

THE CAIRN OF HANI'

THIS cairn lies about 15 kilometres east of the gate of the I.P.C. station of H5, and about 50 metres north of the main Baghdad road, map reading approximately 360.185. I have been unable to find that it has any name among the locals, though it is curious if so prominent a landmark is nameless. On the Lands and Surveys Department map (1:250,000, Arabic edition) is a point called Rijm el Hawih at roughly the spot where the cairn exists, but I have not been able to trace where this name originated, or if it really applies to this cairn.

It was first visited by me in October 1950, while driving from H5 to H4, and then only at the insistence of my companion, Hasan Awad el Qutshan, as I could not believe that anything could survive so close to the main road. However, on this first visit 63 texts were recorded, and another visit in May 1951 produced a further 44. The intact condition of the cairn was very impressive, and as the texts had already revealed the name of the person buried there, I decided to excavate it. This was done in November 1951.

There are hundreds of such cairns in the lava belt, and nearly all are accompanied by Safaitic texts. Prof. Winnett in the course of a tour in October 1950 pointed out that most texts seemed to be found on the eastern side of cairns, and a careful check showed that this is indeed the case, though the significance is obscure, apart from the fact that it is the side of the rising sun. Of texts themselves there are thousands all over the area, not always associated with cairns. Large numbers have already been collected by various people, mostly from the southern Jebel Druze neighbourhood, and published,¹ but the majority of them were hand-copied and the accuracy of some is doubtful.

The building of cairns over graves is in itself of some interest, and Hasan Awad pointed out that it is a custom still practised among the Bedu. But a cairn is only built over those who are killed, never over those who die a natural death, and the stones of which it is built must be brought from some distance away; those in the immediate vicinity may not be used. Both these conditions are fulfilled in this case, as *Hani'* was apparently killed by an arrow, and the basalt stones and boulders which strew the desert surface still come right up to the cairn itself, a fact I had not appreciated until Hasan drew my attention to it. The reason for these customs is now forgotten, but probably has something to do with the placating of the disturbed spirit. It is also still the custom of passers-by to add a stone to the pile, as so many Safaites record doing.

Unfortunately nothing discovered in the course of excavation or in the texts themselves gives any satisfactory clue to the dating, though the Latin text No. 173 suggests a fairly early date, as Latin does not seem to have been used in Jordan after the 4th century A.D. But this particular text does not refer to *Hani'* by name, and might even be later than the burial. The last pilgrim to the cairn was a Polish soldier, who scratched his name on a block of basalt in 1943.

Of the 200 texts and drawings published here, 29 were found by a small heap of

¹ See DMS, DMSM, LSI, Syria Vol. X, etc.

stones about 300 metres north-west of the cairn and one on a rock to the north. 82 of them mention *Hani'* by name, and nos. 1 and 2 tell us that it was his cairn. 20 texts are by relations of *Hani'*, brothers, cousins and nephews, and 66 are by friends who took part in the burial and the building of the cairn. There is no text by any child of *Hani'*, a fact which was puzzling until he was excavated, when it became clear from the objects found with him, staff, begging-bowl, spoon and water-skin, that he was some kind of holy man or derwish, obviously of some importance from the number of people who came to pay their last respects to him. This was a considerable surprise, as one would have expected so fine a cairn to cover some important sheikh or ruler, but it explains the absence of children.

There is some uncertainty as to the tribe to which *Hani'* belonged, but no. 69 suggests very strongly that it was *Mā'is*, and nos. 72 and 126 suggest further that the people (or tribe) of *Hawalat* were the particular enemies of this tribe. But this is rather speculative. Altogether 22 tribes are mentioned in these texts (see list p. 14), some of which are new to us.

The woman who was buried just outside the cairn on its southern face with her wooden comb, few poor beads and eyepaint wrapped in a piece of cloth must have been an intimate relation, and the shape of the nose seems to confirm this (Pl. XX: the skull of *Hani'* is on the right). The condition of the sutures of the skull shows that she was about the same age as *Hani'* so it is difficult to guess at the relationship, especially as he appears to have been unmarried. The orientation and position of the body make it clear that it is contemporary with the original burial, but she appears to have died a natural death¹.

This is the first Safaitic cairn to be excavated, and the results make it desirable that more should be done.

THE EXCAVATION

The actual clearance and excavation of the cairn took four days, from the 3rd to 7th November, 1951. The work was honoured by a special visit from H.M. King Talal on the 4th; His Majesty was accompanied by the British Minister, Sir Alec Kirkbride, K.C.M.G. Hasan Awad supervised the work and carried out the delicate task of clearing the graves; without his experience the grave of *Hani'* might well never have been found.

The cairn (see plan and section Fig. 1) was roughly square, the four faces to the four points of the compass. It was considerably encumbered by stones (Pl. I, 1), which were first removed to expose the true faces (Pl. II, 1-4). These were slightly battered, and the building was carried out by the simple process of laying squares of large stones and filling the interior with smaller ones. Many texts were recovered from the debris, and one, no. 95, was actually built into the south-east corner of the cairn, which suggests that it took some time to construct. An additional outer wall on the north, south and east sides was built apparently at the same time, or at any rate not much later, as the outer grave lay on the edge of this wall. It was not raised to the full height of the cairn and was presumably only for strengthening purposes. The jointing between the outer and inner faces at the north-east corner can be clearly seen in Pl. II, 5.

¹ See report on the bones, p. 57.

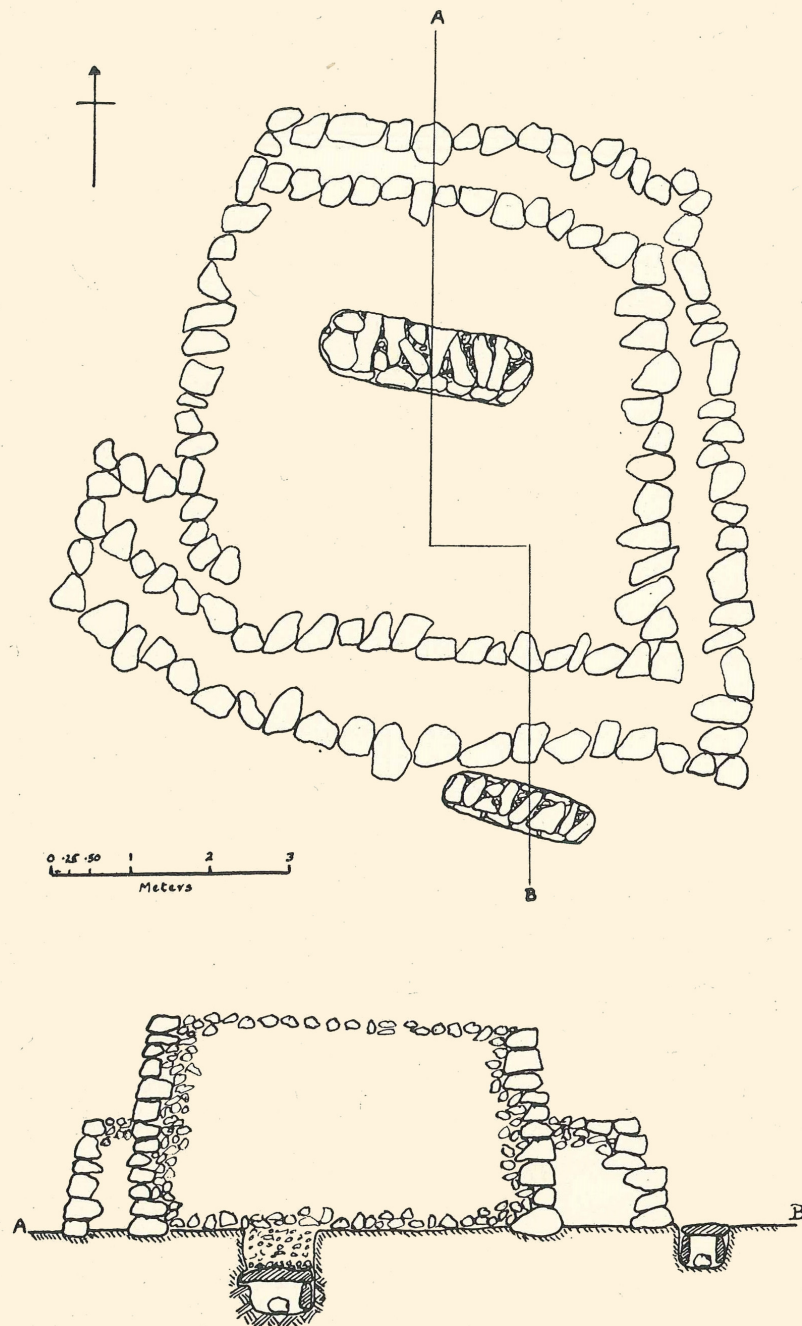


FIG. 1. The Cairn of Hani'

On the southern side was a shallow grave cut in the soil, lined and covered with stones, many of which had inscriptions (nos. 6, 13, 22, 88 to 90, 93, 94, 109 to 114, 116, 120, Pl. III, 1, 4 and 5). The grave was oriented roughly east and west, the body was extended, head west, face south; the right arm was down the side, the left crossed the body from the elbow with the left hand resting on the right (Pl. III, 1). On the right arm was a wooden comb (Pl. III, 2), above the left shoulder was a bundle of cloth containing eyepaint (?) (Pl. III, 1), and a few poor blue glass beads and one mother-of-pearl bead were found near the neck. On the front of the skull were remains of a leather band, but there were no traces of anything else; as the cloth containing the eyepaint is still good, one would have expected traces at least of wrapping cloth had such been used.

Having cleared and recorded the outer faces of the cairn, it was necessary to remove the filling to find the main grave which I expected would be there. This was duly carried out in one day, doing as little damage as possible to the outer appearance of the cairn, and native soil reached. No sign of a grave could be seen, the soil appearing to be the same over the whole area, but very careful scraping of the surface by Hasan Awad with an entrenching tool finally revealed to his sensitive touch a slight difference in the quality of the soil towards the northern side. Following up this clue, he was soon able to outline the shape of a large grave, and the filling was carefully removed. This consisted of loose soil, small stones and rock chippings down to a depth of 55 cm., when hard mud and larger stones were encountered (Pl. I, 2); beneath this were the slabs covering the burial itself (Pl. I 3). The mud sealing had effectually prevented any soil from seeping into the grave, and removal of the first slab at the west end revealed the skull (Pl. II, 6). There were remains of black hair still adhering in parts and extending well down below the neck, also remains of a short black beard: the hair can be clearly seen in the photo (Pl. II, 6). Removal of the remaining slabs without dropping any of them on the body was successfully achieved, and the full skeleton revealed (Pl. I, 4). This was again in extended position, head west, face south, right arm down the side, left arm crossed over the body at the elbow, precisely the same position as the body outside.

Half a wooden bowl lay by the right arm (Pl. II, 7, and IV, 3); the remaining pieces were found later round the head, so it was evidently broken when put in the grave. Above the left shoulder were remains of a water-skin or leather bag (Pl. II, 6 and 7, and IV, 1), and near the right hand was an iron ladle (Pl. IV, 4), apparently incomplete. The thick twist of leather shown in Pl. IV, 1, suggests a water-skin rather than a bag. Upon removal of the bones a long wooden staff was revealed (Pl. IV, 2 and 6) lying down the right side of the body, under the right leg and arm; the head is decorated with four rows of silver nails (Pl. IV, 5). A curious feature of the staff is that it is made of five separate pieces, with nothing to show how they were joined: the ends were perfectly smooth and had not been broken. Perhaps it was sawn up before being placed with the body, as the bowl appears to have been deliberately broken. All the objects were extremely brittle and fragile, but with the exception of the leather bag were removed successfully. The body had been wrapped in several layers of cloth, material not yet identified. Judging from the condition of the sutures of the skull, he must have been about thirty-five years of age.

The actual grave was cut in the basalt, which is here very friable, and the south side was lined with stones. A ledge 15 cm. deep was cut between the soil and the rock on the north side, and the covering slabs inserted in this and rested on the stones opposite (Pl. I, 3, and II, 6). Measurements are as follows: Shaft—length 260 cm., width 85 cm., depth 70 cm. Grave—length 248 cm., width 50 cm., depth 45 cm.; orientation 280°.

There were no inscriptions with this burial.

THE TEXTS AND SCRIPT

It seems safe to assume that all the texts mentioning *Hani'* by name must be contemporary, or written within a few years of each other, so they can be regarded as a homogenous group of one date. Of the remainder it is unsafe to draw any firm conclusion as to contemporaneity, but the fact that some not mentioning *Hani'* were used as lining and covers for the outer grave, and others are on stones which have texts about *Hani'*, suggests that no very great period of time could have elapsed between the two sets. A comparison of the forms of the script of the two groups (see chart, p. 13) shows no significant differences between them: some texts are lightly scratched, others heavily hammered, some adopt a very square form, but these seem to be mere differences of personal fancy. From texts so far published there would seem to be at least an early and a late form of the alphabet, in one of which the letters have a close resemblance to their South Arabian prototype, but in the absence of any dated texts we can have no exact idea of their range in time. The very striking square form (as in no. 105) has a wide distribution in space, but here at least seems to be contemporary with the more usual type.

No help for dating can be obtained from the tribal names, none of which appears to be mentioned by early Arab writers. They do not seem to have been of sufficient importance to have attracted anybody's attention, nor were the pre-Islamic writers concerned with this northern district.

Only the Latin text referred to above offers a very uncertain hint of date, and that does not mention *Hani'* by name. So we are left in complete uncertainty as to when he lived and had his local fame.

Many new Safaitic verbs and substantives have appeared from these texts, of which some are exceedingly difficult of translation, as we do not find them in classical Arabic. Interesting sidelights are thrown on Safaitic domestic life, by e.g., no. 131 and particularly by the drawings nos. 77–80. It is surprising to find a naked woman depicted in no. 79. Most interesting of the drawings, and the most ambitious composition so far found, is undoubtedly no. 73, of the goat pen. The little group included at the end (nos. 174 to 181) represents a selection from a large number of such pieces which were found together in a group about 20 metres north of the north-eastern group of texts (nos. 5; 27, 29, 32, 40–44, 69, 79, 80, 82–85, 96, 125–127, 166 and 172). They are all lightly scratched on small stones, and almost seem to represent the products of a school of art and calligraphy: the letters make no sense, and are clearly trial pieces. Perhaps 'Aqriban, all of whose drawings were found in the north-western group, was the teacher.

ا	خ	ك	خ	ك	خ	ك	خ	ك	خ	ك
ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت	ت
ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث	ث
ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج
ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح
خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ	خ
د	د	د	د	د	د	د	د	د	د	د
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر
ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز
س	س	س	س	س	س	س	س	س	س	س
ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش
ص	ص	ص	ص	ص	ص	ص	ص	ص	ص	ص
ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض	ض
ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
ع	ع	ع	ع	ع	ع	ع	ع	ع	ع	ع
غ	غ	غ	غ	غ	غ	غ	غ	غ	غ	غ
ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف
ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك
ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل
م	م	م	م	م	م	م	م	م	م	م
ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن
ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه	ه
و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و
ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي

FIG. 2. Chart of Alphabet to show forms of letters

The majority of the texts are too faintly scratched to be reproducible photographically; but this has been done wherever it was possible. Others have been very carefully filled in with white ink and photographed, particularly the drawings, and the remaining black-and-white reproductions have been done by inking over an enlarged photograph of the stone and then bleaching it out, so that the forms of the letters are reasonably accurate. Only a very few, quite impossible to either photograph or squeeze, are hand copies, and in these no attempt has been made to reproduce the exact form of the letters.

I have divided the texts into three groups, those by relatives of *Hani*, those not by relatives but mentioning *Hani*, and those with no mention of him. The divisions are not entirely consistent, as I have included, e.g., nos. 42 and 43 in the second section though they do not mention *Hani*. This has been done because the writers are brothers of nos. 37-41, and it seemed best to keep families together as far as possible.

In compiling the family tree, p. 21, I have suggested that the *Qahish* who married a sister of *Hani* in 10 is the same as *Qahish*, son of *Sa'ad* of 21, and that *Taim*, the father of *Sa'ad* of 21, is the same as *Taim* son of *Shi'* of 22. This is no more than a suggestion, not improbable, but impossible of proof. Also I have suggested that *Naqid*, son of *'Asad* of 18, is brother to *Ama'an* and *Hani*, sons of *'Asad* in 14-17, though in 18 *'Asad*'s ancestry is not given. The same applies to *'Amr*, son of *Haris* of 8.

I have added at the end a few texts (nos. 182-200) which are not from the cairn itself, but from another small cairn and rocks in the neighbourhood.

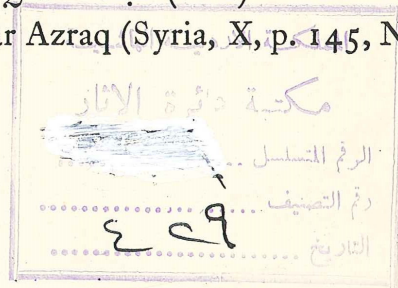
THE TRIBES

Of the 22 tribes mentioned in our texts, 10 have been known before, *Taim*, *Hazzay*, *Hawalat*, *Zaid*, *Daif*, *'Awadh*, *Farith*, *Masikat*, *Nemerat* and *Hadhar*, and of these *Nemerat* certainly and *Hawalat* probably are place-names. The remainder occur here for the first time. I have found *Hazzay* and *Masikat* at Jawa, 20 kilometres to the north-west; I have also recorded *Daif*, *'Awadh* and *Farith* from Jethum, 35 kilometres north, and *Zaid* from a cairn by the Baghdad road about 30 kilometres east. These are not yet published. *'Amirat* comes from a small cairn to the south-west of *Hani*.

The following is a complete list of the tribes with, where possible, their distribution as known at present:

Ashlal	اشلال	
Bakis	بكس	
Taim	تم	Khan el Zebib (TIJ, no. 522)
Ja'bar	جابر	
Hadd	حد	
Haram	حرم	
Hazzay	حظي	Jawa (unpublished)
Hawalat	حولات	el 'Isawi (LSI)

Hulay	حلى	
Humay	حمى	Near Nemereh (DMS 32)
Zaid	زد	30 kilometres east of Hani' (unpublished)
Zahar	زهر	
Daif	ضف	Jathum (ADAJ, I, p. 28); Qabr Naşir (LSI); near Nemereh (DMSM 54)
'Adhal	عذل	
'Amirat	عمرت	Known from Qatabanian and Sabaean sources only (NPS)
'Awdh	عوذ	Jathum (ADAJ, I); el 'Isawi, Qabr Naşir (LSI)
Farith	فرث	Jathum (unpublished) and near Azraq (Syria, X, p. 145, No. 47)
Fudaij	فضج	
Masikat	مسكت	Jawa (unpublished)
Ma'is	معص	
Nemerat	نمره	
Hadhar	هذر	el Hifneh (DMSM 196)



So large a number of tribes in so small an area seems most unlikely: it becomes even more so when one adds about 35 other tribal names from LSI, DMS, etc., making not less than 57 tribes in the Safa district alone. There are still two more, in nos. 183 and 186, which I have not included here, as I cannot be sure of the form of the names. Perhaps *d'l* should be interpreted as 'of the family' rather than 'of the tribe': 'l' has both meanings at the present day. At most they could only be subsections of tribes. In the whole of east Jordan there are at present not more than 15 actual tribes, but these are divided into many subsections and families (clans), each with their own sheikh, and members are known by their family rather than by their tribal name.

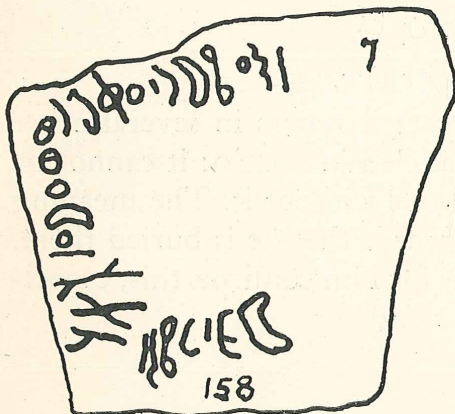
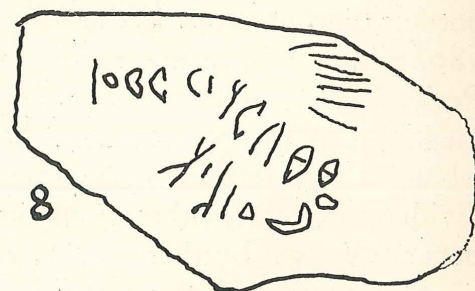
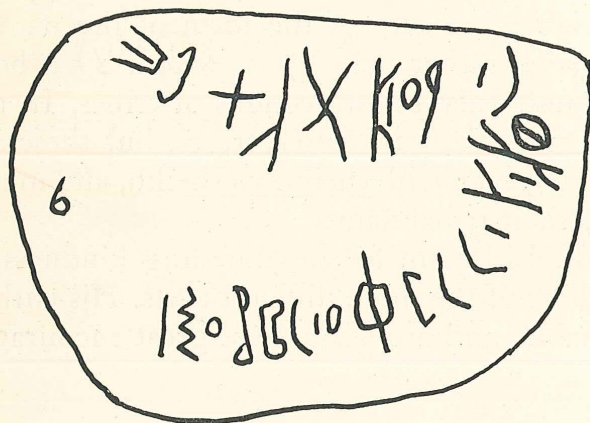
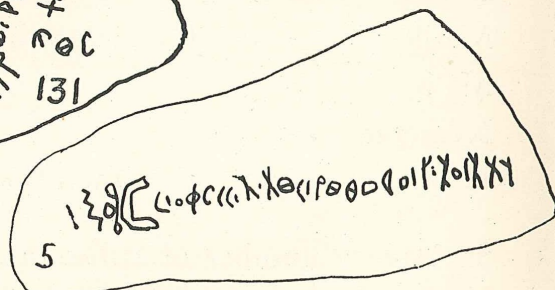
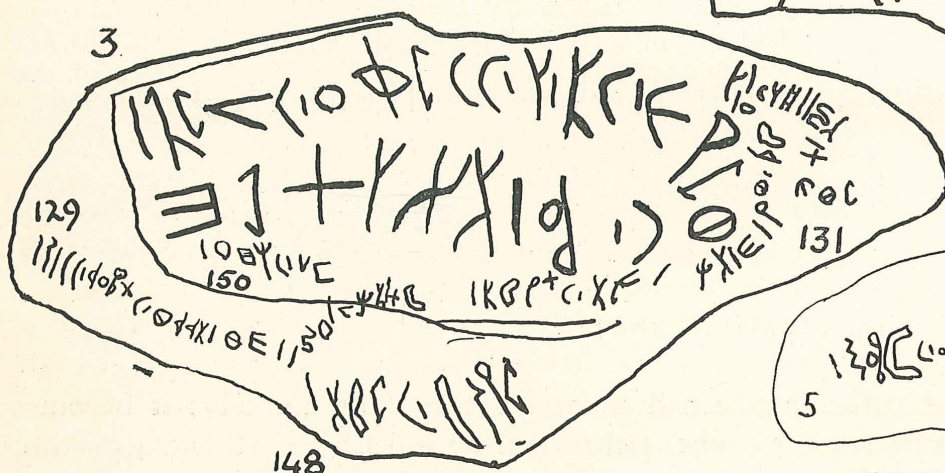
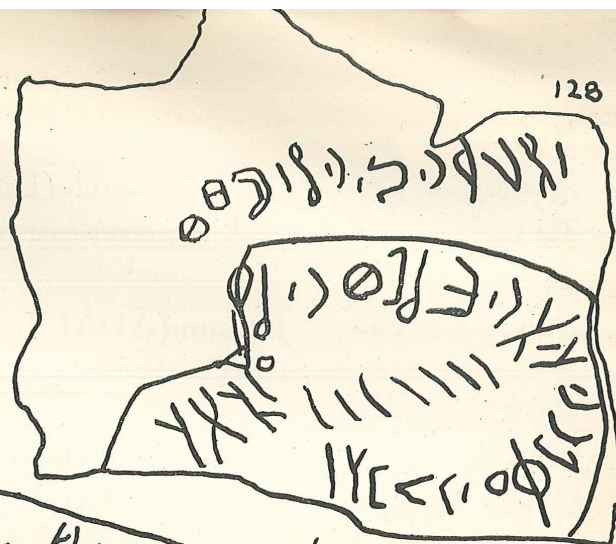
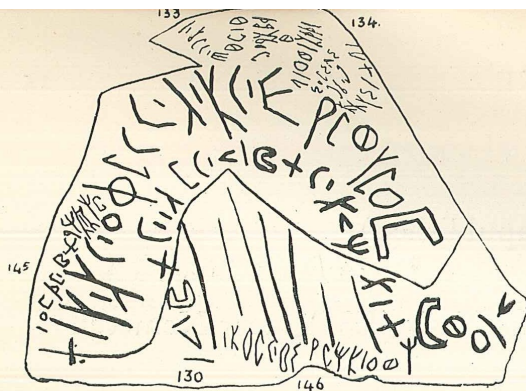
Once again I am greatly indebted to Prof. Littmann for his unfailing kindness in checking readings and giving translations of some of the more difficult texts. His enthusiasm and patience seem both to be unquenchable, and are a source of great encouragement.

HANI' AND HIS RELATIVES

1 & 2 (Pl. V and Fig. 3). لهنا بن عقرب بن هنا بن حير وهرجم

By Hani' son of 'Aqrab son of Hani' son of Hayar, and the cairn.

Two identical texts. The only new name here is Hayar: it recurs in several other texts. The use of the *w* here is curious, but is exactly paralleled in no. 80: it cannot be part of the name *Hyr*, as this is repeated in all the other texts without it. The meaning seems clear, viz. that the cairn belongs to *Hani'*, in other words that he is buried there. The great number of other texts which refer to *bny* and *wjm* for him confirms this, especially no. 26 which states that the writer 'built for Hani' the cairn.'



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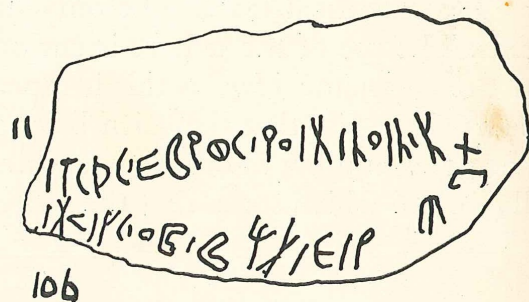
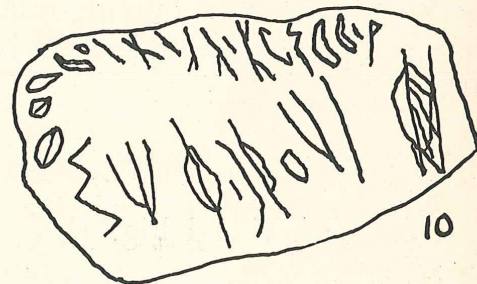


FIG. 3

BROTHERS

3 & 4. هرس بن عقرب بن هنا بن حير وبنى على اخه ترح

By Haris s. 'Aqrab s. Hani' s. Hayar; and he built for his brother, stricken with grief.

The two texts are identical but for the omission of *trh* in 4. Haris is a new name, but cf. Thamudic *hrs'l*. This brother is one of many people who helped in building the cairn.

5. لشعثم بن عقرب بن هنا وبنى ووجم على هنا على اخه

By Sha'tham s. 'Aqrab s. Hani'; and he built and placed a stone on the cairn¹ of Hani', of his brother.

6. لشعثم بن عقرب بن هنا وبنى على اخه ترح

By Sha'tham s. 'Aqrab s. Hani'; and he built for his brother, stricken with grief.

7. لشعثم بن عقرب ووجم على اخه

By Sha'tham s. 'Aqrab; and he p.s.c. his brother.

Three texts by another brother: no. 5 was found near the group west of the cairn (see nos. 27, 29, 32, 40-44, 69, 79, 80, 82-85, 96, 125-127, 166, 172). The repetition of 'l in 5, 'l hn' 'l hhh, is curious, but is found in other texts, nos. 11 and 20. Sha'tham would appear to be the correct reading of the second name in DMSM 248, which I would read as l 'bd bn š'tm: also DMSM 250-252: it is also a personal name in Arabic, cf. also š't. An entirely different š'tm, who wajm for Hani' and apparently for this š'tm, records himself in no. 45.

NEPHEWS

8. لعمر بن هرس ووجم على هنا By 'Amr s. Haris; and p.s.c. Hani'.

Presumably a son of 3, but not certain

9 (Pl. V). لزور بن هرس وبنى على دده

By Zawwar s. Haris; and he built for his paternal uncle.

Here is no doubt of the relationship, see 3 and 4, making that of no. 8 more probable. Zawwar is a new name, but cf. Thamudic *zr*.

10. لسعد بن قحش ووجم على خاله هنا رغم منى

By Sa'd s. Qahish, and he p.s.c. his maternal uncle Hani', disliking death.

No doubt at all about the relationship here; further details of this family who married into Hani''s can be worked out from other texts (see the family tree).

11. لزبد بن حمى وبنى على خاله هنا ترح

By Zabad s. Humay; and he built for his maternal uncle, for Hani', stricken with grief.

Here the formula of 5 is reversed: 'l hhlh 'l hn', but the implication is that this is a son of another sister. It would seem that no. 120 is really in the same category.

¹ In all future texts I use the contractions p.s.c. to avoid unnecessary repetition, and the contraction s. for 'son of.'

COUSINS

12. لعدى بن احدث بن هنا بن حير وبني و وجم عل هنا ترح و وجم عل جلس وعل ابه

By 'Adiy s. Ahdath s. Hani' s. Hayar, and he built and p.s.c. Hani' stricken with grief; and he p.s.c. Jalil and his father.

Ahdath is new, but cf. *hdt* from Safaitic sources. It is difficult to say which Jalil is intended, but in view of the association it is most probably the brother of Yamlik of no. 34.

13. لعدى بن احدث بن هنا بن حير وبني و وجم عل هنا بن دده و وجم عل جلس وعل ابه

By 'Adiy s. Ahdath s. Hani' s. Hayar; and he built for Hani', son of his paternal uncle; and he p.s.c. Jalil and his father.

This text is a duplicate of 12 except in the clear statement that Hani' is the 'son of his paternal uncle.' It also leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the word *dd*: it cannot be grandfather as proposed by Ryckmans.¹ The meaning is made more strikingly clear because Hani' is also the grandfather's name.

14 & 15. (Pl. V). لهنا بن اسد بن هنا بن حير وبني و وجم عل هنا ترح

By Hani' s. 'Asad s. Hani' s. Hayar and he built and p.s.c. Hani', stricken with grief.

The two texts are identical except for the omission of *wjm* in no. 15.

16 (Pl. V). — لهنا بن اسد بن ا — By Hani' s. 'Asad s. 'A—.

This text was apparently abandoned when the scribe inadvertently wrote a second 'A in mistake for h.

17. لانعم بن اسد بن هنا بن حير وبني و وجم عل هنا ترح

By 'An'am s. 'Asad s. Hani' s. Hayar; and he built for Hani', stricken with grief.

18. لنقد بن اسد وبني و وجم عل هنا ترح

By Naqad s. 'Asad; and he built for Hani', stricken with grief.

Clearly 14–18 are all brothers, sons of 'Asad, Hani''s uncle. Naqad is known only from Thamudic so far.

19. لنصر بن فص بن هنا بن حير و وجم عل هنا وبني

By Naṣr s. Faṣṣ s. Hani' s. Hayar; and he p.s.c. Hani' and built [for him].

20. لجحش بن كلبت بن هنن و وجم عل هنا عل خله وعل هنن وعل كلبت

By Jahsh s. Kalbat s. Hunayn; and p.s.c. Hani', of his maternal uncle; and for Hunayn and for Kalbat.

The formula 'l hn' 'l hllh is the same as no. 5, 'l hn' 'l' hllh, so it would seem this is the son of another sister. The names are all known.

¹ See *Revue Biblique*, 1951, p. 384.

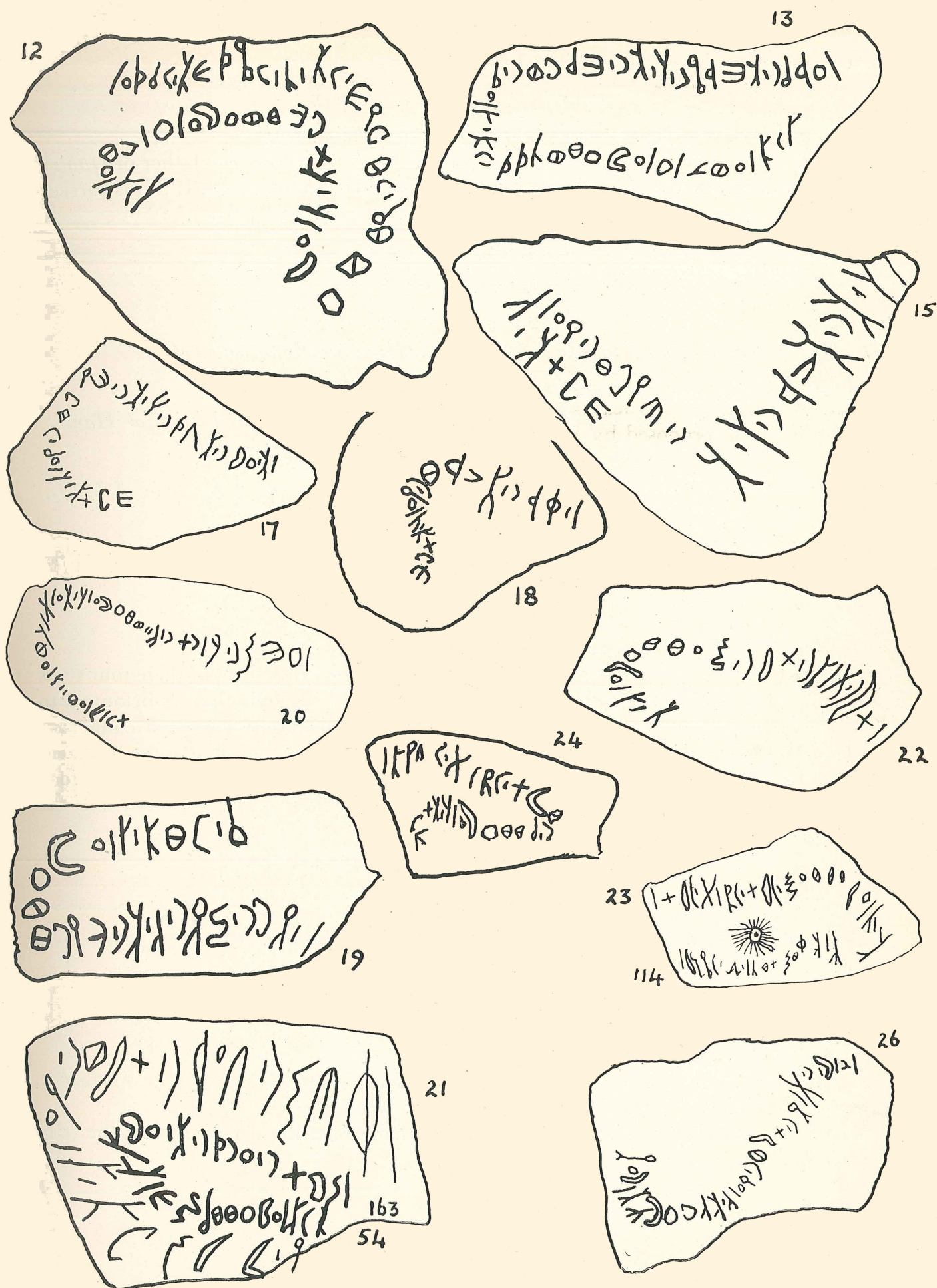


FIG. 4

FRIENDS WHO 'wjm' AND/OR 'bny' FOR HANI'

21. لقتش بن سعد بن تم وبني عل هنا رغم مني

By *Qāhish s. Sa'd s. Taim*; and he built for *Hani'*, disliking death.

I take this to be the father of *Sa'd* in no. 10 on the grounds that the father of *Qāhish* is also *Sa'd*: it is frequent to find children named after their grandfathers. If this is correct it connects him with the family shown in nos. 22-33 (see the family tree).

22 & 23. لثم بن خالص بن تم بن شع و وجم عل هنا

By *Taim s. Khālīṣ s. Taim s. Shi'* and he p.s.c. *Hani'*.

24. لايس بن خالص بن تم وبني و وجم عل هنا ترح

By *'Iyās s. Khālīṣ s. Taim* and he built and p.s.c. *Hani'* stricken with grief.

25 (Pl. V). لايس بن خالص بن تم و وجم عل هنا رغم مني وبني عل هنا

By *'Iyās s. Khālīṣ s. Taim* and he p.s.c. *Hani'*, disliking death, and built for *Hani'*.

26. لسلمن بن خالص بن تم وبني عل هنا هرجم ذال معص

By *Salman s. Khālīṣ s. Taim* and he built for *Hani'* the cairn: of the tribe of *Mā'īs*.

27. لسلمن بن خالص بن تم و وجم عل هنا ترح وبني

By *Salman s. Khālīṣ s. Taim* and he p.s.c. *Hani'*, stricken with grief and built [for him].

28. لهنا بن خالص بن تم و وجم عل هنا وبني

By *Hani' s. Khālīṣ s. Taim* and he p.s.c. *Hani'* and built.

Khālīṣ I take to be a brother of *Sa'd* of no. 21. The most interesting of these four texts is 26, as it confirms that the cairn was built for *Hani'* and suggests that he belonged to the tribe of *Mā'īs*. This is confirmed in no. 69. And if this family is indeed connected with *Qāhish* who married *Hani'*'s sister (see nos. 10 and 11), then it is most probable that they are of the same tribe. No text, however, definitely proves this. The next four texts may be members of the same family, in which case *Hani'*'s sister married into the tribe of *'Ashlāl*.

29. لجرم بن تمله بن تم بن شع و وجم عل هنا ترح

30. لجرم بن تمله بن تم بن شع

By *Juraim s. Taim'allah s. Taim s. Shi'*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'* stricken with grief.

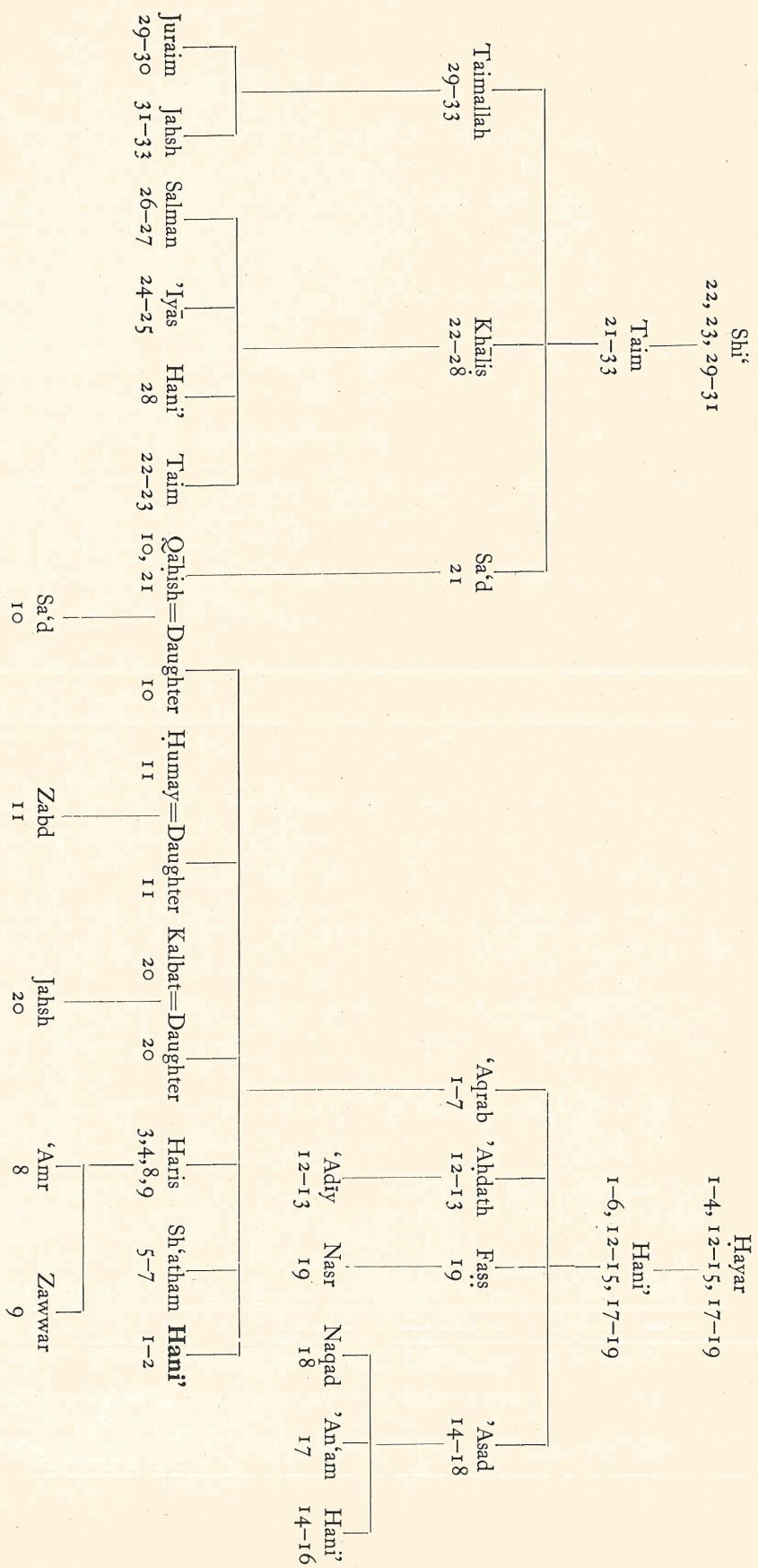
31. لجحش بن تمله بن تم بن شع

32. لجحش بن تمله بن تم و وجم عل هنا ترح

33 (Pl. V). لجحش بن تمله بن تم ذال اشلل و وجم عل ابيه ترح وعل هنا ترح

By *Jahsh s. Taimallah s. Taim s. Shi'* of the tribe of *'Ashlāl*, and he p.s.c. his father, stricken with grief, and of *Hani'*, stricken with grief.

These are probably cousins of 22-28: all the names are known, including the tribe of *'Ashlāl*.



THE CAIRN OF HANI'

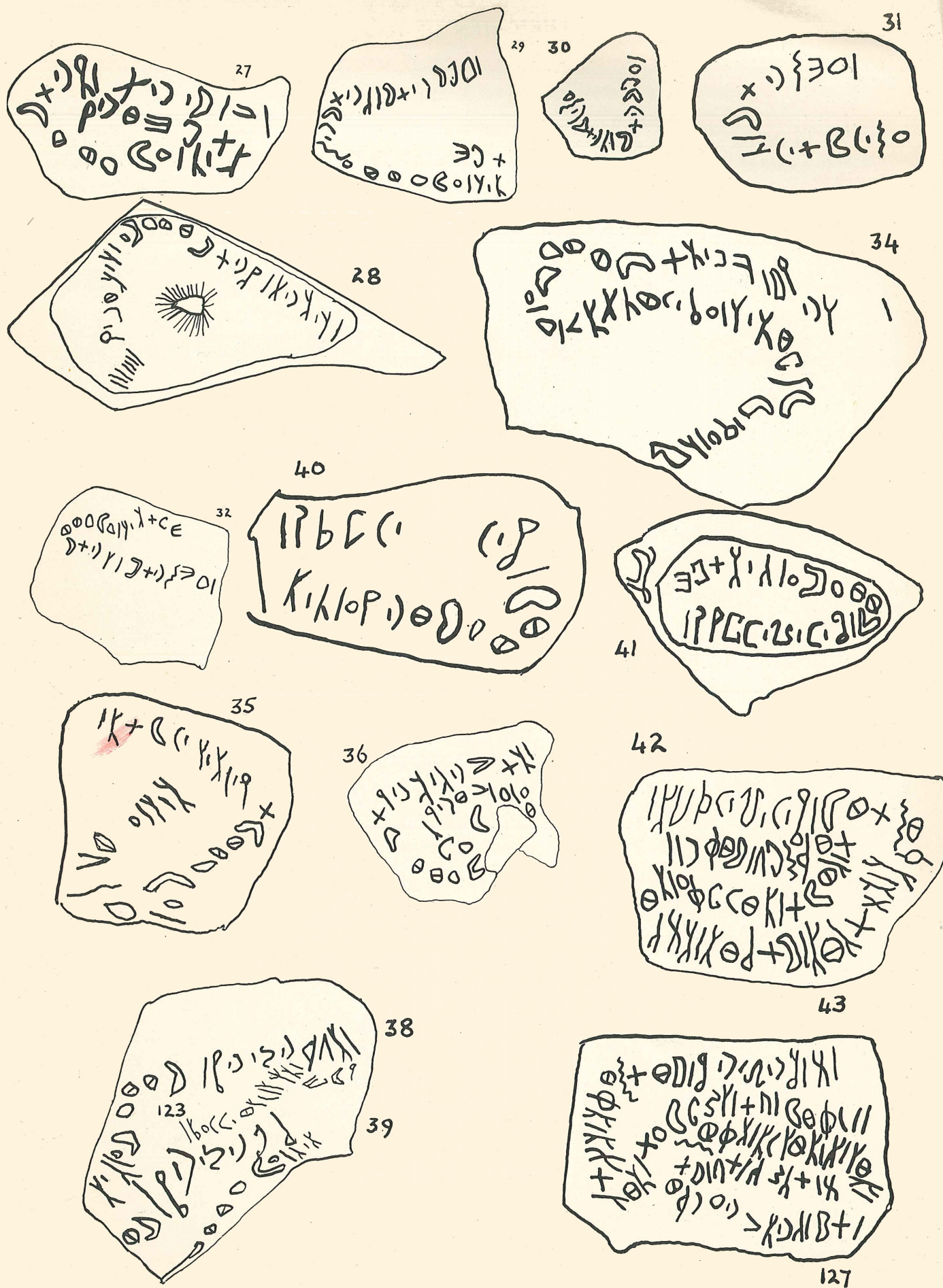


FIG. 5

34. ل—ح بن يملك بن اتم و وجم عل جلس اخه وبني عل هنا ورغم مني علمهم

By —*h s. Yamlik s. 'Atamm; and he p.s.c. fālis, his brother, and built for Hani', and disliked death on their account.*

The names are known, but the construction of the last sentence is unusual, though the meaning is clear.

35. لاتم بن هنا بن يثم و وجم عل جلس وعل هنا

By 'Atamm s. Hanī' s. Yatīm; and he p.s.c. fālis and of Hani'.

36. لاتم بن هنا بن يثم و وجم [عل هنا] وعل جلس وبني هرجم

By 'Atamm s. Hanī' s. Yatīm; and he p.s.c. [Hani'] and fālis and built the cairn.

Two texts by the same person: if the very probable restoration in 36 is correct, it is further strong evidence that the cairn was built for *Hani'*.

37 (Pl. V). لاسد بن ظن بن ثلم و وجم عل هنا ترح ورغم مني

38. لاسد بن ظن بن ثلم و وجم عل هنا

By 'Asad s. Zann s. Thalm; and he p.s.c. and built for Hani' stricken with grief and disliking death.

39. لغير بن ظن بن ثلم وبني و وجم عل هنا

40. لغير بن ظن بن ثلم و وجم وبني عل هنا

41. لغير بن ظن بن ثلم و وجم عل هنا ترح

By Ghāyir s. Zann s. Thalm; and he p.s.c. and built for Hani' stricken with grief.

These and the next two texts are four brothers, but while 'Asad and Ghāyir came to build for *Hani'*, the other two do not mention him. The restoration of the names in 39 and 40 is quite certain. I have combined the translations, as they all say exactly the same things in slightly different arrangements of the words.

42. لاسد بن ظن بن ثلم وتشوق ال اخته وال متي وال اخه وال عقرب وال تم ف هلت و دشر سلم وقبلل

By 'Asad s. Zann s. Thalm; and he longed for his sister and for Mātiy and for his brother and for 'Aqrab and for Taim. So, O Allat and Dushares, give peace and good will.

This and the next text come not from the cairn itself but from the small collection of stones to the north-west, and although they do not mention *Hani'* they are included here, as they are all related. As four brothers were here together, one assumes there must be a fifth for whom 'Asad longs. There is no means of telling which *Mātiy*, 'Aqrab or *Taim* is meant. Regarding the word *Qbll*, Dr. Littmann writes: 'This can only be قبلل, infinitive of the tenth form of قبل; I did not find it in classical Arabic, but it must mean "state of being well accepted." I would translate it by "Good will".'

43. لخلص بن ظن بن ثلم وتشوق ال اخته وال تعمرف هلت سلم و قبلل

By Khālīs s. Zann s. Thalm; and he longed for his sister and for T'amar, So O Allat, give peace and good will.

The formula is the same as no. 42.

44. خلص بن ظن وتشوق ال ابيه وال اخته ف هلت سلم وقبلل

By *Khalis s. Zann*; and he longed for his father and for his sister. So O *Allat*, give peace and good will.

The same as 43, omitting *T'amar* and adding his father.

45. لشعث بن سر و وجم عل هنا وعل هرس وعل شعثم

By *Sha'tham s. Sur*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'* and of *Haris* and of *Sha'tham*.

He obviously cannot be placing a stone on his own cairn, so presumably it is the *Sha'tham* of nos. 5-7 to whom he refers. Can this *Haris* be *Hani'*'s brother of no. 3?

46. لشبر بن عزز ذال حد و وجم عل هنا ترح

By *Thabir s. 'Aziz* of the tribe of *Hadd*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'*, stricken with grief.

The tribe of *Hadd* has not apparently been recorded before, though it is well known as a personal name.

47. لحم بن سعد بن خلف بن سعد و وجم عل هنا وعل عبدیه ترح

By *Hamm s. Sa'id s. Khalaf s. Sa'd*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'* and of '*Abdyah*, stricken with grief.

'*Abdyah* is not known as a name before, but it appears to embody one of the very rare references to *Yahweh*, and would be translated 'servant of *Yah*': cf. '*Zryh* and '*Wsyh*, of Lihyanite origin. Dr. Littmann considers it might also be '*abdaihi*, his two servants. All other names are well known.

48. الملك بن زني بن قنم و وجم عل هنا By *Malik s. Zannay s. Qainum*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'*.

Zannay is new, but cf. *Zann. Qainam* was previously known only from Thamudic.

49. لصفون بن فرخد و وجم عل هنا By *Safwan s. Farkhad*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'*.

Both names are new, but can be paralleled in Arabic.

50. لمغير بن مرن بن مغير — — — ر و وجم عل هنا

By *Mughayar s. Murran s. Mughayar* — — — *r*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'*.

The stone is broken but there is only room for one more name, which judging by the last letter could be *Mughayar* again.

51. لجرمال بن تم بن حمي و وجم عل هنا By *Jaram'el s. Taim s. Humay*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'*.

All well-known names.

- 52 (Pl. V). لوتر بن هنات بن جلس وبنی و وجم عل هنا ترح ورغم مني

By *Witr s. Hani'at s. Jalis s. Khatas*; and he built and p.s.c. *Hani'*, stricken with grief and disliking death.

Witr evidently did all that was humanly possible for *Hani'*, building, placing a stone, stricken, disliking death. A conscientious man.

53. لشهم بن ادم بن بها ذال ضف وبنی عل هنا

By *Shahm s. 'Adam s. Baha* of the tribe of *Daif*; and he built for *Hani'*.

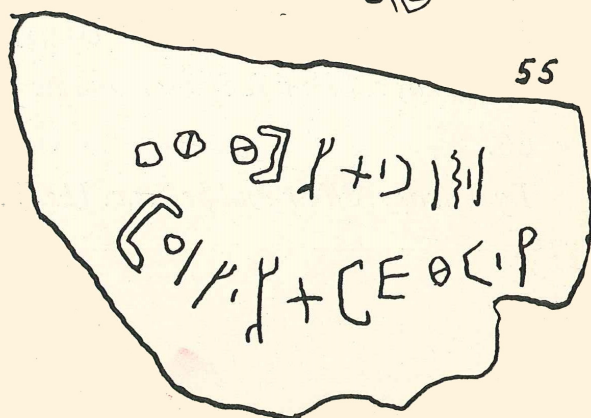
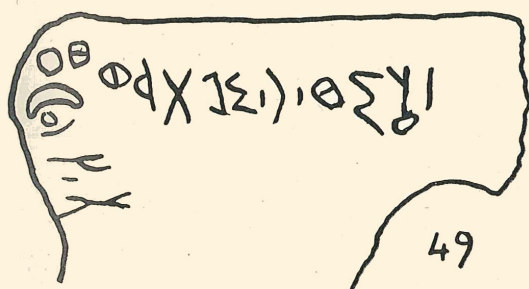
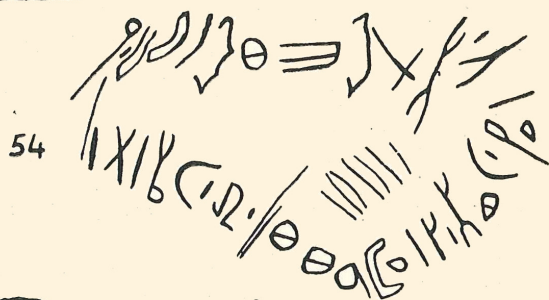
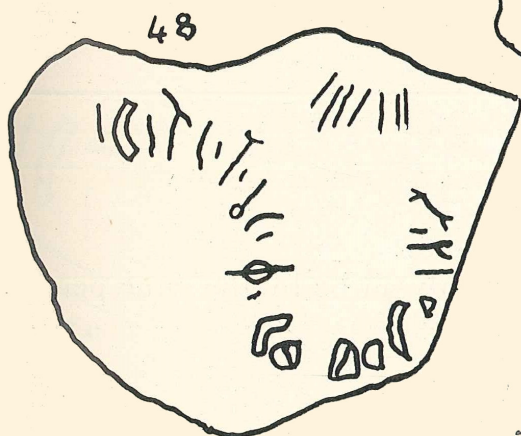
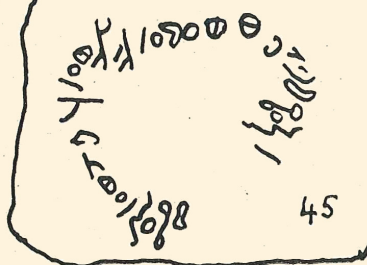
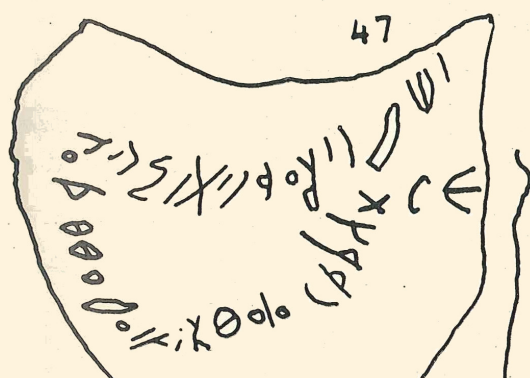
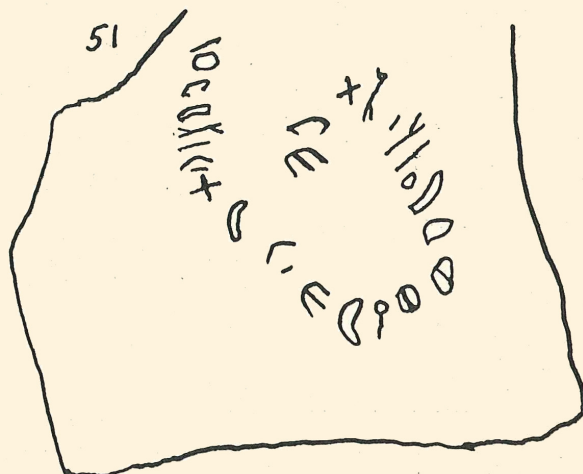
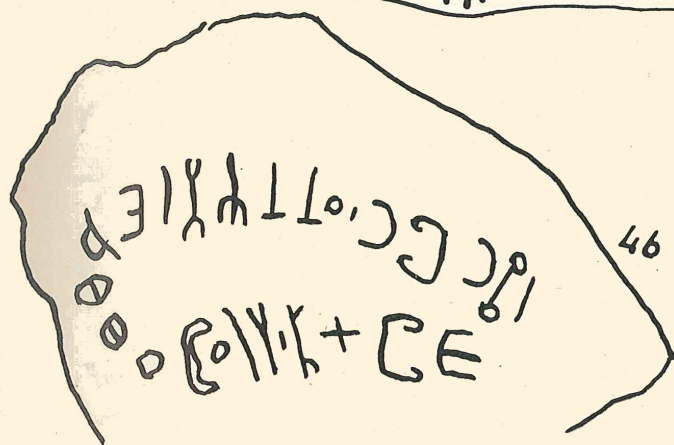
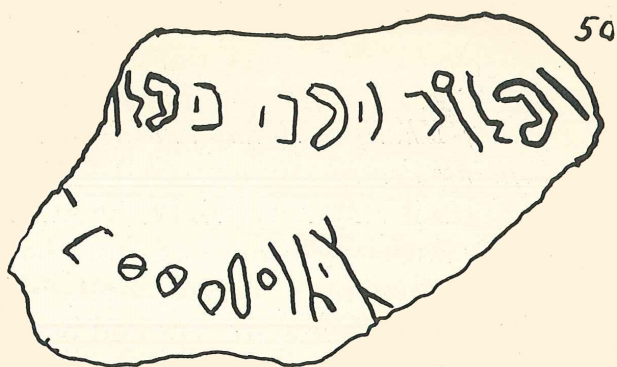
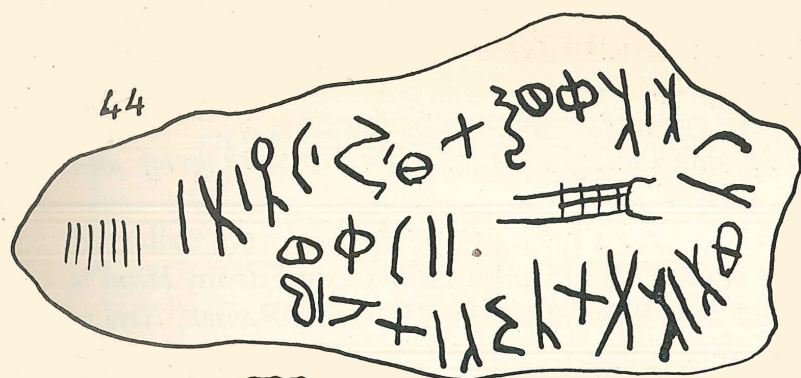


FIG. 6

54. خلاص بن ظن و وجم عل هنا وبنى عل هنا ترح ورغم مني

By *Khalis s. Zann: and he p.s.c. Hani' and built for Hani'*, stricken with grief and disliking death.

This is almost certainly the same person as 43. This text and no. 91 were collected by Sir Aurel Stein in 1938 from 'near H5 station,' and undoubtedly come from *Hani'*'s cairn. They have already been published by Ryckmans in *Vivre et Penser*, 1941, Pls. IV and V, but are repeated here for completeness.

55. لنشل بن تام و وجم عل هنا ترح وبنى

By *Nashal s. Ta'am, and he p.s.c. Hani'*, stricken with grief, and built.
Both known names.

56. لحي بن نشل بن تام و وجم عل هنا وبنى

By *Hayy s. Nashal s. Ta'am, and he p.s.c. Hani'* and built.
Evidently a son of 55.

57. لعمر بن هنن و وجم عل هنا By *'Amr s. Hunayn; and he p.s.c. Hani'*.

Both known names.

58. لعبد بن هنامنت بن مسك بن جلس و وجم عل هنا وعل خلصت

By *'Abid s. Hani'menat s. Māsik s. Jālis, and he p.s.c. Hani' and Khālīṣat.*
Hani'menat is new, but cf. *hn'mnwt* of Lihyanite origin. It would mean 'servant of Menat,' a known deity. Both ' and *b* of *'Abid* have curious forms, more like *ṣ* and *r*, but no name *ṣrd* is known.

59. لعطس بن حج بن منعت وبنى و وجم عل هنا

60. لعطس بن حج بن منعت

61. لعطس بن —

62. لعطس بن حج —

63. لعطس بن > —

64. لعطس بن حج بن ه —

By *'Atṭās s. Hajj s. Man'at; and he built and p.s.c. Hani'*.

The six texts are placed together, as they must certainly all be by the same person.
Names are well known.

65. لترص بن شعر بن سخر وبنى عل هنا

By *Taraṣ s. Sh'ar s. Sakhar and he built for Hani'*.

66. لترص بن شعر و وجم عل هنا

By *Taraṣ s. Sh'ar and he p.s.c. Hani'*.

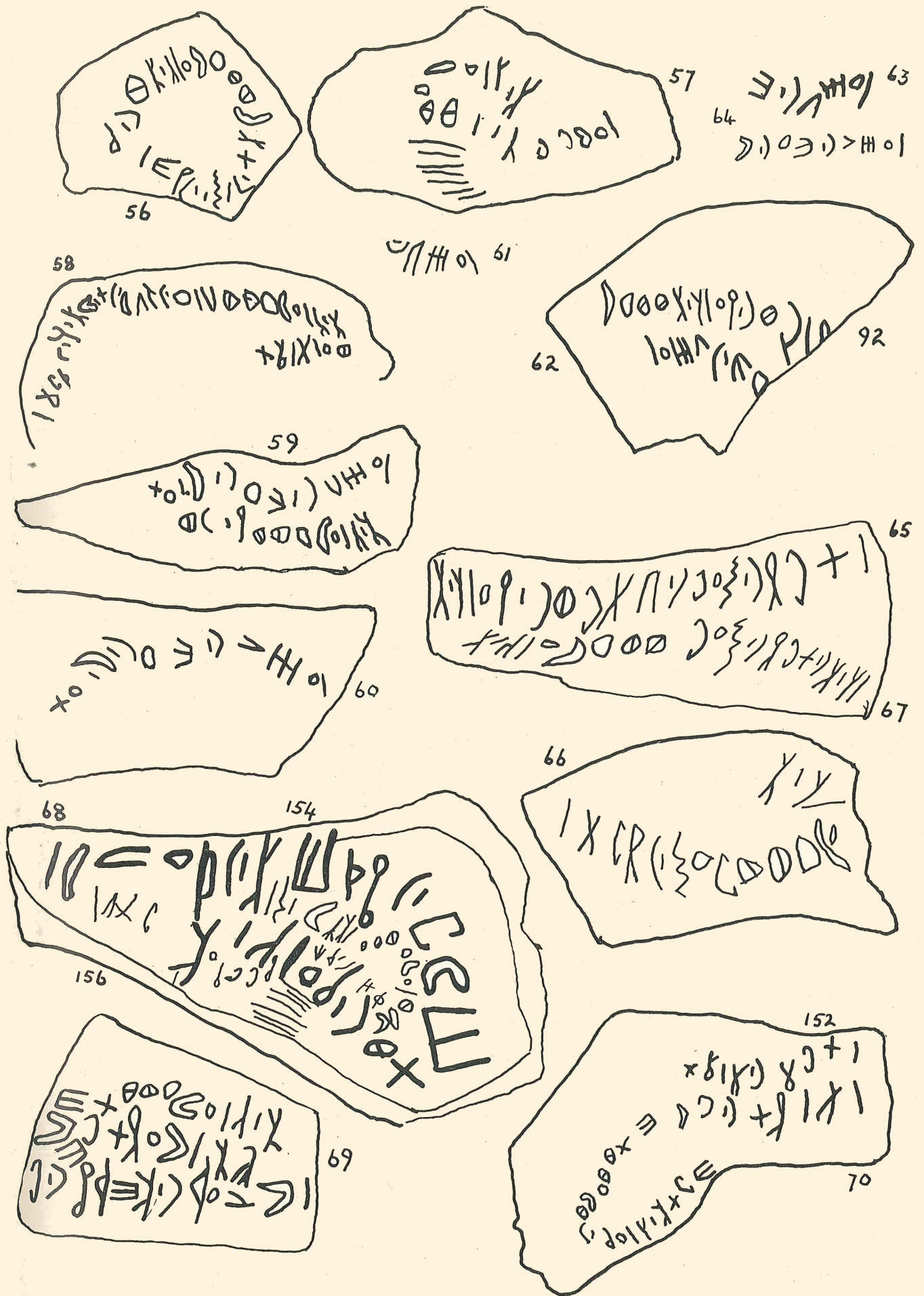


FIG. 7

67. لهنا بن ترص بن شعر و وجم عل هنا

By Hani' s. Taraṣ Sh'ar and he p.s.c. Hani'.

The first name of 66 looks more like *hrs*, *Kharuṣ*, and might perhaps be a brother of 65. *Taraṣ* is new as a name, but is very clear in 65, 67 and 152. *Sh'ar* is known hitherto only from Qatabanian and Sabaeen sources.

68. لمسد بن احدث بن رحمت وبني عل هنا

By Mas'ad s. 'Aḥdath s. Ramḥat; and he built for Hani'.

69. لمسد بن احدث بن رحمت و وجم عل هنا ذال معص ترح

By Mas'ad s. 'Aḥdath s. Ramḥat: and he p.s.c. Hani' of the tribe of Mā'iṣ, stricken with grief.

No. 69 seems to confirm that *Hani'* belonged to the tribe of *Mā'iṣ* particularly in view of the construction of the sentence with the verb *trḥ* at the end after *d 'l m'ṣ*. Both *'Aḥdath* (see 11 and 12) and *Ramḥat* are new names, presumably derived from the Arabic حدث and رجع. *Mā'iṣ* is known previously as a personal name, but is new as a tribe.

70. خلصت بن رحمت و وجم وبني عل هنا ترح

By Khālīṣat s. Ramḥat: and he p.s.c. and built for Hani' stricken with grief.
Perhaps an uncle of *Mas'ad* of 68 and 69.

71. لعوذ بن سر بن عوذ بن اسلم وعرف خله مت ف وله عل و وجم
لهنا

²عل هرس وعل شعثم وعل دتم وعل جبني و

³عل رحمت اخوله محربن وحلل

⁴وجلس سنت قتل حوصت ⁵و بلجا وخرص ذال تم ف هلت سلم مباس

By 'Awdh s. Sūr s. 'Awdh s. 'Aslam. And he knew his maternal uncle died and mourned By Hani'

deeply for him. And he p.s.c.² Haris and of — Sha'tham and of Datam and of Jabnay and³ of Ramḥat, his maternal uncles who had been in war. And he encamped⁴ and abode, in the year in which were killed Huaiṣat⁵ and Belja' and Kharuṣ. Of the tribe of Taim. So, O Allat, give peace from affliction.

This very interesting and difficult text contains a number of new names and words: the difficulty is to distinguish which are names and which words. The second name could equally well be *hr*, *Hur*: in line 2 *dtm* could be *ytm*. The addition of *l hn'* is curious, and the sign below it, read as *ṣ*, is unusual in form. The reading is by Dr. Littmann.

72 (Pl. V). لزبدي بن شمسي و وجم عل هنا ترح وعل عبدی مقتل ف هلت وهدشر ثار لمن حولت

By Zabday s. Shamsy and he p.s.c. Hani' stricken with grief, and for 'Abday who was killed. So, O Allat and Dushares, grant vengeance from Hawalat.

Shamsy with final *y* is new, but *sms* is well known as are the other two names. *Hawalat* may be the tribe referred to in no. 103. The form *lmn* is curious, but can scarcely mean anything but 'from'(?).

73 (Pl. VI).

لنات وبني عل هنا ودمي هشتت وهاسب

By *Mani'at*, and he built for *Hani'*. And he drew a picture of the pen (or, enclosure) and the animals pasturing by themselves.

The drawing accompanying this text is one of the most interesting yet found, for it shows us one of the enclosures hitherto known as 'desert kites' in use, thus answering the two main problems connected with these structures, viz. what was their use, and their date. Attention was first drawn to these in *Antiquity*, Vol. I, p. 202 and Pl. III, where a fairly accurate deduction as to their use was made by Flt. Lt. Maitland. The theme was further developed and illustrated by Group Capt. Rees in *Antiquity*, Vol. III, pp. 395 ff. and Pls. III and IV. The most recent article is by Sir Alec Kirkbride in *JPOS*, Vol. XX, p. 1, and the present drawing shows that his is the most accurate suggestion.

On the left is the fortified enclosure in which a number of animals are already assembled: it has seven defensive embrasures in the walls and at the entrance the walls are turned inward to make escape of the animals more difficult. From the corners of the enclosure two long walls are shown extending; this is contrary to all known examples, where these long walls commence from the narrow entrance of the enclosure. The vertical strokes along these walls suggest that they were palisaded, and would account for the fact that they are always much lower than those of the actual enclosure. These palisades would presumably be made of branches of the desert trees and shrubs. On either side of the entrance, within the long walls, stands a man with arms upraised, directing the animals into the pen. At the mouth of the palisaded walls (which owing to the shape of the stone contract together instead of fanning out as they do in fact) are other animals being driven or stampeded towards the enclosure by a man with arms upraised. Outside the limit of the walls a few animals have succeeded in escaping and are making off in the opposite direction. The text commences here and continues over on the other face of the stone, where is another scene.

Here two quite different types of animals are depicted; the characteristics of one are a long tufted tail, a fairly long neck and small head, the ears being back. The other type has a long body, straight tail, a short neck and prick ears. There are three of each type. The former are being attacked by a man with a bow and arrow (or spear and shield?), while another with arms upraised seems to be trying to scare them off. The other three are all together in the right corner, and appear to be controlled by a man with a whip, or at least a long rope. They look almost as if they might be dogs. It is very difficult to guess at what the first group are supposed to represent: it is not the usual Safaitic way of depicting a lion (for which see no. 78), but what other animals of the neighbourhood have tufted tails? It would seem that these are the animals which are menacing the flocks and causing them to be driven into the enclosure, so it must be some beast of prey. Perhaps the dogs are helping to hunt them down.

This is the first extended composition by a Safaitic artist that we have seen, and certainly the first to depict an episode in which a building is involved, so that we have as yet no knowledge of their artistic conventions. Comparison with the plan of an actual enclosure, Fig. 7 shows that apart from the variation mentioned above the drawing is a remarkably accurate representation. The other difference, the convergence of the long walls as against their fanning out in actual examples, is dictated by the shape of the stone on which the drawing is made.

It is, perhaps a little surprising to find that these grazing enclosures are a mere 1,500 or so years old, for they give the impression of much greater antiquity, but Rees (see above) put forward some arguments for a Roman date.

For the translation, *dmy* must be the verb of *دَمِيَ* an image or representation, hence to draw. The word *šht* is very difficult of translation, but Mr. Seton Dearden drew my attention to the fact that it is used in Syria with the meaning 'to drive animals,' and indeed this is what is being done in the picture. Dr. Littmann also writes: 'The curious word *شحت* must mean pen or enclosure; it seems to be a special word of the Safaitic dialect, and I connect it with the Arabic *شحت*, "to drive," a word used in Syria.' The last word could be 'bb, which makes no sense, but on the whole the form of the second letter is more like *s*, though there is a scratch at the vital point which prevents one's being absolutely certain. I would connect it with *سائبه* 'any beast that is left to pasture where it will,' pl. *سائب* (Lane, p. 1481).

74. *لعدي بن هنامنت بن يملك وبني عل هنا*
By 'Adiy s. Hani' manat s. Yamlik; and he built for Hani'.
All well-known names. (See also 75.)

75. *لعدي* By 'Adiy.
In reverse at the end of 74.

76. *لعمر بن هنامنت بن يملك ذال معص و وجد وقع اخه عدي مقتل*
و وجع ورعي وقيط ف جل هخرس وجل ملح ف لت سلم

By 'Amr s. Hani' manat s. Yamlik of the tribe of Mā'is; and he found the sign (signature?) of his brother 'Adiy who was killed, and he was pained. And he pastured and spent the summer. And he gathered food for the feast of the birth of a child, and he gathered salt. So, O Allat, give peace.

An interesting account of a man visiting the cairn, finding the writing of his brother who had meantime been killed, and recording the fact on the same stone. The last sentence is difficult of interpretation, and the stone is somewhat damaged at this point, though the actual letters seem clear enough. The translation given here is that proposed by Dr. Littmann. The second *ز* might well be a scribal mistake for *f*, which is very similar. The Arabic *جل* has the meaning 'to collect (a thing),' and *خرس* is good Arabic. So though 'Amr's activities are a little unusual, they are by no means improbable.

77 (Pl. VI). *لعقر بن كسط بن سعد ذال معص وبني عل هنا هدميت*
By 'Aqraban s. Kāsiṭ s. Sa'd, of the tribe of Mā'is: and he built for Hani': the picture (?).

We have four texts from this person, each of which is accompanied by a drawing; he was evidently an artist of some merit. That the second name is *ksṭ* and not *hsṭ* is clear from no. 80. The last word *dmyt* I have here translated as 'drawing, representation,' though in no. 79 there is no doubt that it means 'beautiful woman.' It is just possible, of course, that he is referring to the woman on the right of the scene, though she seems to be with the enemy. If 'drawing' is correct it would seem that we must transpose the last word to the beginning of the sentence and read 'This drawing is by 'Aqraban,' etc., as he could not very well build either a drawing or a woman for *Hani*'.

The scene itself must represent a battle, perhaps the affray in which *Hani* was killed by an arrow shot. The central figure rides what looks more like a donkey than a horse, though this would be very unusual and undignified. His supporters are a spearman with shield, and two bowmen. Opposed to him are three persons, one armed only with sword and shield, one with sword, spear and shield, and a third, very strangely garbed, with spear and shield, perhaps a sword. Completing the picture on the right is a figure which, from its long (and dishevelled) hair, must be intended for a woman. It was a usual thing for women to accompany their men into battle, and often their cries and withering remarks caused faltering men to gather their courage and return to the fight.

The whole scene and the text is very lightly scratched and rather worn, so that it is only clear when inked. There are still faint traces of another text above, and what looks like Kufic: the word الله can be distinguished.

78 (Pl. VI). لعقربن بن كسط وبني عل هنا هاله هفرس

By 'Aqraban s. *Kāsiṭ*; and he built for *Hani*'. O Allah! what a horseman!

Translation of the last expression is tentative: it seems literally to read 'O Allah! the horsemen!' As the text is accompanied with a picture of a man on horseback spearing a lion, perhaps the suggestion is not unreasonable. A modern Arab would say 'ما شا الله هالفارس,' meaning exactly the same thing. The lion looks more like a frog, but the mane seems to decide the issue: the poor animal is evidently *in extremis*, with its tail between its legs and one paw clutching wildly at the air. There are faint traces of other letters below.

79 (Pl. VI). لعقربن بن كسط بن سعد هدميت زمريت

By 'Aqraban s. *Kāsiṭ* s. *Sa'd*. The beautiful woman played the reed pipes.

The text is a caption for the picture, and shows *Kāsiṭ* dancing to the strains of the music. The woman appears to be naked, the breasts being clearly indicated, but *Kāsiṭ* is wearing a strange fringed garment with tassels round his ankles, somewhat like English folk dancers. The drawing is not as clear as it might be, having suffered slightly from rubbing near the man's head and shoulders, but is very lively.

The reed pipe is apparently a double one, with one pipe longer than the other, and this type is nowadays called a *maqrūn*. The *Zummareh* has both pipes of the same length, but the verb is the same for both types.

80 (Pl. VI). لعقربن بن كسط وهتلل By 'Aqraban s. *Kāsiṭ*, and the riding camel (?).

This is the last of 'Aqraban's artistic efforts and shows a man (presumably himself)

mounted on a camel in pursuit of an ostrich. The movement of the camel is very lively and the head in the air is exactly the attitude of a camel being pulled up by the head rope. On the saddle behind the rider is a shield and perhaps weapons of some kind. In one hand he holds the halter and in the other a riding-stick, so he does not appear at the moment to be attacking the ostrich. What are presumably the usual tassels hang down below the camel's stomach. It is difficult to understand why in this and no. 78 the man has long hair, unless it is some strange form of plumed headdress, for which, however, we have no other evidence. But *Hani'* himself had long black hair, unplaited.

Regarding the word *htll* Dr. Littmann writes: 'One would think that it is a verb, but the fourth form of verbs in Safaitic begins with ' not with *h* as in Sabaean. The verb 𐤏𐤋𐤋𐤍 would be *tll* in Safaitic: it means "he tied and drove his beast." But we might read *h tll*, "the tied and driven beast," *ha-tālīl*, although the form *talīl* seems not to be known in this meaning in classical Arabic.'

Of these four texts, nos. 79 and 80 were found in the small group about 300 metres north-west of *Hani'*'s cairn, the others at the cairn itself.

81. — م بن اسد بن هـ — دد و وجم عل هنا — *m s. 'Asad s. H-dd; and he p.s.c. Hani'*.

The beginning of the text is broken off, and the curious letter in the third name must surely be a mistake, as it resembles no known Safaitic character.

82. لعزز بن هنا ذال نمرت و وجم عل هنا

By '*Aziz s. Hani'* of the tribe (or people?) of *Nemarah*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'*.'

It is just possible that this is another relative, a son of *Hani'* of nos. 14-16 but nos. 26 and 69 suggest that *Hani'*'s tribe is *Mā'is* rather than *Nemarah*. Indeed, it seems more likely that this name refers to the place rather than to a tribe of that name, in which case *d'l* would have to be translated literally, 'of the people (of *Nemarah*).'

83. لسعد بن مطي ذال حمي و وجم عل برع وعل اسد ف هلت سلم لذ سار و بني عل هنا

By *Sa'd s. Māṭiy* of the tribe of *Ḥumay*; and he p.s.c. *Bāri'* and '*Asad*. So, O *Allat*, give peace to him who leaves this untouched. And he built for *Hani'*'.

Bara' is a new name, but cf. Lihyanite *br'b'l*: also *mṭy* with *ṭ* is new. The rest of the text is usual.

84. لرببال الك غب ح ي و بني عل هنا و وجم — By *Rabīb'el* . . . and he built for *Hani'* and p.s.c.

Nothing unusual in the text, except that the middle section seems to be muddled and does not make sense.

85 (Pl VII). لاسله بن شرد بن جرم و وجم عل هنا وعل جلس وهلت ودشر عور لذ عور سفر

By '*Ausallah s. Shārid s. Ḥuraim*; and he p.s.c. *Hani'* and *Ḥālīs*. So, O *Allat*, and *Dushares*, blind he who blinds [the] letters.

Names and formula are well known.

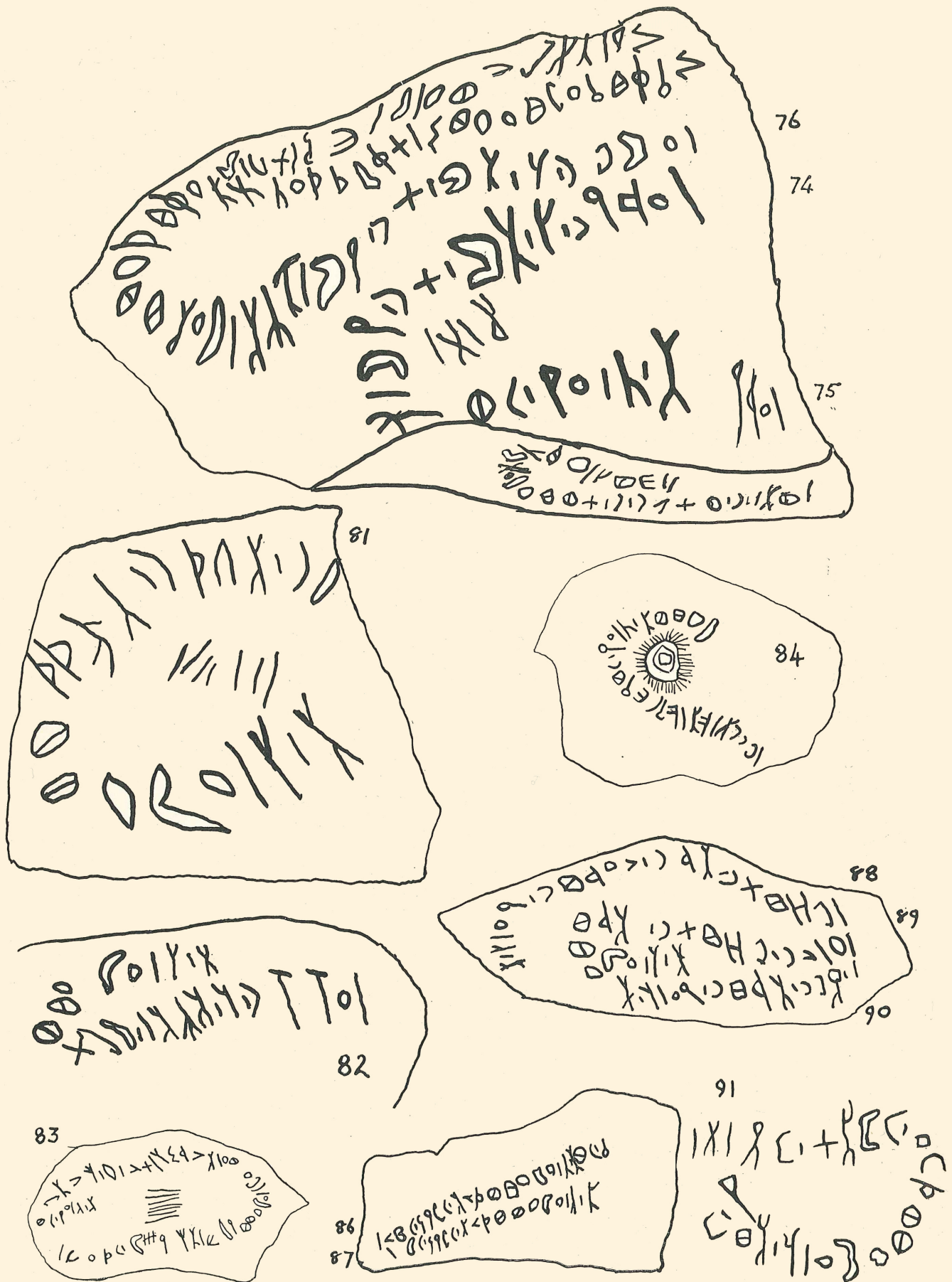


FIG. 9

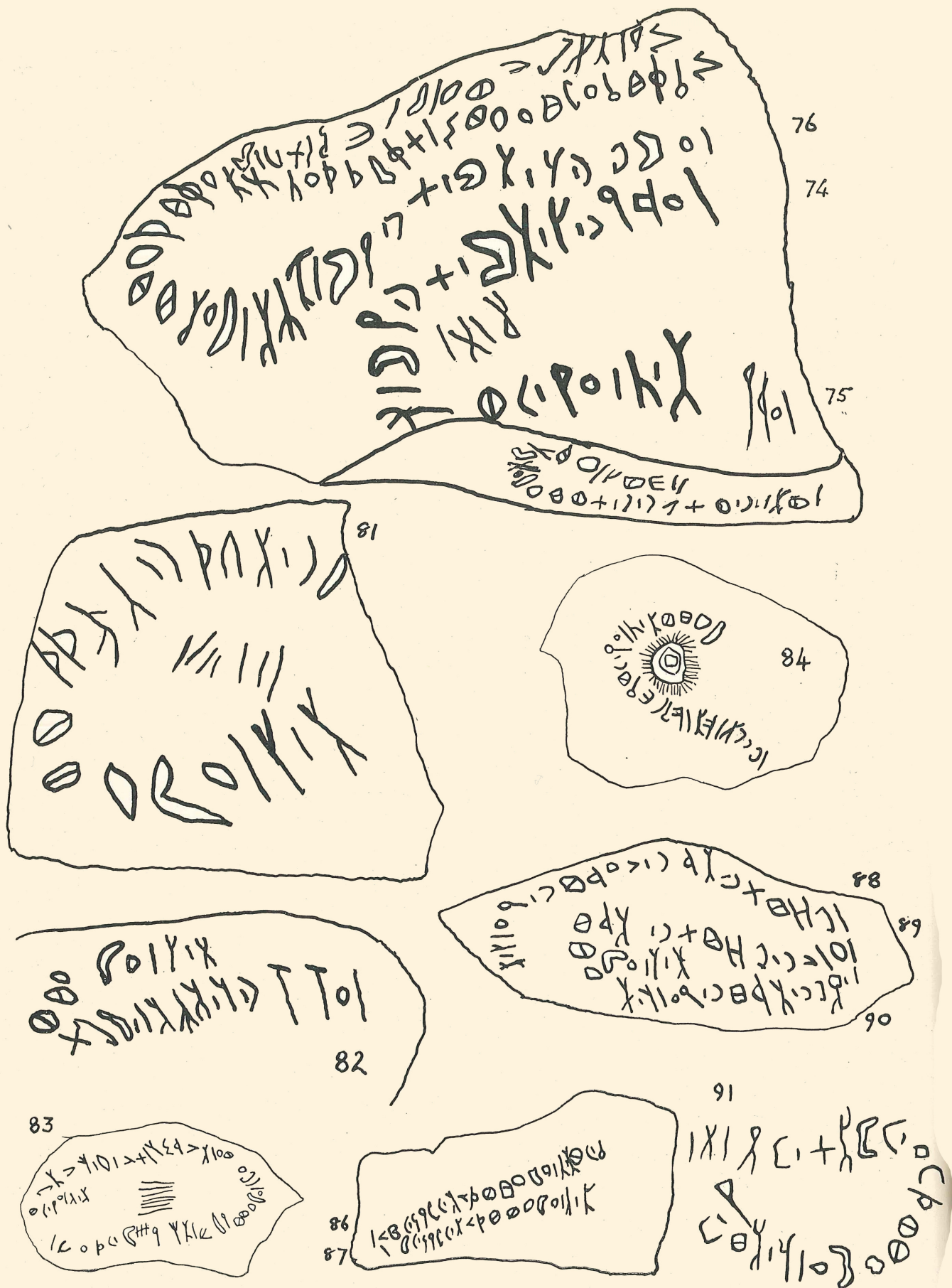


FIG. 9

86 & 87. لسم بن غير بن اسد و وجم عل هنا وبنى

By Samm s. Ghayir s. 'Asad, and he p.s.c. Hani' and built.

Two identical texts except for the omission of *bn* in 87: all names are known.

88. لرضوت بن اد بن سعد وبنى عل هنا *By Raḍwat s. 'Add s. Sa'd, and he built for Hani'.*

All known names.

89. لجلس بن رضوت بن اد و وجم عل هنا *By Ḥālis s. Raḍwat s. 'Add, and he p.s.c. Hani'.*

Clearly a son of 88.

90. لنصر بن اد وبنى عل هنا *By Naṣr s. 'Ad, and he built for Hani'.*

Probably a brother of 88.

91. لخلص بن تام بن عبد و وجم عل هنا وبنى

By Khaliṣ s. Tau'am s. 'Abid; and he p.s.c. Hani' and built.

This person has not been met with before in our texts. This is the second of the stones brought in by Sir Aurel Stein. (See no. 54.)

92. — ملك وبنى عل هنا و وجم *Mālik, and he built for Hani' and p.s.c.*

This cannot be a continuation of 61, as the grandfather of 'Aṭṭas is *Manat*, not *Mālik*. (See no. 62.)

93. لاحلم بن اشيم بن درال وبنى عل هنا

By 'Aḥlam s. 'Ashyam s. Darr'el, and he built for Hani'. (See 109.)

94 (P. VII). لسعد بن احلم بن اشيم بن درال بن كسط و وجم عل هنا

By Sa'd s. 'Aḥlam s. 'Ashyam s. Darr'el s. Kasīṭ and he p.s.c. Hani'.

95. لسعد بن احلم بن اشيم بن درال وبنى عل هنا و وجم عل هنا

By Sa'd s. 'Aḥlam s. 'Ashyam and he built for Hani' and p.s.c. Hani'.

Clearly 94 and 95 are by a son of 93: 94 gives us one more ancestor. In 95 the ' of 'sym has been omitted. All names are known. See also 125.

96 & 97. لشريك بن احلم بن اشيم *By Sharīk s. 'Aḥlam s. 'Ashyam.*

A brother of 94 and 95. Two identical texts.

98. لوالن بن خالص و وجم عل هنا وبنى وعل جلس

By Wa'ilān s. Khāliṣ, and he p.s.c. Hani' and built, and for Ḥālis.

An unusual feature is the way *Ḥālis* has been added on as an afterthought. *Wa'ilān* is unknown previously as a name.

99. لعرب بن هرس و وجم عل هنا *By 'Arab s. Haris, and he p.s.c. Hani'.*

Perhaps another brother of 8 and 9.

TEXTS NOT MENTIONING HANI'

100. لذهبن بن محرب بن بنت بن مسك بن انعم بن غث ذال-ت و
وجم عل اس وعل شضح وعل بجرت رغم منى

By Dhahban s. Maḥrab s. Bānat s. Māsik s. 'Ana'm s. Ghauth of the tribe of . . . t. And he p.s.c. 'Aus, and Ṣḍḥ, and Bujairat, disliking death.

Ṣḍḥ has not previously been found: all other names are known. The tribe might perhaps be Masikat or Nemerat.

101. لجرمله بن محرب بن بنت بن مسك و وجم عل ابه وعل شضح و عل بجرت رغم منى

By Ḥurmalla s. Maḥrab s. Bānat s. Māsik. And he p.s.c. his father, and ṣḍḥ, and Bujairat, disliking death.

A brother of 100.

102. لعن بن زيد بن عتك بن زيد وخرس عل اخه ردف
ابله ف هلت و — سعد — ذال عدل وحلل سنت نجى رببال

By Ma'an s. Zabād s. 'Atik s. Zabād. And he kept watch for his brother [who was] following his camels. So, O Allat and [Dushares?], give help and — Of the tribe of 'Adhal (?). And he encamped here the year in which Rabīb'el escaped.

Dushares is the most probable guess for restoration after Allat: the space is right for the three letters *dsr*. After *s'd* there were about four more letters, the next appearing to be *w*, 'and.' But there were no more between these and *d'l*: the form of the *d* is unusual, but quite clear. No tribe '*dl*' is known before, but it is found as a proper name in Safaitic and Thamudic. The first statement could also read 'And he kept watch for his brother [while] following his camels.'

103. لانعم بن اتم بن انهك بن اس ذال زهر و وجم عل كمن مقتل ف هلت ودشر ف ثار من حولت

By 'An'am s. 'Atamm s. 'Anhak s. 'Aus, of the tribe of Zahar. And he p.s.c. Kaman who was killed. So, O Allat and Dushares, give vengeance from Hawalat.

The tribe of Zahar is not previously known, but occurs as a personal name in Safaitic and Sabaean. Compare 72 for the call for vengeance on Hawalat: the *f* before *t'r* seems redundant.

104. لعن بن اصب بن معن بن مغير ذال بكس و وجم عل اقوم وقيط ف هلت ودشر سلم وخلصت

By M'an s. 'Aṣab s. M'an s. Muḡhayar of the tribe of Bakis (or Bahas or Rahas). And he p.s.c. 'Aqwam, and summered [here]. So, O Allat and Dushares, give peace and salvation.

'Aṣab is a new name, as is also Bakis which could, however, have other readings, none of which are previously known.

105. لصعد بن عبد ذال حظى ورعى ضانه وتشمى عل رجل ف هلت سلم

By Sa'id s. 'Abid of the tribe of Ḥuṣṣay. And he pastured his sheep, and he attacked a man (?). So, O Allat, give peace.

The tribe of *Huzzay* is new, but I have found it also at Jawa (unpublished). *w tsym* 'l rjl is difficult of interpretation, and the above is a suggestion only.

106. لاسله بن عنم ذال حلى By 'Ausallah s. 'Amnam of the tribe of *Hulay*.

'Amnam is a new name, and *Hulay* is not previously recorded as a tribe. (See no. 11.)

107. — بن اقدم وقميط عل ثبرن ف تخوف ف هلت سلم ذال حرم —

— s. 'Aqdam. And he summered upon destruction (?) and he drove the flocks away one by one. So, O Allat, give peace. Of the tribe of *Haram*.

The middle section is difficult to interpret, unless *tbrn* is really the name of a place where he summered. *Haram* is not known previously as a tribe, but occurs as a name of person.

108. لمتي بن تم بن ايتب ذال فرث

By Matiy s. Taim s. Taim s. 'Aytāb of the tribe of *Farith*.

'Aytāb is a new name: the tribe is a new one.

109. لوهب بن بدبل ذال زد وحلال

By Wahab s. bdbl (?) of the tribe of *Zaid*, and he encamped.

bdbl seems impossible as a name, but is quite clear: *Zaid* is not known previously as a tribe.

110. لوهبه بن اس By Wahaballah s. 'Aus.

111. لنصر بن وهبله بن اس By Naṣr s. Wahaballah s. 'Aus.

112. لاسلم بن وهبله By 'Aslam s. Wahaballah.

113. — لنصر و — By Naṣr (and).

These all seem to be members of the same family, 111 and 112 being sons of 110.

114. لمعث بن ظنله وتشوق عل ذ —

By Mughaith s. Zanallah, and he longed for D—.

The text is incomplete. (See no. 23).

115. لعبد بن خلف بن انعم ذال عوذ و وجم عل زبد

By 'Abid s. Khalaf s. 'An'am, of the tribe of 'Awīdh. And he p.s.c. Zabad.

All names are well known.

116. لثم بن جریت ذال مسکت وقميط

By Taim s. Jurayāt, of the tribe of *Masikat*, and he summered.

Jurayāt is a new name, and *Masikat* has not occurred before as a tribe. But I have seen texts by other members of this tribe at Jawa, about 20 kilometres north-west of Hani'.

117. لانه By 'An'am.

118. ص خا فتى ص و س ب ن ع م ت ح ص ل ح

This does not seem to make any sense, though the text is clearly complete.

119. By *Datam s. 'Aq* — [stricken with] grief. لدم بن عة — [ت]رح

Only half of the text remains: the other half of the stone was never found.

120. لدم بن جنى وبى عل خله

By *Datam s. 'Fabnay* (or '*Abnay*'), and he built for his maternal uncle.

'*Abnay* is not known as a name, but *Fabnay* has occurred in 71, as also *Datam*. Could this possibly be the son of another sister of *Hani*', as he actually builds for his uncle?

121. لاوى بن عبدالله بن سعد By '*Awiyy s. 'Abdallah s. Sa'd*.

'*Awiyy* is new.

122. — لوال بن حر ذال By *W'al s. Hur* of the tribe of —.

The text was never completed.

123. By *Sa'b s. Wahaballah* of the tribe of *Humay*. لصعب بن وهبله ذال حمى

The identical text is repeated on the side of the stone and again in 142. *Sa'b* is known as a Safaitic name. (See no. 38.)

124. — خالص بن ت — *Khalis s. T[aim]*.

Perhaps connected with nos. 23-27.

125 (Pl. V). لاشيم بن درال بن اشيم بن درال بن كسط بن عبد بن
اشيم بن اس بن — سد بن شرك وحلل — خرس —
ف خرص و — ت — وعور ذ [عوار هخطط

By '*Ashyam s. Dar'el s. 'Ashyam s. Dar'el s. Kasit s. 'Abid s. 'Ashyam s. 'Aus s. — sd s. Sharik. And he encamped — Kharūs. — And he kept watch — and blind he who [bli]nds the writings.*

The text is extremely faint and has been badly rubbed and scratched. He would seem to be a nephew of 93, cousin of 94-97, but he carries his ancestry back much further than the others. The middle of the stone is almost unreadable, but looks like the usual curse on whoever destroyed the writing.

126 (Pl. VI). لعض بن هنا و وجم عل رضوت ذال نمرت بن اس

مقتل قتل هال حولت ف هلت ودشر ثار

By '*Ad s. Hani*', and he p.s.c. *Radwat*, of the people of *Nemerah*, the son of '*Aus*, who was killed [while] killing the people of *Hawalat*. So, O *Allat* and *Dushares*, give vengeance.

This does not appear to be the *Radwat* of 88 and 89, who is there the son of '*Add*, not '*Aus* as here. The construction of the sentence is unusual but quite clear: مقتول قاتل,



FIG. II

'killed while killing.' From the context both here and in other texts where they are mentioned (72 and 103), *Hawalat* could be either a tribe or a place, like *Nemerah*, but this with the definite article would perhaps favour a place rather than a tribe.

127. لتمله بن اس بن عبد وتشوق ال ابيه وال خله وال خلته ف هلت سلم

By *Taimallah s. 'Aus s. 'Abid*; and he longed for his father and for his maternal uncle and for his maternal aunt. So, O *Allat*, give peace.

The mention of an aunt is a little unusual,¹ otherwise the text is straightforward. (See no. 43.)

128. لاسد بن ظن بن ثلم و — By *'Asad s. Zann s. Thalm*, and he pl[aced a stone?].

The same person as 37, 38 and 42. (See no. 4.)

129. لغلب بن دعث بن وددال وحلل ف جلس ذال تم

By *Ghalib s. Da'that s. Wadaid'el*: and he encamped and abode. Of the tribe of *Taim*. The second name is hitherto known only from *Lihyanite* and *Minaean*. (See no. 3.)

130. لسلمت بن نجر بن سلمت بن اس ذال تم وجلس

By *Salāmat s. Nakhar s. Salāmat s. 'Aus* of the tribe of *Taim*; and he abode [here]. All known names, nothing unusual in the text. (See no. 1.)

131. لاميت بن اكل ذال حلي وندم عل كلبه ذلل ف هلت حور

By *'Umayyat s. Akkāl* of the tribe of *Hulay*; and he grieved for his dog that had strayed. So, O *Allat*, grant a returning [of the dog].

The middle letter of the second name has a curious form, but *k* seems most likely. The tribe of *Hulay* is new, nor it is known as a personal name before: it occurs again in the following text. It is curious to find a man grieving for his dog, but I do not see what else the word could be, though both *klb* and *klbt* are known as names. The final word one would expect to be *rwh*, 'rest,' but here it is clearly *hwr*, meaning 'to return.' (See no. 3.)

132. ل—م بن وهبله بن خل ذال حلي وندم عل بن اخه مسبي حوت ف نوجد ف مى خلن وييل ف اهله

By — *m s. Wahaballah s. Khill* of the tribe of *Hulay*, and he grieved for his nephew, the prisoner of *Hawālat*, and he stayed (was found) at the water of *Khawlān* while being concealed among his people.

Khawlān is a place in the region of Damascus according to *Jacut*, Vol. II, p. 499. The reading and translation are Dr. Littmann's.

133. لنصر بن حورل ودثا وصير

By *Naṣr s. Hawwar-el*; and he spent the spring and travelled.

Hawwar-el is unknown as a name, but is quite clear: nothing unusual in the rest of the text. The form of *r* here is curious, and the omission and subsequent addition of *w* is interesting. (See no. 1.)

¹ But see *Su. VI*, p. 124.

134. لددال وجلس ف عرف سفر نصر اخه ف لت سلم

By *Dad'el*; and he abode. And he knew (recognized?) the letters of *Naṣr*, his brother. So, O *Allat*, give peace.

Dad'el is known from Thamudic only. 'rf, know, I take in the sense of 'he recognized his brother's writing.' His own hand is very similar except that he uses the normal r.

135. لحرس بن زمر بن غدد By *Hārs s. Zumair s. Ghadīd*.

Ghadīd is new, but cf. *gddh*, also Safaitic.

136. لحددن بن كهل وحضر By *Haddudān s. Kāhil*; and he was present.

Names and formula are well known.

137. لمتي بن تم بن ص — تر ذال فرث وبعد ف هلت سلم وقبل

By *Mātiy s. Taim s. Taim s. Ṣ* — tr, of the tribe of *Farith*; and he was far away (or driven away). So, O *Allat*, give peace and good will.

The fourth name looks like *Ṣlntr*, but that is an impossible combination: there must be some scribal mistakes here. Dr. Littmann suggests the name should be 'Abtar. All other names, including the tribe, are known, but the verb *b'd* is rare. (See no. 37.)

138. لاس بن رح ذال جعبر By 'Aus s. *Ruḥ* of the tribe of *Ja'bar*.

Ruḥ is new, but cf. *rwh*, which is Safaitic: the tribe is known.

139. لنظر بن درال بن الف — By *Nāzir s. Dar'el s. 'lf* —

The first two names are well known. The final name might possibly be 'lf'l, which occurs in Safaitic and Thamudic.

140. — لعدي بن اسلم — By *Adīy s. 'Aslam* —

The final name is illegible.

141. لوالن بن اتس بن بنت و وجم عل امه وجلس وحلل

By *W'alan s. 'Attas s. Bānat*; and he p.s.c. his mother, and he abode and encamped.

'ts with t is new: the rest of the names and the formula are well known, though reference to a mother is a little unusual. (See no. 74.)

142. لوهبله بن صعب ذال حمي By *Wahaballah s. Ṣa'b* of the tribe of *Humay*.

143. لصعب بن وهبله By *Ṣa'b s. Wahaballah*.

These two texts are in very small script on the same stone as 47, and could not be reproduced photographically. (See 123.)

144. لغطفن بن بني ذال [ل] ضف By *Ghaṭafān s. Bunay* of the tribe of *Daif*.

All known names. The l of 'l has been omitted by the scribe.

145. لعبد بن متي ذال هذر By 'Abid s. *Mātiy* of the tribe of *Hadhar*.

The name of this tribe is found in DMSM 196. (See no. 1, also for 146.)

146. لامر بن مغير ذال عوذ

147. لامر بن مغير ذال ع—

148. لامر بن مغير By 'Amir s. Mughayar of the tribe of 'Awdh.

The three texts clearly refer to the same person.

149. لوهبل بن ربن وسار فخرق مدلل

Dr. Littmann reads: 'By Wahballāh s. Rabbān, and he traversed the desert boldly' (خرق مدلل).

The end of the text is not clear: the letters are badly made and partly obliterated.

150. لعوذ بن سر By 'Awdh s. Sur. (See no. 3.)

151. — هت ذال فضيح و وجم عل — بني هر — م — ع —

— — — lht of the tribe of Fudaj; and he p.s.c. — — — built (?). — — —

The stone is badly broken and only two pieces of it could be found. The tribe is known before. Perhaps the end could be restored — bny he rjm 'l —, '— built the cairn for —.'

152. لترص بن خلصت By Taraṣ s. Khālīṣat.

153. حملت بن غيرال بن غضضت وهراضى غنمت

By Hamalat s. Ghaiyar'el s. Ghadādat; and O Ruḍay, give booty.

This is the only appeal to this deity in our texts here, though well known from other sources.

154. لغنم ذال عو[ذ] و وجم عل عمن قتل وبني —

By Ghānim of the tribe of 'Awi[dh]; and he p.s.c. 'Amn who was killed and built — — —.

The text is very lightly scratched and faint, and I cannot be sure of the last few letters: they do not seem to make sense. The letter *d* in the tribal name is completely omitted by the scribe, but it must be correct to restore it. (See no. 68.)

155. لسخر بن تم بن ا — By Sakhar s. Taim S. 'A—.

This text, though a fairly long one, is so faint as to be undecipherable, and I made no attempt to copy it.

156. لسخر By Sakhar. (See no. 68.)

157. — بن اسله بن يتم ب — س — s. 'Ausallah s. Yatim s. — — s.

A broken fragment of a text only; the rest could not be found.

158. لغث بن حم By Ghauth s. Hamm.

159. لخلص By Khalīṣ.

160. لجحش By Fahsh.



FIG. 12

161. — لعقرب بن By 'Aqrab s. — — —.

The end is obliterated. (See 135.)

162. لشميت بن عبد بن انعم ذال حظي و وجم عل ابه

By Shamit s. 'Abid s. 'Ana'm of the tribe of Ḥaẓẓiy; and he p.s.c. his father.

This tribe occurs before in 105: all other names are well known.

163. لرفات بن ز ش ك ر ع ت By Rifa'at s. Z——.

It is difficult to make sense of the second name, but the first is well known. The text comes from a rock to the south-west of the cairn.

164. لغث بن اخ و وجم عل اخه و — م — ت م ر م ن ه س ع د ل م

By Ghauth s. 'Akhkh; and he p.s.c. his brother and ——

This text is in very small script below 115, and could not be reproduced photographically. The end is obscure.

165. لاسمنت بن عطس By 'Ausmanat s. 'Atṭās.

Both known names. Hand copy only.

166. لنص بن بني By Naṣṣ s. Bunay.

This text was scratched on a rock to the west of Hani': the name Naṣṣ is new. Hand copy only.

167. لترص بن عرب By Taraṣ s. 'Arab.

Both known names.

168. لملت بن حنال By Ḥamalat s. Ḥann'el.

Hand copy only.

169. لا كبر بن ضرن By 'Akbar s. Darān.

On a rock to the north of the cairn. Both names are new. The form of the *k* is peculiar. Hand copy only.

170. لاهد بن ظن By 'Ahad s. Zann.

'Ahad is a new name. Hand copy only.

171. لبغض بن سعدله By Baghīḍ s. Sa'dallah.

Both known names.

172. لزنيث بن نزل و وجم By Zanyat s. Nazẓāl: and he p.s.c.

The text is perhaps incomplete. The first name is new, but cf. *zn* and *zny*.

173. This very interesting Latin text is extremely difficult to read. Dr. Littmann writes: 'The Latin inscription is very badly written. The first four letters are FLAM; that may be the beginning of the name FLAMINIVS; in that case the strokes at the

¹⁶⁶ 1, 8 (C) 6 ¹⁶⁷ 2, 3 (D) 2, 3 + 1 ¹⁶⁸ 1, 2, 3 (E) 1, 2, 3 ¹⁶⁹ 1, 2, 3 (F) 1, 2, 3 ¹⁷⁰ 1, 2, 3 (G) 1, 2, 3

A hand-drawn sketch of a rock fragment, possibly a piece of pottery or a stone tablet, with a central symbol and the number 172 below it. The symbol consists of a central vertical line with several diagonal lines radiating from it, and a small circle to the right. The number 172 is written below the symbol.

173

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A photograph of a fragment of a papyrus scroll, showing handwritten Hebrew text in black ink. The text is arranged in two lines. The top line reads "וכו + כולל ו / ויפח" (and so forth + all-inclusive and / and he blew). The bottom line shows a large equals sign (=) followed by the number "188".

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191

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Handwritten text: "to 3932" and "Kunio" (partially visible).

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FIG. 13

185. لبطيه بن هرس By *Baṭṭiyh s. Haris*.

Bṭyḥ is a new name, perhaps the diminutive of بطة, 'duck.'

186. لصر بن حد ذال م — نق By *Ṣur s. Ḥadd*, of the tribe of *M-nq*.

Both names are known. The second letter of the tribal name is uncertain, and could perhaps be *j*, though no such name is known.

187. لانعم بن منعم — By 'Ana'm s. Mun'im s. —.

Both well-known names.

188. لبنت بن شلال بن محن By *Banat s. Shalal s. Muḥannan*.

All common names.

189. لغضال بن وعده By *Ghaḍ-'ēl s. Wa'idah*.

The form *w'dh* is not known before, but *w'dt* occurs in Safaitic. The first name is known from Thamudic (TIJ).

190. لاسله بن حج بن ف — By 'Ausallah s. Ḥajj s. F —.

Both known names.

191. Dr. Littmann reads this text tentatively as:

لغت بن هنا ذال عمرت تشوق لكل عرف (عريف) صدق[نه] و دبق

By *Ghauth s. Hani'* of the tribe of 'Amirat. And he longed for every acquaintance among his friends, and he was attached to them.

عمرت may also be 'Umārat or 'Amīrat.

تشوق is found in my *Safaitic Inscriptions*, no. 701¹; no. 243 has 'he longed for his uncle and all his fellows'; no. 680 has 'he longed for his fellows.'

كل is very likely كل.

192. لاقوم بن صرم وتشوق ال اخه ف هله سلم

By 'Aqwam s. Ṣuraym, and he longed for his brother. So, O Allah, give peace.

Names and formula are well known.

193. Dr. Littmann reads this text tentatively as follows:

لعذر فتى هنال وجع من عصم فدثا بحجر

By 'Adhar, the young servant of Hani'el. He felt pain on account of 'Āsim. And he spent the spring in Ḥijr.

فتى seems to be the well-known diminutive of فتى (the second *y* being erroneously written). 'Adhar was a slave, therefore his father is not mentioned. Ḥijr is probably Hegra in north-western Arabia. In Arabic it has usually the article الحجر: in Nabataean it is called حجر and حجر.

¹ LSI.

194. Dr. Littmann reads this tentatively as:

لأنعم بن قيمت ذال عمرت ونفر فاسلم وبه افلت سنت اخرق (اغرق) رجوت ال هدى ليمت (ليموت)

By *An'am s. Qaiyimat of the tribe of 'Āmirat. And he fled and deserted, and his son escaped, when he dispersed* (فرق=افرق) (or submerged) the hope of the Jews that he would die.

اسلم seems to stand for اسلم الرجل or اسلم العدو (see Lane, p. 1411). افرق stands sometimes for فرق: this seems better than اغرق, 'he submerged, drowned.' هدى seems to be the same as يهد, perhaps a mistake; but هودي might stand for هودي.

Nos. 195 to 197 are from south of Aratain, some distance south of H5, and were sent to me by courtesy of Mr. Purcell of Tapline.

195. لويس بن اجلح بن يسلم بن اجلح بن اسلم — عه ونظر هسمى — ثت

By *Wabas s. 'Ajlah s. Yislam s. 'Ajlah s. 'Asl — and he studied the sky . . .*

The stone is broken and part of the text lost. 'jly is a new name, but I have found it at a cairn near H4, unpublished: the others and the formula are known.

196. لظعن بن عقرب بن ت — ب و وجم عل حنن و عل تمله وعل اسد وعل صم وعل طعال وع —

By *Za'n s. 'Aqrab s. T— b and he p.s.c. Hanan and Taimallah and 'Asad and Samm and Ta'i-'ēl and —*

The only new name here is T'ly; perhaps it is connected with the Arabic طاع, 'to offer oneself, to volunteer.'

197. لأنعم بن مقيم By *'Ana'm s. Muqayam.*

The third letter of the second name looks like l, but mqlm is unknown as a name, whereas mqym could be a diminutive of mqm.

Nos. 198 to 200 are from a small cairn to the east of Hani'.

198. لثربن بن عزز By *Tharban s. 'Aziz.*

Tharban is so far only known from Thamudic: 'Aziz is common.

199. لمشهر بن اس By *Mashhur s. 'Aus.*

Mashhur is known as a name in present times, and anciently from Minaean only.

200. لالات بن مر هدر By *'Al'at s. Murr; the place.*

'Al'at is unknown as a name: the rest is well known.

ANALYSIS OF DISTRIBUTION OF NAMES

<i>Lihyanite</i>	<i>Minaean</i>	<i>Nabataean</i>	<i>Qatabanian</i>	<i>Safaitic</i>	<i>Sabaeen</i>	<i>Thamudic</i>
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40	21	43	8	146	44	81

New names	51
Known names	162
Total	213

The chart reads horizontally to show the distribution of names: e.g. seven names are known from Lihyanite, Nabataean, Safaitic, Sabaeen and Thamudic sources. Whereas four names were common to Nabataean, Safaitic and Thamudic, to which can now be added three previously common to Nabataean and Thamudic only. Vertically it shows the proportionate total of each type. Uncertain readings are not included in this chart. A × indicates that Safaitic can now be added from our present tests.

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