

**INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SOUTHERN
ḤAWRĀN SURVEY, 1985**
(Dafyana, Umm al-Quṭṭayn, Dayr al-Qinn)

by
Henry I. MacAdam and David F. Graf

The epigraphic harvest from the lava lands of southern Syria and northern Jordan is now well into its second century. The first comprehensive collection was published by W.H. Waddington in 1870. The most recent corpus of a single site (Bostra) was published by M. Sartre in 1982. The number of Greek, Latin and Nabataean inscriptions totals more than 5,000, and the corpus of Safaitic texts (mostly graffiti) has grown to some 25,000.

Funeral stelae in Greek and Nabataean are among the most common types of inscriptions in those languages. Though the amount of information normally available from such stelae is limited — i.e. name of the deceased, patronymic, age — it is nonetheless valuable. Two recent studies by Sartre (1985a & b) demonstrate clearly that a comparative survey of funerary inscriptions from just north and south of the Syria-Jordan border can yield useful demographic results. In one study (1985a) Sartre began with a map of sites yielding Greek and Latin inscriptions of any kind, and then developed a chronology of the sites from any datable information in the texts. He then paid particular attention to funerary inscriptions, especially those mentioning tomb construction and/or associated with an extant monument. Lastly, on the basis of the proper names from the inscriptions, he was able to assess the degree of Hellenization within that selected area. The second study (1985b) is a straightforward onomastic index (with detailed commentary) based on the names occurring in Greek and Latin inscriptions from Bostra itself, but again employing comparative analysis with names occurring in the Greek, Latin and Nabataean inscriptions from surrounding villages. Thus the recording and publication of even a handful of new stelae will add to the epigraphical data-base now available to demog-

raphers and historians.

During a survey of archaeological sites in northern Jordan in the summer of 1985 (see Kennedy, MacAdam & Riley 1986) the Southern Ḥawrān Survey team copied and photographed a number of unpublished Greek, Latin and Nabataean inscriptions, and one Safaitic inscription. We also saw and recorded several Greek and Latin inscriptions previously published. The majority of the inscriptions are from Umm al-Quṭṭayn and two other sites (Dafyana and Dayr al-Qinn) in the southern Ḥawrān. A few were from the Azraq Oasis. Most of the Latin inscriptions were published separately (Kennedy & MacAdam 1986). The remainder of the inscriptions from that season's survey, including ones previously published, are presented here. All but four are funerary and two of those — a dated Greek building inscription and a Safaitic graffito — are published here for the first time. This has been a collaborative effort throughout, though the final text of the section on Greek and Latin inscriptions was prepared by MacAdam and that for the Nabataean and Safaitic by Graf. We wish to thank D.L. Kennedy of the University of Sheffield for his advice and support.

I. Greek Inscriptions

A. Dafyana: The site is a small village seven kilometres west of Umm al-Quṭṭayn. During a brief visit we recorded the following unpublished inscription:

- #1. (Pl. XXIV, 1; Fig. 1) A basalt slab originally a funeral stele and subsequently used as a roof-rafter projecting from the first arch of the larger of two rooms in an abandoned but well-preserved house in the southwestern quarter of Dafyana. Dimensions of

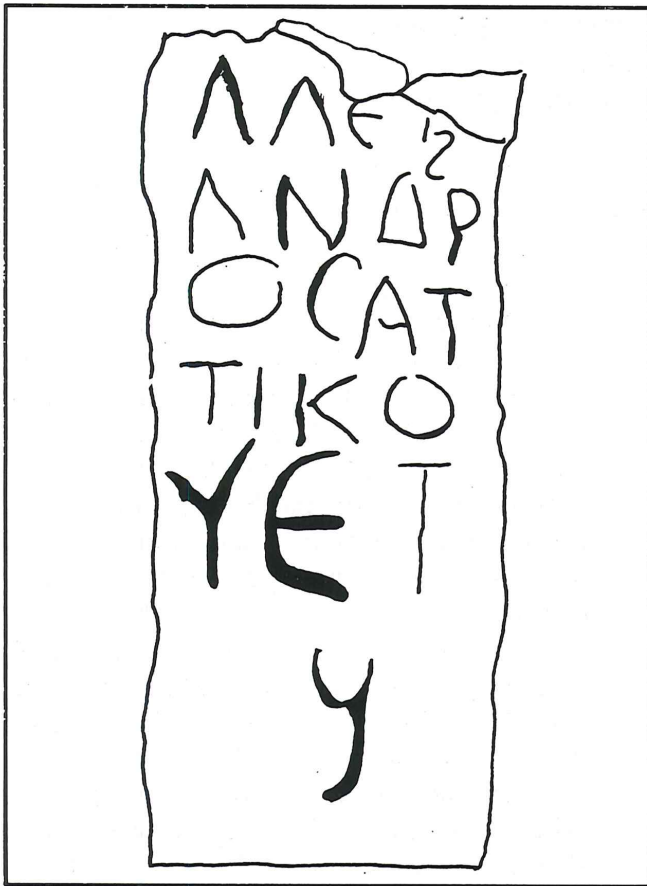


Fig. 1. Dafyana: Greek Inscription #1.

the stele: length, 130 cm; width (average), 40 cm; thickness (av.), 20 cm. A six-line text has been cut into the upper half of the stele. Average height of letters in lines 1-4, 8 cm; lines 5-6, 14 cm.

ΑΛΞΕ
ΑΝΔΡ
ΟCΑΤ
ΤΙΚΟ
YET
U

ΑΛΞΕΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ ΕΤ U'
Αλεξάνδρου Αττικού, ετ(ων) U'
Alexander (the son) of Atticus, age 90

Alexander is frequently attested in the Ḥawrān, e.g. Sartre (1985b: 173) records six examples from nearby Bostra. Atticus is less well attested as such (e.g. *ibid.* 185 [only two examples]). This is but one example of a Greco-Roman name with an exact Semitic equivalent (other examples are Marinus, Zenōn, Varus). In this case Atticus could transcribe 'TQ, 'ṬQ or 'TK with the T or Ṭ rendered by Greek *theta*.

An example of that may be the compound name Binnathēke attested at Bostra; see Sartre (1985b: 189-190) for discussion.

B. Umm al-Quṭṭayn: A total of 15 funeral stelae and fragments were recorded. Five of these, and one new building text, are published here for the first time:

#2. (Pl. XXIV, 2; Fig. 2). A large basalt stele, found lying in front of an ancient house (partly reconstructed) in the southeast corner of the village. A text of four lines is inscribed in large letters on the upper two-thirds; the lower third is tapered to a rough point. Length, 74 cm; width at top 46 cm; width at middle, 41 cm; width at bottom, 34 cm. Thickness of stele, 12 cm. Average letter height in all lines, 8-9 cm. There is a narrow, incised border around three sides of the text.

BANNA
ΘΗΟΜ
ΕΘΟΥ
ΕΤΚΕ

BANNAΘΕ ΟΜΕΘΟΥ ΕΤ ΚΕ'
Βαγναθε Ομεθου, ετ(ων) κε'
Bannathē (the daughter) of Omethos, age 25.

The stone is chipped and pitted apart from being very worn. Consequently the name of the deceased is uncertain. Bagnathē could be read, but if so the name is unique. It is more likely that the name Ban(n)athē was intended. Though it is known only in its masculine form, Banathos (e.g. Wüthnow 1930: 32, with a single N). It is quite commonly attested in the region. A closely related feminine form, Banianathē, is known from Umm al-Jimāl, 25 km to the west (Littmann *et al.* 1921: #482 = Wüthnow 1930: 32). The Semitic name would be BNT or BNTY, respectively; see Harding 1971: 119 for examples in Safaitic.

If the patronymic Omethos is read correctly, it is the masculine form of the commonly attested feminine name Omethē (variants Omethēa, Omiathē, Omeathē and Omeathe — see Sartre 1985b: 221).

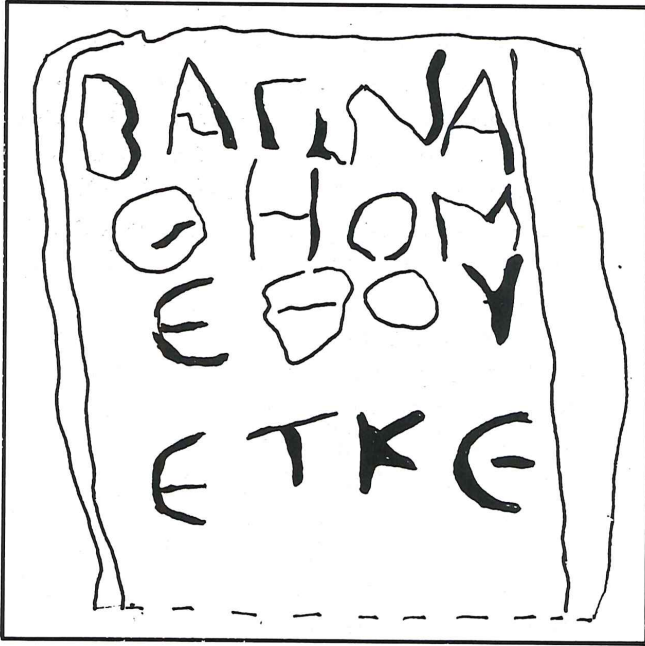


Fig. 2. Umm al-Qutṭayn: Greek Inscription #2.

The spelling Omethos here has no exact parallel. The closest to it are Omathos and Oumathos (*ibid.*) found on stelae at Ghāriyah Gharbiyah in the Syrian Ḥawrān. The Semitic name behind all forms is 'MYT (see Harding 1971: 78). It occurs in that exact spelling at Palmyra (see Stark 1971: 5 and 69). It is also found in Nabataean (Cantineau 1933: 64) and Thamudic (Ryckmans I 1934: 44).

#3. (Pl. XXIV, 3; Fig. 3). Black basalt stele lying on the ground behind a house close to where H.C. Butler (1919: 138) recorded his "South Church". The present house is owned by the school Headmaster. The stone is irregular in shape. Length, 70 cm; width, 30 cm; thickness, 17 cm. A four-line inscription is on the upper two-thirds of the stone. The letter-height in all lines is approximately 8-10 cm. There is a ligature of E and T in line 4.

ANAN
OCAE
ΔΟΥ
ΕΤΝ

ANANOC AEDOU ET N'

Ἀνανος Αἰδου ἐτ(ων) ν'

Ananos (the son) of Aedos, age 50

Both the name of the deceased and

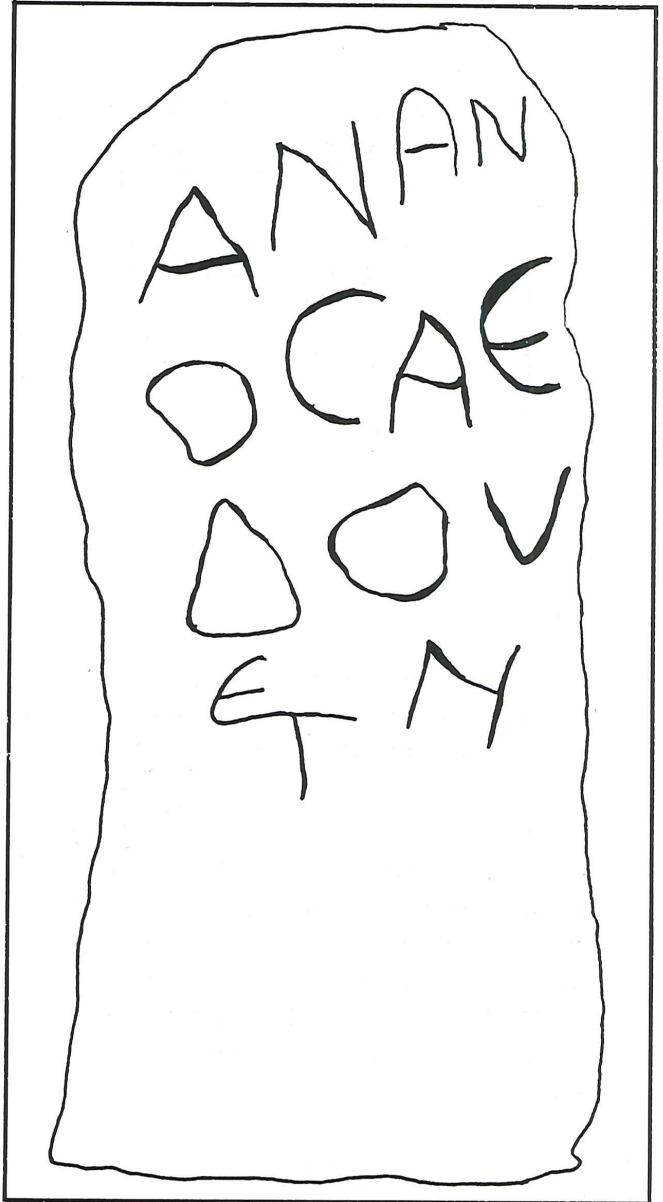


Fig. 3. Umm al-Qutṭayn: Greek Inscription #3.

the patronymic are common in the area. Ananos has until now been attested only in the genitive (see Wüthnow 1930: 21 = Waddington 1870: #1969) from Sahwat al-Khudr in the Syrian Ḥawrān. The name is also spelled Ananēs and Aneinas (Wüthnow 1930: 21 & 22 respectively). In all cases the Semitic original is ḤNN — see Harding (1971: 206) for numerous examples in Safaitic. Aedos is just as common — see (Wüthnow 1930:13) and Sartre (1985b: 170) for numerous examples. The Semitic form is 'YDW (Nabataean — *cf.* Cantineau 1933: 129) or 'YD (Safaitic — *cf.* Harding 1971: 450).

#4. (Pl. XXV, 1; Fig. 4). Another black

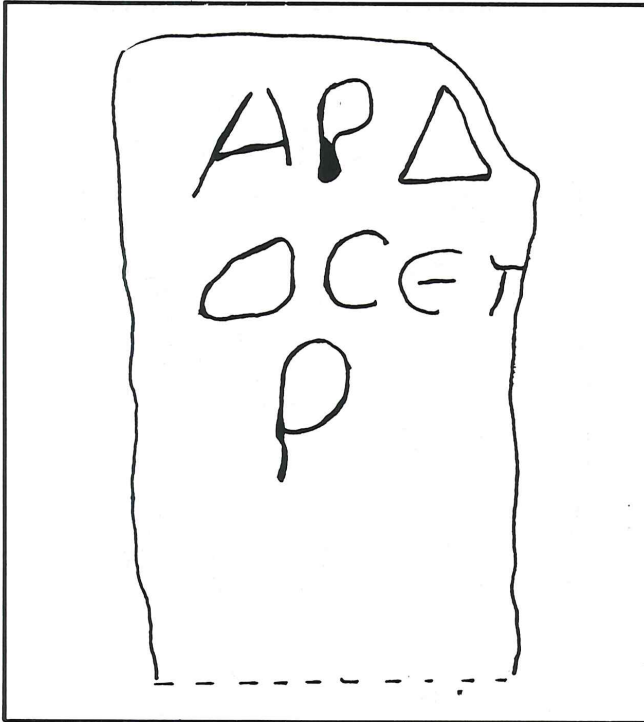


Fig. 4. Umm al-Qutṭayn: Greek Inscription #4.

basalt stele lying next to #3 behind the Headmaster's house. Irregular in shape: length, 74 cm; width, ca. 32-37 cm; thickness, 11 cm. A poorly preserved text of three lines is on the upper half of the stele. Letter height in line 1, 11 cm; line 2, 7 cm; line 3, 12 cm.

ΑΡΔ
ΟCΕΤ
Ρ
ΑΡΔΟC ΕΤ Ρ'
Ἀρδος ετ(ων) ρ'
Ardos, age 100

The reading of the first two letters cannot be certain, but AP rather than AB is what the squeeze indicates. There are to date only two other attestations of the name Ardos in Greek. One is Ardos the son of Vitalius, one of several named villagers of ancient Agraena (mod. Jrayn) in the Lejā plateau south of Damascus. That inscription was recorded by both Wetzstein (1863: #113) and Waddington (1870: #2457). Wüthnow (1930: 25) questioned Wetzstein's reading and suggested that the very popular name Abdos might

be intended. This ignored the fact that Waddington's later reading confirmed Wetzstein's. The other is much less certain. Dussaud and Macler (1903: 270 #89) copied a gravestone at Umm al-Qutṭayn which read ΑCΑΔΟC Α.ΔΟΥ ΕΤΩΝ Ξ. They restored the patronymic as *Aedos*. A few years later the Princeton University expedition saw and copied the same inscription (Littmann *et al.* 1921: #215), reading the patronymic as *Abdos* "because the letter preceding the *delta* could not be an *epsilon*". Their drawing of the inscription indicates clearly that the letter preceding the *delta* is more likely to be a *rho* than a *beta*. The stele has since disappeared.

A masculine diminutive, *Aredos*, is known from 'Anz in the Syrian Ḥawrān (Sartre 1985b: 182), and a feminine diminutive, *Aredē*, is attested at Bostra (*ibid.*). The Semitic original of Ardos could be either 'RD (Harding 1971: 36) or 'RD (*ibid.* 415). The former is not noted by Sartre. The Nabataean cognate to the latter of those Safaitic examples is 'RDW (see Cantineau 1933: 129). Ardos' extreme age is not to be taken literally, even though it is paralleled by another tombstone at Umm al-Qutṭayn (Mittmann 1970: 204 #48) and elsewhere in the Roman East. It is merely an indication that the deceased had been very advanced in years.

#5. (Fig. 5). A basalt stele reused as a roofing slab between the arches of a church or monastery (identified as such by our survey) in the northwest sector of the village. The stele was too high overhead to obtain accurate measurements of either its dimensions or the letter size. Length, approximately 1.80 m; width, approx. 35 cm. Four lines of text were visible. This and the following inscription were discovered by James Wilson while a large Latin military inscription in the same building was being studied and photographed (see Kennedy and MacAdam 1986: 234-236).

Α.ΑΜΟC
ΕΚΑΔΕ

MOC
 ΕΤΚ

A.AMOC ΕΚΑΔΕΜΟC ΕΤ Κ'
 A[v]αμος (?) Καδεμος, ετ(ων) κ'
 Anamos (and?) Kademos, age 20

The second letter of the first line is completely unreadable, but the name Anamos/Anemos is so common in the area that restoration is virtually certain. Wüthnow (1930: 21) lists some seventy-five examples of Anamos alone. Dussaud and Macler (1903: 675 #96) recorded an Anemos the son of Pharekos at Tell Ghāriyah in the Syrian Ḥawrān, but had learned that the stone was originally from Umm al-Quṭṭayn. The Semitic original of Anamos is Safaitic 'N'M (Harding 1971: 80 gives more than 300 examples). The Nabataean form is 'N'MW (Cantineau 1933: 121). (Sartre 1985b: 177-178) has suggested that these Semitic forms may also lie behind *Naemos* and *Naiamos* in Greek inscriptions, but this is questionable.

What follows in line 2 is quite problematical. The initial letter appears to be *epsilon*, but *omicron* or *theta* or *sigma* might possibly be read. None of those, combined with the letters which follow, makes a recognizable name. But what *does* follow that initial letter can be read as a proper name in itself, i.e. Kademos, very frequently attested in this region in that spelling and its usual variants, Kadmos and Kadamos (see Wüthnow 1930: 60 and Sartre 1985b: 208-209). All three spellings are derived from Safaitic QDM (Harding 1971: 478) or Nabataean QDMW (Cantineau 1933: 141). But the Kademos in our inscription ends in the nominative masculine singular, which eliminates it as a patronymic following Anamos. That may help to explain the enigmatic letter between the two names. If it is an epsilon, then an abbreviated enclitic [K]E (i.e. και) might have been intended. In that case two deceased, of the same age, are commemorated. If it is an omicron, then an abbreviated phrase ο (και) — “also known as” — may have been intended. In that case, Anemos was known by a second name.

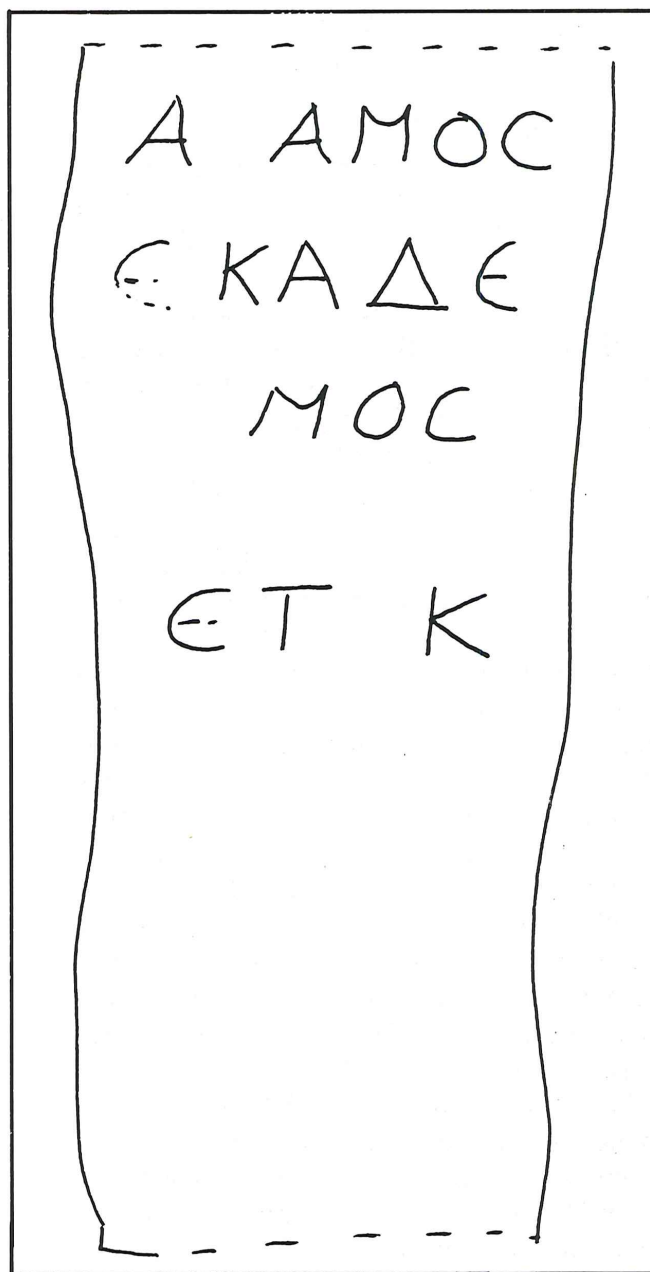


Fig. 5. Umm al-Quṭṭayn: Greek Inscription #5.

#6. (Pl. XXV, 2; Fig. 6). Another basalt slab built into the ceiling of the same church-monastery. Once again no exact measurements could be taken because of the stone's inaccessibility. The dimensions of the stone are roughly that of #5. Six lines of letters were visible, but the topmost line (if it is indeed that) proved to be totally unreadable from floor level.

....
 OCBA
 ΘABH
 ΔOY.

ΔΙΒΟÇ
ΕΤΚ

...OC BAΘABHΛΟΥ ΔΙΒΟÇ ΕΤΚ'
 ?????ος Βαθαβηλου Διβος ετ(ων) κ'
 ?????os (the son) of Bathabēlos
 (a.k.a.?) Dibos, age 20.

At the end of line one only the traces of the bottoms of the last two letters can be seen, and they are too indistinct for even a guess. The OC at the beginning of line 2 is probably to be understood as the masculine singular nominative ending of whatever name began in line 1. What follows should be the patronymic of the deceased. The letters at the beginning of lines 3 and 4 are not easily read, but the range of possible names ending in OY in line 4 makes the reading of *theta* and *lambda*, respectively, most plausible. The patronymic can be read as Βαθαβηλος, which is new to the onomasticon of the lava-lands. It is a compound name the first element of which, Βαθ, is well-represented in that spelling or variants (Βεθ-; Βειθ-; Βιθ-) for masculine (e.g. Βαθελος; Βαθουρος) and feminine (e.g. Βαθναια; Βαθσαια) names. See Wüthnow (1930: 31-36) for various forms in Greek; see Stark (1971: 12-13; 80-81) for examples in Palmyrene Aramaic. Stark omits any discussion of Palmyrene genitive compounds beginning with BT- which are not feminine. I could find no attestation of a BT- compound name — not even a theophoric compound — in Cantineau's Nabataean lexicon.

Neither Abēlos nor Bēlos is attested elsewhere with exactly that spelling. Abēlios and Abiēlos (Wüthnow 1930: 8-9) are close parallels to the former. Bēleos is known from a Greek epitaph in the Syrian Ḥawrān (Wüthnow 1930: 36) and a related name, Bēlēlos, is attested at nearby Umm al-Jimāl (Littmann *et al.* 1921: #421). Abēlos would be HB'L (Harding 1971: 606). Bēlos could transcribe BL, B'L or B'L; all three are commonly attested in the region (Harding 1971: 115, 91 and 111 respectively).

Line 5 appears to be another name. It is possible that the first letter of that name



Fig. 6. Umm al-Quttayn: Greek Inscription #6.

was at the end of line 4, but no trace of a letter was visible. ΔΙΒ at the beginning of line 5 is quite distinct, but the letters that follow are not. A patronymic would end in -OY, but either -IC or -OC seems likely here. The closest I can come in Greek to Dibis or Dibos is *Doebos*, attested at Summaqīyat to the northwest of Quttayn (Littmann *et al.* 1921: #88) and at Kerak in the Syrian Ḥawrān (Dussaud & Macler 1901: 200 #84). Dussaud and Littmann agreed that *Doebos* would be the diminutive (Arabic D'YB [*Dhu'āyb*]) of the familiar name DB or D'B (for which see Harding 1971: 232-233). The Greek transcription of D'B would probably be *Dabos*, so far unattested by that spelling. Dibis or Dibos, therefore, may transcribe more precisely DYB (*Dhīb*), attested in Safaitic (Harding 1971: 260). If the inscription originally read *Adibis* or *Adibos* (allowing for a letter at the end of line 4), that

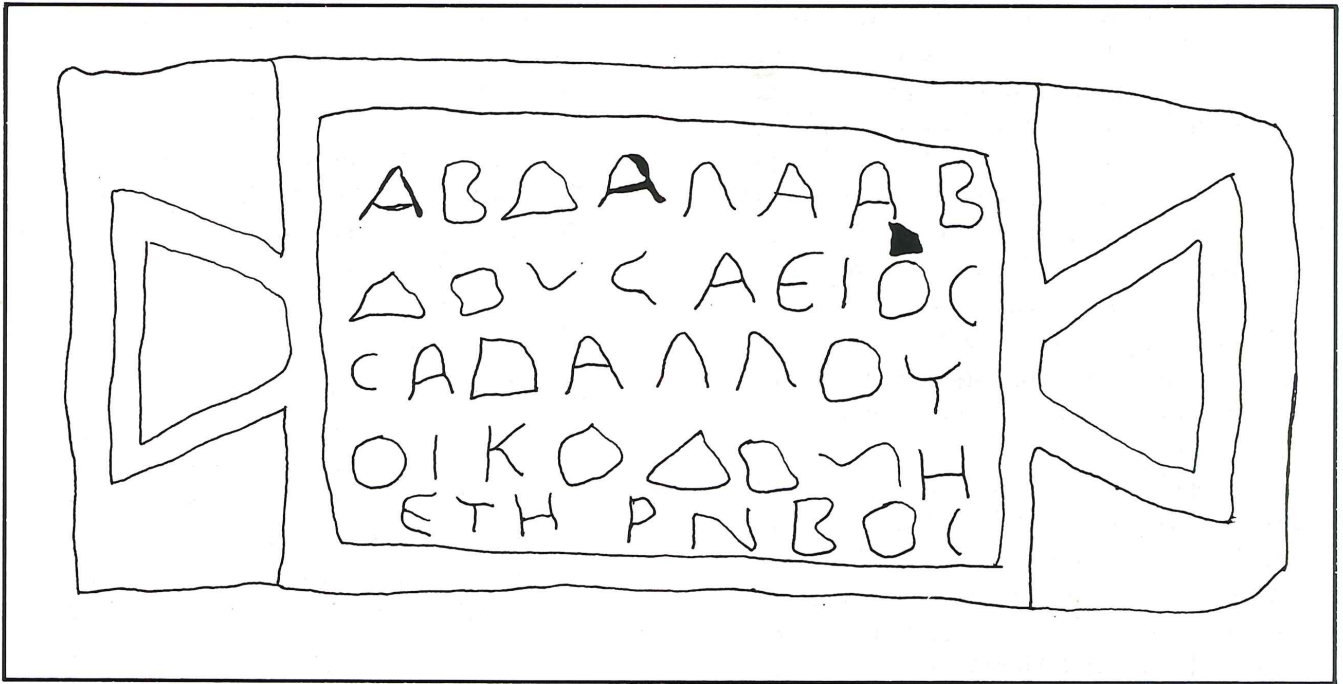


Fig. 7. Umm al-Quttayn: Greek Inscription #7.

spelling (or something similar) would transcribe 'DYB (Harding 1971: 33; cf. Arabic *Ādīb*). Whatever the name, it very likely represents a second name or nickname of the deceased, rather than a patronymic, an ethnicon or a village name. Normally someone's second name is preceded by *κε* or *ὁ και* (see the commentary to #5 above).

#7. (Pl. XXV, 3; Fig. 7). A massive basalt block found buried among debris in a courtyard some fifty meters northwest of the monastery or convent already mentioned (Butler 1919: 139-141, Illus. 120-121). A five-line inscription is set within a raised dovetail frame. Dimensions of the block: length, 87 cm; width, 43 cm; thickness, 40 cm (the unscribed side comes to a rough point). The block was too heavy to be moved by four members of the survey team. The recessed panel measures 48 cm x 32 cm. Average height of letters in lines 1-4 is 4-5 cm; letter heights in line 5 average 3 cm. The lettering is shallow and carelessly inscribed. There are abbreviations in lines 4 and 5. This inscription will appear as a separate publication with commentary in *Graeco-Arabica* 5 (1986).

<i>Transcription and Expansion</i>	<i>Translation</i>
ΑΒΔΑΛΑ ΑΒ ΔΟΥ ΚΑΕΙΟϚ ΣΑΔΑΛΛΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗ ΕΤΗ ΡΝ ΒΟϚ	'Abdullāh (the son) of 'Abd, (and) Shay' (the son) of Sa'dallāh. They built (this). In the year 160 of the Bostrans (or "of Bostra") = AD 265/266.
Αβδάλα Αβ- δοῦ, Σαεῖος Σαδαλλοῦ, οικοδόμη (σαν). Ἐτη ρν' Βοσ (τρηνῶν) or Βοσ (τρῆς)	

The last two letters of line 1 are indistinct; the squeeze shows traces of only the final *beta*. In the second line three letters are badly worn; only the upper half of the *upsilon* and the bottom third of the *omicron* are visible. The final *sigma* is very obscure. The first and last letters of line 3 are quite faint, and the final three letters of line 4 are poorly preserved. The abbreviation of the verb in line 4, and of what I restore at the end of line 5, indicate that the inscriber ran out of space.

Upon first inspection I read the date as PNB, i.e. the year 162 (=A.D. 267/268). The squeeze showed traces of an *omicron*

and *sigma* following the *beta*; these were faintly visible on the stone during other autopsies. The abbreviation BOC here, if read correctly, is only the third example of the *Aera Bostrensis* or Bostran era dating formula; much more common is the “provincial” formula. Both methods of dating use as the base year A.D. 105/106 when the Nabataean Kingdom was annexed. On this see MacAdam (1986: 34-37), where I summarize the available information and Freeman (1986), who offers an historical interpretation.

Abdala is a fairly common name in the region; variations of spelling include Abdal(l)as, Abdal(l)os and Abdella (Wüthnow 1930: 7). It is the common theophoric compound ‘*abd* (servant, slave) plus the deity ‘*lh* (Allah) and occurs in Safaitic as ‘*bdlh* and ‘*bd’lh* (Harding 1971: 397 & 400 respectively) and in Nabataean as ‘*bd’lh* and ‘*bd’lhy* (Cantineau 1933: 126). I have not found the name Abdullah attested in Greek earlier than this date. Abdos is quite common in the epigraphy of the Hawrān (Wüthnow 1930: 8). *Saeios* appears to be a unique spelling of Arabic *Shay’*, normally rendered in Greek as *Saios* (Wüthnow 1930: 102 to which add *SEG* 7.710). It is attested in Safaitic as *sy’* (Harding 1971: 364), in Nabataean as *sy’w* (Cantineau 1933: 153) and in Palmyrene as *sy’n*. *Sadallos* also is common, variations in Greek being *Sadala*, *Sadaalos*, *Sadalo* and *Sadallas* (Sartre 1985b: 234). In Safaitic it is *s’dlh* (Harding 1971: 319) and in Nabataean *s’d’lhy* and *s’dlh* (Cantineau 1933: 152-153).

The corpus of inscriptions from Umm al-Quttayn has grown to a total of forty from the spring of 1858 when J.G. Wetzstein visited the village and copied a single Greek building inscription (Wetzstein 1863: #75) through the two-week visit of the Southern Hawrān Survey team in the summer of 1985. Twenty-three of the forty are Greek, which merely exemplifies once again the predominance of that language in the epigraphy of the lava-lands. But the other seventeen are just as representative of the linguistic mixture of the region: nine are in Nabataean, six in Latin, one is a

Nabataean-Greek bilingual and one is Safaitic. It should be emphasized as well that this modest corpus is the result of surface surveys only, and that dozens more lie beneath the surface or are bonded into the floors, walls and roofs of houses within the modern village. The earliest dated text is A.D. 93 (Dussaud & Macler 1903: 308 #5); the latest is *ca.* A.D. 348 (Littmann *et al.* 1921: #213).

- C. Dayr al-Qinn: The site lies some 40 km. east and north of Umm al-Quttayn. We recorded one inscribed stone.
- #8. In the center of the enclosure walls rises a natural basalt outcrop on which are the remains of a tower. On the south side of the rock six lines of Greek letters have been incised (Pl. XXVI, 1; Fig. 8). They have not previously been published but the records of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan show that they were originally seen by Winnett and Reed during the course of their epigraphic survey in 1951; this was made known to us by Michael Macdonald in a personal communication to D.L. Kennedy. The letters vary in height from five to ten cm and there was no attempt by the inscriber(s) to keep them within right or left hand margins. They do not make any obvious sense, either in Greek or as transliterations of Semitic letters. The outcrop may have served as a practice surface for someone undertaking to inscribe on basalt blocks. Dayr al-Qinn was a small military outpost in the Roman period and the inscribed letters surely date to that time.

M A H A O
H A C W N
I Δ A C O T
O V A N
Φ I H Γ I
N V A M

Greek and Latin Inscriptions Previously Recorded

1. Sir M.A. Stein’s *Limes Report* contains

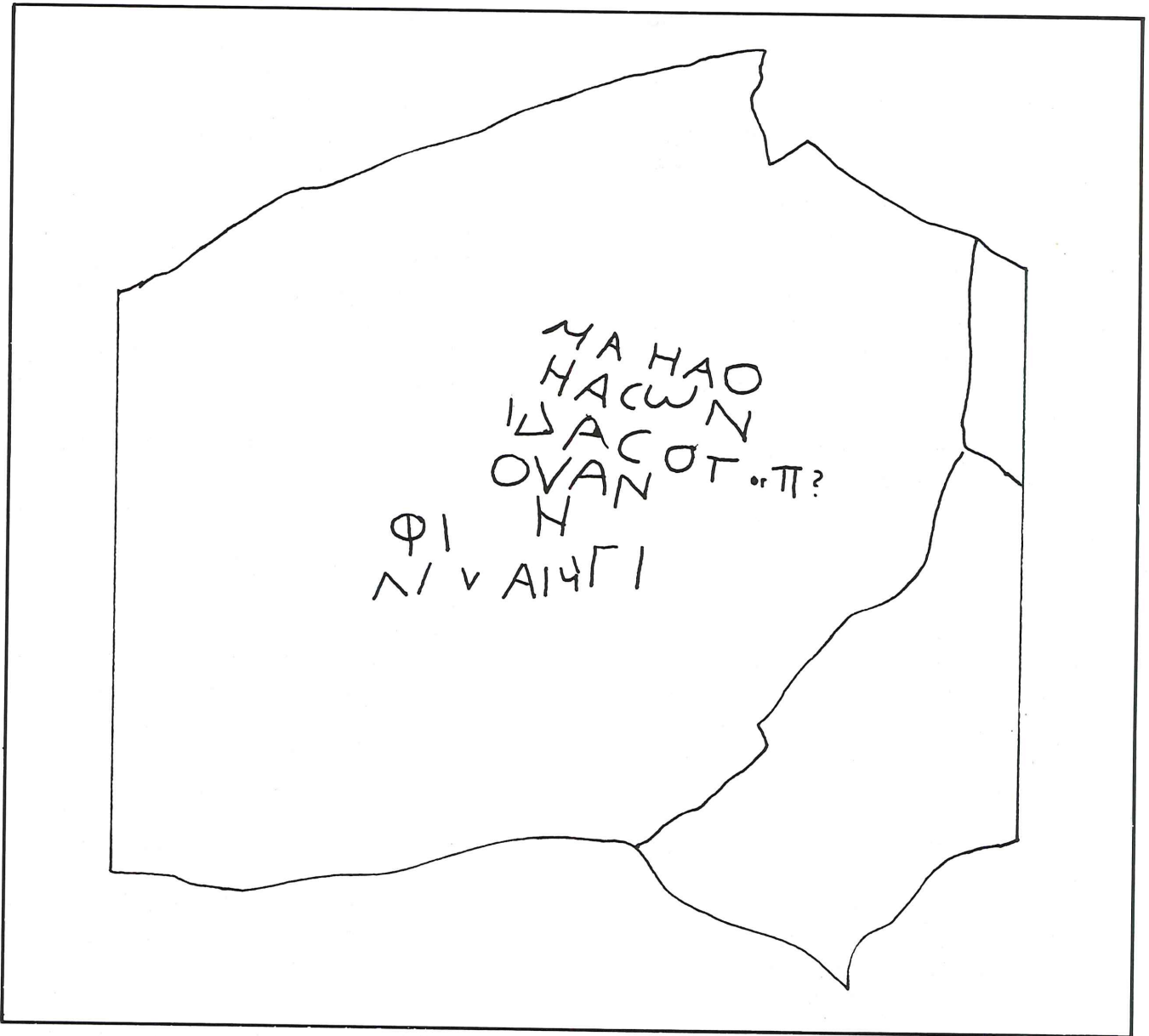


Fig. 8. Dayr al-Qinn: Greek Inscription #8.

a brief description of Umm al-Quttayn and inscriptions he recorded there in 1939 (Kennedy 1982: 240-242 = Gregory and Kennedy 1985: 259-261).

a. Stein (in Kennedy 1982: 240 #43 = Gregory and Kennedy 1985: 260). During the Southern Hawrān Survey's explorations in Quttayn, three fragmentary Greek inscriptions were seen in the small house in the southeast corner of the village outside which inscription #2 above was recorded. Two of the fragments are on blocks built into the second arch from the doorway. The one on the lower right is recognizable as part of the funerary stele recorded by Stein. Stein read the inscription as

AIBH/ΔAPEI/OY/ETAE, i.e. AIBH? (the daughter) of Dareios, age 35. The lower right-hand block, which measures 52 cm by 32 cm, displays only the letters ΔAPEI ETAE. But above it, imbedded between the topmost blocks of the arch, can be seen a missing portion of the same stele, which measures 80 cm by 32 cm and shows two inscribed letters: OY. The letter-height for both blocks is ca. 8-10 cm. The name of the deceased appears to be feminine, but Stein's AIBH is unknown. The *beta* was uncertain to begin with, but unfortunately that portion of the text is missing. AIPH might be a preferable reading, since both AIPA (fem. sing. nom.) and

AIPOY (masc. sing. gen.) are recorded as proper names in the region (Wüthnow 1930: 15). Greek Airē would thus transcribe Semitic HR (Harding 1971: 218) or better yet HYR (*ibid.* 231). The latter is cognate to Arabic “Khair”, still a very popular name. The missing portion of Stein’s stele must have been lost when the block was broken up during reconstruction of the arch. Stein described the block as “fallen from what seemed to have been the entrance of a ruined house...” This house may be the one in which parts of it are still visible.

Built into the same arch is yet another stone which bears only a portion of legible text, very poorly preserved. The stone is 50 cm by 28 cm and the letter height is 7-8 cm. The legible text reads (in two lines) A/XO. This is no doubt part of another funerary stele. Thanks to Stein’s inscription, the rebuilding of this arch can be dated no earlier than 1939/40, and gives clear evidence for the constant reconstruction in this village, often in the familiar ancient Ḥawrānī style.

2. In the late 1960s Siegfried Mittmann (1970: 166-207) completed an epigraphic survey of twenty-two sites in northern Jordan. At Umm al-Quṭṭayn he copied eight inscriptions, five of which were seen by the Southern Ḥawrān Survey team. Photos of Mittmann’s eight inscriptions (including the five noted here) appear in his section of plates (Tafeln xxxii-xxxv).
- a. Mittmann (1970: 203 #45). This stele now serves as the doorway lintel for an abandoned house in the south-central sector of the village. Plaster has obscured the letters on the right-hand margin:
Μοεαρος Αιλιανου ετων ξ’ “Moeros (the son) of Ailianos, age 60.”
- b. Mittmann (1970: 203 # 46). This stele now lies amid a pile of stones near the site of Howard Butler’s “chapel”, an apsidal structure thus identified by him in 1904/05 (Butler 1919: 139) at the extreme southern limit of the ancient town near the mid-point of the southern

“wall”:

Ασαδος Ακραβου ε(ων) κ’ “Asados (the son) of Acrabos, age 20.”

- c. Mittmann (1970: 204 # 48). This stele is now used as a ceiling rafter just inside the door lintel of the house of Muḥammad Alukman near the north-central part of town not far from the Post Office. Line 1 could not be read at all, being underneath the stone immediately above. Mittmann was able to see:

Θαρσι, Σαβινε ουιτρανε ε(ων) ρ’
“Courage, Sabinus (the) veteran, age 100.”

On the age of the deceased, see the discussion in the commentary to # 4 above. On other veterans attested throughout the lava-lands, see MacAdam (1986: 176-211); on this particular veteran, *ibid.* (210 # 69).

- d. Mittmann (1970: 205 # 50). The large, carved stone block into which this Latin military inscription is cut is the pier from which springs the left side of the fifth arch from the entrance to the church/monastery (?) noted in #5 and #6 above. The building is very close to the “House of the Councillor” described by Butler (1919: 141-142). The inscription was first recorded and published by Maurice Dunand (1926: 328 = AE [1928] 154 — apparently overlooked by Mittmann). For its recent re-publication see Kennedy and MacAdam (1986: 234-236):

COH(ORS) I[II?] AVG(VSTA)
THR(ACVM) EQ(VITATA)

- e. Mittmann (1970: 205 # 51). This inscribed section of milestone drum lies near the ruins of the apsidal structure described in 2b above. Next to it is a slightly shorter section of the same milestone, of equal diameter, devoid of any text. The milestone apparently was sawn into two (perhaps three?) pieces sometime in the past, since the sections that join are very smooth and evenly cut, and equally worn and aged. The two short pillars thus created may have served in the construction of the nearby

“chapel”. (See Mittmann’s photo, Tafel xxxv, Abb. 70):

[D(ominis) N(ostris)]
 Cae[sa(ribus)]
 Constantino
 et Lic[in]io
 et C[rispo]
 et Licinio
 et Constantino
 nob(ilissimis) Caesa(ribu)s

The inscription dates between 1 March 317 and 18 September 324.

3. In the winter of 1903/04 the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria spent several weeks surveying and recording at numerous sites in what is now northern Jordan. In Umm al-Quttayn they recorded a total of fourteen Greek and Latin inscriptions (plus four Nabataean), of which our survey team saw only one.

- a. Littmann *et al.* (1921: 119 # 213). This stone is now built into the southern wall of a deserted house in the south-central part of the village. It lies horizontally above the second-floor balcony facing south. It is intact as the Princeton team saw it except for a portion of the penultimate line. We are publishing here for the first time a photograph of this stele (Pl. XXVI, 2).

Ενθαδε κτε Πρισκος, επαρχος, απο προτηκτορος, ζησας ετη ξ' Ετους (ζ...
 “Here lies Priscus, *praefectus*, former guardsman, having lived 60 years. The year...”

This is undoubtedly the same military officer mentioned in a Greek inscription from the Roman *castellum* at Dayr al-Kahf, some twenty km directly east of Umm al-Quttayn (Littmann *et al.* 1921: #224). It is worthwhile to reproduce here part of the commentary to the Quttayn inscription:

“We learn from no. 224, in which Priscus is also mentioned, that in 348 A.D. he was prefect of some military detachment stationed at Der il-Kahf. In the 4th century the prefects and the tribunes of legions were regularly

recruited from veteran soldiers who had served in the corps of the *protectores...*”

The date of this inscription was already missing when the Princeton team saw the stone, but it cannot be far removed in time from #224 at Dayr al-Kahf.

II. Nabataean Inscriptions

During the exploration of Umm al-Quttayn by the Princeton Expedition, four Nabataean inscriptions were discovered at the site, a lintel stone inscription dated to the reign of Rabbel II, i.e. A.D. 71-106 (Littmann 1914: no. 33) and several funerary stelae (nos. 34-36). The following Nabataean inscriptions discovered recently at the site during the 1985 survey are to be added to this collection. Of these six new inscriptions, five appear to be funeral stelae and the other an inscribed altar base. Some of the texts are incomplete as a result of breakage or damage from weathering or secondary use (nos. 3-6). A reading is provided to preserve what is discernible now in case of further damage and the possibility of a restored reading later.

The two best preserved of these inscriptions represent texts of funerary stelae for women (nos. 1-2). Of the Nabataean funeral stelae previously published by Littmann from the Ḥawrān, twenty-one were for women, and more than half of these were from Bostra and Umm al-Jimāl. These stelae from Umm al-Quttayn now must be included with this small corpus, although their square tops are somewhat unusual for women. In the Ḥawrān, funerary stelae for men normally have square tops, in contrast to the rounded tops for burial markers of women. However, four other funerary stelae for women from the Ḥawrān have square tops (Littmann 1914: 11), so these new funerary stelae for women are not an anomaly.

Since I did not participate in the original expedition, a brief visit was made to Umm al-Quttayn in July of 1988 to see the inscriptions. The trip was organized by Dr. Fawwaz al-Khraysheh, Head of the Department of Epigraphy in the Institute

of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University in Irbid. For his exemplary cooperation and the generous support of Dr. Moawiyah Ibrahim, the Director of the Institute, I am grateful. In addition, I am indebted to Professor J.A. Bellamy of the University of Michigan for several important observations regarding the onomasticon of these texts. The abbreviations for pre-Islamic Arabic texts cited in the following discussion are those listed by Harding (1971: ix-xxxiii) or in Ch.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden: Brill, 1965).

#1. (Pl. XXVII, 1; Fig. 9). Funerary stele. This black basalt stone is in the courtyard of the house of Muḥammad Bakhit, the Headmaster at Umm al-Quṭṭayn. It is very irregular in shape: length, 81 cm; width at the top, 63 cm; width at the bottom, 35 cm; thickness, 15 cm. Two lines of text are clearly visible, but only the bottom part of the initial letter of the first line is extant because of a break along the upper right edge of the stone. The letter height in both lines is approximately 7-8 cm. The paleography of the inscription suggests a date of approximately the last quarter of the first century A.D.

[H]LDW BRT
W'LV

[H]uldu daughter of
Wa'ilu

The first name of the individual is uncertain, as the initial letter is broken and could be read in several ways. Although HLDW is only one of these possibilities, BRT demands a woman's name and makes it the most likely of these options. HLDW is a common feminine name in Nabataean (Cantineau 1932: 96; al-Khaysheh 1986: 83), best known as the name of one of the Nabataean queens, the wife of Arteas IV. It also is well represented in the Ḥawrān, appearing in another funerary stele at nearby Umm al-Jimāl (Littmann 1914: #68) and often in the Greek onomasticon of southern Syria in the form of Αλδη or

Χαλδη (Sartre 1985: 173). The patronymic is clearly W'LV, a name also common in Nabataean, appearing frequently at Petra, the Sinai and in the Ḥijaz (Cantineau 1932: 38 and al-Khaysheh 1986: 64), but here for the first time in Nabataean Aramaic texts from the Ḥawrān to my knowledge, although W'L is common in Safaitic, Lihyanite and Thamudic (Harding 1971: 632).

#2. (Pl. XXVII, 2; Fig. 10). Funerary stele. This black basalt rock was moved to the courtyard of Muḥammad Bakhit's house from a nearby house, 100 m to the southwest. The stone is broken diagonally from upper left to lower right, but the text appears to be complete and to be of two lines, although the second is badly damaged as the result of a break across the lower left edge. The dotted lines in the drawing represent the proposed restoration of the text. The dimensions of the extant stone: maximum length, 41 cm; width 42 cm; thickness, 17 cm. The average height of the letters in the first line is 16 cm. The date of the inscription may also be placed near the end of the first century A.D.

T'MR BR-
T "Y[TL]

TA'MAR daughter
of 'U'AY[TIL]

The name T'MR occurs elsewhere only in the Nabataean Aramaic form of T'MRW in a sarcophagus inscription at Bostra, where it is also the name of a woman (CIS II, 173). In Pre-Islamic Arabic, both in Safaitic inscriptions from the Ḥawrān (CIS V, 893; HCH 43) and in a Thamudic text from the Negev in Palestine (Winnett 1959: 148, #10379), it also appears to be a feminine name. The name is probably to be related to Arabic 'amara, "to live long; to prosper". It has also been associated with Greek Θαμαρη (Cantineau 1932: 133), a fairly common Greek name in the Ḥawrān, particularly at Bostra (Sartre 1985: 205, s.v. Θαμαρη, who prefers associating the Greek name with Hebrew



Fig. 9. Umm al-Quttayn: Nabataean Inscription #1.

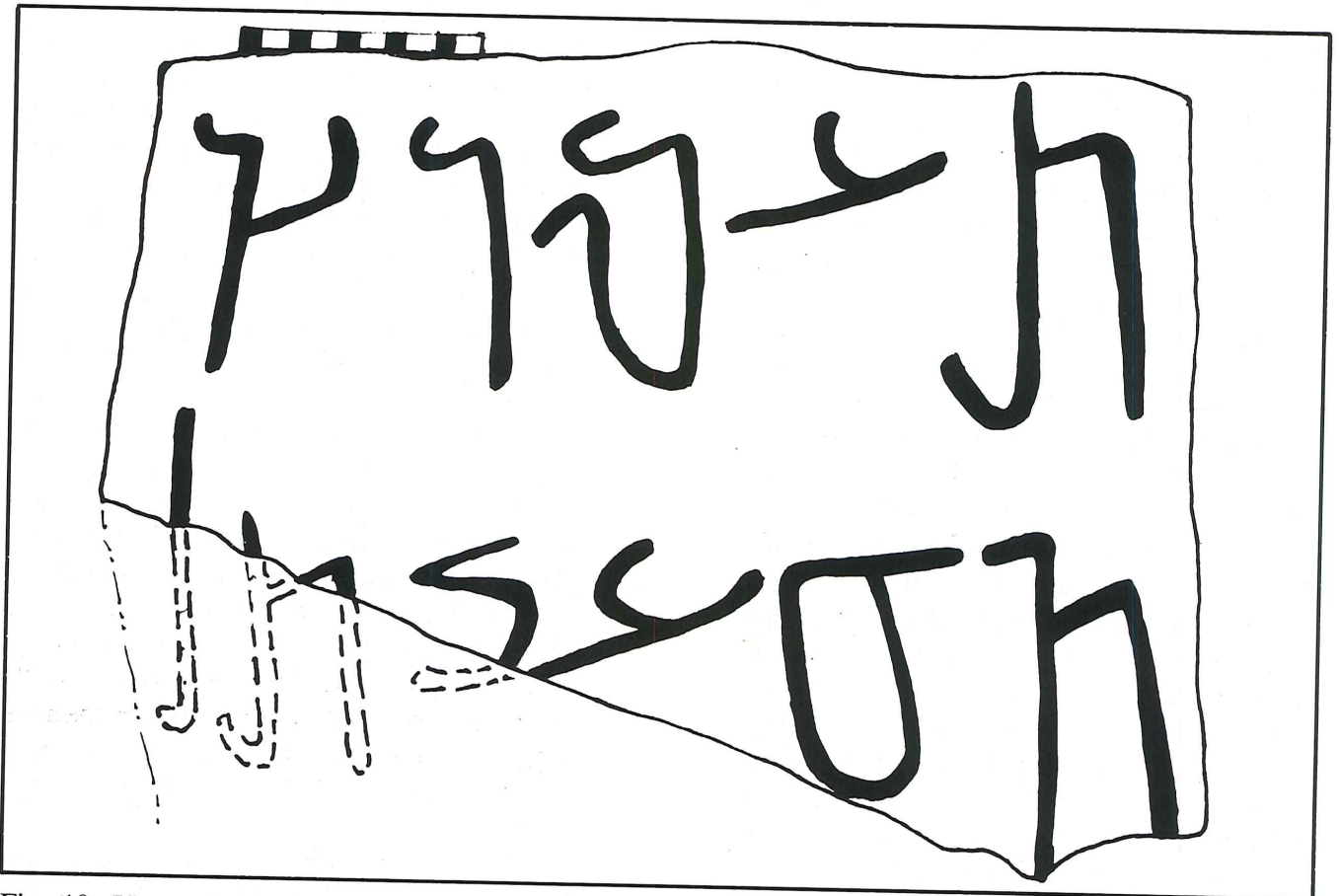


Fig. 10. Umm al-Quttayn: Nabataean Inscription #2.

TAMAR, i.e. “date palm”). The connection of the *br* in the top line with *t* in the second line to form *brt* is somewhat unusual, but there are other examples where the word is broken (see Littmann 1914: #29, 76 and 89).

The first three letters of the patronymic are clearly ’Y, but only the upper part of the last two letters is visible because of the break across the left hand corner of the stone. They seem clearly to be restored to read ’YTL, a name attested in Nabataean Aramaic previously in another grave marker at Umm al-Quṭṭayn (’YTL BR FTNW; Littmann 1914: #35 = RES 2060). Since this is the only other known occurrence of the name in Nabataean, it is very likely the funeral stele of the father of T’MR and the same individual who is designated in both inscriptions. The name ’YTL is probably the Aramaic equivalent of the Pre-Islamic Arabic name ’TL. Littmann interpreted ’YTL as the diminutive form of ’TL, but it is not uncommon in Safaitic for the diphthong to be unrepresented or condensed. This orthographic peculiarity explains the absence of the letter *Y* in the Safaitic form of the name. Although there are exceptions to the pattern (*cf.* Winnett and Harding 1978: 12), several examples of well known proper names demonstrate its frequency. For example, the name of the tribe of ’Ubaishat in the Ḥawrān appears in Nabataean as ’BYŠT (CIS II, 164), but occurs in Safaitic as ’BŠT (LP 349 = CIS V, 3262; Clark 1979: # 424); and the common Aramaic name of ’Odainat (Cantineau 1932: 56, ’DYNT), appears in Safaitic as ’DNT (Harding 1971: 34). It is then quite possible that the Aramaic name ’YTL should be understood as the equivalent of Safaitic ’TL and derived from Arabic *’atl*, “to carry (something)”.

This fact creates the further possibility that this ’TYL from Umm al-Quṭṭayn may be identified with one of the persons named ’TL that appear in the nearby Safaitic texts (Harding 1971: 55). In some of these inscriptions, it admittedly is unclear whether the name refers to an individual or a geographical location. In CIS V, 4394, the author claims to have “tended

flocks in ’A’tal [*wr’y l’tl*], the year the tribe of Ba’ad and the tribe of ’Awidh made peace” (*cf.* CIS V, 2577). In another text, a member of the tribe of Naghbar also claims to have “tended flocks in ’A’tal” (CIS V, 4446). Although the prepositional prefix *b-* (“in” or “at”) appears in the copy of the former text, that of the latter text clearly has the preposition *l-* (“for”) preceding the name ’TL, implying that an individual is designated, not a geographical area. Several Safaitic texts from Burqa’ support this view, since they mention an individual named ’A’tal son of ’Amir of the tribe of JR (WH 1232) and his son ’Ashar (1233). The tribe of JR is known from another text at Jawa, just 30 km east of Umm al-Quṭṭayn (SIJ 246). In essence, the occurrences of the name ’A’tal and its Aramaic form of ’U’aytil are concentrated in the same geographical district.

There are other reasons to interpret the Safaitic word as a personal name, rather than a geographical reference. In general, place names connected with *r’y* (“to shepherd, tend, pasture upon”) normally lack any preposition in Safaitic (Winnett and Harding 1978: 637, s.v.). Even if the preposition *b-* is the correct reading, examples of tribal names for designating pasturage land (e.g. ISB 79) permit the name ’YTL to be understood as the land belonging to an individual with that name. But this does not appear to be the case in CIS V, 4446, where the name of ’TL is followed by the enigmatic *hfltl*, which the editors derived from Arabic *falāwā*, “mares, fillies”. This seems unlikely, however, since *r’y* normally appears with animals other than horses: camels, goats, sheep, asses and other livestock are mentioned in other Safaitic texts. It is therefore possible that the word is to be associated with Arabic *falāt*, “waterless desert, open country, open space”. The expression *wr’y mfll*, “he pastured [in] the barren land”, occurs elsewhere (SIJ 1006). It can then be suggested that CIS V, 4446 be rendered “he pastured for ’A’TAL in the waterless desert”.

It is then entirely possible that the person named ’TL in these Safaitic texts

from the region of Namāra is the same individual mentioned in the Nabataean inscription from Umm al-Quṭṭayn 100 km to the southwest, based on the rarity of the name in our extant epigraphic corpus, the proximity of the inscriptions, and the possibility that Safaitic '[Y]TL is the equivalent of Nabataean 'YTL. The fact that one of these Safaitic texts emanates from the tribe of Naghbar, a sub-tribe of the 'Awidh confederacy and intimately associated with the worship of Ba'al-Shamīn in the Ḥawrān (see the texts listed by Harding 1969: 17), provides further reason to associate the texts. It is then feasible that '[Y]TL in the Safaitic texts is the same individual as the 'U'AYTIL at Umm al-Quṭṭayn, the father of TA'MAR. The Arabic name of 'TL also may be associated with Greek 'Οαιθέλος that appears at Hebran in the Ḥawrān (Waddington 2286). The steady accumulation of published Safaitic texts in recent years has provided numerous other examples of correlation with the Nabataean inscriptions, making such associations entirely possible (see Graf 1988 for further discussion). The tendency to use the Safaitic corpus merely for purposes of comparison with Aramaic neglects the essential bilingual and polylingual nature of the Ḥawrān communities.

3. (Pl. XXVIII, 1; Fig. 11). A funerary stele. This basalt stone is inscribed with a Nabataean-Greek bilingual inscription that was found lying on the ground near the northwest corner of the village. The grayish slab is broken along its entire right edge, rendering the text incomplete. The bottom two-thirds of the stele is uninscribed and the top edge does not appear to be broken. Dimensions: height, 123 cm; width, 33 cm; thickness, 14 cm. There are four lines of text visible. The top line is Nabataean lettering, the next three are Greek. Average letter height for all four lines is 9-10 cm.

...[t] br m...
 EAΘ
 HET
 Λ

The top line in Nabataean appears to



Fig. 11. Umm al-Quṭṭayn: Nabataean-Greek Bilingual Inscription #3.

represent a name, the first ending with a *-t* and a patronymic beginning with *m-*. The Greek letters of the second line are clear, but not enough of the text is extant to permit any reconstruction of what may be the name of the deceased. Line 4 may be restored as η ετ(ων) λ, i.e. "age 30".

4. (Pl. XXVIII, 2; Fig. 12). Funerary stele (?). This black basalt stone was found lying face up in the northeast corner of the courtyard of the house of Muḥammad Bakhit. The inscribed portion is on the upper third of the stone. Dimensions of the stone: length, 110 cm; width, 29 cm; thickness, 11 cm. There appear to have been three lines of text, but only the first line is clear to any extent. Several random letters are all that is discernible in the other lines. The average letter height is 8 cm. There is large 8 cm diameter gouge follow-



Fig. 12. Umm al-Quttayn: Nabataean Inscription #4.

ing the first letter of the patronymic in the second line of text, which appears to represent *br*. The surface of the stone has been severely damaged by secondary use and weathering, rendering the inscription almost entirely undecipherable. A tentative and fragmented reading must suffice.

..BR[.]BW
 HW[BR]
 Š..BL

Little confidence can be expressed in this reading, although it is based on a close inspection of the stone and an attempt to obtain a rubbing. The surface is so badly marked up with secondary cuts and incisions that this proved to be of little value. Enough traces of Nabataean letters were

visible to at least suggest that the stone once bore an inscription and it is included here for that purpose.

5. (Pl. XXIX, 1). Altar stone (?). This small basalt block was found in the courtyard of the house belonging to the Kfar family, adjacent to the building identified as the East Church by Butler (1919: 138-139) and near the south wall of the modern building abutting the church remains. The block may have been a small altar rather than a re-used building stone, since on the top there is a raised, indented circular carving 12 cm in diameter. Dimensions of the block: 41 cm square; dimensions of top, 26 by 24 cm (a small chip is missing from the back left corner); dimensions of the bases, 28 cm square. Only one face of the block is inscribed, in the very

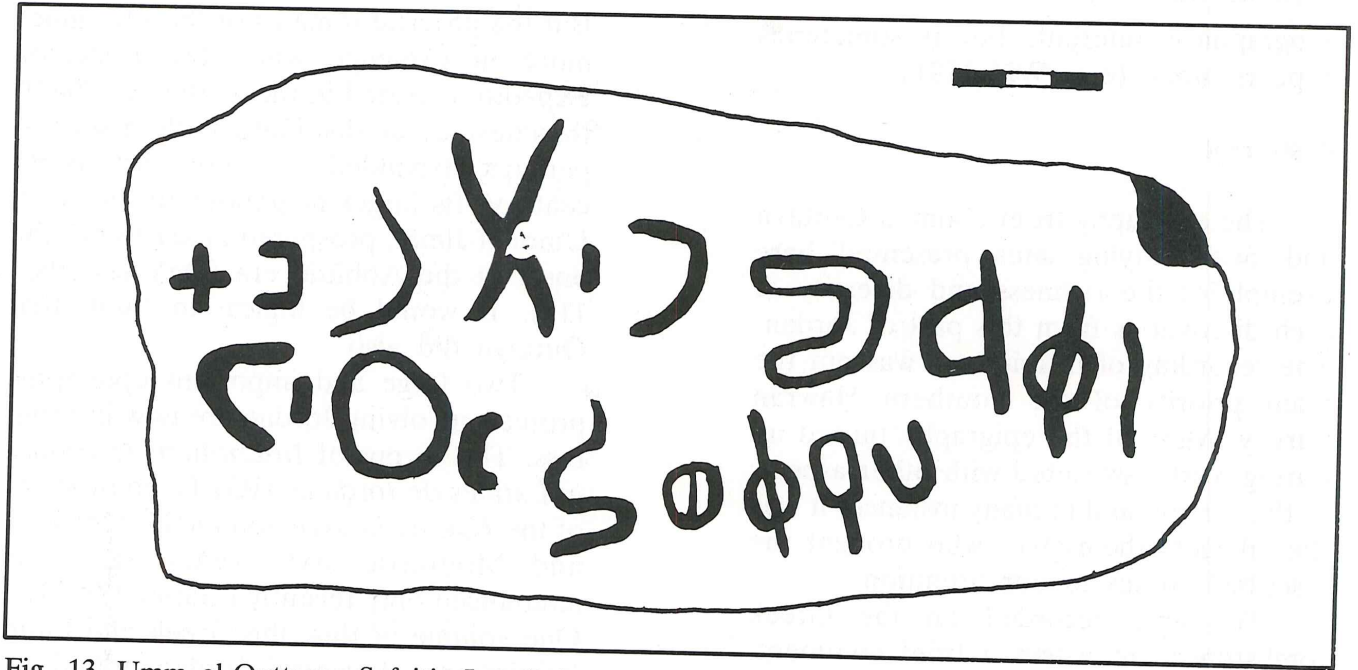


Fig. 13. Umm al-Quttayn: Safaitic Inscription #1.

middle of the panel. Height of letters, 7 cm. Some blemishes on the stone appear below the lettering.

Only two letters appear discernible: a *mem* followed by a *lamed*, which permits a restoration of the first line as *ml[...]*, but nothing more can be offered in interpreting the inscription.

6. (Pl. XXIX, 2). Funerary stele (?). On one of the building stones adjacent to the porch of Muḥammad Bakhit's house, three neatly incised Nabataean letters were discovered. He informed us that the stone once was part of a stele similar to the one bearing inscription no. 3 discussed above, alongside of which it had once rested. During the construction of his home, the stele was broken and this fragment inserted into the front wall of his home. The letters visible seem to clearly read *dhl* or possibly *rhl*, but nothing more can be said of this fragmented line. An inspection of the other stone blocks in the wall failed to discover any more remains of the stele inscription.

III. A Safaitic Inscription

During the course of recording and photographing the Nabataean and Greek funeral stelae in the environs of the house of Muḥammad Bakhit, a small, rounded,

smooth limestone block was found lying upon the northwest wall of the outer courtyard. The stone was originally located some 20 or 30 km to the southeast of Umm al-Quttayn in the *Ḥarra* region. Dr. Fawwaz al-Khraysheh had the stone removed to the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University in Irbid. The photograph of the text that appears here was kindly provided by the Institute (Pl. XXX; Fig. 13). Dimensions of the stone: length, 25 cm; width, 11 cm. The average height of the letters: 7-9 cm.

QDM BN ḤBRT
BN JRF WQYZ

QDM son of ḤBRT
son of JRF. He spent the summer (here).

The reading of the inscription is clear. QDM is attested several hundred times in Safaitic, but only appears a handful of times elsewhere in other Pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions. It is also fairly common in Greek (see the Greek inscription no. 5 above). JRF appears frequently in Safaitic, but occurs elsewhere only once in Thamudic (Harding 1971: 159). Even more problematic is ḤBRT, which is previously unattested in Pre-Islamic Arabic texts. The expression *wqyz* normally occurs with a

geographical referent, but it sometimes appears alone (e.g. WH 1191).

Postscript

The epigraphy from Umm al-Quṭṭayn and two outlying sites presented here exemplifies the richness and diversity of such discoveries from this part of Jordan. The recording of inscriptions was not the main priority of the Southern Hawrān Survey. Most of the epigraphy turned up during work associated with other aspects of the survey, and in many instances it was the villagers themselves who brought the inscribed stones to our attention.

The ages recorded on the Greek tombstones are worth a brief comment. Ages are given in round numbers, e.g. 20, 50, 90, etc. Such "rounding" in multiples of five is a common feature of rural epigraphy throughout antiquity and well into the present. The rule of thumb appears to be that the lower the deceased is on the social scale, the more the tendency to approximate the age. This is especially so for women. In either case the reason for rounding ages is simple: neither the deceased nor his family knew the exact date of birth. One may read with profit two very useful discussions of this social phenomenon by Duncan-Jones (1977; 1979).

The types of inscriptions recorded, with one exception, are typical of permanent settlements of the area. The Safaitic text may not belong to Quṭṭayn; the present owner was uncertain of its provenance and it may well be one of the "wandering stones" brought in from an outlying area. Tombstones have also been known to move from village to village according to the needs of builders so there can be no absolute certainty that a person whose death is now recorded at Quṭṭayn actually had been a resident of the town. The cemetery which must have been outside the limits of ancient Quṭṭayn has not been identified.

As noted above, the dated epigraphy suggests continuous inhabitation of Quṭṭayn from the late first century A.D. through the middle of the fourth century.

But the physical remains of the site, much more in evidence when the Princeton Expedition visited in the winter of 1904/05 than now, argue that Quṭṭayn flourished — perhaps expanded — after the fourth century. Its larger neighbour to the west, Umm al-Jimāl, prospered at least until the onset of the Abbāsid era (DeVries 1982: 113). It would be logical to think that Quṭṭayn did also.

Two large and important epigraphic projects involving Jordan are now in progress. The corpus of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de Jordanie* (IGLJ), an offshoot of the *IGL de la Syrie* founded by Jalabert and Mousterde sixty years ago, was announced only recently (Gatier 1983/84). One volume of this, the Greek and Latin inscriptions of central Jordan edited by Pierre-Louis Gatier (1986), has already been published. Four more "regional" volumes, for the northwest, the eastern desert, Mo'ab, and the south, are promised.

The second enterprise is the *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Jordan Project* (CIJP), a brainchild of the late Maḥmud Ghul. The CIJP was not formally announced until after its first season's fieldwork (Macdonald, 1982). The scope of this project is nothing less than the recording and publication of *all* the epigraphy of Jordan: Arabic, Greek, Latin, Nabataean, Safaitic, and Thamudic. Preliminary reports (Macdonald 1982; 1983/84) indicate that the initial results are very promising. The first two seasons of fieldwork alone (1981-82) produced more than "2,100 inscriptions, drawings and *wusûm* (tribal marks) in an area of roughly two and a half square kilometres" (Macdonald 1986: 254). Both projects are joint enterprises in which the Jordanian Department of Antiquities is an interested and active participant.

Henry I. MacAdam
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

David F. Graf
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida.

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