A Sort of Sepulchral Construction in Wadi Umm Ţulayḥa, Southeastern Badia, Jordan?

Ibrahim Saleh Sadaqah¹, Mohammad Barakat Tarawneh², Fawzi Qasem Abudanah³

https://doi.org/10.54134/jjha.15.3.5

Abstract

This paper presents a linguistic and etymological analysis of three North Arabian inscriptions carved on a relatively small stone. The stone was found east of al-Jafr in southern Jordan, near the Jordanian-Saudi border. The content of the three inscriptions in terms of writing style, topic, and vocabulary is similar to other North Arabian inscriptions. Nevertheless, the three inscriptions include new words that have not been attested before in other inscriptions of the same type. Some rock drawings were also found in the same rujm.

Keywords: Wadi Umm Țulayha, Hismaic inscriptions, Ancient North Arabia, funeral culture.

Description of the Stone:

The inscriptions published in this article were found in Rujm Umm Tulayha. The site lies in Wadi Umm Tulayha, which runs west-east through the Jordanian-Saudi border to the south of the Mushash Hudruj police station. The inscriptions were *in situ*, carved on a sandstone rock that was found alongside Rujm Umm Tulayha (part of Wadi Umm Tulayha) by the eastern Bayir archaeological survey team after the Bedouin told them about the location of this rock. Since 2011, the project has been part of a collaboration combining two former archaeological research projects (1. Al Thulaythuwat Archaeological Survey and Excavation Project, and 2. Eastern Bayir Archaeological Project) into one joint research program on the settlement of the desert areas of southeastern Jordan during the protohistoric periods (Tarawneh et. al. 2017).

¹ Corresponding author: email, <u>ibrahim.sadaqah@gmail.com</u>, (I. Sadaqah). Orcid number: <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0002-</u> <u>2683-5079</u>, Independent Researcher, Jordan.

² Second author: email, <u>mohnaram_tara@yahoo.com</u>, (M. Tarawneh). Orcid number: <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1217-6092</u>, Petra College of Tourism and Archaeology, Al-Hussein Bin Talal University, Jordan.

³ Third author: email, <u>fawziabudanh@yahoo.co.uk</u>, (F. Abudanah). Orcid number: <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2556-3115</u>, Petra College of Tourism and Archaeology, Al-Hussein Bin Talal University, Jordan.

Received on 13/7/2021 and accepted for publication on 9/9/2021.

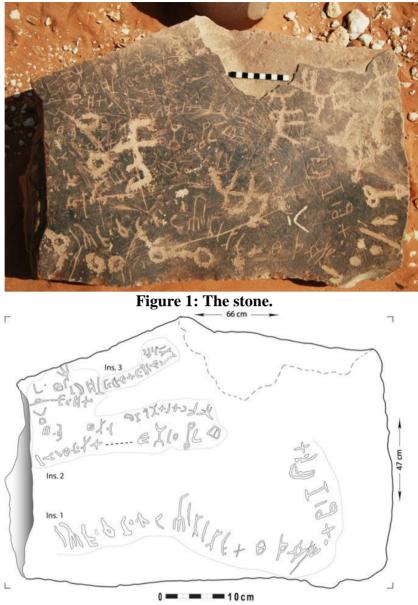


Figure 2: Drawing of the inscriptions.

These inscriptions are carved on a rectangle surface, 47 cm high, 66 cm wide and 23 cm thick. They are in Hismaic, and three of them are readable. In the indentation of the stone face, there is an Islamic-Arabic inscription at the left side in the middle between inscriptions number one and two that can be read as *nwfl bn hsnh* "Nawfal, son of Hasanah." The inscriptions are pecked in shallow hammered characters. The first inscription consists of one line that starts near the lower left corner of the stone and runs to the right and turns upward near the right edge. The second inscription is above the first and is executed in a boustrophedon style. It starts on the left edge and about halfway along the stone turns back to the left edge. It then runs along the left edge up to the upper left corner of the stone and ends by curving down to the right.

The third inscription on one line runs slightly up from left to right and is inscribed at the top of the stone to the right of the second inscription.

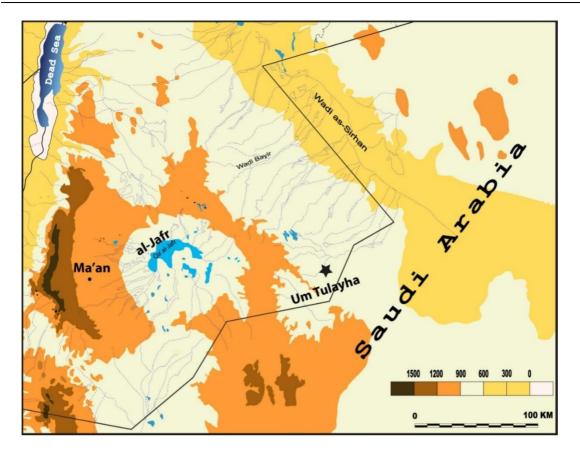


Figure 3: Map of southern Jordan showing the location of the Rujm.

Several animals are drawn at the top right side of the stone. These are probably camels and horses, but we cannot define their function and symbolism. There are several other scratchings, rubbings, and scribbles that have letter shapes in Ancient North Arabian script scattered among the inscriptions. They are executed in different sizes.

Introduction

Before discussing the inscriptions, it should be noted that the personal names in this corpus are formed without the use of deity names. This phenomenon is also known from other similar cases and needs detailed study that may shed light on the life cycle of the names affected by the changes and developments that occurred in society (Rosenhouse, 2002: 97).

The Inscriptions

Inscription 1:

l dgny bn nsr d'l 'gt w dt' snt gnz mbnt

By Dgny son of Nsr of the lineage 'gt, he stayed/encamped and spent spring /the season of the later rain at the time he gnz/ collected, gathered up the building/ tomb, grave.

All the letters of the inscription are clear and easy to read. The character b in noun bn is attached at the lower edge by a shape that looks like b or l. We notice a vertical sign after the letter \underline{d} of $\underline{d'}l$, which cannot be interpreted as a letter; it appears as l.

Dġny: The personal name is from a name involving a root ġny found in Hismaic inscriptions with the meaning of "become free from want" (see KJB 1, KJC 139, KJC 317 in King 1990) which is parallel to Arabic ġaniya "to be rich, wealthy, became free of want" (Lane, 1968, part 6: 2301-2302), and ġny occurs as a noun "wealth" (CH.R 252 in Corbett, 2010).

This form is not evident in Hismaic/Thamudic E and Safaitic onomastics. But the form *mgny* has many attestations in Hismaic (Jacobson, A.7.B.3, D.27.1 in OCIANA; KJB 116, 70, KJC 303 in King 1,990), and the form *Gny* occurs in Safaitic (ASWS 61: 296, BR 1) and Central Minaic (Ma'īn 93/ 51 in CSAI).

Nsr: This personal name refers to Semitic "eagle" (Mir[•]i, 2012: 220). One could assume the meaning of the name lies behind the ancient Arabian god *NSR/Nisr* (Ibn al-Kalbī, 1995: 57-58), which show a creedal affirmation about family religious belief.

This name is attested in Hismaic/Thamudic E (MEEK in King 1990: 641; TIJ 121). It occurs many times in Safaitic (see for example CSNS 17; AbaNS 373, RSIS 304), once in Dadanite (reading of Müller, D.H. 1889: 71, no. 22). The name can be hypochoristic, as a part of a compound name in Dadanitic in the form of *'ydns*, the *"ns"* diminutive of *NSR* (Díez, 2009: 28, 233), *nsrh* (Díez 2009: 267) and *nsrn* (JaL 161g in Jamme 1974: 22), and is attested in *nisbeh*? form *nsry* (Bogue 61 in OCIANA) and in Sabaic *Nsr* (Kortler 7 in CSAI), but it is not attested in Taymanitic.

d'l: It is a popular form in Ancient North Arabian inscriptions in Hismaic, Safaitic and Hasaitic and means "he who is of the lineage of". The term 'l gives the impression of social groups of some size, a lineage group of "any unit from tribe to family," or even of all levels (MacDonald 1993: 353-354, Ma'ani and Sadaqa 2003: 644-645, Nehmé and Macdonald 2015: 73). The social group term 'l is attested in a few Nabataean inscriptions which borrowed from Old Arabic, or Ancient North Arabian ' $\bar{a}l$, which occurred in the forms 'l or dy mn 'l + the name of the group or by the nisbah (Nehmé and MacDonald 2015: 71-72), and 'l is translated by $\delta \tilde{\eta} \mu o \zeta$ in the Greek inscriptions (Nehmé and MacDonald 2015: 72).

'gt: This tribal name is not attested elsewhere in Ancient North Arabian inscriptions, although there is evidence that it served as a personal name in Hismaic/Thamudic E (Jacobson D.24.6 in OCIANA). It is ' $f^{\epsilon}al$ form from the root gtt and means "continuing in drinking, to sink someone in the water" (al-Zubaydī 1969, part 5: 16-18).

 $d\underline{t}$ ': Spend time in a place during the spring season (see Ababneh and Sadaqah 2014).

snt: Year. It is known from other Ancient North Arabian inscriptions.

gnz: This word has not been found in the corpus of Ancient North Arabian inscriptions, although the meaning and etymology of other uses of this term in other Semitic languages connote funerary associations. In the context of this inscription, it is not a noun, but rather seems to have the form of transitive verb stem. Based on a comparison with Ge^eez, Arabic, and another Semitic etymon, this would mean "veiled, concealed, hid or cover"; otherwise, it has a sense of collected, gathered up.

This lexical-verb *gnz* is considered as a loanword from Ge'ez and parallel to *ganaza* with the meaning "shroud, wrap in linen, enwrap, prepare a body for burial" (Leslau 1987: 199). In this course, Nöldeke points out that the borrowing is beyond doubt (1910: 58, see Weninger 2009: 399- 400). The explanation is also based on the Sabaic *gnztn* (Ja 702) and means "funeral precinct"; otherwise, Ghul gives the meaning "assembly, congregation" (Beeston et. al., 1982: 50), and CSAI "sacred precinct." The Classical Arabic phrase *ganiza al-ragulu* refers to a dead man: "the man was gathered up, i.e. a corpse is gathered up in

the grave clothes," and the form *gannazahu* signifies "he put it/the corpse upon a bier". The noun *ganāzah* means "a dead person, a corpse," and signifies a "bier, bier with the dead person" (Lane 1968 book 1 part 2: 470). The Hebrew stem *gnz* refers to the sense of "hide, cover" (Jastrow 190 vol. 1: 258; BDB 170), and is connected with the word in question. A cogent and logical usage of the nouns *gənaz*, *ginzayā* and *gnz* and *gnz* "treasure, treasury" is found in both Imperial Aramaic (Taylor 2011: 6) and Official Aramaic (Hoftjizer and Jongeling. 1995: 229).

The theme of the above meanings could also apply to the verb gz, which appears once in the Jewish tombstone epitaph written in Jewish Aramaic from Ghur Es-Safi "Byzantine Zoora" (for the cite see al-Nasarat 2013) (no. 8. = Naveh-Ṣuʿar 24 in Robin, 2004: 890-891; 2015: 192; no. 38/ 2 in Meimaris et al., 2016: 68) and is roughly dated to 469 A.D. The verb gz in the inscription occurs as an alternative to the verb myt "died" (no. 4/ 2, 6/ 2?, 16/ 2, 38/ 6) and has the same place; in this respect it yields a similar sense. The etymological verb gz could be explained by its being N-assimilation of the root gnz. The assimilated vowelless n phenomenon is well-known in Hebrew and Aramaic (see Macdonald 2004: 501). The sporadic assimilation of n occurred in the corpus of Zoora, št" year" (4/ 1, 7/ 7, 18/ 5, 19/ 4, 20/ 4 in Meimaris et al., 2016), the full form is also found in the same corpus šnt "year" (no. 16/ 4, 17/ 4, 22/ 6 in Meimaris et al. 2016). The verb gzhas been given meanings that denote death: for example Robin "trépassa" (2004, 20015) and Meimaris et al. "pass away" (2016), without giving the etymology of the verb. Therefore, the verb gz could be put under the umbrella of the Semitic root gnz.

mbnt: It is derived from the ground stem verb, *verba tertiw radicalis "y"/the defective verb "bny*" "built" (see Al-Jallad and Jaworska 2019: 61). The verb *bny* corresponds to the Classical Arabic past verb *banaya/fa ala*. The *bny* is an indicative verb such as *bky*, and the final glide is not represented, instead it terminates in a long vowel (Al-Jallad, 2020: 3). Therefore, *mbnt* is the equivalent to the Classical Arabic structural form *mibnāt/mif al = al-baytu al-mabniy* "the built house" (al-Zubaydī 2001 part 37: 228), suggesting it can be derived from *bnyt /bonyat* "the structure" (WH 967; KRS 1515 in OCIANA; Al-Jallad and Jaworska 2019: 61), and that it belongs to the Classical Arabic *bunyat/fu lat or binyat or fi lat* (al-Zubaydī, 2001, part 37: 216). In this sequence it could refer to the singular emphatic noun *bnyn* "building" as a similar form to Arabic mentioned in a Nabataean inscription from Hawrān (Healey 2020: 205)

In this sequence, it belongs to the common Semitic stock with the literal and restrictive meaning "to build" and has a sense of "kind of structure i.e. a house, a house for corpse > tomb, grave. The form *mbnt* is not known from Hismaic/Thamudic E, but occurs as a place in Sabaic 's²q w-mbnt byt (BaBa al-Hadd 9 in CSAI) "terracing and construction of house," and in Hebrew-Qumran Scroll in the form \underline{r} "building, structure" (4Q403-4QShirShabb-d-1i 30–46:41). In Hebrew, the form *mibhneh* is found in the construct in the expression *kemibhneh* 'r "like the structure of a city," and means a group composed of several buildings but looking like a single building (Botterweck and Ringgren, 1999: 178). Similarly, a Phoenician inscription has the form *mbnh/mbnt*" constructions, building" (Hoftizer et al., 1995: 591; Botterweck and Ringgren, 1999: 178-179).

Inscription 2:

l slwn bn ht[s] [...] d'l 'gb w dkrt lt 'kzm [bn] hn' w 'dn w 'bd bn hrtt w hll m tẓ By Slwn son of Ht[s] [...] of the tribe of 'gb, and may the Goddess Lt remember 'kzm [son of] Hn' and 'dn and 'bd sons of Hrtt, and he camped from $\underline{T}\underline{z}$ ".

Almost all the letters in this inscription are clear, except for the third letter of the second name ht[s], which is nearly worn away by the lower part of the cross stroke-line of h letter-shape crudely engraved. It appears to be read as s since the upper horizontal slope line of the letter is clear. The first letter of the same name is clearly h, but distorted by scribbled line shapes. Also, the tail and the lower forked parts of the letter d of d'l are disturbed by the same thick h letter-shape. Furthermore, the thick h letter-shape obscures the surface space between ht[s] and d'l and the space after 'kzm, and the upper stroke of the same shape spoils the lower part of the letter m of the name 'kzm. There is a bit affected by a broad-circle on the letter ' of the name 'dn.

Slwn: It is not found in Hismaic/Thamudic E, although the form *Slw* is found in Safaitic (BRenv.J. 30; IS.Mu 410 in OCIAN), and *Slw* in Dadanitic (AH 312, 330). This name is from the root *slw* and means "became forgetful, unmindful, diverted from the remembrance, endured with a patient" (al-Zubaydī, 2001, part 38: 296-299).

Ht[s]: It is not found in Hismaic/Thamudic E, although the form *Htst* is known in Safaitic (CIS 5337).

'gb: This tribal name is attested in Hismaic/Thamudic E (TIJ 223 in King, 1990: 662), and occurs as a personal name in several Safaitic inscriptions (BS 629 in OCIANA; CSNS 391, 783; AWS 67), and it is possibly found as a personal name in Thamudic B (see Macdonald, 2018: 237) and Taymanitic inscriptions (ThTay?1 in Macdonald, 2018: 237). It is from the root 'gb, and this name could be either related to the *al-*'agb and mean "the root of the tail of any beast, the base and bone of the tail غصنع , or the extremity of the spine", or to the form *al-*'ugb, which signifies "wondered, and deemed it strange, extraordinary" (Lane, 1968, part 5: 1956-1958). However, there is a character next to this name over w that could be read as 1 to form 'gbl.

 \underline{dkrt} : This optative verb "may (goddess) remember" is recorded often in ANA inscriptions. For example, Hayajneh considers the invocatory clause form to be a suffix conjugation of the third person feminine singular, which is preceded by the conjugation *w* (Hayajneh, 2009: 212).

Lt: Allāt, the Arabian goddess, is the most popular goddess in Ancient North Arabia. For other spelling as *`lt* see Krone (1992: 96).

'kzm: It is not found in Hismaic/Thamudic E, but it is frequently attested in Safaitic (AbaNS 1068; AHS 6; CIS 2716; 3730). It is 'f'al form and related to kzm root; the word is used to describe a body situation; the short fingers, the small hands, and feet; as a verb, it means "to bite something by the teeth" (al-Zubaydī, 2000, part 33: 356-358).

hn[']: A well-known personal name in Ancient North Arabian inscriptions (see King, 1990: 559), but rarely attested in Thamudic B (JS 276).

'dn: The form 'dnn is found in Hismaic/Thamudic E (TIJ 246); while the form 'dn frequently occurs in Safaitic (CIS 1695, 1875; ASWS 185, 307), and \underline{d} 'dn is known as a lineage name in Minaic (Ma'īn 97 in CSAI) and as an epithet of the god Yt 'm \underline{d} - 'dn in Sabaic (CIH 550/9).

bd: This term is particularly common in Hismaic/Thamudic E (AMJ 43, 102, 131 in King, 1990) and Safaitic and it means "slave" (AAEK 17, 47, 121).

Hrtt: Hrt occurs in ambiguous readings in Hismaic/Thamudic E (TIJ 460; cf King, 1990: 671, it is read as Hrgl); however, the theophoric name 'bdhrtt is attested in Hismaic/Thamudic E (Corbett, 2010, no. 07-0007.2), Hrtt occurs in many Safaitic

inscriptions (CIS 788, 1056; Al-Namārah.H 153 in OCIANA; AWS 343), as a clan name in Sabaic \underline{d} - $\hat{h}l \underline{Hrt}$ (CIH 514/2 = Haram 6, CIH 513/2 = Haram 7), and as a name of king $\hat{l}-\underline{Hrt}/bn/K \hat{b}m/mlk \hat{s}'d \hat{l}-\underline{Hrt}$ the king of $\hat{s}'d$ "(CIAS 39.11/02, no 8/7-8 in Beeston, 1986: 33).

hll m: The phrasal verb *hll m* is composed from the verb *hll* "to camp, encamp" and *m* the short form of the preposition *min* "from", and is not found in Hismaic. However, the verb *hll* occurs in Hismaic (KJC 46 in King 1990), in addition to its indication of a ritual sense/to return to a profane condition (Hayajneh, 2016, 1: 505-510; see HH 1 in OCIANA). The verb *hll* is found often in Safaitic (AbaNS 246; Al-Jallad and Jaworska, 2019: 85; see Hayajneh, 2016: 208), and is attested with prepositions such as: *m*: *w hll m nbt* "and he camped/returned from Nbt (WH 158), *mn*: *w hll mn 'n bl* "and he camped (on the way) of 'n bl" (AbaNS 375), 'l: *w hll 'l dr* "and he camped in this place (CIS 5137), *b*: *w hll b d'n* "and he camped with some sheep" (KRS 811 In OCIANA), 'l: *w hll 'l h hsy* "and camped on the water place (LP 161).

tz: An unknown root, and not listed in Semitic. It is mostly considered as a toponym/ place name.

However, it is highly unlikely to consider \underline{tz} to be an equivalent root to the Ugaritic noun \underline{tt} , which means "a piece of cloth or garment" (Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, 2003: 936) or even "wool" or "kilt" (Watson, 2011: 169). The phoneme t goes back to the proto-Semitic and Aramaic and is cognate with Arabic, Epigraphic South Arabian z e.g. *thr* equivalent to *zhr* "back, height, mid-day, sun" (Renfroe, 1992: 27).

Inscription 3: 1 rmḥt bn glḥn [d] '1 yškr

By Rmht son of Glhn [of the] lineage Yškr.

Rmht: It is not found in Hismaic/Thamudic E, but it is attested in Safaitic inscriptions (GS 28 in OCIANA; HCH 68, 69, 70). *Rmh* is found in Sabaic (CIH 454). It simply means "lance, spear, and weapon" (al-Zubaydī, 1969, part 6: 401).

Glhn: This term occurs in Hismaic/Thamudic E (Corbett, 2010, no. 07-0007.7), and it has several parallels in Safaitic (ASFF 162, 467, 469 in OCIANA; ASWS 235; BR 12). The basic meaning of root *glh*, from which the name is derived, is "to eat" (al-Zubaydī, 1969, part 6: 341).

Yškr: Though this tribal name is not attested in Hismaic/Thamudic E, it occasionally occurs in Safaitic (CSA 1.2 in OCIANA; HaNSB 351). We find the form *Škr* as a personal name in Hismaic/Thamudic E (Corbett, 2010, no. R222.o2; Jacobson B.3.E.10 in OCIANA). The form *Yškr* as a personal name in Safaitic (CIS 5260; AbaNS 683, 717; BS 601 in OCIANA; Hayajneh, 2018, fig. 3, Salhub 2a). It is known from the pre-Islamic period *al-Hārit son of Hillizah al-Yaškuri* (al-Zubaydī, 1975, part 15: 115-116), and Bani Šukr a tribe of al-Azd (al-Zubaydī, 1969, part 12: 235). *Yškr* is an epithet in Sabaic (Ir 1/1) and a name in Minuscule writing (YM 11738 in Ryckmans et al., 1994).

Discussion of the Evidence

Although Ancient North Arabian inscriptions rarely shed light on ancient Arabian life, this small group of inscriptions may provide evidence for the preparation of a burial chamber. It conveys a sense of sadness concerning the oral heritage at Wadi Umm Tulayha, in the eastern Badia.

The first inscription may possibly deal with funerary liturgy, using the suitable terms gnz "collected, gathered up the building". In that case we read hlzm "as a personal name" instead of the phrasal verb hll m. The tz in the second inscription possibly carries the sense of "put on, dressed as a grief sign". Therefore, this deed demonstrates a kind of sad celebration known in other Semitic cultures, and shows the deep cultural activity of the contemporary society narrated in the texts. However, tz more probably denotes place.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the University of Sydney and al-Hussein Bin Talal University for their generous support for this project. We express our thanks to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan for its trust and permission to undertake the surveys and excavations in this remote area of the country. We are indebted to Dr. James Fraser for reading the final draft of this article.

نوعٌ منَ البناء الجنائزي في وادي أُمِّ طليحة، البادية الجنوبيّة الشرقيّة، الأردن

إبراهيم صالح صدقة 1، محمد بركات الطراونة 2، فوزي أبو دنّة 3

ملخص

تقدّم هذه الورقة تحليلًا لُغَوِيًّا واشتقاقيًّا لثلاثة نقوش عربيّة شماليّة منحوتة على حجر صغير نسبيًّا وُجِدَ في رُجمٍ في الشرق من الجفر في جنوبي الأردن، بالقرب من الحدود السعوديّة الأردنيّة. ويشبه محتوى النقوش الثلاثة من حيثُ أسلوبُ الكتابة والموضوعاتُ والمفرداتُ النقوشَ العربيّة الشماليّة الأخرى. ومع ذلك، فإنّ النقوش الثلاثة تشمل كلماتٍ جديدةً لم يُعثر عليها سابقًا في نقوش أخرى من النوع نفسِه، وفي الرُجم نفسِه أيضًا بعضُ الرسومات الصخريّة. الكلمات الدالة: وادي أمّ طليحة، النقوش الحسمائيّة، شمال الجزيرة العربيّة قديمًا، الثقافة الجنائزيّة.

¹ باحث مستقل، الأردن.

^{3،2} كلية البتراء، للسياحة والآثار، جامعة الحسين بن طلال، معان، الأردن. تاريخ استلام البحث 2021/7/13م، وتاريخ قبوله للنشر 9/9/2021م.

REFERENCES

- Ababneh, M. and Sadaqah, I. (2014); "Data' "dt' Pasturing Season of Safaites". *Journal* of King Saud University Tourism and Archaeology, vol. 26 (1): 15-46.
- AbaNS: Ababneh, M. (2005); *Neue safaitische Inschriften und deren bildliche Darstellung*. Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia, 6. Aachen: Shaker.
- AH: Abu al-Hasan, H. (2002); Lahyanite Inscriptions from al-'ulā, a Comparative and Analytic Study, Al-Riyād: Wizārat al-Ma'ārif.
- AHS: Ababneh, M., and Harahsheh, R. (2015); Sacrifice in the Safaitic inscriptions in the light of New Evidence. *Acta Orientala Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 68 (1), 29-48.
- Arbach, M. and Schiettecatte, J. (2006); Catalogue des pieces archéologiqueset épigraphiques du Jawf au Musée National de Ṣanʿâʾ. Ṣanʿâʾ National Museum, Ṣanʿāʾ, Centre français d'archéologie et de sciences sociales de Ṣanʿâʾ. [Text in French and Arabic]
- ASWS: Banī 'Awād, A. (1999); *Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from South wādī sārah/ North al-bādiyah alurdunniyya*, Unpublished MA thesis, Yarmouk University, Jordan.
- AWS: 'Alūlū, Ġ. (1996); Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Wadi al Sū' Southern Syria, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, Jordan.
- Beeston, A. F. L., et.al. (1982); Sabaic Dictionary: English-French-Arabic. Publication of the University of Sanaa. YAR. Éditions Peeters-Louvain-la Neuve and Librairie du Liban – Beyrouth.
- Beeston, A.F.L. 1986. Thanks for Safe Return from a Mission to King of the North. Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes, II, 1 (inscriptions). Louvain, Peeters. Pp. 33-36.
- Botterweck G. and Ringgren, H. (eds)(1999); *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Vol.2, Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns.
- BR: Bikai, P. (2009); "The Cairn of the Mermaids". *Studies in the History and Archaeology* of Jordan, Vol. 10: 225-244.
- BDB: Brown, F., et.al. (1979); A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CIAS: Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes.
- CIS: Ryckmans, G. (1950-1951); Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum: Pars Quinta, Inscriptiones Saracenicae Continens: Tomus Famsciculus I, Inscriptiones Safaiticae. Paris: E Reipublicae Typographeo.
- Corbett, G. (2010); Mapping the mute immortals: a locational and contextual analysis of the Thamudic/Hismaic inscriptions and rock drawing from the Wādī Hafīr of southern Jordan: a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Division of Humanities in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Chicago. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- CSA: Clark, V. (1985); "New Safaitic Inscriptions from Sakaka and Azraq". *Abr-Nahrain*, Vol. 23: 14-21, pls 1-2.
- CSNS: Clark, V.A. (1979); A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Middle Eastern Studies. University of Melbourne.
- Díez, Maríadel Carmen Hidalgo-Chacón (2009); *Die theophoren Personennamen in den dadanischen Inschriften*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Philipps-Universität Marburg.
- al-Jallad, A. and Jaworska, K. (2019); "A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions", Studies

in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, Vol. 98, Leiden: Brill.

- al-Jallad, A. (2020); Notes on the Language of the Hismaic Inscriptions and a Re-Reading of Line 4 of the Madaba Hismaic Inscription, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: vol. 3, Pp-1-9.
- Jaussen, A. and Savignac, R. (1909, 1914); *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Vol. 1-2 and Atlas. Paris.
- JaL: Jamme, A. (1974); *Miscellanées d'ancient arabe VI*. Washington, DC: [privately produced].
- Jastrow, M. (1903); A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushlmi, and the Midrashic Literature, Vol. 1, A-K. London: W.W.C: Luzac New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- JS: Thamudic inscriptions in Jaussen and Savignac 1909, 1914.
- HaNSB: Harahšah, R. (2010); Safaitic Inscriptions from the Northern Eastern Jordan-Badiyah: Analytic Study, Amman: Ward.
- Hayajneh, H. (2016); "Ancient North Arabian Inscriptions, Rock Drawings, and Tribal Brands (wasms) from the Šammāh/'Ayl ('Ēl) Region, Southern Jordan, pp. 505-541 in MacDonald, B., Clark, G., Herr, L., Quaintance, S., Hayajneh, H. and Eggler, J.". *The Shammakh to Ayl Archaeological Survey, Southern Jordan (2020-2012)*. American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports 24. Boston.
- Hayajneh, H. (2018); "Safaitic Prayers, Curses, Grief, and More from Wadi Salhub North-Eastern Jordan", In: *To the Madbar and Back Again. Studies in the Language, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C.A. Macdonald.* Laïla Nehmé and Ahmad Al-Jallad (editors). Leiden: Brill,: 41-68.
- HCH: Harding, G.L. (1953); "The Cairn of Hani". Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan Vol. 2: 8-56, pls. 1-7.
- Healey, J. (2020); Linguistic Variation in the Nabataean Aramaic of the Nabataean Period. *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeolgy*, Special Issue, Third International Conference on Petra and Nabataean Culture, Vol. 14, No. 4,: 201-214.
- Hoftjizer, J. and Jongeling, K. (1995); *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Leiden: Brill.
- Ir: al-Iryānī, M. (1990); "In the History of Yaman". Monumental Inscriptions and Comments, Ṣanʿā': Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūṯ al-Yamanī.
- Ibn al-Kalbi, Hisham Mohammad. (d. 204 H)(1995) ; Bibliothèque Nationale d'Éypte. *Le liver des Idoles (Kitāb al-Aṣnām*). Imprimerie bibliothèque nationals. Le Caire. 3rd edition.
- King, G. (1990); Early North Arabian Thamudic E. A preliminary description based on a new corpus of inscriptions from the Hismā desert of southern Jordan and published material. Ph.D thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Krone S. (1992); *Die altarabische Gottheit al-Lāt*. (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien, 23). Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter.
- KRS: Inscriptions recorded by Geraldine King on the Basalt Desert Recue Survey in northeastern Jordan in 1989 and published in OCIANA.
- Lane, E. W. (1968); *Mad al-Qāmys: an Arabic English Dictionary*. Eight parts, Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Ma'ani, S. and Sadaqa, I. (2003), "Two Hismaic Inscriptions from South-Eastern Jordan". *Dirāsāt* (University of Jordan), Vol. 30, No. 3: 643-660.

- Macdonald, M.C.A. (1993); Nomads and the Hawrān in the Late Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Reassessment of the Epigraphic Evidence, *Syria*; Vol. 70: 303-413.
- Macdonald, M. C. A. (2004); "Ancient North Arabian". In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia* of the World's Ancient Languages, edited by R. D. Woodard, pp. 488–533. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. (2018); "The Ancient North Arabian and Ancient South Arabian Inscriptions". In *The Darb al-Bakrah: A Caravan Route in North-West Arabia*. *Discovered by Ali I. al-Ghabban. Catalogue of the Inscriptions*. Edited by Laïla Nehmé et al. Pp. 227-268. Riyadh: Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.
- al-Manaser, A. (2008); *Ein Korpus neuer safaitischer Inschriften aus Jordanien*. Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia, 10. Aachen: Shaker.
- Meimaris, Y.; Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, K.I. and Brock, S.P. = MZ. (2016); *Inscriptions from Palestina Tertia vol. Ic. The Jewish Aramaic Inscriptions from Ghor Es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora)*. Athens: Eptalofos.
- Mir'i, 'Id (2012); *Lišānum Akkadītum*. Manšūrāt al-Hay'ah al-'Āmah al-Sūrīyah lil-Kitāb. Dimašq: Wizārat al-<u>t</u>aqāfah.
- Müller, D. H. (1889); Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien. (nach Abklatschen und Copien des Herrn Professor Dr. Julius Euting in Strassburg). Vorgelegt in der Sitzung am 9. Mai 1888. (Denkschriften der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 37.2). Vienna: Tempsky. Pages: 71 Plates: IV Nu.22.
- al-Nasarat, M. (2013); The History of Zoora (Ghor es-Safi) during the Bazyntine period (A.D. 324-636), *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology*, vols. 2-3: 1-26.
- Nehmé, L. and Macdonald, M. C. A. (2015); "Bny, 'l and 'hl in Nabataean and Safaitic". Dûma 3: The 2012 Report of Saudi-French Archaeology Project at Dûmat al-Jandal, Saudi Arabia. Edited by Guillaume Charloux and Romolo Loreto. Riyadh: 69-76.
- Nöldeke, Th. (1910); Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. Strassburg: Trübner.
- OCIANA: The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia.
- Renfroe, F. (1992); *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas, Band 5. Münster: UGARIT-Verlag.
- Robin, Ch. J. (2004); "Himyar et Israël". In: Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 148^e année, No. 2: 831-906.
- Robin, Ch. J. (2015) ; Le judaïsme de l'Arabie antique, Actes du colloque de Jérusalem (février 2006), Christian Julien Robin, ed. (Judaïsme ancien et origines du christianisme, 3), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Rosenhouse, J. (2002); "Personal Names in Hebrew and Arabic: Modern Trends Compared to the Past". *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. 47.No. 1: 97-114.
- RSIS: Rawan, S. (2013); *Neue safaitische Inschriften aus Süd-Syrien*. Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia, 16. Aachen: Shaker.
- Ryckmans, J. et.al. (1994) ; *Textes du Yémen antique inscrits sur bois (with an English Summary)*. (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 43). Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste.
- Tarawneh, M. et.al. (2017); "Results of the South-Eastern Badia Archaeological Project in Al-Thulaythuwat area to the south-east of Al-Jafr during the period 2010-2015". Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology, Vol. 11. No. 1: 73-93.
- Taylor, D. (2011); An Imperial Aramaic Glossary. Oxford.

- TIJ: Harding, G.L. and Littmann, E. (1952); Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Leiden: Brill.
- Watson, W. (2011); "Semitic and Non-Semitic Terms for Horse-Trappings in Ugaritic". *Aula Orientalis*: Vol. 29: 155-176.
- Weninger, S. (2009); "Der Jemen als lexikalisches Ausstrahlungszentrum in der Antike". Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima. Werner Arnold et.al. eds, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 395-410.
- WH: Winnett, F.V. and Harding, G.L. (1978); *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns*. Near and Middle East Series 9. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d.1205H)(1969); *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, Mustafā Ḥijāzī, ed. Part 5. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūt al-Kuwait.
- al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d.1205H)(1969); *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, Husayn Nassar, ed. Part 6. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūt al-Kuwait.
- al-Zubaydi, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d.1205H)(1973); *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, Muṣṭafā Ḥijāzī, ed. Part 12. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūt al-Kuwait.
- al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d.1205H)(2000); *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, Ibrāhīm al-Tarazī, ed. Part 33. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūt al-Kuwait.
- al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d.1205H)(2001); *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, Muṣṭafā Ḥijāzī, ed. Part 37. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūt al-Kuwait.
- al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d.1205H)(2001); *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr Šāhin ed., Part 38. Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūt al-Kuwait.