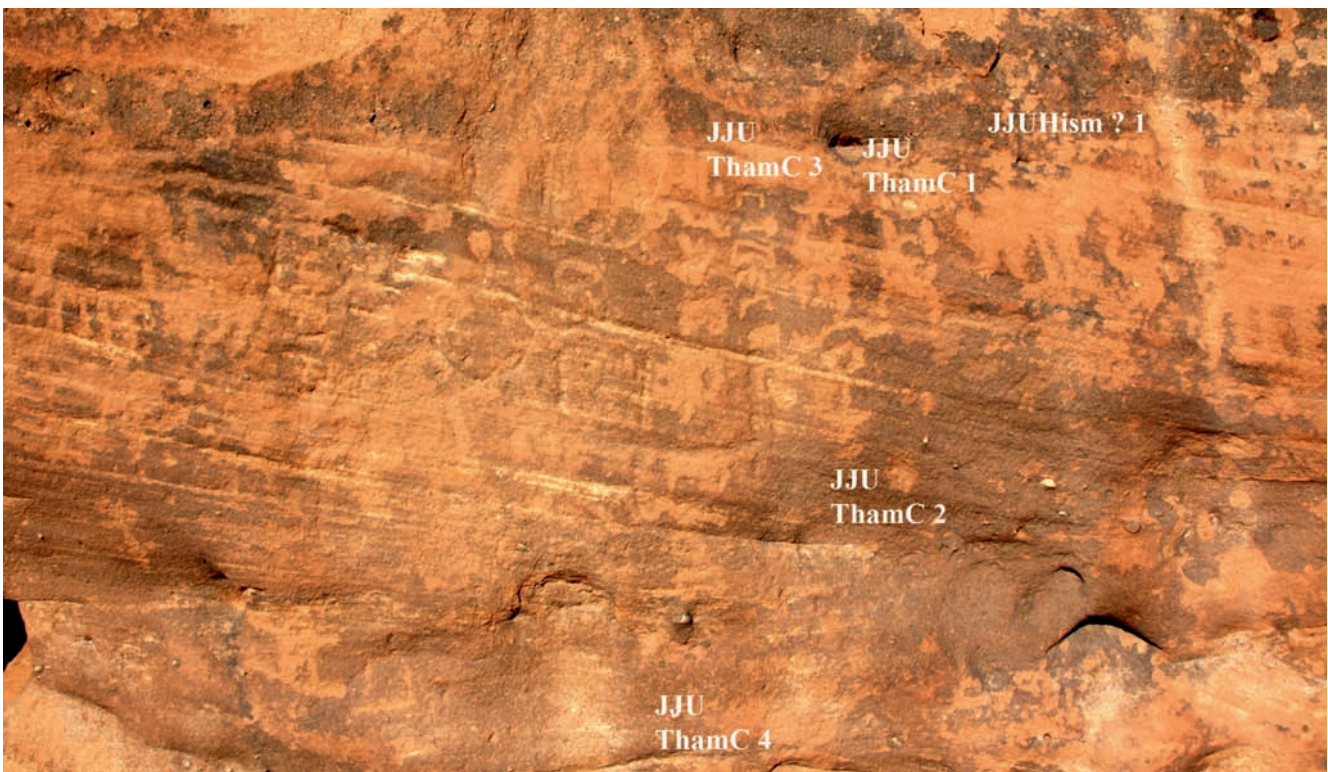
55a. JJKhDad? 1, JJKhTay? 1, JJKhHism 1, JJKThamC/D 1



55b. JJKhTay? 1, JJKhThamC 2-3



56a. JJKhThamB 5, JJKhThamB 3-4, JJKhThamC 1



56b. JJUThamC 1-4, JJUHism? 1



57a. HSThamB 1



57b. QNASA 1, QNDad 1





58a. QNNab 49, QNASA 3-6



58b. QNThamC 2 and QNThamC? 3



59. ArNab 21-26.1, ArASA 1-2, ArHism 8-16, ArSaf 1, ArThamC/D 1, ArThamD 1-3



60a. ArNab 54, ArASA 5-6, ArHism 23



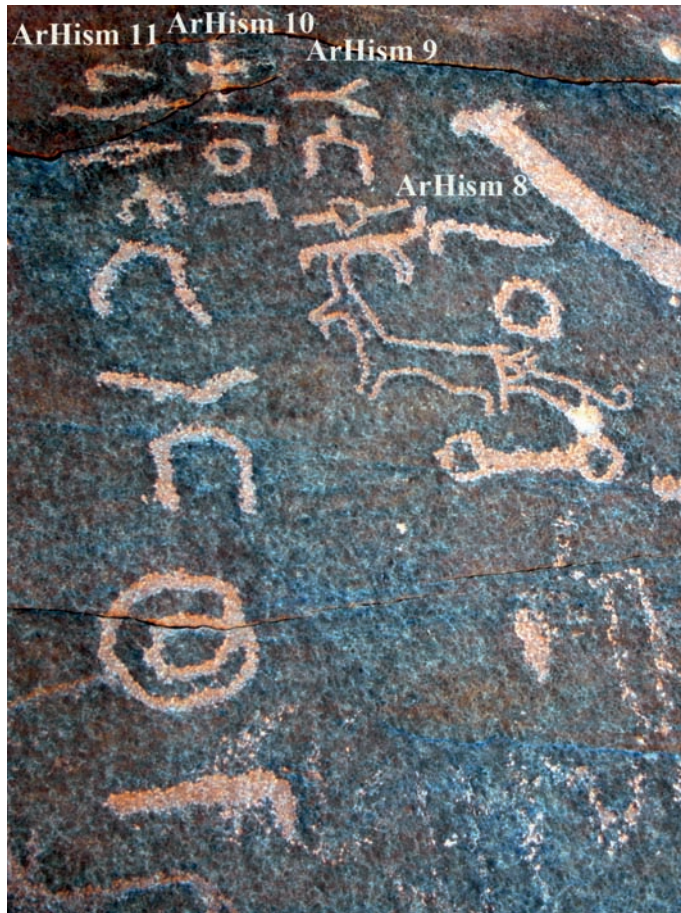
60b. ArASA 13-17



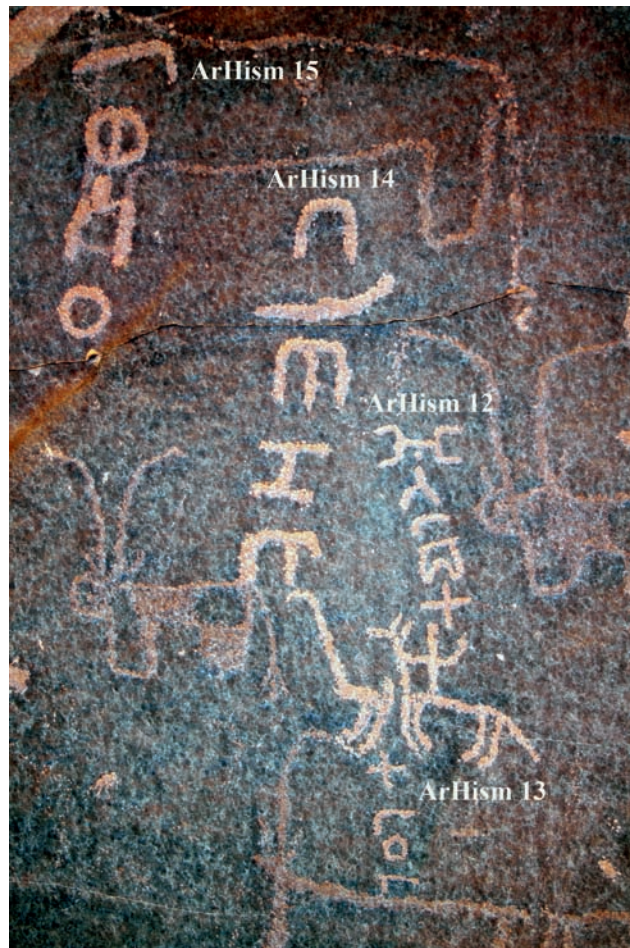
61a. ArNab 22–25, ArANA 1, ArHism 8, ArThamD 1–2



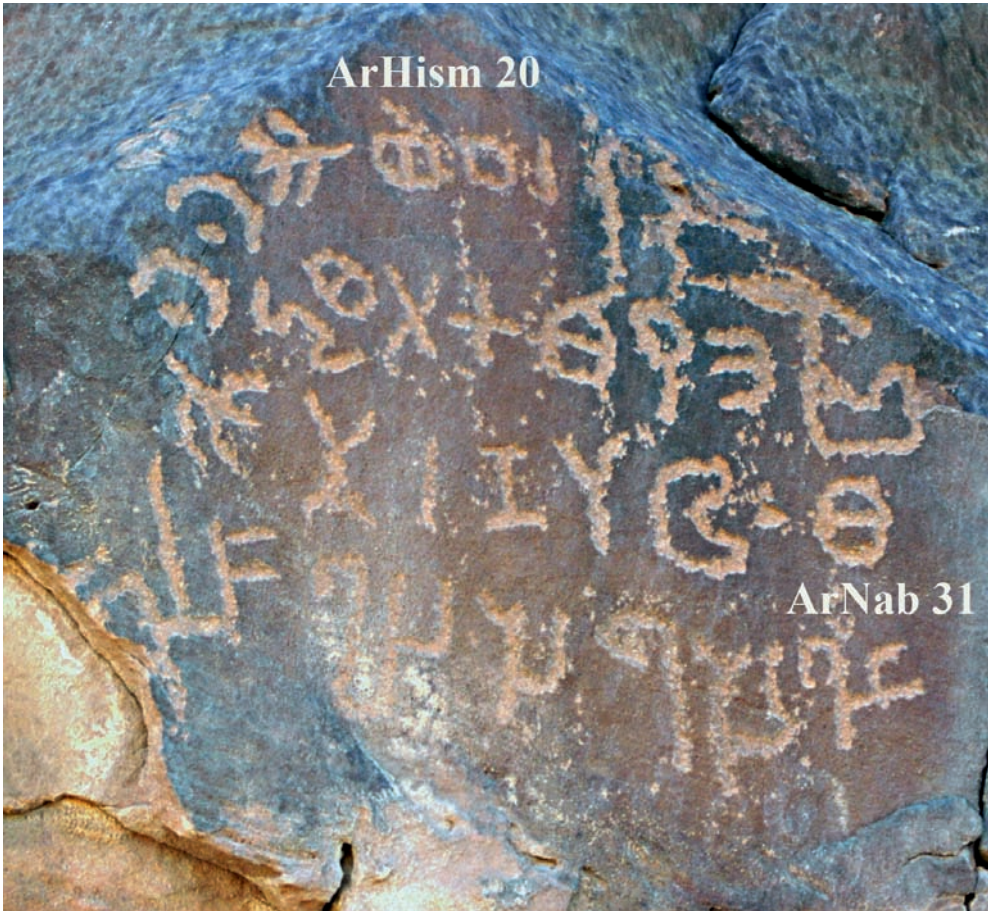
61b. ArHism 2–7



62a. ArHism 8–11



62b. ArHism 12–15



63a. ArNab 31, ArHism 20



63b. MBAZHism 1-3, MBAZProblem 1



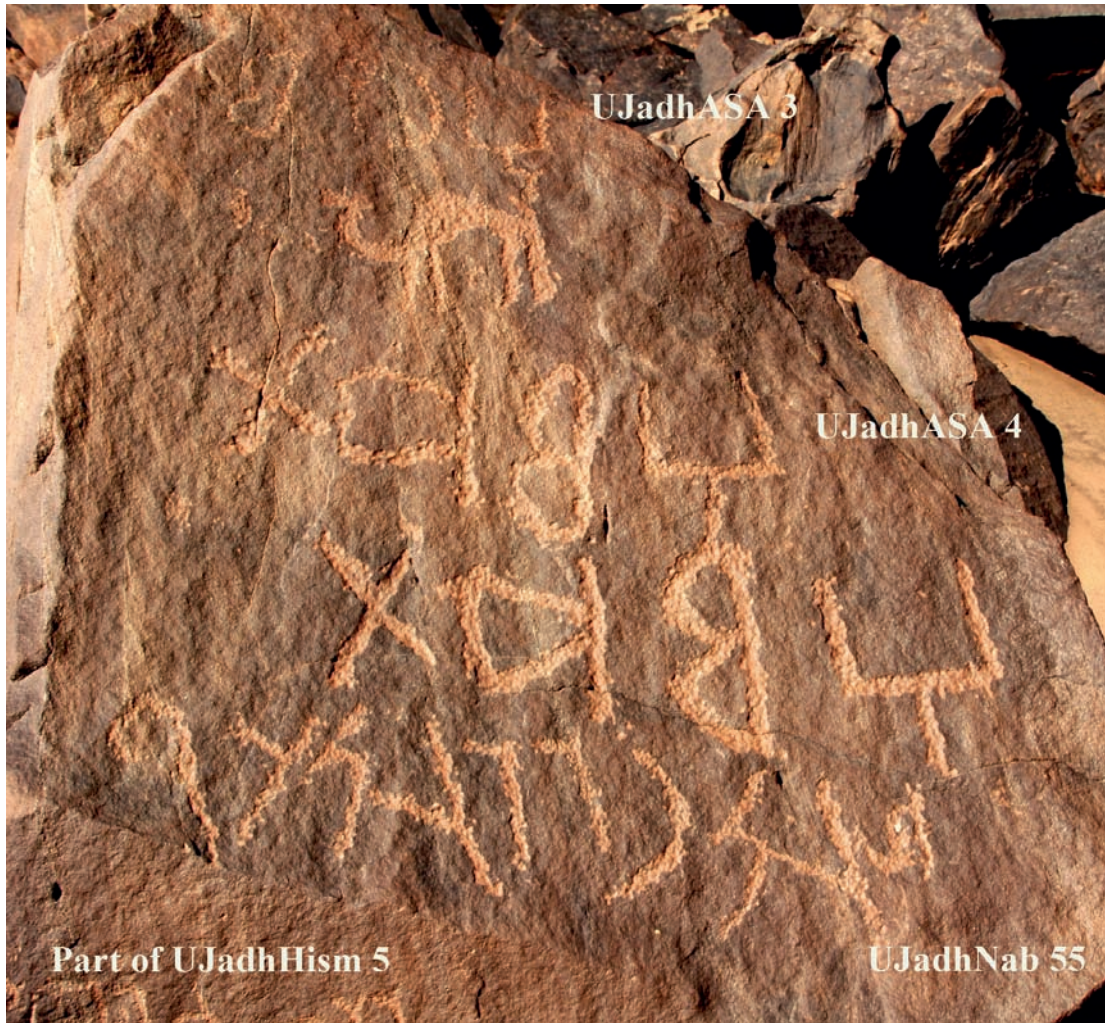
64a. SAyHism 1-4, SAyThamC 1



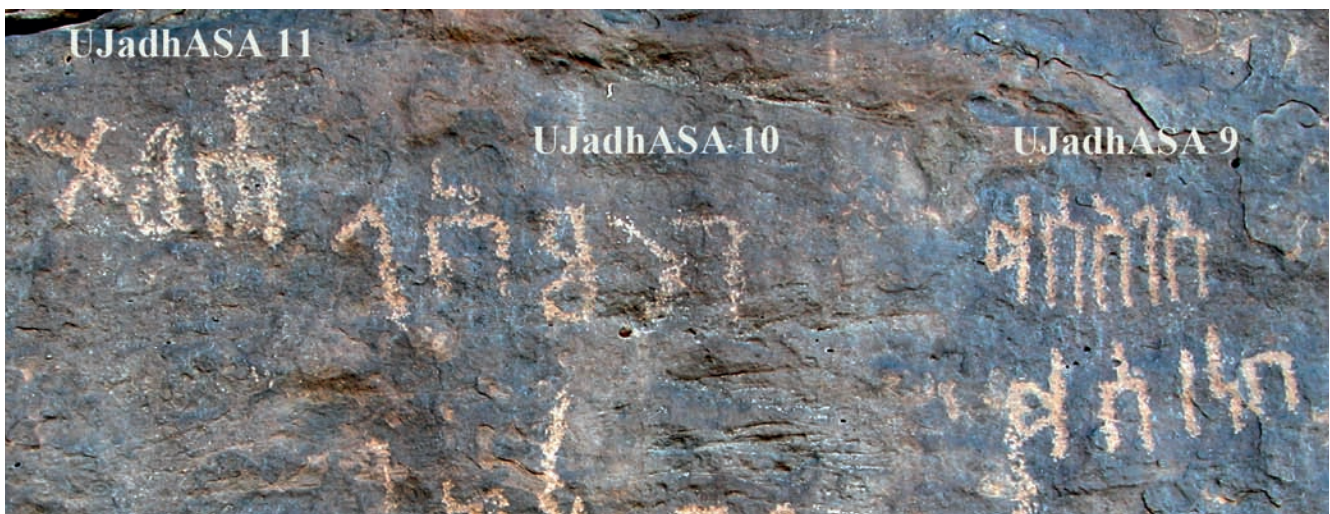


65. DBv1Nab 26, DBv1Saf 1, DBv1Tham C 1





66a. UJadhNab 55, UJadhASA 3-4, part of UJadhHism 5

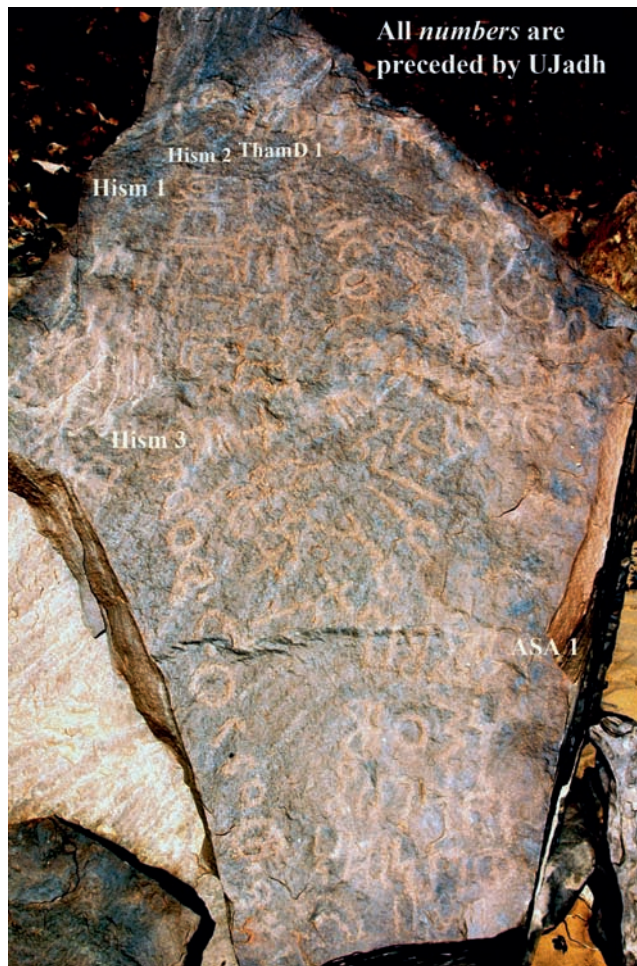


66b. UJadhASA 9-11

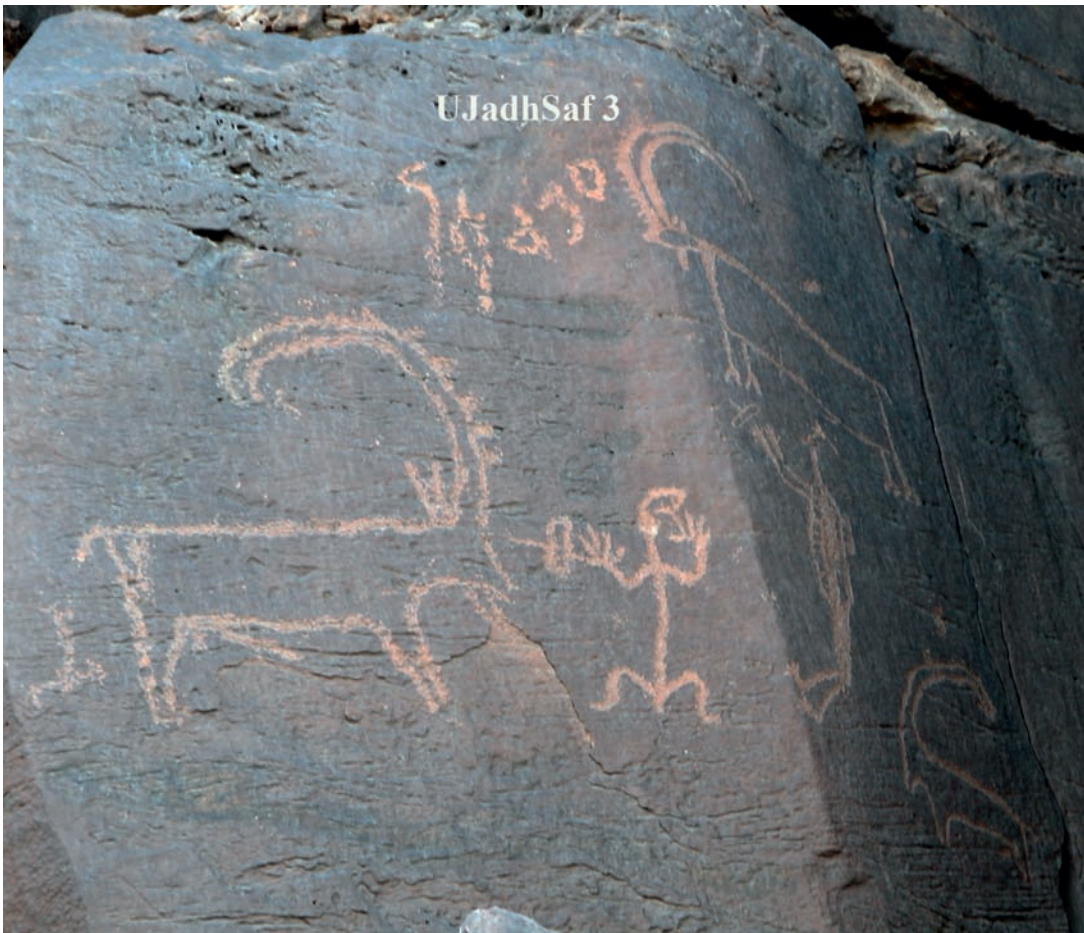




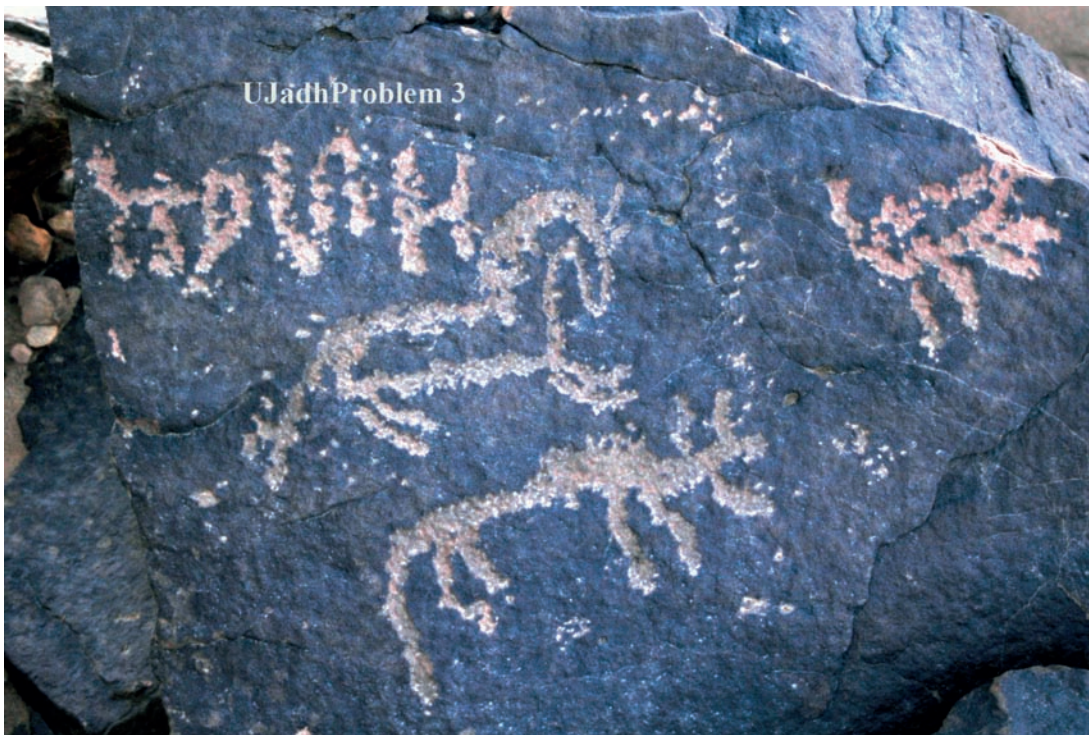
67a. UJadhASA 37-39, UJadhSaf 5



67b. UJadhASA 1, UJadhHism1-3, UJadhThamD 1



68a. UJadhSaf 3



68b. UJadhProblem 3





This volume presents the inscriptions recorded in 2004 along the so-called Darb al-Bakrah, an ancient north–south caravan track connecting Hegra with Petra. The inscriptions were found at a number of sites along the track. They are carved in a variety of scripts and languages, among which are Imperial Aramaic, Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic, Palmyrene, Ancient South Arabian, Ancient North Arabian (Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Hismaic, Safaitic, Thamudic B, C, and D, etc.), and Greek. The Arabic inscriptions and the rock drawings will be published in separate volumes.

The inscriptions are edited by six scholars specialised in the history and epigraphy of ancient Arabia.

