A POSSIBLE ATTESTATION OF THE NABATAEAN MINISTER SYLLAEUS IN A NEW ANCIENT NORTH ARABIAN (SAFAITIC) INSCRIPTION

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to shed light on a new Ancient North Arabian inscription which could contain a reference to the Nabataean minister Syllaeus. This inscription would be the second from the known corpus of Ancient North Arabian to mention the name of this minister, and could be dated on this basis to the last quarter of the first century BC. The inscription includes the verb *ngy* which means "to flee", which is discussed alongside the names *s¹ly* and *rm*.

1. INTRODUCTION

The stone which bears this inscription was found in Wadi al-Hašad and is situated about 45km north-east of the village of as-Safawi, formerly known as H4 (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Map of Jordan showing the location of Wadi al-Hašad (Source: Google Earth)

While there are a number of stone cairns in the wadi, the number of cairns is unusually low when compared with the rest of the area which usually has a very high density of cairns. In terms of topography, the wadi is notably flat, being spread out over a large area. This is an area where a number of Greek, Ancient Arabian and Islamic inscriptions have been found, as well as a lot of accompanying rock art. The Safaitic inscriptions from this area are characterized in general by their length, since there is an unusually high number of long narrative inscriptions, and also by the thin scratching technique used to carve the letters, which seems to be a feature of the majority of inscriptions in this area. The inscription in this study was found approximately five hundred meters away from the only other know inscription to include the name Syllaeus (ʿAbbādī 2001, 1997, see fig. 2).

2. FORM OF THE INSCRIPTION

As with the vast majority of Safaitic inscriptions, this inscription is carved on a basalt stone approximately 23cm by 41cm. The stone is loosely rectangular in shape, and the top-right corner is damaged: the first letter of the inscription should be a *lam auctoris*, the extremity of which is just visible next to the damaged part of the rock. Although the *lam* is not visible except for this very small part, it is easy to

reconstruct, since most Safaitic inscriptions begin with this letter, which is followed by a personal name or genealogy and the meaning of which is "by" (Al-Jallad 2015: 4-6). There is also some damage to the top side of the rock which causes difficulty in reading all the letters from the last part of the inscription. A minor amount of scratching in the centre-right part of the rock makes the personal name *gml* slightly obscured, although it is still possible to read.
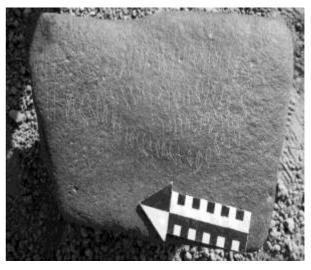

Figure 2 AbNSJ 1[1]

There are two inscriptions on the surface of the rock: the shorter, *inscription 2*, is found on the right hand edge, and the longer, *inscription 1*, occupies most of the space on the rock. It is probable that *inscription 1* was carved before *inscription 2*, since the latter follows the shape of the longer one, indicating that it was carved around a pre-existing inscription. Safaitic inscriptions normally show a certain amount of respect for other inscriptions in this regard, since it is quite rare that an author should write over another author's inscription with his own.

The surface of the stone has played a role in the forming of the letters. In general, the letter forms of these two inscriptions are similar to those found in AbNSJ 1, but with some notable departures. It can be seen that the form of the letter *ghain* in the name *ġnmt* is different from the same letter in the name *ġyr*: this is on account of the rough, almost sponge-like, surface of the stone which has prevented the easy writing of the letter ghain. The inscription includes 111 letters.

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[1] **Transliteration:** *l tm bn ms¹k bn qtl bn brd bn ḥmt w wgm ʾl- ġyr w ʾl- qtl w ʾl- mṯl s¹nt ʾty s¹ly m- rm w ḫrṣ h- s¹nt f h bʾls¹mn ġwṯ w s¹lm w qbll l- ḏ ʾḥb* **Translation:** By Tm son of Ms¹k son of Qtl son of Brd son of Ḥmt and he grieved for Ġyr and for Qtl and for Mṯl the year S¹ly came from Rm and he kept watch this year and so O Bʾls¹mn [grant] help and security and [show] benevolence for whoever ʾḥb
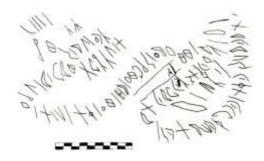
Figure 3. The stone which bears this inscription

Figure 4. Tracing of the inscription

3. THE INSCRIPTIONS

3.1 Inscription 1

Transliteration

l tm bn ms¹k bn qtl bn brd bn ḥmt bn ġlmt bn mr bn ʾfty bn gml w wgm ʿl- ġyr w ʿl- mlṭ w ʿl- qtl s¹nt ngy s¹l[y] mn rm w ḫr{ṣ} h- s¹nt f h bʿls¹mn ġw{ṯ} {w} {s¹}{l}{m} {w} {q}{b}{l}{l} {l}- {d̠} {ʾ}{ḥ}{b}

Translation

By Tm son of Ms¹k son of Qtl son of Brd son of Ḥmt son of Ġlmt son of Mr son of ʾfty son of Gml and he grieved for Ġyr and for Mṭl and for Qtl the year {S¹ly} fled from Rm and {he kept watch} this year and so O Bʿls¹mn [grant] {help} {and} {security} {and} [show] {benevolence} {for} {whoever} {ʾḥb}".

3.1.1 Commentary

This inscription begins, as the majority of Safaitic inscriptions do, with the *lam auctoris*, which means "by"[2].

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[2] For a discussion on the various possibilities, see Al-Jallad (2015: 4-6) and Macdonald (2006: 294-295).

3.1.2 Genealogy

The lam is usually followed by a genealogy in Safaitic inscriptions. These vary between short genealogies, maybe even just one name, and long ones; the longest inscription on record contains twenty-five names in the genealogy. It is interesting to note that the same genealogy appears on seven different stones in the same area as this inscription; assuming that the vocalization of these names is the same, it is highly likely that the same person has authored all of these inscriptions. All of the personal names included in this genealogy are known from the Safaitic and Ancient North Arabian corpora (ʿAbbādī 2001, 1997).

One interesting find from this inscription is that it allows us to correct the reading of KRS 650, which previously read *ġlmt bn mr bn ʾftl*; the reading was considered dubious by King who simply recorded it as *ʾft{.}* but we can now reconstruct the personal name *ʾfty* with confidence based on the reading from this inscription.

3.1.3 Narrative

The inscription contains three verbs: *wgm*, "he grieved" (HCH 24) and *ḫrṣ*, "he kept watch" (SIJ 534), as well as the verb *ngy* which we understand to mean "he fled" (LP 407). In the first phrase, *w wgm ʿl- ġyr w ʿl- mlṭ w ʿl- qtl*, "and he grieved for Ġyr and for Mṭl and for Qtl", we find the *w* meaning "and", which is the usual conjunction to introduce the narrative section of the inscription in Safaitic, and the preposition *ʿl*, meaning "for" in this case, which usually follows the verb *wgm* "to grieve for". The same three names are grieved for in this inscription as in AbNSJ 1 but the names are in a different order. Here we find *ʿl- ġyr w ʿl- mlṭ w ʿl- qtl* "for Ġyr and for Mṭl and for Qtl" whereas in AbNSJ 1 the inscription reads *wgm ʿl- ġyr w ʿl- qtl w ʿl- mṭl* "for Ġyr and for Qtl and for Mṭl".

After the *wgm* portion of narrative, the writer dates his inscription using the dating formula *s¹nt ngy s¹l[y] mn rm* "the year {S¹ly} fled from Rm". This is the usual dating formula in the Safaitic inscriptions, in which *s¹nt* "year" is not usually introduced by a preposition. The word *s¹nt* "year" is followed by a memorable occurrence, something somewhat unique: this might be related to the weather such as a flood or snow, or to the death of a particular person, or to disease or many other occurrences. The combination *s¹nt ngy* is not unprecedented, as we shall discuss below. It should be noted that the letter *y* has been supplied because it does not exist in the inscription, but it is clear that the name *s¹ly* is in-

tended because of the parallel with AbNSJ 1 which contains the same genealogy and therefore, we suggest, the same reference to *s¹ly*. Naturally, this is a speculation, but we believe it to have a strong basis; we shall here briefly discuss the other possibilities however. The name *s¹ly* is a known name from the Safaitic corpus, and since the genealogies are not the same from case to case it is clear that they do not refer to the same person. The name also occurs in the Hismaic («Thamudic E») inscriptions as *sl* (King 1990: 511), in the Nabataean inscriptions as *slyw, šly* and *šlʾ* (Cantineau, 123), and in the Palmyrene inscriptions as *šl* (Stark 1971: 114). There remains every possibility that another *s¹ly*, or even another spelling altogether, is mentioned here; as we shall argue later, we consider that the combination of *s¹ly* and *rm*, however dubious their individual interpretations, present us with this striking possibility for interpretation when they appear together, as here.

After the dating formula, the author continues *w ḫr{ṣ} h- s¹nt* "and {he kept watch} this year"[3], which is followed by a prayer, *f h bʿls¹mn ġw{t}* "and so O Bʿls¹mn [grant] help". The combination of this narrative section and prayer indicate that the year in question was a year of drought, since the meaning of *ḫrṣ* in this case may refer to watching for the rain, or watching for the help of Bʿls¹mn, rather than watching out in any other sense, although the semantic range of the verb is too wide for us to be sure. Bʿls¹mn is the deity usually invoked in prayers for rain, so *ġwt* "help" here seems to refer to the rain in this context. The phrase *h- s¹nt* always mean "this year" in Safaitic (C 1292; SIJ 73).

3.1.4 Rm in the Safaitic inscriptions

The word *rm* is attested in the Safaitic inscriptions more than seventy times, sometimes with the *h-* definite article and sometimes without. It is often interpreted as referring to Rome or the Romans (C 3688; LP 94; SIJ 352; CSNS 1004; Abbadi 2006: 79) but there are two possibilities for the interpretation. Firstly, it can be interpreted as a place name; this could refer to the city of Rome (ʿAbbādī 2001). Zayadine (2007: 14), in contrast, stresses that it is in fact not Rome proper that is referred to but rather the Roman province of Arabia. There is also the possibility that Rm could be another area altogether, such as the Wadi Rum in southern Jordan. The second option refers to a group: when it seems to be a reference to Rome as a people, it is variously interpreted either as «the Romans» or as «the people of Rome» when it appears in the formula *ʾl rm*, which mimics the formula

of Safaitic marking of tribal lineage. Since the vocalization of the word is unknown (Macdonald 1993: 329), it is impossible to know for certain that a different group, such as a local group, whose name bears but a consonantal similarity with Rome, is not intended.

Some examples of the attestations of *rm* in the Safaitic corpus are given here with their interpretations and translations in the various editions. As it can be seen, there is little consistency with which this word has been understood by the various translators of Safaitic inscriptions:

- C 1292[4] contains the phrase *s¹nt mr{ḍ} ʾl rm ʿwḍ* which is translated as "and he escaped from Rm in the year that those of the lineage of Rhy contended against Nbṭ in a plot (?)".
- C 742[5] contains the phrase *w {n}fr m- rm s¹nt ws¹q ḏ- ʾl rhy nbṭ* which is translated as "and he escaped from Rm in the year that those of the lineage of Rhy contended against Nbṭ."
- C 4448[6] contains the phrase *s¹nt ḥrb h- mḍy ʾl rm* which is translated as "year the Persians waged war upon the people of Rome"
- C 4866 reads *s¹nt ws¹q bn rm nbṭ*[7] which is translated as "the year of the struggle between Rm and the Nabataeans."
- LP 157 has *w ngʿ mn rm* understood as "and he escaped from Rm."
- LP 406 contains the phrase *s¹nt ngʿ wdn m- rm* which is translated "the year Wdn escaped from Rm."
- The author of CSNS 424[8] says *f mrd ʾl- ʾl rm* which is translated as "and he rebelled against the people of Rome".

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[3] SIJ 73: *w ḫrṣ h- s¹nt (f) h bʿls¹mn rwḥ,* nd he was hungry and cold this year {and so} O Bʿls¹mn [grant] relief from adversity and uncertainty

[4] C 1292: **Transliteration:** *l mṭr bn ʾḍnt bn ʾnʿm bn qdm bn ʾn{ʿ}m bn {b}nʾl{ḥ} {b}n whbʾl w ḏṭ h- wrd s¹nt mr{ḍ} ʾl rm ʿwḍ f h ʾlt ḍṭn w h gdʿwḍ w bʿls¹mn s¹lm w ʾw{r}----* **Translation:** By Mṭr son of ʾḍnt son of ʾnʿm son of Qdm son of {ʾnʿm} son of {Bnʾlḥ} {son} of Whbʾl and he spent the season of the later rains at this watering-hole in the year that the lineage of Rm {rebelled} against ʿwḍ so, O ʾlt Ḍṭn and O Gdʿwḍ and Bʿls¹mn let there be security and [blind]----

[5] C 742: **Transliteration:** *l s¹r bn nẓr bn ṣhyn bn gʾl bn rs¹l w {n}fr m- rm s¹nt ws¹q ḏ- ʾl rhy nbṭ mġwt f h lt s¹lm w qʾt l- ḏ {y}ʿ{w}r* **Translation:** By S¹r son of Nẓr son of Ṣhyn son of Gʾl son of Rs¹l and he escaped from Rm in the year that those of the lineage of Rhy contended against Nbṭ in a plot (?) and O Lt [grant] security and vengeance on whomsoever scratches out the inscription.

[6] C 4448: **Transliteration:** *l mḥwr bn ġṭfn bn ʾḍnt w ṣyr b- ġnmt -h s¹nt ḥrb h- mḍy ʾl rm b- bṣr{y} qṭrz* **Translation:** By Mḥwr son of Ġṭfn son of ʾḍnt and he returned to a place of water with his goats the year the Persians waged war upon the people of Rome at {Bṣry} qṭrz

[7] C 4866: **Transliteration:** *l ḥny bn ʾk(----) bn b(----)s¹ bn {ʾ}ʾl bn hgml h- dr s¹nt ws¹q bn rm nbṭ* **Translation:** By Ḥny son of ʾk---- son of B----S¹ son of ʾʾl son of Hgml was here the year of the struggle between Rm and the Nabataeans

[8] CSNS 424: **Transliteration:** *l ʾs¹ bn {ʾ}m bn ʾs¹ ḏ- ʾl ʾbs²t f mrd ʾl- ʾl rm f h bʿls¹mn ʾlh s¹ʿʿ s¹lm* **Translation:** By ʾs¹ son of {ʾm} son of ʾs¹ of the tribe of ʿbs²t and he rebelled against the people of Rome; so O Bʿls¹mn, god of S¹ʿʿ, [grant] security

- The author of SIJ 78[9] wrote *w mrd ʾl- rm s¹nt ʾty h- mḏy bṣry* which is taken to mean "and he rebelled against the Romans the year the Persians came to Boṣrā"
- WH 2815[10] reads *s¹nt mrdt nbṭ ʾl- ʾl {r}m* which is understood as "the year of the revolt of the Nabataeans against the ʾl Rm"
- ANSWS 79[11] contains the phrase *w qnṭ ʾl rm s¹nt yhd* which is translated "and he was afraid of the Romans in the Jewish year"

It can therefore be seen that some interpreters have historically chosen to avoid making explicit reference to Rome or the Romans while others have not. It should be noted that the majority of references to *rm* occur in dating formulas, which might lead one to speculate that its meaning is somehow significant or unique, and a reference to Rome could certainly fit this context, even if it is not necessary for it to do so[12].

It is therefore plausible that the phrase *ngy s¹l[y] mn rm* could mean "[S¹ly] fled from the Romans". It is interesting that this inscription reads *s¹nt ngy s¹l[y] mn rm* "the year that [S¹ly] fled from Rm" while Ab-NSJ 1 reads *s¹nt ʾty s¹ly m- rm* "the year S¹ly came from Rm" . This author believes that AbNSJ 1 could have been written before this inscription, and that perhaps the change of verb from *ʾty* to *ngy* repre-

sents a development in how his departure from Rm was understood: what was first perceived as a "coming" could have later been reinterpreted with hindsight as a "fleeing".

3.1.5 Prayer

As mentioned above, the narrative is followed by a prayer section, as is customary for many Safaitic inscriptions. The author invokes the deity Bʿls¹mn saying *f h bʿls¹mn ġw{ṭ} {w} {s¹}{l}{m} {w} {q}{b}{l}{l} {l}-{ḏ} {ʾ}{ḥ}{b}* "and so O Bʿls¹mn [grant] {help} {and} {security} {and} [show] {benevolence} {for} {whoever} {ʾḥb}". Bʿls¹mn is known in Safaitic as the god of the sky and is mostly connected to prayers for rain (WH 2143; KRS 1482).

At the end of the inscription, the author asks the deity Bʿls¹mn to accept his prayer, and apparently he also asks for the prayers of other people to be accepted. This is dependent on the interpretation of the verb *ʾḥb*. Macdonald has translated the verb *ʾḥb* as "who has pursued a sinful course" when dealing with the inscription AbNSJ 1; this interpretation comes from the IV-form of the verb *ḥwb*. [13]

The verb *ngy* is attested in many Safaitic inscriptions, with the formula *s¹nt ngy* occurring more than fort times, and appears to have different meanings in many cases. Three particular meanings should be highlighted, which we shall list here. The first is the meaning attested in WH 1698, *s¹nt ngy qṣr h- mdnt* "the year Caesar announced the province". Macdonald has interpreted this verb, and has suggested that the formula *s¹nt ngy PN hdy* should be understood as "in the year that PN was announced leader", which he thinks makes reference to the conscripting of nomads into either the Roman or Nabataean army. The interpretation is based on the word *hdy*, "leader", since the interpretation of "escape" as we have understood it to mean in this inscription does not make a great deal of sense with the reference to a leader (Macdonald 2014: 154-155). A second meaning is that found in HCH 102.1, *s¹nt ngy rbbʾl* "the year Rbbʾl escaped." The third meaning is found in LP 424: *s¹nt ngy mlk s¹lṭn* "the year that Mlk retained power." The verb retains the *y* in the feminine form as well, as evidenced by SIJ 786 which reads *ngyt ʾ- mlkt* "the Queen was announced". Based on the similarity between this inscription and AbNSJ 1, in which the verb *ngy* is replaced with *ʿty*, it seems likely that the meaning referred to here is the meaning "to escape". If *s¹l{y}* here is understood to refer to Syllaeus, then this is corroborated by the historical record (see below) for it is known that Syllaeus left Rome and returned to the area where the inscription is found.

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[9] SIJ 78: **Transliteration:** *l mty bn ḫzn w mrd ʾl- rm s¹nt ʾty h- mḏy bṣry f h lt s¹lm***Translation:** By Mty son of Ḫzn and he rebelled against the Romans the year the Persians came to Boṣrā and so O Lt may he be secure

[10] WH 2815**: Transliteration:** *l ʿbd bn {y}ġt ḏ- {ʾ}l {b}{s¹}ʾ w ngy m nf{r}t w ʿḥ -h s¹nt mrdt nbṭ ʾl- ʾl {r}m f ʾt s¹lm f* **Translation:** By ʿbd son of Yġt Ḏ- ʾl Bs¹ʾ and

[11] ANSWS 79: **Transliteration:** *l ẓʿn bn grmʾl bn ẓʿn bn bnt bn ẓʿn bn ḫts¹t ḏ- ʾl kn w wgd s¹fr grmʾl f b ʾs¹ mn ẓll w qnṭ ʾl rm s¹nt yhd f h lt ..... wqyt m b ʾs¹* **Translation:**By Ẓʿn son of Grmʾl son of Ẓʿn son of Bnt son of Ẓʿn son of Ḫts¹t of the lineage of Kn and he found the inscription of Grmʾl and he was overshadowed by grief on account and he was afraid of the Romans in the Jewish year [and so Lt [grant] protection from distress [this year].

[12] More information and discussion about the interpretation of *rm* in the Safaitic inscriptions can be found in the following sources:

Clark, V.A. *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*. Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1979 [1983]. Pages: 88–90

Knauf, E.A. Als die Meder nach Bosra Kamen. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134, 1984: 219-225. Pages: 219, and n.3; 222, and n. 20

Macdonald, M.C.A. Nomads and the Ḥawrān in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods: A reassessment of the epigraphic evidence. *Syria* 70, 1993: 303-413. Pages: 330

Rodinson, M. [Review of Winnett 1957 (SIJ)]. *Arabica* 6, 1959: 214-220. Pages: 216

Winnett, F.V. An Epigraphical Expedition to North-Eastern Transjordan. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 122, 1951: 49-52. Pages: 50–51

Winnett, F.V. *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*. (Near and Middle East Series, 2). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

[13] *Apparatus criticus* to AbNSJ 1 inscrption in OCIANA database.

3.2 *Inscription 2*

Transliteration

　l mlk bn ʾs¹lm

Translation

　By Mlk son of ʾs¹lm

Commentary

This inscription consists only of a genealogy. Both of the names are known from the Safaitic corpus.

4. DISCUSSION

The most salient aspect of this inscription is certainly the historical reference to the person of Syllaeus[14], if our interpretation of *s¹l{y}* is accepted; we shall therefore proffer a brief historical account of who he was. Syllaeus is known to have been a very powerful minister under Odobas III, the Nabataean king who ruled from 30-9 BC. The main historical sources for the life of Syllaeus are Josephus and Strabo; the latter was in fact a contemporary of his. He participated in an expedition of the Roman army to Arabia where he became acquainted with Herod the Great, whose sister Salome he attempted to marry but was unable to on account of his refusal to convert to Judaism as was demanded by Herod (Bowersock 1983: 47-53). Syllaeus also played a role in the revolution of southern Syria in 12 BC; Strabo in his records of this affair blames Syllaeus for the failure of the rebellion (Strabo, Geography, 16.4.24.). Although a powerful figure in Rome, Syllaeus fell into some trouble there in later years when accusations were famously brought against him by Aretas IV. Herod's ambassador Nicolaus accused him before Augustus, and both he and Aretas accused Syllaeus of poisoning Obedas III, among other charges; by accusing him of bearing false witness to Augustus concerning Herod, they attempted to damage his political career. In another reference to Syllaeus, found in Josephus's *Jewish War*, the narrative portrays him yet again as plotting against Herod. The date of his death is controversial, as it is unclear whether he died in 9 BC or 6 BC, but it seems that he was executed (ibid. I:490-631). It is possible that after the death of Obodas III Syllaeus ruled in his place, but this is uncertain and the matter is obscured by the various accounts of when he died.

Abbadi writes in his commentary on AbNSJ 1 that the event referred to in that inscription is the coming of Syllaeus from Rome in 12-9 BC; he links this to another inscription from the same wadi (AbSHYN 1)

which mentions *s¹nt ḥrb nbṭ yhd* "the year of the Nabataean-Jewish war", which he now considers to be a reference also to the coming of Syllaeus to the region and not to any of the other wars from the historical record which would fit this description.

5. CONCLUSION

While the attestations of both *s¹l{y}* and *rm* in the same inscription may be construed as a reason to favour the interpretation we have given, namely, that they refer respectively to Syllaeus and Rome, it must be stressed that this is an interpretation and certainly not one which can be proven with certainty, or even suggested without hesitation. For this reason, we have offered other interpretations of both words; nonetheless, we continue to entertain the possibility that a well-known historical event is referenced here in an extraordinary Safaitic inscription and would draw the following speculations from ir. It seems probable from the historical record that Syllaeus was aware of the imminent death of Obodas III, and that this was his motivation for leaving the Nabataean kingdom for Rome in order to become close to Augustus and therefore place himself in a position to inherit the Nabataean throne. Aretas IV, on the other hand, was from the military and he in fact took power in Petra and attempted to rule the Nabataean kingdom, but without the permission from Rome. Ultimately Aretas IV may have proved a better candidate to serve the Roman interests in Arabia. Our hypothesis is that when Syllaeus became aware that Rome was more likely to install Aretas IV as king in Nabataea, he may have then fled Rome and returned to Arabia, an event which could possibly be alluded to in the occurrence here of the verb *ngy*, "he escaped".

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[14] While we provide here a brief overview of the person of Syllaeus, for more detailed discussion see ʿAbbādī Ṣ. (2001) A New Safaitic Inscription Dated to 12–9 BC. In: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, Vol 7: 481-484. Amman: Department of Antiquities of Jordan. Al-Rawabdeh, R. (2015) About the Nabataean Minister Syllaeus from New Silver Coins. In: *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, Vol. 15, No 1: 73-82.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sigla
AbNSJ ʿAbbādī Ṣ. A New Safaitic Inscription Dated to 12–9 BC.
AbSHYN ʿAbbādī, Ṣ. Nuqūš ṣafawiyyah ǧadīdah fī ʾl-urdun
ANSWS ʿAbbādī, Ṣ. Nuqūš ṣafawiyyah min wādī salmā
C Ryckmans, G. Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum: Inscriptiones Safaiticae.
CSNS Clark, V.A. A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from
HCH Harding, G.L. The Cairn of Haniʾ.
KRS "King Rescue Survey". Inscriptions recorded by Geraldine King on the Basalt Rescue Desert Survey in north-eastern Jordan in 1989.
LP Littmann, E. Safaïtic Inscriptions. Syria
SIJ Winnett, F.V. Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan.
WH Winnett, F.V. and Harding, G.L. Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns.

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