M.C.A. Macdonald

Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia

ASHGATE VARIORUM
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This volume contains x + 420 pages
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

NB references of the form ‘VIII’ or ‘VI: 308–10’ refer to articles in this volume.

I. Literacy in an oral environment

p. 91, line 19: after ‘matres lectionis’ add ‘and unidirectional writing’.

p. 98, first paragraph: see Robin 2001: 556–68 for an interesting discussion on orality and the use of writing in late pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia.

p. 98, n. 155: On the so-called ‘Himyaritic language’ see now Stein 2003: 6–7; 2004: 229–32, 235–40; and Macdonald in press a in the references at the end of these Addenda and Corrigenda.

p. 102, and n. 156: See now the extremely interesting paper on this psalm-fragment by Maria Mavroudi (2008) which for the first time provides excellent photographs. She argues that ‘the palaeographic evidence points to a late ninth, or possibly even early tenth-century date’ (2008: 328). At such a date, it would surely be difficult to explain the transcription of Arabic into Greek letters unless the persons for whom it was written were Arabic speakers who were illiterate in the Arabic script but who had learnt to read the Greek alphabet. Such a scenario is not impossible.

p. 104, and nn. 172–3: See now VIII.

p. 114, References:
‘Macdonald in press a’: This will now be published in Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy.
‘Macdonald in press b’: This now = Macdonald 2006 in the references at the end of these Addenda and Corrigenda.
‘Macdonald in press c’: This is still ‘in press’ and = Macdonald in press d in the references at the end of these Addenda and Corrigenda.
‘Macdonald in press d’: This now = Macdonald 2008 a in the references at the end of these Addenda and Corrigenda.

1 Violet did publish some photographs in a Berichtigter Sonderabzug of his article in 1902. However, these are so bad that it is almost impossible to read anything. Mavroudi’s photographs are quite different.
II. Nomads and the Ḥawrān in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods

p. 304, line 9: On the Safaitic inscriptions from Dura Europos, see now Macdonald 2005a.

p. 304, last three lines: The figures for Safaitic inscriptions are now (September 2008) approximately 28,000 inscriptions known, of which some 10,800 were found within the borders of modern Syria and more than 16,900 in northeastern Jordan, with approximately 300 in other places.

The increase in the number of inscriptions found in Syria is due to the work of the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme between 1995 and 2003, of which the publication is in preparation, (some 3600 from the site of al-ʿĪsawī and more than 500 from other places), and the smaller but highly significant surveys by Hussein Zeinaddin (2000) and Ghazi al-Luʾluʾ (unpublished).

The increase in those from Jordan is almost entirely due to the work of scholars and students from the Department of Epigraphy, Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University, Irbid. Most of these were edited in MA theses and, alas, have not been published. However, some collections have appeared, see Khraysheh 2002, Ababneh 2005, Abbadi 2006.

The increase in those known from other regions is almost entirely due to the publications of Safaitic inscriptions from Saudi Arabia, particularly by Sulayman ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḏīyīb (collected in al-Ḏīyīb 2003).

p. 304, n. 4: For another Safaitic inscription from the site, but further south than the one at Mabrak al-nāqah mentioned in this note, see Nehmé 2005: 161 and fig. 9.

p. 304, n. 6: In addition to these, there is a stone bearing up to four Safaitic inscriptions in the Museum of Maʿayan Baruch. It is said to have been discovered in the foothills of Mount Hermon, and in 1989 Shimon Dar sent me a photograph of it but did not publish my report on the inscriptions (see Dar 1993: 17, n. 26, and 248 photo 7). For the sake of completeness and because of the unusual provenance of the stone, I publish a brief edition of the texts here.
From the photograph, the stone appears to have been dressed both on the inscribed face and on the sides, but it is impossible to tell whether this was done for inscription no. 1, which is in a formal version of the script and on the most prominent part of the face, or whether it was simply a dressed stone reused for graffiti. The face also bears large, roughly hammered, modern wusūm (tribal marks) and other extraneous lines.

1. in large well-cut letters running from right-to-left across the centre of the face: lʾḥdy, a well-known name in Safaitic.

2. in slightly cruder but still well-formed letters running left-to-right from the left edge and meeting the end of no. 1: sʾnʾ. The name has been found only once before in Clark 1979: no. 22, and it is possible that it should be read as the very common name hnʾ.

If 1+2 were to be read as one text lʾḥdyʾnsʾ one would have to explain the otherwise unknown divine, or possibly royal, name yʾnsʾ.

3. in faint and roughly cut letters in the bottom left hand corner of the face: lʾndmʾ, another well-known name.

4. In the top right-hand corner of the face there are some characters which may or may not be Safaitic. If they are, they could be read: lʾbzlʾʾt, but this is very uncertain and the fourth letter (if such it is) has a shape for which I can offer no reasonable interpretation.


p. 306, n. 20: Macdonald 19..a has unfortunately not yet appeared, but where there is life there is hope! However, this text and another by the same person are discussed in Macdonald, Al Muʾazzin and Nehmé 1996: 480–84.


p. 307, n. 30: This cave tomb is now published in Macdonald 2006.

p. 308, n. 34: Alas, ‘North Arabian Inscriptions and Drawings II’ has not yet appeared. However, I am contributing an article to the festschrift for Muawiya Ibrahim on the Safaitic (LP 87) and, now two, unpublished Hismaic inscriptions by members of the ’l Ḥwlt.

p. 309, nn. 44: Graf 2003: 34, n. 44 says that the list of inscriptions in this notes ‘confuses the types represented in the finds ... identifying lintel stones as funerary stelae and vice versa.’ In fact, the only stones about whose function he

2 The name in C 861 (cited in Harding 1971: 332) actually reads hnʾ.
disagrees with me are LP 1272, 1273 and 1278. The first, with a length of 64 cms is rather short for a lintel, but I agree it would be odd to have two people on one grave stela. LP 1273 is indeed a stela, not a lintel as I had indicated, and 1278 is indeed not a memorial but a stone with one graffito (not three as read by Littmann) which reads boustrophedon l hnʾ w bnyʾ l ’b-h ḫwʾ nṣr sʾ---- ‘By Hnʾ and he built [presumably a cairn or grave] over his father and guarded [or watched] ....’ The end of the text is presumably missing.

pp. 311ff.: This section of the article has been taken by some as meaning that I believed that no sedentary ever wrote a Safaitic inscription! This, of course, is a total misinterpretation of what I wrote. I was arguing against the view that the majority of the authors of these texts were sedentaries (p. 311, paragraph 1) when the distribution and more importantly the content indicated that they were nomads. However, I summed up the evidence with the following:

As I have said, I know no evidence that will stand scrutiny that any of the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions were sedentaries. This is surprising since one might expect that, even if the majority of those who used the script were nomads, at least some of the sedentaries on the desert’s edge might also have employed it. But if they did, they have left no inscriptions which can be attributed to them, or rather, none have so far been identified. (II: 313)

It should be clear from this that I have always had an open mind as to whether the Safaitic script (and the Hismaic too, for that matter) was sometimes used by sedentaries. As I said in the passage quoted above, it would be very surprising if it was not. But, as I pointed out, while a small number of Safaitic and Hismaic inscriptions have been found in towns such as Umm al-Jimāl, Palmyra and Pompeii, none of these contains subject matter related to settled life; indeed the vast majority contain only names. At present therefore it is not possible to tell whether they were carved by natives of the places in which they were discovered, or by visitors from the desert, where the vast majority of Safaitic and Hismaic texts are to be found.

During the first season of the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme in 1996, Hussein Zeinaddin and I had many profitable and enjoyable discussions about the content and distribution of the Safaitic inscriptions. In the course of these, I remarked that the main reason why hardly any of these texts had been found on Jabal al-ʿArab was probably that no one had ever made a systematic search for them there, and I suggested that, as a resident of the village of Shaʿaf on

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3 This is still true even taking account of Zeinaddin’s discoveries, discussed below, and the texts listed in II: 311, n. 50 (reproduced with a few additions in Graf 2003). Those Safaitic inscriptions found in, or more often around, settled areas, make up only a tiny proportion of the c. 28,000 texts known and there is still nothing in the content of those which consist of more than names to suggest that their authors led a settled life.
its eastern slopes, he was ideally placed to undertake one. In the following year he made a survey on the Jabal during which he discovered some 400 Safaitic inscriptions. This is of great importance, and his article (Zeinaddin 2000) publishing a sample of 18 inscriptions is extremely interesting. It is hoped that he will soon publish the remaining texts.

However, it is important to recognize what exactly it is that he found. None of the inscriptions he published came from within villages but all were found in the surrounding countryside or the wadis running down the eastern slopes of Jabal al-ʿArab into the ḫarra, and, from what Zeinaddin himself says (2000: 268, 271), most, if not all, of the rest of the collection came from similar areas. This should be borne in mind when using his list of find-places on p. 287. The place names in the ‘Entdeckungsort’ column refer to the areas around the villages listed and the wadis leading from some of them into the desert. Thus, of the 110 inscriptions listed under the village of Rushayda only one, according to Zeinaddin (2000: 271), was actually found in the village.

The sedentaries on the edge of the desert would surely have had plenty of opportunities to learn the Safaitic script had they wanted to, and many may well have done so. However, as I suggest in I: 82–4 and Macdonald 2006: 300–301, under normal circumstances they probably lacked the opportunity or need to use it to write graffiti. This surely suggests that, if the inscriptions found by Zeinaddin were written by sedentaries, these particular texts were carved in similar circumstances to those found in the desert, i.e. as a pastime in periods of solitary idleness while pasturing flocks, etc. We simply cannot tell whether the Safaitic script was used for more practical purposes on perishable materials in village life.

p. 311, n. 50: for the inscriptions at Dura Europos see now Macdonald 2005a. For the inscriptions from Rushayda, see the addendum to n. 54 below. For the cave-tomb at Dayr al-Kahf, see Macdonald 2006.

p. 311, n. 54: One of the inscriptions from Rushayda is on the lintel of a cave tomb (mġrt). It is published in Macdonald 2006: 298–300. The other, known only from a hand copy and difficult to interpret, remains unpublished.

p. 314: On references to raiding in the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions, see now Macdonald 1996: 76.

p. 314, n. 70: There is still only one instance of ḡzy, but some 50 examples of the verb ḡzz are now known, and 14 of ḍbʿ.

p. 315, n. 75: On Ṣī‘ in the Safaitic inscriptions, see now Macdonald 2003b.

p. 318: Safaitic inscriptions mentioning cows.4 Since I wrote this article, three more have been found, one at al-ʿĪsāwī (unpublished), one at Išbikket en-Namāra (see Zeinaddin 2000: 273 commentary to no. 4), both well-established watering-places, and one on Jabal al-ʿArab near the village of al-Ḥarīsa

4 In C 860, the letters which the editor read ṣ ṭ ḍ ṭ ḍ actually read ṣ ṭ ʿ ḍ ṭ ḍbr.

Since II was written I have visited al-Ḥifneh where three of the other texts mentioning cows were found (LP 90, 155, and 159) and I can confirm that it is simply a large ḡadīr in the Wādī Shām, where water can remain for some considerable time after the winter rains and where it can often be found not far beneath the surface of the wadi-bed (see Macdonald, Al Muʿazzin, and Nehmé 1996: 449–52. However, it is not a place which could support permanent settlement.

p. 319, n. 111: The statistics now stand at about 950 references to camels; some 90 to sheep; and some 60 for goats. Of the references to camels some 120 refer to activities involving the animals and the rest refer to adjacent drawings. ‘No Safaitic drawings of domestic goats have yet been found’. Since writing this, I have identified the animals with short raised vertical tails in the drawing accompanying HCH 73 as goats. See Macdonald 2005 b: 333–9.

p. 319, n. 114: This example was not very well chosen, since nʿm can mean any domestic animal bred for its products, i.e. sheep, goats, camels, cattle, etc.’ A clearer example would be KRS 811 which has: w ḥll b-dʿn w šṭḥ h-ʾbl ‘he camped with some sheep and drove the camels out [to pasture].’

p. 322, lines 2–4: ‘it is in these regions that the majority of the references to the season of qayẓ are to be found.’ This is no longer true, though this may partly be a function of the areas where more recent explorations have taken place, i.e. there have been more expeditions to the central ḥarra than to its eastern edge. Of 38 examples of the word qyẓ 13 are associated with the eastern edge of the ḥarra, 20 with places within the ḥarra and 4 with places unknown. It is interesting to note that there is one example at the western edge of the ḥarra, from Wādī Rushayda, one of the wadis which runs down the eastern side of Jabal al-ʿArab to join the Wādī Shām in the ḥarra (Zeinaddin 2000: 280–81, no. 11).

p. 322, lines 6–9: On the word šṭq see now VIII: 3–4.

p. 322, n. 127: A clear example of someone spending the season of the later rains, then the dry season and then the following winter at the same watering place in the ḥarra, was found at al-ʿĪsāwī, near al-Namārah in the Wādī Shām, by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme. It reads ... w ḥll h dr dṯʾ fʾyḍ f šṭʾ ... ‘and he camped at this place spending the season of the later rains (dṯʾ) and then the dry season (ʾyḍ, i.e. qyẓ) and then the winter (šṭʾ) ....’ On the remarkable dialectal variant ʾyḍ for qyẓ see I: 88–9.

p. 325: line 8: on the significance of the Rawwāfah inscription for relations between some nomads and Rome, see now VIII: 9–14.


ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

pp. 337ff: See Graf 2002, 2003 for his ‘reply’ to these pages.

p. 339: ‘...the Safaitic inscriptions provide no evidence that their authors lived on Jabal Ḥawrân and only a handful of Safaitic inscriptions have been found there.’ This needs to be revised slightly in view of Zeinaddin’s discoveries, though see the discussion above under pp. 311ff. On the slopes below the modern village of Sha’aaf, Zeinaddin discovered an inscription by someone belonging to the ’l s²ʿf (Zeinaddin 2000: 276, no. 6). As he suggests, the author may have been a sedentary, at least if the mediaeval and modern village of Sha’aaf also existed with that name in antiquity. However, it may be significant that this is the only text by a member of this ’l found by Zeinaddin anywhere in his survey on Jabal al-ʿArab, and that he also found on the slopes below the village of Sha’aaf Safaitic inscriptions by members of 5 other ’ls (4 of them well-known from Safaitic inscriptions in the desert)⁶. It is important not to make too rigid a division between nomad and sedentary, especially on the edge of the desert —Sha’aaf is on the eastern slopes of Jabal al-ʿArab — and there must have been frequent movement between the jabal and the harra (see Macdonald 2006: 300–301). However, this would mean only that some residents of each area may have spent some time in the other area, with the consequent interaction of sedentaries and nomads, and would not demonstrate any large-scale use of the Safaitic script by sedentaries living on the jabal. For that we are still awaiting the evidence. See also I: 82–4.

p. 342, lines 8f.: There are now 23 references to the Ḥawrân (22 to ḥrn and 1 to ḥwrn) in approximately 28,000 Safaitic inscriptions.


pp. 346–7: The number of Greek inscriptions found in the deserts of southern Syria and north-eastern Jordan has increased slightly since this was written. See Macdonald, Al Muāzzin and Nehmé 1996: 480–85; Atallah and al-Jibour 1997; and some of those in Saʿīd 1998.

Another Safaitic-Greek bilingual was found in Wādī Rushayda by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme and is published in I: 76–8, while a partial Safaitic-Greek bilingual (in which the first two names of the Safaitic text are

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⁵ See Macdonald 2006: 300, n. 126.
⁶ The name of the ’l in no. 7, which Zeinaddin reads as ’rs‘t, looks on the photograph to be more like ’nrt which, like tm, ’sill, and ’bs‘t (if the reading of this last is correct), is a group name well-attested in Safaitic. However, one needs to be cautious since it is of course perfectly possible that two or more groups could share the same name, or rather a name with the same consonantal structure.
repeated in Greek) was found in another tributary of the Wādī Shām by the same survey, see Macdonald, Al Muʿazzin and Nehmé 1996: 485–7.


p. 348: On the Dayr al-Kahf cave tomb see Macdonald 2006. I should not, of course, have called this a ‘bilingual’, since the Nabataean and Safaitic inscriptions are linked but impart different information. To the Safaitic-Nabataean bilinguals should be added the partial bilinguals in Khraysheh 1994 and Zeinaddin 2000: 281–2, no. 13.

p. 350, n. 302: Add to the examples of h-nbṭy in Safaitic inscriptions, two texts found not far from Rijm Mushbik in southern Syria by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme in each of which the author describes himself as h-nbṭy. See Macdonald, Al Muʿazzin, and Nehmé 1996: 444–9; IV: 186.

pp. 351–2: see now also I: 74–84.

p. 360, lines 6ff.: I would now reject the theories about the square script tentatively put forward here. For a full discussion of the Safaitic ‘square script’ see Macdonald 2006: 291–4. On the apparent penchant of members of the 'l ṣmr for this form of the script, see ibid. 292, n. 81.


p. 362 and n. 387: The reference is to Macdonald 1995: 286–7. Here, I translated the dating formula in a Safaitic inscription s'nt qttl hrdṣ as ‘the year Herod died mad’, based on meanings given in Lisān al-ʿArab for the VIII form of the Arabic verb qatala. As I noted, Herod was not actually mad when he died, but I suggested that his savage and unpredictable actions in his last days may have led to rumours that he was. In support of this, I quoted Josephus’ description of Herod on his return to Jericho from Callirrhoe, in Whiston’s translation: Herod ‘grew so cholerick, that it brought him to do all things like a madman’ (Ant. Jud. XVII.6.5 [173], Whiston 1843: 169). Graf (2002: 154) is quite correct that this is a somewhat free translation. Josephus’ description of Herod’s condition in this passage is not very specific, viz. μέλαινα τε χολὴ ᾔρει, ‘black bile seized him’. However, at the end of the next sentence (XVII.6.5 [174]), Josephus is quite explicit, employing of Herod the rare verb ἐμμαίνομαι ‘to be filled with such anger that one appears to be mad’. Moreover, in asserting that ‘the primary and natural [sic] sense of the VIII form [of Arabic qatala] is “to fight with one another, combat each other” ’, and proposing this as the translation of qttl in s’nt qttl hrdṣ, Graf appears to be unaware that a verb with this meaning requires an object (which is lacking here), and cannot mean ‘he engaged in war’ (Graf 2003: 40). It was, of course, this which led me to suggest a translation of qttl from the intransitive meaning of iqṭatala, i.e. ‘to die mad’, and, tentatively, to propose that this might be

7 See Bauer and Danker 2000 s.v. ἐμμαίνομαι. I am most grateful to Professor Hannah Cotton for pointing this out to me.
supported by Josephus’ description of the king’s last days. However, I would
not insist on it and would be happy if a better, but linguistically plausible,
interpretation could be suggested.


p. 364, n. 402: ‘In view of this it is possible that the ‘l nmrt were the “people of
Namara” rather than a specific tribe.’ I would now retract this. If the ‘l nmrt
are ‘the people of nmrt’, rather than ‘the lineage of nmrt’, it is unlikely that
the place referred to is al-Namārah in southern Syria, since in Safaitic this
always occurs with the definite article (h-nmrt) or in idāfah (nmrt h-sltn);
but several other place names in Syria are formed from the root NMR (e.g.
Nimreh on Jabal al-‘Arab). On the other hand, nmrt has also been found
once as a personal name in an unpublished Safaitic text (cf. the Arab personal
names Namira and Numāra, Caskel 1966, ii: 445, 453 respectively), and so
nmrt here might be the eponymous ancestor of a lineage group.


p. 368: see now VIII: 11.

p. 374–5: παρεμβολή νομάδων: see also VIII: 11.

p. 376: ὁι ἀπὸ ἔθνους νομάδων: see also VIII: 9–11.

pp. 377ff.: see also IV: 187–9, and VI: 306–7, as well as Macdonald 1999.

p. 379, n. 464: on the non-emphatic unvoiced sibilants in Ancient North Arabian

p. 379, n. 467: on such ‘ghost’ communities see also IV: 183–5.


pp. 382ff.: see now I: particularly pp. 74–93.

p. 383, n. 481: the implications of the lām auctoris are explored in Macdonald

p. 386: paragraph 2: There are now 4 known Safaitic ‘ABCs’ each in a different
order, see I: 86–7 and fig. 4.

p. 387, n. 492: For a study of Euting Kufi 1 (and other texts in mirror-image-
writing) see now al-Moraekhi 2002. For a superb photograph of Kufi 1 and
a reading, see al-Rashid 2003: 115–16. I was wrong to interpret it as written
boustrophedon. The photograph shows that all three-lines are in fact in mir-
ror-image-writing, except for the word Allāh in line 2.9

pp. 392–403: References:


p. 398: ‘Macdonald 19..a’ and ‘Macdonald 19.. b’ have not yet appeared. Mac-
donald 19..c is now Macdonald 1995.

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8 See the Official Standard Names Gazetteer for Syria.
9 As Moraekhi points out (2003: 124), the same word in lines 1 and 3 is in mirror-image-
writing.
III. Reflections on the linguistic map of pre-Islamic Arabia

p. 30b: I would now retract these statements on the so-called ‘Himyaritic language’, see the addendum to I: 98, n. 155, above. The jury is still out on ‘Native Minaic’.

p. 32a: Thirty-six of the inscribed sticks with texts in the Ancient South Arabian miniscule script (zabūr) have now been subjected to Carbon 14 dating, the oldest having a 2σ (94% probability) date of 1150–901 BC. See Drewes et al., forthcoming.

p. 40a, 9 lines from the bottom: On the Aramaic coin legends see now Macdonald in press c.

p. 40b, 8 lines from bottom ff.: ‘a plethora of different script forms’: It is now clear that this was putting it far too strongly. See now Ryckmans 2001; and Stein 2005: 184 and fig. 9; and in press.

p. 42a: On Hasaitic see now Sima 2002.

p. 42b: On ta-i-ma-ni-ti in the Yariris inscription see the comments on IX: 340–41 below.

p. 43b: Restklassenbildung: see the Addendum to p. 65, n. 30, below.

p. 45b: ‘Some 20,000 [Safaitic] inscriptions are known at present’: This should now be updated to some 28,000, see the addendum to II: 304 ‘last three lines’, above.


pp. 46–8b: ‘...it has been widely held that the Nabataeans wrote in Aramaic but spoke Arabic’: see now Macdonald 2003a: 48–51; and I: 97–9; and the interesting comments in Stein 2007: 30–31.


p. 48b: ‘Ba’alshamīn at Sīr’ ‘: see Macdonald 2003b.


p. 49b: On verbs from roots containing /w/ or /y/ see now Macdonald 2004: 509.

p. 50a–b: ‘Texts in “pure” Old Arabic’ and ‘Old Arabic “Mixed” texts’: a few writers appear to have been confused by these terms. They refer to texts not to dialects or scripts, i.e. the text is either entirely in the ‘Old Arabic’
language (= a ‘pure Old Arabic text’) or it is in a mixture of Old Arabic and another language (= an ‘Old Arabic mixed text’). The ‘mixed texts’ are then subdivided according to the language with which the Old Arabic is mixed, e.g. Safaeo-Arabic, Nabataeo-Arabic, etc. Once again, these do not refer to dialects but to the nature of the texts they describe.

p. 50b: On the Psalm-fragment see now Mavroudi 2008 and the comments in the addendum to I: 102, and n. 166, above. On the possible reasons why it was produced see I: 100–103.

p. 51b, second line from the bottom: for ‘KRS 125’ read ‘KRS 124’.

p. 54a: Aramaeo-Arabic: Unfortunately, when I wrote this I was unaware of É. Puech’s study and re-reading of this inscription (1998: 38–52), in which the elements identified as Old Arabic by Teixidor (1992), followed by me, disappear. I would therefore remove this inscription from the category of ‘Old Arabic mixed texts’, see Macdonald 2008a: 472, §2.5.4.

p. 55b: On the language of the texts from Haram see now the extremely important article by Stein (2007). He demonstrates that the linguistic peculiarities found in some of the inscriptions from Haram should be regarded as features of a Sabaic dialect (influenced by North Arabian) rather than, as I had suggested, evidence that those who composed the texts spoke a North Arabian dialect and had an imperfect grasp of Sabaic. The texts from Haram should therefore be removed from the category of ‘Undifferentiated North Arabian Mixed texts’.

p. 58a, line 13 from the bottom: Dayr al-Kahf: see now Macdonald 2006.

pp. 58a–59a: On the choice of the Aramaic script to write Arabic, see now Macdonald 2008b.

p. 59a: On the Rawwāfa inscription, see I: 103–6, and VIII: 12–14.

p. 63a, n. 1, 4 lines from bottom: for Δαδαν read Δαδαν.

p. 63b: line 2: for ‘vocal’ read ‘vowel’

p. 65a, n. 24: Add now the very interesting article by Robin (in press).

p. 65a–b, n. 27: Add now Ryckmans 2001; Stein 2005; and in press.


p. 65b, n. 30: Restklassenbildung: a number of my German colleagues have complained that this useful term, created by E. A. Knauf many years ago (1981: 189, n. 7), does not actually exist in German. This is a pity since we need a term for a category which contains all the Ancient North Arabian texts which are not classifiable as Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Hismaic, Safaitic, or Hasaitic and which have not yet been sufficiently studied to be given a category of their own. Unfortunately, the German colleagues who complained about Restklassenbildung have not been able to come up with a suitable alternative and I cannot find a neat English term to replace it. Elsewhere, I have described ‘Thamudic’ as a sort of ‘pending file’ or an ‘undetermined’
category, or a ‘category of “left-overs”’, and faute de mieux these may have
to do until something better is suggested.
p. 68a, n. 61: After this was written, I decided not to publish my ‘The Form of the
definite article in Classical Arabic: Some Light from the Jahiliya’ as a separate
article but to include the material in my book (in preparation) the title of which
has now changed slightly to Old Arabic in its linguistic environment.
p. 68a, n. 62: It now seems likely that this is not a fragment from a Psalter but
a teaching aid using Psalm 78 (LXX 77), see I: 100–102.
p. 69a, note 72: See Macdonald forthcoming a for a more detailed discussion
of this drawing.
p. 69b, n. 76 end: The article ‘Queens in Pre-Islamic Arabia’ was never published
but a greatly expanded version will shortly appear as Macdonald in press c.
p. 69b, n. 77: See now Puech 1998 and the addendum to III: 54a, above.
p. 69b, n. 79: This paper has now been published as Avanzini 2003.
p. 69b, n. 81: See also Stein 2005; and in press.
p. 70a, n. 84: This now = Avanzini 2003.
p. 71b, n. 101: This article = IX here.
p. 71b, n. 105: On the idea that ta- i-ma-ni-ti refers to the Aramaean tribe of
Tēmān, see also Starke 1997, and the addendum to IX: 340–41, below.
pp. 71b–72a, n. 106: Macdonald, Trade Routes = IX here.
p. 72b, n. 117, last sentence: The point of renaming these inscriptions is entirely
If they do not wish to call the inscriptions after the area in which (as
they themselves recognize) the vast majority have been found, I have no
objection. It does not matter what label one gives to these texts so long as it
clearly distinguishes them from the other groups of Ancient North Arabian
inscriptions, and from the ‘pending file’ of ‘Thamudic’. Unfortunately, their
preferred option ‘Thamudic E’ does not do this.
p. 73a, n. 133: This is Macdonald 2003a.
p. 73b–74a, n. 141: See now Zayadine 2007: 11. I apologise for the unnecessarily
harsh tone of my criticism of the authors’ views. As I recognized in the note,
it is, of course, perfectly possible that the author of the graffito in question
‘built’ (in the sense of commissioned the building of ?) the temple of ’lt in
Wādī Ramm, and that he belonged to the ancient Arab tribe of ‘Ad, as the
authors maintain. I would merely suggest that, since this is not the only possible
interpretation of the text and its context (see n. 141), it is wise to keep
an open mind and not to build too much on this foundation.
p. 74a, n. 142: The ‘unpublished text from Wādī Ramm’ will appear in Mac-
donald in press d.
p. 74a–b, n. 144: Interestingly, the figures have not changed greatly since this
was written despite the large increase in the number of inscriptions known.
There are now 96 examples of $ds^2r$ (78%), still 24 of $ds^2r$ (19.5%), and still 3 of $ds^2ry$ (2.5%).

p. 74b, n. 154: This is now Maʿani and Sadaqah 2002: 253, 255, no. 2.

p. 75a, n. 158: ‘Macdonald, The Form of the Definite Article’: see the Addendum to p. 68a, n. 61: above.


p. 76a–b, n. 169: see the discussion of the possible historical and cultural context of this text in I: 98–9.

p. 76b, n. 171: My interpretation in this note of $b’rm$ as $bi$-$’iram$ ‘in/at Iram’, in line 2 of the Old Arabic inscription at Jabal Ramm, is quoted by Christian Robin (2006: 338, and n. 64) who says he owes it to Daniele Mascitelli. The latter had approached me in 2001, largely because he had read my ‘Reflections on the Linguistic Map ... (i.e. III), and he spent a week with me working on and discussing his doctoral thesis. He later consulted Christian Robin (Mascitelli 2006: 13, 168, n. 112) and must have passed on this interpretation which Robin later attributed to him, inadvertently overlooking the fact that it had already been in the public domain for six years.


pp. 78b–79a, n. 225: Following the publication of Stein 2007, I would no longer doubt that the features represent a Sabaic dialect, rather than ‘contamination of standard Sabaic by elements of one or more other languages’.

p. 79b, n. 236: See VIII: 9–11.

p. 79b, n. 238: The work cited is now Macdonald and Nehmè 2000.

IV. Some reflections on epigraphy and ethnicity in the Roman Near East

p. 178, 10 lines from the bottom: for ‘hundreds’ now read ‘thousands’. On these inscribed palm-leaf stalks and sticks see now Stein 2005; and in press.

p. 179, line 5: for ‘tens of thousands’ reads ‘scores of thousands’.

p. 179, lines 6–8: See now Macdonald 2008b.

p. 179, line 12: ‘northern Yemen’ and ‘the Oman peninsula’ should now be deleted, see the Addenda and Corrigenda to III: 55b and 54a above, respectively.

p. 179, line 16: ‘Aramaic’: this now applies only to the Nabataean Aramaic script, see the Addenda and Corrigenda to III: 54a above.
p. 179, line 16: ‘Greek’: see the Addenda and Corrigenda to I: 102, and n. 166, above.
p. 179, n. 4: The article cited as in 'Robin (ed.) Civilisations ... = III here. The article cited as ‘JSemSt. (forthcoming)’ was ‘The Form of the definite article in Classical Arabic: Some Light from the Jahiliya’, see the addendum to III: 68a, n. 61, above.
p. 179, paragraph beginning ‘It is very important’: On this see now VI.
p. 181, lines 6ff.: On the so-called ‘Himyaritic language’ see the Addendum to I: 98, n. 155, above.
p. 183, n. 13: The work cited is III here.
p. 184, line 12 from bottom: Restklassenbildung, see the Corrigenda to III: 65b, n. 30, above.
p. 184, line 8 from bottom: for ‘Dedanitic’ read ‘Dadaniitic’, see III: 33..
p. 186, line 3 from bottom: However, there is now one interesting inscription from Sinai which reads dkyr kl nbty bṭb ‘May each Nabataean be remembered for good’ (Nehmé 1999: 154–5, no. 4)
p. 188, lines 8ff.: ‘But on those occasions ...’: I should have noted that there are four occurrences in the nearly 4000 inscriptions from Sinai, in which the Aramaic passive participle dkyr is replaced by its Arabic equivalent, mdkwr (CIS ii 1331; Negev 1977a: 56, no. 219),10 mdkr (CIS ii 1280),11 mdkryn (Negev 1977b: 222, no. 3). However, the syntax and the other words in the conventional formulae in these four graffiti remain Aramaic, and nothing but the form of the participle distinguishes them from the thousands of other ‘Nabataean’ Aramaic graffiti in Sinai.
p. 188, paragraphs 2 and 3: See also II: 306ff., 377–82; and Macdonald 1999: 254–6, and passim.
p. 188, 5 lines from bottom: For ‘some 20,000’ now read ‘some 28,000’

VI. ‘Les Arabes en Syrie’ or ‘La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie’

p. 304, third paragraph and n. 3: ‘The term «Arab »’: There is in fact more evidence than I thought when I wrote this. See now Macdonald forthcomingb.

10 In CIS ii 2768 the reading is doubtful on both the copies published in CIS.
11 The letters mdkrw below CIS ii 1312 have no context.
VII. Was the Nabataean kingdom a ‘Bedouin state’?

For a courteous, brief reply to this article, see Knauf 1998: 276–7.

p. 103, first paragraph: For an interesting lengthy rebuttal of my views expressed here (and elsewhere) and a defence of the concept of the camel-mounted warrior, see Zwetttler 2000: 268–84.

pp. 114–15: See II: 370, n. 432 where I retract the suggestion that in Wadd 2196 the term ‘ethnarch’ appears ‘to refer to the chief of a bedouin tribe’.

pp. 117–19, References:
Knauf 19… is now Knauf 1992.
‘Macdonald 19..a’ has not been published.
‘Macdonald 19..b’ has not been published.

IX. Trade routes and trade goods at the northern end of the ‘incense road’ in the first millennium B.C.

General: See now also Beeston 2005.

p. 336, n. 11: The article cited in this note = III in this volume.

p. 337, line 16: delete Ḫawlān from this list.

pp. 340–41: On the script described as ta-i-ma-ni-ti in Yariris’ inscription see now Starke 1997: 390–92. He argues that the n in ta-i-ma-ni-ti ‘Bestandteil des fremden Namens ist’ and that therefore it can have nothing to do with Taymā’, which lacks an -n. Following the long established view (see the references in Meriggi 1962: 239), also originally accepted by Hawkins (1974: 68, n. 6;12 and see now ibid. 2000: 133), he thinks it refers to the Aramaean tribe Teman* in Hanigalbat (northern Mesopotamia) and hence to the Aramaic script. I would merely make two observations on this, in addition to what I have said in the article: (1) The gentilic gentilic *tmny from the name Taymā’ is possibly attested as tymnyt already in a Taymanitic inscription,13

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12 Hawkins of course wrote this article long before it was known that caravans of Saba’ and Taymā’ were trading in Syria in the 8th century BC.

13 Livingstone et al., 1983: 112, and pl. 97c, Thamudic 1, re read in Macdonald 1992 b: 30–31, 40, nn. 71 and 73. The text reads l gwr / s’ tmynt ‘By Gwr / leader of Tmynt’. Note that Livingstone (loc. cit.) says that the n ‘is clearly visible on the stone, though faint on the
and certainly occurs in two Nabataean texts.\textsuperscript{14} (2) I know of no evidence that the tribe of Teman was literate, let alone that its members employed the Aramaic script. In order for Yarriris to use the name of this tribe, rather than any other, to describe the widely-spread Aramaic alphabet, the members of the Teman would surely have had to have used it prolifically, and to have been the only (or at least the most obvious) users of it in the neighbourhood of Carchemish. I am unaware of any evidence for either of these conditions. On the other hand, (a) we know from the report quoted on IX: 338–9, that caravans of the peoples of Sabaʾ and Taymāʾ were trading in central Syria at about the same time as Yarriris was writing; (b) the diphthong \textit{ay} of Taymāʾ fits the transliteration \textit{-ai-} better than the \textit{-e-} of Teman; and (c) the \textit{-n} is part of the gentilic formed from Taymāʾ, to which the Luwian adjectival ending \textit{-iti} has been added. See III: 42b, 71b, n. 105.

\textbf{Sigla used in these Addenda and Corrigenda}

\begin{itemize}
  \item BDRS Basalt Desert Rescue Survey conducted by G.M.H. King, the results of which will be published in the near future.
  \item H Nabataean inscriptions in Healey 1993.
  \item HCH Safaitic inscriptions and drawings in Harding 1953.
  \item KRS Inscriptions found on the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey, to be published by G.M.H. King.
  \item LP Safaitic inscriptions in Littmann 1943.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{References used in these Addenda and Corrigenda}


\footnotesize{photograph.' I put this forward very tentatively since it is, of course, possible that \textit{tymnyt} here has nothing to do with the name Taymāʾ. However, given that the inscription was found within the city, and is written in the script used there and in the surrounding area, it seems quite possible that it does and that it may refer to a quarter of the city or to a group of its inhabitants.

\textsuperscript{14} Thus \textit{tymnyʾ} (emphatic masculine plural) in H 1/2 (and see the commentary in Healey 1993: 71) and \textit{tymnytʾ} (emphatic feminine plural) in H 12/2.}


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