

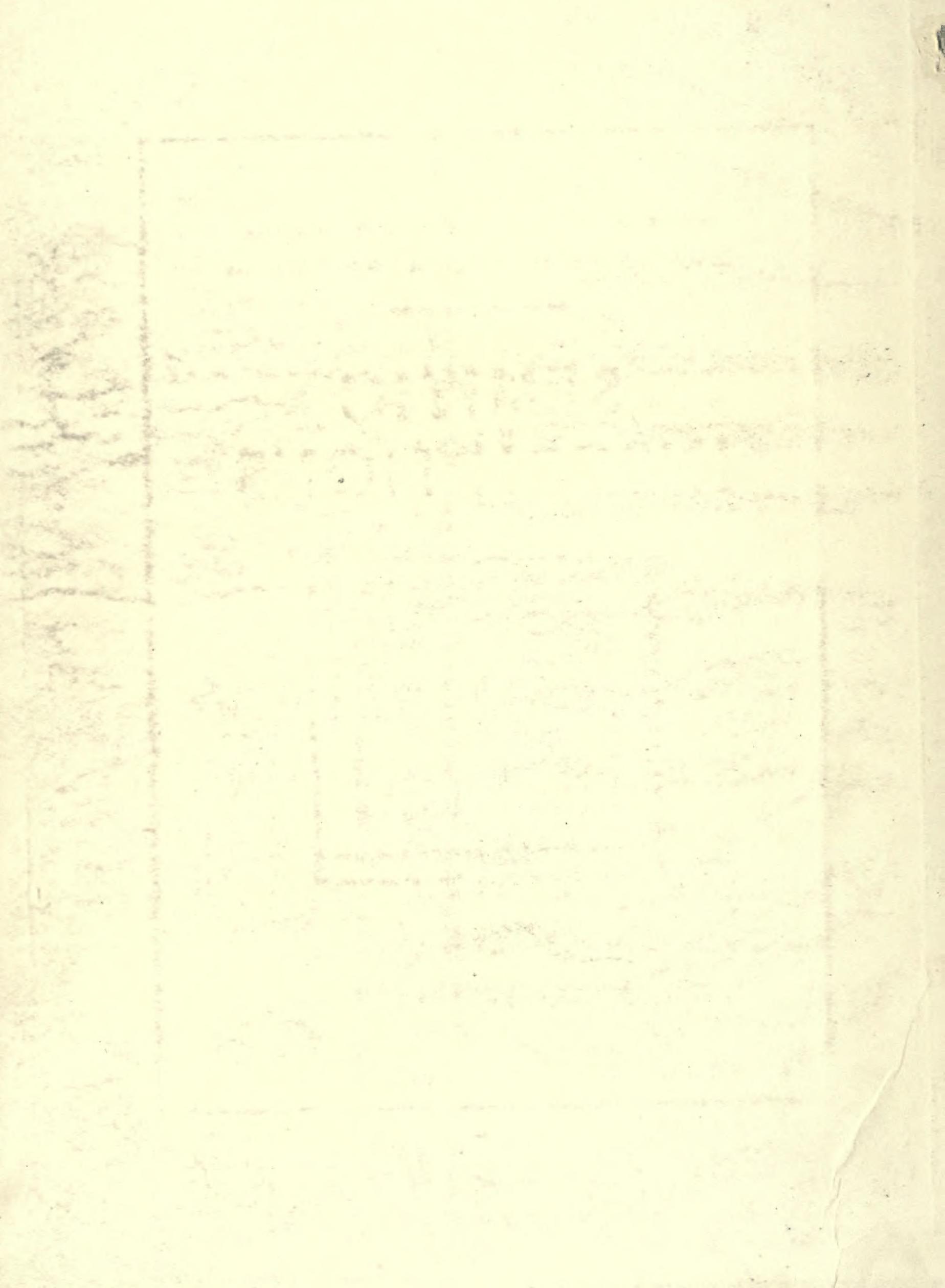
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PART IV OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF AN AMERICAN  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO SYRIA IN 1899-1900

# SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS



ENNO LITTMANN







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AN AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
EXPEDITION TO SYRIA

1899-1900

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PART IV OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF AN AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO SYRIA IN 1899-1900 ❀❀ UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF V. EVERIT MACY, CLARENCE M. HYDE, B. TALBOT B. HYDE, AND I. N. PHELPS STOKES ❀❀❀❀

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# SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY

ENNO LITTMANN, PH.D



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## PREFACE TO PART IV

**T**HE inscriptions published here comprise all epigraphical documents in Semitic languages found by this expedition. No attempt has been made to give a complete corpus of any branch of Semitic epigraphy, though all Syriac inscriptions that have been discovered in Northern Syria up to this time are, with a very few exceptions, contained in this volume.

The Syriac inscriptions represent a new feature in Syrian epigraphy and throw some new light on the life and the history of the native population of Northern Syria during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. They afford also material for palæographical and linguistic studies, but in this respect they do not differ essentially from the Syriac manuscripts written in the same period.

The Palmyrene and Nabatæan inscriptions are but the gleanings gathered after the work of former laborers in the field, especially that scholar whose explorations suggested our own work, the Marquis Melchior de Vogüé. A few of them, however, are noteworthy for the information which they furnish with regard to the building of two of the most important temples of Syria, the temple of Bel in Palmyra and that of Ba'al Samîn at Sî'. Others contribute to our knowledge of the pagan religion of the Palmyrenes, or, like the Nabatæan stele dated according to the Seleucid era, are interesting for historical reasons.

Again, the number of Safaitic inscriptions is quite small in comparison with the larger collections of MM. de Vogüé, Dussaud, and Macler. But by studying the originals and by taking measurements and photographs I have endeavored to reach a more complete understanding of these curious documents of pre-Islamic North-

Arabian civilization — if it may thus be termed. These documents illustrate the life, the religion, and the language of the Syrian Bedawin, many of whom went over to a settled life in the Haurân and in Palmyra, where they played an important rôle.

The later Arabic, or Mohammedan, civilization is represented in the Kufic and Arabic inscriptions. Its spread is indicated by the presence of these inscriptions at many different localities.

These various classes of inscriptions fall naturally into two groups, according to the languages in which they are written, a North-Semitic and a South-Semitic group. This division has been followed in the order of chapters of this part: the first four chapters contain inscriptions in North-Semitic languages, while in the last two those in Arabian or South-Semitic dialects have found their place. In the former of these two groups it has been thought advisable, in keeping with the arrangement in the other parts of these publications and with the route of the expedition, to follow a geographical order from north to south. By this it has been made possible to put the Syriac inscriptions, which are most closely connected with the work of the expedition, in the first place. From a historical point of view, however, they should have been placed after the Nabatæan and Palmyrene. The inscriptions in Hebrew characters, which contain many Arabic words and sentences, belong, as it were, to both the North-Semitic and the South-Semitic group, and have therefore been placed between the two. In the last chapter, the Arabic inscriptions have been arranged according to their dates, and only in a very few cases has this order been disregarded for topographical reasons.

The geographical position of the various towns and other localities where the Syriac and Arabic inscriptions were found has not been indicated in this volume, except where it was required for an accurate understanding of the monuments. For more geographical information the reader is referred to Part I, which contains the maps.

In restoring the text of many inscriptions, square and round brackets have been used: the former indicate simple restorations, the latter corrections. Letters or words which are now obliterated on the stones but are to be restored with reasonable certainty are put in [ ]; those which have been corrected from obvious mistakes, or have been omitted on the stone, or are not read with certainty, are put in (). But in a number of cases the distinction was not absolutely clear, and it is possible that my use of square and round brackets has not been altogether consistent.

A great many Semitic words, in particular all the Arabic words used in the commentary, are given in transliteration, largely owing to the difficulty of obtaining Arabic type. In these transliterations ordinary long vowels are indicated by long marks, while circumflexes are used only for long vowels that bear the accent. This accent has been expressly noted, with a few exceptions, only in words which I myself heard pronounced, i.e., names of persons and of places, or words of the modern vernacular Syrian Arabic. The consonantal aleph has been expressed by a spiritus lenis ordinarily only in the middle of words.

The indices are in the main vocabularies of the inscriptions, but they include also the Syriac and Safaitic words which occur in the introductions to Chapters I and V.

I am indebted, in the publication of these inscriptions, to my colleagues of the expedition for their constant assistance; furthermore, to Professor Nöldeke, Dr. Schröder, Dr. van Berchem, M. Dussaud, and Dr. Lidzbarski. To Professor Nöldeke I owe very helpful suggestions in the interpretation of the Syriac inscriptions. Dr. Schröder, consul-general of the German Empire at Beirut and one of the pioneers in Phœnician epigraphy, placed several of his copies of inscriptions at my disposal, and by his kind interest I have been encouraged in my own work. Dr. van Berchem, the editor of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum," was kind enough to read my manuscript of Chapter VI, to add a number of comments and suggestions, and to place three of his own photographs at my disposal. M. Dussaud was of great assistance to me in the deciphering of the Safaitic alphabet by sending me his copies before they were published. Dr. Lidzbarski lent me a facsimile which was inaccessible to me and assisted me in the interpretation of a Palmyrene inscription. Specific acknowledgment of all that I owe to these scholars is also made in the commentaries on the inscriptions themselves.

ENNO LITTMANN.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, May, 1904.



SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM  
NORTHERN CENTRAL SYRIA, PALMYRA  
AND THE REGION OF THE HAURÂN



# SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN CENTRAL SYRIA, PALMYRA AND THE REGION OF THE HAURÂN

## CHAPTER I

### SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS

THE Syriac inscriptions published here are all from Northern Syria, the Aramean district this side of the Euphrates, where the influence of Antioch, i.e., of Hellenistic culture, was the strongest. This influence has been considered one of the main reasons for the fact that we know of very little literary activity in Syriac throughout this region. Undoubtedly this explanation is correct. It is true that the literary productions of Northern Syria are not nearly so numerous as those of Mesopotamia, the center of the Syriac language, literature, and civilization. But we learn now more and more that the country west of the Euphrates is not quite so poor in examples of Syriac writing as has been generally supposed. In the preliminary report of this expedition (p. 435) I quoted M. de Vogüé's remark that the inscription in Dêhes was the only one in Syriac in a region where all the others were Greek, and I added that we were fortunate enough to find seventeen new Syriac inscriptions and graffiti in the country about Dêhes. Furthermore, Professor Sachau's statement on page xi of his "Verzeichnis der Syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin" (1899) might be somewhat modified. He mentions as "Ortschaften, die hier in Betracht kommen," i.e., where Syriac literature was produced, "ausser Antiochien Mabôgh-Hierapolis in der Nähe des Euphrat, das Kloster Kenneshrê auf dem Ostufer des Euphrat, Mar'ash-Germanicia auf dem Amanus und das Kloster Teleda in der Palmyrenischen Wüste."<sup>1</sup> To these certainly should be added the convents of Mâr

<sup>1</sup> I believe still with Guidi (La lettera di Filosseno ai Monaci di Tell 'Addâ, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma, 1886, p. III, ann. 4) that the "Great Convent of Teleda" (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ) was in the present Dêr Tell 'Adî near Antioch, not in Tell 'Edâ near Selemiyeh (Moritz, Zur antiken

Topographie der Palmyrene, Berlin, 1889, p. 6). The "Great Convent" is usually mentioned in connection with Antioch. Another reason for this northern location is the fact that Simeon Stylites, whose center of activity was near the present Tell 'Adî, spent some time in the convent of ܩܘܪܝܢܐ.

Eusebius and of Mār Joseph in Kafrā d<sup>h</sup>c-B<sup>h</sup>ārtā, to-day the extensive and beautiful ruins of Kēfr il-Bārah, from where several manuscripts in the British Museum came.<sup>1</sup> Even after the Mohammedan conquest we find Syriac manuscripts copied in a small place like ܟܘܢܝܐ, to-day Ṭurlāhā, in the mountains that connect the Djebel il-A'la and the Djebel Bārīshā at their northern extremity (see Wright, l.c., p. 498 and p. 817). Sachau himself has added to the list of places in Syria where Syriac was written in his "Studie zur Syrischen Kirchenlitteratur der Damascene," in "Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad.," Jahrgang 1899, pp. 502 sqq. Further investigation will probably increase still more the number of manuscripts and inscriptions that come from this region. It is, however, a matter of fact that Greek inscriptions are absolutely predominant in the Christian towns of Northern Central Syria; no Syriac inscription has been found, for instance, in the Djebel Rihā, with all its large ruins and its many inscribed buildings. Of the Syriac inscriptions of the Djebel il-A'la and the Djebel Bārīshā, the four dated ones belong to the sixth century A.D., and the rest can with reasonable certainty be assigned to about the same time.

What historical reason could explain the fact that during the sixth century the inhabitants of Northern Central Syria began to make more use of their native language in their inscriptions? To my mind, only one answer can be given: these Syriac inscriptions are connected with the growth of the national spirit which found its expression in and was further enhanced by the founding of the Monophysite Church. The late Dr. Kleyn, a distinguished Syriac scholar, said in his very important dissertation, "Jacobus Baradaeüs, de Stichter der Syrische Monophysitische Kerk" (Leiden, 1882), pp. 6-7, that the two main factors in the separation of the Monophysites from the Catholic Church were (1) a feeling of independence toward Rome and Constantinople; (2) the natural religious disposition of the Eastern people. I believe that our Syriac inscriptions are an epigraphical evidence of the former of these two factors.

This, of course, does not mean to imply that no Syriac inscriptions were written in this country before the time of the break with the church of Constantinople. The inscriptions in Zebed, i.e., Nos. 22-24, which I assign to the fourth century, furnish no argument with regard to this question, because they are much farther away from Antioch. But general considerations and the fine development in the art of carving Syriac letters point to the conclusion that the change was not altogether sudden, but that the way was partly prepared by a gradual growth of writing in Syriac. If this be so, then Syriac must have been written here in the fourth and fifth centuries as well, although the Greek was almost exclusively used in official documents. In any case, the assignment of all our inscriptions to the sixth century must be considered in connection with the ecclesiastical movement which spread over the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the passages given in Wright's Catalogue, Index, p. 1343, s.v. ܟܘܢܝܐ ܟܘܢܝܐ, and also the correspondence between John, abbot of this convent of Eusebius, and Daniel of Ṣalach, mentioned in Wright's Catalogue, p. 605.

same region at the same time. And that this movement indeed prevailed throughout the region where the inscriptions were found is known from the literature, chiefly from the interesting documents contained in the MS. Add. 14,602 of the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> foll. 59<sup>a</sup> sqq., viz., the correspondence between the orthodox (i.e., Monophysite) bishops at Constantinople and the orthodox bishops, abbots, etc., of the East, and the two *συνδοκτικά* made by the latter. There we find abbots and priests of many convents and villages of the Djebel il-A'la, the Djebel Bārīshā, the Djebel Ḥalaḡah, and the surrounding plains. I have been able to identify a number of geographical names in these lists, but unfortunately in several cases either the old names are now lost, or in the list only the name of the convent, not the village, is mentioned. However, the identified places like *ܩܠܒ ܠܘܙܗ* Bshindelâyā, *ܩܝܪ ܩܪܡܝܢ* Kefr Kermīn, *ܩܝܪܝܘܫܘܫܐ* Sermedā, *ܩܠܒ ܠܝܕܝܢܗ* il-Ledjīneh, *ܩܝܪܝܘܫܐ ܬܝܪܝܒ* Têrib (il-Athârib), etc., show how far Monophysitism spread over this country.

The connection between our inscriptions and the growth of the Monophysite Church applies only to the language of the former. Their contents do not refer to the religious questions that stirred the minds of the people at that time. With regard to church history we learn therefore only topographical details, i.e., the various inscriptions show at what places this national spirit found its expression in stone. In the Djebel il-A'la only Ḳalb Lauzeh and Bshindelâyā have thus far furnished Syriac inscriptions. This is partly due to the fact that, on the whole, inscriptions are very rare in this mountain range. It is noticeable, however, that these are the two most important towns of the Djebel il-A'la. The church of Ḳalb Lauzeh is widely known; the Syriac inscription which was very probably connected with it (see No. 1) seems to prove that it was a Monophysite church of the Trinity. If this be so, the church was probably erected under Justinian: during his reign there was great building activity, and the Monophysites certainly had their share in it, for they were favored by the emperor himself at times, and always by his wife Theodora. Of Bshindelâyā we know that a representative of its convent signed the second Monophysite *συνδοκτικόν* (see Wright, Catalogue, p. 707<sup>b</sup>, l. 17). Outside the limits of the Djebel il-A'la, and exclusive of the graffiti which cannot be considered as official documents of some ruling party, and also of the fragment in Kefr Binneh (No. 3), conclusions from which would be very doubtful, we have Syriac inscriptions of official character in Khirbit Hasan (6, 7), Dêhes (8), Bākīrhā (10, 11), Khirbit il-Khaṭīb (12), Dâr Ḳītā (13), and Bābīškā (14, 15). All of these except Khirbit Ḥasan are towns of considerable size; they are situated in the northern part of the Djebel Bārīshā.

The rest of the inscriptions, i.e., Nos. 19-24, which were found in the Chalcidene, can scarcely be connected with those of the Antiochene. They are probably a natural growth from their own soil, as are many independent features which appear in the architecture of these Eastern places near the Euphrates. Very few general remarks can be

<sup>1</sup> Wright, Catalogue, No. DCCLIV.

made about them here; they are too isolated, and their surroundings are not well enough known. Mektebeh (inscriptions 19–21), in the Djebel il-Haṣṣ,<sup>1</sup> is a small ruin including a few ancient houses which are partly destroyed. Zebed (inscriptions 22–24) has been described by Sachau in "Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften," Aus dem Jahre 1881, pp. 170 sqq.; a detailed description of its churches is given by Mr. Butler.<sup>2</sup> Of the ancient civilization of this entire region south of Aleppo, very little is now left; even so large a city as Khanâşir<sup>3</sup> is almost entirely obliterated. The Djebel il-Haṣṣ, as well as the Djebel Shbêt and the plain of Khanâşir, belongs to the black-stone region. In such places where basalt was used, Greek inscriptions with raised letters are very common, as for example in Selemîyeh, Rbê'ah (Djebel il-Haṣṣ), Khanâşir, etc. And in Mektebeh we found two Syriac inscriptions in relief, the only ones known to me.

The new material resulting from all these inscriptions may be classified as (1) historical; (2) archæological; (3) palæographical; (4) linguistical.

The *historical* information contained in such a small number of inscriptions is naturally very scant. Besides, only three, perhaps four, of this collection can be dated accurately. They bear on the history of architecture and are thus referred to in Part II of these publications, viz., No. 6 in Khirbit Ḥasan, No. 10 in Bākîrhā, No. 12 in Khirbit il-Khaṭîb, and No. 14 in Bābişkā. Occasionally also undated inscriptions are used for historical purposes, or architectural evidence is quoted in my discussion; this will be found in several passages of Part II and of the following.

The *archæological* details are chiefly found in Nos. 6, 14 and 15, 22 to 24. No. 6, the long inscription on the church in Khirbit Ḥasan, is important because of the account which it gives of certain sums expended for the building of the church. Nos. 14 and 15 are on a colonnade in Bābişkā and give certain facts with regard to its history. They speak of the erection of the *συναγωγή*, the purchase of property, and the completion of the building. The purchasing and the finishing were done by four *أخوة*, "brothers," a term which here may mean "compatriots" or "fellow-tradesmen," or both. Finally, the Syriac and Greco-Syriac inscriptions of Zebed (Nos. 22–24) give rise to a number of questions relating to ecclesiastical archæology. These are carved upon the panels of a parapet which inclosed the choir of a church. Two of them give little more than the names of certain persons. No. 22, however, speaks of the throne which was given by Rabūlā, and the same man is mentioned again in No. 23. It deserves to be noted that one of the persons is called a deaconess.

The *palæographical* material is perhaps the most important feature of these Syriac inscriptions. One very striking peculiarity of them is the tendency to begin the inscription at the left instead of at the right end. To accomplish this, the Syriac letters are

<sup>1</sup> Originally Djebel il-Aḥṣṣ (compare Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, pp. 385, 537).

<sup>2</sup> Part II, pp. 295–307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἀνατολίαν*; *أناطوليا*. Wright, Catalogue, p. 756<sup>b</sup>; Khunâşirah; to-day also called Khnâşirah, Khnâşireh, and even Khânâşir.



be called to the separation of letters which is discussed under 14, 15, and 22, to the ligature  $\omega$  (Nos. 1, 7, 15, 22), to the peculiar form of the  $\delta$  found in Dâr Kîṭā (13) and Kaṣr il-Benât (18), and to the joining of  $\alpha$ ,  $\zeta$ , and  $\delta$  with the following letter ( $\alpha$  in 4, l. 4, and 6, l. 4;  $\zeta$  in 8;  $\delta$  in 13, l. 2, and 18, l. 1). The joining of  $\omega$ ,  $\alpha$ , and  $\delta$  became a common feature of Christian-Palestinian writing, and is also found in manuscripts from near Damascus.<sup>1</sup> It may thus have been more usual in Syria proper than in Mesopotamia, where it occurs only sporadically.

*Grammatical* and *linguistic* peculiarities are discussed in the commentaries on the inscriptions of Khirbit Hasan and of Zebed. It is, of course, a priori very probable that the Aramaic dialect of Northern Syria even during the Christian period was not absolutely the same as that of Edessa. This is expressly stated in a passage of Barhebraeus's writings, which is discussed by M. Parisot in the "Journal Asiatique," 1898, I, p. 243. But if we except the language of Ma'lûlā and the other two villages where Aramaic is still spoken, very little remains of the native Aramaic dialects of this country, since the language of its Semitic literature in Christian times was always that of Edessa. The language of our inscriptions is practically the same as that of the manuscripts, but I believe that in a few cases forms have been used which were peculiar to these parts of the country; thus, for instance,  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$ , 6, l. 5,  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$ , 6, l. 10, or spellings like  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$ , 6, l. 4, instead of  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$ ; compare also  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$  in 1, l. 2, for  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$ . In No. 22 the words  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$  probably contain two dialectic forms, and perhaps even a purely Arabic word, viz.,  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$ , is found in the same inscription, which is as early as the fourth century. It is not unlikely at all that a few Arabisms were received into the Syriac of Northern Syria even before the Mohammedan conquest: I have pointed out below that there was frequent intercourse between the two nations near the northern border of the Syrian desert; we hear occasionally of Arab chieftains in the biographies of Syriac saints, and among others we find Arabs around the column of Simeon Stylites. Another possible instance of an Arabism is  $\text{ܟܠܟܠܟܠܟܠ}$  in the meaning "to return," as translated by Kleyn, "Jacobus Baradaeüs," p. 66, ann. 4. Finally, Syriac words in Greek letters are to be found in the inscriptions of Zebed, as, for example,  $\text{Ζαωρθα σαμασθα}$  and  $\text{βερε(χ) δουχραναν}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Sachau, Studie zur Syrischen Kirchenlitteratur der Damascene, Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad., Jahrgang 1899, p. 508.



it must be assumed that the first and the last word contain several mistakes or unusual spellings. Traces of the partly destroyed letters in the second and third words were found subsequently. At the end of the first line there is the upper part of a letter which might very well be the missing  $\aleph$  of  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ . In the next word,  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ , a mistake seems to have been corrected. If the  $\text{ב}$  is to be found in the small circle after the  $\text{א}$ , then the broken letter partly connected with it may be the  $\text{ב}$ . If, however, we consider this letter to be the  $\text{א}$ , the  $\text{ב}$  must be placed after it and would be partly connected with the following  $\aleph$ . In  $\aleph(\aleph)\text{ב}$  the first  $\aleph$  may have been left out by mistake, the last letter before  $\text{ב}$  and the third letter after it being also an  $\aleph$ . On the other hand, it is also possible that  $\aleph\text{ב}$  is phonetically written for  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ , since  $\aleph$  had lost its phonetic value, and perhaps we may see a parallel in  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  in the Syr. inscr. 7, l. 2; this contraction occurs in almost all Semitic languages, although it is not always expressed in writing, as in the Amharic word *bágar* for \**ba'agar*. The last word of the phrase under discussion is plainly written  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  on the stone, but it ought to be  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ , according to literary Syriac. The  $\text{ב}$  is evidently a mistake for  $\text{ב}$ : the stone-cutter forgot to close the square. Then we would have  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ . As to the two omissions, I believe that one is accidental and the other probably intentional. It is hardly credible that the final  $\aleph$  was omitted purposely and that the status absolutus was intended. But the writer, i.e., the man who wrote the original copy, or perhaps the stone-cutter himself, may have been accustomed not to express the short *u* and *o* by a  $\text{א}$ , and therefore he may have meant to write  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ , *d'kud'shā*, just as a man in the neighboring Khirbit Hasan wrote  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  instead of the usual  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ .

Finally, the reading of the first word of the inscription and of the two proper names remains to be justified. In the first word,  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ , the  $\text{ב}$  has the form  $\square$ . It seems to me that a line closing the first part of the letter has erroneously been forgotten, as in  $\text{ב}$  for  $\text{ב}$  (see above). The  $\text{א}$  is either badly weathered or happened to be carved in a place where the stone was very rough; the dot in the middle of it appears now as a short line. The additional line parallel now with the original dot is probably a shallow hole in the stone similar to those which are found in the  $\text{א}$  preceding this  $\text{א}$  and in the  $\text{א}$  of  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$ . There is a very slight possibility that what I read now as a  $\text{א}$  was meant to be a  $\text{ב}$ ; but that would scarcely give satisfactory sense.

Of the two names,  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  seems to me almost certain. Even of the  $\text{א}$  some traces can be seen in the squeeze, although there is a deep hole in the stone at this point. The name of the son is not quite so certain. The first character is as it stands scarcely a Syriac letter. To explain it, I suggest that here the same thing may have happened as in the word  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  for  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  in Dêhes: the two letters  $\text{א}$ , considered by the writer as one character, as, e.g., in  $\aleph\text{ב}^{\text{א}}$  in the Syr. inscr. 15, l. 1, were turned over half-way toward the right instead of toward the left, i.e.,  $\text{ב}$  for  $\text{ב}$ . This same  $\text{א}$  seems to have met with a similar misfortune in the Syr. inscr. 7, l. 4. If this is the case,

it is improbable that the stone-cutter knew much Syriac, and he could not have been the same man who wrote purposely (𐤒)𐤌𐤍 for 𐤒𐤌𐤍𐤍 (see above, p. 10). The letter after 𐤒 is undoubtedly 𐤌; then follows a character which looks like an unfinished 𐤍, but is more probably a 𐤍 with a short curve instead of an angle. The final nūn is a little indistinct, but probably of the same form as the last letter of this inscription: 𐤍. It is interesting then to see that here, where each letter stands isolated, this double form of the nūn is used, as in many manuscripts when 𐤍 (or 𐤍) occurs as a single letter or as a numeral. In the Syriac inscriptions of Bābiskā and of Mektebeh, however, where the letters are also separated, the common final 𐤍 is used.

This Yōḥannān, son of Zakhrōn, may be a relative of the presbyter Zakhrōn, son of Yōḥannān, who wrote his name in the rock-hewn chamber near Mār Sābā; cf. the commentary on those graffiti (Nos. 4 and 5), where the name 𐤏𐤓𐤍 is discussed. Perhaps they were father and son, but it is uncertain which was the father of the other, because with the Semites as well as with other peoples grandfather and grandson often have the same name. In any case, however, we cannot place these two inscriptions far apart in time, and all the evidence that we can obtain leads to the conclusion that both were written in the sixth century. I believe that the Ḳalb Lauzeh inscription is later than that of the baptistery in Dêḥes, which it resembles more closely than any other; this is concluded chiefly from the fact that in Dêḥes 𐤍 is angular and 𐤍 is curved, whereas here both show no distinction in their form, but are differentiated by the diacritical points. As the Dêḥes baptistery was built probably about 500, and as in Estrangelo writing the 𐤍 and the 𐤍 gradually assumed the same form in the course of the sixth century, both the Ḳalb Lauzeh inscription and the graffiti at Mār Sābā may be assigned to about 550 A.D.

Since the marble block which bears the inscription under discussion is not in situ, it is difficult to say for what purpose it was intended. It could hardly have been placed above the entrance of a house, where even to-day, in Germany especially, inscriptions containing the name of the owner and some pious verse are common enough; a specimen of such an inscription is probably No. 20. The material and the shape of the stone, with its moldings, speak against such a supposition. White marble is very rare in this country, and a block of it must have been a very precious piece. This indicates that the stone was used at a place where things of special value were expected, if not required. What would be more natural than to connect it with the church of Ḳalb Lauzeh,<sup>1</sup> an edifice which is counted among the most perfect and most beautiful of all Northern Syria? This assumption gains the more probability from the contents of the inscription, which sounds like a kind of creed. It may have been the front of an altar, or a part of a post in a chancel rail or screen; at any rate, it seems to have been a costly gift to the magnificent church by a "worshiper of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."

<sup>1</sup>This church is described in Part II, pp. 221 sqq.



is found in Khirbit Ḥasan (507 A.D.) and in certain manuscripts of the sixth century, a form which Land in his "Anecdota," I, p. 71, has called minuscule.

Lastly, this inscription, unlike that at Ḳalb Lauzeh and several other Syriac inscriptions in the neighboring mountains, does not imitate the Greek way of writing from left to right. And this fact is the more conspicuous as the two towns Ḳalb Lauzeh and Bshindelâyā are close together, and as no other Syriac inscriptions than these have been found in the Djebel il-A'la.

It must remain altogether uncertain to what sort of a building these fragments belonged. From the expression "be well remembered," one might infer that it was a memorial building of some kind, perhaps a chapel dedicated to a saint, or a funeral edifice. But it may as well have been a private dwelling, and in that case the prayer contained in the inscription would be in behalf of the owner. Another possibility would be that the words "be well remembered" refer to the architect, as in the Dêhes inscription, which ends with the request *ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ*; then no conclusion whatsoever could be drawn from these words with regard to the character of the building.

3

**KEFR BINNEH. FRAGMENT.** On a stone in a modern wall along a street near the center of the town. The following letters (Fig. 3) were visible; but it is not unlikely that others were hidden by the adjacent stones. I was obliged to copy the inscription from horseback, while stopping for a few moments on my way through the town; my copy therefore was made hastily and may be found untrustworthy.

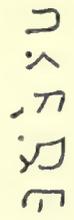


Fig. 3.

What I have copied can scarcely be read otherwise than *ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ*, "the son of his word." But perhaps the first word is incomplete and the sense may be totally different. I have published my copy here because I think it is of importance to know exactly how much of this kind has been found, and because this particular fragment is the southernmost Syriac inscription found in Northern Central Syria.

4 AND 5

**MÂR SÂBÂ. ROCK-HEWN CHAMBER.** In a rock-hewn chamber with perfectly flat roof, south of Mâr Sâbâ, opposite Ishruk, but separated from the latter by a valley.

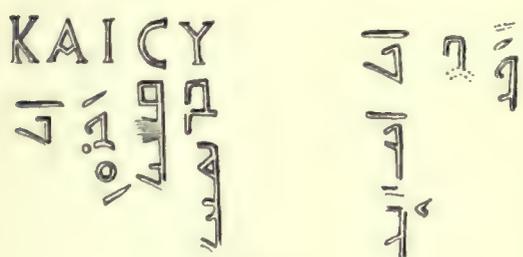


Fig. 4.

This chamber seems to have served the monks of the monastery of Mâr Sâbâ as a press; there are several niches in the walls: in the wall opposite the entrance there is a large niche for the press-beam, and at the right of it a door to a smaller room.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions (Fig. 4) are on the south wall, at the right hand as one enters.

<sup>1</sup> See Part II, p. 269.

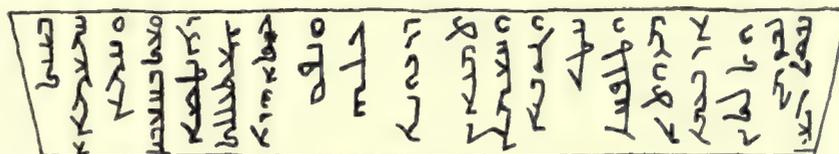


top originally, in which case we would have a **ⲁ**, as in **ⲁⲛⲥⲉⲛ**. A name of four letters beginning with **ⲁⲛ** might easily be **ⲁⲛⲥⲉⲛ**, as, e.g., in an inscription at Bākirhā (see No. 10). The traces which are still to be seen of the missing letters do not speak against this supposition. The slanting line before **ⲁⲛ** is doubtless, as I have noted in my original copy of the inscription, only a shallow hole in the stone, whose surface is very uneven here. The name Zakkai occurs also in Bābiskā. It is a still further abbreviated hypocoristic of **ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲗⲉⲛ** than Zakhrōn, and stands in the same relation to this latter form as, for instance, the Palmyrene **ⲙⲉⲛⲉ** to Zabdōn.

6

**KHIRBIT HASAN. CHURCH PORTAL, 507 A. D.** On the lintel of the western portal in the south side of the church, in situ. This portal is shown by the accompanying photograph, taken by Mr.

Butler, whose discussion of the church is to be found on pp. 199 sqq. of Part II of these publications. The lintel contains a trapezoid in relief, the



Scale - 1 : 10.  
Fig. 5.

lower band of which is 103-112 cm. long and 14 cm. high; this band bears the inscription. **SQUEEZES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.**



Portal in the church at Khirbit Hasan.

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| <b>ⲕⲉⲛⲉ</b>       | 1 <i>In the year</i>                   |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛ</b>    | 2 <i>five hundred</i>                  |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b>   | 3 <i>and fifty</i>                     |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 4 <i>and six, according to the era</i> |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 5 <i>of Antioch,</i>                   |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 6 <i>was completed</i>                 |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 7 <i>this church.</i>                  |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 8 <i>And there were spent</i>          |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 9 <i>on it :</i>                       |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 10 <i>of darics,</i>                   |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 11 <i>eighty</i>                       |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 12 <i>and five,</i>                    |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 13 <i>and of beans,</i>                |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 14 <i>wheat,</i>                       |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 15 <i>and lentils,</i>                 |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 16 <i>four hundred</i>                 |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 17 <i>and thirty</i>                   |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 18 <i>bushels,</i>                     |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 19 <i>besides</i>                      |
| <b>ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ</b> | 20 <i>the chief expenses.</i>          |

Parts of the following commentary have already been published in the "Princeton University Bulletin," Vol. XIV, 1903, pp. 56-60.

This inscription is one of the best examples of that minuscule script of the sixth century of which I have spoken above on pp. 7 and 14. Its cursive, uneven, inelegant characters differ conspicuously from those of the majuscule manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries or of such inscriptions as that in Dêhes (No. 8). The  $\aleph$  occurs here in both forms: the cursive one is to be found in  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , l. 4, and in  $\aleph$ , l. 14. The letters  $\aleph$  and  $\aleph$  are very irregularly carved, and neither of them has the diacritical point; the  $\aleph$  in  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , l. 16, is a good example of this cursive form. Both the open and the closed forms of  $\aleph$  occur, and in  $\aleph\aleph$ , l. 4, the  $\aleph$  is connected with the following letter. Finally,  $\aleph$  deserves special attention: the majuscule form is still in use, e.g., in l. 11 and l. 16, but it has also an abridged form, which is obtained by opening the loop in the lower part of the letter, as in ll. 1, 4, 6, 18. Whether in  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  the  $\aleph$  is joined to the following  $\aleph$  on purpose or accidentally, is not certain; the latter seems to be more likely here, for in the same word two other letters,  $\aleph$  and  $\aleph$ , which I certainly do not think the writer meant to connect, are joined together in a similar way.

The same carelessness shown in the character of the writing is seen also in the forms of the words, where some mistakes are made. Thus, l. 3 contains the word  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ . Professor Nöldeke and Professor Euting proposed to read  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  from my copy; but after a careful examination of the squeeze, I have come to the conclusion that  $\aleph$  and  $\aleph$  were really carved on the stone. The letters  $\aleph$  and  $\aleph$  certainly look much alike in  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , l. 4, but in l. 3 the second letter must be a  $\aleph$ , because the two perpendicular strokes do not show the slightest convergence at the bottom, whereas in every  $\aleph$  of this inscription this convergence is to be found. We must therefore assume that the writer by mistake left out the  $\aleph$  after the  $\aleph$ , and that the word should be  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ . Another mistake occurs in l. 12, where we have the word  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ . It would be natural enough to correct this to  $(\aleph)\aleph\aleph(\aleph)\aleph$ , for the first  $\aleph$  may have been omitted through sheer carelessness, and the final  $\aleph$  for lack of space, as in  $(\aleph)\aleph\aleph$ , l. 17. Or possibly  $\aleph$  for  $\aleph$  might be merely another case of phonetic spelling, like  $\aleph$  for  $\aleph$  (l. 7 and in the Dêhes inscription), in spite of the fact that this same word keeps its historical spelling in l. 2. There is, however, this very strong objection to any such explanation of  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , that we would then have the higher number, 500, placed after the lower number, 80; for I do not know any other case in Syriac where that occurs, and in this very inscription the usual order is observed in ll. 2-4 and 17-18. I think, therefore, that the third and the fourth letters are transposed by mistake, and that we should read  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  instead of  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ . Another argument for this reading is furnished by a comparison of these figures with those which follow: a proportion of 580 darics to 430 bushels would be well-nigh impossible, whereas 85 darics to 430 bushels is about what we should expect. Furthermore, there is some doubt about the reading of l. 13 and l. 20. L. 13 might be read  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  or  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  or  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ . Professor Nöldeke wrote me: " $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  ist sicher; ich las gleich so." If we adopt this, we must admit (1) that the initial

part of the  $\aleph$  coincides on the stone with the preceding  $\alpha$ ; (2) that the upper line of the  $\aleph$  was originally carved very shallow or has been weathered away; (3) that the little tooth projecting from the main line before the  $\aleph$  is only accidental; (4) that the natural order is not followed in enumerating these various details, for we should not expect the beans and lentils, which belong to one part of the payment in kind, to be separated by the mention of the wheat, which constitutes a distinct sort of produce. But these obstacles are not at all insuperable. We know that this inscription is written very carelessly, and all these difficulties would easily be explained by the assumption that we have here another case of carelessness. And on the whole I myself believe that  $\text{ܩܘܢܝܢ}$  is the more probable reading. In l. 20 the reading  $\text{ܕܢܝܢ}$  is due to Professor Nöldeke. I hesitated long about the first word, but since  $\text{ܕܢܝܢ}$  was suggested to me for the second word, I believe that the first must necessarily be  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$ .

In l. 4 we have  $\text{ܥܪܐ}$ , "era." The common word for "era" in Syriac is  $\text{ܥܪܐ}$ ; and this is almost always used in the literature, as we see from the passages cited in Payne-Smith's "Thesaurus," s.v., and it also occurs in the Syriac inscriptions from Bābiskā (No. 14) and Khirbit il-Khaṭīb (No. 12) and in the Nabataean inscription from Dmēr (C. I. S., II, 161), where we read  $\text{ܕܡܢܝܢ ܐܪܪܗܘܡܝܐ}$ . Consequently it is interesting to find here a word which is a synonym of  $\text{ܥܪܐ}$  in many other respects. We should expect the spelling  $\text{ܥܪܐܘܢܐ}$ , as generally in ancient times only the  $\alpha$  of  $\text{ܥܪܐ}$  ( $\text{ܥܪ}$ ) and  $\text{ܥܪܐܘܢܐ}$  ( $\text{ܥܪܐܘܢ}$ ) is left out. But we know that also in the Codex Sinaiticus many a short  $u$  is not expressed by  $\alpha$ , and that, on the other hand, this inscription is negligently written. At all events, it seems to me safe to suggest that the writer here not only used the cursive script of every-day life, but also local words and ways of spelling. This is the case, in my opinion, with regard to  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$ , l. 5, and  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$ , l. 10, although of course I do not deny the *possibility* of misspelling in either case, viz.,  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$  for  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢܐ}$ , and  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$  for  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢܐ}$ . The name of the town Antioch has, according to Payne-Smith, eight different forms in Syriac, none of which, however, is without the  $\alpha$  after the  $\aleph$ . The commonest form of all is  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢܐ}$ , which closely corresponds to the Greek  $\text{Ἀντιόχεια}$ , and this is the form used in the Bābiskā inscription (No. 14). The reading of the form which we find here is not absolutely certain. From the stone I copied  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$ . But the  $\alpha$  and the  $\aleph$  come so near together that in the squeeze there seems to be a connecting line between them; and if this line be not accidental, a  $\alpha$  *might* have been intended by the stone-cutter either originally or as a correction. We would then have, as it would stand,  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢܐ}$ ; this could only be a very careless mistake or an abbreviation. If, on the other hand, my reading  $\text{ܕܩܘܢܝܢ}$  is correct,—and this seems to me much more likely,—we should read it *Antākiyā*, and thus find here the Syriac prototype of the Arabic *Antākiyah*. The Arabic conquerors made very few changes in the geographical names of Northern Syria, as elsewhere. But they adopted everywhere the *popular*

rather than the *literary* form of each name; and this may be the case with *Antākiyah* as well. The other form, which may be a dialectic variant, is ܘܢܫܘܢ instead of the common ܘܢܫܘܢ. A discussion of the possible Persian originals of this word and of its forms in other languages has been given by Professor Hoffmann in "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," II, pp. 49 sqq. In the Old Testament we find ܘܢܫܘܢ (1 Chron. xxix. 7, Ezra viii. 27), and the later Jewish literature has ܘܢܫܘܢ (cf. Levy, "Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch," I, 425). Professor Hoffmann believes that the Phœnician ܘܢܫܘܢ<sup>1</sup> must be translated "drachmas"; but the Jewish ܘܢܫܘܢ and the Syriac ܘܢܫܘܢ are undoubtedly darics. It seems to me very probable that the form used in our inscription points to a dialectic pronunciation *darkōnā*, corresponding to ܘܢܫܘܢ. Finally, the phonetic spelling ܘܢܫܘܢ (l. 7) is noteworthy.

All the other words which are contained in this inscription are known from Syriac literature in the same forms as they appear here. The verb ܘܢܫܘܢ is very often used of the completion of buildings, of walls, doorways, houses, temples, etc. Bar 'Ali and Bar Bahlul give as its Arabic equivalent *tamma wafaragha minhu*; both of these verbs occur, as is well known, in many Arabic inscriptions. The corresponding active form ܘܢܫܘܢ is found in the Bābiskā inscription No. 15. Also the words ܘܢܫܘܢ and ܘܢܫܘܢ are common in Aramaic inscriptions (cf. Lidzbarski, "Nordsemit. Epigraphik," s.v., and ܘܢܫܘܢ in the Nabataean inscr. 2).

The church then was built in 507-8 A.D., at a cost of 85 darics and 430 bushels of produce besides the "chief expenses." The details given here with regard to the cost of the building are of peculiar interest. The first items, which are recorded in full, are most probably the contribution of the small community for whom this church was built. Nor can there be much doubt that the ܘܢܫܘܢ, the "chief expenses" or "main sums," came from some other place. For these the people of Khirbit Hasan probably had to apply to the bishop of Antioch, and he may have drawn them from the funds at his disposal or from Constantinople, from where, as we know, ecclesiastical building was actively encouraged during the sixth century. The question arises whether the detailed sums went into one general fund, together with what are called here "chief expenses," or whether their purpose, as well as their provenience, was different from that of the latter. Products of the soil have often been and are still used as money, and thus here 430 bushels might represent just so many darics; then, counting the coin and the produce together, we might consider this to be the contribution of the people of Khirbit Hasan toward the general building-fund. We know, however, that in certain cases the masons received their food on the spot where they were working and that there even existed a certain ratio between the amount of food and of money that was paid to them (see next paragraph). Furthermore, it may have been customary that in small places the inhabitants had to provide only for the workmen during their work, i.e., pay their wages and furnish their food. This is, to my

<sup>1</sup> Über einige phönizische Inschriften, Abhandlungen der Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, XXXVI, p. 8.

mind, the most natural explanation for the present inscription. In that case the "chief expenses" might be a technical term in the builders' language denoting the costs of the materials, as the French *premiers dépens*. But probably the remuneration of the contractors or the architects and the cost of transportation were also included in this.

It would therefore be of interest to compare these data with those of the "Memoratorium de mercedibus Commacinorum" of the Lombard king Liutprand (713-744), to which my attention was called by Professor Frothingham, although this document belongs to a different country and to a period two hundred years later. After having determined how many feet of certain parts of buildings<sup>1</sup> are to be built for a solidus, or a solidus vestitus (i.e., money and produce), or a tremis, it lays down in paragraph V, which is entitled "Concerning the provisions for the masons," the following rules: "The workmen shall receive with one tremis: three bushels of cereals, ten pounds of bacon, one urn of wine, four sextarii of vegetables, one sextarius of salt, and shall count them as a part of their wages."<sup>2</sup> The provisions were furnished to the men on the spot, and, as we learn from the last clause, considered to be a part of the wages. Of this list only two items are found in the Khirbit Hasan inscription: (1) *cereals (secale)*, viz., wheat; (2) *vegetables (legumen)*, viz., beans and lentils. What the proportion was between money and produce in both cases we shall see after we have determined, approximately at least, the values of a ܡܫܝܬܐ and a ܬܪܡܝܫܐ.

The original daric, as introduced by Darius I (521-485 B.C.),<sup>3</sup> was a gold coin of 8.40 grams, worth about five and a half dollars; it came into general use all over the East. After Alexander the Great the daric ceased to be coined in the Hellenistic East, but its name continued, probably meaning the "standard gold coin," and was applied to different coinages at different periods. At the beginning of the sixth century A.D. the standard gold coin of the Greco-Roman world was the solidus (νόμισμα, ἑξάγιστον); it must have been in use also in the Syrian provinces. According to Constantine's regulation of the coinage,<sup>4</sup> the solidus was to be  $\frac{1}{72}$  of a gold pound, i.e., 4.55 grams, and hence it was marked LXXII and OB. This value was not always maintained. After the time of Justinian its weight was only 4.40 grams. Its gold value, therefore, may roughly be estimated as about three dollars. But as the purchasing power of gold previous to the discovery of the New World was about three times as great as it is now, a solidus was equal to at least nine dollars in purchasing power; and 85 darics, if our identification with the solidus be correct, would then correspond to about seven hundred and sixty-five dollars.

<sup>1</sup> I. De sala; II. De muro; III. De muro albato; IV. De maceria.

<sup>2</sup> "De annonis commacinorum: Tollant magistri annonam per tremisse unum, secale modia tria, lardo libras X, vinum ornam unam, legumen sextaria quattuor, sale sextario uno, et in mercedes suas reputent." Cf. Julius von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte* (Wien, 1896), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Ezra ii. 69 (Nehe. vii. 70 sqq.) presupposes darics for the time of Cyrus, 1 Chron. xxix. 7 even for David's time. These are anachronisms, and no proof against the derivation of the word "daric" from the name Darius.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, 2d ed., pp. 327 sqq.

A similar difficulty arises in the determination of the size of the bushels. The Syriac word ܠܘܕܐ, plur. ܠܘܕܐܝܢ, is derived from the Latin *modius*. The Roman bushel measured 16 sextarii, or 8.75 liters, one sextarius being 0.547 liter; but this standard was not by any means universal. Several different systems have been used in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. In the Roman provinces of Egypt and Syria the *modius* contained  $21\frac{1}{3}$  Roman sextarii, or  $11\frac{2}{3}$  liters. A dry measure of about this size has been known in Syria, Palestine, and Phenicia for a long time, and we may assume with a certain degree of probability that the ܠܘܕܐ in Syria at about 500 A.D. was not essentially different from it. It must be said, however, that at the present day the *mudd* in Syria is considerably larger, viz., 18 liters; but we know that this *mudd*, whatever its origin may be, is to be distinguished from *mudy* (derived from ܠܘܕܐ or  $\mu\acute{o}\delta\iota\sigma$ ). Reckoning, then, the ܠܘܕܐ at  $11\frac{2}{3}$  liters, the amount of vegetables and grain given to the workmen at this church may have been something like 5000 liters.

A comparison between article V of Liutprand's law and the detailed sums mentioned in our inscription would, if the latter relate to the workmen alone, show that the amount paid in Khirbit Hasan was a little smaller than that in Lombardy. First, the Lombardic masons received a regular quantity of bacon, wine, and salt, besides grain and vegetables; it is possible that the men in Khirbit Hasan also received meat and wine on special occasions, but for their regular wages and for their daily food they probably had to content themselves with grain and vegetables. Secondly, Liutprand grants 3 bushels of grain and 4 sextarii of vegetables with 1 tremis, or 9 bushels and 12 sextarii with 1 solidus; thus reckoning 16 sextarii in 1 bushel and counting both together as one sum, as in Khirbit Hasan, we would have 156 sextarii, corresponding to 1 solidus, and  $82\frac{3}{4}$  Roman bushels, to 85 solidi. But in Syria only 430 (provincial) bushels go with 85 darics. Counting, however,  $21\frac{1}{3}$  sextarii to such a bushel (see preceding paragraph), we arrive at a sum of  $573\frac{1}{3}$  Roman bushels, corresponding to 85 darics. Granted that daric and solidus were the same coin at that time, the laborers in Syria would have received one third less payment in grain and vegetables than the men in Italy two hundred years later. Another comparison, which we most naturally would think of, i.e., between the absolute scale of wages in Liutprand's law and in Syria, is very precarious and almost impossible. There is a fundamental difference between the kinds of architecture in both countries, that of Syria being dry masonry. Moreover, we do not know exactly how much of the work connected with the erection of the church is included in the sums mentioned in this inscription. This prevents us also from comparing the costs of the walls recorded in the inscriptions of the precinct of the Djebel Shêkh Berekât, although these walls are built of square blocks without mortar, in the same way as in Khirbit Hasan and in all the other ruins of this region. And the price of a square cubit of these walls, as we learn it from Dr. Prentice's comments in "Hermes," 1902, p. 105, viz., 5 drachmas and 2 obols, included probably also the "chief expenses."

The main food of the masons was beans, wheat, and lentils, probably the chief produce of the country at that time as they are now. Lentils must have been a very popular dish all over Syria from the time of the Old Testament onward. Esau sold even his birthright for a mess of pottage, literally "a mess of lentils," in Hebrew נֹיֵד עֲדָשִׁים. One of the favorite dishes of the present Syrian is *mudjaddarah*, "rice and lentils." A Druse peasant near Khirbit Ḥasan told me that they grew the following plants: *hintah*, wheat; *she'ir*, barley; *'adas*, lentils; *kishnin*, ervum, bitter-vetch (Syriac ܟܝܫܢܝܢ, Persian *kishnak*; one of our servants gave me the name *kürsenneh*; cf. Dozy, s.v.); furthermore, *hümmēš*, chick-peas, and *tutun*, tobacco. Besides these plants the peasants have *zētūn*, olive-tree; *tūt*, mulberry-tree; and *mais* (Syriac ܡܝܫܐ; cf. Payne-Smith, "Thesaurus," col. 2098).

7

**KHIRBIT ḤASAN.** JAMB-STONE IN CHURCH. On a quadrated stone in the south wall of the church, on the left of the easternmost doorway as one enters. SQUEEZES.



Scale — 1 : 8.  
Fig. 6.

- |             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| ܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ  | 1 | + <i>Yōhannān</i>                                     |
| (?) ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  | 2 | of <i>WN(?)M(R)A</i> , (read: <i>the architect?</i> ) |
| ܕܡܪܝܢܐ      | 3 | <i>the son of Mārōnā,</i>                             |
| ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ | 4 | <i>the son of Yōhannān (?)</i> , wrought              |
| ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ     | 5 | <i>these works.</i>                                   |

The writing is still a little more cursive and indistinct than that of No. 6 on the lintel of the west portal on the south side, but it is of the same general character, and thus probably belongs to the same period. The lack of clearness leaves the reading of several words uncertain. In l. 2 the ܝ, ܡ, ܕ, and ܐ may be read with comparative certainty. The third letter of this word is a slightly curved line which perhaps is connected with the following ܕ by a curve at its bottom. Furthermore, between ܕ and ܐ another letter seems to be contained in the indistinct left part of the ܕ; this might be ܢ, ܕ, or ܝ, since ܕ in l. 4 and l. 5 probably appears as ܐ instead of ܕ, as in the word ܕܝܫܘܥ. If then in the beginning of the word ܝ is intended by the writer, it seems to me that in this line the name of the place must be found from which Yōhannān came. Of the Syriac names still preserved in this region, scarcely any would be suitable here. But a geographical name, ܕܡܪܝܢܐ, occurs in Wright's Catalogue, p. 48, c. 1, where a deacon John of Arab race, ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ,<sup>1</sup> is mentioned. Now it might be possible that here ܕܡܪܝܢܐ stands for ܕܡܪܝܢܐ, because the ܐ was not

<sup>1</sup> This ܕܡܪܝܢܐ may be a Syriac transliteration of an Arabic *an-Namārah* (h), to-day in-Nemārah, south of the Ruḥbeh; or it may be connected with Nimreh in the Ḥaurān. For John of ܕܡܪܝܢܐ was syncellos of the priest of the

district Nahrā d<sup>he</sup>-Kaṣṣrā, to-day Nahr il-Kṣēr or 'Ain il-Kṣēr, northeast of Damascus (cf. Professor Nöldeke's discussion in Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXIX, p. 423); this district is, of course, not very far from either the Ruḥbeh or the Ḥaurān.





wait for new copies or squeezes. Dêhes was visited twice again: in 1885 by Professor Moritz, and ten years later by Dr. van Berchem, both of whom went to this region expressly for the purpose of taking squeezes of this inscription. The results of Dr. van Berchem's work appeared first. From his squeeze M. de Vogüé published a new deciphering, which was naturally much more complete. He read: **מלך בית שבעה שנים** **האלהא**. The reading proposed by Professor Moritz in his article, which appeared shortly afterward, differs in several words: **מלך בית שבעה שנים** **האלהא**. He is undoubtedly right as to one of his new readings: the word **בית** at the beginning of the second half of the inscription. He is also right in rejecting M. de Vogüé's reading **כ** after the word **האלהא**, about which he says: "Even in his [i.e., M. de Vogüé's] facsimile there is clearly to be recognized that the second letter is a **כ**; the initial stroke is curved, as in the other places in our inscription, whereas the **כ** always appears angular; moreover, there is no trace of an upper cross-stroke to be seen. **כ** can only be *αἴσις* in a vulgar form (Aja Sophia)." I believe I am able to give a better explanation still. The first letter of the word in question does not look like the other *ā*laphs in this inscription: it is a little more angular, and the two strokes projecting from the main line are absolutely parallel and equal in size. This is shown at once by a comparison with the preceding **כ**. On the other hand, the fourth letter in the word **שנים** is of the same form, but turned in the other direction. It seems to me, therefore, that here also we have a **ש**, and that the word is really **ש**, "living." The stone-cutter made a mistake here. He was told to turn every single letter half-way toward the left; this he did throughout the horizontal line of the inscription, except in the case of this letter, which he turned toward the right, viz., **ש** instead of **ש**. The formula **שנים ש** is common both in Jewish<sup>1</sup> and in Christian literature; cf., e.g., **שנים ש** (Wright, Catalogue, p. 491, col. 2). After the word **שנים** there are some faint traces of an **כ**, which, of course, is required by the sense.

Professor Moritz also recognized that M. de Vogüé's reading, **מלך בית שבעה שנים** or **מלך בית שבעה שנים**, is impossible, but he could not explain the complex of letters which he transcribed **ש . . שנים**, and thought that here the stone-cutter might have made a correction. The reason why neither of the two scholars succeeded in finding what to my mind is written quite plainly, viz., **מלך בית שבעה שנים**, is that they did not recognize the letter **ש**, which occurs only here. The absence of any dot above or within this letter shows that it is neither **ש** (Moritz) nor **ש** (de Vogüé). The **ש** in **שנים** resembles our **ש** very closely on account of its curved form, which, in addition to the difference in the diacritical points, distinguishes it in our inscription from **ש**; but in **שנים** there is no trace of nor any space for the upper point. And that the third letter of this word is **ש**, not **ש**, is proved

<sup>1</sup> My attention was first called to this fact by Herr Jellin, teacher in Jerusalem, whom I happened to meet in Berlin, in the winter of 1900-1901, with Professor J. Barth, and on the ground of this I was able to find the final solution.

by the shaft, which has the same height as the  $\Delta$  in  $\text{ܠܡܠܟ}$ . The next word,  $\text{ܡܫܚ}$ , is very apt to be misread, first, because this phonetic spelling, instead of  $\text{ܡܫܚܐ}$ , is unusual, and, secondly, because the letters  $\text{ܫ}$  and  $\text{ܚ}$  are joined and in a manner pressed together on the stone, the space at the end being a little short.

The last word of the perpendicular line I read  $\text{ܠܡܠܟ}$ . Neither Professor Praetorius's and Dr. Moritz's reading,  $\text{ܠܡܠܟܐ}$ , nor that of M. de Vogüé,  $\text{ܠܡܠܟܐ}$ , is possible according to my copy and squeeze, made after a thorough cleaning of the stone from the lichen. As to the letters, Professor Praetorius was more nearly right, whereas the translation and the conclusions of M. de Vogüé are practically the same as those obtained by my reading. The  $\text{ܡ}$  in  $\text{ܠܡܠܟ}$  is certain on account of the perpendicular stroke at the left; for this reason, and because there is no connecting horizontal line in the lower part, the letter cannot be a  $\text{ܡ}$ . The first letter is a somewhat unusual  $\text{ܠ}$ , but very similar forms are found in Sachau's "Edessenische Inschriften," No. 4;<sup>1</sup> cf. especially in ll. 4, 7, and 13. Praetorius's  $\text{ܠ}$  might in itself not be absolutely impossible, but I do not know any form of the  $\text{ܠ}$  where the triangle is not closed; here it is out of the question because of the  $\text{ܡ}$ .

Palæographically this inscription is also of some importance. The letters of the horizontal line are regular and well formed, and of a character appropriate to monuments of this kind. Of all known Syriac inscriptions which have been preserved entire, this is perhaps the most beautiful. It easily ranks, therefore, with the two fragments 11 and 13. And as I have said above (p. 4), the fact that we find such letters carved in stone implies that at that time the art of writing Syriac inscriptions had been highly developed. As to the single letters, there are several forms here which deserve our special attention. We have seen that  $\text{ܐ}$  is angular and  $\text{ܐ}$  is curved; exactly the same distinction is found in two Syriac manuscripts of the fifth century; cf. on Plate II of Land's "Anecdota," I, the words  $\text{ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ}$  in 4, l. 1, and  $\text{ܡܫܚܐ}$  in 5, l. 5. In the Dêhes inscription the letters  $\text{ܐ}$  and  $\text{ܐ}$  show the same difference. Furthermore,  $\Delta$  forms a right angle, and therefore differs from  $\text{ܐ}$  only in the length of the projecting stroke. The letter  $\text{ܫ}$ , however, has a slanting line, and is thus clearly distinguished from  $\Delta$ . Finally, it may be noticed that  $\text{ܐ}$  is here represented by a circle.

The perpendicular part of our inscription, "Pray for Yōḥannān, the architect!" is written in a cursive Estrangelo script, being in this way marked as a part distinct from the main line. The first letter,  $\text{ܫ}$ , appears here connected by its lower line with the following letter. This is the only case known to me in Syriac, but it is not very surprising, since we know that also  $\text{ܠ}$ ,  $\text{ܐ}$ , and  $\text{ܫ}$  are sometimes joined to the letters following in manuscripts as early as the sixth century, and since similar cases actually have been found in inscriptions from the country around Dêhes. In Palmyrene and Nabataean script,  $\text{ܫ}$  might easily be connected with a following  $\text{ܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܐ}$ , or  $\text{ܐ}$ ; but

<sup>1</sup> Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 142 sqq.

that does not bear on the question here. A  $\zeta$ , similar in form to the one in Dêhes, occurs, however, in the long Mektebeh inscription, No. 19, A, l. 3.

The name of the architect is Yōhannān, as also above in No. 7. Such names are not infrequently mentioned in Syrian inscriptions. M. de Vogüé has given lists of them from Greek inscriptions in "La Syrie Centrale, Architecture," pp. 121, 126, and 128; cf. also Part II of these publications, p. 426. In the older Semitic inscriptions of Syria, however, names of architects and stone-cutters are quite rare, except in those in Nabataean script, where the  $\text{𐤍𐤏𐤋}$  or  $\text{𐤍𐤏𐤍}$  often adds his name, as may be seen from Lidzbarski, "N. E.," pp. 123-24. In Palmyra we find a  $\text{𐤍𐤏𐤍}$  below in the Palm. inscr., 8, l. 4. But in Arabic inscriptions we meet with the names of architects in many cases.

The date of this inscription is probably about 500 A.D. M. de Vogüé assigns it to the fifth century or, at the very latest, to the first years of the sixth century. The character of the Syriac script would agree perfectly with this conclusion. For, on account of the difference between  $\text{ܐ}$  and  $\text{ܐ}$ , which gradually disappears in the sixth century, we cannot date this document much later than 500, and on account of the cursive forms in the perpendicular line it cannot be much earlier than 500. There is a certain general similarity between some letters in Dêhes and some of an inscription in Edessa dated 494 A.D.; but there is scarcely any ground for argument in this fact. The strongest evidence of all is the baptistery itself; this building must, as Mr. Butler tells me, be dated about 500, because of its architectural details.

M. de Vogüé raised the question whether this inscription was carved by an orthodox Christian or by a Jacobite, and came to the conclusion that it very probably was written by a sectarian. His reasons are that about 500 A.D. the separation between the Monophysite church of Syria and the orthodox church was completed, and that the heretical character of this Syriac inscription is suggested by the fact that it is the only one of its kind among the many Greek inscriptions. Of these arguments the first is not absolutely conclusive; for the struggle between the Syriac orthodox church and the Monophysites was still raging during the sixth century, and it was Jacobus Baradaeus (died 578 A.D.) who organized the Monophysite church in Syria and decided the victory for her. The second point, however, involves a stronger argument. Although about a score of Syriac inscriptions or graffiti were found by this expedition, it is nevertheless very likely that there was a certain national movement to write the native language, connected with the establishment of a kind of national "Syriac" church (see above, p. 4). On the other hand, there is a slight possibility that the words "who raised our Lord Jesus Christ and his whole church" point to some heresy. The New Testament speaks of certain heretics  $\text{Ἰμηναιοὶ καὶ Φιληητοί, οἵτινες περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠσπύχησαν λέγοντες ἀνάστασιν ἔχθη γεγονέναι}$  (2 Tim. ii:18).<sup>1</sup> One might therefore reason that in the words "raised . . . his whole church" a similar thought is ex-

<sup>1</sup> To this passage I was first referred by Lic. W. Lueken in Oldenburg.

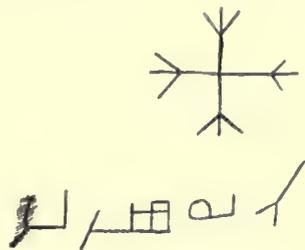
pressed as in "the resurrection is past already," and thus find a heretical tendency. But again, if we take into consideration those passages of the New Testament that emphasize the significance of Christ's resurrection for the individual Christian, as, for instance, Rom. vi. 3 sqq., viii. 11, 1 Cor. xv. 22 sqq., it seems very probable that the phrase used in our inscription grew out of such passages independent of any special heresy.

In conclusion, therefore, we may say that the Dêhes inscription was written about 500 A.D., perhaps by a Monophysite.

9

**BĀFITTÎN.** ROCK-HEWN TOMB. On a partly buried stone in the entrance of a roughly cut tomb. This tomb is in the east part of the town, below a tower; the latter is prominent for the fact that one angle of its ruined walls stands higher than any of the other ruins. The entrance to the tomb is underneath the west wall of the tower. The stone with the graffito is 47 cm. broad and 110 cm. high above the ground.

... ܐܘܘܠ(?) 1 *Joseph (?)* . . .  
 ܡܢ ܡܘܬܘܗ 2 *and his tomb*  
 ܡܢ ܡܘܬܘܗ(?) 3 *which was made by (?)* . . .



This reading is very doubtful. For l. 1 Professor Nöldeke suggested to me ܐܘܘܠ; but the word ܐܘ is so uncertain that I did not venture to put it in the above transliteration. As l. 3 also is very questionable, l. 2 contains practically the only certain word of this graffito.

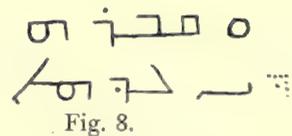


Fig. 8.

As may be seen from the drawing, these letters are not unlike those of the inscription at Karyetên, published by Professor Moritz in "Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen," I, Zweite Abtheilung, p. 128. The cross also resembles very closely those in Professor Moritz's inscription. The latter was probably written long after the Mohammedan invasion; for some time must have elapsed before the purely Arabic name *Sulaimân*, which we find there in its Syriac transliteration as ܫܘܠܝܡܢ, was adopted by the Christian Syrians. And even as late as 1720 A.D. there were monks in Karyetên who wrote and spoke Syriac. But it is not very likely that Christians continued to live for many centuries after the Arabic conquest in the mountains of the Antiochene; at least, we have no evidence of it. I would therefore leave for the date of the graffito in Bāfittîn the time between about 500 and 800, but I am inclined to believe that they are rather late.

It might be questioned whether the inscription originally belonged to the tomb when it was cut, or not. To my mind, the rough character of the cutting and of the writing directs us to an affirmative decision.





took place in 546 A.D. Then this doorway was given and the inscription was carved; but it was found that the stone was a little too large for the space occupied by the former lintel, and its upper side was reduced and a part of the inscription was cut away at that very time. Certainly it would seem to us a barbaric thing to destroy part of an inscription which had just been made, and many of the people at that time may have felt the same; this makes such an assumption unlikely, though not absolutely impossible.

In several of the Syriac letters on this stone I found remains of red coloring-matter, a fact which deserves special attention. For we know that the carved letters of Palmyrene as well as of Latin and Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic period often were painted; but here we learn that the same was done in a Syriac inscription on a Christian church in the sixth century A.D.

## II

**BĀKIRHĀ.** FRAGMENT. On a fragment found in front of the west entrance of the East Church among many other broken stones; the rest of the stone was sought



Fragment of Syriac inscription found near East Church at Bākirhā.

for, but not found. The face of this fragment shows a part of a group of moldings, on the uppermost fascia of which, above a cyma recta, the inscription is written. The maximum measurements of the stone are 54 × 35 cm. It was brought to America by the expedition and is at present in Princeton, New Jersey.

.. ܐܘܪܝܢܐ I [am] P L . . .

The letters ܐܘܪ are probably the beginning of a proper name. A great many Latin and Greek names which commence with Fl., Pl., F. l., P. l., or Φλ..., Πλ..., Φ. λ..., Π. λ..., are taken over into Syriac; of these Pelagios and Palladios seem to have been the most popular. In a genuine Syriac name, however, .. ܐܘܪ might be the beginning of ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, which occurs, e.g., in Budge's "Book of Governors," I, p. 321, l. 19.

Of the verbs, whose first two radicals are ܐܘܪ, none would have a meaning appropriate to a church inscription. For it is very likely that this stone was a part of the church. As the moldings show a slight curve, it must have been part of a wide arch; in which part of the church this arch was, I have no means of knowing. The circle at the right end of this fragment proves that we have here the beginning of either the inscription itself or of a separate part of it. This fact and the direction of the letters, which run from right to left, might perhaps give us some idea of the position occupied by this fragment in an arch or a circle.

Finally it should be noted that in both Bākirhā inscriptions the Syriac direction of script is observed in the same way as in the fragments in Bshindelāyā.

12

**KHIRBIT IL-KHAṬĪB.** BAPTISTERY, 532 A.D. On a lintel, now lying among the debris of the almost entirely destroyed west wall of a baptistery<sup>1</sup> near the former entrance of this building. The lintel has simple moldings, on the lowest of which the inscription is very crudely carved, but upside down. The stone is 155 cm. long; about 30–35 cm. of the lower line—the first, as one reads it—at the right end of the stone are completely weathered away. The following drawing is made from squeeze and copy; it is given here turned over, so that the upper part of the lintel would adjoin the lower side of this drawing. SQUEEZE.



Scale—1 : 10.  
Fig. 10.

[ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ

*In the year five hundred and eighty-one, according to the era of An[tioch, this] baptistery was consecrated.*

The main importance of this inscription is the historical and architectural evidence furnished by its contents. There seems to be very little doubt but that the inscription is contemporaneous with the building, which, with the neighboring church, would have been assigned by Mr. Butler from its style to the middle of the sixth century. The fact that the writing is so very uneven and bad, and that the lines run in the wrong direction, would seem a little more natural if we assume that the writer was a Greek who did not know Syriac. Perhaps the official who was in charge of the building, after having given the original copy to the stone-cutter, told him where the beginning was. The man kept this in mind, but not understanding what he was writing, and being accustomed to begin at the left, he had to turn the whole copy over in order to place the beginning where he thought it ought to be. If that be the case, it is only remarkable that in the legible words there are almost no mistakes at all.

Most of the words can be read or supplied with reasonable certainty. The spelling ܩܘܪܒܢܐ, which we find here and in the church of Khirbit Ḥasan near by, may have been more common in this part of Syria than ܩܘܪܒܢܐ; in manuscripts there does not seem to be any difference between them at all. The word ܩܘܪܒܢܐ is partly destroyed, but to my mind nothing else can be read from the squeeze. I have hesitated whether

<sup>1</sup> See Part II, p. 201.



It is much more likely that it is only an abbreviation of ܕ, the loop being more and more shortened, and finally combined with the main perpendicular stroke; in a similar way the whole lower part of ܕ was shortened into a simple line in the later script, viz., the Jacobite and the Nestorian law. Lastly, even the late Syriac inscriptions of Կարյետն<sup>1</sup> and of Semirjetschie (1249–1340 A.D.) have a ܕ which resembles our Ի very closely. If we thus find here such a developed form, we must be inclined to date the inscription from a comparatively late period. This is also suggested by the forms of other letters, chiefly the ܟ in l. 1 and the ܝ in l. 3. The former appears here as 𐤎. Usually the two slanting lines of the more generally used form 𐤎 are not joined in such a way that the upper part of the letter forms a triangle; among the inscriptions published here we find the 𐤎 only in the Bābiskā inscriptions, dated 547 A.D., and Euting's "Tabula" gives only one other example of it, from the famous inscription at Si-ngan-fu, of the year 781 A.D. This shape, 𐤎, may be considered as an intermediate stage between the old 𐤎 and the later forms of the shīn in Estrangelo and Jacobite script.

The date at which we would arrive from a consideration of these palæographical facts would be the sixth, perhaps the second part of the sixth, century A.D. This date coincides exactly with that given by Mr. Butler to this church on account of its architectural details.

About the contents of this fragment very little can be said. The first word is with great probability a participle of ܥܒܕ. I believe that it has nothing to do with the word "Trinity," because the inscription continued, as it seems, on both sides of this fragment for some space. The word ܥܒܕܘܢܐ is probably not much later than *trinitas* in Greek, where it occurs for the first time with Theophilus of Antioch in the time of Commodus, and *trinitas* in Latin, where Tertullian, about 200 A.D., is the first to use it. In the third line ܥܒܕܐ may be imperative pael, but also perfect or imperfect.

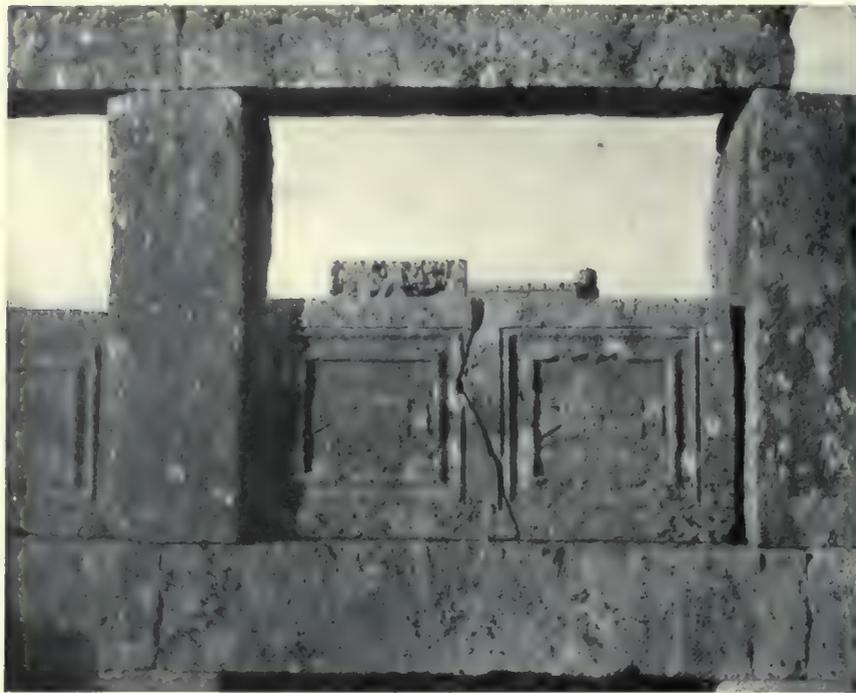
Mr. Butler thinks that this stone, which is splayed on one side, formed originally a part of a door-jamb. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Butler nor I can recall with absolute surety which side was splayed and thus intended to allow for the swinging of the door. It cannot be decided therefore whether the inscription originally ran up and down on both jambs or from right to left across the north wall. The former possibility would seem more likely, because the inscription probably continued on both sides; the first two lines, incomplete at the end, certainly ran over to the next stone, and in the third line we might easily supply some letters in the beginning on the preceding stone.

#### 14 AND 15

**BĀBISKĀ.** STOA, 547 A.D. Near the center of the town there is a long two-story colonnade of rectangular monolithic piers, with an equally long row of now ruined buildings connected with it; to the south of it the ruins of a small building are found. The whole is inclosed to form a quadrangle, leaving a large open space in front of the

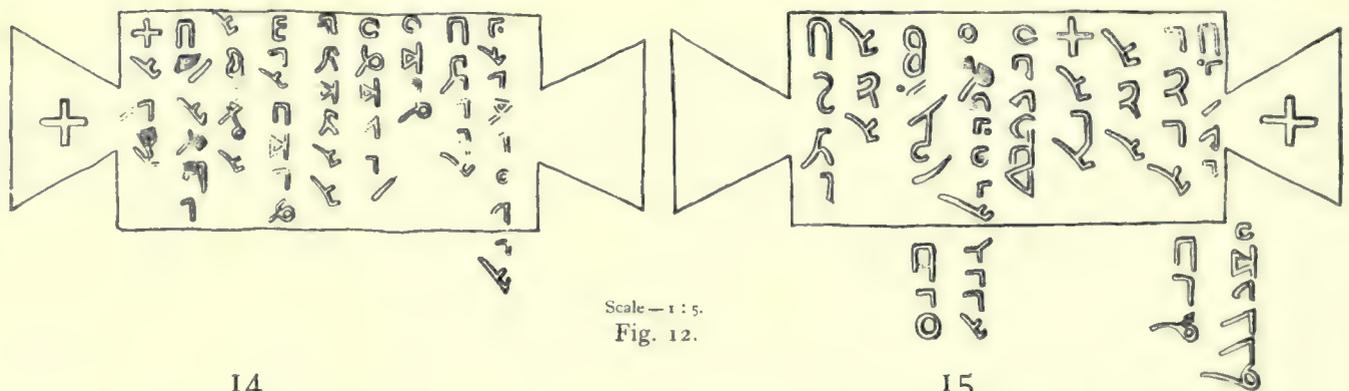
<sup>1</sup> See Sachau in Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 545; there he explains the form ܕ in a similar way.

colonnade; the walls of this quadrangle are now much destroyed, but from their ruins it can still be seen that there was only one entrance to the inclosure, viz., near the



Part of upper story of colonnade at Bābiskā.

eastern end of the colonnade. Here, on the first two panels of the parapet in the second story there are raised dovetailed plates bearing Syriac inscriptions; No. 15 is nearest the street, No. 14 is second as one enters the inclosure. The plates with the dovetails are 44 cm. long; without the dovetails 28½–29 cm. long and 14–14½ cm. high. The dovetails are 11½–12 cm. high. The letters are 1½–2½ cm. high and wide. SQUEEZES, PHOTOGRAPHS.



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 12.

14	
ܐܠܗܐ	1 <i>God</i>
ܘܢܘܒܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܘܪܐ ܕܘܪܐ ܕܘܪܐ	2 [ <i>bless us! There was built</i> ]
ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ	3 <i>this stoa</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	4 <i>in the year</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	5 <i>five hundred</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	6 <i>and ninety</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	7 <i>and six,</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	8 <i>according to the era</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	9 <i>of Antioch.</i>

15	
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	1 <i>In my days</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	2 <i>the brothers</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	3 <i>Sargon</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	4 <i>and Theodore</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	5 <i>and Bakkhos</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	6 <i>purchased</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	7 <i>the gardens.</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	8 * <i>I,</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	9 <i>the brother</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	10 <i>Yōhannā,</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	11 <i>son of Zakkai,</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	12 <i>built</i>
ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	13 <i>and finished.</i>

A part of the following commentary has already been published in the "Princeton University Bulletin," Vol. XIV, pp. 60-63.

Only the first two lines of 14 are not quite certain, whereas for all the rest of the inscriptions I believe I am able to give a final reading. The word  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$  in the first line would be very plausible. It seems, however, as though the second letter were a  $\text{ܐ}$  corrected to a  $\text{ܕ}$ ; and the third and the fourth letter are very much weathered, and besides  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$  several other explanations are possible. Also in l. 2 some corrections seem to have been made. The first of the two words begins with a  $\text{ܐ}$  and ends in a  $\text{ܐ}$ ; this final  $\text{ܐ}$  marks, of course, the end of a word. Between these two letters there is practically room for only one letter, which must have been a  $\text{ܐ}$  or a  $\text{ܐ}$ . Professor Nöldeke proposed  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$ . But I fail to discover any trace of the upper part of the  $\text{ܐ}$  in the squeeze. Hence I am more inclined to believe that the stone-cutter put first by mistake  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$  on the stone and then tried to correct it by adding a  $\text{ܐ}$  after the  $\text{ܐ}$ ; but in that case he did not succeed very well and gouged an indistinct line in the angle of the  $\text{ܐ}$  instead of a new letter. Again in the next word only the first and the last letter can be read with certainty, but there is not much doubt about the  $\text{ܐ}$  after  $\text{ܐ}$ . A verb is needed here, and an expression like  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$ , "was built," would be very likely in this inscription which gives an account of the origin of these buildings. The space for this word being very small, the letters  $\text{ܐ}$  and  $\text{ܐ}$  were perhaps placed too close together by the stone-cutter and became, therefore, very indistinct.

That the four words put outside of the plate for lack of room are to be read in that order in which I have numbered them needs, in my opinion, no discussion. In No. 15, l. 6, I have translated "purchased," taking it for granted that the thin connecting line in the  $\text{ܐ}$  happened not to be carved as clearly and deeply as the others.

The way in which this inscription is written is singular, and not known to me anywhere else. It is, if I may say so, a combination of the Greco-Syriac bastard writing and the genuine Syriac script. From the former, which is found in Dêhes, Kalb Lauzeh, Mektebeh, and Zebed (Sachau), it borrowed the isolating of the letters; from the latter the direction of the lines, which here run from the top to the bottom, a direction which is also found in some of the other inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me hardly possible that the isolation of the letters is here an intended archaism and purposely taken from a writing like  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$  on the Edessene coins; for people in the middle of the sixth century scarcely knew that there had been a period of Syriac writing, several hundred years before their time, when the letters were not joined. I therefore believe that it is only an imitation of the Greek letters.

Of the language and the forms used in these inscriptions very little is to be said. No. 14, l. 3, is interesting for the use of  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$ , *estewā*, rabbinical  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$ , derived from the Greek  $\sigma\tau\omicron\acute{\alpha}$ , which describes exactly the edifice in question. It means "portico, col-

<sup>1</sup>It is, of course, well known that it was the habit of the scribes who wrote Syriac to write their lines from the top to the bottom, and that from this custom the direction of the Syriac script, as used in the Manchurian language, is derived.

onnade," and although in this case most of the houses to which this long colonnade belonged are now in ruins, there is no doubt that the piers were built to form such a portico for a row of houses. With regard to the words ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ in ll. 8-9 the commentary on No. 6, ll. 4-5, may be compared. No. 15 furnishes two not very usual forms of common Syriac names. L. 4, ܩܘܕܫܐ, represents probably a popular pronunciation *Thēdōrē*. The Greek proper names in -ος and -ας can be used either in their nominative or vocative form without regard to their grammatical relation in Syriac.<sup>1</sup> The correct form of the name Θεόδωρος would be in Syriac ܩܘܕܫܐܘܪܐ or ܩܘܕܫܐܘܪܐ.<sup>2</sup> But the vowels in the first two syllables often vary in the manuscripts also; thus we have ܩܘܪܐ and ܩܘܪܐܐ written promiscuously; furthermore, a simple ܐ is found in ܩܘܪܐ, Theodosios,<sup>3</sup> and a village *Tidōr*, ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ, occurs in Budge's "Book of Governors," I, p. 230, l. 11. The name in l. 8 can be read ܩܘܕܫܐ or ܩܘܕܫܐ. The latter would imply a form *Yahyā*, but that is not very probable, because it would be exceedingly strange to find this Arabic form at this time in this country. Hence the explanation, "ܩܘܕܫܐ = ܩܘܕܫܐ, ܩܘܕܫܐ," which was suggested to me by Professor Nöldeke, is to my mind much more natural. It is possible that the omission of the ܐ is due to a mistake, and that ܩܘܕܫܐ was really intended. Otherwise we might explain it in a similar way as ܩܘܕܫܐܘܪܐ, where the *zēkāfā* over the ܩ stands for ܐ. However this may be, it seems to have become a sort of fashion in later Syriac manuscripts to write this name ܩܘܕܫܐ; this form is found, e.g., in Wright's Catalogue, p. 2, col. 2, l. 2 from the bottom, and p. 3, col. 1, l. 5. It would then deserve notice that this form is found in an inscription as early as 547 A.D.

The contents of these two inscriptions give rise to some interesting questions. From their text we conclude that they refer to the following facts: (1) the portico was built in the year 596, i.e., 547/48 A.D.; (2) some land which was formerly used for "gardens" was bought by three "brothers"; (3) building was undertaken and finished by a fourth "brother." The first question which we have to answer here is whether all three facts refer to one building, and whether, therefore, both inscriptions were written at the same time. We find that the first panel begins and the second ends with a cross. This is an external sign of their unity. Internal reasons also lead us to the same conclusion. It would be hard to understand why the second panel, as one enters from the street, should have been inscribed first, while the beginning panel of the whole parapet should have been left empty for some time. Thus probably *Yōḥannā*, son of *Zakkai*, is the man who had both panels inscribed, and who, when the whole was finished, stated at first this fact, and then mentioned the different phases in the history of the establishment and the men who were connected with it.

As Mr. Butler in Part II<sup>4</sup> shows in a more detailed discussion, these porticos served as shops or bazaars. Even the natives of to-day recognize this; in another ruin a

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, 2d ed., §144.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Coptic *θεόδωρε*, e.g., in *W. Z. K. M.*, Vol. XVI, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 127 and 167.

native speaking to me about similar colonnades called them *dakākin*, "shops." About the practical purpose of the building under discussion there can thus be no doubt. But who were the men interested in this enterprise? There were three "brothers," Sargon, Theodore, and Bakkhos, who purchased the land, and a fourth "brother," John, who finished the building. These names have a history of their own, and their ensemble is an interesting example of the growth of nomenclature. The first of them, **ܣܪܓܘܢ**, may be derived from two different sources: either it is the old Assyrian name, which is to my mind more likely, or, pronounced *Sergōn*, it might be a hypocoristicon of Sergius.

The term **ܐܘܘܪܐܝܡ**, "brothers," comprises several meanings. I do not think that in this case it signifies "brothers by birth," because otherwise Yōḥannā, being himself an **ܐܘܘܪܐܝܡ**, would certainly have called the others **ܐܘܘܪܐܝܡܝܗܘܢ**, "my brothers," and a **ܩܕܝܫܐ** could scarcely have been omitted after **ܕܘܚܪܝܢ**. Other meanings of **ܐܘܘܪܐܝܡ** are: "compatriot, friend, companion, associate, colleague," especially "Christian brother," and later on "friar" or "monk."<sup>1</sup> The meaning "monk" seems to me the least suitable for this passage. It would be very strange if three monks, who as a rule have no separate property each for himself, could buy some land and invest their money in it, so to speak, while another monk would erect the buildings on it. Of course convents as such have often enough owned business establishments, but a single inhabitant of them would scarcely be allowed to do so by himself. These must have been the conditions in the Syrian convents too. More acceptable would be the meaning "compatriots"; but then we should expect some mention of the country or place from where they came. The explanation "Christian brethren," in a way synonymous with "Christians," is possible, I think, although of course we ask at once why it was that they expressly stated this in an inscription of this kind, in a time when the country as such was Christian. We can easily understand that this term might be used on religious buildings and on tombs, but it seems to be unusual on a commercial edifice, even in view of the fact that the inscription begins with an invocation of God. If the meaning "Christian brethren" is intended here, one would naturally think of connecting some religious purpose with the building. This might be done by the assumption that the portico with its houses and its market was a gift to the city. In that case the four men may have made the gift as a pious work and expected heavenly reward for it; thus very naturally they remembered their mutual relation with regard to the church to which indirectly they hoped to render a service. But another explanation is in my opinion equally probable. The context seems to require above all the translation "associates." In that case these four men might have formed a certain "business concern" and built this edifice, about which there is nothing ecclesiastical, in order to rent it and to make money. But the term "brothers" was probably not applied to these men as to members or partners of such a concern, but, as Professor Frothing-

<sup>1</sup> See Payne-Smith, s.v.

ham suggests, rather to members of a trade-corporation or a guild. He further called my attention to the religious brotherhood in the Phrygian Hierapolis, which was still in existence as a social form when Ibn Baṭūṭah (died 1377) visited these countries, and he referred me to Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," pp. 96-98. I see, however, from this passage that these "brothers" had a common treasury, a fact which excludes a comparison between these and the brothers in Bābiskā. But Ramsay makes some very interesting remarks on the trade-gilds in Hierapolis on pp. 105-107, and shows that these were an old Oriental institution,<sup>1</sup> so deeply rooted in the tradition of the people that even the Romans, with their fixed principle forbidding *collegia*, did not change it, but relaxed their rule by bringing them into the category of *collegia legitima*. As is generally known, the men of the same trade even to-day have their shops in the same street or bazaar in very many Oriental towns; I need scarcely cite names like *sūḳ an-nahḥāsīn*, *sūḳ as-surūdīyeh*, *sūḳ al-ḥarīr*, and so forth. Witnesses of the same custom in Europe are also street names like Weissgerberstrasse, Fleischergasse, Rue des Charpentiers, Smithfield, etc. Furthermore, we know that compatriots who come to a city frequently embrace one handicraft: in Constantinople, for instance, the Lazes become coppersmiths, the Epirotes butchers, the Bosnians grooms, etc.<sup>2</sup> With a certain degree of probability we may assume conditions similar to these in Syrian towns of the sixth century. The term "brothers" might then at the same time include "gildsmen," or "members of the same corporation," and "compatriots," and finally, but only in a secondary way, also "partners." The first of these meanings would be the main; the last would be only accidental. These men



Pier of portico at Bābiskā, with Syriac graffito.

would not have been a company for building and leasing houses, but would have bought only this property and built only here, perhaps in the main for their own use, and to a certain extent for renting to others. Their inscriptions furnish thus interesting material for the study of the life in the Syriac towns of this period.

16

**BĀBISKĀ.** On a rectangular pier of a portico, near the middle of the town.

ܡܘܫܐ *Mūshē* (i.e., Moses)

The letters are written in regular Estrangelo of a rather bold but even type. The letters **ܐ** and **ܘ** are probably not joined purposely, although they come so close together that they seem to be connected.

The **ܘ** alone has a noticeable form; as in the other

<sup>1</sup> In Palmyra we find "the guild of smiths who work in gold and silver" in an inscription dated 258 A.D., viz., de Vogüé, No. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See Mordtmann, in Z. D. M. G., Vol. XLI, p. 306.

Bābiskā inscriptions, and also in Dār Ẹitā, it has the shape  $\nabla$ , of which I have spoken above on p. 33.

The man who on this pier saved his name for posterity was probably the owner of the shop in and the house connected with the portico. In Pompeian private houses the names of the owners are often written on walls or columns in different parts of the buildings; cf., e.g., Mau, "Ausgrabungen in Pompeji," "Mitteil. d. Kaiserl. deutsch. Instit., Röm. Abteil.," Bd. XVI, pp. 333-334. But since here in Bābiskā the name is carved in clearly legible letters on a part of a commercial building where it can be seen from outside, it might be possible that the proprietor used it at the same time as a kind of sign or advertisement.

The reason why he used the pier and not the architrave to write on was undoubtedly his wish to make his script run in a perpendicular line, as he was accustomed to do (see above, p. 35, and also the graffito in Ksēdjbeh). His name, Moses, was very common in Syriac, and borne by many bishops, priests, abbots, and monks.

17

**KSĒDJBĒH.** EAST CHURCH. Graffito on the right-hand jamb of the westernmost portal in the south side of the East Church. It runs in a perpendicular line on the inner and lower fascia of the molding. The stone is 140 cm. long, 70 cm. high; the band of the molding 13 cm. broad. SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH.

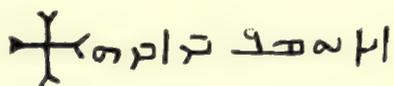


Fig. 13.

(ܟܫܝܘܢܐ ܒܢܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ)

*I am Joseph, son of Abraham.*

The church, for the description of which see Part II, p. 135, bears on the lintel of the southeast portal also a Greek inscription of the year 414 A.D., published in Part III, inscr. 73. Our Joseph had nothing to do with the building of this edifice; he was no ecclesiastic or civil dignitary, for otherwise he would not have forgone the pleasure of adding his title to his name. The question whether this name was written before or after the Mohammedan conquest must here, as in No. 9, be left undecided. That the abbreviated form of  $\aleph$ , which we find here three times, is quite early, was shown by Land in his "Anecdota," I, pp. 70 sqq.; it occurs, e.g., in a manuscript of the year 509 A.D. (cf. the specimen in



Jamb in East Church at Ksēdjbeh.

"Anecdota," I, Plate V, No. 11, more fully reproduced in Wright's Catalogue, III, Plate IV). There we find also the same cursive *ī* (y) as in this graffito.

Joseph and Abraham are very common names in Syriac, and I have not been able to find any Joseph, son of Abraham, who might be placed with some probability in this region.

18

**KASR IL-BENÂT.** STONE IN CHURCH WALL. On a quadrated stone in the south wall of the church, near the southwest corner. The whole stone measures  $95 \times 53\frac{1}{2}$  cm.; the part on which the inscription is written is 56 cm. broad. The letters are from 2 (cf. *ā* in l. 3) to 10 cm. (cf. *ā* in l. 1) high. SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH.

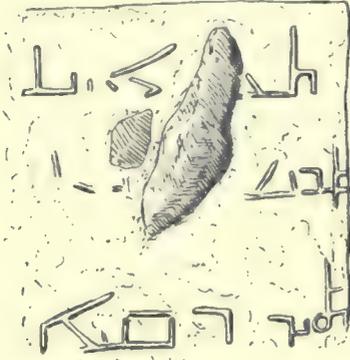


Fig. 14.

ܕܟܪܝܘܣ ܕܩܝܪܝܘܣ  
 ܕܩܝܪܝܘܣ (??)  
 ܕܩܝܪܝܘܣ (ܩ) *Theodore the architect* (?)

The inscription is incomplete and in part badly weathered. The stone was perhaps originally in another place and put here when the rebuilding connected with the opening of a west portal took place (cf. Part II, p. 141); then either the top of the stone was cut away, or the formerly adjoining stone with the beginning of the inscription was severed from the rest of it. Most of the letters are fairly well cut and of good period, but the way in which they are put on makes it seem very likely that this inscription is no official record. If my reading and explanation of the last line are correct, we may assume that the architect put these words in some corner of the edifice after its completion without official authorization, or at least without a special order to do so. But this reasoning is very doubtful: first, because such a graffito may have been written at any later time; secondly, because the equal form for *ā* and *ī* (both angular) and the *h* (ܩ, cf. inscription 13 in Dâr Kîṭā) seem to be not earlier than the beginning of the sixth century, whereas our church, according to Mr. Butler, must have been built before 480 A.D.; and, finally, because we learn from Part III, inscr. 76, that the original church was built, partly at least, by an architect named Kyrios. What may be said with some probability is that this inscription was written before the alteration of the western part of the church.



Syriac graffito on church at Kasr il-Benât.

The reading *ܩܝܪܝܘܣ* is not quite certain: the *h* is doubtful, and the *ī* might, on account of its size, perhaps belong to the following word. This abbreviation of *ܩܝܪܝܘܣ*





Cast of Syriac inscription from Mektebeh.

Except the last line in B, all letters of this inscription are read with certainty. In A, l. 5, I was at first in doubt whether the fourth letter from the end should be read  $\text{ܣ}$  or  $\text{ܕ}$ , but I have come to the conclusion that only the latter can be meant, since  $\text{ܣ}$  has quite a different form, as may be seen from the first letter in A, l. 3, and since traces of the circle in  $\text{ܕ}$  are to be found on the squeeze and on the cast made from it. But the explanation of B, l. 5, given above is perhaps not a definite one. The first, second, and fourth words, however, can scarcely be read otherwise, unless I am deceived by unusual coincidences. The  $\text{ܕ}$  in  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$  looks, it is true, rather like a  $\text{ܕ}$ , on account of its high shaft; this I take to be careless carving, because it is almost impossible to connect a  $\text{ܕ}$  with the word following. For the proper name  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$ , which occurs in  $\text{ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ}$  (Wright, Catalogue, 706<sup>a</sup>, l. 7 from the bottom, 708<sup>a</sup>, l. 1), is very unusual, whereas the most natural word at the end of an inscription like this would be  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$ , the "builder" or "architect." If, however, the fourth letter must needs be a  $\text{ܕ}$ , I would suggest that it is a dittography. The division of the next words depends on the reading *bannāyā*. As the last word of the inscription in all likelihood is  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$  or  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$ , there are four letters left for another word. The following readings are possible:

$\text{ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ}$  Out of the possible combinations, the word  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$  seemed to me the least unlikely. Now it would be very tempting to take the preceding  $\text{ܕ}$  and connect it with the next two letters to the word  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$ , and then to find here an Arabic name, for we know that Arabs were members of these communities on the border of the desert quite early. After  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$  one might continue  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$ , and read here Arabic words, 'abū nab' al-mā'. But this is highly improbable. On the other hand, the name given above,  $\text{ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ}$ , "star of the world," is a very pretentious one, and I have not found it anywhere else in Syriac literature; in Arabic, however, surnames with similar meanings, like, e.g., Kaukab ad-Daulah, occur not infrequently.

The name at the end of the first part of the inscription is Ya'kūb Ḥaḡaltūmā. This would be, in literal translation, "Jacob Garlicfield." The second name might be a surname, given to its bearer in the beginning as a sort of nickname, and accepted later on by himself, or the man may have adopted it because he was a garlic-seller. But it seems more probable that he came from a place called  $\text{ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ}$ . Then we would expect a  $\text{ܕ}$  between  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$  and  $\text{ܕܠܗ}$ ; this  $\text{ܕ}$  may have been omitted by mistake.

If Kaukab-‘Ālemā was the “builder,” the question will be asked: Who was Ya‘kūb Ḥaḳaltūmā, and what were his relations to this inscription? The stone which bears the inscription is evidently a lintel, but it is difficult to determine to what kind of a building it belonged. If it had been originally the lintel of a church portal, Ya‘kūb might be a donor whose memory was thus honored. But the fact that the tenor of the inscription does not point to a church nor to a public building of any sort, and the other fact that a second inscription was found in the same place with two identical verses of the Psalter and the name of another man, seem to argue against such a supposition. However, Mr. Butler tells me that such a large stone can scarcely have been any other lintel than that of the doorway of a church. If this is the case, then No. 20, which probably was placed over the entrance of a private house, may in some way have been an imitation of No. 19, and Bar-ḥab-be-shabbā would be the proprietor of that house. As we have seen above (p. 11), inscriptions containing just the name of the owner of a house and some pious verse are used in different countries.

The verses quoted are taken from Psalms xci. 1, cxl. 2, and lxviii. 2; the first of these three verses, “He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High,” is also contained in a Greek inscription from Ruwêḥā (Wad. No. 2672, Part III, inscr. 267), which begins Ὁ καθουκῶν ἐν βρηθία τοῦ ὑψίστου. But perhaps they do not come directly from the Psalter. For Dr. Prentice has shown that many of the Greek inscriptions of Syria are quotations from the liturgy of those regions; cf. his article on “Fragments of an Early Christian Liturgy in Syrian Inscriptions,” in the “Transactions of the American Philological Association,” Vol. XXXIII, 1902, pp. 81 sqq., where under Nos. 17, 18, and 25 the present inscriptions are mentioned. The liturgy was, on the whole, probably much better known than the Bible itself; the latter was accessible to the general public usually only through the church, and the church transmitted it to the public by way of the liturgy. Liturgies are therefore very important for the criticism of the Bible also (de Lagarde, “Orientalia,” Göttingen, 1879, p. 3).

## 20

**MEKTEBEH.** LINTEL. On a slab of black basalt, now used as a door-post in a modern house partly built of mud bricks; the house faces south and is situated in the eastern part of the village. The slab is 151 cm. high and 41–44 cm. wide. The radius of the inner circle is 31½ cm. long. The traces of the cross in the circle are much more distinct than in No. 19; the knobs in the quadrants are preserved. The letters are in relief; their shape is irregular and their sizes differ: , in A, is 9 cm. high, 3½–4½ cm. wide; , which goes through two lines (B, ll. 3 and 4), is 18 cm. long, but two  are united here in one. SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH.



Jamb with Syriac inscription at Mektebeh.

	ܠܘܒܫܒܒܐ		<i>Bar-hab-be-shabbā.</i>
	— +		+ —
A.	- ܫܒܒܐ	1	<i>He that dwelleth in</i>
	- ܕܝܫܘܒܐ	2	<i>the secret place of</i>
	- ܕܝܫܘܒܐ	3	<i>the Most</i>
	ܠ	4	<i>High.</i>
B.	- ܠܘܒܫܒܐ	1	+ <i>Let God arise</i>
	- ܕܝܫܘܒܐ	2	<i>and let be scatter-</i>
	- ܕܝܫܘܒܐ	3	<i>ed all</i>
	- ܕܝܫܘܒܐ	4	<i>his ene-</i>
	ܕܝܫܘܒܐ	5	<i>mies.</i>

The contents of this inscription are identical with a part of inscr. No. 19, except the name *Bar-hab-be-shabbā*. The latter is well known to be contracted from *ܠܘܒܫܒܐ*, "Sundayson." The names "Sunday" and "Sundayson"<sup>1</sup> are very common in Syriac, as we see, for instance, from the Index in Wright's Catalogue, pp. 1248 and 1278-79. The fact that several abbreviations of this name occur, the shortest of which are *ܠܘܒܫܒܐ* and *ܠܘܒܫܒܐ*, proves that it was very popular. It originated, of course, as a so-called "birthday-name," like many others in Semitic and Indo-European languages. How old this custom is with the Semites was lately shown by Dr. H. Ranke in his dissertation "Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie," pp. 36-37.

A few words may be said with regard to the character of the script and to the approximate date of this inscription and the foregoing. The writing is a not very early and rather crude Estrangelo interspersed with a few forms that are more commonly used in the later Serto or Jacobite script, e.g., the closed forms of *ܡ*, *ܫ*, and *ܕ*. The letter *ܕ* has many varieties here; these will be seen from a comparison of the forms in 19, A, l. 2, and B, l. 5, and in 20, A, l. 3, and B, l. 1; an angular form occurs in 19, A, l. 3; a round one, which is very much like the final *mīm* of the Serto script, in 19, A, l. 5, and 20, B, l. 1. The *ܫ* in 19, A, l. 3, has a somewhat peculiar form, viz., *ܫ*, which we have met before in the Dêhes inscription (see above, p. 25), and which reminds us somewhat of the form used in the trilingual inscription of Zebed.

For epigraphical reasons these inscriptions can scarcely be older than about 500 A.D. They may be even younger than the "Trilinguis" of Zebed, which is dated 512 A.D.; for some of the letters used in Mektebeh are later than those in the Zebed inscription, a fact which, however, is partly due to the writing in raised characters. But the points

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the name *Βαρσαββῆς* in the New Testament.



for it has a slight curve at the right end, which in  $\Delta$  is not uncommon. After this we have a very strange character which can scarcely be anything else than a  $\Delta$ . The next letter is almost certain to be a  $\Delta$ ; I have only hesitated whether to connect it with the preceding or the following word. In the latter case it would be  $\Delta\Delta$ , which can be read  $\Delta(\Delta)\Delta$ , as in inscription 10 in Bākirhā, and thus correspond to the frequent  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in the Greek inscriptions. But I prefer to connect it with  $\Delta$ , and furthermore to venture the suggestion that  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  is an abbreviation or an erroneous writing of  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$ , "above all." Other possibilities would be  $\Delta(\Delta)\Delta$  or  $\Delta(\Delta)\Delta$ , "All-Creator," or similar phrases. But  $\Delta\Delta$  seems to me the most probable, since in that case we have to supply only one letter ( $\Delta$ ), an omission which might easily be accounted for, because the next following letter is a  $\Delta$  also. The expression "mighty above all" probably corresponds to the  $\text{Α}\ \text{Ω}$  in the Greek part. In  $\Delta\Delta$  only the reading  $\Delta$  for the second letter needs a short discussion. I admit that the form  $\Delta$  for a  $\Delta$  is very singular, but it is not absolutely unknown in minuscule Syriac writing; cf., e.g., the two cases in the Khirbit Ḥasan inscription, No. 7, ll. 4 and 5. Also the Kufic dāl has sometimes the same shape, and in the present inscription we find a similar form in the word  $\Delta\Delta$ . From this we may infer that here the letters  $\Delta$  and  $\Delta$ , when connected with a preceding letter, change the direction of their strokes a little, whereas when isolated they keep their original form, as in  $\Delta$ . The rēsh in  $\Delta\Delta$  is more unusual still; yet there is no doubt that it is a  $\Delta$ . My reading  $\Delta\Delta$  is therefore not entirely without foundation. The most appropriate translation is "help(er) of" (*ud<sup>h</sup>rān*), or perhaps "our helper" (*ād<sup>h</sup>ran*), and this would be in a certain way the Syriac equivalent of  $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ , frequently used in Greek inscriptions of this country, and of  $\text{הלהי עזר}$  of the Thamudene and Safaitic inscriptions (cf. Safaitic inscrs. 3, 33, 52).

The date is fixed by the Greek part, viz., 820 of the Seleucid era, or 508–9 A.D. But of the purpose of this inscription little can be said. It probably has the same object as many other pious invocations in inscriptions on lintels, and on a lintel would be its proper place.

22–24

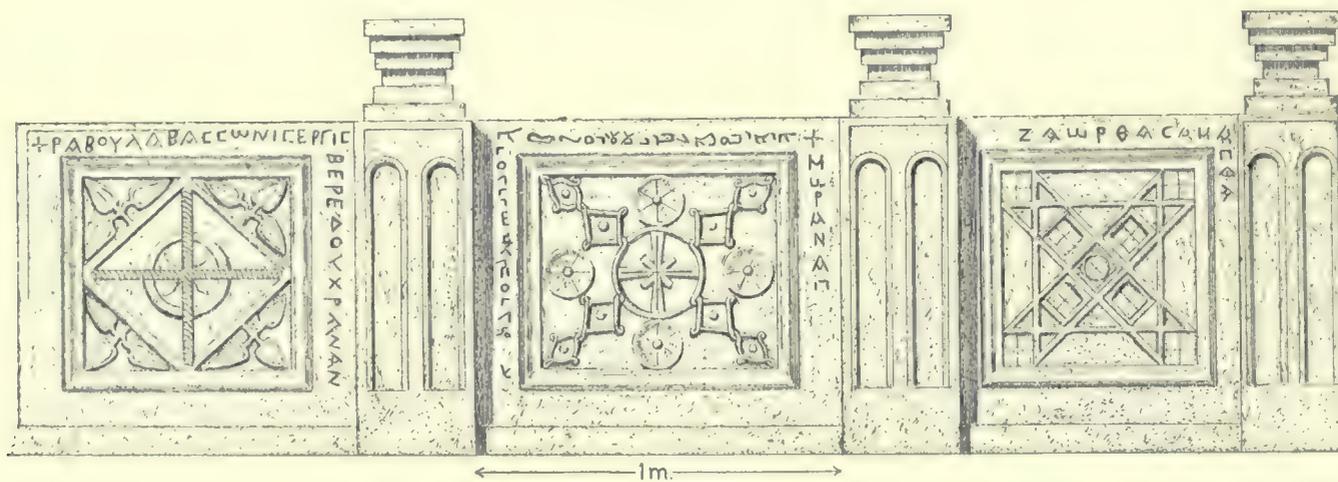


Fig. 17.







ܠܒܫܘܬܘܢܝܢ in another Zebed inscription (see below, p. 52). It is known that in the later West-Syriac the  $\bar{a}$  was pronounced as a very open sound ( $\bar{a}$ ), just as  $\bar{a}$  has become  $\bar{o}$  in Hebrew, and as even in modern times the Arabic  $\bar{a}$  is pronounced  $\bar{a}$  in some of the mountains of Northern Syria; I heard, e.g., *anā*, "I," *abadān*, "never," etc., in the Djebel il-A'la and Djebel Bārīshā. It is possible that the confusion of the  $a$  and the  $o$  sound led the people who spoke Syriac to make mistakes in the use of  $\alpha$ ,  $\sigma$ , and  $\omega$ . A confusion of  $\alpha$  and  $\sigma$  is found, for instance, in Sachau's Edessene inscription No. 9 (Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVI, p. 166), where we read *αδελφας* instead of *αδελφος*, *τουτα μνημια* instead of *τουτο μνημειον*, and the like; this had been already observed, before I came to the same conclusion, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, who has treated of this inscription more fully in his "Recueil," III, pp. 246–248. In this connection *παταμω* for *ποταμω* in the Greek inscription of il-Hifneh, published below in the introduction to the Safaitic inscriptions, may also be mentioned. But since, on the other hand, the Zebed inscriptions belong to a comparatively old period and render the Syriac vowels very accurately in their transliteration, as is shown especially in the difference between  $\sigma$  and  $\delta$  in *Ραβουλα*, inscr. No. 23, and *Ζαωρθα*, inscr. No. 24, and also in *δουχραναν*, No. 23, I do not believe that in our case the misspelling is due to a linguistic cause, but I think that *Μωραννας* for *Μαρωννας* is just an unintentional mistake on the part of the writer.

About the purpose of the inscription there can be no doubt; it is the record of the erection of a throne by Rabūlā. The literal translation is "made the throne," but that, of course, does not necessarily mean that he made it himself. In this case, where undoubtedly the acknowledgment of a gift is intended, it means "he caused the throne to be in its place." The word *ܘܘܢܝܗ* in Syriac is sometimes metaphorically used for the "altar," as the throne of God, but usually it denotes the throne or seat which was placed in the midst of the apse behind the altar. It is also called *ܚܘܢܐܘܢܝܗ* *ܘܘܢܝܗ* (cf. *ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος*, "Apost. Constit.," II, 57), or *ܘܘܢܝܗ* *ܚܘܢܐܘܢܝܗ*, or lastly, as, e.g., in "Vita Rabulæ," ed. Overbeck, p. 172, ll. 10–11, *ܘܘܢܝܗ* *ܚܘܢܐܘܢܝܗ*. This throne in the apse must be referred to here, not necessarily a chair which stood before or behind the parapet at this point. It must be said, however, that the word *ܚܘܢܐܘܢܝܗ* might be plural in Syriac, in spite of the fact that the literary plural is *ܘܘܢܝܗ*; then "thrones" would include the *cathedra* and the *subsellia* (*θρόνοι δεύτεροι*). But it seems to me more plausible to take *ܚܘܢܐܘܢܝܗ* here in the singular. Probably because there was no room for an inscription on the throne itself, and because the letters could not be seen very well at that distance, this slab in the parapet was chosen. Another reason may have been the desire to put inscriptions 22 and 23 side by side.

The name Rabūlā reminds us, of course, at once of the famous Bishop Rabūlā of Edessa, who held this see from 412 to 435 A.D. It is not impossible that he is the very man mentioned here in Zebed, but there is no direct proof for this hypothesis. We may, however, recall here the following events in Bishop Rabūlā's life.



pp. 53–54), and if Marōnā of the tomb inscription is the same as Μωρανας of the parapet, Rabūlā can scarcely be the bishop, but must have been some other prominent or wealthy man who was interested in the public buildings of Zebed. But, as a matter of fact, we do not know anything of these persons, and it would be a fruitless undertaking to theorize much about them. Only one other possibility deserves mention: if the Rabūlā of our inscriptions was the bishop, we may learn from No. 23 the name of his father, which is not preserved in the literature; and in that case Μωρανας, the stone-cutter, may have been the grandson of Μαρόνας λιθοτόμος, in whose family the same handicraft may have been followed for several generations.

Although, for the lack of certain evidence, a definite answer to all these questions cannot be given as yet, these inscriptions furnish some interesting material for the study of the church history of Syria in the fourth century.

## 23

On the third panel from the north end, directly south of that bearing No. 22 (see Fig. 17). Panel 103 × 88 cm. Letter-space in the horizontal line 10½ cm. high, in the perpendicular line 11½ cm. wide. Letters 3–5 cm. high. SQUEEZES AND PHOTOGRAPH.

- |   |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | Ραβούλα Βασσωνι(ς?).<br>Σεργις,<br>ⲓⲗⲓⲟ | 1 | <i>Rabūlā (the son of?) Bassōnis (?). O Sergius,</i> |
| 2 | βερε(χ) δουκραναν<br>ⲓⲗⲓⲟⲓ (ⲕ)ⲓⲗ        | 2 | <i>bless our memory!</i>                             |

The letters of this inscription are distinct and certain, but the explanation is doubtful in several respects. The first word, 'Ραβούλα, may be the genitive of 'Ραβούλας. The Greek forms of Syriac words in *-ā* usually end in *-ας* (or *-ης*); and, moreover, an inscribed panel facing south begins with a genitive Συμεώνου Ἀντιόχου. But we cannot be perfectly sure of what the writer intended here, since this inscription is more Syriac in spirit than Greek; perhaps he simply transliterated the Syriac ⲗⲗⲟⲓ into Greek, as he did in the case of Σεργις and Ζαωρθα, and thus intended the nominative, or did not think of the grammatical case at all. The way in which the Syriac name is transliterated is very interesting from a linguistic standpoint. We have seen above that the original *ū* sound (ⲑ) is carefully rendered by *ω*. Of equal interest is the fact that here, as well as in *σαμασθα* (see p. 55), the *double* consonant—originally *Rabbūlā* and *shammāshṭā*—is *not* expressed. We know that double consonants disappeared in West-Syriac at quite an early date, whereas they were kept in East-Syriac.<sup>1</sup> It is furthermore known that the double consonants are still written in Palmyrene inscriptions: e.g., Ζαββαίος Wad. 2611 = 'Ⲓⲓ Vog. 29 (third century), Σεφφερά Wad. 2594 =

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, 2d ed., p. 13, §21.

ܢܦܪܘܢ Vog. 11 (second century); and the same is true in an Edessene inscription of the second century: Ἀμασσάμσης = ܡܫܫܐܢܐ (Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVI, p. 145). In a late Greek inscription from Edessa, however, we find *Μαθα*, which corresponds to the Palmyrene *Maθa* (see Sachau 9, Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 166–167). The Greco-Syriac inscriptions of Zebed, which probably date from the second half of the fourth century, are thus a very early record of the shortening of double consonants in West-Syriac.

The next word, *Βασσωνι(ς)*, is the most puzzling one in this inscription. It is not absolutely certain whether the letters *νι(ς)* really belong to this word; but *ν* and *ι* cannot be a part of the following word, which is *Σεργις*. There are thus only two possibilities: either (1) *νι* is some unknown abbreviation, or (2) it does form the ending of the second word of the inscription. If the former be the case, one would have to make *Βασσων* a separate word. That this should be a Greek genitive, standing for *Βάσσω*, is impossible here, since *ω* and *ου* are kept clearly distinct from one another; and a dative *Βάσσω* is very unlikely, because it would result in too strange a construction. In all likelihood, therefore, we must connect *νι* with the preceding word.

Now we know from the lists of the Nicæan fathers that there was among them a bishop of Gabula<sup>1</sup> by the name of Bassones, or Bassonis. These two forms occur in the Latin lists; the Greek has *Βασσωνης*, the Syriac ܡܫܫܐܢܐ (“Index Cœnobii Nitriensis”) and ܡܫܫܐܢܐ (list of Ebediesu Sobensis).<sup>2</sup> The fact that such a name was known in this region in the fourth century points to a reading *Βασσωνις* in our case. Then the final *ς* would have been omitted by the writer, who was misled by the initial *Σ* of *Σεργις*, and the inscription would read *Ραβουλα Βασσωνις*, i. e., two names, probably of father and son, one after the other without regard to case. We notice at once that this looks very much like a Semitic construction; for in Phœnician, Nabataean, especially in Palmyrene inscriptions, and even in modern Arabic, the word “son” is often left out between the names of father and son.<sup>3</sup> And the second part of the present document being purely Syriac, a Semitic conception of its beginning becomes very plausible. Of course one might object to this on the ground that *Rabûlâ* and *Bassôn* may be coördinate; but to my mind the former explanation is the more natural. As regards the form of the second name, it seems to me that probably both *Bassôn* and *Bassôn* are Syriac diminutives or hypocoristics of *Βάσσως*. For the abbreviated form ܡܫ for ܡܫܫܐܢܐ is not unfrequent, and ܡܫܫܐܢܐ would be its regular diminutive. This would not prevent us *eo ipso* from identifying *Bassôn* with the *Bassos* of the Greek inscription on the tomb (see

<sup>1</sup> This place is called to-day Djebbûl, and is situated a few hours to the northwest of Zebed.

<sup>2</sup> For the other variants see *Patrum Nicænorum Nomina, ediderunt Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz, Lipsiæ, MDCCCXC VIII, p. 218, s.v.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, p. 135; id., *Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin, II, Weimar, 1896, p. 273; Meissner, Mittheil. d. Sem. für oriental.*

*Sprachen, IV, Abt. II, p. 137, ann. 2.* Thus my Druse servant from the Lebanon was called *Muḥammed Muḥṭafa*, i. e., *Muḥammed ibn Muḥṭafa*; the word *ibn* is omitted, and the first name is virtually put in the status constructus. Also in Coptic we find, e. g., *ψατη πισραηλ*, “*Psate son of Pisrael*”; see Krall, in *Wiener Zeitschr. i. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. XVI, p. 262.*

above, p. 51), as it is known that with the Semites, as well as in Western countries, the same person is sometimes in different places mentioned once with the regular form of his name and another time with the hypocoristic, or, as we might say, the "pet name" used in his family.<sup>1</sup>

Σεργίς is doubtless here a literal re-rendering of **ܣܪܓܝܘܫ**, not a Greek form Σέργις for Σέργιος. It stands virtually in the vocative, and, being considered a Syriac word, it has no declension.

The last two words are simply a transliteration of Syriac words. Although we know a number of Syriac proper names in Greek letters, it seldom occurs that common nouns and verbs are transliterated into Greek. Of course we are at once reminded of Aramaic passages in the New Testament, like *ῥακά*, Matt. v. 22; *ἡλεὶ ἡλεὶ λεμὰ σαβαχθανεὶ*, Matt. xxvii. 46; *Βοανηργές*, Mark iii. 17; *ταλιθά κοῦμι*, Mark v. 41; *ἐφφαθά*, Mark vii. 34, etc. The words here are *βερε δοχραναν*. The latter is recognized instantly as *duk<sup>h</sup>rānan*, **ܕܘܟܗܪܢܢܐ**, "our memory." Since the last words in the Syriac inscription next to this are **ܪܒܘܠܐ . . ܘܒܫܘܢܐ**, we naturally expect to find in *βερε* a word corresponding to **ܪܒܘܠܐ**. I believe therefore that a *χ* is simply omitted and that the word intended is *βερεχ*. This can scarcely be anything else but imperative pael: *bar(r)ek<sup>h</sup>*. The second radical is here of course not written as a double consonant. But the rendering of *a* by *ε* is noteworthy. The transition from *a* to *ä* to *e* is known, as in a great many other languages, so in Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, and especially in Syriac (cf. Nöldeke, "Syr. Gramm.," 2d ed., p. 31, §45). Then *βερε(χ)* may be a popular way of pronouncing the literary *bar(r)ek<sup>h</sup>*, or perhaps a dialectical form like those which are pointed out above (see p. 48). The second word, *δοχραναν*, is interesting on account of the *a* in the second syllable. It is safe to conclude from this that the *ā* had not yet changed in the direction of *o*.

In these Greco-Syriac words St. Sergius is invoked either by a single person, to bless his own or his and others' memory, or by a community as a prayer for themselves. This question cannot be decided alone from the tenor of the inscription; for the suffix *-an*, "our," might include any one of those possibilities. The corresponding words in the Syriac inscription, however, **ܘܒܫܘܢܐ**, "*his* memory," etc., imply that the prayer must have been mainly in behalf of Rabūlā himself. Perhaps "our memory" refers to Rabūlā and Bassōnis, but for the lack of conclusive evidence the question must be left open.

The same must be said of the purpose of the inscription. It is possible that it was placed here simply as a counterpart of the Syriac on the next panel, without a special purpose of its own. In that case the two panels merely supplement each other and were intended to be read together. But there are several other possibilities; these will be stated below in connection with a discussion of two other inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gimillum and Gimil-Marduk, in Ranke, *Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie*, p. 38, and the Greek examples in Fick und Bechtel, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 35.

On the first panel from the north end, directly north of the one bearing No. 22 (see Fig. 17). Panel 84 cm. wide, 90 cm. high. Letter-space in the horizontal line 14 cm. high. Length of the horizontal part of the inscription 60 cm., height of the perpendicular part 25 cm. Letters  $3\frac{1}{2}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high. SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPH.

Ζαωρθα σαμασθα

*Za'örtā the deaconess*

ܙܘܪܬܐ ܣܡܫܬܐ

The importance of this inscription lies again in the fact of its being a transliteration from the Syriac at quite an early date. There is very little doubt in my mind but that it is contemporaneous with the inscriptions of Rabūlā; the main evidence for this is the character of the script: several characteristic letters are absolutely alike in these inscriptions. The fact that this panel stands next to those of Rabūlā carries of itself but little weight, for a priori the inscription *might* have been put on later.

The form Ζαωρθα is a careful rendering of the Syriac word. It is interesting to find an *a* here in the first syllable, where the literary Syriac form shows only a *shwā* vowel. The *ā* seems to have been still pronounced in Zebed at that time. It is well known that in the same way the Septuagint in many cases still gives a vowel where in the Masoretic transliteration it has been reduced, e.g., Σαλωμών, 𐤓𐤀𐤋𐤍.<sup>1</sup> In Ζαωρθα, however, the following *z* may have helped to keep the *a* sound. And for the masculine form of this name we find the transliteration Ζωρας in Greek<sup>2</sup> and Zoaras in Latin. Of the accurate representation of *ā* by *a* (σαμασθα = *sham(m)āshtā*), I have spoken above in connection with the name Παβουλα, p. 52, and the word δουκραναν, p. 54.

It seems to me that here the question of the grammatical case of Ζαωρθα and σαμασθα scarcely can be raised. Of course in a true Greek inscription we would generally expect the case to be considered in some way; but even there Semitic names are sometimes written without any Greek ending and without being declined. Here it seems that we have a literal rendering of two Syriac word-forms. If the script had been Syriac, the first word would perhaps have been preceded by a *Δ*.

For a discussion of this and the preceding inscription we must consider another Greek inscription, which was found on a panel facing south, and which is more fully commented upon by Dr. Prentice in Part III, inscr. 337. It reads Σομεώνου Ἀντιώχου/ ΜΓΚΕ/ Σέργιε. This is again a very brief document, giving only the name of a person and of his father, and probably an invocation of Christ and of Sergius. The following are, to my mind, the possible explanations that present themselves in an attempt to establish the origin and the meaning of all these inscriptions.

(1) If the suggestion made above on p. 54, as to the relation between the Syriac

<sup>1</sup> Cf. de Lagarde, Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina, pp. 53 and 96.

<sup>2</sup> See Fraenkel, in Journal Asiatique, 1901, I, p. 192.

and the Greek Rabūlā inscriptions, be correct, it would be natural to suppose also that the Greek inscriptions referring to Za'ōrtā and Symeones had counterparts in Syriac. The panel adjoining the one with the Za'ōrtā inscription was not found,<sup>1</sup> nor that which was next to the panel of Symeones in the south rail: these missing panels may have contained more detailed inscriptions in Syriac. We would then have three pairs of inscriptions; in each case the Syriac part would have mentioned the gift, as it is actually done in inscr. 22, and the Greek part would have been written with the intention that it should be interpreted and rendered complete by the Syriac.

(2) If these inscriptions did not exist in pairs, the three inscriptions in Greek letters must have had a significance different from that of the Syriac inscription of Rabūlā. Doubtless the purpose of all three was the same. This purpose may have been:

(a) Rabūlā, Symeones, and Za'ōrtā made gifts to the church which were not mentioned in detail, and in recognition of which their names were inscribed on the respective panels. These gifts may have been the panels and parts of the church structure near them.

(b) The three persons mentioned here may have had their tombs in the church at these places. This, however, is very unlikely, for the following reasons. It is proved that, with a few certain exceptions, the Romans forbade burying within city walls, and that therefore no tomb in a church is known before the time of Constantine.<sup>2</sup> And throughout the following centuries, until nearly 1000 A.D., tombs in churches are extremely rare; again and again they were forbidden by ecclesiastical as well as civil authorities. This, of course, does not apply to memorial chapels. Furthermore, as Mr. Butler tells me, no traces of tombs were found in any of the town churches visited by our expedition.

(c) Another slight possibility is that these persons had their seats in front or behind the panels on which their names are written. This seems to me the least probable of all, because one of these persons was a woman.

Sergius was a very popular saint in all Syria, and, as is well known, became even more so in Armenia. The place of his martyrdom, ar-Ruṣāfah or Sergiopolis, is very near Zebed, and the latter seems to have become another center of his cult. From the fact that his name occurs twice in these brief inscriptions we may infer that this church was dedicated to him. This was certainly the case with the west basilica, on whose lintel the trilingual inscription was carved; for the Greek part of the latter begins, Ἔτους γκω' μη(νός) Γοπίου δ' ἐθεμελίωθη τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου.

As the martyrdom of Sergius took place about 300 A.D., the middle basilica in Zebed seems to be one of the earliest places of his cult.

<sup>1</sup> There is no socket in the northernmost post, and the post itself is placed so near the columns of the north aisle that there is no room for another panel on this end (see Part II, Fig. 109). The next panel at this point would, therefore, come

between the columns, and would face the north and begin a section of the parapet extending toward the west.

<sup>2</sup> See Smith and Cheetham, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, London, 1880, pp. 1972-73.

## CHAPTER II

### PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS

THE inscriptions of this chapter were copied on May 4 and 5, 1900, while the expedition was stopping at Palmyra on the way from Northern Syria to the Haurân. Unfortunately, for lack of time, I did not take photographs or squeezes of these inscriptions. On the whole, this may not be a very serious loss; nevertheless, in a few cases a photograph or a squeeze would have been of service to me during my work, the results of which are published in the following pages.

The inscriptions 1-4, of which only 1 and 2 are new, were found in the temenos of the great temple. Their dates have thrown new light on the history of this magnificent edifice. Nos. 5, 6, and 14 give interesting particulars about the religion of the people in Palmyra. No. 10, a very short and uninteresting inscription in itself, is written on a tombstone; this seems to be the first one found in Palmyra itself. Besides this new historical and archæological material, the Palmyrene inscriptions published here furnish several new words, which are discussed from a linguistic point of view.

#### I-4

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE OF BĒL, 10-70 A.D. The temple of Bēl, or, as it is generally called, the "Temple of the Sun," consists of a large peristyle court, in the midst of which stands the temple proper. This temple was surrounded by a peristyle of very high columns of the Corinthian order, which were fluted and had no brackets. The columns of the peristyle court were of the same order, but lower and not grooved. On the north, east, and south sides the portico was double, i.e., consisted of two rows of columns; on the west side it was single. The columns on the west side and those of the front row on the other three sides were provided with brackets at about two thirds of their height. Further information is to be found in Wood's work "The Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec," London, 1827, tabulæ III sqq., and in Part II of the present publications, pp. 50 and 51.

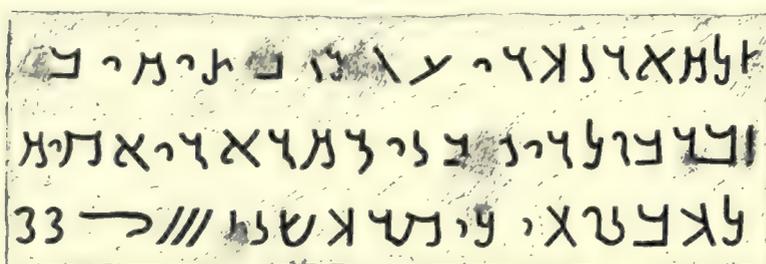
The temple and certain other buildings in Palmyra were partly excavated and studied in detail by the German expedition under Professor Puchstein, in the year

1902; cf. "Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts," Vol. XVII, 1902, p. 105.

Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2, being *ineditæ*, may be discussed first. They are on the faces of the brackets of two columns near the north end of the east portico of the temenos; here three columns are standing, built into the walls of a modern house, the roof of which is three feet below the brackets of the columns.

## I

The column on the bracket of which this inscription is carved is farthest north. Length of inscription 51 cm., height 17 cm.



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 19.

1 וצלמא דנה די עוגילו (בר) תימי בור  
2 זבדכול די מון? ובני כמרא די אקימו  
3 לה בנוהי ליקרה שנת 340

- 1 This is the portrait of 'O[gai]-  
lū, [son of] Taimai, son  
2 of Zabdibōl, of the family of  
Komārā, which was set up

3 to him by his sons, to his honor, (in) the year 340 (= 28–29 A.D.).

The reading of this inscription is practically certain. Of the first name there are traces enough to show that it can be only עגילו. In l. 2, however, it may be doubtful whether we should read מבני or מן בני, and whether אקים was written originally or אקימו. It seems as if מבני would be a little more probable than מן בני, because in my copy there is no trace of a ך, the lower part of which would have been visible, as the break indicated extends very little below the line. But although the contracted form מבני might easily occur in an inscription as early as this, I admit that מון בני is possible here. In the second of the two alternatives, viz., אקים or אקימו, the reading אקימו seems more probable, because in the next inscription, l. 3, the ך of this word is certain. It is true that the ך of the 3d pers. masc. plur. is sometimes written and sometimes omitted in Palmyrene inscriptions even as early as the second half of the first and the first half of the second century A.D., as is proved by the following plural forms: עבר, which occurs in Vog. 34, dated 79 A.D., and אקים and סלק, given in Euting 103, dating from the year 142 A.D. But so far as I am aware, there is no instance of such a form at so early a date as 28–29 A.D. My copy does not show any trace of a ך either at the end of l. 2 or at the beginning of l. 3; but I have not taken enough measurements to afford absolute certainty. Finally, the number of letters in the three lines must be taken into consideration: l. 1 contains 22, l. 3 only 21 letters, while l. 2 has 22 letters which are certain, so that the adding of the two letters in question, [ך] and [ן], would perhaps make the total number a little too high for this

inscription. But if, in fact, אקים was written, this word is the earliest known instance of the suppression of the ending of the 3d pers. masc. plur. in Aramaic.

The name תימי in l. 1 is rather a hypocoristic (Θαιμαιοσ) than, according to M. Clermont-Ganneau's theory, a genitive.

The family of the name כמרא (φυλή Χομαρήγων) is known from another first-century inscription, only seven years older than the one under discussion, viz., Euting 102, l. 2; it is very likely, therefore, that it is the same in both cases. In Palmyrene it is always spelled without a 1 in the first syllable, whereas in the Targums it is written כומר and in Syriac ܟܡܪܐ. Consequently כומר in "Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad. d. Wissenschaften," Jahrgang 1887, p. 412, l. 10, is a misprint. In the Palmyrene inscription No. 5, l. 3, כמרא may be the name of a person, as כמר is in the inscription Mordtmann 13, l. 3.<sup>1</sup>

The salient point in this inscription is that here, on a column of the great temenos, was found the date 340 Sel. or 28-29 A.D. The bearing of this fact on the history of the temple of Palmyra must be considered in connection with No. 2 and with a few other inscriptions found heretofore within the temenos.

2

The column on the bracket in which this inscription is carved is the second to the south from No. 1. The inscription is in Greek and Palmyrene, the former on the upper, the latter on the lower part of the bracket (see Part III, No. 352). Length of the Palmyrene inscription 50 cm., height 8-11 cm. Height of letters 1½ cm.



Scale — 1:5.  
Fig. 20.

- 1 [צולמא דנה די מקימו [בר] עגילו [בר] פציאול]
- 2 [בר תימי די מתקרה הכישו די מן בני ז[?]] . . .
- 3 [די אקימו לה גבל תדמריא כלהן מן [כיסהן בדיל]
- 4 [די קרב לבת אלהיהן מ . . . . . [שנת]
- 5 [382]

- 1 This is the portrait of Mokīmū, the son of 'Ogailū, son of Phaṣai'ēl,
- 2 son of Taimai, who is called Hokkaishū, of the family of Z (?) . . . ,
- 3 which was set up to him by the community (?) of all the Palmyrenes  
[at their own expense, because ?]
- 4 he offered (?) to the house of their gods . . . . . [in the year]
- 5 [382].

The letters supplied in ll. 1-3 are to my mind certain. But unfortunately the

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Mordtmann, in Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 587.

name of the family at the end of l. 2 can only be guessed (see below, p. 61), on account of the incompleteness of the Greek text. For the same reason the extensive lacunæ in ll. 4 and 5 can, in all probability, never be filled out.

In l. 1, פציל corresponds to Φασηέλης in Wad. 1928 and Φασαιέλη (gen.) in Wad. 2445. The same Palmyrene name occurs in Euting's "Epigraphische Miscellen," No. 13; he reads *Pešî'él* and translates "der Befreite Gottes," from נצפ, Syriac פצ, Arabic *faṣṣā*, "to make free." A shorter form of the same stem is פצ (see Clermont-Ganneau, "Recueil," III, p. 245).

In l. 2 the name הכישו is of interest. The corresponding form in Greek is preserved and reads Οχχαισσο, of which the first two letters are not absolutely certain. That would correspond to an Arabic form *Hokkaishū*. The form *fu'ail* is very rare in Arabic; two examples, viz., *ḍurratī<sup>m</sup>* and *zummail<sup>m</sup>* are quoted by Professor Barth in his "Nominalbildung," p. 315. He thinks that these forms have not the same origin as the ancient diminutive form *fu'ail*. However, in a proper name like this, one naturally thinks of some sort of a hypocoristic. I venture to suggest that if *Hokkaishū* is really intended—and I believe it is—we have here a hybrid form, so to speak, a combination of *fu'ail* and *fa'ūl*; or, we might rather say, in the diminutive form *fu'ail* the middle consonant was doubled, after the analogy of the other diminutive form *fa'ūl*, which is very common in Semitic nomenclature. As to the significance of the root *hakasha*, there is the gloss *radjul<sup>m</sup> hakish<sup>m</sup> 'akish<sup>m</sup> = multaw<sup>m</sup> 'alā khašmihi*, given by Freytag in his Dictionary, s.v. *hakasha*, and reprinted literally in the *Muḥit al-Muḥit*, s.v.

The word גבל in l. 3 is new in Palmyrene. The meaning which must be assigned to it here can scarcely be doubtful: the גבל of all Palmyrenes, which set up a statue in honor of a prominent citizen, must be the "people" or "community" or an association of some kind. It is not impossible that here we have the Semitic equivalent of the word רמס, δήμος. In that case it should rather be connected with the corresponding Arabic root than with the Hebrew גבול, "district." Several derivatives of the former mean "a (great) company of men," or even "nation, people" (see Lane, s.v. *djibill<sup>m</sup>*).

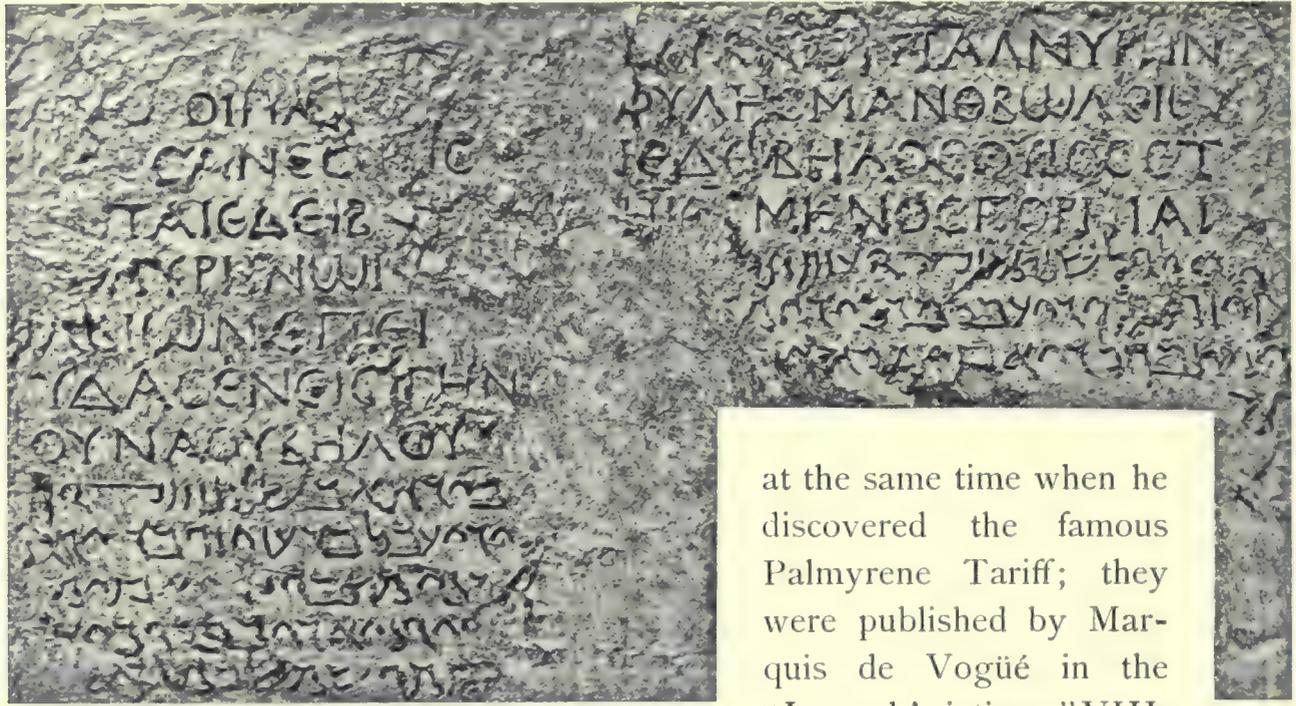
The beginning of l. 4 is difficult to restore. The letters בל before the word בת are certain. I tried to read בל as Bēl, but that would complicate the grammatical construction too much. In all probability the missing word is some verb for "to give" or "to present," since from the Greek part we learn at least enough to be sure that inscription and portrait were made in recognition of gifts<sup>1</sup> to the gods or to the temple. We might read, therefore, קרב, as in Euting 4, where it is used of the giving of columns, architraves, and the roof of a portico. But it seems almost as though the remaining stroke of the first letter in this line were too small for the upper part of ק. Furthermore, since four letters are missing in l. 3, we should

<sup>1</sup> This is proved by the word *διδόντα*.



his inscription, it must have been in the portico of the temenos, not in the peristyle of the temple itself, because there were no brackets on the columns of the latter. As Eut. 102 is dated November 333 Sel., we have the dates 21, 28/29, and 70/71 A.D. on the portico of the temenos.

But we may go still a little farther back in the history of the temple. Two very old inscriptions were found in the interior of the temenos by Prince Abamelek Lazarew,



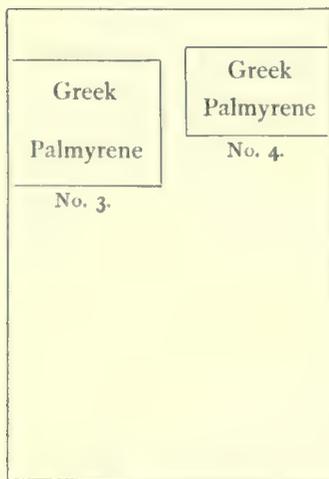
Squeeze of Greek and Palmyrene inscriptions (after Prince Abamelek Lazarew).

at the same time when he discovered the famous Palmyrene Tariff; they were published by Marquis de Vogüé in the "Journal Asiatique," VIII,

tome I, pp. 242-244. A repro-

duction of Prince Abamelek's squeeze was published in his Russian work on Palmyra and in a reprint of M. de Vogüé's paper. Since I had no access to either book, Dr. Lidzbarski was kind enough to lend me his copy of the plate containing these two inscriptions, and from this the accompanying photograph has been reproduced.

While the expedition was at Palmyra, I found this monument in the following condition. In the courtyard of a native house adjoining the one on the roof of which I copied Nos. 1 and 2, on a dung-heap, there was a block of stone said to be inscribed. The upper side of the stone was rough, and looked as if it had been hewn from a thicker block. Near the middle of the stone there was a hole cut through; it may have been used as a millstone. When the stone was turned over, I found that the under side was smooth and contained two bilingual inscriptions. The whole face of the stone, however, was so covered with dirt and slime, which had settled particularly in



Scale — 1 : 20.

Fig. 21.

Diagram showing the position of Palm. inscns. 3 and 4.

the letters, and the letters themselves were so badly weathered, that very little could be read. Since Prince Abamelek's squeeze shows more and clearer letters than my copy, I believe that the inscription was in a better condition when he saw it; but the letters in the squeeze were blackened in order that they might be clearer in the reproduction. My drawings were made from my copies and measurements as far as the Palmyrene parts are concerned; the Greek was reproduced from Prince Abamelek's squeeze. In the transliteration I have made use of M. de Vogüé's publication.

The stone measures 123 × 86 cm., and is about 15 cm. thick. Inscription 3 measures 31 × 13 cm., 4 measures 38 × 12 cm.

## 3

ΟΙ ΓΙΑΛ  
 ΚΑΝΕC ΠΙC  
 ΤΑΙΓΔΕΙB  
 ΠΥΡΗΝΩΙ  
 ΥΛΕΪΩΝΕ ΠΕΙ  
 ΥΔΑCΕΝΕΙCΤΗΝ  
 ΟΥΝΑΟΥΒΗΛΟΥ  
 בִּיחָא אֲבִיבִי  
 יְדִיבֵל בְּרִכַּי  
 בְּחֹדֶשׁ אָב  
 שְׁנַת 321  
 כִּי עָבַד  
 בְּרִכַּי

Scale—1 : 10.

Fig. 22.

בִּירַח אָב שְׁנַת 321	אֲעֲלֵמָא דִּין	1
בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	2
בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	3
בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	4
בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	בְּרִכַּי בְּרִכַּי	5

- 1 *In the month of August, the year 321. [This is the portrait]*
- 2 *of Yedi'bēl, the son of 'Azizū, son of Yedi'[bēl, Barikai, of]*
- 3 *the family of Mattabōl, [which] was set up [to him by the Palmyrenes]*
- 4 *. . . and the Greeks, who are sojourners (?) [in Palmyra, because]*
- 5 *. . . and helped to build [the temple of Bēl].*

This interpretation differs from that of M. de Vogüé in three points:

In l. 2 the name בְּרִכַּי, *Barikai*, has been adopted. That this word must be read in such a way was shown by Reckendorf, in *W. Z. K. M.*, II, p. 327, by Clermont-Ganneau, "*Études*," II, p. 106, "*Recueil*," IV, p. 378, ann., and by Lidzbarski, "*Nordsemit. Epigr.*," p. 245, s.v.; Reckendorf refers also to בְּרִכַּי in *Vog. 2, l. 2*.

In l. 4 de Vogüé reads בסְלוֹכִיא, "in Seleucia." I think this translation is impossible. The Greek  $\kappa$  would certainly have been rendered here by  $\kappa$ ; thus we have in Palmyrene סְלוֹקוּס = Σέλευκος, and Σελεύκεια is rendered in Arabic by *Selūkīyeh*. Besides, why should the Greeks in Seleucia be interested in erecting a statue to a Palmyrene in Palmyra? I confess that I do not even consider the word וִיוֹנִיא absolutely certain. However this may be, it seems to me necessary to look for the Greeks in Palmyra itself. Dr. Lidzbarski wrote me concerning the word לְלוֹכִיא that he thought a substantive like σιλλογία might be intended here, or even a word beginning with παρ- or προ- (cf. פְּלֵהֲרוּתָא, "office of the πρόεδρος," *Tariff*, I, l. 1). I can only think of פְּלוֹכִיא being a rendering of παροικία; this word has a  $\kappa$  also, it is true, but the preceding  $\iota$  and following  $\iota$  have indeed changed the  $\kappa$  into a  $\chi$ , as we see from the common rendering *parochia* in Latin.



the bracket of a column, there are, I think, three other possibilities regarding its position:

(1) It may have been a pedestal. This monument may have stood in the temenos near the entrance to the temple, for we know that in another great Syrian sanctuary of about the same period, the temenos of Ba'al Shamîn at Si', statues were placed at both sides of the entrance to the temple itself.

(2) The stone may have been part of the temple wall. In this case the statues of Yedî'bêl and 'Azîzû may have stood in one of two places:

(a) If the stone was placed in the lower part of a niche, the statues stood above the stone within the niche. The form of such niches in the temple wall is illustrated by the photograph. This assumption is likely to solve a serious difficulty in the interpretation of this monument. It is scarcely credible that in the year 10 a pedestal with an inscription and a statue on only one side would have been set up, whereas the other half was left empty for seven years. If, on the other hand, the stone was in a niche, another stone, measuring about  $123 \times 45$  cm., with another inscription may have been placed next to it on the left. Then the stone under discussion filled two thirds of the width of the niche, and the inscription and the statue of Yedî'bêl were in the middle, where they would have been by themselves for seven years.

(b) Professor Puchstein suggested to me that the inscribed stone might have been somewhere in the wall near the ground and that the statues might have stood in front of it or near it. If this is the case, the connection between the statues and the inscriptions would not be very close, and the question discussed under 2 a could scarcely be raised. In any case, it is of importance that the two earliest honorary inscriptions are not on a column. Perhaps the portico between the years 10–20 A.D. was in process of construction. It is in the year 21 that we find the first inscribed bracket.

It will perhaps be of interest in this connection to give a list of the earliest Palmyrene inscriptions, completing at the same time those given by Schroeder, "Neue palmyrenische Inschriften," 1883, p. 21, and by Euting, "Epigraphische Miscellen," S. B. A. W., 1887, p. 413:

- (1) de Vogüé 30, dated 304 = 9 B.C.; a funerary inscription.
- (2) Schroeder 1, dated 320 = 9 A.D.; a funerary inscription.
- (3) de Vogüé in J. A., 1883, I, pp. 243–244, No. 2 (= No. 3 above), dated 321 = 10 A.D.; an honorary inscription on a pedestal (?) in the temenos.
- (4) de Vogüé, ib., No. 1 (= No. 4 above), dated 328 = 17 A.D.; the same.
- (5) Euting 102, dated 333 = 21 A.D.; an honorary inscription on the bracket of a column in the portico of the temenos.
- (6) No. 1 above, dated 310 = 28/29 A.D.; the same.
- (7) No. 5 below, dated 315 = 34 A.D.; on an altar.



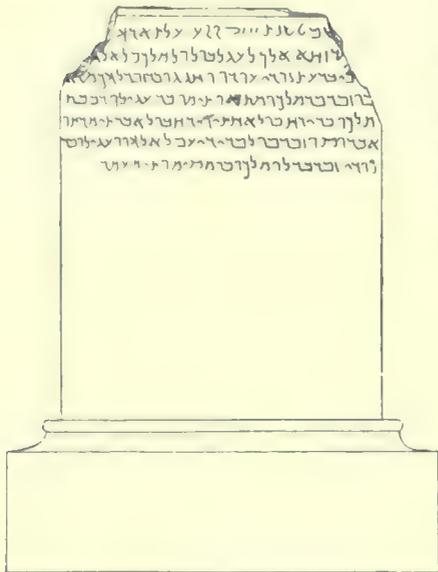
Niche in wall of temple in Palmyra.

(8) Euting 4, dated 378 = 67 A.D.; on the architrave (?) of a portico in the town, according to Euting, near the so-called temple of Diocletian.

(9) No. 2 above, dated [382] = 70/71 A.D.; on the bracket of a column in the portico of the temenos.

## 5

ALTAR, 34 A.D. On an altar, lying face up, a few minutes east of the temple, near the ruins of a wall supposed by the present inhabitants of Palmyra to be the ancient city wall. Height of the altar 76 cm., of the base 20 cm., of the inscription 22 cm. Width of the die 45 cm., of the base 60 cm. Height of letters 1½ cm.



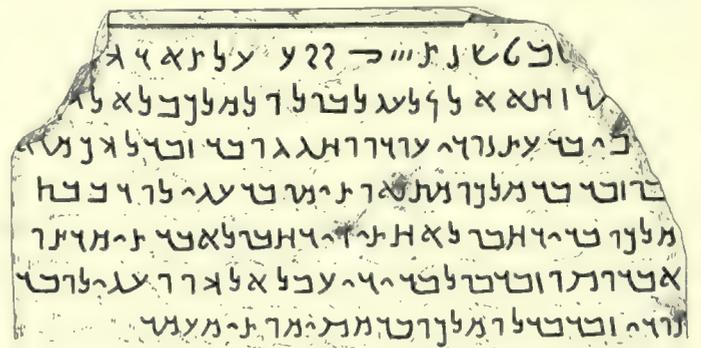
Scale — 1:10.  
Fig. 24.

Littmann, "Deux inscriptions religieuses de Palmyre, le dieu אלקום," "Journal Asiatique," 1901, II, pp. 374-381.— Clermont-Ganneau, "Note sur les deux inscriptions religieuses de Palmyre, publiées par M. E. Littmann," J. A., 1901, II, pp. 521-528.— Clermont-Ganneau, "Un thiasse palmyrénien," in "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," IV, pp. 374-381; ib., V, p. 179.— Wellhausen, in "Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen," 1902, p. 269.— Lidzbarski, "Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik," Erster Band, pp. 343-345.— "Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique," tome I, pp. 228-230.— Cooke, "Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions," No. 140A.

1	(בירה) שבט שנת 345 עלתא דה (עברו)
2	(בני מרוחא אלן לעגלבו ולמלכבל אלהיהון)
3	(והבי בר עתנורי עודו וחגנו בר זבדלה כמרא
4	(?ונבוזבד בר מלכו מתנא ותימו בר עגילו רבת
5	(?ומלכו בר ירהבולא חתי וירהבולא בר תימרצו
6	אבדוק וזבדבול בר ידיעבל אלהו ועגילו בר
7	נורי וזבדבול ומלכו בר מקימו תימעמד

- 1 [In the month of] February, the year 345, this altar [was made by]
- 2 [these members of the Ma]rzihā for 'Aglibōl and Malakbēl, [their] gods:
- 3 [Wah]bai, son of 'Athenūrī, 'Audhū; and Ḥaggāgū, son of Zabdelaḥ, Komārā;
- 4 [and (?) Ne]būzebad, son of Mālikū, Mattānā; and Taimū, son of 'Ogailū, Rabābat (?);
- 5 [and (?)] Mālikū, son of Yarḥibōlā, Ḥattai; and Yarḥibōlā, son of Taimarsū,
- 6 Abdūḳ; and Zabdibōl, son of Yedi'bēl, Ālihū; and 'Ogailū, son of
- 7 Nūrai, Zabdib(ō)l; and Mālikū, son of Moḳīmū, Taimo'amad.

This inscription was first published in my above-named article in the "Journal Asiatique." Thanks to the very valuable comments upon it by Professor Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Lidzbarski, as well as to private communications which I received from Professors Barth, Fraenkel, and Nöldeke, text and translation have been much improved since its first publication. It was recognized by several scholars at the same time that in



Scale — 1:5.  
Fig. 25.

the list of names, probably before each new person, the ׀ was repeated; this makes the reading of a few new names more certain. It is possible, however, that while in the middle of a line each new person is introduced by a ׀, in the beginning of ll. 4 and 5 the ׀ was omitted. According to my copy, it seems that ll. 5, 6, and 7 are complete at the right end, so that there would be no room for a ׀ in the beginning of l. 5; but I am not absolutely sure of this. If we read ll. 4 and 5 without the initial ׀, every line from 2 to 6 would have thirty-two letters; the number of letters in ll. 1 and 7 is smaller for obvious reasons.

When I published this inscription before, I proposed the theory that in ll. 3-7 of each person were mentioned (1) the man's name, (2) the name of the father, and (3) the name of the tribe or family. This theory has not met with approval. Professor Clermont-Ganneau calls it *assez séduisante*; but he argues against it. He believes — and so does Dr. Lidzbarski — that the third name in each case is the name of the grandfather. It is of course well known that the word בר often is omitted, and I was not ignorant of this fact. But there is no fixed rule; it seems as if the use of the word בר in these cases was entirely arbitrary. The regularity observed in this inscription led me to consider these cases as different from others and to offer that suggestion, especially since two of the third names (כמרא and וברבול), perhaps even four (cf. מתנא with Μαθημαβωλίων φυλή and עורו with Ἀυδηγῶν and Ἀουδηγῶσι), are known as family names. Be this as it may, I admit that at the present stage of our knowledge my theory has so little foundation that it is much safer to follow Clermont-Ganneau and Lidzbarski. The formation of Semitic tribal names still needs much elucidation. Nöldeke, in the Z. D. M. G., Vol. XL, p. 157, says: "We must, however, take into consideration that the greatest majority of names of [Arabic] tribes and families which we meet in the old literature either occur also as names of individuals or have that appearance and might very well occur as such. This fact is certain; but the explanation of it is very difficult." The list of Palmyrene *gentilicia* compiled by Euting in S. B. A. W., Jahrgang 1887, pp. 411-413, is another proof of this fact. In many cases undoubtedly some prominent chief, or the actual ancestor, has given the name to a family or a tribe. Then the name may be used without change in its form. So, for example, my servant Muḥammed, whose father was Muṣṭafā and who belonged to the family Bū Shaḡrah, called himself Muḥammed (ibn) Muṣṭafā Bū Shaḡrah. Or else a plural is formed of the type *fa'álil* or *fa'álilah*.<sup>1</sup> Both these usages may be entirely restricted to the Arabic people. M. Clermont-Ganneau calls attention to the fact that, from what we know, we would require in Palmyrene an addition like מן בני (ר) or מבני; also בַּת and פֹּהַר are used, as we see from Euting's list, p. 412, ll. 1 and 31, and correspondingly אל ('*al*) in Nabataean and Safaitic inscriptions. Of course I did not mean that in each case where a third name is added without בר in a Palmyrene inscription the family is intended, for the instances quoted by M. Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 377-378,

<sup>1</sup> See Z. D. M. G., Vol. XLV, p. 177, and Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins, Vol. XXIV, p. 29, ann. 1.

are known and forbid such a generalization at once. But I do not believe that my theory is a priori impossible, although in these cases it may not be probable.

In l. 1 the date is 345, i.e., February, 34 A.D., not 340, as in the drawing published with my article in the "Journal Asiatique." There is even a slight difference to be seen between the letter ע in עלהא and the figure for 5. It may be added here that in this inscription there are a few other letters which have a form different from the ordinary Palmyrene script, viz., א, ו, and כ. The lower curve of the letter א usually does not touch the base-line here, but turns back, sometimes forming almost an acute angle, a little below the middle of the height of the letter. This is clear epigraphical evidence of the origin of the Palmyrene and Hebrew א. For if in a form like that of א in עלהא the curved line is continued toward the right, it meets the upper short slanting stroke, and thus would be formed a character which resembles closely the Phœnician and the Old-Aramaic aleph. The ו in this inscription has a straight perpendicular line, and its top looks more like a bracket with its edges rounded off than like a half-circle, as in the common form in Palmyrene inscriptions. It is very possible that the geometricized ordinary form of the ו was chiefly used in inscriptions and in other official documents. In cursive writing of every-day life a form like the one given here and also in No. 8 (=Sobernheim No. 7) was probably more commonly used. The כ of the present inscription is long and narrow; its bottom always extends over the base-line, so that it is easily distinguished from the ב.<sup>1</sup>

In l. 2 the reading בני מרוהא was most ingeniously restored by Professor Clermont-Ganneau. At the same time עברו in l. 1 is made certain. At the end of l. 2 Dr. Lidzbarski's reading אלהיהון is the most probable, since it exactly fills the line and gives us a total number of thirty-two letters, as in the lines 3 and 6, probably also in 4 and 5. That the (א) מרוהא was a well-known religious institution in the East, called θίασος in Greek, was shown by Professor Clermont-Ganneau, who recognized this word in Phœnician inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and in Jer. xvi. 5, where the Hebrew text has בית מרוהא, which is actually rendered by θίασος in the Septuagint. Professor Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> pointed out that in Amos vi. 7 undoubtedly the same licentious rite is alluded to. Of high interest in this connection is the name Βητομαρσσεα ἢ καὶ Μαιουμας, given to a certain locality in the mosaic map of Madeba; it was shown by Büchler that this is the place where, according to the tradition, Israel fornicated with the daughters of Moab (Num. xxv.). These questions are discussed by Clermont-Ganneau in his "Recueil," Vol. IV, pp. 339 sqq. Both Clermont-Ganneau and Lidzbarski cite also the מרויחיים, מרויחיים of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, and the Palmyrene συμπροσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν, Wad. 2606<sup>a</sup>. M. Clermont-Ganneau adds that the corresponding expression in Palmyrene would probably have been רב מרוהא. Unfortunately the few letters preserved of the Palmyrene part of this inscription (see below, No. 9) yield only words

<sup>1</sup> We must therefore read ב \* \* in the beginning of l. 3, not ב \* \* . The latter was originally also considered by M. Clermont-Ganneau; see, however, Recueil, Vol. V, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> See Recueil, Vol. IV, pp. 343 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1902, p. 269.

that have been known for a long time; none of the letters of the conjectured form **רַב מְרוּחָא** are to be seen.

The names mentioned in l. 3 need no further discussion. At the beginning, **וְהַבִּי** is the most natural of the possibilities given in my first publication, p. 378. The name **עוּרוּ** is new in Palmyra, but known from Sinaitic and Safaitic inscriptions; in the latter it is written **עֹר**.

The third name in l. 4 is most probably **מַתְנָא**. Dr. Lidzbarski's question whether **מַחְבָּא** was originally on the stone must be answered in the negative, because the doubtful letter is too narrow for a **ב**. I explained **מַתְנָא** as a hypocoristic of **מַתְנַבּוּל** or **מַתְכוּל**. Dr. Lidzbarski follows this explanation and adds the Punic name **מַתְנָא**, from **מַתְנַאֲלִים** (ם), and the Talmudic **מַתְנָה**, from **מַתְנִיָּה**. Professor Barth cites also **מַתְן**, the name of a priest of Baal in 2 Kings xi. 18. Lidzbarski is perhaps right in not approving of my comparison of **רַבְבַּת** with *rabīb*; this would have been written **רַבִּיב**. I am inclined, therefore, to accept his reading *Rabābat*; but the instances quoted by Professor Derenbourg from the Sabæan, in the "Répertoire," p. 230, must also be carefully considered.

In l. 5 the third name is undoubtedly **הַתִּי**; this form is, as Lidzbarski has shown, a hypocoristic of *Hātim*, as **מַלִּי** of *Mālik*.

For the explanation of **אַבְרוּק** or **אַבְרוּק** in l. 6 several suggestions have been made. First of all, the reading *Abū Ruwāk* must be abandoned. Fraenkel and Nöldeke have thought of *Eḏḏaḥ* = **אַבְרוּק**; but the latter adds that such a spelling is almost impossible at this early date. Clermont-Ganneau and Lidzbarski compare the Palmyrene name **בְּרוּקָא**, and the latter is inclined to believe that **אַבְרוּק** is this name misspelled. Clermont-Ganneau thinks also of a possible *Abū Rauḳ*, in which he would see an equivalent of the Greek *Ἀντίπατρος*. In the translation above I have given this name as *Abdūk*. This is based on the Syriac name **בְּרוּקָא**, which occurs in Assemani, "Bibliotheca Orientalis," tom. III, pars I, p. 141. The name is transliterated there *Barduco* (dative); but perhaps we should read *Bardauḳ*, if the second part of the name is the Syriac word *dauḳā*. This word, taken in the sense of astronomical observation or observer, would be suitable for the formation of names. Our **אַבְרוּק** might thus very well be *ab(u) dauḳ*. The name **אַלְהוּ** is transliterated *Ālihu* by Dr. Lidzbarski. Professor Nöldeke writes me that he is inclined to take **אַלְהוּ** as **אַלְהוּ**, or rather **אַלְהוּ = אַלְהוּ**. The latter explanation is in itself very tempting, especially in view of the Biblical **אַלְהוּ**. But it is almost impossible to separate **אַלְהוּ** from the Safaitic **אַלְה**, and that in the latter the **ה** should represent the personal pronoun of the 3d pers. masc. sing. is scarcely probable.

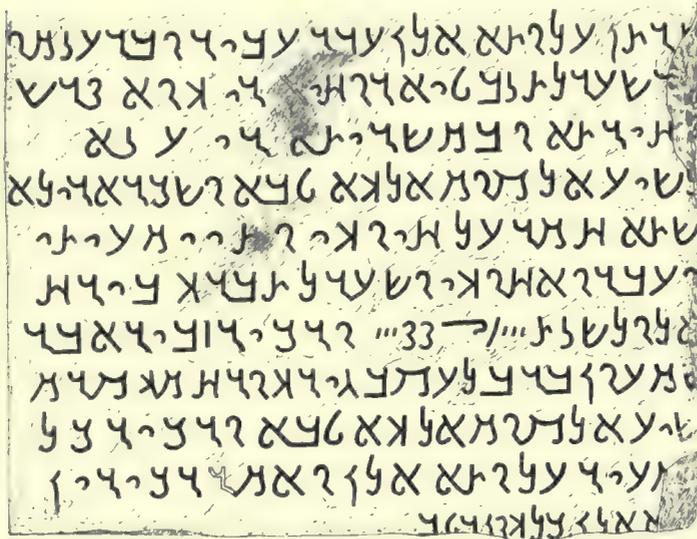
The first name in l. 7, **נֹרִי**, is, of course, a hypocoristic ending in **י**; such names are, as Dr. Lidzbarski has shown, very common among the Semites. In Palmyrene **נֹר** forms sometimes the first, sometimes the second part of a composite name, and the name in question may therefore be an abbreviation of either **נֹרְבַל** or **עַתְנֹרִי**.

ALTAR, 132 A.D. On an altar lying face up near the altar bearing inscription No. 5. Height of the altar 105 cm., of the inscription 36 cm., of the bas-relief above the inscription, a figure leaning on a staff, 31 cm. Width of the die of the altar 46 cm. Height of letters 2 cm.

Littmann, "Deux inscriptions religieuses de Palmyre, le dieu שיעאלקום," "Journal Asiatique," 1901, II, pp. 381-390.—Clermont-Ganneau, "Note sur les deux inscriptions religieuses de Palmyre, publiées par M. E. Littmann," J. A., 1901, II, pp. 521-528.—Clermont-Ganneau, "Le dieu nabatéen Chaï' al Qaum," in "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," IV, pp. 382-402.—Wellhausen, in "Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen," 1902, p. 269.—Derenbourg, "Un dieu nabatéen ivre sans avoir bu de vin," in "Revue des Études Juives," Janvier-Mars, 1902, pp. 124-126.—Lidzbarski, "Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik," I, pp. 345-346.—"Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique," tome I, pp. 230-233.—Cooke, "Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions," No. 140B.



Scale — 1 : 20.  
Fig. 26.



Scale — 1 : 5.  
Fig. 27.

ותרתן עלותא אלן עבר עבדו בר ענמו	1
וברן שעדלת נבטיא רוחיא די הוא פרש	2
ובחירתא ובמשריתא די ענא	3
לשיעאלקום אלהא טבא ושכרא די לא	4
שתא חמר על חייהו וחיי מעיתו	5
ועבדו אחוהי ושעדלת ברה בירה	6
אלול שנת 443 ודכיר זבידא בר	7
שמעון בר בלעקב גירה ורהמה קדם	8
שיעאלקום אלהא טבא ודכיר כל	9
ודי מועיד עלותא אלן ואמר דכירין	10
ונשא אלן כלהון בטב	11

- 1 *These two altars were made by 'Obaidū, the son of 'Ānimū,*
- 2 *[the son] of Sa'dallāt, the Nabatean, of the tribe Rūhū, who was a horseman*
- 3 *in Hir'thā and in the camp of 'Ānā,*
- 4 *for Shai' al-Kaum, the good and rewarding god, who does not*
- 5 *drink wine; for his safety and for the safety of Mu'ithī*
- 6 *and 'Abdū, his brothers, and Sa'dallāt, his son; in the month*
- 7 *of September, the year 443. And remembered be Zebīdā, the son*
- 8 *of Shim'ōn, the son of Bēl'akab, his patron and friend, before*
- 9 *Shai' al-Kaum, the good god, and remembered be every one*
- 10 *[who] respects these altars, and who says: "Remembered be*
- 11 *all these [men] for good!"*

All the lines of this inscription except 5 and 9 are somewhat damaged at their right ends, but all can be restored with certainty, except, possibly, l. 11. Since l. 5 is complete, it is impossible to read, as Dr. Lidzbarski suggested, *משתא* instead of *שתא*. In l. 10 there is, according to my copy, room for two letters besides the *נ*, and I

believe that only the word **ר** can be supplied here. Again, in l. 11 two letters, possibly three, are necessary, but no more. To fill this lacuna, Dr. Lidzbarski suggested to read **אנשא** or **גבריא**, of which the latter was also proposed by Professor Fraenkel. I personally prefer the former without the initial **א**, corresponding to the Syriac **ܐܢܫܐ**, and read, therefore, **אנשא**. Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion **שמא** is impossible for linguistic reasons. He has withdrawn it himself, and he proposes now to read **הא אלן**; see *Recueil*, Vol. V, pp. 179 sqq. Although this is a very ingenious idea, it cannot be accepted here, because the space is too large for a single **ה**.

This inscription is well and carefully carved and shows the beautiful Palmyrene characters in their finished forms, as we know them from many other stones. As to particulars, it may be noticed that the **ר** is not distinguished from the **ג**.

In l. 2 **רוהיא** is to be interpreted as "belonging to the tribe of Rūhū."<sup>1</sup> M. Clermont-Ganneau prefers to take it as a toponym, perhaps derived from *ar-Rauhā*; it seems to me, however, that a derivative of the latter should be **רוהניא**, corresponding to **תימניא**<sup>2</sup> and **תימניחא**,<sup>3</sup> which are derived from **תימא**.

In l. 3 I translated **הירחא** formerly by *citadelle*; Lidzbarski gives *Kastell*, and Clermont-Ganneau *citadelle (ou Hirta)*. Now Professor Nöldeke writes me with regard to this word: "**הירחא** = **ܗܝܪܚܐ** (ܗܝܪܚܐ) is not very likely. The **ܗܝܪܚܐ** is originally a movable camp; it sometimes goes back into the desert, thus even with John of Ephesus (second half of the sixth century). **הירחא** could become the name of a town, but as a common noun it was not the same as **ܗܝܪܚܐ**." This objection to my former translation seems to me so strong that I am now more in favor of taking both **הירחא** and **ענא** as proper names. Perhaps **הירחא** was the same place as that called **ܗܝܪܚܐ** or al-Ḥirah<sup>4</sup> later on; but there may well have been still another place of this name in the region of the Euphrates. The mention of **הירחא** is all the more interesting if Professor Hirth's identification of the Chinese Yü-lo with Ḥirah<sup>5</sup> is correct. And this is very likely indeed; for the Chinese records describing western Asia in the first three centuries A.D. locate Yü-lo at the farthest western border of An-si (Parthia), to the southwest of Ssi-pin (Ktesiphon), which of course agrees perfectly with the position of al-Ḥirah. Furthermore, the distance given between Ssi-pin and Yü-lo is the same as between Ktesiphon and al-Ḥirah. As to the occurrence of al-Ḥirah in a Palmyrene inscription, Clermont-Ganneau remarks that its southern location does not prevent us from adopting such an interpretation, because even Spasinucharax, which lay still farther south, was one of the starting-points of the Palmyrene caravans. 'Obaidū then may have been changed from one garrison to another during his term of service: he went to **משריתא די ענא** after he had been in **הירחא**. That **ענא** can scarcely be any other town than 'Āna(t) is recognized also

<sup>1</sup> See C. I. S., II, 182. <sup>2</sup> See C. I. S., II, 199, l. 2. <sup>3</sup> Ibid., II, 205, l. 2. <sup>4</sup> Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmidin in al-Ḥira*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 12 sqq. <sup>5</sup> Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 39, 76-77, 197; id. in *Oberhammer und Zimmerer, Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1899, p. 440.

by the other commentators, although there are linguistic difficulties arising from the fact that the name of the place in the ancient literature always has a ה: Syriac *חנה*; later Hebrew *ענת*; Greek *Ἀναθή*, *Ἀναθα*; Latin *Anatha*.<sup>1</sup> We learn thus from this line of the present inscription that the Palmyrenes had their garrisons or perhaps rather encampments of soldiers (horsemen) along the Euphrates in order to protect their caravans.

The god *שיע-אלקום* is discussed below. That the word *שכרא*, spelled also *סכרא* in No. 8, l. 1, means "rewarding" has been proved by Nöldeke, in *S. B. A. W.*, 1885, p. 671, and later by Lidzbarski. The latter scholar takes it to be a Hebraism in Palmyrene, and this seems to be the most natural explanation. Clermont-Ganneau is in favor of connecting it with the Arabic *shakara*, which perhaps is equally probable. H. Derenbourg, however, translates this word in quite a different way: in view of Isa. li. 21 and of the word *שכור*, in Arabic *sakrān*, he renders it "ivre." Good reasons against this theory have been given by Lidzbarski in "Ephemeris," I, p. 351.

Line 5, which is entirely complete,<sup>2</sup> begins with the word *שתא*; we must therefore read *שְׁתָּא*, not *שְׁתָּא[מ]*. The impossibility of a reading like \**שְׁתָּא* has been discussed in full in my first publication. I doubted formerly whether *מעיתי* was copied correctly, and with some hesitation suggested *מעיתו* instead. The copy, however, shows no traces of a ו nor of a break in the stone at this place.

In l. 8 the word *גיר* can scarcely have any other meaning than "patron." For the Nabataean, who was a foreigner, a *μέτοικος* or *πάροικος*,<sup>3</sup> as it were, doubtless needed a native citizen of Palmyra to be his *πρόξενος* and to protect him and his interests. The terms *גיר*, *שיע*, *djār*, *maulā*, and *waliy* had a double meaning,<sup>4</sup>—they were, so to speak, *'addād*,—and there can be no doubt which side of the meaning is intended here. That the formula *קדם שיע-אלקום . . . דכיר* is parallel to Nabataean expressions like *קדם דושרא . . . דכיר* or "שלם ק"ד" was pointed out by M. Clermont-Ganneau;<sup>5</sup> cf. also the Safaitic *פהלת סלם* and the Thamudene *ברצו ודר*. A Christian equivalent is found, for instance, in Syriac: *ܘܡܫܐ ܕܗܒܘܢܐ ܦܘܩܐ ܐܠܡܐ ܫܘܨܘܢܐ ܥܠܐ ܫܡܘܨܐ* (see Wright, "Cat. of Syriac MSS. of the Brit. Mus.," p. 491<sup>b</sup>, ll. 5-4 from the bottom).

Several suggestions have been made to explain the word *מעיר* or *מעיר* in l. 9. Professor Brockelmann writes: "Might *אעיר* not have the meaning of the Arabic *'ahyā*?" My friend Dr. Rothstein recalls the common Arabic *'aiyada*. Professor Clermont-Ganneau thinks of *העיר*, *μαρτυρεῖν*, or *'a'āda*, "*répéter*." Dr. Lidzbarski comments as follows: "Before *עיר* must have been more than one letter, as we see from l. 11; the *מ* is not quite certain either, I think. Thus we might read perhaps *די לא מעיר* or *יעיר*, i.e., *mughaiyir* or *yughaiyir* (cf. C. I. S., II, 206, l. 8). Perhaps there

<sup>1</sup> Professor Nöldeke calls attention to the fact that this town was well known to the old Arabic poets for its wine; see Clermont-Ganneau, pp. 383-384. <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 70. <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 63. <sup>4</sup> See below, p. 73. <sup>5</sup> Recueil, Vol. IV, pp. 385-386.

was also a מן at the end of l. 9. But if there is no room for לא, we may read די עיר or מעיר, i.e., a part. peal or aphel of עיר = 'āda, or ta'auwada in the sense of 'to visit.'" Professor Fraenkel wrote me: "I should like to connect מעיר with the Arabic 'ādha and to translate it 'to protect,' or perhaps 'to respect,' and I should see in this formula the counterpart of the usual imprecations upon those who damage the monument. One might perhaps also translate 'to invoke the protection'; but that seems to me not quite so appropriate." Professor Fraenkel's suggestion is doubtless the most probable of all. Dr. Lidzbarski's reading מן די לא יעיר is very tempting, but impossible for lack of space. All the lines are complete at the end, and consequently מן cannot be added. About the letters to be supplied in the beginning of ll. 10 and 11 see above, p. 71. The word אמר is a participle (\*אמר) corresponding to [מ]עיר. The right translation was given by Fraenkel, Clermont-Ganneau, and Lidzbarski.

A few words remain to be said about the enigmatic שיע-אלקום. A full discussion of the questions concerning this deity has been given by Professor Clermont-Ganneau in his article "Le dieu nabatéen Chaï' al-Qaum."<sup>1</sup> The name must be read *Shai' al-Ḳaum*, as we see from the Safaitic form שע-הקם. Its literal translation is very probably "helper (assistant or assistance) of the people." Professor de Goeje compares the Arabic *Shai' al-Lāt (Allāh)*<sup>2</sup> and says: "In the same way as the patron and client are each other's *maulā*, so two men or the god and the men may be each other's *shai'*, i.e., 'help(er).'" Perhaps the Syriac ܫܘܢ should also be considered in this connection. On the other hand, Clermont-Ganneau quotes the Arabic *shauwa'a ḵaumahu*, and arrives at the translation "*aggregans populum*"; with this he compares the Greek ἀρχηγέτης, a cognomen given to several gods. An idea similar to this was expressed by Dr. Rothstein, who wrote me that he was inclined to translate *shai'* by πρόπομπος. If we take *Shai' al-Ḳaum* to be a "god of the caravans,"<sup>3</sup> both meanings, "helper" and "leader," may be found in his name.

The words די לא שתא חמר, "who does not drink wine," i.e., "who receives no wine-offerings," are of peculiar interest. The inscription being Nabataean in its character, and the altars being erected by a Nabataean soldier, we are of course reminded of what Diodorus says of the Nabataeans: <sup>4</sup> νόμος δ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μήτε σίτον σπεῖρειν μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον μήτε οἴνον χρῆσθαι μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν. ὅς δ' ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὕρισκεται θάνατον αὐτῷ πρότιμον εἶναι. Professor Nöldeke wrote me, referring to this passage: "It goes back to the very reliable Hieronymus of Kardia, but I admit that it may be exaggerated." It certainly is a description of very primitive Bedawin life: even at the present day one hears in the Syrian desert of Arab tribes that have no other food than camel's milk, dates and figs, and perhaps once a year sheep's and camel's meat. Wellhausen remarks that Arabic gods did not drink wine, anyway, and that the express statement די לא שתא חמר was probably a reaction against the cult of Dushara,

<sup>1</sup> Recueil, Vol. IV, pp. 382-402.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Safaitic שע-אל.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> XIX, 94. See Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. 612.

who on Aramæan ground was identified with Dionysos. This is certainly the clue to the matter, as Clermont-Ganneau has also recognized. The latter says that since we have here two gods opposed to each other, and since we know that the Nabatæan nation was composed of different ethnic elements, we might assume that the two different cults corresponded to two different ethnic elements, but that it is difficult to assign the gods to the single elements as yet. I do not hesitate, however, to believe that the prohibition of wine was due to the influence of the *Arabic* element, bearing in mind Wellhausen's remarks and the fact that such tendencies as the Rehabite movement in the Old Testament are considered to be a reaction of the desert life against the peasant life, and that in the national *Arabic* religion, the Islam, wine is prohibited. This may be expressed also in a curious fact with regard to the ornamental designs employed in Northern Syria and in the Ḥaurân. Mr. Butler informs me that the grape-vine ornament occurs frequently on pagan buildings of the Ḥaurân, but very rarely on those of the Christian period in the same country; in Northern Syria, however, the Christian buildings make abundant use of the vine, whereas only a few examples of it were found there on pagan edifices, which are, it must be said, very scarce in this part of the country. In pagan times the Aramæan influence was probably very strong in the Ḥaurân, especially among the Nabatæans, who used the language and script of the Aramæans and were largely dependent upon the civilization of the latter. But it seems that the Arabic element grew gradually stronger, and that it was almost predominant in the Christian Ḥaurân. In Northern Syria the population was probably always Aramæan from the time of the occupation of these countries by the Aramæans until the Arabic conquest. I admit, however, that this reasoning is very precarious, and that there may have been quite different and perhaps accidental reasons that brought about the fact observed by Mr. Butler.

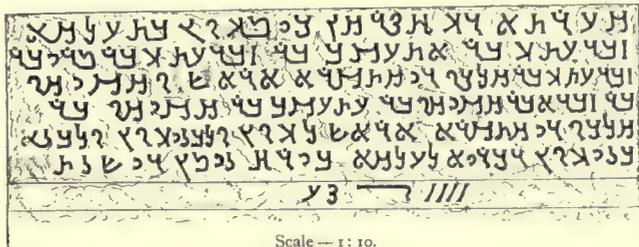
With regard to the contrast between Dushara and Shai' al-Ḳaum among the Nabatæans, the interesting remarks of M. Clermont-Ganneau on the mythological warfare between Dionysos and Lykourgos, as represented in the "Dionysiaka" of Nonnos, deserve careful consideration. He shows, furthermore, that in a Greek inscription found in Ḥebrân and published by Waddington, No. 2286*a*, which is dedicated to a [θε]ῶ Λυκούργω, we may find an Arabic god Lykourgos, identical with the enemy of Bakkhos-Dionysos, and perhaps with our Shai' al-Ḳaum, who must have been an antagonist of Dushara-Dionysos.

If, then, Shai' al-Ḳaum was a national Arabic god, and if, further, his name signifies "helper" or "leader of the people," what would be more natural than to assume, as Dr. Lidzbarski does ("Ephemeris," I, p. 332), that he was a "god of the caravans"? As such he would have protected the people during the dangerous journeys through the deserts; he would have been invoked when a caravan started on its travels or left the camp of a hospitable friend; and, finally, thanks would have been rendered to him and offerings made when the caravan reached its destination in safety. In Wellhausen's

“Reste arabischen Heidentums,” 2d ed., p. 223, we find a very interesting account of the Arabic Zeus Xenios, the protector of *gār* (cf. גַּר) and *daif*, of client and guest, the keeper of the *giwār*. What is said there of Allah may be applied here, *mutatis mutandis*, to Shai' al-Ḳaum. This brings us back to our inscription again. ‘Obaidū, after having served as a horseman in one or two places near the Euphrates, where he probably escorted and guarded many a richly laden caravan of merchants of Palmyra, comes back in safety to Palmyra, and erects two altars for his safety (ὕπερ σωτηρίας) and for the safety of his two brothers and his son. He dedicates them to Shai' al-Ḳaum, the god who protected him and his family and probably saved them from certain dangers while they were far away near the Euphrates or while they crossed the desert. But at the same time he remembers his patron in Palmyra, and thus invokes for him also the protection of the god of caravans and of hospitality.

7

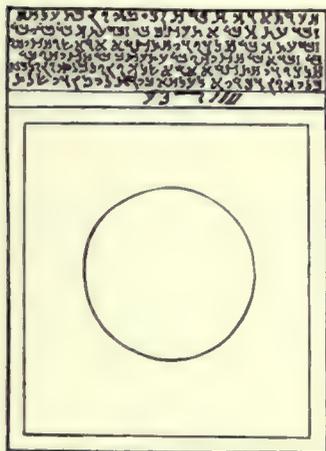
TOMB, 114 A.D. On a slab of limestone, discovered originally over the door of a rock-hewn tomb by Baron L. de Contenson, now in the house of the Turkish superintendent of the salt-works; this house stands outside of the temenos, not far from the southeast corner. Height of the slab 117 cm., width 85 cm. Height of inscription 24½ cm. Diameter of the round hole below the inscription 45½ cm. Height of letters 3 cm.



Scale—1: 10.  
Fig. 28.

Baron L. de Contenson, in “Revue Biblique,” I, 1892, pp. 433-436.—Lagrange, “Une inscription palmyrénienne,” in “Revue Biblique,” I, 1892, pp. 436-438.—Sobernheim, “Palmyrenische Inschriften,” in “Beiträge zur Assyriologie,” Vol. IV, 1900, p. 209.—Lidzbarski, “Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,” I, pp. 198-199.—“Répertoire d’Épigraphie Sémitique,” Vol. I, pp. 303-304.

This inscription is known and well translated. It is worth while, however, to call attention to the fact that the second name in l. 2 is אהעקב and the fourth name in the same line סרי. The names were given in the same form by M. Lagrange, but Dr. Sobernheim corrected them into עהעקב and מרי. Dr. Lidzbarski gave preference to M. Lagrange’s readings, which, as I noted in my copy after having collated the latter twice with the original at different times, are indeed those on the stone. In l. 4, however, the stone bears עהעקב, a reading suggested by Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>1</sup> and actually given by Dr. Sobernheim, so that M. Lagrange’s עהקנב must be abandoned. It is strange to find אהעקב and עהעקב in the same inscription. The first of these two forms has its parallel in the Nabataean אהרעהה, found in the inscription C. I. S., II,



Scale—1: 20.  
Fig. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Nordsemit. Epigraphik, p. 348.

No. 423 (see Clermont-Ganneau, "Recueil," Vol. IV, p. 99, and Lidzbarski, "Ephemeris," I, p. 196). It is very likely that the first  $\aleph$  was changed to  $\aleph$  under the influence of the second  $\aleph$ , as, for example, in the case of the Syriac  $\text{ܐܠܗ}$  and others like it. In  $\text{ܫܪܝ}$  or  $\text{ܫܪܝ}$  Dr. Lidzbarski recognized a hypocoristic of  $\text{ܫܪܝܚܘ}$  or  $\text{ܫܪܝܚܘ}$ .

By comparing the genealogy and the surname  $\text{ܐܪܐܫ}$ , given here, with the inscriptions Euting Nos. 13, 15, and 19, Dr. Lidzbarski arrived at the conclusion that this inscription came from the same tomb as those published by Euting. We must, however, take account of the fact that Euting's inscriptions were found in a *tomb-tower*, while that of de Contenson was found over the entrance to a *cave*.

It is known that the Palmyrene tomb-towers were generally connected with a chamber hewn in the living rock. Thus we read  $\text{ܩܒܪܐ ܕܢܗ ܘܡܥܪܬܐ}$  in de Vog. 35, and



Tomb-towers at Palmyra.

correspondingly in the Greek part of this inscription  $\text{Tò μνημείον τούτο καὶ σπήλαιον αὐτοῦ . . .}$ , Wad. No. 2613. These sepulchral edifices have been carefully described by M. Raphaël Bernoville in his book, "Dix jours en Palmyrène," Paris, 1868, p. 119. This combination of tower and vault explains, of course, the well-known fact that all these towers are built along the slope of the hill, so that the entrance of the vault was on the same level as the ground floor of the tower. A number of these towers and their position are shown in the photograph.

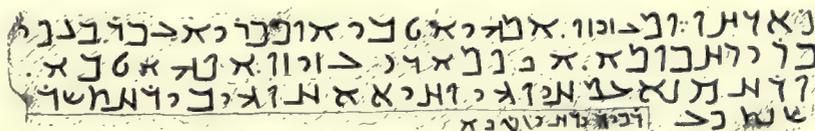
If, then, members of the same family were buried in a tower and in a vault, the most natural conclusion would be that the tower stood in front of the vault. But de Contenson's drawing on p. 434 does not show any ruins of a tower; in fact, he assumes that the vault was entered directly from the hillside. Moreover, when Baron de

Contenson visited Palmyra in the year 1891, the tomb with the inscription under discussion had just been discovered. It is possible that soon after the time when Professor Euting was there, i.e., the year 1884, the tower belonging to this vault was destroyed in some way, and that the debris of which de Contenson speaks as obstructing the entrance is really the ruins of the tower covered with drifts of sand. But, for lack of a detailed description of the location of the tower and the vault in question, we cannot reach a final conclusion.

My drawing of the stone differs slightly from that of de Contenson. The inscription was certainly on the same stone through which the hole was cut. This hole has a diameter of  $45\frac{1}{2}$  cm., according to my measuring, whereas de Contenson gives 60 cm. The round window over the entrance to a rock-hewn tomb is a new architectural feature; but this is probably due only to the fact that the necropolis of Palmyra has been very little explored as yet.

## 8

RELIEF, 188 A.D. On a stone set in the wall, on the right side of a passage which leads into a large modern courtyard from a street south of and parallel with the south wall of the great temenos. The inscription is placed at the bottom of a series of figures in relief and fills the right-hand half of this bottom space, measuring  $55 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$  cm. Height of letters  $1\frac{1}{2}$ – $1\frac{3}{4}$  cm., in the last 13 letters  $\frac{3}{4}$ –1 cm.



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 30.

Sobernheim, "Palmyrenische Inschriften," in "Beiträge zur Assyriologie," Vol. IV, pp. 211 sqq.—Clermont-Ganneau, "Un néocore palmyrénien du dieu 'Azizou," in "Recueil," IV, pp. 203–206.—Clermont-Ganneau, *ib.*, p. 404.—Lidzbarski, "Ephemeris," I, pp. 201–203.—Cooke, "Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions," p. 295.

לֹאֲרִצּוֹ וְלַעֲזִיזוֹ אֱלֹהִים טָבִים וְסֹכְרִים עֲבָד בְּעַלְמֵי	1
בְּרַיְחִבּוֹלָא אֶפְכָּלָא דִּי עֲזִיזוֹ אֱלֹהִים טָבִים	2
וְרַחֲמֵנָא עַל חַיְוֵהִי וְחַיְוֵהִי אַחֲוֵהִי בִּירַח תְּשַׁרְוִין	3
שָׁנַת 500   דְּבִיר יַרְחֵי גִלְפָּא	4

- 1 For *Aršū* and 'Azizū, the good and rewarding gods, (this) has been made by *Ba'kai* (or *Ba'lai*),
- 2 the son of *Yarhibōlā*, the *afkal* of 'Azizū, the good
- 3 and merciful god: for his safety and the safety of his brother (or brothers); in the month of October
- 4 of the year 500. Remembered be *Yarhai*, the sculptor!

The copy reproduced here was taken after some of the dirt and the mud plaster had been dug away from the inscription. Consequently I found several letters which do not appear in Dr. Sobernheim's publication. These letters are necessary to complete

the sense, and some of them have already been supplied by conjecture. The words סכריא (l. 1), אפכלא (l. 2), and רכיר ירחי גלופא, which I was able to read from the stone only after it had been thoroughly cleaned, were nevertheless deciphered by Dr. Lidzbarski from Dr. Sobernheim's photograph with admirable sagacity.

The gods Aršū and 'Azizū have been discussed by Sobernheim, Clermont-Ganneau, and Lidzbarski in their above-named articles, and by Dussaud in his "Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne," pp. 58 sqq. It may be added here that Aršū appears in the form רצו in Safaitic and Thamudene<sup>1</sup> inscriptions. The reading סכריא can scarcely be doubted. The second letter of this word resembles a כ very much, and this was the reason why I thought of ככריא when I first saw the word on the stone; this I took then to be ככיריא, "great," "mighty." But we have a similarly shaped כ in the word רכיר, although of smaller size, and there are traces left of the small perpendicular or slightly slanting line at the top of the ס. The last word of this line is בעלי or בעכי; the former seems to be more probable. The name בעכי occurs also in Vog. 92, l. 1, where Dr. Lidzbarski, however, proposes to read ברכי instead. But M. de Vogüé's copy is very distinct, and if there is any mistake, I think it should be attributed to the stone-cutter. The form בעכי is of course a hypocoristic, perhaps derived from a name like בעל-מלך, or rather from a name beginning בעל-כ.

In l. 2 the word of main importance is אפכלא. It is absolutely clear on the stone; it was not injured or obscured in any way when I saw it. Dr. Lidzbarski compares this word with אפכלא in C. I. S., II, 198, and explains it, correctly, I think, as a clerical title. M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that the root פכל may be the same as the Arabic *wakala*;<sup>2</sup> this does not seem impossible, but it is certainly not very probable. Much more likely and very interesting indeed is the derivation proposed by Professor Hommel,<sup>3</sup> who connects אפכלא with the Babylonian *ab(p)k(k)allu*; this is used as the title of a priest and also of a soothsayer.<sup>4</sup> Of these Babylonian forms, *apkallu* would be the prototype of the Palmyrene אפכלא.

The translation of the word אהורי in l. 3 depends upon the interpretation of the sculpture.<sup>5</sup> The letter [י] in השרוי is the only missing letter in this inscription.

The first word in l. 4, viz., שנת, is almost entirely preserved on the stone, and was concealed by mud-plaster when Dr. Sobernheim's photograph was taken. The date is expressed in a somewhat different way from that shown in both Euting's and Lidzbarski's drawing. For there are two numerical signs, not one, the first resembling the letter כ, the second the cursive letter ע. To my mind, however, the date given by Lidzbarski, 500, i.e., 188 A.D., is not affected by this. Both signs belong to a cursive script as well as the inscription itself, and we may therefore expect to find here some unusual forms. I take the first character to be a 5, usually expressed by ע, the second to be the figure for 10, which also forms the hundreds in Palmyrene. It is

<sup>1</sup> See my *Thamudenische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 57 sqq. <sup>2</sup> *Recueil*, IV, p. 404. <sup>3</sup> *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1901, col. 497-498. <sup>4</sup> See Jensen, in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 1, p. 320. <sup>5</sup> See below, p. 79.

true that the latter sign occurs a few times as 5, and that a sign for 5, somewhat similar to that which I assume here, is found only in Sinaitic inscriptions, viz., Euting 319 and 463. But in any case the cursive figures in Sobernheim's inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 should be compared in this connection.

With regard to the interpretation of the sculpture and its connection with the inscription we meet with some difficulties. For it is a little doubtful what the different figures in the relief represent. From Dr. Sobernheim's photograph<sup>1</sup> and from a few notes taken by Mr. Butler on the spot, the monument may be described as follows: There are seven figures, apparently divided into two groups, that on the left containing four persons, that on the right three, two of whom are mounted. It is not altogether certain, however, that a complete separation of the figures into two groups was intended. Be this as it may, the four figures at the left are on a larger scale than those at the right. Beginning at the extreme left, the first figure is in profile, facing the right. It is apparently the figure of a naked boy, as Dr. Lidzbarski recognized; he is seated on a throne, and is raising some object to the mouth. This boy cannot be seated on the knee of the next figure, as Lidzbarski suggests, not only because the former is placed too far to the left, but also because his head is raised above the heads of the next three figures. The latter are on a *klinè* and face the front; the central one of the three is raising its right arm above its head. All three appear to be female. The fifth figure is in three-quarter view, turned partly toward the two mounted figures at the right. The figure is draped to the ankles. The left hand is laid upon the breast, while with the right this person seems to be placing some offering upon the little altar which stands before him. The mounted figures face toward the left. The first is mounted on a camel; he wears a sort of kilt skirt reaching to the knees, and seems to have a helmet on his head and a staff in his right hand. The last figure of all, on the extreme right, is mounted on a horse or a mule; he is dressed in a robe falling to the ankles.

I am indebted to Dr. Prentice for the suggestion that the group on a larger scale, i.e., the one to the left, seems to represent divine figures, and that the naked boy resembles a cult-image. To my mind it can scarcely be doubted that the boy seated on a throne is a boy deity, viz., the *Deus Bonus Puer Phosphorus* (φωσφόρος), who is identified with 'Azizū, the god mentioned twice in the inscription. Another inevitable conclusion, it seems to me, is that the person standing behind the altar is Ba'kai (or Ba'lai), the man who had the sculpture and the inscription-carved. Probably the two mounted persons are his brothers, and the word אֶחָוַי in l. 3 of the inscription would then be in the plural. From the fact that Ba'kai (Ba'lai) is in three-quarter view, it may be inferred that he is represented here as a sort of mediator between the two groups, introducing, as it were, his two brothers to the divine group; he is, as our inscription says, the אֶפְכָּלָא of the "good and merciful god 'Azizū."

<sup>1</sup> L.c., p. 211.

FRAGMENT. On a column of the grand colonnade between the two columns bearing inscriptions Vog. 26 and 27. This is the Palmyrene text corresponding to Wad. 2606a.

תבטבט  
 'אנא  
 'אנא  
 'אנא  
 Fig. 31.

קרטסטס 1

דוקנרא 2

ם 3

וורי 4

M. Waddington says: "Il y avait aussi un texte palmyrénien, mais il n'en reste que quelques lettres éparses." Now it may be of interest to know just how many "lettres éparses" are preserved, especially as the Greek part contains a term of far-reaching importance, viz., *συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερέων*. The word *συμποσίαρχος* was translated by Clermont-Ganneau back into Palmyrene by *רב מרוהא*. It might have been possible to find unmistakable traces of this Palmyrene word. But we are disappointed in this hope, for what can be made out are only the well-known words *קרטסטס* (*κράτιστος*) and *דוקנרא* (*δοουκηνάριος*).

FRAGMENT. On a column of the grand colonnade immediately southeast of the one bearing inscription Vog. 26. This is the Palmyrene text corresponding to Wad. 2608. Width of l. 1, 47 cm. Height from top of l. 1 to bottom of l. 5, 21 cm.

M. Waddington says: "Il ne reste que quelques lettres du texte palmyrénien." By comparison, however, with the other bilingual inscriptions the text may be restored with reasonable certainty from the Greek part and from the traces left of the Palmyrene letters. The Greek text reads as follows:

Σεπτίμ[ιον Οὐροῦδης]ν τὸν κράτ[ιστον ἐπίτρο]πον Σεβα[στοῦ δοουκ]ηνάριον καὶ ἀ[ρχαπ]έτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σεπ[τίμ]ιος Μάλχος Μαλωχᾶ Νασσοῦμου ὁ κράτιστος τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην, τειμῆς ἔνεκεν, ἔτους ραφ' μηγεί Ξανδικῶ.

The following would then be a restoration of the Palmyrene text:

ספטמיום ורווד קרטסטס	1
אופטרפא דקנרא וארגבטא	2
אקים יולים אורלים ספטמיום	3
מלכו בר מלכא נשום קרטסטס ליקרא	4
רחמה וקיומה בירה ניסן דין	5
[שנת 576]	6

TOMBSTONE. On a slab which, when I saw it, was in the courtyard of a modern house, next on the west to the passage where inscr. 8 (= Sobernheim 7) was found. The owner of the house, 'Abdallah, told me he had brought the stone from the ruins

about twenty days before. Height of stone 55 cm., width at the bottom 39½ cm. Height from the bottom of the stone to the bottom of the inscription 42 cm. Height of letters 2-2½ cm.

חבל מלא בר 1 *Alas! Malē, son of*  
נשא חבל 2 *Nesā. Alas!*

Both names are well known. The only interesting feature of this inscription is the form of the ל and the מ in l. 1 and the shape of the stone. It is precisely like the later Mohammedan and many of our European tombstones. It seems to be the first real tombstone found in Palmyra itself; for Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>1</sup> says that no true tombstones had been found in Palmyra as yet. Consequently the Palmyrene tombstones found in Africa and in England are not necessarily an imitation of foreign customs.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 33.

## 12

FRAGMENT. This is now the property of this expedition, at present in Princeton, New Jersey. Height 16 cm., width at the top 13 cm. Height of letters 1½ cm.



Fragment with Palmyrene inscription.

עתי ברת 1 *'Atē, the daughter*  
רבאל בר 2 *of Rabb-'ēl, the son*  
חירן בגרן 3 *of Hairān, Bag[rān].*  
חבל 4 *Alas!*  
אתתה 5 *[She was] his wife or She was the wife of*  
... ב 6 *B . . .*

These names also are known as well as those in No. 11. The inscription seems to refer to two persons, husband and wife. There is, however, as it seems, no syntactical connection between the names, as in many other funerary inscriptions where more persons than one are mentioned. I am inclined to see the name of the husband in בגרן, perhaps בגרן, as in Sachau No. 4.

## 13

STATUE-BASE. Fragment of a small statue with an inscription, now the property of this expedition, at present in Princeton, New Jersey. Of the statue itself only the feet are preserved. The base measures 15½ × 8½ cm.; the letters are 2-2½ cm. high.

בר שער בר 1 *Bar Sa'd, son of*  
[ש]טא חבל 2 *[She]ṭā. Alas!*

In l. 1 שער corresponds to the Arabic Sa'd. Its usual form is שערו, as in Nabatæan. Since, however, no letter seems to be missing in the



Fragment with Palmyrene inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Nordsemit. Epigraphik, p. 147, ann. 2.

beginning of this line, we may perhaps explain Bar Sa'd in a similar way as the Arabic 'Abd Sa'd, taking Sa'd to be the name of a deity.<sup>1</sup> The name **שטט**, of which the **ט** is not absolutely certain, is probably a hypocoristic in **ש**; it occurs, so far as I know, in only one other place, viz., "Revue d'assyriologie," Vol. II, p. 95, No. 6b, l. 3.

14

(= Mordtmann 27, de Vogüé 104)

VOTIVE ALTAR. On a small altar found in the Mohammedan cemetery. As is well known, many of these altars containing Greek and Palmyrene inscriptions are



Mohammedan graves with ancient votive altars, at Palmyra.

now used by the Mohammedans in the place of end-stones on the graves. The position in which they are actually found is shown by the photograph. The inscription published here is undoubtedly the same as Mo. 27, and I believe that it is also identical with Vog. 104; M. Waddington probably copied only l. 1 and half of l. 2, because the rest seemed to him illegible. I omitted to take measurements and to copy l. 1 and the first half of l. 2, which I found

correctly given by M. Waddington, except the last word in his copy, **טטא**, which of course is **טבא**. Consequently the first line and a half of the second in my drawing are based on the copies of Waddington and Mordtmann, and the forms of the letters are also drawn from a comparison of the rest of the inscription.

דכרן טב לברוך שמה	1	<i>In pious remembrance of Him, whose name is blessed</i>
לעלמא טבא ורחמנא	2	<i>forever, the good and merciful One!</i>
לתרן אלהא קדישא	3	<i>For a throne (?) of the holy god</i>
..... בא .....  עב ר	4	<i>was this made by . . . . bā . . . .</i>
..... {ה}.....	5	.....
.....  ל ב	6	.....

Lines 1 and 2 are certain as to their reading and translation. The importance of this inscription lies, however, in l. 3, the letters of which seem to be definitely read now. The word **קדישא** is found here for the first time in Palmyrene. Now the form **אקדש**, which occurs in Vog. 71, agrees, as Professor Nöldeke has shown,<sup>2</sup> with the Jewish Aramaic, not with the Syriac dialect of Aramaic. Moreover, M. de Vogüé himself is of the

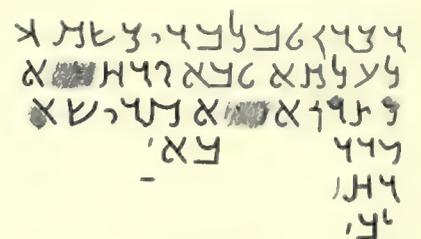


Fig. 34.

<sup>1</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., pp. 59-60. <sup>2</sup> *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 105.

opinion that the formula used on almost all these altars, לברוך שמה לעלמא, is to be attributed to Jewish influence in Palmyra. I believe, therefore, that, although the *form* קרישא is in keeping with the Eastern Aramaic, the phrase "holy god" here in Palmyra is due to Jewish or even Christian influence. The first word of this line is most probably לתרן; the first letter may possibly be a כ or נ, but the third letter is scarcely a ר, on account of the preceding ת. This word may be explained in several different ways: (1) It might be the name of the god himself; but this is very unlikely, because with the preceding לברוך וג' the name of the god is usually omitted, and, furthermore, because the available letters do not yield a reasonable proper name. (2) It might be a substantive or an adjective, coördinate with the preceding attributes. In that case ן might be a grammatical ending or a suffix; for example, I was tempted to read ל(ט)רן, "to our lord," but the ת is certain and cannot be read as a מ. (3) There is a slight possibility that this word might contain a prayer to the god. Then it would be an imperative, with the suffix of the 1st pers. plur., e.g., סתרן, "protect us." (4) The most probable explanation, it seems to me, is that it is the word for some religious object, parallel in a certain way with רכרן. I have therefore taken תרן to be a Palmyrene rendering of the Greek θρόνος. From a grammatical point of view such a derivation is admissible, I think; for the Greek ο is often not expressed by ʾ in Palmyrene,<sup>1</sup> and the ending -ος is sometimes dropped entirely, as we see from אסטרטג, ἀστρατηγός.<sup>2</sup> The dropping of the ending is the more easily accounted for in this case, as תרן would be in the status constructus. Neither would the Syriac forms ܐܘܢܘܬܐ and ܐܘܢܘܬܐ<sup>3</sup> furnish any serious objection, since they may have found their way into Syriac through some other channel. But is it natural that the Palmyrenes should have borrowed a word like this when there were Semitic words for the same idea? There are, for instance, the words כרסא, כרסא, etc., and מותב,<sup>4</sup> משב,<sup>5</sup> etc. We know, however, that similar cases occur frequently in the history of languages.

Now it is difficult to find a connection between our monument and the word תרן. A real altar was believed by the pagan Semites to be the seat, the throne, of the god;<sup>6</sup> and even a Christian altar was sometimes called ܐܘܢܘܬܐ, as we have seen above on p. 50. But these small altars, which were dedicated in great numbers, could scarcely have been thought to be "thrones of the holy god." If, however, my reading תרן, "throne," is correct, we may assume that it was perhaps merely a phrase taken from the prototype of these votive objects, i.e., from the original altar, and was employed in imitation of the usage on the latter. Or else, as often in Semitic popular belief every sacred stone was considered an embodiment or a seat of a deity,<sup>7</sup> it is not impossible that even here a similar idea was prevailing in the mind of the man who dedicated the altar.

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke, in Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXIV, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> See Hadad inscription from Zendjirli, ll. 8 and 20.

<sup>5</sup> C. I. S., II, 350, l. 3.

<sup>6</sup> An interesting discussion of this question by M. Clermont-Ganneau is to be found in his *Recueil*, Vol. IV, pp. 247-250.

<sup>7</sup> See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 189 sqq.; Lagrange, in *Revue Biblique*, 1901, pp. 223 sqq.

## APPENDIX

## NOTES ON PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED HERETOFORE

*De Vogüé 15*

I noted that the last word in l. 5 of this interesting inscription is שניאין on the stone, not שניאן as given by M. de Vogüé. The form in שניאין is without doubt masculine, and this gender is required by the preceding word.

*De Vogüé 24*

The third name in the third line of this inscription has been much discussed. After a careful study of the question, Dr. J. H. Mordtmann came to the conclusion that it should be read נבובר (see "Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft," 1899, p. 21). This is actually carved on the stone; I copied נבוצצ.

*De Vogüé 25*

This inscription in M. de Vogüé's copy has the date 574; on the stone, however, the date 573 is plainly written. Since in the Greek part of this inscription the date is destroyed, the date supplied by M. Waddington, following M. de Vogüé, must be changed to 573.

*De Vogüé 80*

My copy of this inscription differs a little from that made by M. Waddington. Line 3 reads in my copy: ודאלעל. This comes nearer to the copy of Dr. A. D. Mordtmann. His son, Dr. J. H. Mordtmann, proposes to restore here the name אנדראל or אנדראל (see Mitteil. Vorderasiat. Ges., 1899, p. 23). In l. 5 I copied the following: מנין טת עכיו. By this the reading קנין is finally established in this inscription also. M. Clermont-Ganneau has discovered in it the name of a Palmyrene month (see "Recueil," Vol. II, p. 6, and Vol. III, pp. 202-206; "Études," Vol. II, pp. 93-95). At the same time the date 514, given by M. de Vogüé, is confirmed. Dr. A. D. Mordtmann's change to 524 is therefore unwarranted.

## CHAPTER III

### NABATÆAN INSCRIPTIONS

#### I

**S**<sup>i</sup>. EPISTYLE OF THE PORTICO IN THE COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF BA'AL SAMÎN. The reconstruction of this inscription as represented by Fig. 35 is based on the assumption that besides the seven known fragments, two of which are published here for the first time, there was originally only one more fragment in the complete inscription, viz., G. These fragments are as follows:

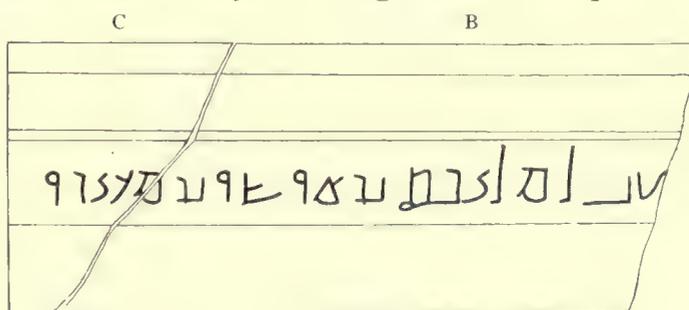


Fig. 35.

Tentative reconstruction of Nabataean inscription in temple at Si'.

A was found by M. de Vogüé and by Dr. Schroeder, but was not seen by this expedition. The height of the stone and of the moldings is not expressly stated; since, however, there is no doubt about the position of the fragment, I have in my reconstruction continued the lines of fragment B toward the right. According to Dr. Schroeder's measurements, the inscribed fascia is 49 cm. long, while this part of the inscription has a length of 19 cm.

B was published by M. de Vogüé; Dr. Schroeder did not see it. I found it lying in the court in front of the temple. This fragment has a length of 62½-72½ cm., and a height of 36 cm. Each of the two lower fasciæ is 12 cm. high; the height from the bottom of the fillet



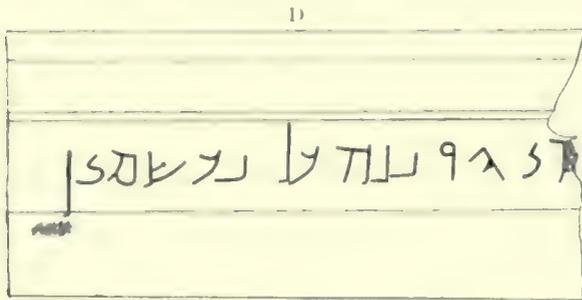
Scale—1:10.

Fig. 36.

to the top of the stone measures also 12 cm. Height of letters 5-5½ cm.

C, *inedita*, found among the debris on the slope of the hill near the north wall of the temple. Minimum length 5 cm., maximum length 30 cm., height 36 cm.

D was published by M. de Vogüé and Dr. Schroeder. I found it on the slope near C. Length 77 cm., height 36 cm. Height of letters  $4\frac{1}{2}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$  cm.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 37.

E, *inedita*, found on the slope, like C and D. Length 80 cm., height of inscribed fascia  $10\frac{1}{2}$  cm., from the bottom of the fillet to the top of the stone 12 cm. Height of letters  $3\frac{1}{2}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$  cm.

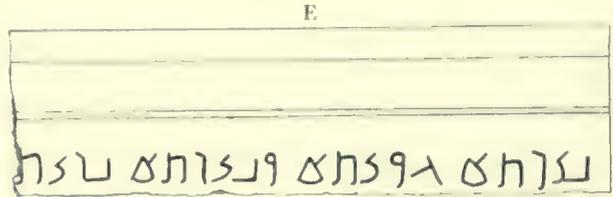
F was published by M. de Vogüé and Dr. Schroeder; I did not see it. Length 55 cm. The moldings in the reconstruction are given accord-

ing to my measurements of the other parts.

G is hypothetical (see below, p. 89).

H was found by M. de Vogüé, Dr. Schroeder, and myself; when I saw it, it was lying near C, D, E. My squeeze of this fragment has been lost, but my copy agrees perfectly with the squeeze published in C. I. S., II, No. 163D. My measurements

taken from the original are as follows: Length 62 cm., height 36 cm. Height of letters 4–5 cm.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 38.



Casts of fragments of Nabatean inscription at St'.

The fragments known heretofore are published in the following places: M. de Vogüé, "Inscriptions Sémitiques," pp. 92–94.—Schroeder, in "Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.," Vol. XXXVIII, plate facing p. 532.—"Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum," II, No. 163.

The whole inscription would read, if my reconstruction be correct:

דכרון טיב למליכת בר אושו בר מעירו	(Stone 1)
די הו בנה על בעשמין	(Stone 2)
בירתא גויתא ובירתא בריתא ותיטרא דא ומטר   תא אלה	(Stone 3)
ותועד חיין בשלם	(Stone 4)

(Stone 1) *In pious remembrance | of Maleikat, the son of Ausū, the son of Mo'aierū,*  
 (Stone 2) *who built for Ba'al Samin*  
 (Stone 3) *the inner temple and the outer temple | and this θεᾶργων and [the (or these) watch-towers],*  
 (Stone 4) *and departed from (?) life in peace!*

Although M. de Vogüé does not indicate that his fragment A was composed of two pieces of the same stone, i.e., A and B as numbered above, it is evident that even at that time the first five and a half letters were detached from the rest; for the squeeze made by MM. de Vogüé and Waddington, and published in C. I. S., II, Pl. XXIII, shows a break exactly where fragment B begins.

I believe that in the reconstruction proposed here a reasonably certain connection is reached between the heretofore incoherent fragments. There is no doubt that fragment E preceded the one marked B by de Vogüé and in the Corpus; for at the end of the former an **Ⲛ** is missing, while the latter begins with this very letter, and they are in a natural sequence, because both enumerate structures built by Maleikat. The inscribed fascia of E, however, is only 10½ cm. high, whereas in the others the corresponding fasciæ measure 12 cm. in height; moreover, there is no unscripted band below the inscription in E. But this fact can easily be explained by supposing that the bottom of the stone has been broken off to a height of 13½ cm. Mr. Butler tells me that these basalt blocks often break in very straight lines. I feel quite certain that this has happened here also, in view of the fact that in E a space of about 1½ cm. is wanting at the bottom of the stone; this can be seen from photograph and drawing, which show that the inscription is too near the bottom line of the stone in its present condition. I have changed the order given by de Vogüé and the Corpus as to the position of fragment D. It seems to me that the sentence "ⲓ ⲛⲟ ⲃⲛⲏⲁ ⲟⲩ" would follow most naturally after the name of the donor and should precede the enumeration of the buildings. The combination "ⲓ ⲛⲟ" would very appropriately here emphasize the subject in the same way as the Syriac **ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲥ**.<sup>1</sup> After **ⲟⲩⲙⲧ** there are of course at least two or three letters lost. Then either the inscription may have run on over one or more stones, or fragment H may have directly followed here. This fragment has been read before: **ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲩⲏⲛ ⲃⲱⲗⲙ**; M. de Vogüé translates: ". . . *et tant qu'ils vivront, en paix*"; the Corpus: ". . . *et quamdiu viveret. In pace!*" It is difficult to imagine what might have preceded such an expression. I would therefore suggest the following explanation. Since this inscription is an honorary and a memorial (**ⲓⲃⲣⲟⲩⲛ**) inscription at the same time, it would be very natural to assume that the man for whom it was intended died before the completion of his work, and that this inscription was written after his death. The beginning, "In pious remembrance of . . .," advocates such an explanation very strongly. If it is correct, we may find a reference to Maleikat's death in the last fragment, for which I propose the reading **ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩⲏⲛ ⲃⲱⲗⲙ**. The word **ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩⲏⲛ** would then be taken as a verb standing for **ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩⲏⲛ** (**ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲩⲏⲛ**, *wethwa'ad*). The meaning which this word would have, "and he took leave," is very unusual for the root **ⲟⲩⲩ**; for Brockelmann's Syriac Lexicon mentions only one passage where **ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲩⲏⲛ** means "vale dixit," while Payne-Smith's Thesaurus does not give this meaning at all; but perhaps even the Arabic

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik, 2d ed., § 342.

*wadda'a*, which is similar in sound, may have influenced the choice of the word in question. I admit, however, that there still remains some doubt about this interpretation.

From a palaeographical point of view, I believe that my squeezes and copies furnish new facts or rather correcter forms of certain letters. In the Corpus the fragments of this inscription are reproduced from photographs of de Vogüé's and Waddington's squeezes, in which the letters were blackened with a pencil.<sup>1</sup> By this procedure the original forms of the letters have been obscured in a few places. First of all, the form of the ה in בנה (C. I. S., 163C) has received a shape in which it occurs only in later inscriptions, i.e., with a line connecting the perpendicular strokes at the bottom. Dr. Schroeder<sup>2</sup> gives the correct form. This ה was possibly used as a final letter, distinct from the ה in הו.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, a careful study of the new squeezes and copies shows that there are no real ligatures in this inscription, except in the word בר and in the letters כת in מליכת, fragment B. In several other cases the letters come very close together, e.g., in בנה על, fragment D, and in ער, fragment H; but there is always a very narrow space between each pair of letters. These facts were to be expected in an inscription undoubtedly written before the Christian era, and they agree with those exhibited by the script of the Nab. inscr. 2, dated 5/4 B.C.

Some new light also is thrown on the history of the temple and on the Nabataean names for its various parts. From M. de Vogüé's plans<sup>4</sup> we see that the original

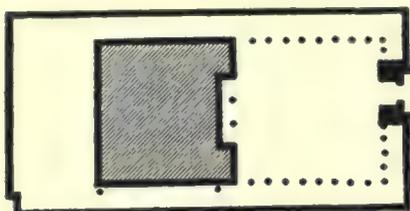


Fig. 39.

Temple and peribolos at Si' (after de Vogüé).

temple, at the western end of the ridge of Si', consisted of a temple proper, surrounded by a large peribolos, which formed a court at the front and at the rear. The forecourt, of course, was the more important; it was completely paved, and a portico extended along the inside of the north, east, and south walls. The portico was on a higher level than the floor of the court, two high steps leading up to it. On both sides of the peribolos gate, which was not exactly opposite the portal of the temple, there were two square tower-like structures inside the wall. For further architectural details, see Part II, pp. 334 sqq., where Mr. Butler brings new evidence to bear upon the temple proper.

It is important to know that the inscription itself must have been on the architrave of the portico. This is shown by the height and the width of the stones on which the fragments were found and by the moldings. Now M. de Vogüé believes that the inscription extended around the whole epistyle. If that was the case, a long part is missing still; this part might have contained details concerning other structures, the date, the sums expended, concerning Maleikat's family and his life, the architect, and so forth. The known fragments, put together, are about 4 m. long. The whole architrave on all three sides had a length of about 50 m. Thus the original inscription

<sup>1</sup> C. I. S., II, p. 196: "litteræ paululum plumbagine denigratæ sunt." <sup>2</sup> Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 532; No. 4 c on the plate.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 91. <sup>4</sup> See *La Syrie Centrale, Architecture*, tome I, pp. 32, 33; tome II (Planches), Pl. 2.

would have been more than ten times as long as what we know of it now. I am, however, inclined to believe that this inscription was not much longer than these fragments put together, and that it probably was in the middle of the epistyle on the north or south side, or perhaps opposite the front of the temple, near one of the gate-towers.

The building undertaken by Maleikat comprised the following structures: (*a*) the inner temple; (*b*) the outer temple; (*c*) the תיטרא; (*d*) the מטרתא. I think it is certain that *a* and *b* cannot refer to anything else than to the temple proper and the peribolos. We see that in Nabataean the word בירתא was not exclusively used, as M. de Vogüé concluded from the inscription of Maleikat II (C. I. S., II, No. 164), for the temple proper, but also for the precinct about it; both are, however, distinguished here by attributes. The word תיטרא is with great probability derived from the Greek θέατρον, a suggestion made by Dr. Schroeder and accepted by the editors of the Corpus. The form given here is not necessarily the plural. The editors of the Corpus expected אלה instead of דא; but the aramaicized form אלה occurs in Syriac also, and it is there used in the feminine as here. As to the meaning of this word, I believe that the translation guessed by M. de Vogüé is correct, although he was not right in deriving the word from the Targumic יטור; for תיטרא must denote here the "portico."<sup>1</sup> The order of the buildings—(1) the temple proper, (2) the peribolos, (3) *this* portico—is most natural. And, furthermore, since the word דא follows after תיטרא, the inscription cannot be separated from the thing called by the latter name: temple and peribolos are spoken of as something separate, but *this* place, where the inscription is written, is the תיטרא. The technical term for such a portico therefore seems to have been תיטרא, "theater." The reasons why it was called by this name may have been either because the public stood on the steps or the raised floor of the portico to witness the ceremonies and sacrifices,<sup>2</sup> or simply because the steps around the court resembled to some extent the seats of a theater. The word for the fourth edifice built by Maleikat begins with מט. In this M. de Vogüé recognized the word מטרתא. I take it in its usual meaning, "watch-tower," and I believe that it refers to the two square edifices which stood one on each side of the peribolos gate;<sup>3</sup> for they are the only important structures in the original precinct not mentioned elsewhere in these fragments. I would read מטרתא as a plural and add אלה, "these"; this pronoun would not be strange here, since the towers were connected with the portico, and it would be all the more natural if the inscription was near one of them. By reading and explaining the fragments in this manner a very full account of the first stage in the history of the great sanctuary of Ba'al Samîn at Si' is gained.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Schroeder thought there might have been a real theater at Si', and Professor Puchstein is, as he writes me, of the same opinion. But the ruins in the valley near the sanctuary on the hill are mostly those of funerary structures, and no traces of a theater have been found as yet in Si'.

<sup>2</sup> An altar with a bull on each side, which stood in the court near the entrance to the temple, is shown on Pl. 2 of M. de Vogüé's Architecture.

<sup>3</sup> La Syrie Centrale, Architecture, Pl. 2, Fig. 1, M; see also above, Fig. 39, on p. 88.

The date has been fixed approximately by M. de Vogüé. The conclusion reached by him is confirmed by the Nabataean inscription 2, which is dated 54 B.C., and which agrees as to its script in all essential points with these fragments. But, on the whole, the latter make the impression that they are a little older than the dated stele; this is shown especially by the form of the  $\aleph$ .<sup>1</sup> The original temple may have been built at any time between 40 and 20 (perhaps even 10) B.C. It is likely that the period of its construction extended through several years and that the donor, as we have seen above on p. 87, died during this time. Later on, the temple was "made higher" by the second Maleikat. That the inscription of this man, the grandson of the man who began the temple, shows a younger character of script, was recognized by M. de Vogüé. But I cannot believe, as M. de Vogüé seems to do, that it belongs to the time of Herod, since we find in the year 5/4 the older type of letters still prevailing. The editors of the Corpus (II, p. 198) are, I think, much nearer the truth in assigning the inscription of the second Maleikat *primis primi post J. C. sæculi annis*.

## 2

Sî'. STELE, 5 B.C. On a stele, lying now with a mass of debris in a fence roughly



Scale—1:10.

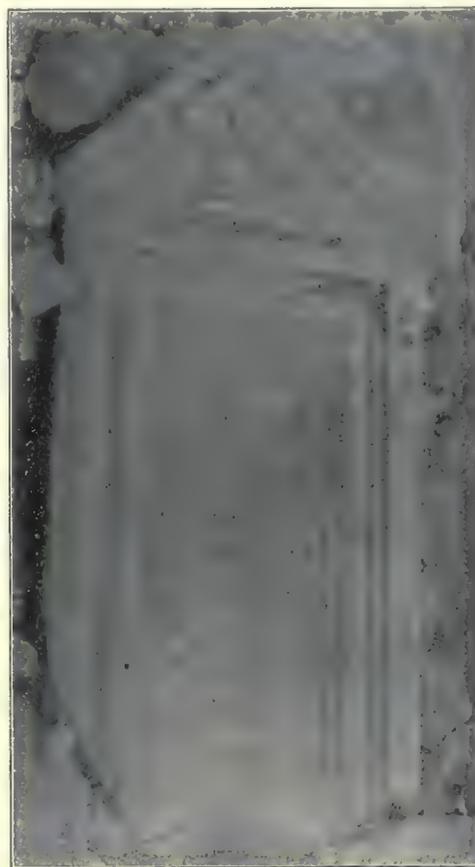
Fig. 40.

built of stones, about one kilometer north of Sî' and fifty paces north of the road to Ḳanawât. There are ruins of several very much dilapidated buildings at this place; only their foundations, which consist of dressed stones, are still visible. Probably all of these were tomb-towers or other funerary buildings. The total height of the stele is 132 cm., the width 63 cm. The space of the inscription measures 69 × 30 cm. Height of letters 4–4½ cm.;  $\aleph$  is 6½ cm. high. The letters are regularly and beautifully carved. SQUEEZE AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

בשנת	1	<i>In the year</i>
308 קציו	2	<i>308, Ḳaṣiū</i>
תעגלת בר כעמה	3	<i>Ta'agallāt, b. Ka'ammeh,</i>
בר רבו בר אודו	4	<i>b. Rabbū, b. Audū,</i>
בר רדף בר נטרו	5	<i>b. Rādif (?), b. Naṭarū,</i>
בר עברו עבר	6	<i>b. 'Abdū, made</i>
מקברא דנה	7	<i>this tomb,</i>
הו אנתתה	8	<i>loving (?) his wife</i>
רחילת בנפקת	9	<i>Rahīlat, at his own</i>
נפשה	10	<i>expense.</i>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 91.

This inscription is one of the oldest known in Nabatæan script. It is a very good example of the older type of Nabatæan writing, for the history of which the date given here affords a certain basis. The forms of **𐤌**, **𐤎**, and **𐤐** are of chief importance: **𐤌** and **𐤎** have the same form as in the fragments from the temple in Sî'; but **𐤐** appears somewhat prolonged and has a curve at the bottom in a more pronounced way than in the inscription of the temple. The letter **𐤇** has two different forms: one of them occurs only once, in l. 8, at the beginning of a word; the other occurs four times, viz., in ll. 3, 7, 8, and 10, always at the end of a word. In one of the Sî' fragments, viz., C. I. S., 163 C, exactly the same difference is noticed.<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, as if in these inscriptions the younger form was used only as a final letter, whereas the older form was still retained at the beginning and in the middle of words. But the latter form rapidly disappeared in the Haurân.



Stele found near Sî'.

I am inclined to believe that in l. 3 **תעגלה** stands for **תעגל-לה**, and that this may perhaps be a feminine form, parallel to the Palmyrene masculine **עגלכול**. At the same time we know that the stem **עגל** is a favorite one in the nomenclature of these regions. Otherwise we would have to divide **תעגל-לה**, as, for instance, in **שער-לת**. The word **תעגלה** is doubtless a surname of **Ḳaṣiū**, not the name of **Ḳaṣiū**'s father. After this surname follows a long genealogy, which indicates that we meet here with the Arabic custom. The first of these names, i.e., the name of **Ḳaṣiū**'s father, is **כעמה**, in Greek **Χαάμμος** or **Χαάμμηγς**, which means "like his grandfather," or perhaps "like his paternal uncle." For it seems that in Nabatæan as well as in Safaitic the term **עם** means "grandfather."<sup>2</sup> The same name, **כעמה**, occurs also in Safaitic and Sinaitic inscriptions.

Both names in l. 4 are new in North-Semitic epigraphy. The first, **רבו**, which corresponds to the Greek **Ραββου**, Wad. 2412 l, belongs, of course, to the same group as **רב-אל** and **רבא**; the latter of these two forms is found in Dussaud's "Voyage archéologique," No. 59, where the first line is undoubtedly to be read **רבא בר**, following Clermont-Ganneau. The other name, **אורו**, is the Arabic '*Aud*', which is given as a tribal name by Ibn Doreid on pp. 165 and 245.

For the second word in l. 5 **ררף** is the most plausible reading; but I admit that **רר** is not impossible. Although **ר** and **ר** can hardly be distinguished from each other in our inscription, it seems as if the perpendicular line in **ר** were apt to have a very

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 86, Fig. 37.<sup>2</sup> See below, Chapter V, Introduction, under Language.

slight bend at the bottom toward the right, whereas in ך the same line is straight, except in אורו. If this is intentional, the name ךך is beyond doubt. Proper names might easily be formed from the Arabic root *radafa*. The name נטרו is new in this form, but its existence was to be inferred from *Ναταρω* and the Safaitic נטר: it is of course an abbreviation of נטר-אל, *Ναταρηλος*.

In מקברא דנה (l. 7) the masculine form is very unusual. The substantive for "burial-place," formed by the prefix מ from the root קבר, is almost always feminine in Semitic languages; we have, e.g., מקברתא in Nabataean and Palmyrene, *makbarat<sup>m</sup>* in Arabic, and *makbart* in Ethiopic. In Arabic the form *makbar<sup>m</sup>* occurs in "Hamâsa," ed. Freytag, p. 405, l. 10, where it is explained *maudî<sup>m</sup> 'l-kabr*. Thus the word probably refers to the tomb itself, and not to the stele or tombstone, of which one might have thought in endeavoring to establish a difference between מקברא and מקברתא.

Line 8 is difficult to interpret. The word הו of course makes one think at once of the pronoun "he." If it be this, it would, as it stands, have no syntactical connection, which is necessarily wanted, because עבר in l. 6 and בנפקת נפשה in ll. 9-10 belong together. One should certainly read in that case הו ואנתתה, but that would require the plural form נפשהם. It is possible that what the man intended to write was, "Kašîū . . . made the tomb for himself and for his wife," and that, perhaps on account of his insufficient knowledge of Aramaic, he expressed himself in an incorrect way. All the difficulties would disappear, however, if we assume that הו is here not "he," but either a preposition meaning something like "for," or a substantive or adjective connecting the first part of the sentence with the last. To make it a preposition is scarcely possible. But הו might be derived from the Arabic *hawā*, "to love," and might be here equivalent to *haw<sup>m</sup>*, or *hāw<sup>m</sup>*, or perhaps *haw<sup>m</sup>*. Such Arabisms in Nabataean were collected by Nöldeke, in Euting's "Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien," pp. 78 sq. The meaning would, after all, probably be the same, for even if we read, "Kašîū . . . made the tomb through love of his wife," we would understand that it was intended for both the husband and the wife.

In l. 9 I read רחילת, because the first letter shows the slight bend at the bottom of which I have spoken above. This feminine proper name reminds us of רחל in the Old Testament. But *Rukhailat* occurs as the name of a man in Ibn Doreid, p. 272, l. 2. The last words, בנפקת נפשה, are the Semitic equivalent of the Greek expression ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, which occurs very frequently in the inscriptions found in Syria.

This inscription is very interesting on account of its date, which is 308. There is no doubt in my mind that the era employed here is the Seleucid era. This would give us the year 5/4 B.C. At that time Aretas IV Philopatris was king of the Nabataeans; he reigned from 9 B.C. until about 40 A.D. We know many Nabataean inscriptions that were written during this time; and if dated at all, they are always dated according to the year of his reign, even inscriptions found in remote places like Sidon (C. I. S., II, 160) and Puteoli (C. I. S., II, 158, 159). I know only one other

Nabataean inscription dated according to the Seleucid era, viz., that of Dmêr (C. I. S., II, 161), where it is expressly stated, "according to the era of the Romans" (במנין אררהומיא); but here the year of the Nabataean king, Rab'êl, is given also. Hence there must be a special reason why this inscription does not mention the king הררת רחם עמה. The explanation is the same as in the case of the inscription of Hebrân (C. I. S., II, 170), which is dated in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius, viz., that the place where the monument was erected did not belong to the Nabataean empire at that time. This is an epigraphical proof of a historical fact known from other sources. In the year 23 B.C., Herod the Great, who reigned from 37 to 4 B.C., received Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis from Augustus. These provinces were taken from the Nabataeans, who must have settled in parts of this northern country early in the first century A.D., as we see from the tomb of Hamrath in Suwêdâ, and even gained possession of Damascus for a short time under Aretas III (85-60). But Nabataean script continued to be used under the Idumæan rule; it was probably employed by the Idumæans themselves when they wished to write in a Semitic language. At least, we know that besides the Arabic and Aramaic elements there was also an Idumæan element in what we include under the name "Nabataeans." The great temple in Sî' was probably built during the reign of Herod; nevertheless, it had a Nabataean inscription (see above, No. 1). The inscription, written in honor of the second Maleikat (C. I. S., II, 164), probably in the first quarter of the first Christian century when this region was still held by an Idumæan tetrarch, is both in Nabataean and in Greek. And several smaller undated Nabataean inscriptions or fragments belong to the same period.

We may thus, returning to our inscription, say that Kašîû and his wife were Nabataean Arabs,—for nothing in the names mentioned indicates Idumæan origin,—but that on account of the ruling Idumæans the date was not given with the name of the Nabataean king, who was the enemy of the Idumæans. In Sidon, however, and Puteoli probably little attention was paid to such matters, because these places were remote from the country where such passages in an inscription were of importance; moreover, in Sidon and Puteoli the Roman authorities certainly could not read very much of the Nabataean script.

## 3

**SUWÊDÂ.** ALTAR OF BASALT. On a block of black basalt, now in the Turkish Serâyâ. The block measures 45 × 39 cm., and is 24 cm. thick. The place of the sculpture on the front side measures 38 × 26 cm. The letters are 2-2½ cm. high.

Ewing, in "Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements," 1895, p. 158.—Sachau, "Nabatäische Inschrift aus 'Ire," in "Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften," 1896, p. 1056.—Clermont-Ganneau, "Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.," II, pp. 108-116.—Lidzbarski, "Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik," pp. 148-149.—Clermont-Ganneau, "Comptes Rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions," Série IV, tome 26, pp. 597-605 (= "Recueil," III, pp. 75-82).—Lidzbarski, "Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik," I, p. 74.—Cooke, "Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions," p. 245, annotation 1.

- 1 בדר וצעד-אל בני ותרו רחמי גדה שלם  
2 קציו בר חנאל אמנא שלם

- 1 *Badar and Ṣa'ad-ēl, the sons of Witrū, the friends of [the god] Gad. Peace!*  
2 *Ḳaṣiū, the son of Ḥann'ēl, the sculptor. Peace!*

This inscription was first discovered by the Rev. W. Ewing, and was published by him and afterward by Professor Sachau, but really deciphered by M. Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Lidzbarski. It is unnecessary to go into details concerning its interpretation.



Altar with Nabataean inscription at Suwēdā.

ותרו is the Thamudene and Safaitic ותר, Greek Οὐθρος, the Biblical יתרו, father-in-law of Moses. It occurs also as the name of a locality in the Ḥaurân, and, curiously enough, it is connected with an event in Moses' life, as יתרו is in the Bible; for we read in Yākūt, IV, 902: <sup>1</sup> "Al Wutr.—A village in the Ḥaurân. In the mosque here, as they say, Mûsâ ibn 'Amrân dwelt; and there is shown here the place where his staff struck the Rock." The very ingenious reading רחמי גדה is due to M. Clermont-Ganneau.

The date of this inscription is probably not earlier than 50 A.D. Several of the letters (א, מ, ש) show a very late form, and in l. 2 we find the conventionalized sign for בר, consisting of two slightly curved parallel lines.

The character of the monument is determined by its shape and by the four horns of the altar which appear in relief at the upper corners of the front and of the back. On the back, a photograph of which is published in Part II, p. 415, we find three bovine heads in relief, of slightly varying sizes and shapes. Similar heads are carved on the two ends of the altar.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 550.

I only wish to emphasize here that the first two words must be proper names, not verbs; this opinion has been expressed before, but with some hesitation. The first word, בדר, is of course a well-known Arabic name, the Greek Βαδαρος. In Nabataean we should expect בדרו, but ו may have been omitted by mistake. Names like this without the ending ו are not entirely unknown, as we see, e.g., from ררף, above, pp. 91-92. The second name, וצעד-אל, occurs in exactly the same form in the Safaitic inscriptions. Furthermore, the name

APPENDIX

NOTES ON NABATÆAN INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED HERETOFORE

*C. I. S., II, No. 172*

HEBRÂN. "Fragmentum a Burckhardto in ruderibus antiquæ domus repertum et delineatum ["Travels," etc.,<sup>1</sup> p. 90]: cujus apographum damus, interpretationem vero tentare non valemus."

עוֹרַעַה

I believe that this stone is the signature of the architect who built the house; the second line can, to my mind, be read with certainty. The name itself, however, remains very doubtful.

עֲמַלְכַת

· · בר · · לְמַלְיָכָת<sup>??</sup> 1 *By Mal(eikat), the son of(?) . . .*  
 אַמְנָא שְׁלוֹמִין 2 *the architect. Peace!*

If "Maleikat" be correct, we should read the fourth, fifth, and sixth letters as follows: **עַמַּלְכַת**. The next very indistinct letters can hardly be anything else but **בַּר**. This, however, is difficult to be reconciled with Burckhardt's copy. The **נ** in l. 2 has a little superfluous stroke; perhaps there was a line in the stone.

*C. I. S., II, No. 177*

I mention this very incomplete fragment because I think that the second line contains the name of the god **אֵרַא**, which has of late given rise to an interesting discussion; see especially Lidzbarski's "Ephemeris," I, p. 330.

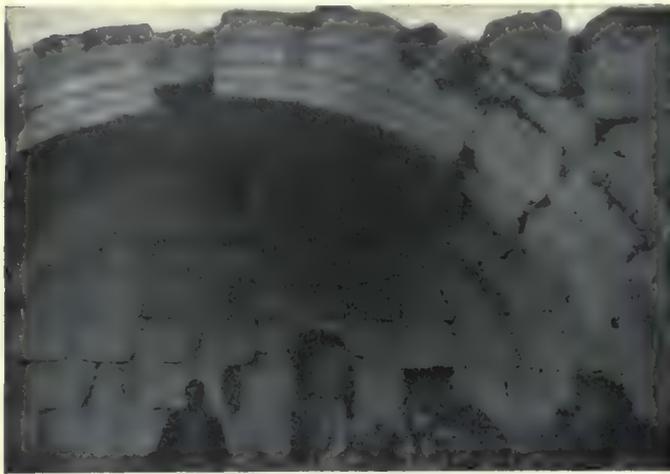
<sup>1</sup> I.e., Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, London, 1822.

# CHAPTER IV

## HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS

1-8

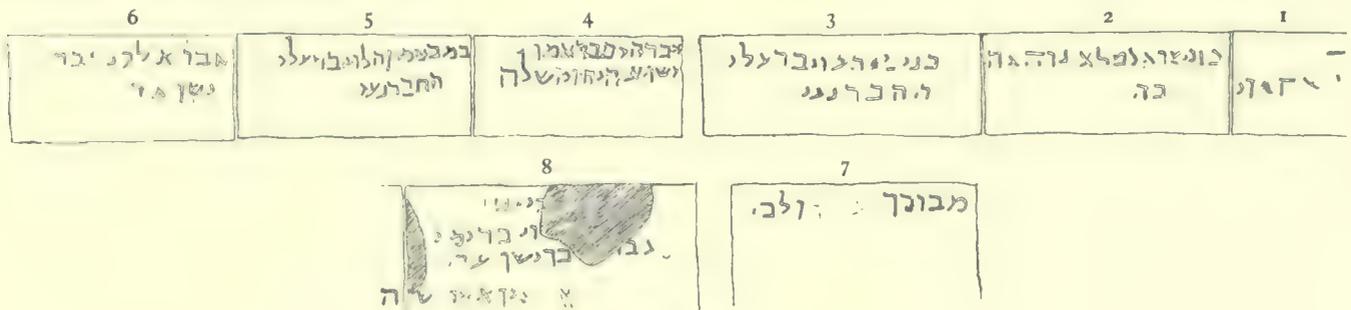
**KEFR IL-BÂRAH.** FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS. In the extensive ruins of Kefr il-Bârah, near the middle of the town, there is an apse-like structure, consisting of



Part of Jewish structure at Kefr il-Bârah.

a semi-dome, and containing on its inner side a number of roughly carved inscriptions in Hebrew square characters. This structure is now partly buried in the ground; its height under the present conditions is approximately 4 meters, the circumference of the semicircle measures about 10 meters, the diameter 5-6 meters. The inscriptions are on two adjoining courses of stones near the present level of the ground. The upper one of these courses contains Nos. 1-6 on the first,

second, third, sixth, seventh, and eighth stones beginning at the right end, while Nos. 7 and 8 are on the fifth, eighth, and ninth stones of the lower course. Only of Nos. 4 and 5, which are the best preserved, I took squeezes and measurements; the stone bearing No. 4 measures 110 x 55 cm., that bearing No. 5 measures 123 x 55 cm. No. 1, being too fragmentary and uncertain, has been omitted altogether in the following tentative interpretation.



Scale - 1:40.

Fig. 41.

Hebrew inscriptions at Kefr il-Bârah.

2.	בנימן אלמל. נו"ה(?) ע"ה	<i>Benjamin, the . . . . . Peace be upon him!</i>
3 = 5.	ב"מ בנימן הלוי בר עלי החבר נ"עד	<i>The tomb of Benjamin the Levite, the son of (Rabbi?) 'Alī, the Learned. His resting- place be in Paradise!</i>
4.	אברהים בר אמן י"ש וע"ה יתו"י ושל"ה	<i>Ibrāhīm, the son of (Rabbi?) Amin. His name be blessed, and peace be upon him! . . .</i>
6.	אבו אל(קנ) בר . . . (י"ש וע"ה)	<i>Abū 'l-. . ., the son of (Rabbi?) . . . His name be blessed, and peace be upon him!</i>
7.	מבורך . . . ולב.	<i>Blessed . . .</i>
8, line 2.	ה[ל]וי בר ימי . . . .	<i>. . . the Levite, the son of (Rabbi?) Yammai (?)</i>
line 3.	בר י"ש וע"ה . . . .	<i>. . . His name be blessed, and peace be upon him!</i>

Some of the above translations are very doubtful, owing to the bad state of preservation in which these inscriptions were found and to the large number of abbreviations. Of No. 3 there are very faint traces on the stone, and it could only be copied after No. 5 had been read. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish the exact meaning of some of the abbreviations. First of all, I am not certain whether the letters בר in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 should be read as the Aramaic word *bar*, "son," or as בן רבי, "son of Rabbi." The fact that it occurs so often seems to point to the former reading, especially as we know that בן and בר are used in later Jewish literature and inscriptions with almost equal frequency. But בר for בן רבי occurs also very often, and here in inscriptions written by Arabic-speaking Jews בן would be more natural than בר. Again, there is some doubt concerning the explanation of the letters במ, which are read plainly at the beginning of No. 5, and consequently must be supplied in No. 3, another copy of the same text. As the meaning "tomb" seems to be required by the context, we might read ב"מ as בית מועד or as בית משכב. The latter is more probable, as מ(שכב) is frequently used in Jewish funerary inscriptions. In the same inscription the last three letters, which probably contain a "eulogy," or prayer, may be נעג or נעד: instead of נעג we should expect נגע, and read (גן) ע(רן); but perhaps נעד is intended for (גן) ע(רן), as Professor Euting suggested to me. Another eulogy is contained in the letters which I propose to read י"ש וע"ה; they occur in Nos. 4, 6, and 8, but in 6 and 8 the third letter, given here as ו, is more like a final nūn. If my reading be correct, the whole phrase would be (י.תברך) ש(מו) וע(ליו) ה(שלום). Finally, there are two more eulogies at the end of No. 4, but they contain several doubtful letters: instead of ת, also ה or ח is possible, and the letters וי are perhaps to be read as one letter, viz., מ. I have, therefore, not been able to assign a definite meaning to this passage. Similar

eulogies from Hebrew inscriptions are discussed by Professor Chwolson in his "Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum," St. Petersburg, 1882, coll. 431 sqq.

The presence of these inscriptions at Kefr il-Bârah is important with regard to the history of this place in the Mohammedan period, to which they must be assigned because of the Arabic forms 'Alī, Ibrāhīm, and perhaps Amīn. The town of il-Bârah continued to flourish after the Arabic conquest for at least five centuries.<sup>1</sup> At some time during this period these Hebrew inscriptions were written, and they indicate that there was a Jewish colony among the Mohammedan inhabitants. It seems that a reminiscence of this fact has still survived in the popular tradition of this region, for I was told repeatedly by inhabitants of the Djebel Rîhā that the castle of il-Bârah, Kal'at Abā Sāfyān, had belonged to a *Jewish* king. The story of the battle between Abā Sāfyān and the Mohammedans is given below in the commentary on the Arabic inscriptions 16 and 17.

## 9 AND 10

**TÊDIF.** INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SYNAGOGUE OF EZRA, 1356(?) AND 1392 A.D. Têdif<sup>2</sup> is a town about eight hours to the east of Aleppo, with approximately 1000 Moham-



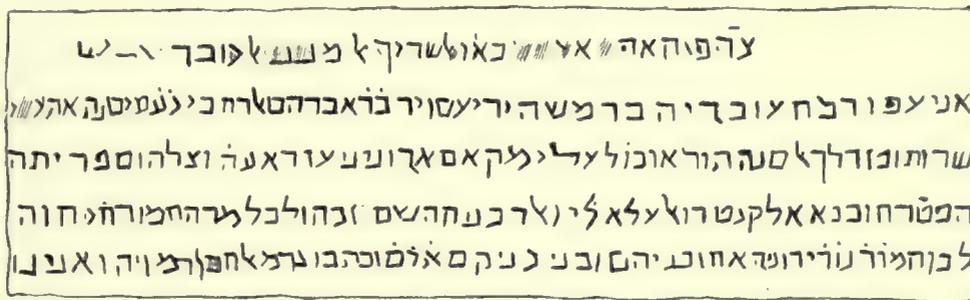
Wall in forecourt of synagogue at Têdif.

medan and 50 Jewish families; to the latter it is of special importance because of the "Synagogue of Ezra the Scribe," which is situated here, and which is considered a place of pilgrimage (*ziyâreh*) by all the Jews of Northern Syria. A visit to Têdif was suggested to us by the Rev. W. Christie of Aleppo, who had heard that there were Hebrew inscriptions in the synagogue. Our time at this place, however, was very much limited, and on account of rain and cold weather it was impossible to obtain squeezes of the inscriptions.

The synagogue is a medieval structure built with several pointed arches; it consists, as far as I had occasion to observe, of an open forecourt and two inner rooms; the latter lie to the right as you enter. The court wall opposite the entrance contains on the side toward the court an arch projecting from it, built over a narrow platform, which is about two feet higher than the level of the court, and is provided with a wooden rail. This platform is shown in the accompanying photograph; there

<sup>1</sup> See below the Arabic inscriptions 16 and 17.      <sup>2</sup> This is the modern pronunciation of Tâdhif, mentioned by Yâkût; the vowel *ā* has generally become *ē* in the Arabic dialect of the region of Aleppo.

are three Jewish inhabitants standing on it, namely, Mûsa ibn Djemâl, Shim'ûn Rôfê, and Raffûl Dâyeh. A stone measuring 86 × 25 cm., with an inscription in medieval Hebrew characters, is shown between the first and second persons from the left.



Scale—1:63.  
Fig. 42.

1 . . . . . אֲלֹשְׁרֵיךָ אֵלִים . . . . . אֵלִים (מ) בְּרַךְ  
 2 אֲנִיעֲפֹדֵכָה (?) עֹבְדֵיהָ בְּרַמְשֵׁה יְדֵי עֵם (ד) וִיד בְּרַ אֲבֵרָהֶם אֲלֵרְחֵבֵי נִ"ע פִּי סִנֵּה אֵת (רסח)  
 3 (ל) שְׁטָרוֹת וְכֵן דִּלְךָ אֵלִסְנֵה תוֹרָא וְכוּל עֲלֵי מִקָּאֵם אֲדוּנֵינוּ עוֹרָא ע"ה וְצ"ל ה(ס) פֵּר יִתָּה  
 4 הִיט . . . וּבְנָא אֲלֵקְנֵטֵר וְאֵלְעֵלְאֵלִי וְאֵלְרֵכְנֵינִי (?) הַשֵּׁם זָכָהוּ לְכָל מִדָּה . . . . .  
 5 לְבָן חֲמוּד . . . . . אֵח וּבְנֵיהֶם וּבְנֵי בְנֵיהֶם אֲרִמ"ז כְּתָבוּ יְדֵם אֵלֵה־ל דְמוּי הוּ (ו) אֵבֵנו

- 1 . . . the illustrious, the . . . , the blessed . . .
- 2 . . . 'Ōbadyāh, son of Mōshē, (son of) Yaddai, together with (Da)vid, son of Abraham, of . . . . .,—his resting-place be in Paradise!—in the year (1668),
- 3 of the era of the documents, and that was the year תוֹרָא וְכוּל (?), in the place of our lord Ezra—peace be upon him and who is worthy of blessing—the Scribe . . .
- 4 . . . And he built the arches and the upper rooms and the . . . —may God justify him according to every measure (?)—. . .
- 5 . . . and their sons and the sons of their sons . . . This was written by . . . and his son (?).

This interpretation is not by any means certain. There are several passages which I have not been able to decipher, and doubtless there are others in which my translation may be improved upon. At all events, the character of the document and its most important passages, probably also the date, appear to be established with reasonable certainty. The language of this and the following inscription is in the main Arabic. As to the spelling of Arabic words in Hebrew characters, it should be noted that the vowel *ā* is either written by means of an א, as in מִקָּאֵם, *maḳām*, and in וְאֵלְעֵלְאֵלִי, *wal-'alālī*, or not expressed at all, as in וְכֵן דִּלְךָ, *wakāna dhālika*, and in אֲלֵקְנֵטֵר, *al-ḳanāṭir*.

The date 1668 is obtained by counting the numerical values of the letters in the words תוֹרָא וְכוּל, and correspondingly I have supplied (רסח) at the end of l. 2. I am, however, not absolutely certain with regard to this question. But the date which is gained in this way, viz., 1356–57 A.D., agrees perfectly with the character of the building and of the script, and also with the following inscription.

In the second covered room, as one enters the synagogue, the wall opposite the door bears two copies of the same inscription, side by side. I was told that, the original



Fig. 43.

having become much weathered, a copy of it was carved in the same wall only a few decades ago. The latter is executed in well-formed modern Hebrew characters, and the letters are painted black. The draw-

ing (Fig. 43) is not made to scale, since no measurements were taken, and the script is only approximately imitated.

When I was copying this inscription an aged Jew read it aloud, and according to his interpretation it should be rendered as follows :

1 בשם השם נעשה ונצליח אנבנא הרוא  
2 אלהיט אל פי בית עורא הספר שכן מקום  
3 בשנת אתשר לשטרים

- 1 *In the name of God we work and prosper! There was built this*
- 2 *wall, which is in the house of Ezra the Scribe, who dwelled in (this) place (?),*
- 3 *in the year 1704, according to the era of the documents.*

Two words should perhaps be read in a different way. In l. 2 אל is probably meant to be אלדי, *alladhī*; but this word was read to me simply *il-*, i.e., the modern relative particle used in the Arabic dialects of Syria. The other word is לש, which ordinarily would be completed to לשטרות, as is written in No. 9, l. 3. However, the masculine plural of שטר is also used.

From these inscriptions we learn that the present synagogue of Ezra is as old as the fourteenth century A.D. But the tradition concerning this place is probably much older. When I was at Têdif some of the Jewish inhabitants told me that Ezra, coming back from the Golah, had stayed in Têdif, and there had written the Torah. Then he laid it in a cave, and the next morning he found that four words which he had forgotten to write were added, viz., בשם השם ומי דהב.<sup>1</sup> For this reason Têdif had become a מקום עורא; the tomb of Ezra, however, they said, was in Basrah.

It may be added that a very modern Hebrew inscription is found on a stone in an arch in the court, at right angles to the platform. A few letters of this inscription are to be seen in the photograph on p. 98. It reads:

חיצר כבהה	i.e.,	חיצר בבית הכנשת הזאת
משה כולף		משה כולף
הלוי יצו		הלוי ישמרהו צורו וגאלו

<sup>1</sup> I have no record of an explanation of these words, and it is possible that I misunderstood them; if ומי דהב is correct, it *might* refer to the Nahr id-Dahab, which flows by Têdif.

The first word was read to me *khidr*; this I take to be a dialectic variant for *khidr*, "inner room," for it is known that in modern Arabic dialects *d* and *t* preceding an *r* sometimes are changed into *ḍ* and *ṭ*. Another example of this change is *darb*, "road," which is quoted in my "Neuarabische Volkspoesie," p. 3, as the common pronunciation at Jerusalem. Similar cases are known to occur not only in the Arabic dialects of Syria, but also in those of Northern Africa. Moreover, we may compare *dā'ikat* in the Arabic inscription No. 44, and *al-maṣāṭib* in an Arabic inscription found by MM. Dussaud and Macler.<sup>1</sup>

The synagogue of Ezra at Têdif in its present condition is not a uniform structure, and its history is in some way reflected in these inscriptions. We learn that the main part probably dates from the fourteenth century A.D., but that even in modern times parts must have been rebuilt or added. The village itself, however, is located on a very ancient site; for its name probably occurs, as Professor W. Max Müller has observed,<sup>2</sup> even in an Egyptian inscription of the fifteenth century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> See Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Vol. XVII, p. 382, foot-note.

<sup>2</sup> Asien und Europa, p. 290.

## CHAPTER V

### SAFAÏTIC INSCRIPTIONS

#### INTRODUCTION

THE Safaïtic inscriptions published here were copied during a short and hurried excursion through the Ḥarrah and the Ruḥbeh from May 17 to 20, 1900. On May 17 the expedition went from Tarbā in the Ḥaurân to il-Ḥifneh in the Ḥarrah, where it stayed the following day. Here Mr. Butler and Dr. Prentice took a number of photographs of these inscriptions: the methods devised by Dr. Prentice made it possible to obtain some very satisfactory photographs; for they all are in the uniform scale of 1:10, and are almost entirely free from distortion, since in every case lenses and plate were placed, as nearly as possible, parallel to the surface of the stone. On May 19 the expedition went back to the Ḥaurân on account of Mr. Huxley's illness, and I proceeded onward with a few natives. It is due largely to the energy of Ḥasan Abū Sallām, the Druse chief of Tarbā, that I saw the Ruḥbeh at all. But as the summer had almost begun, and as we had to depend entirely upon the Bedawin of the Ruḥbeh for food and water, I had only two days for a ride of twenty-four hours, and the time for copying was therefore extremely short. The first day I rode from il-Ḥifneh, by the way of in-Nemârah, to the camp of the 'Umûr Bedawin, which on that day was situated in the Ruḥbeh, one hour to the southwest of the "White Castle." On the following day, however, the 'Umûr moved their camp westward to a place in the Ḥarrah, about three or four hours from the Ruḥbeh, on their way to the eastern slope of the Ḥaurân, where they usually spend the summer, so that my companions and I were obliged to return to Tarbā after visiting the White Castle.

Inscriptions were copied in five different places, viz., il-Ḥifneh, il-Mrôshan, il-'Īsâwî, ir-Rimtheh, and Minṭâr il-Az'ar.<sup>1</sup> The utmost care was taken to secure all possible accuracy in my copies. I took measurements as carefully as I was able under the circumstances; but on account of the uneven surfaces of the stones the measurements may sometimes be not absolutely certain. Furthermore, I followed the crooked and winding lines of the graffiti in my copies, and always compared the latter with the

<sup>1</sup> The location of these various places is described below.

originals. The best illustration, however, of the exact forms of the Safaïtic letters are the photographs, most of which were taken after the letters had been chalked. In a very few cases no measurements were taken, or the measurements given in my notes do not seem to agree with the copy itself; these cases are always indicated below.

While making these copies I felt that the Safaïtic alphabet known at that time was not sufficient.<sup>1</sup> My first task after my return from Syria, therefore, was to try to establish the alphabet in a more satisfactory way. The result of this work, in which I was greatly assisted by the copies put at my disposal by M. R. Dussaud in the fall of 1900, was the pamphlet "Zur Entzifferung der Şafâ-Inschriften," published in Leipzig, 1901. It has seemed unnecessary to repeat what has been said there, but I wish to refer here to this pamphlet, inasmuch as its contents form the basis of a large part of the following discussion and commentary.

The values which I had assigned to the letters of this alphabet were applied by MM. R. Dussaud and F. Macler to a large number of inscriptions collected by them in 1901 and published in their book, "Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne," Paris, 1903. Some of the inscriptions of this collection I had copied in 1900; the present chapter contains, therefore, certain conclusions which I had reached myself in preparing my material for publication, but which were also reached independently by the authors of the book just mentioned. At about the same time as the latter appeared the first number of Vol. II of Dr. Lidzbarski's "Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik," in which pp. 23-48 are devoted to the Safaïtic and the Thamu-dene inscriptions; here also I found some ideas which had already presented themselves to me during my own work. The large amount of new material given and discussed by MM. Dussaud and Macler, and the ingenious comments of Dr. Lidzbarski, have been made use of in the following pages.

**PLACES WHERE THE INSCRIPTIONS ARE FOUND.** The region of the Safaïtic inscriptions has been described quite fully and accurately by Wetzstein,<sup>2</sup> de Vogüé,<sup>3</sup> and Dussaud.<sup>4</sup> It is largely the stony desert between the Ruḥbeh and the Ḥaurân, the region of half-settled Bedawin tribes who pass the winter in the desert near the water-places or in the oasis ir-Ruḥbeh, and go for the summer to the eastern slope of the Ḥaurân, where there are villages supplied with water. Such are the conditions nowadays, and probably they are not very different from those in ancient times. Only at in-Nemârah to the south and at the Djebel Sês to the northeast of the Ruḥbeh some water remains during the dry season and may serve to retain parts of the tribes. In Roman times there were outposts at both these places, and naturally soldiers were stationed here throughout the year. Again, the White Castle undoubtedly had a water-reservoir of its own, and was therefore also inhabitable during the summer-

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, below, Nos. 68 and 112.   <sup>2</sup> Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen, pp. 67 sqq., 132 sq.

<sup>3</sup> La Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques, pp. 137 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Mission, pp. 49 sqq.

time. Besides this, there are ruins of ancient buildings at il-'Odēsīyeh,— or, as it is often abbreviated, il-'Odaisch,— and at il-Knêseh, in the southern part of the Ruḥbeh. A similar outpost is the interesting Ḳal'at Ezraḳ, to the south of the Ḥaurân, visited by MM. Dussaud and Macler in 1901. Near all these ruined or partly standing structures, and especially on the hills near il-'Odēsīyeh, a certain number of Safaitic inscriptions have been found, but the majority of them are scattered over the black-stone desert. Here we find them about the pools in the Wādī ish-Shâm and the Wādī il-Gharz, or at certain places which have the appearance of being or having been lookouts of the Bedawin. Comparatively few inscriptions are found along the roads, except where there are traces of former encampments. The latter consist usually of a very crude wall of uncut stones, a few feet high, surrounding a place where there are few stones or none at all. At such a place Nos. 48–51 were found. I noted the following when I copied these inscriptions: "They are found on stones on the inner side of a stone fence, surrounding an even surface of the ground where there are very few stones; of such fenced places, which must have served as encampments, there are a great number at il-Ḥifneh. Of course a few stones have gradually fallen from the wall into the cleared space." These are probably the places called דַּר, *dār*, in the inscriptions.

Consequently we may say that the fewer the traces of real civilization are, the more numerous are the Safaitic inscriptions. But there are some exceptions. In my short article, "Unbeachtete Ṣafā-Inschriften,"<sup>1</sup> I have already called attention to the fact that a Safaitic inscription of somewhat monumental character was found by Dr. Wetzstein on the lintel of a ruin near the northern edge of the Ṣafā Mountains, and that an inscription of a similar type was copied by M. Dussaud at Imtân, in the southern part of the Ḥaurân. A few more inscriptions from places with a settled population have now been reported by Dussaud and Macler in their "Mission"; for instance, from Hôyyet Ḥibikkeh and from Umm il-Djimâl. Finally, some masons' marks, consisting of Safaitic letters, were copied by M. de Vogüé and by Mr. Butler. The former<sup>2</sup> saw them on stones of the cathedral of Bosra, the latter copied from stones of the temple of Suwêdâ the letters נ, ה, ד. Of course the importance of these isolated finds must not be exaggerated.

**THE WRITING.** Only the inscriptions mentioned in the foregoing paragraph are to be called carved inscriptions; all the others are, properly speaking, merely written or scratched graffiti. The latter were put on the stones in two different ways, as we see at once by a glance at the copies: either the lines are rough and thick, or very thin and fine. The way in which the former were executed may well be illustrated by the following incident. While I was copying an inscription at il-Ḥifneh, Fendī, a Druse of Tarbā, and a relative of Shêkh Ḥasan, came to me, asking what the writings meant which I was copying. I answered that they were names of people in ancient times.

<sup>1</sup> Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 1902, pp. 20–21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

Then he said, smiling: "I have just written my name, too." When I afterward asked him how he had done this, he replied, "With a sharp stone." To my mind there is no question but that the Safaïtic inscriptions in thick lines were also scratched with stones. But the thinner ones must have been written with another instrument; this can scarcely have been anything else but a knife, dagger, or the point of a spear. The same instrument, or perhaps even a mason's hammer, may have been used in case the letters were executed not in lines but in points; such letters, which perhaps are connected in some way with certain letters of the Libyan alphabet, are referred to on p. 11 of my "Thamudenische Inschriften."

**THE ALPHABET.** The values of the letters are certain now, I think; this is true even of  $\text{†}$  and  $\text{‡}$ , which I tentatively determined in my former publication.<sup>1</sup> But my theories concerning the derivation of the forms peculiar to Safaïtic and to Thamudene were improved upon by Dr. Lidzbarski. He has given the right explanation of the origin of the Safaïtic  $\text{‡}$  and  $\text{‡}^2$ . I am a little doubtful, however, with regard to what he says of  $\text{‡}$  and  $\text{‡}$ . The former has in Safaïtic the form  $\text{‡}$ . This he derives from the Lihyanic, but I should rather be inclined to connect it with the Thamudene  $\text{‡}$ , in view of the fact that in all cases Safaïtic and Thamudene are most closely related to each other. In Thamudene  $\text{‡}$  is usually expressed by the character  $\text{‡}$ ; this is, as Professor D. H. Müller correctly pointed out, a double  $\text{‡}$  or  $\text{‡}$ . The next step was to combine the two little strokes at the top and the bottom into one at each end, which resulted in  $\text{‡}$ . With regard to  $\text{‡}$ , I am not quite convinced yet that the Thamudene form is the later, and that the Safaïtic  $\text{‡}$  should be derived directly from the South-Arabian; for in most cases the Thamudene has older forms than the Safaïtic. But it is possible that this letter does not conform to this rule, like  $\text{‡}$ , a certain form of  $\text{‡}$ , which is further developed in Thamudene than in Safaïtic.<sup>3</sup> In that case Lidzbarski's opinion would be preferable.

One character which has not been discussed as yet should be especially noted here; it has the form  $\text{‡}$ . This is found in Nos. 105, 109 (= D. M. 527), 122, and D. M. 163. MM. Dussaud and Macler render it by  $\text{‡}$ , and this seems to me indeed the only possibility. In Nos. 109 (= D. M. 527), 122, and D. M. 163 it occurs in the same word, viz.,  $\text{‡}$ ; in No. 105 it appears in the name  $\text{‡}$ . Probably it was the custom of certain scribes to make only one horizontal stroke ( $\text{‡}$ ) instead of two ( $\text{‡}$ ); and it is not impossible that D. M. 163 and 527 (= No. 109 below) were written by the same hand, for the handwriting of both is very much alike. The reasons why I believe that  $\text{‡}$  must be a  $\text{‡}$  are as follows: No other letter of the Arabic alphabet would be available for this character, since all the twenty-eight letters are established. Furthermore,  $\text{‡}$  occurs

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lidzbarski hesitated to accept the value  $\text{†}$  for the character  $\text{†}$ , because the very common name Zaid had not been found yet. His objections are now met by some of the new inscriptions found by MM. Dussaud and Macler; in their collection we have Zaid (362), Ziyād (238), and even Zaid'el (321, 371).

<sup>2</sup> Ephemeres, II, pp. 27, 31.

<sup>3</sup> See my Thamudenische Inschriften, p. 6.

so very seldom that at once the question arises whether it is not merely a variant of another letter. Finally, in the inscriptions where we find the H there occurs no H; this, of course, may be only accidental. With regard to צַרְט and צַנְאֵל, see the commentary on Nos. 105, 109, and 122.

That a large part of the Safaitic alphabet is almost the same as the Thamudene will be seen from Lidzbarski's "Schrifttafel,"<sup>1</sup> and from my own,<sup>2</sup> which is in some respects completer. I need not give any details here, since I have spoken of the matter in my "Thamudenische Inschriften," and since Dr. Lidzbarski has published a discussion of these questions in his article "Altnordarabisches."<sup>3</sup> Although the Safaitic inscriptions were doubtless written during a period of several centuries, there is no considerable development to be seen in the character of the script. A certain difference between older and younger forms is shown only in the case of א, ב, ג (?), ה, ז, and ט. The oldest form of א which I have found as yet is א̄; it occurs, e.g., in D. M. 546 and below in No. 37. A much fuller list of more ancient as well as of more recent forms of א is given on Pl. XII of my "Thamudenische Inschriften," in the Thamudene column. The letter ב has almost always the form ב or ב̄; but in some cases we see ב̄ and ב̄, — among others, in Nos. 78 and 95 below,— a fact from which we learn that ב̄ is a later form of ב, and is not to be derived directly from the old North-Semitic ב.<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful whether the open forms of ג are really older than the closed ones,<sup>5</sup> for no open forms seem to occur in Thamudene. If in cases where an open ג occurs such a form is intended, and is not due merely to the copy or to the carelessness of the scribe, it seems to me more likely that the opening of the ג is of later growth. The more archaic forms of ה, viz., ה̄ and ה̄, occur occasionally, but usually we find ה̄ and its variations. The development of ז is shown by its forms on Pl. I of my "Entzifferung," and on p. 29 of Lidzbarski's "Ephemeris," II. In a very few cases the South-Arabian ז is preserved, chiefly in Nos. 3, 33, and 37 below. The last of these three inscriptions, together with D. M. 546, might serve in general as an illustration of the older type of Safaitic script.

**THE PEOPLE AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.** The people who wrote in the Safaitic script were Arabic Bedawin. Forty years ago this fact was emphasized by Dr. Wetzstein, who said: "It is beyond doubt, I think, that these inscriptions [i.e., the Safaitic] are written in a Semitic language, which even is to be specified as an *Arabic* dialect. Haurân and the Trachons have always been Arabic countries; Roman and Greek authors always call their inhabitants Arabs; and there is no historical evidence that a non-Arabic population ever spread over these countries."<sup>6</sup> The desert was the real home of these people, and it is there, as we have seen above on p. 103, that most of the Safaitic inscriptions are found. That part of the desert which we know best is situated

<sup>1</sup> Ephemeris, II, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. XII in Thamudenische Inschriften.

<sup>3</sup> Ephemeris, II, pp. 27 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ib., p. 27, ll. 21-26.

<sup>5</sup> Ib., pp. 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> Reisebericht, p. 69.

between the Ḥaurân, the Ruḥbeh, and in-Nemârah. But there can be no doubt that the same people who wrote inscriptions in this part also haunted the desert to the east and south of in-Nemârah, and probably led caravans from the Ḥaurân country to southern Mesopotamia. We might therefore expect to find Safaïtic inscriptions in those more remote regions also, and Mr. Cyril Graham has, in fact, reported some from there.<sup>1</sup>

The life of these Bedawin, as it is shown in these inscriptions, did not differ essentially from what we know of the Arabs in ancient and modern times. We learn that they camped at water-places (הל הדרר or חלל הדרר),<sup>2</sup> made robbing excursions against other tribes (מטי ענמח, or ענמ, מטי), fought and killed other Bedawin (חרץ and קתל),<sup>2</sup> hunted the wild animals, and tended (רעי) their own herds and flocks. While roaming about they wrote or set up marks (וגם) for their friends and relatives, if they should happen to pass by the same places, just as the Bedawin do now by means of their tribal marks;<sup>3</sup> and in a number of cases we read that the friend or relative really found this mark (וגר ספר or וגר אחר). In one of the inscriptions published below, No. 120, we have, provided my interpretation is correct, a true characteristic of the Arabs, the *mufâkharah* (boasting).

Among the wild animals that were hunted the lion seems to have played an important rôle, for scenes of lion-hunting are not infrequently represented on the stones: M. de Vogüé speaks of them,<sup>4</sup> and gives an example with his inscription No. 176; both Dr. Wetzstein<sup>5</sup> and M. Dussaud<sup>6</sup> report them, and I saw several of them at il-‘Îsâwî, without having the time to copy them. Now it might be questioned whether at the time when the Safaïtic inscriptions were written there were any lions in the region of the Ḥaurân.<sup>7</sup> The names אסד (*Asadus*), לָהַ (perhaps *Λαιος* in Wad. 2130), and לבאה can scarcely be used as an argument, since they are very old Arabic names, and probably were brought from Arabia when these tribes migrated to the north. On the other hand, since it is very likely that many of these inscriptions were written by story-tellers,<sup>8</sup> it would not be unnatural to assume that such scenes were sometimes drawn on the stones as illustrations of the stories told, and do not refer in all cases to events which actually happened. At all events, if these Bedawin did hunt lions, they probably had to go to the valley of the Jordan or of the Euphrates, and when they came home to their own regions recorded their exploits in order to be admired by contemporaries and by posterity; or in certain cases Bedawin of other tribes, coming from regions where there were lions, drew these pictures of their great doings on stones in the Ḥarrah, when they passed by either on their own migrations or with caravans whom they escorted. Other wild animals, that are mentioned or represented in pictures, are the antelope (cf. Dussaud, “Voyage,” Nos. 135 and 327), the ibex

<sup>1</sup> See Z. D. M. G., Vol. XII, pp. 310, 713.

<sup>2</sup> These terms are explained below under Language.

<sup>3</sup> See Thamudénische Inschriften, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Inscr. Sém., pp. 141-142.

<sup>5</sup> Reisebericht, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Mission, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> See de Vogüé, Inscr. Sém., pp. 141-142.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 112.

(below, No. 22), the gazelle (עֹלִי, plur. ?, D. 368), and the wild ass (נוֹץ, No. 28 below).

Quite a variety of domestic animals are mentioned in our inscriptions. The most important is, of course, as we expect, the camel:<sup>1</sup> we have the words אִבִּל ('*ibil*), גַּמֶּל, דַּלִּל (*dalil*, D. M. 425, 462, 463), and for young camels בְּכֵר m. (D. M. 719) and בְּכֵרָה<sup>2</sup> f. (passim). Next to the camel comes the horse: we find חָל (*khail*), פָּרָס, and for colts מַהֵר m. and מַהֵרָה f. The ass also occurs several times: חֲמֹר m. and אֲתָן f. A collective term for sheep and goats is צֹאֵן, whereas שֶׂאֵהִי (D. M. 99) probably stands for sheep,<sup>3</sup> and מֵעָ (D. M. 32), מֵעִי (No. 121) for goats. M. Dussaud calls attention to the fact that even cattle (בְּקָר) are mentioned, and he suggests that these probably were the humped cattle, represented in the sculptures of the White Castle in the Ruḥbeh.<sup>3</sup> This is not unlikely, for in Palmyra also these cattle were known, as we see from a piece of



Fragment of altar-base from Palmyra.

sculpture brought to America by this expedition. But the humped cattle are not native in Syria; they probably were introduced from India by way of Persia and Babylonia. Besides the Indian variety there is an African one, which is smaller than the Indian zebu, and the humped cattle which Mr. Doughty<sup>4</sup>

saw in Central Arabia may have come ultimately from East Africa. The mention of cattle is noteworthy; it shows, indeed, the half-settled condition of the life of some of these Bedawin at the time when the inscriptions were written.

This is, of course, only a small number of the animals known to the people. Many others are given in the names of persons, like אֵיל (Vog. 353, deer), וְעֵל (mountain goat), רֵאב (jackal, or perhaps here in Syria wolf), צִבְע (hyena), צֵב and וּרְל (monitor), קִנְפֹּר (hedgehog), and others.<sup>5</sup>

From the pictures of hunting or battle scenes we also gain some scanty information concerning the weapons used by the Bedawin of this region. In No. 134 we see a battle between a horseman and a footman. The former has the long lance which is even nowadays used by the Arabs in the Ruḥbeh,<sup>6</sup> and which is shown in several other pictures, as, e.g., Vog. 176. The latter has a round shield and a sword like those of two men in Vog. 176. In the same scene another man is armed with a bow and arrow, and Dr. Wetzstein says<sup>7</sup> that he saw pictures of feathered arrows.

All this shows us a people with the habits of the Arabs as we know them in ancient

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, pp. 61 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> It is not absolutely certain whether we should read בְּכֵרָה or רִכְבָּה, but the former is more probable.

<sup>3</sup> *Mission*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. I, p. 152: "Besides the

small humped kine for their field labour, they [i.e., the people at el-Ally] have a few weak asses for carriage."

<sup>5</sup> See below the animal names.

<sup>6</sup> See the photograph published below, under No. 134.

<sup>7</sup> *Reisebericht*, p. 67.

and modern times, except that the keeping of cattle, with some of them at least, indicates a certain influence from the life of the settled population. But there are a few cases where this influence appears a little stronger. The ruined building at the northern edge of the Şafā Mountains described by Dr. Wetzstein, p. 61, doubtless belonged to the man whose name is written on the lintel in Safaïtic letters 1 inch wide and  $\frac{2}{3}$  inch deep. This man, Rabâḥ b. Ḳumair, seems to have gone over to a settled life, and he probably had followers among his own nation.<sup>1</sup> Again, the presence of Safaïtic inscriptions in Imtân, Hôyyet Hibikkeh, and Umm il-Djimâl indicates that people were living there who spoke and wrote the Safaïtic Arabic. MM. Dussaud and Macler<sup>2</sup> do not describe the condition and position of the stone which they found at Imtân, and thus we do not know for what reason Ḥuwait b. Ḥadd placed his name on it. Finally, the masons' marks on the cathedral in Bosra and the temple at Suwêdâ<sup>3</sup> prove that people speaking the Safaïtic dialect were employed during the construction of these edifices. These few cases are the more conspicuous, as all the other Arabs who settled in the Ḥaurân used Nabataean or Greek script and language in their inscriptions. That people from the desert constantly came into the Ḥaurân, as well as into all the other border-lands along the Syrian desert, is a well-known fact in the history of the country, and is proved — if it needs any proof — by the identity of a great many names in Greek and in Safaïtic script. On the other hand, there are a few isolated cases indicated by the Safaïtic inscriptions in which men from the settled population joined the Bedawin in writing their names with Safaïtic letters. The difference between the two classes of people is shown even in the wording of the inscriptions: the Arabs distinguish themselves by adding ל אל, "belonging to the tribe of . . .," whereas after the names of the other people a simple מן, "[coming] from," indicates their provenance. Of the latter there are two examples below, Nos. 4 and 31. In No. 4 we read מתבן, "of Tibna," and in No. 31, מן רם, "from the Roman country." No. 31 is also remarkable for the two Greek names transliterated into Safaïtic script, the only cases known to me: the first name cannot be read with certainty, but is in all likelihood either of Greek or of Latin origin; the second is תאדר, a Semitic rendering of Θεοδορος, or rather Θεοδορε.<sup>4</sup> An interesting example of the contrast between ל אל and מן is furnished by D. M. 546: להם בן עטפן בן אדנת ל אל עור ומרר מן אל הרם. What these men from the Roman country were, is difficult to say. They may have been merchants who traveled with caravans or did business with the Bedawin at their encampments; or they may have been soldiers who deserted the Roman army and came to hide themselves in the Ḥarrah. The latter is perhaps the case with a few men of whom it is said that they fled from the Romans: נפר מן רם, below in No. 59 (= D. M. 251) and D. M. 306a; ולי פנפר מן רם, D. M. 314, "he escaped (*wallaya*) and fled from the Romans."

In this connection an inscription might be mentioned which shows the Greek influ-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dussaud, *Mission*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage*, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 36.

ence upon the Arabs in another way; its language is Greek, but its spirit is thoroughly Arabic and in keeping with that of the Safaitic inscriptions. It was found on an isolated stone, measuring 118 × 105 cm., to the south of the western pool at il-Hifneh. The inscription is 32 cm. high, and has a maximum length of 80 cm.

Μ[γ γ]σ(θ)ῆ	<i>Remembered be</i>
Κάδεμος καὶ Ἄμερος·	<i>Kademos — and Ameros!</i>
ἔχω φρε[α]τ(ί)αν ἐ—	<i>I have a well</i>
(γ) μέσφ τῷ π—	<i>in the middle of the</i>
αταμῶ	<i>wadi.</i>

The reading *φρεατίαν* is due to Dr. Prentice. It appears that Kademos, who, while writing this inscription, seems to have thought of Ameros and inserted his name also, wishes to put a claim on a well, as Wāsi<sup>1</sup> does in the Thamudene inscription *המי לוסע*.<sup>1</sup> A few wells are to be found in and near the Wādī ish-Shâm at il-Hifneh, but the water is said by the Bedawin to be very unhealthful nowadays.

If all this tends to show the connection between the Syrian Harrah and the adjacent Haurân, there are also a few signs that point back to the country from which these Bedawin came, i.e., Northern and Central Arabia. These are inscriptions Nos. 3, 33, and 52 of the present collection, which read as follows:

No. 3. הלהי סעד מען	<i>O Allāh, help Ma'n!</i>
No. 33. הרצו סעד אככל	<i>O Radu, help 'A[kk]āl!</i>
No. 52. הרצו סעד בסא	<i>O Radu, help Bāsi'!</i>

The wording of these inscriptions coincides singularly with that of many Thamudene inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> and some of the characters, especially *מ* in No. 3 and *ב* in No. 52, have rather a Thamudene than a Safaitic form, although these forms occur occasionally in Safaitic also. The names *מען* and *בסא*, however, are well known in Safaitic. Perhaps these three inscriptions are among the oldest of the region, and may have been written very soon after the Arabic tribes from Central Arabia had migrated to the north. But it is, of course, not impossible that they are to be ascribed to members of more southern tribes, who arrived when the others had already taken possession of the Ruḥbeh and the Harrah.

It is a very interesting fact that these people of the desert had a script of their own, which they continued to use rather than the Nabataean script and language adopted by other Arabs, and undoubtedly by many members of their own tribes. Nomads, as a rule, care very little for script and written literature, and we must therefore conclude that the Safaitic as well as the Thamudene graffiti are remnants of some sort of a national civilization of Northern Arabia, of which not much is known as yet. And it would be strange indeed if a country situated between two great centers of civilization,

<sup>1</sup> Thamudenische Inschriften, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> See *ib.*, pp. 54 sqq.

Babylonia<sup>1</sup> and Egypt, should have remained without any influence from either side. But, as we have seen, the inscriptions themselves as a whole give only the picture of a nomadic life with almost no traces of a higher culture. Moreover, if it is asked whether the Safaïtic inscriptions were always written by the people themselves whose names are mentioned in them, we must give a most decidedly negative answer. For it occurs over and over again that a number of inscriptions relating to different persons, but placed on the same stone or on adjacent stones, are written by the same hand. A few examples of this fact are given below, Nos. 16-18, 58-66, 68-71, 122-126; but a great many more might be quoted from Vog., D., and D. M. Among these people there were undoubtedly "scribes" who wrote what was dictated to them. Another indication of the same fact seems to be the following. With a very few exceptions, the Safaïtic inscriptions begin with  $\text{ل}$ , and wherever a verb occurs it is given in the third person, whereas graffiti in many other Semitic languages and also in the Thamudene Arabic often begin with a word for "I," and have verbs in the first person, indicating, as a rule, that the man himself wrote the letters.<sup>2</sup> The use of the third person in these inscriptions reminds me very strikingly of a curious incident which happened while I was writing down a story at Hamā at the dictation of a native. Several times this man interrupted his tale, rolled a cigarette, and said to me: "Write: He rolled a cigarette," or, "Write: He rolled a cigarette and played with his mustache" (*iktṭb: rāḥ iliff sikāra wyl'ab bishwārḃō*). Similarly, in many cases Bedawin of the Harrah may have said to the one among them who knew how to write: "Write: So-and-so did such and such a thing." Again, another incident may be quoted here to show the conditions of literacy, or rather illiteracy, among the Arabs. After I had been copying Safaïtic inscriptions, some 'Umūr Bedawin asked me: "Who wrote that?" I answered: "Your ancestors." But they replied: "Were our ancestors better than we? Were they not Arabs? Arabs do not write or read." Finally, the Arabic inscription 32, found among the Safaïtic inscriptions at il-'Īsāwī, should be mentioned in this connection, for we learn from it that the person who wrote this inscription, at least, was not the same as the one for whom it was written. If, then, in many cases the Safaïtic graffiti were written by "scribes" for other persons, the question arises whether the  $\text{ل}$  at the beginning might not mean "for," i.e., "written for." This does not seem very plausible to me, for several reasons. From a grammatical point of view,  $\text{ل}$  would be unusual in so pregnant a construction. And, furthermore, as there are undoubtedly some inscriptions that were written by the men mentioned in them, especially if they drew pictures of their animals, those written by scribes may very well have been worded in imitation of the others; for the men who dictated certainly considered themselves the authors of their inscriptions no less than those who wrote for themselves. In all these cases, therefore, we probably have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the names Baghdād and Kūt in my *Thamudenische Inschriften*, pp. 29, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions like those of Mēsha', Panammu, Eshmunezer, and similar ones, are, of course, excepted.

the lamed auctoris. In other cases, however, it is not unlikely that the ל at the beginning is a lamed of appurtenance, chiefly if an inscription reads: לַפִּי הַרְרָ, as, e.g., in D. M. 308, 341, 723, "To so-and-so [belongs] this place." The man who first cleaned a certain space from stones and built a rude fence around it may have meant to lay claim to it for himself, at least for the season while his tribe was there. Even nowadays Bedawin scratch their tribal marks on stones and on ancient houses, in order to claim the ground as their property.<sup>1</sup> But the expression לַפִּי הַרְרָ might also mean "By so-and-so [was made] this *dār*."<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the personalities of the scribes of the Safaitic inscriptions we may draw conclusions only from analogy, since there has not been found any clue yet in the inscriptions themselves. This analogy is furnished by some Nabataean and Arabic graffiti from the peninsula of Mount Sinai. Professor Karabacek was the first to decipher these graffiti, and to point out their bearing on the history of the so-called Sinaitic inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> One of the latter reads: "By Wā'ilu the story-teller"; and two of the Arabic graffiti were deciphered by Professor Karabacek as follows: "O Lord, have mercy upon thy servants, the two story-tellers 'Alī and Ilyās, the two sons of 'Abbās, and upon Ḥakam, the son of 'Ammār. O Lord, have mercy upon thy servants, the story-tellers Ghanam and Ishāk, the two sons of Ḥakam, son of 'Ammār, and have mercy, O Lord, upon their parents and upon those whom they have begotten, and upon all present people and hearers, and upon the lady mother of Maula Nafi' (?), and upon all Moslems, O Lord of the Worlds!" These graffiti show that there were story-tellers among the Bedawin of this region, or with caravans that passed by here, and that they wrote some of these scratchings. It is very likely that similar conditions prevailed among the Bedawin of the Syrian Ḥarrah; and, as I said above on p. 107, I believe that many of the Safaitic inscriptions were written by story-tellers. Others may be due to "Kaufleute, Karawanenschreiber," etc., as Professor Euting suggested for the Sinaitic inscriptions.

**THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.** Some of the Safaitic inscriptions are dated, but these dates are given in a true Bedawin style, viz., after some event that was impressed on the minds of the people. If such an event concerns the Bedawin only, like a war between two tribes, we can hardly identify it nowadays. But two inscriptions at least refer to events in the history of the civilized world, viz., No. 45, which speaks of the הַרְרָ נִבְט, and D. M. 554, which is dated סִנַּת הַרְרָ הַמְּוִי אֶל רֹם. The most natural interpretation of the former is, to my mind, "war of the Nabataeans," or the war between Rome and the Nabataean empire in the year 106 A.D. The latter refers undoubtedly to a war between the Persians and the Romans or the Byzantines, but it is difficult to determine which war is meant here.<sup>4</sup> The date 106 A.D. is supported by the follow-

<sup>1</sup> See Thamudenische Inschriften, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, Ephemeres, II, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Z. K. M., Vol. V, pp. 314-318.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the article, Die Erwähnung eines Perserkrieges in den Šafā-Inschriften, in Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie, Vol. XVII, pp. 379 sqq.

ing facts. A Safaïtic inscription was found on a building which is probably not later than 106 A.D.: Dr. Wetzstein<sup>1</sup> ascribes it, for architectural reasons, to the time before the arrival of Roman art under Trajan. Furthermore, men who knew Safaïtic script were employed in the building of the temple of Suwêdâ, which, according to Mr. Butler,<sup>2</sup> must be dated from the first century B.C. It is therefore quite safe to conclude that the South-Semitic alphabet, on its northward migration, arrived in the region of the Haurân at the latest toward the end of the pre-Christian period. It is possible that the Nabataeo-Arabic inscription of in-Nemârah,<sup>3</sup> dated 328 A.D., indicates that the Safaïtic script had been abandoned; but the presence of the article **אל** shows that the people who carved the inscription near in-Nemârah were different from the tribes of the Şafâ, and it is therefore equally possible that this inscription was written when the Safaïtic script was still in vogue. On the other hand, if the Persian war mentioned in D. M. 554 refers to the battles of Adhri'ât and Bosra, the Safaïtic alphabet would be brought down to as late a year as 614, and would have continued even after the Nabataean script had developed into the so-called Kufic. In that case the advent of Islam would have brought about the disuse of that form of the old North-Arabian alphabet which was used in these regions. It may be added here that **רם**, *Rûm*, i.e., the Romans or Byzantines, occurs several times, and that these inscriptions are likely to have been written between 106 A.D. and the arrival of the Mohammedans in Syria.

A definitely dated inscription is probably D. M. 742: here we read in l. 3, **סנת מית**, "the year hundred," i.e., 205 A.D., according to the era of Bosra. The **י** in **מית** would represent a pronunciation like that indicated by the consonants of this word in classical Arabic; cf. also *miyeh* in modern Arabic and **מורב** below on p. 118.

**THE GODS.** M. Dussaud<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>5</sup> have treated of the deities mentioned in these inscriptions. The main deity of these Bedawin was Ilat or Allât: she is invoked oftener than any other god.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, we learn from the inscriptions as little of her nature as of that of the rest of the pantheon. But from other sources, mostly literary, we know that she was identified with Aphrodite Ourania and with Athena, and that the planet Venus was probably her star, so that Allât is ultimately the same as the Babylonian Ishtar. These questions are discussed in detail by M. Dussaud. Allât's male counterpart Allâh, **הלה**, is very rarely mentioned; his name occurs in **הלהי** (below, No. 3), and three or four times in places where the name of Allât is commonly used, viz., in **פהלה סלם** (D. M. 239), **והלה סלם** (No. 69 below = D. M. 242), **פהלה חלץ** (D. M. 539a); furthermore, Allâh occurs in the proper names **בהלה**, **והבלה**, **סערלה**, **סלמלה**, **חואלה**. But, again, the god **רצו**, or **רצוי**,<sup>7</sup> seems to have played a somewhat more important rôle. Besides these, we find **שעהקם**,<sup>8</sup> **אתע** or **יתע**, **גרעוץ**, and **אלת-דין** as national Arabic deities, as far as we can judge from the contents of the

<sup>1</sup> Reisebericht, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Mission, pp. 55 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> In these inscriptions Allât occurs about sixty times.

<sup>2</sup> Part II, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> Ephemeris, II, pp. 38 sq.

<sup>7</sup> On the spelling of this name see Wellhausen, Reste, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Dussaud and Macler, Mission, pp. 314 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 73.

inscriptions. The Aramæan religion has exercised some influence on the Bedawin of the Harrah, but this religious influence is as small as that of the Aramæan civilization; for we find practically only Ba'al Samîn, since **דִּישַׁר** (in No. 125), probably meant for Dhū-Sharā, can scarcely be considered a god accepted by the Safaïtic Bedawin. Ba'al Samîn, however, is mentioned about twelve times, and his cult seems to have been adopted by the Arabs. He was probably considered the god of the sun, as we may conclude from the crude drawing of a sun-disk accompanying inscription No. 123. It seems almost as if the people themselves had felt the difference between the Arabic and the Aramæan gods, for in No. 125 first Allāt, Shai' ha-Ḳaum, and Gad-'Awīdh are enumerated, and then follow Ba'al Samîn and Dūsharā.

There are also a few proper names which possibly may furnish names of gods. In No. 57 the last name is **סנאם**. This may be a mistake of the scribe for **טנאל**, Ṭhann-'ēl; but if we follow photograph and copy, we can scarcely interpret the name in any other way than Sin-'ās, "Sin has rewarded, presented," and we would have to assume that the old moon-god Sin survived in this name. Other doubtful cases are **לעלין** (No. 103) and **לדר** (D. M. 482). The former *might* be read Li'elyōn, and the latter Lidōd (Lidād). If these names really prove that there was a cult of 'Elyōn and Dōd, both gods must have been introduced from Syria or Palestine. But **לעחמן**, which I formerly read Li'othmān, does not belong in this connection; for it is doubtless to be derived from *la'tham*, and occurs also in the latter form (**לעחם**). Furthermore, it seems as though **אם** were in some cases to be considered the name of a deity, judging from the names **עבראם**, D. M. 635, and **תגאם** (Tāg-Aus), D. M. 569. Since, however, in all other cases Aus, "gift," is connected with the name of a god, and since Aus by itself is a very common name of persons and of tribes, we must, I think, explain **עבראם** and **תגאם** in some other way. But the decision of this question is very difficult. Aus may be a deified ancestor or a personified tribe.<sup>1</sup> A little more certain perhaps is **צהרסער**, or **והבסער**, in No. 1, where **סער** is probably the name of a deity;<sup>2</sup> this name is discussed below, in the commentary. Finally, the names **נהרורב** in Vog. 115 and **נהראל** (?) in D. M. 391, 857, should be mentioned. Here Nahār is very likely to be the name of a national Arabic god who was also known to the Thamudenes, as we may infer from the name **לנהר**, Linahār, in Eu. 543.<sup>3</sup>

**THE LANGUAGE.** The language of the Safaïtic inscriptions is an Arabic, more properly speaking a North-Arabian dialect, although it seems to contain a few peculiarities which connect it more closely with the South-Arabian: such peculiarities are the nota relationis **ر**, the plural in **ي**, provided my interpretation is correct, and a word like **ظפע**, which is now used all over Southern Arabia. But the fact that the Safaïtic vocabulary, as far as we know it, is almost identical with that of the classical Arabic, and the absence of mimation, nunation, and other South-Arabian characteristics,

<sup>1</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2d ed., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See also above, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Thamudische Inschriften, p. 28.

class the Safaïtic at once with the other dialects of Northern Arabia. The tribes of the Syrian Ḥarraḥ may, of course, ultimately have come from Southern Arabia, or their home may have been near the borders of the South-Arabian empires, and their alphabet is no doubt to be derived largely from the so-called Himyaritic script; for the history of the ancient North-Arabian alphabets seems to be that of a gradual remigration from Southern Arabia, beginning at a time when the Himyaritic alphabet had not yet received the form in which it is known to us.<sup>1</sup> But the language of the Thamudene as well as that of the Safaïtic inscriptions cannot, in their present condition, be called other than North-Arabian, the main difference from classical Arabic being the article ה. Again, the number of letters of these languages coincides exactly with that of later Arabic, and the so-called additional letters like ה, ט, ז, ט, ה were certainly known at a very early period in Northern Arabia: that they were not introduced from Southern Arabia<sup>2</sup> is indicated by the fact that some of them have forms independent of those of the South-Arabian alphabet, as, e.g., ה in Liḥyanic; ה in Liḥyanic, Thamudene, and Safaïtic; ז (?) and ז in Thamudene and Safaïtic. Only the Thamudene and Safaïtic ה, the Safaïtic ט, and the Liḥyanic ז can be traced back with certainty to the Himyaritic script.

It is, however, of special interest and of great significance that the Arabic dialect of the Ṣafā region seems to contain certain roots and forms which are known to us from North-Semitic languages, but not from the literary Arabic. These are chiefly the verbs סבע, סמר, עזר, רפא, and the substantives אסך and אפי. The name זכר, even if derived from the Hebrew, does not belong to this category, since it would be a foreign word, which does not follow the phonetic laws. The Safaïtic names סבעאל, סמראל, עזראל, רפאל seem to be best explained in the same way as the Hebrew סבעאל, שמריהו, עזראל, רפאל, and then we would have here the Arabic roots סבע, "to swear," סמר, "to preserve," עזר, "to help," רפא, "to heal." But in סמראל it is possible to think of another explanation; for Count Landberg has shown<sup>3</sup> that *sāmir* in South Arabia now means "moonlight," and if the Safaïtic סמר is the same root as that of the South-Arabian *sāmir*, the name סמראל would correspond to טהראל and להאל, which are mentioned below among the theophorous names. If my interpretation of the name כוראסך<sup>4</sup> is right, we would have in אסך (\*isk) the phonetically correct form for the Hebrew אשך, Assyrian *ishku*: this is the more natural as in the classical Arabic *'iskatāni*, the corresponding feminine form, is found. Finally, the word אפי is worthy of notice. It occurs in the name אפיהגדלן,<sup>5</sup> and seems to be the same as the Hebrew אפים, Aramaic אנפין, and Syriac אפ. This, however, is very singular, and would, if at all probable, involve a very interesting linguistic question.

Of Safaïtic grammar very little is known to us as yet. And the scanty information afforded by these graffiti is very uncertain, because no attempt was made in them to

<sup>1</sup> Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, p. 27. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Vollers, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. IX, pp. 169 sqq. <sup>3</sup> *Arabie Méridionale*, Vol. I, Leiden, 1901, p. 612 s.v. <sup>4</sup> See below the non-theophorous composite names. <sup>5</sup> See ib.

render the vowels. Nevertheless, it seems to me worth while to gather here some few grammatical facts which may be obtained from them.

ORTHOGRAPHY. It is known that no vowel, short or long, is expressed in Safaitic script. This seems to be true also of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*; but it is possible that, as Professor D. H. Müller has suggested in the case of the Liḥyanic inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> *é* and *ó* were pronounced instead. Even the modern Arabic dialects of Syria vary considerably with regard to this point.

It is therefore not strange that even where a word in all likelihood ended in a long vowel, no indication of this fact is found in the script. This conclusion may be drawn from spellings like אַל (D. M. 801), עַל (*passim*), אַף (No. 49 below, D. M. 151, 261), בַּצַּר (D. M. 554), תְּבַן (No. 4 below), which correspond to the Arabic forms 'ilā, 'alā, 'Aufā, Buṣrā, Tubnā. In such cases the *ā* sound is expressed in Arabic by a *yā* ('*alif maḩṣūrah*), in Liḥyanic by a ה.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this *ā* was shortened in Safaitic to *a*, as in modern Arabic dialects.

Another peculiarity of spelling, in which the Safaitic seems to follow the South-Arabian and the Liḥyanic, is the method of expressing a double liquid. Professor Müller<sup>3</sup> pointed out that in Liḥyanic the word *kullahu* is written with a double ל, כַּלְלָה; *ḥimmān* is written חַמְמַן, etc. A similar custom is probably to be found in Safaitic also. For it seems that there is no difference between חַנְנְאֵל and חַנְנֵאֵל ('*Αννηλος*), or between חַנְנֵאֵל and חַנְנֵאֵל, *Ταννηλος*. If this is the case, the verbs חַלַּל and חַלְלַל might be of the first stem, not the second (*ḥalla* and *ṭhalla*).

A difficult problem arises in connection with the spelling of the first syllable of the names אַל, (ה)לָה or אַלְהָ, and לְתָה (ה) or אַלְתָה. In the first of these the א is commonly retained; but there are a number of exceptions. In case אַל follows a ל or a ע, the א is often dropped; thus we find גַּלְלַל and מַעַלְלַל, טַעַל (*Tā'-ēl*), and always יַסְמַעַל. This usage is, however, not general, since there are also names like חַלְלַאֵל, חַלְלַאֵל, and נַשְׁעַאֵל, סַבְעַאֵל. Moreover, there are several cases where א is omitted after other letters than ל and ע. As to לְתָה (ה) and לְתָה (ה), we see that the first syllable is often not expressed in writing; for if we read וְהַלְהָ and וְהַשְׁעַהֶסֶם, פַּהֲלַת and פַּהֲגַרְעוֹר, we must conclude that the division is to be made after the ה, and then only לְהָ and לְתָה remain as forms of the names in question. But it seems as if no fixed system was followed with regard to the spelling of these names, and, on the other hand, a word like וְהָ is not easily explained.<sup>4</sup>

PRONOUNS. Only one personal pronoun occurs, and that in a doubtful passage, viz., הוּ, "he" (below, No. 120), whereas the suffix of the same person, הָ, probably masculine and feminine, is quite frequently used. The plural form of this suffix, הֶם,

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 14, V, 3.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 120.

occurs in a number of proper names, which are given further below. The relative pronoun is **ו**. The article is known to be **ה**.

VERBS. As far as I know, only forms of the 3d person, masculine and feminine, have been found as yet, except a few cases where an imperative in the 2d pers. sing. masc. appears to occur; see **סער** in Nos. 3, 33, 52. The lack of vowels does not allow us in all cases to determine whether the verb is of the I., II., or III. stem. In some cases the meaning may decide; e.g., **סער**, "to help," is probably of the III. stem. In others the form indicates a II. or III. stem; this applies to the verba mediæ geminatae and to the verba mediæ **ו** and **י**. We find **חלל**(?), **חלל**(?), **עוו**; **עור**, **רוח**; **ציר**. The IV. stem has the prefix **א**, as in the other North-Arabian dialects: this is another case in which Safaïtic is clearly distinguished from South-Arabian. There is one certain instance of this form, viz., **אשרק**, "he went eastward":<sup>1</sup> it is very likely that a IV. stem is intended in D. M. 173 also, where M. Dussaud reads **אעבר**; but the root of the verb itself is doubtful. Of the V. and VI. stems I have found no examples, but there are a few forms which may be safely interpreted as belonging to the VII. and VIII. stems. The prefixed auxiliary vowel of these forms, which in Arabic is expressed by the *Alifu 'l-waṣla*, does not seem to have been written in Safaïtic. Thus we read in No. 120, **פננרם**, "and he became famous." Possibly a few names beginning with **נ** are verbal forms of the VII. stem, e.g., **נעבר** (below, Nos. 123 and 125) and **נשכר** (D. M. 552); both are tribal names. Of the VIII. stem I have found only forms which are not verbs in the context, but proper names: they have been explained by M. Dussaud. The names **מתנע** (D. M. 577, 582, 612) and **פתלע** (D. M. 612) are considered infinitives by M. Dussaud; but perhaps they are forms of the perfect tense. Also the name **מתין** (D. M. 567), or, according to the copy, **מתיל**, may be a similar formation. Forms in the imperfect tense are: **יחתיר** (D. M. 362, 577, 582), **ימתנע** (D. M. 610), and **ימתסך** (D. M. 278).

The inflection of the regular verb seems to correspond closely to that in literary Arabic, but we have only a very few Safaïtic forms, and of course do not know anything about the vowels. A few feminine forms of the 3d pers. sing. are known; e.g., **והבת**, "she gave" (D. M. 880), **המת** (*hammat*), "she took care" (? D. M. 901), and **פצית**, "she delivered" (? D. M. 318). There are a number of imperfect forms like **יחלר**, **ימלך**, **יסמעל**, **יסער**, etc., **תעמר**, **תעצר**, and probably **תוד(ע)** (D. 134), all of which are proper names. A participle of the first stem is **סאר**, "traveling," from **סר** (*sāra*); of the second stem, **מעור** (*mu'awwir*), "effacing" (D. 68). Quite a number of participles are contained in proper names like Muḥallim, Muḥannan, Muzakkar, etc.

The inflection of the verbs with **ו** or **י** as second or third radical differs from that in the classical Arabic. We have met already the forms **יחתיר**, which is in classical Arabic *yakhtāru*, and **פצית**, which in the classical language would be written and pronounced *faṣṣat*. We see that here the **י** is treated like a strong letter, much as in Ethiopic,

<sup>1</sup> See Entzifferung, p. 66.

Sabæan, Liḥyanic, and in modern Arabic dialects. I believe, therefore, that forms like ולי, "he escaped," מטי, "he made a hurried journey" (?), רעי, "he tended the flocks," and תרצי, n. pr., are to be pronounced differently from the literary Arabic, where the י is written but not sounded. Thus ולי may be pronounced either *wallaya* or perhaps *wallay*. Another reason for this pronunciation is the fact that the words אל (*ilā*), על (*alā*), etc.,<sup>1</sup> are written without a י.

An inflected form of a root primæ י is probably to be found in the name תרע (D. M. 475), which is perhaps to be pronounced *Tada'u*.

As in several modern Arabic dialects, certain forms of the verba primæ hamzatae change into those of verba primæ י. An instance of this fact is מורב (D. M. 318), which in classical Arabic would be *mu'ārib*. Furthermore, ורם and ורמאל are probably to be derived from *'ādama*, "to reconcile"; וממאל (D. M. 616) seems to belong to *'ammama*, "to lead," and ונס (Wānis?) to *'anisa*, "to be kind."

NOUNS. The formation of the different noun-forms cannot be discussed for lack of material. As to the plural of nouns, no pluralis sanus ending in י has been found. But it seems as though י (-ay) was used instead; cf. עולי, "gazelles" (D. 368), מעוי, "goats" (No. 122 below). These two examples are, however, not absolutely convincing, and forms like אמני, "minæ" (No. 82 below), and בניה, "his sons" (D. 299), furnish no argument for this theory. On the other hand, examples of the broken plural are: חטט (*ḥassim*), from חט; אחיתה (Vog. 5), from אח or \*אהה. Probably also אמני (for classical *'amnā*) in No. 82, and נוץ (\**nawās*) in No. 28, are broken plurals.

The so-called elative form of the adjective is here in some respects different from that in the literary Arabic. First, the elative forms derived from verba mediæ geminatae probably are not contracted, but pronounced in the same way as those derived from strong verbs. This is indicated by the Greek Αὐδάδω,<sup>2</sup> which would correspond to a Safaïtic *Audad*, with the diminutive *Uwaidid*, אורד in D. M. 269, 454. Consequently the name אהפף (D. 173, 366, 369) should be pronounced *'Alhaf*, not *'Aḥaff*. Secondly, the feminine of the elative form seems to be *'afalat*, a form almost unknown in classical Arabic.<sup>3</sup> This is to be concluded from the name ארענה in Nos. 68-71.

PARTICLES. A number of prepositions are furnished by the Safaïtic inscriptions; but only a very small number of conjunctions and interjections are known as yet. The first of these three parts of speech is represented by אל, "to" (Arabic *'ilā*); ב, "in" (*bi*); בן, "between" (*baina*);<sup>4</sup> ל, "to, by" (*li*); מע, "with" (*ma'a*); על, "over, for" (*alā*); פ, "in" (*fi*), and perhaps "before" (*fā*); פה, "before, in the name of" (?), *fāha*). Curiously enough, י and וה are found in the place of פ and פה, and must, therefore, be synonymous with the former. These words are treated of in the next paragraph. The common Arabic conjunctions *wa-* and *fa-* are also known in Safaïtic; another

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Dussaud and Macler, *Mission*, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> See Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch*, § 20.

<sup>4</sup> See Dussaud and Macler, *Mission*, p. 203.

conjunction seems to be contained in בִּאֲנָן, "because" (*bi'anna*).<sup>1</sup> An interjection is probably represented by הָ in הוֹלְהָי, No. 3, and in הַרְצִו, Nos. 33 and 52; perhaps even in all cases where הָ appears before the name of a god, together with פָּ or וָ, it is to be considered an interjection. This particle is discussed in "Thamudenische Inschriften," p. 55.

VOCABULARY: MEANINGS OF CERTAIN EXPRESSIONS. There are several words and phrases in Safaitic, the meanings of which are difficult to determine, but of importance with regard to the contents of a great number of inscriptions; they are mainly the following: הָל or הַלֵּל, חָרַץ, וּגַם, and פָּה, וָ, וְהָ before the name of a deity. It is also of importance to know the exact meanings of the terms denoting family relationship. The words אֵב, אֵם, בֶּן, בִּנְתָה, הָל are of course at once intelligible, but the meaning of דָּד and of עֵם is somewhat doubtful. Formerly I took עֵם in its Arabic meaning *patruus*, and suggested for דָּד either "father" or "grandfather." I believe that I am now able to assign a definite meaning to both words. From D. M. 238 and 239, which are discussed below under No. 110, it appears that דָּד indeed means *patruus*, and therefore corresponds exactly to the Syriac ܕܕܐ.<sup>2</sup> This being the case, we must render עֵם by "grandfather," as probably in Nabataean also.<sup>3</sup> The name כַּעֲמָה means, then, "like his grandfather."

The word הָל, much more frequently הַלֵּל, is almost always followed by הָרַר without a preposition. In D. 234, however, it seems that we must read וְהָל בְּרַחֲבֵתָה, and in D. M. 801 אֵל דָּר is clearly written after an incomplete וְהָלֵל. In the latter, אֵל is very probably 'ilā. Corresponding to these constructions we find in classical Arabic *halla* with the accusative, with *bi-*, and with 'ilā. But it was doubted by Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>4</sup> whether הָל and הַלֵּל were really the same as *halla*, "he encamped," for two reasons: first, he says that הַלֵּל would be a scriptio plena, very unusual in Safaitic; and, secondly, he considers וְהָל הָרַר וְהָצֵר הָרַר a very awkward tautology. The second of these objections is easily met. If the reading וְהָצֵר הָרַר in Vog. 237 is certain, there is yet a great difference between הָצֵר and הָל; for the former means only "he was present," the latter "he alighted, encamped." The word הָצֵר merely indicates that the person was there; he may have halted just for a moment, passing by on a raid, or on his way from one water-place to another. But הָל implies that he unloaded his animals and pitched his camp. I admit that there is some difficulty arising from the fact that both הָל and הַלֵּל occur. However, as I pointed out on p. 116, double liquids seem to be expressed sometimes by a repetition of the consonant. If, on the other hand, הַלֵּל is *hallala*, it may have lost some of its causative meaning and have become partly synonymous with *halla*.

The verb חָרַץ has several meanings in Arabic. Its meaning in Safaitic, at least for

<sup>1</sup> See Entzifferung, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski's suggestion in *Ephemeris*, II, p. 43, ll. 16-18.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 372-373.

<sup>4</sup> *Ephemeris*, II, 44.

some cases, is determined by No. 134; here it denotes undoubtedly "he pierced," as we see from the picture which accompanies this inscription. In most of the cases, therefore, where we read **וְהָרַץ שְׁנֵא**, we must translate, as it seems to me, "he pierced [i.e., killed?] an enemy." Dr. Lidzbarski,<sup>1</sup> however, translates **הָרַץ** in all cases by "he watched," or "sought," or "was on the lookout for": this is a very natural interpretation for **וְהָרַץ אֱהָה** or **וְהָרַץ בְּנִיאָמָה**. Hence it is probable that **הָרַץ** includes both meanings, and that it must be interpreted in each case from the context.

Another very frequent expression is **וּגַם**, followed by **עַל** with the name of a person or with a word denoting a relative or a friend. In my "Entzifferung" I read this word **וּוְעַם**, and comparing **וְעַם** with the ancient Arabic formula of greeting, *'im ṣabāḥan*, I rendered it "he greeted." MM. Dussaud and Macler and Dr. Lidzbarski accepted this reading. But there is no doubt as to the true reading, since in almost every single case the letter **ג** is perfectly plain. We must therefore look for another translation. As in Arabic *wagm* or *wagam* signifies "a heap of stones used as a way-mark in the desert," the Safaitic **וּגַם** probably means "he made a way-mark." It is not unlikely that in some cases the author of an inscription actually piled up some stones as a way-mark. In other cases **וּגַם** perhaps assumed a more general meaning, viz., "he made a mark," and this may have been made in different ways. I have chosen the latter translation in order to leave room for different interpretations. However this may be, this is an interesting epigraphical evidence of a custom known to exist among the Bedawin to-day.<sup>2</sup>

A common phrase in Safaitic is **פַּה־לָהּ סַלֵּם**, which is sometimes replaced by phrases like **וְהָלָהּ סַלֵּם** and **פַּה־שַׁע־הַקָּם סַלֵּם**. I am indebted to Dr. Lidzbarski for the suggestion that **פַּה** should be read *fāha* or *jūha*.<sup>3</sup> Now MM. Dussaud and Macler take **סַלֵּם** in all these cases to be a verb, and render accordingly **פַּה־לָהּ סַלֵּם** "*que la (déesse) Lāt (lui) donne le salut,*" or "*et la (déesse) Lāt (lui) a donné le salut,*" and **פַּה־שַׁע־הַקָּם סַלֵּם** "*et que le dieu Chai'-ha-qaum donne le salut.*" This seems to me impossible, for two grammatical reasons: (1) after **פַּה־לָהּ** the verb should be in the feminine form, as, e.g., in D. M. 880, **וְהָלָהּ וְהָבַת שְׁנֵאָה בֶן יֵדָה**, "and Allāt gave his enemy into his hands"; (2) **שַׁע־הַקָּם** could not have another article, since **שַׁע** is in the status constructus. There are, it is true, some examples of real word-composition in Arabic, expressions in which the idea of the status constructus seems to be lost, e.g., names of modern Bedawin tribes like el-Bu-Muḥammed, etc. But that this is not the case with **שַׁע־הַקָּם** is shown by the following fact: wherever this name occurs as second or third after other names of deities, we read **וְשַׁע־הַקָּם**, e.g., below in No. 125, and in D. M. 742. It is therefore necessary to consider **פַּה** by itself in phrases like **פַּה־שַׁע־הַקָּם סַלֵּם** or **פַּה־אֱהָה סַלֵּם**. The question is even more complicated by the new phrases **וְהָלָהּ סַלֵּם** in No. 69 (= D. M. 242), and **וְהָ שַׁע־הַקָּם סַלֵּם** in D. M. 392, 393, 394, 395. Here **וְהָ** undoubtedly is a synonym of **פַּה**, but its grammatical explanation is somewhat difficult. (1) It may be a mere formation by analogy. If on one hand *\*fāha (a)l-lāt* was used, and on the

<sup>1</sup> Ephemericis, II, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> See my Entzifferung, p. 33; Lidzbarski, Ephemericis, II, p. 41.

other *\*wa-hal-lāh*, the latter corresponding to the Arabic *wallāhi* with the *wa-* of oaths, a new particle *wāha* may have originated from *wāha (a)l-lāh*, formed after *\*fāha (a)l-lāt*, and may then have been used with other deities as well. But this is very doubtful. (2) ה may be here the *hā et-tanbīh*, an interjection, as in הַרְצו at the beginning of inscriptions. Then ו and ׀ would be ordinary particles of conjunction "and," and the words after the name of the deities would be nouns in the accusative used as exclamations, an idiom which frequently occurs in Arabic.<sup>1</sup> This second possibility seems, after all, to be more probable.

**THE NAMES.** The Safaïtic inscriptions afford an extensive and interesting contribution toward the history of Semitic nomenclature, although here again, because of the absence of vowels, many questions must be left open.

As in other Semitic languages, the names in Safaïtic are either composite or single. The names of the latter class are to a large extent derived from the former: this may be done by simply dropping one of the two component parts, usually the second, or by adding a single syllable to the first part of the compound form in place of the second. The abbreviated forms without a new ending may again be shortened, forming certain standing types of so-called "pet names."<sup>2</sup> But there is, of course, also a class of names which, as far as we can judge now, never were part of compound names.

The composite names may be divided into two classes, theophorous and non-theophorous; the former are names in the stricter sense of the term, whereas many of the latter are originally surnames or nicknames. The majority of the theophorous names are composed with אל, which, except in a very few cases, is always the second part of the compound; these exceptions are אל-והב (cf. Index of D. M.), אל-עלף (below, No. 117), אל-בא (D. M. 415, which is to be read לאל-בא בן לבא), and perhaps אל-דאב and אל-יצנן (D. M. 882). A few names are composed with אלה, viz., והבלה, והאלה, סלמלה, and סערלה; moreover, there are some containing other divine names, which are given below, p. 123. Now it is very interesting to know the meanings of these Safaïtic names; but in trying to establish these meanings we meet with many cases where a decision is almost impossible, and it should be remembered that in the following list many names may possibly be explained in a different way from that given here. In this list I have followed Professor Nöldeke's arrangement in the "Encyclopædia Biblica," coll. 3280 sqq. For passages where the single names occur, the Index in Dussaud and Macler, "Mission," pp. 206 sqq., and the one attached to this publication may be consulted.

God is the *giver*: אוסאל, אלוהב, והבאל, והבלה. Perhaps קדמאל and עוראל have a similar significance; for *kaddam* might be taken in the meaning "to present," and

<sup>1</sup> See Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pp. 334 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. throughout this discussion Dr. Lidzbarski's article on Semitische Kosenamen, in *Ephemeris*, II, pp. 1 sqq.

'*awwad* or '*āwad* in the meaning "to repeat, to give repeatedly." The latter name would be given to a child born after the first one.

God *is gracious*: הננאל and חננאל.

God *loves*: וראל and חבאל. The name חלאל, which may be explained in several different ways, is perhaps derived from *khālla* or *khill*, and may be translated "God is a friend" or "acts in a friendly way." We may include here והשאל and ורמאל; but it is very uncertain what their real meaning is. The first of these two might be, "God longs for" or "God is longed for," and the second, "God reconciles," if *wādam* is to be taken in the same sense as the classical '*ādam*.

God *helps*: נצראל, עזראל, עזתאל, סעדאל, סערלה. Also עראל and עיראל, "God changes," probably imply divine help, i.e., changing things for the better.

God *rewards*: שכראל. The root שכר can scarcely have any other meaning here than "to reward," as in the Hebrew שכר, and in the Palmyrene phrase אלהא שכרא, which occurs in the Palmyrene inscriptions 5 and 8.<sup>1</sup>

God *sustains*: סמכאל; cf. the Hebrew סמכיהו. He *holds fast*: מסכאל; and *nourishes*: אלעלף (?).

God *is a refuge*: Although no composite names with this meaning occur, such names are implied in עד, עוד, העוד, עוזן, יעד, and המעד. The first of these is of course an abbreviation of עדאל, Αὑθηλας.

God *delivers*: נשעאל and probably פלטאל.

God *heals*: רפאל. This name occurs only once, and I feel not absolutely certain in assuming this meaning here.

God *redeems*: פדאל. The same form is known in Hebrew.

God *preserves*: נטראל. It is very likely that סמראל denotes the same idea, and that the root סמר has here a meaning which corresponds more closely to the Hebrew than the one which it has in literary Arabic.<sup>2</sup>

God *keeps in safety*: סלמלה. But perhaps סלם should be translated here differently.

God *conceals, i.e., defends* (?): This is one of the many possible explanations for the name גנאל, which in this case would be *Gann'ēl*. In some cases, however, the reading ענאל ('*Ain'ēl*?) is admissible, and the letters גנ may represent several other roots.

God *leads*: It seems that the names מקרל and וממאל<sup>3</sup> should be explained in this manner, and that consequently the former should be read *Muḳīdēl*.

God *completes*: נרמאל; here the name נמר, shortened from נמראל, in Hebrew נמר יהו, may be included.

God *builds*: בנאל (?). But this name might also be read *Bin'ēl*, and would then be classed with אבאל.

God *makes to stand*: מקמאל, and probably מעלל, מעלל, אעלאל.

God *determines fate*: גדאל (?). This interpretation, however, is very uncertain, since גר is the name of a god. A similar meaning may be found in פלאל, provided

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 72, 77.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, above, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 118.

that פלא, or perhaps פל (*fāla*), is the same root as the Arabic *fa'ala*. The word פלא would then represent another case in which the Safaïtic agrees with the Hebrew.

God *remembers* and *weighs*: These meanings may be found in זכר and וון. The first of these names would be very unusual in Arabic, and must have been taken from the Hebrew if such an interpretation is at all acceptable.

God *hears*: יסמעל; and he *speaks* (by an oracle) or *orders*: אמראל.

God *swears*: סבעאל. Here again we would have to suppose that the meaning of the Safaïtic root סבע is more closely related to that of its Hebrew equivalent שבע than to that of the corresponding Arabic root.

God *is zealous*: טננאל and טננאל; both are very frequent.

God *comes back* or *enters*: אלבא. This name occurs only once, viz., in D. M. 415, and perhaps should be read differently.

God *lives*: היאלה, היאל.

God *is glad* or *gladdens*: גדלל. Such a meaning is afforded by the Arabic root *gadhila*. Perhaps סמדאל points to a somewhat similar idea, for it may be translated, "God makes proud."

God *rises* or *appears*, like the sun or a star: טהראל, להאל (*Lāh'ēl*), and perhaps צעדאל.

God *is light*: נראל. The name נהראל is probably not to be included here, since נהר is most likely to be the name of a god.

God *is king*: מלכאל; and *possessor* (?): יקנאל, קנאל. The last two names admit of several other interpretations.

God *is great*: רבאל; and *high*: רמאל; and *man is his servant*: עבראל, שעאל, תמאל, and probably טעל (*Tā'ēl*, i.e., "obedient to God").

There are several other theophorous names composed with אל, to which it is difficult to affix a definite meaning; such are, for instance, אומאל, אנאל, חלהלאל, בלבאל or רתאל, ערבאל, כנבאל.

Few names occur that are composed with names of other deities; of these סנאם, נהרוהב, נהרוהב, עבראם (?), צהרסער (?), have been discussed on p. 114. Besides these, we should mention עברגר and perhaps גדאל; the latter may also be contained in גדל.

In only a very few cases we find nouns of relationship coupled with the name of a god; these are אבאל, which has many parallels in other Semitic languages,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps עמהרצו (?), below in No. 1, and בנאל. All the other names expressing relationship seem to refer to men. Composite names of this sort are probably contained in the forms pointed out in "Entzifferung," p. 36, i.e., ב + noun of relationship + suffix ה. I now believe, following Dr. Lidzbarski,<sup>2</sup> that in these cases ב is to be taken as *Bū*, standing for 'Abū; but it seems to me that this theory should not be generalized too much, for in the long row of names in which nouns like עזר, סלם, סנת follow after ב, the latter is more naturally interpreted as the preposition *bi*. There are, of course,

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, coll. 3287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ephemeris*, II, p. 39.

many parallels for the abbreviation of 'Abū into Bū; an actual proof, however, in Safaitic is furnished by the names במוין (V. 74), בלהן (D. 83), במקת (V. 30), and בפחל (D. 319), which I read *Bū Māzin*, *Bū Lahān*, *Bū Maqt* (*Bū Maḳkat*), and *Bū Fahl*. Besides במוין, we have מוין alone, in D. M. 547, a form which is also known from I. Dor. 111; the second name, בלהן, "father of intelligence," is perhaps originally a surname. The same ב, *Bū*, is to my mind to be found in באבה, באמה, באחה, בכנה, ברדה, בחלה, בעמה, and furthermore in the closely related names בצפה and בתמה. The other names beginning with ב are discussed below on p. 126. We may add here the names כרדה and בעמה, because they also express relationship, and כערה and כודה, which are formed after the analogy of the other names that have a כ at the beginning.

Besides the names of relationship, we find a number of non-theophorous names consisting of two elements; most of them occur only in one or two passages, a fact which is well explained by the supposition that these names are originally surnames or nicknames. In most of these cases both elements seem to be nouns, i.e., substantives, adjectives, or participles; but there may be also some "sentence-names"<sup>1</sup> among them, which cannot be recognized now because of the absence of vowels. Well-known Arabic sentence-names are *Ta'abbata sharran*, "he has mischief under his arm," and *Djā'a ḳamluhu*, "his lice are hungry." Other Arabic names formed by two nouns are, e.g., ' *Ākil al-murār*, "the eater of *murār* (a plant)," the name of an ancestor of Imru'ul-ḳais, mentioned in Lyall's edition of "A Commentary on Ten Ancient Arabic Poems," p. 1, l. 10; *Ḳatīl al-djū'*, "dead of hunger," a surname of Ḳais, the father of the poet al-A'shā; *Muḳattī' an-nudjud*, "the cutter of the sword-belts" (I. Dor. 220); *Muḍarriḫ al-ḥidjārah*, "efficiens ut saxa pedant." A very characteristic name of this sort was mentioned to me by Count Landberg, viz., *Khara baḳar*, "cow-dung," by which a family in Ṣaida is called. The last name, with its odd significance, agrees singularly with the Somali names *Hār-warāba*, "hyena-dung," and *Hār-damér*, "ass-dung"; these are mentioned by Professor Reinisch in his "Somali-Sprache," I, p. 110. Their origin also has been explained by him in Vol. II, p. 226, of the same work, where he says that it is believed ugly names protect against demons, and that they are given especially to a child which is born after another one has died. Similar names in Safaitic are probably הראת (below, No. 90) and צפעת (V. 258). The following is a tentative alphabetical list of non-theophorous composite names in Safaitic not referring to relationship:

אב־סין, D. M. 334; probably ' *Abū-sinn*, "father (owner) of a tooth."

אב־סער, D. M. 624; perhaps ' *Abū-su'ār*, "father of hunger," or ' *Abū-sā'ūr*, "owner of an oven."

אמ־לית, D. M. 295, is perhaps the name of a woman, and might then be read ' *Umm-līyat*, "mother of a fat tail," i.e., "merino sheep." Cf. רחל in the Old Testament.

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3278.

- אפ־הלאק, V. 257; 'Af(f) ha-lā'ik, "the becoming nose."
- אפ־הען, V. 48 (= D. 7); the meaning is very uncertain, as ען may be read in many different ways, e.g., 'an<sup>an</sup>, 'an<sup>in</sup>, 'ān<sup>in</sup>, or 'ānu, or even 'ain.
- אפ־הגול, No. 115; 'Af(f)ai ha-gudhlān, "the smiling face" (?).
- בדל־בהו (?), V. 130. Both reading and interpretation are very doubtful.
- בדל־חלם, D. 284. The first element contains some derivative of the root *badala*, the second probably the word *hils* or *hulūs*, and the whole might be translated "changer of undergarments," or "the saddle-cloth was changed."
- בלחן, D. 83; *Bū-lahan*, "father of intelligence."
- במקת, V. 30; *Bū-makt* (?), "father of hatred."
- במזן, V. 74; probably "father of Māzin," if Māzin is a proper name; or else perhaps "father of white ants."
- בנ־אהד, No. 101; *Bin-'ahīd*, "only son."
- בפהל, D. 319; *Bū-fahl*, "owner of a stallion."
- גח־כנת, D. M. 668; perhaps *Gāḥa baggat*. The second part, בנת, occurs as a name by itself in D. M. 877.
- גל־הדן, D. M. 720d; *Gall ha-dīn*, perhaps "great in power."
- זהר־שרה, D. M. 62; *Zahīd shaddihi*, "a man with little strength."
- האנדן, D. M. 883; *Hā'in dīn*. The meaning of *hā'in* in this case seems to me uncertain.
- הכנ־קלא, D. M. 313; perhaps *Khābin kalā'*, "concealing hatred."
- חלפוז, D. M. 585; may be read *Khāl-fa(u)waz* or *Khalafa(?) wazz*, and may be translated in several different ways.
- טהמ־סק, D. M. 62; perhaps \**Tahhām sāk*, "fat-legged." But it is possible that סק is not part of a proper name and that וחרץ טהם סק should be translated "and he pierced Tahm's leg" (*sāk<sup>an</sup>*?).
- כראסך, D. M. 28; perhaps *Kawa 'isk*, "branded (?) on the testicle." The first element, כו, might also be found in כואץ, D. M. 403; but this name is very uncertain.
- כמנת־ידה, D. M. 322; *Kamanat yadaihi*, "his hands are hidden," or, if we read ל instead of ג, *Kamalat yadaihi*, "his hands are perfect."
- מבל־גהד, No. 67; perhaps *Mubill gāhid*, "beneficent toward the poor" (?).
- מד־שעף, No. 108; this name might be read *Madd sha'af*, but its meaning is obscure.
- מסכ־חיל, D. M. 280; *Māsik hiyal*, "persistent in deceit."
- נהג־אלוי, D. M. 306b; perhaps *Nahaga 'ilaiya*, "he opened a road to me." This name might be explained in a similar way as פתחיה, "God has opened (the womb)."
- נהוז־צמד, D. M. 476; *Nāhiz ha-ṣamad*, "the strong chief" (?).
- סרב־דבל, No. 133; *Sarb-dabl*, "road of misfortune" (?). But perhaps we should divide סרב־דבל, "he journeyed in misfortune."
- ענה־מר, No. 56; *Ain ha-murr*, "bitter well."
- ערפ־גל, D. M. 570; perhaps *Arrāf gall*, "mighty sorcerer."

עֲנֵה-הָרֵנַת, D. M. 433; instead of נ we may read ל, and ה may be a mistake for א.

צִלְעֵ-טֹלַם, No. 113; perhaps *Dālī' thulm*, "violent ruler."

צִבְעֵ-סַמִּין, No. 84; *Dab' samīn*, "fat hyena," or "fat arm."

קַמְהָ, D. M. 706a and probably ib. 562; perhaps *Ḳām hazz*, "he rose (and) shook."

Of the names consisting of one word the larger part have been derived from composite names, others have always been single: we may thus divide such names into abbreviated and non-abbreviated, but it is of course impossible to arrive at a decision in every case. There can scarcely be any doubt, however, that the suffix ה, if it follows ב with a word not denoting relationship, usually stands for an implied אֱל. Here also Dr. Lidzbarski takes ב to be *bū*: this does not seem certain to me. Although, of course, I do not deny the possibility of such an explanation, I believe that it is more natural here to regard ב as the preposition *bi*. This appears from a comparison of בַּסְנַתְהָ with *i-na pa-li-e-shu*,<sup>1</sup> with which also the Nabataean בַּחְנָה may be classed, of בַּעֲרָה with the Hebrew בַּסּוּרִיהָ, and from names like the Abyssinian *Bā'eda Māryām*, *Başalōta Mikā'el*, etc. Names of this kind are: בַּאֲסָה, "in his gift"; בַּרְלָה, "in his mercy"; בַּחֲמֻכָּה, "in his guidance"; בַּחְנָה, "in his mercy"; בַּהֲרוּהָ, "in refuge with him"; בַּסְלָמָה, "in his peace" (cf. בַּשְׁלָם, Ezra iv. 7); בַּעֲרָה, "in refuge with him"; בַּעֲרָרָה, "with his help"; בַּעֲסָקָה, perhaps, as Dr. Ranke<sup>2</sup> suggested, "in his possession." The names בַּחֲמֻרִיהָ, בַּנְרָמָה, בַּסְתָּלָה, and בַּקְסָה are difficult to explain. The first might mean "with" or "on his (two) asses," the second, "at his banquet," and the last, "with his bow," and they all may refer to incidents which happened at the time of the birth. If that be so, the suffix ה would of course not relate to the deity, but to the child or its father. This seems to be certain in the case of בַּסְנַתְהָ, which corresponds exactly to the Babylonian *ina palēshu*; the real meaning of this name is unknown to me. We might also include here בַּהֲלָה, which probably means "in" or "with God"; a similar name would be אַתְחַכְעֵל in the Old Testament.

A large part of names consisting of one word seem to have been formed from theophorous names by dropping the second component element, viz., אֱל; thus we find אֱסֵ-אֱל and אֱס, אֱל-הִי and אֱס, אֱל-הִי and אֱס, אֱל-הִי and אֱס, and a great many others which need not be discussed here. It is very likely that many of these names had the form *fa'ūl* or *fā'ūl*; the latter occurs, e.g., in Greek inscriptions from the Ḥaurân, as we see from Αβουδου, Αγουου, Ζαβουδου, Ναουου, and similar names. But the evidence afforded by the Safaitic script is necessarily inconclusive. In another class of names the word אֱל seems to be replaced by an ending; this ending may be אֱ, אֱה, אֱו, אֱי, אֱס, or אֱן, the last of which is the most common. But, as is well known, these endings may also take the place of the last letter of a trilateral word which resulted from cutting off אֱל. In the following list I give both classes of names, those in which the new hypocoristic ending replaces אֱל, and those which are still more abbreviated.

<sup>1</sup> H. Ranke, *Die Eigennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> He compares *ishku*, *ishku*, and the name *Is-ki ilu*.



(?, perhaps עין, VII.); נעמן (besides נעם); סבן (? , perhaps סרן, besides סר); סורן (besides סור); סחרן; סכרן; עבין; עבסן (besides עבס); ערין (besides ער); עורן (besides עור); עמרן (besides עמר); עזין; ערפין; עטפן; עסן (?); פארן (D. M. 880, besides פאר); פחמן; צפען; צפלן; קטען; קמרן (besides קמר); קעצן (Κασαγος); קצען; רבן (Ραββαγης); רמון (Vog. 74, Ραμζαγος, Dussaud and Macler, "Mission," p. 271); שבען; שמתן (besides שמת); שרבן (besides שרב); תמן (besides תם).

Almost all these names are to be recognized at once as hypocoristics on account of their endings; but undoubtedly there were many diminutive forms in Safaitic nomenclature which are now concealed by the absence of vowels. Only in a few cases are we able to recognize such a form, viz., אורר (D. M. 269, 454), 'Uwaidid; אסיד (V. 403, D. M. 800), 'Usaiyid; בעיץ (D. M. 792), Bughaiyid; חביה (D. M. 829), Khubaiyith; קמיש (below, No. 83), Kumaiyish (?); אבין is, as the Greek Οββαιγος shows, a double diminutive.

Of other Safaitic names, those which are taken from animals and from months deserve special interest because of their meaning, and those which end in הם because of their form. Of animal names quite a variety are known in Safaitic; some of them have been mentioned on pp. 107 and 108. Here may be added: בק (D. M. 545, 670, 786), "gnat, bug"; געל (D. M. 551, D. 22, 142b, 393b), "black beetle"; ורל (No. 37), "monitor"; חוח (D. M. 231; "Unbeachtete Safā-Inschriften," p. 21), "little fish"; נבר (No. 37), "tick"; נן (D. 203 = V. 286), "fish"; נעפת (*passim*), "date-worm" (see below, No. 41); צב (*passim*), "lizard, monitor." Of "birthday names" I have found only אלל, and perhaps הערל, both of which were pointed out in my "Entzifferung," p. 13.

In the names ending in הם, the latter is doubtless the suffix of the 3d pers. plur. The names ערהם (D. M. 490a), עוהם (D. M. 636), and oftener עלהם (V. 66, D. M. 332), may be read 'ādahum, "he visited them"; 'azzāhum, "he comforted them"; 'allāhum, "he raised, exalted them." In זמהם (D. M. 343) we have probably the root *zamma*; in רחהם (D. M. 639), *rāḥa*. The explanation of בנהם (D. M. 720c, 763) and עברהם (D. M. 724) is doubtful. It would be most natural to translate "their son" and "their servant"; but the former may be as well *banāhum*, "he built them," or *bin hamm*, "son of sorrow" (cf. בנתיב, "Entzifferung," p. 53; בן־אני, Genesis xxxv. 18), and the latter may be 'abbadahum, "he enslaved them."

In conclusion it may be said that Safaitic nomenclature is, like the language itself, Arabic, but that there are a number of forms which are better known to us from North-Semitic languages, and a few others which seem to be peculiar to the Safaitic dialect. The conception of all the names is thoroughly Semitic, and entirely in keeping with what we know of the names of other Semitic peoples. It will be interesting to note that among the Somali also names with very similar meanings are found; this is shown by Professor Reinisch's list of Somali names referred to above on p. 124. There we find theophorous names like *Allah gūmar*, "gift of God"; animal names like *Libāḥ*, "lion," *Warāba-ādda*, "white hyena," *Hamar-dillay*, "stallion," *Barār*,

“lamb”; birthday names like *Kalil* and *Djilâl*, to which *Badéd*, “born on the sea,” and *Gédi*, “born on a journey,” may be added. Furthermore, we find sentence-names like *Shar-márkay*, “he saw no evil,” and *Baris-ka-‘ádda*, “whiter than rice.” *Timir-‘úna*, “date-eater,” reminds us of *‘Ákil al-murār* (above, p. 124), and “*Unagay*, “glutton,” of the Arabic *‘Akkāl*. There are also a number of other interesting names, some of which, like many Semitic names, are derived from physical peculiarities; very characteristic are the names *Dí‘is*, “escaping” (referring to an easy birth), and *Ma‘ásh*, “reconciliation,” and *Suma-káb*, “repairer,” which probably have a meaning similar to that of *Ἀντίδοτος* and *Ἀντίγονος*.

## IL-ḤIFNEH

Several stones bearing much-weathered inscriptions are to be found about 100 m. to the north of the Wādī ish-Shâm, a little to the west of the pool (*ghadír*). Nos. 1-4 belong to this group, whereas 5-79 are written on stones near the foot, on the slope, and on top of the very low ridge north of the wadi. Some of the following inscriptions were copied by MM. Dussaud and Macler also.

## I

D. M. 287. Maximum length 71 cm., maximum height 29 cm.

ל(צ)ה(ר)סעד בן עמ-	<i>By Dahir(?) - Sa'd b. 'Ammu-</i>
הרצו ואסר הבת ל	<i>hu-Radu (?) ; and he tied the tent (?) for</i>
בני ואלקמן	<i>Bunaiy and Alkamān (?) .</i>

The reading and the interpretation of this inscription are very uncertain. If my division of the words is correct, we have here several new and interesting names as well as common nouns. Instead of *צ'הרסעד*, we might read *והבסעד*, but in both cases *סעד* would most probably be the name of a god. That the ancient Arabs worshiped Sa'd is shown by Wellhausen in his “*Reste arabischen Heidentums*,” Berlin, 1897, pp. 59-60. It is possible, however, that here also *סעד* is a verb or a common noun, as below in Nos. 3, 33, 52, and in a number of Thamudene graffiti. But in that case I cannot explain the whole first line of this inscription. Again, the second name would, provided my reading be correct, be of high interest. The compound *עמהרצו* would correspond to a Hebrew name like *עמיאל*, and many other formations in Hebrew as well as in Babylonian and Sabæan.<sup>1</sup> The ה after *עמ* would then be the suffix 3d pers. sing., not the article, and *'Ammuh-Radu* would mean “his kinsman is

Scale - 1 : 10.  
Fig. 44.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, s.v. Ammi.



3

Near 2 and 1. Length 39 cm.

הוֹלְהוּי סַעֲד מַעַן

*O Allāh, help Ma'n!*

זוֹיָוִי חֹסֶד וְרַחֲמִים

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 46.

It seems to me that הוֹלְהוּי is the only possible reading. The formulæ הוֹלְהוּי and בְּלֵהוּי are discussed in my pamphlet on the Thamudene inscriptions, pp. 63 sq.; although I believe that their meaning is fairly well established, I have not been able to reach a definite decision as to their grammatical form. These religious graffiti are treated in the same pamphlet, p. 55, and parallels from later Arabic are given there. Here סַעֲד is probably equivalent to *sā'id*, as in Thamudene and below in Nos. 33 and 52.

4

This inscription runs around the whole stone. According to my notes, the distance from ל to the first כּ is 73 cm. long, and the highest letter, the first בּ, is 40 cm. high; since there seems to be some mistake in these measurements, the drawing (Fig. 47) is not made to scale.

Fig. 47.

לְטַנָּן בֶּן גַּעַל בֶּן מַח (פֶּרֶם מִתְּבָנָן

*By Ṭhann b. Gu'al b. MH; and he came from Tibna (?)*

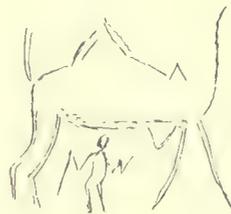
In הַבֶּן we recognize the locality Tibna or Tubna.<sup>1</sup> To-day a village by the name of Tibne(h) is to be found near the western end of the western Trachon; and al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 192, mentions a place called Tubna in the same region. Although the Bedawin may have haunted these regions in ancient times as they do nowadays, and Ṭhann b. Gu'al may therefore have been an Arab, like most of the men to whom the Safaitic inscriptions are to be ascribed, it is nevertheless probable that he distinguished himself, by adding פֶּרֶם מִתְּבָנָן (*\*fa-rāma mit-tibna*), from the tribesmen of the desert, who would have written "דָּ אֵל פ". He may then have been a merchant or a scribe who accompanied a caravan going from the Ḥaurān to the Ruḥbeh.

5

D. M. 198. On a stone northeast from 1-4. The horizontal line is 31 cm. long; the perpendicular line is 19 cm. high.

לְגַרְמֵאֵל בֶּן עַבְדֵּי בֶן טַנְיָאֵל בֶּן עַבְדֵּי בֶן נַעְמָן בֶּן  
בֶּן וּדְתָא בְּהַדְרָא פְּהֵלַת סַלְמָא

*By Garam'el b. 'Abd b. Ṭhann'el b. 'Abd b. Nu'mān b. Kaun; and he was at this place in the spring. In the name of Allāt, greeting!*



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 48.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 116.

The inscription has been transliterated and translated in the same way by M. Dussaud, pp. 114-115, except for his scarcely tenable interpretation of פהלת סלם.<sup>1</sup> His drawing on Pl. XIII is to be changed a little according to the one given here.

6

D. M. 196. On the same stone. Length: from beginning to second בן, 11 cm.; from second בן to third בן, 5 cm.; from second צעד to end, 14 cm.

למען בן צעד בן מען בן צעד ר אל הדר

*By Ma'n b. Ša'd b. Ma'n b. Ša'd of the tribe ha-Dharr.*

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 49.

As will be seen from my copy, the א in אל, copied by M. Dussaud as a ה, is correctly written on the stone.

The names צעד and צעד-אל are mentioned above, p. 123, and in my "Entzifferung," p. 26. The same name is also preserved in the names of two localities, Tell Ša'd and Khirbit Ša'd, given on Fischer-Guthe's map of Palestine, situated in the Arđ el-Betheniyeh, a little to the north of Dûmā.

7

D. M. 197. On the same stone. Length 37 cm., height of ש 14 cm.

ני

לאם בן שדרת

*By Aus b. Shaddādat.*

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 50.

There seem to be three much-weathered letters over the end of this inscription, which are probably to be read:

(7a)

לעד

*By 'Idd.*

8

On the same stone, over No. 7. Length 29 cm., highest letter 6 cm.

לגרמאל בן עבד בן טנאל ההוטט בסלם

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 51.

*By Garam'ēl b. 'Abd b. Ṭhann'ēl [is] this inscription (?). Greeting!*

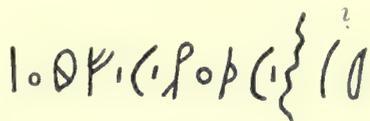
The reading of ההוטט is somewhat doubtful, and so is the ב in בסלם. The latter does not occur elsewhere in Safaitic inscriptions as far as I know; we may, however, compare בשלם in C. I. S., II, No. 291. But סלם by itself, as, e.g., in No. 15, would be much more natural.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 120.

No. 8 and No. 5 refer to the same person; in the latter he gives his genealogy a little more completely. The handwriting is in both cases very much alike, whereas Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10 are written by different hands.

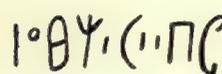
9

D. M. 201. On the south side of the same stone. Length 50 cm., highest letter 16 cm.

לעודן בן צער בן שבם *By 'Awīdhān b. Ṣa'd b. Shibām.*    
 Scale — 1 : 10.   
 Fig. 52.

10

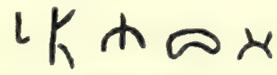
D. M. 202. On the same stone, under No. 9. Length 26 cm., highest letter 9 cm.

 לעודן בן נטר *By 'Awīdhān b. Naṭhar.*   
 Scale — 1 : 10.   
 Fig. 53.

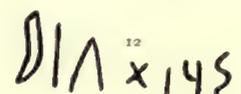
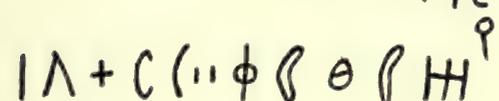
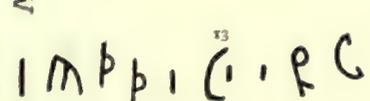
Nos. 9 and 10 seem to have been written by the same hand.

11

D. M. 216. On a stone south of the foregoing. Length 36 cm., highest letter 11 1/2 cm.

לאחמ(ם) *By Aḥma(s).*    
 Scale — 1 : 10.   
 Fig. 54.

M. Dussaud reads לאחמט and refers to D. M. 817, where such a name is written distinctly. It seems to me, however, that in this case the reading with ם is more likely, and that therefore we have here a name different from that in D. M. 817. The letter ם sometimes keeps its little top stroke, as we see, e.g., from No. 37, and here the two top strokes are probably due either to the weathering of the stone or to a mistake of the writer. The name Aḥmas is well known in ancient Arabic.

   
   
   
   
 Scale — 1 : 10.   
 Fig. 55.

12-15

D. M. 190-192. The stone bearing these inscriptions lies near the one on which Nos. 5-10 are written. Nos. 12-15 are grouped around the drawing of a man and of a camel. M. Dussaud copied Nos. 12-14 only, omitting No. 15, which is not very well written. This stone is shown on the accompanying picture. Nos. 12-15 are on the top of the largest stone shown on the photograph;



Nos. 16–18 are to the left as you face the photograph, Nos. 19–21 to the right. The top of the stone measures 107 × 83 cm. No. 12 is 64 cm. long and 29 cm. high; No. 14 is 29 cm. long, and its highest letter measures 11 cm.; No. 15 is 23 cm. long.

12	לסחר בן נקם ומטי פהלת סלם	<i>By Sakhr b. Naqm; and he made a hurried (long?) journey. In the name of Allāt, greeting!</i>
13	גהרדן בן נצר	<i>By Ḥaddūdān b. Naṣr.</i>
14	לגרמאל בן עבר הגמל	<i>By Garam'el b. 'Abd [was drawn] the camel.</i>
15	לוס(מ)ח ולכרהן סלם	<i>From (for?) Samih and from (for?) Karhān greeting.</i>

The meaning of the word מטי (in No. 12) is still open to discussion. The Arabic root *maṭā* means “to hasten, to hurry the walk,” or “to render the way long.” I believe,



Stones with Safaitic inscriptions 12–18 at il-Ḥifneh.

therefore, that wherever מטי occurs, the author of the inscription refers to the journey which brought him to the place of the inscription. Whether in all cases a “hurried journey,” or, as M. Dussaud<sup>1</sup> thinks, a *ghazū*, or “raid,” is meant, is uncertain, since usually few details are given. In V. 323, 379 (“Entzifferung,” p. 60), this explanation is to my mind the most natural.

In No. 14 the second name is עבר, not עמר, as

M. Dussaud reads. Perhaps we have here a third inscription by the same person who wrote Nos. 5 and 8.

The reading and meaning of No. 15 are somewhat uncertain; but the words can scarcely be divided otherwise than as it is done above. Both names are not known from other inscriptions, but are of correct Arabic formation. The preposition ל would, according to the rule, be the lamed auctoris in this inscription also; then we should make a pause after the names of the two men, and consider סלם a sort of exclamation, much as שלם in Sinaitic. But it is equally possible that ל means here “for,” and that the סלם was addressed by one of the other men whose names appear on the stone to two friends of his, Samih and Karhān.

<sup>1</sup> Mission, p. 113.

## 16-18

D. M. 193-195. On the same stone. No measurements were taken of these three inscriptions. No. 18 is placed under 16-17.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 16 | לאנעם בן חטסת  | <i>By An'am b. Khaṭasat.</i>  |
| 17 | לסכרן בן חטסת בן סכרן ומטי סנת<br>בעיר צ'חצף פהלת עקבת<br> | <i>By Sakrān b. Khaṭasat b. Sakrān; and<br/>he journeyed a year in the mountains<br/>(with caravans?) of Dakhdaf(?). And,<br/>O Allāt, [give good] result!       </i> |
| 18 | לזכר בן חטסת בן סכרן                                       | <i>By Zakkūr b. Khaṭasat b. Sakrān.</i>   |

All the letters of these inscriptions are plainly legible, and, in my opinion, certain. In No. 17, l. 2, we must therefore read בעיר and עקבת, and not, as M. Dussaud does, רעיב and עקרת; for ב and ר are clearly distinguished from each other in this inscription, as we see from the ר in סכרן and the ב in בן. But the explanation of בעיר and עקבת is very uncertain; and so is צ'חצף and perhaps ומטי. The last of these words has been spoken of in No. 12. The next word, סנת, I take to be, not a date, but an adverbial accusative of time (*sanat<sup>an</sup>*). Then follows בעיר: this might be read *ba'āyir*, "camels," although such a plural of the word *ba'ir* is not known. I prefer, however, to consider ב the preposition *bi*, and עיר a substantive by itself. Again, the meaning "camels," or "caravan," might be attributed to this word if we connect it in some way with 'ir. The most natural reading, however, would be 'iyār, plur. of 'air; but of the different meanings of this word only one seems to me suitable, viz., "mountain." After that, the strange combination of letters, צ'חצף, can scarcely be anything else but a proper noun; very probably it is, as M. Dussaud suggested, the name of a locality. The last word, עקבת, may be a substantive, probably implying a wish or a prayer for good result: in that case we may perhaps compare עקבת with the modern Arabic formula 'ukbāl, which is discussed in my "Neuarabische Volkspoesie," pp. 11-12. On the other hand, since עקבת has the feminine termination, it may be a verb, and ה the article. Then the writer states an accomplished fact: "and Allāt gave good result."

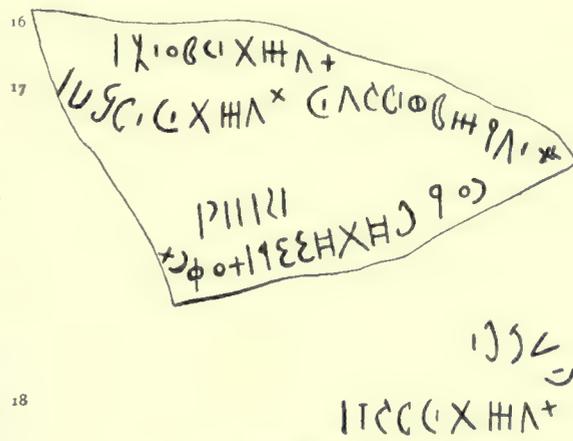


Fig. 56.

The seven horizontal lines over the end of this inscription claim a certain interest of their own. They occur in a similar way in Nos. 67, 68 (= D. M. 241), D. M. 738 and



of the Sakrān family came to il-Hifneh, and had their names—father and two sons—written on one stone by one hand. When three members of the Khaṭasat branch, the nephews of Sakhr, saw this, either at the same time or later on, they had their names also scratched on the same stone by another hand. It is of course just as well possible that the Khaṭasat branch was the first.

22-24 are on another stone, directly north of the foregoing. If we call the stone with Nos. 6-10 A, the one with 12-21 B, and the present C, the position of the three stones would be as follows:



22

D. M. 200. On the top of the stone. Length 36 cm.

ליסלם בן עקרב *By Yaslam b. 'Akrab.*



Scale - 1:10.  
Fig. 58.

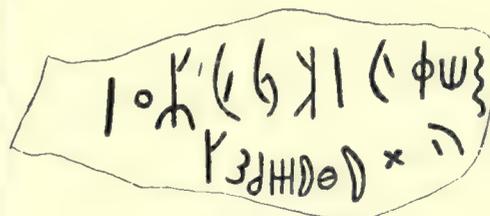
The drawing, which is one of the few pictures of animals that I saw at il-Hifneh, is very crude; only the high horns and the long tail allow some conclusion as to what kind of an animal is intended, viz., a sort of ibex.

23

On the west side of the stone; 54 x 41 cm. This inscription was chalked and photographed by Dr. Prentice. My copy, which was taken before the chalking, differs a little from the photograph, and shows that a few short strokes which Dr. Prentice took to be parts of letters probably do not belong to them originally; cf. the third and the last two letters.



Stone with Safaitic inscription 23 at il-Hifneh.



Scale - 1:10.  
Fig. 59.

לע(ה) בן כ(ה)ל בן קחש  
בן תם ומטי פה

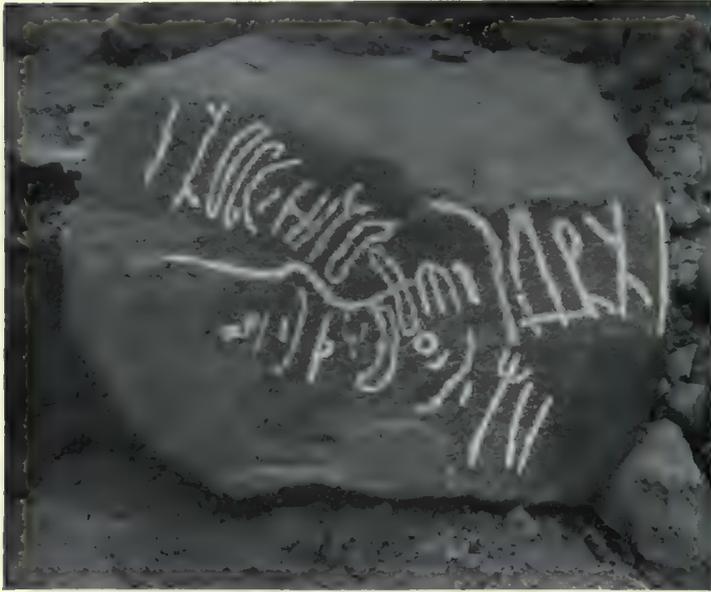
*By 'Au(dh) b. Kā(h)il b. Kāhish b. Taim; and he made a journey (?) . . .*

The last two letters, פה, probably are the beginning of the phrase פהלת סלם; it seems that the inscription was not completed because there was not room enough.

The third letter looks like a monogram for הִר or הִה, but I believe that the additional short line at the top of the letter was scratched by mistake and unintentionally; two cases of exactly the same kind are found in the word כהל in the same inscription, where we read on the stone כאל, and הנא in No. 132, where the original has ההא.

## 24 a-c

D. M. 199. On the south side of the same stone; 85 × 54 cm.



Stone with Safaitic inscriptions 24a-c at il-Hifneh.

a לאמר בן טהם *By Āmir b. Ṭahm.*  
 b לאצג בן הם *By ṢG b. Hamm.*

The first name in *b* is doubtful; perhaps the writer made some mistake. I cannot connect it with any known Arabic name. If the second name is complete, it is in all likelihood to be derived from the root *hamma*, derivatives of which are *Himmān* (I. Dor. 150), *al-Humām* (ib. 176), and *Humamah* (ib. 173).

c ללון בן עמ(י)ד בן . . . *By Laudhān b. 'Umai'id (?) b. . .*

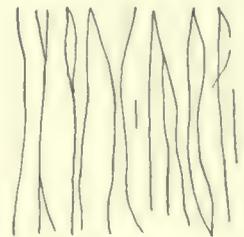
The second name looks more like עמהד, and perhaps the following two letters form part of it, so that we would have a composite name, עמהדבן or עמהדבן. However, 'Umai'id, diminutive of 'Amīd, seems to be a very acceptable Arabic name.

## 25

Width 57 cm., highest letter 62 cm.

לאים בן חמין *By Iyās b. Himyān.*

This inscription is remarkable for the height of its letters. A tendency which is also shown in other inscriptions, where the letters are scratched in thin lines with the point of a sword or a dagger, is carried here almost to an extreme.



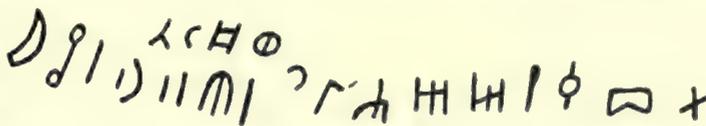
Scale—1 : 20.  
 Fig. 60.

## 26

D. M. 205. On the same stone as No. 25. Length 101 cm., highest letter 12 cm. This inscription was also copied by Dr. Prentice.

להנן בן לועזתם      *For Hunain b. La'tham.*  
 הרצו בכך [ה]טט לקמת      *O Radu, in thy name (?) has Lukmat written (?)*

The first line gives the name of the same person as 60a, which is written by a different hand. The reading of the second line seems to be fairly well established, but its translation is extremely doubtful. It begins like a number of Thamudene inscriptions: הרצו בכך.<sup>1</sup> The next word can scarcely be anything else than



Scale - 1: 10.  
Fig. 61.

הטט; by some accident one line of the X has been bent downward instead of being continued in a straight line. Now if the word בכך is explained in the same way as in Thamudene, viz., *bika* = "in thee," "with thee," or "in thy name," we should expect some substantive like סער, "help," and then ל, *li*, with a proper name. It would therefore be most natural to divide לקמת into ל, *li*, + קמת. But in that case הטט is unintelligible. For want of a better explanation, we may assume the following: A man named לקמת wrote this inscription for Hunain b. La'tham, who in all probability wrote neither No. 26 nor No. 60a himself, and added a scribe's prayer to Radu, as, for instance, the writer did in the Arabic inscription No. 32.

27

D. M. 203. On the same stone as Nos. 25 and 26. No measurements were taken.

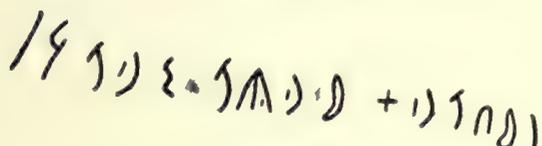


Fig. 62.

למסך בן תם בן חכף (?) בן כהל  
*By Māsik b. Taim b. Hakaf (?) b. Kāhil.*

28

D. M. 363 (?). On a stone by itself. Length 31 cm., highest letter 3 1/2 cm.



Scale - 1: 10.  
Fig. 63.

לרפד בן ועל ורעי נוץ      *By Rifd b. Wa'l; and he kept wild asses (?)*

The ו in ורעי looked to me at first like a מ, but I noted on my copy that ו is possible as well: the latter is preferable on account of the context. The word נוץ is here assumed to be a plural of the Arabic *naus*, "wild ass." Apparently this inscription is the same as D. M. 363; if this is the case, M. Dussaud omitted to copy the second part. Another inscription by the same person is found in D. M. 378.

The wild ass occurs here for the first time in the Safaitic inscriptions. This animal is often described by the ancient Arabic poets,<sup>2</sup> but always as game, and as the swiftest animal of the desert. It is therefore somewhat strange to find it mentioned here in

<sup>1</sup> See Thamudische Inschriften, pp. 56, 57.

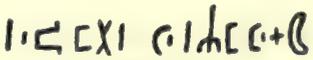
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 2d ed., pp. 115-116.



This and Nos. 3 and 52 are the only Safaitic examples of what we might call strictly religious graffiti. The graffiti beginning with הרצו and similar invocations correspond to the Kufic and Arabic graffiti beginning with 'allāhumma.<sup>1</sup> The name of the writer is not quite certain, because its second letter has a very unusual shape. It is not unlike a כ; and if we insert this letter, we would have the Arabic name אכל, *Akkāl*,<sup>2</sup> which occurs also in a Sinaitic inscription.

## 34

Length 38 cm., highest letter 9 cm.

לנטר-אל בן נדר בן הם      *By Nathar'el b. Nadhīr b. Taim.*      

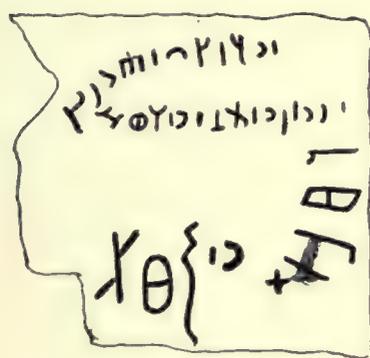
This graffito is very probably written by or for the son of the first person in No. 31.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 69.

Besides Nos. 29–34, there are two other inscriptions in very thin lines on the same stone, one on the top and the other on the west side.

## 35

On a stone measuring 51 × 47 cm. The highest letter of 35a measures 7 cm., the highest letter of c is 18 cm. high.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 70.

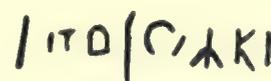
a      לבהלה בן הרב      *By Bihallāh b. Harb.*  
b      לבלל בן חזן בן הוכל      *By Bilāl b. Khāzin b. ha-Wakīl.*  
c      לזנת בן שוא      *By Waznat b. Shawwā'.*

The name בהלה is new and very interesting; the formation of this and similar names is discussed above, p. 126. In c the name שוא is plainly written, but as an Arabic name it is difficult to explain.

## 36

On a stone about ten paces to the north of the preceding stones. Length 34 cm., highest letter 7½ cm.

לנוגל בן דאל      *By Nizgal b. Dhā'il (?).*



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 71.

Both names are unknown elsewhere. The first is probably some derivative of the root *zagila*; perhaps the same as the Arabic *mizgal*, "spear-head," if it is justifiable to assume an *n*-prefix in the Safaitic dialect. The second name is plainly written on the stone, but it seems to me that it contains a mistake; one might correct it easily into דהל, *Dhuhl*, or דאב, *Dhu'aib*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thamudische Inschriften, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 129.



Perhaps the second name is incomplete; then we should read [עסנם], *Ghasm*, as in D. M. 359, 361, or rather עסן, *Ghassān*, as probably in D. 74.<sup>1</sup> But עס in itself, although not known as an Arabic name, would be perfectly reasonable as such.

40-42 are on one stone, one under the other, No. 40 being the highest, and No. 42 the lowest.

40

Length 60 cm., highest letter (ר) 16½ cm.

לגרים בן עטם

By *Garm b. 'Ātis*.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 75.

41

Length: from ל to ת, 32 cm.; from ב to ל, 17 cm.: highest letter (א) 12 cm.

לשעאל בן נעפת בן העסל

By *Shai'ēl b. Naghafat b. ha-'Assāl*.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 76.

My former reading נעשת<sup>2</sup> for נעפת is to be abandoned, as is shown clearly by this inscription; M. Dussaud<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>4</sup> came to the same conclusion. The meaning of נעפת is probably “worm,” nom. unit. of *naghaf*, “worm found in date-stones and in the nostrils of sheep.”

42

Length 24 cm., highest letter 10 cm.

לרהצאל

By *Rahaṣ'ēl (?)*.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 77.

43

On a stone north of Nos. 40-42. Length 22 cm., highest letter 8 cm.

לבנת בן אלהת

By *Bennat b. Ālihat*.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 78.

44

On a stone north of No. 43. Length 35 cm., highest letter 8½ cm.

להנא בן טננאל בן אהלם

By *Hāni' b. Ṭhann'ēl b. Ahlas (?)*.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 79.

It would be more natural to read the common name אהלם, *Ahlam*, instead of אהלם, which may be the relative of *al-Hulais* (I. Dor. 73).

45

D. M. 211. On a stone to the west of the one with Nos. 29-34. Length: from ל to ש, 23 cm.; from ש to ה, 25 cm.; from ר to ט, 11 cm.: highest letter 8 cm.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Entzifferung, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Mission, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Ephemeris, II, p. 46.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 80.

לאנעם בן קחש וענם סנת הרב נבט

*By An'am b. Kāhish; and he took spoil in the year of the Nabataean war.*

From this inscription the words סנת הרב נבט are quoted on p. iv of my "Entzifferung," and explained as a reference to the war between the Romans and the Nabataeans of the year 106 A.D. MM. Dussaud and Macler, in their publication of this inscription,<sup>1</sup> translated accordingly. I still believe that this is the most natural explanation, since the briefness of the phrase seems to indicate some very important event which was impressed upon the minds of all people in the neighborhood. Of course נבט might be the Arabic name Nubait, which occurs in I. Dor. 236; but in that case we should expect (1) אל נבט and (2) a mention of the tribe against whom the Nubait fought, as, e.g., in D. 32*b*. Another important war is mentioned in D. M. 554, viz., הרב המדי אל רם, "war between the Persians [lit., Medes] and the Romans [lit., people of *rūm*]."

46

D. M. 212. On the same stone, under No. 45. Length 35 cm., highest letter 16 cm.

לערפון בן מעיר

*By 'Irfā[n] b. Mughaiyir.*

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 81.

The last letter of the first name resembles a small ב, but it is probably a curved נ; for the following ב is much larger, and a reading ערפב yields no Arabic name. The curve in the נ is hardly a reminiscence of the old South-Arabian form, which appears still in the Thamudene: it is more likely that the uneven surface of the stone made such a curve necessary. The second name, מעיר, is certain; M. Dussaud's conjecture, מסר, based on his somewhat imperfect copy, is therefore untenable.

47

On the stone next to the preceding. Length 17 cm., highest letter 6 cm.

ללעהם בן טמתן

*By La'tham b. Tamathān.*

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 82.

This is the same person as the author of No. 59: in the latter his name is accompanied by the names of his four sons. Since the handwriting is the same in No. 47 as in Nos. 59 sqq., they all may have been written by the same scribe.

48–50 are on the same stone. This and the stones bearing Nos. 51 and 52 are in a low stone fence;<sup>2</sup> the inscriptions face the interior of the fenced space.

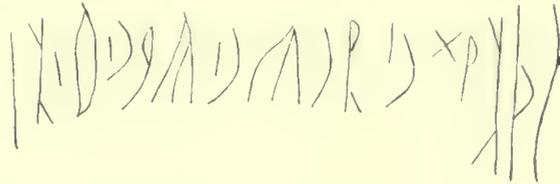
<sup>1</sup> Mission, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 104.

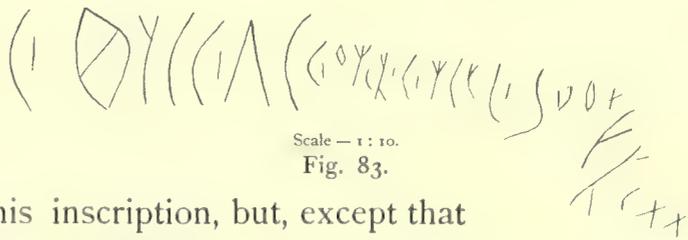
48

Length of first line 72 cm., of second line 77 cm. Height of the whole inscription 37 cm. Highest letter (ר in l. 1) 26 cm.; the letter ר̣ in l. 2 is 6½ cm. high.

לדאית בן צבחה בן חי בן גנאל  
 בן זהב בן סב בן עזראל בן רבה(?)  
 בן [ש]ענת בן ארתת



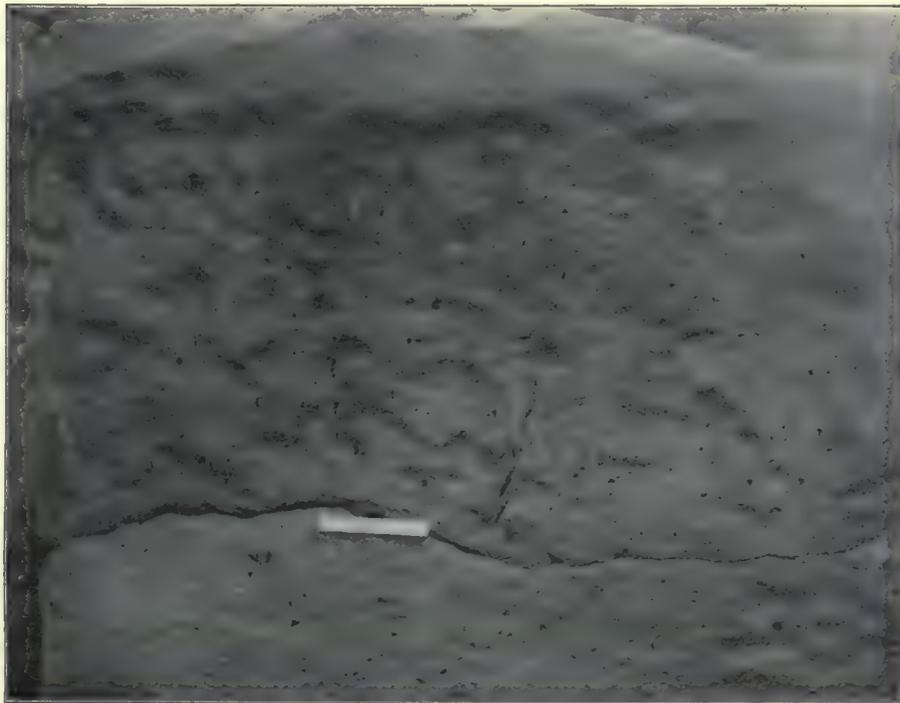
By Da'yat b. Šabāḥ b. Haiy b. Gann'el  
 b. Wahb b. Saib b. 'Adhar'el b. Dh-  
 B-H (?) b. Sha'ā'at b. Artat.



Scale — 1:10.  
 Fig. 83.

There are several unusual names in this inscription, but, except that which is written רבה or ררה, they are quite intelligible. Perhaps רבה

or ררה contains a verb with the suffix of the 3d pers. sing.; but the writer may have made a mistake here, and we may read רהב or רהל.



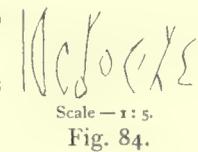
Stone bearing Safaitic inscriptions Nos. 48 and 49.

49

Length 10 cm., highest letter 6½ cm.

למרצע בן אף

By Murašši  
 b. Aufa.



Scale — 1:5.  
 Fig. 84.

The ר in מרצע is certain here, as in D. M. 151, which gives the name of

either the father or the son of the man in this inscription, and it may indicate that in D. M. 142 and 257 also we should read מרצע instead of מבצע; the vowels, however, are doubtful. The name אף is mentioned above, on p. 116.

50

Length 15 cm., height of ר 8 cm.

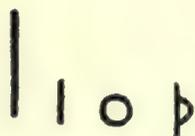


Fig. 85.

לנגד

By Nagd.

The feminine form of this name is given by Ibn Doreid, on p. 209, l. 12.

## 51

D. M. 217. The inscription is written on two sides of the same stone; the edge of the stone runs between the letters ל and צ. Length: from ל to ל, 72 cm.; of the last word, 17 cm. Highest letter 11½ cm.

אגהנואחאצףאזאגאנ

Scale — 1 : 20.  
Fig. 86.

לאם בן אסי ר אל צוהר

*By Aus b. Ausai of the tribe Sa[kh]r.*

The letters of this inscription are extraordinarily heavy, and some of them are less clear for this reason. The א in אל looks like a ה; and it seems therefore not impossible that a ה in צוהר should have the appearance of an א. I prefer צוהר, because this is the name of a well-known tribe nowadays in the region of the Jordan—perhaps the most powerful of the whole district.

## 52

D. M. 218. Length 48 cm. Highest letter 11 cm.

ה(ר)צו סעד בסא

*O Radu, help Bāsi!*

אזחאסאחא

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 87.

This graffito is of the same kind as No. 33. In the first word the letter ר is to be restored with certainty. The name בסא occurs in D. M. 40, 246, 367, 757.

## 53

On a stone directly to the west of the one bearing Nos. 26, 27. Length 58 cm. Highest letter 12 cm.

אזחאסאחא

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 88.

לִּטְנֵאל בֶּן בְּנֵי בֶן טְנֵאל בֶּן . .

*By Ṭhann'el b. Bunaiy b. Ṭhann'el b. . .*

In the first לִּטְנֵאל the letter ט is written like a ס; but in the third name this letter is given correctly. The inscription is incomplete.

## 54

לפאה

*By Fā'it.*

אזחאסאחא

Fig. 89.

The name might also be vocalized *Fai'at*, *Fī'at*, or *Fī'at*.

## 55-56

D. M. 207. Two inscriptions written by the same hand. In No. 55 the first word (לחרצי) is 14 cm. long; the rest measures 28 cm. in length. In No. 56 the first four words are 43 cm., the last is 14 cm. long. Highest letter 8 cm.

55

לתרצי בן סוד בן עיר *By Tarḏay b. Sawād b. Ghaiyar.*

56

לאחת בן אסור בן ענ-המר *By Ahhat b. Aswar b. 'Ain ha-Murr.*

M. Dussaud completes the name עיר to עיר-אל: this is unnecessary, and not warranted by the inscription itself.

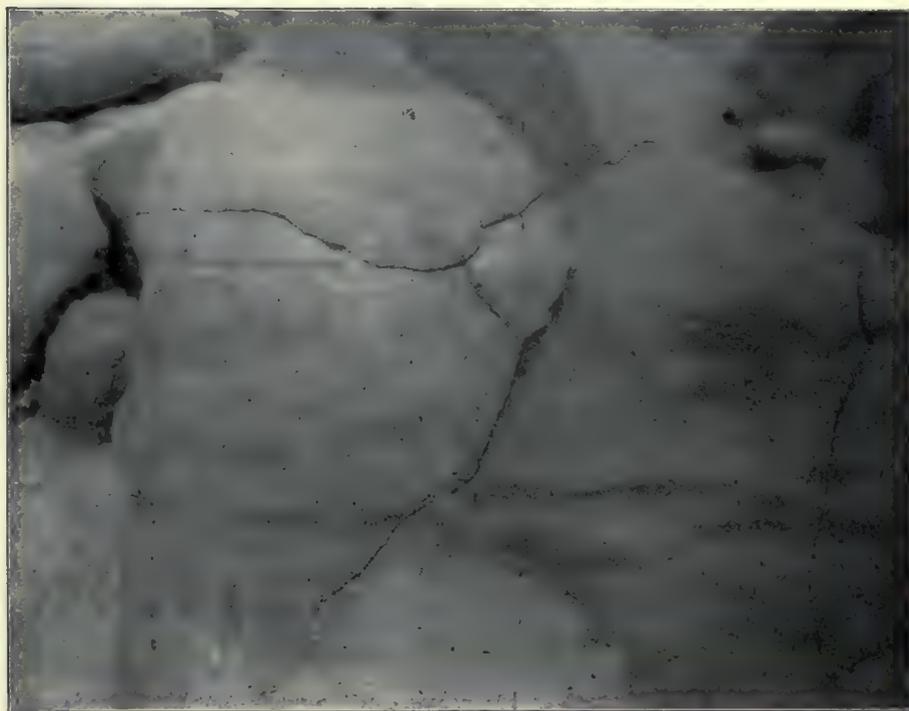
The name עיר, which occurs in other inscriptions also, is of course an abbreviation of עיר-אל: one might be in doubt as to its vowels; perhaps *Ghaiyūr* would be a better reading. The first name in 56 I believe to be אחת, of which *Uhaihat* (I. Dor. 262) is the diminutive. M. Dussaud reads הַבַּת.

55  
56

Scale - 1:10.  
Fig. 90.

57

On a stone north of the one bearing Nos. 26, 27. Length of upper line 98 cm., of lower line 28 cm. Highest letter 35½ cm.



Stone bearing Safaitic inscription 57 at il-Ḥifneh.

57

Scale - 1:20.  
Fig. 91.

להמסך בן נצר-אל בן אכום  
בן אלהת בן סנאם

*By ha-Māsik b. Naṣar'el  
b. Akzam b. Ālihat b.  
Sin-'ās (?).*

The person mentioned here is the son of the one in D. M. 281, and perhaps the nephew of Garam'el b. Akzam in D. M. 260. The vocalization of סנאם is doubtful: I read tentatively *Sin-'ās*, "Sin has rewarded, or presented."

58-67

D. M. 245-252. Nos. 58, 66, and 67 were not copied by M. Dussaud. Measurements were not taken from the stone, but the photograph is nearly 1:10, and the drawing has been carefully made to the scale of 1:10, which was reached by comparison with the measure of 10 cm. to be seen in the photograph. This

stone, with its many inscriptions running in all directions and written, with one exception, by the same hand, is very typical.



Stone bearing Safaitic inscriptions 58-67 at il-Hifneh.

58

לעבר בן לעתם בן שמתן  
 By 'Abd b. La'tham b.  
 Tamathān.

This person seems to be the same as the one for whom No. 61 was written.

59

D. M. 251.  
 1 ללעתם בן שמתן בן המלך  
 בן כתר בן המלך בן  
 2 שמתן בן עוצת ונפר מן  
 רם  
 3 פהלת סלם מד הרץ מן הל

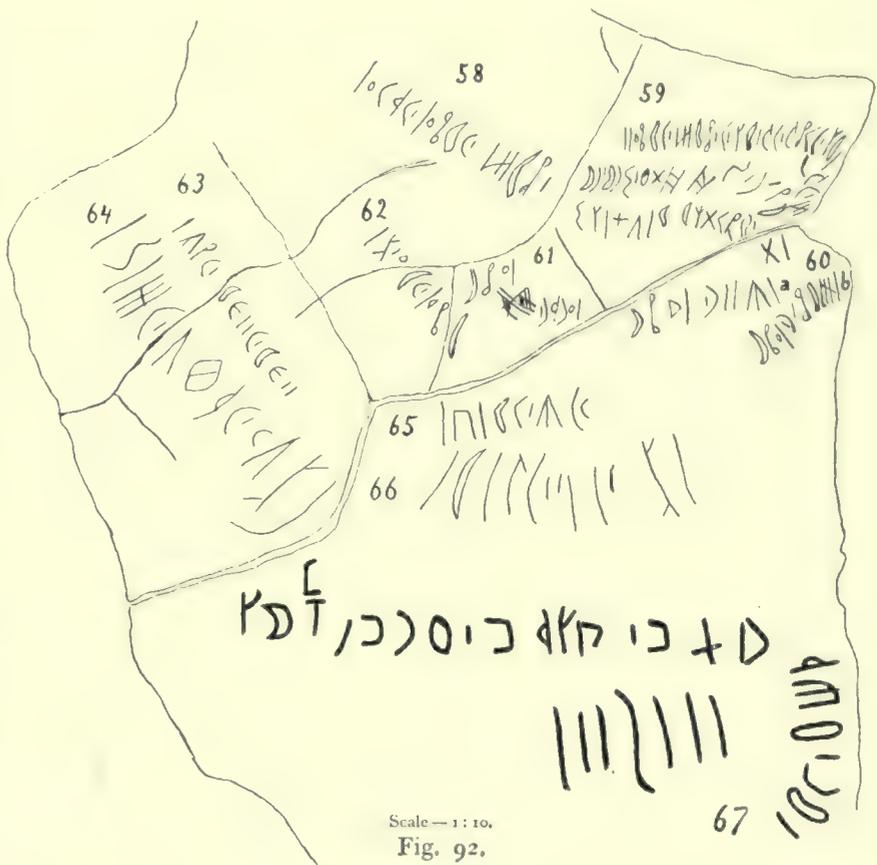
- 1 By La'tham b. Tamathān b. ha-Mālik b. Kathīr (?) b. ha-Mālik b.
- 2 Tamathān b. Ghadādat. And he fled from the country of the Romans;
- 3 and, O Allāt, he was saved from the horsemen who pierce [with their lances].

The names of this inscription are all quite certain. The fourth name is probably כתר, not כתר; for it seems that by some accident the ר was repeated below the line.

In l. 2 the ה is not complete on the stone, but written like a י; since, however, the name שמתן is used in this family, I do not hesitate to correct the י into a ה.

The meaning of נפר מן רם has been established correctly by M. Dussaud.<sup>1</sup> In the last line, however, we meet with several difficulties.

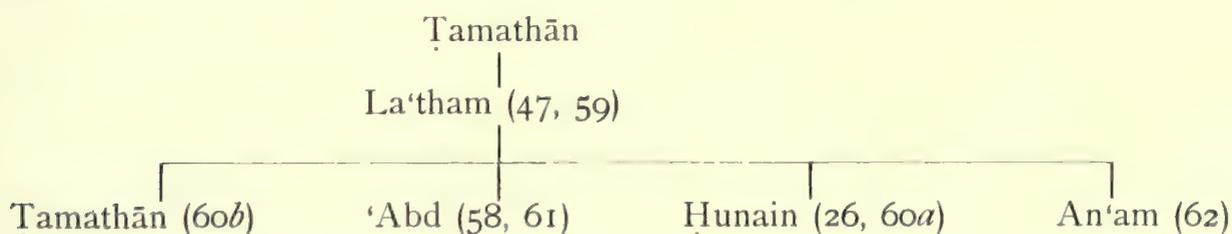
<sup>1</sup> Mission, p. 122.



First, the phrase פהלת סלם can scarcely have here its usual meaning on account of the context. The word סלם is therefore better to be taken here as a verb, *salima*. The last words I read *midhdhī kharaṣa min khail<sup>m</sup>*, which would mean literally "from him who among the horsemen pierced." For this expression No. 134, where we see a "piercing horseman," may serve as an illustration. This interpretation is, to my mind, the most natural one, and agrees best with the context. And from a grammatical point of view it seems to me less objectionable than M. Dussaud's reading,<sup>1</sup> *fa-llât sallama min dhī kharṣ min nakhl*, "ha-Lât l'a préservé du porteur de *kharṣ* fait du palmier." La'tham was apparently pursued by a troop of lancers after he had deserted from the Romans.

		60a	
D. M. 252.	לחנן בן לעהם		<i>By Hunain b. La'tham.</i>
		60b	
D. M. 250.	לשמחן בן לעהם		<i>By Tamathān b. La'tham.</i>
		61	
D. M. 248.	לעבר בן לעהם		<i>By 'Abd b. La'tham.</i>
		62	
D. M. 247.	לאנעם בן לעהם		<i>By An'am b. La'tham.</i>

Following would be the genealogical tree of this family :



The rest of the inscriptions on the same stone refer to persons of other families ; but it is not unlikely that the men mentioned in Nos. 63–66 were with La'tham and his family when all these names were written. No. 67 was added by another hand.

		63	
D. M. 245.	לחי בן מחנן בן מחנן		<i>By Haiy b. Muḥannan b. Muḥannan.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Mission, p. 93.



for it scarcely can be anything else than a feminine form of *ad'ag*, "wide and black-eyed."

69

D. M. 242.

לאנעם בן סעד בן אדעגת והלה סלם ורצ'י עור  
ד' יעור הספר

*By An'am b. Sa'd b. Ad'agat; in the name of Allāh, greeting! And, O Raḏu, make blind him who effaces this inscription!*

It is very tempting to consider רצ'י here as a common noun, "favor," as Dr. Lidzbarski does.<sup>1</sup> But, in view of No. 110, it is scarcely possible; for there we read after the verb פננע, "and he sought for (found?) pasturage," the words והרצ'י עור ד' יעור. It seems therefore to be a fact which must be accepted that the termination of this name in Safaïtic is either ן or י.<sup>2</sup> The word ספר undoubtedly means "inscription" in a number of cases: I believe with Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>3</sup> that it is the Arabic *safy*, "mark."

70

D. M. 243.

לסכרן בן סעד בן אדעגת

*By Sakrān b. Sa'd b. Ad'agat.*

71

D. M. 244.

למחלם בן סעד בן אדעגת בן אבין בן צרם בן  
עמבר(?) בן חרמת בן צ'הד בן ער בן זמהר

*By Muḥallim b. Sa'd b. Ad'agat b. Ubaiyān b. Ṣarīm b. 'Ambar (?) b. Ḥadamat b. Dāhid b. 'Urr b. Zamhar.*

The name אבין is probably a double hypocoristic: the diminutive termination *-ān* was added to the name Ubaiy, which occurs, e.g., in I. Dor. 80. An exact transliteration of this is Ὀβαιανος (Wad., 2616). The reading עמבר is not quite certain: it seems to be a phonetic spelling for 'Anbar (I. Dor. 124). The following word is חרמת, not, as M. Dussaud reads, ורמת: it occurs in the same form in Thamudene inscriptions. The name ער is probably the prototype of the modern 'Irr: this is a famous name in the Syrian desert, having been borne by a renowned chief of the 'Umûr tribe. One of his descendants is the present chief of the 'Umûr in the Ruḥbeh, Shelâsh il-'Irr, in whose tent I stayed; another is Fendī il-'Irr, who accompanied me to the Ruḥbeh. Other names derived from the same root are 'Irār and Ma'rūr, given by Ibn Doreid on pp. 254 and 273.

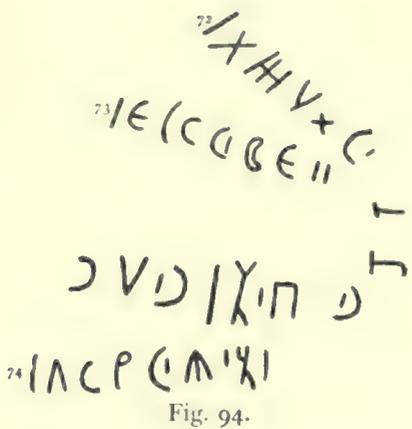
72-74

On a stone to the east of the preceding.

<sup>1</sup> Ephemeris, II, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> For other variations see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Ephemeris, II, p. 45.


  
 Fig. 94.

72  
 לחטסת בן זכר בן טנאל בן סר  
*By Khaṭasat b. Zakkūr b. Ṭhann'ēl b. Sūr.*

The 7 in זכר is traceable in an otherwise unsuccessful photograph of this inscription.

73  
 להרב בן מחנן  
*By Ḥarb b. Muḥannan.*

74  
 לסרי בן הנאל  
*By Sarīy b. Ḥann'ēl.*

The Safaitic סרי is probably not to be connected with the Palmyrene שרי or שרי, which occurs, e.g., in the Palmyrene inscr. 7. For the latter is an abbreviation of שריכו, which in Safaitic is spelled שרך. It corresponds, therefore, rather to as-Sarīy (I. Dor. 43).

On a stone near by.

75-77  
 75  
 לכני בן גאנת בן סכרון  
*By Bunaiy b. Gā'inat b. Sakrān.*

76  
 לכעעת) בן ור בן טנן בן שרה  
*By Ka'ā'at(?) b. Wadd b. Ṭhann b. Shuraih.*

77  
 לעלי בן סור בן (טן)  
*By 'Alī b. Sawār b. Ṭhann.*

78  
 להרב בן (באסה)  
*By Ḥarb b. Bi'ausih.*

The form of the ב is an interesting feature of this inscription, for it corresponds more closely to the South-Arabian ב.<sup>1</sup>

79  
 לנהר בן זכר בן טנאל בן סר ווגם על מלתם  
*By Nahār b. Zakkūr b. Ṭhann'ēl b. Sūr; and he made a mark for Mulātam.*

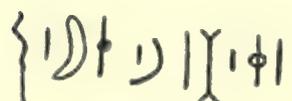
The drawing is an exact reproduction of my copy, and it is probable that the letters מל, which appear here above the line, with a caret between ל

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 106.



silver minæ, equivalent at their lowest rate to about one hundred and twenty-five dollars, would for those times be a high price for a horse.<sup>1</sup>

83



Length 39 cm. Height of  $\aleph$  11 cm.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 100.

לקנ-אל בן קמ(י)ש By *Ḳana'ēl b. Ḳumaiyish* (?).

If my reading of the second name be correct—which is, however, somewhat doubtful—it would probably be a diminutive of *Ḳumāsh*.

84

Length of left part 24 cm., of right part 20 cm. Highest letter 7½ cm.

לעוד בן לבאת בן צבע-סמן By *'Awīdh b. Labū'at b. Dab'-Samīn*.

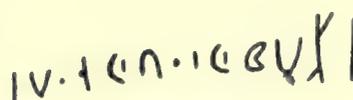


Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 101.

Instead of Labū'at we might vocalize as well Lab'at or Labā'at: the corresponding masculine form al-Labū' occurs in I. Dor. 196. The composite name *צבע-סמן* is mentioned above, p. 126.

85

Length 47 cm. Highest letter 11 cm.



לסעד בן טען בן מסאל By *Sa'd b. Tha'un b. Mas'ul*.

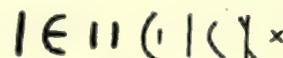
Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 102.

The name *מסאל* is read *Mass'el* by M. Dussaud. I prefer to derive it from the root *סאל*, and to explain it in the same way as the Hebrew *שאול* and the Palmyrene *שאילא*.

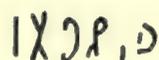
86

Length 18 cm. The first four letters are scratched in heavy lines; the others are a little finer.

להנן בן לבאת By *Hunain b. Labū'at*.



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 103.



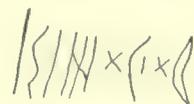
87



Length of first part 16 cm., of second part 19 cm. Highest letter 7½ cm.

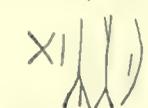
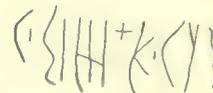
Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 104.

להמסך בן נצר-אל By *ha-Māsik b. Naṣar'ēl*.



88

This inscription runs over three faces of the same stone. The first part is 44 cm. long, with a maximum height of 20 cm.: the second is 46 cm. long, with a maximum height of 22 cm.: the last part is 29 cm. long, and its highest letter (*ד*) measures 25 cm.



Scale—1:20.  
Fig. 105.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the present prices for horses, in Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Vol. II, pp. 114-115.

לפלטת בן תם *By Fālītat b. Taim*  
 בן פלטת בן בהש *b. Fālītat b. Buhaish*  
 בן אדנת *b. Udhainat.*



89

Length of perpendicular part 22 cm., of horizontal part 13 cm. Highest letter 11½ cm.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 106.

לאפלט בן כעמה בן ער *By Aflat b. Ka'ammih b. 'Idd.*

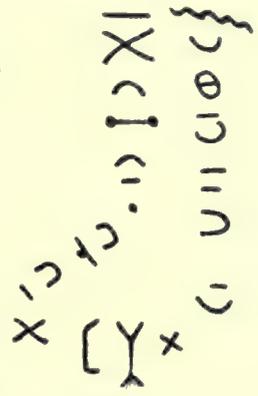
90

Length (beginning with ה) 24 + 19 + 13 + 38 cm. Highest letter 8 cm.

להבת בן עבד בן חראת בן טנן בן ורש

*By Khabīth b. 'Abd b. Kharā'at b. Ṭhann b. Warsh.*

The third name has an unsavory meaning. But names like this do occur, as we see from the modern *Khara baḥar* and the Somali names mentioned above on p. 124. But perhaps we should read הַרצָה, which would be the feminine form of *Khārūṣ* (I. Dor. 298).



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 107.

91-92

On one stone, written by the same hand. The upper inscription is 27 cm. long, the lower one 36 cm. The highest letter measures 9 cm.

91 91

92 92

להמסך בן נצר-אל *By ha-Māsik b. Naṣar'el.*

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 108.

92

לכסט בן אברקן *By Kāsīt b. Ebrikān.*

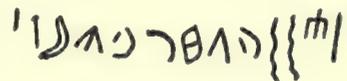
Both names of No. 92 occur in Greek transliteration: *Xάστος* (Wad., 2298), and *Ἐβρικανού* (Wad., 2213, 2302).

93-94

On the same stone. No. 93 runs in a horizontal line: it is 46 cm. long, and its highest letter measures 8 cm. The corresponding measurements of No. 94, which is written in a perpendicular line, are 14 and 5 cm.

93

לחשש בן סור בן חמזן *By Hashāsh b. Sawār b. Hamzān.*



In חשש we may recognize the Greek *Ἀσάσσω* (Wad., 2578).

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 109.

אֵלִי אֵלִי אֵלִי

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 110.

94

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

By *Khail b. Āmir*.

## IL-MRÔSHAN

After having left il-Hifneh at six o'clock in the morning, I arrived, riding in north-easterly direction, at ten o'clock at il-Mrôshan, on the Wādī il-Gharz. This is a small hill, the top of which is cleaned from stones and inclosed by a roughly built stone fence; it probably served as a place for encampments, or perhaps as a lookout. I noted that there were quite a number of inscriptions about this place; but not being able to stay there longer than half an hour, I copied only the following, some of which were also copied by M. Dussaud, probably on his way back from in-Nemârah to the Haurân. From il-Mrôshan to in-Nemârah I rode due east: we must therefore conclude that the Wādī il-Gharz, on which il-Mrôshan is situated, extends much farther south than usually indicated on the maps. I was unable to make any detailed observations concerning its course.

95

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

Length 60 cm. Highest letter 11 cm.

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

By *Ālih b. Bū'akhîh b. Khubaib*.

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 111.

אֵלִי אֵלִי אֵלִי

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 112.

96

D. M. 530. Length 16½ cm. Highest letter 10 cm.

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

By *Aus b. Sa'd*.

97

D. M. 529. Length 20 + 9 cm. Highest letter 6½ cm.

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

By *'Ablay (?) b. ha-Naggāsh*.

אֵלִי אֵלִי אֵלִי

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 113.

The first name is not absolutely certain; M. Dussaud reads עֵבִין, "Ibyân." The second name is very interesting; its meaning is discussed by Ibn Doreid on p. 223.

אֵלִי אֵלִי אֵלִי

Scale — 1 : 5.  
Fig. 114.

98

Length 16 cm. Highest letter 7 cm.

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

By *Zakkūr b. Ṭhann'el*.

99

Length 24 + 14 cm. Height of last letter 14 cm.

לְהֵל בֶּן אֲמִיר

By *Wāsīt b. Bū'akhîh b. Hāgik*.

אֵלִי אֵלִי אֵלִי

Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 115.

Instead of (ה) in the second name, the stone has an **⌘**, which is

probably due to a mistake of the writer, or to a slip of the dagger with which he wrote. The third name seems to be the Semitic prototype of Ἀγνίσου (Wad., 2213). Its formation, however, is very unusual.

100

D. M. 477. Length 42 + 42 cm. Highest letter 9 cm.

י  
א  
ב  
ג  
ד  
ה  
ו  
ז  
ח  
ט  
י  
כ  
ל  
מ  
נ  
ס  
ע  
פ  
צ  
ק  
ר  
ש  
ת

לעבסן בן סאלת בן טען בן מסאל *By 'Abbāsān(?) b. Su'lat b. Tha'un b. Mas'ul.*

The vowels of the first name are doubtful. The second and the fourth names are evidently derived from the same root. It is possible that סאלת should be vocalized in a different way; but, at all events, it seems to me that M. Dussaud's readings, Sa'd and Mass'el, should be changed.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 116.

101

D. M. 478. Length 24 + 28 cm. Highest letter 12 cm.

לסער בן בנ-אהר בן כרדה *By Sa'd b. Bin-'Ahid b. Kadādh.*

M. Dussaud thinks it is possible that בנ in the second name is merely a dittography; but it seems to me more natural that it is an integral part of the compound בנ-אהר, "only son." The א in אהר indicates again a difference in the Safaitic dialect from the classical Arabic, where the same word begins with a *w* (*wahid*).

י  
א  
ב  
ג  
ד  
ה  
ו  
ז  
ח  
ט  
י  
כ  
ל  
מ  
נ  
ס  
ע  
פ  
צ  
ק  
ר  
ש  
ת

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 117.

102

י  
א  
ב  
ג  
ד  
ה  
ו  
ז  
ח  
ט  
י  
כ  
ל  
מ  
נ  
ס  
ע  
פ  
צ  
ק  
ר  
ש  
ת

Length 37 cm. Highest letter 16 cm.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 118.

להדל בן נמי בן א(ע)ל *By Hudhail b. Numaiy(?) b. A'la(?)*

Numaiy occurs in the later Arabic literature as the name of a seventeenth-century poet at Mekka.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps נמי is the same form; but, on the other hand, it may be a hypocoristic, ending in י, derived from נמר or a similar name. A'la is probably to be read in the Thamudene inscription Eu. 89.

103

Length 17 cm. Highest letter 7 cm.

להבב בן לעלין *By Habib b. L'LYN.*

י  
א  
ב  
ג  
ד  
ה  
ו  
ז  
ח  
ט  
י  
כ  
ל  
מ  
נ  
ס  
ע  
פ  
צ  
ק  
ר  
ש  
ת

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 119.

It is very tempting to explain the second name as *li-'elyōn*, "[belonging] to the Most High," a name parallel to the well-known formations לשמש, Λεασταρος, and למואל; but this is very doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. II, p. 378.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 120.

104  
Length: of lower line, 20 cm.; of upper line, 15 cm. Highest letter 12 cm.

לְעֹר־אֵל בֶּן מִטְעַן

By 'Adhar'ēl b. Mutī'ān.

The vowels of the second name, which occurs here for the first time, are not certain. I take it to be derived from the name *Mutī'*, mentioned by Ibn Doreid on p. 87; but it might as well be read *Mat'ūn*, "pierced."

Length 11 cm. Highest letter 4 cm.

לְצַנ־אֵל בֶּן יַעֲלִי

By *Dann'ēl* (?) b. *Ya'lī*.

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 121.

Both names are interesting. The first is either *צַנ־אֵל* or *זַנ־אֵל*. If we read *Dann'ēl*, we may explain the name in two different ways: (1) provided a *צ* is really meant here, the root *צַנ* would be the same as in the names *Dinnat* (I. Dor. 179, 320) and *אֵל-יִצְנָן* (D. M. 882), perhaps *'Ēlyudannin*; (2) the *צ* might be misspelled for a *ז*, as we know that *ṭhā* and *dād* interchange very frequently in Arabic manuscripts, owing to dialectic peculiarities, and we might then read the well-known *Ṭhann'ēl*. If, on the other hand, *ז* is *ו*, the first part of the name would probably be a derivative of *zāna*, "to adorn."

The second name is to be vocalized *Ya'lī* or *Ya'lay*, not *Ya'lā*, as the alif maḳṣūrah is not expressed in Safaitic writing. In the same spelling, *יעֲלִי*, this name occurs frequently in Sinaitic.<sup>1</sup>

106

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 122.

D. M. 531. Length 44 cm. Highest letter 6 cm.

לִיחֵל בֶּן אֲסֹדָא בֶּן סַקֵּם

By *Yahull* (?) b. *Asdā* b. *Sakm*.

The first name is most naturally to be derived from the root *halla*, to which also the name *Hulail* (I. Dor. 25, 276) belongs; it is uncertain, however, whether we should vocalize *Yahull* or *Yahill* or *Yuhill*. M. Dussaud questions whether the second name, *אֲסֹדָא*, is correct, and compares it with *אֲסֹדָא*; but the former is clearly written on the stone.

107

D. M. 532. Length: of upper line, 24 cm.; of lower line, 17 cm. Highest letter 9½ cm.

לְאֵד בֶּן חַמֵּל בֶּן עֹת־אֵל

By *Add* b. *Hāmīl* b. *Ghuwaith'ēl*.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 123.

M. Dussaud reads *חַמִּי* instead of *חַמֵּל*. The third name is apparently a diminutive of *עֹת־אֵל*, corresponding to the Greek *῾Οαιθελων* (Wad., 2286).

<sup>1</sup> See Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften*, No. 144, and many other passages.

108

Length 39 cm. Highest letter 16 cm.

לחבת בן מרשעף בן וען *By Khabīth b. Madd-Sha'af(?) b. [']In.*

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 124.

The second and the third names are uncertain. It seems that מרשעף is a composite name, but its meaning can only be guessed.

109

D. M. 527. Length 20 cm. Highest letter 2 cm.

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 125.

לגרמאל בן עורת וצרט

*By Garam'el b. 'Uwairat; et pepedit(?)*

M. Dussaud reads עמרת instead of עורת; for 'Uwairat see 'Uwair (I. Dor. 158) and עור (D. M. 653, 670). The expression וצרט has been discussed by M. Dussaud in connection with the inscription D. M. 163. It is indeed scarcely possible to assign another meaning to this word than the one which it has in classical Arabic. I do not think it very likely that Garam'el wrote this about himself, although, of course, obscene graffiti in which persons speak of themselves are to be found in other countries also; but I rather believe that the scribe who wrote for Garam'el added this peculiar remark as a sort of low jest. The name *Muḍarriṭ al-ḥidjārah* seems to be based on a joke similar to this.

110

D. M. 528. Length: of lower horizontal line, 40 cm.; of perpendicular line, 18 cm.; of upper horizontal line, 10 cm. Highest letter 9½ cm.

לכמד בן בגל בון ברוד ווגד אחר בגל פנגע והרצי עור ד יעור

*By Kāmid b. Bagīl b. Bur[d]; and he found the mark (i.e., inscription) of Bagīl, and he sought for (found?) pasturage. And, O Raḍu, make blind him who effaces [this inscription].*

M. Dussaud's copy differs to some extent from the one published here, especially with regard to the second and third names. The } in the second בן and the ד of ברד, Βαρεδ, have been supplied from M. Dussaud's copy; for the rest I have followed my own. The most interesting part of this inscription are the words ווגד אחר בגל פנגע, which M. Dussaud reads

ווגד אחר אכה פרנע. Both copies have a line between the א and the ת of אחר; but it cannot be a letter, since the reading אחר is confirmed by several parallels where the word is clearly written. It is certain

Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 126.

that we must read פנגע instead of פרגע; for in none of the cases where, according to the Index, the verb רגע occurs in D. M.,<sup>1</sup> nor in my copy of the present inscription, is it written with a ר, but always with a נ, or possibly a ל. And even the word ספר, which M. Dussaud reads in two cases after רגע, and which would strongly support his theory, cannot be maintained, because in both cases the copy bears the distinct letters ככר. The following are the passages in which the formula under discussion occurs:

D. M. 161:	ווגד אתר חני פנגע	D. M. 528:	ווגד אתר בגל פנגע
D. M. 239:	ווגד אתר דדה פנגע ככר	D. M. 856:	ווגד ספר נני פנגע ככר

The meaning of the word אתר (*athar*) cannot be doubtful: it is a synonym of ספר (*safr*), which, as we have seen, stands sometimes for הַטט and consequently means "inscription." But an even more evident proof is the following. If the authors say that they found the inscriptions of other persons, it is only fair to expect that we also should find them. I looked for them among the inscriptions which are near those in which the other persons are mentioned, and found them, at least in two cases, at once. In D. M. 161 *An'am b. Unaif b. Garam'el* says he found the אתר of *Hannay*: this is the inscription D. M. 157, written by (or for) *Hannay b. Unaif b. Garam'el*. Both inscriptions must be very near together, and furthermore *Hannay* is evidently the brother of *An'am*. Again, in D. M. 239 *Sannay b. Sannay b. Muḥannan* reports that he found the inscription of his *dād*; and the preceding inscription, D. M. 238, is that of *Habīb b. Muḥannan b. Muḥannan*: I think the conclusion to be drawn is inevitable, viz., that *Sannay* refers to the inscription of *Habīb*, and that the latter was the *dād* of the former. This is very important, because at the same time it determines the meaning of *dād* as "uncle from the father's side." The meaning of נגע, however, is not so certain. After "he found the inscription of . . ." we should most naturally expect "and he added his own," but נגע cannot mean this. The usual meaning of this word is "to seek for pasturage" or "to feed the camels water and flour." Either one of them would, of course, be appropriate enough for these Bedawin inscriptions, and ככר would then perhaps be an adverb "much." But it remains strange that looking for pasturage or feeding the camels should be usually mentioned together with the finding of the inscription of a relative.

#### IL-‘ĪSĀWĪ

My friend Ḥasan Abū Sallām, the Druse chief of Tarbā, who accompanied me to the Ruḥbeh, told me, after we left in-Nemārah, that he remembered to have seen many of these inscriptions in which I was interested near il-‘Īsāwī. The latter is a well, one hour north of in-Nemārah. The well is situated a few paces to the east from the road which leads from in-Nemārah to the Ruḥbeh, and directly north of

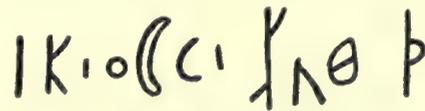
<sup>1</sup> D. M. 872 is to be excluded here, since the word read רגע is in the copy בכי.

this well there is a hill, on which many stones covered with inscriptions are to be found. Again, lack of time prevented me from copying as many as I desired.

111

This inscription is written in heavy letters on the south side of the hill, and can be read for some distance. Length 53 cm. Highest letter 16 cm.

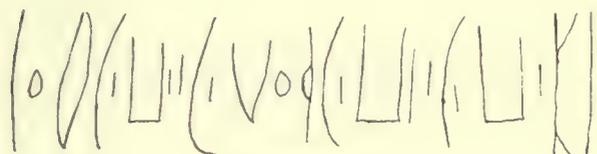
לאנעם בן אסוד *By An'am b. Aswad.*



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 127.

112

A little north of No. 111, on the hill, running over two stones. It was while copying this inscription that I first noticed the pronounced difference between the letters V (ס) and U (ט). The first stone ends after the second בן; this part is 25 cm. long, while the rest has a length of 50 cm. The highest letter measures 20 cm.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 128.

לעג בן טנן בן סעד בן טנן בן טנ-אל  
*By 'Aug b. Thann b. Sa'd b. Thann b. Thann'el.*

113

Length 33 cm. Highest letter 3 cm.

לצלע-טלם בן גחפל בן טנן וד אל חתל(?) הספר נקאת באחה

*By Dāli'-Thulm b. Gahfal b. Thann [of the tribe] Khātīl (?) [is] this inscription . . . for his brother (or Bū'akhīh).*



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 129.

This inscription is not very distinctly written, nor is its translation absolutely certain. The first name is a compound; both roots צלע and טלם seem to have here approximately the same meaning. The words וד אל are merely guessed; they may be something quite different. Again the word נקאת is doubtful: the נ might be a part of the preceding word, and the word itself might be קאת, as in No. 125.

114

לסוד בן מחלם בן רב-אל בן אנעם וחל

*By Sawād b. Muḥallim b. Rabb'el b. An'am; and he encamped here (?).*

The last word can scarcely be read otherwise. It seems, however, as though a ס was intended between the ו and the ח. If וסחל is the true reading, its meaning is very obscure; but I prefer to assume that the א was written accidentally.

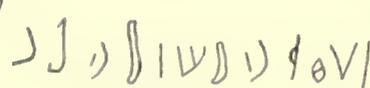
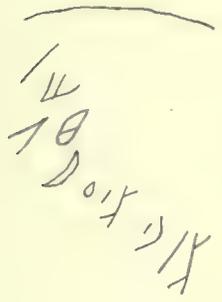


Fig. 130.

115

Fig. 131.

לוחר בן טנן בן מר בן אפיהגדלן

*By Wākhar b. Ṭhann b. Murr b. Affaiha-Gudhlân.*

*Wākhar* seems to be a parallel form of 'ākhar, as, for instance, *wākal* in modern Arabic dialects stands for 'ākal. The last name is probably to be translated "the smiling face."<sup>1</sup>

116

Length 25 cm. Highest letter 5 cm.

לעיד בן חוף

*By 'Iyādh b. Khāzif.*

116 פואכ צאיו

117 פאח צאיו

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 132.

117

Length 19 (?) cm. Highest letter 4½ cm.

לאל-עלף בן זאכח

*By Ēl'alaf b. Zā'ikat.*

The names with אל in the first place are not common in Safaitic. In the second name we have an Arabic root with a meaning very similar to that of חוף, viz., "to walk haughtily."

118

Length 17 cm. Highest letter 7 cm.

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 133.

לקמי בן לדן

*By Kammay b. Laudhān.*

The first name is new. I take it to be a hypocoristic of קמר or a similar name.

119-121

Three inscriptions on the same stone, written by the same hand. Length 25 cm., height 16 cm. Height of letters 3-6 cm.

119 לשנן בן גחפל בן טנן

119

119 ויטוי ויס יי

120 לחרדן בן עבד בן סועד בן חרדן

120

120 וישב וישב וישב

בן עבד בן מל הו חר(ץ) הו חרף פנגרם

121

121 וישב וישב וישב

לעבד בן סעד בן חרדון

119 *By Ṭhann b. Gahfal b. Ṭhann.*

121 וישב וישב וישב

120 *By Ḥaddūdān b. 'Abd b. Sa[']d b. Ḥad-*

Fig. 134.

*dūdān b. 'Abd b. Mall; he pierced with his lance (?), he struck with his sword (?), and he became famous.*

121 *By 'Abd b. Sa'd b. Ḥaddūdān.*

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 125.

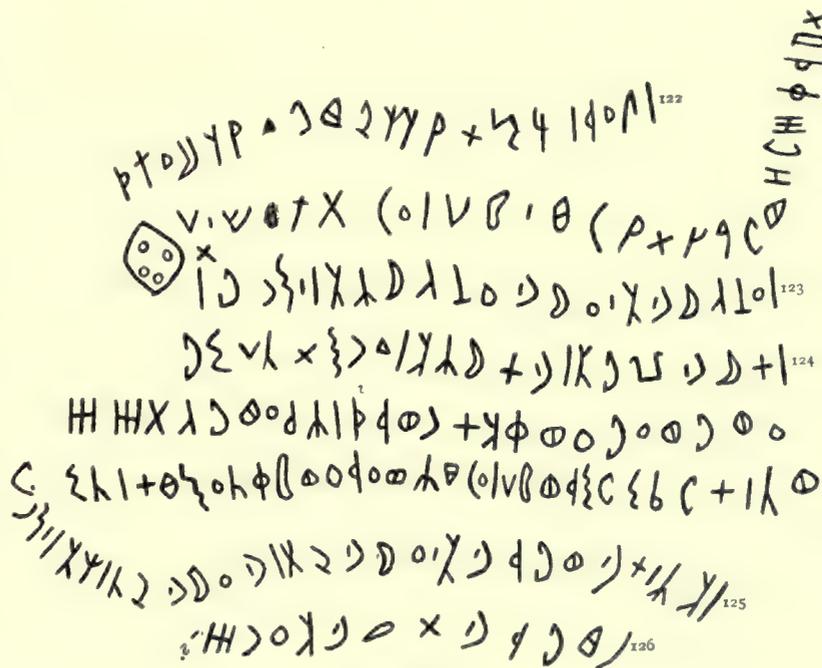
The translation of the second line of No. 120 is somewhat doubtful. First of all, the division of the words is not absolutely certain; for in both cases, where I read  $\eta\omega$ , *huwa*, the  $\eta$  might belong to the preceding and the  $\omega$  to the following word. It seems certain, however, that between the two  $\mathfrak{P}$  there is to be a division. The meaning of  $\eta\omega$  is discussed under No. 134. The second verb is  $\eta\omega\eta$ ; this is no Arabic word, as far as I know, except if we consider it a variant form for  $\eta\omega\eta$ . In that case the meaning "he struck with the sword" would be very suitable here in connection with  $\eta\omega$ . But the absolute use of both verbs is unusual. The last verb,  $\eta\omega\eta$ , is perhaps to be vocalized \**ingarasa*, i.e., the VIII stem of *garasa*. My translation is based on the modern meaning of this root, "to make infamous."<sup>1</sup> Among primitive people "famous" and "infamous" (*berühmt* and *berüchtigt*) are often almost synonymous: a man may be infamous and hated for his cruelty, but he is known by all the people. This is, for instance, often expressed in ancient Arabic and in modern Tigrē poetry. If my translation of this inscription be correct, we would have here an interesting epigraphical witness of the Arabic *mufākharah*.

Attention may be called to the first  $\eta\omega$  in l. 2 of No. 120: it appears in my copy as  $\eta\omega$ , and reminds us of the Nabatæan abbreviation for  $\eta\omega$ , as it occurs, e.g., on the altar of Suwêdā;<sup>2</sup> but it is doubtful whether this form here is really intended as an abbreviation. Furthermore, the bisymmetrical arrangement of the two  $\mathfrak{P}$  may be noted.

## 122-126

There are five different inscriptions written on this stone, apparently by the same hand. Of the five different authors two (those of Nos. 123 and 125) belong to the same family. The inscribed part is, roughly measured, 44 cm. wide and 40 cm. high.

It might seem doubtful whether the second line from the top belongs to No. 122 or to No. 123. But since in No. 125 the second line is above the first and the third above the second, it is evident that the writer of these inscriptions began at the bottom of the stone. Also in No. 123, therefore, the second line must be over the first. This is the more probable, as the begin-



Scale - 1:5.  
Fig. 135.

<sup>1</sup> See Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons*, p. 55; my *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*, B III, line 36.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Nab. inscr. 3.

ning of the second line from the top of the stone comes closer to the end of No. 123 than to that of No. 122, and since the former is connected with it, as it were, by the ה between the lines.

122

לסעדל הפתי הזכר ורעי המעווי

*By Sa'dēl ha-Fatīy [is] this inscription (?), and he pastured the goats.*

In סעדל the א is omitted, as in והבל and a number of other examples, which are collected by Lidzbarski in "Ephemeris," II, p. 38, ann. 4.<sup>1</sup> The second name seems to be a surname, but perhaps we should translate it as a common noun, "the youth." The reading of the third word is not certain. I am inclined to think that כ and ר are here united in a monogram; such monograms occur not infrequently in the Thamudene inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> but they are very rare in the Safaitic. The word *dhikr* is used sometimes in Arabic graffiti also, as we see, for instance, from the Arabic inscription 38, l. 5. Both ו and י in המעווי have at the top a short protuberance which does not belong to the character, and which perhaps is shown a little too plainly in my copy.

123

לעוהם בן אנעם בן עוהם ז אל נעבר לתסנה  
 [עזות בעל-סמן ובית הודר וצרט קדמת

*By 'Azzahum b. An'am b. 'Azzahum of the tribe of Naghbar; may good luck be given (?) by the power of Ba'al Samin! And he stayed overnight (or pitched a tent) in this place; et pepedit primus.*

M. Dussaud reads the name עוהם<sup>3</sup> 'Izhām; but, as said above, p. 128, I take the הם in such names to be the suffix of the 3d pers. plur. The words [עזות לתסנה] are somewhat doubtful as to their reading as well as to their interpretation. By an unfortunate accident, the letter between the ה and the ו, and again the letter ק in בורק (No. 125, l. 3), were almost entirely blurred out in my copy. My translation of לתסנה is based on the meaning of the Arabic word *sanh*, "good omen, good luck."

The crude drawing at the left end of this inscription can scarcely be anything else but an attempt to represent a sun-disk, probably the symbol of Ba'al Samin.

124

לתם בן (נ)טר-אל בן תם ז אל עבשת הספר

*By Taim b. Nathar'el b. Taim of the tribe of 'Obaishat [is] the inscription.*

The most interesting word of this inscription is עבשת. This word was one of the main reasons which led me to the assumption that ז is the character for ש.<sup>4</sup> The family of 'Obaishat is well known to us from the Nabataean inscriptions at Si'.

<sup>1</sup> See also above, p. 116. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Thamudenische Inschriften, p. 5. <sup>3</sup> See, e.g., D. M. 636. <sup>4</sup> See Entzifferung, p. 20.

125

לאֲדַנַּת בֶּן וֹרְד בֶּן אֲנַעַם בֶּן כַּהֵל (ל בֶּן עַם בֶּן כַּהֵל לֵאלֹהֵי נַעֲבָר  
פַּהֲלָת וּשְׁעֵהֶקֶם וּגְדֵעוֹד וּבַעֲלֵסִמִּין) וְדָשָׁר עִירַת לֵה  
וְעוֹר וְעָרְג וְקָאֵת בּוֹדֶק לֵד יְעוֹר הַחֲטָט

*By Udhainat b. Ward b. An'am b. Kā(h)il b. 'Amm b. Kāhil of the tribe of Naghbar.  
O Allāt and Shai' ha-Ḳaum and Gad-'Awīdh and Ba'al Samīn and Dūsharā (?),  
[give] help to him, but blindness and lameness and bloodshot eyes (?) to him who  
effaces this inscription!*

We have here perhaps the most elaborate imprecation of all that occur in Safaïtic inscriptions. First, the list of gods is very interesting in itself. These gods seem to fall into two different classes: the gods of the desert, national Arabic gods, viz., Allāt, Shai' ha-Ḳaum, and Gad-'Awīdh, and the gods borrowed from the settled Aramæan population of the Haurān, viz., Ba'al Samīn and Dūsharā. Shai' ha-Ḳaum is discussed above, pp. 73 sqq. Gad-'Awīdh is doubtless originally the god of a certain tribe, as M. Dussaud<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Lidzbarski<sup>2</sup> have shown at the same time. About Ba'al Samīn see "Entzifferung," p. 59. I am not quite certain whether דָּשָׁר is intended for Dūsharā, i.e., Dhu 'sh-Sharā, because if his cult really was known to the Arabs of this region, his name should be spelled דָּשָׁר or דָּהֶשָׁר.<sup>3</sup> But I am inclined to believe, as Dr. Lidzbarski suggests in "Ephemeris," II, p. 38, ann. 2, that the people or perhaps only the writer of this inscription borrowed this name from the Nabatæans without even understanding it.

The following word is given in my copy as פִּירַת; but following D. M. 141 and 239, I read עִירַת (*ghiyārat* ?), especially since the עִ in the inscriptions on this stone has a somewhat peculiar shape. Its meaning is probably "divine help, assistance, or benefits." The suffix in לֵה refers in all likelihood to the writer himself. The expression וְקָאֵת בּוֹדֶק is very unusual, and, to my knowledge, only found in this passage. Its general meaning is clear, for it must be some other physical disease like עוֹר, blindness, and עָרְג, lameness. Now the Arabic root וּדֶק means "to have the eyes bloodshot by disease," and the root קָא (*ḳā'a*), "to vomit," is also used to denote the spouting of blood. I believe, therefore, that the translation given above renders the meaning of this expression quite accurately, but the grammatical explanation of וְקָאֵת בּוֹדֶק is not very clear to me.

126

לוֹרְד בֶּן תַּיִם בֶּן אַעֲבָט

*By Ward b. Taim b. A'bat.*

This person may be related to the preceding on account of his name *Ward*, but, if he was, he belonged to a different branch of the family. The name *A'bat* is new.

<sup>1</sup> Mission, p. 63. <sup>2</sup> Ephemeris, II, p. 39. <sup>3</sup> The last vowel, being an alif maḳṣūrah, would not be expressed in Safaïtic.

## IR-RIMTHEH

On May 20, 1900, I rode from the Ruḥbeh, where I first visited the White Castle, back to Tarbā. An hour and a half after I left the White Castle, riding in south-western and then for a short time in western direction, I passed a locality called ir-Rimtheh. It lies between the Tulūl il-Ṣafā and il-'Ilimmeh (il-Limme on Wetzstein's map), a little to the northeast of the latter. At ir-Rimtheh I copied very rapidly the following two inscriptions, without taking any measurements or comparing my copies with the originals.

127

Fig. 136.

לסער בן ימנל ד אל קמר ווגר סופר ג.

*By Sa'd b. Yamanēl of the tribe of Kumair; and he found the inscription of G . . .*

It seems to me that ימנל is a very reasonable name and that it is unnecessary to change it to ימלך, a name which is better known than the former.

128

למהלם בן ואלו רה פארן הלה סלם

*By Muḥallim b. Wā'il and his . . . In the name of Allāh, greeting!*

Fig. 137.

I have not been able to determine the meaning of the word ארן. It may be the name of a god, or a common noun, or a verb. But it is very likely that my copy is insufficient here.

## MINTĀR IL-AZ'AR

On the northern road between the Ḥaurān and the Ruḥbeh, nearly five hours west of ir-Rimtheh and two hours east of il-Mālikīyeh, there is a locality called Mintār il-Az'ar, with traces of former encampments. Here I copied the following inscriptions.

129

Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 138.

Height of right part 24 cm., of left part 15 cm. Highest letter 6 cm.

לטוי בן דב

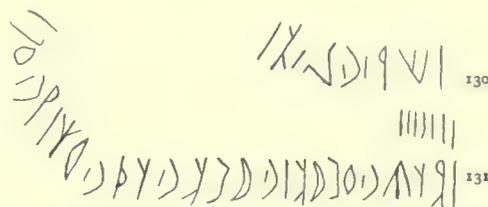
*By Tuway b. Dhabb.*

Both names are new and interesting. The first, טוי, is most probably a diminutive of *Tai'*, but in that case we would rather expect טוא.

Nos. 130 and 131 are written by the same hand. The height from the top of No. 130 to the bottom of No. 131 is 23 cm.; the highest letter measures 5 cm.

130

להיל בן זנאל *By Haiyēl b. Thann'ēl.*



131

לצ(ב)ח בן גרמאל בן מרא בן הר בן גדלי בן גלל

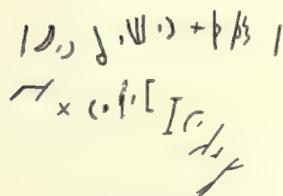
Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 139.

*By Sabāḥ b. Garam-'ēl b. Māri' b. Hadd b. Gadhlay b. Gulail.*

ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM IL-ḤIFNEH

Nos. 132–134 are on stones brought by the expedition from il-Ḥifneh to America; they are at present in Princeton, New Jersey.

132



Scale—1:4.  
Fig. 140.

Length 13½ cm.; height at right end 10 cm., at left end 4½ cm.  
Highest letter 3 cm.

לשרדת בן חני בן מלכת בן נרו בן הנא

*By Shaddādat b. Hannay b. Malīkat b. N-R-Z b. Hāni'.*

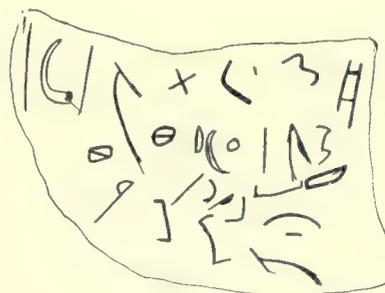
Malīkat is known from Nabatæan and Greek inscriptions; two famous bearers of this name were connected with the building of the great temple at Sī'. But in Safaitic it occurs very rarely. The name written נרו is very indistinct on the stone. It is, of course, not impossible that we might have here the Persian name Nērōz, but it is not very likely. Perhaps we should read נרל, Nūrēl. In הנא the נ has a superfluous stroke at the bottom, and therefore looks on the stone like a small ה; this stroke, however, cannot be intentional.

133

Average length 19 cm., average height 13 cm. Highest letter 5 cm.

למלכת בן פצג בן כפרי ווגם על סרבדבל

*By Malīkat b. Fadīg b. Kafray; and he made a mark for Sarb-dabl (?).*



Scale—1:5.  
Fig. 141.

The name כפרי and the last name of the inscription are new and unusual, and their vowels are only tentatively given. The difference between the ג of ווגם and the ע of ער is very pronounced here, and the reading, therefore, cannot be held in doubt.



Scale — 1:4.  
Fig. 142.

134

Maximum length 32 cm., maximum height 21 cm. Highest letter 5 cm.

לנצר־אל בן גמר החטט וחצר הדרר פה אתע סלם  
וחרץ קעצן ופר

*By Naṣar'el b. Gamar is the inscription; and he was present at this place. In the name of Athī', greeting! And he pierced Ka'sān and fled.*

The main importance of this graffito is that the word חרץ is illustrated by the accompanying picture, in which a horseman with a long lance, similar to those which are nowadays used by the Bedawin of this region, pierces another man who is armed with shield and sword. By this drawing, therefore, the meaning of חרץ is determined, at least for the majority of cases.

The god in whose name the greeting is pronounced is אהע; for the last letter of this name cannot be anything else than a ע, and אהע as well as יהע occurs a number of times in Dussaud and Macler's new inscriptions. The name of the enemy whom Naṣar'el pierced is Ka'sān, the Greek Κασάνας (Wad., 2184). The last word is, of course, *farra*. Both *nafara* and *farra* occur in Safaitic, as in classical Arabic.



Arab rider with long lance.

135 and 136 were copied by Dr. Prentice at il-Hifneh. No. 135 is 14½ cm. long, and its letters vary from ¾ to 2 cm. in height. No. 136 measures 70 × 9 cm.

לסעד בן צהל בן מתן ועלף

Scale — 1:5  
Fig. 143.

135

לסעד בן צהל בן מתן ועלף

*By Sa'd b. Sāhil b. Mattān; and he fed [his animals].*

There are two new words in this inscription: the name *Sāhil*, the masculine form of *Sāhilat*, which occurs I. Dor. 109, and the verb עלף. The latter is very frequently used in Arabic of the feeding of animals.

136

לסוד בן מחלם

*By Sawād b. Muḥallim.*

לסוד בן מחלם

Scale — 1:20.  
Fig. 144.

## CHAPTER VI

### ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

1-7

**SELEMÎYEH.** Professor M. Hartmann, in his article treating of three of the present inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> gives Salamja as the name of the place in which they were found. We see that this name has two varying forms, viz., Selemîyeh and Salamyā. And this is not only so in modern writings, but also in the older Arabic manuscripts themselves. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī<sup>2</sup> reads *Salamyah*, and the same is found in Ibn al-Faḳīh;<sup>3</sup> but al-Muḳaddasī<sup>4</sup> has *Salamîyah*, and the same is given by Ibn Khordadbeh.<sup>5</sup> The latter form is also expressly approved of by Yāḳūt, Vol. III, p. 123. A similar uncertainty exists in the passages of Greek and Latin writers referring to this place. A full discussion of these forms has been given by Professor Gelzer;<sup>6</sup> the form *Σαλαμιας*, as given, for example, in his book on p. 51, No. 995, seems to be the best one. In Syriac *ܣܠܡܝܗ* is vocalized with p<sup>e</sup>t<sup>h</sup>āḥā over *ܣ* and *ܠ* and with z<sup>e</sup>ḳāp<sup>h</sup>ā over *ܡ* by Assemani in his "Bibliotheca Orientalis," II, p. 160, l. 2; but this is here, unfortunately, of no avail. Finally, the discussion of Professor Hartmann in Z. D. P. V., Vol. XXII, pp. 160-162, is to be compared here. When this expedition visited the place, I took special care to inquire about the name on the spot and in the neighborhood. In the nearest cities, Ḥamā and Ḥomṣ, I heard Selemîyeh. In a village about eleven miles northeast of Ḥomṣ, called il-Mishrifeh, I heard only Salamyā; but it was known that the people in Ḥomṣ and Ḥamā said Selemîyeh. When in the place itself, I asked officials as well as private persons what its name was, and I heard Selemîye, Sälämîya, Salamîya. Thus I had to ask directly whether they did not call it Salamyā. The reply was: "We know this name, but only the fellahîn use it." The official and, if I may say so, more stylish name is therefore undoubtedly Selemîyeh; it may be that this is preferred merely because of a wrong etymology. Reluctantly I have adopted it myself; the other and perhaps correcter form will probably disappear entirely in time.

<sup>1</sup> Die arabischen Inschriften in Salamja, in Z. D. P. V., Vol. XXIV, pp. 49-68.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, ed. de Goeje, Vol. I, p. 61, l. 10.

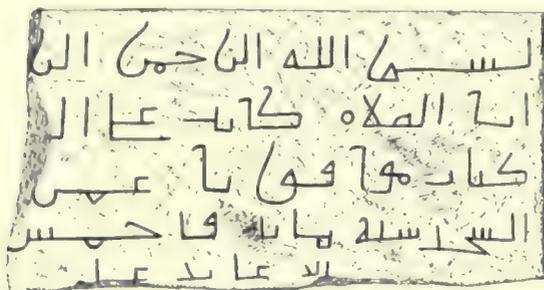
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, p. 110, l. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, p. 190, l. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 76, l. 2, and p. 98, l. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani, pp. 188-189.

Inscriptions Nos. 3-5 have been published with a full commentary by Professor Hartmann; No. 1 was seen by Dr. van Berchem, but not copied. Nos. 2, 6, and 7 have, as far as I know, not been reported as yet. Another Kufic inscription, seen by M. Rey and quoted from him by Professor Hartmann, l.c., pp. 51-53, ann., seems to



Scale — 1: 10.  
Fig. 145.

have entirely disappeared: neither Dr. van Berchem, nor Professor Hartmann, nor our expedition found it again.

I

STONE IN ENTRANCE OF CASTLE, 767 A.D. (?). On a stone now used in the arch of the entrance to the castle, at the left as one goes out from the inclosure. The maximum width of the stone is 70 cm., the height measures 35 cm.

1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate!*

2 *Verily, prayer is for the believers*

3 *a prescription that is timed. — This*

4 *mosque was built in the year one hundred and fifty (?).*

5 *The prayer be prayed!*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [حيم]  
إِنَّ الصَّلَاةَ كَانَتْ عَلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مَوْجِبَةً مَقْضِيَةً [مؤمنين]  
كِتَابًا (أ) مَوْقُوتًا عَمْرٍ [هذا]  
الْمَسْجِدِ سَنَةِ مِائَةٍ وَخَمْسِينَ [ين]  
الدعا يدعا

About the reading of the inscription there can be but little doubt. That l. 2 and l. 3 contained the Koran verse iv, 104, was first recognized by Dr. Moritz. Thus the first word in l. 3 must be *kitāb*<sup>m</sup>. The final alif, which is not shown in my copy, was probably omitted by the stone-cutter; for it is not very likely that I overlooked such a high letter. In l. 4, however, I did not see the mīm of the word *al-masdjid*; but it certainly was there originally. The date is a little doubtful, I admit. The word *mi'at* seems to me certain; for if the letters yā and nūn had ever been written here and were weathered away, there would be a much larger break in the inscription than is indicated in my copy. The next word may be read either *kham*s or *kham*sīn. An objection to the latter would be that the word ends in a curved line. If this line were angular it might easily be an enlargement (or bulging, *Ausbauchung*) from the main line; for, as Professor Karabacek has shown, this way of breaking the monotony of the straight base-lines can be traced back to the second century A.H.,<sup>1</sup> and the beginnings of it are seen in *kānat*, l. 2. But the script is here angular in character, and only in letters like rā, mīm, nūn, waw, and hā we find curved lines; sīn would very naturally rank with the latter. The historical evidence, however, would point to the reading *kham*sīn; perhaps there are also traces of a waw in the beginning of l. 5, but this is very uncertain. An absolutely certain conclusion can scarcely be reached from my copy.

<sup>1</sup> Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen, p. 17.

Especially characteristic of this inscription are the prolonged curves of *rā*, *nūn*, and *waw*, and the short hooks at the tops of *alif* in *kānat*, l. 2, *maukūt<sup>an</sup>*, l. 3, of *nūn* in l. 2, of *waw* in l. 3, and of *hā* in l. 4. These hooks at the tops of certain letters have given rise to the so-called headed letters, which later became very common in Sicily and Italy.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription is important, because it takes us back to a time in *Selemīyeh* of which very little is known. The geographer *al-Ya'qūbī* (second half of the third century A.H.) tells us that 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās rebuilt (*ibtanā*) the town of *Selemīyeh* and improved its condition very much by leading a river to it and irrigating the soil.<sup>2</sup>

This Abbasid 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ was appointed governor of *Ḥomṣ*, the district in which lies the place under discussion, by the Calif *al-Manṣūr Abū Dja'far* (136-158), as we learn from *al-Ya'qūbī's* History, ed. Houtsma, Vol. II, p. 461, ll. 15-16. The ties that connected him with the ruler became still closer when the next calif, *al-Mahdī* (158-169), married 'Abdallāh's sister in the year 159, as is reported by *Ṭabarī*, Vol. III, p. 466, ll. 18-19. Therefore we do not wonder that 'Abdallāh was called to a still more important post, the governorship of *Mesopotamia*.<sup>3</sup> He must have been an energetic man, and he was one of the twenty-two Hashimites that went to *Kūfah* when homage was rendered to the first Abbasid calif in the year 132.<sup>4</sup> His building operations in *Selemīyeh* seem to have been quite extensive; for even the Calif *al-Mahdī*, when visiting his cousin and brother-in-law on his voyage to *Jerusalem*, was astonished at the latter's residence at "*Salamia*."<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly a mosque also was built there at that time, and I believe that our inscription refers to that building. The verse which is quoted in it from the *Koran* was very appropriate to a house of prayer and worship.<sup>6</sup> The inscription is, of course, not in situ. The mosque to which it refers may have been destroyed as early as 290 A.H., when the *Carmathians*, under *Ḥusain*, devastated the country and wrought much damage, especially in *Selemīyeh*.<sup>7</sup> After that the stone may have been brought to the castle.

*Selemīyeh* was largely settled by Hashimites, members of the family of the Prophet, as we learn from passages like *al-Iṣṭakhri*, p. 61; *al-Ya'qūbī*, p. 324; *Ṭabarī*, p. 2226. This may have been one of the reasons why the family of the agitator 'Abdallāh b. *Maimūn* b. *Daiṣān*, soon after 250 A.H., chose it as their residence and directed a large part of the *Carmathian* movements from here. For just as the Abbasids in their agitation against the *Omayyad* califs appealed primarily to the followers of the Prophet's family, so very soon the opponents of the Abbasids sought supporters of their ambitions among the descendants of *Mohammed's* family, claiming that they, being the posterity of 'Alī and *Mohammed's* daughter *Fāṭimah*, were the only legitimate

<sup>1</sup> Karabacek, l.c., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Kitāb al-Boldān, ed. de Goeje, p. 324, l. 10 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabarī, Vol. III, p. 500, l. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ya'qūbī, History, Vol. II, p. 419, l. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See Ṭabarī, Vol. III, p. 500.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the interpretation of *kitāban maukūt<sup>an</sup>* in *al-Baidāwī's* Commentary, ed. Fleischer, Vol. I, p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> See Ṭabarī, III, p. 2226; de Goeje, Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn, 2d ed., p. 50.

successors to the throne. Of course the geographical position of Selemîyeh was another very strong reason why it was chosen as headquarters of the sect. It lay on the border of the desert, as is always said; thus it was remote and very well suited to the seclusion of the grand master of the sect.

The very uncertain and untrustworthy passage in al-Muḩaddasî, p. 244, ann. b, does not add anything to the history of Selemîyeh, and should not have been quoted, I think, in Z. D. P. V., XXIII, p. 121. For the writer there speaks of al-Hādî as the successor of al-Mahdî among the Fatimid califs, thus showing that he confounded them with the Abbasids. It is possible that he also derived erroneously the Berber tribe Kitāmāh from Selemîyeh; but I should prefer to change here *wa'aṣluhum* into *wa'aṣluhu*, so that the suffix would refer only to 'Obaidallāh.

## 2

FRAGMENT IN THE CASTLE. On a stone in the north wall of the castle, facing the inclosure, at the side of the door which opens into the middle tower; the stone is 41 cm. wide and 32 cm. high.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
الرَّحِيمِ مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ  
أَهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ  
صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ  
وَلا تَجْعَلْ لَنَا ضُيُوتًا  
وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ  
وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ  
وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ

Scale - 1:10.  
Fig. 146.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [ اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ ]  
الرَّحِيمِ مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ [ نَعْبُدُكَ يَا رَبُّ ]  
أَهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ [ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ ]  
وَلا تَجْعَلْ لَنَا ضُيُوتًا [ الضَّالِّينَ أَمِينٍ عَمْرٍ هَذَا ]  
المشهد ابو الفرج عبد الوه (اب) بن .....  
(ع) باس بن عبد الصمد وكتبه علي بن جه [فر] .....

Lines 1-4: Sur. 1. *This*  
5 *mosque* (? *shrine*) was (re)built by  
*Abu 'l-Faradj 'Abd al-Wahhāb* (?) b. . . .  
6 'Abbās b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad. *The*  
*writer was 'Alī b. Dja*'(far).

The restoration of the words in ll. 1-3 is naturally given by the text of Sur. 1; the same is true of the first two words after the break in l. 4. After that we may read *'amara* or *'ammara* or *ansha'a* or *djaddada*. The first or the last seems to me the most probable. Unfortunately, the first word in l. 5 is not quite certain, and thus we cannot establish definitely to what kind of a building the inscription originally belonged. Both *al-masdjid* and *al-mashhad* are admissible; but the traces of the third and fourth letters in my copy rather point to the latter. In verse 3 (l. 2) our text has *malik* instead of the usual *mālik*; with regard to these two readings, compare al-Baidāwī's Commentary, ed. Fleischer, Vol. I, p. 2, l. 21 sqq. The name of the man can scarcely be read in any other way than as 'Abd al-Wahhāb, but this reading also meets with difficulties. I presume that after it in the lacuna the man's father and grandfather were mentioned.

But who was this man and when did he live? Reading the name 'Abbās and the two well-known Abbasid names 'Abd al-Wahhāb and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, we think, of course, at once of the Abbasid family, especially if we remember that there was an

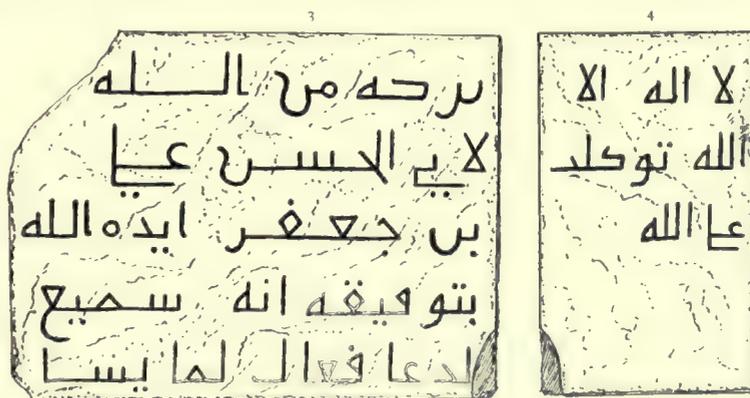
Abbasid governor in this region in the middle of the second century A.H. A member of this family, by the name of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, was one of the twenty-two Hashimites mentioned above, p. 171. He therefore was probably in the prime of his life about the middle of the second century A.H. Assuming that he is the same as the last person in the genealogy of the 'Abd al-Wahhāb in this inscription, we might assign the latter to about the middle of the third century A.H. This date would agree with the following considerations. The script of this stone seems to be later than that of No. 1. Since, however, it has no special style, this argument is of little value. But we know that Selemīyeh soon after 250 became the center of the Carmathian agitation against the Abbasid family, and in the fourth century A.H. became a part of the Fatimid empire. During such periods a member of the Abbasid family would scarcely have undertaken to build in a town of sectarians. Another possible explanation, to my mind, would be that after the destruction of the place in 291 a certain reaction took place, and that an Abbasid governor of the district, or perhaps just a wealthy member of the family who lived there, helped to rebuild the ruins. But the former of these two possibilities is the more likely, as Dr. van Berchem writes me that from a palæographical point of view this inscription should be dated rather before than after 250 A.H.

The man who wrote this inscription added his name; this is given '*Alī ibn Dja'* . . . I restore without hesitation *Dja'far*, and I think it to be very likely that he is the same man who wrote Nos. 3 and 4.

In what relation this building stood to the one whose erection is recorded in No. 1 cannot be determined, because we do not know what verb is to be supplied in l. 4, nor how the first word in l. 5 must be really read. And the fact that both inscriptions are not in situ makes the solution of this question all the more difficult.

## 3 AND 4

JAMB-STONE IN A HOUSE. Both inscriptions are on one stone, now in the outer wall of a house southeast of the castle, on the western corner formed by the street which extends along the front of the castle and that street which leads to the south from it. The stone is used as a jamb-stone of the doorway at the left as one enters. It is somewhat injured at its left end. Maximum width 65 cm., minimum width 50 cm. Height 48 cm. Thickness 29 cm. No. 3 faces the street, No. 4 the doorway. A squeeze made by Baron von Oppenheim is published in Professor Hartmann's article, p. 52. The drawing herewith is based on my own copy.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 147.

3

- بركة من الله 1 *Blessing from God*  
 لابن الحسن علي 2 *to Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī*  
 بن جعفر ايده الله 3 *b. Dja'far. May God strengthen him*  
 بتوفيقه انه سميع 4 *by His help. Verily He hears*  
 |الدعا فعال لما يشاء| 5 *prayer (Sur. 14 : 41) and is the doer of what He will (Sur. 11 : 109).*

4

- لا اله الا 1 *There is no god but*  
 الله توكلت 2 *God. I have put my confidence*  
 على الله 3 *in God.*

The writing of these two inscriptions is more nearly related to that of No. 2 than to either No. 1 or 5. It must be observed, however, that in 3 the letters are a little more regularly and carefully carved than in 2. This may be the reason why the final *nūn* in 3 has a more elaborate form than in 2. But there is a somewhat more essential difference to be noticed between the word *al-ḥamd* in 2, l. 1, and *al-Ḥasan* in 3, l. 2. In the former the slanting line of the *ḥā* ends at the bottom in the base-line, while in the latter it goes beyond the base-line. This may or may not be intentional, or my copy of No. 2 may be defective; but, at any rate, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prevent us from ascribing Nos. 2-4 to the same writer. Professor Hartmann believes that No. 3 refers to the Fatimid general 'Alī ibn Dja'far ibn Falāḥ, who was governor of Damascus from 390 to 393 A.H. (l.c., p. 56). But if this were the man to whom the inscription relates, it seems to me that his titles would not have been omitted under any circumstances. In this inscription there is nothing that would distinguish it from so many other private inscriptions which express only the pious sentiments of the writer or invoke the protection of the deity. Furthermore, if I be correct in identifying the writer of No. 2 with 'Alī b. Dja'far of No. 3, neither of them could possibly refer to the general and governor of Damascus.

This stone must have been a corner-stone from the beginning, for two adjoining faces of it were intended to be seen. Furthermore, it must have been inscribed while the man was still living, on account of the words, "May God strengthen him by His help."<sup>1</sup> If 'Alī b. Dja'far was an architect, this stone may have been the corner-stone of some edifice of which he had charge, perhaps even the mosque (?) mentioned in 2, and may have been inscribed when the work began, in order to secure the help of God. Or 'Alī may have written these pious verses on a stone of his own house. Then the preposition *li* in *li'abī* would stand in its proper place from a grammatical

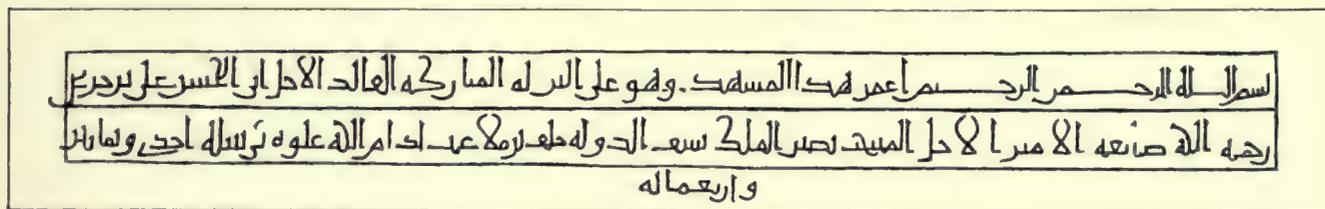
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hartmann, l.c., p. 54.

point of view, and we would translate: *Blessing from God! This house belongs to . . .*

The date of this inscription might then be approximated by a comparison with No. 2. The most probable date of this is about 250, as is said above, p. 173. Professor Hartmann thinks that the long curve of the nūn would furnish an objection against the assignment of so early a date as the third or fourth century. But we have seen in No. 1 that the same curves occur even in the second century. Professor Hartmann thinks also that the diacritical points in No. 3 are originally intended, and thus occur on an inscription of the fourth century, as he dates it.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is very unlikely. I believe firmly that the points were added much later by somebody who wished to show his knowledge of the Kufic script, or who, after having studied the inscription, wished to aid his memory in this way and to help others read. Several of the inhabitants who gathered around me while I was copying the inscription read it aloud, but they seemed unable to read any of the other Kufic inscriptions, which, as is seen from the drawings, have no diacritical points.

## 5

LINTEL OF SHRINE, 1088 A.D. On the lintel of a partly ruined building in the southern part of the town, in situ. The building is called now *djāmi' Ismā'īl*, but its plan differs from that of other mosques: it is nearly square and had a dome like the usual Mohammedan weli. Width of the lintel 2.32 m., height 35 cm. Length of the inscription 2.12 m., height of each line 10 cm. SQUEEZE.



← 1m. →

Fig. 148.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر هذا المشهد وهو على التربة المباركة القائد الاجل ابن الحسن علي بن جرير

رحمه الله صانعه الامير الاجل المتجيب نصير الملك سيف الدولة خلف بن ملاعب ادام الله علوه في سنة احدى وثمانين

واربعمائه

- 1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate! This shrine, which is above the blessed tomb of the most illustrious general Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Djarīr (?), —*  
 2 *may God have mercy upon him,— was built by his servant, the most illustrious and noble commander Naṣīr al-Mulk, Saij ad-Daulah, Khalaf b. Mulā'ib,— may God perpetuate his greatness,— in the year four hundred and eighty-one.*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 66 of his article.

The reading given here differs only in two words from that given in Professor Hartmann's article. The last word in l. 1 is written in an unusual way. I took it first to be *djasil*, but an Arabic name in this form is not known to me elsewhere. I then thought of *Djarir*, and I found that M. Sauvaire had already given this reading.<sup>1</sup> Since, unfortunately, no mention of the general who was buried here is found in Arabic literature, this name cannot be determined with certainty. The third word in l. 2 is read *ṣanī'uhu* by Professor Hartmann. But it will be seen from Dr. van Berchem's squeeze, published by Professor Hartmann, and from my drawing, that there is no continuing line between the second and the third letter. Furthermore, I found in my squeeze a little triangular mark over the mutilated second letter, such as is always found at the top of an alif in this inscription. I therefore read *ṣāni'uhu*. The word *ṣāni'* is very common in the modern Arabic of the region of Damascus in the meaning "servant, apprentice."<sup>2</sup>

The first alif in *adāma* is turned at the bottom toward the left and connected with the following letter; this occurs not infrequently in Arabic manuscripts and inscriptions, but usually there is some special reason for it, as, e.g., in *amara*, inscr. 13, l. 1. An interesting feature is the bisymmetrical arrangement which is to be found here in the direction of the small triangles at the tops of alif and lām. We also notice the rule that the lām-alif with an angular base goes together with the triangular mīm (see Karabacek, l.c., p. 42), although in a few cases here the corners of the mīm are somewhat rounded. Furthermore, attention may be called to the continuation of the base-line between *al-masdjid* and *wahuwa* in l. 1, and between the 'ain and the hā in *ṣāni'uhu*, l. 2, in spite of the projecting curve. A similar tendency, perhaps, has produced the lower horizontal line after the first rā in *Djarir*. This continuation of the base-line is found in other Kufic inscriptions also; it is carried the farthest in inscription No. 8, where there are almost no divisions at all between the words or after those letters which ordinarily are not joined to the letter following.

We learn from this inscription that again a building in Selemîyeh is erected by a governor of Ḥomṣ. For such was Khalaf b. Mulā'ib. The story of the robber-knight and highwayman, as Professor Hartmann justly characterizes him, is told by Ibn al-'Athîr, and, following his text, it is given by Defrémery in J. A., V<sup>e</sup> série, Vol. III, pp. 380-384, by Weil, "Geschichte der Chalifen," Vol. III, pp. 187-189, and by Hartmann, l.c., pp. 58-65. Khalaf b. Mulā'ib was probably a Bedawi of the tribe of Kilāb and seems to have made his fortune in the army or in the personal service of a general named Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Djarir. The latter was buried in Selemîyeh, perhaps because this was his native place. About the year 475, Khalaf became governor and practically independent ruler of Ḥomṣ; details concerning his life previous to this date are not known. During this administration he built a *mashhad*,

<sup>1</sup> See Z. D. P. V., Vol. XXIV, p. 53, ann. <sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Z. D. M. G., Vol. LVI, p. 88, l. 3; also Dozy, s.v., and Landberg, Proverbes et dictons, p. 398.

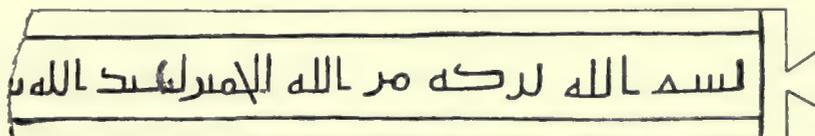
or "shrine," above the tomb of his late master. That he, although bearing now higher-sounding titles than the latter, still calls himself "his servant," is only a parallel to the custom of the Mamluk emirs and sultans, who, even after they had become sovereigns, added adjectives derived from the names of their former masters to their own names.<sup>1</sup>

The *mashhad* (a name which, as Professor Hartmann has shown, is derived from the formula *hādhā mā yashhadu bihi wa'alaihi*) is both a mausoleum and a house of prayer. This particular building in Selemiyeh was probably made not only to honor the memory of the late general, but also to serve the inhabitants as a house of worship, perhaps in place of the old mosque, which may have been in ruins at that time. We may assume that the people of the town still belonged to the Ismā'īlīyah sect at that period; to them Khalaf would thus have rendered a service. It is a strange coincidence that his cruel murder was perpetrated by members of an offshoot of the same sect, the Assassins, who just at that time had reached Northern Syria, coming from Persia, in the same way as the first Ismā'īlīyah two hundred years earlier. But these events lie beyond the scope of the present discussion; they are described in detail by the authors cited at the beginning of the foregoing paragraph.

## 6

FRAGMENT. On a stone of black basalt, lying face up on the ground in an old Arabic churchyard north of the town. The stone is 1 m. long and 17 cm. wide.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ بِرَكَّةً مِنْ اللَّهِ الْحَمِيدِ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ: [ن  
*In the name of God! Blessing  
 from God the Praiseworthy  
 to 'Abdallāh b. . . .*



Scale—1:10.  
 Fig. 149.

Little can be concluded from this fragment. The stone may have been originally a lintel over the door of 'Abdallāh's house, but it is almost too narrow for such a purpose. Otherwise it may very well have been the side-piece of the frame of a grave, for on many Arabic graves I have found that not only the two upright slabs (tombstones proper) at both ends, but also the stones which framed the sides of the grave, were inscribed. Then the formula *barakah min allāh li . . .* might be connected with the phrase *allahumma bārik lanā fi 'l-maut* (compare Lane, s.v.).

I have placed the inscription sixth, because its fragmentary condition allows no definite conclusion with regard to its date. If it were preserved in its entirety, we might find that it ranks with No. 1, and that it was written during the rebuilding of Selemiyeh by 'Abdallāh b. Šāliḥ b. 'Alī.

<sup>1</sup> See van Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, I, p. 76.

STONE IN WALL OF HOUSE. On a stone in the outer wall of a house which stands in the northeast corner of a square, south of the southeast corner of the castle. The stone is placed at the left of the door as one enters the house.

Fig. 150.

سعادة

*Good luck!*

This single word is interesting because of its place and meaning. It corresponds to the Greek *ἀγαθή τύχη*, and it may be meant as a sort of talisman for the house and its inmates. Graffiti of this kind are known in almost every country. That the word *sa'adah* should here be a proper name does not seem to me very plausible. This name is very unusual, and the Arabic graffiti which I have seen usually contain more than a single name. Dr. van Berchem writes me that *as-sa'adah* occurs very often on brass or copper pieces of the so-called Mossul (perhaps Syrian) school, beginning with the words *al-'izz wal-'ikbāl wan-naṣr was-sa'adah li-ṣāhibih*, etc.

The period of the later Arabic script—the *naskhī*—has left very few traces in Selemiyeh. Dr. van Berchem mentions an Arabic inscription on the door of a tomb, which he did not copy. I observed a very short fragment with Arabic letters of the middle ages near inscription No. 6. This fragment was on a piece of limestone, which is unusual in this black-stone region.

Selemiyeh was probably deserted for several centuries. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, Ismā'il Pasha tried to repeople the town, and he would probably have succeeded if he had been allowed by the powers of Europe to take possession of Syria. In the middle of the last century Dr. de Forest found no inhabitants there;<sup>1</sup> but now it is a flourishing little town, occupied by the Ismā'ilīyeh, who settled there probably soon after Dr. de Forest's visit, coming, as Professor Hartmann tells us,<sup>2</sup> from the castle il-Ḳadmūs, in the Noṣairiyeh Mountains, an old stronghold of the Assassins. It is well known that in many cases the outsiders tell mysterious tales, which may have partial foundation, about secret religions or societies; and thus here among Mohammedans and Christians I heard strange rumors about the ceremonies of the Ismā'ilīyeh. In il-Mishrifeh the latter are called 'abbādīn il-fardj, and it is said that the men of the Ismā'ilīyeh when they go to prayer take with them a piece of a woman's garment which is spattered by 'atr (explained as *haid*, thus probably *katr*). At the services, I was told, a naked virgin must be present. Later I heard the following description of the orgies of the Ismā'ilīyeh after a service: *kull wāhid min ir-rjāl bōkḥud wāḥade min in-niswān mā btifri' izā kân martō 'au 'immō 'au 'ukhtō wbinām ma'āhā*. This of course reminds us of what Ḳarmaṭ himself is said to have ordered with regard to the community of wives; a discussion of these matters is found in Professor de Goeje's book, "Mémoire," etc., 2d ed., pp. 29–30.

<sup>1</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 17. Theil, pp. 1049–50.<sup>2</sup> *Z. D. P. V.*, XXII, pp. 161–162.

**EZRA'.** LINTEL OF A KHAN, 837 A.D. In the middle east of the modern town there is a large ruined structure of black basalt, built mostly of old material. Mr. Butler tells me that according to his recollection it has every appearance of being a medieval Mohammedan khan: rows of rooms, flanked on the inner side by arcades, are built around a rectangular courtyard. It is entered from the west. Facing the street there is a high doorway, and behind this is found another small portal, on the lintel of which the inscription below is written. The lintel is broken from top to bottom a little to the left of its center; it measures 230 × 39 cm.; the letters are from 5 to 10 cm. high. This inscription has been copied by Seetzen ("Reisen," ed. Kruse, p. 52); Richter ("Wallfahrten im Morgenlande," p. 173 and No. XII); Dr. Schroeder, consul-general of the German Empire



Entrance to khan at Ezra'.



Scale—1:20.  
Fig. 151.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَوَلَدِ ثَمَامَةَ (؟) بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ يَوْمَ الْاِحْدِثِ لَيْلَةِ عَشْرَةِ لَيْلَاتِ كَلْبِ  
مِنْ شَوَّالِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِينَ وَعِشْرِينَ وَمِائَتَيْ سَنَةٍ

- 1 *In the name of God! Thamāmah (?) b. Ibrāhīm was born on Sunday, when twelve nights had passed*
- 2 *of the month Shawwāl of the year two hundred and twenty-two.*

This inscription is curious in several respects. As to its reading, my interpretation of the fourth word of l. 1 is only a conjecture. The fourth letter of it, which I read as a mīm, might easily contain two separate letters, which could be read in fifteen different ways. In the same line the word *lithintā* is not grammatically correct; it should be *lithintai*. To explain this form one might assume that *thintā 'ashrata* here has been treated as undeclinable, after the analogy of the other numerals from 11 to 19; but the construction of the entire inscription is grammatically not very correct. Another reading of this numeral seems to me scarcely possible; for *lisitta 'ashrata*, of which I thought at first, is impossible, because the 16th of a month, when reckoned by nights,

is usually expressed by *li'arba'a 'ashrata lailat<sup>an</sup> baqiyat*; and, furthermore, according to Wüstenfeld's "Tabellen," Shauwāl 16, 222 A.H., would be a Friday, and the 13th, which palæographically might also be possible, a Tuesday. Of course the 12th does not suit perfectly; but the variation of one day is easily accounted for. I believe, then, that Shauwāl 12, 222 A.H., here corresponds to Sunday, September 16, 837 A.D.

It seemed to me at first as though the left end of the stone had been broken off. If that were the case, we would be enabled to supply *allāh* at the end of the inscription, and another word at the end of l. 1 also.

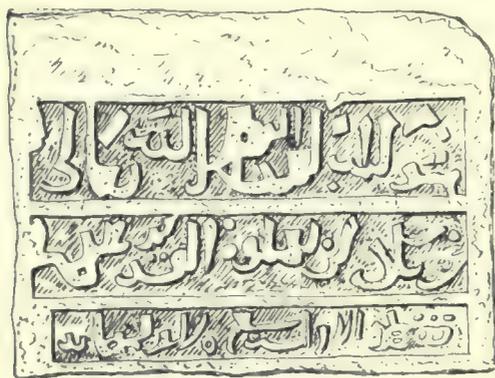
But I believe now, with Dr. van Berchem, that the inscription should be taken as it stands and that no letters should be supplied; then the word *sanah* at the end of l. 2 was probably added as a sort of apposition or perhaps only to fill the space, which otherwise would have remained empty.

The curious prolongation of the base-line has been mentioned above, p. 176. Thus the alif of the word *allāh* in l. 1 is written exactly like a lām, as in No. 37 below. Other instances like this are given by Karabacek, "Mazjaditen," pp. 35-36. A similar tendency to join letters which usually are not connected has produced an identical form of alif in Syriac writing, as is seen, e.g., in the word *'anā* on Pl. V, spec. 11, l. 4 of Land's "Anecdota Syriaca," Vol. I. Both alif and lām in this inscription have a short hook at the top, in every case turned toward the left; no attempt is made here to arrange them in symmetrical groups.

It is somewhat difficult to explain why such an inscription recording a man's birth should have been carved on the lintel of a khan, and one might therefore be inclined to assume that the stone was originally in another place and was later on transferred to its present position, perhaps in the year 636 A.H., when a khan at Ezra' was rebuilt by the Mamluk Aibak, as we learn from inscr. 29 below. But Dr. van Berchem thinks that this inscription is in situ, just like another "birth-inscription" on a wall of the temple of Isis at Philæ, near Assuan; the latter, which forms No. 515 in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum," resembles the present inscription very closely in

several respects, especially in its character of script and in the continuation of the base-line. Then we might assume that there was a khan at Ezra' as early as 222 A.H., and that this khan was rebuilt by Aibak in the year 636 A.H.

9



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 152.

**ISRIYEH.** BLOCK OF LIMESTONE, 916-917 A.D. On a block of limestone, lying face up not far from the temple described by Mr. Butler in Part II, pp. 76-77. The block measures 48 × 64 cm. The first two lines are about 12 cm. high, while the third line has a height of only 8 cm.

- بِسْمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى 1 *In the name of God the Most High!*  
 هَذَا الْبَيْتُ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ *This house belongs to 'Abdallāh (?)*  
 بن زياد بن . . . . . الدين بن محمد 2 *b. Ziyād b. . . . . ad-Dīn (?) b. Muḥammad.*  
 سنة اربع وثلاثائة . . . . . 3 *(And it was finished in?) the year 304.*

As may be seen from the drawing, this inscription is of very crude workmanship, and the reading proposed here is not by any means a final one. The stone, however, claims our interest for several reasons.

If my reading of l. 1 be correct, we have here a very interesting example of "involution," or here perhaps rather haplography, about which Professor Karabacek has published the first systematic discussion in his article, "Die Involutio im arabischen Schriftwesen," in "Sitzungsber. d. Phil.-Histor. Klasse der Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien," Vol. CXXXV. In our case the involution would consist in the fact that the word *allāh* is to be read twice, once after the word *bism*, and the second time as a part of the name 'Abdallāh. The stone-cutter perhaps forgot at first to write the *basmalah*, and began to carve *hādhā bait li'abd*; then he tried to correct his mistake by putting *bism* over *li'abd*. But I admit that some doubt remains with regard to this interpretation, because of the word *ta'ālā*. The presence of this word made me think at first that this was a tombstone; for the formula *tuwuffiya ilā raḥimat allāh ta'ālā* is very common in Arabic funerary inscriptions. Furthermore, a real *basmalah* would of course contain either *ar-rahmān ar-rahīm*, or nothing after *allāh*. But the unusual wording found here may be due to the lack of space which induced the writer also to make use of the "involution."

The importance of this document lies in the fact that it was found in Isriyeh, a place the history of which is little known to us. Its Arabic name has been misspelled repeatedly of late; the form which I heard on the spot, viz., *isriyeh* (or *isiryeh*, with the well-known transposition), confirms absolutely what Professor Hartmann has said in *Z. D. P. V.*, XXII, p. 133, ann. 3. This form leads us to assume an older *Siryā*; and in fact this is the name which Pietro della Valle heard for this place in the year 1625 (*Siria*). Its classic name, Seriane, occurs in the "Itinerarium Antonini."<sup>1</sup> But in the medieval Arabic geographers this place is, curiously enough, not mentioned; only in a commentary on one of al-Mutanabbī's poems it is said that ['Ain] az-Zarkā' was situated between Khunāširah and Sūrīyah (?).<sup>2</sup> Oestrup and Hartmann, however, believe that Isriyeh is hidden in a name which is given by Ibn Khordadbeh and

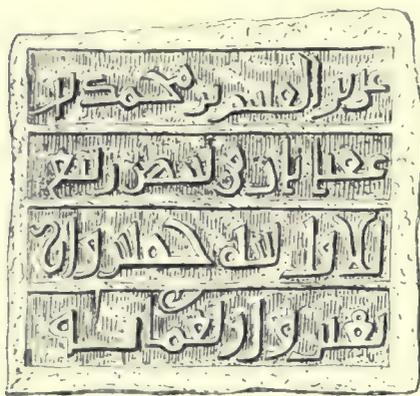
<sup>1</sup> See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 17. Theil, p. 1439; Oestrup, *Historisk-topografiske Bidrag*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, 2d ed., Vol. III; Arabic text, p. 15; translation, p. 10. I believe that Oestrup is perfectly right in taking Sūrīyah to be the same as the place in question, because ['Ain] az-Zarkā' lies directly in the middle between Khunāširah and Isriyeh. This obviates at

the same time the difficulties which arise if Sūrīyah is identified with Sura, the Syriac *ܣܘܪܐ ܫܘܪܐ*, to-day il-Ḥammām, a town on the Euphrates a short distance west of ar-Raḡḡah; for, as Moritz has stated in his article, "Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene," p. 29, the name Suria is unknown in this place itself. The spelling in the passage mentioned above may very well be a slight error for *Suryah*.

Muḥaddasī: *az-Zarā'ah* or *ad-Darā'ah*; and the former identifies with it still another form, viz., *al-Marāghah*, which occurs in Idrīsī. That *al-Marāghah* is an entirely different place was established by our expedition; it lies seventeen miles north-northwest of Isriyeh. And knowing that the road from ar-Raḡḡah (and ar-Ruṣāfah) to Damascus, of which these geographers speak, the *ṭarīq al-'omrān*, as it is called in the "Biblioth. Geogr. Arab.," ed. de Goeje, Vol. VI, p. 218, ran north of Isriyeh, we are entitled to look for a place *az-Zarā'ah* in the northern region. It cannot be very far from il-Mrāghah, for it is, in the same way as the latter, the station between ar-Ruṣāfah and al-Ḳaṣṭal. Hence it would seem to me more natural to identify this *az-Zarā'ah* with either 'Ain iz-Zerga or 'Ain iz-Zrêga; both names were obtained by Sachau, and are placed on Kiepert's map according to the information to be found in Sachau's "Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien," p. 129. The name *az-Zarā'ah* would be due to some mistake, as is shown by the fact that *az-Zarkā'* still is in use. But there may be still another well in this region which is as yet unknown.

When Pietro della Valle (1625) and the English merchants of Aleppo (1678 and 1691) were here, a little more of the ancient town seems to have been standing. The latter report having seen here Arabic inscriptions, a statement which Ritter questions; it is now confirmed, however, by our present inscription.



Scale - 1:10  
Fig. 153.

10

**KAL'AT IL-MUDİK.** BLOCK OF STONE, 1053 A.D. On a block of limestone, now inserted in a wall, near a stone staircase which leads up to the roof of a modern house. The house belonged when I was there to Aḥmed Agha; it is situated not far to the right after entering the village through the gate in the south wall. In front of the house is a courtyard, and as one enters this, the wall with the inscription lies to the right. The block measures 55 × 50 cm.; each line is 9-10 cm. high. SQUEEZE.

- |                          |   |  |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| علي بن القاسم بن محمد بن | 1 | <i>'Alī b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b.</i>       |
| عقيل باد في شهر ربيع     | 2 | <i>'Uḳail (?) died in the month of Rabī'</i> |
| اول سنة خمس وار-         | 3 | <i>al-awwal of the year four hundred</i>     |
| بعين واربعائة            | 4 | <i>and forty-five.</i>                       |

The name '*Uḳail* in l. 2 is not absolutely certain, since the lower part of the lām here is turned toward the right and therefore looks much more like an alif, as, e.g., in *bāda*. But as alif occurs in this inscription in both forms, [ and ], it is not impossible that the same is true with regard to lām.

The script itself does not lack a certain interest. It shows a faint influence of the

Carmathian or florid Kufic in the *rā* in l. 3, in the two examples of 'ain in l. 4, and the curve over *arba'ami'at* in l. 4. Also in the forms of *hā* in *Muḥammad* (l. 1) and of *khā* in *khams* (l. 3), with their long and boldly curved lines, this influence may be found; these long curves continue in Arabic epigraphy for almost two hundred years after this time, as we see from inscriptions 24 and 25. Furthermore, the way in which the letters of *al-auwal* (l. 3) are connected deserves notice.

The inscription must have been on a tomb, if my translation be correct. But the shape of the stone and the wording are curious: it seems, therefore, that this inscription is only a part of a larger one, which perhaps ran around the frame of a grave. The verb *bāda*, "to de cease, pass away," which, as my friend Dr. Gustav Rothstein once told me, is quite frequent in an old Arabic translation of the New Testament, I have not found in other funerary inscriptions. From this and the following inscription we may infer that the style of the sepulchral inscriptions had not yet become so uniform and conventional in the fifth century A.H. as it was later on.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that quite a large number of Arabic inscriptions of the fifth century were found in this part of Syria. This shows that, in spite of frequent warfare between the Fatimids, the Abbasids, and other smaller dynasties, Syria as well as Egypt enjoyed a certain prosperity under the rule of the Fatimids.

## II

**KEFR IL-BĀRAH.** STELE, 1059 A.D. On a slab of limestone between the Arabic castle (kal'ah) and the rock-hewn tombs south of it. The slab is 120 cm. high above the ground and has a maximum width of 56 cm. The space occupied by the inscription is 82 cm. high and 40-42 cm. wide.



Scale - 1:20.  
Fig. 154.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
هَذَا قَبْرُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ  
عِيسَى رَضِيَ  
اللَّهُ عَنْهُ [مَاتَ  
يَوْمَ (الاحد)  
فِي (الساد) عَشْرَ  
مِنْ شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ  
الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ اِحْدَى  
وَخَمْسِينَ وَ  
ار (بعائة

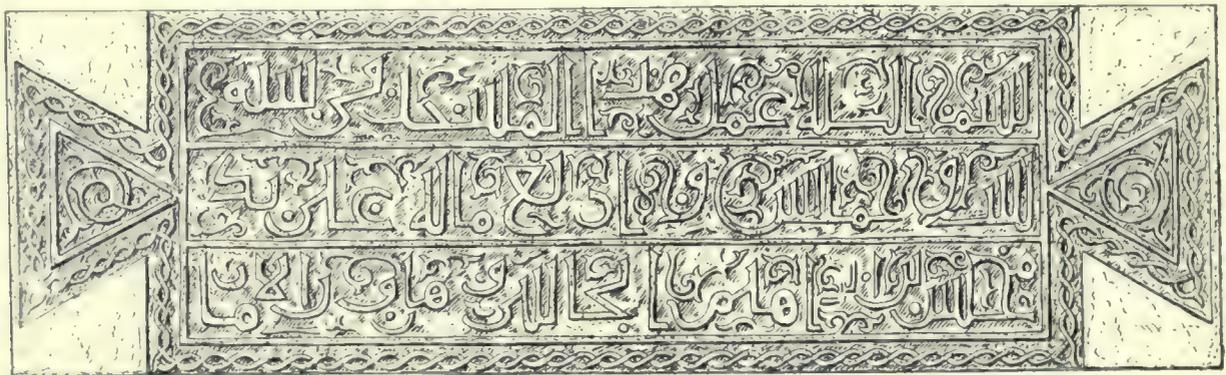
- 1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate!*
- 2 *This is the tomb of Muḥammad b.*
- 3 *'Īsā — may God be pleased*
- 4 *with him! He died*
- 5 *on (Sun)day,*
- 6 *the (six)teenth*
- 7 *of the month of Rabi'*
- 8 *al-auwal, in the year*
- 9 *(four hundred) and fifty-*
- 10 *one.*

This inscription is very badly weathered, and it was only after a very careful study that I was able to read and to copy the letters. Although I have carefully avoided adding anything in my copy which I did not actually see on the stone, the letters naturally appear more distinctly in the reproduction than in the original. The date of Muḥammed b. 'Īsā's death remains uncertain. The traces on the stone would not oppose the reading given above, but the word *as-sātīt* is very doubtful indeed. Not only is the second alif not to be seen at all, but the form *sātīt*, which is now quite common in vernacular Arabic, seems to be strange in a document of this age. But perhaps *as-sātt* was originally written there, a form which occurs in the old Arabic literature. In that case both alifs are connected with the following letter. We know how often this occurs in other inscriptions, and also here in l. 10 we find an alif joined to a following rā; moreover, in some of the other lines the tendency to continue the base-line throughout (see above, p. 176) may be observed.

The shape of the stone resembles very much that of a simple Greek stele. Almost all the later tombstones are, as is well known, rounded off at the top and usually have the round or square top piece.<sup>1</sup> The form found here reminds us more of pre-Islamic times, and so does the expression *hādhā kabr*, which corresponds exactly to a Nabataean קברא דנה and the like. Pre-Mohammedan influences may thus have lasted a little longer in this great city of antiquity than in the neighborhood. Kefr il-Bārah was an important town in Mohammedan times also. This is shown by the presence of a Jewish community there (see above, pp. 96-98), as well as by the rôle which it played in the time of the crusaders (see below, Nos. 16 and 17).

## 12 AND 13

**HĀSS.** MOSQUE, 1064 A.D. In the walls of the modern mosque of the Mohammedan village, two large stones with Kufic inscriptions are inserted which must have come from an earlier structure. According to my recollection, some of the inhabitants



Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 155.

told me that these stones had been taken from a ruined building which was formerly a mosque, in the southeastern part of the town; but I have no record of this now.

<sup>1</sup> Examples of these are to be found, among others, below, under Nos. 30 and 45.

Inscription No. 12 is the better preserved. No. 13 is now upside down and so badly weathered that it was impossible to make a copy from the stone itself. I had to content myself, therefore, with a careful squeeze, from which, after a thorough study, I made the present drawing. But it is possible that I have not always recognized accurately the ornamental curves and flourishes, because many of them are either wholly obliterated or to be traced only with the greatest difficulty; of the letters, however, as given below, I am absolutely certain. Furthermore, it must be said that, in No. 13, the chain ornament and the ornament in the center of the dovetails were not entirely covered by the paper of the squeeze. The missing portions are copied from the corresponding parts of No. 12, the squeeze of which is complete.

No. 12. In the north wall of the mosque, facing the inclosure in front of it, at the right of the mosque door as one enters. 160 × 48 cm.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ عَمِلَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ فِي سَنَةِ 1 *In the name of God! This mosque was built in the year*  
 سِتٍّ وَخَمْسِينَ وَأَرْبَعِينَ عَلَى يَدِ 2 *four hundred and fifty-six, under the direction of*  
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْحَاسِيِّ وَهَارُونَ الْإِمَانِ 3 *Muḥsin b. Ibrāhīm of Ḥāss, and Hārūn the architect.*

No. 13. In the wall of the west side, facing the street above a window. Measurements were not taken from the stone itself, but since each line of the inscription is 124 cm. long, the rest may be supplied from the measurements of No. 12; thus 172 × 48 cm. would be very nearly right.



Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 156.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَا أَمَرَ (ر) 1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate!*  
*This is what was*  
 بِعَمَلِهِ الْقَائِدِ أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ . . . . . بِنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ 2 *built by the order of the general Abū Ḥanīfah . . . b.*  
 ‘*Abdallāh b.*  
 عُلَّةٍ وَعَمْرُ لَهُ بَيْتٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ 3 *‘Ulah. And may a house be built for him in Paradise, and may God be pleased with him!*

These two documents are carefully and artistically executed in Carmathian or florid Kufic, of which they are very good specimens. This is the more important as

almost no other inscriptions of this character are known in Syria. All the forms of the letters that occur here are well known. It is noticeable, however, that the style is not entirely uniform, for both angular and rounded letters are found. Therefore the rule that angular lām-alif and angular mīm always go together does not hold true here: the lām-alif in *al-'ummān* (12, l. 3) is angular, but all the mīms in 12 are curved, while in 13, l. 1, we find both angular and curved mīm in the same word, viz., *mimmā*. Also the rounded forms of the initial 'ain, of the dād (13, l. 3), and of other letters may be noticed. Differences are to be observed between the hā in *hādhā* (12, l. 1) and those in *Ibrāhīm* and *Hārūn* (12, l. 3); furthermore between the second and third letters of *al-Hāssī* in 12, l. 3, and of *al-djannat* in 13, l. 3. This preference for curved forms of the letters is, in my opinion, due to a desire for harmony between these and the curved ornamental lines by which they are surrounded. There are three other features in these inscriptions which may be especially mentioned here.

1. The presence of dots within and above and underneath a number of letters. These dots are merely ornamental and have nothing whatever to do with diacritical points. They are inspired by the *horror vacui*, and thus serve only to fill certain places where there is not room enough for any other ornament. And even in much later periods when diacritical points were well known and used, such decorative dots were still employed; this is particularly true in the inscriptions of the Mamluk sultans, as Dr. van Berchem has shown in his publication "Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie" (Le Caire, 1897), pp. 38-39.

2. The bisymmetrical arrangement of certain letters. Thus, e.g., the foot of the alif, which usually is turned toward the right, is in 13, l. 1 reversed, because another alif precedes, so that they are arranged according to the pattern ] . . . Another example is the word *allāh* in 12, l. 1: this is divided into two symmetrical groups, viz., alif-lām on one side, and lām-hā on the other. Such a division into groups could, of course, only be made when there was room enough to make a space between them. If the word *allāh* happened to come where there was very little space, the second lām was bent over the hā in a curve; this is to be found here in 13, ll. 2 and 3, and also in the Arabic inscr. 5, l. 2, and in many other Kufic inscriptions. But in one conspicuous case the letters are not symmetrically arranged, viz., in *hādhā 'l-masdjid* (12, l. 1), where two alifs and a lām collide with one another. In a similar case, however, *hādhā 'l-mashhad*, Arabic inscr. 5, l. 1, the difficulty has been solved in a simple way: the foot of the second alif was cut off, and the top was curved on both sides and, furthermore, raised a little over the preceding alif and the following lām.

3. The interlaced ornament around the inscriptions. The interlace as well as the chain and the braid ornament are very common in Semitic art. We know that the chain is a special characteristic of Hittite art; but there it may have been borrowed from Egypt, in the same way as, for instance, the winged disk in Assyrian art.<sup>1</sup> Later

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Ward's article in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. XIX, p. 40.

on we find all three of these ornaments among all nations of Semitic origin at all times. During the Christian period of Northern Syria, a time when Greco-Roman architecture was imbued with the ideas of the native Semitic population,<sup>1</sup> these designs were highly developed and very frequently used on private and religious Christian buildings.<sup>2</sup> It must be said, however, that the interlace was known in Greek architecture before that time, whereas chain and braid ornament are purely Oriental. It would seem, therefore, that Greek and Oriental spirit met in the interlace. Up to the present day these designs occur very frequently in Syriac and even in Abyssinian manuscripts, often in ornamental headings: an Abyssinian interlace, taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, is reproduced in my edition of the "Chronicle of King Theodore" (Princeton, 1902), and another but more artistic specimen is found in the picture of the Tābōt, or Ark of the Covenant, published in Rassam's "British Mission to Theodore" (London, 1869), Vol. I, p. 226. In Arabic art these ornaments are the most fully and artistically developed; examples of them are very numerous and well known.

As to the reading of these two inscriptions, that of No. 12 seems to me certain, whereas in No. 13 two words may be held in doubt. Unfortunately the name proper (*ism*) of the builder is one of these (l. 2). That of his grandfather may be read in different ways, of which '*Ulah* is the most probable. The last word in the first line of No. 13 is written alif-mīm, but of course there is no doubt that it should have been *amara*; the *rā* was left out because there was no room for it. If the preceding letter had not been capable of being connected to the left, the *rā* might possibly have been put on the next line; for the words are broken sometimes in Kufic inscriptions, as we see, e.g., from inscription 10, ll. 3-4, and from the comments of Professor Karabacek on p. 32 of his "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen."

Inscription 12 tells us when the mosque was erected and who were in charge of the building of it, viz., Muḥsin b. Ibrāhīm of Ḥāss and Hārūn *al-'ummān*. These two names are interesting in themselves. The first proves that in the eleventh century A.D. this town had the same name as now; it is therefore not unlikely at all that the Christian Aramæans also called it Ḥās(s). The word after the second name may be a sort of surname, but the fact that there is no *ī* at the end proves that it is not derived from any locality. Another and, to my mind, more probable explanation would be that this word is a common noun, meaning the same as the Syriac , "architect." It is true that the Arabic *ummān* is not known in this sense; but one would naturally expect to find Syriac words in the Arabic of these regions, where Aramaic dialects were spoken for a great many centuries. In the modern Arabic dialects of Syria no small number of Syriac words are found, and this was probably the case to a still larger extent in the first centuries after the Mohammedan invasion. At any rate, even if *al-'ummān* is not to be read here as a common noun, but as a

<sup>1</sup> See Part II, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> See Part II, pp. 133-134.

name, I believe that ultimately it is to be derived from **رأسون**. Neither these men nor the donor, the general Abū Ḥanīfah, are known to me from other sources. That the latter was a general of the Fatimid califs might follow from the fact that these inscriptions are written in the Carmathian Kufic, which was commonly employed under their rule. It would then be one of the latest documents of their sway over Syria; for only twelve years later (468 A.H.) Damascus fell into the hands of Atsiz, the general of the "Great Seldjuk," Sultan Malik Shāh, and Syria was lost to the Fatimids.<sup>1</sup>

From the last line of No. 13 we learn what heavenly reward the general Abū Ḥanīfah desired for his pious act: "may a house be built for him in Paradise!"

## 14

**MA'ARRIT IN-NU'MÂN.** TOMB OF THE POET ABŪ 'L-'ALĀ. Abū 'l-'Alā Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaimān, one of the most famous poets and the deepest thinkers of Arabic literature, was born at Ma'arrit in-Nu'mān in the year 973 A.D. His life and works have been described repeatedly.<sup>2</sup> At an early age, when he was three or four years old, he had an attack of smallpox, through which he lost the sight of his left eye completely and that of the right eye partially; a few years afterward he became totally blind, and this loss of vision may to some extent account for his extraordinary memory, and at the same time for the pessimism expressed in his later poems. He received instruction in his native town and in Aleppo, where the Hamdanid prince Saif ad-Daulah had gathered a number of literary men at his court, among them the poet al-Mutanabbī, by whom Abū 'l-'Alā was deeply impressed and influenced. Later on he is said to have visited certain other Syrian towns, such as Antioch, Lādhiḳīyeh, and Tripoli. During these years he wrote his early poems, which he collected under the name *Saḳṭ az-Zand*; in these he follows the literary fashion of his time, but does not flatter the wealthy and powerful, as so many of the Arabic poets do. One of the most important events in his life, however, was his journey to Bagdad, where he stayed for seventeen months (1008–1010 A.D.). There he was admitted to the literary society of the capital. One of his friends was the "custodian of the Academy in Bagdad," 'Abd as-Salām, who introduced him into a circle of free-thinkers. It seems that the philosophical tendency of his later works is partly due to his acquaintance and intercourse with these men. From Bagdad he returned to Ma'arrah, where he stayed until his death. Here he dictated a great many works, among which the collection of poems called *luzūm mā lā yalzam* is the most famous. From this A. von Kremer has translated several poems in which Abū 'l-'Alā's view of life is frankly expressed. It is said that the poet even composed a whole Koran of his own;

<sup>1</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Dritte Abtheilung, p. 41. 1873; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Islams unter den Chalifen*, Wien, 1877, II, 386–396; D. S. Margoliouth,

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Rieu, *De Abu 'l-Alæ poetæ vita et carminibus*, Bonn, The Letters of Abu 'l-'Alā, Oxford, 1898, pp. xi–xliii.

but, as Professor Goldziher has said, it is more likely that this was written in order to ridicule Mohammed's Koran than in imitation of it. One very characteristic verse ascribed to Abū 'l-'Alā, and published by Professor Goldziher in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 637-638, deserves to be quoted here:

In Jerusalem arose a high sound between Aḥmad and al-Masiḥ:  
The latter sounded the semantron, and the other shouted the calls to prayer;  
Each one of them praises his own religion — oh that I knew which is the right!

Abū 'l-'Alā's fame spread over Syria, and many pupils came to listen to his discourses; hence his native town also became famous through him. Naturally he had many opposers; in his lifetime he defended himself, sometimes by sharp epigrams, and after his death eminent authors wrote books in his defense.

Professor Margoliouth concludes his biography of Abū 'l-'Alā with the following paragraph (l.c., p. xliii):

Abu 'l-'Alā died in 449, at an advanced age, after three days' illness. Many men of letters attended his funeral, and many dirges were composed in his honour, of some of which fragments remain. Dhahabī's<sup>1</sup> biography contains some interesting notices of visits paid to his tomb, which seems to have survived the storming of Ma'arraḥ by the Franks, but of which recent explorers seem to have found no trace. For those who were curious about the final doom of this free-thinker, "a worthy man" recounted a dream in which Abu 'l-'Alā's terrible fate was revealed to him, while his admirers in their turn ascribed to him an escape from the hands of the governor of Ḥaleb by means only to be paralleled from the histories of Elijah and Elisha.

The tomb of the poet still exists in Ma'arrit in-Nu'mân, and is held in high honor by the inhabitants, in the same way as, for instance, that of Abū 'l-Fidā in Ḥamā and that of Khālid b. al-Walīd in Ḥomṣ.<sup>2</sup> When I was at Ma'arraḥ in March, 1900, I was told by an army officer, while in the serâyā, that I ought to see the tomb of the great Abū 'l-'Ulā, and then I asked the soldier who acted as my guide to take me thither. He said I was the first European to see this sacred spot. The tomb, as it stands to-day, is a small one-story building, consisting of two rooms—a smaller room which contains the grave of the poet himself, with a large room adjoining; behind the latter there is a courtyard with several other graves, which I was told were those of Abū 'l-'Alā's family. In the first room there are two tombs, shaped somewhat like sarcophagi: the one at the left, as one enters, is—so I was told—the original grave of the poet; it was draped with a cover of cloth. On the wall opposite the entrance a verse from Abū 'l-'Alā's works is hanging. A slab now leaning against the second tomb, near the entrance, had been detached from one of the ends of

<sup>1</sup> Historian and biographer, who lived 1274-1348 A.D., mostly in Damascus.

<sup>2</sup> I saw the tomb of Abū 'l-Fidā after some reluctance on the part of the doorkeeper, but I could not copy the inscrip-

tion. In Ḥomṣ I inquired about Khālid's tomb, and heard that it was still in existence in the mosque called after his name; unfortunately, I could not go to see this mosque for lack of time.

the original grave. This slab measures 32 × 25 cm., and contains the following inscription:

[أبو]	[Abū]
العلا بن عبد	'l-'Alā b. 'Abd
الله بن سليمان	Allāh b. Sulaimān.



Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 157.

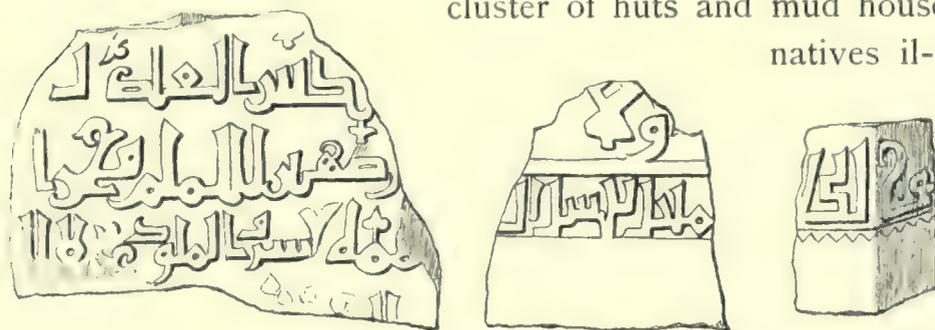
In the second larger room there is now only one sarcophagus-like tomb. At one end of it the 112th Surah is written in florid Kufic, similar to that of the above inscription. The inscription along the side is very badly weathered. On top of the tomb I found two fragments inscribed in very early *naskhī*-script, without diacritical points. They represent parts of the "Verse of the Throne" (Sur. 2 : 256), which is often found in Mohammedan inscriptions.

الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم  
بشيء من علمه الا بما شاء ومع ك[رسيه]

To my mind there can be scarcely any doubt that the inscription reproduced in the above drawing really belongs to the original tomb of Abū 'l-'Alā. The main proof of this is the character of the script. If we consider that in 456 two inscriptions were written on the mosque at Hâss, only four miles from Ma'arrah, in florid Kufic,—the same as in the present document,—and that thus in the middle of the fifth century A.H., the time when Abū 'l-'Alā died, this script was known and used in this very part of Syria, I think the conclusion is inevitable that, indeed, we have here an authentic document, i.e., the stone on which the poet's name was carved after his death, in 449 A.H., and which formed one end of his tomb. In the course of the centuries it must have seen many devout pilgrims.

## 15

**TELL NEBĪ 'ĪS. FRAGMENTS.** Upon the site of ancient Kīnnesrīn (Chalcis) there is now, besides the very few remnants of antiquity preserved above-ground, a small cluster of huts and mud houses, which is called by the natives il-'Īs. This name is taken



Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 158.

from the Tell Nebī 'Īs, a small hill directly north of the ancient site, surmounted by an Arabic weli, the shrine of the Nebī 'Īs. In this building a few Kufic fragments are now kept, perhaps by way of relics. My guide, who had told me of these inscriptions, entered the weli, saying repeatedly, *dakhilak yā 'Īs, dastūrak yā*

'Īs, and brought the stones out to me. Their measurements are as follows: No. 1, 39 × 49 cm.; No. 2, 32 × 27 cm.; No. 3, corner-stone, 24 × 9½ and 24 × 8 cm.

The transliteration given here is partly due to suggestions of Dr. van Berchem. I am also indebted to him for the following comments: "Any identification is impossible here, because the fragment contains only honorary titles, no name or surname. Titles composed with *imām*, *ummah*, and *mulūk* were used in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. Instead of *al-mulūk* it is also possible to read *al-millah*, according to a squeeze of Baron von Oppenheim: titles composed with *millah*, which here would rhyme with *ummah*, were common at the same period."

The shrine of Nebī 'Īs is perhaps identical with the tomb of the prophet Ṣāliḥ, which, according to Yāqūt, was said to be in the mountains of Kīnesrīn. And it may be the tomb of the latter that was decorated by one of the rulers, whose name seems to have been mentioned originally in this inscription. Otherwise these pieces may have come from Kīnesrīn itself; but this formerly important city had diminished into a village as early as the eleventh century. Descriptions of it from various sources are to be found in Le Strange's "Palestine under the Moslems," pp. 486-487. One of them, that of Iṣṭakhrī, who says, "Now it has become even as a heap of rubbish," expresses exactly what we felt when we visited the place.



Weli on Tell Nebī 'Īs.

#### 16 AND 17

**KEFR IL-BĀRAH. GRAFFITI.** Kefr il-Bārah, as distinct from il-Bārah, the modern village, is well known to be the most important ruin of all this region. Its Syriac name was Kafrā d<sup>h</sup>e-B<sup>h</sup>ārtā, which even at that time may occasionally have been shortened to Bārtā. This form is rendered in Arabic, according to the rules of this language, by al-Bārah,<sup>1</sup> the name which the crusaders heard; for they call the city Albara or Barra. These names unquestionably refer to the ancient city, which at that time must have been still inhabited; but now the name il-Bārah is used only for the village, situated half a mile from the old city, and built probably in the middle ages, after the latter had been partly destroyed and deserted. The natives of the

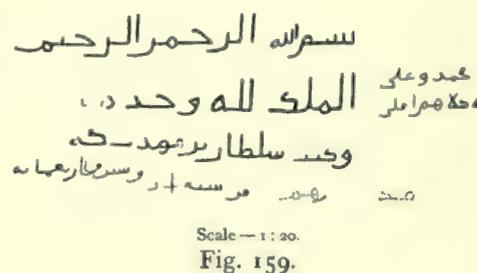
<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Ibn Khordadbeh, ed. de Goeje, p. 76; Ya'qūbī, ed. de Goeje, 2d ed., p. 324, l. 18, where al-Bārah is called "a district of Ḥoms."

village usually call the ruins simply (il-)Kefr, (il-)Kufr, knowing which "Kefr" is meant.

Few signs of Mohammedan occupation are to be found here besides the castle, of which I shall speak below. I found only one inscription which really deserves the name, viz., that upon the stele published under No. 11. But I copied several graffiti on ancient houses and in a tomb, two of which may serve as examples.

## 16

On the north wall of an ancient building in the southern part of the town, facing the street. This building was a wine-press, as we see from its Latin inscription, published by M. Waddington (No. 2644) and in Part III of these publications (inscr. 187). The Arabic graffito is near the Latin inscription, a few meters to the east. It measures 125 × 54 cm.



## A

- بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ 1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate!*  
 الْمَلِكِ اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ 2 *The kingdom is God's alone.*  
 وَكُتِبَ سُلْطَانُ بْنُ ..... 3 *And this was written by Sultān b. . . .*  
 مِنْ سَنَةِ (أَحَدَى) وَسِتِينَ وَأَرْبَعِمِائَةٍ 4 *. . . of the year 461 (1068–69 A.D.).*

## B

- مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ 1 *Muhammed and 'Alī,*  
 كَلَامٌ أُمَلِيٌّ 2 *both are my hope!*

A, l. 2, sounds like a quotation from the Koran. Although it does not occur there literally in this form, it is taken from expressions like *lahu 'l-mulk* (Sur. 6: 73; 35: 14; 39: 8; 64: 1) or *al-mulk" yauma'idh" lillāh* (22: 55). Dr. van Berchem calls my attention also to C. I. Arab., Nos. 49 and 459, and to his "Inscriptions arabes de Syrie," p. 50.

The name of the writer is most likely to be Sultān,<sup>1</sup> but I noted expressly, when I compared my copy with the original, that the lām might be merely a line in the stone, and that thus Saṭṭār might be read as well. In the next line the missing word must have contained the month, and probably the day also. The month seems to have been Radjab, for I found in one of my note-books that the doubtful letters rā, hā, mīm in l. 4 look rather like rā, djīm, bā. The date, however, is certain, I think. Of

<sup>1</sup> Sultān as name of a person occurs, e.g., in Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris, 1891, p. 151; cf. also the modern Bedawin name Fendī, or European family names like Kaiser, King, Leroy, etc.

the word *ihdā* a few strokes are lost; but we still are able to see that the alif here was drawn through the right-hand portion of the ḥā. This occurs also in Arabic manuscripts even nowadays.

B sounds like a short poetical creed of a Shiite, and is therefore very interesting. The reading *amalī* is due to Dr. van Berchem, who referred me to expressions like *āmil<sup>an</sup> tharwāb<sup>a</sup> 'llāh*, which occur frequently in Arabic inscriptions. This graffito may have the value of a historical document. It may either be one of the last expressions of 'Alī's prerogative in the period of the Fatimids, or it may have been written by a member of the Ismā'īliyah sect, which at that time propagated its ideas very energetically in Northern Syria.

## 17

In an ancient rock-hewn tomb, north of the ruined town, not far from the ḳal'ah, there are several Kufic graffiti written on the spaces between the arcosolia. The tomb contains arcosolia, two on each of the three sides; consequently there are three groups of graffiti, all of which I copied. On the south side of the tomb, which faces the west, at the right as one enters, inscription No. 17 is written (Fig. 160).

This seems to have been written by two hands, perhaps at different periods. In that case the lower two lines are the older: they may be read *sanat arba'īna wa-mi'at*, "the year one hundred and forty." If this is the correct reading, the date would be earliest of all the Kufic inscriptions published here. And, in fact,

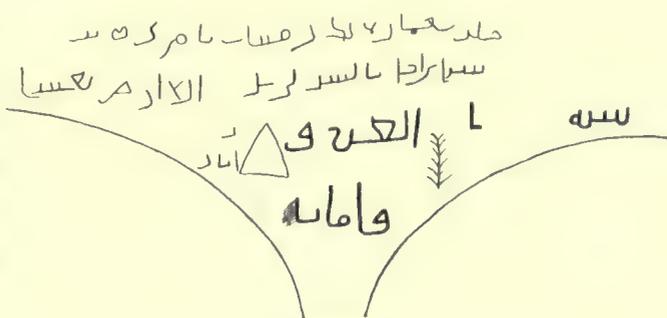


Fig. 160.

the script resembles closely that of inscription No. 1. What the upper two lines mean can only be guessed. The second word in l. 1 seems to be *bi'imārat*, and in l. 2 I believe that the name *yāsīn* is to be recognized.

It may be added that the other two graffiti are written in a script of the same character as the lower part of No. 17 and hence belong probably to the same period. They would then be witnesses of a Mohammedan settlement in Kefr il-Bārah during the second century A.H.

It seems as though this town continued to flourish under the Mohammedan rule for nearly five centuries. The presence of a Jewish colony<sup>1</sup> may indicate that there was a certain business life, and the fact that a strong castle was built here by the Mohammedans shows that they considered it an important place which must be protected by fortifications. Therefore the crusaders called the town *Albara urbs munitissima*.<sup>2</sup> But besides the castle no other new buildings seem to have been erected by the Mohammedans: it was not necessary to do so. Of course Christian churches were converted into Mohammedan places of worship; this was easily done by adding

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 96-98.

<sup>2</sup> Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 17. Theil, pp. 1064-65.

a mihrab, as, e.g., in the middle church at il-Bârah.<sup>1</sup> But as for the rest, there were enough ancient houses that could be inhabited. In the year 1098 the town



Mohammedan castle at il-Bârah.

was taken by Count Raimund of Provence and made a bishopric dependent on the see of Antioch.<sup>2</sup> But it did not stay very long in the possession of the crusaders. In 1104 and again in 1123 it was destroyed and looted by the Mohammedans, and was probably abandoned by the crusaders soon afterward. These troublous times have, I believe, contributed much to the destruction and desertion of the magnificent city.

Finally, a local tradition connected with the castle of il-Bârah may find a place here. An old inhabitant, who was M. de Vogüé's guide forty years ago, told me the following story:<sup>3</sup>

*'Aba Säfyân 'idja la'andō 'Abdurrahmân ibn 'Aba Bekr iṣ-ṣaddîk, ka'ad 'indō, fi 'd-djā-hilīye kân, mâ kân im'âmin lissâ, ba'dō ba'ât-lō 'abū maktûb hitta yidji la'and 'abū, mâ fi'il yidji ba'ad minnō ba'ât-lō maktûb tânī marra, kara 'l-maktûb whann kalbō 'al-islâm wbaka w'aslam. w'ishk Ilhaifa bint 'Aba Säfyân wda'âhâ lal-islâm w'idjū la'and haz-ziyâra. lihik-hun 'Aba Säfyân w'askarō baddū yuktul 'Abdurrahmân wIlhaifa, ṣâr il-ḥarb bainâthun haun. ba'dū râh saiyidnâ Djibrâ'îl w'akhbar laṣṣâb rasûl illâh 'innū 'Abdurrahmân wâkî fi dhîk 'idjat 'aṣṣâb rasûl illâh tindjidū miḏh-dhîk. lakûh imdjarrâh fil-'ardh wIlhaifa rikbat bilshat (t)ithârib maudha'ū 'Aba Säfyân wkaumū. wiṣlat 'aṣṣâb rasûl illâh wbilshat (t)ithârib kaum 'Aba Säfyân, saiyidnâ 'Omar wsaiyidnâ 'Alī wKhâlid il-Walîd wMa'dal ibn Karb iz-Zubaid, wkatlū min kaum 'Aba Säfyân iktîr. saiyidnâ 'Omar nafad sha'rō mid-dir', ḥalaf yamîn: 'anī mā-batl il-ḥarb hitta 'd-dam yinkhâdh larkâb il-khail. 'alla ba'at ish-shita wṭâf id-dam 'a-widjh il-may hitta nafad yamînū. saiyidnâ 'Omar katal 'Aba Säfyân, battalū 'l-ḥarb. ba'dū 'l-ḳitil, ḳitil; wil-'aslam, 'aslam; wil-mâ 'aslam dashsh iblâdū wṭafash wrâh wmalkatha 'l-muslmîn.*

“To Abu Safyân<sup>4</sup> there came 'Abdurrahmân, the son of Abu Bekr the Veracious; he lived with him [while] he was still in 'ignorance,' [for] he had not become a believer as yet. Thereupon sent his father a letter to him, that he might come unto his father, but he did not come. After that his father sent him a letter a second time; he read the letter, and his heart inclined toward Islam, and he wept, and he became a Moslem. And he loved Lhaifa, the daughter of Abu Safyân, and he called her to

<sup>1</sup> See also the baptistery at Rbê'ah, Part II, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> See Rey-Ducange, Les familles d'Outre-mer, p. 765.

<sup>3</sup> *dh* stands for *dād* and is pronounced as an emphatic *dhâl*.

<sup>4</sup> Supposed to be the king of il-Bârah, living in the ḳal'ah.

Islam, and she became a Moslem. And they went to this shrine.<sup>1</sup> [But] Abu Safyân followed them with his soldiers, desiring to kill 'Abdurrahmân and Lhaifa, and a battle began between them at this place. Thereupon went our master Gabriel and apprised the companions of the Prophet of God that 'Abdurrahmân had fallen into distress. The companions of the Prophet of God came to rescue him from the distress, and they found him [lying] wounded on the ground, and Lhaifa riding and fighting in his stead against Abu Safyân and his people. The companions of the prophet of God arrived and began to fight against the people of Abu Safyân,—our master 'Omar and our master 'Alî and Khâlid il-Walîd and Ma'dal ibn Karb iz-Zubaid,—and they killed many of the people of Abu Safyân. Our master 'Omar's hair pierced [his] coat of mail,<sup>2</sup> and he swore an oath: 'I will not cease the battle until the horses wade in blood up to the stirrups.' [Then] God sent the rain, and the blood floated upon the face of the water, so that his oath was fulfilled. Our master 'Omar killed Abu Safyân, [and] they ceased the battle. After that, he who was killed was killed; and he who became a Moslem became a Moslem; and he who did not become a Moslem left his country and escaped and went away, and the Moslems ruled over it."

## 18

**SHEHBĀ.** LINTEL. On a block of basalt, measuring 156 × 25 cm., now used as a lintel over a gate leading into the courtyard of a modern house. It faces a cross-street which turns to the left from the main street, as one comes from the serâyā.



Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 161.

These words might be read and translated in many different ways, but neither Dr. van Berchem nor I have been able to arrive at a reasonable interpretation of the document as a whole.

## 19-22

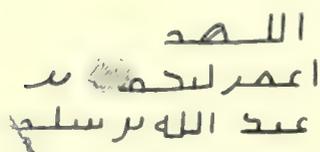
**IL-HIFNEH.** GRAFFITI. As we have seen above, pp. 129 sqq., there are a great number of Safaitic inscriptions at il-Hifneh, in the Ḥarrah. But not so much writing activity was shown here during Mohammedan times, doubtless because travel and commerce between the Ḥaurân and the Ruḥbeh had decreased. M. de Vogüé published six Kufic graffiti from the Djebel Sês on Pl. 18 of his "Inscriptions Sémitiques," and a few Kufic and Arabic graffiti from the Ḥarrah are given in MM. Dussaud and Macler's "Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne," pp. 333-335.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., a weli between the castle and the present village; see the plan in Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Probably this means "he became very angry."

Besides these and the four new ones published below, no others have come to our knowledge as yet, as far as I am aware. But certainly others might be found scattered over the "black-stone desert." A search for them, however, would scarcely be worth while, since in all likelihood they would not furnish any new historical information and since the known examples are enough to serve as specimens.

19

 <p style="text-align: center;">اللهم اعمر لي عمدا عبد الله برسليم</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Fig. 162.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">اللهم اغفر لنجم بن عبدالله بن سلم</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>O God, pardon Nadjm b. 'Abdallāh b. Salm.</i></p>
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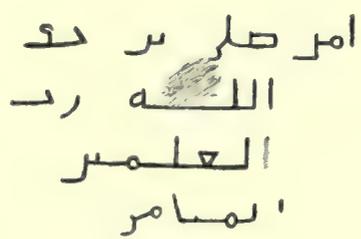
20

اللهم اعمر لي عمدا برسليم برطلب ٧١ سدي

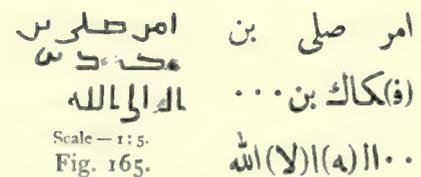
Fig. 163.

*O God, pardon . . . b. Salīm b. Kalb al-Asadī.*

21

 <p style="text-align: center;">امر صلي بر حد الله رب العلمين الماسر</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Scale—1:5. Fig. 164.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">امر صلي بن حد الله رب العلمين</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">25 × 19 cm. . . . . . b. Ḥadd. <i>God, the Lord of the Worlds . . . . .</i></p>
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22

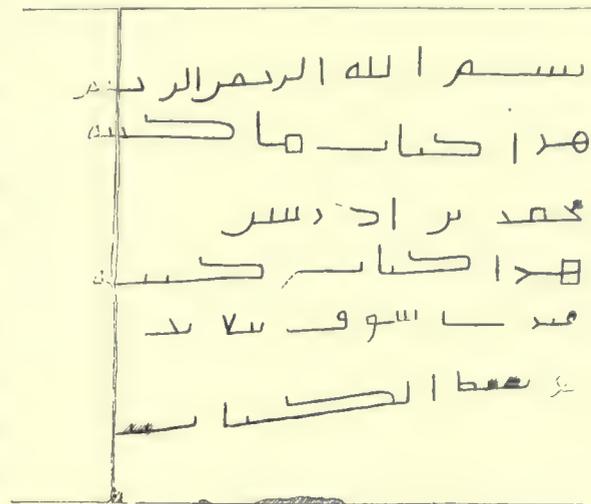
 <p style="text-align: center;">امر صلي بن فكاك بن الله</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Scale—1:5. Fig. 165.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">امر صلي بن (ف)كاك بن ... god (but) God.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">23</p> <p style="text-align: center;">12½ × 7 cm. . . . . . b. <i>Fakāk b. . . . .</i> photograph of this portal is published in Part II, p. 215; the Arabic graffiti can be seen there on the fourth stone from the ground. The space occupied by the inscription measures 65 × 42 cm. SQUEEZE.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا كتاب ما كتبه محمد بن ادريس هذا كتاب كتبه عبدالله (ه) وتبلا يد (من) اي . . . ط الكتاين</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">1 <i>In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate!</i> 2 <i>This is the writing which wrote</i> 3 <i>Muḥammed b. Idrīs.</i> 4 <i>This writing was written by</i> 5 <i>'Abdallā(h). And consumed be the hand</i> 6 <i>(of him who effaces) the two writings!</i></p>
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This is a typical graffito. Its characters, which are of no recognizable style, and its contents, beginning with an invocation of God, then proceeding to give the names of the writer, and concluding with an imprecation against those who efface the valuable document, class it at once with a great many other scratchings of a similar kind. As to its reading, only one word in l. 6 is uncertain; its meaning, however, can scarcely be interpreted otherwise than as above.

Tēzîn is a very ancient place. It was known in Assyrian times, and it played an important rôle in the wars between the Greeks and the Mohammedans. In those times the name Tēzîn certainly referred to what is now called Khirbit Tēzîn; a modern village by the name of Tēzîn exists now a little north of the original place.

The present graffiti date probably from a time when Greeks and Mohammedans were still fighting over the possession of this region; for although it may have been written at any time as long as the Kufic script was still in use (i.e., until about 1150), it can scarcely be contemporaneous with the *naskhî*-script.



Scale — 1: 10.  
Fig. 166.



Scale — 1: 10.  
Fig. 167.

24

**BĀMUKKĀ.** TOMBSTONE, 1196 A.D. Slab of limestone, found in a field, a few minutes' walk from Bāmukḳā, on the way to Bashmishli. SQUEEZE.

- |                 |   |  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| [توفى]          | 1 | [There died]                           |
| حسين ابن        | 2 | Husain b.                              |
| خليل رحمه الله  | 3 | Khalil — may God have mercy upon him!— |
| سنة اثنين و     | 4 | in the year five hundred               |
| تسعين وخمس مائة | 5 | and ninety-two.                        |

25

**DĀR KĪTĀ.** TOMBSTONE, 1205–6 A.D. In the center of the town, near an ancient building which probably was used as a Mohammedan fortress, there is a medieval graveyard, crossed by the path which leads from the "Sergius Church," in the southeastern part of the ruins, to the "Church of Moses and Paul," in the northern part.<sup>1</sup> Very few graves are preserved or bear inscriptions. At the left of the path, going

<sup>1</sup> With regard to these churches see Part II, pp. 137 sqq. and 202.

northward, there is a grave, somewhat larger than the rest, of which both end-stones are preserved. Of these the one facing westward is inscribed in well-cut, raised characters, giving Sur. 112. The stone at the east end bears inscription 25. SQUEEZE.

- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| كل نفس            | 1 | <i>Every soul</i>                               |
| ذائقة الموت توفى  | 2 | <i>must taste of death! There died</i>          |
| ابراهيم ابن . . . | 3 | <i>Ibrāhīm b. . . .—</i>                        |
| رحمه الله سنة     | 4 | <i>may God have mercy upon him!—in the year</i> |
| ستين وستائة       | 5 | <i>six hundred and two.</i>                     |

Both inscriptions are of high palæographical interest, because they represent the transition from the original *kūfī* to the rounded *naskhī*.

Dr. van Berchem has proved that the change from *kūfī* to *naskhī* was not a gradual development in the Arabic inscriptions of Syria and Egypt, but a more or less sudden and deliberate displacing of an old form by a new one, which had come from without; it was a consequence of the Sunnite reaction against the Shiite Fatimids.<sup>1</sup> This happened about the middle of the sixth Mohammedan century; Atābek Nūr ad-Dīn and Sultan Saladin were the chief leaders of the movement. The difference between the two kinds of Arabic script, and the reasons why, in Syrian cities like Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem, a development from *kūfī* to *naskhī* cannot be assumed, are clearly shown by Dr. van Berchem on pp. 36–37 of his “Inscriptions arabes de Syrie.” Now it seems as though in these remote corners of the mountains of Antioch the change had not been so sudden. For



Scale — 1 : 10  
Fig. 168.

both these tombstones, but especially No. 25, still have several features in common with the Fatimid *kūfī*, although they are doubtless influenced by the rounded script, which in the cities of Syria was definitely established twenty-four years before No. 24 and nearly thirty-four years before No. 25 was written. No. 24 has more rounded characters than the Dār Kītā inscription, but the long, boldly curved forms of its ḥā, khā, and nūn, and the tendency toward flourishes, make it look somewhat like Carmathian Kufic, whereas No. 25 still has a few angular forms, chiefly in l. 2 and l. 3. We may therefore suppose that here either the *kūfī* really had an independent development, or—and this is more likely—that when the new round script was introduced, the stone-cutters, still under the influence of the old traditions, gave the curved letters partly an angular shape, and kept certain forms which in genuine *naskhī* do not occur.

<sup>1</sup> See van Berchem, in *Journal Asiatique*, VIII<sup>e</sup> série, XVIII, 74; IX<sup>e</sup> série, VI, 499; *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, pp. 34 sqq.

As to the historical value of these inscriptions, we learn that Bāmuḳḳā as well as Dār Ḳītā, both of which are deserted at the present time, were occupied by Mohammedans about 1200 A.D., who were well able to carve Arabic inscriptions. But the constant wars between the Greeks and the Mohammedans certainly decimated the population, and at the same time arable soil grew scarcer and scarcer. Finally, when, about 1400 A.D., Timur-Leng with his hordes overran and raided the whole of western Asia, a deadly blow was probably inflicted upon the scant civilization of this region. Higher up, however, in the Djebel Bārīshā and in the Djebel il-A'la, where there were still patches of soil which could be cultivated, several towns continued to be inhabited, as we see from their tombstones, published below (39-45).

## 26 AND 27

**ḲAL'AT IL-MUDĪK.** INSCRIPTIONS OF SYRIAN AIYUBIDS. The acropolis of ancient Apamea<sup>1</sup> has always been an important stronghold in this part of Syria; it was captured and recaptured in ancient and medieval times, it was a bone of contention between the Mohammedan rulers of petty Syrian principalities, and it served many rebels as a fastness and a base of operations. All this has undoubtedly contributed largely to the destruction of the great ancient city of Apamea.

The rôle which Apamea played under the Seleucid kings is well known. At the end of their time, according to Josephus, "Antiquities," XIV, 38 (ed. Niese, Vol. III, p. 246), the acropolis was demolished by Pompey. Both town and acropolis suffered very severely again, from the Persians, during Chosroes's campaign against Antioch (538 A.D.). The Persians are said by Joannes Epiphaniensis to have been the real destroyers of Apamea; for he tells us that the Persian general, after he had looted it and enslaved the inhabitants, set the city on fire.<sup>2</sup> This was probably the end of the lower town, which even in Byzantine times must have been of some importance, as we see from the fact that it was the see of a bishop, and that **ΚΑΣΑ** occurs not infrequently in Syriac literature. When, then, in Mohammedan times, we hear of battles over Fāmiyah or Afāmiyah, probably always the acropolis or castle, now called Ḳal'at il-Mudīk, "the castle of the strait," is meant; the geographer al-Ya'ḳūbī<sup>3</sup> calls Fāmiyah "an ancient Greek city in ruins on a large lake," but at the same time we hear of governors and of conquests of Fāmiyah. By its geographical position its fate was connected with that of Aleppo rather than with that of Damascus: whenever there was a strong ruler at Aleppo, he usually possessed the region of Apamea as well. Thus when the powerful Seldjuk Malik Shāh visited Aleppo in the year 479 A.H. the local prince of Shaizar, who at that time was also the ruler of Apamea, has-

<sup>1</sup> See the photograph in Part II, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Historici Græci Minores*, ed. Dindorf, Vol. I, 1870, p. 380: . . . ἐπειδὴ ταύτης (i.e., Apamea) ἐντὸς ἐγγεγόνει, διαρπάζουσι μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας

ἀνδραποδίσαντες τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν πυρὶ παραδόντες ὡς τὰχιστα ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπανίασι γῆν.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, Vol. VII, p. 324, ll. 18-19.

tened to surrender his possessions to the great sultan, but received only Shaizar back as his fief. Apamea was probably given to Khalaf, the governor of Homs, the same man who is mentioned above, p. 176. But the latter soon felt himself too independent, and his misgovernment became unbearable to everybody; hence in 484-485 he was captured and deposed. He succeeded, however, in regaining Apamea in 489. The city had been in the possession of the Syrian Seldjuks for the last four or five years; Tutush b. Alp Arslān had taken it, and when, after his death in 488, his estates were divided among his two sons, Apamea went naturally to Riḍwān, who received Aleppo. In 489 the prefect or the people of Apamea revolted against Riḍwān, and asked for a governor from Egypt. Khalaf was at hand and in some way managed to be appointed. For ten years more, until he was assassinated in 499 A.H. (1106 A.D.), he terrorized the country from his castle. In the meantime the crusaders had conquered a large portion of Northern Syria. Tancred defeated Riḍwān in 498, and was then invited by a son of Khalaf to expel the murderers of his father, who were ruling at Apamea, and to take the place himself. He came and laid siege to the castle, and captured it in the following year (500 A.H., 1107 A.D.). Nearly half a century later the Mohammedan ruler tried to gain back Apamea: Nūr ad-Dīn, Atābek of Syria (541-569), attacked it in the year 543, but was repulsed. Two years later, after Prince Raimund of Antioch had been slain in an ambushade, Apamea came definitely back to the Mohammedans. The successors of the Syrian Atābeks were the Aiyubids: Saladin ruled there from 579 to 589. In the year 582, however, he made his son al-Malik aḥ-Thāhir governor of Aleppo, another son, al-Malik al-Afdal, governor of Damascus, and confirmed the appointment of his nephew as governor of Hamā; and all three of them remained in possession of these provinces after Saladin's death. When the partition in 582 was made, Apamea was, as usual, considered a part of Aleppo; thus very naturally an inscription of the year 602 found at Apamea refers to the ruler of Aleppo. At this time al-Malik aḥ-Thāhir was still reigning. Another inscription relates to his grandson, al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf, who reigned over Aleppo from 634 to 658 and over Damascus from 648 to 658. From these two inscriptions and also from No. 33 we see that Apamea was still regarded as an important fortress whose fortifications deserved constant care.

## 26

On a lintel of a house adjoining the north wall of the castle, near the middle. The stone measures 150 × 78 cm.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَمْرٌ بِعَمَارَتِهِ مَوْلَانَا الْمَلِكِ  
الظَّاهِرِ غِيَاثِ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِينَ سُلْطَانَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَ  
لِمُسْلِمِينَ غَازِيٍّ بِنِ يَوْسُفِ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ [ نَاصِرِ أَمِيرِ ] الْمَوْءَمِنِينَ بِوَلَايَةِ  
الْعَبْدِ الْآمِينَ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ أَقْطَعَانِ الظَّاهِرِيَّ بِسَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَسِتِّمِائَةِ

- 1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate! This was built by order of our master al-Malik*
- 2 *ath-Thāhir, Ghiyāth ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn, Sultan of Islam and*
- 3 *the Moslems, Ghāzī b. Yūsuf b. Aiyūb, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful; under the governorship*
- 4 *of the servant who trusts in the mercy of God, Aḳtughān ath-Thāhirī, in the year 602 (1205-6 A.D.).*

I am indebted to Dr. van Berchem, who copied the same inscription and kindly placed his photograph at my disposal, for the reading of the words *wal-muslimīn*, *nāṣir amīr*, and *Aḳtughān ath-Thāhirī*. At the end of l. 2 I copied waw, alif, and a flourish; it seems that the writer intended to write there *wal-muslimīn*, but found



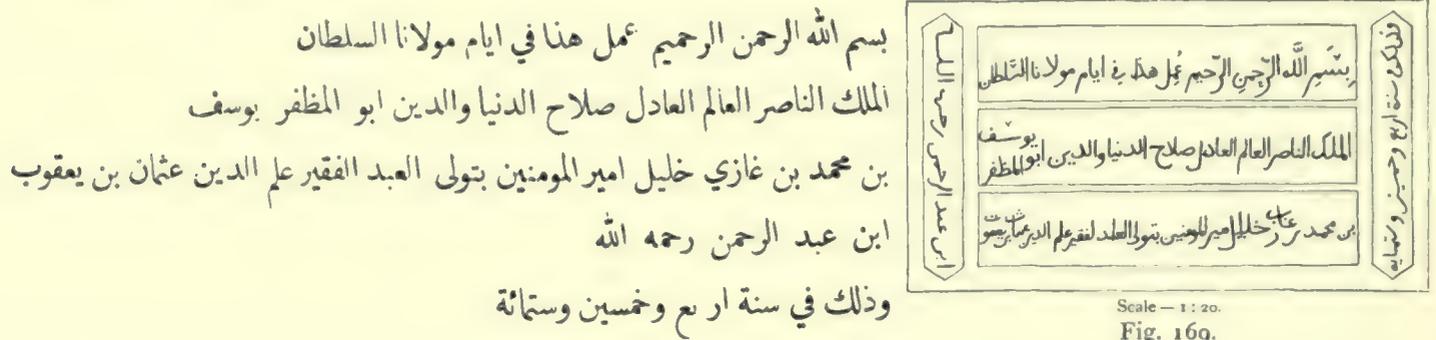
Arabic inscription (No. 26) at Ƙal'at il-Muḍīḳ.

that the word would be too long for this space, and therefore broke it and carried a part of it over to the next line, filling by a flourish the short space thus left empty. Such divisions of words are known to occur in Arabic inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> In l. 4 Dr. van Berchem copied *al-fakīr* instead of *al-'amīn*, as given in my copy. When I copied this inscription, I expected to find *al-fakīr* in this place; but the traces on stone pointed, in my opinion, to the reading *al-'amīn*.

The lieutenant Aḳtughān ath-Thāhirī was a Turk, probably a former slave of al-Malik ath-Thāhir himself.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 187.

On the inner side of the wall of a large vaulted room in a house near the castle gate, to the left as one enters the gate. The whole space occupied by the inscription measures 139 × 77 cm.



- 1 *In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate! This was made in the days of our master the Sultan*
- 2 *al-Malik an-Nāṣir, the wise, the righteous, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn Abū 'l-Muṭḥaffar Yūsuf*
- 3 *b. Muḥammed b. Ghāzī, the friend of the Commander of the Faithful, under the governorship of the humble servant 'Alam ad-Dīn 'Othmān b. Ya'kūb*  
(left) *b. 'Abdar-Raḥmān,— may God have mercy upon him!—*  
(right) *and this was in the year 654 (1256 A.D.).*

My copy of this inscription was made without special regard to the form of the letters and the rare vowel-signs, but solely with regard to its contents and the division of the lines. It is possible, therefore, that not all the additional signs of the original are reproduced here, and that the forms of a few of the letters may not have been accurately drawn in my copy. I have taken care, however, to record all the diacritical points as in the original: thus in Ya'kūb (end of l. 3) the dot under the bā is not written by itself, but is probably contained in one of the two dots of the yā, whereas the two dots over the bā are of course the upper dots of kāf. Attention may also be called to the position of the alif in *khalīl 'amīr* and *al-'abd al-fakīr*.

We learn from this inscription that an-Nāṣir Yūsuf's kunyah was Abū 'l-Muṭḥaffar; this might indicate that he had a son named al-Muṭḥaffar, but, according to Dr. van Berchem, it is just as well possible that *muṭḥaffar* is to be taken here in a general sense, like *fath*, *maḥāsin*, and *ma'ālī*. Yūsuf's sons known from history are al-Ashraf Mūsā, who was a sham sultan of Egypt from 648 to 650, and al-'Azīz Muḥammed.

The governor 'Othmān b. Ya'kūb had the title 'Alam ad-Dīn. Dr. van Berchem has shown that these titles composed of a noun and ad-Dīn decreased in importance and were gradually given to dignitaries of lower rank, and that the sultans therefore distinguished themselves from them by assuming titles with ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn (cf. his interesting comments on these questions in Z. D. P. V., XVI, pp. 93-94 and 104).



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَمْرًا بِتَجْدِيدِ هَذَا (أ) الْخَانِ (الْمُبَارَكِ)  
 الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ (اللَّهِ) الْأَمِيرِ عَزَّ الدِّينِ أَيْبَكُ وَهُوَ بِوَمُئْذٍ صَاحِبُ  
 صَرْخَدِ وَزَرَاعِ أَيْدِ اللَّهِ وَلِيهِ فِي عَشْرِ جُمَادَى الْأُولَى سَنَةِ سِتِّ وَثَلَاثِينَ أَوْسَمَائَةَ  
 الْأَمِيرِ الْأَعَزِّ عَزَّ الدِّينِ أَيْبَكُ الْعَظِيمِ

- 1 *In the name of God! etc. . . . The renovation of this blessed khan was ordered*
- 2 *by the servant who needs God's mercy, the Emir 'Izz ad-Dīn Aibak, and he is at*  
*the present time the fief-holder*
- 3 *of Ṣalkhad and Ezra',—may God strengthen him, who is under His protection!—*  
*on the tenth of Djumādā I of the year 636.*
- 4 *The most powerful Emir 'Izz ad-Dīn Aibak al-Mu'aththamī.*

The reading of this inscription, which from an historical point of view is highly interesting, can scarcely be held in doubt. The addition of *al-mubārak* in l. 1 is not absolutely necessary, but nevertheless probable. In *walīyahu* (l. 3) the *walīy*, "client," is, of course, Aibak himself, whereas the suffix *-hu* refers to God. We know that *walīy* as well as *maulā* has both meanings, "patron, protector," and "client, protégé"; the former occurs, e.g., in C. I. Arab., I, 57: *kāna 'llāh<sup>an</sup> lahu walīy<sup>an</sup> wa-hāfiṭh<sup>an</sup>*. The same is true of *שׂאִי*, *shai'* (see above, p. 73).

An inscription very similar to this, recording the erection of a khan by the same emir near the Lake of Tiberias, in the year 610 A.H., was published by Dr. van Berchem in Z. D. P. V., XVI, pp. 84 sqq., with a very full commentary. This may be compared throughout with the present inscription. Other inscriptions of Aibak, from Ṣalkhad and the region near it, have been published by MM. Dussaud and Macler in their "Mission dans . . . la Syrie Moyenne," pp. 326 sqq.; cf. also Baron von Oppenheim's "Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf," I, p. 206. Finally, inscriptions of Aibak from Mount Tabor and from Ḳal'at 'Adjlūn are soon to be given by Dr. van Berchem in Z. D. P. V.

'Izz ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Mansūr Aibak al-Mu'aththamī was a Mamluk of the Aiyubid al-Malik al-Mu'aththam Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Īsā, at first governor of Damascus (597–615) and after the death of his father, al-'Ādil, sultan of that city (615–624 A.H.). By this his former owner, after whom of course he was called al-Mu'aththamī, he was enfeoffed with the town of Ṣalkhad and its dependencies in the year 608, and was also made majordomo (*ustādh-dār*). Later on, in 624, when 'Īsā died and was succeeded by his son al-Malik an-Nāṣir Dāwūd, Aibak was even made administrator of the realm of Damascus. During his whole political career he developed an energetic building activity: he built three academies in Damascus and one in Jerusalem; furthermore, he erected many structures in Sālā, in the eastern part of the Haurān, and in Ṣalkhad, among

them probably the castle of the latter.<sup>1</sup> In his capacity as majordomo he had special charge of the erection of khans. Accordingly, he built the one mentioned above on p. 204 and ordered the renovation of the khan at Ezra'.

It is noteworthy that he is called here *ṣāhib Ṣarkhad wa-Zurā'*. This expression may be, in some way, synonymous with *Ṣarkhad wa'a'māluh*, which belonged to Aibak, according to Abū 'l-Fidā.<sup>2</sup> But perhaps it includes still more; for if all the land between Ṣalkhad and Ezra'—i.e., from the southeastern slope of the Haurân to the southwest corner of the Ledja—was his fief, the town of Bosra and its region must have been included in it. This may have been the case in 636, the time when our inscription was written. The two towns Ṣalkhad and Ezra' are mentioned together, perhaps only by accident, in Abū 'l-Fidā's geography, p. 259.<sup>3</sup>

The name of the second place is spelled here, if my interpretation of my copy is correct, Zurā'. This would be a new addition to the many different ways of spelling and pronouncing this name. Its original form is Zorawa, as Professor Nöldeke has proved in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 434–435, by comparing the Greek gentili-cium *Zopawρηοί* and the Syriac *ܙܘܪܘܐ*. The form Zorawa has become in Arabic Zurrā or Zurrah, both of which are given by Yākūt. But at an early date popular etymology tried to connect this name with the well-known root "to sow," and thus the forms Zur', Zuru', Zurā'ah (Yākūt and Abū 'l-Fidā), and Zur'ah (Ibn Baṭūṭah) were produced. The spelling given here indicates the pronunciation Zurā'. Nowadays two forms are the most common: Zor'ah and Ezra'. The former I heard from the Druses in the Haurân, before we came to the place itself, whereas on the spot I heard Ezra' from the Mohammedan as well as from the Christian inhabitants.

It remains to be determined where in Ezra' the khan which Aibak rebuilt was situated. The inscription does not seem to be in situ, and, as far as I recollect, there were no signs of a khan near the house in which the inscribed lintel is now placed. But, as we have seen above (p. 179), there is a large ruined building in another part of the town which, according to Mr. Butler, has every appearance of being a medieval Mohammedan khan. It seems probable, therefore, that this was the edifice to which the inscription refers.

Finally, the curious fourth line of the present inscription is to be noted. It is very strange that the name of the builder should be repeated after the date, which usually marks the end of such a document. The way in which the last line is added here gives it the appearance of a signature. But it is hardly possible that Aibak himself wrote this line while in Ezra' at the time of the opening of the building. Dr. van Berchem suggests that perhaps the stone-cutter forgot to carve Aibak's entire official title, and that he was ordered to correct his mistake, which he did by repeating the whole at the end of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> See van Berchem, l.c., pp. 89–90.

<sup>2</sup> See van Berchem, l.c., p. 88, ann. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, p. 529, s.v. Salkhad.

**RBÊ'AH.** TOMBSTONE, 1253 A.D. Two places by this name were visited by the expedition; one is situated between Hâss and il-Bârah, in the mountains of Rîhâ, the other in the Djebel il-Haṣṣ, not far from Mektebeh.



Scale - 1: 10.  
Fig. 172.

The former is a small ruined town, the most prominent monuments of which are a pyramidal tomb and a baptistery, described by Mr. Butler in Part II, pp. 111 and 239. The baptistery has been converted into a Mohammedan shrine: this was done by building a mihrab in its south wall. Probably at the same time the interior was spanned by a small pointed arch, the stones of which bear several Arabic graffiti. Outside of this building an Arabic grave is found, with the common slabs at both ends. The west stone is inscribed with the 112th Surah; the east stone, measuring 69 × 45 cm., bears the following inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن	1	<i>In the name of God the Merciful</i>
الرحيم كل	2	<i>and Compassionate! Every</i>
نفس ذائقة الموت	3	<i>soul must taste of death.</i>
توفي محمود بن عبد	4	<i>There died Mahmūd b. 'Abd</i>
الرحمن رحمه الله سنة (احدى) وخمسين وستائة	5	<i>ar-Rahmān — may God have mercy upon him!</i> <i>— in the year six hundred and fifty-one.</i>

The letters are rather crudely carved, but they have a certain interest from a palæographical point of view. Their reading seems to be certain, except perhaps in l. 5, where the units of the date are badly weathered; for undoubtedly a word giving the units must have stood under *sanah* between *allāh* and *wa-khamsīn*, on account of the *wa-*, which indicates that the word following is *khamsīn*, not *khams*. According to the very faint traces of the missing word which are in my copy, *ihdū* would be the most probable reading.

I hardly believe that Mahmūd b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān was the saint to whom the baptistery-weli was dedicated; in such a case the grave would probably be in the shrine itself. But the presence of the shrine and the tomb indicates that in the middle ages Rbê'ah was inhabited by the Mohammedans.

**BA'ALBEK.** TOWER, 1282 A.D. Over the door of the small Mohammedan tower built above the southeast corner of the Temple of Jupiter. Lines 1-6 are on a slab measuring 98 × 74½ cm.; this stone has tumbled over backward, and lies now face

up on the rubbish behind its original place. L. 7 is still in situ; it is 1.43 m. long. Since Dr. van Berchem intends to publish all the Arabic inscriptions of Ba'albek, together with Dr. Sobernheim, I shall give here the text and translation of this inscription only. Underneath this inscription there is a stone with rich ornaments, in the midst of which there are four circles containing the Arabic words given below as l. 8.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ اسْتَجِدَّ عِمَارَةَ هَذِهِ الْقَلْعَةِ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا  
السُّلْطَانَ الْأَعْظَمِ شَاهِنشَاهِ الْمَعْظَمِ مَالِكِ رِقَابِ الْأُمَمِ سُلْطَانَ الْعَرَبِ  
وَالْعَجَمِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ الْمَنْصُورِ عَلَى الْأَعْدَاءِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَنْصُورِ سَيْفِ الدُّنْيَا  
وَالدِّينِ غِيَاثِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ مَبِيدِ الطَّغَاةِ وَالْمُتَمَرِّدِينَ قَاهِرِ الْخَوَارِجِ وَالْمُتَمَرِّدِينَ  
مَلِكِ السَّحْرَيْنِ خَادِمِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ قَلَاوْنَ قَسِيمِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَلَدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ  
بِتَوَلَّى الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ مَمْلُوكٌ دَوْلَتِهِ وَغَرَسَ صِدْقَتَهُ حَسَنُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ  
الْمَتَوَلَّى يَوْمَئِذٍ وَوَافَقَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فِي مَسْتَهْلِ رَجَبِ الْمُبَارَكِ سَنَةِ أَحَدٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ

عز لمو لا السلطان الملك

- 1 *In the name of God, etc., . . . This castle was rebuilt in the days of our master,*
- 2 *the great Sultan, the exalted King of kings, who owns the necks of the nations, the Sultan of the Arabs*
- 3 *and the Persians, supported from Heaven, aided against his enemies, al-Malik al-Mansūr Saif ad-Dunyā*
- 4 *wad-Dīn, the help of Islam and of the Moslems, the destroyer of rebels and impugners of religion, the subduer of heretics and insurgents,*
- 5 *the king of the two seas, the servant of the two shrines, Ḳalāūn, who shares the power with the Commander of the Faithful — may God prolong his reign! —*
- 6 *during the governorship of the servant who needs God's mercy, the slave of his realm and the plant of his bounty, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad,*
- 7 *who is at the present time the governor. And this was finished on the first day of the blessed month Radjab of the year 681.*
- 8 *Power to our master, the Sultan, the King!*

The Baḥrī Mamluk Sultan al-Mansūr Saif ad-Dīn Ḳalāūn, who reigned from 678 to 689 A.H., erected or renovated a number of important buildings in Syria as well as in Egypt. His reign marks the fourth epoch in the history of the Mohammedan fortress Ba'albek.<sup>1</sup> More particulars about the reign and the buildings of this sultan will be given by Dr. van Berchem.

<sup>1</sup> See the second preliminary report of the extensive German excavations in Ba'albek, *Jahrb. des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archæol. Instituts*, Vol. XVII, 1902, pp. 100-101.

**IL-ĪSĀWĪ.** GRAFFITO, 1301-2 A.D. While I was copying Safaitic inscriptions at il-Īsāwī (see above, pp. 160 sqq.), my companions, the Druse shaikh of Tarbā and my servant Muḥammed Muṣṭafa, undertook some archæological research by themselves; and when we came to leave, they presented me with a copy of an Arabic inscription which they had found on one of the lava blocks. I had not the time to verify their reading, but it was not altogether necessary to do so, as their copy seems to be fairly accurate.

حضر يحيى بن محمد بن (ب) كارة غفر الله له  
ولا خلاله ولن كتبه ولن قرأه. ولجميع المسلمين كتبه  
بسنة احد وسبع مائة

*Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Bakkārah (?) was here,—may God pardon him and his friends (or family), and him who wrote it, and him who reads it, and all Moslems. He wrote it in the year 701.*

The name of the grandfather is incomplete in the copy; it consists of a partly destroyed letter and of *-kādah* or *-kārah*. I have restored *Bakkārah* tentatively. The word after *lahu* is in the copy *wa'atlāluh*; this does not seem to yield a satisfactory meaning. Now we know from Wetzstein<sup>1</sup> that in the Bedawin dialect of Syria the word *halāl* means "family and flocks." A word for "family" would be the most natural here, but the other reading indicated, viz., *wa'akhlāluh*, "and his friends," is at least equally probable. Furthermore, the two words *wa-lidjamī* and *sanah* are somewhat incomplete in the copy, but they cannot be read otherwise.

The interesting conclusions which may be drawn from this graffito are indicated above, p. 111.

**KĀL'AT IL-MUDĪK.** BLOCK OF LIMESTONE, 1418 A.D. On a stone, now inserted upside down in a modern wall, in the northern part of the village which is built within the castle. The house to which this wall belongs was said to be owned by a man named 'Alī b. Husên. The inscribed space is 97 cm. wide.

1 (:) هي عمارة هذى  
The building of this tower was finished

2 البرج بتولى شجاع  
under the governorship of Shudjā'

3 الدين سنة احدى  
ad-Dīn, in the year

4 وعشرين وثمانماية  
821.

انهي عمارة هذى

للبرج بتولى شجاع

للدین سنة احدى

وعشرون وثمانماية

Fig. 173.

The reading *intahā* seems to me better than *unhiya*; but if the former was meant, the stone-cutter omitted the *tā* by mistake, for it does not appear on the stone.

We learn from this inscription that even in 1418 A.D. new portions were added to

<sup>1</sup>Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.

the fortress. At that time the ruler of Syria was the Mamluk Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh.

The inscription is carved in small dots instead of lines; this is the only Arabic inscription which I found written in such a manner. Dotted letters occur not infrequently in Thamudene inscriptions and on Arabic coins, especially on those of the Abbasids; furthermore, as we have seen above on p. 105, certain Safaitic inscriptions are executed entirely in dotted lines.

## 34

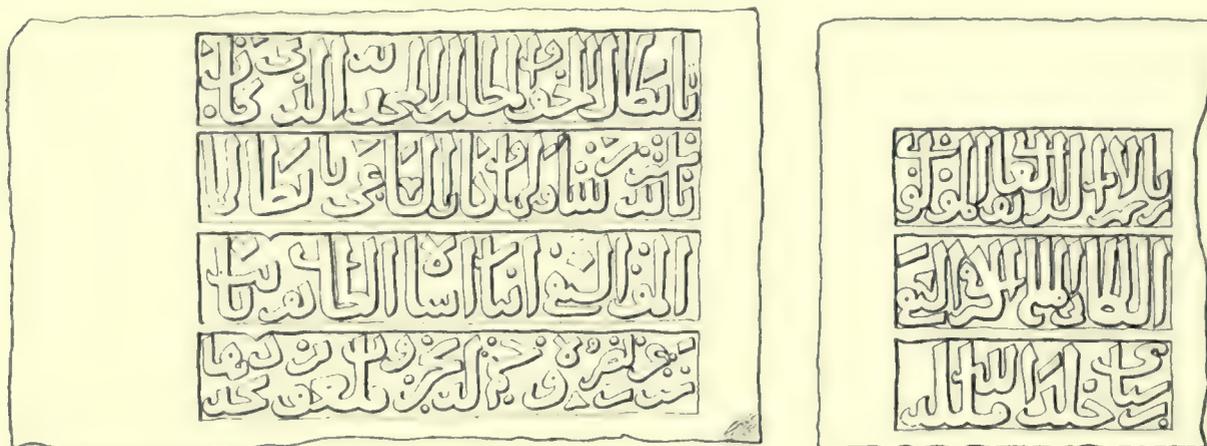
**ḲAL'AT SĒDJAR.** The place on the Orontes called by the Greeks Larissa has in Syriac and Arabic the name Shaizar, and accordingly Stephanos of Byzantium gives Σιζαρα as the native name of Larissa. Like Apamea, it has always been one of the strong places of this region. Battles were fought near it, especially in the time of the crusades. And, again like the modern Apamea, this castle now incloses within its walls an entire village, whose inhabitants, being thus well sheltered from the people of the plain, are known for their robberies and their lawlessness.



Ḳal'at Sédjar, from the northeast.

There are many Arabic inscriptions in Ḳal'at Sédjar: in the south tower of the castle, near the entrance of the castle, and on the bridge over the Orontes. I copied a number of them, but hastily and without attempting to draw the exact forms of the letters: of only one I made an epigraphical copy. All of them have been carefully

studied by Dr. van Berchem and are to be published by him. He has kindly placed some of his photographs and copies at my disposal; these are given below as an appendix to No. 34. The latter consists of two parts, or rather is written on two stones, which are inserted in the wall at the right as one enters the castle. The first part measures  $40 \times 37$  cm., on a stone of  $57 \times 52$  cm.; the second measures  $67 \times 52$  cm., on a stone of  $100 \times 58$  cm.



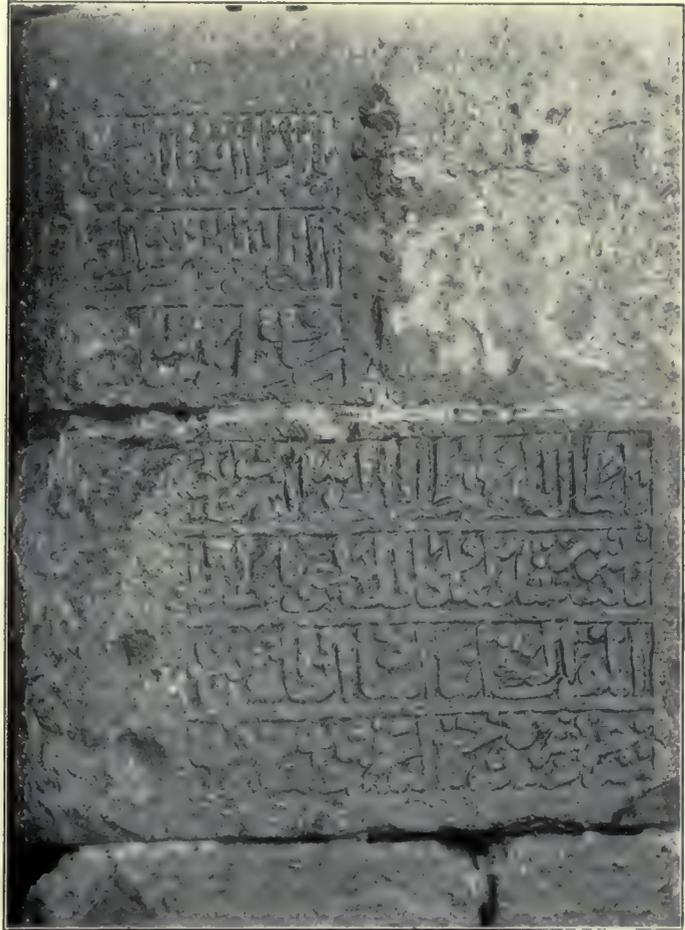
Scale—1:10.  
Fig. 174.

- 1 *It was ordered by the sublime and high decree of our master*  
 2 *the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Saif ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn*  
 3 *Barsbāi—may God prolong his reign!—*  
 4 *to abolish the contributions and the unjust assessments newly introduced, which*  
 5 *the governor of Shaizar used to deliver. He who carried out the abolition*  
 6 *was his Excellency Saif ad-Dīn . . . shāh ath-Thāhirī, the governor of*  
 7 *Shaizar,—may his victory be glorious and his end be made good!—and be cursed whosoever renews it.*

The reading of this inscription is almost entirely due to Dr. van Berchem; when I copied it, I understood only a few words.

The Burdjī Mamluk Sultan, who ordered the abolition of certain unjust taxes and compulsory contributions, was al-Malik al-Ashraf Saif ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn Barsbāi, who reigned from 825 to 842 A.H. (1422–1438 A.D.). This fixes the date of the inscription.

The governor of Shaizar (*nā'ib Shaizar*) who was charged with the execution of the decree had the name Saif ad-Dīn . . . shāh ath-Thāhirī, and seems to have been a former slave of the Sultan al-Malik ath-Thāhir Saif ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn Ṭaṭār, who ruled only a very short time, in the year 824 (1421). The name (*ism*) of this governor I have not been able to determine. His surnames consist of two adjectives derived from other names; the usage of these adjectives has been expounded by Dr. van Berchem in the C. I. Arab., 76, 185, and 443 sqq. In our case, then, *as-Saifi*, being dependent on *al-maḳarr*, "Excellency," is a "title-nisbah" and refers to the name of the emir himself; as usual, it precedes immediately the proper name. The other adjective, *ath-Thāhirī*, is a "nisbah of appurtenance," derived from al-Malik ath-Thāhir, and, being dependent on the proper name, follows the latter.



Arabic inscription 34, at Ka'at Sédjar.

34a. Over the entrance to the castle, at a considerable height. This inscription was read by Dr. van Berchem by means of a telescope, whereas I with the naked eye copied only parts of it.

مما عمر في أيام مولانا السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم سيد ملوك العرب والعجم سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين قاتل الخوارج  
والمتمردين كهف الضعفاء (والمساكين فاتح الفتوح) والامصار الملك المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين قلاون الصالح اعز الله انصاره  
عمل الاستاذ المولى العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى ايك الجندار المنصوري في مستهل رجب سنة تسع وثمانين وستائة

*This was built in the days of our lord the great Sultan, who owns the necks of the nations, the ruler of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, the Sultan of Islam and the Moslems, who kills the heretics and insurgents, the shelter of the weak [and the poor, the conqueror?] of the lands, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Saif ad-Dunyā wad-Dīn Ka-lāūn aṣ-Ṣālihī,—may God make powerful his victories!—in charge of the master . . . , the servant needy of God's mercy, Aibak al-Djandār al-Manṣūrī, on the first day of Radjab of the year 689 (1290 A.D.).*

34b and 34c are found on the bridge over the Orontes. The former is on a stone, measuring 62 × 40 cm., inserted in the wall of the bridge-house; it states that the

governor of Shaizar abolished certain taxes, which are, however, probably different from those mentioned in No. 34. Inscription 34c is on a stone near the center of the



Arabic inscription 34c, at Ḳal'at Sêdjar.

inner side of the railing of the bridge; it tells that Sultan Barsbâi, the same who ordered the abolition of the taxes, also took care of the structures of Shaizar, stating that by him the bridge was renovated in the year 834 A.H. My copies

of these inscriptions being incomplete, the following reproductions are to a large extent based on the information given by Dr. van Berchem.

..... في ابطال المقر الكريم العلأى طر على بن صقلبية(?)  
 نائب شيزر المحروسة اعز الله انصاره ما على  
 ..... (اهل شيزر) جريا في ذلك عاده والده المقر  
 ..... ملعون بن ملعون من يجدد مظالمه

جدد عمارة هذا الجسر المبارك بعد هدمه بالزيادة سبب مدته مولانا السلطان  
 الملك الاشرف برسباى خلد الله ملكه ورسم تصرف كلفته من الخزانة الشريفة وكان  
 ابتداء العمارة به ثالث عشر شوال المبارك سنة اربعة وثلثين وثمان مائة وانتهاه  
 سلخ رمضان مما (تولى عمارتها?) المقر الاشرف (السيفى?) جلبن كافل المملكة الشريفة الحامية(?)

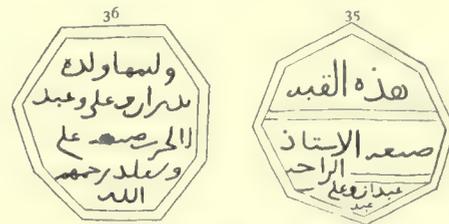
35-37

**MA'ARRIT IN-NU'MÂN.** The town of Ma'arrit in-Nu'mân, the crusaders' Marra, contains a number of Arabic inscriptions, mostly of the later middle ages; it seems as if through the vicissitudes of the crusades and by frequent rebuilding much of the ancient Arabic town has been lost. Dr. van Berchem has made a careful study of the inscriptions. Besides No. 14, published above on p. 190, I made epigraphical copies of only the following three inscriptions.

Nos. 35 and 36 are in the ruined Ḳubbit Shêkh 'Amr ibn [al-]Wardî, a so-called weli, built of black basalt, northeast of the town. I was told that this structure had fallen into ruins only a very few years ago. The lintel, a large stone now lying face down and covered with other stones which I could not remove, was said to contain

the main inscription: in this probably the name of the shaikh buried here is mentioned. It seems to me that the name 'Amr was either misheard or given by mistake; for I believe that the building in question is the tomb of the Arabic writer 'Omar b. al-Muḥaffar al-Ma'arrī Zain ad-Dīn b. al-Wardī, who was born in Ma'arraḥ before 1290 A.D. and died in the year 1349 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

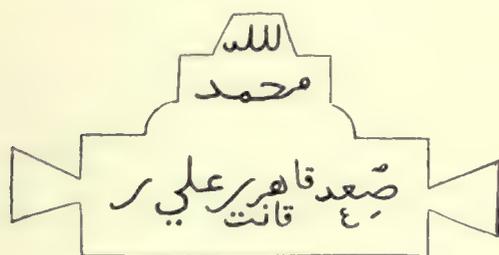
On each side of the partly destroyed mihrab is an inscription still in situ. No. 35 is on the west side, to the right as one looks toward the mihrab; it measures 26 × 27 cm. No. 36 is on the east side; it measures 26 × 26 cm.



Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 175.

35	36
هذه القبّة	واقمها ولده
<i>This kubbah</i>	<i>And it was finished by his son</i>
صنعة الاستاذ	بدران وعلي وعبد
<i>is the work of the master</i>	<i>Badrān, and by 'Alī, and 'Abd</i>
عبدان وعلي	الحى (?) . . .
<i>'Abdān and of 'Alī ?</i>	<i>al-Haiy (?) . . .</i>
	و . . . may God have
	رحمهم
	الله
	<i>mercy upon them!</i>

37. On the west side of the minaret of the "Great Mosque" (*djāmi' il-kebīr*). Height of the inscription from top to bottom, 32 cm.; maximum width, including the dovetails, 65 cm.



Scale — 1 : 10.  
Fig. 176.

الله	<i>Allāh.</i>
محمد	<i>Muhammad.</i>
صنعة قاهر بن علي بن	<i>(This is) the work of Kāhir b. 'Alī b.</i>
(ثابت)	<i>Thābit (or Kāyt).</i>

The letters are rather crude; in a few cases an attempt has been made to repeat the *muhmalah* letters above and below the line, a common feature in many ornate Arabic inscriptions. In the first word the alif is turned toward the left and joined to the lām following.

None of these inscriptions seems to be older than about 1350 A.D.; but they may be much younger. For the assignment of a definite date other epigraphical evidence is necessary.

## 38

**IL-MGHĀRAH.** GRAFFITO. In a large rock-hewn chamber, the vestibule of an extensive underground structure, on the wall opposite the entrance. The graffito measures 215 × 68 cm.

<sup>1</sup> See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. II, p. 140.

- 1 *In the name of God! etc. O ye who do believe! Seek aid from patience and from prayer (Sur. 2: 148).*  
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْتَعِينُوا بِالصَّبْرِ وَالصَّلَاةِ
- 2 *And glory be to God, and God be praised, and there is no God but God,*  
 وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- 3 *and there is no . . . . .*  
 وَلَا حُدَّ (مِنْ) مَوَاهِدَ
- 4 *and with God the High One is the result. To God belongs the order before and after (30: 3). This invocation was written*  
 بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ (?) اللَّهُ الْأَمْرُ مِنْ قَبْلِ وَمِنْ بَعْدٍ وَكُتِبَ هَذَا الذِّكْرُ
- 5 *by Ibn . . . for the profit of the Faithful. May God pardon him who wrote it, and his parents,*  
 ابْنِ . . . . . لِنَفْعِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لِمَنْ كَتَبَهُ وَلِوَالِدَيْهِ
- 6 *and the parents of his parents, and all believers, and may God's blessing be upon Muhammed*  
 وَلِوَالِدَاتِهِ وَلِجَمِيعِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَصَلَاةَ اللَّهِ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ
- 7 *the Prophet and his holy family!*  
 النَّبِيِّ وَآلِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ

After this there is added by a later hand:

مسكين العماد            *The man devoid of nobility—*  
 عبيد الجياد            *The good servant!*

This graffito seems to be quite early; for the raising of the base-line in *al-mu'minîn* (l. 5 and l. 6) and letters like the *mîm* in *walidjami* (l. 6) recall strongly certain peculiarities of Kufic script. The lack of a definite style, however, and the irregularity of the whole make any conclusion doubtful. But it must be said also that the contents at the end (l. 7) may indicate an early date; the additional formula "and his holy [lit., pure] family" after the mention of the Prophet himself was a very favorite one during the time of the Fatimids. It is therefore possible that the graffito dates from before the end of the fifth century A.H., although, of course, a follower of 'Alî may have written it in later times; we know that near this part of Syria the Alid sects had a firm footing for a long while, and even now there are a few places with Ismâ'îliyeh population not far from the mountain country near Rihâ.

The last four words are of a very modern character, to judge from the script. What they are intended to mean is hard to say. They are not quotations from the

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْتَعِينُوا بِالصَّبْرِ وَالصَّلَاةِ  
 وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ  
 وَلَا حُدَّ مَرْمُوهَا  
 بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ اللَّهُ الْأَمْرُ مِنْ قَبْلِ وَمِنْ بَعْدٍ وَكُتِبَ هَذَا الذِّكْرُ  
 لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ يَفْعَلُ مَا يَشَاءُ عَفَرَ اللَّهُ مَنْ كَتَبَهُ وَلِوَالِدَيْهِ  
 وَلِوَالِدَاتِهِ وَلِجَمِيعِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَصَلَاةَ اللَّهِ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ  
 النَّبِيِّ وَآلِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ

مسكين العماد  
 عبيد الجياد

Scale — 1 : 20.  
 Fig. 177.

Koran, but each one of them occurs there separately, and *maskīn al-'imād* might easily have been suggested by *dhāt al-'imād* (Sur. 89: 6).

## 39-45

FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LATER MIDDLE AGES IN THE DJEBEL  
IL-A'LA AND DJEBEL BĀRĪSHĀ

From a historical point of view it is not without interest to know which of the many great and beautiful towns of the mountain country of Antioch were inhabited after the Mohammedan conquest of Syria. These mountains were very near the Greek border, and many a battle must have been fought in the plains near them. This constant warfare probably prevented a higher Mohammedan civilization from growing up here; for the people's lives were often in danger, and the natural resources of the country had been cut off. The only new structures which seem to have been built in this region are a few castles strewn over it. But except the one at Hârim, which lies just outside of the district, they bear no inscriptions and are of the simplest character. We have therefore, at present, no other carved historical records than the tombstones. Two of them, one at Bāmuḳḳā and another at Dâr Kītā, are published above under Nos. 24 and 25 respectively. Here I have gathered a few of the later inscriptions, which may serve as specimens and present at the same time by their dates some historical evidence. I need scarcely say that I have not thought all copies which I made worthy of publication, and that I therefore give only a selection of them here.

## 39

'ARSHĪN. 1256 A.D. This is a town, now deserted, near the southern end of the Djebel Bārīshā. Yāḳūt (III, 640) mentions it as "a village in the district of Ḥalab." The inscription is not on a real tombstone, but on a quadrated stone in the wall of a church, of which now only the apse is standing (see Part II, p. 198); this stone is in the west wall, near the west door, at the right as one enters.

توفى ابو العشاية محمد رحمه الله سنة  
*There died Abū 'l-'Ashāyah (read -'Ashāyir?) Muhammed—*  
اربعة وخمسين وستمائة *may God have mercy upon him!—in the year 654.*

## 40

KŌKANĀYĀ. 1295/96 A.D. Kōkanâyā is one of the most important ancient towns in the southern part of the Djebel Bārīshā, now partly inhabited. The inscription is not on a regular tombstone, but runs along the side of an oblong block with moldings at both ends.

توفيت سته الدر ابنة محمد رحمه الله  
*There died Sittat ad-Durr (?), the daughter of Muhammed,—*  
بسة خمسة وتسعين وستمائة *may God have mercy upon her!—in the year 695.*

**DJŪWĀNĪYEH.** 1370/71 A.D. Djūwānīyeh is a very interesting deserted town, about three miles northwest of 'Arshīn. Its name seems to be modern; but perhaps even in Syriac it was called *Gauwānāitā*, "the Inner One," from its natural position in a sort of pocket in the mountains. The inscription is on a tombstone in a field between the ruins and the olive-grove south of them; small rocks are piled around the grave, following one of the very oldest Semitic customs.

ابوبكر بن محمد *Abū Bakr b. Muḥammed*

المعري (٢) سنة اثنين *al-Ma'arrī. In the year seven hundred*

وسبعين (و) سبع ما (ثمة) *and seventy-two.*

The reading *al-Ma'arrī* is not quite certain: my copy indicates a zai instead of a rā. But since the yā is written over the rā, the dot may be one of two original diacritical points belonging to the yā; for we know that the final yā, when it stands for *ī* or *ai*, usually has its points. Then *al-Ma'arrī* may refer to one of the Ma'arrahs in the near plain, e.g., Ma'arrit il-Miṣrīn or Ma'arrit il-Akwân or some other.

**DÊR SÊTĀ.** 1431-1530 A.D. Dêr Sêtā is a town near the western slope of the southern part of the Djebel Bārīshā, now partly inhabited. This place seems to have had a somewhat larger Mohammedan settlement than many of the neighboring towns and villages, for there are remains of Mohammedan structures and two graveyards with Arabic tombstones. One of them, which seems to contain the older graves, is near the octagonal baptistery (see Part II, p. 238) in the western part of the town; there I copied, among others, the following inscription:

توفى الراحمة 1 *There died, entering into the mercy*

الله تعالى يوسف ابن ايوب (ب) 2 *of God the Sublime, Yūsuf b. Aiyūb,*

في (السات) لجمادى (الاولى) 3 *on the (sixth) of Djumādā al-ūlā*

سنة اربعة وثلاثين وثمانائة 4 *of the year eight hundred and thirty-four.*

The 6th of Djumādā I, 834 A.H., corresponds to January 20, 1431 A.D.

43 AND 44. The other graveyard is to be found in the eastern part of the ruins, just outside the eastern end of the present Mohammedan village. These graves show several interesting features. One of them is a sort of sarcophagus-tomb, copied, as it

seems, after ancient Greek sarcophagi; it has a stone cover with the well-known acroteria at the four corners. Furthermore, several "disks," which are so characteristic of the Christian architecture in this region,<sup>1</sup> were found on these tombs, one on the stone cover just mentioned, others on real "tombstones," the slabs at both ends of the tombs. These ornamental designs are still used in Syria and Mesopotamia at the present day; some of them I myself saw on the inner walls of a modern khan at Biredjik. And, as the Rev. W. A. Shedd, a missionary at Urumiah, told me, the same designs are carved most commonly on the tombstones of the Nestorians in that region.

## 43

- |                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| توفى الحرة            | 1 | <i>There died al-Hurrat</i>                     |
| البنات (?) بنت علي بن | 2 | <i>al-Banāt (?), the daughter of 'Alī b.</i>    |
| ابراهيم الى رحمة الله | 3 | <i>Ibrāhīm, entering into the mercy of God</i>  |
| تعالى سنة اربعة و     | 4 | <i>the Sublime, (in) the year eight hundred</i> |
| سبعين وثمانائة        | 5 | <i>and seventy-four.</i>                        |

The Mohammedan year 874 began July, 1469 A.D., and ended June, 1470.

44. This tomb consists of a regular frame: it had two comparatively high side walls, 1.95 m. long, the one at the north side being now in ruins; the end-stones were quite narrow and 1.25 m. high, of which the one at the west end has fallen to the ground. The following is the inscription on the outer side of the stone at the east end.

- |                         |   |   |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| كل نفس ضا (يقة) الموت   | 1 | <i>Every soul must taste of death.</i>      |
| توفى مسعود ابن بدر      | 2 | <i>There died Mas'ūd b. Badr,</i>           |
| الامين الى رحمة الله في | 3 | <i>trusting in the mercy of God,</i>        |
| تاريخ ثاني عشر شهر شوال | 4 | <i>on the twelfth of the month Shawwāl,</i> |
| (من) شهر سنة ٩٣٦        | 5 | <i>of the months of the year 936.</i>       |

The 12th of Shawwāl, 936 A.H., corresponds to June 9, 1530 A.D.

## 45

**KEFR MÂRES.** 1530 A.D. Kefr Mâres is a place consisting now largely of modern houses partly built into the ruins, and is situated near the southern end of the valley between the Djebel il-A'la and the Djebel Bārīshā. Some Mohammedan buildings of the middle ages are traceable. In the northern part of the ruins, directly north of the modern

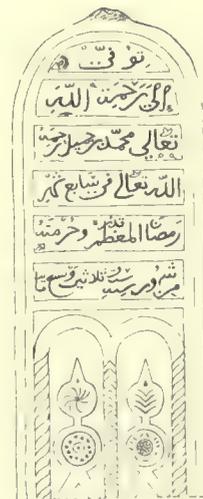


Fig. 178 (inscr. 45).

<sup>1</sup> See Part II, p. 32.

Druse village and south of an ancient mausoleum, there is a burying-ground containing Arabic graves. One of these may serve as an example of the rest: it has, as usual, two high end-stones and two low frame-walls, and it is, of course, correctly oriented.

45. On the outer side of the eastern end-stone, which now lies on the ground, face up. The slab measures 68 × 200 cm.

- |                                  |   |  |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| توفى                             | 1 | <i>There died, entering</i>  |
| الى رحمة الله                    | 2 | <i>into the mercy of God</i>   |
| تعالى محمد بن جميل رحمه          | 3 | <i>the Sublime, Muhammed b. Djamīl,—may God the</i>                        |
| الله تعالى في سابع شهر           | 4 | <i>Sublime have mercy upon him! —on the seventh of the</i><br><i>month</i> |
| رمضان المعظم قدره وحرمة          | 5 | <i>Ramadān,—exalted is its power and its reverence,—</i>                   |
| من شهور سنة ست وثلاثين وتسع مائة | 6 | <i>of the months of the year nine hundred and thirty-six.</i>              |

The Mohammedan date given here corresponds to May 5, 1530, of the Christian era.  
45*a*. On the inner side of the western end-stone, which is still standing.

- |                          |   |  |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| عمل هذه الحجره           | 1 | <i>This stone was made by</i>                        |
| المعلم يوسف عزيز         | 2 | <i>the master Yūsuf 'Azīb,</i>                       |
| ابن المعلم محمد الكفتاني | 3 | <i>the son of the master Muhammed of Kiftīn (?).</i> |

Kiftīn is the most important Druse village of the region; but it is not absolutely certain whether this place is meant here.

45*b*. On the outer side of the same stone Sur. 112 is written in six lines; after which follows:

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| صدق الله العظيم   | <i>Truth was spoken by God the Exalted One,</i> |
| وصدق رسوله الكريم | <i>And truth by His Prophet the noble one.</i>  |

Dr. van Berchem informs me that this formula, which is used only after verses of the Koran, has not been found in inscriptions before the beginning of the eighth century A.H.

## ADDENDA

P. 81. The Greek form of Bar Sa'd, Βαρσαδός, occurs in an inscription published in the "Journal Asiatique," 1898, II, pp. 91 sqq.

P. 99. In l. 2 of the Hebrew inscription No. 9, the adjective אֶלְרַחֲבֵי may be in some way connected with אֶרֶב, the name of a place in Northern Syria, mentioned in Wright's "Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum," p. 707, col. b, l. 4 from the bottom.

P. 118. Another proof of the strong formation of the elative forms derived from verba mediæ geminatae is the name Αγμάμος, which occurs in Part III, inscr. 402; this is probably the same word as the Arabic *adjamm*, "hornless, spearless." We may also quote here the Safaitic name ארתת, *Artat*; the Arabic equivalent of this is *al-Aratt*, I. Dor. 237.

P. 121. Although I believe that in פהלת סלם the ה is an interjection, I have translated in a number of cases "in the name of Allât, greeting." This is, of course, only a free translation, and does not imply that פה must needs be taken as a preposition. It should be mentioned that M. Halévy has also arrived at this interpretation of ה; cf. "Revue Sémitique," 1904, pp. 37 sqq.

P. 128. Other double diminutive names are Σαμμουλάνοσ, Part III, inscr. 388, and Μοναικιδάνοσ, ib., 421. In both cases the diminutive ending *-ān* has been added to another diminutive, which is expressed by a change of the vowels: the former is a *fa'ūl* form of a name like שמל or שמאל; the latter is a *fu'ail* form of *Munkidh*, I. Dor. 141.

P. 141, inscr. 35c. שוא, *Shawwā'*, means roaster and occurs as the name of an Arabic writer in Brockelmann's "Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur," Vol. I, p. 256.

P. 145. With regard to the name ארתת see addendum to p. 118.

P. 158. The name אר, in No. 107, might also be read *Aud*; cf. אורו in the Nabataean inscription 2, l. 4.

P. 162. The root *'akhar* interchanges with *wakhar* in modern dialects also: in Palestinian Arabic we find the verb *twakhhkar*, "to be late," and in Egyptian the adjective *wakhrī*, "late."

P. 164, inscr. 122. In the Arabic inscr. 38, l. 5, the word *dhikr* is used, because it refers to quotations from the Koran. Reading and translation of the word transcribed זכר remain very uncertain, though perhaps the meaning "inscription" may be derived from the meaning "mention."



INDICES TO PART IV



# INDICES

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<sup>1</sup> The figures in this index and the three following refer to the numbers of the inscriptions, except if preceded by p., indicating the page.

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