



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The Safaitic scripts: palaeography of an ancient nomadic writing culture

Della Puppa, C.

Citation

Della Puppa, C. (2022, April 21). *The Safaitic scripts: palaeography of an ancient nomadic writing culture*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3283744>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3283744>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Bibliography

- Ababneh, M.I. (2005). *Neue safaitische Inschriften und deren bildliche Darstellung*. Semitica et Semito hamitica Berolinensia 6. Aachen: Shaker.
- Ababneh, M.I. and R. Harahsheh (2015). "Sacrifice in the Safaitic inscriptions in the light of new evidence". In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 68 (1), pp. 29–48.
- Abbadi, S. (1986). "An Archaeological Survey of Ġabal Qurma". In: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 33, pp. 259–262.
- (1987). "Kitābāt šafawiyyah min Ġabal Qurmah". In: *Dirāsāt al-‘ulūm al-‘insāniyyah wa-l-‘iğtimā‘iyyah* 14, pp. 125–156.
- (1997). "Naqš šafawī ġadīd yu’arraḥu ‘ilā l-rub‘ al-‘aḥīr min al-qarn al-‘awwal qabl al-mīlād". In: *‘Abḥāt al-yarmūk. Silsilat al-‘ulūm al-‘insāniyyah wa-l-‘iğtimā‘iyyah* 13.3, pp. 141–151.
- (2001). "A New Safaitic Inscription Dated to 12–9 BC". In: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 7, pp. 481–484. Amman: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- (2013). "King Rabbel II in a Safaitic inscription: an analytical study". In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 145.2, pp. 119–125.
- Akkermans, P.M.M.G. (2020a). "Introduction: landscapes of survival". In: *Landscapes of Survival: The Archaeology and Epigraphy of Jordan’s North-Eastern Desert and Beyond*. Ed. by P.M.M.G. Akkermans. Sidestone Press, pp. 9–16.
- ed. (2020b). *Landscapes of Survival: The Archaeology and Epigraphy of Jordan’s North-Eastern Desert and Beyond*. Sidestone Press.
- Akkermans, P.M.M.G., M.L. Brüning, et al. (2020). "Desert tombs: recent research into the Bronze Age and Iron Age cairn burials of Jebel Qurma, north-east Jordan". In: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 50, pp. 1–17.
- Akkermans, P.M.M.G. and H.O. Huigens (2018). "Long-term settlement trends in Jordan’s north-eastern badia: the Jebel Qurma Archaeological Landscape Project". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 59, pp. 186–205.
- Akkermans, P.M.M.G., H.O. Huigens, and M.L. Brüning (2014). "A landscape of preservation: late prehistoric settlement and sequence in the Jebel Qurma region, north-eastern Jordan". In: *Levant* 46, pp. 186–285.
- Bennett, C. (2014). "Geographic and religious trends in the pre-Islamic religious beliefs of the North Arabian nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes". In: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 44, pp. 43–52.

- Brusgaard, N.Ø. (2019). *Carving interactions. Rock art in the nomadic landscape of the Back Desert, north-eastern Jordan*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Calzini Gysens, J. (1990). "Safaitic Graffiti from Pompeii". In: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 20, pp. 1–7.
- Clark, V.A. (1979). "A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan". PhD thesis. Department of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne.
- (1980). "Three Safaitic stones from Jordan". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 24, pp. 125–128.
- Corbett, G.J. (2012). "The signs that bind: identifying individuals, families and friends in Himaic inscriptions". In: *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 23.2, pp. 174–190.
- Daniels, P.T. (1996). "The study of writing systems". In: *The world's writing systems*. Ed. by P.T. Daniels and W. Bright. Oxford: OUP, pp. 3–17.
- Derolez, A. (2003). *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books. From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dürscheid, C. (2016). *Einführung in die Schriftlinguistik*. 5th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Gnanadesikan, A.E. (2009). *The writing revolution. Cuneiform to the internet*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- (2017). "Towards a typology of phonemic scripts". In: *Writing Systems Research* 9.1, pp. 14–35.
- Graham, C.C. (1858). "Notiz des Herrn Cyril C. Graham zu den von ihm copieren Inschriften". In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 12.4, pp. 713–714.
- (1860). "On the Inscriptions Found in the Region of El-Hârrah, in the Great Desert South-East and East of the Haurân". In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 17, pp. 286–297.
- Grimme, H. (1926). *Die Lösung des Sinaischriftproblems. Die altthamudische Schrift*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- (1929). *Texte und Untersuchungen zur şafatenisch-arabischen Religion. Mit einer Einführung in die şafatenische Epigraphik*. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 16.1. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- Halévy, M.J. (1882). *Essai sur les Inscriptions du Safa*. Extrait du Journal Asiatique. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Harahsheh, R. (2001). "Nuqūš şafā'iyyah ġadidah min al-bādiyah al-'urduniyyah al-šimāliyyah al-šarqiyyah—dirāsah muqāranah wa-taḥlil". PhD thesis. University of Baghdad.
- Harding, G.L. (1953). "The Cairn of Hani". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 2, pp. 8–56.
- (1969). "The Safaitic Tribes". In: *Al-Abhath* 22, pp. 3–25.
- (1971). "Safaitic Inscriptions from Lebanon". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 16, pp. 83–85.
- (1972). "Safaitic inscriptions from Tapline in Jordan". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 17, pp. 5–14.

- (1975). “Further Safaitic Texts From Lebanon”. In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 20, pp. 99–102.
- Ḥasan, Y.F.Y. (2001). “Nuqūš šafawiyyah min Ġabal Qarmah (dirāsah taḥlīliyyah)”. MA thesis. Yarmouk University. Unpublished.
- Hayajneh, H. (2017). “An Ancient North Arabian inscribed Nefesh Stele from the vicinity of Jerash (Northwestern Jordan)”. In: *Syria* 94, pp. 253–260.
- Healey, J.F. (1990). *The Early Alphabet*. London: British Museum.
- (2007). “Nabataean Inscriptions: Language and Script”. In: *The world of the Nabataeans: Volume 2 of the International Conference ‘The World of the Herods and the Nabataeans’ held at the British Museum, 17-19. April 2001*. Ed. by K.D. Politis. *Oriens et Occidens* 15. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, pp. 45–53.
- Hübner, U. and E.A. Knauf (1986). “Ein safaitischer Schlägel vom Ġebel Qurma”. In: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 102, pp. 110–112.
- Huigens, H.O. (2019). *Mobile Peoples – Permanent Places. Nomadic landscapes and stone architecture from the Hellenistic to Early Islamic periods in north-eastern Jordan*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Ingholt, H., J. Starcky, and G. Ryckmans (1951). “Recueil épigraphique”. In: Schlumberger, D. *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest. Villages et lieux de culte de l’époque impériale. Recherches archéologiques sur la mise en valeur d’une région du désert par les Pamyréniens*. Paris: Geuthner, pp. 139–177, 186–187.
- Al-Jallad, A. (2015). *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 80. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- (2018). “What is Ancient North Arabian?” In: *Re-engaging Comparative Semitic and Arabic Studies*. Ed. by D. Birnstiel and N. Pat-El. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 1–44.
- (2019). “Safaitic”. In: *The Semitic Languages*. Ed. by N. Pat-El and J. Huehnergard. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, pp. 342–366.
- (2021). “Old Arabic Minutiae I: ḥattā, laysa, and More from the Inscriptions of the Syro-Jordanian Ḥarrah”. In: *Arabica* 68, pp. 71–100.
- Al-Jallad, A. and K. Jaworska (2019). *A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics 98. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Al-Jallad, A. and A. Al-Manaser (2016). “New Epigraphica from Jordan II: three Safaitic-Greek partial bilingual inscriptions”. In: *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 2, pp. 55–66.
- Jamme, A. (1971). “Safaitic Inscriptions from the Country of ‘Ar‘ar and Ra’s al-‘Anāniya”. In: *Christentum am Roten Meer*. Ed. by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl. Vol. I. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 41–109, 611–637.
- Al-Khraysheh, F.H. (1994). “Eine safaitisch-nabatäische bilingue Inschrift aus Jordanien”. In: *Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. by N. Nebes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 109–114. Unter Mitarbeit von R. Richter, I. Kottsieper und M. Maraqtan.
- (2002). *Nuqūš šafawiyyah min biyār al-ḡusayn*. Mudawwanat al-nuqūš al-‘urduniyyah 1. Irbid: Ġāmi‘at al-Yarmūk.
- King, G.M.H. (1990a). “Early North Arabian Thamudic E. A preliminary description based on a new corpus of inscriptions from the Ḥismā desert of southern Jordan and

- published material". PhD thesis. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- King, G.M.H. (1990b). "The Basalt Desert Rescue Survey and some preliminary remarks on the Safaitic inscriptions and rock drawings". In: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 20, pp. 55–78.
- Knauf, E.A. (1983). "Südsafaitisch". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 27, pp. 587–596.
- (1985). "A South Safaitic Alphabet from Khirbet Es-Samrā". In: *Levant* 17, pp. 204–206.
- (1991). "More Notes on Ġabal Qurma, Mineans and Safaites". In: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 107, pp. 92–101.
- Lancaster, W. (1981). *The Rwala Bedouin Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lane, E.W. (1863–1893). *An Arabic-English lexicon, derived from the best and most copious Eastern sources*. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Littmann, E. (1901). *Zur Entzifferung der Ṣafā-Inschriften*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- (1904). *Semitic Inscriptions*. Part IV of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900. New York: Century.
- (1940). *Thamūd und Ṣafā. Studien zur altnordarabischen Inschriftenkunde*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 25.1. Leipzig: DMG.
- (1943). *Safaitic Inscriptions*. Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909. Division IV. Semitic Inscriptions. Section C. Leiden: Brill.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. (n.d.[a]). "Guide to Notes on Inscriptions prepared for SESP expeditions". Unpublished.
- (n.d.[b]). "The Oral and the Written in the religions of ancient North Arabia". In: *Scripts and Scripture: Writing and religion in Arabia, ca. 500–700 C.E.* Ed. by F.M. Donner and R. Hasselbach-Andee. Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Near East Series. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Forthcoming.
- (1980). "Safaitic Inscriptions in the Amman Museum and Other Collections II". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 24, pp. 185–208.
- (1989). "Cursive Safaitic Inscriptions? A Preliminary Investigation". In: *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul: Symposium at Yarmouk University, December 8–11, 1984*. Ed. by M.M. Ibrahim. Yarmouk University Publications: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Series 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 62–81.
- (1992a). *Inscriptions, Safaitic*. In: *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Ed. by D.N. Freedman. Vol. 3. New York: Doubleday, pp. 418–423.
- (1992b). "The Distribution of Safaitic Inscriptions in Northern Jordan". In: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan IV*. Ed. by M. Zaghoul et al. Amman: Department of Antiquities, pp. 303–307.
- (1992c). "The Seasons and Transumance in the Safaitic inscriptions". In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2, pp. 1–11.

-
- (1993). “Nomads and the Ḥawrān in the Late Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Reassessment of the Epigraphic Evidence”. In: *Syria* 70, pp. 303–413.
 - (1995a). “Herodian echoes in the Syrian desert”. In: *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*. Ed. by S. Bourke and J.P. Descoeudres. Supplement to Mediterranean Archaeology 3, pp. 285–290.
 - (1995b). *Safaitic*. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, pp. 760–762.
 - (2000). “Reflections on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia”. In: *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11, pp. 28–79.
 - (2003a). “Languages, Scripts, and the Uses of Writing among the Nabataeans”. In: *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of the Nabataeans*. Ed. by G. Markoe. New York: Abrams, pp. 36–56, 264–266, 274–282.
 - (2003b). “References to Sīʿ in the Safaitic Inscriptions”. In: *Hauran II: Les installations de Sīʿ 8. Du sanctuaire à l’établissement viticole*. Ed. by J. Dentzer-Feydy, J.-M. Dentzer, and P.-M. Blanc. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 164. Beyrouth: Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient, pp. 278–280.
 - (2004). “Ancient North Arabian”. In: *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Ancient Languages*. Ed. by R.D. Woodard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - (2005a). “Literacy in an oral environment”. In: *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society. Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard*. Ed. by P. Bienkowski, C. Mee, and E. Slater. New York/London: T & T Clark Library of Biblical Studies, pp. 49–118.
 - (2005b). “The Safaitic inscriptions at Dura Europos”. In: *A Journey to Palmyra. Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*. Ed. by E. Cussini. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 22. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
 - (2006). “Burial between the Desert and the Sown: Cave-Tombs and Inscriptions near Dayr Al-Kahf in Jordan”. In: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 15, pp. 273–301.
 - (2010). “Ancient Arabia and the written word”. In: *The development of Arabic as a written language*. Ed. by M.C.A. Macdonald. Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 40. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 5–28.
 - (2014). “‘Romans go home’ ? Rome and other ‘outsiders’ as viewed from the Syro-Arabian desert”. In: *Inside and Out. Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*. Ed. by J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher. Late Antique History and Religion 8. Louvain: Peeters.
 - (2015). “On the uses of writing in ancient Arabia and the role of palaeography in studying them”. In: *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 1, pp. 1–50.
 - (2018). “Towards a re-assessment of the Ancient North Arabian alphabets used in the oasis of al-ʿUlā”. In: *Languages, scripts and their uses in ancient North Arabia*. Ed. by M.C.A. Macdonald. Supplement to volume 48 of the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 1–19.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. and G.M.H. King (1999). *Thamudic*. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. Vol. X. Leiden: Brill.

- Macdonald, M.C.A., M. Al-Mu'azzin, and L. Nehmé (1996). "Les inscriptions safaitiques de Syrie, cent quarante ans après leur découverte". In: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, pp. 435–494.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. and A. Searight (1982). "The Inscriptions and Rock-Drawings of the Jawa Area: A Preliminary Report on the First Season of Field-Work of the Corpus of the Inscriptions of Jordan Project". In: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 26, pp. 159–172.
- Al-Manaser, A. (2008). *Ein Korpus neuer safaitischer Inschriften aus Jordan*. Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 10. Aachen: Shaker.
- Al-Manaser, A., A. Al-Jouharah, et al. (2019). "Between Petra and the Ḥarrah: the Nabataeans in new Safaitic inscriptions from the Jordanian Badia". In: *Semitica et Classica* 12, pp. 259–266.
- Al-Manaser, A. and M.C.A. Macdonald (2017). *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic inscriptions. Preliminary Edition*. The Khalili Research Center, Oxford University. URL: http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/resources/ociana/corpora/ociana_safaitic.pdf.
- Al-Manaser, A. and J. Norris (2018). "The Nabataeans against the Ḥwlt – once again. An edition of new Safaitic inscriptions from the Jordanian Ḥarrah desert". In: *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 4, pp. 1–24.
- (2019). "Two more Nabataean inscriptions from the Syro-Jordanian ḥarrah desert". In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 15, pp. 69–86.
- Al-Manaser, A. and M. Al-Turki (2020). "Some New Epigraphy Material from the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan". In: *Asian Social Science* 16.8, pp. 102–116.
- Meletis, D. (2015a). *Graphetik*. In: *Schriftlinguistik/Grapholinguistics*. Ed. by M. Neef, S. Sahel, and R. Weingarten. Wörterbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 5. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter.
- (2015b). *Graphetik: Form und Materialität von Schrift*. Glückstadt: Werner Hülsbusch.
- (2019). "The grapheme as a universal basic unit of writing". In: *Writing Systems Research* 11.1, pp. 26–49.
- (2020). "Types of allography". In: *Open Linguistics* 6, pp. 249–266.
- Meyer, J.C. (2017). *Palmyrena: Palmyra and the Surrounding Territory from the Roman to the Early Islamic Period*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Müller, D.H. (1876). "Die Ḥarra-Inschriften und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklungsgeschichte der südsemitischen Schrift. Ein Entzifferungsversuch". In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30.3, pp. 514–524.
- Musil, A. (1928). *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*. New York: American Geographical Society.
- Nehmé, L. (2010). "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*. Ed. by M.C.A. Macdonald. Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 40. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 47–88.
- Nehmé, L. and M.C.A. Macdonald (2015). "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*. Riyâdh.

- Norris, J. (2017). "The expression h-rhwy in Thamudic B inscriptions from north-west Arabia". In: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 47, pp. 193–207.
- (2018). "A survey of the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions from the Dūmat al-Jandal area (Saudi Arabia)". In: *Languages, scripts and their uses in ancient North Arabia*. Ed. by M.C.A. Macdonald. Supplement to volume 48 of the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 71–93.
- (2020). "Remarks on some recently published inscriptions from the ḥarrah referring to the Nabataeans and the 'revolt of Damasī'". In: *Landscapes of Survival: The Archaeology and Epigraphy of Jordan's North-Eastern Desert and Beyond*. Ed. by P.M.M.G. Akkermans. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 363–390.
- Oxtoby, W.G. (1968). *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*. American Oriental Series 50. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Peters, E. (1960). "The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. Curl Bequest Prize Essay, 1959". In: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 90.1, pp. 29–53.
- Al-Rawabdeh, N. and S. Abbadi (2017). "The Nabataean minister Syllaeus in a new Ancient North Arabian (Safaitic) inscription". In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 70.1, pp. 21–30.
- Al-Rawabdeh, N. and A. Al-Manaser (2020). "New ancient North Arabian inscription with references to Nabataea II". In: *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17.6, pp. 3100–3112.
- Rezec, O. (2009). "Zur Struktur des deutschen Schriftsystems". PhD thesis. Universität München.
- (2013). "Ein differenzierteres Strukturmodell des deutschen Schriftsystems". In: *Linguistische Berichte* 234, pp. 227–254.
- Robin, C.J. and M. Gorea (2016). "L'alphabet de Ḥimà (Arabie séoudite)". In: *Alphabets, texts and artifacts in the ancient Near East. Studies presented to Benjamin Sass*. Ed. by C.J. Finkelstein, C.J. Robin, and T. Römer. Paris: Van Dieren.
- Robinson, M. (2013). "Prosopographical Approaches to the Nasab Tradition: a Study of Marriage and Concubinage in the Tribe of Muhammad, 500–750 CE". PhD thesis. The University of Edinburgh.
- Ryckmans, G., ed. (1950–1951). *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum: Pars Quinta. Inscriptiones Saracenicae Continens: Tomus I, Fasciculus I, Inscriptiones Safaiticae*. 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Safar, F. (1964). "Inscriptions from Wadi Hauran". In: *Sumer* 20, pp. 9–27.
- Al-Salameen, Z., Y. Al-Shdaifat, and R. Harahsheh (2018). "Nabataean echoes in al-Ḥarrah: New evidence in light of recent field work". In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 150.1, pp. 60–79.
- Sartre, M. (1985). *Bostra des origines à l'Islam*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Schlumberger, D. (1942–1943). "L'inscription d'Hérodiens: remarques sur l'histoire des princes de Palmyre". In: *Bulletin d'études orientales* 9, pp. 35–50.

- Schürer, E. (1973). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*. Ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Clark.
- Al-Theeb, S.A. (2000). *Nuqūṣ Qārā al-tamūdiyyah bi-miṭṭaqat al-Ġawf bi-l-mamlakah al-ʿarabiyyah al-saʿūdiyyah*. Al-Ġawf: Muʾassasah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sudayrī al-ḥayriyyah.
- Wenning, R. (2007). "The Nabataeans in History". In: *The world of the Nabataeans: Volume 2 of the International Conference 'The World of the Herods and the Nabataeans' held at the British Museum, 17-19. April 2001*. Ed. by K.D. Politis. Oriens et Occidens 15. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, pp. 25–44.
- Wetzstein, J.G. (1860). *Reisebericht Über Hauran und die Trachonen: Nebst Einem Anhang Über die Sabäischen Denkmäler in Ostsyrien*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Winnett, F.V. (1937). *A study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic inscriptions*. University of Toronto Studies 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- (1957). *Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan*. Near and Middle East Series 2. University of Toronto Press.
- Winnett, F.V. and G.L. Harding (1978). *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns*. Near and Middle East Series 6. University of Toronto Press.
- Winnett, F.V. and W.L. Reed (1970). *Ancient records from North Arabia*. Near and Middle East Series 6. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Zeinaddin, H. (2000). "Safaitische Inschriften aus dem Ġabal al-ʿArab". In: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 12, pp. 265–289.

Appendices

Appendix A

The Lineage of *ḏf*

This Appendix is divided in three parts. The first part describes the structure of the *ʿl ḏf*, discussing the information which can be gleaned from the genealogies, the evidence for the various sub-groups, and the texts showing ancestors beyond *ḏf*. The second part presents my reconstruction of various genealogical trees which show the position of the authors of the texts relevant to Chapter 4 and to §A.1 below. The third part contains the data of the compression measurements of the *b*'s across generations within the *ḥmyn* branch of the *ḏf*, which was employed for the palaeographic study in §4.1. This Appendix follows the *sigla* convention used in Chapter 4, i.e. the inscriptions *sigla* are followed by '[generation number]' instead of '[script]', which is the convention used in the rest of the thesis. The generations are counted considering *ḏf* as the first generation. As in Chapter 4, if the genealogy of the text stops at the patronym, the generation number is followed by a question mark.

A.1 The structure of the *ʿl ḏf*

The genealogical information provided by the texts of members of the *ʿl ḏf* allows to delineate the structure of their lineage-tree, with its various branches and sub-branches. We can be relatively sure about the reconstruction of most genealogies up until *ḏf*, as usually several texts from different generations independently confirm and agree on the same genealogy. It is only in some texts from late generations that we sometimes find inconsistencies, with genealogy members either missing,⁵⁵⁴ or being spelled differently,⁵⁵⁵ or their position being exchanged.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴Cf., e.g., Is.H 891/12, omitting 5th generation *ḥmyn*, AbWS 5/15, omitting 7th generation *ḥḏg*, and Is.Mu 367/16, omitting 11th generation *rḡl*.

⁵⁵⁵Cf., e.g., 4th generation *ḡḏt* spelled as *ḡḏ* in WH 792/12, 3rd generation *hws¹r* spelled as *hys¹r* in SESP.S 1/16 (see Macdonald, Al-Muʿazzin, et al. 1996:456), and 6th generation *ʿs¹lm* spelled as *ys¹lm* in SESP.U 8/12.

⁵⁵⁶See, e.g., the genealogy given by the 12th generation author *s¹ny* in KRS 132/12: *s¹ny bn ys¹lm bn ʿwḏn bn mlk bn qhs² bn ḥḏg bn s¹wr bn {ḡ}{ḏ}{ḏ}t bn ʿnḏt bn ws²y bn ḥmyn bn ḏf*; he wrote the 5th generation genealogy member *ḥmyn* right after *ḏf*, instead of 2nd generation *ws²yt*, which he placed after *ḥmyn* and

The trees in Figs. A.2 – A.5 (§A.2.1) display my reconstruction of the *l df* until generation 5. The genealogies show that *df* had at least three sons: *ws²yt*, *b's²*, and *fk^l*,⁵⁵⁷ with the majority of texts coming from descendants of *ws²yt* and *b's²*. In some texts, the genealogies continue past *df*, but we will see that this part is very inconsistent from text to text, suggesting that it may have been subject to modifications and adaptations. While most texts seem to agree on at least the name of *df*'s father, who is mostly *gn^l*, there are texts attesting different names as well. Since the name of *df*'s father belongs to the more inconsistent part of the genealogy, it is difficult to determine if there are any texts by *df* himself or by his close descendants. In any case, we have no attestation of an author named *df bn gn^l*, and there is only one possible 2nd generation text by an author named *ws²yt bn df*, but it is only known from a copy.⁵⁵⁸ In the 3rd generation, seven texts are attested that may have been by grandsons of *df*, but in none of them the genealogy goes beyond the patronym.⁵⁵⁹ However, in generations 4 – 5, beside several texts with two-generations genealogies, I identified ten texts which indicate three or more generations⁵⁶⁰ – although only one of these (KRS 1479/5) shows the whole genealogy up until *df* – and, from generation 6 onwards, we find a growing number of texts with increasingly longer genealogies. The latter group of texts provides us with the main bulk of genealogical information on the lineage of *df*. Indeed, even though we have only a few secure attestations of texts by the earliest generations after *df*, we can still reconstruct their names and positions in the tree, since they consistently and independently appear in the long genealogies of several texts from later generations. For instance, the sequence '*ws²yt bn df*' occurs 28 times in the OCIANA (accessed in October 2019). Of these, excluding the uncertain WH 884/2? mentioned above and KRS 839 (whose genealogy is partially illegible), the remaining 26 attestations are all in the context of texts by members of the lineage of *df*, with genealogies showing 7 or more generations.

Anthropological investigations of non-literate nomadic societies have shown that people consistently named their ancestors up to 3 – 5 generations back, after which the more ambiguous part of the genealogy begins, with genealogies being adapted to the alliances and affiliations of the moment.⁵⁶¹ Above this ambiguous part, one finds the

misspelled as *ws²y*. We know from several other texts that the correct arrangement in that part of the genealogy should have been: *hmyⁿ bn gđđt bn 'ndt bn ws²yt bn df* (see the tree in Fig. A.3). Another example is AbSWS 18/13, which exchanged 7th generation *hdg* and 6th generation *s^lwr*.

⁵⁵⁷A further son could have been *hrm*, although the genealogies of only two texts – SESP.K 5/7 and RMenv.D 10/9 – show this.

⁵⁵⁸It reads: WH 884/2? *l ws²yt bn df bn*— 'By *Ws²yt* son of *Df* son of...'.
⁵⁵⁹See the list of authors in Table A.2, and the genealogical trees in Figs. A.3 – A.5.

⁵⁶⁰These are: KRS 2454/4 (*bdn bn rf^t bn ws²yt*), KRS 907/5 (*mlk bn bdn bn rf^t bn ws²yt*), C 1583/4 (*zkr bn rf^t bn ws²(y)[t]*), WH 650/5 (*mrđy bn kwnt bn s²w^l*), KRS 1479/5 (*hwq bn kwnt bn s²w^l bn b's² bn df*), WH 1711.2/5 (*kdr bn t^hrt bn hws^lr*), C 2322/5 (*{s} bn q^tn bn hgml*), KRS 278/5 (*lhm bn q^tn bn hgml*), WH 807/5 (*lhm bn q^tn bn hgml*), C 3855/5 (*rfd bn w^l bn hgml*); see again Table A.2 and Figs. A.3 – A.5.

⁵⁶¹See the discussion in Robinson 2013:32–34, who cites the cases of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica (as described in Peters 1960:40–41) and of the *Rwāla* Bedouin (see Musil 1928:48 and Lancaster 1981:24–42). The Bedouin of Cyrenaica consistently remembered their ancestors until the fifth ascending generation,

uppermost portion of the genealogy, which connects the founders of the confederated groups. This part is more difficult to manipulate and entirely figurative – i.e. it is neither based on actual father-son relationships nor on real ancestors.⁵⁶²

The members of the lineage of *df* appear to have written their genealogies relatively consistently for several generations up until the eponymous ancestor *df*. Although we cannot know if *df* was a real person or not, genealogies longer than two generations appear only starting from the 4th and 5th generations, with the first attestation of a genealogy reaching *df* appearing in the 5th generation.

It is possible that a desire to preserve genealogies by carving them on stone was a reason for which early descendants of *df* started to consistently write down longer genealogies, a habit which was then embraced, expanded, and continued by their descendants for several generations, with texts showing up to 16 generations-long genealogies.⁵⁶³ Around the same time in which long genealogies become increasingly more numerous, i.e. from generation 6 onwards, we also see the beginning of the palaeographic development from the ‘common’ to the ‘fine’ script (see §4.1, §8.2).

While *df* genealogies are rather consistent up until the eponymous ancestor, some room for genealogical creativity was perhaps still allowed in the upper part of the genealogy – i.e. the part showing *df*’s ancestors – since some of the texts showing this part present conflicting versions (see §A.1.2 below).

Among the branches investigated in this Appendix, I have not found any text from generations later than the 16th, with most attestations stopping earlier. There may be different reasons for this feature. It could be due to a drop in population or in writing activity. Another reason could be that later texts are simply more difficult to trace, perhaps because authors increasingly employed different forms of self-affiliations – e.g. to sub-groups such as the *ʔl kn* (see below) – and/or did not indicate long enough genealogies which would allow us to place them in the lineage-tree. It is also possible that the genealogies and affiliations of authors from later generations had been modified, making it impossible for us to connect them to their ancestors.

A.1.1 Sub-groups

Beside the common expression *q ʔl* + [group name], Safaitic authors explicitly indicated affiliation to a given social group through long genealogies going back to the ancestor of the group or through the *nisbah* adjective, e.g. *h-dfy* ‘the *Df*-ite’.⁵⁶⁴ In a minority of cases, the author gave a double affiliation, stating both their lineage and their sub-group within the lineage. An example of this form of affiliation is QUR 176.24.1/14: the author identified as *q ʔl gyr h-dfy*, with *gyr* being the sub-group which is likely named after the ancestor of the author, as confirmed by the genealogies of several texts. In most

while the *Rwāla* reached only the third.

⁵⁶²See Lancaster 1981:24–26.

⁵⁶³See, e.g., SESP.S 1/16, whose author wrote down his whole lineage up until *df*: *nʿmn bn hbyṭ bn nṣr bn nʿmn bn nṣr bn gr[m]ʔl bn kn bn nʿmn bn wʔl bn rbn bn sʔr bn kn bn ṭhrt bn hysʔr bn bʔsʔ bn df*; for the whole text and a commentary, see the OCIANA.

⁵⁶⁴E.g. RWQ 18/6.

cases, however, one can indirectly determine the affiliation of authors, provided that we have long enough genealogies, by comparing them with the overlapping genealogies of other texts from the same or earlier generations, going up until the ancestor. Thus, there are three ways to evince that a certain *ʔl* was a sub-group of a lineage: 1) if the author claimed affiliation to both lineage and sub-group, as in the example above; 2) if the author self-affiliated only to the sub-group, but his genealogy goes back to the eponymous ancestor of the lineage and includes the name of the ancestor after which the sub-group was named; 3) if the author affiliated only to the sub-group, but his genealogy is long enough to reconstruct his relationship to both lineage group and sub-group thanks to the information from the genealogies of other texts.

The *df* branches splitting at 2nd generation *bʔs²* and *ws²yt* are the ones attesting the highest number of texts—it is in these branches that we find authors from later generations who affiliated to *ʔl*'s which seem to constitute further sub-groups within the *df*. In the *bʔs²* branch, we have people affiliating to the *kn* and the *zmr* sub-groups, while in the *ws²yt* branch, we have evidence for the *gyr* and the *bdn* sub-groups.

The trees in Figs. A.17 – A.18 below show the two branches with the respective sub-groups; the ancestors after whom the sub-groups were probably named and the authors of texts affiliating to such groups are underlined.

kn The *ʔl kn* is the sub-group to which the highest number of authors explicitly affiliated,⁵⁶⁵ although the often short genealogies of their texts do not always make it possible to place them in the *df* lineage-tree.⁵⁶⁶ As remarked in the OCIANA commentary to SESP.S 2/16, this text, by 16th generation *dhd*, together with the texts by his two brothers *ʕm* (SESP.S 3/16) and *ʕb* (SESP.S 4/16),⁵⁶⁷ clearly show that *kn* was a sub-group of the *df*. In the first text, the author's genealogy goes back to both *kn*, the ancestor of the sub-group, and to *df*, the ancestor of the lineage, while in the two other texts his brothers both self-identify as *d ʔl kn*. The position of these authors in the lineage-tree is shown in Fig. A.17. In the tree I also represented the 16th generation authors *dʔb* and *ʕd*, cousins of *dhd*, *ʕm* and *ʕb*, who self-identified as *d ʔl kn* as well. Furthermore, the text by *ʕd* (Ms 29/16⁵⁶⁸) was found on the same panel as the Greek

⁵⁶⁵In the OCIANA (accessed in October 2019), 27 texts contain the expression *d ʔl kn*.

⁵⁶⁶See, e.g., KRS 1304 (*l zmn bn s²r d ʔl kn w...*) and KRS 1862 (*l bnt bn gnʔl bn bnt d ʔl kn w...*); I was not able to find any overlapping genealogies through which they could be connected to the ancestors *kn* and *df*. The *kn* sub-group was first identified in Macdonald, Al-Muʿazzin, et al. 1996:455.

⁵⁶⁷The three texts read: SESP.S 2/16 *l dhd bn ʕd bn dhd bn ʕd bn dʔb bn nʕmn bn kn bn nʕmn* *[[[][[[][[[][[[][[[]bn wʔl bn rbn bn s²r bn kn bn tʔrt bn hys¹r bn bʔs² bn df w h lt s¹lm l-d {d}y w nq¹t l-d hbl h-s¹{f}r* 'By Dhd son of ʕd son of Dhd son of ʕd son of Dʔb son of Nʕmn son of Kn son of Nʕmn son of Wʔl son of Rbn son of S²r son of Kn son of Tʔrt son of Hys¹r son of Bʔs² son of Df and O Lt [grant] security to whoever {reads [the inscription] aloud} and [inflict] ejection from the grave on him who effaces this {inscription}'; SESP.S 3/16 *l ʕm bn* *[[[]bd bn dhd bn ʕd bn dʔb bn nʕmn bn kn bn nʕmn d ʔl kn* 'By ʕm son of ʕd son of Dhd son of ʕd son of Dʔb son of Nʕmn son of Kn son of Nʕmn of the people of Kn'; SESP.S 4/16 *l ʕʔb bn ʕd bn dhd bn ʕd bn dʔb d ʔl kn* 'By ʕʔb son of ʕd son of Dhd son of ʕd son of Dʔb of the people of Kn' (readings and translations: OCIANA).

⁵⁶⁸It reads: *l ʕd bn ʕm bn dhd bn ʕd bn dʔb bn nʕmn bn kn bn nʕmn bn wʔl bn rbn bn s²r d ʔl kn h-ḥtt w h lt ʕwr m d ʕwr h-s¹fr* 'By ʕd son of ʕm son of Dhd son of ʕd son of Dʔb son of Nʕmn son of Kn son of Nʕmn son

text Mg 1, in which the author gives his name, patronym, papponym, and affiliation to both the *kn* sub-group and to the lineage of *df*.⁵⁶⁹ Probably the same author left another similar Greek text⁵⁷⁰ as well as the Safaitic text RMSK 1, in which he states his affiliation to the *ʾl kn*,⁵⁷¹ one of the rare examples of ‘fine’ inscriptions in square graphs.⁵⁷²

zmr Two texts with the expression *ʾl zmr*, AbMNS 2/14 and BES15 1379/14,⁵⁷³ demonstrate that the *ʾl zmr* was a further sub-group within the *bʾs*² branch. The position of their authors in the lineage-tree (see Fig. A.17 below) shows that they both share the 5th generation ancestor *zmr*.



Figure A.1: Is.Mu 321, affiliating to *zmr*, *kn*, *df* and *whbʾl* (Photo: OCIANA)

of Wʾl son of Rbn son of S²r of the people of Kn is the carving and O Lt blind whosoever would scratch out the writing’ (see OCIANA).

⁵⁶⁹Mg 1 CAAPOC XECEMANOY TOY XECEMANOY CAIΦHNOC ΦΥΛHC XAYNHNΩN MNHCΘH ‘May S²aʿar son of Kehsʾeman son of Kehsʾeman a ʿaifite of the section of Kawnites be remembered’ (Reading and translation: OCIANA).

⁵⁷⁰WR.C 1 = MISS.I 1 CAAPOC XECEMANOY CAIΦHNOC ΦΥΛHC XAYNHNΩN (see Macdonald, Al-Muʾazzin, et al. 1996:483–484).

⁵⁷¹The text reads: *l s²r bn khsʾmn bn khsʾmn bn znn bn s²r bn gnʾl ʾl kn w sʾrt sʾnt ngy ʾmd bn ʾsʾ hdy w sʾnt drghsmkrn h-mḏ f h gddf sʾlm w gnnt l-ḏ dʾy h-sʾfr w nqʾt l-ḏ mhy h-sʾfr* ‘By S²r son of Khsʾmn son of Khsʾmn son of Znn son of S²r son of Gnʾl of the people of Kn and O Gddf [grant] security he served [in a unit] the year ʾmd son of ʾsʾ was announced leader and the year drghsmkrn the Persians and so O Gddf [grant] security and booty to whoever leaves the inscription intact and [inflict] ejection from the grave on whoever scratches out the inscription’ (see OCIANA).

⁵⁷²See §3.2, RMSK 1 is displayed in Fig.3.5(d).

⁵⁷³The full texts read: AbMNS 2/14 *l grmʾl bn ʾqrb bn grmʾl bn ḥtsʾt bn wsʾm ʾl zmr w tʾmr-h whḏ f h gddf sʾlm w wld h-mʾzy sʾnt hgʾz-h bʾlsʾmn ʾl-h-mdnt w h lt nqʾt bm ḥbl-h* ‘By Grmʾl son of ʾqrb son of Grmʾl son of Ḥtsʾt son of Wsʾm of the people of Zmr and he controlled the area alone so, O Gddf [grant] security and he helped the goats give birth the year that Bʾlsʾmn withheld it [the rain] from the Province [or region] and O Lt [inflict] nqʾt on him who destroys [the inscription]’; BES15 1379/14 *l ʾqrb bn grmʾl bn zʾn bn ḥtsʾt bn wsʾm ʾl zmr* ‘By ʾqrb son of Grmʾl son of Zʾn son of Ḥtsʾt son of Wsʾm of the people of Zmr’ (Readings and translations: OCIANA). Two further texts with the expression *ʾl zmr* are WR.A 15 and Is.Mu 321 (see below on the latter), but I could not place them in the lineage tree.

In Is.Mu 321 (Fig. A.1) the author self-identified as *ḏ ʿl zmr ḏ ʿl kn ḏ ʿl df ḏ ʿl whbʿl*.⁵⁷⁴ He first affiliates to *zmr*, but then continues with *kn*, which is supposedly a separate sub-group, and finally affiliates to the *df* lineage and to *whbʿl*, which we know from some texts to have been an ancestor of *df* (see §A.1.2 below). Even if we do not know the generation of the author, as his genealogy does not allow us to place him in the *df* tree, the text presents some very late palaeographic features, such as the *r* as a straight line with converging arms and the almond-shaped *m*.⁵⁷⁵ That being said, it is difficult to determine what the first part of the author's affiliation implies. The *zmr* and the *kn* sub-groups belong to the same branch, and perhaps in later generations these affiliations became blurred or authors started to consciously or subconsciously re-interpret them. It seems, from the final affiliation to the ancestors *df* and *whbʿl*, that the author ordered his affiliations from the smallest to the biggest group. Thus, another possibility is that *zmr* was an actual later sub-group within the *kn* which had nothing to do with the sub-group descending from 5th generation *zmr*.

gyr The JQC attests one inscription in which *mgd*, an author who left several other texts between north-eastern Jordan and southern Syria,⁵⁷⁶ self-identified as *ḏ ʿl gyr h-dfy*,⁵⁷⁷ whereby he first gave the name of his group, and then he further expressed affiliation to the *df* lineage through the *nisbah* adjective. The genealogy of the author is long enough to place him within the *df* lineage-tree if compared to other genealogies, and it shows that the *ʿl gyr* is most probably a sub-group named after *mgd*'s ancestor *gyr bn rfʿt bn wsʿyt bn df* (see the tree in Fig. A.18).⁵⁷⁸

bdn Two texts by the same author *ʿnʿm*, SESP.U 9/11 and 15/11, exhibit two different forms of affiliation to *bdn bn rfʿt bn wsʿyt bn df* (see Fig. A.3 below). In the first text, the author explicitly affiliates to the sub-group through *ḏ ʿl bdn*,⁵⁷⁹ while the second

⁵⁷⁴The full text reads: *l gyrʿl bn sʿlm bn gyrʿl bn hwt ḏ ʿl zmr ḏ ʿl kn ḏ ʿl df ḏ ʿl whbʿl w rʿy h-dʿn sʿnt ngy tm bn ʿnʿm h-dr w qnt h-sʿnʿ w hʿmʿgrm h-{n}mrt {w} tnzr h-sʿmy f h bʿlsʿmn rwh b-[m][t]r*. I follow the reading of OCIANA, except for the reading of the first affiliation, which I read as *zmr* instead of *zgr*: the graph in question has the typical elongated almond form of the *m* in texts from late generations. This same form appears also in the other *m*'s of the text and can be contrasted to the smaller and more compressed rhomboid form of the *g* in the word *ngy*.

⁵⁷⁵See §4.1.4.

⁵⁷⁶See §6.2.1.

⁵⁷⁷The full text reads: *l mgd bn zd bn qdm bn mrʿ ḏ ʿl gyr h-dfy w glsʿ h-mzrt f h lt w dsʿr gnmw lʿn m hbl h-sʿfr* 'By Mgd son of Zd son of Qdm son of Mrʿ of the people of Gyr, the Dayfite, and he halted at this look-out point so, O Lt and Dsʿr, grant spoil, and curse whosoever would obscure this writing'.

⁵⁷⁸There are two other texts in which the authors identify as *ḏ ʿl gyr*, MA 3 and SIJ 730, but I could not locate them in *df*'s lineage.

⁵⁷⁹SESP.U 9/11 *l ʿnʿm bn whbʿl bn hʿsʿl bn gyrʿl ḏ ʿl bdn w bny h-sʿtr l-znʿl f h sʿ2hqm nqʿ[[[t]l-d ʿwr h- sʿfr* 'By ʿnʿm son of Whbʿl son of Hʿsʿl son of Gyrʿl of the people of Bdn and he built the shelter for Znʿl, so, O Sʿ2hqm, [inflict] ejection from the grave on whoever would scratch out the inscription' (see OCIANA). Note that the text runs below SESP.U 8/12, dated to death of Agrippa by an author of the *zkr* branch (see the tree in Fig. A.15), which is sister to the *bdn* branch, as they share the same ancestor *rfʿt bn wsʿyt bn df*.

text⁵⁸⁰ reaches the ancestor *bdn* through the genealogy. Furthermore, *d³yt*, the author of SIJ 87/13, affiliated to the *bdn* as well⁵⁸¹ and his genealogy can be brought back to the same ancestor (see the tree in Fig. A.18).⁵⁸²

It should be noted that in the *b³s²* branch, *kn* and *zmr* are both from the 5th generation, while in the *ws²yt* branch, *gyr* and *bdn* are both from the 4th generation. This striking symmetry in the two branches may indicate that there was a generation-based pattern in the way sub-groups were defined, although there may have been differences from branch to branch, as in one branch they are formed according to 5th generation ancestors, while in the other according to 4th generation ancestors. Indeed, these are not the only 4th and 5th generation *df*-ites, and it is entirely possible that people affiliated to further sub-groups from either the same or earlier or later generations of the *df* lineage-tree, but did not fix them on rock, or perhaps they have not been identified yet. Within the *df*, there is further evidence of affiliation to a *s²w³* sub-group (perhaps after a 3rd generation ancestor of the *b³s²* branch)⁵⁸³ and to a *qn³l* sub-group (perhaps a later 9th generation ancestor of the *ws²yt* branch),⁵⁸⁴ but in both texts there is no conclusive evidence from the genealogies.

A.1.2 Ancestors beyond *df*

There are a number of texts, ranging from generation 6 to generation 14, in which the genealogies continue past *df*.

⁵⁸⁰SESP.U 15/11 *l³n³m bn whb³l bn h³s¹ bn gyr³l bn s¹mk bn wh³{l} bn mlk bn bdn w hqr f h lt s¹lm w nq³t l-d y³wr h-s¹fr* ‘By *n³m* son of *Whb³l* son of *H³s¹* son of *Gyr³l* son of *S¹mk* son of {*Whl*} son of *Mlk* son of *Bdn* and he camped near a permanent source of water, so, O Lt, [grant] security and [inflict] ejection from the grave on whoever scratches out the carving’ (see OCIANA).

⁵⁸¹The text reads: *l d³yt bn brd bn whb³l bn sbh³ bn s¹d bn s²hyt bn dhr d³l bdn w h³d h-nhy w {h}{r}s w h lt nq³t d y³wr h-s¹[f][r]* ‘By *D³yt* son of *Brd* son of *Whb³l* son of *Sbh³* son of *S¹d* son of *S²hyt* son of *Dhr* of the people of *Bdn* and he took possession of the pool and {was on the look-out} and O Lt [inflict] ejection from the tomb [on] whoever scratches out the {inscription}’. I here follow the OCIANA reading and translation of this text except for the reading of the group name, which I read as *bdn* (as in the *edition princeps*) instead of *bdl* (OCIANA reading).

⁵⁸²Three other texts explicitly affiliate to a social group named ‘*bdn*’: QUR 9.12.2, in the ‘fine’ script, WTI 18, in the SoS script, and SIJ 237, which seems in the SoS script as well, but it lacks sufficient diagnostic features to be sure. The *l bdn* of these texts does not need to represent the same social group as the sub-group of *df* discussed here. The PN *bdn* is a very common name in Safaitic, in the OCIANA (accessed in October 2019), the name *bdn* occurs 143 times. In the JQC, it occurs 18 times.

⁵⁸³Cf. RWQ 346 and 347, whose authors express their affiliations as *d³l df mn³l s²w³* and as *d³l s²w³* respectively. This affiliation may go back to *s²w³ bn b³s² bn df* (see the tree in Fig. A.4). On these two texts, which furthermore allude to an alliance between *df* and *w³d*, see §B.1.

⁵⁸⁴In WH 21, the author self-identifies as *d³l df mn³l qn³l*. While I am not aware of any early ancestor with this name, a possible identification could be 9th generation *qn³l*, of the *hmyn* sub-branch (see the tree in Fig. A.10 below).

A. The Lineage of *df*

Texts	Genealogies from <i>df</i> onwards
C 1472/8, 2094/6, 2152/9, 3160/10, KRS 155/8, 159/7, WH 463/11, 832/7, Al-Mafraq Museum 26/14	<i>df bn gn'l</i>
C 1993/12, SESP.U 4/13	<i>df bn gn'l bn whb'l</i>
KRS 173/6	<i>df bn gn'l bn whb'l bn ys'r</i>
AbNAS 3/14	<i>df bn whb'l</i>
C 2648/11	<i>df bn gn'l bn r'y</i>
SESP.U 8/12	<i>df bn gn'l bn bqr bn rhyw</i>
BES15 865	<i>df bn gn'l bn rhy bn 'm</i>
KRS 39/10	<i>df bn rhy</i>
AbWS 8/12	<i>df bn gn'l bn g'r bn 'wđ bn whb'l bn 'dd bn 'yl bn 'm bn rgl't bn đr'l bn hrm bn 'bgr bn 'ns'</i>
C 3046/6	<i>df bn gn'l (b)(n) 'yl bn hl't bn hs'r</i>
HSNS 5/11	<i>df bn 'gd bn t'wđ</i>

Table A.1: Texts with genealogies showing the ancestors beyond *df*

In Table A.1 one can see that *df*'s father is mostly *gn'l* and, in three texts, *whb'l* is *df*'s grandfather.⁵⁸⁵ In AbNAS 3/14,⁵⁸⁶ *df* is immediately followed by *whb'l*, but in its genealogy 5th generation *b'đrh* and 6th generation *đr'l* are missing as well,⁵⁸⁷ which may suggest that he also skipped *gn'l*. In the text Is.Mu 321 discussed above, the author affiliated to *zmr*, *kn*, and ended with *df* and *whb'l*, an order which suggests that *whb'l* represented the highest level of social organization. Nevertheless, as one can see in Table A.1, there are also texts showing different ancestors, cf., e.g., SESP.U 8/12 *df bn gn'l bn bqr bn rhyw*, BES15 865 *df bn gn'l bn rhy bn 'm*,⁵⁸⁸ C 3046/6 *df bn gn'l (b)(n) 'yl bn hl't bn hs'r*, and HSNS 5/11 *df bn 'gd bn t'wđ*.

The reason for this general lack of consistency may be that the authors skipped some of the genealogy members further up in the tree, and/or it may be due to the fact that this was the most 'creative' part of the genealogy, i.e. the part in which the authors could display their self-affiliations, which they may have created or modified depending on their changing alliances and affiliations. While the *df*-ites wrote down

⁵⁸⁵The Table does not include C 2152/9 – whose genealogy reaches *df*'s father – but the text is known only from a not too accurate drawing, and the name of *df*'s father is unclear, reading *{m/g}t{l/y}*. In the OCIANA it is emended to the commonly attested *{g}(n)'l*, which is certainly possible, as the *n* may have been turned into a *t* later. Without an actual photo, however, it is impossible to know.

⁵⁸⁶The full text reads: *l 's'lm bn n'mn bn gn'l bn hy bn šbh bn gn'l bn whb bn s'b bn gđđt bn 'ndt bn ws'yt bn df bn whb'l w 'wr l-đ 'wr h-s'fr* 'By 's'lm son of N'mn son of Gn'l son of Hy son of Šbh son of Gn'l son of Whb son of S'b son of Gđđt son of 'ndt son of Ws'yt son of Df son of Whb'l and blindness to whoever scratches out the inscription' (see OCIANA).

⁵⁸⁷See the tree in Fig. A.14 below.

⁵⁸⁸My reading of this genealogy agrees with OCIANA except for the reading of the name following *df*, which I read as *gn'l* instead of *'n'l*.

their genealogies, most of these genealogies do not continue past *df*. It is possible that, at the point in which the genealogies in Table A.1 were written (i.e. around gens. 6 – 14), the part following *df* was the only area of the genealogy for which it was considered as acceptable to display one's affiliations and be creative. In this respect, the presence of *whb'l* in some of these upper genealogies is particularly significant, as *whb'l* also follows the eponymous ancestor '*wḏ*' in several texts by members of that lineage, which, according to different types of evidence, could have been allied to the *df* (see §B.1). Moreover, in AbWS 8/12,⁵⁸⁹ in which *df* is followed by several genealogy members, the first ones are *g'r*, '*wḏ*', and *whb'l*, as if to imply that *df* was a sub-branch of '*wḏ*', but unfortunately neither photo or tracing of the text has been published.

A.2 Genealogical trees

The genealogical trees displayed here reconstruct various branches of the '*l df*'. The main purpose of this Section is to show the position of the authors whose texts are relevant to Chapter 4 and to §A.1 above within the *df* lineage-tree.⁵⁹⁰ Figs. A.2–A.13 show the trees with the authors of texts studied in §4.1 on the development of the 'fine' script.⁵⁹¹ Figs. A.14–A.16 display the authors of the inscriptions discussed in §4.2 on the chronology of Safaitic writing among the *df*. Finally, Figs. A.17–A.18 exhibit the genealogies of further authors/branches relevant to the discussion on the sub-groups of the '*l df*' in §A.1 above. Within the trees, authors are singled out by the use of the bold style. The trees are followed by tables with lists of the authors shown in the trees and the *sigla* of the texts in which they appear.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁹The full text reads: *l qdm bn s²mt bn ḡyr'l bn zkr bn ḡn'l bn s'b bn 'ḏr'l bn b'ḏh bn ḡḏḏt bn 'ndt bn ws²yt bn df bn ḡn'l bn g'r bn 'wḏ bn whb'l bn 'dd bn 'yl bn 'm bn rglt bn ḏr'l bn hrm bn 'bgr bn 'ns¹ w ḏbh l-gḏḏf wqyt m-b's¹* 'By Qdm son of S²mt son of Ḡyr'l son of Zkr son of Ḡn'l son of S'b son of 'ḏr'l son of B'ḏh son of Ḡḏḏt son of 'ndt son of Ws²yt son of Ḑf son of Ḡn'l son of G'r son of 'wḏ son of Whb'l son of 'dd son of 'yl son of 'm son of Rglt son of Ḑr'l son of Hrm son of 'bgr son of 'ns¹ and he sacrificed to Gd-Ḑf [for] protection from misfortune' (see OCIANA). It is very likely, on the basis of several comparable genealogies, that one should read *b'ḏh* as *b'ḏ[r]h*.

⁵⁹⁰Note that the lineage of *df* attests many more authors than the ones represented in the trees here, but a complete reconstruction of *df*'s genealogies would go far beyond the scopes of this study. Other reconstructions of the *df* lineage-tree can be found in Harding 1969:25 – although a far lower amount of texts by members of this lineage was known back then – and in Norris 2020:376, Fig. 10, who reconstructed a partial lineage-tree of the *df* showing the position of the authors of two of the texts he re-edited.

⁵⁹¹I had to break down the tree with the authors from the earliest generations (gens. 1 to 5) and the tree of the *ḥmyn* sub-branch into multiple trees, because otherwise their sizes would have been too large to fit the page.

⁵⁹²The PNs of the genealogy members are generally read as in the OCIANA, with the exception of Is.K 90/7?, where I read the author's name as *ḥḏ{g}* instead of *ḥḏw{t}*, and AWS 51/13, where I read the author's name as *ḡn'l* instead of '*l*'.

A. The Lineage of *df*

A.2.1 Trees §3.1

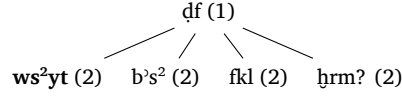


Figure A.2: The *df* until generation 2

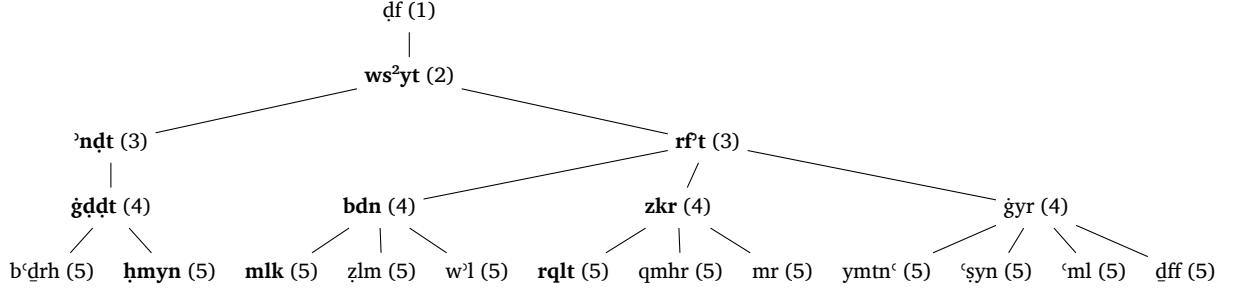


Figure A.3: The *ws²yt* branch until generation 5

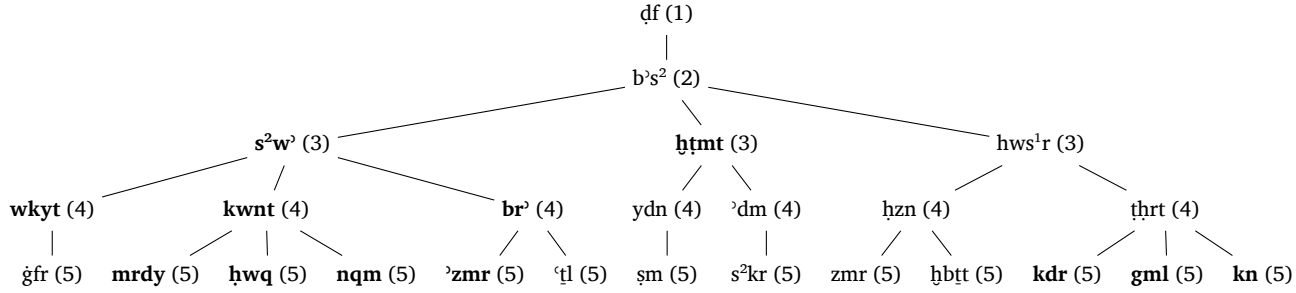


Figure A.4: The *b's²* branch until generation 5

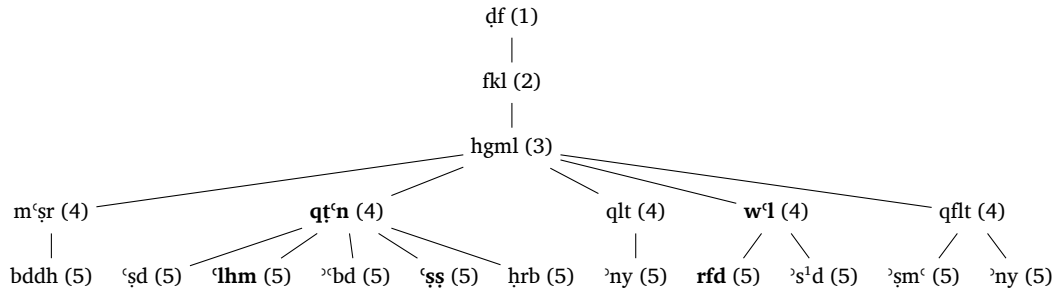


Figure A.5: The *fkl* branch until generation 5

A.2. Genealogical trees

Gen.	Author	Sigla
2	<i>ws²yt</i>	WH 884/2?
3	<i>ʾndt</i>	WH 1948/3?, AbaNS 1162/3?
3	<i>rft</i>	KRS 485/3?
3	<i>s²wʾ</i>	WH 744.1/3?, AWS 118/3?, KRS 1812/3?
3	<i>ḥtmt</i>	KRS 1397/3?
4	<i>ḡddt</i>	WH 395.1/4?
4	<i>bdn</i>	KRS 2454/4
4	<i>zkr</i>	C 1583/4, KRS 469/4?
4	<i>wkyt</i>	C 3894/4?, LP 106/4?
4	<i>kwnt</i>	LP 111/4?, Is.Mu 562/4?
4	<i>brʾ</i>	LP 113/4?
4	<i>qtʿn</i>	LP 1226/4?, KRS 2456/4?
4	<i>wʿl</i>	KRS 1449/4?, KRS 1802/4?
5	<i>ḥmyn</i>	C 2700/5?
5	<i>mlk</i>	KRS 907/5
5	<i>rqlt</i>	SSWS 305/5?, WH 1945/5?
5	<i>mrdy</i>	WH 650/5
5	<i>ḥwq</i>	KRS 1479/5, AWS 219/5?
5	<i>nqm</i>	C 651/5?
5	<i>kdr</i>	WH 274/5?, WH 1711.2/5, WH 1747/5?
5	<i>gml</i>	Is.H 47/5?
5	<i>kn</i>	C 928/5?, LP 99/5?, WH 302/5?
5	<i>ʿšš</i>	C 2322/5
5	<i>ʾlhm</i>	KRS 278/5, WH 807/5
5	<i>rfd</i>	C 3855/5

Table A.2: Texts by authors in Figs. A.2 – A.5

A. The Lineage of *df*

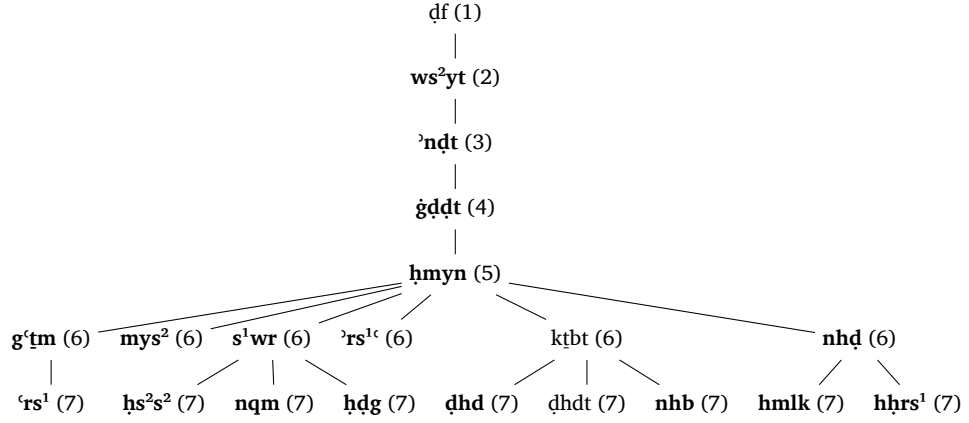


Figure A.6: The *ħmyn* sub-branch until generation 7

Gen.	Author	Sigla
6	<i>g'ṫm</i>	C 1969/6?
6	<i>mys²</i>	Is.H 146/6
6	<i>s¹wr</i>	C 800/6?, 2357/6?, 3592/6?, LP 458/6?, Is.L 192/6?
6	<i>'rs¹ᶜ</i>	RSIS 140/6
6	<i>nhđ</i>	KRS 173/6
7	<i>'rs¹</i>	C 2257/7
7	<i>ḥs²s²</i>	C 3927/7, 4467/7, 4499/7, SSWS 191/7?, KRS 1276/7
7	<i>nqm</i>	C 2277/7?, 4523/7
7	<i>ḥdg</i>	C 2456/7, 2672/7, SSWS 166/7, Is.L 25/7, 32/7, Is.K 90/7?
7	<i>dhd</i>	C 2523/7, 4668/7
7	<i>nhb</i>	Is.M 7/7, 36/7
7	<i>hmlk</i>	C 2681/7
7	<i>ḥhrs¹</i>	Is.N 15/7

Table A.3: Texts by authors in Fig. A.6 (gens. 6 – 7)

A.2. Genealogical trees

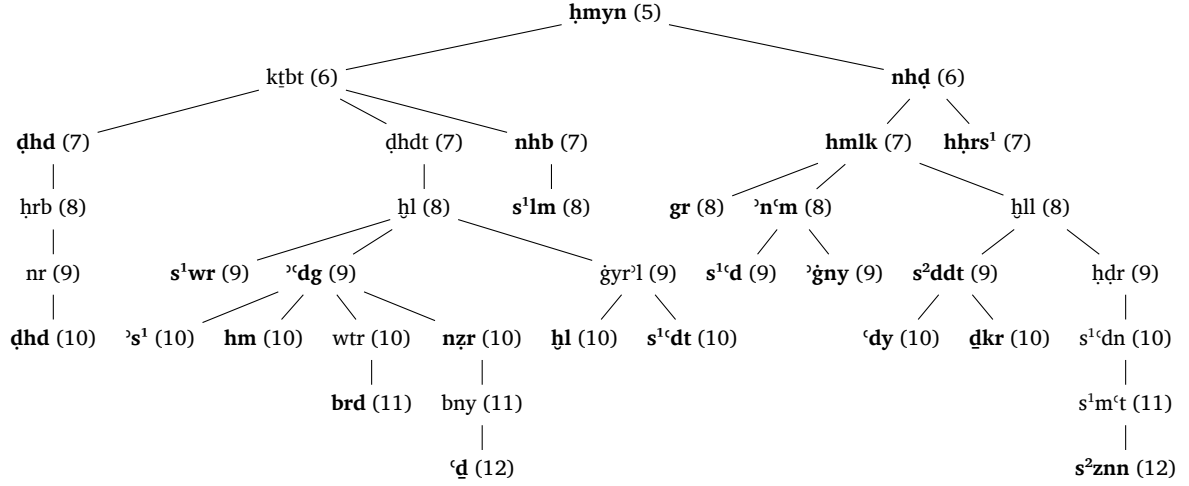


Figure A.7: The *kt̄bt* & *nh̄d* bn *h̄myn* sub-branches

Gen.	Author	Sigla
8	<i>s¹lm</i>	Is.L 151/8
8	<i>gr</i>	KRS 218/8
8	<i>ḡn¹m</i>	Is.Mu 240/8
9	<i>s¹wr</i>	C 4777/9, RSIS 147/9, 294/9, SESP.G 3/9
9	<i>ḡdg</i>	RSIS 148/9, 303/9
9	<i>s¹d</i>	KRS 3029/9
9	<i>ḡgny</i>	WH 845/9, 1883/9, RWQ 113/9
9	<i>s²ddt</i>	Is.L 171/9, Is.Mu 203/9
10	<i>ḡhd</i>	HaNSB 218/10
10	<i>ḡs¹</i>	KRS 1090/10
10	<i>hm</i>	KRS 1085/10
10	<i>n̄zr</i>	LP 302/10
10	<i>ḡl</i>	KRS 1076/10
10	<i>s¹dt</i>	WH 2143/10
10	<i>ḡdy</i>	Is.H 850/10
10	<i>ḡdkr</i>	Is.H 847/10, 852/10
11	<i>brd</i>	NBR 2/10
12	<i>ḡd</i>	NBR 1/12
12	<i>s²znn</i>	Is.H 891/12

Table A.4: Texts by authors in Fig. A.7 (gens. 8 – 12)

A. The Lineage of *df*

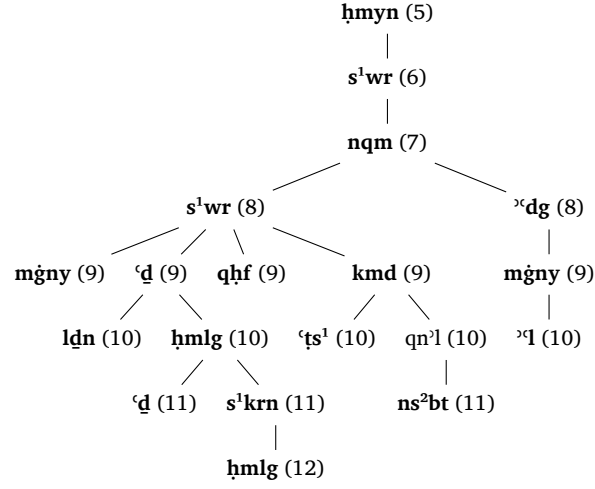


Figure A.8: The *nqm* *bn* *s¹wr* *bn* *ḥmyn* sub-branch

Gen.	Author	Sigla
8	<i>s¹wr</i>	Is.H 515/8?, Is.M 258/8
8	<i>ʿdg</i>	Is.H 109/8, Is.K 89/8
9	<i>mḡny (bn s¹wr)</i>	RSIS 225/9
9	<i>ʿd</i>	C 1837/9, 2272/9, LP 436/9, Is.L 68/9, Is.H 247/9, 260/9, Is.R 84/9, RWQ 17/9
9	<i>qḥf</i>	BES15 191/9
9	<i>kmd</i>	RSIS 226/9, 237/9
9	<i>mḡny (bn ʿdg)</i>	Is.K 91/9, Is.H 606/9, KRS 91/9
10	<i>ldn</i>	C 1571/10, Is.Mu 235/10, Is.M 9/10, Is.L 45/10
10	<i>ḥmlg</i>	C 2458/10, 2964/10, 4425/10, KRS 2592/10
10	<i>ʿts¹</i>	C 3847 = LP 168/10
10	<i>ʿl</i>	KRS 859/10
11	<i>ʿd</i>	C 2023/11
11	<i>s¹kṛn</i>	Is.L 33 = LP 1040/11, Is.Mu 189/11, Is.H 708/11
11	<i>ns²bt</i>	C 1838/11
12	<i>ḥmlg</i>	KhS 10 /12

Table A.5: Texts by authors in Fig. A.8 (gens. 8 – 12)

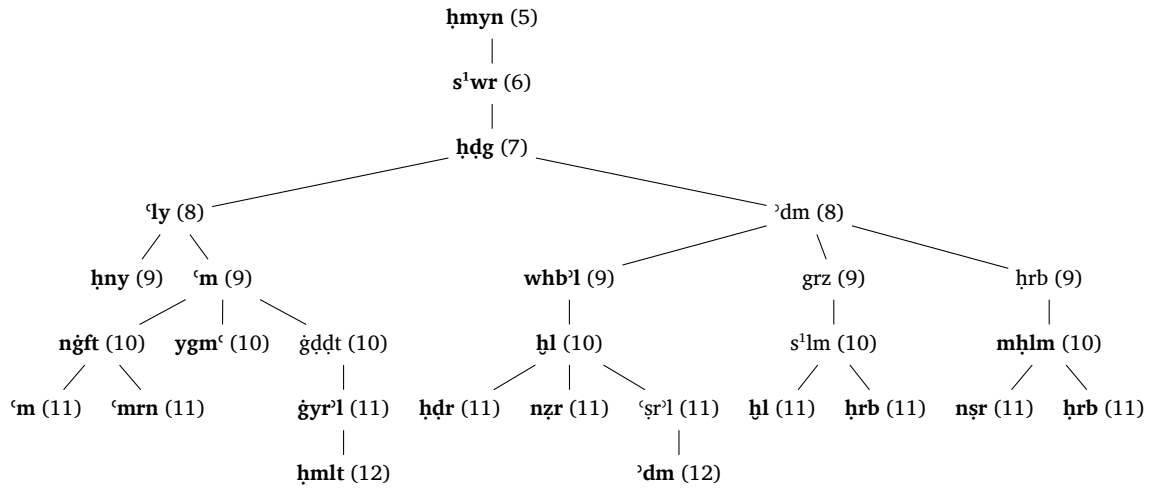


Figure A.9: The *h̥d̥g bn s¹wr bn ɦmyn* sub-branch (*ʔly & ʔdm bn h̥d̥g*)

Gen.	Author	Sigla
8	ʿly	Is.L 48/8, 131/8?, 193/8, 272/8, Is.R 72/8, KRS 1247/8
9	ḥny	Is.H 546/9
9	ʿm	C 2740/9, Al-Namārah.H 120/9, RSIS 156/9, RWQ 286/9
9	whbʿl	Is.H 1025/9, RSIS 69/9
10	nġft	KRS 110/10, 111/10
10	ygm ^c	WH 2116/10
10	hl	C 1381/10, 1921/10, 2673/10, KRS 1000/10, RSIS 68/10, Is.H 1026/10, MKMR 67/10
10	mḥlm	KRS 2993/10
11	ʿm	SSWS 331/11
11	ʿmrn	WH 2108/11
11	ġyrʿl	C 3161/11
11	ḥḍr	KRS 2870/11
11	nṣr	C 2656/11
11	hl	C 2575/11, 2320/11
11	ḥrb	KRS 117/11, QUR 2.239.1/11, 2.253.1/11
12	ḥmlt	HCH 153/12, ZeGa 8/12
12	ʾdm	Khunp 1/12

Table A.6: Texts by authors in Fig. A.9 (gens. 8 – 12)

A. The Lineage of *df*

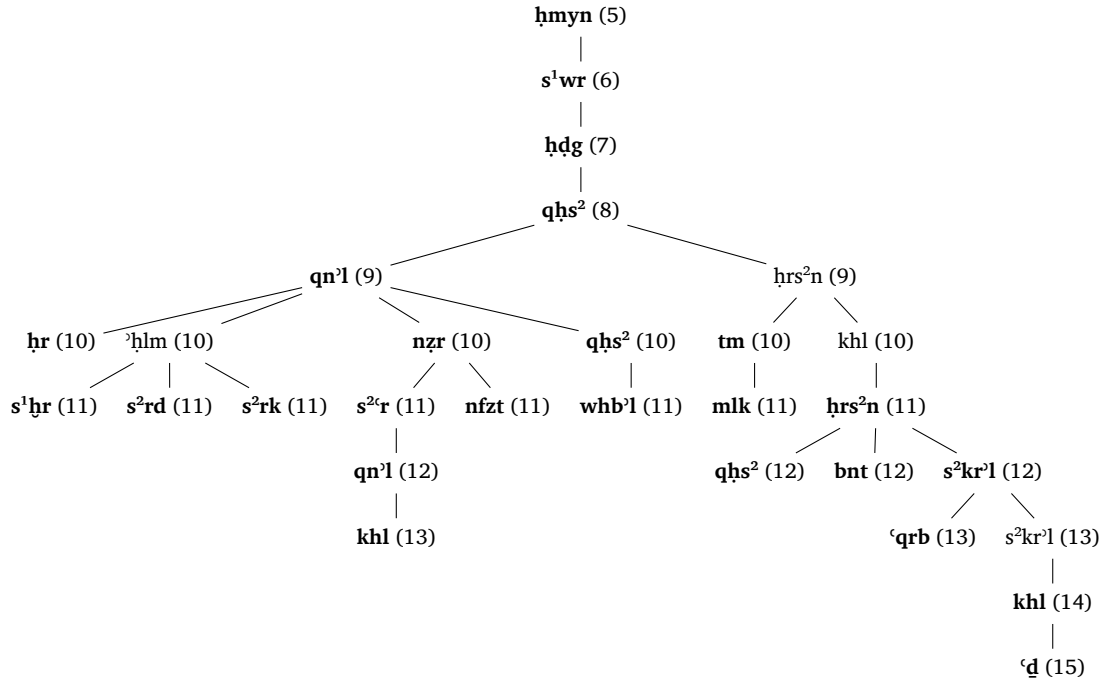


Figure A.10: The *ḥḍg* bn *s¹wr* bn *ḥmyn* sub-branch (*qn¹l* & *ḥrs²n* bn *qḥs²* bn *ḥḍg*)

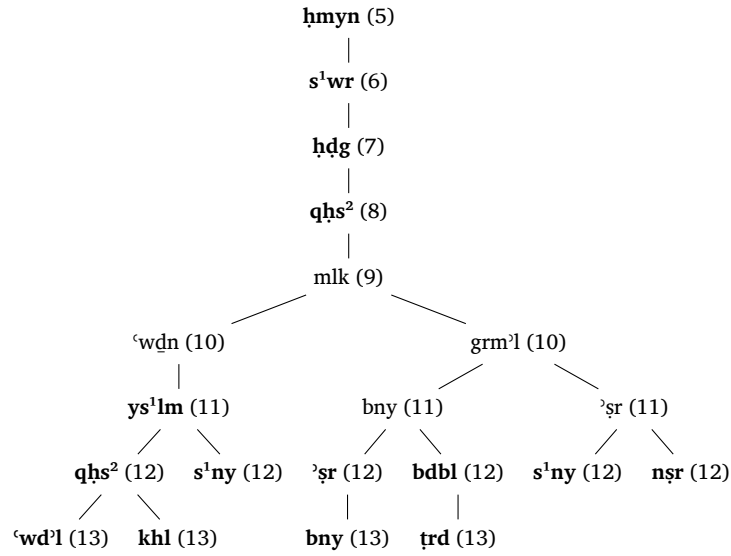


Figure A.11: The *ḥḍg* bn *s¹wr* bn *ḥmyn* sub-branch (*wḍn* & *grm¹l* bn *mlk* bn *qḥs²*)

A.2. Genealogical trees

Gen.	Author	Sigla
8	qhs^2	C 2002/8, 2104/8
9	qn^l	SESP.D 22/9
10	hr	Is.M 92 = LP 317/10
10	$n\dot{z}r$	Is.Mu 51/10
10	qhs^2	RSIS 9/10, Al-Namārah.M 34/10
10	tm	Internet 4/10
11	s^ihr	RSIS 41/11
11	s^2rd	RSIS 67/11
11	s^2rk	RSIS 30/11
11	s^2r	C 3846/11, LP 166/11
11	$nfzt$	RSIS 333/11
11	whb^l	C 4814/11, KRS 1150/11
11	mlk	RSIS 191/11, RWQ 298/11
11	hrs^2n	C 1833/11
11	ys^ilm	KRS 1706/11
12	qn^l	KRS 227/12
12	$qhs^2 (bn s^2kr^l)$	Is.Mu 100 = LP 352/12
12	bnt	KRS 134/12, 339/12
12	s^2rk^l	Is.Mu 131 = LP 387/12, Is.Mu 413/12
12	$qhs^2 (bn ys^ilm)$	KRS 1009/12
12	$s^iny (bn ys^ilm)$	KRS 132/12
12	$\dot{s}r$	KRS 2510/12
12	$bdbl$	KRS 1116/12
12	$s^iny (bn \dot{s}r)$	KRS 141/12
12	$n\dot{s}r$	KRS 330/12
13	$khl (bn qn^l)$	Ms 50/13
13	$\dot{q}rb$	KRS 441/13
13	$\dot{w}d^l$	WH 330/13
13	$khl (bn qhs^2)$	WH 331/13
13	bny	KRS 1867/13, 1872/13, Al-Mafraq Museum 31/13
13	$\dot{t}rd$	AbSWS 18/13
14	khl	HaNSB 244/14
15	\dot{q}	Is.H 214 = LP 617/15

Table A.7: Texts by authors in Figs. A.10 – A.11 (gens. 8 – 15)

A. The Lineage of *df*

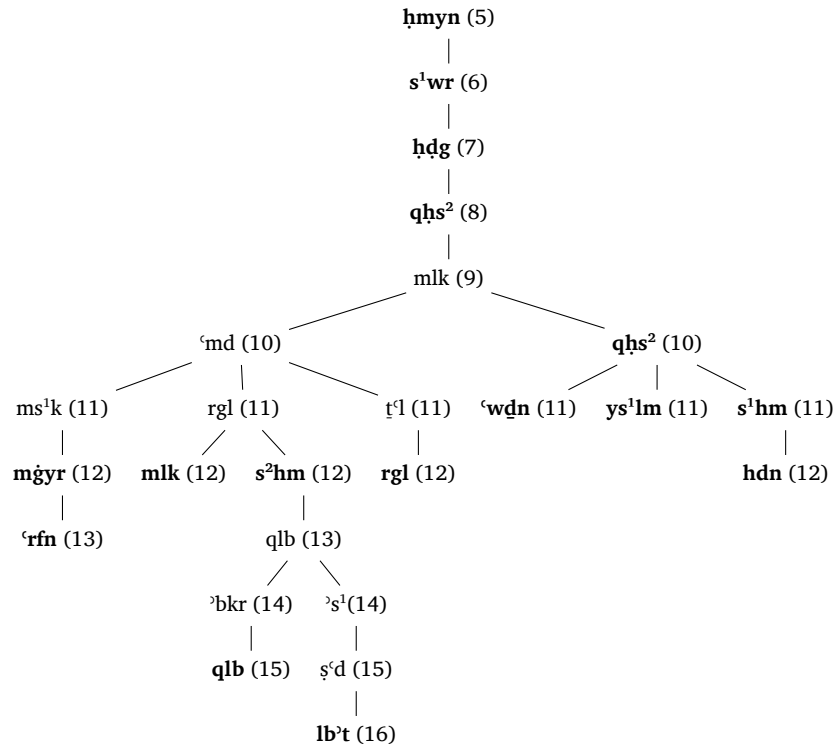


Figure A.12: The *ḡdg* bn *s¹wr* bn *h̄myn* sub-branch (*md* & *qhs²* bn *mlk* bn *qhs²*)

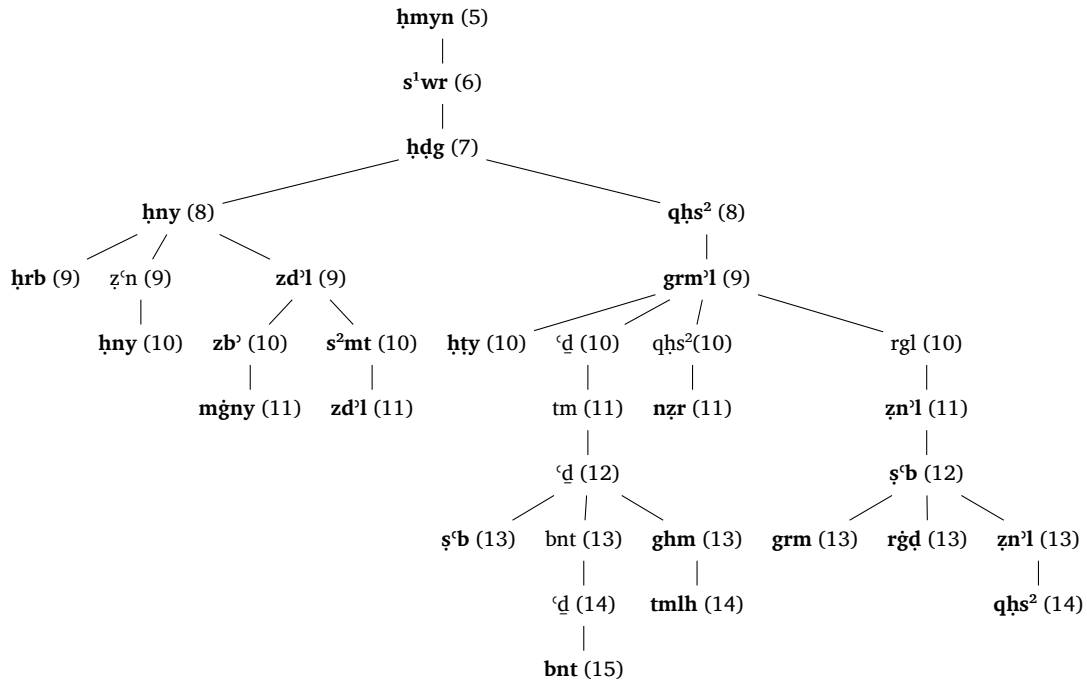


Figure A.13: The $h̄dg$ bn $s¹wr$ bn $h̄myn$ sub-branch ($h̄ny$ bn $h̄dg$ & $grm¹l$ bn $q̄hs²$ bn $h̄dg$)

A. The Lineage of *df*

Gen.	Author	Sigla
8	<i>qhs</i> ²	C 2002/8, 2104/8
8	<i>hny</i>	LP 462/8, 1074/8, Is.L 51/8?, Is.Mu 286/8
9	<i>hrb</i>	Is.M 300/9, 349/9
9	<i>zd</i> ^l	WH 2170/9
9	<i>grm</i> ^l	Is.L 182/9
10	<i>qhs</i> ²	BES15 802/10
10	<i>hny</i>	Is.H 156/10, 168/10
10	<i>zb</i> ³	AWS 163/10
10	<i>s</i> ² <i>mt</i>	WH 2133/10, 2157/10, RWQ 257/10
10	<i>hty</i>	KRS 95/10
11	<i>w</i> ^{dn}	KRS 2583/11
11	<i>ys</i> ¹ <i>lm</i>	KRS 1729/11, 1731/11
11	<i>s</i> ¹ <i>hm</i>	ASWS 66/11, KRS 140/11
11	<i>m</i> ^{gn} <i>ny</i>	AWS 58/11, 215/11
11	<i>zd</i> ^l	AWS 163/11
11	<i>n</i> ^{zr}	Al-Namārah.M 23/11, KRS 163/11, RSIS 335/11
11	<i>zn</i> ^l	AWS 255/11, C 5140/11, KRS 633/11, RMenv.D 4/11, WH 53/11, 123/11, 399/11
12	<i>m</i> ^{gyr}	BES15 799/12, KRS 1885/12, 1886/12
12	<i>mlk</i>	KRS 1027/12, 1333/12
12	<i>s</i> ² <i>hm</i>	AbSWS 84 = RWQ 331/12
12	<i>rgl</i>	KRS 2820/12
12	<i>hdn</i>	KRS 130/12
12	<i>š</i> ^b	C 2394/12
13	<i>r</i> ^{fn}	Al-Mafraq Museum 70/13, HaNSB 220/13, RSIS 254/13
13	<i>š</i> ^b	Al-Mafraq Museum 32/13
13	<i>ghm</i>	AbWS 44/13
13	<i>grm</i>	BES15 1386/13
13	<i>r</i> ^{gd}	ZeGA 10/13
13	<i>zn</i> ^l	AWS 51/13, 111/13
14	<i>tmlh</i>	C 1665/14, QUR 586.20.1/14?
14	<i>qhs</i> ²	WH 593/14
15	<i>qlb</i>	AbWS 5/15
15	<i>bnt</i>	SIJ Extra 1/15
16	<i>lb</i> ^t	Is.Mu 367/16

Table A.8: Texts by authors in Figs. A.12 – A.13 (gens. 8 – 15)

A.2.2 Trees §3.2

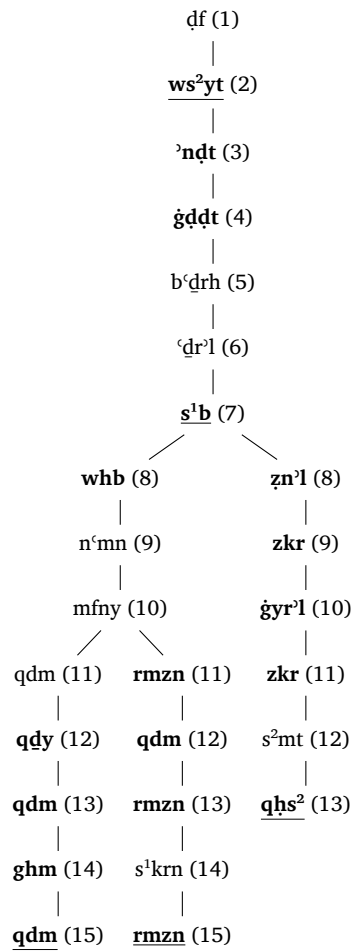


Figure A.14: The ḡḡḡḡ branch

A. The Lineage of *df*

Gen.	Author	Sigla
2	<i>ws²yt</i>	WH 884/2?
3	<i>ʔndt</i>	WH 1948/3?, AbaNS 1162/3?
4	<i>ḡḏḏt</i>	WH 395.1/4?
7	<i>s¹b</i>	C 1497/7, 4505/7, Is.Mu 354/7, KRS 563/7, LP 1298/7, SESP.G 1/7
8	<i>whb</i>	Is.Mu 305/8?
8	<i>zn¹l</i>	C 1498/8
9	<i>zkr</i>	C 266/9, 3444/9, KRS 366/9, 382/9, Is.H 1014/9, Is.L 202/9
10	<i>ḡyr¹l</i>	C 1899/10, WH 393/10, Is.H 54 = LP 952/10?, Is.H 277/10, Is.M 93 = LP 216/10?, Is.Mu 135/10
11	<i>rmzn</i>	AWS 200/11, C 2471/11
11	<i>zkr</i>	C 2472/11
12	<i>qḏy</i>	HNSD 166/12, KRS 344/12, 352/12, 811/12, WH 1307/12, 1637/12
12	<i>qḏm</i>	KRS 812/12
13	<i>qḏm</i>	KRS 350/13, 2508/13, WH 251/13
13	<i>rmzn</i>	KRS 1167/13
13	<i>qhs²</i>	HSNS 1/13, 4/13
14	<i>ghm</i>	WH 327/14
15	<i>qḏm</i>	KRS 1982/15
15	<i>rmzn</i>	ASFF 301 = ZSSH 4/16

Table A.9: Texts by authors in Fig. A.14

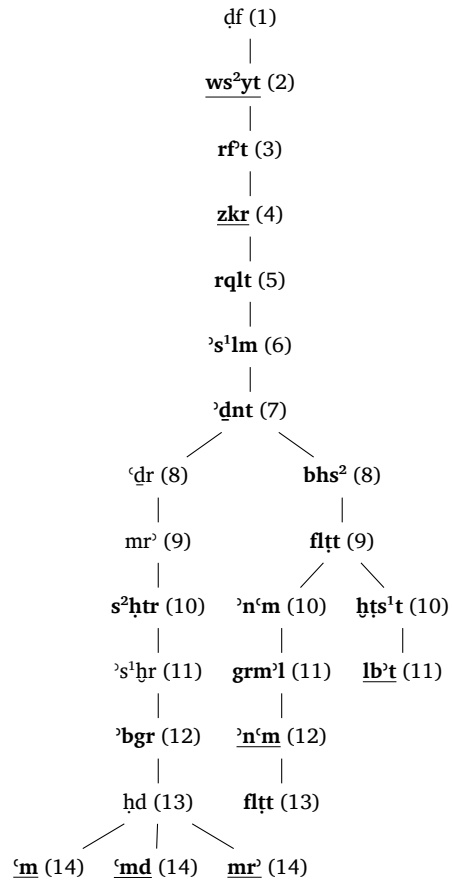


Figure A.15: The *zkr* branch

A. The Lineage of *df*

Gen.	Author	Sigla
2	<i>ws²yt</i>	WH 884/2?
3	<i>rf²t</i>	KRS 485/3?
4	<i>zkr</i>	C 1583/4, KRS 469/4?
5	<i>rqlt</i>	WH 1945/5?, SSWS 305/5?
6	<i>s¹lm</i>	C 2354/6?, Is.R 2/6?, Is.L 227 = LP 454/6?
7	<i>dnt</i>	C 694/7?, 3325/7?, 3603/7?, Is.H 629/7?, Is.L 240/7?, Is.Mu 6/7?, LP 492/7?, 1139/7?, RWQ 308/7?
8	<i>bhs²</i>	C 2525/8?
9	<i>fltt</i>	C 2759/9?
10	<i>s²htr</i>	Is.K 286/10
10	<i>n¹m</i>	KRS 282/10, KRS 324/10
10	<i>hts¹t</i>	C 2840/10, C 3740 = LP 23/10, C 3743/10, KRS 327/10, Al-Namārah.H 184/10, SESP.K 1/10
11	<i>grm¹l</i>	Is.Mu 186/11
11	<i>lb¹t</i>	HSNS 5/11
12	<i>bgr</i>	KRS 1133/12
12	<i>n¹m</i>	HaNSB 243/12, KRS 1231/12, SESP.U 8/12
13	<i>fltt</i>	WH 2606.1/13
14	<i>m</i>	KRS 1131/14
14	<i>md</i>	KRS 1383/14, 1284/14, 2301/14
14	<i>mr²</i>	KRS 1408/14, 1409/14

Table A.10: Texts by authors in Fig. A.15

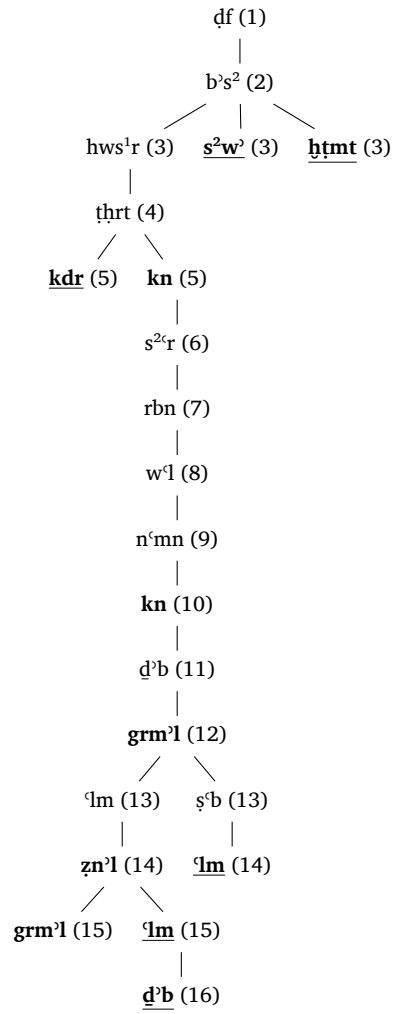


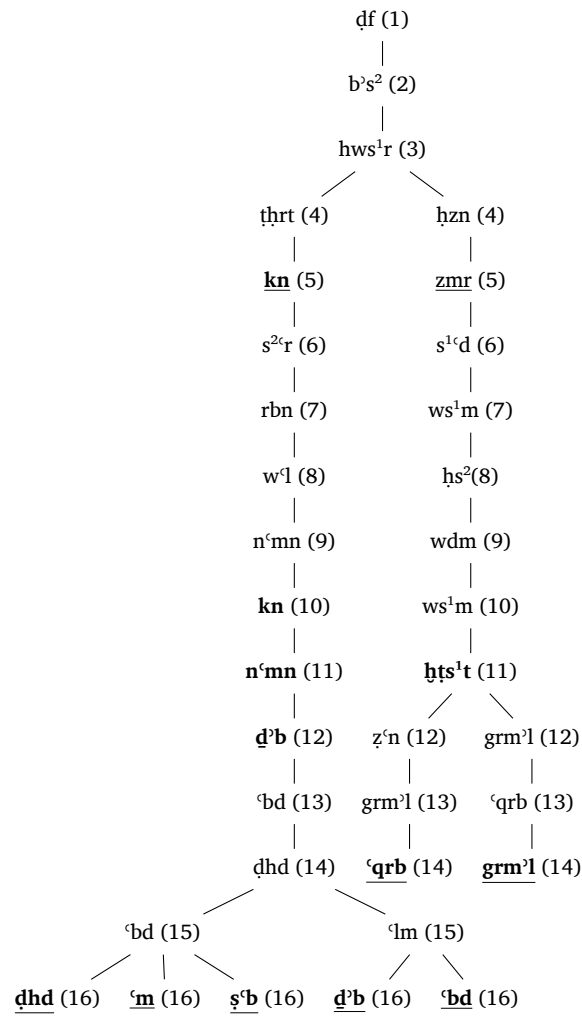
Figure A.16: The thrt branch

A. The Lineage of *df*

Gen.	Author	Sigla
3	<i>s²w'</i>	AWS 118/3?, KRS 1912/3?, WH 744.1/3?
3	<i>h²mt</i>	KRS 1397/3?
5	<i>kdr</i>	WH 1711.2/5
5	<i>kn</i>	C 928/5?, LP 99/5?, WH 302/5?
10	<i>kn</i>	QWs 4/10?
12	<i>grm'l</i>	C 242/12, 2153/12, 2967/12, 3312/12, 3728 = LP 782/12, Is.H 642/12, Is.L 32 = LP 1041/12, Is.L 67 = LP 435/12, Is.Mu 190/12, LP 835/12, Al-Namārah.H 38/12
14	<i>zn'l</i>	Is.L 80 = LP 430/14
14	<i>lm</i>	KRS 1023/14, 1169/14
15	<i>grm'l</i>	WH 1685/15
15	<i>lm</i>	C 4052/15, KRS 1039/15
16	<i>d'b</i>	SESP.U 22/16

Table A.11: Texts by authors in Fig. A.16

A.2.3 Trees §A.1

Figure A.17: The *kn* and the *zmr* branches

A. The Lineage of df

Gen.	Author	Sigla
5	kn	C 928/5?, LP 99/5?, WH 302/5?
10	kn	QWs 4/10?
11	$n'mn$	C 2143/11
11	$h's't$	C 2706/11?, WH 253/11?, KRS 1981/11
12	$d'b$	C 2315/12
14	$'qrb$	C 3969/14, BES15 1379/14
14	$grm'l$	AbMNS 2 = RWQ 333/14
16	dhd	SESP.S 2/16
16	$'m$	SESP.S 3/16
16	$s'b$	SESP.S 4/16
16	$d'b$	RSIS 232/16
16	$'bd$	Ms 29/16

Table A.12: Texts by authors in Fig. A.17

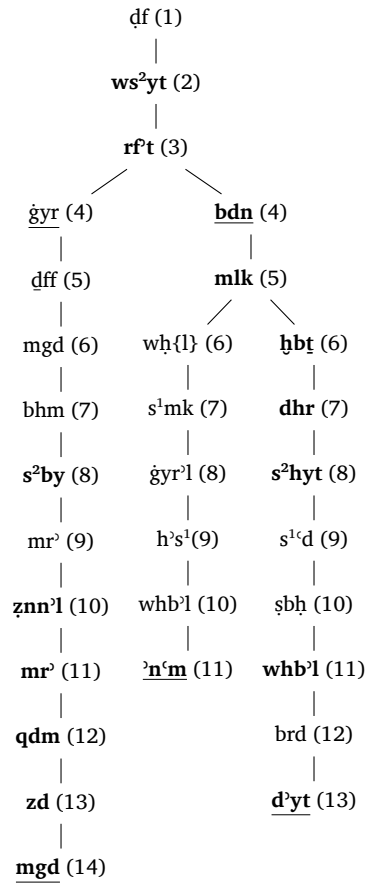


Figure A.18: The *gyr* and the *bdn* branches

A. The Lineage of *df*

Gen.	Author	Sigla
2	<i>ws²yt</i>	WH 884/2?
3	<i>rf²t</i>	KRS 485/3?
4	<i>bdn</i>	C 2143/11
5	<i>mlk</i>	KRS 907/5
6	<i>hb_t</i>	C 4671/6
7	<i>dhr</i>	Al-Namārah.H 176/7
8	<i>s²by</i>	C 517/8, 739/8, 3532/8
8	<i>s²hyt</i>	C 2365/8
10	<i>znn^l</i>	Brenv.G 2/10
11	<i>mr³</i>	C 3897/11, BES15 699/11
11	<i>whb^l</i>	C 1141/11, LP 1262/11
12	<i>qdm</i>	BES15 207/12, 909/12, KRS 1007/12, 1037/12, 1153/12
13	<i>zd</i>	BES15 623/13
13	<i>d³yt</i>	SIJ 87/13, SIJ 90/13
14	<i>mgd</i>	QUR 176.24.1/14, SIJ 823/14, BEnv.G 1/14, BS 639/14, WH 947/14

Table A.13: Texts by authors in Fig. A.18

A.3 The compression of the *b*'s

A.3.1 *b*'s compression measurements

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
KRS 2454/4	1.77 – 1.62
KRS 1479/5	1.85 – 1.5 – 1.16 – 1.1 – 2.17
WH 650/5	2.19 – 1.04
KRS 278/5	1.17 – 1.58
KRS 907/5	1.25 – 1.3 – 1.67 – 2

Table A.14: Compression of 15 *b*'s in 5 texts by authors from generations 4 to 5 (all branches)

A.3. The compression of the *b*'s

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Is.H 146/6	3.18 – 2.86
KRS 173/6	2.4 – 2.13 – 1.83 – 2.08 – 1.94 – 2.3 – 2.06 – 2.26 – 1.35
Is.L 25/7	3.5 – 2.22
KRS 1276/7	2.3 – 2.66
Is.N 15/7	1.71 – 2.33 – 1.2
Is.M 36/7 (same author as Is.M 7 below)	2.03 – 2.18 – 3.03
Is.M 7/7	2.49 – 1.95 – 2 – 4.12

Table A.15: Compression of 25 *b*'s in 7 texts by authors from generations 6 to 7 (*hmyn* sub-branch)

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Is.H 109/8 (same author as Is.K 89 below)	3.57 – 2.63 – 5
Is.K 89/8	4.33 – 2.5
Is.M 258/8	2.87 – 2.82 – 2.27
Is.R 72/8 (same author as Is.L 131, 193, 272, KRS 1247 below)	2.65 – 2
Is.L 193/8	1.4 – 3.28
Is.L 272/8	3 – 1.67
KRS 1247/8	2 – 3.33
Is.Mu 240/8	4.96 – 4.46
KRS 218/8	3.77 – 3 – 3.83 – 2.25
Is.Mu 286/8	2.29 – 2.22

Table A.16: Compression of 24 *b*'s in 10 eighth generation texts (*hmyn* sub-branch)

A. The Lineage of *df*

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Al-Namārah.H 120/9 (same author as RSIS 156, RWQ 286 below)	4.08 – 4.23
RSIS 156/9	4.18 – 6 – 4.81
RWQ 286/9	4.12 – 4.44
RSIS 226/9 (same author as RSIS 237 below)	6.8 – 5.2 – 4.9 – 4.5 – 7.86 – 3.56 – 5.9
RSIS 237/9	5 – 6
RSIS 147/9 (same author as RSIS 294, SESP.G 3 below)	3.33 – 4.38 – 4.53 – 3.41 – 5.07
RSIS 294/9	3 – 3 – 4.3 – 4.4 – 3 – 3.85
SESP.G 3/9	3
BES15 191/9	10 – 6.47
Is.H 247/9 (same author as Is.H 260, Is.L 68, Is.R 84 below)	2.63 – 2.75 – 3.29
Is.H 260/9	2.83 – 2.33 – 3.23
Is.L 68/9	3.8 – 4.46
Is.R 84/9	3.5 – 2.95
Is.H 546/9	2.35 – 1.4
Is.H 606/9 (same author as Is.K 91, KRS 91 below)	4.75 – 5 – 2.6 – 4.33
Is.K 91/9	3.33 – 3 – 3.33
KRS 91/9	2.5 – 5.4 – 3.25
KRS 3029/9	6.75 – 5.07 – 4.33 – 3.21
Is.M 300/9 (same author as Is.M 349 below)	1.5 – 1.75 – 1.44
Is.M 349/9	2.25 – 4.87
Is.L 182/9	3.75 – 2.29
RSIS 69/9 (same author as Is.H 1025 below)	3.17 – 4 – 3.45 – 4
Is.H 1025/9	4 – 4.31 – 3.04
RSIS 148/9	2.91 – 3.24 – 3.6 – 4.5 – 4.04
RWQ 113/9 (same author as WH 845 below)	4 – 3 – 3.5
WH 845/9	2.6 – 4.33 – 4 – 3.6
SESP.D 22/9	2.29 – 2 – 2.5 – 2.25 – 3.14 – 1.8 – 2
Is.Mu 203/9 (same author as Is.L 171 below)	2.11 – 4.29 – 4.94 – 2.9 – 2.28
Is.L 171/9	4.88 – 6.21

Table A.17: Compression of 96 *b*'s in 29 ninth generation texts (*hmyn* sub-branch)

A.3. The compression of the *b*'s

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Internet 4/10	3.4 – 3.8 – 5.2
Is.M 92/10 = LP 317	3.03 – 3.28 – 2.1
Is.H 168/10	2.52 – 4 – 3.5 – 4 – 2.5
RSIS 29/10	8.13 – 4.75 – 5.8
Is.H 847/10	4.38 – 4.67 – 4.14 – 3.86
Is.H 850/10	4.33 – 2.92 – 4.88 – 3.7 – 4.7
KRS 1076/10	5 – 4.62 – 4.4 – 3.2 – 2.6 – 4.33
KRS 1085/10	4 – 3.92 – 6 – 5.8 – 7.5
KRS 1090/10	4 – 4.35 – 3.8 – 3.9 – 3.5 – 3.92 – 3.05 – 3.25 – 4 – 3.53 – 3.75
Is.Mu 235/10 (same author as Is.M 9, Is.L 45 below)	3.25 – 3.05
Is.M 9/10	4.6 – 5.29
Is.L 45/10	2.75 – 3
Is.H 1026/10 (same author as RSIS 68, KRS 1000, MKMR 67)	3.52 – 3.13 – 6.88
RSIS 68/10	3.61 – 3.4 – 3.75
KRS 1000/10	5.59 – 5.53 – 8
MKMR 67/10	2.85 – 3.33 – 2.78
KRS 95/10	7 – 7.8 – 4 – 3.5
KRS 2592/10	5.32 – 5 – 5.09
KRS 2993/10	4.83 – 2.23 – 4.24 – 3.5 – 7.4
RSIS 9/10 (same author as Al-Namārah.M 34 below)	2.6 – 3.18 – 3.04 – 1.51 – 4.93
Al-Namārah.M 34/10	3.55 – 4.6
RWQ 257/10 (same author as WH 2157 below)	3.9 – 2.27 – 2.22 – 2.5
WH 2157/10	4 – 5.38 – 4.5 – 4.17 – 4.92
WH 2116/10	5 – 3.79 – 4.42 – 3.5 – 5.29 – 5

Table A.18: Compression of 97 *b*'s in 24 tenth generation texts (*ḥmyn* sub-branch)

A. The Lineage of *df*

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Is.L 33/11 = LP 1040 (same author as Is.Mu 189 and Is.H 708 below)	4.08 – 4.23
Is.Mu 189/11	6.82 – 5.06 – 6.15 – 7.14
Is.H 708/11	5.67 – 6.25
RSIS 335/11	2.1 – 3.17 – 4 – 4.33
RSIS 67/11	2.89 – 2.33 – 4.58
RSIS 56/11	2.3 – 4.75 – 3.14
RSIS 41/11	3.22 – 2.67 – 3.13
RSIS 30/11	4.46 – 5.59 – 5.25
KRS 2870/11	4.33 – 2.25 – 8.5 – 4.81
RSIS 191/11	4.44 – 3.25 – 3.09
RMenv.D 4/11 (same author as Internet 5 and WH 123 below)	1.96 – 2.08 – 3.57
Internet/11	2.4 – 4.6 – 5
WH 123/11	4.38 – 4.5 – 3.15
KRS 117/11 (same author as QUR 2.239.1, 2.253.1 below)	3.69 – 3.09 – 4.08 – 4.19 – 3.95 – 4.55 – 5 – 2.67 – 2.59 – 2.88 – 5.57
QUR 2.239.1/11	2.29 – 3.5 – 6 – 4.72 – 7.8 – 8.08
QUR 2.253.1/11	4.5 – 4.8 – 4.82 – 3.89 – 5.6 – 4.07 – 5.6
KRS 1150/11	14 – 10.67 – 9.29 – 7.25 – 8.33
NRW.C 1/11	6 – 7.5 – 9.58 – 18.57 – 6.17 – 6 – 4.64
NBR 2/11	14.4 – 4.33 – 8.86 – 12.5 – 5.28 – 6 – 4.5 – 3.25 – 5
KRS 1706/11	3.5 – 3.27 – 3.17 – 2.17 – 3.17
KRS 1729/11 (same author as KRS 1731 below)	4.74 – 7.69
KRS 1731/11	5.5 – 10.67 – 6
KRS 2583/11	7.13 – 6.67 – 5 – 5

Table A.19: Compression of 99 *b*'s in 23 eleventh generation texts (*hmyn* sub-branch)

A.3. The compression of the *b*'s

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Is.H 891/12	3.92 – 4 – 2.4 – 4.33 – 3.07 – 4.11 – 4.62
AbSWS 84/12 = RWQ 331	6.43 – 9.63 – 6.67 – 9.17 – 6.5 – 9.14 – 9.2 – 8
KRS 132/12	6.92 – 7 – 6.8 – 7.2 – 7.14 7.5 – 11.5 – 13.67 – 10.33
KRS 227/12	4.67 – 5.2 – 6
KRS 339/12 (same author as KRS 1344 below)	14 – 6 – 10.67 – 9.2 – 6.8 – 7.4
KRS 1344/12	6 – 4.12 – 4.75 – 7.5 – 4 – 5.38
KRS 1116/12	7.54 – 8.5 – 6.07 – 10.38 – 8.89 – 8 – 6.25 – 5.6
KRS 1333/12	8.29 – 6.9 – 6.4 – 6.8 – 6.6 – 8.7 – 9.2
NBR 1/12	5.14 – 4.88 – 5.23 – 3.08 – 6.57 – 6.13 – 5.5 – 4.75
ZeGA 8/12	3.7 – 5.67 – 7.38 – 8.57 – 5.54 – 6.43 – 4.38
Is.M 131/12 = LP 387 (same author as Is.Mu 413 below)	9.2 – 6.44
Is.Mu 413/12	8.58 – 12.6 – 7.31
BES15 799/12 (same author as KRS 1885, 1886 below)	7.14 – 5 – 5.67 – 7.5 – 5.67 – 4.75
KRS 1885/12	6.67 – 5.47 – 5.2 – 5.5 – 17.6
KRS 1886/12	3.5 – 12.4 – 8.29 – 13.33
KRS 2820/12	27.67 – 9 – 6.33
KRS 1009/12	6.7 – 10.17 – 12.5 – 4.5
Ms 57/12	11.75 – 7 – 10.83 – 4.5 – 9.17 – 9.67 – 9.83
KRS 2510/12	5.17 – 4.79 – 9.45 – 5.71
KRS 330/12	6.14 – 4.29 – 7.5
Is.Mu 100/12 = LP 352	5.33 – 6.44

Table A.20: Compression of 112 *b*'s in 21 twelfth generation texts (*hmyn* sub-branch)

A. The Lineage of *df*

Sigla	<i>b</i> 's compression (height:width)
Ms 50/13	7 – 8 – 4.2
KRS 1867/13 (same author as KRS 1872, Al-Mafraq Museum 31 below)	6.92 – 9.13 – 5.77 – 6.8 – 10.5
KRS 1872/13	10.1 – 13.13 – 18.17 – 7.33 – 8.86 – 10.5 – 5.67 – 6.2 – 10.6 – 7.13 – 9.25
Al-Mafraq Museum 31/13	8 – 7.42 – 14.17
AbSWS 18/13	9 – 8.14 – 7.38 – 8.33 – 11 – 16.75 – 13.6 – 11.5 – 8 – 12.8 – 5.5
Al-Mafraq Museum 70/13 (same author as RSIS 254 below)	4.67 – 5.56 – 8.33 – 6.88
RSIS 254/13	6.5 – 5 – 9.86
WH 330/13	4.08 – 4.83 – 5.2
WH 331/13	5 – 5 – 3.47 – 5.63
Al-Mafraq Museum 32/13	21.34 – 11.4 – 9.5 – 5.92 – 5.12 – 5.5 – 5.82
BES15 1386/13	4.17 – 3.68 – 4.44
AbSWS 44/13	4.71 – 4.16 – 4.61 – 4.35 – 5.71

Table A.21: Compression of 62 *b*'s in 12 thirteenth generation texts (*ḥmyn* sub-branch)

A.3.2 *b*'s compression ranges

The following bar charts visualise the attested ranges of compression of the *b*'s. The ten ranges displayed in the charts correspond to the following values: R 1 = 1 to 2.50; R 2 = 2.51 to 4; R 3 = 4.01 to 5.50; R 4 = 5.51 to 7; R 5 = 7.01 to 8.50; R 6 = 8.51 to 10; R 7 = 10.01 to 11.50; R 8 = 11.51 to 13; R 9 = 13.01 to 14.50; R 10 = > 14.50.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹³For more details, see §4.1.3.1.

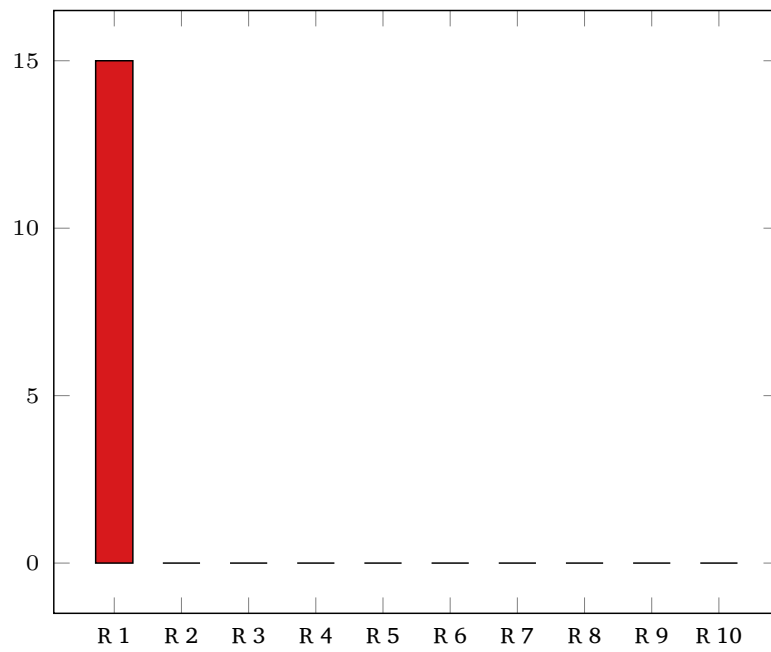


Figure A.19: Compression ranges of 15 b 's from generations 4 – 5

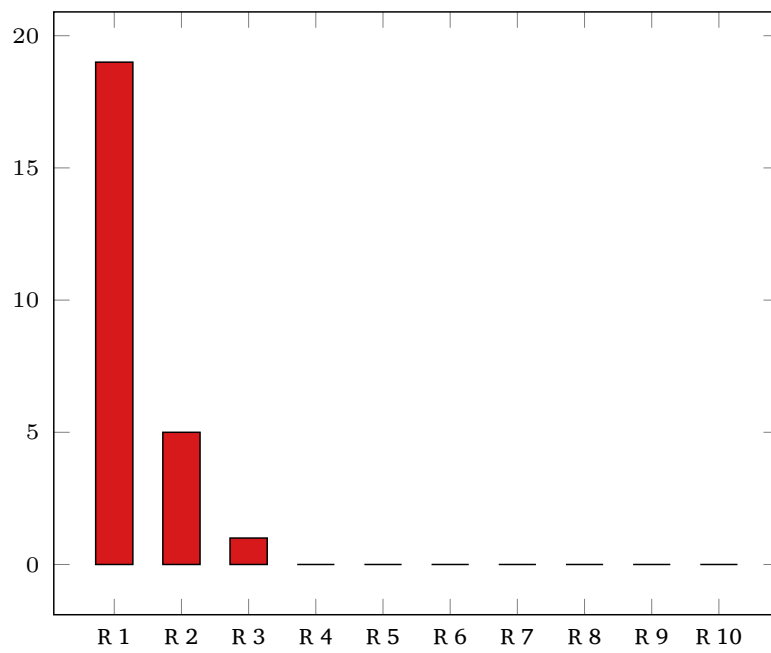


Figure A.20: Compression ranges of 25 b 's from generations 6 – 7

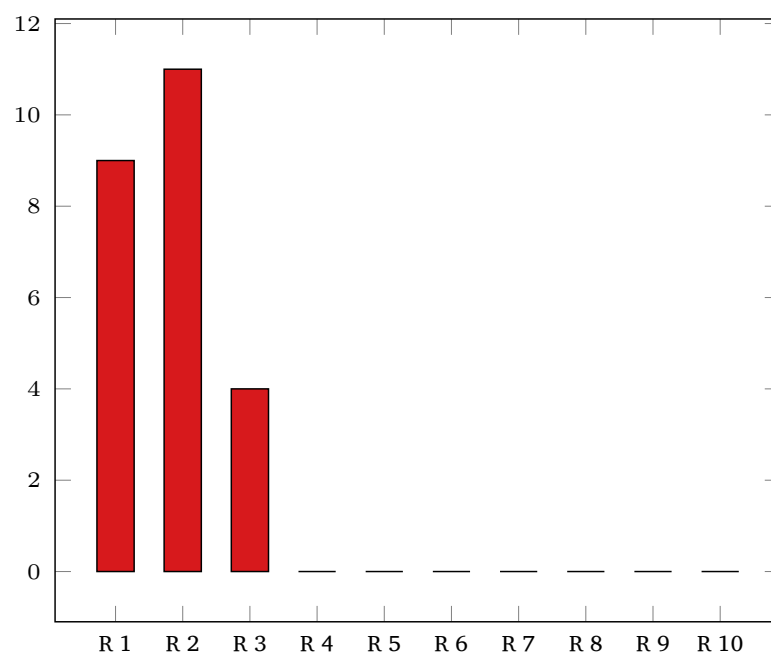


Figure A.21: Compression ranges of 24 eighth generation b 's

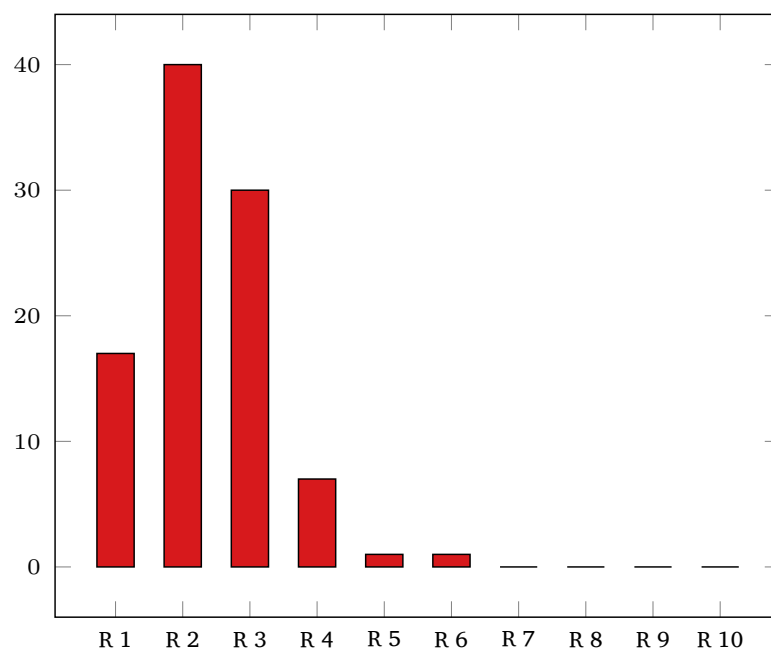


Figure A.22: Compression ranges of 96 ninth generation b 's

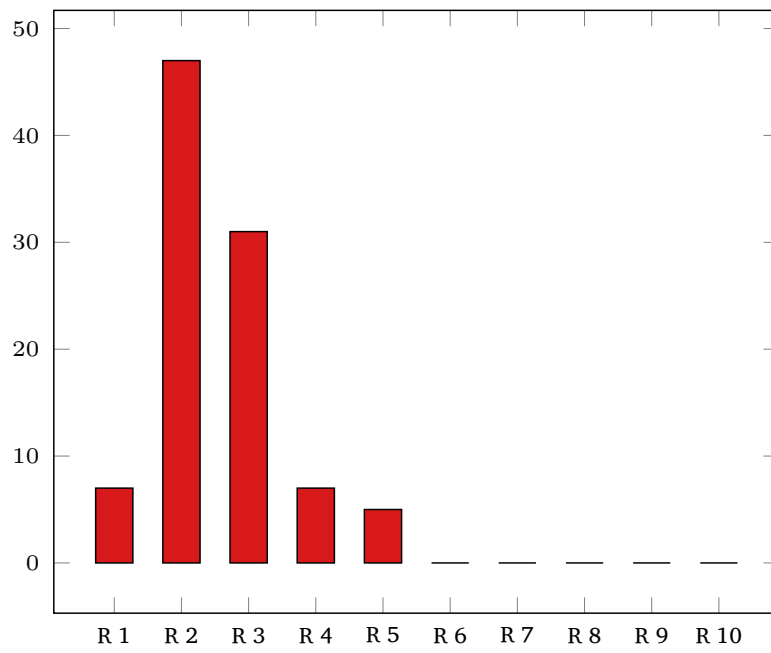


Figure A.23: Compression ranges of 97 tenth generation b 's

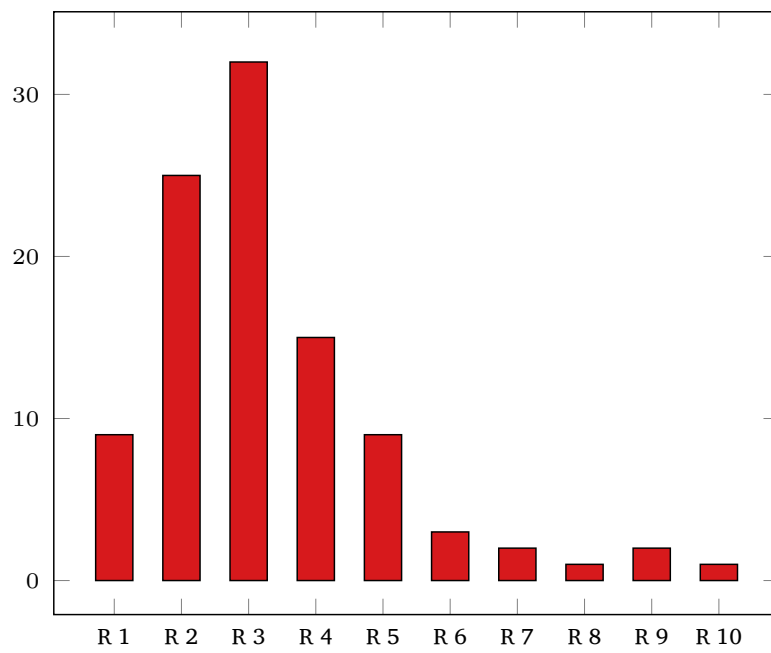


Figure A.24: Compression ranges of 99 eleventh generation b 's

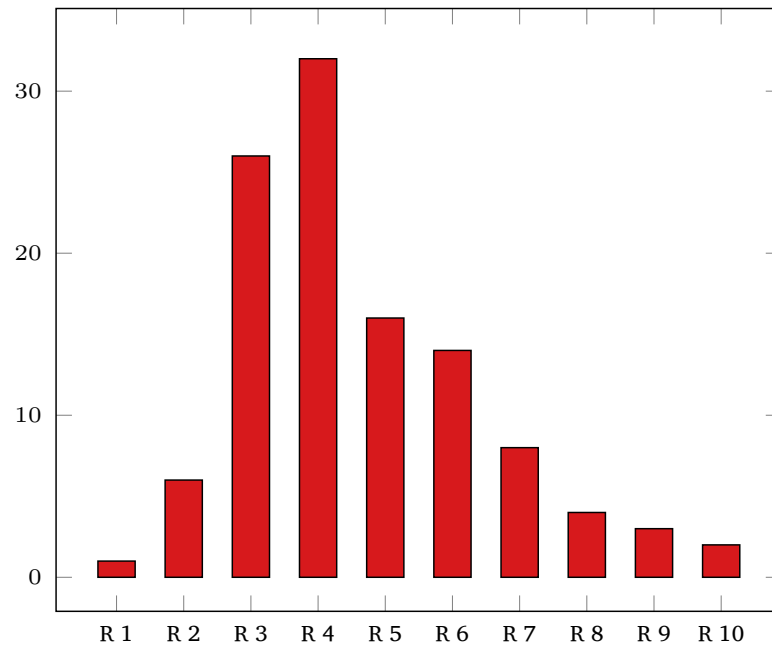


Figure A.25: Compression ranges of 112 twelfth generation b 's

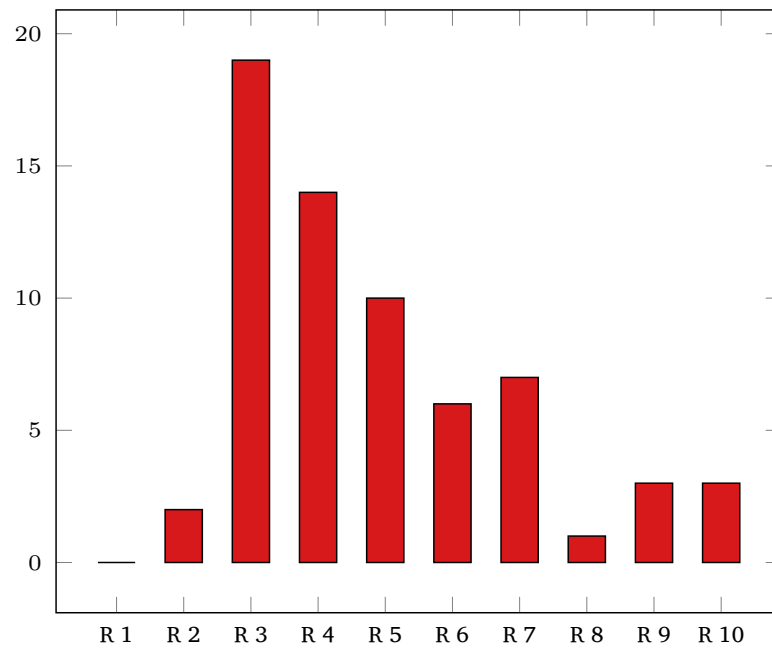


Figure A.26: Compression ranges of 62 thirteenth generation b 's

Appendix B

The Lineage of ‘wḏ

After the ‘l ḏf, the ‘l ‘wḏ is the second social group associated with the ‘fine’ script of which we know that it was also a lineage, although far fewer texts have been found in comparison to ḏf. Unlike the previous Appendix on the lineage of ḏf, which examines the structure of the lineage and presents a reconstruction of some of its genealogical trees, this Appendix is limited to a survey of the evidence for the relationship of the ‘l ‘wḏ with the ‘l ḏf and to a brief discussion of some of its possible sub-groups.

B.1 The ‘l ‘wḏ and the ‘l ḏf

Different types of evidence suggest that the ḏf and the ‘wḏ were connected by some sort of relationship, but apart from the fact that such relationship may have entailed shared pasturing and perhaps also military activities (see below), we cannot glean much information about its actual nature and implications, such as for example if it involved intermarriage or not.

First, in two texts, C 2446/F and KRS 1683/F (Fig. B.1), the authors worship the tutelary deities of both lineages (i.e. gḏ‘wḏ and gḏḏf) side by side, together with other deities. The author of C 2446/F prays the two gḏ’s for vengeance against whoever killed his brother – and he also states that he pastured the livestock of ‘wḏ and ḏf – whereas in KRS 1683/F the author invokes the two deities in order to protect the camels.⁵⁹⁴ In both texts, gḏ‘wḏ is placed first, and it seems that the author of KRS 1683/F was a 14th

⁵⁹⁴The full texts and their translations (following OCIANA) are: C 2446/F *l s¹‘d bn mr’ bn nr w wgm ‘[l-]ḥ-h nr qtl[-h] ‘l-{n}bty [] {r}‘y n‘m ‘wḏ w ḏf f h lt m‘mn w ‘lt ḏtn w gḏ[‘]{w}ḏ w gḏḏf ṭr m-ḏ ‘s¹lf w wlh k{b}{r} s¹hr ‘l-ḥ-h ḥbb-h l-‘bd ‘By S¹‘d son of Mr’ son of Nr and he grieved {for} his brother Nr {whom} the Nabataean killed while pasturing the livestock of ‘wḏ and ḏf, so, O Lt-M‘mn and ‘lt-ḏtn and Gḏ‘wḏ and Gḏḏf, he will have vengeance against him who committed this act; and he was continuously distraught with a broken heart over his brother, his beloved forever’; KRS 1683/F *l bny bn wrd bn s²hyt bn ‘s¹ w ḥll h-dr b-ḥl-h w ḥr{ṣ} ‘l-ḥl-h f hy lt w h s²ḥqm s¹lm w ‘wḏ-k w h gḏ‘wḏ w h gḏḏf ‘wḏ-km h-ḥl ‘By Bny son of Wrđ son of S²hyt son of ‘s¹ and he camped at the place with his family and he watched over his camels and O Lt and O S²ḥqm let there be security and your protection and O Gḏ‘wḏ and O Gḏḏf the camels are [under] your protection’.**

B. The Lineage of ‘wḏ

generation ‘wḏ-ite.⁵⁹⁵ I could not determine the affiliation of the author of C 2446/F.



Figure B.1: KRS 1683/F, invoking both gḏ‘wḏ and gḏḏf (Photo: OCIANA)

Second, there are two texts by ḏf-ites of the s²w’ sub-group (RWQ 346 and 347) which allude to a bond between the two lineages. RWQ 346 is dated to the year the lineage of ḏf and the lineage of ‘wḏ ‘banded together’ (t‘ql),⁵⁹⁶ while RWQ 347 may indicate that there was a military component to such bond.⁵⁹⁷ However, unfortunately we do not have either photo or copy of the texts.

Third, we have a number of cases in which texts by both ḏf and ‘wḏ are found on the same panel. For example, LP 162 = Hf.A 3/F, by a 17th generation ‘wḏ-ite,⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁵This can be evinced from his genealogy, which overlaps with, among others, the genealogy of MA 4/F, which goes: s²qq bn s²hyt bn ‘s¹ bn ḥg bn s²bḥr bn {g}rm’l bn ‘bṭ bn ‘zḥm bn mr’ bn ‘rs¹ bn rḡs¹ bn s²hr bn rṭḥ bn ‘wḏ bn whb’l.

⁵⁹⁶The full text reads: RWQ 346 l ‘s¹ bn ḥs¹n bn ḥnn ḏ ‘l ḏf mn ‘l s²w’ s¹nt t‘ql ‘l ḏf w ‘l ‘wḏ ‘By ‘s¹ son of Ḥs¹n son of Ḥnn of the lineage of ḏf of the people of S²w’, the year the lineage of ḏf and the lineage of ‘wḏ banded together’. On the verb t‘ql, cf. Classical Arabic *ta‘āqala*, which appears embedded in the following phrases: *ta‘āqalū dama fulānin* ‘they paid among themselves, or conjointly, the mulc for the blood of such a one’; *yata‘āqalūna baynahum ma‘aqilahumu l-‘ūla* ‘they shall take and give among themselves, or conjointly, their former bloodwits’; *al-qawmu ‘alā mā kānū yata‘āqalūna ‘alayhi* ‘the people, or party, are acting in conformity with that usage in accordance with which they used to pay and receive among themselves bloodwits’ (Lane 1863–1893:2114); cf. also *‘aqala l-ba‘īra* ‘He bound the camel with the [rope called] ‘iqāl; meaning he bound the camel’s fore shank to his arm; i.e. he folded together the camel’s fore shank and his arm and bound them in the middle of the arm with the rope called ‘iqāl’ (Lane 1863–1893:2113a).

⁵⁹⁷It reads: RWQ 347 l s¹krnn bn grm’l ḏ ‘l s²w’ s¹nt s¹rt ‘l ḏf l-‘wḏ ‘By S¹krnn son of Grm’l of the people of S²w’, the year the lineage of ḏf served in a troop for ‘wḏ’ (see OCIANA).

⁵⁹⁸The text reads: l znn bn dr’l bn ‘s²ym bn dr’l w ḥll h-ḥs¹y f ḥs¹f f h lt s¹lm l-ḏ s¹r ‘By Znn son of Dr’l son of ‘s²ym son of Dr’l and he camped at this place where the water lies just below the surface and he dug to reach the water and so O Lt [grant] security to whoever leaves [the inscription] untouched’ (see OCIANA). The affiliation of the author to the ‘wḏ is shown by the genealogy of C 2732/F, by his father dr’l (dr’l bn ‘s²ym bn dr’l bn ks¹t bn ‘s¹ bn ‘s²ym bn ‘bd bn ‘[s¹]d bn bwk bn {r}{s¹}), which can be taken back to ‘wḏ by comparison with the genealogy of 15th generation C 97, 96/F (nmr bn s¹‘d bn s¹b’l bn ḥyn bn {‘}ḥwf bn ftṭ bn ‘s¹d bn bwk bn ‘rs¹ bn ‘wḏ bn whb’l).

is written in between the graphs of LP 161 = Hf.A 2/F,⁵⁹⁹ by a 11th generation *df*-ite.⁶⁰⁰ In another instance, two inscriptions in the transitional script by members of the respective groups seem to be associated on the same panel: Is.H 513/C/F, by a 10th generation *wd*-ite (see Chapter 6, Fig. 6.16(b)), and Is.H 515/C/F, likely by an 8th generation *df*-ite.⁶⁰¹

Finally, in most texts in which the genealogies continue past *wd*, *wd* is followed by *whb'l*,⁶⁰² which is also an ancestor of *df* in a number of *df*'s texts (see §A.1.2). This suggests that *df* and *wd* shared the ancestor *whb'l*. This genealogical relationship between the two groups, however, does not need to be real, as it may have been created *ad hoc* later. In any case, the fact that they would have had a common ancestor, either real or invented, is an additional clue of the connection of the *wd* to the *df*.

B.2 Possible sub-groups

As with the lineage of *df*, there is some evidence that suggests that certain *l*'s using the 'fine' script were sub-groups of the lineage of *wd*.⁶⁰³

hg Some 'fine' texts were left by people affiliated to a group named *hg*.⁶⁰⁴ In AMSI 142/F,⁶⁰⁵ the author identifies as *d l wd d l[l] hg* and if we compare the genealogy of AMSI 152/F,⁶⁰⁶ whose author affiliated to the *l hg*, to other overlapping genealogies,⁶⁰⁷ it seems that he had as ancestor 11th generation *hg*, who may have been the ancestor of the group. If this genealogical reconstruction is correct, the author of KRS 1683/F (see above, Fig. B.1) may have belonged to this sub-group.⁶⁰⁸

⁵⁹⁹The text reads: LP 161 = Hf.A 2/F *l fltt bn tm bn fltt bn bhs² bn 'dnt w hll l-h-hs¹y f klm-h h-'s¹d f h lt {s¹}l)m* 'By Fltt son of Tm son of Fltt son of Bhs² son of 'dnt and he camped on the edge of an area of sand then the lion injured him so O Lt [grant] security' (see OCIANA).

⁶⁰⁰For a discussion of the two texts, see Macdonald, Al-Mu'azzin, et al. 1996:449–452.

⁶⁰¹Although it indicates only the patronym, this text has the same exact writing style as Is.M 258/C/F by the same author.

⁶⁰²See C 97, 96/F, MA 4/F, KRS 822/F, C 990/F, C 2216/F, KRS 1161/F, Is.N 255/F, AWS 107/F, LP 1196/F. In RSIS 127/F and SSWS 200/F, *whb'l* is followed by *l'tmn* and *ly* respectively.

⁶⁰³For a list of the different ways in which one can determine if a certain *l* may constitute a sub-group within a lineage, see §A.1.1.

⁶⁰⁴8 texts with the affiliation *d l hg* were recorded in OCIANA (accessed in October 2019).

⁶⁰⁵*l s¹ bn wd bn mgyr d l wd d l[l] hg w wgd 'tr s²y^c-h* 'By s¹ son of wd son of Mgyr of the lineage of wd of the people of Hg and he found the traces of his companions' (see OCIANA).

⁶⁰⁶*l mgyr bn znn bn s²hyt bn s¹ d l hg w bny l-wrd* 'By Mgyr son of Znn son of S²hyt son of s¹ of the people of Hg and he built for Wrd' (see OCIANA).

⁶⁰⁷Cf., e.g., the genealogy of MA 4/F: *s²qq bn s²hyt n s¹ bn hg bn s²bhr bn {g}rm l bn bt bn zhm bn mr bn rs¹ bn rgs¹ bn s²hr bn rth bn wd bn whb'l*.

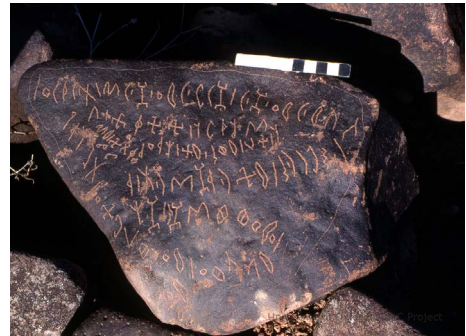
⁶⁰⁸See his genealogy: *bn bn wrd bn s²hyt bn s¹*.

B. The Lineage of ‘wḏ

qs²m The JQC attests two texts by the same author of the ‘l qs²m,⁶⁰⁹ and 16 attestations of authors affiliating to this group are found in OCIANA.⁶¹⁰ The author of ZeWA 1/F⁶¹¹ who affiliated as ḏ ‘l qs²m, attests a long genealogy which, if compared with other genealogies, may be brought back to ‘wḏ. One can thus compare ZeWA 1/F (*whb’l bn ḥnn bn ‘bd bn ḡt bn s²rk bn s¹kṛn*) to, e.g., Is.H 506/F (*kmd bn ‘n‘m bn s²rk bn s¹kṛn bn šbh bn qs²m*) and SESP.D 6/F (*wdm bn ‘ḏ bn {ḏ} bn ḡt bn wdm bn s¹r bn šbh bn qs²m bn s¹by bn ‘bd bn ḥngs² bn whbn bn qmr bn rṭ’ bn ‘wḏ*). If these genealogies are related, the ancestor of the group could have been 8th generation *qs²m bn s¹by bn ‘bd bn ḥngs² bn whbn bn qmr bn rṭ’ bn ‘wḏ*.



(a) BEnv.A 2/F



(b) KRS 1024/F

Figure B.2: Two texts by members of the ‘l d’f (Photos: OCIANA)

d’f Several records of texts by members of the ‘l d’f have been attested.⁶¹² A hint that the d’f may represent a sub-group of the ‘wḏ is provided by two texts by the same author ‘bd bn ḥlf bn ‘n‘m,⁶¹³ who, if he is really the same author of both texts, in one identifies as a member of the ‘wḏ, while in the other he affiliates to the d’f.⁶¹⁴ Given that they both indicate the same patronym and papponym, and that HCH 115/F presents the same peculiar form of the f turned by 90° as KRS 1024/F – which is also found in other texts of the d’f – these two texts are likely by the same author. It is thus interesting

⁶⁰⁹QUR 2.336.1/F, 2.490.1/F; see §6.2.3 for a discussion of his writing style.

⁶¹⁰Accessed in October 2019; one of these is the Jebel Qurma text QUR 2.490.1/F, attested in OCIANA as HYGQ 99 = AbGQ 4.

⁶¹¹*l whb’l bn ḥnn bn ‘bd bn ḡt bn s²rk bn s¹kṛn ḏ ‘l qs²{m} w s²ty h-dr {m-}rk s¹nt trq mk mlk nbṭ ṭlṭn m’t qtl ‘l rm w s¹q tmr l-h z‘m ḡd‘wḏ w h lh w h s²‘hqm ḡnyt w s¹lm m-ḏ ḥrṣ w ḡnmt l-ḏ d’y h-ḥṭṭ* ‘By Whb’l son of Ḥnn son of ‘bd son of Ḡt son of S²rk son of S¹kṛn of the people of {Qs²m}, and he spent the winter here {on account of} an area on which a small amount of rain had fallen the year [in which] Mk king of Nabaṭ smote one hundred [and] thirty warriors of the Romans and {the spokesman} [chief] of Ḡd‘wḏ drove Tmr to him [Mk]. And O Lh and O S²‘hqm [grant] plenty and safety from whoever is on guard and [grant] booty to whoever leaves the carving intact’ (reading: OCIANA).

⁶¹²22 texts with ḏ ‘l d’f are found in the OCIANA (accessed in October 2019).

⁶¹³HCH 115/F and KRS 1024/F.

⁶¹⁴A further text from Jawa providing evidence that d’f was a sub-group of ‘wḏ was mentioned in MacDonald and Searight 1982:166.

that the author identified himself as a ‘*wḏ*’-ite at the cairn of Hani (HCH 115/F), but he gave a longer genealogy with affiliation to the *dʿf* in KRS 1024/F. It has already been noted⁶¹⁵ that some of the *dʿf* texts share distinctive stylistic traits, see especially the *f* turned by 90° and the swastika form of the *t*, found in BRenv.A 2/F (Fig. B.2(a)), KRS 1024/F (Fig. B.2(b)) and others.

⁶¹⁵See Macdonald, Al-Muʿazzin, et al. 1996:463, n.76.

Appendix C

Social Groups and Deities in the JQC

C. Social Groups and Deities in the JQC

Script	Social Group	Affiliations & Texts Sigla
'Common'	^ʔ ty	<i>h-ʔtyy</i> (QUR 551.96.1/C)
	^ʿ ms ¹	<i>ḏ ʔ ʿms¹</i> (QUR 171.7.1/C)
	<i>bʿd</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ bʿd</i> (QUR 449.96.1/C)
	<i>ḏhr</i>	<i>h-ḏhry</i> (QUR 148.40.1/C)
	<i>gr</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ gr</i> (QUR 239.5.6/C, 2.399.16/C)
	<i>hs¹b</i>	<i>h-hs¹by</i> (QUR 1016.10.1/C)
	<i>s¹bq</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ s¹bq</i> (QUR 239.12.1/C)
'Fine'	<i>ḏf</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ ḏf</i> (QUR 586.20.1/F)
	<i>ḡyr</i> (sub-group <i>ḏf</i>)	<i>ḏ ʔ ḡyr h-ḏfy</i> (QUR 176.24.1/F)
	<i>bdn</i> (sub-group <i>ḏf</i> ?)	<i>ḏ ʔ b{d}n</i> (QUR 9.12.2/F)
	^ʿ wḏ	<i>ḏ ʔ ʿwḏ</i> (QUR 148.76.3/F)
	<i>qs²m</i> (sub-group ^ʿ wḏ?)	<i>ḏ ʔ qs²m</i> (QUR 2.336.1/F, 2.490.1/F)
SoS	^ʔ kt	<i>ḏ ʔ ʔkt</i> (QUR 207.49.1/SoS, 370.225.1/SoS, 370.226.1/SoS, 370.37.1/SoS, 370.42.1/SoS, 639.3.1/SoS) <i>ḏl</i> [sic] <i>ʔkt</i> (QUR 122.4.1/SoS)
	^ʿ mrt	<i>ḏ ʔ ʿmrt</i> (QUR 294.60.1/SoS)
	<i>bgd</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ bgd</i> (QUR 956.43.1/SoS)
	<i>bs^{1ʔ}</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ bs^{1ʔ}</i> (QUR 952.83.1/SoS)
	<i>ḏhr</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ ḏhr</i> (QUR 739.87.1/SoS)
	<i>frṯ</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ frṯ</i> (QUR 952.28.1/SoS)
	<i>hly</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ hly</i> (QUR 376.29.1/SoS)
	<i>mnʔl</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ mnʔl</i> (QUR 244.11.1/SoS)
	<i>nmr</i>	<i>ḏwl</i> [sic] <i>nmr</i> (QUR 689.3.1/SoS)
	<i>nmrt</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ nmrt</i> (QUR 25.73.1/SoS)
	<i>nḡrʔl</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ nḡrʔl</i> (QUR 551.93.1/SoS)
	<i>rwḥ</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ rwḥ</i> (QUR 27.7.1/SoS)
	<i>s²hr</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ s²hr</i> (QUR 297.7.1/SoS, 952.50.1/SoS)
	<i>tts¹</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ tts¹</i> (QUR 294.113.3/SoS)
	<i>s¹ḏʔl</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ s¹ḏʔl</i> (QUR 2.712.1/Other?)
Unclassified	^ʔ sr	<i>ḏ ʔ ʔsr</i> (QUR 309.12.3/SoS?)
	^ʔ ty	<i>ḏ ʔ ʔty</i> (QUR 254.9.1/U)
	<i>gmm</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ gmm</i> (QUR 172.4.1/C?)
	<i>hwt</i>	<i>h-hwtly</i> (QUR 2.161.1/C?)
	<i>nḡrʔl</i>	<i>ḏ ʔ nḡrʔl</i> (QUR 733.23.1/U)

Table C.1: Social groups in the JQC

Deities	Requests & Texts Sigla
<i>lt</i>	<i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 256.9.1/C, 32.50.1/C, 64.1.1/C?, 428.27.1/C, 370.72.1/SoS, 739.91.1/SoS) <i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ (QUR 2.153.1/C/F?, 2.353.8/F, 2.353.9/F, 64.4.1/C) <i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ + <i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 2.253.1/F, 2.360.1/F, 586.31.1/F) <i>gnyt</i> ‘abundance’ (QUR 20.32.1/C?, 20.32.2/C) <i>gyrt</i> ‘abundance’ (QUR 523.20.1/C) <i>gnyt</i> ‘abundance’ + <i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 586.34.1/C) <i>flt</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 139.3.1/C) <i>f^syt</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 171.67.1/C) <i>qbl</i> ‘reunion [with loved ones]’ (QUR 307.77.1/SoS) <i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ + <i>rw^h</i> ‘deliverance’ + <i>dr^t</i> ‘winds (?)’ (QUR 974.49.1/C) <i>nqmt</i> ‘revenge’ + <i>wr</i> ‘blindness [curse]’ (QUR 268.1.1/C)
<i>’lt</i>	<i>s¹d</i> ‘help’ (QUR 458.3.1/C, 171.59.3/C) <i>flt</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 2.399.15/C, 766.26.1/C) <i>m^tr</i> ‘rain’ (QUR 551.93.1/SoS) <i>’wr</i> ‘blindness [curse]’ (QUR 2.196.2/C, 2.363.14/C) <i>hgrt h ’lt dwn</i> [curse] (QUR 372.54.1/C)
<i>h-’lt</i>	<i>’wd b-h-’lt</i> ‘he sought refuge in the goddess’ (QUR 2.348.1/C)
<i>r^dw</i>	<i>s¹d</i> ‘help’ (QUR 2.32.3/C, 2.64.1/C, 7.25.1/C/ThB, 7.36.1/C?, 9.16.1/C, 27.4.1/C, 64.175.1/C/ThB, 64.199.2/C?, 202.3.1/C, 289.14.1/C, 360.13.1/C, 370.90.1/C, 533.20.1/C, 628.30.1/C, 669.24.2/C, 766.4.1/C, 786.7.1/C, 952.88.1/C, 960.4.1/C, 974.15.1/C, 171.162.1/C, 176.22.1/C/ThB) <i>flt</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 1016.55.1/C, 202.17.1/C) <i>s¹d</i> ‘help’ + <i>flt</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 428.18.1/C) <i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ (QUR 137.74.3/C, 779.14.1/C) <i>’ws¹</i> ‘help’ (QUR 687.3.1/C) <i>hwb ’l-r^dw</i> ‘he cried out to R ^d w’ (QUR 2.482.1/C) <i>’wr</i> ‘blindness [curse]’ (20.31.1/C, 449.2.1/C) <i>r^gm</i> ‘strike down [curse]’ (137.69.2/C)
<i>r^dy</i>	<i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ (QUR 28.11.2/C, 122.7.1/C, 237.1.1/C, 7.91.1/C, 814.1.1/C) <i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ + <i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 628.4.1/C) <i>s¹d</i> ‘help’ (QUR 64.135.1/C, 372.134.1/C) <i>m^tr</i> ‘rain’ (QUR 626.25.1/C) <i>’wr</i> ‘blindness [curse]’ (QUR 529.19.1/C, 551.6.1/C, 952.71.1/C)
<i>r^qy</i>	<i>rw^h</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 276.33.1/C)
<i>y^t’</i>	<i>s¹d</i> ‘help’ (QUR 172.18.1/C, 606.5.1/C, 669.22.1/C, 1014.15.1/C)
<i>ds²r</i>	<i>hnn</i> ‘compassion’ (QUR 232.35.1/C)
<i>ds²r</i>	<i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 952.49.1/SoS) <i>qbl</i> ‘reunion [with loved ones]’ (QUR 297.7.1/SoS)
<i>lt + ds²r</i>	<i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 370.225.1/SoS, 7.30.1/SoS) <i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ + <i>l’n</i> ‘curse’ (QUR 176.24.1/F) <i>t^r</i> ‘revenge’ (QUR 813.14.1/SoS) <i>s²kr</i> ‘favour’ (QUR 586.25.1/C?)
<i>s²hqm</i>	<i>gnmt</i> ‘booty’ (QUR 2.490.1/F)
<i>lh</i>	<i>s¹lm</i> ‘security’ (QUR 305.19.1/C/F?)
<i>h-’lh</i>	<i>’wd b-h-’lh</i> ‘he sought refuge in the god’ (QUR 2.192.4/C)
<i>dgn</i>	<i>flt</i> ‘deliverance’ (QUR 428.28.1/C)

Table C.2: Invoked deities and associated requests in the JQC

Appendix D

Glossary of Technical Terms

Allographs	Graphetic <i>allographs</i> are different instantiations of the same <i>basic shape</i> , whereas graphematic <i>allographs</i> are different <i>basic shapes</i> associated to the same <i>grapheme</i> (Meletis 2019:33).
Basic shape	‘A material yet abstract unit’ representing ‘a ‘skeleton’, a bundle of visual features that are necessary to perceptually distinguish a shape from the other shapes in an inventory’ (Meletis 2019:43, n. 6); the <i>basic shape</i> is the emic unit at the graphetic level (Meletis 2019:29). The term is sometimes abbreviated to ‘shape’.
Cartouche	A line carved around one or more engravings.
Chiselling	Carving technique which consists of placing a chisel against the rock and hitting it with a hammer-stone.
‘Common’ script	The most common Safaitic script of the JQC and likely also of the Safaitic corpus as a whole.
Direct hammering	Carving technique which consists of carving the rock surface by hitting it directly with a hammer-stone.
Effacement	Safaitic ‘ <i>wr</i> ’: the act of damaging an engraving by hammering or incising marks above it; texts were also effaced through modifications of various sorts (see <i>modification</i> below).

Emphasis	The use of stylistically marked <i>graph forms</i> – bigger, thicker, and/or with <i>special features</i> – in order to emphasise part of a text, most commonly the name and genealogy of the author.
‘Fine’ script	A Safaitic inventory characterised by distinctive compressed and elongated <i>basic shapes</i> which are the result of a gradual palaeographic development from the ‘ <i>common</i> ’ <i>script</i> .
Graph	An etic and concrete substantiation of a <i>basic shape</i> (Meletis 2019:44, n. 6).
Graph form	A unit which is slightly more abstract than the concrete <i>graph</i> ; term used to refer to the form/stylistic features of one or more <i>graphs</i> . It is sometimes abbreviated to ‘form’.
Grapheme	The emic unit at the graphematic level (Meletis 2019:29) which can be defined as ‘a basic unit of writing that (1) distinguishes meaning, (2) has a linguistic value (typically by referring to a linguistic unit), and (3) is minimal in that it is not composed by smaller units which are themselves graphemes’ (Meletis 2019:43).
Hammering	Carving with a hammerstone, either by hitting the rock directly with it (<i>direct hammering</i>) or by using it to hit a chisel (<i>chiselling</i>).
Incising	Carving technique which consists of cutting the rock with a sharp tool.
Ligature	Graphic element (a bar or a dot) joining two graphs together.
Modification	The addition of bars or other graphic elements to one or more <i>graphs</i> of a text in order to change their graphematic value or to make them illegible; probably considered by Safaitic authors as a form of <i>effacement</i> , i.e. Safaitic ‘ <i>wr</i> ’ (see above).
Primary distinguishing feature	A <i>graph form</i> which is found exclusively in a given <i>script</i> and which is radically different from <i>graph forms</i> representing the same <i>grapheme</i> in other <i>scripts</i> , to the extent that they could not be derived from

	each other through <i>recurring graphic variables</i> (<i>vs secondary distinguishing feature</i> , see below).
Recurring graphic variables	These are recurring patterns of graphic variation, as for example the shift from curvilinearity to angularity or vice-versa.
Rocking-blade	A rare type of <i>incising</i> which consists of pulling a sharp instrument back and forth in order to produce a zig-zag outline.
Rubbed incising	A type of <i>incising</i> which consists of rubbing the tool up and down on the same strokes in order to produce thicker lines.
Script	An inventory of basic shapes (Meletis 2019:20, n. 7); term used to refer to the different Safaitic scripts (i.e. ‘ <i>common</i> ’ script, ‘ <i>fine</i> ’ script, and <i>SoS script</i>) as well as to the ‘Safaitic script’, which comprehends each of these inventories, as opposed to Hismaic, Thamudic B, and the other ANA scripts.
Secondary distinguishing feature	1) A <i>graph form</i> which is characteristic of a particular <i>script</i> and which is not radically divergent from <i>graph forms</i> representing the same <i>grapheme</i> in one or more other <i>scripts</i> , i.e. they could be easily derived from each other through <i>recurring graphic variables</i> ; 2) a <i>graph form</i> characteristic of one <i>script</i> , but only rarely found in others to represent the same <i>grapheme</i> (<i>vs primary distinguishing feature</i> , see above).
SoS script	A Safaitic inventory often labelled in previous literature as ‘Mixed Safaitic/Hismaic’; SoS stands for ‘Southern Safaitic’: this script is found in greatest numbers in Dūma and its surroundings, i.e. much further south than the areas of concentration of ‘common’ and ‘fine’ texts.
Special features	Expression used to refer to certain <i>graph forms</i> – i.e. square forms, forms turned by 90° to their <i>basic shapes</i> stances, and elongated forms – for which there is evidence that they were sometimes stylistically marked, since they appear to have been used to emphasise the name of the author (see <i>emphasis</i> above).

D. Glossary of Technical Terms

Superimposition

The carving of a text above another.

Writing style

The choices of *graph forms*, carving technique, and text layout within an inventory in a given text; when referring to the ‘writing style of an author’: a consistent set of features which are shared by the texts of a certain author.