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Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological
Expeditions to Syria in 1904—1905 and 1909

DIVISION IV

SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY

ENNO LITTMANN

SECTION A

NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS

FROM

THE SOUTHERN HAURÂN

KOŞER IL-HALLĀBĀT (1)
UMM IS-SURAB (2-3)
IL-BEZĀYIZ (4)
SEBSEBEH (5)
IS-SUMMAĶIYĀT (6-10)
SIMDJ (11-12)
KŌM IR-RUFF (13-15)
KAİL (16)
ŞUBHĪVEH (17)

ŞABĤAH (18-22)
ŞALKHAD (23-26)
DĒR IL-MESHĶŪĶ (27)
ŞAMMEH (28-29)
UMM IR-RUMMĀN (30)
IL-GĤĀRIYEH (31)
DĒR IL-MAIYĀS (32)
UMM IL-ĶUTĤĒN (33-36)
TELL KOŞEŞ (37)

UMM IDJ-DJIMĀL (38-68)
BOŞRĀ (69-91)
IL-MU'ARRIBEH (92)
KHARABĀ (93)
DJMERRĪN (94)
ĤEBRĀN (95)
SAHWIT IL-KĤIDR (96-97)
MELAĤ IŞ-ŞARRĀR (98-99)
SĪC (100-107).

LATE E. J. BRILL
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Preface to Division IV, Section A.

On the following pages I have endeavoured first to give a short idea of the country and of the dates of the Nabataean inscriptions published in this volume; to define their character, their contents and their palaeographic features; and to study the origin and the forms of the Nabataean names and some important points of grammar. This is to be found in the Introductory Chapter. Secondly it has been my aim to publish the documents which I collected as accurately as possible and to comment upon them from different points of view. Since these inscriptions furnish a great many interesting Arabic names, I have devoted much attention to their explanation and interpretation. Wherever a name in these inscriptions is found for the first time, I have given all parallel forms from other languages and scripts known to me at the time. Later on, references have always been given to this first passage. The number of inscriptions being rather small, it was always possible to give references to parallels quite fully. In a larger publication I would have sifted and condensed the material a little more.

The commentary was written at Princeton University, in 1911, the Introduction at Strassburg, in 1913, after the commentary had been printed. Certain repetitions could not be avoided; I hope they will not embarrass the reader, but will rather serve to bring out some facts more plainly. Also some Addenda had to be appended. The reader is requested to use them before the study of the commentary, or at least not to overlook them.

I thought it advisable to reprint the list of Nabataean kings and their dates from an article by M. René Dussaud in the *Journal Asiatique* 1904. This list will be of constant use to the reader.

My thanks are due to my colleagues of the Expedition who with me shared hardships, work and enjoyment in a spirit of common enthusiasm for the East and for Eastern studies, especially to my friend H. C. Butler. Furthermore I wish to thank my Princeton friends who helped me with their advice during the preparation of the Commentary, to W. K. Prentice and David Magie.

ENNO LITTMANN.

Strassburg i. E.

Abbreviations of Periodicals and Publications Frequently Mentioned.

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| <p>A. E. or A. A. E. S. <i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899—1900</i>, I, II, III, IV.</p> <p>A. J. A. <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>.</p> <p>Ann. Ep. <i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>.</p> <p>B. C. H. <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>.</p> <p>C. I. G. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>.</p> <p>C. I. L. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>.</p> <p>C. I. S. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>.</p> <p>É. A. O. Clermont-Ganneau; <i>Études d'Archéologie Orientale</i>.</p> <p>Ephem. Lidzbarski; <i>Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i>.</p> <p>G. G. A. <i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>.</p> <p>H. <i>Hermes</i>.</p> <p>I. G. R. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes</i>.</p> <p>I. S. O. G. Dittenberger; <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>.</p> <p>J. A. <i>Journal Asiatique</i>.</p> <p>J. K. D. A. I. <i>Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>.</p> <p>J. K. P. K. <i>Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen</i>.</p> <p>K. A. Strzygowski; <i>Klein-Asien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte</i>.</p> <p>M. A. A. Jaussen et Savignac; <i>Mission Archéologique en Arabie</i>, I.</p> | <p>M. N. D. P.-V. <i>Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>.</p> <p>M. S. M. Dussaud et Macler; <i>Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne</i>.</p> <p>N. E. Lidzbarski; <i>Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik</i>.</p> <p>P. A. Brünnow; <i>Die Provincia Arabia</i>.</p> <p>P. E. <i>Princeton Expeditions</i>.</p> <p>P. E. F. <i>Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund</i>.</p> <p>P. M. Guy le Strange; <i>Palestine under the Moslems</i>.</p> <p>P. R. G. S. <i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>.</p> <p>P. W. Pauly-Wissowa; <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>.</p> <p>R. A. <i>Revue Archéologique</i>.</p> <p>R. A. O. Clermont-Ganneau; <i>Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale</i>.</p> <p>R. B. <i>Revue Biblique</i>.</p> <p>Rép. <i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i>.</p> <p>S. C. Marquis de Vogüé; <i>La Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse</i>.</p> <p>S. E. P. Conder; <i>Survey of Eastern Palestine</i>.</p> <p>V. A. S. Dussaud; <i>Voyage Archéologique au Şafâ</i>.</p> <p>Z. G. E. <i>Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin</i>.</p> <p>Z. D. M. G. <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>.</p> <p>Z. D. P.-V. <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>.</p> |
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NABATAEAN KINGS.

ARETAS I	169 B. C.
ARETAS II. Erotimus	110-96 B. C.
OBODAS I	96-90 B. C.
RABB'EL I	90-87 B. C.
ARETAS III. Philhellen	87-62 B. C.
OBODAS II	62-47 B. C.
MALICHUS I	47-30 B. C.
OBODAS III	30-9 B. C.
ARETAS IV. Philopatris	9 B. C.-40 A. D.
MALICHUS II	40-75 A. D.
RABB'EL II	75-101 A. D.
MALICHUS III	101-106 A. D.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The Nabataean inscriptions published in this Part of the *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909* were all found in the country east of the Jordan river. Out of the 107 numbers 101 were copied by the author himself, in every case where it was possible after a careful study of the original; of a great many of the more important inscriptions squeezes and photographs were made. Of the remaining six inscriptions two were copied by other members of the Expedition of 1904-1905; one was copied by Miss G. L. Bell; another one by the late Professor Puchstein; and of two inscriptions squeezes and photographs were made by the Expedition of 1909 and handed to me by my friend H. C. Butler.

THE COUNTRY AND THE DATES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS. The country from which these inscriptions came, was so to speak an outlying district of the Nabataean kingdom. Nabataean civilization and power may be grouped around three centers, represented by three cities, Hegra in the south, Petra in the middle, and Bosra in the north. The most important one of these was no doubt Petra, a city of which the imposing remnants have lately been brought before our eyes through the works of Brünnow and Dalman. The country around Bosra was much fought over during the time of the kingdom of Nabat. Bosra itself and the region to the south and to the east were probably always in the hands of the Nabataean kings from the time in which they first established their power in the "Far North" until the fall of their might in 106 A.D. But the region to the north of Bosra was a bone of contention between the Nabataean kings and their Idumaeans competitors. Those, however, who had really something to say about the matter were the Roman rulers. It is known that even Damascus was for some time Nabataean. At the time when the kings of Petra followed their first impulse to extend their sway over all of Syria, i. e. in the first half of the first century B. C., they took their way north through the cultivated lands east of the Jordan, and soon reached the most important city of Central Syria, viz. Damascus. There must have been a peculiar restlessness and spirit of enterprise among the Arabs in the last centuries B. C. and the first centuries A. D., a spirit which may be called a fore-runner of that which in the 7th century A. D. carried the Arabs over half the world with a force unknown in history. For we observe that in Hegra, Petra, Damascus, the Lebanon, Palmyra, Emesa and even Edessa, families of the Arab nobility established themselves and gradually became the rulers; and in almost the same way in which we speak of the Arab kingdom of Petra, we may speak of an Arab kingdom of Palmyra, Emesa and Edessa, except that most of the Nabataean subjects were real Arabs, whereas the majority of the Ituraeans, Palmyrenes, the people of Emesa and Edessa were of Aramaean stock. Now Damascus was not long Nabataean: it was too important a place for the Romans who at about the same time as the Nabataeans found their way

into Syria. Arethas III., who reigned about 85-62, conquered Damascus, and since he had now for the first time Greek subjects called himself Philhellen. But when Pompey in 64-63 organized the Asiatic provinces of Syria, the Arab ruler had to yield to the power of the "world-empire". Nabataean monuments of this early time are extremely scarce in this region: we know so far only the famous tomb of Ḥamrath at Suwêdā which is now utterly destroyed. Again Arethas IV., who reigned from 9 B.C. to 40 A.D. and who was called Philopatris because he did not show any deference towards Rome, in opposition to so many a ruler called Philoromaïos, gained possession of Damascus for a few years between 30 and 40 A.D.: that was the time when, as Paul says in II. Cor. 11, 32, "in Damascus the governor under Aretas the King kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison". But the Romans probably soon drove him out again, and the rich provinces of Auranitis and Trachonitis which lay between Bosra and Damascus were again given to a member of the Herodian family. A last reminiscence of the time when Damascus was Nabataean may be found in a Sinaïtic name; for in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* II, No. 637 we find a man called Parpariy, i. e. probably a man that came from Pharpar, the river of Damascus. The dates of the Nabataean inscriptions found in Auranitis are, therefore, not given according to the years of the kings of Nabat, but according to other eras. Among the inscriptions published below we find No. 100, dated in the Seleucid era, and No. 101 in the years of Philip the Tetrarch; No. 102 gives just the name "Agrippas the King".

But whenever an inscription older than 106 A.D. in the Southern Ḥaurān is dated, it is dated according to the years of the Nabataean kings. Below we find Mālik II. (about 40-75 A.D.) represented in Nos. 23 and 28, and Rabb²ēl Soter (about 75-101 A.D.) in Nos. 2 and 33. When the power of the Nabataean kingdom was broken and their royal family lost their throne in 106 A.D., Nabataean script, of course, did not die out. It continued to be written not only in those parts of Arabia which were not embodied into the Roman Empire, but also in the Roman Provincia Arabia itself; a very striking example of this is No. 27 below, which is dated in the 7th year of Hadrianus Caesar. The dates given in the inscriptions published here range therefore from 33 B.C. to 124 A.D. Certainly none of the undated ones is older than 33 B.C., but it is very likely that a number of them are later than 124 A.D. Except the inscriptions from Sī^c, the religious center of the Auranitis, all inscriptions are from the country which was permanently under Nabataean influence. The position of the places is shown on the accompanying map of Southern Ḥaurān. The underlined names are those of places in which Nabataean inscriptions were found. This shows best where the Nabataean influence was the strongest.

Out of the three main cities of the Nabataean kingdom only Bosra became an important Roman city. Petra and Hegra gradually decayed, but Bosra became the capital of the Provincia Arabia. It had a Roman theater, an amphitheater, a naumachia, baths, and even an imperial palace; in Christian times it was the seat of a bishop and had a cathedral and a number of churches. The common people there must always have spoken an Arabic dialect, although the language of the government was Greek, that of the army Latin, and that of the church Syriac. When the Mohammedans came, they found there people of their own race and their own language. That the Nabataeans themselves were true Arabs will be shown later on by a study of their names.

THE CHARACTER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS. Although the number of the inscriptions published here is comparatively small, we find that almost all the different branches of Nabataean epigraphy are represented. The large majority, however, are funerary inscriptions.

The funerary inscriptions may be divided into two classes, (1) those in which a word for tomb or the like is given and which generally refer to a built funerary structure; (2) those which contain nothing more than the names of the deceased persons and which were often, but by no means always, placed on tomb-stones over simple graves in the ground like the majority of graves in our modern cemeteries.

The words used for tomb in the inscriptions of the first class are **קברתא**, **קברא** and **נפשא**. In No. 1 **קברא** refers certainly to a built tomb of some sort, in 13-15, however, probably only to a pile of stones erected over the bodies; the latter has always been and is nowadays the usual kind of tomb among the Arab Bedawin. In Nos. 93 and 106 again the word **מקברתא** indicates a monument of importance, in No. 106 probably one of the well-built tomb-towers of Si^c which will be described in Div. II of these Publications, Sect. A, Pt. 6.

The word **נפשא** seems to imply different meanings. It occurs here in the following forms: **נפשא** 39, 105; **נפש** 40; **נפשו** 41; and perhaps **נפסא** 34. In bilingual inscriptions it is rendered **σψήλη** in No. 41 and **μνημεῖον** in No. 105. The meaning of this very interesting word has been discussed several times at length, especially by M. Clermont-Ganneau in his *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* II, p. 191; see also Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, p. 206.

The word **נפש** means "soul" and at the same time the "stela", the funerary monument so characteristic of the southern Semites. The translation by **σψήλη** in No. 41 is therefore perfectly correct. We notice that wherever the Arabs went, their tombs were marked by *stelae*; and the same is true of Abyssinia. Of course, it is very natural that a tomb should bear a slab or a roughly cut stone with or without the name of the dead. But it is noteworthy 1) that this very slab was called "soul", and 2) that these *stelae* were used in Syria only where Arab influence is to be postulated. In Northern Syria during Pagan and Christian times a great many different kinds of funerary monuments are found, but no *stelae*. In Central and Southern Syria, however, above all in the later Provincia Arabia, these *stelae* abound in Pagan and Christian times, inscribed with Nabataean, Greek and Latin characters, but almost invariably with Arabic names. In Palmyra, where the Arabs came drifting in as early as the first century B. C., such *stelae* are very rare as I pointed out in my *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 81. On the other hand Pagan and Christian Abyssinia is full of funerary *stelae* of all forms and dimensions, as may be seen from the publications of the *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, Vol. II, pp. 1-43. The Abyssinian *stelae* grew even to gigantic forms, and the largest monolith of the world, known so far, was found at Aksum, a monument of one of the ancient Aksumite kings. Again, after the Arabs had conquered Syria in the 7th century A.D., they brought their native custom with them and began to erect *stelae* over the graves of their dead. Afterwards this custom gradually became a religious custom connected with the Arab religion, i. e. with Islam, and over the tombs of all pious Moslems such *stelae* were erected. *Stelae* with Arabic inscriptions abound in Northern Syria, and *stelae* with Arabic or other inscriptions are found all over the world where the Moslem faith has been embraced. We may, therefore, rightly say that this

custom was truly Arab. From the Arabs it must have come to the Jews also; for in the Mishna we read that "they built him a stele (נפש) over his tomb", and in the Talmud it is said "they do not make stelae (נפשות) for the righteous, but their words are their monument"; see Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s. v.

When the Arabs in the desert buried their dead, they had no means of building elaborate structures. But when they became settled, and civilized, and acquired some wealth, they began to construct "houses" or "towers" for the dead. In many cases, however, they could not part with their old time-honoured custom. Thus, instead of carving fine inscriptions on the funerary buildings, they placed the stelae, generally containing just the name of the person and of his – or her – father, before the building. This is shown below in Ill. 7 and in Div. II, A, 3 Ill. 187. Each dead person had a "stele" (נפש), just as he – or she – had a "soul" (נפש). There was undoubtedly some mysterious connecting idea between the two, but it is very difficult to define it. I believe that it was precisely this idea that prompted the Nabataeans to keep to their custom. It would lead us too far here, to consider also the possible connection between the "stelae" and the Hebrew *maṣṣebōth*. The latter have sometimes been brought into relation to phallic worship; and it is true that in East Africa the stones on the graves often have a phallic form, and also that in Ethiopic *naḥest*, a word closely related to נפש, means phallus just as e. g. in the Low German dialect of my native country *dat Lewen* means *pudenda*. But these questions cannot be discussed here.

If, then, the original meaning of נפש was "stele", the use of this word must later have been enlarged. For in some cases it certainly means "funerary building". This meaning was derived from cases in which stele and building were together, as below in No. 60; it was a use as *pars pro toto*. And a few times, in cases where the Nabataeans broke with the old custom and built only a structure without a stele, this structure was also called נפשא, as below in No. 105. In such cases it was correctly rendered by *μνημεῖον*. But where the inscription is not in situ it is impossible to say which meaning is intended. Even in No. 41 the word *στῆλη* may be too literal a translation and may also include the funerary structure; for it is likely that for Fihir, the tutor of a king, a built tomb was erected.

The second of the two classes mentioned above contains those funerary inscriptions in which only names are given. They are all on "stelae", and they are one half of all Nabataean inscriptions in this volume; for out of 107 numbers 53 or 54 are of this kind. They furnish many new and interesting names and several rare forms of letters. The stelae for men had in practically every case square angular tops. A good illustration of this fact is the row of stelae on p. 53 below; and on p. 11, in the commentary on No. 9, a few more words on this matter are to be found. There is a characteristic difference between the stelae with Nabataean inscriptions and those with Greek inscriptions: the former never mention the age of the deceased, the latter as a rule mention it. The Orientals even nowadays very seldom know their age, and if so, they count it according to some important event, e. g. a famine, an earthquake, a blizzard, or the like. But it was certainly more stylish and more fashionable to mention the age in Greek inscriptions, and in the eyes of the Greeks themselves, of the educated class and the officials that knew Greek, the Nabataeans did not wish to appear as ignorant barbarians. But the ages given in the Greek inscriptions are certainly in most cases a compromise; up to the age of twenty the figures may be taken at their face value,

but after that they grow rather indistinct and unreliable. In the higher regions mostly round numbers like 50, 60, 70 or 75 etc. are given.

The architectural inscriptions give the name of the building, the name of the builder, often also the date. The most complete among the ones below is No. 100, where starting from the inside all parts of a large complex of buildings are enumerated, viz. "the inner temple, the outer temple, the portico and its covering". Others refer to the "cella" like Nos. 2 and 71, or to a "fire-altar", like Nos. 27 and 97, to "walls and windows", like No. 69, or to a "building" in general, like No. 28. Sometimes it may have been thought superfluous to mention the building, since everybody knew from the position of the stone what it referred to, and therefore only the pronoun "this" was written, as in Nos. 11 and 42. But perhaps these inscriptions are fragmentary and the substantives may be lost. Whenever one of these buildings or parts of buildings are a temple or in a temple, the architectural inscriptions are mostly at the same time dedicatory inscriptions too, since they generally indicate also to which god or goddess these buildings were dedicated.

The dedicatory inscriptions contain as a rule the name of the donor, of the object dedicated, and of the god or goddess to whom they are dedicated. These objects are here generally a **מסנה** (or **משנה**), i. e. a cult-stone, as in Nos. 23, 24, 38, 96; but it may be that sometimes the chapel together with the "cult-stone", was meant just as sometimes the tomb together with the stele was meant. A "sculpture" seems to have been dedicated in No. 18, a picture or statue is dedicated in No. 102. A fragmentary dedicatory inscription is No. 71, which consists only of the words "[Tai]m, son of Badr, for al-'Uzzā, the goddess of Boṣ[rā]".

An honorary inscription is No. 101. This document is an unusual one in Nabataean for several reasons. For the first time the name of Philip the Tetrarch occurs there in an Oriental inscription. A group of men commemorate that they made the "statue-altar" of Gālis, the son of Banat. This means that a statue of that man was set up in the temple of Sī^c; a statue in those days corresponded to our modern orders and decorations. But who was Gālis, and who were the men who made the gift? They were not the architects, or the sculptors of the statue, or the pedestal; for their names are also given. And who was in any case entitled to set up the statue of somebody in a public building like a temple? Perhaps they were the elders of a corporation or a guild of some kind, or perhaps even the priests themselves, who honoured in this way one of their worthy members, or their chief.

Short memorial inscriptions which are very frequently found in Nabataean letters, as e. g. in Petra, Hegra and on the Sinai Peninsula, are rare in the Ḥaurān country. It is possible that Nos. 43, 46, 95 are of such a character, since they give only names of persons and are, in all likelihood, not on stelae. The enigmatic inscription No. 45 which says "Mautab. Greeting!" probably belongs to this class; different possibilities of how it is to be interpreted are given below in the commentary.

Finally there are to be mentioned architects' signatures, like Nos. 104 and 107, and also at the end of other inscriptions, as Nos. 101 and 105, and signs indicating property, like 72 and 73. The latter two speak of a **מדרמה** "a secluded place"; and I have ventured to suggest the idea that they referred to seats in the theater of Bosra.

THE GODS. Some contributions to our knowledge of the Nabataean pantheon may

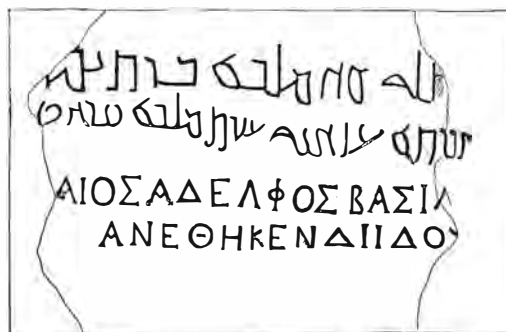
also be had from these inscriptions. Of course, Ba'al-Shamīn, the "Lord of Heaven", who is mentioned in Nos. 11, 23 and 100, furthermore Allāt, in No. 24, and Dūsharā, in Nos. 38 and 69, are all well known. The name of Allāt is also contained in the feminine proper name 'Amat-allāt. But new are some of their attributes. In No. 23 Ba'al-Shamīn is called the god of מַתְנֵי, in No. 24 Allāt is the lady of אֵלֵּאתֵר, and in No. 69 Dusharā seems to have a *πάρεδρος* called שְׂרִית. The god Allāh or Hallāh known so well from the Ṣafāitic inscriptions, may be found here in Nos. 71 and 96; his name occurs in proper names like שְׂעֵד־אֱלֹהִי and וְהַבְּאֱלֹהִי, frequently found also in other Nabataean and in Sinaïtic inscriptions. Again שִׁיעִי-אֱלֹקִים the true Arab god, whose name I found in a Palmyrene inscription and in the Ṣafā and whom M. Clermont-Ganneau discovered in a Nabataean inscription, may be found here in No. 18. The Arab goddess al-'Uzzā is mentioned here in the fragment No. 70, and the much discussed Mautab, i. e. originally the throne of Dusharā, may have been invoked in the graffito No. 45. A god hitherto known only in proper names is al-Gā' (perhaps also al-Gē'); below in No. 79 the name 'Amat-al-Gā' is found. I endeavoured to penetrate into the meaning of this strange name, but I do not believe now that I succeeded in this, as I have indicated in the Addenda, below, p. 88. The god Yitha' (יִתְעַ) was not known so far in Nabataean, but below in No. 53 we find him in the name Taim-Yitha'; the same is to be said of the god al-Malik, in the name Mar'al-Malik, below No. 72. Prof. Lidzbarski was the first to recognize that the cult of Isis was known to the Nabataeans also; additional evidence for this fact may be furnished by the names אֶשְׂדֹּלִם, in No. 43, and עֲבֵד־אִשָּׁה, in No. 74. Entirely new, however, are the god 'Asad and the goddess She'ī'. The name of the former is unfortunately not quite certain; the latter was probably a personification of the great religious center Sī' on the western slope of the Haurān, where under the rule of the Idumaeen kings large and beautiful temples were being built at the time when the Gospel was being preached in Galilee and Judaea near by. In the commentaries on No. 27 and on No. 103 a fuller discussion of these two gods will be found.

PALAEOGRAPHY. As I said above on p. xxii, a number of rare forms of Nabataean letters are found in the inscriptions below. To these I have always called attention in my commentary. It may therefore suffice here to enumerate some of the more important cases. The letter נ is peculiarly written in No. 34, an inscription which has several unusual traits of its own. — The letter כ is nothing but a short slanting line in No. 29; two small slanting lines as an abbreviation for ככ are to be seen in No. 106, but this is known from other inscriptions also. — In No. 24 ג has its small shaft turned upward instead of downward, which is very rare and unusual. — The letters ד and ר are practically always alike, and they share each other's history. In Nos. 8, 29, and 34, their heads resemble a small acute angle, in Nos. 23 and 52 these same heads are a small square open at one side. A very unusual ד occurs in No. 80. — The ך in Nos. 2 and 16 resembles the Palmyrene 𐤌 with its broken horizontal bar. — Of the י a great many various forms are to be found. In Nos. 23, 34, 83 it seems to have an old form (𐤎 or similar to this). In No. 12 it has a very late form, resembling the one in the inscription of in-Nemārah, and is almost like the Kufic ى; the first three letters in the name יִלִּים in l. 1 might almost be Kufic. Its final forms in No. 24 and 40 should be noted also. — Under Nos. 11 and 40 the different forms of the final ל and מ(ם) have been commented upon. — The letter ך seems to have lived through

many vicissitudes in the history of Nabataean script in the Ḥaurān country. Usually it is rather rare, but below it is found in a good many cases. No. 106 e. g. is full of it, since so many names there end in **ם**. Perhaps the oldest of all forms of the Nabataean **ם** is to be seen in No. 96, the latest in No. 34. The latter is not very far from the one in **מסנדה** in No. 24 and the one in **ילים** in No. 12. If the doubtful letter in No. 78 is really a **ם**, it is a very strange one. But a very beautiful one is carved in No. 102, in the word **הגרפם**. – A somewhat curious **ע** is found in No. 23, l. 3. – A closed form of the **ע**, so frequently met with in *Sinaitic* inscriptions, occurs here in No. 42. – The **ק** with the open top to which Prof. Lidzbarski called attention in his *Ephemeris* III, p. 279, is found here in Nos. 32 and 106. – The letter **ש** is several times connected with the preceding letter by means of its lower horizontal bar; this is to be seen in Nos. 11, 40 and 47.

The most characteristic inscriptions with regard to the forms of their letters are Nos. 23, 34 and 41. And to these I wish to draw attention in general.

In conclusion a few words may be said about palaeographic evidence in Nabataean inscriptions. It is true and undisputed that there are old and late forms, and I have myself often spoken of them and used them for determining the approximate dates of certain epigraphical documents. But this is to be done only with the greatest precaution, and one should never lose sight of the fact that in all scripts there is a difference between the "monumental" characters and the written cursive script. The "monumental characters" are sometimes kept for the sake of archaism a long time beyond the introduction of the cursive script. And vice versa the cursive script is often introduced long before the official inscriptions show any traces of its existence. Therefore we are apt to find cursive – *vulgo* late – forms in old inscriptions, and we are not entitled to date these inscriptions from a later period on account of these forms. This is especially the case with the so-called connected forms in the Nabataean script. It is true that they were, generally speaking, late in being used in the inscriptions. But a few years ago a Nabataean inscription of the second decade B. C. – i. e. an old period for Nabataean script – was found, in which the letters were connected! That was the inscription of Syllaïos, the famous and notorious epitropos. There we have an inscription in cursive Nabataean characters looking bold and ungraceful, and below it a translation into Greek carved in beautiful and regular Greek letters. This document is so instructive that I thought it useful to give a drawing of it here made after the squeeze published in the *Rec. Arch. Or.*, VIII, Pl. VI.



The story of this inscription is that Syllaïos in Miletos handed a copy in his own handwriting probably on parchment or papyrus, to a Greek mason and told him also the translation of it. The Greek not knowing Nabataean copied exactly the handwriting, and it is therefore very probable that we have here almost an autograph of Syllaïos. But Greek he knew, and therefore he transcribed what he had probably noted down in cursive script into beautiful letters on the stone. If Syllaïos had had his inscription written in his native country

by a compatriot of his, his Nabataean inscription would have looked otherwise, probably as fine as that of King Agrippas, below No. 102. The important fact is to know that cursive Nabataean writing in which the letters were connected was known in the first century B.C. also.

THE NAMES. Whereas in the preceding paragraphs I have restricted my discussion to the present inscriptions only, the discussion of Nabataean names will have to take the whole of this nomenclature into consideration. But before that is done, two kinds of names which apply both to men and women may be mentioned since they occur below and since new evidence can be brought to bear on their interpretation. These are (1) names denoting abstract qualities; (2) names denoting physical peculiarities.

The first class consists of the names רופו, מלחו, למפו, חשנו, חנו*, חלדו, חבו. Of the first four we know that they were used both as masculine and as feminine names; the fifth is found as a masculine only, the sixth and the seventh as feminine only; but since they all belong to the same class, I think that the last three must be of common gender two. These names are to be interpreted as follows. חבו, the Arabic *ḥubb*, means "love"; cf. below No. 9; its Greek form is in the fem. Οββη. – חלדו, the Arabic *khald*, means "retaining youthful appearance in old age"; cf. below No. 68; its Greek forms are Αλδου, Αλδη and Χαλδη. A famous Nabataean queen, the wife of Arethas IV., bore this name. – חנו*, the Arabic *ḥinn*, means probably "grace, compassion", but in this meaning the root is rather North-Semitic than Arabic. It has not been found in Nabataean letters yet, but the Greek Εννος and Εννη are known; cf. *P.E.* III, Nos. 30, 85, 154, 190, 321, 370. – חשנו *ḥusn*, means "beauty"; in Greek we find Ουσου, Ασνη, Οσνη, cf. below, No. 21. – למפו, *lutf* means "kindness"; it is the name of a man in *M.A.A.* nab. 157. – מלחו, *milh*, means "knowledge, beauty"; its Greek form is Μελη; it is given as the name of a girl below in No. 39. – רופו, *ruḥf*, *rūf*, means "mercy"; it is the name of a woman in *C.I.S.* II, 199 (= *M.A.A.* nab. 1).

The second class contains names formed after the Arabic paradigm ^ʾ*afʿal*. Now in ordinary Arabic this form would be only masculine, if used for physical peculiarities; its feminine form should be *faʿlāʾ*; in modern Arabic the fem. name ^ʾ*Ainā* "having large eyes" is known. But in Nabataean names and in their Greek equivalents, we find ^ʾ*afʿal* both as a masculine and as a feminine. Since a number of them are known in their Greek form only, I shall give them here first in transliteration. We find the following. ^ʾ*Anyab* "having long canine teeth", in Greek Ανιαβος and Ανιαβη; cf. *P.E.* III 474, 477. – ^ʾ*Arʿas* "large-headed". The name is known in Palmyrene, אראש, and in Safaitic, אראם; in Nabataean ^ʾ*arʿas* has become ^ʾ*arwas*, cf. ארום in *M.A.A.* 7 (= *C.I.S.* 207). All these are masculine, but in Greek we have Αραση, *P.E.* No. 504. – ^ʾ*Aswad* "black" is a man's name in Sinaïtic inscriptions, אשוור, but in Greek both Ασσυαδος and Ασσυαδα occur; cf. *P.E.* No. 391. – ^ʾ*Asman* "fat" is represented by Ασμανη *P.E.* 63 and Αζμανη *ib.* 289. The ζ for the σ is due to a partial assimilation, like Κοζμας for Κοσμας. – ^ʾ*Ashmat*, the meaning of which is doubtful, is to be presupposed as the original of Greek Ασμαθος and Ασμαθη. – ^ʾ*Asnum*, for ^ʾ*asnam*, "big-humped" occurs as אשנמו below in No. 65. Its Greek equivalents are Ασνουμος and Ασνημη. – ^ʾ*Ashʿar* "hairy" is very likely the original of Ασαρου, *P.E.*, No. 409. The Tigrē name *Ġaggīr* has the same meaning; see *Publ. Princet. Exp. Abyss.* II, p. 174, No. 554. – To these we may add ^ʾ*Askyab*, אשיבו, "gray-haired", which is a Sinaïtic name. And, finally, another name used in both genders is עקרב ^ʾ*Aqrab*, "scorpion", in Greek Ακραβος and Ακραβη; see below No. 3.

We noticed that in the preceding list all names but one have an etymology in Arabic. And this is the case in about nine tenths of all Nabataean names. This is then the best proof of their Arab nationality. Professor Nöldeke insisted upon this fact more than forty years ago, but again and again the Aramaic script and language have led scholars to believe that there was a strong Aramaean element among the Nabataeans which was gradually absorbed by the Arabs. If there was any absorption, it was only an absorption of the language. The language of the common people among the Nabataeans was always Arabic. But when the Nabat and the tribes that were associated with them began to lead a settled life and entered the civilized world of the Near East they adopted for official usage the language of that civilized world, i. e. the Aramaic. Therefore, in their inscriptions they used always Aramaic script and language, until about 200 years after the fall of their kingdom they forgot that language and began to write Arabic with Aramaic characters. In order to furnish the final proof of this I shall give below a nearly complete list of Nabataean names arranged according to their origin. It is, of course, unnecessary to quote the inscriptions in which they occur; he who wishes to look them up will find the references in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch* and *Ephemeris*, in the index of *M.A.A.*, of Brünnow's *Provincia Arabia*, of the *C.I.S.*, II, 2, 1, or in the Index attached to this part. First of all the foreign names may be registered.

Greek and Latin Names. The Nabataeans came into contact with Greeks quite early, about the second century B. C. Arethas III. was called Philhellen, as said above on p. x. It was therefore very natural that they adopted some of their names, or that some Greeks bearing Greek or Latin names settled among them and became members of their communities, as Greeks have done and are doing very frequently in the East. Many of the names that are suspected of Greek origin are not read with certainty. I thought it advisable to exclude them here, and to give only those which are reasonably certain. They are the following. אטלוס: Attalos. – אודימוס: Eudemos – אופרנוס: Euphronios. – אלכסי: Alexios. – אפולוניוס: Apollonios. – בסס: Bassus. – גים: Gaius. – גלוקס: Glaukos. – גלסי: Gelasios. – גמינס: Geminus. – דומיטי: Domitius. – דמסיפוס: Damasippos. – הפסתיון: Hephaistion. – הנפאלס and הפפאלס Hippialos (if correctly read). – יוליס: Julius. – לוקיס: Lucius. – מרקס: Marcus. – נוטא: Nautes(?) – ניקיס: Nikias. – ניקמכוס: Nikomachos. – נקטיס: Niketes(?). *M.A.A.* reads תיטוס Titius. – סלונוס: Silvanus. – קוסמס: Kosmas. – רופוס: Rufus. – תודוסיס: Theodosios. – תפילוס: Theophilus.

Hebrew names. Comparatively few Hebrew names are found in the Nabataean inscriptions. There were Jews at Petra as well as at Hegra and at Palmyra; we know even that the Jews spread over all Arabia. Perhaps the Jews did not partake much in public life and restricted themselves to quiet work, or – and this is more likely – most of them had some name of the country in which they lived besides the Hebrew name used only among their coreligionists. But scarcely ever a Nabataean had a Hebrew name. The names דניאל (*Daniel*), מנשא (*Manasse*), נתן (*Nathan*) are plainly Hebrew, and their bearers were Jews. But שבטאי (*Shabbatai*), a name given to a child born on the Sabbath day, seems to have been used among non-Jews also. The name תדי (*Thaddaeus?*) may belong to this group; בעל-אדן is not read with certainty and is therefore not to be used as evidence. But שביתו in *M.A.A.* 4 is directly called יהודיא “a Jew”.

Persian names. The traces of Persian names are not very distinct. The name

פֶּהְכּוּרוּ which occurs below in No. 24 may be the Persian Pacorus. And the inscription in *M.A.A.*, nab. No. 170 reads שְׁלֹם אִסְכְּרִס בֶּר פֶּרְסָא. It seems to me very probable that this means "Askrs son of the Persian". The first name may be in some way connected with Xerxes. Persian merchants may have come to Hegra as they came to Mekkah and Medinah at Mohammed's time and as they come to Ḥājil and the Ḥigāz in our days. — The names יִשְׂרִי and נִתְנִי which look very Persian are to be read differently according to the new copies by P.P. Jaussen et Savignac.

Egyptian names. There certainly was a good deal of commerce between Egypt and the Nabataeans, as there always has been between Egypt and its neighbours to the East. But generally the Egyptians were the receivers, not the givers. However, in the old Aramaic inscription of Teimā in Northern Arabia we find the name Peṭosiris. Proff. Brünnow and Lidzbarski have observed that Isis, whose cult spread over the whole Roman Empire, was worshipped at Petra. The latter discovered her in the Nabataean name, עֲלִימַת־אִסַּם "handmaid of Isis". The name עֲבֵד־אִסַּם *Abd-Isis* is also found at Petra, cf. Dalman 3, 87, 93. Furthermore Lidzbarski suggested that the name שְׂרַפְיוֹ or שְׂרַפְיָא which is found not infrequently on the Sinai Peninsula might be Serapion. In several cases שְׂרַפְיָא and שְׂרַפְיוֹ are the sons of a עֲרַבְיָא, *gharbiy*, i. e. "a man from the West", which would support Lidzbarski's theory. Other Egyptians who came to Syria were Τάπης and Ουρησσα at Khisfin; cf. *Prov. Arab.* II, p. 250. The former is a shorter form of Τάπης "the [handmaid] of Apis", which is the same as חֲפִי in *C.I.S.* II, 141; the latter belongs, as my friend W. Spiegelberg told me, to the Egyptian *wrshy*. A Σαραπιων was really found in Adjlūn; cf. *Z.D.P.-V.* 36, p. 264. I do not hesitate, therefore, to consider the name פֶּטְמוֹן Egyptian, i. e. "gift of Ammon". Now there are a few other names which probably are Egyptian also, but it is difficult to gain a definite opinion about them. The name אִפְתִּי seems to be the same as Φθεις, Egyptian *ʿftw*; cf. Spiegelberg in *Orientalische Studien (Festschrift für Th. Nöldeke)*, p. 1108. But it is rather doubtful whether the names אֲרִיכְסִי and עֲבֵד־אֲהִי which contain non-Semitic elements really are to be derived from the Egyptian. It is just possible that in the former the Egyptian god *Bes* and in the latter the god *Ehi*, the son of Hathor of Denderah, is hidden. If אֲרִיכְסִי should be the rendering of the Greek form of an Egyptian name, it would contain the names of *Horus* and *Bes*, as W. Spiegelberg told me. Since in *C.I.S.* 2167, 3211 the name עֲבֵד־אֲהִי is spelled with a ה and since the Egyptian original of *Ehi* has a *h*, I think that this is the better reading. W. Spiegelberg called my attention to the fact that Hathor is the goddess of the Sinai Peninsula, where עֲבֵד־אֲהִי is found.

Aramaean names. Names of a plain Aramaean character are very scarce in Nabataean. Sometimes one is tempted to consider an א at the end of a Nabataean name as an Aramaic ending, but in almost all cases this א is a hypocoristic ending, not restricted to the Aramaeans only. If עֲבֵד־אֲלֵהָא were certain, we would have a clear case; the same is to be said of סִכְא, and of כְּמֵרָא below in No. 34. But תּוֹרָא, in *M.A.A.*, nab. 39, may be a good Aramaic word. כְּרַחַד in *C.I.S.* 290 is again too uncertain to allow of any conclusions being drawn. The names ending in נַתָּן, like בְּעֵלְנַתָּן, קִסְנַתָּן, שְׁלִמְנַתָּן (?), betray their Aramaic origin plainly, also the name of the goddess אֲתֵרְעֵתָא as well as בְּעֵלְשִׁמְיָן. In a few cases it seems as if the meaning of a root from which names are derived were rather Aramaic than Arabic, e. g. in Ενεος, mentioned above and the name הֲנִי־אֵל; but the Safaitic, a pure Arabic dialect, knows the root

in the same meaning. The name שְׁכֻחָה, *Shakkūh*, or *Shakūh*, is undoubtedly to be derived from the corresponding Aramaic root which means "to find"; its Greek equivalent is Σαχχουος, and in Northern Syria there is a ruin called Bāshakūh.

Arabic names. The five classes of foreign names just given are each very small. The real national names of the Nabataeans, names of kings as well as of the people, names of men as well as of women, are to be derived from the Arabic. The following list of them is arranged according to the Arabic roots, and these, of course, according to the alphabet. It may be that a few names have escaped my attention or that here and there another reading may be justifiable or even better. The vowels are given according to the corresponding names in Greek and in Arabic; but several names may be read with other vowels than those supplied here.

אָבִיד ²*Ābid* (?) אַבְדוּ:

אָבִינ ²*Ubaiyān*; probably also כאבִי *C.I.S.*

922 = *Ka'abū(h)*, Greek *Xααβου*, according to Euting's copy, but *C.I.S.* reads דאבִי.

אָתִם: perhaps in אַתְמו ²*Āthim* (?); cf. תָּם.

אָחַד: perhaps in אַחַד; but this may also be derived from أَحَد.

אָדִם: if this is ²*Adūm*; perhaps = ²*Adwam* from دَوم*.

אָדִינַת ²*Udhainat*.

אָזִם ²*Āzim*.

אָסַד ²*Asad*.

אָטִר ²*Aṭr*.

אָלִה ²*Ālih*.

אָמִיר ²*Amīr*; אַמִּירו ²*Āmir* (²*Āmir*); אַמְרו ²*Amr* (²*Amr*); אַמְרֵל ²*Amar-ēl* (or *Imru'ēl*).

אָמִינ ²*Amīn*.

אָמַת ²*Amat*, also אַמְתַּלְהִי etc.; אַמַּיַת ²*Umaiyyat*.

אָוִד ²*Aud*.

אָוַיִּשׁ ²*Uwais*; אָוִישׁ ²*Aus*; אָוִיִּשׁ ²*Iyās*; furthermore אוֹשִׁי-אֱלֹהִי, אוֹשִׁי-אֱלֹהִי (י).

אָיִם: perhaps in אַיִם ²*Aiyim* (?).

ב

בַּחְנוּ: בַּחְנִי.

בִּגְרַת ²*Bugrat*; אַבְגָּר ²*Abgar*.

בָּגִיל ²*Bāgil*.

בָּדַר ²*Badr*; בִּדְר ²*Budar* (?).

בִּרְיָ: perhaps for בִּרְיָא ²*Burai*, also בִּרְיָ.

בִּרְד: perhaps בִּרְדו ²*Burd* instead of בִּרְדו.

בִּרְשׁ: (אַל)־אַבְרָשׁוּ ²*(al-ʾAbrash)*; מִבְרָשׁוּ ²*Mubrash(sh?)*.

בִּרְק: ²*Barrāk* (?). But מִבְרָכּוּ is read by Jaussen and Savignac (?).

בִּרְס: (אַבְרָצָה)־בִּרְס; read differently in the *C.I.S.*

בִּרְעִלִי ²*Bar ʿAlīy*.

בִּרְעֻת ²*Barghūth*.

בִּרְעֻת ²*Biṭāsh* (?).

בִּרְעֻת ²*Buʿāḳat* (?).

בִּרְעֻת ²*al-Mubāḳar*.

בִּרְעֻת ²*Bakr*.

בִּנְת ²*Banat* (?).

בִּנְיָ ²*Bunaiy*. Cf. also the names beginning with אִבְנִי ²*ibn* in Lidzb. and *C.I.S.*

אִבְיָד ²*Abyad* is doubtful; *M.A.A.* reads אִבְיָד, cf. אִבְיָד.

ג

גָּתִם: perhaps in אַתְמו, if this is ²*Atamm*.

גָּתִיל ²*Tintil*; otherwise גָּתִיל.

גָּתִיר ²*Tīr* (?), but perhaps *Tāyir* or *Thāyir* (גָּתִיר).

גָּתִימ ²*Taim*; also in (א)־לִחִי ²*Liḥi*; תִּימְדִישָׁא; תִּימְדִישָׁא etc.

ث

- ثَبَق *al-Thābiq* (?).
 ثَلَج *Athlag*.
 ثَلَم *Athlam* (?). Perhaps *Thālim* (?).
 in Dalm. 80.
 ثَنَتِل see تَنَتِل.
 ثَوْر *Thaur*, *M.A.A.* 154, but cf. also *Thaur* *
 Aramaic.

ج

- جَبَل *Gabal*; גבולו *Gubail*.
 جَدَر (?) in *R.A.O.* 1, 56.
 جَدَّ *Gadd*.
 جَدَى *Gudāiy* (or *Gady*).
 جَدِيمَة *Gadhīmat*.
 جَرَس (أل-) *Garas*.
 جَرَف (أل-) *Guruf*.
 جَرَم, גרמא *Guraim*; also גרמו *Garm*.
 גרמא-לבעלי etc.
 جَزْأ *Gazʿat* (?).
 جَزْم *Guzmān*.
 جَشَب *Gaushab*.
 جَشَم *Gashm*; גשם *Gusham*.
 جَعْدَن (?) געדנת *Jedn*.
 جَلَح *Galhān*; גלח *Aglah*.
 جَلَس *Gālis*.
 جَلْهُم *Gulhum* (?).
 جَم *al-Agamu*; perhaps also in גמ and גממה.
 جَمِيح *Gumail* (?).
 جَمِير *Gumairān*.
 جَمَل (أل-) *Gamal*; גמול *Gumul(l)at*.
 جَن (?) מנגנת *Jn*.

ح

- حَب *Hubb*; חב *Habbat*, חבבת *Habābat*,
 חביב *Habīb*.

حَبْرَك (?)

- حَبْرَك *Bihaggih*.
 حَنُو *Hāg(g)*; חנו *Haggāg*.
 حَاجِر *Hugair*; חגור *Hagar*.
 حَاد *Hadd* (?); חדור *Haddūdat*.
 حَر *Hurr*.
 حَرْب *Harb*.
 حَرْגَل *Hargal*.
 حَرِث *Hārith*; חרת *Hārithat*; חריתו *Huraith* (?).
 חרש *Hirsh*; חרשו *Huraish*.
 حَرَم *Harām*.
 حَس *Hasūs*.
 حَسَك *Hasik*.
 حَسَن *Husn*.
 حَاشَب *Haushab*.
 حَكَم *Hākīm* (or *Hakam*).
 حَطَب *Hāṭibat* (?).
 حَلَقَة *Halalāt* (?).
 حَلْم *Muḥlim*.
 حَمْد (?) חמדי *Hamd*.
 حَمَل *Hāmilat*.
 حَمَلَج *Himlāg*.
 حَمِيمِيَّة *Malīmiyat*; חמיון *Himyān*.
 حَنُو *Hannai*; חנאל *Hann-ʿel*; חנינו *Hunain*.
 حَنْطَل *Hanṭhal*; חנטלן *Hanṭhalān*.
 حَوْت *Hūt*.
 حَوْر *Hūr*.
 حَوْل *Aḥwal*.
 حَي *Haiy*; חיי *Hiyaiy* (or *Huyaiy*);
 חייאל *Haiyān*, חייאל *Hai-ʿel* etc.

خ

- خَب *Khabīy* (?); خبال *Khabʿallāhi* (?).
 خَرَس *Kharīs*; perhaps *Akhras*.
 خَرَص *Kharūy*.

חזפ(ו): חזפ.

אלחששו *al-Khashshāf*.

חטטו *Khutṭais* (?).

חלדו *Khald*.

חליצו *Khulaiṣ*; חלצת *Khalaṣat*; חלצו *Khālīṣ*; חלסו.

חלפ(א)לחי *Khulaif*; חליפו *Khalaf*; חלפו(ו): חלפ.

חלקו *Khālīl* (Eph. III, 277).

חמרת *Khamrat*.

חירו *Khairān*; חירי *Khairī*; חירו *Khair*; חירי: חירי.

חיימו *Khaiyām*; חיימ*

ד

אלדרדו *cf. Duraid and ad-Dardā*.

אדרמ(ו) *Adram*.

דמגו *Damag*.

אדם *cf. ?*; אדומו *in* דומ*

דינו *Daiyān*.

ז

זאבו *Dhu'aib*; זאבו *(al-)Dhi'b* (אל)זאבו: זאב.

זבילת *Dhabīlat* (?).

זכרו *Dhakar*.

זו *Dhū* in דושרא.

ר

ארוס *Arwas*; see above p. XVI.

ראיפת *Re'ifat* or *Ru'aifat*; רופו *Ru'f* (ראי).

רביבאל *Rabb-ēl*; רביאל *Rabbā*; רבא *Rabb*; רבו *Rab*.

Rabīb-ēl.

רגבו *Ragab*.

רגלו *Rāgil*.

רגעא *Rag'ā*.

רחל *Rakhil* (in Dalm. 6); רחילת *Rukhailat*.

רדף *Rudaf*.

רצו *Tarḏu* (?); רצות *Raḏ(u)wat*; רצוא *Raḏwā*; רצוי.

רקמו *Rakam*; רקמו(ו) *Rakūm*.

רמק(ו) *Ramal*.

רוחו *Rawāḥ*; רוח*

רמאל *Rām-ēl*; רמא *Rāmā*; רמו *Rām*; רמו: רמו*

ז

זאבו *in* זיב or זיב; perhaps = זאבו.

זבד *Zabd* and many other derivatives.

זעבלו *(al-)Zablu* (?).

זכיו *Zakīy*.

זחמן *Zahmān*.

זיב *cf. זיב**.

זיד *Zaid* a. o. (זיב).

ס

שבועו *Sab'*.

שבו *(?)* *Sabū*.

שחרו *Sāḥir* (?).

שריעת *Sar'iat*.

שעד *Sa'd*; שעורו *Sa'ūd*; שער-א *a. o.*

שפכו *Saffāk*.

שקילת *Sakīlat* (?).

שלמו *Salm*; שלי *Sullai*; משלמו *Muslim*;

a. o. שלמלח.

שכנת *Sukainat*.

שמרו *Sāmīr*.

שמית *Sumaiyat*.

אשנמו *Asnum*.

אשור(ו) *Aswad*; שורו *Sawād*; שור*

ש

שרא *hypocoristic* (?). Perhaps from שר.

שכחו *Shakkūh* (in the Aramaic meaning).

שכר-אל *Shakar-ēl*.

שכמו *Shikm*. Also שכמא and שכמלחי.

שמית *Shumait*; שמיתו *Shāmit*.

שמרח(ו) *Shimrāk*.

שנא *Shānā*.

שניפו *Shunaif*.

שחרו *Shāḥir*.

שיבו *Shaib*; אשיבו *Ashyab*.

שיע-אל *Shai-ēl*; שיע-אל *Dalman 68*.

עזר: perhaps instead of עזר.

עלבו: *Ghālib*.

עלומת-אם: *Ghulaimat-Isis*.

ענמו: *Ghānim, Ghannām*.

עוה-א(ל)ח: *Mughūth*; מעירו: *Ghauth*; עוה: גוה*.

מעירו: *Mughaiyir*; גייר*.

פ

פארן: *Fa'rān*; פוירר: *Fuwaira*.

פתח: *Aftakh*.

פחלו: *Fahl*.

פרג: *Farag* (uncertain in *C.I.S.*).

פרד: *Fārid*.

פרס: *Fāris*(?) *M.A.A.* 170.

פרצו: *Farrāṣ*.

פרון: *Farwān*.

פצא: *Faṣā'el* a.o. Perhaps

Aramaic.

אפלים: *Aflas*(?).

אפלא: *Aflā*.

פנדשו: *Fandash*.

פאתו: *Fāit*.

פיוז: *Fāyiz*, read thus in *C.I.S.* instead of

Fiyaiz, *ibid*.

פירו: *Fihir*.

פירד: *Faiyād*.

ק

קרמו: *Qādīm*.

קרבו: *Qārīb*(?).

קרח: *Qārīḥ*(?); cf. קרח.

קשטו: *Qāsiṭ*.

קשרו: *Qashr*(?).

קציו: *Qaṣy*.

קממו: *Muḥām*; קיממו: *Qayāmat*; קימו: *Qaiyām*;

a.o. נקממאלה: *Qauwām*; קוממו: *Yalūm* יקום

קיפו: *Qā'if*(?).

קיננו: *Qain*; also אבן אלקינו(ן) קינ*.

כ

אכברו: *Akbar*.

אכרו: כתר.

אכח: *Kathūth*(?).

אכר: *Karib*; *M.A.A.* nab. 171 reads Carinus, very uncertain.

אכרז: *Kuraizin*.

אכמו: *Karim*.

אכט: *Kusait*; cf. אכט.

אכש or } אכשלו.

אכב: *Ka'b*.

אכבו: *Kalb*; אכבו: *Kulaib*; אכבו: *Aklab* a.o.

אכולת: *Kamūlat*.

אכמם: *Kamkām*(?).

אכפר: כפר.

אכחל: *Kehāl*.

אכח(אל)ה: *(al-)Kāhin*.

אכור: *Akwar*(?).

ל

לאמת: *La'mat*.

לאחמו: *Lakhm*.

לאדשו: *Ladsh*(?).

לאטפו: *Lutf*.

לאטמו: *Alṭam*.

לאעקו: *La'ek*(?).

לאקין: *(N)akūd*; cf. נקט.

לאודו: *Milwadh*(?); לאודו: *Laudhān*;

מ

מגדו: *Magd*; מגידו: *Mugaid* a.o.

מורר: *Murrat*.

מראת. – מרבאל, מראלקיש, אמראלה, אמראיעת in מרא

Mār'at.

מרדו: *Mārid*.

מסדת: *Masadat*.

משכאל: *Māsik*; משכו: *Masak-ēl*.

מטוי *Maṭiy*.

מַעֲנֵ-אלוֹהִי, מַעֲנָא *Maʿn*; מענו: מען.

מַעֲד, cf. מעדו; perhaps מערו: מער.

מַלְיָחִי *Mulaiḥ*; מלח: מלח.

מַלְיָכָא *Malīkat*; מלכת: מלכ; מלכו: מלכ.

or *Mulaikat*; ימלך *Yamlīk* a. o.

מַכִּירִי *Makīr* (?).

מִנְעָא *Munʿat*; מנע: מנע.

מַיְיָסָא *Maiyās*; cf. below No. 17.

נ

נֶאֱתָא *Nāʿitat* (?).

נִבְיָקָא *Nubaiḳat*.

נָבִל *Nabl* (?).

נַגְמָא *Nagm*.

נִסְאִיגָא *Nusaig*.

נַסְלָא *Nasl*.

נַצְרָאֱלֹהִי *Naṣr*; נצרו: נצר.

נַטְסָא *Yanṭas*.

נַטְרָאֱלֹהִי *Naṭhar-ʿēl*; נטר: נטר.

נַעֲתָא *Anʿat*.

נַעֲרָא *Naʿl*.

נַעֲלָא *Naʿl*.

נִמְנֵמָא *Munʿim*; נעִימָא *Naʿimat*; אנעם: נעם.

נַפְיָא *al-Nafīy* (?).

נַקְבָא *Nuḳaiḥ*.

נַקְדָא *Nuḳaidh* (?).

נַקְצָא *Naḳḳat*; cf. נקצ.

נַקְלָא *Nāḳil*.

נַמִּירָא or נַמְרָא, derived from *Namir*, *Nimr*.

נַמִּילָא *Numail*.

נַהֲוָא *Nahu* (?); below No. 99.

נַחֲוָא *Tanūkh*.

ס

הַגָּרָא *Hagar*.

הַנְיָא *Hunai*?; הַנְיָא *Hāni*?

הַכְלָא *Hakl*.

הַיִּנְתָא *Hinat*.

ז

וַאֲלָא *Wāʿil*; also *Wāʿilat*, *Wāʿlān*.

וַבְרָא *Wabrah* (?).

וַתִּירָא *Wutair*.

וַתְּחִיקָא *Wathīḳat*.

וַתְּחִילָא *Wāthīlat*.

וַחֲשָא *Wahṣh*.

וַדָא *Wadd*.

וַדְעָא *Wādʿat* (?).

וַרְדָא *Wuraid*.

וַרְתָא *Warṭat* (?); cf. below p. 12.

וַשְׁחָא *Washḥ*.

וַשְׁכָא *Washīkat*.

וַדִּיחָא *Wādīḥ* (?).

וַכִּילָא *Wakīl*.

וַלְדָא *Wal(lā)d*; also perhaps ולד.

וַהֲבָא *Wahbān*; וַהֲבָא *Wahb*; a. o.

ט

מַיְדָא *Maida*.

יַמָא *Yamm* (?).

יַמְנָא *Yumn* is not certain, since *C.I.S.*

reads differently from Euting.

Many of the above named roots are both Aramaic and Arabic, but taken all in all these names are truly Arabic. And it is therefore absolutely certain that the Nabataeans were Arabs by race and language.

NOTES ON NABATAEAN GRAMMAR. Theodor Nöldeke, to whom Oriental scholarship owes so very many other things, was also the first to deal with the problems of Nabataean grammar. His masterly sketch published in Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, pp. 73–80 has treated of all questions raised by the Nabataean inscriptions.

tions and has shown the way for further investigations. Very little, indeed, can be added to what has been said there.

Phonology. A. Consonants.

The letter **א** in Nabataean is not treated consistently. It interchanges with **י** and **ו** when there is a *u* or an *i* in the neighbourhood, but not always. We find **רופו**, which certainly was pronounced *Ruf(u)*, for *Ruʿf(u)* and **ארום** for *ʿArʿas*. But on the other hand **לאמת** and **פארן** keep their **א**. The name **ואלו** *Wāʿil* and its cognate forms are always spelled with the **א**, but **עידו** (*ʿĪdh*) has always a **י**. **ואבו** and **ויבו** interchange, and so do **בריא** and **בריו**, **פציא** and **פציו**. The article when at the beginning of a word is, of course, always written with an **א**. Names in Greek with the Arabic article are rare; besides the well known *Ἀλμυβακκερ* two other examples may be quoted here: *Ἀλαβδος* *P.E.* III, 275 and *Ἀλασσος* *ib.* 304, i. e. *al-ʿAbd* and *al-ʿAus*. Whenever the article is used in the second part of a compound word, the **א** may be written or not, without any rule. This fact is well known, and it shows that the pronunciation of **א** as a consonant, viz. the glottal catch, was dying out in Nabataean. This is also to be concluded from its interchange with **י** and **ו**.

The letter **ג** was pronounced as a hard *g*, but it seems that it began to be palatalized, as in classical Arabic. For I take the name *Ραξιλ* in *P.E.* 336 to be a mistake for *Ραζιλ* and this to be an attempt to render the pronunciation *Rādžil* (for *Rāgil*).

The letter **כ** is sometimes written where we should expect a **ק**. The name **קשטו** is spelled according to its derivation from *قسط*, but its diminutive form is **כשיטו**. Here a dissimilation has taken place. Where two emphatic letters came together one of them was changed to a non-emphatic one. Therefore in Greek we read *Χαστεος* and in Safaitic **כסט**. The spelling **כיצר** for **קיצר** (and this for **קיסר**) is due to the same tendency; I think that **כיצר** in *C.I.S.* II, 427 means Caesar, as also **כיסר** in the Palmyrene inscription *Vog.* 118. The old Aramaic forms **כיצא** "summer" and **יכטלוך** may be compared here.

The letter **ש** generally stands for *s* and *sh*, but there are exceptions; we sometimes find **ס**, not only in foreign names and words, but also in words of Semitic origin. We may then say, that the sound *s* may be expressed either by **ס** or by **ש**, and that the sound *sh* is always expressed by **ש**, and that the Arabic pronunciation of these sounds decides the choice. Sometimes a *s* becomes a *z* by partial assimilation; cf. **קזום**; *Κοζμας*, *Αζμανη* = *Ασμανη* *P.E.* 289, *κτιζμα* *Wadd.* 2054, *Αβδουζμουνου* *Wadd.* 1866 c.

The letter **ת** is sometimes used where a **ט** is expected. As a rule Greek *τ* corresponds with Semitic **ט**, but in **אסרתגא** *στρατηγός* and **הפסתיון** *Ἡφαιστίων* a *τ* corresponds with a **ת**. The same is true of the names *Γαντος* (besides *Ανθος*), *Μογιτος* (besides *Μοειθος*), *Οβαισατος* (besides *Οβαισαθος*), *Οδαινατος* (besides *Οδαιναθος*) a. o.

The Arabic sounds *ḡ* (*ḡh*) and *ḡ* (*ḡh*) are generally represented by **ח** and **ג**, but in the neighbourhood of a liquid sound they are often not expressed; cf. below p. 19 and 56.

B. Vowels.

On the rendering of vowels and diphthongs in Nabataean see the remarks by Prof. Nöldeke, *l. c.*, p. 75 and 76. – The *a* vowel sometimes is changed to an *o*, as in *Ροσσαναθος* *P.E.* 451. This is probably due to the following emphatic consonant. – The group *-uwai-* interchanges with *-uyai-*, and the latter sometimes becomes *-iyai-*. The name **עוימן** is to be pronounced *ʿUwaim*. And the diminutive form of *Fāʿiz* should be *Fuwaiḡ*, but in *C.I.S.* 2078 I read **פיין**. The Greek *Σοεος* is *Shurwaiʿ* or

The question now arises: how did the Nabataeans actually pronounce these names? Did they know all three cases as in Arabic, and did they use the cases correctly? It seems quite plausible that at some remote time the Nabataeans had two declensions, 1) one, in which the case-vowel was lengthened when the word was not followed by a genitive, and which had three cases, ending in $-ū$, $-ī$, $-ā$; 2) another, in which the case-vowel was always short and which had only two cases, ending in $-u$, $-a$. We would then have the following paradigm.

	<i>Triptote.</i>			<i>Diptote.</i>
	Indetermined.	With article.	Construct state.	Always.
Nom.	${}^c abdū$	$al-{}^c abdū$	${}^c abdu$	${}^c an{}^c amu$
Gen.	${}^c abdī$	$al-{}^c abdī$	${}^c abdī$	${}^c an{}^c ama$
Acc.	${}^c abdā$	$al-{}^c abdā$	${}^c abda$	

This is, of course, only a hypothetical reconstruction. But it agrees curiously well with the case-endings in certain Hebrew words. This much is to be said: the Nabataeans certainly never knew the nunation or mimation; otherwise they would have put a ך or a ך at the end of the nouns, just as the Southern Arabs did.

For a further investigation we must take into account a number of Greek renderings of Nabataean and partly Palmyrene names, which may bear on this problem. I do not give references here either; the names without any addition have been taken from *Wadd.*, or from *Ephem.*, or *P.A.*, or *P.E.*

Names with ךע are transliterated in the following way. Αβδασαμσου , Αβδιβωλου , Αβδνζμουνου , Αβιδβηλου , Αβδαλα , Αβδαλλα , Αβδαλλας , Αβδαλλου , Αβδα(δ)ου(σ)αρου , (Α)βδαρετας , Αβδισαρ , Αβδοκως , Αβδαμασλαμου(?) , Αβδοομανου (Dalman, No. 98) Αβδαλγου , Αβδεσαρου , Αβδοσβδας , Αβδοβαλου .

Names with ךי are as follows. Θαιμαρσα , Θαιμαμεδου , Θαιμαδουσαρους(?) , Θαιμαλλου , Θ(ε)μωδου[σαρου] , Θεμωδουσαρης , Θαιμαλας , Θαιμαλλας , Θαιμηλος , Θεμαλλας , Θεμελλας (Strabo, xvi, p. 753), Θαιμαλλου , Θεμαλλου , Θαιμηλου , (Θ)εμβη(λ)ος .

The names with ךש are rare in Greek. Σαδθηλος and Σαδιλαθος (*M.S.M.* p. 239, inscr. 3) may contain this word as their first part, but Σαδελος and Σαδ(ε)ιλος are uncertain.

Names with ךנ are Αμαθαλλα(θ)ης (below, p. 7), and Μαθγα (below p. 62).

From these forms we may conclude

1) that, whenever $-allāh$ or a word beginning with the article $al-$ was the second part of the name, the preceding word had no ending vowel;

2) that, when a name such as $Bēl$, $Ba'ī$, $Dusares$, beginning with a consonant, was the second part of the name, the preceding word had as a rule an ending vowel; this vowel may be a , i or o . These three vowels would correspond to the case-endings u , i , a given in the hypothetic paradigm above. But it is evident that they were used without any distinction of case. We would then have the same grammatical phenomenon as in later Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, where all three case-vowels were known but used promiscuously. On the other hand, nouns without any vowel ending were also used, as we see from Θεμβηλος , and from Σουαιδ , *P.E.* 36³, Οβεδ , *P.E.* 92, and Ιαμυρ .

No traces of a vowel after the feminine ending are furnished by the Greek inscriptions. The name Μαθγα was just mentioned. Often the Greek ending $-η$ was added to a feminine name. Where this was not done, the name was given in its original Semitic

form. We have *Αγγαθ*, *Βαχραθ*, *Καιαμαθ*, *Οτοσαθ* with *θ*; furthermore *Μαρια* and *Μαριαθη*, *Μορεα* and *Μορεαθη*, *Ραδνα* and *Ραδναθη*, *Ροδενα* and *Ροδεναθη*. This seems to indicate that when a feminine name stood by itself (*in pausa*), the ending was either *-at* or *-a(h)*. This would agree with a number of names written in Nabataean characters which have as *ה* at the end; but there seems to be some doubt about them (*יבריה, אמיה, אנמה* *נמרה, חנה* a. o.). If my suggestion be correct, the form in *-at* would be the older one, the one in *-a(h)* the later one.

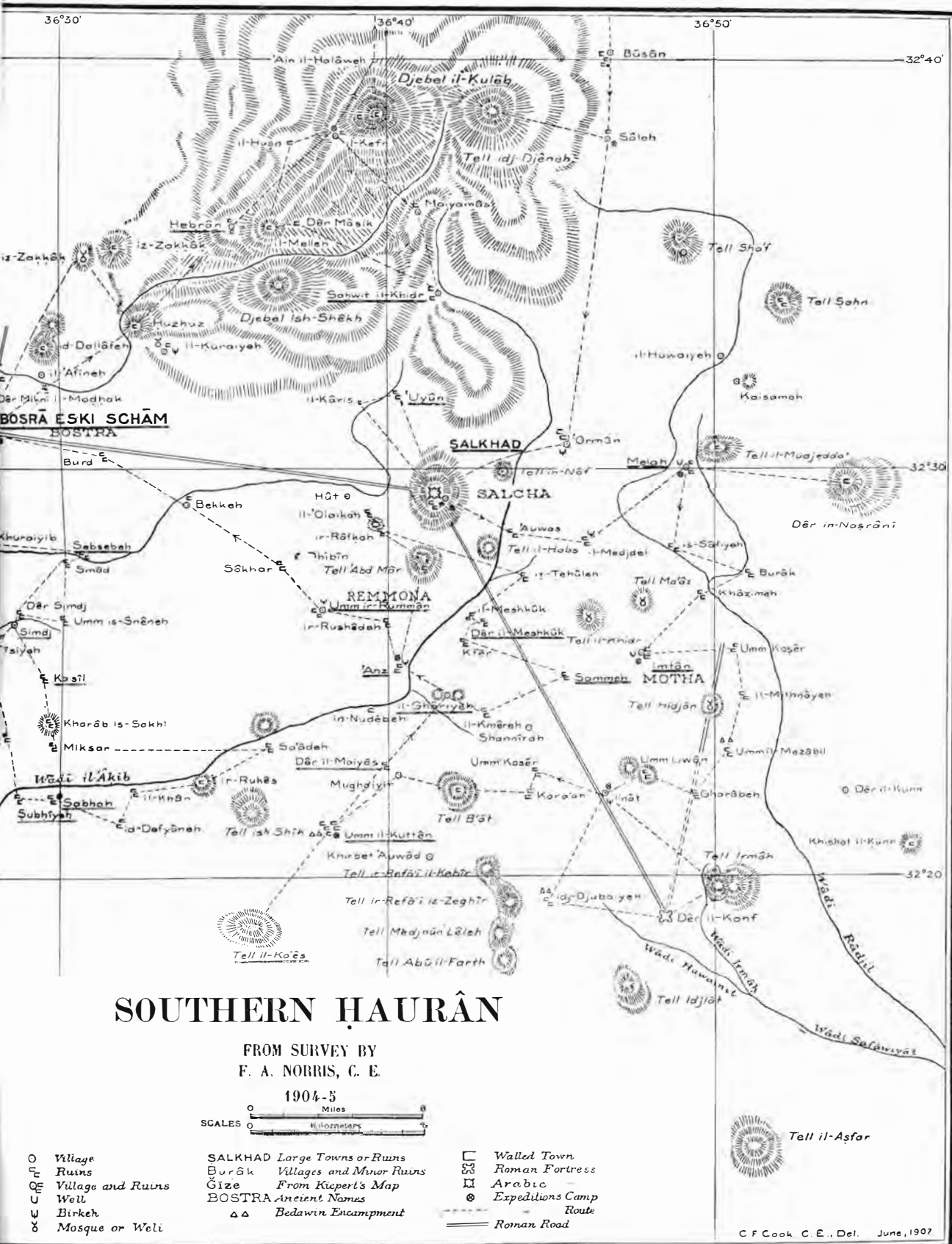
In conclusion we may say that the Nabataeans like the other Arabs originally had the three case-vowels: they were lengthened when the word was not in the construct state or had no suffix. Long as well as short vowels disappeared in course of time, after their correct use had first been forgotten. The disappearance of these vowels, especially the *י*, may be compared to a fact in old Egyptian: there a *w* is written only in the Old Empire and the substantives were soon used without the vowel case-endings. But the details of this linguistic process are not known to us, and probably never will be known accurately. Since it is certain that in later times the *י* was written but not pronounced, we cannot affirm that it was pronounced at the time of our inscriptions. I have therefore deemed it best to write all Nabataean names without endings in my transliterations. With all this, we must also admit the possibility that the inconsistencies and variant forms may be due not to difference in time, but to difference in the dialects of the Arabs who constituted the Nabataean nation.

Verbs. A study of the forms of the Nabataean verbs, i. e. the Aramaic verbs used in Nabataean inscriptions, is not intended. I wish to gather only some information with regard to the pronunciation of the Arabic verb forms as given in the Nabataean names. A number of names that are verbs in the imperfect tense are known also in Greek transliteration. They are the following.

1) Masculine: *Ιαλοδος*, *Ιαλουδος*, i. e. *Yakhhlud*; *Ιαμλιχος*, *Ιαμμλιχος*, *Ιαμλεχος*, i. e. *Yamlīk*; *Ιασλεμος*, *Ιασλαμου* (?), i. e. *Yaslam*; *Ιεκουμος*, i. e. *Yakūm*; *Ικειμος*, i. e. *Y(u)kīm*; *Ιεντιγος* i. e. *Yantig*; *Ιαγουθος*, *Ιεγουθος*, *Ιγουθος* (?), *Ιαουθος*, i. e. *Yaghūth*; *Ιαμουρ*, *Ιαμορος*, *Ιαμαρου*, i. e. *Ya'mur* and *Ya'mar*; *Ιατουρος*, i. e. *Yatūr*.

2) Feminine: *Θαμαρη*, i. e. *Ta'mar*; *Θανουμος*, *Θανουμου*, i. e. *Tan'um* (?); *Θασαμου*, i. e. ?; *Θεγιου*, i. e. *Tagī* or *Taghyi*; *Θομαλεχη*, i. e. *Tumālīk* (?); *Θορσαχη*, i. e. *Tumsak*; *Θοσανει*, i. e. *Tū'āwī*; *Θοκιμη*, i. e. *Tukīm*.

The meaning and the origin of these names are not to be discussed here. The above list, however, enables us to state that the forms of the classical Arabic verb are very well represented here. We find the typical vowels *a*, *i*, *u* in the second syllable. The *a* in the first syllable of the imperfect is almost always rendered by *a*, only three times by *ε*, and once it seems to have become *i*, in *Ιγουθος*; the *u* of the derived stems is rendered by *o* (*Θομαλεχη*, *Θορσαχη*, *Θοκιμη*), only in *Ικειμος* the *yw*- in the beginning seems to have been changed to *yi*- (or *i*), for *u* near a *y* easily becomes *i*, as e. g. also in *Σιγος* and *Θιαμος*.



ḲOṢĒR IL-ḤALLĀBĀT

1. FRAGMENT OF A FUNERARY INSCRIPTION. This fragment is inserted in a wall of the Roman fortress, a plan of which has been published by Mr. Butler on p. 72 of Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2 of these Publications. The inscription faces East and is to be found on a block in the western wall of the S. E. room of the fortress, a room which is entered through the large chamber in the S. E. corner of the courtyard, and which measures 5.85×4.75 m. The block itself measures $28\frac{1}{2} \times 52$ cm.; the letters are 9–13 cm. high.



דנה קברא ד'י בנה פ'י
לזכורו ברה

*This is the tomb which was built by N. N.
for Zabūd, his son.*

Inscr. I. Scale 1 : 10.

The letters of this fragment are all certain; their forms are all well known. The form of the **נ** and the tendency to connect certain letters place this inscription in the first or perhaps the beginning of the second century A. D.

The name **זכורו** *Zaboudos* is the most frequent of all the Nabataean names used in the Southern Haurân country; it occurs in the inscriptions of this Part ten times, whereas even **משכו** *Maschos*, which was a very popular name in those regions, is met with in only eight places. The same name *Za-bu-du* is found in late Babylonian inscriptions. Prof. Lidzbarski has discussed the names of this form in his *Ephemeris* II, pp. 21 sq. It is true that in a few cases double consonants of the Semitic originals are not expressed in their Greek equivalents; thus we find e. g. *Αβδαλα* *Eph.* I 337, 36 in iṭ-Ṭaiyibeh (also published in *P.E.* III, A, Pt. 7), *Αβδαλου* in *P.E.* III, no. 295, *Ουαβαλας* *ib.* no. 476, and *Θα[μ.]αλ[ας]* *ib.* no. 318. Or, on the other hand, a single consonant in the Semitic original may be rendered by a double consonant in the Greek, as we see in *Ιαμμλιχος*, *Wadd.* 2210a and perhaps *P.E.* III, no. 174. But the spellings *Αβδαλλας*, *Ουαβαλλας*, *Θαιμαλλας*, *Θεμαλλας* are much more frequent; cf. *Eph.* II, 329, 58, 67; 331, 95; *P.E.* III, nos. 43, 46, 144, 204, 277, 456; *P.A.* III, p. 315; *Σηαλλας* is found in *Wadd.* 2298. And also in other names the rendering by a double consonant is quite constant; among others we may compare *Ανναμος*, *Eph.* II, 318, 26; 331, 109, which I take to be *Ghannām*, and *Ζαδδου* in an inscription from Melah iṣ-Ṣarrâr, published in *P.E.* III, A, Pt. 5, which corresponds closely to the Syriac **ܙܕܝܐ**, etc. Now, the name in question is

always rendered with one β ; we find Ζαβουδου in *Wadd.* 2054, *P.E.* III, no. 320, Ζαβουδος in *M.S.M.* p. 263, no. 71, and in *P.E.* III, nos. 129, 314. And also in the other names quoted in *Eph.* II, p. 21 the writing with a single consonant prevails altogether; to these may be added Αλωνδος (*Khalūd*) in *P.E.* III, 285, if correctly read, and especially the modern name *Saūd*, which is quite common in the country of the old Nabataean empire, mentioned, among others, by Musil, *Arabia Petraea* III, p. 121, l. 8 and p. 399, l. 23, and which is found in Southern Arabia where a ruin is called Kharibet Seūd (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1898 pp. 393, sqq.) A number of similar names, partly referring to men, partly to women, are given by Prof. Hess in his *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien*, Heidelberg 1913, viz. Gerūh, Regūh, Rezūn, Srūr, Seūd, Šubūr, Šfūg, Ōbūdī, Fuṭūm, Hegūs, Henūd. It is, therefore, almost certain that the form *fa'ul(a)* as well as *fa'ul(a)* was used as a hypocoristic in Semitic names. Curiously enough from the very root זכר we find also a *fa'ula* form as the name of a place north of Damascus in the 'Alā, viz. *Zabbūdeh*; this ruin has been described by Mr. Butler in Div. II, Sect. B, Pt. I, p. 16. Place names seem to have been taken sometimes from names of persons; for in the same region we find places like Abū il-Ḳudūr, Abū Ḥanīyeh and Shèkh 'Alī Kāsūn.

The well carved letters of this inscription seem to imply that the father of Zabūd built a real monument or a more elaborate tomb-house for his son, and did not merely heap up a pile of stones, as it was apparently the case in Kôm ir-Ruff, where the Nabataean inscs. no. 13–15 were found. I have therefore, supplied the word בנה "he built", as we find it in other funerary inscriptions, e. g. below no. 40, but of course, a simple עבר "he made" might also have been used. It is interesting to know from this inscription that Nabataeans were living near the place where later on a Roman and a Byzantine fortress were erected and where even the Omayyad caliphs of Damascus built a mosque and a bath. These buildings have been described in full by Mr. Butler in Div. II, A, Pt. 2.

UMM IS-SURAB.

2. TEMPLE. 76 A.D. Two fragments of the same lintel, lying now on the ground in the Church of S.S. Sergius and Bacchus, which is described in Div. II, A, Pt. 2, pp. 95 sqq. This lintel was at some time used as an architrave, extending from the easternmost column on the S. side of the nave to the front-pier of the apse; cf. Mr. Butler's plan *l. c.* p. 97. The stone is 35 cm. high and 28 cm. thick. Fragment A measures 71 cm. at the top and 78 cm. at the bottom, fragment B 1.02 m. at the top and 1.15 m. at the bottom: the original lintel, therefore, must have been more than two meters long. The letters are 8–12 cm. high; ז is $16\frac{1}{2}$ cm. high. – SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 2. Scale 1:10.

1 דנה ארבענא די עבד מחלמו ועדיו וחורו על על[ת בשנת]
2 תרתין לרבנאל מלך נבטו די אחי ושזב עמה]

- 1 *This is the cella(?) which was made by Muḥlim and 'Adī and Ḥūr over the al[ṭar of the god in the year]*
2 *two of Rabb[ēl, the king, the king of the Nabataeans, who roused and delivered his people].*

All letters that are preserved are read with certainty. They are carefully carved, although they are not so regular and beautiful as in some of the inscriptions at Sīf. They are, as in most of the first century inscriptions that are of a more official character, not joined, except in the case of על in l. 1; and even this may be merely accidental. The letter ה in this inscription resembles very closely the Palmyrene ה with its broken cross-bar and its left shaft projecting beyond this cross-bar. This form is not very common in the Ḥaurān: I have found it only in no. 16. It is known, however, in Petra and Hegra also, as may be seen from Lidzbarski's *Schrifttafel*.

There is no doubt that the name at the end of l. 2 should be read רבנאל, nor that the year should be read as given above; for if it were to be read 12 or 22, a ך before the word תרתין in l. 2 would be indispensable. Moreover this Rabb'el must be the second of his name, who according to Mr. Dussaud's list reigned from 75–101 A. D. For in the time of Rabb'el I, who lived in the first part of the first century B. C., the letters, above all the א, would have had quite different forms; and in his time the Nabataeans were scarcely well enough settled in this region to build temples. On the other hand, several inscriptions dated from the reign of Rabb'el II were discovered by Mr. Dussaud in the Ḥaurān country; they are the cult-stone of Dusares-A'arra found at Imtān (*Ephem.* 1, p. 330), the throne of Shai' al-Ḳaum found at il-Gḥāriyeh (*Ephem.* 1, p. 332), and the funerary inscription of Umm il-Ḳuṭṭēn (*Ephem.* 11, p. 252). In all these inscriptions his name is given with his full title "who roused and delivered his people"; and a part of this title, belonging to a longer inscription, was copied by this expedition at Umm il-Ḳuṭṭēn, and is published below under no. 33. We may, then, conclude with much probability that this inscription was written in the year 76 A. D.

It is very likely that the title of Rabb'el was written in full in this inscription also. That would give a space of 24 letters at the left end of the lower line after the name of the king. If we supply the letter ת after the last word in l. 1 and also the word בשנת at the very end of this line, we would have twenty-one letters at our disposal to make up for the lost name of the god to whom the building was dedicated. I would therefore propose to read

על על[ת דושרא אערא אלה מרנא די בבצרא]

"over the al[ṭar of Dusares-A'arra, the god of our lord, who is in Bosra]".

This restoration would take up 23 letters; I have suggested מרנא instead of מראנא, in order not to make it 24 letters. Both forms occur in Nabataean, the former below in no. 101, the latter in no. 28 and in other cases quoted in *N.E.* p. 316. Or else, we might perhaps read as in *C.I.S.* 11, 218 (= *M.A.A.*, p. 204, no. 32).

על על[תא די אערא די בבצרא אלה רבאל]

"over the al[ṭar of A'arra, who is in Bosra, the god of Rabb'el]"

But although the number of letters supplied corresponds more closely to those required in l. 2, I think the first reading would be more natural in the Ḥaurān, especially since the inscription was written during the life-time of מראנא. Other possibilities would be

על עלותא די שיעאלקום אלהא אלה פ[

"over the al[tar of the god Shai' al-Kaum, the god of N.N.]"

Or instead of שיעאלקום one might read בעלשמן, as below in no. 23. But Dusares-A'arra was the "god of Rabb'el II", as has been shown by M. Dussaud in *V.A.S.* pp. 169 sq., and it would be only natural if the religious building at Umm is-Surab had been dedicated to him. The restoration of the word עלות is discussed below in connection with the meaning of the word ארבענא.

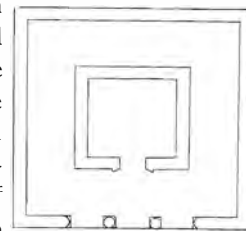
The names of the donors are mostly known in Nabataean, Ṣafaitic and Greek inscriptions. The first name מוחלמו occurs also below in no. 57, but has not been found in Nabataean characters so far. It is transliterated Μολεμου in *Wadd.* 1969, 1978 and *P.E.* III, no. 305, and Μολεμος in *P.E.* III, nos. 70 and 360. In Ṣafaitic מוחלם is one of the most common names; references are to be found in *M.S.M.*, p. 224, s.v. The name עדיו corresponds to the well known Arabic name 'Adī and is rendered in the Ṣafa inscriptions עדי. In Greek we find Ἀδείου(?) in *Ephem.* II, 326, 27 and Ἀδίου in *Ephem.* II, 331, 98 and *P.E.* III, no. 366. In *N.E.* two passages are quoted on p. 337 for the Nabataean name עדיו; but in the former of the two, *C.I.S.* II, 295, MM. Jaussen and Savignac read עדנו, *M.A.A.* p. 230, no. 112. The name Ἀδίου was also read in an inscription from Northern Syria by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xv (1906), p. 283. The third name, חורו, has its Greek equivalent in Ουρος; about the latter cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, s. v., *Ephem.* II, p. 332 and p. 336. A number of cases in which חורו is found are enumerated in the indices of *N.E.*, *P.A.* I, II, *Ephem.* II, and *M.A.M.*

The difficulty and the interest of this inscription lies in the word ארבענא which occurs here for the first time in Nabataean. It can, however, not be separated from the word רבעתא which has given rise to much discussion. The latter is mentioned 1) in a bilingual inscription from Sidon, 2) in a fragment discovered by M. Dussaud at Kharabā near Bosra, and 3) in a fragment found by this expedition at Bosra. The first of these three inscriptions was published by M. de Saulcy in *Musée Parent* 1867, 1er fascicule, by M. de Vogüé in his *Inscriptions Sémitiques* p. 113 and in the *C.I.S.* II, 160; the second in *V.A.S.* p. 195, *M.S.M.* p. 313; the third will be found below under no. 71. The meaning of the word רבעתא has been discussed in the above named places and also by M. Renan, Prof. Levy (*Z.D.M.G.* 23, p. 436) and by M. Clermont-Ganneau in his *R.A.O.* I, p. 54, VII, p. 216, ann. 2. All scholars have seen that this word may be derived either from the root [א]רבע "four", or from the verbal root רבע which in Aramaic means "to crouch, to lie down". Prof. Levy also called attention to the Syriac word ܪܒܥܐ for which Prof. Nöldeke had established the meaning "monument". M. Renan suggested a "naos de forme cubique", but he was rather inclined to take it in the general meaning "house", comparing the Arabic رُبْع and kindred expressions. But M. de Vogüé preferred the derivation from رבע "to lie down" and interpreted רבעתא to mean γλινή or "cubile"; he gave good reasons for his theory, and he was followed by almost all the scholars who expressed themselves on this subject. Thus Prof. Lidzbarski renders the word in question simply by *kline*, *Ephem.* II, p. 256, l. 26. Only M. Clermont-Ganneau returned to the derivation from ארבע "four" and

suggested, in *R.A.O.* VII, p. 216, ann. 2, "quelque édicule caractérisé par "quatre" colonnes, ou galeries, ou portes, etc.; cf. τετράστυλον, τετράπυλον, τετράστοον (= atrium)".

For several reasons I believe that, indeed, the words ארבענא and רבעתא must be derived from the root which means "four" in all Semitic languages. First, the word ארבענא with its א at the beginning and with the adjective ending can scarcely mean anything else than a "fourfold", or "square" building. Secondly, the form of the monuments on which these inscriptions were carved must be taken into consideration. Unfortunately none are in situ and all are fragmentary; measurements are known to me of only the present inscription. As is said above, the inscription is on a stone which resembles a lintel and which was more than two meters long. It must therefore have been over the entrance to a building which was called ארבענא. Also the above mentioned fragment from Kharabā might have been on a lintel: the inscription was enclosed by a dove-tailed frame, and dedicatory inscriptions surrounded by such frames are in Syria frequently placed on or over a lintel, a striking example of which was published by M. Dussaud himself from Dâmit il-ʿAlyā, in *M.S.M.* Pl. III, facing p. 18. The form of the stone from Saida, however, as reproduced by M. de Vogüé in his *Inscr. Sém.*, l. c., does not suggest that it was a lintel; but it may, of course, have been a jamb-stone, or perhaps on the altar itself which was certainly in or near the sanctuary. In any case, the present inscription must have been on a lintel or perhaps on an architrave.

Now a "square building" used for religious purposes was discovered by Mr. Butler while investigating the ruins of Nabataean temples. At least in two instances at Siʿ he found that a Nabataean temple contained in its centre a square chamber which in all likelihood was the true sanctuary of the god, the "Holy of Holies". A plan of the Temple of Dūsharā at Siʿ with its inner sanctuary was published by him in the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* p. 93; but a full presentation of all that was found by the Princeton Expeditions at Siʿ will be given in Sect. A, Pt. 6 of these Publications. There also a description of the inner sanctuary of the Temple of Baʿal-Shamīn will be included. I think it highly probable that this square inner cella was called ארבענא, and perhaps also רבעתא; and consequently I have written "cella(?)" in my translation of this inscription. The original position of the lintel would then have been over the entrance to the inner cella.



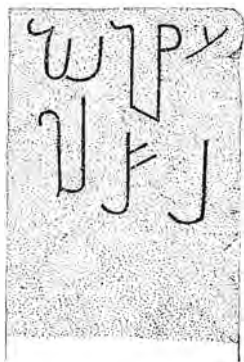
Ill. 1. Nabatean Temple Plan.

This inner sanctuary was the shrine of the god, and it must have contained his symbol. The symbol of Dūsharā in Petra was "within a magnificent temple, a black square stone four feet high and two feet wide, on which the blood of the victims was poured"; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 49. But later on he was also represented as a human figure; this has been proved by Mr. Morey in his article *Une nouvelle représentation de Dousarès* in *Revue numismatique* 1911, p. 69 sqq. The stone may have often been given the shape of an altar or a cippus; cf. below nos. 24 and 38. Generally such a stone was called מסגרא; but since it had the form of an altar and perhaps also was used as a real altar, it may have been also called עלתא as in Palmyrene. I have, therefore, ventured to suggest [עלת] or [עלתא] as a restoration of the last word in l. 1. The ע is certain, the ל is almost certain; and I cannot think of any better reading of the word in question. It must be said, however,

that the word **עלה** has not been met with in Nabataean as yet. The preposition **על** "over" would be very appropriate if my interpretation of **ארבענה** and **על[הא]** be correct.

A curious parallel to what has been suggested here is found in the Abyssinian churches. And since in Abyssinia a very great deal of primitive "Semitism" has been preserved in customs, in language, in literature and religion, this comparison will not be altogether out of place. Every Abyssinian church must have its inner sanctuary where the "altar" of God, the Virgin Mary, an archangel, or a saint is placed. This altar is called *tabot* "ark" or "shrine"; but it consists generally only of an altarlike structure with a wooden board on top of it. This board is sometimes ornamented and bears the name of a person of the deity or of a saint. After the slab has been consecrated it is considered the dwelling-place of the deity. The inner sanctuary is called *geddusa qeddusan* "the Holy of Holies" and is always square, even if, as is the case in all modern Abyssinian churches, the outer walls are round. A detailed account of these interesting buildings will be published by Th. v. Lüpke in the Publications of the German Aksum-Expedition. We may then, in Abyssinia as well as in the Nabataean empire, speak of "a square cella built over the altar of the god".

3. STELE. On a stele, used in the landing of a staircase in the second story of a well built Christian house, in the center of the western half of the ruined town. The stele projects 78 cm. from the wall and is 37 cm. wide. The inscribed part is 35 cm. high; the letters vary from $6\frac{1}{2}$ – $15\frac{1}{2}$ cm. in height.



Inscr. 3. Scale 1:10.

עקרב בר
נשל

*Agrab, son
of Nasl.*

The name **עקרב** means "scorpion" and is used as a masculine and as a feminine name. The latter occurs in no. 32. The equivalent of the masculine **עקרב** is furnished by the Greek inscriptions in *P.E.* III, nos. 369, 426, 411, 442, 471: it is *Ακραιβος*, or in the genitive case *Ακραιβου*. The Nabataean masculine form occurs also below in nos. 27 and 48, and in *M.A.A.* p. 234, no. 136. The second name, Nasl, appears here for the first name in Nabataean letters. The Arabic word *nasl* means offspring; and used as a name it is most probably an abbreviation of *Nasl-zl* "offspring of god". This name is to be read in Wetzstein no. 91 (= *Wadd.* 2070c) where *ΝΑΕΛΗΛΟΥ* is easily emended to *ΝΑΛΗΛΟΥ*. Also below in no. 83 we meet with **נשל**, and I believe that in *C.I.S.* II, 185, l. 3 (= *de Vogüé* p. 119, no. 8) **ברנשבו** is to be read **ברנשלו**, although in the copy the second letter from the end looks more like a **ב** than like a **ל**. The Greek *Νασλος* is found in *Wadd.* 2062 = *P.E.* III, no. 327.

These inscriptions from Umm is-Surab show that there must have been quite an important Nabataean settlement, important enough to have a temple of its own. However, little has remained of that period, since the town was rebuilt in Christian times. But Mr. Butler found "fragments of classical architectural details of a good period; proving that a temple or other large building was erected here in Roman

times". Perhaps this temple was the direct successor of the Nabataean temple to which inscr. no. 2 belonged. For further description of these ruins Div. II, A, Pt. 2, pp. 94 sqq. may be compared.

IL-BEZÂYIZ.

4. STELE. This fragment was found lying near a stone fence on the N. side of the town near its N.W. corner. It is 38-43 cm. high and $27\frac{1}{2}$ -29 cm. wide. The letters vary from $8\frac{1}{2}$ - $12\frac{1}{2}$ cm. in height.



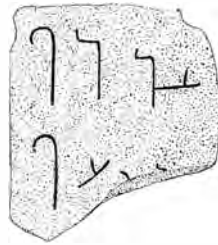
אמתל	^ʿ Amat-allāt,
ת ברת	the daughter
אבצרו (אשדו)	of ^ʿ Abṣar(?), ^ʿ Asad?

Inscr. 4. Scale 1 : 10.

The first name seems to occur also below in nos. 76 and 82; but only here it is plainly written. Although this name "handmaid of Allāt" must have been a common name for Arabic girls in pagan times, curiously enough it is found very seldom in Nabataean and Greek inscriptions, and of course never in Ṣafaitic inscriptions since they have yielded nothing but names of men so far. Except the above named passages I know of no other instance in which אמתל occurs in Nabataean inscriptions; and from the Palmyrene inscriptions *N.E.* p. 221 has only one example of this name. It is transliterated into Greek by Αμαθλλα[θ]ης (gen.) in an inscription from Ḥelbân published by P. S. Ronzevalle in *R.A.* 1905 v, p. 46. There is some doubt about the restoration of the name of the father. It might be read אבצרו or אשדו. There seems to be a space after the first letter, which might very well be filled by a כ. Then אבצרו would correspond to Αβσαρος, found in *P.E.* III, no. 130; this would be a good Arabic name, meaning "sharp-eyed". But the י at the end of an *af^{al}* form would be unusual, although not impossible in Nabataean. On the other hand אשדו "lion" would be a well known Nabataean name; cf. *N.E.*, s. v., *Ephem.* III, 90, 4, *M.A.A.*, p. 223, no. 79 and Ασδου *Wadd.* 2065, furthermore Ασδης and Ασδου in *P.E.* III, 85, 216, 359, 369, 384, 407 etc. and in *Eph.* II, p. 438 s. v. But this may, in some cases, also be a rendering of the Arabic name ^ʿAs^{ad}.

SEBSEBEH.

5. STELE. This fragment was found lying on the ground near the N.E. corner of the birkeh. The ruins of Sebsebeh are described in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 107, and a photograph of them was published in the same Part on p. 65. The fragment is 33 cm. wide, on the left 38 cm., on the right 25 cm. high; the letters measure from $5\frac{1}{2}$ - $12\frac{1}{2}$ cm. in height.



עדרו ^cAdhr,
 [בר ר]עו son of Re^cu
 or [בר מ]עו (or: Ma^cu)

Inscr. 5. Scale 1 : 10.

The name of the person buried under this stone is to be derived from the root ^cadhara which in these regions meant "to help" like Hebrew and Phoenician עזר and Syriac ܥܕܪ. In Ṣafaitic the names עדר and עדראל are quite common, as may be seen from *M.S.M.* p. 229, *s.v.v.* In Greek we find Αδρου *Wadd.* 2555b with its hypocoristic form Οδρηου *Wadd.* 2201; also Αζαρηλος *Wadd.* 2102 and Οζεββηλος *Wadd.* 2102 belong to the same root. In Nabataean inscriptions עדרו occurs again *M.A.A.* nab. 65; 78 (= *C.I.S.* II, 299); 194, and below in no. 84. Another name seems to be עדר, if it is read correctly in *M.A.A.* nab. no. 97. For this would correspond to the Arabic غَدْر, *I. Dor.* p. 249, whereas in the well known name عَدْنَة the same root as in עדרו is to be recognized. Another Nabataean derivative of the same root is עדורו, which is discussed in *Ephem.* I, p. 332, l. 7 from below. Furthermore עדירו would closely correspond to Οδρηου, but in *C.I.S.* II, 377b עבירו is read instead.

There is some doubt about the restoration of the name of the father. Between the word בר, which is needed at the beginning of l. 2 there is room for only one letter. In that case we have, I think, only the choice between [ר]עו and [מ]עו. The former is read below in no. 12, and the stem רען is not unfrequently used in Semitic nomenclature. The Hebrew names רען and רעואל may be recalled here. And instead of רעואלה which is found in the Sinaïtic inscription Lepsius 166, I would propose רעואלה. The name רעואלה, however, which M. Clermont-Ganneau (*R.A.O.* IV, p. 179) read in an inscription from Kharabā is in reality מענאלה as shown in *M.S.M.* p. 313. But the name רעוי (*C.I.S.* II, 355) seems to be certain; cf. *P.A.* I, *s.v.* There are several names in Greek inscriptions which may very well represent renderings of Semitic names belonging to this groupe, viz. Ρααιου, Ρουαιου *Wadd.-Chab.*, *s.v.v.*; Ρααιος *Eph.* I, 214; II, 16; Ροεος *Eph.* II 331, 94; *P.E.* III, nos. 149, 167. But Ρουαιου and Ροεος might also be renderings of *Ruwaiḥ*. — The name מעי has not been found in Nabataean inscriptions, unless the uncertain form משו in *C.I.S.* II, 280 should be read מעי. But I think that Μεω, which occurs in *P.E.* III, nos. 120, 168, is a transliteration of the Arabic Ma^cw; this word means "ripening date". As a name I have seen this word only in the Abyssinian Mä^cō, which is the name of the father of a legendary hero; the story of this hero is told in my *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, Vol. I, pp. 44—47, and Vol. II, pp. 47—51. But it is not impossible that there the name has been in some way taken from the word 'am^cūt "bowels", because it is told that fire came out of the bowels of the son of Mä^cō and burnt a whole village.

IS-SUMMAḲIYĀT.

6. STELE. On a completely preserved, half smooth stele, lying on the ground

in a field between the western section of the village and the cemetery N. of it. A description of the ruins is given in Div. II, A, Pt. 2, p. 99 of these Publications. The stele measures 1.48 m. × 34 cm. (maximum); the letters are from 7–17 cm. high.

M.A.M. p. 312, no. 13. — *Rép.* no. 476. — *Ephem.* II, p. 255.



רמאל
בר אוש
Rām'el,
son of 'Aus.

Scale 1 : 20. Inscr. 6. Scale 1 : 10.

This reading does not differ from the one given by M. Dussaud. Prof. Lidzbarski was right in rejecting the suggestion of M. Clermont-Ganneau who assumed that the stone was incomplete and that the inscription should be read **נפש ג. רמאל בר אוש**. The name **רמאל** is found in *M.A.A.*, nab. nos. 45, 47, 75 and in the Sinaïtic inscription Eut. 414. And the name **עבדרם** is probably, as suggested in *Eph.* II, p. 73, to be derived from a fuller name **עבדרמאל**. In Greek inscriptions I have not been able to find an equivalent. But Hebrew names containing **רם** as the second element of a composite theophorous name are very frequent, and in Phoenician occurs e. g. **רמבעל**; cf. *C.I.S.* I, 99 and *Eph.* III, p. 102, l. 6. — The name **אוש** corresponds, as has long been recognized, to *Αυσος, Αυσσος*; cf. the indices *Wadd.-Chab.*, *P.A.* III, *Eph.* I, II, *s.v.v.* In *P.E.* III we have it in nos. 138, 150, 277, 284.

7. STELE. This stele was found, standing in the ground, but used as the end-stone of a modern tomb, in the cemetery N. of the western section of the village. It projects 42 cm. above the ground and is 36 cm. wide. The letters are from 6–16 cm. high.



מנעת בר
מליכת
Mun'at, son of
Malikat.

Inscr. 7. Scale 1 : 10.

The first name is often read in Nabataean epigraphy; cf. *N.E.*, *Eph.* I, *s.v.*; *M.A.M.* nab. no. 25; 30, ll. 1, 3, 6; 63; 123. It corresponds to the Greek *Μοναθου*, *Wadd.* 2429. But there must also have been a feminine name **מנעת**, which would be the original of *Μανεαθη* in *P.E.* III, no. 109. — **מליכת** as the name of a man is very well known; it is the Greek *Μαλειχاثος* or *Μαλιχاثος*, cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, *Eph.* II, *s.v.v.* But the same form occurs also as the name of a woman in *C.I.S.* 224, l. 6 = *M.A.A.* nab. no. 34, l. 6. In that case I should vocalize *Mulaikat*, which would be the deminutive of **מלכת**, below no. 17; the latter is the Arabic *malikat* "queen", rendered in Greek by *Μαλιχαθη* *P.E.* III, no. 518 and *Μαλεχαθη* *Eph.* I, 219, no. 30.

8. STELE (?). This inscription was found on a small stone lying in an oven, belonging to the *dār il-Khūrī* in the western section of the village. The *Khūrī* died some years ago, and his sons emigrated to America; but the place still belongs to his family. I had the stone taken out into the courtyard. The measurements are the following: height on the left 45 cm., on the right 47 cm.; width 33 cm.; thickness $12\frac{1}{2}$ cm.; height of letters 5–9 cm.

M.S.M., p. 313, no. 17. – *Rép.* 480. – *Ephem.* II, p. 256.



חריבו	<i>Huraib(?)</i> ,
בר רבמו	<i>son of Rabb-</i>
דו	<i>wadd(?)</i>

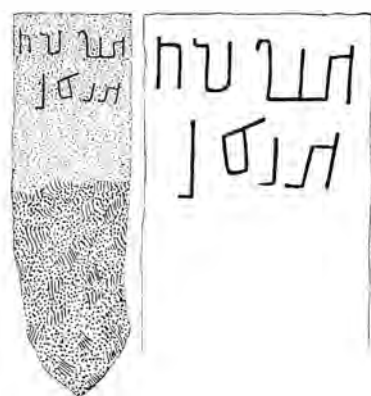
Inscr. 8. Scale 1 : 10.

This inscription is carelessly written and somewhat weathered. Moreover, some of the letters have very unusual forms; they compare in this respect with the letters found below in no. 34. The reading, therefore, is difficult, and what is proposed above, is quite uncertain. M. Dussaud read חנים בר רבמודו "noms douteux". Prof. Lidzbarski took the first name to be חרים or "something else", and he assumed that the second name is of Sabaeen origin, dividing it רבסידו and comparing similar Sabaeen names as well as the Nabataean עבדסידו, which he recognized in an inscription from Petra.

In l. 1 the first ח is certain. The second letter is in all likelihood a ד or an ר, since the same form is used for these letters in nos. 29 and 34. But it must be remembered that here ר in l. 2, and ד in l. 3 are written differently. The third letter is very unusual and not known to me from other inscriptions. At first I took the two strokes to be an abbreviation of בר as below in no. 106, l. 6, and in the lower line of the famous altar from 'Ireh, a photograph of which was reproduced in my *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 94. But although חג (Aγος) might be a Nabataean name, I believe that בר was written in the beginning of l. 2, and that we must consider this form as another letter of the alphabet. In that case, it might be a ר. At the end of the line I read כו instead of כ, which seems to me to be more in harmony with the original. The name חריבו then would be a deminutive of חרבו which is read below in no. 36. – The name of the father appeared to me at first to be עבדלמלו; but רבמודו agrees indeed very much more with both M. Dussaud's and my own copy. And we may accept, with Prof. Lidzbarski, that the name is of Sabaeen origin.

9. STELE. On a completely preserved stele, partly smoothed off, which was found lying on the ground near the cemetery North of the eastern section of the village. The stele measures 1.21 m. \times $36\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (maximum); the letters are from $9\frac{1}{2}$ –12 cm. high.

M.S.M. p. 312, no. 14. – *Rép.* 477. – *Ephem.* II, p. 255.



חבו ברת *Hubb, daughter of*
חנניאל *Hann'el.*

Scale 1 : 20. Inscr. 9. Scale 1 : 10.

The first name is to be vocalized *Hubb*, since in Greek we find $\Theta\beta\beta\eta$; cf. *Ephem.* II, p. 330, no. 72 and *P.E.* III, nos. 69; 89. It is one of the names which have an abstract meaning in Arabic like *חשנו* (below nos. 21, 84) and *מלחו* (nos. 39; 51; 63). These names occur both as names of men and of women. *חבו* is found as masc. in *C.I.S.* II, 273, 275, probably also *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 2, l. 3, and below no. 30; as fem. here and *M.A.A.* nab. no. 1, l. 2 (= *C.I.S.* II, 199); the other two names are discussed below under nos. 21 and 39. Similar names are *חלדו*, *לטפו*, *רופו*, and **Hinn*, the Nabataean original of which would be *חנן*. The name *חלדו* will be discussed below under no. 68; both Αλδου (masc.) and Αλδη (fem.) are found in Greek. But *לטפו* (*Luṭf*) and *רופו* (*Ruṭf*) are feminine names, the former in *M.A.A.* nab. 157, the latter in *C.I.S.*, 199 (= *M.A.A.*, nab. 1), l. 3. The name *Hinn*, again is masc. and fem., as we see from Εννης *P.E.* III, no. 370, and Εννη *ib.*, nos. 30, 85, 154, 190, 321: – The father's name *חנניאל* was a favorite name among the Nabataeans and the Arabs of the Ṣafā. In Ṣafāitic script it is written with the same letters and also *חנניאל*; cf. *M.M.S.* p. 218, s.v. In Nabataean it is found below in nos. 9, 40, 101, 105, and on the altar from 'Ireh which was published last in *A.A.E.S.*, Pt. IV, p. 94. The Greek transliteration is known to be Αννηλος ; cf. *Wadd.-Chab. s.v.*, *P.E.* III, nos. 53, 221, 411, and also below no. 105.

This stele is one of the very few stelae of women where the top is not rounded off; other cases are nos. 20, 21 and 68, whereas nos. 4, 17, 22, 29, 32, 51, 58, 63, 65, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 89 – all stelae of women – have rounded tops. In 17 cases the top is round, in 4 is square; the percentage will probably be about the same in the Greek stelae. We may therefore say that the stelae for girls and women almost always were round, whereas those for men were always square, except in a few Greek stelae for boys from Umm idj-Djimāl; see Div. III, A, 3, nos. 400, 436, 511.

10. STELE. Found southwest of the western section of the town, and a little to the south of the western cemetery. The stone was lying on its side over the foundations of a well finished tomb which had been partly excavated. Height $70\frac{1}{2}$ – $71\frac{1}{2}$ cm.; width $29\frac{1}{2}$ cm. The face is fairly well finished. The letters are about 8 cm. high.

Publications of the Princeton University Archaeolog. Exped. Div. III, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 72.



Inscr. 10. Scale 1:10.

The Greek part reads: Οαρεταθος Σαιηλου ἐτ(ών) κς'.

The Nabataean part: שיעאל i. e. *Shai^c-el*.

The Nabataean signature seems to indicate that the father built the tomb for his son who died at the age of 25 years. The ש and the ל are certain. The י cannot be restored in any other way. The ץ and the נ are incomplete at the top, and the line which seems to indicate that the last two letters were joined, I take to be only accidental. The name שיעאל is new in Nabataean, but its Šafaitic equivalent שיעאל is well known; and in Mdjemir

Mr. Waddington copied an inscription (no. 2298) containing among others the name Σηαλλας which would be in Nabataean [י]שיעאלה[י].

The name of the son is almost certain to be ●αρεταθος. This would be in Arabic جرب, and the meaning of this word "abyss" would well be suitable for a Semitic name; cf. the Abyssinian *Gädül*, in Cimino, *Vocabolario Italiano-Tigrai* p. 331, and *Af-taraf*, in *Publ. Princet. Exped. to Abyssinia*, II, p. 192, no. 48.

Then the incomplete name . . . ורט, occurring in *C.I.S.* II, 421 (= *P.A.* I, p. 321) might be read [ו]רט[ת] *Warṭat*. I have also thought of emending the first name and reading it Οα(β)ε(ρ)αθος, since *Wabarāt* is an Arabic name, given by *I. Dor.*, p. 232, and since in *M.A.A.* p. 220, no. 69 (= *C.I.S.* II, 240) we read וברה or better וברת, because the last letter in the copy resembles rather a ת than a ה. But the reading Οαρεταθος is to be preferred.

This stele was found near a built tomb. The relation between the stelae and the tomb has been spoken of above in the introductory chapter.

SIMDJ.

11. LINTEL. This fragmentary inscription was found on a lintel of a house facing N. in the eastern part of the village, a little north of the so-called khân. The stone is now 1.52 m. long and 22-27½ cm. high. The letters vary in height from 6-14 cm.



Inscr. 11. Scale 1:10.

דנה עבד אל (ק)ציו לאלההם בעל[שמין]

This was made by the tribe of Kaṣiu for their god Ba'al-[Shamīn].

The letters of this fragment are all certain except the (ק) in the middle and the last letter, which I read as a ל, since only בעל would make a reasonable beginning

of a name of a god. This ל would then be joined to the following ש by connecting its lower end with the lower of the two horizontal bars which gradually had moved up to the top of the letter ש. This way of joining the ש to a preceding letter is found sometimes in later Nabataean inscriptions, as e.g. below in nos. 40 and 47, and it explains the origin of the way in which the Kufic s (š) is connected with the preceding letter. In אל קציו the ל has its final form; this leads us to consider אל (ʾāl) as a word by itself, viz. "tribe", and not to interpret אלקציו as a name with the Arabic article. This fact is all the more noteworthy, as the last ם in אלהם has not its final form, although the final ם appears quite early in Nabataean epigraphy; we see again that the use of final letters was quite arbitrary in a certain period of Nabataean script.

There may have been a word like ארבענא, as above in no. 2, or חמנא, as below in no. 27, before the first word of this inscription. But in that case we should rather expect דן עבר (or חמנא דן). Thus it is possible that the object which the tribe of Ḳaṣiu offered to their god was not mentioned.

It is almost certain that we must read the name of the tribe of the donors Ḳaṣiu, since this name is actually given as the name of a tribe in *C.I.S.* II, 164, 165, and since the god of this tribe is also mentioned in *C.I.S.* II, 174, l. 2. It is true, my copy rather indicates פציו, פציו, פציו, פציו are Sinaïtic names; cf. *N.E.*, s. v. v. As a Nabataean name פציו was read by M. Clerm.-Ganneau in a very doubtful passage, *C.I.S.* II, 427; cf. *P.A.* II, p. 331. All these names are probably abbreviated from פציאל. Here the top of the doubtful letter is uncertain: in my copy a blurred spot is indicated to the left of the top, but it may very well have extended to the right, so that we would have to assume that the original had a ק. Unfortunately the name of the god of the Ḳaṣiu tribe is only partly preserved: however, I see no other possible restoration than the one indicated above.

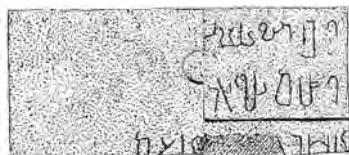
Baʿal-Shamīn was, as we know, the main god worshipped at Sīʿ, and the name אל קציו occurs in a fragment from Sīʿ (de Vogüé, Sīʿ no. 4 = *C.I.S.* II, 165). The "god of Ḳaṣiu" was also worshipped at Boṣra, as is shown by de Vogüé, Boṣra, no. 4 (= *C.I.S.* II, 174). In his commentary on the latter inscription M. de Vogüé identified this god with Jupiter Casius, Ζεύς Κάσιος. Although his translation "god Ḳaṣiu" for אלה קציו is to be changed into "the god of (the tribe) Ḳaṣiu", his combination may have some truth in it. It would even gain more probability, if בעלשמן is correctly restored above; for Baʿal-Shamīn was often identified with Jupiter-Zeus, as Prof. Lidzbarski has pointed out in his article on Balsamem in *Ephem.* I, pp. 243 sqq. But it would be, in any case, only on accidental combination, i.e. Ζεύς Κάσιος and Baʿal-Shamīn, god of Ḳaṣiu, would have been identified because of the similarity of their names, or the tribe of Ḳaṣiu chose Baʿal-Shamīn-Zεύς as their god, because Ζεύς Κάσιος was known to them. And it is necessary to remember that Baʿal-Shamīn was also the god of other tribes or individuals; cf. below no. 23.

It may be added here that the Greek equivalent of קציו is Κάσιος, Κάσιος, Κάσιος; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.* s. v. v.; *Eph.* II, s. v.; and *P.E.* III, nos. 140, 155, 435. Of course, in some cases Κάσιος may represent a Latin Cassius. Prof. Lidzbarski suggested as an Arabic equivalent قسّی; in that case the Nabataean ʿ instead of ʾ would represent a partial assimilation of the s-sound to the ק. In אלהם the suffix is in the plural although the substantive to which it refers is a collective noun in the singular; this is in conformity with Arabic syntax.

In conclusion we may say that Ba'al-Shamin, the god of the tribe Kaṣiu, had a sanctuary at Simdj. This was probably the Nabataean temple, discovered by Mr. Butler near the present village and described by him in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 108. Our inscription may have been originally on the lintel over the entrance to the temple itself, or, as no. 2 above, to the inner cella, the ארכענא.

12. FRAGMENT. This stone was found in an arch in the southern part of Dêr Simdj, i. e. the complex of buildings near the modern village, buildings which represent an ancient Nabataean temple and a Christian church. The stone measures $54 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ cm. The top line of the inscription is 23 cm. long; the letters are $2\frac{1}{2}$ –5 cm. high.

M.S.M., p. 311, no. 12. – *Ephem.* II, p. 255, M.



Inscr. 12. Scale 1:10.

.....̄, son of(?) Re'ū, Julios.....
 ו שלם כנוה̄ Peace! It was built by
 חך... אנעם An'am.

Reading and interpretation of this fragment are very uncertain. In l. 1 בר רעו ילים is very indistinctly written; but רעו and ילים seem to me to be certain. In both of these words the letters are joined; the י has almost the same form as in the latest inscriptions, especially in the Nabataeo-Arabic inscription of in-Nemârah. The name רעו has been treated of above p. 8; the name ילים occurs several times in an inscription from Sî, below no. 106.

In l. 2 I believe that ך is the end of a name as in l. 2. Then שלם would stand by itself as often at the end of Nabataean inscriptions. The following word is כנוה. Prof. Lidzbarski observed correctly that the hook between the ך and the ה cannot be a י; but there is no room either for a י after the ה. I translate therefore כנוה "they built it", and I assume that after this word the names of two or more workmen followed; only the last of these names is certain, viz. אנעם. This name may be read An'am or An'um; for we find Αναμς as well as Αναμς. The former is much more used than the latter. For Αναμς or Αναμς cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, s. v.; Αναμς occurs in *Wadd.* 2412, l. 9, where M. Cl.-Ganneau however proposes to read Αναμς (*R.A.O.* VII, 237), and in *Wadd.* 2562 l. Also in Arabia a tribe by the name of An'um was known; its members were the guardians of the sanctuary of Yaghūth in Guraṣ in Southern Arabia; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd. ed., p. 19. The change of a to u in this name is due to the influence of the following m; cf. the name Αναμς, below no. 65.

Our inscription came probably from the same temple as no. 11, and it was put in its present place when the church was built. It probably contained in its first half the names of the donors and in its second half the name of the sculptors or architects; both halves were separated by the word שלם.

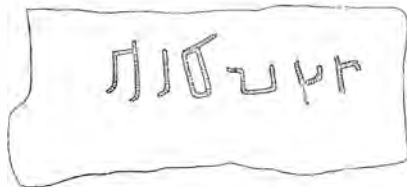
KÔM IR-RUFF.

13–15. TOMB. These three inscriptions were merely scratched in very shallow

letters on large boulders which were used in the foundations of the ancient fortress described in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. II, p. 110. All three are on the eastern side of the fortress, no. 13 in the centre, no. 14 to the north, no. 15 to the south of no. 13. These boulders are unhewn and resemble the stones of the Ḥarrah, the 'Blackstone Desert', on which the Ṣafaitic inscriptions are found. The inscribed faces measure as follows. No. 13: 40×49 cm.; no. 14: 28×62 cm.; no. 15: 14 (right end) and 33 (left end) $\times 88$ cm. The letters in 13 are 7-10 cm. high; in 14: 6-11 cm.; in 15 about 6 cm.



קבר אלה *The tomb of 'Ālih,*
בר אדינת *son of 'Udhainat.*



קבר בר אלה *The tomb of the son of 'Ālih.*

Inscr. 13 and 14. Scale 1:10.



קבר עזלת ברתה *The tomb of Ghazālat(?), his daughter.*

Inscr. 15. Scale 1:10.

The proposed readings are not altogether certain, since the original is very indistinct. It seems that especially the horizontal line at the top of the letters \aleph and κ has suffered: in my copies it is to be seen only in the word \aleph in 13, l. 2, and in 14, whereas in all other cases the top line has disappeared. If this was intentional, we may compare this form with the Sinaitic \aleph which was often written as a mere vertical stroke.

That every one of these three inscriptions must begin with the word \aleph , is quite clear from no. 13. The first name in 13 must be \aleph , although here and in no. 14 the \aleph is not certain. But in 14 the two shafts of the letter show a tendency to join at the bottom, and therefore I presume that in both cases a final \aleph was intended. It is true, we should expect \aleph in Nabataean, as in the Palmyrene inscription *A.A.E.S.*, Pt. iv, Palm. no. 6, l. 6; but first, we must remember that in later Nabataean the ending \aleph was often incorrectly added or omitted, and secondly I am inclined to think that the people who wrote this inscription belonged rather to the

Ṣafaitic Arabs than to the Nabataeans, and that even when writing Nabataean characters they kept their habit of writing without the final η . The second name in no. 14 is certainly אדינת; this is also made sure by the Greek fragment *P.E.* III, no. 108, which was found near the inscriptions under discussion, and which reads Οδυναθου. It appears that in both cases the same person is named. Οδυναθου, Οδυναθου, Οδυναθου are very often found in Greek inscriptions from Syria; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, *P.A.* II, III, *Eph.* I, II, *s.v.v.*, and also *P.E.* III, no. 324, 472.

In no. 15 the name of the girl may be read עולת or עובת, or, if we take the second letter to be a η , עולת or עובת. What I transcribe as a η here, seems in my copy to be η , but I am convinced that the line at the top ought to connect the two shafts. Of the different possibilities for reading the name I prefer עולת = غزالة; for "gazelle" would be a very appropriate name for an Arabic girl. Of the η in בררתה only the right shaft seems to be preserved. But the restoration can scarcely be doubtful.

It seems that a family tragedy took place at Kôm ir-Ruff in the second or third century of our era. An Arab of some wealth, perhaps a chief, was killed here with his daughter and his little son, probably in a blood-feud; or they all died of a contagious disease almost at the same time. For the way in which the Nabataean characters are executed proves that they were written by the same hand. And the fact that the tomb was inscribed at all, and even in Nabataean and Greek, indicates that the man was prominent among his people. They who buried him did not know the name of his son; so they wrote "tomb of the son of 'Alîh".

On the basis of these Nabataean inscriptions we may restore the Greek stele found at Kôm ir-Ruff, *P.E.* III, no. 108, [Αλειος] Οδυναθου. For I believe, in spite of Lidzbarski's objections (*Eph.* II, p. 47, l. 3) that Αλειος represents (אליה); but he is, of course, right in stating that Αλειος corresponds to 'Alî (علي).

These three short inscriptions represent, as it were, a great many different elements of civilization, and they are very characteristic of this part of Syria. The Nabataean inscriptions were placed on stones belonging to a very old stronghold, probably pre-Nabataean. The people who were buried here were Bedawin, perhaps half-settled. They had come into contact with the Graeco-Nabataean civilization, and so their monuments consist of a Greek inscription on an Arabic stele and Nabataean inscriptions scratched in Ṣafaitic fashion on boulders on which otherwise Ṣafaitic inscriptions are found.

ḲASÎL.

16. FRAGMENT. On the left jamb-stone of a house in the north-western part of the ruins, facing north. The stone measures $57 \times 103\frac{1}{2}$ cm. The letters are 19 cm. high; the cross is $22\frac{1}{2}$ cm. wide and 21 cm. high.



[Rawā]h (?)

Inscr. 16. Scale 1:10.

The letters η . . . are the end of some name, probably η , which was quite common in these regions; cf. below no. 43. Others might think of η *Millh*; cf. below no. 39. The same form of the η is found above in no. 2, l. 1.

These two letters are published in order to prove that Nabataeans were living at this place too. It is noteworthy that here we see Nabataean letters beside a Christian cross. On the lintel of the same house we find traces of an effaced cross and a Kufic inscription reading "*Blessing from God [be] to Mugaid (or: Magid), the son of Ḥasan(?)*". Thus Paganism, Christianity and Islam have all left their marks on this house.

ŞUBḤÎYEH.

17. STELE. On a stele used as a corbel in a house directly east of the tower which in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 111 is mentioned as a characteristic feature of this ruined town. The corbel projects 73 cm. beyond the wall, and is 27–31 cm. wide. The inscribed space is about 50 cm. high, the letters vary from $5\frac{1}{2}$ –14 cm. in height.



Inscr. 17. Scale 1 : 10.

מלכת	<i>Malikat,</i>
ברת מ[י]	<i>daughter of M[aiyā]</i>
ש[ו]	<i>s(?).</i>

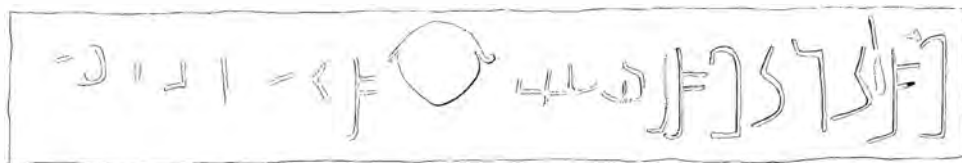
Malikat, "queen", corresponds to Μαλεχαση or Μαλιχαση; cf. above p. 9, commentary on no. 7. The name of the father is uncertain. If one considers the short slanting line at the end of l. 2 to be the upper part of a י, he may restore מ[י]ש[ו]. This name would be the Arabic *Maiyās*, which is found in *I. Dor.* p. 213, l. 12, and which is even contained in the name of a ruin near this place, viz. Dêr il-Maiyās; cf. below no. 32. But it is scarcely to be connected with Μαισση, a name which is discussed in Div. III, no. 35. He who wishes to read a ב at the end of l. 2 will have to supply at least two letters at the end of l. 3; he might read מ[ב]ש[ר] (Mubaššîr), but obviously the space after the ש in too narrow for that.

ŞABḤAH.

18. LINTEL. A very badly weathered inscription on a lintel of a house in the eastern part of the ruined town, to the south of the northern tower; a photograph of this tower is reproduced in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 115, and it is also to be recognized on the general view published *ibid.* p. 113. The lintel is 153 m. long and 23–24 cm. high. The right part of the inscription is 80 cm. long, the left part 59 cm. The almost entirely effaced head in the centre is 14 cm. wide. The letters vary in height from 9–16 cm. — SQUEEZE.

M.S.M. p. 311. no. 12. — *Rép.* 475. — *Ephem.* II, p. 255 L.

Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, Div. IV, Sec. A.



Inscr. 18. Scale 1 : 10.

פִּשְׁלִי (ל) שְׁנִי עֲלֵקוֹם אֱלֹהָא

A sculpture(?) which was made by Mālik(?) [for Shai' al-Ḳaum the god..(?)].

M. Dussaud copied only the right half of this inscription; and his copy was read by M. Clermont-Ganneau as *פִּשְׁלִי דִּי פִּשְׁלִי*. The reading proposed above is far from being certain; but it is by no means impossible. The words *פִּשְׁלִי דִּי* seem to me to be almost certain. The first word appears to be *פִּשְׁלִי*; perhaps a mistake was corrected here, i.e. at first *פִּשְׁלִי* was written, then a *ל* was inserted, but it was inserted before the *י* instead of after it. The name of the sculptor began with a *מ*; the traces which are to be seen after this letter point to a reading like *מִלְכִּי*, but it may also be *מִשְׁכִּי* or something else.

In the second half the letters *שִׁי* at the beginning and *מ* at the end are legible on the squeeze and in my original copy. Between them there is room for five letters, although in my drawing made from the squeeze only remnants of four letters are visible. Thus *שִׁי עֲלֵקוֹם* would just fill the space. But then a *ל* would be required before the *ש*. This may have been written between the *ש* and the head, but it was utterly destroyed when the head was effaced.

Of the head unfortunately only the outlines and what appears to be a horn on the right side are preserved. But one can tell from the uneven surface of the spot that it was originally in high relief. It is likely that this was the head of a horned deity, like Ammon. It would be very interesting to know if in some way Ammon, the god of the Libyan desert, was identified with Shai' al-Ḳaum, the god of the Syrian desert; but for lack of other evidence it is advisable not to theorize about this question. However, we may recall that Egyptian names are found in Nabataean inscriptions, and that Isis even found her way into the desert of the Ṣafā as we learn from names like *עֲבֵדִים* and *תְּמָאם*; cf. the Introduction.

It is likewise impossible to say whether the 'sculpture' mentioned in this inscription refers to the head and where this lintel was originally placed. In all probability it was over the entrance to a small sanctuary; but there are several other possible answers to this question.

19. STELE. Broken stele lying in a ruined tomb about 150 meters west of the north-west corner of the town. There are three opened graves in the floor of this tomb. The tomb itself is rectangular. The front of the stele is only half smooth. It measures 39 × 44 cm. The letters are 9–14 cm. high.



Inscr. 19. Scale 1 : 10

וִיתְרִי בֶר *Witr, son of*
חֲלָפִי *Khalaf.*

The name *וִיתְרִי* is found again below in no. 101 and probably in 91; cf. also *וִיתְרִי* in *N.E.* p. 501, *P.A.* 1, *s.v.* and *R.A.O.* II, p. 374. It corresponds to *Ουτρεος* in *Wadd.*

2537h and *P.E.* III, 117. It is the same as the Biblical name Jethro, and it is also the name of a place in the Ḥaurān country; cf. *A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, p. 94. The father's name ended in פו. Two letters are missing; so I propose to read לפו, a name which is found also in *M.A.A.* nab. Nos. 36, l. 2, l. 4; 53. Its Arabic original is *Khalaf*; cf. *I. Dor.* p. 132, l. 7, and the name of the poet Khalaf al-Aḥmar. The Greek rendering Χαλιπος was influenced, as Prof. Lidzbarski has observed, in *Eph.* I, 219, no. 41, by Greek names ending in -ιππος. The *kh* of this root is in other derivatives of it sometimes rendered by χ, sometimes, being near a liquid consonant, it is not expressed at all; thus we find Χαλαφαθος *Eph.* II, p. 341, l. 5; Χαλαφανης *ib.* p. 338, l. 27; Χαλαφάνου *ibid.* p. 340, l. 32; and Αλαφαν *Eph.* II, p. 339, l. 22, Αλαφωνα *Wadd.* 2571b; Αλαφαιου *A.A.E.*, Pt. III, no. 370; Αλιφηνών *Wadd.* 2210. The meaning of these names has been discussed by Prof. Nöldeke in his *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 98 sq.

20. STELE. This fragmentary stele was found lying in the ruins, a little north of the southern tower. The inscribed face is well finished. The stone is 61 cm. high on the left side and 69 cm. on the right side; it is 37 cm. wide. The letters vary from 7—17 cm. in height. — SQUEEZE



לאמת ברר *La'mat, daughter of*
שעדאלהי *Sa'd-allāhi.*

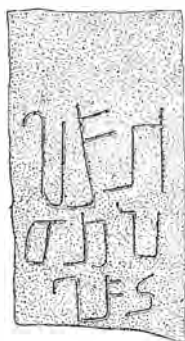
Inscr. 20. Scale 1:10.

The name לאמת is new in Nabataean. It might be a feminine form of the Arabic name *Lām*, if this stands for **La'm*. The Arabic word *la'mat* or *lu'mat* means a 'breastplate' of a suite armour; this word is registered by *I. Dor.*, on p. 229, l. 12, where he also speaks of the name *Lām*. The name of the father occurs below in no. 75, and in a number of other Nabataean and Sinaïtic inscriptions; cf. *N.E.*, *P.A.* I, *Ephem.* I, II, *M.A.A.* nab. s.v.v. שעדאלהי and שעדלהי. In Ṣafaïtic סעדלה is found in *M.S.M.*, ṣaf. no. 883. The closely related form *שעדאל seems to have been written in Greek Σαδδελου in an inscription found in Egypt; cf. *Ephem.* II, p. 339, l. 35. Σαδελος *P.E.* III, no. 277 and Σαδ(ε)λος *P.E.* III, no. 390 may also belong to this group of names and may be an unusual rendering of *Sa'd-el*. But I prefer to connect them with the Ṣafaïtic name שדל, *V.A.S.* ṣaf. no. 239; and this I take to be a variant form for *shādin* "fawn", as *waral* varies with *waran*. As a name *waral* is transliterated Οραλος, with its diminutive form Οραιλος; cf. *P.E.* III, nos. 306 and 460.

By this interpretation it is shown that I do not believe ל to be a preposition and the first name to be אמת, as e.g. in *C.I.S.* II, 225.

21. STELE. This fragmentary stele was found on the stone-fence of a modern Bedawin grave, near the north-western corner of the ancient grave-yard to the east of the town. The inscribed face is well finished. The stone is 52 cm. high and 26–28 cm.

wide. The unscripted space at the top is 15 cm. high. The letters vary from 7–17 cm. in height. – SQUEEZE.



M.S.M. p. 310, no. 10. – *Rép.* 473. – *Ephem.* II, p. 255, K.

חשנו	<i>Husn,</i>
כרת א	<i>daughter of 'I-</i>
ישו	<i>yās.</i>

Inscr. 21.

The first name was read חשבו by M. Dussaud; but Prof. Lidzbarski suggested that one might also think of חשנו. I believe that חשנו is the correct reading, since Ασηη as well as Οσηη occur in Greek inscriptions of the same region (*P.E.* III, nos. 179, 466), and since Husn is the name of a heroine in a Bedawin tale from the Syrian desert; cf. my *Arabische Beduinenerzählungen*, I, p. 8, l. 6. It is also known in Central Arabia; cf. Hess, *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien*, Heidelberg, 1912, p. 18. The same name was also given to boys, as we infer from Οσηη in Wadd. 1935, an inscription from Bosra. It has been said above, in the commentary on no. 9, that these abstract names are masculine as well as feminine. Another instance of חשנו is no. 84, below. The name אישן is found also in *C.I.S.* II, 313. It is in Arabic 'Iyās, in Greek Ιαση, *Eph.* II, p. 332, no. 113 (= *P.E.* III, no. 123), perhaps also Ιαση in Wadd. 2412 m., and in Šafaītic אים, *M.S.M.* šaf. no. 67.

Since the inscription in Div. III, no. 123, reading Αμρς Ιαση, was also found at Šabḥah it is not impossible that the father was the same man as the one mentioned here and that (°) Amr and Husn were brother and sister.

22. STELE. On a stele found in the northern part of the ancient grave-yard to the east of the town. The upper part of this stone is fairly well finished, the lower part is rough. The stele is 1.10 m. high and 28–31 cm. wide. The letters are 9–16 cm. high. – SQUEEZE.



ראיפת	<i>Ra'ifat (Rw'aifat),</i>
כרת מ	<i>daughter of Ma-</i>
ערו	<i>ghar (?).</i>

Scale 1:20. Inscr. 22. Scale 1:10.
Παισιφη Wadd. 2488 (= *Eph.* II, p. 322, l. 15) or
Παισιφη *Eph.* II, p. 332, no. 114 (= *P.E.* III, no. 101). Another feminine name derived
 from the same stem is רופו in *C.I.S.* II, 199, l. 3 (= *M.A.A.* I, l. 3) which I take with

The name ראיפת is found here for the first time in Nabataean script, whereas its Greek transliteration has been known for some time; this is

Prof. Nöldeke (in Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften*, p. 35) to be *ruʿf* "compassion", a name like Ḥubb, Ḥusn, Milḥ. The name of the father may be read מַעְרו or מַעְרו. The former would be the Arabic Maʿadd, and this is, in fact, the traditional interpretation of מַעְרו (or מַעְרו) in *C.I.S.* II, 232; another instance of this name occurs in *Eph.* II, p. 268, l. 8. But since we find in Greek Μαῦρος in *P.E.* III, no. 287 and Μαῦρον in *Wadd.* 2210, 2408, I prefer to read the Nabataean name מַעְרו and to derive it from the Arabic word *maghar* (or *mughrat*), which denotes a reddish colour. Another name from the same root would be *Maghrāʾ*; this name is explained by *I. Dor.* on pp. 156 and 284.

ṢALKHAD.

23. CULT-STONE. 72–73 A.D. This stone was found inserted in the front wall of a modern house near the roof. The house belonged to Milḥim Effendi, the agent of the Turkish Kaimmakâm, and it is situated near the house of the Druse Shêkh. The stone is 23 cm. wide, the inscription is 52 cm. high. – SQUEEZE.



דא מסנדה	1	<i>This is the cult-stone</i>
די עבד	2	<i>which was made</i>
עבירו בר	3	<i>by ʿUbaid, the son</i>
אטיפק	4	<i>of ʿUṭaiṭik (?)</i>
לבעלשמין אלה	5	<i>for Bāʿal-Shamīn, the god</i>
מהנו בשנת	6	<i>of Matan(?), in the year</i>
XXXIII למלכו	7	<i>33 of Mālik</i>
מלכה מלך נבטאן	8	<i>the king, the king of the Nabataeans.</i>

Inscr. 23. Scale 1 : 10.

The letters of this inscription are very thin and shallow and have very unusual forms. A similar ʾ is used also below in no. 34. A ʿ like the one found here in l. 2 and l. 3 I have not found anywhere else in Nabataean inscriptions. Its value is determined by the word עבד in l. 2.

The first line must be read דא מסנדה. The letters דא were placed at the end of l. 2, because there was no room for them after the ʾ in l. 1. The same pronoun is used with מסנדה in *C.I.S.* II, 176, l. 1.

L. 3 and 4: The name עבירו occurs frequently, cf. *N.E.*, *P.A.* I, s.v. and *M.A.A.* nab. no. 6, l. 2 and no. 20, l. 1. Its Greek equivalent is Οβειρος; cf. *Wadd.* 1984c, *Eph.* I, p. 330, no. 34; II, 330, no. 74; 333, no. 138; also *P.E.* III, nos. 82, 110, 128. Without a Greek ending Οβειρ is read in *P.E.* III, no. 92. But the name of the father is altogether new, and I have been unable to find any parallel. If it is Arabic, it may perhaps be derived from the root طفق "to begin".

Ba'al-Shamīn is here called the god of מִתְנֹ. It would be very tempting to interpret מִתְנֹ meaning the village of Imtān, not far from Ṣalkhad, especially since near Imtān there is a hill which undoubtedly bore a sanctuary in ancient days and since there was a *πλάτεια ἱερᾶ* (*Wadd.* 2034, 2035) reminding us very strongly of the *ἱερὰ πλάτεια* at Sīf, the great sanctuary of Ba'al-Shamīn. But knowing that Ba'al-Shamīn was also the god of Ḳaṣīu (above, no. 11) and the god of Sa'īd (*C.I.S.* II, 176), it is more likely that מִתְנֹ is the name of a person or of a tribe. We may then compare the name מִתְנֹ in a Palmyrene inscription (*A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, p. 66, no. 5. l. 4) and the Hebrew Mattān, (2 Kings XI, 18). On the other hand it is very possible that Imtān was called after the name of a person מִתְנֹ; for names of places and persons are often identical. This would add new strength to the theory that the ancient name of Imtān was really Mothana, and that Motha and Mωθω are abbreviated forms of Mothana.

The numerals in l. 7 are 20 + 10 + 3. The same sign for 20, resembling a Nabataean 𐤁 is known from other inscriptions, especially from the famous preislamic Arabic inscription at Ḥarrān in the Ledja; cf. *M.S.M.* p. 324 and *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. IV, p. 193. From this date we see again that Mālik II. must have reigned over 30 years.

The stone on which this inscription is carved was a מִסְגֶּרֶת, a "cult-stone". It had originally a base and a top like no. 24 and no. 38. It may have been set up in the temple of Allāt who was, as it seems, the chief deity of Ṣalkhad.

24. CULT-STONE. This stone was found in the courtyard of a modern house, which in 1904 belonged to Ṣālīḥ Amrād, and which is situated on the way from the mosque to the ancient church. The whole "altar" is 66 cm. high. The top is 16 cm. high, the base 14 cm. high and at the bottom 31 cm. wide. The die is 20 cm. wide and thick, the base is 32 cm. thick, the whole "altar" has therefore a cubic form. The letters are 3-5 cm. high. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 24. Scale 1:12.

הַ מִסְגֶּרֶת	1	<i>This is the cult-stone</i>
דִּי קִרְבַּ	2	<i>which was offered by</i>
פַּחְכּוּרֹ	3	<i>Pa-hakkūrū (? or Pacorus),</i>
בֶּר אִישׁוֹ	4	<i>the son of 'Aus,</i>
לֵאלֹהֵת רַבָּ	5	<i>to Allāt, the lady</i>
תֵּ אֶלְאֶתֶר	6	<i>of the place.</i>

In l. 1 the last א of מִסְגֶּרֶת seems to be missing; for neither at the end of l. 1 nor at the beginning of l. 2 is there any room for this letter. The stone-mason may have left it out altogether because there was no room at the end of the first line. The ג in מִסְגֶּרֶת has a peculiar form, its slanting line being turned upward instead of downward. The final י in l. 2 is found also in Sinaïtic inscriptions.

The name of the donor is פהכורו. This does not seem to be a Semitic name in spite of its ending ן. The פ in the beginning suggests an Egyptian original, but W. Spiegelberg does not know of any Egyptian name from which פהכורו might have been derived. On the other hand, this name may be the same as Pacorus, a Persian name which was given to several members of the Arsacid dynasty. The name of his father, 'Aus, has been spoken of above under no. 6.

This cult-stone was dedicated to Allāt, who is here called רבת אלתר. Allāt was the main goddess of the Arab tribes to the east of the Ḥaurān mountains. She is invoked a great many times in the Ṣafa'itic inscriptions. She had also a sanctuary at Ṣalkhad; for a Nabataean inscription, *C.I.S.* II, 182, reads as follows:

This is the house which was built by Rawāḥ, the son of Mālik, the son of Rawāḥ, the son of 'Aklab, for Allāt, their goddess, who is in Ṣalkhad, and who[se statue] was set up by Rawāḥ, the son of Ḳaṣiu, together with the above named Rawāḥ. In the month of August, in the twenty-seventh year of Mālik, the king of the Nabataeans, the son of Ḥārithat, the king of the Nabataeans, who loved his people".

It seems therefore that Allāt of Ṣalkhad was the patroness of the tribe of Rawāḥ. The tribe was known at Umm idj-Djimāl also; cf. below, no. 43. It is therefore not likely that רבת אלתר should here mean "the tribe of אלתר," although, as we have seen in no. 23, it is not impossible that the same deity was the patroness of different tribes. The most plausible interpretation will after all be the following: the author took the Aramaic word אתר which means "place", but instead of using it with the Aramaic article א he added the Arabic article אל, and what should have been רבת ארתא appears here as רבת אלתר. That would be in harmony with the inscription quoted, and אלתר would be the same as Ṣalkhad. M. Dussaud thought that אתר signifies "sanctuary, shrine" and he believed to recognize the same word in the famous אתרעתה *Atergatis* of Hierapolis, cf. his book *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* p. 126. But Prof. Rhodokanakis argued against this interpretation in *W.Z.K.M.*, 22, (1908), p. 220, and took אתר in the same meaning which has been adopted here.

25. STELE. This stele is used in the floor of the *maḳ'ad* of the then Druze Shèkh Nasīb il-Aṭrash. The fragment measures $65\frac{1}{2} \times 33$ cm.; the inscribed space is 31 cm. high.



R.B. x (1901); p. 570. — *Eph.* I, p. 336. — *M.S.M.* p. 306, no. 2. — *Rép.* 465. — *Eph.* II, p. 251, B.

קרבו בר	<i>Kārib, son of</i>
שעורו	<i>Sa'ūd.</i>

Inscr. 25. Scale 1:10.

I noted on my copy as follows: "There may be a very shallow and small מ in l. 2, but this is not certain by any means; if a מ is intended, it is a later addition, for it is not as high or well cut as the other letters. In l. 1 there is nothing before the ק".

My copy favors the reading שְׁעוּדָי in l. 2. That this name is to be pronounced Sa'ūd, not Sa^cūd, is shown by what has been said above on p. 2. In Greek this name is represented by Σαουδης; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, s.v.; *Ephem.* I, p. 336; II, p. 21, l. 26; and *P.E.* III, no. 52. The first name has given rise to much discussion and to different suggestions. The first letter is a ק or a ש, the second a ד, a פ or a ר, the third a ב, or a ג, or a ל. Out of the various combinations of letters קרבו seems to me the most probable, although this name does not occur in Nabataean inscriptions, as far as I know; however, the name קרב is plainly written in the Ṣafaitic inscription *M.S.M.* no. 307b, and in Babylonian inscriptions a name *Garûbu* has been read; cf. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 28 and 83.

26. STELE. This fragmentary stele was found in the same floor as no. 25. The stone measures now $37\frac{1}{2} \times 27\frac{1}{2}$ cm.; the letters, which are rather indistinct, are 7-10 cm. high.

M.S.M., p. 306, no. 3. — *Rép.* 464. — *Ephem.* II, p. 251 c.



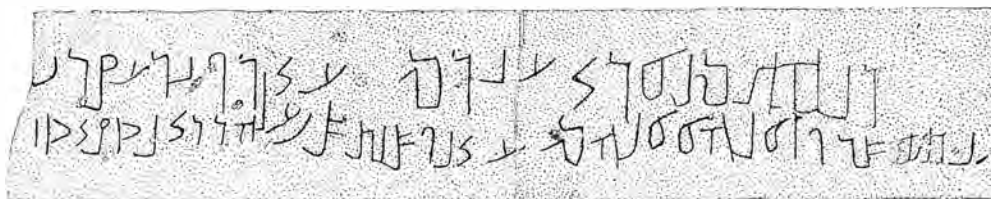
Inscr. 26. Scale 1 : 10.

אמר	^c Amr,
בר עב	son of ^c Obai-
שת	shat.

The second name is plainly עבִישַׁת, not ענישו. The name אמר is, of course, abbreviated from אמראלדי, *N.E.* p. 500, *P.A.* I, s.v., or from a similar composite theophorous name. אמר is one of the commonest names in Ṣafaitic; אמראל is found there in fewer cases. Another short form is אמרי *C.I.S.* II, 301. In Greek inscriptions Αμρος and Αμερος are also quite common. But they may, of course, also represent the names ^cAmr and ^cAmir. עבִישַׁת occurs below in no. 93 and no. 105, and in several other Nabataean inscriptions; cf. *N.E.*, *Eph.* II, s.v. In Ṣafaitic the tribe of עבִישַׁת is mentioned *A.A.E.S.*, Pt. IV, ṣaf. no. 124, and in Greek this name is rendered Οβαισαθος, Οβαισαθις, Οβαισατος *Wadd.-Chab.*, and Οβαισαθος (*Z.D.P.-V.* VII, 1884, p. 123). The tribe Οβαισαθων is mentioned in *Wadd.* 2366.

DÊR IL-MESHĶŪĶ

27. TEMPLE. 124 A. D. The stone bearing this inscription was found upside down in the western wall of the Christian monastery. Its place is indicated in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 130 as Nab. Inscr. 26. The whole stone is 1.59 m. long and 32 cm. high. Fragment A is 77 cm. long, fragment B 82 cm. The letters are 6-11 cm. high. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 27. Scale 1:10.

1 דנה חמנא די עבד מעירו בר עקרב
2 [ב]ת אשדו(?) אלהא אלה מעינו שנת שבע להודרינס קיסר

- 1 This is the fire-altar(?) which was made by Mughaiyir, the son of ^cAkrab,
2 [in] the house of ^cAsad(?), the god, the god of Mu'in, in the year seven of Hadrianus the Caesar.



Ill. 2. Cast of inscription no. 27.

The letters of this inscription are all certain with exception of the beginning of l. 2; this is all the more to be regretted as exactly there the name of the god was written to whom the temple (or the altar) was dedicated.

The names of the donor and of his father are known: Mughaiyir occurs below again in nos. 100 and 107; it is also known in a number of other places, cf. *N.E., P.A.* I, *Eph.* II s. v.; *M.A.A.* nab. nos. 177, 180. In Greek it is spelled in many different ways: *Μουαίρος, Μοαίρος, Μοαίρος, Μογυαίρος, Μογεαίρος*; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, s. v., and *P.E.* III, nos. 347, 389, 403, 480. On the name ^cAkrab no. 3, above, may be compared. The name of the person or tribe whose patron the enigmatical god was is *מעינו*. This I vocalize Mu'in, since *Μοειν* is given in *Wadd.* 2412 n; also *Μοινο* *Wadd.* 2330 and *Μαηνο* *Wadd.* 2660 may be akin to this name, but *Μοινο* seems rather to represent *Mughnī*. The name is not found elsewhere in Nabataean inscriptions. It reminds one, of course, at once of the famous town *מעין* in Southern Arabia. And it is not altogether impossible that a South-Arabian god should have been worshipped by the Nabataeans since the latter came into contact with the Southern Arabs at Hegra and since Sabaeen names in Nabataean script are known; cf. above the Introduction. But unfortunately the name of the god himself cannot be read with certainty.

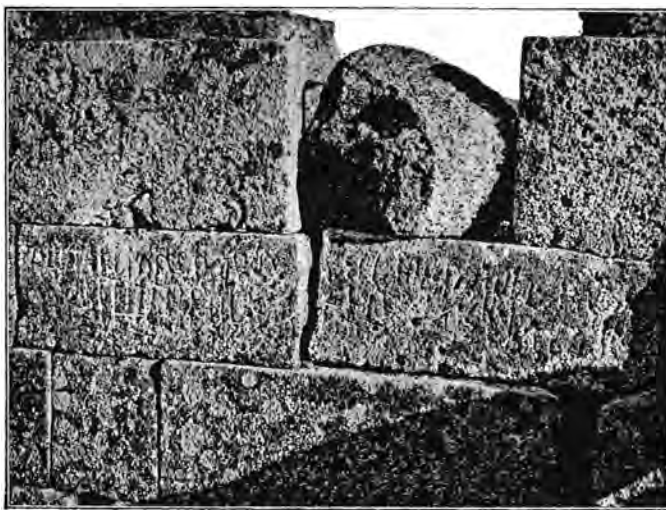
The letters at the beginning of l. 2 read as follows. At first there is a small slanting line which I consider to be the remnant of a *ב*. After that follows an unmistakable *ב*. The blur between this *ב* and the next letter appears to be accidental. This

next letter is a η ; but it is uncertain how far it extends, i. e. whether it has its ordinary form or whether we should see here the final η with the loop on its left side, resembling the Syriac ܬ , a form which occurs at Šalkhad in the year 57 A. D. (*C.I.S.* II, 182) and which is very common in Sinaitic script; even at Si^c a similar final η is found in the famous temple inscription dating from the latter half of the 1. century B. C. I believe that this final η was used here and that the left curve of the loop was accidentally connected with the following letter: the chisel of the carver may have slipped from his hand and turned towards the left instead of towards the right. I have made the above drawing of these letters after a careful study of the original, the squeeze and the cast made from the squeeze. Again in the next letter the carver was not very successful. For at the top there is a small stroke, either the vertical one or the horizontal one, which should not project beyond the other line. The letter can only be an \aleph or a η . The following letters are שר or שר . Then there appears a straight vertical line on the stone which seems to have had a very short horizontal line at the top to the right. If this line were to the left this would be undoubtedly a final η . But the short line is blurred and perhaps was not made intentionally. Now a vertical straight line can only be a η ; but this letter would be here even more embarrassing than a η . On the other hand there is a slight possibility that the vertical line is not intended to be a letter at all, but just a continuation of the left shaft of the η above it with which it seems to be connected. The possible readings then will be $(\eta)\text{שר}\aleph$. Of these the reading אשר is on the whole the most probable although the last line seems to be against it. In Arabic אשר means "lion"; and this would not only be an appropriate name for a Semitic god, but it does actually exist as such. In Northern Syria, at a ruin called Kefr Nabū, an inscription was found beginning with the words: $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\epsilon\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, cf. *Eph.* II, p. 323; also in Div. III, Sec. B of these Publications this inscription will be found in its place. And Wellhausen quotes on p. 2 of his *Reste arab. Heidentums.*, 2^d ed., the Arabic theophorous name ʿAbd al-ʿAsad . Perhaps the lion-god was worshipped at Dêr il-Meshkûk.

But if the straight line after the η is really a letter I can think only of the Macedonian god Asdules. This god is found in an inscription from Macedonia which was published in *Rev. Archéol.* IV, tome III, 1904, p. 20; cf. also *R.A.O.* VI, p. 215. Then אשרן might be a rendering of Ἀσδουλῆς , if the ι changed into an n , as often in Semitic languages; or we should read אשרול in spite of the absence of a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the straight vertical line. But it would be difficult to believe that this obscure Macedonian god was worshipped in the Ḥaurân.

Another difficulty arises in determining the meaning of the חמנא . This word appears here for the first time in Nabataean. It has been known for centuries from the Old Testament; it was found in a Palmyrene inscription also, and it was thought to be contained in certain Phoenician names. It is unnecessary to give here all the references to the passages in which this word has been discussed; a full list of them is to be found on p. 238 of the 15th edition of the Hebrew Dictionary by Gesenius-Buhl. It suffices here to state that Grotius interpreted the word by $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ and that Robertson-Smith in his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* I, p. 469 adopted this meaning, whereas most of the other scholars who expressed their view with regard to it translated it "sun-column", although very few of them probably thought at all of what a "sun-column" might really be.

In my opinion the present inscription excludes the meaning "sun-column" altogether, at least in our special case. The stone on which we read "*this is the* המנח" may have been an architrave resting on two columns, but it certainly was never on top or underneath a single column. The meaning proposed by Grotius and Robertson-Smith seems to me much preferable: *πυρσία*, "fire-altar", would also be in keeping with the meaning of the root contained in המנח. Mr. Butler tells me that in the fore-court of a large Nabataean temple at Şahr in the Ledjā, which will be published in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 7 of these Publications, he found the ruins of a large altar built of hewn stones laid in courses. He is of the opinion that also in other Nabataean temples that had a fore-court such a large altar existed. Upon this altar the burnt offerings to the god may have been sacrificed while the spectators were seated on the covered steps of the portico on both sides of the court, about which the remarks in *A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, p. 89 may be compared. It is precisely in such a large altar built of several courses of long stones that our inscription would be most appropriate. And this is the reason why I have above translated המנח by "fire-altar".



III. 3. Wall containing inscription no. 27.

The fact that this inscription is dated in the year 7 of the Emperor Hadrian is interesting in itself. This inscription is one of the latest dated truly Nabataean inscriptions found so far. We learn from it, as we do from the inscription *Ephem.* II, p. 262, that after the overthrow of the Nabataean kingdom their literary language and their script continued for some time, even in the settled civilized parts of the Provincia Arabia, until it finally became more and more truly Arabic: this is shown by the inscription of Ka'b from Hegra (*Ephem.* III, p. 84, *M.A.A.* nab. no. 17), the inscription of Fihir from Umm idj-Djimāl (below, no. 41) and the inscription of Imru'ulqais from in-Nemārah (*M.S.M.*, p. 314).

ŞAMMEH.

28. LINTEL (?) Between 40 and 75 A.D. In Şammeh, also called Şammit il-Burdān, a partly inhabited ruin to the south-east of Şalkhad, which has been described in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, pp. 134 sq., a stone bearing the following inscription was found, placed upside down in a low modern wall enclosing a courtyard opposite the south-eastern corner of the northern tower. This stone is 40 cm. high, 1.05 m. wide, and 24 cm. thick. The letters in l. 1 are 18–19 cm. high, in l. 2 they vary from 5–15 cm. in height.

Rabbā' as Αρειδανης of *Awīdhā* below in no. 38. The name Mughīth is rendered here Μοιθου as in *Wadd.* 2483, *P.E.* III, no. 139 and 434. Other renderings are Μοιθου *P.E.* III, no. 129, and Μοιθου *Wadd.* 2203c.

DÊR IL-MAIYÂS.

32. A roughly cut stele, the face of which has not been finished, found among the ruins of some crude buildings, in a stone fence built by Bedawin for their camping places, north of the ruins of the main building. This building was standing only a few years ago, as our guide told me; but in 1905 I found it almost totally destroyed by the Druses of il-Ghâriyeh. The total height of the stele is 1.10 m.; its width varies from 17–25 cm. Height of letters 7–14 cm.



Inscr. 32.

Scale 1:20.

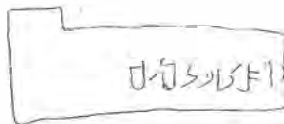
Scale 1:10.

עקרב
בת
עוֹתוּ
*‘Akrab,
daughter of
Ghauth.*

‘Akrab is here a feminine name; cf. above no. 3. As such it is new in Nabataean. The Greek equivalent *Ακραβη* is found in *P.E.* III, nos. 301 and 430. – *Ghauth* is a very favorite name both in Nabataean and in Ṣafaitic. Nabataean instances are quoted in *N.E.*, *Eph.* I, II s.v. עוֹתוּ; cf. also *M.A.A.*, nab. nos. 123, 167, and below nos. 75 and 96 B. In Ṣafaitic it is written עֹת; cf. *M.S.M.*, p. 231, s.v. In Greek it is rendered Αιθου or Γαυτου: both are frequent in *Wadd.-Chab.*, *Eph.* I and *P.E.* III. – The form of the ק in l. 1 with its open top is rather rare in Nabataean epigraphy.

UMM IL-KUTṬĒN.

33. FRAGMENT OF LINTEL(?). Between 75 and 101 A.D. This fragment was found in the ruins of a private house in the eastern part of the northern section of the town, a little to the north-west of the small church (Church no. 2 in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 2, p. 138). This stone must have been broken in antiquity. It was cut into a jamb-stone; the inscription is now on the top of the jamb-stone. This top is 94 cm. wide, on the left 41 cm., on the right 22 cm. high. – SQUEEZE.



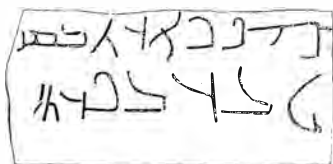
Inscr. 33. Scale 1:20.

[בשנת x לרבאל מלכא מלך נבטו די אדון] ושיוב עמא

[In the year X of Rabb'el, the king, the king of the Nabataeans who roused] and delivered his people.

The letters are fine and regularly cut and recall in some way the letters used in no. 28. The titles of this king are mentioned in *V.A.S.*, p.p. 167 sqq., *Ephem.* I, p. 331 and *R.A.O.* IV, p. 169 sqq. Before his name there may have been a simple date בשנת x, or something like l. 1 in no. 28. The stone must have been quite long, to judge from its present condition, and it was well suited for a lintel.

34. FUNERARY INSCRIPTION(?) On a stone inserted in the south wall of an ancient house, facing south. This house is the second standing building, west from the eastern *birkeh*, near the south-east corner of the northern section of the town. The stone measures 53×24 cm. The letters are $3\frac{1}{2}$ –9 cm. high. — SQUEEZE.



דן נבא דן נבא
דן נבא דן נבא

*This is the tomb(?) of Komār-
ā, son(?) of Kasdī.*

Inscr. 34. Scale 1 : 10.

The letters of this inscription are carved in very shallow and irregular lines; they are much weathered and have most unusual forms. At first they looked to me more like cursive Palmyrene or even early Syriac than like Nabataean script. Out of the very many tentative interpretations that have presented themselves to my mind within the last five years, the one given above seems to me the most plausible.

The first certain word that one meets in this inscription is the word דן in l. 1. 1; from this one must start in both directions. The ד of this form has attracted our attention already in nos. 8 and 29. But the י seems to have preserved a much earlier form, similar to that which occurs in the first דן of the oldest Nabataean inscription which was on the now totally destroyed tomb of Ḥamrath at Suwêdā. From this word דן we may proceed in the following way. Before it there must have been some substantive denoting a building or an object to which this inscription referred. Such a substantive would end in נ; therefore the letter before the דן must be an נ. If the left hand upper stroke projected a little farther than it actually does, we would have a final נ as it is known from the Hegra inscriptions. But another נ occurs here in l. 2, if my interpretation be correct. Before the נ I read a ד, before this a פ. The פ needs no further comment, except the statement that the second curve at the top, which has been indicated in my drawing but not in my original copy, does in all probability not belong to the letter. The ד has a very late form; but in this inscription both early and late forms seem to be used. An intermediate stage between this ד and the original Nabataean ד is to be seen in no. 106, below. Now having found פנס we think at once of פנסא or פנסא as a very natural restoration. I have tried many other words here, but none would suit better than פנסא. It is true that this spelling would be very unusual, but the interchange of ד and ש is known from a number of other words, above all מסנא and משנא. And the Arabs who wrote Nabataean certainly pronounced the word with an s. But how the letters נ דא or נ דא are hidden in the enigmatical signs at the beginning of this inscription I dare not explain.

After the דן a כ and an מ, both of late and unusual form, may be recognized. The following letter is incomplete, but since the first letter in l. 2 is very likely to be an נ as in Sinaïtic script, I restore here at the end of l. 1 a ד. The name כמרא is very well known in Palmyra. In Nabataean this name or the root contained in it has not been read with certainty; for יכמור in *C.I.S.* 316, 3 is most doubtful and יכמרא in *P.A.* II, p. 261 is probably to be read יתמרא or יתמא; cf. *Ephem.* II, p. 402. But

perhaps the last letter in l. 1 is a $\dot{\text{ד}}$; in that case the frequently used Ṣafaitic name כמור (*M.S.M.*, p. 222, *s.v.*) may be compared. The word read כר in l. 2 has an unusual כ; but a similar כ occurs here and there in inscriptions from Hegra also. The last name may be read כסדי or כפרי. The first letter is rather a כ than a ב. The second appears in the above drawing with a curve at its top which makes it more like a פ; in my original copy this curve is a straight horizontal line, and the letter resembles the one interpreted as a מ in l. 1. Then follows a ר or ד. The last letter might, of course, be a ת; but I believe that the angle is accidental and that there should be a slightly curved line as in the י of די in l. 1. The name כסדי would be the same as the Ṣafaitic כשדי; cf. *Eph.* II, p. 353, l. 8. It should have been written with a ש, and the מ would then merely be a graphical variant. If we read כפרי, the man would have received his name Kefrī from one of the different places called Kefr, perhaps il-Kefr near Bosra. But I repeat that this whole interpretation is only a tentative one.

35. STELE. Lying on the ground in a *ṣīreh* (Bedawin enclosure made of low, rough stone-fences) directly east of the house in which no. 34 was found. The *ṣīreh* was at that time occupied by a tent. The face of the stele is not finished. Height on the right 85 cm.; on the left 89 cm.; width at the top 45 cm., at the bottom 42 cm. Height of letters 9–14 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. – SQUEEZE.



אעיתל $^{\text{U}}\text{aitil}$,
בר פתנ(ל) *son of Fatn (Fatal).*

Inscr. 35. Scale 1 : 10.

Both names are new in Nabataean nomenclature. The first has now finally furnished us the Semitic original of the enigmatic name *Θαυθαίλων* *Wadd.* 2286, in an inscription from Ḥebrân which I copied also and which will appear in *P.E.* III, A, Pt. 5, in its place. This name has been interpreted *Huwaitil*, *Uwaitil* or $^{\text{U}}\text{waitil}$; cf. *Wetzstein*, in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1863, p. 359. I had although thought of *Ghuwaith²el*, in *A.A.E.S.*, Pt. IV, p. 158, no. 107. But the appearance of this form אעיתל puts an end to all conjectures: it is the diminutive form of $^{\text{A}}\text{tal}$, a name which may be the same as *Θεῖλε* in *P.E.* III, no. 457. In Ṣafaitic we should correct אענל to אעיתל in *V.A.S.*, saf. no. 330, where it is the name of a person; in *M.S.M.* saf. nos. 504 and 552 it appears to be the name of a place, unless we prefer to read in those passages לרעי לאעיתל "and he tended the flocks for $^{\text{A}}\text{tal}$ ($^{\text{U}}\text{aitil}$)". At all events, these Ṣafaitic forms prove that the name is to be derived from عتל, not from عتل nor عتل.

The name of the father is פתנל or פתנו. The height of the third letter of this name is somewhat lower than that of the ל in אעיתל. This would point to פתנו;

cf. the modern names Fatni, Musil, *Arabia Petraea* III, p. 53, abu Ftên, *ibid.* p. 104, l. 1, and Fitnân, Hess, *Beduinennamen*, S. 44. But if we read פתל, we may compare the name ³*Aftal*, which is interpreted by *I. Dor.* on p. 304.

36. STELE. Lying in a pile of stones at the side of a path, on the north side of the southern section of the town near the north-west corner. The path is the most westerly of the paths that lead into the southern town from the north. The upper part of the stele is well finished; the lower part, which was inserted in the ground, is rough. Height of stele: 102 m., of lower, rough part: 42 cm.; width at the top: 33 cm.; at the bottom: 24 cm. Height of letters 6–12 cm. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 36. Scale 1:10.

אחוי בר
חרבו

³*Ukhaiy*, son of
Harb.

³*Ukhaiy* "little brother" is found in Nabataean and in Thamudene inscriptions; for the former see *C.I.S.*, II, 207, l. 8 (= *M.A.A.* nab. no. 7), and also *M.A.A.* nab. no. 5, l. 11; for the latter *Eph.* II, p. 425, s.v. In Greek it may be contained in *Αχαις*, *Eph.* II, p. 338, l. 24; for *o* and *α* interchange not unfrequently in Syria. Also *Οαχας*, *Wadd.* 2216, may be compared, if it stands for *Οαχας*. The name חרבו is new; but *Harb* is a good Arabic name, cf. *I. Dor.* p. 45, l. 18, Musil, *Arab. Petr.* III, p. 489 s.v., Hess, *l.c.*, p. 18. A village called Kefr Ḥârîb, situated in the land east of the Jordan, is mentioned in *P.A.* II, p. 250. A deminutive form of חרבו has been suggested above p. 10, in no. 8.

TELL ḲO'ÈS.

37. STELE. Tell Ḳo'ès is a conical hill to the south of Umm il-Kuṭṭên. On its south side, among the foundations of ancient buildings, near a modern Arabic burying-place, this stele was found and copied by Mr. Norris, the surveyor of the Expedition. Height of stone: 1.00 m.; width 32 cm.; thickness: 12 cm. Height of letters 9–10 cm.



Inscr. 37. Scale 1:10.

שיבו בר
נפלי

Shaib, son of
Nafalî (?).

I believe that the first letter of this inscription must be a ש: the upper cross-bar of the ש is missing in the copy; it was probably there where a blur is indicated.

The tops of ך and ך are also destroyed, but they can be restored without difficulty. The last letter in l. 2 must be a י in which the uppermost slanting line has become indistinct. The name שיכו is found in *C.I.S.* II, 260. It is the Arabic *Šaiḇ*; similar names are *Šaibat I. Dor.* p. 8, l. 12 and p. 345 s.v., and *Shaibān, ib.* p. 345, s.v., Hess, *l.c.*, p. 34. The father's name is new and interesting. If it is an Arabic name, it is a gentilicium, derived from some place or tribe called נפל. We may compare the name Naufal which is probably the Ṣafaitic נפל, *M.S.M.*, p. 227, s.v. There is a slight possibility, however, that the name is of Egyptian origin; in that case it would be derived from the root *nfr* "beautiful".

UMM IDJ-DJIMĀL.

38. ALTAR. On an altar found in the courtyard of a house in the eastern part of the city, no. VI in the plan published in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 3. The altar is 1.40 m. high; head and base are each 22 cm. high and 37½ cm. wide; the die is 96 cm. high and 30 cm. wide. The Greek letters are 6–10 cm. high, the Nabataean letters 6–13 cm. — SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH.



Inscr. 38. Scale 1:10.

De Vogüé, *Inscr. Sémit.*, p. 120. — Levy in *Z.D.M.G.* vol. 23, p. 436. — *C.I.S.*, II, 190. — *R.A.O.* VII, p. 215, ann. 2. — Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 344, ann. — *Ephem.* II, p. 336. — *Florilegium M. de Vogüé*, p. 300 and pp. 383–386. — *P.E.* III, no. 238.

The Greek text reads

Μασίκος Δουσαρεσ Α'αρρα Δουσαρεσ Α'αρρα.

משגדא	1	[This is] the cult-stone
די עכד	2	which was made
משכו	3	by Māsik,
בר עוי	4	son of 'Awī-
דא לדו	5	dhā, for Dū-
שרא	6	sharā.

The reading of this inscription needs no comment. The letters are of the type used in the later first century or in the early second century A. D. It was suggested in *M.A.A.*, p. 205 ann. 4, that the donor of this altar was the father of *Yamlīk*, son of *Māsik* who offered an altar to *Dusares-A'arra* in Bosra in the year 147 A. D.; cf. *Ephem.* II, p. 262. Since both altars are dedicated to the same god, this suggestion may be right; it would also agree with the form of the letters. But it must be remembered that *Māsik* is one of the commonest names in Nabataean and Greek inscriptions from Central Syria. It occurs here also in nos. 47, 51, 61, 62, 63, 64, 85; other examples are quoted in *N.E.*, s.v. In Greek *Μασίκος* varies with *Μασαχος*; cf.

UMM IDJ-DJIMÂL

AND

SURROUNDINGS

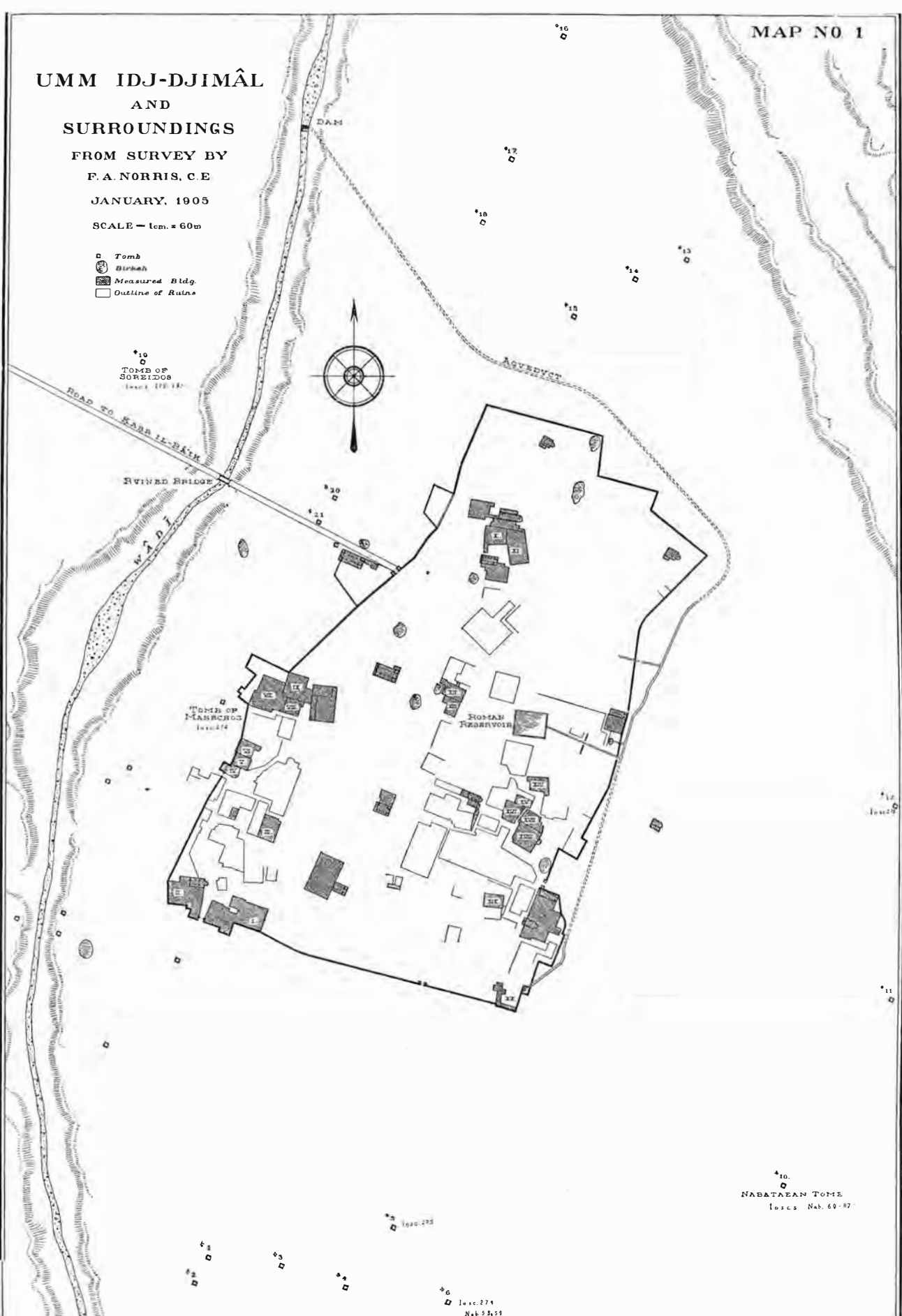
FROM SURVEY BY

F. A. NORRIS, C. E.

JANUARY, 1905

SCALE — 1 cm. = 60 m.

- Tomb
- Birkeh
- Measured Bldg.
- Outline of Ruins



10.
NABATAEAN TOMB
locs. Nab. 60-92

loc. 273

loc. 274
Nab. 58, 59

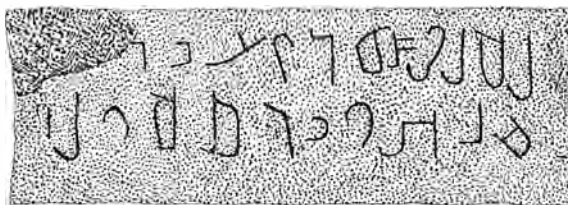
Wadd-Chab. s. v. In *P. E.* III, Pt. 3, *Μασαχος* occurs only in no. 362, whereas *Μασαχος* (with its cases) occurs in 13 places. *Μασαχος*, *Masak*, is an abbreviated form of *Masak-ēl*; cf. below no. 101, l. 4. In *Māsik* the meaning of the name is slightly varied. In modern topographical names we find *Dēr Māsik* near il-Kefr in the Ḥaurān mountains and the deminutive *Musēkeh* in the *Ledjā*. The name *עידא* is transliterated here *Αουειδανου*; cf. also *Αουειδανου* in *P. A.* II, p. 247, and *Αουειδᾶ* in *Eph.* II, p. 277, l. 14 in an inscription from Palmyra. On the form with the inserted *ν* the bilingual inscription from il-Ghāriyeh, above no. 31, is to be compared. The shorter name *ʿAwidh* occurs below in no. 95.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in the rendering of *אערא* by *Aappa*. This was probably the true name of Dusares, whereas *דו אשרי* *דו אשרי* was only his cognomen. Different theories about the origin and meaning of *Aappa* have been pronounced. Professor Hommel considered *Aappa* an exact transliteration of the Arabic *agharru* which he translates "der hell schimmernde" and which he derives from the fact that Dusares was the god of light, "der junge Lichtgott". It is true, *agharru* and *Aappa* would be an excellent identification, and we know that Dusares at Petra was considered the god of the sun; cf. Morey, in *Rev. numism.* 1911, p. 78. But undoubtedly Dusares was more commonly identified with Bacchos-Dionysos than with Helios and especially in the Ḥaurān country traces of the worship of Dionysos are very frequent; cf. Morey, *l. c.*, p. 79, and the temple of *Dūsharā* described by Mr. Butler in *Florileg. de Vogüé*, pp. 79 sqq. Moreover *agharru* has not been found yet either as a proper name or in connection with a deity. Prof. Lidzbarski suggested a relation between *אערא* and *ארצו* (= *Rūdān*, Ṣafaitic *רצו*); see *Ephem.* III, p. 93. But this derivation meets with the same linguistic difficulties as his former theory (*Eph.* II, 262), according to which *אערא* would be the Arabic *ghaḍar*. I called attention to these difficulties in *Florileg. de Vogüé* p. 385, and I ventured there the suggestion that *אערא* belonged to the root *غرى* from which the name of a stone idol, *الغرى*, is derived; this idol is precisely the form under which *Dūsharā* was worshipped at Petra. I believe that this is the most probable derivation, but I am well aware of the grammatical difficulties connected with it.



III. 4. Altar containing inscription no. 38.

39. LINTEL OF TOMB. This inscription was found in the same house as the preceding. It is on a stone used in a manger in the first room to the right as one enters the courtyard. The stone measures 90×32 cm.; the letters are $4\frac{1}{2}$ –11 cm. high. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 39. Scale 1:10.

[ד]נה נפשא די עבר [פ' בר פ'] *This is the tomb which was made [by N.N. son of N.N.]*
 למלחו ברתה ול *for Milh, his daughter, and for*

This inscription is irregularly and somewhat carelessly carved, and the forms of the letters betray a lack of artistic feeling. In l. 1 the first letter is a נ, but it has a higher shaft than the letter which in מלחו must be a ל. The מ in מלחו has a very curious form: it can scarcely have been of general usage, but probably was a peculiarity of the handwriting of the man who carved the inscription. The ב has in this inscription its upper horizontal line preserved; this is not rare in Nabataean script.

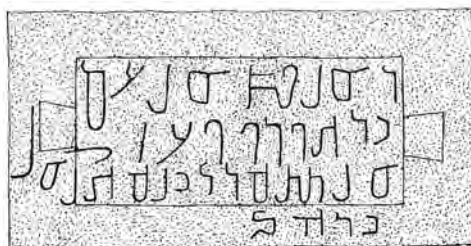
The reading of l. 1 is certain. In l. 2 the small stroke at the foot of the ל is still to be seen. The name after this must be מלחו as in nos. 51 and 63. After ברתה, which is certain, the next word begins ולן, i. e. "and for" and a name beginning with נ.

The word נפשא appears to be used in the masculine and in the feminine gender; cf. the index to this part under דא and N.E., p. 264 under נ. The name מלחו I identify with Μελη in P.E. III, no. 312: thus it is to be vocalized Milh. This word means "salt", but also "knowledge" and "beauty". The last meaning makes is very suitable for a girl. A deminutive form of the same name is Mulaiḥ, mentioned by I. Dor., p. 276, l. 7; this is, therefore, probably the correct reading of the Sinaitic name מליח, which occurs in Eut. no. 446. Another derivative is Milhān, ib. p. 267, l. 16; but Ibn Doraid derives this name from malah "a grayish colour". Hess, l. c., p. 49, mentions Mellûḥ and Mlêḥān.

The original place of this inscription was probably over the entrance to a tomb; the stone must have been at least 1.50 long and was suitable for a lintel.

40. LINTEL OF TOMB. This stone was found built into a wall in the group of buildings, where nos. 38 and 39 were found. The wall is on the outside, facing north. In order to reach this inscription one must go around the whole group, if he comes from the east. Height of stone: 37 cm.; width 72 cm. Height of letters 4½–9 cm. —SQUEEZE.

De Vogüé, *Inscr. Sémit.*, p. 122, no. 10. — C.I.S., II, 191.



Inscr. 40. Scale 1:10.

דא נפש אנעם
 בר חורו ועזי
 אנתתה די בנה חנאל
 ברהם

*This is the tomb of ʿAnʿam,
 son of Hūr, and of ʿUzzai,
 his wife, which was built by Hann-ʿel,
 their son.*

This inscription was well copied by Mr. Waddington and correctly interpreted by M. de Vogüé. My translation does not differ from the one given by him over forty years ago. I publish my copy herewith because it is drawn to scale and compared with the squeeze so that I believe it will give a somewhat truer idea of the original.

The name ^ʾAn'am has been discussed above under no. 3, the name Hūr under no. 2, the name Hann'el under no. 9. The name of the deceased wife of ^ʾAn'am must be ^ʾע, although the last letter is very uncommon. A ^ʾ like this I have not seen in any other Nabataean inscription: it is possible that the carver of these letters meant to carve the ordinary final ^ʾ (—) but by mistake turned the letter around so that it is now —. The name ^ʾע is more probably the Arabic عَزَى, feminine of أَزَى "dearest", than a form corresponding to the Hebrew masculine name ^ʾע. If that is so, the name, which occurs only here in Nabataean and for which no Greek equivalent has yet been found, would be of great linguistic interest. For the Arabic ending ^ʾع, the so-called *'alif maḩṣūrah*, is always rendered ^ʾ in Nabataean, as I have pointed out above in the introductory chapter. If it is written here with a ^ʾ as in Classical Arabic it shows that in an Arabic dialect, different from that of the Nabataean Arabs, this name was actually pronounced with the ending *-ai*; for otherwise the ^ʾ would not have been written. A pronunciation like this has been assumed for the Arabic *'alif maḩṣūrah* also.

This inscription contains some letters which are interesting from a palaeographical point of view. In l. 1 the closed final ^ʾ is found, in l. 4 we find a wide open ^ʾ at the end of a word. Furthermore the difference between the ^ʾ in ^ʾע and the ^ʾ in ^ʾי (l. 3) is very conspicuous. An attempt is made to join some of the letters; or it may even be more likely that the carver, who in writing on parchment or leather or papyrus was used to join his letters, was told to separate them on the stone, but did not succeed in every case. The way in which the ^ʾ and the ^ʾ are joined is noteworthy; cf. above p. 13, in the commentary on no. 11.

If I am not mistaken this inscription is to be dated in the first half of the second century A. D. The letters look somewhat late, but the knowledge of the literary Aramaic Nabataean language had not died out yet at that time.

The original place of this stone must have been over the entrance to a built tomb; cf. l. 3. It was probably not the lintel itself as e.g. no. 39 appears to have been, but a smaller stone over the main lintel. An inscription *in situ*, placed in this manner, may be seen on the picture facing p. 18 of *M.S.M.*

41. TOMB. About 250 A. D. The two parts of this bilingual inscription were



Ill. 5. Greek part of inscription No. 41.



Ill. 6. Cast of inscription No. 41.

found separated. The Nabataean part is on a stone inserted in the wall of a house, near the west wall of the city, not far from House no. v on the plan of Umm idj-Djimâl. The inscription faces a courtyard. The stone is 29 cm. high and 58–62 cm. wide; the letters are $3\frac{3}{4}$ – $8\frac{3}{4}$ cm. high. The Greek part was discovered in 1909 in a courtyard directly south of the "Double-Church" in the eastern part of the city; it was copied by Mr. Magie. – SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH.

De Vogüé, *Inscr. Sémit.*, p. 122, no. 11. – *C.I.S.* II, 192. – *Florileg. de Vogüé*, pp. 386–390. – *P.E.* III, no. 238.



דנה נפשו פיהר
ברשלי רבו גדימת
מלך תנוח
*This is the tomb of Fihir,
son of Shullai, the tutor of Gadhīmat,
the king of Tanūkh.*

Inscr. 41. Scale 1:10.

The Greek part is a literal translation of the Nabataean; it reads

Ἡ στήλη αὕτη Φερου Σολλεου τροφεὺς Γαδιμαθου
βασιλεὺς Θανουηνων.

The importance of this interesting inscription can scarcely be overestimated. It is, together with the inscription on the tomb of Imru'ulqais at in-Nemârah, the most important document for the history of the pre-Islamic Arabs during a period of which very little is known to us from contemporary sources.

In my commentary on this inscription which I published in the *Florilegium M. de Vogüé* I have tried to elucidate its contents from a palaeographic, linguistic and historical point of view. I shall repeat here in brief the statements made there.

The script used here is in the transitional stage from the Nabataean to the Arabic. Here most of the letters that are joined in Arabic script are joined to the preceding and the following consonant; but this inscription does not go so far as the inscription of in-Nemârah, as we may see from the **ש** in l. 1 which is not connected with the preceding letter and the **י** in **גדימת**, which is not joined to the following **מ**. This may, of course, be due to a tendency to separate the letters in monumental script, and this very tendency would prove that our inscription must be a little earlier than the one from in-Nemârah. The **ג** has already its Kufic form, whereas the **ח** is still clearly distinguished from the **ג**. The **ת** in **תנוח** is curiously written; it shows that the carver was used to begin his **ת** at the very top, then turn immediately to the right and finish the right part of the letter, and after that to add the lower part of the shaft on the left side.

The same age as indicated by the script is also suggested by the language. This is still Aramaic Nabataean, to be sure, but the man who composed this document was an Arab who knew Nabataean only as an archaic literary language. He knew that in Nabataean many names end in **י**, but he did not know that this was confined to names which in Arabic have the nunation, and that this **י** was not to be written with Nabataean common nouns (or when the proper names were used in the so-called construct state). A similar misfortune happened to the Abyssinian writers in the fourth century A. D.:

they tried to imitate Sabaeen by adding an *m* to the words, but they added it to almost every word even where it did not belong at all. The mistakes נפש for נפש and רבו for רב are worthy of a man who wrote τροφεύς and βασιλεύς in the genitive. Perhaps the man did not distinguish the cases in his Arabic dialect; but the evidence is not conclusive.

The name *Fihir* is known as an Arabic name of persons and tribes; among others it is said that Kuraish, the ancestor of the family of the prophet, was also called Fihir. The second name, שלי, occurs in a number of other inscriptions; cf. *N.E.*, p. 376, *s. v.*; *M.A.A.*, p. 493, *s. v.*, and *Eph.* III, p. 89, F, l. 1. It is transliterated in Greek here Σολλείου, whereas the famous bearer of this name, the epitropos of King Obodas, the wooer of princess Salome, who aspired to the throne of Nabataea and Judaea, is called Syllaueus, Συλλαίος. This form is probably to be restored in the dedicatory inscription of this man which was found at Miletos; cf. *Ephem.*, III, p. 89, and *R.A.O.* VII, p.p. 305-329, where also the story of that adventurer is told. Another instance of Σολλεο[ς] is in an inscription from Beersheba, published in *Rev. Bibl.* XII (1903) p. 428, no. 6. But Σολεος, *Wadd.* 1989, *P.E.* III, nos. 158 (= *Wadd.* 2003) and 212, is the Arabic *Sulaih*. There is no doubt that שלי is to be vocalized Shullai or Sullai. This name may have either been abbreviated directly from a form* Sullaim, or the name was originally Sallai, like the other names explained in *Eph.* II, 16, and its first vowel was changed to *u* in analogy with Sulaim (Σολαιμος *P.E.* III, nos. 209, 215, 451). The tribe of חנוך is the Arabic تنوخ. In the Greek Θανουνηνών the Semitic *kh* (ח) is not expressed at all; cf. above p. 19 in the commentary on no. 19.

The main importance of this inscription lies in the name *Gadhīmat, king of Tanūkh*. According to Arabic tradition Gadhīmat al-Abrash, chief of the tribe of Tanūkh, was also one of the earliest kings of al-Ḥīrah. Much is told about his wars against Zenobia, the powerful queen of Palmyra. What is known from Arabic sources about this man has been gathered by G. Rothstein in his dissertation *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīrah*, pp. 38 sqq. Our inscription proves that Gadhīmat was no legendary myth, but a real historical person. Unfortunately we learn nothing more than that he was the king of the Tanūkh. But he is not called king of al-Ḥīrah; thus the Tanūkh were at that time not yet definitely settled at al-Ḥīrah, a town which according to *A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, p. 71 existed as early as the year 132 A. D., but were still roaming about in the Syrian desert. Since the second successor of Gadhīmat, king Imru'ulqais b. 'Amr, died at in-Nemārah in 328 A. D., and since in the present inscription Aramaic Nabataean and an older type of script than that of in-Nemārah is used, we have no reason to doubt the statement that Gadhīmat was a contemporaneous of Zenobia.

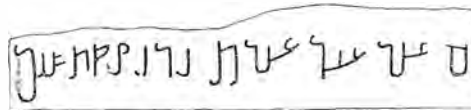
Again we have seen that Arabic tradition, however full it may be of legends and unhistoric tales, still contains some really historic names. This is all the more significant as between the time of the bearers of these names and the time when their history was taken down in writing from memory several hundred years had elapsed. The aristocratic Arabs have always taken great pride in remembering the names of their ancestors; this is also shown by many Ṣafaitic inscriptions where sometimes persons have enumerated their ancestors up to the tenth generation. And this leads us to have at least a little more confidence in early Arabic tradition than has been shown by some scholars within the last decades.

This inscription is also a good illustration of the way in which the old Nabataean

town of Umm idj-Djimâl was rebuilt in Christian times. None of the buildings of that earlier period have remained intact. That a Nabataean temple existed here is proven by no. 38; and Mr. Butler has indeed found the traces of such a building near the place where no. 38 was found. All the ancient tombs have been ransacked by the Christians for building-stones. Lintels of built tombs, as nos. 39 and 40, were placed in walls and manglers. Stelae were taken out of the ground and used as corbels or steps in staircases. It is difficult to say whether the present inscription was on a stele or on a lintel. The Greek translation of נפש is *σῆλη*, but since נפש may mean both "stele" or "tomb", perhaps *σῆλη* may also refer to a tomb. If a real stele was set up for Fihir in front of his tomb as was the Nabataean custom, this stele must have been wider than all others. The ordinary width of a stele is between 30 and 40 cm. But this stele would have been over 60 cm. wide. In that case the two parts of this inscription would, of course, have been placed one above the other. But if we assume that it was on a lintel over the entrance to a built tomb the two parts may have been carved side by side.

The name of Umm idj-Djimâl may have been Thantia in antiquity; very strong evidence in favor of this theory has been put forward by Mr. Butler, in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 3, p. 151. But it is difficult to connect this name with the tribal name Tanūkh-Θανουχηδών; I venture, therefore, no suggestion as to a linguistic derivation of the one from the other.

42. LINTEL. This fragment was found on the lintel of the eastern-most door in the south-wall of the "Julianos Church". The place is indicated on the large map of Umm idj-Djimâl published with Div. II, A, Pt. 3. The lintel is now 1.45 cm. long and 22-29 cm. high. Height of letters 5-17 cm. The stone is not well finished and the letters are very shallow.



Inscr. 42. Scale 1:20.

[ר]ה עבד עבד-עבדת בר נקצת שלם

This was made by 'Abd-'Obodat, the son of Naḳḏat(?). Peace!

The letters are certain, with the exception of two letters in the name of the father of the donor. Some of them are joined; but that may again be due only to an influence of every day writing.

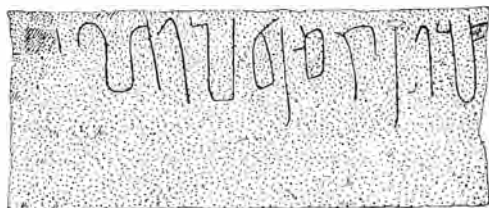
The first name may be found in no. 82, l. 3. But it is also known from a great many other inscriptions; cf. *N.E.* and *P.A.* 1, s.v.; furthermore *R.A.O.* I, 39, II, 189; *Ephem.* III, p. 87 c, and the 22 instances quoted in *M.A.A.*, p. 492 s. v. Its Greek equivalent was found at Boṣrā, viz. *Αβδοσβδας*, in *P.E.* III, nos. 567 and 569. King Obodas was, as Mr. Clermont-Ganneau has shown at various occasions, deified, and as god he seems to have been very popular among the southern Nabataeans, as we see from the frequent occurrence of the name "servant of Obodas". His sanctuary was at the place called now 'Abdeh, in Northern Arabia; this place was explored by the Dominican

fathers Jaussen, Savignac and Vincent; cf. their report in *Rev. Bibl.* 1904 and 1905. It was also visited by Musil, who copied there a very important inscription in which Ζεὺς Ὀβδαῖος is invoked; cf. *P.A.* III, p. 331. But the name עבדת was also used as the name of ordinary persons; cf. Ὀβδαῖος in *P.E.* III, 353.

The second name is best read נקצת; but the sign which I take to be a צ has a rather large and closed top, which is unusual in this letter. Moreover I have not found the same name either in Greek or Nabataean inscriptions. It is, however, very probable that the name לקץ (= לקץ), which occurs in the Nabataeo-Thamudene inscription from Hegra (*Eph.* III, pp. 84 sqq.) belongs to the root نقض, as Prof. Lidzbarski suggested. The vocalization Naqḏat has been chosen, because the feminine name *Nagde*, نقضة, is used now in Central Arabia; cf. Hess, *l.c.*, p. 51.

It is impossible to say what "building" was "made" by our 'Abd-'Obodat. The stone was probably originally a lintel, as it is now. But since the stone is not finished and since the letters are not carved with great care, it is not probable that this inscription represented an 'official document' on an important building. Perhaps it was an insignificant architect's inscription, or the inscription of a private citizen over the door of his house.

43. LINTEL(?) This fragment was found on a stone used in a house on the street leading from the centre of the city to House no. XIV on large map. It faces north. The stone measures 31 × 75 cm.; the letters are 9–17 cm. high.



Inscr. 43. Scale 1 : 10.

...אשרולם מן אל רוחו
.... I[sidoulos(?) of the tribe of Rawāh.

This fragment is interesting on account of the two names which it contains. I believe that before the first letter on the stone an א is to be supplied, and that the fourth letter must be read as a ל although its form resembles rather the final ן in מן, and although the certain ל in אל does not extend under the base-line of the other letters; for it cannot be a final ן because of the following ם. The name אשרולם would then be a Greek rendering of the Ṣafāitić עבד-אם, recognized by Prof. Lidzbarski in *Eph.* II, 353, l. 23. Also the Nabataean name עלימות-אם "handmaid of Isis" (*Ephem.* II, 267, l. 14) may be compared. The name Ισιδουλος would be rather unusual; but in a country where the names with עבד abound we must expect to find also some Greek names ending in -δουλος that are not found elsewhere. Such names would, of course, be more fashionable than those formed entirely from the native roots; or, at least, they were considered such by the men who bore them or by their parents. On the other hand, there is a possibility that ל and ך have been interchanged here and that אשרולם[א] would be the same as Ισιδωρος. At all events the ם at the end proves that it is a Greek or Latin name.

The name רוח is to be read Rawāḥ; this is proved by Ραουας, a name quite common at Umm idj-Djimāl, as e. g. *P.E.* III, nos. 276, 337, 341, 384, 416 show, and by a Ṣafaïtic inscription which I discovered at Umm idj-Djimāl and which reads

לחב בן שמת דאל רוח *By Wahb b. Shāmit of the tribe of Rawāḥ.*

This was recognized, of course, at once when I copied the Greek inscriptions in Umm idj-Djimāl in 1905. In the meanwhile Prof. Lidzbarski combined רוח also with Ραουας, found in an inscription from iṭ-Ṭaiyibeh; cf. *Ephem.* III, p. 90, no. 76. The tribe or family who called themselves רוח must have had a number of prominent members; we find them not only here at Umm idj-Djimāl where they know both Nabataean and Ṣafaïtic script, but also at Ṣalkhad where they built a temple of Allāt, which has been mentioned above on p. 23, in no. 24, and even at Palmyra where a רוחיא erected an altar to Shai' al-Ḳaum with the Palmyrene inscription published in *A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, pp. 70 sqq.

44. STELE. This stone was found lying among the débris in the center of the city in the house which has the number XIII on the large map in Div. II, A, Pt. 3. Height of the stone on the right: 52 cm., on the left: 44 cm., width 34 cm. Height of letters in ll. 2 and 3: 6–13 cm.



והבאלהי	<i>Wahb-allāhi,</i>
בר מנעמו	<i>son of Mun'im,</i>
די מן אל	<i>of the tribe</i>
שלמו	<i>of Salam.</i>

Inscr. 44. Scale 1 : 10.

In l. 1 I was tempted to read הנאלהי considering the Greek name Αναηλος *Eph.* I, 219, no. 39, which in my opinion is the equivalent of הנא־אל. But I believe, since l. 1 is destroyed to some extent, that a ך should be supplied at the beginning and that the common name והבאלהי was written here. Although most of the letters in l. 1 have lost their tops it is very easy to restore and to read them with certainty. The name מנעמו, the Semitic original of the Greek Μονιμος (*Wadd.-Chab.*, s. v.) and Μονεμος (*P.E.* III, no. 127), is met here for the first time in Nabataean, as far as I know.

The interesting feature of this inscription is the fact that this man belonged to the Salam tribe, which in all likelihood is identical here with the Σαλάμιοι, as it is in the Nabataean inscriptions from Hegra. Professors Nöldeke and Euting have treated of this name in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 28, l. 19, and have quoted the passages which refer to this tribe. The passage from Stephanos of Byzantium is as follows: Σαλάμιοι, ἔθνος Ἀράβιον. σάλαμα δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνσπονδοι γενέσθαι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις. I believe that also the name שלמון, which occurs in Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften*, nos. 12 and 544, and the gentilicium הסלמי, which I found in the Ṣafaïtic inscriptions

copied in 1904 (*P.E. Div. IV, Pt. 3*) may very well refer to the same tribe. And the same is to be said of the expression **י אל סלם** in *M.S.M.* p. 183, no. 731. A tribe called **بَنُو السَّلَم** is also mentioned by Ibn Doraid, p. 265, l. 3 from below. But this is not necessarily the same tribe as the one referred to in the older inscriptions. How frequent the root **سلم** is in modern Arabic nomenclature may be seen from Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. III, p. 501, and from Hess, *Beduinennamen*, p. 30.

45. GRAFFITO. This graffito is merely scratched in very thin and shallow lines on a jamb-stone of a door facing west in the house forming the south-west corner of the city, no. II on large map. Height of stone on the right: 47 cm., on the left: 41 cm.; width 76 cm. Height of letters $8\frac{1}{2}$ – $17\frac{1}{2}$ cm.



מותבו שלם *Mautab! Greeting! (?)*

Inscr. 45. Scale 1:20.

These two single words are rather puzzling. They may be interpreted in four different ways.

1. The first word might be taken as a common noun and the second as the name of a person. In this case we would expect **מותב שלמו** "The resting place of Salm". But we know from no. 41 that a **י** is sometimes written where it not should be.

2. Taking again the first name in the meaning "resting-place, throne", we might interpret the second word to be the name of a deity and translate "Throne of [the god] Salm".

But although parallels to no. 1 might be found in the many inscriptions published in *M.A.A.* nab. nos. 40 sqq., which relate that a certain place has been taken possession of by a certain person, I believe that these first two possible explanations are not very plausible.

We would then vice versa take the first word to be a proper name and the second to be a common noun. Now again the question arises whether the proper name refers to a human person or to a deity.

3. If **מותבו** were the name of a person, the graffito would be like a great many others in Nabataean and Sinaitic script. But **מותבו** has not been found as the name of a person. Perhaps we should read **מותנו** and compare the name *Wathan*, I. Dor. p. 302, l. 4 from below; though this is very uncertain too.

4. If **מותבו** were the name of a deity one would, of course, think at once of the famous and much disputed **מותב** of Dūsharā at Hegra and at Petra. In that case such short inscriptions as **חי עבדת**, *Ephem.* II, p. 264, or **Ἡλίου σωζα** *P.E.* III, no. 15 may be compared. Since the meaning of our graffito is so very uncertain, I shall not enter into the discussion of the meaning of **מותב** at all. I only wish to remark that if **מותבו** is indeed the name of a deity it would show that the original common noun **מותבא** had been later considered a real proper name, which would be expressed by the change of the **א** into a **י**. Then the **מותב** of Dūsharā would have been entirely separated from him. The **Ζεύς Μάθβαχας** on the Djebel Shêkh Berekât and the **Ζεύς**

Βωμός at Burdj Bākirhā might be compared; but it should be remembered that both Μάδβαχος and Βωμός are connected with Ζεύς.

There would be, of course, a number of other possibilities, if one should believe that this graffito were not complete, but only a fragment.

46. LINTEL(?) On a stone used as an inside-lintel over a window in a house in the eastern part of the city (no. xvii on large map). The stone measures 1.12 m × 28 cm. Height of letters 7–10 cm. – PHOTOGRAPH.



Inscr. 46. Scale 1 : 10.

חנני בן נטור Hānī², son of Nūṭhair,
בר אתמו son of 'Āthim (?).

The letters although very shallow are quite certain, and there can be no doubt as to the restoration of the few incomplete letters in l. 1.

The first name, Hānī², was, and is still, a favorite name with the inhabitants of the Ḥaurān country. Other examples of this name in Nabataean are given in the indices of *N.E.*, *P.A.* 1, *M.A.A.*, s.v.; cf. also *Eph.* III, p. 86, B and *M.A.A.* nab. no. 169, where I would prefer the reading הננו to הנני. Below it occurs again in nos. 53, 86 and 88. The Greek equivalent is known to be Άνεος and Άνιος; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, s.v., and *P.E.* III, 291. Another derivative is Άνεαθος *P.E.* III, no. 293, in which the feminine ending -at has a hypocoristic meaning. The second name is the original of Νετρεπος *P.E.* III, nos. 89, 287, 340, and Νετρεπος *ibid.* no. 307. It is here found for the first time in Nabataean; but other names from the same root, viz. נטר-אל and נטרו, have been known for some time, and these are indicated in the indices to *N.E.* and *Eph.* II, s.v.v. The last name, אתמו, found also below in no. 87, in *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 135, and in several Sinaïtic inscriptions mentioned in the indices of *N.E.* and Euting's edition of them, has been hitherto transcribed 'Atamm. This would be a very suitable name, I admit. But led by the fact that in Greek Αθεμος is known whereas Αθαμμος does not occur, I am inclined to believe that אתמו represents 'Āthim. This name, meaning *guilty*, is certainly not a very agreeable one, but it would not be without parallel in Arabic nomenclature. Αθεμος occurs in *Wadd.* 2387, *Eph.* II, p. 332 and *P.E.* III, no. 321, and a man called Βουαθμους is mentioned in an inscription from Der'ā to be published in *P.A.* III, Pt. 7. However I do not deny that Αθεμος may also correspond to Ḥātim.

The original place of this inscription was probably over the entrance to a tomb.

47. STELE. On a stele used as a corbel in a house on the street which leads from the West-Gate to the Praetorium, in the same row of corbels as Div. III, no. 340. Width: 28–29 cm., height of inscription 29 cm., height of letters 12–18 cm. The face



Inscr. 47. Scale 1:10.

of the stone is only half finished, the letters are bold and ugly.

משיכ [ו] *Māsik,*
בר זבוד [ו] *son of Zabūd.*

These are two of the most common names at Umm idj-Djimāl: on Māsik cf. above no. 38, on Zabūd above no. 1. The same inscription occurs below in no. 62. The latter is *in situ*. It is not more unusual to find two persons of the same name whose fathers had also the same name than to find two different men called John Smith. In this inscription we find again the same way of joining the ש to a preceding letter as above in nos. 11 and 40.

48. STELE. On a stele used as a step in House no. 1 on large map. The staircase in which it is found is in the second story on the east side of the courtyard. This inscription is very badly weathered and covered with lichen, the letters are hardly traceable; moreover the face of the stele is not finished. The stele projects 84 cm. from the wall and is 28–31 cm. wide. The letters are about 12 cm. high.



Inscr. 48. Scale 1:10.

מ[ל]כ *Malikat,*
ת בר עק *son of 'Ak-*
רב *rab.*

The first name is only guessed; my restoration is, however, in keeping with the few visible traces of letters. On מליכת cf. above no. 7, on עקרב above no. 3.



Scale 1:20.

Inscr. 49.
Scale 1:10.

49. STELE. On a stele found in the courtyard of the house to the east of the Barracks, where also the inscription Div. III, no. 379 was copied. The stele is broken in two; the inscribed space is well finished. Height of upper fragment: 44 cm., of lower fragment: 54 cm., width 27 cm. Height of letters 13–15 cm.

והבו *Wahb,*
בר שמ *son of Shā-*
תו *mit.*

The first name occurs here and in no. 50, perhaps also below in no. 90. Other examples are quoted in the indices of *N.E.* and *M.A.A.*, *s.v.* The Greek equivalent

ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲩⲥ (with its cases) occurs in Wadd. 2245 (= *Ephem.* II, 86,) and *P.E.* III, nos. 100 and 316. In Ṣafaïtic and in ancient Arabic the name is found more frequently; cf. *M.S.M.* p. 215, and *I. Dor.*, s. v. In modern Arabic again derivatives of this root are very rare; Musil, *Arab. Petr.* (p. 63) gives only al-Whêbi: the place of Wahb seems to have been taken by 'Aṭṭiyeh, which has the same meaning. The second name, Shāmit, is met with again in nos. 60 and 66; for other examples see *N.E.*, p. 503, and *P.A.* I, s. v. There are also two uncertain passages where its diminutive seems to be read. The feminine name שְׁמִיתָ C.I.S. II, 205 does not belong to this root; if it is read correctly it is probably *Sumaiyat* as in my *Beduinen-Erzählungen*, p. 19, l. 26. But in שְׁמִיתָ (?) quoted in *N.E.*, p. 503, s. v., we may recognize שְׁמִיתָ *Shumait*. The inscription published in *Rev. Bibl.* 1902, p. 588 (= *Ephem.* II, p. 76) has been read

שלם יאוי בר תימו
 --- בר שמיתלה
 --- אהלחא שלם

But I believe it should rather be read and translated as follows:

שלם דא די נדר תימו	<i>Peace! This is what has been vowed by Taim,</i>
בר שמיתו לאלה	<i>son of Shumait, to the gods</i>
י אהלחא שלם	<i>of the "sacred tent" (?) Peace!</i>

This is not the place to discuss the most interesting expression אַלְהִי אַהֲלַחַא and to compare it with the corresponding Hebrew expressions. We are here only concerned by the name שְׁמִיתָ. A name שְׁמִיתְלָהּ is impossible; and it is very simple to separate the sign read ת into a ל. The Greek equivalent of Shāmit, viz. Σαμῆθς, is very common; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, *Eph.* II, s. v.; in *P.E.* III eleven examples of it are to be found.

Above in no. 43 the Ṣafaïtic inscription of a man who is called "Wahb b. Shāmit of the tribe of Rawāḥ" has been cited. Possibly he was the same man who was buried under this stele. He had probably come from the more eastern tribes and settled in Umm idj-Djimāl. But it is impossible to say whether he at first engraved that Ṣafaïtic inscription in the script with which he was familiar, and afterwards became "Nabataeanized", or whether a bilingual inscription, Ṣafaïtic and Nabataean, was carved in his memory: in the latter case the Ṣafaïtic would have been over the entrance of the tomb in front of which the stele stood. However, they were probably two different persons.



Scale 1 : 20.

Inscr. 50.
 Scale 1 : 10.

50. On a broken stele found in the same courtyard as no. 49. Height of upper part: 39 cm.; of lower part 59 cm. (left) to 69 cm. (right); width 25-30 cm. Height of letters 7-11 cm.

זבדו	<i>Zabūd,</i>
בר וַהֲב	<i>son of Wahb.</i>

Zabūd, with regard to whose name I refer to the commentary on no. I, was probably the son of the man

whose stele we have just seen under no. 49. It is very likely that both stelae came from the same tomb and then were used in the construction of the same house.

Judging from this inscription one might conclude that the difference between the 7 in l. 1, with its almost semicircular top, and the 7, with its simple curve, is due to an attempt to distinguish these "palaeographic twinbrothers" 7 and 7; but no. 49 shows an 7 in l. 2 which is very much like the 7 in l. 1 of this inscription.

51. STELE. On a stele, the lower part of which has been broken off, found in a courtyard adjoining the one with nos. 49 and 50. The face of the stele is well finished, the letters are carefully cut. The fragment measures 61 × 31½ cm. (maximum); the letters are 10–19 cm. high.



מלח	<i>Milh,</i>
ו ברת	<i>daughter of</i>
משכו	<i>Māsik.</i>

The 5 of the first name is here absolutely certain; we must, therefore, read מלח, not מנח. On this name, which is the Greek

Inscr. 51. Scale 1 : 10. Μελη, cf. above no. 39; on משכו cf. no. 38.

52. STELE. On a stele in the same courtyard as the preceding inscription; the upper part of the face of this stele is well finished. Total height 1.33 m.; width 30 cm. Height of letters in l. 1 : 6½–11 cm., in l. 2 : 15–15½ cm.



טובו בר	<i>Tūb, son of</i>
רצות	<i>Raṣwat.</i>

Both names are new in Nabataean epigraphy. The 7 in l. 2 is certain in spite of the very unusual form of its head, since in no. 54 the 7 has its usual form and since there is no doubt with regard to its Greek equivalent. The first name is most naturally read טובו, with a כ. One might perhaps also think of טונו and then compare the very uncertain name טון in *M.A.A. nab. no. 156*, or of טולו and compare the modern name *at-Toual*, *Rev. Bibl.* 1904, p. 426, l. 3 from below. But I believe that we have here a name that in its form is more closely related to North-Semitic than to South-Semitic. I think, of course, of the Hebrew טוב, a word which occurs in a number of proper names. If this derivation be correct we may compare perhaps Ταβος in Wadd. 2538a and Ταβαθη in Wadd. 2231 (= *Eph.* 1, 329, no. 24). A Greek translation of this name might be *Αγαθος; cf. *P.E.* III, no. 262. — The second name seems to have been popular at Umm idj-Djimâl. We find it here and in no. 54, and nine times in Greek inscriptions; cf. Πασσαυαθος or Πασσαυαθου in *P.E.* III, nos. 52, 54,

Inscr. 52.
Scale 1 : 20.

308, 448, 458, 467, 491, 492, 493; Πασσαυατος in no. 451 and Πασσα in no. 361. The last of these forms is the same as רצוא in *C.I.S.* II, 208 (= *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 28), l. 1.

I have no doubt that it is to be derived from the Arabic root رَضَى , just as the name רצו in *M.A.A.* p. 202, no. 38, l. 1. This is proved by the Ṣafaitic equivalent רצות which occurs in *M.S.M.* saf. no. 664.

53. STELE. This stele was used as a corbel in house no. XIII. The face of the stone is well finished; but l. 1 is badly weathered and partly covered with lichen. The stone projects 48 cm. from the wall and is 38–40 cm. wide. Height of letters 6–12 cm.; only the ע in l. 2 is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. high.



Inscr. 53. Scale 1:10.

הנאן בר *Hāniʿ, son*
 תאמיתא *of Taim-Yithaʿ.*

The restoration of l. 1 seems to me almost certain. The נ is complete, the א is almost complete, the י cannot be read differently. Only the ה is doubtful; however, a ה would be the most natural reading before נאן , and it is very likely that traces of the right shaft of the letter may have been on the stone. On *Hāniʿ* cf. no. 46. The second name is of great interest; for it contains the name of a god whom we meet here for the first time in Nabataean. His name יתעו is written יתע and אתע in Ṣafaitic script; cf. *M.S.M.*, p. 210 and p. 221, s. v. In Greek it is rendered Εθαφ (dative) in *Wadd.* 2209, and Ιθα... in a name read Ιθαμπαρ by Prof. Lidzbarski, *Ephem.* I, p. 220. An abbreviated form of a name like the one just cited seems to be Ιθαης in *P.E.* III, no. 369. From all this we see that the original name of the god was *Yithaʿ* (יתע) and that this form was also pronounced *Ithaʿ* (אתע), since yi... in the beginning of a word is very often changed to i... , especially in Aramaic. Very little is known of the nature of this god. M. Dussaud has published some remarks about this in his book *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, pp. 150–152.



Inscr. 54.
Scale 1:20.

54. STELE. On a stele used as a corbel on the wall of a ruined house between houses no. XIII and no. XIV. The face of this stone is well finished. Total height 1.205 m.; width $34\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Height of letters $9\frac{1}{2}$ – $15\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

חירו בר *Khair, son of*
 רצות בר *Raswat, son of*
 יטור *Yatūr.*

The name חירו corresponds to the Arabic خَيْر . It seems not to have been used so much among the Nabataeans as names of this root were used in Palmyra. In these inscriptions it is found only here;

another example seems to occur in a Sinaïtic inscription, Euting no. 492, but there the reading is uncertain. In Greek the *kh*-sound is treated as in the roots חֶלֶךְ (cf. above, no. 19) and חֶלֶךְ (cf. below, no. 68). We find, therefore, Χαιρος as well as Αιρος: the former in *Wadd.* 2023, 2374; *Eph.* I, 329, no. 23; II, 327, no. 22 and 329, no. 65; the latter in *Wadd.* 2511. In the Greek inscriptions of Umm idj-Djimâl the name Ηρος is quite common; cf. *P.E.* III, nos. 330, 335, 365, 448, 459, 468, 487. It is possible that Ηρος equals Αιρος and thus *Khair*, and that the Η was chosen in order to make the name look like ἡρος. Moreover the names Αιρα, Αιρανης and Αιρηλος may be quoted here; cf. *Wadd.-Chab., Eph.* II, s.v.v. But Prof. Nöldeke suggested to me that the name Ηρος might also be the Aramaic word *herā* "free". – With regard to Raṣwat see above no. 52. – The name יִטּוֹר is new and interesting. We find it here and in nos. 64, 65. The Greek equivalent is Ιατουρος, cf. *P.E.* III, nos. 316, 389, 371, 377, 429, 467, 489. And a Ιατουραῖος is mentioned in *P.A.* III, p. 202. This name is the Biblical יִטּוֹר; there, in Genes. 25, v. 15, he is one of the sons of Ishmael. This proves that the name was considered to be of Arabic origin: its appearance at Umm idj-Djimâl also speaks for its being Arabic. The people, however, who call themselves after this name, the Ituraeans, are sometimes called Syrians, sometimes Arabs; cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* I, 2nd ed., p. 594. And the names of Ituraean soldiers quoted by Schürer, *l.c.*, ann. 3, are partly Aramaic, partly Arabic: Bargathes (בר-עֶתָה), Baramna (... בר), Beliabus (בִּלְיָהַב), Bricbelus (בִּרְיִבֶּל), Jerombal (יֶרֹמְבַל) are Aramaic; Monimus (מֹנִימוֹס), Hanel (חֲנַיָּאל) and Jamlicus (יַמְלִיכוֹס) are Nabataean and Arabic. Prof. Schürer proves that the Ituraeans were living in the Lebanon where they played a certain rôle in the history of Syria. But they must have come originally from the Arabian desert: they represent one of the phases of the gradual influx of Arab tribes into the settled and cultivated parts of Syria, and there may have been more of them than just one ruling family like the one at Ḥomṣ and the one at Edessa. It is important to know that the name after which that tribe was called still continued to be used as the name of individuals at Umm idj-Djimâl.

55. STELE. On a stele in the south wall of the group of houses east of the "Cathedral"; this group is numbered XII and XIII on the large map. The face of this stone is half finished. Maximum height 75 cm., maximum width 33 cm. Height of letters 9–16½ cm.



חרתו בר Ḥārith(?), son of
בחילו Kahil.

Inscr. 55. Scale 1:10.

The first name is uncertain. The first letter is a ח, the second a ד, נ or ר, the third a ת and the fourth a ו. We would then have the choice between חרתו, חותו and חרתו. The first of these three might be

an Arabic name, Ḥadith, as e. g. in the Ṣafāitic ḥḏṯ . The second would be *Hūt* "fish"; it has been found in *C.I.S.* II, 221 (= *M.A.A.* 20), and it is the same as the Ṣafāitic ḥṯ with its diminutive ḥṯṯ (*Huwēl*); cf. *M.S.M.*, p. 217 and p. 219, *s.v.v.*, also *M.N.D.P.-V.* 1902, p. 21 and *Eph.* II, p. 352, l. 27. But I am rather inclined to believe that ḥḏṯ is intended; for *al-Ḥārith* is one of the most frequent Arabic names, as is shown by the many examples in *I. Dor.* p. 336, *s.v.*, and its diminutive form has been found in Sinaïtic and Nabataean inscriptions; cf. *N.E.*, and *P.A.* I, *s.v.* and *Eph.* II, p. 75 O. Among the modern Bedawin its place has been taken by Fellāḥ, a common name which means that the child was born at the time when the peasants were ploughing. The second name is to be vocalized *Kahīl*, or *Kihīl*, in view of the Greek $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ *Eph.* I, 328, no. 20, II, 329, no. 67; *P.E.* III, nos. 242 and 413. For I believe that $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is indeed *Kahīl* (*Kihīl*), not, as Prof. Lidzbarski suggested, *Khail*. The reading *Kihīl* would better correspond to the vowels of the Greek form; in this name the *a* would have been changed into *i*, because it is followed by a guttural with an *i*: to this my attention was called by Prof. Nöldeke. Another example of ḥḏṯ is given in *C.I.S.* II, 197 (= *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 8), l. 1. The Greek equivalent of *Khail* is $\chi\alpha\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, *Wadd.* 2140, the Ṣafāitic ḥḏṯ , cf. *M.A.M.*, p. 219 *s.v.*.



56. STELE. On a stele lying in the courtyard of a house in the south-east part of the city, a little to the west of the south-east corner, near no. xx on large map. The inscribed part is half finished; the stone is covered with lichen, especially in l. 1. Height of stone (maximum): 1.01 m.; width at bottom: 18 cm., at top: 24 cm.; in the middle: 29 cm. Height of letters $5\frac{1}{2}$ – $9\frac{1}{2}$.



ḥḏṯ ḥṯṯ *Hannai, son*
 ḥḏṯ ḥṯṯ *of Mālik.*

Inscr. 56.
Scale 1:20. Scale 1:10.

The first name might possibly be read ḥḏṯ on account of the long letter in the middle, and this might then be considered a hypocoristic form of ḥḏṯ $\Gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ (below, no. 101, l. 5). However, the first letter is rather a ḥ , since ḥ is very seldom found in Nabataean with a perpendicular shaft. Moreover ḥḏṯ is a very well known name in this region; for it occurs many a time in Ṣafāitic, and ḥḏṯ is known from *Wadd.* 2547 (= *Eph.* II, 16, l. 7). It belongs, of course, to Ḥann-ʿēl. The second name is too well known to need any further comment. I wish only to state again that the name may either be read Mālik or Malik, and that in Greek Μαλιχος , Μαλεχος and Μαλχος are given; cf. *Wadd.-Chab.*, *s.v.v.*

57. STELE. On a stele used in the construction of a now ruined tomb, to the south-west of the south-west corner of the city: it is one of the not numbered tombs that are indicated in that direction on the small map in Div. II, Sec. A, Pt. 3. The upper part

of the face of this stone is well finished, the lower part is left unfinished. Height of stone 1.11 m.; width 27 cm. Height of letters 6–15 cm.



זבודו בר
מהלמן
*Zabūd, son
of Muhlim.*

Inscr. 57.
Scale 1:20. Scale 1:10.

Both names are known; cf. above nos. 1 and 2.

58. STELE. This stele was found lying on the ground near a ruined tomb to the south of the city, tomb no. 6 on the small map. The face of this stone is well finished. Total height of stone 1.41 m.; width 22–37 cm. Height of letters 10–19 cm. — Photograph.

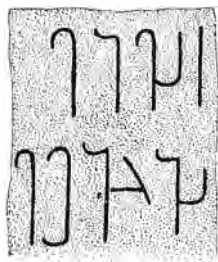


אטר
ברת ושי
בת
*ʾAtr,
daughter of Wash-
kat.*

Inscr. 58. Scale 1:10.

Both names are new in Nabataean. That אטר is to be read *ʾAtr*, we conclude from Ατρη *Wadd.* 2434, *P.E.* III, 283, 479. Prof. Lidzbarski's suggestion in *Ephem.* I, 329, l. 1, to combine Ατρη with حضرة, must therefore be abandoned. The name is derived from the Arabic أَصَر "to arch, to surround, to bend, to bow", and it has probably the same meaning as إطار in classical Arabic, viz. "ring", which would be a suitable name for a girl. The name Ιτραση, *P.E.* no. 339, would then be *ʾItrat*, and its diminutive Οτραση, *Wadd.* 2151, 2256, *ʾUṭairat*. The name of the father I vocalize *Washīkat*, considering it to be the original of Οασιχαση in the famous inscription from Dmēr, which has been published several times; cf. *Wadd.* 2562g and the literature named there, and *P.A.* III, p. 183, 207, 326. Its meaning is probably "swift" as that of the Arabic وَشِيك, and the ending -at would indicate a hypocoristic. In Hebrew the name יִסְכָּה may be derived from the same root.

59. STELE. On a stele found at the same place as No. 58. The inscribed part is well finished, the lower part only half finished. Height of stone: 1.29 m.; width (at the top): 32 cm.; at the bottom: 14 cm. Height of letters: 8–14 cm.



Inscr. 59. Scale 1:10.

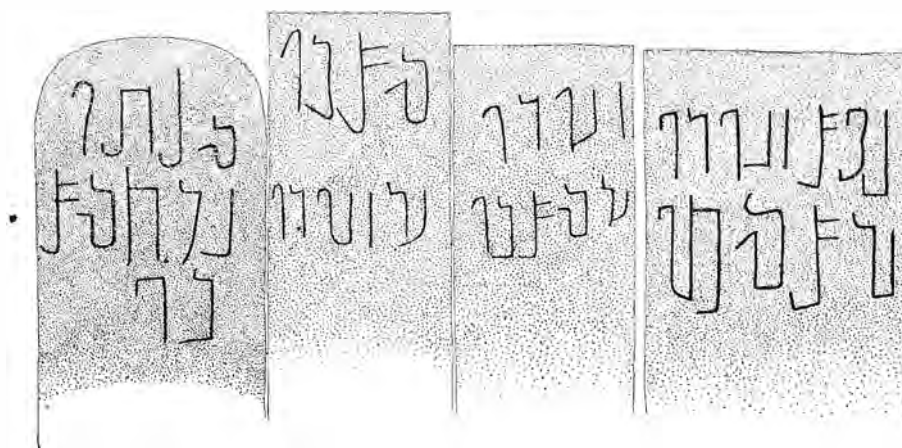
זבודו Zabūd,
בר גרפו son of Gur(u)f.

Zabūd is known from no. 1 and other inscriptions. The second name might just as well be read גרפו, if the Greek equivalent were not known. Fortunately this is preserved in Γορκος *Wadd.* 2025, *P.A.* III, p. 344, and Γορκεν *Wadd.* 2463, *P.A.* III, p. 343. We would expect a φ instead of a π; but this may either be due to Aramaic influence or to some idea in connecting Γορκος with the name of the month Γορκασιος. In Arabic *gurf* or *guruf* means a "bank undermined by water". The present name is probably the same as אלגרפו which is read in a Sinaitic inscription with some uncertainty; cf. LIDZB., *N.E.*, p. 216, s.v.

60–67. STELAE IN SITU. These stelae were found in the dromos of a tomb in the same position in which they were placed in the first or second century A.D. This tomb we called "the Nabataean tomb"; on the small map it has the number 10. The accompanying photograph shows all eight stelae. The tomb itself has been described by Mr. Butler in *Div. II, A, Pt. 3*, pp. 206 sq. No. 60 stands to the left of the entrance; the following numbers are counted from right to left, as you face the stelae. The measurements are best given in table-form, as follows:

	Width.	Height of inscr.	Height of letters.		Width.	Height of inscr.	Height of letters.
No. 60:	42 cm.	41½ cm.	10–18 cm.	No. 64:	35 cm.	39 cm.	8½–15 cm.
No. 61:	28 cm.	27 cm.	5½–11 cm.	No. 65:	35 cm.	45 cm.	7½–15 cm.
No. 62:	28 cm.	36 cm.	l. 1: 13–16 cm.; l. 2: 9 cm.	No. 66:	34 cm.	60 cm.	7½–17½ cm.
No. 63:	36 cm.	48 cm.	11–16½ cm.	No. 67:	34 cm.	30 cm.	6½–16 cm.

Squeezes of all inscriptions were taken. All drawings have been made to the scale of 1:10.

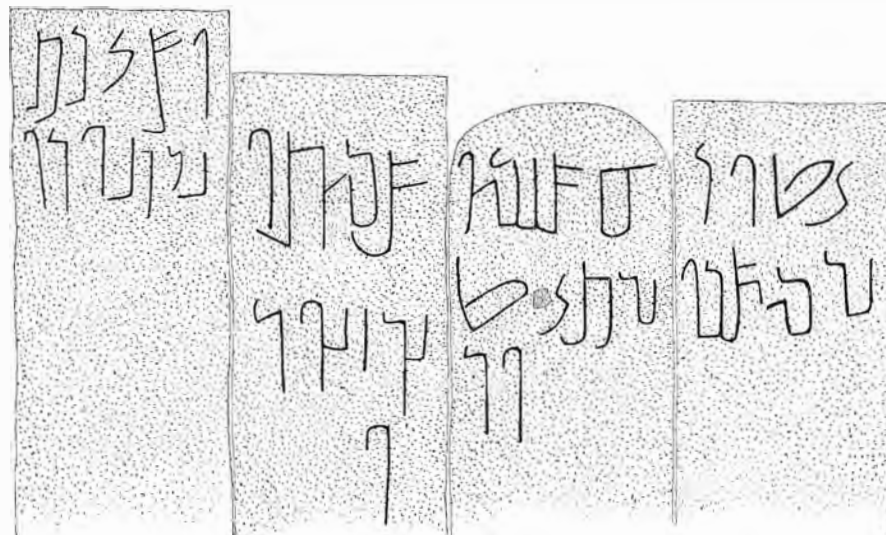


Inscr. 63.

Inscr. 62.

Inscr. 61.

Inscr. 60.



Inscr. 67.

Inscr. 66.

Inscr. 65.

Inscr. 64.



Ill. 7. Nabataean Tomb with Stelac. View from the Northeast.

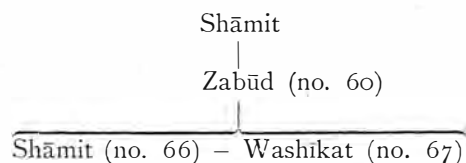
60. נפש זכורו בר שמתו	60. <i>Tomb of Zabūd, son of Shāmit.</i>	61. זכורו בר משכו <i>Zabūd, son of Māsik.</i>
62. משכו בר זכורו	62. <i>Māsik, son of Zabūd.</i>	63. מלחו ברת מש כו <i>Milk, daughter of Māsik.</i>
64. ישור בר משכו	64. <i>Yatūr, son of Māsik.</i>	65. אשנמו ברת ים ור <i>Asnum, daughter of Yā- tūr.</i>
66. שמתו בר זכורו ר	66. <i>Shāmit, son of Zabūd.</i>	67. ושיכת בר זכורו <i>Washikat, son of Zabūd.</i>

The names given in these stelae are all known from other inscriptions with the exception of אשנמו in no. 65. This name is to be vocalized, ³*Asnum*, as we see from *P.E.* III, no. 489, where a woman Ασνμη Ιατουρη is mentioned, who died 72 years old. A masculine form of this same name occurs in *P.E.* III, no. 502, viz. Ασνμμ. I believe that this name is an ³*af'al* form of *sanim* "big-humped", and that is to be classed with Αναβης, Αναβη; אראם, Αραση, names which are discussed above in the introductory chapter. *P.E.* III, 489 is a Greek translation of our no. 65, and so is *P.E.* 320 a translation of our no. 66; it reads Σαμης Ζαβουδου ετ(ω) λγ'. The fact that in two cases exactly the same names occur is scarcely accidental, especially since our no. 65 has two rare names. We may perhaps infer from this that on the right hand side of the same dromos a row of stelae was placed which gave the same names in Greek as the opposite stelae in Nabataean; but the Greek stelae were all taken away and scattered over the town. The difficulty would lie in the assumption of two stelae being erected for one person; for the stele was the נפשא, "the soul". However, among the higher classes this belief may have died out; and also on later Arabic tombs we find often two slabs, the "end-stones" of the graves. Then it would have been a sign of great wealth and education, if in the present case each person had a Greek and a Nabataean stele.

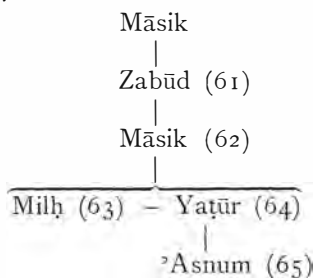
The other names occurring in these inscriptions are the following (in alphabetical order): ושיכת in no. 67; cf. above no. 58; זכורו in nos. 60, 61, 62, 66, 67; cf. above no. 1; ישור in no. 64, 65; cf. above no. 54; מלחו in no. 63; cf. above no. 39; משכו in nos. 61–64; cf. above no. 38; שמתו in nos. 60, 66; cf. above no. 49.

The tomb belonged to two families as we conclude from the names: we may call them the family Zabūd Shāmit and the family Zabūd Māsik. All other names are easily grouped around these two. The first man to build was probably Zabūd b. Shāmit, since his stele stands next to the entrance and since there is written נפשא "tomb of" before his name. Next to Zabūd b. Shāmit we see Zabūd b. Māsik. Then follow the children and grandchildren. Among them are Shāmit b. Zabūd and Māsik b. Zabūd.

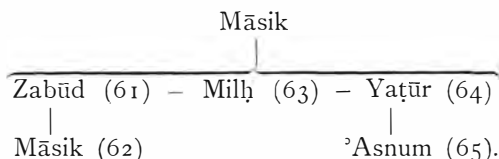
It is not doubtful to which family either of them is to be assigned; for we know that among the Semites children were and are named after their grandparents if they were born after the death of the latter. Now there are two children of a Māsik: we do not know whether they are children of the older or the younger Māsik; but, to my mind, it is likely that they are son and daughter of the man next to whose stele their names are inscribed, i. e. the younger Māsik. After that no. 65 is again classified without difficulty. In no. 67 there is a son of Zabūd; I believe that he is the brother of Shāmit b. Zabūd, since his stele is next to the one of the latter, and that he also belongs to the family Zabūd Shāmit. This family would then be represented by the following pedigree.



But for the other family we may choose, according to our assignment of the children of Māsik in 63 and 64, either:



or:



If we adopt the former of the two alternatives, we would have four generations represented: that means that Nabataeans were buried here and that inscriptions in letters of good Nabataean period were carved here during a period of at least a hundred years. If we take into account that ʾAsnum is probably the same person as the one who lived 72 years, this period might even be longer. It is not probable that inscriptions in such Nabataean characters were carved here after about 150 A. D.; then the tomb itself must have been built about 50 A. D. This agrees perfectly with the conclusion at which Mr. Butler arrived from a study of the architecture of this tomb. He calls it in Div. II, A, Pt. 3, p. 206 the earliest and the most important tomb of Umm idj-Djimâl, and tells me that he would date it, without any other evidence, in the first half of the first century A.D. This conclusion would then be confirmed by our study of the inscriptions.

Finally it is worthwhile to notice how all stelae of men in this row have square tops whereas those of women are rounded off. And it should be said here, too, that no. 62 has the same inscription as above no. 47.

68. On a stele lying in the débris outside of the east wall of the city near the north-east corner of the wall. Height of stone: 1.02 m.; width: 22-31 cm. Height of letters: 8-14 cm.; the letter ג in l. 2 is $6\frac{1}{2}$ high.



Scale 1 : 20.



Inscr. 68.

Scale 1 : 10.

חלדו ברת
גרמו *Khald, daughter
of Garm.*

The feminine name חלדו has been known for some time in Nabataean: a famous bearer of this name was Queen חלדו, the wife of Arethas IV. Since we find the Greek *Αλδη* in these very regions, we should vocalize the name *Khald* and interpret it to be the infinitive of *خلد* which means "retaining a youthful appearance in old age". This would be what parents wished for their children whom they gave this name; and therefore it was given to both girls and boys. *Αλδη* occurs in *P.E.* III, 121, 393, 503; another transliteration is *Χαλδη*, *Wadd.* 1967, in which the *ح* is represented by *χ* as in *Χαλιππος*, above no. 19. The masculine *Αλδου* is furnished by *P.E.* III, no. 139. Another, quite common name derived from the same root is *Yakhlud* ("may he retain youth"); but it has, so far, been only found in Greek, viz. *Ιαλοδος*; cf. *Wadd.* 2061, *P.E.* III, 19, 80, 204, 285, 346, 459. The name of the father is very common; below we shall meet it again in nos. 74; 101, l. 5; 106, l. 5, and other examples of it are indicated in *N.E.* p. 252, 501; *P.A.* I and *Ephem.* II, s. v. Its Greek equivalent appears as *Γαρμος* in *Wadd.* 2513. On *Khald* and *Garm* in Šafa'itic, see *M.S.M.* p. 219 and p. 213, s. v.

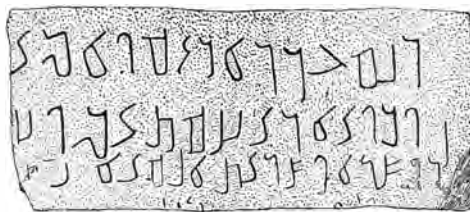
BOŠRĀ.

69. TEMPLE. On a stone now built into a modern wall, directly west of the Basilica. The stone is in its present condition 72 cm. long and 31 cm. high. The letters are 6-7 cm. high. — SQUEEZE.



Ill. 8. Cast of inscription no. 69.

Pal. Expl. Fund., Quart. St. 1895, p. 349. — De Vogüé, *Journal Asiatique*, 1897, II, pp. 209 sqq. — *V.A.S.*, p. 193. — *Rép.* 90. — Halévy, in *Journ. As.* 1911, I, pp. 341 sq. — *R.A.O.* IV, p. 180, pp. 262-264. — *Eph.* I, p. 333. — *P.A.* III, p. 208. — Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 269 sq.



Inscr. 69. Scale 1 : 10.

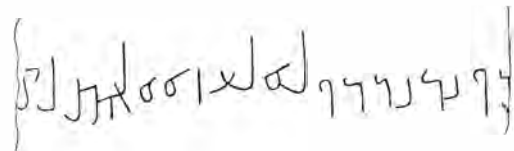
דנה גדרא די הוא מו--- This is the wall which
 וכווא די בנה תימו בר--- and the windows which were built by Taim, son of ...
 לדושרא ושרית אלהיא ב[צריא] for Dūsharā and Sharait (or: the rest of?) the gods of [Boṣrā].

The letters contained in this fragment are now all read with certainty: in l. 1 the eighth letter is a ד, not a ב, and in l. 2 the third letter is a ו, not a ד or ר. In an architectural inscription walls and windows would very properly be mentioned. It is very unfortunate that the end is broken off, especially in l. 1, where there are so many possibilities for a restoration that I shall refrain from giving any. In l. 3 the last letter is a ב; I take this to be the beginning of the word Boṣrā or Bosrene. Since אלהיא is in the status emphaticus, we would then have to read בצריא or בצרניא; but אלהי בצרא would certainly be more natural; cf. אלהת בצרא in no. 70. Or one might assume that the last א was carved by mistake, as perhaps in the preceding word an א was left out by mistake and that we should really read אלהי בצרא. In any case I do not know of any more suitable word beginning with ב that might be restored here than בצרא or a derivative.

Be this as it may, the main question in this inscription is: how is the word שרית to be translated? Two translations have been proposed: 1) שרית has been considered to be the same word as שארית in the inscription from Petra (C.I.S. 11, 350, P.A. 1), i. e. "the rest"; 2) שרית has been interpreted to be the name of a goddess who was associated with דושרא and who would correspond to the Biblical שרי. It is difficult to form a definite opinion on this very interesting question, which would be of far reaching importance if the second interpretation be adopted. The evidence in both cases is about the same, but, as it seems to me, it is a little more in favor of the second interpretation. The fact that the word שרית ends in a ת whereas שרי has no feminine ending speaks against this identification. But there is no ל in front of שרית, and if we were to translate "for Dushara and for the rest of the gods" the ל would be almost indispensable. As the two words stand they form a pair, and then שרית would needs be the name of a goddess, the *πάρεδρος* of Dūsharā. Moreover שרית would in its form be a suitable feminine name, and it is no doubt noteworthy that we would have the variants (שרית) and שרא (in דושרא) as we have שרי and שרא. However (נ)דו means rather "the man (owner) of" than "the husband of", and this would speak against a translation of דושרא by "the husband of Sarah". For a more detailed discussion of this question I refer to Ed. Meyer's book quoted above.

70. FRAGMENT. On a stone built into a modern wall near the ground, in a street. Going directly west from the Mosque of Fāṭmeh, through the arches, and

crossing two streets running north and south one finds the stone on the corner where he turns to the right in the direction of the Mosque of al-Khiḍr. The stone is about 1.10 m. long and 30–31 cm. high. – SQUEEZE.



... [ת]ימו בר בדרו לאלעזא אלהת בע[רא]
[Tai]m(?) son of Badr, for al-ʿUzza, the
goddess of Boṣ[rā].

Inscr. 70.

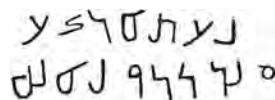
The first name may be [גר]מו, [תי]מו or some other name ending in מו. The name בדרו occurs again below in no. 97, and may be also read for בדרו in a passage cited in *N.E.* 501, s. v. בדרו. This is the Greek Βαδρος *Wadd.* 2340a, 2354; cf. also Βαδαρσ *Wadd.* 2298, 2330. Now this name occurs in Nabataean twice without the final ו, viz. below in no. 101, l. 3, and on the altar from ʿIreh, published in *A.A.E.S.* Pt. iv, p. 94 and elsewhere. This is scarcely accidental. It is more probable that בדר represents another form of this name, viz. *Budar*; and this may perhaps be the original of Βαδρσ, *Eph.* II, p. 329, no. 51, if the latter were not rather *Budair*. One might perhaps also read *Badāri*; but that is not very likely either.

When this inscription was found it was the first in which the famous al-ʿUzza, known so long from the Koran, occurred as a goddess in a Nabataean inscription. In the meanwhile she has been discovered elsewhere. The name עבדאלעזא was known to exist in a Sinaitic inscription, *Eut.* no. 146. The goddess herself was first found in Nabataean by Prof. Torrey in an inscription from Petra; cf. *Eph.* III, p. 88, E and the literature quoted there in the annotations. In Petra she is mentioned together with the מרא בירת, who was probably Dūsharā; and since Dūsharā was also the god of Boṣrā, she might very well be called אלהת בערא.

The cult of al-ʿUzza was very widely spread. Prof. Derenbourg found her even in South-Arabian inscriptions, as he showed in his article *Le culte de la déesse al-ʿOuzzā en Arabie au IV^e siècle de notre ère*; cf. *Ephem.* II, p. 379.

M. Dussaud and Prof. Wellhausen have treated more fully of this goddess; the former in his book *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, p. 132, the latter in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 34–45.

71. FRAGMENT. On a broken block of basalt, found among other broken stones in one of the modern buildings north of the "Basilica". It was seen by Mr. Butler and George Cavalcanty in the morning of Nov. 4., 1904; but when I went there in the afternoon it had been taken away. The copy was made by George Cavalcanty; no measurements were taken.



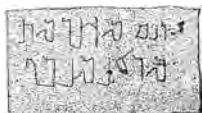
[דא ר]בעתא די ע[בד] [This is the] cella(?) which was made
[by N.N.], the son of Badr(?), for Allāh(?).

Inscr. 71.

This fragment is of considerable importance; but unfortunately very little can be said about it with certainty. The meaning of רבעתא has been discussed above under no. 2. The name of the father of the donor looks in the copy like בדרו, and this

might be *Dād*, the Ṣafaitic דד; but I believe that a כ has been left out in the copy by mistake. It is very doubtful whether the last word is complete and should be read *Allāh* as in Ṣafaitic; cf. also *Hallāh*(?), below no. 96 c. It is equally possible that we should read לאלה[ת בצרא] "for the goddess of Boşrā", as in no. 70; in that case this inscription might refer to the same donor as no. 70.

72. BLOCK. On a stone found inserted in the wall of the Basilica, in its north-west corner, over a mediaeval or modern chamber. The stone is 32 cm. high and 59 cm. wide. Height of letters: 7–9 cm. – SQUEEZE.



דנה מחרמת
מראלמלכו

This is the "reserved place"
of *Mar'al-malik* (or: *our lord Malik*).

Inscr. 72. Scale 1:20.

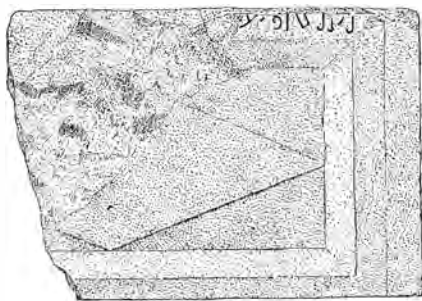
This short inscription is obviously complete; but in spite of its briefness it gives rise to some interesting problems. The name of the author of this inscription is somewhat uncertain. Of course, one thinks at once that מלכו is the king of this name and that the preceding word should be מראנא or מרנא. But in almost all other cases the word מלכא or the words מלך נבטו or both follow the name of a king, and it seems to me that here also they would be necessary. Therefore I prefer to read מראלמלכו as a proper name. The first of the component elements of this name would be מרא, the Arabic ^{مر}مر, as in מראלקיש in l. 1 of the inscription of in-Nemārah. In other cases this word is spelled אמרא like the Arabic ^{أمر}أمر; thus in אמראיעות = ^{أمر ويغوث}أمر ويغوث (N.E. p. 500, s.v. and *Eph.* II, p. 267) and in אמראלהי (N.E. p. 500, s.v. and *P.A.* I, p. 413, = *C.I.S.* II, 475). The second element would then be למלכו[א]. This could not refer to the name of king Malik, although a name like this would not be impossible judging from עברימלכו (in N.E., *P.A.* II, s.v., *M.A.A.* nab. nos. 76 and 140) and from תימעברת (in *C.I.S.* II, 403 bis and *M.A.A.* nab. no. 172). But the article would be impossible in the name of the king. Under these circumstances אלמלכו would have to be the name of a god called *al-Malik*. He would then be the same as the Phenician and Hebrew "Moloch", the Thamudene מלך and the Arabic ^{الله}الله in the proper name عبد الله.

But what is a [מחרמתא]? Its literal translation would be "secluded place". This may, of course, be a "sacred place"; and thus in *C.I.S.* II, 158, this word is usually translated by "chapel". This meaning seems to me to be out of question here, on account of the shortness of the present document. We must look therefore for another meaning. The stone on which our inscription is carved would be very suitable for the front – or if the seat had a back, for the back – of a seat in a Greek theater. Moreover, another stone, with similar measurements and probably giving the same word, was found in the castle, i.e. the ancient theater of Boşrā. We know also from Greek theaters that very often the names of persons were carved upon certain places. It seems to me very likely that מחרמתא[א] here means a place in the theater that was "reserved" for a certain person.

The theater of Boşrā, so fully and exactly described and pictured in Prof. Brünnow's

Provincia Arabia, Vol. III, was built in the second century A. D. Nabataean inscriptions were still carved in this country in the second century, as we have seen in the commentary on no. 27 above. Consequently there is no objection to the theory that a Nabataean inscription should indicate the seat of a prominent native in the Greco-Roman theater of Boṣrā.

This theory would, however, be abandoned altogether if the true reading of l. 2 should be מראנ(א)מלכו; for in the time of king Mālik there was no theater at Boṣrā.



Inscr. 73. Scale 1 : 10.

73. PANEL. On the fragment of a panel found in the castle (theater). The fragment of the inscription is 19 cm. long, the inscribed band is 5 cm. high; the letters are $2\frac{1}{2}$ –3 cm. high.



דא מחר[מתא די ע---

This is the reserved place of . . .

This interpretation is the best that I can offer; but it is by no means certain. The traces of the 𐤓 and the 𐤌 are quite plain, the 𐤍 before the 𐤓 is less certain, although not at all improbable. The following די is partly guessed.

If this interpretation is correct, the stone would have had the same purpose as the one bearing no. 72.

74. STELE. This fragment of a well finished stele with carefully carved letters was found in the Mosque of al-Khiḍr, in the north-east corner of the courtyard north of the mosque. This inscription was also copied by M. van Berchem. The fragment is 51–58 high; the letters are about 11 cm. high. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 74.
Scale 1 : 20.

עבד-אש
בר גרמו

*ʿAbd-Isis (or: ʿAsad?),
son of Garm.*

The first name is of considerable interest. Since it is doubtful whether there was an 𐤓 , or 𐤓 or a י after the ש , or no letter at all, the second element of this theophorous name may either be Isis or the problematic “lion-god”. That Isis was worshipped by Nabataeans and Ṣafaitic Arabs was shown by Prof. Lidzbarski in his interpretation of the Nabataean עלימתאם (*Eph.* II, p. 267, l. 14) and of the Ṣafaitic עבד-אם (*ib.*, 353, l. 23). For the “lion-god”, see above the commentary on no. 27. — For the name of the father, *Garm*, see above no. 68.

75. STELE. Over the door of the courtyard of a modern house, to the west of the Mosque of 'Omar, about 60 paces from its north-west corner. This stone came originally from the *maḵbarat ish-shuhada*, the cemetery to the southwest of the city, as the owner of the house told me. He had put it in its present position when he built the house, three years before that time. Height of stone 46-48 cm.; width 31 cm.; thickness: 5-12 cm. Height of letters: 8-16 cm.



Inscr. 75. Scale 1:10.

שערא	<i>Sa'd-al-</i>
לדי בר	<i>lāhi, son of</i>
עוה	<i>Ghauth.</i>

For the first name, see above no. 20; for the second, above no. 32.

76. This stone was found high up in a modern wall, about the middle of the town; this wall is part of a building facing the street which leads from the Mosque of 'Omar to the south. No measurements could be taken. The stone was estimated to be about 65 cm. high and about 25 cm. wide.



Inscr. 76.

[אמ]	[<i>Am-</i>]
תלת ב	<i>at-allāt, the</i>
....רת	<i>daughter of.....</i>

The reading of this fragment is very uncertain. But since the latter part of the first name, i. e. לת, is clear and since the traces of a ת, viz. its left shaft, and of a מ, viz. its lower part, may be recognized, I do not hesitate to propose *אמתלת* as the most plausible restoration. For this name see above no. 4.

77. STELE. On a stele, standing in the ground, in the *maḵbarat ish-shuhada*, the above named old Mohammedan cemetery situated to the southwest of the citadel. The stone projects 60 cm. above the soil and has an average width of 36-37 cm.; height of inscription: 30 cm.; of first letter 14 cm. — SQUEEZE.

Inscr. 77.
Scale 1:20.

ליון בר	<i>Leon, son</i>
ענמן	<i>of Ghānim(?)</i>

The first name is not found anywhere else. It may be a transliteration of the Latin name *Leo*, in its Greek form *Leon*, as e. g. in *P.E.* III, no. 29; cf. also no. 32;

furthermore *Λεοντιος* in no. 47 and *Λεοντις* in nos. 281, 282. Other examples of *Λεοντιος* are to be found in *Wadd.-Chab.*, s.v. 'Asad "lion" was a favorite name among the Arabs; therefore the Greek forms just cited are apt to be translations of 'Asad. On the other hand, *ליון* might be a true Arabic name derived from the root *لوى*. The name of the father, if correctly read, is well known, but it is uncertain how to vocalize it in every case: it may be pronounced Ghānim, Ghanm, or Ghannām, exactly as the Ṣafaītic *ענם*. For in Greek it is rendered *Ανεμος*, *Wadd.-Chab.*, *Eph.* I, II, s.v.; *P.E.* III, no. 146; *Ουρες* *Wadd.* 2049; and *Ανναμος*, cf. above p. 1.

78. STELE. In the same place as no. 77. Height of stone above ground: 74 cm.; width 40 cm. Height of inscription 19 cm.



Inscr. 78.
Scale 1:20.

עמסו (עמסו) 'Amās (or: Ghamt).

The third letter has a very unusual shape. It resembles a certain form of the *𐤄* used especially in the Ḥaurān country. If it really is a *𐤄*, the name would be *Ghamt* or *Ghamit*. But an Arabic name derived from the root *عظ* is not known to me. We might then take the doubtful letter to represent a *𐤄*, a letter with which the Nabataean scribes of the Ḥaurān do not seem to have been on very good terms: it occurs in different forms and is generally replaced by *ש*. I would vocalize the name *עמסו* 'Amās, the Arabic *عَمَّاس*, and compare the name 'Umais, given by *I. Dor.* p. 305, l. 12. 'Amās would also correspond exactly to the Biblical Amos; and it may be found in a Nabataean graffito from Egypt, cf. *Eph.* II, p. 268, l. 21. Furthermore Phoenician and Punic names like *מלקרת-עמם*, *אשמן-עמם* might be remembered in this connection.

79. STELE. In the same place. Height of stone above ground: 57 cm.; width: 41 cm. Height of inscription: 37 cm., of letters: 6-12 cm. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 79.
Scale 1:20.

אמת-
לנא ברת
עבד-עמנו 'Amat-
al-Gā', daughter
of 'Abd-'Omān.

The first name contains a new instance of the occurrence of the somewhat enigmatic Nabataean god *al-Gā'*. The fact that this god occurs both with the article *אל* and without it proves that his name must be derived from a root *גא(ה)* or another one similar to it. In Syriac the same name as the present has been known for a long time: there we have *ܓܡܬܐ* (*N.E.*, s.v.), and this corresponds exactly to *Μαθα* in *P.E.* III, no. 215, except that in the latter the beginning *Ν* has been dropped as in *Μαθαβεια* *A.A.E.S.* III, no. 263 and *Νεμασασα* for *Ανασασασα*, *ib.* no. 438. The corresponding masculine name is known to exist in Nabataean inscriptions, i. e. *עבד-אלנא*

in *C.I.S.* II, 157, 173 and in *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 2, l. 2 (where I read עבדלגא); cf. *Rec. A.O.* I, 16; II, 13; VII, 239. Its Greek equivalent would be Αβδαλγας; and this is to be presupposed as the nominative of Αβδαλγας. – In Hebrew נאה means “to rise” and the derivatives of this root denote “lofty, majestic, majesty”. And I am convinced that this is the original meaning of the name of the god *al-Gā* also. In Arabic we find جاعى “to contend with somebody for glory”; in this root a *h* corresponds to the North-Semitic נ. Now in Tigrē the word *ḡah*, signifying “pride, glory” belongs to the same root as נאה and جاعى; and this is also the name of the polar star, given to it on account of its lofty position in the sky, of which this star boasted in his song: “And on the heavenly firmament prominent am I”; cf. *Publ. Princet. Exped. to Abyssinia*, Vol. II, p. 63. Perhaps *al-Gā* was an astral deity.

The second name of this inscription is עבד-עמנו. I first thought of ‘Abd-Ammōn and believed that the Egyptian god of this name was to be found here. Although in that case we would expect עבד-אמנו, this would be no serious objection to that theory; for in Semitic as well as in Egyptian ע has often the power of changing a following or preceding נ into ע, as I showed in *Aegypt. Zeitschr.* 47, p. 62–64 following an article by Prof. Erman, *ibid.* 46, p. 96–104. But עבד-עמנו is written in Greek Αβδοσμανου in an inscription from Dhibān, published in *Z.D.P.-V.* 31 (1908) p. 271. And Ομανου by itself is found in *Wadd.* 2561; though the O in the beginning of this name is not certain. It is therefore more likely that עמנו is the name of a person and that this name is to be explained in the same way as many other Nabataean names in which עבד is followed by the name of a person. According to Αβδοσμανου and Ομανου we should vocalize עמנו ‘Omān (or ‘Umān).

80. STELE. In the same place, lying on the ground. The upper, inscribed part is well finished; it is 57 cm. high; while the lower, rough part has a height of 40 cm.

Width of the stone: 41 cm. Height of letters 10–22 cm. – SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 80. Scale 1 : 10.

שושנת Sūsannat,
ברת שׁע daughter of Sū-
יד aid.



Ill. 9. Cast of inscription no. 80.

The name שושנת “lily” is new in Nabataean. I transcribe Sūsannat with *s* although the Egyptian original and the Hebrew-Aramaic forms have a *sh* instead, because in Arabic the lily is called *sausan* or *sūsan*. The Greek equivalent of this name occurs not only in the Old Testament but also in some inscriptions; cf. Σωσαν(νη) *P.E.* III, no. 268, Σωσαννα in Beersheba,

Rev. Bibl. 1903, 425 a.o.; Σουζαννας (gen.) in Jerusalem, *Z.D.P.-V.* XIII (1889) p. 195.

The name of the father of Susanna is most probably *Su'aid*. The ט, however, has an uncommon form and resembles more a ט. But since Σουδός and Σουιδός occur in this region according to *Wadd.-Chab.* and *P.E.* III, no. 36. l. 2 and since שיעידן is known to be a Nabataean name in *C.I.S.* II, 176, 209 (= *M.A.A.* nab. no. 36), 220 (= *ibid.* 10), I prefer the reading given above, all the more as no Arabic name is known to me derived from سبط or شبط. It seems then that the hand of the carver was not particularly lucky when carving this letter.



Inscr. 81. Scale 1:10.

81. STELE. In the same place. Height of the stone above the ground: 69 cm.; height of inscription 50 cm. Width of stone: 38 cm. Height of letters 8–12 cm.

תמני	Tamanni-
ת ברת	yat, daughter
ואלו	of Wā'il.

The name תמני "wish, desire" would be a suitable name for a girl; but I have not found its equivalent in Greek or Arabic nor do I know another instance of it in Nabataean. In Tigrē a similar name exists in the form *Temnūt*; cf. *Publ. Princet. Exp. to Abyss.*, vol. II, p. 187, no. 927. In a Hebrew inscription Prof. Mittwoch found the name תמני; cf. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1912, pp. 719–720. And from modern Arabic *Temennôhā* is known; cf. Hess, *l.c.*, p. 49. I do not believe that תמנית should be read *Tēmānāyt*, meaning "a woman from Taima"; for in that case it ought to have been written תמימנית as in מנבוגינתא (*Rec. A.O.* IV, 99 sqq. and *Eph.* II, 195), and in מונינתא (*C.I.S.* II, 216). – The name of the father was very common in Syria and Arabia; cf. *N.E.*, *Eph.* II, *P.A.* I, *M.A.A.*, *s.v.*, and the Ṣafaitic ואל. Its Greek equivalent is known to be Ουαελος.



82. STELE. In the same place. Height of stone above ground: 50 cm. Width 25 cm. Average height of letters 18 cm. – SQUEEZE.

אמת[לת ברת	[^ʿ Amat-al]lāt, daughter of
אנתת עב, the] wife of ^ʿ Ab-
דו בר עבד-ע	[d, son of ^ʿ A]bd- ^ʿ O-
בדת	[bodat].

The above given restoration is not altogether certain. In l. 1 I have supplied only 3 letters, whereas in ll. 2 and 3 at least 5 letters, must be supplied: but this may be accounted for by the fact that the letters in l. 1 were larger than in the other lines. In l. 2 a short name like תימו, גרמו, or עבדו etc. is to be read. If then five letters are missing in l. 2, the same number would be missing in l. 3, since the letters are of the same size in both lines: such a lacuna would be filled by the reading indicated. For אמתלת see above no. 4; for עבד-עבדת above no. 42.

83. STELE. On a stele lying on a stone-fence, to the north-west of the *maḵbarat ish-shuhada*, beyond the path which passes by here. The surface of the stone is very rough; not even the inscribed place has been finished. Height, on the left: 78 cm., on the right: 58 cm.; width at the top: 40 cm.; at the bottom 37 cm., in the middle 47 cm. Height of letters: 5–12 cm. – SQUEEZE.



אילמי 'Ailamī(?),
בר נשלו son of Nasl.

Inscr. 83. Scale 1 : 20.

In the first line the reading is not certain. The first letter is an א, then follows a letter which can hardly be anything else but a י; after that the ל is certain, but the fourth letter may be כב or a מ. The last letter is the same as the second, and accordingly I take it to be another י. The name אילמי would be new in Nabataean. It may be a shortening of אעילמי (Ααιλαμει), a well known name in Palmyrene: it would have been shortened by haplology as e.g. Αβδισααρ in *M.S.M.* p. 272, no. 93 for Αβδισααρ, cf. Cl.-Gann., *Ét.* II, p. 33, and מרבאל in *C.I.S.* II, 306 B (= *M.A.A.* nab. no. 99) for מרבאל. But perhaps אילמי might also be an ethnicum derived from a place called אילם; such a place might be אילם in Ex. 15, 27; 16, 1, an oasis in Arabia Petraea, generally identified with Wādī Gharandel. For the name of the father, *Nasl*, see above no. 3.

84. STELE. On a stele standing in the ground to the west of the ruined building called Mazār ish-Shēkh Mûsa, which is situated to the south of the citadel. Height above ground: 70 cm.; width 29 cm.; thickness: 12 cm. Height of letters: 7–13 cm. – SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 84.
Scale 1 : 20.

חשנו Ḥusn,
ברת עד daughter of 'Adhr.
רו



Ill. 10. Cast of inscription no. 84.

The name Ḥusn has been met with above in no. 21. For the name 'Adhr, see above no. 5.

85. STELE. In the same place, as no. 84, to the east of the ruined building. Height of stone above the ground: 56 cm.; width 42 cm.; thickness 14 cm. Height of letters: 10–16 cm. Both no. 84 and no. 85 have well finished faces, and their letters are well cut; but they are covered with lichen. – SQUEEZE.



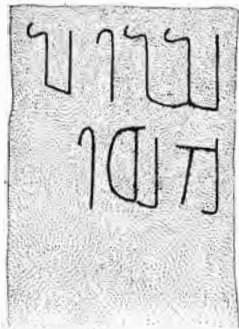
Inscr. 85. Scale 1:10.

מראת ברת
משכו *Māri'at, daughter
of Māsik.*

In this inscription all the letters that can be joined in Arabic script are connected with each other. The way of connecting the ש with a preceding letter has been spoken of above in no. 11.

The name מראת is new in Nabataean; it is one of the many Semitic prototypes of our Martha. An exact transliteration into Greek is found in Μαριαθη *P.E.* III, 405; cf. also Μαρηθη *Wadd.* 2104 and the diminutive form Μορεθη (*Murai'at*) *P.E.* III, nos. 294 and 328. — For משכו, see above no. 38.

86. STELE. On a stele standing in the ground, in the cemetery near the Mosque il-Membrak. It is used as the end-stone of a Mohammedan tomb and faces west; the upper part of its face is well finished. Height above ground: 69 cm.; width 35½ cm.; thickness 11 cm. Height of letters 11½–12½ cm.



Inscr. 86. Scale 1:10.

בכרו בר
הנא *Bakr, son of
Hāni'.*

The name Bakr is quite frequent in Nabataean and Sinaïtic inscriptions as it is in Arabic; cf. *N.E.*, p. 246 s.v. Its Greek equivalent is Βακρον, *P.E.* III, no. 37. For the name Hāni', see above no. 46.

87. In the same place, near the south-east corner of the mosque. The inscription faces west. Height of stone above the ground: 53 cm.; width 40 cm.; average thickness: 16 cm. Height of letters: 8–15 cm.



Inscr. 87. Scale 1:10.

אחמו
בר רמאק *ʾĀthim,
son of Ramak(?).*

On the first name, ʾĀthim, see above no. 46. — There

is some doubt about the reading of the second name. Its first letter may, of course, be a \aleph or a η . The traces of the third letter seem to indicate a κ ; but they might perhaps represent the right part of a σ similar to the σ in no. 27, or again a very small λ . If we read a κ , a ι would probably have to be supplied at the end; if we read σ , $\rho\mu\sigma$ or $\rho\mu\sigma$ might be a complete name; if we read λ , a ι might be restored after it. As it seems to me, $\rho\mu\kappa\iota$ is the most probable reading; this name would be the Arabic *ar-Ramak*, mentioned in *I. Dor.*, p. 270, ll. 6 sqq. On the other hand, if the reading $\rho\mu\kappa\iota$ is preferred, the name might be traced back to the Babylonian; for, as we see from Prof. Ranke's list (p. 78), there are quite a number of names derived from this root. And the same root is to be found even in Abyssinian languages; cf. *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* xxv, p. 321.

88. STELE. In the same place as no. 87, also facing west. Height of stone above ground: 47 cm.; width 32 cm. Height of letters: 6-11 cm.



עמר
בר הנא

Amr,
son of Hāni'.

Of עמר the same is to be said as of בכר in no. 86; cf. the indices in *N.E.*, *R.A.O.* III, *Ephem.* II. It may be read *Amr* or *Amir*; the first has its equivalent in $\alpha\mu\rho\sigma$, *P.E.* III nos. 123, 379 a. o.; the second in $\alpha\mu\rho\sigma$ *P.E.* III, no. 407, 410. For both names see also *Wadd.-Chab.*, *Ephem.* I, II, s. vv. It should be remembered that these Greek names may also be renderings of אמרן. — For *Hāni'*, see above no. 46.

89. STELE. This stele was found in a stone-fence to the east of the town, along the road which leads from the *Birkat il-Hadjdj* to the isolated building, where no. 90 was found, about midway between the town and this building, to the left of the road as you leave the town. The lower part of the stele is very rough, the upper, inscribed part of its face is partly finished. Height of stone: 83 cm., of lower, rough part: 53 cm.; width: 25-29 cm.; thickness: 12 cm. Height of letters: 9-12 cm.



חבת
ת משרת

Habbat, daughter
of Masadat.

Scale 1:20.

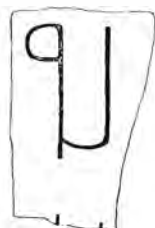
Inscr. 89.

Scale 1:10.

We have here a case in which חבת is certainly a feminine name. It is therefore probable that Prof. Lidzbarski was right in considering the Palmyrene $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\theta\alpha$ as a feminine name also; cf. his discussion in *Ephem.* II, p. 314. — The second name

is also new. Its Greek equivalent is *Μασσαδαν* *Wadd.* 2084, and it is probably to be derived from the Arabic *masad* "rope of fibres or leather". If the Greek form were not given, the Nabataean name might just as well be read *Mashrat* or even in other ways.

90. FRAGMENT. On a fragment lying near a small isolated ruin, to the east of the city, on the road to Burd. The stone is highly finished, and the letters are well carved. It probably belonged to the building near which it was found. This structure was rebuilt in Mohammedan times and used as a shrine. It had a *mīhrāb* with a Roman concha on the south side and a door on each of the other sides; over the west door there is a window consisting of small holes. The fragment is 32–34 cm. high, at the top 22 cm., at the bottom 16 cm. wide, and 16 cm. thick. The letters are $19\frac{1}{2}$ and $21\frac{1}{2}$ cm. high.



Inscr. 90.
Scale 1 : 10.

... [וה]בו [Wah]b (?) . . .

I believe that the two letters בו are the end of a proper name; in that case [וה]בו would perhaps be the most natural restoration, but names like הרבו, רבו, חבו are equally possible. A reading like [קר]בו "they offered" seems to me less likely, since the height of the letters and the thickness of the stone point to the conclusion that the stone was originally a well executed stele. In that case the ruined structure may have been a built Nabataean tomb with stelae in front of it, like the tomb in Umm idj-Djimāl; see above pp. 52 sqq.

91. On a much weathered stele lying in a stone-fence on the road from Boṣrā to il-Bezāyiz at the point where the road leaves the small alleys between the fences and enters the open fields. Height of stone: 80 cm. (maximum); width 35–38 cm. Height of legible letters 12–13 cm.



Inscr. 91.
Scale 1 : 20.

והרו Witr,
... בר son of ... (?)

On the name *Witr*, see above no. 19. It is uncertain whether the name of the father was given also; for the traces of letters in l. 2 are very indistinct.

IL-MU'ARRIBEH.

92. STELE. This stele had been cut into a lintel and was placed, face downward, over the door of a peasant's house in the southern part of the village, near the centre of the southside. The whole stone measures 90 × 32 cm., the sunken space measures



53 × 13 cm. Height of Greek letters in l. 1 : 10 cm.; in ll. 2 and 3 : 5 cm.; height of Nabataean letters : 11–14¹/₂ cm.

Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé, pp. 380 sqq.

The Greek inscription is to be read

Υφφαλ[ος] Θαι[μ]ου.

The Nabataean :

חפלו בר Huffāl(?), son of
תמון Taim.

The first name admits of several interpretations. If the reading חפלו were certain, the name is to be derived from the Arabic root حَفَلَ, as I proposed in the *Florilegium de Vogüé*, p. 381: then

Inscr. 92. Scale 1 : 10. Huffāl might be equivalent to حَفَالٌ "multitude", and it would have been given to the boy by parents wishing that his offspring might be numerous. Prof. Nöldeke thought of identifying Υφφαλος with Ḥafwal, which in Arabic means a certain small insect.

Again Prof. Spiegelberg suggested to me that Υφφαλος might be a variant of Ἰππαλος, a Greek name commonly used in Egypt. In that case the Nabataean should be read חפלו; this would not be impossible, since the first letter may also be a ה and since the last letter is destroyed.

KHARABĀ.

93. LINTEL. This inscription is on a lintel partly cut away, in the house of the *khūrī*. The stone is in its present condition 1.18 m. long and 40 cm. high. The inscription is 85 cm. long; the letters are 12–14 cm. high.

C.I.S. II, no. 181. — *M.S.M.*, p. 313, no. 18. — *Rép.* no. 481. — *Ephem.* II, 256.



מקברת עבישת בר ודו

Tomb of 'Obaishat, son of Wadd.

Inscr. 93. Scale 1 : 20.

This inscription was correctly read by M. Dussaud. For the name 'Obaishat, see above no. 26. The name *Wadd* is very frequent in Sinaïtic inscriptions; cf. *N.E.*, p. 262, s. v. In Ṣafaitic it is somewhat rarer, but there we find the fuller form ודאל also. The Greek equivalents are Ουαδδου *Wadd.* 1769 and Ουαδδηλου *ib.* 2372.

This funerary inscription was on the lintel of a built tomb, as the stone shows. The word מקברתא has been commented upon in *A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, p. 92.

DJEMARRÎN.

94. STELE(?). This fragment was found in the pavement of a courtyard, near the south-wall of the building called *Ḳaṣr ish-sharkî*. Height of fragment: 29 cm.; width: 52 cm. Height of letters: $7\frac{1}{2}$ –12 cm. — SQUEEZE.



Inscr. 94. Scale 1:10.

עבדו בר ^ʿ*Abd*(?), son of
עבדרכאל ^ʿ*Abd-Rabb-ʿel*.

Both names are well known in Nabataean epigraphy; cf. the indices in *N.E.*, *P.A.* I, *Ephem.* II, *M.A.A.* The former occurs also in Greek inscriptions in the form Αβδος, Αβδου, *Wadd.* 2008, 2447, and with the article Αλαβδου, *P.E.* III, no. 275.

ḤEBRÂN.

95. LINTEL(?) On a stone found in the parapet, on the left side of the door in the second storey of a house, north of the house of the *shêkh*. The stone is very rough, scarcely smoothed, and it does not look as if it ought to have an inscription. Height of stone 24–25 cm., length: 95–99 cm. Height of letters: 5–10 cm.



Inscr. 95. Scale 1:10.

[ד]י רמו בכר(ו) עוידו שלמו ועב
דלת

Tentative interpretation:

Of Rām(?), *Bakr*(?), *ʿAwīdh*, *Salm* and *ʿAbd-allāt*(?).

If the interpretation of a difficult passage yields only proper names, its correctness may easily be suspected. But it seems indeed that this was the case here, although I do not deny that the beginning and the end might be read differently: however, I fail to discover a better reading than the one given above. The name עוידו, at least, is beyond question. The next word might be שלם "Peace", but the following ן makes this reading improbable; then שלמו is a name also. The letters after this are all uncertain: the first seems to be an attempt at a ן, the second an incomplete ע, the third would be a כ attached to a line which may be accidental, if the curve is not to be read together with the straight line thus representing a ך. The three letters in l. 2

seem to be דות or דות; but the small stroke at the top of the second letter may be a break in the stone, and the letter itself would then be a ל. At the beginning the letters ירמו or ירמו are also certain, but their interpretation presents some difficulties. After them (בכר) may be recognized, but this reading is far from certain.

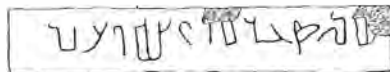
The names would probably indicate that their bearers were buried in the tomb to which the stone originally belonged, as was perhaps the case in no. 106. Before the [ד] a word like מקברה might be supplied. On the other hand these names may represent some association of men who built a house or a public building together, as in a number of Greek inscriptions which begin with ἐπὶ προνοίας and after that give names of men.

On the single names the following may be said. The name רמן occurs also in *M.A.A. nab.* no. 186; it would be, of course, a short form derived from רמאל. For בכר, see above no. 86; for עויד, no. 38; for שלמו, no. 45, and the Greek Σαλμου, Σαλεμου, *Ephem.* II, s. v. This name may be read Salm or Sālim or Sallām. The last name may be the same as Αβδαλαθας found in an inscription from Umm il-ʿŌsidj, published in *P.E.F., Qu. St.* 1895, p. 47, no. 14. But unfortunately עבדלת is very doubtful here.

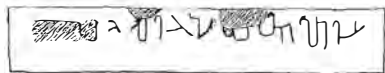
SAHWIT IL-KHIDR.

96. ALTAR(?). On the capital of a column standing now in front of the sanctuary of il-Khidr. The letters are thin and not very deep, and sometimes rather carelessly carved. The inscribed fascia is 10 cm. high and 59 cm. long. The spaces occupied by the legible letters are as follows: A: 56 cm.; B: 46 cm.; C: 40 cm.; D: 14 cm. — SQUEEZES.

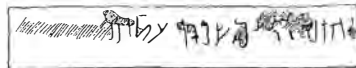
C.I.S., II, p. 188. — *V.A.S.*, p. 161, no. 30. — *Rec. A.O.*, IV, p. 181. — *Ephem.*, I, p. 329.



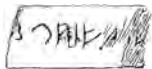
A דנה מסגדא די בנה ועבר



B עותו הפרכא בר גומא [בבת]



C חלה די במשפת עינת [ל. . .]



D [מלכא מלך נבטן] שנת xv [לה]

Inscr. 96. Scale 1 : 10.

- A This is the sanctuary which was built and made
 B by Ghauth the hipparch, the son of Gūmā, [in the house]
 C of Hallāh(?), who dwells in Mspt. (He asked) protection(?) [for . . .]
 D [the king, the king of the Nabataeans(?)], in [his] 15th year.

This inscription has been published several times, but very little progress has been

made beyond the reading of the first 5 or 6 words. After a careful study of the original, my copy, squeeze and photograph, I believe I am able to give a more complete interpretation of this document, although in the case of several words there still remains some doubt.

The reading of A was established beyond doubt by MM. Dussaud and Macler. In B עותו has been read. The following word is הפרכא; only the ה and the פ are entirely preserved, but of the other letters the lower halves can be distinguished with

certainty. After this I read בר, of which the ר is plain; for it is customary in Nabataean inscriptions to place the title between the name of the titled person and the word בר, as we see e. g. from עידו הפרכא בר עכידו *C.I.S.*, II, 121 (= *M.A.A.* p. 180, no. 20), l. 1, a. o. The name of the father is גומא, as far as I can make out. But גומי is also possible. The last letter resembles the final א used in the inscriptions from Hegra, but perhaps it should be a final י as in the word חיי of the inscription of Syllaos; however, we would then have three different forms of the final י in this inscription; cf. די in A and די in C. After גומא a ב is visible, but the following letters are altogether uncertain: I restore [בבת] according to no. 27, l. 2, where the same word is probably to be read before the name of the deity. This deity I take in our present inscription to be הלה. The first ה is intact, the final ה is restored with certainty, since the left end of the upper slanting line is seen projecting beyond the lower curved part. The ל is unusual; but since we would have to choose between ל, נ, ז, ו and ל I prefer to read ל, because it enables us to recognize a suitable and intelligible word. Then follows די: the ד



Ill. 11. Altar containing inscription no. 96.

is partly preserved, the י has a form very similar to the final י in the inscriptions from Hegra. The next word is במשפת, or possibly במשפן. If we read משפת we must assume that what appears to be the upper curve of the נ is only an accidental depression in the stone; if we read משפן we must suppose that the chisel slipped and made a line projecting at the top of the נ. The last word in this line begins with a clear ע. The following letter looks like a ט. If this were the true reading we would have to combine this word with the preceding, and perhaps compare משפת עטרת with עטרת in the Mesha^c-Inscription, the Biblical עֲטָרוֹת, to-day 'Attârûs. But I have a strong suspicion that the second letter is only a large י, turned over a little to the left. Then we would have עירת or עירת: the first would be عِيَارَةٌ*, the second غِيَارَةٌ*. Since עירת occurs frequently in the Ṣafaitic inscriptions meaning "help" or "protection" I should

read this word in the same way here, assuming, of course, that here, as in many others cases, a word of the spoken Arabic language had crept into the written Aramaic language. But even if we read عَبَاذَةٌ "seeking refuge", the sense of the passage would not be essentially altered.

In D, it is true, there is no space for the name of a king after the date. It has therefore been suggested by M. Clerm.-Ganneau that the name of the king should be restored in the obliterated part of D and לַה supplied after the number. This is not at all unlikely. Then the donor would have asked "protection" from the deity for his king. But it is not necessary to suppose that this inscription was carved during the time of the independent Nabataean kings. The author may have written e. g. "in the year XV", scil. of the era of Boṣrā, or, else, this era may be given in the abbreviated form לַה. Again the word לַהפּרְכִּיָּא might have been omitted because there was no room for it. In that case the protection of the deity would have been invoked by Ghauth for himself and his family or his friends. We have no means of deciding this question: the traces of letters before the word שְׁנַת may be a remnant of טו, i. e. נבטו, but they may also be something entirely different.

There are several other points connected with this document, that need some elucidation. For the name עִוְתוֹ, see above no. 32. But גּוּמִי or גּוּמָא is not known from any other source. It would be, in any case, a hypocoristic form, like כּוּמִי Eph. II, p. 253, l. 13, and it may be combined with Γουμος P.E. III, no. 336, although I believe that the latter is a Greek rendering of the Ṣafaitic גּוּמָה Gumḥ, or Gumah as in I. Dor. p. 73, l. 11.

The word הַפּרְכָּא should, I think, be interpreted "hipparch", not "eparch". We do not know what an "eparch" may have been in Nabataean, if they knew the word at all during the time of their independence; after the year 106 A. D., in Nabataean "eparch" would have denoted the same as ἐπαρχος, = *praefectus*; cf. D. Magie *De Romanorum juris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis*, p. 25. But since in some inscriptions from Hegra a הַפּרְכָּא and an אֶסְרִתְגָּנָא "strategos" are mentioned together, as in C.I.S. II, 214 (= M.A.A. nab. no. 32) and in M.A.A. no. 6, I think that the former refers to a "general of cavalry" and the latter to a "general of infantry".

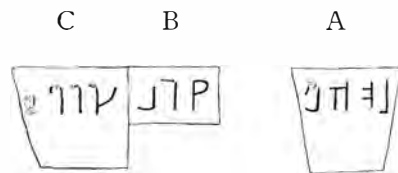
The word מִסְגָּדָא is generally translated "altar" or "cult-stone". This is undoubtedly true in most cases. But it seems to me that here it must mean something more because of the word בְּנָה "he built". Our inscription is not in situ, although probably very near its original place. The monument on which it was carved was a low column with a capital of the form styled by Mr. Butler the "Nabataean capital". This column took the place of a pillar-like cult-stone as e. g. above no. 38. Now מִסְגָּדָא might refer to this column only, as it refers to the pillar-altars. But then the word עֵבֶר would have been sufficient and בְּנָה would be superfluous. I believe therefore that in our case מִסְגָּדָא, "the place" or "the object of worship", means the sanctuary with its column-altar.

It would be very interesting to find a god הֵלָה here. One might rather expect הֵלָת or אֵלָת, but the two ה are certain as I have said above. This form must have been taken from the Ṣafaitic Arabic. A "general of cavalry" might very well have had his origin among the Bedawin of the Ṣafā. If that was the case, the use of the word עִירָת would be all the more natural. But then מִשְׁפַּח must be some locality in the country to the

east or to the south of the Ḥaurān. We would then have here another example of the worship of Allāh (Hallāh) among the pre-Islamic Arabs, a fact to which Prof. Wellhausen called attention long ago.

The date of our inscription is not later than 123–124 A. D.; i. e. if we read **בשנת** XVIII. But it may be also 55 or 90 A. D., if we read **בשנת** XV **לה** and supply either **מלכו** or **רבאל**.

97. FRAGMENT. On the broken abacus of a capital lying in a modern courtyard, west of the sanctuary of il-Khiḍr, about one third of the way up the hill. Fragment B and C join together; there is a corner between them. The whole is very badly broken.



Inscr. 97. Scale 1 : 10.

[דנה חמנא די] קרב בדרו בר

*This is the fire-[altar (?)] which
was offered by Badr, [son of]*

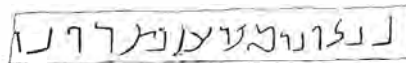
This seems to me the most plausible reading that can be obtained from these few fragments. On the word **חמנא** see above p. 26–27; this inscription would then have been on a smaller column-altar near the larger “fire-altar”, and **חמנא** would here include cult-stone and fire-altar, as **מסנדה** in no. 96 seems to include cult-stone and sanctuary. The ruins of Sahwit il-Khiḍr offer scarcely any material for reconstruction; everything has been badly destroyed and rebuilt. Mr. Butler was unable to discover the plan of a Nabataean temple; but our inscription and the fact that even to-day there is a much revered sanctuary in the village prove that there was a temple in Nabataean times too. – For the name **בדרו** cf. above no. 70.

MELAḤ IṢ-ṢARRĀR.

98. LINTEL (?). On a fragment used as the door-sill of a modern stable, facing a small courtyard. The complex of buildings to which this stable belongs is entered through the second door to the right as you enter the town from the south by the street between the two towers. I enquired after the second fragment of this inscription, but I was told by the owner of the stable that it had been lost after M. Dussaud's visit. My copy was carefully compared with the original three days after it had been made. The fragment is 64 cm. long, the inscribed fascia 8 cm. high, the lintel is 15 cm. high. Height of letters $4\frac{1}{2}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

M.S.M., p. 307, no. 4. – *Rép.* no. 467. – *Ephem.* II, p. 252.

The small fragment, copied by M. Dussaud, *l.c.*, is to be read before the longer one; and the whole I interpret as follows



Inscr. 98. Scale 1 : 10.

[דא נפשא די] עבד וננה | בניו בר מידע לנצרו ברה

*[This is the tomb which] was made and built by Bunaiy,
son of Maida, for Naṣr, his son.*

The word עבר in M. Dussaud's copy is not quite certain; but I believe it is the most plausible reading, for on account of the following ן before בנה another verb is required. This formula "he made and built" means probably that the author of the inscription not only gave orders that the monument should be built, but also watched its progress and saw it finished.

The name בניו was also suggested by Prof. Lidzbarski. It is the Arabic *bunaiy* "little son", and probably the same as בני in Nabataean, Palmyrene and Ṣafaitic; cf. *N.E.*, and *M.S.M.*, *s.v.v.* But the latter may also correspond to Βανιος, *Wadd.* 2268, *P.E.* III, nos. 209, 220, *Eph.* II, p. 331, no. 86, modern Arabic *Bânz*, cf. Hess, *l.c.*, p. 13. — In מידע I see a derivative of the root ידע, which in Aramaic is often used in nomenclature and which in Arabic is represented by ايدع; cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 202. Its Greek equivalent is the nominative of Μαιδας, *Wadd.* 2323, and perhaps also Μηδευς, *Wadd.* 2556, if the latter was restored correctly. The name נצרו is shortened from נצראל or נצראלדי; cf. *P.A.* I, *s.v.v.* and *N.E.*, p. 502, *s.v.* In Ṣafaitic נצר and נצראל are known; in Greek inscriptions we find Νασρος *P.E.* III, no. 122, whereas Νασερος, *Wadd.-Chab.*, *s.v.*, *P.E.* III, no. 278, is probably to be pronounced *Nāsir*.

The form of the stone of which these fragments were found indicates a lintel: this lintel then was originally over the entrance to a built tomb, and a part of it serves now as the door-sill of a poor stable.

99. STELE. On a stele placed, face down, as a lintel over the narrow, low entrance to a small modern room. This room faces south and belongs to a complex of buildings on the other side of the street from which no. 98 is reached. Entering the town by the street between the two towers one enters this complex through the second or third door on the left and passes through two courtyards. Height of stone: 68 cm.; width: 19 cm. Height of letters: 4–10½ cm.



Inscr. 99.
Scale 1:10.

עוה	Ghauth-
אל בר	ʿel, son of
נהו	Nahu(?).

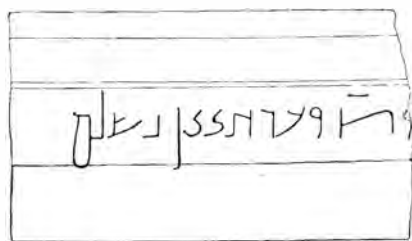
The man for whom this stele was set up came perhaps from the region of the Ṣafā; this would be very natural since the stone was found on the eastern slope of the Ḥaurân mountains. His own name occurs in Nabataean and in Ṣafaitic; cf. *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 103, 109 (= *C.I.S.* II, 298) and the Ṣafaitic עוהאל which probably is a diminutive Ghuwaith-ʿel. Another form of this name is עוהאלדי in Sinaïtic, *Eut.* no. 72, and Nabataean, *P.A.* I, *s.v.*; this form is rendered in Greek by *Λυθαλλας, *P.E.* III, no. 504. For the abbreviated form עוה, see above no. 32. But the name of the father is not found elsewhere except in Ṣafaitic. There might be some doubt about its reading: in the present inscription it may be להו or נהו, and in *D.M.* 54 the ן, in *D.M.* 267 the ן is not quite certain; taken all in all, however, נהו is the

best reading. The name is to be derived from the Arabic نَهَو "to be prudent". It is possible that the name Νέων, which is a good Greek name, was chosen by the soldier in *P.E.* III, no. 349, when he entered the army, because his original Semitic name was *Nahu*.

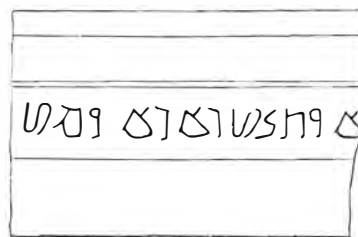
Si.

100. TEMPLE. 33/32-13/12 (or -2/1) B. C. On a fragment of the architrave of the portico in the fore-court of the temple of Ba'al-Shamīn. This fragment was not found by the American Expedition of 1899-1900, and in my former publication I gave a drawing after M. de Vogüé's copy. The drawing published herewith was made to scale, after my copy of the original and after a squeeze. Height of fragment: 37 cm.; height of fasciae, bands and fillets, beginning at the bottom: 12, 12, 1½, 6½, 5 cm. Width at the top 55 cm., at the bottom 50 cm. Height of letters: 4-5 cm. - SQUEEZE.

A.A.E.S., Pt. IV, pp. 85 sqq. and the literature quoted there. - *Rev. Bibl.* 1904, p. 581 - *Ephem.* II, p. 257.



Inscr. 100. (End of inscription.) Scale 1:10.



Inscr. 100. Scale 1:10.

After the long discussion which I devoted to this inscription in *A.A.E.S.*, IV, *l.c.*, it is unnecessary to go into details here. I only wish to call attention to the points in which my first interpretation needs correction.

First of all it was seen from the new fragment found by the Dominican fathers in 1903, that the text was not complete. Moreover it was found by the Princeton Expedition of 1904-1905 that there were no watch-towers in the fore-court of the great temple. The new fragment which contains the date was placed by Prof. Lidzbarski before the last fragment (in my numbering, *Fragm. H*). In my opinion there is no doubt that these two fragments belong together: for the top of the sign for 100 (q) is to be seen in the new fragment, whereas its lower part appears in the squeeze of *Fragm. H* in the *C.I.S.* Prof. Lidzbarski is also right in stating that the sign after the q cannot be a n, but is either a sign indicating that the figures have come to an end or a figure denoting the number "eleven". The last three words are a *crux interpretum*. It is scarcely possible to make the words ועד חיין בשלם mean "and he passed his life in peace!", although this would be a very suitable end for this memorial and honorary inscription. For I believe firmly that Malikat died before the temple was completed, particularly as it took such a long time to build it; the doubts expressed in *Rép.*, no. 803, seem to me without any foundation. On the other hand עד might here have the same meaning as עדין in Hebrew, عا in modern Arabic and 𐤍𐤌 in Tigrē, viz. "yet, still". Then עד חיין would mean "those who are still living". The word בשלם would probably mean "may they be in peace"; this expression is similar to that

found in *C.I.S.* II, 291. With the fragment published by the Dominicans the inscription would now read as follows.

דכרון טב למליכת בר אושו בר מעירו די הו בנה על בעלשמין בירתא גויתא ובירתא
בריתא ותיטרא דא ומט[ללתה]... שנת 280 עד שנת 300 (311?) ועד חיון בשלם

In pious remembrance of Malikat, the son of 'Aus, the son of Mughaiyir, who built for Ba'al-Shamīn the inner temple and the outer temple and this portico and its covering ... [from] the year 280 until the year 300 (311?). May those who still live be in peace(?)!

In the lacuna indicated above there may have been words like "And this happened (was done, was built) from" i. e. the year 280. For the structures mentioned are all the prominent parts of the great temple of Ba'al-Shamīn. These parts are given in a logical order starting from the innermost part. The "inner temple" is the square inner cella, the "Holy of Holies"; and I think this expression is synonymous with ארבענא, above no. 2. Therefore the preposition על is very justly used; for the temple would be "over" the place where the deity dwelt. The "outer temple" is the second cella built around the inner sanctuary. The תיטרא must here mean, as I have proposed in *A.A.E.S.* IV, p. 89, the "portico", and מטללתה "its covering" corresponds to the word תטלילא in Palmyrene inscriptions; instances of the latter are quoted in *N.E.* p. 283, s.v.

A full description of the temples at Si^c will be found in Div. II, Sect. A, Pt. 6 of these Publications. The history of Si^c and its temples becomes more and more vivid and we are gradually enabled to picture to our modern eyes one of the most extensive and beautiful centres of Syrian worship in the times when a new gospel was preached near by in the hills of Galilee and Judaea. And it is noteworthy that the rulers of the country in which the temples of the Nabataean gods were built were Jews, at least when in Judaea, and performed the duties of the law in the temple of Jahwe at Jerusalem. Si^c belonged to Herod, to Philip the Tetrarch, to the two Agrippas. The Nabataeans had settled there before the country was given to Herod; and this is the reason why most of the inscriptions are carved in Nabataean characters, but are not dated in the years of the kings of Nabat. In the period during which Si^c grew to be what it was, the Nabataean kings owned it probably only from 34–37 A.D., i. e. between the death of Philip and the beginning of the reign of Agrippa I. It is known that Philip the Tetrarch was very fond of building large structures. He probably followed with a keen eye and encouraged the building activity of his Nabataean subjects in the Auranitis; but neither he nor any of the other Idumaeen rulers appears as founder of the sanctuary, undoubtedly because of their Jewish subjects. But their statues were set up in the temple at Si^c, as we see e.g. from the inscription *Wadd.* 2364, which was on the base of a statue of Herod. All these facts tend to prove again that the Idumaeen rulers were "Jewish with the Jews" and "Greek with the Greeks": in their provinces outside of Jerusalem they did not show the slightest sign of that religious fanaticism that made the Jews "haters of all mankind".

Whether or not the temple of Ba'al-Shamīn was rebuilt some fifty years after its original construction depends upon the interpretation of the bilingual inscription carved

in honor of the second Malikat, i. e. *C.I.S.*, II, 164, *Wadd.* 2366. It is said of him **הו בנה בירחה עליה**. These words literally translated mean "he built the higher temple". It is possible that this refers to an upper story which he erected on the original temple of Ba'al-Shamīn; and this would perhaps be the most natural interpretation of the strange expression *ὑπεροικοδομησάμενος τὸ ἱερόν*, which is the Greek translation of the Nabataean phrase in question. But at the same time I think that this Nabataean phrase more probably indicates another temple which was built on a higher level than the central temple. If that is true, the younger Malikat would be the founder of the small temple situated higher up near the second fore-court.

101. PEDESTAL. 29/30 A. D. On a pedestal in the shape of an altar found by Mr. Butler in 1909 among the ruins of the temple. This altar had served as the pedestal for a statue. It was broken through the middle, fortunately so that the whole front was preserved. The four corners of the capital were ornamented with lion-heads which were connected by wreaths in high relief: these heads and wreaths are not quite exactly drawn in the reproduction below. Height of inscribed face: 33 cm., width: 42 cm. Height of letters: 3–6 cm. — SQUEEZE. PHOTOGRAPH.



Ill. 12. Pedestal containing inscription no. 101.



Inscr. 101. Scale 1 : 10.

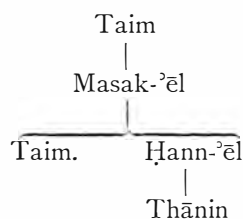
- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| בשנת XXXIII למרנא | 1 | <i>In the year 33 of our lord</i> |
| פלפס עבדו ותרו בר | 2 | <i>Philippos there was made by Wittr, son of</i> |
| בדר וקציו בר שודי | 3 | <i>Budar(?), and Kasiu, son of Sudai,</i> |
| וחנאל בר משכאל ומנע בור | 4 | <i>and Hann'el, son of Masak'el, and Muna(?), so[n] of</i> |
| גרמו כומס צלם גלשו | 5 | <i>Garm, this altar of the statue of Galis,</i> |
| בר בנתו | 6 | <i>the son of Banat(?).</i> |
| אנעם בר עצבו אמנא שלם | 7 | <i>'An'am, son of 'Aṣb, [was] the sculptor. Peace!</i> |

The reading of this most interesting inscription is not doubtful except in two cases. In l. 1 I take the first symbol after the word כשנת to be the sign for 30; for the long curve extending to the left must, as it seems to me, necessarily be a 10. The figure 20 is then represented by the oval shaped sign which looks somewhat like a פ. This reading would date our inscription in the year 29/30 A.D. But if it should be that the long curve is only a meaningless extension of the figure 20, the inscription would have to be dated in the year 19/20 A.D. The other case concerns the last name in l. 3: as ד and ר have the same form, we may read either שורי or שורי.

With regard to the names and their bearers the following is to be said. For Witr, see above no. 19; for Budar: no. 70; for Kaṣiu: no. 11. The name שורי has not been found in Nabataean inscriptions, but שורי or שורי is known from two short inscriptions found at Sf^c; cf. *Ephem.* II, p. 260. If [Σ]οδαίος in *A.A.E.S.* III, no. 430 is correctly restored, one might identify it with שורי; but [Γ]οδαίος *Gudaiy* may also be read. In any case, שורי is a hypocoristic form of שורי; unless we vocalize *Suwadī*, i.e. "a man from Soada" (modern *Suwēdā*), but then we would expect שורי. For Hann-²el, see above no. 9. The name משכאל was to be expected from the name משכו and the Ṣafaitic מסכאל. Its Greek equivalent is to be found in an inscription from Sf^c, copied somewhat incompletely by M.M. Jaussen and Vincent and published in *Rev. Bibl.* 1901, p. 572; cf. *Ephem.* I, p. 337, no. 6. This inscription is to be read according to my copy, which will be published in III, A, 6 of these Publications: Μασαχῆφ Θαιμου και Θαιμυ υ(ι)ῷ τῷ μνημ(ε)ῖον. The name מנע is obviously related to מנעת. The latter is to be read Mun'at following the Greek Μοναθου; cf. *N.E., Eph.* I, *M.A.A., s.v.v.* But the former has not been found yet in Nabataean, and it is uncertain what vowels we should supply. Possibly the Greek Μονιου *Wadd.* 2153 is a rendering of it, if this were not rather the Arabic name *Mughnī*; or it may be the imperative مَنِّع which would be written מנע in Nabataean. But names of the form *fa'ālī* are in Arabic given to women and also to animals rather than to men; cf. Wright-de Goeje, *Arabic Grammar*, p. 244, and *Jacob, Altarab. Beduinenleben*, p. 84. For Garm, see above no. 68. The name גלשו is new; it is the Greek Γαλεσος, *Wadd.* 2041 sqq. and *P.E.* III, no. 289, 360, and the Ṣafaitic גלם. Also the name of his father, בנתו, occurs here for the first time, although its Greek equivalent Βαναθος is known from *Wadd.-Chab., s.v.*, and *P.E.* III, 33, 333, and its Ṣafaitic form בנת is very frequently met with. I am, however, not certain of the etymology of this name; its feminine form Βαναθη, *P.E.* III, 126, should also be considered. — For ³An'am, see above no. 12. The name עצבו, again, is new. Its Greek equivalent is Ασβος *Wadd.* 2008, (*Eph.* I, 329), *P.E.* III, no. 162; and I take, therefore, Οσβος *Wadd.* 2412 to be ³Uṣaib, not *Husaib*.

About the persons named here little can be said. It seems certain that Witr b. Budar(?) was the father of Budar(?) b. Witr who with his brother Ṣa'ad-²el set up the altar of Gaddā in 'Ireh or Suwēdā; cf. *A.A.E.S.* IV, p. 94. This inscription proves at the same time that בדר is not a mistake for בדר; and the date approximately assigned to the altar in my former publication is confirmed by the date of the present inscription. Kaṣiu (l. 2) would be a brother of Masak (Μασαχος), the son of Shūdai, if the reading Σοδαίου in *A.A.E.S.* III, no. 430 is correct. Hann-²el b. Masak-²el may be the same man as the one for whose son the bilingual inscription, no. 105, was carved;

and his father may be the same man as *Μασαχλος Θαιμου* referred to above on p. 79. We would then have the following pedigree:



But this is of course a mere hypothesis. The same is to be said of a combination of our *ʿAnʿam b. ʿAšb* with the *Αναμος* of a Greek inscription found on the abacus of a “Nabataean column” in the temple and to be published in *P.E.*, III, A, 6, which reads [*Χασ*]ετος *Αναμου* ἐπο(ι)ησεν. It would be more interesting to know who *Gālis* was and for what reason a statue-altar was erected for him; but unfortunately we know nothing about him.

This inscription has also its historical and archaeological importance. The country in which *Sīʿ* is situated was given to Herod in 23 B. C., and during his time the Seleucid era was used in the Nabataean inscriptions of the Auranitis; cf. *A.A.E.S.* Pt. IV, p. 92–93. After Herod's death his son Philippus, the husband of Salome, Herodias' daughter, received Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Panias and Ituraea. He was very popular, as Josephus tells us, and he was, therefore, perhaps considered more like a native and national ruler, so that the people dated according to the years of his reign, as they did according to the years of the Nabataean kings in the independent empire of Hegra, Petra and Boṣrā. Philippus had the title *τέτραρχος*, and so he could not be called *מלכא* in Nabataean. The common people scarcely knew the Greek title, and they called him “our lord” as the modern Egyptians call their khediwe *effendīna*.

The monument itself is called *בומם צלם*, i. e. “picture-βωμός” or “statue-βωμός”. The word *בומם* = *βωμός* appears here for the first time in Nabataean. I do not believe that in this case *בומם* means an object of religious worship like the altars dedicated to deities, or like the tomb-altars, the symbols of veneration for the dead ancestors, the *Dii Manes*. This inscription is obviously not different from other honorary inscriptions which record the erection of a statue for a prominent citizen, as e. g. at *Sīʿ C.I.S.* II, 164 (= *Wadd.* 2366). The solution of the problem seems to me simply a matter of form: the form of an altar was chosen to serve as the pedestal for the statue, and with the form also the name was borrowed. Probably there were a great many other monuments like the present in the fore-courts of the temple; let us hope that many of them will be recovered from oblivion in future.

On the broken side of this pedestal Mr. Magies copied the words

ΓΟΝΖΑΙ
 ΗΛΟΥΙΕΡΟ i. e. Ἔργον Ζαιδηλου ἱεροδούλου.
 ΟΥΛΟΥ

This inscription will be published with the other Greek inscriptions from *Sīʿ*. Here

we must call attention to the fact that two different men were connected with the work on this altar. One of them, Ḥann-ʿēl, says that he is the מִנֵּן, i. e. "architect" or "sculptor"; the other, Zaid-ʿēl, says that this is his ἔργον. Perhaps Ḥann-ʿēl made the statue and Zaid-ʿēl the pedestal; or Zaid-ʿēl was assigned by the temple-authorities to work in the "shop" of Ḥann-ʿēl the sculptor; then he may have been the man who carved both pedestal and statue, but the name of his temporary master, under whose direction he worked, was carved on the front where it would be more conspicuous.

102. FRAGMENT. On a block of basalt broken at both ends, found among the debris in the fore-court of the Temple of Baʿal-Shamīn. This fragment was taken by our Expedition and is now in the Art Museum at Princeton, N. J. The stone is 22 cm. wide and $13\frac{1}{2}$ cm. high; the inscribed fascia is 11 cm. high. Height of letters $3\frac{1}{2}$ – $4\frac{1}{2}$ cm.



... הָגְרִפָּס מֶלֶכָּה ... *Agrippas, the king* ...

Inscr. 102. Scale 1:4.

The letters on this fragment are perhaps the most beautiful and the most carefully carved Nabataean letters known so far. They are artistically conceived, equally and symmetrically executed, and there is a certain charm in them that one would not expect in Nabataean script. It is much to be regretted for several reasons that this fragment is so short.

It is impossible to say which of the two Agrippas is meant in this fragment, since they both were called "king". The inscription may be dated either from the time of Agrippa I, i. e. 37–44 A. D., or from the time of his son, who reigned in the Auranitis from 53–100 A. D.

103. DEDICATORY TABLET. On a tablet found in 1909 standing against the north wall of the podium of the new temple, which is most probably a temple of Dūsharā. The tablet is 58 cm. wide. The inscription is in a sunken frame which on the outside measures $38\frac{1}{2} \times 42\frac{1}{2}$ cm., on the inside $32\frac{1}{2} \times 36\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Height of Greek letters: $2\frac{1}{2}$ –3 cm., of Nabataean letters: $4\frac{1}{2}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm., with the exception of the ʾ in l. 1, which is 8 cm. high. – SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH. Copy of the Greek inscription by Mr. Magie.

Florilegium M. de Vogüé, pp. 375–378.

ΣΕΕΙΑ ΚΑΤΑΓΗΝΑΥΡΑ
ΝΕΙΤΙΝ ΕΣΤΗΚΥΙΑ

Σεεῖα κατὰ γῆν Αὐρανεῖτον ἐστηκύνια
She'ī standing in the Hauranite land.



Inscr. 103. Scale 1:5.

דא צלמתא די שעיען
This is the image of She'îc.

As I have said in my first publication of this inscription we learn here the name of the local goddess of Sîc, and at the same time we are able to determine the etymology of this enigmatic name. In Aramaic *שעיען* means a "levelled square"

or "even space"; and it corresponds therefore to *ἡ ἱερὰ πλατεῖα* in *A.A.E.S.* III, no. 405 and to *ἡ πλατεῖα ἱερατικὴ* in *Wadd.* 2034, 2035. This word *She'îc* then was pronounced in Arabic *Se'îc* and was shortened by haplology to *Sîc*. This shortening seems to be quite ancient; for in Greek we find not only *Σεεῖα* and *Σεετηνῶν*, but also *Σετηνός* and *Σετηνοί*,

forms which are quoted in the *Florilegium de V.*, *l. c.* Moreover it is very likely that the name *שעיען*, which occurs in a Sinaïtic inscription, *Eut.* 558, l. 3 stands for *سبعى*

"man from Sîc"; the long *î* in the first syllable having been shortened on account of the following *י* and because it did not have the stress. Again *Θελσηηνος* in an inscription from *Ḍmêr*, published *P.A.* III, p. 207 and *A.A.E.S.* III, no. 358, indicates a man from *Tell Sîc*; this would be very suitable for our Sîc on the hill, but Thelsea is also the name of a town between Geroda and Damascus. However, both forms, *שעיען* and *Θελσηηνος* furnish additional evidence for the theory that *She'îc* (or *Se'îc*) was pronounced *Shîc* (or *Sîc*) in antiquity also. It may be remembered here that the transliteration *Sîc'a* or *Siah* owes its *a* of course only to the fact that the letter *ע* sounded like an *a* in the ears of the travellers;



Ill. 13. Stone containing inscription no. 103.

and indeed the so-called *pathah furtivum* is sometimes heard in modern Arabic, especially between a long *î* and a following *ع* or *ح*.

On p. 379 of the *Florilegium* I raised the question whether the name of the place or the name of the goddess was the *prius*. In the time of Arabic paganism names of

deities and names of places were often identical. Professor Wellhausen says in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 9-10: "The deity coalesces with the place, where it is worshipped; particularly the Semites are inclined to think it inseparable from its "house". Many places have, therefore, become, so to speak, tombs of deceased gods". In our case, however, it is more probable that the goddess was named after the place than that the place was named after the deity, as in the cases cited by Prof. Wellhausen after the words just quoted. For not only is the meaning of Sheⁱ^c originally better fitted for the name of a place than for the name of a goddess, but also the fact that the temples in Si^c were dedicated to Ba'al-Shamīn and Dūsharā, not to Seⁱ^c, shows that she was not the "lady of Si^c", as e.g. Allāt was the "lady of Ṣalkhad". We may conclude that the goddess Sheⁱ^c, was an abstraction from, or a personification of the holy place, and that she was a θεῖς σύναος probably in the temple of Dūsharā. If the tablet was found *in situ*, her statue would have been placed on the podium of the temple and would have indeed looked down upon the Hauranite land, as great and beautiful Si^c did herself.

104. FRAGMENT. On two fragments of the same stone over a pomegranate frieze, found at the base of the N.E. corner of the temple. The fragment of the stone on which no. A was found is 36 cm. wide, 18 cm. high (maximum), and 42 cm. thick; the fragment bearing no. B measures 51 × 18 cm. The inscribed band is 4 cm. high. Fragment A is 28½ cm. long, B 41 cm., but in B there is at the right a destroyed part of the inscription 6½ cm. long and at the left a blank space 3 cm. long. Height of letters: 2½ cm. — SQUEEZES.



Inscr. 104. Scale 1:10.

- A [...] מו בשנת [...] [N.N. son of ...]m, in the year(?)....
 B [...] שת בר תימו אמן [...] [Obai]shat, son of Taim(?), the architect.

This reading is very doubtful; and it is to be regretted that this inscription is so very fragmentary. If the reading suggested above be correct, the letters מו in A might be completed to represent תימו or some other name containing the same ending. In



Ill. 14. Ill. 14a.
 Casts of fragments containing inscription no. 104.

B all depends upon the reading of the fourth letter from the end. If we must read a ת, I do not know any reasonable interpretation of the entire fragment. But if we

may read an **N**, the above interpretation seems reasonably certain. We would then recognize here an artist whose sons must have been famous sculptors at Si^c, and we would at the same time learn the name of his father. The date of the inscription would be the latter half of the first century B. C.; first because the sons of ʿObaishat worked in the first half of the first century A. D., and secondly because the fragments probably were part of the decoration of the great temple of Baʿal-Shamīn.

105. LINTEL OF TOMB. On a stone found among the ruins of a built tomb, near the road from Si^c to Ḳanawāt on that side of the wādī which is nearer Si^c. These built tombs at Si^c looked like round towers on the outside, built of the ordinary rough masonry, but on the inside the walls were highly finished and had mouldings at various levels. The interior consisted of rectangular chambers with recessed receptacles for the



Ill. 15. Cast of inscription no. 105.

dead. The stone bearing no. 105 is 45 cm. high and 1.51 m. long; the space on the inside of the raised frame measures 35 cm. × 1.00 m., without the dove-tails. The raised Greek letters are 6½–9 cm. high, the incised Nabataean letters 5–8 cm. — SQUEEZE.

Florilegium de Vogüé, pp. 378–380, and the literature quoted there on p. 378.



Inscr. 105. Scale 1 : 10.

Τανενου Αννηλου τὸ μνημεῖον.

לטננו בר חנאל נפשא
חורו בר עבישת אמנא

For Ṭhānin, son of Ḥann-ʿel, [is] the monument.
Ḥūr, son of ʿObaishat, [was] the artist.

Little needs to be added to the commentary given in the *Florilegium*, especially since this text was made known in the *Rev. Arch.* 1905 and was then commented upon by M. Clermont-Ganneau and Professor Lidzbarski. The only change from my former interpretation consists in the transliteration of טַנְנו. Since Μασεχος is a rendering of Māsik and Μαλεχος a rendering of Mālik, I do not hesitate now to transliterate טַנְנו by *Thānin*: for we know that in the region of the Ḥaurān the derivatives from stems mediae geminatae had a number of uncontracted forms which in classical Arabic are always contracted; cf. אודד, Αὐδαδός, Αἰμαμου in *A.A.E.S.* iv, p. 118 and p. 219. And Ṭhānin would have the same relation to *טַנְנָל (Τάννηλος) as Māsik has to מִשְׁכָּל (Μασσαχλος). For חַנְנָל, Αννηλος, see above no. 9; for חורו, above no. 2; for עבישת, above no. 26.

It has been said above on p. 79 that the Ḥann-ʿēl of this inscription may possibly have been the same as one of the donors of the statue of Gālis. And Ḥūr b. ʿObaishat may have been the same man as Ουρος who wrote his name on a small round altar found in the temple of Baʿal-Shamīn, and the brother of Kadd b. ʿObaishat, mentioned in *C.I.S.* II, 164.

The date of this inscription is probably 25–50 A. D.; this I concluded from palaeographical and historical reasons in *Florilegium*, p. 380. I only wish to add that if our Ḥann-ʿēl was the same as the one mentioned in no. 101, i. e. a man who lived in 29–30 A. D., this would not tell against the above conclusion. For Ḥann-ʿēl may have been an old man in the year 30 A. D., and his son Ṭhānin may have died as a young man and may have been buried by his own father.

106. LINTEL OF TOMB(?) On a somewhat damaged block found near the door of a ruined tomb-tower in the necropolis of Si^c, a little to the north-west of the westernmost well preserved round tower, which stands now in a ploughed field. The maximum height of the stone is 53 cm.; width at the top: 31 cm.; at the bottom: 92 cm. Height of letters: 5–7 cm. — SQUEEZE.

Rev. Archéol. 1905, I, p. 410. — *Ephem.* II, p. 261.



Inscr. 106. Scale 1 : 10.

אל בר מושע[ן]	1	... ʿēl, son of Mushʿi[ʿ],
שכר-אל מרקם	2	<i>Shakar-ʿel Marcus</i>
בסם גים ילים	3	<i>Bassus</i> (?), <i>Gaius Julius</i>
ם גים ילים טַנְנו	4	<i>us</i> (?), <i>Gaius Julius Thānin</i> (?),
גים ילים רופס גרמו	5	<i>Gaius Julius Rufus Garm</i> ,
עצמו בר שלמו עבדו מקברתא	6	<i>ʿĀsim</i> (?), son of <i>Salm</i> , made the tomb.

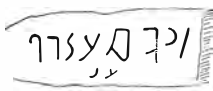
The broken condition of the stone and the weathering of the letters make the reading of this document very difficult and uncertain. I wish to call attention only to the following problems. In l. 2 the first letter *may* be a י so that the name would be *Yashkur-ʿēl*, as suggested by Prof. Lidzbarski; but this is by no means certain, and the sign may also be a ם, i. e. the last letter of a preceding name ending in *-us*. Moreover ישכר-אל is only known from Minaean inscriptions, whereas the Greek equivalent of שכר-אל, viz. Σαρχηλος, occurs in inscriptions from the region of the Ḥaurān. I prefer therefore the reading שכר-אל. In il. 2 and 3 the name read גים is preceded by a letter which bears a very close resemblance to the מ in l. 6. For this reason I was from the beginning inclined to read מנים rather than גים Gaius. Now the name Μαγος is very rare; Pape gives only one instance of it from Spain. But Μαγος is more frequent and מנס seems to occur in *M.A.A.*, nab. no. 98, a graffito of which no copy was published. Pape and the editors of *M.A.A.* mention also the Arab Μαγος in the Persians of Aeschylus. But since the doubtful name is followed in every case by Julius, and since the country and the time to which our inscription belongs are those of the early Roman Empire where the names Gaius Julius had a world wide fame, I think we are almost compelled to read here גים ילים. Then the letter before גים might be read as a ם although the horizontal bars of the ם in this inscription are longer than those of the מ. — In the beginning of l. 3 the name כסס "Bassus" is a mere conjecture; and the name טננו at the end of l. 4 is equally uncertain. In l. 6 the first letter is rather a צ than a י: if we read a צ, I would supply a ע before it; before a י a ת would have to be restored.

It is all the more unfortunate that this inscription is so fragmentary as it gives rise to a very interesting problem with regard to Nabataean nomenclature. In all preceding Nabataean inscriptions we have seen that every Nabataean had only one name which was usually followed by the name of his father. This custom is of course universal among the Semites. But here it seems as if the Roman custom had been imitated to some extent. However, we are prevented from drawing any more definite conclusion by the fact that not a single ו "and" can be read here and that the word בר occurs only twice. The only inference that is quite probable is that the name גים ילים was given to several persons at Si^c in imitation of the august name used in the family of the Caesars.

A few remarks with regard to some of the names will suffice. In l. 1 we have to restore משעכו or משערו; this would correspond to the Ṣafaitic name which may be read either משעכ or משער. The Greek equivalent is doubtful too; for, according to *Eph.* III, p. 330, no. 78 it is either Μουσεβου or Μουσερου. On Shakar-ʿēl see above; a name closely related is שכר-אלהי *P.A.* I, *N.E.*, p. 503, s. v. The name Bassus has not been found in Nabataean script; but it is a very common name in Greek inscriptions from Syria, as we see from *Wadd.-Chab.*, s. v., and from *P.E.* III, 143, 144, 177 and many other passages. Also מרקם and גים are new in Nabataean script, whereas ילים was found above in no. 12. The Latin name רופס occurs in this inscription for the first time; for רופו is Arabic, as has been said above p. 20–21. For טננו, cf. no. 105; for גרמו, no. 68. If [עצמו] is correct, we should compare the Greek Ασμεος *Eph.* II, p. 336 N, *P.E.* III, 284, 443, and Ασμου *P.E.* III, 23¹; furthermore the Arabic عاصم of which *I. Dor.*, s. v., gives a number of examples. For שלמו see above no. 45.

It is said in this inscription that all the persons named "made" the tomb. The most natural conclusion from this is that they had the tomb made for themselves; if that was the case, they were probably related to each other, and this is indicated by the names also. But it is remarkable to find so many different names in a Nabataean funerary inscription. And for this reason I think it possible that the names carved upon this stone may be the names of the workmen who actually built the tomb: in that case, the stone would of course not have been the lintel, but one of the stones used in the outer wall. And in its whole tenor and outward appearance no. 106 differs distinctly from no. 105 which certainly was the lintel over the entrance of a built tomb.

107. ARTIST'S SIGNATURE. On the girth of a fragmentary statue of a horseman, under the horse's belly between the legs of the horseman. Copied by Professor Puchstein.



Inscr. 107.

... son of Mughaiyir,
made [this].

This short inscription was copied and sent to me by the late and much lamented Professor O. Puchstein. He had taken no measurements and he told me that the inscription was in a rather bad state of preservation. I present herewith an exact rendering of his copy. The hatched part to the right of the letters indicates most probably a place where the letters have been destroyed. This is by far the best solution of the problems which are connected with this inscription. Then we would correct the letter before בר and read a ן instead of a ן. The whole name may have been זכר מעירו [אושׁו]; and the man may have belonged to the famous family of Malikat, ʿAus and Mughaiyir; cf. also *A.A.E.S.* III, no. 432a: Μαλειχαθος Αυσου τοῦ Μουαιρου. At any rate, this is much more plausible than to take the copy as it stands and read זכר מעירו "Present of Mughaiyir"; for in that case the last two letters עב would be incomprehensible unless they are interpreted as figures and the whole be read זכר מעירו "Present of Mughaiyir no. 6". This seems to me highly improbable: such an inscription is very unusual and would certainly be in a more conspicuous place. The above interpretation has its parallels in Greek inscriptions which I copied at Si^c in 1904 and which are to be published in *P.E.* III, Pt. 6: e. g. [Χασ]ετος Αναμ[ου] ἐπο[ί]ησεν, or . . . Μαλειχαθου ἐπο(ι)ησεν.

ADDENDA.

- P. 3, l. 2: Instead of אָדִי also אָדִי might be read.
- P. 4, l. 12: The name מַחֲלָמוֹ has been found in Sinaïtic inscriptions; cf. *C.I.S.* II, Index, *s.v.*
- P. 7, Commentary on No. 4, l. 9: Read "There is some doubt . . ."
- P. 8: The name *Ma'w* (Μεω) occurs also as a place-name; cf. *M.A.A.*, p. 81.
- P. 12: The name שִׁיעִי-אֱלֹהִי has been found at Petra; cf. Dalman, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, No. 68. — In No. 11 קֶצִיִּי should better be rendered *Kaṣīy* for the sake of consistency.
- P. 18, No. 19: The name וְרִי is also Ṣafaitic, cf. *M.S.M.*, *s.v.*, and Thamudene, cf. my *Entzifferung*, *s.v.*
- P. 19, No. 20: The name לֶאֱם is found in Thamudene; cf. Hess, *Entzifferung*, No. 133. — In the commentary on this inscription, l. 3-4, read "a suite of armour".
- P. 21: The root مَجْ is also found in place-names; cf. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, I, p. 91 (l-Amghar, Mghēra).
- P. 25, l. 9 from below: The name מַעֲיִנִי is found in a Sinaïtic inscription; cf. *C.I.S.* II, Index, *s.v.*
- P. 29, No. 30: Σαερον may also correspond to שְׁהָרִי *M.A.A.* nab. 166; Dalman, *l.c.* Nos. 16, 20; Thamudene שְׁהָרִי, Hess, *l.c.*, Nos. 9, 69.
- P. 30, No. 33: On אָדִי see above note on p. 3, l. 2.
- P. 31, Commentary on No. 34, second paragraph, l. 12: The words "except the . . . to the letter" are to be cancelled.
- P. 33, No. 36: The name חֲרָבוֹ has been found at Petra; cf. Dalman, No. 17. In Ṣafaitic we find חֲרָב; cf. *M.S.M.*, *s.v.*
- P. 34, l. 7: The name נַפֵּל may also be read Nefil, Neffāl; cf. Hess, *Beduinennamen*, p. 50, *s.v.*
- P. 35: Dusares was considered the god of the sun at Hegra also; cf. his surname "he that divideth the night from the day", *Ephem.* III, p. 268.
- P. 37, l. 14: The name עֲבֵד־אֱלֹהִי occurs in *C.I.S.* II, 946.
- P. 42, l. 2, from below: The reading שְׁלָמִי is very uncertain.
- P. 44, No. 46: The reading *ʾAthim* for אֲתִימוֹ seems to me uncertain now, since I found that אֲתִם occurs in Ṣafaitic; cf. *M.S.M.*, *s.v.* I had overlooked this form. After all, *ʾAtamm* may be the correct rendering, although in Ṣafaitic we would expect אֲתַמִּם.
- P. 46: The first line of the interesting inscription from Petra is to be read, after the new copy, published by Dalman, *l.c.* No. 35: רֵה אֲנָנָה רִי קֶרֶב תִּימֹ "This is the basin which has been offered by Taim". The reading קֶרֶב has been suggested to me by M. Lidzbarski.

- P. 48, No. 53: The name יתען is known in Sinaïtic inscriptions; cf. *C.I.S.*, II, Index, *s.v.*
- P. 49, No. 55, l. 3: Read "width" instead of "with".
- P. 51, No. 58: The name ושיבת is also to be read in *M.A.A.*, nab. No. 85, l. 2.
- P. 54, No. 65: Read "Yaṭūr" instead of "Yāṭūr".
- P. 56, No. 68: For חלדו cf. also the name אמת-חלדו, Dalman, *l.c.*, Nos. 41, 49, 51. — For Ιαλσος see יחלד, in Thamudene and Ṣafaïtic, *M.S.M.*, and Hess, *l.c.*, *s.v.*
- P. 62, No. 78: Cf. also עמס-אל, which might be read in Thamudene, Hess, No. 44, instead of במס-אל.
- P. 63: The derivation of אלנא from the root נאה is quite uncertain, since the form עבר-אלגיא has also been established in Sinaïtic inscriptions and at Petra. Perhaps נא (גיא) is, after all, a short form of some longer divine name beginning with נ; cf. Gad, al-Galsad, Gâhir a.o.
- P. 64, No. 81: I do not believe either that תמנית might be an Aramaic translation of *Octava*.
- P. 73, l. 1: Read "other cases".
- P. 75, l. 5: The formula עבר ובנה may be compared with the Greek ἐπὶ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς.
- P. 75, l. 10: The name מרע occurs in Ṣafaïtic; cf. *M.S.M.*, *s.v.*, and No. 640 of my new collection of Ṣafaïtic Inscriptions which are to appear in these Publications.
- P. 77, l. 3: Read בעשמין.
- P. 79, l. 11: The name שודיו is perhaps found in a Sinaïtic inscription *C.I.S.* II, 1103. Cf. also סודי in Dalman, *l.c.*, No. 92, l. 3; and סדי in my new collection of Ṣafaïtic Inscriptions. — For קציו *Kaṣīy*, see above note on P. 12.

INDEX.

This index contains references to all Nabataean words, names, and particles occurring in the inscriptions themselves, except of course to the particle **נ**. Names and words mentioned in the introduction and in the commentary have not been included.

א

- אבדו** n. pr. m. ²*Ābid* (?) 29₂.
אבצרו (?) n. pr. m. ²*Abṣar* 4₃.
אדינת n. pr. m. ²*Udhainat* 13₁.
אישו n. pr. m. ²*Aus* 6₂, 24₄, 100.
אחיו n. pr. m. ²*Ukhayy* 36₁.
אטיפק n. pr. m. ²*Uṭaifk* (?) 23₄.
אטרו n. pr. f. ²*Aṭr* 58₁.
אילמי n. pr. m. ²*Ailamī* (?) 83₁.
אישן n. pr. m. ²*Iyās* 21₃.
אל Arabic article contained in **אלאתר**, **אלעזא**, **אלמלכו**.
אל (*āl*) family, tribe, אל קציו 11; אל רוחו 43; אל 44₄.
אל (*ēl*) god; contained in names **אלחנאל**, **אלשכראל**, **אלשיעראל**, **אלרביאל**.
אלה m. god; 71₂; **אללהם** 11. **אלהא** m. god; 27₂; **אלהא מועינו** 18; **אלהא** (?) 23₆.
 In names **אלהא** and **אלהא**. Cf. **הלה**. — Plur. **אלהיא** 69₃.
אלהת f. goddess; 70. **אלהת בצ[רא]**.
אלה n. pr. m. ²*Ālih* 13₁, 14.
אלת n. pr. div. fem. ²*Allāt*. **אלת רבת אלתר** 24₅₋₆.
 Cf. in names **אמתלת**, **אמתלת**.
אמנא m. sculptor 101₁, 104 (?), 105₂.
אמרו n. pr. m. ²*Amr* 26₁.
אמת f. handmaid contained in the following two proper names.
אמתאלגא n. pr. fem. ²*Amat-al-Gā* 79₁.
אמתלת n. pr. fem. ²*Amat-allāt* 76₁ (?), 82₁ (?).
אנעם n. pr. m. ²*An'am* or ²*An'um* 12₃, 40₁, 101₁.
אנתחא f. wife. **אנתחא** the wife of 82₂; **אנתחא** his wife 40₃.
אעיתל n. pr. m. ²*U'aitil* 35₁.
אשדו n. pr. div. ²*Asad* (?) 27₂. Also in **עבראשד** (?) 74₁.
אשדולס n. pr. m. *Isidoulos* (?). Cf. **שדולס**.

- אשנמו** n. pr. fem. ²*Asnum* 65₁.
אתמו n. pr. m. ²*Āthim* (?) or ²*Atamm* (?) 46₂, 87₁.
אתר place (?) in **אלאתר** 24₆.

ב

- ב** prep. in **בכת** 27₂, 96 B (?); **במשפת** 96 C (?); **בשלם** 100; **בשנה** 101₁, 104.
בדר n. pr. m. *Budar* 101₃.
בדרו n. pr. m. *Badr* 70, 97 C.
בומס βωμός, altar, pedestal 101₅.
בירתא temple 100 (bis).
בית* house. Cf. **בבת** 27₂, 96 B.
בכרו n. pr. m. *Bakr* 86₁, 95 (?).
בנה he built 28₁, 40₃, 69₂, 100; **בנה ועבר** 96 A; **בנה** 98 A; **בנה** 12₂.
בניו n. pr. m. *Bunaiy* 98.
בנינא m. building 28₁.
בנת n. pr. m. *Banat* 101₆.
בסס n. pr. m. *Bassus* 106₃ (?).
בעל n. pr. div. in **בעשמין** 100; **בעל-שמן** 23₅; **בעל-שמן** 11.
בצרא n. pr. loc. *Boṣrā* in **בצ[רא]** 70, **בצ[ריא]** 69₃ (?).
בר m. son 14; **ברה** his son 1₂, 98; **ברהם** their son 40₄. "בר פ" *N.N. son of N.N.* in 69 cases.
ברת f. daughter; **ברתה** his daughter 15, 39. "ברת פ" *N.N. daughter of N.N.* in 21 cases.
בריתא adj. fem. the outer 100.

ג

- גא** n. div. in **אמתאלגא**.
גדימת n. pr. m. *Gadhimat* 41₂.
גויתא adj. fem. the inner 100.
גומא n. pr. m. *Gūmā* (?) 96 B.

גדרא m. *wall* 69₁.
גלשו n. pr. m. *Gālis* 101₅.
גרמו n. pr. m. *Garm* 68₂, 74₂, 101₅, 106₅.
גרפו n. pr. m. *Gur(u)f* 59₂.

ד

דא see דנה.
דדו (?) n. pr. m. *Dād* (?) 71₂.
דושרא n. pr. div. 38₅₋₆, 69₃.
די particle 1₁, 2₁, 18, 23₁, 24₂, 27₁, 28₁, 34₁,
38₂, 39₁, 40₃, 69₁, 71₁, 73, 96 A, C, 103₂;
די 100; די כון אל 44₃.
דכרון m. *memory, remembrance* 100.
דנה dem. pron. m. *this* דנה קברא 1₁; דנה ארבענא 2₁;
דנה ד" נפשא 28₁; דנה ד" בנינא 27₁, cf. 97;
דנה דנה חמנא 27₁, cf. 97;
דנה דנה מחרמת 69₁; דנה ד" נפשו 41₁;
דנה ד" מסגרא 23₁; דנה ד" מסגרא 96 A. — דנה and דנה fem. 23₁;
דנה דנה נפשא 40₁; דנה דנה נפש 24₁;
דנה דנה 34₁; דנה דנה 100; דנה דנה 103;
דנה דנה 100.

ה

ה suff. 3. p. sg. m. *his*; ברה 1₂; עמה 33;
האנתה 40₃. — Plur. 3. p. pl. m. 40₃.
האנתה 11; ברה 40₄.
הגרפס n. pr. m. *Agrippas* 102.
הדרינס n. pr. m. *Hadrianus* 27₂.
הו pers. pron. *he* 100.
הוא *he was* or pers. pron. *he* (?) 69₁.
הלה n. pr. div. *Hallāh* (?) 96 C.
הנאו n. pr. m. *Hānā* 46₁, 53₁, 86₂, 88₂.
הפרכא m. *hipparch, general of cavalry* 96 B.

ו

ו particle *and* passim.
וואלו n. pr. m. *Wā'il* 81₃.
וודו n. pr. m. *Wadd* 93.
והבו n. pr. m. *Wahb* 49₁, 50₂.
והבאלהי n. pr. m. *Wahballāhi* (?) 44₁.
ושיכת n. pr. m. *Washikat* 58₁, 67₁.
וותרו n. pr. m. *Witr* 19₁, 91₁ (?), 101₂.

ז

זבד *gift* very doubtful in 107.
זבורד n. pr. m. *Zabūd* 1₂, 47₂, 50₁, 57₁, 59₁, 60₁,
61₁, 62₂, 66₂, 67₂.

ח

חבבת n. pr. fem. *Ḥabābat* 29₁.

חבו n. pr. *Ḥubb*; m. 30₂ (?); fem. 9₁.
חבת n. pr. fem. *Ḥabbat* 89₁.
חורו n. pr. m. *Ḥūr* 2₁, 40₂, 105₂.
חיה *to live*. — חיינ those who live 100; — אחי
or אחי *he roused* 2₂, 33.
חירו n. pr. m. *Khair* 54₁.
חלדו n. pr. fem. *Khald* 68₁.
חלם cf. מחלמו.
חלפו n. pr. m. *Khalaf* 19₂.
חמנא *fire-altar* 27₁, 97 A.
חנאל n. pr. m. *Ḥann-ʿel* 9₂, 40₃, 101₄, 105₁.
חנני n. pr. m. *Ḥannai* 56₁.
חנן in חנאל and חנני.
חפלו n. pr. m. *Ḥuffāl* (?) 92₁.
חרבו n. pr. m. *Ḥarb* 36₂.
חריבו n. pr. m. *Ḥuraib* (?) 8₁.
חרם — מחרמת f. (used with דנה in 72) *reserved place*; דנה מחרמת 72₁; [מחרמת] 73.
חרתו n. pr. m. *Ḥarith* (?) 55₁.
חשנו n. pr. fem. *Ḥusn* 21₁, 84₁.

ט

טב adj. *good* 100.
טובו n. pr. m. *Tūb* (?) 52₁.
טננו n. pr. m. *Ṭhānin* 105₁, 106₄.

י

ידע — in the name מידע.
ישור n. pr. m. *Yafūr* 54₃, 64₁, 65₂.
יוליס n. pr. m. *Julius* 12₁, 106₃, 4, 5.
יתעו n. pr. div. *Yitha* in תימיתעו.

כ

כחילו n. pr. m. *Kahīl* 55₂.
כויא pl. *windows* 69₂.
כמרא n. pr. m. *Komārā* (?) 34₁.
כסדי n. pr. m. *Kasdi* (?) 34₂.

ל

ל prep. *for, of* — עבר ל' 1₂, 11, 23₃, 38₃, 39₁₋₂,
71₂; עבר ובנה ל' 96, 98; cf. 70. — "the year ... of"
נפשא 105₁. — 2₂, 23₆₋₇, 96 D (?) 101₁₋₂.
לאמת n. pr. fem. *La'mat* 20₁.
לחו see נחו.
ליון n. pr. m. *Leon* (?) 77₁.
לקצת see נקצת.
לת see אלת.

מ

- מבש cf. מישו.
 מותבו n. pr. m. or div. ? 45.
 מחלמו n. pr. m. *Muhlīm* 21, 572.
 מידע n. pr. m. *Maidā* 98.
 מ[ו]ש[ו] n. pr. m. *Maiyās* 172.
 מלחו n. pr. fem. *Milli* 392, 511, 631.
 מליכה n. pr. m. *Malikat* 72, 481, 100.
 מלך — in names cf. מליכת, מלכו, מלכה. — subst.
 m. king: מלך נבטו 238, 282, (33), (96); מלך
 413. Stat. emph. מלכא 238, 282, (96), 102.
 מלכו n. pr. m. *Mālik* (18), 237, 282, 562. —
 מראלמלכו n. pr. div. *al-Malik* in מראלמלכו.
 מלכת n. pr. fem. *Malikat* 171.
 מן prep. *from* 43, 443.
 מנעמו n. pr. m. *Mun'im* 442.
 מנע n. pr. m. *Muna'* 1014.
 מנעת n. pr. m. *Mun'at* 71.
 מעו n. pr. m. *Ma'u* (?) 52.
 מעינו n. pr. m. *Mu'in* 272.
 מעירו n. pr. m. *Mughaiyir* 271, 100, 107.
 מעירתו n. pr. m. *Mughith* 312.
 מערתו n. pr. m. *Maghar* (?) 223.
 מר n. pr. m. *Maghar* (?) 223.
 מרנא lord with suff. 1 p. pl. מרנא 282; מרנא 1011.
 Cf. the following name.
 מראלמלכו n. pr. m. *Mar'almalik* 722.
 מראת n. pr. fem. *Mār'at* 851.
 מרקס n. pr. m. *Marcus* 1063.
 משדת n. pr. m. *Masadat* 892.
 משכאל n. pr. m. *Masak-ēl* 1014.
 משכו n. pr. m. *Māsik* 383, 471, 513, 612, 621,
 632, 642, 852.
 משק[ו] n. pr. m. *Mushk[ā]* 1061.
 משפת n. pr. loc. (?) 96 C.
 מחנו n. pr. m. *Matan* (?) 236.

נ

- נא suff. 1 pers. plur. in מראנא 282, מרנא 1011
our lord.
 נבטו n. pr. trib. *the Nabataeans* 238, 282, (33), (96).
 נחו n. pr. m. *Nahu* (?) 993.
 נטירו n. pr. m. *Nuṭhair* 461.
 נעם — in names אנעם
 נפלי n. pr. m. 372 q. v.
 נפש m. and fem. *stèle, tomb*. 391, 401, 411, 601,
 1051. Cf. דה נפסא (?) 341.
 נקדת n. pr. m. *Nakdat* (?) 42.
 נצרו n. pr. m. *Naṣr* 98.
 נשלו n. pr. m. *Nasl* 32, 832.

ס

- סגד cf. also שגד — מסגד (א) m. and fem. *cult-*
stone 231, 241, 96 A.

ע

- עבר *he made* 232, 271, 382, 391, 711 (?) 96 A, 98,
 107(?) — Plur. עבר *they made* 2, perhaps in
 11; עברו 1012, 1066.
 עבד m. *servant* in the following names.
 עבדאש n. pr. m. 741, q. v.
 עברו n. pr. m. *Abd* 82 (?), 94.
 עבדלת n. pr. m. *Abdallāt* (?) 95.
 עבדעבדת n. pr. m. *Abd-Obodat* 42, 823 (?).
 עבדעמנו n. pr. m. *Abd-Omān* 792.
 עבדרכאל n. pr. m. *Abd-Rabb'el* 94.
 עברע n. pr. m. in "עברע".
 עבירו n. pr. m. *Ubaid* 232.
 עבישת n. pr. m. *Ubaishat* 262-3, 93, 1052.
 עד prep. *until* 100. — Adv. *still* 100.
 עדי n. pr. m. *Adiy* 21.
 עדרו n. pr. m. *Adhr* 51, 842.
 עוד — in עירת *protection* (?) 96 C; or עירת.
 עוידא n. pr. m. *Awidhā* 384.
 עוידו n. pr. m. *Awidh* 95 (?).
 עון — in the name מעינו.
 עותאל n. pr. m. *Ghauth-ēl* 991.
 עותו n. pr. m. *Ghauth* 323, 753, 96 B. The same
 root in מעיתו.
 עזא n. pr. div. fem. *al-Uzzā* 70.
 עזי n. pr. fem. *Uzzai* 402.
 עיר — in מעירו. Probably in עירת (*ghiyārat*)
protection 96 C.
 על prep. *over* 21, 100.
 עם *people* in עמה (22), 33.
 עמטו cf. עמטו.
 עמנו n. pr. in עברעמנו.
 עמסו n. pr. m. *Amās* (?) 78. Perhaps עמטו.
 עמרו n. pr. m. *Amr* 881.
 ענמו n. pr. m. *Ghānim* (or other forms) 772.
 עצבו n. pr. m. *Asb* 1017.
 עצמו n. pr. m. *Āsim* (?) 1066.
 עקרכו n. pr. *Akrab*: m. 31, 271, 482; fem. 321.

פ

- פחכורו n. pr. m. *Pacorus* (?) 243.
 פהרו n. pr. m. *Fahr* 411.
 פלפס n. pr. m. *Philippos* 1012.

פישל *he made a sculpture(?)* 18. — פשיל *sculpture(?)* 18.

פתנו n. pr. m. *Fatn* 35₂. Or פתלו.

צ

צלם m. *picture* 101₅; fem. צלמהא 103₁.

ק

קבר m. *tomb* 13₁, 14₁, 15; stat. emph. קברא 1₁. — מקברה *tomb* 93; stat. emph. מקברהא 106₆.

קיסר m. *the Emperor* 27₂.

קציו n. pr. m. 101₃. — n. trib. perhaps in 11.

קרב *he offered* 24₂, 97.

קרבו n. pr. m. *Ḳārib(?)* 25₁

ר

ראיפת n. pr. fem. *Ra'ifat (Ru'aifat)* 22₁.

רב — רבי *τρεῖς* 41₂. — רבת *the lady* 24₃.

רבא n. pr. m. *Rabbā'* 31₁.

רבא' n. pr. m. *Rabb-ēl* 2₂, (33). Cf. עבר-רבא'.

רבמודו n. pr. m. *Rabb-wadd(?)* 8₂.

רבע — רבעתא m. *cella(?)* 2₁. — רבעתא fem. *id.* 71₁.

רוחו n. pr. trib. *Rawāḥ* (16), 43.

רוב* — רובאל in.

רופס n. pr. m. *Rufus* 106₃.

רמאל n. pr. m. *Rām-ēl* 6₁.

רמקו n. pr. m. *Ramak(?)* 87₂.

רעו n. pr. m. *Re-ū(?)* 12₁. Perhaps also in 5₂.

רצות n. pr. m. *Raṣwat* 52₂, 54₂.

ש

שבע *seven* 27₂.

שגד in משגדא *cult-stone* 38₁. Cf. סגד.

שדולם n. pr. m. probably אשדולם *Isidoulos(?)* 43.

שודי n. pr. m. *Sūdai(?)* 101₃.

שושנת n. pr. fem. *Susannat* 80₁.

שחרו n. pr. m. *Sāḥir(?)* 30₁.

שיבו n. pr. m. *Shaib* 37₁.

שיוב *he delivered* (2), 33.

שיעאל n. pr. m. *Shai-ēl* 10.

שיעאלקום n. pr. div. *Shai-ēl al-Ḳaum* 18(?).

שכראל n. pr. m. *Shakar-ēl* 106₂.

שלי n. pr. m. *Shullai* 41₂.

שלם *peace, greeting* 12₂, 42, 45(?), 101₇; בשלם 100. Perhaps proper name in 45.

שלמו n. pr. m. *Salm* 95, 106₆; n. pr. trib. 44₄.

שמך and שמיין *heaven* see בעל.

שמית n. pr. m. *Shāmit* 49₃, 60₂, 66₁.

שנת fem. *year* 23₁, 27₂, (96), 100, 101₁, 104.

שעד in the following names.

שעדאלהי n. pr. m. *Sa'd-allāhi* 20₂, 75₁.

שעורו n. pr. m. *Sa'ūd* 25₂.

שעידו n. pr. m. (*Sa'id*) *Su'aid* 80₂.

שעיעו n. pr. div. fem. *She-ī' (= Sī')* 103₂.

שפת — in משפת(?).

שרית n. pr. div. fem.(?) or *the rest* 69₃ q.v.

ת

תיטרא f. *portico* 100.

תימו n. pr. m. *Taim* 69₂, 92₂, 104(?); perhaps also in 70 and 106₆.

תימיתעו n. pr. m. *Taim-Yitha'* 53₂.

תמנית n. pr. fem. *Tamanniyat* 81₁.

תנוח n. pr. trib. *Tanūkh* 41₃.

*תרין *two* in חרהין [שנת] 2₂.