M.C.A. Macdonald

Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia

ASHGATE
VARIORUM

CONTENTS

PART 3: ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT ARABIA

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. 166: See now the extremely interesting paper on this psalm-fragment by Maria Mavroudi (2008) which for the first time provides excellent photographs.[1] 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.

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[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 2005 a.

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-ʿĪsāwī and more than 500 from other places), and the smaller but highly significant surveys by Hussein Zeinaddin (2000) and Ghazi al-Luʿluʿ (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 Maʾayan 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: *l ʿbdy*, 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: *s¹nʾ*. The name has been found only once before in Clark 1979: no. 22,[2] 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 *l ʿbdyʾns¹* one would have to explain the otherwise unknown divine, or possibly royal, name *yʾns¹*.
3. in faint and roughly cut letters in the bottom left hand corner of the face: *l ndm̊*, 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: *l̊ b/ẓ l/r ̊. t*, 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. 305: On the Ṣafā see now Braemer and Macdonald 1994.

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 Muʿazzin and Nehmé 1996: 480–84.

p. 306–10: 'Safaites' as a 'ghost community', see now IV: 183–4.

p. 307: On the problems of defining the term 'Nabataean' see now IV: 185–6.

p. 307: n. 27: See now Macdonald 2003 a: 52–6.

p. 307, n. 28: For two additional Safaitic inscriptions by people calling themselves 'Nabataeans', see Macdonald, Al Muʿazzin and Nehmé 1996: 444–9, and IV: 186.

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 *ʾl 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

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[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 hn' w bnẙ 'l 'b-h {w} nẕr s¹----* 'By Hn' 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.[3] 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 *ḥarra*, 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 the 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 *ġzy*, but some 50 examples of the verb *ġzz* are now known, and 14 of *ḍbʾ*.

p. 315, n. 75: On Sīʿ 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

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[4]   In C 860, the letters which the editor read *w trd f rmd bqr* actually read *w rdf l-mdbr*.

(Zeinaddin 2000: 273–4, no. 4). On al-Namārah and its environs see Mac-
donald in pressb.

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 *ġadīr* 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 Muʾazzin, and
Nehmé 1996: 449–52. However, it is not a place which could support per-
manent 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 draw-
ing 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 ḫll b-ḍʾn w s¹lḥ 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 *ʾs²rq* 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 ḫll h dr dṯʾ f ʾyḍ f
s²ty* .... '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 (*s²ty*) ....' 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.

p. 333, n. 197: The reference is to Macdonald 1995: 286–9

p. 333, n. 198: The reference is to Macdonald 1995: 287–8.

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 Ḥawrān 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 Shaʿaf, Zeinaddin discovered an inscription by someone belonging to the ʾl s²ʾf (Zeinaddin 2000: 276, no. 6). As he suggests, the author may have been a sedentary, at least if the mediaeval and modern village of Shaʿaf also existed with that name in antiquity.[5] However, it may be significant that this is the only text by a member of this ʾl found by Zeinaddin anywhere in his survey on Jabal al-ʿArab, and that he also found on the slopes below the village of Shaʿaf Safaitic inscriptions by members of 5 other ʾls (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 —Shaʿaf is on the eastern slopes of Jabal al-ʿArab — and there must have been frequent movement between the *jabal* and the *ḥarra* (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 Ḥawrān (22 to *ḥrn* and 1 to *ḥwrn*) in approximately 28,000 Safaitic inscriptions.

p. 345: lines 14ff.: On the use and abuse of onomastic evidence see further IV: 187–9, and Macdonald 1999.

p. 346: line 18: 'Safaitic grave-markers at such places as Rushayda': see now Macdonald 2006: 298–300.

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 ʾl in no. 7, which Zeinaddin reads as ʿrs¹t, looks on the photograph to be more like ʿmrt which, like *tm*, ʾs²ll, and ʿbs²t (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 Muʾazzin and Nehmé 1996: 485–7.

p. 346, n. 274: see now Macdonald 2006: 298–300.

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 Muʾazzin, 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 *ʾl ʿmrt* for this form of the script, see *ibid.* 292, n. 81.

p. 360, n. 377: On the Dayr al-Kahf cave tomb see now Macdonald 2006.

p. 362 and n. 387: The reference is to Macdonald 1995: 286–7. Here, I translated the dating formula in a Safaitic inscription *s¹nt 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 choleric, 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.: μέλαινά τε χολὴ αὐτὸν 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'.[7] 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 s¹nt 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 iqtatala, i.e. 'to die mad', and, tentatively, to propose that this might be

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[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. 363, nn. 396–7: see Macdonald 2005a.

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 *iḍāfah* (*nmrt h-slṭn*); but several other place names in Syria are formed from the root NMR (e.g. Nimreh on Jabal al-ʿArab).[8] 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. 366, n. 414: see now Macdonald 2003b.

p. 368: see now VIII: 11.

p. 374–5: παρεμβολὴ 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 see III: 43, 45 fig. 5, 46, and Macdonald 2004: 499–500.

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

p. 380, n. 472: see now Macdonald 2003 a: 52–5.

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

p. 383, n. 481: the implications of the *lām auctoris* are explored in Macdonald 2006: 294–5. On the expression *w l-h rgm* see Macdonald 2004: 507, §7.

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 mirror-image-writing, except for the word *Allāh* in line 2.[9]

pp. 392–403, References:

p. 396: 'Lancaster 19..' is now Lancaster W and Lancaster F 1993.

p. 398: 'Macdonald 19..a' and 'Macdonald 19.. b' have not yet appeared. Macdonald 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.

pp. 405–413, Epigraphic Index:

p. 405: Under Dayr al-Kahf: replace 'unpublished, see Macdonald and Searight 1982: 172' with 'Macdonald 2008b'.

p. 410: the same.

p. 411: Under Rushayda: replace '[unpublished see Sartre 1992: 41]' with '[Macdonald 2006: 298–300]'.

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 minuscule 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.

p. 46a: on the unvoiced non-emphatic sibilants in Ancient North Arabian, see now Macdonald 2004: 499–500.

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. 47a–b: On the abuse of onomastic evidence, particularly in relation to the Nabataeans, see also IV: 185–8, and Macdonald 1999: 254–7.

p. 48b: 'Baʿalshamīn at Sīʿ ': see Macdonald 2003b.

pp. 48b–54: 'Old Arabic:' see now Macdonald 2008 a.

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 Δαδαυ read Δαδάν.

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. 29: See IV: 183–4.

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. 67a, n. 47: See now Sima 2002.

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 missed by Graf and Zwettler (2004: 53–8) in their discussion of nomenclature. 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 ʿAd, 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 Macdonald 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 *ds²r* (78%), still 24 of *ḏs²r* (19.5%), and still 3 of *ḏs²ry* (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: n. 164: 'Macdonald MCA. Ancient North Arabian' now = Macdonald 2004.

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.

p. 78a, n. 202: For an interesting discussion of the context of JSNab 17 see Nehmé 2005: 171–2.

p. 78a, n. 205: See now Macdonald 2004: 520, §9.

p. 78a, n. 209: Christian Robin has now made an interesting (though, to my mind, not entirely convincing) case for the inconsistent but widespread use of *matres lectionis* in Sabaic (2001: 570–77). See the very full discussion of the representation of vowels in the Sabaic script in Stein 2003: 41–5.

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 Nehmé 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, lines 16–17ff.: On Old Arabic, see III: 48–57, and Macdonald 2008a.

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. 180, lines 17–18: Nabataean papyri: see now Yadin et al., 2002 and Yardeni 2001.

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: *Restklassenbilding*, see the Corrigenda to III: 65b, n. 30, above.

p. 184, line 8 from bottom: for 'Dedanitic' read 'D**a**danitic', see III: 33..

p. 186, lines 13ff.: see MacDonald, Al Mu'azzin, and Nehmé 1996: 444–9.

p. 186, last paragraph: see now also Macdonald 2003a: 39–40, 48.

p. 186, line 3 from bottom: However, there is now one interesting inscription from Sinai which reads *dkyr kl nbṭy bṭb* 'May each Nabataean be remembered for good' (Nehmé 1999: 154–5, no. 4)

p. 187, n. 28: A Review Article, JSemSt (forthcoming) = Macdonald 1999.

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'

pp. 189–90: Rawwāfa: see VIII: 9–14.

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.

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[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.

p. 305, n. 5: This article is III here. See also Macdonald 2004
pp. 306–7, n. 7: See the *addendum* to IV: 188, lines 8ff., above.
p. 307, n. 8: See now Macdonald 2003a: 48–51.
p. 311, n. 24: A revised, English, version of this article is published as V here.
p. 313–16: See V here, and Macdonald forthcoming b.

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 Zwettler 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.
   'Macdonald 19..c' now = Macdonald 1992a.

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 Taymāʾ, 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 *Taymāʾ* 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 Sabaʾ and Taymāʾ 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 / ʾsˡ tmnyt* '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.[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 Saba' and Taymā' were trading in central Syria at about the same time as Yariris was writing; (b) the diphthong *ay* of Taymā' fits the transliteration *-ai-* better than the *-e-* of Teman; and (c) the *-n* is part of the gentilic formed from Taymā', to which the Luwian adjectival ending *-iti* has been added. See III: 42b, 71b, n. 105.

Sigla used in these Addenda and Corrigenda

BDRS   Basalt Desert Rescue Survey conducted by G.M.H. King, the results of which will be published in the near future.

C   Inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars V. Inscriptiones Saracenicas Continens, Tomus 1. Inscriptiones Safaiticae*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1950–51.

CIS ii   Inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars II Inscriptiones Aramaicas continens*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889–1954.

H   Nabataean inscriptions in Healey 1993.

HCH   Safaitic inscriptions and drawings in Harding 1953.

KRS   Inscriptions found on the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey, to be published by G.M.H. King.

LP   Safaitic inscriptions in Littmann 1943.

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photograph.' I put this forward very tentatively since it is, of course, possible that *tmnyt* here has nothing to do with the name Taymā'. 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.

[14]   Thus *tymny'* (emphatic masculine plural) in H 1/2 (and see the commentary in Healey 1993: 71) and *tymnyt'* (emphatic feminine plural) in H 12/2.

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