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Descendants and ancestors: a study of Arabic inscriptions from the Arabian Peninsula (1st-4th c. AH/7th-10th c. CE)

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Descendants and Ancestors:

A Study of Arabic Inscriptions from the Arabian Peninsula (1st-4th c. AH/7th-10th c. CE)

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إلى والدي

فاطمة الدوسري

سعد البخيت

(غفر الله له وأسكنه فسيح جناته)

إلى أشقائي وشقيقاتي

إلى أخوالي

للراحليين

أمي وآبائي

فهيدة البخيت

فهد العساف

سالم الماضي

ناصر البخيت

(غفر الله لهم وأسكنهم فسيح جناته)

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Note on edition, dates, transliteration and Qurʾanic quotes

Editions

The texts edited in Part Two of this dissertation use the following signs:

[ ] single square brackets: indicate holes in the inscriptions which have been reconstructed.

( ) Round brackets: used for words added to the translation to make the meaning clear.

… dots: indicate words or phrases that cannot be read or reconstructed with certainty.

Dates

Dates in the dissertation are generally given in hijrī and Common Era years, whereby the first reference is to the hijrī date (AH), the second reference to the Common Era (CE) date. Eg. 40/660. If only one number is used it is the CE date.

Transliteration of personal names and terms

Classical Arabic authors, modern authors who publish in Arabic only, Arabic personal names, Arabic words and phrases are transliterated according to the transliteration system of the *International Journal for Middle East Studies* https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies/information/author-resources/ijmes-translation-and-transliteration-guide. For consistency I have chosen to list modern authors who have publications in Arabic and English in the bibliography under the author's name as he used it in his English publication (e.g. al-Rashid instead of al-Rāshid as it appears in his Arabic publication).

Qurʾanic quotes

The Qurʾanic verses that appear in the editions of inscriptions in Part Two, are translated following the translation from http://tanzil.net/, but there are some minor adjustments.

Abbreviations

AAS	*Les Annales archéologiques de Syrie*
AAE	*Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*
AEN	*Arabian Epigraphic Notes*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
BEO	*Bulletin d'études orientales*
BIE	*Bulletin de l'institut d'Égypte*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of oriental and African studies*
EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. von Donzol, and W. P. Heinrichs. Leiden, 1960–2002.
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
SHAJ	*Studies in The History and Archaeology of Jordan*

Part one

Chapter One: Introduction

The Arabian Peninsula and the adjacent Levant and Mesopotamia (modern-day Jordan, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq) are home to thousands of inscriptions written in different languages and scripts, i.e. Thamudic, Nabataean, Safaitic, Hismaic, Aramaic, Dadanitic, Taymanitic, Sabaic and Arabic. These inscriptions have preserved a number of historical events before and after the advent of Islam, listing personal names, titles, dates and personal statements. However, modest their content, these inscriptions form an important historical source. Scholars have already effectively used the epigraphic record from Arabia to enlighten the history of linguistic developments,[1] scribal practices,[2] literacy[3] and political history.[4] The work on Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia has, however, been much more limited and has developed much more recently. As will become clear, the field of Arabic-Islamic Arabian epigraphy is, however, very vital and dynamic with the potential to contribute greatly to linguistic, religious, political and social history.

Arabian inscriptions have fascinated observers from the time they were created up to the present day. While the historically recorded interest in Arabic inscriptions amongst Muslim scholars dates back to the medieval period,[5] this did not constitute a continuous or systematic interest, until

[1] Ahmad Al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); and see Fokelien Kootstra, "*The Writing Culture of Ancient Dadān: A Description and Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic Variation*" (PhD diss., Leiden, 2019).

[2] Fokelien Kootstra, "Scribal Practices in Contact: Two Minaic/Dadanitic Mixed Texts," in *Languages, scripts and their uses in ancient North Arabia*, in Supplement Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies (48), ed. M.C.A. Macdonald (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018), 21–30.

[3] Michael C. A. Macdonald, "Literacy in an oral environment," in *Writing and ancient Near Eastern society, Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard,* ed. P. Bienkowski, C.B. Mee and E.A. Slater (New York: T&t Clark2005), 49–118.

[4] Jérémie Schiettecatte and Mounir Arbach, "The political Map of Arabia and the Middle East in the Third Century AD Revealed by a Sabaean Inscription," *AAE 27* (2016): 176-196.

[5] Muslims scholars tend to record pre-Islamic and Islamic inscriptions in their work; here we mainly find three types of inscriptions constructions, graffiti and gravestones see for example: Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam min asmāʾ al-bilād wa-l-mawāḍiʿ*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1982), 2: 606; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Adab al-Ghurabāʾ, The Book of Strangers*: *Medieval Arabic Graffiti on the Theme of Nostalgia*, trans. Patricia Crone and Shmuel Moreh (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Fākihī, *Akhbār makka fī qadīm al-dahr wa-ḥadīthihi*, ed. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Duhaysh (Beirut: Dār khiḍr, 1994), 2:161; Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAbdarī al-Shaybī, *al-Sharaf al-*

European travelers and other visitors in the 19th century reignited the exploration of Arabian epigraphic material. Since then, European scholars started frequent missions to discover more pieces, leading to more discoveries in different parts of Arabia.[6] Indeed, Arabian material can be found in all the large museum collections around the world. In the 20th century, Saudi and other scholars from the region got involved in the scholarly study of pre-Islamic and Islamic inscriptions. Currently all archaeological surveys and excavations in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are conducted in cooperation with the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.[7] Materials recovered are preserved in local museums such as the national museum in Riyadh. Section 1.2 below provides an overview of the field of Arabian epigraphy focusing on Arabic inscriptions from the Islamic period and publications related to it.

The field of *Arabic* Arabian epigraphy was founded and build by scholars from Saudi Arabia and other scholars from the region starting in the second half of the 20th century. In this relatively new field of Arabian epigraphy, systematic research of the inscriptions is lagging behind the rate at which new inscriptions are found. As a result, many inscriptions are waiting to be further inspected and the field is still evolving as a discipline adapting and changing its methodologies along the way. The aim of this thesis is twofold. First of all I will map the history of the field and describe its current state. Additionally I will focus on methodological questions and how these inscriptions can be researched through a systematic approach. To demonstrate this methodology, I will focus

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aʿlā fī dhikr qubūr maqbarat bāb al-muʿallā, ed. al-Sharīf Manṣūr Ṣāliḥ Abū Rayyāsh (Mecca: al-Asadi 2000), 66-112; Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī, *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-ʿiqd al-thamīn fī taʾrīkh al-balad al-amīn, ed. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Duhaysh* (Beirut: Dār khiḍr, 2000), 1: 100 and 137. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik wa-amākin ṭuruq al-ḥajj wa-maʿālim al-jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyad: al-Yamāma, 1969), 386-395.

[6] See the history of these expeditions in Adolf Grohmann, *Expédition Philby- Ryckmans- Lippens en Arabie - Arabic inscriptions* (Leuven, 1962), X-XIX.

[7] According to the official website of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage, there are currently 44 local and international archaeological and epigraphic missions active in different areas in Saudi Arabia: SCTH, accessed October 10, 2018, https://scth.gov.sa/MediaCenter/News/GeneralNews/Pages/z-g-1-10-10-2018.aspx, On top of this a large number of PhD and MA students' theses have been and are being written on these inscriptions.

on a particular corpus of inscriptions found at different sites within Saudi Arabia which are connected to members from four families that claimed descendance from the companions of the Prophet. These inscriptions can teach us about how people chose to 'document' themselves. So that brings us to the second main goal of the thesis which is to present a full edition and translation of 260 Arabic graffiti, epitaphs and monumental inscriptions, of which 115 were already published before, and 145 consist of yet unpublished graffiti. I will start here with introducing the field of Arabic epigraphy leading up to my research questions which will be discussed in more depth in section 1.3. from this chapter.

In general, it is commonly assumed that all Arabic inscriptions – that is to say, texts written in the Arabic language and script – date from the seventh century onwards and that from that date exclusively Arabic inscriptions were produced. However, to give just one example, there is a bilingual text from Najrān, dated to the 3rd/9th century, which is written in both Musnad and Arabic scripts.[8] Owing to the fact that most inscriptions are not dated, it is often difficult to place them with certainty in the 1st/7th century or before that date. The assumption, however, that there are only Arabic inscriptions from the Islamic period and that all non-Arabic inscriptions should be given a pre-Islamic date is too simplistic. While scholars have already known for a while, that Arabic writings in other scrips exist,[9] more recently a still growing number of Arabic-script inscriptions that date from before the rise of Islam, are being discovered.[10] There is, moreover, a

[8] It is a short text found in Najrān with one name written in Musnad and two in Arabic, followed by a short prayer, Said al-Said, "Early South Arabian-Islamic Bilingual inscriptions from Najrān," *AAE* 15, no. 1 (2004): 84-88.

[9] See about the language of Safaitic in Al-Jallad, *An Outline,* 10-17, and Arabic in Greek inscriptions for example see Ahmad Al-Jallad and Ali al-Manaser, "New Epigraphica from Jordan I: a pre-Islamic Arabic Inscription in Greek letters and a Greek Inscription from northeastern Jordan," *AEN* 1(2015): 51–70.

[10] Christian Robin et al, "Inscriptions antiques de la région de Najrān (Arabie Séoudite méridionale): nouveaux jalons pour l'histoire de L'écriture, de la langue et du calendrier arabes," *Comptes Rendusde l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* (July-October 2014): 1033-1128; Laïla Nehmé. "New Dated Inscriptions (Nabataean and Pre-Islamic Arabic) from a Site Near Al-Jawf, Ancient Dūmah, Saudi Arabia," *AEN* 3 (2017): 121–164.

constant updating of the material of Arabic epigraphy as more and more inscriptions continue to be discovered and scholarly insights advance.[11]

Although writing in the Arabic script began before the rise of Islam, no Arabic Islamic inscription was ever published until 1939, the year in which Hamidullah was the first one to do so.[12] Nevertheless, the field has seen something of an explosion in the last three decades. This increased interest has several reasons. First, a raised awareness of its archaeological heritage in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has driven scholarly and public interest in Arabic-Islamic inscriptions. As a result, the activities of the Saudi archaeological missions, often in cooperation with foreign institutions, have led to massive discoveries of valuable new material.[13] Secondly, social media has greatly contributed to spreading new inscriptions fast and far increasing accessibility and impact in and outside the academy. The widespread presence of smartphones is offering their owners cameras to take pictures of the inscriptions, GPS features to locate them, and instant access to the internet to share them via social media. Photographs of newly discovered inscriptions often circulate on Twitter, Facebook, or public websites before they enter the academic domain via publications and editions. Finally, a continued interest in the earliest history of Islam and the scarcity of contemporary narrative sources such as histories, motivates scholars to look for historical sources to enlighten and supplement historical accounts preserved in later narrative sources.[14] The inscriptions offer an important independent historical source. In a recent study, Imbert stated that nearly 85% of dated graffiti from 1st/7th-8th century come from Saudi Arabia, with the rest coming

[11] Maysāʾ bt. ʿAli ibn Ibrahim Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira fī haḍbat ḥismā bi-minṭaqat tabūk: dirāsa taḥlīliyya āthāriyya wa-lughawiyya*" (PhD diss., King Saud University, 2016-2017).
[12] Mohammad Hamidullah, "Some Arabic Inscriptions of Medinah of the Early Years of Hijrah," *Islamic Culture* 11 (1939): 427-439.
[13] See about these missions in Atlal journal.
[14]Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

from Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq.[15] With new inscriptions being discovered daily, they extend further and further into history. Recently, two inscriptions were discovered in al-ʿUlā and Najrān dating to the year 17/638-639 and 28/648-649 respectively.[16] In Appendix One, I list all dated inscriptions from the first 50 years of the Hijra.

With the surge in newly discovered, very early Arabic inscriptions mentioning mostly anonymous, but also well-known historical figures from Islam's earliest history, questions have been raised concerning the authenticity of these inscriptions.[17] There are several reasons to assume, however, that this material is indeed historical and should be associated with the individuals mentioned in them. First of all, the historicity of the inscriptions is confirmed by their materiality. It is easy to identify these writings as ancient rather than modern reproductions, due to the wear and tear on the incisions in the rock. Experiments have proved that it is rather difficult and time-consuming to prepare a piece of a rock that remains *in situ* to resemble one that has been subjected to half a century of weather circumstances.[18]

Another argument against the idea that these inscriptions are the product of modern-day efforts, is the presence of names of particular family members for whom any literary records are lacking. In other words, the inscriptions contain names of individuals belonging to families that are discussed in the literary sources, but these individual family members, are not necessarily mentioned in the literary sources. Related to that, one wonders whether these inscriptions mentioning merely names

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[15] Frédéric Imbert, "*L'Islam des pierres Graffiti arabes des deux premiers siècles de l'Hégire (VII^e–IX^e siècles) Corpus et premières analyses*" (Pour l'Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches, Aix-Marseille University, 2011), 2: 37-38.

[16] ʿAbd Allāh Āl Shaybān, "Najrān: al-ʿuthūr ʿalā thānī aqdam naqsh atharī fī al-jazīra al-ʿarabiyya", April 13, 2012, *al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=43&article=672426&issueno=12190#.W1muFk1lJ9A.

[17] Recently, G. Adi discussed the authenticity of the early Arabic inscription in his M.A thesis. I have indicated where his arguments overlap with my idea in the footnote, below.

[18] G. Adi, "*Identifying Individuals in Early Islamic Graffiti: A Methodological Framework*" (MA thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017), 31.

and sometimes, a short prayer would be the kind of texts that would be faked by a contemporary fraud. One would expect such a fraud instead to produce longer texts providing extensive details about land ownership, historical events, and generally more elaborate titles, eulogies, and other information. In Chapter Five, section 5.2 we will describe that inscribing something in stone, is in fact not easy even today. This would be a lot of effort to produce un spectacular short texts. Moreover, it seems to be difficult to fake a corpus of multiple inscriptions related to one family or a group of people in one site. As we will see in this dissertation, some sites have more than twenty graffiti related to one family.

Another aspect of the inscriptions we discuss here, concerns the identification of the persons mentioned in them. For example, as we will see in Chapter Two, section 2.5.2, we can ask ourselves why the ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb mentioned in an inscription is to be identified as the famous caliph of that name. Could there not have lived more than one person that went by that name? While this possibility can never be entirely excluded, there are indicators that help identify these individuals and make it more likely that indeed the famous names mentioned, refer to the famous people from literary sources that we know under those names. The first method that helps to identify individuals in a particular inscription is to focus on the people mentioned in surrounding graffiti, which helps to exclude certain possibilities as will be discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.2.1.

Secondly, we can assume that it is more likely that people would claim they were the descendants of a well-known individual, especially if they list his name two or more generations later, as we find grandsons and great-grandsons do in our inscriptions. That is to say, the famous descendants who appear in the genealogies of individuals two or more generations later, are likely to be referring to the historical figures of those names, as that is exactly why these famous ancestors are

mentioned. Whether the individuals who list such genealogies are correct in claiming descent from these famous ancestors is, of course, another story.

Before we turn to a review of the study of and literature on Arabian inscriptions, we will examine how scholars specializing in epigraphy have categorized inscriptions through their language, script, or the genre of the writing. The discussion will be limited to the inscriptions from the Islamic period and originating in the Peninsula as well as adjacent Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Palestine.[19]

1.1. Terminology and methodology in Eastern and Western academia

Modern scholars use different definitions and terms in their studies of Arabic inscriptions from the Islamic period. In most cases, they do not justify their use of specific terminologies or what selection criteria they applied in their work, although some observations can be made on the basis of their publications. For instance, a philological, linguistic and script focus becomes clear in a number of publications that identify the corpus under study as "Arabic."[20] Obviously, the label 'Arabic' allows for the inclusion of non-Islamic inscriptions, such as those pre-dating the rise of Islam, as well as Christian Arabic ones. Although the number of known Christian-Arabic inscriptions has grown substantially over the last years, the majority of Arabic inscriptions from Arabia are left by Muslims, which we can derive from the names and formulas that appear in the inscriptions.[21]

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[19] Generally, the same remarks apply to Islamic-period inscriptions from other areas of the Muslim empire.

[20]. Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum, Deuxième partie, Syrie, du Sud. Tome deuxième, Jérusalem* ((*Ville*))(Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1922); Hamidullah, "Some Arabic,"; Enno Littmann, *Arabic Inscriptions, Syria Publication of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909, Division IV Semitic Inscriptions, section D* (Leyden E. J.: Brill, 1949); Grohmann, *Expédition Philby- Ryckmans- Lippens*, Fred M. Donner "Some Early Arabic inscriptions from Al-Ḥanākiyya, Saudi Arabia," *JNES* 43, no. 3 (1984): 181-208. Moshe Sharon, *Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Nāṣir ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥārithī, *al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya al-mubakkira fī muḥāfaẓat al-ṭāʾif* (Ṭāʾif: Dār al-Ḥārithī, 1997); ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Munīf, "Naqshān ʿarbiyyān min wādī ḥajar sharq muḥāfaẓat al-ʿulā," *Majallat al-Dāra* 22, no. 3 (1996): 145-162.

[21] There is indeed now a rather substantial corpus of Christian-Arabic inscriptions – most recently a graffito from Jordan thought to be dated to the reign of the caliph Yazīd I (r. 60-64/680-683) was published. See Younis al-Shdaifat et al., "An early Christian Arabic graffito mentioning 'Yazīd the king'," *AAE* 28, no 2 (2017): 315- 324; another one

The label 'Islamic' inscription is used predominantly among Arab scholars to indicate a more content-based approach.[22] Some scholars use both terms to provide a comprehensive description of the inscriptions in terms of the language and the content.[23] Another way to combine the two terms is in a publication that describes the corpus as 'Arabic writings on Islamic archaeological remains'.[24]

It is worth mentioning that some scholars use the term "Kufic" to signify the type of script.[25] Although the writing of the early Arabic inscriptions can definitely be characterized as 'angular' (as opposed to cursive), the identification of Kufic is problematic, because the shapes of the letters

was found in Iraq; see ʿĀmir ʿAbd Allāh al-Jamilī, "Naqsh ʿarabī lī-tamīma min al-ḥīra li-ʿabd al-masīḥ ibn baqīla al-ghassānī min al-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī," *Majallat al-Siyāḥa wa-l-Āthār* 28, no. 1 (2016): 23-28; Saba Farès, "Christian Monasticism on the Eve of Islam: Kilwa (Saudi Arabia) New Evidence," *AAE* 22, no. 2 (2011): 243-252, two inscriptions were found in Syria and Saudi Arabia; see Robert G. Hoyland, "Two New Arabic Inscriptions: Arabian Castles and Christianity in the Umayyad period," in *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C. A. Macdonald*, ed. Laïla Nehmé and Ahmad Al-Jallad (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2017), 327–338. For inscriptions in Egypt, see Mutsuo Kawatoko et al., *Ancient and Islamic Rock inscriptions of South Sinai* (Tokyo: Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006). Four inscriptions have been discovered in Udhruḥ, in Jordan, dating to the 7th-8th/14th-15th century. See Zeyad al-Salameen et al., "New Arabic-Christian inscriptions from Udhruḥ Southern Jordan." *AAE* 22, no 2 (2011): 232-242.

[22] H. M. El-Hawary, "The most ancient Islamic monument known Dated A.H. 31 (AD 652) From the Time of the Third Calif ʿUthman." *JRAS* 62, no. 2 (1930): 321-333. George C. Miles, "Early Islamic inscriptions Near Ṭāʾif in the Ḥijāz," *JNES* 7, no. 4 (1948): 236-242.; Saad A. al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka al-mukarrama dirāsa wa-taḥqīq* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyya, 1995); Moshalleh K al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical Study of some Early Islamic Inscriptions from Medina in the Ḥijāz, Saudi Arabia*" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1995); Ḥayāt bt ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya ʿalā ṭarīq al-ḥajj al-shāmī bi-shamāl gharb al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya*: *min al-qarn al-awwal ilā al-qarn al-khāmis al-hijrī* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyya, 2009).

[23] ʿAdnān al-Banī, "al-Kitābāt al-ʿarabiyya al-islāmiyya fī maʿbad baʿal fī tadmur," *al-ʿUṣūr* 4, no.1 (1989): 115-129, and see Najāḥ Fatḥī Rajab Abū Sāra, "*al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya al-islāmiyya fī khalīl al-raḥmān*" (MA thesis, The Univerity of Jordan, 1993).

[24] ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad al-Khrashīāt, "*al-Kitābāt al-ʿarabiyya ʿalā al-āthār al-islāmiyya fī bilād al-shām fī al-fatratayn al-umawiyya wa-l-ʿabbāsiyya*" (MA thesis, the University of Jordan, 1997).

[25] Mohammad A. S. al-Salook, "*Analytical and Palaeographic Study of some Early Kufic Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*" (MA thesis, Durham University, 1988); Aḥmad ʿUmar al-Zaylaʿī, "Aḍwāʾ jadīda ʿalā taʾrīkh al-usra al-Mūsawiyya min khilāl thalāthat nuqūsh kūfiyya min mawqiʿ al-Sirrayn al-ātharī janūb makka al-mukarrama," *al-ʿUṣūr* 6, no 1 (1991): 169-189; Ilkka Lindstedt, "New Kufic Graffiti and Inscriptions from Jordan," *AAE* 25, no. 1 (2014): 110-114.

are hardly consistent and cannot be identified as the highly stylized Kufic script as described in detail by Ibn Muqla (d. 328/939).[26]

In brief, Islamic-period inscriptions from Arabia are over-all written in Arabic but could be either Islamic or Christian. However, the majority of these inscriptions are known to have been produced by Muslims. In this dissertation, I use the term 'Arabic' to describe the inscriptions. However, I am interested in more than the linguistic and orthographic features of the inscriptions.

1.2. Arabic epigraphy: an overview of the history of the field

The number of publications that present editions of Arabic inscriptions from Saudi Arabia has been increasing steadily throughout the last decades. Many of the more recent publications include or focus entirely on the so-called graffiti. This is in contrast to earlier publications which targeted solely monumental and constructions' inscriptions, thereby mostly ignoring more informal and private texts. An incentive to publish inscriptions has been the presence of an absolute dating, and several of such dated inscriptions have been published in stand-alone articles. The first dated Arabic inscription was published in 1948. It was discovered in Ṭāʾif and dates to 58/677-678. It mentions the caliph Muʿāwiya (r. 41-60/661-680).[27] Since then many more have come to light. By increasing the corpus of Arabic epigraphic material, all these editions are very valuable, and their sheer number is having an important impact on the field. This growing corpus of edited Arabic inscriptions is now being used in more synthetic studies of different kinds. Before I discuss the different ways in which the inscriptions have been used in historical studies, I will give an overview of the editions of inscriptions from Islamic Arabia that have been produced so far.

[26] Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Papyri. Selected Material from the Khalili Collections* (Oxford: The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 1: 44-46.
[27] Miles, "Early Islamic," 236-242.

Since the start of official surveys in the Kingdom in 1976, vast numbers of unpublished inscriptions have been recorded from different regions in Saudi Arabia. This important work which commenced with the establishment of the "Department of Antiquities and Museums" now renamed as the "Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage" is reported on annually in the journal *Atlal*. The reports show that a massive amount of texts has been collected, but many of them have not yet been published.[28] For example, during the epigraphic surveys between 1984 and 1986, over 1,300 Arabic texts were recorded, but only 20 texts were subsequently published in *Atlal*.[29] Additionally, in several cases material that was being prepared for publication was ultimately not published because of the untimely death of the scholar who discovered the inscriptions and had intended to publish them. See for example the inscriptions that al-Ḥārithī collected in Mecca and Ṭāʾif.[30] The Japanese scholar Mutsuo Kawatoko, who passed away recently, had gathered 511 Arabic graffiti during a survey in the Medina region.[31]

When discussing the history of the field of Arabic epigraphy from Arabia, it is not possible to do so without touching upon the work of Saad al-Rashid. Although there had been a limited number of Arabic inscriptions from Arabia published before al-Rashid became active,[32] he is truly the founder of the field in Saudi Arabia since 1978. Through his productivity, his methodology and the geographical and chronological breadth of his work, he made uniquely important contributions

[28] The first report of this surveys is Ahmad H. Sharafaddin, "Some Islamic Inscriptions Discovered in Darb Zubayda," *Atlal* 1 (1977): 69-70.
[29] In 1984, 759 Kufic inscriptions were found. Only 6 were published by A. Livingstone et al., "Epigraphic Survey, 1404-1984," *Atlal* 9 (1985): 135. In 1985, 328 inscriptions were found. See Majeed Khan et al., "Preliminary Report on the Second Phase of Comprehensive Rock Art and Epigraphic Survey of Northern province 1405-1985," *Atlal* 10 (1986): 82-93. And in 1986, 284 graffiti were found by Majeed Khan et al., "Preliminary Report on the Third phase of Rock Art Epigraphic Survey of Northern Region of Saudi Arabia 1986-1406 AH," *Atlal* 11 (1988): 61-75.
[30] al-Ḥārithī, *al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya*, 21 note 2.
[31] Mutsuo Kawatoko, "Archaeological Survey of Najrān and Madinah," *Atlal* 18 (2005): 45-59.
[32] Hamidullah, "Some Arabic,"427-439; Othman Rostem, "Rock inscriptions in the Higaz," *Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 8 (1948): 1-29, and ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī, *Bayna al-āthār wa-l-taʾrīkh* (Jeddah: Maṭābiʿ al-Rawḍa, 1977).

to the field as will become clear from the discussion below; virtually all places where inscriptions were found and all periods in which inscriptions were manufactured, are already mentioned in the work of Al-Rashid. He has published many known inscriptions, and has done important work on Arabian archaeology. He completed his PhD at Leeds University in 1978. He taught at King Saud University and trained many students. From 1996-2000 he served as an assistant Deputy minister of Antiquities and Museums in the Ministry of Knowledge; later from 2000-2007 he became Deputy minister of the Antiquities and Museums in the same ministry. He also served as advisor to the president of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage from 2007-2018.

He was the first scholar to apply an inclusive research strategy where coins, pottery, inscriptions and narrative text are studied in combination with Arabic Epigraphy, leading to big breakthroughs in the field. He applied this method very successfully in his major work, *Darb Zubaydah: the Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Mecca,*[33] in which he followed the famous pilgrimage route from the Saudi-Iraqi border to Mecca. In his descriptions he discusses facilities such as the way stations and watering places, as well as more detailed elements such as pavements, coins, and inscriptions that he found along the way at specific sites.[34] Al-Rashid applied a similar approach, combining archaeological material and inscriptions in his other major book, that on the city of *al-Rabadhah*.[35] Since al-Rashid's publication on the Darb Zubaydah, additional surveys have led to the discovery of new inscriptions along the different pilgrimage routes to Mecca. ʿAli Ghabban followed the *ḥajj* route in the north-west region of Saudi Arabia and al-Thenyian did the same for the Yemen *ḥajj*

[33]Saad A. al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah* (Riyadh: Riyadh University Library, 1980), he also translated to Arabic see *Darb zubayda ṭarīq al-ḥajj min al-kūfa ilā makka al-mukarrama: dirāsa taʾrīkhiyya wa-ḥaḍāriyya athariyya* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1993).
[34] Ibid., 121.
[35] Saad A. al-Rashid, *Al-Rabadhah Portrait of Early Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia* (Riyadh: King Saud University, 1986), 85-91. See by the same author, "Nuqūsh islāmiyya jadīda min al-madīna al-munawwara," in *Mudāwalāt al-liqāʾ al-ʿilmī al-sanawī al-rābiʿ li-jamʿiyyat al-taʾrīkh wa-l-āthār: duwal majlis al-taʿāwun li-duwal al-khalīj al-ʿarabiyya ʿabra al-ʿuṣūr*, (2002), 117-153.

route.[36] ʿAli Ghabban was the first researcher to visit the site of Abū ʿŪd, and he proved that the site was previously known as Fuwayq mentioned by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749 /1349) in his book *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*.[37] In his article Ghabban published 25 graffiti, six of which are referenced and analyzed in this dissertation.[38] Later on, al-Kilābī visited this site during her PhD fieldwork, collecting a total of 300 inscriptions from the pilgrimage road in the north-west of Saudi Arabia.[39]

Al-Rashid was also active in the Medina region. He published three important books on this region, the first one of which is *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr manshūra min ruwāwa al-madīna al-munawwara*, published in 1993. In this book al-Rashid included editions of 55 graffiti from around Medina along the (*ghadīr*) rivulet Ruwāwa, dating to 1st-3rd/7th-9th centuries.[40] He added that this site boasts many more graffiti that have yet to be formally analyzed. Indeed, since then, approximately 255 additional graffiti have been located in this area.[41] In addition, al-Rashid's editions have been revised since the first publication of the *Ruwāwa* inscriptions. Imbert revised the date on one of the inscriptions to read 96/714-715 instead of 76/695-696.[42] I have corrected the readings of some of the personal names of the Medina inhabitants (see my list of corrections on edited texts in Appendix Two). Following al-Rashid's work at Ruwāwa, the Saudi Commission sent two missions

[36] ʿAli Ibrahim Ghabban, *Les deux routes Syriennes de pèlerinage au Nord-Ouest de l'Arabie Saoudite* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2011), 2, 495-591; Mohammad A. al-Thenyian, "*An Archaeological Study of the Yemeni Highland Pilgrim Route Between Ṣanʿaʾ and Mecca*"(PhD diss., Durham University,1993).
[37] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jubūrī and Mahdī al-Najim (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2010), 2: 343-345.
[38] ʿAli Ibrahim Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid ʿalā ṭarīq al-ḥajj al-shāmī "dirāsa fī taḥqīq mawqiʿuhu wa-ʿalāqaithi bi-l-ṭariq"," in *Mudāwalāt al-liqāʾ al-ʿilmī al-sanawī al-thālith li-jamʿiyyat al-taʾrīkh wa-l-āthār: duwal majlis al-taʿāwun li-duwal al-khalīj al-ʿarabiyya ʿabra al-ʿuṣūr*, (2001), 155-217.
[39] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*.
[40] *dirāsa wa-taḥqīq* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1993), 13.
[41] In a report by ʿAwaḍ al-Zahrānī et al., "Taqrīr mabdʾī ʿan aʿmāl al-masḥ al-atharī bi-minṭaqat al-madīna al-munawwara li-ʿām 1420AH/1999CE," *Atlal* 17 (2002):71-104 of the Saudi commission mentions that 255 additional inscriptions were located and recorded, see Khālid ibn Muḥammad Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī wādī al-ʿaqīq janūb al-madīna al-munawwara, 1422AH," *Atlal* 19 (2006): 96.
[42] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 83-86, for the correction, see Imbert, "*L'Islam des pierres*," 1: 80-81.

to the site. The first mission was led by al-Zahrānī in 1999,[43] and the second one by Askūbī in 2002.[44]

At the beginning of this century al-Rashid published his second book on the Medina region *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira bi-l-madīna al-munawwara* where he discussed inscriptions from different sites near Medina.[45] Al-Rashid's third book regarding this region is *al-Ṣuwaydira*. In it he explored the archaeological remains and Arabic inscriptions from this site.[46] Using historical information, I was able to offer a radical revision of a group of 11 inscriptions that al-Rashid published in his two books *Dirāsāt* and *al-Ṣuwaydira*. In Appendix Two I list all the inscriptions that I have corrected.

The archeological site al-Ṣuwaydira was originally discovered by ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī (d. 1983), who was the first visitor to al-Ṣuwaydira and who published a book about the sites he visited in the region of Medina and other sites in Saudi Arabia. He discovered a few inscriptions on the site of al-Ṣuwaydira, and one of them was related to a person he identified as al-Qāsim, son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿĪsā.[47] Al-Rashid accepted the reading of the last name as Abū ʿĪsā.[48] Subsequently, Khālid Askūbī and his team, who led the Saudi mission in the north-eastern part of Medina, identified an additional inscription related to a member of the same family, continuously reading the last name as Abū ʿĪsā.[49] The letter shape of the last letter suggests that the reading

[43] al-Zahrānī et al., "Taqrīr mabdʾī," 71.
[44] Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," 95.
[45] Saad A. al-Rashid, (Riyadh: Muʾassasat al-Huzaymī lil-Tijāra wa-l-Tawkīlāt, 2000), 115.
[46] Saad A. al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman): āthāruhā wa-nuqūshuhā al-islāmiyya* (Riyadh: Layan Culture Foundation, 2009).
[47] He visited the site for a few hours; al-Anṣārī, *Bayna al-āthār*, 138.
[48] al-Rashid, al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 115, also in his second book *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 104,105,106, 152,158,215, 288, 307 and 342.
[49] Khālid Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya shamāl sharq al-madīna al-munawwara mawsim ʿām 1428AH/2008CE," *Atlal* 22 (2012): 110-123.

should be Abū ʿAbs not Abū ʿĪsā, and as I will discuss below in Chapter Three, section 3.6, I was able to reinterpret these inscriptions as referring to the famous Medinan Abū ʿAbs family.

Because of a long-standing interest in the early history of Islam, the epigraphic records from the places that played a central role in the rise of Islam, namely Mecca and Medina, have received relatively more attention. However, access to these places is confined to Muslims. In practice, moreover, it is quite hard for non-Saudi scholars to obtain permission to do research at these sites. So even though these sites were the places where the recording of inscriptions first started, up to this day the systematic surveying of these sites has not been completed. As mentioned above Hamidullah was the first to publish inscriptions from Medina, followed by a report of Rostom in 1948 [50] and Māhir who published constructions' inscriptions from Mecca in 1978.[51]

Apart from his before-mentioned work, Al-Rashid also published editions of texts found in Mecca, notably *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka al-mukarrama,* in which he published 60 graffiti.[52] Nāṣir al-Ḥārithī studied the regions of Ṭāʾif and Mecca together through archaeological surveys, and conducted an examination of the epigraphic material. Al-Ḥārithī published a number of books and articles with editions of graffiti, gravestones, and studies of constructions dating between the 1st-5th/7th-11th centuries.[53] After al-Ḥārithī's death, no additional epigraphic material has come from the area of Mecca and Ṭāʾif, and neither from the remains of the gravestones of al-Muʿallā.

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[50] Othamn Rostom visited the area of Medina and published his report, Rostem, "Rock inscriptions," 1-29.

[51] Suʿād Māhir, "Baʿḍ al-kitābāt al-tadhkāriyya fī al-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī bi-makka al-mukarrama," *Majallat al-Dāra* 4, no. 2 (1978): 47-65.

[52] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka,* 194.

[53] Nāṣir ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥārithī, "Naqsh kitābī nādir yuʾarrikhu ʿimārat al-khalīfa al-umawī ʿabd al-malik ibn marwān lil-masjid al-ḥarām ʿām 78AH," *ʿĀlam al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-l-Nawādir* 12, no. 2 (August 2007): 533–543; "Muktashafāt athariyya jadīda min makka al-mukarrama wa-l-ṭaīf," in *Mudāwalāt al-liqāʾ al-ʿilmī al-sanawī al-thānī li-jamʿiyyat al-taʾrīkh wa-l-āthār: duwal majlis al-taʿāwun li-duwal al-khalīj al-ʿarabiyya ʿabra al-ʿuṣūr*, (2000), 81-160; "Nuqūsh islāmiyya min ʿarafāt," in *Mudāwalāt al-liqāʾ al-ʿilmī al-sanawī al-thālith li-jamʿiyyat al-taʾrīkh wa-l-āthār: duwal majlis al-taʿāwun li-duwal al-khalīj al-ʿarabiyya ʿabra al-ʿuṣūr*, (2001), 219-264. "Shāhd qabr min maqbarat al-muʿallā yuʾarrikhu li-mutawaffāt min usrat al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl ʿamr ibn al-ʿāṣ," *ʿĀlam al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-l-Nawādir* 7, no. 1 (March- August 2002): 234-250. "Nuqūsh islāmiyya mubakkira min ḥimā al-nimūr shamāl gharb al-ṭāʾif," in *Mudāwalāt al-liqāʾ al-ʿilmī al-sanawī al-thālith li-jamʿiyyat al-taʾrīkh wa-l-āthār: duwal majlis al-taʿāwun li-duwal*

Another important work about the inscriptions from Medina is al-Moraekhi's 1995 thesis, entitled: "*A Critical and Analytical study of Some Early Islamic Inscriptions from Medina in the Ḥijāz, Saudi Arabia.*"[54] Al-Moraekhi edited 90 graffiti and 10 tombstones from Medina in his dissertation. Al-Moraekhi's work mostly consists of an analysis of the formula and the shapes of the letters. He identified a total of 43 tombstones in the Medina museum,[55] only 10 of which he has published in this work. I will use 4 of these gravestones in my dissertation.[56] It must be noted, however, that when I visited the Museum of Medina in January 2017 and January 2018, only a selection of these tombstones identified by al-Moraekhi was available for public viewing, unfortunately the gravestones I will use in this dissertation were not on display in the museum so I will have to use al-Moraekhi's photos and facsimiles as my main source.

Scholars visited other regions on the Peninsula to record inscriptions as well. I have already discussed al-Rashid's work and that of scholars after him on the inscriptions from the pilgrimage routes and other sites in the Medina region. In addition, al-Rashid published a corpus of early Arabic inscriptions from the region of ʿAsīr.[57] In his PhD thesis, al-Zaylaʿī presented 78 editions of gravestones from Southern Mecca.[58] Khalīl al-Muaikel studied the archaeology and epigraphy of the area of al-Jawf in the north of Arabia, and he subsequently published 46 inscriptions.[59]

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al-khalīj al-ʿarabiyya ʿabra al-ʿuṣūr, (2002), 285-345; *Aḥjār shāhidiyya min matḥaf āthār wa-l-turāth bi-makka al-mukarrama qirāʾa wa-nashr* (Riyadh: Dār al-Hilāl, 2005); *Aḥjār shāhidiyya ghayr manshūra min matḥaf al-āthār wa-l-turāth bi-makka al-mukarrama* (Riyadh: Layan Culture Foundation, 2007); *al-Āthār al-islāmiyya fī makka al-mukarrama* (Riyadh: Dār al-Hilal, 2009); *al-Aḥjār al-shāhidiyya al-maḥfūẓa bi-matḥaf makka al-mukarrama lil-āthār wa-l-turāth (al-majmūʿa al-rābiʿa)* (Riyadh: Saudi Commission for Tourism & National Heritage, 2010).

[54] al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 28-63.

[55] Moshalleh K al-Moraekhi "Shāhd qabr suʿād "mustawladat" al-sharīf muḥammad barakāt," *Majallat al-Khalīj lil-Taʾrīkh wa-l-Āthār* 3 (2007): 132-133.

[56] al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 38-50.

[57]Saad A. Al-Rashid, *Mudawwnāt khaṭṭiyya ʿalā al-ḥajar min minṭaqat ʿasīr: dirāsa taḥlīliyya wa-muqārana* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan: 2008).

[58] Aḥmad ʿUmar al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area of the Amirate of Mecca (3rd-7th/9th- 13th centuries), Its History, Archaeology and Epigraphy*" (PhD diss., Durham University,1983).

[59] Khaleel Ibrahim al-Muaikel, "*A Critical study of the Archaeology of The Jawf region of Saudi Arabia with Additional Material on its History and Early Arabic Epigraph*y" (PhD diss., Durham University,1988), 1: 155-228.

Another region that has yielded much epigraphic material is al-ʿUlā.[60] Besides publications by ʿAli Ghabban and al-Kilābī,[61] Jahaz al-Shammarī published Islamic inscriptions originating from sites in Umm-Darj and Abū ʿŪd, in the al-ʿUlā region. Al-Shammarī discovered a total of 25 graffiti from Umm-Darj, and a further 50 graffiti from Abū ʿŪd.[62] Finally, a team of scholars from King Saud University conducted fieldwork in the al-ʿUlā region, and found 450 graffiti in the mountain of al-Aqraʿ. Of these, they only published four dated graffiti, with the promise that the remaining graffiti will soon appear in a book.[63]

The Najrān region has known several missions yielding a number of publications of inscriptions. Starting with the *Expédition Philby- Ryckmans- Lippens* in 1951/52,[64] the area has since then also received a Japanese team.[65] Imbert in 2015 published two graffiti from Najrān[66] which resulted from the activities of a French-Saudi research team.[67] Finally, al-Moraekhi published a number of graffiti from this area.[68]

At the beginning of this century, al-Muʿallā cemetery and its gravestones in Mecca received scholarly attention. The first publication was by al-Zahrānī, who published 100 tombstones.[69] The

[60] al-ʿUlā is a rich area of inscriptions in different languages, Kootstra, "Scribal practices," 21.
[61] Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid," 173-177; al-Kilābī republished what Ghabban published in his article, with additional graffiti, see, for example, al-Kilābī *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 378.
[62] Jahaz B. al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya fī mawqiʿay umm-daraj wa-abū ʿūd bi-minṭaqat al-ʿulā* (Riyadh: Saudi Commission for Tourism & Antiquities, 2014).
[63] Aḥmad al-ʿUbūdī et al., "Nuqūsh islāmiyya muʾarrakha min jabal al-aqraʿ shamāl muḥāfaẓat al-ʿulā bi-minṭaqat al-madīna al-munawwara," *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Siyāḥa wa-l-Āthār* 29, no. 1 (January 2018): 25-58.
[64] Grohmann, *Expédition Philby- Ryckmans- Lippens.*
[65] Mutsuo Kawatoko et al., *Ancient and Islamic Rock Inscriptions of Southwest Saudi Arabia I Wādī Khushayba* (Tokyo: Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Deputy Ministry of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Education, 2005).
[66] Frédéric Imbert, "Annexe – Note épigraphique sur la découverte récente de graffiti arabes mentionnant le calife ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb (Najrân, Arabie Saoudite)," in *Constructing The Seventh Century*, ed. Constantin Zuckerman (Paris: Travaux et Mémoires 17, 2013), 757-758.
[67] Christian Robin et al., "Saudi-French Archaeological Mission Najran Region Fifth Season 2011," Atlal 26 (2018): 161-175.
[68] Moshalleh K. al-Moraekhi, "al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya fī jabal al-dharwāʾ najrān," *Dirāsāt āthāriyya silsila ʿilmiyya muḥakkama tuṣdiruhā al-jamʿiyya al-saʿūdiyya lil-dirāsāt al-athariyya* 14 (2019): 14.
[69] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka al-mukarrama (1-7AH/7-13CE)* (Riyadh: King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, 2003), 8.

Saudi authority has published the al-Zahrānī editions, with an additional 486 tombstones in a catalogue.[70] Following this, Nāṣir al-Ḥārithī has published three volumes, containing a total of 178 gravestones. Additionally he discussed one more gravestone in an outstanding article, bringing the total of published gravestones from the cemetery to 765.[71] Al-Juhaymī reported in her MA thesis, however, that in total more than 1200 gravestones have been found in this cemetery.[72]

In the desert of the Ḥismā Tabūk region, five new inscriptions dating to the first 50 years of the Hijra have recently come to light. Four of these are dated to well-known historical events (see Appendix One). Al-Saʿīd et al., published these inscriptions editing a total of 237 Arabic graffiti from Ḥismā. Their book, however, unfortunately does not engage with other works on the same area, such as the thesis of Ghabban and the book of al-Anṣārī et al., about al-Bidʿ, in which some of the same published graffiti are included.[73] Maysāʾ Ghabban recently completed her PhD thesis at King Saud University, containing new early Arabic inscriptions from Ḥismā in Tabūk.[74] This thesis contains a total of 250 graffiti, dating back to the 1st-2nd /7th-9th centuries, with four inscriptions dating back to the 1st/7th-8th century.[75] Finally, the area of al-Ḥāʾiṭ, the ancient Fadk, has received some scholarly attention. Al-Samārī published 106 graffiti from this area.[76]

In addition to these volumes specializing in specific areas, some publications have appeared that gather inscriptions from all over the peninsula. In 2015, al-Thenyian published a book on Arabic

[70] Khalīfa ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khalīfa et al., *Aḥjār al-muʿallā al-shāhidiyya bi-makka al-mukarrama* (Riyadh: Wakālat al-Āthār wa-l-Matāḥaf, 2004).
[71] al-Ḥārithī, "Shāhd qabr," 234-250.
[72] Badriyya bt. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Juhaymī, "*Nuqūsh islāmiyya shāhidiyya li- banī al-ḥasan ibn ʿalī ibn abī ṭālib min maqbarat al-muʿallā bi-makka al-mukarrama*" (M.A thesis, King Saud University,2010), 26.
[73] ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā: kitābāt min ṣadr al-islām shamāl gharb al-mamlaka* (Riyadh: al-Majalla al-ʿArabiyya, 2017). See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭaīb al-Anṣārī et al., a*l-Bidʿ taʾrīkhuhā wa-āthāruhā* (Riyadh: Wakālat al-Āthār wa-l-Matāḥaf, 2002),58-64.
[74] In total, she found 582 inscriptions, the rest will be published in future research, Maysāʾ Ghabban "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*," 56.
[75] Ibid., 740.
[76] Īmān bt. ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Samārī, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-ṣakhriyya fī muḥāfaẓat al-ḥāʾiṭ bi-minṭaqat ḥāʾil*" (MA thesis, King Saud University, 2018).

inscriptions from the 1st/7th-8th century, found all over Saudi Arabia. Al-Thenyian seems to have relied, however, on older editions. For example, he used part of Hamidullah's work, who had identified two of the Prophet Muḥammad's companions in an inscription, namely ʿUmar and Abū Bakr, dating the inscription to the time of the Prophet.[77] However, since then scholars reread and reanalyzed the inscription and the information was thus outdated when al-Thenyian used it. For example, Ghabban dated the graffito to the time of Abū Bakr (r. 11-13/632-634).[78] Imbert thought the reading was doubtful and it could be read as ʿUmar son of Abū Bakr instead of ʿUmar and Abū Bakr.[79]

Al-Thenyian also included an inscription that has been discovered during a Saudi-Japanese mission,[80] but he misread it. I re-edit the graffito in Part Two (inscription 2.38). In addition, he did not include the inscriptions published by Nāṣir al-Ḥārithī dating to the year 78/697-698,[81] and two inscriptions are only listed without a photograph or even an edition.[82]

There are several publications that bring together early Arabic inscriptions from different areas of the Muslim world, in which those of Arabia constitute one part. First amongst these is Van Berchem and his *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*.[83] This monumental work contains editions of inscriptions in Arabic, gravestones, constructions' inscriptions and milestones. There are no graffiti included in the book in a systematic way. More recently, Imbert studied

[77] Hamidullah, "Some Arabic,"427-439.
[78] ʿAli Ibrahim Ghabban, "The evolution of the Arabic script in the period of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Orthodox Caliphs in the light of new inscriptions discovered in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia," in *The Development of Arabic as a Written Language*, in *Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (40), ed. M.C.A. Macdonald (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 97.
[79] Frédéric Imbert, "Califes, princes et compagnons dans les graffiti du début de l'Islam," *Romano-Arabica* 15 (2015): 63.
[80] Mutsuo Kawatoko, "Archaeological Survey," *Atlal* 18 (2005): 45-59.
[81] al-Ḥārithī, "Naqsh kitābī nādir,"533–543.
[82] Mohammad A. al-Thenyian, *Nuqūsh al-qarn al-hijrī al-awwal (al-qarn al-sābiʿ al-mīlādī) al-muʾarrakha fī al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya (dirāsa taḥlīliyya jadīda)* (Riyadh: King Saud University, 2015), 51-52, 57-58.
[83] Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour*.

unedited and edited Arabic inscriptions from the first two Islamic centuries, in his habilitation entitled "*L'Islam des pierres Graffiti arabes des deux premiers siècles de l'Hégire (VII^e–IX^e siècles) Corpus et premières analyses*." There, he presented Arabic inscriptions from Saudi Arabia, alongside others from Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon. He selected his inscriptions on the basis of the absolute dates mentioned in them, or by using paleographic criteria to date them to the earliest period.[84] However, he missed two published inscriptions from Saudi Arabia dated to the 1st/7th-8th century in his analysis.[85]

The use of inscriptions for further studies can be divided into three main categories. The first one concerns the production of editions of inscriptions related through the language and script they are written in (Arabic), or the area they were found or the period in which they were produced. These studies overall offer very limited information on the inscriptions. Mostly such discussion is limited to an analysis of the script, language, contents, or archaeological context. They provide an edition of the inscriptions with some rudimentary information on the identification of individuals mentioned in them.[86] Related are the publications gathering dated inscriptions or inscriptions from one limited region.[87] A second segment concerns the development of the Arabic script, preceding the rise of Islam and under Islam, which has been successfully studied through inscriptions from

[84] Imbert, "*L'Islam des pierres*," 2:30.

[85] al-Ḥārithī, "Naqsh kitābī nādir,"533–543, and Mohammad A. al-Thenyian, "Naqsh ghayl al-manḍaj (al-mabraḥ) al-islāmī al-muʾarrakh bi-sanat 98 AH (716-717 CE) (muḥāfaẓat ẓahrān al-janūb -al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya)," *Adumatu* 9 (January 2004): 59-83.

[86] See for example, al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka,* Maysāʾ Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*, " 740. Ḥayāt bt. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya,* and the same author *al-Āthār al-islāmiyya bi-baldat badā, muḥāfaẓat al-wajh, shamāl gharb al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya* (Riyadh: Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities, 2010).

[87] See for example Saad A. al-Rashid, "Naqsh muʾarrakh min al-ʿaṣr al-umawī majhūl al-mawqiʿ min minṭaqat al-ḥijāz," *Dirāsāt fī al-Āthār* 1 (1992): 265-270; and the same author "Nuqūsh muʾarrakha min al-ṣuwaydira", *Majallat al-Dāra*17, no. 4 (January 1991): 42-58, see also al-Thenyian, "Naqsh ghayl," 59-83.

all over the Peninsula.[88] Inscriptions have also been used to study certain features of the Arabic script itself such as the use of diacritical dots to distinguish between letters.[89]

The third approach, which this thesis also hopes to make a contribution to, uses inscriptions for historiography. The historical studies can be divided into four different categories. First there are the publications that focus on single historical events that are recorded in the inscriptions. Examples are the Zuhayr graffito reporting on the death of the caliph ʿUmar[90] or the inscription recording the rebuilding of the Holy mosque.[91] Related are the publications collecting inscriptions that mention historical figures as discussed below. While such studies make valuable contributions to our understanding of individual historical events, their impact has remained limited. A second way in which inscriptions have been applied in historiography concerns the study of the origins of Islam and the history of the early caliphate. A critical historiographical approach starting amongst European Orientalists in the late 19th century dismissed classical Arabic-Islamic texts as historical sources because they came into existence several centuries after the events which they describe and were composed in very different environments and contexts. Although it was acknowledged that these later texts made ample use of earlier material, it was considered to be impossible to distinguish earlier evidence from later reworkings, additions and corrections. Thus, scholars

[88] See, for example, Suhayla Yāsīn al-Jubūrī, *Aṣl al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī wa-taṭawwurhu ḥattā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-umawī* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Adīb al-Baghdādī, 1977); Muḥammad Fahd ʿAbd Allāh al-Faʿr, *Taṭawwur al-kiātbāt wa-l-nuqūsh fī al-ḥijāz mundhu fajr al-islām ḥattā muntaṣaf al-qarn al-sābiʿ al-hijrī* (Jeddah: Tihama, 1984). Beatrice Gruendler, *The Development of The Arabic Scripts from the Nabatean Era to the First Islamic Century According to Dated Texts*, (Atlanta/ Georgia: Scholars press, 1993), 89-101, ʿAli ibn Ibrahim Ghabban and Robert Hoyland, "The inscription of Zuhayr, the oldest Islamic inscription (24AH/AD 644-645), the rise of Arabic script and the nature of early Islamic state," *AAE* 19, no. 2 (2008): 209-236. Ghabban, "The evolution", and Laïla Nehmé, "A glimpse of the Development of the Nabataean Script into Arabic Based on Old and New Epigraphic Material," in *The Development of Arabic as a Written Language*, in *Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (40), ed. M.C.A. Macdonald (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 47-88. Al-Shdaifat et al., "An early Christian," 318-319.

[89] Ghabban and Hoyland, "The inscription," 209-236, al-Shdaifat et al., "An early Christian," 318-319.

[90] Ghabban and Hoyland, "The inscription," 213.

[91] al-Ḥārithī, "Naqsh kitābī nādir," 35.

rejected the body of historical Arabic writings in their entirety for the reconstruction of Islam's earliest history.

For the last twenty years or so, however, a generation of scholars have been searching actively for ways to make use of the classical sources, including examining the texts using methods from other academic fields, combining them with documentary materials such as coins, documents and archaeological remains or with sources from outside the Arabic-Islamic historiographical tradition.[92] Inscriptions play an essential role in this new historiographical approach especially in relation to the form and presence of Islam and the Islamic state in early Islamic Arabia.[93]

When looking at the content of the inscriptions, four major themes can be distinguished. First of all Qurʾanic quotations in inscriptions have raised an interest amongst scholars for obvious reasons.[94] A second approach has been to look at a specific writing formula employed in these texts, for example "*jihād* and *shahāda*" holy war and martyrdom.[95] Thirdly, the poetry found in

[92] For a good overview of the debate, see Fred Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton/New Jersey: Darwin,1998), 5-31, For new approaches, see for example Majied Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches to the Nasab Tradition: a Study of Marriage and Concubinage in the Tribe of Muḥammad, 500-750CE*" (PhD diss., The University of Edinburgh, 2013), Peter Webb has used literary texts in conjunction with historical ones as well as methodologies from anthropology to re-evaluate Arab identity in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia *Imaging the Arabs: Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015). Following in the footsteps of Crone/Cook's Hagarism, but drastically extending its source base and thereby coming to different insights, Robert G. Hoyland has collected non-Arabic historiographical witnesses to Islam's rise in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton/New Jersey: Darwin, 1997). For initiatives to use material sources in combination with historical sources, see for example on coins Stefan Heidemann, "Numismatics," In *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1: 648-663; on papyri, for example Petra M. Sijpesteijn, "An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the Ḥajj," *JNES* 73, no. 2 (2014): 179-190; Jelle Bruning, "A Legal *Sunna* in *Dhikr Ḥaqqs* from Sufyanid Egypt," *Islamic Law and Society* 22, no. 4 (2015): 352-374; on archaeology, for example Jeremy Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years," *JESHO* 46, no. 4 (2003): 411-436.

[93] Robert G. Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," *BSOAS* 69, no. 3 (2006): 395-416; and see Ilkka Lindstedt's work. He has used inscriptions to study the religious identity in early Islamic period in his article "Who Is in, Who Is out? Early Muslim Identity through Epigraphy and Theory," *JSAI* 46 (2019):147-247.

[94] Robert Hoyland, "The Content and the Context of Early Arabic Inscriptions", *JSAI* 21 (1997): 77-102; Frédéric Imbert, "Le Coran dans les graffiti des deux premiers siècles de l'Hégire," *Arabica* 47 (2000):384-390.

[95] Ilkka Lindstedt, "Religious warfare and martyrdom in Arabic graffiti (70s-110s AH/690s-730s CE)," in *Scripts and Scripture: Writing and Religion in Arabia, 500–700 CE.*, ed. Fred Donner and Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee (Chicago: Oriental Institute, forthcoming).

the inscriptions has been studied.[96] Finally, scholars have turned to the inscriptions for genealogical and social-historical studies related to prosopography. This thesis can be placed in this last category of research.

The genealogy approach can be divided into two types: the first studies families; and the second studies individuals within those families. Five separate research studies have been conducted on families using these epigraphic records. The first is an article by Aḥmad al-Zaylaʿī. The publication offers new insights into the history of the al-Mūsawiyya family, the descendants of ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib, using three gravestones from al-Sirrayn, an archeological site south of Mecca. Two of these were already published in his PhD thesis, but the interesting one is the gravestone for an *amīr* who was not mentioned on the list of al-Sirrayn's governors and which he added.[97] From these tombstones, he was able to identify a member of this family so far unknown in the historical sources. The second article of al-Zaylaʿī discusses the gravestones of the al-ʿUwayd family, namely 12 gravestones from the 3rd/9th to the 6th/12th centuries. Except for one, he had published these inscriptions already in his thesis.[98] Al-Juhaymī's thesis brings together the gravestones of the descendants of al-Ḥasan son of ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib discovered in al-Muʿallā cemetery.[99] This thesis is based on 12 tombstones relating to the descendants of al-Ḥasan son of ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib.[100] Qashshāsh published inscriptions related to Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ, his sons and one grandson. This study is based on six graffiti discovered in the al-Bāḥa region in south Saudi Arabia.

[96] Saad A. al-Rashid, "Qirāʾa jadīda li-naqsh shiʿrī min al-suwārqiyya bi-minṭaqat al-ḥijāz," Kinda 2 (2000):59-72; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān N al-Saʿīd, "al-Nuqūsh al-shiʿriyya al-ṣakhriyya fī al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya wa-qīmatuhā al-adabiyya," *Majallat al-Dāra* 39, no.2 (2013):11-62; the same author "al-Nuqūsh al-shiʿriyya fī kitāb aḥjār al-muʿallā al-shāhidiyya bi-makka al-mukarrama," *Majallat al-Dāra* 43, no. 2 (2017): 65-170.
[97] al-Zaylaʿī, "Aḍwāʾ jadīda," 169-189.
[98] Aḥmad ʿUmar al-Zaylaʿī, "al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mnuqūsha ʿalā shawāhid qubūr usrat āl ʿuwayd: (ḥukkām ʿasham wa-mikhlāfihā wa-ahammiyyatuhā fī tadwīn taʾrīkhuhm," *Majallat kulliyat al-Ādāb* 11, no. 2 (1999): 399-450.
[99] al-Juhaymī, "Nuqūsh islāmiyya".
[100] al-Ḥārithī, *al-Aḥjār al-shāhidiyya al-maḥfūẓa*, 196-203.

The study is incredibly useful in determining the importance of these artefacts because it is currently the only graffito known from a companion of the Prophet.[101] Finally, al-Khthimī published 12 inscriptions relating to the Banū Shayba dating from the 2nd/8th centuries to the 8th/14th centuries; all coming from the cemetery of al-Muʿallā.[102] Other publications have focused on individual historical figures attested in the inscriptions. Al-Ḥārithī studied a gravestone from al-Muʿallā cemetery, related to the great-granddaughter of ʿAmr son of al-ʿĀṣ.[103] Imbert studied inscriptions mentioning caliphs and other royal figures.[104] Adi offered information from historical sources about the individuals appearing in a number of published inscriptions from Saudi Arabia.[105]

All these studies are fundamental and important in showing how related material can be brought together. In this dissertation, the corpus used to study some early Muslim families is wider in terms of chronology and geography. Moreover, my approach to the inscriptions combines multidisciplinary methodologies, while the questions I ask go beyond any of the work that has been done so far on the basis of the inscriptions. It is the approach that is followed in this dissertation that we should turn to next.

1.3. Questions, corpus and structure of the dissertation

In the Ḥijāz and the surrounding regions, a significant number of inscriptions have been found that belong to the first and second generation of followers of the Prophet Muḥammad. These have not, however, been studied systematically. The aims of this dissertation are two-fold. The first goal is

[101] Aḥmad Saʿīd Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl khālid ibn al-ʿāṣ wa-abnāʾuhu fī miṇṭaqat al-bāḥa* (Beirut: Dār al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2015), 35-65.
[102] ʿAbīr Saʿīd Fāḍil al-Khathimī, "*Usrat banī shayba min khilāl shawāhid maqbarat al-muʿallā bi-makka al-mukarrama: dirāsa waṣfiyya taḥlīliyya muqārana*" (MA thesis, King Saud University, 2018).
[103] al-Ḥārithī, "Shāhd qabr," 234-250.
[104] Imbert, "Califes, princes," 59-72.
[105] G. Adi, "*Identifying Individuals*".

methodological: I want to show how inscriptions (graffiti, tombstones and constructions inscriptions) can be used as a historical source. Secondly, based on the epigraphic corpus gathered in this dissertation, I want to make some observations concerning the community of Muslims that inhabited Arabia in the first three centuries of Islam's history. The main questions of this thesis are therefore: *what kind of inscriptions* did the members of four families of descendants of the companions of the prophet Muḥammad produce? Who are they? And, by analyzing the answer to the first question: *why* did they leave inscriptions?

In order to answer these questions I provide a coherent corpus of sound editions of the inscriptions related to the members of four families of descendants of the companions of the prophet Muḥammad in Part Two of the dissertation. In the first part I analyze these inscriptions in terms of contents, form and geographical context in relation to each other and to the Arabic narrative sources. I use the epigraphic record together with information from the historical sources to see how they relate and contrast in their records of the genealogical relations of these early Muslims. Using geographical data about the location of the inscriptions, their position in relation to each other and to the natural and built environment I examine how these inscriptions interact with their surroundings. Analyzing the expressions, words and family relations used for self-identification I examine, finally, what these inscriptions tell us about the epigraphic habit in Islamic Arabia.

In order to answer the core research questions of this dissertation, I collected all known inscriptions related to four families belonging to the earliest generations of Muslims. I chose these families because they are all well represented in the epigraphic and the literary corpus, and played an important role in the earliest history of Islam. The four families whose inscriptions are discussed in the dissertation are organized as follows:

Inscriptions 1.1-9: The descendants of al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī.

Inscriptions 2.1-138: The descendants of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb.

Inscriptions 3.1-89: The descendants of al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām.

Inscriptions 4.1-24: The descendants of Abū ʿAbs.

In this dissertation, I have included published and unpublished inscriptions. I have found the published material by systematically surveying published editions, including unpublished PhD and MA theses. I have examined each edited text using either a photograph of the inscription or the original inscription if I could gain access to it during my fieldwork for which I was granted permission by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage. A list of corrections of edited texts appears in Appendix Two. In Part Two I include all the inscriptions that I will use in this dissertation published and unpublished alike. Most of the material has been gathered during fieldwork, which I carried out in Medina in 2017 and 2018. Additionally, I used one graffito that was given to me after it was discovered during fieldwork caried out under the supervision of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage; another inscription was shared with me by the owner of the private museum in Khaybar called the *Matḥaf Khaybar li-Turāth al-Ābā wa-l-Ajdād.* Three unpublished inscriptions I retrieved from references in al-Rashid's book *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)* (one inscription),[106] and the book of al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā* (two inscriptions).[107] Sixteen more inscriptions were given to me by two famous social media users namely: Mohammed Almoghathawi (@mohammed93athar) who gave me fourteen graffiti and Farīq al-Ṣaḥrāʾ who provided me with two inscriptions.

In total, the corpus consists of 260 inscriptions, related to 106 persons (for an overview of the inscriptions related to each individual, see Appendix Three and Part Two). There are 15

[106] al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 152.
[107] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 14 and 232.

gravestones or epitaphs, and one construction inscription. All of the gravestones have been previously published as indicated in the editions. The majority of the inscriptions, however, are graffiti, namely, 244.

The corpus can be divided into three categories. First there are the inscriptions that were previously published and which have been included here according to their previous publication. This concerns 93 inscriptions. The second category contains texts that I re-edit here due to the fact that the *editio princeps* was incorrect for one or more reasons; for example, because one of the names, the *nisba*, or a date was read incorrectly. This concerns 21 graffiti and one tombstone. Finally, new material consisting of 145 graffiti is included as well.

The first step in identifying members of these above-mentioned families in the inscriptions is through their names. Establishing the name of the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions, identifying them with a member of one of the families and connecting them to a historical record in the narrative sources entails several steps. The first step is to obtain the correct reading of the names in the inscriptions. Indeed, the reading of inscriptions, even though they might only consist of a short text, has led to long academic discussions (see for example in Part Two the re-editions of inscriptions 1.9 and 2.135). Even when the names are correctly read, however, it is sometimes difficult to establish an individual's lineage. Not all inscriptions contain a *nisba* or other unambiguous identity markers. By reading inscriptions relating to one family on one site it is, however, possible to link a specific individual who appears without his full lineage to related individuals. It seems that family members had often added their names to places where some of their ancestors or contemporary relatives had placed their name. So, even though most individuals in our corpus of inscriptions omitted their last name (*nisba*) or other identity markers, when comparing them with the inscriptions appearing nearby it was possible to identify them as

members of the same family, see for example Chapter Two, section 2.2.1. Interestingly, some individuals who have left several inscriptions do not use the same (list of) names and other identifiers in each text. In other words, in one text they might use their name and the name of their father only, while in another place they use several names in addition. This is further discussed in Chapter Five. The families that are studied in the dissertation belong all to the higher social classes because of their famous ancestor(s). Descendants of important figures often also obtained dominant positions in society as governors, judges, etc., as we know from a variety of sources. At the same time, not all members of these families, which could indeed be rather extensive, were equally placed at the same high social status. Those less historically remarkable family members could still leave their names in a graffito. Their gravestone might have been preserved, or they were mentioned in other texts.

The starting point of the dissertation is the epigraphic record. The point of the thesis is to examine what was written down on stone, related to the members of the families mentioned above. This is why the inscriptions, the information contained in them, and their relation to their archaeological, geographical, and epigraphic context form the basis on which the analysis stands. The literary sources provide additional information about the people mentioned in the inscriptions and the conditions provided by the inscriptions.

This dissertation combines different disciplines and their related methodologies. Epigraphy is applied to read the inscriptions correctly. The results of this are the editions that form Part Two of the dissertation. In my editions I followed methods developed by epigraphists, papyrologists and other document editors indicating unclear or unreadable letters and passages, lacunae in the text and possible solutions thereof and miswritings with a set of standardized special characters (see note on editions, and transliterations) in my editions.

As an organizing tool, the dissertation makes use of *prosopography*. Recent works in Islamic studies have successfully made use of the Arabic literary sources for prosopography studies.[108] But what does prosopography mean in this dissertation? Asad Ahmed provides the following definition" prosopography, [is] defined as the study of individuals insofar as they belong to groups, falls back generally on two genres in the Arabo-Islamic tradition: compilations of notices on individuals classed into any number of categories ranging from wise men and philosophers to transmitters of Prophetic Sayings and legal scholars (generally the *Ṭabaqāt* genre); and genealogies that generally had their roots in tribal sociopolitics (*Kutub al-ansāb*)."[109] Prosopography is taken here to mean the collective study of a group of historical actors. Indeed, my first step was to gather information about the individuals belonging to the four families under study and who appear in inscriptions in all historical sources available to me extending over ten generations. The results of these findings are presented in Chapter Three. Next, I compared the information from the epigraphic with the narrative record to analyze any differences in these two types of historical records. This led to Chapter Four where I focused on those individuals who are attested in the epigraphic record but who are missing from the narrative sources, trying to explain the discrepancy in historical written memory of these individuals.

Here, it is worth mentioning that the study of genealogy has not received adequate attention in the field of Arabic epigraphy, contrary to historical studies that have been the topic of great interest over the last twenty years. For example, in this regard, the relevant publications are limited to a small number of inscriptions. In addition, scholars usually focus on the elite, who held high positions during their lifetime. Moreover, this type of work only focuses on the findings in one

[108] See Asad Q. Ahmed, *The Religious Elite of the Early Islamic Ḥijāz: Five Prosopographical case studies* (Oxford: Linacre College Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2011); Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*".
[109] Ahmed, *The Religious*, 3-4.

area or one cemetery, without looking for the other related family members. For example, the study of Banī Shayba was limited to the findings about this family in the cemetery at Mecca.[110] However, three further inscriptions about this family have been found in the region of Mecca outside the cemetery and were published already 23 years ago.[111]

Methods from archaeology were applied when examining the inscriptions in the context of their geographical and built environment during fieldwork trips. In 2017 I visited the sites Muzj Ruwāwa, Khfiya al-Bardiya and Al-Ṣuwaydira. In 2018 I visited Muzj, Ruwāwa, Khfiya, Ṭarīq al-Ḥamāṭ and Jabal al-Makaymin. Information about the use of the environment (for husbandry such as grazing, agricultural or religious activities, such as the *ḥajj*,) was used to explain the presence of inscriptions. Natural surroundings such as the presence of (seasonal) water ways, as well as man-built structures such as wells and roads were included in the description of the location of the inscriptions to understand better their presence and location.

Historical methods were applied in different ways. When gathering information from Arabic narrative sources (about places and people) I used historiographical methods to evaluate the historical references. I turned to socio-history in the last chapter of the dissertation, where I use the ways in which individuals identified themselves in their inscriptions for a better understanding of the society that produced these inscriptions. I also applied the concept of the epigraphic habitus originally developed by classical historians to examine *why* these people left inscriptions.

This dissertation is divided into two parts. Part Two consists of an edition of the texts that the dissertation is based on. Part One aims to show how inscriptions, when grouped in meaningful ways and read not in isolation but in combination with their environment, can be used as a source

[110] al-Khathimī, "*Usrat banī Shayba*," 3-4.
[111] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka*, 111, 142 and 159.

for history writing. This introduction in Chapter One, tried to provide an overview of the history of the field of Arabic epigraphy. It also discussed the main research questions of the dissertations and the applied methodologies.

Chapter Two traces the steps of identifying the inscriptions that form the corpus under study. It discusses the criteria and methods that were applied to select the materials. I also provide a geographical overview of where the inscriptions can be found, and how the corpus can be dated. In Chapter Three I discuss the four families of descendants of the companions of the prophet Muḥammad combining information from the narrative sources and the inscriptions. I only discuss here those family members who are attested in the inscriptions, only discussing the most famous ancestors or founders of the families. In Chapter Three I also introduce the literary sources providing information on the individual family members from biographical dictionaries, chronicles and other narrative sources. I discuss the discrepancies between the narrative sources and epigraphic records and show where the two types of sources overlap.

Chapter Four builds on the above information, but focusses on the individuals who are attested in the inscriptions but who do not appear in the historical record as preserved in narrative sources. In this chapter we will discuss and try to explain how this discrepancy between the graffiti and the historical narrative sources could have come into existence.

Chapter Five stands apart as I use the information from the inscriptions themselves and their surroundings to answer the question of how people gave shape to the words they left chiseled in stone and thus to understand *why* they left inscriptions. To this aim I focus first on the contents of the inscriptions. I examine the words and expressions used, including references to literary and religious texts as well as the letter shapes and writing. A second area of examination are the ways in which the individuals in the inscriptions identified themselves: what ancestors did they list, did

they use *laqab*'s "epithet" or first names, titles or other identity markers? Finally, I look at the inscriptions in relation to their environment: where were the inscriptions placed on the rocks or stones that they appear on, where were the rocks located and what other inscriptions appear nearby?

In the conclusion I combine the information from the different chapters and discuss what this information tells us about the society of Muslims living in Arabia in the early Islamic period. I also revisit the question of how these inscriptions can be used to answer questions about history.

Chapter Two: Selecting and interpreting the corpus

2.1. Introduction

Christian Robin very well described the historical significance of the graffiti despite their brief content, intention, or message. He says:

> "Graffiti are small texts carved by non-professionals. They are found in large numbers on rocks near sanctuaries in the countryside and steppe, in the areas where shepherds would graze their flocks, and finally, along certain thoroughfares, particularly at the edge of the most desolate desert. In general, they are very brief documents yielding the identity of the pilgrim, the shepherd or the traveller. All of these people have two names: the author's personal name and that of his father, with for the upper segments of society, also that of the lineage. Details of activity or origin are rare; pilgrims normally add a brief religious formula. The main interest of graffiti is in the light they shed on social classes and the populations who have generally not left any other inscriptions. They demonstrate, first of all, that the practice of writing was widespread. They also reveal a significant variance in the local form of writings."[112]

While this annotation is made in relation to graffiti in general, it can be well applied to Arabic ones. Arabic inscriptions contain also short texts, consisting mainly of names and pious formulae. Many of the individuals mentioned in the Arabic graffiti, even, as we will see below, some who belonged to well-known and important families, remain unmentioned in the record.

This chapter offers a detailed introduction to the epigraphic corpus that forms the source base of this dissertation. It explains how I have identified the inscriptions that mention members of the

[112] Christian Julien Robin, "Before Ḥimyar: Epigraphic Evidence for the Kingdoms of South Arabia," in *Arabs and Empires before Islam*, ed. Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 92.

four families of descendants of the companions of the prophet Muḥammad. I will explain my search and selection criteria. Subsequently, I will identify the methods I use to extrapolate information from this corpus. Finally, a detailed discussion of the geographical locations where the inscriptions were found including a map, and a presentation on how the material can be dated complete the chapter.

The epigraphic corpus in this dissertation is based on the individuals mentioned in them, not on the genre of text or the form it takes. Graffiti, constructions or monumental inscriptions as well as gravestones are considered equally for prosopographic and epigraphic purposes. For the historical analysis, however, it is of course very relevant to take into account the different social contexts of each type. Monumental inscriptions and gravestones have survived in much smaller numbers than graffiti. Our corpus is more or less representative with 15 gravestones as opposed to 244 graffiti, and one foundational inscription.

2.2. Establishing the corpus

Before discussing the process whereby I selected the inscriptions that form the source base of this dissertation, it is necessary to provide an overview of how I have identified the individual names appearing in the inscriptions. To put it differently, I will highlight how I have matched the names mentioned in the inscriptions with historical figures or individuals mentioned in other inscriptions. In order to identify properly the individuals recorded in the inscriptions, it is of paramount importance to make sure we read the names correctly. While examining the readings and commentaries offered by previous scholars, I have been able to correct several readings in the corpus of edited inscriptions, allowing me to identify individuals, and to connect them to the historical records (see Appendix Two).

2.2.1. Identifiers and identifying

One of the most striking aspects of these inscriptions is the genealogical presentation. Some texts record only one generation, while others can have up to eleven generations. These long genealogies are found mostly on the gravestone (see Appendix Three), the family mentions in the graffiti tend to be shorter. Sometimes, the same individual appears in several graffiti found very near to one another, with some inscriptions either mentioning their first name only, while others also mention the *nasab* up to several generations. In some cases it is possible to ascertain that the names functioned as signatures in graffiti, even if the way an individual wrote his last name differed in each inscription (inscriptions 2.37-38 and 2.135-136). Normally, the first name is followed by the last name, but in our corpus there is one exception, whereby the order is reversed and the last name is placed first in the sentence structure (inscription 3.72). *Nisba*s in the inscriptions indicate tribal or family associations and are only very rarely used to describe a geographical, religious, or professional background. This use of *nisba*s would become the customary later on and in different contexts, like the religious and geographical *nisba* we find in papyri and which became popular from the 3rd/9th century onwards.[113]

When trying to identify the individuals named in our inscriptions and to match them with historical figures, our first concern is to understand how individuals referred to themselves in early Arabic inscriptions from Arabia, and what these references signify. Individuals that appear in the inscriptions generally can be identified first of all the person's name. This part of the inscription consists of their first name and their lineages, i.e. the name of their fathers, grand-fathers, great-

[113] For studying religious *nisba* in papyri see Petra Sijpesteijn, "Visible Identities: in Search of Egypt's Jews in Early Islamic Egypt," in *Israel in Egypt the land of Egypt as Concept and Reality for Jews in antiquity and the Early Medieval Period*, ed. Alison Salvesen, Sarah Pearce and Mirian Frenkel (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 424-440.

grand-fathers and so on. Occasionally their *laqab*, or epithet is mentioned. The *nisba*, often translated as the last name, which can either indicate a tribal affiliation (al-Qurayshī) or family relation (al-Zubayrī), is another part of the name that is sometimes mentioned in the Arabic inscriptions, and this can help us to recognize a person.[114] In a small number of cases, a profession or other indication of social status is mentioned. All this information is mostly given in constructions inscription and gravestones.

To identify people in the epigraphic record, I have applied four methods. The epigraphic records show that people mostly signed their names listing several generations, to make it virtually impossible to find two people with the exact identical identification. In other words, the way these individuals identify themselves in the inscriptions makes their identity unique. See, for example, Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscriptions 2.37-38) who appears in two graffiti dated 96/714-715 and 100/718-719 found in Medina, and who can be identified with certainty thanks to his genealogical line. Identifying people by their name and genealogy is the first method I applied.

Sometimes, however, individuals appear only with a shortened version of their name or only with their first name. This greatly complicates their identification as they can be easily confused with other individuals who have the same (partial) name in the epigraphic and literary record. Take for instance Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr, who appears in (inscription 3.58) from al-ʿUlā. There were in fact three people with this name known from the historical records (see the discussion in Chapter Three, section 3.5.3). Another example from the 2nd/8th century, are the two brothers with the same name who belonged to the family of ʿUmar. A graffito written by ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.32) thus opens two options for identification: ʿUmar al-Akbar or ʿUmar al-

[114] There are no geographical *nisbas* in our corpus.

Aṣghar, the older or younger respectively (see the discussion in Chapter Three, section 3.4.1). How is it possible to identify these individuals?

There are three ways through which we can connect such individuals who appear in the inscriptions with only a limited number of unique onomastic characteristics to identify figures from the historical record or from other inscriptions. First, we use the Arabian epigraphic habit of the time. Data show that inscriptions were generally inscribed in the same places, indicating a continued frequenting of areas for grazing, travelling or spending free time often by related individuals (see Chapter Five, section 5.6.3.1). This means that members of the same family or tribe, including dependents such as clients and slaves, left written memories in the same place. In fact, we can find up to 20 texts related to one family in the same place. For example, in Ruwāwa and Muzj (see section 2.4 on geography below) graffiti related to the same individual, or to those connected through family ties appear next to each other (see Chapter Five, section 5.6.3.1and Part Two for more details).

In Ruwāwa, three generations of the branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar posted inscriptions. So the grandson of ʿUmar, ʿUbayd Allāh (inscription 2.1), his two sons, ʿUthmān (inscriptions 2.2-7) and Abū Salama (inscriptions 2.19-21), as well as the two sons of ʿUthmān Abū Bakr (inscriptions 2.8-13) and Ḥafṣ (inscriptions 2.14-18) all left their inscriptions in the same place (more details in Chapter Three, section 3.4.1 and Chapter Five, section 5.6.3.3).

A second example comes from Muzj, where inscriptions from the Zubayrid family are found. Two branches of the descendants of ʿAbd Allāh through his sons Ḥamza and ʿAbbād. Besides that, the branch of ʿUrwa also exists there. For example, Yaḥyā son of ʿAbbād (inscription 3.2) and his son Isḥāq (inscriptions 3.3-4), as well as his great grandson Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā (inscriptions 3.5-6) left their inscriptions in the same place (see Part Two).

Interestingly, some of these inscriptions record only the first name, while others contain the names of the father, grandfather, and further relations extending over several generations. In this way, individuals signing with a partially identifiable name can be linked to the same individuals or their relatives who used more extensive self-identifications in the writings that appear nearby. It seems in fact that when members of the same family placed their inscriptions next to each other, later inscriptions left out the *nisba*, presumably because those leaving their inscriptions next to those of family members listing extensive self-identifications, believed that one mention was sufficient. We find this pattern for example in the graffiti left by the two brothers ʿAtīq (inscriptions 3.31-33) and ʿĀmir (inscription 3.34) sons of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā al-Zubayrī. On the same rock of these texts, their cousin ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAtīq son of Ṣaddīq left an inscription (inscription 3.30), but without mentioning his full *nisba*. This phenomenon was particularly prevalent in the first four centuries of the Hijra /7th-10th century. The inscriptions show that in some places, individuals belonging to the same family added their names next to the inscriptions left by other members, using a limited lineage or none at all. However, in those cases where one individual has used an extensive self-identification listing several generations, can help us to identify the entire branch. This is the case with the descendants of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad, who belongs to the branch of al-Mundhir of al-Zubayr. His grandson, ʿUmāra son of Ibrāhīm (inscription 3.41), left a graffito with his *nisba*. Without ʿUmāra's graffito we would not have been able to identify his son, father, two uncles, or his two cousins who also left inscriptions next to his (see inscriptions 3. 40-48). Another example is formed by the texts around that of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.1-8). Six members of his family left their inscriptions on the same site with differing degrees of identification and lineage. This all indicates the significance of the archaeological context.

The second method to identify individuals who appear in the inscriptions with only a limited number of unique onomastic characteristics, is to use the information from the literary sources about a place and those who are associated with it as based on residence or other activities. If we know from the literary sources that generation after generation a certain family resided in the same place, it helps us to identify the individuals mentioned in inscriptions. For example, according to the literary sources the descendants of ʿUmar lived in Medina for many generations. In the inscriptions we find the graffito of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of al-Fārūq (inscription 2.41) who left graffito in a site not far from that of his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. Combining the knowledge from the literary sources and the additional information based on 'proximity' of inscriptions, we can identify this ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of al-Fārūq as the great-grandsons ʿUmar with a very high degree of probability, even though he omitted his grandfather's name ʿĀṣim.

Finally, the practice of individuals of lower social rank to establish a link with members of a higher social order can help us identify both parties. For example, the word *mawlā* (freedman or client) appears almost always with an indication of the patron or former slave-owner. Sometimes, a specific individual is mentioned; in other cases, a tribe or other social group is referred to. Take for example, "Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb, *mawlā* of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.51)" if Ḥabīb had used his bare name without referring to his (*walāʾ)* bond with ʿUrwa, it would have been difficult to identify him. Occasionally, the title that appears in one inscription is absent in another. An example is Rabīʿ, who once signed as *fatā* (slave boy) (inscription 2.113) of ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and left another three inscriptions without this identifier (inscriptions 2.114-116) this identification based on his handwriting.

2.2.2. The corpus

In the last decades, hundreds of early Islamic-Arabic inscriptions have been identified and edited, and new ones continue to be discovered daily (see Chapter One, section 1.2). As I intend to study certain aspects of Arabian epigraphy, it is my intention to select a cohesive body of texts from among this vast set of data. I have done this by identifying inscriptions related to four families, which also appear in the historical record.

In my research, I have become interested in examining the writings of historical figures from the first four centuries of Islam, i.e. to search for inscriptions mentioning the Companions (*ṣaḥāba,* sing. *ṣāḥib*) of the Prophet Muḥammad and their descendants. This includes members of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh to which Muḥammad belonged and the *anṣār* (Muḥammad's allies) in Medina. I started with the published editions of al-Rashid,[115] al-Kilābī,[116] and Qashshāsh.[117] Whenever I identified a Companion or descendant of a Companion in an edition, I examined all other edited and unedited inscriptions from the same place. The archaeological and epigraphic reports by the Saudi archaeological service in the periodical *Atlal* were especially useful. In this way, I worked my way through the articles dealing with the area around Medina looking for inscriptions related to the descendants of ʿUmar and al-Zubayr.[118] Eventually, I have examined all editions of Arabic inscriptions from Arabia as they appeared in books and articles as well as archaeological and survey reports. As mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.2, due to the dynamics of the field of Arabian epigraphy, the corpus of known inscriptions is constantly being adjusted. As surveys and archaeological work continue to be conducted, the number of inscriptions

[115] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, and see *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*.
[116] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 244.
[117] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 55-65.
[118] Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," 96.

continues to expand. I have also used unpublished inscriptions that were brought to my attention in the surveys of the Saudi archaeological service, but also, I found unpublished inscriptions via social media and a website.[119] In total I have edited 145 unpublished inscriptions in Part Two of the dissertation. However, as my focus is on the Arabian Peninsula, I chose my sources accordingly. So even though there exists a gravestone related to a person belonging to the Zubayrid family I did not include it in my research, because it was found in Egypt, and as such fell outside the scope of this dissertation.[120] Finally, I have limited my search to inscriptions dating from between the 1st/7th century and the beginning of the 4th/10th. In fact I have not found any inscriptions dating from after this period (see table 1 below) related to these four families.

All in all, I have studied a total of 260 inscriptions (see Part Two of the dissertation) that record 106 different-named individuals belonging to four families of Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad and their descendants dating to the first four centuries of Islam. 115 inscriptions were already published, although I was able to correct a substantial number of the readings (see Appendix Two). The individuals who appear in the inscriptions and the four families they belong to are dealt with in Chapter Three.

2.3. Disciplinary methodologies

Through the methods described in the previous section, I have identified the inscriptions belonging to four families dating to the first four centuries of Islam's history. When identifying persons belonging to the same family, I have looked at (1) their name their patronymic and lineage, (2) indication of their social status or profession, (3) their *laqab* "epithet", and (4) their *nisba*. I have

[119] I took the photos from Mohammed Almoghathawi (URL https://twitter.com/mohammed93athar, last accessed October 7, 2020); and Farīq al-Saḥrāʾ (URL: http://alsahra.org, last accessed October 7,2020). with a permission from the Saudi commission.

[120] Madeleine Schneider, *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des iles Dahlak (Mer rouge)* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1983), 1: 165-166.

also used the location where the inscription was found to connect them to other individuals or families. The families and individuals thus identified in the inscriptions could be matched to information from the literary sources.

In searching for information on the families mentioned in the inscriptions and in literary sources, I have paid particular attention to lineage and geographical information; our historical literary sources give us some information about the people who had lived in certain places. It is historically enriching when one finds the inscriptions of these people or their descendants near to the places that literary sources mention as their place of residence. Take for example, al-Wahaṭ cemetery in Ṭāʾif, where some gravestones of the descendants of ʿAmr son of al-ʿĀṣ were found, while literary sources confirm a connection between this family and Ṭāʾif.[121]

A prerequisite for people to carve their names in stone, would be that they at some point resided in the area where they did so. So while on the one hand literary sources, as explained above, can help us to identify individuals with a limited amount of onomastic characteristics, the equation in fact works two ways: A comparison of the information found in the inscriptions, which pre-date the literary sources and which are contemporary to the age in which the people carving them lived, helps us to evaluate the literary sources as well. The presence of inscriptions by certain individuals in a particular area, is a strong indicator that the people mentioned by the literary sources to have resided in that area, were indeed historical figures that actually lived in the places that the literary sources indicate. As we shall see, this comparison will be the subject of the next two chapters.

In addition to the information from the surrounding inscriptions, knowledge about which family resided in or frequented a place, also helps us establish the identity of the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions.

[121] Grohmann, *Expédition Philby- Ryckmans- Lippens*, 34.

Moreover, the epigraphic sources help us not only to identify individuals through the information contained about the place of residence of these families, but they also provide other historical information enriching our understanding of these individuals' movements throughout the region. For example, ʿUmar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid son of Muḥammad son of Zayd son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.28) was known to have functioned as a governor in Yemen and to have lived there. His gravestone was, however, found in Mecca, which suggests he died when performing his *ʿumra* or *ḥajj* or when he was performing some other business in the city. This information on his moving between Yemen and the Ḥijāz is lacking from the narrative sources.

So while the corpus of inscriptions mentioned above forms the focus of this dissertation, biographical works and other literary texts which provide useful information on the biographies of the four families, form an important additional source throughout this work. As will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters, the onomastic records of the literary sources and those of the inscriptions do not exactly coincide. Chapter Three will discuss the information that can be gleaned from the literary sources about the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions. I have also produced family trees of the families, combining information from the literary sources and the inscriptions. Here, I will also discuss any discrepancies in the ways individuals are identified. Most notably, while literary sources mention all generations of a person as they are known, inscriptions generally attest only a few, with a maximum of up to eleven generations. Chapter Four will discuss persons that appear in the inscriptions, but who are left unmentioned by the literary sources. Similarly, I will discuss any dependents of the families, such as freedmen/clients (mawālī) who appear in the inscriptions, and I will add information on whether they are known through any literary records. In analyzing the onomastic material, I have taken inspiration from the work of Asad Ahmed and

Majied Robinson on the earliest generations of Muslims based on biographical dictionaries focusing on the maternal side of the Prophet's tribe. Asad Ahmed studied the five of six families whose ancestors were part of the *shūrā* after the death of ʿUmar, except the descendants of al-Zubayr.[122] Robinson focused on the marriage customs between 500-750 of the Quraysh, the tribe that the Prophet belonged to.[123] I have used the Muslim sources, as we will see in Chapter Three, section 3.2 only as a source of information on the families who appear in the inscriptions, not analyzing the information from the *nasab* works themselves.

2.3.1. Obstacles and open endings?

Some problems that I have encountered when comparing the material in the inscriptions and that in the literary sources are listed in Chapter Three, section 3.2, together with my proposed solutions. First, there is the issue of the identification of individuals who appear with shortened, incomplete, or varied names in the inscriptions compared to the literary record (see Chapter Three, section 3.5.5, for unidentified Zubayrids). This makes it easy to confuse people. I have already suggested above, in section 2.1, that I think it is possible to establish more certainty about these individuals even when their names are incomplete from the geographical and epigraphic context – the place where they were discovered and the other inscriptions that were found near them.

The second problem concerns the limited text that these inscriptions contain and how this affects their use as historical data. Onomastics has been a long- and well-established discipline in epigraphy, but by studying the information from the inscriptions within a broader context, much more can be gained from them then merely names. I have in addition used these inscriptions for the information they contain about the ways Muslims in ancient Arabia composed and executed

[122] Those are the descendants of Saʿd son of Abū Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son ʿAwf, Ṭalḥa son of ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿUthmān son of ʿAffān and ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib see Ahmed, *The Religious*, 1.
[123] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*,"19-21.

these writings on stone in public. I have studied the so-called epigraphic habit by examining what people wrote and where they wrote it. In other words, I have looked at the names – *laqab*s or epithets, first names and patronymics. Additionally I have analyzed how many generations were mentioned, whether some were skipped or all listed in order; what indicators of profession or social status were used; which religious formulae people used; and whether they added dates or not. Furthermore, I have looked at the places where people left their inscriptions in relation to where other inscriptions were located, and in which places they chose to write their messages – e.g. on high or low rocks, loose stones, in valleys or on mountains; near the road, or hidden from sight.

Combining information from inscriptions and historical sources has the danger in it to develop into a circular argument – I use the historical sources to identify the people mentioned in the inscriptions and then I use the inscriptions to verify the information recorded in the historical sources. To prevent such interdependence between the two kinds of sources, I have always used a combination of information to identify individuals. In other words, I have combined the information from the inscriptions themselves, from surrounding inscriptions *and* from the literary sources both biographical data about families and historical data about the places where an individual was active and what kind of positions he fulfilled.

2.4. The geographical outlines

Islamic-era inscriptions can be found in a number of Arab/ Muslim countries today. Especially in Saudi Arabia, where surveys continue to be carried out, there has been a marked increase in the number of inscriptions that have been uncovered; especially the so-called *graffiti* found in the desert. Graffiti are mostly found along the ancient *ḥajj* routes and around cities. They are also discovered in the areas where people spent time for leisure or work such as valleys, rivulets, in the mountains, and on spots close to water wells.

The discoveries in Saudi Arabia were accelerated by the establishment of the Independent Commission for Archaeology (formally Deputy Ministry of Antiquities and Museums) in 1972.[124] Increasing attention has already resulted in many new discoveries, as well as studies and editions of already identified inscriptions. So far, the focus has been in the regions of Mecca, Medina, al-ʿUlā, and Ṭāʾif, as well as Tabūk, al-Bāḥa, and – more specifically – the areas of Najrān, Skākā, and Ḥāʾil. In Khaybar, no systematic work has been conducted. Recently, al-Namāṣ in the south of the Saudi Arabia has been the subject of surveys by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.[125]

The inscriptions dealt with in this dissertation stem from different regions on the Arabian Peninsula, extending from the north to the south. In the following lines I will provide more details about the geographical information of the sites where the inscriptions are found.

Most of the inscriptions, graffiti, and epitaphs discussed in this dissertation come from Medina, ancient Yathrib, these places as follow:

Ruwāwa, a rivulet (Ar. *ghadīr*) located between two mountains, is found to the south of Medina on the modern road from Medina to Mecca and Jeddah. According to al-Bakrī, the water from Ruwāwa usually overflowed.[126] The site was first studied by al-Rashid in his publication in 1993 were he published 55 graffiti.[127] Later on the site was surveyed twice by the "Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage" at that time "Department of Antiquities and Museums", in 1999[128] and 2002.[129] The site is home to more than 310 graffiti, all in Arabic.[130]

[124] al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 11.
[125] ʿAwaḍ ʿAlī al-Zahrānī et al., "Taqrīr ʿan masḥ muḥāfaẓat al-namāṣ 1430AH/2010CE," *Atlal* 23 (2013): 121-125.
[126] al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 4: 1328.
[127] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 106.
[128] al-Zahrānī et al., "Taqrīr mabdʾī," 72.
[129] Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," 96-97.
[130] al-Zahrānī et al., "Taqrīr mabdʾī," 72, and see Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," 96-97.

Indeed, in 2017, when I visited the site, the water on the site was low. However, during my second field trip in 2018, the site had flooded. On March the 28th 2014, Tanḍiyab al-Fāidī published an article in the newspaper *ṣaḥīfat al-Madīna*. In his article, he mentioned Ruwāwa among several places in and around Medina that are related to famous companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. He writes also that Ruwāwa used to be called *Bādiyat Āl al-Khaṭṭāb wa-maṣāyifihim*: "Steppe and summer residence of the family of al-Khaṭṭāb" al-Fāidī based his article on the inscriptions which had been discovered.[131]

I have visited Ruwāwa three times during my fieldwork; twice in January 2017, and again in January 2018. In 2018, the place was full of water due to the rain season and I was not able to examine all inscriptions *in situ*, that is why I have based my study of some inscriptions on photographs. I should mention that two of the graffiti discovered by al-Rashid's were not located during the survey (inscriptions 2.89 and 90), Interestingly, there are three graffiti discovered at the site that mention the name of the place itself. Following the publication of al-Rashid's book in 1993, Ruwāwa a fence was erected around the site, because it immediately became to be considered one of the most important epigraphic sites in Medina. Furthermore, there is only one example of rock art. There is a relatively large number of early dated inscriptions, the earliest ones being dated to the year 96/714-715,[132] 100/718-719,[133] 100/718-719,[134] 114/732-733, 120/ 737-738, and two dated to the year 121/738-739.[135] All these earliest inscriptions will be used in this dissertation.

[131] Tanḍiyab al-Fāidī, " Ruwāwa bādiyat āl al-khaṭṭāb wa-maṣāyifihim," *Ṣaḥīfat al-Madīna*, March 28, 2014, https://www.al-madina.com/article/294641.
[132] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 83-86; Imbert, "*L'Islam des pierres*," 1: 80-81.
[133] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 98-100.
[134] This one published by al-Rashid without the date see al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 61-62.
[135] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 56-58 and 93-95, Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," plate 5.4 c.

In this dissertation 137 inscriptions from the corpus are located in Ruwāwa of which 37 texts were already published by al-Rashid (see Part Two). The inscriptions contain names belonging to the ʿUmarī and Zubayrid families. Indeed, according to the literary sources, the ʿUmarī and Zubayrid families owned estates or farms close to Ruwāwa.[136]

Muzj, Mujaz, is another rivulet locality south of Medina and is part of the Wādī al-ʿAqīq. These two names were used interchangeably (in Part Two I use Muzj to refer to this location). The first name was the one predominantly used in Arabic medieval sources.[137] The second name was used by the inhabitants of the city. The site is not far from Ruwāwa, 22 texts have been discovered there, 20 of which are related to the Zubayrid family, and 2 to the ʿUmar family. Among these inscriptions there is one graffito dated to the year 207/822-823 that will be published in this dissertation. Three of the 21 inscriptions are published by Askūbī and his team.[138] I have visited the site twice in January 2017 and 2018. In 2017 there was no water, but the following year, the visit took place during the wet season, as a result of which the terrain differed significantly (see Chapter Five, figure 20).

One inscription in our corpus was discovered in Khfiya south of Medina. There are more Arabic texts found in this place, as well as some "Thamudic" ones. The place is not far from the two previous locations. The Arabic inscription discussed in this dissertation can be found at a distance of 20 to 30 meters from a water well. I visited the site twice in 2017 and 2018.

In al-Bardiya, four inscriptions that I included in the current corpus were found, one of these inscriptions was given to me by Mohammed Almoghathawi (@mohammed93athar) (inscription 2.122). I visited the site during my first fieldwork trip in 2017. Five other Arabic texts from the

[136] al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 4: 1328.
[137] Ibid., 4: 1121-1122.
[138] Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," plate 5:13.

same period were found there, that I will not discuss in this dissertation as they are not related to the families that form the core of this research.

South of Medina, not far from the sites of Mujz and Ruwāwa, is a place called Ṭarīq al-Ḥamāṭ, where two of the inscriptions in our corpus were found. The site is known to medieval Muslim geographers as a part of the Wādī al-ʿAqīq, and they called it al-Ḥamāṭ or Rawḍat al-Ḥamāṭ.[139] I have visited the site during my 2018 fieldwork trip, but I only found one graffito (inscription 3.19). The photo of the graffito (inscription 2.41) was given to me by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.

Al-Suwārqiyya is a village located south of Medina on the highway between Mecca and Medina. One inscription from this site will be used in this dissertation. The text was published by al-Rashid in 1980[140] and again in 1995.[141] The site is located about 180 kilometres southeast of Medina. According to al-Bakrī, it was a village during his time.[142] I did not have the chance to visit the site.

Jabal al-Makaymin is a mountain located on the edge of the main road in Medina between the ʿUrwa well and Dhū al-Ḥalīfa.[143] The mountain is known as being a part of Wādī al-ʿAqīq.[144] Two graffiti in our corpus originate from this site, which I have visited in January 2018.

Al-Ṣuwaydira is today a village located about 62 kilometres east of Medina. The village might have been located along the Darb Zubayda, the famous pilgrimage road from Iraq to Mecca. However, it was mentioned for the first time only in a Mamluk source.[145] As has been mentioned

[139] ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ bi-akhbār dār al-Musṭafā*, ed. Khālid ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥfūẓ (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2006), 4: 85.
[140] al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah: the Pilgrim*, 242-243.
[141] al-Rashid, *Darb zubayda ṭarīq*, 420-421.
[142] al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 3: 764-765.
[143] Ghālī Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shingīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī maʿālim dār al-rusūl al-amīn ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam* (Jeddah/ Beirut: Dār al-Qibla lil-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya/Muʾassasat ʿUlūm al-Qurʾan, 1992), 248-249.
[144] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), 5:188.
[145] al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 2: 183.

in Chapter One, the site was discovered by ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī.[146] Al-Rashid has suggested that it might be the ancient village referred to as Ṭaraf in sources pre-dating Mamluk times.[147] Some evidence indeed indicates that it was already inhabited or cultivated in the early Islamic period. Al-Rashid mentions some archeological remains that are thought to belong to the early centuries of the Hijra.[148] It seems that some of the texts were carved by the original inhabitants, and others by travelers in the region, because it was one of the *ḥajj* route stations. I visited the site in February 2017, but unfortunately the visit was cut short due to some circumstances preventing the representative of the Saudi antiquities services to accompany me. As al-Rashid mentioned part of the *wādī* where the inscriptions were found has become a cultivated area.[149]

One inscription in our corpus comes from al-Sāybiyya, known to the Muslim geographers as Biʾr al-Sāʾib.[150] It was surveyed by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage during the northeast Medina survey in 2008. According to the Askūbī team report, some remains of a building were found in this area.[151]

The Medina Museum holds some epitaphs relevant to this research that were published by al-Moraekhi in 1995. These tombstones were found in a place called al-Qāḥa, which is located southeast of Medina. According to al-Ḥamawī al-Qāḥa, this was a three-day journey (*thalātha marāḥil*) from Medina.[152] However, the names that appear on the tombstones are related to Medina. For example, ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Isḥāq son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of

[146] al-Anṣārī, *Bayna al-āthār*, 138.
[147] al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 18.
[148] Ibid., 23.
[149] Ibid., 24.
[150] al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 4: 21-22; see al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 217.
[151] Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya shamāl," 120.
[152] al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 290.

Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr was a resident of Medina as were his forefathers. The same is suggested for a number of inscriptions in this corpus.[153]

Wādī al-Furaysh is located 40 kilometres west of Medina around the site known by al-Bakrī.[154] It has been surveyed twice; once by the Japanese scholar Mutsuo Kawatoko,[155] and another time by the Saudi Commission mission in 2004.[156] Three graffiti that were found there will be also included in this dissertation: the one mentioned above was published in *Atlal*, while two others have not yet been published and were sent to me by Mohammed Almoghathawi.[157]

The site of al-Raghāyib, west of Medina, has been surveyed by the Askūbī team.[158] Seven graffiti will be published from this site referring to the same person. The photos were given to me by Mohammed Almoghathawi.[159]

Al-ʿUwaiyyna is located north of Medina around 10 kilometres. According to al-Rashid, the place was part of the Darb Zubayda.[160] Two graffiti in this corpus come from this area. One of these two graffiti looks semi-official because it mentions a *ṣāḥib al-majlis*, someone in charge of the council. Both graffiti belong to two persons from the family of ʿUmar and can be dated to the 2nd/8th century.[161] I did not get a chance to visit this site.

Wādī Ḍubūʿa is located about 20 kilometers west of Medina. The site was initially visited by al-Rashid, who reported that the site contains remains of agricultural cultivation as well as some water wells. According to the Muslim geographers, the place was known from the time of the

[153] al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 25, and 38-51.
[154] al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 4: 1259.
[155] Kawatoko, "Archaeological Survey," 45-69.
[156] Khālid Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya gharb al-madīna al-munawwara mawsim ʿām 1424AH/2004 CE," *Atlal* 20 (2010): 111.
[157] Mohammed Almoghathawi (URL https://twitter.com/mohammed93athar, last accessed 7th October 2020).
[158] Askūbī et al., "Al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya gharb,"111-112.
[159] Mohammed Almoghathawi (URL https://twitter.com/mohammed93athar, last accessed 7th October 2020).
[160] al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 139.
[161] Ibid., 147 and 153.

Prophet.[162] Only one graffito from this site, which was previously published by al-Rashid,[163] will be republished.

Jabal Rumāʿ, also located south of Medina, is not so far from al-Bardiyya; it is also located along the modern highway from Medina to Mecca. Four graffiti were discovered there, all of them related to ʿUmar's family. Mohammed Almoghathawi provided me with the photos of these pieces during my fieldwork in Saudi Arabia. The site was known to al-Bakrī as a mountain close to Rīm a village south of Medina.[164]

One foundational inscription that is included in this dissertation has been previously published by Miles.[165] The text is dated to the year 304/916-917 during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir (r. 295-320/908-932) and mentions constructions on the *ḥajj* route undertaken in this period. The text was discovered in Mahd al-Dhahab, the ancient Maʿdan Banī Sulaym.[166] Al-Samhūdī mentions that it is also called Maʿdan Qarān and the distance to Medina is 160 kilometres.[167] Mahd al-Dhahab is a major station of the Darb Zubayda *ḥajj* route.[168] The site is located to the south-east of Medina. The inscription is now preserved in the national museum in Riyadh.

One of our inscriptions is found today in a private museum in Khaybar called the *Matḥaf Khaybar li-Turāth al-Ābā wa-l-Ajdād*. According to the owner of the Museum, Jadid Al-Rabili, the place of origin of the inscription is unknown. It can thus not be assigned a definite place of origin, and its connection to Khaybar is uncertain. The inscription is dated to the year 96/714-715, and it

[162]al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3:452; al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 4:108.
[163] al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 109.
[164] al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjam*, 2:672-673.
[165] George C. Miles, "ʿAli b. ʿĪsā's Pilgrim Road: An Inscription of the Year 304 H. (916-917 A.D.)," *BIE* 36 (1953-1954): 477-487.
[166] al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:154.
[167] al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 4:147.
[168]al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah: the Pilgrim*, 128-129.

carries the name of ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr. The photo of this inscription was shared with me by the owner of the museum.

The region of al-ʿUlā, located to the north of Medina, is home to the second most significant number of inscriptions in our corpus. Unfortunately, I did not visit any of the sites of al-ʿUlā during my fieldwork. Inscriptions in this area were left by the inhabitants as well as by the people travelling to and from al-Shām. The first discovery of Arabic inscriptions at that site was made by ʿAli Ghabban, who conducted significant fieldwork in the region and published his article in 2001.[169] Later, al-Kilābī and al-Shammarī worked in al-ʿUlā and found some graffiti related to the Zubayrid family.[170] Three places in the al-ʿUlā mountains provided texts for this corpus, namely Umm Daraj, al-Aqraʿ and Abū ʿŪd. These inscriptions were all located by Ghabban, al-Kilābī and al-Shammarī. In addition to these text, there is an unpublished graffito that was sent to me by Farīq al-Ṣaḥrāʾ.

Al-Aqraʿ is one of the main stations on the ancient *ḥajj* route. It is located between Tabūk and al-ʿUlā. At a distance of 65 kilometres north of al-ʿUlā. Two texts in this corpus, previously published by al-Kilābī, come from this site.[171]

Jabal Umm Daraj is part of the mountain chain east of al-ʿUlā. The name refers to the stairs hewn into the mountain, which were used to access a famous temple at the top during the Liḥyān kingdom. There are five graffiti that will be used in this dissertation, two are previously published by al-Kilābī[172] and three by al-Shammarī.[173]

[169] Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid," 173-177.
[170] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 378-380, 382-383, 383-384, and 391-392; al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 120-121, 122-123, 124-125,126-127, 128-129.and 130-132.
[171] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 244-245 and 249-250.
[172] Ibid., 377-378, 391-393.
[173] al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 60-61, 62-63 and 64-65.

Abū ʿŪd, located 8 kilometres northeast of al-ʿUlā, between al-ʿUlā and al-Ḥijr, contains a water well. Ghabban discovered this site and discussed what al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) had said about Fuwayq, the ancient name of the site. He further argued that the inscriptions were carved by the inhabitants of the area rather than by pilgrims or travelers from other locations. There are 13 graffiti in our corpus that were found in this site, of which 12 were published by Ghabban,[174] al-Kilābī[175] and al-Shammarī,[176] while one remains unpublished although it appears on Farīq al-Ṣaḥrāʾ's website.[177]

The region of al-Bāḥa or more specifically Wādī Khara, which is located on the *ḥajj* route from Yemen to Mecca, contains a number of relevant inscriptions.[178] The site was visited by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.[179] However, the site was later surveyed by Qashshāsh, who published the inscriptions (see inscriptions 1.1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7). In Wādī Khara located 70 kilometres south of al-Bāḥa, between the two villages of ʿĀliqa and Maqmūr, six graffiti were discovered. Five were found in the north of the valley in the village of ʿĀliqa, on a rock called *haḍbat al-kuttāb* ("hill of writings"), while the sixth graffito was found in the southern part of the valley in the village of Maqmūr called Shʿab ʿĀfiya.[180]

Mecca region is also home to a number of inscriptions figuring in this dissertation. As mentioned in Chapter One, al-Muʿallā cemetery has received much attention from the epigraphists recently. It is one of the four main cemeteries in Mecca. It is known by many different names, such as Jannat

[174] Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid," 173-177.
[175] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 378-380, 382-383, 383-384, and 391-392.
[176] al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 120-121, 122-123, 124-125,126-127, 128-129.and 130-132.
[177] ʿAbd Allāh al-Saʿīd, "Riḥlat wādī al-qurā (2): dhikrayāt al-wādyyain fī shuʿayb abū ʿūd," November 28, 2016, http://alsahra.org/?p=15546.
[178] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 25.
[179] ʿAwaḍ ʿAlī al-Sabālī al-Zahrānī and d ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Fahd al-Nifiyysa, "Taqrīr masḥ wa-tawthīq al-mawāqiʿ al-athariyya bi-minṭaqat *al-bāḥa* 1427AH/2006CE," *Atlal* 22 (2012): 101-109.
[180] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 23-24.

al-Muʿallā, Maqbarat al-Muṭayyibīn, simply al-Muʿallā, and Maqbarat Ahl Makka. It is located at about one kilometer north of the Holy Mosque.[181] The name was derived from the site of its location, which is higher than the mosque, so the highest area is called al-Muʿallā and the lowest area is called al-Masfala.

Seven inscriptions from this cemetery, will be used in this dissertation.[182] These texts found in this cemetery are currently preserved at museums in the city of Mecca. Some other texts have been moved to Jeddah and to the National Museum in Riyadh.

Al-Salook published a gravestone from the province of Mecca (inscription 3.16),[183] but without mentioning its place of discovery.

The second place around Mecca that will receive our attention is the Wādī al-Shāmiyya, known also as Ṣanq al-Zarqaʾ. It is located at about 45 kilometres northeast of Mecca. Only one graffito from that site will be used in this dissertation, the one dated to 40/660-661, known in academia as al-Bāthā inscription.[184] Recently, Qashshāsh has tried to visit the site, but he could not find the exact place of its discovery in the Wādī, it might in fact now be a landfill under the modern road.[185]

The ʿAsham cemetery is located to the south of Mecca. It is part of the Tihāma region, previously known as Qarya or Qaryat Banī Hilāl, as it was known to the Muslim geographers.[186] Recently, the settlement has been studied by al-Zaylaʿī and al-Faqīh.[187] Two gravestones from this settlement

[181] al-Khalīfa et al., *Aḥjār al-muʿallā*, 16-19.
[182] (Inscriptions 1.8, 2.23, 28, 33,34, 3.15, and 65).
[183] al-Salook, "*Analytical and Palaeographic*," 89-90.
[184] Sharafaddin, "Some Islamic," 69-70, Ghabban, "The evolution," 96.
[185] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 11-12.
[186] al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:126.
[187] The two gravestones are related to the same women: one published by al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 315-317, and the second published by Ḥasan Ibrāhīm al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāfʿasham, qaryatʿasham-qaryat masʿūda- maḥallat al-nṣāyib- maḥallat al-aḥsiba al-janūbiyya- maḥallat al-aḥsiba al-shamāliyya, mawāqʿathariyya fī tihāma* (Riyadh: Maṭābiʿ al-Farazdaq,1992), 251.

related to the same woman will be used in this dissertation. They are now preserved in the local museum.

Only one graffito was found in the Ṭāʾif region, from the area of Haḍbat Bāniyya. It was published by al-Ḥārithī, who did not give any details about the precise location of Haḍbat Bāniyya.[188]

Two graffiti in this corpus come from the region of Najrān, from Jabal al-Murakkab, 30 kilometres east of Najrān. These two texts have generated quite some interest in the academic community, because of their mention of the name ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. The first text records only the name of the person who wrote it, i.e. ʿUmar ibn Khaṭṭāb. The second reads: *ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb bi-Allāh yathiq* "ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb, trust in God." These two texts were discovered by a Saudi-French mission in 2012, and were subsequently published by F. Imbert. He has suggested that these two graffiti belong to ʿUmar the caliph.[189] However, I have another suggestion about these two texts and to whom they belong. In the section 2.4.2 below and in Chapter Three, section 3.4.1, I will examine these two texts in detail.

Tabūk is a large region in the northwest of Saudi Arabia. Five graffiti related to the family of al-Zubayr, were found in the desert of Ḥismā, a desert which is now shared between two countries: Saudi Arabia and Jordan. One text is dated to the year 80/699-700, it was found in Qārat al-Ṣabgh (inscription3.51).[190] The second was published by ʿAbd Allāh al-Saʿīd et al (inscription 3.20).[191] The other three graffiti are yet unpublished. Photos of two of them can be found in the publication

[188] al-Ḥārithī, *al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya*, 88.
[189] Imbert, "Annexe – Note épigraphique," 757-758, and see his article "Califes, princes," 64.
[190] Maysāʾ Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*," 207.
[191] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 78-79.

of ʿAbd Allāh al-Saʿīd et al., (inscriptions 3.35 and 64).[192] The photo of the last one is published by *Farīq al-Ṣaḥrāʾ* website (inscription 3.63).[193]

Al-Baqmī published a gravestone, which will be republished in this dissertation. It is from the Ḥijāz region, but its exact place of origin is unknown. It is currently preserved in the King Fahd library.[194]

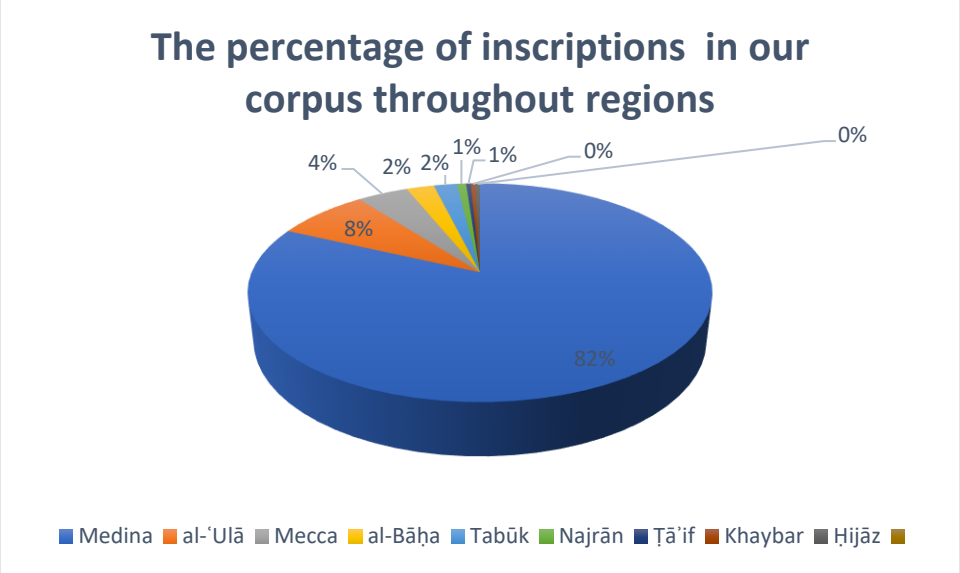

Figure 1 The percentage of inscriptions in our corpus throughout regions

[192] Ibid., 14 and 232.
[193] ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Saʿīd, "Nuqūsh ṣakhriyya tuwaththiq alqāb al-ṣaḥāba," published June 20,2018, http://alsahra.org/?p=19752.
[194] Mūḍī bt. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Baqmī, *Nuqūsh islāmiyya shāhidiyya bi-maktabat al-malik fahd al-waṭaniyya dirāsa fī khaṣāʾiṣihā al-faniyya wa-taḥlīl maḍāmīnihā* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyya,1999), 73.

Figure 2 Map 1 Finding places of the inscriptions (general view)

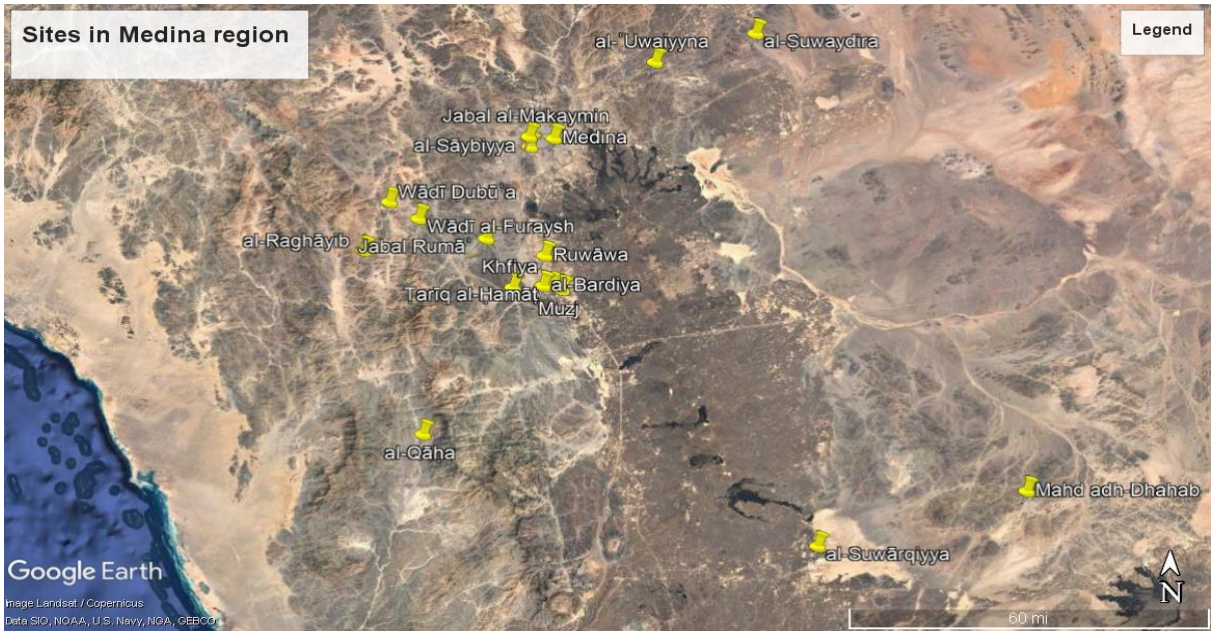

Figure 3 Map 2 The sites in Medina region

2.5. How to date the inscriptions

This dissertation deals with a corpus of dated and undated inscriptions from the first half of the 1st/7th century until the beginning of the 4th/10th century. In this corpus, fourteen inscriptions, thirteen graffiti and one monumental inscription have an absolute date (figure 4 table 1) which constitutes 5% of the total, as shown in figure 5. All except one of the dated texts in our corpus contain a year only. The one inscription containing additional information is dated to the month Shaʿbān 207/December 822/January 823, but without indicating the day of the month. These two types of dating – just a year or a month and year indication are widespread in the epigraphic record. The remaining inscriptions can be dated on the basis of the paleography or the death date of the individuals attested in the inscriptions, as will be discussed below. For a detailed discussion of the paleography of our inscriptions, see section 2.4.2 below. For the use of biographical information, see section 2.4.1 below.

NO	Name	Place	Date	Month	Period	Type
1	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ	Mecca	40/660-661	-	Caliphate of ʿAlī	Graffito
2	Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb client of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	Tabūk	80/699-700	-	Umayyad	Graffito

3	ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	Khaybar	96/714-715		Umayyad	Graffito
4	Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	Medina	96/714-715	-	Umayyad	Graffito
5	Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim, son of ʿUmar al-Fārūq	Medina	100/718-719	-	Umayyad	Graffito
6	ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	Medina	100/718-719	-	Umayyad	Graffito
7	Abū Salama son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar	Medina	100/718-719	-	Umayyad	Graffito
8	Muḥammad son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim	Medina	114/732-733	-	Umayyad	Graffito

9	ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd [Allāh]	Medina	120/737-738		Umayyad	Graffito
10	ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	Medina	121/738-739	-	Umayyad	Graffito
11	ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	Medina	121/738-739	-	Umayyad	Graffito
12	Muḥammad son of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād	Medina	207/822-823	Shaʿbān/December-January	Abbasid	Graffito
13	ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad al-Zubayrī	al-ʿUlā	296/908-909	-	Abbasid	Graffito
14	Muṣʿab son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī	Medina	304/916-917	-	Abbasid	foundational inscription

Figure 4 Table 1 Dated inscriptions in our corpus

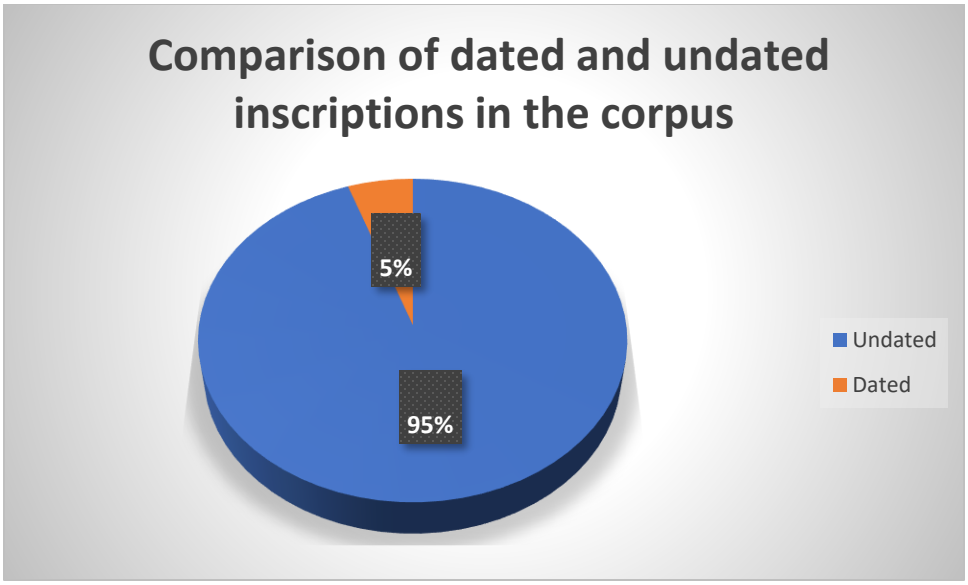

Figure 5 Comparison of dated and undated inscriptions in the corpus

2.5.1. Using biographical data to date the inscriptions

When we identify the persons mentioned in an inscription with certainly, we can also use this to date the inscription. It is, however, not possible to determine when exactly in the lifetime of this person the inscriptions were produced. This is shown by some dated inscriptions mentioning the same person. For instance, the two inscriptions (numbers 4 and 5 in the table above) mentioning Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ are written with a 4-year interval. Two other inscriptions (numbers 6 and 10 in the table above) mentioning ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ are written 21 years apart.

The two individuals of whom we have ascertained two dated texts, Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim, son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb and his nephew ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb, belong to the same family. Three of the four inscriptions related to these two individuals occur in the same place, namely in Ruwāwa. Only the second of Rabāḥ's inscriptions dated to 100/718-719 was found in a different place, namely Wādī al-Furaysh, located at a distance of 35 kilometres from Ruwāwa.

Indeed, when the inscription of one family member can be more or less exactly dated based on information from the literary sources or a dated inscription, this will help us to construct more trustworthy dates for the inscriptions. For example, the inscriptions of ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.17-18) are undated, but, according to the traditional sources, he died in the year 164/780-781.[195] So we can date his inscriptions with relative certainty to the 2nd/8th century.

Another issue is the question of generations. To calculate the date of an undated inscription, it is sometimes possible to give an approximate date based on the number of generations since a famous ancestor died or was born. This is because the dates of such a famous ancestor are generally known from the literary sources. This works well, especially in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries or up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century, because in this period, individuals listed multiple generations to identify themselves. Of course, it is possible that ages differ quite a lot within generations, but an average of 20-30 years seems reasonable, based on Asad Ahmed's theory to use 20 years between the generations.[196] On the other hand, Robinson used 30 years between each generation.[197] Also, if an individual from an inscription is not known in the sources, but his father is, we can date the inscription by approximation through the same kind of calculation.

It is possible to calculate the length of a generation, on the basis of the inscriptions. In the year 40/660-661, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ who belonged to the 2nd generation of Muslims left an inscription. Already half a century later, in the year 96/714-715, ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr who belonged to the 4th generation of Muslims, left his inscription. Since we know that ʿUrwa was born in 23/644, three generations or 73 years later, his

[195] Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001), 7: 589.
[196] Ahmed, *The Religious*, 8.
[197] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 42 note 55.

grandson wrote his inscription (inscription 3.52). Similarly, Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.37)[198] identified himself in an inscription dated to 96/714-715 with four generations. Finally, the graffito of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar, who is from the fifth generation, is dated to the year 100/718-719 (inscription 2.66). In these four examples a generation covers a period of 20 to 25 years. Taking this information from the inscriptions together, in this dissertation, we will 'fill' each century with three to five generations. Conversely one generation is calculated at 20 to 25 years.

2.5.2. Using paleography to date the inscriptions

Scholars have created several criteria to date inscriptions based on the paleography. For example, an open middle *ʿayn* and an *alif* with a tail extending to the right are considered characteristics of the writing of the 1st/7th-8th century. However, these criteria are not watertight. For example, there are dated inscriptions in our corpus dated to the year 96/714-715 and100/718-719, with a closed *ʿayn* (inscriptions 2.19, 37 and 38). It is therefore very difficult to date inscriptions based on the writing only; how can the writing of the late 1st/early 8th century be distinguished from that of the middle of the 2nd/late 8th century? For more details about the dating inscriptions from the 1st-5th/7th-11th century based on the paleography see al-Kilābī's works which study 300 inscriptions from Saudi Arabia.[199]

To sum up, I have applied three methods to date the inscriptions in this dissertation. The first is through the absolute dates mentioned in the inscriptions themselves. The second method looks at the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions and what the literary sources tell us about dated events in their life, or about those of any of their family members. The final is by paleography.

[198] The difference between the second and the third example is that in the second, his grandfather was born after the Prophet's death, and in the third, his grandfather was born at the time of the Prophet.
[199] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 495-504.

When we examine the inscriptions together, we can observe the following distributions across the centuries. The chart below shows the distributions of inscriptions during the period under examination. It shows an increase in the period between the 1st-2nd/7th-8th which reaches its peak in the 2nd/8th-9th.

One dating issue in relation to inscriptions mentioning individuals from the family of ʿUmar occurs in some interesting graffiti discovered in Najrān. These inscriptions mentioning the name of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscriptions 2.29-30) have been recently published.[200] Najrān is rather far from the area where ʿUmar is generally considered to have been active according to the Arabic sources, namely Medina and Mecca, although there is discussion of him visiting Najrān before Islam. There are three ways to interpret these two texts and identify the ʿUmar mentioned in it. The name appears in these graffiti as: ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. The first assumption is that we are dealing with inscriptions mentioning caliph ʿUmar and that the inscriptions therefore are probably left by him. The second is that they refer instead to one of his descendants who had the same first name. Finally, they might have been left by a 'random' passer-by who had the same name. Let's start with the first possibility, which is also the interpretation followed by the editor of the texts, F. Imbert. The paleography of the inscriptions is not very early, so it is difficult to accept that the inscriptions date to the time of ʿUmar the caliph. If we think that the inscriptions were left not by the caliph, but by one of his descendants, we should look for another ʿUmar who is associated with this area or one close to it. Indeed, such an individual is known in the sources. ʿUmar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid (inscription 2.28) who is a late descendant of ʿUmar as we will see in Chapter Three, section 3.4.1 was the governor of Yemen. I would rather suggest that the ʿUmar mentioned in the inscriptions is the governor of Yemen, because the place of the inscriptions is

[200] Imbert, "Annexe – Note épigraphique," 757-758.

close to Yemen and the graffiti's paleography fits a later date better. For more information about him, see Chapter Three, section 3.4.1.

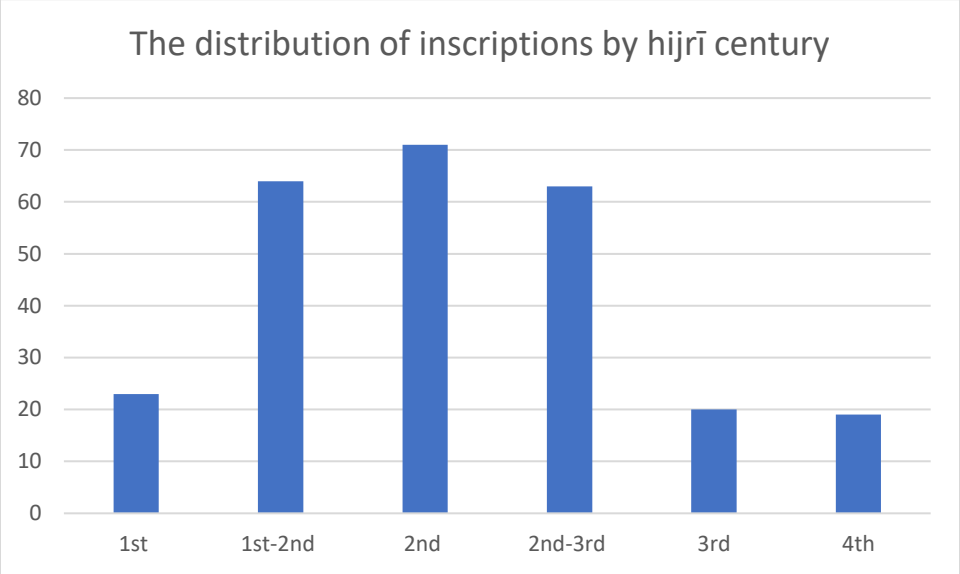

Figure 6 The distribution of inscriptions by hijrī century

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter provides a number of arguments and ideas about the methods used to identify and analyze the inscriptions. The starting point is that the individuals who left their inscriptions wanted passers-by to know who they were. While it is therefore sometimes difficult at this moment to identify an individual, this would not have been the case at the time when the inscription was written. While not all individuals identified themselves with a full genealogy in their inscriptions, many did and this is the main information I used to identify them. It is clear that sometimes names of ancestors were skipped as only the name of the most famous ancestor was mentioned. Sometimes information was left out because it was provided by inscriptions from family members located nearby. This allowed me to identify people without a final *nisba* using the names attested in the writings of the surrounding group. I will discuss in Chapter Five, sections 5.4, and 5.6.3.2 why people opted for one or the other way to self-identify in their inscriptions.

This chapter also provides an overview of the places where inscriptions were found. The area covered continues to expand as more inscriptions are being found. Most inscriptions of our corpus, i.e. 213 inscriptions, originate from the region around Medina. The writings found in Ruwāwa are overwhelmingly related to the descendants of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. This most prominent family produced 138 inscriptions (mostly graffiti) related to 39 individuals, the corpus of inscriptions related to this family comes mainly from Medina, Mecca and Najrān. Next comes the al-Zubayr family with 89 inscriptions related to 54 individuals, which come from different regions in Arabia, Medina, al-ʿUlā, Mecca, Ṭāʾif, Tabūk, Khaybar and ʿAsham. The Abū ʿAbs family produced 24 graffiti related to seven individuals, all of whom come from Medina. The last family is formed by the descendants of al-Mughīra who produced nine inscriptions from al-Bāḥa, Mecca and the Ḥijāz related to six individuals.

Finally, the ways by which I have dated the inscriptions show three different methods. The first is to date the work using a calculation based on the average span of a generation. This is only possible if the dates of someone in the family tree are known when they are recorded in the inscription or can be reconstructed on the basis of other sources. The second way is to use paleography to date the text. Finally, some inscriptions contain dates. Throughout this corpus, there are fourteen dated texts belonging to three families: al-Mughīra, al-Khaṭṭāb, and al-Zubayr. The majority of the dated inscriptions are connected to the family of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (8 graffiti) and Zubayrid (5 graffiti), with one from al-Mughīra.

Using the other methods mentioned above it was possible to establish that 16 graffiti date to the 1st/7th-8th century. There are 64 graffiti that date to period between the 1st to 2nd/7th-8th centuries. The 2nd/8th century yielded 67 inscriptions and 63 are dated between the 2nd and the 3rd/8th-9th centuries. The 3rd/9th century produced 18 inscriptions. Finally, 18 inscriptions can be dated to the

4th/10th century. It is thus obvious that there is a clear decrease in the production of graffiti from the 3rd/9th century onwards related to these famous families. I will discuss this phenomenon trying to provide an explanation in Chapter Five, section 5.5.

Comparing the genealogical information given in the inscriptions with those recorded in later biographical dictionaries and *ṭabaqāt* works, I was able to reconstruct the lineages of certain individuals. In the next chapter, I will discuss in detail the contents of the inscriptions that belong to the four families of Companions together with the information from the Arabic genealogical works about the individuals mentioned in them, displaying the family tree reconstructions I have made.

Chapter Three: Four Arabian families and their inscriptions

3.1. Introduction

> "Many of the texts from the Ruwāwa district of Medina were penned by dignitaries of the city including religious scholars." [201]

More than 20 years ago, Robert Hoyland highlighted the importance of Arabic epigraphy for prosopographical studies. He states that inscriptions found in Ruwāwa can be used to study the people who had played a key role during their lifetime in Medina. As mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.2, further discoveries and editions of inscriptions have been made in the following years, giving more genealogical information about inhabitants who lived in these areas in the early Islamic period. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive and systematic review of the contents of these newly discovered inscriptions is not yet undertaken. In this chapter, I will show as a case study how the inscriptions can be used to study the descendants of the Companions of the Prophet.

Starting from the premise that inscriptions can be used to study the individuals mentioned in them as part of a social group, this chapter will present four families of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who appear in some of these inscriptions. All the names attested in the inscriptions are listed in Appendix Three. Family trees based on the inscriptions will visually present this information at the end of each section.

Besides the information from the inscriptions, I will provide information about each individual attested in the inscriptions on the basis of these inscriptions and accounts found scattered throughout the chronicles, biographies and other literary sources. For more clarity, a few remarks concerning the literary sources from which I have gleaned the information about the individuals

[201] Hoyland, "The Content," 92.

are included in this chapter in order to enhance our understanding of the available materials. A relevant major concern of this dissertation will be namely the question how the historiographical records can be read in light of other materials such as inscriptions.

Finally, the chapter will discuss the representation of members in these families per branch. In other words, I will present the distribution of inscriptions per family through lines, signaling any changes in the frequency and amount of attestations of family members in the epigraphic record. This is also presented in a tree for each family. The significance of this information will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

Only the attested individuals known to have belonged to the four families shall be discussed in this dissertation, the unattested ones shall not be considered. For example, according to the sources, al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām had eleven sons, but only five of his descendants are present in the inscriptions. Accordingly, only those five will be included in the family trees and the discussion.

3.2. The literary record

Before turning to the presentation of the four families, a few observations concerning the literary records should be made. The period between the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century witnessed the rise of the Islamic genres of *Nasab* "genealogy", *Ṭabaqāt* "classes" and *Taʾrīkh* "history" in written form. While, writing was always integral to knowledge production in the Arabic speaking world, oral transmission was until then the main method of knowledge transmission.[202] We will concentrate here on one relevant genre of this written tradition that came into existence, namely, genealogy.

As mentioned earlier, Islamic sources will be used to trace the biographical background to the individuals named in this corpus. The titles of the primary sources used in this chapter are listed below. Within the genre of biographical literature specialized volumes were produced, for

[202] Georg Schoeler, *The oral and the written in early Islam* (London: Routledge, 2006).

example, some books dealing with the *nasab* of the Prophet's tribe, the Quraysh. Since most of our epigraphic corpus is related to the Quraysh, such sources will be especially useful.

3.2.1. *Nasab*

The *nasab* tradition (genealogical studies)[203] which according to Rosenthal can be summarized as "connection, pedigree, genealogy"[204] was initiated by Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763)[205] and Abū Yaqẓān al-Nassāba (d. 190/805) whose works were lost,[206] then it was carried on by the son of Muḥammad ibn al-Kalbī Hishām (d. 204/819), a scholar who wrote two books on the subject which did survive in full and as such are available to us.[207] Most of our corpus of the dissertation belongs to the tribe of Quraysh; that is why the following well-known sources in the field of *nasab* will be used:[208]

Kitāb Nasab quraysh [209] "Genealogy of the Quraysh" by Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī (156–236/772-851), some reports dated his death in 233/848.[210] This is the earliest work devoted to the *nasab* of the Prophet's tribe, and it is considered an important source to study the Prophet's tribe. A recent comprehensive study of this book has been done by Robinson.[211]

Jamharat nasab quraysh wa-akhbāruhā "Compendium of Genealogies and Narratives of the Quraysh" is written by the 'second Zubayrī genealogist' who was the nephew of the previously mentioned author, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār al-Zubayrī (172-256/788-870). This 'second generation

[203] A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. by Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 50.
[204] F. Rosenthal, "Nasab," *EI*^{2}, 7:967.
[205] Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1997), 124.
[206] Duri, *The Rise*, 51.
[207] Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾb ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd wa-l-yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Nājī Ḥasan (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 2004); and *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nājī Ḥasan (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 2010).
[208] For more details on the genealogical sources see Duri, *The Rise*, 50-60.
[209] Ed. E. Levi-Provencal, (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif).
[210] For discussion of his date of death see Ch. Pellat, "Muṣʿab," *EI*^{2}, 7:649.
[211] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*".

Zubayrī author" considered his uncle Muṣʿab as one of his main teachers and he transmitted information that we also find in his uncle's writings, but he also added genealogical and historical information. Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's works was more extensive in terms of history and genealogy than his uncle's, and we encounter in it families or family members that we do not find in the works of his uncle; for example he mentions the descendants of ʿAbbād in section 3.5.1.1; the descendent of Ḥamza in section 3.5.1.2, and the descendant of Jaʿfar and ʿAmr in section 3.5.4. Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār served as judge in Mecca, the city where he eventually died.[212] This book has two editions, of which I mostly used the more recent one.[213] The first edition only published one volume, the recent one published two volumes. Although part of the original book was lost, it is still a valuable source, because it gives information about the families of ʿUmar and al-Zubayr that has not been preserved elsewhere. The first edition will be used when commenting on previous studies regarding the great-grandsons of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr section 3.5.1.1 The branch of ʿAbbād.

Ansāb al-ashrāf "Genealogies of Notables" by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892).[214] A substantial part of this work is dedicated to the *nasab* of Quraysh and, in particular, the history of the Quraysh. As al-Duri mentions, this book is a genealogical and historical source.[215]

Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab "Compendium of Genealogies of the Arab" by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064),[216] an Andalusian scholar, who served as a vizier three times.[217] This book is one of the

[212] S. Leder, "al-Zubayr b. Bakkār," *EI*^{2}, 11:551.
[213] Ed. ʿAbbās Hānī al-Jarrākh (Beirut: Dār al-kutub ʿIlmiyya, 2010).
[214] For the editions of the book see Hugh Kennedy and Ihab El-Sakkout, "Review of *Ansāb Al-ashrāf*. Vol. VI B. By Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir Al-Balādhurī, Edited and Annotated by Khalil Athamina. (Max Schloessinger Memorial Series. Texts, 7.) Pp. Xviii, 306. Jerusalem, Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University, 1993," *JRAS* 5, no. 3 (1995): 410-13.
[215] Duri, *The Rise*, 62.
[216] Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī (Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-ʿIlmiyya: 1983).
[217] R. Arnaldez, "Ibn Ḥazm," *EI*^{2}, 3:791-798.

important books in Muslims genealogy, as it gives additional information in regards to ʿUmar's family, in a discussion about the family of al-Zubayr. This book not only discusses the genealogy of the Arabs, but also of the Berbers, Jews and Parthians.[218]

3.2.2. *Ṭabaqāt*

Ṭabaqāt (generations or classes)[219] was an important part of a written tradition that began in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century and as such forms the earliest basis of what we later came to consider the history of Islam.

The author that produced the first work of *Ṭabaqāt* is al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), but unfortunately, his work is lost. What does survive is the second oldest work known by his secretary Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845);[220] This book is known under the title *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* "Great Book of Classes." After these first two works by al-Wāqidī and Ibn Saʿd, Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ wrote his book *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* (d. 239–240/854),[221] which will also be used several times in this chapter. The *ṭabaqāt*-works mention daughters and sons, but in my discussion I concentrate mainly on sons, because they are over represented in the inscriptions. In fact only five women appear in our corpus of inscriptions. In various cases, particular individuals are not found in the aforementioned sources, but they do appear in other sources such as chronicles, for example al-Ṭabarī's (d.310/923) *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*.[222] In such instances, the reference to these sources will be mentioned in the footnotes.

[218] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 495-512.
[219] Cl. Gilliot, "Ṭabaḳāt," *EI²*, 10:8-9.
[220] Duri, *The Rise*, 39.
[221] Abū ʿAmr Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ Shabāb al-ʿUṣfrī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀnī, 1967).
[222] Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Nawwāf al-Jarrāḥ (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2008).

3.2.3. The accounts of al-Anṣār

One of the challenges faced in this study is the paucity of resources about the *Anṣār*, the inhabitants of Medina who joined the prophet Muḥammad when he moved there in 622. Indeed, there are no early independent sources about al-Anṣār dating to the 3rd/9thcentury. The earliest sources for the *nasab* of al-Anṣār were written in the 7th/13th century, of which the main source is *al-Istibṣār fi nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār* by Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223). Yet, this text lacks sufficient information about the family of Abū ʿAbs, save for a short paragraph about himself, with no further information about his descendants.[223] The second book is *Nuzhat al-abṣār fī faḍāʾil al-anṣār* by al-Qādī Abū Bakr ʿAtīq ibn al-Farrāʾ al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī (d. 698/1298–1299).[224] Both of these works will be largely ignored in the current research, because they were produced relatively late, and, the information provided does not add substantially to the information from other earlier Islamic sources. Other sources like Ibn Saʿd will be used in the discussion about the family in section 3.6.

Now that it is clear where my information originates, let me start with the discussion of the families of descendants of Muḥammad's companions.

3.3. The descendants of al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī

The descendants of al-Mughīra belong to the clan of Makhzūm, which was a subdivision of the tribe of Quraysh. Makhzūm, the founder of the clan, is identified as the son of Yaqaẓa son of Murra son of Kaʿb. According to al-Balādhurī, there were two generations between al-Mughīra and Makhzūm.[225] The descendants of al-Mughīra can be divided into two branches: those descending

[223] Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhiḍ (Dār al-Fikr: 1972), 237-238.
[224] Ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Muḥammad Marzūq (Riyadh: Aḍwāʾ al-Salaf, 2004).
[225]Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf: sāʾir furūʿ quraysh*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Stuttgart /Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996.), 5: 248.

from al-ʿĀṣ and those descending from al-Ḥārith. One inscription related to this family was regarded for a while to be the oldest. It was dated to 40/660–661(inscription 1.3). This inscription was published in 1977 and it is commonly referred to as the inscription of al-Bāthā, published by Sharafaddin.[226] Most of the inscriptions relating to the descendants of al-Mughīra were published by Qashshāsh.[227] Before the publication of Qashshāsh, three other inscriptions related to this family had already been published by Sharafaddin,[228] al-Baqmī [229] and al-Ḥārithī.[230] It is important to note that Qashshāsh had to reconstruct the dates of death of the family members in these inscriptions, because they were absent in the Islamic literary sources.[231]

Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscriptions 1.1-2) is extensively discussed in the literary sources. There are two graffiti mentioning his name: one inscribed by him, and the second inscribed by a man named Ziyād. Khālid is said to have converted to Islam on the day of the Conquest of Mecca in the year 8/630. There is no exact date for his death. Qashshāsh has suggested that he might have died around the year 48/668–669 because from then onwards he is absent in the sources.[232] Caliph ʿUmar I (r. 13-23/ 634-644) appointed him as a governor of Mecca, a position which he maintained for two years under caliph Muʿāwiya.[233] Khālid allegedly had ten sons and two daughters from three wives.[234] Two of Khālid's sons, one grandson, and one further descendant appear in the epigraphic record (see inscriptions 1.3-8). Qashshāsh reconstructed death dates in his book for Khālid's sons and grandson, based on the moment they disappeared from the sources.

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[226] Sharafaddin, "Some Islamic," 69-70.
[227] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl,* 38-46.
[228] Sharafaddin, "Some Islamic," 69-70.
[229] al-Baqmī, *Nuqūsh islāmiyya shāhidiyya,* 73-76.
[230] al-Ḥārithī, *Aḥjār shāhidiyya ghayr,* 40-41.
[231] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl,* 59, 61, 63 and 65.
[232] Ibid., 59.
[233] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul,* 3: 961; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf,* 5: 249; Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl,* 57-58.
[234] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr,* 6: 93.

Khālid is the only companion to have left an inscription himself (inscription 1.1). The second inscription only mentions Khālid's name. It was inscribed by a man called Ziyād who added a prayer for him (inscription 1.2). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Khālid (inscriptions 1.3-4), is also discussed in the narrative sources. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son of Khālid, according to the family tree that Ibn Saʿd offers us.[235] The sources describe him as a poet.[236] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's mother was Ḍubāʿa daughter of al-Kahaf son of ʿĀmir son of Qarṭ son of Salama son of Qashīr.[237] There are two inscriptions made by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. One was found on a rock in the region of Mecca (inscription 1.3) in which he appears with a full *nisba*, and the second one was written above the graffito of his father (inscription 1.4). In the second inscription only his first name and patronymic are mentioned. Only one son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ismāʿīl, appears in the inscriptions (inscriptions 1.5-6). This Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is only referred to in passing in the literary record.[238] He appears in the major work of Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082), *al-Ikmāl,* which mentions Ismāʿīl descendants a grandson, and two great granddaughters.[239] Ismāʿīl was married to ʿĀtika daughter of Karīz.[240] Qashshāsh has suggested that Ismāʿīl died around 120–130/738–747, basing the date of his death on his absence from the sources after that period.[241]

A second son of the companion Khālid, from his wife Fāṭima daughter of Abū Saʿīd son of al-Ḥārith, who also belonged to the Quraysh, is called al-Ḥārith (inscription 1.7). Like his brother,

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[235] Ibid., 6: 93.
[236] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf,* 5: 249.
[237] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 93.
[238] See, for example, his appearance in Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥawī al-Azdī, *Aḥkām al-qurʾan al-karīm*, ed. Saʿd al-Dīn Unāl (Istanbul: Markaz al-buḥūth al-Islāmiiyya at-Tābiʿ li-Waqf al-Diyāna al-Turkī, 1995), 1: 262, where Ismāʿīl is recorded to have raised a question concerning *zakāt* (alms).
[239] ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb ʿan al-muʾtalafʿwa-l-mukhtalaf min al-asmāʾ wa-l-kunā wa-l-ansāb,* ed. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ṣābūnī (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990), 1: 110 and 273; 4, 327; 7: 131.
[240] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 477.
[241] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 65.

al-Ḥārith was a poet. During the reign of caliph Yazīd I, he was the *amīr* of Mecca until the revolution of ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayr. He was reinstalled in his position when Ibn al-Zubayr was defeated in 73/692. Later ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) removed him from his position.[242] Qashshāsh has suggested that al-Ḥārith may have died after 80/699-700.[243]

The four individuals mentioned above are all discussed in literary sources. The following two descendants of al-Mughīra are, however, only known from the epigraphic record. Some of their ancestors, however, do appear in the literary sources that is why their lineage can easily be reconstructed (see figure 7).

An epitaph that can be dated to the 3rd/9th century from Mecca mentions a certain Khālid son of Muḥammad son of Khālid son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿIkrima son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ al-Makzūmī (inscription 1.8). While this Khālid does not appear in the literary record, some of his ancestors do. In the biography of ʿIkrima (d. 115-116/ 733-735) his son, ʿAbd Allāh, is mentioned.[244] A final bit of information comes from Ibn Mākūlā's work. In the entry on Qābūs, daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAfīf son of ʿĀmir, Khālid's grandmother, Umm Salama, daughter of Ḥafṣ son of Yaḥyā, son of Hishām, son of al-ʿĀṣ is mentioned. Umm Salama married Khālid son of ʿAbd Allāh, with whom she had two sons, ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad, the latter is the father of the Khālid under discussion here.[245]

Only one descendant of al-Mughīra in the branch of al-Ḥārith is attested in the inscriptions. This is Ḥārith son of Muḥammad son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām al-Makzūmī (inscription 1.9), whose

[242] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 472.
[243] Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 63.
[244] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 249. For ʿIkrima son of Khālid, see also Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāhīr ʿulmāʾ al-amṣār*, ed. Majdī ibn Manṣūr ibn Sayyid Shūrā (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1995), 107.
[245] Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmal fī rafʿ*, 7: 72.

3rd/9th century epitaph has been preserved. Ḥārith himself does not occur in the literary record, nor do his paternal ancestors in the four preceding generations. The last name in the genealogical chain that appears in the literary record is ʿUbayd Allāh.[246]

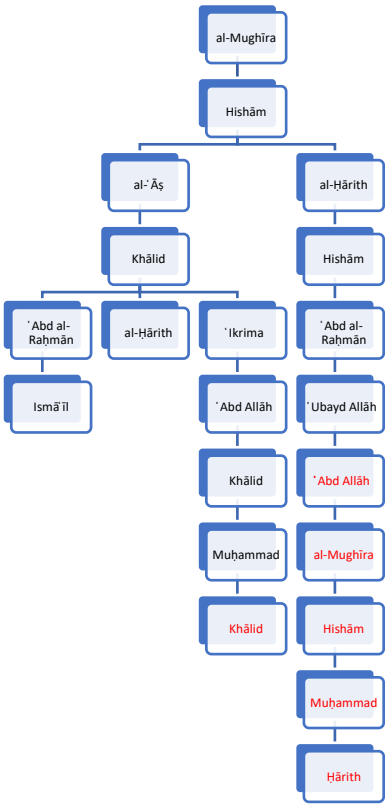

Figure 7 Family tree of the descendants of al-Mughīra attested in the inscriptions

Names in black appear in the literary record, while names in red do *not*.

3.4. The descendants of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb

This group of inscriptions is related to a large number of descendants of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb,[247] who became the second caliph after Muḥammad. The family of ʿUmar belongs to the clan of ʿAdī son of Kʿab. According to al-Zubayrī, there were seven generations between ʿUmar and ʿAdī.[248] The epigraphic record provides us with 39 members of this family: 37 men (including

[246] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 241.
[247] G. Levi Della and M Bonner, "ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb," *EI*^{2}, 5: 819-821.
[248] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 346-347.

one *mawlā* and a slave boy) and two women. According to the Arabic chronicles, ʿUmar had a total of ten sons and four daughters from seven wives and two slave girls.[249] However, only the descendants of two of ʿUmar's sons, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿĀṣim, occur in the epigraphic record.

The first inscription mentioning caliph ʿUmar was published in 1975. It is a prayer mentioning 10 companions of the Prophet, including ʿUmar, on plaster found in Iraq.[250] Another construction inscription mentioning ʿUmar was found in Palestine and was published in 1993.[251] The more recently discovered inscription in the region of al-ʿUlā, the so-called Zuhayr inscription, records the caliph's death as a dating formula.[252] All these inscriptions will not be further discussed in this dissertation.

ʿUmar's descendants, however, have left plenty of inscriptions in Arabia and it is to those inscriptions that this section is devoted to. Inscriptions mentioning descendants of ʿUmar have been published – for example, in al-Rashid's 1993 publication. Al-Rashid rightly observed that Ruwāwa contains plenty of inscriptions relating to the descendants of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. In the footnotes I have indicated what information al-Rashid provided, correcting any misidentifications or omisions about these individuals – for example, the inscription of Abū Salama.[253] Amongst the descendants of ʿUmar two of his sons, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿĀṣim, appear in the Arabian inscriptions. The majority of inscriptions belong to members of ʿĀṣim's branch.

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[249] Ibid., 348–350.

[250] ʿĪsā Salmān, Nāṣar al-Naqshbandī, and Najāt Yūnus al-Tūntusī, N., *Nuṣūṣ fī al-maṯḥaf al-ʿirāqī, nuṣūṣ ʿarabiyya, al-aḥjār wa-l-mawādd al-bināʾiyya al-ukhurā* (Baghdad: Wizārāt al-Iʿlām Mudīrīyat al-Āthār al-ʿĀmma, 1975), 8: 14-15.

[251] Abū Sāra, "*al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya al-islāmiyya*," 5-7.

[252] Ghabban and Hoyland, "The inscription," 213-215.

[253] "ولعله حفيد الصحابي الجليل عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب المتوفي سنة 105هـ" "He might be the grandson of the glorious companion ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb who died in the year 105/723–724." Here, al-Rashid is possibly confused between ʿAbd Allāh and his son of the same name, who died in the time of Hishām (reg. 105–125/724–743) because ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar died in 73/69. "ويعتبر هذا النقش من النقوش الإسلامية المهمة في هذه المجموعة وذلك لإحتوائه على شخصية،(في أغلب الظن) من سلالة الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه" "This is considered a significant Islamic inscription since it contains a character (who is most likely)a descendant of caliph ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb may God be pleased with him.", al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 99-100.

3.4.1. The branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar

ʿAbd Allāh (d.73-74/692-694)[254] is known as the eldest son of ʿUmar. He was a *ḥadīth* transmitter and became a significant figure after his father's death. When ʿUmar nominated six companions to form a council to decide on his successor, he recommended that they would take ʿAbd Allāh's opinion into account in their Shūrā.[255] ʿAbd Allāh's mother's name was Zaynab daughter of Maẓʿūn.[256] Ibn Saʿd mention that ʿAbd Allāh had twelve sons,[257] but only four are represented in the epigraphic record. Four families amongst the descendants of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar are well represented in the inscriptions. These are: ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh; Zayd and Sālim. The inscriptions fall into two types: graffiti and gravestones.

ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh (inscription 2.1) left one inscription. ʿUbayd Allāh's mother was known to have been a concubine named Umm Sālim.[258] His *kunya* was Abū Bakr and according to Ibn Saʿd, he was a *ḥadīth* transmitter, though not a major one.[259] His death date is not known.

ʿUbayd Allāh's son ʿUthmān appears in six inscriptions (inscriptions 2.2-7).

According to the order in which Ibn Saʿd mentions ʿUbayd Allāh's sons – although he does not explicitly state that he has recorded them according to their ages – we might conclude that ʿUthmān was the eldest.[260] His mother was ʿĀʾisha daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Abū Bakr, the first caliph.[261] According to the chaotic information present in the literary sources, ʿUthmān had three sons named Ḥafṣ, Abū Bakr,[262] and Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad, who was killed by al-Manṣūr (r.

[254] Ibn Saʿd gave these two dates of his death, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 4: 174-175.
[255] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5:474-475.
[256] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 348.
[257] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 4: 133.
[258] Ibid., 7: 200.
[259] Ibid., 7: 200-201.
[260] Ibid., 7: 200.
[261] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7, 200; and see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 18.
[262] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 78; al-Rashid was not able to identify him; see al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 95-96.

136-158/754-775),[263] and one daughter known as Umm Hishām.[264] Two of his sons, Ḥafṣ and Abū Bakr, left inscriptions around that of their father (see below). ʿUthmān's *kunya* was Abū al-Qulmus.[265]

According to al-Ṭabarī, ʿUthmān was the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa,* an important administrator, under Muḥammad's al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and in that function played a key role in the rebellions of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya[266] in 145/762-763. In addition, al-Ṭabarī states that ʿUthmān was killed by his slave in the year 145/762–763.[267]

ʿUthmān's son Abū Bakr left six inscriptions (inscriptions 2.8-13). His wife was Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Ibrāhīm son of Muḥammad son of ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib.[268] No further information beyond his connection through marriage to this ʿAlid family is known.

The other son of ʿUthmān, Ḥafṣ, is known from five inscriptions (inscriptions 2.14-18).[269] He called himself *shābb āl ʿUmar*, "the youngest of the family of ʿUmar" (inscription 2.14). Ḥafṣ was the second son of ʿUthmān. He appears as a transmitter in a small number of accounts.[270] Other than that there is no additional information about his life or death mentioned in the literature.

Abū Salama son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.19-21) does not have his own entry in the two al-Quraysh books of *nasab*, but two of his sons, ʿUbayd Allāh and

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[263] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 153.
[264] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2:18-19.
[265] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 4:1594.
[266] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul,* 4: 1579, about al-Nafs al-Zakiyya see F. Buhl, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyya," *EI*^{2}, 7:388-389.
[267] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 4:1594.
[268] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 78.
[269] al-Rashid was not able to identify him; see al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 87-88.
[270] Abū Naʿīm Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba,* ed. ʿĀdil ibn Yūsuf ʿAzzāzī (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1998), 4:1957; see alsoʿ Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat dimashq wa-dhikr faḍlihā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahā min al-amāthil aw ijtāz bi-nawāḥīhā min wāridīhā wa-ahlihā*, ed. ʿUmar ibn Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 44: 333, see also Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1992), 23: 554.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, do.[271] Yet two other sons, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[272] and Muḥammad, are not mentioned in the books of nasab, but they are found in other Muslim sources.[273] According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Abū Salama had two wives. Umm Ḥamīd was the daughter of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar, related to branch of ʿĀṣim, the other branch of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb's descendants (section 3.4.2). Umm Hamīd is known as the mother of ʿUbayd Allāh. Umm ʿUmar daughter of Ṣafwān is the second woman recorded to have been married to Abū Salama. She is reported to be the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Umm ʿUmar belonged to the Banū Jumaḥ another branch of the Quraysh.[274] Abū Salama's mother was Umm ʿAbd Allāh daughter of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū Bakr.[275] Abū Salama appears as a reporter of a historical account about ʿUmar II's reign (99–101/717–720).[276] As al-Rashid also pointed out, al-Ṭabarī explicitly mentions that, unlike his brother ʿUthmān, Abū Salama did not participate in the revolution of al-Nafas al-Zakiyya.[277]

ʿUbayd Allāh son of Abū Salama is known through one inscription (inscription 2.22).[278] According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār and Ibn Shabba (d.262/877), ʿUbayd Allāh served as a judge in Medina[279] according to Wakīʿ(d. 306/918), this was in the year 155/771-772.[280]

Another descendant of Abū Salama found in the inscriptions is his grand-grandson ʿUbayd. This

[271] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 17-18.
[272] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh madīnat al-salām wa-akhbār muḥaddithīhā wa-dhikr quṭṭānihā al-ʿulamāʾ min ghayr ahlihā wa-wāridīhā*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islaāmī, 2001), 12: 210.
[273] Wakīʿ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḍabī al-Baghdādī, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, n.d), 1:157.
[274] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 17-18.
[275] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7:200.
[276] Ibid., 7: 357.
[277] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 4:1579, al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 99.
[278] al-Rashid was not able to identify him; see al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 153-154.
[279] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2:17; Abū Zayd ʿUmar Ibn Shabba al-Numayrī, *Kitāb Taʾrīkh al-madīna al-munawwara (Akhbār al-madīna al-nabawiyya)*, ed ʿAlī Muḥammad Dandal and Yāsīn Saʿd al-Dīn Bayān (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2012), 1:108.
[280] Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 1: 228.

ʿUbayd is mentioned on a gravestone (inscription 2.23) as being the son of Abū Bakr son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Abū Salama son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿUbayd does not occur in the literary record. Al-Zahrānī who was the first publisher of the gravestone, thought the name should be read as ʿUbayda, but in the catalogue of *Aḥjār al-muʿallā* it becomes clear that it should be read as ʿUbayd,[281] as al-Zahrānī mentions based on al-Zubayrī that the last name appears in the genealogical work is his grandfather's ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[282]

Two other descendant of ʿUbayd Allāh, the two brothers Muḥammad and ʿUmāra sons of Ḥamza son of ʿUbayd Allāh, left their inscriptions next to each other, facilitating their identification. Muḥammad left three inscriptions (inscriptions 2.24-26) listing his full lineage back to ʿUmar, but he remains unidentified in the literary record. ʿUmāra only mentioned his father Ḥamza, without listing any further ancestors (inscription 2.27). His mother was a Zubayrid daughter of ʿĀṣim son of al-Mundhir.[283]

ʿUmar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid son of Muḥammad son of Zayd son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscriptions 2.28-30), as al-Zahrānī identified him, was the governor of Yemen, a position he obtained by force during the disputes in (194-198/809-813) between al-Amīn (r.193-198/809-813) and al-Māʾmūn (r.198-218/813-833).[284] His mother belonged to the Banū Arḥab from Hamadān.[285] When al-Zubayrī (d. 236/851) composed his book, he reported that ʿUmar's sons were in jail in Baghdād, without mentioning their names.[286] ʿUmar's graffiti

[281] al-Khalīfa et al., *Aḥjār al-muʿallā*, 446.
[282] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh,* 360 and see al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*,118.
[283] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 18.
[284] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh,* 360, and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 20; al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 105-106.
[285] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yūsf ibn Yʿaqūb al-Jundī al-Yamanī, *al-Sulūk fī ṭabaqāt al-ʿulmāʾ wa-l-mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥawālī (Ṣanʿāʾ: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1995), 1:188.
[286] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 359-360.

originated in Najrān (inscriptions 2.29-30), making it likely to connect him to two graffiti found there that mention ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (see Chapter Two, section 2.5.2).[287] However, al-Zahrānī suggests that this gravestone was dated to the end of the 2nd/9th century. It is, however, more likely that the date is a bit later, namely the 3rd/9th century, because he was alive during the disputes between al-Amīn and al-Māʾmūn.[288]

ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh calls himself al-ʿUmarī in one inscription (inscription 2.31). Al-Rashid has suggested that he might be ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar, based on what al-Zubayrī and other sources reported.[289] Al-Zubayrī reported that ʿUmar's mother was Umm Salama daughter of al-Mukhtār son of Abū ʿUbayd son of Masʿūd al-Thaqafī.[290] Nevertheless, ʿUmar's name only appears in the book of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) as a narrator of a poem written in the door of the house of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar, but without his full lineage, as follows: ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī.[291] I agree with al-Rashid that ʿUmar was the son of ʿAbd Allāh, because he is the only person bearing this name in *Nasab quraysh*. Al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166), however, mentions that the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī is used between the branch of ʿAbd Allāh and ʿĀṣim, and he mentions that ʿUmar's nephew ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-Azīz son of ʿAbd Allāh used this *nisba*.[292] So, since it was also used by the descendants of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh, it is obvious that it applies not only to the individual mentioned by al-Samʿānī but also to other members of this family.

[287] Imbert, "Annexe – Note épigraphique," 757-758.
[288] al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 105-106.
[289] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 48-49.
[290] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 357.
[291] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat dimashq*, 38: 6.
[292] ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1962), 9: 372-374.

One inscription mentions ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.32), supposedly referring to ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-Azīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Samʿānī said this *nisba* is known to have been used by ʿUmar's brothers ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd Allāh, but it seems to be that ʿUmar used this *nisba* as well.[293] Interestingly, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had two sons named ʿUmar. They were distinguished on the basis of their age, one being known by the adjective *al-akbar* (the eldest), the other as *al-aṣghar* (the youngest).[294] They were born to different mothers. Al-Akbar's mother was a Qurayshī by the name of Kaysa daughter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd son of ʿAbd Allāh. Al-Aṣghar's mother was an unnamed concubine.[295] ʿUmar *al-aṣghar* was the governor of Medina and Karamān in the time of caliph al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809), and governor of al-Yamāma.[296] Since the graffito did not mention which ʿUmar engraved it, it is difficult to know which ʿUmar is mentioned here.

Two tombstones belonging to two females of this family are preserved. The first one belongs to Daḥīma, daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-Azīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb appears in (inscription 2.33). As al-Zahrānī, who published this inscription, has pointed out, she does not occur in the literary record.[297] Her father was appointed as the judge and governor of Medina in the time of caliph al-Māʾmūn.[298]

The second tombstone was erected for Ḥamda daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ibrāhīm son of Abū Bakr son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.34). She is not known in the literary record,

[293] Ibid., 9: 373.
[294] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 11.
[295] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 358.
[296] Ibid., 358.
[297] al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 279.
[298] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*,359; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 153.

the last one who appears in her linage is her great grandfather ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[299]

The name Ḥafṣ son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.35-36) that we find in two inscriptions, in one he used his paternal and in one used his first name only, is not easy to identify. The only person I found in ʿUmar's family bearing this name is the grandson of Sālim son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar, according to Ibn Saʿd, his mother was a concubine.[300] So based on that information we can tentatively add Ḥafṣ son of ʿUmar to that place in the family tree.

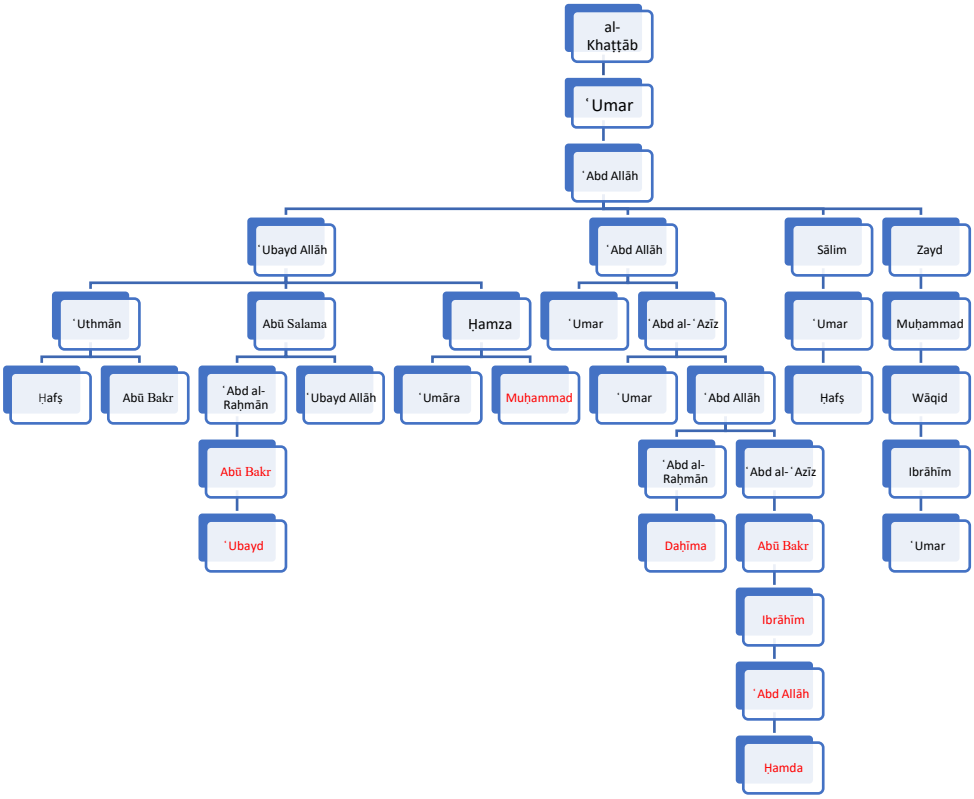

Figure 8 Family tree descendants of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb attested in inscriptions

[299] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 153.
[300] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 458.

3.4.2. The branch of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar

ʿĀṣim is ʿUmar's son by his wife Jamīla daughter of Thābit, known as Abū al-Āqlaḥ. She belonged to al-Anṣār as a member of Banū ʿAmr.[301] Ibn Khayyāṭ reported that ʿĀṣim died in the year 70/689–690.[302] Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār reported that ʿĀṣim had four sons and two daughters from four wives.[303] All persons appearing in this section descend from his son Ḥafṣ. The epigraphic record exhibits 24 individuals belonging to the branch of ʿĀṣim including one client and a slave boy.

Ḥafṣ is the son of ʿĀṣim from his wife Sidra, daughter of Yazīd, who belonged to the Banū Muḥārib, and was the son of Khaṣfa.[304] According to Ibn Saʿd, Ḥafṣ himself had two sons, ʿUmar and ʿĪsā, both of whom appear in the epigraphic record along with their *mawlā.* According to al-Dhahabī (d.748/1348), Ḥafṣ died around the year 90/708-709.[305]

Before turning to Ḥafṣ' descendants, I discuss the inscriptions left by his *mawlā*. The *mawlā* signed his inscription as Shaddād, client of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar al-Fārūq (inscriptions 2.39-40). The two inscriptions in which Shaddād's name appears occur in the same place where Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ left his two inscriptions. Unfortunately, there is no information available about Shaddād in the literary sources.

Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscriptions 2.37-38), according to Ibn Saʿd, died in 157/773-774 when he was 80 years old, and his real name was ʿĪsā, but he generally used his epithet Rabāḥ.[306] Al-Mizzī (d.742/1341) reported that Rabāḥ's *kunya* was Abū

[301] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 349.
[302] Ibn Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 234.
[303] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 21-22.
[304] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 410.
[305] Shāms al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb Arnāʾūṭ (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla,1986), 4: 197.
[306] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 530.

Ziyād al-Madanī.[307] Ibn Saʿd reports that Rabāḥ was younger than his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh (inscription 2.45).[308] Rabāḥ was married to ʿAbda daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of Salama son of Rabiya son of Abū Umayya, who gave birth to three daughters: Ubaiyya, Umm Salama, and Umm ʿAmr, but bore him no sons.[309] He was also known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[310] Nevertheless, his name does not appear in the *nasab* tradition, in the works of the two Zubayrids or that of al-Balādhurī. His name des frequently appeas in the historical account of Ibn Shabba as a transmitter of events.[311]

Several members of the branch of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar produced inscriptions. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar al-Fārūq (inscription 2.41) left one inscription. It is important to note that he omitted his grandfather's name "ʿĀṣim" in his graffito. ʿUmar's mother was known to be from al-Anṣār. Her name was Maymūna daughter of Dāwūd son of Kulayb, and she belonged to the al-Khazraj tribe. ʿUmar married his cousin Fāṭima daughter of ʿUmar son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar. She gave birth to Abū Bakr, ʿUbayd Allāh, Zayd, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad, ʿĀṣim, Umm ʿĀṣim, Umm Ḥamīd, Umm ʿĪsā, and Umm Miskīn.[312] ʿUmar's son Abū Bakr left three inscriptions in which he describes himself as Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.42-44). According to Ibn Saʿd, Abū Bakr did not have children. He participated in Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's revolution. Ibn Saʿd mentions that he was older than his brother ʿUbayd Allāh.[313] Abū Bakr worked as a judge in

[307] al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 22: 592.
[308] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 530-531.
[309] Ibid., 7: 530-531.
[310] Ibid., 7: 531.
[311] Ibn Shabba, *Taʾrīkh al-madīna*,1: 372 and 391.
[312] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 459-460.
[313] Ibid., 7: 531-32.

Medina, during the time of al-Manṣūr,[314] under the rule of the governor Muḥammad son of Khālid al-Qasrī (in office 141-143/758-760).[315]

ʿUbayd Allāh, the second son of ʿUmar, appears in one inscription asʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.45). According to Ibn Saʿd he died in the year 147/765–766.[316] Ibn Khayyāṭ, however, mentions that he died in the year 145/762-763. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ his *kunya* was Abū ʿUmar,[317] but Ibn Saʿd mentions his *kunya* was Abū ʿUthmān. He was a *ḥadīth* transmitter. His two sons, Rabāḥ and Ḥafṣ, who are also mentioned in ʿUbayd Allāh's biography in the sources, left inscriptions around the inscription of their father.[318]

Despite leaving a fair number of inscriptions, ʿUbayd Allāh's two sons are only referred to in passing in the literary sources. According to Ibn Saʿd, Rabāḥ and Ḥafṣ are his sons from his wife Ubaiyya daughter of Abū Bakr son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar.[319] Rabāḥ son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿUmar left three inscriptions (inscriptions 2.46-48). Ibn Saʿd mentioned him in his father's biography, without stating whether Rabāḥ was his name or his epithet, as was the case with the other Rabāḥ discussed above. However, it seems to me that Rabāḥ was his real name. He appears as one of the transmitters in a transmission chain in *Akhbār makka* by al-Fākihī (d. 280/893).[320] Al-Samʿānī also mentions him as one of the ʿUmarids who was famous by the al-ʿUmarī *nisba*.[321] Al-Madīnī (d. 234/849) cited him in the list of ʿUmarid individuals who transmitted ḥadīth from ʿUmar.[322]

[314] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 362.
[315]Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 1: 202-213.
[316] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 531.
[317] Ibn Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt,* 268-269.
[318] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 531.
[319] Ibid., 7: 531.
[320] al-Fākihī, *Akhbār makka*, 4: 43.
[321] al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, 9: 372.
[322] Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar al-Saʿdī al-Madīnī, *Tasmiyat man ruwiya ʿanhu min awlād al-ʿashr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Jamāz (Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam, 1982), 82.

ʿUbayd Allāh's other son left eight inscriptions, signing as Ḥafṣ son of ʿUbayd Allāh (inscriptions 2.49-56). Ḥafṣ was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[323]

Muḥammad son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim left a number of inscriptions (inscriptions 2.57-64). No information about him is known from the literary record. He only appears in the list of his father's sons in his father's biography.[324] The inscription by Ḥafṣ son of Muḥammad son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.65) was found near that of his father. This, and the fact that Ḥafṣ seems to be a commonly used name amongst the ʿUmarid, suggests that Ḥafṣ was indeed Muḥammad's son.

ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ left 11 inscriptions (inscriptions 2.66-76). Ibn Saʿd reported that he was younger than his brother ʿAbd Allāh. ʿĀṣim was known as a poet and a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[325] According to Ibn Khayyāṭ he died in the year 154/771–772.[326] A son of his left an inscription close to that of his father. ʿĀṣim's son identified himself as Jaʿfar son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim (inscription 2.77). This is all the more remarkable as Ibn Saʿd explicitly states that ʿĀṣim did not have a son and that his line died out after his death.[327]

Zayd son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim left a number of inscriptions (inscriptions 2.78-86), but did not receive a full treatment in the literary sources like his brothers. He is only mentioned in his father's biographical entry.[328] Zayd was younger than his brother ʿAbd Allāh. Under one of Zayd's inscriptions, there is another inscription that mentions ʿAbd Allāh son of Zayd. The place of the inscription in combination with the reference to Zayd as his father, makes it very likely that the mentioned ʿAbd Allāh is Zayd's son. This ʿAbd Allāh son of Zayd left two inscriptions in total (inscriptions 2.87-88).

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[323] al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh madīnat al-salām*, 8: 372.
[324] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 23.
[325] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532-533.
[326] Ibn Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 269.
[327] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532.
[328] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460, and see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 23.

ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ left two inscriptions: (inscriptions 2.89-90). According to Ibn Saʿd, he was a *ḥadīth* transmitter. He participated in Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's revolution and was sent to al-Muṭbaq prison in Baghdād.[329] Two years later, after being in prison, al-Manṣūr sent him back to Medina, where, according to the *ṭabaqāt*, he eventually died in 171–172/787–789.[330]

ʿAbd Allāh's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left five inscriptions (inscriptions 2.91-95), signing as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ. He was a judge in Medina during the time of caliph al-Rashīd.[331] His mother was Ḥafṣa daughter of Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar.[332] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reportedly died in Ṣafar in 186/ February-March 802.[333] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's five sons, Ismāʿīl, ʿĀṣim, Muḥammad, ʿĪsā and Zayd all used the *nisba* "al-ʿUmarī" in the inscriptions that they left.

Eight inscriptions were left by Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī (inscriptions 2.96-103), but this Ismāʿīl is not known from the literary record. His brother ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī left three inscriptions (inscriptions 2.104-106). His name appears only in an account transmitted about his father.[334] One of his slaves, calling himself Rabīʿ *fatā* ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, left four inscriptions as well (inscriptions 2.113-116). Two sons of ʿĀṣim are known from the epigraphic record although they are not known from the literary sources. ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿĀṣim (inscriptions 2.107-110) and his brother Muḥammad

[329] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532.
[330] Ibid., 7: 532.
[331] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 24, al-Balādhurī does not mention where he was judge *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 517.
[332] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 24.
[333] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya), 5: 316.
[334] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī Qāḍī al-Māristān, *Aḥādīth al-shuyūkh al-thiqāt, al-shahīr bi-l-mashyakha al-kubrā*, ed. al-Sharīf Ḥātim ibn ʿĀrif al-ʿAwnī (Mecca: Dār ʿĀlam al-Fawāʾid, 1422 /2001-2002), 3: 1051.

son of ʿĀṣim (inscriptions 2.111-112) left three and two inscriptions respectively. Three further sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left inscriptions as well. Muḥammad son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī (inscriptions 2.120-123) left four inscriptions with a long genealogy, spanning four generations. Two other sons, ʿĪsā, (inscriptions 2.117-119) and Zayd (inscriptions 2.124-134), only used their father's name, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī in their inscriptions. Al-Rashid discussed two possible identifications: one possibility is that Zayd belonged to the branch of Ḥafṣ. This assumption is deducted from the other names that appear in the epigraphic record, his brothers Muḥammad and Ismāʿīl.[335] However, Al-Rashid argued that he considered it more likely that Zayd belonged to the branch of Zayd son of al-Khaṭṭāb, and that he might be identified as Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Zayd son of al-Khaṭṭāb.[336] In my research I was able to connect the name Zayd with the names of the others members of ʿUmar's family, proving the identification of Zayd as son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar, the first option that al-Rashid offers, seems to be the correct one. In addition, al-Rashid published another inscription that also mentioned the name of Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh. However, he never connected these two inscriptions together. In my research I identified the inscription of Zayd's son al-Fārūq (inscription 2.136) which mentions a long lineage. This arguably solves the issue, namely that this person, Zayd, is actually a descendant of ʿUmar. As indicated, al-Fārūq son of Zayd left one inscription with a very long lineage, in fact spanning nine generations: al-Fārūq son of Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. Additionally al-Fārūq left three other inscriptions. In one of them he signs as al-Fārūq son of Zayd

[335] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 52 and 70.
[336] Ibid., 71.

al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.135), and two of his graffiti do not mention any paternal lineage (inscriptions 2.137-138).

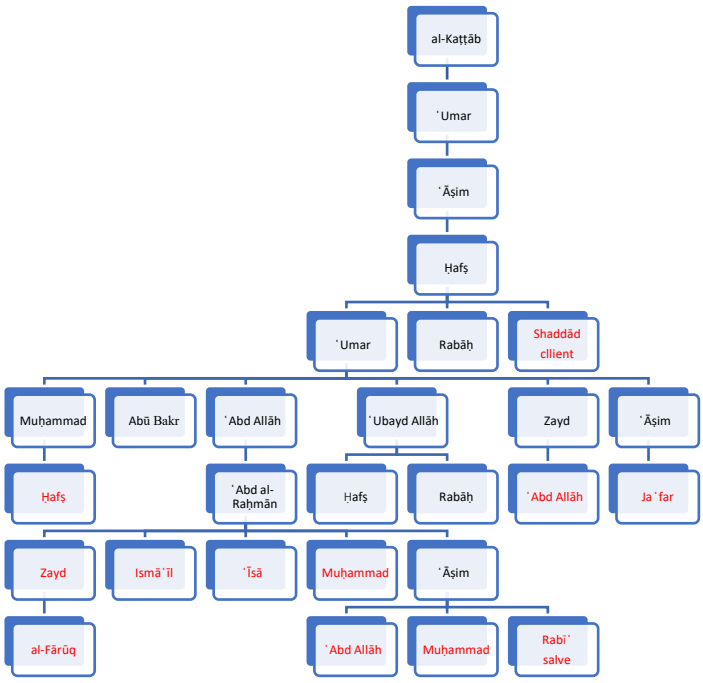

Figure 9 Family tree descendants of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb attested in inscriptions

3.5. The descendants of al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām

Al-Zubayr (d. 36/656) appears in the inscription found in Iraq alongside nine other companions of the Prophet, amongst whom we find ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as discussed above (see section 3.4). Al-Zubayr played an important role in the formative years of Islam.[337] His family is related to the clan of Banū Asad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn Quṣī, from the tribe of al-Quraysh. Al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām is the great-grandson of ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā.[338] Al-Zubayr's mother was Ṣafiyya, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and an aunt of the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Zubayrī mentions that he had 10 sons, but Ibn Saʿd mentions 11 sons. Al-Zubayrī did not mention his daughters from his first wife Asmāʾ, but Ibn Saʿd did. According to both al-Zubayrī and Ibn Saʿd, his sons from Asmāʾ were

[337]I. Hasson, "al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām," *EI*^{2}, 11: 549.
[338] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 31.

ʿAbd Allāh, al-Mundhir, ʿUrwa and ʿĀṣim, additionally Ibn Saʿd added, al-Muhājir,[339] as well as the daughters Khadīja al-Kubrā, Umm al-Ḥasan and ʿĀʾisha by his wife Asmāʾ daughter of Abū Bakr the first caliph.[340] By his second wife, al-Rabāb daughter of Anīf al-Kalbī, he had two sons and one daughter: Muṣʿab, Ramla, and Ḥamza. With Umm Khālid, daughter of Khālid son of Saʿīd al-ʿĀṣī, he had two more sons called Khālid and ʿAmr, and three daughters Ḥabība, Sawda, and Hind.[341] From with his wife Zaynab daughter of Bishr from the Banū Qays, he had ʿUbayda and Jaʿfar, and two daughters. The mother of Zaynab daughter of Bishr was Umm Kulthūm who was in turn the daughter of ʿUqba son of Abū Maʿīṭ and Khadīja al-Ṣughrā from his wife al-Ḥalāl daughter of Qays son of Nawfal from Banū Asad son of Khuzayma. [342]The children from all these marriages are mentioned by both al-Zubayrī and Ibn Saʿd. All his sons had offspring except ʿĀṣim, who died at a young age.[343]

Five branches of this family are dealt with here as they left inscriptions: the descendants of ʿAbd Allāh, who left 33 inscriptions, and 1 inscription mentions ʿAbd Allāh; the descendants of al-Mundhir, with 14 inscriptions; the descendants of ʿUrwa, represented by 14 inscriptions; ʿAmr's branch represented through 3 inscriptions and, finally, the descendants of Jaʿfar, who left only 1 inscription; Also, there are some Zubayrids, whose lineage was shortened and who will be discussed in section 3.5.5.

One of al-Zubayr's sons has a graffito, ʿAmr (inscription 3.63). Moreover, three sons of al-Zubayr are mentioned in graffiti by their clients (*mawālī)*: al-Mundhir (inscription 3.35), ʿUrwa (inscription 3.51),[344] and ʿAmr (inscription 3.64). In addition, ʿAbd Allāh's name was discovered

[339] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 3: 93-94.
[340] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 236.
[341] Ibid., 236.
[342] Ibid., 236.
[343] Ibid., 236.
[344] Maysāʾ Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*," 207.

in a graffito that can be dated between the 1st-2nd/8th century in Ṭāʾif, and which is engraved by a man named ʿUbayd son of ʿĀṣim (inscription 3.1). This family differs from the other families in this corpus because their inscriptions come from six different areas in present-day Saudi Arabia – namely Medina, Mecca, al-ʿUlā, Tabūk, Khaybar and ʿAsham.

3.5.1. The branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr

ʿAbd Allāh[345] the counter-caliph (r. 64-73/683-692) was the eldest son of al-Zubayr. According to the Muslim sources, he was the first Muslim boy born in Medina from al-Muhājirūn, who arrived with Muḥammad from Mecca. His first wife was Tumāḍir daughter of Manẓūr from the Banū Fazāra. She gave birth to four sons called Khubayb, Ḥamza, ʿAbbād, and Thābit.[346] With his second wife, Umm Hishām "Zajla", his first wife's sister, he had four sons: Hishām, Qays, al-Zubayr, and ʿUrwa. His third wife was Ḥantama daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām. She gave birth to two sons called Mūsā and ʿĀmir, and three daughters: Umm Ḥakīm, Fāṭima and Fākhita. ʿAbd Allāh had a son from his wife Rayṭa daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra, called Abū Bakr. From his wife ʿĀʾisha daughter of ʿUthmān son of ʿAffān Bakr, ʿAbd Allāh had a daughter Ruqayya. [347] Another Bakr was born to his wife Nafīsa Umm al-Ḥasan daughter of al-Ḥasan son of ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib.[348] Finally, ʿAbd Allāh had a son named ʿAbd Allāh whose mother was a concubine.[349]

Al-Zubayr and ʿUrwa died with their father ʿAbd Allāh during the siege of Mecca in 73/692.[350] ʿAbd Allāh appears in an inscription published by al-Ḥārithī in 1997 (inscription 3.1), found in the

[345] H.A.R. Gibb, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr," *EI²*, 1:55.
[346] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 240.
[347] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 473.
[348] Ibid., 6: 473.
[349] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 473.
[350] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243.

region of al-Ṭāʾif.[351] It is essentially a prayer to ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr made by a certain ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿĀṣim. The corpus related to the branch of ʿAbd Allāh comes from his three sons: ʿAbbād (section 3.5.1.1), Ḥamza (section 3.5.1.2), and Mūsā (section 3.5.1.3).

3.5.1.1. The branch of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh

From the ʿAbbād branch, five people are known from the epigraphic record, including ʿAbbād's son Yaḥyā, Yaḥyā's son Isḥāq, and Yaḥyā's great-grandson named Muḥammad son of Yaʿqūb son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā. The names of two descendants of ʿAbbād's son Ṣāliḥ are found on gravestones; they belong to the 11th generation of Zubayrids.

Two of ʿAbbād's sons are known from the epigraphic sources. The first one left one inscription, signing as Yaḥyā son of ʿAbbād (inscription 3.2). It was possible to identify Yaḥyā son of ʿAbbād of the Zubayrid family because his inscription was surrounded by those left by other members of his family. His biography is relatively sparse. Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (d. 256/870) reported that his mother was ʿĀʾisha daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra.[352] According to al-Balādhurī, Yaḥyā was a jurist.[353] Isḥāq, who was identified as Yaḥyā's second son, left two inscriptions (inscriptions 3.3-4). He signed with his own and his father's name. The only reference to him in the literary sources is in his father's biography. It is said that his mother was also from the Zubayrid family and that her name was Asmāʾ daughter of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh.[354]

A further removed descendant of Yaḥyā, through his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, left an inscription as well. This great-grandson of Yaḥyā is identified in his inscriptions as Muḥammad son of Yaʿqūb

[351] al-Ḥārithī, *al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya*, 88.
[352] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 85.
[353] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 62.
[354] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7:463-464.

son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā (inscriptions 3.5-14). Muḥammad's *kunya* was Abū ʿUmar al-Madanī. He was a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[355] According to Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449), he died before 250/864-865.[356]

The gravestones mention the descendants of ʿAbbād's second son Ṣāliḥ. Ṣāliḥ's biography in the familiar narrative sources point to an apparent discrepancy between the literary and epigraphic sources, which has misled some scholars in the past. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī writes: "Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād had no one to survive him. He had sons, but their lineage died out."[357]The famous Andalusian genealogist Ibn Ḥazm explicitly stated that Ṣāliḥ, like his brother Muḥammad but unlike his brother Yaḥyā, had no children. He writes: "The sons of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh were Yaḥyā (who) transmitted *ḥadīth* from him (i.e. ʿAbbād) and (who) had offspring and Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ (who) had no children."[358] On the other hand, two gravestones found in the Mecca area seem to refer to descendants of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād, extending seven generations after Ṣāliḥ.

The full names on the gravestones are: ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad son of Mūsā son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.15) and Muḥammad son of al-Qāsim son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ[359] son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayr (inscription 3.16). ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad thus share the same grandfather, Ḥamza. Indeed, the scholars who first published and republished the two gravestones, al-Zahrānī and al-Ḥaddād, simply assumed that the gravestones provided additional genealogical

[355] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 122.
[356] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb,* ed. Abū al-Ashbāl Ṣaghīr Aḥmad Shāghif al-Bākistānī (Dār al-ʿĀṣima, 1421/2000-2001), 910.
[357] "ولیس لصالح بن عباد بقیة کان له ولد فانقرضوا", al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 242.
[358] "فولد عباد بن عبد الله یحیی روی عنه الحدیث وله عقب ومحمد، وصالح لا عقب لهم", Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 122.
[359] al-Salook thought the name to be Ṭalḥa, and he was not sure about the reading of the name ʿAbbād see al-Salook, "*Analytical and Palaeographic*," 90-91; al-Zahrānī comments on his book in the footnote that the name should be read as Ṣāliḥ, al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 301, note 3.

information about Ṣāliḥ's family, extending his descendants seven generations beyond what the literary sources mention, and thuscorrecting the mistakes of the genealogists.[360] But their information was solely based on al-Zubayrī and Ibn Ḥazm, and they did not look to the first edition of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book which was published in 1962.

The answer to this seeming discrepancy between our sources – the literary and the epigraphic record – lies in a more careful and complete examination of the *nasab* works. In fact another *nasab* work, namely *Jamharat nasab quraysh* by Zubayr ibn Bakkār, mentions an ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ. According to Zubayr ibn Bakkār, ʿAbd Allāh's mother was Umm ʿUthmān daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of al-Akhnas son of Sharīq.[361] Moreover, if we read Zubayr ibn Bakkār's report carefully, we see that he states that ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād did have sons (*lahu walad*). The biographer did not give their names. In any case, the gravestones extend Ṣāliḥ's descendants for at least six generations beyond what is known from the narrative sources.

3.5.1.2. The branch of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh

The branch of Ḥamza is more present in the epigraphic record than any of the other branches of the descendant of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. Most of their inscriptions are found near to those of their cousins from the branch of ʿUrwa (see section 3.5.3) and the descendant of ʿAbbād (see section 3.5.1.1) in Muzj. There are two exceptions, and these are the inscriptions that were not found in Muzj (inscriptions 3.19-20).

Eight individuals from Ḥamza's branch left their inscriptions, seven of whom did so, moreover, in the same area, close to each other. Remarkably, we find inscriptions from four generations of this

[360] al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya,* 299-300; see also Muḥammad Ḥamza al-Ḥaddād used Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb epitaphs in his book *al-Nuqūsh al-āthāriyya maṣdaran lil-taʾrikh al-islāmī wa-l-ḥaḍāra al-islāmiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat Zahrāʾ al-Sharq, 2002), 1:31.

[361] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh wa-akhbāruhā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-ʿUrūba,1962), 1: 75.

branch in the same spot. In Muzj, none of the Zubayrids descending from Ḥamza's son of ʿAbd Allāh used the final *nisba* "al-Zubayrī", this in contrast to the practice of members of the branch of ʿUrwa in the same place (see section 3.5.2, and Part Two). However, the two graffiti found outside Muzj did use the *nisba* ibn al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.19-20).

According to the *nasab* tradition, Ḥamza had six sons: ʿAbbād, Hāshim, ʿĀmir, Abū Bakr, Yaḥyā, and Sulaymān (all born from different wives). Three of the named sons are represented in the inscriptions.[362] ʿAbbād was Ḥamza's eldest son.[363] He left two inscriptions (inscriptions 3.17-18), one with his son ʿAbd Allāh, and the second with his friend Maʿbad son of Abū Laylā. He never used more than one paternal name to present himself. The Zubayrids belonging to the ʿAbd Allāh branch used from one up to three paternal ancestors in all other places but in the area of Muzj they only used their father's name (see, for example, inscriptions 3.4, 5, 21, and 24).

Unfortunately, very little is known about ʿAbbād. His mother was Hind daughter of Quṭba son of Harim, who belonged to Banū Fazāra.[364] ʿAbbād was alive at the time of caliph al-Walīd I (r.86-96/705-715).[365] As mentioned above some parts of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book were lost. One of the parts that did survive, starts with the sons of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza. al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār writes rather enigmatically: "Thus, the line of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza died out, except for some men and women."[366] Ibn Ḥazm mentions al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād and his son Yaḥyā.[367]

Despite his earlier remark on the dying out of the line of ʿAbbād, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār does mentions one grandson of ʿAbbād, namely Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr, thereby indirectly providing

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[362] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*,240-241, see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, from here onward I am using the edition of ʿAbbās Hānī al-Jarrākh 1:171-87, and see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 123.

[363] "وكان عباد بن حمزه سيد بني حمزة و أكبرهم.", al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.

[364] Ibid., 1: 71.

[365] Ibid., 1: 75.

[366] "وقد انقرض ولد عباد بن حمزة، إلا رجلاً ونسيات", Ibid., 1: 85.

[367] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 123.

the name of one of ʿAbbād's grandsons: Yaḥya son of al-Zubayr.[368] Yaḥyā did indeed leave inscriptions, although his father is absent from the epigraphic record (see below). Inscriptions by ʿAbbād's two other sons, ʿAbd Allāh (inscriptions 3.18-19) and ʿUbayd Allāh (inscription 3.20), were also found. One of ʿAbd Allāh's inscriptions was found near one by his father. His brother ʿUbayd Allāh's graffito was, on the other hand, located in Tabūk.

As mentioned above, ʿAbbād's son al-Zubayr did not leave an inscription, but his descendants are present in the epigraphic record. This concerns his son, Yaḥyā, and his grandson Muḥammad. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād appears as such in three inscriptions (inscriptions 3.21-23). According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Yaḥyā was known as "Shaykh al-Zubayr" and was responsible for al-Zubayr family alms (*wālī ṣadaqātihim*). Yaḥyā lived at the time of caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158-169/775-785). Once, when al-Mahdī visited Medina, he tried to convince Yaḥyā to move with him to Baghdād, but Yaḥyā refused, saying that since his mother was very old, he did not want her to die outside Medina. Yaḥyā died at the age of 87.[369] He appears as a transmitter of riuals of the Prophet,[370] and is also mentioned as a transmitter concerning the reign of his great-grandfather ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.[371]

Strangely enough, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār never mentioned who Yaḥyā's mother was, although he mentioned that he met Yaḥyā in person when the latter was already old and as such, we can presume that al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār would have had an opportunity to ask about family relations. Similarly, he did not mention any offspring of Yaḥyā.[372] Nevertheless, a son of Yaḥyā left an inscription indicating his relation to his great-grandfather ʿAbbād, signing Muḥammad son of

[368] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 84-85.
[369] Ibid., 1: 84-85.
[370] Ibn Shabba, *Taʾrīkh al-madīna*, 1: 48.
[371] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 64-65.
[372] Ibid., 1: 84-85.

Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād (inscription 3.24). Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār did not give many details about Yaḥyā, except that he married someone from the ʿUmar family.[373] Also, he does not mention any offspring. This is exceptional because Muḥammad's inscription is dated 207/822-823, so it was supposedly made during the lifetime of the two Zubayrid genealogists, Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī (d. 236/851) and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (d. 256/870).

Sulaymān was Ḥamza's second son to have left an inscription using his own and his father's name (inscription 3.25). His mother was Umm al-Khaṭṭāb daughter of Shayba. She belonged to the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.[374] Al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār wrote the same statement about Sulaymān: "Sulaymān (son of Ḥamza) had no offspring except women."[375] However, a graffito placed next to Sulaymān son of Ḥamza, mentions a son of his called Ismāʿīl (inscription 3.26), who is not known from the literary record.

The third and final of Ḥamza's sons who is present in the epigraphic record is Hāshim (inscriptions 3.27-29). His mother was a concubine.[376]

3.5.1.3. The branch of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh

Mūsā was the youngest son of ʿAbd Allāh. From his branch three individuals have left inscriptions, all three are grandsons of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī wrote: "among the sons of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh, is Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā who transmitted ḥadīth on his (i.e. Mūsā's) authority. Mūsā's descendants (all come) from the sons of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā."

(ومن ولد موسى بن عبد الله: صديق بن موسى، كان يروى عنه الحديث؛ وعقب موسى من ولد صديق بن موسى).

[373] Ibid., 1: 85.
[374] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 77; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 268.
[375] "ليس لسليمان عقب الا من قبل النساء", al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 241; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.
[376] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.

Unfortunately, he does not mention Ṣaddīq's sons' names.[377] This makes it more difficult to identify some of the names in the inscriptions with individuals from this branch, especially if they did not mention a genealogy going back many generations. Fortunately, three individuals left their inscriptions on the same rock (inscriptions 3.30 -34), so that all can be connected and identified.

Ṣaddīq's son ʿAtīq is known through the graffito of his son ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAtīq son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā (inscription 3.30). The biography of ʿAbd Allāh's grandfather, Ṣaddīq, does not contain any information about his children or wives, not even whether he had any. Indeed, Ibn Saʿd made two entries for ʿAtīq in two different volumes without mentioning his wives or sons[378] ʿAtīq and Yaʿqūb, even though he does refer to his grandson in a different work.

Another son of Ṣaddīq, Yaʿqūb, is represented by graffiti left by two of his sons: ʿAtīq son of Yaʿqūb son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr left three inscriptions (inscriptions 3.31-33). Unfortunately, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār did not provide any information about him, but he does appear as a narrator in his book.[379] The mother of ʿAtīq also descended from al-Zubayr. Her name was Ḥafṣa daughter of ʿUmar son of ʿAtīq son of ʿAmr son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. Ibn Saʿd also provides an account that ʿAtīq was one of the companions of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795)' information that he copied Malik's *al-Muwaṭṭāʾ* and other works, which remain, however, unnamed. Two different death dates are mentioned for ʿAtīq: 227/841-842 or 228/842-843.[380] Yaʿqūb's other son left an inscription, signing as ʿĀmir son of Yaʿqūb son of Ṣaddīq (inscription 3.34).

[377] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243.
[378] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 483 and 8: 46.
[379] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 552.
[380] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 617.

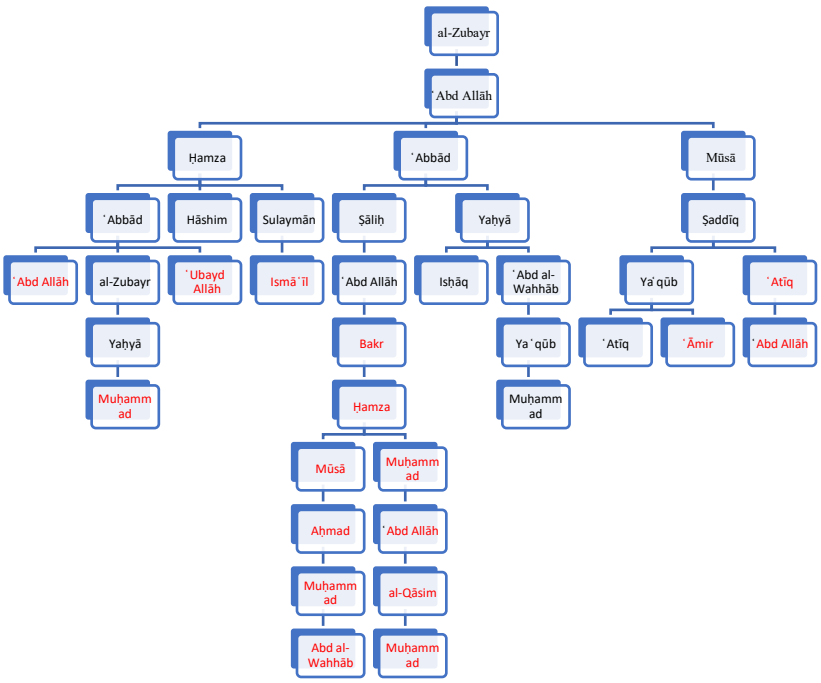

Figure 10 Family tree of descendants of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr branch attested in inscriptions

3.5.2. The branch of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr

Al-Mundhir (d. 64/683) was reportedly the second son of al-Zubayr. He fought on his brother ʿAbd Allāh's side, and he died during the first siege of Mecca by Ḥuṣayn son of Numayr in 64/683.[381] His *kunya*, according to Ibn Saʿd, was Abū ʿUthmān.[382] Al-Zubayrī only recorded six of al-Mundhir's sons, namely only those who had had sons themselves: the three full brothers Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm and ʿUbayd Allāh whose mother was from Banī Taīm, and additionally the brothers ʿAmr, ʿĀṣim, and Abū ʿUbayda, who were born from different wives.[383] Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār recorded two more sons, namely Zayd and Saʿīd and stated they were full brothers to Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir. Even though al-Zubayrī was aware of the existence of these sons and in fact reported about them to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, he did not include them in his own report

[381] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 245.
[382] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 181.
[383] Some of them al-Zubayrī mention their mother and others do not; see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 244.

because they did not have sons themselves, as mentioned above.[384] Another account by a different transmitter said that al-Zubayr and Saʿīd were full brothers born to Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir and that their mother was Zaynab daughter of Saʿīd son of Zayd son of ʿAmr son of Nafīl. Yet another report added another full brother for Muḥammad, namely Muʿāwiya.[385] Ibn Bakkār also added two sons of al-Mundhir, ʿUthmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[386] Al-Mundhir's name appears in an inscription engraved by his client, Bashīr, who remains otherwise anonymous (inscription 3.35). Eight individuals related to the branch of al-Mundhir will be discussed here. However, more focus will be given to the two branches of the family for which there are inscriptions: that of ʿUbayd Allāh and that of Muḥammad. The branch of al-Mundhir's son ʿUbayd Allāh has produced only one name, which appears in four inscriptions. On the other hand, the branch of al-Mundhir's grandson Falīḥ son of Muḥammad appears with seven individuals who all left inscriptions in Ruwāwa.

ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr is known from four inscriptions (inscriptions 3.36-39). His name appears in several accounts, mainly in the work of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār who mentions his name in different places in his book as a narrator of historical accounts. He was a "*muḥtasib,"* a market inspector, under the Abbasids when Dāwūd son of ʿĪsā son of Mūsā al-ʿAbāsī was governor of Medina and Mecca (in office 195-199/810-814).[387] According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, the Quraysh authorized ʿAbd Allāh at this time to initiate a fight against thieves.[388] Unfortunately, his birth and death dates are unknown.

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[384] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1:178.
[385] Ibid., 1: 178.
[386] Ibid., 1: 183.
[387] He was appointed as governor of Mecca in 193/809-810, but appeared as governor of Mecca and Medina in 195/810-811; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 5: 1760, 1778, and 1828.
[388] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 185.

The other branch is that of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr. Falīḥ's mother was Fākhita daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. There are no references to Falīḥ's children in the biographical literature.[389] However, the inscriptions contain information about three of his sons: Isḥāq, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Muḥammad son of Falīḥ is known from two inscriptions (inscriptions 3.43-44). Al-Rashid already suggested that Muḥammad might be the son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī. Al-Rashid's argument is based on the presence of an inscription from a paternal uncle with the name ʿUmāra son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.41) nearby. However, al-Rashid was not sure about his identification as the son of Falīḥ, because he found references about other persons named Muḥammad son of Falīḥ.[390] The *Taʾrīkh al-madīna* (*History of Medina)* describes the estate of al-Zubayr (baqīʿ al-Zubayr), and describes the houses "*Dūr*" as well as the families living in it. In this description he includes several family members of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr. He mentions that the house of Banī Muḥammad son of Falīḥ son of al-Mundhir was located in Baqīʿ al-Zubayr.[391] Because Muḥammad's descendants continued to live in Medina it is likely that it was Muḥammad who left graffiti close to the city. In addition, Ibn Ḥajar mentions Muḥammad as a *ḥadīth* transmitter quoting from his father.[392]

Two other sons of Falīḥ, together with their descendants, also appear in inscriptions, but they are not known from the literary sources. Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ (inscription 3.40) and his son ʿUmāra son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī left one inscription (inscription 3.41). As al-Rashid has pointed out, ʿUmāra is related to the branch of al-Mundhir based on his grandfather Falīḥ al-Zubayrī.[393] ʿUmāra's son left one inscription, signing: Ibrāhīm son of ʿUmāra (inscription 3.42).

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[389] Ibid., 1: 183.
[390] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 23.
[391] Ibn Shabba, *Taʾrīkh al-madīna*, 1: 141.
[392] Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Taʿjīl al-manfʿa bi-zawāʾid rijāl al-ʾimma al-arbaʿa*, ed. Ikrām Allāh Imdād al-Ḥaqq (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾr al-Islāmiyya, 1996), 2: 117-118.
[393] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 32-33.

Isḥāq is Falīḥ's final son who is represented in the epigraphic record with two inscriptions by himself, signing as Isḥāq son of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad (inscriptions 3.45-46). Additionally, two inscriptions are left by his two sons; one of them signed as ʿAbd Allāh son of Isḥāq son of Falīḥ (inscription 3.47). Unfortunately, the first name of the second inscription is damaged I will refer to him in the family tree as PN (inscription 3.48). On the basis of this information, it is possible to extend al-Mundhir's family tree beyond what is known from the literary record with two sons, three grandsons, and one great-grandson of al-Mundhir's grandson Falīḥ.

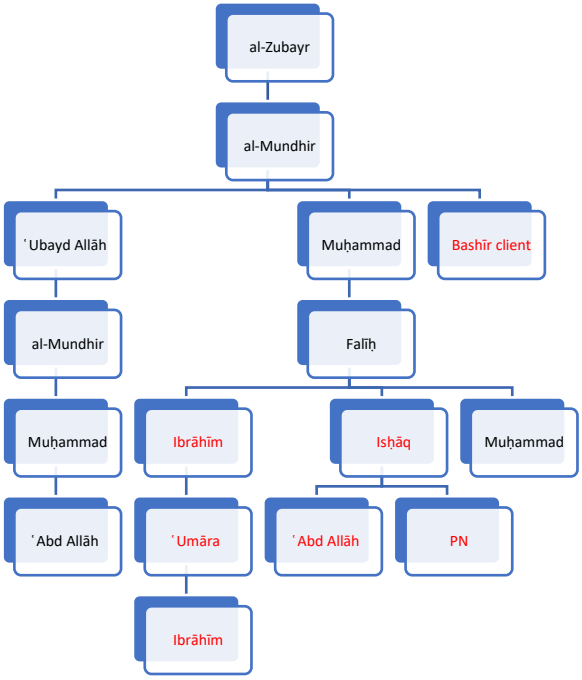

Figure 11 Family tree of descendants of the branch of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr attested in inscriptions

3.5.3. The branch of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr

ʿUrwa (d. 93-94/711-713) [394] was the son of al-Zubayr by his first wife Asmāʾ daughter of Abū Bakr the first caliph. ʿUrwa's first wife was Fākhita daughter of al-Aswad son of Abū al-Bakhturī. She gave birth to ʿAbd Allāh and ʿUmar. ʿUrwa's second wife was Umm Yaḥyā daughter of al-

[394] G. Schoeler, "ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr," *EI*^{2}, 10: 911.

Ḥakam son of Abū al-ʿĀṣ. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad, and ʿUthmān were born from this second marriage. His third wife, Asmāʾ daughter of Salama son of ʿUmar son of Abū Salama son of ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī gave birth to ʿUbayd Allāh. As for the two other sons, Hishām and Muṣʿab, their mothers were both concubines,[395] but only the name of Muṣʿab's mother, Wāṣla, is known.[396] Al-Balādhurī, however, considered Muṣʿab, ʿUmar, and ʿUbayd Allāh as full brothers of Asmāʾ daughter of Salama son of ʿUmar son of Abū Salama al-Makzūmī.[397]

ʿUrwa was known as one of the seven jurists of Medina (*al-fuqahā' al-sabʿa*).[398] In total eleven individuals belong to ʿUrwa, ten descendants of ʿUrwa belonging to the four branches of ʿUthmān, ʿAbd Allāh, Yaḥyā, and Muṣʿab have left inscriptions, and one client *mawlā* of ʿUrwa or the son of his *mawlā*. ʿUrwa's *mawlā* described himself in an inscription as Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb, a client of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.51). Ḥabīb appears in the work of Ibn Saʿd as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[399] According to Ibn Ḥibbān (d.354/965), Ḥabīb died during the reign of caliph Marwān II (r. 127-132/744-750).[400]

Inscriptions associated with the branch of ʿUrwa have been found in different places throughout Arabia: the majority is located around Medina, but we also find inscriptions in al-ʿUlā, Tabūk, and Khaybar. In 1935 and 1936, Othman Rostem visited the city of Medina and conducted a survey. One of his findings was a graffito at Biʾr ʿUrwa south of Medina, related to one grandson of ʿUrwa, from his son ʿAbd Allāh. Unfortunately, he did not publish a picture of the inscription, and the inscription was, damaged in the first line. Rostem thought that the graffito might be related to

[395] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 245-248.
[396] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 177.
[397] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 54.
[398] Schoeler, "ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr," *EI²*, 10:911.
[399] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 507.
[400] Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirāt al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1973), 6: 180.

ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa,[401] who appears below in another inscription. Khālid Askūbī, who visited the place recently, stated that the text could no longer be found.[402]

ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa (inscription 3.49) and his son ʿUrwa son of ʿUthmān (inscription 3.50) left one inscription each. These two inscriptions are situated close to each other. However, amongst the Zubayrid, there were two people with the name ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa, according to the literary sources. The full name of the first identified person was: ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUkāsha son of Muṣʿab son of al-Zubayr. He is known to have had two sons but their names were unknown to al-Zubayrī.[403] The other individual was ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr, in the branch of al-Zubayr that is discussed in this section thus ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa. Al-Rashid thought that ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa was the son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr.[404] However, al-Rashid used al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) as his source and was therefore faced with a disagreement between the literary sources and the inscriptions. Al-Sakhāwī wrote that ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa died in the time of al-Manṣūr and had no offspring.[405] Al-Rashid, based on al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1440), mentioned that ʿUrwa had property in Wādī al-ʿAqīq, at the edge of Ruwāwa, supporting his argument that the person in the inscription must have been ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa.[406] Nevertheless, the discrepancy between our sources must be addressed first, because the work that al-Rashid used, al-Sakhāwī is a comparatively late source. Indeed, other, older sources present different opinions.

Al-Zubayrī and al-Balādhurī argue that ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa had sons but that the line

[401] Rostem, "Rock inscriptions," 24.
[402] Khālid Askūbī, personal communication, October 17, 2020.
[403] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 214.
[404] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 42.
[405] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fi taʾrīkh al-madīna al-Sharīfa* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār Nashr al-Thaqāfa, 1979), 3: 161.
[406] al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, 3: 189-192; and see al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 124, note 124.

(eventually) died out.[407] On the other hand, al-Zubayr ibn al-Bakkār claims that his line continued but that it did so through his daughters.[408] None of these authorities, however, mentioned ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa's offspring by name. Ibn Saʿd solved the issue by providing details about the children of ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa. He counted seven sons and six daughters from two wives and one concubine.[409] As mentioned above, ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr mother was a Qurayshī, and the daughter of al-Ḥakam son of Abū al-ʿĀṣ. Interestingly, ʿUthmān's wife, and the mother of his son ʿUrwa, was also a Zubayrid from the branch of al-Mundhir. Her name was Qarība daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of al-Mundhir. Based on the chronology constructed by Ibn Saʿd, it seems that ʿUrwa was ʿUthmān's eldest son.[410]

ʿAbd Allāh in turn was ʿUrwa's eldest son.[411] His *kunya* was Abū Bakr. ʿAbd Allāh had five sons, ʿUmar, Ṣāliḥ, Salama, Sālim, and Musālim, and three daughters from two wives, both belonging to the Zubayrids. The first two sons, and ʿĀʾisha, were children from Umm Ḥakīm daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. The other children were from his wife Umm Salama daughter of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.[412] Three of ʿAbd Allāh's sons appear in the inscriptions, as discussed below. The presence of three of ʿAbd Allāh's sons in the epigraphic record offers interesting additional information to the literary sources. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī wrote: "Concerning ʿUrwa's sons: There was ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa who, unlike ʿUmar (his brother by the same mother Fākhita daughter of al-Aswad son of Abū al-Bukhtarī) who did not have any

[407] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 247; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 55.
[408] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 209.
[409] Ibn Saʿd, al-*Ṭabaqāt al-kabrī*, 7: 462.
[410] Ibid., 7: 462.
[411] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 189.
[412] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460.

offspring, had one male descendant. None of ʿAbd Allāh's other sons survived, although they had been many, and consequently the line died out."[413]

ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr left one inscription (inscription 3.52). ʿUmar might be the eldest son of ʿAbd Allāh from his wife Umm Ḥakīm daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, because he appears first in the list of sons in Ibn Saʿd's chronicle.[414] He was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[415] ʿUmar's brother Sālim left three inscriptions (inscriptions 3.53-55), and Salama left one inscription (inscription 3.56). Sālim's and Salama's mother was Umm Salama daughter of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.[416] Sālim's full brother by the same mother left an inscription signed as Salama son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa (inscription 3.56). Sālim did not have his own entry in Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book, but he appears in a chain of transmitters in this book for an account belonging to his grandfather ʿUrwa.[417]

ʿUrwa's son Muṣʿab is known through the inscription of his son, who signed as ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.57).[418] Al-Zubayrī mentions Muṣʿab as the youngest son of ʿUrwa. He also stated that this Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa had offspring but without mentioning the names of the children or how many sons or daughters there were.[419]

Possibly another one of ʿUrwa's sons left an inscription under the name Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr[420] (inscription 3.58), thus omitting the name of his father ʿUrwa. Despite the fact that his father's name is missing, there are still valid reasons to suppose this might be one of ʿUrwa's sons because

[413] "ومن ولد عروة بن الزبير وعبد الله بن عروة لا [عقب] لعمر ولعبد الله عقب رجل واحد لم يبق غيره من ولد عبد الله وكانوا كثيرا فانقرضوا", al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 245-246.
[414] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 194.
[415] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460.
[416] Ibid., 7: 461.
[417] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 271.
[418] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 244-245.
[419] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 248.
[420] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.

his inscription was found next to that of ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab (inscription 3.57) in al-Aqraʿ. Al-Kilābī has suggested that Yaḥyā might have been the uncle of ʿUmar – i.e. Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr,[421] even if the inscription does not mention his father's name ʿUrwa. In addition, al-Kilābī wrote that Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa, who was in Damascus for a personal matter during the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, could have left an inscription en route,[422] I agree with al-Kilābī, that Yaḥyā would be the son of ʿUrwa, based on her suggestion. Nevertheless, other persons by the name Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr are known from the sources as well, they are:

1. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAmr son of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr.[423]

2. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād, discussed above in section 3.5.1.2. (inscriptions 3.21-23).

Three late descendants of Yaḥyā are known from their tombstones, which were published previously by al-Moraekhi.[424] These are the descendants of two sons of Yaḥyā's son ʿAbd al-Malik. This grandson of ʿUrwa is the last of his descendants attested in the literary record.[425] ʿAbd al-Malik in turn was the grandfather of one of the individuals whose tombstones was preserved, namely Umm ʿUrwa and the great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather of the other two, namely ʿAbd Allāh and Bakkār.

Umm ʿUrwa was the daughter of Ibrāhīm son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr's, names that were all mentioned on the gravestone (inscription 3.59).[426] The other two were descendants of ʿAbd al-Malik via his son Isḥāq. These were ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad

[421] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 249-250.
[422] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 200.
[423] Ibid., 1: 155.
[424] al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 38-49.
[425] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.
[426] al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 38-49.

son of Isḥāq son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.60) and his son Bakkār, (inscriptions 3.61-62).

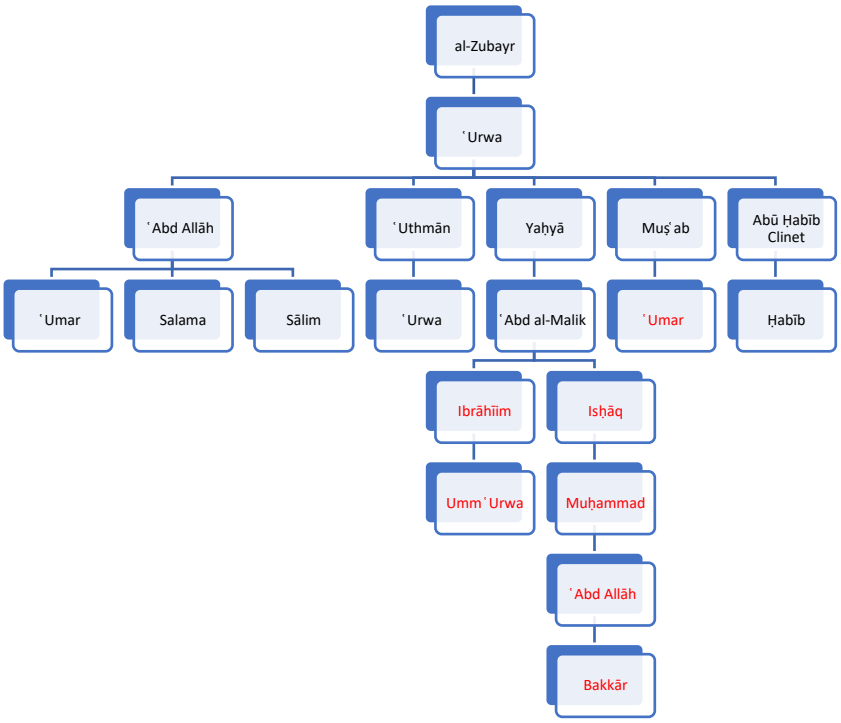

Figure 12 Family tree of the descendants of ʿUrwa so of al-Zubayr attested in inscriptions

3.5.4. The branches of ʿAmr and Jaʿfar sons of al-Zubayr

The Zubayrid family, which is discussed here, has two additional branches that are represented in the inscriptions. Those are the branches that belong to ʿAmr and Jaʿfar.

A graffito of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.63) was found in the Ḥismā desert in Tabūk. ʿAmr is the son of al-Zubayr by his wife Umm Khālid daughter of Khālid son of Saʿīd son of al-ʿĀṣī.[427] He was known to be in opposition to his brother ʿAbd Allāh and died during the second civil war in his brother ʿAbd Allāh's jail in 61/681.[428] One of ʿAmr's clients left an inscription as

[427] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 236.
[428] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 185; Gibb, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr," *EI²*, 1:55.

well. This was ʿUqba son of Jarmān, *mawlā* of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.64). It is difficult to determine whether ʿUqba or his father was the *mawlā* of ʿAmr.

Another descendant of al-Zubayr through his son ʿAmr is known from the epigraphic record. This concerns Umm Kulthūm daughter of Muḥammad son of Muḥammad son of al-Walīd son of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAmr son of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām whose tombstone has been preserved (inscription 3.65). Although the long genealogy identifies Umm Kulthūm as a descendant of al-Zubayr, her grandfather, Muḥammad son of al-Walīd, is the last person mentioned in the literary sources.[429]

Turning to the descendant of Jaʿfar, a graffito of a descendant from the 7th generation of Jaʿfar was found in the region of Medina (inscription 3.66), giving his name as ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ādam son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿImrān son of Shuʿayb son of Jaʿfar son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.66). Nothing is known about this late descendant of al-Zubayr in the literary sources, nor about his immediate predecessors. As al-Rashīd already pointed out based on al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār he is not identified and the last name from his genealogy that does appear in the literary sources is Shuʿayb son of Jaʿfar.[430]

[429] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 226; al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 153.
[430] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 266; al-Rashid, *Darb zubayda ṭarīq*, 420-421.

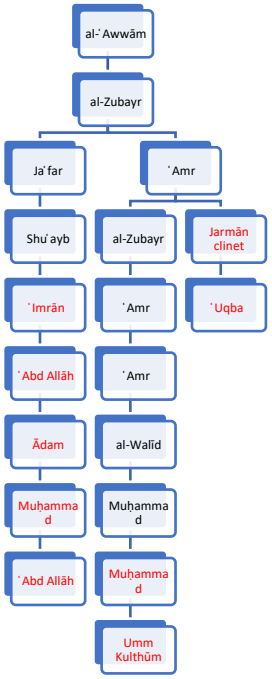

Figure 13 Family tree of the branches of ʿAmr and Jaʿfar as attested in the inscriptions

3.5.5. Unidentified Zubayrids

As I mentioned before, some Zubayrids could not be identified. While many of the names that appear in the inscriptions and that are discussed in this dissertation may point to multiple possible identities – and so add complexity to the process of identification – within the scope of this study, the only unsolvable cases I encountered were those in the Zubayrid family. In the inscriptions, the full lineage does not appear, and so complete identification could not be made or is open to multiple interpretations. The identifications suggested below are thus subject to greater speculation than the other classifications in this dissertation.

These inscriptions originate in the regions of Medina, al-ʿUlā, and the ʿAsham cemetery south of Mecca, but most of the names can be found in al-ʿUlā. It is indeed reported that al-Zubayr son of

Khubayb son of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr owned land in Wadī al-Qurā and died there.[431]

The first group of unidentified Zubayrids left inscriptions around Medina. Jaʿfar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī is known from one graffito (inscription 3.67) found in Ruwāwa. The script of the inscription points, according to al-Rashid, to a date in the 2nd or maybe early 3rd/8th-9th century. Jaʿfar is not known in the literary record so far, but his father ʿAbd Allāh son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī might be identified as the individual mentioned in *Akhbār al-quḍā* as a grandson of al-Zubayrī the genealogist.[432] If he is the great-grandson of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī the text can be dated to the 3rd/10th century. There is also an ʿAbd Allāh son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī in the chain of transmitters that ends with Ibn ʿAbbās (d.68/687).[433] While the chronology fits the identification, no further information is known about ʿAbd Allāh son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī the transmitter concerning his origins, place of residence, and the like that would have facilitated his identification.

Yaḥyā son of Yaḥyā al-Zubayrī also left an inscription in the area of Medina (inscription 3.68). The *nisba* "al-Zubayrī" can be used either as a reference or as a direct link to the founder of the family. Indeed, the title "al-Zubayrī" that occurs in this inscription offers several possibilities of identification. Amongst the Zubayrid are several individuals with the name Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr. Additionally some individuals carried the name 'al-Zubayrī' as part of their name, rather than as a reference to who their father was. The five individuals I mention below lived in Medina at the time that this inscription would have been completed:

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[431] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 105.
[432] Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 1: 199.
[433] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-asmāʾ al-mubhama fī al-anbāʾ al-muḥkama*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sayyid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1997), 363.

Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAmr son of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr, a poet known by Zubayr ibn Bakkār.[434]

Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād, discussed above in section 3.5.1.2 (inscriptions 3.21-23).

Yaḥyā son of Jaʿfar son of al-Zubayr, known by al-Mizzī as a transmitter from his cousin ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.[435]

Yaḥyā son of Jaʿfar son of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, also a possible identification for our Yaḥyā, was a poet.[436]

Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa, discussed above in section 3.5.3 (inscription 3.58), but this Yaḥyā did not have a son called Yaḥyā.[437]

Finally, there is the son of the famous genealogist al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, whose name was Yaḥyā, although no more information is available about him except that his son was called Muḥammad.[438] He might have had other sons, amongst whom one was called Yaḥyā.

An inscription 304/916, mentioning Muṣʿab son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.69), was found in Mahd ad-Dhahab. Miles suggested he might have belonged to the branch of Muṣʿab son of al-Zubayr.[439] Nevertheless, the only person known from the literary sources who can be associated with the person mentioned in this inscription is Jaʿfar son of Muṣʿab from the branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr; that is to say, the father of the person named in the inscription. He was the son

[434] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 225.
[435] al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 14: 137.
[436] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 65.
[437] Ibn Saʿd, al-*Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.
[438] Abū ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿImrān ibn Mūsā Mirzabānī, *Ashʿār al-nisāʾ*,ed. Sāmī Makī al-ʿĀnī and Hilāl Nājī (Dār ʿĀlam al-Kutub,1995), 62.
[439] Miles, "ʿAli b. Īsā's," 485.

of the Zubayrid genealogist Muṣʿab. The only son known of this Jaʿfar is ʿAbd Allāh, who was alive in 283/896–897.[440]

In the ʿAsham cemetery south of Mecca the name Ḥakīma daughter of Hārūn son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.70-71) was found.[441] Occasionally, sections of a lineage were omitted in the inscriptions, especially concerning the generations further removed in time. For example, ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza son ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr left out his great-grandfather ʿAbd Allāh, so the inscription just reads ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbbād son Ḥamza son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.20). If we accept that this was also the case in Ḥakīma's inscriptions, it is possible to reconstruct her identity as follows.

As al-Zaylaʿī has suggested Ḥakīma might be a "distant descendant" of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, without giving further arguments for this presumpion.[442] The only Zubayrī whose name is Hārūn is the brother of al-Zubayr son of Bakkār, the genealogist.[443] If Ḥakīma is the daughter of this Hārūn, then the inscriber has omitted part of her lineage. Unfortunately, there is no information about Hārūn's offspring, but the name Ḥakīma was used amongst the branch of ʿAbd Allāh, which supports this idea.[444]

As mentioned above, many of the Zubayrid inscriptions were found in the region of al-ʿUlā. Amongst these are Aḥmad son of al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.72), Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.73), and ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.74), who are each known from one inscription. These three individuals, although not convincingly

[440] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Rwḍ al-Dānī ilā al-muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Maḥmmad Shkūr Maḥmūd al-Ḥājj Āmrīr (Beirut/ Amman: al-Maktab al-Islāmī/ Dār ʿAmmār, 1985), 1: 389.
[441] al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 315-317, al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ʿasham*, 251.
[442]al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 315-317.
[443] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 123.
[444] There was one Zubayrid called Ḥakīma, the daughter of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr see Ibn Saʿd, al-*Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 406.

identifiable as particular individuals known from the literary sources, might very well be related. Aḥmad son of al-Zubayr, his son Muḥammad, and his grandson ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad, all left their inscriptions in the same place, making it likely that Muḥammad was Aḥmad's son and ʿAbd Allāh his grandson.

One member of the Zubayrid family whose inscription was found in Mecca, Ṣāliḥ son ʿAbbād, discussed in section 3.5.1.1 (inscription 3.15), had, according to the inscription, a great-grandson named Muḥammad son of Aḥmad. This identification fits the date of the inscriptions, which seems to be rather late. The second Zubayrī who can be considered the ancestor of the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions is ʿAbd Allāh son of Muṣʿab son of Thābit, who had a son called Aḥmad. Aḥmad is known to have had offspring.[445]

Another unidentified Zubayrid whose name appears in an inscription, Abū al-Zubayr son of Ibrāhīm son of Muṣʿab (inscription 3.75), might be related to the branch of Muṣʿab. There are two persons in this branch who had their father's name. The first one is Ibrāhīm son of Muṣʿab son of Muṣʿab son of Muṣʿab son of al-Zubayr (who is usually referred to as ibn Khaḍayr in the literary sources).[446] But according to al-Zubayrī, this Muṣʿab did not have sons, only daughters.[447] However, Robinson found out that al-Balādhurī mentions that this Ibrāhīm did have sons.[448] The second one with this name is Ibrāhīm son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUmāra son of Ḥamza son of Muṣʿab. This individual is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī.[449]

Three further Zubayrids have left their names in inscriptions, but due to the limit of their genealogies in the inscriptions, they cannot be identified with figures from the literary record.

[445] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 169.
[446] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 250; Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 222.
[447] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 250.
[448] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 58; Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 89-90.
[449] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 4: 1596.

These are Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī (inscriptions 3.76-82), Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son Isḥāq al-Zubayrī (inscriptions 3.81-85), and Jaʿfar son of Isḥāq al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.86). Two individuals who were likely father and son are Ismāʿīl son of al-Ḥasan al-Zubayrī (inscriptions 3.87-88) and ʿAbd Allāh son of Ismāʿīl al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.89). The name al-Ḥasan in the Zubayrid family appears once in a long lineage, 10 generations after al-Ḥasan. In al-Yūnīnī's (d. 726/1326) *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān* al-Ḥasan son of ʿĪsā son of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Nāfiʿ son of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr appears as a descendant of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh. If Ismāʿīl was the son of al-Ḥasan, this might be a possible family branch associated with him.[450]

3.6. The descendants of Abū ʿAbs

> "Mention the virtues of ʿAbd Allāh Abū ʿAbs al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, may God be pleased with him."[451]

There are twenty-four graffiti related to the family of Abū ʿAbs. The inscriptions in question mainly come from three areas north of Medina, all in close proximity: al-Ṣuwaydira, al-Sāybiyya, and Wādī Ḍubūʿa. In addition, this corpus shows that this family continued to be active in Medina until the fourth generation. These graffiti belong to seven individuals; five new members may now be added to this family. The valuable, contemporary information from the inscriptions allows us to redraw the family tree of Abū ʿAbs and find missing relationships between individuals in the

[450] In al-Yūnīnī's, *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān* mentions Yaʿqūb son of ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ son of Zayd son of Mālik son of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Faḍāla son of ʿAlī son of ʿUthmān son of Muḥammad son of al-Ḥasan son of ʿĪsā son of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Nāfiʿ son of Thābit son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, see Quṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl marʾāt al-zamān* (Cairo, Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1992), 2: 441.

[451] "ذكر مناقب عبد الله أبي عبس الأنصاري الخزرجي رضي الله عنه", Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990), 3: 393.

tree. As mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.2, the family *nisba* was previously read as Abū ʿĪsā; the reread of the corpus allowed me to connect the family to the literary sources.

I will start by discussing the ancestors of this family, Abū ʿAbs and his descendants, because they are relatively less well discussed in the literary sources compared to the three Qurayshī families discussed above. As discussed in section 3.2.3, the primary sources are less abundant in their discussion of Anṣār genealogy. Only two of Abū ʿAbs' grandsons receive some attention in the biographical dictionaries. As for the rest of his family, details about their lives (date of birth and death, etc.) are absent from the Islamic sources. In view of this, the current section has two aims: first to discuss who is attested in the sources and second to identify the other grandsons of Abū ʿAbs.

According to the *ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd, Abū ʿAbs al-Anṣārī's (d. 34/654-655) full name is Abū ʿAbs son of Jābir son of ʿAmr son of Zayd son of Jasham son of Ḥāritha son of al-Kazraj son of Malik al-Awasī al-Anṣārī. His mother was Laylā daughter of Rāfiʿ son of ʿAmr son of ʿAdī son of Majdʿa son of Hāritha.[452] From the pre-Islamic era, there is little information about Abū ʿAbs, only that he was known to have been able to write Arabic before the rise of Islam.[453] He participated in the battle of Badr in the year 2/624 at the age of 48 and reportedly lost his eyesight while the Prophet was still alive.[454]

His name before Islam was allegedly ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā or Maʿbad. Following his conversion, the Prophet Muḥammad supposedly changed his name to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or, according to one account, ʿAbd Allāh. He himself preferred the *kunya* Abū ʿAbs,[455] which would become his family

[452] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 3: 415.
[453] Ibid., 3: 415.
[454] Ibid., 3: 415.
[455] Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammād al-Dūlābī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ (*Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1999), 1: 76-77.

nisba after his death. It follows therefore that his pre-Islamic name was more likely to have been ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, 'servant of the pre-Islamic goddess ʿUzzā'. The name "Maʿbad" continued after all to be common in the Islamic period. This can be clearly seen in the inscriptions. See, for example, in Part Two the inscription of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza and Maʿbad son of Abū Laylā (inscription 3.17). There would thus not have been a reason for a name change.

The important position of Abū ʿAbs in the early period of Islam was due to his participation in the Prophet's raids, as well as his significant role in the killing of Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf in 3/624. A poem was composed celebrating Abū ʿAbs' role in this event.[456] The Prophet Muḥammad had also made a brotherhood between Abū ʿAbs and Khanīs son of Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī, and sent them both with Abū Burda son of Nayār to destroy the idols of the Banī Hārith.[457] Moreover, Abū ʿAbs transmitted several *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet relating to the prayer. After the Prophet's death, Abū ʿAbs pursued a role under the two caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUthmān (r.23-35/644-656). Ibn Saʿd mentions that they sent him to collect the alms tax from the Muslims, without indicating the exact place where this was done or from whom he collected the alms. Abū ʿAbs died at the age of 70 in the year 34/654-655. He was buried in al-Baqīʿa cemetery. It is said that caliph ʿUthmān prayed for him at his funeral.[458]

Ibn Saʿd wrote about Abū ʿAbs' descendants saying: "Abū ʿAbs had many descendants in Medina and Baghdād."[459] Unfortunately, there is no mention of Abū ʿAbs' children in Baghdād in the sources, and the inscriptions only offer information about his sons and grandsons in Medina.

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[456] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 2006),160-162.
[457] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 3: 416.
[458] Ibid., 3: 416.
[459] "ولأبي عبس بقية وعقب كثير بالمدينة وبغداد" Ibid., 3: 415.

Four of Abū ʿAbs' sons are mentioned in the literature, namely Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, Zayd and ʿUbayd Allāh. He also had at least one daughter called Ḥamīda.[460] Two branches can be corroborated from the epigraphic record, that of Muḥammad and that of Zayd.

Six of those leaving inscriptions belong to the descendants of Muḥammad: three sons, two grandsons, and one great-grandson. Five of Muḥammad's sons are known from the epigraphic record, although not all of them left inscriptions themselves.

Al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs left a number of graffiti in al-Ṣuwaydira. He left eight in this valley, presenting himself with and without a last name (inscriptions 4.1-8). Unfortunately, there is no further information about him in the literary sources, except for the name of his daughter, Sharīfa, who became the wife of ʿAbd al-Majīd, who is discussed below.[461] Al-Qāsim's son Ṭālūt is attested in four graffiti that mention the names of his father and grandfather (inscriptions 4.9-12).

A second son of Muḥammad signed his inscriptions as ʿAbd al-Malik son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs in his graffiti (inscriptions 4.13-15). Maslama son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs is the third son to have left a graffito (inscription 4.16). Although ʿAbd al-Malik and Maslama are not known from the literary record.

ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs left two graffiti (inscriptions 4.17-18). His full name is ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs. He was the great-grandson of Abū ʿAbs, the founder of the family. His father was Abū ʿAbs son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs. According to Ibn Saʿd the mother of ʿAbd al-Majīd was a concubine, though he did not give her name. ʿAbd al-Majīd's wife was Sharīfa daughter of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs.

[460] Ibid., 3: 415.
[461] Ibid., 7: 589.

This means that ʿAbd al-Majīd and Sharīfa were cousins. In addition, Ibn Saʿd states that Sharīfa gave birth to two children, Aḥmad and Maryam. ʿAbd al-Majīd died in the year 164/780–781.[462] He was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter from his great-grandfather.[463]

The last of Muḥammad's grandsons in the epigraphic record is Sālim son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs, who is known from four inscriptions (inscriptions 4.19-22). Sālim is not known from our literary sources.

The branch of Zayd is only represented with one name, Maymūn son of Zayd. An overview of Zayd is necessary before moving on to his son. As mentioned above, Zayd was the son of Abū ʿAbs, but we do not know if he was older or younger than Muḥammad. Neither do we know whether they were full brothers or had different mother, as the sources do not provide any information regarding Zayd's mother or wife. Zayd's son Maymūn signed with his father's name and that of the family, Abū ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.23-24). He lived in Medina and was known as a transmitter of *hadith*.[464] Some of the accounts of Maymūn have been transmitted by ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs.[465]

[462] Ibid., 7: 589.
[463] al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, 6: 111.
[464] Ibid., 7: 341.
[465] Abū Naʿīm Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwa*, ed. Muḥammad Rawwās Qalʿahjī and ʿAbd al-Barr ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Nafāʾis, 1986), 2: 562.

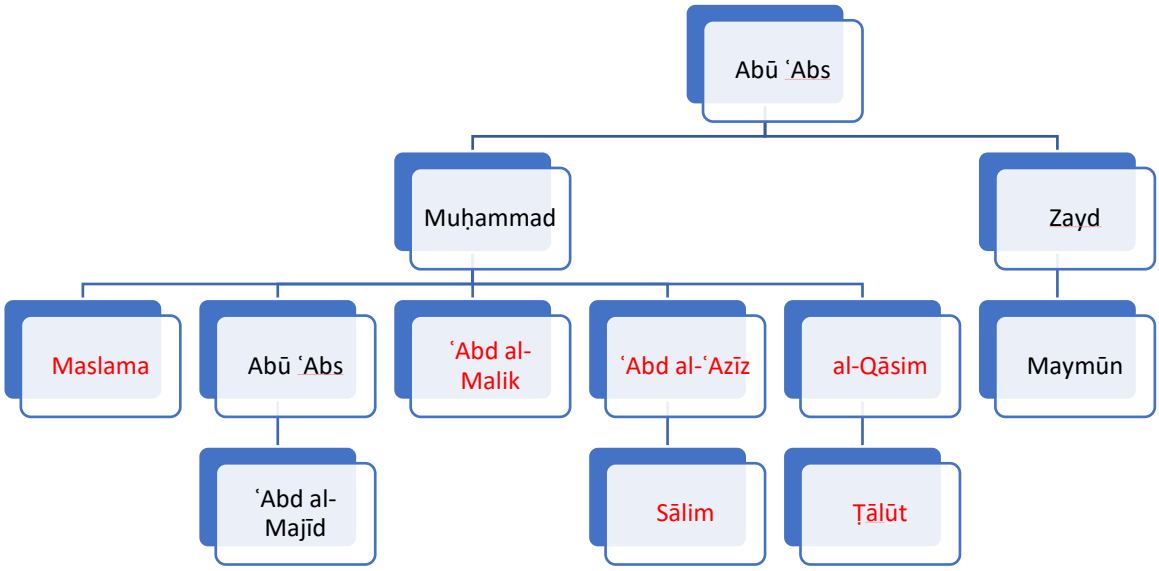

Figure 14 Family tree of descendants of Abū ʿAbs attested in the inscriptions

3.7. Conclusion

The inscriptions relating to the descendants of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad add to the information mentioned in the literary sources in three main ways. Firstly, in some cases, they confirm the information available in the literary sources. Secondly, they can be used to provide additional information about descendants that either have not been mentioned at all in the literary sources or whose existence has been hinted at, but without providing details. In Chapter Four, the family members known from these inscriptions, but not known from the wider literary sources, will be discussed, together with possible reasons for such discrepancies. Finally, together the inscriptions extend the familial genealogies much further in time than the literary sources.

This chapter discussed the relationship between the main body of writings, the inscriptions as a source of genealogical information, and the Muslim traditions. It showed, on the one hand, that people were usually presented with a much longer lineage on gravestones, which helps to construct the family trees for several additional generations. This is not the case for graffiti. For example, in

the branches of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, we noticed that most of them did not use the full lineage, but rather mentioned one or two paternal family members in their graffiti (see the corpus related to the branch of ʿAbd Allāh inscriptions 3.2-34).

Also, according to the data used in this chapter, there is significant information about the branches and sub-branches of important families present in the epigraphic records. However, it seems the inscriptions are not equally divided among the branches, some branches were much more active in recording their family lineage than others. For instance, in the family of ʿUmar and al-Zubayr, we were only able to analyze some branches and sub-branches; the majority of inscriptions of the ʿUmar family are related to the branch of ʿĀṣim. Additionally, most of those were found at the same site.

However, some individuals were difficult to identify due to their shortened names, or because they did not present their entire lineage on the rock. This applies particularly to the unidentified Zubayrids found in the epigraphic records, who could have belonged to several branches of the family, and with the information currently available cannot be assigned with any certainty to one particular branch.

As a result of the comparative link between the literary sources and the inscriptions conducted above, 58 individuals from amongst the 106 attested in the inscriptions could not be identified using the literary texts. They are divided as follows, amongst the family of al-Mughīra 2 individuals are not known. From the family of ʿUmar, 16 out of 39 remain unidentified, even if their father or grandfather was identified. Most of them belong to the branch of ʿĀṣim. Thirdly, for the family of al-Zubayr, which contains 54 individuals, 35 are not identifiable. I have divided the unidentified Zubayrids into two categories: those whose father or lineage is known, which applies to 21 of them; and the rest, which cannot be identified due to a lack of any information

about their lineage. Finally, for the family of Abū ʿAbs, there were 5 amongst a total of 7 family members who could not be identified. Now that we have reviewed all the information gleaned from the literary sources about the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions, identifying those who are absent in the narrative sources, we will turn to take a closer look at those 'missing people' trying to explain why they are absent from the literary sources.

Chapter Four: Missing people

4.1. Introduction

> "One of the most important editorial decisions when composing a genealogically structured history is whom to include. Normally, the genealogist does not record every name he knows about, but chooses the most notable and notorious. Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn al-Kalbī follow this format quite rigidly – there are rarely instances where they include a name without a reason for its inclusion (normally they are accompanied by an anecdote or at least a job title). Al-Zubayrī is an exception though."[466]

One of the main aims of this dissertation is to compare the literary records with the information that can be gleaned from the inscriptions and to explain any discrepancies. In the previous chapter, I have reconstructed the four *ṣaḥāba* families that form the focus of this thesis on the basis of individuals attested in the epigraphic records, and added all available information about them from the literary sources. In doing so, it became clear that the individuals who appear in the inscriptions fall into two main categories those that appear in the literary sources and those that do not. In the first category there is a large scope between those who are amply represented in the literary sources and those that get only scarce mentions. So we find people who have their own biographical entries or who are referred to in historical works and other people's biographies, with short anecdotes about what they did or which functions they held. In other cases, only their name appears in *nasab* and *ṭabaqāt* records, where they are mentioned solely as someone's son, or husband. In the second category are those I have labelled "missing people" as they are entirely lacking in the available literary sources. The second type is also divided into two groups – namely, those who can be

[466] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 87.

identified based on their relation to family members associated to their epigraphic entries (either because they mention them in their genealogy or because their inscriptions appear near those of their family members, as discussed in Chapter Three); and those who can only be placed in a certain family because of the presence of a known *nisba*, but whose identity remains otherwise unknown (Chapter Three, section 3.5.5).

However, as shown in Chapter Three, inscriptions help us to draw family trees that are more elaborate that the ones from the sources. Looking into these writings in more detail, will yield more interesting hypotheses or reasons about why certain individuals are missing from the *nasab* tradition. These different theories are discussed and analyzed in the following part.

The result of the investigations carried out in Chapter Three, shows that of the 106 individuals who appear in this dissertation, 58 could not be matched with literary records. This means that 55% of the individuals who left inscriptions in this group of rather prominent families, are entirely overlooked in the historical sources. Of this 55%, 12% could not be identified at all, although they clearly belong to one of the four well-known families of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad; I labeled them unidentified Zubayrid (see Chapter Three, section 3.5.5).

In order to answer the questions of when, where, and why the epigraphic and literary historical records differ, I will examine *why* these 'missing people' are absent from available literary records. I will turn to the conceivable reasons behind their absence from the literary records, for which I have taken Majied Robinson's dissertation as a starting point.[467]

4.2. What this corpus adds to the *nasab* tradition

In the previous chapter, I showed that the epigraphic corpus adds to our knowledge about individuals belonging to well-known Medinan and Meccan families of *ṣaḥāba* who are 'lost' in

[467] Ibid., 87-100.

the work of the Muslim genealogists. Some recent studies have dealt with people mentioned in the epigraphic record that are missing from the genealogical works. Examples are the works by al-Zaylaʿī [468] and by al-Ḥaddād.[469] These studies only used inscriptions to add the individuals to the respective family trees. Al-Zaylaʿī, for example, argued that one late descendant of al-Mūsawiyya family was missing from the genealogical work.[470] Al-Ḥaddād, on the other hand, dedicated a section in his book discussing how inscriptions can be used to correct mistakes that exist in the genealogical books, about members of family in the Arabian Peninsula.[471] Al-Ḥaddād was able to provide additional information about two of the descendants of ʿAlī, two members of the Zubayrid family (as mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.5.1.1), and a descendant of ʿUthmān son of ʿAbd al-Dār.[472] However, as I mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.5.1.1, he made a mistake in the sources he used on his identification of the two Zubayrids that appear in the inscriptions.

Our corpus adds members to each family in our corpus which were not known previously in the sources (see Chapter Three, figures 7-14). The aim of current chapter is not to provide additional corrections to the literary record by adding more names to family trees, rather, it is about trying to give an explanation of *why* people are absent from the historical discussions of these early generations of well-known families. Nonetheless, in the process of finding these answers we do still manage to also add new members to each family (see also the family trees in Chapter Three).

4.2.1. The end of *nasab* and *ṭabaqāt* literature?

When examining the descendants of al-Mughīra, we can observe that throughout the 3rd generation, the inscriptions and literary sources are almost identical. Other members that left inscriptions are

[468] al-Zaylaʿī, "Aḍwāʾ," 169-189.
[469] al-Ḥaddād, *al-Nuqūsh al-āthāriyya*, 1: 29-32.
[470] al-Zaylaʿī, "Aḍwāʾ," 174-175.
[471] al-Ḥaddād, *al-Nuqūsh al-āthāriyya*, 1:28-32.
[472] Ibid., 1: 29-30.

from later generations, which are absent from the sources (see Chapter Three, section 3.3). In the case of the family of Abū ʿAbs of which the 3rd and 4th generation are present in the inscriptions, through seven individuals, only two persons are known from the historical sources; one of them is from the 3rd generation, namely Maymūn son of Zayd (inscriptions 4.23-24), the other comes from the 4th generation namely ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.17-18).[473] The additional five individuals from this family that left inscriptions, are not present in the literary sources.

For the family of ʿUmar, on the other hand, there is coherence between the *nasab* and *ṭabaqāt* traditions and the information offered by the inscriptions up to the 5th generation, with only one missing person from this generation, and a missing client which I counted as belonging to the 4th generation. From the 6th generation onwards, the incoherence between the literary sources and inscriptions increases with three out of six individuals that did leave an inscription, but were never mentioned in the literary sources (see Chapter Three, figure 9).

The Zubayrid family genealogy showed some issues with identification between the inscriptions and the literary records. In each branch and generation, people that are mentioned in the inscriptions, are missing from the literary records. Strikingly al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār are more accurate with regards to the ʿUmar family, than they are concerning their own family which is only complete up to the 4th generation, with one individual missing from this generation ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa (inscription 3.57). After the 4th generation the family tree of the Zubayrid family becomes increasingly unclear and uncertain, both in the literary sources and the inscriptions. We do still have two individuals from the 6th generation, namely Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.21-23) and ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir (inscriptions 3.36-39) that both appear in work of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār. This raises the question: why would

[473] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 589; al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, 7: 341.

the two genealogists not include particular members form their own family in their work? And why did they claim that some of their relative's lineages had died out, when the graffiti show us a different picture? In the following pages, I will attempt to answer these two questions, not only with regard to the family of al-Zubayr but also with regard to the missing individuals in the other families.

4.3. Explaining the "missing people"

The reasons why the individuals who left their record in the inscriptions are absent from the literary record or only appear there by name are manifold. It is necessary to distinguish between intended and accidental absence from the literary records. Being absent in the sources does not necessarily mean that the authors intentionally ignored or removed an individual. We will see that in sections 4.3.8 and 4.3.9.

In the following pages, I will present nine possible reasons for the absence of individuals from our literary records. Hypotheses 1, 3 and 5 are built on Robinson's thesis, in which he discusses the three main reasons of why some members of al-Zubayr family are missing from the work of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī.

In his PhD, Robinson described that there are 23 Zubayrids missing from the work of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, which were mentioned in three other sources: *Jamharat al-nasab*, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*. For some of the individuals Robinson could not explain why they are absent, for the others he found they could be divided into three categories of absences: "the embarrassments, the rāwīs and the women."[474] Robinson's categories or cases and other explanations of why people went missing in the historical record are discussed below.

[474] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 89.

4.3.1. Women, clients and slaves

Women, clients and slaves are not typically mentioned in our historical sources, neither in the literary nor in the epigraphic sources, though clearly there are exceptions. This is because the authors of the *nasab* works did not value their role in society. Only occasionally do they mention women in the context of their relationship as mothers or daughters to the men that are discussed in the sources. Indeed, the five women who appear in our corpus, could not be identified properly. Luckily, four of them have a long genealogy mentioned on their epitaphs, which enabled me to fit them into their family tree. The remaining one, however – Ḥakīma, daughter of Hārūn son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.70-71) – could not be identified further within the family that she belonged to due to her short lineage. Robinson has argued that women were absent in *Nasab quraysh* because they were not considered important, he says: "al-Zubayrī omitted his female relatives simply because he did not think them important enough to be named in the context of a father's children." Robinson also suggests that when al-Zubayrī did include women, they were included as wives who were the mothers of particular sons that were also mentioned in the genealogy. In other words, they were solely mentioned in their husbands' entries and would not be listed alongside their brothers in their fathers' entries.[475]

It is worth mentioning here that the five women in our corpus are all from later generations of the Zubayr and ʿUmar families and were absent from the literary sources, see inscriptions (inscriptions 2.33 and 34) and al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.59, 65, 70 and 71).

Likewise, clients and slaves are mostly absent in the literary sources, with one exception: Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb the client of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.51) is mentioned in the literary sources because of his role as *ḥadith* transmitter (see Chapter Three, section 3.5.3). Three

[475] Ibid., 99.

clients in our corpus, as discussed in Chapter Three, are missing in the sources: one belonged to the family of ʿUmar (see section 3.4.2); two are found in the graffiti connected to the family of al-Zubayr (see sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.4). Additionally, we find one slave of the ʿUmar family (see section 3.4.2). Even more so than women, slave and freedmen were not considered important enough to be mentioned as dependents of male members of important families, or those men who made a name for themselves.

4.3.2. Lost books

One may also speculate that at least some of the people whose names are lacking from the genealogical works might have been mentioned in works that have been completely or partially lost. As mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.2.1 part of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book is still lost as well, the information available on Bakkār's writing is based on a combination of two incomplete manuscripts, which only really came to light in 2010.[476] An especially likely candidate in the case of our corpus is *Akhbār al-madīna* by Ibn Zabāla (d. 199/814). Some parts of this work were reconstructed by Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Salāma who collected quotations of this work in other books that did survive time.[477] As the field of ancient Arabian epigraphy is still new and moving quickly, it is in fact not unthinkable that more literary genealogical works will get (re)-discovered in library or private collections at some point.

4.3.3. Historical role

The third reason to be considered for why people are overlooked in the literary records is that they had played no role that was deemed historically significant during their lifetime. We can consider Zayd son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ (inscriptions 2.78-86) as an example. Zayd's name is found under

[476] See the introduction: al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 31-35.
[477] Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Zabāla, *Akhbār al-madina*, ed. Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Salāma (Medina: Markaz Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt al-Madīna, 2003), 8.

his father's entry in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, *Nasab quraysh* and *Jamharat nasab quraysh*.[478] His brothers are mentioned in the sources as separate entries since they were identified as *ḥadīth* transmitters. However, Zayd was only mentioned as the son of his father with no additional information. We can imagine this is because there was nothing that was considered to be historically relevant to tell about him. Because Zayd, as such, was deemed irrelevant as an historical figure, the family line ended there which explains why his son ʿAbd Allāh (inscriptions 2.87-88) is missing entirely from the sources.

Another example is that of the two brothers Muḥammad (inscriptions 2.24-26) and ʿUmāra (inscription 2.27) sons of Ḥamza son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar. In this ʿUmāra is known through the literary sources but his brother is not (see Chapter Three, section 3.4.1). Also here it is likely that Muḥammad son of Ḥamza (inscriptions 2.24-26) was not mentioned, because there were no historically significant actions or events associated with him.

This principle applies also to the descendants of individuals who were historically deemed insignificant. We find an example of that in the three brothers al-Qāsim (inscriptions 4.1-8) ʿAbd al-Malik (inscriptions 4.13-15) and Maslama (inscription 4.16) and their nephew Sālim son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (inscriptions 4.19-22). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the fourth brother and father of Sālim is not known to have left an inscription so we will not discuss him here. The sons and grandson of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs who are attested in the inscriptions are not mentioned in the literary sources. Muḥammad does appear in the literary record, but only in the biography of his father where he is mentioned as his son, without any further information. Because Muḥammad was not

[478] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7:460; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 362*;* and see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 23.

historically important enough to appear in the *nasab* and *ṭabaqāt* literature, neither did his off spring (see section 4.3.9).

4.3.4. Contemporary to the genealogists

Another reason for individuals to be absent from the historical record is that they were contemporary to the genealogists. Robinson provides a good hypothesis for the reason that some individuals were omitted from Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī's book *Nasab quraysh*. He says: "The *rāwīs* present in al-Ṭabarī's records, but absent in the Nasab Quraysh, are not the victims of their clansman's purge – they are guilty of nothing except being alive at the time the book was written."[479] This situation only applies to some [480] of the 'missing people' in my corpus. So it might explain why an individual such as ʿĀmir son of Yaʿqūb son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā (inscription 3.34), does not appear in the literary records, it does, however, not account for the absence of his father. His father supposedly lived prior to Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, which we base on the knowledge that the other son of Yaʿqūb, ʿAtīq (d. 227-228/841-843), died before al-Zubayrī (d.236/851).[481] Also al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār did not include ʿĀmir's brother ʿAtīq[482] in the entry of the descendant of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh.[483] He did, however, use ʿAtīq as a narrator in his book. It is clear that the 6th generation, which al-Zubayrī himself belongs to, is missing from his work, making the hypothesis of Robinson quite likely. The observation does, however, not explain in full why al-Zubayrī in fact already stopped registering some of his family members from the 4th

[479] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 97.
[480] Based on the discussion in Chapter Three, I think these Zubayrids are ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAtīq son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā (inscription 3.30), and those that belong to the branch of al-Mundhir Muḥammad son of Falīḥ (inscriptions 3.43-44), Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ (inscription 3.40) and Isḥāq son of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad (inscriptions 3.45-46).
[481] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243.
[482] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1:175.
[483] Ibid., 1:552.

generation and onwards, we can notice for instance that the sons of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa are missing in the work of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī,[484] but they appear in the work of Ibn Saʿd.[485]

4.3.5. Political conflict

Political conflict as a reason for explaining why individuals are absent from the historical record is the fifth hypothesis I address here. These are Robinson's "embarrassments." Robinson found some Zubayrids who had joined the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya are not mentioned by al-Zubayrī but are mentioned in other *nasab* and history works.[486] It seems convincing that a specific pattern in the genealogy forms a strong indication that an individual was deliberately removed from the written record on the basis of political motives. This pattern is recognized when the sources move from grandfather to grandson in a genealogy, skipping over the father. Indeed, the father in this case likely participated in some level of conflict against the state that disqualified him from being included in the genealogy. This becomes even more likely when the wives, mothers, and offspring of an individual are mentioned in the record, but the individual himself is not.

Robinson argues that some Zubayrids turned against al-Manṣūr which cost them their place in al-Muṣʿab Zubayrī's book. He writes: "he (al-Zubayrī) is clearly cleaning up his family's past in this section by editing out family members who supported the al-Nafs al-Zakiyya uprising, while including those who were known to have opposed it."[487] Indeed, our research confirms that al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's revolt was also popular among the family of ʿUmar. Another individual that is left out of the genealogy and seems to fit the pattern of 'a (political) embarrassment' is ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar. He actively participated in the above

[484] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 246.
[485] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460.
[486] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 89- 90.
[487] Ibid., 91.

mentioned revolt, and thus seems to confirm Robinson's observation. ʿUthmān was not mentioned by al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, while this can hardly be because of his controversial politics. He is found in al-Ṭabarī.[488] Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār passes in his book from ʿUbayd Allāh the father of ʿUthmān to ʿUthmān's daughter Umm Hishām.[489] However, his brother Abū Salama who did not join al-Nafs al-Zakiyya[490] is also missing from the works of al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār while the sons of Abū Salama are mentioned as having held positions in Medina. Thus this instance seems to contradict the assumption that we made above.

Additionally, al-Zubayrī does mention two other participants in the revolt, without any scruples. As mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.4.2, Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.42-44) and his brother ʿAbd Allāh (inscriptions 2.89-90) participated in the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya against al-Manṣūr, even though Abū Bakr was appointed as a judge during al-Manṣūr's reign, before the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. They both appear in the works of al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār and they both also left inscriptions.[491] This shows that not all opponents were omitted. In other words, we cannot automatically conclude that the absence of some individual in the written sources is due to him choosing the 'wrong side in a political conflict. It happened that this caused someone's removal, but it was not an iron fist rule.

4.3.6. Family disputes

The sixth reason that might explain the disappearance of someone's name from the genealogical works, lies in family disputes. As Robinson discussed, some of the Zubayrid family members were removed from al-Zubayrī's book *Nasab quraysh* due to their political preferences,[492] this led me

[488] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 4: 1579.
[489] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 18.
[490] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul*, 4: 1579.
[491] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 362; and see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 23.
[492] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 89-91.

to think that we could probably find other similar patterns in the *nasab* tradition; after all, there might be other reasons why someone would try to erase another individual from historical memory, and it occurred to me that family disputes might be a good candidate. This led me to think that the two Zubayrid genealogists al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār could have omitted individuals from their family tree, due to family disputes. And indeed, as we will see below, the case of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr, lends itself for this explanation. It is difficult to understand what historical event would have instigated the removal from the genealogical records, in other missing people. Moreover, as the genealogists did not provide any explanation for the reasons why they did not include certain individuals, it remains rather speculative to argue that it was because of quarrels going on within a family.

The two genealogists al-Zubayrī and ibn Bakkār belonged to the branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. There is in fact a major family dispute that might have played a role in their *nasab* traditions. As is well-known, ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr stood up against his brother ʿAbd Allāh during the latter's claim of becoming a counter-caliph. This led to a fierce dispute, ending with the death of ʿAmr in ʿAbd Allāh prison.[493] If we look at the work of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, we see that amongst the descendants of ʿAmr, ibn Bakkār skipped the second and third generations of ʿAmr.[494] Though al-Zubayrī does mention them, he is less detailed in his descriptions of the descendants of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr.[495] Concerning the descendants of Khālid and ʿAmr sons of al-Zubayr, he mentions – for example – that they have sons, but never mentions their names. So here we find a strong indications that family discord influenced the way these biographies were shaped. However, this one case is too little to draw firm conclusions. It remains difficult to find other clearly

[493] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 185.
[494] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 225-226.
[495] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 250.

identifiable examples of this phenomenon in the limited cases central to this thesis. It would, thus, need more research in a larger corpus to find out if this patterns occurs in other biographies as well, but that falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.3.7. The line died out

The seventh reason for omission is that biographers considered a family line to have died out. It happened rather frequently that the biographers designated a family line to have died out, although there are inscriptions of descendants attested. In some cases the 'existence' of these individuals is confirmed by other sources.

When the genealogists describe a line that died out, they say: "so and so had a son but the line died out" or "so and so did not have sons." Presumably, the genealogist worked on the basis of incomplete or incorrect information. This presumption is supported by the fact that when this sentence occurred, indeed no further progeny was mentioned. This in contrast to the earlier cases, where one individual would be missing from the genealogy that would than still continue with his sons. Making up a the dying out of a family line to cover up a politically motivated removal from the historical record, seems incongruous with this pattern.

Examples of the biographical dictionaries claiming someone's line died out, while the inscriptions show it did not are discussed in Chapter Three.

The first example is related to ʿUmar's family. According to Ibn Saʿd, ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim did not have any sons, so the line stopped.[496] A graffito I examined during my fieldwork contradicts this claim. This graffito was inscribed by a son of ʿĀṣim named Jaʿfar (inscription 2.77). This case is discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.4.2.

[496] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532.

The second example relates to the al-Zubayr family. According to al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Sulaymān son of Ḥamza's lineage continued only via his daughters.[497] As discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.5.1.2, a graffito located next to Sulaymān son of Ḥamza (inscription 3.25) mentions Ismāʿīl son of Sulaymān son of Ḥamza (inscription 3.26). This suggests that Sulaymān had at least one son. A probable assumption to make here, is that these individuals like Jaʿfar and Ismāʿīl died young, without establishing a family and offspring themselves. One can thus assume that, as such, these young people were not considered important enough to be included in the genealogical works. Like the women who were believed to be unimportant in terms of genealogy, boys that died before the age of manhood and before they would have produced offspring, were probably equally discarded. In Chapter Three, more comparable cases are discussed: epigraphic evidence confirms that the descendants of Ṣāliḥ son ʿAbbād and ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa did exist (see Chapter Three, section 3.5.1.1 and 3.5.3), while some sources seem to have denied it.

As mention in Chapter Three, section 3.5.5, Robinson found another similar example from the sources, i.e. the case of Muṣʿab son of Muṣʿab son of al-Zubayr. In the *Nasab quraysh* of al-Zubayrī it is mentioned that his line was continued solely by his daughter,[498] but Robinson found in the sources that he had at hand, that there had in fact been a son.[499]

4.3.8. Fading out of the chronicling of families

It is noticeable that the *nasab* and *ṭabaqāt* literature contains little information about several individuals who left their inscriptions, especially those who lived in mid-2nd/8th century and later. Although the individuals in question are mostly known as having existed or died before the sources were compiled. Still they were not included. In other words, these individuals do not fall under the

[497] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 241; Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.
[498] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 250.
[499] Robinson, "*Prosopographical Approaches*," 89-90.

category of being contemporary to the compiler of biographical information which might explain their absence from al-Zubayrī's book as discussed above under 4.3.4.

There is thus a general trend that the biographical dictionaries listing *ṣaḥāba* descendants, would include fewer and fewer people over time, a trend starting from the mid-2nd/8th century. One can note that al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār stopped chronicling or registering some of his own family members in the 4th generation, and, at times, it is very challenging to retrieve any information on them. For instance, the descendants of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir belonging to the 5th generation of al-Zubayr family, are missing entirely from the work of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār. Ibn Bakkār mentioned the father Falīḥ still, but he never mentioned if he had a sons or not.[500]

In some cases, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār clearly skips an entire branch as he moves from generation to generation. Examples are most evident in the branch of ʿUrwa. A narrator of Ibn Bakkār provides information on the branch of ʿUrwa on the authority of Muṣʿab son of ʿUthmān son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa. Ibn Bakkār mentions Muṣʿab son of ʿUthmān without any information about his father or brother.[501]

Ibn Bakkār provides an entry for Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr, but no information is available for his descendants, as mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.5.1.2, a graffito dated during ibn Bakkār lifetime (207/822-823) mention Yaḥyā's son Muḥammad (inscription 3.24) ibn Bakkār. Furthermore, it is not stated whether Yaḥyā produced any children or raised any further offspring.[502]

[500] al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 183.
[501] In some part, he was the main narrator of his work, especially in the branch of ʿUrwa, see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 193-213.
[502] Ibid., 1: 85.

This removal of a father and his offspring from the biographical record is difficult to explain. One can imagine that no one in this branch played a historically significant role which would have justified including them and their families (ancestors and descendants) in the record.

4.3.9. Leave options open

In *nasab* traditions we also encounter a number of examples with open or vague statements that allow for a wide interpretation, such as the phrase "so and so has sons", which gives the impression that the genealogists or bibliographers knew about the lineage, but for one reason or another decided not record them.[503] For instance, al-Zubayrī did not count or mention any sons of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa of al-Zubayr, but one appears in the inscriptions ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab (inscription 3.57).[504] This case also applies to other descendant of ʿUrwa through his grandson ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā, where al-Zubayrī speaks about Yaḥyā having sons but does not mentions them.[505] Ibn Saʿd does mention them, though.[506] The last example comes from the family of Abū ʿAbs, which is discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.6. Ibn Saʿd mentions that Abū ʿAbs had sons in Baghdād and Medina,[507] indicating that he is aware of their existence, but he decides not to mention their names. As with the branches disappearing from the biographical entries of families it is difficult to think of a reason why the biographers provided such incomplete information. One can imagine they did not have full or accurate information and preferred to mention that it was known that someone had male descendants rather than not to mention it at all. After all, further on in the family tree, families had grown very big and individuals had branched out all over the place. It is not hard to imagine that for the genealogists a 6th generation son that filled no particularly high

[503] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243.
[504] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243. al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 175-176.
[505] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 247.
[506] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.
[507] Ibid., 3: 415.

position in the administration, would be quite hard to track down, especially if he no longer lived in the vicinity of Mecca and Medina. Spending time and effort on finding out the name of this person probably would have no priority for the genealogist. It is also possible that the biographer did not include the names of the descendants because they were not deemed historically relevant.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter studied the so-called 'missing people' and made suggestions how to explain their absence from the literary records. As mentioned above, there are two types of 'missing people': those who can be identified through their fathers, sons, or daughters, either in their genealogy or through association; and those who are only known by their family *nisba* but about whom nothing else is known.

Amongst these 58-missing people, there are 13 whose origins are entirely unknown. All of them belong to the family of al-Zubayr. As discussed above, they were described as 'origin unknown' in Chapter Three, section 3.5.5. It is difficult to link them to a specific generation or to a specific branch. To create an idea about which part of the families was lost, we can count the generations mentioned in the inscriptions of these unidentified people whose origin remains unknown. For instance, Aḥmad son of al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.72), his son Muḥammad son of Aḥmad (inscription 3.73), and his grandson ʿAbd Allāh, son of Muḥammad (inscription 3.74), all left three inscriptions, and as such offer a clear example of this phenomenon. Also, we have a father with his two sons, Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq son of Jaʿfar (inscriptions 3.76-82), and his two sons Muṣʿab (inscriptions 3.81-85) and Jaʿfar (inscription 3.86), who are all missing from the literary records extending the family tree thus with four generations.

This chapter has discussed the reasons why these individuals whose existence is confirmed by their inscriptions are missing from the literary record in general and from the works of al-Zubayrī and

al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār specifically. Nine leading hypotheses explaining why these people are missing, were presented in this chapter.

The first reason applies to a specific category, namely women, clients, and slaves who are almost entirely absent from the literary sources. The second explanation is that some of these individuals that we do not known at this moment from the historical record might be mentioned in books that are lost. In this context it was also explained that is in fact not unthinkable that some of these lost works might in fact still be recovered in the future. The third reason is that their role was not considered important enough to warrant recording. A fourth reason could be that they are contemporary to the genealogists which, as Robinson suggested, made the genealogists 'miss' them. The fifth reason is that their political convictions caused them to be omitted from the narrative record, which was also one of Robinson's findings. The sixth reason is that family relationships were cut due to interfamilial disputes which might cause someone to disappear from the literary record as he belonged to an opponent of the author. The seventh reason is related to the biographers' statement that a particular line died out which seems to have been based on incorrect information available to the biographer. The eighth reason is that the authors clearly stopped to register people after certain generations. Finally, we observed that genealogists often used an undefined statement about someone's descendants mentioning that someone has sons without providing their names. We tentatively explained this in terms of information being unavailable to the authors.

Nasab and *ṭabaqāt* works follow the natural expansion of the Arab population. As families extended through time, biographers were faced with an almost impossible task. It was inevitable that they would make a selection, especially concerning the individuals closer to their own period, of whom more information would be included. This might explain why certain branches

disappeared from the biographers' records or why someone's children are mentioned but without giving names or mentioning their descendants in turn. In short: If these people did not achieve anything special during their lifetime, if they did not fulfill an office high enough to be mentioned, if they did not transmit *ḥadīth*s or write poetry or scientific literature, then the fact that they descended from famous families was not sufficient to have their names included in the biographical literature. There were simply too many of them. Of earlier generations more or less everyone who descended from a companion or contemporary of the prophet Muḥammad would have been listed simply because of this descent.

The pattern that we see emerge is as follows. The very early generations of *ṣaḥāba* are very elaborately described in the literary sources, but we have only one graffito related to the first generation that of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ. For the 2nd-3th generation we have quite detailed descriptions in the literary sources, and we also find many graffiti referring to the same individuals that are described in the literary sources. Moreover, there is hardly any contradiction between what is stated in the literary sources and what is confirmed through the epigraphical sources. Thus in most cases when we find a graffito mentioning a family lineage, this information perfectly matches the literature. From roughly the 4th generation onwards, the information in the literary sources starts disintegrating, only mentioning particular individuals and leaving out others. Some of these left out family members did still leave graffiti and on that basis, using epigraphy, we can extend the family trees that we already knew from the literary sources.

It is clear that there were many forces at play in the process of compilation of the *nasab* works. Which information was available to biographers was determined by the process of oral transmission that preceded that of the writing down of the genealogies. Inevitably, a lot of information was lost and especially the biographies of great and important people were

transmitted. As the biographer stacked the layers of generations branch by branch in each family, he faced some moments of choice. Individuals whom he might have known belonged to one branch or another were deemed unfit to be included in his books – for political or personal reasons, or because they did not leave much of a mark on the historical record. This had repercussions for subsequent generations, as it meant that biographers often also stopped recording the descendants of that person. In other words, even if an individual would be capable of great deeds, if his grandfather had not done anything that was considered worthwhile, the line would already be 'broken' and the mentioned individual would usually not make his (re-)appearance in the *nasab* works as a descendent of a particular *ṣāḥib*. Finally, biographers obviously displayed a disinterest in recording accurately identifiable information about certain individuals. This applies to women, clients and slaves, but also to the offspring of certain individuals. In short, both accidental and intentional factors played a role, whereby a chronological development can be observed as well. The historiography of Arabic literary production is not very well developed and especially the methods and editorial practices of the genealogists discussed in this chapter deserve more detailed study so that we can better understand what drove them and evaluate the works they produced in that light.

After having analyzed the possible motives of the historians and biographers recording information about the individuals who left the inscriptions of our corpus in the literary record, it is now time to turn to the motives of the people who left the inscriptions themselves. How did they want to be remembered? What messages did they intend to convey through their writings? This is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Epigraphic habit and self-identification

"We must look not for the occasion chosen, such as a life that ended, a vow made or an honor voted, but at the decision itself to give those facts some marble commemoration."[508]

5.1. Introduction

"L ghm bn zky bn khṭst bn skrn w wjd sfr ab-h w l…" [509]

"By Ghm son of Zky son of khṭst son of Skrn and he found the writing of his father…"

This is a typical Safaitic inscription. Inscriptions like this can be found throughout Syria, Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia. A son left an inscription at the spot where he found his father's writing and identified himself as a descendant of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. This example contains a list of genealogical references that remained standard amongst Arabian inscriptions in the centuries to come. The inscription is also a typical case of graffito, which is also the main type of inscription discussed in this dissertation. Considering the ubiquitous nature of these informal inscriptions throughout Arabia's history and covering its geographical expanse, one can imagine that not only the content and style of the writing, but also the practical and physical skills needed to execute the writing were passed down from one generation to the next. This way of working – leaving informal inscriptions recording genealogical relations all over Arabia – was not merely a common practice but, rather, a cultural habit. As previously mentioned, there are several cases where many inscriptions related to the same group of people have been found in one spot. The practice of leaving multiple messages in one place was common in ancient Arabia and continued into the Mamluk period. [510] In such spots Arabic inscriptions can be spread over several

[508] Ramsay MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *AJP* 103, no. 3 (1982): 233.
[509] Abdul-Qader al-Housan "A selection of Safaitic inscriptions from the Mafraq Antiquities Office and Museum," *AEN* 1 (2015): 82.
[510] Abdul-Qader al-Housan, "Nuqūsh ʿarabiyya islāmiyya muʾarrakha min al-bādiyya al-shamāliyya al-sharqiyya, al-mafraq," *SHAJ* 13 (2019): 19-35.

centuries, extending back to the 1st/7th-8th century. These spots often even attest earlier inscriptions in other languages as mentioned before, but they – as well as their relation to the Arabic inscriptions appearing in the same spot – are outside the scope of this dissertation. This chapter will seek to investigate the point at which leaving genealogical references in inscribed form on the rocks of Arabia started to become popular in the Islamic period. It will also examine what exactly the common elements are in the production of these inscriptions. in addition, this chapter will examine how the individuals mentioned in the texts 'self-identified' in their writings. Finally, this chapter will exhibit the formula used in the corpus.

5.2. How were inscriptions produced?

Although tools, materials and the level of execution all had an impact on the effort required, one can say that, in general, inscribing in any rock is time-consuming and requires a high degree of skill.[511] The stone in which the inscription is made has an impact on the time that an engraving would take – for example, it is much easier to engrave a passage in sandstone than in basalt, or granite. Also, the time needed to complete an inscription depends, obviously, on the length of the text – that is to say, the number of words. Funerary inscriptions on tombstones were the most elaborate as they were typically quite long, both in terms of the texts quoted and the genealogical information included. On the other end of the spectrum are our graffiti, consisting of a total of ten words or so, but inscribed over several generations, so sometimes an individual graffito would in fact be as limited as just a name. Then, there is the level of execution – how deeply incised the letters were, the size at which they were executed, and to what degree of regularity and finesse this was done – that influenced the time involved in completing the inscription. We can see, for

[511] Recently, the *Al-Iqtiṣādiyya*, a Saudi newspaper, published an article showing that some Saudis spent 17 hours a day inscribing 50 phrases in stone, using a modern method, Khālid al-Juʿayd, "Saʿūdiyyūn yaqḍūn 17 sāʿa li-naqsh 50 ʿibāra ʿalā ṣukhūr al-grānīt," June 30, 2009 http://www.aleqt.com/2009/06/30/article_246275.html.

example, the difference between more informal inscriptions in rock graffiti and those mentioned on building, like Muʿāwiya's dam at Medina.[512]

Very little is known about the tools and implements that were used to create the inscriptions. Scholars have variously called the practice by which the engraver used hammer, sharp stone and chisel.[513] One hint at how these inscriptions were made comes from epigraphic surveys. In the south of Saudi Arabia, in al-Jahwa ʿAlī al-ʿAwājī, a pen-like object was uncovered with three small pointed rocks attached to it, which would most likely have been used to engrave graffiti.[514]

The huge number of inscriptions from ancient Arabia, which continues to grow thanks to ongoing discoveries, indicates that the desire to write was so strong that people were willing to invest the time and effort needed to do so. To write in a rock is not easy, as Imbert pointed out, based on information in the *Al-Iqtiṣādiyya* article, especially without access to modern tools, he suggested that inscribing a simple graffito might take between three to four hours.[515] The more complicated versions with longer family lines, or the more elaborately executed ones, must have taken a multiple of that.

Still, people in Arabia committed the time and made the effort to produce inscriptions, which suggests that this was meaningful and important to them. They did so, moreover, beyond and above the minimum, as can be seen from some examples. Some of the inscriptions in this corpus include quite a lot of writing (inscriptions 2.38 and 3.36). This means that those responsible for the

[512]al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 45-46.
[513] Michael C. A. Macdonald, "On the Uses of Writing in Ancient Arabia and the Role of Paleography in Studying them," *AEN* 1 (2015): 11-12.
[514] ʿAlī Muḥammad al-ʿAwājī, *al-Jahwa taʾrīkhuhā wa-āthāruhā wa-nuqūshuhā al-islāmiyya* (Riyadh: Maṭābiʿ al-Ḥymayḍī, 2012), 292-294.
[515] His information is based on the article of *Al-Iqtiṣādiyya*, but from different website, see Imbert, "*L'Islam des pierres*," 2: 6.

inscriptions were spending a significant amount of time in the same place, or visited it on a frequent basis. Moreover, the same individual might leave multiple inscriptions (see also section 5.6.3.1 below and figure 17). In our corpus, Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā left ten graffiti (inscriptions 3.5-14) in different places; also, al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs left eight graffiti in one site (inscriptions 4.1-8).

5.3. The epigraphic habit and how it can be applied to Islamic Arabia

The term "epigraphic habit" was first introduced almost four decades ago by the scholar Ramsay MacMullen, a specialist in inscriptions from the Roman period. His seminal article entitled "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire" was published in 1982.[516] Examining the literary epigraphic habit – in other words, "the desire to write something permanent,"[517] – has found the greatest following amongst scholars of the classical world. Nevertheless, a small number of studies examining similar examples found throughout other civilizations have appeared as well.[518] The phenomenon has been studied in relation to *ancient* Arabia by Michael Macdonald,[519] but for the Islamic period no studies exist that analyze the inscriptions in the light of "the epigraphic habit." This is not only because of the separation of scholarly traditions, but is mostly due to the fact that there is a severe and noted lack of fieldwork being conducted on epigraphic sites in Arabia. Most inscriptions remain undiscovered and unstudied. Indeed, as Macdonald emphasized, a growth in the number of inscriptions is what the field most needs.[520]

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[516] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 233-246.
[517] Michael Macdonald, personal communication, April 24, 2019.
[518] For the classical world, see for example Elizabeth A. Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs," *JRS* 80 (1990): 74-96; and, by the same author, "Inscriptions as Honors and the Athenian Epigraphic Habit," *Historia* 62, no.4 (2013): 453-494.
[519] Michael C. A. Macdonald, "The Decline of the 'Epigraphic Habit' in Late Antique Arabia: Some Questions," in *L'Arabie à la vielle de l'Islam,* ed. Jérémie Schiettecatte and Christian Julien Robin (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 17-27.
[520] Michael Macdonald, personal communication, April 24, 2019.

Increasing the number of inscriptions studied from a particular era, as has been the case for the Roman period, would allow for a more substantial and thorough examination of the epigraphic habit.[521] The importance of retrieving more evidence is clear. As Macdonald explains: "whereas a few years ago one might have said that the carving of inscriptions stopped altogether in North-West Arabia after the 4th century, the discovery of Jabal Umm Jadhayidh shows that the apparent disappearance of the ANA (Ancient North Arabian) scripts did not mean the end of writing in the region, but simply that, for reasons we still cannot fathom, the ANA scripts ceased to be used on stone."[522] In other words, only by examining all the written evidence it was possible to understand the changes that had occurred in north-west Arabian writing patterns, whereas findings based on a smaller sample of sources would have led to false conclusions.

Nevertheless, using my corpus of inscriptions, I will attempt to discuss what can be said about the "epigraphic habit" in Islamic world, using the corpus of Arabic inscriptions of this dissertation. To do so, I will start by giving a more general outline of the concept of the "epigraphic habit." MacMullen himself concluded: "My central question, why people inscribed some fact on stone, I cannot answer."[523] Nevertheless, starting with MacMullen's quote cited at the beginning of this chapter, I will discuss when and why inscriptions in the Islamic period showed a sharp rise, and – similarly – when and why they stopped being produced. Still, explaining the cessation of a practice might be as difficult as explaining its beginning. For example, scholars still do not fully understand the disappearance of Safaitic inscriptions and why this occurred, even with more than a century of study on these inscriptions to look back on.[524]

[521] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 240.
[522] Macdonald, "The Decline," 25.
[523] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 233.
[524] Al-Jallad, *An Outline*, 17-21.

Moving on from trying to reconstruct people's *desire* to write inscriptions, scholars have turned to look at how people composed inscriptions, and why they did so in the manner they did. Many of the Arabic inscriptions contain religious phrases besides genealogical information. Macdonald's has proposed the idea that for the inscriptions written in the desert in particular, it was thought that only God could read them.[525] The inscriptions thus functioned as a kind of prayer or supplication to God, in a direct communication with Him. The advantage of putting the writings in stone, was that the effect would presumably be permanent or at least last as long as the writing was visible on the stone. In some inscriptions, however, the inscriber wrote "*raḥima Allāh man qaraʾa hādhā al-kitāb thumma qāla amīn*", "God be pleased upon the one who reads my text and prays for me."[526] This seems to suggest that the writing was actually intended to be read by passers-by, achieving its effectiveness only when someone read the text (aloud). In addition, there are many references to mountains and valleys in the inscriptions, and these obviously had a literary function.[527]

While the religious dimension to these inscriptions is clear and must have played a large role in determining the form, place and shape of the inscriptions, I will instead focus on the genealogical references in the Arabic inscriptions and the relationship between the inscriptions, discussing what these elements might tell us about people's desire to put things in writing in stone.[528]

Looking at how people wrote their inscriptions and why, we can start with the example quoted at the beginning of this chapter. A son leaving an inscription next to that of his father in this Safaitic inscription can be compared with cases of authors producing the same inscriptions as their fathers,

[525] Michael Macdonald, personal communication, April 24, 2019.
[526] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 70-71.
[527] Muḥammad Abū al-Faraj al-ʿUshsh, "Kitābāt ʿarabiyya ghayr manshūra fī jabal usays,"*al-Abḥāth* 17, no.3 (September 1964): 295; Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," 97 and ʿAbd Allāh Muṣṭafā al-Shinqīṭī, *Aḥmāʾ al-madīna al-munawwara, ḥimā al-shajar, ḥimā al-naqīʿ, ḥimā al-rabadha* (Medina: al-Maḥmūdiyya, 2013), 173.
[528] Francisco Beltrán Lloris, "The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford University Press, 2014), 131.

years later. In fact we can conclude that we see an increase of this activity. Thus the idea of writing an inscription next to that of a father or more distant relative becomes increasingly wide-spread. Furthermore, we see that occasionally individuals choose to leave their names not just in one engraving, but at many different sites. In addition, we can see growing rates of inscriptions in one area throughout a particular site. As I will show in section 5.6.3.1, some individuals left more than one inscription. Among these are those who left more than one inscription in the same spot, but at different moments. And there are individuals who left more than one inscription at different times and in different locations. See, for example, the two dated inscriptions from the years 96/714-715 and 100/718-719 (inscriptions 2.37-38) left by Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim, son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb in two different sites, and 100/718-719 and 121/738-739 left by ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ in the same site (inscriptions 2.66-67).

5.4. Continuation with a twist

By now it will be clear that the inscribing of stones was a habit in Arabia that preceded Islam. So the corpus under study here should not be studied in a vacuum, but be connected to the already existing practice of making inscriptions. If we do so, we see many similarities, but at some point we also see a break with tradition. The Safaitic inscription quoted at the beginning of this chapter is just one example of an already wide-spread custom of listing one's family relations in inscriptions by giving genealogical information about previous generations and of leaving an inscription in the same place as one's father (or other family members). When we turn to the Arabic inscriptions from the Islamic period, it thus becomes interesting to analyze to what extend they are connecting to the pre-Islamic names that were used in Arabia.

By focusing on this aspect we find that the Arabic inscriptions from the Islamic period show a reluctance to connect to the pre-Islamic period either by using pre-Islamic names or by extending genealogies into the pre-Islamic period to non-Muslim ancestors. Currently we know of only a few pre-Islamic names in the genealogies and of genealogies that go back to before the rise of Islam. However, even in these few cases, they do not go back far in terms of ancestors. This fits what the traditional sources say, namely that the Prophet changed some of his companions' names when these were not conducive with Islam. An example can be found in the name ʿAbd al-Kaʿba who changed his name to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAwf when he converted. Moreover, he did not only change his name, but also his *kunya,* so the original ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā was changed into ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. And indeed we do not find ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā in any of the inscriptions, indicating that descendants were hesitant to refer to the pre-Islamic origins of their family.[529]

There are nevertheless a few Islamic-Arabic inscriptions referring to pre-Islamic names that use the name "ʿAbd" with a deity or personal name. Until now, we have found seven inscriptions, four graffiti and three gravestones, where this occurs. For example, in the entire corpus of Banī Shayba, only one inscription mentioning two females and which has two dates in the 5th/11th century, (Dhu al-Qaʿda 1, 408/April 18, 1018) and (Ṣafar 5, 416/April 7, 1025), refers to the pre-Islamic name ʿAbd al-Dār.[530] Nevertheless, the – albeit sporadic – instances where pre-Islamic names are referred to in the Arabic epigraphy may be of great value in reconstructing what pre-Islamic names looked like in Arabia.[531] But in general, finding pre-Islamic pagan names in the genealogy is extremely rare.

[529] al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 102 and 110-111.
[530] al-Khathimī, "*Usrat banī Shayba*," 95-96.
[531] Like ʿAbd Manāt and ʿAbd al-Āshal; see Maysāʾ Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*," 112 and 204.

As mentioned, one striking characteristic of the Islamic material is that the generations listed in the inscriptions hardly ever contain information on pre-Islamic ancestors. In other words, the genealogical line ends (when extending so far into the past) with the first Muslim of the family. This appears in the use of the *nisba*, in which the majority of our corpus used as the last name the name of the first Muslim in the family, like Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn Abū ʿAbs.

However, a minority of our corpus extended their lineage to the pre-Islamic name. In the corpus of the family of al-Mughīra, there are three inscriptions that extend their lineage to the time before Muḥammad (inscriptions 1.1, 8 and 9). This happened in two ways: First, by using the family *nisba* al-Mughīra (inscription 1.1) or al-ʿĀṣ (inscriptions 1.2, 3 and 7) and second by extending to the sub-tribe, al-Makhzūmī, which was used on the gravestones (inscriptions 1.8 and 9). Al-Mughīra and al-Makhzūm were pre-Islamic ancestors, al-ʿĀṣ an ancestor who did not convert to Islam and who was killed in the battle of Badr 2/624.[532] In the family of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb, there are eight inscriptions that used the name of the ancestor al-Khaṭṭāb who was not a Muslim: four gravestones (inscriptions 2.23, 28, 33 and 34), and four graffiti (inscriptions 2.29, 30, 37 and 136). In the inscriptions relating to members of the Zubayrid family, a similar case can be found. While most members of this family identify their lineage as descending from Ibn al-Zubayr, two interesting inscriptions show an exception. The first inscription was found in al-Ḥamāṭ, and probably dates to the 1st-2nd/ 8th century. It reads: "I ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr al-Qurayshī then al-Asadī ask God for forgiveness" (inscription 3.19). This one is interesting because he used the family *nisba*, his tribal *nisba* and the name of his

[532] al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, 135.

clan. The second one is a gravestone found in Mecca, which used the *nisba* al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām (inscription 3.65). Al-ʿAwwām was a non-Muslim ancestor.

Another feature that makes the Arabic inscriptions from the Islamic period different from Safaitic for example, is that the Arabic ones do not express emotions like joy or sorrow. As far as is known now, there is one exception from Jabal Usays, in which a person expresses a sense of nostalgia about his brother.[533] Ancient north Arabian inscriptions reversely did show such sensations.[534] Besides some poetic expressions (see section 5.7 below) that mostly concern the honoring of forefathers, Arabic inscriptions consist, as Hoyland has shown, mostly of names and religiously formula.[535]

Thus, while the Arabic inscriptions from early Islamic Arabia continue certain ancient Arabian practices, such as the inclusion of poetry (which has been found in Safaitic[536] and Nabataean inscriptions)[537] and mentioning the name of a place,[538] they also constitute a new beginning through their self-conscious break with the past.

5.5. The beginning and the end: the first three centuries of Hijra

Which elements helped to generate inscriptions? In his discussion, MacMullen observed that there are some kinds of environments that are conducive to producing inscriptions. For example, urban

[533] al-ʿUshsh, "Kitābāt ʿarabiyya," 246-248.
[534] Sulaymān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dhuyayb, *al-Ḥayāt al-ijtimāʿiyya fī miṇṭaqat ḥāʾil min khilāl al-nuqūsh al-thamūdiyya* (Abu Dhabi: Abu Dhabi Culture & Tourism Esdarat, 2019).
[535] Hoyland, "The Content," 77-102.
[536] Ahmad Al-Jallad, "Pre-Islamic 'Ḥamāsah' Verses from North-Eastern Jordan: A New Safaitic Poetic Text from Marabb al-Shurafāʾ, with further remarks on the ʿĒn ʿAvdat inscription and KRS 2453," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 47 (2017):117-128.
[537] Manfred Kropp, "The ʿAyn ʿAbada Inscription Thirty Years Later: A Reassessment," in *Arabic in Context Celebrating 400 Years of Arabic at Leiden University*, ed. Ahmad Al-Jallad (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2017), 53-74.
[538] See in Safaitic Al-Jallad, *An Outline,* 300; in Nabatean, see Laïla Nehmé, "The Nabataean and Nabataeo-Arabic Inscriptions," in *The Darb al-Bakrah A Caravan Route in North-West Arabia Discovered by Ali I. al-Ghabban Catalogue of the Inscriptions*, ed. Laïla Nehmé (Riyadh: Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage, 2018), 32; in Arabic, al-Shinqīṭī, *Aḥmāʾ al-madīna*, 173.

populations produced more inscriptions than inhabitants of the countryside.[539] There is, moreover, a distinct and marked difference between inscriptions created in the countryside versus those from the cities. MacMullen further observes that an increase in wealth led to more inscriptions and that people of a higher economic status were more likely to initiate inscriptions. But these are all observations based on a corpus of Roman inscriptions.

So how do MacMullen's observations relate to the situation in Arabia in the period under study? It is important to note that when MacMullen (and most other scholars dealing with the epigraphic habit) speaks about inscriptions, he means monumental state-initiated inscriptions, epitaphs, and personal or public commemorative and honorific inscriptions, often placed on the pedestals of statues and other custom-made monuments, and those on buildings, triumphal arches or other architectural structures. While such inscriptions are known from Arabia and the wider area including the Levant and Egypt, the bulk of our material consists of the kind of informal writings we have been calling graffiti left in the natural environment, such as on loose and fixed rocks in mountain passes, *wādī*s and the desert.

Starting with a comparison between inscriptions produced in the countryside and in cities, it is clear that the urban environment – namely, Mecca generated the most monumental inscriptions and epitaphs. Based on epigraphic material from the rest of the Arabia, we can assume that monumental inscriptions decorated mosques and other public buildings erected or restored under the auspices of the caliphs, started as early as the Umayyad period. The name of the dynasty's founder, caliph Muʿāwiya, appears in two inscriptions on the dam at Ṭāʾif[540] and in Medina to commemorate restoration works completed at his orders.[541] It was, however, with caliph ʿAbd al-

[539] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 241.
[540] Miles, "Early Islamic Inscriptions," 237.
[541] al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 46.

Malik and his sons that epigraphic commemorations of building achievements and road works increased noticeably.[542] No such inscriptions are found in situ in Arabia, but judging from those that have been preserved in the Levant, we can assume that the mosques and other public buildings that were built by these caliphs in Arabia would have been decorated with similar writings in stone, for example al-Fākihī mentions an inscription by ʿAbd al-Malik but it does not exist anymore.[543]

The Abbasids continued the practice of commemorating their deeds in stone. In general, the Abbasid caliphs left inscriptions in the same places the Umayyads did – that is to say, in the Levant.[544] From the Abbasid dynasty, however, more inscriptions are attested in Arabia than from the previous period. Even taking into account an accident of preservation, an increased investment by the Abbasid dynasty in Arabia,[545] especially Mecca, can be observed. Two inscriptions record

[542] See the famous milestones erected in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik: Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour*, 19-21; and Sharon, *Corpus inscriptionum*,1: 4-5, and 103-106, 2: 4-7, 3: 104-18 and 220-224), and the inscription on the dome of the rock, both the mosaic and the copper plate in the time of ʿAbd al-Malik – see Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum, Deuxième partie Syrie, du Sud. Tome deuxième, Jérusalem Ḥaram* (Le Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale,1927), 229-230. Al-Walīd I before he became caliph at Qaṣr Burquʿ and when he was caliph: Khaled Suleman al-Jbour, "*Etudes des inscriptions arabes dans le désert Nord-est de la Jordanie*" (PhD diss., Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I, 2006), 1: 60; Markus Ritter, "Umayyad Foundation Inscriptions and the Inscription of al-Walīd from Khirbat al-Minya: Text, Usage, Visual Form," in *Khirbat al-Minya: Der Umayyadenpalast am See Genezareth*, ed. Hans-Peter Kuhnen (Rahden: Orient-Archäologie, 2016), 59-83. Al-Walīd's two brothers, Yazīd II (r. 101-105/ 720-724) in Qaṣr al-Muwaqqar see Frédéric Imbert, "*Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Jordanie du Nord*" (PhD diss., Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I, 1996),1: 184-185; and Hishām (r.105-125/724-743) Abdul Kader Rihoui, "Découverte de deux inscriptions arabes," *AAS* 11/12 (1961-1962): 207-211; Oleg Grabar et al., *City in the Desert Qasr al-Hayr East, an account of the excavation carried out at Qasr al-Hayr East on behalf of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan, with the help of Harvard University and the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago* (Cambridge/ Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 191; see also the mosaic inscription recording the foundation of a market in Baysān see Elias Khamis, "Two wall Mosaic inscriptions from the Umayyad market place in Bet Shean/Baysān," *BSOAS* 64, no. 2 (2001): 159-176. Al-Walīd II (r. 125-126/743-744) on Quṣayr ʿAmra in Jordan before he came a caliph (Frédéric Imbert, "Le prince al-Walīd et son bain: itinéraires épigraphiques à Quṣayr ʿAmra," *BEO* 64 (2015): 321-363.

[543] al-Fākihī, *Akhbār makka*, 2: 161.

[544] It seems that al-Saffāḥ (r. 132-136/750-754) was called al-Mahdī in the epigraphic record as Sharon noticed, see two inscriptions al-Saffāḥ called al-Mahdī in Palestine construction); Sharon, *Corpus inscriptionum*, 2: 214-215; in Jordan milestone see Khaled al-Jbour, "The Discovery of the First Abbasid Milestone in "Bilād Al-Shām"," *SHAJ* 7 (2001): 171-175; another Abbasid caliph in Palestine (al-Mahdī, minaret and mosque): Sharon, *Corpus inscriptionum*, 1: 144.

[545] Yemen: al-Saffāḥ (called al-Mahdī in the inscriptions) reconstruction mosque: A. A. Duri, "al-Fikra al-mahdiyya bayna al-daʿwa al-ʿabbāsiyya wa-l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal," in *Dirāsāt ʿarabiyya wa-islāmiyya, muhdāh ilā iḥsān ʿabbās bi-munāsabat bulūghihi al-sittīn,* ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: American University, 1981), 123-132, al-Saffāḥ

the restoration works of the Abbasid caliphs al-Manṣūr in Masjid al-Bayʿa in Mecca and al-Mahdī conducted on the holy mosque in Mecca.[546]

As Macdonald discussed, there are not many ancient Arabia inscriptions in the eastern part of Arabia;[547] this can also be observed during the Islamic period up to the modern day. For the later period, a small number of inscriptions on buildings and epitaphs are attested in the eastern part of Arabia. One inscription from Masjid al-Khamīs in Bahrain dates to the 6th/12th century.[548] From Fujairah in the UAE, we have one inscription that has been published but others remain still unpublished.[549] Finally, Oman has also yielded one later inscription.[550] In Qatar, there was only a modern 19th-century graffito presented in London by Robert Carter.[551]

The second group of monumental inscriptions originating in the cities is that of epitaphs. Gravestones are in fact *only* found in cemeteries in cities,[552] these inscriptions being made in the cemetery by a scribe, or *khaṭāṭ*, who was paid for their service. Most gravestones in Arabia were found in Mecca and these have been most studied. In Medina,[553] Ṭāʾif is where some epitaphs

milestone, al-Rashid thought it belong to al-Mahdī but it clear to al-Saffāḥ, see al-Rashid, *Darb zubayda ṭarīq*, 336, and al-Muqtadir see Miles, "ʿAli b. Īsā's," 477-487, and al-Faʿr, *Ṭatawwur al-Kitābāt*, 251-252.

[546] al-Manṣūr Masjid al-Bayʿa and al-Mahdī, pillars in the holy mosque): Māhir, "Baʿḍ al-kitābāt," 62-65; al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-247/847-861) Muḥammad Fahd ʿAbd Allāh al-Faʿr, "Naqsh inshāʾ maḍrib lil-ḥujjāj wa-abnāʾ al-sabīl min ʿahd al-mutawakkil al-ʿabbāsī muʾarrakh bi-sanat 245AH (dirāsa wa-taḥqīq)," *Majallat al-Ittiḥād al-ʿĀmm lil-Āthārīyyīn al-ʿArab* 7 (2006): 64-74; al-Muktafī (r.289-295/902-908), the same author, "Naqsh umm al-qāsim shajā mawlāt amīr al-muʾminin al-muktafī bi-llāh al-ʿabbāsī maḥfūẓ bi-maktabat al-malik ʿabd Allāh ibn ʿabd al-ʿazīz bi-jāmiʿat umm al-qurā," *Majallat al-Khalīj lil-Taʾrīkh wa-l-āthār* 4 (2008): 229-237.

[547] Macdonald, "The Decline," 18.

[548] Ludvik Kalus, *Inscriptions arabes des Iles de Bahrain: contribution* à *l'histoire de Bahrain entre Les XIe et XVIIe siècles (Ve-XIe de l' Hégire)* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1990).

[549] Peter Hellyer, "A lost Islamic inscription from Wadi Duwaini, Fujairah," *Tribulus* 22 (2014): 82-84.

[550] Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Satār ʿUthmān, Nuqūsh kitābiyya ʿarabiyya islāmiyya min salṭanat ʿumān, dirāsa fī al-maḍmūn," in *Dirāsāt fī ta'rīkh al-jazīra al-ʿarabiyya wa-ḥaḍārtihā muhdāh ilā al-ustādh al-duktūr ʿabd al-raḥmān ibn muḥammad al-ṭayib al-anṣārī* (Riyadh: Wazārat al-Thaqāfa wa-Iʿlām, 2007), 245-285.

[551] Robert Carter "Historical Archaeology at Fuwairit, a coastal site in Qatar" paper delivered at the Islamic Archaeology Day in London, February 3, 2018.

[552] See, for example, the work of al-Khalīfa et al., *Aḥjār al-muʿallā*, and al-Ḥārithī works, *Aḥjār shāhidiyya min matḥaf*; also *Aḥjār shāhidiyya ghayr*, and *al-Aḥjār al-shāhidiyya al-maḥfūẓa.*

[553] al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 28-63.

were found.[554] South of Mecca, ʿAsham and al-Sirrayn have produced gravestones as well.[555] I should note here that there are not as many dated gravestones from Arabia as we have from Egypt.[556] The majority of the epitaphs discovered in Mecca and other areas of modern-day Saudi Arabia are undated. Those with dates can be placed in the 3rd/9th century and later. No gravestones that contain an engraved date referring to the 1st or 2nd/7th-8th century have been found.[557] There are however a couple of gravestones that might date back as far as the first two centuries of Islam. The gravestone of a certain "*mawlāt* ʿUthmān son of ʿAffān" might refer to a female client of the caliph ʿUthmān, in which case it should be dated to the 1st-2nd/7th-8th century.[558] Al-Ḥārithī speculated that another one can be dated to the 1st or 2nd/7th-8th century based on the paleography.[559] Several scholars have speculated that there are still some gravestones buried under the surface in Meccan cemeteries.[560] Also south of Mecca, in al-Faqīh, some gravestones were found that could arguably be dated to the 1st-2nd/7th-8th century.[561]

Finally, we should mention here that four additional inscriptions from the Abbasid era were found in Mecca, by the state or the individuals, that can be dated to from the 2nd-3rd/9th-10th centuries.[562] They concern the establishing a *waqf* (pious foundation), the reminiscence of paying *ṣadaqa* (charity), building an accommodation for *al-ḥujjāj* and for the traveler *ibn al-sabīl*.

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[554] Grohmann, *Expédition Philby- Ryckmans- Lippens*, 4-40.
[555] al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 289-439, and al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ʿasham*, 202-32, 353-361, 373-374, 387-392, 433-439, 481-494 and 511-516.
[556] Madeleine Schneider, *Stèles funéraires*.
[557] al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 289-296.
[558] al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, *76*.
[559] al-Ḥārithī, *Aḥjār shāhidiyya min matḥaf*, 15.
[560] al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 78.
[561] al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ʿasham*, 202-226, 353-361,373-374, 387-388, 481-489 and 511-512.
[562] al-Faʿr, *Ṭatawwur al-Kitābāt*, 198, the same author "Naqsh inshāʾ," 64-74 and "Naqsh umm al-qāsim," 229-237, and "Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq li-aqdam wathīqat waqf li-khadamāt al-ḥujjāj wa-l-muʿtamirīn manqūsha min al-qarn al-thālith al-hijrī bi-makka al-mukarrama," in *Baḥth muqaddam ilā nadwat makka al-mukarrama ʿāṣimat al-thaqāfa al-islāmiyya 1426*, [2005], 45-104.

We can thus conclude that, similarly to MacMullen's observation, Arabia's cities produced monumental inscriptions, both constructions ones initiated by the caliphs and their families and those produced by individuals, mostly in the form of epitaph inscriptions. Contrary to MacMullen's case, however, Arabia's countryside *did* produce large numbers of inscriptions – in fact, more than the cities – but they were of a very different character. These are the so-called graffiti that form the largest corpus of this dissertation and constitute the largest part of Arabia's inscriptions in general.

Turning to the role of the economy in the production of inscriptions, we can observe that the rise of the economy under the Abbasids coincided with an increase in inscriptions, especially those initiated by the state or private individuals, such as buildings and epitaphs inscriptions. After all these types of inscriptions were made by professionals who needed to get paid. Only patrons with sufficient means were able to afford to record their acts in stone. The Abbasid period witnessed the rise of an urban middle class obviously also in Arabian towns. Considering the graffiti, however, I think we can say that these are evenly distributed across the different socio-economic classes. In other words, we find graffiti from members of both the lower classes and the upper classes from the early Islamic period to the Abbasid era.

Figure 15 official inscriptions from State of Kuwait photo Abdullah Alhatlani

Translation	Text
1. In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 2. During the reign of his highness 3.al-Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber Al-Sabah 4. Emir of the State of Kuwait 5. and his highness the crown prince 6. al-Sheikh Nawaf Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah 7. and in the attendance of the Health minster 8. Dr. Ali Saad al-Obaidi 9. with the help of God, the opening of 10. ward of Shaikhan al-Farsi took place 11. and it was on Sunday 4th Muharram 1437/18th October 2015 12. and God is the Conciliator.	1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم 2. في عهد حضرة صاحب السمو 3.الشيخ/ صباح الأحمد الجابر الصباح 4. أمير دولة الكويت 5.وسمو ولي العهد 6. الشيخ /نواف الأحمد الجابر الصباح 7. وحضور وزير الصحة 8.الدكتور/ علي سعد العبيدي 9.تم بعون الله إفتتاح 10.جناح شيخان الفارسي 11 . وذلك يو الاحد 5 محرم 1437هـ الموافق 18 اكتوبر 2015م 12. والله الموفق

When discussing the motives behind inscriptions, MacMullen's observation "Apparently the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit was controlled by what we can only call the sense of audience"[563]

[563] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 246.

is very useful. From the inscriptions left by the founder of the Umayyad caliphate on a dam in the Ḥijāz[564] to a graffito from a descendent of the caliph ʿUmar or contemporary rulers in the Gulf States, inscriptions are produced with an audience in mind. Considering the audience is also a good starting point when trying to understand the motive of those producing inscriptions in early Islamic Arabia. It is clear that people leaving inscriptions in ancient Arabia used their writings in stone as a stage to present their power, justice, generosity and piety, but also to place themselves through their genealogical references consciously in a family history.

The role of audience becomes clear when we examine the number of inscriptions, especially graffiti, in early Islamic Arabia, both during its rise starting in the Islamic era and its decline three centuries later. When we examine the relative volume of gravestones and graffiti in our corpus chronologically, an interesting pattern emerges. Both graffiti and epitaphs remained popular throughout this period. Nevertheless, graffiti were especially widespread and numerous in 1st-3rd/7th-9th centuries. There is a sharp decline after that period in the number of graffiti overall in Arabia. In al-Kilābī's edition of 300 graffiti, only 33 are dated in the 4th-5th/10th-11th century.[565] Indeed, it is currently rare to find new inscriptions dating to the 5th/11th century at all. That does not mean that the practice disappeared entirely. In fact, into the 20th century, graffiti were produced by shepherds, inhabitants and other voyagers in the area.[566] The total number of graffiti in this later period is, however, only a fraction of the production of the 1st-3rd/7th-9th centuries.

[564] Miles, "Early Islamic Inscriptions," 236-242; see the one in Medina al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 45-46.
[565] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 605-608.
[566] Writing of graffiti never entirely disappeared; there were still such graffiti produced into the early 20th century in the Jordanian desert see Michael C. A. Macdonald and Ali Al-Manaser, "Report on the Wādī Salma Area Epigraphic Survey, April 2015," *Bulletin for the Council for British Research in the Levant* 12, no.1 (2017): 36-39.

Below, I discuss the motives behind the writing of the graffiti, especially the genealogical historical interests of those leaving their writings in stone (section 5.6.3.1). In short, the need to give oneself a place in history by recording one's family history and genealogy seems to have been an important motive besides the religious reasons mentioned above. As for the decline of the popularity of graffiti from the 3rd/9th century onwards, this should be connected to the same factor of audience. I have two possible explanations for the diminished popularity of graffiti from the 3rd/9th century onwards. The first hypothesis is that it became increasingly old-fashioned to leave writings in stone, with the widespread use of paper in the peninsula. The second hypothesis relates to developments in religious practice. Rather than expressing devotion via writings in public spaces, Muslims sought to approach God via spoken prayers.

At the same time that the volume of graffiti diminished after the 3rd/9th century, there was a sharp increase in the number of gravestones in Arabia. On the one hand, the flourishing Abbasid economy made it possible for more people to invest in erecting inscribed gravestones, a costly practice involving stonecutters and engravers. Both those belonging to well-known families and those of more modest background participated in this practice. In other words, the practice of leaving graffiti as public commemorators diminished especially amongst the families that form the focus of this study, which makes the drop in graffiti is especially visible in this corpus. As mentioned above, however, the drop in graffiti is a general phenomenon. At the same time, other forms of devotion and piety arose. Both these developments might have stimulated a switch to the use of epitaphs for deceased family members. On gravestones too genealogies were mentioned, establishing clear and visible connections with deceased ancestors.

5.5.1. The start and zenith

So, when did people in Islamic Arabia start to leave inscriptions, and when did this practice reach its zenith? Although I have focused on four families and the corpus of inscriptions they produced in this dissertation, I use other epigraphic material to compare our corpus with. In general, the corpus is representative of the body of Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia in terms of the chronological distribution of inscriptions produced.

When examining the corpus known so far of inscriptions produced by members of the four families of descendants of the *ṣaḥāba*, in terms of *when* they were produced, two interesting things appear. Despite the fact that there are some small variations between the families concerning the generation in which inscriptions started to be produced together, they represent a general trend. It is thus important to examine the distribution of epigraphic production across the *generations*.

When discussing the starting point of producing inscriptions in each family, there are differences. On the one extreme is the inscription by Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.1) who produced the earliest inscription in our corpus. Khālid belonged to the first generation of Muslims. Also in general this family is better represented in the earlier period than the other families. Four of the six individuals of this family who left inscriptions lived in the 1st/7th-8th century. With the 2nd generation of the family, the practice is shown to have been mainly carried out by two members of the family: Khālid's sons ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (inscriptions 1.3-4) and al-Ḥārith (inscription 1.7), and his grandson Ismāʿīl (inscriptions 1.5-6).

The family in our corpus that started to produce inscriptions latest, is that of descendants al-Zubayr, starting with ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.63) who belonged to the 2nd generation of Muslims. The other two families ʿUmar and Abū ʿAbs start in the 3rd generation, the family of

ʿUmar started to produce inscriptions from the 3rd generation with ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh (inscription 2.1). In the family of Abū ʿAbs, the inscriptions from the 3rd generation are represented by four individuals: al-Qāsim (inscriptions 4.1-8), ʿAbd al-Malik (inscriptions 4.13-15), Maslama (inscription 4.16), and Maymūn (inscriptions 4.23-24), whereas those from the 4th generation were presented by three individuals.

I have not found any historical reasons to explain these differences and I consider it for the moment to be an omission in our sources. First of all, it is of course always possible that older inscriptions of members of these families will be found. Secondly, there is no historical reason why one family would start producing inscriptions later than another family.

However, it is clear that in all families, the number of inscriptions – both in absolute numbers and in terms of how many people were involved in writing inscriptions, as well as the number of inscriptions left by individuals – increases from the 2nd generation onwards. This compares well with the Arabic epigraphic record from Islamic Arabia in general. From the 2nd generation of Muslims, there is an explosion of Arabic inscriptions, and this has generally been associated with the formation of the Islamic state.[567]

The second important observation is that the height of inscription production took place between the 4th and 7th generations in the families of ʿUmar, al-Zubayr and we can add that the family of Abū ʿAbs in the 3th and 4th generations (figure 16). Using absolute and relative dating methods, as discussed in Chapter Two, sections 2.5 and 2.5.1, this corresponds with the end of the 1st beginning of 2nd/8th century. This is also the generation in which the *mawālī* of our corpus left their

[567] Robert Hoyland, "New Documentary,"395-416.

inscriptions.[568] Because some families in our collection produced a lot more inscriptions than others, the effect of the relative increase per generation/century is more visible in some families than in others.

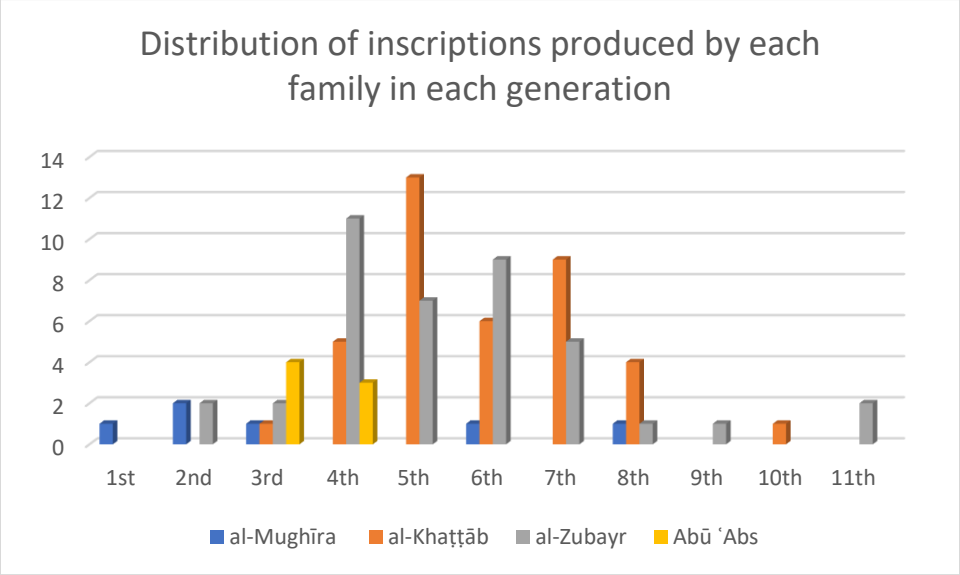

Figure 16 Distribution of inscriptions produced by each family in each generation

One topic that needs to be discussed here is literacy. Macdonald points out that learning to write is something that should be studied itself, and looked into these communities and the writings they left behind. The number of Arabic inscriptions rose dramatically after the establishment of the Islamic state under Muḥammad's leadership. MacMullen's study concerning the growth and decline of the epigraphic habit recognized that epigraphy tended to become more popular amongst citizens of a state.[569] Moreover, monumental inscriptions initiated by political or religious authorities were obviously produced in larger numbers in an official environment. At the same

[568] There are already inscriptions from *mawālī* known from the 1st and 2nd/7th-8th century in the Arabic corpus, see section 5.6.2 below.
[569] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 241.

time, government or religious inscriptions had an added importance to them. Such inscriptions tend to be noticed more than the informal graffiti that form the basis of the analysis in this thesis.

5.6. Audience

After having presented the argument of audience, following MacMullen, in explaining the disappearance of graffiti and the simultaneous rise in monumental inscriptions by private individuals, such as epitaphs in the 3rd/9th century (section 5.5), I will now turn to people's motives for producing inscriptions, as can be deducted from the epigraphic material itself. In understanding *why* people left inscriptions (in other words, what they wanted to achieve with their inscriptions), I will examine the inscriptions themselves, analyzing the different elements of the inscriptions in the light of motives and meaning. Again, I will use MacMullen's concept of audience, thinking not of the occasion at which an inscription was manufactured, but of the messages that their patrons were trying to convey through it. I will examine the textual elements, with a lot of attention for the importance of presenting family relations, as well as the geographical context of the inscriptions: where they were placed in relation to other inscriptions, and the landscape.

Above, I have already mentioned that in trying to explain the motives of people leaving inscriptions, I will focus on the forms of self-identification that people used: their names; patronymics; tribal names and other *nisbas*; titles; and other indications. I will not discuss the religious aspect of the inscriptions, not because I think that religion played no role in motivating people to leave an inscription, but because it is a rather general and unvaried element. The religious phrases in the inscriptions consist of stock phrases that express general piety and the desire to be

close to God. Moreover, as Robert Hoyland has remarked, the focus of all Arabic inscriptions is obviously to God.[570]

Another feature that bridges piety and audience is the interaction at a ritual level that some of the inscriptions initiate. This manifests itself in two ways. The first is to leave a graffito next to one that already exists. For example, next to an inscription left by Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ, a passer-by left a graffito, asking for "mercy upon him and upon whomever prays for him in goodness" (in inscription 1.2).

The second way is through some wording in the graffito that admonishes passers-by to pray for the person mentioned in (and having left) the inscription. The aforementioned example left by Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.2) says "whoever prays to him." So, for example, any one passing the graffito would pray to Khālid. In other words, the audience would pray for the well-being of the person mentioned in the inscription, ask God for forgiveness or make any other request. Finally, six graffiti included the word *qāla*, "says" to repeat the prayer, (inscriptions 2.38, 41 and 109; 3.51, 64 and 66).

The ways that people identified and described themselves in the contents of inscriptions, by contrast, as will become clear, allow for more analysis about the motives that people had to leave inscriptions. I will thus examine the self-description and, through that, the self-identification of those who initiated Arabic inscriptions in early Islamic Arabia.

[570] Hoyland, "The Content," 78.

5.6.1. Locals or foreigners?

To start with, I examine whether these texts were created by inhabitants of the area or travellers through the region for some reason or another. Below, in section 5.6.3.1, I will discuss the practice of individuals that seemed to prefer leaving inscriptions near those produced by family members. Here, I will discuss the relation between the location of the inscriptions and the place of residence of those leaving the inscriptions, in a more general sense. There are some variations in the corpus concerning this question. It is striking, however, that the majority of the corpus was produced by people known to have lived very near the place of discovery.

There is a clear connection between place of residence and the location of the inscriptions and we can observe a strong relationship between the texts found on the rocks and the wider community connected to the area. Other places were, however, not precise places of residence, but had some close connection to the individuals leaving inscriptions there. This becomes clear when we examine the epigraphic remains found around Medina. Inscriptions were found in *wādī*s, and near the road between Mecca and Medina, in places like Ruwāwa. For example, Ruwāwa, where most of our corpus was found, is not a residential area, but a rivulet. So, the idea is that this place was frequently visited by these individuals, as opposed to a place where they would have resided permanently. This site was already known for agriculture and pasture in the early Islamic period. As families continued to reside in the same place and family members frequented the same areas with their herds or worked the land, they continued to leave inscriptions in the same places. There are two reasons for this. The first reason, as Macdonald observed, is that the writing of inscriptions was mainly conducted as a pastime, and thus an almost automatic result of people spending time

in the area.[571] The second reason is that they wanted to express their family relationships by leaving graffiti in the same place or spot. Some of these places were visited by generation after generation. For instance, family members of the ʿUmar family produced inscriptions in the same place from the 3rd to the 8th generation.

In other cases, people originated from another area, but now lived in the place where they left their inscriptions. In other words, although they had once migrated from another place, their place of origin was still visible in their name (for example, in their tribal name, which is generally associated with Medina or through a geographical *nisba* referring to a Levantine town). In other cases they were merely travelling through or were spending some time for trade, a pilgrimage, or for some other reason. For example, five graffiti were found in Tabūk, where a handful of Medinan descendants resided (inscriptions 3.20, 35, 51, 63 and 64). Similarly, some members of the Zubayrid family left inscriptions along the Shām *ḥajj* route in "north-west" Saudi Arabia.[572] See for instance the graffiti of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.58) and ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.57). In addition, it is known from historical sources that some Zubayrids settled in that area, as I discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.5.5. Also, in al-Qāḥa cemetery in the Medina region, the Zubayrid family is present in the epigraphic record through four gravestones. The gravestones, indicating that a father and his son and a woman from the same branch were buried in this area, clearly confirms that this family was permanently settled there (inscriptions 3.59-62).

The gravestone of the governor of Yemen, ʿUmar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid (inscription 2.28), falls into a different category, namely one whereby a person lived in one place but died in another.

[571] Macdonald, "On the Uses," 9.
[572] al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 547 and see al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 230-231.

ʿUmar's grandfather settled in Yemen and his descendants were there, and he had his administrative position in Yemen,[573] but he died and was buried in Mecca (inscription 2.28).

Several inscriptions were left by people at quite a large distance from their place of residence. This is also a trend observed by MacMullen in relation to the classical world. He found out that some gravestones were erected for foreigners, such as residents of Rome in Egypt, far away from 'home.'[574] In our corpus, for example, this relates to those whose writings were found in Ḥismā (see Part Two) – for instance, ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.63) and Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb, the client of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.51). There are no indications that these Zubayrids lived here on a permanent basis. Rather they must have passed through the area on some journey.

Thus, it is interesting to note that most people left inscriptions locally. Presumably, this was not because they only wanted to communicate through inscriptions with those who also knew them personally, but rather because most of these people did not move very far from their place of residence. After all, people also left inscriptions in places they were only travelling through and had no long-term connection with. It is, of course, always possible that we will find more inscriptions left by people in places other than their place of residence.

5.6.2. Class?

An important observation concerning the Arabian epigraphic corpus is how socially diverse it is. In our corpus, we focus on the inscriptions left by four well-known families who descended from companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. By far the majority of those inscriptions was produced by

[573] al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 360.
[574] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 239.

free persons. However, we also find clients (*mawālī*) and even a slave associated with different family members. Four *mawālī* engraved five inscriptions in total, and one slave boy produced four graffiti. They all belong to different generations; three are clients of the 2nd generation of al-Zubayr family, which are the sons of al-Zubayr, al-Mundhir (inscription 3.35), ʿUrwa (inscription 3.51) and ʿAmr (inscription 3.64); one of the 3rd generation, the client of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.39-40).

Rabīʿ the slave boy of ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān used his title of *fatā* only once (inscription 2.113). In his other graffiti, he removed the title of slave boy (inscriptions 2.114-116). According to recent discoveries, the practice of removing these titles was more common than previously thought. For example, in Ḥismā, the *mawlā* of Muʿāwiya used his title twice and removed it once.[575]

The Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia include other examples of graffiti left by slaves[576] and *mawālī*.[577] In the 1st/7th-8th century, a marked increase in the number of dated inscriptions made by them can be seen. Members of different social backgrounds are thus well represented in the graffiti, and the same applies to gravestones. Gravestones record the *mawlā* status of the deceased or mention that they were or had been slaves.[578] Monumental foundations and other commemorative inscriptions were, not surprisingly, limited to the highest levels of society. In

[575] Maysāʾ Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*," 101, 104 and 119.
[576] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 16-17, 21.
[577] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 14-15 and 20, and Zuhayr graffito, see Ghabban and Hoyland, "The inscription," 212, and the construction of the Muʿāwiya dam in Medina by Mawlā of Ibn ʿAbbās see al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 46.
[578] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 20-21; two graffiti made by the same person, one mentioning he was a slave; and in the second one, he identified himself as a client.

general, however, there were no places or epigraphic genres restricted to one social class or another in Islamic Arabia. This situation, moreover, was in existence right from the start.

In this sense, the Arabic material shows a very different picture from that of the classical world, where – as MacMullen explains – certain areas were limited to inscriptions from rich people,[579] while the custom of making inscriptions only spread to lower classes throughout the course of several centuries.[580]

Besides the use of *mawlā* and *fatā*, there are only a limited number of inscriptions in the Arabic epigraphic record in general that mention individuals' titles, positions or professions. In our corpus, no positions are mentioned, but there are several positions mentioned in other Arabic graffiti, from head of state to other positions. For example, *amīr al-muʾminīn* is mentioned in Mecca;[581] others related to the Kaʿba are also mentioned, such as "*Ḥājib al-Kaʿba*" (gate keeper)[582] and "*Khādim al-Kaʿba*" (the servant of the Kaʿba), are mentioned twice.[583] Finally, someone who left his name in the south of Arabia referred to his father as a "*Ṣāniʿ al-Jirār*" (potter), in an inscription dated to the year 98/717.[584]

Most inscriptions do not, however, indicate the status of the initiator through titles or positions at all. This lack of the use of titles has been connected to the egalitarian nature of early Muslim-Arab society.[585] Even the earliest dated Arabic inscription, which mentions the death of the caliph

[579] MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," 241.
[580] "The key moment when this process took off occurred at the end of the first century BCE. This was when the practice, hitherto confined to the elite, spread to other groups of the population: the urban plebs, freedmen, soldiers, foreigners, and others which, though excluded from commemorations in the forum, found cemeteries to be ideal spaces for self-display." Lloris, "Epigraphic Habit," 134.
[581] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya min makka,* 151-153.
[582] Ibid., 141-143.
[583] al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman),* 183-185.
[584] al-Thenyian, "Naqsh ghayl," 66-67.
[585] See also the contrast in bi-lingual Greek-Arabic and Coptic-Arabic papyri where the Greek and Coptic parts of the documents use titles and positions to identify individuals who appear with their name and patronymic only in the

ʿUmar, does not use a title for the ruler. The identity of the caliph is based on his name, patronymic and the date of his death, as well as the fact that this presumably momentous event is used to date the inscription.[586] As I have argued elsewhere, however, the absence of the caliph's title should be explained by the notion that the inscription was produced after the caliph's death.[587]

The genealogical identifications in the inscriptions identified the inscriber's status as well, of course. After all, it was possible – this was, in fact, the whole point – to identify an individual easily by his family affiliation and his forefathers, placing him or her in the history and thereby the social stratification of Islamic society. In this sense, genealogy functioned just like position and title as an expression of status. Finally, there are several inscriptions that simply record a significant event that took place as a historical statement without offering a name, let alone that of a member of the high social classes or the ruler who initiated the inscription.[588]

In short, Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia show a diversity of social backgrounds amongst the people initiating the writings – a diversity that is made visible in the inscriptions themselves. This diversification existed from the beginning of Islam, when Arabic inscriptions became omnipresent. In this aspect, there is a clear difference between the Muslim world and other civilizations. The Arabic corpus from Arabia shows a clear diversity in the graffiti, gravestones

Arabic part, Petra M Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2013).

[586] "Ghabban and Hoyland, "The inscription," 209-236; Imbert, "Califes, princes," 65.

[587] Abdullah Alhatlani, "Death on stone: a new Arabic graffito from the Black Desert, north-eastern Jordan," paper delivered at the workshop entitled "Past, Present, & Future Encoding and Accessing Memories in Epigraphy in Post-Classical Mediterranean," Leiden, January 14,2021.

[588] Hoyland was the first to point out the lack of use of a title for the Rāshidūn caliphs in the inscription, see Robert G. Hoyland, "Reflections on the identity of the Arabian Conquerors of the Seventh-Century Middle East," *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 25 (2017), 124. It compares well with historical descriptions of the Rāshidūn caliphs being considered not far above the other Muslims. Our inscriptions suggest that this trend of identifying people by their name only, rather than by title and position, continued amongst later generations; those not belonging to the ruling family of the Umayyad caliphs, who did include titles with their inscriptions, would not include a title or profession, except for Isḥāq bin Qabīṣa who used the title *amīr*, Khamis, "Two wall," 163.

and constructions inscriptions from the beginning of its coming into existence, covering both graffiti and epigraphs. Inscriptions from higher-class individuals were mixed with those from people with a lower social status, in the graffiti, gravestones and in the monumental inscriptions. This diverse and egalitarian characteristic of the Arabic epigraphic corpus is important because it means that conveying status does not seem to have been an important motive for the making inscriptions, what was important conversely was that they identified themselves by linking their names to their community.

5.6.3. Family

Clearly, an important element in terms of self-identification in the Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia was family connections. Establishing a family connection happened in multiple ways. First, there was the practice of placing one's inscription near those of one's forefathers. Secondly, a connection was made between the generations by following the example of one's father in epigraphic practice. The names themselves were another way to establish a link within a family, especially the genealogical references to forefathers. Finally, there were the family names, indicated by tribal *nisba*s or a mention of the family founder. It is clear that the application of genealogical markers in these different ways constituted one of the most significant functions of the inscriptions. By listing preceding generations and genealogical connections, the initiators of these inscriptions placed themselves in a historical context and connected themselves to their forefathers.

5.6.3.1. The place to be: Joining one's forefathers in stone

After having discussed what the texts of the inscriptions say about the motives behind leaving them, I now move on to the placement of these inscriptions and what that tells us about their function and meaning. Which rocks were chosen, and what implication did this choice have?

The Safaitic inscription I have cited at the beginning of this chapter states: "found the writing of his father." The practice of generation after generation making their inscriptions in the same place is also a striking feature of our corpus and of Arabic inscriptions from early Islamic Arabia in general. This raises three questions: Firstly, was this a practice that frequently took place? Secondly, what significance did it have? Finally, was this a practice simply carried over from the ancient Arabia situation or was there a change in execution, application or meaning in the Islamic period?

Firstly, there is the practice of the same individual leaving his name several times in the same spot. There are 51 individuals who left multiple inscriptions in our corpus – for example, ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ (inscriptions 2.66-76) – did so in the same place. In other words, it was apparently more attractive to place one's second or third inscription in the same place as a previous one than to spread one's name across as wide a geographical area as possible. Moreover, those leaving multiple inscriptions in the same place did so in places where their family members also placed inscriptions. Others, such as Zayd son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ (inscriptions 2.78-86), Maymūn son of Zayd son of Abū ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.23-24) and ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.17-18) left graffiti in different places.

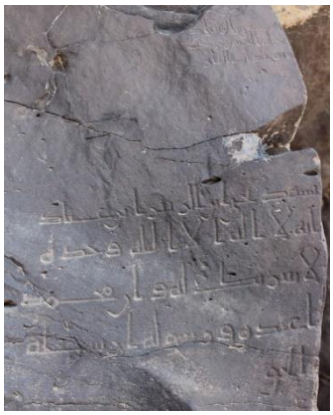

Figure 17 Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād left two inscriptions on this rock in Muzj, one in which he used one paternal name, and a second one in which he used two paternal names

Secondly, the practice of leaving inscriptions amongst those belonging to forefathers should be discussed. The Safaitic inscription cited at the beginning of this chapter shows that this practice was an ancient one in Arabia. The remark in the inscription – that the person left his inscription where he found the name of his father – suggests, moreover, that this was more than merely accidental. It remains unclear how widespread this practice was in the pre-Islamic period, we can not at this moment see this pattern clearly yet in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions that are dated to the 6th century, because the corpus is still small, but in the Safaitic corpus this phenomenon is present as also becomes clear from the mentioned quote. Although, as argued above in section 5.6.1, residence, daily movements and restrictions on movement determined the places where inscriptions were left, there seems to have been also a popular practice of leaving one's inscription in direct proximity to – or even on the same rock as – those of family members. The idea of connecting to one's forefathers by inscribing one's name near those one descended from, is encountered very frequently in the Islamic period as our corpus shows, how widespread this custom was in the pre-Islamic period remains unclear. Establishing the family-relations in the pre-Islamic corpus is much harder, because the corpus of graffiti is still small. For the Islamic period the situation is clear: once one person had placed his graffito in a specific spot, other family

members followed. Therefore, it is common to find the work of up to three generations upon one rock, as with the example below of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ, his two sons and his grandson; (see figure 19).

This desire to be associated with one's forefathers through the inscriptions has, I think, three main reasons. The first is rather prosaic, as discussed above in section 5.6.1: the simple fact that people generally did not move very far from their place of residence. In other words, they left inscriptions in the same spots as their forefathers, because they frequented the same spots their forefathers did. The next two reasons place more choice and agency in the hands of the inscribers. People also placed inscriptions near those of their forefathers because they wanted to connect emotionally to their ancestors in this way. Finally, by placing their inscriptions close to those of family members from the past, they shared their history and reputation. It was a way to build a common identity that was meaningful within their own society.

This practice comes out especially strong when we see family members leaving inscriptions on the same rock (see figures 18 and 19 below). Although the physical restraints of the rock of course determined how many people could leave their written messages and how they could arrange them, we can observe a variety of examples of people placing their inscriptions on the same spot. Some left their inscriptions next to each other or under each other. See, for example, figure 18, which shows that two cousins placed their graffiti above each other. ʿAbd Allāh son ʿAtīq son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā placed his graffito above that of his cousin ʿAtīq son of Yaʿqūb (inscriptions 3.30 and 31).

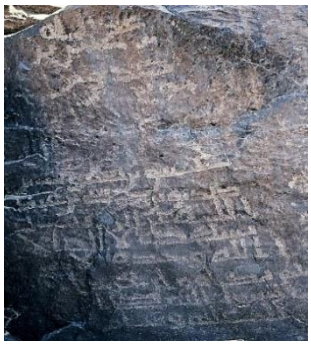

Figure 18 Example of two cousins' inscriptions. ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAtīq son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā (inscription 3.30) placed his inscription above that of his cousin ʿAtīq son of Yaʿqūb son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.31), on the same rock in Ruwāwa

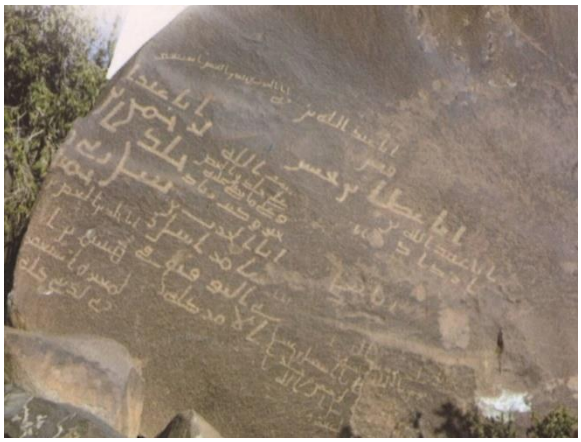

Figure 19 Three generations of one family (a grandfather, two of his sons, and his grandson) in Wādī Khara, region of al-Bāḥa. Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra (inscription 1.1), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid (inscription 1.4), Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid (inscription 1.5) and al-Ḥārith son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.7) left four graffiti on the same rock

If we examine the evidence of the four families who produced our corpus, we can, however, detect a difference in when the practice of leaving inscriptions in general and – especially – placing inscriptions amongst those of the family members started to become popular. It is difficult to argue whether these constitute absolute differences in our evidence or whether it reflects a condition of our sources. In other words, is this simply the result of inscriptions of certain family members not having been found yet, or is there a historical reason for the difference in the number of inscriptions placed between family members? At the same time, in places where different members of the same

family left their inscriptions, we might be able to say something more specific. In these places, a difference in practice between the different generations and the absence of names from one generation or another arguably represents a trend in the epigraphic practice of that family.

The desire to list one's forefathers in long genealogical lines disappeared in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century, as discussed below (section 5.6.3.2), and was replaced with the idea of a family name like al-ʿUmarī. Without certain identifications, it becomes difficult to analyze if names that are found near each other are indeed all names of related family members, and if so, how one specific individual would be connected to the other individuals that left inscriptions in the proximity. There is, for example, ʿUthmān son of Ḥafṣ, who left one graffito in Ruwāwa using only one paternal name.[589] He might be identified as the son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh (inscriptions 2.14-18) descending from ʿUmar via his son ʿAbd Allāh or as belonging to another ʿUmar branch – namely, that of ʿĀṣim – via the latter's great-grandson Ḥafṣ son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.49-56). Alternatively, he might descend from neither of these two persons.

It is noteworthy to mention here that the placement of inscriptions helped us to identify some individuals who are not known through the literary sources. See for example Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī and his son al-Fārūq, who could be identified by the fact that they left their inscriptions in the same spot. Similarly, al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs and his son Ṭālūt were able to be identified because they left their names in the same place. Conversely, when examining the inscriptions of subsequent family members who left their inscriptions on the same rock, it became clear that later generations felt that their own inscription was indeed a kind of

[589] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 101-102.

appendix to inscriptions by family members already in place. Later generations used less extensive genealogical identifications and were more likely to leave out the *nisba*. It seems that they did so because they thought they were identified through association with their forefathers, who did leave a full name (see section 5.6.3.3 for more details).

From my fieldwork visiting inscriptions in situ in Ruwāwa, Muzj and Jabal al-Makaymin, I was able to make some general observations concerning the placement of inscriptions in the landscape. First of all, in some rocks there is no place for more graffiti because the inscribers left no space for this. Secondly, in my second instance of fieldwork in Muzj, I was unable to see some inscriptions which were located on the left side of the *wādī* and on the side of small rivers. These are unfortunately inaccessible or invisible in the rainy season when I visited the place. For example, I was unable to reach certain inscriptions (inscriptions 3.2-6 and 21-24), when the rain made the water in the rivulet rise (see figure 20). We can assume that since the places with these inscriptions are inaccessible in the rainy season, they must have been produced at other times of the year which fits of course also the season of grazing cattle better.

Figure 20 Muzj in my second instance of fieldwork

In some cases, the condition of the stones or rocks determined how an inscription was written, in the sense that some parts were purposely left out of the inscription, so it would fit the available space better. In our corpus, we find ten inscriptions that are assumingly incomplete or missing words because of their position on the stone; one in terms of lineage (inscription 2.3), three missing the word *ibn* (son of) (inscriptions 2.54, 3.2 and 14), and six with incomplete phrasing (inscriptions 2.7, 49, 80; 3.28, 29, and 47). In other words, these parts were left out (intentionally or accidentally) because there was not enough space to write the complete text.

As mentioned above, we assume in general that the makers of the graffiti wanted them to be read by passers-by. In Ruwāwa in general, the inscriptions can be easily observed. They are not located very far away from each other and in fact, when walking around, inscriptions can be seen everywhere. There are some collapsed rocks that may contain more graffiti. Most of the inscriptions are located in the north east, south, and south west of the rivulet.[590] Only in a few exceptional cases are the inscriptions found in a high place at the edge of the rivulet, such as (inscription 2.82), where Zayd son of ʿUmar did not complete his graffito. Another example of a graffito that is difficult to reach, is that of Yaḥyā son of Yaḥyā al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.68) in Jabal al-Makaymin which is located high on the rock.

A final remark concerns the specific audience - family, brothers, cousins, sons or other passers-by – these inscriptions were typically made for. It is likely that in fact other family members were the main targeted audience. Because we find several generations and different branches of one family at specific sites, we can conclude family members must have frequented the place for decades. As

[590] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 12.

discussed above, passers-by were targeted especially in the inscriptions that asked passers-by to pray.

5.6.3.2. Names and self-identifications

Names and naming practices reveal much about the messages the individuals leaving these inscriptions wanted to emphasize about themselves. One exciting feature in these inscriptions is how the individuals who left them identified themselves and, especially, how many generations of ancestors they listed in their inscriptions. We might be able to trace some change in attitude towards self-identification and how these individuals placed themselves in the chronology of the Muslim community and the genealogy of their families.

One striking feature of the inscriptions in our corpus, and in Arabic inscriptions in general, is that the usage of the tribal *nisba* is not common. Even the *nisba* Qurayshī is only attested once in this corpus. Subtribes or clans are only attested a total of three times: al-Makhzūmī twice (inscriptions 1.8 and 9) and al-Asadī once. In one case, both the name of the tribe and clan are used: al-Qurayshī, then al-Asadī (inscription 3.19). In this regard, it is noteworthy to mention that the usage of the tribe's name before that of the clan is not uncommon in Arabic inscriptions, see section 5.4.

One person used his *laqab* "epithet" such as Rabāḥ (inscriptions 2.37-38) instead of his real name ʿĪsā. This individual, who was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter, is referred to in the narrative sources with this *laqab* as well, rather than his first name. However, the sources do not give an original first name for his nephew's son, Rabāḥ son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.46-48), so it is difficult to ascertain whether Rabāḥ is a *laqab* or a name.

An interesting phenomenon is that apparently certain names were popular in certain families. In the four families studied in this dissertation, this phenomenon is especially clear amongst the

descendant of al-Mughīra, ʿUmar and Ibn al-Zubayr. In the line of descendants of al-Mughīra we have 6 individuals, from different generations we have the name Khālid and al-Ḥārith or Ḥārith attested twice, which is the same name but with the added article al- (inscriptions 1.7 and 9)(see Chapter Three, figure 7). In the family of ʿUmar the following names occur especially frequently: ʿUmar, Muḥammad and Ḥafṣ were the most common name which are attested four times, ʿUbayd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh three times, Rabāḥ, Abū Bakr andʿĀṣim twice. ʿUmar appears twice in the 4th generation, Ḥafṣ, ʿUbayd Allāh, Muḥammad, and Abū Bakr are attested twice in the 5th generation (see Chapter Three, figures 8 and 9).

In the family of Ibn al-Zubayr we see the following names are popular; ʿAbd Allāh is attested nine times, Muḥammad five times, Yaḥyā four times and Isḥāq three times; the following names were attested twice Jaʿfar, Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, ʿUmar and Muṣʿab. The name ʿUmar is attested twice in the 4th generation (see Chapter Three, figure 12), Isḥāq appears twice in the 5th generation (see Chapter Three, figures 10 and 11), and ʿAbd Allāh is attested three times in the 6th generation (see Chapter Three, figures 10 and 11), Muḥammad appears twice in the 7th generation (see Chapter Three, figure10).

Another important point in relation to the names used is the way in which members referred to their family or final *nisba*. By the 1st/7th-8th century, a new practice started to appear in the Muslim community – namely, using variant final *nisba*s. Such a practice is found in our corpus in the families of al-Mughīra, al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Zubayr and Abū ʿAbs.

The descendants of al-Mughīra used three final *nisba*s, and these changed from one generation to the next. For example, Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ used the final *nisba* al-Mughīra (inscription 1.1). An unidentified man named Ziyād made a graffito for Khālid, ending the name with the *nisba* al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.2). Khālid's sons, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and al-Ḥārith also used the *nisba* al-ʿĀṣ

(inscriptions 1.3 and 7). A later generation used the *nisba* of the al-Makhzūmī clan (inscriptions 1.8-9).

Regarding the family of al-Khaṭṭāb, inscriptions from the 1st/7th to the 4th/10th centuries show five variants of the last name, these are al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Fārūq, Ibn ʿUmar, al-ʿUmarī and Āl ʿUmar. The *laqab* or epithet al-Fārūq, for ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb, is attested in five graffiti. The earliest attestation occurs in a text left by Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim in the year 100/718-719 (inscription 2.38). The second, which might be earlier than the one first mentioned, came in an inscription by his older brother, ʿUmar (inscription 2.41). The third one comes in an inscription by ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.2). The fourth and the fifth were used by the *mawlā* of ʿUmar's grandson Ḥafṣ – namely, Shaddād (inscriptions 2.39-40). As we can notice from the diagram (figure 21), the use of the *laqab* started in the same generation, that is to say the 4th, between the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd/8th century.

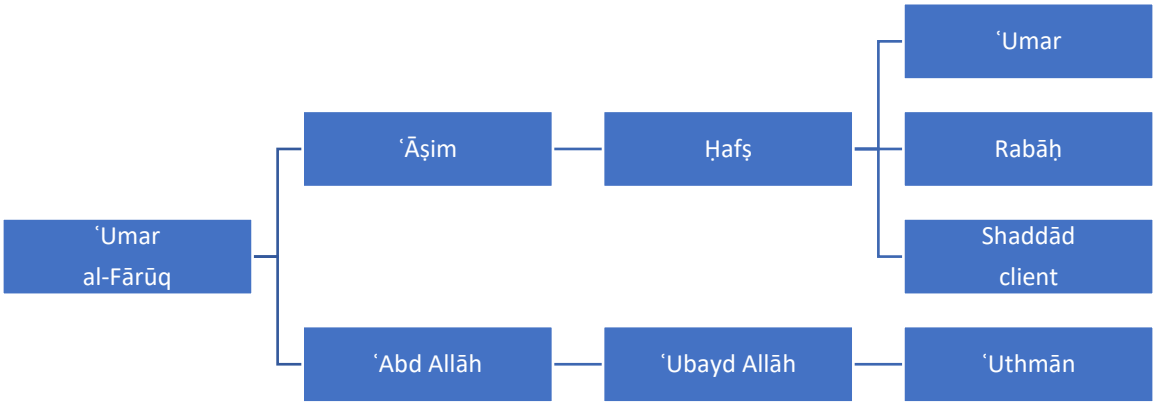

Figure 21 The usages of the epithet al-Fārūq as a last name amongst ʿUmar's descendants

In the next generation, the use of the epithet changed as it came to represent an element of nostalgia towards their forefathers. It appears in two poetic inscriptions from Ruwāwa. These inscriptions

originate from the 5th to the 7th generation (inscriptions 2.76 and 124), all of which used a particularly poetic style of inscription. In the beginning of the graffito (inscription 2.124), the inscriber identifies himself as follows: "I am the boy from the descendants …of al-Fārūq" (*anā al-fatā min banī… al-frūq*(sic)). Note that the practice of using the term *banī* was also attested throughout the Safaitic and Nabataean[591] ones. We also find this form in some early Arabic inscriptions.[592] Another way of identify is using *āl*, Ḥafṣ son of ʿUthmān identified himself as "young man of the family of Āl ʿUmar" (*shābb āl ʿUmar*) (inscription 2.14). The using of *āl* is unique in early Arabic epigraphy. I think he used this title in a place where he was surrounded by his family inscriptions as he was writing. Again, this practice of identifying oneself as belonging to a family or tribe using *āl* occurs in Nabataean and Safaitic.[593]

Interestingly, the variant "Ibn ʿUmar" was mostly used in the branch of ʿAbd Allāh, one example is taken from the branch of ʿĀṣim by Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.42). In the branch of ʿAbd Allāh, the name Ibn ʿUmar was used six times (inscriptions 2.1, 3-5, 19 and 24) and the name Āl ʿUmar occurred once (inscription 2.14). On the other hand, the *nisba* al-Khaṭṭāb appears in eight inscriptions, of which six occurred outside Medina. Inscriptions 2.37 and 136 can be found in Medina and belong to the branch of ʿĀṣim, and those outside Medina can be found in Mecca and Najrān (inscriptions 2.23, 28-30, 33-34).

Around the second half to the end of the 2nd/8th-9th century, a fourth variant, al-ʿUmarī, was introduced in both the epigraphic and literary sources. The name remained popular from the 4th to

[591] Laïla Nehmé and Michael C.A. Macdonald, "Bny, ʾl and ʾhl in Nabataean and Safaitic," in *Dûma 3; The 2012 Report of the Saudi–Italian–French Archaeological Project at Dûmat al-Jandal, Saudi Arabia*, ed. Guillaume Charloux and Romolo Loreto (Riyadh, 2015), 69-73.
[592] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā,* 14.
[593] Nehmé and Macdonald, "Bny, ʾl and ʾhl," 71-73.

the 8th generation. In the epigraphic record, this *nisba* was found in 15 graffiti. In general, this name was more commonly used amongst the branch of ʿĀṣim than the branch of ʿAbd Allāh, with nine usages of this name in total: seven from the branch of ʿĀṣim, and two from the branch of ʿAbd Allāh.

The occurrence of the name al-ʿUmarī might be explained as a transition between the names Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibn ʿUmar; instead of using the full lineage, they used this *nisba* to shorten the names. This could be confirmed by two inscriptions left by one person, al-Fārūq son of Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī. He used the name al-ʿUmarī once (inscription 2.135) and the name al-Khaṭṭāb once (inscription 2.136). The sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ used the *nisba* "al-ʿUmarī", though there is no precise information available about them. Nonetheless, the epigraphic record shows that five sons and two grandsons used this *nisba*: Ismāʿīl (inscriptions 2.96-99), ʿĀṣim (inscriptions 2.104-105), ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿĀṣim (inscription 2.107), ʿĪsā son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (inscriptions 2.117-118), Muḥammad son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (inscriptions 2.120-122), Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (inscriptions 2.124-126) and al-Fārūq son of Zayd (inscription 2.124 and 135). Two individuals from the branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar used this *nisba*. They are ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.32) and his uncle ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.31).

The *nisba* al-ʿUmarī was only used by the descendants of ʿUmar. Al-Rashid suggested that Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.124), who left an inscription in Ruwāwa, might refer to Zayd son of al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUmar's brother. He concluded that the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī might not have been used exclusively for ʿUmar's descendants but also for those of his brother Zayd.[594] Now that we have a full lineage of Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in his son's inscription (inscription

[594] al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 70-71.

2.136), this suggestion can be rejected. Zayd descends also from ʿUmar, hence he uses the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī.

Al-Samʿānī reports that this *nisba* al-ʿUmarī was used by the descendants of two ʿUmars: ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿUmar son of ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib. Al-Samʿānī mentioned ten descendants from ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb who used this *nisba*.[595] As discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.4.1, it seems that what al-Samʿānī has suggested is correct and corresponds to what the epigraphic record shows. But there are two exceptions: they are related to the graffiti of ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.31) and ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.32); al-Samʿānī mentioned these individuals but did not add information on whether they used the nisba or not.

What becomes clear from these examples is that even within the time-span of one generation people adjusted their names quite significantly. Interestingly, moreover, there seems to have been a tendency – especially in the family of ʿUmar, where multiple names were in use – for the same person to use different names. As mentioned above, Rabāḥ used a *kunya* instead of his original first name. Also, in his two graffiti, he uses two different versions of his 'last' name. In the text dated to the year 96/714-715, he used the last name al-Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.37); in the second one, he used al-Fārūq (inscription 2.38). A second example of this phenomenon is ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh, who used al-Fārūq (inscription 2.2) and Ibn ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.3-5). Finally, al-Fārūq son of Zayd used the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī once (inscription 2.135) and al-Khaṭṭāb once (inscription 2.136).

[595] al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, 9: 372-374.

In al-Zubayr's family, four different last names were in use: the first variant is al-Zubayr. Al-Zubayrī was introduced in the 6th generation (2nd/8th century), but not all members of that generation used it. Sometimes, al-Zubayr and al-Zubayrī are used alongside each other (in the 6th generation: inscription 3.41; and in the 10th generation: inscription 3.16). The third variant is al-ʿAwwām. However, this name is only attested once in an epitaph that can be dated to the 3rd/9th century (inscription 3.65). Finally, one inscription mentions al-Qurayshī, then al-Asadī (inscription 3.19).

Although the *nisba* al-Zubayrī seems linguistically similar to how al-ʿUmarī was formed, it must be stressed that there is in fact a slight difference. Indeed, in some inscriptions left by members of the Zubayrī family, it is clear that the name is used to simply shorten the name in order not to present the full lineage, as is the case with ʿUmāra son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.41). However, on the gravestone of Muḥammad son of al-Qāsim son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī the name al-Zubayrī is used differently; that is to say, in the case of this extensive lineage on a professionally made gravestone using "al-Zubayrī" was purposely done and not just meant as a quicker way of writing Ibn al-Zubayr. It seems to me that using this *nisba*, as we found in the first case of ʿUmāra (inscription 3.41), is similar to what we found in ʿUmar's family, where al-ʿUmarī was used as a *nisba*. Indeed, it is used systematically to replace full *nisba*s, so as not to have to indicate every name in the lineage, as also happened with Ibn ʿUmar or al-Khaṭṭāb. In brief, there is no general systematic use for this *nisba*. This variation shows that people used multiple ways to present themselves in the epigraphic record. Indeed, it is difficult to draw a conclusion about this variation, but what I suggest is that it was a personal choice.

5.6.3.3. Paternal lines used in our corpus

Some inscriptions in our corpus show a use of paternal names instead of the full lineage. In several cases this phenomenon appears in a situation where the same individual has also (already) left an inscription mentioning his full lineage. So frequenting the same site and leaving multiple inscriptions seems to have been a reason for using paternal names. Another reason for using a shortened lineage appears to be the presence of inscriptions by family members, who did use the full lineage and were located in the same spot. For instance, in the inscriptions of descendants of al-Mughīra, the full lineage was omitted three times (inscriptions 1.4-6). In all these cases the inscriptions were left close to the inscription of the father of the particular inscribers, so the family ties were clear. The rest of the descendants did use their full names, supporting the idea that the proximity to other inscriptions played a large part in the decision.

Another example of shortened lineage can be found in the inscriptions by the grandsons of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.1). ʿUthmān's sons Abū Bakr (inscriptions 2.8-13) and Ḥafṣ (inscriptions 2.14-18), who belonged to the 5th generation, did not mention their full lineage, because they were surrounded by inscriptions left by their father, grandfather and uncle, who had already presented their full lineage. However, Ḥafṣ once used 'son of ʿUthmān shābb Āl ʿUmar' (inscription 2.14) to connect himself to the family, but he omitted his grandfather and great-grandfather from his lineage.

I should note that in the branch of Ḥafṣ, through his son ʿUmar, the use of the full paternal formula is rare in general. Even ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of al-Fārūq (inscription 2.41) omitted one member on his paternal side – namely, his grandfather ʿĀṣim. None of ʿUmar's sons ever mentions their linage back to ʿUmar except for his son Abū Bakr who was the only one in the branch to use the

nisba Ibn ʿUmar, using son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.42). His other sons, ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh, Zayd, Muḥammad and ʿĀṣim, son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ never mentioned their full lineage. Also the 6th generation did not use their full lineage. The 7th generation of ʿĀṣim used the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī to verify their *nasab* instead of using the full lineage going back to al-Khaṭṭāb. There is one exception to this general pattern in the ʿUmar-family. In the 8th generation al-Fārūq son of Zayd used two ways to identify himself: once he described himself with the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.135), and in a second case he added his full lineage to ʿUmar son of Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.136). But in general we can state that the members of this branch used only a short lineage to identify themselves instead of their full name.

In the family of al-Zubayr, as was the case in the family of ʿUmar, paternal names were most frequently used. There are a number of individuals who would sometimes use their paternal name, and in other cases used their full name, for example ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbbād (inscriptions 3.18-19) and ʿAtīq son of Yʿaqūb (inscriptions 3.31-32). On the other hand, others used their paternal name instead of a full genealogy. As mentioned above, using two or three paternal names would usually suffice to identify a person. For example, the brother of ʿAtīq, ʿĀmir (inscription 3.34) and his cousin ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAtīq (inscription 3.30) did not use their full lineage; because they were writing in the same place where their brother's and cousin's inscriptions were found, they only used two to three paternal names as an indication of their identity.

In the family of Abū ʿAbs, only one individual ever used more than three paternal names. Sālim son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs linked himself to the family founder (inscriptions 4.19-20). I noted that in this family, all of the members preferred to use the family *nisba* Abū ʿAbs, except Ṭālūt son of al-Qāsim (inscriptions 4.9-12) and ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū

ʿAbs (inscriptions 4.17-18). In the case of the latter the family nisba is the same to the name of the father, so in this case it remains unclear which name he intended to refer to.

It is clear that the graffiti show variation in the use of lineage and the number of paternal ancestors mentioned, but at the moment I do not see a clear pattern other than maybe one based on practical considerations. As discussed above, people often left out full identification through their genealogy or family *nisba* if they wrote their inscription in a place where other family members had done so too. This means that part of their identification went via those of their family members. On the other hand, lineages on gravestones are longer because gravestones fall into a slightly different category from graffiti.

5.7. Phrases

Having discussed the self-presentation of inscribers in terms of their names and the location of inscriptions as an indicator of what they convey towards their audience, I will now turn to the remaining textual elements in the inscriptions. Besides religious phrases, which dominate in the inscriptions, poems and signatures (list of lineages only) are also included in the inscriptions in our corpus.[596] As discussed above, I will not deal with religious phrases extensively because they are formulaic and repetitive. Nevertheless, I will use them in my analysis here, not to examine the motives of those leaving inscriptions but to trace other patterns – for example, the relative popularity of certain formulae amongst (members of) one family or another.

Poems appear only seldomly. In our corpus, two graffiti contain some lines of poetry (inscriptions 2.76 and 124). These poems are short and only comprise one line; there are anonymous lines that I thought may have been composed by the inscribers themselves, because they all relate to the

[596] Hoyland, "The Content," 78-90.

honor of the ancestors of these inscribers. It seems to me these inscriptions were made because of the inscribers' feelings of nostalgia towards their ancestors, commemorating them when they were surrounded by their relative's inscriptions.

Let us start with a recapitulation of the textual elements of our inscriptions. The inscriptions of our corpus contain text – mostly pious phrases often in the form of a prayer or request, but sometimes merely stating the confession of faith or some Qurʾanic verses, and in a few cases, verses of poetry; or a combination of these, followed by the identification of the person on whose behalf the inscription was erected. Below, I have listed the kinds of texts that can be found in the inscriptions besides the names, as distributed amongst the different families. It is clear (and to be expected) that the families that left most inscriptions, such as the descendants of ʿUmar, display most textual variants. In the discussion of the different elements, I have not distinguished between the different families.

The most popular phrases attested throughout our corpus in all four families relate to confession "*āmana fulān bi-Allāh al-ʿaẓīm*" or in the variant: either "*āmana fulān bi-Allāh*" or "*thiqat fulān bi-Allāh*" *or* "*fulān bi-Allāh yathiq*", which is attested 99 times in our corpus. The second phrase used in our corpus relates to a prayer for forgiveness: "*Allāhumma ighfir li-fulān ibn fulān*." This occurs 48 times. This phrase is sometimes followed by *dhanbahu* "his sin" and sometimes by "*amīn rabb al-ʿālamīn.*" The third one relates to a prayer for repentance; it occurs 31 times, all starting with "*tāba Allāh ʿalā fulān ibn fulān*", except one (inscription 2.121).

Qurʾanic verses are used, and some prayers from the Qurʾan are adopted. Qurʾanic verses are used as follows: Chapter 112: 30 is attested five times (inscriptions 2.23; 3.15, 59, 62 and 68); Chapter 2:255 is attested once (inscription 3.65); Chapter 3:185 is attested once (inscription 2.34);

Chapter:27:19 is attested in a graffito (inscription 3.38); Chapter 33:56 is attested once on a gravestone (inscription 3.61); Chapter 18:110 is attested in graffito (inscription 3.67), and finally, (inscriptions 3.5 and 14) quote from Chapter 25:58. Additionally, there are some phrases that have been adapted from the Qurʾan; Chapter 24:35 is quoted in an adapted form in (inscriptions 1.8 and 3.60), Chapter 26:85, and Chapter 56: 49-50 is recognized in (inscriptions 1.9, 2.27, 2.33 and 3.16).

Praying for mercy is well attested in our corpus; it occurs 15 times in several formulae, for example, "*raḥmat Allāh wa-barakātuhu ʿalā fulān ibn fulān*" (inscription 1.3), (may God have mercy and blessings upon so and so). A wish to enter paradise is attested 11 times in different ways; cf. "*Allāhuma baligh fulān ibn fulān al-firdaws"* (inscription 2.94), "*fulān in. fulān yasʾal Allāh al-janna*" or "*yā-rabb fulān ibn fulān adkhilhu al-janna*" (inscription 3.22), or "*anā fulān ibn fulān asʾal Allāh al-janna*" (inscription 3.25).There is one unique request: "*fulān ibn fulān yaʿūdhu bi-Allāh min al-nifāq*" (so and so seeks refuge in God from hypocrisy) (inscription 3.84); we find a request for devotion to God "*anā fulān ibn fulān awṣī bi-birr Allāh*" (inscription 2.17); and devotion to God and kinship "*anā fulān ibn fulān awṣī bi-birr Allāh wa-l-raḥim*" (inscription 2.37). Benediction is attested three times, (inscription 3.64, 4. 8 and 17). See for example "*anā fulān ibn fulān ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā man qāla amīn*" (I am so and so, God's blessing be upon him and on whomever says amen) (inscription 3.64).

We have in our corpus a unique example of a construction of a sitting-place and prayer for who is sitting on it, occurring once (inscription 2.22). There is only one construction inscription in our corpus that commemorates the construction of an avenue for the pilgrims on their way to the House of God (inscription 3.69). Finally, signatures are attested 15 times, which consist of a list of lineages like "*anā fulān ibn fulān ibn fulān etc.*."

A good example for a combination of different kinds of religious elements is attested in the eleven graffiti applied by ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar. ʿĀṣim used expressions concerning prayers for forgiveness, the confession of faith, a prayer for repentance and a poem in his graffiti (inscriptions 2.66-76). A member of the same family but from a different generation, Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī (inscriptions 2.124-134), also used different formulae including a poem, a confession of faith, and a prayer for repentance. In other cases, certain words and phrases were changed in standard expressions, as used by family members or inscribers from the same generation. See, for example, in the family of al-Zubayr, Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā, who left ten inscriptions, of which seven are confessions in several variations, two are prayers from the Qurʾan, and one is a prayer for forgiveness (inscriptions 3.5-14).

Another example comes from the family of ʿUmar in the branch of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ, whereby six brothers most likely all engraved their inscriptions during the same period of time. Three of them – ʿĀṣim (inscriptions 2.66, 68, 71, 72 and 75), Muḥammad (inscriptions 2.58 and 59) and Zayd (inscriptions 2.82 and 86) – use the same formula (namely, confessions of faith), but the other three used very different texts all together. Their sons from the next generation also used the same formula, except Muḥammad son of Ḥafṣ. See, for example, Jaʿfar son of ʿĀṣim (inscription 2.77) and ʿAbd Allāh son of Zayd (inscriptions 2.87-88).

Finally, some people showed great consistency in their choice of expressions. In the case of the family of Abū ʿAbs we find that almost all members choose the same formula, a prayer for forgiveness, with the exception of only four graffiti (inscriptions 4.8, 10, 12 and 17). This means that the same formula was very popular amongst the two generations.

This leads to a conclusion that there was no consistency in the kind of text and expressions used within one family, between contemporaries, or even by the same individual. In other words, although certain phrases were more popular than others, there was no fixed choice of text. Rather, variation was the standard.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter is an attempt to link the Arabic epigraphic corpus from early Islamic Arabia to historical questions. This is simultaneously the most challenging and the most exciting part of the dissertation. The inscriptions, with their limited historical information, might at first sight seem rather unsuitable for such an academic effort. By emphasizing the repetitive and formulaic character of the inscriptions as well as their 'accidental' coming into existence as products of leisure and pastime, scholars have generally interpreted the inscriptions as meaningless in terms of self-expression and communication, the exception being the observation that the inscriptions display the significance and omnipresence of literacy in this society.

Instead, I have speculated, by using MacMullen's concept of audience, on how we can read these inscriptions as signs of communication between the inscribers and potential passers-by and what that tells us about the society that produced these inscriptions. Using both the textual elements and the inscriptions as physical objects, as they appear in the landscape and their occurrence throughout time, I have come to make several observations.

The first one is about the relative presence of graffiti and epitaphs related to members of the four families under examination in this thesis. There is a clear relationship between the disappearance of graffiti and the increase of gravestones in the 3rd/9th century throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

The earliest gravestone containing an absolute date in Arabia is dated to 233/848.[597] There are also various other gravestones that must stem from the early 3th/9th century, like those found in southern Mecca,[598] and Mecca.[599]

This corpus shows variation in using the lineage and family *nisba*. Through their long lists of ancestors, the use of family *nisba*s and the physical location of inscriptions close to those of family members, the inscriptions are a great repository of family history. They can also be seen as a statement of location and status, both in the family history and, through that, in society at large. Indeed, although the religious function of the inscriptions is clear in the prevalence of religious phrases and prayers, it is the family history and association with ancestors that give them their greatest historical value. On the one hand the association with forefathers by the placement of the inscriptions and the listing of generations continues ancient Arabian epigraphic practice. On the other hand, we can notice clear differences in the Islamic material; thus the Arabic inscriptions can be considered as a new beginning in the epigraphic record from Arabia. Analyzing the graffiti as a corpus, we can conclude that the practice of leaving graffiti started in the 1st Muslim generation of al-Mughīra's descendants, in the 2nd generation for the family of al-Zubayr and in the 3rd generation for the families of ʿUmar and Abū ʿAbs. It reached its greatest popularity in the 2nd generation of al-Mughīra's descendants, the 4th-5th generation in the families of ʿUmar and Zubayr, and the 3rd generation of Abū ʿAbs.

In trying to read the Arabic inscriptions as historical sources, I have made use of comparative studies on different epigraphic corpora, especially those from the classical world by MacMullen. The increase in Arabic inscriptions in Arabia shows clear relations with the establishment of the

[597] al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ʿasham*, 229.
[598] al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 310-311.
[599] al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 112-113.

Islamic state by Muḥammad in the 7th century, as well as several generations later with the effluence of the Abbasid Muslim society that produced the inscriptions. This compares well with some of the reasons that MacMullen offers for changes in the location and volume of inscriptions in the classical world. Conversely, it should also be noted that these practices and crafts show a distinct difference from those fostered throughout the Roman Empire. This is largely due to the fact that the Arabic inscriptions were produced by all societal classes, rather than being restricted to one or the other, and – arguably – had no bearing on governmental levels of activity. This leads to the conclusion that on the one hand MacMullen's model for studying epigraphy can offer some valuable insights for the Islamic-Arabian epigraphic record, but that on the other hand there are also some elements that seem quite unique for the Arabic graffiti and that thus deserve to be studied in their own right.

Conclusion

This dissertation is a direct response to the explosion of discoveries of Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia. The establishment of the "Department of Antiquities and Museums", currently called the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage, in 1972 marks the beginning of the serious study of Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia. A fair number of Arabic inscriptions from Arabia dating to the 1st-3rd/7th-9th centuries have been published since then. In recent decades, the number of inscriptions known has, however, grown exponentially as a result of the ongoing surveys conducted by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage in cooperation with international institutions, as well as the discoveries by amateur archeologists made public via social media and internet websites. Such revelations provoked the excitement and high expectations of the scholarly community so eager to gain increased knowledge about the earliest community of Muslims and the environment in which Islam was born.

The rising interest in Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia prompted studies into an array of subjects, including examinations of the formulas that appear in the inscriptions, such as Qurʾanic verses, poetry and references to holy war and martyrdom, dated inscriptions or those listing well-known figures from Islamic history. Scholars agree that the majority of Arabic inscriptions dating to the 1st/7th-8th century have been discovered on the Arabian Peninsula, especially from modern day Saudi Arabia.[600] Due to the many surveys currently going on in Saudi Arabia this number is still increasing: from the 11 inscriptions dated to the first fifty years of Hijra, only 1 was discovered outside of Saudi Arabia, in Egypt to be precise (see the overview in Appendix One).

Despite the quick rate at which new epigraphic evidence becomes available, only a handful of scholars has attempted to write a historical study using a meaningful correlated corpus of these

[600] Imbert, "*L'slam des pierres*," 2: 37-38.

inscriptions. One of the main objectives of the current study is to show how this might be done. In this dissertation I (1) gathered a coherent corpus of published and unpublished inscriptions; (2) transcribed and translated these inscriptions; (3) employed historical methods to reflect on the importance of using Arabic epigraphy to examine the genealogy of the earliest generations of Muslims who resided in the Arabian Peninsula and, to the extent this is currently possible, their epigraphic habit.

The core of this dissertation is formed by 260 Arabic inscriptions discovered in different regions in the Arabian Peninsula, 145 of which are published here for the first time. By far, the majority of the texts, 244 to be exact, are so-called graffiti. These are unofficial personal writings consisting of short texts that contain the name of the person that left the inscription (or in whose name it was left) and a short pious message. Most graffiti are found on the outskirts of Medina while the remainder are located in the following locations: al-ʿUlā, al-Bāḥa, Tabūk, Najrān, Mecca, and Khaybar. Another fifteen inscriptions are taken from gravestones originating in the cemeteries in Mecca, Medina, ʿAsham and the Ḥijāz. A foundational inscription that is included in this study, was found in Medina. The edition and translation of these inscriptions can be found in Part Two.

In this corpus, there are fourteen dated texts ranging from the year 40 /660-661 to the year 304 /916-917 (see Chapter Two, table 1). The undated texts can be roughly dated based on information gathered from the biography of the persons mentioned in them and the paleography of the writings. On this basis, we can provide a chronological classification for the undated texts as follows: 16 inscriptions can be dated to the 1st/7th century; 64 between the 1st-2nd/8th centuries; 67 from the 2nd /8th-9th century; 63 between the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries; 18 from the 3rd/9th century; and, finally, 18 from the 4th/10th century. The methods of selecting, dating and evaluating the inscriptions are discussed in Chapter Two, sections 2.5, 2.5.1 and 2.5.2.

The inscriptions name the descendants of four companions of the prophet Muḥammad: al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī 9 inscriptions, ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb 138 inscriptions, al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām 89 inscriptions, and Abū ʿAbs 24 inscriptions. Only one inscription in this corpus can be ascribed to a companion of the Prophet: Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.1). The four families represented in the epigraphic records are discussed in Chapter Three. In Chapter Two, I explain how and why I selected these particular inscriptions that belong to these families, from the much larger collection of graffiti and other inscriptions that is now available.

This dissertation casts light on a corpus of published and unpublished inscriptions, referring to 106 individuals. It raises the following questions: What inscriptions do we have related to the above-mentioned families? Who are the individuals attested in the inscriptions? Do they appear in the Muslim literary sources? And why did these people leave inscriptions? As an overarching exercise I have tried to answer the question how this large and still growing corpus of short graffiti can be used as a meaningful historical source in a broader context.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Arabic epigraphy remains an underdeveloped field with only a small number of the available inscriptions having been published. The epigraphic records that form the topic of this dissertation have expanded our knowledge of this material in several important ways. This dissertation has shown that the Arabian Peninsula is rich in Arabic inscriptions that date back to the early Islamic period. The editions in Part Two of the dissertation add a significant number of new editions of Arabic inscriptions related to well-known families from early Islamic history. By combining related inscriptions, I was, moreover, able to correct several older editions. This dissertation also aims to show that, when examined in a meaningful combination, these inscriptions form a unique historical source. To date, our knowledge of genealogy in Islam has been based on genealogical and biographical sources. This dissertation studies a group of related

inscriptions which were cross-examined with early Muslim genealogical works in order to discern the authenticity and accuracy of the information contained in them. In doing so, two types of source material have been examined: documentary (inscriptions) and Muslim literary sources.

One important conclusion of this dissertation is that there is a considerable degree of overlap between the information about the members of the four families descending from companions of the prophet Muḥammad as found in the inscriptions and as presented by the genealogical books. Maybe even more importantly, also in the cases where the two kind of sources do not entirely overlap, they do not contradict each other either. What we mean by that is that we sometimes find names in the genealogical books that are missing from the epigraphy or vice versa, but this is not due to these people being 'made up'. Rather they did exist, but the disappearance of individuals from the narrative sources as well as the small number of existing differences in the first four generations can be explained by one of nine reasons listed in Chapter Four.

The strong general overlap between the two types of sources, seems to confirm the general trustworthiness of both types of sources. As such we can in fact use their discrepancies to further our historical knowledge. The inscriptions inform us about individuals absent from the genealogical sources. In combination with the sources, inscriptions can thus help us decide whether a particular lineage died out or continued to exist, and for how long it existed. This is especially valuable when genealogical sources report the end of a family line or simply stop reporting about a family line, while the inscriptions show additional family members in existence. The first example of this relates to ʿUmar's family. According to Ibn Saʿd, one of ʿUmar's great-grand grandsons, ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ, had no children (Chapter Three, section 3.4.2). Surprisingly, a graffito engraved by a son of ʿĀṣim called Jaʿfar (inscription 2.77) is found, thereby casting a serious doubt on the accuracy of the information reported by Ibn Saʿd.

The second example concerns two individuals from al-Zubayr's family, whose names were found on gravestones. Two gravestones list two later descendants of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.15-16), while two genealogists, al-Zubayrī and Ibn Ḥazm, indicated that Ṣāliḥ's line had died out. This is opposed to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār who argued that the family line did continue. The two inscriptions function as a tiebreaker and confirm that the line continued to exist.

Inscriptions also allow us to reconstruct family-trees up to several generations beyond the information known from the narrative sources. For example, we were able to trace the family of ʿUmar up to the 10th generation and the family of al-Zubayr up to the 11th generation.

The comparison of inscriptions and narrative sources brings up some interesting results: out of 106 individuals, there are 58 'missing' from the *nasab, ṭabaqāt* and historical sources (Chapter Three). These can be divided as follows: 2 individuals out of 6 from the descendants of al-Mughīra are unknown, 16 out of 39 from the family of ʿUmar remain unidentified, 35 out of 54 from the family of al-Zubayr are unidentifiable, and 5 out of 7 members of the family of Abū ʿAbs were missing in the literary sources. Thus using the inscriptions, we can add previously unknown family members to their respective family trees. One exception, however, pertains to 13 members from al-Zubayr's family whose origins remain unidentified (see Chapter Three, section 3.5.5).

Information about the descendants of al-Mughīra, who lived in the 1st/7th century, is available in the sources up to the 3rd generation. On the other hand, the other two members from the 3rd/9th century (inscriptions 1. 8-9) are missing from the biographical works. With regard to the family of ʿUmar, we start to miss individuals from the 5th generation onwards, corresponding with the 2nd/ 8th century. In the 5th generation, we found one family member attested in the graffiti who was not known from the literary record. However, the real discrepancy between the two kinds of sources

starts from the 6th generation onwards where the epigraphic record allowed us to substantially expand the family tree. Though in our corpus a fairly large number of inscriptions relate to al-Zubayr's family, many of the members of this family are missing from the classical genealogical sources. In this family, the first member to be missing from the sources was in the 4th generation and his name is ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa (inscription 3.57). That is to say, information about the members of this family began to be lacking in the narrative sources in the 2nd/8th century. Finally, of the members of the family of Abū ʿAbs listed in the inscriptions belonging to the 3rd and 4th generations, 5 out of 7 are missing from the literary sources.

To reiterate one of the most important conclusions of this dissertation: graffiti were produced from the 1st-3rd/7th-9th centuries with a spike in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century and a sharp decline from the 3rd/9th century onwards. Audience is the key to understand this change in graffiti production. A desire to be remembered and taking pride in one's family were, I suggested, the main reasons behind writing inscriptions at the same site. Sons mostly wrote their inscriptions at the same site where their father had left his own writings, suggesting the family kept returning to this location for at least two generations. Many examples prove this hypothesis. For instance, Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ and his two sons and his grandson, all inscribed their names on the same rock in al-Bāḥa; *Ruwāwa* hosted the inscriptions of ʿUmar's descendants; Muzj hosted the inscriptions of al-Zubayr's; and al-Ṣuwaydira hosted the inscriptions of Abū ʿAbs's.

Let us take a closer look at inscriptions left at the same site. In Ruwāwa, for example, six generations from the family of ʿUmar, between the 3rd and 8th generation, marked their presence by leaving inscriptions all at the same site. We see an inscription belonging to ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar from the 3rd generation, and another belonging to al-Fārūq son of Zayd al-ʿUmarī from the 8th generation and of different family members in between. For around two

centuries, members of the same family, though belonging to two different branches, occupied the site and left their inscriptions. From the site of Ruwāwa alone, 137 inscriptions are used in this dissertation, 116 of which belong to the family of ʿUmar. In al-Ṣuwaydira, 22 inscriptions out of 24 belong to Abū ʿAbs's family.

The examination shows how individuals, whose lineage extended back several generations, endeavor to link their names to their forefathers by listing their an elaborate version of their family line. By contrast, other individuals decided to leave out their full lineage, relying on the surrounding inscriptions. This trend is most noticeable in Ruwāwa. To name one example, the six sons of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim preferred to list the short version of their names because their uncle, Rabāḥ, used his full linage at the shared site (inscription 2.37) where they left theirs. Two generations later, the 7th generation of the same branch used the last name '*al-ʿUmarī*'. In the very same site, only one example of the descendant of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim used the name 'son of al-Khaṭṭāb' This person's name is al-Fārūq son of Zayd (inscription 2.136) who belonged to the 8th generation.

Judging from the number of graffiti left after the 3rd century, we can assume that engraving one's name, lineage and a pious phrase in stone in the form of a graffito had become unpopular or irrelevant by the 3th/9th century. The decline of the tendency to leave epigraphs can be explained by two reasons. I have argued that neither the need to record one's lineage nor the desire to ask for God's forgiveness disappeared; however, they gave up the tradition through which these sentiments were expressed. The puzzling question is why did the tradition of inscriptions become outdated or lost its popularity? First, we notice that the tradition of inscriptions declined with the advent of the paper. Second: rather than inscribing the prayer for forgiveness on the rock, it was replaced by an audible supplication. By the 3rd/9th century after the decline of graffiti, there was

an emerging trend of writing on gravestones, especially in Mecca. It took the following format: writing the genealogy of the deceased, subtitled by a pious phrase, and ending with a prayer for the forgiveness of the deceased. Thus, informal inscriptions were replaced by formal ones, a trend that reflects the economic and social flourishing of society. To reiterate, extensive research on the economic and social transformations, as reflected in the presence and form of inscriptions, must be conducted before making any final conclusions. I hope this dissertation has clearly demonstrated the importance of collating various sources to consider inscriptions as an expression of the society that produced them.

The exact beginning of the writing of inscriptions cannot be tied to a specific generation over all, but this analysis demonstrates how it started with the early generations of Muslims in each of the studied four families. Nevertheless, I was not able to give a reason for the discrepancy in the generational starting point that exists between the families. The inscriptions of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.1) dates to the 1st generation with those of his two sons ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and al-Ḥārith belonging to the 2nd generation, and those of his grandson belonging to the 3rd generation. All these inscriptions were by the way left on the same rock. In the family of al-Zubayr, the first inscriptions belong to ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr from the 2nd generation. In the family of ʿUmar, family members started to leave inscriptions in the 3rd generation with ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar (inscription 2.1). In the family of Abū ʿAbs, the first inscriptions were left by al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad (inscriptions 4.1-8), ʿAbd al-Malik son of Muḥammad (inscriptions 4.13-15), Maslama son of Muḥammad (inscription 4.16) and Maymūn son of Zayd (inscriptions 4. 23-24) who all belonged to the 3rd generation.

Some other observations can be made about the preference of these first generations of Muslims in the production of their inscriptions. It was a common practice to leave more than one inscription at the same site or in different sites. For example, ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ (inscriptions 2.66-76) left 11 inscriptions in Ruwāwa; al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs left 8 inscriptions at the same site (inscriptions 4. 1-8). On the other hand, individuals like Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim left inscriptions at two sites (inscriptions 2.37-38); Muḥammad son of Yaʿqūb son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā left inscriptions at three sites (inscriptions 3.5-14); and Zayd son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ at four sites (inscriptions 2.78-86). Often these places were linked to the place of residence or activity of the families leaving inscriptions in these places (Chapter Five).

Turning to the various ways in which the individuals in our corpus identified themselves on the rock, either by their first name or last name, Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim (inscriptions 2.37-38) was the only example to use his nickname instead of his real name ʿĪsā.

In general, individuals followed no fixed pattern when engraving their last names. This is apparent when we examine the inscriptions belonging to three families in our corpus. First, the descendants of al-Mughīra used three different ways to identify their last name, namely al-Mughīra, al-ʿĀṣ, and al-Makhzūmī. Second: the members of the family of ʿUmar who left 138 inscriptions, showed a lot of diversity in using the last name. From the 3rd to 10th generations, five different last names are in use: al-Khaṭṭāb, ibn ʿUmar, al-ʿUmarī, Āl ʿUmar, and al-Fārūq. In this family, we also find cases in which one individual used different last names in different inscriptions; Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.37-38) used al-Khaṭṭāb once (inscription 2.37), and al-Fārūq once as well (inscription 2.38). ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh used ibn ʿUmar three times (inscriptions 2.3-5) and al-Fārūq once (inscription 2. 2). These two belong to the same 4th generation. Finally, the same practice reappeared in the 8th generation. Al-Fārūq son

of Zayd, for example, once used the last name al-ʿUmarī (inscription 2.135) and once al-Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.136). In the family of al-Zubayr, four ways of using the last name are attested: Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Zubayrī, Ibn al-ʿAwwām and al-Asadī. In our corpus, inscriptions with tribal affiliation are uncommon with the exception of al-Qurashī (inscription 3.19); al-Makhzūmī twice (inscriptions 1.8-9), and al-Asadī (inscription 3.19). The family of Abū ʿAbs shows no variety in the last name; Abū ʿAbs appears in all 13 inscriptions where a last name is added (inscriptions 4.1-24).

In addition, it is also important to see how *mawālī* and slaves linked themselves to famous people. Four instances appear in our corpus: the *mawlā* of ʿUmar's grandson Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar (inscriptions 2.39-40) used al-Fārūq as his last name; three *mawālī* of al-Zubayr's family linked themselves to al-Zubayr. They were called al-Mundhir (inscription 3.35), ʿUrwa (inscription 3.51), and ʿAmr (inscription 3.64).

The field of Arabic inscriptions from Islamic Arabia today is very dynamic, with many inscriptions being newly discovered daily. This fast growing corpus increasingly attracts scholarly attention with publications of editions and related bodies of inscriptions as an outcome. Even though there is a significant growth in studies in this sub-field, it is clear that using Arabic inscriptions to examine the society that produced them is still in its epigraphic infancy. The discipline has only just begun to develop in the last few decades with only a small number of studies – mostly editions of inscriptions – and little discussion on the content of the inscriptions. As more and more Arabic inscriptions come to light and undergo proper academic study under the umbrella of broader historical questions, we can develop our knowledge of the society that produced these writings. Scholars have gathered all ancient Arabian inscriptions that have been discovered to date, both published and unpublished, in two databases: one dedicated to Ancient North Arabia and another

to Ancient South Arabia. However, these databases focus on ancient inscriptions and do not include the Arabic inscriptions. Hopefully, in the near future, as scholars around the world collect more inscriptions, a mother database containing all Arabiac inscriptions from both the pre-Islamic and the Islamic period can be set up. Though I discussed shortly in Chapter Five how the inscriptions show some continuity of traditions on the Arabian Peninsula from pre-Islamic to Islamic times, this was not the focus of my thesis. This interesting question would deserve much more research as it could shed light on how early Islam was either embedded in or changed habits in Arabian society.

In this dissertation I have discussed the inscriptions in their natural environment (Chapter Five), to further the study of epigraphy in its context significantly, it would be necessary to include information on the place where the inscriptions were found, the geographical and built context, the relation to other inscriptions, and other features, such as roads, grazing grounds and other places of human activity, in the landscape that the inscriptions interacted with. As became clear in this research, studying these inscriptions is not just about the text, but also to a large extend about their context; they only start making sense when we connect them to their surroundings. Crucially, there are still plenty of regions in Saudi Arabia that need to be surveyed. Only with more inscriptions can we study properly early Islamic history, including the religious practices, prosopography, and the epigraphic habit of the inhabitants of early Islamic Arabia. The insights discussed in my Chapter Five are hampered by the fact that more inscriptions and a better understanding of the function of writing and literacy in this society is needed before we can really start to answer questions about the reasons of why people left inscriptions. Since the exercise of this dissertation was to show the inscriptions' potential for historical research, I wanted to indicate venues in which our research might lead.

Most importantly, however, I hope to have shown that although at first sight the function of these brief inscriptions seems purely religious, at closer examination and by putting them in their historical and environmental context, these Arabic inscriptions of Islamic Arabia, hold a wealth of historical data that should be applied well beyond the scope of religion.

Part Two

Notes on the orthography and paleography

The corpus studied in this dissertation displays a number of paleographical, orthographic and grammatical peculiarities. In this sense the Arabic inscriptions edited in this part two of the dissertation show similarities with other Arabic inscriptions as well as with Arabic papyri.[601] In order not to have to repeat these features for every inscription, the following are some general observations concerning the language and script of the inscriptions.

Medial long *ā* is generally not written, but as in papyri, in some cases it is written in full.[602] Interestingly, in one and the same text, we can observe both the occurrence and ommission of a long *a*. For example, the graffito of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ (inscription 1.3), dated to the year 40/ 660-661, contains three names with a long ā: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Khālid and al-ʿĀṣ. However, it is only indicated in the name of al-ʿĀṣ, while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Khālid occur without it. The same is true for a gravestone (inscription 1.8) where the name, Khālid occurs twice once written with and once without ā, while the name al-ʿĀṣ does have the long ā. Similarly, in one inscription the name Khālid occurs written with defective long ā, while the same inscription has *al-wārith* and *al-wālī* written with long ā (inscription 1.6). A final example is the name Ismāʿīl which appears in our collection in three families (inscriptions 1. 5-6, 2. 96-103, 3.26,87-89). In none of these inscriptions is the name written with the long ā.

Only one case was found of the shortening of a long vowel other than ā, which is the *wāw* in the name al-Fārūq which is missing in one inscription (inscription 2.38). This too compares well with the papyri where such cases are similarly extremely rare.[603]

[601] Simon Hopkins, *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic: based upon papyri datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D* (Oxford: Oxford university press, 1984).
[602] Ibid., 10.
[603] Ibid., 14.

Hamza is not written at all in the inscriptions of our corpus comparing well with other Arabic inscriptions as well as with the papyri. See for example the word 'he asks' which is written without hamza as يسل (inscriptions 2.39, 96, 109, 3.77, 85, 86 and 89). This way of writing deviates from the papyri where a hamza between two similar vowels (a in this case) is replaced by a lengthened vowel (long ā). The same word is thus written as يسال in the papyri.[604]

The *alif* in the verbs is frequently attested; for example, in accordance the numeral one hundred (*miʾa* مئة or مائة) is spelled without *hamza* with and without the alif (inscriptions 2.19 with, and 38,57 and 66 without). The same practice we encounter in the papyri.[605]

The initial *alif* in the name Abī is not written (inscription 2.22). In the papyri examples of this phenomenon seem to be restricted to Abū.[606] There are two graffiti in which the initial *alif* is placed in elsewhere in a graffiti (inscriptions 2.31 and 4.3).

Diacritical dots are not used systematically in the inscriptions. In our corpus they appear only three times (inscriptions 2.41, 83, and 3.26).[607]

One way in which our inscriptions deviate from the papyri is the occurrence of words that are written across two lines, being cut at the end of the line in the middle of the word. While this is a common feature of papyrus texts from the first hijra century, this practice disappears from the papyri in the middle of the second century. The inscriptions, on the other hand, continue to apply this practice regularly also in following centuries, as two epitaphs dating to the 3rd/9th century for example show (inscriptions 1.8 and 1.9).

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[604] Ibid., 79 and 25a.
[605] Ibid., 101.
[606] Ibid., 27f.
[607] Andreas Kaplony, "What Are Those Few Dots For? Thoughts on the Orthography of the Qurra Papyri (709-710), the Khurasan Parchments (755-777) and the Inscription of the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock (692),"*Arabica* 55, no. 1 (2008): 91-112.

For the dating of the inscriptions, I have followed the analysis of al-Kilābī who analyzed 300 Arabic graffiti from north-west Saudi Arabia dating from the 1st-5th/7th-11th centuries. Al-Kilābī gave extensive descriptions of the letter shapes in each century and the changes and characteristics that she observed of the script based on dated and undated graffiti.[608] The inscriptions edited in this corpus follow al-Kilābī's presentation exactly.

Editions

The editions below are preceded by some metadata on the location where the inscription was originally located (place) and its current whereabouts. Concerning the status of preservation, preserved means the inscription is still in a good condition, no damage appears on it.

The dimensions refer to the total text block, while the number of lines refers to the lines on the inscription itself rather than the grammatical sentences that the text consists of. Information on the publications starts with the edition princeps and then lists any subsequent publications. Concerning the date, undated means that there is no date mentioned in the inscription, while the centuries that are listed after it are based on paleographical characteristics and/or the dates of the people mentioned in the inscriptions.

In the edition I have added diacritical dots as well as hamza's. I have indicated any deviations in the orthography from fuṣḥā by adding (sic) behind the word. The English translation follows the Arabic text line by line.

Each inscription is accompanied by a photograph of the inscription as well as a facsimile. Except are (inscription 1.3) which only I found a facsimile. The unpublished inscriptions have been photographed during my fieldwork in 2017 and 2018, except those which are found in the

[608] al-Kilābī, *al- Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 495-532.

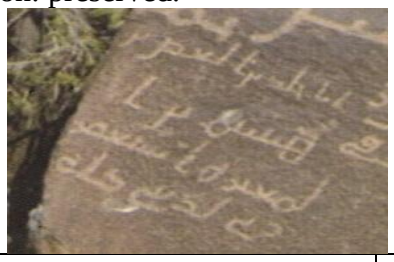
publication of al-Rashid's book *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, [609] and two found in the book of al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā.* [610] There is one inscription given to me by the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage; another inscription was shared with me by the owner of the private museum in Khaybar called the *Matḥaf Khaybar li-Turāth al-Ābā wa-l-Ajdād*. Also the photos of inscriptions given to me by Mohammed Almoghathawi (@mohammed93athar) and Farīq al-Ṣaḥrāʾ are indicated.

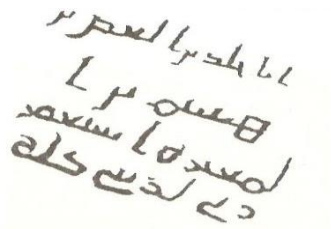
[609] al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 152.
[610] al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*,14 and 232.

1. The inscriptions of the descendants of al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī

No:1
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Wādī Khara, region of al-Bāḥa.
Dimension: 1x1 m.
Date: undated 1st/7th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 38-39.
Status of preservation: preserved.

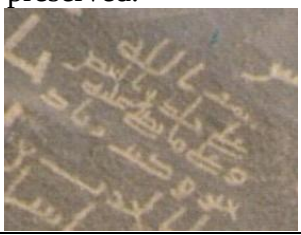




Translation	Text
1. I, Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ son of	1. أنا خلد (sic) بن العص (sic) بن
2. Hishām son of	2. هشم (sic) بن ا
3. al-Mughīra ask forgiveness	3. لمغيرة أستغفر
4. of my Lord for all my sins.	4. ربي لذنبي كله

No:2
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

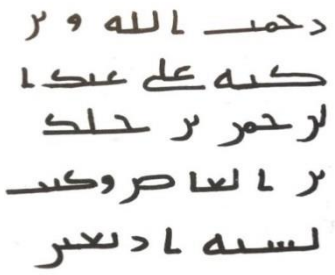
Place: Wādī Khara, region of al-Bāḥa.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/7th-8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 10; note 1.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God have mercy	1. رحمت الله
2. upon Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ	2. على خلد (sic) بن العص (sic)
3. and upon whomever prays for him	3. وعلى ما (sic) يصلي عليه
4. in goodness and it was written by Ziyād.	4. بخير وكتب زياد

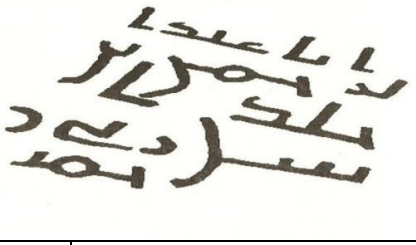
No:3

Graffito
Prayer for mercy
Place: Wādī al-Shāmiyya, region of Mecca.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: 40/660-661.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: Sharafaddin, “Some Islamic,” 69-70.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God have mercy and	1. رحمت الله وبر
2. blessings upon ʿAbd	2. كته (sic) على عبد ا
3. al-Raḥmān son of Khālid	3. الرحمن (sic) بن خلد (sic)
4. son of al-ʿĀṣ and it was written	4. بن العاص وكتب
5. in the year forty.	5. لسنة اربعين

No:4
Graffito
Prayer for mercy
Place: Wādī Khara, region of al-Bāḥa.
Dimension: 140x120 cm.
Date: undated 1st/7th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 40-41.
Status of preservation: damage in line 4.



Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAbd	1. أنا عبد ا
2. al-Raḥmān son of	2. لرحمن (sic) بن
3. Khālid	3. خلد (sic)
4. ask my Lord for his	4. أسل (sic)ربي ر
5. mercy.	5. حمت[ه]

No:5

Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: Wādī Khara, region of al-Bāḥa.
Dimension: 85x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st/7th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 43-44.
Status of preservation: preserved.

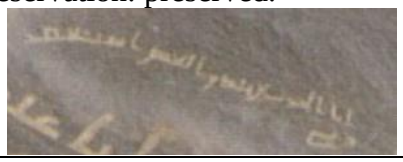
Translation	Text
1. I, Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd	1. أنا إسمعيل(sic) بن عبد ا
2. al-Raḥmān son of Khālid	2. لرحمن (sic) بن خلد (sic) أ
3. ask forgiveness	3. سل(sic) الله ا
4. of God.	4. لمغفرة

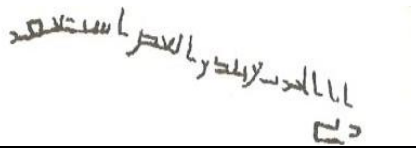
No:6
Graffito
Confession
Place: Wādī Khara, shʿab ʿĀfiya, region of al-Bāḥa.
Dimension: 90x70 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st/7th.
Text: 6 lines.
Published by: Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 45-46.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. In the Name of God, the Compassionate the	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الر
2. Merciful. I, Ismāʿīl son of	2. حيم أنا إسمعيل (sic) ا
3. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	3. بن عبد الرحمن (sic) ا
4. son of Khālid dedicated	4. بن خلد (sic) أخلصت
5. my religion to the Inheritor	5. ديني للوارث
6. the Protector.	6. الوال (sic)

No:7
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Wādī Khara, region of al-Bāḥa.
Dimension: 135x15 cm.
Date: undated 1st/7th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 42-43.
Status of preservation: preserved.

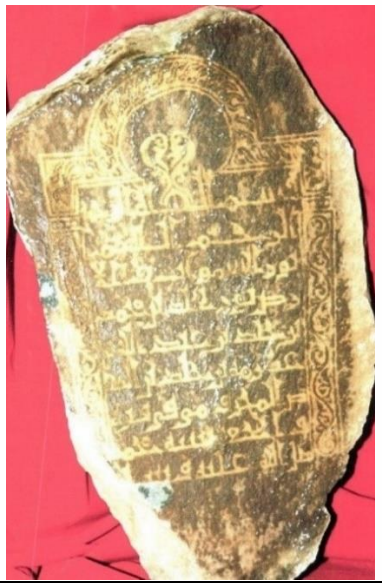




Translation	Text
1. I, al- Ḥārith son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ ask forgiveness 2. of my Lord.	1. أنا الحرث (sic) بن خلد (sic) بن العص (sic) أستغفر 2. ربي

No:8
Epitaph
Qurʾanic prayer

Place: al-Muʿallā cemetery Mecca.
Dimension: 62 X37cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 9 lines.
Published by: al-Ḥārithī, *Aḥjār shāhidiyya ghayr*, 40-41.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. In the Name of God, the Compassionate 2. the Merciful. O God,	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) 2. الرحيم اللهم

3. the Light of the heavens and the	3.نور السموات والأ
4. earth, shed light on Khālid son of Muḥammad	4. رض نور لخالد بن محمد
5. son of Khālid son of ʿAbd Allāh son of	5. بن خلد (sic) بن عبد الله بن
6. ʿIkrima son of Khālid son of	6. عكرمة بن خلد (sic) بن
7. al-ʿĀṣ al-Makhzūmī in his grave	7. العاص المخزومي في قبره
8. and join him with his Prophet, Muḥammad,	8. والحقه بنبيه محمد
9. may God's blessing and peace be upon him.	9. صلى الله عليه وسلم

No:9

Epitaph

Qurʾanic prayer

Place of discovery: Ḥajāz, now preserved in King Fahd library.

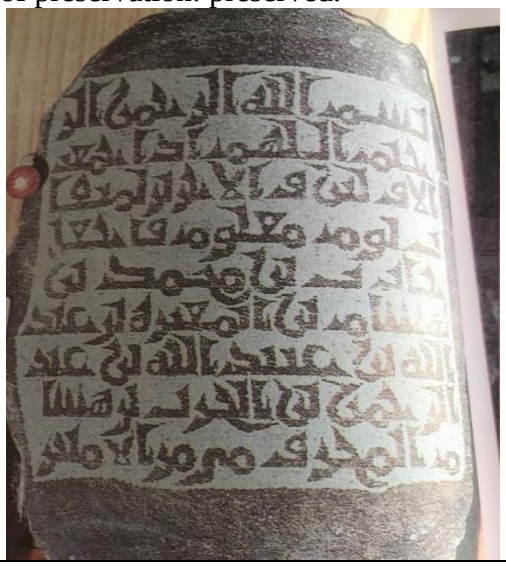
Dimension: 28.5x25 cm.

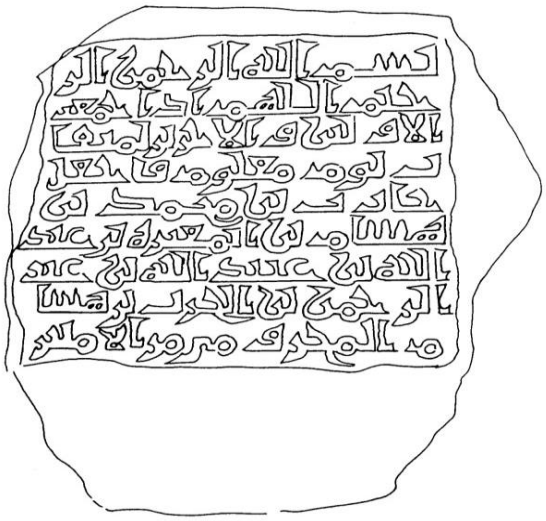
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.

Text: 9 lines.

Republished, first publication: al-Baqmī, *Nuqūsh islāmiyya shāhidiyya,* 73.

Status of preservation: preserved.





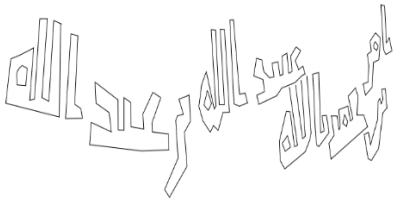
Translation	Text
1. In the Name of God, the Compassionate	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الر
2. the Merciful O God, when you assemble	2. حيم اللهم إذا جمعت
3. the former and the later peoples for	3. الأولين والأخرين لميقا
4. the appointment of a known Day, make	4. ت يوم معلوم فاجعل
5. Ḥārith son of Muḥammad son of	5. حارث بن محمد بن
6. Hishām son of al-Mughīra son of ʿAbd	6. هشام بن المغيرة بن عبد
7. Allāh son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd	7. الله بن عبيد الله بن عبد
8. al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of	8. الرحمن (sic) بن الحرث (sic) بن هشا
9. Hishām al-Makhzūmī of the secure.	9. م المخزومي من الآمنين

2. The inscriptions of the descendants of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb

2.1. The branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar

No:1
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/7-8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of ʿUmar believes in God.	1. آمن عبيد الله بن عبد الله 2. بن عمر بالله

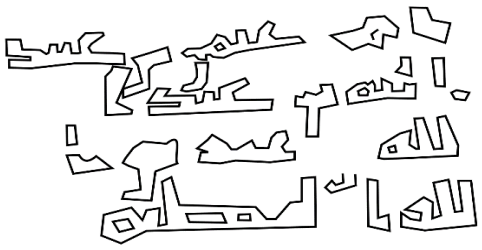
No:2
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of 2. ʿUmar al-Fārūq believe in God.	1. أنا عثمن(sic) بن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن 2. عمر الفروق (sic) آمنت بالله

No:3
Graffito
Confession

Place: Jabal Rumāʿ, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1 and 3.

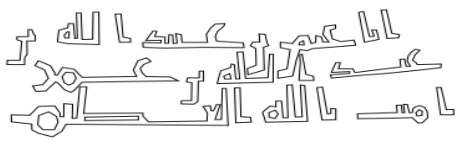


Translation	Text
1.ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd	1. آم[ن] عثمن (sic) بن عبيد
2. Allāh son of ʿAbd	2. الله بن عبد ا
3. Allāh son of ʿUmar son of (sic) believes	3. لله [ب]ن عمر بن (sic) با
4. in God, the Great.	4. الله العظيم

Commentary
The inscriber did not complete his lineage and moved to the phrasing.

No:4
Graffito
Confession

Place: Jabal Rumāʿ, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved.

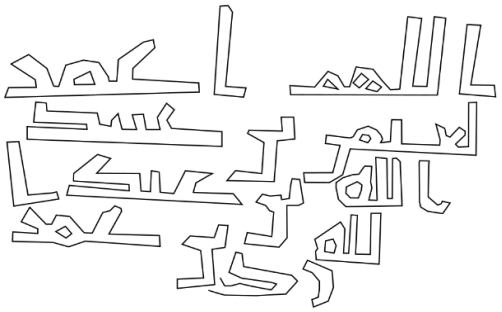


Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of	1. أنا عثمن(sic) بن عبيد الله بن
2. ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar	2. عبد الله بن عمر
3. believe in God, the Great.	3. آمنت بالله العظيم

No:5
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.

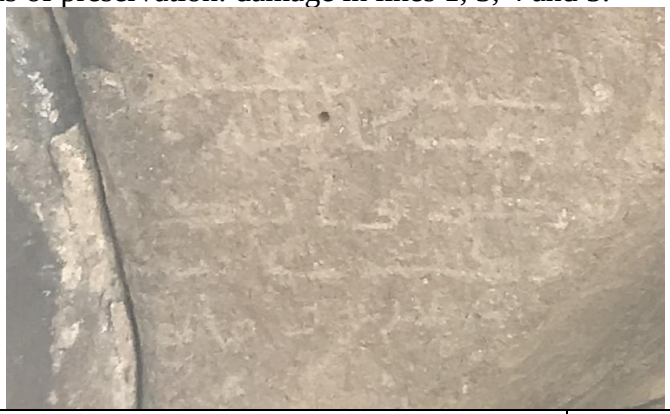
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 5.

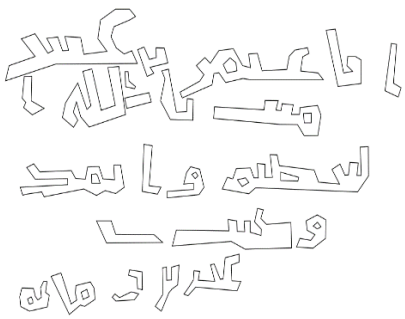


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd	2. لعثمن(sic) بن عبيد
3. Allāh son of ʿAbd	3. الله بن عبد ا
4. Allāh son of ʿUmar,	4. لله بن عمر
5. and it was written.	5. وك[تب]

No:6
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: 120/737-738.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 3, 4 and 5.





Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd [Allāh]	1. أنا عثمن (sic) بن عبيد [الله]
2. believe in God,	2. [آ]منت بالله ا
3. the Great; and …	3. لعظيم و ا…
4. and it was written [in the year]	4. وكتب [ف]ي [سنة]
5. hundred and twenty.	5. ع[ش]رين ومائة

No:7
Graffito
Signature

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1, incomplete.

Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUthmān [son of] ʿUbayd Allāh 2. …	1. أنا عثمن (sic) [بن] عبيد الله 2. [أو]

No:8
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

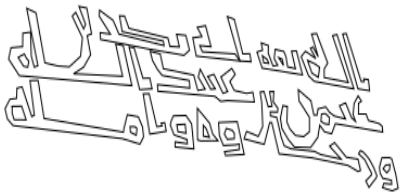
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 2 and 3.

Translation	Text
1. O God, let Abū Bakr 2. son of ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh 3. be honored by Your mercy.	1. اللهم بلغ بأبي بكر 2. بن عثمن (sic) [ب]ن عبيد الله 3. [شر]ف رحمتك

No:9
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.

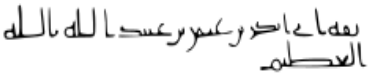
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. God is the trust of Abū Bakr son of 2. ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh 3. his aspiration and hope.	1. الله ثقة أبي بكر بن 2. عثمن (sic) بن عبيد الله 3. ورجاؤه و أمله

No:10
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 70x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 95.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of Abū Bakr son of ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh is in God, 2 the Great.	1. ثقة أبي بكر بن عث[م]ن (sic) بن عبيد الله بالله 2. العظيم

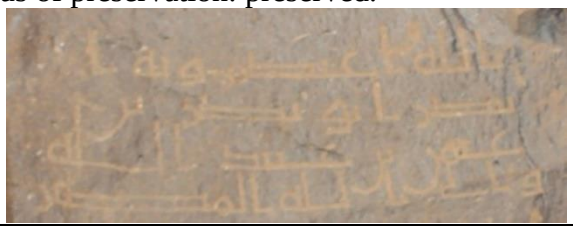
No:11
Graffito
Prayer

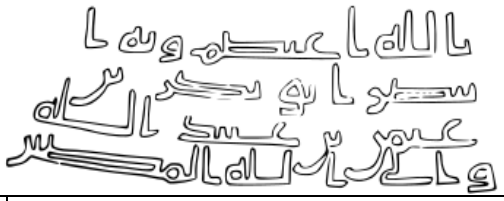
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May Abū	1. بالله ارتفع أبو
2. Bakr son of ʿUthmān achieve status	2. بكر بن عثمن (sic) و
3. and profit by virtue of God.	3. به انتفع إن شاء
4. If God wills.	4. الله

No:12
Graffito
Prayer for protection

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 104-105.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. Abū Bakr ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh	1. بالله اعتصم وبه ا
2. took shelter with God and	2. انتصر أبو بكر بن
3. shough His support;	3. عثمن(sic) بن عبيد الله
4. and God is the (final) destination.	4. و إلى الله المصير

No:13
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 60-61.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. The trust of Abū Bakr son of	1. ثقة أبي بكر بن
2. ʿUthmān is in God.	2. عثمن (sic) بالله

No:14

Graffito
Signature

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥafṣ son of ʿUthmān, 2. the young man of Āl ʿUmar.	1. أنا حفص بن عثمن (sic) 2. شاب آل عمر

No: 15
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Ḥafṣ son of 2. ʿUthmān testifies 3. that Muḥammad is the 4. servant of God 5. and His messenger.	1. شهد 2. حفص بن 3. عثمن (sic) أن محمد 4. عبد الله و 5. رسوله

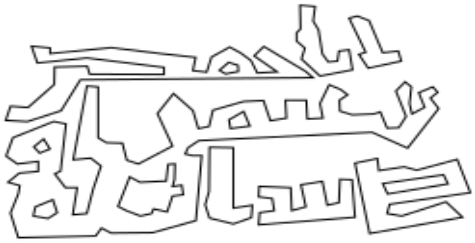
No:16
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 87-88.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥafṣ son of ʿUthmān testify that there is no 2. god but God 3. and that Muḥammad is the messenger of God.	1. أنا حفص بن عثمن (sic) أشهد لا 2. إله إلا الله 3. وأن محمد رسول الله

No:17
Graffito
Request devotion to God

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

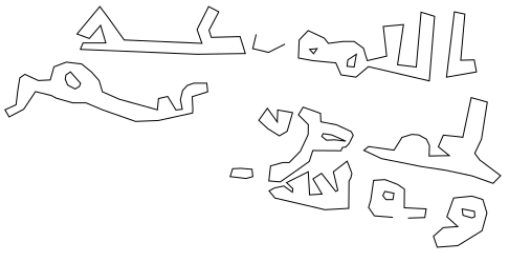


Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥafṣ 2. son of ʿUthmān 3. I recommended devotion to God.	1. أنا حفص 2. بن عثمن (sic) أو 3. صي ببر الله

No:18
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.

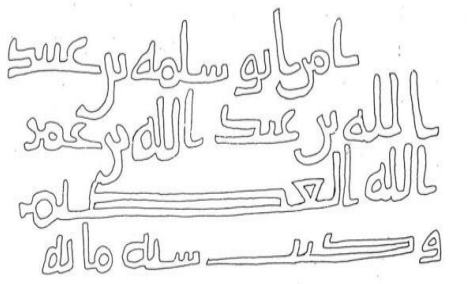
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 2 and 3.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم [ا]غف[ر]
2. Ḥafṣ son of ʿUthmān	2. لحفص ب[ن] عثمن (sic)
3. and ….	3. و ….

No:19
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled
Date: 100/718-719.
Text: 4 lines
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 98-100.
Status of preservation: preserved.

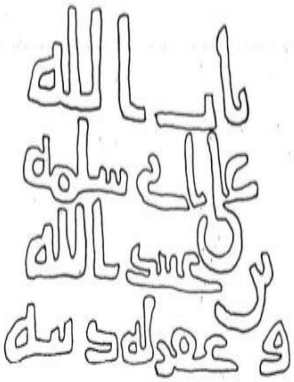


Translation	Text
1. Abū Salama son of ʿUbayd	1. آمن أبو سلمة بن عبيد
2. Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar	2. الله بن عبد الله بن عمر
3. believes in God, the Great;	3. بالله العظيم
4. and it was written in the year one hundred.	4. وكتب سنة مائة

No: 20
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.

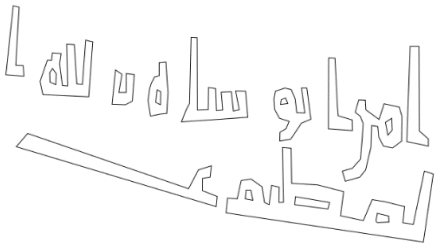
Dimension: 45x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 59-60.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance	1.تاب الله
2. of Abū Salama	2. على أبي سلمة
3. son of ʿUbayd Allāh	3.بن عبيد الله
4. and forgive him his sins.	4. وغفر له ذنبه

No:21
Graffito
Confession

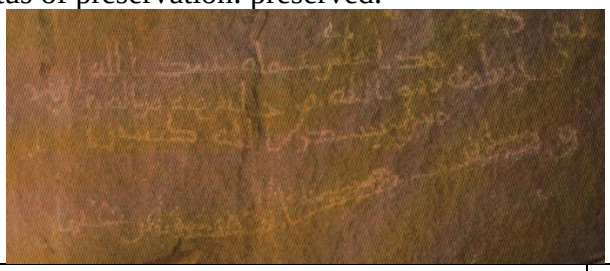
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.

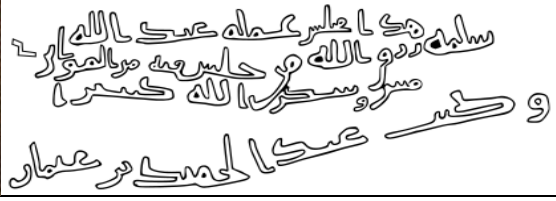


Translation	Text
1. Abū Sala[m]a believes in God,	1.آمن أبو سل[م]ة ب[ا]لله ا
2. the Great.	2. لعظيم

No: 22
Graffito
Construction of sitting-place &prayer

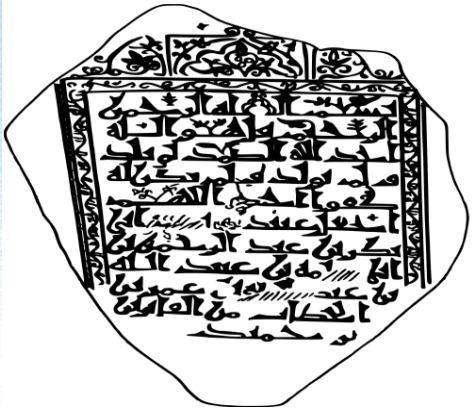
Place: al-ʿUwaiyyna, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Republished first publication: al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 153.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. This is a sitting-place which was made by ʿUbayd Allāh son of Abū 2. Salama, may God provide provision to any believers who sits in it 3. and expresses much gratefulness to God; 4. and it was written by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd son of ʿUthmān.	1. هذا مجلس عمله عبيد الله ابن بي (sic) 2. سلمة رزق الله من جلس فيه من المؤ 3. منين وشكر الله كثيرا 4. وكتب عبد الحميد بن عثمان

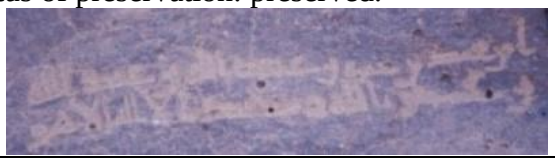
No:23
Epitaph
Qurʾanic quotation
Place of discovery: al-Muʿallā cemetery, Mecca, now preserved in Jeddah registered number 407.
Dimension: 22x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 11 lines.
Published by: al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 117-118; correction made by al-Khalīfa et al., *Aḥjār al-muʿallā*, 446.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 6, 8 and 9.

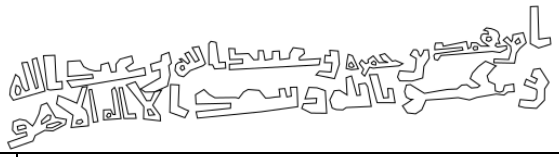


Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the Compassionate 2. the Merciful, Say, He is God, 3. (who is) One, God, the Eternal Refuge. 4. He neither begets nor is born, nor is there to Him 5. any equivalent. O God, 6. make ʿUbayd [son] of Abū 7. Bakr son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of 8. Abū Salama son of ʿUbayd Allāh 9. son of ʿAbd [Allāh son] of ʿUmar son of 10. al-Khaṭṭāb among the attainers (of success) 11. by Your mercy.	1.بسم الله الرحمن (sic) 2. الرحيم قل هو الله 3. أحد الله الصمد لم يلد 4. ولم يولد ولم يكن له 5. كفوا أحد اللهم 6. اجعل عبيد ا[بن] أبي 7. بكر بن عبد الرحمن (sic) بن 8. أبي [س]لمة بن عبيد الله 9. بن عبد [الله ب]ن عمر بن 10. الخطاب من الفائزين 11. برحمتك

No:24
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of ʿUmar believes in God and testifies (that) there is no god but Him.	1. آمن محمد بن حمزة بن عبيد الله بن عبدالله 2. بن عمر بالله وشهد الا إله إلاهو

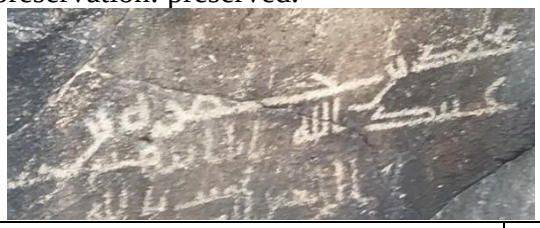
No: 25
Graffito

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 2and 3.

Translation	Text
1. …. 2. and it was written by Muḥammad 3. [son] of Ḥamza son of ʿUbayd Al[lāh].	1. …. 2. وك[تب] محمد 3. [بن] حمزة بن عبيد ال[له]

No:26
Graffito
Signature

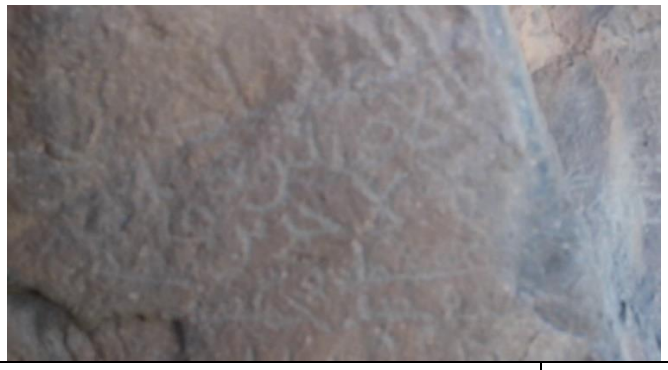
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

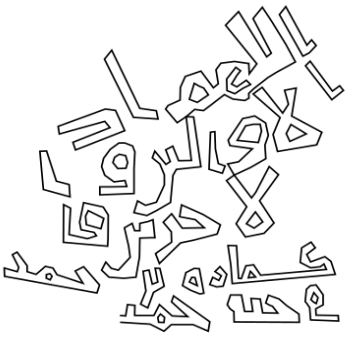


Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of 2. ʿUbayd Allāh.	1. محمد بن حمزة بن 2. عبيد الله

No:27
Graffito
Qurʾanic prayer

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 3, 4 and 5.





Translation	Text
1. O God, when You assemble	1. اللهم إذا [جمعت]
2. the former and	2. الأولين و
3. the later peoples, [make]	3. الأخرين فا[جعل]
4. ʿUmāra son of Ḥamza	4. عمارة بن حمز[ة]
5. enter the gardens of Your mercy.	5. في جنة [ر]حمت[ك]

No:28

Epitaph

Prayer for forgiveness

Place of discovery: al-Muʿallā cemetery, Mecca, now preserved in Jeddah.

Dimension: 27x29 cm.

Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.

Text: 7 lines.

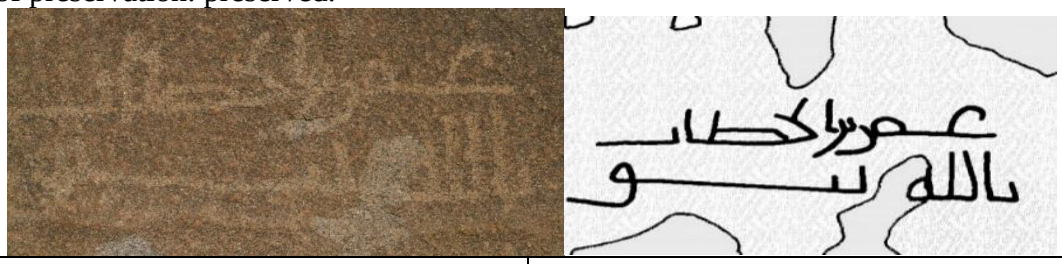
Published by: al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 105-107.

Status of preservation: damage in line 2.

Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the Compassionate	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic)
2. the Merciful O God, [forgive]	2. الرحيم اللهم [اغفر]
3. ʿUmar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid	3. لعمر بن إبرهيم (sic) بن واقد
4. son of Muḥammad son of Zayd son of ʿAbd	4. بن محمد بن زيد بن عبد
5. Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	5. الله بن عمر بن الخطا
6. his sins and shed light on him in	6. ب ذنبه ونور له في
7. his grave. Amen Lord of the worlds.	7. قبره آمين رب العلمين (sic)

No:29
Graffito
Confession

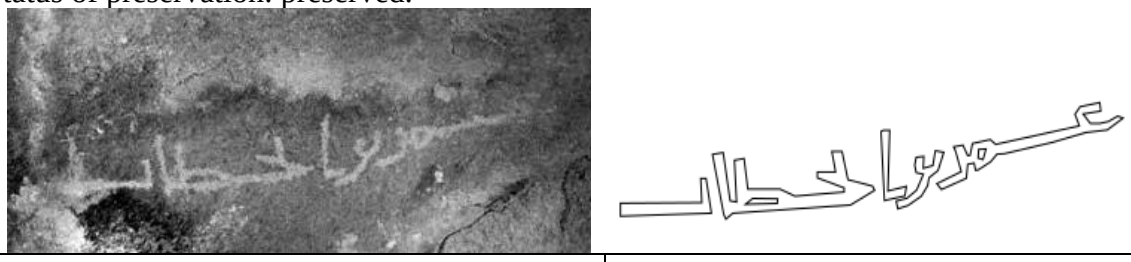
Place: Jabal al-Murakkab, region of Najrān.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: Imbert, "Annexe – Note épigraphique," 757-758.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb 2. trusts in God.	1. عمر بن الخطاب 2. بالله يثق

No:30
Graffito
Signature

Place: Jabal al-Murakkab, region of Najrān.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 1 line.
published by: Imbert, "Annexe – Note épigraphique," 757-758.
Status of preservation: preserved.

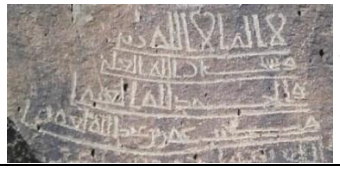
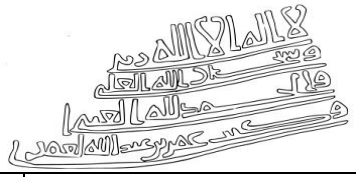


Translation	Text
1. ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb.	1. عمر بن الخطاب

No:31
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 18x27 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 49-50.

Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. There is no god but God, my Lord. 2. and exalted is God, the Most High. 3. and praise is (due) to God Who is free of needs. 4. and it was written by ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī.	1. لا إله إلا الله ربي 2. وسبحان الله العلي 3. والحمد لله الغني ا 4. وكتب عمر بن عبد الله لعمري

Commentary

The inscriber placed the *alif* of al-ʿUmarī at the end of line 4.

No:32

Graffito

Confession &prayer for mercy

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. ʿUmar son of 2. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 3. al-ʿUmarī trusts 4. in God and seeks 5. His mercy.	1. عمر بن 2. عبد العزيز 3. العمري يثق 4. بالله و ير 5. جي رحمته

No:33

Epitaph

Qurʾanic prayer

Place of discovery: al-Muʿallā cemetery, Mecca, now preserved in Jeddah.
Dimension: 24x36 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 10 lines.
Published by: al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 278-280.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the Compassionate	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic)
2. the Merciful. O God,	2. الرحيم اللهم
3. when You assemble the former	3. إذا جمعت الأولين
4. and the later peoples for the appointment of a	4. والأخرين لميقات
5. known Day, make	5. يوم معلوم فاجعل
6. Daḥīma the daughter of ʿAbd	6. دحيمة ابنت عبد
7. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd	7. الرحمن (sic) بن عبد الله بن عبد
8. al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd	8. العزيز بن عبد الله بن عبد
9. Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	9. الله بن عمر بن الخطا
10. of the secure.	10. ب من الآمنين

No:34

Epitaph

Qurʾanic quotation

Place of discovery: al-Muʿallā cemetery, Mecca, now preserved in Jeddah.

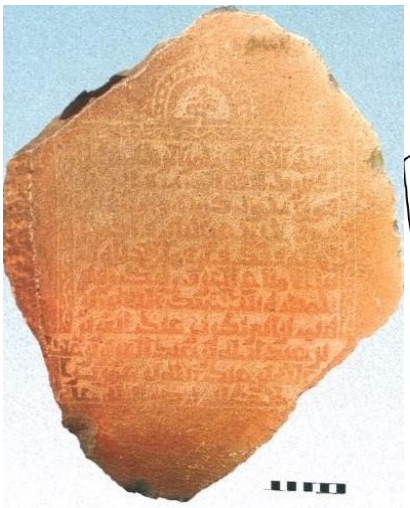
Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: undated probably $4^{th}/10^{th}$.

Text: 11 lines.

Published by: al-Khalīfa, et al., *Aḥjār al-muʿallā*, 217.

Status of preservation: damage in lines 2,3,4 and 5.



Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the compassionate the Merciful. Every	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الرحيم كل
2. soul will taste [death, and you will]	2. نفس ذائقة[الموت وإنما تو]
3. only be given your (full) compensation on the [Day of Resurrection.	3. فون أجوركم [يوم القيامة
4. So, he who is drawn away from the fire and admitted to	4 فمن زحزح عن النار وأدخل
5. paradise] has attained (his desire). And what is the life	5. الجنة] فقد فاز وما الحياة الد
6. of this world except the enjoyment of delusion. This is the grave of	6. نيا إلا متاع الغرور هذا قبر
7. Ḥamda the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of	7. حمدة بنت عبد الله بن إبر
8. Ibrāhīm son of Abū Bakr son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	8. هيم (sic) بن أبي بكر بن عبد العزيز
9. son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd	9. بن عبد الله بن عبد العزيز بن عبد
10. Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of	10. الله بن عبد الله بن عمر بن ا
11. al-Khaṭṭāb may God be pleased with him.	11. لخطاب رضي الله عنه

No:35
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May	1. تاب ا
2. God accept the repentance of	2. لله على
3. Ḥafṣ	3. حفص
4. son of ʿUmar.	4. بن عمر

No:36
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

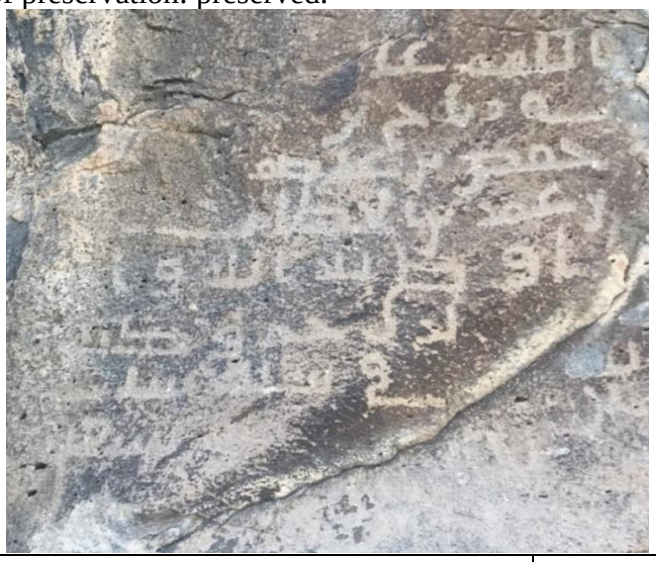
Translation	Text
1. O God, let	1. اللهم بلغ
2. Ḥafṣ be honored by	2. بحفص شر
3. Your mercy.	3. ف رحمتك

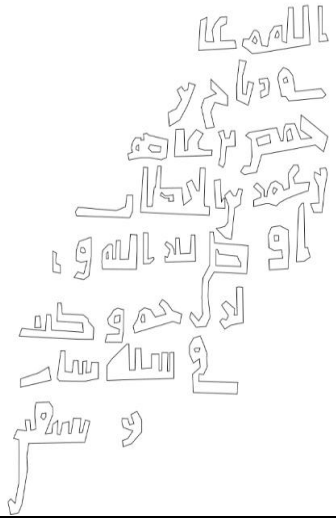
2.2. The branch ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar

No:37
Graffito
Prayer for protection & request for devotion to God and kinship

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 48X76 cm.
Date: 96/714-715.
Text: 8 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 83-86; correction by Imbert, "*L'islam des pierres*," 1: 80-81, and Lindstedt, "Who Is in,"218.

Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. O God, protect	1. اللهم عا
2. Rabāḥ son of	2 . في رباح بن
3. Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim	3. حفص بن عاصم
4. son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	4. بن عمر بن الخطاب
5. I recommended devotion to God and	5. أوصي ببر الله وا
6. maintaining ties to kinship; and it was written	6. لرحم وكتب
7. in the year ninety	7. في سنة ست
8. six.	8. و تسعين

No:38

Graffito

Prayer for save and forgiveness

Place: Wādī al-Furaysh, region of Medina.

Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: 100 /718-719.

Text: 13 lines.

Republished, first publication: Kawatoko, “Archaeological Survey,” plate 8.11c; Askūbī et al., “al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya gharb,” plate 5.10 b; Imbert, “*L’islam des pierres*,” 1: 95-96; al-Thenyian, *Nuqūsh al-qarn al-hijrī,*101-102, and Lindstedt, “Who Is in,” 220-221.

Status of preservation: damage in line 1, 2, and 3.

Translation	Text
1. O God! protect Rabāḥ son of	1. اللهم عافي رباح بن
2. Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar	2. حفص بن عاصم بن حفص عمر ا
3. al-Fārūq in this life and the	3. لفرق (sic) في الدنيا والآ
4. next and the day he dies and the day	4. خرة ويوم يموت ويو
5. he is resurrected alive; and safeguard	5. م يبعث حيا وعافيه
6. his religion and maintain his health	6. في دينه وفي جسد
7. and in his affairs and forgive	7. ه وفي أمره واغفر
8. him his sins, which he already committed and which	8. له ذنبه ما تقدم منه و
9. he will commit. Amen Lord of	9. ما تأخر آمين رب ا
10. the worlds. May God have mercy upon	10. لعلمين (sic) رحم الله
11. whomever says amen; and it was written	11. من قال آمين وكتب
12. in the year	12. في سنة
13. one hundred.	13. مئة

No:39

Graffito

Prayer for forgiveness & martyrdom

Place: Wādī al-Furaysh, region of Medina.

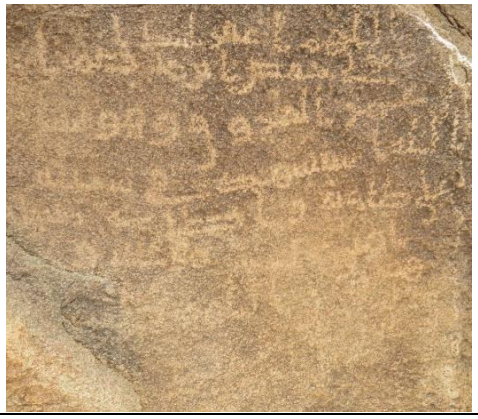
Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: undated probably 1st/8th.

Text: 7 lines.

Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.

Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Shaddād	1. اللهم اغفر لشدا
2. the client of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim	2. د مولى حفص ابن عاصم ا
3. son of ʿUmar al-Fārūq he asks God for	3. بن عمر الفروق وهو يسل (sic)
4. martyrdom in His path,	4. الله استشهد (sic) في سبي[ل]ه
5. in obedience to Him, riding in His path.	5. على طاعته راكبا في سبيله
6. Amen, lord of Mūsā and	6. آمين [ر]ب موسى
7.Hārūn.	7. وهرون (sic)

No:40
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 3 and 4.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Shaddād and save him	1. اللهم اغفر لشداد وأم[نه]
2. from fear in the Day of Resurrection; and it was written	2. من الخوف يوم القيامة وكت[ب]
3. by Shaddād, the client of Ḥafṣ [son of]	3. شداد مولى حفص [بن]
4. ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar	4.عاصم بن عمر[ا]
5. [a]l-Fārūq.	5.لفروق(sic)

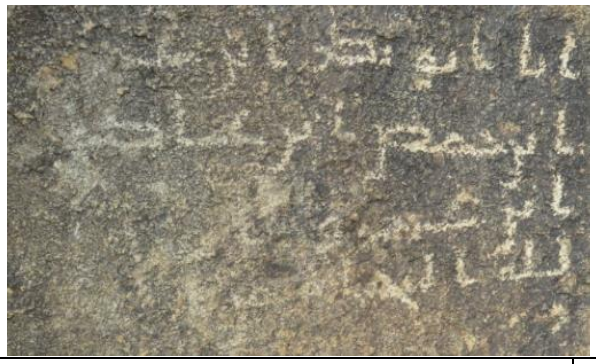
No:41
Graffito
Prayer for repentance
Place: Ṭarīq al-Ḥamāṭ, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/8th.
Text: 6 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.
Status of preservation: damage in line 4, the reading of line five and six is uncertain.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of ʿUmar	1. تاب الله على عمر
2. son of Ḥafṣ son of al-Fārūq	2. ابن حفص ابن الفر
3. may God have mercy	3. وق (sic) رحم الله من
4. upon whoever says amen	4. قال آمين فإنه [به] و
5. …	5. له ولك فيه عليه حق ...
6. …	6.[وتاب/فتاب]متكا لك

Diacritical dots

1. ىاب 4. آمين

No:42
Graffito
Prayer for mercy
Place: Wādī al-Furaysh, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 2, 3 and 4.



Translation	Text
1. I, Abū Bakr son of ʿUma[r]	1. أنا أبو بكر ابن عم[ر]
2. son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣi[m]	2. ابن حفص ابن عاص[م]
3. son of ʿUma[r] [ask]	3. ابن عم[ر] ا[سأل ا]
4. God salvation form the	4. لله النجاة من [النا]
5. [the fire].	5. ر

No:43
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

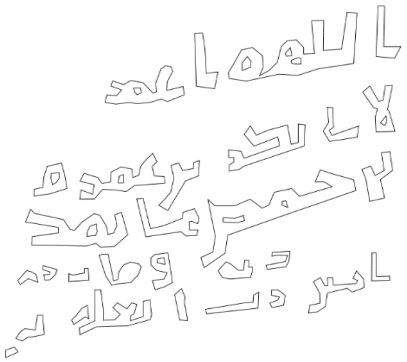
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar	2. لأبي بكر بن عمر
3. son of Ḥafṣ.	3. بن حفص

No:44
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.

Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 4 and 5.

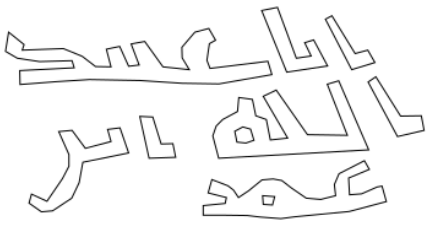


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar	2. لأبي بكر بن عمر م (sic)
3. son of Ḥafṣ for what preceded	3. بن حفص ما تقد
4. [of] his sins and what will [follow].	4. [من] ذ[ن]به وما ت[أخر]
5. Amen, Lord of the worlds.	5. آمين رب العلم[ين] (sic)

Commentary
The inscriber placed mīm in the word *taqaddama* in 2 instead of line 3.

No: 45
Graffito
Signature

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUbayd	1. أنا عبيد
2. Allāh son of	2. الله ابن
3. ʿUmar.	3. عمر

No: 46
Graffito

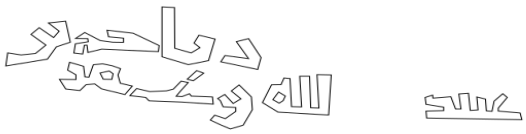
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept	1. تاب ا
2. the repentance of Rabāḥ	2. لله على ربا
3. son of ʿUbayd	3. ح بن عبيد ا
4. Allāh.	4. لله

No: 47
Graffito
Signature

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1 and 2.



Translation	Text
1. [I], Rabāḥ son of	1.[أنا] رباح بن
2. ʿUbayd [A]llāh son of ʿUmar.	2. عبيد [ا]لله بن عمر

No:48
Graffito
Signature

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 1 line.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage at the end of line.

Translation	Text
1. I, Rabā[ḥ].	1. أنا ربا[ح]

No:49
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3, and incomplete.

Translation	Text
1. the trust of Ḥafṣ 2. son of ʿUbayd 3. [Allāh].	1. ثقة حفص 2. بن عبيد ا 3. [لله]

No:50
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1.God is the trust of Ḥafṣ 2. son of ʿUbayd Allāh.	1. الله ثقة حفص 2. بن عبيد الله

No:51
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance 2. of Ḥafṣ 3. son of ʿUbayd Allā[h].	1. تاب الله 2. على حفص 3. بن عبيد الل[ه]

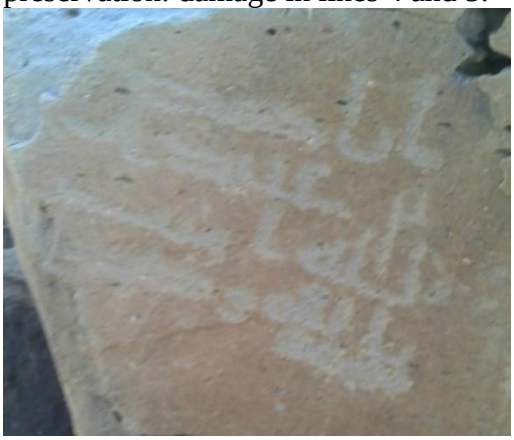
No: 52
Graffito

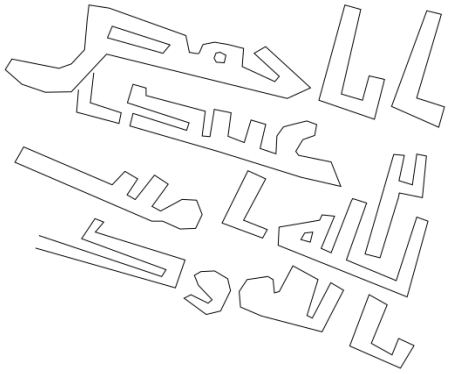
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1 and 2.

Translation	Text
1. I, … … … …	1. أنا… …كل …
2. … and it was written by Ḥafṣ son of	2. … وكتب حفص بن
3. ʿUbayd Allāh.	3. عبيد الله

No:53
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 4 and 5.





Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥafṣ	1. أنا حفص
2. son of ʿUbayd	2. بن عبيد
3. Allāh believe	3. الله آمنت
4. in God; and it was [written]	4. بالله و ك[تب]
5. ...	5. …

No:54
Graffito
Signature

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

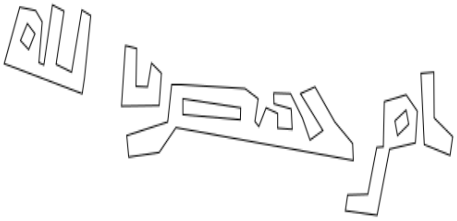
Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥafṣ (son of) 2. ʿUbayd Allāh.	1. أنا حفص 2. عبيد الله

Commentary

The inscriber miss the word *ibn* (son of).

No:55
Graffito
Confession

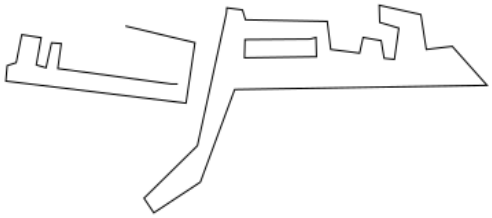
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 1 line.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Ḥafṣ believes in God.	1. آمن حفص بالله

No:56
Graffito
Signature

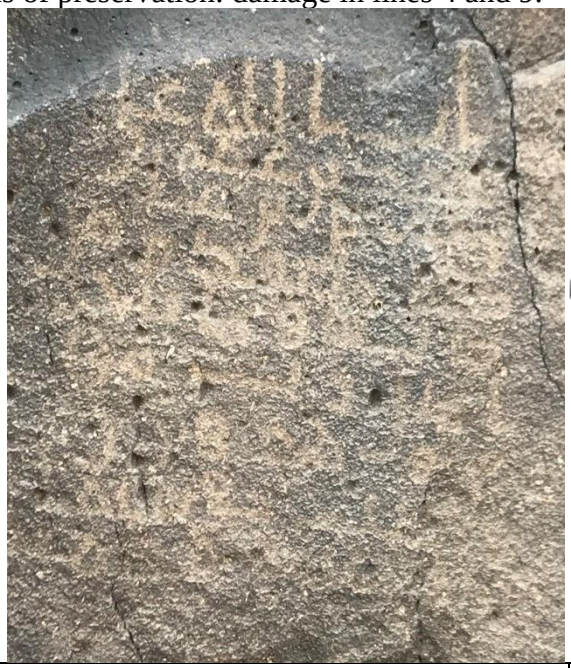
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 1 line.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in the second word.

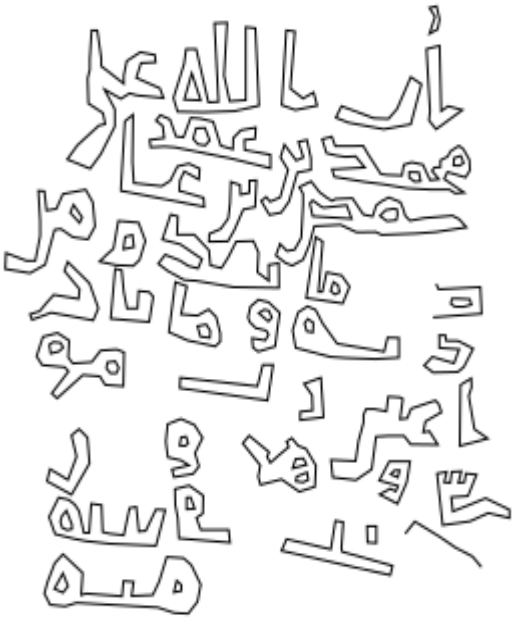


Translation	Text
1. Ḥafṣ wrote.	1. حفص [ك]تب

No:57
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: 114 /732-733, the date was clear in the site but unfortunately in photo not clear.
Text: 9 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 4 and 9.





Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله على
2. Muḥammad son of ʿUmar son of	2. محمد بن عمر بن
3. Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀ[ṣim]	3. حفص بن عا
4. for what preceded of	4. [صم]ما تقدم من
5. his sins and what will follow.	5. ذنبه وما تأخر
6. Amen, Lord of Mūsā	6. آمين رب مو
7. and Hārūn;	7. سى وهرون (sic)
8. and it was written in the year	8. [وكت]ب في سنة ا

9. one hundred and [fourteen].	9. [أربع عشر] ومئة

No:58
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 40x35 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 97-98.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. The trust of Muḥammad	1. ثقة محمد
2. son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2. بن عمر بن حفص
3. is in God, the Ever-Living,	3. بالله الحي
4. the Sustainer of (all) existence; and	4. القيوم و
5. it was written.	5. كتب

No:59
Graffito
Confession

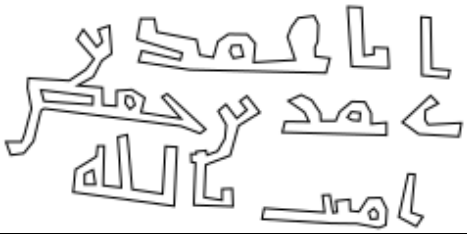
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.

Translation	Text
1. The trust of Muḥammad son of	1. ثق[ة]ال[ل]ه على محمد بن
2. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ is in God.	2. عمر بن حفص

No:60
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Muḥammad son of	1. أنا محمد بن
2. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2. عمر بن حفص
3. believe in God.	3. آمنت بالله

No:61
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

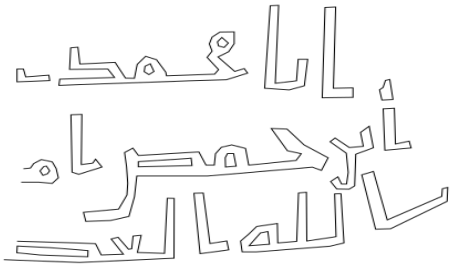
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God,	1. اللهم ا
2. forgive Muḥammad	2. غفر لمحمد
3. son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	3. ابن عمر بن حفص
4. his great sins.	4. ذنبه العظيم

No:62
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.

Status of preservation: damage in lines 1,2 and 3.



Translation	Text
1. I, Muḥammad [son of ʿUmar]	1. أنا محمد ب[ن عمر]
2. son of Ḥafṣ [believe]	2. ابن حفص آم[نت]
3. in God, the Great.	3. بالله العظ[يم]

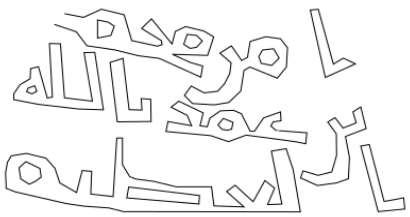
No:63
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God and His angles be pleased with	1. رضي الله وملئكة (sic)
2. Muḥammad son of ʿUmar.	2. عن محمد بن عمر

No:64
Graffito
Confession

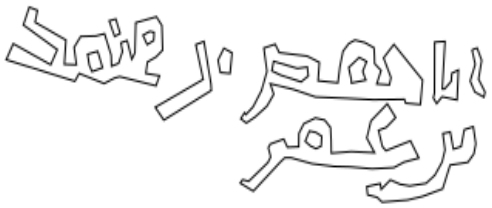
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.



Translation	Text
1. Muḥamma[d] 2. son of ʿUmar believes in God, 3. the Great.	1. آمن محم[د] 2. بن عمر بالله 3. العظيم

No:65
Graffito
Signature

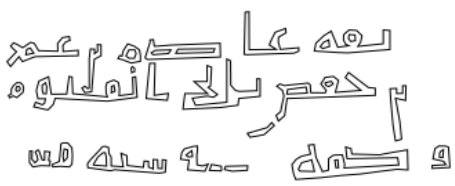
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥafṣ son of Muḥammad 2. son of ʿUmar.	1. أنا حفص بن محمد 2. بن عمر

No:66
Graffito
Confession

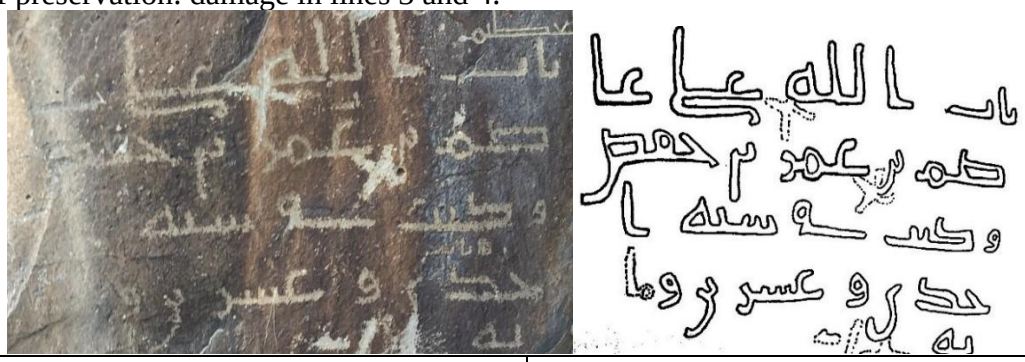
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 25x60 cm.
Date: 100/718-719.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 61-62 but without the date.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar 2. son of Ḥafṣ is in the Ever-Living, the Sustainer of (all) existence; 3. and it was written in the year one hundred.	1. ثقة عاصم بن عمر 2. بن حفص بالحي القيوم 3. وكتبه في سنة مئة

No:67
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 75x50 cm.
Date: 121/738-739.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 93-95.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 3 and 4.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of 2. ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ 3. and it was written in the year 4. one hundred twenty 5. one.	1. تاب الله على عا 2. صم بن عمر بن حفص 3. وكتب في سنة[إ] 4. حدى وعشرين و[ما] 5. ئة

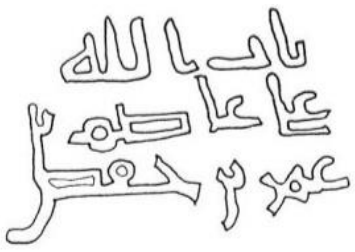
No:68
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.

Translation	Text
1. The trust of ʿĀṣim	1. ثقة عا
2. son of ʿUmar	2. صم بن عمر
3. [son of] Ḥafṣ	3. [بن] حفص
4. is in God,	4. بالله ا
5. the Great.	5. لعظيم

No:69
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 30x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 66.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance	1. تاب الله
2. of ʿĀṣim son of	2. على عاصم بن
3. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ.	3. عمر بن حفص

No:70
Graffito
Profession

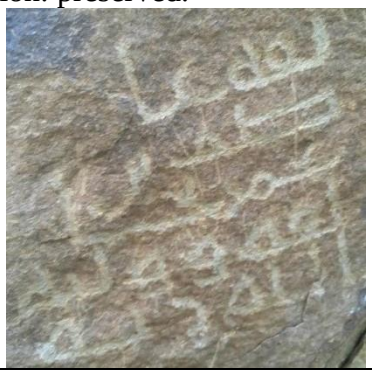
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.

Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. God is the protector of ʿĀṣim 2. son of ʿUmar.	1. الله ولي عاصم 2. بن عمر

No:71
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

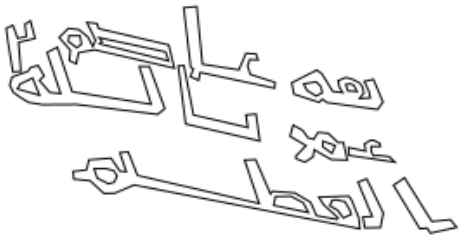


Translation	Text
1. The trust of ʿĀṣim 2. son of 3. ʿUmar is in his creator 4. and protector, 5. God, his Lord.	1. ثقة عا 2. صم بن 3. عمر بخا 4. لقه وولية 5. الله ربه

No:72
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.

Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of ʿĀṣim son of	1. ثقة عاصم بن
2. ʿUmar is in God,	2. عمر بالله
3. the Great.	3. العظيم

No:73
Graffito
Profession

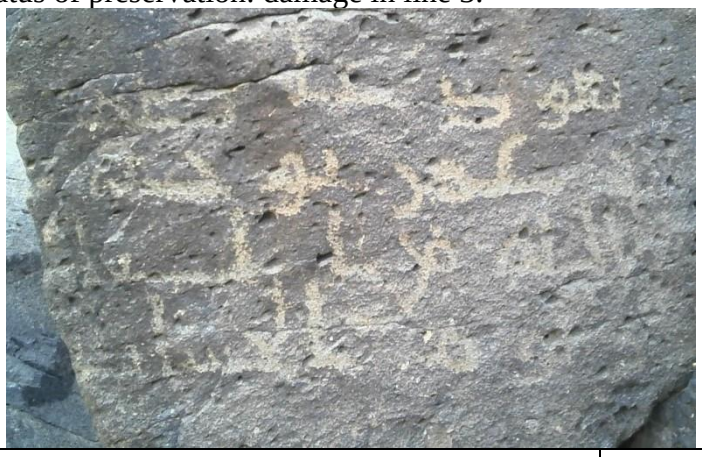
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

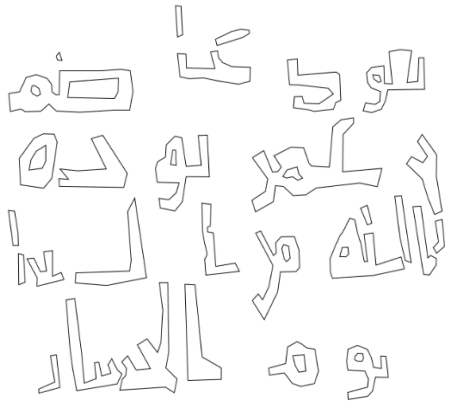
Translation	Text
1. Upon God relies	1. على الله يتو
2. ʿĀṣim son of	2. كل عاصم بن
3. ʿUmar (He is) the best	3. عمر ونعم
4. Disposer of affairs.	4. الوكيل

No: 74
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.

Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.

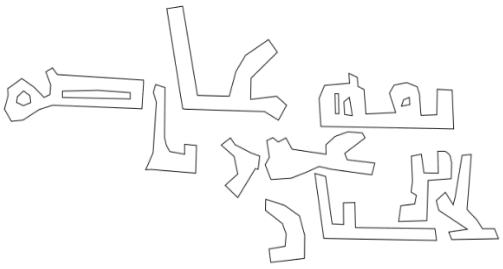




Translation	Text
1. ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar seeks	1. يعوذ عاصم
2. refuge with	2. بن عمر بوحدة
3. God alone from [the punishment of]	3. الله من [العذاب]
4. the day of judgement.	4. يوم الحساب

No:75
Graffito
Confession

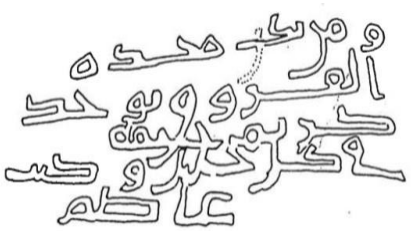
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of ʿĀṣim	1. ثقة عاصم
2. son of ʿUmar is in	2. بن عمر با
3. the Compeller.	3. لجبار

No:76
Graffito
Poem

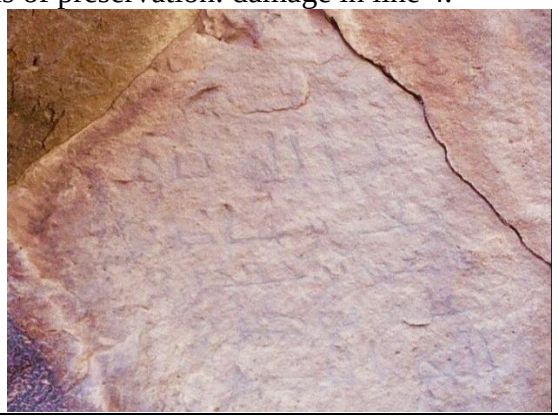
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 55x35 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 103.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Whose forefather	1. ومن يكن مجده
2. is al-Fārūq who was taken	2. الفروق(sic) يؤجد
3. his kind died	3. كريم حتفه
4. in every glorious. And it was written by	4. في كل جليل وكتب
5. ʿĀṣim.	5. عاصم

No:77
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 4.

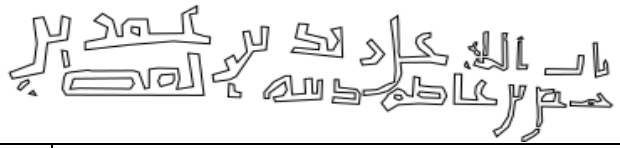


Translation	Text
1. In God trusts	1. بالله يثق
2. Jaʿfar son of ʿĀṣim son of	2. جعفر بن عاصم بن
3. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	3. عمر بن حفص و
4. and upon Him he relies,	4. عل[يه] يتوكل

5. and He is the (final) destination.	5.وإليه المصير

No:78
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

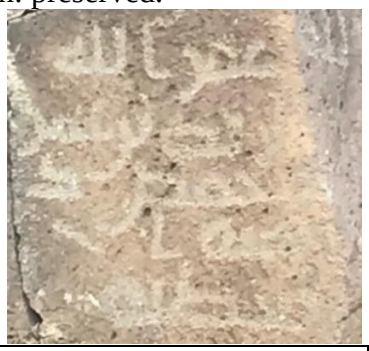
Place: Jabal Rumāʿ region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: damage in line 2.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of Zayd son of ʿUmar 2. son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim for his great sins.	1. تاب الله على زيد بن عمر 2. بن حفص بن عاصم ذنبه العظ[يم]

No:79
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God forgive 2. Zayd son of ʿUmar 3. son of Ḥafṣ his 4. great 5. sins.	1. غفر الله 2. لزيد بن عمر 3. بن حفص ذ 4. نبه ا 5. لعظيم

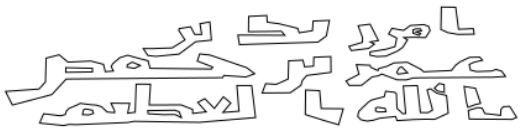
No: 80
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-ʿUwaiyyna, region of Medina.
Dimension: 30x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 147-148.
Status of preservation: incomplete.

Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of	1. آمن زيد بن
2. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ believes.	2. عمر بن حفص

No: 81
Graffito
Confession

Place: Jabal Rumāʿ, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of	1. آمن زيد بن
2. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2. عمر بن حفص
3. believes in God, the Great.	3. بالله العظيم

No:82
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.

Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 2.

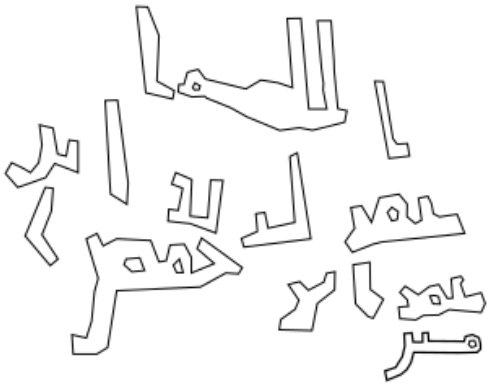
Translation	Text
1. The trust of Zayd son of ʿUmar is	1. ثقة زيد بن عمر
2. in God [the Great].	2. بالله ا [لعظيم]

No:83
Graffito
Signature
Place: Jabal al-Makaymin, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, Zayd son of	1. أنا زيد بن
2. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ.	2. عمر بن حفص

Diacritical dots
1- أنا

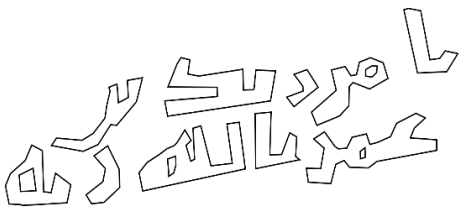
No:84
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم ا
2. Zayd son of	2. غفر لزيد ابن
3. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	3. عمرابن حفص آ
4. amen.	4. مين

No:85
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of	1. آمن زيد بن
2. ʿUmar believes in God, his Lord.	2. عمر بالله ربه

No:86
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. The trust of Zayd son of 2. ʿUmar is in God.	1. ثقة زيد بن 2. عمر بالله

No:87
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of Zayd believe in 3. God, the Great.	1. أنا عبد الله 2. ابن زيد أمنت 3. بالله العظيم

No:88
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. In God trusts ʿAbd Allāh	1. بالله يثق عبد الله
2. son of Zayd and upon Him he	2. بن زيد وعليه يتو
3. relies, and to Him is the (final) destination.	3. كل وإليه المصير

No:89
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

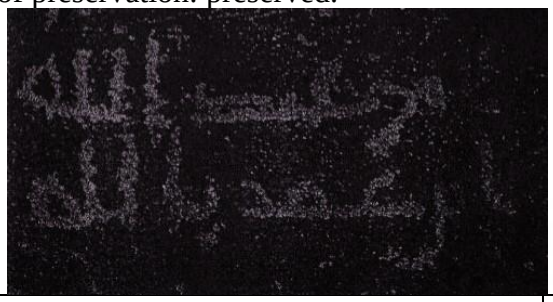
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension:41x53 cm.
Date: 121/738-739.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 56-58.
Status of preservation: preserved.

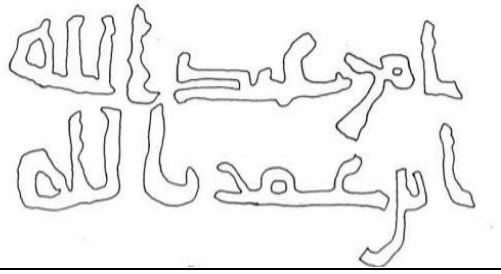
Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of ʿAbd	1. تاب الله على عبد
2. Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2. الله بن عمر بن حفص
3. and it was written in the year	3. وكتب سنة إ
4. one hundred and twenty-	4. حدى وعشرين
5. one.	5. ومائة

No:90
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension:25x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.

Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 67.
Status of preservation: preserved.

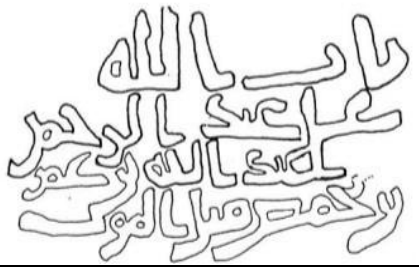




Translation	Text
1. ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of ʿUmar believes in God.	1. آمن عبد الله 2. ابن عمر بالله

No:91
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

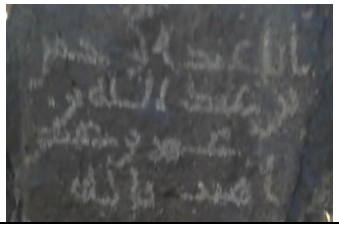
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: around 40x25 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 53.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance 2. of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 3. son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar 4. son of Ḥafṣ before death.	1. تاب الله 2. على عبد الرحمن (sic) 3. [ب]ن عبد الله بن عمر 4. بن حفص قبل الموت

No: 92
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	1. أنا عبد الرحمن (sic)
2. son of ʿAbd Allāh son of	2. بن عبد الله بن
3. ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	3. عمر بن حفص
4. believe in God.	4. آمنت بالله

No:93
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله
2. ʿAbd	2. على عبد
3. al-Raḥmān son of	3.الرحمن(sic) ابن
4. ʿAbd Allāh.	4. عبدالله

No:94
Graffito
Request for paradise

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God,	1. اللهم
2. grant ʿAbd	2.بلغ بعبد الر
3. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd	3. حمن (sic) بن عبد ا
4. Allāh Paradise.	4. لله الفردوس

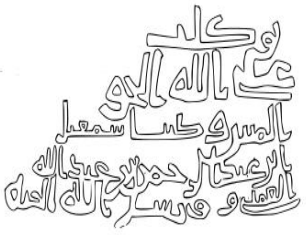
No:95
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAbd	1. أنا عبد
2. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh,	2. الرحمن (sic) بن عبد الله
3. believe in God.	3. آمنت بالله

No:96
Graffito
Request for paradise

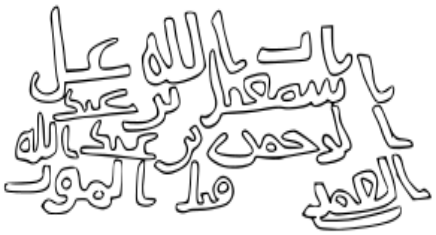
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 36-37.
Status of preservation: damage in line 5.



Translation	Text
1. I rely 2. upon God the perfect in justice; 3. and it was written by Ismāʿīl 4. son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh 5. al-ʿUmarī and [he] asks god for the paradise.	1. توكلت 2. على الله الحق 3. المبين وكتب إسمعيل (sic) 4. ابن عبد الرحمن (sic) ابن عبد الله 5. العمري و[ه]و يسل(sic) الله الجنة

No:97
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension:35x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 43-44.
status of preservation: preserved.

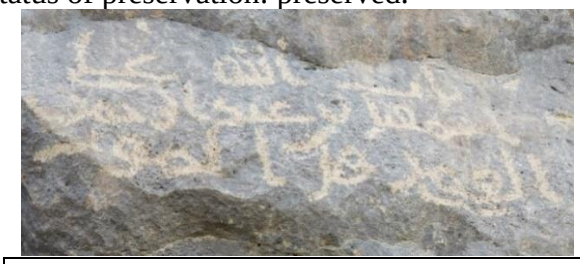


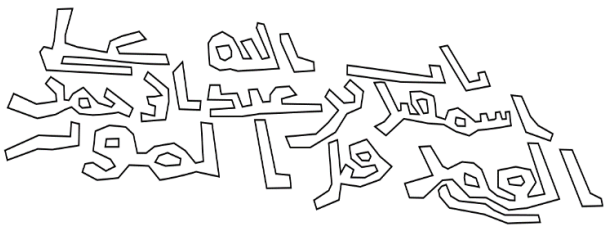
Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of 2. Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd 3.al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh 3. al-ʿUmarī before death.	1. تاب الله على 2. إسمعيل(sic) بن عبد 3. الرحمن (sic) بن عبد الله 3. العمري قبل الموت

No:98
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.

status of preservation: preserved.

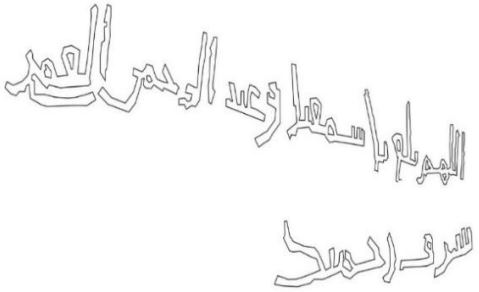




Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of 2. Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 3. al-ʿUmarī before death.	1. تاب الله على 2. إسمعيل(sic) بن عبد الرحمن (sic) 3. العمري قبل الموت

No:99
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

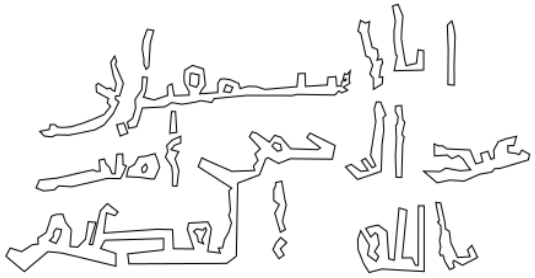
Place: al-Bardiya, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, let Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī be 2. honored by Your mercy.	1. اللهم بلغ بإسمعيل (sic) بن عبد الرحمن (sic) العمري 2. شرف رحمتك

No:100
Graffito
Confession

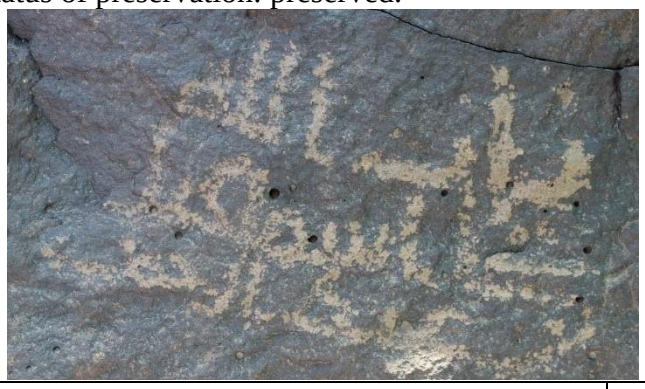
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Ismāʿīl son of	1. أنا إسمعيل (sic) بن
2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān believe	2. عبد الرحمن (sic) آمنت
3. in God, the Great.	3. بالله العظيم

No:101
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

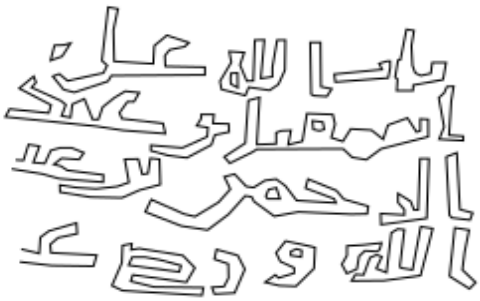
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance	1. تاب الله
2. of Ismāʿīl	2. على إسمعيل (sic)
3. son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.	3. بن عبد الرحمن (sic)

No:102
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

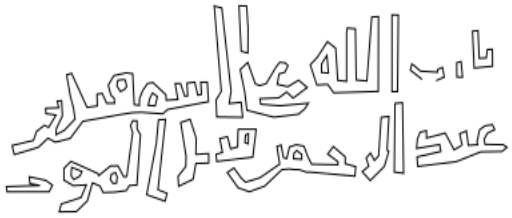
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 3 and 4.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله على
2. Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd	2. إسمعيل(sic) بن عبد
3. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAb[d]	3. الرحمن (sic) بن عب[د]
4. Allāh and be pleased with [him].	4. الله ورضي ع[نه]

No:103
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of 2. Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān before death.	1. تاب الله على إسمعيل (sic) بن 2. عبد الرحمن (sic) قبل الموت

No:104
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension:15x45cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 47-48.
status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of ʿĀṣim	1. تاب الله على عاصم
2. son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd	2. بن عبد الرحمن (sic) بن عبد ا
3. Allāh al-ʿUmarī before death.	3. لله العمريي (sic) قبل الموت

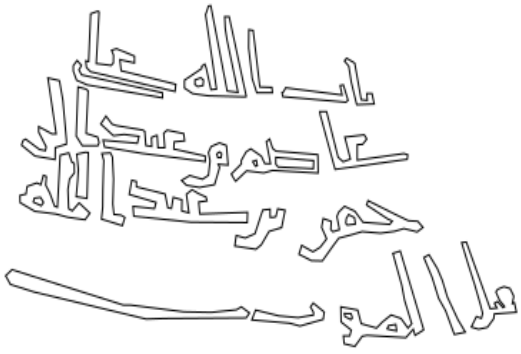
No:105
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 30x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 51-52.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, let ʿĀṣim	1. اللهم بلغ بعاصم بن
2. son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī	2. عبد الرحمن (sic) العمري
3. be honored by Your mercy.	3. شرف رحمتك

No:106
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

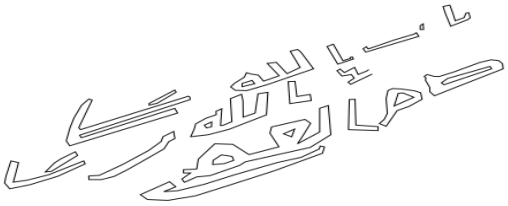
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله على
2. ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd	2. عاصم بن عبد الر
3. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh	3. حمن (sic) بن عبد الله
4. before death.	4. قبل الموت

No:107
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 2.



Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله على
2. [ʿAb]d Allāh son of ʿĀṣim	2. [عب]د الله بن عا
3. al-ʿUmarī.	3. صم العمري

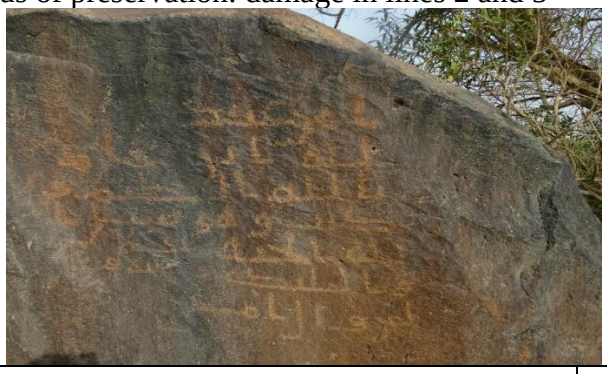
No:108
Graffito
Confession

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished
Status of preservation: damage in line 4.

Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAbd Allāh son of	1. أنا عبد الله بن
2. ʿĀṣim believes in	2. عاصم آمن (sic) با
3. God, the Great.	3. لله العظيم
4. [without partner].	4. وحده لا شر[يك له]

No:109
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 7 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 2 and 5



Translation	Text
1. ʿAbd	1. آمن عبد
2. Allāh son of ʿĀṣi[m]	2. الله ابن عاص[م]
3. believes in God, the Great;	3. بالله العظيم و
4. and (he) wrote (this) asking	4. كتب وهو يسل(sic) ا
5. God the paradise [as accommodation]	5. لله الجنة [نزلا]
6. and the angles as messengers.	6. والملئكة(sic) رسلا و
7. (May the same be granted) to whoever says amen.	7. لمن قال آمين

No:110

Graffito
Prayer for repentance
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of 2. ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿĀṣim	1. تاب الله على 2. عبد الله بن عاصم

No:111
Graffito
Confession
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1 and 3.

Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of 2. ʿĀṣim believes in 3. God, his protector.	1. آمن مح[م]د بن 2. عاصم 3. بالله ول[يه]

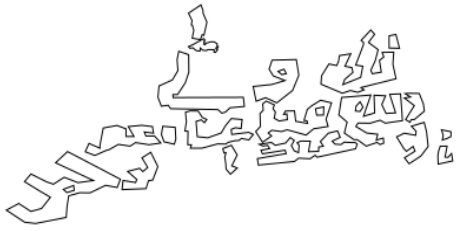
No:112
Graffito
Confession
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.

Dimension: 60x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 18-20.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of ʿĀṣim 2. believes in God, the Great.	1. آمن محمد بن عاصم 2. العظيم

No:113
Graffito
Profession

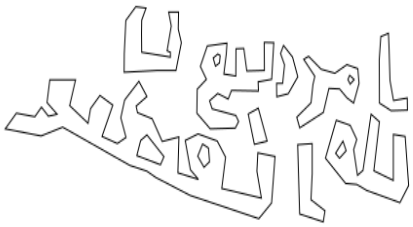
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.



Translation	Text
1. God is the protector 2. of Rabīʿ the slave boy of ʿĀṣim 3. son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.	1. [ا]لله ولي 2. ربيع فتا عاصم 3. بن عبد الرحمن (sic)

No:114
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Rabīʿ believes in 2. God, the Great.	1. آمن ربيع با 2. لله العظيم

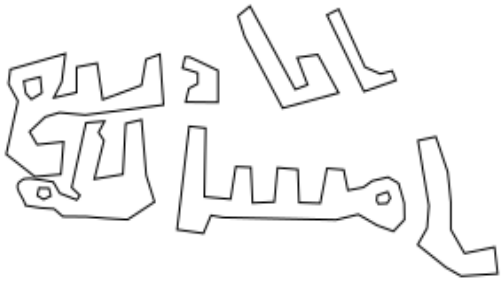
No: 115
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 1 line.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage at the beginning.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of Rabīʿ and grant him mercy.	1. [تا]ب الله على ربيع ورحمة

No:116
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Rabīʿ 2. believe in God.	1. أنا ربيع 2. آمنت بالله

No:117
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 4 and 5.

Translation	Text
1.May God accept the repentance 2. of ʿĪsā 3. son of ʿAbd 4. al-Raḥmā[n] 5. al-ʿU[marī].	1. تاب الله 2. على عيسى 3. ابن عبد 4. الرحم[ن] (sic) 5. الع [مري]

No: 118
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. God is the trust of	1. الله ثقة

2. ʿĪsā son of ʿAbd 3. al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī.	2. عيسى بن عبد 3. الرحمن (sic) العمري

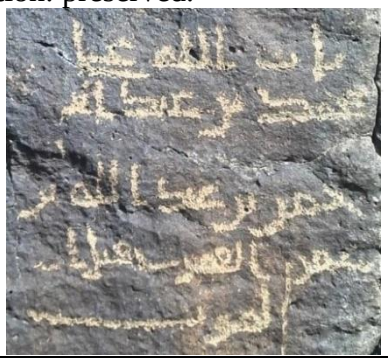
No:119
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

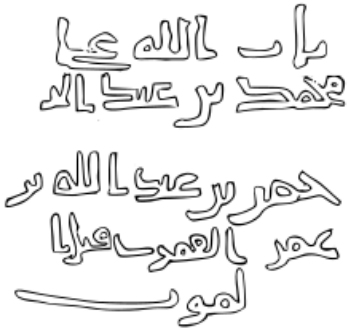
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 54-55.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance 2. of ʿĪsā 3. son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 4. before death.	1. تاب الله 2. على عيسى 3. بن عبد الرحمن (sic) 4. قبل الموت

No:120
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 25x25 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 14-17.
Status of preservation: preserved.



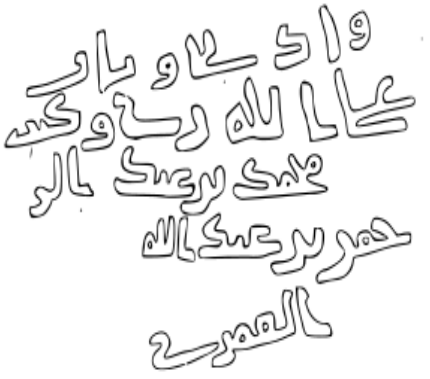


Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله على

2. Muḥammad son of ʿAbd	2. محمد بن عبد الر
3. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of	3. حمن (sic) بن عبد الله بن
4. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī	4. عمر العمري قبل ا
5. before death.	5. لموت

No:121
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension:25x25 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 20-21.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. May God, my Lord, accept	1. وأدبني وتاب
2. my repentance, and it was written by	2. علي الله ربي وكتب
3. Muḥammad son of ʿAbd	3. محمد بن عبد الر
4. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh	4. حمن (sic) بن عبد الله
5. al-ʿUmarī.	5. العمري

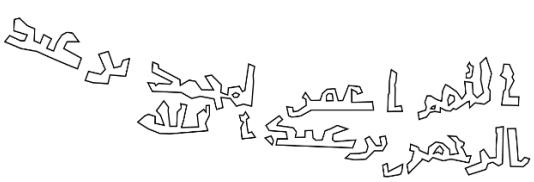
No:122
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-Bardiya, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	1. محمد بن عبد الرحمن (sic)
2. al-ʿUmarī testifies that there is no	2. العمري يشهد أن لا إ
3. god but God, alone,	3. له إلا الله وحده لا
4. without partner.	4. شريك له

No:123
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

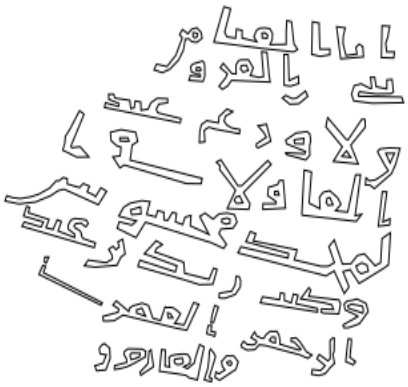
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Muḥammad son of ʿAbd	1. اللهم اغفر لمحمد بن عبد
2. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh.	2. الرحمن (sic) بن عبد الله

No:124
Graffito
Poem

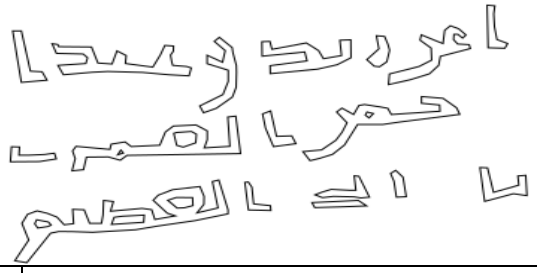
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 70x65 cm but without line 8.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 8 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 68-71.
Status of preservation: damage in line 2.



Translation	Text
1. I am the young boy from	1. أنا الفتا من
2. the descendants of …al-Fārūq	2. بني... الفروق
3. No devout in (I have no fear during) encounter	3. ق لا ورع عند
4. nor am I ignored	4. القا (sic) ولا في ا
5. by glory;	5. لمجد مخسوس
6. and it was written by Zayd son of ʿAbd	6. وكتب زيد بن عبد
7. al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī	7. الرحمن (sic) العمري
8. and al-Fārūq.	8. والفاروق

No:125
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.



Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of ʿAbd	1. آمن زيد بن عبد ا
2. al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī believes	2. الرحمن (sic) العمري
3. in God, the Great.	3. با[لله] العظيم

No:126

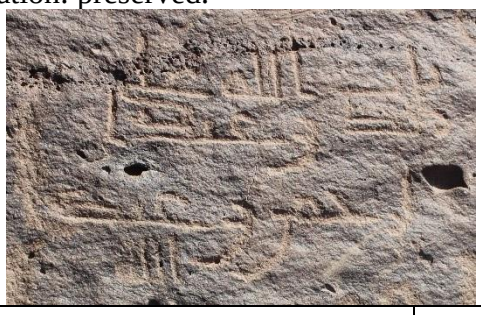
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. God is the trust of Zayd	1. الله ثقة زيد
2. son of al-Raḥmān	2. بن عبد الرحمن (sic)
3. al-ʿUmarī.	3. العمري

No:127
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 35x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 34.
Status of preservation: preserved.

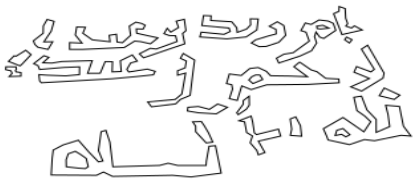


Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of	1. تاب الله على
2. Zayd son of ʿAbd	2. زيد بن عبد ا
3. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd	3. لرحمن (sic) بن عبد
4. Allāh.	4. الله

No:128
Graffito

Confession

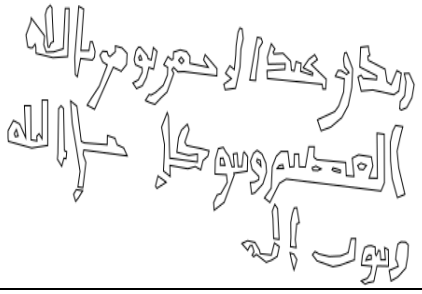
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of ʿAbd 2. al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd 3. Allāh believes in God.	1. آمن زيد بن عبد الر 2. حمن (sic) بن عبدا 3. لله بالله

No:129
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-Bardiya, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.



Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān believes in God 2. the Great, (He) relies upon God 3. and [repents to Him].	1. زيد بن عبد الرحمن (sic) يؤمن بالله 2. العظيم ويتوكل على الله 3. ويتوب إل[يه]

No:130
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.

Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of Zayd son of ʿAb[d] 2. al-Raḥmān before death.	1. تاب الله على زيد بن عب[د] 2. الرحمن (sic) قبل الموت

No:131
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of ʿAbd 2. al-Raḥmān believes in God.	1. آمن زيد بن عبد 2. الرحمن (sic) بالله

No:132
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of	1. يشهد الا إله
2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	2. إلا الله وحده
3. testifies that there is no	3. زيد بن عبد
4. god but God.	4. الرحمن (sic)

No:133
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Zayd son of	1. يشهد ا
2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	2. لا إله الله زيد
3. testifies that there is no god but God.	3. بن عبد الرحمن (sic)

No:134
Graffito
Confession

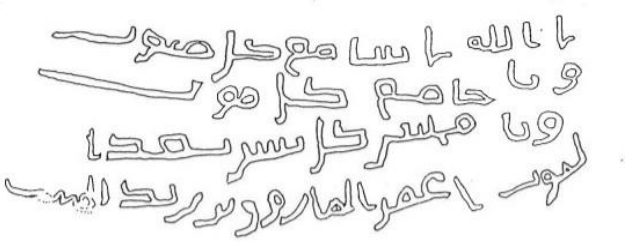
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.

Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. The trust of Zayd son of	1. ثقة زيد بن
2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	2. عبد الرحمن (sic)
3. in God,	3. بالله ا
4. the Great.	4. لعظيم

No:135
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

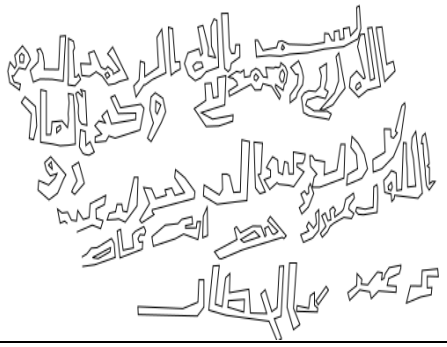
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 28x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 89-91.
Status of preservation: damage in line 4.



Translation	Text
1. O God, hearer of every voice (prayer),	1. يا الله يا سامع كل صوت
2. assembler of every deed,	2. ويا جامع كل فوت
3. and giver of life to every soul after death,	3. ويا محيي كل نفس بعد ا
4. forgive al-Fārūq son of Zayd al-[ʿUmarī].	4. لموت اغفر الفاروق بن زيد ال[عمري]

No:136
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1 and 4.



Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful. 2. God is my Lord and Muḥammad is my messenger; and it was written by al-Fārūq 3. son of Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd 4. Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣi[m] 5. son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb.	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الرح[يم] 2. الله ربي ومحمد نبي وكتب الفاروق 3. بن زيد بن عبد الرحمن (sic) بن عبد 4. الله بن عمر بن حفص ابن عاص[م] 5. بن عمر بن الخطاب

No:137
Graffito
Confession

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
status of preservation: damage in line 2.

Translation	Text
1. God is the trust of al-Fārūq 2….	1. بالله يثق الفارو 2- ق...

Commentary

Line 2 has two words its difficult to interpret them, or find a satisfaction reading.

No:138

Graffito

Prayer for repentance

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 1 line.
Unpublished.
status of preservation: preserved.

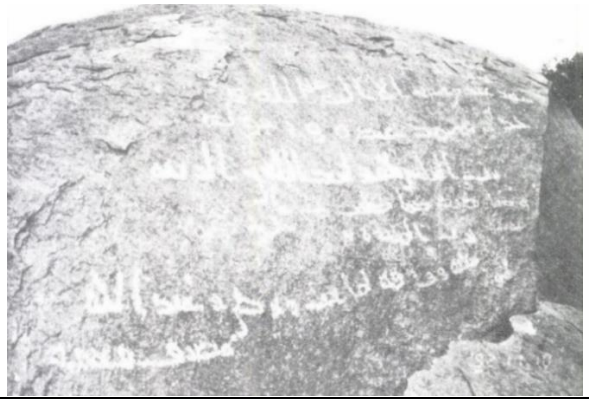
Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of al-Fārūq.	1. تاب الله على الفاروق

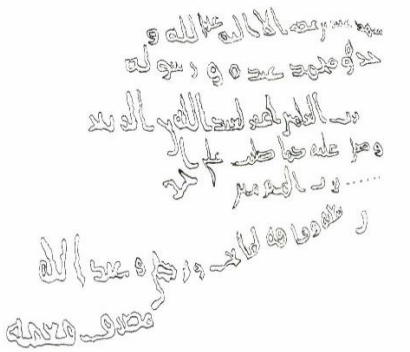
3. The inscriptions of the descendants of al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām

3.1. The branch of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr

No:1
Graffito
Confession

Place: Haḍbat Bāniyya, region of Ṭāʾif.
Dimension: 200x100 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st/8th.
Text: 7 lines.
Published by: al-Ḥārithī, *al-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya al-mubakkira*, 88.
status of preservation: damage in lines 4, 5 and 7.





Translation	Text
1. ʿUbayd son of ʿĀṣim testifies that there is no god but God and 2. that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. 3. O Lord of the worlds, forgive ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr 4. and bless Muḥammad as You blessed … 5. … Lord of believers. 6. Assist him and guide him to do what You love and what You are satisfied with. And ʿAbd Allāh 7. believes …	1. شهد عبيد بن عاصم الا إله غير الله و 2. حده ومحمد عبده ورسوله 3. يارب العلمين (sic) اغفر لعبد الله بن الزبير 4. وصل على محمد كما صليت على ... 5. ... يارب المؤمنين 6. وأعنه ووفقه لما تحب وترضى وعبد الله 7. مصدق...

3.1.1. The branch of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh

No:2
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/8th.
Text: 2 lines.

Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive 2. Yaḥyā (son of) ʿAbbād.	1. الل[ه]م اغفر 2. ليحيى عباد

Commentary

The inscriber missed the word son of in line 2.

No:3
Graffito
Confession

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," plate no 5.13a.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Yaḥyā testified 2. that there is no god but God 3. alone, without partner.	1. شهد إسحق(sic) بن يحيى 2. انه لا إله إلا الله 3. وحده لا شريك له

No:4
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.

Translation	Text
1. May God be pleased	1. [ر]ضي الله
2.with Isḥāq son of	2. عن إسحق (sic) بن
3. Yaḥyā and	3. يحيى وأكر
4. favor him (the protection) from the	4. مه عن ا(sic)
5. Fire.	5. النار

Commentary

The additional *alif* in line 4 is strange.

No:5
Graffito
Qurʾanic prayer

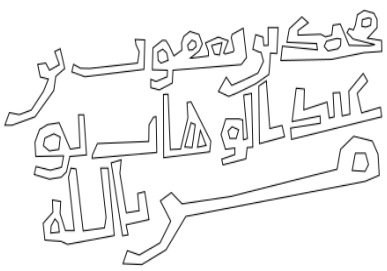
Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," plate 5.13 a.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I rely upon the Ever-Living who does not die 2. and it was written by Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd 3. al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā and he believes in God.	1. توكلت على الحي الذي لا يموت 2. وكتب محمد بن يعقوب بن عبد 3. الوهاب بن يحيى وهو يؤمن بالله

No:6
Graffito
Confession

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.

Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of	1. محمد بن يعقوب بن
2. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb believes	2. عبد الوهاب يؤ
3. in God.	3. من بالله

No:7
Graffito
Confession

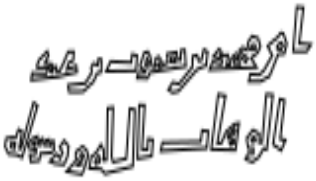
Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb	1. أنا محمد بن يعقوب
2. son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb	2. بن عبد الوهاب
3. believe in God.	3. آمنت بالله

No:8
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.

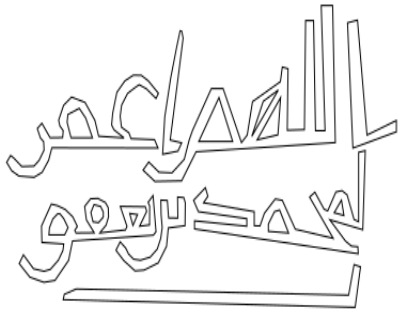
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd 2. al-Wahhāb believes in God and His messenger.	1. آمن محمد بن يعقوب بن عبد 2. الوهاب بالله ورسوله

No:9
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Bardiya, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," plate no 5.15c.
status of preservation: preserved.

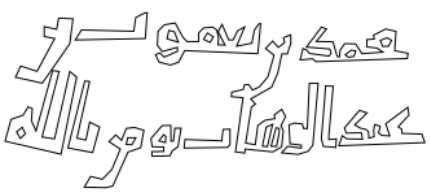


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive 2. Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb.	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لمحمد بن يعقو 3. ب

No:10
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.

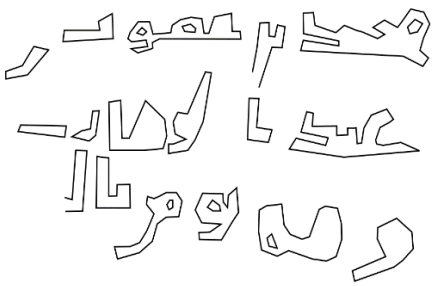
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of 2. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb believes in God.	1. محمد بن يعقوب بن 2. عبد الوهاب يؤمن بالله

No:11
Graffito
Confession

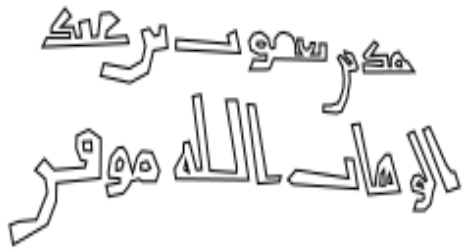
Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1 and 3.



Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of 2. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 3. and he believes in [God].	1. محمد بن يعقوب [ب]ن 2. عبد الوهاب 3.وهو يؤمن با[لله]

No:12
Graffito
Confession

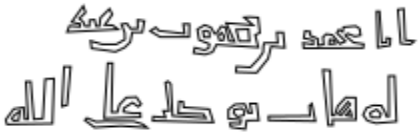
Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: damage in line 1.



Translation	Text
1. [Muḥ]ammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd 2. al-Wahhāb is certain of God in (faith).	1. [مح]مد بن يعقوب بن عبد 2. الوهاب بالله موقن

No:13
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished. photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of 2. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb rely upon God.	1. أنا محمد بن يعقوب بن 2. عبد الوهاب توكلت على الله

No:14
Graffito
Qurʾanic prayer

Place: al-Raghāyib, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 2 and 4.

Translation	Text
1. I, [Muḥ]ammad (son of) Yʿaqūb	1. أنا [مح]مد يعقوب
2. son of [ʿAbd al-Wa]hhāb	2. بن عبد [الوه]اب
3. rely upon God, the Ever-Living	3. توكلت على الحي
4. who does not die.	4. الذي لا [يم]وت

Commentary

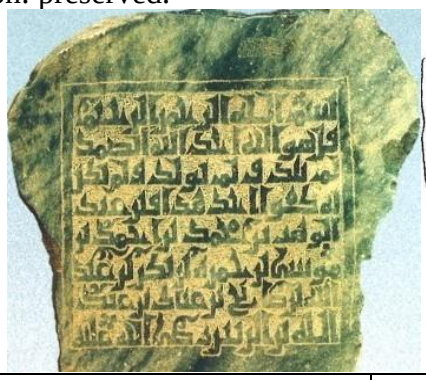
The inscriber missed the word son of in line 1.

No:15

Epitaph

Qurʾanic quotation

Place of discovery: al-Muʿallā cemetery, Mecca now preserved in Jeddah registered number 495.
Dimension: 30x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 8 lines.
Published by: al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya,* 299-302.
Status of preservation: preserved.

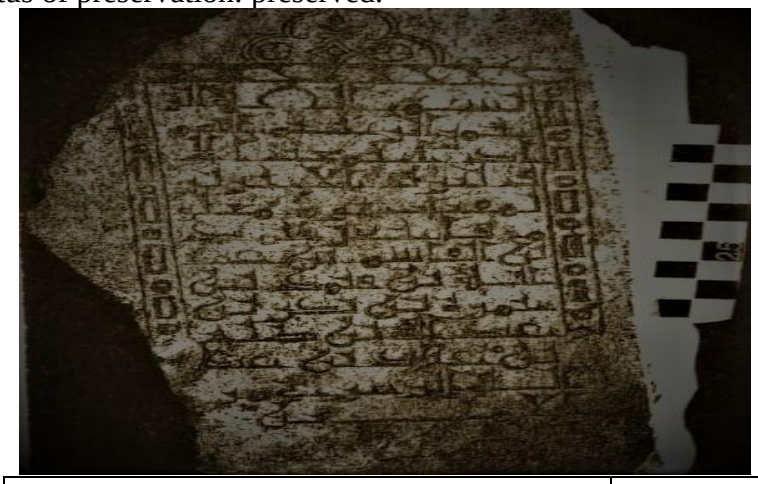


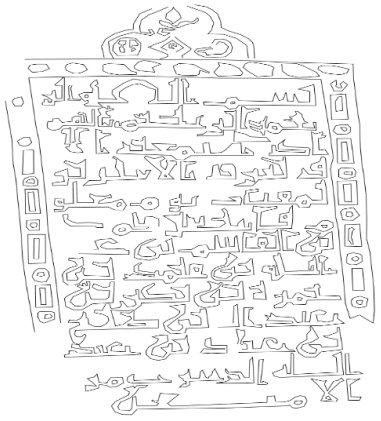
Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the Compassionate The Merciful,	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الرحيم
2. Say, He is God, (who is) One, God, the Eternal Refuge.	2. قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد
3. He neither begets nor is born,	3. لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن
4. nor is there to Him any equivalent. This is the grave of	4. له كفوا أحد هذا قبر
5. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad son of	5. عبد الوهب (sic) بن محمد بن أحمد بن
6. Mūsā son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ʿAbd	6. موسى بن حمزة بن بكر بن عبد
	7. الله بن صالح بن عباد بن عبد
	8. الله بن الزبير رضي الله عليه

7. Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd 8. Allāh son of al-Zubayr may God be pleased with him.	

No:16
Epitaph
Qurʾanic prayer

Place of discovery: Mecca.
Dimension: 42.5x21.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 13 lines.
Published by: al-Salook, "*Analytical and Palaeographic*," 89-90, correction made by al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 301, note 3.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. In the name of God,	1. بسم الله الر
2. the Compassionate the Merciful O God,	2. حمن (sic) الرحيم اللهم
3. When You assemble the	3. إذا جمعت الأ
4. former and the later peoples to the	4. ولين والأخرين
5. appointment of a known Day	5. لميقات يوم معلو
6. make Muḥammad	6. م فاجعل محمد
7. son of al-Qāsim son of ʿAbd	7. بن القاسم بن عبد
8. Allāh son of Muḥammad son of	8. الله بن محمد بن
9. Ḥamza son of Bakr son of	9. حمزة بن بكر بن
10. ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ	10. عبد الله بن صلح (sic)
11. son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd	11. بن عباد بن عبد
12. Allāh al-Zubayrī of the	12. الله الزبيري من
13. secure.	13. الآمنين

3.1.2. The branch of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh

No:17

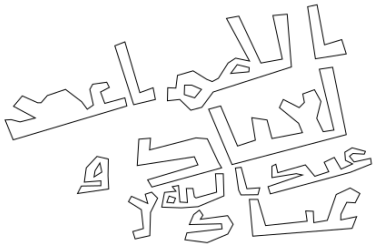
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive ʿAbbād son of	1. اللهم اغفر لعباد
2. Ḥamza and Maʿbad	2. بن حمزة ولمعبد
3. son of Abū Laylā	3. بن أبي ليلى إ
4. God of truth.	4. له الحق

No:18
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

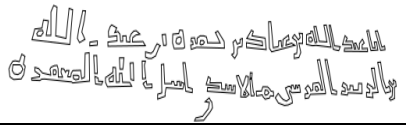
Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. ʿAbbād and	2. لعباد و
3. ʿAbd Allāh son of	3. عبد الله بن
4. ʿAbbād.	4. عباد

No:19
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ṭarīq al-Ḥamāṭ, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of al-Zubayr al-Qurayshī, then al-Asadī, ask God for forgiveness.	1. أنا عبد الله بن عباد بن حمزة بن عبد الله 2. بن الزبير القرشي ثم الاسدي أسل (sic) الله المغفرة

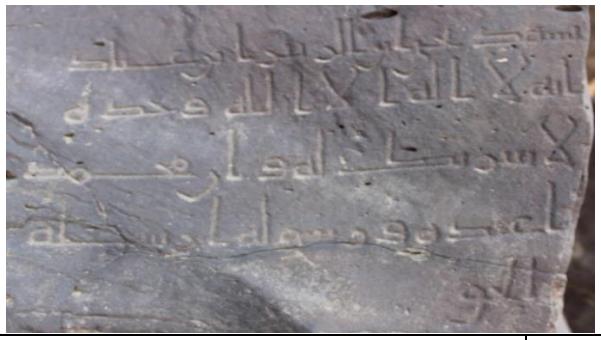
No:20
Graffito
Signature

Place: Ḥismā, region of Tabūk.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 78-79.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. ʿUbayd Allāh son of 2. ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza 3. son of al-Zubayr.	1. عبيد الله بن 2. عباد بن حمز 3. ة بن الزبير

No:21
Graffito
Confession

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād testifies 2. that there is no god but God alone, 3. without partner and that Muḥammad is His 4. servant and messenger whom He has sent 5. with truth.	1. يشهد يحيى ابن الزبير ابن عباد 2. أنه لا إله إلا الله وحده 3. لا شريك له وأن محمد 4. ا عبده ورسوله ارسله 5. بالحق

No:22
Graffito
Request for paradise

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O Lord of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr 2. admit him to the paradise by your mercy 3. and protect him from the punishment of the Fire.	1. يرب (sic) يحيى بن الزبير اد 2. خله الجنة برحمتك 3. وقه عذاب النار

No:23
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.

Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: persevered.

Translation	Text
1. O Lord of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr 2. favor him (Your protection) from the Fire.	1. يرب (sic) يحيى بن الزبير ا 2. كرمه عن النار

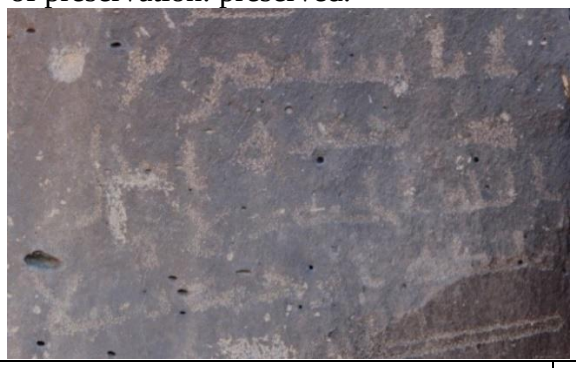
No:24
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

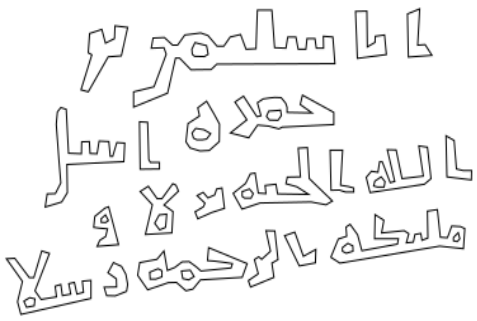
Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: Shaʿbān 207/ December 822/ January 823.
Text: 7 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Muḥammad 2. son of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād 3. and admit him to Paradise by/with Your mercy 4. and protect him 5. from the Fire, amen; and it was written in 6. Shaʿbān in the year seven and 7. two hundred years.	1. اللهم اغفر لمحمد 2. بن يحيى بن الزبير بن عباد 3. وادخله الجنة برحمتك 4. وقه عذاب 5. النار آمين وكتب في 6. شعبان سنة سبع وما 7. ئتي سنة

No:25
Graffito
Request for paradise

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

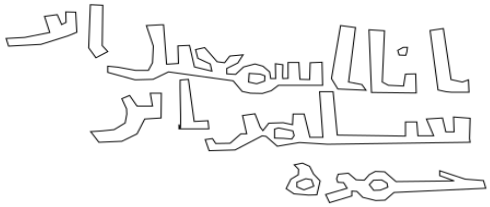




Translation	Text
1. I, Sulaymān son of	1. أنا سليمن (sic) بن
2. Ḥamza ask	2. حمزة أسل (sic)
3. God the paradise as accommodation	3. الله الجنة نزلا
4. and the angels of mercy as messengers.	4. وملئكة(sic) الرحمة رسلا

No:26
Graffito
Signature

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya fī," plate no 5.13b.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Ismāʿīl son of	1. أنا إسمعيل (sic) ابن
2. Sulaymān son of	2. سليمن (sic) ابن
3. Ḥamza.	3. حمزة

Diacritical dots

1. أنا

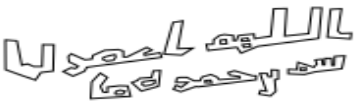
No:27
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, 2. forgive Hāshim 3. son of Ḥamza.	1. اللهم ا 2. غفر لهاشم 3. بن حمزة

No:28
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: incomplete.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Hāshim 2. son of Ḥamza what…	1. اللهم ا غفر لها 2. شم بن حمزة ما …

No:29
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: incomplete.

Translation	Text
1. O God, 2. forgive Hāshim 3.son of Ḥamza for what preceded…	1. اللهم ا 2. غفر لهاشم 3. بن حمزة له ما تقدم

3.1.3. The branch of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr

No:30
Graffito
Signature

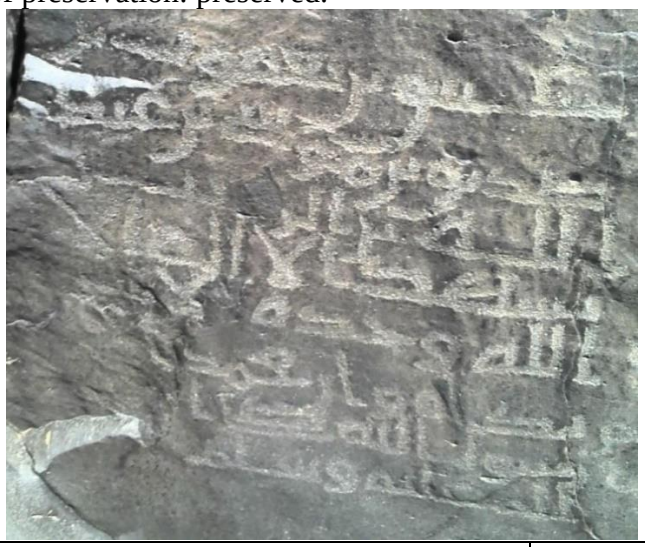
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of ʿAtīq son of 3. Ṣaddīq son of 4. Mūsā.	1. عبد الله 2. بن عتيق بن 3. صديق بن 4. موسى

No:31
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.

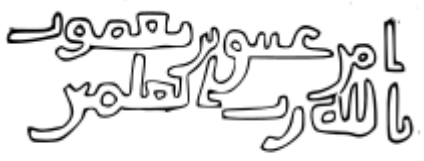
Dimension: around 40x35 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 8 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 91-93.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. ʿAtīq son of Yʿaqūb son of	1. عتيق بن يعقوب بن
2. Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā son of ʿAbd	2. صديق بن موسى بن عبد
3. Allāh son of al-Zubayr	3. الله بن الزبير
4. testifies that there is no god but	4. يشهد الا إله
5. God alone, without partner.	5. الله وحده لا شر
6. and that Muḥammad	6. يك له وأن محمدا
7. is the messenger of God. May God's blessings	7. رسول الله صلى ا
8. and be upon him.	8. لله عليه وسلم

No:32
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 40-41.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. ʿAtīq son of Yʿaqūb believes 2. in God, the Lord of the worlds.	1. آمن عتيق بن يعقوب 2. بالله رب العلمين(sic)

No:33
Graffito
Testify for Prophet

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 41.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad is the messenger 2. of God; and it was written by 3. ʿAtīq.	1. محمد رسو 2. ل الله وكتب 3. عتيق

No:34
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 39-41.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. ʿĀmir son of Yʿaqūb son of 2. Ṣaddīq in God trusts and seeks refuge (in Him).	1. عامر بن يعقوب بن 2. صديق بالله يثق ويعتصم

3.2. The branch of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr

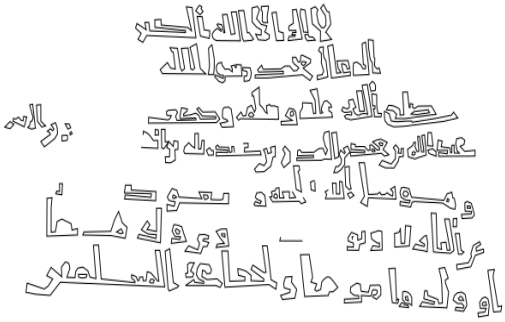
No:35
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Qāʿ Banī Mur, Ḥismā region of Tabūk.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/7th-8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished: The photo found in al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 232.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May my Lord forgive Bashīr, 2. the client of Mundhir son of al-Zubayr.	1. غفر ربي لبشير مو 2. لى منذر بن الزبير

No:36
Graffito
Confession &request for paradise

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th
Text: 7 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 4, 5 and 6.

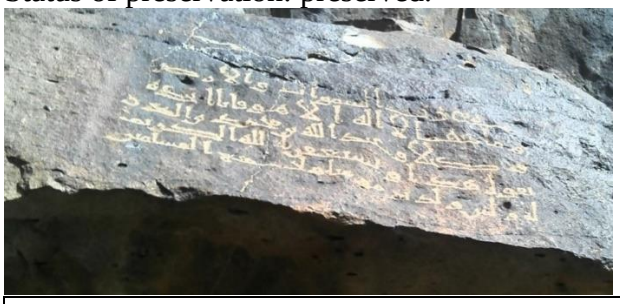


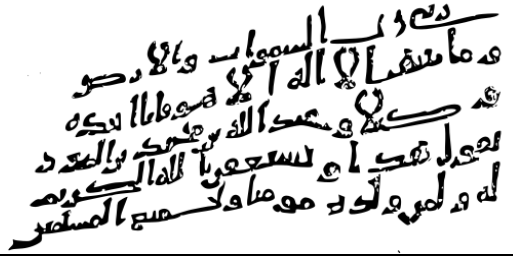
Translation	Text
1. There is no god but God the Grand, 2. the Exalted most high Muḥammad is the messenger of God.	1. لا إله إلا الله الكبير 2. المتعال محمد رسول الله 3. صلى الله عليه وسلم وكتب

3. May God’s blessing and peace be upon him; and it was written by 4. ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of [al-Mundhir] son of al-Zubayr 5. and he asks God for Paradise and seeks refuge in Him 6. from the Fire, to himself, his [parents], their children, 7. or whoever was born as a believer, and the Muslim people.	4. عبد الله بن محمد بن المنذر بن عبيد الله بن [المنذ]ر بن الزبير 5. وهو يسئل (sic) الل[ه ا]لجنة ويعوذه 6. من النار له ولو[الدية] ومن ولدهما 7. او ولدوا مؤمنا ولجماعة المسلمين

No:37
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 23x47 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 45-46.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. My Lord is the Lord of the heavens and the earth 2. and whatever is between them. There is no god but Him. I take him 3. as disposer of affairs. And ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir 4. says so/this, believing in God, the Generous, asking him to forgiveness 5. form himself, his descendants, and all Muslims.	1. ربي رب السموات والارض 2. وما بينهما لا إله الا هو فأنا اتخذه 3. وكيلا وعبد الله بن محمد بن المنذر 4. يقول هذا ويستغفر الله الكريم 5. له ولمن ولده مؤمنا ولجميع المسلمين

No:38
Graffito
Qurʾanic quotation

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 13x25 cm.

Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 22-23.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O my Lord, enable me to be grateful to Your favor which You have bestowed upon me 2. and upon my parents and to do righteousness of which You approve. And admit me by 3.Your mercy into (the ranks of) Your righteous servants. 4. and it was written by ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir and he seeks protection with God from the Fire.	1. رب أوزعني أن أشكر نعمتك التي أنعمت علي 2. وعلى والدي وأن أعمل صالحا ترضاه وادخلني بر 3. حمتك في عبادك الصالحين 4. و كتب عبدالله بن محمد بن المنذر وهو يستجير بكرم من الله من النار

No:39
Graffito
Confession

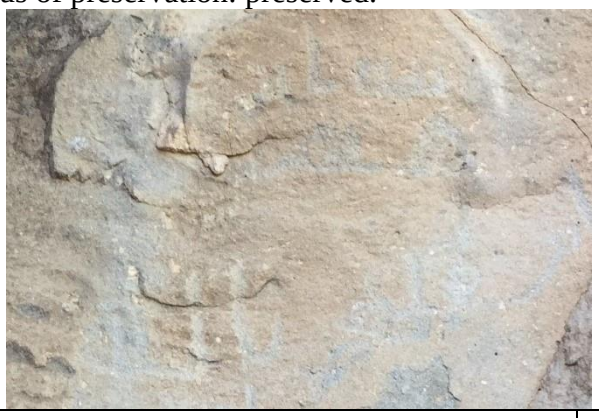
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: had not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. The matter completely belongs to God and all good is in His hand/and good is completely in His hand. 2. Upon Him relies ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir and seeks 3. refuge with Him and your protection from the evil of that which He created.	1. لله الأمر كله وبيده الخير كله 2. فعليه توكل عبد الله بن محمد بن المنذر وبه 3. اعتصم واستجار من شر ما خلق

No:40

Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of	1. ثقة إبر
2. Ibrāhīm	2. هيم(sic)
3. son of Falīḥ in God.	3. ابن فليح بالله

No:41
Graffito
Prayer for repentance

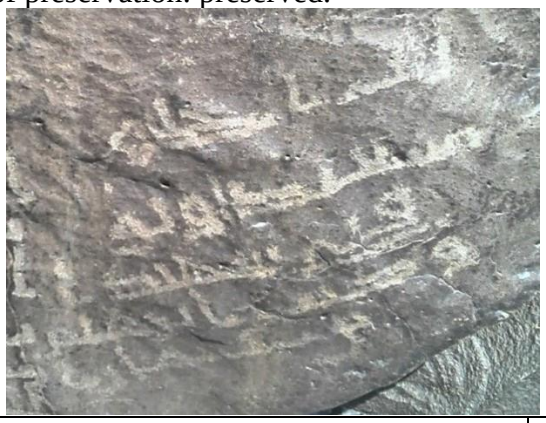
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 28-29.
Status of preservation: preserved.

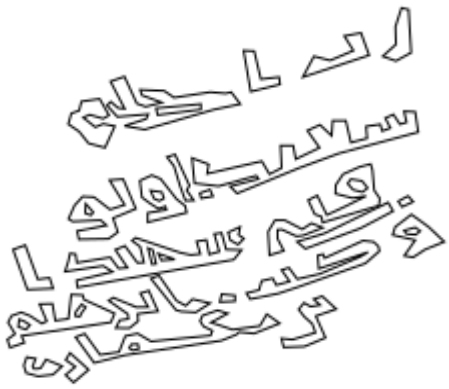
Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of ʿUmāra	1. تاب الله على عمارة
2. son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī	2. بن إبرهيم (sic) بن فليح الزبيري (sic)
3. before his death sincere repentance.	3. قبل موته توبة نصوحا

No:42
Graffito

Prayer for martyrdom

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. O my Lord, grant me a	1. رب أحييني
2. happy life and take me as a	2. سعيدا وتو
3. martyr in death;	3. فني شهيدا
4. and it was written by Ibrāhīm	4. وكتب إبرهيم (sic)
5. son of ʿUmāra.	5. بن عمارة

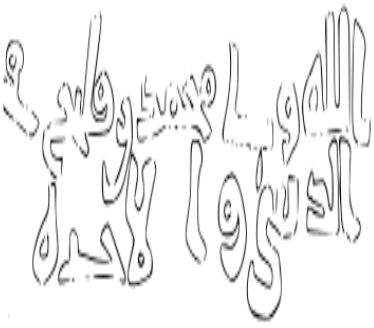
No:43
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 9 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in line 8.

Translation	Text
1. O God, 2. indeed Muḥammad son of 3. Falīḥ is your servant and the son 4. of your servant, and he 5. hopes for Your mercy and 6. fears Your punishment, 7. so protect him from the 8. punishment of the Fire.	1. اللهم 2. إن محمد بن 3. فليح عبدك وابن 4. عبدك ير 5. جو رحمتك و 6. يخاف عذا 7. بك فقه 8. عذاب الن[ا] 9.ر

No:44
Graffito
Profession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 70x20 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 32-33.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. God is the protector of Muḥammad son of Falīḥ in 2. this world and the Hereafter.	1. الله ولي محمد بن فليح في 2. الدنيى (sic) والآخرة

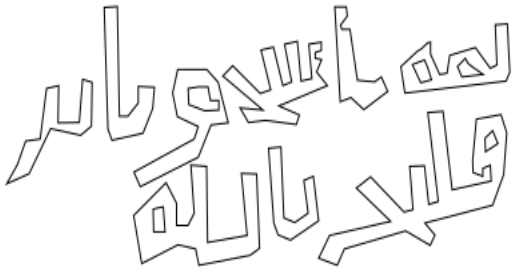
No:45
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Falīḥ 2. son of Muḥammad 3. believes in God 4. and His messenger.	1. إسحق (sic) بن فليح 2. بن محمد 3. يؤمن بالله 4. ورسوله

No:46
Graffito
Confession

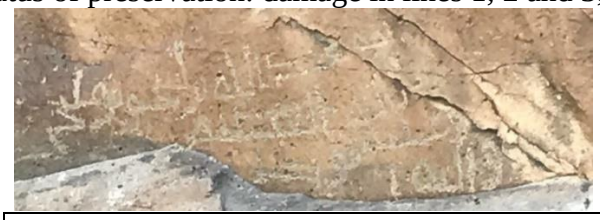
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1.The trust of Isḥāq son of 2. Falīḥ in God.	1. ثقة إسحق (sic) ابن 2. فليح بالله

No:47
Graffito
Confession

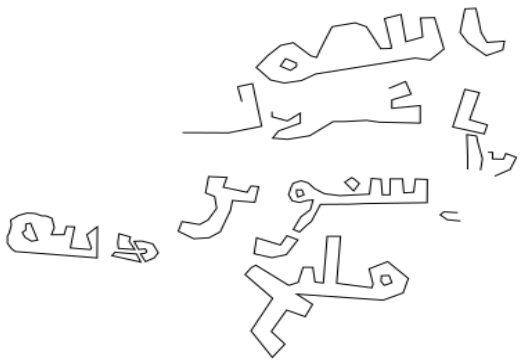
Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 1, 2 and 3, incomplete.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of ʿAbd Allāh son of Isḥāq son of Falīḥ 2. in God, the Great, 3. [and] upon Him he relies 4. and to God …	1. ثقة ع[ب]د الله بن إسحق(sic) بن فليح 2. بالل[ه] العظيم 3. [و]عليه توكل 4. واليه ا ...

No:48
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 2 and 3.

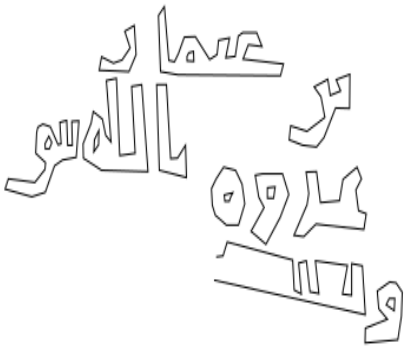


Translation	Text
1. O God, 2. forgive … 3. son of Isḥāq son of 4. Falīḥ his sins.	1. اللهم 2. اغ[ف]ر ل… 3. بن [إ]سحق (sic) بن 4. فليح ذنبه

3.3. The branch of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr

No:49
Graffito
Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 42-43.
Status of preservation: damage in line 3.

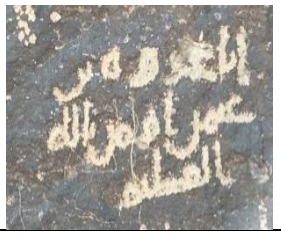


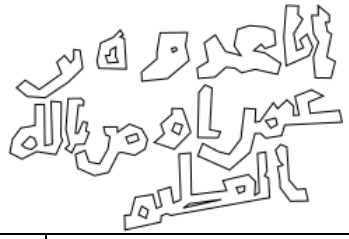
Translation	Text
1. ʿUthmān 2. son of ʿUrwa is trusts in God 3. and seeks refuge.	1. عثمان 2. بن عروة بالله يثق 3. ويعتص[م]

No:50
Graffito

Confession

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th-9th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.





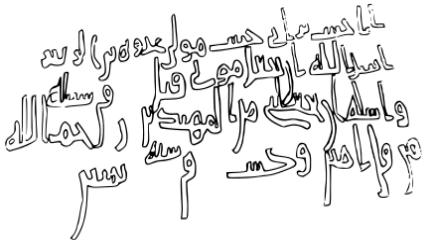
Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUrwa son of	1. أنا عروة بن
2. ʿUthmān, believe in God,	2. عثمن (sic) أؤمن بالله
3. the Great.	3. العظيم

No:51

Graffito

Prayer for martyrdom

Place: Qārat al-Ṣabgh, region of Tabūk.
Dimension: 190x40 cm.
Date: 80/ 699-700.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: Maysāʾ Ghabban, "*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*," 207.
Status of preservation: preserved.

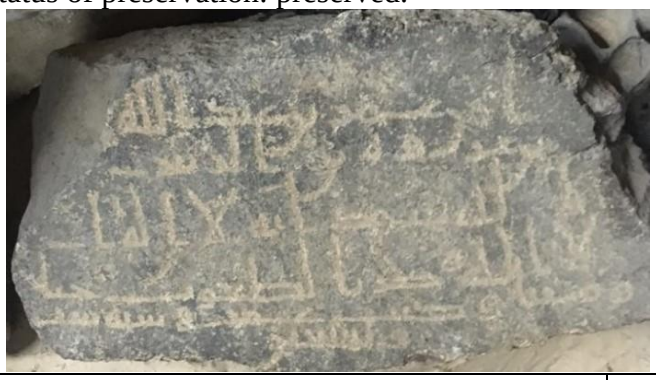


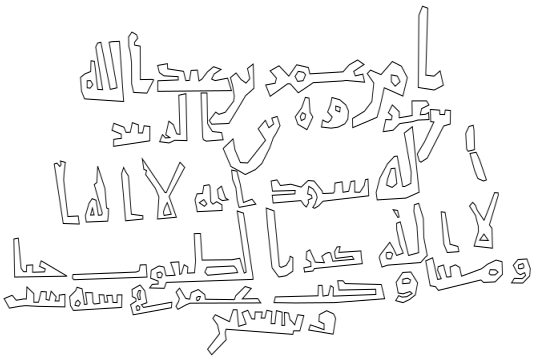
Translation	Text
1. I, Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb, the client of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr 2. ask God to make my death being killed in His path 3. and I ask him to make me from those guided. May God have mercy upon 4. whoever says amen; and it was written in the year eighty.	1. أنا حبيب بن أبي حبيب مولى عروة بن الزبير 2. أسل (sic) الله أن يجعل موتي قتل (sic) في سبيله 3. وأسأله أن يجعلني من المهتدين رحم الله 4. من قال أمين وكتب في سنة ثمنين

No:52

Graffito
Confession

Place: Khaybar, Matḥaf Khaybar li-Turāth al-Ābā wa-l-Ajdād, the orginal place was unkwon.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: 96/714-715.
Text: 6 lines.
Unpublished, photo by Jadid Al-Rabili.
Status of preservation: preserved.

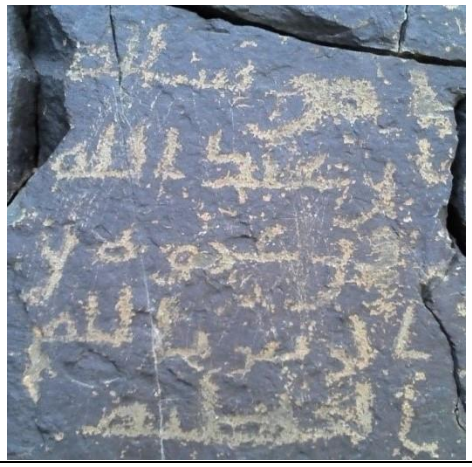




Translation	Text
1. ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr 3. believes in God and testifies that there is no god 4. but God. He disbelieves in /rejects evil power, alive 5. and dead, and it was written by ʿUmar in the year ninety 6. six.	1. آمن عمر بن عبد الله 2. بن عروة بن الزبير 3. اله (sic) يشهد أنه لا إله ا 4. لا الله كفر بالطاغوت حياً 5. وميتا وكتب عمر في سنة ست 6. وتسعين

No:53
Graffito
Confession

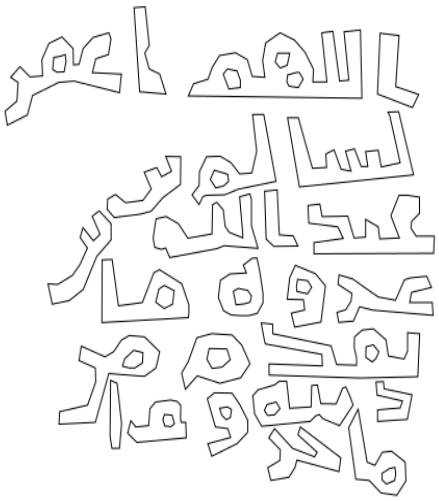
Place: Khfiya, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Sālim	1. آمن سالم
2. son of ʿAbd Allāh	2. ابن عبد الله
3. son of ʿUrwa son of	3. بن عروة بن
4. al-Zubayr believes in God,	4. الزبير بالله
5. the Great.	5. العظيم

No:54
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 7 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.

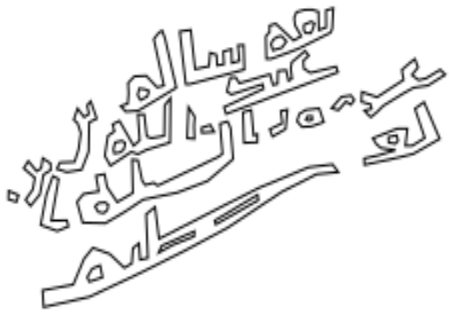


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Sālim son of	2. لسالم بن
3. ʿAbd Allāh son of	3. عبد الله بن

4. ʿUrwa what	4. عروة ما
5. preceded of his	5. تقدم من
6. sins and what will	6. ذنبه وما
7. follow.	7. تأخر

No:55
Graffito
Confession

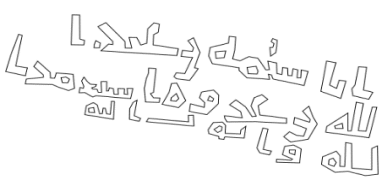
Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. The trust of Sālim son of	1. ثقة سالم بن
2. ʿAbd Allāh son of	2. عبد الله بن
3. ʿUrwa in God,	3. عروة بالله ا
4. the Great.	4. لعظيم

No:56
Graffito
Prayer forgiveness

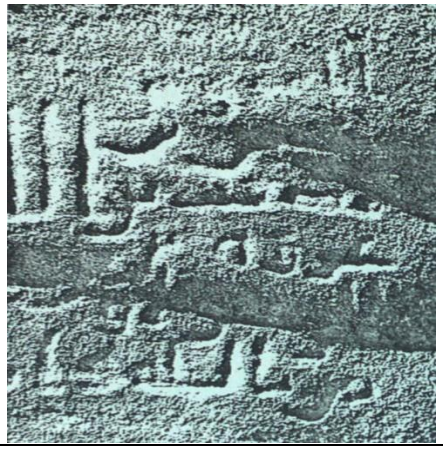
Place: Muzj, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, Salama son of ʿAbd 2. Allāh son of ʿUrwa ask forgiveness of God 3. and repent to Him.	1. أنا سلمة بن عبد ا 2. لله بن عروة أستغفر ا 3. لله وأتوب إليه

No:57
Graffito
Confession

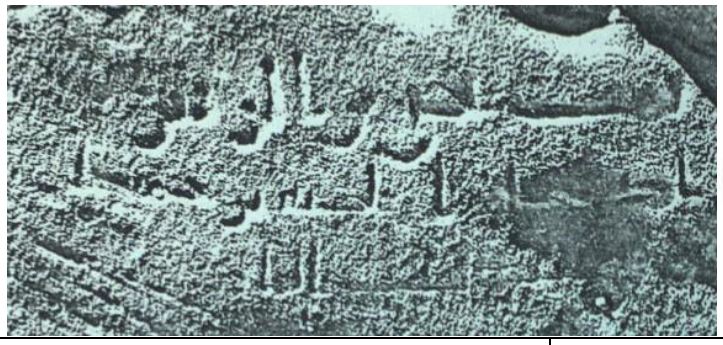
Place: al-Aqraʿ, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:35x45 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 6 lines.
Published by: al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya,* 244-245.
status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. I, 2. ʿUmar son of 3. Muṣʿab son of 4. ʿUrwa son of 5. al-Zubayr 6. believe in God.	1. أنا 2. عمر بن 3. مصعب بن 4. عروة بن 5. الزبير أؤ 6. من بالله

No:58
Graffito
Request for paradise

Place: al-Aqraʿ, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 50x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya,* 249-250.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O Lord of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr 2. admit him to Paradise by Your mercy 3. and protect him from the punishment of the Fire.	1. رب يحيى بن الزبير 2. ادخله الجنة برحمتك 3. وقه عذاب النار

No:59

Epitaph

Qurʾanic quotation

Place of discovery: al-Qāḥa, now preserved in the department of Antiquities and Museums Store, Medina.

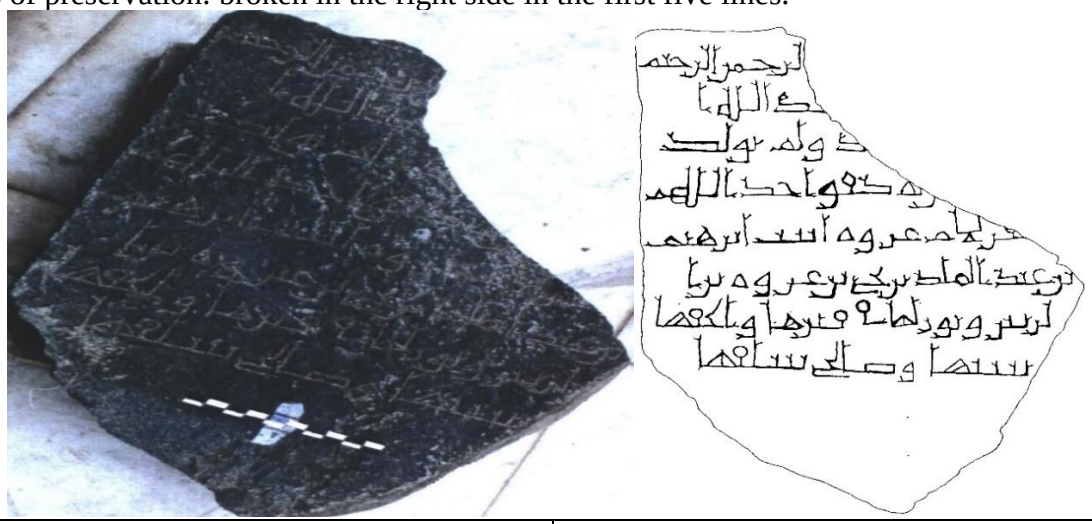
Dimension: 26x27 cm.

Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.

Text: 8 lines.

Published by: al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1:38-41.

Status of preservation: broken in the right side in the first five lines.



Translation	Text
1. [In the name of God,] the Compassionate the Merciful, 2. [Say, "He is God, who is One, God,] the 3. [Eternal Refuge He neither begets] nor is born, 4. [nor is there to] Him any equivalent. O God,	1. [بسم الله ا] لرحمن (sic) الرحيم 2. [قل هو الله أحـ]د الله ا 3. [لصمد لم يلـ] د ولم يولد 4. [ولم يكن لـ]ه كفو أحد اللهم 5. [اغفـ] ر لأم عروة ابنت إبراهيم 6. بن عبد الملك بن يحيى بن عروة بن ا

5. [forgive] Umm ʿUrwa, the daughter of lbrāhīm 6. son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of 7. al-Zubayr and shed light on her in her grave and join her 8. with her prophet and righteous forefathers.	7. لزبير ونور لها في قبرها والحقها 8. بنبيها وصالح سلفها

No:60

Epitaph

Qurʾanic prayer

Place of discovery: al-Qāḥa, now preserved in the department of Antiquities and Museums Store, Medina.

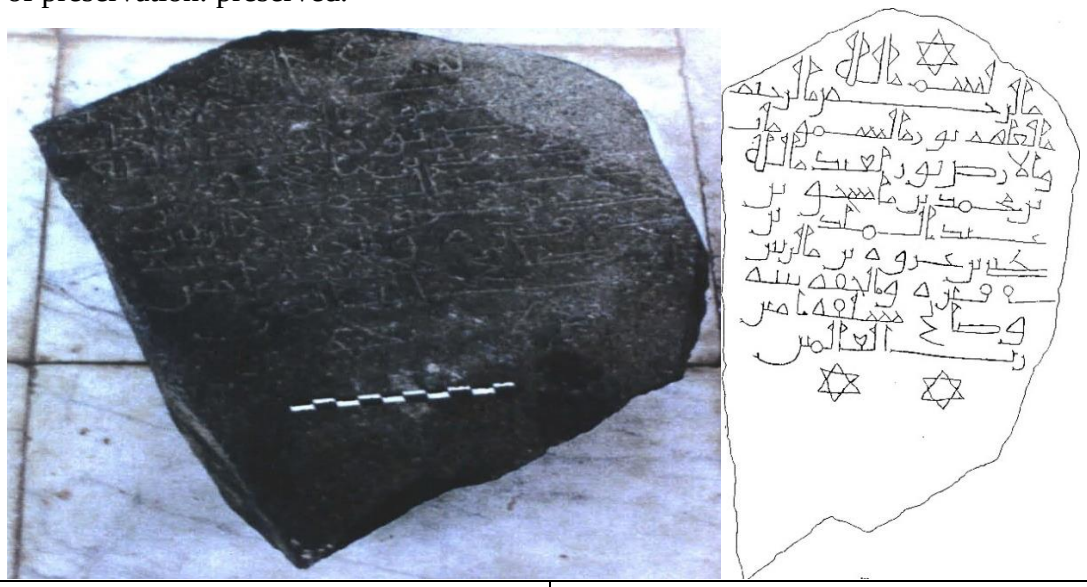
Dimension: 31x27cm.

Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.

Text: 9 lines.

Published by: al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1:42-45.

Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. In the name of God,	1. بسم الله
2. the Compassionate the Merciful	2. الرحمن (sic) الرحيم
3. O God, the heavens	3. اللهم نور السموات
4. and the earth, shed light on ʿAbd Allāh	4. والارض نور لعبد الله
5. son of Muḥammad son of Isḥāq son of	5. بن محمد بن إسحق بن
6. ʿAbd al-Malik son of	6. عبد الملك بن
7. Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	7. يحيى بن عروة بن الزبير
8. in his grave and join him with his Prophet	8. في قبره والحقه نبيه
9. and his righteous forefathers amen.	9. وصالح سلفه آمين

No:61

Epitaph

Qurʾanic quotation

Place of discovery: al-Qāḥa, now preserved in the department of Antiquities and Museums Store, Medina.

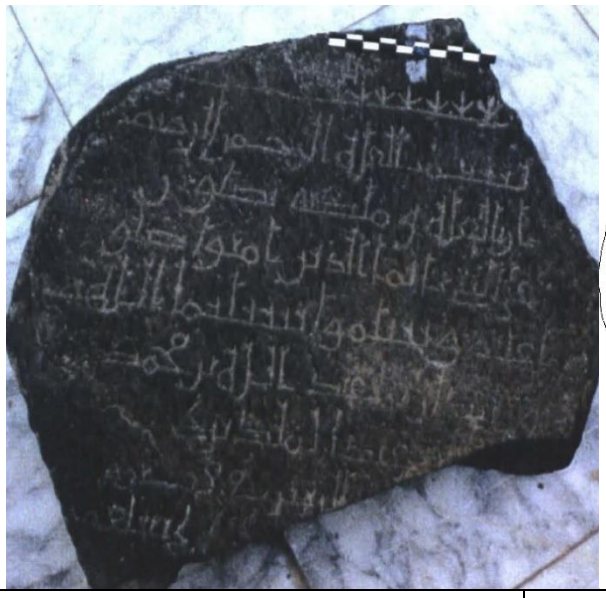
Dimension: 31x28 cm.

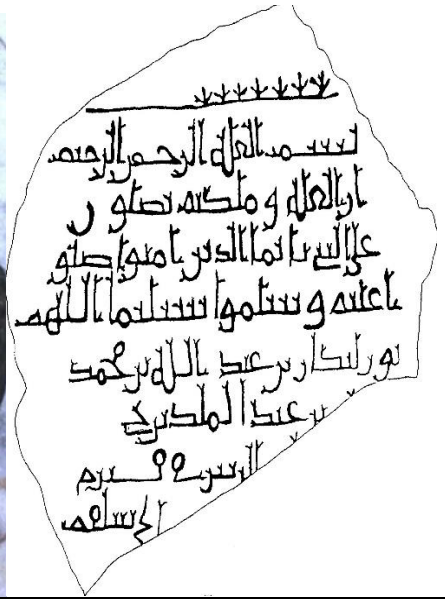
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.

Text: 8 lines.

Published by: al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*," 1: 46-48.

Status of preservation: broken in the right side in the last three lines.





Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الرحيم
2. Indeed, God confers blessing upon the Prophet, and His angels	2. إن الله وملكته يصلون
3. (ask Him to do so). O you who have believed,	3. على النبي يايها الذين امنو صلو
4. ask God to confer blessing upon him and ask God to grant him peace. O God,	4. ا عليه وسلموا تسليما اللهم
5. shed light on Bakkār son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad	5. نور لبكار بن عبد الله بن محمد
6. [son of Isḥāq] son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā	6. [بن إسحق] بن عبد الملك بن يحيى
4. [son of ʿUrwa son of] al-Zubayr in his grave	7. [بن عروة بن] الزبير في قبره
8. [and join him with his prophet and righteous] forefathers.	8. [والحقه نبيه وصـ]ـالح سلفه

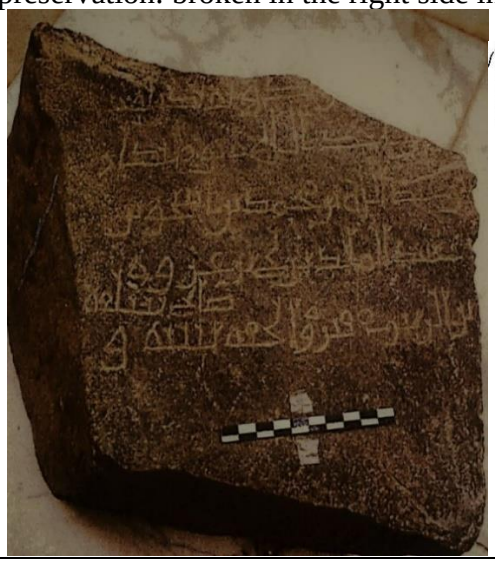
No:62

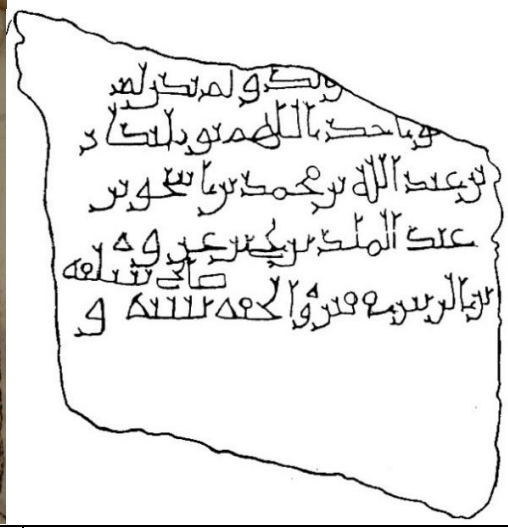
Epitaph

Qurʾanic quotation

Place of discovery: al-Qāḥa, now preserved in the department of Antiquities and Museums Store,

Medina.
Dimension: 16.5x23 cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 8 lines.
Published by: al-Moraekhi, "*A Critical and Analytical*,"1: 49-51.
Status of preservation: broken in the right side in the first five lines.





Translation	Text
1. [In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful,] 2. [Say, He is God,] 3. [(who is) One, God, the Eternal Refuge.] 4. [He neither begets] nor is born, nor is there to Him 5. [any equivalent.] O God, shed light on Bakkār 6. son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ishāq son of 7. ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa 8. son of al-Zubayr in his grave and join him with his prophet and righteous forefathers.	1. [بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الرحيم] 2. [قل هو الله أحد] 3. [الله الصمد لم] 4. [يلد ولم يـ]ـولد ولم يكن له 5. [كفـ]ـو أحد اللهم نور لبكار 6. بن عبد الله بن محمد بن إسحق بن 7. عبد الملك بن يحيى بن عروة 8. بن الزبير في قبره والحقه بنبيه وصالح سلفه

3.4. The branches of ʿAmr and Jaʿfar sons of al-Zubayr

No:63
Graffito
Signature

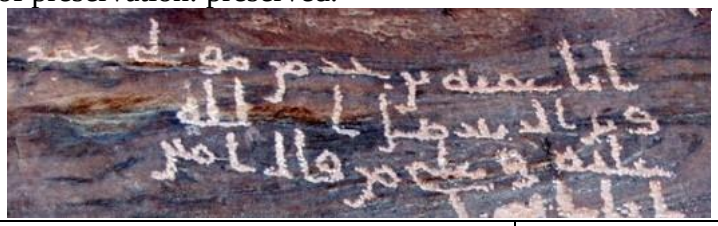
Place: Ḥismā region of Tabūk.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated 1st/7th.
Text: 1 line.

Unpublished, photo by ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Saʿīd, "Nuqūsh ṣakhriyya tuwaththiq alqāb al-ṣaḥāba," published June 20,2018, http://alsahra.org/?p=19752.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. I, ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr.	1. أنا عمرو بن الزبير

No:64
Graffito
Benediction

Place: Ḥismā region of Tabūk.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st/7th-8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished: The photo found in al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 14.
Status of preservation: preserved.

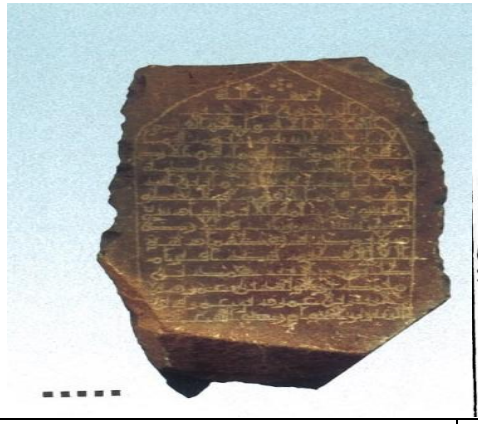


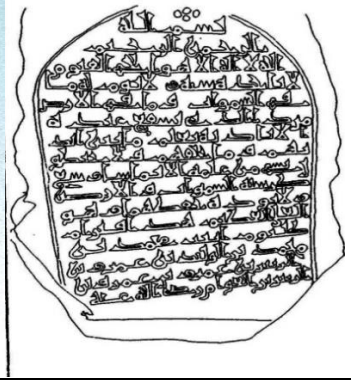
Translation	Text
1. I, ʿUqba son of Jarmān, the client of ʿAmr 2. son of al-Zubayr may God's blessing be upon 3. him and whoever says amen.	1. أنا عقبة بن جرمن(sic) مولى عمر 2. و بن الزبير صل الله 3. عليه وعلى من قال آمين

Commentary
The dot under the jīam it seems to me accidental, like the one between the wāw and the lām in the word mawlā.

No:65
Epitaph
Qurʾanic quotation

Place of discovery: al-Muʿallā cemetery, Mecca now preserved in Jeddah registered number 209.
Dimension: 32x49 cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 16 lines.
Published by: al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 152-154.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, 2. the Compassionate the Merciful, 3. God, there is no deity except Him, the Ever-Living, the Sustainer of (all) existence. 4. Neither drowsiness overtakes Him nor sleep. To Him belongs 5. whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. 6. Who is it that can intercede with Him except by 7. His permission? He knows what is (presently) before them and 8. what will be after them, and they encompass not 9. a thing of His knowledge except for what He wills. 10. His Kursi extends over the heavens and the earth, 11. and their preservation tires Him not. 12. And He is the Most High, the Most Great. This is the grave of Umm 13. Kulthūm, the daughter of Muḥammad son of 14. Muḥammad son of al-Walīd son of ʿAmr son of 15. al-Zubayr son of ʿAmr son of ʿ Amr son of 16. al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām may God be pleased with him.	1. بسم الله 2. الرحمن (sic) الرحيم 3. الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم 4. لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما 5. في السموات وما في الأرض 6. من ذا الذي يشفع عنده 7. الا بإذنه يعلم ما بين ايد 8. يهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطو 9. ن بشيئ من علمه الا بما شاء وسع 10. كرسيه السموات والأرض 11. ولايؤده حفظهما وهو 12. العلي العظيم هذا قبر أم 13. كلثوم ابنت محمد بن 14. محمد بن الوليد بن عمرو بن 15. الزبير بن عمرو بن عمرو بن 16. الزبير بن العوام رضي الله عنه.

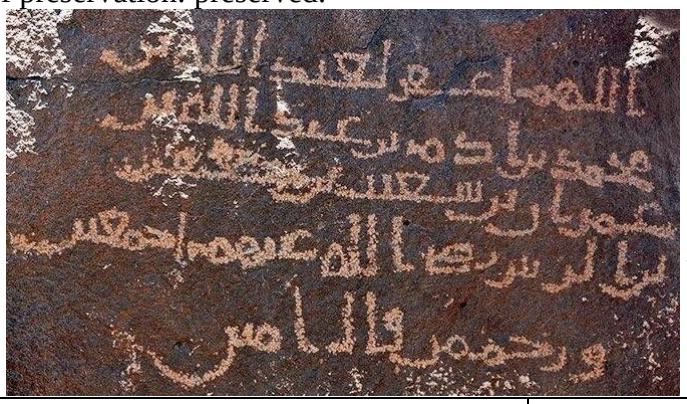
No:66

Graffito

Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Suwārqiyya, region of Medina.

Dimension:74x45 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th -9th.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *Darb zubayda ṭarīq*, 420-421.
Status of preservation: preserved.

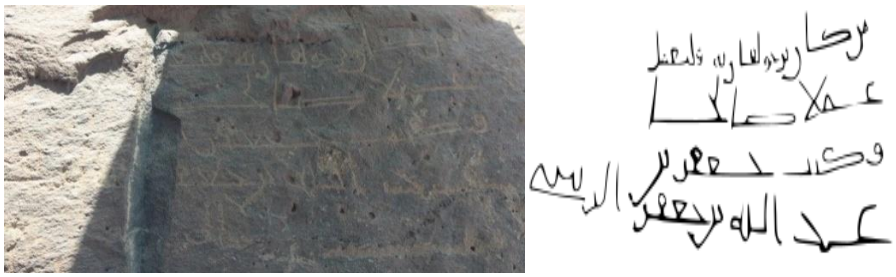


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive ʿAbd Allāh son of 2. Muḥammad son of Ādam son of ʿAbd Allāh son of 3. ʿImrān son of Shuʿayb son of Jaʿfar 4. son of al-Zubayr may God be pleased with them, all together, 5. and have mercy upon whoever says amen.	1. اللهم اغفر لعبدالله بن 2. محمد بن ادم بن عبد الله بن 3. عمران بن شعيب بن جعفر 4. بن الزبير رضي الله عنهم أجمعين 5. ورحم من قال آمين

3.5. Unidentified Zubayrids

No:67
Graffito
Qurʾanic quotation

Place: Ruwāwa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 25x35 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 26-28.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. So whoever would hope for the meeting of his Lord – 2. let him do righteous work. 3.and it was written by Jaʿfar son of 4. ʿAbd Allāh son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī.	1. من كان يرجو لقاء ربه فليعمل 2. عملاً صالحا 3. وكتب جعفر بن 4. عبد الله بن جعفر الزبيري

No:68

Graffito

Qurʾanic quotation

Place: Jabal al-Makaymin, region of Medina.

Dimension: has not been scaled.

Date: undated probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th.

Text: 6 lines.

Unpublished.

Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Say, He is God, (who is) One, God, 2. the Eternal Refuge. He neither begets 3. nor is born, nor is there to Him 4. any equivalent. And it was written by 5. Yaḥyā son of Yaḥyā 6. al-Zubayrī.	1. قل هو الله أحد ا 2. لله الصمد لم يلد 3. ولم يولد ولم يكن 4. له كفوا أحد وكتب 5. يحيى بن يحيى 6. الزبيري

No:69

Foundational

Place of discovery: Mahd ad- Dhahab, region of Medina, now preserved in the National museum Riyadh.

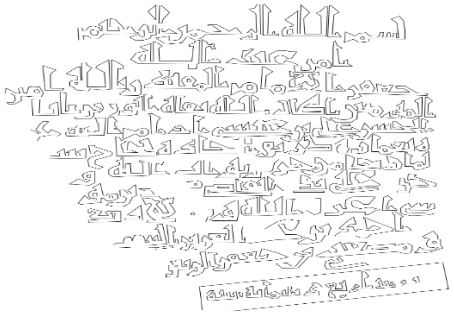
Dimension: 60x40 cm.

Date: 304 /916-917.

Text: 13 lines.

Published by: Miles, "ʿAli b. Īsā's," 479-481, correction by al-Rashid, *Darb zubayda ṭarīq*, 56-57.

Status of preservation: damage in line 10.



Translation	Text
1. In the name of God, the compassionate, the Merciful.	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الرحيم
2. ʿAbd Allāh	2. أمر عبد الله
3. Jaʿfar the Imām al-Muqtadir billāh, Commander of the	3. جعفر الإمام المقتدر بالله أمير
4. Faithful, may God prolong his life, ordered the vizier, Abū	4. المؤمنين أطال الله بقاءه الوزير أبا
5. al-Ḥasan ʿAlī son of ʿĪsā, may God perpetuate his glory,	5. الحسن علي بن عيسى أدام الله عز
6. to build the avenue for the pilgrims of the House of God	6. ه بعمارة طريق الجادة لحاج بيت الله
7. with the hope of meriting the rich reward of God, and	7. لما رجا من جزيل ثواب الله و
8. (this work) was administered by the judge Muḥammad son of Mūsā	8. جرى على يدي القاضي محمد بن مو
9. may God grant him glory, and undertaken by	9. سى أعزه الله تولى ذلك
10. Abū Aḥmad son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Thaqa[f]ī	10. أبوأحمد بن عبد العزيز الثق[ف]ي
11. and Muṣʿab son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayr	11. ومصعب بن جعفر الزبير
12. ī	12.ي
12. in the year 304 years.	13. في سنة أربع وثلثمائة سنة

No:70

Epitaph

Qurʾanic prayer

Place: ʿAsham cemetery, southern Mecca.

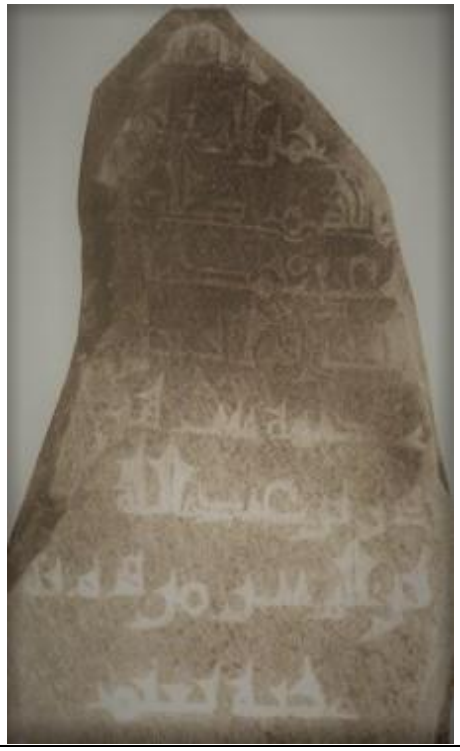
Dimension: 30x16 cm.

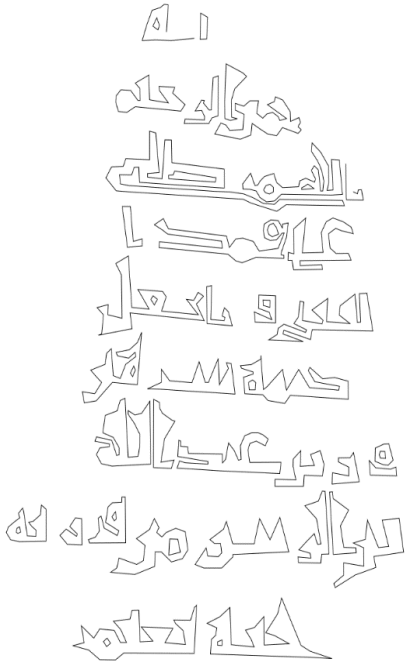
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.

Text: 9 lines.

Published by: al-Zaylaʿī, "*The Southern Area*," 315-317; al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ʿasham*, 251.

Status of preservation: damage in lines 1,2,4 and 6.





Translation	Text
1. [in the name of God]	1. [بسم ال]له
2. [the] Compassionate, the Merciful	2. [الر] حمن (sic) الرحيم
3. O God, bless Muḥammad, the	3. اللهم صلي
4. Prophet, and place	4. على محمد [ال]
5. and make [Ḥakīma,] the daughter of	5. نبي، واجعل
6. Hārūn son of ʿAbd Allāh	6. [حكيمة] بنت هر
7. son of al-Zubayr among the inheritors of	7. ون (sic) بن عبد الله
8. of the Garden	8. بن الزبير من ورثة
9. of Pleasure.	9. جنة نعيم (sic)

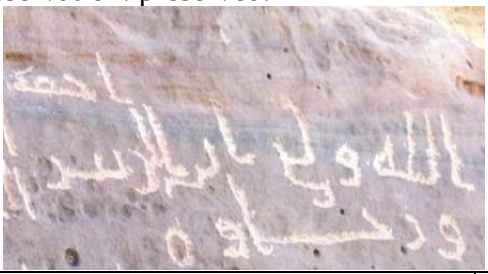
No:71
Epitaph
Request for paradise

Place: ʿAsham cemetery, southern Mecca.
Dimension: 30x16 cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 7 lines.
Published by: al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ʿasham*, 251.
Status of preservation: damage in lines 4, 5, 6 and 7.

Translation	Text
1. In the Name of God, the 2. Compassionate, the Merciful. O God, 2. bless Muḥammad, 4. the Prophet, and make Ḥakīma, 5. the daughter of [Hār]ūn son of ʿAbd 6. [A]llāh son of al-Zubayr among the 7.[companions] of [Muḥ]amma[d] in [the paradise].	1. بسم الله الر 2. حمن (sic) الرحيم اللهم 3. صلي على محمد ا 4. [ل]نبي واجعل حكيمة 5. بنت [هر]ون(sic) بن عبد 6. [ا]لله بن الزبير من ر 7. [رفقا مح]م[د] في ا[لجنة]

No:72
Graffito
Profession

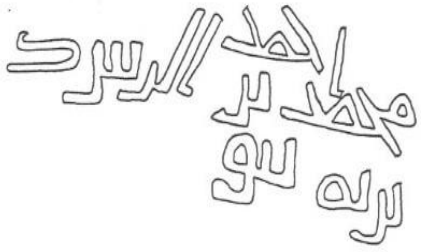
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: Had not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Unpublished, photo by ʿAbd Allāh al-Saʿīd, "Riḥlat wādī al-qurā (2): dhikrayāt al-wādyyain fī shuʿayb abū ʿūd," November 28, 2016, http://alsahra.org/?p=15546.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. God is the protector of son of al-Zubayr Aḥmad 2. and his hope.	1. الله ولي ابن الزبيرأحمد 2. ورجاؤه

No:73
Graffito
Confession

Place: Umm Daraj, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 76x25 cm
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 392-393.
status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Zubayrī 2. trust in his Lord.	1. محمد بن أحمد الزبيري 2. بربه يثق

No:74
Graffito
Confession

Place: Umm Daraj, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 45x45 cm.
Date: 296/908-909.
Text: 5 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 60-61.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. ʿAbd Allāh 2. son of Muḥammad al-Zubriyyn trusts in God, 3. and this inscription was written 4. in the year two hundred 5. ninety-six.	1. بالله يثق عبد الله 2. بن محمد الزبيريين 3. وكتب هذا الكتاب 4. في سنة ست 5. وتسعين ومائتين

No:75
Graffito

Confession

Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: first line 35 cm, second line 64 cm.
Date: undated probably 3rd/9th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 120-121.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Abū al-Zubayr son of Ibrāhīm 2. son of Muṣʿab trusts in God.	1. أبو الزبير بن إبرهيم (sic) 2. بن مصعب يثق بالله

No:76
Graffito
Confession

Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 7x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 126-127.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī 2. trusts in his Lord.	1. إسحق (sic) بن مصعب بن إسحق (sic) بن جعفر الزبيري 2. يثق بربه

No:77
Graffito
Request for paradise

Place: Umm Daraj, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:70x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 64-65.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī 2. entreats God for Paradise.	1. إسحق (sic) بن مصعب الزبيري 2. يسل (sic) الله الجنة برجاه

No:78
Graffito
Confession

Place: Umm Daraj, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:65x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 62-63.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab believes 2. believes in the One, the Eternal Refuge, the Lord.	1. آمن إسحق (sic) بن مصعب 2. بالواحد الصمد الرب

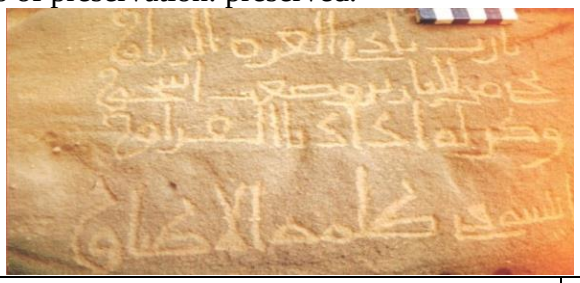
No:79
Graffito
Confession

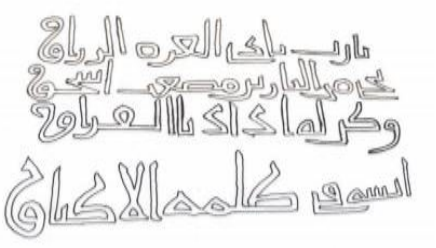
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 90 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text:1 line.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 122-123.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. God is the trust of Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī and his helper.	1. الله ثقة إسحق (sic) بن مصعب الزبيري وناصره

No:80
Graffito
Prayer for mercy

Place: *Abū ʿŪd*, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:70x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 130-132.
Status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. O Lord, Owner of Might, the Provider, 2. save son of Muṣʿab Isḥāq from the Fire 3. and be, when death approaches (him), his 4. delight in the darkness of the grave.	1. يارب يا ذي العزة الرزاق 2. نجي من النار بن مصعب إسحق(sic) 3. وكن له إذا دنا الفراق 4. آنسه في ظلمة الإطباق

No:81
Graffito
Confession

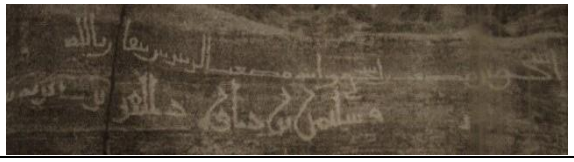
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: first line 80 cm Second line 52cm
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 124-125.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq al-Zubayrī and his son Muṣʿab 2. trust in God.	1. إسحق (sic) بن مصعب بن إسحق (sic) الزبيري و ابنه مصعب 2. يثقان بالله

No:82
Graffito
Confession

Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā
Dimension:116x42 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.

Text: 2 lines.
Published by: Ghabban, “Fuwayq mawrid,” 174.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son Isḥāq and his son Muṣʿab al-Zubriyyn are trust in God, 2. and Sulaymān son of Dāwūd al-ʿAzīzī trusts in his Lord.	1. إسحق (sic) بن مصعب بن إسحق (sic) وابنه مصعب الزبيريين يثقان بالله 2. وسليمن (sic) بن داود العزيزي بربه يثق

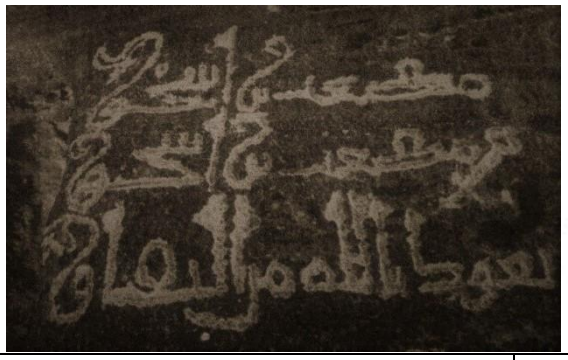
No:83
Graffito
Confession

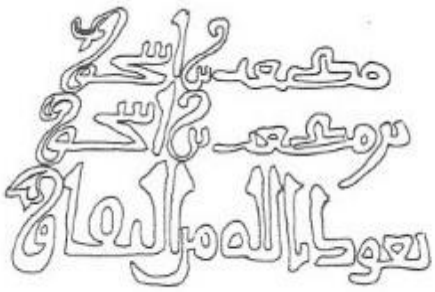
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 45x35 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Shammarī, *al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya*, 128-129.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. And Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq 2. son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq 3. al-Zubayrī a submissive slave to a majestic protector.	1. ومصعب بن إسحق (sic) 2. بن مصعب بن إسحق (sic) 3. الزبيري عبد ذليل لمولا جليل

No:84
Graffito
Request to seeks refuge from hypocrisy

Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:75x20 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: Ghabban, “Fuwayq mawrid,” 175.
status of preservation: preserved.





Translation	Text
1. Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq	1. مصعب بن إسحق (sic)
2. son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq	2. بن مصعب بن إسحق (sic)
3. seeks refuge in God from hypocrisy.	3. يعوذ بالله من النفاق

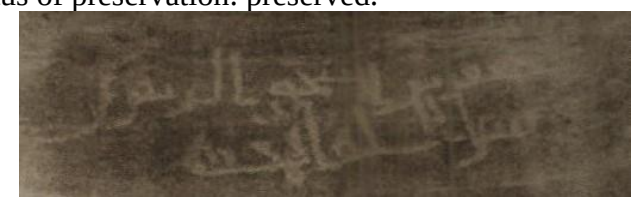
No:85
Graffito
Request for paradise

Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:75x20 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 1 line.
Published by: Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid," 176.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq al-Zubayrī asks his lord for paradise.	1. مصعب بن إسحق (sic) الزبيري يسل (sic) ربه الجنة

No:86
Graffito
Request for paradise

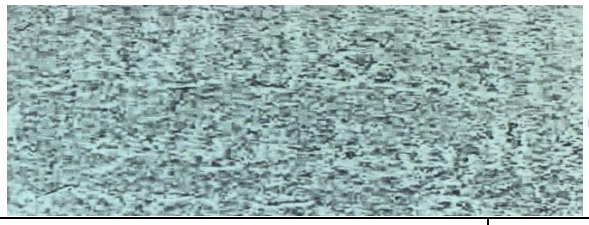
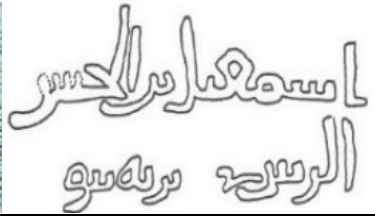
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension: 55x27 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid," 176.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Jaʿfar son of Isḥāq al-Zubayrī 2. asks God for the paradise.	1. جعفر بن إسحق (sic) الزبيري 2. يسل (sic) الله الجنة

No:87
Graffito
Confession

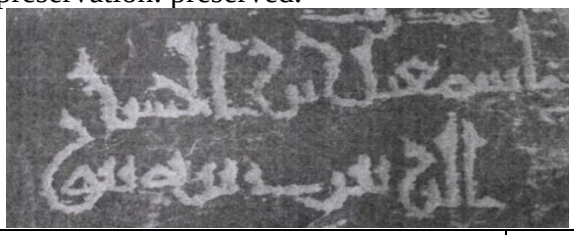
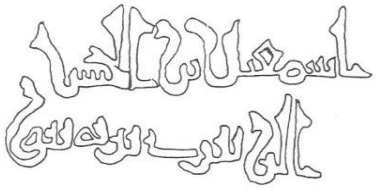
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:95x33cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya,*291-292.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Ismāʿīl son of al-Ḥasan 2. al-Zubayrī trusts in his Lord.	1. إسمعيل (sic) بن الحسن 2. الزبيري بربه يثق

No:88
Graffito
Confession

Place: Umm Daraj, region of al-ʿUlā.
Dimension:70x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: Ghabban, "Fuwayq mawrid," 173.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. Ismāʿīl son of al-Ḥasan 2. al-Zubayrī trusts in his Lord.	1. إسمعيل (sic) بن الحسن 2. الزبيري بربه يثق

No:89
Graffito
Request for paradise

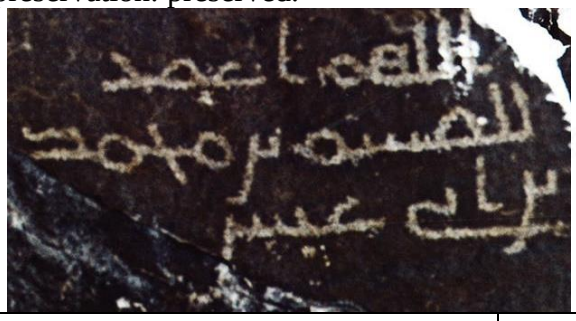
Place: Abū ʿŪd, region of al-ʿUlā.

Dimension:115x32 cm.
Date: Undated probably 4th/10th.
Text: 1 line.
Published by: Ghabban, “Fuwayq mawrid,” 177.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. ʿAbd Allāh son of Ismāʿīl al-Zubayrī his Lord him to Paradise.	1. عبد الله بن إسمعيل (sic) الزبيري يسل (sic) ربه الجنة.

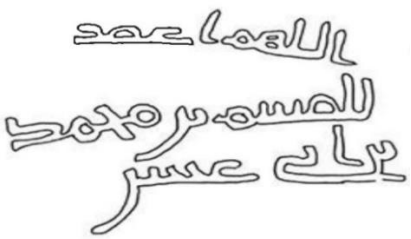
4. The inscriptions of the descendants of Abū ʿAbs

No:1
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 70x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 104.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive 2. al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad 3. son of Abū ʿAbs.	1. اللهم اغفر 2. للقسم (sic) بن محمد 3. بن أبي عبس

No:2
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 65x55 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Anṣārī, *Bayna al-āthār*, 138; and al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 158.
Status of preservation: preserved.

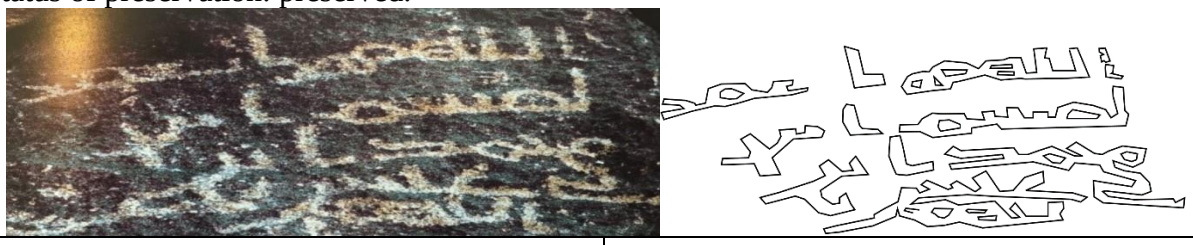


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive 2. al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad	1. اللهم اغفر 2. للقسم (sic) بن محمد

3. son of Abū ʿAbs.	3. بن أبي عبس

No:3
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 75x75 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 152.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1.O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Qāsim son of	2. لقسم (sic)ابن ا
3.Muḥammad son of	3. محمد ابن
4.Abū ʿAbs.	4. بي عبس

No:4
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

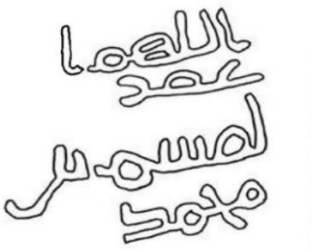
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Unpublished: the photo found in al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 152.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم غفر (sic)
2. Qāsim son of Muḥammad	2. لقسم (sic) ابن محمد
3. son of Abū ʿAbs.	3. ابن أبي عبس

Commentary
The inscriber miss the *alif* in the word *ighfir*.

No:5
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

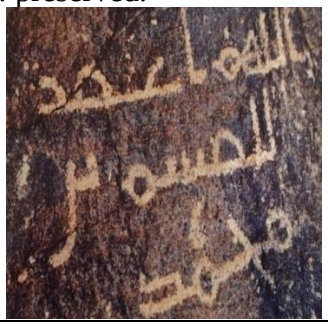
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 50x40 cm.
Date: Undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 240.
Status of preservation: preserved.

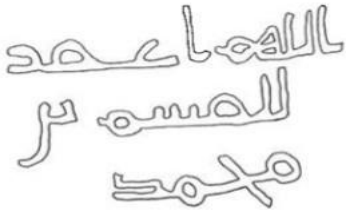


Translation	Text
1. O God,	1. اللهم ا
2. forgive	2. غفر
3. Qāsim son of	3. لقسم (sic) بن
4. Muḥammad.	4. محمد

No:6
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 70x50 cm with inscription no:11.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 292.
Status of preservation: preserved.



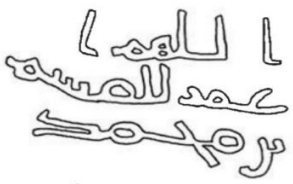


Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. al-Qāsim son of	2. للقسم (sic) بن
3. Muḥammad.	3. محمد

No:7
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.

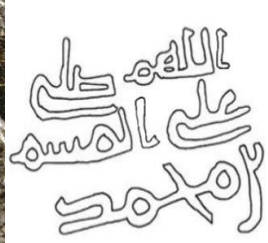
Dimension: 50x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 225.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, 2. forgive al-Qāsim 3. son of Muḥammad.	1. اللهم ا 2. غفر للقسم (sic) 3. بن محمد

No:8
Graffito
Benediction

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 129.
Status of preservation: preserved.

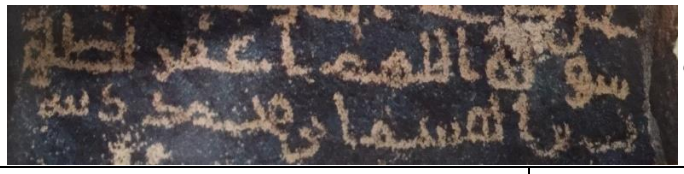


Translation	Text
1. O God, bless 2. al-Qāsim 3. son of Muḥammad.	1. اللهم صلي 2. على القسم (sic) 3. بن محمد

No:9
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 100x55 cm with another inscription.

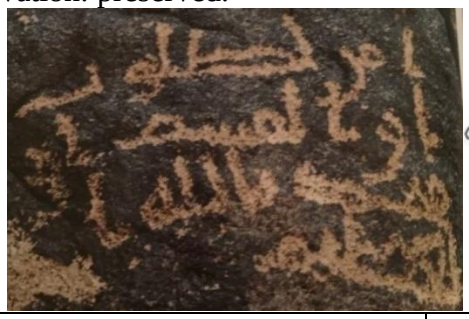
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 298.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Ṭālūt 2. son of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad his sins.	1. اللهم اغفر لطلو 2. ت (sic) بن القسم (sic) ابن محمد ذنبه

No:10
Graffito
Confession

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 45x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 301.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. Ṭālūt 2. son of al-Qāsim son of 3. Muḥammad believes in God, the 4. Great.	1. آمن لطلوت (sic) 2. ابن القسم (sic) ابن 3. محمد بالله 4. العظيم

No:11
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 50x70 cm with inscription no: 4.6.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 292.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive 2. Ṭālūt son of al-Qāsim.	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لطلوت (sic) ابن القسم(sic)

No:12
Graffito
Prayer for repentance
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 120x80 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 276.
Status of preservation: preserved.

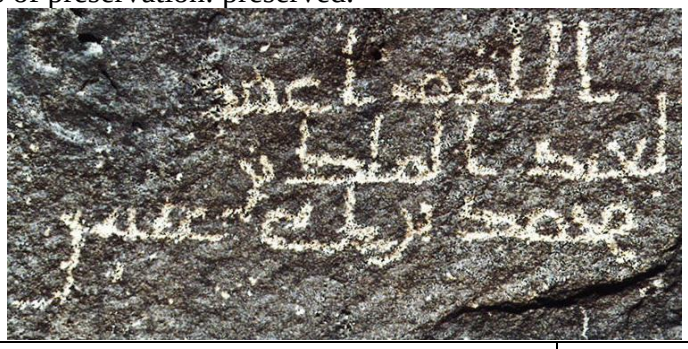
Translation	Text
1. May God accept the repentance of 2. Ṭālūt 3. son of al-Qāsim.	1. تاب الله على 2. طلوت (sic) 3. بن القسم (sic)

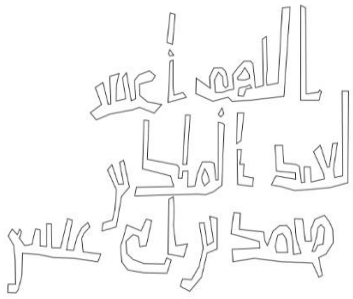
No:13
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 65x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 307.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God,	1. اللهم ا
2. forgive ʿAbd	2. غفر لعبد
3. al-Malik son of Muḥammad son of	3. الملك بن محمد بن
4. Abū ʿAbs.	4. أبي عبس

No:14
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 80x30 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 105.
Status of preservation: preserved.

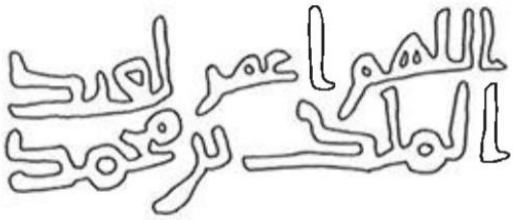




Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. ʿAbd al-Malik son of	2. لعبد الملك بن
3. Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs.	3. محمد بن أبي عبس

No:15
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

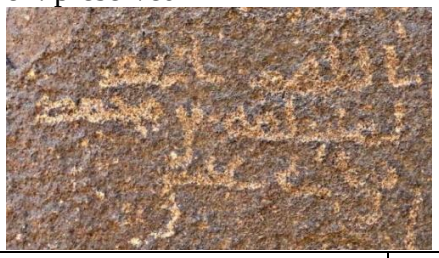
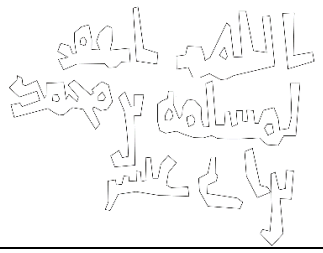
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 30x90 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 233.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive ʿAbd 2. al-Malik son of Muḥammad.	1. اللهم اغفر لعبد 2. الملك بن محمد

No:16
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 40x45 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 342, photo by Mohammed Almoghathawi.
Status of preservation: preserved

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive 2. Maslama son of Muḥammad 3. son of Abū ʿAbs.	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لمسلمة بن محمد 3. بن أبي عبس

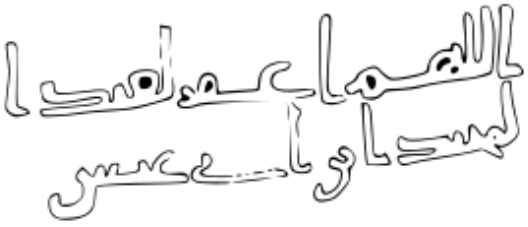
No:17
Graffito
Benediction

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 106.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. May God’s blessing be	1. صلوت (sic) الله
2. upon ʿAbd al-Majīd	2. على عبد المجد(sic)
3. son of Abū ʿAbs.	3. ابن أبي عبس

No:18
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

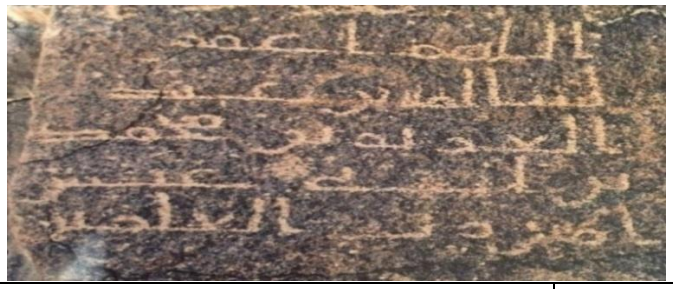
Place: Wādī Ḍubūʿa, region of Medina.
Dimension: 54x15 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 115.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive ʿAbd	1. اللهم اغفر لعبد
2. al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs.	2. المجيد بن أبي عبس

No:19
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 70x50 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 5 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 288.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Sālim son of ʿAbd	2. لسالم بن عبد
3. al-ʿAzīz son of Muḥammad	3. العزيز بن محمد
4. son of Abū ʿAbs.	4. بن أبي عبس
5. Amen, Lord of the worlds.	5. آمين رب العلمين (sic)

No:20

Graffito

Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.

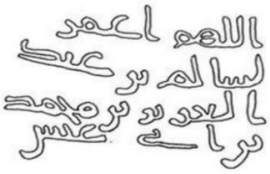
Dimension: 40x45 cm

Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.

Text: 4 lines.

Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 342.

Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Sālim son of ʿAbd	2. لسالم بن عبد
3. al-ʿAzīz son of Muḥammad	3. العزيزبن محمد
4. son of Abū ʿAbs.	4. بن أبي عبس

No:21

Graffito

Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.

Dimension: 60x30 cm.

Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.

Text: 3 lines.

Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 358.

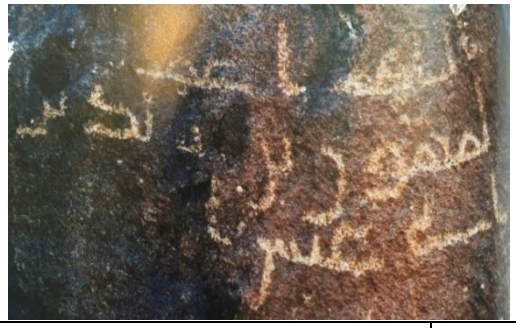
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Sālim son of ʿAbd	2. لسالم بن عبد
3. al-ʿAzīz son of Muḥammad.	3. العزيز بن محمد

No:22
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension: 50x40 cm.
Date: undated probably 2nd/8th.
Text: 4 lines.
Published by: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 232.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1.O God,	1. اللهم ا
2. forgive Sālim	2. غفر لسا
3. son of ʿAbd	3. لم بن عبد
4. al-ʿAzīz.	4. العزيز

No:23
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness
Place: al-Ṣuwaydira, region of Medina.
Dimension:100x50 cm.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 3 lines.
Republished, first publication: al-Rashid, *al-Ṣuwaydira (al-ṭaraf qadīman)*, 215.
Status of preservation: preserved.



Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive	1. اللهم اغفر
2. Maymūn son of Zayd son of	2. لميمون بن زيد بن
3. Abū ʿAbs.	3. أبي عبس

No:24
Graffito
Prayer for forgiveness

Place: al-Sāībiyya, region of Medina.
Dimension: has not been scaled.
Date: undated probably 1st-2nd/8th.
Text: 2 lines.
Republished, first publication: Askūbī et al., "al-Musūḥāt al-athariyya," 120.
Status of preservation: preserved.

Translation	Text
1. O God, forgive Maymūn	1. اللهم اغفر لميمو
2. son of Zayd son of Abū ʿAbs.	2. ن بن زيد بن أبي عبس

Appendix One: Dated inscriptions to the first fifty years of Hijra

The number of known dated Arabic inscriptions dating to the first fifty years of the Hijra from Arabia has been growing steadily over the last decades. It is clear that the peninsula hosts the largest number of early inscriptions. Below is an overview of the dated inscriptions published. The first column contains the name of the person who produced the inscription or in whose name this was done. Some inscriptions contain additional names for example as part of the dating formula, but those are not mentioned in this column. The second column contains the date as it appears in the inscription including the absolute year as well as any information given in the inscription about historical events related to the date. For the inscriptions dated to historical events I have noted the date as it appears in the inscription adding between brackets what absolute years it corresponds with when no year is mentioned in the inscription. The third column tells where the inscription is or was located. Finally, the last column gives the bibliographical reference of where the inscription was published.

Name	Date	Place	Publication
Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥārith, the salve boy of ʿAbd Allāh son of Sabʿ	Around the time when Abū Masʿūd was in jail/ imprsioned, (between 20-22/ 640-643)	Ḥismā	al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 21.
Salama	23/643-644	Yanbuʿ	Kawatoko, "Archaeological Survey," 52
Zuhayr	Around the time when (caliph) ʿUmar died in the year 24/ 644-645	Qāʿ al-Muʿtadil	Ghabban and Hoyland, "The inscription," 211.
al-Ḥārith son of Bawlā, the client of ʿAbd Allāh son of Sabʿ	When Egypt rebelled/was attacked, (25/645–646)	Ḥismā	al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 21.

ʿAmmār son of Jazāʾ al-Laythī	In the year when the sea was conquered, (between 27-29/647-650)	Ḥismā	al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 22.
ʿAmr son of Rabīʿa al-Thaqafī	In the year of Afrcia, (between 27-29/647-650)	Ḥismā	al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 23.
Yazīd son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Salūlī	Jumādā 29/January-March 650	Najrān	Kawatoko, Tokunaga, and M Lizuka, *Ancient and Islamic*, 9-10.
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khayr al-Ḥajrī	Jumādā al-Thānī 31 /January -February 652	Egypt	el-Hawary, "The Most Ancient," 322.
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ	40/660-661	Mecca	Sharafaddin, "Some Islamic," 69-70
Shurayḥ the client of Banī ʿUday	43/663-664	Ḥismā	al-Saʿīd et al., *Nuqūsh ḥismā*, 14.
ʿAbd Allāh son of Dayrām	Muḥarram 4, 46/ March16, 666	Najrān	Grohmann, *Expédition Philby-Ryckmans- Lippens*, 124.

Appendix Two: Re-editions of inscriptions

For information about the publication of these inscriptions, see the edition in Part Two. The corrections made to the edition princeps are indicated below the table.

First edition	Current edition	No
1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الر 2. حيم اللهم إذا جمعت 3. الأولين والأخرين لميقا 4. ت يوم معلوم فاجعل 5. حارث بن محمد بن 6. هشام بن المغيرة بن عبد 7. الله بن عبد الله بن عبد 8. الرحمن بن الحرث(sic) بن هشا 9. م المخزومي من الأمنين	1. بسم الله الرحمن (sic) الر 2. حيم اللهم إذا جمعت 3. الأولين والأخرين لميقا 4. ت يوم معلوم فاجعل 5. حارث بن محمد بن 6. هشام بن المغيرة بن عبد 7. الله بن عبيد الله بن عبد 8. الرحمن بن الحرث(sic) بن هشا 9. م المخزومي من الأمنين	1.9

7. عبيد الله

First edition	Current edition	No
1. هذا مجلس عمله عبيد الله ابن 2. سلمة رزق الله من جلس فيه من المؤ 3. منين وشكر الله كثيرا 4. وكتب عبد الحميد بن عثمان	1. هذا مجلس عمله عبيد الله ابن بي (sic) 2. سلمة رزق الله من جلس فيه من المؤ 3. منين وشكر الله كثيرا 4. وكتب عبد الحميد بن عثمان	2.22

1. The publisher did not read the last word in the line.

First edition	Current edition	No
1. اللهم عافي سليم بن 2. حفص بن عاصم بن حفص ا 3. صدقه في الدنيا والآ 4. خرة ويوم يموت ويو 5. م يبعث حيا وعافيه 6. في دينه وفي جسد 7. ه وفي أمره واغفر 8. له ذنبه ما تقدم منه و 9. ما تأخر امين رب ا 10. لعلمين (sic) رحم الله 11. من قال امين وكتب 12. في سنة 13. مئة	1. اللهم عافي رباح بن 2. حفص بن عاصم بن حفص ا 3. لفرق (sic)في الدنيا والآ 4. خرة ويوم يموت ويو 5. م يبعث حيا وعافيه 6. في دينه وفي جسد 7. ه وفي أمره واغفر 8. له ذنبه ما تقدم منه و 9. ما تأخر امين رب ا 10. لعلمين (sic) رحم الله 11. من قال امين وكتب 12. في سنة 13. مئة	2.38

1.رباح 3. الفرق

First edition	Current edition	No
1. ثقة عاصم بن عمر 2. بن حفص بالحي القيوم 3. وكتبه في سنة	1. ثقة عاصم بن عمر 2. بن حفص بالحي القيوم 3. وكتبه في سنة مئة	2.66

3. The publisher did not read the year.

First edition	Current edition	No
1. ومن يك مجده 2. الغزو ويؤخذ 3. كريم حتفه 4. في كل جليل وكتب 5. عاصم	1. ومن يك مجده 2. الفروق (sic) يؤجد 3. كريم حتفه 4. في كل جليل وكتب 5. عاصم	2.76

2.الفروق يؤجد

First edition	Current edition	No
1. انا الفتا من 2. بني من الغرو 3. و لا ورع عند 4. القا ولا في ا 5. لمجد محسوبين 6. وكتب زيد بن عبد 7. الرحمن العمري	1. انا الفتا من 2. بني ... الفروق(sic) 3. ق لا ورع عند 4. القا ولا في ا 5. لمجد مخسوس 6. وكتب زيد بن عبد 7. الرحمن العمري 8. والفاروق	2.123

2-3.الفروق 5. مخسوس

8. The publisher did not read the last line

First edition	Current edition	No
1. يا الله يا سامع كل صوت 2. ويا جامع كل فوت 3. ويا محيي كل نفس بعد ا 4. لموت اغفر لهارون بن زيد ..	1. يا الله يا سامع كل صوت 2. ويا جامع كل فوت 3. ويا محيي كل نفس بعد ا 4. لموت اغفر الفاروق بن زيد ال[عمري]	2.135

3. الفاروق

4. The editor did not read the last word.

First edition	Current edition	No
1. شهد اسحق (sic) بن يحي 2. انه لا إله الا الله 3. وحده لا شريك له	1. شهد اسحق (sic) بن يحيى 2. انه لا إله الا الله 3. وحده لا شريك له	3.3

1. يحي

First edition	Current edition	No
1. توكلت على الحي الذي لا يموت 2. وكتب محمد بن يعقوب بن عبد 3. الوهاب بن علي وهو يؤمن بالله	1. توكلت على الحي الذي لا يموت 2. وكتب محمد بن يعقوب بن عبد 3. الوهاب بن يحيى وهو يؤمن بالله	3.5

3. يحيى

No	Current edition	First edition
3.49	1. عثمان 2. بن عروة بالله يثق 3. ويعتص[م]	1. عثمان 2. بن عروة بالله يثق 3. وبه

3. يعتص[م]

No	Current edition	First edition
4.1	1. اللهم اغفر 2. للقسم(sic) بن محمد 3. بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. للقسم (sic) بن محمد 3. بن أبي عيسى

3. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.2	1. اللهم اغفر 2. للقسم (sic) بن محمد 3. بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. للقسم (sic)بن محمد 3. بن أبي عيسى

3. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.3	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لقسم (sic)ابن أ 3. محمد ابن 4. بي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لقسم (sic)ابن أ 3. محمد ابن 4. بي عيسى

4. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.13	1. اللهم ا 2. غفر لعبد 3. الملك بن محمد بن 4. أبي عبس	1. اللهم ا 2. غفر لعبد 3. الملك بن محمد بن 4. أبي عيسى

4. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.14	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لعبد الملك بن 3. محمد بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لعبد الملك بن 3. محمد بن أبي عيسى

3. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.16	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لمسلمة بن محمد 3. بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لمسلمة بن محمد 3. بن أبي عيسى

3. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.17	1. صلوت(sic) الله 2. على عبد المجد(sic) 3. ابن أبي عبس	1. صلوت(sic) الله 2. على عبد المجيد 3. ابن أبي عيسى

2. عبد المجد 3. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.18	1. اللهم اغفر لعبد 2. المجيد بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر لعبد 2. المجيد بن أبي عيسى

2. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.19	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لسالم بن عبد 3. العزيز بن محمد 4. بن أبي عبس 5. آمين رب العلمين (sic)	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لسالم بن عبد 3. العزيز بن محمد 4. بن أبي عيسى 5. آمين رب العلمين(sic)

4. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.20	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لسالم بن عبد 3. العزيزبن محمد 4. بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لسالم بن عبد 3. العزيزبن محمد 4. بن أبي عيسى

4. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.23	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لميمون بن زيد بن 3. أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر 2. لميمون بن زيد بن 3. أبي عيسى

3. عبس

No	Current edition	First edition
4.24	1. اللهم اغفر لميمو 2. ن بن زيد بن أبي عبس	1. اللهم اغفر لميمو 2. ن بن زيد بن أبي عيسى

2. عبس

Appendix Three: Personal names in the corpus

1. The descendants of al-Mughīra

No	Name	Inscriptions	place
1	Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra	1.1-2	al-Bāḥa
2	ʿAbd al-Raḥman son of Khālid al-ʿĀṣ	1.3-4	Mecca and al-Baḥa
3	Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥman son of Khālid	1.5-6	al-Bāḥa
4	al-Ḥārith son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ	1.7	al-Bāḥa
5	Khālid son of Muḥammad son of Khālid son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿIkrima son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ al-Makzūmī	1.8	Mecca
6	Ḥārith son of Muḥammad son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-Raḥman son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām al-Makzūmī	1.9	Ḥijāz

2. The descendant of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb

No	Name	Inscriptions	Place
1	ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar	2.1	Medina
2	ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar al-Fārūq	2.2-7	Medina
3	Abū Bakr son of ʿUthmān son of ʿUbayd Allāh	2.8-13	Medina
4	Ḥafṣ son of ʿUthmān the young man of Āl ʿUmar	2.14-18	Medina
5	Abū Salama son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar	2.19-21	Medina
6	ʿUbayd Allāh son of Abū Salama	2.22	Medina
7	ʿUbayd [son of] Abū Bakr son of ʿAbd al-Raḥman son of Abū [S]alama son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd [Allāh] son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	2.23	Mecca
8	Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh	2.24-26	Medina
9	ʿUmāra son of Ḥamza	2.27	Medina

10	ʿUmar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid son of Muḥammad son of Zayd son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	2.28-30	Mecca and Najrān
11	ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī	2.31	Medina
12	ʿUmar son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī	2.32	Medina
13	Daḥīma the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	2.33	Mecca
14	Ḥamda the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ibrāhīm son of Abū Bakr son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	2.34	Mecca
15	Ḥafṣ son of ʿUmar	2.35-36	Medina
16	Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	2.37-38	Medina
17	Shadād, the client of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar al-Fārūq	2.39-40	Medina
18	ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar	2.41	Medina
19	Abū Bakr son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar	2.42-44	Medina
20	ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿUmar	2.45	Medina
21	Rabāḥ son of ʿUbayd Allāh	2.46-48	Medina
22	Ḥafṣ son of ʿUbayd Allāh.	2.49-56	Medina
23	Muḥammad son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim	2.57-64	Medina
24	Ḥafṣ son of Muḥammad son of ʿUmar	2.65	Medina
25	ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2.66-76	Medina
26	Jaʿfar son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2.77	Medina
27	Zayd son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim	2.78-86	Medina
28	ʿAbd Allāh son of Zayd	2.87-88	Medina
29	ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2.89-90	Medina
30	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ	2.91-95	Medina

31	Ismāʿīl son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī	2.96-103	Medina
32	ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī	2.104-106	Medina
33	ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿĀṣim al-ʿUmarī	2.107-110	Medina
34	Muḥammad son of ʿĀṣim	2.111-112	Medina
35	Rabīʿ the slave boy of ʿĀṣim son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	2.113-116	Medina
36	ʿĪsā son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī	2.117-119	Medina
37	Muḥammad son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī	2.120-123	Medina
38	Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī	2.124-134	Medina
39	al-Fārūq son of Zayd son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUmar son of Ḥafṣ son of ʿĀṣim son of ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb	2.124, and 135-138	Medina

3. The descendant of al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām

No	Name	Inscriptions	Place
1	ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr	3.1	Ṭāʾif
2	Yaḥyā son of ʿAbbād	3.2	Medina
3	Isḥāq son of Yaḥyā	3.3-4	Medina
4	Muḥammad son of Yʿaqūb son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā	3.5-14	Medina
5	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad son of Mūsā son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr	3.15	Mecca
6	Muḥammad son of al-Qāsim son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ʿAbbād son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī	3.16	Mecca
7	ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza	3.17-18	Medina

8	ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr al-Qurayshī then al-Asadī	3.18-19	Medina
9	ʿUbayd Allāh son of ʿAbbād son of Ḥamza son of al-Zubayr	3.20	Medina
10	Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād	3.21-23	Medina
11	Muḥammad son of Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAbbād	3.24	Medina
12	Sulaymān son of Ḥamza	3.25	Medina
13	Ismāʿīl son of Sulaymān son of Ḥamza	3.26	Medina
14	Hāshim son of Ḥamza	3.27-29	Medina
15	ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAtīq son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā	3.30	Medina
16	ʿAtīq son of Yʿaqūb son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr	3.31-33	Medina
17	ʿĀmir son of Yʿaqūb son of Ṣaddīq	3.34	Medina
18	Bashīr, the client of Mundhir son of al-Zubayr	3.35	Tabūk
19	ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUbayd Allāh son of [al-Mundhir] son of al-Zubayr	3.36-39	Medina
20	Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ	3.40	Medina
21	ʿUmāra son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī	3.41	Medina
22	Ibrāhīm son of ʿUmāra	3.42	Medina
23	Muḥammad son of Falīḥ	3.43-44	Medina
24	Isḥāq son of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad	3.45-46	Medina
25	ʿAbd Allāh son of Isḥāq son of Falīḥ	3. 47	Medina
26	PN son of Isḥāq son of Falīḥ	3.48	Medina
27	ʿUthmān son of ʿUrwa	3. 49	Medina
28	ʿUrwa son of ʿUthmān	3.50	Medina
29	Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb, the client of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.51	Medina

30	ʿUmar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.52	Khaybar
31	Sālim son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.53-55	Medina
32	Salama son of ʿAbd Allāh ʿUrwa	3.56	Medina
33	ʿUmar son of Muṣʿab son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.57	al-ʿUlā
34	Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr	3.58	al-ʿUlā
35	Umm ʿUrwa, the daughter of Ibrāhīm son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.59	Medina
36	ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Isḥāq son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.60	Medina
37	Bakkār son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad [son of Isḥāq son of ʿAbd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā] son of ʿUrwa son of al-Zubayr	3.61-62	Medina
38	ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr	3.63	Medina
39	ʿUqba son of Jarmān, the client of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr	3.64	Tabūk
40	Umm Kulthūm the daughter of Muḥammad son of Muḥammad son of al-Walīd son of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr son of ʿAmr son of ʿAmr son of al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām	3.65	Tabūk
41	ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ādam son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿImrān son of Shuʿayb son of Jaʿfar son of al-Zubayr	3.66	Mecca
42	Jaʿfar son of ʿAbd Allāh son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī	3.67	Medina
43	Yaḥyā son of Yaḥyā al-Zubayrī	3.68	Medina
44	Muṣʿab son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī	3.69	Medina
45	Ḥakīma the daughter of Hārūn son of ʿAbd Allāh son of al-Zubayr	3.70-71	ʿAsham
46	Aḥmad son of al-Zubayr	3.72	al-ʿUlā
47	Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Zubayrī	3.73	al-ʿUlā
48	ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad al-Zubayrī	3.74	al-ʿUlā
49	Abū al-Zubayr son of Ibrāhīm son of Muṣʿab	3.75	al-ʿUlā

50	Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq son of Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī	3.76-82	al-ʿUlā
51	Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq son of Muṣʿab son of Isḥāq al-Zubayrī	3.81-85	al-ʿUlā
52	Jaʿfar son of Isḥāq al-Zubayrī	3.86	al-ʿUlā
53	Ismāʿīl son of al- Ḥasan al-Zubayrī	3.87-88	al-ʿUlā
54	ʿAbd Allāh son of Ismāʿīl al-Zubayrī	3.89	al-ʿUlā

4. The descendant of Abū ʿAbs

No	Name	Inscriptions	Place
1	al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs	4.1-8	Medina
2	Tālūt son of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad	4.9-12	Medina
3	ʿAbd al-Malik son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs	4.13-15	Medina
4	Maslama son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs	4.16	Medina
5	ʿAbd al-Majīd son of Abū ʿAbs	4.17-18	Medina
6	Sālim son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of Muḥammad son of Abū ʿAbs	4.19-22	Medina
7	Maymūn son of Zayd son of Abū ʿAbs	4.23-24	Medina

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Abstract

Although only having come into existence in earnest some fifty years ago, the field of Arabic epigraphy from Islamic Arabia is very dynamic. New inscriptions are discovered continuously in large numbers engaging the scholarly community eager to learn more about the earliest history of Islam as well as the wider public, whose amateur finds are shared quickly and widely via social media. The result has been the publication of editions and studies of related texts. Early Arabic inscriptions have not received substantial attention for their historical value as far as making a cross-examination with the works of *nasab* "genealogy" and *ṭabaqāt* "classes". This dissertation aims to show how Arabic inscriptions, when studied in meaningful corpora, can be used as valuable sources for genealogical and historical studies. In this dissertation I (1) gathered a coherent corpus of published and unpublished inscriptions; (2) transcribed and translated these inscriptions; (3) employed historical methods to reflect on the importance of using Arabic epigraphy to examine the genealogy of the earliest generations of Muslims who resided in the Arabian Peninsula and, to the extent this is currently possible, their epigraphic habit.

The corpus studied in this dissertation is formed by the inscriptions left by members of four families, whose ancestral lines begin with four Companions of the Prophet. In total 260 inscriptions are studied, 145 of which are published here for the first time. The majority of the inscriptions are graffiti (244), in addition to 15 gravestones and 1 foundational inscription. They name 106 different individuals. The corpus is collected from different regions in Saudi Arabia, but the Medina region is the host of the largest number. Three of the families belong to the tribe of the Prophet, Quraysh, namely the descendant of al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, ʿUmar son of al-Khaṭṭāb, and al-Zubayr son of al-ʿAwwām. The family of Abū ʿAbs, the fourth, is from al-Anṣār.

The dissertation focuses on several aspects of the Islamic tradition to explore the connection between the names that appear in the epigraphic records and the genealogical sources. It studies extended families such as the descendants of ʿUmar stretching from the 3rd to the 10th generation whose names appear on the epigraphic records. The corpus helps to reconstruct the family trees beyond the information presently known from genealogical sources. It also identifies why individuals, whose names are found in the epigraphic record, are absent or missing from the narrative sources. The corpus offers answers to genealogical questions about whether or not the family line died out. Finally, this dissertation examines the idea of the epigraphic habit in the Arabian Peninsula in general and how individuals who belong to the same family identified themselves.

It consists of two parts: Part 1 is divided into five chapters besides the conclusion. Part 2 presents the editions and the translation of the inscriptions that form the core of this dissertation. Chapter 1 explores the history of the field of Arabic epigraphy, highlighting the official beginning of the field by the establishment of the "Department of Antiquities and Museums", currently called the "Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage" in 1972. It also discusses the claims of inauthenticity levelled against Arabic inscriptions. Scholars of this field have not agreed on the proper label of these inscriptions; some labeled them *Islamic* while others labeled them *Arabic* or *Arabo-Islamic*. I suggest the label "Arabic". Moreover, most recent studies focused on editing Arabic inscriptions without attempting to understand or analyze them. This chapter also discusses how inscriptions are used in different fields of Islamic studies like the study of Islamic history, that of the Arabic script and religious studies.

Chapter 2 shows the criteria that conditioned the selection of this corpus as well as the identification system necessary to make accurate judgments about the names that appear in the

epigraphic records. This chapter also gives the geographic outline of the dissertation. Most of the corpus comes from the Medina region while the rest of the inscriptions are collected from al-ʿUlā, Mecca, Tabūk, al-Bāḥa, Najrān, ʿAsham, the Ḥijāz and Khaybar. In this corpus, there are fourteen inscriptions dated between 40/660-661 and 304/916-917, and the rest have been dated in correspondence with the biography of the individuals named or by the inscriptions' paleography.

Chapter 3 presents the four families that appear in the inscriptions with a special focus on identifying individuals listed or unlisted in the genealogical sources. Chapter 3 discusses discrepancies between the inscriptions and the sources. The epigraphic records provide evidence that help ascertain whether or not the lineage of these families survived. The results show that there is a disparity between the two sources. The names in the corpus are divided into two main categories: identifiable and unidentifiable individuals. The latter group is further divided in two categories: the first category consists of individuals whose lineages are known without any additional information being available about who they were. The second category contains individuals who can only be connected to a family in general terms, but who remain otherwise anonymous because they have not engraved their full lineages. The chapter concludes that there are 58 unidentified individuals out of the 106 that appear on the epigraphic records.

Chapter 4 studies the so-called "missing people", the chapter lists nine reasons why some people are missing from the Muslim sources even though their origins are known. Importantly, the comparison between the literary and epigraphic sources in this dissertation have shown a remarkable degree of consistency for the first 4-5 generations. After this moment the two kinds of sources diverge more prominently, which can be explained by the fact that the authors or compilers of the great *nasab* works belonged to the 6th generation.

Chapter 5 analyzes the epigraphic habits traced in this corpus and in the Muslim world. It also discusses the self-identification and how individuals presented themselves in the inscriptions. This chapter shows that some families left inscriptions at the same site for several generations. For example, we found the inscriptions of 6 generations of ʿUmar's family, precisely from the 3rd to the 8th, at the site of Ruwāwa. This reflects the settlement of the descendants in their forefathers' regions and for the Umar family we can establish that they continued to live in/ frequented the same region at least up to the 8th generation. We argued that the popularity of identifying oneself within a genealogy stretching back across several generations was an important feature of this society, which for some reason was fulfilled in other ways from the 3rd/9th century onwards when graffiti declined sharply. Importantly, the decrease of the production of graffiti coincides with an apparent rise in the manufacture of gravestones and it is possible that the presentation of genealogical family relations on gravestones made the need to do so in graffiti superfluous. The decline of the epigraphic habit might be explained by two reasons the first being that it became an old fashioned. Another possible explanation is that the religious function of graffiti, to ask for God's forgiveness, was replaced by prayer.

The dissertation concludes by stating that inscriptions constitute an essential source for historical genealogical studies. Inscriptions bring to light previously unknown individuals allowing for the completing family trees and, in some cases, correcting or clarifying information on branches dying out. Studying inscriptions in their natural and built environment and in relation to surrounding inscriptions, the dissertation also found that it was very common during the early Islamic period that several generations of the same family left inscriptions at a single site.

Samenvatting

Hoewel het vakgebied van de Arabische epigrafie van het Islamitische Arabië pas zo'n vijftig jaar geleden een serieuze vlucht heeft genomen, is het op dit moment zeer dynamisch. Voortdurend worden grote hoeveelheden nieuwe inscripties ontdekt, die zowel de wetenschappers die geïnteresseerd zijn in de vroegste geschiedenis van de islam bezighouden als het grotere publiek, dat zijn amateuristische ontdekkingen wijd en zijd deelt via sociale media. Dit heeft geleid tot de publicatie van kritische edities en de bestudering van aanverwante teksten. Tot op heden hebben vroege Arabische inscripties niet de aandacht gekregen die zij verdienen, zowel vanwege hun historische waarde als omwille van de inzichten die een vergelijking met de zogeheten *nasab* (genealogie) en *ṭabaqāt* (klassen) -werken zou kunnen opleveren. Dit proefschrift beoogt te laten zien hoe Arabische inscripties gebruikt kunnen worden als waardevolle bronnen in genealogisch en historisch onderzoek, mits bestudeerd in de vorm van logisch bijeengebrachte corpora. In dit proefschrift heb ik (1) een coherent corpus van gepubliceerde en ongepubliceerde inscripties bijeengebracht, (2) deze inscripties getranscribeerd en vertaald en (3) historische methoden aangewend om te reflecteren over het belang van het gebruik van Arabische epigrafie om de genealogie te onderzoeken van de vroegste generaties moslims op het Arabisch Schiereiland, evenals -voor zover mogelijk- hun epigrafische gewoonten.

Het in deze dissertatie bestudeerde corpus bestaat uit de inscripties die zijn nagelaten door de leden van vier families, van wie de afstamming teruggaat tot vier metgezellen van de profeet Mohammed. In totaal zijn er 260 inscripties bestudeerd, daarvan zijn er 145 voor het eerst gepubliceerd. Het merendeel van de inscripties bestaat uit graffiti (244), daarnaast zijn er 15 grafstenen en 1 monumentale inscriptie. Er worden 106 verschillende individuen genoemd. Het corpus is samengesteld uit verschillende regio's in Saoedi-Arabië, maar het meeste materiaal komt uit het gebied rondom Medina. Drie van de families behoren tot de stam van de Profeet, Quraysh, te weten de afstammeling van al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, ʿUmar zoon van al-Khaṭṭāb en Zubayr zoon van al-ʿAwwām. De vierde familie, die van Abū ʿAbs, behoort tot al-Anṣār.

De dissertatie gaat in op verschillende aspecten van de islamitische traditie om de relatie te onderzoeken tussen de namen die voorkomen op de epigrafische materialen en de genealogische bronnen. We bestuderen de *extended families* zoals de afstammelingen van ʿUmar van de derde tot en met de tiende generatie, van wie de namen voorkomen in de epigrafische inscripties. Het

corpus draagt bij aan de reconstructie van de stambomen en levert daarbij meer informatie dan wat op dit moment bekend is uit de genealogische bronnen. Ook verklaart het waarom individuen van wie de namen te vinden zijn in de epigrafische inscripties ontbreken of niet voorkomen in de narratieve bronnen. Het corpus biedt antwoorden op genealogische vragen zoals of familielijnen al dan niet uitstierven. Tenslotte onderzoekt deze dissertatie het idee van de epigrafische gewoonte op het Arabisch Schiereiland in het algemeen en hoe individuen die tot dezelfde familie behoorden zichzelf identificeerden.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit twee delen: deel 1 bestaat uit vijf hoofdstukken en een conclusie, deel 2 bestaat uit de edities en de vertalingen van de inscripties die de kern van deze dissertatie vormen. Hoofdstuk 1 onderzoekt de geschiedenis van het vakgebied van de Arabische epigrafie, waarbij aandacht wordt besteed aan het officiële begin van het vakgebied met de oprichting van het "Departement van Antiquiteiten en Musea" in 1972, tegenwoordig de Saoedische Commissie voor Toerisme en Nationaal Erfgoed. Ook wordt er ingegaan op de claims dat Arabische inscripties niet authentiek zouden zijn. Wetenschappers in dit vakgebied zijn het nog niet eens geworden over het juiste label voor deze inscripties. Sommigen hebben ze *Islamitisch* genoemd, anderen kozen voor *Arabisch* of *Arabisch-Islamitisch*. Ik stel voor om de aanduiding "Arabisch" te gebruiken. De meeste recente studies richten zich op het maken van een editie van Arabische inscripties zonder te pogen deze te begrijpen of te analyseren. Dit hoofdstuk oppert daarom suggesties voor de wijze waarop inscripties ingezet kunnen worden in verschillende vakgebieden zoals de studie van de islamitische geschiedenis, de studie van het Arabische schrift en religiewetenschappen.

Hoofdstuk 2 zet de criteria uiteen die ten grondslag liggen aan de selectie van dit corpus, evenals het systeem van identificatie dat noodzakelijk was om een nauwkeurig oordeel te vellen over de namen die voorkomen in de epigrafische bronnen. Ook schetst dit hoofdstuk het geografische gebied dat het onderwerp is van dit proefschrift. Het grootste deel van het corpus komt uit de regio rondom de stad Medina en het resterende materiaal is verzameld in al-ʿUlā, Mekka, Tabūk, al-Bāḥa, Najrān, ʿAsham, de Ḥijāz en Khaybar. Het corpus bevat veertien inscripties die gedateerd zijn tussen 40/660-661 en 304/916-917. De overige inscripties zijn met behulp van de biografieën van de genoemde individuen of de paleografie van de inscripties gedateerd .

Hoofdstuk 3 gaat in op de vier families die in de inscripties voorkomen, met bijzondere aandacht voor het identificeren van individuen die al dan niet genoemd worden in de genealogische bronnen.

Ook worden de discrepanties behandeld tussen de inscripties en de bronnen. De epigrafische materialen leveren bewijs dat een bijdrage levert bij het vaststellen of de lijnen van deze families al dan niet voortgezet werden. De resultaten laten zien dat er tussen de beide bronnen een verschil bestaat. De namen uit het corpus zijn in twee hoofdcategorieën verdeeld: identificeerbare en niet-identificeerbare individuen. De tweede categorie is verder onderverdeeld in twee categorieën: individuen van wie de afstamming bekend is, maar waarover verder niets bekend is en individuen die alleen in algemene zin aan een familie kunnen worden gelinkt, maar die verder anoniem blijven omdat zij niet hun hele afstammingslijn gegraveerd hebben. De conclusie is dat er van de 106 individuen die voorkomen op het epigrafische materiaal 58 niet te identificeren blijken.

Hoofdstuk 4 bestudeert de zogeheten "ontbrekende personen" en geeft negen redenen waarom sommige mensen, hoewel hun afstamming bekend is, toch ontbreken in de literaire werken van de moslims. Van belang is dat de vergelijking tussen literaire en epigrafische bronnen een opmerkelijke mate van consistentie laten zien voor de eerste vier tot vijf generaties. Na dit punt lopen de beide soorten bronnen duidelijker uiteen, wat verklaard kan worden door het feit dat de auteurs of samenstellers van de grote *nasab*werken van de zesde generatie zijn.

Hoofdstuk 5 analyseert de epigrafische gewoonten die te vinden zijn in dit corpus en in de moslimwereld. Ook bespreekt het de zelfidentificatie en hoe individuen zichzelf presenteren in de inscripties. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat sommige families generaties lang inscripties achterlieten op dezelfde plaats. Een voorbeeld hiervan zijn de inscripties van zes generaties van ʿUmar's familie, om precies te zijn van de derde tot de achtste, op de vindplaats van Ruwāwa. Dit toont aan dat de afstammelingen zich vestigden in de regio's van hun voorvaderen, zoals het geval is bij de acht generaties van ʿUmar's familie. Ik betoog hier dat het een belangrijk kenmerk was van deze samenleving om jezelf te identificeren met een genealogie die een aantal generaties terugging, maar vanwege een nog onbekende reden werd deze behoefte op een andere wijze vervuld vanaf de 3^{e}/9^{e} eeuw toen het maken van graffiti plotseling sterk afnam. In dit licht is het van belang om op te merken dat de afname in de productie van graffiti samenvalt met de kennelijke toename van de vervaardiging van grafstenen en het is mogelijk dat de weergave van genealogische familierelaties op grafstenen de noodzaak om dit in graffiti te doen overbodig maakte. Er zouden twee redenen ten grondslag kunnen liggen aan de afname van de epigrafische gewoonte, de eerste is dat deze uit de mode raakte en de tweede is dat de religieuze functie van graffiti, namelijk het smeken om Gods vergiffenis, vervangen werd door het gebed.

De dissertatie sluit af met de conclusie dat inscripties een essentiële bron vormen voor historisch genealogisch onderzoek. Inscripties brengen voorheen onbekende individuen aan het licht, waardoor stambomen kunnen worden aangevuld en informatie over het uitsterven van bepaalde lijnen gecorrigeerd of verduidelijkt kan worden. Een andere bevinding van deze dissertatie is dat het zeer gangbaar was in de vroeg islamitische periode dat verschillende generaties van dezelfde familie inscripties achterlieten op dezelfde plaats.

Curriculum Vitae

Abdullah Saad Alhatlani was born on March 6th, 1988, in Sabahiya, Kuwait. Obtained his BA degree in History at Kuwait University in 2011. In 2015, he completed his MA in Islamic History at Kuwait University. Between 2014 and 2015, he worked as an Academic assistant at the History Department at Kuwait University. From 2015 until 2021, he pursued his Ph.D. at Leiden University Institute for Area Studies under the supervision of Prof. Petra Sijpesteijn (Leiden University) and Prof. Robert Carter (University College London).