

W.J. BANKES AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE NABATAEAN SCRIPT

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Résumé — En 1815, William John Bankes (1786-1855), en voyageant au Monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Sinaï, copia des graffitis écrits dans une écriture non identifiée. Trois ans plus tard, il accomplit la première expédition occidentale à Pétra depuis sa « redécouverte » par Burkhardt en 1812. Là, il fit une copie à main levée très exacte de l'inscription nabatéenne de cinq lignes sur la façade du Qabr al-Turkmān. Sans hésitation, il reconnut que l'écriture de cette belle inscription monumentale était la même qu'il avait rencontrée dans les graffitis du Sinaï et il l'associa avec les Nabatéens. Malheureusement Bankes ne fit jamais paraître les résultats de ses recherches et le texte de cette inscription resta inconnu des savants jusqu'en 1896. Dans le présent article, les auteurs publient dans leur contexte historique les copies que Bankes et Linant de Bellefonds (qui était employé par celui-là) firent de graffitis nabatéens, grecs, coptes et arabes au Sinaï, et que Bankes fit d'inscriptions araméennes dans le Hawrān, et de textes nabatéens et grecs à Pétra.

Abstract — In 1815, William John Bankes (1786-1855) copied some graffiti in an unidentified script on his way to St Catherine's monastery in Sinai. Three years later he mounted the first Western expedition to Petra since Burkhardt's "rediscovery" of the city in 1812, and made a near-perfect copy of the five-line Nabataean inscription on Qabr al-Turkmān. He immediately identified the script as being the same as that of the graffiti he had copied in Sinai and associated it with the Nabataeans. Unfortunately he never published his copies and the text of the inscription remained unknown to the scholarly world until 1896. This article presents and sets in context the copies which Bankes and Linant de Bellefonds (who was employed by him at the time) made of Nabataean, Greek, Coptic and Arabic inscriptions in Sinai, and which Bankes made of Aramaic inscriptions in the Hawrān, and of Nabataean and Greek inscriptions in Petra.

خلاصة - نورمان ب. لويس و.م.ك. ماكدونالد وملحقات بتوقيع س. كلاركسون ورج. هوبلاند و.م. سارترا : بانكس وتعريف الكتابة النبطية سنة ١٨١٥ ، وفي أثناء رحلة إلى دير القديسة كاترينا في سيناء ، نسخ ولIAM جون بانكس (١٧٨٦-١٨٥٥) خربشات كتابة مجهولة. وبعد ذلك بثلاث سنوات، نظم أول بعثة غربية إلى البطراء، التي كان بوركهارت قد أعاد اكتشافها سنة ١٨١٢ ، وقام بنسخ الرقيم النبطي الخامس الأسطر الذي يزتزع واجهة ما يُعرف بقبر التركمان، واستنتج أن خطه العماني هو عينه المستخدم في الخربشات السينائية، ونسبة من دون تردد إلى الأبطاط. بيد أن بانكس لم ينشر نتائج أبحاثه، فبقى نص هذا الرقيم مجهولاً حتى سنة ١٨٩٦ .
في هذا المقال ينشر المؤلفون نسخ الرقيم النبطية واليونانية والقبطية والعربية التي جمعها بانكس وللينان دي بلوفون (الذى كان يعمل له) في سيناء، وتلك التي نسخها عن رقم آرامية في حوران أو نبطية ويونانية في البطراء،أخذين بعين الاعتبار الإطار التاريخي الذي تنتهي إليه تلك الرقمن.

**THE NABATAEAN SCRIPT
DISCOVERY, IDENTIFICATION AND DECIPHERMENT¹**

The existence in Sinai of rock-cut writings in a strange script has been known in the Christian world since at least the early sixth century AD, when an Alexandrian merchant, later known as Cosmas Indicopleustes, noticed them while travelling through Sinai.² He tried to discover what they were and what they said, and some Jews who claimed to be able to read them told him that they recorded « the departure of so-and-so, of such-and-such a tribe, in such-and-such a year and such-and-such a month. » Cosmas speculated that the Children of Israel first learnt the art of writing after Moses received the Law on Mount Sinai and inscribed it on tablets of stone. Thus, he reasoned, writing was given by God to the Israelites at a very early period in their history and, during their forty years wandering in the Wilderness, they practised it with exuberance on the rocks of the Sinai desert.³ Cosmas went on to suggest that, after their entry into the Promised Land, the Israelites passed the script to their neighbours, the Phoenicians, who, via Cadmus king of Tyre, transmitted it to the Greeks and thence to the rest of the world.

Although it was incorrect, this theory had a certain internal coherence and was immensely attractive in that it promised access through these texts to a primeval writing system, given directly by God to Man on Mount Sinai, from which every alphabet in the world could trace its ancestry.

The first printed edition of Cosmas' work was published in Paris in 1706⁴ and it was not long before his theory became the orthodox view, ousting more recent hypotheses⁵ and generating considerable interest in the « Sinaitic » inscriptions throughout Europe. Thus, in 1753 Richard Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, published an English translation of the journal of the « Prefetto » of the Franciscans at Cairo. The Prefetto had noticed the inscriptions on his way to the monastery of St. Catherine in 1722 and remarked that « though we had in our company persons, who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters ».⁶ Clayton's commentary is an (unacknowledged) expansion of Cosmas' theory:

1. The authors are grateful to the National Trust and to the Dorset Archives Service for giving them access to the material discussed here and for permitting them to publish it. References below in the form « D/BKL HJ4/12 » are to the W.J. Bankes Travel Journals Collection in the Archive of the Bankes Family of Lingston Lacy and Corfe Castle, held by Dorset Record Office at Dorchester and owned by the National Trust. Those in the form « D/BKL V.A 21 » are to the W.J. Bankes Drawings and Inscriptions Collection in the same archive. We would also like to thank Madame Pascale Linant de Bellefonds for providing us with a number of excerpts from the unpublished manuscript logbook kept by Linant de Bellefonds on his journey with Léon de Laborde, and Dr Laila Nehmé for alerting us to many Nabataean references. Unless otherwise stated, translations from works in languages other than English are by Macdonald.

2. COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES/MIGNE 1864: Liber V. §§205-206, col. 215-218.

3. « Those who have newly acquired the art of writing write frequently and much; and thus it is that all these places [in Sinai] are covered with Hebrew inscriptions. » COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES/MIGNE 1864: §205, col. 217.

4. MONTFAUCON 1706.

5. For instance, an early seventeenth-century traveller records that both the monks at St. Catherine's monastery and the Bedouin who guided pilgrims to it, repeated a tradition that one text on a stone at the foot of Mount Sinai had been written by the Prophet Jeremiah to mark the place where he had hidden the « sacred vessels » from the Temple (II Maccabees 2: 4-6), despite the fact that the Biblical passage quite clearly refers to Mount Nebo, not Mount Sinai (see KIRCHER 1636: 205), a point reiterated by Pococke when he saw the remains of the inscription more than a century later (POCOCKE 1743-1745, I : 148). Kircher, who published a copy and tentative decipherment of this inscription [= CIS II 3031] believed that it was a very ancient « Chaldaic » inscription and interpreted it as an echo of Isaiah's prophecy « Behold a virgin shall conceive... » (Isaiah 7:14; see KIRCHER 1636: 206-216), though he believed that there were many others in the « ancient Hebrew character » around the area where Moses had broken the tablets of the Law. The French traveller, de Monconys, who passed through Sinai in 1647, and whose Bedouin guides denied him the opportunity of copying the texts, recognized that the letters had « ni la forme des Latins, Grecs, Hebreux, Arabes, ni des Hieroglyphiques » but nevertheless concluded that « ce pourroit bien étre en ce lieu que la Manne tomba la premiere fois, & où le peuple ravi de ce miracle en auroit laissee la memoire sur ces pierres à la posterité » (MONCONYS 1695, I: 449, spelling and accents as in the original). On the other hand, in 1727, the Russian scholar, T.S. Bayer, declared the script to be similar to the Phoenician alphabet, at that time known only from coins (*Plane autem cum Phoenicicis, vt in numis existant, conueniunt*, BAYER 1729: 477), an identification which was to be revived later in the century and to become extremely influential, see below.

6. CLAYTON 1753: 45.

When the art of literary writing first began, I cannot say positively ; but certain it is, that we have not the least traces of it before the time of Moses. But after the delivery of the law upon *Mount Sinai*, and the Israelites were [Deut. vi. 9. 11. 20] ordered to write some of the words of the law on the posts of their doors, and on their gates, every one who had the least genius would endeavour to learn and practise the art of literary writing. And accordingly we find from the aforementioned Journal, that in the wilderness of *Kadesh*, where, soon after the giving of the law, the children of *Israel* wandered for forty years, there are whole mountains which are engraved, with inexpressible labour, with characters at present unknown, but which there is great reason to suspect, were the ancient Hebrew characters ; which being lost by disuse during the Babylonish captivity, were supplied by the Chaldee characters in their stead.

AND as Joshua was ordered to write the words of the law upon large stones on *Mount Ebal*, as soon as he had passed over *Jordan*, which he accordingly did, literary writing must from thence become tolerably well known to the Canaanites as well as the Israelites. Hence it was that Cadmus, who was a Canaanite, or, as Herodotus asserts, a Tyrian, which is the same thing, might also learn the art of literary writing, since it was not till some years after the passage over *Jordan* that Joshua was able to dispossess the Canaanites, and drive them out of the land by a total overthrow of their forces [Josh. XI. 7, 8] *at the waters of Merom, where the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them unto great Sidon.* From which place, or from *Tyre*, it probably was that Cadmus, with the rest of his defeated companions, took shipping, and fled into *Greece*, and carried with them the art of literary writing. And hence it is that the Phoenicians are said by Lucan to have been the inventors of literary writing....⁷

Clayton was so excited by this idea that he dedicated his book to the Society of Antiquaries of London, asking it « to look out for a suitable person » to be sent to *Sinai* for the express purpose of recording as many as possible of the inscriptions, for « by carefully copying a good quantity of these letters, I should apprehend that the ancient Hebrew character, which is now lost, may be recovered. »⁸ He continued,

I do not suppose such a copy of them, as would be sufficient for the end proposed, could be taken by any traveller in the time ordinarily allowed for a journey between *Cairo* and *Mount Sinai*, but I imagine, if a person was sent on purpose to live for some time at *Tor* on the coast of the *Red-Sea*, he might make such an acquaintance with the Arabs living near the *Written mountains*, by the civility of his behaviour, and by frequently making them small presents, that it would be no great difficulty in six months, or thereabouts, to attain the desired end.⁹

Clayton considered the Society of Antiquaries to be the ideal body to find and dispatch such a person and offered to help finance the mission.¹⁰ However, the Society replied that

... as well from the Nature of our Constitution ... as from our Annual contributions ... we are wholly uncapable, as a Body, of contributing to the support of your Lordship's truly generous and laudable scheme.... Whatever therefore can be hoped for of that kind, must be done by particular persons of large fortunes, who are willing to encourage such curious and usefull researches into the earliest Times.¹¹

It was not long before such a person appeared, in the form of Frederick V, king of Denmark. The organizers of the Danish expedition to Arabia of 1761-1767 made the recording and deciphering of the inscriptions of *Sinai* one of its primary objectives and entrusted this task to the expedition's leader, the philologist F. C. von Haven. Unfortunately, von Haven was constitutionally unsuited both to leadership and to fieldwork and, in the end, the

7. CLAYTON 1753: 69-71, italics, parentheses, and upper case letters as in the original.

8. CLAYTON 1753: 1.

9. CLAYTON 1753: 2.

10. CLAYTON 1753: 2. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a copy of which was enclosed with the proposal to the Society of Antiquaries of London, Clayton empowered the Archbishop « to promise an hundred pounds a year for five years to be paid in such a manner as the Society shall direct » (Society of Antiquaries of London, transcript of the minutes for Thursday 30th April 1752, p. 47). We are most grateful to the Society's Librarian, Mr. Bernard Nurse F.S.A., for supplying us with photocopies of these papers.

11. Copy of a letter sent by the Society of Antiquaries of London to the Bishop of Clogher, included in the minutes of the Society for Thursday 22nd November 1753 (transcript pp. 188-189). Another letter, to be enclosed with this one, informed his Lordship that he had been « unanimously chosen a member of the Society ... in company with ... his Grace of Canterbury; the Lord High Chancellor, and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen of eminent Rank and figure » (*ibid.* p. 190).

only Sinaitic inscriptions recorded by the expedition were twenty texts copied by its astronomer and surveyor, Carsten Niebuhr.¹² It was to be almost eighty years before the Sinaitic inscriptions were deciphered, on the basis of bad hand-copies,¹³ and ninety years before the next expedition aimed at a systematic record of the texts.¹⁴

In his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Niebuhr was one of the first to cast doubt on the antiquity and significance of the inscriptions. He suggested that when they were eventually deciphered they would be found to be simply the signatures of travellers, as were the Greek texts he had seen in other parts of the Peninsula.¹⁵

The first person to make real progress in the study of these texts was Edward Wortley Montagu, husband of the more famous Lady Mary, and former British ambassador to Constantinople. He travelled in Sinai in 1766 and copied twenty-five inscriptions which he published in a letter to the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow.¹⁶ He argued that since the inscriptions were interspersed « with figures of men and beasts ... they were not written by the Israelites; for if they had been after the publication of the law, Moses would not have permitted them to engrave images, so immediately after he had received the second commandment ». He continued,

it will be difficult to guess what these inscriptions are ; and, I fear, if ever it is discovered, they will be found scarce worth the pains. If conjecture be permitted, I will give my very weak thoughts. They cannot have been written by Israelites, or Mahometans, for the above reason ; and if by Mahometans, they would have some resemblance to some sorts of Cypic characters, which were the characters used in the Arabic language, before the introduction of the present Arabic letters. ... I think it then not unprobable , that they were written in the first ages of Christianity, and perhaps the very first; when, I suppose, pilgrimages from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai were fashionable, consequently frequent and numerous, by the new Christian Jews, who believed in Christ ; therefore, I should believe them Hebrew characters, used vulgarly by the Jews about the time of Christ. I shewed them when at Jerusalem to the Rabins ; they were of the same opinion, and thought פָּתָח, which is frequent, was פָּלָח.¹⁷

This was a considerable advance. The « Rabins » of Jerusalem had deciphered the most common word in the Sinaitic inscriptions (*šlm*), and Wortley Montagu had worked out the approximate date of the texts (first to fourth centuries AD), if not the script and authorship.

From now on the idea that the texts were simply the « signatures » of pilgrims or travellers became widely accepted,¹⁸ though there was still wide disagreement about their date and script. A decade later, Court de Gebelin republished Wortley Montagu's copies describing them as Phoenician¹⁹ and interpreting as *ank* (the Phoenician personal pronoun, « I ») the word which had already been correctly identified as *šlm*.²⁰ However, Volney, who travelled in Sinai in the 1780s returned to the theory that to these pilgrims we must attribute the inscriptions and clumsy figures of asses, camels, &c. engraved on these rocks, which have from thence acquired the name of *Djebel Mokattab*, or *the written mountain*. Montague [sic], who travelled a great deal in these countries, and carefully examined these inscriptions, is of this opinion ; and Gebelin has lost his labour, in endeavouring to discover some mysterious meaning.²¹

12. For an account of this part of the expedition see HANSEN 1964: 122-126, 137-138, 152-189. On 21st September, 1762, Niebuhr recorded hieroglyphic inscriptions at Serābīt al-Khādem, which he thought was Jabal al-Mukattab, (1774-1837, I: 249, but see RÜPELL 1829: 267). The next day, he copied Nabataean inscriptions in the vicinity of a narrow pass which he calls Umm al-Rīglayn (1774-1837, I: 250). On the copying of the inscriptions and Niebuhr's discussion of their origins see NIEBUHR 1174-1837, I: 237, 249-250 and pl. XLIX-L, and 1792, I: 197, 200-202.

13. See BEER 1840.

14. See LOTTIN DE LAVAL 1855-1859. Unfortunately, Lottin de Laval's copies were extremely inaccurate and in many cases are unintelligible.

15. NIEBUHR 1774-1837, I: 237, 250.

16. WORTLEY MONTAGU 1766.

17. WORTLEY MONTAGU 1766: 50-51.

18. See the quotations below from Volney, Busching, Seetzen and Burckhardt, to which add E. Rüppell, who was in Sinai in 1817, (1822: 531).

19. COURT DE GEBELIN 1775: 479-480, pls XII and XIX. In this he was returning, though without acknowledgement, to the theory first put forward by T.S. Bayer in 1727 (see below).

20. COURT DE GEBELIN 1775: 480, 496.

21. VOLNEY 1801, II: 230, n. [= VOLNEY 1787, II: 324, n.1]. Italics as in the original.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the identifications became more, rather than less, confused. Coutelle and de Rozière, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, referred to them as « inscriptions en caractères Samaritains », but at the same time compared the script to that of certain Arabic magical texts on a supposed Druze idol.²² On the other hand, Jomard, the editor of the *Description*, called them Phoenician and Hebrew.²³ The idea that the Sinaitic inscriptions were in « the ancient Hebrew » or another « primeval language » continued to be revived sporadically, well into the second half of the nineteenth century, long after the script had been successfully deciphered and the true content of the texts was well-known.²⁴

However, in 1792, A.F. Busching published a summary of what was then known of these inscriptions, together with a critique of the various hypotheses about their origins.²⁵ He accepted the view that the texts were probably no more than « signatures » and he endorsed the theory, first advanced by T.S. Bayer sixty-five years earlier, that the script was « Phoenician ».²⁶ Bayer's view had been repeated periodically throughout the eighteenth century, for instance by Van Egmond van der Nijenborg and John Heyman, some of whose copies Bayer had used in his study,²⁷ by Court de Gebelin in 1775²⁸ and by Niebuhr, an English translation of whose *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien* was published in the same year as Busching's study.²⁹ Busching's endorsement gave Bayer's view wider circulation than it had previously had and the « Phoenician » hypothesis seems to have been generally accepted in academic circles in the 1790s and the first quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁰

Seetzen, who visited Sinai in 1807, recorded twenty-five Sinaitic inscriptions but did not speculate on the nature of the script. However, he took the crosses which he found beside some of the inscriptions to indicate that these at least were the names of early Christian pilgrims,³¹ a theory which also remained the subject of fierce debate well into the middle of the century.³²

It was the observant and perceptive Burckhardt, visiting Sinai in 1816, who came closest to the truth. He noted that

... the characters appear to be written from right to left, and ... the annexed figure  is seen at the beginning of almost every line. Hence it appears that none of the inscriptions are of any length, but that they consist merely of short phrases, all similar to each other, in the beginning at least. They are perhaps prayers, or the names of pilgrims, on their way to Mount Sinai, who had rested under this rock. A few drawings of camels and goats, done in the coarsest manner, are likewise seen.³³

22. COUTELLE & ROZIÈRE 1822: Explication des Planches. Vol. V. Planche 57. The supposed Druze « idol » was a figurine of an ass covered in Arabic magical inscriptions. It is illustrated in ADLER 1782: pls X-XI.

23. JOMARD n.d.: p. 3, n. 4.

24. See, for instance, HENNIKER 1823: 232, FORSTER 1851 and 1857, and SHARPE 1875, who still maintained, though as an increasingly lone voice, that the inscriptions were the work of the Children of Israel during their forty years in the Wilderness.

25. BUSCHING 1792: 618-619.

26. On the use of the term « Phoenician » to cover both Phoenician and Aramaic, see notes 30, 75 and 76 below. Bayer based his view on a comparison of the text published by Kircher, plus other copies supplied to him by Van Egmond van der Nijenborg, with the script of certain coin legends, the only material available to him at that time for the study of Phoenician or of epigraphic Aramaic.

27. VAN EGMOND VAN DER NIJENBURG & HEYMAN 1759, II : 181.

28. COURT DE GEBELIN 1775: 480, and the captions to pl. XII, n° 4 and pl. XIX. However, his attempts at reading the texts were misguided and attracted ridicule, see the quotation from Volney, above.

29. NIEBUHR 1792, I: 201.

30. Bayer's view was endorsed in 1824 by the great Semitist Wilhelm Gesenius, though he specified that the script should more correctly be called Aramaic. (BURCKHARDT/GESENIUS 1823-1824, II: 1072, and see note 75 below).

31. SEETZEN 1811: 474.

32. The arguments are summarized and continued in LEVY 1860: 363-364, 391-401.

33. BURCKHARDT 1822: 479. It seems that Burckhardt was unaware of, or did not accept, the correct identification (reported by Wortley Montagu) of the word *šlm* at the beginning of many of the inscriptions.

Later, he expands on this, saying

I am inclined to think that the inscriptions have been written by pilgrims proceeding to Mount Sinai, and that the drawings of animals which are executed in a ruder manner and with a less steady hand, are the work of the shepherds of the peninsula. We find only those animals represented which are natives of these mountains, such as camels, mountain and other goats, and gazelles, but principally the two first, and I had occasion to remark in the course of my tour, that the present Bedouins of Sinai are in the habit of carving the figures of goats upon rocks and in grottos.³⁴

These observations, and the deductions he drew from them, brought Burckhardt very close to the truth, even though he was writing a quarter of a century before the decipherment of the script. It is now generally agreed that the Sinaitic inscriptions were written by a mixture of travellers, pilgrims and the local inhabitants of Sinai in the early centuries AD.

It was not until 1840 that the script of the Sinaitic inscriptions was deciphered. This was the remarkable achievement of the German scholar, E.F.F. Beer of Leipzig.³⁵ He not only correctly identified all the letters of the Sinaitic alphabet with the exception of *tēth* and *semkath*, but he produced impressively correct readings of one hundred and forty-eight inscriptions from the, often inaccurate, copies available to him.³⁶

On the basis of the presence of crosses and the Y-shaped symbol,³⁷ which he interpreted as a type of cross, Beer believed that the majority of the inscriptions were written by Christians, and that they dated from the fourth century AD. From internal evidence, he also concluded that they had been written over a relatively short period, perhaps no more than a century.³⁸

But Beer's most influential conclusions were on the origin, language and script of the texts. It should be remembered that by 1840, although the site of Petra had been known to western scholarship for twenty-eight years and had already been visited by at least ten parties,³⁹ not a single Nabataean inscription from the city had been published.⁴⁰ Beer suggested that the Sinaitic texts were written by the inhabitants of the region in which they were found, i.e. Arabia Petraea, of which Sinai was a part. He argued that

... in the early centuries of our era this region was inhabited by a people whom the Greeks and Romans called « Nabataeans ».... The capital of the Nabataean kingdom was Petra, the magnificent ruins of which have recently been discovered and described. However, no monuments of the writing or language which was in general use in that kingdom, or in the western part of Arabia Petraea, have come down to us.

34. BURCKHARDT 1822: 506. Compare Burckhardt's letter to Banks of 16th June 1816 (D/BKL HJ1/51), part of which is quoted in note 72 below, and his letter to the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa of 1st July 1816, published in BURCKHARDT 1819: LXVII.

35. See BEER 1840. According to Stanley, « the author of this work died of starvation and neglect, just as it had acquired celebrity enough to procure him aid too late » (1862: 58).

36. The most frequent error in his readings stems from the difficulty he experienced in distinguishing the letter *t* from the letter *'* (1840: XXI), which was hardly surprising given the quality of the copies he was working with. This resulted in his interpreting the phrase *b-tb* « in well-being », which frequently occurs at the end of these texts, as *z'r* « visitor, pilgrim », which often required a somewhat strained reading of the first and third letters, as Beer himself was aware (1840: XVIII, note d).

37. See inscriptions 1, 2 and 6 below.

38. BEER 1840: XV It appears that he envisaged that the majority of the authors were indigenous Christian tribesmen, engaged in promoting pilgrimages to the holy places of Sinai.

39. (1) in 1812, by Burckhardt (1822: 420-434). (2) in 1818, by Banks, Finati, Legh, Irby and Mangles (FINATI 1830: 259-266; Legh in MACMICHAEL 1819: 195-249; IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 402-442). (3) in 1826, by Strangways and Anson (LABORDE 1830: 29; 1836: 132). (4) in 1828, by Laborde and Linant de Bellefonds (LABORDE 1830: 54-61; 1836: 152-197). (5) in 1836, by STEPHENS (1838, II: 57-78; 1970: 248-282). (6) in 1837, by VON SCHUBERT (1839: 419-436). (7) in 1837, by LORD LINDSAY (1838-1839, II: 29-41). (8) in 1838, by BERTOU (1839: 302-319). (9) in 1838, by ROBINSON & SMITH (1841, II: 506-551). (10) in 1839, by Kinnear and David Roberts (KINNEAR 1841: 131-178). There may well have been others who, like Strangways and Anson, did not publish accounts of their visits, or whom we have not yet identified.

40. The apparent paucity of inscriptions in Petra had been noted by a number of visitors, including Banks (see the journal of his expedition to Petra described below, II, p. 6, and IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 411), and by LABORDE (1830: 57; 1836: 165).

I suggest that this palaeographical and linguistic gap has now been filled by our [Sinaitic] inscriptions. It is true that I cannot prove that their authors were from the tribes which established the Nabataean kingdom. That kingdom did not extend very far since it included neither the whole of Arabia Petraea nor all the Nabataeans. On the other hand, ... if these inscriptions are not actually the work of the population of this kingdom, they should be attributed to tribes which lived in such close contact with it that their *dialect* differed from the language of the Nabataeans merely in the admixture of a few Arabisms. Moreover, I strongly suspect that the *script* of these texts must be that of the Nabataeans: for the forms of the letters have a freedom and the ligatures an audacity which I cannot match in the inscriptions of any other people of the same period or earlier. The quantity and style of these texts show that the population which wrote them produced a civilization with a flourishing administration.⁴¹

Beer's insight was extraordinarily accurate on both the language and the script. He recognized that « the *characters* of the Sinaitic inscriptions ... belong to a wholly distinct and independent alphabet » which, nevertheless was related to the Palmyrene, Syriac and Kufic scripts. « Indeed, their affinity with the latter is so great, as to lead to the supposition, that the Cufic was afterwards developed from this alphabet, »⁴² a correct and truly remarkable perception, considering he had just deciphered the script and had only inaccurate hand-copies at his disposal.

As Edward Robinson pointed out the following year, Beer recognized that « the names are those common in Arabic » but that

the words which are not proper names, seem rather to belong to an Aramaean dialect. A language of this kind, Prof. Beer supposes to have been spoken by the inhabitants of Arabia Petraea, in other words by the Nabathaeans.⁴³

Similarly, where previous writers had commented on the crude way in which the texts were written, Beer saw correctly that the vagaries of the script were not evidence of semi-literacy but signs of long familiarity with the art of writing, and that the often bizarre arrangements of the texts and the extravagant use of ligatures were the products of skilful playfulness, not ignorance.

Beer thought that the Sinaitic texts were the only surviving epigraphic remains of the Nabataeans, and his untimely death came long before the first handful of inscriptions from Petra was published in 1855.⁴⁴ There was considerable excitement when it was found that the script of the Petra inscriptions was similar to that of the Sinaitic texts and, in 1860, M.A. Levy was able to show that there was a palaeographical connection between the Sinaitic graffiti, the script of coins and inscriptions from Petra, and the script of the Aramaic texts from the Hawrān, which were already being called « Nabataean »,⁴⁵ a somewhat misleading label for these last, which they have retained ever since.⁴⁶ However, as we shall see, had Bankes' work been published as he intended, the identification of the Nabataean script and its decipherment could have taken place many years earlier and the study of Nabataean epigraphy would have advanced a great deal faster.⁴⁷

41. BEER 1840: XVI

42. ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, I: 553: Robinson's summary of Beer's results was written prior to the publication of Beer 1840. The equivalent passage does not seem to be in Beer's monograph and Robinson may be quoting from a fuller version than that published, or may simply be adding his own thoughts to those of Beer.

43. ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, I 554.

44. BLAU 1855: 232-237. In fact, John Wilson's party, which visited Sinai and Petra in March 1843, had discovered at Petra an inscription of four letters « in the Wádí Mukatteb, or Sinaite character » which Wilson took to be « proof ... that the Nabathaean inscriptions, as we should expect, are extended beyond the peninsula of Mount Sinai.... » (1847, II: 740). Unfortunately, he did not publish a copy of this text.

45. LEVY 1860: 375-379; WETZSTEIN 1859: 174 [= 1860: 66], see the quotation in note 141, below. Lottin de Laval noted that Burckhardt had copied « Sinaitic » inscriptions in the Hawrān (1855-1859: 342, n. 1).

46. See below and MACDONALD 2003: 39-40, 54-65.

47. In his Note XVII on the Sinaitic inscriptions, Edward Robinson pointed out that Irby and Mangles had mentioned the discovery at Petra of an inscription « in five long lines », the script of which Bankes had recognized as « exactly similar » to that of the Sinaitic texts (IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 411-413). Robinson regretted that when he and Eli Smith had been at Petra « the circumstances in which we were there placed, prevented our finding it. » He noted that the inscription had been copied but that « it has never been made public, and still lies in the portfolios of Mr. Bankes » (ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, I: 556).

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES

W. J. Bankes (1786-1855) was one of a number of gifted and scholarly Europeans who explored the Near East in the early nineteenth century (**Fig. 1**). He spent most of the years 1815-1819 in the region, visiting Sinai, Egypt, Nubia, « Syria » (i.e. the area covered by modern Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Israel), Greece, Constantinople, the southern and western coastlands of Asia Minor, and Cyprus. As he travelled, he left « nothing unexplored », as two of his companions put it,⁴⁸ and wherever he went he copied inscriptions, made sketches, detailed drawings and plans of buildings, and painted occasional water-colours. Unfortunately, he seems to have kept journals only infrequently and the other notes he left vary greatly in quality.



Fig. 1.—Portrait sketch of W.J. Bankes (1786-1855)
by George Hayter, c. 1833
(courtesy of the National Trust)

confidently expected him to publish an account of his work. Irby and Mangles, who travelled with him to Petra, wrote that Bankes

... has the merit of being the first person travelling as a European, who ever thought of extending his researches in that direction [i.e. to Petra]; and from his profound knowledge of ancient history, as well as his skill in drawing, he was by far the best calculated to go on such an expedition⁵²

48. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 293.

49. Thus, for instance, Irby and Mangles record that he visited the library of the Latin convent of Terra Sancta in Jerusalem to consult an edition of Vitruvius in order to explain features of the Roman theatre at Beth-Shean, (IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 302).

50. See below.

51. See below, under Bankes' journey to Petra, and note 232.

52. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 336.

Bankes was a man of considerable intellectual curiosity and learning. He was well-read in the classical authors and in Biblical geography, and he took every opportunity to consult these and other sources for information on the countries he was exploring.⁴⁹ He was also an excellent draughtsman and had an unusually acute and accurate eye in recording inscriptions, even when he could not read the script. However, he was not content simply to copy inscriptions and to make drawings or paint water-colours. Those of his letters, journals and notes which have survived show that he gave much thought to the questions suggested by what he saw — who constructed the buildings, who carved the inscriptions and what did they mean? He was thus able to take one of the first steps towards the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics,⁵⁰ while the progress of his speculations on the authors of the inscriptions in an unknown script which he found in Sinai, possibly in Nubia,⁵¹ in the Hawrān and, at last, in Petra, are the deductions of an intelligent man using what material was at his disposal and arriving at the correct conclusion.

Bankes' travelling companions and many contemporary scholars recognized his abilities, praised his achievements and

while W.M. Leake — himself an experienced and erudite traveller — wrote in his Editor's Preface to Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* that

as a great part of the country visited by Burckhardt has since his time been explored by a gentleman better qualified to illustrate its antiquities by his learning; who travelled under more favourable circumstances, and who was particularly diligent in collecting those most faithful of all geographical evidences, ancient inscriptions, it may be left to Mr. W. Bankes, to illustrate more fully the ancient geography of the Decapolis and adjoining districts, and to remove some of the difficulties arising from the ambiguity of the ancient authorities.⁵³

Bankes himself had every intention of publishing his discoveries, and started work as soon as he returned to England in 1820. In the following years more than fifty lithographic stones were inscribed under his direction with copies of drawings, inscriptions and other material from Sinai, Egypt, Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor, and prints were made from some of the stones evidently to form the plates for a wide-ranging publication. The proofs of some of these prints survive. However, after this initial period of activity, he does not seem to have persevered with the work and apparently never wrote the letterpress to accompany the plates in the large and important work he had originally envisaged. As late as 1830, he was writing that he hoped to publish « plans, elevations and views » of Jerash « in the course of the present year », but after that nothing more was heard of the project.⁵⁴

Bankes did, however, distribute a few of the prints to friends, as well as to the British Museum and Cambridge University Library.⁵⁵ He also gave Thomas Young free access to the drawings and copies of inscriptions he had made in Egypt and allowed him and Henry Salt to publish one of the most important of them.⁵⁶ Furthermore, his suggestion that, on the obelisk from Philae, the signs in one of the cartouches in the hieroglyphic text spelled the name « Cleopatra » materially assisted Champollion in his work on the decipherment of hieroglyphics.⁵⁷ These contributions to Egyptology were remembered after his death, but the lithographic stones and the papers which recorded his work in other parts of the Near East remained more or less forgotten at his family home, Kingston Lacy, in Dorset, until the middle of the twentieth century.

In 1981, Kingston Lacy, together with its contents, was presented to the National Trust, which has made Bankes' drawings, water-colours, copies of inscriptions, lithographic stones and proofs of prints, notes, journals and personal correspondence available for study. The material on Egypt is at present being catalogued at the British Museum. The Syrian material, with the exception of the lithographic stones and prints, may now be seen at the Dorset Record Office at Dorchester. The lithographic stones have been cleaned and photographed and remain at Kingston Lacy. The proof prints from the stones are at present at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum.

There are no plate numbers on the stones or the proofs and no continuous numbering of the inscriptions. Instead the texts are grouped under the regions and specific locations in which they were found and are individually numbered within the regional groups. Thus, of the eleven Aramaic inscriptions from the Hawrān, nine are scattered over thirteen plates, among copies of some three hundred Greek and Latin and four Arabic texts from the area.

53. BURCKHARDT 1822: IV.

54. FINATI 1830, II: 147, footnote.

55. The British Museum received copies of three prints of the obelisk which Bankes brought back from Philae and set up in the grounds of his house at Kingston Lacy, Dorset. These prints are now in the British Library, bound as a book entitled *Geometrical Elevation of an Obelisk*, by W.J. Bankes, 1821. Cambridge University Library received the same, as well as four prints showing Bankes' transcription of the long « Edict of the Maximum » which he had copied at Stratonicea in Caria in 1817 (see Bankes' letter to his father, 29th October, 1821, D/BKL, no reference number; letter of Clarke to Bankes 2nd January, 1822, D/BKL HJ1/168; letters of Leake to Bankes, no date, D/BKL HJ1/268 and 365).

56. Bankes' « Chronological Tablet discovered at Abydos in 1818 » is Plate 47 of Young's *Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society* (London, 1823) and the same print forms the frontispiece of Henry Salt's *Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics* (London, 1825). In Young's *An Account of Some Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature ...* (London, 1830, i: 30), he thanks Bankes for allowing him free access to the latter's « unequalled treasury of drawings and inscriptions ».

57. PARKINSON 1999: 32-39.

Those from Petra (one Nabataean and six Greek)⁵⁸ were placed on the same plate⁵⁹ as the Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai to demonstrate the similarity of the script.⁶⁰

A few field copies and fair copies of some of the Nabataean inscriptions on the plates, and of others which were not transcribed, have also survived. These are now in the W.J. Banks Collections in the Dorset Record Office at Dorchester, and in a section of the archive which is at present under study at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum.

**BANKES' JOURNEY TO SINAI
AUGUST 18TH TO SEPTEMBER 2ND 1815**

Bankses' journey from Cairo to the Monastery of St. Catherine was his first lengthy tour in the East, undertaken while the boat in which he was to sail on his first Nile voyage was being fitted out.⁶¹ The journey was made on camel back and, apart from the cameleers, his only companion was « an Arab of Alexandria called Haleel » whom he had engaged as an interpreter.⁶² Two days before Banks left Cairo for Suez and Sinai, he met William Turner who gives the date of Banks' departure as August 18th, 1815.⁶³ Only a few of Banks' notes about the journey have survived, written on two small pieces of torn paper (see Fig. 2).⁶⁴ They are partly in narrative form, but appear to be incomplete and include neither dates nor itinerary and make no mention of inscriptions. So far as we know, he made no other record of the journey.

Banks' main purpose in visiting Sinai was evidently to examine the library of the monastery of St. Catherine, which, « by persevering and rummaging » he succeeded in doing.⁶⁵ It was not an altogether pleasant task; he found that in many places the books « stand three deep, are full of dust and haunted by hideous spiders. »⁶⁶ He was rewarded, however, for the monks gave (or sold?) him manuscript copies of works by Homer, Aristotle and Euripides as well as other manuscripts and books.⁶⁷ He also noticed good Aldine editions of the *Odyssey* and the Greek Anthology which he afterwards drew to Burckhardt's attention. When Burckhardt visited the monastery almost a year later he had some difficulty in persuading the monks to let him take books because, as he put it, « the monks had been scolded by their Superiors » in Cairo for allowing Banks to have some.

58. See Fig. 16, and for a discussion of the Greek inscriptions see Appendix D.

59. The proof of this plate is one of several inscribed « Published Novr. 27, 1821 by John Murray, London ».

60. The caption under the Sinai texts reads « Scrawls copied from the face of the Rocks in several parts of the Desart [sic] of Mount Sinai, which seem to be in the same character [*scilicet* as that of the Turkmāniyah inscription] » See also the quotations from the Draft Journal (paragraph 3 of Appendix B), the revised version of the Journal (quoted below in the section on Petra) and the caption to Banks' fair copy of the Turkmāniyah inscription (quoted below in note 247).

61. FINATI 1830, II: 73; cf. BELZONI 1820: 21.

62. FINATI 1830, II: 73.

63. TURNER 1820, II: 484-491.

64. D/BKL, W.J. Banks' Sinai Journal.

65. Turner, who, like earlier travellers, had had less success wrote, « to my inquiries after manuscripts and a library, the priests answered, that they had only three bibles, and I took their word the more readily, as Pococke states that they had no rare manuscripts. But Mr Banks, by persevering and rummaging, found out a library of 2,000 volumes, of which three-quarters were MSS, and of these, nine-tenths were Greek. The greater part were theological, but some were interesting ... » (1820, II: 443).

66. D/BKL W.J. Banks' Sinai Journal.

67. *Ibid.*; TURNER 1820, II: 443. Turner lists the contents of five volumes, each containing a number of Greek texts, which he says Banks brought from the monastery. The list includes those mentioned in Banks' Sinai Journal (p. 2). Only one of these has so far been found in the library at Kingston Lacy. This is a copy of the tragedies of Euripides in Greek, printed at Venice in 1503, in a nineteenth-century rebinding, with a note on the flyleaf in Banks' hand: « Brought from the convent of St. Catherine upon Mount Sinai in August 1815 by Wm. John Banks. » We are indebted to Ms. Yvonne Lewis for this information. The whereabouts of the other volumes is unknown. They were not amongst the books presented by Banks to Cambridge University Library, which are listed in the Library's accessions book. A sentence in J. Hyde's letter to Banks dated October 7th 1819 (D/BKL HJ1/103), « The four Books you intrusted to my care I saw placed upon a shelf in the Library », leads one to wonder if Banks actually returned four of the books he had taken. It seems more likely, however, that he sent four others to the monastery either as a gesture of thanks or to ease his conscience.

Nevertheless, Burckhardt was able to « carry off by stealth », though with the permission of the Prior, the two Aldine volumes.⁶⁸

Bankes seems to have been back in Cairo by September 3rd on which date he wrote, or finished, a long letter to his father ending with the words « Tell my mother that I never ce[ased] to think of her among the Figs and Mulberries of Mount Sinai. »⁶⁹ If Turner was right in saying that Bankes left Cairo for Sinai on August 18th and if Bankes dated the letter to his father correctly (he was not always careful about dates), the journey had taken only sixteen days, of which at least two had been spent in or near the monastery of St Catherine. This was a short time in which to make the journey there and back and he must have travelled quickly. This may explain why he seems to have made only one drawing, at the monastery itself, and to have copied inscriptions only at Wādī Mukattab, a common stopping place on one of the shortest and most frequented routes to the monastery. It may also explain why these copies, his first of Nabataean inscriptions, are less accurate than those he made in the Ḥawrān and at Petra.

Although, so far as we know, the only inscriptions Bankes copied in Sinai were those in Wādī Mukattab discussed below,⁷⁰ he saw others in similar characters « about the foot of Mt Sinai », as he recorded in the journal of his expedition to Petra two and a half years later.⁷¹ The inscriptions intrigued him; he could not, of course, know what script or language they were in nor who had written them. Once back in Cairo, he almost certainly discussed them with Burckhardt, and the subject was taken up again by correspondence a year later when Bankes was in Palestine.



Fig. 2. — Part of the diary kept by Bankes on his Sinai journey (D/BKL, W.J. Bankes collection, no reference number).

68. D/BKL W.J. Bankes' Sinai Journal; Burckhardt letter HJI/51; BURCKHARDT 1822: 551. The present whereabouts of the two books is unknown; they are not amongst those which passed to Cambridge University Library after Burckhardt's death.

69. D/BKL, Henry Bankes correspondence (no reference number), cf. Sinai Journal.

70. Nabataean n°s. 1-13. He also noticed a Greek graffito (Appendix D, n° 1), but no copy of it by him survives, though one by Linant de Bellefonds was found among Bankes' papers.

71. These words are from volume II, p. 5 of the Petra Journal, on which see below where this passage is quoted at greater length.

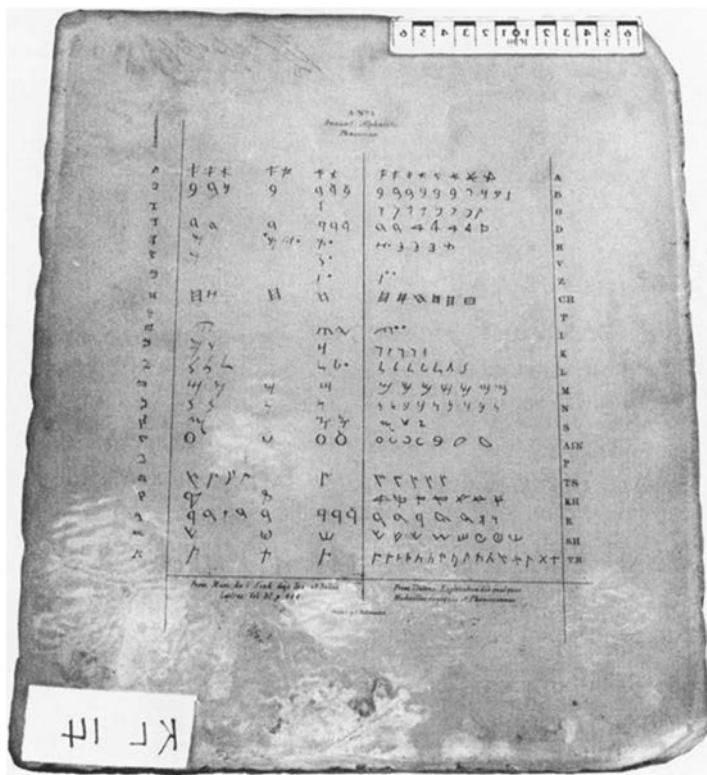


Fig. 3a. – The lithographic stone « A N°1 Ancient Alphabets. Phoenician » prepared by Banks for the intended publication of his discoveries (Kingston Lacy, photograph of the lithographic stone, n° 14; the image has been reversed to show the « positive »).

only to have had an up-to-date knowledge of the scholarly theories on the subject but to have chosen the one which turned out to be correct.⁷⁷

72. Burckhardt remarks that the absence of these texts « on the Eastern side of Djebel Sinai ... where there are several fertile and well irrigated valleys » « makes it very doubtful that these inscriptions were written by the Israelites during their stay in Sinai ». After considering several other possibilities Burckhardt concluded, « I believe they were cut out by Coptic Christians, or perhaps Jews of Egypt who visited Sinai » (letter Burckhardt to Banks, 16th June, 1816, D/BKL, HJ1/51). On 1st July 1816, Burckhardt wrote a very similar letter to the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. Leake published this in his « Memoir of the Life and Travels of John Lewis Burckhardt » which served as a preface to BURCKHARDT 1819 (see especially p. Lxvii).

73. TURNER 1820, II: 455, note.

74. See Busching's review of the theories (1792: 617-619).

75. In a note to the German edition of Burckhardt's *Travels* (BURCKHARDT/GESENIUS 1823-1824, II: 1072), summarized by Edward Robinson as follows: « As to the character, Gesenius supposed it to belong to that species of the Phenician, or rather Aramaean, which, in the first centuries of the Christian era, was extensively employed throughout Syria, and partially in Egypt; having most affinity with that of the Palmyrene inscriptions. » (ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, I: 189-190).

76. This is conveniently illustrated in the bibliography in LIDZBANSKI 1898, I: 4-83, which indicates by abbreviations the type of inscription (Phoenician, Aramaic, Sinaitic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, etc.) contained in each of the works listed. See, for example, his numbers 62, 82, 89, 98, 135, the titles of all of which describe their contents as « Phoenician » but which Lidzbanski has marked as wholly or partly Aramaic. Lidzbanski's n° 125, a review by Gesenius of, among other works, Beer's first attempt at deciphering the Sinaitic inscriptions, is entitled *Schriften über phönizische Paläographie*.

The day after Burckhardt returned from his own journey in Sinai he received a letter from Banks. Two days later, on 16th June, 1816, he replied setting out his own deductions on the authorship of the inscriptions,⁷² but advancing no theory as to the script in which they were written.

Banks had previously discussed the inscriptions with Turner who provides the only clue as to Banks' views on the subject at this time. In a note in his *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, Turner wrote « Mr. Banks thinks the characters [of the Sinaitic inscriptions] to be Phoenician ».⁷³ If this was really Banks' opinion, he was probably following the most up-to-date scholarly information available to him, though in fact this was based on Bayer's analysis of a handful of inscriptions almost a century before (see above).⁷⁴ He was also in excellent company, since even eight years later, in 1824, Wilhelm Gesenius, probably the greatest Semitist of his day, suggested that the script was Phoenician or Aramaic.⁷⁵ Thus, if one accepts the broad use of the term « Phoenician » current in the early nineteenth century,⁷⁶ Banks seems not

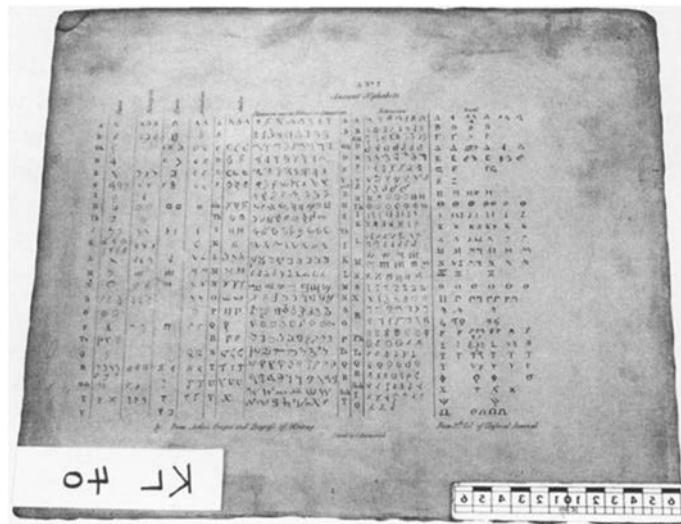


Fig. 3b. — The lithographic stone « A N° 2 Ancient Alphabets » prepared by Banks for the intended publication of his discoveries (Kingston Lacy, photograph of the lithographic stone, no. 40; the image has been reversed to show the « positive »).

77. Further evidence that Banks was interested in the Phoenician script in particular and the origin and relationships of ancient alphabets in general is provided by two lithographic stones at Kingston Lacy, which were presumably intended to provide plates for the book he envisaged. These are labelled « A N° 1 Ancient Alphabets Phoenician » ([Fig. 3a here](#)) and « A N° 2 Ancient Alphabets » ([Fig 3b here](#)). The sources of the letter-forms in the various columns are given but the tables as they stand were, presumably, the work of Banks himself. In « A N° 1 » ([Fig. 3a here](#)) he has juxtaposed tables of Phoenician letter-forms from two different sources, that on the left from BARTHÉLEMY 1764: pl. IV (between pp. 426 and 427, not 444 as stated on Banks' plate), and that on the right from DUTENS 1773: pl. III (opposite p. 68). There are occasional errors of transcription, for instance in the columns taken from Dutens the rightmost sign in the line representing « G » should actually be in the same position in the line representing « K ». Banks has also included in both sets the asterisks which, in the originals, signalled notes. At the far left is a column of letter-forms marked « Samaritan ». The source of this is not given and we have been unable to trace it. On « A N° 2 » ([Fig. 3b here](#)), Banks has taken the Punic, Pelasgian, Oscan, Arcadian, Gallic, and « Phoenician, ancient Hebrew or Samaritan » columns from ASTLE 1784 (or 1803): Tab. I (opposite p. 64), section II « Alphabet Antiqua », and the « Hetruscan » [sic for « Etruscan » in Astle] column from the bottom of the same plate. The column of Greek alphabets was taken from HODGKIN 1814: pl. I (opposite p. 182) *Variae Alphabeti Graeci per aetatis ordinem formae* [i.e. « various forms of the Greek alphabet in chronological order »]. Hodgkin's plate shows twenty columns (including the column giving the conventional forms of the Greek alphabet on the far left), of which Banks selected only columns 1 (the conventional forms) and 3-7, ranging (according to Hodgkin) from 1500 to 450 BC.

The Nabataean inscriptions copied by Bankes in Wādī Mukattab⁷⁸

Inscriptions 1-13 are described on the proof plate as coming from « Wady Makatleb », an obvious printing error for « Wady Makatteb ».

1-5 : CIS II 1305-1310

See Fig. 4/1-5.⁷⁹ For other copies of the same inscriptions see Fig. 5/a-d.⁸⁰

The rock on which these five inscriptions are carved is in a prominent position and at least six different travellers⁸¹ had copied some of these texts by 1902, when they were edited in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. However, only Bankes and Bénédite copied all five.

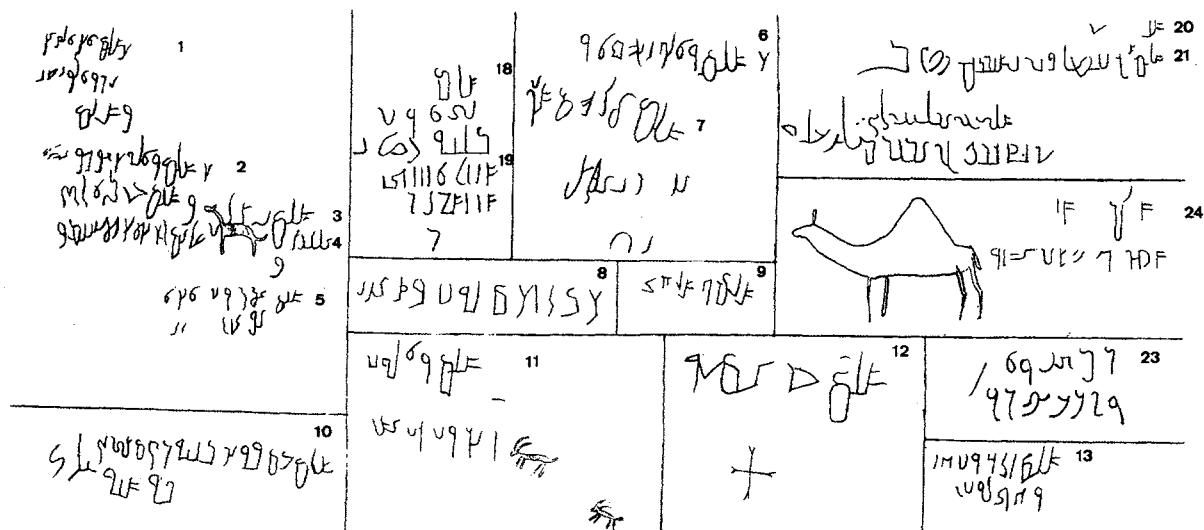


Fig. 4. — Proof from a lithographic plate showing copies of Nabataean inscriptions in Sinai made by Bankes (nos 1-13) and Linant de Bellefonds (nos 18-24).

78. Since, on Bankes' plates, one number often covers several inscriptions, and the numbering sequences vary from plate to plate, we have numbered all the texts in this article in a continuous sequence. The following editorial conventions have been used in transliterating the texts: { } for doubtful letters, [] for letters restored, < > for letters to be removed, and ---- to indicate where the copy appears to be incomplete. Since short vowels and medial /ā/ are not indicated in the Nabataean script, the vocalization of the names in the translations is often uncertain and should be regarded as purely conventional.

79. These five texts originally appeared as no 1 on Bankes' lithographed proof plate. This is shown here on Fig. 4, but with the continuous sequence of numbering used in this article replacing the original numbers.

80. A concordance of the copies made by Bankes and others with the equivalent numbers in CIS II, will be found in Appendix C.

81. That is Seetzen (in 1807), Bankes (in 1815), Lepsius (in 1847), Lottin de Laval (in 1850), Bénédite (in 1888-1890) and Euting (in 1889).

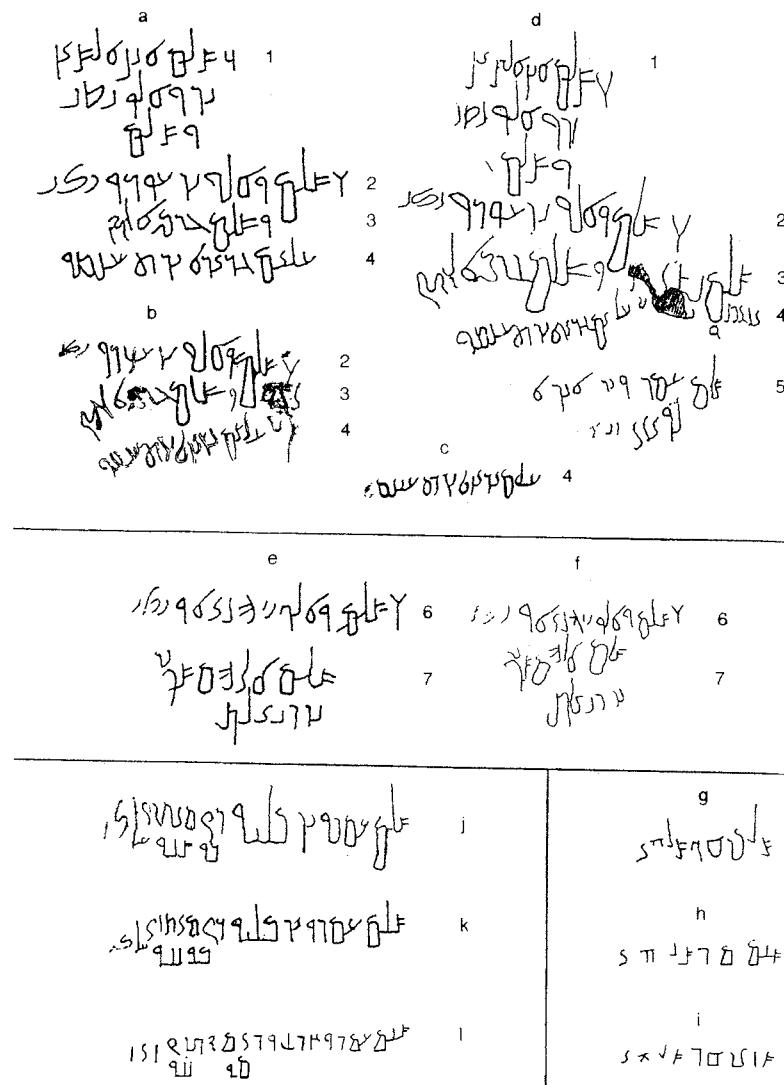


Fig. 5. — Copies by others of the same Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai. **a.** N°s 1-4: Euting's copies (from EUTING 1891: pl. 29, n°s 523-524a). **b.** N°s 2-4: Lepsius' copies (= CIS II 1306-1309 from CIS II.1. Pl. XCIVIII). **c.** N° 4: Lottin de Laval's copy (= CIS 1309 =1402B, CIS II.1. Pl. XCVII). **d.** N°s 1-5: Bénédite's copies (= CIS II 1305-1310, from CIS II.1. Pl. XCI). **e.** N°s 6-7: Euting's copies (from EUTING 1891: pl. 29, n°s 528-529). **f.** N°s 6-7: Bénédite's copies (= CIS II 1317-1318 from CIS II.1. Pl. XCI). **g.** N° 9: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1148 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXXXIII). **h.** N° 9: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834, pl. 8, n° 103). **i.** N° 9: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834, pl. 5, n° 63). **j.** N° 10: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1147 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXXXIII). **k.** N° 10: Euting's copy (from EUTING 1891: pl. 35, n° 643). **l.** N° 10: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834, pl. 5, n° 62).

1. CIS II 1305

(Stone n° 2483).⁸² **Figs. 4/1 and 5/a1, d1.**

Reading as in *CIS*

*Y šlm 'bn- 'l-qyn
br w'lw b-tb
w šlm*

*May 'Ibn- 'al-Qayn son of Wa'ilū be secure in well-being and peace.*⁸³

The « Y » shaped sign is quite commonly found at the beginning and/or the end of Nabataean inscriptions in Sinai. Beer thought it was a form of cross,⁸⁴ but this is not now generally accepted. Its true significance is unknown, but it may have had an apotropaic value.⁸⁵

2. CIS II 1306

(Stone n° 2484). **Figs 4/2 and 5/a2, b2, d2.**

Reading as in *CIS*

Y šlm w'lw br 'wdw b-!b

May Wa'ilū son of 'Awdū be secure in well-being.

This is the only one of these inscriptions for which a squeeze is available,⁸⁶ and comparison with this shows that Bankes' copy of the text is considerably less accurate than those of Euting, Lepsius and Bénédite (**Figs 5/a2, b2, d2**).

3. CIS II 1307

(Stone n° 2485).

Figs 4/3 and 5/a3, b3, d3.

CIS II 1308

(Stone n° 2486)

šlm nšy{gw} w šlm grm 'lhy

May Nušay{gū} be secure and may Garm'allāhī be secure.

In Bénédite's copy (**Fig. 5/d3**), the letters of 1307 and 1308 are of the same size by comparison with those of 1309, and this together with their relative positions, suggests that 1307 + 1308 should be read as one text. Although the last two letters of the first name are covered by the drawing of an animal, Lepsius seems to have been able to see *gw* (see **Fig. 5/b3**).

82. We have given the « Rock Inscriptions and Graffiti Project Inscription number » in Stone's catalogue (STONE 1992-1994) for each of the published texts from Sinai studied here, so that those with access to the Project's archive can easily check the copies and our readings against any photographs that may be added to the archive in the future. At the time of publication of the catalogue it would appear that the archive held no photographs of these texts, since for each of them the « Access » field contains only a reference to the page in *CIS* II on which the *normalized printed* transcription, plus transliteration and translation of the text appears, and it should be noted that this information is inaccurate. For Stone 1915, 2171, 2224, 2318-2321, 2483-2488, 2495-2497, the volume number should be 1 not 2, and for 3964-3965, 3986, 4006-4006, 7821, it should 2 not 2a. According to the list of abbreviations at the beginning of each volume this information should have appeared in the « Corpus » field and it would have been more useful and appropriate to have placed the *CIS* plate numbers in the « Access » field.

83. We have taken the first *šlm* to be either a verb in the third person singular perfect (cf. Arabic *salima*) or a participle (cf. Arabic *sālim* used in the sense of *salim*, see Lane 1415c and 1416b), cf. MILIK & STARCKY 1970: 142. In either case it would have an optative implication, meaning « may he be secure, safe and sound » (cf. the optative use of the participles *dakir* and *barik*). We have translated *!b* as « well-being » to try to cover the wide range of meanings of this word in Aramaic. The second *šlm* we have taken as the noun, Aramaic *šlām*/Arabic *salām* « peace ».

84. BEER 1840: xv.

85. See the discussion in *CIS* II.1, p. 352.

86. *CIS* II.1, pl. CVI, made by Lottin de Laval. It omits the last three letters of the text.

4. CIS II 1309

(Stone n° 2487). Figs. 4/4 and 5/a4, b4, c4, d4.

*{š}bytw---{y}r 'lym gdyr' brt 'nmw
 {š}ubaytū...{y}r the servant of Gadīrā daughter of 'Animū.*

The beginning of the text is probably to be sought in the letters to the right of the drawing and below the first šlm of inscription 3 (see **Figs 4/4 and 5/d4**). These letters are ignored by *CIS*. Our reading of them as *{š}bytw* is only a suggestion. *Sbytw* has been found once before, as the name of a Jew, in a Nabataean tomb inscription at Madā 'in Šālih, in north-west Arabia.⁸⁷ The final letter had to be detached from the rest of the name to avoid the bottom of the final *m* of šlm in the line above. The letters *{y}r* can be seen immediately to the left of the drawing on the copies of Bankes (**Fig. 4/4**), Bénédite and Lepsius (**Figs 5/b4 and d4** respectively) but they were also ignored by *CIS*. These letters represent either the end of *dkyr* « may he be remembered » or, more probably in the context, the end of the servant's name. For other inscriptions by or for slaves/servants see *CIS* II 790 and 1140 from Wādī Mukattab, and JSNab 53 at Madā 'in Šālih. Inscriptions by slaves are also found in Safaitic usually in the formula *l N fty N bn N* « By N the young servant/slave of N son of N ».⁸⁸

5. CIS II 1310

(Stone n° 2488). Figs 4/5 and 5/d5.

Reading as in *CIS*

šlm 'mrw br 'bn-'
l-{q}yn{y} {b-tb}
May 'Amrū son of 'Ibn-'al-{Q}ayn{i} be secure {in well-being}

This is one of many cases in Nabataean where a name or word is spread over two lines, a habit which was inherited by the early Arabic script (which developed from Nabataean) and continued at least into the eighth century AD in early Arabic graffiti. Note that on both Bankes' and Bénédite's copies the loop of the *q*, if that is what it is, is on the left rather than the right of the stem.

6. CIS II 1317

(Stone n° 2495). Fig. 4/6 and 5/e6, f6.⁸⁹Reading as in *CIS*

Y šlm w'lw br hny'w b-tb
May Wa'ilū son of Hunay'ū be secure in well-being

Bankes omitted the faint *b-tb* at the end of the line which can be found on the copies of Euting and Bénédite (**Fig. 5/e6 and f6** respectively).

87. H 4 line 5.

88. See, for instance, HARDING 1953: n° 193; WINNETT 1971: Safaitic n° 1.

89. N° 6-7 were originally shown as n° 3 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

7. *CIS II 1318*
 (Stone n° 2496). **Figs 4/7 and 5/e7, f7.**

---- *br*----

šlm 'lhmšw
br rbylt
{b-t}/{b}

---- *son of* ----.

May 'al-Hamišū son of Rabīlat be secure {in well-being}.

CIS ignores the small *br* which appears above the last two letters of the first name on all copies. Bankses was the only copyist to record two possible letters below the text.

8. Unpublished **Fig. 4/8.**⁹⁰

dkyr 'mnw br pṣy{w}{.}

May 'Amanū son of Pusay{ū.} be remembered

It is not clear what the final letter represents. If the original text continued, it could be the *b* of another *br* or of the phrase *b-tb*.

9. *CIS II 1148*

(Stone n° 2321). **Fig. 4/9 and 5/g-i.**⁹¹

šlm 'wšlhy

May 'Awšlāhī be secure

The identification of this copy with *CIS* ii 1148 is virtually certain, despite the fact that Bankses' copy lacks the ' of '*wšlhy*.

10. *CIS II 1147*

(Stone n° 2320). **Fig. 4/10 and 5/j-l.**⁹²

Reading as *CIS*:

šlm 'mrw br klbw dy mqtry
kwšlw b-{k}l tb

May <Amrū son of Kalbū, who is called Kūšalū,⁹³ be secure in {all} well-being

Bankses omitted the last letter.

90. N° 8 was originally shown as n° 5 on the proof of Bankses' lithographed plate.

91. N° 9 was originally shown as n° 6 on the proof of Bankses' lithographed plate.

92. N° 10 was originally shown as n° 8 on the proof of Bankses' lithographed plate.

93. Stone reads *kwšlm*. It is difficult to see from the copies how such a « re-reading » could be arrived at and it may be a misprint.

11. CIS II 1319(Stone n° 2497). **Figs 4/11 and 6/a-c.**⁹⁴Reading as *CIS*:

šlm w'lw br
 zydw br hryšw

May Wa'ilū son of Zaydū son of Ḥarišū be secure.

The drawings of ibex next to the inscription were not recorded by Euting or Bénédite, though Grey notes that the text was « beside a goat ».

12. Unpublished Fig. 4/12.⁹⁵

šlm grymw

May Guraymū be secure

A cross has been inscribed below the text but it is impossible to tell from the copy whether the two are the work of the same person.

13. CIS II 1005(Stone n° 2171). **Figs 4/13 and 6/d-f.**⁹⁶

šlm zydw br hnynw
 w hnynw br-h

May Zaydū son of Hunaynū and Hunaynū his son be secure.

The end of line one is incomplete on the copies of both Bankes (**Fig. 4/13**) and Bénédite (**Fig. 6/f**). Euting's is the most complete copy (**Fig. 6/e**),⁹⁷ and we have followed Euting (1891: n° 576) in reading the second and third names as *hnynw*, rather than *hnylw*, as in *CIS*.

NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY LINANT DE BELLEFONDS IN SINAI

On the same lithographed plate, intermingled with Bankes' copies of inscriptions at Wādī Mukattab, are copies of five Nabataean texts from Wādī Ḥebrān (n° 18-23 here) and one from al-Nāqūs/Jabal Nāqūs (n° 24 here). There is no indication on the plate that these were not copied by Bankes, but they are at sites some fifty miles beyond the monastery and it is unlikely that Bankes went so far in the course of his journey.

Bankes' field copies of the Wādī Mukattab inscriptions do not seem to have survived, but two sets of hand copies of the Wādī Ḥebrān and al-Nāqūs/Jabal Nāqūs texts have been found among his papers. On one set (**Figs 9a** and **10a**) the inscriptions are scattered in a somewhat haphazard fashion, much as they might have been copied in the field, while on the other (**Figs 9b** and **10b**) they are more carefully arranged, and it is probable that these are fair copies prepared for the lithographer to engrave.⁹⁸

94. N° 11 was originally shown as n° 9 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

95. N° 12 was originally shown as n° 10 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

96. N° 13 was originally shown as n° 12 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

97. STONE 1992-1994, I: n° 2171 reproduces the reading in *CIS*, which marks the final *h* in line 2 as a restoration. However, Euting's copy shows the complete letter and Bankes records one stroke of it.

98. For the present locations and reference numbers of these sheets see the captions to Figs 9a-b and 10a-b.

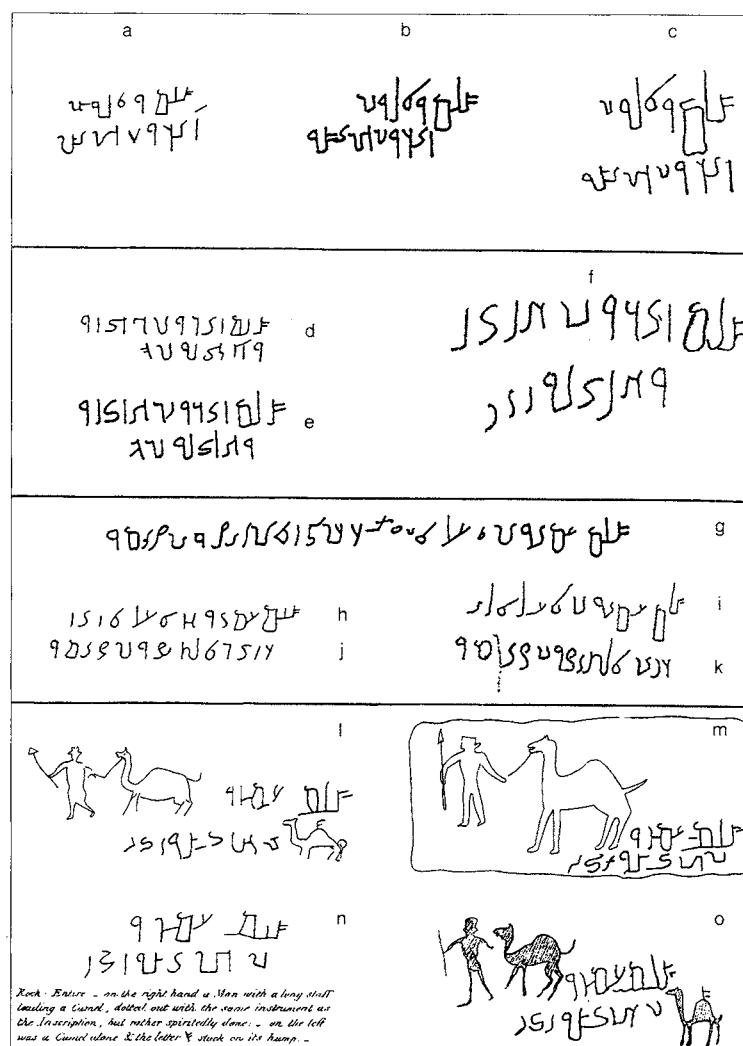


Fig. 6. — Copies by others of the same Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai. **a.** N° 11: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834: pl. 5, n° 67). **b.** N° 11: Euting's copy (from EUTING 1896: pl. 29, n° 530). **c.** N° 11: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1319 from CIS II.1. Pl. XCI). **d.** N° 13: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834: pl. 10, n° 136). **e.** N° 13: Euting's copy (from EUTING 1896: pl. 32, n° 576). **f.** N° 13: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1005 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXXVIII). **g.** N° 14-15: Wortley Montagu's copies (from BEER 1840: pl. VIII, n° 71). **h.** N° 14: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834: pl. 5, n° 61/1). **i.** N° 14: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1145 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXXXIII). **j.** N° 15: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834: pl. 5: n° 61/2). **k.** N° 15: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1146 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXXXIII). **l.** N° 16: Wortley Montagu's copy (from Beer 1840: pl. IV, n° 18a). **m.** N° 16: Rüppell's copy (from Beer 1840: pl. IV, n° 18b). **n.** N° 16: Grey's copy (from GREY 1834: pl. 6, n° 73). **o.** N° 16: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 1055 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXXVIII).

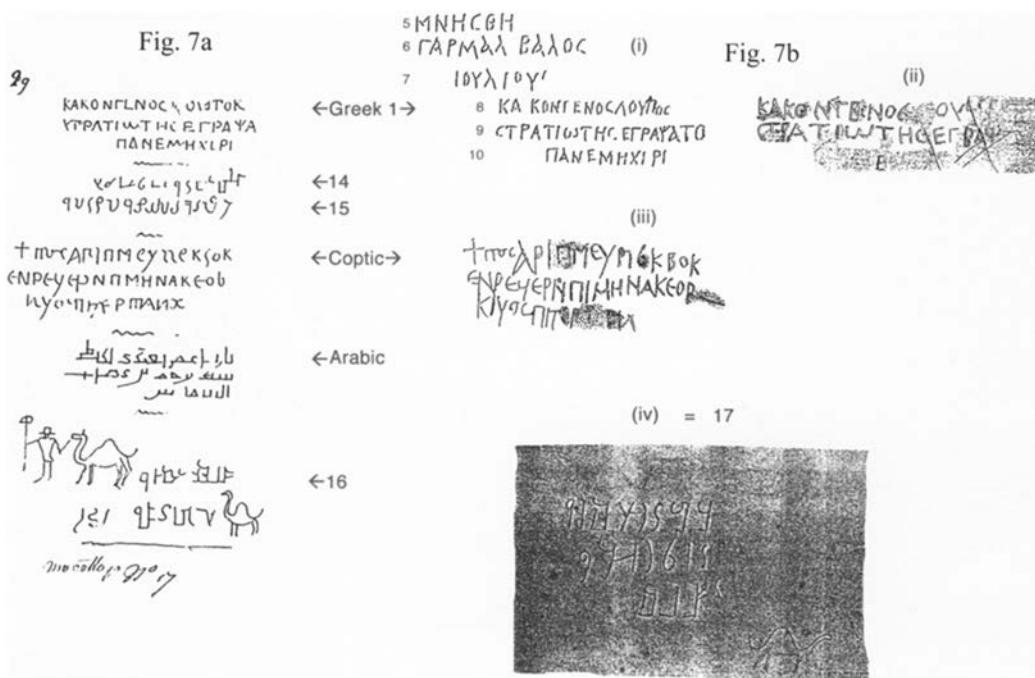


Fig. 7a. — Fair copies of inscriptions in Greek (Appendix D, n°1), Nabataean (n° 14-16), Coptic (Appendix E), and Arabic (Appendix F, n°1) from Wādī Mukattab recorded by Linant de Bellefonds (at present under study at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, W.J. Bankes papers n° XXXC.1).

Fig. 7b. — (i) Copy by Lepsius of the same Greek inscription from Wādī Mukattab (1849-1856: Pl. 19, n°134). (ii) Second copy by Lepsius of the same Greek text (*ibid.* Pl. 21, n° 158). (iii) Copy by Lepsius of the same Coptic inscription from Wādī Mukattab *ibid.* Pl. 20, n° 157). (iv) Fair copy of a Nabataean inscription (n° 17) from Wādī Qenē' recorded by Linant de Bellefonds (at present under study at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, W.J. Bankes papers n° XXXC.4).

Examination of these copies shows that they were almost certainly made by Linant de Bellefonds. The paper is thinner than that favoured by Bankes and some of the texts are drawn in sepia or other coloured inks which Bankes seldom used. Place names and numbers are in Linant's unmistakable bold hand, and there are faint pencilled notes in French, a language which Bankes never used in his field notes. The page bearing the fair copies of inscriptions 18-23 is marked « Entrée de l'ouadée abran », a transliteration of « Wādī Ḥebrān » which Linant also used on two of his drawings in the collection.⁹⁹ It may be noted that in the legend on the proof of Bankes' plate (Fig. 4, here) the « n » in « Abra » has been mistranscribed as « m », so that n° 18-23 are said to come « from the entrance to Wady Abram ». A similarly francophone transliteration is employed on the sheet bearing n° 24: « près d'al Naqous ». In the legend on Bankes' plate this appears as « near II Hakoos », « Naqous » having been anglicized by the substitution of « k » for « q » and « oo » for « ou », and the « N » mistranscribed as « H ».

99. Both bear titles in red ink and faint pencil notes, all in Linant's hand. One is entitled « Ouadée Abran N° 6 » with in pencil « une vue prise dans l'ouadé abran » and the other is entitled « Ouadé Abran N° 7 » with the pencilled note « vue dans l'ouadé abran ». The authors are grateful to Tricia Usick for facilitating our examination of these inscriptions and drawings which are at present under study at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum.

The collection also contains fair copies of four other Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai which were evidently the work of Linant, and which do not appear on Bankes' plate. Three of them (nos 14-16 here) are in sepia or reddish ink on a sheet (see Fig. 7a) with one Greek inscription (see Appendix D, no. 1), one Coptic (see Appendix E), and one Kufic (see Appendix F, n° 1) and drawings of two camels, one led by a man with a long staff. The number « 9 » appears in the top left hand corner and « Makattab N° 17 » near the bottom, both in Linant's hand.¹⁰⁰

The other sheet (Fig. 7b/IV) bears only one pencil copy of a Nabataean inscription (n° 17 here), with below it the word « Magara » in black ink, not in Linant's hand. However, it is numbered « 19 » in Linant's writing and the word « Magarue » [?] in blue-green ink, also in his hand, has been written on the reverse of the sheet. That these refer to the Wādī Maghārah is confirmed by the identification of this inscription as *CIS II* 750 for which the provenance is given as Wādī Qenē', a small valley at the east end of the Wādī Maghārah.¹⁰¹ We know that Linant and Ricci passed through this wadi twice on their travels in Sinai.¹⁰²

Linant de Bellefonds and Bankes

Bankes first became acquainted with Louis Linant de Bellefonds and another young man, Alessandro Ricci, in 1818 and added them to his « suite », as Finati put it, at the beginning of his second Nile journey.¹⁰³ Bankes came to think highly of the drawings and water-colours done by both men and, when he left Egypt in 1819 to return to Italy and England, he retained them to carry out further work on his behalf. Linant was assigned « an ample salary for the purpose of visiting the Oasis of Siwah » on condition that after the Siwah trip he should make another journey to Nubia « at the very earliest opportunity » to search for and, if possible, reach the ruins of Meroë.¹⁰⁴ Linant and Ricci went together to Siwah at the beginning of March 1820 and returned to Cairo at the end of the month. After their return, instead of making immediate preparations for the expedition to Nubia, as he had undertaken to do, Linant remained for a time in Cairo and then on 1st September left for Sinai, again with Ricci.

They were away for over two months, visiting a number of ancient sites including the Pharaonic mining towns at Wādī Maghārah and Serābīt al-Khādim, and eventually reaching the southernmost tip of the peninsula at Ra's Muḥammad. They twice passed through Tūr, near Jabal Nāqūs, and probably traversed Wādī Hebrān. Both of them¹⁰⁵ produced drawings and water-colours which were eventually sent to Bankes in England and are still in the collection.

Bankes had not authorised the journey to Sinai and was angry with Linant for undertaking it and thereby delaying the expedition to Meroë.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, after a prolonged argument by correspondence, Linant prevailed on Bankes to pay for it, and much else besides, and in 1823 travelled to England as Bankes' guest, taking with him « the better part of the harvest of his travels, that is to say his drawings, maps, plans and observations. They are in very considerable numbers and such of them as are finished are very delicate and beautiful, » as Bankes wrote to his father.¹⁰⁷ Having paid Linant to do the work, Bankes regarded the « harvest » as his own property. He had lithographic plates prepared of some of the Siwah water-colours and, as we have seen, included six of Linant's copies of Nabataean inscriptions in Sinai on the plate along with his own.

100. For the present locations and reference numbers of this sheet and the next see the captions to Figs 7a and 7b/(iv).

101. *CIS II.1*, p. 387.

102. See MAZUEL 1937: 17-18 for their itineraries in Sinai.

103. FINATI 1830, II: 301. Finati had served as a soldier in Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's army in Arabia. Bankes engaged him on September 16th 1815, as servant, interpreter and guard, or « janissary » as Finati liked to call himself. He accompanied Bankes on the Nile journey of 1815 and the Syrian journeys of 1816. He returned to Egypt when Bankes went to Asia Minor in June 1816, and rejoined him in Jerusalem, at Bankes' request, for the Petra expedition in 1818. He was generally known as « Muḥammad ». When he was in England in 1826 and was asked, in a court of law, if he were a « Mahometan », he is reported to have replied « I attend the mosque in Turkey, but I am a Christian here. » (ANON [BUCKINGHAM ?] 1826: 65).

104. FINATI 1830, II: 344.

105. MAZUEL 1937: 17-18; SAMMARCO 1930: 90-100, 153.

106. Letters: Salt to Bankes, 10-10-1821, 6-1-1822, 7-2-1823, and 18-2-1823; Bankes to Salt 29-9-1823 (D/BKL HJI/159, 169, 196, 201, and 227 respectively).

107. Letter: W.J. Bankes to Henry Bankes, 23-11-1823 (D/BKL, no reference number).

*Linant de Bellefonds' copies of Nabataean inscriptions from Wādī Mukattab*¹⁰⁸

14-16. (Fig. 7a)

This looks like a page of fair copies similar to those made for the texts from Wādī Ḥebrān and Jabal Nāqūs (see below and **Fig. 9b and 10b** respectively). However, in this case, there is at present no indication that the inscriptions on this sheet were ever engraved by the lithographer and the corresponding field-copies have not been found. The original texts must be in a fairly prominent position since they were all copied by many travellers.¹⁰⁹

14. CIS 1145

(Stone n° 2318). **Figs 7a and 6/g (first half), h-i.**

Reading as in *CIS*

šlm 'myw br 'l'{b-ṭb}

May 'Ammayū son of 'A'lā be secure {in well-being}.

Linant's hand-copy is less complete than those of Wortley Montagu, Grey and Bénédite (**Fig. 6/g-i**).

15. CIS II 1146

(Stone n° 2319). **Figs 7a and 6/g (second half), j-k.**

Reading as in *CIS*

dkyr 'ltbqw br qymw

May 'al-Tabiqū son of Qaymū be remembered.

Again, Linant's copy adds little to that of Bénédite (Fig. 6/k) on which the reading in *CIS* is based.

16. CIS II 1055

(Stone n° 2224). **Figs 7a and 6/l-o.**

Reading as in *CIS*

šlm 'mrw

br ḥryšw b-ṭb

May 'Amrū son of Ḥarišū be secure in well-being.

Linant's version of the drawing omits the sign resembling a Nabataean š on the hump of the smaller camel which is shown on the copies of Wortley Montagu, Grey and Bénédite.¹¹⁰ Grey noted that the drawing of « a Man with a long staff leading a camel, [was] dotted out with the same instrument as the inscription, but rather spiritedly done; on the left [sic, actually the right] was a camel alone, and the letter ⺞ stuck on its hump. »¹¹¹

108. Reference n° XXC.1, among the Bankes papers at present under study at the British Museum. There are copies of six inscriptions on this sheet: three Nabataean (N°os 14-16), one Greek (see Appendix D, n° 1), one Coptic (see Appendix E) and one Kufic (see Appendix F, n° 1), as well as two drawings (see below).

109. Thus n°os 14 and 15 (*CIS II 1145-1146*) by Edward Wortley Montagu (in 1766), Grey (in 1820), Lottin de Laval (in 1850) and Bénédite (in 1888-1890); and n° 16 (*CIS II 1055*) by Wortley Montagu, Rüppell (in 1817), Grey and Bénédite.

110. The smaller camel is missing altogether on Rüppell's copy (Fig. 6/m). Note also that Wortley Montagu's copy of this text is on lines 18-19 of his plate, not 17-18 as stated in *CIS II 1055*.

111. GREY 1834: n° 73.

Linant's copy of a Nabataean inscription in Wādī Qenē¹¹² at the east end of Wādī Maghārah¹¹³

17. CIS II 750

(Stone n° 1915). **Figs 7b/iv and 8/a-b.**

*dkyr 'm{n}w
br 'bgdw
b-šlm*

May 'Ama{n}ū son of 'Abgadū be remembered in peace

The reading in *CIS* is based on the copies of Euting (**Fig. 8/a**) and Bénédite (**Fig. 8/b**). The editors expressed doubts about the reading of both the names. The *r*'s in *dkyr* and *br* differ from each other in each of the three copies and it is therefore difficult to decide whether the penultimate letter of the first name is a *r* or a *n*. On balance, '*mnw*' seems to us marginally more likely. In the second name, however, in all three copies the penultimate sign is virtually identical to the initial letter of *dkyr*, and can only be *d*, not *r* (compare the forms of these two signs in the word *dkyr* in all three copies). The name must therefore be '*bgdw*', not '*bgrw*' as read in *CIS*. The name '*bgdw*' would mean « [My divine?] father is fortune » or « [The divinity] Gad is [my] father. » The name is not otherwise attested in inscriptions in the « Nabataean » script,¹¹⁴ but it has been found (as '*bgd*') on at least one seal, of the eighth/seventh (?) centuries BC,¹¹⁵ while '*bygd*' is attested twice in Hatran.¹¹⁶ The re-reading of this name removes from the « Nabataean » onomasticon the unusual form,¹¹⁷ '*bgrw*',¹¹⁸ which was thought to exist alongside the rare but regular form '*bgr*'.¹¹⁹ Linant's copy is the only one to include the drawing of a camel below the inscription.

Linant's copies of Nabataean inscriptions from Wādī Hebrān¹²⁰

18. CIS II 2698

(Stone n° 3964). **Figs 4/18; 8/c; 9a/18; 9b/18.**¹²¹

Reading as in *CIS*

112. This name appears as « Wadi Iqna » in STONE 1992-1994.

113. Reference n° XXX.4 among the Bankes papers at present under study at the British Museum. For a description of the location of the inscriptions see EUTING 1891: 82.

114. Using the term in its widest sense to include the Sinaitic texts and the Aramaic inscriptions of the Hawrān.

115. See AVIGAD 1968. Bordreuil & Lemaire have argued that the presence of *l* before '*bgd*' on this seal suggests that the inscription is not simply a trial piece using the first four letters of the alphabet, as other examples which lack the initial *l* probably are, and those with longer alphabetic sequences certainly must be (1976: 54-55). However, this argument is called into question by their reading *l'bgd hwz̄h* on another, previously published, seal (*loc. cit.*).

116. See AGGOULA 1991: '*b{y}gd*' and '*l'bygd*' in 107/1, 2; '*bygd*' twice in no. 245/1. It is less clear whether the names which Aggoula reads '*bygyd*' (301/1) and '*bygwd*' (363/1) are to be connected with this name. Beyer, on the other hand, reads '*bygr*' in 107 and 245, and '*bygyr*' in 301 and 363, treating them all as forms of the same name, for which he gives the unlikely etymological meaning « mein-(natürlicher)-Vater-ist-Beisasse » (1998: 53, 76-77, 86, 96-97, 153, 172). Leaving aside the name '*bygyd/r*' in 301 and 363, the reading '*bygd*' is surely more probable in 107 and 245, particularly in the former where in each of the two occurrences, the patronym is *gdy*.

117. In general, names of the '*af*' '*al*' form in Nabataean texts are seldom found with the *-w* ending (see CANTINEAU 1930-1932, II: 164, 166).

118. The only other supposed example, '*l'b{g}rw*' in a text from Egypt (LITTMANN & MEREDITH 1953: 15, n° 39) must surely read '*l'bdrw*' or '*l'brdw*'.

119. There is only one certain example of this name (*CIS* II 698) and one largely restored (MILIK 1958: 244, n° 6/2).

120. The note on Linant's field-copy reads « Tour. Entrée de l'auadee [*sic*] abran [corrected from 'Feir---'] », and « N° 12 » has been written twice, once in pencil and once in ink. However, all the inscriptions come from Wādī Hebrān, not Tür. The note on the fair copy reads « Entrée de l'ouadée abran ».

121. N° 18 and 19 were originally shown as n° 2 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

šlm
bry'w br
klbw b-tb

May Buray'ū son of Kalbū be secure in well-being.

19. CIS II 2699

(Stone n° 3965). Figs 4/19; 8/d; 9a/19; 9b/19.

šl{m} 'l{k}{t}yw
{b}{r} nš{g}yw
b-tb

May 'al-{Kat}iyū {son of} Naš{g}iyū {be secure} in well-being.

This is a case where Linant's field copy (Fig. 9a) was not accurately transcribed for the lithographer (Fig. 9b). The changes are slight but sufficient to turn the third line from a recognizable *b-tb* into an unintelligible sign. In addition, the horizontal stroke joining the bottoms of the verticals in line 1 has been omitted, making them even more difficult to interpret. Unfortunately, Linant's copy adds little to that of Bénédite (Fig. 8/d), on which the reading in CIS is based, and any attempt to interpret this text can only be speculative. Linant and Bénédite do not agree on the end of the first name. It is difficult to see how the reading *'lkhnw* in CIS was achieved from Bénédite's copy and it is no more likely on that of Linant. Very tentatively we would suggest that, from the latter, the name could be *'lktyw*, though on Bénédite's copy the name appears to end in a *-h*. The first two letters in the next line do not resemble *br* on any of the copies (Linant makes the first a *š*) but it is difficult to see what else they can be. The second name is probably *nšgyw*, which is difficult to interpret, and CIS may be right to regard it as an error for the common *nšygw*.

20-22. CIS II 2739

(Stone n° 4005). Figs 4/20-22; 8/e; 9a/20-22; 9b/20-22.¹²²

The only other person known to have recorded these inscriptions was Lottin de Laval (in 1850) and it was from his somewhat confused transcription (Fig. 8/e) that these texts were published, as CIS II 2739-2740. Both Linant's field copies (Fig. 9a) and the fair copies made for the lithographer (Fig. 9b) have been preserved, as well as the transcription on the lithographic plate (Fig. 4/20-22), so it is possible to observe the complete process from field-work to printer. Comparison with Linant's transcriptions helps to clarify the reading. The arrangement of the inscriptions on Linant's copy, though untidy, is much more coherent than on Lottin de Laval's and seems likely to represent more accurately their relative positions on the stone. By comparing the two sets of copies the inscriptions can now be read as follows.

20. CIS II 2739 « a »

šl ---- {br}

21. CIS II 2739 « b »

Reading as CIS

šlm ḥnṭlw br nšnkyh b-tb

May Ḥantalū son of Našnakiyah be secure in well-being.

122. These were originally shown as n° 4 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

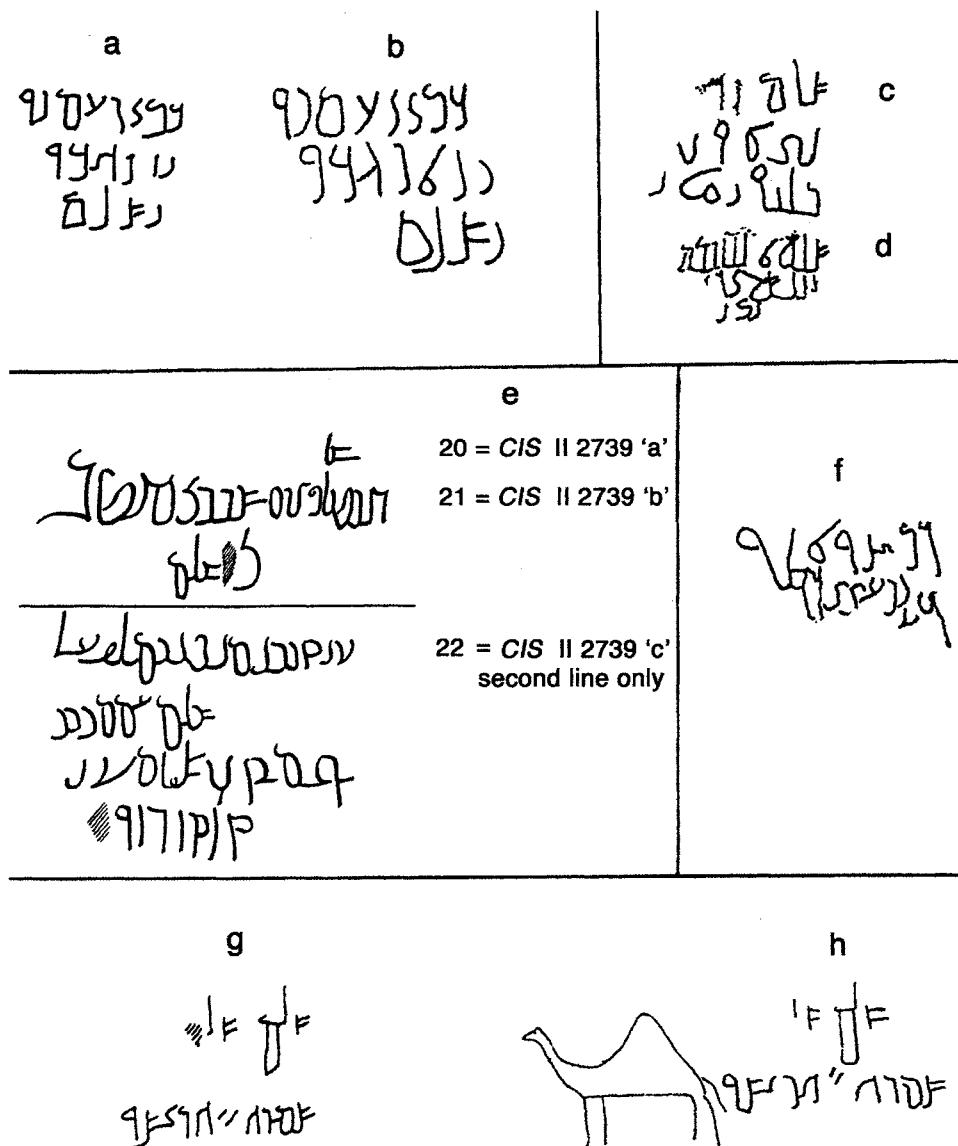


Fig. 8. — Copies by others of the same Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai. a. N° 17: Euting's copy (from EUTING 1891: pl. 35, n° 645). b. N° 17: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 750 from CIS II.1. Pl. LXVII). c. N° 18: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 2698 from CIS II.2. Pl. XL). d. N° 19: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 2699 from CIS II.2. Pl. XL). e. N° 21-22: Lottin de Laval's copies (= CIS II 2739-2740 from CIS II.2. Pl. XLII). f. N° 23: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 3205 from CIS II.2. Pl. LXVI). g. N° 24: Euting's copy (from EUTING 1891: pl. 1, n°s 1,2). h. N° 24: Bénédite's copy (= CIS II 3205 from CIS II.2. Pl. LXVI).

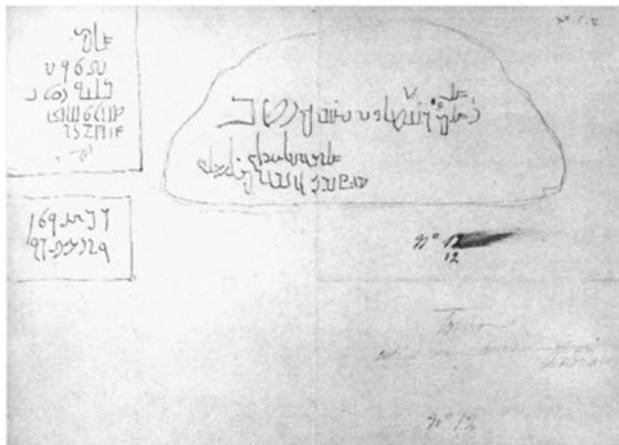


Fig. 9a. — Field copies by Linant de Bellefonds of Nabataean inscriptions (nos 18-23) from Wādī Hebrān (at present under study at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, W.J. Bankes papers n° XXXC.2).

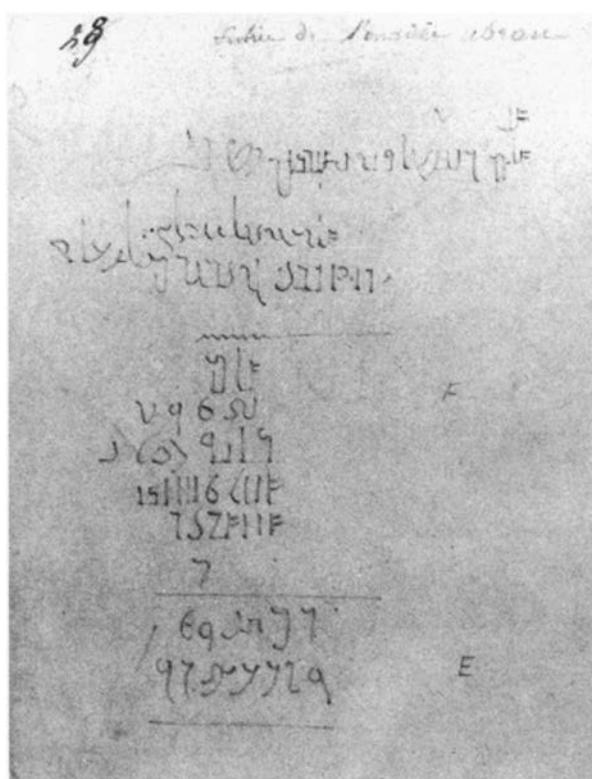


Fig. 9b. — Fair copies of the Nabataean inscriptions (nos 18-23) from Wādī Hebrān recorded by Linant de Bellefonds. (D/BKL XI.1).

Linant's field copy (Fig. 9a) is both more complete and more accurate than that of Lottin de Laval (Fig. 8/e). As well as providing a much more recognizable rendering of the letter-forms, it records four, rather than two, signs of an otherwise lost text (n° 20), and places the *šlm* at the beginning of the next line (n° 21), rather than below it (as on Lottin's copy, Fig. 8/e). The sign resembling a large Nabataean *y* to the right of the *šlm* in Lottin's transcription can be seen on Linant's field copy (Fig. 9a) to be a curve (surmounted by, but not joined to, a short vertical stroke) which seems to link nos 20 and 21. Unfortunately, this mark was not reproduced on the fair copy presented to the lithographer (Fig. 9b). On the other hand, the upper horizontal stroke of the *š* in the second name is missing from Linant's field-copy (Fig. 9a) but has been added on the sheet prepared for the lithographer (Fig. 9b) and is present on Banks' plate (Fig. 4/21).

22. CIS II 2739 « c »

Either Lottin or the editors of *CIS* omitted the first line of this text and combined the second line with one or more fragments of entirely different inscriptions, to make *CIS* II 2740. However, Linant's original copy provides the complete text for the first time and shows its relationship on the stone to 2739 « a » and « b ».

*šlm gr{m}lb{'ly
br n{š}nkyh br grmlb'ly*

*May Garmalba'li son of
Na{š}nakiyah son of Garmalba'li be
secure.*

Although the letters which are marked as doubtful above are incomplete or of peculiar form on Linant's copy, there can be little doubt of the correct reading.

23. CIS II 2720

(Stone n° 3986). **Figs 4/23; 8/f; 9a/23; 9b/23.**¹²³

Reading as *CIS*.

*dkyr w'lw
br 'yydw
w {'}----*

May Wa'alū son of 'Oyaydū be remembered and {'}----

Bénédite's transcription (**Fig. 8/f**) shows that Linant missed a *w* at the end of line one and that the curious backwards stroke at the base of the *b* in the second line is in fact part of the ' in the third.

***Linant's copy of a Nabataean inscription
from al-Nāqūs (Jabal Nāqūs¹²⁴)***

On his field copy (**Fig. 10a**) Linant wrote in pencil « J'ai vu des noms [?] écrits [?] dans l'année 1655 », with « N° 11 » written in ink over the word « l'année ». Below this, again in pencil, he had written « inscriptions sur un rocher où il y en a beaucoup d'autres et que l'on trouve près de Naqous ».

24. CIS II 3205

(Stone n° 7821). **Figs 4/24; 8/g-h; 10a; 10b.**¹²⁵

Reading as *CIS*.

*šlm šl----
šmrḥ br ḥryšw*

May [...] Šimrah son of Harišū be secure.

**BANKES' JOURNEYS IN THE ḤAWRĀN¹²⁶
MARCH 30TH TO APRIL 11TH (?) 1816, JANUARY 10TH (?) TO THE END OF FEBRUARY 1818**

Bankes' first visit to the villages and ruined sites of the Ḥawrān was made in 1816, between approximately March 30th and April 11th.¹²⁷ He was accompanied by his trusted servant and interpreter, Giovanni Finati, who gives a short account of the journey in his *Life and Adventures*.¹²⁸ Bad weather and other considerations caused Bankes to cut short this first visit, but two years later, between about January 10th and the end of February 1818, he made a « more extensive and complete » examination of the area.¹²⁹ This time he was accompanied only by local men and, as he left no diary or other record of the journey, his drawings, copies of inscriptions and notes, now in the W.J. Bankes Collections in the Dorset Record Office at Dorchester, along with the lithographic stones

123. This was originally shown as n° 11 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

124. Linant calls it « al-Naqous » on his copies, but Euting copied the same inscription at the foot of Jabal Nāqūs. For a description of this place and the location of the inscription see EUTING 1891: 1. Euting recorded two Greek (his n°s 2b and 2e) one Kufic (his n° 2d) and two inscriptions which he could not identify (his n°s 2a and 2c) at this place, but the Greek and Arabic texts and the drawing of the ship copied by Linant appear to be unpublished. For the Greek see Appendix D, n° 2, and for the Arabic see Appendix F, n° 2.

125. This was originally shown as n° 7 on the proof of Bankes' lithographed plate.

126. A fuller account of Bankes' journeys and work in the Ḥawrān can be found in LEWIS, SARTRE-FAURIAT & SARTRE 1996: 60-64, SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004. See also BOWSHER 1997 for Bankes' explorations in the Decapolis.

127. FINATI 1830, II: 160-168. Finati's « five weeks » (1830, II: 168) is an error and should read « two weeks », cf. BUCKINGHAM 1825: 347, 643-644.

128. FINATI 1830, II: 160-168. On Finati see note 103.

129. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 283, 296; FINATI 1830, II: 223.

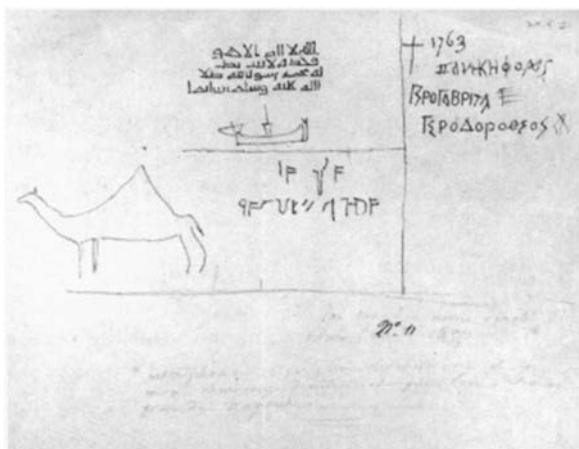


Fig. 10a. — Field-copies by Linant de Bellefonds of inscriptions in Arabic (Appendix F, n° 2), Nabataean (n° 24), and Greek (Appendix D, n° 2) from al-Naqūs/Jabal Nāqūs (at present under study at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, W.J. Bankes papers n° XXC.3).

at Kingston Lacy, are virtually the only sources of information we have about his second sojourn in the region. Almost every drawing and copy of an inscription is marked in Bankes' hand with the name of the place at which it was made and often extensive notes, and although none of the documents is dated we can be reasonably sure that most of them were the product of his second visit. Together they constitute a remarkable record of the architecture and epigraphy of the area.¹³⁰

Bankes was not only one of the first European travellers to visit the Ḥawrān, but he was by far the most active in recording its monuments and inscriptions. Indeed, it is astonishing that he managed to achieve so much in two short visits.¹³¹ The quantity of material he recorded, and the accuracy with which he did so, remained unsurpassed until the major expeditions of Wetzstein, Waddington and de Vogué, forty years later. As well as recording over three hundred Greek and Latin and four Arabic inscriptions in the Ḥawrān,¹³²

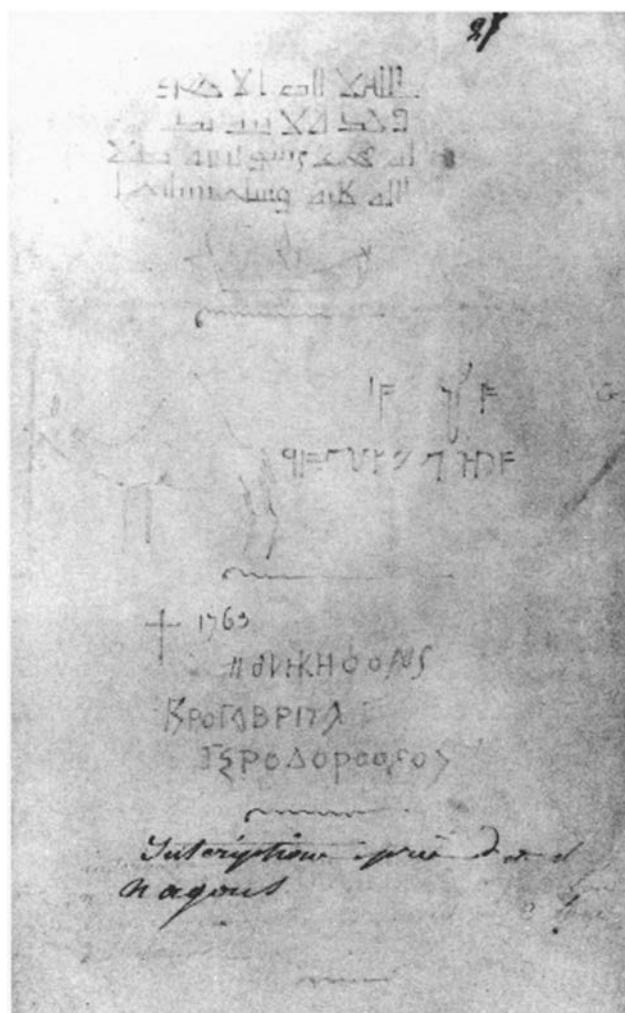


Fig. 10b. — Fair copies of the inscriptions in Arabic (Appendix F, n° 2), Nabataean (n° 24), and Greek (Appendix D, n° 2) from Al-Naqūs/Jabal Nāqūs recorded by Linant de Bellefonds. (D/BKL XI.2).

130. Bankes' architectural and archaeological notes, plans, and drawings from his visits to the Ḥawrān are published in SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004.

131. Although the notes on his drawings are the only written record of his more successful second visit, Bankes' description of the finds made on his first, two week, journey to the Ḥawrān gives a vivid impression of the energy with which he pursued his researches, despite the « wintry weather which has distressed me very much » (Bankes' letter to J.S. Buckingham of April 12, 1816, printed in BUCKINGHAM 1825: 643-644).

132. For the Greek, Latin and Arabic inscriptions see LEWIS, SARTRE-FAURIAT & SARTRE 1996.

Bankes also copied eleven Aramaic texts, some of the first to have been found in the region. Before his journeys, seven Aramaic inscriptions had been copied there.¹³³ Bankes recopied five of these and added another six texts, for five of which his copies remain the only known record.¹³⁴

Nine of Bankes' eleven copies of Aramaic inscriptions from the Ḥawrān were transcribed onto lithographic stones where they appear among the Greek and Latin texts from the same region. The other two (n^os 34 and 35) are on loose sheets in the archive among his field copies and fair copies of Greek and Latin inscriptions, architectural drawings and notes.¹³⁵

Bankes' transcriptions of Aramaic texts from the Ḥawrān are the most difficult of his copies to interpret. However, this is by no means his fault. Comparison of his copies with those of his predecessors and successors¹³⁶ and with the originals, when these have survived,¹³⁷ shows them to be careful records of the texts. The basalt of the Ḥawrān particularly that quarried for large building blocks, generally provides a rough and often pitted surface¹³⁸ which is difficult to inscribe and from which it is difficult to read,¹³⁹ and this presents great problems for a copyist, particularly one who does not know the script.

This might explain why Bankes does not seem to have identified the script of the Aramaic texts he copied in the Ḥawrān with that of the graffiti he had seen in Sinai and the inscription he was to discover in Petra.¹⁴⁰ It was only forty years later, when Wetzstein had copied more and clearer texts in the Ḥawrān, that a connection with the Nabataean script was proposed.¹⁴¹ However, it is now recognized that this identification was not necessarily correct and that many of the texts in the Ḥawrān are in local varieties of the Aramaic script, rather than in « Nabataean » *stricto sensu*.¹⁴² In the local scripts some of the letter forms are different from their equivalents in Nabataean (e.g. the squat, square or triangular *aleph*, *hē* open at the bottom even in final position, etc.) and the letters are usually of a uniform height and generally not joined. The overall impression of an inscription in one of these scripts is therefore rather different from that presented by a Nabataean text, as can be seen by comparing the transcriptions on Figs. 4-10 (Sinai) and 14-17 (Petra) with those on 11-13 (Ḥawrān). It is therefore possible that Bankes recognized this difference in overall appearance and, for this reason, did not associate the script of the texts he copied in the Ḥawrān with that of the inscriptions in Sinai and at Petra. If this is correct, it would demonstrate once again his extraordinarily acute eye.

133. Bankes was preceded by Seetzen, who had visited the Ḥawrān in 1805 and had copied one inscription at Qanawāt (1854-1859, I: 80). Burckhardt had copied the same text and three others during his journey in 1810 (1822: 84, 88, 90, 95) and a fifth at Boṣrā on his visit in 1812 (1822: 233). Von Richter had transcribed one at Ezra' in 1815 (1822: 557, n^o 173) and Buckingham copied one at Suwaydā' in 1816 immediately before Bankes' first journey (1825: 236).

134. See the concordance in Appendix C.

135. A preliminary note on the nine copies mentioned above was published by Macdonald as Appendix I (pp. 97-98) to LEWIS, SARTRE-FAURIAT & SARTRE 1996. An enlarged and corrected version is included here for the sake of completeness, with the addition of n^os 34 and 35 which were found among the Dorchester papers after that article had gone to press. This section therefore supersedes the earlier publication.

136. See, for instance, n^o 35 of which we have three copies all of which defy interpretation.

137. See, for instance, n^o 29.

138. The smooth almost « oily » surfaces, so often used for Safaitic inscriptions, rarely occur in the basalt of the outcrops used as quarries and are more often found on loose rocks or groups of boulders above ground level which are generally of irregular shapes and unsuitable for use as building blocks. Moreover, the rougher basalt is much easier for masons to work than the denser varieties which therefore tend to be avoided.

139. See, for instance, n^o 34 where even Littmann's reading (LPNab 96), which is based on his copy, a photograph and a squeeze, is fragmentary and uncertain.

140. Bankes identified the script of the Nabataean inscription he transcribed in Petra as being the same as that of the graffiti he copied in Sinai and, in his proposed publication, the Petra and Sinai texts were shown together on the same plate. However, the Aramaic texts he copied in the Ḥawrān were shown on the plates illustrating the Greek and Latin inscriptions from that region and were not gathered together for comparison with those from Petra and Sinai. This suggests that he did not think of them as being in the same script.

141. Wetzstein himself identified these texts as being « clearly in an ancient Semitic script and belonging to the class which recently people have taken to calling 'Nabataean inscriptions' » (1859: 174 = 1860: 66).

142. See STARCKY 1966: 930; 1985: 173; and MACDONALD 2003: 54-56.

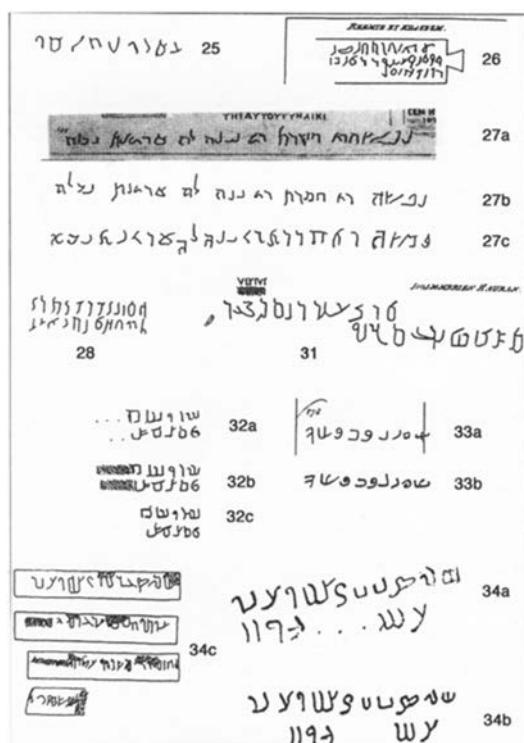


Fig. 11. — N°s 25-28, 31-34. N° 25. Bankes' copy, from the proof sheet. N° 26 Bankes' copy, from the proof sheet. N° 27a. Bankes' copy, from the lithographic stone (Kingston Lacy, photograph of the lithographic stone n° 8 the image has been reversed to show the « positive »). N° 27b. de Vogué's copy (from de VOGÜÉ 1868-1877: 90 and pl. 13, n° 1). N° 27c. Buckingham's copy (from BUCKINGHAM 1825: 236). N° 28. Bankes' copy, from the proof sheet. N° 31. Bankes' copy, from the proof sheet. N° 32a. Bankes' hand copy (D/BKL V.L.8). N° 32b. The lithographed version of Bankes' copy, from the proof sheet. N° 32c. Burckhardt's copy (from BURCKHARDT 1822: 90) N° 33a. Bankes' copy, from the proof sheet. N° 33b. Burckhardt's copy (from BURCKHARDT 1822: 88). N° 34a. Bankes' field copy (D/BKL V.L.13). N° 34b. Burckhardt's copy (from BURCKHARDT 1822: 95). N° 34c. Littmann's facsimile (from LITTMANN 1914: 71, n° 96).

*Rīmat al-Lohf, in the Leğā,
10 kms west-south-west of Shahbā'*

25. Unpublished.

Fig. 11/25.¹⁴³

'mnw br tymw

'Amanū son of Taymū

*Rīmat Hāzim,¹⁴⁴
7 kms north-north-west of Suwaydā'*

26. Unpublished.

Fig. 11/26.¹⁴⁵

---] 'h {n/b} {h} {.} t {h/t} l {.} l [----
w w 'lw' {b} {n/d/r} w d/r d/r 'l p/k {z} [----
d/r {.} {n/b} {.} hn/b {'} l [---- ?

Three lines within a *tabula ansata* of which the left side appears to have been missing. The copy is more or less unintelligible. The position of the first letter on the copy suggests that something is missing at the beginning. The beginning of the second line might very tentatively be read *w w 'lw' {bd} w ... « and Wa 'ilū made ... »*, assuming that another person has already been named at the end of the first line.¹⁴⁶ It is probable that the third line does not run as far as the previous two, but it is impossible to tell whether Bankes copied everything that was there.

Suwaydā'

27. CIS II 162.

Fig. 11/27a-27c.¹⁴⁷

Reading as CIS

npš dy hmrt dy bnh l-h 'dynt b'l-h

*The funerary monument of Hamrat
which Odaynat her husband erected for
her.*

143. This text is numbered 66 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Reema al Lohf, Ledja ».

144. This is the transliteration in the Official Standard Names Gazetteer (32 45' N 36 32' E). On his plate, Bankes calls it « Reemie et [sic, a misprint for « el »] Hazzem », presumably representing *rīmah al-hāzim*. However, Burckhardt gives the name in transliteration as « Rima el Hezam » and *rīmat al-hizām* in the Arabic script (1822: 79), and notes that it was also called *rīmā al-balhal*, which is how it appears on his map (*ibid.* opposite p. 51).

145. This text is numbered 135 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Reemie et Hazzem ».

146. An example of 'bdw « they made » in another text from the Hawrān can be found in STARCKY 1985: 180.

147. This text is numbered 144 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Souaydah ».

This is the Aramaic section of a Greek/Aramaic bilingual funerary inscription. Bankes recorded both parts and the last line of the Greek can be seen on Fig. 11/27a above the Aramaic.¹⁴⁸ The text was also copied by Buckingham¹⁴⁹ (see Fig. 11/27c) and de Vogüé (Fig. 11/27b)¹⁵⁰ and was published in *CIS* from a squeeze made by Waddington.¹⁵¹ The text is badly carved and Bankes' copy (Fig. 11/27a), though omitting a few strokes, is fairly true to the original.

Dayr Khulayf
17 kms west-south-west of Suwaydā'

28. Unpublished.

Fig. 11/28.¹⁵²

A two-line text which is printed upside down on Bankes' plate, presumably because this was how he found it.

*h {m} {t} y {d/r} {d/r} {y} k t d y [---
{l}{r/d} {w} {.} h ' l/n h b/n/l {.} {'} {l} [---*

It is difficult to make any coherent sense of this.

Salkhad

29. CIS II 182.

Figs 12a; 12b/(i)-(iii).¹⁵³

When Waddington copied this inscription in 1860, the stone was built into the wall of a church above the main door.¹⁵⁴ It is probable that it was in the same position some forty years earlier when it was seen by Bankes. It is now in the Suwaydā' Museum.¹⁵⁵

Reading as *CIS*, interpretation as MILIK 1958: 228, following CLERMONT-GANNEAU 1898: 373.



Fig. 12a. — Photograph of *CIS* II 182 (Suwaydā' Museum reg. n° 377) = Bankes n° 29 here.
(Photograph M.C.A. Macdonald).

148. The Greek (=Wadd 2320) is n° 143 on the proof of Bankes' plate.

149. BUCKINGHAM 1825: 236.

150. DE VOGÜÉ 1868-1877: pl. 13, n° 1 and see pp. 89-90.

151. *CIS* II.1, pl. XXIII, n° 162. This does not reproduce very well and so de Vogüé's copy, which is almost identical to the squeeze, has been used on Fig. 11/27b.

152. This text is numbered 185 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Derr Ebn Claef ».

153. This text is numbered 237 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Salkhat-Hauran ».

154. See DE VOGÜÉ 1868-1877: 107.

155. Suwaydā' Museum registration n° 377.

1. *dnh byt' dy bn̄h rw̄hw br mlkw¹⁵⁶ br 'klbw br rw̄hw l-'lt 'lht-hm¹⁵⁷*
2. *dy b-slh̄dw¹⁵⁸ dy nṣb rw̄hw br qsyw¹⁵⁹ 'm rw̄hw¹⁶⁰ dnh dy 'l¹⁶¹*
3. *b-yr̄h'b¹⁶² šnt 'šr¹⁶³ {w-}šb' l-mnkw¹⁶⁴ mlk nb̄tw¹⁶⁵ br h̄rtt mlk nb̄tw r̄h[m] 'm-h*

1. *This is the temple which Rūhū son of Malikū son of 'Aklabū son of Rūhū built for Allāt, their goddess*
2. *who is in Ṣalkhadū, which Rūhū son of Qaṣiyū, ancestor of this Rūhū mentioned above, (originally) set up.*
3. *In the month of Ab in the seventeenth year of Mankū king of Nabataea, son of Haretat king of Nabataea who loved his people.*

Bankes' field copy of this text does not survive and we have only the version reproduced by the lithographer. To judge from those Sinai inscriptions where both the original copy and the lithograph are available, it is possible that some of the small inaccuracies in the transcription may have been introduced in the transfer to the lithographic plate, though obviously there is no way this can be proved.

It is instructive to compare Bankes' transcription (Fig. 12b/i) with the photograph (Fig. 12a) and with the copies of Waddington (Fig. 12b/ii)¹⁶⁶ and Schroeder (Fig. 12b/iii),¹⁶⁷ both of which were made after the script had been deciphered. The basalt block on which the inscription is carved is pitted and rough and there is no contrast between the incisions and the surrounding stone. The letters only show up well in a slanting light and even then the unevenness of the surface casts confusing shadows. If the stone was already set in the wall above the church door when Bankes saw it, he would have had to copy it from a distance and at a steep angle, with no control over the lighting. Given this and the fact that he was copying an unfamiliar and undeciphered script, the accuracy of his transcription is remarkable.

30. Unpublished.

Fig. 12b/30.¹⁶⁸

br {q}{s}yw br

An incomplete text possibly from an architectural fragment, like CIS II 167.¹⁶⁹ The reading is uncertain and can be no more than a suggestion. The name *qsyw* is found in several texts from the Ḥawrān including others from Ṣalkhad.¹⁷⁰

156. Bankes did not see the head of the *k* and joined the top of its stem to the stem of the preceding *l* making a letter like a *h*.
157. On the original, the letters are rather compressed at the end of the line and Bankes was not able to disentangle the last two signs, but he drew *'lt 'lht* very accurately.
158. The reading suggested by STARCKY (1985: 176), in place of the earlier *slhd w dy*...
159. The *q* and the *y* are given almost the same shape on Bankes' copy and in both cases this is inaccurate.
160. Bankes omitted the top of the *h*.
161. Of the three copies, Bankes' is the only one to represent the last four letters of this line exactly.
162. The tail of the *'* is missing in Bankes' copy.
163. It can be seen on the photograph that the fork of the *'* is indeed joined as shown on Bankes' copy, though the tail is much longer. The rest of the word is partially obscured by a large chip in the surface of the stone and this is marked by a space on Bankes' copy. He thus omitted altogether the *š* and *r* of *'šr* and the following *w*, which is anyway practically invisible on the stone. His copy begins again after the space with *šb' l-mnkw*.
164. CIS, of course, reads *mlkw* but the distinction between *l* and *n* is very clear in *l-mnkw mlk*.
165. Bankes incorrectly reproduced the *n* and the *b* of this word as an *'*.
166. Published in DE VOGUÉ 1868-1877: 107-112, pl. 14.
167. SCHROEDER 1884: 532-533, pl. 2 and reproduced in CIS II.1. pl. XXV, n° 182.
168. This text is numbered 239 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Salkhat-Hauran ».
169. See CIS II.1, pl. XXIII.
170. See n° 29 above (= CIS II 182) and MILIK 1958: 227, n° 1 (= CIS II 183+184). NEGEV (1991: 58, n° 1037) gives the total number of occurrences of this personal name in the Ḥawrān as twelve. However, this is the result of double counting. The true figure is nine (including the present text, the partial restoration in CIS II 170/4 and the two examples in MILIK 1958: 227, n° 1). In addition there are two possible cases of *Qsyw* as a « tribal » name, one in CIS II 165 (where the context has been lost) and the other in LPNab 11 where the *q* is restored.

Gimrīn,
immediately north of Boṣrā

31. Unpublished.

Fig. 11/31. ¹⁷¹

The copy appears to be incomplete and is not easy to read. I would suggest:

----] 'dy 'bd dnh m{s}gd [----
----]m šyz{p/k}{'} bd/rgh {d}nw [----
...] ' who made this, the altar of [...]

Although most of the letters in the second line are clear, the context is so fragmentary that it is difficult to make sense of them. ¹⁷²

N°s 32, 33 and 34 were first copied by Burckhardt during his journey through the Hawrān in 1810 and were published in his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* in 1822. Inexplicably, they reappeared in Laborde's *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* in 1830 on the plate showing inscriptions and drawings from Wādī Mukattab. ¹⁷³

Hebrān

32. CIS II 172

Fig. 11/32a-32c. ¹⁷⁴

{n/b}{m}rw {n/b}{k}{z/l/n} {h/m}{...}
{'!}{h/m}{s/š/'}{h/'}š{...}

A fragmentary inscription of which we possess what is probably Bankes' hand copy (Fig. 11/32a) and the lithographed version (Fig. 11/32b). CIS published Burckhardt's copy (Fig. 11/32c) ¹⁷⁵ but did not attempt a reading. Littmann suggested reading {lm}l(ykt) br. //mn' šl[m] « By Mal(eikat), the son of (?) ... // the architect. Peace! » ¹⁷⁶ However, this required considerable emendation and is not convincing. Bankes' transcription (Fig. 11/32a), which is almost identical to Burckhardt's, strengthens confidence in the accuracy of the latter, and makes it even less likely that Littmann's proposal is correct. Unfortunately, the text remains unintelligible.

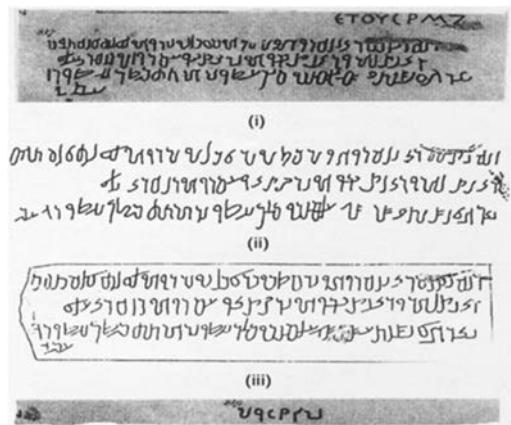


Fig.12b. — N° 29 (= CIS II 182): (i) Bankes' copy, from the lithographic stone (Kingston Lacy, photograph of the lithographic stone, n° 12. The image has been reversed to show the « positive »). (ii) Waddington's copy (from DE VOGÜÉ 1868-1877: pl. 14, n° 6). (iii) Schroeder's copy (= CIS II 182, from CIS II.1. pl. XXV). N°30. Bankes copy, from the lithographic stone (Kingston Lacy, photograph of the lithographic stone, n° 12. The image has been reversed to show the « positive »).

171. This text is numbered 260 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Dgimmerien Hauran ».

172. Despite the sequence š-y-z it clearly does not constitute the formula dy 'yy w-šyb 'm-h, the title of Rabbel II.

173. N°s 33 and 34 were reproduced as coming from Wādī Mukkateb, on CIS II.1 Pl. C, where they were treated as part of C 1451 but were not read. They also appear on CIS II.1 Pl. XXV as n°s 189 and 188 respectively, in their correct context, the Hawrān.

174. This text is numbered 273 on the proof of Bankes' plate showing inscriptions from « Hebrawn »

175. BURCKHARDT 1822: 90.

176. LITTMANN 1904: 95. This was reproduced as RES 807, though with Chabot's caveat « la lecture de la 2^e ligne est très probable, mais celle de la 1^{re} est purement conjecturale et corrige toutes les lettres de la copie, sauf le *m*. »

'Ayrah

33. CIS II 189.

Figs 11/33a-33b.¹⁷⁷

A second inscription otherwise known only from a copy by Burckhardt¹⁷⁸ (see **Fig. 11/33/b**) and published without a reading in *CIS*. Again, Banks' copy (**Fig. 11/33/a**) is very similar to Burckhardt's and, unfortunately, is no help in interpreting the text.

*Sahwat al-Khidr,*¹⁷⁹
7 kms east of Hebrān

34. CIS II 188.

Fig. 11/34a-34c.

This appears to be a field copy¹⁸⁰ which was not lithographed. It represents part of an inscription which runs round four faces of a cubic altar reused as the abacus of a column in the church dedicated to St. George/al-Khidr.¹⁸¹ Banks copied only the first line and part of the second of the Aramaic text (**Fig. 11/34a**), as had Burckhardt in 1810 (**Fig. 11/34b**).¹⁸² A more complete copy was made by Waddington in 1861 and this was published in *CIS*. In 1901 Dussaud and Macler published squeezes they had made of all four sides¹⁸³ and in 1914, Littmann published the most complete reading so far (LPNab 96), based on his copy, squeeze and photograph.¹⁸⁴ However, the inscription was in such bad condition that even this is far from complete. The following reading is based on the facsimile published by Littmann (**Fig. 11/34c**) but differs in places from his reading:

A. [d]nh msgd' dy bnh w 'bd
 B 'wtw h{prk'} br gwm{'} ----
 C { }{h/h}z{n/b}{d/r}----mšp{t} 'l{h/t}----
 D ---- šnt 10 { . }----

This is the altar which 'Awtu {the hipparch?} son of Gūm{ā}... constructed and made ... Mšp{t} ... year 10 {+ 5?}----¹⁸⁵

See the commentary in LITTMANN 1914: 71-74. Burckhardt's and Banks' transcriptions are almost identical and the differences between them and Littmann's facsimile illustrate the extremely poor state of the inscription itself.

177. This text is numbered 278 on the proof of Banks' plate showing inscriptions from « Airy ».

178. 1822: 88. Burckhardt evidently showed Banks his copies of the inscriptions he had found in the Hawrān and Banks made a list of the first and last words in them (D/BKL V N 1). He subsequently found most of these texts and made his own copies, sometimes noting the differences between his and Burckhardt's readings. There are only two Nabataean inscriptions in this list, this text (n° 33) and one from Qanawāt (*CIS* II 169), reproduced on BURCKHARDT 1822: 84, which Banks apparently did not find.

179. This is the form given in the Official Standard Names Gazetteer, though Burckhardt records the same pronunciation as Banks, (viz. « Zahouet el Khoudher ») in both the Arabic script and in transliteration (1822: 94-95).

180. D/BKL V L 13 recto, see SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004: 124-125.

181. One of the Greek inscriptions recorded by Banks in the same place is a dedication to St. George (WADD 1981).

182. BURCKHARDT 1822: 95.

183. DUSSAUD & MACLER 1901: 161-164, n° 30.

184. LITTMANN 1914: 71-74, n° 96.

185. We have omitted Littmann's restorations of the parts of the text which have been lost.

Ezra^c

35. CIS II 186.

Fig. 13/35a-35d.

An inscription of four lines re-used, upside down, in the sheikh's house at Ezra^c. It was copied by von Richter in 1815 (Fig. 13/35c),¹⁸⁶ by Banks in 1816 and/or in 1818 (Fig. 13/35a-35b) and finally by Waddington between 1861 and 1862 (Fig. 13/35d).¹⁸⁷ It has since disappeared. There are two different transcriptions of this text in the Bankses archive. One (Fig. 13/35a), which appears to be an original field copy, is on a loose leaf headed « Ezra shech's house ».¹⁸⁸ The other (Fig. 13/35b), which is perhaps a fair copy prepared for the lithographer, is on a large sheet of paper together with two Greek texts,¹⁸⁹ a fragmentary Arabic inscription,¹⁹⁰ drawings of architectural features, and the plan of a house at Ezra^c, together with extensive notes on the drawings, in Bankses' hand.¹⁹¹ His note on the Aramaic text reads: « Ezra. Inscription built into the wall of the Shech's house, the characters may be upside down, but I have copied them as they stand. »¹⁹² The recognition that the text was probably upside-down is very perceptive considering that Bankses was not a Semitist and the script was undeciphered.

There are many differences between the four transcriptions of this text. To take just one example: on the basis of Waddington's copy, de Vogüé read the first word as the name *whb'l*.¹⁹³ While this is clear on Waddington's copy (Fig. 13/35d) and very probable on von Richter's (35c), it would not be possible on either of Bankses' versions which have two (in 35b) or three (35a) lines between the « *h* » and the ' . The considerable differences between the four transcriptions suggest that the original may have been in bad condition with a number of extraneous lines and other blemishes. The two extant Bankses versions differ in so many ways that it seems probable that Bankses made two attempts at copying the inscription in different lights, perhaps one in 1816 and the other in 1818,¹⁹⁴ and that the fair copy is based on a field copy now lost.¹⁹⁵

Waddington's copy, was published in CIS and has so far defied interpretation. Unfortunately, neither of Bankses' transcriptions helps to elucidate the text.

THE JOURNEY TO PETRA

Bankses' journey from Jerusalem to Petra and thence northwards through the length of Trans-Jordan to Jerash was the last and most ambitious of his Syrian ventures. It was also the only one about which we have abundant information, largely because he and his companions kept a detailed journal throughout. The original manuscript — one hundred and eighty-two pages in two large hand-sown notebooks — is now in the W.J. Bankses

186. VON RICHTER 1822: n° X on the plate opposite p. 556; description on p. 173. His copy, like that of Bankses, shows the inscription to have been enclosed in a *tabula ansata*, a detail omitted by Waddington.

187. See DE VOGUÉ 1868-1877: pl. 15, n° 13.

188. D/BKL V.E.11, see SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004: 84,87.

189. One is Wadd 2489 (n° 221 in M. Sartre's forthcoming *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, XV). The other is an unpublished text of seven lines which, according to Bankses' notes on the drawing, was « lying loose in the street ». This will be published in the same volume, with the number 204 (?), see SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004: 196.

190. This is apparently unpublished.

191. D/BKL V.E.9. This sheet is illustrated in SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004: 82 and Pl. XIII.

192. Both of Bankses' transcriptions, as well as von Richter's copy which was published upside down, are shown the right way up on Fig 13.

193. DE VOGUÉ 1868-1877: 124, n°13.

194. We know from Finati and Buckingham that Bankses visited Ezra^c in 1816, and it is almost certain that he returned there during his journey in the Hawrān in 1818, for he left many drawings, including elaborate plans of houses, which must have taken a considerable time to produce.

195. It may be noted that we have none of Bankses' field-copies of the Nabataean inscriptions which he recorded in Wādī Mukkatib, Sinai, which are to be found on the lithographic plate, and it is possible that it was his habit to destroy the field copies as the fair copies were finished.

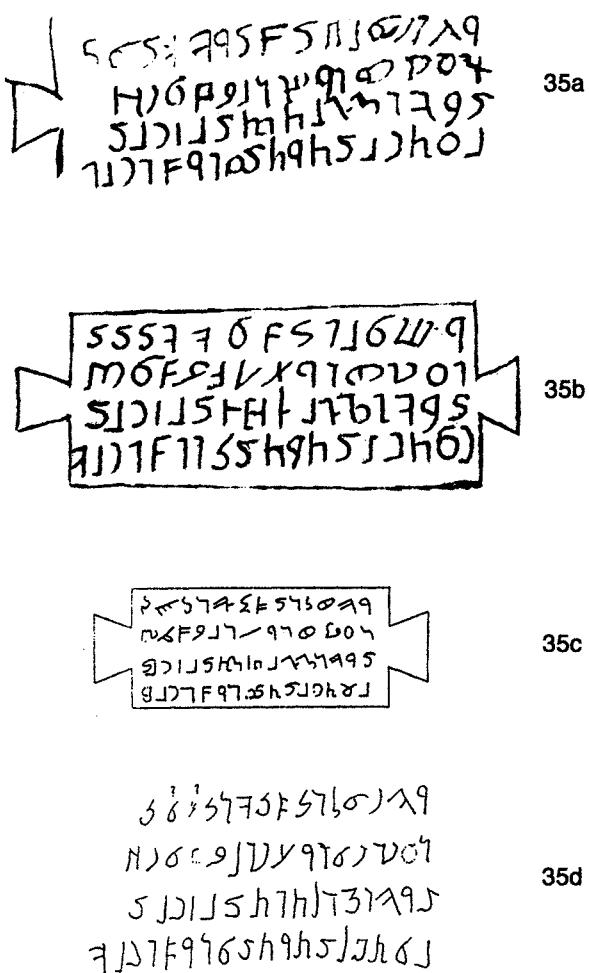


Fig. 13. — № 35 (= CIS II 186) from Ezra'. № 35a. Bankes' hand copy (D/BKL V.E.11). № 35b. Bankes' fair copy (D/BKL V.E.9). № 35c. von Richter's published copy (1822: n° X on the plate opposite p. 556). № 35d. Waddington's published copy (DE VOGUÉ 1868-1877: pl. 15, n° 13).

Collections in the Dorset Record Office at Dorchester.¹⁹⁶ The outer covers of the notebooks bear notes in Bankes' hand, and initialled by him, stating that part of the text was « taken down by the Honble. C.L. Irby from my dictation ... and part in my own hand. »¹⁹⁷ In addition, some preliminary notes on the first day in Petra have survived. They are in Bankes' hand, written in pen and pencil, on both sides of a single sheet of paper, and were almost certainly jotted down in the field.¹⁹⁸ Irby and Mangles included in their *Travels*¹⁹⁹ an account of the journey which closely resembles that of the journal. Shorter narratives were published by two other members of the expedition, Thomas Legh and Giovanni Finati,²⁰⁰ and the W.J. Bankes Collections in the Dorset Record Office contains a number of shorter manuscript notes which supplement the main narratives.²⁰¹ Leon de Laborde and Linant de Bellefonds gleaned some further information about the expedition from their Arab guides during their journey to Petra ten years later, in 1828,²⁰² and in 1836, the « sheik of Aqaba » gave John Lloyd Stephens, the first American to visit Petra, an improbable account of Bankes' visit in which he claimed to have been involved as a young man.²⁰³

Bankes had spent much of 1817 in Asia Minor and Constantinople and then decided to return to Syria. In a letter written from Cyprus on 15th October 1817 he told Burckhardt that he wanted to see and do more in several parts of the country, including the Hawrān and Trans-Jordan, and that he was determined to explore the country beyond the Dead Sea « should any opening occur to make it practicable ». He would, he said, spare no expense or trouble to achieve this.²⁰⁴

196. Travel Journal D/BKL: HJ4/19 and 20, here referred to simply as « Journal ».

197. Irby was one of two naval officers of about his own age with whom Bankes had first become acquainted on November 25th 1817 and who, with his friend James Mangles, had already been in Bankes' company for almost three months before they travelled together to Petra.

198. This sheet is among the Bankes papers at present under study in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum. It is numbered XXI F10 in the *List of previously unidentified miscellaneous manuscripts from William John Bankes' portfolio on Egypt and Nubia* compiled by Patricia Usick. It will be referred to here as « Draft Journal ». We are most grateful to Mr Andrew Bush of the National Trust for permission to have a photocopy made of this sheet. This photocopy is now permanently stored with the original document, so that it can be used to make future copies when needed.

199. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 296-336.

200. Legh in MACMICHAEL 1819: 187-294; FINATTI 1830, II: 234-277.

201. D/BKL HJ4/14, 21, 23, 24 and 25.

202. LABORDE 1830: 54; 1836: 144-146.

203. The «sheik of Aqaba»: STEPHENS 1838, I: 215-216; 1970: 140. The story about Bankes' expedition: STEPHENS 1838, II: 75-76; 1970: 265-266.

204. Letter of Bankes to Burckhardt 15th October 1817, D/BKL HJ1/75. It seems very probable that news of Burckhardt's death in Cairo, which occurred on the day that this letter was written, reached Bankes before he had an opportunity to send the letter; it therefore remained among his papers. Finati also noted that the Petra expedition was « the principal object of Mr. Bankes' wishes and was indeed the occasion of his return to Syria » (1830, II: 234).

Bankes had with him notes of Burckhardt's itinerary of 1812: southward through Trans-Jordan to Karak and thence to Wādī Mūsā and Petra. Bankes thought that it might be possible to follow the same track to Petra and then return to Karak, go round the southern end of the Dead Sea and finally travel to Jerusalem via Hebron. With Irby and Mangles, he made what seems to have been an inadequately planned and badly executed attempt to do this in March 1818. They started from Jerash but got no further than Salt, where, having fallen out with the Banī Ṣakhr Bedouin, whom Bankes had paid to conduct them to Karak, they abandoned the attempt and retreated to Jerusalem.²⁰⁵

Once in Jerusalem they decided to attempt the journey in the opposite direction and made serious preparations to do so. They were now joined by Thomas Legh, a veteran traveller,²⁰⁶ and by Bankes' invaluable servant, Finati, whom Bankes had summoned from Egypt. After making fruitless efforts to obtain authorizations from Ottoman officials they resolved to go ahead without official backing, trusting in their « numbers and force » and negotiating with local sheikhs as they went.²⁰⁷

In the event all went well. The party, including servants and guides, numbered eleven persons, well armed²⁰⁸ and carrying sufficient « small gold coins ... concealed in leathern belts round the waist next the body »²⁰⁹ to meet the anticipated expenses of the journey. They rode out of Jerusalem on the evening of 6th May, travelled through Hebron, rounded the southern end of the Dead Sea and reached Karak with relatively little trouble. There, they were fortunate enough to secure the guidance and (sometimes uncertain) support of Yūsuf Mağālī, « the lord of Karak ».²¹⁰ It was as well that Bankes and his companions did not know that, six years earlier, this same Yūsuf Mağālī had ill-treated Burckhardt shamefully,²¹¹ for they took to him as soon as they met him and entrusted themselves to his care without hesitation. They discovered his faults as time went on, but his behaviour towards them was not overly bad and, as Irby and Mangles said, it is doubtful if they would have reached Petra safely without him.²¹²

Mağālī rode with them to Shawbak and to the camp of Muḥammad Abū Rashīd (or Ibn Rashīd²¹³ the forceful young sheikh of a section of the Ḥūwaytāt, the dominant Bedouin tribe of the area south and east of Shawbak). The latter readily agreed to take them to Wādī Mūsā. Unfortunately, Abū Zayfūn, the sheikh of Wādī Mūsā, who

205. The only detailed account of this journey is given in IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 309-329.

206. For Legh's previous journeys see LEGH 1816 and MACMICHAEL 1819. Legh had accompanied MacMichael on his journey from Moscow to Constantinople, after which he went on to Jerusalem where he met Bankes. Chapter Four of MacMichael's book is an account of the Petra journey written in the first person as if by Legh; in fact, however, it was « composed » by MacMichael on the basis of what Legh had told him (MACMICHAEL 1819: 184).

207. The period in Jerusalem is described by IRBY & MANGLES (1823: 329-339), by FINATI (1830, II: 224-234), and by Legh (in MACMICHAEL 1819: 188-194).

208. IRBY & MANGLES (1823: 339) list « six muskets, one blunderbuss, five brace of pistols, and two sabres ».

209. *ibid.*

210. Journal, II: 71, cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 460.

211. BURCKHARDT 1822: 378-408.

212. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 475.

213. Abū Rashīd was the name of the section of the Ḥūwaytāt of which Muḥammad was the shaykh (VON OPPENHEIM 1939-1968, II: 306, n. 7). Some of the travellers who met him called him « Ibn Rashīd » and others « Abū Rashīd ». BURCKHARDT (1822: 417) gave the name in Arabic and transliterated it as « Ibn Rashyd » while Legh (in MACMICHAEL 1819: 218f.) called him « Ebn Raschid ». On the other hand, IRBY & MANGLES (1823: 382f.), FINATI (1830, II: 255f.), LINANT (in his log book, p. 16f., and see LABORDE & LINANT DE BELLEFONDS 1994: 123-124), and LORD LINDSAY (1838-1839, II: 40), all called him « Abou Raschid », as did LABORDE (1830: 35, 46; 1836: 97f.) before renaming him « A(c)kmed-Raschid », for reasons which are obscure (1830: 51 and thereafter; 1836: 123 and thereafter). ROBINSON & SMITH (1841, II: 553f.), who call him « Abu Rashīd » also gave the name in Arabic (III: 199) and stated that Burckhardt and Legh were incorrect in calling him « Ibn Rashid » (II: 554, n. 1). A century or so later, VON OPPENHEIM (1939-1968, II: 306, n. 7) reverted to « Ibn Reschid ». BURCKHARDT (1822: 417) described Ibn Rashīd as the « principal sheik » of the Ḥūwaytāt. It is unlikely that other shaykhs of this large, scattered and very divided tribe would have allowed him such a title, but he was certainly the head of a tribal section which was then of considerable importance. In 1812, he led a large contingent of tribesmen and their camels to Egypt to transport some of Muḥammad 'Alī's troops to 'Aqaba and Yanbo (BURCKHARDT 1822: 417). He was widely admired (see IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 383; FINATI 1830, II: 247-248; LABORDE 1830: 46; 1836: 97). His section was later, if not already, called the « Rashayidah » after him or his family. The Rashayidah evidently lost much of their prestige during the nineteenth century; they are listed only as a subtribe and given no prominence in von Oppenheim's study of the Ḥūwaytāt tribes at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (1939-1968, II: 285, 300, 306).

happened to be visiting Abū Rashīd, immediately and vehemently opposed the plan and swore that he and his people would never allow the party to enter his territory. The more furiously he declared his opposition, however, the more determined Abū Rashīd became, vowing that he would get them there by force if necessary. After tremendous arguments both Abū Zaytūn and his followers and Abū Rashīd with the travellers set out towards Wādī Mūsā, the quarrel and negotiations continuing as they went. It was only when they were in sight of their objective that Abū Zaytūn was reluctantly persuaded to allow them to proceed and « peace was proclaimed ». The next morning,²¹⁴ the 24th May, Abū Rashīd led the party through the Sīq and into Petra.²¹⁵

Once among the ruins Abū Rashīd's resolve weakened. Although he had somehow overcome the opposition of the sheikh and people of Wādī Mūsā, his relations with them remained strained and he « was never at his ease » while the travellers were at the site. He allowed them only two days there « from day-break until dusk » and « nothing could obtain a further extension of the time allotted. » They had no choice in the matter and at daybreak on 26th May they left Petra to return to Shawbak.²¹⁶

With such a short time at their disposal, it is extraordinary how much the party achieved while they were at Petra. Bankes himself seems to have laboured ceaselessly and produced an impressive body of work: the first drawings of monuments and copies of inscriptions ever made in Petra. They included a fine drawing of the exterior of the Khazneh — « the work of many hours » as a sympathetic Finati put it — and a plan with measurements of the interior.²¹⁷ Bankes also copied four fragmentary Greek inscriptions in the Sīq,²¹⁸ part of the Greek inscription painted on the back wall of the Urn Tomb, which he recognized « proves the establishment of Christianity at Petra »²¹⁹ and all but a minute fragment of the partly fallen Greek verse inscription over a niche (B 66) near the theatre.²²⁰ He also remarked on the delicacy of Nabataean pottery,²²¹ compared the aniconic betyls in the niches along the walls of the Sīq with the stones said to have been worshipped by the pre-Islamic Arabs,²²² noted that although « the Nubian Geographer (Climate 3^d) says that the houses at Petra were excavated in the rock ... this was not universally true » and that, while some of the caves were clearly intended for domestic use, many of the « lesser kind of edifices » were free-standing structures built of stone,²²³ and much else. He and his companions also climbed up to the tomb of Aaron (which Burckhardt had not quite reached),²²⁴ copied the Hebrew inscriptions on it and subsequently, in Acre, had them identified as the names of « a Jew and his family who had scratched this record ». ²²⁵

However, Bankes' greatest achievement at Petra was his discovery and drawing of « a long inscription in some strange character which it was a great labour for my master to copy », as Finati recorded.²²⁶ Bankes had found it « surprising, amongst such a multitude of tombs, to find so few which record for whom they were constructed » and went on to say that « I myself met with but one that is inscribed though my companions tell me that they observed another example in that great Mausoleum which has a door in the attic which I have already mentioned

214. Journal, I: 35, cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 400.

215. Journal (I: 60-78), IRBY & MANGLES (1823: 336-402), Legh (in MACMICHAEL 1819: 193-226), and FINÁTI (1830, II: 234-266), all describe the last stages of the journey, the details varying considerably from one account to another. LABORDE (1830: 54; 1836: 144-146) relates the version of the events told to him ten years later by Abū Rashīd's nephews and Stephens repeats an account given him by the « sheik of Aqaba » who seems to have been a nephew of Abū Zaytūn (see note 203).

216. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 432, 442.

217. FINATI 1830, II: 264. The drawing and plan are D/BKL IV.A.7. A reproduction of the drawing has been published in LEWIS 1997: 11.

218. Bankes n°s 4, 5, 6, 7, on Fig. 16 [= *IGLJ* IV n°s 11, 12 15, 18 respectively], see Appendix D.

219. Bankes n° 2 on Fig. 16 [= *IGLJ* IV n° 50], and see Bankes' legend to this lithograph and the notes on his fair copy, both quoted in Appendix D.

220. Bankes n°3 on Fig. 16 [= *IGLJ* IV n° 55]. See the 2nd paragraph of App.B on its location, and the comments on Bankes' copy in App. D.

221. Journal, II: 16; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 424.

222. Journal, II: 9-10; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 416.

223. Journal, II: 18; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 426-427. On « the Nubian Geographer » see Appendix A.

224. Journal, II: 27-30; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 434-437; and see BURCKHARDT 1822: 430.

225. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 435-436. For the accounts of later visitors to Jabal Hārūn see BRÜNNOW & DOMASZEWSKI 1904-1909, I: 419-424. The Hebrew inscriptions were finally published in SAVIGNAC 1936: 259-260.

226. FINATI 1830, II: 263.

as being near the theatre.²²⁷ That which I found is on the left hand side of the track leading towards Dibdebar. »²²⁸ This was the tomb now generally known as *Qabr al-Turkmān*²²⁹ in Wādī Abū ‘Ullayqah, which Bankes describes as follows:²³⁰

It is a large front of pure Arabian design, with four attached columns and has this peculiarity, that from some failure or defective vein of the sandstone the architect has been obliged to carry up the lower half in masonry so as to meet the upper which is sculpted upon the face of the mountain where there were flaws, also pieces have been let in to make up what was defective. These last remain, but the whole subtraction has disappeared entirely & the upper part is left hanging upon the rock above without any base whatever immediately below it. This is not the only proof that is to be found among the remains at Petra that those who wrought on the live rock contrary to the necessary practice of builders began their work at the top. There is one example in which nothing besides the uppermost parapet has been put out of hand and in another instance the capitals & upper portion of four columns with the frise [sic] that bears upon them have been detached in [?] the rough from the general mass whilst all that is below continues absolutely in its natural state without having even been touched by the chisel.

To return to the inscription it is upon an oblong tablet without any frame or relief but easily distinguishable from the rest of the surface by being more delicately wrought, there project from each of its ends those wings in the form of the blade [p. 5] of an axe which are common both in Roman and Greek Tablets, & which I am convinced were in their origin for the purpose of receiving screws or fastenings, without encroaching on the part that was inscribed, this original purpose seems to have been particularly kept in view in the present instance, since although the whole is in the solid, there is upon each side a stain of metal which must be the effect of studs of bronze actually driven in to give the whole tablet the appearance of a separate piece, (it has been already mentioned that upon some of the tombs they really seem to have been so).²³¹ The letters are in [fact ?] not very deeply cut though with much neatness and precision and are in a state of wonderful preservation owing to the shelter which they receive from [the] projection of cornices & to an Eastern aspect. I find them to be exactly the similar to those scratched upon the Rocks in the Wadi Makutub and about the foot of Mt. Sinai, also one line of the same from a rock close to Coban in Nubia.²³² It is worth remarking that Diodorus Siculus, when he speaks of the letter written by the Nabathei of Petra to Antigonus expressly says that it was in the Syriack character (though this perhaps is no proof that the Syriack was in use with them since they may have chosen that language only as more familiar to the court they were addressing.). There are 5 long lines upon this tablet and immediately underneath a single figure on a larger scale which doubtless has some signification, and which I cannot help suspecting to have some reference to the date;²³³ the very same occurs at the bottom of the Hebrew inscription which I copied above, at the tomb of Aaron.... »²³⁴

Although Bankes' field copy has not been found, his fair copy has survived (Fig. 14). It is on a loose sheet²³⁵ marked « Petra » together with a sketch plan of the interior of the tomb and a list of measurements which are considerably more accurate than those of Brünnow and Domaszewski,²³⁶ a drawing of the left « ear » of the *tabula ansata* showing the « hole » for a peg, and notes on the tomb and the inscription. The notes include the comparison of the script with that of the texts in Sinai and the reference to Diodorus Siculus, which is quoted in the original Greek.

227. On this problem see Appendix B.

228. Journal, II: 4; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 411. The party passed the tomb, with its « great tablet of inscription », for a second time on the evening of 24th May (Journal, II: 31).

229. On the origins of this name see MACDONALD & NEHMÉ (in preparation).

230. Journal, II: 4-5; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 411-413.

231. The stains which Bankes mentions are not visible today. The marks which he shows in the centre of each « ear » of the *tabula ansata* (see the detail at the top of his fair copy (Fig. 14) and the complete figure on the lithographed plate, Fig. 16), are shallow holes or chips, too shallow to have received the bronze pins Bankes suggested. However, his observation that separate inscribed plates were fixed to some of the tombs was confirmed exactly a century and a half later by P.J. Parr (1968: 12, pl. VB), though in the example illustrated by the latter *tabula ansata* appears to have been fixed by its upper edge rather than through its « ears ».

232. No copy of this text has yet been identified among Bankes' papers. It may be noted that Burckhardt also thought that the Nabataean texts in Sinai appeared « to bear a strong resemblance to some of those in the Nubian temples written in the current Egyptian characters » (Letter from Burckhardt to Bankes 16 June 1816, D/BKL HJ1/51, repeated in BURCKHARDT 1819: LXVII).

233. This is the step-like figure roughly in the centre of the space below line 5. Its significance is still a mystery, but it is certainly not a date.

234. Bankes' copy of these Hebrew inscriptions does not seem to have survived and this figure is not visible on the photograph of them published in SAVIGNAC 1936: 259, fig. 10.

235. D/BKL IV A 20.

236. See MACDONALD & NEHMÉ (in preparation). Note that Bankes' measurements shown on the fair copy are, of course, in feet and inches.

An interesting feature of this fair copy is that it was made from left-to-right (as would have been instinctive to one used to European languages), rather than right-to-left (the direction in which the original inscription was written). We know this because the copyist ran out of space at the right hand edge of the page and neatly cut a section from the left hand margin and glued it to the right in order to accommodate the remaining letters of each line. It is unlikely that Bankes was unaware of the true direction of the text. Burckhardt had already worked out that the Sinaitic inscriptions ran from right to left two years earlier and it is highly probable that he would have mentioned it to Bankes during their discussions on the inscriptions.²³⁷ Even if he had not, Bankes, with his extensive knowledge of the Bible and the three years he had already spent in the Middle East would certainly have known enough about the Hebrew and Arabic scripts to guess that the « Sinaitic » inscriptions had also been written from right to left. As the fair copy was almost certainly made by Bankes, rather than by someone totally unfamiliar with Semitic alphabets, this emphasizes the fact that when he recorded the Turkmaniyyah inscription he had not *copied* it, as he copied Greek and Latin inscriptions which he could read, but had *drawn* it, in the same way in which he drew complicated pieces of architectural decoration. Thus, whether he started at the right end or the left, was dictated by physical or artistic, rather than epigraphic, considerations.

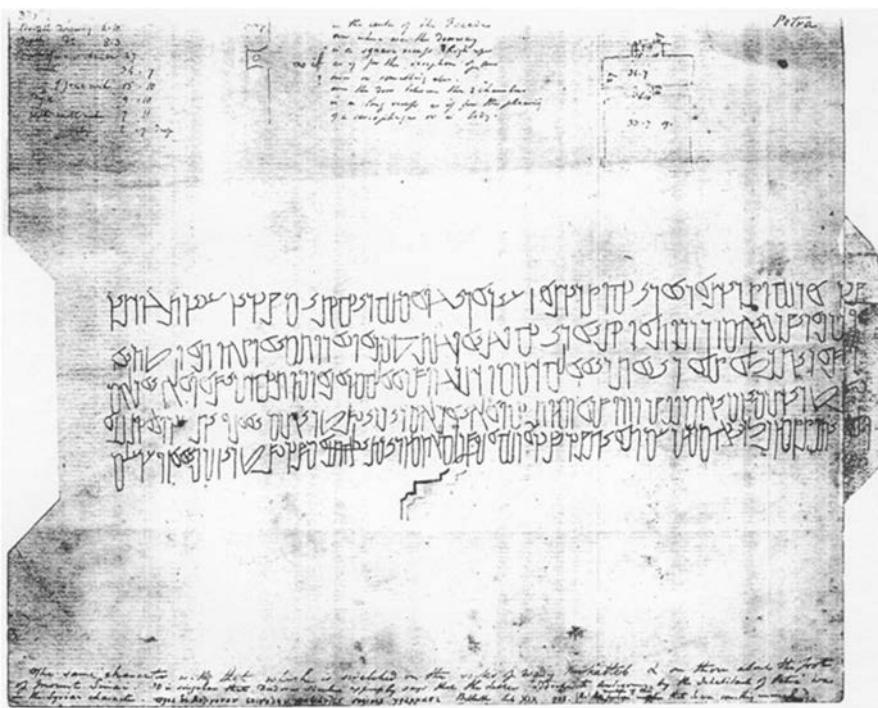


Fig. 14. – N° 36: Bankes' fair copy of the Tutkmāniyah inscription (CIS II 350), together with the plan of the tomb, list of dimensions, drawing of the left «ear» of the tabula ansata, and notes (D/BKL IV A 20).

237. In 1816, Burckhardt had written in his *Journal of a tour in the Peninsula of Mount Sinai* « the characters [of the Sinaitic inscriptions] appear to be written from right to left.... » (1822: 479). He had written to Bankes about the Sinaitic inscriptions (among other matters) immediately after his return from Sinai (D/BKL HJ1/51 Burckhardt to Bankes 16th July 1816), though he did not mention the direction of the script in that letter.

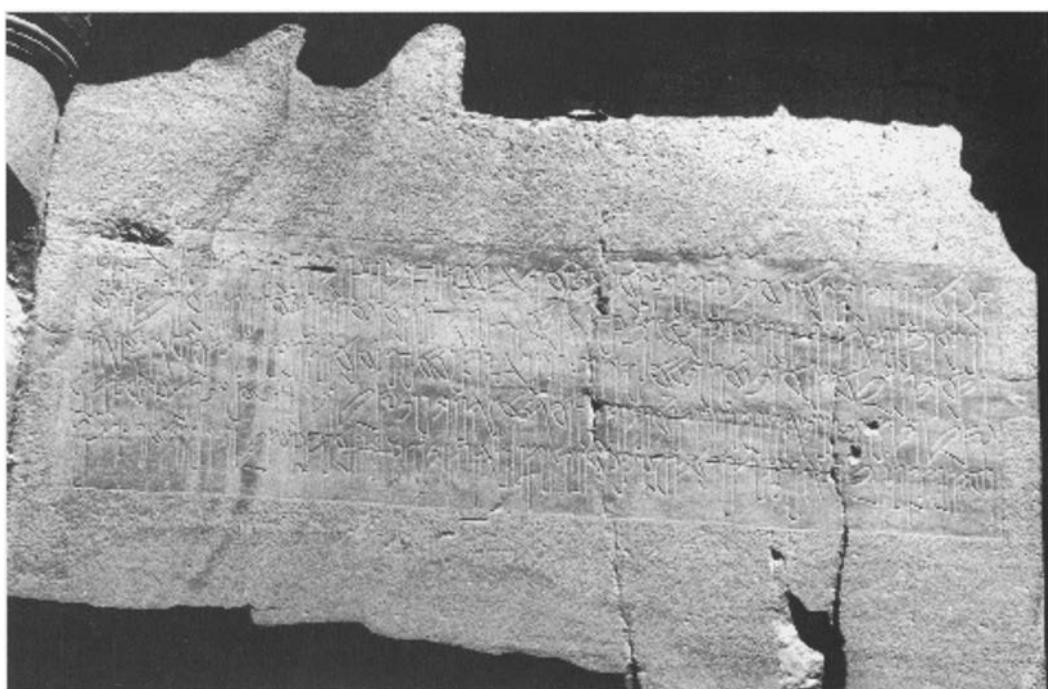


Fig. 15. — N° 36: Photograph of the Turkmāniyah inscription (photograph courtesy of G.M.H. King).

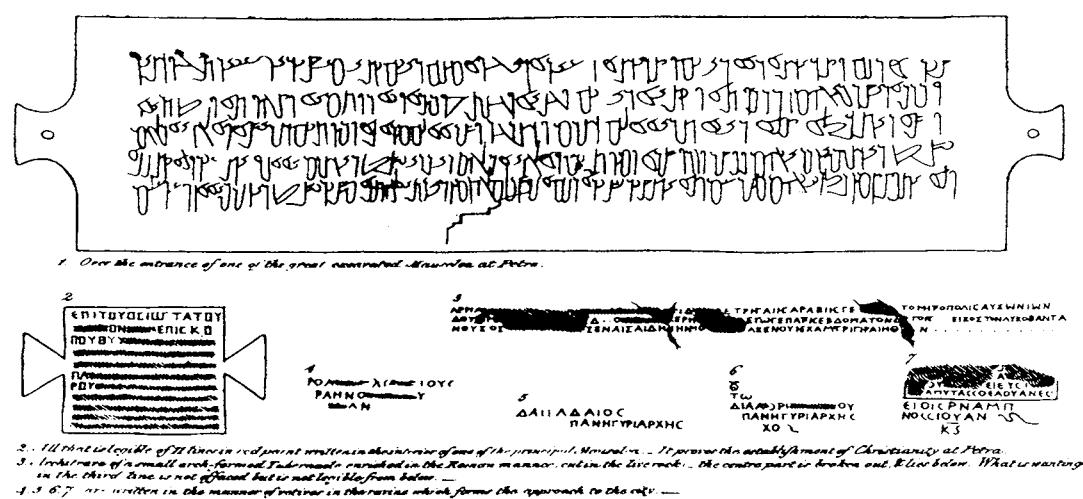


Fig. 16. — No. 36: The lithographed version of Banks' copies of the Turkmāniyah inscription and Greek texts from Petra (see Appendix D). Originally on the same lithographed proof sheet as the copies of Nabataean inscriptions from Sinai (Fig. 4).

Bankes' drawing is not only the earliest record of this long inscription but it is also extraordinarily accurate, as can be seen by comparing it (**Figs 14** and **16**) with the photograph (**Fig. 15**). It is a remarkable achievement and one can well understand that it was « a great labour ... to copy ». Those who have visited the « Turkmāniyah tomb » will know that the inscription is high up on the façade, some 6.35m from the ground, and therefore has to be studied at a steep angle. In addition, the considerable length of the lines (*c.* 3.9m) and the nature of the script, mean that even those who can read the text find it difficult to keep their place when the eye is constantly moving between the rock-face and the copy. In these circumstances it is very easy to miss letters or transpose words.

These problems must have been even worse for one who was *drawing* the text without being able to read it. The fact that his record of the text is almost flawless demonstrates the acuity of his eye, his meticulousness and patience, and his skills as a draughtsman.²³⁸

Bankes did not draw the borders of the *tabula ansata* on this fair copy, though he made a rough sketch of the shape and proportions of the left « ear » at the top of the sheet. This may explain why, on the proof from the lithographed plate (**Fig. 16**), his extremely accurate drawing of the text is enclosed in an asymmetrical and inaccurate rendering of the *tabula ansata*, in which there is far too much space between the borders and the text, and the step-like figure below the last line is enclosed well within the border, whereas on the original it crosses it (compare **Figs 15** and **16**).

A new study of *Qabr al-Turkmān* and its inscription, including a reading and translation of the latter is in preparation by one of the present authors and Laïla Nehmé,²³⁹ but is awaiting the clearance of the fill inside and in front of the tomb which the Conservation and Restoration Centre in Petra (CARSIP, Helga Fischer) has stated it intends to complete. We shall, therefore, deal here only with the text in relation to Bankes' drawing.

36. CIS II 350

Figs 14-17.

- (1) *qbr' dnh w-sryh' rb' dy b-h w-sryh' z'yr' dy gw' mn-h dy b-h bty mqbryn 'bydt gw̄hyn*
- (2) *w-krk' dy qdmy-hm w-'d kwt²⁴⁰ w-bty'dy b-h w-gny' w-gnt smk' w-b'rwt my' w-ṣwt' w-twry'*²⁴¹
- (3) *w-š'ryt kl'ṣl' dy b-try' 'lh hrm w-hrg dwšr' 'lh mr'-n' w-mwbt-h hryš' w-'lhy' kl-hm*
- (4) *b-ṣtry hrmyn kdy b-hm p-pqdwn dwšr' w-mwt{b-h}²⁴² w-'lhy' kl-hm dy kdy b-ṣtry hrmyn' 'nw y'tbd²⁴³ w-'/ytšn²⁴⁴*
- (5) *w-l' ytqss mn kl dy b-hm mnd'm w-l' ytqbr b-qbr²⁴⁵ dnh 'nwš kl-h lhn mn dy ktyb l-h tn' mqbr b-ṣtry hrmyn' 'nw²⁴⁶ 'd 'lm.*

238. Bankes' work (see **Figs 14** and **16**) can be compared with the efforts of a less skilled draughtsman on **Fig. 17**.

239. MACDONALD & NEHMÉ (in preparation).

240. On the reading *w'dkwt'* (rather than *w-rkwt'*) see MILIK 1959: 558. Bankes' copy is a little confused here, which is not surprising since the stone is cracked at this point. Bankes omitted the loop of the *w* of *w-d* and joined the upper part of the *l* of *'sl'* in line 3 to the fork of the 'omitting the latter's tail, which is anyway much fainter than the rest of the letter on the stone. The phrase thus looks like *zdd kwt'* on his copy.

241. At this point the stone is pitted and Bankes' copy is slightly confused. He has missed the loop of the *w* of *twry'* and instead joined its top to the following *r* whose flourish he has also slightly miscopied. In addition he has copied an extraneous stroke projecting from the base of the final *'*. However, these are very minor errors.

242. The stone is damaged at this point and Bankes marks this on his copy.

243. Bankes missed the tail of the *'* in *y'tbd*.

244. Bankes omitted the upper stroke of the *y* and the two side strokes of the *š* in *ytšn*.

245. Most of the top of the *q* of *qbr'* is missing on the lithograph (**Fig. 16**), but much of it is present on the fair copy (**Fig. 14**).

246. The cross-stroke of the *h* of *hrmy'* was omitted on the copy, as was the join between the *n* and *w* of *'nw*.

Bankes not only produced an admirable record of the text but he also recognized that this elegant monumental inscription in Petra was in the same script as the « scrawls » he had seen in Sinai two and half years earlier.²⁴⁷ Given the time which had elapsed and the considerable stylistic differences between the two types of text, this was no mean achievement.²⁴⁸

Furthermore, he suggested, albeit with prudent caveats, that the script was probably the « Syrian character » in which the Nabataeans wrote to Antigonus the One-eyed, following his attack on them in 312 BC. In this, he was also correct, inasmuch as the script of the Turkmāniyah inscription was a later form of the fourth-century BC Aramaic to which Diodorus was presumably referring.²⁴⁹ Thus, Bankes was not only the first person to record a Nabataean inscription in Petra, but also the first to recognize that the Sinaitic graffiti and the inscriptions of Petra were in the same script, the first to attribute this script to the Nabataeans, and the first to put it into its correct historical context — and all this within six years of Burckhardt's rediscovery of Petra and twenty-two years before the decipherment of the Nabataean alphabet.²⁵⁰

Bankes' identification was reported by Irby and Mangles²⁵¹ and it was given a much wider currency when Edward Robinson cited it twenty years later.²⁵² However, because Bankes' copies were never published, it was impossible to verify his claim, and so it was largely ignored.²⁵³ Thus, even in 1840, Beer was only able to speculate that if inscriptions were to be found in Petra they would be in the same script as those of Sinai,²⁵⁴ while nine years later Tuch refused to attach any significance to Bankes' identification on the grounds that « it would require great knowledge of Semitic palaeography to be able to distinguish on sight a Sinaitic inscription from a Palmyrene; and the presence of a Palmyrene inscription at Petra would not be at all surprising. »²⁵⁵ Tuch's scepticism, which was quite natural and proper in the absence of the evidence, shows Bankes' achievement to have been all the more remarkable. He was not an expert in Semitic palaeography, indeed he was not even a Semitist, but he had copied Palmyrene inscriptions in 1816 and knew what they looked like.²⁵⁶ It is clear from

247. This recognition was clearly immediate since it is recorded in the Draft Journal which was almost certainly written while the party was still at Petra (see the passage quoted in paragraph 3 of Appendix B), as well as in the passage quoted above from the later version of the Journal II: 5; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 411-413). On the fair copy of the Turkmāniyah inscription he wrote « the same character with that which is scratched on the rocks of wady Mokattein & on those about the foot of Mount Sina » and for the projected publication he placed the copies of the inscriptions from Sinai on the same plate as his copy of the Turkmāniyah inscription, with the caption « Scrawls copied from the face of the Rocks in several parts of the Desart [sic] of Mount Sinai, which seem to be in the same character [scil. as the Turkmāniyah inscription] ».

248. Despite Irby & Mangles' phrase « upon comparing them » (1823: 412), it is unlikely that Bankes had with him in Petra (or even in Jerusalem) his copies of the texts he had seen in Sinai, since, although we have no specific mention of the dispatch of the Sinai copies, there are numerous references in his letters which show that he was in the habit of sending his papers back to England between journeys.

249. Diodorus Siculus XIX.96.1. On his fair copy of the Turkmāniyah inscription he wrote « It is singular that Diodorus Siculus expressly says that the letter addressed to Antigonus by the inhabitants of Petra was in the Syrian character προς δε [sic] Αντιγονον επιστολην γραψαντες συριοις γραμμασι Biblioth Lib XIX 723 (tho' the mention of this perhaps implies that it was something unusual) », while in the equivalent passage in his journal of the Petra journey he adds « (though this perhaps is no proof that the Syriack was in use with them, since they may have chosen that language only as more familiar to the Court they were addressing) », Journal, II: 5 [Greek reproduced as in the original, without breathings or accents]; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 413.

250. Although, some sixty years earlier, Pococke had suggested that Sinai might have been the ancient territory of the Nabataeans, this was based solely on a false etymology. « As I observ'd before Nabah or Nabate is to the east [of Suez]; from which place they bring the water [to Suez], and over it are the mountains call'd Nouebeh. These names one would imagine, were some remains of the antient name of the Arabs, call'd Nabataei (Diodorus III, p. 176), that were in Arabia Petraea, insomuch that the whole country has been call'd from them Nabataea.... » (1743-1745, I: 138). Apart from Bankes, no one before Beer had connected the Nabataeans with the Sinaitic inscriptions.

251. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 412-413.

252. ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, I: 555-556.

253. J. Bertou, who visited Petra twenty years later, in April 1838, noticed on his way out of the site via Jabal Hārūn, « une quantité de petites pyramides ou plutôt obélisques de 40 [sic, presumably 0.40] à 0^m60 de hauteur, sculptées sur les rochers. » He remarked that « comme le temps a mangé le grès, elles ne sont plus distinctes, et l'on pourrait, en passant rapidement, les prendre pour de grandes lettres. Ne serait-ce pas là que M. Banks [sic] a vu une inscription « en caractères semblables à ceux de Gebel Mokateb »? » (1839: 316-317).

254. Quotation attributed to Beer in vol. I, p. 211 of the German translation of ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, quoted in TUCH 1849: 145. We cannot find the equivalent in either BEER 1840 or in the English edition of Robinson & Smith.

255. TUCH 1849: 145, n. 14.

256. For instance, D/BKL, IX A 5 on which he copied CIS II 4151 (=PAT 0503), 4152 (=PAT 0504) and 4192 (=PAT 0548).

the Draft Journal that his identification of the script of the Turkmāniyah inscription with that of the Sinaitic texts was immediate and that a connection with the Palmyrene script never occurred to him, even though in other spheres, such as architectural decoration, he noted similarities between Petra and Palmyra.²⁵⁷

It was not until 1896 that the first edition of the Turkmāniyah inscription was published, based on a bad copy (Fig. 17) made « rather for the sake of showing the character, than with any hope of attaining much correctness ».²⁵⁸ In the same year, Bankes' transcription of seventy-eight years before was finally surpassed when the Dominican fathers M.-J. Lagrange and H. Vincent rediscovered the inscription and made copies, a squeeze and photographs of it.²⁵⁹

It is ironic that this, the longest and best preserved inscription in Petra, should have been the first Nabataean text to have been recorded there, so soon after the rediscovery of the site, and yet should have remained unknown to the scholarly world for almost eighty years thereafter. Sadder still is the fact that knowledge of Bankes' exquisite copy might well have accelerated the decipherment of the Nabataean script by some twenty years and, by showing that there were also long monumental texts as well as the brief graffiti of Sinai, might have stimulated scholarly interest in Nabataean epigraphy at a much earlier period. As it was, the first Nabataean inscriptions from Petra were not published until thirty-seven years after Bankes' visit, and even then they were no more than three inaccurate copies of brief graffiti.²⁶⁰

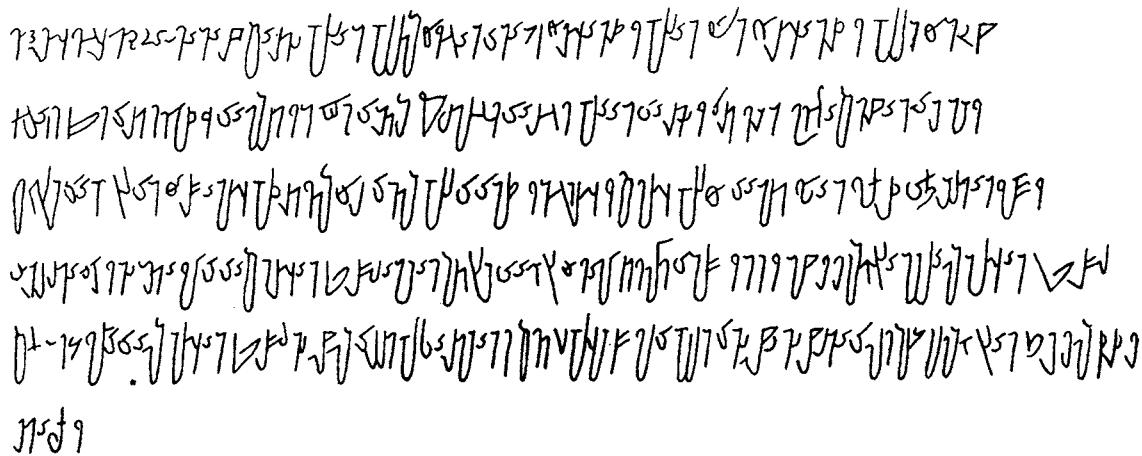


Fig. 17. — Frazer's copy of the Turkmāniyah inscription (from HOGG 1856: n° I on pl. opposite p. 57).

257. Thus, for instance, he comments that the Temenos Gate (often, erroneously, called the « Triumphal Arch ») is « an archway of a very florid architecture with panels enriched with foliage in the pilasters, in the manner of Palmyra.... » (Journal, II: 16; IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 425).

258. The words of the copyist A.H. Frazer quoted in HOGG 1856: 57. The first edition of the text was published on the basis of this copy by DE VOGUÉ (1896).

259. See LAGRANGE 1897: 229-230. On the basis of their copy and squeeze DE VOGUÉ (1897) published a corrected edition and in 1902 the text was republished in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum Pars II*, as n° 350.

260. These copies were made by the British traveller L. Ross and were published by O. BLAU (1855: 232-234; n° II [= CIS II n° 353 and 352] and n° III [CIS II no. 441]. The same texts had in fact already been copied in 1851, by the American scholar George P. Marsh, but his transcriptions were not published until 1858 (see MARSH 1858, particularly Rödiger's note on pp. 708-709).

Instead, Bankes' copy, which came so close to publication, has lain forgotten for almost two centuries, only to be rediscovered at a period when it could be little more than a historical curiosity. Bankes' journals, letters, records of inscriptions, architectural drawings and water-colours show him to have been a major figure in the early European exploration of the Near East and, in many cases, they provide our only record of texts and monuments which have long since disappeared. In 1819 Thomas Legh wrote that although his own account of the ruins of Petra hardly did justice to their magnificence « the public will soon be favoured with a much more detailed and accurate description of them from Mr. Bankes, whose zeal, intelligence and unwearied assiduity in copying inscriptions, delineating remains of antiquity and ascertaining points of curious classical research, cannot be surpassed. »²⁶¹ Though the publication has taken longer than Legh anticipated, we can now see that his assessment of Bankes' abilities was not exaggerated.

261. Legh in MACMICHAEL 1819: 229; cf. TURNER 1820, II: 484.

APPENDIX A

PETRA, HEGRĀ, AND « THE NUBIAN GEOGRAPHER »

The phrase « the Nubian Geographer »²⁶² refers to the twelfth-century Arab writer usually known as al-Idrīsī, who wrote a geography of the known world for Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily. The first printed edition (Rome, 1592) was based on a manuscript of an abridgement of this work which does not mention the author's name and contains a copyist's error which led to the erroneous assumption that he was a Nubian.²⁶³ Thus the first translation into a European language (SIONITA & HESRONITA 1619) was entitled *Geographia Nybiensis* (we are grateful to Robert King for directing our attention to this edition). Thereafter, until P.A. Jaubert published the first translation of the complete text, two centuries later,²⁶⁴ al-Idrīsī was frequently known in Europe as « The Nubian Geographer », even though many scholars were aware of his true identity. Thus, for instance, Reland in his compendium of ancient and mediaeval knowledge of the geography of Palestine and its neighbours, a work which was very widely used, wrote *addamus testimonium geographi Arabis, Scherif Ibn Idris, qui vulgo Nubiensis audit,*²⁶⁵ words which were echoed over a century later by the anonymous reviewer of Laborde's *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* in the *Quarterly Review* of July 1837 (pp. 112-113) who quotes the same passage as Bankes from « Edrisi — commonly called the Nubian Geographer », citing the 1619 translation rather than Jaubert's, which had only just appeared.

In fact, however, al-Idrīsī was not referring to Petra when he mentioned « houses ... excavated in the rock », but to Madā'in Šāliḥ, in north-west Saudi Arabia, a site which, of course, like Petra boasts many impressive rock-cut tombs. Al-Idrīsī calls this site by its ancient name, al-Hiğr, a name unknown to the seventeenth-century translators who, faced with an unvocalized Arabic text, transliterated it as Hagiar,²⁶⁶ the Arabic word for « stone, rock ». The confusion of the two places was worse confounded by the translators' use, in the relevant passage, of the word *petra* for « rock », rather than *saxum*, *rupes*, etc. The passage reads as follows: *At vero Hagiar distat à Vadi-áliqora statione vna, estque arx pulchrè sita inter montes, in quibus commorabatur familia Thomud: suntque in illis domus excisae in petra; Atque hi montes vocantur ab habitatoribus Hagiar, & earum partium, b Alatháleb.*²⁶⁷ « But in fact Hagiar [al-Hiğr/Madā'in Šāliḥ] is one day's journey away from Vadi-áliqora [Wādī al-Qurā] and it is a secure place well situated among the mountains in which the tribe of Thomud [Thamūd] lived, and in which houses have been carved in the rock [*in petra*]; and in fact these mountains are called « Alatháleb » [note (b) in the margin, *i. saxa* « that is rocks »] by the inhabitants of Hagiar, and of their surroundings. » Alatháleb must refer to Jabal Ithlib (or Athlab) into which an important part of the site of Madā'in Šāliḥ is carved. The name Ithlib/Athlab does indeed mean « dust, earth and small stones » (Lane 347a). Note that Jaubert read the name al-Abalab, no doubt as the result of a mispointing (or lack of pointing) of the *t* in the manuscripts he was using.²⁶⁸

It is not known whether Bankes had read or used Sionita & Hesronita's translation of al-Idrīsī, or whether he gleaned his information (together with the misunderstanding) from a secondary source such as Reland.²⁶⁹ Even by the middle of the seventeenth century the confusion of « Hagiar » (i.e. Madā'in Šāliḥ) with Petra was well established.²⁷⁰ This is hardly surprising since both names meant « rock » and the name Hagiar would have seemed reminiscent of the Arabian people known from Stephanus of Byzantium and others as *'Αγραιοι* Hagareni. Moreover, al-Idrīsī's description of rock-cut dwellings must have seemed to echo St. Jerome's

262. See above in the text and note 223.

263. See OMAN 1979: 1033b.

264. AL-IDRĪSĪ JAUBERT 1836-1840.

265. RELAND 1714: 249.

266. The « i » was inserted simply to indicate that the « g » represented Arabic [dj] rather than Latin [g].

267. SIONITA & HESRONITA 1619: 110, *Quinta Pars, Climatis Tertii*.

268. JAUBERT 1836-1840, I: 334.

269. RELAND 1714: 249.

270. See, for instance BOCHART 1646: 764D-765B, and the discussion in ROBINSON & SMITH 1841, II: 576, n. 1, and 653-654.

statement that the inhabitants of « the whole southern region of Idumaea, from Eleutheropolis to Petra and Aila — which is the possession of Esau — have small dwellings in caverns, and they use these subterranean shelters because of the excessive heat of the sun ».²⁷¹ Thus, for instance, Reland quotes St. Jerome's statement about the use of caves and on the next page states that *nomen hodiernum huius urbis* حجر & *vetus "Aypa"*, « the modern name of this city [i.e. Petra] is حجر [Hağar, (sic) for al-Hiğr], and the ancient one is "Aypa»,²⁷² even though two pages earlier he had correctly noted that the ancient name of Petra was "Αρχέμη" from the Semitic root *rqm*.²⁷³

Burckhardt was in no doubt as to the difference between Petra and « Hedjer, on the Syrian Hadj road ». He records that, on his return from Medina in 1815, he had hoped to visit Hedjer, « where I expected to find some remains of the remotest antiquity », but was frustrated by illness.²⁷⁴ However, others were less perceptive and the confusion remained for decades. Thus, Laborde, suggested that the Muslims translated the name Petra « par le mot Hadjar »²⁷⁵ and the anonymous writer in the *Quarterly Review* of July 1837, quoted above, also maintained the traditional view that al-Idrīsī was referring to Petra when he described al-Hiğr. On the other hand, J.T. Reinaud in his review of Laborde two years earlier, had recognized that al-Hiğr was a different site « entre Akaba et Médine », but thought that it was also called Petra, i.e. that there were two Petras, the southern one being also called « Heger ».²⁷⁶

271. JEROME/MIGNE 1845: col. 1105.

272. RELAND 1714, II: 933.

273. RELAND 1714, II: 931.

274. BURCKHARDT 1829: 319.

275. LABORDE 1830: 2; 1836: 15, where the Arabic name is mistakenly given as « *Hedjaz* ».

276. REINAUD 1835: 73.

APPENDIX B

DID BANKES' PARTY SEE A SECOND
NABATAEAN INSCRIPTION AT PETRA?

The first reference to the tomb « near the theatre » with « an upper door-way opening in this attic, to which there is no visible access » is part of a technical description of the architectural monuments of Petra, which is certainly by Bankes.²⁷⁷ It is clearly a first-hand description and makes no mention of an inscription. Bankes also sketched both this tomb — which can only be monument n° B 67²⁷⁸ — and B 69, which is the next façade but one on the same cliff-face. His sketch²⁷⁹ (Fig. 18) shows that only the triangular pediment over the door of B 67 was above ground-level. There is thus no possibility that Bankes or his companions could have seen the single name in the Nabataean script on one of a row of thirteen elongated pyramids on bases engraved on either side of the door which had been partially covered by a wall built up against the façade in the Byzantine period, and which was under at least one metre of soil when the ground in front of the door was finally cleared in the late 1990s.²⁸⁰

Nor can this passage be referring to the Greek text, Bankes Greek 3 (= *IGLJ IV* n° 55 and see Appendix D), which was on monument n° B 66,²⁸¹ most of which collapsed in 1847, taking the remains of the inscription with it.²⁸² Bankes had seen this monument and had copied its inscription, describing it, quite correctly, not as a tomb but as « a square recess with pilasters and an arched ornament above » (see his descriptions quoted in Appendix D). Thus, when he wrote that he had seen only one *tomb* with an inscription (i.e. the Turkmāniyah) he was perfectly correct.

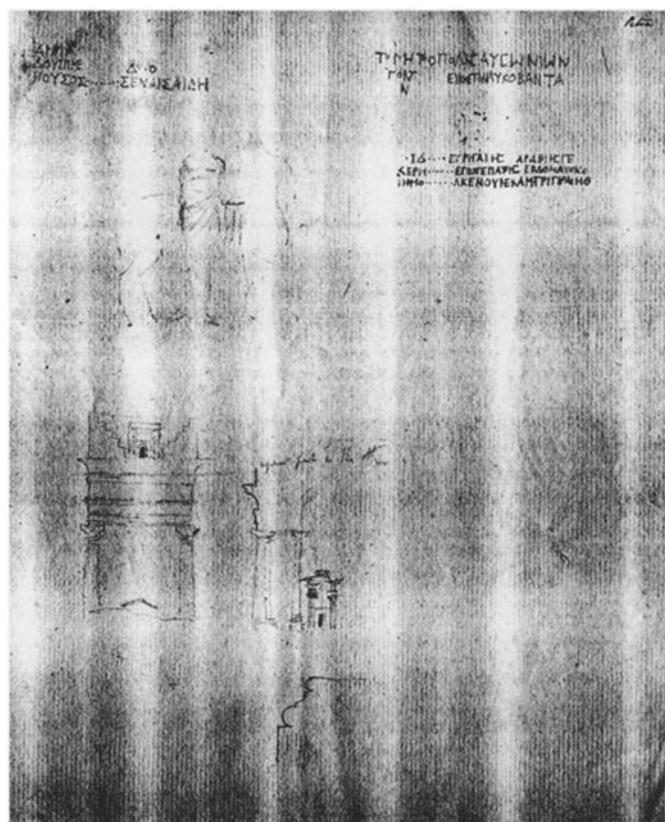


Fig. 18. — Bankes field copy of Greek inscription n° 3 on Fig. 19 (see Appendix D), from monument Brünnow n° 66, together with drawings of the façades of the « great Mausoleum which has a door in the attic » (Brünnow n° 67), the tomb next but one to the north (Brünnow n° 69), and a very faint drawing of the relief of a horseman from the façade of the Khazneh (D/BKL IV A 13).

277. Draft Journal (see note 198); Journal, II: 2; cf. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 409.

278. BRÜNNOW & DOMASZEWSKI 1904-1909, I: 233; and see PARR 1968: 12-14 and pl. VIA.

279. D/BKL IV.A.13 = Fig. 18 here.

280. The newly discovered Nabataean inscription will be published by J.T. Milik and Laïla Nehmé in the *Corpus des inscriptions de Pétra* under the number MP 17.1. It should be noted that the Greek inscription *IGLJ IV* n° 59 is not on the façade of B 67, as implied in SARTRE 1993: 96, but a few metres away on the rock face at right angles to the tomb. We are most grateful to Laïla Nehmé for clarifying this rather confused situation for us and, naturally, the conclusions and any errors in transmitting her information are the sole responsibility of the authors.

281. BRÜNNOW & DOMASZEWSKI 1904-1909, I: 232-233.

282. See MARTINEAU 1848, III: 29, 32.

Moreover, in the draft journal, immediately after his description of the tomb with the door in the attic, Bankes writes, « Two only of the monuments of this form bear inscriptions of which the one is much [?] effaced (it is near the theatre). The other [i.e. the Turkmāniyah] is in a wonderful state of preservation In both these examples the character is (to me at least) unknown but it is the same which is found in such profusion on the rocks of Wady Makuttab in the road to Mt. Sinai and which I copied from a rock at Coban in Nubia. » It appears from this that Bankes himself at first thought that he had seen an effaced *Nabataean* (not Greek) inscription on a tomb near the theatre.

What may have happened is that, between writing the draft journal and dictating the final version, Bankes decided that what he had thought was an effaced Nabataean text was not in fact an inscription at all. At the same time, his companions may, independently, have noticed the apparent text, which they also said was « much mutilated »,²⁸³ but mistakenly ascribed it to the tomb with the door in the attic (B 67). This would account for Bankes' cautious tone in the passage in the Journal: « I myself met with but one that is inscribed *though my companions tell me* that they observed another example in that great Mausoleum which has a door in the attic which I have already mentioned as being near the theatre ».²⁸⁴

283. IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 411.

284. Journal, II: 4 [*our italics*].

APPENDIX C

CONCORDANCES OF ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

I. NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY BANKES AND LINANT DE BELLEFONDS IN SINAI

(A) Concordance of Bankes' and Linant's copies with CIS II and with earlier and later copies of the same texts.

NOTE: Copies marked with a * were published on the plates of CIS II.

Bankes	CIS II	Before	After
N°	N°	Bankes	Bankes
1	1305	Seetzen 27	Euting 523 Bénédite 720*
2	1306	Seetzen 27 (?)	Lepsius 102/1* Lottin de Laval pl. 48* Euting 524 Bénédite 721*
3	1307+1308		Bénédite 722*+723* Lepsius 102/2* Lottin de Laval pl. 48 Euting 524a/1
4	1309		Lepsius 102/3* Lottin de Laval pl. 49 Euting 524a/2 Bénédite 724*
5	1310		Bénédite 725*
6	1317	Seetzen 27	Lepsius 122/5 Euting 528 Bénédite 732*
7	1318	Seetzen 27	Lepsius 122/6 Euting 529 Bénédite 733*
8	Unpublished		
9	1148	Montagu line 2	Grey 63, 103 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Bénédite 562*

Bankes N°	CIS II N°	Before Bankes	After Bankes
10	1147	Montagu line 2*	Grey 62 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Euting 643 Bénédite 561*
11	1319	Seetzen 27	Grey 67 Lepsius 103, 118 Lottin de Laval pl. 40 Euting 530 Bénédite 734*
12	Unpublished		
13	1005	Seetzen 21	Grey 136 Euting 576* Bénédite 419*
14	1145	Montagu line 1*	Grey 61/1 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Bénédite 559*
15	1146	Montagu line 1	Grey 61/2 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Bénédite 560*
16	1055	Montagu lines 18-19	Rüppell 3 Grey 73 Bénédite 469*
17	750		Euting 645* Bénédite 164*
18	2698		Lottin de Laval pl. 54 Bénédite 1769*
19	2699		Bénédite 1770*
20	unpublished		
21	2739		Lottin de Laval pl. 53*
22	2740/1 + unpublished		Lottin de Laval pl. 53*
23	2720		Lottin de Laval pl. 54 Bénédite 1791*
24	3205		Euting 1, 2 Bénédite 2167*

(B) Concordance by CIS number

CIS II N°	Bankes N°	Before Bankes	After Bankes
750	17		Euting 645* Bénédite 164*
1005	13	Seetzen 21	Grey 136 Euting 576* Bénédite 419*
1055	16	Montagu lines 18-19	Rüppell 3 Grey 73 Bénédite 469*
1145	14	Montagu line 1*	Grey 61/1 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Bénédite 559*
1146	15	Montagu line 1	Grey 61/2 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Bénédite 560*
1147	10	Montagu line 2*	Grey 62 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Euting 643 Bénédite 561*
1148	9	Montagu line 2	Grey 63, 103 Lottin de Laval pl. 24 Bénédite 562*
1305	1	Seetzen 27	Euting 523 Bénédite 720*
1306	2	Seetzen 27 (?)	Lepsius 102*/1 Lottin de Laval pl. 48* Euting 524 Bénédite 721*
1307	3		Bénédite 722*
1308	3		Lepsius 102/2* Lottin de Laval pl. 48 Euting 524a/1 Bénédite 723*
1309	4		Lepsius 102*/3 Lottin de Laval pl. 49

<i>CIS II</i> N°	Bankes N°	Before Bankes	After Bankes
			Euting 524a/2 Bénédite 724*
1310	5		Bénédite 725*
1317	6	Seetzen 27	Lepsius 122/5 Euting 528 Bénédite 732*
1318	7	Seetzen 27	Lepsius 122/6 Euting 529 Bénédite 733*
1319	11	Seetzen 27	Grey 67 Lepsius 103, 118 Lottin de Laval pl. 40 Euting 530 Bénédite 734*
2698	18		Lottin de Laval pl. 54 Bénédite 1769*
2699	19		Bénédite 1770*
2720	23		Lottin de Laval pl. 54 Bénédite 1791*
2739	21		Lottin de Laval pl. 53*
2740/1	22		Lottin de Laval pl. 53*
3205	24		Euting 1, 2 Bénédite 2167*

II. ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS COPIED IN THE ḤAWRĀN BEFORE 1820

Date	<i>CIS II</i>	Place	Reference
1805 (1810)	169	Qanawāt	Seetzen 1854-59, I: 80* Burckhardt 1822: 84*
1810 (1816/1818)	189	‘Ayrah	Burckhardt 1822: 88* Bankes, n° 33
1810 (1816/1818)	172	Hebrān	Burckhardt 1822: 90* Bankes, n° 32

Date	CIS II	Place	Reference
1810 (1816/1818)	188	Sahwat al-Khiḍr	Burckhardt 1822: 95* Bankes, n° 34
1812	178	Boṣrà	Burckhardt 1822: 233*
1815 (1816/1818)	186	Ezra‘	Richter 1822: pl. opposite p. 556, n° X Bankes, n° 35
1816 (1816/1818)	162	Suwaydā’	Buckingham 1825: 236 Bankes, n° 27

III. ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ḤAWRĀN FIRST DISCOVERED BY BANKES

Date	CIS II	Place	Reference
(1816/1818)		Rīmat al-Lohf	Bankes, n° 25
		Rīmat Ḥazīm	Bankes, n° 26
		Dayr Khulayf	Bankes, n° 28
182		Şalkhad	Bankes, n° 29
		Şalkhad	Bankes, n° 30
		Čimrīn	Bankes, n° 31

APPENDIX D

THE COPIES OF GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM SINAI AND PETRA IN THE BANKES ARCHIVE

*Maurice Sartre*²⁸⁵

I. A Greek inscription in Wādī Mukattab copied by Linant de Bellefonds²⁸⁶ (Figs. 7a and 7b/(i)-(ii))

This Greek inscription was first mentioned in 1766 by Edward Wortley Montagu, in his letter to the Royal Society: one, which says, as I remember, for I have it not with me, « The evil genius of the army wrote this, » which can only prove, that some body of Greeks was worsted here, after the charactere [sic] were written, and that they attributed their defeat to some magick power in these characters.²⁸⁷

Bankes found and partially read this inscription when he passed through Wādī Mukattab in 1815, though if he made a copy it has not survived. However, in 1820, Turner mentioned in his *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, that « Mr. Bankes ... was lucky enough to find a Greek inscription — ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚΑΚΟΝΓΕΝΟCCTPATIΩΤΗСЕГΡΑΨА — all in one line;²⁸⁸ probably written by a Greek soldier that passed this way in Alexander's expedition, or in one of the Roman armies. »²⁸⁹

Moreover, in a letter to Burckhardt now lost, Bankes must have mentioned the text since Burckhardt replied shortly after his own return from Sinai,

I have not found your Greek inscr. at Dj. Mukattib & I doubt whether an army could ever have passed that way, for there is not a sufficient supply of water. You will have seen in the Hauran the immense tanks constructed for the use of the Turkish Hadj that anciently passed that way, and thus have an idea of the quantity of water necessary for a travelling army with all its beasts of burthen.²⁹⁰

Laborde seems to have been the first to publish a copy of the inscription, in 1830. This reads:

ΚΑΚΟΝΓΕΛΟΣΑΛΟΥΓΟС.СΘНОΥ
СТРATIΩТHСЕГРAYATO.АОC²⁹¹

Four years later, G.F. Grey published a rather less complete, but seemingly more comprehensible copy:²⁹²

ΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΟC .. ΟΥΤΟC
СТРATIΩТHС ЕГРAΨA
ΠΑΝЕΜΙХI

285. My text has been translated by Michael Macdonald who, together with Norman Lewis, has provided me with much of the information concerning earlier copies of these inscriptions.

286. For the circumstances in which Linant de Bellefonds made these copies, see the section on the Nabataean inscriptions copied by him.

287. WORTLEY MONTAGU 1766: 52-53. He did not publish the original text.

288. This is incorrect. Lepsius' copy of the group of Greek graffiti at this place (see Fig. 7b/i) shows that these words are spread over three lines (1849-1856: pl. 19, n° 134 lines 7-9). ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ belongs to a three-line graffito immediately above this text (i.e. MNHCΘH // ГАРМАЛВАЛОС // ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ « May Garmalballos son of Ioulios be remembered »), while the letters KAKONTENOC are on the next line and СТРATIΩТHСЕГРAΨA are on the one below that. Lenormant published readings of both graffiti. See LENORMANT 1859: 14, n. 2 (the upper text) and 199, n. 1 (the upper text again and the lower text).

289. TURNER 1820, II: 455, note.

290. Letter Burckhardt to Bankes of 18 June 1816 (D/BKL HJ1/51).

291. LABORDE 1830: pl. opposite p. 69. The five letters at the end of line 1 and the three letters at the end of line 2, belong to a separate inscription.

292. GREY 1834: Pl. 13, n° 8, « all that is legible of a long Inscription ».

In 1857, this was quoted by Charles Forster in a spirited defence, in French, of his views on the origins of the Sinaitic inscriptions.²⁹³ Forster did not acknowledge the source of his transcription and he omitted the gap marking the loss of one or two letters in the first line, which had been clearly shown by Grey. Forster's transcription of Grey's copy was printed thus:

ΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΤΟC
СТРАТИΩΤИСЕГРАΨА
ΠΑΝΕΜΙΧΙ

for which he proposed the following translation:

« Moi, soldat, j'ai écrit de ma propre main que cette race ne vaut rien. »

He suggested that it was « très-probablement, l'œuvre d'un soldat de l'armée de Démétrius *Polyorcète*, qui assiégea Petra vers l'an 315 avant J.-C. »

In the meantime, during his survey in Sinai in 1850, Lottin de Laval had made an even more inaccurate, incomplete and virtually incomprehensible transcription of the text which he published in the volume of plates which accompanied his *Voyage*.²⁹⁴

ΚΑΚΟΙΝΓ.ΟΙΟCΥ.ΟУПОЕ
ПРЛТИ.И. НОЕПЕ
ИТ.Н!А!И

However, in his text volume, Lottin de Laval reproduced Forster's version of Grey's transcription, together with Forster's translation and dating.²⁹⁵ In addition, he quoted Lenormant's reading of one of Lepsius' copies of the inscription (see below).

In 1845, C.R. Lepsius had made two copies of the text and these were published in 1856 as numbers 134: lines 8-10 (see Fig. 7b/(i), here), and 158 (see Fig. 7b/(ii), here) in his monumental *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.²⁹⁶ N° 158, which is presented as a facsimile, can be read thus:

ΚΑΚΟΝΤΕΝΟC ΟΥ.CC
СТРАТИΩΤИСЕГРАΨ
Е

The writing is erratic and it is difficult to assess the length of the lacunae. At the end of the first line, after ΟΥ there are traces of an unidentifiable sign followed by two fragmentary rounded letters above the line.

By contrast, the copy published as n° 134: lines 8-10, is more complete and in some places quite different:

КА КОНГЕНОСАОУПОС
СТРАТИΩΤИСЕГРАΨАТО
ΠΑΝЕМХИPI

Shortly after this appeared, Lenormant published his essay « Sur l'origine chrétienne des inscriptions sinaïtiques », in which he read the latter copy as follows :

293. FORSTER 1857: 303.

294. LOTTIN DE LAVAL 1855-1859, II: pl. 32.

295. LOTTIN DE LAVAL 1855-1859, I: 347.

296. LEPSIUS 1849-1856: Pl. 19, n° 134: lines 8-10; and Pl. 21, n° 158.

ΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΟС ΛΟΥΠΙΟΣ
ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗC ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΤΟ
ΠΑΝ ΕΜΗ ΧΙΠΙ

Κακὸν γένος Λοῦπος στρατιώτης ἔγραψα τὸ πᾶν ἐμῇ χειρί;²⁹⁷

[« Wicked mob! I, Lupus, a soldier, have carved this in my own hand »]²⁹⁸

remarking that « un voyageur de mauvaise humeur a tracé ces mots ».

Linant de Bellefonds' transcription (**Fig. 7a**), which is in the Bankes archive, does not provide a solution to every problem but it opens the way to a more satisfactory reading. I suggest the following:

- 1.ΚΛ (Λ)ΟΝΓΕΝΟC [Λ]Ο(ΝΓΟΥ)
- 2.ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗC ΕΓΡΑΨΑ
- 3.ΠΑΝΕΜ Η X (Ε) ΡΙ

If we add to Linant's copy the letters TO shown at the end of line two, on the copies of Laborde and Lepsius, the following reading and translation can be proposed:

- 1.Κλ(αύδιος) Λονγεῖνος [Α]όνγου [?]
- 2.στρατιώτης ἔγραψα το[ῦτο],
- 3.Πανεμ(ον) ή X (ἔτους) ρι

« I, Cl(audius) Longinus son of [L]ongus [?], soldier, have written th[is], the 8th of Panem(os), <X> [year] 110. »

Although this interpretation requires a number of emendations to the copy, all of which I think can be justified palaeographically, it has the advantage of producing a coherent reading. The date, according to the era of the Province of Arabia, corresponds to AD 215-216, and this fits in well with the forms of the letters. However it by no means resolves all the problems of this inscription. The patronym remains uncertain and could even be a second *cognomen*, Λόνγος, Λοῦπος. Similarly, I do not know how to interpret the X in the middle of line 3 on the copies of Grey, Lepsius (n° 134: 8-10), and Linant de Bellefonds.

This must certainly be the text translated by Edward Wortley Montagu, since the words « the evil genius »²⁹⁹ must represent the Greek κακὸν γένος which appear on the copies of Grey and Lepsius. However, the fact that the early copies agree on this should not impress us overmuch.

***II. A Greek inscription at Jabal Nāqūs
copied by Linant de Bellefonds
(Figs. 10a and 10b)***

The letter-forms are late, with the cross-bar of A at a sharp angle, and even detached. Above the inscription to the left is a large Latin cross and the date « 1763 » in European numerals. Either or both could have been added by one of the many eighteenth-century western travellers who visited the area.

- 1.ΠΑΥΗΚΗΦΟΛΙC
- 2.ΒΡΟΓΑΒΡΙΤΑ
- 3.ΓΕΡΟ Δορόθεος

297. LENORMANT 1859: 199, n. 1.

298. Lenormant did not give a translation. The translation here is by Sartre.

299. WORTLEY MONTAGU 1766: 52-53.

At first sight, only one word is clear, Δ(ω)ρόθεος in line 3, albeit with a spelling mistake. Immediately before it, ΓΕΡΟ might also be read IEPO, though neither makes satisfactory sense. At the end of line 3, there is something which resembles a cursive, barred A, but which could also be a *hedera*.

In line 2, I think that one can fairly confidently restore an *ethnicon*: Β(ετ)ογαβρίτα from Βετογαβρίς, modern Bayt Ġibrīn/Beit Gōbrīn, which was refounded in AD 199-200 as *Lucia Septimia Severa Eleutheropolis*.³⁰⁰ Situated in close proximity to Marisha, which it superseded, the town appears in Josephus in the form Βήταβρις³⁰¹, which has been emended to Βητογαβρίς on the basis of its equivalent *Begabris* in the Latin version of Josephus.³⁰² A century later, Ptolemy mentions Βαιτογαβρεῖ or Βαιτογαβρᾶ³⁰³. The Peutinger Table shows a town called *Betogabri*, which corresponds exactly to the form recorded by Ptolemy.

An *ethnicon* Βαιτογαβρίτης — a normal formation on a toponym ending in -ίς — fits well with Ptolemy's first form. In principle, one should date this inscription before AD 200, i.e. before the city was refounded as Eleutheropolis, but the script suggests that it is much later, even though it is difficult to date graffiti containing cursive letter-forms. All the Greek and Latin inscriptions after 200 seem to call the town by its new name, Eleutheropolis; and it is found, for example, in inscriptions (even late ones) in which the era of Eleutheropolis is used, and where it was necessary to avoid confusion with other local eras.³⁰⁴ However, the local name must also have remained in use, since the town is called Beth-Guvrīn in the Talmud,³⁰⁵ and is known today as Bayt Ġibrīn.

The final -ά of the *ethnicon* represents the vocative case which presupposes that the text began in direct speech with a verb such as παύῃ, « May you rest in peace! », followed by a personal name, ΚΗΦΟΛΙC or ΚΗΦΟΑΙC, which I cannot explain.

Παύῃ ΚΗΦΟΑΙC Β(ετ)ογαβρίτα. ΓΕΡΟ Δ(ω)ρόθεος.

« Rest in peace - - -, of Betogabris. - - - Dôrothéos ».

III. The Greek inscriptions copied by Bankes in Petra (Figs. 16, 18-19)

All these inscriptions have been published in *IGLJ* IV. However, for convenience, I have retained the numbering used by Bankes on his lithographed plate (Fig. 16)³⁰⁶ and have added the equivalents in *IGLJ* IV.

Bankes 2 = IGLJ IV, 50.

The inscription painted on the back wall of the Urn Tomb, which commemorates its conversion into a church in the time of Bishop Jason. The caption on the lithographed plate (Fig. 16) reads:

All that is legible of 11 lines in red paint written in the interior of one of the principal Mausolea. It proves the establishment of Christianity at Petra.

300. *CIL* III 14155.

301. *Jewish War* IV, 447; cf. MÖLLER & SCHMITT 1976: 42.

302. See the sensible remarks of Benziger, *RE*, s.v. Baitogabris and Betabris; see also TSAFRIR, DI SEGNI & GREEN 1994: s.v. Eleutheropolis.

303. Ptolemy V.16.6.

304. See ALT 1914: n°s 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28 for the inscriptions from Beersheba, where the eras of Arabia, Gaza and Eleutheropolis overlapped.

305. See NEUBAUER 1868: 122-125 who quotes late documents, such as the *Acts of the Saints*, which refer to the town by both names concurrently.

306. Note that the number « 1 » on Bankes' lithographed plate refers to the Nabataean Turkmaniyah inscription, n° 36 here.

However, on his fair copy (**Fig. 19**) Banks had written a fuller note:

All that I was able to distinguish of 11 lines written in red paint near the NE angle of a great sepulchral grotto that has been at some period been [sic] converted into a church it is interesting as the only proof that Xtianity was established here since I met with no crosses or other Xtian inscriptions thro'out the remains.

Banks copied only a small part of the inscription, but, though incomplete, his copy is extremely accurate.³⁰⁷

Banks 3 = IGLJ IV, 55.³⁰⁸

This is one of the few texts for which we have Banks' field copy (**Fig. 18**), his fair copy (**Fig. 19**) and a proof from the lithographic stone (**Fig. 16**). Since the monument collapsed on 23rd March 1847,³⁰⁹ it is worth quoting his description of it in full.³¹⁰

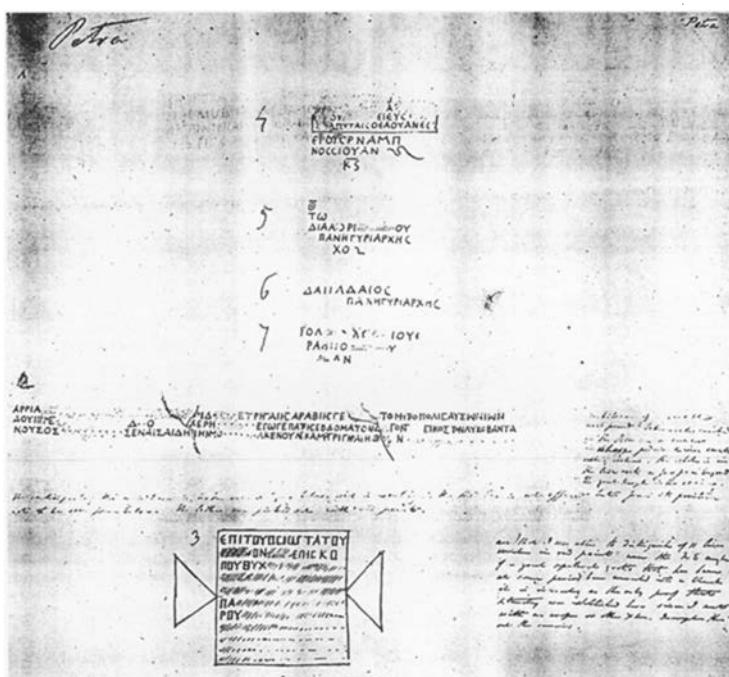


Fig. 19. — Banks' fair copy of the Greek inscriptions he recorded in Petra with his notes on them, see Appendix D. (D/BKL IV.A.17 recto). The numbers on this figure should be ignored since they differ from the numbering on the lithographed plate, which is followed here.

It is in this one spot only [i.e. in front of the Khazneh] throughout the long approach [i.e. the Siq] that the space widens just giving room for this noble excavation [?]; and passing the temple [i.e. the Khazneh] it presently contracts again and renews for a moment all its former features of darkness and ruggedness and horror. A large chamber is hollowed out upon the rt. hand side and near it two human figures coarsely cut in low relief.³¹¹ Nearly opposite is a square recess with pilasters and an arched ornament above with small sitting figures³¹² and a long Greek inscription upon the architrave the centre of which has been broken out but it lies upon the ground and united [?] to the two portions which remain in their places there is no considerable hiatus and it is upon the whole the longest and best inscription that I met with; the letters are picked out with red paint.

307. The letters OCΙΩ in line 1 are on the original, as is confirmed by the photograph; the transcription OCIO in *IGLJIV*, 50 is a misprint.

308. See the second paragraph of Appendix B above.

309. MARTINEAU 1848, III: 29, 32.

310. Journal, II:14. This passage is omitted from the equivalent section in IRBY & MANGLES 1823: 422.

311. Monument n° B 65 (BRÜNNOW & DOMASZEWSKI 1904-1909, I: 231-232), though Brünnow & Domaszewski mention only one crude figure, fig. 262.

312. Monument n° B 66 (BRÜNNOW & DOMASZEWSKI 1904-1909, I: 232-233). The only illustration of this monument seems to be that of Laborde (1830: unnumbered pl. between pp. 56 and 57, and see the description on p. 57; 1836: pl. opposite p. 165).

On his fair copy (**Fig. 19**) he wrote:

Architrave of a small arch formed tabernacle³¹³ enriched in the Roman manner in whose pediment were small sitting statues,³¹⁴ the whole is in the live rock a few paces beyond the great temple [i.e. the Khazneh] in the ravine. The central part of this architrave is broken out and lying below, what is wanting in the third line is not effaced but from its position not to be seen from below. The letters are picked out with red paint.³¹⁵

Bankes apparently assumed that the two sections of the inscription which were still *in situ* at the time, plus the middle one which had fallen to the ground, represented the complete text. Although on his field-copy he drew each block separately, on his fair-copy and the lithograph he showed them fitted together to read as a continuous text. He clearly did not see a fourth fragment, smaller than the others, which fits between his first and second sections, and which was recorded by later travellers. This has been given the siglum « (b) » in the edition in *IGLJ* IV, 55.

Bankes' transcription is free of the errors which mark those of most of his successors. There is no difference between his three versions, except that on the fair-copy and lithograph he corrected Υ to T in two places, thus EYPH to ETPH, and MAYON to MATON. I give the commentary line by line and fragment by fragment, using the same line-numbering as in *IGLJ* IV, 55.

L. 1 a) Bankes' copy is not as complete as that of Bertou which was used for the edition in *CIG* III 4667.

c) Bankes' copy is the best, since, unlike those of Bertou and Laborde, it does not confuse the crescent-shaped Σ joined to the previous letter, with E, or other letters. Thus, for instance, Π]ετρη γαῖης Ἀροβίης can be read without difficulty on his transcription. Bankes copied IΔ at the beginning of this fragment, where all other copyists showed TX and this makes possible the reading ζαθέ[η δ]ὲ με.

d) Once again, Bankes' copy is excellent and completely free of errors.

L. 2 a) The first word seems to be ΔΟΥΗΜΕ, with the last two letters joined, which is followed on Bankes' copy by a Δ where the others recorded an A.

c) Bertou's KEPH is confirmed; similarly, one can read ἔγωγε and πατρης in their entirety.

d) Bankes' copy is excellent and the engraver's error, λυκοβαντα for λυκαβαντα (also recorded by Bertou and Laborde) is confirmed.

L. 3 a) Bankes' excellent copy shows the natural reading, [ῆρπα]σεν αἰς Αἰδή[ν], which can only be achieved on the later copies by extensive emendation.

c) Bankes realized that a number of letters were ligatured, a fact missed by all his successors.

d) Bankes saw only one letter.

All in all, although Bankes' transcription does not fill in the gaps in the middle of line 2, it does allow us to discard several corrections made on the basis of the later copies. The text is a poem of four lines, a fact masked by the arrangement of the original as a continuous text spread over three lines. In the reading below, the text is arranged in the four lines of the poem and the end of each of the three lines of the inscription is marked by || while

313. Bankes used the term « tabernacle » to describe the arched recess which can be seen on Laborde's drawing of this monument (1830: pl. « Tombeau avec une inscription grecque »; 1836: pl. opposite p. 165). He also described a curious arched recess in the wall of a house south-east of Hayat in the Ḥawrān as a « Tabernacle or pulpit » (D/BKL V.L 4 recto, see SARTRE-FAURIAT 2004: 110 [top left], 109 [description]). [NNL & MCAM]

314. There appears to be some confusion here. Laborde's drawing (see note 312) shows that B 66 consisted of two monuments. On the left was a *perpendicular rectangular* opening, flanked by pilasters, and surmounted by an arched architrave in which there was a relief of sitting figures. On the right, was an *arched niche sloping* outwards from top to bottom at an angle of about 75°. This niche, which to judge from his use of the term in the Ḥawrān (see note 313), was what Bankes was referring to as a « tabernacle », is also flanked by pilasters and is surmounted by a semi-circular architrave. Unfortunately, Laborde's drawing leaves it uncertain whether this too contained a relief. It also does not show which of the two architraves bore the Greek inscription. Bankes' descriptions suggest that it was the one over the rectangular opening on the left, but his use of the word « tabernacle » leaves open the possibility that he could have meant the right hand one to which, by a lapse of memory, he had mistakenly « transferred » the figures from the left one. [NNL & MCAM]

315. The caption on the proof of the lithographed plate (**Fig. 16**) reads: « Architrave of a small arch-formed Tabernacle enriched in the Roman manner, cut in the live rock: the centre part is broken out & lies below. What is wanting in the third line is not effaced but is not legible from below ».

the end of each fragment is shown by]. It uses Bankes' transcription as the primary text, adding supplementary material (underlined here) from block (b), which he did not see, and where other copies fill some of the gaps. Restorations of text not recorded on any copy are within [] and emendations are within (). From now on we can read:

'Αρριανὸ[ς] μὲν μοῦστ' ὁ]|νομα[ζαθέ]η δ[ὲ με Π]έτρη γαῖης Ἀραβίης γε|[ίνα]το μητρόπολις
 Αὐσωνίων|| ΔΟΥΗΜΕ-----Δ..Ο---|θε(σ)μ[ῶ]ν κ(α)ὶ γλυ[κερῆ]ς κύδος] ἔγωγε πάτρης
 ἐβδόματον δ[έ μ 'ἄ]γοντα καὶ εἰκόστον λυκόβαντα|| νοῦσος] (πανδαμάτειρ' ἥρπα)σεν αἰς
 Αἴδη|[ν].
 Τοῦτο δ' ἐμὴν κρα[δ]ίην μοῦ[nov δ]άκεν, οὔνεκα μητρὶ γηραιῆ θ[[ρ](ή)]νον[ζ] ἀε[νάους]
 λιπόμην||.

« Arrianos is my name, venerable Petra, Metropolis of the land of Arabia, begot me;
 From Ausonia [---] the sacred laws; and, for me, the glory of a sweet posterity;
 I fought for the twenty-seventh complete year, but the sickness which overcomes every one of us
 has dragged me off to Hades.
 Only this gnaws at my heart, that I have left my aged mother to lamentations without end. »

Bankes 4 = IGLJ IV, II

Bankes did not see line 1, but in line 2 he saw a little more than I did. I give below our copies in parallel columns:

Bankes

vac.
 ΡΟΛ——ΛΟ——ΙΟΥC
 ΡΑΗΝΟ—————Υ
 ——ΛΝ

Sartre

Ο——Π
 ΟΛ - - -ΜΙΟΥ
 ΔΡΑΗΝΟC——Υ
 ΑΝ

Unfortunately, this does little to improve the reading of the first two lines.

Bankes 5 = IGLJ IV, 12

Bankes' copy is much less complete than my own. He did not see the patronym at the beginning of line 2 and he omitted the whole of line 3.

Bankes 6 = IGLJ IV, 15

L. 2 ΤΩ supports the transcriptions of Palmer and Visconti, against that of Domaszewski, who suggested TOI.

L. 3 ΔΙΑ, again with Palmer and Visconti, against Domaszewski's ΔΙΛ. What follows could be read 'Αφρι[— —]οῦ

Bankes 7 = IGLJ IV, 18

Bankes gives an accurate representation of the arrangement of the lines, both within the field and outside it. He saw one letter of an extra line above that read by all his successors, though I cannot identify the character. The line numbers below are those of the edition in *IGLJ* IV, 18.

L. 1 Bankes saw Λ or A.

L. 2 ΟΥ——— EΙΕΥCI, only Bankes saw the two letters at the beginning of this line.

L. 3 I can make nothing of the letters ΑΠΥΤAC or ΑΠΥΤAC read by Bankes, but what follows suggests the name Σοεδου or Σοελου.

L. 4 EΙΟΙCPNAMΠ, Bankes' transcription shows no gap between the first five letters and those which follow in both this line and the next. In both cases the photograph shows him to have been correct, and this provides even more support for Domaszewski's restoration, ἔτους ρνά' μηνὸς Σιουαν κς'.

APPENDIX E

A COPTIC INSCRIPTION FROM SINAI COPIED BY LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

Sarah Clackson[†]³¹⁶

One of the sheets of fair copies by Linant de Bellefonds in the Bankes' archive (**Fig. 7a**) bears facsimiles of five inscriptions which he recorded in Wādī Mukattab, one Greek (Appendix D, n° 1), three Nabataean (n°s 14-16), one Arabic (Appendix F, n° 1) and one Coptic.

The Coptic text, like the Greek, was also copied by Lepsius in 1845 and published by him in his *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.³¹⁷ Lepsius did not provide a reading of the inscription but in 1859 Lenormant published a transliteration into a normalized Coptic font, a reading and a Latin translation.³¹⁸

Based on Lepsius' later copy of the Wādī Mukattab inscription (see **Fig. 7b/(iii)**), Linant de Bellefonds' copy (**Fig. 7a**) is by no means accurate, with slips in each of the three lines of text.

Further to Lenormant's reading of the text, I would like to suggest reading a form of the personal name *Pisrael* (Πισραήλ) at the end of the final line, so that the inscription reads as follows:

Transcription

1. † πος αριπηεγ πεκβοκ
 2. ενρεφρνοπι μηна κεор-
 3. κι γοс π(±2)ρ(±2)на

1. † πхоеис арипиееуе ῆпеквѡк 2. ῆпрефрнове, 2-3. гεωрги γιοс ...

Translation

† O Lord, remember your sinning servant, Mēna George son of

316. It is with deep regret that we record the death of our colleague Sarah Clackson on 10th August 2003.

317. LEPSIUS 1849-1856: pl. 20, n° 157.

318. LENORMANT 1859: 201.

APPENDIX F

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM SINAI COPIED BY LINANT DE BELLEFONDS³¹⁹

Robert Hoyland

Both texts are written in an angular Kufic script of the second-third centuries AH/eighth-ninth centuries AD. The linkages and ligatures are occasionally faulty, especially in the second inscription (e.g. *wāw* is joined to *hā'* in *wahda-hu*, final *lām* is joined to initial *alif* in *rasūl Allāh*, the first four letters of *taslīmān* are not joined, and the final *kāf* in *šarīk* is written oddly). Little can be said about this at present (I have seen neither photograph nor original), but it may simply be a result of a very uneven surface or of inaccurate copying.

1. From Wādī Mukattab (Fig. 7a).

Invocation by a Christian.

- 1. *yā rabb iğfir li- 'abd-ka al-hāti'*
- 2. *sa'd bin ḡabr (?) bin 'umar* +
- 3. *al-šammās*

- 1. O Lord, forgive thy sinful servant
- 2. Sa'd ibn Jabr (?) ibn 'Umar +
- 3. the deacon.

The cross at the end of the second line and the designation « the deacon » tell us that the inscriber was a Christian. It is well known that Christians of the Middle East began composing literary texts in Arabic from the late eighth century onwards, but almost no attention has been paid to the fact that they also began producing inscriptions in Arabic, so we cannot yet be sure whether they evolved a form of expression distinct from that of their Muslim counterparts. Leaving aside the matter of phraseology, Christian texts are at least recognizable as here by a cross placed before and/or after the text (thus also in Sharon 1993: 57-59, n° 5). In the present inscription one might note that the phrase « sinful servant » is reminiscent of Luke 5:8 « Depart from me for I am a sinful man », translated *rağul hāti'* in the Arabic Gospels.

2. From Jabal Nāqūs (Figs 10a and 10b).

A Muslim profession of faith.

- 1. *allāh lā ilāh illā huwa*
- 2. *waḥda-hu lā šarīk*
- 3. *la-hu muḥammad rasūl allāh ṣallā*
- 4. *allāh 'alay-hi wa-sallam taslīmān*

- 1. God, there is no god but He
- 2. alone, no associate
- 3. has He; Muhammad is the messenger of God, may
- 4. God incline unto him and grant him peace.

319. For the circumstances in which Linant de Bellefonds made these copies, see above.

This is an extended form of the *šahādah*, very commonly found in graffiti all over the Muslim world. Its basic constituents are already found in the Qur'ān *Allāh lā ilāh illā huwa* (II.255; III.2; IV.87; XX.8; LXIV.13), *Allāh waḥda-hu* (VII.70; XXXIX.45; XL.84; LX.4), *lā šarīk la-hu* (VI.163), Muhammad as *rasūl Allāh* (*passim*), *ṣallā Allāh 'alay-hi wa-sallam taslīmān* (XXXIII.56, addressed to « those who believe », rather than to God) and all also occur in the Dome of the Rock inscription commissioned by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (65-86 AH/AD 685-705).

SIGLA

B + a number	The numbers assigned to many of the monuments of Petra in BRÜNNOW & VON DOMASZEWSKI 1904-1909.	Lane	JAUSSEN & SAVIGNAC 1909-1922. LANE 1863-1893.
Bénédite	Copies of inscriptions from Sinai made by G. Bénédite and published in <i>CIS</i> II.	Lepsius	Copies of inscriptions published in LEPSIUS 1849-1856.
<i>CIG</i> III	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . III. Ex materia collecta ab Augusto Boehhio. Berlin, 1843.	Lottin de Laval	Copies of inscriptions published in LOTTIN DE LAVAL 1855-1859.
<i>CIL</i> III	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> III. Berlin: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin/Reimer, 1873-1902.	LPNab	Nabataean inscriptions published in LITTMANN 1914.
<i>CIS</i> II	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> . Pars II. Paris, 1889-1954.	Montagu	Copies of inscriptions published in WORTLEY MONTAGU 1766.
Euting	Copies of inscriptions published in EUTING 1891.	PAT	Palmyrene inscriptions published in HILLERS & CUSSINI 1996.
Grey	Copies of inscriptions published in GREY 1834.	RE	<i>Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
H	Nabataean tomb inscriptions at Madā'in Ṣāliḥ published in HEALEY 1993.	RES	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900-1968.
<i>IGLJ</i> IV	Greek and Latin inscriptions published in SARTRE 1993.	Rüppell	Copies of inscriptions published in RÜPPELL 1822.
JSNab	Nabataean inscriptions published in	Stone	Inscriptions catalogued in STONE 1992-1994.
		Wadd	Greek and Latin inscriptions published in WADDINGTON 1870.

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