The “One” God in a Safaitic Inscription

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1 Introduction

Under the lemma ḫd in the 2015 edition of my Safaitic lexicon, I identified an invocation to a hitherto unknown deity, ḫd ‘One’, which I suggested was a title for the Jewish God. I left questions about how this deity, here referred to by the monotheistic epithet par excellence, ended up in an invocation beside Allāt, the ancient Arabian goddess. In this paper, I revisit this inscription to produce a new edition of the text and explore the circumstances that could have led to our earliest recorded instance of Arabian “shirk” (association).

Before beginning, a few words on the Safaitic inscriptions are in order. Safaitic is the name of a script and writing tradition concentrated in the Syro-Jordanian Harrah, the basalt desert stretching from the Hawrān to northern Arabia. The inscriptions, carved in a purely consonantal alphabet, attest a continuum of Old Arabic dialects, spoken by the nomadic-pastoralist inhabitants of this land some twenty centuries ago. While the exact chronological boundaries of Safaitic remain unclear, their authors appear to have been active in Nabataean and Roman periods, and a sizable minority of texts date between the 1st c. BCE and 2nd c. CE.

The Safaitic inscriptions fall into multiple genres, ranging from building inscriptions and funerary monuments to simple graffiti bearing personal names. The inscriptions are composed according to strict structural formulae, beginning with a personal name, continuing with a narrative and terminating in an invocation, usually for the well-being of the author and for those who read the inscription and curses upon anyone who would vandalize the text. Narratives follow a small number of themes, usually describing dangerous and uncertain activities such as pasturing, raiding, patrolling, and migrating. These are often followed by prayers to the gods that are thematically connected with what precedes: authors going on a raid will make an invocation for spoil, those pasturing request security, others keeping watch for the rains may petition for precipitation. The inscription we will discuss in the present article is in all these respects a typical Safaitic text, but with one exception: the invocation to the deity ḫd.

1 Note the following conventions: {} = damaged letter; [] = restored letter; s = s‘ (Classical Arabic sīn) and š = s² (Classical Arabic šīn). The meanings of all vocabulary cited in this article are based on the Safaitic Dictionary (Al-Jallad and Jaworska 2019) and the grammatical interpretations rely on Al-Jallad 2019 and 2015.

2 Al-Jallad 2015, s.v. For the latest grammatical description of Safaitic, see Al-Jallad 2019; see Al-Jallad and Jaworska (2019) for the most up-to-date lexicon of Safaitic.

3 I thank Daniel A. Beck for this clever way of putting it.
2 The inscription KRS 1131

This inscription was discovered in 1989 during the Basalt Desert Rescue Surveys, carried out by G.M.H. King in northern Jordan and remains, as far as one can know, in situ. It is published online in the OCIANA database without a philological commentary. Its author employed a thin instrument to carve the glyphs in the so-called fine script.4

Reading and translation

I ‘m[d] bn ḫd bn ’bgr bn ṣhr bn ṣḥtr w ḧl ṣyr h-dr m’dy w ḥṛṣ ḥl-h ḧḍr f h ḧḍ w ḥ lt slm w ḡmnt l-ḏ d’y

‘By ‘md son of ḫd son of ḏr son of ṣḥtr and he camped having returned to this place of water from a raid/having gone on a raid; and he kept watch for his family while camping near water so O ḫd and O Allāt may he be secure; and may he who would read (this writing) have spoil.’

2.1 Philological Commentary

‘m[d]:’ While the first name is clearly ‘m on the photograph, a common name in the Safaitic onomasticon,3 this seems to be the result of a writing error. Three other texts exist attesting an individual named ‘md with the same father and grandfather, and in one case, the same great grandfather.

KRS 1283: I ‘md bn ḫd bn ’bgr
KRS 1284: I ‘md bn ḫd bn ’bgr bn ṣhr bn ṣḥtr bn mr’ bn ḡr bn ḡnt bn ’slm

KRS 2301: I ‘md bn ḫd bn ’bgr w qṣf f h lh ḡyr t l-ḏ qṣf

‘By ‘md son of ḫd son of ḏr and he grieved (for the dead) so O Allāh may he who grieves be compensated with (lit. have) blood money’

While it is possible that ‘m was intended here and that this individual was a brother of ‘md, it seems more likely considering the fact that ‘md was a rather prolific writer that this is one of his inscriptions. I therefore suggest restoring the name as ‘m[d].6

4 On the classification of the various script types in Safaitic, see Clark (1979, 70–71).
5 The name is attested 1721 times, including all positions in the lineage chain. It should likely be vocalized as /ʿamm/, attested frequently in Greek transcription as Ἄμμος, and likely means ‘paternal kinsman’ (Al-Jallad and Jaworska 2019, s.v.).
6 For an excellent discussion on the Classical Arabic equivalents of this name, see Overlaet, Macdonald, and Stein 2016.


'dy: Context easily permits the interpretation of ‘dy as the name of a place in the desert. However, in Safaitic epigraphy (and certainly other traditions), ‘toponym’ is often jargon for “we don’t know”, and is a label frequently given to words which do not lend themselves to a straightforward interpretation based on the vocabulary of the classical Semitic languages. In this case, other possibilities are available. The term may be related to Aramaic ‘dy ‘spoil’, ‘booty’, and Classical Arabic ‘udiya ‘alay-hi ‘he had his property stolen’. I therefore suggest that ‘dy is an equivalent of ḡzz ‘to raid’, and that the author had returned to the Harrah from an incursion, perhaps against a group pasturing their animals in the inner desert.7 The other attestations of this word support my suggested meaning.

National Museum of Qatar 1:8

l mnʾt bn ḫ{b}rt bn tm bn ṣs bn gm{ḥ}{s} bn {ḡ}sm ḏ-ʾl b{y}ḏ w ʿdy f h dś ḡnmt

By Mnʾt son of Ḫbrt son of Tm son of ṣs son of {Gmḥs} son of {Ḡs ḍ} of the lineage of {Byḏ} and he went on a raid so Dśr let there be spoil!

Al-Mafraq Museum 59:9

l blq {b}n wsm ḥmr w ʿdy b-ʾśll

By Blq son of Wsmt is (the drawing of) the donkey and he raided (the tribe of) ʾśll.

7 ṣyr is used to refer to movement away from the inner desert (mdbṛ) back to water, the opposite of ʾšrq ‘to move/migrate to the inner desert’; on these terms, see Macdonald 1992.
8 This text was edited on OCIANA, and there the verb ‘dy is translated as a passive meaning ‘he was robbed’. This meaning seems to be in contradiction with the request for booty – usually an author will invoke the gods for vengeance after they have been wrong. Booty and spoil on the other hand suit a prayer before setting off for a raid.
9 This is my reading and interpretation (see image 2). The text is published and edited on OCIANA as follows: l blqḥn w sm ḥmr w ʿdy b-ʾśll ʾBy Blqḥn and he came back with a donkey which he had been robbed from the lineage of ʾśll’ [sic]. The edition does not give an explanation as to why sm ḥ is translated as ‘he came back’, why the preposition l- is translated as ‘with’ and why b- is translated as ‘from’, nor is there any explanation of the unattested name blqḥn. In fact, it is clear from the photograph that the text has been misread. The genealogy in fact contains two names – the first is blq, which is attested 16 times in the corpus, and the second is wsm, attested 49 times. A vandal seems to have added a small line to the b of the patronymic bn, causing it to resemble a ḥ. The letter the edition took as an l before ḥmr is clearly an h, giving us the definite article/demonstrative prefix. The inscription now begins with a two-generation genealogy and falls into the genre of ‘signing rock art’. A drawing of man with a spear riding a donkey accompanies this text, and perhaps illustrates the raid mentioned in the narrative component of the inscription. ʾśll is a well-attested tribal group, e.g. RWQ 65.
While the semantic range of ‘dy seems clear, its morphological identity is more difficult to establish. A noun ‘ady ‘raiding’ or ‘a raid’ is possible, rendering ‘he returned from raiding’ or ‘he returned from a raid’. If we take the m preceding it as part of the word, we may take the word as a D-stem active participle of the verb ‘adda/y ‘to raid, obtain spoil’, giving us moʿaddīya, an accusative of circumstance, here to be understood with a perfective meaning.10

3 The deity ’hd

Following the narrative, the author petitions two gods for security and the protection of those who read and invoke his text. The second deity, It = /Allāt/, is the most frequently invoked deity in the Safaitic inscriptions.11 She is called upon beside another god, a unique deity named ’hd, attested for the first, and as far as I know, only time in this text. The etymology is clear: ‘One’. While writers often invoke Allāt alongside other gods, especially Dusares, whom many scholars regard as her partner, it would be odd to take ’hd as an epithet of the chief Nabataean deity.12 Dusares is invoked hundreds of times and there are no examples of him being referred to by an epithet. Moreover, there is no evidence from the Nabataean tradition that he was given such a title, or that ‘oneness’ was a characteristic associated with him.

The ‘One’ is a known attribute of the Jewish god, clearly reflected in the Shema’ Deut. 6:4 “Hear, O Israel, YHWH is our lord, YHWH is ‘One’, and also Zechariah 14:9 ‘on that day, YHWH will be one and his name (is) ‘One’.13 In Hebrew liturgical poetry of Late Antiquity, the most common literary form is the use of metonymy (kinnui), usually an allusion to scripture. In such a context, ‘ehad could be used as an epithet for God, and indeed an attestation of this is found in a Piyyut of Shim’on bar Megas.14 Qur’an 112, which Neuwirth convincingly argues is an engagement with the Jewish Shema’,15 recasts the declaration, naming Allâh as the ‘One’: qul huwa llāhu ‘aḥad, which gave rise to the divine epithet: al- ’ahadu ‘the One’.

3.1 Context

There is abundant evidence for contact between the nomads of the Harrah and the Jews,16 in particular in the form of references to the Herodian rules of the Ḩawrān, which

10 See Al-Jallad (2015: 115) on the perfective meaning of the participle.
11 According to OCIANA, 1461 inscriptions contain invocations to her; see Bennett (2014, 45).
13 Gordon 1970. I thank Professor G. Rendsburg for this helpful reference.
14 Yahalom 1984, 222. I thank Prof. M. Swartz for this helpful reference.
15 Neuwirth 2007, 26.
16 The Jews appear as yhd /yahūd/ and yhdy /yahūdeyy/ in the inscriptions.
M.C.A. Macdonald has assembled in a masterful way in his articles from 1995 and 2004. The Herodian rulers governed the Ḥawrān for more than a century and several inscriptions are dated by references to events concerning them. Many less precise references to the ‘Jews’, yḥd, yḥdy, and ‘l yḥd, are also found, but as Macdonald has already explained, in most cases these are too vague to allow for the precise identification of the events or peoples involved. When taken together, however, it seems that events involving the Jews were of some concern to the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah, and point to a variety of relationships between the two groups.

Despite such contact, there is so far no evidence for the existence of Jewish nomadic tribes in the Ḥarrah. There is only one inscription known to me written by a man with a Jewish name, ysφ (yōṣēp = Joseph) but we must keep in mind that this text is known only from a crude hand copy. The short inscription, consisting of just two names, makes it impossible to identify its author’s confessional background – considering that some nomads had Greek and Latin names, it is possible that ysφ belongs to this marginal category of anthroponyms.

The fact that our author invokes ṣḥd beside Allāt prevents us from regarding this text as a monotheistic Jewish inscription. So then, what are we to make of it? The polytheistic climate of the Ḥarrah allowed the pious to seek favor from any source, both local and outside deities. Many of the gods, and certainly the most common, belong to the familiar ancient Arabian stock, ṣt (Allāt), rdw/y (roṣaw/y), yt (yayṭe’), ṣḥ (Allāh), etc., other gods originate among neighboring peoples. Nabataean deities are popular, such as Dusares and Shay’haqqawm. Ba’lsamin, whose temple was located in the town of Seʾīr, was the primary god invoked for rain. While these deities came from beyond the Ḥarrah, they seem to have been fully assimilated into the local pantheon as evidenced by their popularity.

The nomads sometimes called explicitly upon the deities they felt to be foreign: ASFF 122 invokes the god of the people of ʾAbgar, perhaps the Edessans (h ’lh ’bgr), while the author of Khunp 1 calls upon the Tyche of the Nabataeans (gdnbf). Sometimes authors would invoke the tutelary gods of their allies. The author of C 2446 petitions both the Tyche of the tribe of Ṣwḏ (gdḏw) and of the tribe Ṣf (gdḏf) for vengeance against the man who killed his brother; the same pair is invoked in KRS 1683. Unfortunately, neither author mentions his lineage group, so we cannot know if they belonged to either tribe. Yet, the pairing of the two seems to reflect an alliance between the two confederations, attested

\[17\] Macdonald 1995 and 2014, 151–52. For an excellent discussion on the epigraphic evidence for the interaction between the nomads of the Ḥawrān and settled peoples, see Macdonald (2009).

\[18\] For example, snt myt grtš h-mlk ‘the year Agrippa the king died’ (SESP.U 8); snt kbs h-mlk grtš h-mdnt ‘the year king Agrippa laid siege to the city’ (HN 91); on these references, see Macdonald 2014: 152.

\[19\] Macdonald 1995: 285. See the appendix following this article for a list of these references.

\[20\] ISB 330: l-ysf bn bd’d

\[21\] Bennett 2014, 45.

\[22\] This is the siglum for the inscription given in OCIANA. It was first published by Hayajneh and Ababneh (2015) and re-edited the same year by Al-Jallad and Macdonald (2015).
in RWQ 346: snt t’ql ’l df w ’l ’wd ‘the year the lineages of Ḍf and ḡwd formed an alliance’. Khunp 1 contains an elaborate prayer for the destruction of the author’s enemy. He invokes gods from across the region, presumably in hope that one would hear his call and grant him his request for retribution. It is worth repeating the text here:

Khunp 1

Iʾdm bn whbʾl bn ḡl bn ḡbl bn ḡdm bn ḡdq bn swr w ḡhrṣ f {ḥ} lt nqmt m-ḏkr bn ḡl f h lt nqmt w h bʾlsmn w šʾhq m dṣr w ’lh-tm w gd-ḏf w gd-ḏnbṯ w ’lh-fls nqmt w ḡywr h-sfr w šḥq w šḥq w nqʾt b-wdḏḏ y ḡḥḥbl ḡ-h-sfr

‘By ʾdm son of Whbʾl son of ḡl son of ḡbl son of ḡdm son of ḡdq son of Swr and he kept watch so, O Allāt, grant retribution against ḡkr son of ḡlm, and again, O ḡl, let there be retribution! And O Bʾlsmn and Šʾhq m and Dṣr and the god of Tm and the Tyche of Ḍf and the Tyche of the Nabataeans and the god Fals, let there be retribution! And blind him who would efface this inscription, and may ruin and misfortune befall him who would efface any part of this inscription, and may he be thrown out of the grave by a loved one (thereafter).’

It is clear that our writer did not belong simultaneously to all of these groups. The first four gods appear frequently in the Safaitic inscriptions, and tutelary gods of the tribes of Taym, Ḍayf, and the Nabataeans follow these. Finally, and for the first time and only time so far, this author invokes a god named Fals, which Macdonald and I have suggested to be associated with the tribe of the Ṭayyiʾ, whose territory lay far away in the environs of Hāʾil.23 There is no reason to assume that this author called upon deities of his allies exclusively, as the Ṭayyiʾ only appear as enemies in the Safaitic inscriptions.24 It seems, instead, that he simply wanted to cover all his bases by invoking gods worshipped very widely, such as Allāt, and tutelary gods of both friends and perhaps enemies.

We can now return to the interpretation of the invocation in our inscription. A nomad perhaps belonging to a group cooperating with the Jews, such as the author of AbaNS 1080, or someone belonging to a tribe like Ḍayf, who were involved in a conflict with the Jews, if my interpretation of RWQ 336 (see appendix) is correct, may have decided to invoke their deity.25 Of course, the Tetragrammaton would not have been pronounced, and so our author, and perhaps the nomads of the Ḥarrah more generally, may have only been familiar with epithets of the Jewish god. ʾAḥad is a very possible candidate for such a title, as discussed above, and an especially suitable one in a polytheistic environment. Thus, the ‘tutelary’ god of the Jews, from the point of view of the nomads, would have

23 Al-Jallad and Macdonald 2015.
24 For example, the invocation in BRenv.b 2 h lt ṭr m-ṭyʾ ‘O Allāt, may he have vengeance against the Ṭayyiʾ’. There are no unambiguous, positive references to the Ṭayyiʾ in the inscriptions, although at least on Safaitic text appears to be composed by a man from this tribe: BS 767 l-wʾl bn wmm ḡ-ṭ yʾ by Wʾl son of Wmm the Ṭāʾʾī.
25 It is also possible that the nomads served in Herodian military units, as suggested very cautiously by Macdonald 1995: 290, and n. 36, and argued for more generally in Macdonald 2014.
been 'ḥd, and our author could have called upon this deity, alongside the popular Arabian
goddess Allāt in the same spirit as the author of Khunp 1 – to have his invocation heard
by all.

**Excursus: the narrative of SSWS 80**

Our new understanding of 'dy motivate us to revisit the interpretation of the narrative
portion of SSWS 80:

```plaintext
mr b- ḏf f 'dy h-ʾs’d f ḥbl rbʾt f h lt brkt ḥ-k ḏ..
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‘he passed by ḏf and then ‘dy h-ʾsd and ruined rbʾt so O Allāt, may you bless your
brother of …’

This enigmatic text, known only from a hand copy, contains several unformulaic
expressions and *hapax legomena* and so we must regard every interpretation as tentative
until new inscriptions provide better context. In my treatment of this inscription in the
Safaitic Grammar (2015), I suggested that it had a seasonal and astronomical
signification. ḥ-ʾsd was Leo and ḏy I initially took as ‘transgression’ signified the early
coming of summer heat associated with the appearance of this asterism, which ruined
the time of abundance, rbʾt associated with the season of the later rains, ḏt’. In light of
our new understanding of ḏy, it seems that the metaphor used for the early appearance
of the summer heat was ‘plundering’ and ‘raiding’, a fitting description of the effects of the
drying up of water and herbage on livestock.

A non-astronomical interpretation is possible as well. Perhaps ḥ-ʾsd should be understood
as ‘the raiding party’, but this leaves the next phrase unexplained.  

26 On this meaning of ‘sd, see for example RWQ 187 šml ‘sd ‘he went north to raid’ or LP 319 ḥ ṛḏ w hb l-
qdm nqmt mn ‘sd ḏl-h ‘O Rdw grant to Qdm vengeance against the one who has raided he camels’ (Al-
Jallad and Jaworska 2019, s.v.).

27 For example, mrbʾt ‘the period of first spring rains’; h-rbʾ ‘fresh herbage’ (Al-Jallad and Jaworska 2019,
s.v.).
sure about the accuracy of the tracing of this portion. Indeed, it is curious that the author would refer to himself as the ‘brother’ of Allāt, whom he invokes for blessings.

**Appendix Safaitic Inscriptions mentioning yhd**

**Inscriptions dated to ‘the year of the Jews’**: This ambiguous statement does not provide any chronological evidence for us to locate inscriptions containing this reference in time. It is moreover unclear whether there was only one ‘year of the Jews’ or if these references point towards different years in which the Jews played some significant role in the affairs of the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah.

C 2732

ġzy b-nmrt f h lt slm snt h-yhd

‘he set off to raid Namārah so, O Allāt, may he be secure in the year of the Jews’

AbaSWS 79

w qnt 'l rm s’nt yhd f h lt ..... wqyt m b`s’t

‘and he was in fear of the Romans the year of the Jews so, O Allāt …. protect from misfortune’

AWS 347

byt b-ʾbl b-h-wrd snt h-yhd

‘he spent the night with camels at H-Wrd (the lowlands?) the year of the Jews’

**Inscriptions dated to ‘the struggle/war of the Jews’ and related events**: These texts refer to an unknown conflict, or perhaps conflicts, involving the Jews. The only time information that is more precise is given is in AbHYN 1, which mentions a war between the Nabataeans and the Jews, likely referring to the conflict between Nabataeans and Hasmonaeans. It is possible that other references to the ‘war of the Jews’ refer to this same event and are simply abbreviated. RWQ 336 could indicate that the tribe of Ḍayf was involved in such a conflict.

C 3360

snt wsq h-yhd
‘the year of the struggle of the Jews’

AbHYN 1
‘If snt ḥrb nbṭ yhd
‘he fed (the animals) on dry fodder the year the Nabataeans waged war against the Jews’

BS 2003
snt ḥrb yhd
‘the year of the war of the Jews’

Inscriptions dated to the ‘expulsion of the Jews’: The primary verb used in these statements is nz(z/t), which Clark convincingly argued should be interpreted as ‘to remove’.\(^{28}\) It is tempting to these statements as referring to the aftermath of the Jewish-Roman wars (66-135 CE), but they could equally intend a much smaller scale conflict. Given that there seems to have been some small Jewish presence in the Ḥarrah (AbaNS 1080), this dating may refer to a conflict that saw the expulsion of the Jews from the area. Such a hypothesis might be supported by the event mentioned in RWQ 191, where the people of a group called ‘Abgar, which OCIANA speculates may be connected to the Edessans, were exiled from an unknown toponym, sdr, while the Jews are ‘expelled’, ḥw’.

ASWS 186
wld b-h-dr snt nz t yhd
‘he helped (the goats) to give birth in this place the year of the expulsion of the Jews’

SIJ 688
snt nzz ’l yhd
‘the year of the expulsion of the Jews’

ASWS 217
wld h-m’z y b-knn snt nz ’l yhd

\(^{28}\) Clark 1979, 86–88.
'he helped the goats to give birth the year of the expulsion of the Jews'

RWQ 191
snt gly ʾlm-ʾbgr mn-sdr w ḥwʾ} {ʾ}l yhd f h bʾlšmn fṣyt m-ʾbʾs w ḥlṣṭ

‘the year the people of ´Abgar were exiled from Sdr and the Jews were expelled so, O Baʾl-Samīn, deliver from misfortune and save (us)’

**Inscriptions mentioning alliances with the Jews:** The author of AbaNS 1080 could have acted as a guide, leading the Jews through the Ḥārrah, but the reasons for this are not given. KRS 37 contains a prayer for security for the Jews, suggesting that its author regarded them in friendly terms.

AbaNS 1080
l rwhʾ bn ydʾl w mr mʾʾl-yhd
By Rwḥy son of Ydʾʾ and he passed by (this place) with the Jews

KRS 37
šṭt-h nwy f h ʾlt qbll ʾlšm ʾhl-h šlm l-yhd w rgʾ bʾbl rʾy l-ḥrт ʾf hт
‘he spent the winter migrating so, O Allāt, (grant) a safe reunion with his family; and security to the Jews; and he return with camels towards the Ḥārrah to pasture on low-lying tracts of land’

**Miscellaneous texts:**
AWS 1
dtʾ snt mlk ʾl yhd
‘he spent the season of the later rains (here) the year of Mlk of the people of the Jews’

The interpretation of the word mlk as the generic noun for ‘king’ is ruled out by the following ʾl. Kings of peoples and nations are always in construct with the group they ruled, while individuals connected with their group through the phrase ʾl ’he of the lineage of’. It is therefore clear that mlk is an individual, but whose identity is lost to time.
LP 353

\[ w \text{ḥrṣ mlkt ‘l yhd f hy lt w ṛdy slm } \]

‘and he kept watch for the Queen of the Jews so, O Allāt and Roṣay, may he be secure’

M.C.A. Macdonald has suggested that this inscription refers to a certain Queen of the Jews, whom he tentatively identified as Berenice, sister of Agrippa II.\(^2\) It is also possible to take mlkt as a male personal name, molaykat, attested frequently in Safaitic. In this case, the narrative would contain a different subject than the genealogy, which is uncommon but attested. This would render a much more common phrase: ‘and Mlkt kept watch for the Jews’.

AbJ 1

\[ snt šlb h-yhdy ‘bkr \]

The syntax of this inscription is ambiguous. The unmarked word order suggests that the Jews had crucified a man named ‘bkr, a common anthroponym. Crucifixion was a common event in Classical Antiquity; it is possible that ‘bkr was a nomad who for reasons unknown had suffered this capital punishment at the hands of the Herodians or Hasmonaeans. If h-yhdy is fronted for emphasis, it may suggest that a man named ‘bkr crucified an unnamed Jew, an odd formulation to be sure.

RWQ 336

\[ snt b’y h-yhdy ‘l ḏf \]

‘the year the Jews treated the lineage of ḏf unjustly’

This event may be related to one of the many conflicts involving the Jews mentioned above. Also see the broken texts below.

C 1270bis

… m b’s ‘l yhd

…’from the affliction of the Jews’

\(^2\) Macdonald 2014, 153.
Macdonald interprets this as the final part of an invocation for protection against the Jews, perhaps related to the statement attested in RWQ 336.\footnote{Macdonald 1995, 285.}

C 5188

\textit{\ldots rḥbt m-yhd w h l[h] flṭ}

‘…the Ruḥbah from the Jews so O Allāh deliver!’
KRS 1131

Image 1 (G.M.H. King, courtesy OCIANA)
Tracing (A. Al-Jallad)

Al-Mafraq Museum 59

Image 2 (courtesy OCIANA)
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<td>Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (<a href="http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/">http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/</a>)</td>
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<td>SESP.U</td>
<td>Safaitic inscriptions published on OCIANA</td>
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<td>SIJ</td>
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<td>SSWS</td>
<td>Safaitic inscriptions in Al-Sweerky 1999</td>
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