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CONTENTS

In Tribute to Oleg Grabar	vii
Bibliography 1993–2007	viii
PATRICIA CRONE, “Barefoot and Naked”: What Did the Bedouin of the Arab Conquests Look Like?	1
MICHAEL COOK, The Namesake Taboo	11
GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU, The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ‘Abd al-Malik’s Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman’s Glosses	17
EVA R. HOFFMAN, Between East and West: The Wall Paintings of Samarra and the Construction of Abbasid Princely Culture	107
YASSER TABBAA, Andalusian Roots and Abbasid Homage in the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin in Marrakech	133
NASSER RABBAT, Design without Representation in Medieval Egypt	147
SHEILA S. BLAIR, A Brief Biography of Abu Zayd	155
SCOTT REDFORD, A Newly Read Inscription on the Walls of Antalya, Turkey	177
CYNTHIA ROBINSON, Marginal Ornament: Poetics, Mimesis, and Devotion in the Palace of the Lions	185
HOWAYDA AL-HARITHY, Weaving Historical Narratives: Beirut’s Last Mamluk Monument	215
JONATHAN M. BLOOM, The “Fatimid” Doors of the Fakahani Mosque in Cairo	231
LISA GOLOMBEK, From Timur to Tivoli: Reflections on <i>il giardino all’italiana</i>	243
ANTHONY WELCH, The Emperor’s Grief: Two Mughal Tombs	255
DAVID J. ROXBURGH, “The Eye Is Favored for Seeing the Writing’s Form”: On the Sensual and the Sensuous in Islamic Calligraphy	275
TÜLAY ARTAN, <i>A Book of Kings</i> Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting	299
MIKA NATIF, The SOAS <i>Anvār-i Suhaylī</i> : The Journey of a “Reincarnated” Manuscript	331
MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON, Mostly Modern Miniatures: Classical Persian Painting in the Early Twentieth Century	359

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“BAREFOOT AND NAKED”: WHAT DID THE BEDOUIN OF THE ARAB CONQUESTS LOOK LIKE?

The Syriac churchman Bar Penkaye, who wrote about 690, held the Arab invaders to have been “naked men riding without armor or shield.”¹ In the same vein Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) reports that a certain Hiran sent by the last Sasanid emperor to spy on the Arabs told his employer that the invaders were “a barefoot people, naked and weak, but very brave.”² A Muslim text dating from, perhaps, the later eighth century similarly insists that the invaders were “barefoot and naked, without equipment, strength, weapons, or provisions.”³ In all three texts the word “naked” seems to be used in the sense of poorly equipped and lacking body armor rather than devoid of clothes, and all three depict the Arabs as poorly equipped in order to highlight the extraordinary, God-assisted nature of the Arab conquests. “I have a sharp arrowhead that penetrates iron, but it is no use against the naked,” as Rustam says in the *Shāhnāma*, in his premonition of the fall of the Sasanids.⁴ But precisely what *did* the Arab invaders wear? It would be the first question to spring to Oleg Grabar’s mind. Under normal circumstances it would be the last to spring to mine, for as Oleg is fond of telling his colleagues, historians tend to ignore the concrete physical manifestation of things; in particular, they do not think of the way things looked and so miss an important dimension of the past. I have always pleaded guilty to that charge. Having benefited from Oleg’s lively company and warm heart for over ten years, however, I shall now try to make amends, if only with a trifling offering: how should we tell a filmmaker who wanted to screen the story of the Arab conquests to depict the conquerors? More precisely, how should we tell him to depict the desert Arabs who participated in the conquests, for the bedouin will not have been dressed in the same way as the settled Arabs, and I should like to keep things simple.

Most of us would probably reply that the hypothetical filmmaker should depict the bedouin warriors as men in kaffiyehs and flowing robes, along the lines

familiar from *Lawrence of Arabia* and countless Hollywood films; but as far as the bedouin of pre-Islamic Arabia are concerned, it would seem that we are wrong. Though “naked” may be a little hyperbolic, both literary and iconographic evidence suggests that it is not far from the truth.

To start with the literary evidence, Ammianus Marcellinus, commander of the eastern armies about 350 AD, tells us that the Arabs of the Syrian desert were “warriors of equal rank, half nude, clad in dyed cloaks as far as the loins.”⁵ The word he uses for their cloaks is *sagulum*, a short, military tunic, and one wonders how literally one should take him: were they wearing Roman army issue, passed down from relatives and friends who had served in the Roman army, or alternatively stolen from unlucky soldiers? (“When bedouin raiders in the desert encountered someone from the settled areas, it was their custom to accost him with the command, *Ishlah yā walad*, ‘Strip, boy!’ meaning that they intended to rob him of his clothing,” as Jabbur says of the Syrian bedouin many centuries later.⁶) Ammianus does not tell us what, if anything, the warriors wore on their heads, but of another Arab, this time one in Roman service at Adrianople, he says that he was long haired and naked except for a loincloth.⁷ In the same vein Malka, a fourth-century Syrian who was captured by bedouin between Aleppo and Edessa and whose adventures were recorded by Jerome, describes how the Ishmaelites descended upon his party of about seventy travelers “with their long hair flying from under their headbands.” He did not think of them as wearing turbans or kaffiyehs, then, or as shielding their heads from the sun by any kind of head cover at all. Like Ammianus, he says that they wore cloaks over their “half-naked bodies,” but he adds that they wore broad military boots (*caligae*).⁸ Again one wonders if they were wearing Roman army issue. They transported Malka into the desert and set him to work as a shepherd, and there he “learned to go naked,” he says, presumably meaning that he learned



Fig. 1. Ivory carving, right arm of the Chair of Maximianus. Museo Arcivescovile, Ravenna. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

to cover himself with a mere skin: this seems to have been all that slaves wore in pre-Islamic Arabia.⁹ One would infer that he had handed over his clothes to his captors.

We now turn to the iconographic evidence, looking at it region by region.

SYRIA

To start in Syria, there is a representation of semi-naked bedouin in an ivory carving from a chair made in the first half of the sixth century in Antioch or (under Syro-Palestinian influence) Alexandria (fig. 1).¹⁰ It depicts Joseph's brothers selling Joseph to two Saracens: the brothers are represented by the three figures on the left, Joseph stands in the middle, and two Saracens appear with two camels behind them to the right. The Saracens, who are armed with a bow and a spear respectively, have long, apparently plaited hair and wear nothing on their heads or their upper torsos, merely loose garments wrapped around their waists, which reach as far as their ankles but expose one of their legs as they walk. The brothers are also scantily clad, but in more military-looking outfits, and it is they rather than the Saracens who are wearing boots. The Saracens are shod in sandals. There is of course no guarantee that the carving is based on observation rather than artistic convention, but one point is clear: it was not as heavily clad figures in the

style of *Lawrence of Arabia* that bedouin were envisaged in sixth-century Syria.

Another ivory carving on the same chair shows the Saracens selling Joseph to Potiphar (fig. 2). Here Joseph is seen twice, first on a camel (on the left) and next between Potiphar and one of the Saracens, to whom she is handing money. Potiphar is wearing classical-looking robes. The Saracens' robes also appear more flowing than in the first panel, but here as there their lower body wraps are split in the middle, exposing their legs, and their arms are bare. In fact, their entire upper torsos could be bare, though it is hard to tell. The short tunic that Joseph is wearing clearly includes a drape over one shoulder, and the adult Saracens could have a similar item on their shoulders.¹¹ Maybe the artist dressed his characters in classical clothes in order to conjure up a bygone age. In any case, he depicted the Saracens with the same long, apparently plaited hair as in the first panel, and he gave them sandals, too, but not any kind of headgear. One would take it to have been long hair of this kind that Malka saw flowing under headbands.

Yet another sixth-century carving, also a Syrian or Syro-Egyptian work, depicts two brothers selling Joseph to a Saracen.¹² Joseph and his brothers are wearing short tunics similar to those in which rural people are depicted on the mosaic floors of sixth-century churches in Madaba.¹³ The Saracen is wearing a mantle that leaves the left part of his chest exposed, but what he is wearing underneath



Fig. 2. Ivory carving, right arm of the Chair of Maximianus. Museo Arcivescovile, Ravenna. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

is not clear. All four are barefoot and bareheaded.

Finally, we have the depiction a man armed with a bow, sword, and whip, leading a camel (fig. 3); this appears on the mosaic floor of the church of the monastery of Kayanos at 'Uyun Musa, at the eastern top of the Dead Sea, dated by Piccirillo to the second half of the sixth century.¹⁴ In Piccirillo's words, the man "is half naked, wearing a long loincloth reaching beneath his knees with a cloak thrown over his left shoulder that covers his forearm." Piccirillo suggests that he was an auxiliary soldier and deems the representation to fit the "exaggeratedly dramatic" literary accounts of Arab soldiers given by authors such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Malka in Jerome.¹⁵ Whether the Arab was an auxiliary soldier or not, however, the representation actually seems to be quite different. The most dramatic feature of the mosaic is the Arab's bulging chest.

Neither Ammianus nor Jerome says anything about chests, but both highlight the long, flowing hair of the Arabs; though damage to the mosaic makes it impossible to say what, if anything, the soldier is wearing on his head, it is at least clear that he does not have hair (or a kaffiyeh) coming down to his shoulders. The clothes involved are quite different, too. Ammianus' Arabs were wearing short military tunics, Jerome's were dressed in cloaks and boots, but the soldier in the mosaic is wearing a waist wrap and shawl along with sandals. This could well be based on observation, for the waist wrap and shawl (*izār* and *ridā'*) are the two chief items of male clothing in pre-Islamic poetry.¹⁶ The main feature that the three representations have in common is the skimpiness of the outfits described. Pitched against a horsemen encased in iron, Arabs such as these would indeed have come across as naked.



Fig. 3. Mosaic from the church of Kaianos at 'Uyun Musa, Mount Nebo. (Photo courtesy of Michele Picirillo)

In sharp contrast to these representations, an image on a piece of Coptic tapestry dating between the sixth and eighth centuries and said to show Joseph and an Ishmaelite merchant on a camel depicts both Joseph and the Ishmaelite as thoroughly wrapped up.¹⁷ But the alleged camel may well be a horse,¹⁸ and the alleged Ishmaelite seems to be wearing trousers. So this can be left out of consideration.

SOUTH ARABIA

If the inhabitants of the Roman empire envisaged the Saracens as wearing nothing on their heads and not much on their bodies, how were they seen by the Arabs themselves? We may start in the south.

Here the first image to capture one's attention is a crude relief on an alabaster incense burner from Shabwa in the Hadramawt, probably dating from around the third century AD (fig. 4). It depicts a man riding on an unsaddled camel, positioned in front of the hump; he holds a short sword or a camel stick or some such implement in his right hand and the reins in his left, and a water skin or shield is attached by a strap to the rear of the hump. He is stark naked, and, apart from the reins, the camel is as naked as he is.

The text gives the name of the person commemorated, presumably identical with the person represented, as Adhlal ibn Wahab¹⁹ but does not otherwise tell us anything about him.¹⁹ Macdonald wonders whether the incense burner is a funerary object rather than a dedicatory one (as suggested in the catalogue of the exhibition in which it was most recently displayed²⁰), for the inscription does not mention any deity, only a name and a patronym, and the vast majority of funerary stelae in both North and South Arabia only give the deceased's name and patronym. If the object is funerary, the relief might in Macdonald's opinion represent the naked soul of the deceased riding his camel on the Day of Judgment.²¹ But as Macdonald himself stresses, this is highly conjectural. Besides, did the pagans of South Arabia believe in the resurrection? There is nothing to suggest that the deceased was a Jew or a Christian. And the people depicted on other funerary reliefs are fully clothed. On the whole, it seems more likely that a bedouin of the Hadrami plateau is being depicted here, for there are plenty of naked Arabs in the rock reliefs, as will be seen. Why such a man should figure on a Shabwan incense burner is another question.

A fully clothed camel rider appears on a funerary relief, also of alabaster, dated to roughly the first



Fig. 4. Relief from an alabaster incense burner. British Museum, ANE 125682. (Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

to the third century AD, with an inscription identifying the deceased as Mushayqar Hamayat ibn Yashuf (fig. 5).²² He too is holding a short spear or camel stick in his right hand and the reins in his left, and he is sitting on a fine camel saddle of a type also attested on a bronze figurine of a camel thought to be from Yemen.²³ Unlike the wild bedouin on the incense burner, this camel rider was presumably a soldier in the local army, dressed in conformity with the

sense of propriety of the settled people. Of decently dressed camel-riders, presumably soldiers in the local armies, we also have an example in a relief from Dura Europos that shows such a rider seated on a saddled camel, armed with a long lance, and wearing a tunic and mantle.²⁴ But he is bareheaded, and maybe the South Arabian was too: Calvet and Robin interpret his apparent head cover as a hair style.²⁵

In another funerary relief, a Sabaeen alabaster of the second or third century AD, the lower panel shows a horseman with the north Arabian name of 'Ijl ibn Sa'dallat touching a camel with his spear, the act by which a camel raider appropriates a camel. The upper panel shows the deceased sitting at a table with his wife and child in attendance, or perhaps the deceased at a banquet, and both the stool and the table indicate that we are in a settled environment, as also suggested by the fact that the *nisba* of the deceased was Qryn: he may have come from Qaryat al-Faw or from Wadi 'l-Qura.²⁶ He was not a bedouin raiding camels, then, but rather a sedentary Arab engaged in what one would assume to be camel catching staged as a sport.²⁷ All the figures are fully clothed, the deceased in a long robe and the other two in shorter garments, and the deceased seems to be wearing some kind of head cover, though his putative wife and children are clearly bareheaded. The deceased's headgear, if it is not simply hair, looks like some sort of stiff bonnet, certainly not like a turban. South Arabian reliefs, which usually show people bareheaded, do not in fact seem to depict any turbans at all.

Moving slightly north to Qaryat al-Faw, which flourished from roughly the second century BC to roughly the fifth century AD, we find a bronze statue of a man wearing nothing but a loincloth, but he is kneeling reverently, presumably in prayer, and his outfit is more likely to be a form of *ihrām* than bedouin dress.²⁸ Also at Qaryat al-Faw we find two drawings on plaster walls of horsemen hunting or raiding camels. One horseman could be naked, but the other is wearing something like a tunic or at least a skirt. Whether they have headgear is impossible to tell.²⁹

THE DESERT

That leaves us with the countless rock drawings left by the inhabitants of the desert themselves. The most striking image among these is a drawing of a horse-



Fig. 5. Alabaster funerary relief. Louvre, AO 1128. (Photo courtesy of Michael Macdonald)

man hunting an oryx with a short spear (fig. 6). He is wearing a waist wrap similar to that of the Arab soldier in the sixth-century mosaic; the thickened lines across his shoulders could be taken to suggest that he is also wearing a *ridā'*, and he has bushy or kinky hair that, although quite long, sticks straight out from his head, in a style that is quite common in Safaitic drawings.³⁰ Unless we take his hair actually to be some sort of hat, he is not wearing anything on his head. Other drawings do depict headgear, sometimes very elaborate, but apparently in the form of plumes, which are hardly intended here.³¹ The author of the Safaitic inscription on the same stone claims to have made the drawing, which is thus roughly datable to the period from the first century BC to the fourth century AD. By then, it would seem, the pre-Islamic “uniform” of *īzār* and *ridā'* was in place, but without the turban or other headgear by which it is usually taken to have been complemented.

By the standards of the rock drawings, this horseman is well dressed, for most drawings depict males as

either naked or wearing skimpy clothes “mainly meant to cover the private parts,” as Nayeem puts it.³² But these drawings are difficult to date, and though some are Safaitic,³³ many of them are likely to be much older than the period under consideration here.

There is an example of what the makers of rock art wore in a Thamudic drawing from the Tabuk region of northern Arabia, which depicts a horseman and two men in a chariot—a driver and an archer (fig. 7).³⁴ The horseman, who is riding in front of the chariot, appears to be every bit as naked as the camel on the Sabaean stela, though one should perhaps envisage him as wearing a loincloth. He also seems to have long, flowing (rather than bushy) hair. The driver could be naked, at least as far as his upper torso is concerned (the lower part of his body is hidden from view), but maybe the draftsman simply refrained from trying to depict his clothes. He could be bareheaded, but his head is pointed, perhaps to suggest the conical helmet worn by Assyrian soldiers.³⁵ The footsoldier who is pursuing the chariot and shooting arrows at it, however (fig. 8), is dressed in a long waist wrap, with a slit at the side or the front to allow freedom of movement, along the lines of those depicted on the ivory panel of Saracens buying Joseph from his brothers (see fig. 1). He too seems to have long hair.

This drawing is likely to be very old. The chariot points to ancient Near Eastern times, perhaps the seventh to fourth century BC,³⁶ and the footsoldier has a long, pointed thong between his legs, a feature also found on images of Arabs on Assyrian reliefs (although precisely what it is meant to represent is unknown). Indeed, one wonders if the occupants of the chariot should not actually be identified as Assyrians (or perhaps Babylonians) pursuing one Arab while being shot at by another.³⁷

The age of the drawing notwithstanding, the clothing and hairstyle of the Arab archer are not drastically different from those examined above, suggesting that the desert Arabs dressed in much the same way for over a millennium before the rise of Islam. In a drawing by W. Boucher of a detail from the Assyrian reliefs showing the campaign of Ashurbanipal (688–627 BC) against the Arabs, the Arabs, with plaited hair, are shown dismounted from their camels and dressed in wraparounds, each with an opening to allow freedom of movement (fig. 9). Their wraparounds are not flowing like those of the Saracens who purchase Joseph from his brothers (fig. 1),



Fig. 6. Rock drawing depicting a Safaitic horseman. (Photo courtesy of G. M. H. King)



Fig. 7. Rock drawing. (Photo courtesy of Michael Macdonald)



Fig. 8. Rock drawing, detail. (Photo courtesy of Michael Macdonald)

and their hair looks shorter and a good deal neater, too, but given that there are more than a thousand years between the images, the continuity is nonetheless striking. To a somewhat lesser degree, the same holds true when one compares the Assyrian representations with the Safaitic rock drawings and the Madaba mosaic.

In sum, what did the bedouin participants in the conquests wear? The answer seems to be generally not very much at all: either bits and pieces of what their settled neighbors—whether the latter were Byzantines, Arabians, or (one assumes) Iranians—wore, or a wrap-around and a *ridā'* covering part of their upper torso, and perhaps even sandals, but rarely, insofar as one can tell, anything on their heads. It is the absence of headgear that is the most surprising. Whatever the variations, all the desert dwellers seem to have looked a

good deal more like their ancestors of Assyrian times than like Musil's *Rwala*.³⁸ As far as desert clothing is concerned, Arabia on the eve of Islam seems still to have been rooted in the ancient Near East.

When and why did the desert Arabs start covering themselves up? I cannot claim to know. My guess would be that they started doing so in the centuries after the rise of Islam, and in consequence of the rise of Islam, for Islam drew the bedouin closer together to the settled people, giving them shared religious and other norms. Wrapping up was what the people who mattered did, and so the bedouin came to do so too (at least when they could afford it). According to Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 819 or later), the Tanukh who met the caliph al-Mahdi (d. 785) in Qinnasrin were wearing turbans. They were trying to look their best on this occasion.³⁹ A Byzantine miniature of ca. 976–1025 depicting Simeon Stylites venerated by Arabs shows Simeon in a hooded monk's habit and the three Arabs wearing turbans, now apparently as a matter of course.⁴⁰ But I had better leave this question for another birthday.

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NOTES

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1. Bar Penkaye in A. Mingana (ed. and tr.), *Sources syriaques*, Leipzig, n.d. [1907?], 141; trans. in S. P. Brock, "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 58.
2. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris 1899–1910), 4:417, 2:421.
3. D. Sourdel, "Un pamphlet musulman anonyme d'époque 'abbāside contre les chrétiens," *Revue des études islamiques* 34 (1966) 33 (text), 26 (trans.). For a reconstruction of the text from which the fragment comes see J.-M. Gaudeul, "The Correspondence between Leo and 'Umar," *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984), 109–57, with the passage in question on 155. The transmitter is Isma'īl b. 'Ayyash.
4. Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. E. E. Bertels, 9 vols. (Moscow, 1960–71), vol. 9: l. 119 (drawn to my attention by Masoud Jafari).



Fig. 9. W. Boucher, detail of an Assyrian relief, Room L of the North Palace at Nineveh. British Museum Or. Dr. 28. (Drawing reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

5. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 4, 3; quoted in J. B. Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature before the Rise of Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 102; also discussed in J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989), 344, 347–48.
6. Jibrā'il Sulaymān Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East*, trans. L. I. Conrad (Albany, 1995 [Arabic original 1988]), 1n, with vivid illustrations on 2–3.
7. Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 348, with reference to Ammianus, xxxi, 16, 6.
8. Jerome, "Vita Malchi Monachi Captivi," paragraphs 4–5, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), 23: cols. 57–58, trans. in Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature," 103; cf. I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, DC, 1984), 284ff.; Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 348.
9. G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897), 44 (with reference to 'Antara's Mu'allāqa).
10. See O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art: A Survey of the Monuments* (Oxford, 1925), 172, 205ff.; idem, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (New York, 1961, orig. publ. 1911), 203ff.
11. Cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 206.
12. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 566; cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 208; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalter* (Mainz, 1952), 80–81; pl. 54, no. 172.
13. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations 1967–1997* (Jerusalem, 1998), 333 (Church of the Deacon Thomas, whole floor); 337 (Stephanos spearing a lion, wearing "a sleeveless orbiculated tunic...tied to the right shoulder" that seems to be identical with that of the brother on the left); 338–39 (donkey driver, soldier defending himself against a bear), 343 (date); 345, 347 (Church of Saints Lot and Procopius, whole floor).
14. M. Piccirillo, *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici*, 207–8; Piccirillo and Alliata, *Mount Nebo*, 356–58, with a better photo (fig. 224).
15. Piccirillo, in both *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici* and *Mount Nebo*, and with reference to Ammianus and Jerome in *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici*, 225 n. 10.
16. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 44.
17. A. Kakovkine, "Le tissu copte des VIIe–VIIIe siècle du musée métropolitain," *Göttinger Miszellen* 129 (1992): 53–59. It was formerly classified as showing the flight into Egypt.
18. Presumably it was classified as a camel on the basis of its peculiar head (which mostly looks like that of a dog) and the similarity of its hooves and tail to those of the camel at Dura Europos (cf. the reference given below, n. 24). But it has no hump, and its legs and harness are those of a horse.
19. St. J. Simpson, ed., *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen* (London, 2002), 97–98 no. 110; also in W. Seipel (ed.), *Jemen: Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba* (Vienna, 1998), 86 and 88 no. 20, both without comments on the absence of clothes; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1900–1968), 7: no. 4690.
20. Simpson, *Queen of Sheba*, 97–98 no. 110.

21. Michael Macdonald, personal communication with reference to a discussion at the recent congress "Rencontres sabéennes 10," in St. Petersburg.
22. Y. Calvet and C. Robin, *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte: Les antiquités arabiques du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1997), 109–10 no. 20, where both the image and the text are reproduced along with a transliteration, translation, discussion, and bibliography.
23. Reproduced in Simpson, *Queen of Sheba*, 99 no. 113.
24. A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos* (Oxford, 1973), fig. 40.
25. Cf. the reference given above, n. 22 ("Il porte une coiffure arrondée avec une sorte de pendentif à l'arrière").
26. Louvre, AO 1029: see Calvet and Robin, *Arabie heureuse*, 107–8 no. 18 (image, text, transliteration, translation, discussion, and bibliography); A. Caubert, *Aux sources du monde arabe: L'Arabie avant l'Islam, collections du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1990) 28 and 39 no. 3 (where the upper panel is interpreted as a banquet scene). For the meaning of the gesture with the spear see M. C. A. Macdonald, "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 1, 1 (1990): 24–28, with a reproduction of the stela on 26.
27. This seems at least as likely as that the deceased should be shown as engaged in camel-raiding, perhaps as a desire to claim links with a real or nomadic past, as suggested by Macdonald, "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" 25–26; idem, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding: The Horse in Pre-Islamic Arabia," in *Furusiyya*, 2 vols., ed. D. Alexander (Riyad, 1996), 1:76. Either is compatible with the conjecture that he was a caravaner (Calvet and Robin, *Arabie heureuse*, 108).
28. A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of a Pre-Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia* (London, 1982), 109 no. 3.
29. Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau*, 130–33 (where the rider called Salim b. Ka'b seems to be hunting rather than raiding, given that the camel appears to have been speared or shot with an arrow).
30. G. M. H. King, *The Basalt Desert Rescue Survey: Saffaitic Inscriptions* (forthcoming; my thanks to Dr. King for allowing me to reproduce the image).
31. Cf. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 76, 77 fig. 5b, where the upper tier of the headdress looks like giant feathers.
32. M. A. Nayeem, *The Rock Art of Arabia* (Hyderabad, 2000), 337. For some striking examples of naked people see Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 72 nos. 3, 1d, 1g, 1h. Unfortunately, these drawings are known only from hand copies, and there is no way of telling how accurately they represent the originals.
33. M. C. A. Macdonald, "Reflections on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11 (2000): 45.
34. Cf. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 74, 76ff., with the complete composition on 224–25.
35. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 78.
36. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 78; idem, "Wheels in a Land of Camels: Another Look at the Chariot in Arabia," forthcoming in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*.
37. The main objection to this proposition is that the man on horseback is identified in the inscription above him as *hrb*, taken by Macdonald to mean *enemy* warrior on the basis of modern bedouin dialect. But this is clearly conjectural, and the word may not even have been correctly deciphered (cf. Macdonald, "Wheels in a Land of Camels," text no. 9).
38. Cf. A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928).
39. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 431.
40. Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, gr. 1613. The ninth-century miniature of Joseph's brothers selling Joseph to a Saracen is uninformative, since no attempt seems to have been made to distinguish the Saracen from the other figures: all are wearing the same long cloaks and all are bareheaded (cf. A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze* [Paris, 1943], pl. LXI).