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A Stopover in the Steppe. The rock carvings of ʿĀn Jamal near Ḥimà (Region of Najrān, Saudi Arabia)

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Mission archéologique franco-saoudienne de Najrān
Inventaire des gravures rupestres de Ḥimā, Arabie saoudite, vol. 1

French-Saudi Archaeological Expedition to Najrān (MAFSN)
Inventory of the Ḥimā Rock Carvings, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1

UNE HALTE DANS LA STEPPE

LES GRAVURES RUPESTRES DE ‘ĀN JAMAL PRES DE ḤIMA

(REGION DE NAJRAN, ARABIE SAOUDITE MERIDIONALE)

A STOPOVER IN THE STEPPE

THE ROCK CARVINGS OF ‘ĀN JAMAL NEAR ḤIMĀ

(REGION OF NAJRĀN, SAUDI ARABIA)

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LOGOS

- Centre national de la recherche scientifique
- Saudi Heritage Commission, ministry of Culture

Pre-print / Version auteurs

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À Riyadh, le soutien et les encouragements de l'Ambassade de France ont été constants. Notre dette est particulièrement grande envers les ambassadeurs et diplomates successifs responsables du Service de coopération et d'action culturelle de l'Ambassade de France, en particulier S.E. M. Bertrand Besancenot, Ambassadeur de France dans le Royaume d'Arabie saoudite de 2007 à 2016, dont l'intérêt pour les investigations de l'expédition a notamment conduit en 2014 à une visite personnelle à Najrān et Ḥimā.

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The French-Saudi expedition to Najrān carried out its fieldwork in the framework of a five-year agreement with the Saudi Commission of Tourism and Heritage (SCTH), signed on 9 April 2007 and renewed twice, in 2013 and 2018. The expedition's investigations would not have been launched and pursued, were it not for the benevolence and trust of its former President, HRH Prince Sultān ibn Salmān ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and its former Vice-President Professor ʿAlī Ibrāhīm al-Ghabbān, to both of whom we wish to express our gratitude. We are also gratefully indebted to the former and current directors of archaeology at the SCTH and then the Saudi Heritage Commission for unceasing efficient support and material assistance: Prof. ʿAbdalazīz al-Ghazzī, Jamal S. ʿUmar, Dr. ʿAbdallah al-Saʿūd, Dr. Abdallah A. al-Zahrānī. We also wish to address our thanks to the former and current directors of the Saudi Heritage branch in Najrān province, MM. Šālīḥ Muḥammad Āl Marīḥ and Bassām Bilḥārith. In 2020, the competences of the SCTH were transferred to the authority of the Saudi Ministry of Culture, within its Heritage Commission. We would like to thank its CEO, Jasir al-Harbish, for his continued support of the activities of the French mission in Najran.

In Riyadh, the support and encouragements of the French Embassy were constant. Our debt is particularly great towards the ambassadors and successive diplomats responsible for the French Embassy's Service of Cooperation and Cultural Action, in particular HE M. Bertrand Besancenot, France's Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from 2007 to 2016, whose interest in the expedition's investigations notably led in 2014 to a personal visit to Najrān and Ḥimā.

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INTRODUCTION

Ce volume publie les gravures rupestres relevées entre 2007 et 2010 par une équipe réunissant des chercheurs saoudiens et français sur le site de ʿĀn Jamal dans la région de Ḥimà, à une centaine de kilomètres au nord-nord-est de Najrān (Arabie saoudite) (fig. 1). Au sens propre, Ḥimà est le nom d'un ensemble de puits et, depuis peu, celui du petit centre administratif qui s'est développé à proximité (N18.2441°, E44.46345°). C'est aussi le nom qui commence à être utilisé pour désigner la vaste région s'étendant au nord et à l'est des puits. Il s'agit d'un vaste massif montagneux en bordure des régions sédentaires de l'Arabie du Sud, à l'orée de l'immense désert qui s'étend jusqu'à la Mésopotamie et au Levant. Ce massif se compose principalement de deux ensembles, le Jabal al-Qāra à l'ouest et le Jabal al-Kawkab à l'est, séparés par la faille du Najd Sahī. Cette région, qui fait une surface approchant les 100 km², se signale par l'abondance et la densité exceptionnelle des vestiges archéologiques (gravures rupestres et structures funéraires) (fig. 2). Elle n'a pas sa pareille dans le monde, sinon dans d'autres régions du centre et du nord-ouest de l'Arabie saoudite¹. Sa mise en valeur et sa protection devraient faciliter une inscription rapide sur la liste du Patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco.

L'importance historique de Ḥimà, dont le nom est antique², réside dans le fait que c'est la porte de la vallée de Najrān sur le désert : en effet, de Najrān à Ḥimà, c'est la steppe plutôt que le désert, avec des vallées où l'agriculture est encore pratiquée. L'importance de Ḥimà réside aussi dans le fait que c'est le point où se séparent la piste vers le nord, qui permet de gagner l'Égypte, la Syrie et, depuis Tathlīth, le Najd, et celle vers Qaryat al-Fa'w et le Golfe. Ḥimà est donc, avec Najrān, un candidat possible pour le grand marché qui devait exister au départ des pistes caravanières se dirigeant vers l'Égypte, la Syrie, le Golfe et la Mésopotamie³.

Cette position stratégique de Ḥimà explique en partie la stupéfiante abondance des gravures rupestres dans la zone. Mais elle ne suffit pas. La distribution des gravures rupestres dans la péninsule Arabique est fonction de facteurs sociaux bien davantage que des conditions

¹ BEDNARIK 2015.

² La zone est appelée « Ḥimà de Nagrān », *Ḥm Ngrⁿ*, dans une inscription trouvée récemment près des puits, Bī'r Ḥimà Sab 1 / 3-4 (ROBIN *et al.* 2014, p. 1078-1083), avec l'ajout de Najrān pour éviter la confusion avec des homonymes. Le nom de Ḥimà apparaît également dans la description de la péninsule Arabique d'al-Hamdānī, au x^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne : « Ḥimà, un point d'eau en bordure des montagnes de Ghādhīn [aujourd'hui al-Qāra] » (*Ḥimà mā' bi-aṭrāf jibāl Ghādīn, Ṣifa*, p. 116 / 20) ; « al-Kawkab, un point d'eau en aval de Ḥimà » (*wa-l-Kawkab mā' asfal min Ḥimà, Ṣifa*, p. 116 / 22).

³ Pour une esquisse chronologique du commerce caravanier dans la région de Najrān, voir ROBIN 2014.

naturelles. Le Najd en Arabie centrale en offre une belle illustration : à l'ouest d'al-Riyāḍ, l'art rupestre est relativement riche ; en revanche, à l'est, il est complètement absent. Pourtant, à l'ouest et à l'est, les affleurements calcaires sont les mêmes et, à l'est, on trouve de grands centres de circulation comme al-Kharj (à 80 km au sud-est d'al-Riyāḍ).

LE SITE DE 'ĀN JAMAL

Située à l'interface entre le socle cristallin précambrien que constituent les reliefs du 'Asīr et le plateau central, la région de Ḥimā et du Jabal al-Kawkab est une formation sédimentaire du Paléozoïque de faciès gréseux (grès Wajid). Disséqués par l'érosion éolienne et les écoulements saisonniers, les reliefs sont pénétrés de nombreuses gorges et vallées, plus rarement traversés de passes. Ils s'achèvent vers l'ouest par des formations plus modestes et des inselbergs.

'Ān Jamal (N18,297°, E44,514°), le « promontoire Jamal », qui est l'une de ces buttes rocheuses, se projette en avant d'un massif tabulaire à 8,5 kilomètres à l'est des puits de Ḥimā⁴. « 'Ān Jamal » est la graphie que donne la carte au 1/50 000^e de l'Arabie saoudite (n°4418-24) et celle que nous retenons⁵. Sur place, cependant, il arrive que le nom soit pourvu de l'article (« 'Ān al-Jamal », le « promontoire du Chameau ») ; c'est sous cette forme que l'expédition Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens (PRL) l'a enregistré. Atteignant l'altitude de 1298 m, le promontoire domine de 70 mètres la plaine sableuse qui s'étend à son pied. Il n'est pas le point le plus élevé de la région, puisque le plateau voisin et le mont « Idhbāḥ⁶ » au nord-nord-est atteignent 1379 m et 1352 m respectivement. Néanmoins, il constitue un parfait poste d'observation pour surveiller les circulations entre Ḥimā et al-Ṣammā'.

Le site comporte une exceptionnelle concentration de gravures rupestres. Nous y avons recensé près de 190 pétroglyphes ou représentations figurées (chevaux montés, dromadaires, bovins, antilopes, ibex, oryx, autruches, chiens, scènes de chasse, personnages anthropomorphes, pieds, mains, palmiers etc.) ou symboliques, et plus de 550 textes (inscriptions formelles et graffites) rédigés dans trois écritures (sudarabique, thamūdéenne et arabe). Qui plus est, cette concentration est bien circonscrite : elle s'étend sur le pourtour du massif et sur les rochers environnants, sur une longueur d'environ 200 m ; les parois dans le prolongement de celles de

⁴ Ḥimā se trouve à une distance de 85 km à vol d'oiseau à l'est-nord-est de Najrān.

⁵ Par souci de simplification et de cohérence, il est apparu préférable d'adopter systématiquement la graphie des toponymes donnée par les cartes au 1/50 000^e.

⁶ « Idhbāḥ » (la graphie donnée par la carte 4418-24) est probablement une forme dialectale de Dhūbāḥ (que l'on trouve ailleurs effectivement).

‘Ān Jamal sont en revanche dépourvues de toute gravure. Cette distribution remarquable a facilité la protection du site qui, depuis une dizaine d’années, est entouré par une clôture métallique installée par la [Commission saoudienne du tourisme et du patrimoine national](#) (fig. 3-5). La signification de cette concentration sera analysée un peu plus loin.

LES PREMIERES INVESTIGATIONS

1. *Harry St John Philby*

L’intérêt du site a été reconnu dès 1936 par l’Anglais Harry St John Philby⁷, alors conseiller du roi d’Arabie saoudite. C’était peu après le traité qui rattachait temporairement Najrān au royaume d’Arabie saoudite. Il s’agissait alors de reconnaître la nouvelle frontière et de la border. Philby en avait profité pour explorer le sud de la Péninsule entre Najrān et Shabwa. C’est au cours de ce périple qu’il fit les premières copies d’inscriptions aux puits de Ḥimā⁸. Il ne mentionne pas le nom de ‘Ān Jamal, mais seulement celui de Najd Sahī, un large corridor orienté sud-nord qui sépare les deux grands massifs montagneux de la région, al-Qāra et al-Kawkab, à une dizaine de kilomètres plus à l’est (fig. 2). Il est assuré cependant que Philby est passé par ‘Ān Jamal le 22 juin 1936 parce que c’est là que se trouvent certaines des inscriptions qu’il a copiées. Ces inscriptions ont été publiées en 1956 par Albert Van Den Branden⁹ (voir fig. 42-43).

2. *L’expédition Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens (PRL)*

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, Philby persuada le roi ‘Abd al-‘Azīz qu’il était important de reprendre l’exploration archéologique du sud-ouest du royaume ; il obtint le financement nécessaire pour monter une expédition avec deux spécialistes des langues anciennes (Gonzague Ryckmans et son neveu Jacques Ryckmans) et un ancien militaire en charge de l’organisation (Philippe Lippens), tous trois belges. L’expédition Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens (PRL) partit de Jidda le 8 novembre 1951, arriva à Najrān le 18 décembre, et se termina à al-Riyāḍ le 11 février 1952. Si elle s’intéressa avant tout aux textes rupestres, elle ne négligea pas les pétroglyphes

⁷ Le français Joseph Halévy, le premier voyageur qui se soit rendu à Najrān à l’époque contemporaine, en 1870, venait du Yémen et est reparti vers le Yémen : il n’est pas passé par Ḥimā.

⁸ Voir les récits de ce périple par H.St J.B. PHILBY (1939 pour le Yémen ; 1952 pour la région de Najrān, voir p. 213 et sq.).

⁹ VAN DEN BRANDEN 1956.

ou représentations figurées. Un récit vivant de cette exploration archéologique a été publié par Philippe Lippens¹⁰.

Pour l'enregistrement des textes rupestres, inscriptions formelles et graffites, l'expédition PRL recourut avant tout à la copie manuelle (par un seul ou parfois par plusieurs de ses membres), réservant la photographie, si compliquée à l'époque dans les pays chauds, aux textes les plus importants. Le volume reproduisant les copies effectuées sur le terrain devait comporter 261 planches. Il a été achevé et mis en page ; il a même reçu le n° 50 dans la collection « Bibliothèque du Muséon ». Mais il n'a jamais été imprimé ; nous le nommons ci-après PRL, *Atlas*. Seul un article préliminaire a été publié par Gonzague Ryckmans¹¹. Pour les pétroglyphes, une publication analytique a été menée à bien par Emmanuel Anati (quatre volumes publiés entre 1968 et 1974 sous le titre *Rock Art in Central Arabia*, Vol. 1-4)¹². Un autre volume a été consacré aux inscriptions arabes par Adolf Grohmann¹³. Dans ces volumes imprimés, il arrive que l'illustration reproduise incidemment des textes rupestres inédits (en écriture sudarabique ou thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite).

Les écritures utilisées dans les textes rupestres de Ḥimā sont diverses. Ce sont dans l'ordre d'importance décroissant : les écritures de type sudarabique ; l'arabe ; l'araméen nabatéen ; le grec ; et l'hébreu.

L'un des principaux résultats de l'expédition PRL a été en effet de mettre en évidence que, dans l'ensemble des textes rédigés dans des écritures de type sudarabique, deux types devaient être distingués : d'une part les textes sudarabiques, qui suivent les mêmes règles orthographiques et les mêmes normes d'écriture que les inscriptions du Yémen ; d'autre part les textes moins soignés, rédigés dans une écriture apparentée aussi bien au sudarabique qu'aux écritures thamūdéennes de l'Arabie désertique¹⁴. La conviction qu'il existait un « thamūdéen » dans le sud de la Péninsule, différent du « sudarabique », est affirmée par Jacques Ryckmans dans un article intitulé « Aspects nouveaux du problème thamoudéen¹⁵ ». Mais, la distinction de ces deux types de textes (sudarabiques et « thamūdéens ») remontait sans doute à la période de

¹⁰ LIPPENS 1956.

¹¹ G. RYCKMANS 1957.

¹² ANATI 1968a ; 1968b ; 1972 ; 1974.

¹³ GROHMANN 1962.

¹⁴ Par Arabie désertique, nous entendons les vastes déserts de la péninsule Arabique, qui doivent être distingués de l'*Arabie déserte*, l'*Arabia Deserta* des Anciens. En effet, Strabon, Pline et Ptolémée nomment *Arabia Felix* la péninsule Arabique en entier et *Arabia Deserta* les déserts entre le Nil et la Haute Mésopotamie, en passant par le Sinaï et le désert de Syrie. Quand *Arabia Deserta* désigne l'Arabie centrale, comme dans Charles Montagu Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 1888, c'est de façon inappropriée.

¹⁵ J. RYCKMANS 1956.

l'expédition. Elle a en effet une traduction concrète dans les relevés. Dans le sigle donné aux textes sudarabiques et « thamūdéens », une lettre indique la zone où le texte a été copié. Une carte publiée par Emmanuel Anati (vol. III)¹⁶ reproduite dans ce volume (fig. 6) situe ces zones.

Ce sont :

A : est de Makka ;

B : nord-ouest de Bīsha ;

C : [non localisé sur la carte] ;

D : Khaybar (au nord-est d'Abhā) ;

E : Abhā ;

F : [non localisé sur la carte] ;

G : [non localisé sur la carte] ;

H : Murayghān ;

I : *vacat* ;

J : est de Murayghān ;

K : au sud-est de J, vers Yadama (sur la carte Aiduma, dont la localisation est erronée) ;

L : *vacat* ;

M et N : entre K et Yadama ;

O : *vacat* ;

P : environs de Najrān ;

Q : Najrān ;

R : Ḥimā (al-Qāra et al-Kawkab) ;

S : au nord-est de Ḥimā, vers Qaryat al-Fa'w ;

T : ouest de Qaryat al-Fa'w ;

U : environs de Qaryat al-Fa'w ;

V : Qaryat al-Fa'w ;

W : entre Qaryat al-Fa'w et Ma'sal ;

X : Ma'sal.

Les lettres Y et Z sont réservées aux inscriptions dans d'autres écritures, quelle que soit la provenance :

Y : grec, hébreu, nabatéen, écritures non identifiées etc. ;

Z : arabe islamique.

¹⁶ ANATI 1972, carte 2, p. 17.

Dans Anati vol. II¹⁷, une carte de détail précise la distribution dans la région de Ḥimà (reproduite dans ce volume, fig. 7).

Pour les zones A-X, la lettre majuscule signale que le texte est en écriture sudarabique et la lettre minuscule en écriture « thamūdéenne ». Pour une illustration, on pourra se reporter à PRL, *Atlas*, Pl. 141 (ici fig. 44-45) où les inscriptions sudarabiques ont reçu les sigles R459-465 et les « thamūdéennes » r533-566.

Les planches de PRL, *Atlas*, permettent de faire un inventaire des textes sudarabiques et thamūdéens copiés lors de l'expédition et de voir comment ces textes se distribuent respectivement :

<i>Zone</i>	<i>Planches</i>	<i>Textes sudarabiques n°</i>	<i>Textes thamūdéens n°</i>
A	Pl. 1		a1-14
B	Pl. 10		b1-201
C	Pl. 10		c1-21
D	Pl. 10-15		d1-121
E	Pl. 16-26		e1-236
F	Pl. 26-27	F1-3	f1-73
G	Pl. 27-29	G1	g1-39
H	Pl. 29-45	H1-H78	h1-h874
J	Pl. 45-75	J1-J31	j1-j1736
K	Pl. 75-83	K1-K10	k1-k559
M	Pl. 83-96	M1-M46	m1-m837
N	Pl. 97-99	N1-N32	n1-n88
P	Pl. 99-119	P1-P346	p1-p278
Q	Pl. 119-123	Q1-Q61	q1-q18
R (Ḥimà)	Pl. 123-241	R1-R2998	r1-r5305
S	Pl. 241-245	S1-S63	s1-s135
T	Pl. 245-249	T1-T23	t1-t339
U	Pl. 249-253	U1-U132	u1-u202
V	Pl. 254-255	V1-V53	v1

¹⁷ ANATI 1968b ; p. 3.

W	Pl. 255-256	W1	w1-8
X	Pl. 256-258	X1-17	x1-82

Cet inventaire appelle deux observations. La première est que l'on ne trouve de textes sudarabiques qu'au sud de Bīsha : c'est seulement dans le triangle Bīsha-Najrān-Qaryat al-Fa'w que textes sudarabiques et « thamūdéens » sont fréquemment mêlés¹⁸. Par ailleurs, dans ce triangle, les textes thamūdéens sont plus nombreux que les textes sudarabiques, sauf dans les oasis de Najrān et de Qarya ; dans la région de Ḥimā, ils représentent près de 64 % du total (5300 sur 8300). Il est vrai que les critères de classement de l'expédition PRL ne sont pas exactement les mêmes que les nôtres. Les savants de PRL ont classé comme « thamūdéens » tous les textes peu soignés, même s'ils ne comportent aucune lettre typiquement « thamūdéenne » (voir par exemple r5305, PRL, *Atlas*, Pl. 241, *'bdl*). Pour notre part, seuls les textes comportant au moins une lettre caractéristique sont classés comme « thamūdéens ». Mais cette différence d'appréciation est sans conséquence parce qu'elle ne concerne que très peu de textes.

Selon le récit inédit de Jacques Ryckmans, l'expédition fit sa première visite à 'Ān Jamal le 8 janvier 1952 et y acheva ses relevés pendant la matinée du 9¹⁹ :

[8 janvier 1952]

080152. Départ [des puits de Ḥimā] vers 9 h. La jeep me précède pour copie des inscriptions dans le défilé et en route. Je dois d'abord vérifier les divergences de lecture de ma copie et de celle d'oncle Gon[zague] pour la grande inscription [Ry 507]. En remontant sur la plate-forme étroite, je remarque sur la paroi de droite les restes d'un monogramme et d'un ou deux noms abîmés. Le monogramme faisait pendant à celui de la gauche de l'inscription, complétant le nom de son auteur. Dans le défilé de grès dans lequel se trouve le *hashm* de l'inscription, il y a, à 60 m. au NE [nord-est] de l'inscription, une colline de granit. Puis je relève un rocher plein d'inscriptions, déjà vu à l'entrée du défilé (il s'agit sans doute des inscriptions de Ḥimā relevées par Philby en dehors de la grande[]). Je suis ensuite la route de la jeep, avec arrêt à tous les *khashm* de la plaine. Km. 13, 14 h.30, rocher couvert d'inscriptions (il s'agit en réalité du 'Ān al-Jamal) que je photographie : j'étais chargé du relevé de toutes les inscriptions jusqu'à ce point inclusivement. Je trouve les autres à 500 m. de là dans un cirque appelé aussi 'Ān al-Jamal, bourré d'inscriptions. Après la collation, je fais toute la colline W [ouest], je crois, du cirque, qui porte le nom de Farda. En face : la colline Farā'id ; au sud, la colline 'Ān al-Jamal.

[9 janvier 1952]

¹⁸ Le cas de la zone X est un peu particulier puisque les inscriptions sudarabiques n'ont été gravées que par des armées ḥimyarites en campagne.

¹⁹ Le texte est reproduit aussi fidèlement que possible, avec ses imperfections formelles.

090152. Travaillé le matin avec oncle Gon[zague] au rocher ‘Ān al-Jamal, à l’entrée du cirque, si abondamment photographié. Il y a là une grande paroi couverte de dessins de différentes époques, et d’inscriptions. Au pied de cette paroi, énorme bloc de rocher renversé ; à la partie inférieure, il y a des textes ḥimyarites. J’ai trouvé à la partie supérieure des dessins de bouquetins *renversés* {JML-H-11, JML-H-13 – voir [fig. 410-412](#)}. J’ai ainsi pu me rendre compte que les bouquetins étaient dessinés sur la grande paroi, dont plus tard le bloc s’est détaché ; et sur ce dernier on a enfin écrit des graffites ḥimyarites. Malheureusement, les bouquetins r[e]nversés n’étaient accompagnés d’aucune inscription. Il eut été intéressant de trouver là par exemple une ou deux inscriptions thamūdéennes. Sur un bloc voisin, une partie bien conservée porte des graffites thamūdéens, avec, en plus grand et les oblitérant, quelques graffites ḥimyarites. La partie inférieure de ce bloc, très érodée, ne comporte que des inscriptions ḥimyarites. Je conclus <de> des deux indices que les inscriptions thamūdéennes ont précédé ici en tout cas les inscriptions ḥimyarites : dans le premier cas les inscriptions ḥimyarites empiètent sur les inscriptions thamūdéennes ; dans le second cas la paroi, soumise à une érosion très rapide, a perdu ses inscriptions thamūdéennes, permettant une réutilisation à l’époque ḥimyarite.

Le massif dont le cirque forme l’entrée est le Qāra, que nous avons déjà vu du Kawkab (que désormais nous appelons Kawkab A ou Kawkab Qaḥṭān). Après avoir fini au ‘Ān al-Jamal, nous retraversons le cirque pour continuer à l’intérieur du Qāra, où Philby et Philippe nous ont précédés en jeep. On les trouve vers 2h., à 8 km. de là, en train de copier dans le défilé *Najd Harīr*, formé des collines Sammā à dr[oitte] (E [est]) et Sa‘ad [à] gauche, W [ouest]. Nous avons parcouru pour les rejoindre un espace assez vaste bordé de baies et de *nasla* : elles n’atteignent pas 30 m. de haut. Après le déjeuner dans le Najd, je vais travailler dans une petite colline juste à l’entrée du défilé, et déjà à moitié relevée par Philby. Puis je fais toute la face sud-est des Samma, le long de la plaine que nous avons traversée. J’emploie l’auto pour ce parcours, et au bout de 2 à 3 km., nouveau défilé s’ouvrant sur une plaine beaucoup plus large. Retour au camp.

(Voir [fig. 60-61](#), la photographie du texte original des p. 38 et 39).

La mission PRL n’a donc consacré qu’une seule journée à ‘Ān Jamal. On peut souligner l’ampleur et la qualité du travail de Jacques Ryckmans. Il est en effet aisé, sur les planches de fac-similés [*Catalogue (Atlas)*], de reconnaître la main de ce dernier, et de la distinguer des mains des autres membres de l’expédition. Par exemple, sur la pl. 148 du *Catalogue (Atlas)*, (reproduite ici [fig. 58](#)), on reconnaît aisément trois mains ; ce sont assurément celle de Jacques Ryckmans (par exemple en haut à droite, R626-R640), probablement celle de Gonzague Ryckmans (par exemple en bas à droite, R651-656) et assurément celle de Philby (au centre, avec ensemble de textes comportant le sigle r745, copies de 1936). Plusieurs autres planches du *Catalogue (Atlas)* juxtaposent de même les copies de Jacques Ryckmans et celles de Philby en 1936 : elles illustrent et confirment la très mauvaise qualité des copies de Philby qu’il vaut mieux oublier désormais. On se reportera par exemple à la pl. 142 (reproduite ici [fig. 46](#)) qui reproduit en haut (à droite et à gauche) deux ensembles de copies de Jacques Ryckmans et à

droite (au milieu et en bas), les mêmes textes copiés par Philby ; il en va de même au centre et dans l'angle inférieur gauche.

Dans PRL, *Atlas*, les textes relevés dans la zone de 'Ān Jamal occupent les planches 141 à 148 (reproduites ici fig. 44-59). Leur nombre total est de l'ordre de 375²⁰. Dans le récit de la Mission PRL publié par Philippe Lippens (1956), le passage de la Mission à « An al Jamal » est évoqué aux p. 146 et 147 ; la photographie n° 24 (entre les p. 162 et 163) a été prise dans le défilé à 1 ou 2 km à l'est.

3. *Le Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program (1980)*

Une vaste prospection archéologique du royaume d'Arabie saoudite, le *Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program*, fut entreprise entre 1976 et 1981. Le sud-ouest du royaume fut exploré par une équipe américano-saoudienne conduite par Juris Zarins, 'Abd al-Jawād Murād et Khālid al-Ya'īsh au cours de l'hiver et du printemps 1980²¹. Le site de 'Ān Jamal y a été répertorié sous le sigle 207-23²². Le site en lui-même n'est pas précisément décrit. Les représentations rupestres figurées de la région sont traitées selon des ensembles chronologiques définis par E. Anati (1970) aujourd'hui obsolètes ; les inscriptions et graffites sont à peine mentionnés.

Dans le prolongement de cette première entreprise de cartographie archéologique, une mission saoudienne a prospecté les sites rupestres du royaume à partir de 1984 (*Comprehensive Rock Art and Epigraphic Survey*). En 1990, ses travaux ont porté sur les régions du Wādī al-Dawāsir et de Najrān²³. Le site de 'Ān Jamal est répertorié avec un nouveau sigle (217-100)²⁴. La mission y recense 27 représentations anthropomorphiques, 5 bovins, 17 dromadaires et 38 représentations d'autres animaux ; elle fait mention de 63 graffites en écriture sudarabique. Ces chiffres s'avèrent très en deçà de la réalité ; ils peuvent être doublés voire quadruplés dans le cas des inscriptions sudarabiques (tableau 1). Seul le grand panneau est illustré²⁵.

²⁰ Un tel décompte est nécessairement approximatif puisque les limites de la zone sont imprécises.

²¹ ZARINS *et al.* 1981.

²² ZARINS *et al.* 1981, p. 35, 37, pl. 34D, 34F-G, 37B, 39B.

²³ KABAWI *et al.* 1996.

²⁴ KABAWI *et al.* 1996, p. 58-60.

²⁵ KABAWI *et al.* 1996, pl. 30b, avec le commentaire « A Nabataean inscription from Hammi, Jebel Kawkab ».

4. L'équipe japonaise

En janvier 2001, une équipe japonaise a fait une brève visite à Najrān, puis y a conduit deux campagnes de repérage en janvier-mars 2002 et janvier-février 2003²⁶. Le projet de prospection de grande ampleur à Ḥimā et dans d'autres régions n'a pas abouti.

À Ḥimā, l'équipe japonaise a relevé 90 inscriptions arabes et 6000 inscriptions préislamiques²⁷. Seule une infime partie des textes recensés au cours de ces visites préparatoires, ceux de la moitié orientale du cirque d'al-Khushayba (dans le massif al-Kawkab), a été publiée²⁸. L'équipe japonaise est toutefois bien passée par 'Ān Jamal où 7 textes arabes ont été enregistrés²⁹.

5. Majeed Khan

Le savant pakistanais, auteur des ouvrages de référence sur l'art rupestre de l'Arabie saoudite (KHAN 1993 ; 2000 ; 2007 ; 2011 ; KHAN *et al.* 2012), a effectué de multiples visites dans la région de Ḥimā au cours des dernières décennies et pris d'innombrables photographies. Ces dernières sont tout particulièrement nombreuses dans le volume consacré au cheval (KHAN *et al.* 2012). Les illustrations de Majeed Khan se concentrent avant tout sur les pétroglyphes et l'art rupestre, mais elles reproduisent aussi un grand nombre de textes antiques associés ou gravés à proximité. Elles constituent donc un complément documentaire très précieux pour les épigraphistes.

En dehors de ces investigations scientifiques, la zone de Ḥimā a été visitée par de nombreuses équipes de spécialistes dont la mission était de présenter au public cultivé, saoudien et étranger,

²⁶ KAWATOKO 2005, p. 50. L'équipe japonaise se composait de Kawatoko (Mutsuo), Tokunaga (Risa) et Iizuka (Masato). La composition de l'équipe japonaise et la chronologie de ses travaux dans la région de Najrān ne sont indiquées que de façon allusive : voir KAWATOKO 2005, p. 45 et KAWATOKO *et al.* 2005, p. iv-v. KAWATOKO 2005 est rédigé à la suite de la « deuxième année de préparation » du projet « Japanese Technical Cooperation for Archaeological Survey and Excavation Planning » (KAWATOKO 2005, p. 45). L'équipe fait six séjours en Arabie : janvier 2001, janvier-mars 2002, septembre 2002, janvier-février 2003, septembre 2003 et février 2004. Mme Risa Tokunaga que nous avons interrogée en novembre 2017, apporte les précisions suivantes : lors de la première mission en Arabie saoudite en janvier 2001, elle a visité avec M. Kawatoko des sites archéologiques dans de nombreuses régions, notamment Ḥimā. Du 8 février au 1^{er} mars 2002, l'équipe japonaise a inventorié divers sites de gravures rupestres dans la zone de Ḥimā, notamment al-Khushayba. En 2003, elle a poursuivi la prospection de Ḥimā, mais sans la participation de Mme Risa Tokunaga.

²⁷ KAWATOKO 2005, p. 50.

²⁸ KAWATOKO *et al.* 2005. Pour plus de détails, voir ci-dessous, sous le titre « 2. Les textes thamūdéens "ḥimā'ites" (ou "thamūdéen F") ».

²⁹ KAWATOKO 2005, p. 58-59 : « Table 4. Points of Inscriptions in the Bi'r Hima/Yadama Area ». « 'An al-Jamal » est le point n° 121.

les richesses archéologiques de l'Arabie. Le plus souvent, dans les volumes richement illustrés qui ont été publiés, la zone de Ḥimā n'est représentée que par quelques clichés, presque toujours pris aux mêmes endroits. Il n'a pas semblé utile d'en dresser la liste. Une attention spéciale doit cependant être accordée aux treize volumes publiés en 2003, qui esquissent un remarquable panorama des vestiges archéologiques de l'Arabie saoudite, sous le titre *Silsilat āthār al-Mamlaka al-'arabiyya al-sa'ūdiyya*. Dans le volume 11 consacré à l'émirat de Najrān, la zone de Ḥimā est richement illustrée p. 76-104.

Enfin, il a pu arriver que des visiteurs prennent des photographies de vestiges dans la région de Ḥimā et les mettent à la disposition d'un spécialiste. C'est ainsi que le Belgo-états-unien Albert Jamme a publié la grande inscription ḥimyarite des puits de Ḥimā (Ja 1028 et les textes satellites), plus quelques panneaux de graffites de la région³⁰.

6. Les publications traitant de 'Ān Jamal

À la suite de ces premières investigations, les publications traitant de 'Ān Jamal se limitent à peu de chose. Ce sont tout d'abord les quelque 90 graffites maladroitement copiés par Philby, qu'Albert van den Branden a édités sans la moindre rigueur³¹. Adolf Grohmann a publié huit inscriptions arabes islamiques (GROHMANN 1962) illustrées par des planches peu lisibles :

Z 228, p. 136-137 et pl. XVI, 6 = JML-F-120

Z 229, p. 137-138 et pl. XVIII, 2 = JML-G-92

Z 292, p. 166 et pl. XXII, 3 = JML-F-14

Z 293, p. 166 et pl. XXII, 3 = JML-F-23

Z 294, p. 167 et pl. XXII, 3 = JML-F-25

Z 295, p. 167 = JML-F-27

Z 296, p. 167 et pl. XXII, 3 et 4 = JML-F-53

Z 297, p. 167-168 et pl. XXII, 3 et 4 = JML-F-52

Emmanuel Anati a étudié quelques pétroglyphes du très grand panneau de 'Ān Jamal, si difficile à déchiffrer en raison des multiples superpositions :

— volume 1 ANATI 1968a, « 5. Sector R.I., Rock on photograph 40.L.12 (pl. V, a-b, fig. 9).

Photograph by Ph. Lippens on January 8th, 1952, at 'Ān al-Jamal about 9 km, north-east of Ḥimā », p. 22-25 ;

³⁰ JAMME 1965 ; 1966.

³¹ Malgré la médiocrité des copies, A. van den Branden a tenté un déchiffrement systématique (accompagné de traductions et commentaires) dont les relevés de la MAFSN confirment l'absurdité.

— volume 2, ANATI 1968b, « 3. *Sector R.1., Rock on photograph 40.L.11* (pl. II, fig. 3) », p. 10-11 et n. 18. Le nom de ‘Ān Jamal (ou celui de « Dhabaḥ ») est mentionné n. 18, p. 10.

Il convient, enfin, de signaler les récentes tentatives de datation directe des gravures dans la région du Jabal al-Qāra, dont « Ain Jamal », par R. Bednarik et M. Khan³², mais aussi par l’équipe de I. Liritzis³³, sans toutefois la réalisation d’une étude détaillée des rupestres du secteur³⁴. Plus récemment, des expériences ciblées sur un petit nombre de graffites datés ou bien identifiés ont été tentées sur le terrain à des fins de datation par une équipe de l’Institut Max Planck.³⁵

Dans les publications de la Mission ou de ses membres, le site de ‘Ān Jamal a évidemment fourni des illustrations. Un article de Hédi Dridi³⁶ est illustré par huit clichés de gravures de ‘Ān Jamal :

fig. 4, p. 434 (autruche) : JML-B-3

fig. 5, p. 434 (cavalier à la chasse / au combat) : JML-D-17 (cheval de droite)

fig. 6, p. 435 « femme ouverte » : JML-H-34

fig. 8, p. 438 (orante aux doigts en éventail et couronnée) : JML-B-2

fig. 10, p. 438 (orante aux doigts en éventail avec scène sexuelle) : JML-B-6

fig. 11, p. 438 (orante « en creux » ‘Ammīkahal) : JML-D-67

fig. 12, p. 439 (orante « géométrique ») : JML-D-28

fig. 13, p. 443 (oryx à l’envers) : JML-H-13

Quant à ARBACH *et al.*, « Results of four seasons of survey in the province of Najrān (Saudi Arabia) — 2007-2010 » (2015), ce sont 18 illustrations qui proviennent de ‘Ān Jamal³⁷ :

fig. 17, c, p. 27 : JML-B-1

fig. 18, 1, p. 28 : JML-E-13

fig. 18, 2, p. 28 : JML-B-3

fig. 18, 3, p. 28 : JML-G-109-110

fig. 18, 4, p. 28 : JML-B-5

fig. 18, 5, p. 28 : JML-B-4

³² BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005, p. 59–60, 65–67.

³³ LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013, p. 106.

³⁴ On pourrait ajouter à cette liste les simples photographies publiées dans les divers comptes rendus de visites exploratoires et autres inventaires du patrimoine de l’Arabie saoudite : KHAN 2007, p. 38, fig. 17 ; *Silsilat āthār al-Mamlaka*, vol. 11, p. 103. Nous ne l’avons pas fait parce qu’il s’agit de données ponctuelles auxquelles il est renvoyé dans le traitement des pétroglyphes.

³⁵ MACHOLDT *et al.* 2019.

³⁶ DRIDI 2012.

³⁷ Pour ‘Ān Jamal, voir ARBACH *et al.* 2015, p. 20.

- fig. 18, 6, p. 28 : JML-G-122
 fig. 18, 7, p. 28 : JML-C-11 (chien en haut à droite)
 fig. 18, 8, p. 28 : JML-G-14
 fig. 18, 9, p. 28 : JML-B-15
 fig. 19, p. 29 : JML-B-11
 fig. 20, 1, p. 33 : JML-D-2
 fig. 20, 2, p. 33 : JML-G-117 et 142
 fig. 20, 3, p. 33 : JML-C-4 (cavalier de gauche)
 fig. 20, 4, p. 33 : JML-B-6
 fig. 20, 5, p. 33 : JML-D-67
 fig. 20, 6, p. 33 : JML-F-67
 fig. 20, 7, p. 33 : JML-H-85

LA MISSION FRANCO-SAUDIENNE

La Mission archéologique franco-saoudienne de Najrān (MAFSN) a été créée en 2006 par les professeurs Saʿīd F. al-Saʿīd et Christian J. Robin, à la suite de premiers contacts noués à al-Riyāḍ en 2004. Depuis 2007, elle a entrepris un inventaire systématique des graffites et des gravures de la zone de Ḥimā. Trois secteurs ont déjà fait l'objet d'un relevé exhaustif, ceux de ʿĀn Jamal (publié ici), al-Ṣammāʿ et ʿĀn Halkān (qui inclut al-Khushayba, au sud d'al-Kawkab, à une trentaine de kilomètres au nord-est de Ḥimā) (fig. 2).

Le site de ʿĀn Jamal a été inventorié entre 2007 et 2010. L'équipe française se composait initialement de Mounir Arbach, Hédi Dridi et Christian Robin ; puis, après le départ de Hédi Dridi, mobilisé par d'autres projets, elle a accueilli Guillaume Charloux et Jérémie Schiettecatte. La partie saoudienne comptait les professeurs Saʿīd al-Saʿīd, Sulaymān al-Dhuyayb et Sālim Ṭayrān, de l'Université du roi Saʿūd d'al-Riyāḍ. M. Sālim al-Qaḥṭānī, qui a consacré un mémoire universitaire aux graffites thamūdéens du wādī Tathlīth (AL-QAḤṬANI 2007), a participé à la première campagne. M. Sāliḥ Āl Marīḥ, responsable des Antiquités de la province de Najrān, s'est souvent associé aux sorties de terrain.

Le site de ʿĀn Jamal a semblé approprié pour tester les méthodes à mettre en œuvre pour le relevé des gravures rupestres, aussi bien les textes que les pétroglyphes. Il présente en effet une remarquable concentration de gravures assez variées, sur une aire bien circonscrite, à proximité des puits de Ḥimā. Mais l'entreprise s'est révélée plus complexe qu'il n'y paraissait.

Un relevé systématique a été entrepris sur le terrain, en partant du sommet et en parcourant les huit secteurs qui avaient été délimités (fig. 62). Parallèlement, de nombreuses photographies ont été prises à des heures variées avec les différents éclairages : on cherchait à obtenir ainsi des clichés pris à l'ombre pour mieux reconnaître les différences de patine et des clichés en lumière rasante qui font davantage ressortir l'entaille des gravures. L'examen des photographies a révélé que le relevé systématique réclamait de nombreuses corrections, tout particulièrement quand il avait été fait aux heures les plus chaudes, avec un éclairage aveuglant : des textes peu visibles avaient été manqués et des déchiffrements pouvaient être améliorés. Par ailleurs, la présentation des séquences de noms propres (sur une seule ligne ou sur plusieurs) a souvent été révisée puisqu'il est fréquemment difficile d'établir s'il s'agit d'un seul texte ou de plusieurs. Le parti adopté en définitive a été de ne retenir comme unité textuelle que les mots assurément gravés d'une part par la même main et d'autre part sur une même ligne (sauf évidence contraire).

À ce stade, le nombre de textes et de pétroglyphes que nous avons été en mesure d'individualiser est reporté dans le tableau suivant.

Textes (566)	Inscriptions (sudarabiques)	339
	Inscriptions (thamūdéennes)	193
	Inscriptions (arabes)	31
	Monogrammes (sudarabiques)	3
Pétroglyphes (187)	Autruches	4
	Ibex, oryx, antilopes	15
	Bovins	6
	Chevaux montés	55
	Dromadaires	40
	Palmiers	2
	Couples	4
	Femmes seules	10
	Hommes seuls	19
	Scènes de chasse	9

	Autres (serpent, chien, félin, pieds, plateau de jeu, animaux indéterminés)	23
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Tableau 1 : distribution des graffites et pétroglyphes sur le site de ‘Ān Jamal.

Dans un premier temps, l’attention s’est portée principalement sur les textes parce que la MAFSN comptait les meilleurs spécialistes du domaine. Elle ne s’est portée sur les pétroglyphes qu’à partir de 2014, avec l’arrivée dans la mission d’un étudiant préparant une thèse sur le sujet, M. Charly Poliakoff. Dans cette première publication, les options retenues sont les suivantes.

Le site de ‘Ān Jamal a été divisé en zones qui sont désignées par une lettre. Dans chacune de ces zones, tous les pétroglyphes ont été inventoriés. Pour réaliser cet inventaire, il a fallu identifier des unités, qui ont reçu un numéro en propre. Une unité est constituée en principe par une gravure significative qui a été réalisée par un même graveur en une seule fois. Quand il y a incertitude, ce sont les unités minimales qui sont retenues. Par exemple, si le lien entre un texte et un dessin est probable sans être sûr, le texte et le dessin seront traités comme deux unités différentes. Les gravures érodées et illisibles ou celles qui sont inachevées ou encore celles qui sont trop maladroitement pour transmettre une information ne sont pas considérées comme des unités et ne sont pas numérotées ; mais elles sont signalées incidemment dans le traitement de la gravure la plus proche.

— Pour les textes et les pétroglyphes

Nous donnons une appellation et les coordonnées du panneau³⁸ ainsi qu’une ou plusieurs illustrations photographiques, éventuellement un fac-similé et si possible les dimensions.

— Pour les textes

Le titre indique le type d’écriture. Nous ajoutons la transcription. Quand le texte ne compte que des noms propres — c’est le cas pour la presque totalité des textes préislamiques —, il n’a pas semblé utile de le traduire. Beaucoup de noms propres préislamiques peuvent être vocalisés de manière assurée ou vraisemblable parce qu’ils étaient encore connus à l’époque islamique : le correspondant islamique est mentionné dans l’index.

À ce stade, aucun commentaire n’est ajouté. Ce faisant, nous suivons l’exemple de l’équipe japonaise qui nous paraît judicieux. La référence aux attestations antérieures et à la

³⁸ Chaque gravure a été localisée par un point GPS pris à l’aide d’un GPS manuel Garmin. Bien que la précision soit relative (à environ 4 m près), cette méthode a permis de situer approximativement les textes et pétroglyphes entre eux et de les retrouver si besoin. La méthode a été améliorée l’année suivante à ‘Ān Halkân, où nous avons cette fois utilisé une station totale Leica.

bibliographie de chaque mot et de chaque pétroglyphe serait répétitive et peu utile, et prendrait beaucoup de place. Or, ce qui importe présentement, c'est d'avoir une vision générale du formulaire, de l'onomastique, du répertoire iconographique et des associations entre pétroglyphes et textes, catégorie par catégorie. C'est seulement dans un second temps, après la publication d'un nombre significatif de sites, que les comparaisons avec les onomastiques sudarabique, thamūdéenne et arabe islamique et avec les autres iconographies deviendront significatives.

— Pour les pétroglyphes

Le titre indique la catégorie générale dans laquelle la figure se range. Les caractères qui paraissent les plus significatifs sont relevés.

Parallèlement à l'inventaire systématique du site de 'Ān Jamal, la Mission a entrepris l'exploration de l'ensemble des deux massifs d'al-Qāra et d'al-Kawkab, afin de dresser la carte archéologique de la région. Par ailleurs, elle a procédé à un relevé systématique de la zone méridionale du jabal al-Kawkab, entre al-Gharaziyyāt et 'Ān Halkān. Les matériaux réunis ont déjà permis la publication d'études ponctuelles. Un premier essai de déchiffrement du thamūdéen de Ḥimā, que nous proposons d'appeler « ḥimā'ite » ou « thamūdéen F », a été entrepris par Christian J. Robin et Maria Gorea³⁹. Le cheval et la faune de Ḥimā ont fait l'objet de premiers inventaires⁴⁰. Les maigres données sur la langue des graffites ḥimā'ites ont été inventoriées par Christian Robin et Alessia Prioletta⁴¹. Le petit sanctuaire dédié au dieu najrānite dhu-Samāwī dans la zone de 'Ān Halkān a été publié⁴². C'est enfin une publication ciblée sur les découvertes épigraphiques les plus significatives de la Mission⁴³ et la republication des grands textes historiques de Ḥimā⁴⁴.

LES TECHNIQUES ET MODES DE REPRESENTATION DES GRAVURES

Plusieurs techniques de gravure permettant différents modes de représentation ont été observées. Toutes ont un même objectif : ôter la couche superficielle de grès assombrie par la patine ou le vernis désertique afin d'exposer la roche au-dessous, plus claire. Le jeu de contraste fait ainsi ressortir l'inscription ou le pétroglyphe.

³⁹ ROBIN & GOREA 2016.

⁴⁰ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017 ; ROBIN 2018a.

⁴¹ ROBIN & GOREA 2016 ; PRIOLETTA & ROBIN 2018.

⁴² ARBACH *et al.* 2012.

⁴³ ROBIN *et al.* 2014. Voir aussi la note d'AL-DHUYAYB 2013.

⁴⁴ ROBIN 2008.

Les techniques observées et modes de représentation correspondants sont les suivants :

- Le frottement ou l'incision du grès au moyen d'un objet dur et affûté (pierre, métal, etc.) qui permet d'obtenir un tracé linéaire dessinant le pourtour d'un personnage, d'un animal ou le tracé d'une lettre (ex. JML-C-1, fig. 112-113) ;
- Le piquetage ou martelage de la roche au moyen d'un outil dur (pierre, métal, etc.) qui permet d'obtenir un tracé linéaire dessinant le pourtour d'un personnage, d'un animal ou le tracé d'une lettre (ex. JML-B-15, fig. 108) ;
- L'enlèvement d'une surface de roche sur une faible profondeur qui permet d'obtenir un aplat. Cette technique plus longue à mettre en œuvre permet des représentations plus abouties. L'enlèvement de roche est obtenu par piquetage d'une large zone de grès puis grattage ou polissage de la surface obtenue. Cette technique est le plus souvent employée pour faire figurer les principales parties des représentations humaines et animales (ex. JML-B-1, fig. 92).

Du fait de la tendresse des grès de la région de Ḥimà, l'exécution des gravures ne requiert pas d'outil spécialisé. L'usage opportuniste d'une pierre dure permet aisément la réalisation de telles représentations. Il est fréquent de retrouver les pierres utilisées, qui se reconnaissent à l'usure de l'arête qui a servi de percuteur, au pied des panneaux gravés (fig. 8).

La simplicité d'exécution des gravures a une conséquence pratique qui n'a guère été prise en compte jusqu'à présent : il est également très facile de retoucher un dessin ancien en le ravivant, le complétant ou le modifiant. Un examen systématique des pétroglyphes montre que de nombreuses retouches peuvent être décelées et que certaines peuvent être prouvées.

La retouche est sûre quand un pétroglyphe présente aujourd'hui des caractères différents de ceux qu'il avait auparavant comme le prouve une photographie ancienne. Un bon exemple est offert par un panneau de Najd Khayrān comportant un animal et deux personnages énigmatiques. Autrefois, seul le contour d'un dromadaire se superposait à l'animal (fig. 9⁴⁵) ; aujourd'hui, c'est toute la surface du dromadaire qui a été enlevée (fig. 10)⁴⁶. La retouche est manifeste également quand les différentes parties d'un même pétroglyphe n'ont pas la même patine.

Notons enfin que l'ensemble des textes et pétroglyphes relevés dans les massifs des Jabal al-Kawkab, Jabal al-Qāra et dans les environs de Ḥimà sont gravés. Aucune représentation peinte

⁴⁵ KHAN 2007, pl. 35, p. 58.

⁴⁶ Voir déjà *Silsila*, XI, *Najrān*, p. 79 [photo inversée]]. D'autres exemples sont illustrés dans ROBIN 2018a.

n'y est visible. La technique n'est toutefois pas inconnue dans la région puisqu'on la trouve attestée sur le granit sur un site proche de Najrān⁴⁷ et à al-Ḥamḍā' (région de Tathlīth)⁴⁸. Au Yémen, elle est également attestée dans les environs de Ṣa'da⁴⁹.

LES TEXTES DE LA REGION DE ḤIMA

On peut distribuer les textes de Ḥimā en quatre classes, en se fondant sur l'écriture utilisée.

1. Les textes sudarabiques

Un très grand nombre de textes sont rédigés dans une écriture sudarabique parfaitement régulière, comportant le trait de séparation entre les mots (ou plus précisément les groupes graphiques). Cet ensemble se divise en deux types.

Ce sont tout d'abord les « inscriptions formelles », composées et gravées par des professionnels qui suivent les habitudes graphiques de leur époque. Ces inscriptions formelles se prêtent donc à l'analyse paléographique qui classe les textes dans le temps et peut donner une date avec une incertitude qui, en général, ne dépasse pas le siècle en plus ou en moins. Parmi les inscriptions formelles, on peut ranger tous les textes laissés par les hauts personnages qui ont circulé dans la région. Ce sont notamment le général qui, en 523 de l'ère chrétienne, a commandé l'armée envoyée par le roi ḥimyarite Joseph (Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar) pour réduire la révolte de Najrān, ainsi que les princes ḥimyarites (en fait ḥaḍramawtiques et sabéens) qui l'accompagnaient⁵⁰. C'est le roi kindite Ḥujr et sa suite⁵¹. Ce sont encore les princes de Najrān, les banū Gadan^{um} et les banū Thu'lubān⁵², ou leurs officiers⁵³. On peut encore mentionner le Ḥaḍramawtique qui commande la caravane du sud et du nord⁵⁴. Il est remarquable que, jouxtant la mention d'un

⁴⁷ MINOSA *et al.* 1983, p. [78]. Le photographe Tchekof Minosa n'a pas enregistré la localisation précise du gros rocher granitique couvert d'inscriptions peintes qu'il reproduit dans son livre. Nos investigations pour retrouver ce site n'ont pas abouti.

⁴⁸ ARBACH *et al.* 2015, p. 25.

⁴⁹ INIZAN & RACHAD 2007, pl. 1-8 (région de Ṣa'da) ; voir aussi pl. 9-17 (région d'al-Ḍālī').

⁵⁰ Voir les textes donnés dans ROBIN 2008, ainsi que Bi'r Ḥimā Sab 1, Bi'r Ḥimā Sab 3 = PRL-R25 et Bi'r Ḥimā Sab 4 = PRL-R24.

⁵¹ Ḥimā-al-Muṣammāt Sab 1 (= PRL-R2574), 2 (= PRL-R2573), 3, 4 (= PRL-R2576) et 5.

⁵² ROBIN 2010, fig. 3, p. 88. Sur ces deux lignages princiers, voir ROBIN 2010, p. 87-94 et ROBIN 2013, p. 158-59 et 203-204.

⁵³ Voir par exemple Bi'r Ḥimā Sab 2 = PRL-R47 ; ROBIN 2010, fig. 4, p. 89.

⁵⁴ R 1850 et R 1853. Voir ROBIN 2014, p. 276-279.

haut personnage, on trouve fréquemment celle d'un officier (*maqṭawī*)⁵⁵ ou d'un secrétaire⁵⁶ à son service.

On peut aisément supposer que les officiels comptent dans leur suite un secrétaire capable de rédiger un texte et un graveur qui le transcrit sur le rocher.

La seconde catégorie de textes sudarabiques, beaucoup plus nombreuse, est constituée par les « graffites », à savoir les textes écrits par les passants eux-mêmes qui, manifestement, ne sont pas des professionnels. Le plus souvent, le texte se compose d'un seul nom ou de deux (probablement le nom de l'auteur et celui de son père). Les lettres ont une forme géométrique simple et rigide, sans ornementation, ce qui les rend souvent assez semblables à celles des textes les plus anciens. Dans ce cas, l'analyse paléographique ne permet pas de proposer une date, même imprécise.

Nombre de graffites utilisent non seulement un alphabet « rudimentaire », mais comportent aussi toutes sortes de maladroites. Il est probable que leurs auteurs ne savaient guère que leur nom.

Entre ces deux catégories, il existe bien entendu tous les stades intermédiaires possibles.

Tous les textes sudarabiques sont préislamiques sauf très rare exception⁵⁷. Ils représentent environ un tiers du nombre total des inscriptions.

2. Les textes *thamūdéens* « *ḥimā'ites* » (ou « *thamūdéen F* »)

De très nombreux textes de Ḥimā sont écrits dans une écriture apparentée au sudarabique que l'expédition PRL qui l'a identifiée⁵⁸ a appelée « *thamūdéen méridional*⁵⁹ ».

Ce « *thamūdéen méridional* » est resté jusqu'à présent le parent pauvre des études arabiques. Les 5 300 textes copiés dans la région de Ḥimā par l'expédition PRL n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune tentative de déchiffrement ni d'aucune étude, si on excepte quelques remarques préliminaires par Jacques Ryckmans, soit dans un article qui se borne à quelques considérations générales⁶⁰ soit dans deux recensions⁶¹. La seule publication significative est due à un étudiant de

⁵⁵ Voir Ḥimā-al-Muṣammāt Sab 1 = PRL-R2574 (*Ḥgr bn 'mr^m mlk Kdt*) et 3 (*'s¹d^m 'bdy mqtwy Ḥgr*) ; PRL-R1850 et PRL-R1853.

⁵⁶ Ja 1028 / 12 (ROBIN 2008, p. 87-89, fig. 4) et Ja 1030 (ROBIN 2008, p. 89-90, fig. 8) ; comparer avec Ry 507 / 11-12 (ROBIN 2008, p. 91-93, fig. 3).

⁵⁷ Voir ci-dessous, sous le titre « 5. Les textes arabes » et « Le passage à l'islam ».

⁵⁸ J. RYCKMANS 1956.

⁵⁹ MACDONALD & KING 2000, p. 469, « Le "thamūdique méridional" », avec une abondante bibliographie.

⁶⁰ J. RYCKMANS 1956.

⁶¹ J. RYCKMANS 1960 ; 1969.

l'Université du roi Sa'ūd, M. Sālim b. Hadhdhāl al-Qaḥṭānī qui a consacré un mémoire de recherche à quelques dizaines de graffites du wādī Tathlīth, à quelque 200 km au nord de Najrān⁶². Il s'agit d'un travail très utile parce que les graffites collectés et édités sont remarquablement illustrés, mais les lectures proposées, qui donnent aux mêmes lettres des valeurs différentes pour obtenir une racine acceptable, manquent encore de sûreté.

Pour mémoire, il faut mentionner la publication japonaise qui traite d'une petite moitié des inscriptions d'al-Khushayba⁶³, un site de la zone de Ḥimā qui n'avait pas été visité par l'expédition PRL. Il s'agit d'un petit cirque montagneux avec une cavité dans laquelle de l'eau s'accumule pendant la saison des pluies ; de très nombreux graffites qui couvrent les parois de la montagne tout autour de ce point d'eau montrent que c'était une halte très fréquentée par les gens qui circulaient dans la région. La mission japonaise qui a mené ses prospections entre 2002 et 2004 a relevé 16 inscriptions arabes, 302 sudarabiques et 49 thamūdéennes. La faible proportion des inscriptions thamūdéennes est notable. On peut observer également, en se fondant sur le critère évidemment peu précis de la graphie, que les textes sudarabiques semblent majoritairement antérieurs à l'ère chrétienne. Risa Tokunaga qui a édité les inscriptions thamūdéennes n'a pas réussi à progresser de manière significative dans le déchiffrement du « thamūdéen méridional » parce que le corpus sur lequel elle a travaillé était notablement trop étroit.

L'étude consacrée par Albert Jamme aux graffites de la région Ḥimā dont il avait reçu la photographie portait sur un très petit nombre de documents. Sur cette base très étroite, A. Jamme n'en a pas moins développé sa propre théorie selon laquelle les graffites qualifiés de thamūdéens par l'expédition PRL sont en réalité « sabéens »⁶⁴. Quant à la publication dédiée aux graffites copiés par Philby, il vaut mieux l'ignorer puisque ces copies sont en fait inutilisables.

Les investigations de la MAFSN ont déjà permis de relever un grand nombre de textes thamūdéens qui s'ajoutent à ceux de l'expédition PRL, de sorte qu'on dispose désormais d'un corpus qui compte plus de 10 000 unités. Les tâches prioritaires étaient de déterminer aussi clairement que possible la catégorie que nous appelons « thamūdéen ḥimā'ite » et de déchiffrer ce type de texte.

⁶² AL-QAḤṬANI 2007.

⁶³ KAWATOKO *et al.* 2005. Les coordonnées du site, qui se trouve à quelque 25 km au nord-est de Ḥimā (110 km à l'est-nord-est de Najrān), sont 18,498°N et 44,621°E.

⁶⁴ Les graffites qu'Albert Jamme a relevés en 1969 dans la région de Qaryat al-Fa'w, à quelque 300 km à l'est-nord-est de Najrān (JAMME 1973) sont plus proches du sudarabique que du thamūdéen.

Deux critères permettent de distinguer les catégories « sudarabique » et « thamūdéen ḥimā'ite » : ce sont l'alphabet et les modalités d'exécution du texte. L'alphabet thamūdéen de Ḥimā qui est désormais en grande partie déchiffré (ROBIN & GOREA 2016) compte probablement 27 lettres. Si on compare ces dernières à l'alphabet sudarabique, on observe que :

- 6 sont identiques au sudarabique : *b*, *ṭ*, *s'*, *q*, *h* et *y* ;
- 4 sont très semblables : *d* (avec le triangle remplacé par un demi-cercle) ; *ḥ* (qui est en général retourné de 180°) ; *l* (dont l'appendice fait un angle droit avec la hampe) ; *ṣ* (qui est presque toujours retourné de 180°) ;
- 6 sont semblables : ' (avec une tête comportant un seul angle et non deux) ; ' (souvent plus proche d'un petit carré que d'un petit cercle) ; *ḍ* (avec une seule barre horizontale) ; *f* (en forme de rectangle et non de losange) ; *ḥ* (qui dont l'appendice est un trait ondulé plutôt que brisé) ; *w* (qui est souvent carré) ;
- 5 sont proches : *k* avec un appendice à gauche de la lettre (comme le *ḡ* du sudarabique) et non au-dessus (comme le *k* du sudarabique) ; *n* (en forme de tiret vertical plus court que le *r*) ; *r* (en forme de tiret vertical plus long que le *n*) ; *t* (en forme de croix) ; *z* (en forme de croix de Saint-André, comme le *t* sudarabique) ;
- 1 lettre, le *m*, présente une grande variété de formes, dont une seule (semblable au *b* sudarabique avec pendentif) est assez éloignée du sudarabique ;
- 5 ont une forme radicalement différente : *ḍ*, *g*, *ḡ*, *s'*, *ṭ*.

Les différences que l'on observe entre l'alphabet thamūdéen ḥimā'ite et le sudarabique sont assez comparables aux différences entre les autres alphabets thamūdéens et les écritures arabiques monumentales du nord.

Le second critère permettant de distinguer le « thamūdéen ḥimā'ite » du « sudarabique » réside dans les modalités d'exécution du texte. Il ne faut entendre par là le sens de l'écriture, qui est horizontal, de droite à gauche, aussi bien en sudarabique qu'en thamūdéen ḥimā'ite⁶⁵, mais :

- Le module de la lettre. La lettre sudarabique s'inscrit dans un rectangle plus haut que large, avec une hauteur qui est en général le double de la largeur ; la lettre thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite est en général plus trapue, s'inscrivant dans une figure qui varie entre le carré et le rectangle du sudarabique. Le tracé des segments rectilignes et des courbes (régularité du trait, orientation et longueur) est soigné en sudarabique, mais souvent approximatif en thamūdéen ḥimā'ite.

⁶⁵ Il existe quelques exceptions en thamūdéen ḥimā'ite (mais non à 'Ān Jamal) : certains textes sont écrits en colonne ou de gauche à droite.

— L'agencement des lettres. Les lettres sudarabiques ont toutes le même module et la même orientation ; elles sont disposées sur une ou plusieurs lignes horizontales. Une telle régularité est l'exception en thamūdéen ḥimā'ite.

— La distribution des mots. Le sudarabique sépare systématiquement les mots (plus précisément les unités graphiques qui se composent du mot, plus éventuellement d'une particule **unilitaire** préfixée et d'un suffixe) par un trait de séparation, alors que le thamūdéen ḥimā'ite ne le fait jamais.

On pourrait penser que la mise en œuvre de ces divers critères permet de distinguer aisément deux catégories de textes, les sudarabiques et les thamūdéens ḥimā'ites. Ce n'est pas le cas.

Ce qu'on observe en réalité est une opposition entre d'une part les textes intégralement sudarabiques et d'autre part des textes mixtes, présentant en proportions très variables des caractères appartenant au sudarabique et au ḥimā'ite. Il existe sans doute des textes dont tous les caractères sont ḥimā'ites, mais ils sont en réalité assez peu nombreux.

Il n'a pas semblé opportun, cependant, de multiplier les catégories. Tous les textes sont classés soit comme « sudarabiques » soit comme « thamūdéens », avec les critères suivants :

— Les textes sudarabiques. Ce sont ceux qui présentant tous les caractères des textes sudarabiques ; ce sont également ceux (assez nombreux⁶⁶) dont toutes les lettres sont sudarabiques, mais qui ne séparent pas les mots par le trait vertical habituel.

— Les textes thamūdéens. Ce sont ceux dans lesquels au moins une lettre est thamūdénne.

Dans les textes thamūdéens ainsi définis, il est remarquable que certaines lettres (*g*, *ḡ*, *s*², *ṭ* et *d*) soient presque toujours thamūdénnes ḥimā'ites alors que les autres peuvent être thamūdénnes ou sudarabique. Les exceptions, comme JML-G-16 (*Ḡwṭ^m*, avec *ḡ* sudarabique et *mīm* thamūdéen) sont très rares. Quand un texte présente tous les caractères du sudarabique sauf une lettre qui est thamūdénne, comme JML-D-58 (*Zydlṭ (G)rmlt*, texte sudarabique avec *ḡm* thamūdéen), il est évidemment difficile de la classer comme « thamūdéen ». Dans ce cas nous le signalons comme « mixte »⁶⁷.

Nous avons indiqué que, dans les textes sudarabiques, il était possible de reconnaître des inscriptions formelles et des graffites. Dans les textes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites (mixtes ou non), on peut de même distinguer des textes qui suivent des normes graphiques relativement strictes et ceux qui n'en suivent pas.

⁶⁶ Pour 'Ān Jamal, l'inventaire de ces textes sudarabiques sans trait de séparation est fait dans l'index.

⁶⁷ Un bel exemple de texte « mixte » est un abécédaire sudarabique inédit de Qaryat al-Fa'w, incisé dans le plâtre, qui remplace deux lettres, le *g* et le *ṭ*, par leurs correspondants thamūdéens ḥimā'ites.

Les normes du thamūdéen ḥimā'ite semi-formel sont : des lettres régulières, trapues, de grandes dimensions et exécutées avec soin. Le but est de produire un texte esthétiquement parfait et visible de loin (JML-E-14, JML-G-69 et 70 – voir fig. 203 et 364). Nous avons appelé ces textes « ostentatoires ». Souvent, le trait est doublé, mais il n'y en a pas de bel exemple à 'Ān Jamal. Un autre type de variation concerne le caractère plus ou moins anguleux des lettres, qui varie entre des formes strictement géométriques et des formes déliées qui évoquent une écriture cursive (voir JML-H-132 et suivants, voir fig. 473).

Le fait que certaines lettres se présentent avec des dessins étonnamment divers⁶⁸ n'a pas encore été expliqué. Il est plausible que certaines formes sont propres à une époque ou à un groupe, mais cela n'a pas encore été prouvé. Il est vraisemblable que cette diversité s'explique en partie par la chronologie, mais il n'est pas encore possible de proposer le moindre classement.

Le caractère mixte du thamūdéen de Ḥimā n'a pas d'équivalent ailleurs en Arabie. Il résulte du fait que les utilisateurs de ce thamūdéen ont toujours été en contact avec ceux du sudarabique qui jouissaient d'une position dominante, notamment dans les échanges à longue distance.

Ce phénomène rappelle cependant que fréquemment certains textes d'Arabie présentent des caractères appartenant à deux traditions linguistiques ou graphiques. Par exemple, les inscriptions de Qatabān peuvent utiliser des formes morphologiques sabéennes ; celles de Najrān et de Qaryat en saba'ique comptent des formes morphologiques et du lexique empruntés à l'arabe ; les textes du golfe Arabo-persique en écriture sudarabique présentent des caractères linguistiques empruntés à l'araméen ; enfin les graffites nabatéens postclassiques du Ḥijāz conservent des graphies archaïques⁶⁹.

En plus du déchiffrement et de la définition du thamūdéen ḥimā'ite, les investigations de la MAFSN ont permis de faire quelques observations complémentaires.

Comme l'avaient déjà observé Harry St J. B. Philby et Jacques Ryckmans⁷⁰, la distribution des textes en écriture thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite n'est pas exactement la même que celle des textes sudarabiques : alors que ces derniers se concentrent dans quelques zones à la périphérie des massifs, sur les axes de circulation, ceux en écriture thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite sont beaucoup plus disséminés et se rencontrent dans de nombreux secteurs, notamment à la périphérie et dans les

⁶⁸ Ce sont tout particulièrement le *mīm* (9 types), le *shīn* (5 types), le *wāw* (4 types) et le *dād* (3 types) (fig. 40).

⁶⁹ On peut ajouter encore une poignée d'inscriptions d'Aksūm (royaume qui n'est pas en Arabie, mais a des liens très nombreux avec elle), rédigées en langue guèze (avec quelques emprunts au saba'ique) et en écriture sudarabique.

⁷⁰ J. RYCKMANS 1956, p. 13.

vallées qui pénètrent les massifs, mais pas partout. On peut en déduire que les uns étaient gravés par les gens qui venaient de l'extérieur et traversaient la région, tandis que les autres l'étaient par les populations locales. Le thamūdéen de Ḥimā n'est pas une écriture confinée à cette zone. Il est également utilisé dans les textes rupestres de Tathlīth (à 180 km au nord-ouest) étudiés par Sālīm al-Qaḥṭānī⁷¹ et dans ceux de la région de Murayghān relevés par l'expédition PRL (secteurs H et J). Divers indices suggèrent qu'il était connu à Qaryat al-Fa'w (à 200 km au nord-nord-est), peut-être à Bīsha (à 300 km au nord-ouest) et jusque dans le Najd. Lors d'une réunion de travail (pour le développement de la base de données épigraphiques *Tadwīn* des Antiquités saoudiennes) réunissant un grand nombre d'épigraphistes de la Péninsule, qui s'est tenue à al-Riyāḍ en mai 2015, il a été proposé de nommer cette écriture « thamūdéen F » ou « thamūdéen ḥimā'ite ».

Après avoir défini le « thamūdéen ḥimā'ite » comme nous l'avons fait, il apparaît que quelques textes thamūdéens de la région de Ḥimā n'entrent pas dans ce type, de manière assurée ou hypothétique (voir [fig. 11 et 12](#)). Mais il n'est pas encore possible d'identifier le type de thamūdéen auxquels ils appartiennent.

3. La relation chronologique entre le thamūdéen ḥimā'ite et le sudarabique

Pour expliquer l'usage de deux écritures arabiques à Ḥimā pendant l'Antiquité, Jacques Ryckmans avait d'abord supposé que ces deux écritures avaient été employées par deux populations différentes⁷². Puis, il avait supposé que le thamūdéen ḥimā'ite avait été supplanté par le sudarabique lors de la conquête de l'Arabie désertique par Ḥimyar :

Les graffites cursifs d'Arabie centrale [les textes thamūdéens de Ḥimā] ont un contenu onomastique et un panthéon nettement distincts de ceux des inscriptions monumentales de Saba tandis que les graffites d'Arabie centrale en écriture monumentale [les textes sudarabiques] se rapprochent nettement, par la paléographie et le contenu onomastique, des inscriptions monumentales sabéennes de la période récente, qui attestent par ailleurs une influence linguistique et onomastique de l'Arabie centrale ... La présence conjointe de graffites cursifs et de graffites en sabéen monumental le long des grands axes de l'Arabie centrale paraît provisoirement pouvoir s'expliquer par l'envahissement, à l'époque récente, de l'écriture monumentale sabéenne, au détriment d'écritures locales antérieures⁷³.

Le savant pakistanais Majeed Khan défend une thèse comparable, à savoir l'antériorité du thamūdéen ḥimā'ite sur le sudarabique. Son argument est qu'on ne trouve aucun texte sudarabique recouvert par un texte thamūdéen ḥimā'ite.

⁷¹ AL-QAḤṬĀNĪ 2007.

⁷² J. RYCKMANS 1956, p. 13.

⁷³ J. RYCKMANS 1969, p. 247 A.

À ces théories, les investigations de la MAFSN apportent des correctifs substantiels. La plupart des auteurs des inscriptions sudarabiques et thamūdéennes ḥimā'ites appartiennent à la même population⁷⁴. Quant à la distribution chronologique, on trouve des inscriptions sudarabiques de toutes les époques, avec un pic probable vers la fin du I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne. L'hypothèse d'une succession sudarabique—thamūdéen ḥimā'ite ne se confirme pas.

Ce débat est évidemment en relation avec la question de la genèse du thamūdéen ḥimā'ite. Deux schémas explicatifs peuvent être imaginés. Le premier serait que le thamūdéen ḥimā'ite dérive initialement du sudarabique et qu'il s'en différencie à la suite du renouvellement progressif de la population locale ou de contacts avec les populations utilisant l'écriture thamūdéenne. Le second schéma explicatif serait au contraire l'usage d'une variété de thamūdéen par la population de Ḥimà, puis d'un rapprochement progressif avec le sudarabique, du fait de l'intégration des grandes oasis de la zone, Najrān et Qaryat al-Fa'w, dans la sphère de la culture sudarabique. Entre ces deux schémas explicatifs, il n'est pas possible de trancher présentement, faute de savoir reconnaître les inscriptions thamūdéennes ḥimā'ites les plus anciennes.

4. Les textes arabes

La région de Ḥimà compte des inscriptions en écriture arabe en grand nombre, qui se comptent sans doute en milliers⁷⁵. La plupart sont assurément d'époque islamique, si on se fonde sur l'onomastique, le formulaire, l'orthographe et, pour certaines, la date en ère hégirienne.

On connaît aussi près de 30 textes arabes qui peuvent être considérés comme préislamiques. Deux sont datés de *burak* 364 (Ḥimà-Sud PalAr 1) et d'*al-mu'tamir* 408 (Ḥimà-al-Musammā^t PalAr 1) dans une ère qui est probablement celle de la province romaine d'Arabie dont le point de départ est l'équinoxe de printemps 105 de l'ère chrétienne. Comme le mois d'*al-mu'tamir* est le premier du calendrier des Arabes préislamiques et le mois de *burak* le douzième et dernier⁷⁶, ces deux inscriptions datent probablement de mars-avril 513 et de février-mars 470⁷⁷. Les textes paléo-arabes se distinguent des textes arabes islamiques par le formulaire et par l'orthographe. Les inscriptions préislamiques sont le plus souvent de simples noms propres, parfois avec une date ; une seule (Ḥimà-al-Musammā^t PalAr 4), imparfaitement déchiffrée, comporte un peu de texte : *zmn hlk M(.)rw br 'l-Ḥrt*, « quand mourut Murr fils d'al-Ḥārith ».

⁷⁴ PRIOLETTA & ROBIN 2018.

⁷⁵ IMBERT 2013.

⁷⁶ ROBIN 2016.

⁷⁷ ROBIN *et al.* 2014.

On n'y trouve jamais les invocations religieuses, si communes après l'Islam, comme *Allāhumma iġfir li-...* « Ô Dieu, pardonne à ... », *ṣallā 'llāh 'alā ...* (« Que Dieu prie sur ... ») ou *tarḥḥama 'llāh 'alā ...* (« Que Dieu ait pitié de ... ») comme dans les inscriptions KhShB Ar 1, 2 et 3 d'al-Khushayba, la dernière datée de *jumādā* [I] 27 ou 29 de l'hégire (février-mars 648 ou janvier-février 650). Les noms propres des inscriptions préislamiques comportent souvent la désinence *-w* qui disparaît dans les inscriptions islamiques (sauf dans l'anthroponyme Amr).

Plus de 30 textes arabes ont été relevés à 'Ān Jamal. Tous sont d'époque islamique. Quelques-uns peuvent dater des premiers siècles de l'hégire.

5. Les autres écritures

En plus des textes en sudarabique, arabe et thamūdéen, on trouve encore à Ḥimā un très petit nombre de textes dans d'autres écritures. Ce sont le grec et le nabatéen (voir fig. 13) d'époque préislamique, et l'hébreu⁷⁸ probablement d'époque islamique. Enfin, deux ou trois graffites sont rédigés dans des écritures non déchiffrées : voir fig. 14-15. À 'Ān Jamal, seules sont attestées les écritures sudarabique, « thamūdéenne » ḥimā'ite et, dans une moindre mesure, arabe islamique.

QUELQUES REMARQUES PRELIMINAIRES SUR LES PRINCIPALES CATEGORIES DE PETROGLYPHES

L'analyse des pétroglyphes comporte trois volets. La technique d'exécution et le mode de représentation ont déjà été évoqués plus haut. Le troisième volet est le thème du dessin. L'articulation de ces trois approches, qui reste à faire, doit permettre de définir des catégories qu'il faudra tenter de classer chronologiquement⁷⁹.

Le répertoire de la région de Ḥimā, assez limité, comporte essentiellement des éléments figuratifs (humains, animaux⁸⁰, arbres), exceptionnellement des symboles ou figures abstraites. La plupart des catégories comporte deux modes de représentations : des figures schématiques où l'identification du thème repose sur quelques attributs mis en avant (la bosse du dromadaire,

⁷⁸ GOREA 2015, p. 326 et fig. 2-4, p. 328-329.

⁷⁹ Une première esquisse de typologie et de classement chronologique (encore en débat) se trouve dans ARBACH *et al.* 2015, p. 26-34.

⁸⁰ Une première classification des représentations animales de la région de Najrān a été proposée par MONCHOT & POLIAKOF 2016. Concernant l'identification des espèces animales rencontrées sur les rupestres d'Arabie saoudite, nous renvoyons à KHAN 2007, p. 107-219.

les cornes du bouquetin, etc.) ; des formes naturalistes et détaillées qui sont réalisées d'une main plus experte.

Les thèmes se résument à des :

— animaux

- sauvages : lions, ibex, oryx, antilopes, autruches, équidés très anciens (ânes ou onagres) ; bovins et dromadaires avec une lance ou une flèche plantée dans le flanc ; ovins chassés ;
- domestiques : chiens, chevaux (presque toujours montés), dromadaires montés et dromadaires entravés⁸¹ ;
- soit sauvages soit domestiqués, sans qu'il soit facile de tracer une limite précise : dromadaires, bovins, ovins, caprins ;

— individus, représentés dans différentes attitudes ou pratiquant diverses activités ; l'éventail des types attestés à Ḥimà est assez large, mais il est pauvrement représenté à 'Ān Jamal ; il suffit de mentionner ici :

- les personnages hiératiques brandissant des objets dont l'identification est souvent incertaine (JML-G-117) ;
- les personnages à l'abondante chevelure tressée (apparemment féminins), également dans une attitude hiératique avec les bras levés (par exemple JML-B-2 et JML-D-67) ;
- les couples (JML-B-6) ;
- une parturiente (JML-H-34) ;
- enfin les innombrables chasseurs ou guerriers (à pied ou montés).

Il est souvent difficile de reconnaître le genre des personnages représentés. La longueur de la chevelure, en particulier, n'est pas significative. Ce n'est guère que dans les scènes représentant un homme et une femme, bien distingués par l'artiste aux moyens de divers procédés, que l'on peut reconnaître à coup sûr l'un et l'autre (fig. 16). Les critères les plus sûrs pour identifier les hommes sont probablement le fait de porter une arme ou de monter un animal. Les femmes se caractérisent notamment par la finesse de leur taille (s'opposant à l'épaisseur de leurs hanches), par la longueur de leurs tresses et parfois par leur attitude déhanchée.

— palmiers (JML-G-28) ;

— monuments (comme le palais ḥimyarite associé à PRL-R870, fig. 17) ;

⁸¹ Une documentation photographique sur la faune de Ḥimà se trouve dans ROBIN 2018a. Pour les chevaux, se reporter à ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

- objets et symboles, comme les pieds (JML-A-14) ;
- figures abstraites d'interprétation incertaine (JML-H-85) ;
- plateaux de jeu (JML-A-32 et JML-F-180) ;
- dessins divers identifiés ou non.

1. *Les dromadaires*

Quarante représentations de dromadaires ont été recensées à 'Ān Jamal. L'animal y apparaît soit seul, soit en groupe. Deux modes de représentations se distinguent clairement :

- Les représentations naturalistes d'une part. Elles sont le fait d'artistes expérimentés et sont le plus souvent de grandes dimensions, parfois à taille réelle. Le souci de profondeur de champ est manifeste, les quatre pattes apparaissent. L'exécution est soignée avec l'intégralité du corps excavée dans la roche (JML-H-95) ou largement détournée (JML-B-13).
- Les représentations schématiques d'autre part : elles excèdent rarement 30 cm de long ; seul le contour de l'animal est gravé dans la roche, à l'exception de la bosse, pour laquelle toute la surface rocheuse est piquetée. La bosse est schématiquement représentée par un triangle ou un arrondi (JML-F-1). L'animal est représenté de profil, avec deux pattes ; la tête est sous-dimensionnée ; des poils sont parfois représentés au sommet de la bosse et sur la queue.

Alors que les chevaux montés se comptent par centaines, il est exceptionnel que le dromadaire soit représenté monté. Nous n'en connaissons qu'un seul exemple sûr à 'Ān Jamal (JML-D-6), où un personnage aux cheveux longs chevauche le sommet de la bosse ; il se superpose à une scène de chasse antérieure. Une inscription thamūdienne à la gauche du dromadaire pourrait être contemporaine d'après la patine. Deux autres exemples sont plus douteux (JML-C-7 et JML-F-172).

Il n'est pas rare, à l'inverse, que le dromadaire soit intégré à une scène de razzia ou de chasse dans laquelle des cavaliers équipés de longues lances semblent viser ou toucher le flanc de l'animal. Il s'agit alors toujours de représentations schématiques. La pratique consistant à toucher de sa lance l'animal devant témoins en permettait la capture. Cette pratique, rappelée

par M.C.A. Macdonald, est attestée dans les récits de voyage de Musil et de Burckhardt à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle⁸².

Les dromadaires non montés peuvent aussi bien être considérés comme des animaux sauvages —< *a fortiori* les grandes représentations fortement patinées probablement réalisées avant que l'animal n'ait été domestiqué⁸³ —, que domestiques (troupeaux d'élevage) ou comme des animaux domestiques retournés à l'état sauvage.

Certains dromadaires sont représentés avec une lance plantée dans le flanc ; c'est l'indice que l'animal a été chassé, si la lance n'a pas été ajoutée à une date ultérieure. D'autres dromadaires sont montrés avec les pattes entravées par une corde ; dans ce cas, on peut considérer qu'ils sont domestiqués, sauf si la corde est un ajout⁸⁴. Aucune de ces deux représentations significatives ne se rencontre à 'Ān Jamal.

2. Les ibex, oryx, antilopes et ovins

Ils apparaissent à quinze reprises à 'Ān Jamal. Les bouquetins sont généralement représentés de manière schématique : gravure du tracé du profil par de simples lignes, accent porté sur les longues cornes semi-circulaires surdimensionnées par rapport au reste du corps. Ces représentations sont le plus souvent de petites dimensions, excédant rarement 30 cm. La seule exception est constituée par JML-H-11, une gravure de grandes dimensions en partie supérieure du rocher effondré dans le secteur 8. Le bouquetin fut gravé avant l'effondrement du rocher ; il apparaîtrait désormais tête en bas.

Si des représentations d'oryx relativement réalistes sont connues par ailleurs dans la région ('Ān Halkān 1 & 5, Fardat Shaybān, Barqā' al-Shā', Jabal Idhbāḥ 1), les cinq gravures de 'Ān Jamal (JML-C-11, F-175, H-13, H-124, H-198) les montrent de manière schématique, l'accent étant porté sur la longue queue et les cornes rectilignes.

L'ovin à grosse queue grasse, fréquent dans les gravures de Ḥimā, n'apparaît pas à 'Ān Jamal. Une scène de dépeçage, associée à de l'écriture (fig. 18), prouve qu'il était encore chassé dans l'Antiquité.

⁸² MACDONALD 1990 ; 2012, p. 282 ; voir également BURCKHARDT 1831-I, p. 140 ; MUSIL 1928, p. 524.

⁸³ Sur ce type de représentation, voir CHARLOUX, GUAGNIN & NORRIS 2020, p. 94-95 (Najran Tradition = NAJT).

⁸⁴ ROBIN 2018a.

3. Les bovins

À l'exception de quelques représentations schématiques sur le site de 'Ān Jamal, ce sont le plus souvent des représentations naturalistes, de grandes dimensions (40 à 200 cm de long, 30 à 95 cm de haut). Les modes de représentations varient, de la seule représentation du contour à celle de l'intégralité du corps par piquetage de la surface (JML-D-5). Des solutions intermédiaires sont parfois privilégiées avec l'enlèvement de la couche superficielle de grès au niveau de la tête, du cou et des pattes et le dessin du contour pour le reste de l'animal (JML-B-4) ; un contraste est de la sorte introduit entre les différentes parties du corps.

Aucun des bovins n'est représenté avec une bosse, ce qui exclut la représentation du zébu (*Bos taurus indicus*⁸⁵). Les cornes prennent des formes diverses, tantôt courtes, arrondies et assimilables à celles de bovins domestiques (*Bos taurus*), tantôt larges et anguleuses. Dans ce dernier cas, la question reste de savoir s'il s'agit d'une représentation d'aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) ou de bovins domestiques dont la taille des cornes aurait été délibérément exagérée, à l'instar de ce que l'on observe avec les représentations des cornes de bouquetins ou la bosse de certains dromadaires.

De rares scènes associent bovins et humains (JML-D-11). Une scène de chasse montre un archer, jambes fléchies, derrière un taureau à longues cornes (JML-D-5), ce qui tendrait à indiquer le caractère sauvage de certains de ces bovins. Il en va de même des bovins avec une lance ou une flèche plantée dans le flanc (à condition que cette arme ne soit pas un ajout postérieur) (fig. 19).

4. Les autruches

Si d'innombrables dessins d'autruche ont été relevés dans la région des Jabal al-Kawkab et Jabal al-Qāra', on n'en trouve que six sur le site de 'Ān Jamal. Certaines sont représentées de manière sommaire, avec un cercle représentant le corps, deux lignes incisées pour les pattes et une pour le cou. Elles n'excèdent pas 50 cm de haut (JML-D-12 et JML-E-13). D'autres représentations sont d'un grand naturalisme et réalisées d'une main experte (JML-B-3).

L'autruche apparaît ponctuellement comme la cible de chasseurs, tantôt des cavaliers armés de lance, tantôt des personnages à pied armés d'un fusil (fig. 17). Cela n'est guère étonnant si l'on considère que l'autruche fut chassée en Arabie jusqu'au milieu du XX^e siècle⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ L'identification du *Bos taurus indicus* proposée par H. Monchot et C. Poliakoff paraît difficile à confirmer (MONCHOT & POLIAKOF 2016, p. 81-82, pl. 4C).

⁸⁶ WALLIN 1854, p. 189 ; PHILBY 1923, p. 250 ; GLUECK 1944, p. 12 ; THESIGER 1959, p. 231-232.

Les deux types iconographiques ne semblent pas correspondre à une évolution chronologique. Ils apparaissent soit dans une patine similaire aux inscriptions sudarabiques et thamūdéennes environnantes, soit recouvrant de telles inscriptions et présentant une patine bien plus claire. L'association de ces deux types d'autruches à des scènes de chasses équestres ou au fusil souligne la longévité du motif et de ses modes de représentation.

5. *Les représentations humaines*

Les représentations humaines sont tantôt schématiques (de simples lignes représentent le tronc, les membres et la tête), tantôt plus naturalistes et détaillées avec un piquetage ou enlèvement de la surface de roche sur la totalité du sujet. Les personnages peuvent être représentés avec des accessoires : poignards, lances, épées, arcs, boucliers, bâtons ou fusils. Ces représentations sont soit isolées soit insérées dans des scènes plus complexes représentant des chasses, des relations érotiques et peut-être des razzias, mais aussi bien souvent difficiles à interpréter. De manière non exhaustive, nous mentionnons ici les catégories thématiques les plus significatives illustrées dans la région de Ḥimā et du Jabal al-Kawkab.

Personnages aux genoux fléchis avec arme et coiffe : généralement de grandes dimensions, ces personnages sont représentés de trois quarts face, genoux légèrement fléchis, bras levés. Ils portent sur la tête une coiffe à un ou plusieurs appendices qui s'apparente parfois à une couronne (JML-G-117). Ils sont systématiquement équipés d'un accessoire dans chaque main (bouclier, lance, bâton ou objet courbe). Les représentations les plus spectaculaires proviennent de 'Ān Halkān 3, Barqā' al-Shā', Nafūd al-Musammā 7, Shi'b Sahī 2, al-Ṣammā' (fig. 20) ou Ṭa'r. Lorsque des inscriptions thamūdéennes ou sudarabiques apparaissent sur des panneaux faisant figurer ces personnages, la patine des inscriptions est plus claire ou sensiblement identique à celle des personnages ce qui tend à indiquer l'antériorité ou la contemporanéité de ces représentations sur les inscriptions. En tenant compte du fait que les inscriptions recouvrent ou évitent volontairement ces personnages, nous serions plus enclins à voir ces derniers comme antérieurs à l'introduction de la pratique épigraphique dans la région.

Personnages aux bras levés, mains ouvertes : parfois qualifiés « d'orant(e)s » ou de « déesses » dans la littérature⁸⁷, les personnages représentés dans cette posture sont extrêmement nombreux — la quasi-totalité des représentations humaines adopte cette posture — et il est vraisemblable que cette attitude ait une multitude de significations. Elle s'applique à des personnages représentés de manière extrêmement schématique (JML-F-56), avec une

⁸⁷ DRIDI 2012.

exagération parfois de la taille des mains (JML-G-130). Cette posture est également adoptée par des personnages féminins dans lesquels M.C.A. Macdonald reconnaît aussi bien des danseuses que des performeuses (*entertainers*) ou des supportrices (*cheerleaders*) intervenant sur des champs de bataille ou des scènes d'affrontement (JML-D-28) et de razzias⁸⁸, et en aucune manière des déesses comme cela a pu l'être envisagé à maintes reprises. Un panneau rupestre du site de Tha'r montre que cette posture est aussi bien adoptée par les hommes (fig. 21) que par les femmes. On la retrouve aussi bien dans le registre des gravures rupestres que des peintures rupestres, comme on l'a observé à al-Ḥamdā' (région de Tathlīth) (fig. 22-23).

Contrairement à la catégorie précédente, ces personnages ne semblent jamais antérieurs à l'introduction de la pratique épigraphique. Il n'est pas rare qu'ils se superposent à des inscriptions préislamiques. Quand les superpositions sont multiples, ils appartiennent fréquemment aux gravures les plus récentes, comme les cavaliers sur des chevaux au galop volant et les hommes armés de fusils (fig. 24-25). Comme il est exceptionnel qu'ils soient associés à une inscription sudarabique ou thamūdéenne (JML-D-67), on peut en conclure qu'ils furent majoritairement gravés à la période islamique.

C'est notamment le cas de grandes représentations à taille humaine, se surimposant à des inscriptions thamūdéennes sur le site d'Umm 'Unayk ou s'accompagnant d'invocations en arabe islamique du 1^{er} siècle de l'hégire sur le site d'al-Murakkab (voir ci-dessous et fig. 26). Les personnages sont représentés avec un large torse carré, des jambes fluettes et des bras ostensiblement levés, doigts écartés.

Parturientes : deux représentations de parturientes ont été relevées, l'une à Ḥimā 5, l'autre à 'Ān Jamal (JML-H-34). Ce thème, récemment discuté par H. Dridi, s'inscrit dans un registre iconographique bien illustré en Afrique du Nord⁸⁹.

6. Le cheval monté

Dans la région de Ḥimā, les chevaux sont presque toujours représentés montés par un cavalier. Les gravures de chevaux se classent en deux grands groupes⁹⁰ :

Type 1 : les chevaux cabrés, très réalistes, aux deux pattes avant et arrière bien individualisées et repliées ;

⁸⁸ MACDONALD 2012.

⁸⁹ DRIDI 2012.

⁹⁰ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

Type 2 : les chevaux stylisés bondissant, avec les pattes arrière et avant confondues et étirées, et la queue en panache ; Jacques Ryckmans a nommé ce mode de représentation le « galop volant »⁹¹.

Le type 1 est préislamique et le type 2 islamique (voir ci-dessous, p. 49), avec quelques exemples intermédiaires dont la date peut-être l'un ou l'autre.

Seul le cheval de type 2 est attesté sur le site de 'Ān Jamal. On peut distinguer diverses variétés :

- « galop volant », queue dressée
 - simple (JML-C-10 et JML-D-32)
 - en demi-palme (JML-C-9)
 - en éventail (JML-G-26)
 - queue en touffe (JML-D-61)
- « galop volant », queue basse (JML-D-61, F-63, F-70, F-134)
 - Schématique (JML-C-1 et JML-C-4)

7. Le palmier

De nombreux panneaux représentant un ou plusieurs palmiers ont été relevés dont deux à 'Ān Jamal. Les représentations sont simples : une incision verticale représente le stipe ; les palmes sont représentées par des incisions rayonnant depuis le sommet du stipe ou par des groupes d'incisions parallèles partant du sommet du stipe vers le haut et/ou latéralement (JML-F-67). Ces dessins excèdent rarement 30 à 70 cm de haut.

Un second type, plus réaliste, a été relevé sur les sites de 'Ān Halkān 1 et Bi'r Ḥimā 2, dans lequel les panicules de dattes sont représentées. À Bi'r Ḥimā 2, un personnage grimant au tronc est nommé par une inscription sudarabique. Une gravure non localisée représente des palmiers irrigués par une rigole (fig. 27).

8. Les plateaux de jeu

Deux plateaux de jeux sont gravés sur les rochers de 'Ān Jamal, l'un au sommet du massif (zone 1 : JML-A-32), l'autre en contrebas (zone 6 : JML-F-180). Ces plateaux sont constitués de quatre carrés juxtaposés deux à deux et compartimentés par leurs diagonales et médiatrices. Ce jeu est popularisé sous le nom d'*alquerque* (ou *al-qirkāt*). L'origine antique de ce jeu reste disputée ; il est attesté au plus tard au VIII^e siècle⁹². Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī l'évoque dans le

⁹¹ J. RYCKMANS 1963, p. 221.

⁹² WESTERVELD 2013.

Kitāb al-Aghānī au X^e siècle⁹³ ; Alfonso X le décrit dans son *Libro de los juegos* au XIII^e siècle⁹⁴. On le trouve gravé dans un grand nombre de monuments d'Europe⁹⁵ mais aussi sur le sol de la mosquée abbasside d'al-Yamāma (Najd, Arabie saoudite)⁹⁶.

LA DATATION DES GRAVURES

1. Les méthodes de datation directes⁹⁷

À ce jour, les gravures rupestres de 'Ān Jamal n'ont pas fait l'objet de tentatives de datation physico-chimique des vernis désertiques. D'une part, la résolution chronologique de ce type d'analyse n'est pas satisfaisante pour aborder un corpus élaboré en grande partie au cours de la période historique. D'autre part, un essai de datation par accélérateur (technique AMS) effectué sur une gravure du site de Janin près de Ḥā'il n'a livré qu'un terminus ante quem peu significatif : 1850 ± 50 BP⁹⁸. Cette méthode semble donc peu engageante.

Selon R. Bednarik et M. Khan, la méthode la mieux adaptée à ce jour en Arabie réside dans l'analyse de la micro-érosion des surfaces — malgré quelques réserves concernant l'utilisation des roches sédimentaires, notamment le grès pour ce type d'examen⁹⁹. La méthode employée consiste à comparer l'évolution de l'épaisseur des microdégradations des grains de quartz cristallin à l'échelle du micron, par l'utilisation d'un référentiel d'échantillons provenant d'inscriptions datées.

La courbe de calibration dans le secteur de Ḥimā a été établie à partir de l'examen d'une inscription arabe d'époque islamique sur le site de 'Ān Jamal (JML-F-52)¹⁰⁰. Une figure anthropomorphe de Tha'r (« Ta'ar ») au nord du Jabal al-Qāra, du type *oval-headed anthropomorph*, tenant bâton, arc et portant un poignard à la ceinture, a ainsi été datée de 2109 ± 254 BP de manière préliminaire : les auteurs reconnaissent que ce type de représentations précède certainement les époques historiques. La méthode, encore au stade du test pour

⁹³ BELL 1969, p. 47.

⁹⁴ Folio 91v°, ms. T.I.6, bibliothèque de l'Escurial, Madrid.

⁹⁵ WESTERVELD 2013.

⁹⁶ SCHIETTECATTE *et al.* sous presse, fig. 4.48-4.50.

⁹⁷ Sur cette question, nous renvoyons à BEDNARIK 2002.

⁹⁸ BEDNARIK & KHAN 2002 ; 2005.

⁹⁹ BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005, p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005, p. 65-66.

l'Arabie, doit donc être réévaluée à partir d'une calibration précise fondée sur un plus vaste échantillon d'inscriptions datées¹⁰¹.

Récemment, la méthode de datation par des mesures OSL (*Optically Stimulated Luminescence*) a été testée à 'Ān Jamal par une équipe hellène dans l'espoir de dater le site rupestre¹⁰². Les datations ont porté sur des surfaces en grès couvertes par des couches de calcite indiquant les dernières phases humides de la région. Un échantillon de grès au pied d'un bloc sur lequel deux dromadaires sont gravés (ceux-ci pouvant être de date préhistorique, mais sans lien avec l'échantillon), laisse perplexe du fait des résultats obtenus, 1630 ± 250 et 1300 ± 570 avant le temps présent¹⁰³. D'ailleurs, le postulat de départ apparaît globalement erroné : selon les auteurs, « the rock art is clearly connected with a period of ample water availability¹⁰⁴ », une affirmation qui demeure gratuite tant qu'elle n'est pas argumentée.

Finalement, une méthode de datation comparant les épaisseurs des dépôts de manganèse et de fer dans la patine des parois rocheuses, épaisseurs mesurées avec un XRF (*X-ray fluorescence spectrometry*) portable, est actuellement testée sur plusieurs sites d'Arabie par une équipe de l'Institut Max Planck¹⁰⁵. Les résultats sont encourageants, mais sont encore plutôt imprécis, peu cohérents et même, dans certains cas, complètement erronés, par exemple dans le cas d'impacts de balle récemment mesurés¹⁰⁶. Le procédé au stade actuel demeure expérimental : les dates obtenues doivent être considérées avec prudence.

2. Les procédés de datation indirects

Pour déterminer, ou au moins cerner, la date des gravures, on dispose d'approches stratigraphiques et formelles qui donnent des classements relatifs ou des repères en chronologie absolue. L'approche comparatiste s'est pour sa part révélée inconsistante. Les deux typologies de l'art rupestre proposant des ancrages chronologiques pour l'Arabie du Sud-Ouest, proposées

¹⁰¹ Voir les réserves exposées par les auteurs, BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005, p. 67.

¹⁰² LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013.

¹⁰³ LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013, p. 107, fig. 1a.

¹⁰⁴ LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013, p. 106.

¹⁰⁵ MACHOLDT *et al.* 2018 ; 2019.

¹⁰⁶ MACHOLDT *et al.* 2019, p. 1389.

l'une par Emmanuel Anati¹⁰⁷ la seconde par Madiha Rachad¹⁰⁸, ne sauraient convenir pour dater l'ensemble rupestre de 'Ān Jamal¹⁰⁹.

a. Les méthodes de classification relative

Quelques classements relatifs sont à même de fournir localement des repères chronologiques.

La superposition des gravures

Plusieurs types d'observations permettent d'établir, de manière plus ou moins assurée, que telle gravure est antérieure ou postérieure à telle autre. La mise en évidence de superpositions et l'observation de différences de patine sont deux procédés qui ont été utilisés dès les origines de la discipline. Concernant les superpositions, si certaines sont évidentes et ne prêtent pas à discussion, beaucoup sont peu sûres. C'est donc un outil à manier avec prudence.

La patine des panneaux

La même remarque s'applique à la patine. Sur certains panneaux, les gravures et les inscriptions présentent des patines très contrastées, allant du plus foncé et au plus clair ; il n'est guère douteux, dans un tel cas, que les patines les plus foncées signalent les interventions les plus anciennes. Mais cette observation n'est valide que si le matériau de la paroi gravée est homogène et l'exposition aux facteurs climatiques identique. Même dans ces conditions, il arrive que des gravures voisines, manifestement contemporaines, présentent de manière inexplicable des patines différentes et, en sens contraire, que des gravures de dates assurément différentes aient une patine apparemment semblable.

Les mouvements de la roche

Il n'est pas fréquent qu'un accident géologique donne un repère chronologique utile. C'est pourtant le cas à 'Ān Jamal¹¹⁰. Un rocher de la paroi sur lequel un oryx et un bouquetin étaient gravés s'est détaché et renversé de sorte que les gravures se présentent désormais à l'envers, le haut en bas (JML-H-11, H-12 et H-13). Après la chute du rocher, des inscriptions antiques ont été gravées : elles sont donc postérieures au bouquetin et à l'oryx¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁷ ANATI 1968a ; 1968b ; 1972 ; 1974.

¹⁰⁸ INIZAN & RACHAD 2007.

¹⁰⁹ Pour une recension critique de la chronologie proposée par M. Rachad, voir SCHIETTECATTE 2009. Pour une critique de la chronologie d'Anati, voir plus bas, sous le titre « La diffusion de l'écriture ».

¹¹⁰ Un exemple encore plus spectaculaire se trouve aux environs de Dūmat al-Jandal : voir IMBERT 2013, p. 671-673.

¹¹¹ Jacques Ryckmans l'avait également observé dans ses notes de terrain (reproduites précédemment).

L'évitement

Un autre type d'observation a parfois été utilisé pour proposer des classements en chronologie relative : l'évitement, à savoir l'hypothèse qu'une gravure en évite une autre. L'évitement se reconnaît au fait que la gravure la plus récente présente des caractères inhabituels : déformation des lignes, caractères plus serrés, etc.

Jacques Ryckmans a ainsi supposé qu'un texte de 'Ān Jamal en écriture sudarabique évitait un texte arabe, ce qui impliquerait une date postérieure. C'est dans la publication des textes arabes d'Adolf Grohmann que l'argument est développé :

It is remarkable that — as Dr J Ryckmans has pointed out to me — the first line of the Ḥimyaritic¹¹² text R 504 [JML-F-50]¹¹³, which should have run horizontally (as line 2), and on the same line as R 503 [JML-F-49]¹¹⁴, runs in fact obliquely, in order to use the available space without interfering with line 4 of Z 297 [JML-F-52]. The beginning of line 4 is, however, not aligned with the beginning of the first three lines; but as the Ḥimyaritic text does in fact interfere with the first letter of line 4, it doesn't seem probable that the writer of Z 297, who had enough space at his disposal towards the left, would have displaced his line in such an unsatisfactory way to avoid a pre-existent Ḥimyaritic inscription. From these observations it would seem that the Ḥimyaritic line is *later* than the Arabic text, viz. could have been written in the course of the 7th century AD¹¹⁵.

Dans notre collection, il s'agit de JML-F-49, F-50 et F-52 (fig. 265-266) :

— JML-F-49, qui se lit *Rb 't Ghft*, *Rabī' a b. Gaḥḥāfat*¹¹⁶, peut être daté des alentours de l'ère chrétienne parce qu'il comporte un *bā'* avec segment supérieur brisé qui est caractéristique.

— JML-F-52 est un bel exemple de la graphie arabe des débuts de l'Islam, peut-être du VII^e siècle si on se fonde sur le contraste marqué entre le *nūn* final très long et coudé (dans *bn*) et le *rā'* en virgule (dans *tarahḥama* et *al-Raḥmān*).

— JML-F-50 compte bien deux lignes : *Sʔl* ⁽²⁾ *Br'*. Il semblerait en effet que ces cinq lettres aient été gravées dans l'espace laissé libre entre JML-F-49 et F-52. Pour *Sʔl*, voir l'arabe *Shalla* (CASSEL 1966, II, p. 525, une occurrence) et *al-Shalal* (*ibid.*, p. 525, cinq occurrences) ; pour *Br'*, voir *Barā'*, *al-Barā'* et *Barā'* (*ibid.*, p. 234, dix exemples). L'interprétation de ce graffiti comme deux anthroponymes (nom d'un personnage et son patronyme) est possible sans être assurée.

¹¹² L'expédition PRL appelle « ḥimyarites » les textes que nous classons « sudarabiques ».

¹¹³ Voir fig. 265 et 266. Le texte copié (qui se lit *Br'*) a une seule ligne et non deux.

¹¹⁴ Voir fig. 265 et 266 : *Rb 't Ghft*

¹¹⁵ GROHMANN 1962, p. 168 ; voir aussi J. RYCKMANS 1984, p. 74.

¹¹⁶ CASSEL 1966, II, *al-Jaḥḥāf* et *Jāḥif* (p. 255, deux et un exemples respectivement).

L'observation de Jacques Ryckmans se révèle, en fait, très discutable et elle n'emporte pas la conviction. Si quelqu'un avait voulu graver le texte *Sʔl* ⁽²⁾ *Br* ' postérieurement à la gravure des inscriptions arabes, il n'avait aucune raison de le faire dans un espace étroit et inconmode, alors que d'amples surfaces étaient disponibles à proximité sur le même rocher.

b. Les repères de datation absolue

La diffusion de l'écriture

Le premier repère de datation absolue est la diffusion de l'écriture. L'événement, qui fait passer des temps obscurs de la préhistoire et de la protohistoire aux périodes historiques (pour lesquelles on dispose de beaucoup plus de données pour identifier et nommer les groupes humains) présente théoriquement une grande importance, mais il est assez difficile à cerner et à situer chronologiquement de façon précise. L'écriture apparaît dans le sud de la Péninsule vers l'an 1000 avant l'ère chrétienne, avec une incertitude supérieure à un siècle en plus ou en moins. Mais il n'est nullement assuré que des textes gravés sur les rochers du désert soient aussi anciens. Comme, dans le nord, le *thamūdéen* est déjà d'emploi banal à l'époque de Nabonide, au VI^e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'il en aille de même dans le sud, mais les preuves font défaut.

L'apparition de l'écriture est également difficile à utiliser parce qu'on ne sait pas dater la grande majorité des textes, comme nous le verrons. On ne sait donc pas reconnaître les textes les plus anciens. Une dernière complication tient au fait que le lien entre un texte et un dessin présente presque toujours une part d'hypothèse, même quand la technique de gravure et la patine sont les mêmes.

Malgré les limites qui viennent d'être évoquées, l'apparition de l'écriture est évidemment un critère fondamental et utile. Elle a logiquement été un repère systématiquement utilisé.

Une première thèse a été élaborée par le chercheur italien Emmanuel Anati, qui a travaillé sur les matériaux de la Mission PRL sans se rendre sur le terrain. E. Anati date un très grand nombre de gravures rupestres représentant humains et animaux avant la diffusion de l'écriture¹¹⁷. Les classements chronologiques d'E. Anati ont été justement critiqués du fait de nombreuses incohérences¹¹⁸. Ils sont désormais contredits par le fait que la plupart des catégories d'images peuvent être associées à de l'écriture. Ce sont notamment les nombreux pétroglyphes de

¹¹⁷ Sur les huit périodes qu'E. Anati distingue (1968 a et b ; 1972 ; 1974), cinq sont antérieures à 1000 avant l'ère chrétienne ; la plus ancienne, « early hunters », est située avant 6000 avant l'ère chrétienne.

¹¹⁸ KHAN 1996 ; 1998.

personnages et d'animaux flanqués par les textes du type « X *wqr* » (« Untel a gravé »), à la manière d'une signature. Or, ces pétroglyphes, principalement des chameaux (non montés sauf exception), des félins, des grands bovins et des personnages hiératiques¹¹⁹, comportent une pluralité de caractères qui permettront d'esquisser des classements stylistiques. Ils ne sont pas préhistoriques, comme le supposait Emmanuel Anati, mais certainement postérieurs à 1000 avant l'ère chrétienne. À 'Ān Jamal, le verbe *wqr* apparaît deux fois (JML-G-64 et G-120), mais dans des contextes embrouillés dont on ne peut rien déduire.

S'il est désormais assuré qu'une grande majorité de gravures est postérieure à l'apparition de l'écriture, il n'en demeure pas moins vraisemblable qu'une certaine proportion est plus ancienne. Concernant cette dernière, la tâche est double : premièrement, il va falloir élaborer les critères permettant d'affirmer quelles sont les gravures qui sont ou peuvent être antérieures à l'écriture ; deuxièmement, il faudra situer la période à partir de laquelle des gravures ont été réalisées.

La paléographie

Un autre mode de datation est fourni par la graphie ou, plus précisément, par la forme particulière que certaines lettres présentent à une époque déterminée. Présentement, il ne peut être utilisé que pour les textes sudarabiques et arabes. Les textes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites présentent sans doute des styles fort divers et des lettres aux formes variables¹²⁰, mais il n'est pas encore possible d'établir dans quelle mesure ces variations ont une signification chronologique. Comme nous l'avons indiqué¹²¹, le style des graffites thamūdéens ḥimā'ites varie entre un alphabet « ostentatoire », avec de grands caractères harmonieux, répondant à des normes précises (JML-E-14, G-69 et G-70), et un alphabet « usuel » de type plus cursif, avec des caractères de petite taille et peu soignés (voir par exemple JML-H-132 et suivants)¹²². Quant à la forme des lettres, pour certaines elle est constante tandis que pour d'autres elle peut varier entre deux et neuf types différents.

Jusqu'à présent, comme nous l'avons indiqué également¹²³, il n'est pas possible de fixer la date d'apparition des textes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites. Mais il est probable que l'écriture thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite était encore utilisée pendant l'Antiquité tardive (IV^e-VI^e siècles è. chr.) : un graffite

¹¹⁹ ROBIN & GOREA 2016, p. 325-326 et pl. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 20, et 25.

¹²⁰ ROBIN & GOREA 2016.

¹²¹ Ci-dessus, sous le titre « 2. Les textes thamūdéens "ḥimā'ites" (ou "thamūdéen F") ».

¹²² ROBIN & GOREA 2016, p. 331.

¹²³ Ci-dessus, sous le titre « La diffusion de l'écriture ».

thamūdéen ḥimā'ite s'inspire apparemment des particularités graphiques de textes sudarabiques voisins datant de cette période¹²⁴. Plus significatif, sur un total de quelque 200 graffites gravés à Murayghān par les troupes d'Abraha vers 552-553 de l'ère chrétienne, près des trois quarts sont écrits en thamūdéen ḥimā'ite et un quart en sudarabique.¹²⁵

L'analyse de la graphie permet, en revanche, de dater approximativement les inscriptions en alphabet sudarabique. Les principales évolutions concernent la forme des lettres (qui n'évolue que dans le détail, par exemple en inclinant des segments précédemment horizontaux) ; le rapport entre la largeur et la hauteur du rectangle dans lequel les lettres s'inscrivent ; le traitement des segments, rectilignes d'abord, ensuite incurvés ; le traitement des extrémités des segments, nues initialement puis s'élargissant en triangle et finalement munies de petits triangles pointus (apex) ; ou encore l'ajout d'éléments décoratifs à certaines lettres, caractéristiques des derniers siècles (IV^e-VI^e siècles è. chr.). Les datations sont relativement précises et raisonnablement assurées quand les inscriptions sont gravées par des lapicides professionnels qui ont reçu une formation spécialisée et sont attentifs aux innovations de leur époque. Elles sont plus approximatives quand les textes sont écrits par des lapicides occasionnels, qui se contentent de reproduire les lettres de la manière la plus simple.

Pour les graffites sudarabiques, la datation par la paléographie n'est pas aussi aisée que pour les inscriptions. La principale difficulté tient au fait que la plupart des graffites ne sont pas aussi soignés : le plus souvent, ils sont gravés à la hâte, par des gens de passage sans qualification particulière, sur une surface qui n'est pas toujours appropriée mais qui a été choisie parce qu'elle est bien visible ou ombragée ou proche de la halte. La forme des lettres conserve d'ordinaire le dessin géométrique initial, ne retenant éventuellement que certains traits stylistiques de l'époque. Le meilleur exemple de cet « alphabet rudimentaire », qui donne aux lettres leur forme géométrique originelle, est une inscription du VI^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, mentionnant le roi Abraha¹²⁶, qu'on aurait située spontanément (si on n'avait disposé que de la graphie) à une date sensiblement plus haute (fig. 28).

Une difficulté supplémentaire réside dans le fait que les graffites sont des textes courts, ne présentant qu'un nombre limité de lettres différentes, ce qui réduit les possibilités d'analyse. Il est vraisemblable que la seule graphie ne permettra jamais d'obtenir un classement

¹²⁴ ROBIN & GOREA 2016, pl. 31, p. 368 : ce sont les appendices du *lām* et du *kāf* en forme de triangle vide et les tirets aux extrémités des hampes.

¹²⁵ Robin 2018b. Les graffites en alphabet thamūdéen ḥimā'ite sont 141 et en sudarabique 53 ; 15 sont difficiles à classer.

¹²⁶ Cette inscription a été découverte en février 2018 dans la zone de Idhbāḥ.

chronologique raisonnablement assuré de l'ensemble des graffites. Elle permet cependant d'en dater un nombre non négligeable. Michael Macdonald, dans une étude récente, soulignait le caractère illusoire des datations par la paléographie quand il s'agit de graffites arabiques¹²⁷. Son scepticisme est sans doute excessif quand il s'agit des graffites sudarabiques.

Les particularités graphiques les plus significatives qu'on relève dans les graffites sudarabiques sont :

— Le *rā'* brisé ainsi que le *bā'* et le *hā'* au segment horizontal brisé qui ne sont attestés qu'aux alentours de l'ère chrétienne ; pour le *rā'* : voir JML-F-12, F-150, F-151 et H-4 ; pour le *bā'*, voir JML-F-17, F-49 et H-18 ; pour le *hā'*, voir JML-F-19 (dans *S²hr*).

— Le tiret à l'extrémité des hampes qui implique une date postérieure au début de l'ère chrétienne : voir JML-A-2, etc.¹²⁸.

— Le *wāw* ou le triangle du *dāl* de grande taille qui ne sont guère attestés qu'aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne :

- pour le *wāw*, voir JML-D-19, E-3, F-27, F-158, G-128 et H-21 ;
- pour le *dāl*, voir JML-D-20, D-25 et D-58 ;

— Le *rā'* serpentin (qui est propre aux I^{er}-III^e siècles è. chr.) et le *rā'* aux extrémités retournées vers l'arrière (qui est propre aux IV^e-VI^e siècles) : parmi les nombreux exemples¹²⁹, voir JML-A-3 et E-2.

— Le *fā'* en forme de carré entre deux tirets verticaux, postérieur aux I^{er}-III^e siècles de l'ère chrétienne : voir JML-H-214 (*Hrs²ft*) et JML-H-215 (*Ġtfⁿ*).

— Le *nūn* et l'appendice du *alif* en forme de foudre, forme postérieure au III^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne : JML-F-54 ;

— Le *alif* dont l'appendice est un tiret vertical, barré par un tiret incliné, variante de la forme précédente : voir JML-G-108.

— Le *gīm* et le *lām* avec appendice en triangle, propres à l'Antiquité tardive : voir JML-F-9, F-169 et H-228 ;

— Le « pendentif » en forme de triangle attaché au segment horizontal du *bā'* et des lettres apparentées, également typique des derniers siècles de la période préislamique (IV-VI^e siècles è. chr.). On en a des exemples à Ḥimā¹³⁰, mais aucun à 'Ān Jamal.

On notera dans cette liste une absence : le *wā'* composé de deux cercles accolés.

¹²⁷ MACDONALD 2015.

¹²⁸ Pour une liste complète, se reporter à l'index thématique des textes.

¹²⁹ Pour une liste complète, se reporter à l'index thématique des textes.

¹³⁰ Voir ROBIN 2010, fig. 3, p. 88.

Si, grâce à ces particularités graphiques, il est possible de dater approximativement un nombre non négligeable de graffites sudarabiques, il n'en demeure pas moins que la grande majorité de ces graffites ne présente aucun caractère significatif. La raideur des caractères qui suggérerait à première vue une datation antérieure à l'ère chrétienne ne doit pas tromper : elle se retrouve dans la presque totalité du corpus, y compris dans les textes assurément très tardifs.

Il est difficile, en fin de compte, de proposer une distribution chronologique des graffites sudarabiques. Sur certains sites de Ḥimà, comme al-Khushayba, il semblerait qu'il n'y ait guère de graffites postérieurs au début de l'ère chrétienne. Sur d'autres sites, comme 'Ān Jamal, Idhbāḥ ou al-Gharaziyyāt, les graffites datant des derniers siècles de la civilisation sudarabique sont en nombre relativement important.

La mention explicite d'une date dans les inscriptions sudarabiques

Ce cas de figure est absent du site de 'Ān Jamal, mais il n'est pas inexistant dans la région. Les inscriptions sudarabiques Ja 1028 et Ry 507 à Ḥimà et Ry 508 à 'Ān Halkān sont datées de l'an 633 de l'ère ḥimyarite (523 è. chr.). Par association, plusieurs textes et pétroglyphes gravés à proximité immédiate peuvent être datés de cette même période.

Le passage à l'Islam

Le repère en chronologie absolue le mieux fondé reste le passage à l'Islam qui entraîne tout d'abord un changement radical dans les textes épigraphiques. Une nouvelle écriture, l'alphabet arabe, apparue à Ḥimà en 470 de l'ère chrétienne¹³¹, s'impose immédiatement et complètement après la conquête islamique qui, dans le sud, se situe vers 630-632. L'usage de l'écriture sudarabique, dominante jusque vers 560, survit pendant quelques générations, mais de façon marginale et confidentielle¹³². La langue arabe remplace aussitôt et définitivement le saba'ique ; la seule langue non arabe désormais attestée, de manière très marginale, est l'hébreu. Comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, le contenu des textes se transforme également de façon radicale : les textes mentionnant uniquement des noms de personnes tendent à disparaître au profit des prières et invocations habituelles de l'épigraphie islamique. De plus, l'orthographe des textes arabes islamiques se distingue de celle des textes arabes préislamiques par la disparition immédiate de la désinence -w dans les noms propres¹³³.

¹³¹ ROBIN *et al.* 2014, p. 1036-1054.

¹³² ROBIN 1976 ; AL-SA'ID 2004. Voir aussi ci-dessus, sous le titre « 5. Les textes arabes ».

¹³³ ROBIN *et al.* 2014, p. 1040, 1045, 1049, 1091.

Pour les pétroglyphes, les conséquences du passage à l'islam ne sont pas encore parfaitement éclaircies. Du fait de la doctrine musulmane qui proscrit les images, de nombreux auteurs ont spontanément daté ces dessins, en totalité ou tout au moins dans leur grande majorité, avant l'islam. Or la validité de cet argument n'est pas aussi évidente qu'on le croyait, que ce soit au niveau de la doctrine, qui ne s'est constituée et imposée que progressivement, qu'au niveau des pratiques. Il est clair que, pendant toute la période islamique, des origines jusqu'à nos jours, tout au moins dans le sud de la Péninsule, on a gravé d'innombrables pétroglyphes dans le désert. L'argument le plus décisif est le grand nombre de gravures représentant des guerriers ou des chasseurs équipés de fusils¹³⁴. On peut ajouter que deux inscriptions arabes islamiques de Najrān, dont une datée de 59 h. (678 è. chr., **fig. 26**), sont associées à l'image d'un orant¹³⁵. L'hypothèse que le passage à l'islam n'avait pas entraîné une rapide disparition des images avait déjà été formulée par Jacques Ryckmans à propos du cheval : il notait la représentation du type au « galop volant » était manifestement islamique. Il concluait donc que presque toutes les innombrables images de cheval dans l'art rupestre de l'Arabie du sud-ouest, et notamment à Ḥimā, étaient postérieures à l'islam¹³⁶. Les prospections de la MAFSN confirment cette hypothèse¹³⁷.

Il semblerait que les personnages probablement féminins, aux bras levés, mains ouvertes, parfois qualifiés « d'orant(e)s » ou de « déesses », soient très souvent islamiques, comme nous l'avons vu ci-dessus¹³⁸.

Il est également très probable que le dromadaire, dont la représentation semble évoluer comme celle du cheval, a été fréquemment dessiné après l'islam.

L'introduction, la domestication, la disparition d'espèces

Le critère de l'introduction, de la domestication ou de l'extinction d'espèces animales ou végétales dans la région offre des *termini post / ante quem* à la réalisation des gravures.

Les bovins : les représentations de bovins domestiques (*Bos taurus*), parfois accompagnés d'un bouvier, sont nécessairement postérieures à la domestication de l'espèce dans la région, que l'on date actuellement du VI^e millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne¹³⁹. En revanche, l'argument de la date de la disparition des grands bovins (*Bos primigenius*) du fait du dessèchement

¹³⁴ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

¹³⁵ Voir un exemple dans IMBERT 2013, p. 669.

¹³⁶ J. RYCKMANS 1963, p. 220-221.

¹³⁷ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

¹³⁸ Voir sous le titre « 5. Les représentations humaines », § « Personnages aux bras levés, mains ouvertes ».

¹³⁹ HADJOUIS 2007 ; MARTIN *et al.* 2009.

climatique, qui a souvent été utilisé pour situer à une date très haute certains pétroglyphes, pourrait ne pas être aussi déterminant qu'on le croit d'ordinaire. Premièrement, les taureaux aux larges cornes qui pourraient s'apparenter à des aurochs peuvent s'avérer être des représentations de bovins domestiques dont certains attributs, les cornes, ont été délibérément exagérés, comme cela s'observe chez le bouquetin ; deuxièmement, on trouve des dessins de grands bovins probablement associés à une inscription ; troisièmement, les inscriptions sudarabiques mentionnent, jusqu'au IV^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, la chasse d'animaux sauvages appelés *ḥwr(y)* et *bqr* qui pourraient être des bovidés¹⁴⁰.

Les dromadaires : en Arabie, les plus anciennes preuves de la domestication du dromadaire (*Camelus dromedarius*) proviennent de contextes archéologiques postérieurs à 900 avant l'ère chrétienne¹⁴¹, soit un siècle après l'attestation de sa domestication au Levant Sud¹⁴². Les sources textuelles et iconographiques de cette domestication sont également toutes postérieures à 900 avant l'ère chrétienne.¹⁴³ Nous pouvons donc raisonnablement penser que les représentations de dromadaires montés, menés par le licol ou portant un palanquin sont toutes postérieures à cette date. Dans la région de Ḥimā, à Tha'ir, un méhariste armé d'un arc et d'une épée chevauche le sommet de la bosse d'un dromadaire (fig. 29). Le dessin est signé de son auteur par une inscription thamūdéenne (*Rby wqr*, « Rabī a dessiné ») et par conséquent daté de la période préislamique. Les images de dromadaires assurément associées à des textes ne sont pas rares ; l'association est notamment prouvée quand le même dromadaire est répété avec le même texte dans deux endroits différents¹⁴⁴. Une scène sur une butte voisine de celle de l'inscription de Ḥujr représente une bataille opposant des méharistes et des fantassins, apparemment associée à un ensemble de textes thamūdéens (fig. 30). Une gravure d'al-Ṣammā' montre des méharistes armés d'un fusil chevauchant eux aussi des dromadaires (fig. 31). La date d'exécution est nettement plus récente. Pour de nombreuses représentations de dromadaire monté, il n'est pas possible d'en préciser la période d'exécution. Tout au plus constatons-nous souvent que, lorsque des inscriptions thamūdéennes sont gravées à proximité, leur patine est un peu plus foncée que celle des dromadaires montés ce qui induit l'antériorité des graffites.

¹⁴⁰ SIMA 2000, p. 99-100 ; ROBIN 2018a.

¹⁴¹ Ce sont pour l'essentiel : Yalā et Barāqish au Yémen (FEDELE 2017) et Tell Abraq et Muwaylah aux Émirats arabes unis (UERPMANN & UERPMANN 2002 ; MAGEE 2007, p. 94 ; MAGEE 2015).

¹⁴² FEDELE 2017, p. 286, 305, 311 et références citées.

¹⁴³ RETSÖ 1991, p. 200-201 ; FEDELE 2017, p. 305.

¹⁴⁴ ROBIN 2018a en donne deux exemples.

La chasse au dromadaire a régulièrement été considérée comme une pratique nécessairement antérieure à sa domestication, et par conséquent ses représentations dans l'art rupestre datées au plus tard de la fin du II^e millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne¹⁴⁵. Cette approche est trop réductrice. La chasse au dromadaire est de fait une pratique attestée en Arabie à des périodes anciennes¹⁴⁶. Néanmoins, l'assemblage faunique des sites qui ont livré les preuves les plus anciennes de domestication du dromadaire révèle la coexistence d'individus domestiqués et d'individus sauvages au début du I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne¹⁴⁷. Les études génétiques réalisées sur des populations anciennes et modernes de dromadaires montrent également la coexistence, en Arabie, d'individus sauvages et domestiques, ainsi qu'un probable réapprovisionnement au sein de populations sauvages après une phase initiale de domestication¹⁴⁸. La génétique comme l'archéozoologie indiquent, en Arabie orientale, une diminution rapide de la population sauvage au cours de la première moitié du I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne, probablement suivie de son extinction¹⁴⁹. La situation dans le reste de la Péninsule n'est pas connue. Il n'est donc pas improbable qu'un certain nombre de scènes de chasse puisse dater du I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne, voire d'une période plus récente. Le dromadaire non monté enfin est fréquemment représenté dans des scènes de razzia (ou de chasse ?) dans lesquelles des cavaliers armés de lance touchent le flanc des bêtes afin de se les approprier¹⁵⁰. Ces représentations qui mettent en scène des chevaux sont, de fait, postérieures à la fin du I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne.

Les chevaux

Le cheval et son mode de représentation constituent également un repère de datation absolue. On estime que l'introduction du cheval dans le nord et l'est de la Péninsule date de la seconde moitié du I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne¹⁵¹ et qu'elle n'est guère antérieure au début de l'ère chrétienne dans le sud de la Péninsule¹⁵².

¹⁴⁵ Voir par exemple SPASSOV & STOYTCHEV 2004 à propos d'une scène de chasse de Shi'b Musammā', à l'ouest du Jabal al-Kawkab.

¹⁴⁶ Le site de Baynuna, dans l'émirat d'Abu Dhabi, est un site de chasse de dromadaire sauvage bien caractérisé dont l'activité remonte à la seconde moitié du V^e millénaire av. è. chr. (BEECH *et al.* 2009).

¹⁴⁷ UERPMANN & UERPMANN 2002 ; MAGEE 2015, p. 272 ; FEDELE 2017.

¹⁴⁸ ALMATHEN *et al.* 2016.

¹⁴⁹ UERPMANN & UERPMANN 2002 ; MAGEE 2015 ; ALMATHEN *et al.* 2016.

¹⁵⁰ M. C. A. Macdonald a souligné la distinction qu'il convient d'établir entre les scènes de chasse effectuées à pied et ces scènes de razzia effectuées à cheval, postérieures, en s'appuyant sur le témoignage de voyageurs de la fin du XIX^e-début XX^e siècle (MACDONALD 1990).

¹⁵¹ SCHIETTECATTE & ZOUACHE 2017.

¹⁵² ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

La figure du cheval cabré est apparemment toujours associée à des inscriptions préislamiques : il peut donc être daté entre le début de l'ère chrétienne et le VI^e siècle. Le cheval représenté au galop volant paraît être entièrement ou très majoritairement islamique. À 'Ān Jamal, deux cavaliers de ce type sont surimposés sur des inscriptions antiques : voir JML-F-134 et H-59.

L'autruche

Les fouilles archéologiques n² ont livré peu de restes ostéologiques d'autruches. Toutefois, sa présence est confirmée de longue date en Arabie par la découverte de fragments de coquille d'œuf dans des contextes d'époque historique¹⁵³. Sa présence dans la Péninsule est antérieure au milieu du II^e millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne¹⁵⁴. L'autruche sauvage s'éteint en Arabie dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle¹⁵⁵.

Le palmier (*Phoenix sp.*)

Les gravures permettent rarement de distinguer l'espèce de *Phoenix* représentée même si l'on peut supposer qu'il s'agit le plus souvent du palmier-dattier (*Phoenix dactylifera*), espèce la mieux représentée dans la Péninsule. En partant de ce présupposé, il est difficile de faire la distinction entre des palmiers-dattiers sauvages, cultivés ou féraux. Dans cinq cas de figure toutefois, les palmiers-dattiers apparaissent dotés d'épaisses panicules chargées de dattes qui ne peuvent résulter que d'une pollinisation manuelle (à Himā 2, 'ān-Halkān 1, Jibāl al-Mīnshāf, Nafūd al-Musammā^t 9 et Shi'b Sahī 1) ; pour deux d'entre eux, un personnage est représenté, escaladant le stipe (fig. 27 et 32). Il semble clair que nous ayons ici affaire à l'espèce domestiquée. Cette domestication est attestée au début du III^e millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne en Arabie orientale¹⁵⁶ mais les preuves concrètes de sa culture en Arabie du Sud-Ouest ne sont actuellement pas antérieures au I^{er} millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne¹⁵⁷. Ces représentations seraient donc de date relativement récente.

QUELQUES REMARQUES EN MARGE DES TEXTES SUDARABIQUES ET THAMUDEENS ḤIMA'ITES

¹⁵³ POTTS 2001 ; MONCHOT & POLIAKOF 2016, p. 78, 85.

¹⁵⁴ POTTS 2001, p. 186.

¹⁵⁵ POTTS 2001, p. 183-184.

¹⁵⁶ TENGBERG 2012.

¹⁵⁷ SCHIETTECATTE 2013.

1. La formulation des identités

Nombre de textes rupestres sudarabiques ou thamūdéens donnent un nom unique : voir *T'lb* (JML-F-5) ou *Hrb* (JML-D-1). C'est la manière la plus commune de décliner son identité.

Il est fréquent que les textes comptent deux noms ou davantage. Mais il est souvent difficile de décider si deux noms voisins ou écrits l'un au-dessus de l'autre constituent un seul texte ou deux (voir par exemple JML A-18, A-19 et A-20). Le style graphique, la technique de gravure et la disposition ne permettent pas toujours de trancher à coup sûr.

L'identité avec deux noms est fréquente en sudarabique : voir par exemple *Mlk 'bd'lh* (JML-F-9). En thamūdéen, en revanche, elle est relativement exceptionnelle : voir *Br' - 'bd* (JML-F-119). Le deuxième nom est probablement le nom du père, mais on ne saurait exclure celui d'un ancêtre plus éloigné servant de nom de lignage¹⁵⁸.

Quand un individu donne trois noms (voir par exemple *Lgʒ Tms²ms¹ 'bd*, JML-F-17), il arrive que ce soit le nom personnel, le nom du père et le nom du lignage. C'est assuré en tout cas pour un graffiti d'al-Gharaziyyāt qui se lit :

Bs²r 'bd T'lbⁿ,

« Bishr 'Abd Thu'lubān¹⁵⁹ »

parce qu'un texte voisin donne l'identité du même personnage sous une forme plus explicite :

'mr S¹ d R 's¹ mqtwy ⁽²⁾ *Bs²r bn 'bdᵐ d-T'lbⁿ*,

« 'Āmir Sa'd Ra'īs, officier de ⁽²⁾ Bishr fils de 'Abd^{um} du (lignage) Thu'lubān¹⁶⁰ ».

Mais il est possible également que ces trois noms soient le nom personnel, le nom du père et le nom du grand-père.

Enfin, pour les séquences très exceptionnelles de quatre noms (par exemple *'mr- 'twb-Mlk- 'bdlh*, JML-H-213), la question est de savoir s'il s'agit de l'identité d'un unique personnage (mentionnant trois générations d'ancêtres) ou celle de deux. Un autre caractère intéressant de la structure de l'identité des personnes à Ḥimā est l'absence systématique de noms épithètes. Cela se vérifie dans les graffiti de 'Ān Jamal, mais aussi dans tous ceux de la zone. Même les princes sabéens ou ḥimyarites qui, au Yémen, sont toujours mentionnés avec un nom épithète,

¹⁵⁸ Dans les sources islamiques, il est également fréquent, pour identifier un individu, de donner son nom et celui d'un ancêtre proche : voir par exemple Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-Ukaylī qui est appelé en bref Aḥmad b. 'Abbād (AL-HAMDANI, *al-Iklīl* 1, p. 253-257 et 257-261) ou Aḥmad b. 'Abbād al-Ukaylī (AL-HAMDANI, *al-Dāmigha*, p. 152-153).

¹⁵⁹ ROBIN 2010, fig. 3, p. 88.

¹⁶⁰ ROBIN 2010, fig. 4, p. 89.

n'en ont pas à Ḥimà. C'est par exemple le cas d'un prince de Radmān à al-Khushayba¹⁶¹ ou de princes de Najrān à Bi'r Ḥimà ou à al-Gharaziyyāt¹⁶². Il existe un cas douteux, *Mrtd'w ḥdr* (dans JML-G-108), où *ḥdr* peut être un nom épithète ou un patronyme. Mais il ne change pas grand-chose au constat général que l'épithète, même quand elle existe, n'est pas utilisée.

Deux noms seulement sont assurément des noms de lignage (et non des noms de personne). Ce sont ceux des lignages princiers de Najrān, mentionnés par leurs officiers qui circulaient dans la région : dhu-Thu'lubān (JML-E-4 et JML-H-17) et dhu-Gadan^{um} (JML-H-197).

Il arrive enfin que des étrangers ajoutent à leur identité un adjectif indiquant leur origine (*nisba*). À Ḥimà, la *nisba* la plus fréquente est *qry*, « qaryote », c'est-à-dire issu de Qaryat al-Fa'w (à 200 km de Ḥimà). On rencontre aussi « Sabéen » (cinq fois), « Ḥaḍramawtique » (quatre fois) et « Qatabānite » (deux fois). Il est significatif que la *nisba* « Nagrānite » soit complètement absente. À 'Ān Jamal, on ne relève que « Qaryote », mentionné quatre fois : JML-H-19 {*qryⁿ*} ; JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-ṣgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*} ; JML-H-119 {*Mrk qryⁿ*} ; JML-H-122 {...}/*qr(yn)*}.

Il est manifeste que, à Ḥimà, les gens de Najrān étaient chez eux, tandis que les gens de Qaryat étaient des étrangers. Cette observation s'accorde avec le fait que les forces (de police) venaient de Najrān. Autrement dit, Ḥimà dépendait de Najrān ou, pour le moins, en a dépendu durablement.

Concernant l'onomastique, on peut observer que d'assez nombreux anthroponymes se trouvent aussi bien dans les graffites sudarabiques que dans les graffites thamūdéens ḥimā'ites : c'est un indice supplémentaire en faveur de l'hypothèse que c'est une même population qui a gravé tous ces textes.

Si cette onomastique de Ḥimà est comparée avec celles des royaumes yéménites, comme Saba' et Ma'in, l'écart est considérable. En revanche, si on la compare avec celle des généalogies arabes des VIII^e-X^e siècles de l'ère chrétienne, c'est près d'une moitié des anthroponymes qui se retrouvent dans les deux ensembles.

En sudarabique, où il est possible de dater une certaine proportion de textes, on observe une évolution : certains noms arabes, comme *Mu'āwiyat* ou *Rabī'at*, absents dans les graffites les plus anciens, deviennent très populaires pendant l'Antiquité tardive. Il est vraisemblable que l'onomastique thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite évolue de la même manière.

¹⁶¹ *Whb'l bn* ⁽²⁾ *M'hr qyl* ⁽³⁾ *Rdmⁿ* (ARBACH *et al.* 2015, p. 35).

¹⁶² *Yṣḥq d-Gdn^m* (Bi'r Ḥimà Sab 2 = R 47, *Mrk^m bn Ṣḥm* ⁽²⁾ *mqtwy Yṣḥq d-Gdn^m*) ; *Bs²r bn 'bdm d-T'lbⁿ* (ROBIN 2010, fig. 4, p. 89).

2. Les divinités vénérées d'après l'onomastique

Les données sur les divinités vénérées se limitent à très peu de chose. Un graffite (JML-F-77) est rédigé par un ministre de dhu-Samāwī qui est probablement najrānite :

« Shākīr^{um} ministre de ⁽²⁾ dhu-Samāw^{(3)ī} » ($S^2(kr)^m-qyn$ ⁽²⁾ \underline{d} - $S^1mw^{(3)y}$)

La lettre *dhāl* qui encadre un texte, JML-H-120, est peut-être le symbole du dieu dhu-Samāwī. Enfin, un texte (JML-H-187) mentionne l'érection d'une pierre *nuṣub*, sans doute avec une signification religieuse, mais sans mentionner la divinité associée :

« Rabī at a érigé » (Rb 't-nṣb)

Sinon on ne dispose que des noms théophores pour avoir une idée des divinités qui étaient vénérées ou l'avaient été à une période antérieure. À 'Ān Jamal, on relève les divinités suivantes :

- dans les graffites thamūdéens ḥimā'ites
 - al-Lāt : *Tmlt* (JML-F-101), *Tymlt* (JML-G-98)
 - 'Amm : *Hf[̣]m* (JML-H-126)
 - Īl : *Hf[̣]l* (JML-H-160, sudarabique ou thamūdéen)
 - Peut-être dhu-Samāwī dans JML-G-70 (*Hrm-S¹mw* ou *Hrms¹mw*)
- dans les graffites sudarabiques
 - al-Lāh : *'bdlh* (JML-F-9, JML-H-112, JML-H-213), *Grmlh* (JML-H-237)
 - al-Lāt : *'ws¹lt* (JML-D-45), *Fys²lt* (JML-D-15), *Fs²ylt* (JML-G-31), *Grmlt* (JML-D-58), *M'nlt* (JML-G-118), *Tmlt* (JML-F-101), *Tymlt* (JML-G-98, JML-G-140), *Whblt* (JML-D-57, JML-G-128), *Zydl* (JML-D-58, JML-H-4)
 - al-'Uzzā : *'bdhl'zy* (JML-F-4), *'bdl'zy* (JML-D-20, JML-G-118)
 - 'Amm : *'b'm* (JML-G-115), *Hf[̣]m* (JML-F-47, JML-H-76, JML-H-126), *Hwf[̣]m* (JML-F-166)
 - Īl : *'ws¹l* (JML-H-21), *Bn'l* (JML-E-15, JML-F-60), *Hwf[̣]l* (JML-G-139), *M'q'l* (JML-G-147), *M'd'l* (JML-F-84, JML-G-148), *Nbṭ'l* (JML-F-22), *Rb'l* (JML-G-133), *S¹d'l* (JML-D-49 A, JML-H-27), *S²rḥ'l* (JML-G-58), *Whb'l* (JML-F-27, JML-H-108), *Yḥm'l* (JML-F-115, JML-G-131), *Zd'l* (JML-F-108), *Zyd'l* (JML-F-79)
 - 'Athtar : *Hwf[̣]tt* (JML-G-141), *Lhy'tt* (JML-G-8)
 - Kahl : *'bdkhl* (JML-F-44, JML-H-235), *Hn'khl* (JML-G-39)
 - Manāt : *'bdmnt* (JML-H-118), *Qys¹mnt* (JML-G-90)

- Shams : S^2ms^1m (JML-F-168), Tms^2ms^1 (JML-F-17)¹⁶³
- Wadd : $'bdwd$ (JML-H-202), $Whbwd$ (JML-F-154)

À 'Ān Jamal, les théophores sont manifestement plus fréquents dans les textes sudarabiques (un peu plus de 60% du nombre total des textes préislamiques et les deux tiers environ des anthroponymes) que dans les textes thamūdéens. Mais ce site n'est pas représentatif. Ailleurs, on trouve une proportion comparable de théophores dans les deux écritures.

Il est remarquable que les théophores dans les deux écritures se réfèrent aux mêmes divinités. Cette observation, peu significative à 'Ān Jamal, parce que les théophores thamūdéens sont peu nombreux, se confirme quand on élargit les investigations à l'ensemble des textes de Ḥimā¹⁶⁴ : ce sont exactement les mêmes divinités que l'on retrouve, quelle que soit l'écriture.

Voici l'inventaire des théophores déjà relevés dans la zone de Ḥimā :

- al-'Uzzā : $'bd'z$, $'bdhl'zy$, $'bdl'z$, $'bdl'zy$, $Mr'l'z$, $Mr'l'zy$, Mr'^zy , $Tml'z$, $Tml'zy$, $Whb'z$, $Whbl'z$ ¹⁶⁵ ;
- al-Lāh : $'mt'lh$, $'bdlh$, $Bnlh$, $Mr'lh$, Ns'^lh ;
- al-Lāt : $'mrlt$, $'mrlt$, $'ws^1lt$, $'bdlt$, $'dlt$, $'ydl$, $Grmlt$ (fig. 33), $Hmlt$, $M'nlt$, $Mn'lt$, $Mr'lt$ (fig. 34), $Nhrlt$, $Ntmlt$, S^1dlt , $Tmlt$ (fig. 11), $Tymlt$, $Whblt$, $Zdlt$, $Zydl$;
- 'Amm : $Hf'm$, $Hwf'm$;
- 'Athtar : $Bn'tt$, $Bn'ttr$, $Hwf'tt$, $Lhy'tt$, $Rb'ttr$, $Tym'ttr$;
- Īl : $'mr'l$, $'ws^1l$, $'bd'l$, $'br'l$, $'l$, $'m'l$, $'mk'l$, $Bn'l$, $Dd'l$, $Drh'l$, $Grm'l$, $Gwt'l$, Hfl , $Hwfl$, $Htb'l$, $Hwtr'l$, $Hy'l$, $L'dr'l$, $M'd'l$, $M'n'l$, $Nbr'l$, $Nbt'l$, $Rb'l$, $S^1d'l$, $S^2kr'l$ ¹⁶⁶, $Tb'l$, $Tb'l$, $Wd'l$, $Whb'l$, $Ws^2h'l$, $Yhm'l$, $Yhy'l$, $Ykrb'l$, $Ys^1m'l$, $Ys^2kr'l$, $Ys^2rh'l$, $Yt'l$, $Zd'l$ (fig. 35) ;
- Kahl : $'bkhl$ ¹⁶⁷, $'lkhl$, $'dkhl$, $Hn'khl$;
- Manāt ou Manawāt : $'mtmnt$, $'mtmnwt$, $'s^1mnt$, $'ws^1mnwt$, $'ws^1mnwt^m$, $'bdmnt$, $'bdmnwt$, $Fdlmnt$ (fig. 36), $Grmmnt$, $Mr'mnt$ (fig. 37), Qs^1mnt , Qys^1mnt , S^1dmnt , S^2rmnt , $Slmmnt$, $Tymmnwt^m$, $Whbmnt$, $Zdmnt$, $Zydmnt$, $Zydmnwt$;
- Shams : $'bds^2ms^1$, $Grms^2ms^1$, Tms^2ms^1 , $Tyms^2ms^1$, $Whbs^2ms^1$, $Zyds^2ms^1$;

¹⁶³ On peut compter également parmi les théophores $Mqm'tt$ (JML-F-173, sudarabique, apparemment formé sur Athirat), $Mrt'd'w$ (JML-G-108, sudarabique, formé sur Awām ?) et $'bd'bh$ (JML-F-28, sudarabique).

¹⁶⁴ ROBIN à paraître.

¹⁶⁵ ROBIN & GOREA 2016, p. 327.

¹⁶⁶ Cité par G. RYCKMANS 1957, p. 559.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

- Wadd : *'bdwd*¹⁶⁸, *(H)znwd*, *Mt'wd*, *S¹'dwd*, *Whbwd*, *Zydw* ;
- Yaghūth : *'mtyġt* (fig. 36), *'bdyġt*, *Byġt*, *Gdwyġt*, *Grmyġt* (fig. 38), *Hn'yġt*, *Mr'yġt*, *Rfdyġt*, *S¹'dyġt*, *Tymyġt*, *Zdyġt*¹⁶⁹.

Les divinités attestées sont trois dieux connus dans une grande partie de l'aire sémitique (Īl, 'Athtar et Shams), une divinité commune à de nombreuses populations de toute l'Arabie (Wadd) et des divinités partagées par diverses tribus arabes de l'Arabie désertique (al-'Uzzà, al-Lāh, al-Lāt, Kahl, Manāt et Yaghūth). S'y ajoute de façon marginale, 'Amm, le grand dieu de Qatabān, la seule divinité propre aux grands royaumes sudarabiques qu'on trouve à Ḥimā.

Si on compare les théophores de Ḥimā avec ceux du Yémen, on constate (comme pour l'onomastique de façon générale, comme nous l'avons vu) des différences significatives. À Ḥimā, les anthroponymes théophores typiquement sabéens, comme ceux formés avec le nom du grand dieu de Saba', Almaqah (*'lmqh*), ou avec les termes qui remplacent Almaqah (comme *'wm* et *-twn*), sont complètement absents, si on excepte un texte gravé par un officier royal ḥimyarite¹⁷⁰. On peut en conclure que les auteurs des inscriptions sudarabiques de Ḥimā n'appartenaient pas (sauf exception) à l'aristocratie sabéenne. C'est particulièrement significatif parce que le royaume de Saba' jouait un grand rôle dans les échanges à longue distance et parce que son territoire était relativement proche. On peut en dire autant pour le Ḥaḍramawt (grand dieu Siyān, *S'y'n*), Sam'ī (grand dieu Ta'lab, *T'lb*) etc.

En revanche, si on compare les théophores de Ḥimā avec ceux de l'Arabie du Nord-Ouest¹⁷¹, on observe que beaucoup sont partagés. Ce sont tout particulièrement ceux formés avec al-'Uzzà, al-Lāh, al-Lāt et Manāt.

En bref, les théophores de Ḥimā suggèrent deux conclusions. La première est que les auteurs des textes sudarabiques et thamūdéens de Ḥimā vénèrent les mêmes divinités : ils appartiennent donc à une même population, semblable à celle de toute la zone Najrān-Ḥimā-Qaryat-Tathlīth.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ ROBIN & GOREA 2016, p. 329-330.

¹⁷⁰ L'auteur de ce graffiti porte un nom qui n'est pas autrement attesté, *Mrt'd'w* (JML-G-108). Il n'est pas impossible que *Mrt'd'w* soit une forme abrégée (ou une graphie fautive) de *Mrt'd'wm*, qui est un nom sabéen fréquent. Si c'était le cas, ce serait un théophore se référant à un temple d'Almaqah.

¹⁷¹ Pour un inventaire des divinités de l'Arabie du Nord-Ouest dans les textes en écriture nabatéenne, voir Laïla NEHME 2020. À sa liste, il faut ajouter Wadd (attesté à Dédān) et Yaghūth (*'mr'y'wt*, dans CANTINEAU 1930-1932, II, p. 64 et 104). Pour les textes dans les écritures arabiques de l'Arabie du Nord-Ouest, se reporter à la base de données OCIANA (<http://krc2.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/>).

Cette population, tout au moins sur le plan religieux, est apparentée davantage aux populations de l'Arabie du nord-ouest qu'à celles du Yémen.

On peut encore ajouter quelques remarques marginales. Il est probable que les théophores de Ḥimà formés avec Kahl (le grand dieu de Qaryat al-Fa'w), avec al-Lāh (une divinité importante à Qaryat al-Fa'w) et avec dhu-Samāwī (le grand dieu de Najrān) sont avant tout portés par des personnes originaires de ces oasis. Quant à Yaghūth, dont on a quelques attestations au nord-ouest, mais qui est très rare en dehors de Ḥimà, c'est manifestement le grand dieu local.

Il reste enfin à signaler une curiosité. On trouve à Ḥimà, comme à Qaryat al-Fa'w (dans les inscriptions) et à Najrān (dans la liste des chrétiens victimes du massacre de Yūsuf en 523, que donne le *Book of the Himyarites*), le théophore Hawfā'amm. Or cet anthroponyme, formé avec le verbe saba'ique factitif *hwfy* et le nom du grand dieu qatabānite 'Amm, est en principe typiquement qatabānite. Deux explications sont possibles. La première est que le dieu 'Amm a été vénéré par certaines populations de la zone Najrān-Ḥimà-Qaryat. La seconde est qu'un personnage (d'origine qatabānite) appelé Hawfā'amm a joué un rôle mémorable ou a exercé une influence durable, de sorte que son nom a été donné à des enfants qui l'ont transmis par la suite à leurs descendants¹⁷².

3. La langue des textes préislamiques

À Ḥimà, le modèle linguistique est le saba'ique, assurément dans les textes en écriture sudarabique et probablement dans ceux en écriture thamūdéenne ḥimā'ite. En saba'ique, l'article déterminé est un *-ān* postposé, comme dans « Awsallāt le maître d'œuvre », *'ws'lt (2) grbyⁿ* (JML-D-45).

Il est notable dès lors que, dans quelques noms propres, la pratique s'écarte de ce modèle et remplace l'article saba'ique par celui de l'arabe, *al-*, préposé. Les inscriptions de Ḥimà comme celle de Najrān révèlent d'ailleurs que cet article arabe a d'abord été *hal-* avant de prendre la forme *al-*.

À 'Ān Jamal, l'article arabe n'est attesté assurément que dans les théophores formés avec le nom de la déesse al-'Uzzā, *'bdhl'zy* (JML-F-4) et *'bdl'zy* (JML-D-20 et JML-G-118). Dans *'l'mr* (JML-H-165), *'l'ws'* (JML-F-148) et *'l'byd* (JML-E-9), trois graffites dont la lecture n'est pas entièrement sûre, il est difficile de dire s'il s'agit de l'article arabe *al-*, de l'élément *āl-*, « mon dieu » ou même du substantif *āl*, « famille ».

¹⁷² Un tel phénomène s'observe avec le nom aksūmite Abraha, qui est passé en arabe (dans CASSEL 1966, on en relève quatre occurrences et d'autres dans les généalogies d'al-Hamdānī).

Concernant la phonétique, il est remarquable que les lettres s^3 et le z soient pratiquement absentes des textes en écriture sudarabique, tout comme elles le sont probablement dans les textes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites. Les seules exceptions relevées jusqu'à présent s'expliquent par le fait que l'auteur du graffiti n'appartient pas aux populations locales, mais vient très probablement de Ma'īn (fig. 39).

La *mīmation* qui s'observe dans les anthroponymes sudarabiques n'est pas toujours préservée dans les anthroponymes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites correspondants. De même, les diphtongues sudarabiques ne sont pas conservées (sauf exception) en thamūdéen ḥimā'ite. Mais ce n'est pas très significatif puisque les mêmes variations s'observent à l'intérieur même du sudarabique. Concernant la *mīmation*, le patronyme d'un prince de Najrān est écrit soit $'bd$ soit $'bd^m$ ¹⁷³, et l'anthroponyme $'twb^m$ (JML-F-158) peut également être écrit $'twb$ (JML-F-11). Concernant les diphtongues, on trouve aussi bien Zyd^m (JML-E-19) et $Tymlt$ (JML-G-140) que Zd^m (JML-G-55) et $Tmlt$ (JML-F-101).

Concernant le lexique, les textes de Ḥimā sont d'une très grande pauvreté. En thamūdéen, on relève les termes, wqr , « dessiner, graver » (JML-G-64 et JML-G-120¹⁷⁴), wdd , « être ami avec » (JML-F-132)¹⁷⁵ et hb , « être uni à » (JML-F-36), tous les trois probablement des verbes, mais tous les trois de sens incertain. Les verbes wdd (avec le même sens, « être ami avec ») et $nšb$ (« ériger ») se trouvent aussi une fois en sudarabique (JML-F-123 et JML-H-187B). On trouve également le pronom d'attribution $d-$, aussi bien en thamūdéen qu'en sudarabique.

Les rares substantifs se trouvent en sudarabique. Ce sont (en plus du substantif « fils », bn) des titres ou des métiers comme qyn , « ministre » (JML-F-77), $mqtw(y)$, « officier » (JML-E-4B et JML-G-108), nhl , « capitaine de cavalerie » (JML-H-17 où $S^l m^n hl$ est corrigé en $S^l m nhl$ ou $S^l m^n nhl$), mlk , « roi » et $grby$, « tailleur de pierre, graveur » (JML-D-45). On peut leur ajouter $nhmy$ qui est aussi, peut-être, un « tailleur de pierre » (JML-F-74)¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷³ Voir ROBIN 2010, fig. 3 et 4, p. 88 et 89.

¹⁷⁴ Sur wqr , voir ROBIN & GOREA 2016 : 325–326. Jacques RYCKMANS en faisait déjà la mention (1956, p. 12 ; 1960, p. 204 ; 1969, p. 249).

¹⁷⁵ Sur wdd , voir ROBIN & GOREA 2016, p. 326–327. Voir déjà J. Ryckmans 1956, p. 12 ; 1960, p. 204.

¹⁷⁶ En sudarabique, $nhmt$ (ou $mnhmt$) désigne un type de blocs de pierre, à distinguer de grb , sans qu'on sache très bien lequel est travaillé et poli et lequel n'est pas équarri. Dans huit inscriptions sabéennes, l'auteur se déclare $nhmy$. Il est plausible que ce terme se réfère à la pierre et signifie « tailleur de pierre ». L'hypothèse que ce soit la *nisba* de Nihm, nom d'une tribu arabe dont la plus ancienne mention remonte à l'aube de l'Islam (dans la liste des groupes tribaux représentés dans la délégation de Hamdān qui se rend à al-Madīna) est moins vraisemblable.

Quant à savoir si la langue des textes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites est semblable ou non à celle des textes sudarabiques, la réponse est plutôt positive puisque la plupart des indices recueillis vont dans le sens de l'appartenance à un même ensemble linguistique.

PREMIERES CONCLUSIONS

Les premières investigations de la mission franco-saoudienne confirment que les graffites en écriture sudarabique se concentrent avant tout à la périphérie, alors que les graffites thamūdéens ḥimā'ites se trouvent surtout dans les vallées qui pénètrent dans les massifs. Les premiers sont gravés par des personnes étrangères à la région qui y circulent ou qui la traversent et les seconds par la population locale. Quand les pétroglyphes sont associés avec de l'écriture, c'est presque toujours du thamūdéen ḥimā'ite : ils sont donc majoritairement produits par la population locale.

Mais ces investigations nuancent ou corrigent aussi plusieurs hypothèses anciennes. La première concerne l'origine des personnes étrangères qui circulent dans la région. On observe que la langue des auteurs de graffites sudarabiques et leurs divinités sont très semblables à celle des auteurs de graffites thamūdéens ḥimā'ites. Par ailleurs, quand les gens qui circulent à Ḥimā sont identifiés, ils proviennent en grande majorité de Najrān et de Qaryat al-Fa'w. Ceux qui viennent de Saba', de Qatabān, du Ḥaḍramawt ou de Ḥimyar sont en nombre infime¹⁷⁷. Les « étrangers » de passage à Ḥimā viennent donc avant tout des grandes métropoles régionales. Au total, les auteurs des textes rupestres de Ḥimā appartiennent majoritairement à deux ensembles concentriques : un cercle proche constitué par la population locale et un cercle élargi s'étendant jusqu'à 200 km avec les populations citadines de Najrān et de Qaryat al-Fa'w.

Sur deux autres points, les premières investigations de la mission de Najrān contredisent les thèses qui prévalaient précédemment. Celle qui attribuait une date très haute, antérieure à l'apparition de l'écriture, à un grand nombre de pétroglyphes représentant humains et animaux, ne semble pas fondée. Quant à la thèse, soutenue par Jacques Ryckmans, de l'antériorité du thamūdéen ḥimā'ite sur le sudarabique (daté des III-V^e siècles è. chr.), elle a perdu ses fondements depuis que les datations par la paléographie sudarabique ont été affinées et que la chronologie de l'Arabie du Sud s'est précisée. Il est assuré aujourd'hui que les textes sudarabiques de Ḥimā se répartissent entre la fin du VIII^e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne et le

¹⁷⁷ Dans les inventaires épigraphiques, leur nombre paraît relativement élevé parce que l'origine est plus souvent mentionnée quand on est loin de chez soi.

milieu du VI^e siècle **ap.** Quant aux textes ḥimā'ites, si on ne sait pas les dater précisément (sauf rare exception), il est plausible qu'ils soient contemporains des textes sudarabiques sur la totalité de la fourchette ou sur une partie importante de cette dernière.

En revanche, il se confirme, comme l'avait pressenti Jacques Ryckmans, que de nombreuses images sont d'époque islamique.

Il reste à résoudre la question de savoir pourquoi deux écritures ont coexisté dans la zone Najrān-Ḥimā-Qaryat. L'une traduisait sans doute une volonté d'intégration dans la « Sudarabie » (les pays de culture sudarabique, à savoir une aire beaucoup plus étroite que l'Arabie du Sud), tandis que l'autre manifestait le désir de s'affirmer différent, voire de se maintenir à l'écart. Mais on ne saurait considérer ce point comme définitivement acquis. Quant à la genèse de l'alphabet thamūdéen ḥimā'ite et à sa relation avec les autres thamūdéens et le sudarabique, aucune solution raisonnablement fondée ne pourra être proposée tant que l'on ne sera pas en mesure de classer chronologiquement et de dater (au moins sommairement) les textes thamūdéens ḥimā'ites.

Il reste également la question de la grande concentration de gravures à 'Ān Jamal¹⁷⁸. Les raisons de cette concentration sont difficiles à cerner. 'Ān Jamal n'était probablement pas un lieu d'étape pour les caravanes, les voyageurs, la police du désert ou les armées qui circulaient dans la région : le site se trouve à moins de 10 km des puits alors que les étapes sont d'ordinaire nettement plus longues, aux alentours de 20 km ou davantage. Mais peut-être y faisait-on une halte aux heures les plus chaudes de la journée puisque, près des rochers et des parois, on y trouve des zones à l'ombre (**fig. 4-5**).

Quoi qu'il en soit, 'Ān Jamal était un repère majeur le long des pistes et un poste d'observation où a dû fréquemment stationner un détachement chargé de la sécurité dans le désert : on peut le déduire de la configuration des lieux, mais aussi des gravures qui se trouvent au sommet.

La concentration de graffites peut s'expliquer aussi, au moins en partie, par le fait que « la gravure appelle la gravure » : nous voulons dire par là que le voyageur qui voit une gravure est incité à laisser lui aussi une trace de son passage ; n'observe-t-on pas que des gravures contemporaines sont fréquemment superposées sur des gravures anciennes ? Or, le grand panneau du site a probablement été couvert de pétroglyphes avant même l'apparition de l'écriture. Il pouvait y avoir enfin des motifs propitiatoires, dans une région où les périls sont multiples. Les raisons de la grande concentration de gravures à 'Ān Jamal seront peut-être plus

¹⁷⁸ Voir déjà ARBACH *et al.* 2015, p. 40-41.

apparentes quand la cartographie de la distribution des gravures dans toute la zone de Hımà sera plus avancée.

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INTRODUCTION

This volume is a publication of the rock carvings recorded between 2007 and 2010 by a team of Saudi and French scholars at the site of ‘Ān Jamal in the Ḥimà region, about one hundred kilometres to the north-northeast of Najrān (Saudi Arabia) (Fig. 1). Literally, Ḥimà is the name of a group of wells and, in recent times, has become that of the small administrative centre that developed in their vicinity (N18.250°, E44.452°). It is also the name now beginning to be used to designate the region extending to the north and east of those wells. It is a large group of mountains bordering settled regions of South Arabia, at the very edge of the immense desert extending towards Mesopotamia and the Levant. This mountain range mainly comprises two sets, the Jabal al-Qāra to the west and the Jabal al-Kawkab to the east, separated by the Najd Sahī fault. This region, whose area is close to 100 sq. km, is distinctive due to the abundance and exceptional density of archaeological remains (rock carvings and funerary structures) (Fig. 2). It is second to none in the world, comparable only to other regions of Saudi Arabia’s centre and northwest.¹ Its development and protection should be made easier in the future by its swift inscription on UNESCO’s World Heritage list.

The historical importance of Ḥimà, whose name is ancient,² resides in the fact that it is the Najrān valley’s gateway to the desert: indeed from Najrān to Ḥimà, one is dealing with the steppe rather than the desert, with valleys where agriculture is still practiced. Ḥimà’s importance also lies in its location; it is where the trail to the north (which allows one to reach Egypt, Syria and, from Tathlīth, the Najd), separates from that leading to Qaryat al-Fa’w and the Gulf. Ḥimà is therefore, together with Najrān, a possible candidate for the great market that no doubt existed at the point of departure of caravan routes leading to Egypt, Syria, the Gulf and Mesopotamia.³

¹ BEDNARIK 2015.

² The area is called “Ḥimà of Nagrān,” *Ḥm Ngrⁿ*, in an inscription found recently near the wells, Bi’r Ḥimà Sab 1 / 3-4 (ROBIN *et al.* 2014: 1078-83), with the addition of Najrān to avoid the confusion with homonyms. Ḥimà’s name also appears in the 10th century CE, in al-Hamdānī’s description of the Arabian Peninsula: “Ḥimà, a watering place bordering the mountains of Ghādhⁱⁿ {nowadays al-Qāra}” (*Ḥimà mā’ bi-aṭrāf jibāl Ghādhⁱⁿ*, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 116 / 20); “al-Kawkab, a watering place downstream of Ḥimà” (*wa-al-Kawkab mā’ asfal min Ḥimà*, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 116 / 22).

³ For a chronological outline of the caravan trade in the Najrān region, see ROBIN 2014.

This strategic position of Ḥimà partly explains the astonishing abundance of rock carvings in the area. That, however, is not the only reason. The distribution of rock carvings in the Arabian Peninsula is much more the result of social factors than of natural conditions. The Najd in Central Arabia provides a clear illustration of this: to the west of Riyadh, there is a relative wealth of rock art; by contrast, to the east, the latter is entirely absent. And yet both west and east, the limestone outcrops are the same and, east of Riyadh, one finds large centres of past traffic like al-Kharj (80 km to the southeast of Riyadh).

THE SITE OF ‘ĀN JAMAL

Located on the interface between the Precambrian crystalline bedrock constituted by the ‘Asīr and central Plateau anticlines, the region of Ḥimà and of the Jabal al-Kawkab is a Palaeozoic sedimentary formation of sandstone facies (Wajid sandstone). Cut by wind erosion and by seasonal flows, these highlands are penetrated by numerous gorges and valleys, occasionally crossed by passes. More modest formations and inselbergs mark their extremity to the west.

‘Ān Jamal (N18.297°, E44.514°), the “Jamal promontory,” which is one of these rocky mounds, projects in front of a tabular massif 8.5 km to the east of the Ḥimà wells.⁴ “‘Ān Jamal” is the written form on the 1/50,000 map of Saudi Arabia (n° 4418-24) and the name we have kept.⁵ At the site, however, it does happen that the name is preceded by the definite article (“‘Ān al-Jamal,” the “promontory of the Camel”); the Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens (PRL) expedition recorded it under this name. Reaching a height of 1298 m above sea level, the promontory overlooks by some 70 m the sandy plain extending at its foot. It is not the region’s highest point, since the neighbouring plateau and the “Idhbāḥ” mountain⁶ reach an elevation of 1,379 m and 1,352 m, respectively. It is nevertheless a perfect observation point to watch over movement between Ḥimà and al-Ṣammā’.

The site contains an exceptional concentration of rock carvings. We have recorded there some 190 petroglyphs or figurative drawings (mounted horses, dromedaries, bovines, antelopes, ibexes, oryxes, ostriches, dogs, hunting scenes, anthropomorphic figures, feet,

⁴ Ḥimà is located 85 km as the crow flies to the east-northeast of Najrān.

⁵ For the sake of simplification and coherence, it seemed preferable systematically to adopt the written form of place-names given by the maps drawn at a 1/50,000 scale.

⁶ “Idhbāḥ” (the written form given by the 4418-24 map) is probably a dialectal form of Dhubāḥ (which one can, indeed, find elsewhere).

hands, palm trees etc.), or symbolic ones, and more than 550 texts (formal inscriptions and graffiti) written in three scripts (South Arabian, Thamūdic and Arabic). Moreover, this concentration is quite circumscribed: it extends around the range's perimeter and on neighbouring rocks, over a length of approximately 200 m; the walls in the continuation of those of ʿĀn Jamal are by contrast void of any carvings. This remarkable distribution made easier the protection of the site which, some ten years ago, was surrounded by a metal enclosure built by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage (Figs 3-5). The significance of this concentration will be analysed a little later.

THE FIRST INVESTIGATIONS

1. *Harry St John Philby*

The considerable interest of the site was recognized as early as 1936 by the British explorer St John Philby,⁷ who was the King of Saudi Arabia's advisor. This occurred a little after the treaty that temporarily attached Najrān to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The purpose was then to reconnoitre the new border and to mark it. Philby had taken advantage of this task to explore the Peninsula's south between Najrān and Shabwa. It was during this journey that he made the first copies of inscriptions at the Ḥimà wells.⁸ He makes no mention of the name of ʿĀn Jamal, but only that of Najd Sahī, a large corridor south-north in orientation separating the region's two large mountain ranges al-Qāra and al-Kawkab, some ten kilometres further to the east (Fig. 2). It is certain, however, that Philby went through ʿĀn Jamal on 22 June 1936, because it is there that some of the inscriptions he copied are located. These inscriptions were published in 1956 by Albert Van Den Branden (see Figs 42-43).⁹

2. *The Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens Expedition (PRL)*

After the Second World War, Philby persuaded king ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that it was important to resume the archaeological exploration of the kingdom's south-eastern corners; he obtained the necessary funds to mount an expedition with two specialists of ancient

⁷ The Frenchman Joseph Halévy, the first traveller to go to Najrān in modern times (in 1870), arrived from Yemen and travelled back to Yemen: he did not go through Ḥimà.

⁸ See the accounts of this journey by H.St.J.B. PHILBY (1939 for the Yemen; 1952 for the Najrān region, see pp. 213ff).

⁹ VAN DEN BRANDEN 1956.

languages (Gonzague Ryckmans and his nephew Jacques Ryckmans), and with an ex-soldier in charge of organization (Philippe Lippens), all three of whom were Belgians. The “Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens” (PRL) expedition left Jeddah on 8 November 1951, arrived in Najrān on 18 December, and ended in Riyadh on 11 February 1952. Though it focused above all on rock inscriptions, it did not neglect petroglyphs or figurative drawings. A lively account of this archaeological exploration was published by Philippe Lippens.¹⁰

For the recording of rock carved texts, formal inscriptions and graffiti, the PRL expedition resorted to manual copies (by a single member or several), leaving photography – a complicated matter in hot countries – for the most important texts. A volume reproducing the copies carried out in the field contained 261 plates. It was completed and edited; it was even listed as n° 50 in the “*Bibliothèque du Muséon*” collection. And yet it was never printed; we shall hereafter refer to it as PRL, *Atlas*. Gonzague Ryckmans only published a preliminary article.¹¹ As for the petroglyphs, an analytical publication was carried out by Emmanuel Anati (four volumes published between 1968 and 1974 under the title *Rock Art in Central Arabia*, Vol. 1-4).¹² Another volume was dedicated to Arab inscriptions by Adolf Grohmann.¹³ In these printed volumes, it does occur that the illustrations incidentally show unpublished rock carved texts (in South Arabian or “Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic” script).

The scripts used in Ḥimā’s rock art are quite varied. They are, in decreasing order of importance: scripts of South Arabian type (South Arabian and “Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic”); Arabic; Nabataean Aramaic; Greek; and finally Hebrew and Syriac.

One of the main results of the PRL expedition was to make obvious the fact that, within the group of texts written in scripts of South Arabian type, two types had to be distinguished from each other: on the one hand South Arabian texts, which follow the same rules of spelling and the same norms of writing as inscriptions of Yemen; on the other hand, texts carved with less care, written in a script related to both South Arabian and to Thamūdic scripts of Desert Arabia.¹⁴ The conviction that there was a “Thamūdic”

¹⁰ LIPPENS 1956.

¹¹ G. RYCKMANS 1957.

¹² ANATI 1968a; 1968b; 1972; 1974.

¹³ GROHMANN 1962.

¹⁴ The vast deserts of the Arabian Peninsula are often referred to as *Arabia Deserta* (see for instance Charles Montagu Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1888). This appellation is inappropriate because, in Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy, the Arabian Peninsula in its entirety is

in the south of the Peninsula, different from “South Arabian,” was emphasized by Jacques Ryckmans in an article entitled “Aspects nouveaux du problème thamoudéen.”¹⁵ Yet the distinction of these two types of texts (South Arabian and “Thamūdīc”) goes back to the period of the expedition. It is translated in concrete manner in the numbering of the drawings of the South Arabian and “Thamūdīc” texts. In this numbering, a letter indicates the area where the text was copied. A map published by Emmanuel Anati (vol. III)¹⁶ reproduced in this volume (Fig. 6) locates these areas. They are:

A: East of Makka;

B: Northwest of Bīsha;

C: [not located on the map];

D: Khaybar (to the northeast of Abhā);

E: Abhā;

F: [not located on the map];

G: [not located on the map];

H: Murayghān;

I: *vacat*;

J: East of Murayghān;

K: To the southeast of J, towards Yadama (on the map Aiduma, whose location is mistaken);

L: *vacat*;

M and N: Between K and Yadama;

O: *vacat*;

P: Surroundings of Najrān;

Q: Najrān;

R: Ḥimā (al-Qāra and al-Kawkab);

S: To the northeast of Ḥimā, towards Qaryat al-Faʿw;

T: To the west of Qaryat al-Faʿw;

U: Surroundings of Qaryat al-Faʿw;

V: Qaryat al-Faʿw;

called *Arabia Felix*; the name *Arabia Deserta* designates the deserts between the Nile and Upper Mesopotamia, passing through Sinai and the Syrian desert.

¹⁵ J. RYCKMANS 1956.

¹⁶ ANATI 1972: Map 2, p. 17.

W: Between Qaryat al-Fa'w and Ma'sal;

X: Ma'sal.

The letters Y and Z are meant only for inscriptions in other scripts, no matter their provenance:

Y: Greek, Hebrew, Nabataean, unidentified scripts etc.;

Z: Islamic Arabic.

In Anati vol. II,¹⁷ a detailed map precisely mentions the distribution in the Ḥimà region (reproduced in this volume, Fig. 7).

For the areas A-X, the capital letter signals that the text is in South Arabian and the small letter in "Thamūdic" script. For an illustration, one could refer to PRL, *Atlas*, Pl. 141 (here Figs 44-45) where South Arabian inscriptions have been given the abbreviations R459-465 and the "Thamūdic" ones r533-566.

The plates of the PRL, *Atlas*, allow the possibility of an inventory of South Arabian and Thamūdic texts copied during the expedition, and enable one to see how these texts were respectively distributed:

<i>Area</i>	<i>Plates</i>	<i>South Arabian text numbers</i>	<i>Thamūdic text numbers</i>
A	Pl. 1		a1-14
B	Pl. 10		b1-201
C	Pl. 10		c1-21
D	Pl. 10-15		d1-121
E	Pl. 16-26		e1-236
F	Pl. 26-27	F1-3	f1-73
G	Pl. 27-29	G1	g1-39
H	Pl. 29-45	H1-H78	h1-h874
J	Pl. 45-75	J1-J31	j1-j1736
K	Pl. 75-83	K1-K10	k1-k559
M	Pl. 83-96	M1-M46	m1-m837
N	Pl. 97-99	N1-N32	n1-n88
P	Pl. 99-119	P1-P346	p1-p278

¹⁷ ANATI 1968b: 3.

Q	Pl. 119-123	Q1-Q61	q1-q18
R (Ḥimà)	Pl. 123-241	R1-R2998	r1-r5305
S	Pl. 241-245	S1-S63	s1-s135
T	Pl. 245-249	T1-T23	t1-t339
U	Pl. 249-253	U1-U132	u1-u202
V	Pl. 254-255	V1-V53	v1
W	Pl. 255-256	W1	w1-8
X	Pl. 256-258	X1-17	x1-82

This inventory prompts two observations. The first is that one finds South Arabian texts only to the south of Bīsha: it is only in the Bīsha-Najrān-Qaryat al-Faʿw triangle that South Arabian and “Thamūdic” texts frequently intermingle.¹⁸ Moreover, in this triangle, Thamūdic texts are more numerous than South Arabian ones, except in the oases of Najrān and Qarya; in the region of Ḥimà, they make up around 64% of the total (5,300 over 8,300). It is true that the classification criteria of the PRL expedition were not exactly the same as ours. The PRL scholars ordered as “Thamūdic” all carelessly carved texts, even when they did not include any typical “Thamūdic” letter (see for example r5305, PRL, Atlas, Pl. 241, *bdlt*). We believe that only texts that include at least one characteristic letter can be classified as “Thamūdic.” But this difference of appreciation is of no consequence, because it is relevant only to a very few texts.

According to Jacques Ryckmans’ unpublished account, the expedition made its first visit to ‘Ān Jamal on 8 January 1952, and completed its drawings during the morning of the 9th.¹⁹

¹⁸ The case of area X is somewhat special, since the South Arabian inscriptions were only carved by Himyarite armies on the march.

¹⁹ The text below is reproduced from French as faithfully as possible, with its formal imperfections:

{8 janvier 1952}

080152. Départ {des puits de Ḥimà} vers 9 h. La jeep me précède pour copie des inscriptions dans le défilé et en route. Je dois d’abord vérifier les divergences de lecture de ma copie et de celle d’oncle Gon[zague] pour la grande inscription {Ry 507}. En remontant sur la plate-forme étroite, je remarque sur la paroi de droite les restes d’un monogramme et d’un ou deux noms abîmés. Le monogramme faisait pendant à celui de la gauche de l’inscription, complétant le nom de son auteur. Dans le défilé de grès dans lequel se trouve le ḥashm de l’inscription, il y a, à 60 m. au NE {nord-est} de l’inscription, une colline de granit. Puis je relève un rocher plein d’inscriptions, déjà vu à l’entrée du défilé (il s’agit

{8 January 1952}

080152. Departure {from the wells of Ḥimā} towards 9 hrs. The jeep precedes me to copy the inscriptions in the gorge and during the journey. I must first of all check the divergences between my copy and that of uncle Gon[zague] concerning the large inscription {Ry 507}. While climbing on the narrow platform, I notice on the walls to the right the remains of a monogram and of one or two damaged names. The monogram was facing the one to the left of the inscription, completing its author's name. In the sandstone gorge in which one finds the inscription's *ḥashm*, there is, 60 m to

sans doute des inscriptions de Ḥimā relevées par Philby en dehors de la grande []]. Je suis ensuite la route de la jeep, avec arrêt à tous les khashm de la plaine. Km. 13, 14 h.30, rocher couvert d'inscriptions (il s'agit en réalité du 'Ān al-Jamal) que je photographie : j'étais chargé du relevé de toutes les inscriptions jusqu'à ce point inclusivement. Je trouve les autres à 500 m. de là dans un cirque appelé aussi 'Ān al-Jamal, bourré d'inscriptions. Après la collation, je fais toute la colline W {ouest}, je crois, du cirque, qui porte le nom de Farda. En face : la colline Farā'id ; au sud, la colline 'Ān al-Jamal. {9 janvier 1952}

090152. Travaillé le matin avec oncle Gon[zague] au rocher 'Ān al-Jamal, à l'entrée du cirque, si abondamment photographié. Il y a là une grande paroi couverte de dessins de différentes époques, et d'inscriptions. Au pied de cette paroi, énorme bloc de rocher renversé ; à la partie inférieure, il y a des textes himyarites. J'ai trouvé à la partie supérieure des dessins de bouquetins renversés {JML-H-11, JML-H-13}. J'ai ainsi pu me rendre compte que les bouquetins étaient dessinés sur la grande paroi, dont plus tard le bloc s'est détaché ; et sur ce dernier on a enfin écrit des graffites himyarites. Malheureusement, les bouquetins r[e]nversés n'étaient accompagnés d'aucune inscription. Il eut été intéressant de trouver là par exemple une ou deux inscriptions thamūdéennes. Sur un bloc voisin, une partie bien conservée porte des graffites thamūdéens, avec, en plus grand et les oblitérant, quelques graffites himyarites. La partie inférieure de ce bloc, très érodée, ne comporte que des inscriptions himyarites. Je conclus <de> des deux indices que les inscriptions thamūdéennes ont précédé ici en tout cas les inscriptions himyarites : dans le premier cas les inscriptions himyarites empiètent sur les inscriptions thamūdéennes ; dans le second cas la paroi, soumise à une érosion très rapide, a perdu ses inscriptions thamūdéennes, permettant une réutilisation à l'époque himyarite.

Le massif dont le cirque forme l'entrée est le Qāra, que nous avons déjà vu du Kawkab (que désormais nous appelons Kawkab A ou Kawkab Qaḥṭān). Après avoir fini au 'Ān al-Jamal, nous retraversons le cirque pour continuer à l'intérieur du Qāra, où Philby et Philippe nous ont précédés en jeep. On les trouve vers 2h., à 8 km. de là, en train de copier dans le défilé Najd Harīr, formé des collines Sammā à dr[oite] (E {est}) et Sa'ad [à] gauche, W {ouest}. Nous avons parcouru pour les rejoindre un espace assez vaste bordé de baies et de nasla : elles n'atteignent pas 30 m. de haut. Après le déjeuner dans le Najd, je vais travailler dans une petite colline juste à l'entrée du défilé, et déjà à moitié relevée par Philby. Puis je fais toute la face sud-est des Samma, le long de la plaine que nous avons traversée. J'emploie l'auto pour ce parcours, et au bout de 2 à 3 km., nouveau défilé s'ouvrant sur une plaine beaucoup plus large. Retour au camp.

the NE [northeast] of the inscription, a hill of granite. I then record a rock full of inscriptions, already seen at the entrance to the gorge (these are no doubt inscriptions from Ḥimā recorded by Philby, apart from the large one). I then follow the route taken by the jeep, with stops at all the *khawsh* of the plain. Km 13, 2hrs30 in the afternoon, a rock covered in inscriptions (in reality the *ʿĀn al-Jamal*), of which I take a picture: I was in charge of drawing all of the inscriptions up to this point. I find the other ones 500 m from there, in a crater also called *ʿĀn al-Jamal*, full of inscriptions. After breakfast, I go all through the hill W [west], I believe, of the crater, which bears the name of Farda.

Facing: The Farā'id hill; to the south, the *ʿĀn al-Jamal* hill.

[9 January 1952]

090152. Worked in the morning with uncle Gon[zague] at the rock of *ʿĀn al-Jamal*, at the entrance of the crater, so thoroughly photographed. There is there a great wall covered in drawings of different periods, and inscriptions. At the foot of this rock wall, an enormous block of overturned stone; on the lower part, there are Himyaritic texts. In the upper part I found drawings of ibexes *upside down* {JML-H-11, JML-H-13 – See [Figs 410-412](#)}. I understood that the ibexes were drawn on the large wall face, from which the block separated; and on the latter Himyarite graffiti were written. Unfortunately, the upside-down ibexes were not accompanied by any inscription. It would have been interesting to find there, for instance, one or two Thamūdic inscriptions. On a neighbouring block, a well-preserved part shows Thamūdic graffiti, with, larger in size and obliterating them, some Himyarite graffiti. The lower part of this block, very eroded, only consists of Himyarite inscriptions. I conclude from two of these clues that Thamūdic have here, in any case, preceded Himyarite ones; in the second case the wall face, subjected to very quick erosion, has lost its Thamūdic inscriptions, allowing reuse during the Himyarite period.

The range whose crater forms the entrance is the Qāra, which we had already seen from Kawkab (that we now call Kawkab A or Kawkab Qaḥṭān). After having finished at *ʿĀn al-Jamal*, we cross the crater once more to continue inside the Qāra, where Philby and Philippe have preceded us in the jeep. We find them at around 2 hrs in the afternoon, 8 km from there, copying in the *Najd Harīr*, formed by the Sammā to the r[ight] (E {east}) and Saʿad to the left, W {west}. To join them, we went through a quite large space bordered by bays and *nasla*: they do not reach 30 m in height. After lunch in the Najd, I go to work on a small hill just at the entrance of the gorge, and already half recorded by Philby. Then I do the entire south-eastern face of the Samma, along the plain we have crossed. I use the car for this trip, and after 2 or 3 km, new gorge opening on a much larger plain. Return to the camp.”

(See [Figs 60-61](#), the photograph of the original text of the pp. 38 and 39).

The PRL expedition therefore only spent a single day at *ʿĀn Jamal*. One should emphasize the extent and quality of the work carried out by Jacques Ryckmans. It is indeed easy, on the plates with facsimiles [*Atlas Catalogue*], to recognize this scholar's hand, and to distinguish it from that of the expedition's other members. For example, on Pl. 148 of the

Catalogue (Atlas), (reproduced here, Fig. 58), one can recognize three different hands; these are certainly those of Jacques Ryckmans (for instance top right, R626-R640), probably that of Gonzague Ryckmans (for instance bottom right, R651-656), and for sure that of Philby (in the centre, with the group of texts comprising the abbreviation r745, 1936 copies). Several other plates of the *Catalogue (Atlas)* similarly place next to each other the copies by Jacques Ryckmans and those of Philby, made in 1936: they illustrate and confirm Philby's poor quality copies, which one should from now on dismiss. One can for instance refer to Pl. 142 (reproduced here, Fig. 46), which shows above (to the right and left) two sets of copies by Jacques Ryckmans, and to the right (in the middle and below), the same texts copied by Philby; the same can be said in the centre and the lower left angle.

In PRL, *Atlas*, the texts recorded in the area of 'Ān Jamal cover Plates 141 to 148 (reproduced here, Figs 44-59). They total around 375.²⁰ In the account of the PRL expedition published by Philippe Lippens (1956), the expedition's passage at "An al Jamal" is mentioned in pp. 146 and 147; photograph n° 24 (between pp. 162 and 163) was taken in the gorge 1 or 2 km to the east.

3. *The Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program (1980)*

A broad archaeological survey of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program, was carried out between 1976 and 1981. The southwest of the kingdom was explored by an American-Saudi team led by Juris Zarins, 'Abd al-Jawād Murād and Khālid al-Ya'īsh during the winter and spring of 1980.²¹ The site of 'Ān Jamal was then recorded under the abbreviation 207-23.²² The site itself is not precisely described. The region's figurative rock carvings are treated according to chronological groups defined by Anati (1970), which are today obsolete; the inscriptions and graffiti are barely mentioned.

As a continuation of this first undertaking in archaeological mapping, a Saudi mission surveyed rock carving sites of the kingdom as of 1984 (*Comprehensive Rock Art and Epigraphic Survey*). In 1990, its works focused on the Wādī al-Dawāsir and Najrān

²⁰ Such a count is necessarily quite rough, since the area's limits are imprecise.

²¹ ZARINS *et al.* 1981.

²² ZARINS *et al.* 1981: 35, 37, pl. 34D, 34F-G, 37B, 39B.

regions.²³ The site of ʿĀn Jamal is listed under a new abbreviation (217-100).²⁴ The expedition then recorded 27 anthropomorphic carvings, 5 bovines, 17 dromedaries, and 38 carvings of other animals; it mentions 63 graffiti in South Arabian script. These numbers have turned out to be well below the real figures; they can be doubled, or even multiplied fourfold in the case of the South Arabian inscriptions (table 1). The large panel is the only one illustrated.²⁵

4. *The Japanese Team*

In January 2001, a Japanese team made a brief visit to Najrān, and then carried out two campaigns of reconnaissance in January-March 2002 and January-February 2003.²⁶ The extensive survey project at Ḥimà and in other regions was not successful.²⁷ Only a minute proportion of the texts listed during these preliminary visits was published, namely those of the eastern half of the al-Khushayba crater (in the al-Kawkab range).²⁸ The Japanese team, however, did go through ʿĀn Jamal, where 7 texts in Arabic were recorded.²⁹

5. *Majeed Khan*

This Pakistani scholar, an author of reference works on Saudi Arabia's rock art (KHAN 1993; 2000; 2007; 2011; KHAN *et al.* 2012), made several visits to the Ḥimà region in recent decades, and took innumerable photographs, of which many appear in a volume

²³ KABAWI *et al.* 1996.

²⁴ KABAWI *et al.* 1996: 58–60.

²⁵ KABAWI *et al.* 1996, pl. 30b, with the comment “A Nabataean inscription from Hammi, Jebel Kawkab.”

²⁶ KAWATOKO 2005: 50. The Japanese team included Mutsuo KAWATOKO, Risa TOKUNAGA and Masato IZUKA. The Japanese team members and the chronology of their work in the Najrān region are only cursorily mentioned: see KAWATOKO 2005: 45 and KAWATOKO *et al.* 2005: iv–v. KAWATOKO 2005 was written following the “second year of preparation” of the “Japanese Technical Cooperation for Archaeological Survey and Excavation Planning” project (KAWATOKO 2005: 45). The team stayed six times in Arabia: in January 2001, January-March 2002, September 2002, January-February 2003, September 2003 and February 2004. Mrs Risa Tokunaga, to whom we directed our questions in November 2017, gave the following details: during her first expedition to Saudi Arabia in January 2001, M. Kawatoko and herself visited archaeological sites in many regions, particularly Himà. From 8 February to 1st March 2002, the Japanese team carried out an inventory of several rock carving sites in the Ḥimà zone, notably at al-Khubaysha. In 2003, it continued the survey of Ḥimà, but Mrs Risa Tokunaga did not participate.

²⁷ KAWATOKO 2005: 50.

²⁸ KAWATOKO *et al.* 2005. For more details, see below, under the heading “2. The ‘Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic’ (or ‘Thamūdean F’) Texts.”

²⁹ KAWATOKO 2005: 58–59: “Table 4. Points of Inscriptions in the Bi’r Hima/Yadama Area.” “ʿĀn al-Jamal” is point n° 121.

dedicated to horses (KHAN *et al.* 2012). Majeed Khan's illustrations focus above all on petroglyphs and rock art, but they also show a great number of ancient texts associated with these or carved close by. They therefore constitute a very precious and complementary series of documents for epigraphers.

Apart from these scientific investigations, the area of Ḥimà was visited by many teams of specialists whose mission was to present the archaeological riches of Arabia to the educated Saudi or foreign public. Most often, in the very lavishly illustrated books that were published, the area of Ḥimà appears only as a few photographs, almost always taken in the same spots. We have not deemed it useful to draw up a list of these works. Special attention must be given, however, to the thirteen volumes published in 2003, which provide a remarkable outline of Saudi Arabia's archaeological remains, under the title *Silsilat āthār al-Mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya*. In volume 11, dealing with the Najrān Emirate, the Ḥimà area is abundantly illustrated on pp. 76-104.

Finally, it has occurred that visitors have taken photographs of remains in the Ḥimà region and made them available to specialists. This is how the Belgian-American scholar Albert Jamme published the large Himyarite inscription of the Ḥimà wells (Ja 1028 and satellite texts), together with a few panels of graffiti from the region.³⁰

6. Publications dealing with ʿĀn Jamal

After these initial investigations, publications dealing with ʿĀn Jamal become very scarce. There are, first of all, the approximately 90 graffiti clumsily copied by Philby, which Albert Van Den Branden edited without the slightest rigour.³¹ Adolf Grohmann published eight Islamic Arabic inscriptions (GROHMANN 1962) on quite illegible plates:

Z 228, pp. 136-137 and Pl. XVI, 6 = JML-F-120

Z 229, pp. 137-138 and Pl. XVIII, 2 = JML-G-92

Z 292, p. 166 and Pl. XXII, 3 = JML-F-14

Z 293, p. 166 and Pl. XXII, 3 = JML-F-23

Z 294, p. 167 and Pl. XXII, 3 = JML-F-25

Z 295, p. 167 = JML-F-27

³⁰ JAMME 1965; 1966.

³¹ Despite the mediocrity of copies, Van den Branden attempted systematically to decipher the inscriptions, accompanying them by translations and comments. The drawings and recordings of the MAFSN have confirmed the absurdity of these readings and explanations.

Z 296, p. 167 and Pl. XXII, 3 and 4 = JML-F-53

Z 297, pp. 167-168 and Pl. XXII, 3 and 4 = JML-F-52

Emmanuel Anati studied some of the petroglyphs from the very large panel at ‘Ān Jamal, so awkward to decipher because of multiple superimpositions:

— volume 1 ANATI 1968a, “5. Sector **R.I.**, Rock on photograph 40.L.12 (pls. V, a-b, Fig. 9).” Photograph by Ph. Lippens on January 8th, 1952, at ‘Ān al-Jamal about 9 km, north-east of **Himā,**” pp. 22-25;

— volume 2, ANATI 1968b, “3. Sector **R.1.**, Rock on photograph 40.L.11 (pl. II, Fig. 3),” pp. 10-11 and n. 18. The name ‘Ān Jamal (or “Dhabah”) is mentioned n. 18, p. 10.

One should finally signal the recent attempts to directly date the carvings in the Jabal al-Qāra region (which includes “Ain Jamal”), by R. Bednarik and M. Khan,³² but also by the team of I. Liritzis,³³ without carrying out a detailed study of rock engravings in the sector.³⁴ More recently, targeted experiments on a few dated or well identified graffiti were attempted in the field for dating purposes by a team of the Max Planck Institute.³⁵

In the publications of the Expedition or of its members, the site of ‘Ān Jamal has of course provided illustrations. An article by Hédi DRIDI (2012) is illustrated by eight photographs of carvings from ‘Ān Jamal:

Fig. 4, p. 434 (ostrich): JML-B-3

Fig. 5, p. 434 (horseman hunting / fighting): JML-D-17 (horse to the right)

Fig. 6, p. 435 **“open woman”**: JML-H-34

Fig. 8, p. 438 (crowned female worshipper with fan-shaped fingers): JML-B-2

Fig. 10, p. 438 (female worshipper with fan-shaped fingers, with sexual scene): JML-B-6

Fig. 11, p. 438 (“hollowed out” female worshipper): JML-D-67

Fig. 12, p. 439 (“geometric” female worshipper): JML-D-28

Fig. 13, p. 443 (oryx, upside down): JML-H-13

As for ARBACH *et al.*, “Results of four seasons of survey in the province of Najrān (Saudi Arabia)—2007-2010” (2015), there are 18 illustrations originating from ‘Ān Jamal:³⁶

³² BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005: 59–60, 65–67.

³³ LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013: 106.

³⁴ One could add to this list the simple photographs published in the various accounts of exploratory visits and other inventories of Saudi Arabia’s heritage (for instance, KHAN 2007: 38, Fig. 17; *Silsila*, vol. 11, *Najrān*, p. 103). We have not done this, because these are isolated elements of data arising in the treatment of the petroglyphs.

³⁵ MACHOLDT *et al.* 2019.

³⁶ For ‘Ān Jamal, see ARBACH *et al.* 2015: 20.

- Fig. 17, c, p. 27: JML-B-1
 Fig. 18, 1, p. 28: JML-E-13
 Fig. 18, 2, p. 28: JML-B-3
 Fig. 18, 3, p. 28: JML-G-109-110
 Fig. 18, 4, p. 28: JML-B-5
 Fig. 18, 5, p. 28: JML-B-4
 Fig. 18, 6, p. 28: JML-G-122
 Fig. 18, 7, p. 28: JML-C-11 (dog, top right)
 Fig. 18, 8, p. 28: JML-G-14
 Fig. 18, 9, p. 28: JML-B-15
 Fig. 19, p. 29: JML-B-11
 Fig. 20, 1, p. 33: JML-D-2
 Fig. 20, 2, p. 33: JML-G-117 and 142
 Fig. 20, 3, p. 33: JML-C-4 (left horseman)
 Fig. 20, 4, p. 33: JML-B-6
 Fig. 20, 5, p. 33: JML-D-67
 Fig. 20, 6, p. 33: JML-F-67
 Fig. 20, 7, p. 33: JML-H-85

THE FRENCH-SAUDI EXPEDITION

The French-Saudi Expedition to Najrān (MAFSN) was launched in 2006 by Professors Saʿīd F. al-Saʿīd and Christian J. Robin, following the first contacts made in Riyadh in 2004. Since 2007, it has carried out a large and systematic inventory of graffiti and carvings of the Ḥimā area. Three sectors have already been recorded in a comprehensive manner, those of ʿĀn Jamal (published here), Ṣammāʿ and ʿĀn Halkān (which includes al-Khushayba, to the south of al-Kawkab, approximately 30 kilometres to the north-east of Ḥimā) (Fig. 2).

The site of ʿĀn Jamal was inventoried between 2007 and 2010. The French team was initially made up of Mounir Arbach, Hédi Dridi and Christian Robin; then, after the departure of Hédi Dridi, who was involved in other projects, it welcomed Guillaume Charloux and Jérémie Schiettecatte. The Saudi component included Pr. Saʿīd al-Saʿīd, Sulaymān al-Dhuyayb and Sālim Ṭayrān, from King Saʿūd University in Riyadh, M. Sālim

al-Qaḥṭānī, who in his postgraduate dissertation focused on the Thamūdic graffiti of the wādī Tathlīth (AL-QAḤṬĀNĪ 2007), participated in the first campaign. M. Sāliḥ Āl Marīḥ, responsible for Antiquities in Najrān province, often joined us on outings in the field.

The site of ‘Ān Jamal seemed appropriate for the application of testing methods for recording and drawing rock carvings, both texts and petroglyphs. Indeed, it contains a remarkable concentration of quite varied carvings, over a well circumscribed surface, near the Ḥimā wells. The task, however, became more complex than had appeared at first glance.

A systematic drawing and recording of the carvings were carried out in the field, beginning with the summit and going through the eight sectors that had previously been defined (Fig. 62). In tandem, many photographs were taken at various times of the day, with different lighting: the aim was to have photographs taken in the shade to better recognize the differences in patina, and in grazing light conditions, which better highlighted the carvings’ incised cut. An examination of photographs revealed that systematic drawings required many corrections, particularly when they were made during the day’s hottest hours, in blinding light: hardly visible texts had been missed and decipherments could be improved. Moreover, the display of proper noun sequences (on single or multiple lines) was often revised, since it is frequently difficult to be sure whether one is dealing with one or several texts. In the end, it was decided to keep as a textual unit only the words surely carved both by the same hand, and on the same line (unless there was evidence to the contrary). At this stage, the texts and petroglyphs we were able to individually distinguish were listed as in the table below.

Texts (566)	Inscriptions (South Arabian)	339
	Inscriptions (Thamūdic)	193
	Inscriptions (Arabic)	31
	Monograms (South Arabian)	3
Petroglyphs (187)	Ostriches	4
	Ibexes, oryxes, antelopes	15
	Bovines	6
	Mounted horses	55

	Dromedaries	40
	Palm trees	2
	Couples	4
	Single women	10
	Single men	19
	Hunting scenes	9
	Other (serpent, dog, feline, feet, game board, unidentified animals)	23

Table 1: Distribution of graffiti and petroglyphs at the site of ‘Ān Jamal.

At first, attention mainly focused on the texts, because the MAFSN had gathered the best specialists in that field. It dealt with the petroglyphs only as from 2014, with the arrival in the mission of a student preparing a PhD on the topic, Mr. Charly Poliakoff. In this publication, the options retained are the following.

The site of ‘Ān Jamal was divided into various areas designated by a letter. In each of these areas, all petroglyphs were inventoried. To carry out this inventory, it was necessary to identify units, which received their own numbers. In general, a unit is made up of a significant carving made by a single carver, once. When there is an uncertainty, minimal units are kept. For instance, if the link between a text and a drawing is probable without being certain, the text and the drawing will be treated as two different units. Eroded and illegible carvings, or those that have not been completed, or even those that are too clumsy to yield a piece of information are not considered units and are not numbered; they are nevertheless incidentally signalled in the treatment of the closest carving.

— For the texts and petroglyphs

We give a designation and the coordinates of the panel³⁷, as well as one or several photographs, eventually a facsimile and, if possible, its dimensions.

— For the texts

³⁷ Each carving has been located, with a GPS point taken with a Garmin manual GPS. Although the precision is relative (approximately within a range of 4 m), this method allowed approximately locating the texts and petroglyphs in relation to each other, and rediscovering them if need be. The method was improved the following year at ‘Ān Halkān, where we used a Leica total station.

The title indicates the type of script. We add the transcription. When the text contains only proper nouns—this is the case of almost all of pre-Islamic texts—, it was not deemed useful to translate it. Many proper pre-Islamic proper nouns can be vocalized in a certain or likely manner, because they were still known during the Islamic period. The corresponding Islamic noun is mentioned in the index.

At this stage, comments were rarely added. We have followed the example of the Japanese team, which seemed wise to us. The reference to previous attestations and to the bibliography of each word and each petroglyph would be repetitive and of little use, and would take much space. What is important at present, is to have a general vision of the formulation, onomastics, iconographical repertoire and associations between petroglyphs and texts, one category at a time. It is only in a second instance, after the publication of a significant number of sites, that comparisons with South Arabian, Thamūdic and Islamic Arabic onomastics and with other iconographies will become meaningful.

— For the petroglyphs

The title indicates the general category in which the figure can be placed. The characters that appear to be the most significant are drawn and recorded.

In tandem with the systematic inventory of the site of ‘Ān Jamal, the expedition explored the entire two ranges of al-Qāra and al-Kawkab, in order to draw the archaeological map of the region. Moreover, it proceeded with a systematic record of the southern area of Jabal al-Kawkab, between al-Gharaziyyāt and ‘Ān Halkān. The materials gathered have already made possible the publication of specific studies. A first attempt to decipher the Thamūdic of Ḥimā, which we suggest calling “Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic” or “Thamūdic F,” was undertaken by Christian J. Robin and Maria Gorea.³⁸ Horses and fauna of Ḥimā were the object of the first inventories.³⁹ The meagre data on the language of Ḥimā’ite graffiti were inventoried by Christian Robin and Alessia Prioletta.⁴⁰ The small sanctuary dedicated to the Najrānite god dhu-Samāwī in the area of ‘Ān Halkān has been published.⁴¹ This was

³⁸ ROBIN & GOREA 2016.

³⁹ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017; ROBIN 2018a.

⁴⁰ ROBIN & GOREA 2016; PRIOLETTA & ROBIN 2018.

⁴¹ ARBACH *et al.* 2012.

finally followed by a targeted publication on the Expedition's most significant epigraphic discoveries,⁴² and a republication of the great historical texts of Ḥimà.⁴³

THE CARVINGS: TECHNIQUES AND METHODS OF DRAWING

Several carving techniques, resulting in various ways of drawing, were observed. All had the same goal: to remove the superficial layer of sandstone darkened by a patina or the desert varnish, in order to expose the underlying rock, lighter in colour. The interplay of contrast thus highlights the inscription or petroglyph.

The following techniques and corresponding drawing methods were observed:

- Rubbing or incising the sandstone by means of a hard or sharpened object (stone, metal, etc.), which allows one to trace a linear drawing of the outline of a person, animal or letter (ex. JML-C-1, **Figs 112-113**);
- The pecking of the rock by means of a hard object (stone, metal, etc.), which permits one to trace a linear drawing of the outline of a person, animal, or letter (ex. JML-B-15, **Fig. 108**);
- The removal of a shallow depth of rock surface, which results in a flattened surface. This technique takes longer, but results in better-rounded depictions. The removal of rock is obtained by pecking a large area of sandstone, then by the scraping or polishing of the surface obtained. This technique is most often used to make the main parts of human or animal depictions stand out clearly (ex. JML-B-1, **Fig. 92**).

Due to the softness of sandstone in the Ḥimà region, carving does not require a specialized tool. The opportunistic use of a hard stone readily allows such drawings to be made. It is common to rediscover at the foot of the carved panels the stones used, which can be recognized by the wear of the ridge utilized for percussion (**Fig. 8**).

The simplicity in the execution of the carvings had a practical consequence, until now not taken into account: it was also very easy to retouch an ancient drawing by freshening it up, completing it or modifying it. A systematic examination of petroglyphs shows that much retouching can be detected, and some retouches can be confirmed.

⁴² ROBIN *et al.* 2014. See also the note by AL-DHUYAYB 2013.

⁴³ ROBIN 2008.

Retouch is certain when a petroglyph currently shows traits that differ from those it had before, as proven by an old photograph. A good example is provided by a panel from Najd Khayrān comprising an animal and two enigmatic characters. Previously, only the outline of a dromedary was superimposed to the animal (Fig. 9⁴⁴); at present, it is the dromedary's entire surface that has been removed (Fig. 10).⁴⁵ Retouch is also obvious when the different parts of the same petroglyph do not share the same patina.

One should finally note that the groups of texts and petroglyphs recorded in the Jabal al-Kawkab and Jabal al-Qāra ranges, as well as in Ḥimā's vicinity, are all carved. No painted drawing is apparent. The technique is not unknown in the region, however, since it is attested on granite at a site close to Najrān⁴⁶ and at al-Ḥamḍā' (Tathlīth region).⁴⁷ In Yemen, it is also attested in the vicinity of Ṣa'da.⁴⁸

THE TEXTS FROM THE ḤIMĀ REGION

The texts from Ḥimā can be ordered into four categories, based on the script used.

1. *The South Arabian texts*

A very substantial number of texts are written in a perfectly regular South Arabian script, which includes the separation stroke between words (or more precisely graphic groups). This set is divided into two types.

There are first of all the "formal inscriptions," composed and carved by professionals who followed the writing habits of their time. These formal inscriptions can be subjected to palaeographic analysis, that orders texts chronologically and can suggest a date with a measure of uncertainty generally that does not go beyond plus or minus a century. Among formal inscriptions, one can order all texts left by high officials who circulated in the region. These include notably the general who in 523 CE commanded the army sent by the Himyarite king Joseph (Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar) to suppress the Najrān revolt, as well as

⁴⁴ KHAN 2007: Pl. 35, p. 58.

⁴⁵ See already in *Silsila*, vol. 11, *Najrān*: 79 (reversed photograph). Other examples are illustrated in ROBIN 2018a.

⁴⁶ MINOSA *et al.* 1983: [78]. The photographer Tchekof Minosa did not record the precise location of the large granite rock covered in painted inscriptions that are reproduced in his book. Our investigations to rediscover this site were not successful.

⁴⁷ ARBACH *et al.* 2015: 25.

⁴⁸ INIZAN & RACHAD 2007: Pl. 1-8 (region of Ṣa'da); see also Pl. 9-17 (region of al-Ḍāli').

the Himyarite princes (in fact Ḥaḍramawtic and Sabaean) who were accompanying him.⁴⁹ Also in this set are the king of Kinda Ḥujr and his party,⁵⁰ the princes of Najrān, the banū Gadan^{um} and the banū Thuʿlubān,⁵¹ and their officers.⁵² One can also mention the Ḥaḍramawtic individual in command of the caravan from the north and the south.⁵³ It is remarkable that, alongside the mention of a high official, one frequently finds that of an officer (*maqṭawī*),⁵⁴ or of a secretary⁵⁵ in his service. One can easily suppose that the officials had, in their entourage, a secretary capable of writing a text, and a carver who would transcribe it onto the rock.

The second category of South Arabian texts, much greater in number, is made up of “graffiti,” i.e. texts written by passers-by, who evidently were not professionals. Most often, the text comprises one or two names (probably the name of the author and that of his father). The letters have a simple and rigid geometric form, without any ornamentation, which renders them quite similar to those of the most ancient texts. In this case, palaeographic analysis does not permit suggesting a date, no matter how imprecise.

A number of graffiti not only make use of a “rudimentary” alphabet, but also include all sorts of clumsy errors. It is likely that their authors knew little more than how to write their names.

Between these two categories, one finds all possible intermediate stages. All South Arabian texts, other than a few very rare exceptions, are pre-Islamic.⁵⁶ They represent approximately a third of the total number of inscriptions.

⁴⁹ See the texts provided by ROBIN 2008, as well as Biʿr Ḥimā Sab 1, Biʿr Ḥimā Sab 3 = PRL-R25 and Biʿr Ḥimā Sab 4 = PRL-R24.

⁵⁰ Ḥimā-al-Muṣammāt Sab 1 (= PRL-R2574), 2 (= PRL-R2573), 3, 4 (= PRL-R2576) and 5.

⁵¹ ROBIN 2010: Fig. 3, p. 88. On these two princely lineages, see ROBIN 2010: 87–94 and ROBIN 2013: 158–59 and 203–4.

⁵² See for instance Biʿr Ḥimā Sab 2 = PRL-R47; ROBIN 2010: Fig. 4, p. 89.

⁵³ R 1850 and R 1853. See ROBIN 2014: 276–79.

⁵⁴ See Ḥimā-al-Muṣammāt Sab 1 = PRL-R2574 (*Ḥgr bn ʿmr^m mlk Kdt*) and 3 (*ʿs^ld^m ʿbdy maṭwy Ḥgr*); PRL-R1850 and PRL-R1853.

⁵⁵ Ja 1028 / 12 (ROBIN 2008: 87–89, Fig. 4) and Ja 1030 (ROBIN 2008: 89–90, Fig. 8; Robin 2019); compare with Ry 507 / 11-12 (ROBIN 2008: 91–93, Fig. 3).

⁵⁶ See below, under the heading “5. The Arabic texts” and “The transition to Islam.”

2. The “Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic” texts (or “Thamūdic F”)

A large number of texts from Ḥimā are written in a script related to South Arabian, called by the PRL expedition that identified it⁵⁷ “Southern Thamūdic.”⁵⁸ This “Southern Thamūdic” remains poorly studied. The 5,300 texts copied by the PRL expedition in the region of Ḥimā have not been subjected to any attempts at decipherment or study, with the exception of a few preliminary remarks by Jacques Ryckmans, in an article confined to general considerations⁵⁹ as well as in two reviews.⁶⁰ The only significant publication is from a student of King Sa‘ūd University, M. Sālim b. Hadhdhāl al-Qaḥṭānī, who dedicated a dissertation to a few tens of graffiti from wādī Tathlith, some 200 km to the north of Najrān.⁶¹ This scholarly work is very useful, because the graffiti collected and published are remarkably illustrated, but the suggested readings, which give to the same letters different values to find an acceptable root, are still quite flimsy. As a reminder, one should mention the Japanese publication dealing with less than half of the inscriptions from al-Khushayba,⁶² a site of the Ḥimā area not visited by the PRL expedition. This is a small mountainous crater, with a cavity in which water accumulates during the rainy season; very numerous graffiti covering the rock walls of the mountain around the waterhole show that it was a very busy stopover for people moving around the region. The Japanese expedition carrying out its surveys between 2002 and 2004 recorded 16 Arabic, 302 South Arabian, and 49 Thamūdic inscriptions. The low proportion of Thamūdic inscriptions is noteworthy. It can also be seen, based on the obviously not very precise criterion of handwriting, that the majority of South Arabian texts seem to be older than the Christian era. Risa Tokunaga, who edited the Thamūdic inscriptions, was not able to make significant progress in the decipherment of “Southern Thamūdic,” because the corpus on which she worked was particularly restricted.

Albert Jamme’s study on graffiti of the Ḥimā region, based on photographs he had received, dealt with a very low number of documents. Upon this very restricted base, he nevertheless developed his theory stating that the graffiti described as Thamūdic by the

⁵⁷ J. RYCKMANS 1956.

⁵⁸ MACDONALD & KING 2000: 469, “Le thamūdique meridional,” with an abundant bibliography.

⁵⁹ J. RYCKMANS 1956.

⁶⁰ J. RYCKMANS 1960; 1969.

⁶¹ AL-QAḤṬĀNI 2007.

⁶² KAWATOKO *et al.* 2005. The coordinates of the site, located some 25 km to the north-east of Ḥimā (110 km to the east-northeast of Najrān), are N18.498° and E44,621°.

PRL expedition were really “Sabaean.”⁶³ As for the publication on the graffiti copied by Philby, it is better to ignore it, since those copies are in fact unusable.

The MASFN’s investigations have already allowed researchers to record and draw a large number of Thamūdic texts that can be added to those of the PRL expedition. As from now, a corpus of more than 10,000 units is available. The most urgent tasks are to determine as clearly as possible the category that we describe as “Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic,” and to decipher this type of text.

Two criteria distinguish the categories defined as “South Arabian” and “Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic”: the alphabet and the writing methods. The Thamūdic alphabet of Ḥimā, now to a large extent deciphered (ROBIN & GOREA 2016), probably has 27 letters. If one compares it to the South Arabian alphabet, one can note that:

- 6 letters are identical to South Arabian: *b*, *t*, *s*¹, *q*, *h* and *y*;
- 4 are very similar: *d* (with the triangle replaced by a half-circle); *ḥ* (generally flipped by 180°); *l* (whose appendix makes a right angle with the stem); *ṣ* (almost always flipped by 180°);
- 6 are similar: *ʾ* (with a head including one angle, and not two); *ʿ* (often closer to a small square than to a small circle); *ḍ* (with a single horizontal bar); *f* (in the shape of a rectangle and not of a lozenge); *ḥ* (whose appendix is a wavy stroke or dash rather than a broken one); *w* (often square);
- 5 are close in shape: *k* with an appendix to the left of the letter (as in South Arabian *ḡ*) and not above (as in the *k* of South Arabian); *n* (in the shape of a vertical dash, shorter than the *r*); *r* (in the shape of a vertical dash longer than the *n*); *t* (in the shape of a cross); *z* (in the shape of Saint Andrew’s cross, as a the South Arabian *t*);
- 1 letter, the *m*, shows a wide variety of shapes, of which one (similar to South Arabian *b*, with a pendant) is quite unlike its South Arabian counterpart;
- 5 have a fundamentally different shape: *ḍ*, *g*, *ḡ*, *s*², *t*.

The differences one notices between the Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic alphabet and the South Arabian one are quite comparable to the discrepancies between the other Thamūdic alphabets and the monumental Arabian scripts in the north.

⁶³ The various graffiti recorded by Albert Jamme in 1969 in the region of Qaryat al-Fa’w, some 300 km to the east-north-east of Najrān (JAMME 1973), are closer to South Arabian than to Thamūdic.

The second criterion that allows one to distinguish “Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic” from “South Arabian” resides in the text’s writing methods. By this, one should not understand the direction of writing, which is horizontal, from right to left, both in South Arabian and in Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic,⁶⁴ but in the following features:

— The letters’ module. South Arabian letters are inscribed in a higher than wider rectangle, with a height generally double the width; the in general, Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic letter is stockier, and inscribed within a figure that varies between the square and the rectangle of South Arabian. The outline of the rectilinear segments and curbs (regularity of the stroke, orientation and length) is done with care in South Arabian, but is often approximate in Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic.

— The layout of the letters. South Arabian letters all share the same module and orientation; they are placed on one or several horizontal lines. Such regularity is the exception in Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic.

— The distribution of words. South Arabian systematically separates words (more precisely graphic units comprising the word, with eventually a prefixed single letter particle and a suffix) with a separation stroke, while Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic never does this. One might think that the implementation of these various criteria makes it possible to easily distinguish two categories of texts, the South Arabian ones and the Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic ones. This is not the case in Ḥimāʿ.

In fact, one notices an opposition between the fully South Arabian texts on the one hand, and the mixed texts on the other. These latter show in very variable proportions characters belonging to South Arabian and to Ḥimāʿite. There are no doubt texts with characters that are all Ḥimāʿite but, if there are, they are quite rare.

It did not, however, seem appropriate to multiply categories. All texts are classified either as South Arabian, or as Thamūdic, with the following criteria in mind:

— South Arabian texts. These show all of the characters of South Arabian texts; they are also those (quite numerous)⁶⁵ whose letters are all South Arabian, but that do not separate words with the usual vertical stroke.

— The Thamūdic texts. These are texts in which at least one letter is Thamūdic.

⁶⁴ There are a few exceptions in Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic (but not at ‘Ān Jamal): some texts are written in columns or from right to left.

⁶⁵ In the case of ‘Ān Jamal, the inventory of these South Arabian texts without a separation stroke appears in the index.

In the thus defined Thamūdic texts, it is remarkable that certain letters (*g*, *ġ*, *s*², *ṭ* and *d*) are almost always Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic, while the others can be Thamūdic or South Arabian. The exceptions, like JML-G-16 (*Ġwt^m*, with South Arabian *ġ* and Thamūdic *mīm*), are very rare. When a text shows all characters of South Arabian, except for one letter that is Thamūdic, as in the case of JML-D-58 (*Zydlṭ (G)rmlt*, a South Arabian text with a Thamūdic *mīm*), it is obviously difficult to classify it as “Thamūdic.” In this case we shall signal it as “mixed.”⁶⁶

We have indicated that in South Arabian texts, it was possible to recognize formal inscriptions and graffiti. In the Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic texts (mixed or not), one can likewise distinguish texts that follow relatively strict graphic norms from those that do not.

The norms of semi-formal Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic are: regular, stocky letters of large dimensions and carved with care. The aim is to produce an aesthetically perfect text that is visible from afar (JML-E-14, JML-G-69 and 70 – see Figs 203 and 364). We have described these texts as “ostentatious.” Quite often, the dash is doubled, but there is no neat example of this at ʿĀn Jamal.

Another type of variation concerns the more or less angular aspect of letters, varying between strictly geometric forms and slender ones, which recall cursive script (see JML-H-132 and next, see Fig. 473).

The fact that some letters appear with surprisingly varied renderings⁶⁷ has not yet been explained. Plausibly, certain shapes are characteristic of a period or of a group, but this has not yet been proven. It is likely that this diversity finds an explanation in chronology, but it is still not possible to put forward any kind of classification.

The mixed and hybrid aspect of the Thamūdic of Ḥimā has no equivalent elsewhere in Arabia. It derives from the fact that the users of this Thamūdic were always in contact with those of South Arabian, who benefitted from a dominant position, particularly in long-distance exchange.

This phenomenon reminds us, however, that some of Arabia's texts frequently show aspects belonging to two linguistic or scriptural traditions. For instance, the inscriptions

⁶⁶ An attractive example of a “mixed” text is an unpublished South Arabian ABC from Qaryat al-Faʿw, incised in plaster, which replaces two letters (the *g* and the *ṭ*.) by their corresponding ones in Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic.

⁶⁷ These are in particular the *mīm* (9 types), the *shīm* (5 types), the *wāw* (4 types) and the *dād* (3 types) (Fig. 40).

from Qatabān can use Saba'ic morphological forms; those from Najrān and Qaryat in Saba'ic include forms in morphology and lexicon borrowed from Arabic; the texts of the Arab-Persian Gulf in South Arabian script show linguistic aspects borrowed from Aramaean; finally, post-classic Nabataean graffiti from the Ḥijāz preserve archaic handwriting.⁶⁸

In addition to deciphering and defining Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc, the MAFSN's investigations have been able to make a few complementary observations.

As already noticed by Harry St John Philby and Jacques Ryckmans,⁶⁹ the distribution of texts in Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc is not exactly the same as that of South Arabian ones: while these latter are concentrated in a few areas peripheral to the ranges, on axes of circulation, those in Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc are much more widely disseminated and are found in many sectors, notably in the periphery and the valleys that penetrate the ranges, but not everywhere. It can be deduced that the South Arabian texts were carved by people who came from outside and who were crossing the region, while the Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc were written by local populations. The Thamūdīc of Ḥimā is not a script confined to this area. It is also used in rock carved texts of Tathlīth (some 200 km to the northwest), studied by Sālīm al-Qaḥṭānī,⁷⁰ as we have already indicated, and in those of the Murayghān region recorded by the PRL expedition (sectors H and J). Various clues suggest that it was known at Qaryat al-Fa'w (200 km to the north-northeast), perhaps at Bīsha (300 km to the northwest) and even in the Najd. During a work meeting (for the development of the *Tadwīn* epigraphic data base of Saudi Antiquities) that gathered a large number of the Peninsula's epigraphers, held in Riyadh in May 2015, it was suggested to call this script "Thamūdīc F" or "Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc."

Having defined "Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc," as we have done, it appears that some Thamūdīc texts of the Ḥimā region do not belong to this type, certainly or hypothetically (see **Figs 11 and 12**). It is not yet possible, however, to identify the type of Thamūdīc to which they do belong.

⁶⁸ One can also add a handful of inscriptions from Aksūm (a kingdom that is not in Arabia, but with very numerous links to the latter), written in the Ge'ez language (with some loans from Saba'ic) and in South Arabian script.

⁶⁹ J. RYCKMANS 1956: 13.

⁷⁰ AL-QAḤṬANI 2007.

3. *The chronological relationship between Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc and South Arabian*

In order to explain the use of the two scripts at Ḥimā during Antiquity, Jacques Ryckmans had first suggested that they were used by two different populations.⁷¹ He then surmised that Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc had been replaced by South Arabian during Ḥimyar's conquest of Desert Arabia:

"The cursive graffiti of Central Arabia {the Thamūdīc texts of Ḥimā} possess an onomastic content and a pantheon clearly distinct from those of monumental inscriptions of Saba, while the graffiti of Central Arabia in monumental script {the South Arabian texts of Ḥimā} are clearly closer, both in palaeography and onomastic content, to Saba'ic monumental inscriptions of the recent period, which moreover attest an onomastic and linguistic influence of Central Arabia ... The joint presence of cursive graffiti and monumental Saba'ic graffiti along the great axes of Central Arabia temporarily appears to be explained by the encroachment, in the recent period, of the Saba'ic monumental script, at the expense of prior local scripts."⁷²

The Pakistani scholar Majeed Khan defends a comparable idea, i.e. the precedence of Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc over South Arabian. His point is that one finds no South Arabian text covered by a Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc one.

The MAFSN's investigations have brought substantial corrections to these theories. Most authors of South Arabian and Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc inscriptions belong to the same population.⁷³ As for the chronological distribution, South Arabian inscriptions can be found during all periods, with a probable peak around the end of the first millennium BCE. The hypothesis of a South Arabian-Ḥimā'ite Thamūdīc succession is not confirmed.

⁷¹ J. RYCKMANS 1956: 13.

⁷² J. RYCKMANS 1969: 247 A. *"Les graffites cursifs d'Arabie centrale {les textes thamūdéens de Ḥimā} ont un contenu onomastique et un panthéon nettement distincts de ceux des inscriptions monumentales de Saba tandis que les graffites d'Arabie centrale en écriture monumentale {les textes sudarabiques} se rapprochent nettement, par la paléographie et le contenu onomastique, des inscriptions monumentales sabéennes de la période récente, qui attestent par ailleurs une influence linguistique et onomastique de l'Arabie centrale, ... La présence conjointe de graffites cursifs en sabéen monumental le long des grands axes de l'Arabie centrale paraît provisoirement pouvoir s'expliquer par l'envahissement, à l'époque récente, de l'écriture monumentale sabéenne, au détriment d'écritures locales antérieures."*

⁷³ PRIOLETTA & ROBIN 2018.

This debate is obviously related to the question of the genesis of Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic. Two explanatory models can be imagined. The first one would be that Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic initially derived from South Arabian, and diverged from it following the gradual renewal of the local population, or through contacts with populations using the Thamūdic script. The second model would be, by contrast, the use of a variety of Thamūdic by Ḥimā's population, then of a gradual approximation to South Arabian, due to the integration of the region's large oases (Najrān and Qaryat al-Fa'w) into the sphere of South Arabian culture. One cannot currently decide between these two patterns, for want of knowing how to recognize the most ancient Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic inscriptions.

4. *Texts in Arabic*

The region of Ḥimā comprises large numbers of inscriptions in Arabic script; no doubt they are in their thousands.⁷⁴ Most are certainly from the Islamic period, based on conclusions on onomastics, formulation, spelling, and in the case of some, on the date that follows the Hegira era calendar.

Some 30 texts in Arabic script can be considered pre-Islamic. Two are dated to *burak* 364 (Ḥimā-Sud PalAr 1) and *al-mu'tamir* 408 (Ḥimā-al-Musammāt PalAr 1), and follow an era that is probably that of the Roman Province of Arabia, whose starting point is the spring equinox of 105 CE. Since the month of *al-mu'tamir* is the first of the calendar of pre-Islamic Arabs, and the month of *burak* the twelfth and last,⁷⁵ these two inscriptions probably date to March-April 513 and February-March 470.⁷⁶

Among the thirty texts in Arabic script that can be considered pre-Islamic, most only contain proper names. One (the oldest) is probably in Aramaic language while only a few are certainly in Arabic language. We call them "Nabataeo-Arabic" and "pre-Islamic Arabic."

"Pre-Islamic Arabic" texts can be distinguished from Islamic Arabic ones by formulation and spelling.

Among these "Pre-Islamic Arabic" texts, one, imperfectly deciphered, includes the formula: *zmn hlk M(.)rw br 'l-Ḥrt*, "when Murr, son of al-Ḥārith, died" (Ḥimā-al-Musammāt PalAr 4). One never finds religious invocations so common in Islam, like *Allāhumma iḡfir*

⁷⁴ IMBERT 2013.

⁷⁵ ROBIN 2016.

⁷⁶ ROBIN *et al.* 2014.

li-... (“O God, forgive ...”), *ṣallà Allāh ‘alà ...* (“May God pray over ...”) or *tarḥḥama Allāh ‘alà ...* (“May God have mercy on ...”), as in inscriptions KhShB Ar 1, 2 and 3 from al-Khushayba, the last one dated to *jumādà* [I] 27 or 29 of the Hegira (February-March 648 and January-February 650). The proper nouns of pre-Islamic inscriptions often include the ending -w, which disappears in Islamic ones (except in the personal name ‘Amr).

More than 30 Arabic texts were recorded at ‘Ān Jamal. All are from the Islamic period. Some can be ascribed to the first centuries of the Hegira.

5. The other scripts

Apart from texts in South Arabian, Arabic and Thamūdīc, one also finds at Ḥimā a very small number of texts in other scripts. These are in Greek, Nabataean (see Fig. 13) and Syriac of Pre-Islamic times, as well as in Hebrew,⁷⁷ probably of the Islamic period. Finally, two or three graffiti are written in scripts not yet deciphered: see Figs 14-15. At ‘Ān Jamal, only South Arabian, Ḥimā’ite Thamūdīc, and to a lesser extent, Islamic Arabic are attested.

SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE MAIN CATEGORIES OF PETROGLYPHS

The analysis of petroglyphs comprises three components. The carving technique and the method of depiction have already been mentioned. The third is the drawing’s theme. The articulation of these three aspects, a task that remains to be done, should permit defining categories that can tentatively be ordered chronologically.⁷⁸

The repertoire of the Ḥimā region, in fact quite limited, essentially includes figurative elements (humans, animals,⁷⁹ trees), and, more exceptionally, symbols or abstract figures. Most of these categories are depicted in two ways: schematic figures where the identification of theme rests on some attributes that have been highlighted (the dromedary’s hump, the horns of the ibex, etc.); naturalistic and detailed shapes that are the result of a more expert hand.

The themes come down to:

⁷⁷ GOREA 2015: 326 and Figs 2-4, pp. 328–329.

⁷⁸ A first outline at typology and chronological classification (still a matter of discussion) is found in ARBACH *et al.* 2015: 26–34.

⁷⁹ A preliminary classification of animal depictions of the Najrān region was suggested by MONCHOT & POLIAKOF 2016. As concerns the identification of animal species seen on Saudi Arabia’s rock carvings, we shall refer to KHAN 2007: 107–219.

— Animals

- Wild: lions, ibexes, oryxes, antelopes, ostriches, very old equids (asses or onagers); bovines and dromedaries with a spear or an arrow piercing their flanks; sheep; hunted sheep;
- domesticated: dogs, horses (almost always mounted), dromedaries (mounted) and shackled dromedaries;⁸⁰
- Either wild or domesticated, a precise limit being quite awkward to trace: dromedaries, bovines, sheep, caprines.

— Individuals, depicted in various attitudes or carrying out various activities; the range of types attested at Ḥimà is quite large, but is poorly represented at ‘Ān Jamal; suffice to mention here:

- Hieratic human figures brandishing objects whose identification is often uncertain (JML-G-117);
- Human figures with abundant braided hair (most often female), also in a hieratic attitude, with raised arms (for instance JML-B-2 and JML-D-67);
- Couples (JML-B-6);
- A woman giving birth (JML-H-34).

Recognizing the gender of depicted individuals is often quite difficult. Hair length, in particular, is not significant. It is only in scenes showing a man and a woman, clearly differentiated by the artist by various methods, that one can distinguish for certain one from the other (Fig. 16). The most secure criteria for identifying men are probably the bearing of weapons and the mounting of an animal. Women are notably characterized by the slenderness of their waist (as opposed to the breadth of their hips), by the length of their braids, and sometimes by a lopsided posture.

— Palm trees (JML-G-28);

— Monuments (like the Himyarite palace associated with PRL-R870, Fig. 17);

— Objects and symbols, like daggers, feet (JML-A-14) and forearms;

— Abstract figures of uncertain interpretation (JML-H-85);

— Game boards (JML-A-32 and JML-F-180);

— Various drawings, identified or unidentified.

⁸⁰ Photographic documentation on Ḥimà's fauna can be found in ROBIN 2018a. For horses, refer to ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

1. *Dromedaries*

Forty depictions of dromedaries were recorded at ‘Ān Jamal. This animal appears either on its own, or as part of a group. Two methods used when depicting dromedaries can be clearly distinguished from one another:

- Naturalistic depictions, on the one hand. They are the productions of skilled artists, and are most often of large dimensions, sometimes life-size. Care for depth of field is obvious, all four legs appear. The execution is carefully done, with the entire body excavated in the rock (JML-H-95), or with a contour largely cut-out (JML-B-13).
- Schematic depictions, on the other hand: these rarely exceed 30 cm in length; only the animal’s outline is carved into the rock, except the hump, where the entire rock surface is pecked by hammering. The hump is schematically depicted by a triangle or a curve (JML-F-1). The animal is shown in profile, with two legs; the head is undersized; hairs are sometimes shown at the hump’s summit and on the tail.

While mounted animals are numbered in their thousands, showing the dromedary with a rider is exceptional. We know of only one certain example at ‘Ān Jamal (JML-D-6), where a character with long hair rides the top of the hump; he is superimposed on a previous hunting scene. A Thamūdic inscription to the left of the dromedary could be contemporary, according to the patina. Two other examples are more doubtful (JML-C-7 and JML-F-172).

Inversely, it is not rare to find the dromedary included in a raiding or hunting scene, where horse riders equipped with long spears appear to aim or touch the animal’s flank. One is still dealing here with schematic representations. The practice that consisted in touching with one’s spear the animal in front of witnesses allowed its capture. This practice, recalled by M.C.A Macdonald, is attested in the travel accounts of Musil and Burckhardt at the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th.⁸¹

Unmounted dromedaries can be considered both wild animals—all the more so the large depictions with much patina, probably made before the animal was domesticated—⁸² and

⁸¹ MACDONALD 1990; 2012: 282; see also BURCKHARDT 1831: I:140; MUSIL 1928: 524.

⁸² On this type of depiction, see CHARLOUX, GUAGNIN & NORRIS 2020: 94-95 (Najran Tradition = NAJT).

domesticated ones (herds of livestock), or even domesticated animals that have become wild once more.

Some dromedaries are depicted with a spear driven into their flank; this is a clue that the animal was hunted, if indeed the spear was not added at a later date. Other dromedaries are shown with feet tied with a rope; in this case, one can infer they are domesticated, unless the rope is an addition.⁸³ None of these two meaningful depictions is found at 'Ān Jamal.

2. *Ibexes, oryxes, antelopes and sheep*

These appear on fifteen occasions at 'Ān Jamal. Ibexes are generally drawn in schematic manner: carving of the profile outline via simple lines, emphasis on the long semi-circular horns, which are oversized in relation to the rest of the body. These depictions are most often small in size, rarely exceeding 30 cm. The only exception is JML-H-11, a carving of large dimensions on the upper part of the collapsed rock in sector 8. The ibex was carved before the rock collapsed; it now appears with its head downwards.

Although depictions of relatively realistic oryxes are known in the region ('Ān Halkān 1 & 5, Fardat Shaybān, Barqā' al-Shā', Jabal Idhbāḥ 1), the five carvings from 'Ān Jamal (JML-C-11, F-175, H-13, H-124, H-198) show them in schematic fashion; the emphasis is on the long tail and the rectilinear horns. A dismembering scene, associated with writing (Fig. 18), proves that it was still hunted in antiquity.

3. *Bovines*

Except for a few schematic depictions at the site of 'Ān Jamal, these are most often naturalistic representations, of large dimensions (40 to 200 cm long, 30 to 95 cm high). Drawing methods vary, from the representation of the outline to that of the whole body by pecking of the surface (JML-D-5). Intermediary solutions are sometimes favoured, with the removal of the superficial sandstone layer at the level of the head, the neck, and the drawing of the outline for the remaining parts of the animal (JML-B-4); a contrast is thereby created between the various parts of the body.

⁸³ ROBIN 2018a.

None of the bovines is carved with a hump, which means that depiction of the Indian buffalo (*Bos taurus indicus*) is to be dismissed.⁸⁴ The horns are of different shapes, at times short, rounded and comparable to that of domesticated cattle (*Bos taurus*), at others large and angled. In the latter case, the question remains as to whether this is a carving of aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) or of domesticated bovines, whose horn size would have been deliberately exaggerated, as one can see in depictions of ibex horns or in the hump of some dromedaries.

Some rare scenes associate bovines with humans (JML-D-11). A hunting scene shows an archer, flexed legs, behind a long-horned bull (JML-D-5), which would tend to indicate the wild nature of some of these bovines. This is also true with bovines with a spear or an arrow shot into their flank (assuming that this weapon is not a later addition). (Fig. 19).

4. Ostriches

Although a huge array of drawings of ostriches were recorded in the regions of the Jabal al-Kawkab and the Jabal al-Qāra', only six are found at the site of 'Ān Jamal. Some are drawn roughly, with a circle representing the body, two incised lines for the feet and one for the neck. They do not exceed 50 cm in height (JML-D-12 and JML-E-13). Other depictions are very naturalistic and the result of an expert and skilled hand (JML-B-3).

The ostrich occasionally appears as the target of hunters, at times horsemen armed with spears, at other times people on foot armed with a rifle (Fig. 17). This is not surprising if one considers that the ostrich was hunted in Arabia until the mid-twentieth century.⁸⁵

The two types of iconography do not seem to reflect chronological evolution. They appear either with a patina similar to neighbouring South Arabian and Thamūdic inscriptions, or covering such inscriptions and showing a much lighter patina. The association of both types of ostrich with hunting scenes with horses or rifles emphasizes the longevity of both the motif and of its drawing methods.

5. Human depictions

Human depictions are either schematic (simple lines for the torso, the limbs and the head), or more naturalistic and detailed, with pecking or surface stone removal over the

⁸⁴ The identification of the *Bos taurus indicus*, suggested by H. Monchot and C. Poliakoff, seems difficult to ascertain (MONCHOT & POLIAKOF 2016: 81–82, pl. 4C).

⁸⁵ WALLIN 1854: 189; PHILBY 1923: 250; GLUECK 1944: 12; THESIGER 1959: 231–32.

entirety of the carved subject. Humans can be shown with accessories: daggers, spears, swords, bows, shields, sticks or rifles. These carvings are either isolated or inserted in more complex scenes representing hunts, erotic relationships and perhaps even raiding parties, but they are also often difficult to interpret. Without trying to be comprehensive, we shall here mention the most significant illustrated thematic categories from the Ḥimā region and the Jabal al-Kawkab.

People with flexed knees, with weapon and hairdo: Generally of large size, these people are depicted in three-quarters or from the front, with knees slightly flexed and arms raised. They wear a hairdo, with one or several appendices sometimes resembling a crown (JML-G-117). They are systematically equipped with an accessory in each hand (shield, spear, stick or curved object). The most spectacular depictions originate from ‘Ān Halkān 3, Barqā’ al-Shā’, Nafūd al-Musammāt 7, Shī’b Sahī 2, al-Ṣammā’ (Fig. 20) and Tha’r. When Thamūdīc or South Arabian inscriptions appear on panels that show these people, the patina of the inscriptions is lighter or noticeably identical to that of these humans, which tends to indicate the precedence or contemporaneity of these human depictions over the inscriptions. Taking into account the fact that the inscriptions cover or deliberately avoid the depicted people, we would be more inclined to see the latter as earlier than the introduction of writing practices in the area.

People with raised arms, open hands: Sometimes described as “male or female worshippers” or “goddesses” in the literature,⁸⁶ humans shown in this posture are manifold—almost all of human depictions adopt this posture—and it is likely that this attitude has multiple meanings. These figures are depicted in an extremely schematic manner (JML-F-56), with sometimes exaggerated hand sizes (JML-G-130). This posture is also adopted by female characters, which M.C.A. Macdonald interprets as dancers and “cheerleaders” involved in battlefields or in confrontation scenes (JML-D-28) and raiding parties,⁸⁷ and in no way are they goddesses (as was previously imagined on many occasions). A rock carved panel from the site of Tha’r shows that this posture is adopted just as much by men (Fig. 21) as by women. One finds it in both rock carvings and rock paintings, as seen at al-Ḥamḍa (region of Tathlīth) (Figs 22-23).

⁸⁶ DRIDI 2012.

⁸⁷ MACDONALD 2012.

By contrast with the previous category, these depicted people seem never to be earlier than the introduction of writing practices. They are often superimposed on pre-Islamic inscriptions. When the superimpositions are multiple, they frequently belong to the most recent carvings, like the horsemen “in flying gallop” and men armed with rifles (Figs 24-25). Since it is quite exceptional to see them associated with a South Arabian or Thamūdic inscription (JML-D-67), one can conclude that they were in their majority carved during the Islamic period.

This is notably the case of the large human-size depictions, superimposed on Thamūdic inscriptions at the site of Umm ‘Unayk, or accompanied by invocations in Islamic Arabic of the first century AH. at the site of al-Murakkab (see below and Fig. 26). These humans are depicted with a large square torso, skinny legs and arms ostensibly raised, fingers spread open.

Women giving birth: two depictions of women giving birth were recorded, one at Ḥimà 5, the other at ‘Ān Jamal (JML-H-34). This topic, recently discussed by H. Dridi, should be included in an iconographic repertoire well illustrated for North Africa.⁸⁸

6. *The mounted horse*

In the Ḥimà region, horses are almost always shown mounted by a human. The carvings of animals can be classified into two broad groups:⁸⁹

Type 1: The horses are on their hind legs, very realistic, with fore and hind legs well individualised and folded;

Type 2: The stylized horses leaping, with conflated and stretched hind and forelegs, and with a feathery tail; Jacques Ryckmans has described this way of depicting horses as the “flying gallop” (“*gallop volant*”).⁹⁰

Type 1 is pre-Islamic, and type 2 Islamic (see below p. 48), with some intermediary examples whose date can be one or the other.

Only the horse of type 2 is attested at the site of ‘Ān Jamal. One can distinguish various varieties:

- “flying gallop,” raised tail
 - simple (JML-C-10 and JML-D-32)

⁸⁸ DRIDI 2012.

⁸⁹ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

⁹⁰ J. RYCKMANS 1963: 221.

- in the shape of a half-palm frond (JML-C-9)
- fan-shaped (JML-G-26)
- tail in a tuft (JML-D-61)
- “flying gallop,” tail low (JML-D-61, F-63, F-70, F-134)
 - Sometimes schematic (JML-C-1 and JML-C-4)

7. The palm tree

Many panels depicting one or several palm trees were recorded, including two at ‘Ān Jamal. Depictions are simple: a vertical incision represents the stem; palm leaves are depicted by incisions radiating from the palm stem’s summit or by groups of parallel incisions starting from the stem’s summit towards the top and/or the sides (JML-F-67). These drawings rarely exceed 30 to 70 cm in height.

A second, more realistic, type was recorded at the sites of ‘Ān Halkān 1 and Bi’r Ḥimā 2, in which the date panicles are shown. At ‘Ān Halkān 1 and Bi’r Ḥimā 2, a human climbing on the trunk is named in a South Arabian inscription (Ja 1031). A carving from the region of Ḥanakiyya (not far from Medina) depicts palm trees irrigated by a channel (Fig. 27).

8. Game boards

Two game boards are carved on the rocks of ‘Ān Jamal, one at the summit of the range (zone 1: JML-A-32), the other further down (zone 6: JML-F-180). These boards are made up of four squares juxtaposed two by two, divided into compartments by their diagonal and bisecting lines. This game is widely known under the name of *alquerque* (or *al-qirkāt*). This game’s ancient origin remains disputed; it is attested at the latest in the 8th century.⁹¹ Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī mentions it during the 10th century in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*,⁹² and Alfonso X of Spain describes it in his *Libro de los juegos* (“Book of games”) in the 13th.⁹³ It is carved on a large number of European monuments,⁹⁴ but also on the floors of the Abbassid mosque of al-Yamāma (Najd, Saudi Arabia).⁹⁵

⁹¹ WESTERVELD 2013.

⁹² BELL 1969: 47.

⁹³ Folio 91v°, ms. T.I.6, Escorial library, Madrid.

⁹⁴ WESTERVELD 2013.

⁹⁵ SCHIETTECATTE *et al.* in press: Figs 4.48-4.50.

DATING THE CARVINGS

1. Direct dating methods⁹⁶

To this day, two archeometric attempts have been made to date the rock carvings of ‘Ān Jamal.

According to R. Bednarik and M. Khan, the most appropriate method to date in Arabia lies in the analysis of the micro-erosion of surfaces—despite some reservations concerning the use of sedimentary rocks, notably sandstone for this type of examination.⁹⁷ The method used consists in comparing the evolution of the thickness of the micro-degradations of crystalline quartz grains, at the scale of a micron, by the use of a reference frame of samples from dated inscriptions.

The calibration curve in the Ḥimà sector was established through the examination of an Islamic period Arab inscription from the site of ‘Ān Jamal (JML-F-52).⁹⁸ An anthropomorphic figure from Tha’r (“Ta’ar”) to the north of Jabal al-Qāra, of the type known as *oval-headed anthropomorph*, holding a stick, a bow and carrying a dagger on the belt, was thus preliminarily dated to 2109 ± 254 BP: the authors admit that this type of depictions certainly precede historical periods. The method, still at testing stage in Arabia, should be reassessed via precise calibration based on a larger sample of dated inscriptions.⁹⁹

Recently the dating method via OSL (Optically Stimulated Luminescence) measurements was tested at ‘Ān Jamal by a Greek team, with the hope of dating the rock art site.¹⁰⁰ Dates were from sandstone surfaces naturally covered by fine calcite layers that have formed with time. The sampling of a sandstone specimen at the foot of a block where two dromedaries were carved (these possibly of Prehistoric date, but without links to the sample), have left us perplexed because of the result obtained: 1630 ± 250 BP and 1300 ± 570 BP).¹⁰¹ Moreover, the starting presupposition appears globally mistaken: according to the authors, “the rock art is clearly connected with a period of ample water

⁹⁶ On this issue, we shall refer to BEDNARIK 2002.

⁹⁷ BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005: 62.

⁹⁸ BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005: 65–66.

⁹⁹ See the reservations put forward by the authors, BEDNARIK & KHAN 2005: 67.

¹⁰⁰ LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013.

¹⁰¹ LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013: 107, Fig. 1a.

availability,”¹⁰² a judgement that remains gratuitous without more detailed argumentation.

Finally, a dating method through comparison of the thickness of manganese and iron deposits (patina varnish), taken with a portable XRF (X-ray fluorescence spectrometry) on carved rock walls, is now being tested on several Arabian sites, including those of Ḥimà and the Najrān region, by a team from the Max Planck Institute.¹⁰³ Results are encouraging, but still remain somewhat imprecise, not always coherent, and even in certain cases completely mistaken, for instance in the case of recently measured bullet impacts.¹⁰⁴ This process as it stands remains experimental, and dates must be considered with caution.

2. Indirect dating methods

To determine, or at least estimate, the date of the carvings, stratigraphic and formal approaches providing relative classifications or benchmarks in absolute chronology are available. When it comes to a comparatist approach, it has proven inconsistent. The two typologies for rock art suggesting chronological anchors for South-west Arabia, one of them proposed by Emmanuel Anati,¹⁰⁵ the other by Madiha Rachad,¹⁰⁶ are not adequate to date the set of rock carvings of ‘Ān Jamal.¹⁰⁷

a. Methods of relative classification

Some relative classifications are able to locally provide chronological markers.

The superimposition of carvings

Several types of observation allow establishing, in more or less reliable fashion, the fact that such-and-such a carving pre- or postdates another. The evidencing of superimpositions and the observation of differences in patina are two procedures used from the very origins of the discipline. Concerning the superimpositions, although some

¹⁰² LIRITZIS *et al.* 2013: 106.

¹⁰³ MACHOLDT *et al.* 2018; 2019.

¹⁰⁴ MACHOLDT *et al.* 2019: 1389.

¹⁰⁵ ANATI 1968a; 1968b; 1972; 1974.

¹⁰⁶ INIZAN & RACHAD 2007.

¹⁰⁷ For a critical review of the chronology suggested by M. Rachad, see SCHIETTECATTE 2009. For a critique of Anati’s chronology, [see below, under the heading “The spread of writing.”](#)

are evident and not topics for debate, many are quite uncertain. This is, therefore, a tool to be handled with caution.

The patina of panels

The same remark can be applied to patina. On some panels, carvings and inscriptions show very contrasted patina, from darker to lighter; in such a case, it is unquestionable that the darker patina mark older interventions. Yet this observation is valid only when the material of the rock face is homogenous, and when the exposure to climatic factors is identical. Even in these conditions, it sometimes happens that neighbouring carvings, in all appearance contemporary, inexplicably show different patina, and inversely, that carvings of clearly differing date possess a similar patina.

Movements of the rock

A geological accident can infrequently yield a useful or relevant chronological benchmark. This is nevertheless the case at ‘Ān Jamal.¹⁰⁸ A rock of the wall face on which an oryx and an ibex were carved split off and was overturned in such a way that the carvings are now upside down (JML-H-11, H-12 and H-13). Following the rock’s collapse, ancient inscriptions were carved: they are therefore later than the ibex and oryx.¹⁰⁹

Avoidance

Another type of observation has at times been used to put forward classifications in relative chronology: avoidance, i.e. the hypothesis that a carving avoids another. Avoidance can be recognized when the most recent carving shows aspects that are odd: deformation of lines, more crowded characteristics, etc.

Jacques Ryckmans has thus suggested that a text from ‘Ān Jamal in South Arabian writing had avoided an Arabic text, which would imply a later date for the former. This point of view was developed in Adolf Grohmann’s publication of the Arabic texts:

“It is remarkable—as Dr. J. Ryckmans has pointed out to me—that the first line of the Himyaritic¹¹⁰ text R 504 [JML-F-50],¹¹¹ which should have run horizontally (as line 2), and

¹⁰⁸ An even more spectacular example can be found in the vicinity of Dūmat al-Jandal: see IMBERT 2013: 671–673.

¹⁰⁹ Jacques Ryckmans had also noticed this in his notes written in the field (translated above).

¹¹⁰ The PRL expedition calls “*himyarite*” the texts that we now classify as “South Arabian.”

¹¹¹ See **Figs 265 and 266**. The copied text (read *Br*²) has only one line, not two.

on the same line as R 503 [JML-F-49],¹¹² runs in fact obliquely, in order to use the available space without interfering with line 4 of Z 297 [JML-F-52]. The beginning of line 4 is, however, not aligned with the beginning of the first three lines; but as the Himyaritic text does in fact interfere with the first letter of line 4, it doesn't seem probable that the writer of Z 297, who had enough space at his disposal towards the left, would have displaced his line in such an unsatisfactory way to avoid a pre-existent Himyaritic inscription. From these observations it would seem that the Himyaritic line is *later* than the Arabic text, viz. could have been written in the course of the 7th century AD."¹¹³

In our collection, these are JML-F-49, F-50 and F-52 (Figs 265-266):

— JML-F-49, which can be read *Rbʿt Ghft*, Rabīʿa b. Gaḥḥāfat¹¹⁴, can be dated approximately to the Christian Era, because it includes a *bāʿ* with a broken upper segment that is typical.

— JML-F-52 is a good example of Arabic script from the early days of Islam, perhaps from the 7th century, based on the marked contrast between the very long and elbow-shaped final *nūn* (in *bn*) and the *rāʿ* in the shape of a comma (in *tarahḥama* and *al-Raḥmān*).

— JML-F-50 has two lines: *S²l (2) Brʿ*. It does indeed appear that these five letters were carved in the space left void between JML-F-49 and F-52. For *S²l*, see Arabic Shalla (CASHEL 1966, II: 525, 1 occurrence) and al-Shalal (*ibid.*: 525, 5 occurrences); for *Brʿ*, see Barāʿ, al-Barāʿ and Barā (*ibid.*: 234, 10 examples). The interpretation of this graffito as two proper nouns (person's name and father's name) is possible, but not certain.

Jacques Ryckmans' observation has in fact proven quite contentious, and actually quite unconvincing. If someone had wanted to carve the text *S²l (2) Brʿ* at a later date than the carving of Arabic inscriptions, he would have had no reason to do so in a narrow and uncomfortable space, while broad surfaces were available near the same rock.

b. Benchmarks in absolute chronology

The spread of writing

The first benchmark in absolute chronology is the spread of writing. This event, which marked the transition from pre- and proto-history to historical periods (during which much more data are available to identify and name the human groups) is theoretically of

¹¹² See Figs 265 and 266: *Rbʿt Ghft*

¹¹³ GROHMANN 1962: 168; see also J. RYCKMANS 1984: 74.

¹¹⁴ CASHEL 1966, II, al-Jaḥḥāf and Jāḥif (p. 255, 2 and 1 examples, respectively).

great importance, but it is quite difficult to pinpoint chronologically in precise fashion. Writing appears in the Peninsula's south around 1000 BCE, with a margin of uncertainty of plus or minus a century. Yet it is by no means certain that carved texts on desert rocks are that ancient. As in the north, Thamūdic is already quite common in the times of Nabonidus, during the sixth century BCE, and it is likely that the same applies to the south, even though proof of this is wanting.

The presence of writing is also difficult to use, because it is still unknown how to date the great majority of texts, as we shall see. How to recognize the most ancient texts, therefore, is unclear. A last complication lies in the fact that the link between a text and a drawing is almost always slightly or partly hypothetical, even when the carving technique and the patina are the same.

Despite the limitations just mentioned, the appearance of writing is evidently a fundamental and useful criterion, and has been used systematically as a benchmark.

A first idea was put forward by the Italian scholar Emmanuel Anati, who worked on the materials of the PRL expedition without travelling to the field. Anati dates a very large number of rock carvings depicting humans and animals prior to the diffusion of writing.¹¹⁵ Anati's chronological classifications were justifiably criticized because of many inconsistencies.¹¹⁶ They are now contradicted by the fact that most of the image categories can be associated with writing. These are notably the many petroglyphs showing people and animals flanked by texts with "X *wqr*" ("such-and-such has carved"), in the guise of a signature. Now these petroglyphs, mainly camels (not ridden, apart from a few exceptions), felines, great bovines and oxen and hieratic characters,¹¹⁷ include a multiplicity of traits that permit outlining stylistic classifications. The carvings are not prehistoric, as suggested by Emmanuel Anati, but certainly later than 1000 BCE. At 'Ān Jamal, the verb *wqr* appears twice (JML-G-64 and G-120), but in jumbled contexts from which nothing can be inferred.

Although it is now certain that a great majority of carvings postdate the appearance of writing, it is still likely that a certain proportion is older. As regards the latter, the task is twofold: first of all, it will be vital to formulate criteria allowing identification of the

¹¹⁵ Of the eight periods that Anati distinguishes (1968a and b; 1972; 1974), five are prior to 1000 BCE; the oldest, "early hunters," is placed pre-6000 BCE.

¹¹⁶ KHAN 1996; 1998.

¹¹⁷ ROBIN & GOREA 2016: 325-326 and Pl. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 20, and 25.

carvings that predate or could predate writing; secondly, it will be necessary to pinpoint the periods when carvings were made.

Palaeography

Another dating method is provided by the technique or style of the written form, or, more precisely, by the specific shape shown by certain letters during a defined period. At present, this can be applied only to South Arabian and Arabic texts. Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic texts certainly show very diverse styles and letters of variable shape,¹¹⁸ but it is not yet possible to establish to what extent these variations are chronologically meaningful. As we have indicated,¹¹⁹ the style of Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic graffiti varied between an “ostentatious” alphabet, with large harmonious letters responding to precise norms (JML-E-14, G-69 and G-70), and an “ordinary” alphabet of more cursive type, with more carelessly carved small-sized letters (see for instance JML-H-132 and next).¹²⁰ As for the shape of letters, in some cases it is constant, while in others it can vary with up to 9 different types.

Until now, as we have also indicated,¹²¹ it is not possible to firmly place the date of appearance of Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic texts. It is probable, however, that Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic writing was still in use during late antiquity (4th-6th century CE). A Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic graffito from Ḥimā is still apparently inspired by writing peculiarities belonging to South Arabian texts dating from this period.¹²² Of greater significance, over a total of some 200 graffiti at Murayghān carved by Abraha's troops around 552-553, the three quarters were written in Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic, and one quarter in South Arabian.¹²³

The scriptural analysis, by contrast, allows approximately dating the inscriptions in the South Arabian alphabet. The main changes concerning the shape of letters (which evolve only in detail, for instance with the inclination of previously horizontal segments); the ratio between width and height of the rectangle in which the letters are inscribed; the treatment of segments, first rectilinear, then curved; the treatment of the segments'

¹¹⁸ ROBIN & GOREA 2016.

¹¹⁹ See above, under the heading 2. *The “Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic” texts (or “Thamūdic F”)*.

¹²⁰ ROBIN & GOREA 2016: 331.

¹²¹ Above, under the heading “The spread of writing.”

¹²² ROBIN & GOREA 2016, Pl. 31, p. 368: These are the appendices of the *lām* and the *kāf* in the shape of an empty triangle, and the strokes at the extremity of the stems.

¹²³ See ROBIN 2018b. Graffiti in the Ḥimā'ite alphabet are 141 in number; in the South Arabian alphabet, 53; 15 are difficult to classify.

extremities, initially bare but then enlarged as triangles, and finally provided with small pointed triangles (apexes); or even the adding of decorative elements to some letters, typical of the last centuries (4th to 6th century CE). The dates are relatively precise and reasonably certain when inscriptions were carved by professional stonecutters who received specialized training and were attentive to innovations of their time. They are more approximate when the letters are written by occasional stonecutters, who are content with reproducing letters in the simplest fashion.

As for South Arabia graffiti, dating via palaeography is not as easy as for inscriptions. The main difficulty lies in the fact that most graffiti are not so carefully done: most often they are carved in haste, by passing people with no particular qualification, on a surface that is not always appropriate but chosen because it was clearly visible or in the shade or close to a stopover. The form of letters usually preserves the initial geometric drawing, eventually only retaining some stylistic traits of the period. The best example of this “rudimentary alphabet,” which gives letters its original geometric shape, is a 6th century CE inscription mentioning king Abraha,¹²⁴ a text that would have been placed (if one were in possession of only the script) at an earlier date (Fig. 28).

An additional difficulty lies in the fact that graffiti are short texts, showing only a limited number of different letters, which reduces possibilities for analysis. It is likely that the written form on its own will never be able to provide a reasonably safe chronological classification of the set of graffiti. Yet it does enable scholars to date a not negligible number. Michael Macdonald, in a recent study, emphasized the illusory aspect of dates obtained via palaeography when one is dealing with Arabian graffiti.¹²⁵ His scepticism is no doubt excessive when it comes to South Arabian ones.

The most significant scriptural peculiarities that have been recorded in South Arabian graffiti are:

- The broken $rā'$, as well as the $bā'$ and the $hā'$ with a broken horizontal segment, which are attested only around the Christian Era; for the $rā'$, see JML-F-12, F-150, F-151 and H-4; for the $bā'$, see JML-F-17, F-49 and H-18; for the $hā'$, see JML-F-19 (in S^2hr).
- The dash at the end of the strokes, which implies a date later than the beginning of the Christian Era: see JML-A-2, etc.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ This inscription was discovered in February 2018 in the area of Idhbāḥ.

¹²⁵ MACDONALD 2015.

¹²⁶ For a complete list, refer to the thematic index of texts.

- The *wāw*, and the *dāl*'s triangle, large in size, attested only in the first centuries CE:
 - For the *wāw*, see JML-D-19, E-3, F-27, F-158, G-128 and H-21;
 - For the *dāl*, see JML-D-20, D-25 and D-58;
 - The serpent-like *rā'* (which is specific to the 1st-3rd centuries CE), and the *rā'* with the ends looking backwards (something specific to the 4th-6th centuries): among the many examples¹²⁷, see JML-A-3 and E-2.
 - The *fā'* in the shape of a square, between two vertical dashes, postdating the 2nd-3rd centuries CE: see JML-H-214 (*Hrs²ft*) and JML-H-215 (*Ġtfn*).
 - The *nūn* and the tail of the *alif* in the shape of a thunderbolt, a form postdating the 3rd century CE: JML-F-54.
 - The *alif*, whose tail is a vertical stroke, crossed by a sloping dash, a variant of the previous form: see JML-G-108.
 - The *gīm* and the *lām*, with a tail in the shape of a triangle, specific of late antiquity: see JML-F-9 and H-228.
 - The “pendant” in the shape of a triangle attached to the horizontal segment of the *bā'* and of related letters, also typical of the last centuries of the pre-Islamic period (4th-6th centuries CE). There are examples from Ḥimà,¹²⁸ but none from ‘Ān Jamal.
- One shall note an absence in this list: the *wā'*, written with two abutting circles.
- Although thanks to these scriptural peculiarities it is possible to date approximately a substantial number of South Arabian graffiti, it is also true that the great majority of these graffiti show no meaningful trait. The stiffness of signs, which would suggest at a first glance a date predating the Christian Era, should not mislead: one can find it in almost all of the corpus, including in texts that are certainly very late.
- Ultimately, suggesting a chronological distribution of South Arabian graffiti is an awkward matter. On some sites of Ḥimà, such as al-Khushayba, it does seem that no graffiti is later than the beginning of the Christian Era. At other sites, like ‘Ān Jamal, Idhbāḥ or al-Gharaziyyāt, the graffiti dating to the last centuries of South Arabian civilization are relatively numerous.

¹²⁷ For a complete list, refer to the thematic index of texts.

¹²⁸ See ROBIN 2010: Fig. 3, p. 88.

The explicit mention of a date in South Arabian inscriptions

Such mention is absent from the site of ʿĀn Jamal but is found in the region. South Arabian inscriptions Ja 1028 and Ry 507 at Ḥimà and Ry 508 at ʿĀn Halkān are dated to the year 633 of Ḥimyar (523 CE). By association, several texts and petroglyphs carved in the immediate vicinity can be dated to the same period.

The transition to Islam

The most secure benchmark in terms of absolute chronology remains the transition to Islam, which first of all entailed a radical change in epigraphic texts. A new script, the Arabic alphabet, appearing at Ḥimà in 470 CE,¹²⁹ was adopted immediately and wholesale in the wake of the Islamic conquest, which can be placed towards 630-632 in the south. The use of the South Arabian script, dominant until c. 560, survived for a few generations, but in marginal and restricted form.¹³⁰ The Arabic language replaced Saba'ic at once and permanently; the only non-Arabic language attested after this event, albeit very marginally, was Hebrew. As we have already indicated, the content of texts was also radically transformed: texts mentioning only personal names tend to disappear in favour of the usual prayers and invocations of Islamic epigraphy. Moreover, the spelling of Arabic Islamic texts differs from that of Arabic pre-Islamic ones, as seen in the immediate disappearance of the ending *-w* in proper nouns.¹³¹ In the case of petroglyphs, the consequences of the transition to Islam are not yet perfectly clear. Because of Moslem doctrine prohibiting imagery, many authors have spontaneously dated the rock drawings, entirely or at least in their great majority, to before Islam. Now, the validity of this point is not as evident as previously believed, at the level of both doctrine, which only was gradually established and imposed, and practice. It is clear that during the entire Islamic period, from its advent to the present day (at least in the south of the Peninsula), a huge number of drawings were carved in the desert. The most decisive argument is the large quantity of carvings depicting warriors or hunters equipped with rifles.¹³² One could add that two Arabic Islamic inscriptions from Najrān, including one dated from 59 h. (678 CE, **Fig. 26**), are associated with the image of a worshipper.¹³³

¹²⁹ ROBIN *et al.* 2014: 1036–54.

¹³⁰ ROBIN 1976; AL-SAʿĪD 2004. See also above, under the heading “4. Texts in Arabic.”

¹³¹ ROBIN *et al.* 2014: 1040, 1045, 1049, 1091.

¹³² ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

¹³³ See an example in IMBERT 2013: 669.

The hypothesis stating that the transition to Islam did not entail a swift disappearance of images had already been formulated by Jacques Ryckmans concerning the horse: he noted that the depiction of the type described as “flying gallop” was evidently Islamic. He therefore concluded that almost all of the myriad images of the horse in southwestern Arabia’s rock art (and probably at Ḥimà) were later than the advent of Islam.¹³⁴ Surveys of the MAFSN confirm this hypothesis.¹³⁵

It would seem that the human figures with raised arms, open hands, sometimes described as “worshippers” or as “goddesses,” and plausibly interpreted as female are very often Islamic, as we have seen above.¹³⁶

It is also very likely that the dromedary, whose depiction appears to evolve like that of the horse, was frequently drawn after the advent of Islam.

The introduction, domestication, and disappearance of species

The criterion for the introduction, domestication or extinction of animal and plant species in the region provides *termini post / ante quem* for the making of the carvings.

Bovines: Depictions of domestic bovines (*Bos taurus*), sometimes accompanied by a herdsman, necessarily postdate the domestication of the species in the region, which is nowadays ascribed to the 6th millennium BCE.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the argument stating that the date of disappearance of large bovines (*Bos primigenius*) is a consequence of climatic desiccation, which is often used to place some petroglyphs very early, could prove not to be so decisive as generally believed. First of all, large horned bulls possibly related to aurochs could turn out to be depictions of domestic cattle, whose attributes – horns – were deliberately exaggerated, as one can notice among ibexes; secondly, there are drawings of large bovines probably associated with an inscription; thirdly, South Arabian inscriptions mention until the 4th century CE the hunt of wild animals called *ḥwr(y)* and *bqr*, that could be bovids.¹³⁸

Dromedaries: in Arabia, the oldest proofs of the domestication of the dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*) come from archaeological contexts postdating 900 BCE,¹³⁹ i.e. a

¹³⁴ J. RYCKMANS 1963: 220–221.

¹³⁵ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

¹³⁶ See the text below the heading “5. The human depictions,” § “People with raised arms, open hands.”

¹³⁷ HADJOUIS 2007; MARTIN *et al.* 2009.

¹³⁸ SIMA 2000: 99–100; ROBIN 2018a.

¹³⁹ These are essentially: Yalā and Barāqish in Yemen (FEDELE 2017) and Tell Abraq and Muwaylah in the United Arab Emirates (UERPMANN & UERPMANN 2002; MAGEE 2007: 94; MAGEE 2015).

century later than the testimonies of its domestication in the Southern Levant.¹⁴⁰ Textual and iconographic sources for this domestication are also all later than 900 BCE.¹⁴¹ We can therefore reasonably believe that the depictions of mounted dromedaries, driven by the halter or carrying howdah (Ar. *hawdah*), are all later than this date. In the region of Ḥimà, at Tha‘r, a camel rider armed with a bow and a sword rides the top of a dromedary’s hump (Fig. 29). The drawing is signed by its author in a Ḥimā’ite Thamūdīc inscription (*Rby wqr*, “Rabī has drawn”), and is as a result dated to the pre-Islamic period. The images of dromedaries most certainly associated with texts are not scarce; the association is notably proven when the same dromedary is repeated with the same texts in two different locations.¹⁴² A scene on a butte neighbouring the Ḥujr inscription consists of a battle opposing camel riders to foot soldiers, apparently associated with a set of Thamūdīc texts (Fig. 30). A carving from al-Ṣammā’ shows camel riders armed with a rifle, also riding dromedaries (Fig. 31). The date of these latter is clearly more recent. As regards a large number of depictions of mounted dromedaries, it is not possible to give details on the periods in which they were made. At the most, we often notice that when Thamūdīc inscriptions are carved in the vicinity, their patina is a little darker than that of mounted dromedaries, which suggests the precedence of the graffiti.

The dromedary hunt was regularly considered to be a practice preceding domestication, and consequently such depictions in rock art were dated to the end of the second millennium BCE, at the latest.¹⁴³ This approach is too reductive. The dromedary hunt is actually a practice attested in Arabia in ancient periods.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless the faunal assemblage of sites which have yielded the oldest proofs of dromedary domestication reveal the coexistence of domesticated and wild individuals in the early first millennium BCE.¹⁴⁵ Genetic studies carried out on ancient and modern dromedary populations also demonstrate the coexistence in Arabia of wild and domestic individuals, as well as a probable resupplying among wild populations after an initial phase of domestication.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ FEDELE 2017: 286, 305, 311 and quoted references.

¹⁴¹ RETSÖ 1991: 200–201; FEDELE 2017: 305.

¹⁴² ROBIN 2018a gives two examples of this.

¹⁴³ See for instance SPASSOV & STOYTCHEV 2004 regarding a hunting scene at Shi‘b Musammāt, to the west of the Jabal al-Kawkab.

¹⁴⁴ The site of Baynuna, in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, is a distinctive site for the hunting of wild dromedaries, whose activity goes back to the second half of the 5th millennium BCE (BEECH *et al.* 2009).

¹⁴⁵ UERPMANN & UERPMANN 2002; MAGEE 2015: 272; FEDELE 2017.

¹⁴⁶ ALMATHEN *et al.* 2016.

Both genetics and archaeozoology indicate a rapid decrease of wild populations in East Arabia during the first half of the first millennium BCE, probably followed by their extinction.¹⁴⁷ The situation in the rest of the Peninsula is poorly known. It is likely that a number of hunting scenes could date to the first millennium BCE, and even to a more recent period.

Finally, the unmounted dromedary is quite frequently depicted in raiding or possibly hunting scenes, where horsemen armed with a spear touch the flank of animals in order to claim or seize them.¹⁴⁸ These depictions are effectively from the late first millennium BCE.

Horses: The horse and the manner it is depicted also are benchmarks in terms of absolute chronology. One can surmise that the introduction of the horse in the north and east of the Peninsula dates to the second half of the first millennium BCE¹⁴⁹ and that it is no earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era in the Peninsula's south.¹⁵⁰

The figure of the horse on its hind legs is apparently always associated with pre-Islamic inscriptions: it can therefore be dated to a period between the start of the Christian Era and the sixth century CE. The horse shown in flying gallop seems to be entirely or to a very large extent Islamic. At 'Ān Jamal, two horsemen of this type are superimposed on ancient inscriptions: see JML-F-134 and JML-H-59.

The ostrich

Archaeological excavations have yielded only a few skeletal remains of ostriches. Despite this, their presence in Arabia was confirmed a while ago by the discovery of fragments of eggshell in contexts belonging to historical times.¹⁵¹ Its presence in the Peninsula predates the mid-second millennium BCE.¹⁵² The wild ostrich became extinct in Arabia in the first half of the 20th century.¹⁵³

The palm tree (*Phoenix sp.*)

¹⁴⁷ UERPMANN & UERPMANN 2002; MAGEE 2015; ALMATHEN *et al.* 2016.

¹⁴⁸ M.C.A. Macdonald emphasized the distinction to be made between hunting scenes carried out on foot and these raiding scenes on horseback, which are later; he uses as supporting evidence the testimony of travellers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (MACDONALD 1990).

¹⁴⁹ SCHIETTECATTE & ZOUACHE 2017.

¹⁵⁰ ROBIN & ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2017.

¹⁵¹ POTTS 2001; MONCHOT & POLIAKOF 2016: 78, 85.

¹⁵² POTTS 2001: 186.

¹⁵³ POTTS 2001: 183–184.

The carvings rarely allow one to distinguish the species of *Phoenix* depicted, although one supposes that it is most often the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*), the species most common in the Peninsula. Starting from this presupposition, it is difficult to make a distinction between wild date palms, and cultivated or feral ones (palm trees returning to the wild). In five cases, however, date palms appear to possess thick panicles loaded with dates, something that can result from manual pollination (at Ḥimā 2, ‘Ān Halkān 1, Jibāl al-Minshāf, Nafūd al-Musammāt 9 and Shi‘b Sahī 1); in the case of two of them, a human figure is shown, climbing the stem (Figs 27 and 32). It seems clear we are dealing here with the domesticated species. This domestication is attested in east Arabia in the early third millennium BCE,¹⁵⁴ but tangible proofs of its cultivation in Southwestern Arabia do not actually exist before the first millennium BCE.¹⁵⁵ These depictions would therefore be of relatively recent date.

SOME SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE SOUTH ARABIAN AND THAMŪDIC ḤIMĀ’ITE TEXTS

1. The formulation of identities

Many South Arabian and Thamūdic rock carved texts give a single name: *T’lbt* (JML-F-5) or *Hrb* (JML-D-1). This is the most common way of self-identification.

It is frequent that texts are comprised of two or more names. Yet it is often difficult to decide whether two neighbouring names, or names written one on top of another, constitute a single or two texts (see for example JML A-18, A-19 and A-20). The writing style, the carving technique and arrangement do not always allow one to settle with certainty. The identity with two names is frequent in South Arabian: see for instance *Mlk ‘bd’lh* (JML-F-9). In Thamūdic, by contrast, it is relatively exceptional: see *Br’-‘bd* (JML-F-119). The second name is probably that of the father, but one cannot exclude that of a more distant ancestor used as the name of a lineage.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ TENGBERG 2012.

¹⁵⁵ SCHIETTECATTE 2013.

¹⁵⁶ In Islamic sources, it is also frequent, when identifying an individual, to give his name and that of a close ancestor: for instance, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād al-Ukaylī, who is briefly called Aḥmad b. ‘Abbād (AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *al-Iklīl* 1: 253-257 and 257-261) or Aḥmad b. ‘Abbād al-Ukaylī (AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *al-Dāmigha*:152-153).

When a person gives three names (see for example *Lġz Tms²ms¹ ‘bd*, JML-F-17), this is sometimes composed of the personal name, that of his father and that of his lineage. This is certain in any case for a graffito from al-Gharaziyyāt that reads:

Bs²r ‘bd T‘lbⁿ,

“Bishr ‘Abd Thu‘lubān”¹⁵⁷

because a neighbouring text gives the identity of the same person, under a more explicit form:

‘mr S¹‘d R’s¹ mqtwy⁽²⁾ Bs²r bn ‘bd^m d-T‘lbⁿ,

“Āmir Sa‘d Ra’īs, officer of ⁽²⁾ Bishr son of ‘Abd^{um} of the (lineage) Thu‘lubān.”¹⁵⁸

Yet it is also possible that these three names are the personal name, that of the father and that of the grandfather.

Finally, in the case of very exceptional sequences of four names (for example *‘mr-‘twb-Mlk-‘bdlh*, JML-H-213), the question is to know whether it is the identity of a single person (mentioning three generations of ancestors), or that of two. Another interesting aspect of the structure of people’s identity at Ḥimà is the systematic absence of epithet nouns (like “Watār” in “Karib’īl Watār”; “Hilāl” in “Shahr Hilāl”; or “Yuha’min” in “Malkīkarib Yuha’min”). This is verified on the ‘Ān Jamal graffiti, but also on all those of the area. Even Sabaeen or Himyarite princes who, in Yemen, are always mentioned with an epithet noun, do not have one at Ḥimà. This is for instance the case of a prince of Radmān at al-Khushayba,¹⁵⁹ or princes of Najrān at Bi’r Ḥimà or at al-Gharaziyyāt.¹⁶⁰ There is a dubious case, *Mrt^d’w ‘h^dr* (in JML-G-108), where *‘h^dr* could be an epithet noun or a patronym. Even so, this instance does not much alter the general observation that the epithet noun, even when it exists, is not used.

Only two nouns are certainly lineage names (and not personal ones). They are those of princely lineages of Najrān, which are mentioned by their officers travelling in the region: dhu-Thu‘lubān (JML-E-4 and JML-H-17) and dhu-Gadan^{um} (JML-H-197).

Foreigners sometimes added an adjective called *nisba* to their identity indicating their origin. At Ḥimà, the most frequent *nisba* is *qry*, “Qaryote,” namely coming from the oasis

¹⁵⁷ ROBIN 2010: Fig. 3, p. 88.

¹⁵⁸ ROBIN 2010: Fig. 4, p. 89.

¹⁵⁹ *Whb’l bn⁽²⁾ M’hr qyl⁽³⁾ Rdmⁿ* (ARBACH *et al.* 2015: 35).

¹⁶⁰ *Yšhq d-Gdn^m* (Bi’r Ḥimà Sab 2 = PRL-R 47, *Mlk^m bn Šlh^m⁽²⁾ mqtwy Yšhq d-Gdn^m*); *Bs²r bn ‘bd^m d-T‘lbⁿ* (ROBIN 2010: Fig. 4, p. 89).

of Qaryat al-Faʿw (200 km from Ḥimà). One also finds “Sabaean” (s^1b^y , five times), “Ḥaḍramawtic” ($ḥḍrmy$, four times) and “Qatabanite” ($qtbny$, twice). It is significant that the *nisba* “Nagrānite” ($ngry$) is completely absent. At ʿĀn Jamal, only the *nisba* “Qaryote” is mentioned four times: JML-H-19 { qry^n }; JML-H-39 { $K(nf)-ʿṣgr-Dhl-qry^n$ }; JML-H-119 { $Mlk qry^n$ }; JML-H-122 {...}/ $qr(yn)$ }.

It is patent that at Ḥimà people from Najrān were at home, while people from Qaryat were foreigners. This observation agrees with the fact that the (police) forces came from Najrān. Otherwise said, Ḥimà was a dependence of Najrān or at least durably depended on it.

Concerning onomastics, one notices that quite a number of personal names are found both in South Arabian graffiti and in Ḥimāʿite Thamūdīc ones: this is an additional clue in favour of the hypothesis that the same population carved all of these texts.

When comparing the onomastics from Ḥimà with that of the Yemeni kingdoms such as Sabaʿ and Maʿīn, the contrast is considerable. On the other hand, when compared with Arab genealogies of the 8th-10th centuries, around half of the personal names are found in each group.

In South Arabian, where it is possible to date a certain proportion of texts, a gradual change is noticed: some Arab names, like *Muʿāwīyat* or *Rabīʿat*, absent in the oldest graffiti, become very popular in late antiquity. It is likely that Ḥimāʿite Thamūdīc evolved in the same manner.

2. Deities worshipped according to onomastics

Data on worshipped deities are very limited. A graffito (JML-F-77) is written by a minister of dhu-Samāwī who is probably a Najrānite:

“Shākīr^{um} minister of ⁽²⁾ dhu-Samāw⁽³⁾ī” ($S^2(kr)^m-qyn$ ⁽²⁾ $d-S^1mw^{(3)}y$)

The letter *dhāl* that frames a text (JML-H-120) is maybe the symbol of the god dhu-Samāwī.

Finally, a text (JML-H-187) speaks of the erection of a *nuṣub* stone, no doubt with a religious or funeral meaning, but without mentioning the associated deity:

“Rabīʿat has erected” ($Rb^t-nṣb$)

Apart from this, theophoric names are the only elements at our disposal providing an idea of deities who were or had been previously worshipped. At ʿĀn Jamal, the following gods are listed:

- In the Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic graffiti
 - al-Lāt: *Tm̄lt* (JML-F-101), *Tym̄lt* (JML-G-98)
 - 'Amm: *Hf̄m* (JML-H-126)
 - Īl: *Hf̄l* (JML-H-160, South Arabian or Thamūdic), *S²rḥ̄'l* (JML-G-58)
 - Perhaps dhu-Samāwī in JML-G-70 (*Ḥrm-S¹mw* or *Ḥrms¹mw*)
- In the South Arabian graffiti
 - al-Lāh: *'bdlh* (JML-F-9, JML-H-112, JML-H-213), *Grmlh* (JML-H-237)
 - al-Lāt: *'ws¹lt* (JML-D-45), *Fs²ylt* (JML-D-15, JML-G-31), *Grmlt* (JML-D-58), *M'nlt* (JML-G-118), *Tym̄lt* (JML-G-140), *Whblt* (JML-D-57, JML-G-128), *Zydl̄t* (JML-D-58, JML-H-4)
 - al-'Uzzā: *'bdhl'zy* (JML-F-4), *'bdl'zy* (JML-D-20, JML-G-118)
 - 'Amm: *'b'm* (JML-G-115), *Hf̄m* (JML-F-47, JML-H-76), *Hwf̄m* (JML-F-166)
 - 'Athtar: *Hwf̄tt* (JML-G-141), *Lhy'tt* (JML-G-8)
 - Īl: *'ws¹l* (JML-H-21), *Bn'l* (JML-E-15, JML-F-60), *Hf̄l* (JML-H-160), *Hwf̄l* (JML-G-139), *M'q'l* (JML-G-147), *M'd'l* (JML-F-84, JML-G-148), *Nbṭ'l* (JML-F-22), *Rb'l* (JML-G-133), *S¹'d'l* (JML-D-49 A, JML-H-27), *Whb'l* (JML-F-27, JML-H-108), *Yḥm'l* (JML-F-115, JML-G-131), *Zd'l* (JML-F-108), *Zyd'l* (JML-F-79)
 - Kahl: *'bdkhl* (JML-F-44, JML-H-235), *Hn'khl* (JML-G-39)
 - Manāt: *'bdmnt* (JML-H-118), *Qys¹mnt* (JML-G-90)
 - Shams: *S²ms¹ⁿ* (JML-F-168), *Tms²ms¹* (JML-F-17)¹⁶¹
 - Wadd: *'bdwd* (JML-H-202), *Whbwd* (JML-F-154)

At 'Ān Jamal, the names of gods are evidently more frequent in South Arabian texts (these comprise more than 60 % of the total number of pre-Islamic texts and approximately the two thirds of personal names). This site, though, is not particularly representative. Elsewhere, a comparable proportion of theophoric names is found in both scripts.

It is quite remarkable that theophoric names in both scripts refer to the same deities. This observation, of little significance at 'Ān Jamal because Thamūdic theophoric names are few, is confirmed when one broadens investigations to the entire group of texts from Ḥimā:¹⁶² exactly the same deities are found, whatever the script used.

This is the inventory of theophoric names already recorded in the Ḥimā area:

¹⁶¹ One should also include among theophoric names *Mqm'tt* (JML-F-173, South Arabian, apparently formed on Athirat), *Mṛtd'w* (JML-G-108, South Arabian, formed on Awām?) and *'bd'bh* (JML-F-28, South Arabian).

¹⁶² ROBIN forthcoming.

- al-‘Uzzà: *‘bd’z, ‘bdhl’zy, ‘bdl’z, ‘bdl’zy, Mr’l’z, Mr’l’zy, Mr’zy, Tml’z, Tml’zy, Whb’z, Whbl’z*¹⁶³;
- al-Lāh: *’mt ’lh, ‘bdlh, Bnlh, Mr’lh, Ns¹lh*;
- al-Lāt: *’mrlt, ’mtlt, ’ws¹lt, ‘bdl, ‘dlt, ‘ydl, Grmlt* (Fig. 33), *Ḥmlt, M’nlt, Mn’lt, Mr’lt* (Fig. 34), *Nḥrlt, Ntmlt, S¹dlt, Tmlt* (Fig. 11), *Tymlt, Whblt, Zdl, Zydl*;
- ‘Amm: *Hf^m, Hwf^m*;
- ‘Athtar: *Bn’tt, Bn’ttr, Hwf’tt, Lhy’tt, Rb’ttr, Tym’ttr*;
- Īl: *’mr’l, ’ws¹l, ‘bd’l, ‘br’l, ‘l, ‘m’l, ‘mk’l, Bn’l, Dd’l, Drh’l, Grm’l, Ġwt’l, Hf’l, Hwfl, Hḫb’l, Hwtr’l, Hy’l, L’dr’l, M’d’l, M’n’l, Nbr’l, Nbḫ’l, Rb’l, S¹d’l, S²kr’l*¹⁶⁴, *Tb’l, Tḫ’l, Wd’l, Whb’l, Ws²h’l, Yḥm’l, Yhy’l, Ykrb’l, Ys¹m’l, Ys²kr’l, Ys²rḥ’l, Yḫ’l, Zd’l* (Fig. 35);
- Kahl: *’bkhl*¹⁶⁵, *’lkhl, ‘bdkhl, Hn’khl*;
- Manāt or Manawāt: *’mtmnt, ’mtmnwt, ’s¹mnt, ’ws¹mnwt, ’ws¹mnwt^m, ‘bdmnt, ‘bdmnwt, Fḏlmnt* (Fig. 36), *Grmmnt, Mr’mnt* (Fig. 37), *Qs¹mnt, Qys¹mnt, S¹dmnt, S²rmnt, Ṣlmmnt, Tymmnwt^m, Whbmnt, Zdmnt, Zydmnt, Zydmnwt*;
- Shams: *‘bds²ms¹, Grms²ms¹, Tms²ms¹, Tyms²ms¹, Whbs²ms¹, Zyds²ms¹*;
- Wadd: *‘bdwd*¹⁶⁶, *(H)znwd, Mt’wd, S¹dwd, Whbwd, Zydw*;
- Yaghūth: *’mtyḡt* (Fig. 36), *‘bdyḡt, Byḡt, Gdwyḡt, Grmyḡt* (Fig. 38), *Hn’yḡt, Mr’yḡt, Rfdyḡt, S¹dyḡt, Tymyḡt, Zdyḡt*.¹⁶⁷

The deities attested are three gods known in a large part of the Semitic world (Īl, ‘Athtar and Shams), a god common to many people in all of Arabia (Wadd), and deities shared by various Arab tribes of Desert Arabia (al-‘Uzzà, al-Lāh, al-Lāt, Kahl, Manāt and Yaghūth). One should add on the fringe ‘Amm, the great god of Qatabān, the only deity specific of South Arabian kingdoms to be found at Ḥimà.

When one compares theophoric names at Ḥimà with those of Yemen, one notices (as is generally the case of onomastics, as we have seen) meaningful differences. At Ḥimà, typically Sabaeon theophoric personal names, like those formed with the name of the great god of Saba’ Almaqah (*’lmaqḥ*), or with terms replacing Almaqah (like *’wm* and *-ṭwn*),

¹⁶³ ROBIN & GOREA 2016: 327.

¹⁶⁴ Quoted by G. RYCKMANS 1957: 559.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ ROBIN & GOREA 2016: 329–30.

are completely absent, with the exception of a doubtful example carved by a Himyarite royal official.¹⁶⁸ It is possible to conclude from this that the authors of Ḥimà's South Arabian inscriptions did not belong (apart from exceptions) to the Sabaeen aristocracy. This is particularly meaningful, for three reasons. The first is that Najrān was durably Sabaeen as from the first or second century CE. The second is that in the first millennium CE, the kingdom of Saba' played an important part in long distance exchange going through Najrān. The third reason is that Sabaeen territory was relatively near. One should also notice the complete absence of theophoric personal names formed with Ta'lab (*T'lb*, the great god of Sam'ī) or with Siyān (*S'y'n*, the great god of Ḥaḍramawt).

On the other hand, when Ḥimà's theophoric names are compared to those of Northwest Arabia,¹⁶⁹ one notices that many are shared. These are in particular the ones formed with the names of deities al-'Uzzà, al-Lāh, al-Lāt and Manāt.

To summarize, theophoric names from Ḥimà suggest two conclusions. The first is that the authors of Ḥimà's South Arabian and Thamūdīc texts worshipped the same deities: they therefore belong to the same population, similar to that of the Najrān-Ḥimà-Qaryat-Tathlīth area. This population, at least on a religious level, is related more to northwestern Arabian populations than to those of Yemen.

One can moreover add some marginal remarks. It is likely that Ḥimà's theophoric names formed with Kahl (the great god of Qaryat al-Fa'w), with al-Lāh (an important deity at Qaryat al-Fa'w) and with dhu-Samāwī (the great god of Najrān) are above all borne by people originating from these oases. As for Yaghūth, of whom some attestations exist in the north-west, but whose name is very rare outside Ḥimà, he is evidently the local god.

Attention should still be drawn to a peculiarity. At Ḥimà, just like at Qaryat al-Fa'w (in the inscriptions) and at Najrān (in a list of Christians who were the victims of Yūsuf's 523 massacre, a list provided by the *Book of the Himyarites*), the theophoric name Hawfā'amm is found. Now, this personal name, formed with the Saba'ic factitive verb *hwfy* and the name of the great Qatabānite god 'Amm, is in principle typically Qatabānite. Two

¹⁶⁸ This graffito's author has a name not otherwise attested, *Mrtd'w* (JML-G-108). It is not impossible that *Mrtd'w* is an abbreviated form (or a mistaken written form) of *Mrtd'wm*, a Sabaeen name. If this were the case, it would be a theophoric name referring to a temple of Almaqah.

¹⁶⁹ For an inventory of deities of North-western Arabia in texts in Nabataean script, refer to NEHMÉ forthcoming. To this list, one should add Wadd (attested at Dadān) and Yaghūth (*'mr'y'wt*, in CANTINEAU 1930-1932, II: 64 and 104). For texts in North-western Arabian scripts, please refer to the OCIANA database (<http://krc2.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/>).

explanations are possible. The first is that the god ‘Amm was worshipped by some populations from the Najrān-Ḥimā-Qaryat area. The second is that a person (of Qatabānite extraction) called Hawfā‘amm played a memorable part or exerted a lasting influence, in a way such that his name was given to children, who transmitted it later to their descendants.¹⁷⁰

3. The language of pre-Islamic texts

At Ḥimā, the linguistic model is Saba’ic, most certainly in texts in South Arabian script, and probably in those in Ḥimā’ite Thamūdīc script as well. In Saba’ic, the definite article is a suffixed *-ān*, as in “Awsallāt the master builder,” *ʿws¹lt⁽²⁾ grbyn* (JML-D-45).

It is noteworthy that in some proper nouns, practice diverges from this model, and replaces the Saba’ic article by that used in Arabic (*al-*), which is prefixed. Ḥimā’s inscriptions, like those of Najrān, moreover reveal that this Arabic article was first *hal-* before the adoption of the form *al-*.

At ‘Ān Jamal, the Arabic article is certainly only attested in theophoric names formed with the name of the goddess al-‘Uzzā, *ʿbdhlʿzy* (JML-F-4) and *ʿbdlʿzy* (JML-D-20 and JML-G-118). In *ʿlmr* (JML-H-165), *ʿws¹* (JML-F-148) and *ʿbyd* (JML-E-9), three graffiti whose readings are not entirely certain, it is difficult to say whether one is dealing with the Arabic article *al-*, or with the element *ilī-*, “my god,” or even with the common noun *āl*, “family.”

Concerning phonetics, it is remarkable that the letters *s³* and *z* are practically absent from texts in South Arabian script, just as they are probably absent from Ḥimā’ite Thamūdīc texts. The only exceptions recorded until now can be explained by the fact that the graffiti’s author does not belong to the local population, but very probably comes from Maʿīn (Fig. 39).

Mīmation noticed in South Arabian personal names is not always preserved in corresponding Ḥimā’ite Thamūdīc ones. Likewise, South Arabian diphthongs are not preserved in Ḥimā’ite Thamūdīc (apart from exceptions). As regards *mīmation*, the patronym of a Najrān prince is written either *ʿbd* or *ʿbd^m*,¹⁷¹ and the personal name *ʿtwb^m* (JML-F-158) can also be written *ʿtwb* (JML-F-11). As concerns diphthongs, one finds just as

¹⁷⁰ Such a phenomenon can be seen in the Aksūmite name Abraha, which was adopted into Arabic (in CASHEL 1966, one can record four occurrences, and others in al-Hamdānī’s genealogies).

¹⁷¹ ROBIN 2010: Fig. 3 and 4, pp. 88 and 89.

frequently *Zyd^m* (JML-E-19) and *Tymlt* (JML-G-140) as *Zd^m* (JML-G-55) and *Tmlt* (JML-F-101).

The Ḥimā texts are very poor as regards the lexicon. In Thamūdic, the terms *wqr*, “to draw, to carve” (JML-G-64 and JML-G-120),¹⁷² *wdd*, “to be friends with” (JML-F-8, JML-F-78, JML-F-132 and JML-F-176),¹⁷³ and *hb*, “to be united to” (JML-F-36), are probably verbs, but all three are of uncertain meaning. The verbs *wdd* (with the same meaning, “to be friends with” and *nšb* (“to erect”) are also found once in South Arabian (JML-F-123 and JML-H-187B). One also finds the pronoun *ḏ-*, both in Thamūdic and South Arabian.

The rare nouns to be found are in South Arabian. These are (in addition to the nouns “sons,” *bn*), titles or professions like *qyn* “minister” (JML-F-77), *mqtw(y)* “officer” (JML-E-4B, JML-G-108 and JML-H-197), *nḥl* “captain of cavalry” (JML-H-17 or *S¹lmⁿ ḥl* is corrected into *S¹lm nḥl* or *S¹lmⁿ nḥl*), *mlk*, “king” (JML-G-108) and *grby*, “master builder, stonecutter, carver” (JML-D-45). One can add *nhmy*, also a “stonecutter” (JML-F-74).¹⁷⁴

As for knowing whether the language of Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic texts is similar or not to that of South Arabian ones, the answer is rather “yes,” since most collected clues point to a single linguistic group.

FIRST CONCLUSIONS

Initial investigations of the French-Saudi expedition confirm that the graffiti in South Arabian script are concentrated at the periphery, while graffiti in Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic are, above all, located in the valleys penetrating the mountain ranges. The former is carved by people alien to the region, who move around in it, and the latter by the local population. When petroglyphs are associated with writing, what we have is almost always Ḥimā’ite Thamūdic: they are in their majority produced by the local population.

¹⁷² On *wqr*, see ROBIN & GOREA 2016: 325–326. Jacques RYCKMANS had already mentioned it (1956: 12; 1960: 204; 1969: 249).

¹⁷³ On *wdd*, see ROBIN & GOREA 2016: 326–27. See already J. Ryckmans 1956: 12; 1960: 204.

¹⁷⁴ In South Arabian, *nhmt* (or *mnhmt*) designates a type of stone block, to distinguish from *grb*, but one cannot know very well which is worked and polished and which is unhewn. In eight Sabaeen inscriptions, the author declares himself a *nhmy*. This term plausibly refers to stone and means “stonecutter.” The alternative hypothesis that this is a *nisba* of Nihm, the name of an Arab tribe whose oldest mention goes back to the dawn of Islam (in the list of tribal groups represented in Hamdān’s delegation travelling to al-Madīna) is less likely.

These investigations, however, also nuance or correct several older hypotheses. The first hypothesis relates to the origin of foreign people moving about the region. It can be noticed that the language of authors of South Arabian graffiti and their deities are very similar to that of authors of Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic graffiti. Moreover, when people moving around Ḥimā are identified, we see that they originate in their great majority from Najrān and from Qaryat al-Faʿw. Those who come from Sabaʿ, Qatabān, Ḥaḍramawt or Ḥimyar are in minute numbers.¹⁷⁵ The “foreigners” passing through Ḥimā therefore come above all from the great regional metropolises. In total, the authors of the Ḥimā rock carved texts belong in their majority to two concentric sets of people: a close circle made up by the local population, and an enlarged circle extending up to 200 km with the urban populations of Najrān and of Qaryat al-Faʿw.

On two other issues, the first investigations of the expedition to Najrān contradict previous theses that were previously widely accepted. The attribution of a very early date, prior to the invention of writing, to a large number of petroglyphs depicting humans and animals, seems baseless. As for the thesis defended by Jacques Ryckmans of the anteriority of Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic over South Arabian (dated to the 3rd-5th century CE), it has lost its basis since the refining of dating by South Arabian palaeography, and since the clarification of South Arabian chronology. It is now certain that the Ḥimā South Arabian texts spread between the end of the 8th century BCE and the beginning of the 6th century CE. As for the Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic texts, although one cannot date them precisely (apart from rare exceptions), they are plausibly contemporary with the South Arabian texts over the entire period mentioned, or at least over a substantial part of it.

On the other hand, the fact that many carved images are of Islamic times has been confirmed (as foreseen by Jacques Ryckmans).

One issue remains to be solved: the question of knowing why two scripts coexisted in the Najrān-Ḥimā-Qaryat area. One of the scripts no doubt reflected a wish for integration into “South Arabia” (lands of South Arabian culture, which made up an area much narrower than South Arabia), while the other demonstrated the desire to state differences, and even to stand apart. One cannot, however, consider this point as permanently settled. As for the genesis of the Ḥimāʿite Thamūdic alphabet and its relationship with the other

¹⁷⁵ In the epigraphic inventories, their number seems relatively high, because origin is most often mentioned when one is far from home.

Thamūdic and South Arabian scripts, no reasonably well-founded solution can be put forward so long as Ḥimā'ite Thamūdic texts cannot be ordered chronologically and (at least roughly) dated.

The question remains of the great concentration of carvings at 'Ān Jamal.¹⁷⁶ The reasons for this concentration are difficult to grasp. 'Ān Jamal was probably not a stopover for caravans, travellers, the desert police or armies moving about in the region: the site is located less than 10 km from wells, while stopovers are usually clearly further away, around 20 km or more. People were perhaps resting there during the hottest hours of the day, since one can find areas in the shade close to the rocks and wall faces (Figs 4-5).

In any case, 'Ān Jamal was a major landmark along desert trails, and an observation outpost where detachments in charge of security in the desert were frequently stationed: this can be inferred from this location's layout and from the carvings found at its summit. The concentration of graffiti can also be in part explained by the fact that "carving calls for carving": what we mean to say is that a traveller who sees a carving is himself incited to leave a trace of his passage, explaining why contemporary carvings are frequently superimposed over older ones. The site's great panel was probably covered in petroglyphs even before the appearance of writing. Finally, there could be propitiatory reasons, in a region where perils were many. The reasons for the great concentration of carvings at 'Ān Jamal will perhaps be more apparent when the mapping of the distribution of carvings in the entire Ḥimā area will be more advanced.

¹⁷⁶ See already ARBACH *et al.* 2015: 40–41.

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Insert figures 40 to 61

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minṭaqaṭ al-ḥudūd al-shimāliyya; 10. *Āthār minṭaqaṭ Jāzān*; 11. *Āthār minṭaqaṭ Najrān*; 12. *Āthār minṭaqaṭ al-Bāḥa*; 13. *Āthār minṭaqaṭ al-Jawf*).

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Rock-art catalogue

Labelling

To designate the carvings of the Ḥimà area, we shall mention the area, then the site under a codified form, and finally an order number.

For the site of al-Khushayba, the Japanese expedition had suggested the three most meaningful consonants, KhShB. For 'Ān Jamal, the subject of this publication, we have kept JML. For this last site, we have introduced a division by area (Fig. 62), each characterized by a letter (A, B, C...).

Example: Ḥimà-JML-E-12 (or JML-E-12 when it is not necessary to recall that one is dealing with the Ḥimà area).

For unpublished texts of the Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens expedition, we have kept the acronym that Gonzague and Jacques Ryckmans gave to the plate project. This acronym comprises a letter for the area (Q for Najrān, R for Ḥimà, S for Qaryat al-Fa'w), which is capitalized for South Arabian and in lower case for Thamūdīc. The acronyms for carvings of the Ḥimà area therefore begin with the letter *R* or *r*, followed by an order number.

Example:

PRL R2733
PRL r2827

The inscriptions copied by Harry St John Philby are indicated by the traditional acronym Ph.

Example: Ph 140

Location of the areas with rock-art concentrations

INSERT Fig_62 An Jamal site.ai

Fig. 62: Location of the areas with rock-art concentrations. The dots correspond to the GPS coordinates associated with isolated engravings or a rock-art panel (MAFSN).

On the maps of the publication, the main concentrations are indicated by coloured dots, which correspond to the GPS coordinates taken in the field. To each colour corresponds an area:

Zone A (purple): JML-A-1 à JML-A-32
Zone B (dark green): JML-B-1 à JML-B-15
Zone C (orange): JML-C-1 à JML-C-13
Zone D (blue): JML-D-1 à JML-D-71
Zone E (yellow): JML-E-1 à JML-E-38
Zone F (red): JML-F-1 à JML-F-180
Zone G (green): JML-G-1 à JML-G-148
Zone H (blue): JML-H-1 à JML-H-242

For each carving, the coordinates (latitude-longitude) are indicated in the text, above the relevant acronyms. Coordinates are expressed in decimal degrees. The projection system is the UTM - WGS 84.

Dimensions are given here on an indicative basis. Taken in the field, they were subjected to changes during re-readings.

Transcription

Words interpreted as proper nouns take a capital as initial letter.

() : Letter whose reading is uncertain

[] : Reconstructed letter

<> : Corrected letter

Transcriptions of the South Arabian texts (in the order of the Latin alphabet):

ˁ ˁ b d d d f g ġ h h h k l m n q r s¹ s² s³ š t t t w y z z

/ : separation stroke

The separation stroke is marked by a space, except at the end of a line where it is transcribed by a /

The absence of a separation stroke between two words is signalled by a hyphen: for instance, *Mlk^m-ˁmr^m*

Transcription of the Nabataean and Arabic epigraphic texts (in the order of the Latin alphabet):

ˁ ˁ b d d d f g ġ h h h k l m n q r s š t t t w y z z

Transcription of Arabic and related languages in the written parts (in the order of the Arabic alphabet):

ˁ b t th j h kh d dh r z s sh š d t z ˁ gh f q k l m n h w y

a, ā, à (*alif maqṣūra*); i, ī; u, ū

-a, -at (*tā' marbūṭa*)

Ambiguities in reading

In South Arabian, one must bear in mind that the *g* and the *l* are not clearly distinguished from one another.

In Thamūdic Ḥimāʾite, it is often difficult to distinguish:

r and *n*

f and ˁ

Several letters that show the same shape or a similar shape have a different value in South Arabian and in Thamūdic Ḥimāʾite. These are, principally:

<i>Thamūdic Ḥimāʾite</i>	<i>South Arabian</i>
<i>f</i>	ˁ
<i>k</i>	ġ
<i>l</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>n</i>	/
<i>r</i>	/
<i>z</i>	<i>t</i>

As the Thamūdic Ḥimāʾite graffiti freely use South Arabian letters, one must bear in mind that these symbols can have any of the two values ascribed in the list above.

In our readings, we have kept the value that seemed to provide the best meaning or the best represented root. The various possible decipherments are not recalled.

Glossary

Rock carving: Any set of incisions intentionally made on rocks.

Petroglyph: A carving depicting a realistic scene (palm trees, ostriches, ibex, oryx, antelopes, bovids, dromedaries, mounted horses, anthropomorphic figures, hunting scenes, feet, hands) or an abstract symbol.

Rock carved text: carving composed of graphic symbols.

Inscription: Text showing formal characters similar to those of monumental inscriptions; one could suppose that its carving is the work of a specialist.

Graffito: Text showing irregularities and imperfections that no doubt betrays the inexperience of the one who traced it.

Thamūdic Ḥimā'ite or *Ḥimā'ite*: Type of *Thamūdic* specific to the Ḥimā-Tathlith region.

Mixed (Thamūdic) Ḥimā'ite: Text in the Thamūdic Ḥimā'ite script containing South Arabian characters.

South Arabian: Relating to South Arabian civilization; also designates the script of populations of South Arabian culture.

Mixed South Arabian: Text in the South Arabian script without any separation stroke between written groups.

Sabaean: Relating to the kingdom of Saba', capital Maryab / Marib.

Saba'ic: The language of the kingdom of Saba' and of that of Ḥimyar.

Himyarite: Relating to the kingdom of Ḥimyar, capital Zafār (whose extension considerably varied between its origins, in the 1st century BCE, and its peak in the 5th century).

Nabataean: relating to the kingdom of Nabatene (*Nabat*), which disappeared in 106 CE; one also calls "Nabataean" the script of Nabataean type that continues to be used in the Near east and in the northern Ḥijāz after the demise of the kingdom of Nabatene.

Nabataeo-Arabic: Designation for Arabic inscriptions in the Aramaic language, but already in script close to Arabic, which span the transition between Nabataean and Pre-islamic Arabic inscriptions.

Pre-Islamic Arabic: Designation for the first inscriptions in the Arabic language and script, dating from the 6th century CE.

Palaeo-Arabic: Designation for Pre-islamic inscriptions in the Arabic script, whose content is too poor to determine whether the language is Aramaic or Arabic, and to be able to call them "Nabataeo-Arabic" or "pre-islamic Arabic".

In the rock carved texts listing several personal names, the latter are designated by the following terms:

First name: *Individual person*;

Second name: *Father*;

Third name: *Lineage* (cf. *T'lbⁿ*), sometimes grandfather.

Categories

The book only deals with "carvings" that people incised on rocks, whatever their nature, "text" or "drawing". Although the immense majority clearly belongs to one or the other of these categories, one also finds figures whose interpretation is dubious, which are placed in the category of "drawings".

Texts can be simple "graffiti", traced more or less clumsily by non-professionals, or "inscriptions" carved with care. Of course, it is not always easy to place a text in one or the other category.

The categories of texts and drawings to which the catalogue refers are presented in detail in the thematic indexes of texts and images, at the end of the volume.

Area A

Insert Figs 63-64

Fig. 63: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area A at the top of the promontory, looking south (MAFSN).

Fig. 64: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area A on the site map (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29766°N 44,51297°E

JML-A-1 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop and man firing a rifle (Figs 65-66)

Length: 45cm; height: 28cm

Remarks: schematic horse and horseman; horse looking towards left; raised tail, falling in the shape of a hook. Later retouch (**Fig. 66** in grey) has modified the drawing of the horseman by giving him the appearance of a horse's head with his harness.

To the right, a very small human figure looking towards the left, shooting with a rifle. He is standing, bottom facing the onlooker and top drawn in profile. The body, arms (two arcs of a circle) and the legs are simple and more or less thickened lines. A vertical dash stroke between the legs apparently depicts a penis.

Fig. 65: JML-A-1 (MAFSN).

Fig. 66: JML-A-1, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29767°N 44,51292°E

JML-A-2 - South Arabian graffito (PRL R463) (Fig. 67)

Length: 79cm

Transcription: *Mlk- 'ws¹*

Noteworthy are the small inclined or perpendicular dashes at the end of the up- or downstrokes.

Fig. 67: JML-A-2 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29768°N 44,51288°E

JML-A-3 - South Arabian graffito (PRL R462) (Fig. 68)

Length: 41cm

Transcription: *Qd^m- 'mr*

Fig. 68: JML-A-3 (MAFSN).

JML-A-4 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r558) (Figs 69-70)

Length: 85cm

Transcription: *S²hn^m-Krh*

Fig. 69: JML-A-4 (MAFSN).

Fig. 70: JML-A-4, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-A-5 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r561) (Figs 71-72)

Length: 119cm

Transcription: *'bs²t-Ḥbb*

Fig. 71: JML-A-5 (MAFSN).

Fig. 72: JML-A-5, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29766°N 44,51284°E

JML-A-6 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r552) (Figs 73-74)

Length: 46cm

Transcription: *'bdn-S¹qm-///*

Fig. 73: JML-A-6 (MAFSN).

Fig. 74: JML-A-6, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-A-7 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r554) (Fig. 75)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *'nbt*

Fig. 75: JML-A-7 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29765°N 44,51285°E

JML-A-8 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r548) (Fig. 76)

Length: 52cm

Transcription: *Nmrt-Kzm*

Fig. 76: JML-A-8, JML-A-9, JML-A-10, and JML-A-11 (MAFSN).

JML-A-9 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r549) (Fig. 76)

Length: 27cm

Transcription: *Hms²ⁿ*

JML-A-10 - Thamudic graffito (Fig. 76)

Length: 28cm

Transcription: *Hms²ⁿ*

JML-A-11 - South Arabian graffito (PRL r550/1) (Fig. 76)

Transcription: *Mlk- 'ws¹*

Remarks: Note the small perpendicular dash at the end of the upstroke of the *lām*.

Location: 18,29765°N 44,51283°E

JML-A-12 - South Arabian graffito (PRL r547 [part.]) (Figs 77-78)

Length: 18cm

Transcription: *Rhz(n)* or *Hzn*

Remarks: The sign to the right perhaps belongs to the serpent JML-A-13.

Fig. 77: JML-A-12 and JML-A-13 (MAFSN).

Fig. 78: JML-A-12 and JML-A-13, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-A-13 - Snake (PRL r547 [part.]) (Figs 77-78)

Length: 45cm

Remarks: The long undulating line surrounding the graffito to the left and underneath seems to be a snake. It is quite likely that it goes around the graffito via the top, and that the sign to the right, interpreted as a *ra*, belongs to it.

Location: 18,29763°N 44,51283°E

JML-A-14 - Feet outline (PRL r545) (Figs 79-80)

Length: 22cm; height: 28cm

Fig. 79: JML-A-14 (MAFSN).

Fig. 80: JML-A-14, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-A-15 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r542) (Fig. 81)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *Tmm*

Fig. 81: JML-A-15, JML-A-16, and JML-A-17 (MAFSN).

JML-A-16 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r543) (Fig. 81)

Length: 34cm

Transcription: *'bdt*

JML-A-17 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r544) (Fig. 81)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *Dḥw*

JML-A-18 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r539) (Fig. 82)

Length: 51cm

Transcription: *Gdmt*

Fig. 82: JML-A-18, JML-A-19, and JML-A-20 (MAFSN).

JML-A-19 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r540) (Fig. 82)

Length: 40cm

Transcription: *Whb^m*

JML-A-20 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r541) (Fig. 82)

Length: 15cm

Transcription: *Nḍr*

Location: 18,29762°N 44,51281°E

JML-A-21 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r560) (Fig. 83)

Length: 10cm

Transcription: *Mkfh*

Remarks: A letter or a symbol of undetermined nature is carved above the text.

Fig. 83: JML-A-21 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29764°N 44,51281°E

JML-A-22 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r562) (Fig. 84)

Length: 18cm

Transcription: *Wyfⁿ*

Fig. 84: JML-A-22 to JML-A-27 (MAFSN).

JML-A-23 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r563 [part.]) (Fig. 84)

Length: 20cm

Transcription: *Hg^m*

JML-A-24 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r563 [part.]) (Fig. 84)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *Dkr-S²t*

JML-A-25 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r564) (Fig. 84)

Length: 23cm

Transcription: *Hg(b)t*

JML-A-26 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r565) (Fig. 84)

Length: 31cm

Transcription: *Hfk^m*

JML-A-27 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r566) (Fig. 84)

Length: 38cm

Transcription: *S²hn^m*

JML-A-28 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r561) (Fig. 85)

Transcription: *bs²t-Hbb*

Remarks: An isolated 'ayn is carved below.

Fig. 85: JML-A-28 (MAFSN).

JML-A-29 - Animal (quadruped?) (PRL r559) (Fig. 86)

Fig. 86: JML-A-29 (MAFSN).

JML-A-30 - Thamudic graffito (PRL r554) (Fig. 87)

Transcription: *'nbt*

Fig. 87: JML-A-30 (MAFSN).

JML-A-31 - South Arabian graffito (Fig. 88)

Transcription: *'bt*

Remarks: Two letters below of Thamūdīc type which can be read *tl* or *s²l*.

Fig. 88: JML-A-31 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29827°N 44,51101°E

JML-A-32 - Game board (alquerque type) (Fig. 89)

Size: 48×58cm

Remarks: Game board engraved on a flat horizontal surface meant for the game called “alquerque” (or qirkat). This game is well-known from the 10th century onwards (BELL 1969). It also appears on the floor of the mosque at al-Yamāma (8th-10th cent. CE), in the oasis of al-Kharj in Central Arabia (SCHIETTECATTE *et al.* in press: Fig. 4.50). See also JML-F-180.

Fig. 89: JML-A-32 (MAFSN).

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Area B

Insert Figs 90-91

Fig. 90: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area B halfway up the promontory, looking northwest (MAFSN).

Fig. 91: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area B on the site map (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29756°N 44,51343°E

JML-B-1 – Stylized female camel [triangular hump] and its camel-calf, abraded, two legs visible (Figs 92-93)

Length: 45cm; height: 42cm

Remarks: The female camel and its calf look towards the right. The female camel has a long rectilinear neck; its two ears are drawn; its hump in the shape of a sugar loaf is surmounted by six vertical dashes representing raised hairs; the tail raised like a hook is also topped by five dashes; the teat is shown by four udders. The rectilinear legs are at an angle to express motion.

The calf, of small dimensions, is drawn under the mother in very similar fashion. The carving method, however, is less neat. The calf was drawn by another hand or with another tool. One cannot, therefore, dismiss a later addition.

The patina of both are very clear. This can be explained by carving at a recent date, or by very recent intervention on an ancient drawing.

Fig. 92: JML-B-1 and JML-B-2 (MAFSN).

Fig. 93: JML-B-1 and JML-B-2, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-2 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and arms raised, and smaller man (erotic scene?) (Figs 92-93)

Length: 64cm; height: 32cm

Remarks: The head, suggested by a thickened line, is topped by a crown. The hair falls in nine long braids, five to the right and four to the left, which end beyond the arms in a knot. Hands are open with five fingers; feet are shown by a horizontal dash towards the right and the left. A vulva was added between the legs, as well as the profile of a small man standing erect to the left. The entire surface is abraded.

As in the previous examples, the very light patina can be explained by very recent carving, or by a very recent intervention on an ancient drawing.

Insert Fig. 94

Fig. 94: 'Ān Jamal, Area B. Distribution of rock engravings JML-B-3 to JML-B-15 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29746°N 44,51345°E

JML-B-3 – Ostrich (Figs 94-96)

Length: 42cm; height: 30cm

Remarks: Ostrich standing upright, at rest, looking left. The neck is right-angled and the feet, slightly flexed, are very slim; the wider thighs are not completely abraded. The surface of the body is only abraded in its lower part; irregular short lines in its upper part apparently stand for the feathers. The sketched tail is completely abraded. The very small head has no beak. The hole above the head was made by the impact of a bullet shot from a firearm.

Fig. 95: JML-B-3 (MAFSN).

Fig. 96: JML-B-3, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-4 – Bovid with short curved horns (Figs 94, 97-98)

Length: 65cm; height: 37cm

Remarks: Bovid of medium size, looking right, with incurved horns; the head is at a slight angle in a threatening position, the four legs stand out clearly, the tail is apparently stuck to the body. The surface of the drawing is not abraded, with the exception of the head, the chest, a narrow strip in the body's upper part, and part of the hindquarters. The bovid's darker patina implies a date earlier than that of the camel and the two human figures.

Fig. 97: JML-B-4, JML-B-5, JML-B-6 and JML-B-8 (MAFSN).

Fig. 98: JML-B-4, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-5 – Stylized camel [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 94, 97, 99)

Length: 36cm; height: 34cm

Remarks: Dromedary looking towards the left. The two forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. The tail is a rectilinear dash, slightly raised. The head is sketched with a hole for the eye. The hump, exaggerated in volume, is like a bell-shaped hat. The camel's lighter patina implies a date later than that of the bovid.

Fig. 99: JML-B-5, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-6 – Standing man and woman in an erotic scene (Figs 94, 97, 100)

Length: 36cm; height: 36cm

Remarks: Drawing of a man and woman. To the right, the woman is standing, half full-faced and half in profile, with outstretched arms and flexed legs; the head is a thickened short line; the hair is suggested by long stands (or braids), two of which fall on the right side and two others on the left. The left hand is open; the feet are represented by two small dashes oriented towards the right. The entire drawn surface is abraded.

To the left, the man is standing, half full-faced and half in profile. The right arm, very short (without a forearm), brandishes a sloping spear; the left hand is open; two dashes towards the right represent the feet. A dagger is worn on a belt. An enormous erect penis is directed towards the woman. As for the woman, the entire drawn surface is abraded.

The couple covers a drawing with darker patina which has not been identified.

Fig. 100: JML-B-6, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-7 – Man shooting with a bow and arrow (Figs 94, 97, 101)

Length: 24cm; height: 31cm

Remarks: Standing human figure looking towards the left, the body and head are shown full-faced, but the legs and arms are drawn in profile; the legs are in motion and flexed; the feet are shown by dashes towards the left. The body is represented by its outline only, while the legs and arms are simple and more or less thickened lines; the head is a small circular hole attached to the bust by a narrower notch. The object held by the human figure is barely sketched; it is possible that it is a bow and arrow.

The colouration of the patina is similar to that of bovid JML-B-4.

Fig. 101: JML-B-7, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-8 – Animal (unfinished) (Figs 94, 102-103)

Length: 79cm; height: 65cm

Remarks: Unfinished sketch of an animal or allegorical figure

Fig. 102: JML-B-8 (MAFSN).

Fig. 103: JML-B-8, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-9 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Fig. 94, 104)

Length: 16cm; height: 42cm

Remarks: Very small drawing; probably female human figure. The hair falls from the head (suggested by a thickened line), in six braids, three to the right and three to the left, the braids extending beyond the arms. The open hands have four fingers. The feet are suggested by a horizontal dash at the extremity of the legs. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded. The patina is very light.

Fig. 104: JML-B-9 (MAFSN).

JML-B-10 – Animal (unfinished, hindquarters?) (Figs 94, 105)

Height: 23cm

Remarks: The two vertical lines of different length are extended by a horizontal line; they are unparallelled. Their interpretation is uncertain.

Fig. 105: JML-B-10 (MAFSN).

JML-B-11 – Naturalistic camel, unabraded, four legs visible (Figs 94, 106-107)

Length: 145cm; height: 120cm

Remarks: Stylized dromedary of very elegant appearance. The height of the hump is mitigated by the curve of the line depicting the stomach. The mouth and ears are sketched. The two forelegs can be distinguished from one another, like the hind legs; the extremities of the hind legs are broadened. The tail is sloping downwards. The body is not abraded. The outline (except the lower part of the forelegs) and the inner part of the hind legs were scratched at a quite recent date. The abrasion of the neck's interior is notably older, based on the patina's differences in colour.

The carving method of the three camels JML-B-11, JML-B-12 and JML-B-13 reveals great similarities in the treatment of the tail, legs and neck. These three camels were most probably carved by the same artist, though one can distinguish differences in the scope of surfaces stripped.

Fig. 106: JML-B-11 to JML-B-15 (MAFSN).

Fig. 107: JML-B-11 to JML-B-15, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-12 – Naturalistic camel, partly abraded, four legs visible (Figs 94, 106-107)

Length: 130cm; height: 105cm

Remarks: Stylized dromedary of very elegant appearance. The mouth is sketched. The neck is exaggeratedly long, curved, and the head is thrown towards the back. The two fore and hind legs can be distinguished; the extremities of the hind legs are widened. The tail is sloping downwards. The upper half of the body and the interior of the hind legs are not abraded. It is possible that the outline of the front, and the legs, were redrawn.

JML-B-13 – Naturalistic camel, partly abraded, four legs visible (Figs 94, 106-107)

Length: 116cm; height: 120cm

Remarks: Stylized dromedary of very elegant appearance. The mouth is sketched. The neck is exaggeratedly long, curved, and the head is thrown towards the back. The two fore and hind legs can be made out; the extremities of the hind legs are widened. The tail is sloping downwards. Part of the interior of the body does not seem to be abraded. It is possible that the body's lower outline was redrawn.

JML-B-14 – Dog (?) (Figs 94, 106-109)

Length: 25cm; height: 12cm

Remarks: Small stocky quadruped, with a relatively long tail, seen in profile, looking left; the outline is completed by three vertical crosslines on the body to show the variations of the fur. The carving method, very similar to those of JML-B-15, makes one think that the two carvings were the work of the same artist. This observation leads to the conclusion that the small quadruped is probably a dog, since many petroglyphs depict ibexes and oryxes attacked by dogs.

Fig. 108: JML-B-14 and JML-B-15 (MAFSN).

Fig. 109: JML-B-14 and JML-B-15, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-B-15 – Antelope (Figs 94, 106-109)

Length: 49cm; height: 43cm

Remarks: Antelope with short horns, shown in profile, looking left, the two forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the outline is completed by four vertical crosslines on the neck and frontal part of the body to show the variations in the fur.

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Area C

Insert Figs 110-111

Fig. 110: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area C down the main promontory, looking south (MAFSN).

Fig. 111: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area C on the site map (MAFSN).

Location: 18,2974°N 44,51369°E

JML-C-1 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 112-113)

Length: 40cm; height: 20cm

Remarks: Schematic horse and horseman (without legs); horse looking right; the tail is in a plume.

Fig. 112: JML-C-1 (MAFSN).

Fig. 113: JML-C-1, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-C-2 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in motion (Fig. 114)

Length: 49cm; height: 21cm

Remarks: Schematic horse and horseman; horse looking right; the tail is in a plume. The horseman apparently brandishes a sword. To the right, traces of carving of uncertain interpretation.

Fig. 114: JML-C-2 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29739°N 44,5137°E

JML-C-3 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop chasing an animal (Fig. 115)

Length: 56cm; height: 33cm

Remarks: Schematic horseman looking left, with forelegs and hind legs clearly recognizable; the very long tail is in a plume. The horseman (legless?) seems to pursue a quadruped (maybe an antelope) that was carved by another hand (no doubt at a different date).

Fig. 115: JML-C-3 (MAFSN).

JML-C-4 – Horsemen brandishing spears and swords on horses in flying gallop (Figs 116-117)

Length: 82cm; height: 17cm

Remarks: Three very schematic mounted horses, looking right. The horsemen's legs are not shown. The horseman to the right brandishes a sword, and the one in the middle a long spear; the two horses are in motion. The horseman to the left maybe brandishes a spear; his horse is in flying gallop.

Fig. 116: JML-C-4 (MAFSN).

Fig. 117: JML-C-4, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29735°N 44,51374°E

JML-C-5 – Stylized female camel [triangular hump], unabraded, four legs visible (Figs 118-119)

Length: 36cm; height: 17cm

Remarks: Rough sketch of a female dromedary at rest, looking right. The hump is like a bell-shaped hat; the tail seems raised; the udder is shown by four teats. The two fore and hind legs can be made out. The surface is not abraded.

Fig. 118: JML-C-5 (MAFSN).

Fig. 119: JML-C-5, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29728°N 44,51386°E

JML-C-6 – Stylized camel [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Fig. 120)

Length: 28cm; height: 23cm

Remarks: Dromedary looking left; in this very sketchy drawing, note the hump shown as a semi-circle, the two-pointed ears and the drooping tail.

Fig. 120: JML-C-6 (MAFSN).

JML-C-7 – Stylized female camel [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible, in motion, mounted by a man brandishing a spear (Figs 121-122)

Length: 29cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: Dromedary (?), female, in motion, looking right; the forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs, and the tail (bristled with clumps of hair) is raised. The animal is mounted by a man brandishing a long spear, whose legs are depicted. The lance ends in a tip in the shape of a tree leaf, with a central rib.

The animal's interpretation as a dromedary is based on the hump like a bell-shaped hat, and on the udder; the other aspects of the animal are more akin to the depiction of a horse.

Fig. 121: JML-C-7 (MAFSN).

Fig. 122: JML-C-7, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29729°N 44,51385°E

JML-C-8 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Fig. 123)

Length: 133cm; height: 92cm

Remarks: Horseman (with legs?) on a horse in flying gallop (forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs), brandishing a spear, looking to the right. The horseman and his mount partly cover a standing figure, hardly visible to their left.

Fig. 123: JML-C-8 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29727°N 44,51383°E

JML-C-9 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Fig. 124)

Length: 26cm; height: 24cm

Remarks: Small horseman (without legs) on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, looking right. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail, raised vertically, is bristled at the back with clumps; the head, with a small unabraded spot, has two ears.

Fig. 124: JML-C-9 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,2973°N 44,51379°E

JML-C-10 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Fig. 125-126)

Length: 23cm; height: 34cm

Remarks: Small horseman with legs, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, looking right. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail, raised, turns around frontwards; the neck is extended and the head has two ears. The engraver seems to have first drawn the horse, and then added the horseman.

Fig. 125: JML-C-10 (MAFSN).

Fig. 126: JML-C-10 (MAFSN).

JML-C-11 – Oryxes assaulted by dogs (Figs 127-128)

Length: 46cm; height: 30cm

Remarks: Two oryxes are both attacked by a dog. They are looking towards the left; the forelegs are conflated, just like the hind legs; the body's surface is entirely abraded; the engraver has carved two ears on the head and, behind, the two rectilinear horns; the long tail is drooping.

The dogs are looking left; the forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the body's surface is entirely abraded; the tail is raised and turns towards the head. The lower dog is a male.

Fig. 127: JML-C-11 (MAFSN).

Fig. 128: JML-C-11, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-C-12 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Fig. 129)

Length: 20cm; height: 25cm

Remarks: Small horseman with legs and feet, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, rotated to the right. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; at the back, the vertically raised tail seems bristled with clumps; the head has two ears. The engraver seems to have first drawn the horse, and then added the horseman.

Fig. 129: JML-C-12 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29788°N 44,51389°E

JML-C-13 – Stylized dromedary [rounded hump], abraded, four legs visible (Figs 130-132) (Figs 130-132)

Length: 22cm; height: 25cm

Remarks: Dromedary looking right; in the very sketchy drawing, note the hump in the shape of a sugar loaf, of exaggerated dimensions.

Fig. 130: Isolated rock engraving JML-C-13 on the north face of a boulder, north of Area C (MAFSN).

Fig. 131: JML-C-13 (MAFSN).

Fig. 132: JML-C-13, facsimile (MAFSN).

Area D

Insert Figs 133-134-135

Fig. 133: ʿĀn Jamal: Location of Area D, looking south (MAFSN).

Fig. 134: ʿĀn Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area D on the site map (MAFSN).

Fig. 135: ʿĀn Jamal: Distribution of rock engravings in Area D, looking south (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29719°N 44,51438°E

Fig. 136: ʿĀn Jamal: Distribution of rock carvings JML-D-1 to JML-D-12 (MAFSN).

JML-D-1 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 744) (Figs 136-137)

Length: 35cm

Transcription: *Hrb*

References: KHAN 1993, pl. 99A; 2007, Fig. 17.

Fig. 137: JML-D-1 (MAFSN).

JML-D-2 – Man shooting with a bow and arrow (Figs 136, 138)

Remarks: Standing human figure, looking left, with flexed legs, holding a bow and arrow that he is about to shoot. The head, very small, is topped by a quiff flying backwards. The section of a short garment, sketched in the rear part of the body, looks like a tail. The feet are extended by a dash at the back, perhaps to show a shoe. The body's surface is entirely abraded.

Reference: KHAN 2007, Fig. 17.

Fig. 138: JML-D-2 to JML-D-6 (MAFSN).

JML-D-3 – Man shooting with a bow and arrow (Figs 136, 138)

Remarks: Figure only sketched, facing JML-D-2 (and therefore symmetrical in relation to a vertical axis), standing, looking right, with flexed legs. The legible details are identical to JML-D-2; the bow and arrow can be barely hinted.

Reference: KHAN 2007, Fig. 17.

JML-D-4 – Man shooting with a bow and arrow (Figs 136, 138)

Remarks: Figure carved to the left of JML-D-2, very similar to the latter, but reduced by half.

Reference: KHAN 2007, Fig. 17.

JML-D-5 – Bovid with lyre-shaped horns (Figs 136, 138)

Remarks: Small stylized bovid, looking left, with very long horns drawn in a broken line (seen full-face), outlining a lyre of sorts, with the two forelegs and hind legs clearly drawn and flexed, and with a sloping tail. The surface is entirely abraded, to the exception of four small surfaces on the head, the neck and the body.

Reference: KHAN 2007, Fig. 17.

JML-D-6 – Semi-naturalistic camel, abraded, two legs visible, mounted by a man armed with a sword (Figs 136, 139-140)

Length: 33cm; height: 33cm

Remarks: Elegant dromedary in motion, looking left; the falling forelegs and hind legs are raised at the extremities; the head has two ears and an eye. The dromedary is mounted by a man who controls the animal's movement with two reins. This man, whose long hair is floating towards the

back, has a long dagger worn on the waist. A long sword is suspended on the animal's left flank, probably attached to the saddle which cannot be made out. The surface is completely abraded, with the exception of a triangle on the man's chest.

The petroglyph partly covers the small bovid JML-D-5.

Fig. 139: JML-D-6 (MAFSN).

Fig. 140: JML-D-6, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-7 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 742) (Figs 136, 141)

Length: 28cm

Transcription: *l-Ndb^m*

Remarks: Notice the preposition *l-* in front of a person's name, very rare at Ḥimà (see also below [JML-E-16](#)).

Fig. 141: JML-D-7 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29717°N 44,51443°E

JML-D-8 – Arabic graffito (Figs 136, 142)

Length: 30cm

Transcription:

1 *Muḥammad*

2 *(i)bn 'Alī*

3 ...

Fig. 142: JML-D-8 (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 143

Fig. 143: Rock engravings JML-D-9 to JML-D-12 (MAFSN).

JML-D-9 – Stylized dromedary [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 136, 143)

Length: 32cm; height: 38cm

Remarks: Dromedary looking right; the tail is raised in the shape of a hook; the hump is triangular. The dromedary's patina is similar to that of the inscription JML-D-15. It is lighter than that of the feline (JML-D-10), of the bovid (JML-D-11) and of the ostrich (JML-D-12).

JML-D-10 – Feline (lion?) (Figs 136, 143)

Length: 19cm; height: 33cm

Remarks: Very small drawing of a feline looking right, very roughly sketched. The open muzzle signals the head that can hardly be distinguished from the body. The tail is raised and the legs are extended. The surface is entirely abraded.

JML-D-11 – Bovid with lyre-shaped horns milked by a kneeling (wo)man (Figs 136, 143-144)

Length: 36cm; height: 31cm

Remarks: Very small bovid, looking right, with very long horns shown as a broken line (seen frontally), sketching a lyre of sorts, with the two forelegs and hind legs each clearly apparent and flexed, with a tilting tail. The body's surface is entirely abraded. A small figure looking to the left, arms raised towards the udder, legs flexed, seems to be kneeling to milk the animal.

Fig. 144: JML-D-11, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-12 – Ostrich (Figs 136, 143, 145)

Length: 17cm; height: 30cm

Remarks: Very small drawing of an ostrich looking right, very roughly sketched. The abrasion of the body has set aside two small circular surfaces. The ostrich was carved earlier than the text JML-D-15 that partly covers it; the ostrich's darker patina confirms this.

Fig. 145: JML-D-12, facsimile (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 146

Fig. 146: Rock engravings JML-D-12 to JML-D-16 (MAFSN).

JML-D-13 – Stylized standing figure with a large hand (Figs 136, 146-147)

Length: 33cm; height: 34cm

Remarks: Standing human figure, seen full-face, with feet towards the right. The head is depicted as a circle and the body as an oval, and both are unabraded. The limbs are simple lines. The arms are extended, horizontal, on both sides of the body. Only an enormous left hand is depicted; it is open and the fingers are spread.

Fig. 147: JML-D-13, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-14 – Feline (?) (Figs 136, 146)

Length: 33cm; height: 33cm

Remarks: Very tiny animal, with a raised tail, with hind legs each clearly apparent. The forepart of the body, poorly drawn, makes the identification of the animal difficult, though it is perhaps a feline. The neck is partly covered by the last letter of JML-D-15.

JML-D-15 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 605) (Figs 136, 146, 148)

Transcription:

1 *Fs²ylt*

2 *Bdyt*

Remarks: Note the widening of the the shafts, particularly emphasized in the letter *yā*'.

Fig. 148: JML-D-15 and JML-D-16, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-16 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 741) (Figs 136, 146, 148)

Transcription: *S²ht*

Location: 18,29721°N 44,51447°E

JML-D-17 – Horsemen brandishing spears on horses in flying gallop (Fig. 149)

Length: 107cm

Remarks: Two small legless horsemen, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, looking towards the left. The forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is raised, and curls frontwards.

Fig. 149: JML-D-17 and JML-D-18 (MAFSN).

JML-D-18 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Fig. 149)

Length: 74cm

Remarks: This horseman was carved after that of JML-D-17 to the left, whom it seems to confront.

Insert Fig. 150

Fig. 150: Rock engravings JML-D-19 to JML-D-21 (MAFSN).

JML-D-19 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 607) (Figs 150-152)

Length: 51cm; height: 14,5cm

Transcription: *'hwl*

Fig. 151: JML-D-19 (MAFSN).

Fig. 152: JML-D-19, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-20 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 740) (Figs 150, 153)

Length: 55cm

Transcription: *'bdl'zy*

Fig. 153: JML-D-20 (MAFSN).

JML-D-21 – Horsemen brandishing spears on horses in flying gallop (Figs 150, 154-155)

Length: 55cm; height: 46cm

Remarks: Schematic drawing of a small legless horseman, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear (?), looking left; it is covered by the stylized drawing of a rider on a horse in flying gallop and brandishing a spear.

Fig. 154: JML-D-21 (MAFSN).

Fig. 155: JML-D-21, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29713°N 44,51439°E

Insert Fig. 156

Fig. 156: Rock engravings JML-D-22 to JML-D-29 (MAFSN).

JML-D-22 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 156-157)

Length: 70cm; height: 23cm

Remarks: Horseman with legs, brandishing a spear, on a horse in flying gallop, with a raised tail curling frontwards; they are looking left. The drawing is superimposed over an earlier carving that is hardly recognizable. Above, one can notice two circles and two or three vertical crosslines, whose interpretation as letters is questionable.

Fig. 157: JML-D-22 (MAFSN).

JML-D-23 – Superimposition of engravings showing a South Arabian graffito, a horse rider, a camel rider, a camel and an indeterminate animal (Figs 156, 158)

Length: 90cm; height: 35cm

Transcription: *(td)s¹yn*

Remarks: Legless horseman, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear (?), both looking to the left; the horse's tail is in the shape of a plume, with bristled clumps of hair, pointing downwards; the head has two ears. The text is in part covered by the horseman. To the left of the panel, a mounted dromedary, at rest; the body's outline is extended to show the forelegs and hind legs, which each clearly appear; the tail is raised; the head, at the end of a long spindly neck, is very small. The horse is mounted by a spindly human figure, which seems to hold a long object in the shape of the arc of a circle. The surface is unabraded. The drawing appears to have been recarved.

In the centre, quadrupeds that are difficult to recognize and a hypothetical dromedary.

Fig. 158: JML-D-23 (MAFSN).

JML-D-24 - Indeterminate engravings (Fig. 156)

Remarks: Unfinished drawing of undetermined nature, including an animal underneath, and a possible figure above.

Insert Fig. 159

Fig. 159: Rock engravings JML-D-25 to JML-D-27 (MAFSN).

JML-D-25 - South Arabian graffito (PRL R 603) (Figs 159-161)

Length: 22cm

Transcription:

1 *Myd(')-Hn' =*

2 *m Nmr*

Fig. 160: JML-D-25 and JML-D-26 (MAFSN).

Fig. 161: JML-D-25, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-26 - Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 159, 162)

Length: 14cm; height: 20cm

Remarks: Schematic drawing of a small legless horseman, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, looking left.

Fig. 162: JML-D-26, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-27 - Animal (quadruped) (Figs 159)

Length: 33cm; height: 25cm

Insert Fig. 163

Fig. 163: JML-D-28 to JML-D-34 (MAFSN).

JML-D-28 - Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 156, 163)

Height: 83cm

Remarks: Human figure, probably female. The hair falls from the head, and is hinted at by a simple line, in six braids (above the shoulders) or eight (below the shoulders), three and four to the right and three and four to the left. The open hands have four fingers. The legs are very short, with feet shown by a dash perpendicular to the leg. A hole (probably added later) stands for the vulva. The surface of the drawing is entirely abraded.

JML-D-29 - Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 156, 163)

Height: 42cm

Remarks: Human figure, probably female, comparable to JML-D-28. The main differences involve the lower part of the body, lopsided, with flexed legs towards the left; and the treatment of the hair whose three braids grow into five beyond the arms, bordered below by a line (maybe depicting a net).

JML-D-30 – Stylized standing figure with his arms raised (Figs 156, 163)

Height: 33cm

Remarks: Small human figure sketchily drawn. It seems similar to the woman of JML-D-29, but can be distinguished from it by the absence of long braids and, perhaps, by a dagger attached to the waist, and a sabre suspended behind the body; the legs are flexed to the right; the feet are depicted by two horizontal dashes.

JML-D-31 – Horseman brandishing a sword or a standard (?) on a horse at rest (Figs 156, 163)

Length: 42cm, height: 35cm

Remarks: Horseman (legless) brandishing an uncertain object (a shaft with a long strip of floating cloth?), on a horse at rest, looking left, forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. The horse's body is a line that widens both at the front and back. The surface is abraded.

JML-D-32 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 156, 163)

Length: 38cm, height: 25cm

Remarks: Horseman (legless) brandishing a spear, on a horse in flying gallop, looking right, with forelegs conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is raised. The surface is abraded.

JML-D-33 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 156, 163)

Length: 46cm, height: 19cm

Remarks: Horseman (with legs?) brandishing a long spear, on a horse in flying gallop, looking to the left, forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. The surface is abraded.

JML-D-34 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 156, 163)

Length: 48cm, height: 31cm

Remarks: Poorly carved drawing of a horseman (with legs?) brandishing a long spear, on a horse in flying gallop, looking right, forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. The surface is abraded.

Location: 18,29706°N 44,51439°E

Insert Fig. 164

Fig. 164: JML-D-35 to JML-D-62 (MAFSN).

JML-D-35 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 164-165)

Length: 201cm; height: 84cm

Remarks: Large legless horseman, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, looking left. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is in a plume.

The spear is incised over inscription JML-D-43. Its engraving is later than the text. Under the horseman, drawing of an antelope (?) running towards the left.

Fig. 165: JML-D-35 (MAFSN).

JML-D-36 – Horseman brandishing a sword on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 164, 166)

Length: 40cm; height: 74cm

Remarks: Small schematic drawing of a legless horseman, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a huge sword, looking to the left.

Fig. 166: JML-D-36 to JML-D-40 (MAFSN).

JML-D-37 – Horsemen brandishing spears on horses in flying gallop (Figs 164, 166-167)

Length: 116cm; height: 26cm

Remarks: Two horsemen (legless) brandishing a spear, on a horse in flying gallop, looking towards the right, forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. The left horse has a tail in a plume. The horseman's spear ends in a tip in the shape of a tree leaf with a central rib. The surface is abraded.

Fig. 167: JML-D-37, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-38 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 164, 166)

Length: 46cm

Transcription: *(H)dd^m*

JML-D-39 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 164, 166)

Length: 63cm

Transcription: *W(h)b^m*

Remarks: It is possible that JML-D-38 and 39 are the same graffito.

JML-D-40 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 602) (Figs 164, 166, 168)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *'rym*

Fig. 168: JML-D-40, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-41 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 164, 169-170)

Length: 55cm; height: 29cm

Remarks: Female human figure, carelessly carved; the hair falls from the head, and is hinted at with a simple line, in six braids (three to the right and three to the left), above the shoulders. The hands have five fingers. The two legs are not of the same length. The feet are clumsily depicted by a dash. A hole stands for the vulva.

On the right, illegible South Arabian inscription: *...b*

Fig. 169: JML-D-41 (MAFSN).

Fig. 170: JML-D-41, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-42 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 164, 171)

Length: 53cm

Transcription: *Ġt. (N) 'm*

Fig. 171: JML-D-42 and JML-D-43 (MAFSN).

JML-D-43 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 164, 171)

Length: 50cm

Transcription: *Wdn- 'b*

JML-D-44 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 164, 172)

Length: 60cm

Transcription:

A *Myḥ*

B *Qs^tṭ*

Remarks: Although the names are identical in style and patina, they probably correspond to two separate persons.

Fig. 172: JML-D-44A and JML-D-44B (MAFSN).

JML-D-45 – South Arabian graffiti (PRL R 599) (Figs 164, 173, 176)

Length: 42cm; height: 25cm

Transcription:

1 *'ws¹lt*

2 *grbyⁿ*

Translation: “Awsallāt the stonecutter”

Remarks: *grbyⁿ* usually means “(stone)cutter” and also no doubt “engraver, lapicide”. It is not to be dismissed, however, that this is the *nisba* formed on a tribal name (*Grb*, *Grb^m*, *Grbⁿ* or *Grbt*).

Fig. 173: JML-D-45 (MAFSN).

JML-D-46 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 598) (Figs 164, 174-175)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *R(g)m^m*

Fig. 174: JML-D-46, JML-D-48 to JML-D-53 (MAFSN).

Fig. 175: JML-D-46, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-47 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 600) (Figs 164, 176)

Length: 20cm

Transcription: *Twb*

Fig. 176: JML-D-47 and JML-D-48 (MAFSN).

JML-D-48 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 600) (Figs 164, 174, 176)

Length: 15cm

Transcription: ...

Remarks: Series of letters containing five vertical crosslines, whose interpretation is very uncertain.

JML-D-49 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 600) (Figs 164, 174, 177)

Length: 89cm

Transcription:

A *S¹'d'l*

B *(..qy)mt*

Remarks: The text is covered by the scene of a hunt. In *S¹'d'l*, the *alif* and the *lām* are tied.

Fig. 177: JML-D-49, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-50 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 722) (Figs 164, 174, 178, 180)

Length: 50cm

Transcription: *Dhbb* or *d-Hbb*

Fig. 178: JML-D-50, facsimile (MAFSN).

Remarks: The identification of the three first letters is uncertain, because of a line that seems to join their summit.

JML-D-51 – Stylized camel [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 164, 174)

Length: 18cm; height: 7cm

Remarks: Drawing of very small dimensions, depicting a dromedary looking left, with a hump in the form of a bell shaped-hat; its neck is very long, the tail is raised in the shape of a hook, and there is perhaps a penis or udders.

JML-D-52 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 164, 174)

Length: 30cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: Very schematic small drawing of a horseman (with legs) on a horse looking towards the left. The tail is raised.

JML-D-53 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 597) (Figs 164, 174, 179)

Length: 42cm; height: 25cm

Transcription: 'lb'-bn-L'(.)

Remarks: the *alif* and the *lām* are tied. L'(.). can also be read G'(.). Note the very unusual use of *bn* to indicate filiation. JML-D-56 for a second probable example of the same graffito.

Fig. 179: JML-D-53 (MAFSN).

JML-D-54 – Man firing a rifle (?) (Figs 164, 180)

Length: 18cm; height: 21cm

Remarks: Very small human figure, clumsily drawn, looking left, with raised arms. A sabre is hung from his back. It is possible that the long object he is brandishing above his head is a rifle.

Fig. 180: JML-D-50, JML-D-54 and JML-D-55 (MAFSN).

JML-D-55 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop and horse in flying gallop (Figs 164, 180)

Length: 61cm; height: 28cm

Remarks: Horse in flying gallop, fore and hind leg conflated; the tail appears to be in a plume; the head has two ears. Since it is the only horse of this type without a horseman, it is very likely that one is dealing here with a completed drawing.

Underneath, a horseman with legs and feet, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear; the human figure and animal look left. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is in a plume. A second horseman on the rump seems to shoot towards the rear with a rifle. The latter human figure was probably added at another time, to form a counterpart to the addition of the figure holding a rifle (?) JML-D-54.

JML-D-56 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 596) (Figs 164, 181)

Length: 51cm; height: 46cm

Transcription:

1 'lb'

2 bn ...

Remarks: See already JML-D-53 for another probable example of the same graffito.

Fig. 181: JML-D-56 and JML-D-57 (MAFSN).

JML-D-57 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 594/5) (Figs 164, 181)

Transcription: *Whblt*

Remarks: Traces of letters to the right and below.

JML-D-58 – South Arabian graffito with two Thamudic letters (PRL R 601) (Figs 164, 182)

Length: 32cm; height: 47cm

Transcription:

1 *Zydl*

2 *(G)rmlt*

Remarks: The first letter of the second line is a Thamūdīc *gīm*, unexpected in a South Arabian graffito.

Fig. 182: JML-D-58 and JML-D-59 (MAFSN).

JML-D-59 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 164, 182)

Transcription: *'mr ...*

JML-D-60 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 164, 183)

Length: 7cm; height: 10cm

Remarks: Very small drawing; the head is hinted at with a thickened line; the hair is restricted to two braids, one to the right and another to the left; only the left hand is shown, the body seems lopsided; the right foot is shown by a little line. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded.

Fig. 183: JML-D-60 to JML-D-62 (MAFSN).

JML-D-61 – Horsemen brandishing spears and swords on horses in flying gallop (Figs 164, 183)

Length: 63cm; height: 38cm

Remarks: Legless horseman, on a horse in flying gallop, brandishing a spear, both looking left. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is in a plume; the head has two ears. To the left, the drawing of a second horseman (without legs) was added later, as shown by the forelegs of the horse that go over the previous drawing. The horse has a tail in a plume. The horseman brandishes a sword; a long dagger is worn on the waist.

To the left, the drawing of a second legless horseman was added at a later date. This later addition creates the illusion of a confrontation between the two horsemen.

JML-D-62 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 736/7) (Figs 164, 183)

Length: 72cm; height: 10cm

Transcription: *Ms¹'d (bn) Q's²mt* or *S¹'d' Q's²mt*

Remarks: The letters *sīn*, *'ayn*, *dāl* and perhaps *mīm* are tied together or form a monogram. The reading could be *Ms¹'d (bn) Q's²mt*. It is disturbing, however, to find elsewhere at Ḥimā *S¹'d' (2) Q's²mt* (PRL R 2242, Jabal Kawkab), which it is also possible to read here.

Insert Fig. 184

Fig. 184: Rock engravings JML-D-63 to JML-D-68 (MAFSN).

JML-D-63 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 184-186)

Length: 60cm; height: 44cm

Remarks: Legless horseman, brandishing a spear, on a horse in flying gallop, looking left. The horse's forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is in a plume.

Fig. 185: Rock engravings JML-D-63 to JML-D-66 (MAFSN).

Fig. 186: Rock engravings JML-D-63 and JML-D-64, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-64 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 184-186)

Length: 30cm; height: 16cm

Transcription: *Ydkr*

JML-D-65 – Standing woman with her arms raised and smaller man (erotic scene?) (Figs 184-185)

Length: 79cm; height: 109cm

JML-D-66 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 184-185)

Transcription:

- 1 *'s¹'d*
- 2 *M(s²)hr(.)*
- 3 *Nmr*

Remarks: in *'s¹'d*, the alif and the sīn are tied.

Insert Fig. 187

Fig. 187: Rock engravings JML-D-67 and JML-D-68 (MAFSN).

JML-D-67 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 184, 187-189)

Length: 49cm; height: 73cm

Remarks: Several letters are carved next to the woman:

- A (upper right) *'m*
B (lower right) *h*
C (lower left) *l*

Human figure, probably female. The hair comprises three braids to the right and three to the left, on both sides of the head depicted by a thickened line. The hands have five fingers. The feet are hinted by a dash forming a right angle with the leg, looking left. The breasts are shown by a small hole. The same goes for the vulva which was maybe added or enlarged later. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded.

The letters around the female figure seem to belong to the same composition. If this is the case, we have here an example (unique for the moment) of association of this type of drawing with an ancient text.

On the right of the woman and further to the left, four irregular vertical lines are carved in a similar style (**Fig. 187**). They may represent snakes.

Fig. 188: JML-D-67 (MAFSN).

Fig. 189: JML-D-67, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-D-68 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 184, 187, 190)

Length: 39cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Khln*
- 2 *(bn) Hld*

Fig. 190: JML-D-68 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,2971°N 44,51437°E

JML-D-69 – Stylized camel [rounded hump], abraded, three legs visible (Fig. 191)

Length: 47cm; height: 25cm

Remarks: Stylized dromedary, looking left; the body is a simple horizontal line, behind which there is a semi-circle representing the hump; the tail, of rectilinear shape, is raised; the muzzle and ears are shown; the two forelegs can be clearly distinguished (with the right one extended frontwards and folded), but this is not the case of the two hind legs; the extremities of legs are widened.

Fig. 191: JML-D-69 (MAFSN).

JML-D-70 – Stylized dromedary [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible and a saddle (Fig. 192)

Length: 24cm; height: 29cm

Remarks: The dromedary is looking left; the hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat; the tail is raised; the neck and legs are rectilinear; the animal is shown running. The saddle is hinted at with two oblique dashes on the hump.

Fig. 192: JML-D-70 and JML-D-71 (MAFSN).

JML-D-71 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse at rest (Fig. 192)

Length: 24cm; height: 19cm

Remarks: Schematic drawing of a horseman brandishing a scimitar on a resting horse, looking left, with forelegs conflated, just like the and hind legs; the tail is in a plume. The human figure is abraded.

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Area E

Insert Figs 193-194

Fig. 193: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area E, looking north (MAFSN).

Fig. 194: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area E on the site map (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29691°N 44,5143°E

JML-E-1 – Horsemen on horses in motion chasing camels (Figs 195-196)

Length: 222cm; height: 48cm

Remarks: Scene of small dimensions, poorly engraved, depicting two horsemen on both sides of a dromedary looking right. A second dromedary below seems to flee. A long line links the horsemen and the dromedary above. Such a line is usually interpreted as a long spear. One could ask whether we are not dealing, instead, with a rope: the horseman to the right is looking right, based on the tail, and it seems difficult (if not impossible) for the horseman to handle a long spear towards the rear. As for the four animals, the hind legs are conflated, as are the forelegs (except perhaps for the hind legs of the horse to the left) and the surface is completely abraded. The two horses have tails in a plume. The tails of the dromedaries are raised or standing upright.

Fig. 195: JML-E-1 (MAFSN).

Fig. 196: JML-E-1, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29693°N 44,5142°E

Insert Fig. 197

Fig. 197: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-E-2 to JML-E-4 (MAFSN).

JML-E-2 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 516) (Figs 197-198)

Length: 113cm

Transcription: *S²ybn- 'bd-Qdr* or *S²ybn- 'bdqdr*

Remarks: It is difficult to decide whether we here have two persons' names (the most frequent case), or three. The same person is attested at Idhbāḥ, near 'Ān Jamal (see PRL R 153).

The *rā* ' with segments looking backwards (in the shape of an inverted *s*²) can only be found in the inscriptions of the last centuries of South Arabian history.

Fig. 198: JML-E-2 (MAFSN).

JML-E-3 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 517) (Figs 197, 199-200)

Length: 130cm

Transcription: *'twb^m- 'bdt*

Remarks: Notice the widening of the extremity of shafts of letters.

Fig. 199: JML-E-3, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-4 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 518, 519, 520 and 521) (Figs 197, 200)

Length: 238cm; height: 42cm

Transcription:

A *'bd- 'šgr*

B *Knnt- 'w<k>s¹-mqtwy d-<T> 'lbⁿ-bn*

C *'mr^m- 'zz^m-Mlk*

[<>: Corrected letter]

Translation:

A 'Abd Aṣghar

B Kinānat A<k>was officer of dhu-Thu'lubān

C 'Amr^{um} 'Azīz^{um} Mālik

Remarks:

1) On stone: 'ws¹, to be corrected to '<k>ws¹; Y 'lbⁿ, to be corrected to T 'lbⁿ. The correction *Knnt*- '<k>ws¹ is based on some ten mentions of a person named *Knnt*- 'kws¹ (see for instance JML-F-54), often with the title of *mqtwy d-T 'lbⁿ*, in the region of Ḥimā-al-Kawkab. The correction <T> 'lbⁿ is based on the many occurrences of this princely lineage of Najrān.

2) At the end of l. 1, the *bn* can be interpreted in two ways:

— Either as the doubling by mistake of the two last letters of T 'lbⁿ, a hypothesis that we favour;

— Either as the noun *bn*, "son of", with the complement on the following line. This hypothesis does not seem likely because it results in dividing the ascendancy of *Knnt*.

3) The inscription is considered as South Arabian despite some letters shared with Thamūdic: note the absence of a separation stroke; and the shape of the *dāl* and of the *wā*. The script is poorly carved: see notably the *ghayn* with a raised appendix and the head of the *alif* of '<k>ws¹ looking right.

4) The text's date is probably very late, based on the very characteristic shape of the *rā* with segments looking backwards (in the shape of an inverted *s*²). The date should be 4th or 5th century CE. It is remarkable that the shape of the other letters is very close to the initial model. Other examples are found, particularly Abrahā's inscription at Idhbāḥ.

Fig. 200: JML-E-3 and JML-E-4 with an insert showing the end of JML-E-4B (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29692°N 44,51437°E

JML-E-5 – Arabic graffito (Figs 201-202)

Length: 29cm

Transcription: 'Alī Ḥalma

Fig. 201: JML-E-5 (MAFSN).

Fig. 202: JML-E-5, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29693°N 44,51443°E

Insert Fig. 203

Fig. 203: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-E-6 to JML-E-16 (MAFSN).

JML-E-6 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 203-205)

Length: 38cm

Transcription: .trbt

Fig. 204: JML-E-6 and JML-E-7 (MAFSN).

Fig. 205: JML-E-6, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-7 – Stylized camels [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 203-204, 206)

Length: 84cm; height: 20cm

Remarks: Series of four roughly carved dromedaries, one behind the other, looking left; two other quadrupeds to the right are perhaps dromedaries. The body is a thickened line, the hump is in a semi-circle and the tail is raised.

Illegible South-Arabian letters below and to the right of the camels.

Fig. 206: JML-E-7, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-8 – Stylized camels [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 203, 207)

Length: 70cm; height: 25cm

Remarks: Two dromedaries looking right, poorly carved, are preceded by a quadruped that is recognizable with some difficulty. Both have raised tails, in the shape of a hook. The one to the left has a sugar-loafed hump and the two forelegs can be made out; the one to the right has a smaller hump.

Fig. 207: JML-E-8, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-9 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 203, 208-209)

Length: 34cm

Transcription: 'l- 'byd

Remarks: The analysis of the element 'l- is uncertain. It could be a person's name, the first root of a compound person's name of the type "Ilr'ubayd") or the Arabic definite article.

Illegible South Arabian graffito to the left.

Fig. 208: JML-E-9 (MAFSN).

Fig. 209: JML-E-9, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-10 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 203, 210-211)

Length: 33cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: (legless) horseman on a horse in flying gallop, with conflated forelegs and conflated hind legs, the tail in a plume. The surface is abraded. The horseman brandishes a short and massive object, similar to a mace.

Fig. 210: JML-E-10, JML-E-11 and JML-E-12 (MAFSN).

Fig. 211: JML-E-10, JML-E-11 and JML-E-12, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-11 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 203, 210-211)

Length: 75cm

Transcription: ...-Hy^m-Rbb-(')zz

Remarks: A stroke is superimposed on the 'ayn. The two or three letters that precede Hy^m are illegible and covered by the drawing of an animal (JML-E-12). The extremities of letter shafts are widened (the one at the centre of the trident of the ḥā' looking like a circle); the rā' is serpent-shaped. Also note the absence of the separation stroke.

JML-E-12 – Stylized camel [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 203, 210-211)

Length: 16cm; height: 33cm

Remarks: Dromedary looking right, roughly carved, superimposed over earlier engravings. It seems to have conflated forelegs and conflated hind legs. The hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat.

JML-E-13 – Ostrich (Figs 203, 212-213)

Length: 22cm; height: 50cm

Remarks: Small stylized ostrich, looking right, with an oval to depict the body, and long and almost vertical lines for the neck and legs. Only the periphery of the body's surface is abraded.

Fig. 212: JML-E-13 (MAFSN).

Fig. 213: JML-E-13, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-14 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 203, 214-215)

Length: 152cm

Transcription:

A \overline{Tr}

B S^2hr

Fig. 214: JML-E-14 (MAFSN).

Fig. 215: JML-E-14, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-15 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 203, 216-217)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *Bn`l*

Remarks: below, isolated *mīm*.

Fig. 216: JML-E-15 (MAFSN).

Fig. 217: JML-E-15, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-16 – Thamudic graffito (Fig. 203)

Length: 46cm

Transcription: *l-Klb*

Location: 18,29694°N 44,51448°E

Insert Fig. 218

Fig. 218: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-E-17 to JML-E-26 (MAFSN).

JML-E-17 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 218-220)

Length: 22cm

Transcription: *Lbt, Nbt* or *Rbt*

Fig. 219: JML-E-17 (MAFSN).

Fig. 220: JML-E-17, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-18 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 221)

Transcription: *H/*

Remarks: unfinished graffito

Fig. 221: JML-E-18 (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 222

Fig. 222: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-E-19 to JML-E-22 (MAFSN).

JML-E-19 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 222-223)

Length: 41cm

Transcription: *(Z)yd^m*

Fig. 223: JML-E-19, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-20 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 222, 224)

Length: 22cm

Transcription: *H(r)t*

Fig. 224: JML-E-20, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-21 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 222)

Length: 44cm

Transcription: *...zyt*

JML-E-22 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 222, 225-226)

Length (JML-E-22 + JML-E-23): 71cm

Transcription:

1 *.n(q)hṭ*

2 *(.hfl)*

Fig. 225: JML-E-22 and JML-E-23 (MAFSN).

Fig. 226: JML-E-22 and JML-E-23, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-23 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 225-226)

Transcription:

1 *'s¹rm*

2 *d-Hfn*

Remarks: Maybe what was read *hfl* in JML-E-22 is a false start of *Hfn* in JML-E-23.

JML-E-24 – Arabic graffito (Figs 218, 227)

Length: 34cm

Texte: *(Yūsuf)*

Fig. 227: JML-E-24 (MAFSN).

JML-E-25 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 228-229)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *'lfn*

Fig. 228: JML-E-25 (MAFSN).

Fig. 229: JML-E-25, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-26 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 218, 230)

Length: 71cm

Transcription:

A *(¹ls²r)h*

B *Lh(.)*

C *Ns¹'*

Remarks: In the first name, *alif* and *lām* are tied (?).

Fig. 230: JML-E-26 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29695°N 44,51447°E

JML-E-27 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 231)

Length: 82cm

Transcription:

- 1 *(Yāmi)*
- 2 ...
- 3 *25 ramazān*
- 4 *1376*

Fig. 231: JML-E-27 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29694°N 44,51447°E

Insert Fig. 232

Fig. 232: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-E-28 and JML-E-29 (MAFSN).

JML-E-28 – Arabic graffito (Figs 232-234)

Length: 22cm

Transcription: *(Qaṭ‘iya)*

Fig. 233: JML-E-28 (MAFSN).

Fig. 234: JML-E-28, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-E-29 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 232)

Length: 222cm

Transcription:

- 1 *(Muḥammad Sālim Aṣḥabī)*
- 2 *25 ramazān 137(5)*

JML-E-30 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 235)

Transcription: *Fs²ḥⁿ*

Fig. 235: JML-E-30 and JML-E-31 (MAFSN).

JML-E-31 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 235)

Transcription: *Fr(.)*

JML-E-32 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 236)

Transcription: *(Ḥbs¹.)*

Fig. 236: JML-E-32 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29694°N 44,51452°E

JML-E-33 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 237)

Length: 30cm; height: 40cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Ḥasan (i)bn*
- 2 *‘Alī (i)bn*

3 *‘Abd al-Raḥmān*

4 *al-Khāmis*

Fig. 237: JML-E-33 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29694°N 44,51453°E

JML-E-34 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 238)

Length: 48cm; height: 65cm

Transcription:

A 1 *Muḥammad (i)bn Sālim*

2 *Aṣbahī*

B *Ḥasan Sālim*

C 1 *‘Umar*

2 *(i)bn Nāṣir*

3 *(i)bn al-Ḥ<ā>rith*

Fig. 238: JML-E-34 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29692°N 44,51455°E

JML-E-35 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 239)

Length: 48cm

Transcription: *Ṣāliḥ (i)bn Ḥafīz*

Fig. 239: JML-E-35 (MAFSN).

JML-E-36 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 240)

Length: 42cm; height: 12cm

Transcription:

1 *‘Umar (i)bn Ḥasan (i)bn Muḥammad*

2 *al-muḥtaram*

Fig. 240: JML-E-36 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29696°N 44,5146°E

JML-E-37 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 241)

Length: 70cm; height: 80cm

Transcription:

A 1 *al-ḥājj*

2 *Ṣāliḥ*

3 *(i)bn Sālim*

4 *al-Ḥamad*

5 *al-Ḥadhīfī*

B 1 *Ḥusayn*

2 *al-Ḥaqq*

Fig. 241: JML-E-37 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29695°N 44,5146°E

JML-E-38 – Indeterminate symbols (Figs 242-243)

Length: 124cm; height: 90cm

Fig. 242: JML-E-38A (MAFSN).

Fig. 243: JML-E-38B (MAFSN).

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Area F

Insert Figs 244-245

Fig. 244: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area F, looking west (MAFSN).

Fig. 245: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area F on the site map (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29689°N 44,51467°E

Insert Fig. 246

Fig. 246: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-1 to JML-F-109 (MAFSN).

JML-F-1 – Stylized camels [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 246-248)

Length: 24cm; height: 52cm

Remarks: The three dromedaries drawn one above the other, looking right, show comparable traits, but were not carved by the same hand. The one at the top has a spindly neck, body and tail; the hump in the shape of a triangle is closer to the neck than to the tail. The tail is raised in the form of a hook. The sloping legs are a reflection of motion.

The one in the centre is similar, with a hump in the middle and ears.

The one at the bottom is depicted with a thicker outline. The hump is slightly displaced towards the back. The legs are vertical. The head has ears. The tail is raised.

Fig. 247: JML-F-1 (MAFSN).

Fig. 248: JML-F-1, facsimile (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 249

Fig. 249: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-2 to JML-F-10 (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 250

Fig. 250: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-2 to JML-F-7 (MAFSN).

JML-F-2 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 512) (Figs 246, 249-252)

Length: 40cm

Transcription: *'ḥdb*

Fig. 251: JML-F-2 and JML-F-3 (MAFSN).

Fig. 252: JML-F-2 and JML-F-3, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-3 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 507) (Figs 246, 249-252)

Length: 50cm

Transcription: *M 'wyt*

JML-F-4 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 509) (Figs 246, 249-250, 253)

Length: 66cm

Transcription:

1 *'bdhl 'zy*

2 *ḡ-Gn'*

Remarks: Notice the article *hl-* and compare with *'bdl 'zy* (JML-D-20).

Fig. 253: JML-F-4, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-5 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 508) (Figs 246, 249-250, 254)

Length: 48cm; height: 23cm

Transcription: *T'lb̄t*

Remarks: The text is inscribed in a cartouche.

Fig. 254: JML-F-5, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-6 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 510) (Figs 246, 249-250, 255)

Length: 59cm

Transcription:

1 *T'wb̄t 'w=*

2 *(s¹)*

Fig. 255: JML-F-6, facsimile (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 256-257

Fig. 256: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-7 to JML-F-10 (MAFSN).

Fig. 257: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-7 to JML-F-10, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-7 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 511 & R 505 début) (Figs 246, 249-250, 256-257)

Length: 25cm; height: 33cm

Transcription:

1 *Mzn*

2 *S²ry*

Remarks: Same name as in JML-H-240.

JML-F-8 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 631) (Figs 246, 249, 256-257)

Length: 30cm

Transcription:

1 *Hld-wdd-...*

2 *'z*

Translation: Khālid is friend with⁽²⁾'z

JML-F-9 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 249, 256-257)

Length: 89cm

Transcription: *Mlk 'bdlh*

JML-F-10 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 506) (Figs 246, 249, 256-257)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *'byd-M'wyt*

JML-F-11 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 258-259)

Length: 55cm

Transcription: *Mlk 'twb*

Fig. 258: JML-F-11 (MAFSN).

Fig. 259: JML-F-12, facsimile (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 260-264

Fig. 260: Ḥan Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-12 to JML-F-34 (MAFSN).

Fig. 261: Ḥan Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-12 to JML-F-34, facsimile (MAFSN).

Fig. 262: Ḥan Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-12 to JML-F-14 (MAFSN).

Fig. 263: Ḥan Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-15 to F-17, F-22 to F-23, F-25 to F-27, F-31 to 277 (MAFSN).

Fig. 264: Ḥan Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-17, F-20 to F-21, F-24, F-28 to F-30, F-32 and F-34 (MAFSN).

JML-F-12 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 484 and 485) (Figs 246, 260-262)

Transcription: *Yʿdr* and *Yʿdr*

Remarks: On top, in a cartouche, *Yʿdr*; the name is repeated on the left.

JML-F-13 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 484) (Figs 246, 260-262)

Transcription: *ʿls²rḥ*

Remarks: The *alif* and the *lām* are tied.

JML-F-14 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 292) (Figs 246, 260-262)

Transcription:

1 *(taraḥḥama) Allāh Saʿīd*

2 *<i>bn Mālik Āmīn*

JML-F-15 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 486) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Transcription: *Nqd*

JML-F-16 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Length: 38cm

Transcription: *(Ġ)wt^(m)*

JML-F-17 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 487, r 615) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263-264)

Transcription: *Lǧz Tms²ms¹ ʿbd*

Remarks: The letters *bā* and *dāl* of *ʿbd* are tied.

JML-F-18 – Arabic graffito

Transcription: *Allāh Muḥammad*

JML-F-19 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 488) (Figs 246, 260-261)

Length: 29cm

Transcription: *S²hr*

JML-F-20 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 608) (Figs 246, 260-261, 264)

Length: 39cm

Transcription: *ʿšwⁿ*

JML-F-21 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 260-261, 264)

Length: 24cm

Transcription: *(ʿs⁴wn)*

JML-F-22 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 489) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Length: 57cm

Transcription: *Nbṭʿl*

JML-F-23 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 293) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Length: 39cm

Transcription:

1 *taraḥamma Allāh ʿalà*

2 *Kalb*

JML-F-24 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 611) (Figs 246, 260-261, 264)

Length: 36cm

Transcription: *Ḥm(n)-S²l(l)*

JML-F-25 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 294) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Length: 100cm

Transcription:

1 *Allāhumma ighfir li- ʿAbd Allāh*

2 ...

JML-F-26 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 614) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Length: 39cm

Transcription: *S¹ʿdy*

JML-F-27 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 493 and 492) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Length: 65cm

Transcription: *Whb ʿl-Ḥyw*

Below *Ḥyw*, Arabic graffito, not very legible, which A. Grohmann reads *Yazīd* (?) (PRL Z 295).

JML-F-28 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 491) (Figs 246, 260-261, 264)

Length: 78cm

Transcription:

1 *ʿbd ʿbh*

2 *ʿnmr*

JML-F-29 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 609) (Figs 246, 260-261, 264)

Transcription: *Gfm*

JML-F-30 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 610) (Figs 246, 260-261, 264)

Length: 39cm

Transcription: *ʿs²qr*

JML-F-31 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 612) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Transcription: *Nhm*

JML-F-32 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 616) (Figs 246, 260-261, 263-264)

Transcription: `ys¹

JML-F-33 – Indeterminate engraving (Figs 246, 260-261, 263)

Height: 42cm

Remarks: Group of lines drawn to depict a building or stylized animal.

JML-F-34 – Standing man brandishing a spear (?) with a sword held on the waist (Figs 246, 260-261, 263-264)

Length: 24cm; height: 48cm

Remarks: Very small human figure, clumsily drawn, front-faced, with raised arms. The head is round. The hair is depicted with six vertical dashes. The hands are also hinted with small dashes for the fingers. The right foot is looking left and the left hand towards the right. The figure brandishes a spear above his head. A dagger is attached to his belt. The drawing is abraded, to the exception of the face.

Insert Figs 265-266

Fig. 265: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-35 to JML-F-53 (MAFSN).

Fig. 266: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-35 to JML-F-53, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-35 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 619) (Figs 246, 265-267)

Transcription: *Krh* (or *Knh*)

Fig. 267: JML-F-35 and JML-F-36 (MAFSN).

JML-F-36 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 620) (Figs 246, 265-267)

Transcription: *Zyd^m-ḥb-Ḥbbt*

Translation: Zayd^{um} is united to Ḥabībat

Remarks: One could ask whether *ḥb*, which here replaces the very frequent *wdd*, has the same meaning or not.

JML-F-37 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 622) (Figs 246, 265-266, 268)

Transcription: *G`dmn*

Fig. 268: JML-F-37, JML-F-38 and JML-F-39 (MAFSN).

JML-F-38 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 624) (Figs 246, 265-266, 268)

Transcription: *Qs¹r^m*

JML-F-39 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 623) (Figs 246, 265-266, 268)

Transcription: *H(l)s*

Remarks: Another possible but less convincing reading would be *H(y)s*

JML-F-40 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 621) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *Ṣnn*

JML-F-41 – Stylized standing figure with his arms raised (Figs 246, 265-266)

Length: 33cm; height: 69cm

Remarks: Grotesque figure, with an excessively elongated body. He is standing, with his arms spread, flexed legs looking right (like the feet). The head appears as a triangle. The right hand

perhaps holds a vertical rod apparently ending in a voluminous device. The surface is entirely abraded, except for a circle at the level of the stomach, inside of which a vertical dash is carved. This could be the depiction of a pregnant woman, carrying a child.

JML-F-42 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 625) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *šwⁿ*

Remarks: The *‘ayn* is overwritten with a vertical dash.

JML-F-43 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 626) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *S²nb*

JML-F-44 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 627) (Figs 246, 265-266, 269)

Transcription: *‘bdkhl-b*

Remarks: Unfinished graffito, unless the final *bā’* is a symbol.

Fig. 269: JML-F-44 (MAFSN).

JML-F-45 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *’lⁿ*

JML-F-46 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 500) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *‘bd(.’)*

Remarks: Unfinished graffito (?).

JML-F-47 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 502) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *Hf‘m*

JML-F-48 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 628) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Transcription: *‘lm⁽ⁿ⁾*

JML-F-49 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 503) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Length: 62cm

Transcription: *Rb ‘t Ghft*

See “Avoidance” in the introduction.

JML-F-50 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 504) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Length: 23cm

Transcription:

1 *S²l*

2 *Br’*

See “Avoidance” in the introduction.

JML-F-51 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 501) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Length: 49cm

Transcription: *Ws¹(’)*

JML-F-52 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 297) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Length: 74cm; height: 49cm

Transcription:

- 1 *tarahḥama Allāh ‘Abd*
- 2 *al-Raḥmān (i)bn M<ā>lik*
- 3 *<i>bn ‘Ubayd Allāh (i)bn*
- 4 *M...d al-Madā*

See “Avoidance” in the introduction.

JML-F-53 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 296) (Figs 246, 265-266)

Length: 53cm

Transcription:

- 1 *tarahḥama Allāh ‘alā*
- 2 *Muḥammad ibn Mahdī*

Location: 18,29688°N 44,51466°E

JML-F-54 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 514) (Figs 246, 270)

Length: 90cm

Transcription: *Knnt ‘kws¹*

Remarks: this name also appears in JML-E-4 (B).

Fig. 270: JML-F-54 (MAFSN).

JML-F-55 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 271)

Length: 26cm

Transcription: *S¹lm*

Fig. 271: JML-F-55 (MAFSN).

JML-F-56 – Stylized standing figure with his arms raised (Figs 246, 272-273)

Length: 9cm; height: 23cm

Remarks: Standing figure, the head in the shape of a triangle, arms raised forming a semi-circle, the body and legs shown by a thickened line. The hands are not drawn, but the feet are represented by a horizontal dash, towards the right. The body is lopsided.

Fig. 272: JML-F-56 and JML-F-57 (MAFSN).

Fig. 273: JML-F-56 and JML-F-57, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-57 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 272-273)

Length: 42cm

Transcription: *Ys²(k)r*

Insert Fig. 274

Fig. 274: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-58 to JML-F-64 (MAFSN).

JML-F-58 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 632) (Figs 246, 274-275)

Length: 27cm

Transcription: *‘ṣhr*

Fig. 275: JML-F-58(MAFSN).

JML-F-59 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 513) (Figs 246, 274, 276)

Length: 15cm

Transcription: *'b(d)*

Fig. 276: JML-F-59, JML-F-60, and JML-F-61 (MAFSN).

JML-F-60 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 515) (Figs 246, 274, 276)

Length: 67cm

Transcription: *Bn 'l bn Whb*

JML-F-61 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 274, 276)

Length: 58cm

Transcription: *Ġ(y.)* or *Ġ(s.)*

Remarks: The graffito is ostentatious.

JML-F-62 – Dot and circle (Figs 246, 274)

Length: 27cm; height: 27cm

JML-F-63 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in motion (Figs 246, 274)

Length: 33cm; height: 27cm

Remarks: Small drawing of a horseman on a horse looking right. The horse is in motion; the two forelegs and the hind legs are recognizable; the surface is completely abraded. The horseman, who seems to wear a hairdo, holds a long spear pointed downwards in his right hand; in the left hand, he holds a rein; the leg is depicted under the horse's body.

JML-F-64 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 274)

Length: 27cm

Transcription: *Bs¹(')* or *B' (s¹)*

JML-F-65 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 629/630) (Figs 246, 277)

Length: 115cm

Transcription [Sequence of letters reproduced without attempt to interpret divisions]:

1 *Għrbṭs²n* *dd*
2 *m* *w*

Remarks: The two *dāl* (end of l. 1) and the *wāw* (l. 2) are later retouches made in a different style; their meaning is not obvious.

Fig. 277: JML-F-65 (MAFSN).

JML-F-66 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 246, 278)

Length: 49cm; height: 32cm

Remarks: Very schematic small drawing of a horseman (with legs) on a horse looking to the left. The tail is in a plume; the head has two ears.

Fig. 278: JML-F-66 (MAFSN).

JML-F-67 – Palm-trees (Figs 246, 279-280)

Length: 49cm; height: 32cm

Remarks: Two small palm trees consisting of a long vertical line for the trunk and five perpendicular lines to the right and left to illustrate the palm leaves. A small human figure seems

to climb on the palm tree to the right (on top of the trunk, to the left). The traces of drawing at the base of the palm tree are difficult to interpret.

Fig. 279: JML-F-67 (MAFSN).

Fig. 280: JML-F-67, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-68 – Arabic graffito (Figs 246, 281)

Length: 62cm; height: 37cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Arshad*
- 2 *... (i)bn Ḥafaz*
- 3 *Aḥmad (i)bn Nāṣir (i)bn Dasā*

Fig. 281: JML-F-68 (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 282-283

Fig. 282: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-69 to JML-F-71 (MAFSN).

Fig. 283: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-69 to JML-F-71, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-69 – Arabic graffito (Figs 246, 282-283)

Length: 50cm

Transcription: *tarahḥama Allāh ‘Abd Khamīs*

JML-F-70 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 246, 282-283)

Length: 23cm; height: 17cm

Remarks: Legless horseman, brandishing a scimitar (?), based on the neighbouring drawing JML-F-71. The horse in flying gallop is looking right. The forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is in a plume; the head has two ears.

JML-F-71 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 246, 282-283)

Length: 33cm; height: 44cm

Remarks: Legless horseman, brandishing a scimitar with a very large blade. The horse in flying gallop is looking to the right. The forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail is in a plume; the head has two ears.

JML-F-72 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 284-285)

Length: 23cm

Transcription: *Rḥbⁿ*

Fig. 284: JML-F-72 and JML-F-73 (MAFSN).

Fig. 285: JML-F-72, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-73 – Arabic graffito (Figs 246, 284)

Length: 76cm; height: 25cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Allāhumma ighfir li-Muḥammad*
- 2 *(i)bn ‘Abd Allāh*

Location: 18,2969°N 44,51462°E

Insert Fig. 286

Fig. 286: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-74 to JML-F-85 (MAFSN).

JML-F-74 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 494) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 119cm

Transcription: *Mdd bn S¹'d^m nhmyⁿ*

JML-F-75 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 495) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 38cm

Transcription: *'mnt*

JML-F-76 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 496) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 51cm

Transcription [Sequence of letters reproduced without attempt to interpret divisions]:

(Fr) ' (q)(h)bh(r)

Remarks: The *rā'* of the second name looking right leads us to not dismiss a reading from left to right: *Rḥbn*.

JML-F-77 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 497) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 57cm; height: 20cm

Transcription:

- 1 *S²(kr)^m-qyn*
- 2 *d-S¹mw=*
- 3 *y*

JML-F-78 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 617) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 57cm

Transcription: *'(ry)-wdd-'.t*

Translation: ... is friends with ...

JML-F-79 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 499) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 47cm

Transcription: *Zyd'l*

JML-F-80 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 286)

Transcription: *'s²mⁿ*

Remarks: An illegible line lies above this inscription.

JML-F-81 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 286)

Transcription: *.(r)q^lt*

JML-F-82 – Arabic graffito (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *Jābir (i)bn 'Āyid*

JML-F-83 – Semi-naturalistic camel, abraded, two legs visible (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 47cm; height: 47cm

Remarks: Quadruped in motion, looking to the right, whose upper part is partly obliterated by scratching of the rock. This is probably a dromedary whose hump in the shape of a sugar-loaf and raised tail like a hook are both recognizable.

JML-F-84 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 498) (Figs 246, 286)

Length: 60cm

Transcription: (M) 'd l

Remarks: JML-F-84 and JML-F-85 are two superimposed texts between JML-F-78 and JML-F-79. JML-F-84 appears in small letters, under JML-F-85.

JML-F-85 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 618) (Figs 246, 286)

Transcription: Z 'n

Insert Figs 287-288

Fig. 287: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-86 to JML-F-94 (MAFSN).

Fig. 288: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-86 to JML-F-94, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-86 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 61cm

Transcription:

1 *Mlk*

2 *(S^ttyt)*

Remarks: The text is surrounded by a cartouche.

JML-F-87 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 51cm

Transcription: 'dy

JML-F-88 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 43cm

Transcription: S^tb 'm

JML-F-89 – South Arabian monogram (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 21cm

Monogram comprised of four letters: w, ' , m, r

JML-F-90 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Transcription: '(..)

JML-F-91 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Transcription: Whb

Remarks: The hā ' and the bā ' are tied.

JML-F-92 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 35cm

Transcription: $(Hr)t-(w)s^1$

JML-F-93 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 46cm

Transcription: $(d)m$

JML-F-94 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 246, 287-288)

Length: 75cm; height: 17cm

Transcription:

1 $\text{'}\dot{s}w^n bn$

2 $\text{'}\dot{s}r^m$

Insert Figs 289-291 [Faire de 47 un détail agrandi de 46]

Fig. 289: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-95 to JML-F-109 (MAFSN).

Fig. 290: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-105, and JML-F-107 to JML-F-109 (MAFSN).

Fig. 291: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-95 to JML-F-109, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-95 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 567 [part.]) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $\text{'}\dot{s}^1lm$

JML-F-96 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 567 [part.]) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $\text{'}ryt$

JML-F-97 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 568) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: S^2ll

JML-F-98 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 569) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $Hr\dot{t}t$

JML-F-99 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 570) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $T\text{'}dr$

JML-F-100 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 573) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $N\dot{h}\text{'}t$

JML-F-101 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 571 [part.]) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $Tmlt$

JML-F-102 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 571 [part.]) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: Mrm

JML-F-103 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 575) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: $\text{'}nh\text{'}$

JML-F-104 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 574) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: *Whb^m*

JML-F-105 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 572) (Figs 289-291)

Transcription: *'s¹d*

JML-F-106 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 576) (Figs 289, 291)

Transcription: *Ġtm(r)*

JML-F-107 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 579) (Figs 289-291)

Transcription: *(^ˈk)tb*

JML-F-108 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 578) (Figs 289-291)

Transcription: *(Zd) 'l*

JML-F-109 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 577) (Figs 289-291)

Transcription: *'(s²q)*

Insert Figs 292-293

Fig. 292: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-110 to JML-F-133 (MAFSN).

Fig. 293: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-110 to JML-F-133, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29689°N 44,51465°E

Insert Figs 294

Fig. 294: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-110 to JML-F-113, and JML-F-124 to JML-F-125 (MAFSN).

JML-F-110 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 466 [part.]) (Figs 292-294)

Transcription: *'ly*

JML-F-111 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 466 [part.]) (Figs 292-294)

Transcription: *Nṣr*

JML-F-112 – Cross (Figs 292-294)

Remarks: The context does not indicate whether this cross has a religious meaning or not.

JML-F-113 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 467) (Figs 292-294)

Length: 38cm; height: 27cm

Transcription:

1 *ḥ-Mnh*

2 *ḥ- 'hmr*

Remarks: To the right of lines 1 and 2, isolated *ḥā*'.

Insert Figs 295

Fig. 295: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-114 to JML-F-123, and JML-F-126 to JML-F-127 (MAFSN).

JML-F-114 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 585) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Transcription: *ʿqr(bt)*

JML-F-115 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 599) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Length: 39cm

Transcription: *Yḥm ʿl*

JML-F-116 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 600) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *Whb-(ʿdy)*

JML-F-117 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 592) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Length: 131cm

Transcription: *Fr ʿd*

JML-F-118 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 590 [part.]) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Transcription: *Nhkt*

JML-F-119 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 590 [part.]) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Transcription: *Br ʿ- ʿbd*

JML-F-120 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 228) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Transcription:

- 1 *bi-sm*
- 2 *Allāh li-A=*
- 3 *swad (i)bn Ziyād*

JML-F-121 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 292-293, 295)

Length: 36cm

Transcription: *ʿḥ(t.)*

Remarks: Isolated *q* above.

JML-F-122 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 594) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Length: 27cm

Transcription: *ʿmr*

JML-F-123 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 593 and R 477) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Length: 52cm; height: 40cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Wd ʿt w=*
- 2 *dd ʿḥ=*
- 3 *mr*

JML-F-124 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 591) (Figs 292-294)

Length: 29cm

Transcription: *Grs²ʿ* or *Grs²f*

JML-F-125 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 596) (Figs 292-294)

Transcription: *Whd*

JML-F-126 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 597) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Transcription: *Mdh-Gm 'Lhb*

JML-F-127 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 598) (Figs 292-293, 295)

Transcription: *Qrft*

JML-F-128 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 586) (Figs 292-293)

Length: 138cm

Transcription: *Hzmt*

Insert Figs 296

Fig. 296: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-129 to JML-F-133 (MAFSN).

JML-F-129 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 587) (Figs 292-293, 296)

Length: 39cm

Transcription: *Ggt*

Remarks: Isolated *h* to the left.

JML-F-130 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 588) (Figs 292-293, 296)

Transcription: *Hdd*

JML-F-131 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 476) (Figs 292-293, 296)

Length: 36cm

Transcription: *Zyd^m*

JML-F-132 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 589) (Figs 292-293, 296)

Length: 39cm

Transcription: *Šbhⁿ-wdd-S²(yb)*

Translation: Šabbāḥān is friends with S²yb

JML-F-133 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 595) (Figs 292-293, 296)

Transcription: *S¹nn*

Insert Figs 297-298

Fig. 297: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-134 to JML-F-152 (MAFSN).

Fig. 298: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-134 to JML-F-152, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29689°N 44,51467°E

JML-F-134 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 297-298)

Length: 86cm; height: 95cm

Remarks: Stylized drawing of a (legless) horseman on a horse in flying gallop, looking left. Forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs, and the tail is in a plume. The surface is abraded. The

horseman brandishes in his left hand an elongated object that could be a sword (?). The carving is superimposed over the inscription JML-F-136.

JML-F-135 – Standing man brandishing a rifle (?) with a sword worn on the waist (Figs 297-298)

Remarks: Standing figure, looking to the left, flexed legs. The head is depicted with a vertical dash with, on both sides, a sloping strip of sorts, standing for the hair. The arms are open and folded. The left one holds an object that could be a rod or a rifle (if the circle at the lower end is interpreted as a rifle butt). A dagger is worn on the belt.

The drawing obliterated ancient graffiti, a fact confirmed by a lighter patina.

JML-F-136 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 601) (Figs 297-298)

Length: 16cm

Transcription: *(Zh)r^m*

JML-F-137 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 297-298)

To the right of the human figure, a group of Thamudic letters among which *'(m)* and *b* are recognizable.

JML-F-138 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 479) (Figs 297-298)

Length: 29cm

Transcription: *(Q)b^(m)*

JML-F-139 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 604) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *N('l)*

JML-F-140 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *n'*

Remarks: Unfinished copy of the neighbouring text?

JML-F-141 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *('nf)*

JML-F-142 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 607) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *(Fs²yt)-...*

JML-F-143 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *(Rd)...*

JML-F-144 – Thamudic graffito (PRL R 480) (Figs 297-298)

Sequence of letters: *m, (s¹), (.), ('), (b), m, n*

JML-F-145 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 606) (Figs 297-298)

Length: 47cm

Transcription: *(Hšbw)*

JML-F-146 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 483) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *(M)mt*

JML-F-147 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 605) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: (*wt's¹fh.rn*)

JML-F-148 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: (*l'ws¹*)

JML-F-149 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *Bdl*

Remarks: To the right, graffito or end of a graffito that can be read as *Jqtr(n)*.

JML-F-150 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 603 and PRL R 481 part.) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription:

1 *Qrft' =*

2 *hmr*

JML-F-151 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 481 part.) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *Nsr^m*

JML-F-152 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 482) (Figs 297-298)

Transcription: *Ns²wⁿ*

Remarks: It is possible that JML-F-151 and 152 are a single text, *Nsr^m (2) Ns²wⁿ*

JML-F-153 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 299-300)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *Mbqn*

Remarks: Read from left to right, *Nqbm?*

Fig. 299: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-153 to JML-F-155 (MAFSN).

Fig. 300: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-153 to JML-F-155, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-154 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 299-300)

Length: 51cm; height: 18cm

Transcription:

1 *Qys^{1m}-Whb=*

2 *wd*

JML-F-155 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 299, 301)

Length: 44cm

Transcription: *Dg'm- 'bd* and ... or *Dg'm, 'bd* and ...

Remarks: It is difficult to determine whether *Dg'm* and *'bd*, whose written forms are not homogenous, were carved by the same person or not, and whether they are equivalent to one or two distinct graffiti.

Fig. 301: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-155 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,2969°N 44,51462°E

JML-F-156 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 302)

Length: 44cm

Transcription: *S¹ 'dⁿ Klyb*

Fig. 302: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-156 and JML-F-157 (MAFSN).

JML-F-157 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 302-303)

Length: 215cm

Transcription: *... Dhl 'wqt*

Fig. 303: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-157 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29681°N 44,51465°E

JML-F-158 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 304-305)

Length: 51cm

Transcription: *'twb^m*

Remarks: Above, undeciphered text.

Fig. 304: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-158 (MAFSN).

Fig. 305: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-158, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29678°N 44,51466°E

JML-F-159 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised, and Thamudic letters (Fig. 306)

Length: 220cm; height: 150cm

Remarks: Figure, probably female, standing full-front, arms raised (depicted by right-angled segments), with open hands. The bust is a long vertical thickened line above the stomach, which is a circular and entirely abraded surface. The head is a simple vertical dash, and the hair is basically just a clump of hair to the right and left. The vertical legs are spread out and the left leg is sketched by a dash oriented towards the right. The hole below the stomach no doubt represents the vulva.

The letters *s²* and *r* do not seem to form words.

Fig. 306: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-158 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29677°N 44,51468°E

JML-F-160 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 307)

Length: 65cm

Transcription: *Jhz bn Nrjs*

Remarks: Uncertain vocalization, for lack of a proper noun attested in the genealogies of Ibn al-Kalbī.

Fig. 307: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-160 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29678°N 44,5147°E

JML-F-161 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 308-309)

Length: 48cm; height: 60cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Hrt^m*
- 2 *M'wyt*

Remarks: Note the dashes at the end of the shafts, and the serpent-shaped *rā'*.

Fig. 308: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-161 (MAFSN).

Fig. 309: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-161, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29681°N 44,51463°E

JML-F-162 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 310)

Length: 80cm; height: 25cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Allāhumma ighfir li-'Abd*
- 2 *Allāh (i)bn Malik (i)bn ...*

Remarks: Above, remains of four graffiti 'ff[...], 's¹d[...], 'b[.]ḏ and M[..]lt.

Fig. 310: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-162 (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 311-312

Fig. 311: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-163 to JML-F-172 (MAFSN).

Fig. 312: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-163 to JML-F-165 and JML-F-167 to JML-F-172 (MAFSN).

JML-F-163 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 311-314)

Length: 35cm

Transcription: (*'tkḏbd*)

Fig. 313: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-163 to JML-F-165, JML-F-167 (MAFSN).

Fig. 314: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-163 to JML-F-165, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-164 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 311-314)

Transcription: (*S²'s²'t*)

Remarks: Read two *mīm* instead of two *shīn*?

JML-F-165 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 311-314)

Transcription: *Lb'*

JML-F-166 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 311, 315)

Length: 125cm

Transcription: (*Bd'*)-*H(w)f'm*

Fig. 315: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-166 (MAFSN).

JML-F-167 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 311-313)

Length: 68cm

Transcription: ... (*MLk*) '*bd^m-..*

Remarks: '*bd^m-..* or '*bd-...* or '*bd ...*

JML-F-168 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 311-312, 316-317)

Length: 28cm

Transcription: S^2ms^4n

Fig. 316: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-168 (MAFSN).

Fig. 317: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-168, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-169 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 311-312, 318)

Length: 99cm

Transcription: $(\text{ })rb Dg \text{ ' } m m$

Remarks: The first letter is uncertain; it seems one can read it as an *alif*, but *kāf* and *ḥā'* (inverted) are not impossible either. Note the *rā'* with segments oriented towards the back and the *gīm* at the appendix in the shape of a triangle. The *mīm* perhaps signals an unfinished engraving, unless it is a symbol.

Fig. 318: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-169, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-170 – Standing man and woman in an erotic scene (Figs 311-312, 319-320)

Length: 32cm; height: 23cm

Remarks: Tiny human figures, roughly sketched. The one to the right, no doubt a woman, has a head and body depicted with a vertical line; the hair appears a semi-circle surrounding the head; the arms are extended. The figure on the left has a small round head; the right arm is raised and the left is extended towards the woman; a horizontal line probably represents a penis, directed towards the woman.

Fig. 319: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-170 to JML-F-172 (MAFSN).

Fig. 320: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-170 to JML-F-172, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-171 – Loaded dromedary, non-abraded, two legs visible (Figs 311-312, 319-320)

Length: 33cm; height: 23cm

Remarks: Roughly carved dromedary. The body is a surface close to a rectangle, unabraded, but with some traces of pecking. The two forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. On the back, the structure whose volume is equal to the body is probably a howdah (Ar. *hawdaj*) and not a simple item of luggage, since a rein links it to the dromedary's head. The dromedary apparently covers the drawing of a small quadruped.

JML-F-172 – Stylized dromedary [rounded hump], non-abraded, four legs visible (Figs 311-312, 319-320)

Length: 58cm; height: 27cm

Remarks: Mounted dromedary (?). The dromedary is very roughly engraved. The head, neck, body and tail are shown by a simple line; and the legs are depicted as four vertical dashes. An approximate square above, unabraded, stands for the hump. A vertical dash at the back of the hump apparently is the depiction of a horseman.

Location: 18,29674°N 44,51465°E

Insert Fig. 321

Fig. 321: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-173 to JML-F-175 (MAFSN).

JML-F-173 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 321-323)

Length: 99cm

Transcription: *Mqm-ʿtt*

Fig. 322: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-173 (MAFSN).

Fig. 323: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-173, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-174 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 321, 324)

Length: 72cm

Transcription: *(..)m-Mgs²t(r)*

Fig. 324: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-F-174 and JML-F-175 (MAFSN).

JML-F-175 – Oryx (?) (Figs 321, 324)

Length: 37cm; height: 30cm

Location: 18,29689°N 44,51473°E

JML-F-176 – Thamudic graffito (Fig. 325)

Length: 58cm

Transcription: *G(r)m-wdd-(.)[...]*

Translation: Garm is friend ...

Fig. 325: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-176 (MAFSN).

JML-F-177 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 326-327)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *ʿtwb*

Fig. 326: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-177 (MAFSN).

Fig. 327: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-177, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29695°N 44,5148°E

JML-F-178 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 328)

Length: 55cm

Transcription:

1 *ʿḥmd w-Qṭ(..)*

2 ...

Fig. 328: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-178 (MAFSN).

JML-F-179 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse at rest chasing camels (Figs 329-330)

Length: 80cm; height: 35cm

Remarks: Scene of small dimensions, poorly engraved, showing a legless horseman, brandishing a spear, on a horse at rest, looking left, with a tail raised and curled in the shape of a hook. He seems to escort three dromedaries, apparently in motion, clumsily and roughly sketched. In the case of the two to the left, the hump is in the shape of a sugar loaf and the tail is raised. The one to the right has a more massive hump and a falling tail.

Fig. 329: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-179 (MAFSN).

Fig. 330: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engraving JML-F-179, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-F-180 – Game board (alquerque type) (Fig. 331)

Length: 49cm

Remarks: Similar to JML-A-32.

On the right, monogram whose reading is hypothetical, perhaps including a *zayn* and a *yā*’.

Fig. 331: JML-F-180 (MAFSN).

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Area G

Fig. 332: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area G, looking north-west (MAFSN).

Fig. 333: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area G on the site map (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29698 °N 44,51448°E

JML-G-1 – Horseman brandishing a sword or a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 334-335)

Length: 40cm; height: 28cm

Fig. 334: JML-G-1 (MAFSN).

Fig. 335: JML-G-1, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-2 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 336-337)

Length: 192cm

Transcription: 's¹d Ms¹(l)m

Remarks: The reading of the *lām* is uncertain; it might be an unfinished *yā* '.

Fig. 336: JML-G-2 and JML-G-3 (MAFSN).

Fig. 337: JML-G-2 and JML-G-3, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-3 – Antelope (?) (Figs 336-337)

Length: 40cm; height: 28cm

Remarks: Quadruped (maybe an antelope) that seems pursued by a horseman, but which was carved by another hand (no doubt at a different date).

Insert Fig. 338

Fig. 338: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-4 and JML-G-148 (MAFSN).

This large panel was often photographed: see in particular Khān 2007: Fig. 175, p. 197 ("north of Najran"). These engravings were analysed by E. Anati (see above, under the heading "Publications dealing with 'Ān Jamal" in the introduction).

Location: 18,29703°N 44,51448°E

JML-G-4 – Wasm (Figs 338-339)

Wasm made of a circle and two vertical strokes.

Fig. 339: JML-G-4 (MAFSN).

JML-G-5 – Stylized camel [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 338, 340)

Length: 167cm; height: 27cm

Remarks: Sketch of a dromedary looking to the right, whose outline is emphasized and whose surface is partly or entirely abraded. On the left, clumsy petroglyph of dubious interpretation.

Fig. 340: JML-G-5 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29704°N 44,51449°E

JML-G-6 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 641) (Figs 338, 341)

Length: 24cm

Transcription: *L(d)f- 'rq* or *l-d-F' rq*

Fig. 341: JML-G-6 (MAFSN).

JML-G-7 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 342-343)

Length: 35cm

Transcription: *Hbb(t)*

Fig. 342: JML-G-7 (MAFSN).

Fig. 343: JML-G-7, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-8 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 344, 345, 347)

Length: 94cm

Transcription:

1 *Lhy'tt*

2 *bn S¹bl^m*

Remarks: Monogram of *Lhy'tt* to the left of the graffito.

Fig. 344: JML-G-8 (MAFSN).

Fig. 345: JML-G-8, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-9 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 346)

Length: 56cm

Transcription: *Tb(n)^m* or *Tb(r)^m*

Fig. 346: JML-G-9 (MAFSN).

JML-G-10 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 347)

Transcription: *(.mddw)mw*

Remarks: Between this graffito and the monogram of JML-G-8, the letters *t* and *s¹*, at various different heights.

Fig. 347: JML-G-10 (MAFSN).

JML-G-11 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 348)

Length: 26cm

Transcription: *Zyd/* or *Zydⁿ*

Remarks: *Zydⁿ* is possibly written with a South-Arabian *zayn* and a Thamudic *nūn*.

Fig. 348: JML-G-11 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29702°N 44,5144°E

Insert Figs 348-349-350

Fig. 349: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-12 and JML-G-27 (MAFSN).

Fig. 350: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-12 and JML-G-17 (MAFSN).

Fig. 351: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-16 and JML-G-18 to JML-G-27 (MAFSN).

JML-G-12 – Stylized camel [rounded hump], abraded, four legs visible (Figs 349, 352)

Length: 22cm; height: 24cm

Remarks: Very small dromedary, in motion towards the left, roughly sketched. The body is a thickened line. The hump is in the shape of a sugar loaf. The tail is raised.

Fig. 352: JML-G-12 and JML-G-13 (MAFSN).

JML-G-13 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 350, 352)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: 's¹d^m

Remarks: The 'alif and the sīn are tied.

JML-G-14 – Ibex (Figs 349, 350, 353)

Length: 40cm; height: 40cm

Remarks: Schematic ibex on the right, whose drawing is composed of a single outline. The double line above the head probably stands for the two horns, seen in profile. Lines spread apart illustrate the four legs.

Fig. 353: JML-G-14, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-15 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 349, 350, 351, 354)

Length: 80cm

Transcription: Qds^{2m}

Fig. 354: JML-G-15, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-16 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 349, 350, 351, 355)

Length: 53cm

Transcription: Ġwt^m

Remarks: The script is Thamūdīc, if based on the mīm, and South Arabian if based on the ghayn.

Fig. 355: JML-G-16, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-17 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 350, 356)

Length: 44cm

Transcription: Kh(l)

Remarks: Several not very legible graffiti nearby.

Fig. 356: JML-G-17, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-18 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 349, 351, 357)

Length: 16cm

Transcription: (Yhfr)

Fig. 357: JML-G-18, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-19 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 349, 351, 358)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: Ġtm

Fig. 358: JML-G-19, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-20 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 351, 359)

Length: 55cm

Transcription: (.shm)-S²lw

Fig. 359: JML-G-20, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-21 – Stylized camel [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 349, 351, 360)

Length: 46cm; height: 33cm

Remarks: Sketch of a dromedary at rest, looking to the right, the neck extended frontwards. The surface is entirely abraded. The dromedary covers texts JML-G-22 and JML-G-23.

Fig. 360: JML-G-21 and JML-G-22, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-22 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 351, 360)

Length: 36cm

Transcription: *Zbd*

Remarks: The *zayn* and the *bā'* seem to cover the dromedary JML-G-21; their patina is moreover slightly lighter.

JML-G-23 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 351, 361)

Length: 58cm

Transcription: *'hnf/*

Remarks: It is difficult to say whether the last sign is a separation stroke or the Thamūdic letter *nūn*. There is also the issue of knowing whether the five symbols form or not a single personal name. The three first letters are clearly South Arabian. The following ones could be Thamūdic.

Fig. 361: JML-G-23, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-24 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 351)

Length: 36cm

Transcription: *(m) '(b)y(m.)*

JML-G-25 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 349, 351)

Length: 27cm

Transcription: *(Wš) 'n*

JML-G-26 – Horseman brandishing a spear (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 349, 351, 362)

Length: 60cm; height: 48cm

Remarks: (Legless) horseman brandishing a small massive object, with a dagger worn on the waist, on a horse in flying gallop, looking towards the right, with forelegs conflated, like the hind legs, and with a fan-shaped tail. According to differences in patina, the horseman that covers the last letter of the text JML-G-20 is more recent than the latter.

Fig. 362: JML-G-26, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-G-27 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 349, 351)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *(.)-Bhṭt*

Remarks: We suppose that the first sign (to the right), which is higher than the *bā'*, does not belong to the graffito.

Location: 18,29704°N 44,51449°E

JML-G-28 – Palm-tree (Figs 338, 363)

Length: 156cm; height: 144cm

Remarks: Palm tree depicted with a long vertical line for the trunk and three groups of parallel lines for the palm leaves. Numerous other carvings are difficult to identify. Note, however, the two vertical lines topped by a star (in the upper part of the slab); there are no parallels for this carving.

Fig. 363: JML-G-28 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29694°N 44,51441°E

Insert Figs 364-365-366

Fig. 364: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-29 to JML-G-70 (MAFSN).

Fig. 365: Location of the different close-up views of the panel with engravings JML-G-29 to JML-G-70 (MAFSN).

Fig. 366: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-29 to JML-G-42, and JML-G-48 in the lower left corner (MAFSN).

JML-G-29 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 655) (Figs 338, 364, 366-367)

Length: 22cm

Transcription: *Rhmⁿ*

Fig. 367: JML-G-29, JML-G-31, and JML-G-48 (MAFSN).

JML-G-30 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 654) (Figs 338, 364, 366)

Length: 32cm

Transcription: *W^lm*

JML-G-31 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 663) (Figs 338, 364, 366-367)

Length: 50cm

Transcription:

A *Fs²ylt*

B *Bdyt*

JML-G-32 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 542) (Figs 338, 364, 366)

Length: 82cm

Transcription: *’s¹ydz Bħr^m*

Remarks: Probably read *’yd<t>* (or perhaps *’s¹yd<m>*). The engraver probably confused the *zayn* with a similar letter.

Insert Fig. 368

Fig. 368: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-33 to JML-G-47 (MAFSN).

JML-G-33 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Length: 35cm

Transcription: *’mnt*

Remarks: on the right and left, illegible graffiti.

JML-G-34 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 662) (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Length: 26cm

Transcription: *T'dy*

JML-G-35 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 660) (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Length: 49cm

Transcription: *Rs⁴b*

JML-G-36 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 661) (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Transcription: *Mrkb* or perhaps *Wkb*

JML-G-37 – South Arabian graffito, partly erased (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Length: 49cm

Transcription: *(.d)h*

JML-G-38 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 659) (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368-369)

Length: 23cm

Transcription: *B'r⁽ⁿ⁾*

JML-G-39 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 662) (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *(Hn')khl*

JML-G-40 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368-369)

Length: 91cm; height: 94cm

Remarks: Horseman (legless) brandishing a sword (?), on a horse looking right; the forelegs conflated, like the hind legs; the tail is in a plume. The surface is abraded. The drawing, which is superimposed over earlier carvings, is only partly legible.

JML-G-41 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Transcription: *Hmyt*

JML-G-42 – South Arabian letters – two large letters (Figs 338, 364, 366, 368)

Length: 19cm; height: 40cm

Transcription: *w* and *d*

Insert Fig. 369

Fig. 369: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-43 to JML-G-47 (MAFSN).

JML-G-43 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 368-369)

Transcription: *...t(b)...*

JML-G-44 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 368-369)

Length: 60cm

Transcription: *Ws¹.m ...*

JML-G-45 – Naturalistic life-size dromedary, unabraded, four legs visible (Figs 338, 364, 368-369)

Length: 180cm; height: 160cm

Remarks: Large-sized dromedary, running towards the right, with only the upper part recognizable. The body's silhouette is indicated by a thickened line. The hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat. The falling tail moves a little away from the body. The neck seems extended towards the front. The forelegs seem distinguishable and extended towards the right; the hind legs, which are no longer individually recognizable, appear to be vertical. The body is not abraded; only the neck and head are.

JML-G-46 – South Arabian letters inside a camel (=PRL r 658) (Figs 338, 364, 368-369)

Transcription: *Dhb*

JML-G-47 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 658) (Figs 338, 364, 368-369)

Transcription: *Fr(k)*

Remarks: Bottom right, a large number of illegible graffiti.

JML-G-48 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 366-367)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *F(h)tt^(m)*

JML-G-49 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 370)

Transcription: *(Nq)bt*

Fig. 370: JML-G-49 and JML-G-50 (MAFSN).

JML-G-50 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 370)

Transcription: *ʿšm*

Insert Fig. 371

Fig. 371: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-51 to JML-G-54 and JML-G-64 to JML-G-65 (MAFSN).

JML-G-51 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 371)

Length: 135cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Hrtt*
- 2 *d-ʿzwy*

JML-G-52 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in motion (Figs 338, 364, 371)

Remarks: Sketch of a small horseman (legless?), difficult to recognize, apparently brandishing a long spear. The horse, in motion, has apparently distinguishable forelegs and hind legs; the surface is abraded. In front of the animal, a set of undecipherable graffiti and carvings.

JML-G-53 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 371)

Transcription: *Nmrt*

JML-G-54 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 338, 364, 371)

Length: 60cm; height: 32cm

Remarks: Horseman (legless?) on a stylized horse in flying gallop, looking right; the line bordering the body in the top and bottom parts is extended to show the forelegs and hind legs and the tail and a hind leg; the forelegs and hind legs are individually recognizable; the tail is floating, curved towards the bottom; the body is not abraded. The very schematic horseman brandishes a long spear. He seems to pursue a quadruped to the right, probably a dromedary, drawn likewise. The line bordering the body in the top and bottom parts is extended to show the forelegs and hind legs, which are individually recognizable. The surface is not abraded. The long line beginning with the horse's head finds no explanation.

Above the scene, illegible South Arabian graffito, where only a *tā'* (?), a *hā'* and a *lām* (or *mīm*) are recognizable. One should not dismiss a reading *..khl*.

Insert Figs 372-373

Fig. 372: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-55 to JML-G-70 (MAFSN).

Fig. 373: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-56 to JML-G-61 (MAFSN).

JML-G-55 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 650) (Figs 338, 364, 372)

Transcription: *Zd^m-Ḥb^m*

JML-G-56 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 372-373)

Transcription: *Qh(...)*

Remarks: The drawing of antelope of JML-G-60 covers the South Arabian text. It is part of a long sequence of characters to the left of the antelope's head, mostly of uncertain reading. Total length of the sequence JML-G-56 to JML-G-58: 127cm.

JML-G-57 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 372-373)

Transcription: *M'(d)*

JML-G-58 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 656 + r 652) (Figs 338, 364, 372-373)

Transcription: *(.)-S²r(h' l)*

Remarks: The suggested reading supposes a tied *alif* and *lām*. It poses a problem, since the theophoric personal names with *-l* are very rare in Thamudic Ḥimā'ite.

JML-G-59 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 372-373)

Transcription: *(..n)bt*

Remarks: On the antelope's body JML-G-60, on the part with brown patina.

Insert Fig. 374

Fig. 374: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-60 to JML-G-67 (MAFSN).

JML-G-60 – Antelope (?) (Figs 338, 364, 372-374)

Length: 221cm; height: 120cm

Remarks: Large horned animal, looking right, carved with great care, an animal that we conventionally shall call "antelope"; on the head with a fine muzzle, the drawing of an ear and, behind, a small horn in the form of a semi-circle, are both recognizable. The body's surface is only partly abraded. The legs and hindquarters are not identifiable, due to a series of superimpositions.

JML-G-61 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 372-374)

Transcription: *('ds²)*

Remarks: Engraved on the animal's neck (JML-G-60).

JML-G-62 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 372, 374)

Transcription: *'bt*

JML-G-63 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 657 [part.]) (Figs 338, 364, 372, 374)

Transcription: *(.y)ḥt*

JML-G-64 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 364, 371-372, 374)

Transcription: *'m(h)r-wq(r)*

JML-G-65 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 371-372, 374)

Transcription: *(Y)g(yb)*

JML-G-66 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 657 [part.]) (Figs 338, 364, 372, 374)

Length: 96cm

Transcription: *(D')b*

JML-G-67 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 364, 372, 374)

Transcription: *(..)m*

JML-G-68 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (PRL r 648/9) (Figs 338, 364, 372)

Length: 69cm

Transcription: *Zhr^m* (or *Thr^m?*)

Remarks: The reading *Zhr^m* seems preferable because the root ZHR is productive in onomastics, but it faces the difficulty that it reads a letter in Thamūdīc, while the rest of the graffito seems very “South Arabian”. It is possible that a *nūn* was carved after the *mīm*.

JML-G-69 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 648/9) (Figs 338, 364, 372)

Length: 70cm

Transcription: *Dhbⁿ*

JML-G-70 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 651) (Figs 338, 364, 372)

Transcription: *Hrm-S¹mw* or *Hrms¹mw*

Remarks: We put forward the hypothesis that *Hrm* and *S¹mw* do belong to the same graffito, even though the *mīm* is written in two different ways, a feature already attested. Although it is not unlikely that we have here a theophoric name formed with *d-S¹mw^y*, this also seems quite dubious for three reasons. The first is that theophoric names formed on dhu-Samāwī are very rare, and that the root *-s¹mw* is not attested as an abbreviation of the god's name. The second reason is that the root *hrm* is not attested when combined with another noun. The third reason is that the text is in Thamūdīc script; now, it is by no means certain that dhu-Samāwī (a god of Najrān) was also worshipped by the desert populations who wrote in Thamūdīc.

Insert Figs 375-376-377

Fig. 375: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-71 to JML-G-103 (MAFSN).

Fig. 376: Location of the different close-up views of the panel with engravings JML-G-71 to JML-G-107 (MAFSN).

Fig. 377: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-71 to JML-G-73 (MAFSN).

JML-G-71 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 377)

Length: 23cm

Transcription: 'ls²rḥ-Ns¹'

Remarks: The letters 'alif and lām are tied.

JML-G-72 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 377)

Transcription: 's¹(')n

Remarks: Next to the camel, there is perhaps a name.

JML-G-73 – Stylized dromedary [triangular hump], partially abraded (Figs 338, 375, 377)

Remarks: Small dromedary at rest, looking left. The hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat. The forelegs and hind legs are individually distinguishable. The tail is raised and curling in the shape of a hook. The body is partly abraded. Other figures are hardly identifiable around the dromedary.

Insert Figs 378

Fig. 378: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-74 to JML-G-86, JML-G-100, and JML-G-104 (MAFSN).

JML-G-74 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 638) (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: S¹'dt

JML-G-75 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 533) (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: Mth

Remarks: The mīm's patina is lighter, as if the letter were more recent or had been redone.

JML-G-76 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 532) (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Length: 43cm

Transcription: Qlzⁿ

JML-G-77 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: Mdkr

JML-G-78 – Thamudic graffito (PRL R 534) (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: (W)dd^m

Remarks: The dāl is Thamūdīc, while the mīm is South Arabian. The first letter is perhaps a Thamūdīc wāw of rectangular shape.

JML-G-79 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: (W)b(r)t

JML-G-80 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: 'wdt

JML-G-81 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: (Hqhbⁿ)

JML-G-82 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378)

Transcription: Qs^1r

Insert Figs 379

Fig. 379: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-83 to JML-G-86, and JML-G-91 to JML-G-95 (MAFSN).

JML-G-83 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378-379)

Transcription: $S^2lwm-B(s^2r)$ or S^2lwm and $B(s^2r)$

JML-G-84 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 378-379)

Length: 121cm

Transcription: Hfs^2n

JML-G-85 – Horseman brandishing a spear (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 338, 375, 378-379)

Length: 51cm; height: 42cm

Remarks: Horseman (legless) brandishing an unclear object on a horse looking left, its tail in a plume. The drawing is superimposed over previous engravings.

JML-G-86 – Stylized dromedary [triangular hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 338, 375, 378-379)

Length: 74cm; height: 60cm

Remarks: Dromedary at rest, looking left. The head, covered by a horseman, is not visible. The hump is in the shape of a bell-shaped hat. The tail, raised and curled in a hook, is bristled (as signalled by some ten small perpendicular dashes on the lower part). The two forelegs and the hind legs are shown with a very thick line; it is not unlikely that they were initially each distinguishable, then conflated during a retouch. The surface is entirely abraded.

Insert Figs 380

Fig. 380: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-87 to JML-G-90 (MAFSN).

JML-G-87 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 380)

Transcription: $(Gdd) Rml$

Remarks: The first letter could be a $rā$ ’.

JML-G-88 – Thamudic graffito surrounded by a cartouche (Figs 338, 375, 380)

Transcription: $b(rt)-S^2$ ’...

JML-G-89 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 380)

Transcription: $Lq(n)$

Remarks: The graffito is topped by a text of three letters of uncertain reading.

JML-G-90 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 537) (Figs 338, 375, 380)

Length: 87cm

Transcription: $Qys^1mnt W[...]$

Insert Figs 381

Fig. 381: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-91 to JML-G-99 (MAFSN).

JML-G-91 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 379, 381)

Transcription: *(B)y(tⁿ)*

JML-G-92 – Arabic graffito (PRL Z 229) (Figs 338, 375, 379, 381)

Transcription:

- 1 *tarahḥma Allāh ‘alā al-Ḥārith*
- 2 *ibn Simāk al-Malākī*
- 3 *wa-(h)amad A<l>lāh Ām<i>n*

JML-G-93 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 379, 381)

Transcription: *Ḥn(yn)*

JML-G-94 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 379, 381)

Transcription: *‘bd*

Remarks: This graffito partly covers JML-G-93.

JML-G-95 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 379, 381, 388)

Transcription: *Klb-ḡ-(D)ḥb*

Remarks: Perhaps one or two letters after the *bā*’.

JML-G-96 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 381-382, 388)

Length: 25cm

Transcription: *Hls*

JML-G-97 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in motion (Figs 338, 375, 381, 388)

Remarks: Rider on a horse in motion, looking right, forelegs conflated, as are the hind legs. The tail seems raised. The horseman, whose legs are not shown, seems to brandish a sword.

JML-G-98 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 381, 388)

Length: 102cm

Transcription: *(Ty)mlt*

Remarks: The reading *Tymlt* is reasonably certain. The *tā*’ would have been converted into *wā*’ with the adding of a circle around the cross of the *tā*’.

JML-G-99 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 381, 388)

Transcription: *‘wḏt*

Remarks: Above, a *tā*’ preceded by two letters of uncertain reading.

Insert Figs 382

Fig. 382: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-96 and JML-G-100 to JML-G-107 (MAFSN).

JML-G-100 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 634) (Figs 338, 375, 378, 382)

Transcription: *G’r*

JML-G-101 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (PRL r 635) (Figs 338, 375, 382)

Transcription: *Trr* (South Arabian) or *Wrr* (Thamūdīc)

JML-G-102 – South Arabian graffito (?) (Figs 338, 375, 382)

Length: 72cm

Transcription: *Fh(r)t-Y(m.)'m*

JML-G-103 – Thamudic graffito (PRL R 637) (Figs 338, 375, 382)

Transcription: *(K)lb-Mlk-H(r)nⁿ*

Remarks: On the right, three letters of uncertain reading.

JML-G-104 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 641bis) (Figs 338, 375, 378, 382)

Transcription: *Hyt 'D'y*

JML-G-105 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 382)

Transcription: *(K)b(s¹)'*

JML-G-106 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 338, 375, 382)

Transcription: *'s¹fm*

JML-G-107 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 338, 375, 382)

Transcription: *Fhrt*

Insert Figs 383-384-385-386

Fig. 383: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-108 to JML-G-148 (MAFSN).

Fig. 384: Location of the different close-up views of the panel with engravings JML-G-108 to JML-G-148 (MAFSN).

Fig. 385: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-108 to JML-G-148, facsimile (MAFSN).

Fig. 386: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-108 and JML-G-111 to JML-G-117 (MAFSN).

JML-G-108 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 536) (Figs 382-383, 385-386)

Transcription: *Mrtđ'w 'hđr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(') w-đ-Ry[dⁿ]*

Remarks: First attestation of *Mrtđ'w*, a probable abbreviation of *Mrtđ'wm*. This final -'w suggests that the temple of Ma'rib was called Awā^m, and not Awām. The presence of an officer of the Shammar king at Ḥimā can be related to the foray that "Imru' al-Qays son of 'Amr king of all the Arabs" launched against "Nagrān, the city of Shammar" (inscription from al-Namāra).

JML-G-109 – Stylized dromedary [triangular hump], unabraded, four legs visible (Figs 383, 385, 387-388, 392)

Length: 105cm; height: 69cm

Remarks: Small dromedary in motion towards the right. The hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat. The tail, falling, moves away from the body. The two forelegs and hind legs, although simply extending the body's outline, seem to be both recognizable; those at the front are sloping, suggesting movement. The inside surface is not abraded.

Fig. 387: JML-G-109 and JML-G-110 (MAFSN).

JML-G-110 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 643) (Figs 383, 385, 387-388, 392)

Transcription: *ʿtm*

Inscription inside the dromedary (JML-G-109): two letters, *ʿayn* and *thā* (rotated by 90°), engraved one below the other. Between the dromedary's legs, a *mīm*. Perhaps to be read as *ʿtm*, which could be the dromedary's name.

Insert Figs 388

Fig. 388: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-95 to JML-G-99 and JML-G-109 to JML-G-142 (MAFSN).

JML-G-111 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 383, 385-386, 388, 392)

Transcription: *(Mb)ʿt*

Remarks: Engraved on the ostrich on the right (JML-G-112)

JML-G-112 – Ostriches (Figs 383, 385-386, 388)

Remarks: Sketch of three small ostriches looking right. The one on the right has a broad neck and an enlarged head, no doubt to erase a clumsy gesture of the carver; the body is restricted to an outline; the legs are two vertical lines. The ostrich in the middle, whose entire surface is abraded, shows a more realistic head and legs. The ostrich on the left, more awkward to identify, seems unfinished; the neck and head are missing; moreover, the legs are strangely displaced backwards. To the left, rock panel with several intricate, illegible graffiti.

JML-G-113 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385-386, 388)

Transcription: *(Ydlhb)*

JML-G-114 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385-386, 388)

Transcription:

- 1 *Ms²lwt*
- 2 *Bw(l)ⁿ*

JML-G-115 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385-386, 388)

Transcription: *(H)b^m-bn-(ʿbʿm)*

JML-G-116 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 383, 385-386, 388)

Transcription: *(ʿrb)*

JML-G-117 – Crowned standing man, brandishing a spear or a stick (Figs 383, 385-386, 388-389)

Remarks: Small standing human figure, looking left, with flexed legs. The oval head wears a crown with four points. The figure brandishes a stick in his right hand (or a spear), on which ribbons (on the drawing to the right of the head) are possibly attached. The body is narrower at the level of the waist. The feet, looking left, are shown by a dash. The entire surface is abraded.

Fig. 389: JML-G-117 (MAFSN).

JML-G-118 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Transcription:

- 1 *Mʿn(lt)*
- 2 *bn ʿbd(l)ʿzy*

JML-G-119 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 383, 385, 388, 390, 392)

Remarks: Small roughly sketched of a probably female human figure. The hair comprises four long braids, two to the right of the head and two to the left, which extend beyond the arms until they reach the waist. The vulva is depicted as a shallow hole. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded. The patina is very light, lighter than that of all engravings in the vicinity, except for the lower part of the braids (see Fig. 388, this difference in patina can be better seen here). One can infer that the drawing is probably ancient and was recarved at a relatively recent date.

Fig. 390: JML-G-119 (MAFSN).

JML-G-120 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 538 = PRL R 522) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Transcription: *wqr*

JML-G-121 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 639) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Transcription: *Qdⁿ*

Remarks: The reading of the second letter as a *ḡād* is still hypothetical.

JML-G-122 – Feline (Lion?) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Remarks: Small male feline, as indicated by the fan-shaped claws and the very long tail; the animal looks right; the forelegs and hind legs can each be made out; the head and the chest are not recognizable any more, as a result of the levelling of neighbouring surfaces. The surface of the body, limbs and tail is entirely abraded. The drawing covers on the right a Thamūdīc graffito, '[f...]', and on the left the sketch of a standing human figure.

JML-G-123 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Transcription: *.(y)w-y(q)r*

JML-G-124 – Stylized standing figures with their arms raised (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Remarks: Two human figures, roughly carved and not very recognizable, are standing full-faced, with raised arms. If indeed they are the same drawing, the differences in treatment could highlight a man and a woman. The figure to the right is slenderer, with an extended head, crowned by three rays; a small unabraded surface was left aside to show the chest. The broader figure on the left has a round head; recognizing his arms is more difficult; the entire surface is abraded. It is likely that each figure is brandishing an object in his right hand.

JML-G-125 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388)

Transcription: *...b^ʿ or ...s^ʿ*

JML-G-126 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388)

Transcription: *S²y^ʿrs² or S²y^ʿ-Rs²*

JML-G-127 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388)

Transcription: *..ḡd^ʿl-B(n)^ʿ*

Remarks: Hypothetical location of the cut between the two names.

Insert Figs 391

Fig. 391: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-128 to JML-G-131 (MAFSN).

Fig. 392: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-109 to JML-G-111, JML-G-118 to JML-G-124, and JML-G-131 to JML-G-148.

JML-G-128 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 526 + 527) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 391)

Transcription: *Whblt-bn-Ġrfm*

JML-G-129 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 529) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 391)

Transcription: *d-Btt*

Remarks: It is possible that this is a lineage name of *Yhm 'l-bn-Twbⁿ* (JML-G-131).

JML-G-130 – Stylized standing figure with hands wide apart (Figs 383, 385, 388, 391-393)

Length: 34cm; height: 74cm

Remarks: Human figure with raised arms, huge open hands with fingers spread out. The head and neck are a simple widened line; an arc of a circle on both sides reepresents the hair. The arms are shown by two parallel curved lines and the body by three vertical ones. The surface is not levelled.

JML-G-131 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 529) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 391-392)

Transcription: *Yhm 'l-bn-Twbⁿ*

Remarks: The *'alif* and the *lām* are tied. It is possible that *d-Btt* (JML-G-129) is a lineage name of *Yhm 'l-bn-Twbⁿ*.

JML-G-132 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 392)

Transcription:

1 *Dhb^m b(n)*

2 *Mḥ(my)-*

Remarks: It would appear that the symbol after *Mḥ(my)* was carved at a later date, and therefore does not belong to the graffito.

Insert Figs 393

Fig. 393: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-G-133 to JML-G-140 and JML-G-145 to JML-G-148 (MAFSN).

JML-G-133 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 540) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription:

1 *Rb 'l*

2 *d-Nmr*

JML-G-134 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription: *S²ll*

Remarks: On the right, left and below, stylized horned animal and engravings difficult to identify.

JML-G-135 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription: *Nqw*

JML-G-136 – Naturalistic camel, abraded, four legs visible (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Length: 110cm; height: 78cm

Remarks: Realistic dromedary of large size, in motion towards the left. The hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat; the neck is extended frontwards, sloping towards the ground, and the mouth seems open. The two forelegs and the hind legs, carefully made out, noticeably spread out from

one another. The thighs are indicated by a swelling. The tail is falling. A rectangle of dotted lines above the hump (a later addition), seems to be the depiction of a carriage (*hawdaj*). The surface is entirely abraded.

JML-G-137 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 647 bis = PRL r 633) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription: *Hms^{1m}*

Remarks: On the left, two letters from another graffito hidden by JML-G-139.

JML-G-138 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 539 = PRL R 523) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription: *Yh 'n*

JML-G-139 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 645) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription: *Hwf(')l*

Remarks: The *lām* is located beyond the rock's recess.

Underneath, obliterated graffiti, with a *qāf* and an *'ayn* surviving.

JML-G-140 – South Arabian graffito (= PRL r 644) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392-393)

Transcription: *Tyml(t)*

JML-G-141 – South Arabian graffito (= PRL R 539) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Transcription: *Hwf(')tt* to be corrected to *Hwf(')t*

Remarks: The confusion between the *ḥā'* and the *hā'* can be explained by a poor join, but it is more likely that it is due to the similarity between the two letters.

JML-G-142 – Animals (quadrupeds) facing each other (?) (Figs 383, 385, 388, 392)

Remarks: The identification of the two animals is uncertain. The one to the left (looking right) shows hindquarters and a tail that recall a feline. The carving of a bovine (an animal often shown with a long tail), however, is not to be dismissed. The animal on the right is hypothetical.

JML-G-143 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 383, 385, 392)

Transcription: *....w*

Remarks: The graffito has been hammered.

JML-G-144 – Antelope (Figs 383, 385, 392, 394)

Length: 40cm; height: 40cm

Remarks: Small animal with diverging horns, looking left; the forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the tail, very short, is raised; the body's surface is entirely abraded, with the exception of the chest.

Fig. 394: JML-G-144 (MAFSN).

JML-G-145 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 640) (Figs 383, 385, 392-393)

Transcription: *Mys²(')*

JML-G-146 – Antelope (?) (Figs 383, 385, 392-393)

Remarks: Small drawing of a quadruped looking left; on the head, two vertical horns, very long, ending in a frontward curve; the forelegs and hind legs can be each made out; the tail is small and oriented downwards; the surface is completely abraded.

On the left, remains of a human figure partly obliterated by later graffiti.

JML-G-147 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 646) (Figs 383, 385, 392-393)

Transcription: *Mʿqʿl*

Remarks: The *ʿalif* and the *lām* are tied.

JML-G-148 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 647) (Figs 383, 385, 392-393)

Transcription: *Mʿdʿl*

Remarks: below, illegible graffito.

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Area H

Fig. 395: 'Ān Jamal: Location of Area H, looking northwest (MAFSN).

Fig. 396: 'Ān Jamal: Location of GPS points of Area H on the site map (MAFSN).

Fig. 397: 'Ān Jamal: Location of the main panel of rock engravings in Area H (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29705°N 44,51464°E

JML-H-1 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 398-399)

Length: 75cm

Transcription: *'ṭwb^m-Ḥmy*

Remarks: The reading *'ṭwb-Mḥmy* is also possible.

Fig. 398: JML-H-1 (MAFSN).

Fig. 399: JML-H-1, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29712°N 44,51464°E

JML-H-2 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 400)

Length: 70cm

Transcription: *(Mḍw Mtb)*

Fig. 400: JML-H-2 (MAFSN).

JML-H-3 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 401)

Length: 40cm; height: 36cm

Transcription:

- 1 ...
- 2 *Yrs²d..*
- 3 *...n..*

Fig. 401: JML-H-3 (MAFSN).

JML-H-4 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 402-403)

Length: 38cm; height: 36cm; height: 8,5cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Grmt*
- 2 *Zydl*

Remarks: Text engraved in an unfinished frame on the right side.

Fig. 402: JML-H-4 (MAFSN).

Fig. 403: JML-H-4, facsimile (MAFSN).

Location: 18,2971°N 44,5146°E

JML-H-5 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 404)

Length: 70cm

Transcription: *W^lm-d-Ḥs²r* or *W^lm-d-Ḥs²r*

Fig. 404: JML-H-5 (MAFSN).

JML-H-6 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 405-406)

Length: 40cm; height: 26cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Zbyd*
- 2 *bn Bġd*

Remarks: The text is identical to JML-H-10.

Fig. 405: JML-H-6 to JML-H-8 (MAFSN).

Fig. 406: JML-H-6, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-7 – South Arabian graffiti (?) (Fig. 405)

Length: 15cm

Remarks: Small circle and rectangle, to be read 'ayn and *dād* or *fā*'?

JML-H-8 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 405)

Length: 41cm

Transcription: 'm..t or 'm..z

Remarks: Traces of some letters above, on the left.

JML-H-9 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 407-408)

Length: 34cm; height: 32cm

Transcription:

- 1 'ws¹ (bn)
- 2 R(.)*(y)n*

Fig. 407: JML-H-9 (MAFSN).

Fig. 408: JML-H-9, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-10 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 409, 419)

Length: 44cm; height: 20cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Zbyd bn*
- 2 *Bġd*

Remarks: The text is identical to JML-H-6.

The stonecutter seems to have first of all carved $Z + b + b$, then corrected it to $Z + b + y + d$.

Fig. 409: JML-H-10 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29707°N 44,51462°E

Insert Figs 410-411

Fig. 410: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-11 to JML-H-13 (MAFSN).

Fig. 411: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-11 to JML-H-13, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-11 – Ibex turned upside-down (Figs 410-411)

Remarks: The engravings JML-H-11, 12 and 13 are at present upside down on the rock face of a huge block that split from the cliff. They were therefore carved before this block fell to the ground.

The double line in a semi-circle is interpreted as the horns of an unfinished ibex.

JML-H-12 – Stylized standing figure upside-down and indeterminate signs (Figs 410-411)

JML-H-13 – Oryx turned upside-down (Figs 410-412)

Remarks: Oryx whose carving was done very carefully, on an overturned rock, in such a way that the horns are directed towards the bottom. On the head with a thin muzzle, the two spread out ears frame the two rectilinear horns; the forelegs and hind legs can be made out clearly; the very short tail is falling; the body's surface is completely abraded.

The oryx is superimposed over a dromedary with a recognizable long neck. On the left, an unfinished drawing that seems to depict the body and four legs of an animal in motion.

Fig. 412: JML-H-13 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29709°N 44,51467°E

Insert Figs 413-414

Fig. 413: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-14 to JML-H-24 (MAFSN).

Fig. 414: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-15 to JML-H-22 (MAFSN).

JML-H-14 – Stylized standing figure with his arms raised and indeterminate engraving (Figs 413, 415)

Length: 15cm; height: 24cm

Fig. 415: JML-H-14 (MAFSN).

JML-H-15 – Stylized standing figure with his arms raised (Figs 413-414, 416)

Length: 15cm; height: 18cm

Fig. 416: JML-H-15 and JML-H-16 (MAFSN).

JML-H-16 – Horseman brandishing a spear (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 413-414, 416)

Length: 35cm; height: 27cm

Remarks: Sketch of a horseman (with legs?), perhaps brandishing a spear, on a horse looking to the right, forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs, the tail in a plume. The surface is abraded.

JML-H-17 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 642) (Figs 413-414)

Length: 130cm

Transcription: $S^1lm^n \text{ } \text{ḥl-d-Ṭ}^c \text{ } lb^n$ to be no doubt corrected to $S^1lm \text{ } n\text{ḥl-d-Ṭ}^c \text{ } lb^n$ or $S^1lm^n \text{ } n\text{ḥl-d-Ṭ}^c \text{ } lb^n$

Translation: Sālim chief of the cavalry of dhu-Thu'lubān (or: Salmān chief of the cavalry of dhu-Thu'lubān)

Remarks: On the stone, a separation stroke is inserted between the *nūn* and the *ḥā*. If one admits that it is a mistake by the stonecutter, one can render either $S^1lmn / \langle n \rangle \text{ } \text{ḥl-d-Ṭ}^c \text{ } lb^n$ or $S^1lm-n \langle \rangle \text{ } \text{ḥl-d-Ṭ}^c \text{ } lb^n$

Above JML-H-17, two South Arabian inscriptions on which only some scattered letters are recognizable.

JML-H-18 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 645/6) (Figs 413-414)

Transcription: *Mlk 'bd*

On the left, a series of eroded letters, without any recognizable name.

JML-H-19 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 413-414)

Transcription: *qryⁿ*

It is possible to read *qryⁿ* (if this is indeed the *nisba* formed on the place-name *Qryt^m*, today Qaryat al-Fa`w, “The man of Qaryat”) with the person’s name *bd* of JML-H-18, carved on top.

JML-H-20 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 413-414)

Transcription: *mr bd*

JML-H-21 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 413-414)

Transcription: *(^ʿ)ws¹(^l)*

JML-H-22 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 413-414, 417)

Transcription: *(w)dd- t...(rbṭw.bn)- bd*

Remarks: The word *bd* in South Arabian script is perhaps from a different graffito. Or, it is possible that JML-H-21 and 22 should be merged.

Fig. 417: JML-H-22 to JML-H-24 (MAFSN).

JML-H-23 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 413, 417)

Length: 56cm; height: 41cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Mlk bn*
- 2 *(^ʿ)s¹l(m)*

JML-H-24 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 413, 417)

Length: 92cm; height: 35cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Whb w-S¹ dt*
- 2 *.(bn)y-Ṭwbt*

Remarks: The reading of the word before *Ṭwbt* is uncertain.

On the remaining part of the rock panel, many illegible South Arabian graffiti.

JML-H-25 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 413, 418)

Length: 80cm

Transcription: *(S¹)l-M wy-(bny)*

Fig. 418: JML-H-25 (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 419-420

Fig. 419: Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-10 and JML-H-26 to JML-H-34 (MAFSN).

Fig. 420: Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-26 to JML-H-34, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-26 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 419-420)

Length: 17cm; height: 29cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Mlk*
- 2 *(K) b*

JML-H-27 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 419-420)

Length: 74cm

Transcription: *S¹'d'l*

Remarks: the *'alif* and the *lām* are tied.

JML-H-28 – Semi-naturalistic female camel, abraded, two legs visible (Figs 419-421)

Remarks: Female camel with a massive body and a huge square hump, perhaps saddled, looking left; the ears and the udder are shown; the tail is falling; the extremities of the legs are enlarged. The patina is very light coloured. On the left, a much smaller dromedary, whose patina is also very light, seems very similar. The two cover South Arabian texts.

Between the two dromedaries, the abraded surfaces of quite dark patina perhaps belong to more ancient dromedaries.

Fig. 421: JML-H-28 (MAFSN).

JML-H-29 – Standing woman facing forwards, with long hair and with her arms raised (Figs 419-420, 422)

Remarks: Human figure, probably female, roughly sketched; the hair is hinted at by two clumps of hair falling on both sides of the head, depicted as a broadened line. The patina of the bust and of part of the left arm is darker than the rest of the drawing, which undoubtedly was redone and revived at a more recent date. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded.

The standing figure is superimposed over a more ancient drawing that could be a depiction of a leaping animal.

Fig. 422: JML-H-29 (MAFSN).

JML-H-30 – Horsemen brandishing spears on horses in flying gallop or at rest (Figs 419-420)

Remarks: Eight horsemen; between the legs of one of the horses, one can read *Gdn*:

JML-H-30 n°1: Horse looking left, in motion, recognizable legs; horseman (legless) brandishing a spear.

JML-H-30 n°2: Horse looking right, in motion, legs conflated; horseman brandishing a spear.

JML-H-30 n°3: Horse looking left, at rest, legs identifiable; horseman (with leg) brandishing a spear.

JML-H-30 n°4: Very schematic horseman, at rest; horseman brandishing a spear.

JML-H-30 n°5: Horseman looking left, at rest, legs identifiable (?); horseman (legless) brandishing a spear;

JML-H-30 n°6: Horse looking right, at rest, legs conflated; horseman brandishing a spear;

JML-H-30 n°7: Horse looking right, in flying gallop, legs conflated; horseman (legless) brandishing a spear.

JML-H-30 n°8: Horse looking right, in flying gallop, conflated legs; horseman (legless) brandishing a spear.

JML-H-31 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 419-420)

Length: 47cm

Transcription: *'mr-S²bl*

JML-H-32 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 419-420)

Length: 76cm

Transcription: *Mrh, (Gb.)* and *(Ġwt^m)*

Remarks: Underneath, several small undeciphered texts.

JML-H-33 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 419-420, 423)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *'ws¹*

Fig. 423: JML-H-33 and JML-H-34 (MAFSN).

JML-H-34 – Woman with her legs raised, in labour (?) (Figs 419-420, 423)

Length: 44cm; height: 25cm

Remarks: On the left and above JML-H-33, below and to the left of JML-H-34, graffito of uncertain reading.

Location: 18,29714°N 44,51467°E

Insert Figs 424

Fig. 424: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-35 to JML-H-89 (MAFSN).

JML-H-35 – Animals (quadrupeds) (Figs 424-425)

Length: 117cm; height: 24cm

Fig. 425: JML-H-35 (MAFSN).

JML-H-36 – Stylized dromedary [rounded hump], abraded, two legs visible (Figs 424, 426)

Length: 18cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: Rough sketch of a dromedary at rest, hypothetically looking left. The neck is extended frontwards and the tail is raised. The shape of the hump is uncertain. One cannot say if the hump's surface is levelled.

Fig. 426: JML-H-36 (MAFSN).

JML-H-37 – Horseman brandishing a sword on a horse at rest and indeterminate engravings (Figs 424, 427)

Length: 18cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: Rider (legless) brandishing a sword, on a horse looking left; the forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the totality of the surface is abraded. On the right, unclear human figures, with perhaps a quadruped.

Fig. 427: JML-H-37 (MAFSN).

JML-H-38 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 623) (Fig. 424, 428)

Length: 87cm

Transcription: *'mr F(s²yl)t*

JML-H-39 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 622) (Figs 424, 428)

Length: 66cm

Transcription: *K(nf)- 'šgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*

Translation: *Knf Ašghar Dhuhl the Qaryite*

Remarks: The second letter is perhaps a *nūn*.

JML-H-40 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 424, 428)

Length: 83cm; height: 12cm

Remarks: Very small schematic drawing of a horseman (legless) on a horse in flying gallop, looking right, brandishing a long spear. The tail is falling and directed downwards.

JML-H-41 – Ibex (?) (Figs 424, 429-430)

Length: 14cm; height: 15cm

Remarks: Very small schematic drawing perhaps showing a leaping ibex. The body, legs, the head, horns, and upright tail are depicted with a simple broad line.

Fig. 429: JML-H-41 (MAFSN).

Fig. 430: JML-H-41, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-42 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 442)

Transcription:

- 1 *(l)hⁿ*
- 2 *bn S²w()ⁿ*

JML-H-43 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse at rest (Figs 424, 431, 442)

Length: 15cm; height: 17cm

Remarks: Schematic drawing of a mounted horse, looking to the right.

Fig. 431: JML-H-43 (MAFSN).

JML-H-44 – Animal (quadruped) (Figs 424, 432)

Length: 39cm; height: 23cm

Fig. 432: JML-H-44 (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 433-434-435-436-437

Fig. 433: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-45 to JML-H-64 (MAFSN).

Fig. 434: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-45 to JML-H-48 (MAFSN).

Fig. 435: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-47 to JML-H-54 (MAFSN).

Fig. 436: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-53 to JML-H-57 (MAFSN).

Fig. 437: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-57 to JML-H-62 (MAFSN).

JML-H-45 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 434)

Length: 70cm

Letters of uncertain meaning.

On the right of the horseman (JML-H-47): *tā* ‘ in a *bā* ‘; below, *yā* ‘ (?) and *bā* ‘

Above the horseman (JML-H-47): *.(r)* and *(t)m(w)*

JML-H-46 – Camel (?) (Figs 424, 434)

Length: 15cm; height: 20cm

JML-H-47 – Horseman brandishing a sword on a horse in motion (Figs 424, 434-435)

Length: 43cm; height: 44cm

Remarks: Legless horseman, brandishing a sword (?), on a horse in motion, looking right. The fore and hind legs are conflated; the tail is in a plume; the head has two ears.

JML-H-48 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 434-435)

Length: 21cm; height: 17cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Ġlb*
- 2 *(dkḥb)*

JML-H-49 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 424, 435)

Transcription: *ʿfbl*

JML-H-50 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 435)

Length: 64cm

Transcription: *Dws¹-ʿws¹*

JML-H-51 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 434-435)

Length: 49cm

Transcription: *Whb*

JML-H-52 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 424, 435)

Transcription: *bm.*

Remarks: *bā* and *mīm*, with an undeciphered sign above.

JML-H-53 – Stylized dromedary [triangular hump], unabraded, four legs visible (Figs 424, 435-436)

Length: 67cm; height: 50cm

Remarks: Small dromedary in motion towards the right. The hump seems to be in the form of a bell-shaped hat. The tail seems to be raised. The two forelegs and the hind legs, though simply extending the body's outline, appear to be each recognizable; they are sloping, suggesting movement. The interior surface is unabraded.

JML-H-54 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 435-436)

Length: 44cm

Transcription:

- 1 *S¹ʿ=*
- 2 *d*

JML-H-55 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 624) (Figs 424, 436)

Length: 52cm

Transcription: *Mlk-ʿbd*

Remarks: The inscription is superimposed over the carving of an animal, apparently a dromedary, whose details are difficult to make out.

JML-H-56 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 625) (Figs 424, 436)

Length: 13cm; height: 20cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Gdn*
- 2 *Ḥrt*

Remarks: Below, upper part of a schematic human figure, with raised arms. The head is represented by a circle. The surface of the bust, depicted as two vertical lines, is not abraded. The rest has gone, due to the disappearance of the rock's top layer.

JML-H-57 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 436-437)

Transcription:

- 1 *Mlk*
- 2 ...

JML-H-58 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 437)

Length: 20cm

Transcription: *Hyy- 'dy*

Remarks: Note the triangle at the upper end of the *dāl's* shaft.

JML-H-59 – Horseman brandishing a sword (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 424, 437)

Length: 42cm; height: 25cm

Remarks: Quadruped looking right, in motion, forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs. Although difficult to make out precisely, the quadruped is apparently mounted by a rider raising his arm, on a horse in flying gallop. The surface is abraded. The drawing covers a now unrecognizable older animal, as well as (partly) text JML-H-58.

JML-H-60 – Animals (quadrupeds) (Figs 424, 437)

Length: 76cm; height: 60cm

Remarks: Quadruped under JML-H-59 hardly recognizable due to the superimposition of interventions. This was perhaps an ibex, based on the large arc of a circle surrounding the antelope. On the right, the vertical lines that recall legs perhaps belong to another quadruped.

Insert Fig. 438

Fig. 438: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-61 to JML-H-64 (MAFSN).

JML-H-61 – Ibex (Figs 424, 437-440)

Length: 62cm; height: 47cm

Remarks: Schematic ibex looking right, whose drawing is made up of the outline only. The double curved line starting from the head stands for the two horns, seen in profile. Two spread out lines stand for the two forelegs and the hind legs. The animal appears to be endowed with a tail of unusual length.

Fig. 439: JML-H-61 (MAFSN).

Fig. 440: JML-H-61 to JML-H-64 (MAFSN).

JML-H-62 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 437-438, 440)

Transcription: *Zyd*

JML-H-63 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 438, 440)

Transcription: *(S²)nm* '

Remarks: The reading (from left to right) is not entirely out of the question.

JML-H-64 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 628) (Figs 424, 438, 440-441)

Length: 73cm

Transcription: 'mr- 'mr-Hld

Fig. 441: JML-H-64, facsimile (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 442

Fig. 442: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-42 to JML-H-43 and JML-H-65 to JML-H-69 (MAFSN).

JML-H-65 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 442-443)

Length: 52cm

Transcription: 'bd-Wt(r)ⁿ

Fig. 443: JML-H-65 (MAFSN).

JML-H-66 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 424, 442, 444-445)

Length: 23cm

Transcription: 'rb

Fig. 444: JML-H-66 (MAFSN).

JML-H-67 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 442)

Transcription: ..r.(n).

Remarks: Not very legible.

Insert Fig. 445

Fig. 445: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-66 and JML-H-68 to JML-H-72 (MAFSN).

JML-H-68 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 442, 445)

Length: 70cm

Transcription: (S¹)my...

JML-H-69 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 613) (Figs 424, 442, 445-446)

Length: 67cm

Transcription: S²ybn- 'bd

Fig. 446: JML-H-69, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-70 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 615) (Figs 424, 445)

Length: 92cm

Transcription: 'ṭwb- 'zz

Remarks: A large wāw is carved above.

JML-H-71 – Semi-naturalistic dromedary, abraded, two legs visible (Figs 424, 445)

Length: 37cm; height: 37cm

Remarks: Sketch of a dromedary of small size, at rest, looking left.

JML-H-72 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 614) (Figs 424, 445, 447)

Length: 99cm

Transcription: Ġlb- 'ṭwb

Remarks: Superimposed over a petroglyph resembling an animal.

Fig. 447: JML-H-72 (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 448-449

Fig. 448: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-45 to JML-H-64 and JML-H-73 to JML-H-84 (MAFSN).

Fig. 449: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-76 and JML-H-78 to JML-H-84 (MAFSN).

JML-H-73 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 626/7) (Figs 424, 448, 450)

Length: 70cm; height: 41cm

Transcription:

A *Hzmt-`s¹lm*

B *S¹`d`tk*

Remarks: Note the dash at the end of the shafts in graffito A; the engraving of graffito B appears as a succession of dots; the separation stroke occurs in graffito B only. The two graffiti, apparently combined together, were certainly engraved by different hands.

Fig. 450: JML-H-73 (MAFSN).

JML-H-74 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 448, 451)

Length: 29cm; height: 32cm

Transcription:

1 *M`..*

2 *...*

Fig. 451: JML-H-74 (MAFSN).

JML-H-75 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 448)

Length: 23cm

Transcription: *Dws¹*

JML-H-76 – South Arabian graffito (= PRL R 619) (Figs 424, 448-449, 452)

Length: 69cm

Transcription: *Hf`m w-N`m*

Remarks: Note the traces of letters between the *hā`* and the *fā`*, as well as between *wāw* and the *nūn*. Also note that the use of the coordinating preposition *w-* is very unusual in rock-carved graffiti.

Fig. 452: JML-H-76, JML-H-77 and JML-H-78 (MAFSN).

JML-H-77 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 448, 452)

Transcription: *Wdyd*

Remarks: On the right, isolated letter whose shape is close to the letter *yā`*.

JML-H-78 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 448-449, 452)

Transcription:

1 *(S²)hr*

2 *Wd(t)*

JML-H-79 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 616) (Figs 424, 448-449)

Length: 80cm

Transcription: *Mth bn` (bl)*

Remarks: If one agrees with the reading 'bl, the *bā*' and he *lām* are tied.

Insert Fig. 453

Fig. 453: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-80 to JML-H-84 (MAFSN).

JML-H-80 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 617) (Figs 424, 448-449, 453)

Length: 74cm

Transcription: 'bd and 'šgr

Remarks: One should probably read the two names together.

JML-H-81 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 629) (Figs 424, 448-449, 453)

Transcription: *Gdl-M* 'wyt

Remarks: The inscription is inside a frame whose left border is shown by a double line, and whose right border is a split in the rock.

JML-H-82 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 448-449, 453)

Transcription: *Bd(') Twb⁽ⁿ⁾*

Remarks: Further and a little above left, a few illegible letters.

JML-H-83 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 618) (Figs 424, 448-449, 453)

Length: 76cm

Transcription: *Mrⁿ bn Wrq⁽ⁿ⁾*

JML-H-84 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 424, 448-449, 453)

Length: 34cm

Transcription:

1 *bd=*

2 *m*

Remarks: The 'ayn shows a lozenge of sorts and could be read *fā*'. Line 2 is above line 1.

Insert Fig. 454

Fig. 454: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-85 to JML-H-88 (MAFSN).

JML-H-85 – Symbols (?) and grid (?) (Figs 424, 454-455)

Length: 25cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: Letters *tā*' and *nūn*?

Fig. 455: JML-H-85, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-86 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 631) (Figs 424, 454)

Length: 20cm

Transcription:

1 *Hld*

2 *Hbⁿ*

Remarks: On the left, long lines and segments that do not seem to form letters.

JML-H-87 – Arabic graffito (Figs 424, 454)

Length: 57cm; height: 25cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Muṣṭafà Abū Kayl*
- 2 *al-Urdun*
- 3 *Qubāṭiya*

JML-H-88 – Horsemen brandishing spears and swords on horses in flying gallop (Figs 424, 454, 456)

Length: 63cm; height: 34cm

Remarks: Two riders (legless?) on a horse in flying gallop. The horse to the right looks right; the forelegs (and perhaps the hind ones) can be made out; the tail is in a plume; the horseman is more difficult to recognize. The surface is abraded.

These horsemen are superimposed on a set of letters distributed on four lines; no name is recognizable for certain, except perhaps *bd^m* right at the bottom; the meaning of the sequences *bys^t* and *yds^t 'b* (or *yd 'b-*) has not been discovered.

Fig. 456: JML-H-85 (MAFSN).

JML-H-89 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 424, 457)

Length: 33cm; height: 34cm

Remarks: Small schematic drawing of a horseman (legless), on a horse in flying gallop, looking left, brandishing a long spear. The tail, floating, is looking downwards. Above the horseman (unclear), three letters or symbols that do not yield a recognizable name.

Fig. 457: JML-H-85 (MAFSN).

JML-H-90 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 458)

Length: 36cm

Texte: *Muḥammad Ḥusayn*

Fig. 458: JML-H-85 (MAFSN).

Location: 18,29708°N 44,51471°E

Insert Fig. 459

Fig. 459: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-91 to JML-H-93 (MAFSN).

JML-H-91 – Horseman brandishing a spear (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Fig. 459-460)

Length: 40cm; height: 30cm

Remarks: Horseman (legless), apparently brandishing a short spear. The horse, in flying gallop, has conflated hind legs and forelegs; the short tail is in a plume; the head has one (or two) long ears. Only the rear part of the body is abraded. A line crosses out the chest.

Fig. 460: JML-H-91, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-92 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 459)

Length: 145cm

Transcription: *Yahyā wa-Ḥusayn*

JML-H-93 – Arabic graffito (Fig. 459)

Length: 62cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Sāqa*
- 2 *al-Sharḥān*
- 3 *Surayḥ*

Location: 18,29716°N 44,51477°E

Large rock, cut into two parts, showing a broad flat surface covered in engravings. The fragment to the right includes a bull (JML-H-96) on which the dromedary to the right was carved (JML-H-95) and a warrior (JML-H-97). A second dromedary of large dimensions appears to the left of the crack (JML-H-94).

The very many texts which were incised are difficult to decipher because of erosion, but also because the oldest are covered by more recent ones. Only the most legible are recorded.

Insert Figs 461-462

Fig. 461: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-94 to JML-H-123 (MAFSN).

Fig. 462: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-94 to JML-H-96 (MAFSN).

JML-H-94 – Naturalistic life-size camel, abraded, four legs visible (Figs 461-462)

Height: 167cm

Remarks: The dromedary, whose hindquarters are obliterated by other interventions, is looking right, its head raised. The neck and body are thick, but the legs are very slender. The hump is in the form of a bell-shaped hat.

Underneath, a graffito difficult to read: *L l' b(n) ...* It does not appear that this text, more recent than the dromedary, gives the name of the animal of its owner.

JML-H-95 – Naturalistic life-size dromedary, abraded, four legs visible (Figs 461-462)

Height: 185cm

Remarks: The dromedary is identical to the previous one. The tail is falling. It partly covers a large bovid (JML-H-96).

JML-H-96 – Bovid with short curved horns (Figs 461-463)

Height: 85cm

Remarks: Large bovid looking right, the muzzle sloping towards the bottom, with large horns seen frontally, drawing a semi-circle; it is possible that a small unfinished circle stands for the eye. The body is inordinately extended in relation to the height of the two forelegs and the hind legs, all clearly recognizable. The long tail falls vertically. The head is entirely abraded, but not the body on which at least three areas, with more or less discernible outlines, have been set aside.

The bovid was at a later date covered by a very large dromedary whose forelegs protrude from the chest. A small clumsy human figure was added in front of the bovine; he is standing, looking left, with extended arms, and seems to grasp the left horn; the body is shown by an unabraded rectangle.

To the right, a quadruped and two unclear drawings.

Fig. 463: JML-H-96 (MAFSN).

JML-H-97 – Standing man, brandishing a spear, or a stick (Figs 461, 464)

Height: 70cm

Remarks: Eroded drawing of a standing figure, looking left, seen in profile at the bottom and shown full-face above. The surface is entirely abraded. The man seems to brandish a small object in his left hand (a bow?), unless it is a long oblique stick that can be recognized on the right.

Fig. 464: JML-H-97 and JML-H-98 (MAFSN).

JML-H-98 – South Arabian graffiti (PRL R 556/7) (Figs 461, 464)

Length: 47cm; height: 24cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Gdn Ḥrt*
- 2 *Ṭwbt Kʿb*

Remarks: The group of graffiti seems to be carved by the same hand; the inscription probably mentions two different people, *Gdn Ḥrt* and *Ṭwbt Kʿb*.

JML-H-99 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 465)

Length: 32cm; height: 29cm

Transcription:

- 1 *Mʿd-b(n)*
- 2 *(Sʿ)wd*

Fig. 465: JML-H-99 and JML-H-100 (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 466

Fig. 466: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-100 to JML-H-102 and JML-H-111 to JML-H-116 (MAFSN).

JML-H-100 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 465-466)

Length: 46cm

Transcription: *...m ʿtb*

Remarks: Set of two superimposed graffiti. Only a few sequences of letters that can be read securely are kept in this inventory.

JML-H-101 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 465-466, 470)

Transcription: *M ʿwyt*

JML-H-102 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 465-466, 470)

Transcription: *ʿbd*

JML-H-103 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 461, 470)

Length: 35cm

Transcription: *ʿgf*

JML-H-104 – Thamudic and South Arabian graffiti (Figs 461, 467)

Three lines difficult to read.

Transcription:

- 1 *... Mnbh* (Thamūdīc)
- 2 *Yzd* (South Arabian)
- 3 *... ..*

Remarks: *Mnbh* is apparently written in South Arabian letters, but with a Thamūdīc *mīm*.

Fig. 467: JML-H-104 (MAFSN).

JML-H-105 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 468)

Length: 28cm

Transcription: *ʿmr(r)-B(d)[.]*

Fig. 468: JML-H-105 (MAFSN).

JML-H-106 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 549) (Figs 461, 469)

Length: 71cm

Transcription: *ʿmr bn Ġnm (G..)*

Fig. 469: JML-H-106 (MAFSN).

Insert Fig. 470-471

Fig. 470: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-101 to JML-H-103 and JML-H-107 to JML-H-116 (MAFSN).

Fig. 471: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-107 and JML-H-110 to JML-H-116 (MAFSN).

JML-H-107 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 550) (Figs 461, 470)

Length: 61cm

Transcription: *Whbⁿ-ʿbd* (or *Whbⁿ* and *ʿbd*)

Remarks: Traces of letters on both sides, which probably coincide with a small older text.

JML-H-108 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 547) (Figs 461, 470)

Length: 91cm

Transcription: *Whb ʿl bn (S¹..)*

JML-H-109 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 470)

Length: 35cm; height: 35cm

Transcription:

1 *M ʿ(n)*

2 *Nm(r)*

Remarks: Text flanked on the left by a set of jumbled-up and illegible graffiti.

JML-H-110 – South Arabian graffiti (Figs 461, 470-471)

Length: 44cm

Transcription:

1 *ʿmr*

2 *ʿmr Gd(mt)*

Remarks: These are probably three different graffiti, even though the two *ʿmr* are very similar.

JML-H-111 – Snake (Figs 461, 470-471)

Remarks: Long undulating line superimposed over a Thamūdic *mīm*, which is apparently a snake.

JML-H-112 – South Arabian graffiti (Figs 461, 470-471)

Length: 72cm

Transcription: *(ʿb).. Mlk ʿbdlh*

Remarks: *mīm* looking right.

JML-H-113 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 470-471)

Length: 91cm

Transcription: *'bd* and *'bd*

Remarks: Graffiti apparently superimposed on earlier texts.

JML-H-114 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 553) (Figs 461, 466, 470-471)

Transcription: *Mt' S¹d*

Remarks: JML-H-114 covers an older graffito.

JML-H-115 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 470-471)

Transcription: *'ws¹(^m M)t(l)'*

JML-H-116 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 554) (Figs 461, 470-471)

Length: 47cm

Transcription: *....hwd*

Insert Fig. 472

Fig. 472: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-100 to JML-H-102 and JML-H-111 to JML-H-116 (MAFSN).

JML-H-117 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 563) (Figs 461, 472)

Length: 40cm

Transcription: *Gdn Mlk*

JML-H-118 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 472)

Transcription: *'bdmnt Ym.....*

Remarks: Hesitancy between two readings: *'bdm T(.)ym* and *'bdmnt Ym...*

JML-H-119 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 472)

Transcription: *Mlk qryⁿ*

Translation: *Mlk* the Qaryite

JML-H-120 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 472)

Transcription: *d-(')sgr 'bd-d*

Remarks: The letter *d* at the beginning and end of the inscription could be the symbol of the deity dhū-Samāwī.

JML-H-121 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 461, 472)

Transcription: *(.)hbⁿ-M 'wyt...*

Remarks: The first letter is either an *alif*, a *sīn*, or a *kāf* whose base is clear.

JML-H-122 – Horseman brandishing a spear on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 461, 472)

Length: 26cm; height: 20cm

Remarks: Small schematic drawing of a (legless?) rider on a horse in flying gallop, looking right, brandishing a long spear.

On the left, graffito covered by the horseman ending in *...]/qr(yⁿ)*. Below, *Jkhm.. Hgr* (with a *rā'* with ends turned over backwards).

JML-H-123 – Horseman brandishing a spear (?) on a horse in flying gallop (Figs 461, 472)

Length: 22cm; height: 28cm

Remarks: Very small very schematic drawing of a (legless?) rider on a horse in flying gallop, looking left, brandishing a spear (?). Between the legs, the South Arabian letters *fā*, *ayn* and perhaps *bā* or *kāf* are recognizable.

Location: 18,29715°N 44,51474°E

Rock engravings JML-H-124 to JML-H-194: As regards the Thamūdic graffiti, the decipherment suggested often yields disturbing results. It is likely that this is due to errors of reading; it is also possible that Thamūdic onomastics are quite different from South Arabian and Arabic ones of the Islamic period.

Insert Fig. 473

Fig. 473: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-124 to JML-H-194 (MAFSN).

JML-H-124 – Oryx and dog (Figs 473-475)

Length: 91cm; height: 18cm

Remarks: Roughly drawn oryx, with long straight horns, seen in profile, looking left, with forelegs and hind legs each clearly recognizable; the oryx is endowed with a small short tail directed upwards; the depiction is restricted to the outline.

A small threatening male dog was added in front of the oryx; its body, looking right, is shown by a thick line; the forelegs are conflated, as are the hind legs; the raised tail turns back towards the head.

Fig. 474: JML-H-124 and JML-H-125 (MAFSN).

Fig. 475: JML-H-124, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-125 – Indeterminate engraving (Figs 473-474)

Length: 25cm; height: 27cm

Remarks: Drawing, probably unfinished.

Insert Fig. 476

Fig. 476: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-126 to JML-H-129 (MAFSN).

JML-H-126 – Thamudic graffito (PRL R 566) (Figs 473, 476)

Length: 34cm

Transcription: *Hfʿm*

Remarks: The *fā* apparently comprises a dot in its centre.

JML-H-127 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 476)

Transcription: .. *t*

JML-H-128 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 567) (Figs 473, 476-477)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *Ws²h Mlk*

JML-H-129 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 568) (Figs 473, 476-477)

Length: 28cm; height: 26cm

Transcription:

- 1 `rqm
- 2 `(gl)^m

Insert Fig. 477

Fig. 477: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-128 to JML-H-131 (MAFSN).

JML-H-130 – Man shooting with a bow and arrow (Figs 473, 477-478)

Length: 22cm; height: 13cm

Remarks: Small human figure, no doubt a man, looking right; the head is round; the arms apparently grasp a bow with which the man is about to shoot. The legs are small. The feet are shown by small dashes pointing towards the right. A (wide) dagger is worn on the belt. It is possible that the man is dressed in a long tunic. The surface is unabraded.

Fig. 478: JML-H-130, facsimile (MAFSN).

JML-H-131 – Arabic graffito (Figs 473, 477)

Length: 40cm

Transcription: *Allāh (Muḥammad)*

Insert Fig. 479

Fig. 479: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-132 to JML-H-145 (MAFSN).

JML-H-132 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Length: 83cm

Transcription: *.rth.....rrgd.....*

Remarks: Long sequence of uncertain reading. Above JML-H-132, four names of uncertain reading.

JML-H-133 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription: *Ngs²*

JML-H-134 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription: *(Nb')*

JML-H-135 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription: *Fr_h*

JML-H-136 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription: *(S¹r)h(.)*

JML-H-137 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Length: 15cm

Transcription: *N(s)r(q)*

JML-H-138 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Length: 17cm

Transcription: *Yw(d).....*

JML-H-139 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: *ʿwḏt*

JML-H-140 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Length: 31cm

Transcription: *Ḍhl* or *Ḍḥl*

JML-H-141 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Length: 80cm

Transcription: *Rṭḥ*

JML-H-142 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription: *(Y.rḥtn)*

JML-H-143 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription:

1 *(Ṭ)wbn*

2 *(ʿmr)*

Remarks: Superimposed on JML-H-142 with thicker letters.

JML-H-144 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-480)

Transcription: *.g.t.m.*

JML-H-145 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 479-481)

Transcription: *tāʿ* (in the *ʿayn*) and *hāʿ* (between a *mīm* and a *rāʿ*)

Insert Fig. 480

Fig. 480: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-132 to JML-H-150 (MAFSN).

Fig. 481: ʿĀn Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-145 to JML-H-165 (MAFSN).

JML-H-146 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 473, 480-481)

Length: 85cm

Transcription: *Yḥṣbh*

JML-H-147 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 473, 480-481)

Length: 61cm

Transcription: *S¹ʿdt*

JML-H-148 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 480-481)

Transcription: *Bhh*

JML-H-149 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 480-481)

Transcription: *Zʿfyt*

Remarks: Note the *yāʿ* head pointing downwards, a very exceptional shape.

JML-H-150 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 480-481)

Transcription: $\dot{w}(q)d M(lk)-(Ml)t-Hs^1d$

JML-H-151 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $S^1f(r)-(w)dd$

Translation: $S^1f(r)$ is friend

JML-H-152 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $Gd.-S^1lh$

JML-H-153 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $(Ydhr)....$ or $(Ydhn)....$

JML-H-154 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $Hb(s^1ty')$ or $Hb(s^1dy')$

JML-H-155 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $s^1...$

JML-H-156 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $... mqm'$

JML-H-157 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: (S^1fs^2)

JML-H-158 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: $(Ns^1..)$

JML-H-159 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Dimensions: 81 x 12 cm

Transcription: Nrt

JML-H-160 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Dimensions: 21 x 19 cm

Transcription:

1 Hf^1l

2 $Yhfr$

JML-H-161 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481)

Transcription: S^1ft

JML-H-162 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481-482)

Transcription: $'mhms^1-S^1'r$

JML-H-163 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: $'zz$

Remarks: This graffito in large characters is carved on a more ancient text that can be surmised to the right and left of the *alif* (see JML-H-164).

JML-H-164 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481-482)

Transcription:

(Frw)[.]s¹ or *(Frt)[.]s¹*.

Remarks: Text erased by JML-H-163, difficult to reconstruct today.

Insert Figs 482-484

Fig. 482: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-162, and JML-H-165 to JML-H-180 (MAFSN).

Fig. 483: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-175, and JML-H-178 to JML-H-189 (MAFSN).

Fig. 484: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-185 to JML-H-194 (MAFSN).

JML-H-165 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 481-482)

Transcription: *l()mr*

JML-H-166 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *(G)...’lhf..(s²)*

JML-H-167 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *B(d)‘*

JML-H-168 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *...lh(y’n)*

JML-H-169 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *(hfy)*

JML-H-170 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *Byn^m*

JML-H-171 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *’bs¹..*

Remarks: Group of graffiti on three lines. Only some letters of l. 2 are recognizable.

JML-H-172 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription:

Remarks: Long text in small illegible characters, to the left of JML-H-171.

JML-H-173 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *Hb(r)* and *Yh(dr)*

JML-H-174 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Transcription: *Mwg’*.

JML-H-175 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482-483)

Transcription: *(M. bw.bwb)*

JML-H-176 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Dimensions: 71 x 9 cm

Transcription: *Gd'*

JML-H-177 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482)

Dimensions: 32 x 10 cm

Transcription: *Mw'm*

JML-H-178 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482-483)

Transcription: *Wdt...*

JML-H-179 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482-483)

Transcription: *Hzfr* (or *Htfr*)

Remarks: Text carved in large characters over an older graffito, illegible.

JML-H-180 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 482-483)

Transcription: *..gm...wr*

JML-H-181 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483)

Transcription: *Hy'n* or *.hy'n*

JML-H-182 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 473, 483)

Transcription: *T(h)'ry*

JML-H-183 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483)

Transcription: *nlhtgn*

Remarks: This graffito may be the end of JML-H-184.

JML-H-184 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483)

Transcription: *t(nn)'q(r)*

JML-H-185 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483-484)

Dimensions: 32 x 10 cm

Transcription: *Khbⁿ*

JML-H-186 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483-484)

Dimensions: 90 x 13 cm

Transcription: *l-'rs²-(l-Ḥr^m-l)-'rs²-s¹w'*

Translation: For Irāsh, for ..., for Irāsh, evil

Remarks: We have supposed that the circle with 10 rays (and two dots) is for noting the same sound as the star with seven branches. The meaning of this text, more complex than usual, is hypothetical for lack of parallels.

s¹w': See Arabic *saw'*, "evil".

JML-H-187 – Thamudic (A) and South Arabian (B) graffiti (Figs 473, 483-484)

Transcription:

A *Mr(t)* or *Mr(t̄)*

B *Rb 't-nšb*

Translation: Rabī'at has erected

Remarks: Though very similar, the two graffiti were not carved by the same person: note the difference in shape of the *rā'* and the *nūn*.

JML-H-188 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483-484)

Transcription: *Mhs¹hr*

JML-H-189 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 483-484)

Transcription:-*Mdkr*

JML-H-190 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 484)

Transcription: .. and *Nqm*; or *..nqm*

JML-H-191 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 484)

Transcription: *Ms¹'r*

JML-H-192 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 484)

Transcription: *Trf*

JML-H-193 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 484)

Transcription: (*Wyhw*)

JML-H-194 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 473, 484)

Transcription: *m*

Location: 18,29715°N 44,51474°E

JML-H-195 – Horseman (?)

Length: 30cm; height: 23cm

Insert Figs 482-484

Fig. 485: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-196 and JML-H-197 (MAFSN).

Fig. 486: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-196 and JML-H-197 (MAFSN).

JML-H-196 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 485-486)

Length: 141cm

Transcription: '*k^m..-Mlk...*

JML-H-197 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 485-486)

Length: 180cm

Transcription: *..krb mqtw d-Gdn^m*

Translation: [...]*karib*, officer of dhu-Gadan^{um}

Location: 18,29719°N 44,51471°E

JML-H-198 – Oryxes and a dog (?) (Figs 487)

Length: 61cm; height: 53cm

Remarks: The two oryxes are shown by a line sketching the outline, looking left. The one at the bottom has forelegs and hind legs that are clearly distinguishable, but the body is no longer recognizable. The one at the top, more clumsily done, seems to conflate the forelegs and the hind legs; the vertical lines below perhaps stand for the arrows driven into its flank.

The small barely sketched animal between the two oryxes (bottom right of the scene) is perhaps a dog.

Fig. 487: JML-H-198 (MAFSN).

Insert Figs 488-489

Fig. 488: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-199 to JML-H-207 (MAFSN).

Fig. 489: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-199 and JML-H-203 (MAFSN).

JML-H-199 – Animal (quadruped) (Figs 488-490)

Length: 81cm; height: 45cm

Remarks: The general aspect recalls an unfinished bovid, perhaps confronting the bovid of JML-H-200. The drawing is covered by graffito JML-H-201, clearly later, based on a patina much lighter in colour.

Fig. 490: JML-H-199, JML-H-200, and JML-H-201 (MAFSN).

JML-H-200 – Bovid with short curved horns (Figs 488-489)

Length: 120cm; height: 32cm

Remarks: Bovid of middle-range size, looking left, with a small head, with the forelegs and hind legs each clearly recognizable, the tail (not very visible) apparently falling, the horns in the shape of an arc of circle seen frontally, the body partly abraded (with the fur shown by vertical, rectilinear or broken abraded strips).

JML-H-201 – Thamudic graffito (PRL r 667) (Figs 488-490)

Length: 33cm

Transcription: (R)ḥt' or l-Ht'

JML-H-202 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 570) (Figs 488-490)

Length: 68cm

Transcription: (.)- bdwd

Remarks: The symbol in front of 'bdwd' seems to have been erased deliberately.

JML-H-203 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 668) (Figs 488-489)

Length: 76cm

Transcription: 'ls²(rh)

JML-H-204 – Animal (quadruped) (Figs 488, 491)

Length: 75cm; height: 47cm

Remarks: Further to the left, two standing figures, sketchily engraved.

Fig. 491: JML-H-204 (MAFSN).

JML-H-205 – Bovid with lyre-shaped horns (Figs 488, 492)

Length: 43cm; height: 28cm

Remarks: Very small bovid looking left, with large horns seen frontally, drawing a semi-circle; the forelegs and hind legs are each recognizable, the tail falls obliquely. On the surface of the body, almost completely abraded, only four small spots were reserved.

Fig. 492: JML-H-205, JML-H-206, and JML-H-207 (MAFSN).

JML-H-206 – South Arabian graffito (PRL r 669) (Figs 488, 492)

Length: 21cm

Transcription: *Wd'*

JML-H-207 – Antelope (?) (Figs 488, 492)

Length: 25cm; height: 46cm

Remarks: The animal, possibly an antelope, is leaping, and looks to the right.

Location: 18,29714°N 44,51467°E

Insert Fig. 493

Fig. 493: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-208 to JML-H-211 (MAFSN).

JML-H-208 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 493-494)

Length: 55cm

Transcription: *Qdm- 'mr*

Fig. 494: JML-H-208 (MAFSN).

JML-H-209 – Thamudic graffito (Fig. 493)

Length: 65cm

Transcription: (*'dbm-Wbr*)

JML-H-210 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 493)

Length: 30cm

Transcription: *'b(d)...*

JML-H-211 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 493)

Length: 120cm; height: 15cm

Transcription:

bd-Gys²- 's¹d S¹'d

or

'bd-Gys²- 's¹d S¹'d

Remarks: The *shin* is looking right. The last term *S¹'d* appears to be preceded by a separation stroke or an unrecognizable letter. The term could form a distinct graffito. The strong similarity of the written form with the remainder of the text has led us, however, to consider the group as a unit.

Location: 18,29714°N 44,51467°E

Insert Figs 495-496

Fig. 495: Location of the different close-up views of the panel with engravings JML-H-212 to JML-H-242 (MAFSN).

Fig. 496: 'Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-212 to JML-H-223 (MAFSN).

JML-H-212 – South Arabian graffiti (PRL r 735) (Figs 496-497)

Length: 45cm

Transcription: $'mr^m-Hrs^2$ or $'mr^m-Ṣrs^2$

Remarks: The reading of second name is uncertain; its first letter is written *ṣ*, but this is perhaps a mistake for *ḥ* (which yields a more common root).

Fig. 497: JML-H-212 (MAFSN).

JML-H-213 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 585) (Fig. 496)

Length: 80 cm

Transcription: $'mr-ṭwb-Mlk-ḥdlh$

JML-H-214 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 587) (Fig. 496)

Length: 77 cm

Transcription: $Hrt Hrs^2ft$

JML-H-215 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 496, 499)

Transcription: $Ḡtfn$

JML-H-216 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 589 part.) (Fig. 496)

Transcription: $'bd$

JML-H-217 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 589 part. + 590 part.) (Fig. 496, 499)

Transcription: $M'wyt-S^1'd$

JML-H-218 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 496, 499)

Transcription: $'mr Ḡdr$

Remarks: Engraved in dotted lines.

JML-H-219 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 591) (Fig. 496)

Length: 80 cm

Transcription: Whb^n

JML-H-220 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 496, 499)

Transcription: Hy^n-Mrm

JML-H-221 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 586) (Fig. 496, 499)

Transcription: $(d)-Mlk-Whb$

JML-H-222 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 592) (Fig. 496)

Transcription: $Zyd^m-ḥzz$

JML-H-223 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 496, 499)

Transcription: $'ws^1 M(r)[.]h^m$

Insert Figs 498-499

Fig. 498: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-224 to JML-H-229, JML-H-231 to JML-H-233, and JML-H-235 to JML-H-241 (MAFSN).

Fig. 499: ‘Ān Jamal: Rock engravings JML-H-217 to JML-H-218, JML-H-220 to JML-H-221, JML-H-223 to JML-H-225, JML-H-229 to JML-H-242 (MAFSN).

JML-H-224 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: *ʔwb^m*

JML-H-225 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: *Wmg* or *Wml*

JML-H-226 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 610) (Fig. 498)

Transcription: *S¹ ‘d^m R(s²)d*

Remarks: The reading of the second name is uncertain; the letter read *shīn* has a very unusual shape: a rectangle open on the left; as for the *dāl*, the dashes at the end of the shafts are transformed into small circles.

JML-H-227 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 498)

Transcription: *(N) ‘m-M(h)m*

JML-H-228 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 611) (Fig. 498)

Transcription: *Dhl S²ybⁿ*

JML-H-229 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 612) (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: *(‘nrbd)*

JML-H-230 – South Arabian graffito (Fig. 499)

Transcription: *Mlk*

JML-H-231 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: *Whb*

JML-H-232 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 583) (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: *Hym-Gys²*

Remarks: We suppose that the vertical segment ending in a trident, between the *yā* ‘ and the *shīn*, does not belong to this text.

JML-H-233 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 582) (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: *(W)fy^{m-‘}*

JML-H-234 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 590) (Fig. 499)

Transcription: *(‘bd-Qws¹-...)*

Remarks: Read *W^l* instead of ‘*bd*? The reading of the *qāf* and the following letters are also hypothetical because of the jumble of characters.

JML-H-235 – South Arabian graffito (PRL R 588) (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: $\text{w}^{\text{f}}\text{-}^{\text{b}}\text{dkhl}$

JML-H-236 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: $R(b)l$ or $(T)r(b)l$

Remarks: Dubious reading.

JML-H-237 – Thamudic graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: $Grm(lh)$

JML-H-238 – South Arabian or Thamudic graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription:

Remarks: Long sequence of unclear letters.

JML-H-239 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: $(G)y(s^2)$

JML-H-240 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: $Mzn-S^2(ry)$

Remarks: Same name as in JML-F-7.

JML-H-241 – South Arabian graffito (Figs 498-499)

Transcription: $\text{mr-}(Y^c)$

Remarks: On the right, long sequence of illegible signs.

JML-H-242 – South Arabian graffiti (Fig. 499)

Group of illegible graffiti in the lower left angle, covered by isolated Arabic graffiti that are also illegible. At the most, one can recognize a Whb and a few isolated letters.

Table of Acronym Consistency JML / PRL and PRL / JML

JML-A-2	PRL R 463
JML-A-3	PRL R 462
JML-A-4	PRL r 558
JML-A-5	PRL r 561
JML-A-6	PRL r 552
JML-A-7	PRL r 554
JML-A-8	PRL r 548
JML-A-9	PRL r 549
JML-A-11	PRL r 550-551
JML-A-12	PRL r 547 [part.]
JML-A-13	PRL r 547 [part.]
JML-A-14	PRL r 545
JML-A-15	PRL r 542
JML-A-16	PRL r 543
JML-A-17	PRL r 544
JML-A-18	PRL r 539
JML-A-19	PRL r 540
JML-A-20	PRL r 541
JML-A-21	PRL r 560
JML-A-22	PRL r 562
JML-A-23	PRL r 563 [part.]
JML-A-24	PRL r 563 [part.]
JML-A-25	PRL r 564
JML-A-26	PRL r 565
JML-A-27	PRL r 566
JML-A-28	PRL r 561
JML-A-29	PRL r 559
JML-A-30	PRL r 554
JML-D-1	PRL r 744
JML-D-7	PRL r 742
JML-D-16	PRL r 741
JML-D-19	PRL R 607
JML-D-20	PRL r 740
JML-D-25	PRL R 603
JML-D-40	PRL R 602
JML-D-45	PRL R 599
JML-D-46	PRL R 598
JML-D-47	PRL R 600
JML-D-48	PRL R 600
JML-D-49	PRL R 600
JML-D-50	PRL r 722

JML-D-53	PRL R 597
JML-D-56	PRL R 596
JML-D-57	PRL R 594-595
JML-D-58	PRL R 601
JML-D-62	PRL r 736-737
JML-E-2	PRL R 516
JML-E-3	PRL R 517
JML-E-4	PRL R 518-521
JML-F-2	PRL R 512
JML-F-3	PRL R 507
JML-F-4	PRL R 509
JML-F-5	PRL R 508
JML-F-6	PRL R 510
JML-F-7	PRL R 505 = PRL R 511
JML-F-8	PRL r 631
JML-F-10	PRL R 506
JML-F-12	PRL R 484-485
JML-F-13	PRL R 484
JML-F-14	PRL Z 292
JML-F-15	PRL R 486
JML-F-17	PRL R 487 = PRL r 615
JML-F-19	PRL R 488
JML-F-20	PRL r 608
JML-F-22	PRL R 489
JML-F-23	PRL Z 293
JML-F-24	PRL r 611
JML-F-25	PRL Z 294
JML-F-26	PRL r 614
JML-F-27	PRL R 492-493
JML-F-28	PRL r 491
JML-F-29	PRL r 609
JML-F-30	PRL r 610
JML-F-31	PRL r 612
JML-F-32	PRL r 616
JML-F-35	PRL r 619
JML-F-36	PRL r 620
JML-F-37	PRL r 622
JML-F-38	PRL r 624
JML-F-39	PRL r 623
JML-F-40	PRL r 621
JML-F-42	PRL r 625
JML-F-43	PRL r 626
JML-F-44	PRL r 627
JML-F-46	PRL R 500

JML-F-47	PRL R 502
JML-F-48	PRL r 628
JML-F-49	PRL R 503
JML-F-50	PRL R 504
JML-F-51	PRL R 501
JML-F-52	PRL Z 297
JML-F-53	PRL Z 296
JML-F-54	PRL R 514
JML-F-58	PRL r 632
JML-F-59	PRL R 513
JML-F-60	PRL R 515
JML-F-65	PRL r 629-630
JML-F-74	PRL R 494
JML-F-75	PRL R 495
JML-F-76	PRL R 496
JML-F-77	PRL R 497
JML-F-78	PRL r 617
JML-F-79	PRL R 499
JML-F-84	PRL R 498
JML-F-85	PRL r 618
JML-F-95	PRL r 567 [part.]
JML-F-96	PRL r 567 [part.]
JML-F-97	PRL r 568
JML-F-98	PRL r 569
JML-F-99	PRL r 570
JML-F-100	PRL r 573
JML-F-101	PRL r 571 [part.]
JML-F-102	PRL r 571 [part.]
JML-F-103	PRL r 575
JML-F-104	PRL r 574
JML-F-105	PRL r 572
JML-F-106	PRL r 576
JML-F-107	PRL r 579
JML-F-108	PRL r 578
JML-F-109	PRL r 577
JML-F-110	PRL R 466 [part.]
JML-F-111	PRL R 466 [part.]
JML-F-113	PRL R 467
JML-F-114	PRL r 585
JML-F-115	PRL R 599
JML-F-116	PRL r 600
JML-F-117	PRL r 592
JML-F-118	PRL r 590 [part.]
JML-F-119	PRL r 590 [part.]

JML-F-120	PRL Z 228
JML-F-122	PRL r 594
JML-F-123	PRL R 477 = PRL r 593
JML-F-124	PRL r 591
JML-F-125	PRL r 596
JML-F-126	PRL r 597
JML-F-127	PRL r 598
JML-F-128	PRL r 586
JML-F-129	PRL r 587
JML-F-130	PRL r 588
JML-F-131	PRL R 476
JML-F-132	PRL r 589
JML-F-133	PRL r 595
JML-F-136	PRL r 601
JML-F-138	PRL R 479
JML-F-139	PRL r 604
JML-F-142	PRL r 607
JML-F-144	PRL R 480
JML-F-145	PRL r 606
JML-F-146	PRL R 483
JML-F-147	PRL r 605
JML-F-150	PRL R 481 [part.] = PRL r 603
JML-F-151	PRL R 481 [part.]
JML-F-152	PRL R 482
JML-G-6	PRL r 641
JML-G-29	PRL r 655
JML-G-30	PRL r 654
JML-G-31	PRL r 663
JML-G-32	PRL R 542
JML-G-34	PRL r 662
JML-G-35	PRL r 660
JML-G-36	PRL r 661
JML-G-38	PRL r 659
JML-G-39	PRL r 662
JML-G-46	PRL r 658
JML-G-47	PRL r 658
JML-G-55	PRL r 650
JML-G-58	PRL r 656 + r 652
JML-G-63	PRL r 657 [part.]
JML-G-66	PRL r 657 [part.]
JML-G-69	PRL r 648-649
JML-G-70	PRL r 651
JML-G-74	PRL r 638
JML-G-75	PRL R 533

JML-G-76	PRL R 532
JML-G-78	PRL R 534
JML-G-90	PRL R 537
JML-G-92	PRL Z 229
JML-G-100	PRL r 634
JML-G-101	PRL r 635
JML-G-103	PRL R 637
JML-G-104	PRL r 641bis
JML-G-108	PRL R 536
JML-G-110	PRL r 643
JML-G-120	PRL R 522 = PRL R 538
JML-G-121	PRL r 639
JML-G-128	PRL R 526 + 527
JML-G-129	PRL R 529
JML-G-131	PRL R 529
JML-G-133	PRL R 540
JML-G-137	PRL r 633 = PRL r 647 bis
JML-G-138	PRL R 523
JML-G-139	PRL r 645
JML-G-140	PRL r 644
JML-G-141	PRL R 539
JML-G-145	PRL r 640
JML-G-147	PRL r 646
JML-G-148	PRL r 647
JML-H-17	PRL R 642
JML-H-18	PRL R 645-646
JML-H-38	PRL R 623
JML-H-39	PRL R 622
JML-H-55	PRL R 624
JML-H-56	PRL R 625
JML-H-64	PRL R 628
JML-H-69	PRL R 613
JML-H-70	PRL R 615
JML-H-72	PRL R 614
JML-H-73	PRL R 626-627
JML-H-76	PRL R 619
JML-H-79	PRL R 616
JML-H-80	PRL R 617
JML-H-81	PRL R 629
JML-H-83	PRL R 618
JML-H-86	PRL R 631
JML-H-98	PRL R 556-557
JML-H-106	PRL R 549
JML-H-107	PRL R 550

JML-H-108 PRL R 547
JML-H-114 PRL R 553
JML-H-116 PRL R 554
JML-H-117 PRL R 563
JML-H-126 PRL R 566
JML-H-128 PRL R 567
JML-H-129 PRL R 568
JML-H-201 PRL r 667
JML-H-202 PRL R 570
JML-H-203 PRL r 668
JML-H-206 PRL r 669
JML-H-212 PRL r 735
JML-H-213 PRL R 585
JML-H-214 PRL R 587
JML-H-216 PRL R 589 [part.]
JML-H-217 PRL R 589 [part.] + 590 [part.]
JML-H-219 PRL R 591
JML-H-221 PRL R 586
JML-H-222 PRL R 592
JML-H-226 PRL R 610
JML-H-228 PRL R 611
JML-H-229 PRL R 612
JML-H-232 PRL R 583
JML-H-233 PRL R 582
JML-H-234 PRL R 590
JML-H-235 PRL R 588

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PRL R 463 JML-A-2
PRL R 466 [part.] JML-F-110
PRL R 466 [part.] JML-F-111
PRL R 467 JML-F-113
PRL R 476 JML-F-131
PRL R 477 JML-F-123
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PRL R 497	JML-F-77
PRL R 498	JML-F-84
PRL R 499	JML-F-79
PRL R 500	JML-F-46
PRL R 501	JML-F-51
PRL R 502	JML-F-47
PRL R 503	JML-F-49
PRL R 504	JML-F-50
PRL R 505	JML-F-7
PRL R 506	JML-F-10
PRL R 507	JML-F-3
PRL R 508	JML-F-5
PRL R 509	JML-F-4
PRL R 510	JML-F-6
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PRL R 513	JML-F-59
PRL R 514	JML-F-54
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PRL R 516	JML-E-2
PRL R 517	JML-E-3
PRL R 518-521	JML-E-4
PRL R 522	JML-G-120
PRL R 523	JML-G-138
PRL R 526 + 527	JML-G-128
PRL R 529	JML-G-129
PRL R 529	JML-G-131
PRL R 532	JML-G-76
PRL R 533	JML-G-75
PRL R 534	JML-G-78
PRL R 536	JML-G-108
PRL R 537	JML-G-90
PRL R 538	JML-G-120
PRL r 539	JML-A-18
PRL R 539	JML-G-141
PRL r 540	JML-A-19
PRL R 540	JML-G-133

PRL r 541	JML-A-20
PRL r 542	JML-A-15
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PRL r 547 [part.]	JML-A-13
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PRL r 549	JML-A-9
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PRL R 550	JML-H-107
PRL r 550-551	JML-A-11
PRL r 552	JML-A-6
PRL R 553	JML-H-114
PRL r 554	JML-A-7
PRL r 554	JML-A-30
PRL R 554	JML-H-116
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PRL r 560	JML-A-21
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PRL r 561	JML-A-28
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PRL r 563 [part.]	JML-A-23
PRL r 563 [part.]	JML-A-24
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PRL r 565	JML-A-26
PRL r 566	JML-A-27
PRL R 566	JML-H-126
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PRL r 567 [part.]	JML-F-96
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PRL r 571 [part.]	JML-F-101
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PRL r 573	JML-F-100
PRL r 574	JML-F-104
PRL r 575	JML-F-103
PRL r 576	JML-F-106
PRL r 577	JML-F-109
PRL r 578	JML-F-108
PRL r 579	JML-F-107
PRL R 582	JML-H-233
PRL R 583	JML-H-232
PRL r 585	JML-F-114
PRL R 585	JML-H-213
PRL r 586	JML-F-128
PRL R 586	JML-H-221
PRL r 587	JML-F-129
PRL R 587	JML-H-214
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PRL R 588	JML-H-235
PRL r 589	JML-F-132
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PRL R 589 [part.] + 590 [part.]	JML-H-217
PRL R 590	JML-H-234
PRL r 590 [part.]	JML-F-118
PRL r 590 [part.]	JML-F-119
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PRL R 591	JML-H-219
PRL r 592	JML-F-117
PRL R 592	JML-H-222
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PRL r 594	JML-F-122
PRL R 594-595	JML-D-57
PRL r 595	JML-F-133
PRL r 596	JML-F-125
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PRL R 597	JML-D-53
PRL r 598	JML-F-127
PRL R 598	JML-D-46
PRL R 599	JML-D-45
PRL R 599	JML-F-115
PRL r 600	JML-F-116
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PRL R 600	JML-D-48
PRL R 600	JML-D-49
PRL r 601	JML-F-136

PRL R 601	JML-D-58
PRL R 602	JML-D-40
PRL r 603	JML-F-150
PRL R 603	JML-D-25
PRL r 604	JML-F-139
PRL r 605	JML-F-147
PRL R 605	JML-D-15
PRL r 606	JML-F-145
PRL r 607	JML-F-142
PRL R 607	JML-D-19
PRL r 608	JML-F-20
PRL r 609	JML-F-29
PRL r 610	JML-F-30
PRL R 610	JML-H-226
PRL r 611	JML-F-24
PRL R 611	JML-H-228
PRL r 612	JML-F-31
PRL R 612	JML-H-229
PRL R 613	JML-H-69
PRL r 614	JML-F-26
PRL R 614	JML-H-72
PRL r 615	JML-F-17
PRL R 615	JML-H-70
PRL r 616	JML-F-32
PRL R 616	JML-H-79
PRL r 617	JML-F-78
PRL R 617	JML-H-80
PRL r 618	JML-F-85
PRL R 618	JML-H-83
PRL r 619	JML-F-35
PRL R 619	JML-H-76
PRL r 620	JML-F-36
PRL r 621	JML-F-40
PRL r 622	JML-F-37
PRL R 622	JML-H-39
PRL r 623	JML-F-39
PRL R 623	JML-H-38
PRL r 624	JML-F-38
PRL R 624	JML-H-55
PRL r 625	JML-F-42
PRL R 625	JML-H-56
PRL r 626	JML-F-43
PRL R 626-627	JML-H-73
PRL r 627	JML-F-44

PRL r 628	JML-F-48
PRL R 628	JML-H-64
PRL R 629	JML-H-81
PRL r 629-630	JML-F-65
PRL r 631	JML-F-8
PRL R 631	JML-H-86
PRL r 632	JML-F-58
PRL r 633	JML-G-137
PRL r 634	JML-G-100
PRL r 635	JML-G-101
PRL R 637	JML-G-103
PRL r 638	JML-G-74
PRL r 639	JML-G-121
PRL r 640	JML-G-145
PRL r 641	JML-G-6
PRL r 641bis	JML-G-104
PRL R 642	JML-H-17
PRL r 643	JML-G-110
PRL r 644	JML-G-140
PRL r 645	JML-G-139
PRL R 645-646	JML-H-18
PRL r 646	JML-G-147
PRL r 647	JML-G-148
PRL r 647 bis	JML-G-137
PRL r 648-649	JML-G-69
PRL r 650	JML-G-55
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PRL r 654	JML-G-30
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PRL r 657 [part.]	JML-G-66
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PRL r 659	JML-G-38
PRL r 660	JML-G-35
PRL r 661	JML-G-36
PRL r 662	JML-G-34
PRL r 662	JML-G-39
PRL r 663	JML-G-31
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PRL r 668	JML-H-203
PRL r 669	JML-H-206
PRL r 722	JML-D-50

PRL r 735	JML-H-212
PRL r 736-737	JML-D-62
PRL r 740	JML-D-20
PRL r 741	JML-D-16
PRL r 742	JML-D-7
PRL r 744	JML-D-1
PRL Z 228	JML-F-120
PRL Z 229	JML-G-92
PRL Z 292	JML-F-14
PRL Z 293	JML-F-23
PRL Z 294	JML-F-25
PRL Z 296	JML-F-53
PRL Z 297	JML-F-52

Pre-print / Version auteurs

Index

A — Lexical and onomastic index of the pre-Islamic texts

The order of letters is the Latin alphabet order of the *Dictionnaire sabéen*:

’ , ; b, d, ḡ, f, g, ḡ, h, ḥ, k, l, m, n, q, r, s¹, s², s³, š, t, ṭ, w, y, z, ḏ.

Only proper nouns and words whose reading is reasonably certain are listed in this index.

Personal names in South Arabian script, and those in Thamūdīc Ḥimā’ite (the latter signalled by a star, *) are separate, with different entries, in order to facilitate the comparison of personal names in these two types of graffiti.

A vocalization of personal names is suggested when the structure allows it (for instance for those formed on the *afal* scheme, though schemes *afāl*, *aful* or *afūl* are also conceivable). It can also be based on the corresponding personal names recorded in Arabic in Arab genealogies (with a reference to Ibn al-Kalbī)¹ or in Syriac in the list of victims of king Yūsuf’s persecutions (in the *Book of the Himyarites*).

It seemed to us premature to compare the onomastics of Ḥimā with those of South Arabia and of the rest of Desert Arabia. Only a few preliminary remarks emphasize the most important data.

* = ḥimā’ite

BKR: Roman capital letters are used for the roots

Tmm: The initial capital letter signals a proper noun, as in English.

.ḡḡ’

JML-G-127 {ḡḡ’-B(n)}

-’ (ending in *alif*)

JML-G-105 {(K)b(s¹)}

*’šm, A’sam

See Caskel ‘Āšim, ‘Išām, ‘Išma, ‘Ušaym, ‘Ušayma, ‘Ušm

JML-G-50 {’šm}

*’zz, A’zaz

See Caskel ‘Azīz, ‘Azza

JML-H-163 {’zz}

’b

See ‘bd’bh

’b’m, Abī’amm

JML-G-115 {(H)b^m-bn-(’b’m)}

’byḏ, Abyaḏ

See Caskel al-Abyaḏ, Bayḏ, al-Bayḏā’, Bayāḏa JML-F-10 {’byḏ-M’wyt}

¹ The number of occurrences, when it is very high, is the number of columns that are given, it being understood that a column contains some thirty entries. This number allows one to know whether the proper noun is frequent or not.

**dm*, Ādam.

Caskel: Ādam (1 occurrence); see also Udd and al-Udūm
JML-F-93 {{*d*}*m*}

gg^m

See *gl^m*

gl^m

JML-H-129 {{*rqm*⁽²⁾ *gl^m*}

hmr, Akhmar

See Caskel Khamar, Khamra, Khumayr

JML-F-113 {{*h-Mnh*⁽²⁾ *h-hmr*}; JML-F-123 {{*Wd't w⁽²⁾dd h⁽³⁾mr*}; JML-F-150 {{*Qrft*⁽²⁾ *hmr*}

hnf, Akhnaf

See Caskel al-Akhnaf, Khunaf

JML-G-23 {{*hnf*/}}

hwl, Akhwal

See Caskel Khawla, Khawlān, Khawli

JML-D-19

hdb, Aḥdab

See Caskel al-Aḥdab, Ḥudbān

JML-F-2 {{*hdb*}

hḍr, Aḥdhar

This could be an attributive noun that would signal the person's belonging to the aristocracy, or a patronym (the personal name borne by the father). In Ja 818 / 4 (only other attestation), *hḍr* is a personal name.

JML-G-108 {{*Mrtd'w hḍr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

h(t)

JML-F-121 {{*h(t)*}

ktb, Aktab

JML-F-107 {{*k*}*tb*}

kws¹, Akwas

JML-E-4 {{A *'bd-ṣgr*; B *Knnt-w<k>s¹-mqtwy d-<T>'lbⁿ-bn*; C *'mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-54 {{*Knnt kws¹*}

l (name of a god)

See *-l*

l, Ilā (?)

See Caskel Ila (2 occurrences)

JML-E-9 {{*l-byd*}

l, arabe *āl*, lineage

See JML-E-9 {{*l-byd*}; JML-H-165 {{*l-(?)mr*}; JML-F-148 {{*l-ṣws¹*}

l- (Arabic definite article)

See JML-E-9 {{*l-byd*}; JML-H-165 {{*l-(?)mr*}; JML-F-148 {{*l-ṣws¹*}

l-, *īlī-*, “my god”

See JML-E-9 {{*l-byd?*}; JML-F-13 {{*l²rḥ*}; JML-H-165 {{*l(?)mr?*}; JML-F-148 {{*l³ws¹?*}; JML-G-71 {{*l²rḥ-Ns¹*}; JML-H-203 {{*l²(rḥ)*}

-ʾl, -ʾīl = ʾĪl, name of a god

See *ddʾl*, *ʾws¹l*, *Bnʾl*, *Hfl*, *Hwfl*, *Mʾqʾl*, *Mʾdʾl*, *Nbʾl*, *Rbʾl*, *S¹dʾl*, *S²rhʾl*, *Whbʾl*, *Yḥmʾl*, *Zdʾl*, *Zydʾl*

ʾʾmr, Īlīʾamar or al-Amīr

See Caskel Amir, Amīr, Āmir
JML-H-165 {ʾl(?)mr}

ʾʾws¹, Ilīʾaws or al-Aws

Caskel: al-Aws (9 occurrences); see also Aws (4 columns)
JML-F-148 {ʾʾws¹}

ʾʾbyd, Ilīʾubayd or al-ʾUbayd

See JML-E-9 {ʾl-ʾbyd}

ʾlbʾ, Albāʾ

See Caskel Labʾ, al-Labuʾ, Labwān

We interpret ʾlbʾ as the plural of *lbʾ*; but it could also be the definite article ʾl- + *Lbʾ*. In order to retain this last solution, one should find the written form *h-Lbʾ* = *h(l)- + Lbʾ*

JML-D-53 {ʾlbʾ-bn-Lʾ}; JML-D-56 {ʾlbʾ⁽²⁾ bn ...}

ʾlg^m

See ʾgl^m

ʾlh

See -lh

ʾll^m

See ʾgl^m

ʾln, Īlān

JML-F-45 {ʾln}

ʾls²rh, Ilīsharḥ

Caskel: Ilīsharḥ (2 occurrences)

JML-F-13 {ʾls²rh}; JML-G-71 {ʾls²rh-Ns¹}; JML-H-203 {ʾls²(rh)}

ʾlt (name of a god)

See -lt

ʾmnt, Amīnat

Caskel Amānāt (1 occurrence)

See Caskel Āmina (woman, 3 occurrences)

JML-F-75 {ʾmnt}; JML-G-33 {ʾmnt}

ʾMR

See ʾʾmr

*ʾmr, Amīr

Caskel, Amir (1 occurrence), Amīr (2 occurrences), Āmir (1 occurrence)

JML-F-122 {ʾmr}

*ʾnbt, Anbat

JML-A-7 {ʾnbt}; JML-A-30 {ʾnbt};

*ʾnf, Anf

Caskel, Anf (1 occurrence), Unāf (1 occurrence); see Unayf

JML-F-141 {(nf)}

- *³*nh*^ʿ, Ankhā^ʿ
 JML-F-103 {³*nh*}
- ³*nmr*, Anmār
 Caskel, Anmār (23 occurrences)
 JML-F-28 {^ʿ*bd*³*bh* ⁽²⁾ ³*nmr*}
- ³*rb*
 JML-F-169 {^(ʿ)*rb* *Dg*^ʿ*m m*}
- *²*rb*
 JML-H-66 {²*rb*}
- ³*rqm*, Arqam
 Caskel, Arqam (6 occurrences); see al-Arqam
 JML-H-129 {³*rqm* ⁽²⁾ ³*(gl)*^m}
- *²*rs*², Irāsh
 Caskel, Irāsh (5 occurrences)
 JML-H-186 {twice, *l*-²*rs*²-*(l-Hrⁿ-l)*-²*rs*²-*s*¹*w*³}
- ³*rym*, Aryam
 JML-D-40 {³*rym*}
- ³*s*¹*d*, As^ʿad
 Caskel, As^ʿad (37 occurrences)
 JML-D-66 {³*s*¹*d* ⁽²⁾ *M*(*s*²)*hr*. ⁽³⁾ *Nmr*}
- ³*s*¹*d*, Asad
 Caskel, Asad (about 3 columns)
 BookḤim ³*sd* (24b)
 JML-F-105 {³*s*¹*d*}; JML-G-2 {³*s*¹*d* *Ms*¹(*l*)*m*}; JML-H-211 {^ʿ*bd-Gys*²-³*s*¹*d* *S*¹*d*; or ^ʿ*bd-Gys*²-³*s*¹*d* and *S*¹*d*}
- ³*s*¹*d*^m, Asad^{um}
 Caskel, Asad (approximately 2 columns)
 BookḤim ³*sd* (24b)
 JML-G-13 {³*s*¹*d*^m}
- ³*s*¹*lm*, Aslam
 Caskel, Aslam (33 occurrences), Aslum (4 occurrences); see al-Aslum
 JML-F-95 {³*s*¹*lm*}; JML-H-23 {*mlk bn* ⁽²⁾ ^(ʿ)*s*¹*l*(*m*)}; JML-H-73 A {*Hzmt*-³*s*¹*lm*}
- ³*s*¹*rm*
 JML-E-23 {³*s*¹*rm* ⁽²⁾ *d-Hfn*}
- ³*s*¹*yd*^m, Usayd^{um}
 Caskel, Usayd (4 occurrences)
 See ³*s*¹*yd*^z
- ³*s*¹*yd*^t
 See ³*s*¹*yd*^z
- ³*s*¹*yd*^z
 JML-G-32 {³*s*¹*yd*^z *Bhr*^m, to be corrected to ³*s*¹*yd*<*t*> *Bhr*^m or ³*s*¹*yd*<^m> *Bhr*^m}
- ³*s*²*qr*, Ashqar
 JML-F-30 {³*s*²*qr*}

ʿšgr, Ašghar

Caskel, Ašghar (2 occurrences); see also al-Ašghar (1 occurrence)

JML-E-4 {ʿbd-ʿšgr^(B) Knnt-ʿk>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk}; JML-H-39 {K(nf)-ʿšgr-Ḍhl-qryⁿ}; JML-H-80 {ʿbd and ʿšgr}; JML-H-120 {d-(ʿ)šgr ʿbd-d}

*ʿšhr, Ašhar

JML-F-58 (ʿšhr)

ʿtt, person's name or ʿtt = "woman, spouse"?

JML-F-173 {Mqmʿtt or Mqm-ʿtt}

-ʿtt, abbreviated form of ʿtrt, Athirat?

JML-F-173 {Mqmʿtt or Mqm-ʿtt}

ʿtwb, Athwab

See Caskel Thawb, Thawbān, Thawāb, Thawāba

JML-F-11 {Mlk ʿtwb}; JML-F-177 {ʿtwb}; JML-H-70 {ʿtwb-ʿzz}; JML-H-72 {Ġlb-ʿtwb}; JML-H-213 {ʿmr-ʿtwb-Mlk-ʿbdlh}

ʿtwb^m, Athwab^{um}

See Caskel Thawb, Thawbān, Thawāb, Thawāba

JML-E-3 {ʿtwb^m-ʿbdt}; JML-F-158 {ʿtwb^m}; JML-H-1 {ʿtwb^m-Hmy}; JML-H-224 {ʿtwb^m}

-ʿw

Probable abbreviation of ʿwm, name of the Sabaeen great temple at Marib, dedicated to the god Almaqah. In theophoric person's names, the name of Almaqah, which is practically not used, is most often replaced by ʿwm or by *Thwⁿ* (attributive noun of the god). The written form -ʿw raises the question whether the *mīm* of ʿwm is a radical consonant or an ending (*mīmatīon*).

See *Mrt^dw*

ʿwqd, Awqad

See Caskel Waqdān, Wāqid

JML-H-150 {ʿw(q)d M(lk)-(Ml)t-Hs¹d}

ʿws¹, Aws

Caskel Aws (some 4 columns). See Caskel al-Aws, al-Awās, ʿAbd al-Aws BookḤim (24b)

JML-A-2 {Mlk-ʿws¹}; JML-A-11 {Mlk-ʿws¹}; JML-F-92 {(Hr)t-(ʿw)s¹}; JML-F-6 {Twb^t ʿw⁽²⁾(s¹)}; JML-H-9 {ʿws¹ (bn)⁽²⁾ R.(y)n}; JML-H-51 {Dws¹-ʿws¹}; JML-H-33 {ʿws¹}; JML-H-223 {ʿws¹ M(r).[Jh^m}

See also JML-E-4 where ʿws¹ is corrected to ʿkws¹ {ʿbd-ʿšgr^(B) Knnt-ʿk>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk}

ʿws¹l, Aws^l

See Caskel Auwsallāh, Awsallāt, Awsala

JML-H-21 {ʿws¹l}

ʿws¹lt, Awsallāt

Caskel Awsallāt (2 occurrences), Awsala (2 occurrences)

JML-D-45 {ʿws¹lt⁽²⁾ grby^m}

ʿws¹m, Aws^{um}

Caskel Aws (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel al-Aws, al-Awās, ʿAbd al-Aws

JML-H-115 {ʿws¹(^m M)t(l)}

*³ys¹, Iyās

Caskel, Iyās (more than 2 columns)
JML-F-32 {³ys¹}

— ‘ —

‘ (‘ayn) isolated

JML-F-121; JML-H-193 {Wy_hw } }; JML-H-233 {(W)fy^m- }

‘BD

See ‘byd in JML-E-9 {‘l-‘byd}

‘bd, ‘Abd

BookĤim: ‘Abd (24b)

Caskel, ‘Abbād (more than 2 columns), ‘Abd (more than 2 columns), ‘Abīd (6 occurrences), ‘Ibād (2 occurrences), ‘Ubād (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-‘Ibād, ‘Ubayd, al-‘Ubayd, ‘Ubda

JML-E-2 {S²ybn-‘bd-Qdr or S²ybn-‘bdqdr}; JML-E-4 {‘bd-‘šgr^(B) Knnt-‘<k>ws¹-mqtwy d- <T>‘lbⁿ-bn^(C) ‘mr^m-‘zz^m-Mlk}; JML-F-17 {Lǧz Tms²ms¹ ‘bd}; JML-F-155 {Dg‘m-‘bd}; JML-F-167 {... (Mlk) ‘bd^m.. or ... (Mlk) ‘bd...}; JML-G-94 {‘bd}; JML-H-18 {Mlk ‘bd}; JML-H-20 {‘mr ‘bd}; JML-H-22 {(w)dd-‘t...(rbṭw.bn)-‘bd}; JML-H-65 {‘bd-Wt(r)ⁿ}; JML-H-69 {S²ybn-‘bd}; JML-H-80 {‘bd and ‘šgr}; JML-H-102 {‘bd}; Whbⁿ-‘bd (or Whbⁿ and ‘bd); JML-H-113 {‘bd twice}; JML-H-120 {d-‘)šgr ‘bd-d}; JML-H-210 {‘b(d)...}; JML-H-211 {‘bd-Gys²-‘s¹d S¹‘d; or ‘bd-Gys²-‘s¹d and S¹‘d}; JML-H-216 {‘bd}

*‘bd, ‘Abd

BookĤim: ‘Abd (24b)

Caskel, ‘Abbād (more than 2 columns), ‘Abd (more than 2 columns), ‘Abīd (6 occurrences), ‘Ibād (2 occurrences), ‘Ubād (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-‘Ibād, ‘Ubayd, al-‘Ubayd, ‘Ubda

JML-F-59 {‘b(d)}; JML-F-119 {Br²-‘bd}; JML-H-55 {Mlk-‘bd}

‘bd’bh, ‘Abd’abihi

JML-F-28 {‘bd’bh⁽²⁾ ‘nmr}

‘bdhl‘zy, ‘Abdhal‘uzzà

Caskel, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzà (more than 2 columns)

JML-F-4 {‘bdhl‘zy⁽²⁾ d-Gn³}

‘bdkhl, ‘Abdkahl

JML-F-44 {‘bdkhl-b[...]}; JML-H-235 {‘wfm-‘bdkhl}

‘bdl(.)

JML-F-46 {‘bdl(.)}

‘bdl‘zy, ‘Abdal‘uzzà

Caskel, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzà (more than 2 columns)

JML-D-20 {‘bdl‘zy}; JML-G-118 {M‘n(lt)⁽²⁾ bn ‘bd(l)‘zy}

‘bdlh, ‘Abdallāh

BookĤim: ‘Abdallāh, and perhaps ‘Abilāh and ‘Abdalilāh. See:

Caskel, ‘Abd Allāh (more than 16 columns). See Caskel ‘Ubayd Allāh

‘bdlh: 24a/9, 24b/13, 24b/23, 24b/26, 25a/6, 25a/7, 25a/16, 25a/23, 25a/27

‘bd’lh: 23b/16, 23b/25, 24a/7, 24a/17, 24a/23, 24a/27, 24b/8, 25a/2

‘bd’llh: 23a/23-24, 24b/8

JML-F-9 {Mlk ‘bdlh}; JML-H-112 {‘b).. Mlk ‘bdlh}; JML-H-213 {‘mr-‘ṭwb-Mlk-‘bdlh}

'bd^m, 'Abd^{um}

BookḤim: 'Abd (24b)

Caskel, 'Abbād (more than 2 columns), 'Abd (more than 2 columns), 'Abīd (6 occurrences), 'Ibād (2 occurrences), 'Ubād (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-'Ibād, 'Ubayd, al-'Ubayd, 'Ubda

JML-F-167 {... (Mlk) 'bd^m..}; JML-H-84 {'bd^{(2)m}}

See JML-H-88 {'bd^m}

'bdmnt, 'Abdmanāt

Caskel, 'Abdmanāt (21 occurrences)

JML-H-118 {'bdmnt Ym.....}

**'bdn*, 'Abdān

See Caskel al-'Ibād

JML-A-6 {'bdⁿ-S¹qm-///}

'bdqdr, 'Abdqadr

See Caskel Qudār

JML-E-2 {S²ybn-'bd-Qdr or S²ybn-'bdqdr}

'bdt, 'Ubdāt

Caskel, 'Ubda (5 occurrences), 'Abbūda (3 occurrences)

JML-E-3 {'twb^m-'bdt}

**'bdt*, 'Ubdāt

Caskel, 'Ubda (5 occurrences)

JML-A-16 {'bdt}

'bdwd, 'Abdwadd

Caskel, 'Abdwadd (9 occurrences)

JML-H-202 {(.)-'bdwd}

'bl

See Caskel al-'Abalāt, 'Ibla, 'Ubla

JML-H-79 {Mth bn ('bl)}

**'brt*, 'Ubrāt

Caskel, 'Ubra (2 occurrences)

JML-G-88 {'b(rt)-S²...}

**'bs²t*

JML-A-5 {'bs²t-Ḥbb}; JML-A-28 {'bs²t-Ḥbb}

'bt

JML-G-61 {'bt}

'b̄t

JML-A-31 {'b̄t}

'byd, 'Ubayd

Caskel, 'Ubayd (more than 4 columns)

JML-E-9 {'l-'byd}

'DD

See M'd; M'd'l

'ds²

JML-G-61 {'('ds²)}

‘dy, ‘Adī

Caskel, ‘Adī (more than four columns). See Caskel ‘Ādiya
JML-F-116 {Whb-(‘dy)}, JML-H-58 {Hy-y-‘dy}

*‘dy, ‘Adī

Caskel, ‘Adī (more than four columns). See Caskel ‘Ādiya
JML-F-87 {‘dy}

‘dr

See T‘dr; Y‘dr

*‘fb

JML-H-49 {‘fb}

*‘gf

See Caskel ‘Ujayf, al-‘Ujayf
JML-H-103 {‘gf}

‘km, ‘Akk^{um}

This PN is an illustration of the fact that the tribal name ‘Akk (whose territory extended
between al-Ḥudayda and Jāzān) was initially the name of a person.

Caskel, ‘Akk (2 occurrences)
JML-H-196 {‘km--Mlk-...}

‘lhⁿ, ‘Alhān

Caskel, ‘Alhān (2 occurrences)
JML-H-42 {‘(l)hn⁽²⁾ bn S²w(‘)n}

‘lf^m, ‘Ilāf^{um}

Caskel, ‘Ilāf (1 occurrence). See Caskel ‘Ullāfa
JML-E-25 {‘lf^m}

‘lmⁿ

See Caskel ‘Ulaym
JML-F-48 {‘lm(n)}

‘ly, ‘Alī

Caskel, ‘Alī (more than 2 columns). See Caskel al-‘Āliya, ‘Alyān
JML-F-110 {‘ly}

-‘m

See ‘b‘m; Hf‘m; Hwf‘m

*‘mhms¹

JML-H-162 {‘mhms¹-S¹r}

*‘mhr

JML-G-64 {‘m(h)r-wq(r)}

‘mr, ‘Āmir

This ancient personal name probably corresponds to Arabic ‘Āmir (because ‘Umar is
noticeably rarer, based on the number of occurrences in Ibn al-Kalbī: more than 18
columns as opposed to a little less than 2 (a total of 35 occurrences), respectively
(Caskel 1966, II). It is not ‘Amr, that is written (at least in principle) ‘mrm

BookḤim: ‘Āmir, ‘mr (25a)
See also below ‘mr^m

JML-A-3 {*Qdm-‘mr*}; JML-D-59 {‘*mr ...*}; JML-H-20 {‘*mr ‘bd*}; JML-H-31 {‘*mr-S²bl*}; JML-H-38 {‘*mr F(s²yl)t*}; JML-H-64 {twice: ‘*mr-‘mr-Hld*}; JML-H-105 {‘*m(r)-B..*}; JML-H-106 {‘*mr bn Ġnm (G..)*}; JML-H-110 {twice: ‘*mr* ⁽²⁾ ‘*mr Ġd(mt)*}; JML-H-143 {(*T*)*wbn* ⁽²⁾ (‘*mr*)}; JML-H-212 {‘*mr^m-Hrs²* or ‘*mr^m-Ṣrs²*}; JML-H-213 {‘*mr-ṭwb-Mlk-‘bdlh*}; JML-H-218 {‘*mr Ġḍr*}; JML-H-241 {‘*mr-(Y‘)*}

‘*mr^m*, ‘Amr

BookHim: ‘*mr*, 5b, 24b (3 times), 25a (5 times), 25b, 49b; 30b (woman)

Caskel, ‘Amr (18 columns)

The South Arabian PN ‘*mrw* in the Nabataean-Arabic and Arabic scripts

Caskel: ‘Amr (more than 41 columns)

JML-E-4 {‘*bd-ṣḡr* ^(B) *Knnt-’<k>ws¹-mqtwy ḍ-<T>’lbn-bn* ^(C) ‘*mrm-‘zzm-Mlk*}

*‘*qrbt*

See Caskel (Abū) ‘Aqrab

JML-F-114 {‘*qr(bt)*}

*‘*rb*, ‘Arīb

Caskel, ‘Arīb (15 occurrences). See Caskel A‘rab, ‘Arāba, ‘Arabī, ‘Irb

JML-G-116 {‘*rb*}

‘*rq*, ‘Āriq

Caskel, ‘Arīq (2 occurrences)

JML-G-6 {*L(d)f-‘rq* or *l-ḍ-F‘rq*}

‘RY

See *T(h)‘ry*

*‘*ry*

See Caskel al-‘Uryān

JML-F-78 {‘*(ry)-wdd-‘.t*}

‘*ryt*

See Caskel al-‘Uryān

JML-F-96 {‘*ryt*}

‘*s¹fm*

JML-G-106 {‘*s¹fm*}

‘*s²mⁿ*

See Caskel ‘Ishm

JML-F-80 {‘*s²mⁿ*}

‘*s²q*

JML-F-109 {‘*(s²q)*}

‘ṢM

See ‘*ṣm*

‘*ṣr^m*, ‘Aṣar^{um}

Caskel, ‘Aṣar^{um} (10 occurrences). See Caskel A‘ṣur

JML-F-94 {‘*ṣwⁿ bn* ⁽²⁾ ‘*ṣr^m*}

‘*ṣwⁿ*

JML-F-94 {‘*ṣwⁿ bn* ⁽²⁾ ‘*ṣr^m*}

*‘*ṣwⁿ*

JML-F-20 {‘*ṣwn*}; JML-F-21 {‘*(ṣwⁿ)*}; JML-F-42 {‘*ṣwⁿ*}

‘tb, ‘Attāb

Caskel, ‘Atīb (1 occurrence), ‘Attāb (25 occurrences). See Caskel ‘Ātiba, ‘Itbān, ‘Utayba, ‘Utba
JML-H-100 {...m ‘tb}

‘tk, ‘Atīk

Caskel, ‘Atīk (17 occurrences). See Caskel al-‘Atīk, ‘Ātika
JML-H-73 B {S¹d ‘tk}

*‘tm, ‘Athm

Caslel, ‘Athm (2 occurrences). See Caskel ‘Ath‘ath, al-‘Ath‘ath, ‘Uthmān
JML-G-110 {‘tm}

-‘tt

See *Hwf^{tt}*; *Lhy^{tt}*

‘WD

See *M‘d*; *M‘d’l*

*‘wḏt, ‘Awdhat

Caskel, ‘Awḏa (1 occurrence). See Caskel ‘Awdh
JML-G-80 {‘wḏt}

‘wḏt, ‘Awḏat or ‘Awḏa

Caskel ‘Awḏat (1 occurrence) or ‘Awḏa (1 occurrence). See Caskel ‘Awḏ
See BookḤim: ‘Awḏa, ‘wṣ’ (30b, woman)
JML-F-157 {*Dhl* ‘wḏt}; JML-G-99 {‘wḏt}

*‘wḏt, ‘Awḏat or ‘Awḏa

Caskel ‘Awḏat (1 occurrence) or ‘Awḏa (1 occurrence). See Caskel ‘Awḏ
See BookḤim: ‘Awḏa, ‘wṣ’ (30b, woman)
JML-H-139 {‘wḏt}

‘wfn, ‘Awfān

See Caslel ‘Awf.
JML-H-235 {‘wfn-‘bdkhl}

‘WN

See *M‘nlt*; *Yh‘n*

‘z

See JML-F-8{*Hld-wdd-...* (2)‘z}

‘zwy

JML-G-51 {*Hrtt* (2) ḏ-‘zwy}

‘ZY

See ‘*bdhl‘zy*; ‘*bdl‘zy*

‘ZZ

See ‘zz

‘zz, ‘Azīz

Caskel, ‘Azīz (6 occurrences)
JML-E-11 {...-*Hym-Rbb-*(‘)zz}; JML-H-70 {‘*twb-*‘zz}

‘zz^m, ‘Azīz^{um}

‘Azīz^{um} (Caskel 1966, II, 6 occurrences)

JML-E-4 {‘bd-’šgr^(B) Knnt-’<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>’lbⁿ-bn^(C) ‘mr^m-‘zz^m-Mlk}

— B —

b

See JML-F-44 {‘bdkhl-b}

*B^rm

JML-G-38 {B^r(ⁿ)}

Bd’, Badda’

Caskel, Badda’ (13 occurrences)

BookĤim: Badda’ (24b, 25a)

JML-F-166 (Bd’)-H(w)f^m; JML-H-82 {Bd(?) T^wb⁽ⁿ⁾}

Bdyt, Bādiyāt

Bādiyāt (3 occurrences)

JML-D-15 {Fs²ylt⁽²⁾ Bdyt}

Bd’

JML-H-167 {B(d)}

Bġd, Baghīd

Caskel, Baghīd (10 occurrences)

JML-H-6 {Zbyd⁽²⁾ bn Bġd}

Bhh

JML-H-148 {Bhh}

Bhtt, Buhthat

Caskel, Buhthat (5 occurrences)

JML-G-27 {(.)-Bhtt}

Bħr^m, Baħrum

Caskel, Baħr (9 occurrences), Baħīr (3 occurrences)

JML-G-32 {‘s¹ydz Bħr^m, to be corrected to ‘s¹yd<t> Bħr^m or ‘s¹yd<m> Bħr^m}

bn, “son”

JML-D-53 {’lb²-bn-L’}; JML-D-56 {’lb² (2) bn ...}; JML-D-68 {Kh^ln⁽²⁾ (bn) Hld}; JML-F-60 {Bn’l bn Whb}; JML-F-74 {Mdd bn S¹d^m nhmyⁿ}; JML-F-94 {‘šwⁿ bn (2) ‘šr^m}; JML-G-8 {Lhy’tt⁽²⁾ bn S¹bl^m}; JML-G-115 {(H)b^m-bn-(’b’^m)}; JML-G-118 {M’n(lt)⁽²⁾ bn ‘bd(l)’zy}; JML-G-128 {Whblt-bn-Ġrf^m}; JML-G-131 {Yħm’l-bn-T^wbⁿ}; JML-G-132 {Dhb^m b(n)⁽²⁾ Mħ(my)-.}; JML-H-6 {Zbyd⁽²⁾ bn Bġd}; JML-H-42 {‘(l)hⁿ (2) bn S²w(’)ⁿ}; JML-H-83 {Mrⁿ bn Wrq⁽ⁿ⁾}; JML-H-106 {‘mr bn Ġnm (G..)}

See JML-H-94 (L’¹ b(n) ...); JML-H-108 {Whb’l bn (S¹..)}

Bn’

JML-G-127 {.dd’l-B(n)’}

Bn’l, Bin’l

JML-E-15 {Bn’l}; JML-F-60 {Bn’l bn Whb}

Br’, Barā’

Caskel, Barā’ (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Barā’, Barā, Bārī

JML-F-50 {S²l⁽²⁾ Br’}

*Br², Barā²

Caskel, Barā² (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Barā², Barā, Bārī,
JML-F-119 {Br²-*bd*}

Bs²r, Bishr

Caskel, Bashīr (16 occurrences), Bishr (more than 2 columns). See Caskel Bushayr
BookĤim: Bishr, Bsr (24b, 25a [twice], 25b)
JML-G-83 {S²lwm-B(s²r) or S²lwm and B(s²r)}

Btt

JML-G-129 {*d*-Btt or Yĥm^l-bn-Ṭwbⁿ- *d*-Btt}

Bwlⁿ, Bawlān

Caskel, Bawlān (2 occurrences)
JML-G-114 {Ms²lwt⁽²⁾ Bw(l)ⁿ}

BYD

See *'byd*

*Byn^m, Bayān

Caskel, Bayān (3 occurrences)
JML-H-170 {Byn^m}

Bytⁿ

JML-G-91 {Bytⁿ}

— D —

D³y

JML-G-104 {Hy^t-D³y}

(dkĥb)

JML-H-48 {Ġlb⁽²⁾ (dkĥb)}

*Dĥw

See Caskel Diĥya, Duĥayy,
JML-A-17 {Dĥw}

Dws¹, Daws

Caskel, Daws (5 occurrences)
The name is attested in Arab-Islamic traditions relating to the massacre of Christians in
Najrān by king Yūsuf: it is said that Caesar and the Negus were informed of the
massacre by a survivor named Daws dhu-Thu^lubān (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta^rīkh*, I, pp. 925 and
927; *History*, 5, pp. 203-206-208).
JML-H-51 {Dws¹-*'ws*¹}; JML-H-75 {Dws¹}

— D —

d, isolated

JML-G-42 {*w* and *d* of large size}; JML-H-120 {*d*-^(?)šgr *'bd-d*};
JML-H-221 {(*d*)-*mlk-whb*}

d-, "He of"

JML-E-4 {*'bd*-^(B)šgr *Knnt*-^(C)*'k*>*ws*¹-*mqtwy d*-^(C)*'lbn*-*bn* ^(C)*'mr*^m-*'zz*^m-*mlk*}; JML-E-23 {⁽²⁾*'s*¹*r*^m
d-*ĥfn*}; JML-F-4 {*'bdhl*⁽²⁾*'zy* *d*-*Gn*³}; JML-F-77 {S²(*kr*)^m-*qyn* ⁽²⁾*d*-S¹*mw*⁽³⁾*y*}; JML-G-6

{*L(d)f-ʿrq* or *l-d-Fʿrq*}; JML-G-51 {*Hrtt*⁽²⁾ *d-ʿzwy*}; JML-G-95 {*Klb-d-(D)hb*}; JML-G-108 {*Mrtḏʿw ḥḏr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(ʿ) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}; JML-G-129 {*d-Btt* or *Yḥmʿl-bn-Twbⁿ-d-Btt*}; JML-G-133 {*Rbʿl*⁽²⁾ *d-Nmr*}; JML-H-5 {*W^lm-d-(H)s²r* or *W^lm-d-(H)s²r*}; JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ ḥl-d-T^lbn* no doubt to be corrected to *S¹lm nḥl-d-T^lbn* or *S¹lmⁿ nḥl-d-T^lbn*}

**d-*, “He of”

JML-D-50 {*d-Hbb* or *Dhbb*}

**Dʿb*, Dhiʿb

Caskel, Dhiʿāb (1 occurrence), Dhiʿb (4 occurrences). See Caskel al-Dhaybān, Dhiʿb, Dhuʿayb, Dhuʿayba
BookḤim: Dhuʿb, *Dwʿb* (25b)
JML-G-66 {(*Dʿ*)*b*}

Dhb, Dhahab

See Caskel Dhahban, Dhahbān
JML-G-46 {*Dhb*}

Dhb^m

JML-G-132 {*Dhb^m b(n)*⁽²⁾ *Mḥ(my)-.*}

**Dhbⁿ*

Caskel, Dhahban (sic) (1 occurrence), Dhahbān (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Dhahhāb
JML-G-69 {*Dhbⁿ*}

**Dhbb*

JML-D-50 {*d-Hbb* or *Dhbb*}

Dhl, Dhuhl

Caskel: Dhuhl (70 occurrences)
BookḤim: Dhuhl, *Dwhl* (24b [3 times], 25a [twice], 25b)
JML-F-157 {*Dhl ʿwdt*}; JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-ʿḡr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-140 {*Dhl* or *Dḥl*}; JML-H-228 {*Dhl S²ybn*}

Dḥl

JML-H-140 {*Dhl* or *Dḥl*}

Dḥb

See Caskel Dhuḥayba
JML-G-95 {*Klb-d-(D)hb*}

DKR

See *Mdkr*; *Ydkr*

**Dkr*

See Caskel al-Dhakhir, Madhkar
JML-A-24 {*Dkr-S²ʿt*}

— D —

Dgʿm, Ḍajʿam

Caskel *Dujʿum* or Ḍajʿam, plural al-Ḍajāʿima
JML-F-155 {*Dgʿm-ʿbd*}; JML-F-169 {(ʿ)*rb Dgʿm m*}

Fʿrq

JML-G-6 {*L(d)f-ʿrq* or *l-d-Fʿrq*}

Fhrt, Fihrat

See Caskel Fihr, Fuhayra
JML-G-102 {*Fh(r)t-Y(m.)ʿm*}

**Fhrt*, Fihrat

See Caskel Fihr, Fuhayra
JML-G-107 {*Fhrt*}

**Fhṭṭ^m*

JML-G-48 {*F(h)ṭṭ^(m)*}

fr

See *Yhfr*

Fr(.)

JML-E-31 {*Fr(.)*}

**Frʿd*

JML-F-117 {*Frʿd*}

**Frḥ*

See Caskel al-Fākhir (1 occurrence)
JML-H-135 {*Frḥ*}

**Frk*

JML-G-47 {*Fr(k)*}

Fs²ḥⁿ

See Caskel Fashān (?)
JML-E-30 {*Fs²ḥⁿ*}

Fs²ylt

JML-D-15 {*Fs²ylt* ⁽²⁾ *Bdyt*}; JML-G-31 {*Fs²ylt-Bdyt*}; JML-H-38 {*ʿmr F(s²yl)t*}

**Fs²yt*

JML-F-142 {*(Fs²yt)-...*}

**Gʿr*

JML-G-100 {*Gʿr*}

**Gʿdmn*

JML-F-37 {*Gʿdmn*}

Gd.

JML-H-152 {*Gd.-S¹lh*}

Gdd

See Caskel Jadd, al-Jadd, al-Jadūd, Judayd, Judda
JML-G-87 {*(Gdd) Rml*}

Gdlt, Gadīla

Caskel, Jadīla (9 occurrences)
JML-H-81 {*Gdlt-M'wyt*}

Gdn, Gaddān

Caskel Jaddān (1 occurrence), al-Jadd (4 occurrences), al-Jadūd (1 occurrence). See Caskel
Jadd, Judayd, Judda
BookḤim: Gaddān, *Gdn* (25a)
JML-H-56 {*Gdn*⁽²⁾ *Ḥrt*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Ḥrt*⁽²⁾ *Twbṭ K'b*}; JML-H-117 {*Gdn Mlk*}
See JML-H-30 n° 1 {*Gdn*}

Gdn^m, in *ḡ-Gdn^m*, dhu-Gadan^{um}

Caskel, dhū Jadan (2 occurrences; Robin 2013, pp. 158-159)
JML-H-197 {*..krb mqtw ḡ-Gdn^m*}

**Gḡmt*, Gadhīmat

Caskel, Jadhīmat (more than two columns). See Caskel Judhaym, Judhām
JML-A-18 {*Gḡmt*}; JML-H-110 {twice: *'mr*⁽²⁾ *'mr Gḡ(mt)*}

**Gḡ^ḥ*

JML-H-176 {*Gḡ^ḥ*}

**Gfm*

Caskel, Juff (1 occurrence?)
JML-F-29 {*Gfm*}

**Ggt*

JML-F-129 {*Ggt*}

Gḡft

See Caskel al-Jaḡḡāf, Jāḡif
JML-F-49 {*Rb't Gḡft*}

**Gḡrbṭs²n* (?)

JML-F-65 {*Gḡrbṭs²n*⁽²⁾ *m*}

**Gm^ḥ*, Jam^ḥ

Caskel, Jam^ḥ (1 occurrence), Jāmi^ḥ (2 occurrences). See Caskel Jumā'a, Jumay^ḥ
JML-F-126 {*Mḡh-Gm^ḥ-Lhb*}

Gn^ḥ

JML-F-4 {*'bdhl'zy*⁽²⁾ *ḡ-Gn^ḥ*}

grby, "stonecutter"

JML-D-45 {*'ws¹lt*⁽²⁾ *grbyn*}

**Grm*, Jarm

Caskel, Jārim (1 occurrence) Jarm (3 occurrences).
JML-F-176 {*G(r)m-wdd*-.[...]}

**Grmlh*

JML-H-237 *Grm(lh)*}

**Grmlt*

JML-D-58 {*Zydlṭ*⁽²⁾ *(G)rmlt*}

Grmt

JML-H-4 {*Grmt*⁽²⁾ *Zydlṭ*}

**Grs*^{2c}

JML-F-124 {*Grs*^{2c} or *Grs*^{2f}}

**Grs*^{2f}

JML-F-124 {*Grs*^{2c} or *Grs*^{2f}}

*Gys*², Gaysh

Caskel, Jaysh (2 occurrences)

JML-H-211 {'*bd-Gys*²-*s*¹*d S*¹*d*; or '*bd-Gys*²-*s*¹*d* and *S*¹*d*}; JML-H-239 {(*G*)*y*(*s*²)}

— Ġ —

Ġdr

See Caskel Ghādira

JML-H-218 {'*mr Ġdr*}

Ġlb, Ghālib

Caskel, Ghalāb, Ghālib

JML-H-48 {'*Ġlb*⁽²⁾ (*dkḥb*)}; JML-H-72 {'*Ġlb*-*twb*}

Ġnm, Ghanm

Caskel, Ghānim (6 occurrences), Ghanm (more than 2 columns), Ghannām (2 occurrences).

See Caskel al-Ghannām

BookḤim, Ghānim, *Gnm* (24b, 25a)

JML-H-106 {'*mr bn Ġnm* (*G.*)}

Ġrfm, Gharf^{um}

Caskel, Gharf (1 occurrence)

JML-G-128 {'*Whblt-bn-Ġrfm*}

**Ġtmr*

JML-F-106 {'*Ġtm*(*r*)}

**Ġtm*, Ghōth^{um}

Caskel, Ghawth (7 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ghawth, Ghiyāth, Ghuwayth

JML-G-19 {'*Ġtm*}

Ġtfn, Ghatafān

Caskel, Ghatafān (9 occurrences). See Caskel Ghutaḥayf, al-Ghutaḥayf. This PN illustrates and confirms that the tribal name Ghatafān (whose territory extended, at the time of Muḥammad, to the east of al-Ḥijr and of al-Khaybar, see *TAVO* VII 1) was initially a personal name.

JML-H-215 {'*Ġtfn*}

Ġwt

See *Ġtm*

Ġwtm, Ghawth^{um}

Caskel, Ghawth (7 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ghawth, Ghiyāth, Ghuwayth

JML-F-16 {'(*Ġ*)*wt*^(m)}; JML-H-32 {'*Mrh*, (*Gb.*) and (*Ġwtm*)}

**Ġwtm*, Ghawth^{um}

Caskel, Ghawth (7 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ghawth, Ghiyāth, Ghuwayth

JML-G-16 {'*Ġwtm*}

-h

See 'bd'bh

h'n

See Yh'n

*Hbb

JML-D-50 {*d*-Hbb or *D*hbb}

Hf'l, Hōfā'īl

Verb *hwfy* + 'l. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)
JML-H-160 {Hf'l (2) Yhfr}

Hf'm, Hōfā'amm

Verb *hwfy* + 'm. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)
JML-F-47 {Hf'm}; JML-H-76 {Hf'm w-N'm}

*Hf'm, Hōfā'amm

Verb *hwfy* + 'm. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)
JML-H-126 {Hf'm}

hfr

See Yhfr

*Hfk^m

JML-A-26 {Hfk^m}

-hl-

See 'bdhl'zy

hl-'zy

See 'bdhl'zy

-hms¹

See JML-H-162 {'mhms¹-S¹r}

Hn'khl, Han'kahl

See Caskel Hāni', Hāni'a, Hin', Hunā'a
JML-G-39 {(Hn')khl}

Hn^m, Hāni^{um}

Caskel, Hāni' (37 occurrences), Hin' (1 occurrence). See Caskel Hāni'a, Hunā'a
BookḤim, Ḥāni', Hny (25a, 25b)
JML-D-25 {Myd(')-Hn^{(2)m} Nmr}

Hrnⁿ

See Caskel Hārūn
JML-G-103 {(K)lb-Mlk-H(r)nⁿ}

Hs²r

JML-H-5 {W'l^m-d-(H)s²r or W'l^m-d-(H)s²r}

Hwf'l, Hawfā'īl

Verb *hwfy* + 'l. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)
JML-G-139 {Hwf(')l}

Hwf[̣]m, Hawfā[̣]amm

Verb *hwfy* + [̣]*m*. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)
BookḤim, Hawfā[̣]amm, *Hwf[̣]m* (24b), *Hf[̣]m* (25a)
JML-F-166 {(Bd[̣])-H(w)f[̣]m}

Hwf[̣]tt, Hawfā[̣]athat

Verb *hwfy* + [̣]*tt(r)*. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)
JML-G-141 {*Hwf[̣]tt* to be corrected to *Hwf[̣]tt*}

hwfy

See *Hf[̣]l*; *Hf[̣]m*; *Hwf[̣]m*

Hyt[̣], Haytha[̣]

JML-G-104 {*Hyt[̣]-D[̣]y*}

— H —

Hld, Khālid

Caskel Khālid (approximately 5 columns), Khallād (5 occurrences). See Caskel Khalda, Khulayd
JML-D-68 {*Khln*⁽²⁾ (*bn*) *Hld*}; JML-H-64 {[̣]*mr*-[̣]*mr-Hld*}; JML-H-86 {*Hld*⁽²⁾ *Hbn*}

**Hld*, Khālid

Caskel Khālid (approximately 5 columns), Khallād (5 occurrences). See Caskel Khalda, Khulayd
JML-F-8{*Hld-wdd*-...⁽²⁾ [̣]*z*}

Hls

JML-F-39 {*H(l)s* or *H(y)s*}; JML-G-96 {*Hls*}

HMR

See [̣]*hmr*

HNF

See [̣]*hnf*

Hrs²ft

Compare with Caskel al-Khurshub, Khurshuba (1 occurrence)
JML-H-214 {*Hrt* *Hrs²ft*}

Hs²r

JML-H-5 {*W^lm-d-(H)s²r* or *W^lm-d-(H)s²r*}

HWL

See [̣]*hwl*

Hys

See *Hls*

Hzn

JML-A-12 {*Rhz(n)* or *Hzn(n)*}

— H —

h, isolated

JML-F-113 {*h-Mnh*⁽²⁾ *h-[̣]hmr*}; JML-F-129

**hb*: “to be united to”

JML-F-36 {*Zyd^m-hb-Ḥbbt*}

ḤBB

See *hb*, *Hb^m*

**Hbb*, Ḥabīb

Caskel, Ḥabīb (approximately 4 columns), Ḥubāb (4 occurrences)

See Caskel Ḥabāba, Ḥabbat, Ḥabbā, Ḥabbān, Ḥabbāna, Ḥibbān, al-Ḥubāb, Ḥubayb, Ḥubayba
BookḤim, Ḥabīb, *Hbb* (30b, woman), *Hbyb* (30b, woman)

JML-A-5 {*bs²t-Hbb*}; JML-A-28 {*bs²t-Hbb*}

**Hbbt*, Ḥabābat

Caskel, Ḥabāba (1 occurrence)

BookḤim, Ḥabībah, *Hbybh* (30b, woman)

JML-F-36 {*Zyd^m-hb-Ḥbbt*}; JML-G-7 {*Hbb(t)*}

**Hb^m*

See Caskel Ḥabba, Ḥabbā

JML-G-55 {*Zd^m-Hb^m*}; JML-G-115 {(*H*)*b^m-bn-(b^cm)*}

Hbⁿ, Ḥabbān

Caskel, Ḥabbān (2 occurrences), Ḥibbān (1 occurrence), al-Ḥubāb (10 occurrences). See

Caskel Ḥabbāna

JML-H-86 {*Hld⁽²⁾ Hbⁿ*}

Hbr

See Caskel Ḥubrān (2 occurrences)

JML-H-173 {*Hb(r)* and *Yh(dr)*}

ḤDB

See *ḥdb*

Hdd, Ḥudād

Caskel, Ḥadīd (1 occurrence), Ḥidād (1 occurrence), Ḥudād (6 occurrences). See Caskel al-

Ḥadd, Ḥadīda, Ḥuddān

JML-F-130 {*Hdd*}

Hdd^m, Ḥudād

Caskel, Ḥadīd (1 occurrence), Ḥidād (1 occurrence), Ḥudād (6 occurrences). See Caskel al-

Ḥadd, Ḥadīda, Ḥuddān

JML-D-38 {(*H*)*dd^m*}

ḤDR

See *ḥdr*

ḤDR

See *Yḥdr*

Hfn

See Caskel Ḥufayn

JML-E-23 {*s¹r^m(2) d-Hfn*}

**Hfs²ⁿ*

Caskel Ḥufāsh (1 occurrence)

JML-G-84 {*Hfs²ⁿ*}

**Hg(b)t*

See Caskel Ḥājib
JML-A-25 {*Hg(b)t*}

**Hg^m*, Ḥāggum

Caskel Ḥājj (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥajja, al-Ḥajjāj, Ḥujān
JML-A-23 {*Hg^m*}

Hgr, Ḥujr

Caskel Ḥajjār (3 occurrences), Ḥajr (1 occurrence), Ḥajūr (1 occurrence), Ḥujr (more than
3 columns)
See Caskel al-Ḥajr
See JML-H-122 {*Jk^{hm}.. Hgr*}

hl

JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ hl-d* no doubt to be corrected to *S¹lm nhl-d-T¹lbⁿ* or *S¹lmⁿ nhl-d-T¹lbⁿ*}

Hmnh

See JML-F-113 {*h-Mnh* ⁽²⁾ *h-ḥmr*}.
See Caskel Ḥamna (bint Jaḥsh), Ḥimmān

**Hms^{1m}*

Caskel Ḥimās (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ḥimās
The name is probably not related at all to *ḥums*, a brotherhood of the temple of Makka (W.
Montgomery Watt, “ḥums”, in *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, 2nd edition, III, 1971, s.v.
JML-G-137 {*Hms^{1m}*}

**Hms²ⁿ*

Caskel al-Ḥimās (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥimās
JML-A-9 {*Hms²ⁿ*}; JML-A-10 {*Hms²ⁿ*}

ḤMY

See *Mḥmy*; *Yḥm’l*

Hmy

Caskel, Ḥumayy (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥamāya, Ḥāmiya
JML-H-1 {*ṭwb^m-Hmy*}

Hmyt, Ḥamāyat or Ḥāmiyat

Caskel Ḥamāya (4 occurrences), Ḥāmiya (5 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥumayy
JML-G-41 {*Hmyt*}

Hnyn, Ḥunayn

Caskel, Ḥunayn (2 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥunn
JML-G-93 {*Hn(yn)*}

-*ḥr*

See *ṣmḥr*

**Hrb*

Caskel Ḥarb (46 occurrences), Ḥarrāb (1 occurrence), Ḥurab (2 occurrences)
JML-D {*Hrb*};

**Hrm*, Ḥarām

Ḥarām (39 occurrences)
JML-G-70 {*Hrm-S¹mw* or *Hrms¹mw*}

**Hrms*¹*mw*

JML-G-70 {*Hrm-S*¹*mw* or *Hrms*¹*mw*}

**Hrn*

Caskel al-*Hurr* (19 occurrences). See Caskel *Harri*
JML-H-186 {3 times, *l-ʿrs*²-(*l-Hrn-l*)-ʿrs²-*s*¹*w*³}

HRR

See *ʿmhr*

*Hrs*², *Harish*

Caskel *Harish* (5 occurrences), *Hirash* (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-*Harashī*, al-*Harish*
JML-H-212 {*mr*^m-*Hrs*² or *mr*^m-*Ṣrs*²}

Hrt, *Harith*

Caskel *Harrāth* (4 occurrences)

See Caskel al-*Hāriḥ* (more than 29 columns), *Hāritha* (more than 5 columns), *Hurayth*,
Hurthān, al-*Huwayriḥ*

Book^H*im*, *Hārith*, *Hrt* (9 people including one of the Christian chiefs in Najrān, 4b, 5a, 8a,
36b, 49a(?); 24b-25a, and eight other victims)

JML-E-20 {*H(r)t*}; JML-F-92 {(*Hr*)*t*-(*w*)*s*¹}; JML-H-56 {*Gdn* ⁽²⁾ *Hrt*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Hrt* ⁽²⁾
Twb *K*^b}; JML-H-214 {*Hrt Hrs*²*ft*}

Hrt^m, *Harith*

Caskel *Harrāth* (4 occurrences)

See Caskel al-*Hāriḥ* (more than 29 columns), *Hāritha* (more than 5 columns), *Hartha*, al-
Hartha, *Hurayth*, *Hurthān*, al-*Huwayriḥ*

Book^H*im*, *Hārith*, *Hrt* (one of the Christian chiefs in Najrān, 4b, 5a, 8a, 36b, 49a(?); 24b-
25a, eight other casualties)

JML-F-161 {*Hrt*^m ⁽²⁾ *M*^{wyt}}

Hrtt, *Harithat*

Caskel *Hāritha* (more than 5 columns), *Hartha* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *Harrāth*, al-
Hārith, al-*Hartha*, *Hurayth*, *Hurthān*, al-*Huwayriḥ*

Book^H*im*, *Hārith*, *Hrt*^ʿ (25b)

JML-F-98 {*Hrtt*}; JML-G-51 {*Hrtt* ⁽²⁾ *d*-^ʿ*zwy*}

*Hs*¹*d*

JML-H-150 {*w(q)d M(lk)-(Ml)t-Hs*¹*d*}

**Ht*^ʿ

JML-H-201 {(*R*)*ht*^ʿ or *l-Ht*^ʿ}

Htfr

JML-H-179 {*Hzfr* or *Htfr*}

Hwd

See JML-H-116 {...*hwd*}

Hwf^ʿ*tt*

See *Hwf*^ʿ*tt*

Hy^ʿ*n*

JML-H-181 {*Hy*^ʿ*n* or *.hy*^ʿ*n*}

Hy^m, Ḥayy^{um}

Caskel Ḥayy (9 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥaywa, Ḥayya, Ḥayyā, Ḥayyān, Ḥiyā, Ḥiyayy, Ḥuwayy
JML-E-11 {...-*Hy^m-Rbb-(^o)zz*}; JML-H-232 {*Hy^m-Gys²*}

Hyⁿ, Ḥayyān

Caskel Ḥayyān (32 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥaywa, Ḥayy, Ḥayya, Ḥayyā, Ḥiyā, Ḥiyayy, Ḥuwayy
JML-H-220 {*Hyⁿ-Mrm*}

Hyw

Caskel Ḥayyā (2 occurrences), Ḥiyā (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥaywa, Ḥayy, Ḥayya, Ḥayyān, Ḥiyayy, Ḥuwayy
JML-F-27 {*Whb^l-Hyw*}

Hyy

Caskel Ḥiyayy (47 occurrences), Ḥayyā (2 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥaywa, Ḥayy, Ḥayya, Ḥayyā, Ḥayyān, Ḥiyā, Ḥuwayy
JML-H-58 {*Hyy-^ody*}

Hzmt, Ḥazīmat

Caskel, Ḥazīma (7 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥāzim, Ḥazm, Ḥizām, Ḥuzaym
JML-H-73 A {*Hzmt-^os^llm*}

**Hzmt*, Ḥazīmat

Caskel, Ḥazīma (7 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥāzim, Ḥazm, Ḥizām, Ḥuzaym
JML-F-128 {*Hzmt*}

**Hzfr*

Caskel Ḥazāfir (1 occurrence)
JML-H-179 {*Hzfr* or *Htfr*}

— K —

K^ob, Ka^ob

Caskel, Ka^ob (more than 10 columns). See Caskel Ka^obān, Ku^oayb
JML-H-26 {*Mlk⁽²⁾ (K^o)b*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Hrt⁽²⁾ Twbt K^ob*}

Kbs¹, Kubāsā

Caskel al-Kubās (1 occurrence). See Caskel Kābis, Kabs, Kabsha, Kubays, al-Kubays
BookḤim, Kabsha, *Kbs^o* (30b, woman)
JML-G-105 {*(K)b(s¹)*}

KFH

See *Mkfh* (?)

**Khbⁿ*

JML-H-185 {*Khbⁿ*}

Khl, Kāhil

Caskel, Kāhil (16 occurrences), Kahl (2 occurrences). See Caskel Kahla, Kahlān
JML-G-17 {*Kh(l)*}

-*khl*

See *bdkhl*, *Hn^okhl*

Khln, Kahlān

Caskel, Kahlān (3 occurrences). See Caskel, Kāhil, Kahl, Kahla
JML-D-68 {*Khln*⁽²⁾ (*bn*) *Hld*}

Klb, Kalb or Kilāb

Caskel Kalb (11 occurrences), Kilāb (18 occurrences). See Caskel Kalba, Kulayb
See BookḤim. Kālēb (Negus), *Klb*
JML-G-95 {*Klb-d*(*D*)*hb*}

**Klb*, Kalb or Kilāb

Caskel Kalb (11 occurrences), Kilāb (18 occurrences). See Caskel Kalba, Kulayb
See BookḤim. Kālēb (Negus), *Klb*
JML-E-16 {**l-Klb*}; JML-G-103 {(*K*)*lb-Mlk-H(r)n*ⁿ}

Klyb, Kulayb

Caskel Kulayb (27 occurrences). See Caskel Kalb, Kilāb, Kalba
See BookḤim. Kālēb (Negus), *Klb*
JML-F-156 {*S*^{1c}*d*ⁿ *Klyb*}

Knf

BookḤim., Kaff, *Kf* (24b)
JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-šgr-Dhl-qry*ⁿ}

**Knh*

See *Krh*

Knnt, Kinānat

Caskel, Kināna (40 occurrences)
JML-E-4 {*bd-šgr*^(B) *Knnt-ʿk>ws*¹-*mqtwy d-ʿT>*¹*lbⁿ-bn*^(C) *mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-54 {*Knnt*
*ʿkws*¹}

**Krh*

See Caskel Kunna
JML-A-4 {*S*²*hn^m-Krh*}; JML-F-35 {*Krh* or *Knh*}

KTB

See *ʿktb*

KWS¹

See *ʿkws*¹

**Kzm*

See Caskel Kuzmān
JML-A-8 {*Nmrt-Kzm*};

— L —

**l-*

JML-D-7 {*l-Ndb^m*}; JML-E-16 {**l-Klb*}; JML-G-6 {*L(d)f-ʿrq* or *l-d-Fʿrq*}; JML-H-186 {trois fois,
l-ʿrs²-(l-Hrⁿ-l)-ʿrs²-s¹w^ʿ}; JML-H-201 {(*R*)*ht*^c or *l-Ht*^c}

L^ʿ

JML-D-53 {*lb*^ʿ-*bn-L*^ʿ}

L^{ʿc}

See JML-H-94 (*L*^{ʿc} *b(n)* ...)

-l'zy

See 'bdl'zy

LB'

See 'lb'

Lb', Lab'

Caskel, Lab' (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Labu', Labwān
JML-F-165 {Lb'}

*Lbt

See Caskel Lubāba
JML-E-17 {Lbt, Nbt or Rbt}

Ldf

JML-G-6 {L(d)f-'rq or l-d-F'rq}

Lġz, Lughz

Caskel Lughz (1 occurrence)
JML-F-17 (Lġz Tms²ms¹ 'bd)

-lh

See 'bdlh, Grmlh (?)

*Lhb, Lahab

Caskel, Lahab (3 occurrences), Lihb (1 occurrence). See Caskel Lahbān
JML-F-126 {Mđh-Gm'-Lhb}

Lhy'tt, Laḥay'athat

Verb lhy + 'tt(r). Caskel, Lahī'a (4 occurrences). See Caskel Laḥy, Liḥyān, Liḥyawṇ
JML-G-8 {Lhy'tt⁽²⁾ bn S¹bl^m}

Lqn

JML-G-89 {Lq(n)}

-lt

See 'ws¹lt; Fs²ylt (?); Grmlt; M'nlt; Tmlt; Tymlt; Whblt; Zydlt;
. (r)qlt (JML-F-81)

— M —

m isolé

JML-E-15; JML-F-169 {(')rb Dg'm m}; JML-H-194

m Isolated Thamūdic

See JML-H-111

M'q'l

JML-G-147 {M'q'l}

M'd, Ma'ad

Caskel Ma'add (1 occurrence), Ma'd (3 occurrences). See Caskel Ma'dān, al-Mu'add (1
occurrence)
JML-H-99 {M'd-b(n)⁽²⁾ (S¹)wd}

**M'd*, *Ma'd*

Caskel *Ma'add* (1 occurrence), *Ma'd* (3 occurrences). See Caskel *Ma'dān*, *Ma'dī*, *Ma'dīkarib*, *al-Mu'add*

JML-G-57 {*M'(d)*}

M'd'l, *Ma'ad'il* or *Ma'dī'il*

See Caskel *Ma'add*, *Ma'd*, *Ma'dān*, *Ma'dī*, *Ma'dīkarib*, *al-Mu'add*

JML-F-84 {(*M*)'*d'l*}; JML-G-148 {*M'd'l*}

M'n, *Ma'n*

Caskel, *Ma'n* (23 occurrences)

JML-H-109 {*M'(n)* ⁽²⁾ *Nm(r)*}

M'nl, *Ma'anallāt*

JML-G-118 {*M'n(lt)* ⁽²⁾ *bn 'bd(l)'zy*}

M'wy, *Mu'āwiya*

Defective written form of *Mu'āwiya*? See Caskel *Mu'āwiya*

JML-H-25 {(*S*¹)*l-M'wy-(bny)*}

M'wyt, *Mu'āwiyat*

Caskel, *Mu'āwiya* (11 colonnes)

Book *Ḥim*, *Mu'āwiyâ*, *M'wy'*, and *Mu'āwiyah*, *M'wyh* (24b [2 times], 25a [3 times], 25b [2 times])

JML-F-3 {*M'wyt*}; JML-F-10 {'*byd-M'wyt*}; JML-F-161 {*Hrt*^m ⁽²⁾ *M'wyt*}; JML-H-81 {*Gdl*-*M'wyt*}; JML-H-101 {*M'wyt*}; JML-H-121 {(.)*hbⁿ-M'wyt-...*}; JML-H-217 {*M'wyt-S¹d*}

Mbqn

JML-F-153 {*Mbqn*}

**Mbt*

JML-G-111 {(*Mb*)*t*}

Mdd

JML-F-74 {*Mdd bn S¹d^m nhmyⁿ*}

**Mdh*

JML-F-126 {*Mdh-Gm'^cLhb*}

**Mdkr*, *Madhkar*

Caskel, *Madhkar* b. *Yām* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *al-Dhakar*

JML-G-77 {*Mdkr*}; JML-H-189 {...-*Mdkr*}

Mdw

JML-H-2 {(*Mdw Mtb*)}

**Mgs²tr*

JML-F-174 {..*m-Mgs²t(r)*}

**Mhs¹hr*

See Caskel *Sāhira*

JML-H-188 {*Mhs¹hr*}

Mhm

JML-H-227 (*N*)'*m-M(h)m*

Mhmy

See Caskel *Maḥmiya*

JML-G-132 {*Dhb^m b(n) ⁽²⁾ Mh(my)-.*}

**Mkfh*

JML-A-21 {*Mkfh*}

mlk, “king”

JML-G-108 {*Mrtd'w ḥḍr mq[²twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(ʿ) w-ḍ-Ry[dⁿ]*}

Mlk, Mālik

Caskel, Mālik (more than 25 columns). See Caskel Malakān, Malkīkarib, Milkān, Mulayka BookḤim, Mālik, *Mlk* (25a, 3 times)

JML-A-2 {*Mlk-ʿws¹*}; JML-A-11 {*Mlk-ʿws¹*}; JML-E-4 {*ʿbd-ʿšgr ^(B) Knnt-ʿ<k>ws¹-mqtwy ḍ-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn ^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-9 {*Mlk ʿbdlh*}; JML-F-11 {*Mlk ʿtwb*}; JML-F-167 {*... (Mlk) ʿbd^m-.*}; JML-H-18 {*Mlk ʿbd*}; JML-H-23 {*Mlk bn ⁽²⁾ (ʿ) s¹l(m)*}; JML-H-26 {*Mlk ⁽²⁾ (K)ʿb*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk-ʿbd*}; JML-H-57 {*Mlk ⁽²⁾ ...*}; JML-H-112 {*(ʿb).. Mlk ʿbdlh*}; JML-H-117 {*Gdn Mlk*}; JML-H-119 {*Mlk qryⁿ*}; JML-H-128 {*Ws²ḥ Mlk*}; JML-H-150 {*ʿw(q)ḍ M(lk)-(Ml)t-Ḥs¹ḍ*}; JML-H-196 {*ʿk^m-.-Mlk-...*}; JML-H-213 {*ʿmr-ʿtwb-Mlk-ʿbdlh*}; JML-H-221 {*(ḍ)-Mlk-Whb*}; JML-H-230 {*Mlk*}

**Mlk*, Mālik

Caskel, Mālik (plus de 25 colonnes). See Caskel Malakān, Malkīkarib, Milkān, Mulayka BookḤim, Mālik, *Mlk* (25a, 3 times)

JML-F-85 {*Mlk ⁽²⁾ (S¹tyt)*}; JML-G-103 {*(K)lb-Mlk-H(r)nⁿ*}

Mlt

JML-H-150 {*ʿw(q)ḍ M(lk)-(Ml)t-Ḥs¹ḍ*}

Mmt, Māmat

Caskel, Māma (1 occurrence)

JML-F-146 {*(M)mt*}

**Mnbh*, Munabbih

Caskel, Munabbih (30 occurrences)

JML-H-104/1 {*Mnbh*}

Mnh

See Caskel Manāt (1 occurrence)

JML-F-113 {*ḥ-Mnh ⁽²⁾ ḥ-ʿḥmr*}

-*mnt*

See *ʿbdmnt*, *Qys¹mnt*

Mqm

JML-F-173 {*Mqmʿtt* or *Mqm-ʿtt*}

Mqmʿtt, theophoric name formed with -ʿtt, abbreviation of ʿtrt, Athirat?

JML-F-173 {*Mqmʿtt* or *Mqm-ʿtt*}

mqtw, “officer”

JML-H-197 {*..krb mqtw ḍ-Gdn^m*}

mqtwy, “officer”

JML-E-4 {*ʿbd-ʿšgr ^(B) Knnt-ʿ<k>ws¹-mqtwy ḍ-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn ^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk*}; JML-G-108 {*Mrtd'w ḥḍr mq[²twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(ʿ) w-ḍ-Ry[dⁿ]*}

Mrh

See Caskel Murra, Murāha

JML-H-32 {*Mrh*, (*Gb.*) and (*Ḡwt^m*)}

Mrkb

JML-G-36 {*Mrkb* or perhaps *Wkb*}

Mrm

JML-H-220 {*Hyⁿ-Mrm*}

**Mrm*

JML-F-102 {*Mrm*}

Mrn, Marrān

Caskel, Marrān (2 occurrences). See Caskel Murayn

JML-H-83 {*Mrⁿ bn Wrq⁽ⁿ⁾*}

**Mrṭ*

See Caskel Murātha (1 occurrence)

JML-H-187 {*Mr^(ṭ)* or *Mr^(ṭ)*; *Rb^ṭ-nṣb*}

Mrṭd^w, Marthad^{aw}

Participle *mrṭd* + ^w. Abbreviation or probable variant in written form of the Sabaean personal name *Mrṭd^wm* (see for instance Ja 712/2-3)

JML-G-108 {*Mrṭd^w ḥḍr mq[^{twy} S²]mr mlk (S¹)b^(^ṭ) w-ḍ-Ry[^{dⁿ]}*}

**Mrṭ*

JML-H-187 {*Mr^(ṭ)* or *Mr^(ṭ)*; *Rb^ṭ-nṣb*}

**Ms¹r*, Mas^{ar}

See Caskel Musāwir

JML-H-191 {*Ms¹r*}

Ms¹lm, Maslama

Defective written form of Maslamat, *Ms¹lmt*, personal name at Ḥimā? Caskel, Muslim (24 occurrences). See Caskel Maslama (19 occurrences)

JML-G-2 {*s¹d Ms¹(l)m*}

Ms²hr

See JML-D-66 {*s¹d⁽²⁾ M(s²)hr. (3) Nmr*}

Ms²lwt

JML-G-114 {*Ms²lwt⁽²⁾ Bw(l)ⁿ*}

Mt^ṭ, Māti^ṭ

Caskel, Māti^ṭ (7 occurrences). See Caskel Mat^ṭān, Mutay^ṭ

JML-H-114 {*Mt^ṭ S¹d*}

Mtb

JML-H-2 {(Mḍw *Mtb*)}

Mth

JML-G-75 {*Mth*}; JML-H-79 {*Mth bn ^(bl)*}

Mtl^ṭ

JML-H-115 {*ws¹(^m M)t(l)*}

**Mw^m*

This personal name can be closened to Ge'ez *mw^ṭ*, *mō^ṭa*, "to vanquish" (*RIÉth* 191 / 3),

JML-H-177 {*Mw^m*}

**Mwg*'

JML-H-174 {*Mwg*'}

**Mys*^{2c}, *Maysha*'

JML-G-145 {*Mys*^{2c}'}

Mzn, *Māzin*

Caskel, *Māzin* (more than 2 columns), *Muzn* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *Muzayna* Book *Ḥim*, *Māzin*, *Mzn* (25a)

JML-F-7 {*Mzn*⁽²⁾ *S*^{2ry}}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S*²(*ry*)}

Myd' , *Mayda*'

See Caskel *Mayda*'ān (1 occurrence)

JML-D-25 {*Myd*'(^o)-*Hn*²⁽²⁾ *m Nmr*'}

**Myḥ*

JML-D-44 A {*Myḥ*^(B) *Qs*^{1ḥ}'}

— N —

**n*'

JML-F-140 (*n*' , unfinished text?)

**N'l*

JML-F-139 {*N'l*'}

N'm, *Na*'ām

Caskel, *Na*'ām (1 occurrence). See Caskel *al-Na*'āma, *Nu*'aym

JML-H-76 {*Hf*^m *w-N*'*m*}; JML-H-227 {(*N*)'*m-M*(*h*)*m*'}

NBH

See *Mnbh*

**Nbt*, *Nabt*

Nabī (1 occurrence), *Nābit* (2 occurrences), *Nabt* (3 occurrences). See Caskel *al-Nabī*, *al-Nabī*ta, *Nubā*ta

JML-E-17 {*Lbt*, *Nbt* or *Rbt*'}

NBT

See **nbt*

Nbṭ'l, *Nabaṭ*'īl

See Caskel *Nubayṭ*

JML-F-22 {*Nbṭ*'*l*'}

**Ndb*^m, *Nadbum*

See Caskel *al-Nadab*

JML-D-7 {*l-Ndb*^m'}

**Nḍr*, *Naḍr*

Caskel *Naḍr* (1 occurrence), *Nuḍār* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *al-Naḍr*, *Naḍra*, *Nuḍayr*, *al-Nuḍayr*

JML-A-20 {*Nḍr*'};

**Ngs*²

See Ge'ez *nagūs* and Arabic *najāshī*?

JML-H-133 {*Ngs*²'}

**Nhkt*

See Caskel Nahik
JML-F-118 {*Nhkt*}

**Nhm*, Nihm

Caskel, Nihm (2 occurrences)
JML-F-31 {*Nhm*}

nhmy, “stonecutter” (stones called *nhmt* or *mnhmt*) or Nihmite (following the name of the tribe of Nihm)

JML-F-74 {*Mdd bn S^{1c}d^m nhmyⁿ*}

NH^c

See *’nh^c*

**Nh^ct*

See Caskel al-Nakhā^c
JML-F-100 {*Nh^ct*}

nhl, “captain of cavalry”

JML-H-17 {*S^{1lmⁿ hl-d-T^llbⁿ}* to be no doubt corrected to *S^{1lm nhl-d-T^llbⁿ}* or *S^{1lmⁿ nhl-d-T^llbⁿ}*}

NMR

’nmr

Nmr, Namir

Caskel, Namir (4 occurrences). See Caskel al-Namir, Namira, Nimrān, Numayr
JML-D-25 {*Myd(’)-Hn^{(2) m Nmr}*}; JML-D-66 {*s^{1d}(²) M(s²)hr. (³) Nmr*}; JML-G-133 {*Rb^l(²) d-Nmr*}; JML-H-109 {*M⁽ⁿ⁾(²) Nm(r)*}

**Nmrt*, Namira

Caskel, Namira (4 occurrences). See Caskel, Namir, al-Namir, Nimrān, Numayr
JML-A-8 {*Nmrt-Kzm*}; JML-G-53 {*Nmrt*}

Nqb^m, Naqb^{um}

Caskel, Naqb (1 occurrence)
JML-F-153 {*Mbqn* or, from left to right, *Nqb^m*}

Nqbt, Naqbat

JML-G-49 {*(Nq)bt*}

Nqd

See Caskel Nuqayd (1 occurrence)
JML-F-15 {*Nqd*}

**Nqm*

See Caskel al-Nāqim (1 occurrence)
JML-H-190 {*.. and Nqm; or ..nqm*}

Nqw

JML-G-135

**Nrt*

JML-H-159 {*Nrt*}

Ns^{1a}

JML-E-26 C {*Ns^{1a}*}; JML-G-71 {*’ls²rḥ-Ns^{1a}*}

nšb, “to erect (a stone or a stela)”

JML-H-187 {*Mr(t)* or *Mr(t̄)*; *Rbʿt-nšb*}

Nšr, Našr, Nāšir

Caskel, Našr (more than two columns). See Caskel Našira, al-Našr
JML-F-111 {*Nšr*}

Nšr^m, Našr^{um}

Caskel, Našr (more than two columns). See Caskel Našira, al-Našr
JML-F-151 {*Nšr^m* or *Nšr^m (2) Ns²wⁿ*}

**Nšrq*

JML-H-137 {*N(š)r(q)*}

Ns²wⁿ, Nashwān

Caskel, Nashwān (1 occurrence). See Caskel Nashwa
JML-F-152 {*Ns²wⁿ* or *Nšr^m (2) Ns²wⁿ*}

— Q —

q, isolated

JML-F-121

Qʿs²mt, Qaʿshamat

JML-D-62 {*Ms¹d (bn) Qʿs²mt* or *S¹dʿ Qʿs²mt*};

Qb^m

Caskel, Qabb (1 occurrence)
JML-F-138 {*(Q)b^(m)*}

Qđ^m

See Caskel Quddāma (?)
JML-A-3 {*Qđ^m-ʿmr*}; JML-H-208 {*Qđ^m-ʿmr*}

**Qđⁿ*

JML-G-121 {*Qđⁿ*}

**Qds²m*

JML-G-15 {*Qds²m*}

Qlzⁿ

JML-G-76 {*Qlzⁿ*}

Qrft, Qirfat

Caskel, Qirfa (6 occurrences)
JML-F-127 {*Qrft*}; JML-F-150 {*Qrft ʿ(2)hmr*}

qryⁿ, “the Qaryot” (nisba de *Qryt*)

JML-H-19 {*qryⁿ*}; JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-ʿšgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-119 {*Mrk qryⁿ*}; see JML-H-122
{...}/*qr(yⁿ)*}

(*)*Qsr*

JML-G-82 {*Qs¹r*}

**Qs¹r^m*, Qasr^{um}

Caskel, Qasr (1 occurrence). See Caskel Qusayr
JML-F-38 {*Qs¹r^m*}

**Qs¹t*, Qāsīt

Caskel, Qāsīt (7 occurrences). See Caskel Qusayt
JML-D-44 B {*Myh*^(B) *Qs¹t*}

QTW

See *mqtwy*

qyn, “minister”

JML-F-77 {*S²(kr)^m-qyn*⁽²⁾ *ḡ-S¹mw*^{(3)y}}

**Qys^m*, Qays^{um}

Caskel, Qays (approximately 18 columns). See Caskel al-Qaysān, Quways
BookḤim, Qays, *Qys* (25a, 25b)
JML-F-154 {*Qys^{1m}-Whb*⁽²⁾ *wd*}

Qys^{1mnt}, Qaysmanāt

Caskal, Qaysmanāt (2 occurrences)
JML-G-90 {*Qys^{1mnt} W*[...]}

— R —

**r*, isolated

JML-F-159

Rb^{ʾl}, Rabbʾīl or Rabbīʾīl

See Caskel al-Rabāb, Rabbān, Rabīb, al-Ribāb, Ribāba
JML-G-133 {*Rb^{ʾl}*⁽²⁾ *ḡ-Nmr*}

Rb^{ʿt}, Rabīʿat

Caskel, Rabīʿa (more than 14 columns). See Caskel Rabīʿ, al-Rabīʿ, Ribʿān, Ribʿī, Rubayʿ,
Rubayʿiyya
BookḤim, Rabīʿa, *Rby^ʿ* (25a)
JML-F-49 {*Rb^{ʿt} Ghft*}; JML-H-187 {*Mr*(*t*) or *Mr*(*t*); *Rb^{ʿt}-nšb*}

Rbb, Rabīb

Rabīb (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Rabāb, Rabbān, Rabīb, al-Ribāb, Ribāba
JML-E-11 {...-*Hy^m-Rbb-*(^ʿ)*zz*}

Rbt

JML-E-17 {*Lbt*, *Nbt* or *Rbt*}

**rbṭw* (?)

JML-H-22 {(*w*)*dd-ʿt...*(*rbṭw.bn*)-ʿ*bd*}

Rgm^m

JML-D-46 {*R*(*g*)*m^m*}

**Rhmⁿ*, Ruhmān

See Caskel Ruhm (28 occurrences)
See BookḤim, Ruhm, *Rhwm* (women)
— *Rhwm brt Azma^ʿ*, (26a), 26b, 30b, 36b, 37a, 38a, 38b, 39a, 39b, 41a, 41b, 42a, 43b, 44a;
and see *Rhwmy* (4b, 36b)
— *Rhwm brt ʿm*ʿ, 38a, 41b, 44a (twice)
— Two other casualties, 30b
See also *Rhwm* and *Rwmy* (spelling variants of the same)
JML-G-29 {*Rhmⁿ*}

*Rḥz(n)

JML-A-12 {Rḥz(n) or Ḥz(n)}

Rḥbⁿ, Raḥbān

See Caskel al-Raḥaba, Raḥb, Ruḥayb

JML-F-72 {Rḥbⁿ}

*Rḥt^c

JML-H-201 {(R)ḥt^c or l-Ḥt^c}

RKB

See *Mrkb*

Rml

JML-G-87 {(Gdd) Rml}

RQM

See *ʾrqm*

*Rs¹b, Rāsib

Caskel, Rāsib (2 occurrences)

JML-G-35 {Rs¹b}

Rs²

JML-G-126 {S²y^crs² or S²y^c·Rs²}

RS²D

See *Yrs²d*

Rs²d, Rāshid

Caskel, Rashad (2 occurrences), Rāshid (11 occurrences). See Caskel Rāshida

JML-H-226 {S¹c^dm-R(s²)d}

*Rth

JML-H-141 {Rth}

RṬD

See *Mṛṭd^ʾw*

Rydⁿ, in *d*-Rydⁿ

JML-G-108 {Mṛṭd^ʾw ʾḥdr mḳ[*twy* S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]}

RYM

See *ʾrym*

— s¹ —

s¹

JML-G-10 (?)

S¹l

See Caskel Sayāl

JML-H-25 {(S¹)l-M^cwy-(bny)}

S¹r

See *Ms¹r*

*S¹r

See Caskel Sayr, Sawra, Sawrān [to be corrected to Su'rān], Sawwār, Sayyār, Sayyāra, Sūr, Suwayra

JML-H-162 {*mhms¹-S¹r*}

S¹cD

See 's¹c

S¹d, Sa'd or Sa'id

See Caskel, Sa'd (more than 11 columns), Sa'dāna, Sa'id (4 columns), Sa'ūd (3 occurrences), Su'ād (1 occurrence). See Caskel Sā'ida, Su'ayd, Su'dā BookHim, Sa'd, S¹d (24b) and Š'd (25b)

JML-H-54 {*S¹(²)d*}; JML-H-73 B {*S¹d tk*}; JML-H-114 {*Mt^c S¹d*};

JML-H-211 {*'bd-Gys²-s¹d S¹d*; or *'bd-Gys²-s¹d* and *S¹d*}; JML-H-217 {*M'wyt-S¹d*}

S¹d'l, Sa'ad'il

Verb s¹d + 'l

JML-D-49 A {*S¹d'l* ^(B) (*..qy*)*mt*}; JML-H-27 {*S¹d'l*}

S¹c^m, Sa'dum or Sa'idum

Caskel, Sa'd (more than 11 columns), Sa'id (4 columns), Sa'ūd (3 occurrences), Su'ād (1 occurrence). See Caskel Sa'dāna, Sā'ida, Su'ayd, Su'dā

JML-F-74 {*Mdd bn S¹c^m nhmy^m*}; JML-H-226 {*S¹c^m-R(s²)d*}

S¹cⁿ

See Caskel Sa'dāna

JML-F-156 {*S¹cⁿ Klyb*}

S¹c^t, Sā'idat

Caskel, Sā'ida (15 occurrences). See Caskel Sa'd, Sa'id, Sa'ūd, Su'ād, Sa'dāna, Su'ayd, Su'dā JML-H-24 {*Whb w-S¹c^t ⁽²⁾ .(bn)y-Twbt*}; JML-H-147 {*S¹c^t*}

*S¹c^t, Sā'idat

Caskel, Sā'ida (15 occurrences). See Caskel Sa'd, Sa'id, Sa'ūd, Su'ād, Sa'dāna, Su'ayd, Su'dā JML-G-74 {*S¹c^t*}

S¹c^y, Su'dā

Caskel, Su'dā (2 occurrences). See Caskel Sa'd, Sa'id, Sā'ida, Sa'ūd, Su'ād, Sa'dāna, Su'ayd JML-F-26 {*S¹c^y*}

S¹b', Saba' (South Arabian kingdom)

JML-G-108 {*Mrt^dw 'ḥdr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

S¹b^m, Sibā'um

Caskel, Sibā' (4 occurrences). See Caskel Sab'a, al-Sabī', Subay' JML-F-88 {*S¹b^m*}

S¹bl^m

See Caskel Sabalān, Subāla. See also al-Sunbula, the "virgin's ear of grain" (zodiac) (Saba'ic S¹bl^t)

JML-G-8 {*Lhy'ṭṭ ⁽²⁾ bn S¹bl^m*}

S¹fr, Safr

Caskel Safr (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Safar

JML-H-151 {*S¹f(r)-(w)dd*}

**S¹ft*

JML-H-161 {*S¹ft*}

S¹HR

See *Mhs¹hr*

S¹lh, *Salīh*

Caskel *Salīh* (1 occurrence)

JML-H-152 {*Gd.-S¹lh*}

S¹LM

See *'s¹lm*; *Ms¹lm*

S¹lm

Caskel, *Salām* (1 occurrence), *Sālim* (43 occurrences), *Sallām* (2 occurrences), *Salm* (7 occurrences). See Caskel *Salama*, *Salāma*, *Salāmān*, *Salima*, *Salīma*, *al-Salm*, *Salmā*, *Salmān*, *Sulaym*, *Sulayma*, *Sulaymān*, *Sulmā*, *Sulmī*

See *BookḤim*, *Šlym* (24b), *Šlym'* (25a), *Šlmh* (25b, twice); *Slwm'* (30b, woman), *Slm'* (24b, 30b, woman)

JML-F-55 {*S¹lm*}; JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ ḥl-d-ṭ¹lbⁿ* no doubt to be corrected to *S¹lm nḥl-d-ṭ¹lbⁿ* or *S¹lmⁿ nḥl-d-ṭ¹lbⁿ*}

S¹lmⁿ

Caskel, *Salāmān* (24 occurrences), *Salmān* (24 occurrences), *al-Salm* (3 occurrences). See Caskel, *Salām*, *Sālim*, *Sallām*, *Salm*, *Salama*, *Salāma*, *Salima*, *Salīma*, *Salmā*, *Sulaym*, *Sulayma*, *Sulaymān*, *Sulmā*, *Sulmī*

JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ ḥl-d-ṭ¹lbⁿ* no doubt to be corrected to *S¹lm nḥl-d-ṭ¹lbⁿ* or *S¹lmⁿ nḥl-d-ṭ¹lbⁿ*}

S¹my

JML-H-68 {(*S¹my*...)}

**S¹mw* or **-s¹mw*

See Caskel *Sāma*, *Sumayy*

JML-G-70 {*Ḥrm-S¹mw* or *Ḥrms¹mw*}

S¹mwy (in *d-S¹mwy*)

JML-F-77 {*S²(kr)^m-qyn⁽²⁾ d-S¹mwy⁽³⁾y*}

See *-s¹mw* in *Ḥrms¹mw*

S¹nn, *Sinān*

Caskel, *Sinān* (53 occurrences). See Caskel *Sanna*

JML-F-133 {*S¹nn*}

**S¹qm*

Caskel *Sāq* (1 occurrence)

JML-A-6 {*bdⁿ-S¹qm-///*}

**S¹tyt*

JML-F-85 {*Mlk⁽²⁾ (S¹tyt)*}

s¹w', "evil" (?)

See also Caskel *Sawā'* (3 occurrences), *Suwā'a*

JML-H-186 {3 times, *l-'rs²-(l-Ḥrn-l)-'rs²-s¹w'*}

S¹wd

Caskel *Sawād* (11 occurrences), *Suwād* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *Sawda*, *Sawāda*, *Suwāda*, *Suwayd*

JML-H-99 {*M'd-b(n)*⁽²⁾ (*S*¹)*wd*}

— *S*² —

**s*², isolated

JML-F-159

**S*²*t*, Sha'th

Caskel, Sha'th (1 occurrence). See Caskel Sha'tha, Sha'thā', al-Sha'thā', Sha'tham, Sha'thān, Shu'ayth, Shu'aytha, Shu'āth

JML-A-24 {*Dkr-S*²*t*}

*S*²*bl*, Shibl

Caskel, Shibl (6 occurrences). See Caskel Shubayl

JML-H-31 {*'mr-S*²*bl*}

*S*²*hr*, Shahr

Caskel Shahr (8 occurrences). See Caskel Shahrān

JML-F-19 {*S*²*hr*}; JML-H-78 {(*S*²)*hr*⁽²⁾ *Wd(t)*}

**S*²*hr*^m, Shahr^{um}

Caskel Shahr (8 occurrences). See Caskel Shahrān

JML-E-14 {*Tr*^(B) *S*²*hr*^m}

**S*²*hn*^m

See Caskel Shaḥna

JML-A-4 {*S*²*hn*^m-*Krh*}; JML-A-27 {*S*²*hn*^m}

**S*²*ht*

JML-D-16 {*S*²*ht*}

*S*²*KR*

See *Ys*²*kr*

*S*²*kr*^m, Shākir^{um}

Caskel, Shākir (brother of Nihm) b. ... Bakīl (1 occurrence), Shakr (1 occurrence)

JML-F-77 {*S*²(*kr*)^m-*qyn*⁽²⁾ *d-S*¹*mw*⁽³⁾*y*}

*S*²*l*

JML-F-50 {*S*²*l*⁽²⁾ *Br*}

*S*²*ll*

JML-G-134 {*S*²*ll*}

**S*²*ll*

See Caskel al-Shalal, Shalla

JML-F-97 {*S*²*ll*}

*S*²*LW*

See *Ms*²*lwt*

*S*²*lw*

JML-G-20 {(*.shm*)-*S*²*lw*}

*S*²*lwm*

See BookHim, *Slwm*' (30b, woman), *Slm*' (24b, 30b, woman)

JML-G-83 {*S*²*lwm*-*B(s*²*r)* or *S*²*lwm* and *B(s*²*r)*}

S^2mr , Shammar

Caskel, Shamir (21 occurrences), Shammar (1 occurrence), Shimr (2 occurrences). See Caskel Shimrān, Shumayr

JML-G-108 {*Mrtd'w ḥḍr maq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

S^2ms^1

See Tms^2ms^1

S^2ms^{1n} , Shams^{um}

Caskel Shamīs (1 occurrence), Shammās (10 occurrence), Shams (3 occurrences), Shums (4 occurrences)

JML-F-168 { S^2ms^{1n} }

* S^2nb

JML-F-43 { S^2nb }

S^2nm^c

JML-H-63 {(S^2) nm^c }

S^2QR

See $'s^2qr$

S^2RH

See $'ls^2rh$

* $S^2rh'l$, Sharah'il

Verb $s^2rh + 'l$. Caskel Sharāḥīl (36 occurrences). See Caskel Shurāḥbīl, Shurayḥ

JML-G-58 {(.)- $S^2r(h'l)$ }

S^2ry , Sharya

Defective written form of Sharya? See Caskel Sharya (2 occurrences)

JML-F-7 { $Mzn^{(2)} S^2ry$ }; JML-H-240 { $Mzn-S^2(ry)$ }

S^2w^n

JML-H-42 {(l) $h^n^{(2)} bn S^2w^{(n)}$ }

S^2y^c

Caskel Shay'allāt

JML-G-126 { $S^2y^c rs^2$ or $S^2y^c-Rs^2$ }

$S^2y^c rs^2$

JML-G-126 { $S^2y^c rs^2$ or $S^2y^c-Rs^2$ }

* S^2yb , Shayb

See Caskel Shayba, Shaybān

JML-F-132 { $Ṣbh^n-wdd-S^2(yb)$ }

S^2yb^n , Shaybān

Caskel, Shaybān (26 occurrences). See Caskel Shayba

JML-E-2 { $S^2yb^n-'bd-Qdr$ or $S^2yb^n-'bdqdr$ }; JML-H-69 { $S^2yb^n-'bd$ }; JML-H-228 { $Dhl S^2yb^n$ }

— § —

ṢBH

See $Yhṣbh$

**Ṣbhⁿ*

Caskel, al-Ṣabbāh (5 occurrences). See Caskel Ṣabbāh, Ṣubāh, Ṣubayh, Ṣubh
JML-F-132 {*Ṣbhⁿ-wdd-S²(yb)*}

ṢGR

See *ṣgr*

ṢHR

See *ṣhr*

**Ṣnn*

JML-F-40 {*Ṣnn*}

Ṣrs²

JML-H-212 {*mr^m-Hrs²* or *mr^m-Ṣrs²*}

— T —

**T^ḥdr*, Ta^ḥdir

See Caskel *ʿAdhar*, *ʿUdhar*, *ʿUdhra*
JML-F-99 {*T^ḥdr*}

Th^ḥry

See Caskel al-*ʿUryān*
JML-H-182 {*T(h)^ḥry*}

Thr^m

JML-G-68 {*Thr^m* or **Zhr^m*}

TL^ḥ

See *Mtl^ḥ*

**Tmlt*, Tēmallāt

Noun *tm* (= *tym*) + *-lt*. Caskel Taymallāt (5 occurrences). See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh,
Tāmmanāt
JML-F-101 {*Tmlt*}

**Tmm*, Tamīm

Caskal, Tamīm (plus de 2 colonnes). See Caskel Tamīma, Tammām
BoohḤim, Tamīm, *Tmym* (24a, 25b)
JML-A-15 {*Tmm*}

Tms²ms¹, Tēmshams

See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh, Taymallāt, Tāmmanāt
JML-F-17 (*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ ʿbd*)

Trf

JML-H-192 {*Trf*}

TYM

See *Tmlt*; *Tms²ms¹*

Tymlt, Taymallāt

Noun *tym* + *-lt*. Caskel Taymallāt (5 occurrences). See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh, Tāmmanāt
JML-G-140 {*Tym(l)t*}

**Tymlt*, Taymallāt

Noun *tym* + *-lt*. Caskel Taymallāt (5 occurrences). See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh, Tāmmanāt
JML-G-98 {(Ty)mlt}

— T —

t, isolated

JML-G-10 (?)

**T^cdy*

JML-G-34 {T^cdy}

T^clbⁿ, Thu^clubān

The name is attested in the Arab-Islamic traditions relating to the massacre of Najrān's Christians by king Yūsuf: it is said that Caesar and the Negus were informed of the massacre by a survivor named Daws dhu-Thu^clubān (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, I, pp. 925 and 927; *History*, 5, pp. 203-206-208).

Dhu-Thu^clubān, princely lineage from Najrān (Robin 2013, pp. 203-204)

JML-E-4 {bd-³ḡr^(B) Knnt-²<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>lbⁿ-bn^(C) 'mr^m-^czz^m-Mlk}; JML-H-17 {S¹lmⁿ ḥl-d-T^clbⁿ to be no doubt corrected to S¹lm nḥl-d-T^clbⁿ or S¹lmⁿ nḥl-d-T^clbⁿ}

T^clbt, Tha^clabat

Caskel (more than 11 columns)

BookḤim, Tha^clabā, T^clb' (24b, 25b)

JML-F-5 {T^clbt}

**Tb(n)^m*

See Caskel Thawbān

JML-G-9 {Tb(n)^m}

**Tb(r)^m*, Thābir^{um}

Caskel, Thābir (1 occurrence)

JML-G-9 {Tb(r)^m}

**Tr*, Thōr

Caskel, Thawr (30 occurrences). See Caskel al-Thuwayr

JML-E-14 {Tr^(B) S²hr^m}

TWB

See *'twb*; *'twb^m*

Twb, Thawb

Caskel, Thawb (5 occurrences), Thawāb (1 occurrence). See Caskel Thawāba, Thawbān

JML-D-47 {Twb}

Caskel Thawb (5 occurrences), Thawāb (1 occurrence). See Caskel Thawbān and Thawāba.

Twbt, Thawābat

Caskel Thawāba (2 occurrences). See Caskel Thawb, Thawāb, Thawbān

JML-F-6 {Twbt ³w⁽²⁾(s¹)}; JML-H-24 {Whb w-S¹dt⁽²⁾ .(bn)y-Twbt}; JML-H-98 {Gdn Hrt⁽²⁾ Twbt K^cb}

Twbⁿ

Caskel Thawbān (5 occurrences). See Caskel Thawb, Thawāb, Thawāba

JML-G-131 {Yḥm³l-bn-Twbⁿ}; JML-H-82 {Bd^(c) Twb⁽ⁿ⁾}; JML-H-143 {(T)wbⁿ (2) ('mr)}

ṬWR

See Ṭr

— Ṭ —

Ṭrr

JML-G-101 {Ṭrr or *Wrr}

— W —

w

JML-G-42 {w and ḡ of large size}

w-

JML-H-76 {Hf^cm w-N^cm}

W^lm, Wā^ʿil^{um}

Caskel, Wā^ʿil (52 occurrences). See Caskel Wā^ʿila
JML-H-5 {W^lm-ḡ-(H)s²r or W^lm-ḡ-(H)s²r}

*W^lm, Wā^ʿil^{um}

Caskel, Wā^ʿil (52 occurrences). See Caskel Wā^ʿila
Wā^ʿil^{um}
BookḤim, Wā^ʿil, W^ʿyl (25a, 25b)
JML-G-30 {W^lm}

*Wbrt, Wabarat

Caskel, Wabara (14 occurrences). See Caskel Wubayr
JML-G-79 {(W)b(r)t}

-wd

See *ʿbdwd*, *Whbwd*

Wd^ʿ, Wadā^ʿ

Caskel Wadā^ʿ (3 attestations), Wādī^ʿ (1 attestation). See Caskel Wadā^ʿa, Wādī^ʿa
JML-H-206 {Wd^ʿ}

Wd^ʿt, Wadā^ʿat

Caskel, Wadā^ʿa (1 attestation), Wādī^ʿa (21 occurrences). See Caskel Wadā^ʿ, Wādī^ʿ
JML-F-123 {Wd^ʿt w⁽²⁾dd ḥ⁽³⁾mr}

wdd, “to be friends with”

JML-F-123 {Wd^ʿt w⁽²⁾dd ḥ⁽³⁾mr}

*wdd, “to be friends with”

JML-F-8{Hld-wdd-... (2) ʿz}; JML-F-78 {(ry)-wdd-ʿ.t}; JML-F-132 {Sbḥⁿ-wdd-S²(yb)}; JML-F-
176 {G(r)m-wdd-.[...]}; JML-H-22 {(w)dd-ʿt...(rbṭw.bn)-ʿbd}; JML-H-151 {S^f(r)-(w)dd}

*Wdd^m, Wadd^{um}

Caskel, Wadd (4 occurrences)
JML-G-78 {(W)dd^m}

Wdt

JML-H-78 {(S²)hr⁽²⁾ Wd(t)}

**Wdt*

JML-H-178 {*Wdt...*}

Wdyd

JML-H-77 {*Wdyd*}

WFY

See *Hf^l*; *Hf^m*; *Hwf^l*; *Hwf^m*; *Hwf^{tt}*

Wfy^m

See Caskel Awfā

JML-H-233 {(*W*)*fy^m*- }

WG[?]

See *Mwg[?]*.

Whb, Wahb

Caskel, Wahb (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbān, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-F-60 {*Bn^l bn Whb*}; JML-F-91 {*Whb*} JML-F-116 {*Whb-(^cdy)*};

JML-H-24 {*Whb w-S^{1c}dt⁽²⁾.(bn)y-Twbt*}; JML-H-51 {*Whb*}; JML-H-221 {(*d*)-*Mlk-Whb*}; JML-H-231 {*Whb*}

Whb^l, Wahab^līl

Verb *whb* + -*l*. Caskel, Wahbīl (3 occurrences). See Caskel Wahb, Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbān, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-F-27 {*Whb^l-Hyw*}; JML-H-108 {*Whb^l bn (S¹..)*}

Whblt, Wahballāt

Verb *whb* + -*lt*. Caskel, Wahballāt (1 occurrence). See Caskel Wahb, Wahballāh, Wahbān, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-D-57 {*Whblt*}; JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Ġrf^m*}

Whb^m, Wahb^{um}

Caskel, Wahb (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbān, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-D-39 {*W(h)b^m*}

**Whb^m*, Wahb^{um}

Caskel, Wahb (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbān, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-A-19 {*Whb^m*}; JML-F-104 {*Whb^m*}

Whbⁿ, Wahbān

Caskel, Wahbān (6 occurrences). See Caskel Wahb, Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-H-107 {*Whbⁿ-^cbd* (or *Whbⁿ* and ^c*bd*)}; JML-H-219 {*Whbⁿ*}

**Whbwd*, Wahabwadd

Verb *whb* + -*wd*. See Caskel Wahb, Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbān, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-F-154 {*Qys^{1m}-Whb⁽²⁾wd*}

**Whd*

See Caskel al-Wahīd

JML-F-125 {*Whd*}

Wkb
 JML-G-36 {*Mrkb* or perhaps *Wkb*}

Wmg or *Wml*
 JML-H-225 {*Wmg* or *Wml*}

WQD
 See *wqd*

WQR
 See *yqr*

**wqr*, “to draw, to carve, to engrave”
 JML-G-64 {*m(h)r-wq(r)*}; JML-G-120 {*wqr*}

Wrqⁿ, Waraqān
 See Caskel Waraqa, Warqa, Warqā'
 JML-H-83 {*Mrⁿ bn Wrq⁽ⁿ⁾*}

**Wrr*
 JML-G-101 {*Trr* or **Wrr*}

Ws^{1c}, Wāsi^c
 Caskel, Wāsi^c (5 occurrences). See Caskel al-Wasī'
 JML-F-51 {*Ws^{1c}(^c)*}

Ws^{2h}, Wāshih
 Caskel, Wāshih (3 occurrences)
 JML-H-128 {*Ws^{2h} Mlk*}

Wṣⁿ
 JML-G-25 {*(Wṣⁿ)ⁿ*}

Wtrⁿ
 JML-H-65 {*'bd-Wt(r)ⁿ*}

**Wyfⁿ*
 JML-A-22 {*Wyfⁿ*}

**Wywh*
 JML-H-193 {*Wyhw* }

— Y —

-y
 See *T^cdy*

Y^cdr, Ya^cdhir
 See Caskel 'Adhar, 'Udhar, 'Udhra
 JML-F-12 {*Y^cdr* and *Y^cdr*}

YD^c
 See *Myd^m*

Ydkr, Yadhkur
 See Caskel al-Dhakhir, Madhkar
 JML-D-64 {*Ydkr*}

Ygyb

JML-G-65 {(Y)g(yb)}

Yhʿn, Yuhaʿīn

JML-G-138 {Yhʿn}

Yhfr

JML-G-18 {(Yhfr)}; JML-H-160 {Hfʿl⁽²⁾ Yhfr}

Yhšbh, Yuhašbiḥ

JML-H-146 {Yhšbh}

Yḥ(dr)

JML-H-173 {Hb(r) and Yḥ(dr)}

Yḥmʿl, Yaḥmīʿl

Unaccomplished verb *yḥm-* (root HMY) + -ʿl. See Caskel Ḥamāya, Ḥāmiya
JML-F-115 {Yḥmʿl}; JML-G-131 {Yḥmʿl-bn-Ṭwbⁿ or Yḥmʿl-bn-Ṭwbⁿ-ḍ-Btt}

**yqr*, “to draw, to carve, to engrave”

JML-G-123 {.(y)w-y(q)r}

Yrs²d

See Caskel Rashad, Rāshid, Rāshida
JML-H-3 {...⁽²⁾ Yrs²d..⁽³⁾ ...n..}

YS²c

See *Mys²c*

**YS²kr*

See Caskel Shākir, Shakr
JML-F-57 {YS²(k)r}

Yzd, Yazīd

Caskel Yazīd (approximately 10 columns). See Caskel Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl,
Zaydmanāt, Zāʿid, Zāʿida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
BookḤim, Yazīd, Yzyd (25a, twice)
JML-H-104 / 2 {Yzd}

— z —

**Zʿn*

JML-F-85 {Zʿn}

Zʿfyt

JML-H-149 {Zʿfyt}

Zbd, Zabd

Caskel, Zabd (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Zabd, Zubayd
JML-G-22 {Zbd}

Zbyd, Zubayd

Caskel, Zubayd (20 occurrences). See Caskel Zabd, al-Zabd
JML-H-6 {Zbyd⁽²⁾ bn Bḡḍ}; JML-H-10 {Zbyd bn⁽²⁾ Bḡḍ}

Zd^l, *Zēd*^{il}

Verb *zd* (= *zyd*) + -^l. Caskel Caskel, Zaydīl (2 occurrences). See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-F-108 {{*Zd*^l}};

**Zd*^m, *Zēd*^{um}

Caskel, Zayd (approximately 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-G-55 {{*Zd*^m-*Hb*^m}}

**Zhr*^m

Arabe Zāhir, Zahr; see also al-Zahr, Zahrān, Zuhayr
JML-F-136 {{(*Zh*)*r*^m}}; JML-G-68 {{*Thr*^m or **Zhr*^m}}

ZYD

See *Yzd*, *Zd*^m

Zyd, Zayd

Caskel, Zayd (approximately 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-G-11 {{*Zyd*/ or *Zyd*⁽ⁿ⁾}}; JML-H-62 {{*Zyd*}}

Zyd^l, Zayd^{il}

Verb *zd* (= *zyd*) + -^l. Caskel Caskel, Zaydīl (2 occurrences). See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-F-79 {{*Zyd*^l}}

*Zydl*t, Zaydallāt

Verbe *zd* (= *zyd*) + -*lt*. Caskel, Zaydallāt (2 occurrences). See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-D-58 {{*Zydl*t⁽²⁾ (*G*)*rmlt*}}; JML-H-4 {{*Grmt*⁽²⁾ *Zydl*t}}

Zyd^m, Zayd^{um}

Caskel, Zayd (nearly 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-E-19 {{(*Z*)*yd*^m}}; JML-F-130 {{*Zyd*^m}}; JML-H-222 {{*Zyd*^m-^{zz}}}

**Zyd*^m, Zayd^{um}

Caskel, Zayd (nearly 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-F-36 {{*Zyd*^m-*hb*-*Hbbt*}}

**Zyd*ⁿ, Zaydān

See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā³id, Zā³ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-G-11 {{*Zyd*/ or *Zyd*⁽ⁿ⁾}}

B — Thematic index of texts

Attributive person's name

ḥdr

Arabic (Arabic texts)

JML-D-8; JML-E-5; JML-E-24; JML-E-27; JML-E-28; JML-E-29; JML-E-33; JML-E-34; JML-E-35; JML-E-36; JML-E-37; JML-F-14; JML-F-18; JML-F-23; JML-F-25; JML-F-52; JML-F-53; JML-F-68; JML-F-69; JML-F-73; JML-F-82; JML-F-120; JML-F-160; JML-F-162; JML-F-178; JML-G-92; JML-H-87; JML-H-90; JML-H-92; JML-H-93; JML-H-131

Tied letters

ʿ+l: JML-D-49 A {*S¹d'l*^(B) (.qy)mt}; JML-D-53 {*ʿlbʿbn-Lʿ*}; JML-F-13 {*ʿls²rḥ*}; JML-G-58 {*(.)-S²r(hʿl)?*}; JML-G-71 {*ʿls²rḥ-Ns¹*}; JML-G-131 {*Yḥmʿl-bn-Ṭwbⁿ*}; JML-G-147 {*Mʿqʿl*}; JML-H-27 {*S¹dʿl*}

ʿ+s¹: JML-D-66 {*ʿs¹d*⁽²⁾ M(*s²*)hr. ⁽³⁾ Nmr}; JML-G-13 {*ʿs¹dm*}

b+d: JML-F-17 {*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ʿbd*}

b+l: JML-H-79 {*Mth bn ʿ(bl)*}

h+b: JML-F-91 {*Whb*}

South Arabian monograms

JML-F-89 (*w, ʿ, m, r*); JML-G-8 (*l, h, t, t = Lhyʿtt*)

See JML-D-62 (?); JML-F-180 (?)

Double nouns repeated in several texts

ʿbs²t-Ḥbb: JML-A-5; JML-A-28

Fs²ylt-Bdyt: JML-D-15; JML-G-31

Gdn Ḥrt: JML-H-56 {*Gdn*⁽²⁾ *Ḥrt*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Ḥrt*⁽²⁾ *Ṭwb^t Kʿb*}

Mlk-ʿws¹: JML-A-2; JML-A-11;

Mlk ʿbd: JML-H-18 {*Mlk ʿbd*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk-ʿbd*}

Mlk ʿbdlh: JML-F-9 {*Mlk ʿbdlh*}; JML-H-112 {*(ʿb).. Mlk ʿbdlh*}; JML-H-213 {*ʿmr-ṿtwb- Mlk-ʿbdlh*}

Mzn S²ry: JML-F-7 {*Mzn*⁽²⁾ *S²ry*}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S²(ry)*}

Qdm ʿmr: JML-A-3 {*Qdm-ʿmr*}; JML-H-208 {*Qdm-ʿmr*}

Yʿdr: JML-F-12 {*Yʿdr* and *Yʿdr*}

Zbyd bn Bǧd: JML-H-6; JML-H-10

See also JML-E-2 {*S²ybn-ʿbd-Qdr* or *S²ybn-ʿbdqdr*}; JML-H-69 {*S²ybn-ʿbd*}

Mīmation

In South Arabian personal names: *ʿglm* (?); *ʿs¹rm*; *ʿtwbm*; *ʿmr^m*; *ʿsr^m*; *ʿzzm*; *Bḥrm*; *Dḥbm*; *Ǧrf^m*; *Hn^m*; *(Ḥ)dd^m*; *Ḥy^m*; *(Q)b^(m)* (?); *Qd^m*; *R(g)m^m*; *S¹d^m*; *S¹bl^m*; *S²(kr)^m*; *Thrm* (?); *W^ll^m*; *Wfy^m*; *W(h)b^m*

In Thamūdīc personal names: **Byn^m*; **F(h)tt^(m)*; **Gfm* (?); **Ǧt^m*; **Hfk^m*; **Hb^m*; **Hg^m* (?); **Kzm* (?); *Mrm* (?); **Ndb^m*; *Qds²m*; **Qs¹rm*; **Qys¹m*; **S¹qm* (?); **S²ḥn^m*; **S²hr^m*; **W^ll^m*; **Wdd^m* (?); **Whb^m*; **Zd^m*; **Zhr^m*; **Zyd^m*

South Arabian palaeography

— *alif* with the appendix in the shape of a thunderbolt: JML-F-54 {*Knnt ʿkws¹*}

— *alif* with the appendix formed with two dashes, the first vertical and the second cutting the first one obliquely: JML-G-108 {*Mrt^dw ʿḥdr mq[*twy S²*]mr mlk (S¹)b(ʿ) w-ḍ-Ry[*dⁿ*]*}

- *bā'* with a broken horizontal segment: JML-F-17 {*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ 'bd*}, JML-F-49 {*Rb^t Ghft*} and JML-H-18 {*Mlk 'bd*}
- **dāl with a small triangle:**
- *fā'* in the shape of a small square with a segment on top and below: JML-H-214 {*Hrt Hrs²ft*}; JML-H-215 {*Ġtfn*}
- *hā'* with a broken horizontal segment: JML-F-19 {*S²hr*}
- *jīm* and *lām* with the appendix in the shape of a triangle: JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-F-169 {*(^c)rb Dg^cm m*}; JML-H-228 {*Dhl S²ybⁿ*}
- *nūn* in the shape of a thunderbolt: JML-F-54 {*Knnt 'kws¹*}
- Broken *rā'*: JML-F-12 {*Y^cdr* and *Y^cdr*}; JML-F-150 {the second *rā'* of *Qrft⁽²⁾hmr*}; JML-F-151 {*Nšr^m*}; JML-H-4 {*Grmt⁽²⁾ Zydlt*}
- Serpent-shaped *rā'*: JML-A-3 {*Qd^m-^cmr*}; JML-E-11 {...-*Hy^m-Rbb-(^c)zz*}; JML-E-17 {*Lbt, Nbt* or *Rbt*}; JML-H-39 {second *rā'*, *K(nf)-^cšgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-56 {*Gdn⁽²⁾ Hrt*}; JML-H-64 {*'mr-^cmr- Hld*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Hrt*}; JML-H-218 {*'mr Ġdr*}; JML-H-220 {*Hyn-Mrm*}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S²(ry)*}
- Serpent-shaped *rā'* with a dash at both ends: JML-F-161 {*Hrt^m⁽²⁾ M^cwyt*}
- *rā'* with extremities turned towards the back (in the shape of an inverted *s²*): JML-E-2 {*S²ybⁿ-^cbd-Qdr*}; JML-E-4 {A *'bd-^cšgr* and C *'mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-7 {*Mzn⁽²⁾ S²ry*}; JML-F-169 {*(^c)rb Dg^cm m*}; JML-G-108 {*Mrt^dw^c h^cdr mqtwy S²Jmr mlk (S¹)b(^c) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}; JML-H-18 {*qryⁿ*}; JML-H-31 {*'mr-S²b*}; JML-H-39 {second *rā'*, *K(nf)-^cšgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-187 {*Rb^t-nšb*}; JML-H-212 {*'mr^m-Hrs²* or *'mr^m -Šrs²*}; JML-H-214 {*Hrt Hrs²ft*}
- See also JML-H-121 {*Hgr*}
- *rā'* in the shape of a *shīn*: JML-H-38 {*'mr F(s²yl)t*}
- *wāw* in the shape of two circles: JML-H-213 {*'mr-^ctwb-Mlk-'bdlh*}; JML-H-217 {*M^cwyt-S¹d*}
- *wāw* of large size: JML-D-19 {*'hw*}; JML-E-3 {*'twb^m-^cbd*}; JML-F-27 {*Whb^l-Hyw*}; JML-F-158 {*'twb^m*}; JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Ġrf^m*}; JML-H-21 {*(^c)ws¹(^c)*}
- Widenings at the end of shafts: JML-D-15 {*Fs²ylt⁽²⁾ Bdyt*}; JML-E-3 {*'twb^m-^cbd*}; JML-E-11; JML-F-151 {*Nšr^m*}; JML-F-152 {*Ns²wⁿ*}
- Triangle at the end of shafts: the *dāl* of JML-H-58 {*Hyy-^cdy*}
- Dashes at the end of shafts (sometimes becoming small circles): JML-A-2 {*Mlk-^cws¹*}; JML-A-11 {*Mlk-^cws¹*}; JML-F-6 {*Twb^t w⁽²⁾(s¹)*}; JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-F-10 {*'byd-M^cwyt*}; JML-F-161 {*Hrt^m⁽²⁾ M^cwyt*}; JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ hl-d-T^clbⁿ*}; JML-H-73 {A *Hzmt-^cs¹lm*}; JML-H-226 {*S¹d^m-R(s²)d*}

Papponymy

JML-H-64 {*'mr-^cmr-Hld*}

Sequences of 4 names

JML-H-211 {*'bd-Gys²-^cs¹d S¹d*; or *'bd-Gys²-^cs¹d* and *S¹d*}

JML-H-213 {*'mr-^ctwb-Mlk-'bdlh*}

Mixed South Arabian and Thamūdic texts

See JML-D-58 {*Zydlt⁽²⁾ (G)rmlt*, South Arabian text with Thamūdic *gīm*}; JML-G-16 {*Ġwt^m*, with South Arabian and Thamūdic *ġ* and *mīm*}

Ostentatious Thamūdic

JML-F-61

Vertical Thamūdic

JML-G-110 {*'tm*}

South Arabian separation stroke (absence)

JML-D-53 {*lb²-bn-L²*.}; JML-E-4 {*bd-ṣgr*^(B) *Knnt-²<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>lbⁿ-bⁿ*^(C) *mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-E-11 {...-*Hy^m-Rbb-⁽²⁾zz*}; JML-F-10 {*byd-M²wyt*}; JML-F-27 {*Whb²-Hyw*}; JML-F-166 (*Bd²*)-*H(w)^fm*; JML-G-31 {*Fs²ylt-Bdyt*}; JML-G-71 {*ls²rh-Ns¹*}; JML-G-95 {*Klb-d-(D)hb*}; JML-G-127 {*dd²-B(n)*}; JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Gr^fm*}; JML-G-131 {*Yhm²-bn-Twbⁿ*}; JML-H-5 {*W²l^m-d-(H)s²r* or *W²l^m-d-(H)s²r*}; JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-ṣgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-51 {*Dws¹-ws¹*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk-²bd*}; JML-H-58 {*Hy^y-dy*}; JML-H-64 {*mr-²mr-Hld*}; JML-H-69 {*S²ybⁿ-²bd*}; JML-H-70 {*twb-²zz*}; JML-H-73 A {*Hzmt-²s¹lm*}; JML-H-99 {*M²d-b(n)*⁽²⁾ (*S¹*)*wd*}; JML-H-105 {*m(r)-B.*}; JML-H-152 {*Gd.-S¹lh*}; JML-H-211 {*bd-Gys²-²s¹d S¹d*; or *bd-Gys²-²s¹d* and *S¹d*}; JML-H-213 {*mr-²twb-Mlk-²bdlh*}; JML-H-222 {*Zyd^m-zz*}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S²(ry)*}

Wasm

JML-G-4 (*wasm* composed of a circle and two vertical dashes)

Pre-print / Version auteurs

C — Thematic index of images

The descriptions below are a first stage to build functional categories. They are based only on the nature of the images. They take into account neither the carving techniques nor the composition of panels (which are sometimes significant). The main criteria we have retained in the description are:

Posture: standing, lying down

Orientation: full-face, in profile; towards/to the left; towards/to the right (looking left; looking right)

Appearance: at rest; in motion; trotting; galloping

Dromedary's hump: in the form of a bell-shaped hat; in the shape of a sugar loaf; triangular; square

Neck: raised; extended forwards

Head: with an open mouth/muzzle; with ears

Forelegs and hind legs: conflated; distinguishable/recognizable; vertical; sloping; with swellings at the extremities

Tail: falling/drooping; raised; raised and curved/turning around like a hook; fan-shaped

Surface: unabraded; partly abraded; entirely abraded

The names of animal categories are conventional, since the drawings do not permit precise identifications (assuming that they are realistic)

Fauna

The categories we use are based on appearance only, or rather on the drawing given by the carvers of petroglyphs. To designate these categories, it seemed preferable to us to refer to popular denominations, for two reasons. The first is that these names are more accessible for non-specialists; the second is that the biological classification (or taxonomy) uses multiple criteria which, for most, do not belong to appearance. The denominations used thus include an arbitrary component. So as to not be the cause of ambiguity, we shall list them, possibly with criteria attached to them and some remarks.

Antelope (ruminant quadruped of the family of bovids)

We order under this entry all the ruminants that are not bovines, sheep, or ibexes. We exclude oryxes which are indexed with a specific entry.

JML-B-15; JML-G-3; JML-G-60; JML-G-144; JML-G-146; JML-H-207 (?)

Ostrich

JML-B-3; JML-D-12; JML-E-13; JML-G-112

Bovine

JML-B-4; JML-D-5; JML-D-11; JML-H-96; JML-H-200; JML-H-205

See also JML-G-142 (two quadrupeds confronting each other?) and JML-H-199 (sketch of a quadruped looking right).

See also: "Human figure milking a cow"

Horse without a horseman, in flying gallop

JML-D-55

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in flying gallop; the surface is unabraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-G-54

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in flying gallop; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-C-3; JML-H-88

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in motion; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-F-63; JML-H-30 n°1

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, at rest; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-G-52; JML-H-30 n° 3; JML-H-30 n° 5

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, in flying gallop; the surface is partly abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML H-91

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, in flying gallop; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

Horseman on a galloping horse brandishing a spear

JML-C-1; JML-C-4; JML-C-8; JML-C-9; JML-C-10; JML-C-12; JML-D-17; JML-D-21; JML-D-22; JML-D-23; JML-D-26; JML-D-32; JML-D-33; JML-D-34; JML-D-35; JML-D-37; JML-D-52; JML-D-55; JML-D-61; JML-D-63; JML-F-66; JML-H-30 n° 7; JML-H-30 n° 8; JML-H-40; JML-H-88; JML-H-89; JML-H-122; JML-H-123

Type 2: Horseman brandishing a spear or a scimitar

JML-C-4; JML-D-36; JML-D-61; JML-F-70; JML-F-71; JML-F-134; JML-G-40; JML-H-16

Type 3: Horseman brandishing an unclear object or simply raising his arm

JML-E-10; JML-G-26; JML-G-85; JML H-59

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, in motion; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-A-1; JML-C-4; JML-E-1; JML-H-30 n°2

Type 2: Horseman brandishing a sword

JML-C-2; JML-C-4; JML-G-97; JML-H-47

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, at rest; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-F-179; JML-H-30 n° 4; JML-H-30 n° 6

Type 2: Horseman brandishing a sword or a scimitar

JML-D-71; JML-H-37; JML-H-43

Type 3: Horseman brandishing a standard (?)

JML-D-31

Horseman hunting, pursuing or escorting several dromedaries

JML-E-1; JML-F-179; JML-G-54

Dog

JML-B-14; JML-C-11; JML-H-124

See also JML-H-198.

Dromedary

All the dromedaries of ‘Ān Jamal are standing. There are at Ḥimā some rock carvings of crouching dromedaries, but they are very rare (see [Fig. 500](#), one example).

Only three dromedaries are mounted.

Insert Fig. 500 here

Fig. 500: Sector of al-Ṣammā’ in the Najd Sahī. Rare depiction of a crouching dromedary (MAFSN).

Dromedary, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, unabraded

JML-B-11; JML-G-45; JML-G-54; JML-G-109; JML-H-53

Unmounted dromedary, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in motion, abraded

JML-G-12; JML-G-136

Female dromedary, unmounted, forelegs and hind legs are not individually distinguishable/recognizable, unabraded

JML-C-5

Unmounted dromedary, partly abraded

JML-B-12; JML-B-13; JML-G-73

See also JML-H-13

Unmounted dromedary, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, entirely abraded

Type 1: Isolated dromedary, without associated text or drawing

JML-B-5; JML-G-86

Type 2: Hunted dromedary

JML-E-1

Type 3: Simple sketch of small dimensions

JML-C-6; JML-D-9; JML-E-7; JML-E-8; JML-E-12; JML-F-1; JML-F-179; JML-G-5; JML-G-21;
JML-H-36; JML-H-71

Female dromedary, with her calf (unmounted, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, entirely abraded)

JML-B-1

Unmounted dromedary, in flying gallop, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, entirely abraded

JML-D-51; JML-F-83

Unmounted dromedary, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, equipped with a saddle, entirely abraded

JML-D-70; JML-H-28

Unmounted dromedary, standing, at rest, forelegs and hind legs individually distinguishable/recognizable, entirely abraded

Type 1: Very large dromedary, carefully drawn and slightly stylized

JML-H-94; JML-H-95

Type 2: Simple sketch of small dimensions

JML-C-13; JML-D-69

See also JML-E-8, dromedary on the left, which has individually recognizable legs.

Unmounted dromedary, undistinguishable

See JML-H-55

Loaded dromedary(?)

JML-F-171

See also JML-G-136

Mounted dromedary, standing, at rest, fore and hind legs individually recognizable, unabraded

JML-D-23

Mounted dromedary, in motion

JML-C-7; JML-D-6; JML-F-172

Hypothetical dromedary

See JML-D-23.

Feline, lion

JML-D-10; JML-D-14 (?); JML-G-122

See also JML-G-142.

Ibex

JML-G-14; JML-H-11; JML-H-41; JML-H-61

Oryx (quadruped belonging to the hippotragi, a sub-family of bovids, with long and straight horns)

JML-C-11; JML-H-13; JML-H-124; JML-H-198

Unidentified quadruped

JML-A-29 (?); JML-D-23; JML-D-27; JML-E-8; JML-F-175 (oryx?); JML-G-3 (antelope?); JML-G-5; JML-G-134; JML-G-142; JML-H-35; JML-H-44; JML-H-46 (dromedary?); JML-H-60; JML-H-72; JML-H-96 (three undistinguishable and unclear quadrupeds); JML-H-125; JML-H-204; JML-H-207 (leaping animal, looking right)

Unfinished quadruped (?)

JML-B-8; JML-H-125

Snake

JML-A-13 (long undulating line surrounding a graffito)

JML-H-111 (long undulating line superimposed on a Thamūdic *mīm*)

See also JML-D-67 (four undulating lines, more or less long, perhaps depictions of snakes)

Flora

Palm tree

JML-F-67; JML-G-28

Human figures

Horseman: see Horse

Couple (man and woman)

JML-B-6; JML-F-170

See also JML-B-2

Woman

All human figures bearing a weapon or using it are considered as “men.” Those that do not have one are described as “women.”

Woman standing full-face, with long hair and raised arms

Human figure, probably female, standing full-face, arms raised with open hands. The hair falls in long braids. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded.

Type 1: The waist is very slender in relation to the bust and hips

JML-B-2; JML-B-9; JML-D-28; JML-D-29; JML-D-41; JML-D-60; JML-D-67; JML-G-119; JML-H-29

Type 2: The bust is depicted with a long, thickened line above the stomach in the shape of an entirely abraded circle.

JML-F-159

Pregnant woman (?)

JML-F-41

Woman in labour

JML-H-34

Man

All human figures bearing a weapon or using it are considered as “men.” Those who do not have one are described as “women.”

Man: See also “Mounted horse” under “Fauna.”

Standing man, brandishing a spear or stick/rod

Type 1, with a crown

JML-G-117

Type 2, without crown

JML-F-34; JML-H-97

Standing man, brandishing a rifle or a stick/rod

JML-F-135

Standing man shooting with a bow

JML-B-7 (?); JML-D-2; JML-D-3; JML-D-4; JML-H-130

Standing man shooting with a rifle

JML-A-1; JML-D-54

Human figure

All human figures bearing a weapon or using it are considered as “men.” Those who do not have one are described as “women.” Also refer to these two entries.

Standing man, with raised arms

JML-D-30; JML-F-56; JML-G-124

See also JML-H-56

Standing human figure, with one or two oversized hands

JML-D-13; JML-G-130

Human figure milking a cow

JML-D-11

Unclear human figure

JML-G-146; JML-H-14; JML-H-15 (standing human figure, with arms raised)

JML-H-37 (horseman and unclear figures)

JML-H-204 (two standing human figures, roughly sketched)

Human figure: See also “Mounted horse” under “Fauna”

Various Images

Frame surrounding a text

JML-H-4 {Grmt ⁽²⁾ Zydlt}

JML-H-81 {*Gdlt-M'wyt*}

Pointed circle

JML-F-62

Circle and rectangle

JML-H-7

Cross (?)

JML-F-112

Star

See JML-G-28: Two long vertical lines ending in a star.

Enigmatic figure

JML-B-10: The two vertical lines of different lengths, which are extended by a horizontal line, are unparallel. Their interpretation is uncertain.

JML-F-33: Set of lines that represent a building or a stylized animal.

Foot (outline of a foot wearing a shoe)

JML-A-14

Game board

See JML-A-32; JML-F-180; JML-H-85

Weapons and other equipment

Bow

See JML-B-7; JML-D-2; JML-D-3; JML-D-4; JML-H-97 (?); JML-H-130

Stick/rod

See JML-F-41; JML-F-135 (?); JML-G-117 (?); JML-H-97 (?)

Sword

See JML-C-2 (?); JML-C-4; JML-D-6; JML-D-36; JML-D-61; JML-F-134 (?); JML-G-40 (?); JML-G-97 (?); JML-H-37; JML-H-47

Rifle

See JML-A-1; JML-D-54 (?); JML-D-55 (?); JML-F-135 (?)

Spear

See JML-A-1; JML-C-1; JML-C-3; JML-C-4; JML-C-7; JML-C-8; JML-C-9; JML-C-10; JML-C-12; JML-D-17; JML-D-18; JML-D-21; JML-D-22; JML-D-23 (?); JML-D-26; JML-D-32; JML-D-33; JML-D-34; JML-D-35; JML-D-37; JML-D-52; JML-D-55; JML-D-61; JML-D-63; JML-E-1; JML-F-34; JML-F-63; JML-F-66; JML-F-179; JML-G-52; JML-G-54; JML-G-117 (?); JML-H-16 (?); JML-H-30/1-8; JML-H-40; JML-H-88; JML-H-89; JML-H-91 (?); JML-H-97 (?); JML-H-122; JML-H-123

Dagger

See JML-B-6; JML-D-6; JML-D-30 (?); JML-D-61; JML-F-34; JML-F-135; JML-G-26; JML-H-130

Saddle

See JML-D-70 (domedary); JML-H-28 (?) (dromedary)

Pre-print / Version auteurs

Index

A — Lexical and onomastic index of the pre-Islamic texts

The order of letters is the Latin alphabet order of the *Dictionnaire sabéen*:

’ , ; b, d, ḡ, ḡ, f ḡ, ḡ, h, ḡ, ḡ, k, l, m, n, q, r, s¹, s², s³, ṣ, t, ṭ, ṭ, w, y, z, ḏ.

Only proper nouns and words whose reading is reasonably certain are listed in this index.

Personal names in South Arabian script, and those in Thamūdīc Ḥimā’ite (the latter signalled by a star, *) are separate, with different entries, in order to facilitate the comparison of personal names in these two types of graffiti.

A vocalization of personal names is suggested when the structure allows it (for instance for those formed on the *afal* scheme, though schemes *afāl*, *aful* or *afūl* are also conceivable). It can also be based on the corresponding personal names recorded in Arabic in Arab genealogies (with a reference to Ibn al-Kalbī)¹ or in Syriac in the list of victims of king Yūsuf’s persecutions (in the *Book of the Himyarites*).

It seemed to us premature to compare the onomastics of Ḥimā with those of South Arabia and of the rest of Desert Arabia. Only a few preliminary remarks emphasize the most important data.

* = ḥimā’ite

BKR: Roman capital letters are used for the roots

Tmm: The initial capital letter signals a proper noun, as in English.

.ḡḡ’

JML-G-127 {ḡḡ’-B(n)}

-’ (ending in *alif*)

JML-G-105 {(K)b(s¹)}

*’ṣm, A’ṣam

See Caskel ‘Āṣim, ‘Iṣām, ‘Iṣma, ‘Uṣaym, ‘Uṣayma, ‘Uṣm

JML-G-50 {’ṣm}

*’zz, A’zaz

See Caskel ‘Azīz, ‘Azza

JML-H-163 {’zz}

’b

See ‘bd’bh

’b’m, Abī’amm

JML-G-115 {(H)b^m-bn-(’b’m)}

¹ The number of occurrences, when it is very high, is the number of columns that are given, it being understood that a column contains some thirty entries. This number allows one to know whether the proper noun is frequent or not.

ʾbyḏ, Abyaḏ

See Caskel al-Abyaḏ, Bayḏ, al-Bayḏāʾ, Bayāḏa JML-F-10 {ʾbyḏ-Mʿwyt}

*ʾdm, Ādam.

Caskel: Ādam (1 occurrence); see also Udd and al-Udūm
JML-F-93 {(ʾd)m}

ʾgg^m

See *ʾgl^m*

ʾgl^m

JML-H-129 {ʾrqm⁽²⁾ ʾ(gl)^m}

ʾhmr, Akhmar

See Caskel Khamar, Khamra, Khumayr
JML-F-113 {ḥ-Mnh⁽²⁾ ḥ-ʾhmr}; JML-F-123 {Wdʿt w⁽²⁾dd ʾh⁽³⁾mr}; JML-F-150 {Qrft⁽²⁾hmr}

ʾhnf, Akhnaḥ

See Caskel al-Akhnaḥ, Khunaf
JML-G-23 {ʾhnf/}

ʾhwl, Akhwal

See Caskel Khawla, Khawlān, Khawlī
JML-D-19

ʾhdb, Aḥḏab

See Caskel al-Aḥḏab, Ḥudbān
JML-F-2 {ʾhdb}

ʾhḏr, Aḥḏhar

This could be an attributive noun that would signal the person's belonging to the aristocracy, or a patronym (the personal name borne by the father). In Ja 818 / 4 (only other attestation), *ʾhḏr* is a personal name.

JML-G-108 {Mrḏdʿw ʾhḏr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]}

ʾh(t)

JML-F-121 {ʾh(t)}

ʾktb, Aktab

JML-F-107 {(ʾk)tb}

ʾkws¹, Akwas

JML-E-4 {A ʾbd-ʾšgr; B Knnt-ʾw<k>s¹-mqtwy ḏ-<T>ʾlbⁿ-bn; C ʾmr^m-ʾzz^m-Mlk}; JML-F-54 {Knnt
ʾkws¹}

ʾl (name of a god)

See -ʾl

ʾl, Ilā (?)

See Caskel Ila (2 occurrences)
JML-E-9 {ʾl-ʾbyḏ}

ʾl, arabe *āl*, lineage

See JML-E-9 {ʾl-ʾbyḏ}; JML-H-165 {ʾl-(?)mr}; JML-F-148 {(ʾl-ʾws¹)}

ʾl- (Arabic definite article)

See JML-E-9 {ʾl-ʾbyḏ}; JML-H-165 {ʾl-(?)mr}; JML-F-148 {(ʾl-ʾws¹)}

ʾl-, ʾīl-, “my god”

See JML-E-9 {ʾl-ʿbyd?}; JML-F-13 {ʾls²rh}; JML-H-165 {ʾl(?)mr?}; JML-F-148 {(ʾʾws¹)?}; JML-G-71 {ʾls²rh-Ns¹?}; JML-H-203 {ʾls²(rh)}

-ʾl, -ʾīl = ʾīl, name of a god

See *ddʾl*, *ʾws¹l*, *Bnʾl*, *Hfʾl*, *Hwfl*, *Mʿqʾl*, *Mʿdʾl*, *Nbtʾl*, *Rbʾl*, *S¹dʾl*, *S²rhʾl*, *Whbʾl*, *Yḥmʾl*, *Zdʾl*, *Zydʾl*

ʾʾmr, ʾīlʾamar or al-Amīr

See Caskel Amir, Amīr, Āmir
JML-H-165 {ʾl(?)mr}

ʾʾws¹, ʾīlʾaws or al-Aws

Caskel: al-Aws (9 occurrences); see also Aws (4 columns)
JML-F-148 {(ʾʾws¹)}

ʾʾbyd, ʾīlʾubayd or al-ʾUbayd

See JML-E-9 {ʾl-ʿbyd}

ʾlbʾ, Albāʾ

See Caskel Labʾ, al-Labuʾ, Labwān

We interpret ʾlbʾ as the plural of *lbʾ*; but it could also be the definite article ʾl- + *Lbʾ*. In order to retain this last solution, one should find the written form *h-Lbʾ* = *h(l)-* + *Lbʾ*

JML-D-53 {ʾlbʾ-bn-Lʾ}; JML-D-56 {ʾlbʾ⁽²⁾ bn ...}

ʾlg^m

See ʾgl^m

ʾlh

See -lh

ʾll^m

See ʾgl^m

ʾln, ʾlān

JML-F-45 {ʾln}

ʾls²rh, ʾlīsharḥ

Caskel: ʾlīsharḥ (2 occurrences)

JML-F-13 {ʾls²rh}; JML-G-71 {ʾls²rh-Ns¹?}; JML-H-203 {ʾls²(rh)}

ʾlt (name of a god)

See -lt

ʾmnt, Amīnat

Caskel Amānāt (1 occurrence)

See Caskel Āmina (woman, 3 occurrences)

JML-F-75 {ʾmnt}; JML-G-33 {ʾmnt}

ʾMR

See ʾʾmr

*ʾmr, Amīr

Caskel, Amir (1 occurrence), Amīr (2 occurrences), Āmir (1 occurrence)

JML-F-122 {ʾmr}

*ʾnbt, Anbat

JML-A-7 {ʾnbt}; JML-A-30 {ʾnbt};

*³*nf*, Anf

Caskel, Anf (1 occurrence), Unāf (1 occurrence); see Unayf
JML-F-141 {(³*nf*)}

*³*nh*[◌], Ankha[◌]

JML-F-103 {³*nh*}

³*nmr*, Anmār

Caskel, Anmār (23 occurrences)
JML-F-28 {*bd*³*bh* ⁽²⁾ ³*nmr*}

³*rb*

JML-F-169 {(³)*rb* *Dg*³*m m*}

*³*rb*

JML-H-66 {³*rb*}

³*rqm*, Arqam

Caskel, Arqam (6 occurrences); see al-Arqam
JML-H-129 {³*rqm* ⁽²⁾ ³(*gl*)^m}

*³*rs*², Irāsh

Caskel, Irāsh (5 occurrences)
JML-H-186 {twice, *l*³*rs*²-(*l*-*Hr*ⁿ-*l*)-³*rs*²-*s*¹*w*³}

³*rym*, Aryam

JML-D-40 {³*rym*}

³*s*¹*d*, As[◌]ad

Caskel, As[◌]ad (37 occurrences)
JML-D-66 {³*s*¹*d* ⁽²⁾ *M*(*s*²)*hr*. ⁽³⁾ *Nmr*}

³*s*¹*d*, Asad

Caskel, Asad (about 3 columns)
BookḤim ³*sd* (24b)
JML-F-105 {³*s*¹*d*}; JML-G-2 {³*s*¹*d* *Ms*¹(*l*)*m*}; JML-H-211 {*bd-Gys*²-³*s*¹*d* *S*¹*d*; or *bd-Gys*²-³*s*¹*d*
and *S*¹*d*}

³*s*¹*d*^m, Asad^{um}

Caskel, Asad (approximately 2 columns)
BookḤim ³*sd* (24b)
JML-G-13 {³*s*¹*d*^m}

³*s*¹*lm*, Aslam

Caskel, Aslam (33 occurrences), Aslum (4 occurrences); see al-Aslum
JML-F-95 {³*s*¹*lm*}; JML-H-23 {*Mlk bn* ⁽²⁾ (³)*s*¹*l*(*m*)}; JML-H-73 A {*Hzmt*-³*s*¹*lm*}

³*s*¹*rm*

JML-E-23 {³*s*¹*rm* ⁽²⁾ *d-Hfn*}

³*s*¹*yd*^m, Usayd^{um}

Caskel, Usayd (4 occurrences)
See ³*s*¹*yd*^z

³*s*¹*ydt*

See ³*s*¹*yd*^z

ʿs¹ydz

JML-G-32 {ʿs¹ydz Bḥr^m, to be corrected to ʿs¹yd<t> Bḥr^m or ʿs¹yd<m> Bḥr^m}

ʿs²qr, Ashqar

JML-F-30 {ʿs²qr}

ʿṣgr, Aṣghar

Caskel, Aṣghar (2 occurrences); see also al-Aṣghar (1 occurrence)

JML-E-4 {ʿbd-ʿṣgr^(B) Knnt-ʿ<k>ws¹-mqtwy ḍ-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk}; JML-H-39 {K(nf)-ʿṣgr-Ḍhl-qryⁿ}; JML-H-80 {ʿbd and ʿṣgr}; JML-H-120 {ḍ-(ʿ)ṣgr ʿbd-ḍ}

*ʿṣhr, Aṣḥar

JML-F-58 {ʿṣhr}

ʿtt, person's name or ʿtt = "woman, spouse"?

JML-F-173 {Mqmʿtt or Mqm-ʿtt}

-ʿtt, abbreviated form of ʿtrt, Athirat?

JML-F-173 {Mqmʿtt or Mqm-ʿtt}

ʿtwb, Athwab

See Caskel Thawb, Thawbān, Thawāb, Thawāba

JML-F-11 {Mlk ʿtwb}; JML-F-177 {ʿtwb}; JML-H-70 {ʿtwb-ʿzz}; JML-H-72 {Ḡlb-ʿtwb}; JML-H-213 {ʿmr-ʿtwb-Mlk-ʿbdlh}

ʿtwb^m, Athwab^{um}

See Caskel Thawb, Thawbān, Thawāb, Thawāba

JML-E-3 {ʿtwb^m-ʿbdt}; JML-F-158 {ʿtwb^m}; JML-H-1 {ʿtwb^m-Ḥmy}; JML-H-224 {ʿtwb^m}

-ʿw

Probable abbreviation of ʿwm, name of the Sabaeen great temple at Marib, dedicated to the god Almaqah. In theophoric person's names, the name of Almaqah, which is practically not used, is most often replaced by ʿwm or by Ṭhwⁿ (attributive noun of the god). The written form -ʿw raises the question whether the *mīm* of ʿwm is a radical consonant or an ending (*mīmat*ion).

See *Mrtḍ*ʿw

ʿwqd, Awqad

See Caskel Waqdān, Wāqid

JML-H-150 {ʿw(q)d M(lk)-(Ml)t-Ḥs¹d}

ʿws¹, Aws

Caskel Aws (some 4 columns). See Caskel al-Aws, al-Awās, ʿAbd al-Aws BookḤim (24b)

JML-A-2 {Mlk-ʿws¹}; JML-A-11 {Mlk-ʿws¹}; JML-F-92 {(Hr)t-(ʿw)s¹}; JML-F-6 {Ṭwbt ʿw⁽²⁾(s¹)}; JML-H-9 {ʿws¹ (bn)⁽²⁾ R.(y)n}; JML-H-51 {Dws¹-ʿws¹}; JML-H-33 {ʿws¹}; JML-H-223 {ʿws¹ M(r)[.]ḥ^m}

See also JML-E-4 where ʿws¹ is corrected to ʿkws¹ {ʿbd-ʿṣgr^(B) Knnt-ʿ<k>ws¹-mqtwy ḍ-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk}

ʿws¹l, Awsʿil

See Caskel Auwsallāh, Awsallāt, Awsala

JML-H-21 {ʿws¹l}

ʿws¹lt, Awsallāt

Caskel Awsallāt (2 occurrences), Awsala (2 occurrences)

JML-D-45 {ʿws¹lt⁽²⁾ grbyⁿ}

ws^1m , Aws^{um}

Caskel Aws (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel al-Aws, al-Awās, ‘Abd al-Aws
JML-H-115 { $\text{ws}^1(m) t(l)$ }

* ys^1 , Iyās

Caskel, Iyās (more than 2 columns)
JML-F-32 { ys^1 }

— ‘ —

‘ (‘ayn) isolated

JML-F-121; JML-H-193 {*Wyh_w* }; JML-H-233 {(W)*fy^m*- }

‘BD

See *byd* in JML-E-9 {*l-‘byd*}

bd, ‘Abd

BookḤim: ‘Abd (24b)

Caskel, ‘Abbād (more than 2 columns), ‘Abd (more than 2 columns), ‘Abīd (6 occurrences),
‘Ibād (2 occurrences), ‘Ubād (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-‘Ibād, ‘Ubayd, al-‘Ubayd,
‘Ubda

JML-E-2 { S^2yb^n -*bd-Qdr* or S^2yb^n -*bdqdr*}; JML-E-4 {*bd-ṣḡr* ^(B) *Knnt-ṣk>ws¹-mqtwy d-*
<T>lbⁿ-bn ^(C) *mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-17 (*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ bd*); JML-F-155 {*Dg m-‘bd*}; JML-
F-167 {... (*Mlk*) *bd^m*.. or ... (*Mlk*) *bd*...}; JML-G-94 {*bd*}; JML-H-18 {*Mlk bd*}; JML-H-20
{*mr bd*}; JML-H-22 {(w)*dd-t...*(*rbṭw.bn*)-*bd*}; JML-H-65 {*bd-Wt(r)ⁿ*}; JML-H-69 { S^2yb^n -
bd}; JML-H-80 {*bd* and *ṣḡr*}; JML-H-102 {*bd*}; *Whbⁿ-bd* (or *Whbⁿ* and *bd*); JML-H-113
{*bd* twice}; JML-H-120 {*d-ʿ*ṣḡr *bd-d*}; JML-H-210 {*b(d)*...}; JML-H-211 {*bd-Gys²-s¹d*
 S^1d ; or *bd-Gys²-s¹d* and S^1d }; JML-H-216 {*bd*}

**bd*, ‘Abd

BookḤim: ‘Abd (24b)

Caskel, ‘Abbād (more than 2 columns), ‘Abd (more than 2 columns), ‘Abīd (6 occurrences),
‘Ibād (2 occurrences), ‘Ubād (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-‘Ibād, ‘Ubayd, al-‘Ubayd,
‘Ubda

JML-F-59 {*b(d)*}; JML-F-119 {*Br²-bd*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk-bd*}

bd’bh, ‘Abd’abihi

JML-F-28 {*bd’bh* ⁽²⁾ *nmr*}

bdhl’zy, ‘Abdhal’uzzà

Caskel, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzà (more than 2 columns)
JML-F-4 {*bdhl’zy* ⁽²⁾ *d-Gn*}

bdkhl, ‘Abdkahl

JML-F-44 {*bdkhl-b[...]*}; JML-H-235 {*wfm-‘bdkhl*}

bdl(.)

JML-F-46 {*bdl(.)*}

bdl’zy, ‘Abdal’uzzà

Caskel, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzà (more than 2 columns)
JML-D-20 {*bdl’zy*}; JML-G-118 { $M^n(lt)$ ⁽²⁾ *bn bd(l)’zy*}

bdlh, ‘Abdallāh

BookḤim: ‘Abdallāh, and perhaps ‘Abilāh and ‘Abdalilāh. See:
Caskel, ‘Abd Allāh (more than 16 columns). See Caskel ‘Ubayd Allāh

'bdlh: 24a/9, 24b/13, 24b/23, 24b/26, 25a/6, 25a/7, 25a/16, 25a/23, 25a/27
'bd'lh: 23b/16, 23b/25, 24a/7, 24a/17, 24a/23, 24a/27, 24b/8, 25a/2
'bd'llh: 23a/23-24, 24b/8
JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-H-112 {(*'b*).. *Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-H-213 { *'mr-'ṭwb-Mlk-'bdlh* }

'bd^m, 'Abd^{um}

BookḤim: 'Abd (24b)
Caskel, 'Abbād (more than 2 columns), 'Abd (more than 2 columns), 'Abīd (6 occurrences),
'Ibād (2 occurrences), 'Ubād (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-'Ibād, 'Ubayd, al-'Ubayd,
'Ubda
JML-F-167 {... (*Mlk*) *'bd^m*..}; JML-H-84 {*'bd^{(2)m}*}
See JML-H-88 {*'bd^m*}

'bdmnt, 'Abdmanāt

Caskel, 'Abdmanāt (21 occurrences)
JML-H-118 {*'bdmnt Ym*.....}

**'bdn*, 'Abdān

See Caskel al-'Ibād
JML-A-6 {*'bdⁿ-S¹qm-///*}

'bdqdr, 'Abdqadr

See Caskel Qudār
JML-E-2 {*S²ybⁿ-'bd-Qdr* or *S²ybⁿ-'bdqdr*}

'bdt, 'Ubdāt

Caskel, 'Ubda (5 occurrences), 'Abbūda (3 occurrences)
JML-E-3 {*'ṭwb^m-'bdt*}

**'bdt*, 'Ubdāt

Caskel, 'Ubda (5 occurrences)
JML-A-16 {*'bdt*}

'bdwd, 'Abdwadd

Caskel, 'Abdwadd (9 occurrences)
JML-H-202 {(.)-*'bdwd*}

'bl

See Caskel al-'Abalāt, 'Ibla, 'Ubla
JML-H-79 {*Mth bn* '*bl*}

**'brt*, 'Ubrāt

Caskel, 'Ubra (2 occurrences)
JML-G-88 {*'b(rt)-S²...*}

**'bs²t*

JML-A-5 {*'bs²t-Ḥbb*}; JML-A-28 {*'bs²t-Ḥbb*}

'bt

JML-G-61 {*'bt*}

'bṭ

JML-A-31 {*'bṭ*}

'byd, 'Ubayd

Caskel, 'Ubayd (more than 4 columns)
JML-E-9 {*'l-'byd*}

‘DD

See *M‘d; M‘d’l*

‘ds²

JML-G-61 {‘ds²}

‘dy, ‘Adī

Caskel, ‘Adī (more than four columns). See Caskel ‘Ādiya
JML-F-116 {*Whb-(‘dy)*}, JML-H-58 {*Hyy-‘dy*}

*‘dy, ‘Adī

Caskel, ‘Adī (more than four columns). See Caskel ‘Ādiya
JML-F-87 {‘dy}

‘dr

See *T‘dr; Y‘dr*

*‘fb*l*

JML-H-49 {‘fb*l*}

*‘gf

See Caskel ‘Ujayf, al-‘Ujayf
JML-H-103 {‘gf}

‘km, ‘Akk^{um}

This PN is an illustration of the fact that the tribal name ‘Akk (whose territory extended between al-Ḥudayda and Jāzān) was initially the name of a person.

Caskel, ‘Akk (2 occurrences)

JML-H-196 {‘km-..-*Mlk*-...}

‘lhⁿ, ‘Alhān

Caskel, ‘Alhān (2 occurrences)

JML-H-42 {‘(l)hn⁽²⁾ bn S²w(‘)n}

‘lf^m, ‘Ilāf^{um}

Caskel, ‘Ilāf (1 occurrence). See Caskel ‘Ullāfa

JML-E-25 {‘lf^m}

‘lmⁿ

See Caskel ‘Ulaym

JML-F-48 {‘lm(n)}

‘ly, ‘Alī

Caskel, ‘Alī (more than 2 columns). See Caskel al-‘Āliya, ‘Alyān

JML-F-110 {‘ly}

-‘m

See *’b‘m; Hf‘m; Hwf‘m*

*‘mhms¹

JML-H-162 {‘mhms¹-S¹r}

*‘mḥr

JML-G-64 {‘m(h)r-wq(r)}

‘mr, ‘Āmir

This ancient personal name probably corresponds to Arabic ‘Āmir (because ‘Umar is noticeably rarer, based on the number of occurrences in Ibn al-Kalbī: more than 18

columns as opposed to a little less than 2 (a total of 35 occurrences), respectively (Caskel 1966, II). It is not 'Amr, that is written (at least in principle) 'mrm
BookḤim: 'Āmir, 'mr (25a)

See also below 'mrm

JML-A-3 {Qdm-'mr}; JML-D-59 {'mr ...}; JML-H-20 {'mr 'bd}; JML-H-31 {'mr-S²bl}; JML-H-38 {'mr F(s²yl)t}; JML-H-64 {twice: 'mr-'mr-Hld}; JML-H-105 {'m(r)-B.}; JML-H-106 {'mr bn Ḡnm (G.)}; JML-H-110 {twice: 'mr⁽²⁾ 'mr Ḡd(mt)}; JML-H-143 {(T)wbn⁽²⁾ ('mr)}; JML-H-212 {'mrm-Ḥrs² or 'mrm-Ṣrs²}; JML-H-213 {'mr-'twb-Mlk-'bdlh}; JML-H-218 {'mr Ḡdr}; JML-H-241 {'mr-(Y')}.

'mrm, 'Amr

BookḤim: 'mr, 5b, 24b (3 times), 25a (5 times), 25b, 49b; 30b (woman)

Caskel, 'Amr (18 columns)

The South Arabian PN 'mrm is written 'mrw in the Nabataean-Arabic and Arabic scripts

Caskel: 'Amr (more than 41 columns)

JML-E-4 {'bd-'ṣgr^(B) Knnt-'<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>'lbn-bn^(C) 'mrm-'zzm-Mlk}

*'qrbt

See Caskel (Abū) 'Aqrab

JML-F-114 {'qr(bt)}

*'rb, 'Arīb

Caskel, 'Arīb (15 occurrences). See Caskel A'rab, 'Arāba, 'Arabī, 'Irb

JML-G-116 {'rb}

'rq, 'Āriq

Caskel, 'Arīq (2 occurrences)

JML-G-6 {L(d)f-'rq or l-d-F'rq}

'RY

See T(h)'ry

*'ry

See Caskel al-'Uryān

JML-F-78 {'(ry)-wdd-'..t}

'ryt

See Caskel al-'Uryān

JML-F-96 {'ryt}

's¹fm

JML-G-106 {'s¹fm}

's²mⁿ

See Caskel 'Ishm

JML-F-80 {'s²mⁿ}

's²q

JML-F-109 {'(s²q)}

'ṢM

See 'ṣm

'ṣrm, 'Aṣar^{um}

Caskel, 'Aṣar^{um} (10 occurrences). See Caskel A'ṣur

JML-F-94 {'ṣwⁿ bn⁽²⁾ 'ṣrm}

ʕwⁿ

JML-F-94 {ʕwⁿ bn⁽²⁾ ʕr^m}

*ʕwⁿ

JML-F-20 {ʕwⁿ}; JML-F-21 {(ʕwⁿ)}; JML-F-42 {ʕwⁿ}

ʕb, ʕAttāb

Caskel, ʕAtīb (1 occurrence), ʕAttāb (25 occurrences). See Caskel ʕĀtiba, ʕItbān, ʕUtayba, ʕUtba

JML-H-100 {...m ʕb}

ʕk, ʕAtīk

Caskel, ʕAtīk (17 occurrences). See Caskel al-ʕAtīk, ʕĀtika

JML-H-73 B {S¹d ʕk}

*ʕtm, ʕAthm

Caskel, ʕAthm (2 occurrences). See Caskel ʕAthʕath, al-ʕAthʕath, ʕUthmān

JML-G-110 {ʕtm}

-ʕtt

See *Hwfʕtt*; *Lhyʕtt*

ʕWD

See *Mʕd*; *Mʕdʕl*

*ʕwḏt, ʕAwdhat

Caskel, ʕAwḏa (1 occurrence). See Caskel ʕAwdh

JML-G-80 {ʕwḏt}

ʕwḏt, ʕAwḏat or ʕAwaḏa

Caskel ʕAwḏat (1 occurrence) or ʕAwaḏa (1 occurrence). See Caskel ʕAwḏ

See BookḤim: ʕAwḏa, ʕwḏʕ (30b, woman)

JML-F-157 {Dhl ʕwḏt}; JML-G-99 {ʕwḏt}

*ʕwḏt, ʕAwḏat or ʕAwaḏa

Caskel ʕAwḏat (1 occurrence) or ʕAwaḏa (1 occurrence). See Caskel ʕAwḏ

See BookḤim: ʕAwḏa, ʕwḏʕ (30b, woman)

JML-H-139 {ʕwḏt}

ʕwḏn, ʕAwḏān

See Casel ʕAwf.

JML-H-235 {ʕwḏn-ʕbdkhl}

ʕWN

See *Mʕnl*; *Yhʕn*

ʕz

See JML-F-8{Hld-wdd-...⁽²⁾ʕz}

ʕzwy

JML-G-51 {Hrtt⁽²⁾ d-ʕzwy}

ʕZY

See *ʕbdlʕzy*; *ʕbdʕzy*

ʕZZ

See ʕzz

‘zz, ‘Azīz

Caskel, ‘Azīz (6 occurrences)

JML-E-11 {...-Ḥym-Rbb-(‘)zz}; JML-H-70 {‘twb-‘zz}

‘zz^m, ‘Azīz^{um}

‘Azīz^{um} (Caskel 1966, II, 6 occurrences)

JML-E-4 {‘bd-‘šgr^(B) Knnt-‘<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>‘lbⁿ-bn^(C) ‘mr^m-‘zz^m-Mlk}

— B —

b

See JML-F-44 {‘bdkhl-*b*}

*B^r^m

JML-G-38 {B^r⁽ⁿ⁾}

Bd’, Badda’

Caskel, Badda’ (13 occurrences)

BookḤim: Badda’ (24b, 25a)

JML-F-166 (*Bd*’)-*H(w)fm*; JML-H-82 {*Bd*(‘) *Twb*⁽ⁿ⁾}

Bdyt, Bādiyāt

Bādiyāt (3 occurrences)

JML-D-15 {*Fs*²*ylt*⁽²⁾ *Bdyt*}

Bd’^c

JML-H-167 {*B*(*d*)’}

Bġd, Baghīd

Caskel, Baghīd (10 occurrences)

JML-H-6 {*Zbyd*⁽²⁾ *bn Bġd*}

Bhh

JML-H-148 {*Bhh*}

Bhṭt, Buhthat

Caskel, Buhthat (5 occurrences)

JML-G-27 {(.)-*Bhṭt*}

Bḥr^m, Baḥrum

Caskel, Baḥr (9 occurrences), Baḥīr (3 occurrences)

JML-G-32 {‘s¹yd^z *Bḥr^m*, to be corrected to ‘s¹yd<t> *Bḥr^m* or ‘s¹yd<m> *Bḥr^m*}

bn, “son”

JML-D-53 {‘lb²-*bn-L*’}; JML-D-56 {‘lb²⁽²⁾ *bn* ...}; JML-D-68 {*Khlⁿ*⁽²⁾ (*bn*) *Hld*}; JML-F-60 {*Bn*’*l*
bn Whb}; JML-F-74 {*Mdd bn S*¹*c**d^m nhmyⁿ*}; JML-F-94 {‘šwⁿ *bn*⁽²⁾ ‘šr^m}; JML-G-8 {*Lḥy*’*tt*⁽²⁾
*bn S*¹*bl^m*}; JML-G-115 {(*H*)*b^m-bn-(‘b*’*m*)}; JML-G-118 {*M*’*n*(*lt*)⁽²⁾ *bn ‘bd*(*l*)’*zy*}; JML-G-128
{*Whblt-bn-Ġrf^m*}; JML-G-131 {*Yḥm*’*l-bn-Twbⁿ*}; JML-G-132 {*Dhb^m b*(*n*)⁽²⁾ *Mḥ*(*my*)-.}; JML-
H-6 {*Zbyd*⁽²⁾ *bn Bġd*}; JML-H-42 {‘(*l*)*hⁿ*⁽²⁾ *bn S*²*w*(‘*n*)}; JML-H-83 {*Mrⁿ bn Wrq*(*n*)}; JML-H-
106 {‘*mr bn Ġnm* (*G.*)}

See JML-H-94 (*L*’*c* *b*(*n*) ...); JML-H-108 {*Whb*’*l bn* (*S*¹..)}

Bn’

JML-G-127 {.*dd*’*l-B*(*n*)’}

Bnʿl, Binʿil

JML-E-15 {*Bnʿl*}; JML-F-60 {*Bnʿl bn Whb*}

Brʿ, Barāʿ

Caskel, Barāʿ (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Barāʿ, Barā, Bārī
JML-F-50 {*S²l* (2) *Brʿ*}

**Brʿ*, Barāʿ

Caskel, Barāʿ (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Barāʿ, Barā, Bārī,
JML-F-119 {*Brʿ-ʿbd*}

Bs²r, Bishr

Caskel, Bashīr (16 occurrences), Bishr (more than 2 columns). See Caskel Bushayr
BookHim: Bishr, *Bsr* (24b, 25a [twice], 25b)
JML-G-83 {*S²lwm-B(s²r)* or *S²lwm* and *B(s²r)*}

Btt

JML-G-129 {*d-Btt* or *Yhmʿl-bn-Twbⁿ- d-Btt*}

Bwlⁿ, Bawlān

Caskel, Bawlān (2 occurrences)
JML-G-114 {*Ms²lwt* (2) *Bw(l)ⁿ*}

BYḌ

See *ʿbyḏ*

**Byn^m*, Bayān

Caskel, Bayān (3 occurrences)
JML-H-170 {*Byn^m*}

Byṭⁿ

JML-G-91 {*Byṭⁿ*}

— D —

Dʿy

JML-G-104 {*Hyṭ^c-Dʿy*}

(*dkḥb*)

JML-H-48 {*Ġlb* (2) (*dkḥb*)}

**Dḥw*

See Caskel Diḥya, Duḥayy,
JML-A-17 {*Dḥw*}

Dws¹, Daws

Caskel, Daws (5 occurrences)
The name is attested in Arab-Islamic traditions relating to the massacre of Christians in Najrān by king Yūsuf: it is said that Caesar and the Negus were informed of the massacre by a survivor named Daws dhu-Thuʿlubān (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʿrīkh*, I, pp. 925 and 927; *History*, 5, pp. 203-206-208).
JML-H-51 {*Dws¹-ʿws¹*}; JML-H-75 {*Dws¹*}

d, isolated

JML-G-42 {*w* and *d* of large size}; JML-H-120 {*d*-*ʿ*šgr 'bd-*d*};
JML-H-221 {(*d*)-*Mlk*-*Whb*}

d-, "He of"

JML-E-4 {'bd-*ʿ*šgr^(B) Knnt-*ʿ*<k>ws¹-mqtwy *d*-<T>'lbⁿ-bn^(C) 'mr^m-*ʿ*zz^m-*Mlk*}; JML-E-23 {'s¹r^m⁽²⁾ *d*-*Hfn*}; JML-F-4 {'bdhl'zy⁽²⁾ *d*-*Gn*}; JML-F-77 {S²(kr)^m-qyn⁽²⁾ *d*-S¹mw⁽³⁾y}; JML-G-6 {L(*d*)f-*ʿ*r^q or l-*d*-F*ʿ*r^q}; JML-G-51 {Hr^{tt}⁽²⁾ *d*-*ʿ*zwy}; JML-G-95 {Klb-*d*-(*D*)*hb*}; JML-G-108 {Mr^{td}'w 'h^{dr} mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b^(ʿ) w-*d*-Ry[*d*ⁿ]}; JML-G-129 {*d*-*Btt* or Yhm'*l*-bn-*Twb*ⁿ-*d*-*Btt*}; JML-G-133 {Rb'*l*⁽²⁾ *d*-*Nmr*}; JML-H-5 {W^lm-*d*-(*H*)s²r or W^lm-*d*-(*H*)s²r}; JML-H-17 {S¹lmⁿ hl-*d*-T'*l*bⁿ no doubt to be corrected to S¹lm nhl-*d*-T'*l*bⁿ or S¹lmⁿ nhl-*d*-T'*l*bⁿ}

**d*-, "He of"

JML-D-50 {*d*-*Hbb* or *Dhbb*}

**D*'b, Dhi'b

Caskel, Dhi'āb (1 occurrence), Dhi'b (4 occurrences). See Caskel al-Dhaybān, Dhi'b,
Dhu'ayb, Dhu'ayba
BookḤim: Dhu'b, *Dw*'b (25b)
JML-G-66 {(*D*'*b*)}

Dhb, Dhahab

See Caskel Dhahban, Dhahbān
JML-G-46 {*Dhb*}

Dhb^m

JML-G-132 {*Dhb*^m b(n)⁽²⁾ Mḥ(my)-.}

**Dhb*ⁿ

Caskel, Dhahban (sic) (1 occurrence), Dhahbān (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Dhahhāb
JML-G-69 {*Dhb*ⁿ}

**Dhbb*

JML-D-50 {*d*-*Hbb* or *Dhbb*}

Dhl, Dhuhl

Caskel: Dhuhl (70 occurrences)
BookḤim: Dhuhl, *Dwhl* (24b [3 times], 25a [twice], 25b)
JML-F-157 {*Dhl* 'wdt}; JML-H-39 {K(nf)-*ʿ*šgr-*Dhl*-qry^m}; JML-H-140 {*Dhl* or *Dhl*}; JML-H-228
{*Dhl* S²y^bⁿ}

Dhl

JML-H-140 {*Dhl* or *Dhl*}

Dhb

See Caskel Dhuḥayba
JML-G-95 {Klb-*d*-(*D*)*hb*}

DKR

See *Mdkr*; *Ydkr*

**Dkr*

See Caskel al-Dhakar, Madhkar
JML-A-24 {*Dkr*-S²'t}

— D —

Dg'm, *Ḍaj'am*

Caskel *Ḍuj'um* or *Ḍaj'am*, plural *al-Ḍajā'ima*
JML-F-155 {*Dg'm-bd*}; JML-F-169 {(')*rb Dg'm m*}

— F —

F'rq

JML-G-6 {*L(d)f'rq* or *l-d-F'rq*}

Fhrt, *Fihrat*

See Caskel *Fihr*, *Fuhayra*
JML-G-102 {*Fh(r)t-Y(m.)'m*}

**Fhrt*, *Fihrat*

See Caskel *Fihr*, *Fuhayra*
JML-G-107 {*Fhrt*}

**Fhṭṭ^m*

JML-G-48 {*F(h)ṭṭ^(m)*}

fr

See *Yhfr*

Fr(.)

JML-E-31 {*Fr(.)*}

**Fr'd*

JML-F-117 {*Fr'd*}

**Frḥ*

See Caskel *al-Fākhir* (1 occurrence)
JML-H-135 {*Frḥ*}

**Frk*

JML-G-47 {*Fr(k)*}

Fs²hⁿ

See Caskel *Fashān* (?)
JML-E-30 {*Fs²hⁿ*}

Fs²ylt

JML-D-15 {*Fs²ylt* ⁽²⁾ *Bdyt*}; JML-G-31 {*Fs²ylt-Bdyt*}; JML-H-38 {*'mr F(s²yl)t*}

**Fs²yt*

JML-F-142 {(*Fs²yt*)-...}

— G —

**G'r*

JML-G-100 {*G'r*}

**G'dmn*

JML-F-37 {*G'dmn*}

Gd.

JML-H-152 {*Gd.-S¹h*}

Gdd

See Caskel Jadd, al-Jadd, al-Jadūd, Judayd, Judda
JML-G-87 {(*Gdd*) *Rml*}

Gdlt, Gadīla

Caskel, Jadīla (9 occurrences)
JML-H-81 {*Gdlt-M^cwyt*}

Gdn, Gaddān

Caskel Jaddān (1 occurrence), al-Jadd (4 occurrences), al-Jadūd (1 occurrence). See Caskel
Jadd, Judayd, Judda
BookHim: Gaddān, *Gdn* (25a)
JML-H-56 {*Gdn* ⁽²⁾ *Hrt*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Hrt* ⁽²⁾ *Twbt K^b*}; JML-H-117 {*Gdn Mlk*}
See JML-H-30 n° 1 {*Gdn*}

Gdn^m, in *ḡ-Gdn^m*, dhu-Gadan^{um}

Caskel, dhū Jadan (2 occurrences; Robin 2013, pp. 158-159)
JML-H-197 {*.krb mqtw ḡ-Gdn^m*}

**Gdmt*, Gadhīmat

Caskel, Jadhīmat (more than two columns). See Caskel Judhaym, Judhām
JML-A-18 {*Gdmt*}; JML-H-110 {twice: *mr* ⁽²⁾ *mr ḡd(mt)*}

**Gd^c*

JML-H-176 {*Gd^c*}

**Gfm*

Caskel, Juff (1 occurrence?)
JML-F-29 {*Gfm*}

**Ggt*

JML-F-129 {*Ggt*}

Ghft

See Caskel al-Jahhāf, Jāhif
JML-F-49 {*Rb^t Ghft*}

**Ghrbts²n* (?)

JML-F-65 {*Ghrbts²n* ⁽²⁾ *m*}

**Gm^c*, *Jam^c*

Caskel, *Jam^c* (1 occurrence), *Jāmi^c* (2 occurrences). See Caskel Jumā^a, Jumay^c
JML-F-126 {*Mdh-Gm^c-Lhb*}

Gn[?]

JML-F-4 {*bdhl^czy* ⁽²⁾ *ḡ-Gn[?]*}

grby, “stonecutter”

JML-D-45 {*ws¹lt* ⁽²⁾ *grby^m*}

**Grm*, Jarm

Caskel, Jārim (1 occurrence) Jarm (3 occurrences).
JML-F-176 {*G(r)m-wdd-.[...]*}

*Grmlh

JML-H-237 *Grmlh*

*Grmlt

JML-D-58 {*Zydl*⁽²⁾ (*G*)*rmlt*}

Grmt

JML-H-4 {*Grmt*⁽²⁾ *Zydl*}

*Grs^{2c}

JML-F-124 {*Grs*^{2c} or *Grs*^{2f}}

*Grs^{2f}

JML-F-124 {*Grs*^{2c} or *Grs*^{2f}}

*Gys*², *Gaysh*

Caskel, *Jaysh* (2 occurrences)

JML-H-211 {*bd-Gys*²⁻³*d S*^{1c}*d*; or *bd-Gys*²⁻³*d* and *S*^{1c}*d*}; JML-H-239 {(*G*)*y*(*s*²)}

— Ġ —

Ġdr

See Caskel *Ghādira*

JML-H-218 {*mr Ġdr*}

Ġlb, *Ghālib*

Caskel, *Ghālāb*, *Ghālib*

JML-H-48 {*Ġlb*⁽²⁾ (*dkhb*); JML-H-72 {*Ġlb-twb*}

Ġnm, *Ghanm*

Caskel, *Ghānim* (6 occurrences), *Ghanm* (more than 2 columns), *Ghannām* (2 occurrences).

See Caskel *al-Ghannām*

Book *Ḥim*, *Ghānim*, *Gnm* (24b, 25a)

JML-H-106 {*mr bn Ġnm* (*G..*)}

Ġrfm, *Gharf*^{um}

Caskel, *Gharf* (1 occurrence)

JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Ġrfm*}

**Ġtmr*

JML-F-106 {*Ġtm(r)*}

**Ġtm*, *Ghōth*^{um}

Caskel, *Ghawth* (7 occurrences). See Caskel *al-Ghawth*, *Ghiyāth*, *Ghuwayth*

JML-G-19 {*Ġtm*}

Ġtfn, *Ghaṭafān*

Caskel, *Ghaṭafān* (9 occurrences). See Caskel *Ghuṭayf*, *al-Ghuṭayf*. This PN illustrates and confirms that the tribal name *Ghaṭafān* (whose territory extended, at the time of Muḥammad, to the east of *al-Ḥijr* and of *al-Khaybar*, see *TAVO VII 1*) was initially a personal name.

JML-H-215 {*Ġtfn*}

ĠWT

See *Ġtm*

Ġwt^m, Ghawth^{um}

Caskel, Ghawth (7 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ghawth, Ghiyāth, Ghuwayth
JML-F-16 {{Ġ}wt^m}; JML-H-32 {Mrh, (Gb.) and (Ġwt^m)}

**Ġwt^m*, Ghawth^{um}

Caskel, Ghawth (7 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ghawth, Ghiyāth, Ghuwayth
JML-G-16 {Ġwt^m}

— H —

-h

See 'bd'bh

h'n

See Yh'n

*Hbb

JML-D-50 {d-Hbb or Dhbb}

Hf'l, Hōfā'il

Verb hwfy + 'l. See Caskel Awfà (12 occurrences)
JML-H-160 {Hf'l⁽²⁾ Yhfr}

Hf^cm, Hōfā'amm

Verb hwfy + 'm. See Caskel Awfà (12 occurrences)
JML-F-47 {Hf^cm}; JML-H-76 {Hf^cm w-N'm}

*Hf^cm, Hōfā'amm

Verb hwfy + 'm. See Caskel Awfà (12 occurrences)
JML-H-126 {Hf^cm}

hfr

See Yhfr

*Hfk^m

JML-A-26 {Hfk^m}

-hl-

See 'bdhl'zy

hl-'zy

See 'bdhl'zy

-hms¹

See JML-H-162 {'mhms¹-S¹r}

Hn'khl, Han'kahl

See Caskel Hāni', Hāni'a, Hin', Hunā'a
JML-G-39 {(Hn')khl}

Hn^{'m}, Hāni^{'um}

Caskel, Hāni' (37 occurrences), Hin' (1 occurrence). See Caskel Hāni'a, Hunā'a
BookĤim, Ĥāni', Hny (25a, 25b)
JML-D-25 {Myd(')-Hn^{'(2)m} Nmr}

Hrnⁿ

See Caskel Hārūn

JML-G-103 {(K)lb-Mlk-H(r)nⁿ}

Hs²r

JML-H-5 {W^lm-d-(H)s²r or W^lm-d-(H)s²r}

Hwf^l, Hawfā^ʿīl

Verb *hwfy* + ʿl. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)

JML-G-139 {Hwf^(ʿ)l}

Hwf^fm, Hawfā^ʿamm

Verb *hwfy* + ʿm. See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)

BookḤim, Hawfā^ʿamm, *Hwf^fm* (24b), *Hf^fm* (25a)

JML-F-166 {(Bd^ʿ)-H(w)f^fm}

Hwf^ftt, Hawfā^ʿathat

Verb *hwfy* + ʿtt(r). See Caskel Awfā (12 occurrences)

JML-G-141 {Hwf^ftt to be corrected to Hwf^ftt}

hwfy

See *Hf^l*; *Hf^fm*; *Hwf^fm*

Hyt^ʿ, Haytha^ʿ

JML-G-104 {Hyt^ʿ-D^ʿy}

— H —

Hld, Khālid

Caskel Khālid (approximately 5 columns), Khallād (5 occurrences). See Caskel Khalda, Khulayd

JML-D-68 {Khlⁿ (2) (bn) *Hld*}; JML-H-64 {ʿmr-ʿmr-*Hld*}; JML-H-86 {*Hld* (2) *Hbⁿ*}

**Hld*, Khālid

Caskel Khālid (approximately 5 columns), Khallād (5 occurrences). See Caskel Khalda, Khulayd

JML-F-8{*Hld-wdd*-... (2)ʿz}

Hls

JML-F-39 {*H(l)s* or *H(y)s*}; JML-G-96 {*Hls*}

HMR

See ʿ*hmr*

HNF

See ʿ*hnf*

Hrs²ft

Compare with Caskel al-Khurshub, Khurshuba (1 occurrence)

JML-H-214 {*Hrt* *Hrs²ft*}

Hs²r

JML-H-5 {W^lm-d-(H)s²r or W^lm-d-(H)s²r}

HWL

See ʿ*hwl*

Hys

See *Hls*

Hzn

JML-A-12 {*Rḥz(n)* or *H_z(n)*}

— Ḥ —

h, isolated

JML-F-113 {*ḥ-Mnh* ⁽²⁾ *ḥ-ḥmr*}; JML-F-129

**ḥb*: “to be united to”

JML-F-36 {*Zyd^m-ḥb-Ḥbbt*}

ḤBB

See *ḥb*, *Ḥb^m*

**Ḥbb*, Ḥabīb

Caskel, Ḥabīb (approximately 4 columns), Ḥubāb (4 occurrences)

See Caskel Ḥabāba, Ḥabbat, Ḥabbā, Ḥabbān, Ḥabbāna, Ḥibbān, al-Ḥubāb, Ḥubayb, Ḥubayba
BookḤim, Ḥabīb, *Ḥbb* (30b, woman), *Ḥbyb* (30b, woman)

JML-A-5 {*ḥs²t-Ḥbb*}; JML-A-28 {*ḥs²t-Ḥbb*}

**Ḥbbt*, Ḥabābat

Caskel, Ḥabāba (1 occurrence)

BookḤim, Ḥabībah, *Ḥbybh* (30b, woman)

JML-F-36 {*Zyd^m-ḥb-Ḥbbt*}; JML-G-7 {*Ḥbb(t)*}

**Ḥb^m*

See Caskel Ḥabba, Ḥabbā

JML-G-55 {*Zd^m-Ḥb^m*}; JML-G-115 {(*H*)*b^m-bn-(ḥ^m)*}

Ḥbⁿ, Ḥabbān

Caskel, Ḥabbān (2 occurrences), Ḥibbān (1 occurrence), al-Ḥubāb (10 occurrences). See

Caskel Ḥabbāna

JML-H-86 {*Hld* ⁽²⁾ *Ḥbⁿ*}

Ḥbr

See Caskel Ḥubrān (2 occurrences)

JML-H-173 {*Ḥb(r)* and *Yḥ(dr)*}

ḤDB

See *ḥdb*

Ḥdd, Ḥudād

Caskel, Ḥadīd (1 occurrence), Ḥidād (1 occurrence), Ḥudād (6 occurrences). See Caskel al-
Ḥadd, Ḥadīda, Ḥuddān

JML-F-130 {*Ḥdd*}

Ḥdd^m, Ḥudād

Caskel, Ḥadīd (1 occurrence), Ḥidād (1 occurrence), Ḥudād (6 occurrences). See Caskel al-
Ḥadd, Ḥadīda, Ḥuddān

JML-D-38 {(*H*)*dd^m*}

ḤDR

See *ḥdr*

ḤḌR

See *Yḥdr*

Hfn

See Caskel Ḥufayn
JML-E-23 { s^1r^m (2) d -Hfn}

*Hfs²ⁿ

Caskel Ḥufāsh (1 occurrence)
JML-G-84 {Hfs²ⁿ}

*Hg(b)t

See Caskel Ḥājib
JML-A-25 {Hg(b)t}

*Hg^m, Ḥāggum

Caskel Ḥājj (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥajja, al-Ḥajjāj, Ḥujān
JML-A-23 {Hg^m}

Hgr, Ḥujr

Caskel Ḥajjār (3 occurrences), Ḥajr (1 occurrence), Ḥajūr (1 occurrence), Ḥujr (more than 3 columns)
See Caskel al-Ḥajr
See JML-H-122 {*khm.. Hgr*}

ḥl

JML-H-17 { S^1lm^n ḥl- d no doubt to be corrected to S^1lm nḥl- d - T^1lb^n or S^1lm^n nḥl- d - T^1lb^n }

Hmnh

See JML-F-113 { h -Mnh (2) h - hmr }.
See Caskel Ḥamna (bint Jaḥsh), Ḥimmān

*Hms^{1m}

Caskel Ḥimās (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Ḥimās
The name is probably not related at all to *ḥums*, a brotherhood of the temple of Makka (W. Montgomery Watt, “ḥums”, in *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, 2nd edition, III, 1971, s.v.
JML-G-137 {Hms^{1m}}

*Hms²ⁿ

Caskel al-Ḥimās (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥimās
JML-A-9 {Hms²ⁿ}; JML-A-10 {Hms²ⁿ}

ḤMY

See *Mḥmy*; *Yḥm¹*

Ḥmy

Caskel, Ḥumayy (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥamāya, Ḥāmiya
JML-H-1 { t^1wb^m -Ḥmy}

Ḥmyt, Ḥamāyat or Ḥāmiyat

Caskel Ḥamāya (4 occurrences), Ḥāmiya (5 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥumayy
JML-G-41 {Ḥmyt}

Hnyn, Ḥunayn

Caskel, Ḥunayn (2 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥunn
JML-G-93 {Hn(yn)}

-hr

See *ḥmr*

**Hrb*

Caskel Ḥarb (46 occurrences), Ḥarrāb (1 occurrence), Ḥurab (2 occurrences)
JML-D {*Hrb*};

**Hrm, Ḥarām*

Ḥarām (39 occurrences)
JML-G-70 {*Hrm-S¹mw* or *Hrms¹mw*}

**Hrms¹mw*

JML-G-70 {*Hrm-S¹mw* or *Hrms¹mw*}

**Hrn*

Caskel al-Ḥurr (19 occurrences). See Caskel Ḥarrī
JML-H-186 {3 times, *l-ʿrs²-(l-Ḥr^m-l)-ʿrs²-s¹w^ʿ*}

HRR

See *ʿmhr*

Hrs², Ḥarīsh

Caskel Ḥarīsh (5 occurrences), Ḥirāsh (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Ḥarāshī, al-Ḥarīsh
JML-H-212 {*mr^m-Hrs²* or *mr^m-Ṣrs²*}

Hrt, Ḥārith

Caskel Ḥarrāth (4 occurrences)
See Caskel al-Ḥārith (more than 29 columns), Ḥāritha (more than 5 columns), Ḥurayth, Ḥurthān, al-Ḥuwayrith
BookḤim, Ḥārith, *Hrt* (9 people including one of the Christian chiefs in Najrān, 4b, 5a, 8a, 36b, 49a(?); 24b-25a, and eight other victims)
JML-E-20 {*H(r)t*}; JML-F-92 {(*Hr*)*t*-ʿw^{s¹}; JML-H-56 {*Gdn* ⁽²⁾ *Hrt*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Hrt* ⁽²⁾ *Ṭwbt Kʿb*}; JML-H-214 {*Hrt Hrs²ft*}}

Hrt^m, Ḥārith

Caskel Ḥarrāth (4 occurrences)
See Caskel al-Ḥārith (more than 29 columns), Ḥāritha (more than 5 columns), Ḥartha, al-Ḥartha, Ḥurayth, Ḥurthān, al-Ḥuwayrith
BookḤim, Ḥārith, *Hrt* (one of the Christian chiefs in Najrān, 4b, 5a, 8a, 36b, 49a(?); 24b-25a, eight other casualties)
JML-F-161 {*Hrt^m* ⁽²⁾ *Mʿwyt*}

Hrtt, Ḥarithat

Caskel Ḥāritha (more than 5 columns), Ḥartha (1 occurrence). See Caskel Ḥarrāth, al-Ḥārith, al-Ḥartha, Ḥurayth, Ḥurthān, al-Ḥuwayrith
BookḤim, Ḥārith, *Hrtʿ* (25b)
JML-F-98 {*Hrtt*}; JML-G-51 {*Hrtt* ⁽²⁾ *d-ʿzwy*}

Hs¹d

JML-H-150 {*ʿw(q)d M(lk)-(Ml)t-Hs¹d*}

**Htʿ*

JML-H-201 {(*R*)*htʿ* or *l-Ht*}

Htfr

JML-H-179 {*Hzfr* or *Htfr*}

Hwd

See JML-H-116 {...*hwd*}

Hwf^{tt}

See *Hwf^{tt}*

Hyⁿ

JML-H-181 {*Hyⁿ* or *.hyⁿ*}

Hym, *Ḥayy^{um}*

Caskel *Ḥayy* (9 occurrences). See Caskel *Ḥaywa*, *Ḥayya*, *Ḥayyā*, *Ḥayyān*, *Ḥiyā*, *Ḥiyayy*,
Ḥuwayy

JML-E-11 {...-*Hym*-*Rbb*-(^o)zz}; JML-H-232 {*Hym*-*Gys*²}

Hyⁿ, *Ḥayyān*

Caskel *Ḥayyān* (32 occurrences). See Caskel *Ḥaywa*, *Ḥayy*, *Ḥayya*, *Ḥayyā*, *Ḥiyā*, *Ḥiyayy*,
Ḥuwayy

JML-H-220 {*Hyⁿ*-*Mrm*}

Hyw

Caskel *Ḥayyā* (2 occurrences), *Ḥiyā* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *Ḥaywa*, *Ḥayy*, *Ḥayya*,
Ḥayyān, *Ḥiyayy*, *Ḥuwayy*

JML-F-27 {*Whb*^l-*Hyw*}

Hyy

Caskel *Ḥiyayy* (47 occurrences), *Ḥayyā* (2 occurrences). See Caskel *Ḥaywa*, *Ḥayy*, *Ḥayya*,
Ḥayyā, *Ḥayyān*, *Ḥiyā*, *Ḥuwayy*

JML-H-58 {*Hyy*-*dy*}

Hzmt, *Ḥazīmat*

Caskel, *Ḥazīma* (7 occurrences). See Caskel *Ḥāzim*, *Ḥazm*, *Ḥizām*, *Ḥuzaym*

JML-H-73 A {*Hzmt*-*s¹lm*}

**Hzmt*, *Ḥazīmat*

Caskel, *Ḥazīma* (7 occurrences). See Caskel *Ḥāzim*, *Ḥazm*, *Ḥizām*, *Ḥuzaym*

JML-F-128 {*Hzmt*}

**Hzfr*

Caskel *Ḥazāfir* (1 occurrence)

JML-H-179 {*Hzfr* or *Htfr*}

— K —

K^ob, *Ka^ob*

Caskel, *Ka^ob* (more than 10 columns). See Caskel *Ka^obān*, *Ku^oayb*

JML-H-26 {*Mlk*⁽²⁾ (*K*)^o*b*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn* *Hrt*⁽²⁾ *Twb**t* *K^ob*}

Kbs¹, *Kubāsā*

Caskel *al-Kubās* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *Kābis*, *Kabs*, *Kabsha*, *Kubays*, *al-Kubays*
BookḤim, *Kabsha*, *Kbš^o* (30b, woman)

JML-G-105 {(*K*)*b*(*s¹*)}

KFH

See *Mkfh* (?)

**Khbⁿ*

JML-H-185 {*Khbⁿ*}

Khl, Kāhil

Caskel, Kāhil (16 occurrences), Kahl (2 occurrences). See Caskel Kahla, Kahlān
JML-G-17 {*Kh(l)*}

-*khl*

See *'bdkhl, Hn'khl*

Khlⁿ, Kahlān

Caskel, Kahlān (3 occurrences). See Caskel, Kāhil, Kahl, Kahla
JML-D-68 {*Khlⁿ (2) (bn) Hld*}

Klb, Kalb or Kilāb

Caskel Kalb (11 occurrences), Kilāb (18 occurrences). See Caskel Kalba, Kulayb
See BookḤim. Kālēb (Negus), *Klb*
JML-G-95 {*Klb-d-(D)hb*}

**Klb*, Kalb or Kilāb

Caskel Kalb (11 occurrences), Kilāb (18 occurrences). See Caskel Kalba, Kulayb
See BookḤim. Kālēb (Negus), *Klb*
JML-E-16 {**l-Klb*}; JML-G-103 {(*K*)*lb-Mlk-H(r)nⁿ*}

Klyb, Kulayb

Caskel Kulayb (27 occurrences). See Caskel Kalb, Kilāb, Kalba
See BookḤim. Kālēb (Negus), *Klb*
JML-F-156 {*S¹dⁿ Klyb*}

Knf

BookḤim., Kaff, *Kf* (24b)
JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-'šgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}

**Knh*

See *Krh*

Knnt, Kinānat

Caskel, Kināna (40 occurrences)
JML-E-4 {*'bd-'šgr^(B) Knnt-²<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>'lbⁿ-bn^(C) 'mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-54 {*Knnt*
'kws¹}

**Krh*

See Caskel Kunna
JML-A-4 {*S²hn^m-Krh*}; JML-F-35 {*Krh* or *Knh*}

KTB

See *'ktb*

KWS¹

See *'kws¹*

**Kzm*

See Caskel Kuzmān
JML-A-8 {*Nmrt-Kzm*};

*l-

JML-D-7 {*l-Ndbm*}; JML-E-16 {**l-Klb*}; JML-G-6 {*L(d)f-rq* or *l-d-Frq*}; JML-H-186 {trois fois, *l-rs²-(l-Hrⁿ-l)-rs²-s¹w*}; JML-H-201 {(*R*)*ht* or *l-Ht*}

L:

JML-D-53 {*'lb'-bn-L:*}

L^l

See JML-H-94 (*L^l b(n) ...*)

-l^{zy}

See *'bdl^{zy}*

LB³

See *'lb³*

Lb³, Lab³

Caskel, Lab³ (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Labu³, Labwān
JML-F-165 {*Lb³*}

*Lbt

See Caskel Lubāba
JML-E-17 {*Lbt, Nbt* or *Rbt*}

Ldf

JML-G-6 {*L(d)f-rq* or *l-d-Frq*}

Lǧz, Lughz

Caskel Lughz (1 occurrence)
JML-F-17 (*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ bd*)

-lh

See *'bdlh, Grmlh* (?)

*Lhb, Lahab

Caskel, Lahab (3 occurrences), Lihb (1 occurrence). See Caskel Lahbān
JML-F-126 {*Mdh-Gm³-Lhb*}

Lhy^{tt}, Laḥay^{athat}

Verb *lhy* + *'tt(r)*. Caskel, Lahī'a (4 occurrences). See Caskel Laḥy, Liḥyān, Liḥyaw
JML-G-8 {*Lhy^{tt} (2) bn S¹bl^m*}

Lqn

JML-G-89 {*Lq(n)*}

-lt

See *'ws¹lt; Fs²ylt* (?); *Grmlt; M³nlt; Tmlt; Tymlt; Whblt; Zydlt;*
.(r)qlt (JML-F-81)

m isolé

JML-E-15; JML-F-169 {(*'*)*rb Dg³m m*}; JML-H-194

m Isolated Thamūdic

See JML-H-111

M'q'l

JML-G-147 {*M'q'l*}

M'd, Ma'ad

Caskel *Ma'add* (1 occurrence), *Ma'd* (3 occurrences). See Caskel *Ma'dān*, *al-Mu'add* (1 occurrence)

JML-H-99 {*M'd-b(n)*⁽²⁾ (*S*¹)*wd*}

**M'd, Ma'd*

Caskel *Ma'add* (1 occurrence), *Ma'd* (3 occurrences). See Caskel *Ma'dān*, *Ma'dī*, *Ma'dīkarib*, *al-Mu'add*

JML-G-57 {*M'(d)*}

M'd'l, Ma'ad'l or Ma'dīl

See Caskel *Ma'add*, *Ma'd*, *Ma'dān*, *Ma'dī*, *Ma'dīkarib*, *al-Mu'add*

JML-F-84 {(*M*)*d'l*}; JML-G-148 {*M'd'l*}

M'n, Ma'n

Caskel, *Ma'n* (23 occurrences)

JML-H-109 {*M'(n)*⁽²⁾ *Nm(r)*}

M'nl, Ma'anallāt

JML-G-118 {*M'n(lt)*⁽²⁾ *bn 'bd(l)'zy*}

M'wy, Mu'āwiya

Defective written form of *Mu'āwiya*? See Caskel *Mu'āwiya*

JML-H-25 {(*S*¹)*l-M'wy-(bny)*}

M'wyt, Mu'āwiyat

Caskel, *Mu'āwiya* (11 colonnes)

BookHim, *Mu'āwiyā*, *M'wy'*, and *Mu'āwiyah*, *M'wyh* (24b [2 times], 25a [3 times], 25b [2 times])

JML-F-3 {*M'wyt*}; JML-F-10 {'*byd-M'wyt*}; JML-F-161 {*Hrt*^{m(2)} *M'wyt*}; JML-H-81 {*Gdl-M'wyt*}; JML-H-101 {*M'wyt*}; JML-H-121 {(.)*hbⁿ-M'wyt...*}; JML-H-217 {*M'wyt-S*¹*d*}

Mbqn

JML-F-153 {*Mbqn*}

**Mbt*

JML-G-111 {(*Mb*)*t*}

Mdd

JML-F-74 {*Mdd bn S*¹*d^m nhmyⁿ*}

**Mdh*

JML-F-126 {*Mdh-Gm'-Lhb*}

**Mdkr, Madhkar*

Caskel, *Madhkar b. Yām* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *al-Dhakar*

JML-G-77 {*Mdkr*}; JML-H-189 {...-*Mdkr*}

Mdw

JML-H-2 {(*Mdw Mtb*)}

**Mgs²tr*

JML-F-174 {*..m-Mgs²t(r)*}

**Mhs¹hr*

See Caskel Sāhira

JML-H-188 {*Mhs¹hr*}

Mḥm

JML-H-227 (*N*)'*m-M(h)m*

Mḥmy

See Caskel Maḥmiya

JML-G-132 {*Dḥb^m b(n) ⁽²⁾ Mḥ(my)-.*}

**Mkfh*

JML-A-21 {*Mkfh*}

mlk, "king"

JML-G-108 {*Mrtḏ'w ḥḏr mqtwy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-ḏ-Ry[ḏⁿ]*}

Mlk, Mālik

Caskel, Mālik (more than 25 columns). See Caskel Malakān, Malkīkarib, Milkān, Mulayka BookḤim, Mālik, *Mlk* (25a, 3 times)

JML-A-2 {*Mlk-³ws¹*}; JML-A-11 {*Mlk-³ws¹*}; JML-E-4 {*'bd-³ṣḡr ^(B) Knnt-²<k>ws¹-mqtwy ḏ-
<T>'lbⁿ-bn ^(C) 'mr^m-²zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-F-11 {*Mlk ṭwb*}; JML-F-167 {*...*
(*Mlk*) '*bd^m...*}; JML-H-18 {*Mlk 'bd*}; JML-H-23 {*Mlk bn ⁽²⁾ (')s¹l(m)*}; JML-H-26 {*Mlk ⁽²⁾*
(*K*)'*b*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk-³bd*}; JML-H-57 {*Mlk ⁽²⁾ ...*}; JML-H-112 {*(³b).. Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-H-
117 {*Gdn Mlk*}; JML-H-119 {*Mlk qryⁿ*}; JML-H-128 {*Ws²ḥ Mlk*}; JML-H-150 {*'w(q)ḏ*
M(lk)-(Ml)t-Ḥs¹d}; JML-H-196 {*'k^m..-Mlk-...*}; JML-H-213 {*'mr-²ṭwb-Mlk-'bdlh*}; JML-H-
221 {*(ḏ)-Mlk-Whb*}; JML-H-230 {*Mlk*}

**Mlk*, Mālik

Caskel, Mālik (plus de 25 colonnes). See Caskel Malakān, Malkīkarib, Milkān, Mulayka BookḤim, Mālik, *Mlk* (25a, 3 times)

JML-F-85 {*Mlk ⁽²⁾ (S¹tyt)*}; JML-G-103 {*(K)lb-Mlk-H(r)nⁿ*}

Mlt

JML-H-150 {*'w(q)ḏ M(lk)-(Ml)t-Ḥs¹d*}

Mmt, Māmat

Caskel, Māma (1 occurrence)

JML-F-146 {*(M)mt*}

**Mnbh*, Munabbih

Caskel, Munabbih (30 occurrences)

JML-H-104/1 {*Mnbh*}

Mnh

See Caskel Manāt (1 occurrence)

JML-F-113 {*ḥ-Mnh ⁽²⁾ ḥ-²ḥmr*}

-*mnt*

See *'bdmnt*, *Qys¹mnt*

Mqm

JML-F-173 {*Mqm²ṭt* or *Mqm-²ṭt*}

Mqmʿtt, theophoric name formed with -ʿtt, abbreviation of ʿtrt, Athirat?

JML-F-173 {*Mqmʿtt* or *Mqm-ʿtt*}

mqtw, “officer”

JML-H-197 {*..krb mqtw d-Gdn^m*}

mqtwy, “officer”

JML-E-4 {*ʿbd-ʿšgr^(B) Knnt-ʿ<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>ʿlbⁿ-bn^(C) ʿmr^m-ʿzz^m-Mlk*}; JML-G-108
{*Mrtdʿw ʿḥdr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

Mrh

See Caskel Murra, Murāha

JML-H-32 {*Mrh*, (*Gb.*) and (*Ḡwt^m*)}

Mrkb

JML-G-36 {*Mrkb* or perhaps *Wkb*}

Mrm

JML-H-220 {*Hyⁿ-Mrm*}

**Mrm*

JML-F-102 {*Mrm*}

Mrn, Marrān

Caskel, Marrān (2 occurrences). See Caskel Murayn

JML-H-83 {*Mrⁿ bn Wrq⁽ⁿ⁾*}

**Mrṭ*

See Caskel Murātha (1 occurrence)

JML-H-187 {*Mr(ṭ)* or *Mr(t)*; *Rbʿt-nṣb*}

Mrtdʿw, Marthadʿaw

Participle *mrtd* + ʿw. Abbreviation or probable variant in written form of the Sabaeen personal name *Mrtdʿwm* (see for instance Ja 712/2-3)

JML-G-108 {*Mrtdʿw ʿḥdr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(?) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

**Mrṭ*

JML-H-187 {*Mr(t)* or *Mr(t)*; *Rbʿt-nṣb*}

**Ms¹r*, Masʿar

See Caskel Musāwir

JML-H-191 {*Ms¹r*}

Ms¹lm, Maslama

Defective written form of Maslamat, *Ms¹lmt*, personal name at Ḥimà? Caskel, Muslim (24 occurrences). See Caskel Maslama (19 occurrences)

JML-G-2 {*ʿs¹d Ms¹(l)m*}

Ms²hr

See JML-D-66 {*ʿs¹d⁽²⁾ M(s²)hr*.⁽³⁾ *Nmr*}

Ms²lwt

JML-G-114 {*Ms²lwt⁽²⁾ Bw(l)ⁿ*}

Mt^ᶜ, Māti^ᶜ

Caskel, Māti^ᶜ (7 occurrences). See Caskel Matʿān, Mutay^ᶜ

JML-H-114 {*Mt^ᶜ S¹d*}

Mtb

JML-H-2 {(M_{dw} Mtb)}

Mth

JML-G-75 {Mth}; JML-H-79 {Mth bn '(bl)}

Mtl^c

JML-H-115 {'ws^{1(m)} M)t(l)}

*Mw^{ʔm}

This personal name can be closened to Ge'ez *mw'*, *mō'a*, "to vanquish" (RIÉth 191 / 3),
JML-H-177 {Mw^{ʔm}}

*Mwg^ʔ

JML-H-174 {Mwg^ʔ}

*Mys^{2c}, Mays^h

JML-G-145 {Mys^{2c}'}

Mzn, Māzin

Caskel, Māzin (more than 2 columns), Muzn (1 occurrence). See Caskel Muzayna
BookḤim, Māzin, *Mzn* (25a)
JML-F-7 {Mzn⁽²⁾ S^{2ry}}; JML-H-240 {Mzn-S²(ry)}

Myd^c, Mayda^c

See Caskel Mayda'ān (1 occurrence)
JML-D-25 {Myd(')-Hn^{ʔ(2)m} Nmr}

*Myḥ

JML-D-44 A {Myḥ^(B) Qs^{1ṭ}}

— N —

*n^ʔ

JML-F-140 (n^ʔ, unfinished text?)

*N'l

JML-F-139 {N'l}

N'm, Na'ām

Caskel, Na'ām (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Na'āma, Nu'aym
JML-H-76 {Hf^cm w-N'm}; JML-H-227 {(N)'m-M(h)m}

NBH

See *Mnbh*

*Nbt, Nabt

Nabīṭ (1 occurrence), Nābit (2 occurrences), Nabt (3 occurrences). See Caskel al-Nabīṭ, al-
Nabīṭa, Nubāta
JML-E-17 {Lbt, Nbt or Rbt}

NBT

See *'nbt

Nbṭ'l, Nabaṭ'il

See Caskel Nubayṭ
JML-F-22 {Nbṭ'l}

**Ndb^m*, Nadbum

See Caskel al-Nadab
JML-D-7 {*l-Ndb^m*}

**Nḍr*, Naḍr

Caskel Naḍr (1 occurrence), Nuḍār (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Naḍr, Naḍra, Nuḍayr, al-Nuḍayr
JML-A-20 {*Nḍr*};

**Ngs²*

See Ge'ez *nagūs* and Arabic *najāshī*?
JML-H-133 {*Ngs²*}

**Nhkt*

See Caskel Nahik
JML-F-118 {*Nhkt*}

**Nhm*, Nihm

Caskel, Nihm (2 occurrences)
JML-F-31 {*Nhm*}

nhmy, “stonecutter” (stones called *nhmt* or *mnhmt*) or Nihmite (following the name of the tribe of Nihm)

JML-F-74 {*Mdd bn S^{1c}d^m nhmyⁿ*}

NH^c

See *ḥh^c*

**Nh^ct*

See Caskel al-Nakhā^c
JML-F-100 {*Nh^ct*}

nhl, “captain of cavalry”

JML-H-17 {*S^{1lmⁿ hl-d-T^llbⁿ}* to be no doubt corrected to *S^{1lm} nhl-d-T^llbⁿ* or *S^{1lmⁿ nhl-d-T^llbⁿ}*}

NMR

ḥnmr

Nmr, Namir

Caskel, Namir (4 occurrences). See Caskel al-Namir, Namira, Nimrān, Numayr
JML-D-25 {*Myd^(c)-Hn^{(2) m Nmr}*}; JML-D-66 {*s^{1d} (2) M(s²)hr. (3) Nmr*}; JML-G-133 {*Rb^l (2) ḍ-Nmr*}; JML-H-109 {*M⁽ⁿ⁾ (2) Nm(r)*}

**Nmrt*, Namira

Caskel, Namira (4 occurrences). See Caskel, Namir, al-Namir, Nimrān, Numayr
JML-A-8 {*Nmrt-Kzm*}; JML-G-53 {*Nmrt*}

Nqb^m, Naqb^{um}

Caskel, Naqb (1 occurrence)
JML-F-153 {*Mbqn* or, from left to right, *Nqb^m*}

Nqbt, Naqbat

JML-G-49 {*(Nq)bt*}

Nqd

See Caskel Nuqayd (1 occurrence)
JML-F-15 {*Nqd*}

**Nqm*

See Caskel al-Nāqim (1 occurrence)
JML-H-190 {.. and *Nqm*; or ..*nqm*}

Nqw

JML-G-135

**Nrt*

JML-H-159 {*Nrt*}

Ns¹

JML-E-26 C {*Ns¹*}; JML-G-71 {*'ls²rḥ-Ns¹*}

nšb, “to erect (a stone or a stela)”

JML-H-187 {*Mr(t)* or *Mr(t̄)*; *Rb't-nšb*}

Nšr, Našr, Nāšir

Caskel, Našr (more than two columns). See Caskel Našīra, al-Našr
JML-F-111 {*Nšr*}

Nšr^m, Našr^{um}

Caskel, Našr (more than two columns). See Caskel Našīra, al-Našr
JML-F-151 {*Nšr^m* or *Nšr^m (2) Ns²wⁿ*}

**Nšrq*

JML-H-137 {*N(š)r(q)*}

Ns²wⁿ, Nashwān

Caskel, Nashwān (1 occurrence). See Caskel Nashwa
JML-F-152 {*Ns²wⁿ* or *Nšr^m (2) Ns²wⁿ*}

— Q —

q, isolated

JML-F-121

Q's²mt, Qa'shamat

JML-D-62 {*Ms¹d (bn) Q's²mt* or *S¹d' Q's²mt*};

Qb^m

Caskel, Qabb (1 occurrence)
JML-F-138 {(*Q*)*b^m*}

Qđ^m

See Caskel Quđdāma (?)
JML-A-3 {*Qđ^m-mr*}; JML-H-208 {*Qđm-mr*}

**Qđⁿ*

JML-G-121 {*Qđⁿ*}

**Qds²m*

JML-G-15 {*Qds²m*}

Qlzⁿ

JML-G-76 {*Qlzⁿ*}

Qrft, Qirfat

Caskel, Qirfa (6 occurrences)

JML-F-127 {*Qrft*}; JML-F-150 {*Qrft* ⁽²⁾*hmr*}

qryn, “the Qaryot” (nisba de *Qryt*)

JML-H-19 {*qryn*}; JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-ʕgr-Dhl-qryn*}; JML-H-119 {*MLk qryn*}; see JML-H-122 {*.../qr(yⁿ)*}

(*)*Qsr*

JML-G-82 {*Qs¹r*}

**Qs¹r^m*, Qasr^{um}

Caskel, Qasr (1 occurrence). See Caskel Qusayr

JML-F-38 {*Qs¹r^m*}

**Qs¹t*, Qāsiṭ

Caskel, Qāsiṭ (7 occurrences). See Caskel Qusayṭ

JML-D-44 B {*Myḥ* ^(B) *Qs¹t*}

QTW

See *mqtwy*

qyn, “minister”

JML-F-77 {*S²(kr)^m-qyn* ⁽²⁾ *d-S¹mw⁽³⁾y*}

**Qys^m*, Qays^{um}

Caskel, Qays (approximately 18 columns). See Caskel al-Qaysān, Quways

BookḤim, Qays, *Qys* (25a, 25b)

JML-F-154 {*Qys¹m-Whb⁽²⁾wd*}

Qys¹mnt, Qaysmanāt

Caskel, Qaysmanāt (2 occurrences)

JML-G-90 {*Qys¹mnt W[...]*}

— R —

**r*, isolated

JML-F-159

Rb^l, Rabb^{īl} or Rabb^īl

See Caskel al-Rabāb, Rabbān, Rabīb, al-Ribāb, Ribāba

JML-G-133 {*Rb^l* ⁽²⁾ *d-Nmr*}

Rb^t, Rabī^ʿat

Caskel, Rabī^ʿa (more than 14 columns). See Caskel Rabī^ʿ, al-Rabī^ʿ, Rib^ʿān, Rib^ʿī, Rubay^ʿ,

Rubay^ʿiyya

BookḤim, Rabī^ʿa, *Rby^ʿ* (25a)

JML-F-49 {*Rb^t Ghft*}; JML-H-187 {*Mr(t)* or *Mr(t)*; *Rb^t-nṣb*}

Rbb, Rabīb

Rabīb (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Rabāb, Rabbān, Rabīb, al-Ribāb, Ribāba

JML-E-11 {*...-Hy^m-Rbb-(ʿ)zz*}

Rbt

JML-E-17 {*Lbt*, *Nbt* or *Rbt*}

**rbṭw* (?)

JML-H-22 {(w)dd-ṭ...(rbṭw.bn)-ṭbd}

Rgm^m

JML-D-46 {*R(g)m^m*}

**Rhmⁿ*, Ruhmān

See Caskel Ruhm (28 occurrences)

See BookḤim, Ruhm, *Rhwm* (women)

— *Rhwm brt Azma*ṭ, (26a), 26b, 30b, 36b, 37a, 38a, 38b, 39a, 39b, 41a, 41b, 42a, 43b, 44a;
and see *Rhwmy* (4b, 36b)

— *Rhwm brt* ṭm, 38a, 41b, 44a (twice)

— Two other casualties, 30b

See also *Rhwm* and *Rwmy* (spelling variants of the same)

JML-G-29 {*Rhmⁿ*}

**Rḥz(n)*

JML-A-12 {*Rḥz(n)* or *H_z(n)*}

Rḥbⁿ, Raḥbān

See Caskel al-Raḥaba, Raḥb, Ruḥayb

JML-F-72 {*Rḥbⁿ*}

**Rḥt^c*

JML-H-201 {(R)ḥt^c or l-Ḥt}

RKB

See *Mrkb*

Rml

JML-G-87 {(Gdd) *Rml*}

RQM

See *ṭrqm*

**Rs¹b*, Rāsib

Caskel, Rāsib (2 occurrences)

JML-G-35 {*Rs¹b*}

Rs²

JML-G-126 {*S²yṭrs²* or *S²yṭ-Rs²*}

RS²D

See *Yrs²d*

Rs²d, Rāshid

Caskel, Rashad (2 occurrences), Rāshid (11 occurrences). See Caskel Rāshida

JML-H-226 {*S¹c^dm-R(s²)d*}

**Rṭḥ*

JML-H-141 {*Rṭḥ*}

RTD

See *Mrtḏṭw*

Rydⁿ, in *d-Rydⁿ*

JML-G-108 {*Mrtḏṭw ḥḏr mḡ[ṭwy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(ṭ) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

RYM

See ʾrym

— S¹ —

S¹

JML-G-10 (?)

S^{1ʾl}

See Caskel Sayāl
JML-H-25 {(S^{1ʾ})l-Mʿwy-(bny)}

S^{1ʾr}

See Ms^{1ʾr}

*S^{1ʾr}

See Caskel Sayr, Sawra, Sawrān [to be corrected to Suʾrān], Sawwār, Sayyār, Sayyāra, Sūr,
Suwayra
JML-H-162 {ʿmhms¹-S^{1ʾr}}

S^{1ʿd}

See ʾs^{1ʿd}

S^{1ʿd}, Saʿd or Saʿīd

See Caskel, Saʿd (more than 11 columns), Saʿdāna, Saʿīd (4 columns), Saʿūd (3
occurrences), Suʿād (1 occurrence). See Caskel Sāʿida, Suʿayd, Suʿdā
BookḤim, Saʿd, S^{1ʿd} (24b) and Šʿd (25b)
JML-H-54 {S^{1ʿ(2)}d}; JML-H-73 B {S^{1ʿd} tk}; JML-H-114 {Mtʿ S^{1ʿd}};
JML-H-211 {ʿbd-Gys²-ʾs^{1ʿd} S^{1ʿd}; or ʿbd-Gys²-ʾs^{1ʿd} and S^{1ʿd}}; JML-H-217 {Mʿwyt-S^{1ʿd}}

S^{1ʿdʾl}, Saʿadʾl

Verb s^{1ʿd} + ʾl
JML-D-49 A {S^{1ʿdʾl} (B) (..qy)mt}; JML-H-27 {S^{1ʿdʾl}}

S^{1ʿdm}, Saʿdum or Saʿīdum

Caskel, Saʿd (more than 11 columns), Saʿīd (4 columns), Saʿūd (3 occurrences), Suʿād (1
occurrence). See Caskel Saʿdāna, Sāʿida, Suʿayd, Suʿdā
JML-F-74 {Mdd bn S^{1ʿdm} nhmym}; JML-H-226 {S^{1ʿdm}-R(s²)d}

S^{1ʿdn}

See Caskel Saʿdāna
JML-F-156 {S^{1ʿdn} Klyb}

S^{1ʿdt}, Sāʿidat

Caskel, Sāʿida (15 occurrences). See Caskel Saʿd, Saʿīd, Saʿūd, Suʿād, Saʿdāna, Suʿayd, Suʿdā
JML-H-24 {Whb w-S^{1ʿdt} (2) (bn)y-Ṭwbt}; JML-H-147 {S^{1ʿdt}}

*S^{1ʿdt}, Sāʿidat

Caskel, Sāʿida (15 occurrences). See Caskel Saʿd, Saʿīd, Saʿūd, Suʿād, Saʿdāna, Suʿayd, Suʿdā
JML-G-74 {S^{1ʿdt}}

S^{1ʿdy}, Suʿdā

Caskel, Suʿdā (2 occurrences). See Caskel Saʿd, Saʿīd, Sāʿida, Saʿūd, Suʿād, Saʿdāna, Suʿayd
JML-F-26 {S^{1ʿdy}}

S^1b' , Saba' (South Arabian kingdom)

JML-G-108 {*Mrt* \bar{d} 'w \bar{h} *dr* *mq*[*twy* S^2] *mr* *mlk* (S^1)*b*(?) *w-d-Ry*[d^n]}

S^1b^m , Sibā'um

Caskel, Sibā' (4 occurrences). See Caskel Sab'a, al-Sabī', Subay'
JML-F-88 { S^1b^m }

S^1bl^m

See Caskel Sabalān, Subāla. See also al-Sunbula, the "virgin's ear of grain" (zodiac) (Saba'ic
 S^1blt)

JML-G-8 {*Lhy*'*tt* ⁽²⁾ *bn* S^1bl^m }

S^1fr , Safr

Caskel Safr (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Safar
JML-H-151 { $S^1f(r)$ -*(w)dd*}

* S^1ft

JML-H-161 { S^1ft }

S^1HR

See *Mhs* 1hr

S^1lh , Salīh

Caskel Salīh (1 occurrence)
JML-H-152 {*Gd*.- S^1lh }

S^1LM

See s1m ; Ms^1m

S^1lm

Caskel, Salām (1 occurrence), Sālim (43 occurrences), Sallām (2 occurrences), Salm (7
occurrences). See Caskel Salama, Salāma, Salāmān, Salima, Salīma, al-Salm, Salmā,
Salmān, Sulaym, Sulayma, Sulaymān, Sulmā, Sulmī

See BookḤim, *Šlym* (24b), *Šlym'* (25a), *Šlmh* (25b, twice); *Slwm'* (30b, woman), *Slm'* (24b,
30b, woman)

JML-F-55 { S^1lm }; JML-H-17 { S^1lm^n *hl-d-T'lb^n* no doubt to be corrected to S^1lm *nhl-d-T'lb^n* or
 S^1lm^n *nhl-d-T'lb^n*}

S^1lm^n

Caskel, Salāmān (24 occurrences), Salmān (24 occurrences), al-Salm (3 occurrences). See
Caskel, Salām, Sālim, Sallām, Salm, Salama, Salāma, Salima, Salīma, Salmā, Sulaym,
Sulayma, Sulaymān, Sulmā, Sulmī

JML-H-17 { S^1lm^n *hl-d-T'lb^n* no doubt to be corrected to S^1lm *nhl-d-T'lb^n* or S^1lm^n *nhl-d-T'lb^n*}

S^1my

JML-H-68 {(S^1)*my*...}

* S^1mw or *- s^1mw

See Caskel Sāma, Sumayy
JML-G-70 {*Hrm*- S^1mw or *Hrms* 1mw }

S^1mwy (in d - S^1mwy)

JML-F-77 { S^2 (*kr*) m -*qyn* ⁽²⁾ d - S^1mw (3)*y*}

See - s^1mw in *Hrms* 1mw

S^1nn , Sinān

Caskel, Sinān (53 occurrences). See Caskel Sanna

JML-F-133 { S^1nn }

* S^1qm

Caskel Sāq (1 occurrence)

JML-A-6 { $bd^n-S^1qm-///$ }

* S^1tyt

JML-F-85 { $Mlk^{(2)}(S^1tyt)$ }

$s^1w^?$, “evil” (?)

See also Caskel Sawā’ (3 occurrences), Suwā’a

JML-H-186 {3 times, $l-^?rs^2-(l-Hrn-l)-^?rs^2-s^1w^?$ }

S^1wd

Caskel Sawād (11 occurrences), Suwād (1 occurrence). See Caskel Sawda, Sawāda, Suwāda, Suwayd

JML-H-99 { $M^?d-b(n)^{(2)}(S^1wd)$ }

— S^2 —

* s^2 , isolated

JML-F-159

* $S^{2c}t$, Sha‘th

Caskel, Sha‘th (1 occurrence). See Caskel Sha‘tha, Sha‘thā’, al-Sha‘thā’, Sha‘tham, Sha‘thān, Shu‘ayth, Shu‘aytha, Shu‘āth

JML-A-24 { $Dkr-S^{2c}t$ }

S^2bl , Shibl

Caskel, Shibl (6 occurrences). See Caskel Shubayl

JML-H-31 { $mr-S^2bl$ }

S^2hr , Shahr

Caskel Shahr (8 occurrences). See Caskel Shahrān

JML-F-19 { S^2hr }; JML-H-78 { $(S^2)hr^{(2)}Wd(t)$ }

* S^2hr^m , Shahr^{um}

Caskel Shahr (8 occurrences). See Caskel Shahrān

JML-E-14 { $Tr^{(B)}S^2hr^m$ }

* S^2hn^m

See Caskel Shaḥna

JML-A-4 { S^2hn^m-Krh }; JML-A-27 { S^2hn^m }

* S^2ht

JML-D-16 { S^2ht }

S^2KR

See Ys^2kr

S^2kr^m , Shākir^{um}

Caskel, Shākir (brother of Nihm) b. ... Bakīl (1 occurrence), Shakr (1 occurrence)

JML-F-77 { $S^2(kr)^m-qyn^{(2)}d-S^1mw^{(3)y}$ }

S^2l

JML-F-50 { $S^2l^{(2)}Br^?$ }

S^2ll

JML-G-134 $\{S^2ll\}$

$*S^2ll$

See Caskel al-Shalal, Shalla
JML-F-97 $\{S^2ll\}$

S^2LW

See Ms^2lwt

S^2lw

JML-G-20 $\{(.shm)-S^2lw\}$

S^2lwm

See BookḤim, $Slwm'$ (30b, woman), Slm' (24b, 30b, woman)
JML-G-83 $\{S^2lwm-B(s^2r)$ or S^2lwm and $B(s^2r)\}$

S^2mr , Shammar

Caskel, Shamir (21 occurrences), Shammar (1 occurrence), Shimr (2 occurrences). See
Caskel Shimrān, Shumayr
JML-G-108 $\{Mrtd'w \ 'h\bar{d}r\ mq[twy\ S^2]mr\ mlk\ (S^1)b(?)\ w-d-Ry[d^n]\}$

S^2ms^1

See Tms^2ms^1

S^2ms^{1n} , Shams^{um}

Caskel Shamīs (1 occurrence), Shammās (10 occurrence), Shams (3 occurrences), Shums
(4 occurrences)
JML-F-168 $\{S^2ms^{1n}\}$

$*S^2nb$

JML-F-43 $\{S^2nb\}$

S^2nm^c

JML-H-63 $\{(S^2)nm^c\}$

S^2QR

See $'s^2qr$

S^2RH

See $'ls^2rh$

$*S^2rh^l$, Sharah^{il}

Verb $s^2rh + 'l$. Caskel Sharāḥīl (36 occurrences). See Caskel Shurāḥbīl, Shurayḥ
JML-G-58 $\{(.)-S^2r(h^l)\}$

S^2ry , Sharya

Defective written form of Sharya? See Caskel Sharya (2 occurrences)
JML-F-7 $\{Mzn^{(2)}\ S^2ry\}$; JML-H-240 $\{Mzn-S^2(ry)\}$

S^2w^n

JML-H-42 $\{(l)h^n^{(2)}\ bn\ S^2w(^n)\}$

S^2y^c

Caskel Shay'allāt
JML-G-126 $\{S^2y^c\ rs^2$ or $S^2y^c-Rs^2\}$

$S^2y'rs^2$

JML-G-126 { $S^2y'rs^2$ or $S^2y'-Rs^2$ }

* S^2yb , Shayb

See Caskel Shayba, Shaybān

JML-F-132 { $\$b\dot{h}^n-wdd-S^2(yb)$ }

S^2yb^n , Shaybān

Caskel, Shaybān (26 occurrences). See Caskel Shayba

JML-E-2 { $S^2yb^n-'bd-Qdr$ or $S^2yb^n-'bdqdr$ }; JML-H-69 { $S^2yb^n-'bd$ }; JML-H-228 { $Dhl S^2yb^n$ }

— § —

ŞBH

See *Yhşbh*

* $\$b\dot{h}^n$

Caskel, al-Şabbāh (5 occurrences). See Caskel Şabbāh, Şubāh, Şubayh, Şubh

JML-F-132 { $\$b\dot{h}^n-wdd-S^2(yb)$ }

ŞGR

See *'şgr*

ŞHR

See *'şhr*

* $\$nn$

JML-F-40 { $\$nn$ }

Şrs²

JML-H-212 { $'mr^m-Hrs^2$ or $'mr^m-Şrs^2$ }

— T —

* $T^{\text{c}}dr$, Ta'dhir

See Caskel 'Adhar, 'Udhar, 'Udhra

JML-F-99 { $T^{\text{c}}dr$ }

$Th^{\text{c}}ry$

See Caskel al-'Uryān

JML-H-182 { $T(h)^{\text{c}}ry$ }

Thr^m

JML-G-68 { Thr^m or $*Zhr^m$ }

TL^c

See *Mtl^c*

* $Tmlt$, Tēmallāt

Noun *tm* (= *tym*) + *-lt*. Caskel Taymallāt (5 occurrences). See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh,

Tāmmaṅāt

JML-F-101 { $Tmlt$ }

* Tmm , Tamīm

Caskal, Tamīm (plus de 2 colonnes). See Caskel Tamīma, Tammām

Boohḥim, Tamīm, *Tmym* (24a, 25b)

JML-A-15 {*Tmm*}

Tms²ms¹, Tēmshams

See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh, Taymallāt, Tāmmanāt

JML-F-17 (*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ 'bd*)

Trf

JML-H-192 {*Trf*}

TYM

See *Tmlt*; *Tms²ms¹*

Tymlt, Taymallāt

Noun *tym* + *-lt*. Caskel Taymallāt (5 occurrences). See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh, Tāmmanāt

JML-G-140 {*TymI(t)*}

**Tymlt*, Taymallāt

Noun *tym* + *-lt*. Caskel Taymallāt (5 occurrences). See Caskel Taym, Taymallāh, Tāmmanāt

JML-G-98 {(*Ty*)*mlt*}

— I —

t, isolated

JML-G-10 (?)

**T^cdy*

JML-G-34 {*T^cdy*}

T^clbⁿ, Thu'lubān

The name is attested in the Arab-Islamic traditions relating to the massacre of Najrān's Christians by king Yūsuf: it is said that Caesar and the Negus were informed of the massacre by a survivor named Daws dhu-Thu'lubān (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, I, pp. 925 and 927; *History*, 5, pp. 203-206-208).

Dhu-Thu'lubān, princely lineage from Najrān (Robin 2013, pp. 203-204)

JML-E-4 {*'bd-ṣǧr* ^(B) *Knnt-ṣ<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>'lbⁿ-bn* ^(C) *'mr^m-ṣzz^m-Mlk*}; JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ ḥl-d-T^clbⁿ* to be no doubt corrected to *S¹lm ḥl-d-T^clbⁿ* or *S¹lmⁿ ḥl-d-T^clbⁿ*}

T^clbt, Tha'labat

Caskel (more than 11 columns)

BookḤim, Tha'labā, *T^clb'* (24b, 25b)

JML-F-5 {*T^clbt*}

**Tb(n)^m*

See Caskel Thawbān

JML-G-9 {*Tb(n)^m*}

**Tb(r)^m*, Thābir^{um}

Caskel, Thābir (1 occurrence)

JML-G-9 {*Tb(r)^m*}

**Tr*, Thōr

Caskel, Thawr (30 occurrences). See Caskel al-Thuwayr

JML-E-14 {*Tr* ^(B) *S²hr^m*}

TWB

See *'twb*; *'twb^m*

Twb, Thawb

Caskel, Thawb (5 occurrences), Thawāb (1 occurrence). See Caskel Thawāba, Thawbān
JML-D-47 {Twb}

Caskel Thawb (5 occurrences), Thawāb (1 occurrence). See Caskel Thawbān and Thawāba.

Twbt, Thawābat

Caskel Thawāba (2 occurrences). See Caskel Thawb, Thawāb, Thawbān

JML-F-6 {Twbt ^w(²)(^s¹)}; JML-H-24 {*Whb w-S¹dt* (²).(*bn*)y-Twbt}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Ḥrt* (²)
Twbt *K'b*}

Twbⁿ

Caskel Thawbān (5 occurrences). See Caskel Thawb, Thawāb, Thawāba

JML-G-131 {*Yḥm'l-bn-Twbⁿ*}; JML-H-82 {*Bd(?) Twb⁽ⁿ⁾*}; JML-H-143 {(*T*)wbⁿ (²) (*mr*)}

TWR

See Tr

— T —

Trr

JML-G-101 {Trr or *Wrr}

— w —

w

JML-G-42 {w and d of large size}

w-

JML-H-76 {*H^fm w-N'm*}

W^lm, Wā'il^{um}

Caskel, Wā'il (52 occurrences). See Caskel Wā'ila
JML-H-5 {*W^lm-d-(H)s²r* or *W^lm-d-(H)s²r*}

*W^lm, Wā'il^{um}

Caskel, Wā'il (52 occurrences). See Caskel Wā'ila
Wā'il^{um}
BookḤim, Wā'il, *W^yl* (25a, 25b)
JML-G-30 {W^lm}

*Wbrt, Wabarat

Caskel, Wabara (14 occurrences). See Caskel Wubayr
JML-G-79 {(*W*)b(r)t}

-wd

See *'bdwd*, *Whbwd*

Wd^ʿ, Wadā^ʿ

Caskel Wadā^ʿ (3 attestations), Wādī^ʿ (1 attestation). See Caskel Wadā^ʿa, Wādī^ʿa
JML-H-206 {Wd^ʿ}

Wd^t, Wadā^ʿat

Caskel, Wadā^ʿa (1 attestation), Wādī^ʿa (21 occurrences). See Caskel Wadā^ʿ, Wādī^ʿ
JML-F-123 {*Wd^t w⁽²⁾dd ^h(³)mr*}

wdd, “to be friends with”

JML-F-123 {*Wd^t w⁽²⁾dd ḥ⁽³⁾mr*}

**wdd*, “to be friends with”

JML-F-8 {*Hld-wdd-...⁽²⁾ z*}; JML-F-78 {*(ry)-wdd-^t*}; JML-F-132 {*Sbhⁿ-wdd-S²(yb)*}; JML-F-176 {*G(r)m-wdd-.[...]*}; JML-H-22 {*(w)dd-^t...(rbṭw.bn)-^{bd}*}; JML-H-151 {*S^f(r)-(w)dd*}

**Wdd^m*, *Wadd^{um}*

Caskel, *Wadd* (4 occurrences)

JML-G-78 {*(W)dd^m*}

Wdt

JML-H-78 {*(S²)hr⁽²⁾ Wd(t)*}

**Wdt*

JML-H-178 {*Wdt...*}

Wdyd

JML-H-77 {*Wdyd*}

WFY

See *Hf^l*; *Hf^m*; *Hwf^l*; *Hwf^m*; *Hwf^t*

Wfy^m

See Caskel *Awfā*

JML-H-233 {*(W)fy^m-^ḥ*}

WG[?]

See *Mwg[?]*.

Whb, *Wahb*

Caskel, *Wahb* (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel *Wahballāh*, *Wahballāt*, *Wahbān*, *Wahbīl*, *Wuhayb*, *Wuhayba*

JML-F-60 {*Bn^l bn Whb*}; JML-F-91 {*Whb*} JML-F-116 {*Whb-(^{dy})*};

JML-H-24 {*Whb w-S^{1c}dt⁽²⁾.(bn)y-Ṭwbt*}; JML-H-51 {*Whb*}; JML-H-221 {*(d)-Mlk-Whb*}; JML-H-231 {*Whb*}

Whb^l, *Wahab^{īl}*

Verb *whb +-^l*. Caskel, *Wahbīl* (3 occurrences). See Caskel *Wahb*, *Wahballāh*, *Wahballāt*, *Wahbān*, *Wuhayb*, *Wuhayba*

JML-F-27 {*Whb^l-Hyw*}; JML-H-108 {*Whb^l bn (S¹..)*}

Whblt, *Wahballāt*

Verb *whb + -lt*. Caskel, *Wahballāt* (1 occurrence). See Caskel *Wahb*, *Wahballāh*, *Wahbān*, *Wahbīl*, *Wuhayb*, *Wuhayba*

JML-D-57 {*Whblt*}; JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Ḡrf^m*}

Whb^m, *Wahb^{um}*

Caskel, *Wahb* (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel *Wahballāh*, *Wahballāt*, *Wahbān*, *Wahbīl*, *Wuhayb*, *Wuhayba*

JML-D-39 {*W(h)b^m*}

**Whb^m*, *Wahb^{um}*

Caskel, *Wahb* (approximately 4 columns). See Caskel *Wahballāh*, *Wahballāt*, *Wahbān*, *Wahbīl*, *Wuhayb*, *Wuhayba*

JML-A-19 {*Whb^m*}; JML-F-104 {*Whb^m*}

Whbⁿ, Wahbān

Caskel, Wahbān (6 occurrences). See Caskel Wahb, Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-H-107 {*Whbⁿ-‘bd* (or *Whbⁿ* and *‘bd*)}; JML-H-219 {*Whbⁿ*}

**Whbwd*, Wahabwadd

Verb *whb* + *-wd*. See Caskel Wahb, Wahballāh, Wahballāt, Wahbān, Wahbīl, Wuhayb, Wuhayba

JML-F-154 {*Qys^{1m}-Whb⁽²⁾wd*}

**Whd*

See Caskel al-Wahīd

JML-F-125 {*Whd*}

Wkb

JML-G-36 {*Mrkb* or perhaps *Wkb*}

Wmg or *Wml*

JML-H-225 {*Wmg* or *Wml*}

WQD

See *‘wqd*

WQR

See *yqr*

**wqr*, “to draw, to carve, to engrave”

JML-G-64 {*‘m(h)r-wq(r)*}; JML-G-120 {*wqr*}

Wrqⁿ, Waraqān

See Caskel Waraqa, Warqa, Warqā²

JML-H-83 {*Mrⁿ bn Wrq⁽ⁿ⁾*}

**Wrr*

JML-G-101 {*Trr* or **Wrr*}

Ws^{1c}, Wāsi^c

Caskel, Wāsi^c (5 occurrences). See Caskel al-Wasi^c

JML-F-51 {*Ws¹(‘)*}

Ws^{2h}, Wāshih

Caskel, Wāshih (3 occurrences)

JML-H-128 {*Ws^{2h} Mlk*}

Wṣⁿ

JML-G-25 {*(Wṣ)ⁿ*}

Wtrⁿ

JML-H-65 {*‘bd-Wt(r)ⁿ*}

**Wyfⁿ*

JML-A-22 {*Wyfⁿ*}

**Wywh*

JML-H-193 {*Wyhw* }

-y

See *T^cdy*

Y^cdr, *Ya^cdhir*

See Caskel ‘Adhar, ‘Udhar, ‘Udhra
JML-F-12 {*Y^cdr* and *Y^cdr*}

YD^c

See *Myd^m*

Ydkr, *Yadhkur*

See Caskel al-Dhakhir, Madhkar
JML-D-64 {*Ydkr*}

Ygyb

JML-G-65 {(*Y*)*g(yb)*}

Yhⁿ, *Yuhaⁿ*

JML-G-138 {*Yhⁿ*}

Yhfr

JML-G-18 {(*Yhfr*)}; JML-H-160 {*Hf^l* ⁽²⁾ *Yhfr*}

Yhšbh, *Yuhašbiḥ*

JML-H-146 {*Yhšbh*}

Yḥ(dr)

JML-H-173 {*Hb(r)* and *Yḥ(dr)*}

Yḥm^l, *Yaḥmīl*

Unaccomplished verb *yḥm-* (root ḤMY) + -*l*. See Caskel Ḥamāya, Ḥamiya
JML-F-115 {*Yḥm^l*}; JML-G-131 {*Yḥm^l-bn-Ṭwbⁿ* or *Yḥm^l-bn-Ṭwbⁿ-ḍ-Btt*}

**yqr*, “to draw, to carve, to engrave”

JML-G-123 {*(y)w-y(q)r*}

Yrs²d

See Caskel Rashad, Rāshid, Rāshida
JML-H-3 {... ⁽²⁾ *Yrs²d*.. ⁽³⁾ ...*n*..}

YS^{2c}

See *Mys^{2c}*

**YS²kr*

See Caskel Shākir, Shakr
JML-F-57 {*YS²(k)r*}

Yzd, *Yazīd*

Caskel Yazīd (approximately 10 columns). See Caskel Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl,
Zaydmanāt, Zā’id, Zā’ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
BookḤim, Yazīd, *Yzyd* (25a, twice)
JML-H-104 / 2 {*Yzd*}

*Z'n

JML-F-85 {Z'n}

Z'fyt

JML-H-149 {Z'fyt}

Zbd, Zabd

Caskel, Zabd (1 occurrence). See Caskel al-Zabd, Zubayd
JML-G-22 {Zbd}

Zbyd, Zubayd

Caskel, Zubayd (20 occurrences). See Caskel Zabd, al-Zabd
JML-H-6 {Zbyd⁽²⁾ bn Bġd}; JML-H-10 {Zbyd bn⁽²⁾ Bġd}

Zd'l, Zēd'il

Verb *zd* (= *zyd*) + -'l. Caskel Caskel, Zaydīl (2 occurrences). See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd,
Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-F-108 {(Zd)'l};

*Zd^m, Zēd^{um}

Caskel, Zayd (approximately 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl,
Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-G-55 {Zd^m-Ĥb^m}

*Zhr^m

Arabe Zāhir, Zahr; see also al-Zahr, Zahrān, Zuhayr
JML-F-136 {(Zh)r^m}; JML-G-68 {Thr^m or *Zhr^m}

ZYD

See *Yzd*, *Zd^m*

Zyd, Zayd

Caskel, Zayd (approximately 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl,
Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-G-11 {Zyd/ or Zyd^(w)}; JML-H-62 {Zyd}

Zyd'l, Zayd'il

Verb *zd* (= *zyd*) + -'l. Caskel Caskel, Zaydīl (2 occurrences). See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd,
Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-F-79 {Zyd'l}

Zydlt, Zaydallāt

Verbe *zd* (= *zyd*) + -lt. Caskel, Zaydallāt (2 occurrences). See Caskel Yazīd, Zayd, Zaydallāh,
Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-D-58 {Zydlt⁽²⁾ (G)rmlt}; JML-H-4 {Grmt⁽²⁾ Zydlt}

Zyd^m, Zayd^{um}

Caskel, Zayd (nearly 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl,
Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-E-19 {(Z)yd^m}; JML-F-130 {Zyd^m}; JML-H-222 {Zyd^m-'zz}

*Zyd^m, Zayd^{um}

Caskel, Zayd (nearly 10 columns). See Caskel Yazīd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl,
Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-F-36 {Zyd^m-ĥb-Ĥbbt}

*Zydⁿ, Zaydān

See Caskeel Yazīd, Zayd, Zaydallāh, Zaydallāt, Zaydīl, Zaydmanāt, Zā'id, Zā'ida, Ziyād, Ziyāda
JML-G-11 {Zyd/ or Zyd⁽ⁿ⁾}

Pre-print / Version auteurs

B — Thematic index of texts

Attributive person's name

ḥdr

Arabic (Arabic texts)

JML-D-8; JML-E-5; JML-E-24; JML-E-27; JML-E-28; JML-E-29; JML-E-33; JML-E-34; JML-E-35; JML-E-36; JML-E-37; JML-F-14; JML-F-18; JML-F-23; JML-F-25; JML-F-52; JML-F-53; JML-F-68; JML-F-69; JML-F-73; JML-F-82; JML-F-120; JML-F-160; JML-F-162; JML-F-178; JML-G-92; JML-H-87; JML-H-90; JML-H-92; JML-H-93; JML-H-131

Tied letters

ʿ+l: JML-D-49 A {*S¹d'l*^(B) (.qy)mt}; JML-D-53 {*ʿlb'-bn-L'*}; JML-F-13 {*ʿls²rḥ*}; JML-G-58 {*(.)-S²r(h'l)?*}; JML-G-71 {*ʿls²rḥ-Ns¹*}; JML-G-131 {*Yḥm'l-bn-Ṭwbⁿ*}; JML-G-147 {*M'q'l*}; JML-H-27 {*S¹d'l*}

ʿ+s¹: JML-D-66 {*s¹d*⁽²⁾ *M(s²)hr*.⁽³⁾ *Nmr*}; JML-G-13 {*s¹dm*}

b+d: JML-F-17 {*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ 'bd*}

b+l: JML-H-79 {*Mth bn '(bl)*}

h+b: JML-F-91 {*Whb*}

South Arabian monograms

JML-F-89 (*w, ʿ, m, r*); JML-G-8 (*l, h, t, t = Lhy'tt*)

See JML-D-62 (?); JML-F-180 (?)

Double nouns repeated in several texts

ʿbs²t-Ḥbb: JML-A-5; JML-A-28

Fs²ylt-Bdyt: JML-D-15; JML-G-31

Gdn Ḥrt: JML-H-56 {*Gdn*⁽²⁾ *Ḥrt*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Ḥrt*⁽²⁾ *Ṭwb^t K'b*}

Mlk-ʿws¹: JML-A-2; JML-A-11;

Mlk 'bd: JML-H-18 {*Mlk 'bd*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk- 'bd*}

Mlk 'bdlh: JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-H-112 {*('b) .. Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-H-213 {*'mr- 'twb- Mlk- 'bdlh*}

Mzn S²ry: JML-F-7 {*Mzn*⁽²⁾ *S²ry*}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S²(ry)*}

Qdm 'mr: JML-A-3 {*Qdm- 'mr*}; JML-H-208 {*Qdm- 'mr*}

Y'dr: JML-F-12 {*Y'dr* and *Y'dr*}

Zbyd bn Bǧd: JML-H-6; JML-H-10

See also JML-E-2 {*S²ybⁿ- 'bd-Qdr* or *S²ybⁿ- 'bdqdr*}; JML-H-69 {*S²ybⁿ- 'bd*}

Mīmation

In South Arabian personal names: *ʿglm* (?); *ʿs¹rm*; *ʿtwb^m*; *ʿmr^m*; *ʿsr^m*; *ʿzz^m*; *Bḥr^m*; *Dḥb^m*; *Ǧrf^m*; *Hn^m*; *(H)dd^m*; *Hy^m*; *(Q)b^(m)* (?); *Qd^m*; *R(g)m^m*; *S¹d^m*; *S¹bl^m*; *S²(kr)^m*; *Thr^m* (?); *W^lm*; *Wfy^m*; *W(h)b^m*

In Thamūdīc personal names: **Byn^m*; **F(h)tt^(m)*; **Gfm* (?); **Ǧt^m*; **Hfk^m*; **Hb^m*; **Hg^m* (?); **Kzm* (?); *Mrm* (?); **Ndb^m*; *Qds²m*; **Qs¹rm*; **Qys¹m*; **S¹qm* (?); **S²ḥn^m*; **S²hr^m*; **W^lm*; **Wdd^m* (?); **Whb^m*; **Zd^m*; **Zhr^m*; **Zyd^m*

South Arabian palaeography

— *alif* with the appendix in the shape of a thunderbolt: JML-F-54 {*Knnt 'kws¹*}

— *alif* with the appendix formed with two dashes, the first vertical and the second cutting the first one obliquely: JML-G-108 {*Mrt'd w 'ḥdr mq[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(ʿ) w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}

- *bā'* with a broken horizontal segment: JML-F-17 {*Lǧz Tms²ms¹ 'bd*}, JML-F-49 {*Rb't Ghft*} and JML-H-18 {*Mlk 'bd*}
- *fā'* in the shape of a small square with a segment on top and below: JML-H-214 {*Hrt Hrs²ft*}; JML-H-215 {*Ġtfn*}
- *hā'* with a broken horizontal segment: JML-F-19 {*S²hr*}
- *jīm* and *lām* with the appendix in the shape of a triangle: JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-F-169 {*(')rb Dǧ'm m*}; JML-H-228 {*Dhl S²ybⁿ*}
- *nūn* in the shape of a thunderbolt: JML-F-54 {*Knnt 'kws¹*}
- Broken *rā'*: JML-F-12 {*Y'dr* and *Y'dr*}; JML-F-150 {the second *rā'* of *Qrft⁽²⁾hmr*}; JML-F-151 {*Nšrm*}; JML-H-4 {*Grmt⁽²⁾ Zydlt*}
- Serpent-shaped *rā'*: JML-A-3 {*Qd^m-'mr*}; JML-E-11 {...-*Hy^m-Rbb-(')zz*}; JML-E-17 {*Lbt, Nbt* or *Rbt*}; JML-H-39 {second *rā'*, *K(nf)-'šǧr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-56 {*Gdn⁽²⁾ Hrt*}; JML-H-64 {*'mr-'mr- Hld*}; JML-H-98 {*Gdn Hrt*}; JML-H-218 {*'mr Ġdr*}; JML-H-220 {*Hyⁿ-Mrm*}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S²(ry)*}
- Serpent-shaped *rā'* with a dash at both ends: JML-F-161 {*Hrt^m⁽²⁾ M'wyt*}
- *rā'* with extremities turned towards the back (in the shape of an inverted *s²*): JML-E-2 {*S²ybⁿ-'bd-Qdr*}; JML-E-4 {A *'bd-'šǧr* and C *'mr^m-zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-F-7 {*Mzn⁽²⁾ S²ry*}; JML-F-169 {*(')rb Dǧ'm m*}; JML-G-108 {*Mrt^d'w 'hdr mǧ[twy S²]mr mlk (S¹)b(') w-d-Ry[dⁿ]*}; JML-H-18 {*qryⁿ*}; JML-H-31 {*'mr-S²b*}; JML-H-39 {second *rā'*, *K(nf)-'šǧr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-187 {*Rb't-nšb*}; JML-H-212 {*'mr^m-Hrs²* or *'mr^m -Šrs²*}; JML-H-214 {*Hrt Hrs²ft*}
- See also JML-H-121 {*Hgr*}
- *rā'* in the shape of a *shīn*: JML-H-38 {*'mr F(s²yl)t*}
- *wāw* in the shape of two circles: JML-H-213 {*'mr-'twb-Mlk-'bdlh*}; JML-H-217 {*M'wyt-S¹d*}
- *wāw* of large size: JML-D-19 {*'hwl*}; JML-E-3 {*'twb^m-'bdt*}; JML-F-27 {*Whb'l-Hyw*}; JML-F-158 {*'twb^m*}; JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Ġrf^m*}; JML-H-21 {*(')ws¹(')l*}
- Widenings at the end of shafts: JML-D-15 {*Fs²ylt⁽²⁾ Bdyt*}; JML-E-3 {*'twb^m-'bdt*}; JML-E-11; JML-F-151 {*Nšrm*}; JML-F-152 {*Ns²wⁿ*}
- Triangle at the end of shafts: the *dāl* of JML-H-58 {*Hy^y-'dy*}
- Dashes at the end of shafts (sometimes becoming small circles): JML-A-2 {*Mlk-'ws¹*}; JML-A-11 {*Mlk-'ws¹*}; JML-F-6 {*Twb^t'w⁽²⁾(s¹)*}; JML-F-9 {*Mlk 'bdlh*}; JML-F-10 {*'byd-M'wyt*}; JML-F-161 {*Hrt^m⁽²⁾ M'wyt*}; JML-H-17 {*S¹lmⁿ hl-d-T'lbⁿ*}; JML-H-73 {A *Hzmt-'s¹lm*}; JML-H-226 {*S¹d^m-R(s²)d*}

Papponymy

JML-H-64 {*'mr-'mr-Hld*}

Sequences of 4 names

JML-H-211 {*'bd-Gys²-s¹d S¹d*; or *'bd-Gys²-s¹d* and *S¹d*}

JML-H-213 {*'mr-'twb-Mlk-'bdlh*}

Mixed South Arabian and Thamūdic texts

See JML-D-58 {*Zydlt⁽²⁾ (G)rmlt*, South Arabian text with Thamūdic *gīm*}; JML-G-16 {*Ġwt^m*, with South Arabian and Thamūdic *ǧ* and *mīm*}

Ostentatious Thamūdic

JML-F-61

Vertical Thamūdic

JML-G-110 {*'tm*}

South Arabian separation stroke (absence)

JML-D-53 {*lb²-bn-L²*.}; JML-E-4 {*bd-³šgr^(B) Knnt-²<k>ws¹-mqtwy d-<T>lbⁿ-bn^(C) ¹mr^m-²zz^m-Mlk*}; JML-E-11 {...-*Hy^m-Rbb-⁽²⁾zz*}; JML-F-10 {*byd-M¹wyt*}; JML-F-27 {*Whb¹-Hyw*}; JML-F-166 (*Bd²*)-*H(w)¹f^m*; JML-G-31 {*Fs²ylt-Bdyt*}; JML-G-71 {*ls²r^h-Ns¹*}; JML-G-95 {*Klb-d-(D)hb*}; JML-G-127 {*dd¹-B(n)*}; JML-G-128 {*Whblt-bn-Gr^fm*}; JML-G-131 {*Yhm¹-bn-Twbⁿ*}; JML-H-5 {*W¹l^m-d-(H)s²r* or *W¹l^m-d-(H)s²r*}; JML-H-39 {*K(nf)-³šgr-Dhl-qryⁿ*}; JML-H-51 {*Dws¹-³ws¹*}; JML-H-55 {*Mlk-¹bd*}; JML-H-58 {*Hyy-¹dy*}; JML-H-64 {*mr-¹mr-Hld*}; JML-H-69 {*S²ybⁿ-¹bd*}; JML-H-70 {*twb-¹zz*}; JML-H-73 A {*Hzmt-¹s¹lm*}; JML-H-99 {*M¹d-b(n)⁽²⁾ (S¹)wd*}; JML-H-105 {*m(r)-B.*}; JML-H-152 {*Gd.-S¹lh*}; JML-H-211 {*bd-Gys²-¹s¹d S¹d*; or *bd-Gys²-¹s¹d* and *S¹d*}; JML-H-213 {*mr-¹twb-Mlk-¹bdlh*}; JML-H-222 {*Zyd^m-¹zz*}; JML-H-240 {*Mzn-S²(ry)*}

Wasm

JML-G-4 (*wasm* composed of a circle and two vertical dashes)

Pre-print / Version auteurs

C — Thematic index of images

The descriptions below are a first stage to build functional categories. They are based only on the nature of the images. They take into account neither the carving techniques nor the composition of panels (which are sometimes significant). The main criteria we have retained in the description are:

Posture: standing, lying down

Orientation: full-face, in profile; towards/to the left; towards/to the right (looking left; looking right)

Appearance: at rest; in motion; trotting; galloping

Dromedary's hump: in the form of a bell-shaped hat; in the shape of a sugar loaf; triangular; square

Neck: raised; extended forwards

Head: with an open mouth/muzzle; with ears

Forelegs and hind legs: conflated; distinguishable/recognizable; vertical; sloping; with swellings at the extremities

Tail: falling/drooping; raised; raised and curved/turning around like a hook; fan-shaped

Surface: unabraded; partly abraded; entirely abraded

The names of animal categories are conventional, since the drawings do not permit precise identifications (assuming that they are realistic)

Fauna

The categories we use are based on appearance only, or rather on the drawing given by the carvers of petroglyphs. To designate these categories, it seemed preferable to us to refer to popular denominations, for two reasons. The first is that these names are more accessible for non-specialists; the second is that the biological classification (or taxonomy) uses multiple criteria which, for most, do not belong to appearance. The denominations used thus include an arbitrary component. So as to not be the cause of ambiguity, we shall list them, possibly with criteria attached to them and some remarks.

Antelope (ruminant quadruped of the family of bovids)

We order under this entry all the ruminants that are not bovines, sheep, or ibexes. We exclude oryxes which are indexed with a specific entry.

JML-B-15; JML-G-3; JML-G-60; JML-G-144; JML-G-146; JML-H-207 (?)

Ostrich

JML-B-3; JML-D-12; JML-E-13; JML-G-112

Bovine

JML-B-4; JML-D-5; JML-D-11; JML-H-96; JML-H-200; JML-H-205

See also JML-G-142 (two quadrupeds confronting each other?) and JML-H-199 (sketch of a quadruped looking right).

See also: "Human figure milking a cow"

Horse without a horseman, in flying gallop

JML-D-55

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in flying gallop; the surface is unabraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-G-54

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in flying gallop; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-C-3; JML-H-88

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in motion; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-F-63; JML-H-30 n°1

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, at rest; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-G-52; JML-H-30 n° 3; JML-H-30 n° 5

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, in flying gallop; the surface is partly abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML H-91

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, in flying gallop; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

Horseman on a galloping horse brandishing a spear

JML-C-1; JML-C-4; JML-C-8; JML-C-9; JML-C-10; JML-C-12; JML-D-17; JML-D-21; JML-D-22; JML-D-23; JML-D-26; JML-D-32; JML-D-33; JML-D-34; JML-D-35; JML-D-37; JML-D-52; JML-D-55; JML-D-61; JML-D-63; JML-F-66; JML-H-30 n° 7; JML-H-30 n° 8; JML-H-40; JML-H-88; JML-H-89; JML-H-122; JML-H-123

Type 2: Horseman brandishing a spear or a scimitar

JML-C-4; JML-D-36; JML-D-61; JML-F-70; JML-F-71; JML-F-134; JML-G-40; JML-H-16

Type 3: Horseman brandishing an unclear object or simply raising his arm

JML-E-10; JML-G-26; JML-G-85; JML H-59

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, in motion; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-A-1; JML-C-4; JML-E-1; JML-H-30 n°2

Type 2: Horseman brandishing a sword

JML-C-2; JML-C-4; JML-G-97; JML-H-47

Mounted horse, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, at rest; the surface is abraded

Type 1: Horseman brandishing a spear

JML-F-179; JML-H-30 n° 4; JML-H-30 n° 6

Type 2: Horseman brandishing a sword or a scimitar

JML-D-71; JML-H-37; JML-H-43

Type 3: Horseman brandishing a standard (?)

JML-D-31

Horseman hunting, pursuing or escorting several dromedaries

JML-E-1; JML-F-179; JML-G-54

Dog

JML-B-14; JML-C-11; JML-H-124

See also JML-H-198.

Dromedary

All the dromedaries of ‘Ān Jamal are standing. There are at Ḥimā some rock carvings of crouching dromedaries, but they are very rare (see [Fig. 500](#), one example).

Only three dromedaries are mounted.

Insert Fig. 500 here

Fig. 500: Sector of al-Ṣammā’ in the Najd Sahī. Rare depiction of a crouching dromedary (MAFSN).

Dromedary, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, unabraded

JML-B-11; JML-G-45; JML-G-54; JML-G-109; JML-H-53

Unmounted dromedary, forelegs and hind legs distinguishable/recognizable, in motion, abraded

JML-G-12; JML-G-136

Female dromedary, unmounted, forelegs and hind legs are not individually distinguishable/recognizable, unabraded

JML-C-5

Unmounted dromedary, partly abraded

JML-B-12; JML-B-13; JML-G-73

See also JML-H-13

Unmounted dromedary, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, entirely abraded

Type 1: Isolated dromedary, without associated text or drawing

JML-B-5; JML-G-86

Type 2: Hunted dromedary

JML-E-1

Type 3: Simple sketch of small dimensions

JML-C-6; JML-D-9; JML-E-7; JML-E-8; JML-E-12; JML-F-1; JML-F-179; JML-G-5; JML-G-21;
JML-H-36; JML-H-71

Female dromedary, with her calf (unmounted, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, entirely abraded)

JML-B-1

Unmounted dromedary, in flying gallop, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, entirely abraded

JML-D-51; JML-F-83

Unmounted dromedary, forelegs and hind legs each conflated, equipped with a saddle, entirely abraded

JML-D-70; JML-H-28

Unmounted dromedary, standing, at rest, forelegs and hind legs individually distinguishable/recognizable, entirely abraded

Type 1: Very large dromedary, carefully drawn and slightly stylized

JML-H-94; JML-H-95

Type 2: Simple sketch of small dimensions

JML-C-13; JML-D-69

See also JML-E-8, dromedary on the left, which has individually recognizable legs.

Unmounted dromedary, undistinguishable

See JML-H-55

Loaded dromedary(?)

JML-F-171

See also JML-G-136

Mounted dromedary, standing, at rest, fore and hind legs individually recognizable, unabraded

JML-D-23

Mounted dromedary, in motion

JML-C-7; JML-D-6; JML-F-172

Hypothetical dromedary

See JML-D-23.

Feline, lion

JML-D-10; JML-D-14 (?); JML-G-122

See also JML-G-142.

Ibex

JML-G-14; JML-H-11; JML-H-41; JML-H-61

Oryx (quadruped belonging to the hippotragi, a sub-family of bovids, with long and straight horns)

JML-C-11; JML-H-13; JML-H-124; JML-H-198

Unidentified quadruped

JML-A-29 (?); JML-D-23; JML-D-27; JML-E-8; JML-F-175 (oryx?); JML-G-3 (antelope?); JML-G-5; JML-G-134; JML-G-142; JML-H-35; JML-H-44; JML-H-46 (dromedary?); JML-H-60; JML-H-72; JML-H-96 (three undistinguishable and unclear quadrupeds); JML-H-125; JML-H-204; JML-H-207 (leaping animal, looking right)

Unfinished quadruped (?)

JML-B-8; JML-H-125

Snake

JML-A-13 (long undulating line surrounding a graffito)

JML-H-111 (long undulating line superimposed on a Thamūdic *mīm*)

See also JML-D-67 (four undulating lines, more or less long, perhaps depictions of snakes)

Flora

Palm tree

JML-F-67; JML-G-28

Human figures

Horseman: see Horse

Couple (man and woman)

JML-B-6; JML-F-170

See also JML-B-2

Woman

All human figures bearing a weapon or using it are considered as “men.” Those that do not have one are described as “women.”

Woman standing full-face, with long hair and raised arms

Human figure, probably female, standing full-face, arms raised with open hands. The hair falls in long braids. The drawing's surface is entirely abraded.

Type 1: The waist is very slender in relation to the bust and hips

JML-B-2; JML-B-9; JML-D-28; JML-D-29; JML-D-41; JML-D-60; JML-D-67; JML-G-119; JML-H-29

Type 2: The bust is depicted with a long, thickened line above the stomach in the shape of an entirely abraded circle.

JML-F-159

Pregnant woman (?)

JML-F-41

Woman in labour

JML-H-34

Man

All human figures bearing a weapon or using it are considered as “men.” Those who do not have one are described as “women.”

Man: See also “Mounted horse” under “Fauna.”

Standing man, brandishing a spear or stick/rod

Type 1, with a crown

JML-G-117

Type 2, without crown

JML-F-34; JML-H-97

Standing man, brandishing a rifle or a stick/rod

JML-F-135

Standing man shooting with a bow

JML-B-7 (?); JML-D-2; JML-D-3; JML-D-4; JML-H-130

Standing man shooting with a rifle

JML-A-1; JML-D-54

Human figure

All human figures bearing a weapon or using it are considered as “men.” Those who do not have one are described as “women.” Also refer to these two entries.

Standing man, with raised arms

JML-D-30; JML-F-56; JML-G-124

See also JML-H-56

Standing human figure, with one or two oversized hands

JML-D-13; JML-G-130

Human figure milking a cow

JML-D-11

Unclear human figure

JML-G-146; JML-H-14; JML-H-15 (standing human figure, with arms raised)

JML-H-37 (horseman and unclear figures)

JML-H-204 (two standing human figures, roughly sketched)

Human figure: See also “Mounted horse” under “Fauna”

Various Images

Frame surrounding a text

JML-H-4 {Grmt ⁽²⁾ Zydlt}

JML-H-81 {*Gdlt-M'wyt*}

Pointed circle

JML-F-62

Circle and rectangle

JML-H-7

Cross (?)

JML-F-112

Star

See JML-G-28: Two long vertical lines ending in a star.

Enigmatic figure

JML-B-10: The two vertical lines of different lengths, which are extended by a horizontal line, are unparallel. Their interpretation is uncertain.

JML-F-33: Set of lines that represent a building or a stylized animal.

Foot (outline of a foot wearing a shoe)

JML-A-14

Game board

See JML-A-32; JML-F-180; JML-H-85

Weapons and other equipment

Bow

See JML-B-7; JML-D-2; JML-D-3; JML-D-4; JML-H-97 (?); JML-H-130

Stick/rod

See JML-F-41; JML-F-135 (?); JML-G-117 (?); JML-H-97 (?)

Sword

See JML-C-2 (?); JML-C-4; JML-D-6; JML-D-36; JML-D-61; JML-F-134 (?); JML-G-40 (?); JML-G-97 (?); JML-H-37; JML-H-47

Rifle

See JML-A-1; JML-D-54 (?); JML-D-55 (?); JML-F-135 (?)

Spear

See JML-A-1; JML-C-1; JML-C-3; JML-C-4; JML-C-7; JML-C-8; JML-C-9; JML-C-10; JML-C-12; JML-D-17; JML-D-18; JML-D-21; JML-D-22; JML-D-23 (?); JML-D-26; JML-D-32; JML-D-33; JML-D-34; JML-D-35; JML-D-37; JML-D-52; JML-D-55; JML-D-61; JML-D-63; JML-E-1; JML-F-34; JML-F-63; JML-F-66; JML-F-179; JML-G-52; JML-G-54; JML-G-117 (?); JML-H-16 (?); JML-H-30/1-8; JML-H-40; JML-H-88; JML-H-89; JML-H-91 (?); JML-H-97 (?); JML-H-122; JML-H-123

Dagger

See JML-B-6; JML-D-6; JML-D-30 (?); JML-D-61; JML-F-34; JML-F-135; JML-G-26; JML-H-130

Saddle

See JML-D-70 (domedary); JML-H-28 (?) (dromedary)

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