

Egypt

Mt. Sinai

31. The inscription was found between Wādī Haggag and Jabal Mūsā and bears simple names among which, in the Greek part, we read that of the addressee, also mentioned in the Nabataean section along with his father. The same combination of names is attested in another inscription from Sinai.¹ (Plate VIII, no. 1)

Dating 2nd-3rd CE²

Bibliography *SEG* 31 no. 1422; Negev 1981, 69

Text and translation

- 1) Ζεός
- 2) zy(d)w br p[šyw]

- 1) Zeos
- 2) Zē(d)ō son of Fo[šayō]

1 *CIS* II no. 2278 we read: *šlm, zydw br fšyw. bṭb* 'Peace. Zaydū son of Fošayū. In good'.

2 The approximately 3,000 graffiti from Sinai mostly date from the 2nd and the 3rd century CE (Garbini 2006, 218).

Commentary

The Greek Ζεος (which must not be confused with Ζεύς) represents the phonetic transliteration of the Semitic name *zy(d)w*, here presumably written in *scriptio defectiva* like in the Greek form without δ.

The same name, in its original shape, appears in another bilingual from Sinai (cf. no. 42); it is *Zayd*, a widespread name in the Arabic speaking-world, which derives from the root *zāda* ‘to increase, to grow’.³ It is transliterated in Greek using other variants,⁴ but in Nabataean there is the assimilation /ay/ > /ē/ reading *Zē(d)ō* = Ζεος.

The father’s name *p/fšyw* comes from Arabic *faššā* ‘to deliver from’⁵ (Syr. *pašī* and Heb. *pāšā* ‘to deliver from, to rescue, to save’);⁶ the theophoric form, *fš’l* ⁷ ‘God has saved’ corresponding to Greek Φασαηλος (Joseph. *AJ* 14.7.3),⁸ is also used.

32. From Wādī ‘Alayyāt (Wādī Fayrān).

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography Euting 1891, 150; *CIS* II no. 2258

Text and translation

- 1) *šlm bry’ br klbw bṭb*
- 2) μνησθη Αυρηλιος
- 3) Βοραιος Χαλβου

- 1) Peace! Borayā[ō] son of Kalbō, in god
- 2) Let be remembered Aurelios
- 3) Boraios (son of) Chalbos

³ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 92; *ICPAN*, 304; al-Khaysheh 1986, 73-4; Negev 1991, nos. 380, 385. In Hatraean the name *zyd’* is recorded in an inscription from Tūr ‘Abdin (Beyer 1998, 117 and 158).

⁴ Ζαεδος, Ζαιδος, Ζοδος (Wuthnow 1930, 49 and 138).

⁵ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 137; al-Khaysheh (1986, 153) reads *Fuṣaiyu*, while Negev (1991 no. 971) *Fāšiya*. The name is also found in Palmyrene *pš’* and *pšy* (*PAT*, 439 = Stark 1971, 47 and 109).

⁶ Sokoloff 2009, 1219; Jastrow 1903, 1204; *DNWSI*, 930; *DGes*, 1068-9; *KAHAL*, 454. It may be an Akkadian influence, from *puššū* (Kaufman 1974, 84) which means ‘to whiten, to clean’, hence *pūšu* ‘white spot, fleck, mark’ (*CAD* XII, 539; *AHW* II, 883). It is probable that the original Akkadian took on the meaning of ‘to save’ (< ‘to deliver from a spot, to clean?’) in Aramaic, thus serving to translate the name as ‘Saviour’. In Hatraean *pšī* has the same meaning, ‘retten’ (Beyer 1998, 182).

⁷ *CIS* II, 354; al-Khaysheh 1986, 152-3. In Palmyrene *pš’l* is employed and translated by Stark (1971, 47 and 109) as “God has opened (the womb)”.

⁸ Cf. also Pape 1911, 1604. Other versions are Φασαειλη (*IGLS* 21,5 nos. 493, 495), Φασεελη (*IGLS* 21,5 no. 704) and Φασηελη (*IGLS* 21,5 nos. 146, 495, 496, 497).

Commentary

The name *bry'* is mainly used in the Sinaitic inscription,⁹ deriving from Arabic *baraā'* 'free, blameless',¹⁰ also *barī'* 'innocent' < Ar. *bariā'* 'to be innocent'.¹¹ According to Cantineau (1930-32, 2: 74), it also expresses the concept of 'born during the first night of the month' (cf. Ar. *bar'* 'divine creation'). The Greek transliteration, Βοραιοϛ,¹² allows us to read the Nabataean name as */burayō/, that reflects the Arabic diminutive form *buray'un*,¹³ assuming that the diphthong αι preserves the sound /ai/ and not /e/.

The father's name *klbw* is linked to Arabic *kalb* 'dog'¹⁴ (Com. *klb'*, Heb. *keleb*, Akk. *kalbum*)¹⁵ and is often employed as a personal name. The Greek form Χαλβου¹⁶ precisely reflects the shape of *klbw*.

In the Greek section of the graffito the completed name appears, with the addition of Αὐρήλιος (< Roman *nomen Aurelius*) well-documented in the Greek onomastics.¹⁷

33. From Wādī 'Aḡalah (Wādī Fayrān)

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography Euting 1891, 258; *CIS* II no. 1753; *RIGP* no. 2969 (Nabataean), no. 2970 (Greek)

Text and translation

- 1) šlm 'wdw br 'myw
- 2) Αυδοϛ Αμ-
- 3) -μοιυ

⁹ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 74-5.

¹⁰ Negev 1991, nos. 194, 199. In pre-Islamic Arabic *bry'* 'fatigued' (*ICPAN*, 103).

¹¹ The root is reflected in *barā'* 'to create' (linking to *barā'* 'to form, fashion by cutting'. Lane, 197).

¹² Other forms are Βορρεοϛ (no. 39; *CIS* II no. 1195; Wuthnow 1930, 37) and Βορειοϛ (Wuthnow 1930, 132).

¹³ al-Khaysheh 1986, 49.

¹⁴ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 107; al-Khaysheh 1986, 100; Negev 1991, no. 561. In Palmyrene there is the form *klb'*, *klby* (*PAT*, 435 = Stark 1971, 29 and 92), as well as in Hatraean (Beyer 1998, 177).

¹⁵ *DNWSI*, 509; proto-Afro-Asiatic *kVwVl- / *kVyVl- 'dog, wolf' in which Sem. *kalb- 'dog' may be a consequence of *kal- with the suffix indicating dangerous animals *-b- (Cf. *HSED* no. 1521).

¹⁶ Other forms are Χαλβας, Χαλβηϛ, Χελβεϛ (Wuthnow 1930, 119 and 146).

¹⁷ Pape 1911, 117; *IGLS* 21,5 no. 5; *LGPN* I, IIIA, IV, VA, VB.

- 1) Peace! 'Awqō son of 'Ammayō
- 2) Audos (son of) Am-
- 3) -moios

Commentary

The etymology of the name 'wdw has fully been discussed in the bilingual from Umm al-Jimāl (no. 15), in which the form 'wyd' along with the equivalent elongated Greek form Αουειδαυος are recorded. The two names, 'wdw = Gr. Αυδος, are also found in another bilingual from Sinai (cf. no. 38).¹⁸

The term 'myw,¹⁹ written in Greek as Αμμουι²⁰ did not initially appear to have an equivalent in Arabic;²¹ conversely, according to al-Khaysheh (1986, 143), the name may be a sort of Arabic diminutive form, 'Umaiyyu, from 'ā'mā 'blind'. Closer examination of the Greek transcription provides us with a particular clue; in fact, taking into consideration the diphthong οι = /i/, the name seems to correspond to Arabic 'āmmī 'common, working-class man', also 'ordinary man'. Another assumption lies in the fact that the name in Aramaic, 'mm, takes on the meaning of 'gentile, non-Jew, Christian'²² (cf. also Syr. 'ammayā 'gentile, pagan' < 'my 'to blind'²³), and is probably more appropriate in a place like Mount Sinai through which many Christians passed between the 2nd and the 3rd century.

18 Greek Αυδος is attested in *IGLS* 21,5 no. 241; *PPAES* IIIA no. 445. Αὔδος is also the name of a river in Mauritania (Pape 1911, 175). Other forms are Αυειδος, Αουδηνοι (Negev 1991, no. 851), Αουεδος (*IGLS* 21,5 no. 202), Αουιδος (*IGLS* 21,5 nos. 206, 712) and Αουειδος (*AGLI*, 134, 179; *IGLS* 21,5 nos. 99, 132, 203, 204, 324, 434, 482, 604). Cf. Wuthnow 1930, 29 and 124 as well.

19 It is found in *RES* no. 489.

20 Other forms are Αμμαιος (*CIS* II no. 1197 and no. 40), Αμμος (Euting 1891, 342).

21 Cantineau (1930-32, 2: 132) wrote: "pas d'équivalent sûr en arabe", suggesting Aramaic origin from 'mm 'meeting, community'. Cf. also Negev 1991, no. 903.

22 In Gal., PTA, CPA, Sam., JBA (Jastrow 1903, 1089; *DJPA*, 411a; *DJBA*, 869b; Tal, *Sam*, 644a).

23 Payne Smith 1903, 417; Sokoloff 2009, 1110 and 1112.

34. From Wādī Muḡārah (Plate VIII, no. 2)

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography CIS II no. 671; RIGP no. 1430

Text and translation

- 1) *šlm 'lktryw*
- 2) *br hny'w bṭb*
- 3) το προσκ[υνη]-
- 4) -μα Γ...

- 1) Peace 'Alkatrayō
- 2) son of Honēāō, in good
- 3) the venera[tio]-
- 4) -n G...

Commentary

The graffito contains the name *'lktryw*, which is rare in the Nabataean onomastics; it is presumably a theophoric with the Arabic definite article *'l-*. *ktryw* is probably the name of the deity *Kaṭrā*, a pre-Islamic idol²⁴ that was worshipped by the tribes of Ṭasm and Ġadis,²⁵ meaning that the addressee of the epigraph bears a divine name.²⁶

The father's name *hny'w* corresponds to Greek Ονεος²⁷ and it is the Arabic diminutive *hunay' < hānī'* 'servant', 'happy, cheerful'.²⁸

The Greek part is less legible and we may only distinguish the term τὸ προσκύνημα followed by various letters.²⁹

24 ICPAN, 495.

25 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 108-9; Negev 1991, no. 586. The two names refer to mythological clans of Ancient Arabia who settled in the Yamāma region (in the eastern part of Naǧd). The Ṭasm and the Ġadis belong to the so-called 'Disappeared Arabs' (Ar. *al-'Arab al-bā'idah*), a label with which genealogists indicate the groups of people who began to speak Arabic first, after the confusion of the languages provoked by the destruction of the Tower of Babel (Fahd 1968, 109; Heinrichs 2000, 359-60).

26 According to al-Khaysheh (1986, 36), the name specifies something that is on top, a jag, a hump, 'der Hochgestellte, Höcker'.

27 It is attested in Euting 1891, 229.

28 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 87; al-Khaysheh 1986, 63; Negev 1991, no. 311. The basic root is *haniā'* 'to cheer up', 'to feel pleasure' < CPA, JBA, Gal., Man., Syr. *hny* 'to be pleasing, benefit, profit', 'to aid someone' (Jastrow 1903, 359; DJPA, 166b; DJBA, 386a; Tal, Sam, 211a; DNWSI, 289). In Palmyrene *hn'y* (PAT, 433 = Stark 1971, 15 and 84) and in Hatraean *hny* (Beyer 1998, 12-13, 52, 158 and 174) with the same meaning.

29 For the practice of the *proskynema* in Egyptian setting, see Geraci 1971.

35. From Wādī Mukattab

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography CIS II no. 985; RIGP no. 2177

Text and translation

- 1) αλλσος
- 2) ρυστε
- 3) μου
- 4) μ *šlm 'šrw t 'mm*

- 1) you leapt As-
- 2) -ru with(?) a-
- 3) -mum-
- 4) -m peace 'Ašrō with (?) 'Amum

Commentary

This graffito presents some problem of interpretation. In line 1 the Greek letters αλλσος do not provide a solution regarding a possible reading and they do not correspond to the beginning of the Nabataean line in which *šlm* is written, so we could interpret them as ἄλλσο³⁰ (2nd sg. pers. of the third Aorist Indicative < ἄλλομαι³¹) 'you leapt'. This obviously has no connection with the meaning that the term *šlm* assumes in the funerary inscriptions. Furthermore, it seems more improbable to read ἄλλσος as 'grove, sacred grove',³² but either as also 'any hallowed precinct'. The presence of the two λ may be due to a scribal error.³³

Following the Nabataean text, after *šlm* we see the name 'šrw(*t*) with a doubtful final -*t* that is unrelated to the *corpus* of the word. If the reading is right, in Greek we have an assimilation between the ο of ἄλλσο and the α of (α)σρϋ representing the phonetic transliteration of the Arabic name 'Ásrā (a female name used in the Arabic-speaking world) = m. 'Īsrā' < sarā 'to travel by night'.³⁴ The *t* may repre-

³⁰ Cf. *LSJ*, 70 and 73; Homer, *Il.* 16,754. We also have ἄλλτο encountered in line 755.

³¹ Cf. Lat. *salio* 'to salt, to salt down, to leap, to jump' to which the etymology of the Greek root is linked (Beekes 2010, 72).

³² *LSJ*, 73.

³³ In another graffito from Sinai (in Euting 1891, 328) we read the name αλορρεος, with one λ that is probably the Arabic article 'al-.

³⁴ Lane, 1355. In pre-Islamic Arabic the form 'srw < srw 'to be generous, manly' is used. In Com. the root šry means 'to loosen, untie' (cf. Jastrow 1903, 1629-30), also 'to

sent the Semitic particle 't (cf. Heb. 'ēt or Akk. itti) 'with, alongside'³⁵ written in *scriptio defectiva*, but employed in *plena* in the Greek or (loanword?).

The last name 'mm = εμουμ comes from a well-attested root, discussed at no. 33.

36. From Wādī Mukattab

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography Levy 1860, 451-2, no. 34; CIS II no. 973; RIGP no. 2139

Text and translation

- 1) šlm.
- 2) šlm bry'w br mg[dyw]
- 3) (B)ουρεος

- 1) Peace!
- 2) Peace, Borayāō son of Mug[dēō]
- 3) (B)oureos

Commentary

The first name *bry'w* is found in other two bilinguals (nos. 32 and 39). As regards the second name, although the line is damaged, after *br* two letters, *mg-*, and probably [*-dyw*] appear and allow us to reconstruct the name *mgdyw*. It is an Arabic root < *mağdī o mağīd* 'glorious, famous, worthy'.³⁶

dwel', 'to reside' (cf. Payne Smith 1903, 595-6). For more general references see *DNWSI*, 1192.

35 In Qumran, Gal., PTA, Man. 't assumes the meaning of 'sign, mark', in Com. that of 'miracle', as we may find, for instance, in BA 'ātayyā' (Dan 3,32), in Syr. ātā means 'sign, mark, miracle, example', also 'monument' (*DJPA*, 78b; *DJBA*, 175b; Jastrow 1903, 132; Cook, *Qumran*, 26; Sokoloff 2009, 109).

36 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 111-2; *ICPAN*, 528; al-Kraysheh 1986, 104; Negev 1991, no. 608. The name is also attested in other inscriptions from Sinai (CIS II nos. 2377, 2388, 2443), while another *m'gydw'* is present in a Nabataean inscription found at al-Ruwāfah (*Quellen*, 300). The root is already known in Aramaic (*mgd'*) indicating 'precious goods' (Jastrow 1903, 249), Syr. *magdā* 'some sort of fruit' (Payne Smith 1903, 249; Sokoloff 2009, 707), Heb. *megeḏ* 'gute Frucht', 'Ertrag an Früchten' (*DGes*, 625 and *KAHAL*, 277). In addition, in Palmyrene and Samaritan Aramaic *mgd* assumes the meaning of 'gift' (*DNWSI*, 592; *PAT*, 377; Tal, *Sam*, 450).

In Greek we see the forms Μουγδεος³⁷ and Μαγδος.³⁸

The Greek section of the graffito includes the name Ουρεος which may probably be reconstructed as Βουρεος (see below no. 39; *CIS* II no. 1195).

37. From Wādī Mukattab.

On the top of the inscription the figure of a man with his arms in the air, presumably in prayer, appears; the figure is apparently bare-foot and his sandals are presumably engraved between his legs. This image recalls the order given by the Lord to Moses (Exod 3,5) and Joshua (Gen 5,15), that is to take off their sandals for they were standing on the Holy Land.

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography *CIG* no. 4668a; *CIS* II no. 1044; Euting 1891, 596; Levy 1860, 469-72, no. 47; Chabot 1901, 442-50; *ESE* I, 339-40; Clermont-Ganneau 1903, 59-66; *RIGP* nos. 2213 (Nabataean), 2209 (Greek)

Text and translation

- 1) *mdkyr 'wšw br ḥršw tryw bṭb*
- 2) μνησθη Ausos Ερσου
- 3) καλ(ε)ιται Ο(?)υμαρου
- 4) εν αγαθοι[ς]

- 1) Let be remembered 'Āwšō son of Ḥeršō (which is called) Ṭarīō in good
- 2) Let be remembered Ausos (son of) Ersos
- 3) which is called (he who is the son of?) Umaros
- 4) in goo[d]

Commentary

Line 1. There is the mention of the name 'wšw, well-known in the Nabataean epigraphy,³⁹ which comes from Arabic 'āws 'gift' < 'āssa

³⁷ DM, 76; Wuthnow 1930, 79.

³⁸ Wuthnow 1930, 68 and 147.

³⁹ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 57-8; al-Khraysheh 1986, 29; Negev 1991, no. 52. Cf. pre-Islamic Arabic 'ws, 'ws', 'wst < 's, 'āssa 'to build, found' or 'āws 'gift' (*ICPAN*, 40 and 84) = OfA, CPA, LJLA 'wš', Qumran 'š (Jastrow 1903, 35; Cook, *Qumran*, 25; *DNWSI*, 47) and BA w'ūsyyā' (Ezra 4,12) 'foundation'.

‘to give, to offer’.⁴⁰ In Greek, the form corresponds to *Αυσος*.⁴¹ The second name, *hršw*, is of Arabic origin too and according to Cantineau (1930-32, 2: 100) is linked to *hirš* ‘wood, forest’;⁴² although this connection is not very convincing. In the Palmyrene epigraphy, though, the presence of *hrš*, *hršw* ‘mute, dumb’;⁴³ as well as *hryšw* in Hatraean,⁴⁴ suggests that this name simply means ‘mute, dumb’, probably deriving from Arabic *‘āhraš* (cf. Heb. *ḥērēš*). Greek *Ερσου* (in *CIS* II no. 972) is recorded in other forms.⁴⁵

The last name was read differently by the first editors,⁴⁶ but on the basis of a close analysis of the text we may read *tryw*,⁴⁷ a nickname of Arabic origin from *ṭariyy* ‘fresh’⁴⁸ < *ṭariā* or *ṭaruwa* ‘to be fresh (like meat)’, also ‘to be new, tasty, soft, tender’.⁴⁹

In line 2 the Greek text begins,⁵⁰ and we subsequently reach the ambiguous part of the graffito since after *καλείται* almost all the editors interpreted the element *ΟΥΜΑΡΟΥ* as the name *Οὔμαρος* = ‘Omar (Nab. ‘*mrw*?’).⁵¹ The writer probably carved the name declining it in the genitive, *Ουμαρου*, maybe a nickname, and it is unclear

40 In Palmyrene the form ‘wšy is attested (*PAT*, 429 = Stark 1971, 3 and 66); the root may also indicate the ‘wolf’ (Chabot 1901, 445, no. 1). The form ‘wšw is recorded in *Quellen*, 144, 171, 348, 361.

41 Wuthnow 1930, 30 and 124; *AGLI*, 59, 62, 152; *IGLS* 21,5 nos. 152, 378, 432, 467, 522 (?), 572, 661, 666; The name *Αυσος* is also present in an inscription of the Late Roman period dating back to the 3rd c. CE from the acropolis of Avdat in which Ausos was the grandfather of Amenos, one of the builders of the Nabataean temple (Negev 1981, 13-14, no. 1e). Another form of the name is *Αουσοσ* (Wadd. nos. 2205, 2511).

42 al-Khaysheh (1986, 92) proposes other vocalizations of the name. Negev (1991, no. 491) suggests reading *ḥaršī* ‘to hunt lizards’ (?), in connection with the hypothesis of Lankester Harding (*ICPAN*, 184).

43 *PAT*, 435 = Stark 1971, 23 and 90.

44 Beyer 1998, 159.

45 *Ερσοσ*, *Ορσοσ*, *Ερασοσ*, *Ερας* (Wuthnow 1930, 46, 47, 89, 143).

46 After the initial *ṭ* the second letter may be read *b* or *n*, so *tbyw* or *ṭnyw* (Chabot 1901, 445-6), the latter may identify a job, that is Ar. *ṭaniyy* ‘merchant of dates’, or a *non liquet* about its meaning (Clermont-Ganneau 1903, 61-2).

47 It is the first assumption proposed by Euting (1891, 596) and re-suggested by Stone (*RIGP* no. 2213). On the contrary Lidzbarski (*ESE* I, 339) read *tbyw*.

48 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 102; Negev 1991, no. 513.

49 In the Koran (16,14; 35,12) it is an epithet referred to meat or fish; in Hebrew *ṭārī* ‘fresh’ is employed in connection with the ‘wound’ (Isa 1,6) and the jaw of a donkey (Jdg 15,15), so *ṭārā* has the original meaning of ‘plucking off’ (Gesenius 1846, 324 = *DGes*, 428; *KAHAL*, 199). In Gal. and in LjLA *ṭry*, *ṭryt* indicates a kind of salty fish sold at the market (Jastrow 1903, 554); presumably Greek borrowed from Aramaic the word *θρίσσα* (Att. *θρίττα*) ‘twait shad’ (*Alosa fallax*).

50 The Greek section was read differently in *CIG* no. 4668a: *Μνησθη Ἀῦ[λ]ος Ἐρσου Καλιταίου Μάρου ἐν[θ]άδε ἐ[λ]θ[ώ]ν*.

51 Clermont-Ganneau 1903, 62 and no. 1.

whether it is referred to *Αυσος* or *Ερσου*. According to the formulaic usage, after *καλεῖται* the employment of *ὁ* *καί* or *τοῦ* *καί* is expected. If the person mentioned in the inscription bears a second name, this would be put next to the first name, as is typical in the Greek-Palmyrene and Nabataean epigraphy.⁵² It seems that the author conformed *Ουμαρου* to the genitive in accordance with *Ερσου* making a mistake. We may suggest not reading *Ουμαρου*, but: *ὁ* (*καί*) *Υμαρου*⁵³ ‘he who is the son of *Umaros*’.

38. From Wādī Mukattab.

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography *CIS* II no. 1194; *RIGP* nos. 2367 (Nabataean), 2371 (Greek)

Text and translation

- 1) *šlm 'wdw br 'lmb*
- 2) *qrw 'qry btb*
- 3) *μνησθη*
- 4) *Αυδος Αλμο-*
- 5) *-βακκερου*

- 1) Peace. 'Awḏō son of 'Almoba-
- 2) - qqrō 'Aqarī, in good
- 3) Let be remembered
- 4) Audos (son of) Almo-
- 5) - bakkeros

Commentary

The addressee's name is *'wdw* = Gr. *Αυδος*, whose etymology is widely discussed in nos. 15 and 33.

The father's name, *'lmbqrw*, corresponding to Gr. *Αλμοβακκερου*, shows the definite article *'l-* before the personal name *mbqrw* < Com. *bqr* ‘regarder avec soin, examiner’.⁵⁴ The participle active emphatic

52 Clermont-Ganneau 1903, 63. It is common to use the formula: A called A son of B, or A son of B called B and never A son of B called A. In Nabataean, as well as in Palmyrene, next to the common Greek expression *ὁ* *καί*, *ἐπικαλούμενος* etc., we find *dy mtqr* ‘which is called’ (cf. *VIS* no. 123a) with orthographic variations as in Nabataean of Sinai *mḡtry* (see *CIS* II no. 1254 = Euting 1891, 567).

53 In the bilingual no. 22 *Υφφαλος* is used without the diphthong *ou*.

54 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 61 and 73-4.

mqbr' means 'one who examines the victims (i.e. a certain priest)'.⁵⁵ Possibly the meaning of the name is 'examiner' - '*al-Mobaqqerō*'.⁵⁶ The name is common in the area of Mount Sinai.⁵⁷

In the Nabataean section a second name, '*qry*', appears referring to the previous one, which is absent in the Greek part; it is found in another Sinaitic inscription (*CIS* II no. 1010) and it refers to a demonym.⁵⁸

39. From Wādī Mukattab.

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography *CIS* II no. 1195; *RIGP* no. 2372 (Greek)

Text and translation

- 1) μνησθη
- 2) Βουρεος
- 3) Σαδαλλου
- 4) *dkyr bry'w*
- 5) *br š'd'lhγ*

- 1) Let be remembered
- 2) Bureos
- 3) (son of) Sadallos
- 4) Let be remembered Burēāō
- 5) son of Ša'dallahā

Commentary

For the name *bry'w* = Gr. Βουρεος compare the commentaries at nos. 32 and 36. As regards the father's name, *š'd'lhγ* = Gr. Σαδαλλου,⁵⁹ it is a theophoric in which the first element *š'd* means 'être heureux,

⁵⁵ *DNWSI*, 187, s.v. "*bqr*".

⁵⁶ al-Khraysheh 1986, 36.

⁵⁷ There are occurrences in a graffito from the Wādī Haggag (Negev 1977, no. 221) and from other regions of Sinai too (see *CIS* II nos. 1222, 1489, 2214, 2383, 3196).

⁵⁸ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 134.

⁵⁹ Other forms are Σαδδηλος, Σαδε(ι)λος, Σαδαλας (Wuthnow 1930, 101 and 173), Σαδαλλας, Σαδειλος, Σαδελος (*IGLS* 21,5 nos. 699, 454, 572).

propice',⁶⁰ Ar. *sa'd* 'delight, luck', then *Sa'dallahi* 'luck of God',⁶¹ in addition it indicates the name of a tribe.⁶²

40. From Wādī Mukattab.

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography CIS II no. 1197; RIGP nos. 2374 (Nabataean), 2401 (Greek)

Text and translation

- 1) *dkyr ḥr[y]šw*
- 2) *br 'myw bṭb*
- 3) μνησ- Αρισος
- 4) -θη Αμμαιος

- 1) let be remembered Ḥar[ī]šō
- 2) son of 'Ammayō, in good.
- 3) let be remember- Arisos
- 4) -ed (of the) Ammaios

Commentary

As regards the two names *ḥr[y]šw* = Gr. Αρισος and *'myw* = Gr. Αμμαιος, see respectively our inscriptions nos. 37 and 33. In the Greek section, μνησθη is divided into two parts; the final -θη continues in the following line. As far as Αμμαιος is concerned, we should expect Αμμαιου in the genitive case rather than in the nominative case; it is probably due to a scribal error. Ḥarīšō, son of 'Ammayō, should be the priest of T', the goddess who appears in other inscriptions from Sinai.⁶³

⁶⁰ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 152-3. In Palmyrene we find *š'd'l* and the forms *š'd*, *š'd'*, *š'dw* and *š'dy* < *š'd* 'Luck' (PAT, 441 = Stark 1971, 53 and 115). For Hatraean, Beyer (1998, 162) cites *s'dw* written with /s/ *contra* Vattioni (1981, 118) who interprets it as *š'dw* with the same meaning.

⁶¹ al-Khaysheh 1986, 181. See *s'dlh* in ICPAN, 319.

⁶² Negev 1991, no. 1169.

⁶³ See Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 154.

41. Wādī Mukattab. (Plate VIII, no. 3)

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography *CIS* II no. 1032; *RIGP* no. 220

Text and translation

- 1) *dkyr 'yydw br 'wšw bṭb*
- 2) [*'w]šw br 'yyd[w]*
- 3) *Αυσοϛ*

- 1) let be remembered 'Oēḏō son of 'Āwšō, in good
- 2) ['Āw]šō son of 'Oēḏ[ō]
- 3) Ausos

Commentary

The inscription gives the name 'yydw, possibly the diminutive form of the most frequent and documented 'ydw (< Ar. 'āy'd 'qui cherche un refuge'),⁶⁴ for a more detailed analysis see the inscription no. 15. The form Οαεδοϛ (Wadd. no. 2472) is registered in Greek. As regards 'wšw = *Αυσοϛ*, see comments in the inscription no. 37.

42. From Wādī 'Aḡalah. This is not a real bilingual inscription since the probable Nabataean section was proposed by Euting.

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography Euting 1891, 253; *RIGP* no. 3562

Text and translation

- 1) *Μνησθη*
- 2) *Χαλιος Ζε-*
- 3) *-δου*

- 1) *k/hlyy*
- 2) *zydyy*

- 1) Let be remembered
- 2) Chaliōs (son of) Ze-
- 3) -dos

64 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 129. In pre-Islamic Arabic 'ydd 'aid, feast?' (*ICPAN*, 450).

- 1) K/Ḥalī
- 2) Zēdī

Commentary

The name Χαλῖος seems to be of Greek origin since the toponym Χαλῖος (f. Χαλία), indicating the city of Boeotia, is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium.⁶⁵ In this case it is an Aramaic name, that is ḥly ‘sweet’, ‘to be sweet’, used in Egyptian-Aramaic,⁶⁶ Syriac, Christian-Aramaic, Palestinian-Jewish, Mandaean and Samaritan.⁶⁷ Therefore, it is probably an adjective ‘one who is sweet, one who has a good heart’ (cf. Ar. ḥalwā or ḥulū).

As regards the father’s name, Ζεδου = Nab. Zydyy, see the explanation in the inscription no. 31. In the Nabataean section the two names appear with a final -y rather than with the usual -w; we can formulate two hypotheses: according to the first one, the final -y could be the adjectival suffix (as in Arabic); according to the second one, it could be the genitive case marked by the author.

43. From Wādī ‘Aḡalah. (Plate IX, no. 1)

Dating 2nd-3rd CE

Bibliography CIS II no. 1719; *RIGP* nos. 2925 (Nabataean), 2952 (Greek)

Text and translation

- 1) Ανεος
- 2) šlm hn’w

- 1) Aneos
- 2) Peace! Han’ēō

Commentary

The epigraphy gives a name, *hn’w*, already mentioned in the Sinaitic bilingual from Wādī Muḡārah (no. 34). The Greek form, Ανεος,⁶⁸ is a variation of Ονεος which is preserved in this inscription.

65 Steph. Byz., *Ethnika*, 681 and Pape 1911, 1663.

66 Porten, Yardeni 1986-99, C1.1 (*Aḥiqar*), 148.

67 Cf. Jastrow 1903, 467; Payne Smith 1903, 143; Sokoloff 2009, 455; Tal, *Sam*, 271; *DNWSI*, 374.

68 Another occurrence of this name, though in the genitive case, is recorded in *AGLI*, 14.

Bīr Umm Ḍalfah

44. This graffito was found at Bīr Umm Ḍalfah, a station located north-west of Safāḡā, along the road that went to Myos Hormos, an ancient seaport built on the Red Sea by the Ptolemies in the 3rd century CE. The epigraph seems to have been engraved by two different people who wrote down their names. (Plate IX, no. 2)

Dating unknown

Bibliography Littmann, Meredith 1953, 8, no. 13

Text and translation

- 1) *šmrḥw*
- 2) Γαρα(μ)ου

- 1) Šimraḥō
- 2) Gara(m)os

Commentary

We notice that the initial *š* of *šmrḥw* is written in an unusual way. The letter has a quadrangular form and its vertical left edge is longer than the right; in fact, it looks like the Hebrew *q*; above the initial *š* there is a cross, probably symbolising the religious faith of the deceased. The name, mainly recorded in Sinai, is linked to the Arabic *šimrāḥ* ‘rameau de palmier ou de vigne chargé de fruits’.⁶⁹ The root, also used in Arabic as *šumrūḥ*, may identify a stem of the branch ‘of a palm tree originally related to a raceme of dates’.⁷⁰

In the Greek section we notice the letter M of Γαρα(μ)ου cut in two parts; at the end of the line a symbol of obscure meaning appears. The name is the Greek form of Γαραμος, Γαρμος⁷¹ = Nabataean *grmw* and also occurs in no. 28 (see this inscription for the philological analysis).

69 Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 152; al-Khraysheh 1986, 178-9; Negev 1991, no. 1158. The same is found in Littmann 1953, 13, no. 33 and in Littmann, Meredith 1954, 216, nos. 56 and 57.

70 Lane 1863, 1596. Pre-Islamic Arabic *šmrḥ* shumrukḥ ‘stalk of the palm?’ (ICPAN, 357).

71 Wuthnow 1930, 39; Wadd. no. 2513.

'Ābū Kū'

45. The graffito was found at 'Ābū Kū', literally 'father of the corner' (also 'curve of the street'), a raised wādī, next to a hairpin bend, slightly west of the Roman station/well (*Hydreuma*) al-Muwayḥ; this station is located between Koptos (modern day Qift) and Leukos Limen (modern day al-Quṣayr al-Qadīm).⁷² (Plate IX, no. 3)

Dating about 1st-3rd CE

Bibliography Littmann, Meredith 1954, 217-8, no. 59

Text and translation

- 1) *šlm 'bn 'lqyny br*
- 2) *'myw bṭb*
- 3) Εβναλκκαιν-
- 4) -ος Ομα-
- 5) -ι(ο)υ

- 1) peace. 'Ēbn al-Qaynī son of
- 2) 'Omayō. In good.
- 3) Ebn Alkain-
- 4) -os Oma-
- 5) -i(o)u

Commentary

The Nabataean name *'bn 'lqyny* = Gr. Εβν Αλκκαιοσ has been discussed in no. 7, the inscription that comes from the sanctuary of the goddess Allat in Wādī Ram. We notice the usage of Arabic *'bn* and the article *'l-*. The name is mainly recorded in Sinai.⁷³

The father's name, *'myw* = Gr. Ομαι(ου), is also recorded in two other bilingual inscriptions from Sinai (nos. 33 and 40); we refer to these for philological explanations.

The Nabataean text is not particularly difficult to read and to interpret apart from the last three letters of *'lqyny*, line 1, since the final *y* seems a *t*.

⁷² Fournet 1995, 174.

⁷³ Cantineau 1930-32, 2: 143. The presence of *Qaynō* and *'Ēbn al-Qaynī* in the Nabataean onomastics may refer to the Qeniti, the tribe of Yethro (father in-law of Moses) who settled in Sinai and Negev and probably worshipped the god Yahweh (Zayadine 1990, 160).

As regards the Greek section, we notice a discordant writing. The N of EBN shows a horizontal line, probably due to a mistake by the author, and the M of OMAIOY is not entirely visible.

In line 4, at the end of the sequence, there is a sign that could seem Greek -ιω. It could form the name Ομαιωου, but it is more probable that it is a symbol of the author (his signature?) and the signs in line 5 represent the suffix -I(O)Y of Ομαιου.

As concerns the dating of this epigraph, we have to consider that the graffito from Abū Kū' was drawn up in a period of time probably ranging from Augustus to Maximinus Thrax (1st-3rd century CE).⁷⁴

Wādī Ġiḏāmī

46. The inscription was found in the Wādī Ġiḏāmī on the way to Safāḡā on the Red Sea. (Plate X, no. 1)

Dating unknown

Bibliography Littmann, Meredith 1954, 222-3, no. 71

Text and translation

- 1) Ουααβλας
- 2) *br ryšw br*
- 3) 'wšw šlm

- 1) Wahballāh
- 2) son of Rayšō son of
- 3) 'Āwšō. Peace

Commentary

Curiously enough, the author of the graffito transcribed his name into Greek and his ancestors' names into Nabataean. Probably, the first is a mistake; in fact, we may expect Ουβαλλας or Ουβαλας (see no. 7) instead of Ουααβλας. In this case the author used A to render Nabataean H.

⁷⁴ Fournet 1995, 175.

The father's name *ryšw* is the equivalent of the Arabic *ra'īs* 'boss, leader',⁷⁵ while the ancestor 'wšw is well-attested in the Nabataean epigraphy.

⁷⁵ *Rā'īs* is recorded as the name of an Arabic tribe in Egypt (Littmann, Meredith 1954, 222), but Negev (1991, no. 1071) interprets it as the Arabic *rašš* 'to sprinkle'.