

Affiliations carved in stone

*An analysis of kinship and social structure in
the Safaitic inscriptions*

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Samandrag

Denne masteroppgåva tar føre seg dei Safaitiske innskriftene skrive av nomadar i midtausten mellom ca. 1. århundre f.kr til 4. århundre e.kr. Føremålet er å kartlegge slektskapsuttrykk og kva rolle slektskap har spelt samfunna til desse nomadane, sentralt her er slektsgrupper og kva struktur dei har hatt.

Tidlegare forskning innan fagfeltet har avdekka korleis desse gruppene ser ut til å vere stratifisert, og dette er noko masteroppgåva bygger vidare på. Medan det før har vore vanskeleg å få ei tilnærma total oversikt over kjeldematerialet, er nesten alle innskriftene no samla i ein database, OCIANA-databasen. Takka vere denne kan ein no angripe dette kjeldematerialet på ein måte som før ikkje var like gjennomførbart; ved både kvalitativ og kvantitativ analyse. Målet er at dette skal kunne gje ei meir inngåande og breiare forståing av heile slektskapssystemet, i samanheng med resten av samfunnet.

Dei Safaitiske innskriftene er ei uvurderleg kjelde, om enn noko komplisert. Dei er produsert av eit samfunn som elles var munnleg, og er personlege av natur i motsetning til mykje av dei litterære kjeldene ein finn frå samtidige sedentære busettingar i denne perioden. På grunn av den unike naturen til dette kjeldematerialt lyt ein både studere dei enkelte slektsbegrepa som er nytta, og deretter sjå på heilheita dette utgjer. Til slutt blir slektssystemet sett på som struktur i samfunnet. Både ut frå utvalde slektsgrupper og deira oppbygging, men og ved å sjå det i ein unik materiell og sosial kontekst, Hani's grav. Her finn ein ei stor samling av slektsgrupper, andre slektsuttrykk og eit rikt arkeologisk materiale.

Preface

I wish to thank my advisor Jørgen Christian Meyer for guidance, council, and introduction to this fascinating source material. I am also very grateful to my family and friends for all help and support during this time.

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Introduction

ISB 58: *By Bdḥ son of ḥwn son of ḥmdn son of M's¹ son of ḥzn son of Ḥrtt son of Tmn son of Ḍr son of ḥbb son of Zmhr son of Yḍr and he was present at the edge of the desert among associates.*¹

Sometime between the 1st century BCE and the 4th century CE, *Bdḥ*, the author of the inscription above, and his associates were present in the desert in Jordan. For some reason, maybe to preserve his name for prosperity, or out of boredom, he carved the inscription above on a stone. In addition to this inscription, there are so far found over 33.000 Safaitic inscriptions carved mostly by nomads.² These inscriptions give us an invaluable insight into an otherwise oral society, and a view into their world told in their own voice. I will here use this source material to discuss how kinship was used as a structural and connecting factor in the societies of the nomads.

The first Safaitic inscription was found in 1857, and in 1901 the full decipherment of the script came.³ Enno Littmann observed, in *Semitic Inscriptions* (1904), that “[...] the fewer the traces of real civilization are, the more numerous are the Safaitic inscriptions.”⁴ This generalization still holds true, with some exceptions, Umm al-Jimāl and Bostra.⁵ The main distribution area of these inscriptions is mainly the black basalt desert stretching from southern Syria and through the Jordanian panhandle (see map fig. no 1).⁶ The most notable location where a Safaitic inscription has been found is in Pompeii, but also on the coast of Lebanon Palmyra, and Dura Europos.⁷

¹OCIANA, ISB 58.

² Al-Jallad (2015), p. 1.

³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 1.

⁴ Littmann (1904), p. 104.

⁵ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 22.

⁶ Macdonald (1993), p. 304.

⁷ Macdonald (1993), p. 304.



Figure 1, Map of the broader area for this thesis. The main area, the Harra, is the darker field underneath the label for Jordan, continuing up in Syria (Google earth).

The author of the inscription, in the beginning, wrote that “he was present at the edge of the desert among associates.” Wadi Miqat, where the inscription was found, lies as he writes, at the edge of the desert. If he looked to the west, he had the *Harra*, or basalt desert, before him, and turning to the east he would gaze upon the inner desert, *Hamad*, which stretched into present day Iraq. Perhaps he was waiting here at the end of the dry season, for the first rains of the year, when he would migrate to the *Hamad* with his animals. These nomads were pastoralists,⁸ and we find mentions of horses, sheep, goats, and above all, camels.⁹ Thanks to M. C. A. Macdonald, and his paper *The Seasons and Transhumance in the Safaitic Inscriptions* (1992); we have an idea of the seasonal migrating patterns of these nomads.¹⁰ Their year started when the rains came, and they would migrate from the edge of the *Harra*, which had semi-permanent water, to the *Hamad*. There they would spend the winter (*s²ty*), and the season of later rains (*dt¹*) which followed. Early in summer (*syf*), or at

⁸ Macdonald (1993), p. 319.

⁹ Sartre (2005), p. 235.

¹⁰ Macdonald (1992), p. 10-11.

the end of the season of later rains, they would return to the *Harra*, in search of a place to spend the dry season (*gyz*). At the end of the dry season, they would yet again venture to the edge of the *Harra*, awaiting the new year and rain. Sometimes they stayed here instead of migrating into the *Hamad*, or if it was a very good year, they stayed at their winter pastures in the *Harra*.¹¹

These nomads did not live isolated from the settled world beyond the *Harra* and *Hamad*, and the most notable political forces mentioned in the inscriptions were the Nabataeans, Romans, and Persians. In 64 BCE Pompey declared Syria a Roman Province,¹² and 106 CE marked the end of the Nabataean kingdom when this was annexed by the Romans and renamed Province Arabia.¹³ A Sabaic inscription from *Jabal Riyām* gives details about the political landscape in the Middle East and Arabia, in the third century CE, seen on the map below. According to this, these authors of the Safaitic inscriptions lived amidst Romans, Lakhm, possibly the Lihyans, and Tadmur (Palmyra).

¹¹ Macdonald (1992), p. 10-11.

¹² Macdonald, and Nebes, p. 24.

¹³ Macdonald, and Nebes, p. 7.

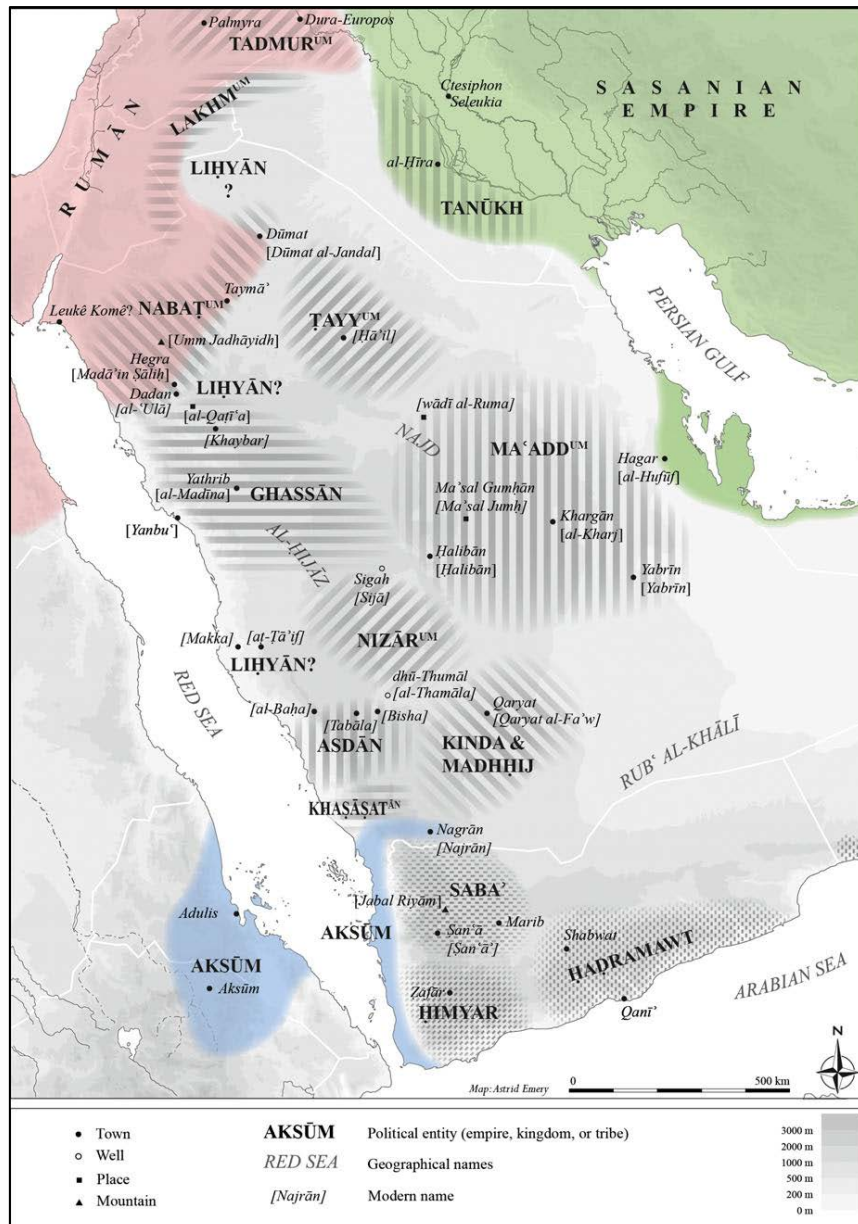


Figure 2. Political map of the Middle East and Arabia, based on information from the inscription Jabal Riyām 2006-17 (© A. Emery & J. Schiettecatte, 2015).

The organizational structures of the nomads' societies were *tribes*.¹⁴ The only term connected to groups in Safaitic is *lineage* (ʾl). This used to be translated as *tribe*. However, the term is not as straight forward and could cover different groups ranging in size from

¹⁴ Sartre (2005), p. 235.

family to tribe.¹⁵ By looking into the Safaitic inscriptions and how kinship was expressed in the inscriptions, I will discuss types of kinship and how their society was organized.

The Safaitic inscriptions is a very large material, with 33,164 inscriptions in the OCIANA-database, and even more not included there.¹⁶ The inscriptions are both problematic and valuable, and they give us a unique written account of nomads living in an oral society, in fact, for the history of these nomads, it is the only primary source.¹⁷ The accessibility of the information in the inscriptions limited the use of them, and the quality of this use, however since the last part of the 20th century, large leaps have been taken, especially with the creation of the OCIANA-database. Due to the vast material at hand, this thesis will concentrate on the Safaitic inscriptions and only to some extent include the context in which the inscriptions are found.

Comparing the information found in these inscriptions with other source material, either other contemporary inscriptions, texts from the period, or analogies to similar societies; can be difficult, as the grounds for comparisons sometimes are fairly small. To rectify this, one must first have a thorough understanding of the Safaitic inscriptions, and the relevant information in the whole corpus, to one's query. This is also why this thesis only focus on the inscriptions, and what information that is found there. Also, with the research field seeing great new steps forward in recent years, with Ahmad Al-Jallad's *An Outline of the Grammar of Safaitic inscriptions* (2015), and the OCIANA-database, it is easier to do a more extensive study of a subject in the whole corpus.

The focus of this discussion is kinship and how this was a structural and connecting factor among the nomads. Thus, a discussion of the political and economic role of lineage groups and their interaction with "outsiders" is outside the scope of this thesis. Contact between nomads and "outsiders," has otherwise been widely examined and discussed previously. Moreover, I mean that one must first examine the very foundations kinship is based on, thus the concept of kinship, what it encompasses and how it is expressed. This will be my focus in chapter two, except for lineage groups and genealogy, which will be looked at in chapter three; in addition to how these ambiguous descent groups are connected and constructed by comparing of how various expressions of lineage affiliation is used. Based on the discussion in chapter two and three I aim to get an understanding of lineage groups and

¹⁵ Macdonald (1993), p. 354.

¹⁶ OCIANA (31.08.17)

¹⁷ Macdonald (1993), p. 388.

the society to which they belonged in chapter four. This discussion will be based on the inscriptions with the most attested lineage groups. The context in which inscriptions are found may add valuable information. I will here explore the archaeological site the cairn of Hani', and the inscriptions found there. However, this requires a discussion of previous research, quirks of the Safaitic inscriptions, and concepts laying the foundation for this analysis. Thus, this will be the aim of chapter one.

1 Traces from the desert

1.1 From a nomadic menace to cohabitation

Since the last part of the 20th century, large leaps have been taken to the accessibility of the information in the inscriptions and about them. Also, the nomads as a research topic have evolved from merely being in the periphery of research of settled areas to be the main focus.

Most of the focus has been on the nomads' relationship with settled areas and was influenced by other sources description of a nomadic menace. In G.W. Bowersock's *Roman Arabia* (1983), Irfan Shahid's *Rome and the Arabs* (1984) and Thomas Parker's "Peasants, Pastoralists, and "Pax Romana": A different view" (1987), the nomads are a threat and something to defend against.¹⁸ David Graf, in "Rome and the Saracens: reassessing the nomadic menace" (1989), disputes the theory of defenses being built because of the nomads, and rather points to evidence, amongst this is the inscriptions, that show their involvement in the military.¹⁹ Maurice Sartre, in *The Middle East under Rome* (2005), and Michael C. A. Macdonald, in "Nomads and the Hawran in the late Hellenistic and the Roman periods: a reassessment of the epigraphic evidence" [Nomads in the Hawran] (1993), further disproves the theory of a nomadic menace, and as Graf, shift the focus towards cohabitation.

The nomadic *tribes*, as they were called before, figure in these studies. As with the nomads themselves, their organization, and particularly the kinship aspect of this, mostly only appears as a part of another query. Another aspect of the relationship between settled and nomads, in which both the inscriptions and nomadic tribes have played a part, is the sedentarization of the nomads. In Sartre's *Tribus et clans dans le Hawrān antique* (1982), tribes are the subject, although with a focus on the tribes in the villages. Sartre believes that at least some nomads settled in the villages,²⁰ while Macdonald argues for a symbiosis between the sedentaries and the nomads, but no sedentarization.²¹

The tribes, or lineages, themselves, often appear briefly; and since G. Lankester Harding's *Safaitic tribes* (1969), an examination of just them is hard to come by. In "Les

¹⁸ Bowersock (1983), p. 154-159 & Shahid (1984), p.22-26.

¹⁹ Graf (1989), p. 343.

²⁰ Sartre (2005), p. 235.

²¹ Macdonald (2014), p. 145.

inscriptions safaitiques de Syrie, cent quarante ans après leur découverte” (1996), by Macdonald, Muna Al-Mu’azzin, and Laïla Nehmé, it is shown how lineage groups are connected through genealogies.²² Finding connections through genealogies is not new, although it has been done with varying care, as Macdonald points out in “Nomads and the Hawran” (1993); where he argues against J.T. Milik’s handling of genealogies, claiming kinship with only two links in common.²³

As seen in the following discussion, the inscriptions themselves are challenging, and they must be handled with care. With the new opportunities and easier access with the OCIANA-database, a broader analysis focusing solely on the nomads viewed from the Safaitic inscriptions is easier now. As much of the research done before has used the inscriptions to a varying degree, I believe before one can compare with other groups, or seek supporting evidence in other sources, an examination of the subject in the Safaitic inscriptions themselves, is needed.

1.2 The problematic, yet rewarding, Safaitic inscriptions

The Safaitic inscriptions, as fascinating as they are, do present several challenges when handling them as source material. Not only are the inscriptions themselves problematic, but also the process of recording to translating is not always ideal, and further enhance the difficulties of using the inscriptions. The restrictions given by the inscriptions do not only affect how one approaches them, but also what questions that are fruitful to ask, and how a definitive answer one can expect to find. This part will focus on the inscriptions as a source material and my approach to them. Starting with the characteristics of the Safaitic script, the material they were carved on, and nature of the inscriptions; continuing with the motivation and function of them, before focusing on the authors of these inscriptions.

The Safaitic language is classified in a sub-group of the South Semitic language and script family, ANA, or Ancient North Arabian.²⁴ In addition to Safaitic, there are other scripts and dialects in this group, Hismaic, Dadanitic, Dumaitic, Taymanitic, Dispersed Oasis North Arabian, and several Thamudic.²⁵ Ahmad Al-Jallad suggests a further classification of Safaitic in *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* [Outline of the

²² Macdonald, Al-Mu’azzin, and Nehmé (1996), p. 455.

²³ Macdonald (1993), p. 365.

²⁴ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 10.

²⁵ Macdonald (2000), p. 29.

Grammar](2015). As the ANA classification is a negatively defined classification, grouping all the non-ASA (Ancient South Arabian) South Semitic scripts in central and northern Arabia together; “From a linguistic perspective, the dialects expressed by the Safaitic inscriptions should be classified as forms of Old Arabic [...]”²⁶ He further emphasizes that this does not mean it is the same Old Arabic as that of CAr (Classical Arabic), as there are profound differences between these two.²⁷

’	‘	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>d̥</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g̣</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>h̥</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>
⸰	◦	⸂	⸃	⸄	⸅	⸆	⸇	⸈	⸉	⸊	⸋	⸌	⸍
⸰	◦	⸂	⸃	⸄	⸅	⸆	⸇	⸈	⸉	⸊	⸋	⸌	⸍
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>s¹</i>	<i>s²</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>t̥</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ẓ</i>
⸎	⸏	⸐	⸑	⸒	⸓	⸔	⸕	⸖	⸗	⸘	⸙	⸚	⸛
⸎	⸏	⸐	⸑	⸒	⸓	⸔	⸕	⸖	⸗	⸘	⸙	⸚	⸛

Figure 3: Idealized forms of the Safaitic glyphs, normal form in the top row, “square” form in the bottom rows. Script chart from Al-Jallad (2015) p.37.

Above is a chart of the 28 Safaitic glyphs, both the normal and “square form.” Compared to the Latin alphabet, and the rules for writing we are used to, as direction, spacing and a right side up, there are some differences; there are no vowels or diphthongs, no spacing between words, and it could be written in any direction.²⁸ As there are no vowels, the correct way when using the Safaitic names is to leave them as they are, without the vowels. To make it easier for the reader to follow the discussion, a vocalized version of the names will be used

²⁶ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 11.

²⁷ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 12.

²⁸ Macdonald (2014), p. 145.

if one is found.²⁹ This does not in any way mean that the vocalized version used is the correct or only version the consonant skeleton could mean.

The Safaitic inscriptions consist, in most cases, of formulaic units, which help greatly in translating these inscriptions.³⁰ Also, almost all of these inscriptions start with *l*, giving us a clear starting point for the inscriptions. This *l* is called *lam auctoris*, and although there is much debate about the exact function and meaning of it; it is believed to mark ownership or authorship.³¹ The picture below, which is a handcopy of a stone covered in inscriptions, shows the often-chaotic form of these inscriptions.

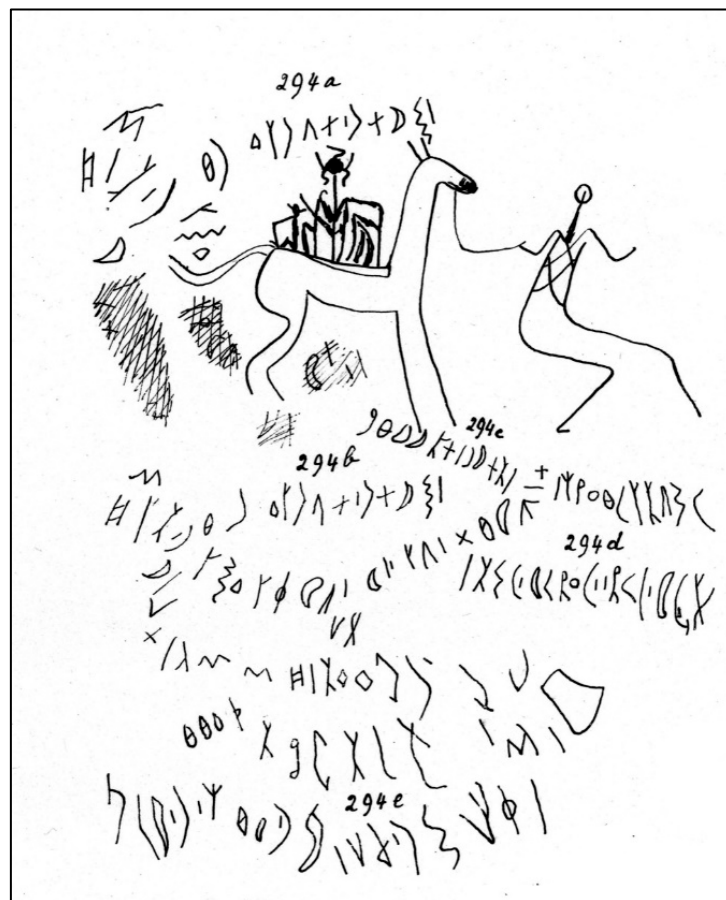


Figure 4. A stone with multiple Safaitic inscriptions and a drawing. The numbers have been added by the recorder to mark the individual inscriptions (OCIANA, C 2842).

A problem caused by the lack of vowels, and diphthongs, that is highly relevant to the subject of analysis in this thesis, is that different names could be represented by the same

²⁹ It is no longer practiced vocalizing names, therefore one must look to older translations to find these. For the vocalized names in this thesis, I have used Littmann's (1943) and Harding's (1953) versions.

³⁰ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 201.

³¹ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 145.

consonants and that the vocalization could be different. Macdonald points out in “Nomads and the Hawran” (1993), the problem this causes not only when identifying a lineage group, but also when comparing with source material in another language.³²

Concerning the first problem, he shows that the people(s) or area, referred to in the inscriptions as *rm*, *hrm*, *ʾl rm*, and *ʾl hrm*, could represent different groups or areas, and not just be references to the Romans or Roman territory. For these names, there are a few vocalization options: *rīm*, *rām*, *rawm*, *hārim*, *harim*. When the only evidence for identification, in this case, the Romans, or Roman territory, is the probability of all being the same because some are positively identified as Romans, one should be careful with automatically identifying it as the same group or area.³³ Although the example here is the Romans, this problem applies to all the other groups introduced by *ʾl* (lineage).

Unless it is clear from the content of the inscription that the lineage group in question is not the same as others with the name, they have been dealt with as one group, as in most cases one would not be able to say for certain either way. This means that the findings in those parts concerning the lineage group as a whole are uncertain. Although, individual connections between lineage groups and those where there is unambiguous evidence of attestations of the same name for the lineage group is the same, is not affected.

Back to Macdonald’s second problem; comparing names in Safaitic with names in other languages. Here he points to identifications made between the names of lineage groups in Safaitic and “tribal” names found in Greek inscriptions. Not only is the lack of vowels in Safaitic a problem, but Greek also lacks equivalents to several consonants in Semitic. In cases like this, one can only say with certainty that Greek names may be a possible vocalization of the consonants in the name of a lineage group; neither must the two names be the same, nor indicates it that the lineage group and tribe are the same.³⁴ What Macdonald highlights here, is a reason for not including other inscriptions as source material in this thesis, in addition to that this inclusion shifts the focus from solely the nomads.

The characteristics of the Safaitic inscriptions and varying practices and levels of technology used when recording these inscriptions has caused further problems in the use of

³² Macdonald (1993), p. 329 & 353.

³³ Macdonald (1993), p. 329. He includes an example from a Taymanite text where the author expresses affiliation with a *ʾl hrm*, that based on dating, could not be the Romans.

³⁴ Macdonald (1993), p. 353.

these inscriptions as source material.³⁵ First, the provenance of these inscriptions has been difficult to determine; when faced with descriptions as “between al-Namārah and Ghadīr al-Darb,”³⁶ where Ghadīr al-Darb is described as “a muddy pool of water”³⁷ in a Wādī al-Gharz, it is hard to pinpoint the location on a map. This problem has in many cases been rectified by the *Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme*, established by Macdonald, which also dealt with another problem, the lack of photographs of the inscriptions.³⁸

In *Safaitic Inscriptions* (1943), Enno Littmann himself points out that hand copies of the inscriptions are not ideal; when made by men unfamiliar with the script one cannot know if the mistakes were the copier’s or the inscription’s author. In his publication, Littmann has marked the mistakes he was aware of,³⁹ in *The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia*, it is pointed out that this problem also applies to G. Ryckmans Tome V of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1950), which is the largest published collection of Safaitic inscriptions.⁴⁰

As seen, not only is the source material itself difficult, the previous handling of it can cause problems too. Another example is Fred V. Winnett and G. Lankester Harding’s *Inscriptions from Fifty Cairns* (1978). Some of the issues are pointed to by themselves, as some “discrepancies had developed between the copyists and between the photographer and the copyists in the numbering of the cairns,”⁴¹ making a certain identification of the provenance of the inscriptions, impossible.⁴² Even if their list of Cairns and corresponding inscriptions had been reliable; the only map included does not mark the Cairns by numbers,⁴³ and the included description is not enough to match the dots on the map to the Cairns.⁴⁴ Moreover, this is just the problems related to the recording of the inscriptions, leaving problems with translation interpretations and the use of the inscriptions. In Macdonald’s *Nomads and the Hawran* (1993), there is a thorough examination of the previous use of the source material, and the many pitfalls scholars have fallen in.

³⁵ It is important to note that many inscriptions, and for those publications mentioned in the next paragraphs, technology like GPS was not available, which means one cannot expect the same level of accuracy as this can give.

³⁶ Dussaud and Macler (1903), p. 553.

³⁷ Dussaud and Macler (1903), p. 429.

³⁸ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

³⁹ Littmann (1943), p. VIII.

⁴⁰ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

⁴¹ Winnett and Harding (1978), p. 33.

⁴² Winnett and Harding (1978), p. 33.

⁴³ Winnett and Harding (1978), p. 2.

⁴⁴ Winnett and Harding (1978), p. 3-6.

The OCIANA database and the work put into this has already solved many problems connected to the accessibility of the inscriptions and made them easier to use. With inscriptions, previously being spread in many different publications, and in some cases not published;⁴⁵ they are now collected in one place, and great work has been done to eliminate duplicates and update the translations. One of the principals of OCIANA, and which has greatly helped in the accessibility of the inscriptions, is that it should be one coherent collection, in one language, English.⁴⁶ Previously they have been translated into different languages, and different alphabets have been used for the transcriptions. Littmann used the Hebrew alphabet for his transcriptions,⁴⁷ while Harding used Arabic,⁴⁸ Ryckman did as Littmann, and used a modified Hebrew alphabet for his transcriptions, but thought Latin the best language to have the translations and comments in.⁴⁹ This, as one can imagine, put some restraints on who, and to what degree, one could use the inscriptions as source material.

Although OCIANA is a major leap forward and has done much, this is still a work in progress.⁵⁰ There are still duplicates, mistakes in translations and lacking comments and additional information for some of the inscriptions. Also, phase two of this project, in which most of the Safaitic inscriptions was added, was only completed in this year, in March 2017;⁵¹ which made this very much a work in progress, for the duration of the work with this thesis.

The translations used in this thesis is those provided by the OCIANA-database, with a few exceptions where Al-Jallad has provided updated versions.⁵² However, mistakes in translations can have affected search results, and although for those queries that have been used extensively, they have been examined individually to try to verify that they match the search parameters. Due to the sometimes-large amount of inscriptions involved in the different queries, for example, those containing lineage, there is a high chance that there still are mistakes there. In chapter 2, it also shows that not all relevant inscriptions will be included in a search, which means that all the numbers used must be regarded as approximates.

⁴⁵ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. viii.

⁴⁶ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. xi.

⁴⁷ Littmann (1943).

⁴⁸ Harding (1953).

⁴⁹ Ryckman (1950).

⁵⁰ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. x.

⁵¹ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. ix.

⁵² Al-Jallad (2015).

Back to the inscriptions themselves, the challenges with these as the source material is not just connected to the form of the script and the recording of them. The content, or in some regards lack of content, severely limits what questions these can be used to answer. The inscriptions are often brief and enigmatic, and are of a highly personal nature, often containing the hopes, fears, thoughts, and prayers of its authors.⁵³ In the narratives of the inscriptions, we find both sacral practices and secular activities; prayers and grieving at graves, migrating, keeping watch, and pasturing.⁵⁴ Below is three examples of Safaitic inscriptions, showing the length and amount of information found in them.

JaS 9: *By Ḥnn son of ḏrʿl son of Fʿm.*⁵⁵

C 2683: *By Msʿk son of Zʿn son of Sʿrf and he was lying in wait for enemies and so O Lt [grant] security.*⁵⁶

C 3064: *By Ṣhb son of Bʿr son of Zbdʿl son of Sʿmt and he grieved for his brother struck down by Fate and he returned to water from the inner desert the sheep being emaciated the year the king's caravan starved in sloping ground rising from a valley up to the face of a mountain for two months.*⁵⁷

The first, JaS 9, is very short, containing only the author's name and a short *genealogy*, the descent line containing the author's father and forefathers further back. In the second, C2683, and third, C3064, inscription, the authors have included a narrative section, which is where the most potential for useful information lies. This does not mean the genealogy does not have its uses, and there is much potential there, both with a more quantitative approach, and to establish connections between authors through the creation of family trees (see chapter 3). Most inscriptions are of the shorter version, containing a shorter narrative if one is included at all.

The inscriptions can be divided into categories in different ways, as with Littmann, who has based his on function and content; *memorial inscriptions, claims of property, signatures of draughtsmen, funerary inscriptions, and prayers.*⁵⁸ Al-Jallad has categorized based on the genres of compositional formulae, which do share some similarities with Littmann's division; *genealogy, narrative, signature, funerary, prayer, and poetic texts,*

⁵³ Macdonald (2014), p. 145.

⁵⁴ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 6.

⁵⁵ OCIANA, JaS 9.

⁵⁶ OCIANA, C 2683.

⁵⁷ OCIANA, C 3064.

⁵⁸ Littmann (1943), p. VIII-XII.

which can overlap.⁵⁹ He also has an overview of the most used compositional formulae;⁶⁰ *date, event* (that author was not a part of), *action or interaction* (which the author was a part of), *built, grieved/longed*. Inscriptions can belong to more than one of these categories. In this thesis, Al-Jallad's categorization and compositional formulae have been used.

One of the categories above is called *date*, and this brings us to another problem concerning the inscriptions. Although there are authors who dated their inscriptions, these are largely unusable for us, as we cannot identify the events which were used. The third inscription above, C 3064, is an example of this. There are some events which we know the date for,⁶¹ and those of a political nature is dated to the Roman and Nabataean periods; also, with the lack of references to Christianity as an *argumentum ex silentio*, the inscriptions are placed between the 1st century BCE and the 4th century CE.⁶²

Al-Jallad, in *Outline of the Grammar* (2015), suggests that the reason why the dated inscriptions refer to the periods they do is that this was when the practice of dating was introduced, or that in other periods there was less contact or political control over the nomads in the desert.⁶³ While Maurice Sartre, in *The Middle East under Rome* (2005), writes why the period for these inscriptions probably did not span more than two or three centuries: "[...] they certainly manifest nothing like the evolution of writing found among, for example, the Nabateans. Moreover, no writing system endures unchanged over a long period of time."⁶⁴

Because of these difficulties concerning dating, the concept of time; chronology and change, is not taken into account in this thesis. Although there are some possibilities in the source material to place some inscriptions by each other timewise, this is beyond the scope and time limits of this thesis. If, and how, the use of lineage and the structures and connections of lineage groups changed, would certainly have been an interesting and important question; however, a highly complicated and time-consuming query, and perhaps not even viable at all. For this thesis, although time has not been a factor, the information is not treated as fixed and necessarily true for the whole period; it is a cross-section of the queries for the whole period, what that may be.

⁵⁹ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 22.

⁶⁰ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 201-220.

⁶¹ Macdonald (1995)

⁶² Al-Jallad (2015), p. 17-18.

⁶³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 17-18.

⁶⁴ Sartre (2005), p. 236.

Before discussing the motivation and function of the Safaitic inscriptions, a factor that plays an important part there is the material the inscriptions are found on. Besides the fact that societies of nomads are oral, the communication based on word of mouth and good memory, meaning literacy was not a necessity for them.⁶⁵ In the time before paper as a writing material, it was not practical either for them, leaving few options if they wanted to express themselves in writing, as explained by Macdonald in *Ancient Arabia and the written word* (2009):

*In antiquity, writing was even less useful to nomads than it is today, since papyrus outside Egypt was relatively expensive; the desert did not provide palm-leaf stalks or sticks for incising; they had more urgent uses for the leather provided by their herds; and they used little or no pottery, since it was likely to get broken in the nomadic life, so sherds, which provided a common writing surface in settled areas, were also unavailable. The only support they had in abundance was provided by the rocks of the desert.*⁶⁶

In Southern Syria and North-East Jordan there is the basalt desert called *Harra*; an area of broken up lava, which over the millennia has developed a thin, black sheet on the exposed rocks, contrasting nicely with the light gray of the lava when scratched or carved.⁶⁷ To the east, the *Harra* ends, and the *Hamad*, limestone desert begins.⁶⁸ There are found inscriptions on limestones,⁶⁹ but this is a softer stone, less durable to erosion by the wind, meaning a lesser chance for the inscriptions to be preserved.⁷⁰ How this has affected what we see as the main area of the Safaitic inscriptions, and what it was, is uncertain.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Macdonald (2010), p. 15.

⁶⁶ Macdonald (2010), p. 15.

⁶⁷ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

⁶⁸ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

⁶⁹ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

⁷⁰ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

⁷¹ Also, the distribution pattern we see today in the main area, the *Harra*, represent were one has searched for inscriptions. Because for the first sixty years they only searched the Syrian part of the *Harra* for inscriptions, they assumed this to be the only place the Safaitic inscriptions where located. Which was later proved wrong when one expeditions started searching across the border, in Jordan. Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii-viii.

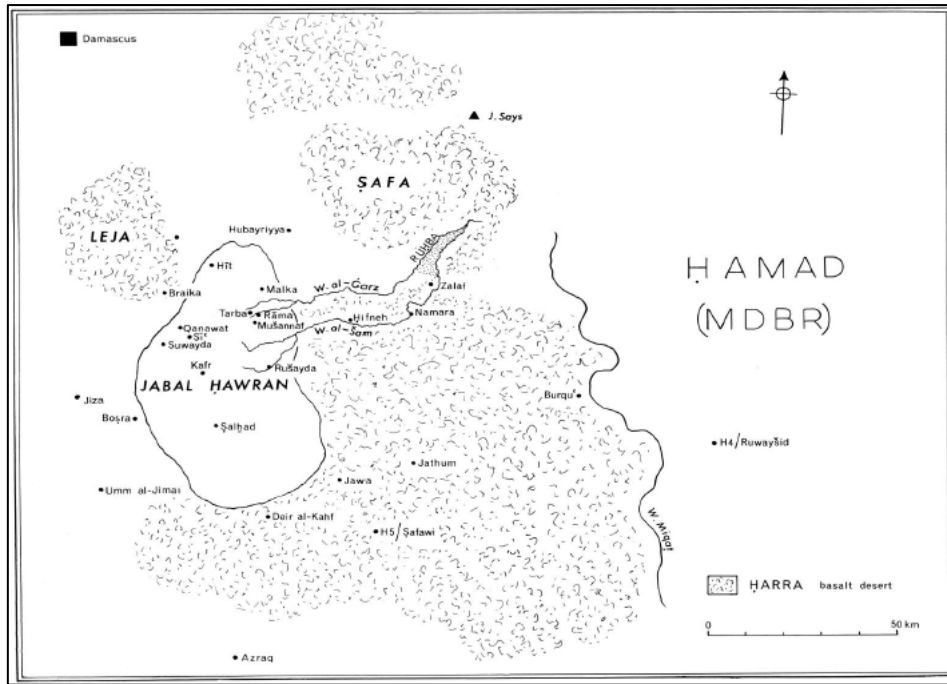


Figure 5: Map showing the *Hawran* - white area named *Jabal Hawran*, *Harra* - the grey area, and *Hamad* - to the right of the grey area (Macdonald 1993, p. 369).

Having established the limitations in available writing materials, we are still left with the question of why they chose to carve these inscriptions and what function they served. Why did these nomads, living in an oral environment and with few options for use based on writing material, leave behind around tens of thousands of inscriptions (and rock art) in the desert (mainly)? One theory, elaborated by Macdonald,⁷² is that it was a pastime for long hours of solitary idleness, which would explain the type of content found in them. The inscription below, although not a very common occurrence, demonstrates how the inscriptions could have more in common with the self-expressions for example found in public bathrooms. This example also shows that some were possibly written as insults.

KWQ 92: *By 'sh son of B's'h and he farted.*⁷³

Macdonald also includes a suggested process for how the nomads acquired writing. They picked it up from someone who could write, and out of curiosity learned it and brought

⁷² The first traces of this theory can be found in the very beginning of the 20th century (Dussaud and Macler (1901)), Al-Jallad (2015), p. 2.

⁷³ OCIANA, KWQ 92. In the database, there are 11 inscriptions containing this subject.

it back to their family and friends in the desert. Due to the limitations in writing materials, the skill stayed a curiosity, and as amusement for lonely hours.⁷⁴

Al-Jallad agrees to the plausibility of how the nomads acquired writing but disagree with the inscriptions being solely unstructured self-expressions. In view of the inscriptions formulaic form, he proposes that they learned what to write, in addition to learning how to write. Also, that most authors only produced one rock graffiti bearing their name, which would not have been the case with nomads passing the time carving inscriptions in the desert.⁷⁵

*The limited repertoire of subjects and the formulaic structure of the text suggest that they were not a spontaneous phenomenon but belonged to a tradition of writing, with its own stylistic and aesthetic articulations.*⁷⁶

In contrast to Macdonald, who suggests that there was no intended reader,⁷⁷ Al-Jallad also puts forward that based on clear examples, that highly suggests that for many authors, the inscriptions were meant to be read. Also, the formulaic nature of the inscriptions could also have functioned as a facilitator for reading and comprehension, as the script in itself, is complicated to decipher.⁷⁸

There have also been other suggestions to what the purpose of inscriptions was; a memorial purpose, with the inscriptions containing information about a dead person,⁷⁹ and Eksell arguing for a sacral connotation based on the syntax and its formulaic content.⁸⁰ In this thesis, Al-Jallad's theory is the one used, and especially important here is the formulaic nature, that there is a high probability that many authors wrote with a reader in mind, and that some at least served a function besides mindless self-expressions.

Another important question regarding these inscriptions, is who carved them? Aspects of this question are still debated. Moreover, although most of these authors lead a nomadic lifestyle, and there was to some degree contact with the settled world,⁸¹ based on the

⁷⁴ Macdonald (2010), p. 15.

⁷⁵ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 3.

⁷⁶ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 10.

⁷⁷ Macdonald (2010), p. 16

⁷⁸ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 10: “[...] authors carved curses to protect them, that the authors mentioned finding and reading inscriptions, and that we have a few examples of prayers recorded in response to inscription finding [...]”.

⁷⁹ Lipinski (1997), p. 72.

⁸⁰ Eksell (2002), p. 176.

⁸¹ This has been heavily debated, not only to what degree there was contact, but also what type of contact it was. See Sartre (2005), p. 234-235, Macdonald (1993), and Macdonald (2014).

content;⁸² there is not any evidence for that this was one self-aware community. Rather, as Al-Jallad points out in *an Outline of the Grammar* (2015), there is evidence against it, for example, there are several authors who identified themselves as Nabataeans.⁸³

Further, the term Safaitic itself is a modern construct, and misleading. As it a misnomer named after Safa, even though no Safaitic inscriptions have been found in the Safa proper (see map above).⁸⁴ The authors of the Safaitic graffiti are not members of one distinct community, as a script does not exclusively belong to one particular group, and it is only this that is common for all the authors.⁸⁵ Macdonald points out, in the article *Nomads and the Hawran* (1993), how the script alone cannot be the basis for a hypothesis about demography.

*Instead we should recognize that there were nomads to the east of the Hawran, who were organized into numerous social groups, the members of some of which wrote Safaitic inscriptions.*⁸⁶

This causes some difficulties when studying the social relations and connections the inscriptions show, concerning the nomads inhabiting this geographical area. Macdonald points out the difficulties identifying authors who are “outsiders” because of lack of evidence concerning authors origins,⁸⁷ and the possibility of other groups, other than the nomads represented in the graffiti, living in the area at the same time.⁸⁸

This complicates matters, although the main focus is on what is expressed, and how, in the inscriptions, it is also what this says about the societies the authors represent. In cases where the author clearly is not a nomad, for example, Nabataean, these will be excluded. Other than that, the authors are dealt with as one group, but not necessarily from one society. Rather, the tentative assumption is, that as a form of tribalism was the nomads’ social organization,⁸⁹ the different societies could be different tribes and that there could have been common aspects regarding kinship and descent groups between these. Therefore, unless there is evidence of differences, they have been treated as one. However, in parts dealing with specific lineage groups, the findings represent these, although they could indicate tendencies for the rest. Moreover regarding the misnomer Safaitic and Safaites. In this thesis, the authors

⁸² Al-Jallad (2015), p. 1.

⁸³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 18.

⁸⁴ Macdonald, and Al-Manaser (2017), p. vii.

⁸⁵ Macdonald (1993), p. 307.

⁸⁶ Macdonald (1993), p. 310.

⁸⁷ Macdonald (1993), p. 308.

⁸⁸ Macdonald (1993), p. 309.

⁸⁹ Sartre (2005), p. 235.

are often referred to as the Safaitic authors, which are used as a short form of the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions. It does in no way indicate that they were one ethnic group or a group with more commonalities than the script they used.

As seen in this part, the source material is limiting in what types of questions it can answer, and any use of them must be done with the utmost care. The degree of certainty that answers gained from this source material, will in most cases be low unless focusing on specific details and their occurrence for example. The research question for this thesis has three different aspects, the expressions of kinship found in the inscriptions and what they encompass, how the different types of kinship were expressed and why, and what this can tell us about the structure of lineage groups in their societies. This is not an exhaustive analysis of this, as it is a large and complicated subject with multiple aspects. Hence this is a combination of a general examination and deeper analysis.

With access to the OCIANA-database, and its vast number of inscriptions now nearing the total amount found so far, it opens up for a more quantitative approach⁹⁰ to this source material that was not possible before. This is taken advantage of in this thesis, where for queries such as the pattern of genealogy length and occurrence of different lineage groups, it is essential. To supplement the analysis that will be done on the larger scale, a more qualitative approach⁹¹ will be taken, particularly concerning the types of kinship and use of it. With a quantitative approach, one can study kinship and lineage groups as a part of the whole source material, and better understand the occurrences and use of it. To understand the particular use, and variation found within the specific selection of source material, a deeper qualitative analysis is used; as to fully understand the how they portrayed and employed kinship, the individual inscriptions and their content are vital.

With access to a coherent collection of most of the recorded source material, and the possibility to search based on specific criteria relatively easily; has opened up new possibilities in the use of the Safaitic inscriptions. Which this thesis takes advantage of, and this can offer us new insight into the material and subject.

These inscriptions are complicated, and has many limits; but they can, however, be a goldmine of information if used right. Some of the obstacles have been the difficulties in accessing the inscriptions, which now is easier. They are invaluable for both linguistic history

⁹⁰ Andresen, Rosland, Ryymmin, Skålevåg (2012), chapter four.

⁹¹ Andresen, Rosland, Ryymmin, Skålevåg (2012), chapter four.

and the history of the nomads in the pre-Islamic Near East.⁹² As Macdonald put it, in *Romans go Home* (2014): “Nevertheless, despite these problems, we must be grateful for these graffiti since they form our only source for the everyday ‘point-of-view’ of nomads in this region in the Roman, or indeed any, period.”⁹³

1.3 The concepts of kinship and its terminology

SIJ 923: By *Whb son of T'l son of Bgrt son of 'glh son of S'lm son of 'mr son of 's'lm* and he grieved for his *father* and for his *brother* and for his *paternal uncle* and for his *mother* of the *lineage of Zd* of the *lineage of Zhm*.⁹⁴

The author of the inscription above, Whb, has used three different types of kinship expressions. He starts, as most authors do, with his name followed by a *descent line*, *genealogy*, where he lists his male forefathers in a direct line. Then he mentions four different people he grieves for, all identified by individual kinship-terms that describe their relation to the author; his *father*, his *brother*, his *paternal* uncle, and his *mother*. Before he ends with his *lineage* affiliation, which is what *lineage group(s)* he is a member of.

These are some of the concepts of kinship that we meet in the inscriptions. Moreover, there are others which are important building blocks for a discussion about kinship; the types of kinship they express, and what they mean. The most important ones being descent, paternal and maternal. When discussing kinship and relations, the individual in focus, the author usually in this thesis, is called *ego*. The other person(s) involved in the relation, is called *referent(s)*.⁹⁵

The concept of *kinship* is present in all human societies, and in some societies, it appears to be the main or only factor in which the society is structured on. Although kinship is based on biology, it does not in all cases prove actual biological kinship. All human societies impose some privileged cultural order over sexual relations and birth, and there are a large variety of kinship systems created by humanity.⁹⁶ For this thesis, kinship refers to patterns of social relations based on a perceived biological relation; either sexual (for example marriage), reproduction, siblings, and decent.

⁹² Al-Jallad (2015), p. 1.

⁹³ Macdonald (2014), p. 1.

⁹⁴ OCIANA, SIJ 923.

⁹⁵ Parkin (1997), p. 9.

⁹⁶ Parkin (1997), p. 3.

Sexual relationships will in this study mostly deal with relation through marriage, although the source material also offers a few mentions of non-marital sexual relations.⁹⁷ People connected by kin-ties through marriage are the *affines* of the individual who is in focus (ego).⁹⁸ For example, if you are married, your spouse's family are your *affines*. If one describes the relationship between a parent and child, it is called *filiation*. These filiation links can be repeated generation after generation, and if this is the focus, one calls it *descent*.⁹⁹

A concept which is important in this thesis is whether kin-ties are *paternal* or *maternal*. That is if the kin-tie is through the father (*pater*), or mother (*mater*).¹⁰⁰ Often societies emphasize ties through one parent, either at the relatively- or absolutely expense of the other parent, these are called *patrilineal* or *matrilineal* ties. Both of these are *unilineal descent*, meaning the *descent line* (the links of direct forefathers or foremothers)¹⁰¹ follows persons of the same sex. The norm is that all children born of the *descent line* will be connected to the line, but only the children of the sex that is emphasized will carry the line forward.¹⁰² For example, a son in a patrilineal system, will get status and continue the line, while a daughter will get the status, but not continue the line. Depending on how that society's system is, the daughter when married will belong to her husband's line of descent, and not have the status of her birth line.¹⁰³

Several societies have various practices to differentiate between paternal and maternal relatives. For example, one version of the individual kin-terms in Norwegian, emphasizes this: "farbror" (Father's brother), "morbror" (mother's brother), "farfar" (father's father) and "morfar" (mother's father). Also, the emphasis on a particular descent line and one gender does not lack other examples. The monarchies, both those of old and more modern ones, have emphasized the patrilineal ties. This was very evident with the Norwegian monarchy, where the crown prince, Haakon, was chosen over his older sister. Although, this has changed with the next generation, where his oldest child, a daughter, is the next in line, after her father.

⁹⁷ Ten inscriptions in the database mentions sex. OCIANA (06.05.17)

⁹⁸ Parkin (1997), p. 35.

⁹⁹ Parkin (1997), p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ The term *pater* and *mater* is used by anthropologists, and refers to the socially defined father and mother, rather than to the biological *genitor* (father) and *genitrix* (mother). In this thesis, *father* and *mother* will be used. Parkin (1997), p. 14.

¹⁰¹ The links going back generation after generation, for example from son to father, to his grandfather, to his great-grandfather, and so on.

¹⁰² Parkin (1997), p. 15.

¹⁰³ Parkin (1997), p. 15

An individual's *descent line* is called *genealogy*,¹⁰⁴ and *genealogical level* is the different generations connected to the descent line. For example, you are on another genealogical level than your father, but the same as your siblings. This not only includes those directly in the line (*lineal kin*), but also those connected to ego by further steps, *collateral kin*, for example, father's brother (FB), or father's brother's son (FBS, cousin).¹⁰⁵

These are the kinship concepts that will be used in the analysis and discussion of lineage, and other kin-terms. How kinship is used, and what emphasis is put on it, varies from society to society. Even though lineage is the main focus of this thesis, the surrounding kinship system must also be given space to facilitate the understanding of the lineage concept.

ʿl is translated to *lineage*, when it refers to nomads, when the referent is an "outside" group, for example, Romans, it is often translated as *people*.¹⁰⁶ *Lineage* is defined by Parkin, in *Kinship: an introduction to the basic concepts* (1997), as a unilineal descent group, which usually is of a shallow depth, allowing links between all members to be traceable and known.¹⁰⁷

Previously, *ʿl* was translated to *tribe*. Without further evidence, one cannot assume it is a *tribe* instead of a smaller descent-group, as MacDonald (1993) shows, it can be used for units ranging from *family* to *tribe*.¹⁰⁸ The Safaitic authors did not have different words for the different types of groups, as seen in Arabic for example.¹⁰⁹ Hence, there is a large variety in size, and most lineage groups are smaller entities.

Translators sometimes make interpretations about the size of the lineage group and translate accordingly. This is usually done when there is more than one lineage affiliation, as seen in the inscriptions below. In the first inscription, *Daif (Df)* is considered the largest lineage group, as it is placed first. This and the fact that *Qn'l* is not found anywhere else is why it has been translated to *family*.¹¹⁰ *Family* is another vague *concept* but reflects a smaller unit of close relatives.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 57.

¹⁰⁵ Parkin (1997), p. 34.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 56.

¹⁰⁷ Parkin (1997), p. 17-18.

¹⁰⁸ Macdonald (1993), p. 354

¹⁰⁹ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 57.

¹¹⁰ Macdonald (1993), p. 352-353 (also note 312 on p. 352).

WH 21: *By Nṣr son of Whb 'l of the lineage of Df of the family of Qn 'l.*¹¹¹

RWQ 346: *By 's' son of Hs'n son of Hnn of the lineage of Df from the clan (?) of S²w', the year the lineage of Df and the lineage of 'wd formed an alliance.*¹¹²

In the second inscription, RWQ 346, the translator has used *clan* for the second lineage group, which as defined by Parkin, is a larger group where one cannot trace or know all the links between the members.¹¹³ *Clan*, as *tribe*, can be used differently depending on the context, and in the inscription above, it is unclear if the translator means that *clan* is a smaller unit than lineage, or if he does not follow the same assumption about placement and size as Macdonald and considers *S²w'* larger than *Daiif*.¹¹⁴ In Al-Jallad's translation of the same inscription, he has used *lineage* for both lineage groups, although he has added "clan?" in a parenthesis after the second lineage group.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, the inscription is from an unpublished doctoral thesis, in Arabic, and there is no comment in the database about the translation, nor have they specified if it is the original translation.¹¹⁶ Multiple *lineage* affiliations and order/size will be further discussed in chapter 3.

As the organization of these pastoral nomads is said to be tribes or tribalism,¹¹⁷ this concept needs to be examined, especially as some of the lineages could be classified as tribes. Exactly what tribe is, besides its size, kinship basis, and as a form of social organization, is rarely defined further in the context of the Safaitic authors.¹¹⁸

The definitions of *tribe* vary. One definition suitable for a particular society in one location will not fit another society on the other side of the world or two neighboring valleys. At what time the society existed also play a part. Not all include the same elements in the definition, and it is up for debate how detailed and strict a definition should be. Particularly economic and political factors have been important in the definitions of tribes.¹¹⁹ With a complicated source material, as the Safaitic inscriptions are, and little information at hand, it

¹¹¹ OCIANA, WH 21.

¹¹² OCIANA, RWQ 346.

¹¹³ Parkin (1997), 18.

¹¹⁴ There is only one other mention of *S²w'* in the database, RWQ 347 (OCIANA, RWQ 347).

¹¹⁵ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 58.

¹¹⁶ OCIANA, RWQ 346.

¹¹⁷ Sartre (2005), p. 235.

¹¹⁸ Sartre (2005), p. 234-236, Macdonald (1993), p. Most focus on the relation between these «tribes» and outsiders, (settlers, Romans, Nabateans).

¹¹⁹ Van der Steen (2006), p. 29.

would be counterintuitive to define *tribe* here. It is a relative concept, understood intrinsically, and it is better to examine the manifestations of it without a strict checklist.¹²⁰

Before moving on with this thesis, however, a loose work definition is needed. *Tribe*, in this context, is a form of social organization, and elements of such a community can be flexibility, of a larger size, notions of common lineal descent, and group-loyalty.¹²¹ *Lineage* is the term used for both this unit and the other units in the hierarchy.

With all this in mind; the complexities, possibilities, and possible rewards, the analysis of how kinship played a role in the nomad societies of the *Harra* starts with kinship on a smaller level. The next chapter examines kinship terms for individual and different groupings of relatives, to see what types of kinship there are, the implications of the terms, and their use in the Safaitic inscriptions.

¹²⁰ Van der Steen (2006), p. 29.

¹²¹ Van der Steen (2006), p. 29.

2. A society of brothers and kinsmen

The analysis of the kinship system found in the Safaitic inscriptions starts with expressions solely found in the narrative of the inscriptions. Also, the expressions of kinship discussed here are on the micro level as individual terms, and also group terms that perhaps cover smaller entities than lineage, and possibly are constructed based on different kinship than lineage. As the kinship system that is to be studied is found in an epigraphic evidence that is of a personal nature, and where purpose and context often are unknown; one cannot only study the content of these expressions, but also the very nature of the language used to express them.

In the Safaitic inscriptions several kin-terms are found, most common are those describing close family, for example, uncle, brother, and father, but also some referred to as *kinsmen* and *family*. Group terms will also be compared to *lineage groups* with an aim to narrow down what they encompass; and for the individual terms, how these terms interacted with the larger structures, as *lineage groups*.

As with many other aspects of the Safaitic inscriptions, it is not as straight forward as every person or group mentioned by the authors are labeled with a term describing the author's connection to the individual or group. For individuals, many of these were often mentioned only by name, and here we cannot determine if they were related to the author or not. There are also other relationship terms that are not directly based on kinship; *friend*, *enemy*, *companion* and *loved ones*. Some of these, in particular, loved ones, probably covered people the author where related to. Even without a kinship content, these can provide valuable information in comparison with the kinship terms when examining the kinship system found in these inscriptions and its role in society. However, all of these have been excluded in this analysis besides a brief comparison and overview below; as there is sadly not enough room to fully examine them. Also, although they could provide important insight in a comparison as a contrast, those that could cover relatives of the author, do not provide any information about how they were related. Thus, they cannot provide information on the characteristics of the kinship system.

Besides *lineage*, which was used together with groups, group kin-terms are not common and not plural versions of the more general kin-terms either. There are 36 in total for *family*, *kinsfolk*, *kinsmen* and *kinsman*. The rest of the kin-terms are for specific individuals.

For the non-kin-terms the numbers are a lot higher; *friend(s)* 133¹, *companion(s)* 143² and *loved one(s)* 124.³ This difference could indicate that for those relatives not covered by the relative-specific kin-terms (as uncle or sister), it was more common to use the non-kin-terms to describe them. Also, this could also be an indication that they associated with many people not related to them or in the same lineage group. In the figure below, the numbers for non-kin-terms, kin-terms, and lineage have been compared. Included in the non-kin-terms here are also *enemy(ies)* which occur 207 times.⁴

Subtracting the number for the non-specific kin-terms mentioned in the previous paragraph, kin-terms are still more common than non-kin-terms. Though, the suggestion above, that non-kin-terms were more common to use for those who were not close relatives seems to be very plausible. Together these two categories are more common than lineage. However, these numbers all pale in comparison to the whole number of inscriptions available in the OCIANA-database, 33,164. Inscriptions are mentioning persons or groups only by name has not been included here.

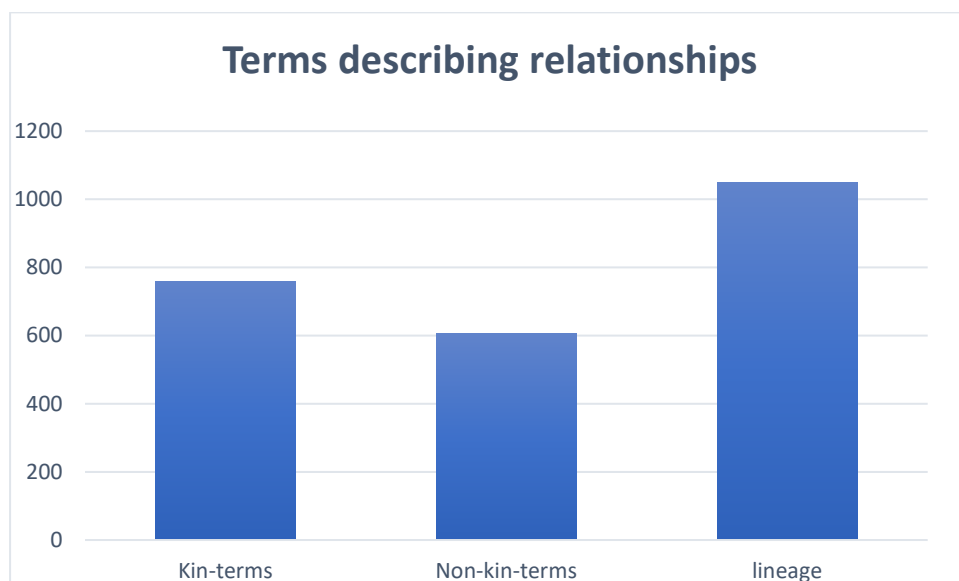


Figure 6: Terms included are those discussed in this chapter, affines are listed under kin-terms. Only the non-kin terms friend, companion, loved one and enemy, are included.

¹ “friend”: 123, “friends”: 10. OCIANA. (07.04.17)

² “Companion”: 7, “Companions”: 136. OCIANA. (07.04.17)

³ “loved one”: 84, “Loved ones”: 40. OCIANA. (07.04.17)

⁴ “enemy”: 54, “enemies”: 153. OCIANA. (07.04.17)

In the figure below, it plural or group terms seems to be favored; it is however not as clear cut as it seems. Breaking up the numbers into the different categories used in this thesis shows that while one category contains most plural terms, another favors singular forms. When using the individual kin-terms found in 3.1.3, the authors favored the singular forms (689 vs. 32)⁵, while the terms *lineage* and *family* are group-terms. A few terms named with kin (3.1.1) is divided with two singulars and four plural. With the non-kin terms, the plural forms are more used with 339 versus 268 occurrences of the singular forms, although the division differs for the separate terms in that term-group.



Figure 7: Individual: Individual kin-terms (680), Affines (9), family (0), kin (2), lineage (0), non-kin (268). Group: Individual kin-terms (32), Affines (0), family (30), kin (4), lineage (1042), non-kin (339).

2.1 Kinsfolk

Kin, a term describing a group or used on individuals, is the focus here. Except for one inscription using a kin-term, the kin-terms here cover a group of people. Therefore, much of the focus will be on what *kin* encompassed, and how this relates to *lineage*.

There is one⁶ inscription mentioning *kinsfolk*. It is difficult here to say what *kinsfolk* does and does not cover. Could the author here have used the lineage group of *Ks't* instead of

⁵ Affines are included here.

⁶ One found in the OCIANA database 29.03.2017

writing “*the kinsfolk of Ksʿt*”? As *kinsfolk* is broader, and lineage can cover groups of varied sizes (or levels?), it is possible that *kinsfolk* could refer to the same group as a lineage would cover. Even though, the use of *kinsfolk* could be to emphasize *Ksʿt* and his role, which would have been lost by using just the lineage group. Also, the role of lineage groups might make the meaning of *kin* and *lineage* different.

KRS 2340: *By ʿnhk son of Mgyr son of Hlk son of Hld son of Mgyr of the lineage of Msʿkt and he was devastated by grief on account of his father and on account of his four paternal uncles struck down by Fate and on account of his four maternal uncles and so he was struck down by Fate and so O Lt and O Dsʿr may the kinsfolk of Ksʿt be crushed, and he remembered Tmnh ʿbn Fsʿky.*⁷

There are three inscriptions containing *kinsmen*, and two containing the singular *kinsman*.⁸ One of those containing *kinsmen* gives us little to work with as there is not much context to glean from it; “he longed for all the righteous kinsmen.”⁹ The other two are, however, far more interesting. In the first one WH 2815 (below), the two brothers became commanders “of a party of near kinsmen,” but what is considered near kinsmen to the author? This is a very hard question to answer, if not impossible. However, the use of *near kinsmen* might mean that other terms of groups or relatives were not suited in this context. If lineage was not suited, it could mean that the group of *near kinsmen* crossed lineage groups, for example containing kin from both the paternal and maternal side, or members of different sub-groups of a larger lineage group; or that this group was only a small portion of the lineage, and using lineage would therefore be wrong. Individual kin terms, or the group term *family*, could be unsuitable, as the people the author referred to included people not encompassed by those terms.

WH 2815: *By ʿbd son of {Ygt} of the {lineage of} Bsʿ and he and his brother were announced [commander] of a party of near kinsmen the year the Nabataeans rebelled against the people of {Rome}, so may security come.*¹⁰

The term *kin* may have referred to a group of relatives that was not descent focused, as with *lineage*, and perhaps *family*, but be *ego* focused. This group of *kindred*, consist of kin

⁷ OCIANA, KRS 2340.

⁸ On OCIANA 29.03.17.

⁹ HCH 191: “By Ġt son of Hnʿ of the lineage of ʿmrt and he longed for all the righteous kinsmen”, OCIANA, HCH 191.

¹⁰OCIANA, WH 2815.

connected with specific ties with ego and his/her siblings, and these usually recognize both male and female links. What binds these groups do not need to be genealogical distance, but geographical distance, generation or another social factor.¹¹ Of course, it could also just be the author choosing this term for other reasons, and both family and lineage could have been used. Further, the size of a “party” must also be taken into consideration here and whom it contained. Considering all these factors, one can give a tentative answer to the question about the meaning of “near kinsmen”; A group of relatives, possibly transcending lineage and containing both paternal and maternal relatives, larger than family due to context.

The second inscription, below (*ShNGA 1*), shows that kin does indeed cover more than those of the same lineage. Here the author is the member of the lineage group *Daif* (*Df*), while two of what he considers kinsmen is members of the lineage groups *Ja ‘bar*¹² (*G ‘br*) and *’t*. In the next chapters, we will see how lineage groups could be connected by kinship; and it is possible here that although kinsmen transcended smaller groups, these lineage groups were under the same umbrella lineage group. The lineage groups *Ja ‘bar* and *’t* have very few mentions in the Safaitic inscriptions, while *Daif* is the most attested of all the lineage groups;¹³ they could, therefore, be sub-groups of *Daif*. Why then, did the author not affiliate with a lineage group on the same level as those used for his kinsmen? The translation of this inscription could provide an answer here, as the translation on OCIANA is perhaps not correct.

ShNGA 1: By Hmlt son of S^llm {The} Bandit of the lineage of {Df} and he was on a journey with his [two] kinsmen ‘mrn of the lineage of G ‘br [and] Tmlh of the lineage of ’t and he remembered his kinsmen and so O Lt [grant] security {and} protection from misfortune.¹⁴

This inscription (*ShNGA 1*), shows that *kinsmen* could transcend lineage, although it is still possible that it is still relatives from the same “top” lineage. Alternatively, considering the discussion of the previous inscription (*WH 2815*), the group of people covered by *kin*, could be focused on the ego, and not a common ancestor. What these two do the show, particularly the last, is that the ego and the referent do not need to be a part of the same lineage, either at all or that they belong to different sub-lineages.

¹¹ Parkin (1997), p.32.

¹² Vocalization used by G.L. Harding (p. 42, HCH 138).

¹³ See table with lineage groups and their occurrence in Appendix I.

¹⁴ OCIANA, *ShNGA 1*

Another inscription containing the singular *Kinsman*, AMIS 50 below, is likely written by the same author as of the previously discussed inscription (ShNGA1), the son of the Bandit belonging to the lineage of *Ḍaif*. In addition to mentioning his paternal uncle, he also mourns for his kinsman *ʿmrn* of the lineage of *Jaʿbar*, who he was on a journey with in the last inscription. In the first inscription, the author includes every person's lineage affiliation, including his own, in the second one, however, it is only his kinsman *ʿmrn*. The author uses the same distinct short genealogy for himself but leaves out his lineage affiliation, and his uncle is identified with name and relation to the author.

AMSI 50: *By Ḥmlt son of Sʿlm The Bandit [?] and he found the inscription of his paternal uncle Msʿk and he grieved for ʿmrn of the lineage of Gʿbr his kinsman.*¹⁵

The most notable difference between these two inscriptions, is the lack of the authors own lineage affiliation in the last one. The other one is the inclusion of his paternal uncle and the lack of the second kinsman. These two changes could be connected, as in the first, all three belong to different lineages, and he would have to include his own. In the second, assuming that his paternal uncle belongs to the same lineage as the author, it is his kinsman who is the exception to the rule, and therefore only his lineage affiliation is mentioned. It could also have been social reasons for including all the lineage affiliations in the first, and perhaps too clearly point out the connection between *Ḍaif* and *Jaʿbar* in the second either was not as important, or obvious.

One interesting fact about the occurrence of kin-terms containing *kin* (*kinsfolk*, *kinsmen*, *kinsman*), is that all the authors using it include lineage affiliation for either themselves or the person whom the kin-term refers to. This could suggest that there is a connection between the use of terms containing *kin*, and *lineage*. When the person who is kin to the author also has his lineage-affiliation included, this could be to show that this is a *kinsman* not from the author's lineage.

Though, it is important to note that there are only six inscriptions of a total of 33,176 (OCIANA), where these terms occur. Which indicates that this was not a common term for the Safaitic authors, and perhaps other terms, as *family*, *friend(s)* and *companion(s)* were used for the same type of individuals or groups of people, instead.

¹⁵ OCIANA, AMSI 50.

The questions about what types of relatives these terms containing kin covered, is still largely unanswered. It could have covered a larger group of relatives than family, and instead of focusing on an ancestor, as lineage, it could have been more ego-focused, including maternal and paternal relations alike. When it comes to individual terms or group-terms containing *kin*, there is a slight difference in favor of those describing more than one person, although, with only two more, of a sample size of six, it is hard to draw any conclusions based on this.

2.2 Family

Family is a vague term, and its meaning can vary from society to society. To try to define it precisely, especially based on the often-brief inscriptions left in the desert, is impossible. However, this does not mean that the Safaitic author's use of this kin-term does not have any significance when studying their social structure and interactions. Although a precise definition is impossible, it can be narrowed down based on the use of this term in the inscriptions. In what contexts did they employ it? Was it widely used in these contexts? Are there different variants of this kin-term, and if so, what is the difference between these variants?

In the OCIANA-database, there are only 30¹⁶ inscriptions mentioning *family* in some form. There are five more that show up when searching for *family*, but these are not relevant here due to the occurrence of *family* in those are either unnecessary interpretations, additions in brackets by the translator, or wrongful translations. In the Safaitic language, there are different variants of the kin-term *family*, the most common word for family is *'hl*,¹⁷ while two of the other variants are more specified kin-terms. *'hl* is translated as just *family*. There are also two additional variations of the *family* term found in the Safaitic inscriptions. In the inscription KRS 2018 the author used *s²tr* where one of the possible translations is: “one who withdraws far away from his family; or breaks off from them.”¹⁸ There is no apparent difference in the content of *family* here and in *'hl*, the distinction between these two kin-terms is that *s²tr* also contains information about the author's location in connection to his family, while *'hl* only means family. This inscription is the only one where this meaning of the word

¹⁶ OCIANA, 18.07.17

¹⁷ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 297.

¹⁸ Other possible translations listed by Al-Jallad: «isolation» and (šatarati d-dāru) «the house or abode was distant or remote». Al-Jallad (2015), p. 345, & http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0022647.html (03.04.17).

is used. Although *family* is not a kin-term prominently featured in the Safaitic inscriptions, this may suggest that this specific version of it is more unusual. It is not uncommon to find inscriptions where the author longs for specific family members, loved ones, or pray for the security and reunion with family. This indicates that the situation the author found himself in was not necessarily uncommon, but his choice of phrasing was.

KRS 2018: Transliteration: *l mrbḥ bn ymlk w s²tr f ḥnn 'l- -h.*

Translation: *By Mrbḥ son of Ymlk and he **had withdrawn far from his family and yearned for it [his family]**.*¹⁹

Another family kin-term is *bt*, and as *s²tr*, this particular translation of it is only found in one inscription, RQ.D 5. Unlike *s²tr* though, the difference between *bt* and the other two is that *bt* specifies more the content of *family*. *Bt* is usually used as “daughter” (*bint*) in the Safaitic inscriptions, here it is translated as “immediate family, tent-group” (*bayt*), due to context and grammar. Although *bt* is more specific about what *family* contains, it is still difficult to define it. What was considered *immediate family* for a Safaitic author? Also, as with *s²tr*, this is the only occurrence of this word (with this translation), where we again must consider how common this kin-term was for the users of Safaitic. It is quite possible that other authors used the wider term *family* in situations where *bt* would have been sufficient. *Bt* could have been an uncommon word, or others might have felt no need to use it. Why 'n'm, the author of RQ.D 5, choose this specific term, and others did not, is impossible to say for certain.

RQ.D 5: Transliteration: *l 'n'm bn mḡny bn whs² bn w 'l w ng{ } 'l- **bt** -h dll mn- gm - h.* Translation: *By 'n'm son of Mḡny son of Whs² son of W'l and he grieved in pain for his **immediate family** many of whom were lost.*²⁰

These three variants of *family* are different in content and context, but also shows that for most authors the plain *family* ('hl) was preferred. *S²tr* has a specific context, and there are other authors who found themselves in similar circumstances and wrote about it, without the use of this term. As for *bt*, either no other author meant immediate family, or did not see the need, for whatever reason, to specify it. Here it is important to note, however, that it is a specific context, and that could very well have influenced the author's choice of kin-term, and that the context in the others warranted no such distinctions.

¹⁹ OCIANA, KRS 2018.

²⁰ OCIANA, RQ.D 5.

In the inscription, CSA 1.1, the author has singled out his paternal uncle, and then family follows after that. This should probably not be understood as the paternal uncle not being considered family, rather than the author longed for his uncle in particular and wanted to emphasize that, or that family was added as an afterthought.

CSA 1.1: *By Ns²l son of Hld son of Kmn and he was filled with longing for his paternal uncle and for his family.*²¹

More information is added giving more information about their family in the inscriptions KRS 36 and MSSH 1 below. *Mn 't*, the author of the first (KRS 36), says his family is from *Hkrn*, which seems to be a place-name of an unknown location. The author of the second inscription (MSSH 1), also says where his family is from. His family is either from a lineage named *Rm*, or the Romans. In both, it could either be that the author included his family's origin, or that this is where they would come from, travel wise. If it is the first option, it is curious why the author included his family's origin, but not specifically included his own. Although, for the intended audience, this could have been clear. However, as the inscriptions are worded, it is most likely that the second option is correct, as the authors are on the look-out for his family

KRS 36: *By Mn 't {son of} Mgd son of Mr' and {he was alone} and so O {S²'hqm} [grant] security and O S²'n 'r [grant] security to him who is alone and {he was on the look-out for} his family from Hkrn.*²²

MSSH 1: *By 'h son of Mšrm son of Nzl and he was afraid of the enemy and so O Lt [grant] security and he was on the look-out for his family from [of the lineage of Rm] the Romans and so O Gddf [grant] protection from misfortune.*²³

As previously stated, authors usually start with an identification of themselves using genealogy, and sometimes with genealogy and lineage or eponymic ancestor's name/place-name+ite (for example dafaite). In the inscription, C 169 below, however, the author says he is "of the Hdl family." There is some uncertainty of the translation concerning that particular part of the inscription. It is also interesting that the author did not include a genealogy, of which there are other examples, although those are often very brief inscriptions. Nevertheless, it is not a widespread practice.

²¹ OCIANA, CSA 1.1

²² OCIANA, KRS 36.

²³ OCIANA, MSSH 1.

C 169: *By Qlf of the Hdl family and he violently rushed on Hyn.*²⁴

Family, as it is used here, could be to describe a smaller group, which only encompasses the close relations of the author, compared to *lineage* which could span a larger and more extensive group of kin. Hence this is an interpretation of the translator; the authors meaning is even more uncertain. Considering the lack of genealogy, if “the family of Hdl” only covers a smaller part of a lineage, the author might not have felt the need to include a genealogy, as this would cover somewhat the same part of his identity. *Hdl* is not found as a lineage, *Hyn* is found in one other inscription, which could lend support to this theory, although the absence of evidence does not need to be evidence of absence.

There is uncertainty as to what *’l* (lineage) covers, and particularly concerning the size of these social groups, and the correlation between *lineage* and other terms, as *family*. Both *lineage* and *family* cover people grouped by kinship, either real or imagined. The question here is whether there is any overlap of the types of groupings they cover, or if they could not be interchanged at any level or size, also who is in focus of these groups, the ancestor or ego (or other). A possible example that for at least the smaller groups, perhaps both would fit is seen in the inscription AA EK 93. This being the only occurrence it is more of an exception than a good example.

AAEK 93: *By Nzr son of Rdḥ son of ’n ’m son of Nmr son of Ḥr of the tribe of Ḥzy and he spent the dry season and he was on the look-out for his family. So, O Gddf [grant] security.*²⁵

The context where *family* and *lineage* is used differs in some areas. *Family* is not used in dating, and not as an identity, except for C 169 discussed further up. Moreover, with *family* it usually isn’t specified who this *family* is, they do not add a name for this *family*, with C 169 being an exception again. *Family* is a more general and unspecified term, and probably covered a smaller group of relatives than *lineage*. Also, who could be included in *family*, particularly concerning maternal and paternal, is hard to say, but not unlikely that they could.

2.3 Individual kin-terms

A common content in the narratives are yearning or grieving for someone; and it is in this context most of the individual kin-terms appear, as seen in the following inscription, C 4443. Other contexts are interactions, and some individual kin-terms appear together with

²⁴ Transliteration: “*’l qlf ḏ hdl w ’dw b- h ’ l- hyn*”, OCIANA, C 169.

²⁵ OCIANA, AA EK 93.

people in prayers, both curses, and blessings. In contrast to the terms looked at so far in this chapter, these terms are valuable as they describe the specific kinship connection, as seen in the inscription below. In the previous chapter, we found that the paternal descent line was solely used in the genealogies and that the lineage groups were based on this. Here, the question is what types of kinship terms and connections is seen on the individual level, and how this interacted with the larger structures of lineage groups. To answer this the construction and use of the individual kin-terms will be examined. Already in the inscription below, we find not only paternal relatives but also maternal ones.

C 4443: *By S²mt son of L t̄mn son of S²mt son of S²rk son of 'n 'm son of L t̄mn and **he grieved for his mother and for his paternal uncle and for his maternal uncle and for 'm and for 'n 'm whom {the lineage} of Šbḥ killed, then he was distraught over the son of his maternal uncle, who had perished; and he pastured the sheep, washed during Sagittarius, and kept watch against enemies, so, O Lt, may he be secure; and he found the inscription of his brother, so he was devastated by grief.***²⁶

Due to the limits on size and time of this thesis, the source material here has been restricted to paternal or maternal individual kin-terms on the same genealogical level as the author or above. This excludes, for example, son and niece. *Affines* (relations through marriage), will only be briefly viewed. Although, some insight into connections between a person and his spouse's relatives can be seen through an author's connections with his maternal kin. It is important to note here, that although cousin is listed by that term, and included in this analysis, the Safaitic authors did not have a specific kin-term for *cousin*.²⁷ Cousins are described as the son/daughter of a parent's sibling. Besides this, it is also interesting that most of the cousins are male, and are the child of an uncle, either paternal or maternal. There is also a clear majority of uncles over aunts, and this majority of male relatives is clear on all levels, with sometimes quite a large gap between the correlating male and female terms. The pattern we see in these inscriptions is that siblings were mentioned most, then parents, uncles, and after that cousins, with an emphasis on the paternal side.

²⁶ OCIANA, C 4443.

²⁷ Where the author has described what we label cousin, the kin-terms in his, or hers, description has not been included under other terms. For example, if an author wrote "son of his paternal uncle", it is only registered as cousin, son and paternal uncle is not registered as they count towards cousin.

kin-term:	Total	Amount singular	Amount plural	Paternal	Maternal	Not specified if paternal or maternal
Brother	202	178	24			
Sister	32	32	0			
Father	185	185	0			
Mother	39	39	0			
Uncle	171	165	6	94	83	
Aunt	5	5	0	0	5	0
Grandfather	57	56	1	54	4	0
Grandmother	3	3	0	0	0	3
Male Cousin	15	15	0	9	6	0
Female Cousin	1	1	0	0	1	0
Cousin (gender not specified)	1	0	1	1	0	0
Other	2	1	0	1	0	1

Figure 8: List of the different individual kinship-terms, listed by most to least occurring. Only those at the same descent level as ego (author) or above. Also shows singular/plural, paternal/maternal or not specified. The total number represents the total number of inscriptions where the term occurs. If an inscription mentions for example two individual paternal uncles, this will only be registered once. The inscriptions in “other” contain uncles not described by the kin-term for paternal/maternal uncle.¹

The occurrence of the different kin-terms (see figure 8) does not necessarily directly reflect the social contact, closeness of relation, and the different kinship ties’ importance in the daily life of the nomads. The context of the inscription probably played a large role here; a male author might have spent more time with male relatives, and thus more male relatives are included. Also, the motivation and purpose of these inscriptions could have affected what relatives that were mentioned, and there is a large number of authors that did not include a narrative at all.

The most notable, and important discovery here, is that while paternal kinship was almost the sole kinship in connection with genealogies and lineage groups, maternal kinship is in no way insignificant here. Although there is a majority of paternal relatives, besides for grandfather, the majority is not that large. This suggests close contact not only with paternal kin but also maternal kin, at least at the parent’s genealogical level. The relationship between mother’s-brother and sister’s-son has had great importance in many societies, also those based on paternal descent.²⁸ In figure 8, the high number of maternal uncles mentioned could be an

²⁸ Eriksen (1993), p. 122.

indication of this, especially as there is quite a large gap between paternal and maternal grandfather. Also, Barth, in *Nomads of south Persia*, shows that for the Basseri, the affinal bonds are important for the survival of the camp, and that both the husband, and his relatives, and the family of the wife, are united by their shared interest in the wife, as she functions as an “estate”, affecting both families.²⁹

2.3.1 Finding relatives

The lack of a specific term for cousin, which also is the same for nephew and niece, is consistent throughout all the inscriptions where this kind of kin-tie is found. What is peculiar, however, is when a kin-tie seemingly identical, for us, with one in other cases covered by a kin-term, is described without it. This is the case in the inscription below, where instead of using either paternal uncle (*dd*), or maternal uncle (*hl*), the author has described the relationship as “‘wḍ son of his grandmother.” As the author has used both terms in the inscription, this peculiarity cannot be because he did not know the terms.

Damascus Museum 26750: *By S'lm 'lh son of 'trfn of the people of Šlhḍ and he grieved for {Mtn} his sister and for Yḡt and his paternal uncle and for Ġtt his sister and for 'wḍ son of his grandmother and for 'bd his maternal uncle and he was struck down by Fate.*³⁰

²⁹ Barth (1986), p. 34.

³⁰ Transcription: *l s'lm 'lh bn 'trfn ḡ- 'l šlhḍ w wgm 'l- m{t}n 'ḥt -h w 'l- {y}ḡt w dd -h w 'l- ḡtt 'ḥt -h w 'l- 'wḍ bn 'mt -h w 'l- 'bd ḥl -h w rḡm mny.* OCIANA, Damascus Museum 26750.

‘*mt* (grandmother) is found as a personal name in Safaitic, in the inscription above however, this cannot be the case as it is followed by the clitic pronoun *h* (male third person singular: *his*). So why was the kin-term *uncle* not fitting in this case according to the author? This might be with what type of kinship they emphasized, the paternal descent line, and that this emphasizes is seen in what the kin-terms encompasses. If ‘*wḏ*, the son of his grandmother, was not the son of his grandfather, as it seems to be the case here, the kin-terms for uncle could have been unsuitable. It would not matter that ‘*wḏ* was the sibling of his parent, the relation was established through the nearest common ancestor in the descent line, which would have been the grandfather here. Thus, as there was no link from ‘*wḏ* to the paternal descent line of the parent, the author had to describe the relationship in the same way cousin, nephew and niece are, with “son of.” The figure below shows to the left the normal construction of the two-step-link uncle, father’s brother, and the suggested construction in Safaitic, with the case from the inscription above to the right.

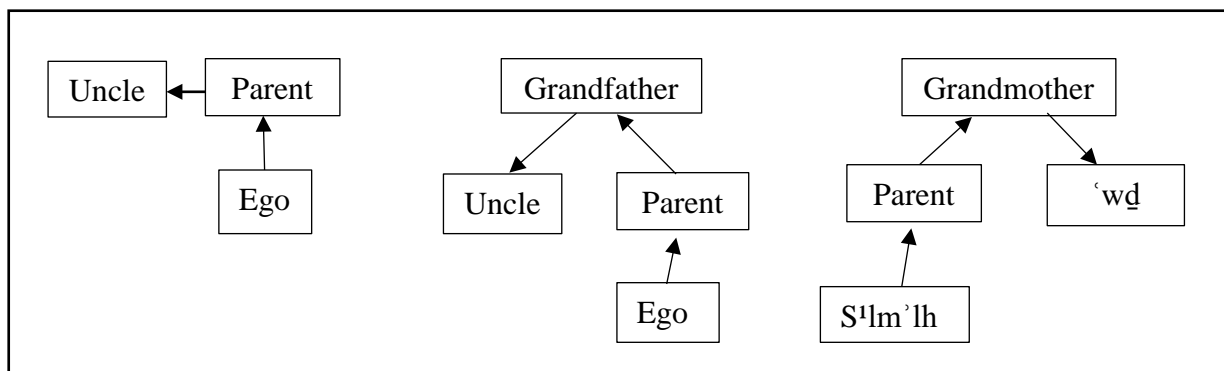


Figure 9: To the left is the kin-term uncle connected to ego by the parent, in the middle is the connection through the closest common person in the paternal descent line, here grandfather. To the right is the case from the inscription above, *Damascus Museum 26750*

Another example of an uncle being described as *son of a grandparent* is seen in the inscription *Is.H 512*. Here, however. He is the son of the *paternal grandfather* of the *Ngft*. Based on the wording of the inscription here, this could have been a memorial inscription written by *Dr*, with the *lam auctoris* (*l*) in should be translated as “for” and not “by.” If this is the case, the lack of the term paternal uncle (*dd*), could be *Dr* wanted to use his name, but still, show the relationship between himself and *Ngft*. Also, perhaps the author did not know how to write the term for *paternal uncle*. Either way, this inscription, being the only one so far found with this case, does not need to be a contradiction to the theory suggested

previously. Especially, as that is not solely based on the case in the inscription *Damascus Museum 26750*, but also on the rest of the individual kin-terms.

Is.H 512: **By Ngft** son of *S' d* and **Dr** son of **his paternal grandfather** was sad for him of the lineage of *Šlh*. (Transcription: *l ngft bn s' d w b' s' l- -h {d}r bn 'm -h {d-} 'l šl{h}----*.)³¹

In Safaitic, the individual kin-terms for relatives that are not siblings or parents, this is always specified.³² Also, the female individual kin-terms, besides mother (*'b*), follow the same pattern where the female version is the male version plus “t,” for example, *bn* (son) and *bnt* (daughter).³³ The only kin-term for *grandmother* found also seems to follow this pattern, as it is *'mt* while *paternal grandfather* is *'m*.³⁴ Another problem is found in the following inscription, *HSIM 49217*, as the author mentions four grandmothers. However, both kin-terms for grandfather, *t* can be used for male ascendants beyond grandfather, as great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather and so on. This could mean, that if *grandmother* follows the same rules, that the grandmothers the author mentions are from paternal grandmother and back to great-great-great-grandmother.

*HSIM 49217: By D'ns' son of Qbn son of 'm of the lineage of Mty and he grieved for his father and for Lhgn and for {Nmr} and for mr and for m and for Dbbn and for Ġt and for Hlš and for Hlšt and for S'wd and for S' d and for 's' and for Krzn and for Mn't and for Hn't and for Nšr and for 'dr and for Ms' his 'mt and for 'ns' his 'mt and for Fhmt his 'mt and for 's'dt his 'mt and for Fhln his maternal uncle and he was unhappy about his friends and he set up a stone the year S'lmt 'wđ ----.*³⁵

The uncertainty of the translation of this word, *'mt*, is noted both in the comment to this inscription on OCIANA and by Al-Jallad, who only translates it to grandmother.³⁶ If the meaning is not merely grandmother on the paternal side, it would also need to cover great-grandmother, as there are four different grandmothers mentioned in the inscription. One thing

³¹ OCIANA, Is.H 512.

³² Paternal uncle (*dd*), maternal uncle (*hl*), maternal aunt (*hlt*), paternal grandfather (*'m*), maternal grandfather (*'b'm*). Al-Jallad (2015), p. 206.

³³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 206.

³⁴ Al-Jallad list two different terms for grandfather, paternal (*'m*) and maternal (*'b'm*, which is “father” + “mother” put together), with also a plural version for paternal grandfather (*'m*) (Al-Jallad (2015), p. 205-206). However, often it is only translated as “grandfather” (in OCIANA all the translations are just “grandfather”, and the maternal term is not always translated as even this).

³⁵ OCIANA, HSIM 49217

³⁶ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 206.

to keep in mind is that the author could have used the term for “paternal grandmother,” for both maternal and paternal grandmothers. A term for maternal grandmother has yet to be found in the Safaitic inscriptions.

The number of foremothers in one inscription is unusual, and this is one of only four inscriptions where the term is found at all. It is also special that all four of them are named. In addition to this, male and paternal kinship-terms dominate in general, and for female terms, there are a lot more mentions of one-step-link terms (*sister*, *mother*) than there the kin-terms for *aunt* and *grandmother*. This only adds to the exceptionality for this author to mention four individual foremothers, and even more so if they are only paternal foremothers.

Grammatically the term *ʿmt* (*grandmother*) refers to *paternal grandmother*. However, there is a possibility it was used for both paternal and maternal grandmothers. If two or more of these grandmothers mentioned in the inscription *HSIM 49217*, was maternal, it shows that although the paternal descent line was emphasized, the maternal descent line was not forgotten.

Moving on, there is another individual kin-term that might not be as straight forward as it seems, *brother* (*ʿḥw/ʿḥ*). One would assume, that this term describes a male sibling, with which one shares at least one parent, and this may very well be the case for most of 202³⁷ authors using this term. In the inscription below, however, this does not seem to be the case. Here the author has included the father, *{ʿlm ʿn}*, of the man he calls brother, and it is not the same name as his own father *S²ḥl*.

C 657: By {Fzmn} son of S²ḥl son of {ʿḥrb} son of Ms¹k and he mourned for his brother Ḥr son of {ʿlm ʿn} and Tm and ʿs¹ and he was sad, and and O Lt [grant] vengeance from whoever committed an act worthy of vengeance and [grant] security to whoever leaves the inscription untouched.³⁸

A possible explanation could be that the *brothers* share a mother, but not a father, which prompted the author to include the small genealogy to identify his brother, which is not a common occurrence. If so, why not show their connection through their mother? Previously, we have seen an author describing the relationship to an uncle through his grandmother (*Damascus Museum 26750*), presumably this author could have done the same? Alternatively, perhaps brother could be used on persons not closely related or related at all,

³⁷ OCIANA 30.03.17.

³⁸ OCIANA, C 657.

which is seen in other societies. The word *brother* (*'hw*) used in this inscription, is also not the version commonly found (*'h*),³⁹ which could imply that this version was used when it was not a brother related by blood.

A different, very unusual, meaning of brother is seen in the inscription, *LP 1211*. Besides the lack of genealogy, there is also what seems to be someone who “became a brother.” However, as Littmann himself says, this is a tentative translation, and not certain,⁴⁰ which constrains the usefulness of the inscription in this case.

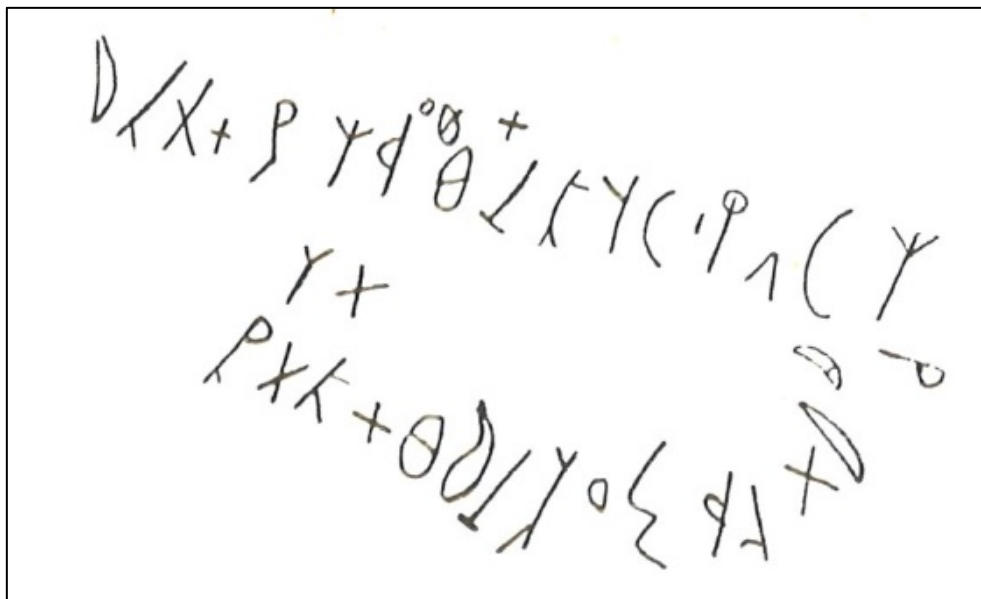


Figure 10: Transcript of LP 1211 originally found in Littmann, p.267.

LP 1211: *Behold, there came a supplicant and visited this building, being a traveller of Ymmt, keeping off dangers, and he **became a brother** here.* (Transcription: (*'*)(*n*)*h* *'ty d d'wt w zr h bny s'bh ymmt w df' 'tm w t'h(y) h(n)*)⁴¹

The main piece of information in this inscription relevant to this discussion is the word *t'h(y)* (*became a brother*), and although another full translation of the inscription is not available, Al-Jallad offers a comment on this word and its meaning:

³⁹ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 205 + 297.

⁴⁰ Littmann (1943), p.267.

⁴¹ OCIANA, LP 1211.

*The verb twḥy (AWS 48) should be connected with CAr ta'ahḥā, but with a passive meaning the current context, 'to be considered a brother'. [...]The same verb is spelled with a glottal stop in LP 1211, t'h{y}, but the meaning of this entire inscription is unclear.*⁴²

In his dictionary, Al-Jallad, also adds a comparison with CAr (classical Arabic) *ta'āḥayā*, “they became brothers, or friends [...]”,⁴³ also with CAr *ta'ahḥā*; “I adopted a brother” or “I called him brother.”⁴⁴ He has based his translation on the context in AWS 48 (below), and as the context is highly unclear in LP 1211, to judge whether the passive form “considered brother,” or the active “became brother” should be used here is not possible without the rest.

*AWS 48: By Mty son of 'dy son of Mkbl and he found the writing of Bny effaced and it (the act of vandalism) caused distress because **he was considered like a brother**, so may they be cursed; and he longed for the most beloved, [so, O Lt, let there be security] and reunion with loved ones; and he camped in this place but will go to water at Namārah.*⁴⁵

The word “considered as a brother,” *twḥy*, as in the inscription AWS 48, does not lend any support to the suggestion that brother also could be used to describe a non-sibling relation. This suggests they had a word that could be used for someone who was not a blood-brother but considered one. The version of the term *brother* found in the inscription C 657, 'ḥw, could be a version used for non-blood related “brothers.” In the inscriptions were the most common version of the word, 'ḥ; there is nothing to suggest that those brothers were not siblings of the authors. What we see here indicates that sometimes Safaitic authors called non-blood relatives brother, possibly with slightly different versions of the kin-term brother ('ḥ). Although, this is something that needs further study.

In the Safaitic inscription, there is a marked difference in the use of singular versus plural form for the individual kin-terms. In figure 11 below, the Many author's listed relatives with the same type of connection to the author individually, some even where no names were included. Thus, there is a quite large majority of singular form found in the inscriptions. This gap was probably not caused by countless authors listing each relative of the same relation individually, rather the cases where there are multiple relatives of the same relation in the

⁴² Al-Jallad (2015), p. 134.

⁴³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 298.

⁴⁴ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 298.

⁴⁵ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 225.

same inscription are few. Most authors did not include long narratives if they did at all. Also, some individual kin-terms represent relatives one only had one of (*father* for example). This points to an interesting pattern though that most only mentioned either one relative or only one relative of the same relation.

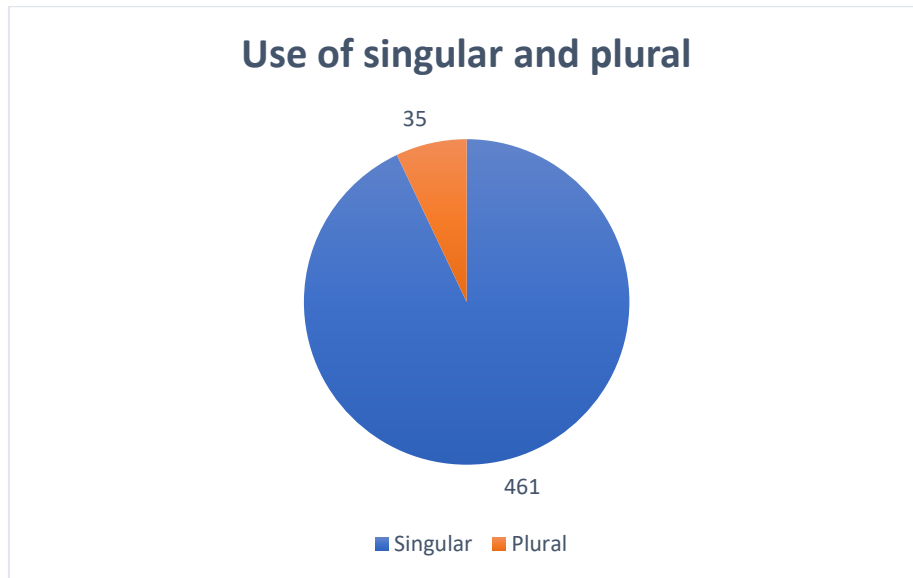


Figure 11: The use of singular versus plural for for the individual kin-terms. The terms *mother*, *father*, and “*other*” is not included here. These are all singular.

2.4 Variations in a family tree

Descent and thus the various terms for relatives and connections are flexible and not solely depending on biology and genealogy. It is very often a result of context and how one chooses to define a relation. Marriage is also important when defining descent and one’s identity and lineage. There are not many *affines* mentioned, or, they could be but without kin-terms for *affines*. There is two *wife(s)*, one *man* (husband), one *father-in-law*, one *relation-in-law*, and two *wife’s relation*.⁴⁶ The first three specify the type of relation, while the last two only say that it is an affinal relation.

Sex is not an activity that authors wrote much about. However the most interesting about the inscription above is how the author identified those he “copulated” with.⁴⁷ Both the man and woman is identified by their spouses’ name, which raises some suspicion about the motivation for writing this, was it done as a jest? If the inscription can be read as the lineages at the end is whom his sexual partners were affiliated with, considering his own is listed after

⁴⁶ OCIANA (29.04.17)

⁴⁷ 14 inscriptions mention sex, or synonyms for it: copulated, intercourse, fornicate.

the genealogy, this could also support it being a jest or an insult. Only the author's lineage, *Nzr 'l*, is found elsewhere in the database.⁴⁸ This is the only occurrence (in the OCIANA database) of *man* being used with the meaning of *husband*, which is also a term not located. With mostly male authors, this is no surprise, especially as identifying someone by a female, excluding maternal kin-terms, is exceptionally rare. However, wife is not a common occurrence either, though, this could be because terms like *loved one* could have been more common to use.

WH 2147: *By 'fs' son of Z'n son of Lgz son of N'mn of the lineage of Nzr 'l and he copulated with **the man of Mtl** and **the wife of W'l** of the lineage of S'hwt and Dhbn.*⁴⁹

Below is an inscription, *KRS 167*, not only unusual because of the use of *wife's relation*, but also since the author as a slave, would not traditionally have relations. In the commentary to this inscription on OCIANA, it is suggested that this is because the 'l Ġrṭ was a small lineage, and he had just recently become a slave.⁵⁰ The term foster child is also unique to this inscription.

*KRS 167: By Whblh {slave of} the 'l Ġrṭ and he pastured the sheep and so O Lt [grant] security and abundance and he grieved for his maternal uncle and for his foster child Zn'l and his **wife's relation Hgg** and **his wife's relation S' d son of {Mik}**.*⁵¹

None of the kin-terms for affines are common, seven in total, which compared to maternal relations, is strange, as those occur much more, 98 (158 paternal). This means that although maternal relations are emphasized to some extent, it is very rare to highlight ones affinal relations.

The flexibility in defining descent and kin-terms is also seen when relations are defined using a lower genealogical level. The first occurrence is in the inscription below, *RSIS 311*; here the author has foregone the genealogy, and instead chosen to identify himself by a relative not only below him in the descent line, but also not in his direct descent line, the son of his sister. *Yk*, his nephew, is not given any more identifying information, suggesting that for the possible readers in this location, it would have been enough. Also, the fact that

⁴⁸ HASI 26 & HASI 27 (same person).

⁴⁹ OCIANA, WH 2187.

⁵⁰ Commentary on OCIANA. http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0020795.html (26.04.17)

⁵¹ OCIANA, KRS 167.

this is a nephew on the maternal side indicate that this nephew must have been a fairly important and well-known person, at least within the author's circle and location.

RSIS 311: *By S'yb the maternal uncle of Yk.*⁵²

Below, CSNS 278, is another occurrence of the same phenomenon, only this time, the circumstance of the inscription can give a better indication of choice. This can be read in two ways, either the son died, or it is the father. There are some clear examples, where the lam auctoris (*l*) means “for” instead of “by,” which here would mean the father died. Comparing the phrasing with Is.H 512 found further up, which is a possible memorial inscription, and other belonging to that category; it could be a memorial inscription for *ʿd*, where the son carved it and therefore identified his father through himself. Either way, this lack of genealogy, and identity being established through a relative on a lower genealogical level is extremely rare, and probably an exception to the normal construction of the Safaitic inscriptions.

CSNS 278: *By ʿd father of Glmn, he died.*⁵³

2.2 Kinship in Safaitic inscriptions

The kinship system is attested by both group kin-terms and individual kin-terms. Despite the focus on the paternal descent line both for genealogies and lineage groups more traces of maternal relatives are visible in the various kin-terms.

The group kin-terms seems to have a difference in meaning where family suggest a term that probably covered a smaller group, with a possible ego-focus rather than ancestor-focus while the broader kin-terms, containing kin (kinsfolk, kinsmen, and kinsman), these probably encompassed the broadest spectrum of relatives, and could transcend at least the smaller lineage groups. Individual kin-terms gives, in itself, a better understanding of kinship and what type of kinship ties that they emphasized, and how this structured their society.

The use of the various kin-terms in connection with lineage, may give more insight into lineages, their connections, and functions, especially being able to say if it is a maternal or paternal connection.

⁵² OCIANA, RSIS 311.

⁵³ OCIANA, CSNS 278.

3 A forest of family threes in the desert

An essential part in studying kinship and social structures of the nomads in the *Harra*, is genealogies and lineage groups. Both of these are based on the paternal descent line, but represent different ways of showing identity and expressing lineage affiliation. This chapter will examine these concepts and the use of them by the Safaitic authors to show identity and lineage affiliation; and how the concepts can be used when studying the social structures of the nomads.

When it comes to kinship in the Safaitic inscriptions, genealogies are the largest representation of it. It is valuable not only to study how kinship is used and what types of kinship is highlighted, but also as a means of establishing a context and connection between inscriptions otherwise isolated. The family trees are for example highly valuable when it comes to timelines, as through them one can connect authors not necessarily living at the same time. With individuals from different genealogical levels one can compare the information provided in their inscriptions and for example study the evolvement of lineage groups over time.

3.1 Descent in the desert

KRS 2819: *By Š'd son of Tm son of Š'd son of Zḥk son of Ms²'r son of S'wd son of Wtr son of Mlk son of Hyt son of Hbl son of Whbn son of Qmr and he camped here and O Lt may whoever scratches out the inscriptions be thrown out of the grave.*¹

Š'd, the author of the inscription above, has started it as very nearly all other authors of Safaitic inscriptions did, by introducing himself and his forefathers. First is the *lam auctoris*, *l* (by/for), then his own name followed by his male descent line (lineage chain, father, father's father and so on). Our friend Š'd though, did not completely follow the norm, he took the time to include no less than eleven ancestors, which is nine/ten more than most authors did.

The OCIANA database makes it possible to get a rough estimate of the distribution of number of inscriptions for the different genealogy lengths.² A list of forefathers (lineage

¹ OCIANA, KRS 2819.

² It is possible to search for the number of inscriptions for the different genealogy lengths, but especially for the lower numbers, there will be a part of the results (unknown size) that is broken or incomplete inscriptions. The original length of the genealogies in these are unknown. But how much this skews the results by, is hard to

chain), called genealogy, can consist of two to sixteen names,³ or in very few cases only the author's, but the most widespread practice seems to have been to only include their father and grandfather, as seen below. It is important to note that these numbers generated by OCIANA, included the author's own name in the genealogy. This means that the column for one link above, is inscriptions only containing the author's name, or damaged inscriptions where only one link in the lineage chain (genealogy) can be read.

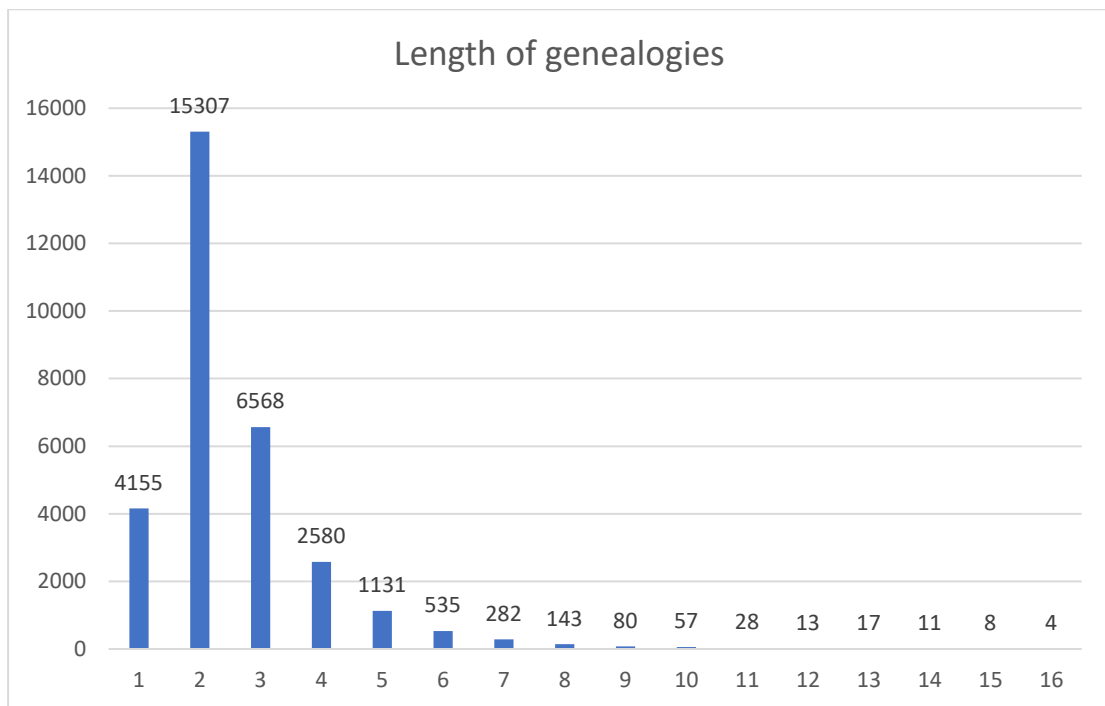


Figure 12: showing the length pattern of genealogies found in the Safaitic inscriptions. The horizontal axis shows the number of links included, which includes the author's name. The vertical axis shows the number of inscriptions with a certain amount of links in the genealogy.⁴

In the figure above, we see that the most common by far, is two links, which is only the father included, or only two readable links. From the 15,307 inscriptions containing only fathers, there is quite a large drop down to the next on the list, three links with 6,568 inscriptions, or genealogies going back to the grandfather. The reasons for this pattern of occurrence can be several; the author's knowledge of his descent line, the time constraints,

say. Due to the size of the source material involved in this particular query, all 33164, it is too time consuming for the scope of this thesis to go through all the results involved here.

³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 201.

⁴ OCIANA, 27.04.17 (08.43).

knowledge of Safaitic, the motivation for the carving, the context, the purpose of the inscriptions themselves, and the purpose of the genealogy. These authors lived in an oral society, in which memory is an important part of the oral tradition, and most would have far better memory than a modern westerner trying to list his paternal lineage chain. Also, it is quite reasonable to assume those ca 15.000 authors knew at least their paternal grandfathers name. There is also little doubt that paternal ancestors were important both for identity and the structure of society as it is presented in the Safaitic inscriptions, placing further importance on one's knowledge of one's descent line.

There is no doubt that the genealogies function as a way for the authors to identify themselves. In this he uses his descent, in particular his paternal descent, female authors also follow this pattern. Concerning the length of what could be called the introduction, at least in cases where a narrative follows the genealogy, one theory is that it shows status with a longer genealogy. This is put forward by Maurice Sartre, in *The Middle east under Rome* (2005), and he writes that long genealogies showed nobility, and thus gave status to the author.⁵

He does not specify if the implication with this statement is that only those of "nobility" would have knowledge of their ancestors that far back, or that those were the only ones who would wish or feel the need to include that many ancestors. In other societies that emphasises descent, also paternal descent, there are many examples of showing status by going back to important ancestors. Either to confirm one's own standing in society based on that particular descent, or by heightening one's position by being able to trace the descent line back to an important person.

Although this may very well be the case, it cannot be the sole explanation for the pattern seen in the graphs above. At least not the length of the genealogy in itself, as in an oral society where at least some important have been paid to descent, more would be able to go further back in the genealogies, and not stop at their father. Of course, if the point of going that far back was to show a particular person or persons, in general show the distinction of the descent line, this would fit better.

This brings us to authors using genealogies as a way to show lineage affiliation. By going back to the ancestor who has given name to the lineage one affiliates with, the eponymous ancestor.⁶ Our friend *Ṣ'd* from the start of this part (author of KRS 2819), might

⁵ Sartre (2005), p. 236.

⁶ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 57.

very well have done just that, as *Qmr*, the last forefather he included, shares name with a lineage whom *S'd* has kinship ties with. This shows one purpose for the genealogies, and in which the length of it was of particular importance. As Parkin writes, in the smaller descent groups, which he refers to as *lineage*, all members know and can trace their links between all members. In clans though, this knowledge is usually beyond limits, and the eponymous ancestor might very well be fictional.⁷ Being able to trace the descent line back to the eponymous ancestor of a large group, possible one with the characteristics of a clan, could certainly give status to the author, and show his nobility.

The genealogy in the inscription below, *SEPS.S 2*, is unusually long and ends with the eponymous ancestor of the lineage group *Daif*.⁸ The author's genealogy also contains the eponymous ancestor of the lineage group *Kn* (*Kn son of Thrt*), which is corroborated by his two brothers who both express affiliation with that lineage group.⁹ Both lineage groups are large, with *Daif* being the one with most occurrences, and *Kn* the tenth. This inscription gives validity to Sartre's theory, also because the author intended his inscription to be read. In order for the genealogy to give status to the author, he would have had to have an audience who could recognize either the ancestors, or appreciate the length of his genealogy. However, just because there are examples proving that some inscriptions were meant to be read, does not mean all authors wrote with an audience in mind. In those cases, a lengthy genealogy, and lineage affiliation would be unnecessary, as there was no need for identification.

(Brother 1) *SESP.S 2*: By **Dhd son of 'bd son of Dhd son of 'bd son of D'b son of N'mn son of Kn son of N'mn son of W'l son of Rbn son of S²'r son of Kn son of Thrt son of Hys'r son of B's² son of Df and O Lt [grant] security to whoever {reads [the inscription] aloud} and [inflict] ejection from the grave on him who effaces this {inscription}.¹⁰**

The authors of the inscriptions below, *SESP.S 3* and *SESP.S 4*, are brothers of the author of *SESP.S 2*. These three brothers carved their inscriptions at the same place, though we do not know if it was done at the same time. What is interesting about these three brothers is their different genealogy lengths and ways to express lineage affiliation. The second and

⁷ Parkin (1997), p. 18.

⁸ Macdonald, al-Mu'azzin and Nehmé (1996), p. 455. Also see the figure with genealogies on the same page.

⁹ See *SESP.S 3* and *4* and discussion concerning them.

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0036214.html (13.03)

¹⁰ OCIANA, *SESP.S 2*.

third brother used the phrase *d- 'l* (of the lineage of) to express lineage affiliation with the lineage group *Kn*, and did not take their genealogies far enough back to include the eponymous ancestor of the lineage group *Daif*.

(Brother 2) SESP.S 3: *By 'm son of 'bd son of Dhhd son of 'bd son of D'b son of N'mn son of Kn son of N'mn of the lineage of Kn.*¹¹

(Brother 3) SESP.S 4: *By Š'b son of 'bd son of Dhhd son of 'bd son of D'b of the lineage of Kn.*¹²

Brother number two still has an impressive genealogy with seven forefathers included, and ends with “Kn son of N'mn”. This *Kn* is not the eponymous ancestor of the lineage group *Kn*, that has been identified by Macdonald, al-Mu'azzin and Nehmé, in “Les inscriptions safaitiques de Syrie, cent quarante ans après leur découverte”; “[...] l'ancêtre éponyme de la sous-tribu de Kn fils de Thrt”.¹³ Of course, there could have been other lineage groups by the same name, and a different eponymous ancestor, but these belong to the same lineage where *Kn son of Thrt* is the eponymous ancestor. The third brother only includes four in his genealogy, in addition to himself, which is still more than the majority.

If these were carved at the same time, the reason for these differences could be that the authors intended these to be read together, and so not all three would need to include as much information. They were carved on the same stone, so this is a plausible explanation. It could also be that there was not enough time for all three to carve as elaborate inscriptions as the first, and expressing lineage affiliation with the phrase *of the lineage of*, is much quicker than a long genealogy.

¹¹ OCIANA, SESP.S 3.

¹² OCIANA, SESP.S 4.

¹³ Macdonald, I-Mu'azzin and Nehmé (1996), p. 455.

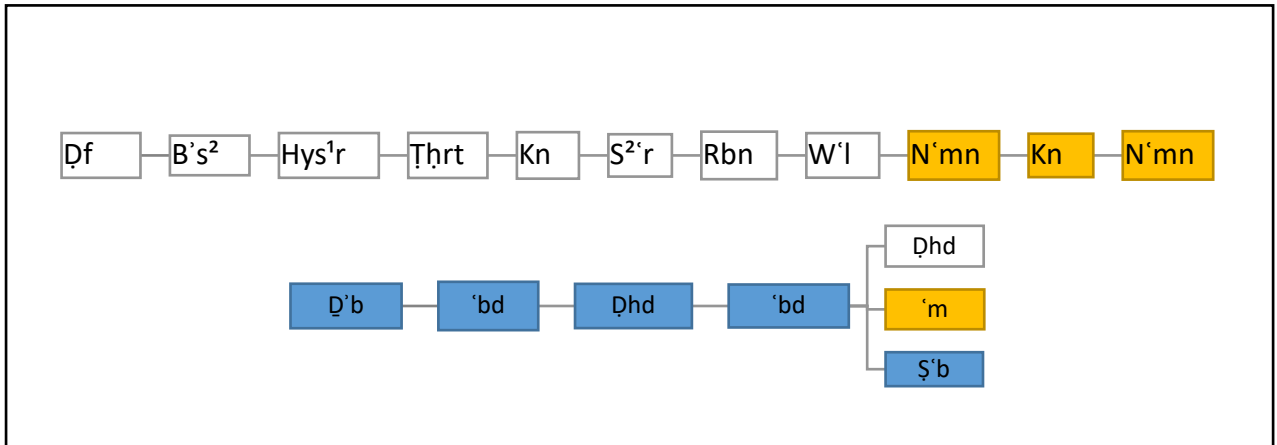


Figure 13: shows the genealogies of the three brothers (SESP.S 2-4). White, and the longest, is SESP.S 2, orange is SESP.S 3, and blue is SESP.S 4. The genealogy is divided in two, due to the long length, and the oldest forefather is to the left. D'b, which is the first in the second line, is the son of N'mn, the last on the first line.

As said, these brothers were not only members of the lineage group *Kn*, they belonged to the *Ḍaif* lineage. This is not only corroborated by the first brother's inclusion of the eponymous ancestor, but by their genealogies. The figure below shows one of the branches of a large *Ḍaif* family tree, and *Kn* was a lineage group belonging to the larger lineage group *Ḍaif*. The genealogy is divided in two, due to length, and *W'l* in the black box, is the same person.

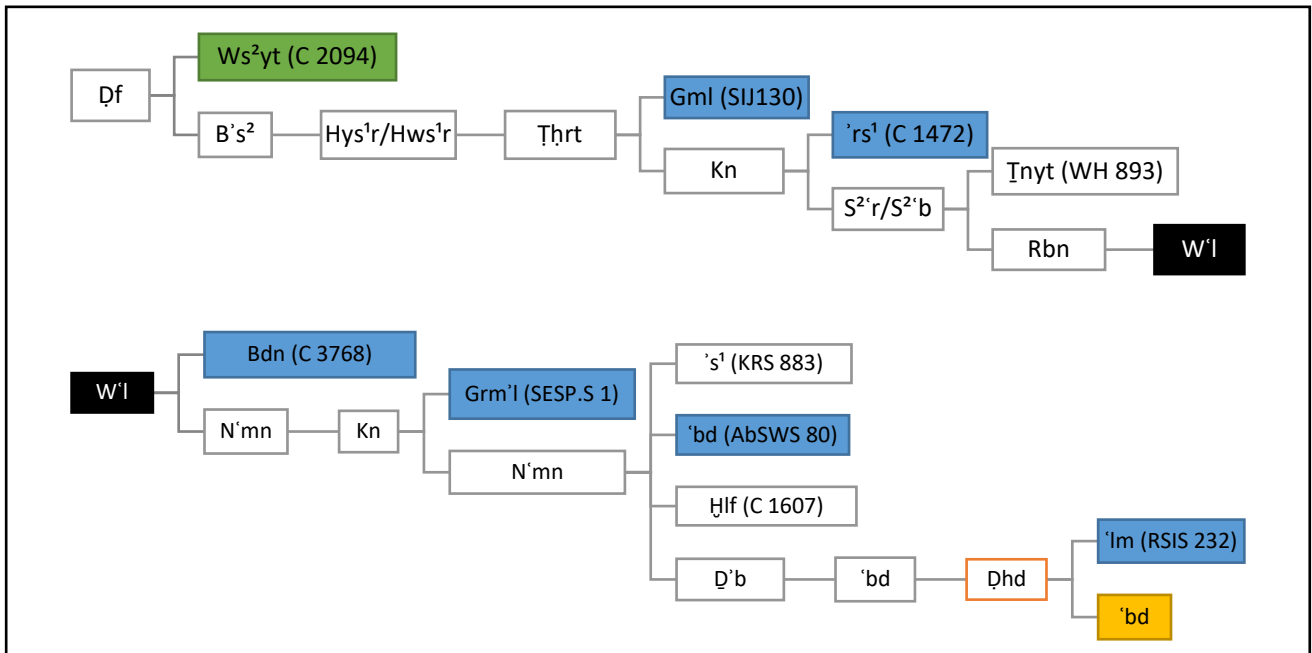


Figure 14. One of the *Kn* lineages, with the other branches of the *Daif* family tree marked with blue and green. The green marks a major branch, whilst the blue are smaller ones. The box marked with orange is the father of the three brothers who carved SESP.S 2,3, and 4, and the box with orange outline is the grandfather. The genealogy is divided in two, due to the length, the black box is the same person.

Using the database OCIANA, one can search for inscriptions with matching lineage chains of forefathers. By doing this, one can not only find relatives, sometimes one can find the kinship links between different lineages, as above. Amongst their numerous relatives of these three brothers, is the author of the inscription below (*AbWS 5*), *Qlb*; who expressed his affiliation with the lineage group of *Daif*. He belongs to the branch of *Ws²yt* (in the green box in the figure above), and he is on the same genealogical level as the brothers' grandfather (box with orange outline in the figure above). He could have been alive at the same time as the brothers, or at least sometime near their lifetime. Since the first brother included *Daif*'s eponymous ancestor, at the time these were alive, the kinship connection between the lineage groups were still a factor, at least for some and to a certain degree.

AbWS 5: *By **Qlb** son of 'bkr son of Qlb son of S²hm son of 'gl son of 'mr son of Mlk {son of} Qhs² son of S¹wr son of Hmyn **of the lineage of Df** and he helped the goats give birth here in a time of plenty and so O B 'ls¹mn and O Lt may [grant] security and protection from misfortune and O Lt blind whoever scratches out the carving and grant security to whoever reads it aloud.*¹⁴

Another way in which establishing kinship relation between authors through genealogies is beneficiary, is when it comes to eponymous ancestors. It can be ascertained either by the author expressing lineage affiliation with the same lineage group, or if the genealogy match other(s) where it is certain. With the first option, there does not need to be a correlation between an ancestor with the same name as the lineage group, as seen with the second brother (SESP.S 3).

Genealogy match is not always straight forward. Inscriptions referring to lineage groups that rarely occur are often challenging to establish kinship relation and trace genealogy match. An example of this is the inscription C 2646 (see below). The last ancestor in the genealogy shares name with a lineage group which have only three occurrences in the database. A comparison of genealogies is impossible here, although all three are members, as there are only three or less links included in the genealogies, included the author.

C 2646: *{By} **Nr** son of Znn son of Kmd son of Mbny son of S¹r son of Šbh son of Qs²m son of S¹ry son of Hngs² son of Whbn son of { 'bd} son of **Qmr** son of 'd.*¹⁵

Further, the eponymous ancestor does not need to be the last link, as his father could have been included too. The second to last forefather in Nr's genealogy (inscription above, C 2646) also shares name with a lineage group, *Qmr*, with 24 attestations, six of which are by non-members. None of the members of *Qmr* have included their eponymous ancestor in their genealogies, and there have been found no kinship ties, through the paternal lineages, between the lineage of *Qmr* and the lineage of *Qs²m*, who's family tree the author (*Nr*) belonged to.

In the middle of *Nr*'s genealogy we find an ancestor called *Qs²m*, and of the 51 members of this family tree found so far, 14 have the same *Qs²m* in it.¹⁶ Some go further back than him like *Nr*, whilst others end their genealogy with *Qs²m*. Of the four authors in

¹⁴ OCIANA, AbWS 5.

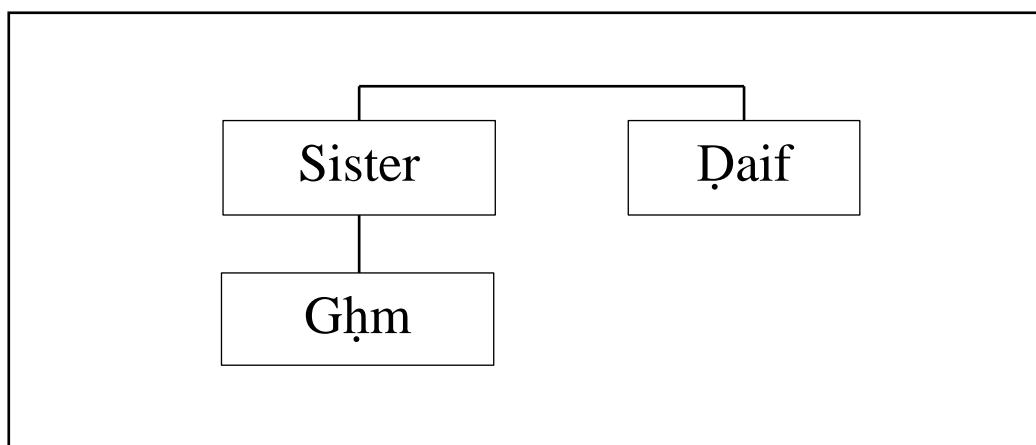
¹⁵ OCIANA, C 2646.

¹⁶ With the same *Qs²m*, it is meant that the rest of the genealogy match.

this family expressing affiliation with the lineage group through the phrase “of the lineage of”, and that was in a different inscription with a shorter genealogy, included the eponymous ancestor.¹⁷ The ancestor called *Qs²m* found in these inscriptions could very well be the eponymous ancestor of this lineage group, or of one of the lineage groups with this name. Although we here may have been able to identify an eponymous ancestor, and link the author to a lineage group; in many cases, one cannot use genealogies to establish an author’s lineage affiliation, not without supporting evidence. With short genealogies, this is especially true. Another problem is that even if we can connect the author true relatives to a certain lineage group, he himself may not have considered himself a member of that lineage group.

A curious use of genealogy not for the author himself, but that of the eponymous ancestor of his lineage group, is seen in the inscription *ZeGa 16* below. It is a unique inscription, in which the author wanted to show how his lineage group was related to the lineage group *Daif*, through a female link. There might be other lineages connected in somewhat similar ways, with close kinship-relations between the eponymous ancestors, but they are never shown like this. However, it does show that although as seen the paternal descent line is given a lot of importance, one should not rule out that maternal ones were emphasized in some situations too.

*ZeGA 16: By M'n son of Bhm of the lineage of Ghm son of the sister of the lineage of Df.*¹⁸



¹⁷ In C 1936, he includes *Qs²m* in his genealogy, whilst in HSD 1 he expresses affiliation with the lineage group *Qs²m* through the phrase “of the lineage of”. OCIANA (23.04.17).

¹⁸ OCIANA, ZeGa 16.

Figure 15 shows how the eponymous ancestor *Ghm* was related to the eponymous ancestor of *Daif* (*Df*), as seen in the inscription ZeGa 16.

Another question is to what degree authors used genealogies to mark lineage affiliation, and if this was always done by tracing it back to an eponymous ancestor. It may very well be that often they would choose to identify with a lineage group on a lower level,¹⁹ where the genealogy would not need to stretch far to include the eponymous ancestor; if they chose to use genealogy in that way.

This also leads us back to other possible, perhaps connected, reasons for why many had shorter genealogies, and some included an impressive number of forefathers. Macdonald, in *Nomads and the Hawran in the late Hellenistic and Roman period: a reassessment of the epigraphic evidence*, suggests that distance to home would determine how you identify yourself. For the nomads, if they were closer to home, or their group, they would not need to express affiliation with a lineage group high up in the hierarchy, nor include a lengthy genealogy; as the people most likely to read the inscription, would need less to identify them with.²⁰

If the majority of these inscriptions came into being whilst the author was with his group, in areas where they normally traversed, this could very well explain the pattern of genealogy length, and also the relatively few occurrences of expressions of lineage affiliation. Likely, there would be combination of reasons, where this could be a major one. The time the author had available for carving the inscription could limit the extent of the content, also the purpose for carving an inscription. Was it just to pass the time while being on the look-out, or did he want to commemorate an event or the passing of a friend? Perhaps he wanted to leave a trace for others to find, or show of his standing in society?

However, there is no question that the genealogies were important, and that they probably show more affiliation with descent groups than is immediately clear. Especially as many of the smaller lineage groups probably did not appear in the inscriptions; and the only affiliation shown to them is true the genealogies, which we may never be able to identify. Many of the questions concerning genealogies, the length of them, eponymous ancestors and expressions of lineage affiliation through this medium, are also relevant for the term 'l

¹⁹ Macdonald (1993), p. 367.

²⁰ Macdonald (1993), p. 367.

(lineage) and the use of it. This will be discussed further concentrating on inscriptions referring to the ten most attested lineage groups, looking a contact in relation to kinship structures.

3.2 The appearance of 'l in Safaitic inscriptions

KRS 2425: By 'qrb son of Mlk son of Zbdy **of the lineage of Kn and he injured a guard of the lineage of Ty**' and so O Lt [grant] the security of protection from misfortune.²¹

'Qrb's immortalization in stone of his interaction with a guard, is one of 1042 inscriptions where the term 'l (lineage) appear.²² Some used it as an expression of their own lineage affiliation, or the affiliation of others, as the author above, 'qrb, did; or to label a group. Lineage, as genealogy, is based on descent, but whilst genealogy appear in almost all Safaitic inscriptions, lineage is only attested in just over three percent of them (3.14%). In contrast to the low occurrence though, almost 300 different lineage groups have been found, most only appearing once. Only 17 lineage groups have ten or more attestations, and included here are the Romans ('l Rm, the lineage/people of Rome).

The term *lineage* ('l) can also appears on its own together with a group name (the lineage of Kn) in the narrative. The most common way it was used in the narrative, is as part of the dating formulae, as seen in the inscription C 2577, below. This is also a good example of that the term lineage was not always included with group names. "s'nt ḥrbt **'wd 'l b 'd**", this is the transliteration of the part of the inscription marked in bold, and we can clearly see that only B 'd has 'l in front.

C 2577: By 'qrb the young servant of {Mgny} of the lineage of {Nḡbr} and he spent the dry season at Btr **the year 'wd plundered the lineage group of B 'd.**²³

In some cases, the lack of 'l could indicate that it is a person, and not a group. Al-Jallad suggests that groups considered "outsider" usually appear without it, although there are exceptions,²⁴ as seen with the 17 mentions of 'l Rm.²⁵ In addition to abandoning the term

²¹ OCIANA, KRS 2425.

²² See Appendix I.

²³ OCIANA, C 2577.

²⁴ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 60.

²⁵ Although, not all of these are necessarily Romans, but quite many of them are.

tribe in preference for *lineage*, for the groups covered by 'l; it is now often translated to *people* when the group in question is not nomads,²⁶ for example the Romans. The lack of 'l in the inscription above, is probably not an indication that 'wḏ is a person or a non-nomadic group, due to the context it appeared in and as there is a well-known lineage group by that name.

Lineage groups also appear in other contexts than dating, although that is the most common way in the narrative. The three inscriptions below show different examples of this. In the first (NRW.C 5), it is included in the prayer, as the author wants revenge against the lineage group. The second author writes (C 169), that he attacked a lineage group, whilst the third (C 4039), is sad for a lineage group.

NRW.C 5: *and he found the traces of Ys'ḏ of the lineage of Mr' D Hr and he was on the look out and O Lt [grant] security and [grant] revenge on the lineage of Grf.*²⁷

C 169: Transliteration: *l qlf ḏ hdl w 'dw b- h ' l- ḥyn*. Translation: *By Qlf of the Hdl family and he violently rushed on Ḥyn.*²⁸

C 4039: *By N'mn son of Ḥbyṭ and he was sad on account of the lineage of D'b {Gn'l}, who were lost so O S²ḥqm may they be secure.*²⁹

Actions or events where lineage is found, in some cases refer to property in some form, belonging to the lineage. In the two following inscriptions, there is a protected pasture that belonged to the lineage of 'wḏ (LP 342), and camels belonging to the lineage of 'bd (KRS 2756). What these inscriptions give us, is not necessarily the connections between lineages and/or people, rather a glimpse of the functions of lineages. Here, property was tied to the lineages themselves. Most authors who describe pasturing, only mention what animals, or in some cases only the action.

LP 342: *By Hn' son of S²rk son of Mḥlm son of 'dnt son of Wrḏ son of Nḡbr of the lineage of 'wḏ and he found the inscription of his companions and so he was devastated by grief in the year of the struggle of Qbr and 'zz [over] this protected area of pasture of the lineage of 'wḏ and so O Gḏ'wḏ and Ds²r and O Lt [grant] secure help to whoever leaves this inscription untouched and freedom from want but*

²⁶ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 57.

²⁷ OCIANA, NRW.C 5.

²⁸ Here the translation should be "the lineage of Ḥyn", OCIANA, C 169.

²⁹ OCIANA, C 4039

[inflict] dearth of pasture and dumbness and lameness on whoever would damage this writing and [grant] booty to whoever would read [it] aloud.³⁰

KRS 2756: By 'll son of Mḥwr and **he pastured the camels of the lineage of 'bd** and he spent the season of the later rains and so O Lt may he be secure.³¹

These appearances of lineage groups discussed in this part, is valuable insights into how the lineage groups interacted and worked as a structure in society. For this thesis though, lineage used as an expression of lineage affiliation is more interesting. As this does not only say who they interacted with, and it what way, as it shows how the authors used kinship in societies.

3.3 An expression of affiliation

JaS 4: By Msk son of S²dt son of Mḥlm son of S²dt son of Mḥlm **of the lineage of Tm**.³²

The most interesting aspect of lineage for this thesis, is when it is used as an expression of affiliation, *q- 'l* (of the lineage). For the most part, it is the authors affiliation, although some include the affiliation of people they mention in the inscriptions. *Lineage* is far less used than *genealogy*, it is not a fixed part of the formulae used to identify the author, in most cases at least; but its own component, which sometimes is included in the presentation of the author. Al-Jallad explained how the authors would not only learn how to write, but also what to write (1.3),³³ which means there could have been a difference in which components authors learned, therefor the use of *lineage* could have not only been dependent on factors as location and situation, but also knowledge. It is also possible that for some, it was a part of the formula containing *genealogy*, as there are several inscriptions where these are the only parts in the inscription.

When it comes to the identity of the author, genealogy could have been sufficient in most cases, and if it was a formula which was in little use, this could have affected if people passed in on to others, and how it was passed on. It is also possible that although lineage, and perhaps even the phrase “of the lineage of”, was learned, all the ways in which it could be

³⁰ OCIANA, LP 342.

³¹ OCIANA, KRS 2756.

³² OCIANA, JaS 4.

³³ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 10).

used could not have been passed on. For example, an author's expression of lineage affiliation does occasionally come at the end of an inscription, as seen below (WAMS 1), which could have been one way the formulae were taught.

WAMS 1: *By Wtr the young servant of 'h son of Qdm and he longed for 'rs² the daughter of his sister and for Hnn and for 'm. So O Lt and Ds²r [grant] security and [show] benevolence. **He of the lineage of Blqy.***³⁴

In the inscription above, the author has included his lineage affiliation at the end.

Here it is clear, but this is not always the case, especially as there is no punctuation in Safaitic, and there can be inscriptions where it is hard to see whose lineage affiliation it is, as in the inscription below.

SIJ 923: *By Whb son of T'l son of Bgrt son of 'glh son of S'lm son of 'mr son of 's'lm and he grieved for his father and for his brother and for his paternal uncle and **for his mother of the lineage of Zd of the lineage of Zhm.***³⁵

At first it seems to be the *lineage* affiliation of the author's mother, but if this is the case, this inscription is highly exceptional. One of the affiliations could be the mother's, and the last the authors, or, what seems more plausibly, both belong to the author. Multiple *lineage* affiliations is rare, but not unheard of. When it comes to authors placing their *lineage* affiliation at the end, this could be that the inclusion was an afterthought, or that this was the way some learned where to place it.

The different ways to include lineage affiliation are exemplified with these four following inscriptions (WH 1, WH 4, WH 15, WH 20), connected by their grief of 'bgr. What is great about the inscriptions above, is that not only are the four different, the context is the same. The first inscription (WH 1), expresses his own affiliation with the lineage group *Daif*, but does not mention 'bgr's affiliation. The next inscription (WH 4), includes what could be 'bgr's affiliation or his own, whilst in the third (WH 15) it is clearly 'bgr's affiliation that is included. Only the last author (WH 20) includes both his own lineage affiliation and that of 'bgr.

WH 1: *By Hn' son of 'wɔn son of Bny **of the lineage of Df** and he buried 'bgr.*³⁶

³⁴ OCIANA, WAMS 1.

³⁵ OCIANA, SIJ 923.

³⁶ OCIANA, WH 1.

WH 4: *By Khl son of Mtn son of Bnt and he grieved for 'bgr of the lineage of Df.*³⁷

WH 15: *By Hḥs'lt son of S'krn son of Grm'l and he grieved for 'bgr of the lineage of Df the year that Whb'l the leader (?) escaped.*³⁸

WH 20: *By Rhḍ son of Hy son of Rhḍ of the lineage of Df {and} {he grieved} for {'bgr} of the lineage of Df.*³⁹

Even though the affiliation of 'bgr is clear, the question here is if all the authors also belonged to *Daif*. They cannot be connected together by genealogies, so we are left with the information they themselves provided. This means we can only conclude two definite members, one ambiguous, and a third a possibility only if one assumes the whole group who grieved belonged to the same lineage group. There is no reason to assume that this is a clear example of authors affiliating with different lineages grieving for the same person. Anyway, the inscriptions here provide us with authors making very different choices about the inclusion of lineage affiliation, in the same situation. They all clearly knew how to express lineage affiliation, so this does not factor in here. This could be to do with status, and the different choices show how the author's chose differently in who's kinship connection with the lineage group they wanted to emphasise. Either their own, 'bgr, or both; and for the last option, this choice clearly shows a connection between the mourner and the dead.

The use of multi lineage affiliation is the only other way, besides matching genealogies, that we get to see how lineage groups were connected. Whilst with the genealogies, we can see who is the sub-group (part 3.1), something that is more difficult to glean from the use of multiple lineage affiliation.

Multiple *lineage* affiliations were not common, and the inscription below, *Is.Mu 321*, is even more rare, as the author not only expressed affiliation with two lineage groups, but four. As previously mentioned, there is no distinction between various levels of decent in the Safaitic graffiti, only 'l (lineage),⁴⁰ but did they have another way to show difference in types of units? According to Macdonald, it was normal in cases with an author affiliating with two levels of social organization, *lineage groups*, to place the largest first.⁴¹ This statement

³⁷ OCIANA, WH 4

³⁸ OCIANA, WH 15

³⁹ OCIANA, WH 20

⁴⁰ Al-Jallad (2015), p. 57.

⁴¹ Macdonald (1993), p. 352.

however is not corroborated by the inscription below. The lineage group *Ḍaif*, with 74,⁴² is by far the largest of these four lineage groups, but is in the inscription only placed as number three. *Kn* with 22 is placed second in the inscription, whilst the first, *Zgr* is only found here. The last lineage group, *Whb'l* only has two. This inscription could perhaps be an exception to the rule?

Is.Mu 321: *By Ġyr'l son of S'lm son of Ġyr'l son of Ḥwt of the lineage of Zgr of the lineage of Kn of the lineage of Ḍf of the lineage of Whb'l. And he pastured the sheep in the year that Tm son of 'n'm fled this place and he was afraid of enemies and ---- al-Namārah and he was waiting for rain and so O B'ls'mn [grant] relief through {rain}.*⁴³

There are more factors to consider here, the first is that the size of a lineage should not only be judged by number of occurrences. Macdonald also writes that the nomads, using lineage affiliation as a means of identification, would have included just enough to be identified in the specific area they were in. Which means a person close to home, would not need to go far beyond the lowest kin group for others to know him, whilst a person far from home would have to include a lineage on a higher level in the social organization.⁴⁴

Another thing to consider here, is that the number of occurrences do not necessarily equate size or the level in the social organization, of the lineage group. There is no reason to believe that the lineage groups we know about, and their pattern of occurrence, show the full picture, many could not have been mentioned at all, and those of high in the social organization could have few, if any, attestations. Multiple lineage affiliations will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The phrase “of the lineage of” (*d- 'l*) could also be used to describe others' lineage affiliation. This shows how the phrase as a component was flexible in use, and not solely connected to either part of the inscription, as seen in the following inscription (*SSWS 186*). The author has both included his own affiliation, and that of one of the people he grieves for. The author's affiliation, *the lineage of S²ddt*, differ from the person grieved for's, *the lineage of Zhr*, also, he does not include lineage affiliation for all those he grieves for. The lineage affiliation in the narrative, could encompass the three first people he grieves for, “Yġt and

⁴² See appendix I

⁴³ OCIANA, Is.Mu 321.

⁴⁴ Macdonald (1993)

for Ḥwl and for 's'r", and not just the person immediately in front of the lineage affiliation, 's'r. When it comes to the last three, they could have been members of the author's lineage group, as he does not specify their *lineage* affiliation, or he could have had other reasons for not including it and specifying the ones he did.

SSWS 186: *By Hknf son of Ms^lk of the lineage of S²ddt and he pastured the camels in this valley on spring herbage and he grieved for Yġt and for Ḥwl and for 's'r of the lineage of Zhr and for Ṣdy and for Nbt and for Ḥfs^l, so he was distraught with grief, so O 'lhn [grant] security to whoever migrated to the inner desert and hungry and cold to whoever scratches out the inscription and the cairn.*⁴⁵

3.4 Constructing a forest of family trees in the desert

So far, we have seen two different ways in which expression of descent is used in the Safaitic inscriptions, with genealogies and lineage affiliation. Genealogies could be used to show lineage affiliation and identity; whilst we have seen different ways in which the term *lineage* appear, both as markers for groups and in expressions of affiliation. The author's expressed their own lineage affiliation, the affiliation of others, and through their expressions of multiple lineage affiliations we can see the stratification of the lineage groups. In addition, they show just how many lineage groups one could claim affiliation with, in one example four lineage groups. Through constructing family trees with genealogies we can also see the connections between the lineage groups.

Using the genealogies to construct family trees do pose some challenges, mainly how to be sure that there is actually a match. The more links in common, the likelier it is that the authors are related. As Safaitic contains no vowels, one cannot be certain a name is the same, just because the consonant group is the same. With a combination of more names, the likelihood goes up. I have set the limit a minimum three links for a comparison, which gives a good indication, but is in no way fool proof.⁴⁶ There are some instances where three links are a match between two genealogies, but a further comparison of the older links show that it does not match. In some cases, there also might be mistakes or different versions of a name, making it difficult to judge whether it is a match or not. In the figure above, there are two

⁴⁵ OCIANA, SSWS 186.

⁴⁶ Uncertain connections have been brought up in discussion.

such cases, where it has been ruled a probable match due to the degree of similarities in the rest of the genealogies.⁴⁷

Smaller genealogies are a major issue, as in many cases there just are not enough links to compare. If an author has only included back to his great grandfather, we are dependent on one of his close family members, either brother or father, have carved an inscription. And to go further, one of them must have had a longer genealogy. Nevertheless, having access to this large quantity of the source material, and using the genealogies in this way, is a great source when examining the lineage groups and the social structure.

One curiosity though, is that while genealogies is found in almost all of the inscriptions, the term *lineage* appear rarely; and not all of those are expressions of lineage affiliation. This is a complex question, and likely the answer consists of several factors. Earlier we saw examples of property belonging to a lineage group (part 3.2), and one possible theory for why lineage affiliation sometimes was included, was to show what lineage group used the area, location, or route.⁴⁸ Another theory is that the use of lineage affiliation, as with longer genealogies, rather means there was some distance between the author and his group or usual area. Connected to provenance is the situation the inscription occurred in. Was there an event that prompted the author to include his lineage affiliation, or perhaps something else he was doing or had done made him include it. There is also Sartre's theory about status (part 3.1), that applies to both lineage affiliation and genealogy. This will be discussed further in chapter four.

Another factor is the nature of the Safaitic inscriptions themselves, the formulaic composition. This, in addition to the authors general mastering of written Safaitic, could have affected how many used the term *lineage*, and especially in expressions of lineage affiliation. Genealogies are far more common than the term *lineage*, and it could very well be that most only learned to show descent affiliation through this. If one connects this with Macdonald's theory that the further away from home, the broader the identifier used; many perhaps did not leave inscriptions in places, or situations, where more than the inclusion of a grandfather or great grandfather was needed.

It could also be that to express lineage affiliation by the phrase *ǧ- 'l* (of the lineage), was a "lazy" option to listing up many forefathers. Or it could be the only option in some

⁴⁷ Macdonald, al-Mu'azzin and Nehmé (1996), p. 456.

⁴⁸ Sartre (2005), p. 236.

cases, as one could not provide the whole descent line between one self and the eponymous ancestor of the lineage one wanted to affiliate with. If the lineage group in question had the traits of what is defined as clan, one might very well not be able to produce such knowledge. This does not exclude the possibilities that they created the missing links in the genealogy, to show that they were connected through kinship to that lineage; as there are examples of genealogies that match, but there are some varieties in one or two links (part 3.1). Graph of lineage with genealogy length.

With this type of source material, where there are many limitations in the form of little information and context, it is difficult to get a clear picture of why some expressed lineage affiliation for themselves or others, and most did not. The situation the author was in probably played the biggest role, and this is precisely where the lack of context is a limitation. Also, there is often an unclear motivation for these inscriptions, some was a way to pass the time, others had a clear purpose. Due to the formulaic nature of these inscriptions, it is also possible that many had not learnt how to express lineage affiliation in this way. The use of lineage affiliation, and the different uses of it, is probably due to a combination of several reasons. The author of *Is.Mu 321*, who affiliated with four different lineage groups, perhaps had ample time on his hand whilst pasturing the sheep. Thus, deciding to carve a rather long inscription. Perhaps he also wanted to show status through his many affiliations.

4 A society of forefathers

Up to this point, the particulars of kinship both on a macro and micro level have been looked at; and how the different expressions of kinship in the Safaitic inscriptions have been used and what they encompassed. Descent is a crucial concept here, and different types of tracing descent in the Safaitic inscriptions have been seen. These can be used to get an understanding of the society that produced these inscriptions. First, the focus is on the hierarchy of these lineage groups, then in the second part, kinship will be examined in connection with the landscape where nomads carved their inscriptions. The discussion is based on the ten most attested lineage groups and the archaeological data and the inscriptions from the cairn of Hani'.

4.1 Hierarchy of forefathers

In chapter three, the inscription *Is.Mu 321* and the multiple lineage affiliations of the author were briefly discussed. An important question concerning multiple lineage affiliations is what the order of the lineage groups can tell us if there was a meaning behind it. With *Is.Mu 321*, we do have some more information from other inscriptions which can help us to see if the largest lineage group were placed first, as Macdonald suggested. We know that *Kn* is connected to *Daif* and that *Kn* is a branch under *Daif*. This means *Daif* should have been placed before *Kn*. Alternatively, this could be a different lineage group called *Kn*, which of course could be true for *Daif* also. Another possibility is that the author here has started with the lowest lineage group, and ended with the lineage group at the top of the hierarchy, *Whb'l*.¹ This seems to fit better with the perceived sizes of the lineage groups.

Although the lineage of *Whb'l* only appears twice among the 33,164 safaitic inscriptions in the OCIANA-database, there is other evidence to support it being a large lineage group or a lineage group high in the hierarchy. In the following inscription (*C 1993*), the author ends his genealogy with *Whb'l*, which could perhaps be the eponymous ancestor of the lineage group *Whb'l*, and possibly the grandfather of the eponymous ancestor of the lineage of *Daif*. If this is indeed the case, it fits with the author ending with the highest lineage group, instead of starting with it. Although this is in no way certain, the proposed

¹ The other inscription mentioning *Whb'l* could be very interesting, although the translation offered is only a tentative suggestion, and it would need to be verified before one could use the information in it: WH 1859: "By 'n'm son of S²hm son of Ġt and he [helped] build the fortified encampment for Hn' the commander the year of the expeditionary force of 'l Whb'l to Gerasa". Gerasa is approximately 200 km from the area where this inscription was found, located approximately 100 km west of the Harra.

order, in the inscription *Is.Mu 321*, ending with the highest, instead of starting with it, fits better based on the two lineage groups in the middle, *Kn*, and *Daif*.

C 1993: *By 'dy son of Nfzt son of Mty son of {Mkbl} son of {Dhd} son of {'bt} son of Rbn son of Qmhr son of Zkr son of Rf't son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn'l son of Whb'l and he pastured the sheep and kept watch for {the rains} and so O B'ls'mn grant relief from adversity.*²

That the eponymous ancestor of *Whb'l* could be the grandfather of the eponymous ancestor of *Daif*, is uncertain due to what could turn out to be proof of an interesting aspect; constructed genealogies to show the connection between lineage groups. The author of the inscription above belongs to a different branch of the *Daif* three than seen before in chapter two if he belongs. Below, there are several inscriptions, carved by authors who could have been claiming membership to the same lineage group(s), but where there are some interesting differences in the genealogies. The two first (C 2094 and KRS 173) share four forefathers with the author above and adds some weight to a link between *Daif* and *Whb'l*. Inscription number three (AbNAS 3) have not included the forefather between *Daif* and *Whb'l* but otherwise, shares four consecutive with KRS 173. The next inscription (C 1472) shares two links with C 1993 but is an uncertain link to the branch of the *Daif* tree seen in chapter two. The last two (SESP.U 8 and AbWS 8) show two different genealogies after *Daif*, where only the last included *Whb'l*; they share five links with C 2094 and KRS 173. It could be that these inscriptions here are not related, or that they indeed show that the genealogies either were constructed, perhaps to connect two lineage groups. The inscription ZeGa 16 in seen in chapter three, where the author linked two eponymous ancestors by a woman (mother's brother and sister's son-relationship), is also interesting here.

C 2094: *By S'mk'l son of Ymtn' son of Ġyr son of Rf't son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn'l.*³

KRS 173: *By Nhđ son of Hmyn son of Ġđđt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn'l son of Whb'l son of Ys'r.*⁴

² OCIANA, C 1993.

³ OCIANA, C 2094.

⁴ OCIANA, KRS 173.

AbNAS 3: By 's¹lm son of N¹mn son of Gn¹l son of Hy son of Šbh son of Gn¹l son of Whb son of S¹r son of **Ġđđt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Whb¹l** and blindness to whoever scratches out the inscription.⁵

C 1472: By 'hff son of K¹mh son of 'rs¹ son of **Kn son of Tḥrt son of Hws¹r son of B¹s¹ son of Df son of Gn¹l**.⁶

SESP.U 8: By 'n¹m son of Grm¹l son of 'n¹m son of Fltt son of Bhs² son of 'dnt son of Ys¹lm son of Rqlt son of **Zkr son of Rf¹t son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn¹l son of Bqr son of Rhyw** the year king Agrippa died. And blind whoever scratches out the inscription.⁷

AbWS 8: By Qdm son of S²mt son of Ġyr¹l son of Zkr son of Zn¹l son of S¹b son of 'dr¹l son of B¹dh son of **Ġđđt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn¹l son of G¹r son of 'wd son of Whb¹l son of 'dd son of 'yl son of 'm son of Rgl¹t son of Dr¹l son of Hrm son of 'bgr son of 'ns¹ and he sacrificed to Gd-Df [for] protection from misfortune.⁸**

Back to multiple lineage affiliations and what these tell us about the structure of these groups; in the figure below, the inscriptions containing these have been sorted according to the number of occurrences of the lineage groups. High, refers to the lineage group with the most occurrences, which seen in the discussion above, might not always be the largest, or the highest in the hierarchy. *Is.Mu 321*, is placed in the second group, based on the previous discussion. Two of these inscriptions' placement, marked by * in the table, are somewhat uncertain, as there is only one occurrence in the difference between the lineage groups affiliated with.⁹ The two placed in parentheses, have very uncertain translations, but are included as they could contain multiple lineage affiliations; they are also written by the same person.¹⁰

⁵ OCIANA, AbNAS 3.

⁶ OCIANA, C 1472.

⁷ OCIANA, SESP.U 8.

⁸ OCIANA, AbWS 8. As there is no picture for this inscription, the translation and extremely long genealogy must be considered with caution.

⁹ OCIANA, SHNS 1: "By Mn¹m son of Khl of the lineage of 'd of the lineage of B¹r and he came to water at the swampy ground [or the water gathered in the valley] [which is located] eight [nights] from Rhbt. So, O B¹ls¹mn [grant] relief from adversity and uncertainty from adversity to the Province". Lineage of 'd: 3, lineage of B¹r: 4. OCIANA, SIJ 923: "By Whb son of T¹l son of Bgrt son of 'glh son of S¹lm son of 'mr son of 's¹lm and he grieved for his father and for his brother and for his paternal uncle and for his mother of the lineage of Zd of the lineage of Zhm". Lineage of Zd: 2, lineage of Zhm: 3.

¹⁰ See chapter 2, part 2.1, where they are discussed.

High to low	Low to high
AMSI 142	Is.Mu 321
SIJ 923	HaNSB 307
WH 21	HaNSB 308
RWQ 346	SIJ 607*
	SHNS 1*
	(ShNGA 1)
	(AMSI 50)

Figure 16: Table the inscriptions with multiple lineage groups; sorted by high to low, and low to high, based on how many attestations the different lineage groups affiliated with,

Even if one excludes the two uncertain inscriptions, the two groups are quite evenly distributed. With the precaution that attestation, not necessarily means largest, or “highest,” the norm seems to be that they are placed in order based on size, but that they could start with either the highest or lowest.

Besides multiple lineage affiliations, the connections between lineage groups found by constructing family trees also give us a view of the structure of these groups. Below is a graph of the ten most attested lineage groups in the Safaitic inscriptions, and here, *Ḍaif* is by far the largest. The graph shows both members affiliating with the group (blue), and those where it is uncertain if they were members or mentions the lineage group (orange). *Ḍaif* and *ʿAwīdh* (*ʿwd*) have been mentioned most by others, and here the numbers are much closer between the two, than for members; 89 and 47 versus 13 and 10. *Ḥazẓiy* (*Ḥzy*) occur as much as *ʿAwīdh*, but it has only three in the “other” category. *Masikat* (*Msʿkt*), *ʿAmīrat* (*ʿmrt*) and *Kn* have only respectively one, two and two mentions by others, and for *Masʿikat* and *Kn*, these could be members. Included here are only mentions of the lineage group where the term *lineage* (*ʿl*) have been included with the group name.

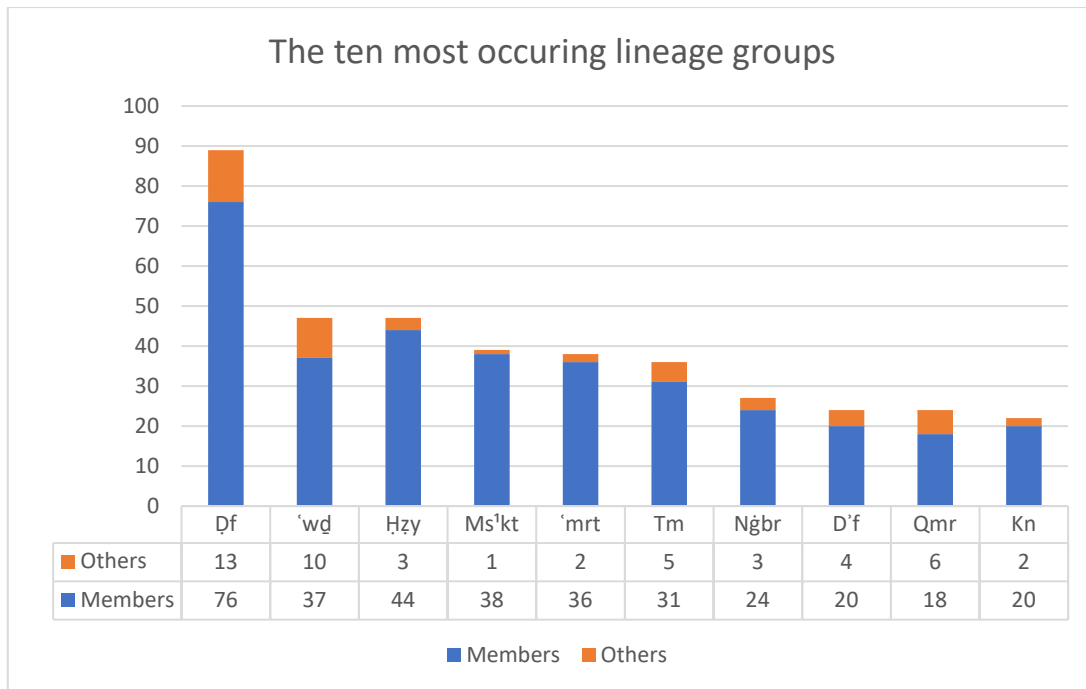


Figure 17: The ten most attested lineage groups in the Safaitic inscriptions, based on the 33.164 inscriptions published in the OCIANA database. Sorted by most occurrences to least. In the category “others”, there could be members of the lineage group in question, but in cases of doubt, inscriptions have been sorted as not members.

As we have already seen the kinship connections for *Ḍaif* with other lineage groups and its clear dominance with occurrence; it makes for a good example to try to show the stratification of these lineage group. The clearest connection is with Kn, who was probably a sub-group; whose relation gets confirmed yet again in the inscription below, C 2843. In the figure following the inscription, the kinship relations of *Ḍaif* is shown based on the information found so far in this thesis. It shows the main descent line, in which *Ḍaif* is the second highest in the hierarchy, and an affinal connection (through a sister) to another paternal descent line, where we so far only know of one lineage group.

C 2843: By Qḥs² son of Ys¹lm son of 'wd son of Mlk and he found the traces of the 'l Kn and {grieved in pain} greatly {for} the 'l Ḍf and so O Lt make secure the people of the 'l Ḍf.¹¹

¹¹ OCIANA, C 2843.

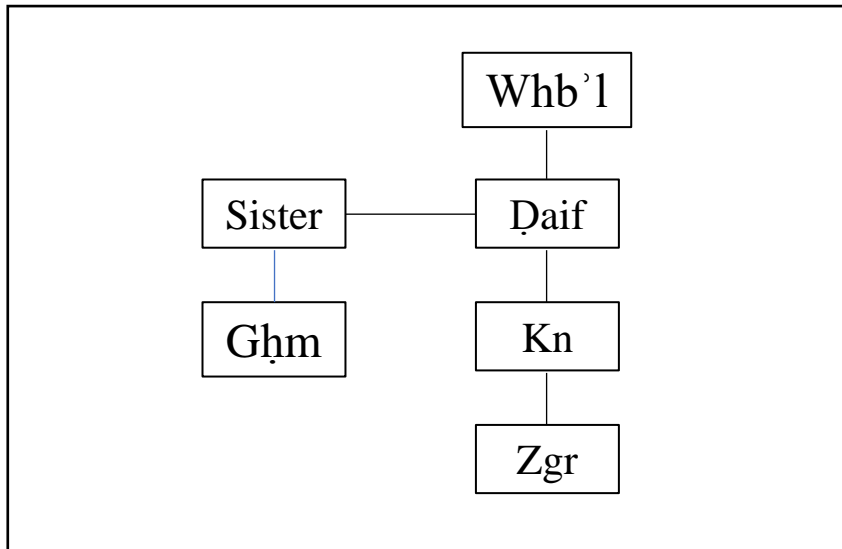


Figure 18: The hierarchy of the lineage groups connected through kinship with *Daif*.

The second most attested lineage group is *ʿAwīdh* (*ʿwd*), and as with *Daif*, there are several kinship connections for this lineage group. *ʿAwīdh* is, therefore, another good example to supplement the arguments of stratification. In the inscription below, the author expresses lineage affiliation with two lineage groups, *ʿAwīdh*, and *Hg*. The lineage group *Hg* has fewer occurrences than *ʿAwīdh*, with eight, although occurrences do not necessarily correspond to level. The fact that this lineage group, *Hg*, has not been mentioned by others though, and some connections are seen between *ʿAwīdh* and others; do suggest that *ʿAwīdh* at least was the most known lineage group of the two. As seen with the multiple lineage affiliations involving *Daif*, the group placed highest in the hierarchy was not the most well-known, which means that without more information about the kinship connection between the two lineage groups in the inscription; we cannot say which was highest.

AMSI 142: *By ʿsʿ son of ʿwd son of Mgyr of the lineage of ʿwd of the lineage of Hg and he found the traces of his companions.*¹²

This is not the only kinship connection for *ʿAwīdh*; there are two more. The first is a father and son who affiliate with two different lineage groups; the father with *ʿAwīdh*,¹³ and

¹² OCIANA, AMSI 142.

¹³ OCIANA, SIJ 74.

the son with the lineage group *Dʿf*,¹⁴ who is also amongst the top ten most occurring lineage groups. Below is a figure showing the genealogy for father (green) and son (yellow).

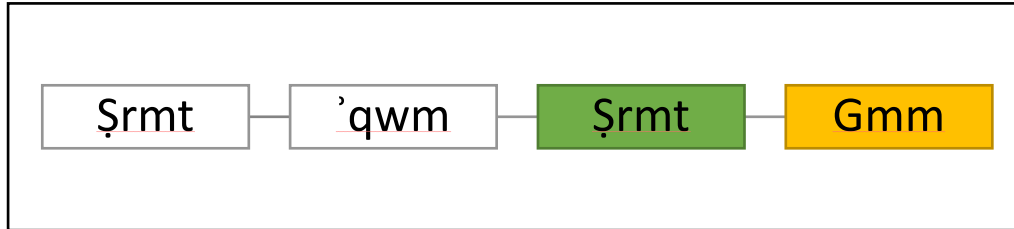


Figure 19: The genealogies of father (green: SIJ 74) and son (yellow: ZF 4).

The last kinship connection for *ʿAwīḏh* is also with another lineage group within the top ten, *Nagbar*. Here, two brothers have affiliated with different lineage groups,¹⁵ and although the brother who is affiliating with *Nagbar* is the only member of this family tree to do so; the two other relatives who affiliate with *ʿAwīḏh* includes what could be *Nagbar*'s eponymous ancestor.¹⁶ For *ʿAwīḏh* it is not as easy to see where each lineage group goes in the hierarchy as with *Ḍaif*; as the inscription with multiple lineage affiliations only contains two, and the genealogies in for the members of the family trees seen here, do not include both eponymous ancestors. Although, with *Nagbar*, the eponymous ancestor of this lineage group is included by two members of the family tree affiliating with *ʿAwīḏh*. Since the eponymous ancestor of the latter lineage group is not in the genealogies, it could be that *Nagbar* was a sub-group of *ʿAwīḏh*. For the two other lineage groups related to *ʿAwīḏh*, *Ḥg*, and *Dʿf*, these could also be sub-groups based on occurrence, although this is uncertain.

¹⁴ OCIANA, ZF4/Is.M 233.

¹⁵ OCIANA, Is.Mu 173 (*ʿAwīḏh*) and RMenv.D 8 (*Nagbar*); plus Is.Mu 180 left by the the same author as RMenv.D, but with a slightly longer genealogy.

¹⁶ OCIANA, LP 342 and Is.Mu 896.

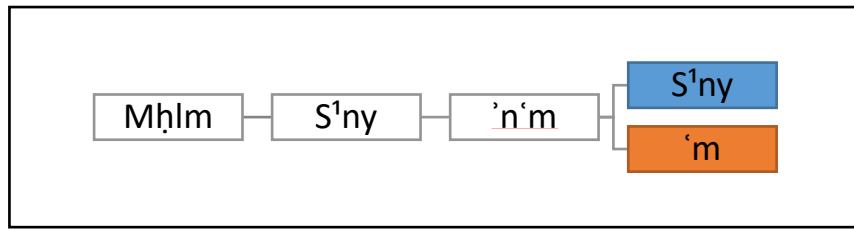


Figure 20: The genealogies for the two brothers affiliating with two different lineages, 'Awīdh (blue: Is.Mu 173) and Nagbar (orange: RMenv.D 8).

In this part, only the kinship connections have been looked at, as they show the relations between the lineage groups. There are however inscriptions mentioning interactions between lineage groups seen here and other. The one interaction that is of most interest here though is one between 'Awīdh and *Ḍaif*, seen in the inscription below; they formed an alliance. Although this does not necessarily mean the lineage groups were involved, this inscription seen together with all the other information about these lineage groups, suggests they were important and rather high up in the social hierarchy. It seems likely that *Ḍaif* could be classified as a tribe, while it is more uncertain for 'Awīdh. In addition to the high number of occurrence, position in the hierarchy, for *Ḍaif* we have also seen how some authors went to great lengths to show a connection to the lineage group; with long genealogies and a connection through a female ancestor.

RWQ 346 By 's¹ son of Ḥs¹n son of Ḥnn of the lineage of Ḍf from the clan (?) of S²w', the year **the lineage of Ḍf and the lineage of 'wḍ formed an alliance.**¹⁷

For the other lineage groups amongst the ten most occurring, there is so far not found any kinship connections for them; this does not mean that there weren't. In general, it is difficult to say if at the top of this hierarchy was a group that connected them all. Sartre states, in *The Middle East under Rome* (2005), that there is no evidence of a collective organization;¹⁸ and this still holds true based on the source material seen in this thesis. However, there is no doubt that these lineage groups were stratified, and that there were complex social structures with several lineage groups. Moreover, there is nothing so far that indicates that these systems differed, at least not based on the expressions found in the Safaitic inscriptions.

¹⁷ OCIANA, RWQ 346.

¹⁸ Sartre (2005), p. 234.

4.2 Forefathers as footprints in the landscape

One important aspect that so far has not entered the analysis in this chapter is where members of the lineage groups left their mark. In chapter 2, location was a brief part of the discussion about why some authors expressed lineage affiliation (using *d-ʿl*), while the majority did not. Here, the focus is on what the locations can tell us about the specific lineage groups, and their connections to others. There are, however, several problems when it comes to the provenance of the Safaitic inscriptions, as mentioned in chapter one.

First, there are many inscriptions we do not have the provenance of, or it is a very vague one. I have chosen to only look at those inscriptions with coordinates found in OCIANA. This means that in many cases only as few as half of the inscriptions by members of a lineage group is included, and naturally, this skews the picture we end up with. For this thesis, the discussion about provenance will be brief and only cursory.

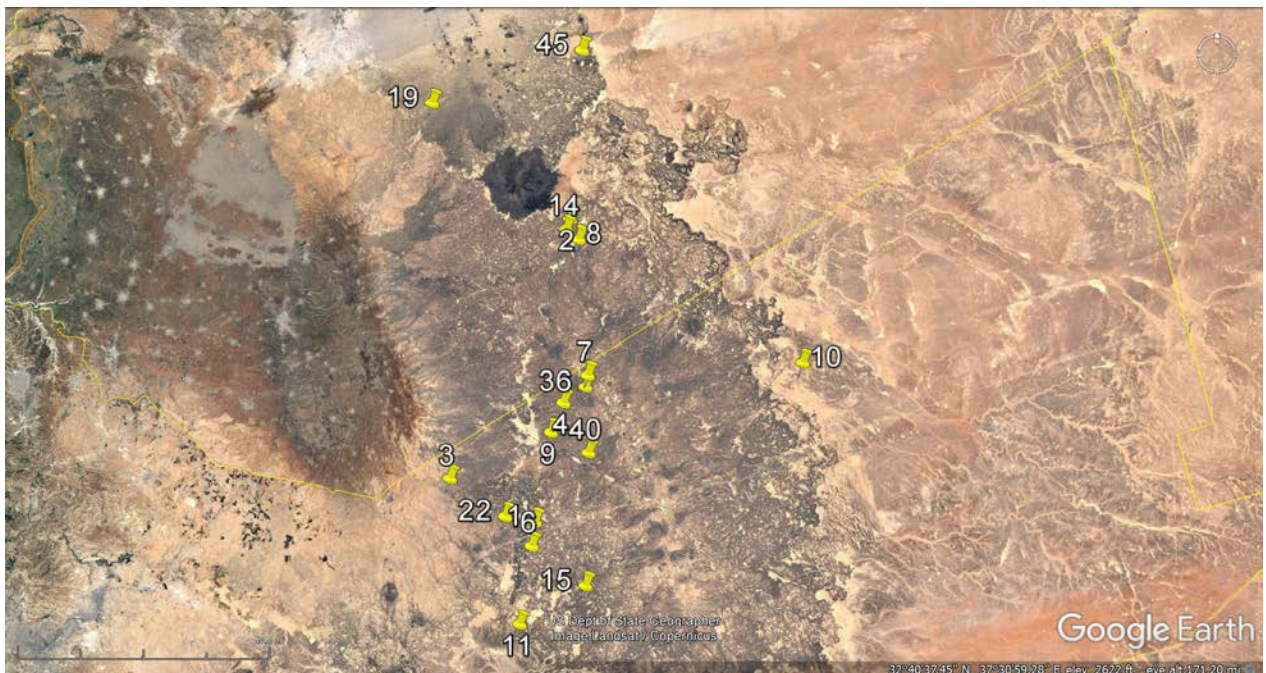


Figure 21: Map showing the locations where members of two or more lineage groups have left inscriptions. For the place names corresponding to the numbers, see Appendix II. (Google Earth, and OCIANA).

Although the source material is limited here, we can see that there are quite many places where members of different lineage groups have left inscriptions; although these could have been left at very different times. However, this does suggest that there were certain

locations that were in use by several lineages. Perhaps it could indicate something similar as is seen with the tribes of Fars in Iran, where not only do they have specific routes, but also a traditional schedule. This means that if a location is included in more than one tribe's route, they use it at different times.¹⁹ Although the distance-aspect suggested by Macdonald could be a part of why they used lineage affiliation where they did, it is most likely not the whole picture. Some places could have had special cultural meaning, and therefore a location where authors belonging to different lineage groups wished to connect their affiliation to that place. The choice of lineage affiliation could here have been affected by where they were in relation to their usual routes.

The most notable locations on the map above, is Al-‘Īsāwī (nr. 14),²⁰ Wādī al-Ḥashād (nr. 4),²¹ Jathum (nr. 7),²² Zalaf (nr. 2),²³ and the Cairn of Hani’. The Cairn of Hani’ is not only rich in inscriptions with lineage groups, but it also contains archaeological material and provides us an interesting context to study kinship and lineage groups in a specific material and social context.

¹⁹ Barth (1961), p. 4-5.

²⁰ Five different lineage groups are found here: Ḍaif and Kn (OCIANA, Is.Mu 321), ‘Awīḡh (OCIANA, LP 342), Nagbar (OCIANA, LP 361), D’f (Is.M 160). Where there is more than one inscription per lineage group, only one is listed.

²¹ Seven different lineage groups are found here: Ḍaif (OCIANA, AMSI 4), ‘Awīḡh (OCIANA, AMSI 142), Ḥazzīy (OCIANA, AMSI 179), Masikat (OCIANA, AMSI 59), ‘Amīrat (OCIANA, Ms 64), Nagbar (OCIANA, AMSI 10), and Kn (OCIANA, AMSI 185)

²² Ḍaif (OCIANA, SIJ 38), ‘Awīḡh (OCIANA, SIJ 74), Masikat (OCIANA, SIJ 207), D’f (OCIANA,

²³ Ḍaif (OCIANA, C 1649), ‘Amīrat (OCIANA, C 2947), Nagbar (OCIANA, C 2113), D’f (OCIANA, C 1952), and Ḳumair (Qmr) (OCIANA, C 1868).



Figure 22: The cairn of Hani' in 1951. (From Harding (1953), p. 57 (fig. 1))

HCH 1: *By Hn' son of 'qrb son of Hn' son of Hyr and the cairn.*²⁴

The cairn of Hn', or Hani' as G. Lankester Harding names him in *The Cairn of Hani'* (1953), is a remarkable site. Both regarding material finds, and the content of the Safaitic inscriptions and drawings. Harding first visited the cairn in October 1950 and was impressed by the intact condition of the cairn. He decided to excavate it in November 1951, after already having recorded 107 inscriptions.²⁵ In the end, he recorded 174 inscriptions in or close to the cairn.²⁶ In 2012, only twelve Safaitic Cairns had been excavated in the Harra, and the cairn of Hani' was the first.²⁷

The cairn is situated right next to Highway 10,²⁸ and as Harding said: "I could not believe that anything could survive so close to the main road."²⁹ It is approximately 12.5 km from H5, or as-Safawi (see map below). The numerous inscriptions, their content, and the cairn itself makes it a site of high historical value. Moreover, for this thesis, the 21 different lineage groups attested there makes it an unparalleled gathering and suitable for a discussion

²⁴ OCIANA, HCH 1.

²⁵ Harding (1953), p. 8.

²⁶ Kennedy (2012), p. 484.

²⁷ Kennedy (2012), p. 487.

²⁸ Crosses east-west along the whole panhandle, continues as Freeway 1 in Iraq.

²⁹ Harding (1953), p. 8.

of the Safaitic inscriptions related to their location in the landscape.³⁰ What can the context and the use of lineage here say about the social structure?

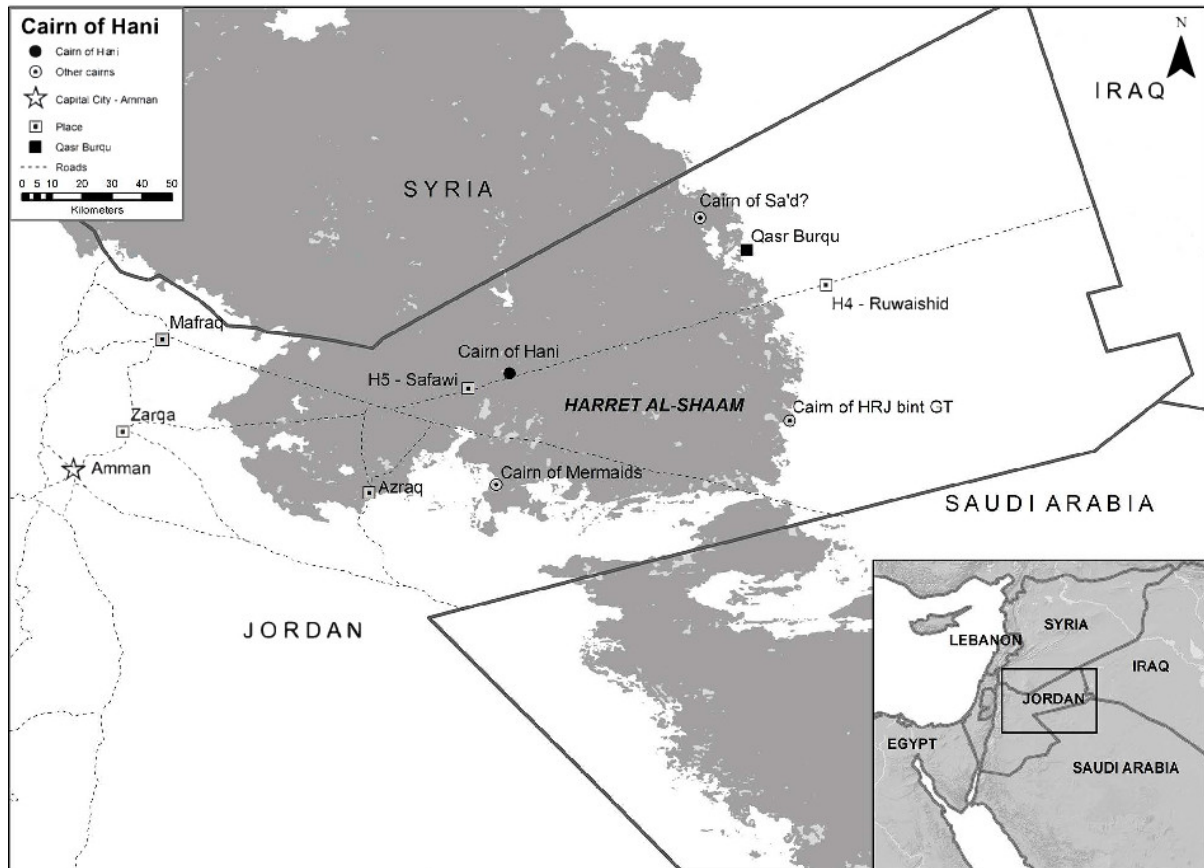


Figure 23: Map showing the location of Cairn of Hani'. (Map (1) from Kennedy (2012), p. 484)

4.2.1 The archaeological context

In the Harra, there are a great many ancient stone-built structures; kites, pendants, 'camps,' meandering walls (unknown purpose), wheels, and Cairns.³¹ The area around the cairn of Hani', mainly west of the cairn, also contains a considerable amount of the same type of sites as mentioned above.³² This rich context the cairn of Hani' is situated in is similar for the other five cairns that had been excavated at that time.³³ Dating these structures is however difficult, as "the Cairn of Hani' was built in a landscape already extensively littered with

³⁰ Kennedy (2012), p. 485.

³¹ Kennedy (2012), p. 483.

³² Kennedy (2012), p. 493. When this article was published 72 sites were found.

³³ Kennedy (2012), p. 500.

stone structures [...]”³⁴ The camps, for example, could very well have been in use around the time of Hani’s burial,³⁵ as five of the inscriptions found by Harding refers to camping.³⁶

When it comes to the cairn itself, neither the archaeological nor the epigraphic evidence have shed light on the dating beyond placing it in the period previously stated for the Safaitic inscriptions. Harding writes that the Latin inscription³⁷ could narrow down the period, however, the tentative translation he operates with does not mention Hani’ and could very well not be connected with Hani’ at all.³⁸

One of the things that set this cairn apart is the rectilinear internal structure. Usually, these are circular (see figure 24 below).³⁹ This was built first, and its sides align with the points of the compass, then came three additional outer walls, shorter than the others, on the north, south and east sides. After this, it was filled with stones, of which many had inscriptions on them. The process of raising the cairn is thought to have been carried out over a longer time.⁴⁰ “It is also the custom of passersby to add a stone to the pile, as so many Safaites record doing.”⁴¹

³⁴ Kennedy (2012), p. 500.

³⁵ Kennedy (2012), p. 498.

³⁶ Harding (1953), p. 31-36. HCH 71, HCH 129, HCH 136, HCH 141, & HCH 102.1. Harding (1953), p. 31-36.

³⁷ HCH 173. There is no certain translation for this inscription, as there are two different suggested readings, and only a tentative translation for one of these. OCIANA operates with no translation for the inscription at this point.

³⁸ Harding (1953), p. 8.

³⁹ Kennedy (2012), p. 484.

⁴⁰ Harding (1953), p. 8-9 & Kennedy (2012), p. 485.

⁴¹ Harding (1953), p. 8.

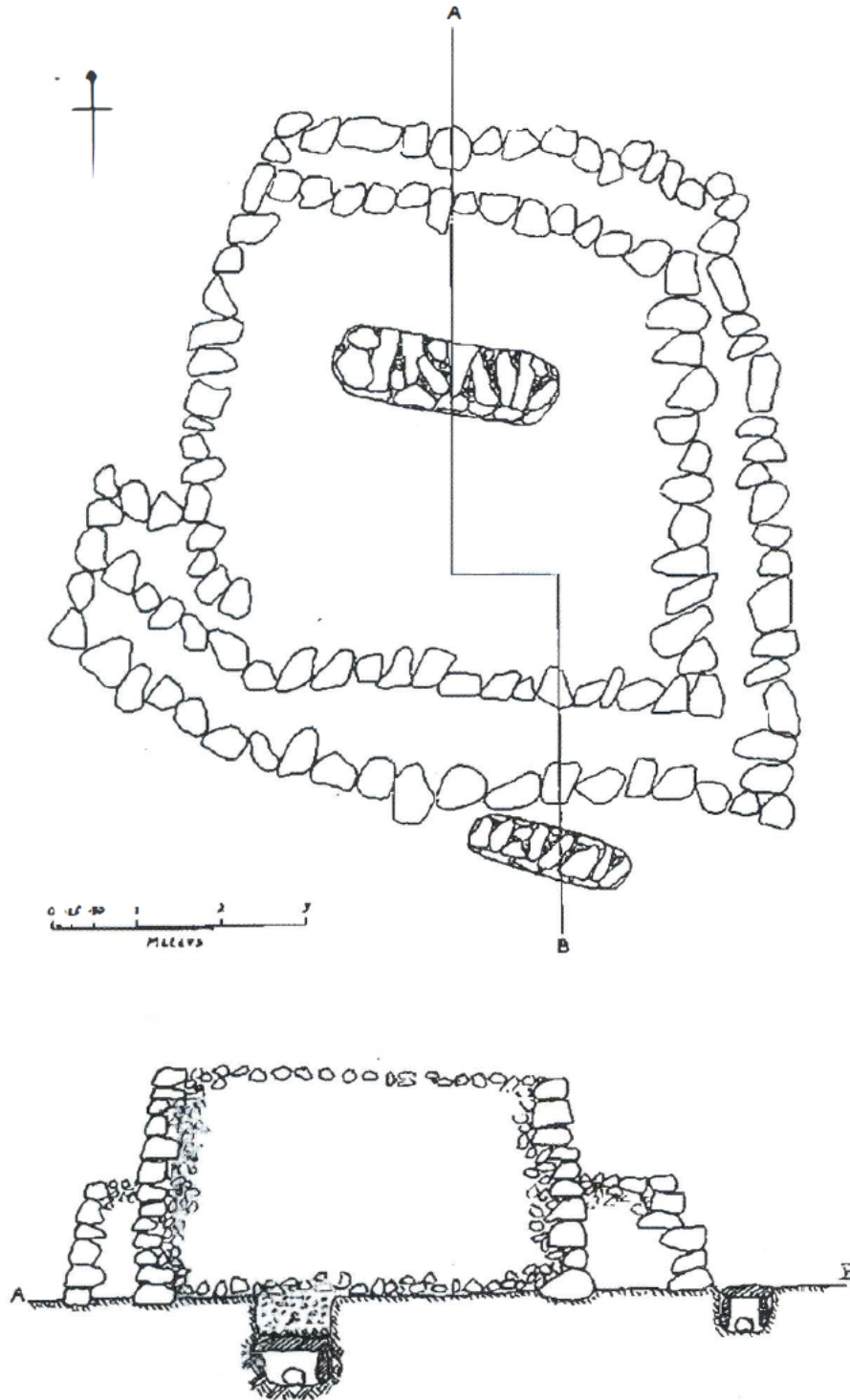


Figure 24: Harding's excavation plan. (Harding (1953), p. 10)

Another notable feature is the graves themselves. Not only did they find the grave of Hani', whom the inscriptions identified as the person buried there, but also an unknown

female.⁴² The female was buried in a shallow grave outside the structures on the southern side, roughly oriented east-west. It was cut in the soil and lined and covered in stones, many of which had inscriptions.⁴³ Hani' 's grave was larger and cut through not only the soil but also the into the underlying bedrock. The burial itself was covered with slabs, which had first a layer of mud and larger stones, with a top layer of soil, rock chippings, and smaller stones. None of the stones here had inscriptions on them, neither in the grave or immediate vicinity.⁴⁴

Hani' 's grave was oriented the same way as the female, and both skeletons were “extended, head west, face south; the right arm was down the side, the left crossed the body from the elbow with the left hand resting on the right (see picture below).”⁴⁵ Hani' still had remains of black hair and a short black beard; there were no remains of hair on the female.⁴⁶

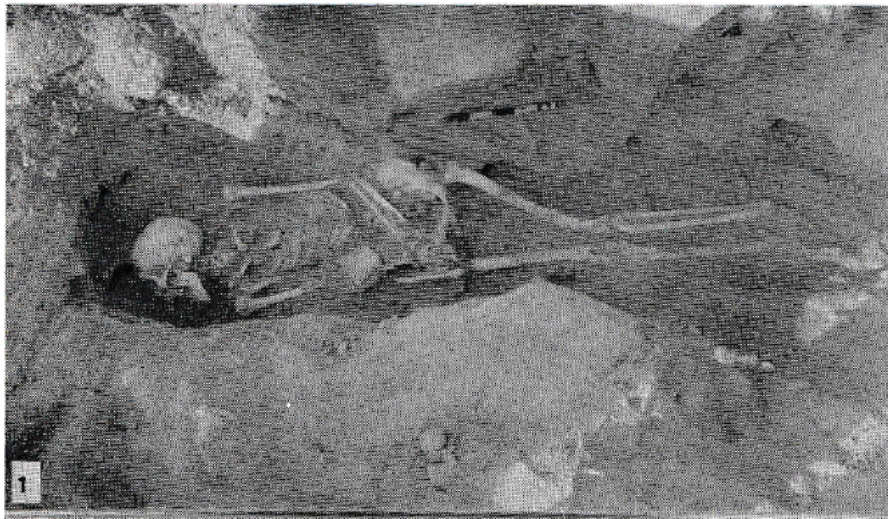


Figure 25: The unknown female. (Harding (1953), Plate III, 1)

Both graves contained archaeological artifacts, but only Hani' had been wrapped in cloth.⁴⁷ The female was buried with a wooden comb on the right arm, a bundle of cloth containing eyepaint above the left shoulder, near her neck was a mother-of-pearl bead and a

⁴² Harding (1953), p. 8.

⁴³ Harding (1953), p. 11. Inscriptions found there: HCH 6, 13, 22, 88-90, 93, 94, 109-114. The last five does not mention Hani'.

⁴⁴ Harding (1953), p. 11-12.

⁴⁵ Harding (1953), p. 11.

⁴⁶ Harding (1953), p. 11.

⁴⁷ Harding (1953), p. 11.

few blue glass beads, and there were traces of a leather band on the front of her skull.⁴⁸ Hani' had been buried with a broken wooden bowl by his right arm and around his head, remains of a leather water-skin above the left shoulder and an incomplete iron ladle near the right hand. There was also a wooden staff on his right side, under the right arm and leg. The staff was long and decorated with four rows of silver nails at the head. It was found in five separate pieces, and due to the smooth ends, Harding suggests it was sawn up before burial.⁴⁹

4.2.2 The mourning of Hani'

The inscriptions found in connection with the cairn of Hani' have been divided into three groups by Harding, and these will be used here: relatives of Hani' (family: 20 inscriptions), those who either built or mourned for Hani' (friends: 77), and those that include no mention of him (others: 76). Of Hani''s family, two brothers, five nephews and five cousins have left inscriptions, but no sons. There is also another possible nephew, not included by Harding in the family tree (See figure 26 below),⁵⁰ as this would be a maternal relation, the genealogy cannot be used to connect the nephew to the rest of the family. It is included as a tentative suggestion based on the nephew mourning for a maternal uncle, and he also mentions his other maternal uncles, two of which match Hani''s brothers. There is also several affinal relatives of Hani' who mourned him, here referred to as the Shi' family (HCH 21-33).

⁴⁸ Harding (1953), p. 11.

⁴⁹ Harding (1953), p. 11.

⁵⁰ Harding (1953), p. 21.

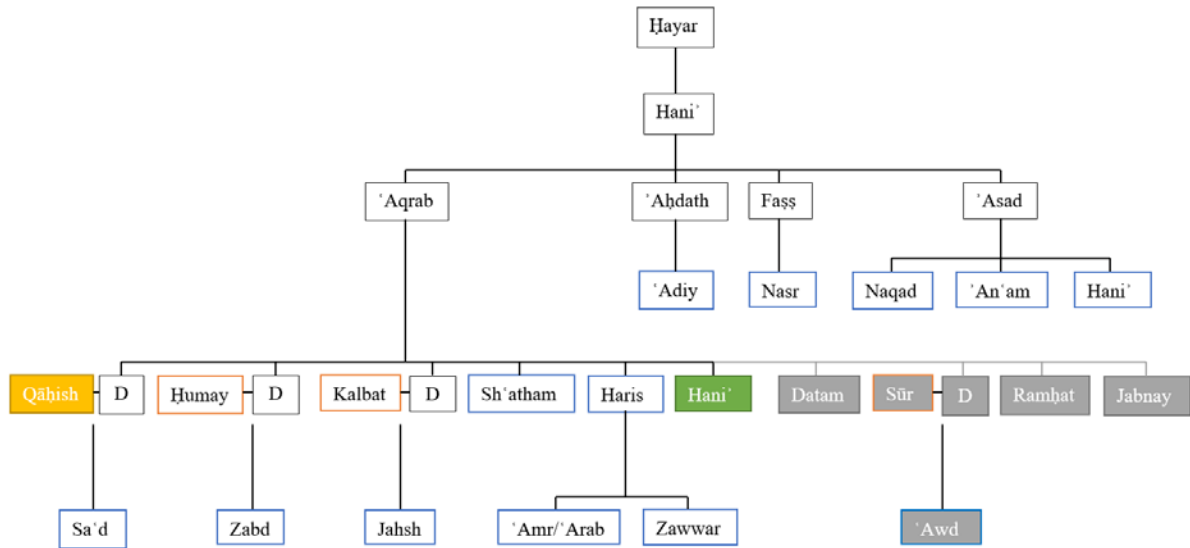


Figure 26: Hani'’s family tree, he is marked with green. The boxes lined with blue represents authors, the yellow box marks the affinal connection to the Shi' family. The boxes lined with yellow show affinal connection with the family, where the sons left inscriptions. The gray part of the family tree is from HCH 71 and is not certain. D stands for “daughter” (here daughter of Aqrab)

The *Shi' family*, named by the great grandfather of the author's in this family, was grouped in the “friends” section by Harding, but have here been put in “family.” Thanks to the inscription HCH 33, we know that this family belonged to the lineage of 'Ashlal ('s²ll). The second inscription, also by an author from the *Shi' family*, gives us what could be Hani'’s lineage affiliation, Mā'ṣ (M'ṣ). However, due to the placement of the lineage affiliation, it could be for the author and not Hani'. Moreover, even though the third inscription, HCH 69, confirms Hani'’s lineage affiliation, it does not mean that the author of HCH 26 was not a member of the same lineage. As previously mentioned, a person could have multiple lineage affiliations; so, the *Shi' family* could very well have been a member of 'Ashlal and Mā'ṣ. Besides the potential members of Mā'ṣ here, there are two confirmed members.⁵¹

HCH 33: *By Gh̄s² son of Tmlh son of Tm of the lineage of 's²ll and he grieved for his father untimely dead and for Hn' untimely dead.*⁵²

⁵¹ OCIANA, HCH 77 and HCH 76.

⁵² OCIANA, HCH 33.

HCH 26: *By S'lmn son of Hlš son of Tm and he built for Hn' the cairn of the lineage of M'š.*⁵³

HCH 69: *By Ms' d son of 'hdt son of Rmht and he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M'š untimely dead.*⁵⁴

The question then is which lineage group is the subgroup, or was they on the same level in the hierarchy? There are eight inscriptions found in the database that mentions the lineage group *Mā'š*, included the four found in connection with the cairn of Hani'. The lineage group *'Ashlal* appear ten times, nine of which are members. Based on the occurrence, *Mā'š* is slightly smaller, but it is a small difference. There are also no connections to other lineage groups in the narratives of these inscriptions.

If they were two different sub-groups of another bigger lineage, it is unlikely that two cousins in the *Shi' family*, sharing so much of the same descent line, would belong to different sub-groups. Although HCH 26 is not clear in who's lineage affiliation it is, it cannot be ruled out that it the authors. Based on the placement of the words, and other examples of authors expressing lineage affiliation at the end, perhaps it is even more likely to have been the author's affiliation. This means they probably represent different levels of the hierarchy, possibly two adjacent levels. Which lineage group that is, on the other hand, is extremely difficult to say with this little to go on. Perhaps *'Ashlal* was a sub-group of *Mā'š*, as the latter is the lineage affiliation used on Hani', who seems to have had been of some importance, and that this lineage group appears more in this context. Either way, these inscriptions show a marriage between members of two lineages possibly related. Creating an affinal connection where there already is one based on paternal descent, and they strengthen the relations within the lineage group.

Of the eight inscriptions where Hani' has been mentioned, and the author has included a lineage group, five have so far been covered. The remaining three are seen above, and these are in contrast to the rest, not directly linked to Hani'. The first could be a nephew of Hani', as he mourns for a maternal uncle, and two of the other maternal uncles mentioned match Hani''s two brothers who left inscriptions here. As two of the maternal uncles who died in war⁵⁵ left inscriptions after Hani''s death would indicate this (HCH 71) had been left at a

⁵³ OCIANA, HCH 26.

⁵⁴ OCIANA, HCH 69.

⁵⁵ OCIANA, KRS 17: mentions a war of the lineage of *Mā'š*.

later date. There are inscriptions found in connection with the cairn that indicates repeat visits by the same author, and as Harding states, the building process and filling the cairn with stones, was done over time.⁵⁶

HCH 71: *By 'wḡ son of S'r son of 'wḡ son of 's'lḡm and 'rf ḡl -h mt [and he knew his maternal uncle died] and mourned deeply for him and he grieved for Hrs' and for S²'ḡm and for Dtm and for Gbny and for Rmḡt his maternal uncles who had been in war. And he stopped [there] and he camped in the year qtl Ḥwṣt and {Byg'} and Ḥrṣ of the lineage of Tm. So O Lt [grant] security from affliction. (in the year in which were killed Ḥwṣt and Blg' and Ḥrṣ).*⁵⁷

HCH 53: *By S²hm son of 'dm son of Bh' of the lineage of Df and he built for Hn'.*⁵⁸

HCH 83: *By S' d son of Mṡy from the lineage of Ḥmy and he grieved for Br' and for 's' d. So O Lt [grant] security to him who leaves this untouched. And he built for Hn'.*⁵⁹

The author of HCH 71 does not express affiliation with the lineage group he mentions, *Taim*. Two inscriptions in the “other” category have authors affiliating with this lineage group. This does not give a clear connection between Hani' himself and *Taim*, but rather a connection between the lineage group and the location. Although, it does not mean this was a regular place for the lineage group; it could only have been these authors who chose to camp here and including their lineage affiliation as it was a place away from their usual routes. In the other two inscriptions, HCH 53 and HCH 83, the authors affiliated with *Daif* and (*Humay* (*Hmy*), respectively. *Daif* we know of, *Humay* however, have so far only been affiliated with in inscriptions found at the Cairn of Hani'. With *Humay* and *Daif* here, we have four different lineage groups connected by Hani'. Although for three of them the size and level are unknown, we know *Daif* possibly was a tribe.

The rest of the lineage groups are found in the “other” category, meaning there is no explicit connection to Hani' in the inscriptions themselves. Here we find 12 new lineage groups, making this an astonishing collection in one location. Although we cannot place them directly in connection with Hani', they give the area importance. Even though they did not

⁵⁶ Harding (1953), p. 8-9.

⁵⁷ OCIANA, HCH 77.

⁵⁸ OCIANA, HCH 53.

⁵⁹ OCIANA, HCH 83.

mention Hani', they could still have been connected to him. However, some of these inscriptions are found on stones bearing inscriptions in the "friend" or "family" categories, meaning they could predate the cairn and burial.

Though, provenance on its own could have been important enough. In an article about the many Cairns in Jebel Qurma, *Nothing but Cold Ashes? The Cairn Burials of Jebel Qurma, Northeastern Jordan (2017)*, it is stated that the locations were not random or ad hoc, but chosen with care.⁶⁰ "Their common placement on eye-catching elevations that afford panoramic vantage points was a key consideration for the cairn builders, with maximum prominence and visibility in mind."⁶¹ The role of the burial sites as gathering place for social and ritualistic nature for the community is also highlighted, particularly where the cairns were reused.⁶² The Cairn of Hani' does not seem to have been reused, which perhaps give him even more importance. It must, however, have been an important place, that was in continuous use, judging by the repeat visits. If the place gained importance due to Hani', or Hani' gained importance due to the location, is tricky to answer. What we can say, is that it is a so far unprecedented gathering of lineage groups, and the function of the location must have played a part in the many expressions of kinship we find.

An interesting aspect of this location is the female also buried here. Although we cannot say exactly how she is connected to Hani', it has been presumed to be an intimate relation.⁶³ Through the layout of the cairn, and differences in the burials, she is connected, but distinctly separate. Perhaps the stones bearing inscriptions mourning Hani', that covered her, were meant to connect the two in a way. The number of kinship connections through maternal ties is also interesting. There are three (possibly four) nephews of Hani' who mourned him, and they all emphasized their relation to him.

With just under 90 individual authors mourning Hani' over a possibly quite long period, an extensive family, four different lineage groups involved, and the material context, it cannot be doubted that Hani' was of importance to the community. There is neither any indication that he was a leader of a group, some holy man is the suggestion so far.⁶⁴ Moreover, this community was not a small one either if kinship united it; as, except Hani'

⁶⁰ Akkermans and Brüning (2017), p. 139.

⁶¹ Akkermans and Brüning (2017), p. 139.

⁶² Akkermans and Brüning (2017), p. 139.

⁶³ Kennedy (2012), p. 485.

⁶⁴ Harding (1953), p. 9.

closest relatives, the connection must have been on a genealogical level of some distance to the authors. Alternatively, this could show, as with for example the alliance between *Ḍaif* and *ʿAwīdh*; that the lineage groups were connected in societies in more ways than through kinship.

4.3 Inscriptions and graves as markers of the geography of lineage

Kinship, and particularly descent, played an important role in how society was structured by the Safaitic authors. This provided the backbone, a hierarchy in which groups were connected. In one case, it could be divided into four different levels, although for the most part only two levels of lineage groups have been found. With *Ḍaif* we see a possible tribe, with two sub-groups beneath, a larger unit above, and an affinal connection to another lineage group. This shows a complex structure, although we cannot be certain that all the same occurrences of a name with only consonants represent the same group.

In addition to examining the stratification of the lineage groups, and how they could use other types of kinship connections also to bind them together; where lineage expressions were found in the landscape, has also been analyzed, albeit briefly. Even with such a cursory glance at this aspect, it shows many locations used by multiple lineage groups. Distance from their people could not have been the only reason at play here, the function these locations had probably played a large role. For example, if this was a place where several groups passed during their migration.

One location which was studied more deeply is the cairn of *Haniʿ*. Here we know the function of the location, although it was probably an important place even before *Haniʿ* was buried here, as many of the inscriptions could predate this. This location shows an individual of high standing, not only within his lineage group but also amongst a large group of people, which transcends lineage groups, where one could be a tribe. This was a location that was used by many over time, spanning many different lineage groups, perhaps even tribes, and it was here they buried *Haniʿ*.

5 Concluding summary

At the outset of this thesis, my aim was to explore how kinship was used as a structural and connecting factor in the societies of the nomads in the *Harra*. I have analyzed by both examining descent on varying levels. From kinship and the individual kinship relations and their interaction and use of lineage groups, and the use of different expressions of lineage affiliation.

The only social group found in the Safaitic inscriptions that are nomadic, and not a part of an “outside” political entity,¹ is the lineage groups (’*l*). The Safaitic authors did not differentiate between the different levels of descent of these groups, and it could also sometimes be used on “outside” groups.² In chapter four the structure and connections of these lineage groups were analyzed. Through explicit expressions of lineage affiliation, and family trees constructed based on genealogies, examples of this were found amongst the ten best-attested lineage groups. These showed lineage groups stratified in different levels, a hierarchy where higher groups have different sub-groups beneath. Some of these may fit the definition of a tribe. Interactions between various lineage groups, as war, alliance, and the management of property are traceable through the inscriptions.

Although lineage groups, and other kinship terms, are not a major occurrence in the Safaitic inscriptions, it was important. The highly personal nature these inscriptions probably played an important part in this, and the relevance to include these in the narrative based on the specific situation of the author when carving, or the purpose for that particular inscription. Even genealogies, which are standard in most inscriptions, show variations in use. Some authors used them to express complex lineage affiliations or a particular lineage affiliation, while most inscriptions were shorter. Lineage groups appear both in interactions, events and as expressions of lineage affiliation. Most of the lineage expressions are singular, and most of the lineage groups appear only one or a few times. There are, however, some authors who expressed multiple lineage affiliations, and some lineage groups have been affiliated with by many Safaitic authors.

There is a variety of the content seen in the inscriptions were some members who did not include a narrative at all. This is seen both within the inscription connected to the ten most attested lineage groups as with the remaining Safaitic inscriptions. It was in general not

¹ An exception here would be if a lineage group for a period of time followed for example Roman rule.

² Al-Jallad (2015), p. 57.

common to combine expressions of lineage affiliation with long genealogies. The question about provenance is very much challenging for these inscriptions. However, some variation in provenance for the different lineage groups could be seen. How these variations would hold up with more information, is thus unknown. The distribution pattern for the inscriptions carved by members of these ten lineage groups, align with the main area of distribution for the Safaitic inscriptions.

Provenance likely played a part in why and how lineage affiliation was expressed. Some suggest that inscriptions containing lineage affiliation show the territory of the tribe, another theory suggests rather the opposite; that we find expressions of lineage affiliation in places some distance away from the lineage groups usual area. What is interesting when examining the provenance of the inscriptions by members of the ten most occurring lineage groups, is that there are several locations where two or more members of different lineage groups expressed their affiliation. This shows the complexity to where Safaitic authors expressed of lineage affiliation. The cairn of Hani' is one of the locations where we find members of different lineage groups. Special here is that we not only have a common location but for many of these, a common context. The cairn of Hani' shows the deliberate use of location and kinship, both lineage affiliation and other kinship relations.

At the cairn of Hani' members of 21 different lineage groups left inscriptions and most of these were not in direct connection with Hani' himself, they show the status of him and the locations, and how kinship was used in connection with this. Also through members of his family, we see how different types of kinship were used to emphasize the beneficial connections, and that this did not always need to be the types of kinship normally given emphasis; they adapted the system to suit their needs. There are no indications that Hani' was a leader of a lineage group or tribe. Thus he most likely was a man of high status, not only for his lineage group but also others, that stood outside the leadership hierarchy, perhaps a holy man.

The paternal descent line is the type of kinship most seen in the inscriptions and emphasized through the genealogies of the authors. This is also the foundation that the lineage groups are based on as well as in the expression of individual kin-terms for specific relatives. There are only specific terms for those who are one link away from the paternal descent line, or directly to it. Nephew and cousin, for example, is shown as son of brother and son of an uncle. Whether the relationship was paternal or maternal was also specified. There

are more paternal relatives mentioned indicating a close connection between mother's brother and sister's-son. Maternal uncles, however, appear nearly as often as paternal uncles. The various kin-terms, both individual and group terms, display a great flexibility in meaning and are not specifically connected to the paternal descent line and lineage groups. The kinship system found in the Safaitic inscriptions shows a clear emphasis and structure, but great flexibility and conscious use of it to suit the specific situation.

The OCIANA-database has been instrumental in the approach to this source material used in this thesis, and it shows great promise and new possibilities when it comes to studying the nomads in the *Harra*. There is much more to be learned about their societies, and an aspect that one provides much insight is the movements of these nomads in the landscape, and how the Safaitic inscriptions relate to that. Especially concerning kinship and social structure is there yet much to be gained.

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List of Safaitic inscriptions

The translation and information found on the OCIANA-database has been used, unless specified in the footnote. All inscriptions listed here have either been cited or mentioned directly in the text or footnotes. For inscriptions that have been used indirectly as part of this thesis, see Appendix I.

<http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#OCIANA> (30.08.17)

AAEK 93 *By Nṣr son of Rdḥ son of 'n 'm son of Nmr son of Hr of the tribe of Ḥzy and he spent the dry season and he was on the look-out for his family. So, O Gddf [grant] security.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0033071.html

(05.04.17)

AbNAS 3 *By 's'lm son of N'mn son of Gn'l son of Ḥy son of Šbh son of Gn'l son of Whb son of S'r son of Ġddt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Whb'l and blindness to whoever scratches out the inscription.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0030553.html

(25.08.17)

AbWS 5 *By Qlb son of 'bkr son of Qlb son of S²hm son of 'gl son of 'mr son of Mlk {son of} Qḥs² son of S¹wr son of Ḥmyn of the lineage of Df and he helped the goats give birth here in a time of plenty and so O B'ls'mn and O Lt may [grant] security and protection from misfortune and O Lt blind whoever scratches out the carving and grant security to whoever reads it aloud.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0047063.html

(08.12.17)

AbWS 8 *By Qdm son of S²mt son of Ġyr'l son of Zkr son of Zn'l son of S'b son of 'dr'l son of B'ḏh son of Ġddt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn'l son of G'r son of 'wḏ son of Whb'l son of 'dd son of 'yl son of 'm son of Rglt son of Dr'l son of Hrm son of 'bgr son of 'ns¹ and he sacrificed to Gd-Df [for] protection from misfortune.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0047066.html

(25.08.17)

- AMSI 4** *By Khl son of Khl of the lineage of Df and he helped [the animals] give birth at this place and so, O Lt and S²'hqm [grant] security.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037360.html
(25.08.17)
- AMSI 10** *By S²hm son of Rt'l son of Hl of the lineage of Ngbr and he built for Wrđ and O Ylt and S²'hqm [inflict] ejection from the grave by a friend on whoever scratches out the inscription.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037372.html
(25.08.17)
- AMSI 50** *By Hmlt son of S¹lm The Bandit [?] and he found the inscription of his paternal uncle Ms¹k and he grieved for 'mrn of the lineage of G'br his kinsman.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037929.html
(29.03.17)
- AMSI 59** *By Rbn son of Hd of the lineage of Ms¹kt.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037940.html
(06.03.17)
- AMSI 142** *By 's¹ son of 'wđ son of Mğyr of the lineage of 'wđ of the lineage of Hg and he found the traces of his companions.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0038174.html
(10.03.17)
- AMSI 179** *By Bdbl son of S¹lm of the lineage of Hzy.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0038213.html
(03.03.17)
- AMSI 185** *By Dn son of 'bd son of Dhd of the lineage of Kn and he found the traces.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0038219.html
(13.03.17)
- C 169** *By Qlf of the Hdl family and he violently rushed on Hyn.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0003374.html

(05.04.17)

- C 657** *By {Fzmn} son of S²hl son of {`hrb} son of Ms¹k and he mourned for his brother Hr son of {`lm`n} and Tm and `s¹ and he was sad, and and O Lt [grant] vengeance from whoever committed an act worthy of vengeance and [grant] security to whoever leaves the inscription untouched.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0003862.html

(30.03.17)

- C 1472** *By `hff son of K`mh son of `rs¹ son of Kn son of T`hrt son of Hws¹r son of B`s¹ son of Df son of Gn`l.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0003534.html

(25.08.17)

- C 1649** *By `s¹d son of Hls son of N`mn of the lineage of Df and he will travel to Palmyra, so, O B`ls¹mn, let there be security and glory; and may he who would efface this writing go blind.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0004854.html

(25.08.17)

- C 1868** *By `bt son of S¹`d son of Tm son of M`z of the lineage of Qmr and {he spent the season of the later rains} [among] the young animals the year the Romans wintered at `blt and bestowed upon its rulers guards*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005072.html

(13.03.17)

- C 1952** *By S¹ny son of S¹`d son of {Db} {son of} `bd son of `dm of the lineage of {D`f} and he stayed by permanent water here the year the government attacked the `l Qmr.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005156.html

(25.08.17)

- C 1993** *By `dy son of Nfzt son of Mty son of {Mkbl} son of {Dhd} son of {`bt} son of Rbn son of Qmhr son of Zkr son of Rf^ot son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn`l son*

of Whb`l and he pastured the sheep and kept watch for {the rains} and so O B`ls`mn grant relief from adversity.

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005197.html

(29.04.17)

C 2094 *By S`mk`l son of Ymtn` son of Ġyr son of Rf`t son of Ws`yt son of Df son of Gn`l.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005298.html

(25.08.17)

C 2113 *By `dnt son of Wrđ son of {`n`m} son of Khl son of {`m} of the lineage of Nġbr and he grieved for S`rk, who was killed, and for `yđ, who was captured, and for {`n`m}, who was killed, and may he who would efface this inscription go blind.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005317.html

(25.08.17)

C 2577 *By `qrb the young servant of {Mġny} of the lineage of {Nġbr} and he spent the dry season at Btr the year `wđ plundered the lineage group of B`d.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005781.html

(25.08.17)

C 2646 *{By} Nr son of Znn son of Kmd son of Mbny son of S`r son of Šbġ son of Qs`m son of S`ry son of Hngs` son of Whbn son of {`bd} son of Qmr son of `đ.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005850.html

(30.04.18)

C 2683 *By Ms`k son of Z`n son of S`rf and he was lying in wait for enemies and so O Lt [grant] security.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005887.html

(09.05.17)

C 2843 *By Qhs` son of Ys`lm son of `wđ son of Mlk and he found the traces of the `l Kn and {grieved in pain} greatly {for} the `l Df and so O Lt make secure the people of the `l Df.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0006047.html

(13.03.17)

C 2846 *By 'f son of Mrs' son of Nṣr son of Mr'.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0006046.html

(08.05.17)

C 2947 *By {S²kr'} son of Rmyn son of Mḡt of the lineage of 'mrt and he was devastated by grief on account of his brother Mṯl who was killed near Hld, so, O Lt and Ds²r, let there be vengeance against whoever has taken him away(?).*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0006151.htm

(02.03.17)

C 3064 *By Ṣhb son of B'r son of Zbd'l son of S²mt and he grieved for his brother struck down by Fate and he returned to water from the inner desert the sheep being emaciated the year the king's caravan starved in sloping ground rising from a valley up to the face of a mountain for two months.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0006268.html

(09.05.17)

C 4039 *By N'mn son of Hbyṯ and he was sad on account of the lineage of D'b {Gn'l}, who were lost so O S²'hqm may they be secure.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0007243.html

(18.08.17)

C 4443 *By S²mt son of L'ṯmn son of S²mt son of S²rk son of 'n'm son of L'ṯmn and he grieved for his mother and for his paternal uncle and for his maternal uncle and for 'm and for 'n'm whom {the lineage} of Ṣbh killed, then he was distraught over the son of his maternal uncle, who had perished; and he pastured the sheep, washed during Sagittarius, and kept watch against enemies, so, O Lt, may he be secure; and he found the inscription of his brother, so he was devastated by grief.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0007647.html

(25.08.17)

CSA 1.1 *By Ns²l son of Hld son of Kmn and he was filled with longing for his paternal uncle and for his family.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010515.html

(05.04.17)

CSNS 278 *By 'd father of Glmn, he died.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0015202.html

(11.04.17)

Damascus Museum 26750 *By S¹lm`lh son of `trfn of the people of Şlhđ and he grieved for {Mtn} his sister and for Yġt and his paternal uncle and for Ğtt his sister and for `wđ son of his grandmother and for `bd his maternal uncle and he was struck down by Fate.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0051637.html (17.04.17)

HCH 1 *By Hn` son of `qrb son of Hn` son of Hyr and the cairn.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002854.html

(11.05.17)

HCH 26 *By S¹lmn son of Hlş son of Tm and he built for Hn` the cairn of the lineage of M`ş.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002879.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 33 *By Gh^s2 son of Tmlh son of Tm of the lineage of `s²ll and he grieved for his father untimely dead and for Hn` untimely dead.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002886.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 53 *By S²hm son of `dm son of Bh` of the lineage of Df and he built for Hn`.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002906.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 69 *By Ms' d son of 'hd̄t son of Rm̄ḥt and he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M's untimely dead.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002922.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 71 *By 'w̄d son of S'r son of 'w̄d son of 's'lm and 'rf hl -h mt [and he knew his maternal uncle died]¹ and mourned deeply for him and he grieved for Hrs¹ and for S² 'im and for Dtm and for Gbny and for Rm̄ḥt his maternal uncles who had been in war. And he stopped [there] and he camped in the year qtl Hw̄st and {Byg'} and Hrs of the lineage of Tm. So O Lt [grant] security from affliction. (in the year in which were killed Hw̄st and Blg' and Hrs).*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002924.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 83 *By S' d son of Mty from the lineage of Hmy and he grieved for Br' and for 's' d. So O Lt [grant] security to him who leaves this untouched. And he built for Hn'.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002936.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 76 *By 'mr son of Hn' mnt son of Ymlk of the lineage of M's and he found the signature of his brother 'dy who was killed and he grieved. And he pastured and spent the dry season {'}l- h- hr{s'} w 'l- mlh. So O Lt [grant] security.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002929.html

(18.08.17)

HCH 77 *By 'qrbn son of Ks't son of S' d of the lineage of M's and he built for Hn' the picture.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002930.html

(18.08.17).

HCH 173 Latin inscription

¹ Translation not offered originally in OCIANA.

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010020.html

(11.05.17)

HCH 191 *By Ġt son of Hn` of the lineage of `mrt and he longed for every righteous kinsman.*

Al-Jallad (2015), p. 251.

HSIM 49217 *By D`ns` son of Qbn son of `m of the lineage of Mty and he grieved for his father and for Lhgn and for {Nmr} and for mr and for m and for Dbbn and for Ġt and for Hlš and for Hlšt and for S`wd and for S`d and for `s` and for Krzn and for Mn`t and for Hn`t and for Nšr and for `dr and for Ms` his `mt and for `ns` his `mt and for Fhmt his `mt and for `s`dt his `mt and for Fhln his maternal uncle and he was unhappy about his friends and he set up a stone the year S`lmt `wd ----.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0030042.html

(17.04.17)

ISB 58 *By Bdḥ son of `hwn son of `mdn son of M`s` son of `zn son of Hrtt son of Tmn son of Dr son of ḥbb son of Zmhr son of Ydr and he was present at the edge of the desert among associates.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0016214.html

(08.05.17)

Is.H 512 *By Ngft son of S`d and Dr son of his paternal grandfather was sad for him of the lineage of Šlh. (Transcription: l ngft bn s`d w b`s` l- -h {d}r bn `m -h {d-} `l šl{h}----.)*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0028604.html

(20.04.17)

Is.M 160 *By {Tmm} son of Hddn son of Hddn of the lineage of D`f and he helped the goats give birth the year that the [disease] qš came and so O Lt [grant] healing to the people.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0026930.html

(11.03.17)

- Is.Mu 80** *By 'm son of 'n 'm son of S'ny son of Mḥlm.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0027185.html
 (09.03.17)
- Is.Mu 173** *By S'ny son of 'n 'm son of S'ny son of Mḥlm of the lineage of 'wḏ and he camped here the year the Roman was buried and O Gd- 'wḏ [grant] security.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0027178.html
 (09.03.17)
- Is.Mu 321** *By Ġyr'l son of S'lm son of Ġyr'l son of Ḥwt of the lineage of Zgr of the lineage of Kn of the lineage of Ḍf of the lineage of Whb'l. And he pastured the sheep in the year that Tm son of 'n 'm fled this place and he was afraid of enemies and ---- al-Namārah and he was waiting for rain and so O B'ls'mn [grant] relief through {rain}.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0027333.html
 (12.03.17)
- Is.Mu 896** *By 'n 'm son of S²rk son of Mḥlm son of 'dnt son of Wrḏ son of Nḡbr of the lineage of 'wḏ is the drawing. And he found the {traces} of his grandfather Mḥlm and of his paternal uncle and Ḥrt and so he buried [them ?] and he kept watch for the queen and the S²ḥt and so O Lt [grant] security and a sufficient means of subsistence and blind whoever scratches out the inscription.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0029241.html
 (09.03.17)
- JaS 4** *By Msk son of S²dt son of Mḥlm son of S²dt son of Mḥlm of the lineage of Tm.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002828.html
 (18.08.17)
- JaS 9** *By Ḥnn son of 'ḏr'l son of F'm.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0002833.html
 (09.05.17)
- KRS 17** *By Ng't son of Y'ly son of Bny {son of} S²' son of Qmlt and he found the writing of Ms'k and he wept and was overshadowed by grief and {he*

remembered} his brother {taken captive} the year of the struggle of 'l M's and he grieved for Rb and for Y'ly and for {----h} and so he became depressed.

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0020645.html

(25.08.17)

KRS 36 *By Mn't {son of} Mgd son of Mr' and {he was alone} and so O {S²'hqm} [grant] security and O S²'n'r [grant] security to him who is alone and {he was on the look-out for} his family from Hkrn.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0020664.html

(05.04.17)

KRS 167 *By Whblh {slave of} the 'l Ġrṭ and he pastured the sheep and so O Lt [grant] security and abundance and he grieved for his maternal uncle and for his foster child Zn'l and his wife's relation Hgg and his wife's relation S¹'d son of {Mlk}.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0020795.html

(26.04.17)

KRS 173 *By Nhd son of Hmyn son of Ġdḏt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn'l son of Whb'l son of Ys'r.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0020801.html

(25.08.17)

KRS 2018 *By Mrbh son of Ymlk and he had withdrawn far from his family and yearned for it [his family].*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0022647.html

(03.04.17)

KRS 2340 *By 'nhk son of Mgyr son of Hlk son of Hld son of Mgyr of the lineage of Ms'kt and he was devastated by grief on account of his father and on account of his four paternal uncles struck down by Fate and on account of his four maternal uncles and so he was struck down by Fate and so O Lt and O Ds²r may the kinsfolk of Ks't be crushed and he remembered Tmnh 'bn Fs'ky.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0022971.html

(29.03.17)

KRS 2425 *By 'qrb son of Mlk son of Zbdy of the lineage of Kn and he injured a guard of the lineage of Ty' and so O Lt [grant] the security of protection from misfortune.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0023056.html

(05.05.17)

KRS 2756 *By 'll son of Mhwr and he pastured the camels of the lineage of 'bd and he spent the season of the later rains and so O Lt may he be secure.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0023390.html

(30.04.17)

KRS 2819 *By S'd son of Tm son of S'd son of Zhk son of Ms²'r son of S'wd son of Wtr son of Mlk son of Hyt son of Hbl son of Whbn son of Qmr and he camped here and O Lt may whoever scratches out the inscriptions be thrown out of the grave.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0023453.html

(28.04.17)

KWQ 92 *By 'slh son of B's'h and he farted.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0024245.html

(10.05.17)

LP 342 *By Hn' son of S²rk son of Mhlm son of 'dnt son of Wrd son of Ngbr of the lineage of 'wq and he found the inscription of his companions and so he was devastated by grief in the year of the struggle of Qbr and 'zz [over] this protected area of pasture of the lineage of 'wq and so O Gd'wq and Ds²r and O Lt [grant] secure help to whoever leaves this inscription untouched and freedom from want but [inflict] dearth of pasture and dumbness and lameness on whoever would damage this writing and [grant] booty to whoever would read [it] aloud.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0027122.html

(09.03.17)

- LP 361** *By Grm son of 'bṭ son of Grm of the lineage of Nḡbr and he camped at this place in the year in which Qbr allowed [members of] the lineage of 'wḏ to pass by and so O Lt [grant] security to whoever leaves [the inscription] untouched and [inflict] blindness on whoever scratches out this inscription.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0008945.html
 (15.08.17)
- LP 1211** *Behold, there came a supplicant and visited this building, being a traveller of Ymmt, keeping off dangers, and he became a brother here.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_009795.html
 (09.04.17)
- Ms 64** *By 'qrb son of 'bgr a horseman in the troop of the 'l 'mrt the year Ġwṭ son of Rḏwt.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0030147.html
 (02.03.17)
- MSSH 1** *By 'ḥ son of Mṣrm son of Nzl and he was afraid of the enemy and so O Lt [grant] security and he was on the look-out for his family from [of the lineage of Rm] the Romans and so O Gḏḏf [grant] protection from misfortune.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0032303.html
 (05.04.17)
- NRW.C 5** *and he found the traces of Ys' 'd of the lineage of Mr' D Ḥr and he was on the look out and O Lt [grant] security and [grant] revenge on the lineage of Grf.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0036283.html
 (18.08.17)
- RMenv.D 8** *By 'm son of 'n 'm son of S'ny of the lineage of Nḡbr and {he came to water} {m-} bnt bdr s'nt h- mmtt.*
http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0035869.html
 (09.03.17)
- RQ.D 5** *By 'n 'm son of Mḡny son of Wḡs² son of W'l and he grieved in pain for his immediate family many of whom were lost.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0035914.html

(04.04.17)

RSIS 311 *By S¹yb the maternal uncle of Yk.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0032934.html

(20.04.17)

RWQ 346 *By 's¹ son of Hs¹n son of Hnn of the lineage of Df from the clan (?) of S²w', the year the lineage of Df and the lineage of 'wd formed an alliance.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0032274.html

(28.04.17)

RWQ 347 *By S¹krnn son of Grm¹l of the lineage of S²w', the year the lineage of Df served in a troop for the 'wd.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0032275.html

(28.04.17)

SESP.S 2 *By Dhd son of 'bd son of Dhd son of 'bd son of D¹b son of N¹mn son of Kn son of N¹mn son of W¹l son of Rbn son of S²'r son of Kn son of T¹hrt son of Hys¹r son of B¹s² son of Df and O Lt [grant] security to whoever {reads [the inscription] aloud} and [inflict] ejection from the grave on him who effaces this {inscription}.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0035838.html

(28.04.17)

SESP.S 3 *By 'm son of 'bd son of Dhd son of 'bd son of D¹b son of N¹mn son of Kn son of N¹mn of the lineage of Kn.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0036213.html

(13.03.17)

SESP.S 4 *By S¹b son of 'bd son of Dhd son of 'bd son of D¹b of the lineage of Kn.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0036214.html

(13.03.17)

SESP.U 8 *By 'n¹m son of Grm¹l son of 'n¹m son of Fltt son of Bhs² son of 'dnt son of Ys¹lm son of Rqlt son of Zkr son of Rf¹t son of Ws²yt son of Df son of Gn¹l son*

of Bqr son of Rhyw the year king Agrippa died. And blind whoever scratches out the inscription.

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0035833.html

(25.08.17)

ShNGA 1 *By Hmlt son of S'lm {The} Bandit of the lineage of {Df} and he was on a journey with his [two] kinsmen 'mrn of the lineage of G'br [and] Tmlh of the lineage of 't and he remembered his kinsmen and so O Lt [grant] security {and} protection from misfortune.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0032330.html

(29.03.17)

SHNS 1 *By Mn 'm son of Khl of the lineage of 'd of the lineage of B'r and he came to water at the swampy ground [or the water gathered in the valley] [which is located] eight [nights] from Rhbt. So, O B'ls'mn [grant] relief from adversity and uncertainty from adversity to the Province.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0017304.html

(29.04.17)

SIJ 38 *By Nzr son of Wrl son of 'ys' son of Qn 'l of the lineage of Df.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0016699.html

(25.08.17)

SIJ 54 *By Hglt son of S'lm son of 'bd of the {lineage of} D'f and he journeyed the year hmky{k}l.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0016719.html

(11.03.17)

SIJ 74 *By Srmt son of 'qwm son of Srmt of the lineage of 'wd.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0016742.html

(09.03)

SIJ 207 *By Wn son of 's'd son of Wd son of S'r son of Wd of the lineage of Ms'kt.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0016884.html

(06.03.17)

- SIJ 923** *By Whb son of T'l son of Bgrt son of 'glḥ son of S'lḥm son of 'mr son of 's'lḥm and he grieved for his father and for his brother and for his paternal uncle and for his mother of the lineage of Zd of the lineage of Zhm.*
- http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0017661.html
(26.04.17)
- SSWS 186** *By Hknf son of Ms¹k of the lineage of S²ddt and he pastured the camels in this valley on spring herbage and he grieved for Yḡt and for Hwl and for 's'r of the lineage of Zhr and for Ṣdy and for Nbt and for Hfs¹, so he was distraught with grief, so O 'lhn [grant] security to whoever migrated to the inner desert and hungry and cold to whoever scratches out the inscription and the cairn.*
- http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0031262.html
(30.04.17)
- WAMS 1** *By Wtr the young servant of 'ḥ son of Qdm and he longed for 'rs² the daughter of his sister and for Hnn and for 'm. So O Lt and Ds²r [grant] security and [show] benevolence. He of the lineage of Blqy.*
- http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0003159.html
(04.05.17)
- WH 1** *By Hn' son of 'wḏn son of Bny of the lineage of Df and he buried 'bgr.*
- http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010745.html
(25.08.17).
- WH 4** *By Khl son of Mtn son of Bnt and he grieved for 'bgr of the lineage of Df.*
- http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010748.html
(25.08.17).
- WH 15** *By Hṭs't son of S¹kṛn son of Grm'l and he grieved for 'bgr of the lineage of Df the year that Whb'l the leader (?) escaped.*
- http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010759.html
(25.08.17).
- WH 20** *By Rhḏ son of Hy son of Rhḏ of the lineage of Df {and} {he grieved} for {'bgr} of the lineage of Df.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010764.html

(25.08.17).

WH 21 *By Nṣr son of Whb ʿl of the lineage of Df of the family of Qn ʿl.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0010765.html

(28.04.17)

WH 1859 *By ʿn ʿm son of S²hm son of Ġt and he [helped] build the fortified encampment for Hn ʿ the commander the year of the expeditionary force of ʿl Whb ʿl to Gerasa.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0012712.html

(29.04.17)

WH 2147 *By ʿfs¹ son of Z ʿn son of Lġz son of N ʿmn of the lineage of Nṣr ʿl and he copulated with the man of Mtl and the wife of W ʿl of the lineage of S¹hwt and Dhbn.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0013012.html

(26.04.17)

WH 2815 *By ʿbd son of {Ygt} of the {lineage of} Bs¹ and he and his brother were announced [commander] of a party of near kinsmen the year the Nabataeans rebelled against the people of {Rome}, so may security come.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0013715.html

(29.03.17)

ZeGA 16 *By M ʿn son of Bhm of the lineage of Ghm son of the sister of the lineage of Df.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0018613.html

(29.04.17)

ZF 4 *By Ṣrmt son of ʿqwm son of Ṣrmt son of ʿbd and he grieved for Hmlt his brother and he grieved for Gmm his brother.*

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0028343.html

(09.03.17).

This inscription is found twice, and registered twice in the database; the other siglum for it is Is.M 233:

http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0017808.html

(09.03.17)

Appendix I

Lineage	Quantity	Siglums
Df	89	HCH144, NST7, C2209, WH3, WH6, WH9, WH21, WH174 (B), WH3488, WH3498, CSNS630, SIJ358, ZeGa16, CEDS496, HaNSB330, KRS1478, KRS1844, KRS2640, AWS379, RWQ347, ShNGA1, ZSSH38, ASFF268, ASFF302, ASFF305, AMSI4, AMSI54, MMSaf1, MMSaf2, QHGHA13, HCH 53, C318, C1649, C4439, C5361, LP687, JaS35 36, WH1, WH2, WH4, WH5, WH15, WH16, WH17, WH20, WH1673, WH1692, WH1698, WH1700.1, WH1727, WH2042, WH2803, SIJ47, SIJ88, SIJ132, SIJ607 (I), SIJ824, KRS784, KRS814, KRS2338, MSTJ2, HaNSC21, RWQ346, MSSH7, RMRK5, AAEK127, WH7, WH1025, SIJ38, SIJ93, SIJ823, KRS2423, Is.Mu321, AWS371, AWS372, ASFF122, AMSI8, ASFF468, AMSI77, WH2606.1, KRS2321, KRS2342, absWS51, BS653, MSTJ3, Is.Mu367, ZSSH4, AbWS5, WH2239,
'wd	47	HCH154, ZN9, HCH146, NST3, C4181, WH1144, KRS777, TaLNS66, RWQ159, ZMSA15, MMGS3 (B), AMSI47, BS2014, SESP.U4, HCH115, C320, C4438, C4568, LP1182, SIT1, WH163, WH966, SIJ39, SIJ59, SIJ74, SIJ80, SIJ206, KRS1254, LP361, RWQ346, ZMSA5, PMNN2 (B), AMSI142, C4529, LP644, AbaNS1069, Is.Mu173, C4394, LP325, AbWS7, BS1274, LP342, Is.Mu896, LP540, DM29644.4, C638, C740
Hzy	47	SIJ342, SIJ295, SIJ349, SIJ361, SIJ454, SIJ455, SIJ909, KhBG13, KhBG345, CEDS52, KRS2289, AbaNS1154, AAEK375, AMSI179, HCH162, CSNS1, SIJ319, SIJ323, SIJ348, SIJ634, SIJ667, KRS1420, KRS2092 (B), KRS2288, KRS2295, KRS2320, KRS2323, MKWI7 (B), FMNHC158707.2, ZMSA13, TTF2, TTF2.1, TTF2.2, TTF2.3, BS2001, BS2095, BS2097, SIJ607 (B), KRS2335, KRS2364, SIAM1, SIJ320, HSNS2, SIJ590, KRS2287, KRS2369
Ms'kt	39	ZSSH36, HCH116, SIJ644, SIJ786, SIJ787, KRS2303, ASWS98, ZSSH35, SESP.N1, HNSD33, AMSI59, SIJ287, SIJ310 (B), SIJ311, SIJExtra2, KRS1501, KRS1505, AbWH3, MKMR108 (B), AbaNS265, AMSI80, SIJ684, SIJ835, KRS1470, KRS2339, KRS2397, AbaNS82, AbaNS1065, AMSI89, SIJ207, SIJ283, KRS2340, AbaNS1070, SIJ314, AbWS1, AbWS2, KRS2298, AbWS3, KRS2306,
'mrt	38	CEDS402, HCH191, HCH194, CSP1.2 (B), KhNSJ1, KhNSJ2, CSNS628, CEDS398, KRS2082, KRS3074, BITR2, MSTJ10, MSTJ12, SIAM11, SIAM23, SIAM36, FMNHC158706.1, Ms64, HaNSC24, HaNSC25, HaNSC26, MNSA9, Hayajneh2011:775.fig.44.9.a, SNKA1, AAEK131, AAEK133, HASI23, ANMM80, C2947, CSP1.1 (B1), KhNSI5, MSTJ8, SIAM10, ASFF406, RWQ339, HASI8, ANMM93, MMGSA1
Tm	36	JaS6, NST2, ZSI1, NSR2.2, CSNS620, CSNS621, CSNS622, CSNS633, KRS1464, SIAM13, AbNSY1, BS1011, HASI22, BS2012, JaS3, HCH129, NSR2.1, WH711, CSNS412, KRS860, ZMSA1, AAEK130, AAEK140, AMM47, JaS5, HCH71, HCH130, Internet17, Internet21, JaS4, JaS56.1, CSNS410, CSNS442, C2555, BS2013, ASWS10,
Ngbr	27	C2577, AWS384 (MT), ASWS226, NI24, C58, C2576, C3527, C4446, A-N.H90, LP361, C3261, Is.R138, Is.H602, MRTA1, AWS396, RMenv.D8, AMSI10, LP708, Is.Mu229, RQ.D6, SESP.D20, SESP.D12, SG5, C2113, C3648, C3263, Is.Mu121
D'f	24	C777, KRS1465, C4388, SIJ54, Is.M160, Is.M234, Brenv.A5, Brenv.A2, Brenv.J39, C2578, C2721, LP669, ZF4, LP360, C1952, WH19, KRS1852, AWS360, Brenv.A1, AWS366, C2544, C2943, KRS1850, KRS1024,
Qmr	24	C8,C9, C1868, C4384, WH729, WH1003, HaNSB304, HaNSB305, MKWS6, SESP.S6, C1952, C1414, C1870, C4278, C4838, C4844, SIJ840, SIJ841, TaSTF1, LP254, ASFF173, AAHY1 (BS2003)
Kn	23	C4040, C4043, KRS1304, KRS1862, KRS2425, Is.Mu268, Is.Mu321, Ms29, AbWS579, AbWS580, AMM14, SESP.S3, SESP.S4, C4064, C4079, WR.A19, RMSK1, RSIS232, AMSI185, C2843, AMM51, BS1194, BS1195
Bs¹	22	C102, C103, C5280, HFSI46940.2, WH2815, ThSaf55.1, HaNSB306, SIAM14, GS30, HYGQ20, INAS39, JaS2, JaS13, CSNS625, RaIM121927.2, BR17, BR20, BR31, MMGS2, C5279, MMGS2, AMM100*
Frñ	20	HCH108, HCH137, HaNSB159, HaNSB307, HaNSB308, KRS1065, KRS2285, KRS2316, KRS2347, KRS2748, MSNS7, MSNS8, SESP.S7, WH367, SIJ58, SIJ241, AMSI6, AMSI79, MZH1, RSIS324
Gr	20	WH2174, KRS2889, KRS3092, KRS3093, AbaNS490, AbaNS964, AAEK388, C2155, SIJ246, ZSSH37 (ASFF287), ASFF163, ASFF283, ASFF291, ASFF294, ASFF377, ASFF388, ZQSH3, DHH23, WH1232, CSNS637, Al-Namārah.H87
Qs²m	15	C26, C4756, WH154, WH2820, WH3561, KhNSJ4, Is.K291, WH2817, HSD1, C4441, C4755, LP707, AbGQ4, HSD3, HSNS6
Hgr	12	HCH145, Is.Mu318, Brenv.A5, HaNSC34, Brenv.B1, C3663, C2114, LP397, Is.H1027, AWS373, RQ.A4, LP701
'mn	12	NSR56.1, CEDS213, CSNS1004, ZeGa2, SHNS5, BR5, BR19, DHH24, JaS23 (tentative)
'l Rm	11	C1292, MSSH1, C4447(), C4448, LP709, WH2815, CSNS424, ZeWa1, AbWS579, QWS16, AMSI84,
's'll	9	HCH33, WH8, SIJ41, KRS68, RaIM3074.1, RWQ65, HSNS5, AMM59, BS1240, SIJ658
{Df}	8	C2209, WH6, WH1727 (WH2824), ShNGA1, WH1700.2, C2504, C2839, KRS720
M's	8	HCH26, HCH69, HCH76, HCH77, KRS17, SHNS2 (SHMS2), SHNS3 (SHMS3), SHNS6
Kkb	8	C304, C320, KRS456, SIAM35, MKWI8, GS33, RM.A3, WH2818
Rks¹	8	AKSD2, AKSD5, WH2837, HCH104, CSI.S9, AtIN3 (SHS10), THSB4, RSIS110(OBS!!)
Hg	8	Is.Mu79, AMSI142, C2823, AMSI9, AMSI96, AMSI150, AMSI151, AMSI152
S¹d	7	C4389, NSR41, NSR56.2, AZNG1, NAI1, AbsWS6, ASWS70
{'wd}	7	HCH146, HCH154, C65, SIJ206, SIJ39, ZMSA15, KhBG171(?)
Yhd	7	AWS1, SIJ688, AbaNS1080, LP353, ASWS217, RWQ191, C1270,
dfy	6	C1341, KhU27, WH1060, ISB425, KRS945, KRS3029, ASWS46
'bd	6	WH866.2, CSNS192, KRS2756, KRS2889, SIJ682, C320
Hmy	5	HCH83, HCH123, HCH142, LP254, LP255
Zhr	5	HCH103, HaNSC31, SSWS186, ASFF373, CSNS998
S¹d'l	5	C781, Is.Mu199, C4754, RM.A7, WH1141
Hly	5	HCH106, HCH131, HCH132, SIAM16, AMM76,
Wqr'l	5	NST8, NSR58, ThSaf24, JaS49, WH2036
S¹d	5	SIJExtra14, AWS388, AWS389, AWS390, AWS391,
'l hwlt	5	KRS720, MRTA1, RWQ335, RWQ349, RDNH1,
'wdy	4	MFSF4, KRS1448, KRS2677, BS945
{Ms'kt}	4	KRS2303, SIJ310, SIJExtra2, AMSI89
{Qmr}	4	C3757, C5050, C2802, LP255
S¹lm	4	C4646, SIJ104.1, WFSG2.1, AMM71
Bgd	4	LP1188, AAEK85, DM32750.4, AMSI22
G'br	4	HCH138, C4332, AMSI50, ShNGA1
Sbh	4	NST3, C4443, SIJ59, WH3420
B¹d	4	C2577, C4447, C4394, SESP.N2
'bs²t	4	KhNSI6, C3262, CSNS424, WH1725.1
Bdn	4	SIJ237, KRS3209, SESP.U9, WTI18
B¹r	4	C1758, SIJ133, SHNS1 (SHSM1), AWS399

S ² m	4	C743, C847, C2553, KhNSB1
{Ngb̄r}	4	C2577, C4446, C2576, AWS384(?),
Yzr	4	C784, C2156, SESP.S1, C4677,
Lhyn	4	KRS2287, (KRS2342), Brenv.A5, Brenv.B1, Brenv.A2,
{Hzy}	3	SIJ342, SIJ455, SIJ607
S ² ddt	3	HCH100, C3194, SSW5186
Hrm	3	HCH107, DM4235, LP435
Ms'k	3	C76, AAEK203, SIJ788.1,
Mlk	3	MISS.J2, SESP.S1, SESP.U23
Fhr	3	NSR12, SIAM28, LP1064
S'r	3	C4772, DM1312, C3686
S'b	3	WH77, NRW.D1, AMSI167
Ty'	3	KRS2425, WR.A16, C2795
Nmr	3	DM1669.2, ARR8, CSNS900
Mty	3	NSR27.1, RaIM124898, HSIM49217,
Qrh	3	KRS1967, KhS15, Khunp6
Hbq	3	KRS1509, C4767, ZeGa18
{kt}	3	NSR122, JaS47, CSNS1006
Zmr	3	AbMNS2 (RWQ333), WR.A15, BS2114
Zhmdl	3	KRS1378, AMSI146, ASFF328
Hms'k	3	SIJ612, SIJ623, SIJ611
Rwh	3	WAMS5, C5162, SIJExtra11
'd	3	SHNS1, MMGS4, MMGS5
Grm	3	ZSSH33, WTI84, QHGHA15
Nzr'l	3	HASI26, HASI27, WH2147
Fšmn	3	Is.H763, AMSI51, AWS385
Rft	3	WH149, C4358, WH3931
Tdmr	3	DM32750.2, Al-Namārah.H61 (?), Is.Mu290, Is.Mu290.1,
{D'f}	2	C1952, C2578
{Qs ² m}	2	C2721, ZeWa1
Nmrt	2	HCH82, HCH126
Hrm	2	Is.L67, C4438
{Frt}	2	C4037, QWs7
'n	2	LP160, KRS949
Dhh	2	HFSI67801.1, HFSI67801.2
'dl	2	C66, C305
Ntg	2	AKSD4.1, AKSD4.2
Ghr	2	KRS3159, HFSL1
Tts ¹	2	CEDS322, SIAM42
Ys ² kr	2	CSA1.2, HaNSB351
's'kn	2	BReinv.B1, BReinv.A2
Whb'l	2	Is.Mu321, WH1859
Qdm	2	LP435, Is.L67
Zd	2	HCH109, SIJ923, (QZMJ616)
Gdl	2	C321, C2268
M'yr	2	HaNSB307, HaNSB308
Mh̄rb	2	AbKR11, ISB57
Ms'qq	2	AAEK132, BS2007
Wrqn	2	MSTJ6, RWQ295
Bll	2	ThSaf55, AMM82
Grf	2	SIAM27, NRW.C5
Ġyr	2	MA3, SIJ730
Hyn	2	DM2746bis.1, C169
Hbb	2	WH1607, AAEK104
'ty	2	NSR55, ZeGa1
Shyn	2	C4768, Al-Namārah.H69, AWS374,
's ² r	2	KRS2986, MKWI1
Rhy	2	C742, C2670 (WSRBZ.C 1),
Kmy	2	DM2746bis.2, HH1
Lkm	2	SIAM34, AMM79
Wd'	2	KRS3210, TLWS20 (see database)
N'mn	2	SIWH3, SIWH6
Mny	2	C2634, C4987
Ghm	2	C2657, ZeGa16
Hl	2	AWS340, AWS341
S ² w'	2	RWQ346, RWQ347
Fdn	2	WTI82, SaDM3.1 (SaDM Wādī al-Za'tarī 3.1)
Hzn	2	SIJ714, SIJ715
Hbb	2	ThSaf56, KRS1210,
'sr'	2	LP639, NSR10.1,
Zhm	2	SIJ923, (QZMJ616), ASFF297,
'l nb̄t	2	HaNSB304, MRTA1,
Lineage group	2	CSNS410, MSTJ7,
{Ty'}	1	C5089

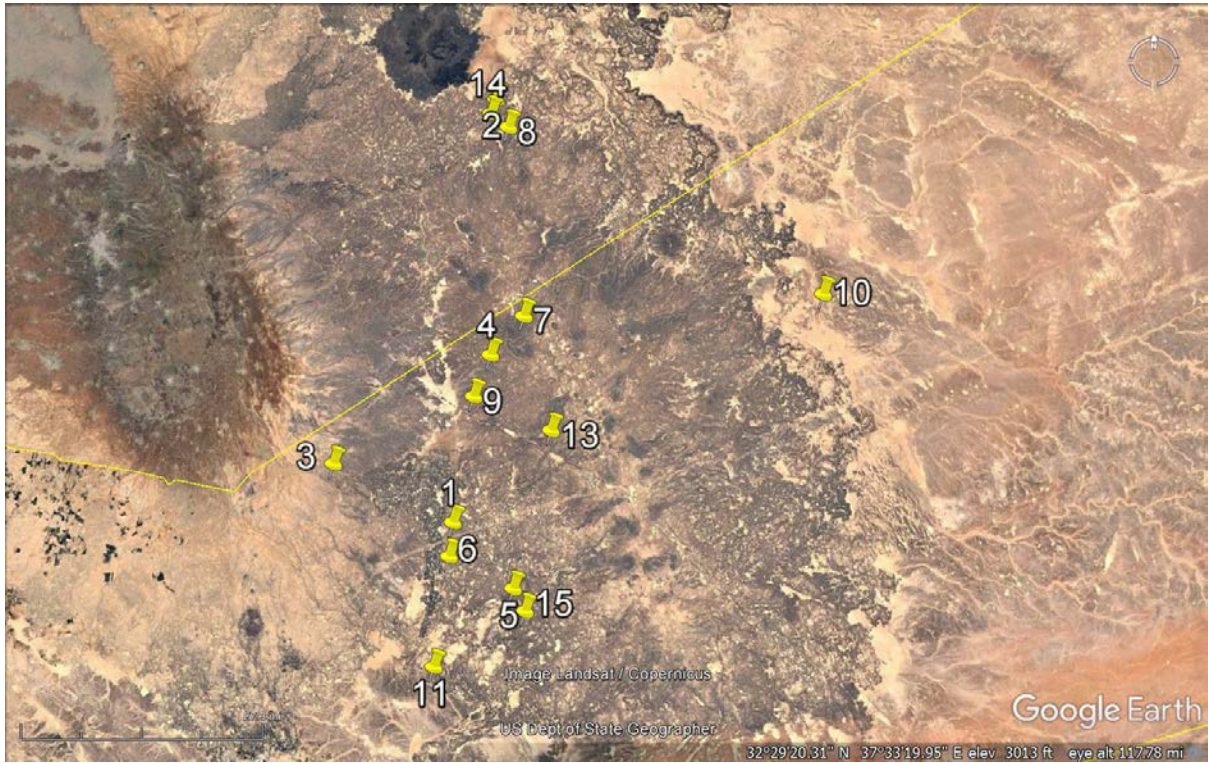
Rm	1	(C742), C319, (C4448)
{grm}	1	HAS162,
'wdl	1	GS34
{Ms¹----}	1	KRS2370
{Frt}	1	RQ.A10
Bs¹	1	BR20, BR31
Bs'	1	BR17
Qs¹m	1	WH2817,
{Hdr}	1	C1294
{s²ll}	1	SIJ630
{Kkb}	1	C65
{Rks¹}	1	HFL2
{Bgd}	1	ThSaf44
{Hrm}	1	GS20
{B'd}	1	C4446
{S¹d'l}	1	C556
M's¹	1	DM2746
Hd	1	HCH46
D'b	1	C4039
'dm	1	DM3083
Tmn'	1	KRS3105
Hzy	1	HCH105
Hhrm	1	AbSWS32
{M}z	1	KRS2303
Fdg	1	HCH151
'mt	1	DM5722.2
M'b	1	KRS1304
Ms¹y	1	DM2746bis.3
Mh̄t	1	KRS1086
M'gm'	1	C5180
{M'sr}	1	BRenv.B5
Ms²r	1	SESP.S14
S²rt	1	SESP.S1
's¹hm	1	SESP.S1
Wtr	1	NSR111.1
Wqrl	1	AbSWS33
H̄smn	1	LP281
{H̄smn}	1	LP419
{F̄smn}	1	Is.H382
Bwk	1	KRS1538
Bwg	1	C2955
Blqy	1	NSR1.1
'bdt	1	NSR22.1
Bdl	1	SIJ87
Bnly	1	AMM24
Bkr	1	MSTJ23
{Byd}	1	NMoQ1
Br	1	NSR14.1
DI	1	CEDS260
Nfy	1	AAEK384
'gm	1	HaNSB13
{gm}	1	NSR78.2
{Glm}	1	NSR4.1
Grs²t	1	AbSWS49
Ḡsmn	1	Is.Mu42
Ḡmt	1	NSR3
Ghm	1	CEDS492
Gm'	1	CEDS493
Gn	1	CEDS53
{Grf}	1	SIAM29
'g'	1	GS1
G'	1	KRS1087
Gfft	1	AKSJ PM1
{Gff}	1	QWs10
Gry	1	KRS401
'qş	1	WH2587
Qs¹t	1	KRS1452
Hr	1	RaIM77784
{Hr}	1	WAMS2(NSR1.2)
Hy	1	KRS2821
Hls	1	KRS1964
Hlf	1	CEDS54
Hrgt	1	DMS721
Hrkn	1	HaNSB358

Hdm	1	HSIL1
Hdm	1	DM5126
Hb	1	C5336
{Hgm}	1	QWs8
{'ty}	1	CSNS1011,
'yl	1	KRS2470
'ylh	1	HaNSB318
Ykn	1	NSR52.1
Blqy	1	WAMS1
S ² bk	1	KRS2813
{'sr}	1	JaS82.1
S ² 'l	1	DM32750.3
S ¹ krn	1	C5287
S ² kr	1	C1664
S ² bk	1	KRS2470
S ¹ btt	1	WH1700.1
S ¹ hwt	1	WH2147
Swkt	1	DM4205
{Rgl}	1	ls.K266
{Qryt}	1	C310
{Qbr}	1	C65
Kl't	1	C2172
Klb	1	NSR56.3
Kkbn	1	SIT14
{Kbg}	1	ISB176
'nh gdm'	1	C347
Mznq	1	HCH186
'lm	1	ThSaf1
Lhṭn	1	SIAM41
Zgr	1	ls.Mu321
fš	1	HCH183
Dyf	1	AAEK71
Ḡrt	1	KRS167
Mgd	1	ls.Mu70
Ṣbhn	1	KRS532
Gs ² m	1	CSNS421
Tyr	1	CSNS438
N	1	WH345
{Hm----K}	1	SIJ621
's'	1	RaIM78130.1
S'	1	SSWS119
{'rft}	1	C1277
Hty	1	WAMS7
Khmn	1	JaS28
S ¹ m'l	1	C1290
{'wm}	1	C2481
{Hḡl}	1	C3251
Hgn	1	C5081
Frg	1	C5276
Nfr	1	LP1266
Tbn	1	JaS90
{Fs'}	1	JaS102.2
Tfly	1	JaS108
Swr	1	JaS153
{Hk}	1	JaS163
Flṭt	1	JaS168
'fi	1	JaS193
Whf	1	JaS171.1
{Hyr}	1	MEG7
'ht	1	JaS43.2
S ² dts ¹	1	WH2005
Gs ² t	1	WH3562
S'r	1	SIJ133.1
Mṭr	1	CSI.S4.3
Msk	1	SIJExtra3
{Hfy}	1	ZeGa3
{'bs't}	1	ZeGa7
Hmt	1	RaIM78130.2
Hsd	1	RaIM106271.1
'gnt	1	SaDMWādī al-Za'tarī1.1
{'by}	1	HSD2
Wšmn	1	Al-Namārah.H155
Dnqd	1	AWS272
Nqd	1	AWS340, AWS341

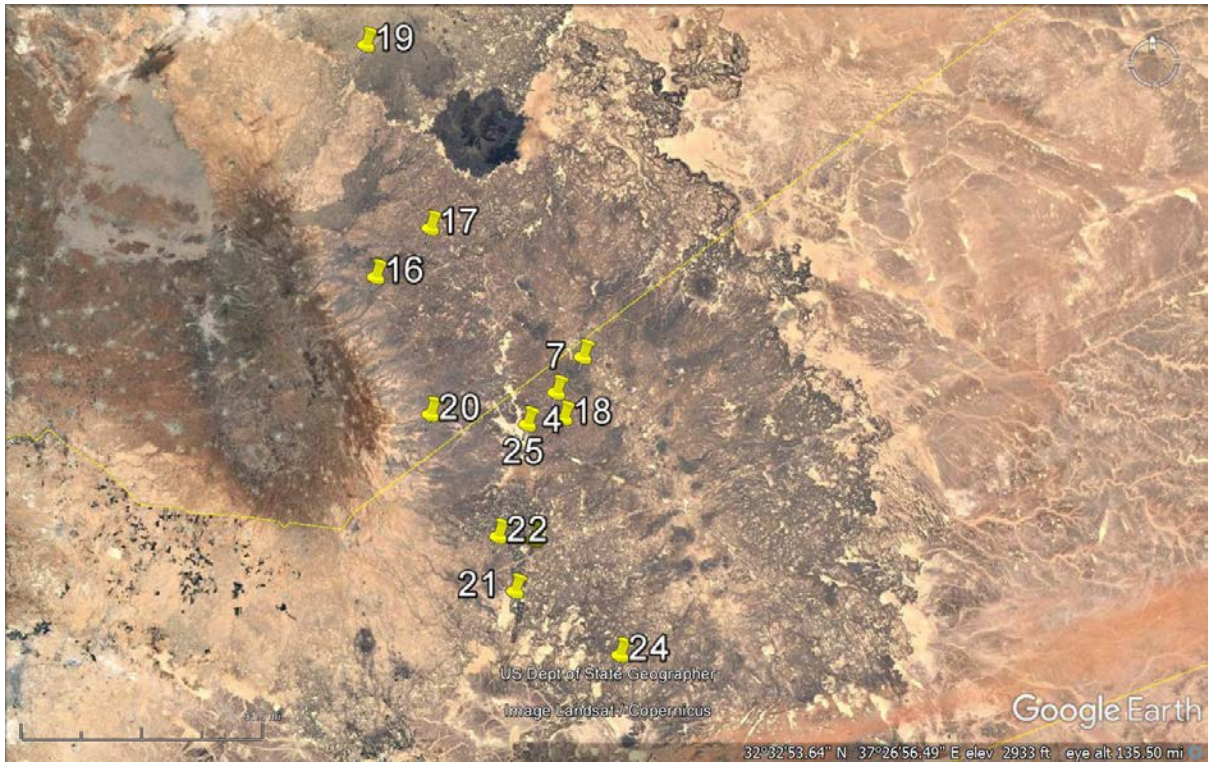
B'yt	1	AWS280
Y'f	1	AWS375
Rdḥ	1	SSWS65
H'm	1	RWQ70
Hms¹r	1	MSSH9
¹rs²	1	FMNHC158707.1
Šlh	1	Is.H512
{T'r}	1	GS17
Mḥṭb	1	AWS380
¹bgr	1	RWQ191
Ng Qrn	1	RWQ327
Dkd	1	ASFF173
S¹rb	1	ASFF270
¹tmn	1	WGRR2
Mr'	1	NRW.C5
{Dff}	1	WT148.1/3
{n'm}	1	WT181
{Fs²t}	1	AMM94
šmdn	1	DHH19
¹bdm'sr	1	DHH25
Rfd	1	DHH27
Rhm	1	BS2028
Hs²m	1	LP234
{Hwlt}	1	LP344
S²mt	1	WH1867.1
Zyd	1	CSNS895
Grs¹	1	CSNS1010
¹rdy	1	CSNS1007
¹tg	1	CEDS238
Hyl	1	HaNSB123
Hrs²n	1	RSIS46
Ḡtr	1	BS836
{rt'}	1	Lemaire2
S²f	1	ZeGA6
Qs¹s¹	1	ASFF204,
¹ḥnyn	1	AWS351
Šlhḏ	1	DM26750
Mkbl	1	C1763
Ybgý	1	NSR20,
ṭmd	1	WH3792.1
{Rb¹l}	1	C2790
Hšd	1	Khunp2,
Hs¹k	1	C4388,
Ms¹b	1	C2702
Šḥ	1	SIWH7
Zd¹l	1	LP461
¹s¹ml	0	KRS2889
Dhbn	0	WH2147
Qbr	0	(LP342)
{Wṭḥy}	0	C337

Appendix II

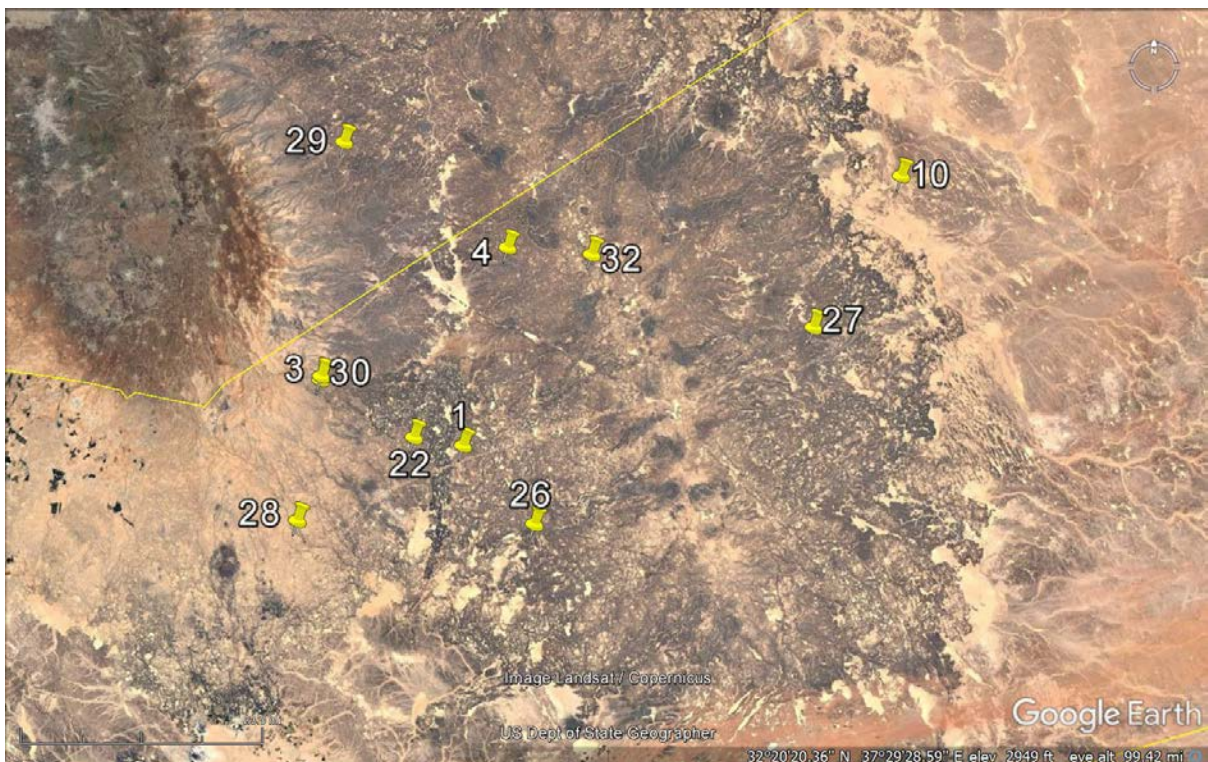
Maps showing the certain provenances of the ten most attested lineage groups.



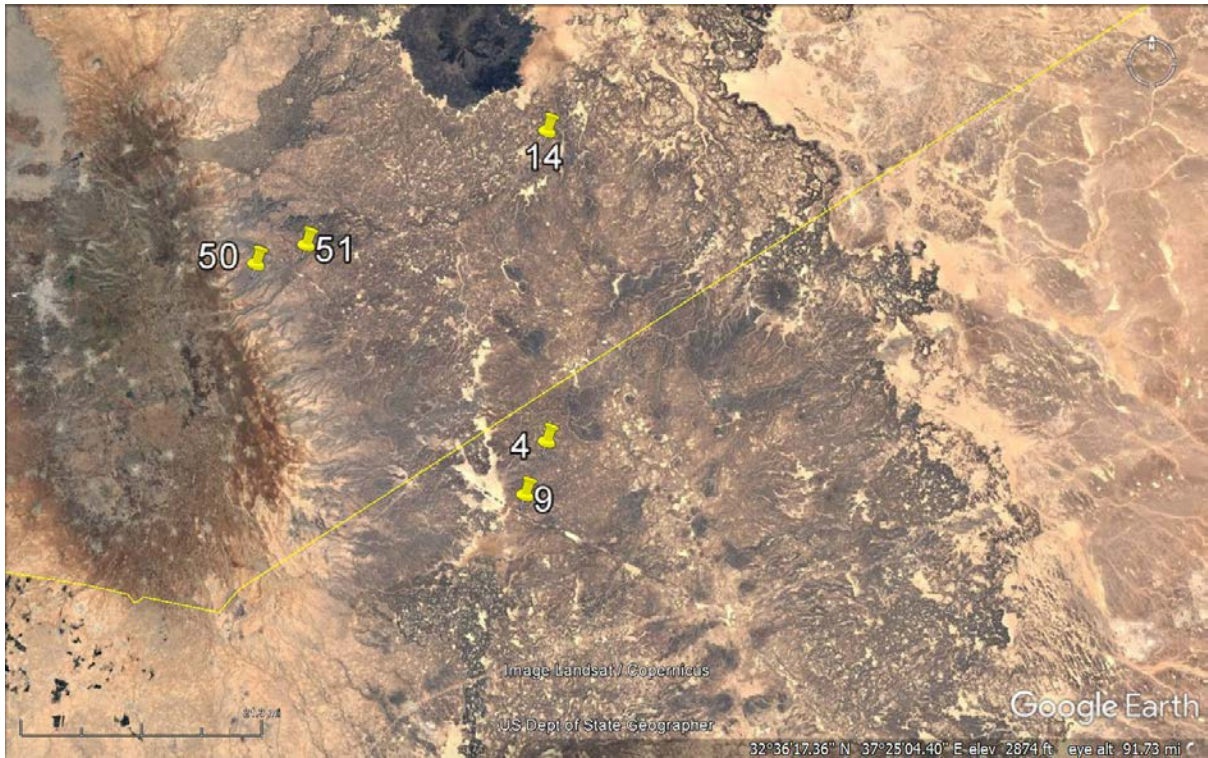
The lineage of Daif.



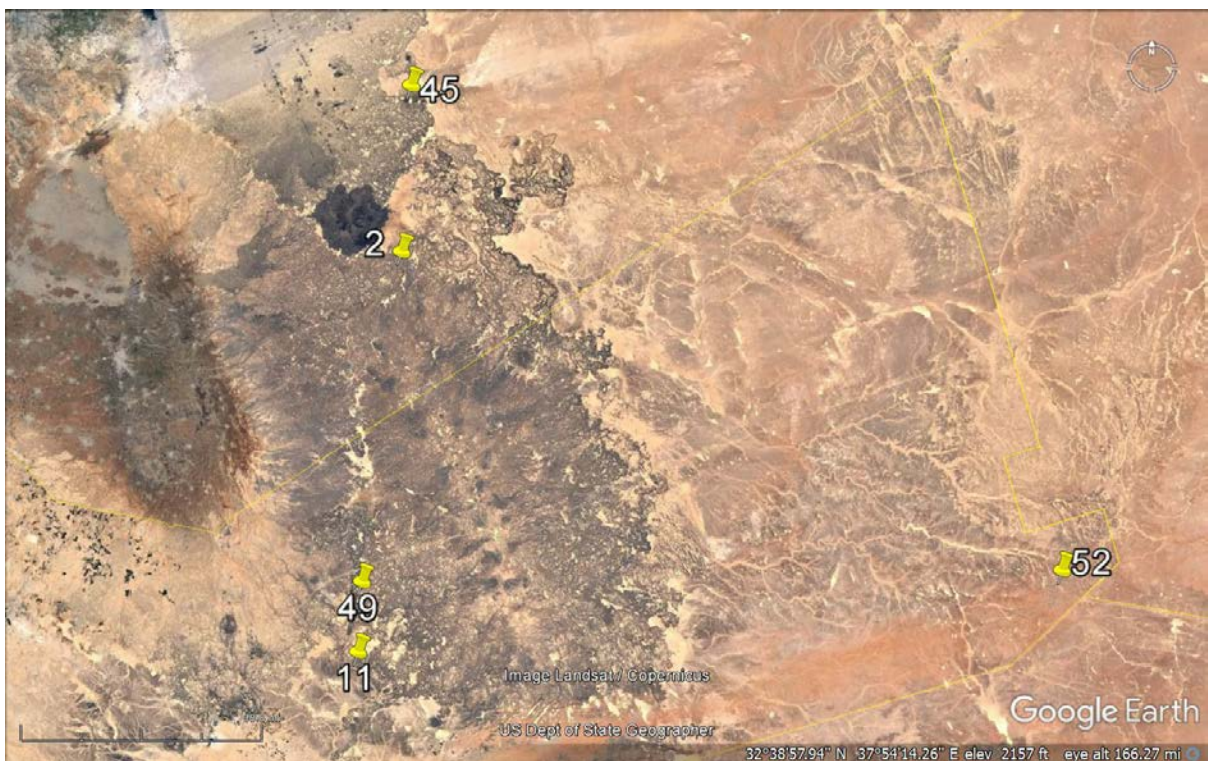
The lineage of Awidh



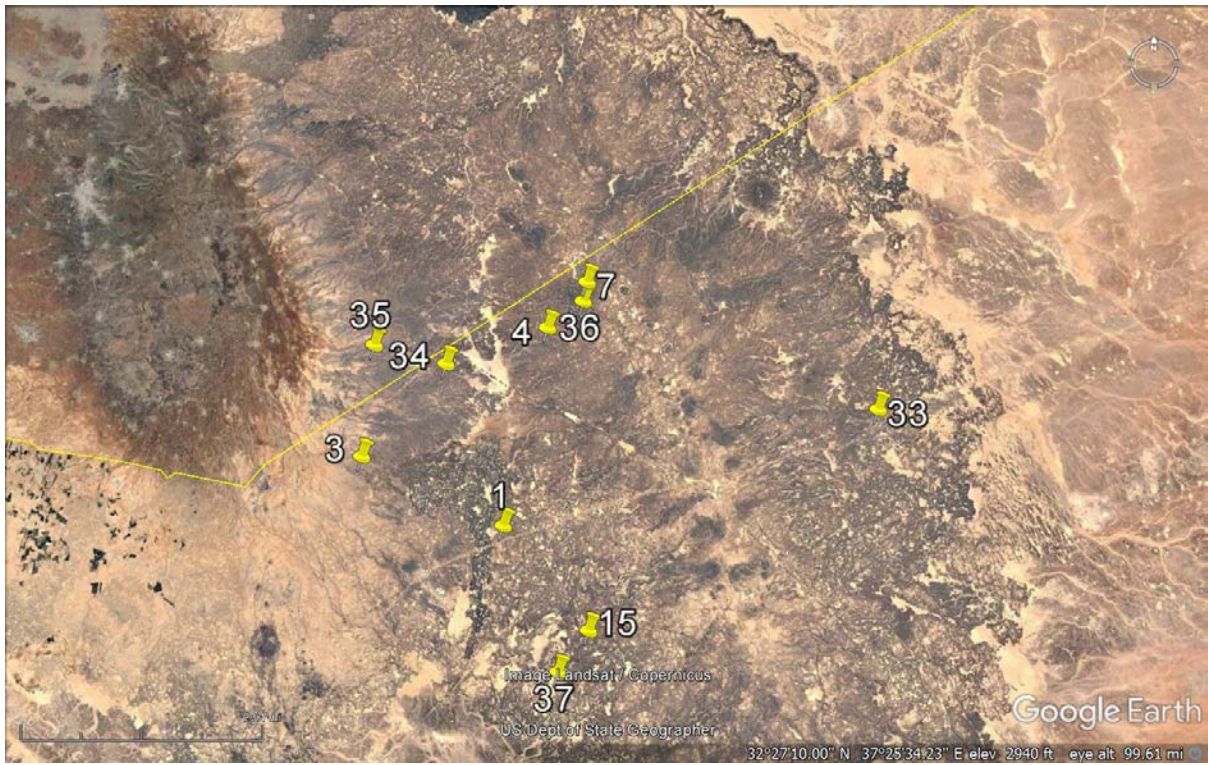
The lineage of Hazziy



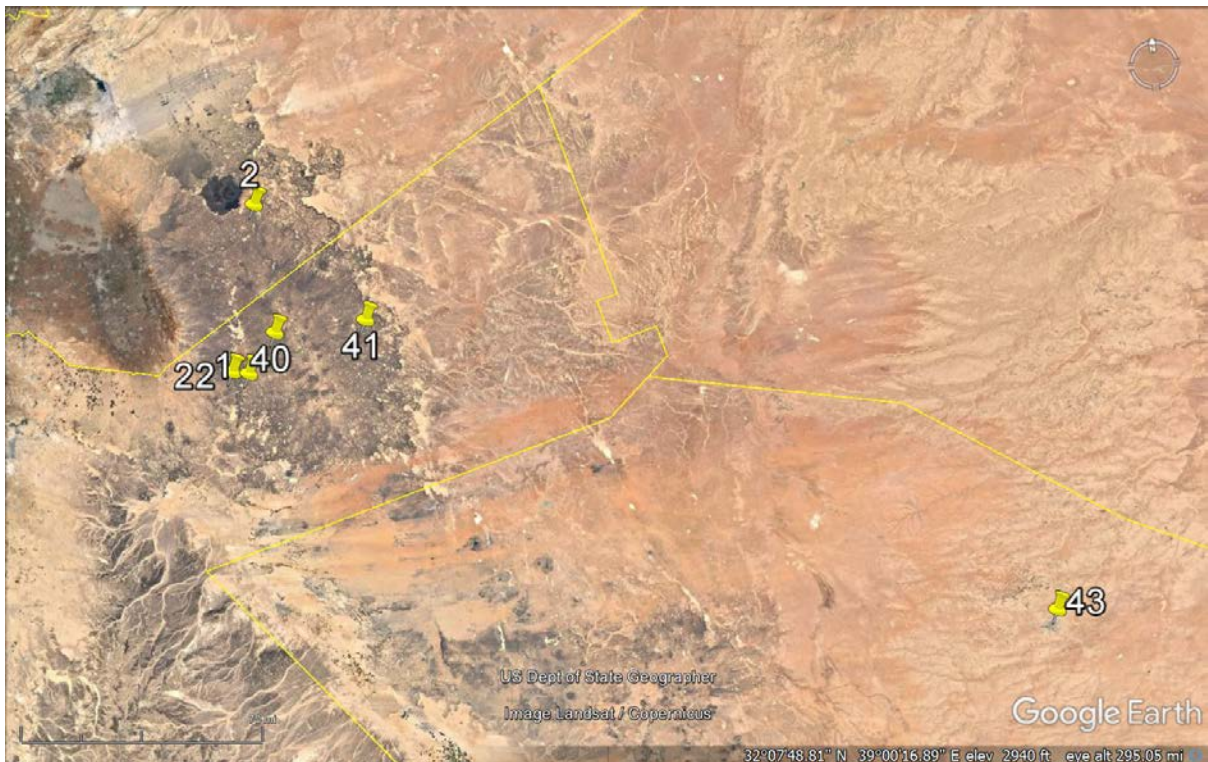
The lineage of Kn



The lineage of Kumair



The lineage of Nagbar



The lineage of Taim.

Locations (ten largest)

1. Cairn of Hani: 32°14'18.92"N, 37°14'56.57"E
2. Zalaf: 32°55'36.84"N, 37°19'46.56"E
3. Jawa: 32°19'59.47"N, 37° 1'9.90"E
4. Wādī al-Ḥashād: 32°30'36.37"N, 37°19'14.24"E
5. Ghadīr Al-Aḥmar: 32° 7'54.00"N, 37°21'53.00"E
6. Qā' Fahadah and Tell al-Fāhdawy: 32°11'0.67"N, 37°14'30.54"E
7. Jathum: 32°34'23.40"N, 37°23'5.10"E
8. Wādī as-Sū': 32°52'51.74"N, 37°21'14.32"E
9. Wādī Salma: 32°26'33.32"N, 37°17'17.80"E
10. Burqu': 32°36'29.89"N, 37°57'44.45"E
11. Cairn 9: 32° 0'16.80"N, 37°12'46.32"E
12. Ġabal al-'Arab: 32°40'0.00"N, 36°43'60.00"E
13. wādī 'l-'abd: 32°23'15.79"N, 37°26'14.39"E
14. Al-'Īsawī: 32°54'12.85"N, 37°19'13.13"E
15. Wādī al-'Awshagi: 32° 5'43.38"N, 37°23'14.68"E
16. In Wādī al-Shām as it leaves Ġabal al-'Arab: 32°44'56.44"N, 36°56'18.13"E
17. Ghadīr al-Darb (approximate): 32°49'59.88"N, 37° 4'0.12"E
18. Wādī Qaşṣāb: 32°27'39.67"N, 37°19'58.13"E
19. Ḥaġar al-Helle: 33°11'4.92"N, 36°57'0.36"E
20. Site 1/Wadi Derham: la 32.486074, lo 37.039084
21. Qā' al-Fahdah?: 32° 8'41.70"N, 37°11'52.59"E
22. Wadi al-Leḥfī: 32°14'58.93"N, 37°10'10.31"E
23. Site J, SESP:
24. SIT 1:
25. BS 1274:
26. Wādī al-'Aḥīmr: 32.131667, 37.364722
27. wādī and biyār al-ghuṣayn: 32.400363, 37.817258 (cairn 1).
28. CSNS 1, site A: 32.135445, 36.981444,
29. Site 1, AbaNS: 32.655055, 37.053159

30. SIAM, Jawa area: 32.328153, 37.018420
31. 1 mile east of H5/Al-Şafawī (coordinates not located yet).
32. aş-şafawī / 6km from Wādī Umm Khinyşri (HSNS): 32.500667, 37.457331
33. Cairn 36: 32.397680, 37.858062 (Wadi al-Ghuşein)
34. Site 7 Wādī el-Melţāt: 32.460604, 37.155256
35. Wadi Derham (also called site 1?): 32.486074, 37.039084
36. Wādī Sārah/ Ganūb Wādī Sārah 'abd: 32.546593, 37.378673
37. Al- 'Aḏāyilah /Jordan: 32.038242, 37.337756
38. Cairn c. 1,5 km s.w. of CH.: coordinates not found yet.
39. AAEK, Jordan: 131: 32.249650, 37.169487, 140: 32.249565, 37.169435
40. BS (1011), Jordan, Al-Mafraq: 32.397108, 37.389937
41. Wādī Al- Ğuşyan/ Biyār al-Ğuşyan: 32.421481, 37.833877
42. Ğadīr Aşhīm: 31.948586, 36.950496
43. Badana: 30.981612, 41.032587
44. Al-Namārah: 32.88545, 37.29163
45. Ğabal Says: 33.311133, 37.354389
46. Wādī as-Sū', cairn 3: 32.881040, 37.353977
47. Al-Ĥifnah: 32.76784, 37.00326
48. Al-Mrōshan: 32.844275, 37.19575
49. Talat Al-Fahdāwī: 32.166727°, 37.223337°
50. Qal'at al-Wāsim: 32.7333, 36.8833
51. Ruĝm Mushbik: 32.757794, 36.958133
52. Wadi Safawi: 32° 10' 55.71" N 39° 07' 50.23" A place some 3 km south-west of Al-Şafawī where the road to Al-Azraq crosses the the Wādī al-Şafawī, to the north of the road. 32.1821416666666666, 39.1306194444444444
53. ğiltat salhūb: 31.977385, 37.38192
54. Site E, MacD (french): 32°47'17.53"N, 37° 5'14.20"E