ARCHÄOLOGISCHE BERICHTE
AUS DEM YEMEN

BAND X
ARCHäOLOGISCHE BERICHTe AUS DEM YEMEN
BAND X
Rencontres Sabéennes 6

The Periodisation and Chronological Terminology of Ancient Yemen

22. – 25. Mai 2001
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Orient-Abteilung
ARCHÄOLOGISCHE BERICHTTE
AUS DEM YEMEN

BAND X
2005
ALEXANDER SIMA
ZUM GEDENKEN
INHALT

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VORWORT


Berlin – Sanaa, im Oktober 2004
Iris Gerlach
THE GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY OF THE SABAEEAN HOMELAND

Geographical Setting

In this article the homeland of the Sabaeans means the region in the eastern margin of the Yemeni mountains, comprising the oasis of Marib, the area of Širwāh and the lower course of Wadi Raghwān (Fig. 1). These three parts do not form a geographical unit at all. Each area is a world in itself. Marib is located at the border of the large Wadi Dhana, not even ten kilometers away from the Jibal Balaq. To the northwest it is separated from the Wadi Raghwān by a barren volcanic area. The once fertile oasis of Wadi Raghwān widens about 30 km away from the mountains in the middle of the desert plain. The two wadis run parallel to each other and, being valleys, they both form landscapes dominated by linear structures. The area of Širwāh is totally different. It is separated from both oases by a mountain ridge. So well hidden from the Ramlat as-Sab'atayn it forms a basin with a diameter of about 10 km in the mountains. Thus it is a landscape with mostly circular structures.

The ancient capital Maryab lies at 15°26' north and 45°20' east. The low latitude of a mere 15° clearly indicates its position within the tropical zone. In Africa the Sabaean homeland would fit into the subsaharian semiariid belt of the Sahel. It takes exactly the same position in Southern Arabia. It is located at the southern border of the Arabian desert, thus profiting from the monsoonal rains in the Yemeni mountains in our summertime. Therefore the periodical water in the Wadi Dhana and Raghwān are the source of life in the oases of Marib and Raghwān. The area of Širwāh depends more on scarce local rainfall. The Sabaean homeland is richly structured. This is the result of a long and interesting geological history, which makes it worthwhile to have a closer look at the geology.

Geology

The geology is closely related to plate tectonics in connection with the building of the Red Sea. In Mesozoic times Africa and Arabia still formed an entire continent, built up by the Precambrian basement and consisting mostly of gneiss, schist and granite. This continent was flooded by the sea and, due to varying depths of water, many different sediments accumulated such as limestone, sandstone, gypsum or salt. By the end of the Mesozoic Age the continent was rising above sealevel and at the place where later on the Red Sea would establish, it lifted up to a high plateau of three to four thousand metres. This uplifting was accompanied by faults, so Tertiary volcanism occurred, covering the sediments with immense layers of tuffs and basalts.

Marib lay at the edge of this rise. So only little Tertiary volcanism occurred around Širwāh and the raising of the basement was less, about 1500 m. Therefore the sediments built up the surface but they started to be eroded. Only in Quaternary times did strong basic volcanic activity occur, resulting in vast dark lava flows covering a large area between Širwāh and Marib. It changed the landscape of Marib significantly. One large lava stream is the reason for the strange S-shaped course of the Wadi Dhana when leaving the gorge of the Jibal.

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: MOMS 8-2-1984. – Fig. 2. 3: Author.

Balaq, and the city of Marib seems to be founded on a volcanic cone in the middle of the plain\(^2\) although in a geologic profile of WRAY\(^3\) it doesn't show up. Water and wind added the youngest geologic elements to the landscape of three areas; sand dunes and fertile gravel fans (Fig. 2). To sum up it can be said that the homeland of the Sabaeans has a wide variety of different rocks.

The wide use of different stones for building purposes was the subject of a paper by the author\(^4\). As stated there, it is an accidental concurrence of the age of the stones and the age of their use. In early Sabaean times, mostly the Precambrian gneisses and schists of the basement were used. In classical times the Mesozoic limestone was the preferred material to build temples, palaces and irrigation structures, and oriental alabaster, a calcite variety, was used for decorations and figures. In the late South Arabian period, Quaternary volcanic material was in use and finally in Islamic times silt served to erect houses and walls. Especially the limestone buildings and the decoration plates and figures of alabaster, often inscribed with dedications, have become a symbol for the excellent masonry of the Sabaeans. Limestone established itself as the only stone worth building temples of all


over Southern Arabia, even in regions like Wadi Markha where there are no Mesozoic sediments. There it had to be brought from far away.

The Sabaeans also profited from the salt domes in the east, where in Safira salt was already exploited in ancient times. But the active tectonic movements proved to be a danger too. At least in the Yemeni mountains volcanism occurred till historic times, as the example of al-Ḥuqqa shows. The other unconformity may have been earthquakes, as they are quite common in connection with graben building. The peripheral location of the Marib region indicates that disastrous events will not have occurred often. Earthquakes caused damage to buildings but it is unlikely that they influenced the path of history as is proposed for the decline of the Qatabanian kingdom in neighbouring Wadi Bayḥān.

Climate

In order to understand the climate of the Marib region we have to know about the low latitude, the high elevation of 1200 m above sea level, and the mountain barrier against the Indian Ocean to the south and against the Red Sea to the west. The result of these factors is a permanently dry and strong continental climate with surprisingly high temperature changes within a year and also between day and night (Fig. 3). In November to January even surface frosts may occur. This is due to a very low air humidity during this season. In our summer months the humidity soaks up to 70% which, together with 40°C during the day and still 25°C during the night makes the people feel uncomfortable.

7 WRAY 15 op cit. 35.
The main feature of the climate doesn't seem to have changed perceivably since the South Arabian period. But what has changed significantly since irrigation on the oases has been permanent and the construction of the new dam in 1986, is the air humidity. A third of the water in the reservoir evaporates and therefore augments the vapour in the air. As a consequence the amount of precipitation has risen to a level where it has become a threat to the foundations of heavy structures like e.g. the pillars of the Barān temple.

The fertility of the oasis of Ma'rib depends entirely on the two rainy seasons in the Yemeni mountains to the west. In normal years rain starts in April, June is mostly dry and in July and August most of the precipitation is measured. The runoff leads to flash floods in the wadi, called sayl (singular) or suyüül (plural). These suyüül do not only bring surface water to the region, they also recharge the rich aquifer in the Quaternary gravel fan of the Wadi Dhana. These two luxurious water resources were the strongest backbone of the Sabaean economy but only because the Sabaeans developed an irrigated agriculture which was well adapted to these special hydrological conditions.

The Sabaean Floodwater Irrigation

The Great Dam of Marib is the symbol of the almost perfect water use of the Sabaeans. But the Great Dam is also the most misleading structure concerning the irrigation technique. It may lead to the conclusion, that it served for the storage of water and therefore that the Sabaeans irrigated permanently. But this was not the case. In a time span of millenia the people in Southern Arabia developed a technique which is called »Yemeni floodwater irrigation« to handle the unpredictable suyüül for irrigation purposes. The method can be characterized briefly in the following way: A part of the sayl is directed from the wadi by an earthen deflector dam into a large canal. The water is distributed to the fields immediately. These fields are large, about one hectare, and they are bordered with broad mud walls. The fields are flooded only once, but therefore with large quantities of water. Surplus water is given back to the wadi.

The Yemeni floodwater irrigation is a real sustainable system for the following reasons:

- No salting: The large amount of water leaches the salt of the previous vegetation period.
- Easy handling: The height of the deflector dam as well as the overflow in the field wall determine the water quantity.
- Permanent fertility: The immediate usage of the water guarantees the accumulation of fertile silt on the fields.
- No water based diseases: In the dry season the wadi as well as all fields dry out, so the agents of malaria and bilharzia are killed.
- Economically affordable: The construction of the deflector dam, the digging of the canals and the erection of the field walls is labour intensive but not a difficult task. The investment is returned by a high yield.
- Adaptable to social conditions: The system works well on a small scale in a tiny wadi with a small community but it is also suitable in a large wadi with a large centralized organisation.

This last point brings us back to the Sabaean homeland. What was the speciality of the Sabaean system? First of all it has to be stressed that it functioned basically in the same manner as every Yemeni floodwater irrigation. The speciality was the Great Dam which closed the entire Wadi Dhana. But it was by no means a storage dam, it was the result of missing space in the gorge of the Jibāl Balaq. It served to raise the water onto the level of the fields which accumulated by approximately 1 cm/year. Another difference was the large extension of the two oases. The North Oasis covered an area of 3750 ha, the South Oasis one of 5300 ha and also that the whole oasis relied on only one dam. Moreover like this the irrigation scheme corresponded very well to the political organisation of the Sabaeans.

The main food crop planted in the oasis were the cereals wheat, barley and sorghum, and vegetables. The main cash crop was the date palm. This plantation needed surplus water from wells. Fields and water rights could be in private hands but the
majority of the yield was turned over into the possession of the state. In this way the Sabaeans had a productive agriculture and in store rooms a reserve which served in times of droughts and for non-agrarian people. Like this a highly differentiated society developed with remarkable parts of it working in the second and tertiary sector. Furthermore the rich agricultural output allowed a high population density. Both together led to the establishment of larger cities.

Population

The most cited fact of my scientific work is the number of inhabitants in Marib in Sabaean times, which I said to be between 30,000 and 50,000. This figure was calculated by taking the number of inhabitants in 1973 and the extension of sayl-irrigated fields in the same year. In this way I obtained an idea of the field size a person needs, to make a living. So:

1973 3,900 ha: 13,000 pers. = 0.3 ha/pers.
Sabaean time 9,600 ha: 0.3 ha/pers. = 32,000 pers.

The basic idea behind this calculation was the experience that the irrigation technique as well as the food crops were still more or less the same. It was a very rough method to give an order of magnitude rather than an exact figure.

There are several hints that this figure of around 30,000 persons is rather too small than too big. The 1973 figure of the extension of sayl-irrigated fields is assembled of 2,000 ha with at least one yield per year and 1,900 ha which were thought to be irrigated every now and then. But an estimated 1,000 ha of the sayl-irrigated area showed a supplement well-irrigation. A fundamental difference between the modern and the ancient situation is the missing palm-plantations in modern times. Dates are highly nutritive food, which has to be taken into account when regarding the alimentation.

There is another way to calculate the potential of the Marib oasis by taking the basic water needs of a person per year. W. J. Cosgrove and F. R. Rijsberman cite an internationally accepted figure of 500 m³ of water per person and year. This figure is based on the fact, that the production of one kilogram of bread needs – independent from the climate – one cubic metre of water. In order to reach a reliable result for the Marib region it has to be stated that flood irrigation loses about 60–70% of the water to the aquifer or by evaporation or return flows to the wadi. Some of it was used to irrigate date palms from wells.

To summarize we get the following facts:
Minimum amount of water per person and year 500 m³
Average water in Wadi Dhana per year 100 mio m³
Water loss by flood irrigation per year (65%) 65 mio m³
Possible water consumption per year 35 mio m³

Now we may calculate the number of persons who could have lived from this water potential:
35 mio m³ : 500 m³/pers. = 70,000 persons

The result clearly shows that the figure based on the comparison of traditional and ancient harvesting with 32,000 persons is on the safe side and by no means exaggerated. As we see the water potential in Marib was even of such a quantity as to nourish 70,000 persons on the basis of sayl-irrigation. After all, the figure of 30,000–50,000 inhabitants in Marib given in 1983 may be taken as quite correct whereas 50,000 may be closer to reality. At least a society of this number could have been economically self-sufficient.

Trade

Irrigated agriculture was the backbone of the Sabaean economy. Another, although less important pillar was the international trade, which is closely connected to the term "incense trail". The most important goods were frankincense and myrrh originating mostly from South Arabia itself, and precious stones and spices from India. These goods were transported by camel caravans overland to the Mediterranean borderlands as well as to Mesopotamia. To give an idea of the volume of the frankincense trade, some figures may be helpful.

11 Brunner, ABADY 2 op. cit. 106.
The yearly production for export is estimated to be in the order of 2,500–3,000 t. It is estimated that about half of it was produced for the Roman Empire. The transport needed about 7,000–10,000 camels. One incense tree produces between 3 kg and 10 kg each year if it is milked. But after some years it needs time to recover. This means that about half a million incense trees were growing in Southern Arabia. During the first millennium B.C. the South Arabian kingdoms, among them the Sabaean one, was for a long period the leading one, possessing almost the monopoly.

The Sabaeans offered many products but they didn’t need any because of their productive self-sufficient agriculture. So trade consisted in an exchange of goods for cash, which was mostly gold, silver or coins. Therefore the balance of trade was extremely positive, which led to an accumulation of wealth in Southern Arabia. Due to its remote location this wealth was not endangered. The Sabaean Kingdom was well hidden and protected by the distance and by the gusty desert from the political lust of their trade partners to penetrate, conquer and thus profit from, the luxurious natural and cultural equipment of Arabia Felix.

Address:
Dr. Ueli Brunner, Stockstr. 30, CH-8330 Pfaffikon, ueli_brunner@bluewin.ch

16 Ibidem 214.
جغرافية دولة سبأ واقتصادها

(ع. برونر)

ملخص:
كان موطن السبئيين يقع على حدود الصحراو العربية، ومن ثم فقد كانوا يستفيدون من الأمطار الموسمية في جبال اليمن في أوقات الربيع والصيف. وهكذا كانت المياه الجارية متوفرة مرتين في العام. أما مياه الصرف النقيه كمصدر مائي ثان فقد كانت غيرية. وكانت المصادر الطبيعية الغنية تتمثل أيضا في التنوع الكبير للأحجار التي أمكن أن تستخدم في بناء المعابد والمنازل والأبنية ذات العلاقة بالماء.

إن سد مأرب القديم هو رمز لاستغلال السبئيين الأمثل للماء، وهو يدخل ضمن تقاليد نظام الري في اليمن عن طريق مياه السيل - وهو تقنية دائمة للتعامل مع مياه السيل المفاجئ من أجل أغراض الري. وطريقة الري الزراعي هذه تحتاج إلى 500 متر مكعب من الماء على الأقل لكل شخص سنويا. كمية المياه المتوفرة في وادي ذينة كانت تبلغ حوالي 35 مليون متر مكعب سنويا.

وإن عملية حسابية بسيطة تختصر هذا إلى مجموعة من السكان يبلغ عددها 70000 نسمة أمكن إمدادهم بالماء في منطقة مأرب.

كان الري هو العمود الفقري للاقتصاد عند السبئيين، لكن التجارة هي التي جابت لهم الثروات، ولقد أدى تصدير البخور والمر الملحين، وكذلك الترويل الهندية والأحجار الكريمة إلى توازن تجاري غاية في الإيجابية. ولقد كانت مملكة سبأ خليبة على الأنصار ومحمية. بسبب بعدها وسبب صحرائها العاصفة - ضد الأهداف السياسية لشركائها التجاريين ؛ فلم يمكحهم اكتشافها وغزوها وبالتالي استغلال الثروات الطبيعية والحضرية الغزيرة لبلاد العرب السعودية.
THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAME FOR THE HISTORY OF RAYBUN (INLAND ḤADRAMAWT):
LINGUISTIC AND PALAEOGRAPHIC CRITERIA

The problem of chronology remains the most serious obstacle that every specialist in South Arabian Studies inevitably encounter. Before the conversion of the Ḥimyarite kingdom to monotheism in the late 4th century A.D. the southwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula was in a relative isolation and the synchronisms between the events, which took place in it, and the history of other ancient civilizations are extremely rare. However, the general chronological scheme of South Arabian political evolution in the 1st to mid-6th centuries A.D. has been successfully elaborated on the basis of a limited number of large historical texts, especially al-Miṣal inscriptions, dated by local eras which are more or less precisely correlated with the Christian one. As to Yemenite chronology during the 1st millennium B.C., the thorough palaeographic analysis of epigraphic materials has been considered till recently to be the only reliable foundation for its reconstruction.

Forty five years ago J. Pirenne published the first (and, as it turned out, the last) volume of her fundamental work on the palaeography of ancient Yemenite inscriptions which became a turning-point in the development of Sabaean Studies. She created an integral palaeographic system, in which South Arabian texts of the 1st millennium B.C. had been arranged by periods marked with capital Latin letters (A, B, etc.) and divided each into three or four styles (e.g. A1–A4 or D1–D3), and elaborated on this basis a new relative chronology of the ancient civilization of Yemen. Almost all the specialists closely connected with this field of Oriental Studies accepted her system, even those among them who, like A.G. Lundin, rejected her speculations upon the so-called shorter chronology. At first sight such quasi-unanimity seems to have been

Sources of illustrations: All Photos: Archiv of the Soviet-Yemenite Complex Expedition 1984–91, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, S Petersburg. – Diagrams and design: Author, assisted by I. Tikhonova. The present article has been prepared with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Researches (project no. 01-06-82249 «Statistical Methods for the Study of the Palaeography of South Arabian Inscriptions as a Basis for the Reconstruction of Their Relative Chronology»).


3 A. G. Lundin, Gosudarstvo mukarribov Saba’, sabejskij eponimat (1971, with a large summary in French: 280–301) passim. According to her chronological (and palaeographic) scheme Pirenne traced the beginning of South Arabian civi-
unexpected, since some imperfections and even serious defects of Pirenne's palaeography were quite clear. But the task she audaciously completed was (and still remains) so difficult and so urgent for the progress in South Arabian Studies that the overwhelming majority of scholars preferred to enjoy the advantages of her method and system and to ignore their obvious demerits.

There is no rule without exception, however. In his detailed review of this work A. Jamme revealed principal mistakes and shortcomings typical for Pirenne. In spite of a sharp and sometimes rude tone of his polemics the critical remarks made by this scholar are for the most part well-founded and should be taken into consideration. It is not surprising at all that in 1991 A. Lemaire repeated two main objections raised by Jamme against Pirenne's palaeography. He emphasized once more that various palaeographic styles, which Pirenne had arranged in a strong chronological succession, could be simultaneous and expressed his disagreement with her "Helleno-centric" approach and groundless parallels she drew between ancient South Arabian and Greek palaeography.

In certain cases the rigorous application of Pirenne's scheme led to curious results. For instance, the editors of a new corpus of Ethiopian inscriptions attributed the beginning of a dedication extant in two copies (RIE 23 and 24) to the style A 4' and hesitated in dating the main part of the same text (RIE 26 and 27) from A 4' or B 1'.

It would be strange to persist in the maintenance of the palaeographic system whose foundations, especially the "shorter" chronology, proved to be unreliable. The immediate task which must be put now before all the specialists in Sabaean Studies consists in the elaboration of a new palaeography based on correct premises and on treatment of voluminous epigraphic documentation. The discovery of more than 2700 inscriptions at Raybūn and some adjacent sites in the western part of Inland Ḥaḍramawt by the Soviet-Yemenite Complex (i.e. multidisciplinary) Expedition (SOYCE) during nine campaigns of excavations in 1983–91 affords an excellent opportunity for such a project. From the very beginning of the SOYCE works G. M. Bauer, who was responsible for the study of epigraphic materials until his death in 1989, encountered the problem of their arrangement in chronological order. The stratigraphy was not of great value for him, since the ancient settlement of Raybūn perished in fire and therefore the overwhelming majority of its inscriptions were found in the level of destruction in which tiny fragments of them were shuffled without distinction of their original locations and the periods they went back to. Certainly there are some texts discovered in situ

8 Lemaire op. cit. 36. – Those ideas about the influence exerted by the Greek monumental script of the 5th century B.C. on the early South Arabian one were expounded in Pirenne's essay "La Grèce et Saba": J. Pirenne, La Grèce et Saba. Une nouvelle base pour la chronologie sud-arabe, in: Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres XV (1955) 88–192 pl. 1–11. – The distinctly negative position of Jamme towards them is well-known: see e.g. Jamme op. cit. 15–19. 27f.

and inscribed slabs reused as paving-stones after repairs or rebuildings of temples, but only a small part of such written sources can be dated exclusively on the grounds of archaeological data. In that situation Bauer made use of another objective criterion for the reconstruction of relative chronology connected with linguistic peculiarities of Raybūn inscriptions. In them the Sabaic forms, like the verb ḥqny 'to dedicate' and the attached pronouns in h, alternate with the s'-form of the same verb (s'qny) and the pronominal suffixes in s' and t's' typical for Ḥadramitic. Besides that in orthography the abrupt disappearance of the sign ẓ and its replacement by ḥ are also attested. In consideration of general tendencies of the palaeographic development of South Arabian script and of the political history of ancient Yemen which begins with the epoch of Sabaean hegemony Bauer divided all the inscriptions found by the SOYCE among four successive periods. The weakest point of this scheme consisted in his attempt to correlate them with Pirenne’s styles. In the course of the preparation for publication of 458 inscriptions originated in the temple Ḥadram at Raybūn (site Rb I, building 1) Bauer’s classification was slightly changed. With due regard to obvious distinctions in palaeography and spelling between the first three periods and the 4th one we decided to distinguish only two periods, ancient (période ancienne – An.) and late (période récente – R.), but the first of them was divided into three stages (An. 1 – An. 3). The linguistic and orthographic features peculiar to each stage or period are demonstrated below (see Table 1).

On the basis of these criteria the exhaustive palaeographic analysis of the inscriptions originated in Ḥadram was undertaken. It is obvious that the only way to avoid any subjective approach in this field of research consists in establishing a number of strict characteristics which don’t depend on personal estimations and biases towards some conceptions. Hence the measurement of dimensions and proportions of signs take on special significance. Unfortunately many texts are known only by photographs and the determination of their measures is

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### Table 1 The linguistic and orthographic criteria for the chronological arrangement of Raybūn inscriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods and stages</th>
<th>An. 1</th>
<th>An. 2</th>
<th>An. 3</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Linguistic peculiarities</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaic verb ḥqny /-t, -w/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥadramitic form of this verb (s'qny /-t, -w/)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaic attached pronouns in h (-hw, -h, etc.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥadramitic attached pronouns in s' (m. sing. -s', -s'w; d. -s'my; pl. -s'm)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥadramitic attached pronouns in t (f. sing. -t, -tyw)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥadramitic attached pronouns in s' (f. sing. -s', -s'yw)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orthographic peculiarities</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent use of the signs ẓ and ḥ to render the same phoneme (except some morphemes and proper nouns)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total replacement of ẓ by ḥ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

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8 For the previous «Rencontres sabéennes» held in Moscow in May 1999 A. V. Sedov prepared a concise survey of those texts which don’t exceed in number a dozen of items, but unfortunately it still remains unpublished.


a matter of considerable difficulties. As Jamme has clearly demonstrated, one of serious faults inherent in Pirenne's method was connected with her negligence in the evaluation of characters' dimensions. Thanks to Bauer a lot of epigraphic materials found by the SOYCE (but unfortunately not all of them) were thoroughly measured on the spot. The formalization of these data proved to be quite easy (see Fig. 1). For the calculation of characters' proportions the introduction of special coefficients was recognized as reasonable:

- $P_1$ - coefficient of proportion for the upper half of a character;
- $P_2$ - coefficient of proportion for the lower half of a character;
- $P$ - the mean of coefficients of proportion.

Their values can be found out according to the formulae represented on Fig. 1. The use of a half of characters' height in these formulae and not of their whole height is accounted for the fact that every character is divided into two halves, sometimes slightly unequal, with a special horizontal line which was drawn by engravers, when they marked out inscriptions. Besides that, the inscriptions are frequently damaged so that only one half of a character or of a line is extant and can be measured.

Owing to the palaeographic research of Ḥadrān inscriptions carried out in accordance with this method it was ascertained that during the so-called ancient period (An.) the coefficient of proportion had a strong tendency towards decrease from one stage to another – from $P\text{ (An. 1)} = 0.82$ through $P\text{ (An. 2)} = 0.64$ to $P\text{ (An. 3)} = 0.48$ – and thus on the interval between the 7th and 3rd centuries B.C. the signs became much narrower. As to the late period (R.), the texts are attributed to it according to

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Fig. 1 Conventional signs used for the designation of dimensions

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11 He has revealed a lot of divergences between the data cited by Pirenne according to her analysis of photographs and the real dimensions of original epigraphic monuments and their signs: Jamme op. cit. 39–48. 51–57. 61 f. 68–71. 74–103. 110.

12 Frantsouzoff, Raybūn. Ḥadrān op. cit. 31–46 fig. 2. According to some unpublished results of radiocarbon dating, which Sedov kindly let me know, the transition from the ancient period to the late one took place at Raybūn and probably in Inland Ḥaḍramawt as a whole in the 3rd century B.C. and not in the early 2nd century B.C., as G.M. Bauer suggested at first (ibidem 37 f. n. 9).
their orthography and their script which is distinguished by peculiar bulges at the ends of the signs' strokes. At the same time the proportions of these signs vary on a wide range of values (from $P = 0.46$ to $P = 0.91$) and cannot be used to any degree for the dating of inscriptions. However, the epigraphic documentation from the temple Ḥadrān for the most part consists of small fragments which often bear one symbol or even its detail and hence their dating from a certain stage or period is sometimes vague, especially within the limits of the ancient period. Thus only in two cases the attribution of inscriptions to its stages was made exclusively in accordance with their grammatical peculiarities: Raybūn-Ḥadrān 1 from An. 1 (because of the use of -hw) and Raybūn-Ḥadrān 202 from An. 3 (thanks to the occurrence of $s'gni$ and of two signs $\tilde{g}$). It seems necessary to check the above-mentioned results on wider material.

For this purpose all the inscriptions of the ancient period which can be dated solely on the basis of the linguistic and orthographic criteria cited in Table 1 were selected from Raybūn epigraphy. The exception was made for some texts of An. 3 in which the use of the form $s'gni$ coincides with the lack of palaeographic features typical for R. The indispensable condition for the insertion of an inscription in this category consisted in the presence of precise measurements of its signs' dimensions in the SOYCE archives, since the calculation of the coefficient of proportion ($P$) was envisaged by the plan of research. The results achieved during the treatment of these standard inscriptions are represented below.

As it follows from this table there are only five inscriptions dated from An. 2 by this method which are not representative at all for their small number. Therefore the mean of their coefficients of proportion – $P$ (An. 2) = 0.51 – should not be taken into account. Besides that, three of them (Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. 1 no. 253 α–ε = SOYCE 633; Rb XIV/89 no. 21 α–d = SOYCE 1937; Rb XIV/89 no. 221 = SOYCE 2075) were composed by the same author, Thamakhumaw son of Nadab'ilm ($\text{Tmkhmw} b/n/N\text{db'lm}$). It seems that the fragmentary nature of the majority of Raybūn inscriptions reduces a probability of the occurrence of the verb $hgni$ and the attached pronouns in $s'$ or $\tilde{g}$ in the same text. As a result the selection of standard inscriptions attributed to An. 2 cannot be based solely on linguistic criteria, the application of palaeographic characteristics is inevitable.

The distribution of the values of $P$ attested in the standard inscriptions dated from An. 1 and An. 3 is represented on the following diagrams.

Though the range of $P$-values for An. 1 is rather wide (0.5 ≤ $P$ ≤ 1.0), the majority of texts included in Table 2 and attributed to it can be divided into two main types: narrow (0.5 ≤ $P$ ≤ 0.58) and large (0.67 ≤ $P$ ≤ 1.0). The first of them was not attested in Ḥadrān epigraphy. However, the mean of $P$ for standard inscriptions of An. 1 is equal to 0.72 and does not differ much from this parameter ascertained for Ḥadrān texts (0.82). It should be noted that this regularity is statistical and certain deviations from it are possible. In some cases the propor-

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13 Ibidem 46-48 fig. 3.
14 Thus Raybūn-Ḥadrān 202 mentioned above is rejected, because its $P$ was evaluated by photograph.
15 The texts attributed to R. were excluded from this analysis, since their proportions have no distinctive function for their dating. It is worthy of note that the range of the values of $P$ for this period should be considerably extended: see some inscriptions from Mayfa'ān with very narrow characters, e.g. Rb XIV/90 no. 60 = SOYCE 2377 /$P$=0,23/ or Rb XIV/89 no. 37 = SOYCE 1952 /$P$=0,31/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Archaeological Siglum</th>
<th>Epigraphic Siglum</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Additional Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An. 1</td>
<td>Ḥaḍrān</td>
<td>Rb I/84 passage, lev. 1 no. 248 a-c</td>
<td>Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 1 0,8</td>
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<td>Fig. 2</td>
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<td>Rahbān</td>
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<td>Rb I/88 no. 70</td>
<td>SOYCE 1678 0,79</td>
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<td>Kafas/Nā'mān</td>
<td>Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. 1 no. 296 a. b</td>
<td>SOYCE 1865 0,66</td>
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<td>Rb V/84 no. 8 a. b</td>
<td>SOYCE 801 0,84</td>
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<td>Rb V/91 no. 74</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfa'ān</td>
<td>Rb XIV/88 no. 1 a-e</td>
<td>SOYCE 1469 0,58</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/88 no. 2. 3</td>
<td>- 0,58</td>
<td></td>
<td>l. 3: P=0,72; Fig. 4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/88 no. 77 a-c</td>
<td>SOYCE 1541 0,57</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1548-1554 0,53</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 18</td>
<td>SOYCE 1933 0,67</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 69</td>
<td>SOYCE 1984 0,5</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 75</td>
<td>SOYCE 1990 0,78</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 76</td>
<td>SOYCE 1991 0,67</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 81</td>
<td>SOYCE 1996 1,0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 137</td>
<td>SOYCE 2052 0,71</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 159</td>
<td>SOYCE 2074 0,57</td>
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<td>l. 3: P=0,8</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 199</td>
<td>SOYCE 2115 1,0</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 246 a-d</td>
<td>SOYCE 2161 0,88</td>
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<td>Fig. 5</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/90 no. 47</td>
<td>SOYCE 2364 0,57</td>
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<td>Fig. 6</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/90 no. 170</td>
<td>SOYCE 2485 0,71</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/91 no. 17</td>
<td>- 0,63</td>
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<td>- 0,79</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/91 no. 25</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/91 no. 28 a. b</td>
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<td>Rb XIV/91 no. 29</td>
<td>- 0,84</td>
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<td>Rahbān</td>
<td>Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. 1 no. 210 a. b</td>
<td>SOYCE 647 0,59</td>
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<td>Bauer op. cit. (note 9) fig. 3; S. A. Frantsouzoff, PSAS 25, 1995, pl. 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rb I/88 no. 99</td>
<td>SOYCE 1705 0,49</td>
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<td>Fig. 7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mayfa'ān</td>
<td>Rb I/88 no. 21 a-d</td>
<td>SOYCE 1937 0,46</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 221</td>
<td>SOYCE 2075 0,57</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 21 a-d</td>
<td>SOYCE 1937 0,46</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rb XIV/89 no. 221</td>
<td>SOYCE 2075 0,57</td>
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Table 2 Standard Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions from Raybūn dated exclusively according to their linguistic peculiarities

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Archaeological Siglum</th>
<th>Epigraphic Siglum</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Additional Remarks</th>
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<td>An. 3</td>
<td>Ḥaḍrān</td>
<td>Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 188</td>
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<td>Rahbān</td>
<td>SOYCE 582 a</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>Fig. 9</td>
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<td>Kafas/Naʿmān</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>SOYCE 1572</td>
<td>0.56</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1574</td>
<td>0.7</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1584+1585</td>
<td>0.62</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1587</td>
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<td>Fig. 10; the use of ʿqny and of ʿṣ</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1591</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1593</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1599</td>
<td>0.53</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1674</td>
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<td>SOYCE 1471</td>
<td>0.45</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SOYCE 1926</td>
<td>0.63</td>
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<td>SOYCE 2367</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>Fig. 12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SOYCE 2369</td>
<td>0.44</td>
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<td>SOYCE 2435</td>
<td>0.63</td>
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<td>SOYCE 2486</td>
<td>0.44</td>
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<td>SOYCE 2490</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>Fig. 13</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SOYCE 2500</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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The values of P calculated for An. 3 cover another interval (0.4<P<0.7). The inscriptions dated from it are also separated in two main types. The 'narrow' one (0.4<P<0.53) has already been attested in Ḥaḍrān, but the 'large' type (0.62<P<0.7) occurs here for the first time and seems more typical for the temple Kafas/Naʿmān. Therefore the mean of P (0.55) evaluated for all the texts of An. 3 included in Table 2 is bigger than in Ḥaḍrān (0.48). According to their palaeography some standard texts of An. 3 probably represent a special type transitory to R., since the ends of several signs in them are decorated with small bulges (see Fig. 9, 13). It is very strange that the same bulges are
found in the unique inscription Rb XIV/90 no. 47 = SOYCE 2364 which is dated from An. 1! How is it possible to explain this phenomenon? It can be assumed that the diversity of palaeographic styles within the same stage was greater than we suggest now. From the other side, this text probably composed during An. 3 could be intentionally archaized by the use of the Sabaic attached pronoun -hw. Strictly speaking, the very strong inclination of a horizontal stroke in ١ (see e.g. Rb XIV/88 no. 2. 3 Fig. 4) is not typical for An. 1 too. In any case thorough palaeographic studies of the standard inscriptions attributed to An. 1 and An. 3 in accordance with their linguistic features promise many interesting discoveries which should be of considerable importance for the reconstruction of South Arabian chronology.

Address:
Dr. Serguei A. Frantsouzoff, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg Branch, Russia, e-mail: frants@spios.nw.ru
SERGUEI A. FRANTSOUZOFF: THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAME FOR THE HISTORY OF RAYBÜN

PLATE 1

Fig. 2 Inscription from the temple Rabbàn, Rb I/84 passage, lev. I no. 248 a–c

Fig. 3 Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na’mān, Rb V/91 no. 74

Fig. 4a und b Inscription from the temple Mayfa’ān, Rb XIV/88 no. 2 and no. 3
Fig. 5 Inscription from the temple Mayfaʿān, Rb XIV/89 no. 246 a–d

Fig. 6 Inscription from the temple Mayfaʿān, Rb XIV/90 no. 47

Fig. 7 Inscription from the temple Rahbān, Rb I/88 no. 99

Fig. 8 Inscription from the temple Mayfaʿān, Rb XIV/89 no. 221
Fig. 9 Inscription from the temple Rahbân, Rb I/84 bld. 3, room A lev. I no. 117 a–b

Fig. 10 a Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na’man, Rb V/88 no. 47

Fig. 10 b Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na’man, Rb V/88 no. 48

Fig. 11 Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na’man, Rb V/88 no. 60

Fig. 12 Inscription from the temple Mayfa‘ân, Rb XIV/90 no. 50

Fig. 13 Inscription from the temple Mayfa‘ân, Rb XIV/90 no. 175
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
THE EARLIEST MONOTHEISTIC SOUTH ARABIAN INSCRIPTION

Historical context

In the second half of the 4th century A.D. monotheism was adopted by the Ḥimyarite kingdom as the official religion. The temples were abandoned and the inscriptions no longer invoked ancestral deities. Of course monumental inscriptions only provide information about the situation in the upper categories of society and we have good reason to think that polytheism survived for a longer time among the lower categories.

The adoption of monotheism was not only a religious but also a political decision as was recognized by A. F. L. Beeston. After the unification of South Arabia by Ḥimyar around 300 A.D., the Ḥimyarite sovereigns had to consolidate the new state, extremely heterogeneous from an ethnical and religious point of view. To impose a common cult on the whole population, as conquerors used to do in the past, could have been a unifying factor, but in the case of Ḥimyar it would have been difficult to carry out. The Ḥimyarites had simply no cult to propose. It seems that the kingdom of Ḥimyar had no real national deity because of its structure (a confederation of tribes who continued to worship their own deities) and because of its former history; in fact, for three centuries or more the Ḥimyarites disputed with Saba' the title of the «king of Saba'» and dhū-Raydān and the Sabaean heritage. Hence, the Ḥimyarites lacked in some way strong marks of identity. Indeed, when Yəsîrum Yuhānim and Shamma Yuhārīsh unified the South Arabia around 300 A.D., they maintained the cult of the Sabaean national deity, 'lmqūh in Ma'rib. This fact survived even in the Islamic tradition. According to the commentator of Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, quoting one Abū Muhammad, probably al-Ḥamdānī, both kings »confirmed Bilqīs in her royalty and did not change anything to her status in Ma'rib«. As al-Ḥamdānī says that Almaqāh is Bilqīs, this passage appears to be an allusion to the fact that the Ḥimyarite kings kept the cult of 'lmqūh. At the time it was a logical policy for those who presented themselves as the heirs of Saba'. But it seems that, as time went by, this legacy proved to be insufficient. The Ḥimyarite kings governed from Zāfār in the highlands. There was no important place of worship capable of attracting tribes from remote areas. Outside South Arabia religious philosophy was undergoing an important evolution in the centres of the contemporary world. Henotheism, syncretism, monotheism, more universal and more personal in their approach to the


1 There are two possible exceptions. The inscription MAFY-Banl Zubayr dated 512 Ḥim./412 mentions the gate of the temple of Ta'lab but there is no invocation to this god and it does not imply that the temple was still in use at that time. The second inscription, Gr 27 which is not dated but could be dated according to paleography from the 5th century, contains the invocation: 'īr S'rūn w-rd 'lh-hmū w[...].Ju ra': »'Athtar Shāriqān and with the assistance of their god [...].«


deity were taking over traditional religions, religions of the city. These trends must have been known to the Himyarites. And this philosophy responded very well to their goal of unifying the divers groups of population. It was clever to propose to all the population a worship of one deity, acceptable to everybody. Indeed, at least in the beginning, the religious terminology used in official royal inscriptions and most other inscriptions is neutral (clearly different from the terminology used in Jewish inscriptions and the Christian inscriptions dating from the time of the Ethiopian domination in the 6th century). The one God was at first called mr' s'myn (the Lord of Heaven) or mr' s'myn w-'rdn (the Lord of Heaven and Earth). From the first half of the 5th century onwards, the God was called 'l / 'ln / 'lb'n or Rhmnn. The sure datable occurrences of the name Rhmnn come from the second half of the 5th century or later but it was probably in use earlier: Rhmnn can be restored in the inscription Ja 520 = Rossi 24 = Lundin 10 from the reign of the king Abikarib As'ad with several co-rulers'.

In my opinion, the monotheism adopted by the Himyarite kings, a Judaizing monotheism, was presented as a kind of syncretic, national religion. The adoption of monotheism as a strong unifying factor seems to have been a conscious political decision.

**Inscription YM 1950**

An interesting inscription concerning the beginning of monotheism in Yemen is conserved in the National Museum of Sana'a.

The inscription comes from Bayt Ghufir, 3 km north of Häz, and some thirty km northeast of Sana'a.

Dimensions: length: 40 cm; height: 29.5 cm; width: 14 cm; letters' height: 4.5 cm.

It reads:
1. ...'q]wl s'bn S'my übn d-ñmn[...
2. ...mr'(-)hmw (b')ls'myn l-'m't) 'nt(w)[...
3. ...'m]'-hmw T'mn Yhm'm w-bny-b[w ...
4. ...mlky S'b' w-d-Ryd'n w-Hd'm]nt w-Ymnnt w-l-ys'm'n b'[s'][s'myn[...
5. ...w]h-hw d-hañ d-ttn w[...]

**Translation:**
1. ...the qa[y]ls (princes) of the tribe of Sam'i, section dhū-ñumlān [...]
2. ...their [lor'd], Lord of Heaven, let <Him> hear the prayer [...]
3. ...their lo[rds] Tha'rān Yuhan'îm and his son [...] 6
4. ...two kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥadra-majwt and Yamanat and let the Lord of Heaven] hear [...]
5. ...on the month of dhū-kha[r]āfān of the year [...] three [...]

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5. See Table 1.
6. See the dated inscriptions Gar SY A12-13 and Gar SY B7 from 572 Hij./462 A.D., C1H 63/3 from 573 Hij./463 A.D.; Ry 520/4-5 from 574 Hij./464 A.D. and so on, see Table 1. In several Christian inscriptions dating from the Ethiopian domination the God's name Rhmnn is mentioned in invocations to the Holy Trinity. The name Rhmnn is mentioned in some inscriptions that cannot be dated precisely.
7. In the inscription Ja 520 = Rossi 24 = Lu 10, Ch. Robin has proposed to restore at the line 5: l-qt hmr-bnw Rkh[...]: Ch. Robin, Judaïsme et christianisme en Arabie du Sud d'après les sources épigraphiques et archéologiques, PSAS 10, 1980, 92f. Indeed, on an unpublished photograph of Jacqueline Pirenne (which will be soon edited) we read clearly: l-qt hmr-bnw Rkh[...], so the name Rhmnn appeared probably already in the first half of the 5th century.
8. I am grateful to Dr Yusuf Abdallah, President of the High Authority of Antiquities, Museums and Manuscripts, to M. Abdul Aziz al-Gindyary, the Director of the National Museum of Sana'a, for permission to publish this inscription, and to Ibrahim al-Hudayd, Ibrahim al-Hadi, Muhammad ar-Radhi and Abdallah Ishaq with whom I had the pleasure of working on the collection of the South Arabic inscriptions in this Museum. This collection will be published in collaboration with F. Bron and Y. Abdallah.
9. See the inscriptions Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2/3-4 (mr' s'myn); RES 3383/3-4 (mr' s'myn); Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 1/2-3 (mr' s'myn w-'rdn).
The authors of this text, the qayls of the dhû-Humlañ section of the Samî tribe, invoke the one God, »their lord, Lord of Heaven« (...mr)’-šmnw b’ls’s’mnw). In the earliest monotheistic inscriptions the one God is invoked as mr’s’s’myn (the Lord of Heaven) or mr’s’s’myn w-šrdn (the Lord of Heaven and Earth)9. From the first half of the 5th century onwards God is called tally / l/ ln / lhn or Rhmnn. Both names appear with the epithets mr’s’s’myn (w-šrdn) or b’ls’s’myn w-šrdn or d-šw w-s’myn or d-b-s’s’myn10.

The invocation continues: l-s’m’ nt [...]. A similar passage occurs in a monotheistic inscription RES 4969/5 from the reign of Shurabhi’il Yakuf with his two sons: l-ys’m’n b-nt-b [...]. These passages can be compared to l-ys’m’n šlt ... appearing in the inscriptions RES 4699 (l-ys’m’n Rhmnn šlt); Ja 866 (l-ys’m’n šlt-bmwn); Hamilton 11/3-4 (l-ys’m’n Rhmnn šlt-s’). The etymology of the word ‘nt is not well established. According to the Sabaic Dictionary this noun derived from the root ‘w-n should be translated by »distress, trouble«. This rendition is possible but in the monotheistic inscription we can suggest another interpretation. A comparison with the word šlt appearing in similar contexts makes me suggest rendering »nt by »prayer« and to search its etymology in one of the meanings of the Hebrew root ‘nh. In Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic it can mean »bowed« (with reference to God, in the sense of »humble, pious«). In Christian Palestinian Aramaic »nwt‘ and in Mandaean nuta mean »humility«11. This sense seems quite appropriate to our context. I suggest rendering l-s’m’ nt [...] by »let Him hear the prayer«.

The authors then mention their lords, the kings Tha’rân Yuhan’îm and his son (or sons)12, whose name has disappeared, kings of Saba’, dhû-Raydân, Ḥadramawt and Yamanat. Tha’rân Yuhan’îm seems to be the king known by the inscriptions Ja 669, Ja 670 and Ja 671 + Ja 788, the last inscriptions from Mahram Bilqîs dedicated to Almaqah before the total abandon of the temple. In these inscriptions, Tha’rân Yuhan’îm is mentioned with his son Malkikarib Yuha’mîn. It is quite also possible that in our inscription YM 1950, the son whose name has disappeared was Malkikarib Yuha’mîn. The latter king, Malkikarib Yuha’mîn with his two sons, Abîkarib Abî’ad and Dhara’amar Ayman are regarded as the first monotheistic kings of South Arabia. They invoke the one sole God in two earliest South Arabian monotheistic inscriptions, RES 3383 and Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2 both dated from the year 493 of the Ḥimyarite era which equals 383/384 A.D. Prior to this date we know of no datable South Arabian monotheistic invocation. The inscription YM 1950 is then the earliest monotheistic South Arabian inscription known. Its authors are not kings, so we cannot be sure that when it was written monotheism had already become the official religion professed by the king Tha’rân Yuhan’îm and his son. Yet, the authors were quite probably the qayls of the dhû-Humlañ section of the Samî tribe who worshipped an important deity, Ta’lab Riyamum. If they invoke the one God, then it is possible that monotheism was already the official religion and the kings they invoke were also monotheists.

What could be the date of this inscription? Unfortunately, we only know the number of units, tlt – 3, and the name of the month, dhû-khairafan / dhû-χairafan which corresponds to August13. The two first monotheistic inscriptions are dated from the year 493 of the Ḥimyarite era (383/384 A.D.), one of them, Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2, gives the name of the month: dhû-di’wân which equals January. Our inscription could in theory be dated from the same year, from the month of dhû-χairafan/August which comes before the month of dhû-di’wân/January (the Ḥimyarite year starts with the month of dhû-thabatan/April) or from the year 483 or 473 of the Ḥimyarite era/373 or 363 A.D., or even earlier. Though, it seems difficult to date it earlier that 473 Ḥim./363 A.D. because in 470 Ḥim./360 A.D. the powerful family of Yaz’ânid qayls invokes pagan deities in a long inscription, ‘Abadân 1. As the family of Yaz’ân seems closely

10 See the inscriptions CIH 543/1 (Rhmnn d-b-s’myn); CIH 542/7 (Rhmnn d-b-s’myn); Ja 857 (Rhmnn d-b-s’myn); Ir 71/5 (’ln d-b-s’myn).
12 The form byn, »son(s)«, which appears in the text can be singular, dual or plural, but in this case it seems more probable that it is a singular.
linked to the Himyarite kingdom (it seems even that, of Ḥadramite origin, they had taken the Himyar's side in the Himyarite conquest of Ḥadramawt\(^{14}\)), so we would expect them to invoke the one God if monotheism had been recognized as the official religion. Thus, at the time when the 'Abadān inscription was written, in 470 Ḥīm./360 A.D., monotheism did not yet appear to be the official religion of the Himyarite state. This leaves us with a choice of 493, 483 or 473 Ḥīm. as a possible date for the inscription YM 1950. An earlier date would be more probable if we identify the king Tha'rrān Yuhan'im in our inscription YM 1950 with the one mentioned as Tha'rrān Yuhan'im, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, son of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān in the inscription from Maṣna'at Māriya dated from the year 434 Ḥīm./324 A.D. (see below). In this case if the inscription YM 1950 was dated 493 Ḥīm., it means that Tha'rrān Yuhan'im would have reigned 59 years or more which seems unlikely. Thus I assume that the inscription was dated 473 or 483 Ḥīm./363 or 373 A.D.

The name of the king Tha'rrān Yuhan'im (Yun'im) appears several times in the following inscriptions of the 4th century:

- Schm/Mārib 28, from the reign of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr and his son Tha'rrān Yuhan'im, both kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān and Ḥadramawt\(^{15}\) (the name of the latter is partially restored);
- Ja 668, from the same reign of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr and his son Tha'rrān Yuhan'im, both kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥadramawt and Yamanat (the name of the former is partially restored).

Both inscriptions, Schm/Mārib 28 and Ja 668 relate a military expedition against the Ḥadramawt.

- Maṣna'at Māriya, this inscription, dated 434 of the Ḥimyarite era/324 A.D., mentions Tha'rrān Yuhan'im, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, son of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān;
- 'Abadān 1, the inscription of the Yaz'ānid gāyils, dated from the month of ḍhū-madhra'ān of the year 470 Ḥīm./July 360 A.D., relates events involving three generations over a period that can be estimated as at least 20–30 years. The authors mention the involvement of the family in the military campaigns of the king Tha'rrān Yun'im, later of the king Tha'rrān Ayfa' and then of the king Dhamar'-ālī Ayfa'\(^{16}\).

- Ja 669, 670, 671 + 788, these inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs mention Tha'rrān Yuhan'im with his son Malkikarib Yuha'min (with or without epithet), two kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥadramawt and Yamanat.

The king Tha'rrān Yuhan'im son of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr in the inscription Maṣna'at Māriya has been identified with Tha'rrān Yuhan'im son of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr, mentioned in the inscriptions Schm/Mārib 2 and Ja 668, and with Tha'rrān Yuhan'im mentioned with his son Malkikarib in the inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs, Ja 669, 670, 671 + 788\(^{17}\). It was proposed to identify this king


\(^{15}\) For the royal title «king of Saba', dhū-Raydān and Ḥadramawt», which appears for the first time in this inscription and seems to be a variant of the so-called long title «king of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥadramawt and Yamanat», see N. Nebes, Ein Kriegszug ins Wadi Ḥadramawt aus der Zeit des Dhamar'-ālī Yuhahir und Tha'rrān Yuhan'im, Le Muséon 109, 285 f. and below in this article, note 18.

\(^{16}\) It was proposed to consider the kings Tha'rrān Ayfa' and Dhamar'-ālī Ayfa' whose names appear in the inscription 'Abadān 1 as members of the royal family who did not reign as kings unless we imagine a complicated succession of reigns (see Robin—Gajda op. cit. 133). We could also suppose that these two kings were usurpers, but this seems less probable.

\(^{17}\) M. al-Iryani — G. Garbini, A Sabean Rock Inscription at Mosna', AION 30, 1970, 408. In the inscription Maṣna'at Māriya, Tha'rrān Yuhan'im is mentioned with the title «king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān» as a son of Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabir — «king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān», while in other inscriptions these two kings appear with the long title, «king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, Ḥadramawt and Yamanat» used by the Himyarite sovereigns since its adoption by Shamar Yuharis at the end of the 3rd century. W. W. Müller has suggested that it was an abbreviation of the long title which did not reflect any change in the political situation, which seems probable: W. W. Müller, Das Ende des antiken Königreichs Ḥadramaut. Die sabiische Inschrift Schreyer-Geukens = Iryani 32, in: R. G. Steiniger (ed.), Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag (1981) 250. Let us mention the inscription Schm/Mārib 28 where the kings Dhamar'-ālī Yuhabīr and Tha'rrān Yuhan'im appear with the title «king of Saba', dhū-Raydān and Ḥadramawt». It seems that in the first decades after the unification of South Arabia by Shamar Yuharis, the vassals of the Himyarite kings did not always attach importance to the long title of their monarchs, especially when the vassals were of Himyarite or Sabean origin.
with Tha'ran Yun'im mentioned in the inscription 'Abadän I. Also the king Tha'ran Yuhan'im mentioned in our inscription YM 1950 could be identified with this sovereign. This identification presupposes a long reign of this king. He would have been associated to the throne by his father, Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr, probably not long before 434 Hîm./324 A.D. (on this date he is mentioned in the inscription Ma'sna'at Mâriya). He would have reigned until at least the month of dhu-kharafân 473 Hîm./August 363. In theory he could have reigned longer, even until 493 Hîm. (no later then dhu-di'wân 493/January 384, the date of the inscription Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2 from the reign of Malkikarib with his two sons, Dhara'a'amar Ayman and Abîkarib As'ad). However, this would suppose that he would have been in power for an excessively long time (59 years or more) as stated above. Anyway, his reign would have been long, at least 39 years and probably more. It does not seem improbable.

Thus, it seems that monotheism was adopted as the official religion some time during the reign of Tha'ran Yuhan'im and his son, probably Malkikarib Yuham'in. It would probably have happened between 470 and 483 of the Himyari era / between 360 and 373 A.D. Of course, this is merely a hypothesis.

As for the Arab Islamic tradition there is not much about the king Tha'ran Yuhan'im but he seems to have been considered as a quite important sovereign. Al-Hamdani mentions him in these words: «Yun'im Tarân was king of kings and to him belonged glory and pride.» These verses are attributed to As'ad Tubba' son of Malkikarib who evokes his ancestors. Going back in time he mentions his father, Malkikarib, then Yun'im Tarân and then Shammar Yuhas'îsh. There are also some passages in the Arab tradition that could refer to the king Tha'ran Yuhan'im. There is often question of Tubba' al-Aqran whose reign is situated between the reign of Shammar Yuhas'îsh and those of Malkikarib and especially of his son As'ad Abîkarib (Malkikarib is not always mentioned). This Tubba' al-Aqran appears as a good and powerful king and is said to be identified with dhu-l-Qarnayn mentioned in the Koran. Dhû-l-Qarnayn is traditionally identified with Alexander the Great, but this nickname was sometimes given also to other personalities, like the Lakhmid prince Mundhir ibn Mâ' as-Sâma'. According to Nashwân al-Himyari, «Many of the Himyaries consider that this king [Tubba' al-Aqran] was dhû-l-Qarnayn mentioned in the Holy Koran as they saw the power of his reign, his wisdom, his justice and his good conduct.» In another passage Nashwân states: «This king is Tubba' al-Aqran, he is dhû-l-Qarnayn, mentioned in the Koran, son of Shammar Yuhas'îsh son of Irfiqîs son of Abraha dhû-l-Manûr son of al-Jâarith ar-Râ'îsh [...]. He was a great king, learned and wise. He became acquainted with the knowledge of the Book [...].»

The position of Tubba' al-Aqran identified with dhû-l-Qarnayn in the succession of the Himyaryes kings evoked in the Islamic tradition could correspond to the position of Tha'ran Yuhan'im in the succession of the kings known by the inscriptions. Some Islamic authors consider that al-Aqran had reigned for over 50 years. Regarding the fact that Tha'ran Yuhan'im reigned for a long time and that the transition to monotheism may have taken place during his reign, I suppose that the mention of the

18 Robin – Gajda op. cit. 133.
19 The last dated inscription of one of his predecessors, Shammar Yuhas'îsh, the inscription from Baynân, YM 1695 could come from any year between 420 and 429 Hîm./between 310 and 319 A.D. The inscription Ir 32 which relates a military expedition in the Hadrâmaxwât led by the king Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr could be dated around 430 Hîm., as it was proposed by Müller op. cit. 251, which corresponds to 320 A.D. The inscription Ma'sna'at Mâriya could date from the soltary reign of Tha'ran Yuhân'im or still from his reign with his father Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr.
20 Indeed, his grand-son Abîkarib As'ad had reigned at least since dhû-di'wân 493/January 384 until at least dhû-kharafân 543/August 433, 49 years or more. See the inscriptions RES 3383, Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2 and Ry 534 + MAFY/Rayda 1.
21 See al-Hamdani – Akwa' op. cit. (note 4) 337. 339.
23 Al-Himyari op. cit. (note 3) 97.
24 Ibidem 96.
Yemeni Tubba’ al-Aqran could refer to the king Tha’rân Yuhan’im, but this is only a supposition that cannot be proved.

CONCLUSION

The question, already mentioned, is whether the presented inscription YM 1950, whose authors are not kings, could be evidence of the adoption of monotheism as the official religion by the Ḥimyarite kingdom. It is true that during the first centuries A.D. the fact of recognizing the supremacy of a king or a prince did not necessarily imply the adoption of the cult of his tutelary deity. In this case though, the authors, the qayls of the Sam‘ī tribe did not adhere to their ancestral beliefs but adopted a new religion. The dhū-Ḥumlān section of the Sam‘ī tribe used to worship Ta’lab and the cult of this deity was very ancient and important. What could have been their reasons for abandoning it? It would indeed have been a strange coincidence if the qayls of Sam‘ī had abandoned their ancient cult of Ta’lab and adopted monotheism on the eve of the conversion of the Ḥimyarite kings. I consider more probable the hypothesis that the conversion of the qayls of Sam‘ī followed the adoption of monotheism as the official religion by the Ḥimyarite kings and that the inscription YM 1950 was written at the time when monotheism was already the official religion of South Arabia.

Dr. Iwona Gajda, Institut d'études sémitiques, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, F-75231 Paris Cedex 05, Iwona.Gajda@college-de-france.fr
## Table 1a Monotheistic invocations classed in an approximative chronological order

<table>
<thead>
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<th>God's Qualificative</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Him.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b)ls'myn</td>
<td>YM 1950/2</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>mr' s'myn</td>
<td>Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2/3-4</td>
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<td>384</td>
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<tr>
<td>mr' (s'my)[n]</td>
<td>RES 3383/3-4</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>383/384</td>
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<tr>
<td>mr' s'myn w-'rđn</td>
<td>Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 1/2-3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'ln mr' s'myn</td>
<td>MAFY-Bayt Ġufr</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>543</td>
<td>433</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rh[nn ...</td>
<td>Ja 520 = Rossi 24 = Lundin 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>'ln b'l s'myn</td>
<td>RES 5085/7-8</td>
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<td>450</td>
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<td>CIH 540/81-82</td>
<td>564-565</td>
<td>455-456</td>
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<td>456</td>
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<td>463</td>
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<td>464</td>
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<td>Rhmnn n</td>
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<td>CIH 537 + RES 4919/5</td>
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<td>472</td>
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<td>617 ou 619</td>
<td>507 ou 509</td>
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<td>523</td>
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<td>Ja 1028/1</td>
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<td>... n]sf' qds'</td>
<td>Ist. 7608 bis/1</td>
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<td>Wellcome A103664 b/2</td>
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<td>Rhmnn w-Ms'h-řhw w-Rh[q]ds'</td>
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<td>547-549</td>
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<td>Rhmnn n</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhmnn nr' s'myn(n) w-'rđn</td>
<td>Ja 546/1</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>558</td>
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<td>Rhmnn mlkn</td>
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Table 1b Invocations from the texts that are difficult to class chronologically

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<th>God's qualificative or religious formula</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
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<td>`mr's'myn</td>
<td>MAFRAY-Ḫaši 1/3</td>
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<tr>
<td><code>Rhmn </code>d-b-s'myn w-'ysr'l w-'l'h-hmw rbyhd</td>
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<td><code>ln </code>d-b-s'myn</td>
<td>Ir 71/5</td>
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<td><code>Rhmn </code>d-b-s'myn</td>
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<td>`Rhmn (d)kl'n[ ...</td>
<td>CIH 539/4</td>
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<td>`Rhmn</td>
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<td>`Rhmn</td>
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<td>`Rhmn</td>
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<td>`Rhmn</td>
<td>RES 5064/2</td>
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<td>Hamilton 11/3-4</td>
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<td>RES 4699</td>
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<tr>
<td>`ln</td>
<td>CIH 151 + 152/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>b'lj's'myn w-'rdn</td>
<td>CIH 926/3</td>
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<td>`ln b'l s'myn [w]-'rjd[na</td>
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النقوش الأولى عن التوحيد بجنوب بلاد العرب
إيفونا جادا
(Iwona Gajda)

منخفض:

في النصف الثاني من القرن الرابع الميلادي اعتقد سكان جنوب بلاد العرب مذهب التوحيد كدين أساسي. ويرجع تاريخ أولى النقوش الملكية المعروفة التي تدعو الإله الأحد الفرد إلى 493 من العهد الحميري (383/384 ميلادية). ومؤلفوها هم الملك ملكي كرب بهامان مع ولديه أبو كرب اسد، ونارا أمر أيمن. ولم نعلم بديانة توحيد أخرى بجنوب بلاد العرب قبل هذا التاريخ.

يؤرخ النقوش رقم 1950 YM الذي نقدمه في هذا المقال للعهد السالف لثأر يهيم مع ابنه ملكي كرب بهامان على وجه الاحتمال. فالمؤلفون الذين كانوا يقيموا من فرع ذي حملان بقيلة سمع، يدعون الإله الواحد، ربهم، رب السماء (مره و ...). ومن ثم، فإن النقوش رقم 1950 YM هو أقدم نقوش متعلق بالتوحيد عرف في جنوب بلاد العرب. وأعتقد أن الانتقال من مرحلة تعد الألهة إلى مرحلة التوحيد، ربما حدث أثناء عهد ثأر يهيم مع ابنه ملكي كرب بهامان، بين عامي 470 و 483 من العهد الحميري على سبيل الاحتمال (360 - 373 ميلادية).
WHAT IS SABAEAN ART?

Problems in Distinguishing Ancient South Arabian Art Using Saba and Qataban as Examples

If in the following the question of Sabaean art and its definition is asked, this will probably appear at first sight somewhat premature for the history of the art of South Arabia. Even basic questions of ancient South Arabian art still need clarification. For example, there is still disagreement or rather helplessness with regard to the stylistic development and to an exact dating of sculpture. It is still disputable as to how far art in this region has gone through independent development or has reacted in the course of its development to the influences of foreign cultures. If foreign influence is recognised, the question is disputed and generally only research to a small extent is carried out as to where these originate from and how intensive this influence is. South Arabian monuments have so far only very rarely been observed under the aspect of both authors are aware of the difficulty of an exact dating (Hauptmann v. Gladius op. cit. 145 ff.; Antonini op. cit. 17 ff.). Therefore even with the younger works such as that of Antonini (see esp. Antonini op. cit. 18 fig. 2) we still find that they are always only put into an order of relative style stages.

1 Not until most recently, as for example in the case of A. de Maigret, Alcune considerazioni sulle origini e lo sviluppo dell’arte sudarabica, in: N. Nebes (ed.), Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller (1994) 142 ff. and of Antonini op. cit. their own share in the development of South Arabian art is emphasized more strongly. The comparisons mentioned with the art of the Levantine, Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Greek cultural units as they are, for example, in: B. Segall, The Arts and King Nabonidus, AJA 59, 1955, 315 ff.; eadem, Problems of Copy and Adaptation in the Second Quarter of the First Millenium B.C., AJA 60, 1956, 165 ff.; eadem, Sculpture from Arabia Felix: the Earliest Phase, ArsO 2, 1957, 35 ff.; J. Firenne, La Grèce et Saba. Une nouvelle base pour la chronologie sud-arabe, Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres XV (1955) 88 ff.; C. Rathjens, Kulturelle Einflüsse in Südwest-Arabien von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Islam, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Hellenismus, Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung 1, 1950; Encyclopédie Universale dell’Arte I (1958) 499 ff. s. v. Arabici preislamici, centri e tradizioni (A. Grohmann), should also be judged with care because of the meanwhile extended research status. Already in the 1st half of the 1st millennium B.C. outside influences are apparent in South Arabian art, but these still remain limited to a few monuments, see in particular I. Gerlach, Zur Übernahme altorientalischer Motive in die Kunst Südarabien. Eine reliquierte Bronzeplatte aus dem Jemen, BA M 31, 2000, 259 ff.

2 Apart from the abbreviations suggested in ABADY 9 (2002) 245 ff. the following are used:


Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1–5. 6 b. 11. 15: DAI, M. Manda. – Fig. 6 a. 7–10. 12–14. 16: DAI, J. Kramer.
iconography and iconology. This mostly involves processing individual objects or small groups of finds.

Why therefore the search for a local style, why the comparison of Saba and Qataban? Should not the other points of greater priority be researched into first, before one tries to achieve a comparative analysis?

The following note-type expositions will provide convincing information and help to direct the attention of art historic investigations to the basic questions.

The questions regarding local styles have never been posed before in detail in South Arabian archaeology, but since about the mid-sixties of the 20th century they indirectly play a decisive role in the discussion about art history. Up until then the group of well-known works of art of South Arabia was very small and the few scientists who concerned themselves with the characteristics of ancient South Arabian art, such as A. Grohmann or C. Rathjens, did not attempt to make any subdivisions into the art of local regions, even if both of them often make statements as to the possible origin of the objects acquired mostly from the art market. This is due alone to the fact that almost no object was able to profess an assured find context.

When in 1965 R. L. Cleveland presented a catalogue-type of publication of the objects which were found during the second excavation campaign by the AFSM in Hayd ibn 'Aql, the cemetery of the Qatabanian capital Timna, the situation changed abruptly. Through Cleveland's publication, several hundred objects of the most varying categories of art became accessible in picture and description. There is evidence that these were all of the same origin, namely from one Qatabanian cemetery: they include various groups of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures, as well as friezes and reliefs, stelae and inscription bases, also altars and miniature vessels. The rich visual material in this publication has inevitably become the reference book for the classification of other art products.

Unfortunately, however, the uncritical handling of Cleveland's material collection led to misinterpretations in the history of South Arabian art, which reached as far as the most recent publications of exhibition catalogues in Paris, Vienna, Munich and Rome. Cleveland himself already pointed out the main problems with the material, other consequences were not foreseeable. This means that in general the usefulness of the material as a reference is restricted by the circumstances of the finds. By presenting the material, only the objects of the second campaign were published.

5 M. Höfner, Altsüdarabische Steine und Statuen, in: Festchrift für A. E. Jensen (1964) 217 ff. 225 establishes criteria that limit certain types to the Sabean or Qatabanian state as a result of the sites on which they were discovered so far.
6 A. Grohmann, Arabien, HAW III (1963) in particular 218 ff.
9 See for example S. Antonini, La statuaria sudarabica in pietra, Repertorio iconografico sudarabico I (2001); W. Rudi, Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von Sana'a and anderer Antiken im Jemen (1973) no. 55. 57 pl. 21; W. Müller, Zwei altsüdarabische epigraphische Stücke aus dem Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, NESE 1, 1972, 124 no. 4–6.
14 Cleveland (1965) I ff.
15 The poor description of the find context in Hayd ibn 'Aql during the campaign is also expressed in the list of the finds from the 2nd campaign in the register (Cleveland [1965] 176 ff.), which are reflected, amongst others, in the following remarks: "The addition [...] of remaining workers from the discontinued South Gate and Temple I sites (producing a total of approximately 190 workers), requires the discontinuance of fully descriptive cataloguing until field and/or laboratory assistance is available." (Cleveland [1965] 179 no. 992).
16 Cleveland (1965) I. The first campaign is presented so far only in a short report by C. W. Van Beek, Recovering the Ancient Civilization of Arabia, The Biblical Archaeologist 15, 1952, 14 ff. Likewise W. Phillips published in his travel-diary-like description (W. Phillips, Qataban and Sheba. Exploring Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia [1955] 109 ff.) only some of the finds in illustrations. There is absolutely no scientific study on the material. Also the publication of the objects of the first campaign by A. M. Honeyman as announced in his foreword by Cleveland (1965) IX never took place.
Moreover important material groups such as pottery, which would have been helpful as dating criteria, remained unmentioned. Furthermore the publication of tomb architecture and the stratigraphy are missing, and no information about possible connections with other finds was available, caused Cleveland to present the objects purely antiquarianly. He had his reasons for not insisting on the rule of datings. Simply a terminus ante quem is given for the determination of the cemetery in the first half of the 1st century A.D.\(^\text{17}\) - an event that according to the present status of research must more likely be dated in the 2nd century A.D.\(^\text{18}\). A chronological beginning of the use of the cemetery is never explicitly stated, but instead there is a silent acceptance of equating the period of occupation of the cemetery with the period of occupancy of the town of Timna, implying that the beginning therefore dates back at least to the 7th century B.C.\(^\text{20}\).

In other publications on Timna and its cemetery inscriptions and in particular pottery are continually mentioned as finds that fall in these earlier phases\(^\text{21}\). But it is especially the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures and reliefs that are never included in these\(^\text{22}\). Correspondingly there have only been late datings so far, extending to between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. for these objects, which partly greatly differ from one another as far as style is concerned\(^\text{23}\).

However, still more serious than these chronological problems is an apparently widespread classification of art objects by their origin, which relies entirely on the comparison with the material collection presented by Cleveland. On the one hand, without any closer explanation, it is silently expected that the material which appear on the cemetery of Timna is Qatabanian and following this, that objects of unknown origin which have similarity with the material from Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil, are therefore also considered to be Qatabanian\(^\text{24}\). The result of such estimations is amazing. On the one hand this gives the impression that Qataban is one of the main production areas for the ancient South Arabian sculpture, on the other hand the fine arts are concentrated on a very late period of the caravan kingdoms, i.e. the period of its slowly beginning disintegration. But from the phase of its greatest political influence almost no corresponding Qatabanian monument is known.

The excavations by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) which have been carried out during five campaigns on the Sabaean cemetery of the Awâm Temple in Marib\(^\text{25}\) now offer for the first time the opportunity of examining the most usual interpretations of the different origins of art on the basis of another large material collection of the most varying types in a tomb context. Therefore the decisive question is less that of what Sabean art looks like, than - provocatively expressed - whether in comparison with the postulated Qatabanian art it has ever existed at all.

In some points the Sabean cemetery of the Awâm Temple and the Qatabanian cemetery of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil are comparable despite evident differences. Both are situated significantly outside the urban settlement in connection with a sacred building\(^\text{26}\).


\(^\text{18}\) Cleveland (1965) 1 with note 1 taken over up to today, e.g. by Glanzman op. cit. 192.

\(^\text{19}\) Personal report by A. de Maigret (Naples). These new excavation results correspond well to the dating of the necropolis by A. Jamme postulated on the grounds of the inscriptions up to the 3rd century A.D.: A. Jamme, Pièces épi-graphiques de Heid Bin 'Aqil, la nécropole de Timna', Bibliothèque du Muséon 30 (1952) 12 f.

\(^\text{20}\) Glanzman op. cit. 192; A. Avanzini, Die Hegemonie des Reiches Qatabän, in: Seipel op. cit. 169 as well as verbal report by A. de Maigret during the Rencontres Sabéennes 5 in Naples in the year 2000.

\(^\text{21}\) Albright op. cit. 14; Jamme op. cit. 12 f.; Glanzman op. cit. 192.

\(^\text{22}\) Cleveland (1965) 1 leaves a dating open and defines only as terminus ante quem the year 10 A.D. or later. Compare also the new exhibition catalogue such as the Vienna Catalogue (Seipel op. cit. no. 341–357). All these objects from Timna are dated with the exception of one (i.e. no. 348) at the first half of the 1st century A.D.; no. 156 between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.

\(^\text{23}\) Compare e.g. Seipel op. cit. no. 341 and 343.

\(^\text{24}\) Compare ibidem no. 266–271, 274.


\(^\text{26}\) Cleveland (1965) 173 f.; Glanzman op. cit. 192; Gerlach (2002). Whereas the cemetery of the Awâm Temple lies outside of the actual temple building, beyond the ovoid surrounding wall, the Rižāf Temple of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil lies in the middle of the area of the necropolis (Complex III) and can therefore rather be interpreted as a cemetery temple.
The burials took place in mausoleum-type buildings, which, however, are very different in their architectural detail. A considerable amount of burial gifts were placed in the tombs of both Qatabanian and Sabaean deceased. These grave goods include normally proportioned ceramics as well as tomb. This means miniature pottery, small-sized stone vessels, altars and incense burners as well as alabaster sculptures and reliefs, which usually depicted the deceased themselves. All these provide evidence of a similar cult of the dead in both the Qatabanian and the Sabaean kingdoms.

Chronologically speaking both cemeteries existed at the same time, even with different main occupation periods. The main occupation period of the Sabaean cemetery of Marib falls in the time between the 6th and 3rd century B.C.32, the Qatabanian cemetery of Timna' on the other hand appears to have still been in full use in the first half of the Middle-Sabaean period at least.

In the following a close look is to be taken at the individual groups of finds. Normal sized pottery as well as miniature pottery are to be disregarded, corresponding finds were indeed made in Ḥayd ibn ‘Aqīl, but never found their way into publications. Other miniature objects on the other hand can be found in both cemeteries and are almost identical. These include, for example, beehive vessels made of alabaster (Fig. 1)33, vessels of steatite (Fig. 2)34, miniature tripod vessels35 and miniature-sized incense burners36. The two published miniature tripod vessels from Ḥayd ibn ‘Aqīl with vertical grooved ornamentation at the surface and concluding lip at the edge can be found in numerous samples for comparison in the cemetery of the Awām Temple (Fig. 3). The same applies to the miniature incense burners. Both the simple type with sketchy engravings is apparent in Marib (Fig. 4), and the considerably more elaborate sample with decorative elements, which are borrowed from architecture (Fig. 5).

More complicated is a comparison of sculpture. Here there are different groups of objects on both excavation sites. There seems to be more point in first concentrating on this group. But immediately, for example, upon regarding the anthropomorphic stone heads we notice that different phases of style are represented on each of the two cemeteries. Let us begin in Ḥayd ibn ‘Aqīl with the style, which varies most: There we find on the one side heads whose mask-like faces are often triangular in shape and appear strongly stylised, thus being correspondingly sketchily decorated. The individual details such as nose, mouth and eyes appear to have been attached belatedly, without gradual transitions. The ears stand off ornamentally to the sides. On the other side we find heads with a 3-dimensional moulding of the face, harmonious, naturalistic transitions of the individual features. These heads give a much more life-like impression due to the richness of detail.

Between these extreme contrasts there are intermediate stages which can probably be regarded as stylistic phases of development. It is impossible to date these figures, which are so different in their stylistic design, at around the same time.

Similar phenomena can be observed with the alabaster heads from the Awām cemetery (Fig. 6 a and b): Here too strongly stylised, mask-like, almost archaic-seeming heads can be found as well as plastic, carefully modelled examples.

28 S. Japp, Die Miniaturkeramik aus der Nekropole des Awām-Tempels in Marib, in: ABADY 9 (2002) 137 ff. and hint at Glanzman op. cit. 192. There are unfortunately no publications on pottery from the cemetery of Ḥayd ibn ‘Aqīl to date.
29 Cleveland (1965) pl. 87–89.
31 Gerlach (2002) pl. 31 ff.; Cleveland (1965) e.g. pl. 1–23. 44 ff. 52–55.
33 Cleveland (1965) pl. 87 TC 1134. pl. 88 TC 1772. pl. 89 TC 1951.
34 Cleveland (1965) e.g. pl. 87 TC 1129. TC 1134. TC 1906; pl. 88 TC 1813. TC 2525; pl. 89 TC 1957. TC 2514.
36 Gerlach (2002) 19 no. 1–3; Cleveland (1965) pl. 90 TC 1731. TC 2273. TC 1862. TC 1915.
37 Ibidem pl. 90 TC 1217. TC 1565.
38 Ibidem pl. 90 TC 1955. pl. 91 TC 2011.
39 Ibidem e.g. pl. 16 TC 1882. pl. 23 TC 2259.
40 Ibidem e.g. pl. 1. 2 TC 539. pl. 6 TC 914. pl. 17 TC 1795. TC 1982.
41 Ibidem e.g. pl. 7 TC 1316. pl. 9 TC 1361. pl. 19 TC 2041.
Fig. 1  Beehive vessel made of alabaster. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 99 B 784). Scale 2:3

Fig. 2  Vessel of steatite. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 98 A 2293). Scale 2:3

Fig. 3  Miniature tripod vessel made of alabaster. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 97 A 970). Scale 2:3

Fig. 4  Miniature incense burner made of limestone. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 01 E 153). Scale 2:3

Fig. 5  Miniature incense burner made of limestone. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 01 F 15). Scale 2:3
The process of the individual stylistic stages of development seems to be comparable and shows that they have a lot in common, whereby the more mature, more 'naturalistic' types in Timna' are in the majority. This may certainly not be interpreted as a coincidence of the excavation finds, but must be explained by the different main occupation periods of both cemeteries.

Probably the biggest differences between both cemeteries lie in the burial cult. Whereas almost all Sabaean tomb heads were all placed in the niches of tomb stelae or in those of the tomb façades (Fig. 7), some but not all heads from Timna' appear to belong to the category of free-standing figures which are visible from all sides or mounted on a base. The above-average length of the necks which could be set into the pedestal with their lower ends, could be well explained in this way. A head – although very small – from Timna' demonstrates this method of installation and leads us to assume that other heads were designed similarly.

Other heads on the other hand, just like those from the Awām cemetery (Fig. 8), have a flat back which is not elaborated plastically. The heads which are designed to be viewed from the front must also have been set in niches. Niches in tomb
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fa\c{c}ades or tomb stelae like those found in the Aw\a[m cemetery are, however, not known in Tim\na' according to the publication. Cleveland simply mentions that during the first campaign in Tim\na' so-called house-shrines were found that with their niches could have been used to accommodate plastic ally sculptured heads$^{47}$. On the other hand the stone housings excavated during the second campaign are different to the tomb stelae found in the Aw\a[m cemetery: In the case of the tomb stelae the niche is usually worked in the upper third of the oblong stone. The alabaster head was set in the niche with the help of plaster or in the case of the broader and higher niches a bust was set in. The lower part of the stelae, which takes up to two-thirds of the total height, was used as a pedestal. In the so-called stone housings of Tim\na' there is a niche worked into an oblong-shaped stone, adapted to match the shape of the stone$^{48}$. A kind of pedestal does not exist in the examples published by Cleveland. The height of the niches rather suggests that there were the images of persons in the form of very slender busts or reliefs standing in them$^{49}$ and no heads.

If one takes a look at other anthropomorphic art products from Tim\na', the main thing that one notices is the much wider range of variations in \H{A}y\d ibn 'Aqil contrary to the finds so far in the cemetery of the Aw\a[m Temple. Whereas the anthropomorphic portrayals in Mar\b are restricted to a limited number, the most varying groups can be found on the cemetery of \H{A}y\d ibn 'Aqil. Apart from reliefs with$^{50}$ and without profile portrayals$^{51}$ also statuettes$^{52}$, busts$^{53}$ and so-called eye stelae or here better face plaques$^{54}$ have been revealed.

Should we recognise a typical Qata\banian style in these groups of objects, which are quite different from the Saba\ean repertoire? In view of the present status of research the answer to this question should rather be no than yes. The issue needs thorough clarification, if one takes the following explanations into consideration.

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$^{47}$ Ibidem 168 with note 1. The publication by A. M. Honeyman of the so-called stone housings announced in this and which were found during the first campaign in Tim\na' never took place.

$^{48}$ Cleveland (1965) pl. 107 TC 1613. TC 1881 as complete examples of the stone housings even if there were no more sculptures in the niches or, as in the case of TC 1881 only a fragment still exists.

$^{49}$ Compare Cleveland (1965) e.g. pl. 43 TC 1294. pl. 44 TC 1307. pl. 46 f.

$^{50}$ Ibidem pl. 42 TC 870. pl. 43 TC 1294.

$^{51}$ Ibidem pl. 46–50.

$^{52}$ Ibidem pl. 28 f. 31 TC 1587. pl. 35. 36 TC 2064.

$^{53}$ Ibidem pl. 41. 45. 51.

$^{54}$ Ibidem pl. 36 TC 675. TC 504. TC 1574; pl. 37–39. 40 TC 1709. TC 1744. These broad rectangular stones in fact do not represent stelae but relieved slabs that were perhaps built into the fa\c{c}ades of the tombs or set into some form of niches. Their design was based, however, on the actual eye stelae.
Therefore eye or face stelae cannot be determined until the last centuries B.C. with the immigration of an Arabic population. It can be determined that this form of tomb stela was taken over from North-West Arabia as new Arabian names are often mentioned on the South Arabian eye stelae. This means that the eye stelae constitute a form of tomb stelae which can be ascribed to a special ethnic group rather than be described as typically Qatabanian. Depicting the deceased in this type of stylised representation of the face is not only limited to the Qatabanian burial rites. However, up to now there is only evidence in Timna' of the variation of the eye or face stelae as a broad rectangular slab. As material it was not alabaster that was used – as for almost all other sculptures from Timna' – but limestone. The stylised design of the faces quite clearly has the so-called eye stelae as its model and can therefore not be described as being genuinely Qatabanian.

Likewise the reliefs with portrayals in profile and statuettes with advanced plastic decorations can more probably be dated into the Middle-Sabaean period. This is also suggested by the inscriptions of this period on the objects. For chronological reasons these objects are less comparable with those of the Awām cemetery. In the last centuries B.C. the main period of occupation of the Awām cemetery was already over.

However, on the other hand objects can also be found on the Awām cemetery which are well comparable with the finds in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil. Here, for example, two unusual alabaster heads can be mentioned. The one from the Awām cemetery was originally affixed in a niche, as it is testified by the flat preparation of the reverse (Fig. 9). The shapes of both faces are oval and worked in three dimensions, eyes, nose and ears are strongly modelled. Particularly striking is the design of the hairstyle. The long hair falls back tightly from the flat brow. It is drawn along behind the ears and comes to rest in thick knots at about the height of the shoulders, which are not expressed in three dimensions. The hair is artistically styled in curls. The hairstyle can

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**Fig. 8** Alabaster head with a flat back. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 00 B 1240). H: 14,2 cm; W: 12,1 cm; TH: 9 cm

**Fig. 9** Alabaster head of a woman. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 00 B 1239). H: 12 cm; W: 9 cm; TH: 6,1 cm
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Fig. 10 Engraved bas-relief of a mask on the wall of a tomb (Tomb 21, area B at the cemetery of the Awám Temple)

also be found on some engraved or reliefs heads on Tomb 21 on the Awám cemetery58 (Fig. 10). The long hairstyle of the women ends to the left and right on the shoulder in a rounded, slightly thickening out mop of hair. The hairstyle of a woman depicted in profile on a limestone slab of unknown origin from the National Museum in Sana'a is similar in shape59 (Fig. 11). The similarities between the compared examples are, however, not only limited to the hairstyle: All the faces are depicted with full cheeks, the eyes and the chin are either plastically emphasized with a dimple in the middle or, in the case of the heads from the Awám cemetery, outlined with scratched lines. The ears are in front of the hair which is depicted from the side. Only in the scratched heads of the Awám cemetery did the »stonemason« simplify the depiction method by setting them at the side above the styled hair.

Plastically sculptured examples of this type of head are only known to us so far from the Sabean and Qatabanian cemetery. For this reason we cannot determine whether these are typical stylistic features of Qatabanian or Sabean art. One would tend to speak of a parallel development within these two caravan kingdoms. Beyond these two examples there are further signs that bear witness that – despite their independence of one another – both in Qataban as well as in Saba similar criteria influenced the production of art and the sense of style.

Some bust-like figures were continually described as being pure »Qatabanian art«60. These busts made of alabaster can have a flat base with the inscription of names. Above the base arises the sketchily formed upper part of the body, made from one piece and with a slightly swelling breast. The arms lie parallel to the upper part of the body, the lower arms are bent and crossed in front of the stomach. Only the head can be fully plastically formed or is set off in a deep, very plastically carved relief against the background. It displays style elements of a more »naturalistic« use of forms and therefore enables a relatively late chronological classification. Up to now one piece of similar character has been found on the Awám

58 Tomb 21 is dated in the 6th century B.C. due to the inscription and the foundation level on the natural rock and not like later tombs on sediments (see Gerlach [2002] 52 pl. 10). On the other hand it is not possible to say exactly when the reliefs or carved heads were installed (ibidem 52 f. with n. 92 pl. 10). It is noticeable that the names of the tomb owners mentioned in the inscription do not appear again on the heads with one exception only, so that we presume that these probably originated from a re-occupation of the tombs at a later stage. The fact that the tombs of the Awám cemetery were used time and time again is shown quite clearly by the excavation (ibidem 51 ff., in particular 54).
59 W. Radt, Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von Sana'á und anderer Antiken im Jemen (1973) 14 no. 58 pl. 22.
60 Cleveland (1965) pl. 44 TC 1307, pl. 45 TC 1557.
Fig. 12 Alabaster bust of a woman. Cemetery of the Awâm Temple
(Aw 01 F 44). H: 25,7 cm; W: 24,3 cm; TH: 7,1 cm

cemetery (Fig. 12). As far as stylistic evaluation is concerned, the busts suggest a similar stage of development in comparison to the bust with the fully sculptured head from Timna\textsuperscript{61}. Unfortunately the head is missing from the example from the Awâm cemetery which makes a comprehensive comparison difficult. Its inscription bears the name of a woman whose family is already often recorded in Marib, amongst others as the owner of palm gardens\textsuperscript{62}. This record does not allow to interpret these busts as tomb monuments, which were built for people from Qataban who died in foreign regions. It is also just as unlikely that the Sabaeans, who were particularly traditional in their art production, chose typical tomb monuments of Qataban and especially when one considers that Qataban was not exactly connected with the kingdom of Saba by friendly bonds\textsuperscript{63}. The depiction of the deceased in the form of busts was certainly customary in Sabaean burial art.

Also statues and statuettes of standing persons with arms bent are usually automatically ascribed to the Qatabanian cultural unit and understood as an expression of Qatabanian art\textsuperscript{64}. In this case too it is important to point out that an unfortunately very badly damaged fragment of the portrayal of a person made of alabaster with the hint of a bent arm has been preserved on the Sabaean cemetery (Fig. 13) and can certainly be ascribed to this group. Also in the series of depictions which tend to be rather untypical for Sabaean art is a funerary stela with a niche in which there is still a garment of an alabaster bust in the lower part (Fig. 14). Parts of the breast can be seen quite clearly but there is no indication at all of any arms folded beneath the breast. The fragment can, however, still be clearly

\textsuperscript{61} Ibidem pl. 45 TC 1557.
\textsuperscript{62} The processing and publication of the inscription is in the hands of N. Nebes and will be appearing in the series EFAH. The inscription on the bust is dated as a result of palaeographical comparisons at the 3\textsuperscript{rd}-1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. and can therefore be classified chronologically parallel to the examples from Timna\textsuperscript{1}. I would like to thank N. Nebes for pointing this out.
\textsuperscript{63} Avanzini op. cit. (n. 20) 171; C. Robin, Qatabân, in: Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible (1977) 597 ff.
\textsuperscript{64} See e.g. Seipel op. cit. cat. 404. 405; Cleveland (1965) pl. 31 TC 1587. pl. 35 TC 2064. pl. 36 TC 2064.
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Fig. 13 Fragment of an alabaster bust. Cemetery of the Awam Temple (Aw 98 B 135). H: 13 cm; W: 23,5 cm; TH: 12,6 cm

classified as a bust and therefore typologically belongs to the series of the two examples from the Awam cemetery already mentioned. In this case too we are not talking about a "Qatabanian import«. These examples from the Sabaean cultural unit, of which only a few individual ones have become apparent so far, prove that at certain times, both in Qataban and in Saba very similar expressions of art must have existed.

As a conclusion one can say that the few examples that have been presented here should on the one hand demonstrate the great differences in the art production of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil, the cemetery of Timna', and the Awam cemetery, a burial place of Marib. On the other hand they emphasize the fact that at the present point in time we are still a long way from defining local traditions and therefore from being able to speak of local styles, for example of "typical" Qatabanian or Sabaean art. One should therefore rather presume a similar attitude to art in the various caravan kingdoms within one period of time. The undeniable differences between Sabaean and Qatabanian art cannot be explained as being purely cultural but often chronological. The obvious differences are not substantiated in the style or the artistry, but in the choice of motifs in the figurative sense. As it looks at the moment, the stelae with bulls’ heads⁶⁵ and the unornamented stelae on a base⁶⁶ are Qatabanian motifs, whereas the burial gifts often found in Marib such as terracotta figurines of women (Fig. 15) and dromedaries (Fig. 16) are not apparent in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil.

On the cemeteries of Timna' and Marib a large number of art products were found which are characteristic of both places such as a large number of miniature vessels, the busts or the way in which abaster heads were designed. The great differences, however, cannot be explained as originating from different local styles but in particular through being of different chronological categories.

It is true that the publications on the cemetery of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil still do not facilitate any distinct datings so far, but can at least be orientated on a few definite aspects. The burial site was probably used during the whole of the period of settlement

⁶⁵ Cleveland (1965) pl. 64–67.
⁶⁶ Ibidem pl. 70–77.
of Timna', i.e. at least from the 7th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. It appears, however, that the main period of occupation did not begin until the time when the Qataban had risen to be the most powerful kingdom in the region and lasts until far into the period of its decline. The boundaries in time are particularly well testified by numerous imported pieces. Although exact datings are only possible to a limited extent even in Marib because of the extensive recent damage to the Awâm cemetery, it can be recorded that the main period of occupation was between the 6th and 3rd century B.C. and that the cemetery was used considerably less after that. According to this the main periods of occupation of both cemeteries are different and overlap only in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. Differences in the production of art must therefore be rather chronological because they originally come from a different local art tradition. On the other
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hand, we must not completely eliminate the possibility that there are local specialities in the art creation of South Arabia. After all, for example, the great differences in the Sabean and the Qatabanian inscriptions are adequately well-known. In the end also the architecture of both cemeteries has no similarity of both cultures. But it is the common features in their material cultures that are predominant, not the differences. It seems to be a matter of top priority in an examination of the history of art of the region, to make up a conclusive typology and chronology. Not until this stage has been completed can we devote ourselves to issues of local style in South Arabia. However, there is already evidence that postulated differences are far more seldom than was presumed up to now.

Address:
Dr. Iris Gerlach, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Außenstelle Sana’a, c/o Auswärtiges Amt, Deutsche Botschaft Sana’a, D-11013 Berlin, dai.sanaa@y.net.ye

Ibidem 173 ff. plan 1. 2.
ما هو الفن السبئي؟

مشكلة التعرف على استخدام الفن القديم في جنوب بلاد العرب

سيا وكتيب كمالين

أبوس جرلخ

(Iris Gerlach)

ملخص:

بالرغم من أنه لم تجر حتى الآن إلا أبحاث قليلة جداً في الآثار القديمة لجنوب بلاد العرب تعالج الجوانب التاريخية الفنية والقضايا المتعلقة بتحديد الأساليب المحلية، فمن الشائع تماماً في الأدب ذكر موضوعات من مجال الفن لا سيماً في هذه الحال فن النحت المرتبط باسم الممالك القديمة في جنوب بلاد العرب من أجل التأكيد على مميزات الأساليب المختلفة في ممالك القوافل.

ويحاول مقالنا هذا أن يفرق بين هذه المصطلحات الموضحة وبقارن الفن السامي الفتياني الأصيل بالفن السبئي. وهو يستخدم من الأمثلة قطعاً فنية من مجرين تلتين: مقبرة حيد بن عقيل ومقبرة نعيم أوام السبئية بأرب. وفعل ذلك تتم مقارنة قطع ذات ملامح إغريقية وأسلوبية مشابهة، ويتم تقديم أمثلة غير معروفة تماماً مثل الرؤوس الرخامية وأجزاء التصائلاً التفصيلية لمقراب سبأ يمكن وصفها بأنها فتيانية أصلية ولست سبئية إذا لم يوجد سياق الاكتشاف المؤثر.

وهناك اختلافات عديدة بين الفن في موقع الاكتشاف يمكن توضيحها قليلاً بواسطة التقاليد المحلية في الأساليب، ولكن يمكن توضيحها أكثر بواسطة فترة الاستخدام الرئيسية المختلفة للمقابر التي تداخلت فقط في القرن الرابع والثالث قبل الميلاد.
Holger Hügen

»THE AGE OF THE FIGHTING KINGDOMS«
Aspects of the Material Culture in a Period of Change

Introduction

In the South Arabian archaeology it is often customary when dating find objects to adapt the chronological system used by epigraphists. In the meantime this system has been recognised in its elemental form and is particularly suitable for art objects which have inscriptions on them such as sculptures and reliefs for which we still do not have any definite systems of stylistic development to date. As is well-known, the epigraphic chronology system is divided into three main groups, an «old» or «classical» period, which occurs in the time from 7th to the end of the 2nd century B.C., into a «intermediate» period, which is dated

Apart from the abbreviations suggested in ABADY 9 (2002) 245 ff. the following are used:


Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: DAI, H. Hitgen – U. Wiegmann. – Fig. 2 a, b: J.-F. Breton, CRAIBI. 2000, 858 fig. 5. – Fig. 2 c: J.-F. Breton – A. M. McMahon – D. A. Warburton, AAE 9, 1998, 96 fig. 3. – Fig. 2 d, 9: J.-F. Breton (ed.), Fouilles de Shabwa III (1998) 44 fig. 1; 53 fig. 2. – Fig. 3: 14: A. de Maigret, Arabia Felix (1996) Taf. VI; 307 fig. 68. – Fig. 4: DAI, B. Vogt. – Fig. 5: J.-F. Breton (ed.), Fouilles de Shabwa II (1992) 156 fig. 22. – Fig. 6: J.-F. Breton et al., Syria 74, 41 fig. 3. – Fig. 7: DAI/DBM, J. Heckes – A. Fengler. – Fig. 8: 15: DAI, J. Kramer. – Fig. 10: 11: DAI, I. Gerlach – B. Vogt. – Fig. 12: J.-F. Breton – M. A. Bâ'aqlî, Trésors du Wâdî Dura' (1993) fig. d. – Fig. 13 a, b: A. V. Sedov – P. A. Griaznevicb (ed.), Raybûn Settlement II (1996) 152 fig. 8 pl. CXXIV. – Fig. 16: W. Daum (ed.), Jemen (1987) 52. – Fig. 17. 18. 20 a, b: Vienna Catalogue 88 no. 20. 21; 388 no. 461; 391 no. 464. – Fig. 19: K. Weidemann, Könige aus dem Jemen (1983) 7, 14. – Fig. 21–23: DAI.

Apart from small changes the text is similar to the lecture held at the Rencontres Sabiennes 6 in Berlin. Due to the lecture character of the text, ideas and methods of argumentation are kept to a minimum, some in a simplified form. Some sections need more detailed explanation which will be offered at a later stage. Nevertheless individual aspects are already touched on the footnotes and will be discussed in more detail later.


2 Unfortunately in the present South Arabian archaeology almost no importance is placed on art-historical questions. Therefore one very rarely finds, e.g. that findings are dated only with other absolute datings. Cf. Ch. Robin, in particular S. Antonini, La statuaria sudarabica in pietra., Repertorio iconografico sudarabico 1 (2001) should be mentioned – in my opinion it is already noticeable that a relative chronology as well as an exact absolute chronology cannot be achieved alone through the palaeography of the few objects bearing an inscription.
between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. and a «late» period which extends up to the time when the South Arabian script was abandoned during the 6th century A.D. Ch. Robin and B. Vogt first replaced or rather supplemented this sober and less expressive terminology in the catalogue for the Paris Yemen Exhibition in 1997 with a historic component. In their descriptions they designate the individual ages by using the most important political terms as key words⁴: Thus the «classical» period becomes the «age of the caravan kingdoms», for which A.F.L. Beeston had previously made the term «sayhadic» known⁵, the «intermediate» period becomes the «age of the fighting kingdoms» and the «late» period the «Himyarite age».⁶

If one disregards the historic or epigraphic chronology and regards archaeology, then it becomes apparent that there is already wide knowledge of several periods of the historic, ancient South Arabian era, other eras however still more or less represent a terra incognita. In particular the research into the «caravan kingdoms» has been able to record enormous increases in knowledge due to the numerous excavations over the past few decades⁷, whereby it was possible, due to, amongst other things, the excavations in Yalā, to set a proto-historic phase, i.e. the formative age of the caravan kingdoms, before the historic age of the Ancient South Arabia⁸. On the other hand there has been much less research into the two last South Arabian ages. It is in particular the Himyarite age that from an archaeological point of view leaves almost all questions unanswered. Knowledge of this era has only so far been derived from inscriptions⁹, a few Graeco-Roman sources and numerous architectural features such as columns, capitals and reliefs which, however, have come upon us almost without any archaeological context⁹.

Also the previous era, there has only been very little research into «age of the fighting kingdoms» so far. From the results of the few excavations that involve this age, characteristic features can already be derived which make it plausible to speak not only in a political sense of an own age, but also with reference to the material evidence of the culture.

A material stocktaking of this period seems to me to make sense even at this early stage, as in earlier research projects by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in the Dhamār region chronologically different emphases are placed and the last two Ancient South Arabian ages, the intermediate and the late ages, are compounded into one¹⁰: After the

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⁶ The exhibition catalogues of Paris (1997), Vienna (1998) and Rome (2000) provide the best insight into the current status of research. Here the current intensive research activity on the one hand in the field of prehistory and on the other hand in the field of the cultures of the caravan kingdoms becomes apparent.

⁷ The main material for this was provided by the excavations in Yalā. Cf. A. de Maigret, The Sabean Archaeological Complex in the Wādī Yalā (Eastern Hawšan al-Tiqār, Yemen Arab Republic): A Preliminary Report. ISMEO (1988). The results were able to verify individual indications as to a chronological placing of the caravan kingdoms already in the late 2nd or early 1st millennium B.C. in the case of other excavations (Hajar bin Ḥumayd). Other excavations, e.g. in Raybūn or in Marīb confirm the chronological estimation.

⁸ Thanks to the numerous dated inscriptions one can speak in this period of a chronology which is certain at least in its essential features. Cf. Ch. Robin, op. cit. 71 ff.

⁹ Cf. e.g. the Himyaritic objects in: P. Costa, Antiquities from Zafār (Yemen), AIQON 33, 1973, 185 ff.; idem, Antiquities from Zafār (Yemen) II, AIQON 36, 1976, 445 ff.; idem, The pre-islamic Antiquities at the Yemen National Museum (1978); W. Radt, Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von Sana‘a 2. and other Antiken im Jemen (1973). It can be hoped that the more recent research by the Oriental Institute, Chicago in the Dhamār region (T.J. Wilkinson and M. Gibson) as well as by the University of Heidelberg (P. Yule) in Zafār will at least result in Himyarite finds from archaeological contexts which extend beyond merely ceramics.

Bronze Age, in the highlands of Dhamar follows the Iron Age. The use of this key word »Iron Age« suggests that in the highlands of the Yemen there was another, unknown culture during the 1st millennium B.C. But at least politically speaking this seems doubtful: The inscriptions familiar from the highlands and in general the historic information from Ancient South Arabian inscriptions show clearly that this region too was under the dominion of various caravan kingdoms, whose names are indeed known and on the whole possessed the same culture. Of course there are differences in the material characteristics of the various regions, but they also have many things in common. The differences recorded so far, in my opinion, have their origins in local circumstances such as climatic and geographic deviations, but are not an expression of differing cultures. The material common features in combination with the historic information derived from inscriptions, make it extremely difficult to separate the South Arabian highlands completely from the caravan kingdoms as far as their cultural history is concerned. The use of the term »Iron Age« becomes even more confusing because it does not apply generally to all Iron Age cultures in South Arabia. Instead, the historically better-known Iron Age culture of Himyar is described as the »Himyarite Time« in contrast to the »Iron Age« of the 1st millennium B.C. The change of one age to the other is set at the start of the Himyarite calendar around 110 B.C. On the other hand, the last ancient era of South-West Arabia ends with the beginning of Islam.

The following is intended to show on the one hand that, with the complete takeover of power by the Himyars (king Shammar Yuhar'ish) over the whole of South Arabia at the end of the 3rd century A.D., there was also a distinct change in the material features of the culture, and on the other hand that the characteristics of the material culture during the »age of the fighting kingdoms« are not only typical for the new rising powers in the highlands of Yemen, but are also carried by the old cultures in combination with the historic information derived from inscriptions, make it extremely difficult to separate the South Arabian highlands from the various caravan kingdoms, whose names are indeed known and on the whole possessed the same culture. Of course there are differences in the material characteristics of the various regions, but they also have many things in common. The differences recorded so far, in my opinion, have their origins in local circumstances such as climatic and geographic deviations, but are not an expression of differing cultures. The material common features in combination with the historic information derived from inscriptions, make it extremely difficult to separate the South Arabian highlands completely from the caravan kingdoms as far as their cultural history is concerned. The use of the term »Iron Age« becomes even more confusing because it does not apply generally to all Iron Age cultures in South Arabia. Instead, the historically better-known Iron Age culture of Himyar is described as the »Himyarite Time« in contrast to the »Iron Age« of the 1st millennium B.C. The change of one age to the other is set at the start of the Himyarite calendar around 110 B.C. On the other hand, the last ancient era of South-West Arabia ends with the beginning of Islam.

As far as I know there is, in particular from an art-historic point of view, a much clearer piece of evidence of cultural identity e.g. ceramics – no material group that contrasts iconographically or iconologically against that of the desert periphery regions. So the numerous representations of bulls and ibexes therefore indicate a common cultural horizon.

The use of differently rating termini appears to me to be methodically problematic (Iron Age: archaeological/material in contrast to the Himyarite Age: political/historical) in a chronological system. Likewise, in my opinion a designation as »Himyarite« for a period of 700 years, from 110 B.C. to the beginning of Islam can convince neither for historical nor for culturally historical (see below) reasons. Also the central highlands of South Arabia were dominated by various powers up to the final Himyarite dominance around 300 A.D. Apart from Himyar and Saba here numerous smaller highland dynasties play a role. A rough division into two parts of the historic South Arabian age, such as perhaps Ch. Robin (Vienna Catalogue 74 f.) proposed, refers to basic social changes, but less to a change of political actors.

10 The existence of indigenous, i.e. not ancient South Arabian, sections of the population during the 1st millennium B.C. cannot be proved for the southern highlands. On the other hand there are reports by Karib'il Watar (GI 1000A) that large areas of the highlands of South Arabia fell under Sabaean or Qatabanian rule at the latest at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. Compare finally N. Nebes, Der große Tatenbericht des Karib'il Watar in Sirius, in: Munich Catalogue 66 ff. Other inscriptions in the highlands themselves confirm this: cf. e.g. RES 3858 (Jabal al-Awd): N. Rhdokanakis, Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft (2. Folge) SBWien 198, 1922, 41 ff. Regarding the dominion of the caravan kingdoms in the highlands of the Yemen during the 1st millennium B.C. compare also J.-F. Breton, L'Arabie heureuse au temps de la reine de Saba. VIIIe–Ier siècles avant J.-C. (1998) 199 ff. or R. D. Tindel, The Rise of the Himyar and the Origins of Modern Yemen, in: N. Nebes (ed.), Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift W. W. Müller (1994) 275.

11 Differences are emphasized particularly in the production of ceramics, but likewise also the features that they have in common with the ceramics of the caravan kingdoms are described (T.J. Wilkinson – C. Edens – M. Gibson, The Archaeology of the Yemen High Plains: A Preliminary Chronology, AAE 8, 1997, 130). Furthermore, according to the latest research results a clear break or rather an obvious change in the production of ceramics around 100 B.C. (ibidem) seems recognisable only to a certain extent (T.J. Wilkinson – C. Edens, Survey and Excavation in the Central Highlands of Yemen: Results of the Dhamar Survey Project, 1996 and 1998, AAE 10, 1999, 8).

12 Obvious differences that one can see, e.g. E. Barbanes, Domestic and Defensive Architecture on the Jemen Plateau, AAE 11, 2000, 212 ff. such as in the town walls of the Sabaeans in the region at the periphery of the desert and those of the highlands, can be explained by the completely differing climatic and geological conditions. However the different types of outcrops have a not inconsiderable influence on the possibilities in the design of architecture.

13 For a period of 700 years, from 110 B.C. to the beginning of Islam can convince neither for historical nor for culturally historical (see below) reasons. Also the central highlands of South Arabia were dominated by various powers up to the final Himyarite dominance around 300 A.D. Apart from Himyar and Saba here numerous smaller highland dynasties play a role. A rough division into two parts of the historic South Arabian age, such as perhaps Ch. Robin (Vienna Catalogue 74 f.) proposed, refers to basic social changes, but less to a change of political actors.

caravan kingdoms on the edge of the *Ramlat as-Sab'atayn* who were losing power and were dis­solving.

The most important archaeological facts about the age of the fighting kingdoms are being pro­vided in the highlands of Yemen by research intensi­fied in particular most recently in the region of Dhamar, on the excavations on the Jabal al-'Awd and on the Jabal Hajjäj, both in the region of the Wadi Banä, in Khüribat al-Ahjär to the east of Dhamär, and in Sha'ub at Sana'a. In the area of the *Ramlat as-Sab'atayn* the excavations in Timna, Shabwa and Hajar am-Dhaybiyya in the Wadi Ĉura are particularly significant. The results of the excavations of the ports of Qāni and Khor Rori, which were just flourishing during that era, should subsequently not play a great role although they, as well as the other, partly not yet localised ports of Aden, Ocelis and Musa are indirectly an important cause of the extreme change in the South Arabian society, which commences towards the end of the 1st millennium B.C.

**ARCHITECTURE**

Beginning with the architecture, there is here the least evidence of drastic changes compared with the age of the caravan kingdoms. On the one hand this may be connected with the low number of known monuments of this period, but on the other hand also with an only slow change. It is noticeable that the individual regions have maintained special characteristics in their building constructions which is closely connected with the building materials available locally. In Shabwa and in the Hajar am-Dhaybiyya there are numerous half-timbered constructions. In Timna they often continue to use granite, which is only very difficult to process, and in the highlands, e.g. on the Jabal al-'Awd, they used the only coarsely hewn volcanic rock of

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19 The excavation on the Jabal Hajjäj is a project by the Yemenite Antiquity Authorities GOAM under the direction of Ahmed Shamsans. Up to now two campaigns have been carried out in the early Himyaritic settlement that lies to the north of the Wadi Banä only a few kilometres away from the Himyaritic capital Zafar.


22 Before the recently begun excavations by de Maigret in Timna some already early archaeological research was carried out there which, however, had far too little been published. Cf. G. W. van Beek, Recovering the Ancient Civilization of Arabia, The Biblical Archaeologist 15, 1952, 2 ff.; R. L. Cleveland, An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in Timna's Cemetery, PAFSM IV (1965); cf. also, however, e.g. J.-F. Breton et al., Le grand monument de Timna (Yemen): Architecture et identification, Syria 74, 1997, 33 ff. and recently summarizing W.D. Glanzman, Timna: Glanz und Untergang einer Hauptstadt, in: Munich Catalogue 189 ff.


25 A. V. Sedov, Der Hafen von Qāni – Das Tor zum Jemen in frühchristlicher Zeit, in: Vienna Catalogue 275 ff. with further literature.


27 Whereas the half-timbered buildings in Shabwa mostly only have a limestone foundation (e.g. J.-F. Breton, L'Ara­bie heureuse au temps de la reine de Saba. VIIIe–XIe siècles avant J.-C. [1998] 106), in Hajjar am-Dhaybiyya there is the half-timbered superstructure made of wood and clay brick on a granite foundation (Breton - McMahon - Warburton op.cit. 94 ff.).

28 Granite is used, e.g. in Timna' and Hajjar am-Dhaybiyya (ibidem 94 ff.).
that area\(^{29}\). Even the more simple houses were several storeys high\(^{30}\). It seems that it was customary to use the ground floor for household purposes, e.g. it accommodated storage rooms, kitchen, utility and partly sanitary facilities, whereas the upper floor or floors were reserved for living only\(^{31}\). It appears to be a typical feature that the utility rooms were grouped around central corridors which formed the entrance area. These can divide the ground plan of the building either lengthwise or crosswise. There are examples of both possibilities on the Jabal al-`Awd (Fig. 1). Examples of a corresponding layout can be found in numerous sites in South Arabia, not only in the highlands but also in the regions on the periphery of the desert, e.g. in Timna\(^{1}\), Wadi [`Dura] and Shabwa\(^{32}\) (Fig. 2). However this division principle is not an innovation of that time, as it could already be found in the 8\(^{th}\) century B.C. as for example in «House A» in Yala\(^{33}\) (Fig. 3).

If we look on the other hand at more elaborately designed building and representation constructions, distinct reforms meet the eye. More intensely from the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C. onwards, these buildings have large courtyards in front of them, surrounded by arcades. These form the entrance areas at the same time and also are regarded, at least partly, as public areas. In the classical period there is only one forerunner to date which corresponds to this construction principle, the Bar`an Temple of Marib (Fig. 4) in its extension phase dating from the 5\(^{th}\) century B.C\(^{34}\). In this period of time it is a singular phenomenon. In the «age of the fighting kingdoms», however, we can find this type of building spread over the whole of South-West Arabia.

\(^{29}\) On the Jabal al-`Awd e.g. the majority of the buildings, especially residential and purpose-built constructions, is built of local volcanic outcrops. Only a temple and a monumental, representative complex of buildings provide evidence of carefully cut limestone blocks and other building materials that presumably had to be transported to the site with great difficulty. Similar features seem to apply also to the other sites in the South Arabian highlands.

\(^{30}\) With regard to the desert periphery regions Breton, in: J.-F. Breton, L’architecture domestique en Arabie méridionale du VII\(^{e}\) siècle avant au IV\(^{e}\) siècle après, Diss. Paris I 1997 164 ff., treats buildings with several storeys in great detail. For the highlands cf. e.g. H. Hitgen, Jabal al-`Awd – Ein Fundplatz der Spätzeit im Jemen, in: Munich Catalogue 250.

\(^{31}\) E.g. ibidem 249 ff.

\(^{32}\) As examples for Timna the houses B (Yafash) and C (J.-F. Breton et al. op. cit. 33 ff.) can be mentioned, for Hajar am-Dhaybiyya the «Maison principale» (Breton–McMahon–Warburton op. cit. 94 ff.) as well as for Shabwa e.g. «Building 72» (J.-F. Breton, Les bâtiments 72 et 73, in: J.-F. Breton [ed.], Fouilles de Shabwa III 1998 39 ff.).


Fig. 2a  Timna', house B

Fig. 2b  Timna', house C

Fig. 2c  Am-Dhaybiyya (Wadi Đura'), "maison principale"

Fig. 2d  Shabwa, building 72

Fig. 3  Yalâ, house A
Fig. 4 Marib, temple of Bar'ân
The royal palace in Shabwa\textsuperscript{35} (Fig. 5) is built according to this design principle and likewise the »TTI« in Timna' (Fig. 6), a building whose function is still controversial to this day\textsuperscript{16}. There the building, the origins of which date back to the 8\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{37}, was augmented considerably later by a courtyard surrounded by an arcade, the whole of which formed the entrance area. A further building with corresponding layout which dates not earlier than late 2\textsuperscript{nd} century B.C. is currently being excavated in Širwāh. This is suspected to be – as, amongst others, one inscription suggests – an administrative building\textsuperscript{38} (Fig. 7). The sanctuary of Huqqa\textsuperscript{39} dating from 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. or the 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D. in the highlands of Sana'a shows that this type of construction was also used for temples. But not only official buildings were constructed according to this arrangement but also other buildings that could be most likely described as prestigious residences. This applies both to the highlands of Yemen as well as to the core area of the caravan kingdoms. Examples can be found in the representation building (Area 1, House 1) on the

\textsuperscript{17} Cf. last J.-F. Breton et al., Syria 74, 1997, 33 ff. on the present status of discussion accompanied by further literature.
\textsuperscript{18} G. W. van Beek, The Biblical Archaeologist 15, 1952, 2 ff. Also see Breton et al. op. cit. 33 ff.
\textsuperscript{19} Personal comment by N. Nebes (Jena).
Jabal al-'Awd⁴⁰ (Fig. 8), in which only part of the building has been excavated so far, on the Jabal Ḥajjāj and in the »Building 74« (Fig. 9) about in the centre of Shabwa⁴¹. All these last-mentioned buildings date back to the first centuries A.D.

Apart from the appearance of the type of room known as an »arcade-surrounded courtyard« in particular the decoration of the buildings change drastically. Whereas before a canonical application of kinds of decoration which were restricted to very few types, was typical for the decoration of the buildings, the decoration possibilities in building constructions suddenly multiply. Apart from the decoration elements which were obligatory for nearly all buildings, such as the ibex and antelope friezes, we find, for example, figurated reliefs and wall paintings such as on the courtyard pillars and balustrades in the palace of Shabwa⁴², wine creeper friezes or even purely ornamental rhombus-shaped inlay work for the wall panelling at the Jabal al-'Awd and on the Jabal Ḥajjāj. But the innovation most noticeable visually is the gradual abandonment of pillars, rectangular in cross-section, with their linear shaped capitals. In particular in the building of courtyards octagonal or multi-faceted

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⁴⁰ Hitgen, op. cit. 249 f.
columns were already used in the 1st century B.C. They especially liked to experiment with the capitals using the most varying shapes, ranging from very different ornamental designs to leaf-ornamented capitals. Altogether the building decorations of that time are characterised by their enormous variety and therefore give each building its own individual appearance which was not achievable with the obligatory use of a limited range of shapes as was the practise before.

Burial customs

Let us now turn to an area of South Arabian culture during the «age of the fighting kingdoms» which is better documented: First there is a great diversity in the burial customs of that age, whereby even on the sites which lie geographically near to each other, quite different practices become apparent. It is easiest to describe what is not apparent in South Arabia, i.e. the cremation of the deceased. Otherwise nearly everything is recorded.

It is true that also the 1st millennium B.C. shows evidence of a broad range of differing burial rites, but all these involve multiple or collective burials. Whether we are talking about the cave burial chambers in Shibām al-Ghirās, different types of cave-tombs in Raybūn and in Ḥuraydā or the mausoleum-type of burial chambers on the Awām cemetery in Marib and on the cemetery in Timna. The chambers are always designed for a larger number of deceased persons.

Beginning with the 1st century B.C. this changes abruptly. From this point in time onwards there were mainly only individual burials in South-West Arabia. Although these often differ in their form, this can best be explained by the different geological or geomorphological conditions in which the burials were made. The basic character is similar

43 The column or the already slightly faceted pillar was introduced into the architectural features of South Arabia at the latest around the time of the beginning of our era. An example of these is the architectural design of the sanctuary of Huqqa (Rathjen – von Wissmann op. cit. 27 ff.). Also faceted pillars from the Jabal al-'Awd are dated to the beginning of our era. However, there is not yet any certain typology both for the shape of the columns and for the shape and decorations of the capitals. A large proportion of the objects of this kind known today falls with great probability in the Himyarite age. From an art-historical point of view an examination should be made as to whether in particular the shape of the capitals is comparable with late ancient and early Byzantine pieces, therefore making a dating possible.

44 The best general observation on the South Arabian tombs is offered by B. Vogt – A. de Maigret, Tod und Jenseits im antiken Südarabien, in: Munich Catalogue 170 ff.


50 According to Vogt – de Maigret op. cit. 177 the first individual burials occurred in South Arabia as early as the 3rd century B.C.

Fig. 8 Jabal al-'Awd, building 1, area 1

Fig. 9 Shabwa, building 74
in all these tombs. This applies both to the many burials in the highlands as well as to the tombs in the regions on the periphery of the desert. To see a connection between this change in burial rites in the desert and nomadic sections of the population in this region, as already suggested, does not seem to be important to me. From Shuk’s simple rectangular burial pits are known which were hewn in the soft rocks and were covered over with stone slabs. Similar tombs can be found in the necropolis of Jabal Hajjaj. However some of these constructions also have a small chamber hewn into the rock which can only be reached via the pit. Well comparable tombs have only just been discovered recently in the Himyarite capital Zafar, which for the time being are dated at the 1st–2nd century A.D. On the other hand simple burial shafts hewn into the soft, volcanic rock (tuff) for individual burials (?) can be found, e.g. in Shir, likewise near to Yarim. On the cemetery of Sha’ub on the high plateau of Sana’a the burials were dug in the wadi gravel and in the sediment layers. Here two construction methods can be differentiated at the same place and the same time: The most modest tombs are simple graves dug in the ground that were probably covered over with mud bricks. The stone box tombs are more elaborate. Here the side panels and the covers were made of limestone slabs. Similar tombs can be found in the necropolis of South-West Arabia (Fig. 15). Contrary to the custom, the burial places can be found directly in the houses and not outside of the settlement. In almost every house which was excavated up to now there is at least one room where the dead were buried under the floor. The dead lay close by one another, sometimes even piled on top of each other. Here too there is no evidence of a particular position. Significant of the location is rather the

and in the last individual burials in Raybun (Fig. 13) just as in those sites where we continue to find collective burials. This applies, for example, to the hypogeae of Kharibat Al-Ajjar (Fig. 14). In the case of the burials in Hayd bin ‘Aqil, which date at least up to the 1st century A.D. and therefore continue the traditions of the past age, this cannot be clarified due to their poor state of preservation. However, the shape of the tomb loculi in which the deceased lay, leads us to the same conclusion.

The deceased were also buried on the Jabal Al-Awd in a stretched out position. Here a kind of collective burial has developed which up to now is unique for South-West Arabia (Fig. 15). Contrary to the custom, the burial places can be found directly in the houses and not outside of the settlement. In almost every house which was examined up to now there is at least one room where the dead were buried under the floor. The dead lay close by one another, sometimes even piled on top of each other. Here too there is no evidence of a particular position. Significant of the location is rather the

52 Vgl. J.-F. Breton, L’Arabie heureuse au temps de la reine de Saba. VIIIe–Ier siècles avant J.-C. (1998) 194. 196 f. – Individual burials must be explained differently as they are to be found in the two large regions of South Arabia, the desert periphery areas and the highlands. However, phenomena such as e.g. the re-occupation of old mausoleums and cave tombs and the occurrence of so-called eye steles (ibidem) demonstrate the influence of nomadic peoples on the burial cult. As far as I know these phenomena are, however, limited to the desert periphery areas.
54 Personal report by the excavator P. Yule.
56 Vogt – Gerlach op. cit. 189 ff.
57 Ibidem 203 f.
58 Ibidem 198 f.
61 A. V. Sedov, Mare Erythraeum 1, 1997, 39 ff.
63 W. D. Glanzman, Hayd Ibn ‘Aqil – der Friedhof von Tamna’, in: Munich Catalogue 192. If one follows the dating result of the latest Italian research projects in Tamna’, then it seems that the town was not abandoned until the 2nd century A.D.
64 A usage of the cemetery also up to this time is probable.
Fig. 10 Sha'ūb, pit tomb Sha 11

Fig. 11 Sha'ūb, stone cist tomb Sha 6

Fig. 12 Wadi Ḍura', tomb 3
type of architecture and the efforts at making the best possible use of the space available. In the case of one corpse, the remains of a wooden coffin are even recognisable, but this is a singular phenomenon so far.64

If we look again comprehensively at the burial rites at the times of the «fighting kingdoms», our attention is drawn in particular to the great number of different types of burials practised which differentiate almost every burial site from the others. At the same time, however, the increasing number of individual burials, each with local characteristics, is immense. At the latest from the time of the beginning of our era onwards, the single tomb is the most widespread form of burial in South Arabia.

Also in the custom of burial gifts there are obvious changes in comparison to the previous ages. Although at the Awām cemetery in Marib and in earlier burials in Ḥayd bin ‘Aqil burial gifts dominate which correspond to a standardised, very restricted type of finds,65, the kind of objects that were now placed in the tombs seem not to be subjected to any fixed rules. Whereas in Marib and Timna’ apart from costume accessories the burial gifts consist mainly of objects which were produced directly for the burial, the objects now have a direct connection with the deceased him-/herself.66 It is true that there were also pieces, i.e. especially ceramic items, that must be regarded in connection with the cult of the dead, but the remaining objects have quite a different character.

64 It was not possible to excavate this tomb completely so far so an exact clarification of this tomb find has not yet been accomplished.
66 This also applies e.g. to the Ostraka that were found in large quantities in the Awām cemetery and that individualized the deceased to a certain extent thanks to their engraved names (Gerlach op. cit. 57). However, these are burial gifts that were produced specially for the burial and certainly do not originate from the possessions of the deceased.
Fig. 14 Kharibat al-Ḥijār, T 2

Fig. 15 Jabal al-ʿAwd, collective burial
There are e.g. many different kinds of weapons, jewellery, personal amulets, mirrors, imported glass vessels and costly pottery. These objects originate with great probability from the private possessions of the deceased. A further sign of personal items as burial gifts is the signature on two objects from Tomb 3, the »Warrior’s Tomb« in Wadi Dura’ with the name Yafa’ from the tribe of Taraf. This was most certainly the name of the dead person.

It is important to note the high degree of individualisation which is reflected in the new burial customs. The shape of the individual tomb alone makes this obvious as, contrary to collective burials, it marks a very clear spatial division from the other tombs and therefore from the other deceased. The personal character of the burial gifts underlines this impression.

ART PRODUCTION

A third aspect by which the reforms and development of the material culture at that time is said to be manifested, is the production of art. It becomes apparent that here the changes are shown at their most clearest. In this respect also the prevailing characteristics are designated by the terms »individuality« and »diversity«.

The use of such key words only makes sense if they are set in comparison to something else, in this case the preceding era. At the time of the caravan kingdoms art is characterised by traditions and in the broadest sense by standardised design. The repertoire is almost completely restricted to religious subjects for which there are definite selling opportunities. Deviations and individual pieces do in fact occur but these are only exceptions. As already mentioned, ibex and antelope friezes are the most popular motifs. Included in the typical examples are still bulls, mostly with their heads used as water fountains, drainage pipes from sacrificial basins or as a proton on tomb steles, statuettes of seated women, almost round sculptured heads of men and women, all without exception from the tomb context, terracotta figurines of women and camels in only a few differing variations as well as architecture imitations and a few symbols depicting gods on altars and incense burners. With this short list the repertoire of this period is already almost exhausted. Besides, these motifs were subjected to only slowly spreading stylistic changes over a period of several hundred years.

With the beginning of the 1st century B.C. the tradition of these images by no means breaks off. But on the one hand there is a considerably faster stylistic development to be seen and on the other hand the repertoire of images is being augmented and distinctly extended. In the following I would like to pick out only some few, but very prominent examples.

Around this time a new type of tomb relief appears which no longer includes static, symbolic shapes. We are now talking about reliefs with an narrative content. Depicted in one, sometimes even more pictures are farewell scenes and scenes which can be brought into direct connection with the deceased. The pictures are often surrounded by framing columns or canopies as well as occasional...
ally with landscape details. The pictures are therefore bestowed with vividness and originality which must be explained as being produced at the request of the commissioner to create via the relief something individual which – even if symbolic – provides information on the deceased in question and his position in society. Some of the most beautiful variations include the so-called camel- or horse-riding warriors. A fine example is said to be the relief in the Louvre (AO 1029), which in the upper part of the picture features the representation of a banquet which can be interpreted rather as cultic than profane, whereas in the lower part the deceased is depicted as a mounted warrior or possible a caravan driver (Fig. 16). Such a pictorial self-portrait can not only be found on tomb reliefs but also on offerings, such as an altar from Shabwa with a camel-rider (Fig. 17) now at the British Museum (WA 125682). Instead of the depiction of sun and moon symbols and a framing architectural design otherwise customary on incense burners, on this piece on the front one finds the relieved illustration of a camel-rider. The inscription »Adhlal, the son of the Wahab'īl« suggests that the camel-rider is in fact that donator Adhlal. Another example for a pictorial self-portrait might be a relief slab from Tan‘im (Fig. 18), on which the warrior Tubba and his wife are depicted, who, as the inscription explains, dedicate their war spoils to the goddess Shams. Perhaps one should regard in a similar connection the numerous statuette dedications, which are apparent in this period but of which almost

74 Vienna Catalogue 86 no. 20.
75 Ibidem 86 no. 20.
76 Ibidem 86 no. 21.
always only base with the inscription remain intact.

It has already been pointed out rightly several times that the narrative tomb reliefs are influenced by East Mediterranean art traditions. This influence is, however, limited not only to this one case, but extends into large areas of the South-West Arabian artistic activity. The static pillars as supporting constructions in architecture gradually change to columns, their capitals and bases slowly give up their linear design features in favour of floral and decor ornaments of Mediterranean influence, the strong stylisation and the two-dimensional interpretation in the plastic representation of man and animals is lent more spatial depth and a genuine design.

The strong Graeco-Roman influence on the South-West Arabian art production of that time can be clearly explained by the intensive sea trading contacts that connected both regions to a great extent at the latest from around the 1st century A.D. onwards. It is true that beforehand there were already contacts to there via the inner-Arabian incense route, but the quality of the contact with maritime trade changed radically. Not only the quantity of the goods dealt with increased drastically, but also the contacts furthermore gained another quality. Now the producers or their mediators no longer brought the goods to the buyers, but the buyers came direct and in large numbers to Southern Arabia. The Graeco-Roman traders and captains transported with them their own cultures and facilitated for a much larger number of people in the country a direct experience of foreign lands. However, the traders from the North transported not only goods but also brought new ideas with them.

These ideas must at least partly have fallen on fertile ground as otherwise it is hardly possible to explain the social developments that demonstrate distinct parallels to the Graeco-Roman world.

With the increasingly insecure political situation in the centres of the caravan kingdoms towards the end of the 1st century B.C., due on the one hand to the Arabian tribes who were continually penetrating further south and on the other to the massive losses in income as a result of the removal of the incense route from the inner Arabian desert to the Red Sea, the naturalness and the political power of the traditional form of society was then queried. Correspondingly the new powers in the highlands, of which Himyar was only one of several at the beginning, tried to legitimise their claims by founding new forms of society and establishing new cults. At the same time the remaining caravan kingdoms were fighting for survival and for their new place in the region.

With Himyar and the new political units the cohesion does not arise from a communal cult but from the loyalty to a prince. Correspondingly the main point of attention in the material representation of the state now lies more strongly in the presentation of the ruler's domain as that of the palaces. Inevitably a development process of this kind is accompanied by a stronger individualisation of the society which no longer refers to an eternal god but to a person, the King or his dynasty. Similar processes occurred previously with the emergence of the great Hellenistic king-

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77 It is noticeable that not only the dedicated objects (or their substitutes) are becoming more and more varied and more individual in their design, but also that in particular also the dedication inscriptions in the middle Sabean era, in contrast to their forerunners are becoming more and more detailed, more personal in their narration and more individual. The individual donating therefore gains in significance.
78 E.g. Vogt-de Maigret op. cit. 179 ff.
79 The Mediterranean influence in architecture and architectural design was last interpreted in an extremely disparaging manner as a sign of the cultural deterioration of the actual genuine South Arabian art. Cf. J. Schmidt, NBA 14, 1997/98, 34 ff.
80 With the downfall of the Minean kingdom in the 1st century B.C. which up to then had mainly organized foreign trade over land, a re-organisation of trade became urgently required. Presumably an almost complete removal of trade from the landroutes to the sea followed very quickly. The founding of the port of Qean in the early 1st century A.D. (e.g. A. V. Sedov, Der Hafen von Qean - das Tor zum Jemen in frühchristlicher Zeit, in: Vienna Catalogue 275 ff.) and Samhār (e.g. A. Avanzini, Samhār [Khor Rori] - eine hadramitische Gründung im omanischen Dhofar, in: Vienna Catalogue 280) in the late 1st century B.C. bear obvious witness to this. Cf. also L. Casson, South Arabia's Maritime Trade in the First Century A.D., in: T. Fahd (ed.), L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 24-27 juin 1987 (1989) 187 ff.
81 I. Gerlach, BaM 31, 2000, 263 ff.
82 Ibidem.
doms and with the beginning of the «Imperial Era» in the whole of the Roman Empire⁸³.

In my opinion a careful adaptation of these foreign political ideas in Southern Arabia is demonstrated by the fact that for the newly presented self-portrayal of the Southern Arabian kingdoms often those means were used which were borrowed from the Hellenistic-Roman world.

A good example of this is the fabrication of the palace in Shabwa⁸⁴. Both for the relief design of the columns and capitals as well as for the painting of the balustrades not only foreign craftsmen were engaged but also typical motifs of the Eastern Mediterranean regions⁸⁵ were applied. The figure painting, by the way, also seems to be an element of decoration which was first used at all at this time⁸⁶. The only comparisons so far are the famous paintings from Qaryat al-Fau⁸⁷ and the most recently discovered fragment of a head in the characteristic style of a ruler portrayed with a head-band around it from an annexe of the Awâm Temple in

⁸³ Without wanting to emphasize too strongly at this point any parallel development in the Mediterranean cultural region and in South Arabia, – to put it more simply – one can find in both cultures similar social political development processes that, however, begin slightly later in South Arabia.


⁸⁵ Audouin, ibidem 178 ff., and E. Will, Note additionnelle au décor du château royal, in: Breton (ed.), op. cit. 183 ff., see apart from the Eastern Mediterranean «Greek-Roman» influence a «parthic» influence. This is, however, represented by likewise Eastern Mediterranean art centres in Palmyra, Doura-Europos and Hatra. Without further separation I have dealt with these together in this paper.

⁸⁶ Also for the paintings one can find the models or rather the best comparisons in the Syrian regions. Will, op. cit. 184 ff.

Marib. But in particular the two larger-than-life bronze statues from Yaqla' (today an-Nakhla al-\Hamra') show that in Southwest Arabia they were definitely familiar with the method of portrayal of Hellenistic-Roman rulers and the connotation suggested by them. The two portrayed Himyarite kings Dhamar'ali Yuhabirr and his son Thariran (Fig. 19) were presented as gifts for display in the audience room. Amongst others the finds of Hellenistic-Roman bronzes and statuettes, such as the lion-rider of Timna or the objects from the Jabal al-'Awd (Fig. 20) and the Jabal Hajjaj in or on houses which rather tend to be allocated to officials and the upper class of the country, make the esteem of such pieces recognisable. The large number of the pieces of this kind discovered so far prevents us from regarding them only as meaningless exotic pieces of jewellery.

Even if we have last spoken about imports and Hellenistic-Roman influenced art craftsmanship by no means wish to deny the art production of this time its originality. On the contrary! Apart from the examples described, one can also pursue the traditional production of art over a long period. In particular by the artistically influenced objects we can recognise how at the same time old traditions can be upheld and innovations simply used to develop one's own shapes and motifs.

Within a short time the influences are absorbed and adapted in their shape and meaningfulness.

**The Transition to the Himyarite Culture**

In conclusion, at this point, we come to the delimitation of the material culture from the following Himyarite age. Whereas during the "age of the fighting kingdoms" the region was split in the

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88 Apart from Internet publications (e.g. www.afm.org/frameset.htm - photo04) the fragment of the wall paintings has not yet been published, as far as I know.
91 Vienna Catalogue 387f. no. 461–465.
92 Apart from the silver head of Dionysos (?) the ivory fragment of a naked youth from the late Hellenistic period was discovered during the first excavation campaign of the GOAM. I would like to thank the head of the excavation A. Shamsan for his kind hints.
93 Compare e.g. the different styles of the findings from the Jabal al-'Awd: H. Hitgen, in: Munich Catalogue 250f.
political and also in the cultural sense and was constantly changing, with the political unity that followed as a result of the successful expansion policy of Himyar, it gradually began to find its peace.

Probably in the awareness that a permanent rule over so many originally different social groups is only possible if, besides the political, mostly forcefully achieved unity, one can find a mutual basis, the kings were early to turn to monotheism. No matter whether we are talking about a locally influenced monotheism or Judaism or Christianity, in any case it was possible in this way to achieve great mutuality between the different subjects of the realm and at the same time to rob the probably still powerful priesthood of its footing.

With the political unity and turning of the rulers to monotheism in the 4th century A.D. a decisive change in the material culture must have taken place. From archaeological excavations we have been able to gain almost no knowledge at all. But the singularly known monuments, although without context, and the objects of art found all give evidence of this. It is obvious that the repertoire of different types of art is declining rapidly. The slow abandonment of numerous polytheistic cults makes superfluous a large proportion of art production closely connected with these. The depiction of godly symbolic animals such as bulls and ibexes, for instance, loses its point. Portrayals of this kind can now only be regarded in their ornamental decorative context. For this reason the emphasis moves in the direction of decorative design in architecture. In this period we find an almost inexhaustible range of variations of ivy and leaf reliefs (Fig. 21) as well as capital shapes. Seen from a purely stylistic point of view, the capitals and the decorations only have parallels to a limited extent in the East Roman examples, even if they are proven to be based on them. In the case of the late Himyaritic shapes good comparisons can partly be found in the Axumite cultural areas.

Also the representation of the royal court demands new forms of depiction. In this connection we can probably ascribe the fragments of battle reliefs and portrayals of royal hunts which can be found occasionally (Fig. 22). Here the king or princes are depicted with their virtues, i.e. as warriors and sophisticated, courageous huntmen. Hunting is therefore given a royal aspect and is no longer seen in the context of cult.

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94 Cf. the concluding contributions on the historic and political conditions in the early Himyarite and Himyarite ages in the Vienna Catalogue by Ch. Robin, Die streitenden Königreiche in Zeiten politischer Instabilität, 261 ff. and L. Gajda, Die Vereinigung Südarabiens unter dem Reich von Himyar, 269 ff.
96 Relieved wine creeper ornamentation as well as Mediterranean-influenced capital shapes have not been researched into so far in South Arabia with a view to their stylistic development. However, it can be proven that some shapes were already widely distributed within this cultural circle during the first centuries A.D. A further development of these shapes can be traced up to the late Himyarite period and even further. An exact chronological placing is, however, extremely problematic. Basically the later objects often have a rather ornamental, decorative character. Cf. in this connection the pieces originating from various excavation sites in the Yemen, in: W. Radt, Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von San‘ā’ und anderer Antiken im Jemen (1973) e.g. no. 24. 25. 43. 108. 109. 126. 130–132. For pieces that chronologically can be reasonably classified cf. B. Finster, Arabien in der Spätantike, AA 1996, 310 ff. 318 with note 129.
97 E.g. ibidem 300.
98 Apart from the numerous import ceramics of this period that have been salvaged from excavation in the South Arabian ports (cf. e.g. in detail A. V. Sedov, New Archaeological and Epigraphical Material from Qana [South Arabia], AAE 3, 1992, 110 ff.) and some findings of coins, there are surprisingly few products of East Roman, Sassanidite or Axumite workshops (except pottery). For one of the few examples that clearly have a practical, not an artistic esthetical use cf. G. Brands, Ein spätantikes Bronzegewicht im Jemen, AA 1998, 483 ff.
99 Radt op. cit. no. 44. 91; P. Costa, Antiquities from Ḥuṣn (Yemen) II, AIION 36, 1976, no. 134.
Also the new religions now need new, different forms of expression. However, surprisingly very little has been preserved on this topic. We may expect the depiction of saints and symbols or religious stories, but this can hardly be substantiated with finds. Only in structural art or in building ornamentation can elements occasionally be found that presumably can be connected with Christian symbolism. These include, for instance, representations of peacocks and Kangbaroi, but also vine creepers can be interpreted in this way. In sculpture the situation regarding tradition is even worse. Here only a few examples are known so far that have religious topics in their content. These are almost always representations of Mary. In the case of the statuette in the National Museum in Sana'a (Fig. 23) it is with great probability a Maria with the child—a motif that reoccurs in one of the two pieces originating from the art market. Likewise following the pattern of Christian iconography appear to be two statuettes or representations worked in high relief made of magnesium hydroxide carbonate, which were recently discovered in a resettlement phase of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. on the Jabal al-'Awd. Comparison with Coptic and East Mediterranean depictions make an interpretation as saints or ecclesiastical dignitaries probable. Corresponding pieces may give a hint as to what can all still be expected if one were to concentrate archaeological activities on targeted excavation sites of the late period in Southern Arabia.

**Conclusion**

The few examples from the most varied areas of South Arabian culture during the first centuries A.D. described in the above confirm, in my opinion and from a material cultural point of view the historic periodisation of South Arabia compiled in the Paris Catalogue on the Yemen Exhibition of 1997. In addition to the well-known epigraphic subdivision we also find chronologically parallel to this a historic division that finds expression and its equivalent in the material characteristic of South Arabia at that time. From an archaeological point of view, therefore, individual phases may

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103 Finster op. cit. 307.

104 Finster op. cit. 308 f. with note 97.

105 Of the three sculptures known to me, two have unfortunately disappeared on the art market, and can therefore not be dealt with here more closely.

106 One of the two pieces is complete whereas the second one has only been preserved in the form of fragments. A detailed publication of these objects is in preparation.
not be generalised – as has still been the case recently. In the material definition of a cultural horizon it seems to me to be inappropriate to concentrate on the ceramic sequences alone and in doing so to pay no attention whatsoever to the much more meaningful expressions in art and the patterns of social behaviour that are reflected, for instance, in architecture or in burial rites.

In almost all fields of the cultural expression of South Arabia there are obvious displacements and changes towards the end of the 1st century B.C. which makes a periodic subdivision very necessary. With the strong expansion of sea trade, apart from the foreign body of thought, in particular Mediterranean, i.e. Hellenistic-Roman influenced art perception finds its way into the creation of art in South Arabia. A slow individualisation process as well as a transformation in the political-social structures cause a fundamental change in the cultural expression of South Arabia whereby, however, over a longer period, for example, the traditional art perception is handed down and finds its place next to the new formation possibilities. In the end, with this it achieves a unity, its own artistic identity.

Towards the end of the 3rd or in the course of the 4th century A.D. a further distinct transition occurs in the cultural expression of South Arabia. With the complete takeover of power on the part of Himyar over almost the whole of South Arabia and the slow takeover of monotheistic religions, the full, handed-down range of pictures of society changes. Pictures, official and religious architectures, as well as burial rites adapt to the new religious and social circumstances and develop new languages of form. This transformation as well as the character of the new vocabulary of forms will come even better to the

Fig. 23 Mary (?) with the child, National Museum Sana'a

fore in an intensification of research activities in the so-called late period in South Arabia than are already recognisable at the present time.

Address:
Holger Hitgen M.A., Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Außenstelle Sana'a, c/o Auswärtiges Amt, Botschaft Sana'a, D-11013 Berlin, hitgen@y.net.ye
"عهد الممالك المتحاربة" (القرن الأول قبل الميلاد حتى القرن الثالث الميلادي) في جنوب بلاد العرب

جوانب الحضارة المادية خلال فترة من التحول

هولجر هتين

(Holger Hitgen)

ملخص:

أمام خلفيات لجوائب مختلفة من حضارة جنوب بلاد العرب يبرز مقالنا هذا أن "عهد الممالك المتحاربة" يمثل ذروته للتاريخية الحضارية المادية الخاصة بين القرن الأول قبل الميلاد والقرن الثالث الميلادي. ويمكن وضع ذلك بوضوح في مقابل عهد "ممالك القوافل" السابق و"العهد الحميري" التالى.

فمن الناحية المادية والفنية التاريخية الحضارية يتميز ذلك العهد بانفتاح على الفن الأجنبي وبخاصة تأثيرات الفن الروماني الهندي، والcrementي التدريجي من اللغة الشكلية التقليدية، وكذا بالتوسع الكبير في الكم الهائل من العروض الفنية وذخائر الشكل البنائي. وإن عملية التميز في مجتمع جنوب بلاد العرب لا يمكن ملاحظتها في النقوش نفسها، ولاتشمل فقط في تلك الطرق المتعددة من التصوير، بل أيضا في عدد هائل من مختلف طقوس اللفن المتزامنة.

ومن مميزات "عهد الممالك المتحاربة" أنه فترة انتقالية وفترة تحول شمل جنوب بلاد العرب كلها وليس فقط الأسر القاطنة في المرتفعات الجبلية الناشئة حديثا مثل حمير، بل أيضا ممالك القوافل التقليدية على تسمى "رملا السبعين" التي فقدت سلطاتها وتوذوها تدريجيا. وإذا فإن الفصل التاريخي الحضاري التام للمملكة اليمنية يمكن رفضه أيضا من الناحية الاستحتلالية كخليفة للبروز الحضاري المادي خلال الفترة من القرن الأول قبل الميلاد حتى ظهور الإسلام باعتناء "عهد حميرية". وإن يمكننا في أعم الأحوال أن نطلق على الفترة من القرن الأول قبل الميلاد حتى القرن الثالث الميلادي التي نتمي وصفها لمد طويل من وجهة نظر إستراتيجية بـ "العصر السومري الوسيط" وكذلك وصفها حديثا جدا لأسباب تاريخية سياسية بـ "عهد الممالك المتحاربة" أن نطلق عليها "العصر الحميري المبكر".
The subject of this article is the presentation of selected types of normal sized pottery found during the last five seasons of excavation at the cemetery of the Awām temple in Marib, in order to construct a chronological frame for Sabean pottery.

Unlike miniature vessels, most of the normal sized pottery was found in fragmentary condition. Nevertheless, several pieces show a quite complete profile, so they can be arranged in a typology similar to the miniature pottery. Some of the normal sized fragments have equivalents within the miniature examples; however, many display different forms and types. Yet, the fabric as well as clay colour and surface colour are comparable by the majority, and therefore an identical production area for miniature and normal sized vessels can be assumed. Decoration, slip and burnishing of numerous pieces can even be judged as corresponding.

Most of the vessels presented here were found throughout the whole area of the necropolis without any stratigraphic context. Only few were excavated in places, which can be considered a mostly undisturbed locus; two such examples will be discussed later on. Consequently, this attempt in constructing a chronology for the pottery in Marib is mainly based on comparisons with forms from other areas and excavations.

Small angular juglets that seem to derive from the Sabean sphere were always covered by a burnished slip. The body is tall with straight sides, a sharply angled shoulder and a diagonally out-turning rim (Cat. 1. 2). Some pieces were used as ostraka with names written on the outside surface. Comparable concerning the form are jars from Hajar bin Ḥumayd, but one group has a bigger rim diameter and painted bands or wavy lines on the outer surface. The jars belong to the period between the 9th and the 7th century BCE. Another group is more similar in terms of size and stems from a later period, late 5th to the early 3rd century BCE. As in Marib the jars often have incised inscriptions and sometimes are burnished on the outside. An example from ad-Durayb–Yalā is quite identical in looks, even displaying an inscription on the outside; it is dated to the 12th to 9th century BCE. Perhaps these angular juglets and their special treatment can be regarded as long-lived forms produced and used between the 10th and 5th century BCE. Thus, they could represent some of the oldest pottery material from the Awām cemetery.

In the assemblages, in which these angular juglets appeared, the following vessels were also observed:

Sources of illustrations: Cat. 3. 5. 15. 17. 20–23. 25. 29. 40–43. Fig. 1. 2: Photo J. Kramer. – Cat. 34–37: Photo I. Wagner. – Cat. 5. 6. 9. 19. 24. 28–38. 40–43: Drawing by M. Manda. – Cat. 1–4. 7. 8. 10–18. 20–23. 25–27. 39. 44: Drawings by S. Japp.

1 G. W. Van Beek, Hajar Bin Ḥumeid. Investigations at a Pre-Islamic Site in South Arabia, PAFSM V (1969) 189 fig. 46. Type 1002 H 2203. H 2188. H 2187.
2 Van Beek op. cit. 202 fig. 59 Type 1110 LCF 6.
3 G. Garbini, Le iscrizioni su ceramica da ad-Durayb – Yalā, Yemen 1, 1992, 80 fig. 6; 83 fig. 14; W. Seipel, Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba‘, exhibition cat. Vienna (1999) 95 cat. 41 (left object). Concerning the pottery fragments used as ostraka in Yalā compared to the ones from the Awām cemetery it is remarkable that many similar forms were used, such as carinated bowls, torpedo-shaped jars or even the above-mentioned angular juglets.
The body shows a strong carination in the middle, rendering the whole vessel a biconical appearance. All known fragments are covered with a red, horizontally burnished slip, and there is a row of short vertical lines painted around the rim in red colour on several pieces. Like the aforementioned juglets a similar example from Yalā with an inscription has been dated to the 12th to 9th century BCE. Nevertheless, we would assume a longer period of production and use in view of the associated material, which could be dated to the 9th to 5th century BCE.

Interesting and even of very old appearance are fragments that make up an independent group. They can be reconstructed as goblets with a high out-turning foot, a nearly flat base and straight body walls (Cat. 5. 6). The vessels are always decorated on the outer surface with horizontally incised lines running along the rim area as well the area above the stem. The space between is covered by regularly incised, vertical bands, that are alternatingly red-painted or filled with diagonal or x-shaped grooves. One corresponding sherd is known from Hajar bin Ḫumayd in stratum S, dated to the 11th century BCE.

So it seems that these three types of vessels belong to the oldest pottery that we have observed in the Awām necropolis.

The mass of the pottery from the cemetery should be dated between the 7th and the 5th century BCE, where we have noticed a lot of building activities. Most of the miniature vessels seem to belong to this period. As mentioned above the miniature pottery possesses normal sized equivalents, for example beakers, bowls or even jugs. In this respect a very interesting find complex was discovered outside tomb 37 to the south of the necropolis. An ensemble of several juglets had been placed on a small earthen elevation at the corner edge of the tomb (Fig. 1). About 40 rim- and foot-fragments could be exposed; five pieces were quite complete. Most of the handmade juglets display a short foot, globular body, short neck and an out-curving rim (Cat. 7. 8). The outer surface was usually covered by a thin red wash, a red or beige, sometimes burnished slip. General form, fabric, wash or slip correspond mostly to that of the miniature jugs found in the cemetery. Perhaps this find complex provides a clue to the function of these vessels. Presumably the small juglets were filled with gifts for the dead or the god, perhaps with liquids, cereals or dried fruits. It seems that relatives or even visitors of the tomb erected the small elevation and placed offerings on it. Determining the date of these jugs still appears to be a problem, since this form was used for centuries. Nevertheless, we would like to propose a date from about the 8th to the 5th century BCE.

Within the group of jars and jugs there is quite a high percentage of another special type; mostly rim- and foot- and body sherds were excavated at the cemetery. Their affiliation with one group is proven by the special fabric that was not found in other pottery. In contrast to the miniature vessels and most of the normal sized ones the clay is mixed with a high quantity of sandy inclusions. The outer surface was treated in a special way, showing traces of a certain method of burnishing. The inside of the vessels is usually rough and unfinished, and very often finger impressions of the potter can be seen. Fortunately some complete profiles help to determine two main forms: The first one consists of a high and slightly out-turning foot, an oblong body, where the greatest diameter lies in the upper third, a distinct indentation for the neck and an out-turning flaring rim (Cat. 9. 10). The second form possesses more or less the same features, except that the body is more bulbous (Cat. 11. 12). While the bodies show mainly the same stylistic elements, the rims were finished in various ways (Cat. 13. 14). At the cemetery the variety of dimensions is remarkable, with the known heights ranging between 10 to 30 cm, the measured rim diameters between 6 to 18 cm. It seems quite interesting that rim sherds of these vessels were often used as ostraka with an inscription on the inner or outer surface of the rim. These jars are well known and can be observed at several excavations in South Arabia. They were also found in greater quantities in Yalā, and in smaller numbers in Hajar bin Ḫumayd, in the Wadi al-Jūba and the Wadi Bayḥān, in Shabwā, Zabīd and al-Ḥāmid as well as, for example, in Najrān in Saudi Arabia and in Ethiopia. The published examples seem to represent more often the larger sizes, not

1 Ibidem 96 cat. 42 (right object).
2 Van Beek op. cit. 195 fig. 52 Type 1100 LCF 2.
the smaller ones, of the cemetery. They are designated 'egg-shaped' or 'torpedo-shaped' jars. Perhaps they were once used as liquid containers, but in Marib no remains of the content could be traced. In Hajar bin Ḥumayd the jars as well as the examples from a dwelling in Yalā/Ḥafarī are dated to the 7th century BCE. At other sites the period is supposedly somewhat longer, between the 8th to 6th century or even the 11th to 5th century BCE, dates that we can confirm for the Awām cemetery. These torpedo-shaped jars seem to be not only a typical but even an indicative type of Sabaean pottery.

Beside these two groups that account for altogether more than 80% of all jugs and jars within the pottery ensemble of the Awām necropolis, there also are some mainly handmade jugs and juglets with different forms and even quite special kinds of decoration. Because of their small number and their appearance the following examples are presumed to be imports, even though there is no distinct difference in fabric. Therefore they will be described in more detailed, in order to draw the attention to the special way of decoration: One example shows two zig-zag-lines framed by horizontal lines (Cat. 15). Drop-like designs filled with small dots hang from the lowest line. Similar in looks is a beige-slipped juglet; below the rim two horizontal lines frame a row of diagonal strikes (Cat. 16). Again, drop-like designs hang from the lower line, however only the circle at the end is filled with one dot. The space between the two drops is filled with three horizontal wavy lines. Small raised clay lumps were applied beside the

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drops. The whole decoration is completed by a line of little punctuates. This kind of drop-like designs is reminiscent of pre-Axoumite ware, even though those examples were filled with crossed lines. Another juglet covered by an orange-beige slip, horizontally burnished, shows an unusual decor: just below the rim a line of hanging triangles were incised into the surface (Cat. 17). The tips of the triangles are connected by a wavy line and they are filled with diagonal lines. Another incised decoration is comprised of three horizontal bands filled alternatingly with diagonal and x-shaped strokes (Cat. 18). Seemingly corresponding is another jug, completely preserved, with a neck decoration of vertical lines covered by diagonal ones (Cat. 19). On the body there are alternating triangles filled with horizontal strokes and wavy lines. Another singular and very elaborated thin-walled piece shows a carination below the long curved neck (Cat. 20). The outer surface is not only covered with a light orange and carefully burnished slip, but a line of small triangular notches follow the carination and below them several thin strokes run diagonally in opposite directions, covering the whole body. The following type, known until now from only two pieces, has a wavy line bordered by two horizontal lines, deeply incised into the clay below the neck, rendering a positive-negative impression (Cat. 21). From the lowest horizontal line start parallel vertical grooves, again deeply incised. Another single rim fragment and one body wall combine different types of horizontally, vertically and diagonally incised strokes as well as punctuates (Cat. 22, 23). The very extravagant decoration was placed on the upper part of the angled body. Perhaps vessels deriving from the Axoumite period can be brought as comparisons; here a similar covering of the body with vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines as well as punctuates is visible. Just the lower part of a small juglet is preserved showing a deeply incised grid design (Cat. 24). Not an incised decoration but several horizontal lines of applied knobs cover a very bulbous type of jug, together with a black burnished slip (Cat. 25). For all these jugs we can only assume a date within the main period of the Marib necropolis.

The miniature vessels as well as some of the aforementioned jugs were perhaps produced and used between the 8th and the 5th century BCE. Some other pottery types of normal size seem to belong to this period as well, for example, different kinds of deep bowls with decoration. The outer surface could be covered with a closely spaced, deeply incised set of vertical lines emanating from the rim and arranged in several rows, or beneath the first row follows a single horizontally incised wavy line and below that a number of dot impressions (Cat. 26, 27). Quite similar pieces from the excavation in Yalâ and the stratigraphic probe in Wadi al-Jûba (Hajar ar-Rayhani) can be dated between the 8th and 6th century BCE.

The same period can be applied to the multi-chambered vessels. In Marib they are found in several variations with a flat base or a short foot, with short straight sides or a bulbous body, with four chambers or a round central and several side chambers in the interior (Cat. 28, 29). Another type of chamber vessel displays irregularly shaped chambers simply pressed into the body (Cat. 30, 31). It seems that this kind of vessel had been used for different cosmetic substances. They are not bound to the necropolis; multi-chambered vessels were found in Yalâ, and even C. Rathjens mentioned a multi-chambered vessel bought in Sana'a, but originally deriving from the Jawf.

Easy to identify and dated by comparisons to the 6th to 4th century BCE are the fenestrated fragments that presumably originated from incense burners (Cat. 32, 33).

Apparently later in date are vessels from a closed stratigraphic locus: At the base of tomb 20 near the mausoleum (area B) the sherds of about fifteen pieces of pottery were found, placed directly upon the rock (Fig. 2). After cleaning it was possible to restore twelve more or less complete vessels. Most of them seem to have survived a later fire, the outer surface shows grey-coloured spots in places and is chipped. Two different fabrics can be traced in the

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1 Idem, Matarâ, AE 7, 1967, pl. 42.
4 Personal communication by A. de Maigret.
5 C. Rathjens, Sabæica. Bericht über die archäologischen Ergebnisse seiner zweiten, dritten und vierten Reise nach Südarabien II, MMVH 24, 1935, 299 pl. 621; 305 pl. 634.
6 The pieces from the Awâm cemetery are very similar to the ones shown at the conference by C. Philipps.
handmade vessels; however, the surface colour of reddish brown to brown and the diagonal burnish on the outer surface are identical. Six vessels are jars with a flat base, an oblong, egg-shaped body – just one piece has a globular body –, a very short neck and an out-curving rim (Cat. 34, 35). Their only decoration is represented by a line of short vertical notches directly below the neck indentation. Their size is quite similar: the height varies between 41 to 46 cm, the rim diameter between 15 to 18 cm. Moreover, two jugs with a different form could be recognized: they have rounded bases, and the widest diameter of the body lies in the lower part (Cat. 36). Furthermore, the fragments allowed the reconstruction of three vessels of quite unusual form, in contrast to other pottery finds from the necropolis. Two are fragmentary, but with one the whole profile exists. It exhibits a tulip-like body with a straight, sometimes in-curving rim (Cat. 37). The body ends in a thin, stick-like foot with a hollow in the base. On one example some remains of white painted lines running diagonally along the outer surface and vertically below the rim could be recognized. Resembling ancient rhyta, these vessels were used perhaps as ladles or cups, and therefore were inserted in the opening of the jars or were set into a tripod. Such a vessel-stand also belonged to the complex (Cat. 38). The last two objects can be identified as a small jug with a rounded body and a bowl with horizontal handles. The circumstances of the find, the size of the pieces and their similar treatment seem to lead to the conclusion, that these vessels were made during the same period and form an ensemble of pottery, intentionally placed at the base of the tomb. We can interpret this perhaps as a foundation offering in the tomb or an offering for initiating the tomb’s use. The form of these vessels as well as their fabric and the kind of burnishing are unusual within the pottery finds of the Awâm cemetery now. Because of the architecture of the tomb, its structure and the situation within the cemetery, its origin is dated around the 5th century BCE. Thus, an analogous date for the pottery should be assumed. There are comparable pieces for the jugs within the material of tombs in Samad in Oman. Form and size are similar, the sometimes slightly varying decoration
was always placed below the neck indentation, yet the vessels are not burnished. These tombs have been dated between 300 BCE and 1000 CE, corresponding vessels between 300 BCE and 200 CE.

Concerning the later period, between the 4th and the 1st century BCE, the material is not as widespread. Some amphora-like vessels and huge storage jars were unearthed as well as—until now—one rim of a classical black-glazed bowl with an out-turning rim from the first half of the 4th century BCE (Cat. 39).

Moreover, we have fragments of beakers and bowls with wavy rims, dated in Shabwa between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE. Also a member of this group are vessels with a globular body. Their shoulder is formed like a protruding ridge, the zone above the ridge could be a straight or wavy rim (Cat. 40, 41). Unfortunately we found only fragments, rarely rims, so that the whole appearance could not be restored. The ridge was regularly pierced and little birds made of clay were placed between the holes. These birds have only two wings, a kind of head and a tail (Cat. 42). Some look as if they were originally covered with a light white wash. In addition, handles decorated with these little birds were recovered (Cat. 43). Perhaps these bird-vessels represent some of the later pottery material in the Awām necropolis. Whether this group is a typical Sabaean one still remains a question.

Another unique piece might derive from this period. It displays a deep bowl with straight sides (Cat. 44). The outer surface shows precisely incised thin vertical and horizontal lines together with double circles arranged in vertical rows. This order resembles the decoration on stone vessels of the 2nd millennium BCE from Oman and the Emirates, however there single or double circles with a dot inside were placed in horizontal rows. During the 1st millennium BCE the motif was transferred to pottery. Similar yet not identical in appearance are examples from the Dhofar that are dated between the 1st century BCE and the 4th century CE.

In summary, at this point in research we can state that the normal sized pottery of the Awām necropolis in Marib derive from the period between the 10th century BCE to the 2nd century CE. Some of the forms and types shown are similar to those of other Sabaean find complexes; some of them have features that recall other regions. The majority go back to the main occupation period of the necropolis, while some forms belong to earlier and later periods.

**Catalogue**

1
Area d, tomb 20, locus 20
Broken base, straight body walls, angled shoulder and slightly out-turning rim with groove on the outer surface, tapered lip.
Rim diameter: 6 cm.
Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: beige; surface colour: beige.

2
Area a, tomb 2, locus 5
Broken base, straight body walls, angled shoulder, out-turning rim, tapered lip.
Rim diameter: 8 cm.
Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: beige-grey; surface colour: grey.

3
Area d, locus 0
Concave shaped base, angled body walls, rounded lip.
Rim diameter: 6 cm; base diameter: 7 cm; height: 6,9 cm.
Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: brown; outer surface: reddish brown burnished slip, below the rim a line of small strokes, inner surface: reddish brown.

15 Different kinds of bowls with wavy rims are among the material of the Awām cemetery. One group definitely belongs to the other vessels from the 7th to 5th century BCE in view of fabric, surface and thickness of the walls. The other group mentioned here is characterized by the whitish colour of the surface and clay and by the thin walls and elaborated tapered rim. Other sites are, for example, Shabwa, Wadi ʿUrs, Wadi al-Jūba, Wadi Bayḥām: L. Badre, Le sondage stratigraphique de Shabwa, Syria 68, 1991, 279. 293 fig. 27, 134–138; J.-F. Breton–M. Abd al-Qadir Bafaqih, Trésors du Wādī Dūra’ (1993) 40 no. 89, 90 pl. 20 fig. 59. 60; Glanzman–Ghaleb op. cit. 99 fig. 5.7; Rathjens op. cit. 301 pl. 626.


17 Not mentioned are the fragments of Islamic glazed pottery stemming from the later reuse of the cemetery.
4 Area e, locus 1
Flat base, angled body walls, rounded lip.
Rim diameter: 4.5 cm; base diameter: 4.7 cm; height: 6.2 cm.
Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; outer surface: reddish brown burnished slip, inner surface: light brown.

5 Area f, south of tomb 48, locus 1
Out-turning high foot, vertical base, straight slightly concave shaped body walls, rounded lip, below the rim on the inner surface a protruding ridge.
Decoration: vertical lines structuring the outer body wall, the bands filled alternatingly with red slip or another x-shaped line, three horizontal grooves below the rim and one above the foot.
Rim diameter: 12.8 cm; foot diameter: 8.4 cm; height: 13.1 cm.
Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; surface colour: beige and red burnished slip.

6 Area d, locus 4
Broken foot, diagonal base, straight slightly concave shaped body walls, tapered lip.
Decoration: vertical lines structuring the outer body wall, the bands filled alternatingly with red slip or x-shaped/diagonal lines, red slip on the inner rim section.
Rim diameter: 8 cm.
Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: greyish; surface colour: beige and red burnished slip.

7 Area d, south of tomb 37, locus 19
Broad short foot, bulbous body with the widest diameter in the shoulder section, short neck and out-turning rim, tapered lip.
Rim diameter: 3.9 cm; foot diameter: 6.4 cm; height: 8.8 cm.
Clay: quite dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: orangish brown; outer surface: dark red slip.

8 Area d, south of tomb 37, locus 20
Broad out-turning foot, bulbous body with the widest diameter in the center, short straight neck and out-turning rim, tapered lip.
Rim diameter: 4.2 cm; foot diameter: 6.5 cm; height: 10.8 cm.

Clay: quite dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: greyish brown; outer surface: dark brown slip.

9 Area a, locus 15
Broken foot, oblong body wall with the widest diameter in the shoulder section, short neck and out-turning rim, tapered lip.
Rim diameter: 11 cm.
Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: light reddish brown.

10 Area a, tomb 1, locus 9
Long out-turning foot, oblong body wall with the widest diameter in the upper section, short neck and out-turning rim, rounded lip.
Rim diameter: 6.7 cm; foot diameter: 6.5 cm; height: 18 cm.
Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

11 Area a, tomb 1, locus 9
Long foot, bulbous body wall with the widest diameter in the lower section, short neck and out-turning rim, rounded lip.
Rim diameter: 7.8 cm; foot diameter: 10 cm; height: 14 cm.
Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: red; surface colour: light reddish brown.

12 Area d, locus 19
Short out-turning rim, rounded lip, very bulbous body wall.
Rim diameter: 9.6 cm.
Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

13 Area d, locus 20
Short out-turning rim, rounded lip, very bulbous body wall.
Rim diameter: 9.6 cm.
Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: brown; surface colour: reddish brown.
14  
Area e, locus 1  
Long nearly horizontal rim, tapered lip, long neck.  
Rim diameter: 9.3 cm.  
Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: yellowish brown.

15  
Area f, locus 0  
Very bulbous body walls, short straight rim with rounded lip.  
Rim diameter: 6 cm.  
Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: grey; outer surface: dark grey burnished slip.

16  
Area b, locus 1  
Bulbous body walls, out-turning rim with rounded lip.  
Rim diameter: 4.4 cm.  
Clay: very dense, mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: grey; outer surface: greyish beige burnished slip.

17  
Area f, locus 0  
Bulbous body walls, short out-turning rim with tapered lip.  
Rim diameter: 4.8 cm.  
Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; outer surface: yellowish beige burnished slip.

18  
Area d, locus 0  
Bulbous body walls, out-turning rim with thick rounded lip.  
Rim diameter: 7 cm.  
Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: grey; outer surface: black burnished slip.

19  
Area a, locus 18  
Globular body with rounded base, out-turning long rim with tapered lip.  
Rim diameter: 6.5 cm; height: 11 cm.  
Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: yellowish brown; outer surface: beige-brown burnished slip.

20  
Area g, locus 0  
Bulbous body walls, carinated shoulder, long concave shaped neck and thick rounded lip.  
Rim diameter: 6.2 cm.  
Clay: very dense, little mica and nearly no chaff holes; clay colour: reddish brown; outer surface: yellowish beige burnished slip.

21  
Area b, locus 0  
Bulbous body walls, out-turning thickened rim with rounded lip.  
Rim diameter: 7.5 cm.  
Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: greyish black; outer surface: black burnished slip.

22  
Area a, locus 0  
Vertical body wall with carination in the center, short vertical rim with tapered lip.  
Rim diameter: 7 cm.  
Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: reddish brown; outer surface: red burnished slip.

23  
Area a, locus 0  
Part of the vertical upper body wall, rim broken.  
Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: brown; outer surface: brown burnished slip.

24  
Area b, tomb 15, locus 16  
Broken rim, very bulbous body walls, out-turning foot.  
Foot diameter: 4.1 cm.  
Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: black; outer surface: black burnished slip.

25  
Area d, locus 19  
Very bulbous body walls, out-turning rim with tapered lip.  
Rim diameter: 7.8 cm.  
Clay: very dense, some mica, some small quartz, lime and mineral inclusions; clay colour: black; outer surface: greyish black burnished slip.

26  
Area d, locus 19  
Deep bowl with straight body walls, straight rim with pointed lip, outer surface covered with four lines of vertical strokes.  
Rim diameter: 22.8 cm.  
Clay: dense, some mica, few chaff holes and lime inclusions; clay colour: brown; surface colour: beige.
27
Area d, locus 6
Deep bowl with straight body walls, straight rim with pointed lip, below the rim on the outer surface one row of vertical strokes, a wavy line and three lines of punctuates, on the inner surface below the rim a horizontal small handle.
Rim diameter: 13 cm.
Clay: dense, some mica, few chaff holes, some lime and mineral inclusions; clay colour: yellowish brown; surface colour: yellowish brown.

28
Area a, tomb 1, locus 11
Long foot, horizontal base, straight body walls, incurving rim and tapered lip, two crossing walls in the interior reaching from the base to the beginning of the rim section.
Rim diameter: 5,0 cm; foot diameter: 6,1 cm; height: 7 cm.
Clay: dense, some mica, few chaff holes; surface colour: whitish beige.

29
Area b, locus 0
Convex formed base with round impressions, straight body walls, straight rim and rounded lip, one round and the remains of five side chambers.
Rim diameter: 15,9 cm; height: 4,6 cm.
Clay: dense, some mica, some chaff holes and quartz inclusions; clay colour: greyish brown; surface colour: greyish brown.

30
Area b, locus 0
Rectangular flat vessel with horizontal base and straight walls, on the inside three rounded impressions and two flat grooves.
13,3 x 10,1 cm; height 4,6 cm.
Clay: very dense, few mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: orange; surface: reddish brown burnished slip.

31
Area b, locus 0
Rectangular flat vessel with rounded corners, horizontal base and straight walls, on the inside three rounded impressions, one flat groove and one short groove, one-third of the vessel broken.
10,8 x 9,9 cm; height 1,7 cm.
Clay: very dense, few mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: brown; surface: reddish brown burnished slip.

32
Area e, locus 1
Upper part of the vessel with rectangular holes and small elliptic punctuates, in the center a round hole, on the remaining straight body walls again rectangular holes.
Max. diameter 8,6 cm; preserved height 2,8 cm.
Clay: dense, some mica, some chaff holes; some lime, quartz and mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

33
Area a, locus 15
Upper part of the vessel with irregularly shaped holes and small punctuates, in the center a round hole, over-arched by two stripes of clay with punctuates, on the remaining straight body walls again rectangular holes.
Max. diameter 9,5 cm; preserved height 3,5 cm.
Clay: dense, some mica, some chaff holes; some lime, quartz and mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

34
Area b, tomb 20, locus 46
Flat base, oblong body walls with the widest diameter in the upper section, neck indentation and out-turning rim, tapered lip, small vertical strokes along the neck.
Rim diameter: 18,2 cm; base diameter: 13 cm; height: 45,5 cm.
Clay: dense, lot of lime and quartz inclusions and some mica; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown, vertically burnished.

35
Area b, tomb 20, locus 46
Flat base, bulbous body walls with the widest diameter in the central section, neck indentation and out-turning rim, rounded lip, small vertical strokes along the neck.
Rim diameter: 18,4 cm; base diameter: 12 cm; height: 38,4 cm.
Clay: dense, lot of lime, quartz and other mineral inclusions, a lot of mica; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: brown, vertically burnished.

36
Area b, tomb 20, locus 46
Rounded base, slightly curved body wall, out-turning rim with rounded lip, just below the rim a horizontal groove on the inside, another one on the outer surface.
Rim diameter: 22 cm; height: 34,2 cm.
Clay: quite dense, high amount of fine mica, some chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; surface colour: beige to reddish brown, burnished.

37
Area b, tomb 20, locus 46
Small long stem with concave shaped base, tulip-shaped
upper part with nearly straight body walls and tapered lip.
Rim diameter: 18.7 cm; stem: 4 cm; height: 26.7 cm.
Clay: quite dense, high amount of fine mica, some chaff holes; clay colour: brown; surface colour: brown, vertically burnished, along the rim horizontally burnished.

38
Area b, tomb 20, locus 46
Standing vessel with a bigger diameter at the base, in-curving body walls and nearly straight rim section, rounded lip.
Rim diameter: 8.5 cm; base diameter: 16.7 cm; height: 16.7 cm.
Clay: quite dense, high amount of fine mica, some chaff holes; clay colour: reddish beige; surface colour: whitish beige, perhaps self-slip.

39
Area b, locus 0
Flat bowl with nearly straight body walls, rim thickened and rounded, on the outer surface below the rim a horizontal groove.
Rim diameter: 13 cm.
Clay: very dense, fine, without visible inclusions; clay colour: beige; surface: black slip.

40
Area d, tomb 30/31, locus 5
Flat bowl with nearly straight rim section above a carination, in the upper part it is a wavy rim, lip broken, along the carination a protruding pointed ridge regularly pierced, between the holes fragments of two little birds.
Clay: very dense, some mica and quartz inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige brown; surface colour: light beige.

41
Area b, tomb 28, locus 34
Straight rim section, in the upper part it is a wavy rim, at the lower part a protruding pointed ridge regularly pierced, between the holes just few remains of one little bird.
Clay: very dense, some mica and quartz inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige brown; surface colour: light beige.

42
Area b, locus 32
Body fragment with application, little bird with abstractly shaped head, tail and two wings.
2.5 x 1.8 cm; height: 1 cm.
Clay: very dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige; surface colour: whitish beige.

43
Area b, locus 0
Flat handle, broken on both sides, on the handle an applied little bird with closed wings.
Preserved length: 4.1 cm.
Clay: very dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige brown; surface colour: light beige.

44
Area a, locus 0
Deep bowl with nearly straight body walls and rim section, pointed lip.
Rim diameter: 14 cm.
Clay: very dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige-orange; surface colour: light beige.

Address:
Dr. Sarah Japp, Neue Schönhauser Str. 14,
D-10178 Berlin, sarahjapp@aol.com
PLATE 2  SARAH JAPP: SELECTED POTTERY FROM THE CEMETERY OF THE AWĀM TEMPLE IN MARIB

Cat. 7  Cat. 8  Cat. 9  Cat. 10

Cat. 11  Cat. 12  Cat. 13  Cat. 14

Cat. 15  Cat. 16

Cat. 7, 8, 12, 15, 16. Scale 1:2. - Cat. 9. Scale 1:4. - Cat. 10, 11, 13, 14. Scale 1:3
SARAH JAPP: SELECTED POTTERY FROM THE CEMETERY OF THE AWĀM TEMPLE IN MARIB

PLATE 3

Cat. 17

Cat. 18

Cat. 17

Cat. 20

Cat. 19

Cat. 21

Cat. 20

Cat. 21

Cat. 22

Cat. 22

Cat. 17-22. Scale 1:2
Sarah Japp: Selected Pottery from the Cemetery of the Awâm Temple in Marib

Cat. 23
Cat. 24
Cat. 25
Cat. 26
Cat. 27

Cat. 23. Scale 1:1. – Cat. 24, 25, 27. Scale 1:2. – Cat. 26. Scale 1:4
SARAH JAPP: ELECTED POTTERY FROM THE CEMETERY OF THE AwAM TEMPLE IN MARIB

PLATE 5

Cat. 28

Cat. 31

Cat. 32

Cat. 29

Cat. 30

Cat. 29

Cat. 33

Cat. 28, 32, 33. Scale 1:2. – Cat. 29–31. Scale 1:4
Cat. 34
Cat. 35
Cat. 36

Cat. 34, 35. Scale 1:5. Cat. 36. Scale 1:4
Cat. 37, 38. Scale 1:4. – Cat. 39–41, 44. Scale 1:2. – Cat. 42, 43. Scale 1:1
علاجات عن طريق ماء أو ماء بمرور

ملاحظات حول تاريخها ومصدرها

سارة جاب (Sarah Japp)

ملخص:

ظهرت أثناء الحفريات في مقبرة معد أوم بمارب إلى جانب الأشكال المصغرة للألواح الخزفية أيضا أجزاء لأحجار لها
من الألواح الخزفية ذات الأحجام العادية. وبالاستعانة بشكل مميز سنة توجد هنا أن تحدد اطار لتسلسل الزمني لهذه الألواح
الخزفية.

من أقدم القطع التي تم استخراجه من المقبرة لباريا ذات شرط مصقول وذات نتائج واضحة في الكتب (كتالوج رقم 1-
2) وكذلك الألواح ذات الأذوان المخروطي (كتالوج رقم 3- 4) والكوبي ذات القاعدة المنحنية (كتالوج رقم 5- 6).

وإذا ما حكمنا بناء على المقارنات فقد نشأت هذه الألواح بين القرن الستم والعشرين قبل الميلاد.

بين أن الجزء الأكبر من حفريات المقبرة يعود إلى الفترة ما بين القرن السابع والقرن الخامس قبل الميلاد. ومن بين ذلك
الألواح ذات الشكل المبسطي (كتالوج 9- 14) ، وهو شكل سبيلى أصل. وتشعر بعض الألواح الباقية بالانطباء بسبب
الخزفية غير المعادة (كتالوج رقم 15- 21 و24- 25).

ومن المحتمل أن يكون العدد الفعلي أعمالا مستحرا. غير أنه لم يمكن حتى الآن أن نجد منشآتها من منطقة كيسوم إلا
الواعد الواحد من الخزفية (كتالوج 22- 23). وما يمثل هذه الفترة الزمنية تلك الألواح المتعادلة للفراغات (كتالوج رقم
28- 31).

وهناك مجموعة لم تس متماثلة على اع جواند القبر، وهي تتألف من عدة أذوان نزيفة وغيرها من متماثلة وأشكال
أخرى من الألواح (كتالوج رقم 34- 38). وتشير القطع المتشابهة إلى التاريخ الزمني في النصف الثاني من القرن الأول
قبل الميلاد. وتشير مادة قليلة ترجع إلى الفترة ما بين القرن الرابع والقرن الأول قبل الميلاد، وتمتلكها صحن وطواحين ذات
حروف متموجة كانت تزينها في الغالب أيضا طيور مجمعة كالمماثلة التي عثر عليها في مارب.
Edward J. Keall

PLACING AL-MIDAMMAN IN TIME. THE WORK OF THE CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION ON THE TIHĀMA COAST, FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE BRONZE AGE

THE CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION OF THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

The funded mandate of the current field explorations of the Canadian Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum in Yemen is a focus on environmental issues1. The overall purpose is to gain an appreciation in the study area of the different ways in which people adapted to changing climatic and ecological conditions. The study area is based in the Tihamā, centred on Zabīd (Fig. 1), and reaches from Ba‘t al-Faqīh in the north, to Hāyās in the south, and from the Red Sea coast in the west to the foothills of the Ṣūrāt highlands in the east. The time period targeted encompasses the entire Holocene – roughly the last 12,000 years.

The work of the March–April 2001 field season has added significantly to the breadth of the Project’s scope, in terms of the range of time involved, and in the varieties of cultures identified. Presented here are these new facts, along with a

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1 The Canadian Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum operates in Yemen under a licence from the General Organization for Antiquities, Manuscripts and Museums, Dr. Yusuf ‘Abdullah, President. Funding for the work described here has been received from the Royal Ontario Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum Foundation, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. A three-year award by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada was made in 1999 to the main applicant Keall, along with the cited collaboration of I. Hehmeyer, in support of «The changing ecology of Southern Arabia in the Holocene.»
digest of the various other settlement patterns we have documented so far in our study area, which allows for them to be part of this overall relative chronology. It must be admitted openly that we still lack a firm chronology for anything except the medieval Islamic phases. It is, then, in the open spirit of the Rencontres Sabéennes that these hypotheses are presented here, so that others may be aware of what is coming to light. The person benefitting most from the presentation will be the writer himself, since he expects a profitable dialogue with those interested in these special topics.

**Excavation and Exploration Program in and around the City, and in the Wādī Zabīd District**

For the first decade of the Mission's program in Yemen, attention was directed towards investigating different aspects of Zabīd's Islamic past. Not only was Zabīd a still-thriving settlement with an interesting architectural heritage, but it was a place whose fame as a medieval university city gave it special status in the cultural heritage of Yemen. Important discoveries were made. Perhaps one of the most significant of them was the exposure of an inscription inside the Citadel Mosque. It revealed that the 16th-century figure of Iskandar Mawz was responsible for major repairs to what was originally a much older mosque, lending credence to the hypothesis that the original building dated to the 14th century. More importantly, the inscription declared support for a religious college in Iskandar's name, listing specific tracts of irrigated farmland to provide income to sustain the institution.

The discovery served to underline the idea that it was Zabīd's irrigation-based agricultural productivity that served as the economic support for its culture, rather than overseas trade.

Earlier studies in the Wādī Zabīd, where the wide flood-course had exposed a vertical cross-section of sediments built up through years of spate irrigation, had documented up to 11 m of accumulated deposit. Using the now generally accepted measure of an average accumulation of 1 cm per year for flood-deposited sediments, we arrive at a figure in this case of eleven centuries. Since Zabīd was first founded in the early 9th century, the bottom layer of the sediments can credibly be judged to correspond to the historical beginnings of Zabīd. The question one must naturally ask, then, is what evidence is there for artificial irrigation in the Wādī Zabīd before the 9th century? This has led, also, to the search for information about patterns of land use from even before Islam, from the Neolithic and earlier. Obviously, in order to establish what these patterns were, one must have a reasonable sense of where each of the activities can be placed in time relative to one another, even though there are few precisely fixed horizons. Such clues as we have to create a rough chronological framework will be presented here, along with a description of the pre-Islamic remains that have been documented in the study area.

**The Standing Stones of Al-Midamman**

Until 1997, apart from the survey recording of a single, though large pre-Islamic site just north of

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7 A figure of 1.1 cm for an average annual sediment accumulation is cited in U. Brunner, Yemen. Vom Weihrauch zum Erdöl (1999) 51.
Zabid⁸, early settlement sites proved to be elusive. This changed dramatically in 1997 with the unexpected discovery of a site of standing megalithic stones at al-Midamman, just inland from the Red Sea coast⁹. Two seasons of excavation have been completed, together with a preliminary geomorphological study of the overall site area which is defined by a triangular space roughly 3 km to a side (Fig. 2).

The region is badly deflated, with the present ground surface scoured in part by the wind to a level below that of the ancient landscape¹⁰. In other areas there are recent sand dunes which cover the ancient ground. The deflation is both a blessing and a curse. We have recovered from the deflated surface significant artifacts that might otherwise not have been found, but they are largely removed from their original context. Worse, they can be mixed with others from more recent times. However, particularly since the second season of exploration (in 2000), there are now a sufficient number of artifacts that have been excavated in formal trench work, so that we may at least begin to associate them with different building activities. This rough artifact typology is our first step in the attempt to establish a site chronology. It should be quickly emphasized that no incontestably firm dates can be produced here. We still rely heavily for our rough chronology upon typological comparisons of the artifacts with those from the work of others, such as W. Phillips, A. Sedov, B. Vogt, and J. Zarins. Since the chronology is still tentative in the extreme, I avoid the term >Period/Phase<, preferring >Activity/Facet< (of activity), as the appropriate way to present our preliminary findings. While no attempt is made here to give precise dates for each of the different facets of activity, the overall cultural record of the site is listed here in rough chronological order, earliest first, as follows:

Activity I. Arabian Bifacial Tradition

An ephemeral presence defined by the surface recovery of stone projectile points and scrapers produced in the >Arabian Bifacial Tradition<¹¹. These would normally be defined as belonging to a Neolithic culture, say, from before 4000 B.C.¹².

Activity II. Era of the Standing Stones

This is the first monumental phase of the site. It is clear that a variety of stone types are involved; at least five types have been documented from a

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⁸ The site was originally reported in 1983 simply as >Gas Station<, because the site lay behind a then newly constructed petrol station (maḥṣatta) alongside the Zabid highway, but did not otherwise have a local place name. The site was still referred to as STN (Gas Station) in C. Ciuk—E.J. Keall, Zabid Pottery Manual 1995. Pre-Islamic and Islamic Ceramics from the Zabid Area, North Yemen. BAR International Series 655, 1996, 4. — Confusion resulting from others using different terms for >Gas Station<, like >Petrol Station< and >Filling Station< has prompted adoption of the name al-Kashawba. Muhammad al-Kashawba is the name of the filling station owner, and those seeking the site should ask for Maḥṣata al-Kashawba.

For the pottery from al-Kashawba described in E.J. Keall, The Dynamics of Zabid and its Hinterland: the Survey of a Town on the Tihamah Plain of North Yemen, World Archaeology 14, 1983, 385, and fig. 5, i, the best comparison was G. Lankester Harding, Archaeology in the Aden Protectorates (1964) 20, and pl. 7, 78, for which a 5th–6th century B.C. date was suggested for pottery from Sabir. Keall’s proposed 1st–2nd century A.D. date was largely derived through guesswork, and the thought that, in terms of technology, it did not seem to differ greatly from that of the early Islamic pottery in the area of Zabid. This notion, of course, has since proven to be completely false, see Ciuk—Keall, Zabid Pottery Manual op. cit. 11 f. pl. 1–10, where a likely mid-2nd to mid-1st millennium B.C. date for this material is suggested.


¹¹ No definitive study of these finds has been presented in print, but the Project’s Lithic specialist has referred to this material in passing, as belonging to the >Arabian Bifacial Tradition<, cf. Geometric microliths of Yemen – Arabian Precursors, African Connections cf. D. Rahimi, Parting the Red Sea. Holocene Interactions between Northeastern Africa and Arabia, Paper presented at Society for American Archaeology, 66th Annual Meeting, April 2001, New Orleans. Reference to a >Neolithic technology< present in these strata surface finds that can be attributed to the >Arabian Bifacial Tradition< is also made, courtesy of Rahimi, by Keall, Encountering Megaliths op. cit. 720. 725.

casual sampling. These include granite, rhyolite, rhyolitic tuff, basalt, and sandstone. While more analytical work would be needed to determine their actual original sources, it is self-evident that all the stone has been hauled from a considerable distance away. The nearest foothills are 40 km distant (Fig. 1); the columnar basalt must have come from at least twice that distance. The different physical characteristics of the natural stone tended to suggest, at first, different phases of activity. Two sub-phases may eventually be discerned, but no separation in time for the different facets of cultural expression has yet been defined. Whether individually placed as menhirs, or set up in some kind of alignment, these stone markers may only be attributed in general to a time when commemorative markers were an important cultural expression. The larger standing stones are best called here megaliths; the naturally slender pieces of columnar basalt are best referred to, for distinction, as (natural) pillars. Although pillars were sometimes found largely isolated, they were also found in conjunction with the megaliths, so no clear-cut distinction can as yet be made. The order of Activity-Facets II A–D is only hypothetical.

Fig. 2 Sites in the area of al-Midamman

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Facet II A. Pillars with Infant Burials (site HWA)

The evidence is firm that certain pillars were once set up with infants buried beneath them, yet without burial goods (Fig. 3). Sacrificial internment is not out of the question. The traces are ephemeral, however, because of later use of the stone pillars for other purposes.

Facet II B. Megaliths with Metal and Obsidian Cache (site HWB)

The megaliths appear to form some kind of alignment. A plausible interpretation is that this alignment is towards the setting sun in mid-winter, which also corresponds with the sun's setting behind the southern tip of the highly visible Zuqar island.

Fig. 3 Pillars with infant burials (site HWA)
Fig. 4 Impressions of standing stones (site HWB)
The unearthing of a deliberately buried cache of metal tools (grouped around a large core of obsidian)\textsuperscript{14} provides the crucial date of between \textit{ca.} 2400–1800 B.C. for the setting up of the megaliths. The date is based upon a comparison of the metallography of the tools, as derived from instrumental analysis\textsuperscript{15}. Other items that can be judged to have been deliberately interred in this setting include a variety of grinding stones. A modeled ceramic huH’s head, now detached from the original vessel, is an important cultural indicator — but it is not much use as a chronological indicator, because its broken nature (detached from a vessel) may mean that it is displaced from its original context.

Facet II.C. Cluster of Stone Impressions
(site HWB)

Numerous stones of rhyolite or tuff were once set up in a cluster, though it is not clear whether this represented some kind of alignment (Fig. 4). All of these standing stones have been removed at a later time, for re-use elsewhere in the area of the site. Their position is marked by shallow impressions in the ground, surrounded by spalled stone\textsuperscript{16}. No burial activity has been recorded.

Facet II.D. Adult Burial (site HWA)

The lower portion of an adult male in flexed position\textsuperscript{17} was recovered from a context where the burial was set beneath a commemorative stone of rhyolite. No grave goods were recovered.

\textbf{Activity III. Monumental Buildings and Graves}

The second monumental phase of the site is represented by stone buildings and stone-lined graves. A different construction technique used for one of three buildings suggests two different sub-phases.

Facet III.A. Stone-lined Graves (site HWN)

Stone-lined graves were built using (hypothetically) re-used standing stones (Fig. 5). The ceramic grave goods of whole vessels are generally comparable to those of the Ma’layba/Šabir assemblages\textsuperscript{18}. On that basis, the al-Midamman vessels may be attributed to somewhere between 13\textsuperscript{th}—9\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.

Facet III.B. Partitioned Buildings
(sites HWA, BNF)

Two rectilinear buildings were constructed with foundation walls employing either roughly broken granite or largely intact basaltic and rhyolitic pillars. The stone used for building the walls above ground is of roughly dressed rhyolite\textsuperscript{19}. Partitions of mud-brick divide the interior space into narrow aisles and hypothetically were foundation benches for wooden post roof-supports (Fig. 6. 7). An immediate loose parallel for this kind of arrangement can be found in Burned Building V at Šabir, dated to the end-2nd/beginning-1st millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{20}.

Facet III.C. Decorated Facing Stone (site HWA)

A monumental structure of poorly defined layout, apart from two long intersecting walls, consisting of roughly dressed rhyolite building blocks (Fig. 8). A trace of mud-brick suggests an interior partition. Highly significant are some finely dressed facing stones, and a few pieces of shallowly carved facade decoration. The decorations are readily paralleled in the Jawf, where temples of the Ma’lnian culture bearing this kind of decoration have been attributed dates of the 8\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{21}. However, Lundin suggests that one of the inscriptions from

\textsuperscript{14} Keall, Encountering Megaliths op. cit. fig. 8; idem, Do You Want to See the Stones?, Rotunda 30 no. 2, 1997, 14 (fig.).
\textsuperscript{15} A. Giuimp-Mair et al., Copper-based Implements of a Newly Identified Culture in Yemen, Journal of Cultural Heritage 1, 1999, 38.
\textsuperscript{16} Keall, Stones, op. cit. 16 (fig. r.).
\textsuperscript{17} Ibidem 18 (fig.).
\textsuperscript{19} Keall, Encountering Megaliths op. cit. fig. 8; idem, Changing Settlement op. cit. fig. 4 (plan).
\textsuperscript{20} Vogt–Sedov, op. cit. 131 f. (fig.).
Fig. 5 Stone-lined graves (site HWN)

Fig. 6 Stone building (site HWA, Building A)
Fig. 7 Stone building (site BNF)

Fig. 8 Stone building (site HWA, Building B)
the temples in question can be assigned a date towards the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{22}.

**Activity IV. Domestic Settlement** (site HWB)

Traces of a domestic settlement of ephemeral structures, made (hypothetically) from palm fronds, is indicated mainly by the survival of hearths set some distance downwind from the flimsy, and easily combusted structures. Some of the hearths have been excavated, but no other substantial features have been found. The richest recovery comes from surface finds. The kind of occupation represented is reflected in the recovery of ceramics\textsuperscript{23}, obsidian microliths, copper tools\textsuperscript{24}, and grindstones. Grinding stones point to food production, as do many of the traits visible in the ceramic vessels. The pottery is paralleled by the Mal'ayba/Šābir corpus, with a corresponding date (as with the graves) of ca. 13\textsuperscript{th}-9\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{25}. The appearance of signs scratched before firing on a ceramic cover\textsuperscript{26}, which seem to be either pictograms, proto-alphabetic script, or a combination of both, fit reasonably within the suggested date range\textsuperscript{27}.

The obsidian lithics can be associated with a microlithic tradition that is more easily paralleled elsewhere, outside of the Tihama, particularly with finds recorded in Africa\textsuperscript{28}. A 2\textsuperscript{nd}-1\textsuperscript{st} millennium B.C. date is proposed. Analysis of the copper cache from the megalithic site has been judged to be dated between 2400–1800 B.C.\textsuperscript{29}, and fragments recovered from the site surface have produced a finger-print that is comparable to that of the main cache\textsuperscript{30}. But, given a possibility of the 8\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. for the decorated building described under Activity III B, a more recent date for the general assemblage of copper implements is not out of the question.

**Activity V. Fire-cracked Stone Circles** (sites HWN, WWW)

Enigmatic circles of stone, fragmented through contact with fire, have been documented sporadically but consistently right across the study area. Their widespread occurrence suggests that they have something to do with land use. It is apparent that a small block of stone (generally rhyolite) was set above a fire which caused it to fragment. The cracked stone bears discoloration due to the fire. Beneath the cracked stone can be observed a carbon-rich deposit\textsuperscript{31}. Unfortunately, these deposits do not contain charcoal. This is consistent with the use of date palm as a fuel – it has been observed that little charcoal remains after the burning of a palm. Fragments of grindstones are often also associated with these enigmatic fire-cracked stone circles, for which one may resort to the vague term "commemorative marker" for an explanation of their use.

**Activity VI. Mollusc Middens and Scatters of Terebralia Shells**

The widespread presence of scattered marine Terebralia shells across the site was at first misleading. It gave the impression that there had once been an inland lagoon\textsuperscript{32} – reinforced by the notion imparted by the report of the earlier Italian Mission in the area that the coastline had been as much as 10 km inland during the Neolithic\textsuperscript{33}. However, both ideas are false. In the case of al-Midamman, all

\textsuperscript{22} A. G. Lundin, Der Ursprung des südarabischen Alphabets, Mare Erythraeum 1, 1997, 14.
\textsuperscript{23} Keall, Encountering Megaliths op. cit. fig. 9. 10.
\textsuperscript{24} Keall, Stones op. cit. 15 (fig.); Giumla-Mair et al. op. cit. fig. 2. 4.
\textsuperscript{25} Cf. Activity III A above, and n. 18.
\textsuperscript{26} Keall, Encountering Megaliths op. cit. fig. 10 b.
\textsuperscript{27} See Buffa-Vogt op. cit. 437, for reference to the 12\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. beginnings of South Arabian script. – Lundin, op. cit. 14, refers to the origins of the script in Syria/Palestine in the middle of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium B.C. and its establishment in Yemen by the end of the millennium.
\textsuperscript{28} The African hypothesis was convincingly presented as Geometric microliths of Yemen. Arabian Precursors, African Connections by Rahimi op. cit. (n. 11).
\textsuperscript{29} Cf. n. 15.
\textsuperscript{31} Keall, Stones op. cit. (n. 14) 16 (fig. 1).
\textsuperscript{32} Keall, Changing Settlement op. cit. (n. 9) 726.
the mature Terebralia shells show signs of their having been harvested for use. The tip has in every case been broken off — an action that detaches the anchoring muscle and allows the meat to be extracted. The harvested Terebralia were clearly treated this way in discrete quantities, exploited one basket at a time, not at a central midden site. Once discarded, these small quantities were easily scattered across the landscape by the actions of surface water movement and the passing of herded animals. In one part of the site, towards the eastern side, small discrete middens of clam shells were recorded.

Terebralia shells with the distinctively broken tip apparent have been recorded in deep bands of alluvium visible in exposed sections of the sand-cliffs at the coast, 2 km distant. The implications are that there were once periodic floods sufficiently strong to carry sediments as far as the coast. This observation has extremely important implications for establishing dates for the occupation of the site.

A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY FOR SETTLEMENT AT THE COAST IN THE BRONZE AGE

The obscure environmental phenomenon of discarded sea-shells being washed by flood water as far as the coast can be seen to contribute something significant to the debate about the site's chronology. From T. Wilkinson's observations about settlement patterns and land-use in the Yemeni Highlands during the Bronze Age, it is apparent that the combination of a drying climate in conjunction with large population growth resulting from earlier more moist times had disastrous environmental consequences. It is significant for interpretation of the al-Midamman sites that Wilkinson argues that significant soil erosion in the highlands commenced around 3000 B.C., just before the time of our main activities at the coast.

One may infer that, in time, stability was brought to the highland landscape by terracing, and by setting in place checks and balances to trap surface water and retard run-off, for irrigation farming. However, until these systems were developed in the highlands, particularly perhaps in response to state-funded capital-investment initiatives, the now over-grazed and deforested hillsides were an environmental disaster. Surface water ran off unchecked, building to form floods with sufficient strength to reach the coast. Such floods normally only occur to-day perhaps once a century. In the late Bronze Age we may envisage this happening on a regular basis.

The ecological disaster in the Highlands provided an unexpected window of opportunity for settlement at the coast. It is argued here that the thick bands of alluvium deposited at the coast and bearing harvested Terebralia shells represent human activity in the area during the late 3rd—early 1st millennium B.C. The regularly deposited flood sediments could be farmed. When the checks and balances were put in place in the Highlands in the 1st millennium, this window of opportunity at the coast closed.

OUR EARLIEST DOCUMENTED RECORD OF HUMAN SETTLEMENT IN THE TIIHAMA

In March of 2001, the ROM Project turned its attention to the foothills of the mountains behind the city of Hays, to the narrow valley of the Wadi Fuwayl where an overhanging cliff bears images painted in red ochre on the rock face. The painted rock-shelter of al-Mastür (Map, Fig. 1) has some 150 metres of rock face that has been used for painting human and animal figures, schematic devices, and symbols, applied by finger in red ochre. In all likelihood they were produced by a single group of people. Admittedly, we face the same dilemma as others in studying rock art around the world, that it is notoriously hard to interpret, and difficult to date. This is particularly true of Yemen where the cultural record has been little studied. The same problems of age, as well as of interpretation — including seeing the representations as pos-

35 Ibidem 189 f.
sible hunters, magicians, story-tellers, deities – are neatly expounded in M. Khan’s presentation of painted rock-art from the northern part of the Arabian peninsula. In the case of al-Mastûr, the greatest enigma is the appearance of an image that gives the impression of an animal-drawn wheeled vehicle. This makes no sense at the moment in the context of the landscape here, for any of the possible time-frames discussed below, whether for an earliest possible date, or for more recent times.

Our figures include humans – literally stick figures, presented frontally, with body, arms, legs and neck, but no defined head depicted. One of the complex drawings suggests a person inside a corral. Another stick figure has bow-legged lower limbs, upper limbs that split into two, and a noticeable protuberance between the legs, presumably a male organ. What is curious, in this regard, is that the other stick figures which lack the protuberance do not have either the usual fertility characteristics of a female figure in ancient art – namely, breasts, wide hips, and a pubic triangle.

Animals, by contrast, are presented in profile. They include the ibex. The modeling of the animals is more robust than that of the human stick figures, but there is nothing to suggest different ages for their production. Other painted designs include schematic devices have been interpreted as hunting traps, adding to the connotation of activity connected with animals. The symbolic devices may best be termed „wusûm characters“, implying some kind of personal identity marker. In this case we may have to acknowledge the possibility of domestic animals, with the obvious implications for dating that such a combination would provide.

Excavations beneath the paintings produced microlithic stone tools that belong to the Epipaleolithic tradition of technology (from before 8000 B.C.). At the end of the valley, a settlement site (al-Hundubâ) produced artifacts of a similar technological tradition, although the tool assemblage was different. Circumstantial evidence suggests the lithics and the paintings belong together. As a result, one may associate the two sites to the same human activity – namely hunting or herding. But the Epipaleolithic or even Pre-Pottery Neolithic is an implausibly early date for the paintings, for the use of painted stick figures would not normally be dated much earlier than about 2500 B.C. Yet one must recognise that the attributions of such a date for other paintings elsewhere in Arabia is equally unfirm. Generally, red-painted stick figures are placed in the 2nd–1st millennia B.C. Since the tool technology from the Wâdi Fuwayl is different from – and earlier in tradition than – the Arabian Bifacial Tradition recorded elsewhere in the study area, perhaps we may conclude that the paintings could be at least as old as 4000 B.C. Yet we may also conclude that in this remote valley of the Yemeni foothills, an archaic tradition of stone-tool technology could have survived longer than it may have done elsewhere in Arabia and the Near East.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF HUMAN ACTIVITY IN THE ZABĪD STUDY AREA, IN THE HOLOCENE

1. Pre- or early Neolithic hunting and/or herding activity in the foothills of the Highlands, accompanied by rock-painting and use of archaic Epipaleolithic tool tradition: ca. 6000–4000 B.C.  


40 This preliminary identification was made by D. Rahimi, following a cursory examination of a type sample brought back to the Royal Ontario Museum. 

41 A 2nd–1st millennium B.C. date for stylised stick figures in Dhofar is imparted by Nayeem op. cit. 434–447 fig. XX 31–49. Similar red-painted stick figures are illustrated from the area of Ra‘da, ibidem 482 fig. XXI 65. Stick figures at Jebel Makhrouq, near Sa‘da, in northern Yemen, have been classified as ‘Style III’ and therefore attributable to the ‘Bronze Age’ (M.-A. Garcia – M. Rachad, L’art des origines au Yémen [1997] 33). Yet the only substantiated date for the Jebel Makhrouq site is a radio-carbon date of ca. 4000 B.C. (M.-A. Garcia et al., Découvertes préhistoriques au Yémen. Le contexte archéologique de l’art rupestre de la région de Saada, Comptes rendus de l’Académie des sciences, Série II 313 [1991] 1206). – In support of an ‘early’ date one may cite a suggested Chalcolithic attribution (3500–2500 B.C.) for the Northern Province of Saudi Arabia where appropriate comparanda are to be observed, see Khan op. cit. 87. 

42 For a similar judgement regarding African lithic technology, including that from a site in Eastern Zambia with both red-painted stick figures and backed microliths, especially for the Kalemba cave site, see D. W. Phillipson, The Prehistory of Eastern Zambia, British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir 6 (1976) 4.
2. Neolithic hunting activity along the coastal plain using the South Arabian Bifacial Tradition of tool technology: ca. 4000–2500 B.C.

3. Bronze Age settlement of al-Midamman near the coast, based on farming the flood deposits: ca. 2500–800 B.C.

4. Substantial late Iron Age-Himyaritic occupation largely absent (at least not traced). Hypothetical presence of pastoralists, based on the fact that Islam was brought to the Tihāma at an early date (presumably because there were people living there), and that soon after this the 'Abbāsid authorities felt obliged to send a governor to settle the tribes'43.

5. State-sponsored settlement in the Tihāma documented from the 9th century onwards, beginning with the formal foundation of Zabīd as a city by the military governor Ibn Ziyād, as despatched from ‘Abbāsid Iraq44.

6. Investment by local dynasties, especially by the Rasūlids in the 13th–15th centuries, in irrigation agriculture45. Textual references to irrigation systems built in the Wādi Zabīd.

7. Earliest written record of the traditional irrigation system documented for the early 16th century, but an earlier tradition, at least to the 13th century, implied through the existence of legal rulings regarding water use46.

8. Ottoman occupation in the 16th century47 and an end to creative investments in new infrastructure; exploitive imperialism.

9. Zabīd marginalized in terms of the Yemeni economy as European trade interests focus increasingly on the port of al-Mukḥā (Mocha). Foreign merchants deal directly with wholesalers in Bayt al-Faqīḥ for the purchase of coffee48.

10. Zabīd still viable as a regional administrative and market centre in the 18th century, but its hey-day as a university city is over. In the 20th century Zabīd seen as a quaint town with an interesting architectural heritage, mostly from the past.

Address:
Dr. Edward J. Keall, Royal Ontario Museum, 100 Queen’s Park, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C6, Canada, edk@rom.on.ca

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44 Ibidem 209–211.
48 Ibidem 64f. Brouwer does not specifically mention the resulting financial loss felt by Zabīd, but the detrimental impact can be deduced from the fact that Zabīd was no longer the central focus of economic activity in the region.
Edward J. Keall

(Edward J. Keall)
During the second excavation campaign of the Italian-French mission to Tamna' (September–October 2000), among other things we excavated several private dwellings in the so-called Market Place (Sector B), more or less in the centre of the extensive ruins of Hajar Kuli'an. In particular, complete maps were made of House B/A (9.80 m x 7.20 m) with its N-S alignment, and of House B/B (9.60 m x 7.80 m) with its E-W alignment (Fig. 1). The latter, to which was subsequently added an annex on the South-side (House B/C), was identified from an inscription found on the North-side, as »Bayt Ya‘ūd«.

The remains of the two buildings consist of the lower stone floors (the walls of the upper storeys, as can be seen in the collapsed portions, must have been made of mud brick with wooden skeleton), having no openings and respectively, 1.80 m and 2.10 m tall. They consist: a) of a powerful outer wall with foundations jutting inwards and double curtain vertical walls with isodomic rows of rough hewn granite blocks; and b) an inner grid of walls at right angles to the former arranged according to a ground plan in which the area of the house is divided longitudinally into three parts so as to delimit a regular and symmetrical series of small rooms in the lateral aisles and at the rear. The fact that the inside walls do not abut the outer wall shows that the latter were subsequent to the former but also, if we consider the slight overall inward slope of the whole construction, they had the function of buttressing the outer wall.

Access to the house (at least in the case of House B/B) was by a staircase that, built on one of the short sides, led up to the top of the base stone floor. From here, a (no longer conserved) doorway led to a central passage, the paved floor of which was brought up to level by the filling of the central longitudinal room on the base stone floor of the building. The passage led to a staircase at the back which, mounted on the filling of the middle room at the back, provided access to the upper floor.

The plastered walls and the filling produced by the collapse of the upper floors, together with a number of everyday objects, indicate that the small rooms in the side aisles, at Tamna' were mainly left empty, probably to be used as storehouses. Access to the lower levels of the pavements must have been provided by the central passage, apparently by means of a wooden staircase. The structures separating the central passage and the side aisles acted as supports for the upper floor lofts and may have consisted either of walls (with openings for the side aisles) or even of pillars, presumably supported by the points of intersection of the underlying walls.

The architectonic typology of these houses had already been observed at Tamna' by the Mission of the American Foundation for the Study of Man in the early '50s (Fig. 2 c) and by the Englishman Brian Doe in the mid '60s, although it is extremely

1 The excavation of the Sector B was directed by S. Antonini; other participants were also Ph. Aycard, K. al-Ani and E. Pisa; surveys by P. Neury and V. Samson.
2 See, for instance, the pillars in the house adjacent to the Bayt Yafash (House B) and in House D, excavated at the beginning of the '50s by the Americans in the quarter around the 'South Gate' of Tamna', visible in the plan view recently published by J.-F. Breton, Les villes du Yémen antique, Dossiers d'archéologie 263 (2001) 25.
4 About 100 m West of the large building TT1: cf. B. Doe, Southern Arabia (1971) 220 fig. 37; idem, Monuments of South Arabia (1983) 131 ff.
Fig. 1 Ground plan of private houses excavated in 2000 by the Italian-French Mission in the Market Place of Tamna.
widespread and is related to many other cities, from Wadi Ḥarib (Ḥināʾ az-Zurayr, Hajar Dhabbā, Hajar Kūhāyyla) to Wadi Markha (Ḥajar Yahirr, Hajar Khamūma [Fig. 2 d], Hajar Ṭalib), from Shabwa (Fig. 2 e) to Wadi Ḥaḍramawt (Mashgha, Sūna [Fig. 2 b], Qārat Kibda). Also the time span is quite wide, ranging from 1st-2nd century A.D. (Tamna') to at least the 8-7th century B.C., as is Khawlan (Fig. 2) An important reason leading up to the conception and construction of these tall masonry ground floors, we must point out at this stage that their ground plan and structural layout do not seem to be restricted to private houses alone and actually seem to apply also to other architectural categories, such as temples and perhaps tombs.

Disregarding for the moment the specific functional reasons leading up to the conception and construction of these tall masonry ground floors, we must point out at this stage that their ground plan and structural layout do not seem to be restricted to private houses alone and actually seem to apply also to other architectural categories, such as temples and perhaps tombs.

This notation could prove important because, if it is true, it would indicate a possible original conceptual unity in South Arabian architecture, allowing us to appreciate more fully the logic behind its historical-artistic development and, in the present case, to seek out its possible underlying motives.

Comparison with the temples can begin with the temple of Nakrah in Baraqish (Fig. 3 a). My excavation of the latter in 1990-92 perhaps gave me a more direct opportunity to highlight the above-mentioned analogies with private houses that, as we shall see, are not only related to ground plan but are also structural in nature.

This temple, probably built in the 7-6th century B.C. and used until 1st century B.C., is built on a base that, although lower, seem to exactly reproduce the masonry ground floors of the private houses described above. About 1.30 m above external ground level, it is composed of a thick double curtain outer wall, with a slightly sloping outer face, containing a grid of large monolithic beams arranged at right angles to each other so as to act as a support for the four rows of the three pillars forming the five aisles of the cell and the posts of the doors leading to the five rear sacelli.

As can be seen, both the structures of the specific architectural layout and the general ground plan of the building are the same as in the private houses. The number of analogies increases if we take into consideration the main entrance, aligned with the central aisle (corridor), the staircase allowing access to it and the vertical rise of the inhabitable portions over the upper surface of the base.

The differences between the temple of Nakrah at Baraqish and, for instance, the Bayt Yaʿūd of Tamna' (Fig. 1, house B/A) consist rather than in the presence/absence of precise architectonic elements, in the existence in the former of embellishments and the emphasis of several specific attributes in the latter. We thus observe in the temple a particular monumental aspect of the staircase and of the entrance in general, the elevation of the outer wall made of dressed stone instead of wood and brick, the monolithic internal pillars instead of mud brick partitions, the central rear sacellum replacing the staircase leading up to the upper floor, etc. These variants merely represent a ritualization of the normal elements of a private house and do not alter the primary dwelling function of the house itself. It is just that in this case the occupant was not an ordinary mortal but the god Nakrah, and his house was the sublimation of a normal private house.

The same construction model may be found in the great temple of Yeḥa in Ethiopia, which I excavated in 1998 as part of the research of the French
Mission directed by Ch. Robin\textsuperscript{12}. Even though here there is no grid of orthogonal internal structures, as the twelve pillars are directly supported by the outcropping rock, the architectural univocalness is suggested by the ground plan of the hypostyle room, by the presence of a base underlined on the outside by sloping rows and even by the existence (which brings it even closer to a private house) of a second floor.

This apparent relationship with private houses seems to be related above all to the so-called hypostyle temples, widespread in Ḫaḍramawt (at Raybūn [Fig. 3 b]\textsuperscript{13}, Ḥuṣn al-Qays [Fig. 3 c]\textsuperscript{14}, Ḫurayḍa [Fig. 3 d]\textsuperscript{15}, Makaynūn [Fig. 3 e]\textsuperscript{16}, but also at Sūna, Mashgha, al-Hajra, Bā Quṣfa\textsuperscript{17}), as

\textsuperscript{12} Ch. Robin—A. de Maigret, Le grand temple de Yéha (Tigray), Éthiopie. Après la première campagne de fouilles de la Mission Française (1998), CRAIBL 1998, 737–798 fig. 7.


\textsuperscript{14} Breton et al., Wāḍī Ḫaḍramawt op. cit. fig. on p. 69.

\textsuperscript{15} G. Caton Thompson, The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadramaut), Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 13 (1944) 19 ff. pl. 73.

\textsuperscript{16} Breton et al., Wāḍī Ḫaḍramawt op. cit. fig. on p. 68.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibidem, figs. on pp. 64, 65, 66, 72.
well as in the Jawf (Ma’in\(^{18}\), Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa\(^{19}\), Darb aṣ-Ṣabi\(^{20}\)). In the latter we actually find, as well as the sloping bases, also the same internal subdivision into an odd number of aisles, the same alignment according to a central axis of the entrance and the rear podium. However, it also seems possible to attempt a comparison with the well-known large temple (or palace) buildings of Marib (Bar‘än temple), Shabwa (Palais royal) and in Tamnā’ itself (building TT1). Indeed, if we exclude the U-shaped porticoed courtyards (probably later additions), these buildings display a module that (even if doubled in TT1) is essentially the same as that of the private houses, with a high rectangular base on which traces of small rooms divided into three aisles are still visible.

\(^{18}\) J. Schmidt, Der Stadtttempel von Ma’in, ABADY 1 (1982) 153 ff. fig. 42.


With reference to these latter three monuments, we recall – for at least two of them (TT1 in Tamna’, 'Palais royal' in Shabwa) – the lively debate concerning their function, that is, whether they were religious buildings (temples) or civil buildings (palaces). We realize that our hypothesis, namely, of a formal identity between private houses and temple, merely adds further uncertainty to the debate. However, if valid, I think it may be of use in shifting the problem further upstream, that is, it will mean asking whether it is actually legitimate to seek functional distinctions where in fact they implicitly did not exist. In the first instance, the bayt was a house, and the fact that the occupant was a king or a god was only of secondary importance. This observation seems to us to be perhaps more important than any other as it brings us closer to the very significance of South Arabian religious feeling. However, acknowledging that our need to make a historical reconstruction has every right to raise the issue of 'palace or temple', it must be admitted that the solution of this secondary functional level, precisely because of its original indeterminate nature, actually remains a problem. As the solution to this problem does not depend, as we have seen, on purely architectonic considerations, it will have to be sought on the exclusive and more contingent basis of the archaeological-epigraphic contexts.

Lastly, it may be added that the South Arabian schema of the tripartite private house seems to be reflected, as well as in religious architecture, also in funeral architecture. The tombs of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl, the Tamna' necropolis, for example, with their central corridor and two rows of niches on the sides actually seem to suggest the basic model of the
houses of the living (in this case limited to the stone base floor alone). The comparison remains hypothetical of course also because the examples shown in our Figure 4, as they were obtained from a schematic ground plan incidentally published by R. Cleveland, are lacking in any further archaeological detail. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the previously planned extension of our research to the Tamna' necropolis will perhaps in future provide us with further data with which to test this hypothetical link between civil architecture and funeral architecture.

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From the above remarks it may thus be hypothetically acknowledged that in Southern Arabia a model ground plan existed — that of the private house — which was extended to other fields of architecture such as religious and funeral architecture. It is true of course that this module could not have an exclusive nature in Southern Arabia as we find different ground plans both in the houses (see, for example, the completely different plan views of the so-called farms of al-Jafna, near Yalā), and in the temples (see, for example, the so-called courtyard temples of Waddum dhū-Masā‘īm, al-Masā‘ījd and the extra moenia ones of as-Sawdā‘ and Ma‘īn) and in the tombs (see, for example, the tombs of the necropolis near the Awām of Marīb). However, the fact that, precisely in this variety of possible patterns, the canonical scheme of the tripartite house recurs so widely and frequently until relatively recent times, merely confirms its distinctive and deep-rooted nature.

Moreover, if to its formal persistence we add the fact of its wide range of applications (which, as we have seen, extends beyond the functional limits of the various architectonic categories), we can understand how the tripartite schema reflects the profound traditional values of a building model that is probably extremely ancient (the house of Yalā would seem, moreover, to confirm this) and, in all probability, originally designed to have a single function.

Starting from the assumption that the hypostyle temples and the Ḥayd ibn ‘Aqīl type tombs were based on the ground plan and structure of private houses, and not vice-versa, that is, that man built the houses of gods and the dead following the model of his own ordinary dwellings, the search for parallels for such private houses univocally leads us to Palestine alone. We actually find here a rigorous comparison with the so-called Israelite house (Fig. 5 a–d), a rectangular construction with three aisles and a back room (for this reason also known as the »four room house«), which has had a distinctive and widespread distribution in the region since the Early Iron Age (ca. 11th century B.C.)

The proportions between building length and width (Fig. 5 e. f) which, fixed at a ratio of 5:4, coincides with those of the South Arabian bayt, as well as the separations between aisles, often achieved by using monolithic pillars, not only strengthen the comparison, but appear also to confirm the hypothesis of a similarity between South Arabian private houses and hypostyle temples.

The debate concerning the origin of the »four room house« is controversial, with some claiming that it originated from the nomadic tents of the Israelites while others see a connection with specific, albeit sporadic, ground plan motifs of the Late and Middle Bronze Age civil architecture in Canaan. The fact however that its generalized use suddenly appears in Palestine with the arrival of the Israelites and that it is observed to be their typical dwelling type throughout the period of the

22 The bayt model seems to involve also urban defensive architecture, which arises out of the juxtaposition of peripheral private houses.
26 G. R. H. Wright, Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine (1985) 293 ff.
27 V. Fritz, Die Kulturhistorische Bedeutung der Frühzeitenzeitlichen Siedlung auf der Hirbet el Meṣas, ZDPV 96, 1980, 122.
28 Wright op. cit. 295 ff.
monarchy, seems to underline, in our opinion, that this house model was an intrinsic part of the architectonic tradition of this population. In this sense, taking into consideration the nomadic origin of the Israelites, the hypothesis of the tent as an inspirational motif, although still not verifiable, seems at least to be plausible.

If we consider that, in all likelihood, also the Southern Arabians had nomadic origins and that their civilisation is the result of a sedentarization that took place among the Yemeni mountains in the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C., we see that the parallels observed between the South Arabian *bayt* and the Israelite house are apparently accompanied by another, more general and more profound one, regarding the historical-cultural path followed by the two populations. We could consequently claim that, since both the Israelites and the South Arabians built houses of the same type when, at the same time (Early Iron Age) they settled respectively in the north-western and south-western regions of the Arabian Penin-
sula, the origins of this dwelling model must be rooted in a common tradition shared by the two populations. This brings us back to a stage prior to their separation, that is, to the nomadic phase of their existence.

The South Arabian bayt and its apparent planimetric similarities with such distant dwelling models as those of the Israelite houses, highlights the role played by the Arabian desert in defining the cultural identity of the peoples who flourished along its borders. Sedentarization physically separated, but did not change, what nomadism had created and kept together. To be able to come back and understand more fully this original conceptual unity would yield deeper insights into the ensuing cultural outcomes. As the specific case in point shows, it is possible to trace back as far as a 'common proto-architecture' that obviously inspired the Semitic peoples that settled in the Near East with the opening of the Iron Age.

Address:
Prof. Dott. Alessandro de Maigret, Via 2a Traversa Coste di Agnano 11, I-80078 Pozzuoli, ademaigret@iuo.it
الإجابة الضوئية على البيت في جنوب بلاد العرب

أ. د. ميجريه

(A. de Maigret)

ملخص:

اكتُشفت بعثة أثريّة إيطالية فرنسية باليمن في تمنح، العاصمة القديمة لملكة قبائل بلاد جنوب العرب، معبداً خصماً موقعاً من الإلهة أرتميس، وتمكنها من قضى آثارها في الميدان الذي يطلق عليه "عديد السوقي". هذه الاكتشافات هامة ليس فقط لأنها تستند إلى البياناتقدة من طريق قوقل البحوث بعثة، وإنما أيضاً لأنها تلقى ضوءاً جديداً على بعض المواقع المحفوظة للملكة القديمة في الشرق الأدنى. وبفضل الاكتشافات في شارع السوق على سبيل المثال لدينا الآن معلومات تقنية حول المواسم المحددة والمعلومات (المفلج كلاً) للبيت في جنوب بلاد العرب. وهذا يسهم لنا أن نستطيع حمل الدور الذي يلعب البيت في تاريخ فن العمارة اليمنية وأن نقدم في إطار أوساط فلوراند نقدة وانتشاره في الأطراف الغربية من الصحرا العربيّة.

إن التخطيط الذي يوضح أقسام ثلاثة فيما يتعلق بالطول للبيت بجنوب بلاد العرب ذو الجرفة الواصلة تحت الأرض والسيم الخارجي يؤدي إلى المدخل عبر طابق أرضي حجري مرتفع مدرج قليلاً وغير مدهون له تاريخ قديم (مثلاً من بلا يوجد إلى القرن الثامن/سابع قبل الميلاد) ويتميز نفسه كتباً مع المخطط المعماري للمباني المركزة سقوفها على صفوف من الأعمدة وال الوحيدّة وحضرموت وكذلك المقر المحدودة الجرف، في من يقوم بعثة بوند. وبالتحديد أن نرى صورة من الأيديولوجيا واسعة تابعة على الطرق المختلفة في فن العمارة بجنوب بلاد العرب التي توجب علينا أن نطلب فيها في عقولنا عند دراسة تاريخها وتطورها. وهذا يعني آخر، من شأنه أن يظهر بوضوح التقليد الكبير والنشأة المبكرة لنموذج البيت الأصلي.

وهذه المخطط الهندي المتكثير ليس مقصوراً على جنوب بلاد العرب. ويمكننا أن نجد نفس المخطط فيما يسمى بـ"البيت ذي الجرف الأربعة (أو بيت بني إسرائيل) الذي كان واحداً الأنهار في فلسطين أثناء النصف الأول من الألفية الأولى قبل الميلاد. وترتكب المقارنة على معرفة نفس التقسيم الداخلي والقياسات العامة والاصة بين الطول والعرض (4:5) وتفاصل مثل صفوف الأعمدة المتوازية التي تفصل بين الأبنية. وعذراً على ذلك فإن النشاطه ليس غير مقصود إذا ما راعينا تعاصرها الشامل والتعارض الشاملة في أنواع أخرى من حضارة الماد ( كالفارسيات على سبيل المثال).

وبالنظر إلى القيم القوية والخطابة النموذج في العمارة المدنية (في كل من جنوب بلاد العرب وفلسطين) أفضل أن أتحدث عن الأصل الشائع للباحثين بدلاً من تحليل الأخذ المتبادل بين أحدماً والأخر. وبعبارة أخرى: استطاع البيت في جنوب بلاد العرب وبئر بني إسرائيل أن يتم نتائج متصلة لنموذج حضاري كان شائعاً أساساً عند الشعوب قبل استقرارها في جنوب بلاد العرب وفلسطين (وهذا الصدد يجب هذا التأكيد على النظرية في اتحاد القائمة بقيم نموذج بيت بني إسرائيل عن الخيمة البدوية). ولقد تكون تلك من إلقاء ضوء جديداً على العصر الحديث المبكر في بداية التاريخ الذي جعل الشرق الأدنى القديم أهلاً بالسكان.
Im September 2000 wurde bei den vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut (DAI) durchgeführten Restaurierungsarbeiten außerhalb der Nordmauer des Bar'än-Tempel in einem Schutthaufen eine Reihe zum Teil auch umfangreicherer Inschriftenfragmente gefunden. Dabei handelt es sich einmal um Namensaufschriften auf Tongefäßfragmenten aus früherer Zeit, sodann um bereits bekannte Architekturwidmungen auf Steinbockreliefs und schließlich um eine ganze Reihe von Dedikationen aus der mittelsabäischen Periode.


Neben den Abkürzungen gemäß ABADY 9 (2002) 248 ff. werden folgende verwandt:


2 So die herkömmliche Übersetzung von 'lmqh b'l mskt wytw br'n der in Z. 3 der Inschrift genannten Titulatur des 'Almaqah. Die verschiedenen Beinamen werden unten erörtert.


4 Vgl. die »Untertanen«-Inschrift J 635/16–28.

5 Der Name des Kindalkönigs ist an dieser Stelle zum ersten Mal vollständig bezeugt; ohne Filiation dagegen in J 635/ 26f.: rbt / d'lwrm / mlk / kdt / wqtzn.

6 DAI Bar'ān 2000–1/9 ff. = Kat. 33: wbtw / rbt / bm / m'wyt / d' / ṣfr (10) [m / mlk / kdt / wqtzn / dy / hgn / ṣn (11) ['w] und (as) er den Rabl'at bin Mu'awiyat aus der Familie Tawr[tn, den König der Kinda und Qalātn, in die Stadt Ṣan'a' brachte.

Aus dem Bar'ān-Tempel besitzen wir mittlerweile 62 Inschriften, die bei den Ausgrabungen und den anschließenden Restaurierungsarbeiten des DAI freigelegt worden sind, wobei wir die kleinen, aussagekräftigen Fragmente mit hinzurechnen. Zwei unveröffentlichte Widmungen (Kat. 39 und 45) aus der Muhāfazon Mārib, die nicht im Zuge der Ausgrabungen des DAI gefunden worden sind, können aufgrund des Beinamens der Gottheit zweifelsfrei dem Bar'ān-Tempel zugeordnet werden. Dazu kommen neun Inschriften, die schon seit langem oder längerem bekannt und auch publiziert sind. Zu ihnen gehört etwa das zweizeilige, am nördlichen Säulenstumpf des Propylon angebrachte Verbot C 400, Silber oder – so die andere Interpretation – Aromata aus dem Heiligtum zu entfernen.

Wenn wir eine erste Bestandsaufnahme der insgesamt 73 Inschriften vornehmen, so gelangen wir zu folgendem Befund:

Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, handelt es sich bei der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Texte um Widmunginschriften. Andere Inschriftenengagements sind spärlich vertreten. So sind bislang vier Inschriften juristischen Inhalts bekannt. Neben dem bereits genannten Verbot C 400 am Säulenstumpf des Propylon ist ein vierzeiliger Erlaß der Verwalter des Bar'ān-Tempels (Kat. 54) zu nennen, der an der äußeren Mauer des Vorhofs an der Nordwestecke des Tempels angebracht ist. In diesem Erlaß wird vom Vorsteher sowie den Verwaltern des Tempels festgelegt, daß an der Mauer grasende Ziegen geschlachtet werden sollen. Auf einem Säulenfragment, ebenfalls von den Verwaltern des Bar'ān-Tempels verfaßt, ist eine Bekanntmachung (Kat. 55) festgehalten, die durch eine Reihe bislang unbekannter Bau-Termini einige Verständnissprobleme aufwirft. Wenn wir eine vorläufige Interpretation versuchen, so geht aus diesem Text hervor, daß die Verwalter des Bar'ān einen namentlich genannten Funktionsträger darauf verpflichten, für Beschaffung(?) und Betreuung bestimmter Architekturteile Sorge zu tragen.

Die einzige Bauinschrift (Kat. 58) sei der Vollständigkeit halber erwähnt. Sie stammt aus späterer Zeit, ist ausgemeißelt und steht in keinem inhaltslichen Zusammenhang mit der Baugeschichte des Heiligtums.

Von den Widmunginschriften, die erwartungsgemäß den Großteil des epigraphischen Corpus ausmachen, sind einige wenige auch anderen Gottheiten geweiht. So sind zwei Widmungen aus der früheren Zeit, eine Personenwidmung (Kat. 48) und eine Aufschrift auf einem Räucheraltar (Kat. 49) für die Göttin Hawbas, eine Inschrift aus der mittelsabäischen Periode für Nasrum (Kat. 53).

C 314+954 = Kat. 34; C 400 = Kat. 56; C 401 = Kat. 31; C 404 = Kat. 44; E 69 = Kat. 35; F 52 = Kat. 15; F 53×54 = J 332 = Kat. 26; J 535 = Kat. 46; J 877 = Kat. 37.


Das vierte juristische Dokument, Kat. 57, ist eine fragmentarische, zweizeilige, mittelsabäische Rechtsurkunde, die an der Nordseite der Brunnenplatte unterhalb der großen Brunneninschrift angebracht ist.

* Diese weist einen sehr frühen Schriftduktus auf.
bestimmt. Auf zwei Räucheraltären ist die Göttin Šams\(^2\) angesprochen, und in einer siebenzeiligen Inschrift auf einem rötlich eingefärbten Kalksteinblock (Kat. 52) dedizieren zwei Frauen ihre Statuetten der Gottheit 'Ațizlāt, die ihrem Beinamen zufolge in einem bislang unbekannten Heiligtum 'Aḍādān verehrt wird\(^3\) und nur noch in C 557, einer mittelsabäischen Widmung unbekannter Herkunft, begegnet. Schließlich wird in einer Aufschrift auf einem Räucheraltar dieser der Gottheit 'Aṭṭār zugeeignet\(^4\).

In der Mehrzahl der Fälle – und hier können wir auch die Fragmente mitzählen – ist 'Almaqah der Adressat der Dedikationen. Drei große Gruppen von Widmungen sind hier zu unterscheiden:

Zur ersten Gruppe gehören die Widmungen, die mit der Baugeschichte des Heiligtums in Zusammenhang stehen und an Architekturteilen oder Baulichkeiten des Heiligtums angebracht sind. Zu einem Großteil handelt es sich dabei um solche Widmungen, in denen das Widmungsobjekt nicht explizite aufgeführt wird\(^5\). Besonders hervorzuheben ist darunter eine Dedikation, die nach den zahlreichen Fragmenten zu urteilen – in vielfachen Ausfertigungen mit ein und demselben Wortlaut auf den Alabasterreliefs an der Galerie der Hofmauer, aber auch auf Steinblöcken immer wiederkehrt und folgendermaßen lautet: »Yītā'karib bin Sumuhūkarib aus der Sitte 'Inānān, der Verwalter des Yada’īl und Yītā’amar und Karib’il, hat dem 'Almaqah gewidmet«\(^6\). Auch wenn in diesen Fällen die Zuordnung zu den Architekturteilen nicht ganz unproblematisch ist, so können wir doch davon ausgehen, daß die Widmungen sich auf die Gegenstände beziehen, auf denen sie, obwohl sie nicht ausdrücklich im Text genannt werden, auch angebracht sind. Eindeutig, jedoch bei den Baulichkeiten des Heiligtums selten, ist die Nennung des Objekts wie in der zweizeiligen, über drei Meter langen Bustrophedon-Inschrift auf der Nordseite der Brunnenplatte (Kat. 27), in der der Brunnen Nabaṭūm (b’tm nb’tm) samt den einzelnen zu ihm gehörigen Bauteilen den Widmungsgegenstand bildet.

Die zweite Gruppe, die zum überwiegenden Teil an Altären angebracht ist, wird von Dedikationen mit namentlich ausgewiesenem Widmungsobjekt gebildet. Hierbei geht es in den wenigsten Fällen – woran man zunächst denken könnte –, um die Widmung der die Inschrift tragenden Objekte\(^7\), vielmehr werden männliche und weibliche Personen dem 'Almaqah geweiht\(^8\) sowie namentlich bezeichnete Landstücke und Palmgärten der Gottheit und damit auch dem Tempel übergeben\(^9\).

\(^{12}\) bry šms in Kat. 50 und 51.
\(^{13}\) So in Z. 3.5: lbhn / 'zzlt / b’il / 'ddn.
\(^{14}\) Kat. 47: l-‘ṣṭr »für ‘Aṭṭār«.
\(^{15}\) Die meisten dieser Inschriften befinden sich in situ und sind in der Grundrissskizze bei Vogt–Herberg–Röhring Abb. 5 eingezeichnet und bei Nebes (2000) 16–18 unter den angegebenen Nummern übersetzt. Im einzelnen handelt es sich um ebenda Nr. 1 = Kat. 9; Nr. 3 = Kat. 7 = Kat. 6; Nr. 4 = Kat. 4; Nr. 5 = Kat. 3; Nr. 6 = Kat. 3; Nr. 7 = Kat. 8.
\(^{16}\) So nach den beiden vollständig erhaltenen Inschriften Kat. 4 und Kat. 3 auf den Alabasterreliefs in der nördlichen und südlichen Hofgalerie, im Wortlaut: yt’krb / bn / smnhk’rb / bn / 'mn / qyn / 'y’d / 'yy’tmr / akhr’b / lnq’ / ‘mmq; ohne Titulatur Kat. 5 auf einer Steinbank am Haupteingang zum Vorhof.
\(^{18}\) So z. B. die männlichen Personen Dāmarya’d (dmyd’u) und Yīt’ā’radam (y’t’dm) in Kat. 15. 16. 16, die männliche Personen Gufrat (gfrt) in Kat. 18. Der Hawbas wird auf einem treppenartigen Kalksteinsockel die männliche Person Habarr’il (b’rr’il) dediziert (Kat. 48); der Hintergrund der halb-alsbabischen Personenwidmung ist noch nicht recht durchsichtig. Ganz abgesehen von dem Umstand, daß damit die Zugehörigkeit zur Kultgemeinschaft einer Gottheit öffentlich dokumentiert wird, welche Implikationen dies für die dedizierte Person auch immer haben mag, kann die Widmung ihre ganz pragmatische Ursache darin haben, daß die gewidmeten Personen zu Dienstleistungen für den Tempel herangezogen werden; vgl. vorläufig W. Arnold – N. Nebes, Eine altarabische Widmungsschrift auf einer Bronzetafel, Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik 35, 1998, 10 mit Anm. 10.
\(^{19}\) Vgl. Kat. 22–26.

Wenn wir uns nach dieser kurzen Bestandsaufnahme der chronologischen Verteilung der Inschriften zuwenden, so können wir uns zunächst recht schnell und problemlos einen Eindruck darüber verschaffen, welche Inschriften vor bzw. nach der Zeitenwende entstanden sind. Wie die Durchsicht ergibt, kommen 42 Inschriften und damit weit über die Hälfte des epigraphischen Fundmaterials aus altsabäischer Zeit. 27 Beispiele sind eindeutig mittelsabäisch und in nachchristlicher Zeit abgefaßt. Vier Inschriften sind, ihrem paläographischen Duktus nach zu urteilen, in nachaltsabäischer Zeit vor der Zeitenwende angesetzten. Über diese grobe Orientierung hinaus ist gerade für die altsabäische Zeit eine differenzierte Aufgliederung bekanntlich überaus schwierig und problematisch. Mit Ausnahme des absoluten Datums um 685 v. Chr., das wir über die assyrische Annalistik für das Großreich der Sabäer bis zu seinem Ende vermutlich um 200 v. Chr. anzusetzen.

20 Kat. 30, die Widmung einer Statuette (mfn), ist paläographisch eindeutig früher, vermutlich um 200 v. Chr., anzusetzen.
22 Kat. 46 (sml.).
23 Kat. 45 (lbn gi dhhm).
24 Kat. 1-29. 48. 49. 54. 59-68.
25 Kat. 31-46. 50-53. 57. 58. 69-73.
26 Es handelt sich hierbei um das zweizellige Verbot (Kat. 56), die in vergleichbarem Schriftduktus gehaltene Bekanntmachung der Verwalter des Bar'än (Kat. 55), die ebenfalls schon genannte Widmung einer Statuette (Kat. 30) und möglicherweise die an 'Atçu gerichtete Alтарaufschrift (Kat. 47).
27 Diese wären beispielsweise an den höheren, nicht mehr vorhandenen Lagen der Außen- und Innenseiten der Hofmauer zu erwarten gewesen.
28 Neben dem bereits erwähnten Yita'karib, der der Verwalter der drei Mukarrike Yada'il, Yita'ammar und Karib'il gewesen ist, sind etwa noch ein »Vertrauter des Sumuhi' alu und Yita'ammar« (Kat. 21: mudd smh'yl w-yf'm'r), ein »Diener des Yada'il und Yita'ammar« (Kat. 8: 'bd ydl w-yf'm'r), ein »Diener des Karib'il« (Kat. 67: [lw krbd]) sowie ein »Diener des Yada'il« (Kat. 2: 'bd ydl) zu nennen.
31 Siehe die in Anm. 15 genannten Texte.
32 Im Katalog als sSabC ausgewiesen.

Wenn wir das epigraphische Material aus der altsabäischen Zeit einer eingehenderen paläographischen Durchsicht unterziehen, dann zeigt sich, daß bei weitem nicht alle Inschriften in die »klassische« Phase des 5. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren sind. So zeichnet sich eine kleinere Gruppe von Inschriften aus, deren Paläographie in zwei frühere Phasen der altsabäischen Periode verweist. Unter Zugrundelegung der Zeichenformen in den beiden großen Inschriften des Karib’il Watar aus Sirwāh R 3945 = Gl 1000 A und R 3946 = Gl 1000 B, aus denen wir das absolute Datum um 685 n. Chr. erhalten, sind zum einen jene Inschriften zu nennen, die in einem ziemlich ähnlichen Duktus wie die beiden großen Inschriften aus Sirwāh gehalten sind. Darunter fallen eindeutig die monumentale, am Brunnen angebrachte Bustrophedon-Inschrift (Kat. 27) wie auch die in mehrfacher Ausfertigung auf vier Altarseiten umlaufende Widmung des Bi’agar 35, in eine noch frühere Zeit und mit einiger Sicherheit vor R 3945 und R 3946 sind zwei Inschriften anzusetzen, bei denen es sich zum einen um die Aufschrift auf einer Messerklinge (Kat. 1) und zum anderen um eine dreizeilige Personenwidmung für die Göttin Hwbas (Kat. 48) handelt.

Weitaus präziser können wir dagegen die späteren Inschriften aus der nachchristlichen Zeit eingrenzen. So sind in den Texten aus der mittelsabäischen Periode vier Könige genannt, die uns aufgrund der großen Inschriften vom Ġabal Mi’sāl bereits absolute zeitliche Vorgabe liefern. Im einzelnen sind dies ‘Alḥān Nahfān und Sohn Ṣā’irum ’Awatar, Ilkaraḥ Yaḥdīb mit Bruder Ya’zil Bayyin und schließlich als letzter sabäischer König Naṣ’a’karib Yū’m in Yuḥarīb.

Anhand der vorangegangenen Beobachtungen können wir die folgenden Punkte zusammenfassend festhalten:


2. Das »Dokumentationsloch«, welches sich nach dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. bis zur Zeitenwende auftut und dem wir gerade einmal drei Inschriften sicher zuordnen können, liegt nicht in irgendeinem spezifischen Umstand des Bar‘ān-Tempels begründet, sondern hängt ganz einfach damit zusammen, daß aus Mārib die epigraphischen Quellen in den folgenden Jahrhunderten generell nur sehr spärlich fließen.


Zur Chronologie der Inschriften aus dem Bar‘ān-Tempel

34 Im Katalog als ʾaSabA ausgewiesen.
35 Kat. 11–13. – Eine Reihe von Inschriftenfragmenten auf Alabasterreliefs (Kat. 22 und 59–64) weist einen späteren, nach B zu datierenden Schriftduktus auf, ohne jedoch eindeutig der Stufe C zugeordnet werden zu können.
36 Im Katalog als ʾaSabB ausgewiesen.
37 Für eine sehr frühe Datierung spricht das gegabelte H.
38 Neben altertümlichem H mit gerundeten Schenkeln, die aber in spitzen Winkel aufeinander treffen, ist der für die frühe Zeit typische Höhenbreitenindex von 2 : 1 zu nennen.
41 s. Anm. 26.
Yu'min Yuharhib (Kat. 37. 38. 70)\textsuperscript{42}. In drei Inschriften richten zwei Könige die Widmung selbst aus. Es ist dies einmal Ša'irum 'Awtar in dem eingangs geschilderten Neufund (Kat. 33), in dem er sich u. a. für den erfolgreichen Feldzug nach Qaryat al-Fa'w bedankt, zum anderen ist es Naša'karib Yu'min Yuharhib, der in zwei Fällen (Kat. 37. 70) seine Widmungen im Bar'ān-Tempel hinterläßt.

Hierzu kommt noch J 564, eine Inschrift aus dem 'Awām-Tempel, in der ein Führer des östlichen von Ša'nā' ansässigen Stammes Gaymān dem 'Almaqah eine Statuette anläßlich des erfolgreichen Thronbesteigungen des Bata'iden Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im (II.), des Sohnes des Sabāerkönigs Wahab'il Yaḥūz, widmet. In der Schlußinvokation ist an erster Stelle das traditionelle sabāische Pantheon und dabei u. a. auch der in Bar'ān residierende 'Almaqah genannt\textsuperscript{43}. Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im (II.) ist Vorgänger und Koregent des Yarim 'Ayman, des Vaters von 'Alhān Naḥān, und wird in den 80er Jahren des 2. nachchristlichen Jhs. angesetzt\textsuperscript{44}. Damit können wir eine mehr oder weniger zeitlich lückenlose epigraphische Belegung des Bar'ān-Tempels von knapp 100 Jahren, von 180 bis um 270 n. Chr., nachweisen.

Es ist also keineswegs so, daß der Bar'ān-Tempel in nachchristlicher Zeit nur ein kleines Lokalheiligtum gewesen ist, in dem lediglich Privatpersonen ihre Votivgaben hinterlassen haben. Auch wenn aufgrund des fehlenden epigraphischen Befundes davon auszugehen ist, daß wir in nachalsabsäbischer Zeit mit einem allgemeinen Niedergang zu rechnen haben, von dem nicht nur das Heiligtum betroffen, sondern in den die gesamte Oase von Mārib involviert ist, so wird doch durch die Vielzahl von Dedikationen aus nachchristlicher Zeit offenkundig, daß insbesondere im 2. und 3. Jh. Heiligtum und Kultus des 'Almaqah von Bar'ān, wenn nicht eine massive, so doch spürbare Aufwertung erfahren haben, was nicht zuletzt durch die epigraphische Präsenz mehrerer Generationen sabāischer Könige belegt wird.

Ein nach wie vor unlöschiges Problem, welches abschließend wenigstens angesprochen sei, bilden die verschiedenen Beinamen des 'Almaqah von Bar'ān. Seit den Anfängen der Sabäistik ist der Name der Gottheit in dieser Form oder – präziser ausgedrückt – in Form von 'Almaqah, Herr von Bar'ān\textsuperscript{45} gebräuchlich und geht, wie schon gesagt, auf das zweizeilige Verbot am nördlichen Säu­lentumpf des Propylon (Kat. 56) zurück, in dem sowohl 'Almaqah, der Herr von Bar'ān ('lmqb b'l br'n), als auch das Heiligtum Bar'ān (mḥrmn br'n) explizite genannt sind.

Wie eine Durchsicht der bislang bekannten Inschriften einschließlich aller Fragmente zeigt, ist diese Namensform allerdings nicht die geläufige. In den Dedikationen der altsabäischen Zeit wird 'Almaqah bekanntlich ohne Beinamen angesprochen, wie es nicht nur in den Widmungen aus dem Bar'ān, sondern etwa auch in jenen aus dem nahegelegenen 'Awām oder aus dem 'Almaqah-Tempel in Šīrāwā der Fall ist. Die Ausnahme stellt der schon genannte Erlaß des Tempelverwalters und der Tempelvorsteher dar, in dem von 'Almaqah in Bar'ān die Rede ist (Kat. 54)\textsuperscript{46}.

Wenn wir nun die Widmungen aus späterer Zeit auf den Beinamen 'Herr von Bar'ān\textsuperscript{47} hin überprüfen, so findet sich dieser lediglich in zwei Dedikationen aus der mittelsabäischen Periode, und zwar einmal in Kat. 36\textsuperscript{48} und in J 535/6 f. = Kat. 46\textsuperscript{49}. In beiden Fällen steht der Name mit Titulatur nicht in der Eingangsformulierung der Widmung nach dem Schlüsselwort hqny, sondern erscheint im Text erst an späterer Stelle\textsuperscript{50}. Mit anderen Worten: Aus den Eingangsformulierungen der Widmungen aus nachalsabsäbischer Zeit ist bislang kein Fall bekannt, in dem 'Almaqah mit dem Epitheton 'Herr von Bar'ān\textsuperscript{51} belegt wird. Vielmehr wird die Gottheit in der Eingangsformulierung der Widmungen mit

\textsuperscript{42} In dem Kalksteinfragment Kat. 71 ist lediglich der Rest der Königstitulatur erhalten.

\textsuperscript{43} J 564/29: w'ilmqb / bl / mlkt / w'ygw / br'n.

\textsuperscript{44} C. J. Robin, Sheba dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud, in: Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible (1996) 1135.

\textsuperscript{45} Die Form mit Mlm, die auch in Kat. 29 in dem Titel eines Verwalters von Bar'um (qywn br'm) bezeugt ist, ist in alt­sabäischer Zeit die als üblich anzusehende. Man vergleiche slhm, den Namen des Königspalastes von Mārib in der Inschrift des Karib'il Watar R 3946/5, neben slhm in den mittelsabäischen Inschriften.

\textsuperscript{46} 'lmqb b'l br'n, das Y in dem Tempelnamen ist kein Schreibfehler, sondern begegnet auch in C 314+954/12 = Kat. 34 und deutet auf ein langes /b/ hin.

\textsuperscript{47} b-ilmqbw b'l br'n.

\textsuperscript{48} In Kat. 36, bei der der Anfang nicht erhalten ist, erscheint 'Almaqah in der Schlußanrufung jedoch wieder mit Doppeltitulatur. In J 535/2 = Kat. 46 ist auf der von A. Jamme lediglich als Abzeichnung veröffentlichten Inschrift 'Almaqah ohne Beinamen anhand der Spuren zu ergänzen.
der Doppeltitulatur \textit{b’l mskt w-\textit{ytw} br’n}\footnote{Vgl. Kat. 33. 34. 35. 37. 39. 42-44, ferner in der Aufschrift Kat. 72; in Kat. 38 ist die Eingangsformulierung nicht erhalten, die Doppeltitulatur erscheint jedoch in der Invokation.} und in einem Fall (Kat. 45) mit deren zweitem Bestandteil \textit{b’l \textit{ytw} br’n} angesprochen.

Wenn wir nach einer Erklärung für die verschiedenen Beinamen suchen, so scheint es zunächst, als hätte die Gottheit zu verschiedenen Zeiten auch verschiedene Beinamen getragen. Das zweizeitige Verbot, das ‘Almaqah als Herrn von Bar‘an ausweist, stammt eindeutig aus nachaltsabäischer vorchristlicher Zeit, während das Epitheton \textit{b’l mskt w-\textit{ytw} br’n} ausschließlich in Dedikationen der nachchristlichen Zeit Verwendung findet.

ANHANG: KATALOG DER INSCHRIFTEN AUS DEM BAR’ĀN-TEMPEL

Vorbemerkungen

Unter den 73 im folgenden aufgeführten Inschriften und Inschriftenfragmenten sind auch neun Nummern aufgenommen, die – teils schon lange bekannt und publiziert – eindeutig diesem Heiligtum zugewiesen werden können. Ebenfalls aufgenommen wurden mit Kat. 39 und Kat. 45 zwei unveröffentlichte Widmungen aus der Mubāfāzat Mārib, die nicht im Rahmen der Ausgrabungen gefunden wurden, aber aufgrund des Beinamens des ’Almaqah zweifelsfrei aus dem Heiligtum stammen.


1. Widmungen für ’Almaqah

1.1 Widmungsobjekt nicht genannt

1 DAI Bar’ān 1994/5–5
Träger: Messerklinge
Stifter: ] phym
Adressat: ’lmqh
Datierung: aSabA

2 DAI Bar’ān 1990/1–18
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente
Stifter: [m]’bmsw bn gdnm
Adressat: ’lmqh
Herrscher: (Diener (’bd) des) yd’l
Datierung: aSabB–C

Vgl. o. Anm. 7. Davon haben allerdings nur C 400 und F 52 ein DAI-Siglum erhalten, da beide Inschriften im Zuge der Ausgrabungen auf dem Gelände dokumentiert worden sind.

Diese sind so angelegt, daß auf die wissenschaftliche Institution (DAI) das Fundjahr und der mit Bindestrich abgesetzte Numerus current folgt.

3 DAI Bar’än 1990–9 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 6
Träger: Steinbockrelief
Stifter: ȝt’krb bn smhkbr bn ‘nnn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Herrscher: (Verwalter (gyn) des) yd’l w-ȝt’mr w-krb’l
Datierung: aSabC

4 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–3 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 4
Träger: Steinbockrelief
Stifter: ȝt’krb bn smhkbr bn ‘nnn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Herrscher: (Verwalter (gyn) des) yd’l w-ȝt’mr w-krb’l
Datierung: aSabC

5 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–4 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 5
Träger: Steinbank
Stifter: ȝt’krb bn sjmhkbr bn ‘nnn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Datierung: aSabC

6 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–2 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 3
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Stifter: m’dkrb bn ‘m’ns bn lqfm
Adressat: ’lmqh
Datierung: aSabC

7 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–1 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 3
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Stifter: m’dkrb bn ‘m’ns bn lqfm
Adressat: ’lmqh
Datierung: aSabC

8 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–10 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 7
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Stifter: ‘myd’ bn yhyt’ d-qyn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Herrscher: (Diener (bd) des) yd’l w-ȝt’mr
Datierung: aSabC

9 DAI Bar’än 1988–3 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 1
Träger: Kalksteinquader
Stifter: ȝddl bn ‘mkrb bn tlwt
Adressat: ’lmqh
Herrscher: w-b ȝt’mr
Datierung: aSabC

Träger: Tischaltar
Stifter: sbhmw d-tltn stmn
Adressat: ’lmqh; b’lmqh BR’N (als Monogramm)
Datierung: aSabC

1.2 Widmungen von Personen

11 DAI Bar’än 1988–2 = Seipel 325 Nr. 240
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: b’str bn swdm bn nw’m nhmyn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person (oder Altar?) fr’t
Herrscher und Eponym: w-b yd’l w-b m’dkrb
Datierung: aSabB

12 DAI Bar’än 1994/5–2
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: b’str bn swdm bn nw’m nhmyn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person (oder Altar?) fr’t
Herrscher und Eponym: w-b yd’l w-b m’dkrb
Datierung: aSabB

13 DAI Bar’än 1996–1
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: b’str bn swdm bn nw’m nhmyn
Adressat: ’lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person (oder Altar?) fr’t
Herrscher und Eponym: w-b yd’l w-b m’dkrb
Datierung: aSabB

14 DAI Bar’än 1994–1
Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Alabasterblock, aus drei Fragmenten bestehend
Stifter: b’str … bn r’šhmw bn yhn’[m]
Adressat: ’lmqh[k]
Widmungsobjekt: Nachkommen (kl wdwbw)
Herrscher: w-b yd’l
Datierung: aSabC

15 F 52 = J 533 = DAI Bar’än 1990–6
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: ’mr bn ’m’h bn ’kln
Adressat: ’lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person ym’yd’
Datierung: aSabC

16 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–5
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: ’mr bn ’m’h bn ’kln
Adressat: ’lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person ym’yd’
Datierung: aSabC

17 DAI Bar’än 1990/1–9
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: [m]shm w-r’shm w-ȝ’t’m bnu
18 DAI Bar‘än 1994–5
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: ‘mrhmw w-r’shm[ w w-yc]m bw w ‘lmhw d-hyr[l]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person jifrt
Datierung: aSabC

19 DAI Bar‘än 1990/1–17
Träger: Altarblock aus Tisch und Basis
Stifter: jyhm’t grby[rn]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person (bnhmy) [ ]
Datierung: aSabC

20 DAI Bar‘än 1991–6
Träger: Tischaltarfragment
Stifter: ]itr
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person b’ns
Datierung: aSabC

21 DAI Bar‘än 1991–1 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 2
= Seipel 324 Nr. 237
Träger: Steinbockrelief
Stifter: ‘mkrb bn r’shmw d-šqr
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Nachkommen (kl wildbw)
Herrscher: (Verwalter (m̱add) des) smb’ly w-yc”mr; w-b smb’ly w-b yc’mr
Datierung: aSabC

22 DAI Bar‘än 1990/1–14
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment
Stifter: hlk’mr bn g[dnm]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Palmgarten Ḩażlrum (nlhbw hzm)
Herrscher: h-yd’l
Datierung: aSabB–C

23 DAI Bar‘än 1990/1–8
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment
Stifter: [ ]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Land Manhalatum (‘rḥbw mnḥltm)
Herrscher: [(Verwalter (qyn)? des)] [yd’]
Datierung: aSabC

24 DAI Bar‘än 1990–5 = Seipel 322–325 Nr. 239
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: ‘mrhmw w-r’shmw w-yc’m bw w ‘lmhw d-hyr[l]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Land Ḥizrarnum (‘rḥbw hzm)
Datierung: aSabC

25 DAI Bar‘än 2000–5
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: [’mrhmw w-r’shmw w-yc’m bw w ‘lmhw d-hyr[l]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Land MLGM (‘rḥbw mlgm)
Datierung: aSabC

26 F 53+54 = J 532
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: [’mrhmw w-r’shmw w-yc’m bw w ‘lmhw d-hyr[l]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Brunnen Nabaṭum (b’m nbptn)
Herrscher: w-b yd’l
Datierung: aSabB

1.4 Widmungen von Baulichkeiten

27 DAI Bar‘än 1990/1–6 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 8
Träger: Brunnenplatte
Stifter: hty’t bn šbm w-ypn
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Brunnen Nabaṭum (b’m nbptn)
Herrscher: w-b yd’l
Datierung: aSabB

Träger: Überlaufbecken
Stifter: [ ]
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Alle Baulichkeiten (kl mbny) von [ ]
Datierung: aSabC

1.5 Widmung eines Altars und Nachkommen

29 DAI Bar‘än 2000–8
Träger: Altar bestehend aus Basis und Opferplatte
Stifter: yfd’l bn wiq’l bn šbhm mlhyyn
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Steinaltar 'ṣiʿ und Nachkommen (ṣ-ql ṣldhw)
Datierung: aSabB

1.6 Widmungen von Statuetten

30 DAI Barʿān 1994–4
Träger: Kalksteinplatte
Stifter: [ ] d-myln
Adressat: 'lmqb b'l [ytw br'bn]; vgl. Kat. 45
Widmungsobjekt: Statue (mḥln)
Datierung: Um 200 v. Chr.

31 C 401
Träger: Kalksteinfragment
Stifter: [ ], w-krb 't[h]nyn
Adressat: [ ], vermutlich 'lmqb; b-br'bn,
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statue
Herrscher: ['lnhfn nbn ṣlw b-mkn b'r; lmy sb'
bny yrm 'ynm mlk sb'
Datierung: Um 200 n. Chr.

32 DAI Barʿān 2000–2
Träger: Rechteckiges Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: [ ]
Adressat: [ ], vermutlich 'lmqb
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statue
Herrscher: ['lhn nbfn w-b[nyhw i'rm 'w]tr
Datierung: Um 200 n. Chr.

33 DAI Barʿān 2000–1
Träger: Rechteckiges Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: [']i'rm 'wtr ... [bn 'bh'n nbfn
Adressat: 'lmqb b'l mskt w[yw b[r']r'n
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statue u. a.
Herrscher: s. Stifter
Datierung: Um 210–230 n. Chr.

34 C 314+954
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: roṣim y;lā b[n s]-[m]ḥn w-[mm]y[n
[w]-m[m]id j[n [w]-m[m]km ... w-ḥ[b][w]m y'df b[n
gdnm w-ḥdwt
Adressat: 'lmqbb lmsktw[ywbr'[n]; 'lmqbbbr'yn
Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Bronzestatuetten
(ṣlmnbn ẓ-dḥbn)
Herrscher: 'lsh yḥdb w-ḥyw y'zl bny
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

35 E 69
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: whb'wm y'df d-gdnm w-ḥdwt w-krb'ṭt
'i'd bn s'm w-mḥyln w-m[ndm w-ṣlmn
Adressat: 'lmqbb lmsktw[ywbr'bn; b-br'bn
Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Bronzestatuetten
(ṣlmnbn ẓ-dḥbn)
Herrscher: 'lsh yḥdb w-ḥyw y'zl bny
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

36 DAI Barʿān 1994–3
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: r'dlw bn ḥblm w-šbr
Adressat: [ ]; 'lmqbb br'yn;
b-'lmqbb lmsktw[ywbr'yn
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statue
Herrscher: 'lšh yḥdb w-ḥyw y'zl bny
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

37 J 877
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: ni'krb [y']mn yhr[b
Adressat: 'lmqbb lmsktw[ywbr'bn;
b-'lmqbb lmsktw[ywbr[yn]
Widmungsobjekt: Bronzestatueuette (ṣlmn ẓ-dḥbn)
Herrscher: s. Stifter
Datierung: Um 260–270 n. Chr.

38 DAI Barʿān 1990/1–13
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: [ ]
Adressat: [ ]; b-'lmqbb lmsktw[ywbr'n
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statue
Herrscher: [ni]krb y'mn yhr[b]
Datierung: 260–70 n. Chr.

39 Mārib Muhāfāza 17
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: ws'm bn wdm
Adressat: 'lmq[gb] b'l mskt wytw b'r'n
Widmungsobjekt: Statue (ṣ[l]mn)
Datierung: mSab

40 DAI Barʿān 1990–4
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: jb'l w-ḥ[b][sm[mn bny 'rgn
Adressat: 'lmqbr([b']l)]; y'twn
Widmungsobjekt: Statuette (ṣ[l]mn)
Datierung: mSab

41 DAI Barʿān 1990/1–11
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifterin: [ ]; hlykm
Adressat: [ ]; 'lmq[k]
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statue
Datierung: mSab
42 DAI Bar'än 1990/1-12
Träger: Obere Hälfte eines Kalksteinblocks
Stifter: twb'l hwylyn 'mlhn
Adressat: 'lmghw b'l mskt wytw br'n
Widmungsobjekt: Statuette (slmn)
Datierung: mSab

43 DAI Bar'än 2000-3
Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Kalksteinblock
Stifter: rbnhrs m-w-bnyhw wbbimsm
Adressat: 'lmqhb'lmskt wytw br'n;
   b'-lmqhb'lmskt wytubr'n
Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Bronzestatuetten
   (slmn)hn d-dhn)
Datierung: mSab

44 C 404
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: [ ]
Adressat: ['lm]qab b'l mskt wytw br'n]
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Eponym: krby bn t'b'krb bn f[dlhm]
Datierung: mSab

45 Mārib Muḥāfażah 12
Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Kalksteinblock
Stifter: m'dkrb bn wdm
Adressat: 'lmq b'l ytw br'n; b'-lmq
Widmungsobjekt: Löwin aus Bronze
   (lb'n dt dhbn)
Datierung: mSab

46 J 535
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: [ ]
Adressat: 'lmqhb; b'-lmqhb b'l br'n
Widmungsobjekt: Kamelstatuette aus Bronze
   (b'lm d-dhbn)
Datierung: mSab

2. Widmungen für andere Gottheiten

2.1 Widmung für 'Aṭtar

47 DAI Bar'än 1996-4
Träger: Räucheraltar
Stifter: -
Adressat: l-'ṭtr
Widmungsobjekt: -
Datierung: Um 100 v. Chr.

2.2 Widmungen für Hawbas

48 DAI Bar'än 1994-2
Träger: Treppenartiger Kalksteinsockel
Stifter: [f]lm b-w-šhm [b'n] sfqhmw w-mṣhmw
Adressat: ṣwbbs
Widmungsobjekt: Person hbr'l
Datierung: aSabA

49 DAI Bar'än 1994-10 = Seipel 86. 89 Nr. 24
Träger: Runder Räucheraltar
Stifter: 'm[n][r b'n nbt'l bn [t
Adressat: ṣwbbs
Widmungsobjekt: -
Datierung: aSabC

2.3 Widmungen für Šams

50 DAI Bar'än 1990/1-16
Träger: Räucheraltar
Stifter: Diener ('bd) des 'ktbn
Adressat: Šams in bry šms
Widmungsobjekt: -
Datierung: mSab

51 DAI Bar'än 2000-6
Träger: Räucheraltar
Stifter: -
Adressat: Šams in bry šms
Widmungsobjekt: -
Datierung: mSab

2.4 Widmung für 'Azīzlāt

52 DAI Bar'än 1991-4
Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Kalksteinblock
Stifter: [tw]bn'm w-twbn'm b'n ʿlt d'bīt
Adressat: ḫbhn ʿzzlt b'l 'ddn
Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Statuetten (slmn)hn)
Datierung: mSab

2.5 Widmung für Nasrum

53 DAI Bar'än 1994/5-3
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: [ ], männliche Person
Adressat: mṣrm
Widmungsobjekt: [ ], vermutlich Statuette
Datierung: mSab
3. INSCHRIFTEN JURISTISCHEN INHALTS

54 DAI Bar'ān 1990–1 = Nebes (1992)
162 = Nebes (2000) 18 Nr. 10
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Autor: 'm'mr, Vorsteher der Verwalter von Bar'um
('qyn br'm), und alle anderen Vorsteher von Bar'um ('qyn br'm)
Gottheit: 'lmqh b·br'm
Inhalt: Ziegen, die sich der Tempelmauer nähern, sollen geschlachtet werden
Rechtsformular: Erlaß (fylthmw)
Datierung: mSab

55 DAI Bar’ān 1994/5–1
Träger: Säulenfragment
Autor: »Gemeinschaft« der Verwalter von Bar’ān
('fbr qyn br’n)
Inhalt: Zuständigkeit des r’sbmw für Bauteile des Tempels
Rechtsformular: Bekanntmachung (dt ydkrn)
Datierung: Um 150 v. Chr.

56 C 400 = J 551bis = J 534 = DAI Bar’ān 1988–1
Träger: Propylonstumpf
Autor: –
Inhalt: Verbot, Silber (oder Aromata oder andere Gegenstände; yfr) aus dem Heiligtum Bar’ān
(mhrms br’n) zu entfernen
Rechtsformular: Verbot (w·l in)
Gottheit: 'lmqb b’l br’n
Datierung: Um 100 v. Chr.

57 DAI Bar’ān 1990/1–7
Träger: Brunnenplatte
Autor: [ ]; hnm (?)
Inhalt: Beurkundung des hnm gegenüber dem ms’dm über 48 ZMRN (tnm w·’rb’y zmrm)
Rechtsformular: [ ], vielleicht »Übergabe­urkunde« (wtf)
Eponym: tb’krb bn n’k’rb bn hnsfnm
Datierung: mSab

4. BAUINSCHRIFT

163 = Nebes (2000) 18 Nr. 11
Träger: Quaderstein mit ausgemeißelten Buchstaben am Südturn
Erbauer: [ ], Vorsteher des Stammes TRQY (‘kwrm
f’bn d-pray)
Bautätigkeit: ]w w-bwørn w-bisma

Bauobjekt: Obergeschoß Rahāb des Hauses Ša’bān
in der Stadt Marda’um (rhthmw Ṯḥ syht bythmw
l’bn b·aw hrhms mrd’m)
Datierung: mSab

5. STARK FRAGMENTARISCHE INSCHRIFTEN

59 DAI Bar'ān 1990/1–20
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment
Stifter: shmbbr [ ]
Adressat: [ ], vermutlich 'lmqb
Widmungsobjekt: [ ]
Herrscher: ]nbhl’y w·yd’l
Datierung: aSabB–C

60 DAI Bar’ān 1990/1–21
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment
Stifter: 'msfq bn [ ]
Adressat: [ ], vermutlich 'lmqb
Widmungsobjekt: [ ]
Datierung: aSabB–C

61 DAI Bar’ān 1991–7
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente
Stifter: ]bn bn yf’m
Widmungsobjekt: –
Herrscher o.ä.: (Diener (’bd) des) ‘msfq b·gdnm;
-w·b·'msfq w·blkmr b[n g]dnm
Datierung: aSabB–C

62 DAI Bar’ān 2000–4
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente
Stifter: ]bn
Adressat: [ ], vermutlich 'lmqb
Widmungsobjekt: [ ]
Herrscher o.ä.: (Vorsteher (kbr) des) ‘msfq
Datierung: aSabB–C

63 DAI Bar’ān 2000–9
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragmente
Stifter: ]b
Adressat: [ ], vermutlich 'lmqb
Widmungsobjekt: [ ]
Datierung: aSabB–C

64 DAI Bar’ān 1994/5–6
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragmente
Stifter: ]b
Adressat: [ ]
Widmungsobjekt: [ ]
Herrscher o.ä.: (Diener (’bd) des) ydmrm[k]
Datierung: aSabB–C
65 DAI Bar‘ân 1990–3
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: []
Widmungsobjekt: Räuchergefäss (bhtn) und mzb[t’]
Datierung: aSabC

66 DAI Bar‘ân 1991–2
Träger: Steinblockfragment
Stifter: y‘krb bn smbkrb bn ’n[^n]
Adressat: [], vermutlich ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: –
Datierung: aSabC

67 DAI Bar‘ân 1994–6
Träger: Altarblockfragment
Stifter: k’rb bn gdnm
Adressat: ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: M[, vermutlich Person
Herrscher: (Diener (’[b)d) des) krb’l
Datierung: aSabC

68 DAI Bar‘ân 1990/1–19
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person 2’bm
Datierung: aSabC

69 DAI Bar‘ân 1994–9
Träger: Kalksteinfragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: lishb yhfd[b]
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

70 DAI Bar‘ân 1994–7 +1994/5–4
Träger: Kalksteinfragmente
Stifter: ni’krb y’n mn yhrhb
Adressat: [], vermutlich ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: s. Stifter
Datierung: Um 260–70 n. Chr.

71 DAI Bar‘ân 1988–4
Träger: Kalksteinfragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: ] db’ w–d–rydn
Datierung: mSab

72 DAI Bar‘ân 2000–7
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Aufschrift: ‘lmqh)w b’l mskt wytw br’n
Datierung: mSab

73 DAI Bar‘ân 1994–8
Träger: Zahlreiche kleine Kalksteinfragmente
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich ‘lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Datierung: mSab

Anschrift:
Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orient, Löbdergraben 24a, D-07743 Jena, gnn@rz.uni-jena.de
تحوَّل التسلسل الزمني للقوش معبد بَرَن

ثرُئِت نيب

(Norbert Nebes)

الخلاصة:

يدور موضوع معظم النقش ـ الكاملة منها ـ والناقصة المعرونة، التي في حوزتنا من معبد بَرَن والبالغ عددها 73 حول تكاري في إلهه المقام، ويرجع ما يربو بكثير على نصف تلك التكاري إلى العصر السبتي القديم، حيث تسمح المادة الإبستروفيفيا العادلة إلى ذلك العصر بالتفريق بين ثلاث مراحل من منظور البليوبلاستروفيفيا. ولقد صيغت معظم التكاري في المرحلة الثالثة والأخيرة التي تستطيع بالرجوع إلى أساس بروستروفيفيا متاحة ـ أن نزعها إلى القرن الخامس قبل الميلاد. فهذا هو الزمن الذي شيدت فيه أيضا الأجزاء الرئيسية ـ التي يمكنكنا رؤيتها اليوم ـ معبد رقم 4 بصحبة وأرضاها وأعمدة وسلسة الفخ، ويعد البعض القليل من النقش المكشوف، بدأ على أشكال الحروف ـ إلى عبد كريم وثر حوالي عام 685 قبل الميلاد. هذا؛ ونحن على شيء من اليقين أن نقصين من التكاري قد حفر في زمن أبعد.

ويدور بالتالي موضوع الجزء الأكبر من نقش الزمن المتأخر ـ كما هو متوقع أيضا بالنسبة للعصر السبتي الوسيط ـ حول تكاري على تقاوت صغيرة صيغت في القرن الثالثة الأولي بعد الميلاد. وبناء على عدد من الملوك السبتيين المعروفين المكشوفين في تلك التكاري أو الذين قاموا بإعدادها في بعض الحالات بأنفسهم يمكننا أن نتصور استخدام المعبد قرابة 100 عام ـ من حوالي سنة 180 حتى سنة 270 ميلادية، دون فترة انتقال زمنية. ولا توجد أدلة في بَرَن على وجود تكاري لمملوك حميريين كما نعرفهم في أوروم منذ يمُرُّ بهم، وربما يُهوَّش، والجدير ذكر ذلك فقد أدى فحص حجري دقيق لوثائق مكتوبة ترجع إلى فترة ما بعد العصر السبتي القديم إلى نتيجة إنسانية تقول إن التكاري ليست موجهة إلى المعه بَرَن (ثل َّم خ، بث، بث، بث) وإن الآلهة كان خاطبا ـ إلا في بعض حالات استثنائية قليلة ـ باسم "رب مَكن" والذى يُقدّم في بَرَن" (ث، ث، ث، ث، ث) مع اعتبار هذه الترجمة مؤقتة، كما هو معروف من ذي قيل، لأن هذا التلقيح لم يكن تفسيرًا طبيعيًا مرتبطًا حتى الآن.
ARABS IN PRE-ISLAMIC SOUTH ARABIA

The mentioning of people called Arabs in the pre-Islamic texts from South Arabia has been commented upon by some scholars in the past. The first one was J. Halévy (1899) followed by A. A. Alsekaf (1985), W. W. Müller (1988), M. A. Bafaqih (1990) and Ch. Robin (1991). Groups called 'RB or "RB appear around 40 times in South Arabian Inscriptions, mostly Sabaean, including the late ones from the Ḥimyarite period (from ca. 275 A.D.). To these should be added the occurrence of the term "RB in the long title of the Ḥimyarite kings from the time of ʿAbūkarib ʿAsʿad (first half of the 5th century A.D., cf. Ry 509) until Maʿdikarib Yaʿfur (516 A.D., cf. Ry 510). All occurrences except one are found in texts written after the turn of the era. The latest occurrence is in Abrahā’s stele (CIH 541) dated to the year 543/548 where he tells how he has subjugated 'RB who had raided YZD, a chief of Kinda (KDT), and then employed them in repairing the dam in Marīb1. The exception is RĒS 3945 (line 17). Here, the defeat of the 'RB-M is mentioned between the operations of KRB'L WTR around Nashshān, Nashq and Kaminahu, and the conquest of Naqrān. The dating of this text is still debated and it could be discussed whether the reference really is to 'Arabs. It should be noted that the conquest of the 'RB-M takes place together with that of YDHN and GZRT. 'RB is written with a final -M which might indicate that it is not a regular geographical name but something else. From the context it seems that these 'RB are to be found between al-Jawf and Naqrān.

In this paper I shall make some observations from the South Arabian texts and suggest an identification of these people. If we accept that this word is identical with the ʿarab known from the later Arabic texts and also with the 'Arabs mentioned in other pre-Islamic texts from the report of Salmaneser III about the battle of Qarqar in 853 onwards, it follows that the whole evidence should be taken into account in order to understand who the 'Arabs in South Arabia were. That does not necessarily mean that we automatically should assume that the word always refers to the same kind of people, although we should not exclude that possibility either. More properly speaking, we should not start by claiming that we know what the word means. Determining one’s ignorance is a good start for an investigation.

In spite of this, scholarly literature usually see Arabs as something unproblematic. It is said to refer to bedouin, Arabic-speakers, the Arab people, nomads, desert-dwellers etc. and no conflict is usually seen between these different terms. An exception is Halévy who pointed out that 'RB in the Sabaean texts are defined »according to their

3 Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum pars quarta inscriptioh himyariticas et sabaenas continens III (1924).
5 Alsekaf op. cit. 36–40; Müller op. cit.; Bafaqih op. cit. 271–288; Robin op. cit. 73.
relation to the kings'. The truth is, however, that there has never been a thorough investigation of the matter. The observations here are based on a study of the occurrences of the word 'Arab' and its derivations in all pre-Islamic sources, not only the South Arabian ones. The method has been to read the word as X wherever it occurs, i.e. not taking for granted that the meaning is known. From a study of contexts and by an analysis of the sources an attempt has been made to draw some conclusions about what this word originally stands for in pre-Islamic sources.

The South Arabian material is important since it consists of original documents, i.e. texts not transmitted by literary sources. This makes them similar to some papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and the Aramaic texts from Hatra in Mesopotamia where we also find Arabs mentioned. This even holds, to a somewhat lesser degree, for the Assyrian inscriptions. It should, however, be kept in mind that these documents, at least as far as we know, are not written by 'Arabs'. Both the literary sources and the documents, including the South Arabian texts, are written by non-Arabs. Unlike most of the literary sources, they can be considered official documents and can be expected to reflect current political and legal terminology rather than philosophical, theological and more or less scholarly ideas and speculations. These latter are often prominent in the literary sources like the Greek literature (and also the later Arabo-Islamic sources) which have to be sifted very critically.

The first main observation from the South Arabian texts is that the South Arabian kings, mostly Sabaean ones, had two relations to 'Arabs'. Karib'il Watar conquered them as enemies. This is also reported by Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im from the 1st century A.D. who attacked 'the land of the 'RB' (Ja 560). The same is told about a Qatabanian general from perhaps the same time. In the time of 'Alhān Nahfān (ca. 190 A.D.) Saba was attacked by Ḥimyar, Ḥḍrāmawt and 'RB'.

We thus have a series of texts describing the 'Arabs' as enemies to the South Arabian kings. But there are also numerous texts where we hear about them as being allies of different kings. The 'RB were obviously allies of the armies who attacked 'Alhān Nahfān. From the time of Sha'rum 'Awtar (ca. 220 A.D.) we hear about one general, named 'BKRB 'HRS who was ordered to take command of people from Najrān and 'Arabs' ('RB) to fight in the war with the Ethiopians (Ja 635). As a matter of fact, most of the mentions of 'Arabs' in South Arabian texts present them as allies or mercenaries to the South Arabian kingdoms.

The second observation is that these two kinds of relations between Arabs and the kingdoms seem to be directly reflected by the grammar of the languages. The enemies are, as a rule, called 'RB, 'arāb, the allies are called 'RB, 'a'rāb. The former are, in a couple of passages, located in their own region called 'the land(s) of the Arabs' ('RD[T] 'RBN). The latter mostly occurs as the first part of a genitive construction like 'the 'a'rāb of Marīb (CIH 353), 'the 'a'rāb of the king (Nami 72+73+71, Ja 665, Ir 32)11, even 'the 'a'rāb of Kinda ('RB KDT, Sharafaddin 32)12. This polarisation is almost completely consistent in the South Arabian texts with only a few exceptions (Ir 32, Ja 671, CIH 397, Ry 510).

In consequence, the Arabs in the -long- royal title of the Himyarite kings from 'Abūkārib 'As'ad to Ma'dikarib Ya'fur appear as 'a'rāb: MLK SB WDRYDN WHRDMWT WYMNT WR'RBHMW TWDM WTHMTM, »... and their 'a'rāb of (or rather -in-) the highland and the lowland«. The suffix -HMW, 'their', seems to refer to all the areas mentioned before, thus the 'a'rāb of Saba, Dhū Raydān etc. i.e. the 'a'rāb who belonged to them or were their allies. This also holds for the expression "RB KDT (Ry 508) which should be translated 'the 'a'rāb of Kinda«, the meaning being that Kinda consisted of Kindites plus the 'a'rāb. These 'a'rāb of the last Himyarite kings from the beginning of the 4th century A.D. even stood under a special royal commander, the KBR "RBN (Ja 665, Ir 32).

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8 Halévy op. cit.
9 A full survey of the use of the terms 'RB and "RB in South Arabian texts as well as in other pre-Islamic sources is found in J. Retsô, The Arabs in Antiquity. Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads (2003).
12 A. Jamme, Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqā (Mārib), PAFSM 3 (1962).
This seems to reflect a distinction between the 'RB outside the kingdoms and the "RB subject to the kingdoms. The latter obviously belonged to the rulers of the South Arabian kingdoms, and also to some tribes like Kinda, and were obliged to take part in the military expeditions launched by the kings. According to some texts, e.g. Ja 561bis, they lived along the north eastern borders of former North Yemen, i.e. the border regions of Ḥāshid.

The picture of the "RB in the South Arabian texts strongly reminds us of that of the 'a'rāb in the Qur'ān. They are mentioned in suras 9: 90, 97-101, 120; 33: 20; 48: 11-16 and 49: 14-15. These passages are ascribed to the late Medinan period. The picture emerging from these Qur'ānic passages is that the 'a'rāb were supposed or obliged to take part in the military expeditions organized by the Muslim community in Medina. They are blamed for not having done so, i.e. not having fulfilled their duties, and strongly criticized for this behaviour. Because of these verses, 'a'rāb in later Arabic literature became a negative designation for members of the Islamic community who do not fulfill their duties as supporters or auxiliaries to the Muslim army. It became a synonym for defectors.

The Arab lexicographers state that the 'a'rāb belong to those who live in the areas outside the walled cities, the bādiya. The parallels between the 'a'rāb of the Qur'ān and the "RB of the South Arabian inscriptions is indeed striking. In the latter, there is no indication that "RB is a general designation for nomads or bedouin or the like. The same holds for the Qur'ānic 'a'rāb, against the common view that by 'a'rāb is always meant bedouin, i.e. wild warriors riding on camels. The bādiya is not necessarily a designation for what we would call desert. Instead it stands for areas outside walled cities where one could find both farmers, living in unfortified villages, and shepherds of different kinds. Among these, one could also find the 'a'rāb. They were not nomads or bedouin in the modern sense of the word. Instead they appear as people living outside the city of Medina but standing in some kind of dependence on the city which made it incumbent upon them to support the Medineans in their military operations. An unprejudiced reading of the Qur'ānic verse makes it likely that the 'a'rāb had the same function in Medina as they had in South Arabia, probably living in the border areas as some kind of border guards.

This is, in fact, the picture find also in the Middle East in general, e.g. in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt where it is completely clear from contemporary documents (papyri) that Arabs were employed as border guards and police forces. Also in Egypt they stood under the command of a special official, the arabārkhes, an office which we also find in the Nabataean kingdom and on the shores of the Euphrates around Dura Europos in the Roman period.

In the South Arabian texts there are indications of a geographical location of the 'RB. In RĒS 3945 it is clear that they dwelt somewhere between al-Jawf and Najrán. The "RB of the Sabaean kings were located along the border of ḤṣD, i.e. south from 'Amīr down to Marib. The land of the Arabs, 'aḍ al-'arab, is in early Islamic literature located to a region close to Najrán.

There is no doubt that the word "RB is derived from 'RB. According to the grammar of Sabaean, "RB should be the plural of 'RBY, i.e. the nisba-adjective like ḤMR from ḤMYRY and ḤBŠ from ḤBŠY. This leads to the conclusion that the Qur'ānic 'a'rāb might be a South Arabian loan-word into the Qur'ānic language and that the 'a'rāb in Medina, in fact, were an institution of mercenaries or border guards of the same kind as the "RB of the South Arabian kings.

When the Yemenis sent a delegation to the Prophet in the year 630 it is said that the land of Yemen consisted of four classes of people: 'aḥmūr, khāla'it, mawālit and 'a'rāb which sounds like a genuine description of conditions in Ḥimyar. It is difficult to see the 'RB etc. in the South Arabian texts as a general designation for people living in the rest of the Arabian peninsula or bedouin, nomads etc. Instead we see two groups, the 'RB

13 Lisiān al-'arab li-‘Abī Faḍl Čamil ad-Dīn b. Makram b. Manṣūr al-‘Ifrīqi al-Miṣrī (no year) s. v. ‘RB.
14 Ibidem s. v. BDW.
living in a region close to Najrān and al-Jawf, and
the "RB being people engaged by the South Ara­
bian kings and also by some large tribes like Kinda
as mercenaries and border guards. The connection
between these two groups is admittedly not alto­
gether clear. One might suggest that the "RB were
people who originally belonged to the collective
'RB group but had been hired by rulers of different
kinds as soldiers and guards as hinted at already by
Halévy in 1899.

This picture of Arabs emerging from an un­
prejudiced reading of the South Arabian texts is re­
markably consistent with the picture of the Arabs
emerging from a similar reading of the other pre­
Islamic sources from the north and also with the
testimony of the Qur'ān. From the complete evi­
dence it seems clear that 'arabs' in antiquity is a
designation of limited groups of people, located in
some special areas in Arabia and adjacent regions,
and not a general designation of people living in
Arabia, let alone nomads or bedouin.

Address:
Prof. Dr. Jan Retso, Department of Oriental and
African Languages, Göteborg University Box 200,
SE-40530 Göteborg, jan.retso@arab.gu.se
العرب في جنوب بلاد العرب قبل الإسلام

يان ريتسو

(Jan Retsö)

ملخص:

وردت كلمة "عرب" حوالي أربعين مرة في نقوش مانقل الإسلام في جنوب بلاد العرب. وكلها، باستثناء واحد، من الفترة مقابل القرن الأول والسادس الميلادي. وردت الكلمة في صورتين: "عرب" و"أعراب". ويدعو أن الأولى تصف مجموعة أو مجموعات بالمنطقة المحيطة بواحات نجران؛ والأخيرة تطلق على أبناء عاشوا بمحاذاة الحدود الشمالية الشرقية للقبائل الكبيرة بالمرتفعات وكذلك بمحاذاة حدود الممالك الظفيرة جهة الصحراوية الموجودة في الشمال الشرقي. وعلاء وعلي ذلك يبدو أن الأعراب كانت لهم علاقة خاصة بالملوك ورؤساء القبائل في اليمن بالمعنى الضيق للكلمة، إذ كانوا يخدمون في حراسة الحدود أو كقوات مساعدة. ولن تقتصر هذه أدلة على أن إحدى هذين الكلمتين وصف عام للبدو الرحل أو البدو العربي.

إن مكانة الآلاراب المذكورين في نقوش جنوب بلاد العرب تتأثر بنضوح تلك التأثيرات على المعارب المشار إليهم في القرآن في بعض السور المدنية الأخيرة. وقد كان أعراب يُنظر بال∽نة في المدن (المدينة) وكانت تقع على عاقبهم همهم عسكريّة مشابهة لتلك المهام التي كانت تقع على عاقب الأعراب في جنوب بلاد العرب. وبما أن الكلمة حتى في اللغة العربية مستمرة على الأرجح من إحدى لغات جنوب بلاد العرب، فمن المقبول أن نسلم بأن الأعراب المذكورين في القرآن جماعة أصلها من جنوب بلاد العرب.
HIMYAR AU IVe SIÈCLE DE L'ÈRE CHRÉTIENNE

Analyse des données chronologiques et essai de mise en ordre


I. LES DONNÉES DISPONIBLES

Pour construire la chronologie du IVe s., les données dont on dispose peuvent être classées en cinq catégories. Il s’agit tout d’abord des diverses titulatures des rois de Ḥimyar. Les souverains sont appelés «roi de Saba’ et de dhu-Raydān» (titulature courte), des origines (au début du IVe s. é. chr.) jusqu’au règne de Shammar Yuhan’ish; puis «roi de Saba’, dhu-Raydān, Ḥadramawt et Yamnāt» (titulature longue), après la conquête du Ḥadramawt occidental; enfin «roi de Saba’, dhu-Raydān, Ḥadramawt, Yamnāt et de leurs (tribus) nomades dans le Ṭawdum et la Tīḥāmat» (titulature très longue) à partir du moment où — à la fin du règne d’Abīkarīb As’ād (vers 440-450) — Ḥimyar étend son influence en Arabie centrale et occidentale.

L’évolution de la titulature permet donc de classer les souverains en trois groupes successifs. Mais il n’est peut-être pas inutile de se demander si la titulature représente un critère chronologique incontestable. Certes, la date d’apparition des formules les plus longues fournit un terminus post quem assuré. En sens inverse, il n’est jamais exclu qu’un souverain soit mentionné avec un titre plus court que celui en usage officiellement. L’inscription de Maṣnāt Māriya en donne un bon exemple.

Dans ce texte qui commémore des travaux d’aménagement réalisés par des particuliers ou une tribu dont le nom a disparu, le roi Ṭhawr Yuhan’īm n’est pas invoqué avec la titulature longue, que portent tous les souverains qui le précèdent ou le suivent, mais au moyen de l’énoncé bref: «avec le soutien de leur seigneur Thawr Yuhan’im roi de Saba’ et de dhu-Raydān, fils de Dhamar’ālī Yuhabbīr roi de Saba’ et de dhu-Raydān».

L’inscription mentionne la date de 434, dans un comput qui est sans aucun doute l’ère Ḥimyari;° pour les travaux qu’elle commémore (II 11-12), soit 324-325 é. chr.: il est donc certain que le Thawr mentionné a régné au IVe s. é. chr. et doit


2 mlk S’b’ w-ḥ-Ryd”.
3 mlk S’b’ w-ḥ-Ryd” w-Ḥdramw t w-Ymnt.
4 mlk S’b’ w-ḥ-Ryd” w-Ḥdramw t w-Ymnt w- “rb-hmw Ṭawd” w-Thmt. La première inscription qui emploie cette titulature très longue présente une petite variante: ... et les (tribus) nomades du Ṭawd et de la Tīḥāmat,... w- “rb Ṭawd w-Thmt.
5 Ll. 13-14, w-b-mqm mr-hmw Ḥf Ybn’m mlk S’b’ w-ḥ-Ryd” bn Dmr’ly Ybnhr mlk S’b’ w-ḥ-Ryd”.
être distingué de son homonyme du 11e s. È chr. Cette date de Tha' rân s'accorde bien avec celles qui peuvent être déduites de la chronologie des guerres dans 'Abadân 1 (voir ci-dessous).

Pourquoi les auteurs de l'inscription préfèrent-ils donner au souverain la titulature courte, alors que la longue est d'un emploi systématique? Une première explication pourrait être que Tha' rân Yuhân'im exercè une sorte de vice-royauté sur Ḥimyar au sens étroit (la région de Zafâr), alors que son père règne sur l'ensemble de l'empire7. Elle doit être écartée d’emblée: dans l'invocation, le père de Tha’ rân est également pourvu de la titulature courte.

Une deuxième interprétation pourrait être que la titulature de Dhamar'ali Yuhabîr (et celle de son fils Tha’ rân, associé au trône comme vice-roi) est courte parce que ce roi n’a pas encore été intronisé par l'ensemble des composantes de l'empire. Mais d'autres inscriptions (Ir 31 et 32) prouvent que Dhamar’ali Yuhabîr porte la titulature longue avant même que Tha’rân Yuhân’im soit associé au trône.

L'explication la plus vraisemblable est que les auteurs du texte, des Himyarites de souche, don- nent à leur souverain le titre traditionnel, qui a cessé d'être utilisé officiellement, par habitude: on observe d’ailleurs que seules les inscriptions royales respectent scrupuleusement la phraséologie officielle, tandis que les textes rédigés par les particuliers prennent souvent quelque liberté avec les formules stéréotypées. De plus, une titulature brève raccourcissait le texte et diminuait d’autant le coût de sa gravure.

Il convient d’ailleurs de remarquer que, vers la même époque (sous la corégence de Dhamar’ali Yuhabîr et de son fils Tha’ rân Yuhân’im), la

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monarchie himyarite est désignée par l'expression "les rois de Saba' et de dhu-Raydân" (Schmidt-Ma'rib 28/10-11). Ce titre exprime bien l'essence du pouvoir royal à cette époque.

Une deuxième catégorie de données utiles pour construire la chronologie est constituée par les inscriptions datées. Pour la période retenue, les plus significatives sont:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texte</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Règne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mi'säl 5</td>
<td>198 radm.</td>
<td>Yásir'im Yuhan'im TC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIH 46 (= Gl 799)</td>
<td>385 him.</td>
<td>Yásir'im Yuhan'im + fils Shammar Yuhar'ish TC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIH 448+Hakir 1</td>
<td>396 him.</td>
<td>Yásir'im Yuhan'im + fils Shammar Yuhar'ish [TC]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES 4196</td>
<td>316 maḏḥ.</td>
<td>Shammar Yuhar'ish TL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. Būsān 4</td>
<td>[40]7 him.</td>
<td>Shammar Yuhar'ish TL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMN 13</td>
<td>409 [him.]</td>
<td>Shammar Yuhar'ish TL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YM 1695</td>
<td>42[0] him.</td>
<td>Shammar Yuhar'ish TL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VL 29a</td>
<td>345 maḏḥ.</td>
<td>Pas de souverain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṣna'at Māriya</td>
<td>434 [him.]</td>
<td>Tha'rān Yuhan'im TC fils de Dhamar'ali Yuhabirr TC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAFRAY-Ḥaṣī 5</td>
<td>3[6]5 maḏḥ.</td>
<td>Pas de souverain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abadān 1</td>
<td>470 him.</td>
<td>Tha'rān Yun'im, Tha'rān Ayfa', Dhammar'ali Ayfa'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

him.: ère de Ḥimyar dont le début peut être situé en avril 110 av. è. chr.
maḏḥ.: ère de Maḏḥiy'im, dont le début est approximativement en 33±11 av. è. chr.
radm.: ère de Radmān, dont le début serait en avril 74 è. chr.
TC: titulature courte;
TL: titulature longue;
TTL: titulature très longue.

Cette liste permet avant tout de constater qu'entre 396 et [40]7 him., Shammar Yuhar'ish passe de la titulature courte, héritée de son père, à la longue.

Les liens de parenté entre souverains constituent une troisième catégorie de données exploitables pour construire la chronologie. Ils permettent d'esquissier deux fragments de généalogies. La première séquence se limite à deux générations (Yásir'im – Shammar):

- Règne de Yásir'im Yuhan'im TC,
- Corégence de Yásir'im Yuhan'im et de son fils Shammar Yuhar'ish TC,
- Règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish TC,
- Règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish TL.

La seconde séquence comporte cinq générations (Dhamar'ali – Tha'rān – Malkikarib – Abīkarib – Shuriḥbi'il):

- Règne de Dhamar'ali Yuhabirr TL,
- Corégence de Dhamar'ali Yuhabirr et de son fils Tha'rān Yuhan'im TL,
- Règne de Tha'rān Yuhan'im TL (TC dans Maṣna'at Māriya),

La restitution de la date, II. 5-6 (I) mḏr* d-b-ḥryf* d-l-'b't w-f/…b'n 'b'h'd), est assurée. La conjonction mḏw après s'b't est interdite de suppléer [41] ([s'b't 's'r w-v'b' m't*]); voir par exemple Garb Ant. Yem., 9. Bayt al-Aswāl d, daté de 619, d-l-'b't 's'r w-s't m't*). Par ailleurs, la date de [39]7 est exclue par la chronologie: en 396 him., Shammar règne encore avec son père, et il est difficile de supposer qu'en une année, il ait succédé à son père, régné pendant un certain temps avec la titulature courte et adopté la titulature longue.
Corégence de Tha'rân Yuhan'im et de son fils Malkikarib Yuha'min TL,
Corégence de Malkikarib Yuha'min et de ses fils Abikarib As'ad et Dhara'amar Ayman TL,
Corégences d'Abikarib As'ad avec diverses séquences de fils TL, puis TTL,
Règne de Shurîbî'il Ya'fur TTL.

L'évolution des corégences est une quatrième catégorie de données. Elle offre des indications chronologiques précieuses, mais doit être maniée avec précaution. Il apparaît en effet que seules les inscriptions royales énumèrent avec précision tous les occupants du trône. Les textes rédigés par les particuliers ne citent pas nécessairement tous les souverains. De ce texte, il est toujours attesté en corégence avec son père Malkikarib Yuha'min et son frère Abîkarib As'ad, ou comme l'un des corégents de son frère Abîkarib As'ad, ou comme l'un des corégents de son père Malkikarib Yuha'min et son frère Abîkarib As'ad. Il disparaît probablement avant son frère Abîkarib As'ad, comme le montre la comparaison de Garb-Minkath 111 et de Ry 534+MAFY-Rayda 1/2–312.

Enfin, pour élaborer la chronologie, il reste un dernier ensemble d'informations, les événements de toutes sortes qui peuvent être ordonnés en séquences. C'est l'approche qui a été la moins explorée et que nous allons essayer de mettre en œuvre. Mais auparavant, il convient de rappeler quels sont les règnes du ive siècle sur lesquels l'attention doit se porter parce que leur date est particulièrement incertaine. Ce sont:

Règne de Karîb'il Watîr Yuhan'im TL (Ir 28, Ja 666, Ja 667)
Corégence de Yâsîrîm Yuhan'im et de Tha'rân Ayfa' TL (Ja 664)
Corégence de Yâsîrîm Yuhan'im et de son fils Dhara'amar Ayman TL (Ir 29, Ja 665)
Corégence de [XXX Yuhan'im et de ses fils XXX Ayfa' rois... (Garb, Framm. Ep. Sab. 6) Corégence de [XXX et son frère Tha'rân Ayfa' rois... (Gl 1539)

Il serait également nécessaire de cerner plus précisément ce qui sont le roi Tha'rân Ayfa' et le roi Dhîmar'âlî Ayfa'. Il serait également nécessaire de cerner plus précisément ce qui sont le roi Tha'rân Ayfa' et le roi Dhîmar'âlî Ayfa' dans 'Abadân 1/24 et 26.

II. LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE HIMARITE-ÂDÂRAMAWTIQUE SOUS SHAMMAR YUHAR'ISH:
LA CONQUÊTE DU ÂDÂRAMAWT OCCIDENTAL

Deux guerres ont été nécessaires à Himyar pour conquérir le Âdâramawt. Pour l'une comme pour l'autre, le déroulement de l'action principale, à savoir les opérations menées par l'armée royale himyarite, n'est pas connu. Nous ne sommes renseignés que sur certaines actions de diversion effectuées par des Sabéens ou par des Arabes dépendant de Saba', parce que ces alliés de Himyar ont adressé à leurs divinités des actions de grâces qui nous sont parvenues.

La première guerre a lieu sous le long règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish, qu'elle divise en deux séquences de durée approximativement égale.


M. Bayhân 5 (Shammar Yuhar'ish TC)

Shâfî'athar Awlaţ Ayfa' fils de Shahr, chef de la cavalerie royale, fait une dédicace dans le temple Awwâm, parce qu'Almaqah l'a exaucé «quand son seigneur Shammar Yuhar'ish, roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydân, fils de Yâsîrîm Yuhan'im roi de Saba'

9 « Avec le soutien de son seigneur Dhara'amar Ayma'în roi de Saba', dhu-Raydân, Âdâramawt et Yammât, w-b-mqm mr'-hu Dr'mr 'ym'nl mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd' w-Hardawt w-Ymnt.
12 «... pour le salut de leurs seigneurs Abîkarib As'ad, Hâsîân Yuha'min, Ma'dîkarib Yuha'min, Marsha'dîlan Yâs'a'n et Shurîbî'il Ya'fur, roi de Saba', dhu-Raydân, Âdâramawt et (Yammât).
et de dhu-Raydân, l'a envoyé pour surveiller et prendre en embuscade les secours de Kiddat, quand ceux-ci portaient secours au Ḥadramawt, et qu'il les prit en embuscade à Arâk.\(^{13}\)

La cavalerie Ḥimyarite tend donc une embuscade à la tribu arabe de Kiddat (en arabe Kinda) à Arâk, un endroit qui est à nouveau le théâtre d'un accrochage entre Ḥimyarites et Ḥadramawtiques, quelques décennies plus tard (Ja 665/22). Arâk se trouve certainement dans le désert qui s'étend entre Marib et le Ḥadramawt. Une première localisation pourrait être le petit massif de Ruwayk, à l'est-nord-est de Shabwa et à 125 km à l'ouest-nord-ouest de Marib\(^{14}\), si on suppose que Ruwayk est une déformation de ṭêḵ\(^{15}\). Une autre possibilité serait de reconnaître dans Arâk le nom ancien de Bi'r Ḥamad (à 100 km à l'est-nord-est de Shabwa et à 80 km au sud-est d'al-'Abr), comme le suggère le déroulement des opérations dans Ja 665.

M. Bayḥān 5 est le premier document du règne de Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh à faire état d'un conflit entre Ḥimyar et le Ḥadramawt, alors que se souvient de la tribu de Kiddat Apportes au Ḥadramawt, à partir d'Arâk, le nom ancien de Bi'r Ḥamad (à 100 km à l'est-nord-est de Shabwa et à 80 km au sud-est d'al-'Abr), comme le suggère le déroulement des opérations dans Ja 665.

Deux gouverneurs (wz') de la tribu de Saba', Ya'amar Ashwa'et son frère Zaydqawm' Yadra' et ses descendants, deux fils (Rabi'at [..]har et Kinānāt Yabdur) et cinq petits-fils (Ṭaymallāt As'ad, Wafīy' Azraf, Wabballāt, Yaḥmad et Abikarib) sont des banū 'Athkalān (plus précisément des banū 'Athkalān 'Aṣayt et dhu-Rasām\(^{16}\))\(^{16}\), l'un des plus prestigieux lignages sahéns, compté au nombre des Mathāmina (Robin 1989). Ils font une dédicace dans le temple Awwām, notamment parce qu'ils sont revenus sains et saufs et comblés de deux campagnes guerrières.

Pendant la première, ils ont servi sous les ordres de Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh, roi de Saba', dhu-Raydân, Ḥadramawt et Yamnāt (noter la titulature longue), lors des hostilités queSharah'īl et Rabbishām\(^{17}\), rois du Ḥadramawt, avaient provoquées. La seconde campagne les amène, avec leur tribu Saba' Kahlān, dans le Sarīrān (nom ancien du wādī Ḥadramawt à partir de Ṣūrān).

Cette seconde campagne est sans doute identique à celle évoquée dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32, puisqu'on retrouve la même tribu (Saba') et les mêmes résultats. Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh a encore la titulature courte dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32, mais déjà la titulature

Sharaf al-Dīn 32 (Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh TC)

Deux gouverneurs (wz') de la tribu de Saba', Ya'amar Ashwa'et son frère Ṣaydqawm\(^{17}\) Aryam banū dhu-Khalfaān Amār,\(^{18}\) commémorent la dédicace d'une statue de bronze à Almaqah Thawākān maître d'Awwām. Parmi les motifs de reconnaissance, les auteurs rappellent le succès d'une expédition dans le Ḥadramawt oriental, exécutée à la demande de Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh, roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydân.

Le corps expéditionnaire, qui réunit la tribu de Saba' (ṣ\(^{19}\) b\(^{20}\) ṣ\(^{b}\) b\(^{21}\)), une partie de l'armée royale (d-bn ḫm\(^{n}\))\(^{22}\) et les auxiliaires béduins ("rb"; il. 10–11), compte 800 chameleïs sabéens, 600 chameleïs fournis par divers tribus (Ḥumlān, Ḥawlān, les Nashqītes, les Arabes et Kiddat) et 60 cavaliers (il. 11–14)\(^{16}\). Il fait de l'eau à 'Akrān (aujourd'hui al-'Abr), à 90 km au nord de Shabwa, puis lance un raid contre les villes et les villas de "Uqran", Shibām, Ṭaṭḥāt\(^{23}\) et Say'ūn, qui sont dévastées.

Ja 656 (Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh TL)

Zaydqawm\(^{17}\) Yadra' et ses descendants, deux fils (Rabi'at [..]har et Kinānāt Yabdur) et cinq petits-fils (Ṭaymallāt As'ad, Wafīy' Azraf, Wabballāt, Yaḥmad et Abikarib) sont des banū 'Athkalān (plus précisément des banū 'Athkalān 'Aṣayt et dhu-Rasām\(^{16}\))\(^{16}\), l'un des plus prestigieux lignages sahéns, compté au nombre des Mathāmina (Robin 1989). Ils font une dédicace dans le temple Awwām, notamment parce qu'ils sont revenus sains et saufs et comblés de deux campagnes guerrières.

Pendant la première, ils ont servi sous les ordres de Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh, roi de Saba', dhu-Raydân, Ḥadramawt et Yamnāt (noter la titulature longue), lors des hostilités queSharah'īl et Rabbishām\(^{17}\), rois du Ḥadramawt, avaient provoquées. La seconde campagne les amène, avec leur tribu Saba' Kahlān, dans le Sarīrān (nom ancien du wādī Ḥadramawt à partir de Ṣūrān).

Cette seconde campagne est sans doute identique à celle évoquée dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32, puisqu'on retrouve la même tribu (Saba') et les mêmes résultats. Ṣhammar Yuhar'îsh a encore la titulature courte dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32, mais déjà la titulature

\(^{13}\) ṭêḵ


\(^{15}\) C'est l'hypothèse retenue par la carte Ch. Robin – U. Brunner, Map of Ancient Yemen – Carte du Yémen antique, 1: 1 000 000 (1997) I. 5.

\(^{16}\) Lire: b-bm m\(^{16}\) b-bm b-b' b' b-b b-b' b-b m\(^{17}\) m\(^{19}\) b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b' b-b'

\(^{17}\) Corriger ainsi le b-b' d'A. F. L. Beeston, Warfare in Ancient South Arabia (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.), Qahlan: Studies in Old South Arabian Epigraphy 3 (1976). Dans la transcription de Sharaf al-Dīn, on lit "r' qui est une erreur d'imprimerie pour "q" (en arabe, le fa' et le qaaf ne se distinguent que par le nombre de points diacrétiques placés au-dessus de la lettre).
longue dans Ja 656: la seconde dédicace a donc été rédigée un peu plus tard que la première. Le changement de titulature, qui traduit dans les institutions l'expansion territoriale très noble si on observe que 

Les deux fragments CIH 431+438 évoquent la tribu de Saba', que commandent probablement les dédicants (l. 1), puis ils énumèrent une suite de cités du wâdi Ḥadramawt: "Uqrâân, Shibâm et Say'ûn]. À nouveau, il s'agit très certainement de la campagne décrite par Sharaf al-Dîn 32: même liste de villes (dans Sharaf al-Dîn 32: "Uqrâân, Shibâm, Ratgharûm et Say'ûn, avec ajout d'un nom), même participants (Saba'), même règne. La fin du texte énumère les souhaits habituels.

Sharaf al-Dîn 34

Ilîghazz Yâshû b. Sha'rân offre deux statuettes à Almaqah parce que le dieu s'est montré favorable quand il a fait une expédition à la ville de Shibâm au Ḥadramawt, et parce qu'il lui a accordé de revenir avec des (ennemis) tués, des captifs et du butin. Le roi Shammar Yuhar'îsh, dont le dédi- cante la guerre qui oppose Shammar d'une part, Sharâhîrîl et Rabbîshamûm d'autre part, semble précéder la campagne dans Sarfrân, sans qu'on puisse déterminer de combien de temps.

Le déroulement de ce conflit et ses conséquences

Après la défaite et la capture de son roi Ilî'azz Yalût, dans les années 220, le Ḥadramawt a sans doute perdu ses territoires les plus occidentaux, Radmân et le wâdi Bayhân. Mais il semble avoir conservé Markha, Dura' et 'Abâdân, ses possessions au sud du désert de Ramlat al-Sab'atayn.

Le déroulement de la nouvelle guerre peut être reconstruit en partie. Comme il a déjà été dit, seuls les épisodes impliquant des Sabéens ou des Arabes dans la dépendance de Saba' sont connus: les auteurs de CIH 431+438+948 et de Ja 656 appartiennent à deux grands lignages sabéens de Marib, les Muqâramûm et les 'Athkalân; ceux de Sharaf al-Dîn 32 sont des gouverneurs de Saba'.

18 Robin-Brunner carte cit. I 8.
20 Voici comment le texte, en partie corrompu, est donné par Ahmad Sharaf al-Dîn: w-l-dî tsm 'bd-brw 'lgz-y'; b-kn s'b 'dy kb'; S'mrn 'ld Ḥârmwlt w-l-dî tsm-brw tw b-mbrq' w-s'by' 'w-gmûm".
Manifestement, ces Sabéens ne sont guère engagés par Shammar Yuhar'ish dans les opérations menées contre les deux rois du Ḥadramawt, Sharahṭ'il et Rabbâshamsîm (Ja 656), ou contre Sharahṭ'il seul (CIH 948). Mais ils sont chargés d’une importante opération de diversion dans le wâdî Ḥadramawt, dont ils pillent les villes de Uqran à Sayʿān.

Très peu de temps après ce raid, Shammar Yuhar'ish adopte la titulature longue, qui ajoute Ḥadramawt et Yamnāt à «roi de Saba’ et de duh-Raydān»: dans une dédicace offerte au retour de ce raid (Sharaf al-Dîn 32), il porte encore la titulature courte, mais dans trois autres un peu plus tardives (CIH 431+438+948, Ja 656 et Sharaf al-Dîn 34), l’allongement de la titulature a déjà été opéré.

On peut s’interroger sur l’ampleur de la redistribution territoriale que le changement de titulature implique. Il semble certain que Ḥimyar a conquis et annexé Shabwat, la capitale du Ḥadramawt: alors que Shammar porte déjà la titulature longue, des Sabéens sont envoyés en garnison à Shabwat (Ja 662) ou participent au grand pèlerinage de Sayʿān (Ir Suppl. B 3). Il est vraisemblable que tous les territoires Ḥaḍramawtiques sur le pourtour de Ramlat al-Sabʿastayn (Markha, Ḍūra’, ‘Abādān et Jurdān) deviennent également ḥimyarites; à ce propos, il est possible que le terme Yamnāt ajouté à la titulature désigne les possessions Ḥaḍramawtiques les plus méridionales, notamment Markha, Ḍūra’ et ‘Abādān. En revanche, rien n’indique que le wâdî Ḥaḍramawt lui-même (Sarīrān) soit passé sous le contrôle himyarite: les relations du raid sabéen évoquent le pillage de cette région, mais non la prise de ses villes; par ailleurs, le wâdî est le cœur de la résistance Ḥaḍramawtique une trentaine d’années plus tard.

L’emblème qui symbolise le nouvel État est probablement édifié au moment du changement de titulature. Il se compose de trois figures: ce sont, en allant de gauche à droite, le monogramme de Ṣaqrî (palais royal Ḥaḍramawtique à Shabwat), l’emblème de Ḥimyar (apparemment le monogramme stylisé du dieu Wagl) et un monogramme incompris (composé des lettres b, f, h et I)22. Il est vrai que cet emblème n’est pas attesté sous le règne de Shammar Yuhar’ish, mais seulement sous ceux, un peu plus tardifs, de Yāsīr’ān Yuhānʾīm II, puis de Dhamarʾalī Yuhābīra en corégence avec son fils Thaʾrān Yuhānʾīm)22.

La date de la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt occidental peut être fixée approximativement. Elle précède de peu le changement de titulature, qui intervient entre duh-qayyān 396 (juillet 286) et duḥ-maddhʀāʾān [40]7 ħim. (juillet 297). En 396 ħim., Shammar Yuhar’ish est encore le corégent de son père Yāsīr’ān Yuhānʾīm. En duḥ-maddhṛān [40]7 ħim., il porte déjà la titulature longue. Entre ces deux dates, il faut placer la fin de la corégence Yāsīr’ān – Shammar, le règne de Shammar seul avec la titulature courte, la guerre avec le Ḥaḍramawt et le début du règne de Shammar avec la titulature longue. La titulature courte semble avoir été en usage pendant une période assez longue, qui ne devrait pas être inférieure à la moitié de la durée totale du règne de Shammar puisque, sur 31 documents utilisables, 18 donnent à Shammar la titulature courte et 13 seulement la titulature longue23. On sait que le règne solitaire de Shammar commence après 396 ħim. et qu’il n’est pas achevé en 42[0] ħim. Le changement de titulature interviendra donc un peu après le milieu de la période 396–42[0] ħim., mais de toute façon avant duḥ-maddhṛāʾān [40]7 ħim. (première attestation de la titulature longue): il faut donc le situer juste avant duḥ-maddḥraʾān 407 ħim. Dès lors, la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt occidental, qui est immédiatement antérieure au changement de titulature, peut être datée de 406 ħim., soit 296/297 ñ chr. environ.

21 L’un des sens possibles de «Yamnāt» est «sud».
22 Ce monogramme, qui symbolise probablement Yamnāt, est peut-être formé, lui aussi, avec les lettres d’un nom de palais (encore inconnu).
23 Dans le premier document, il ne subsiste que le monogramme de droite, et dans le second, la figure du centre: Robin, Ṣayḥalīca op. cit. (v. n. 7) 122–124.
24 Bien évidemment, ce découpage ne donne qu’un ordre de grandeur des durées. Inscriptions dans lesquelles Shammar Yuhar’ish apparaît avec la titulature courte: CIH 407; CIH 628=RES 2676 (où le nom du roi est restitué), Ir 15, Ir 16, Ir 17, Ja 649, Ja 650, Ja 651; Ja 652; Ja 653; Ja 654; Ja 655; Kitchen PSAS 1995; M. Bayḥān 3; RES 3910; RES 4230; Sharaf al-Dîn 32; Sharaf al-Dîn 35. – Avec la titulature longue: CIH 431+438+948; Ir 30; Ir Suppl. B 3; Ja 656; Ja 657; Ja 658; Ja 660; Ja 661; Ja 662; Sharaf al-Dîn 31; Sharaf al-Dîn 34; YM 1695; YMN 13.

Dans Robin-Rada’s, l’absence d’épithète et de date ne permet pas d’établir si ce texte remonte au règne de Shammar Yuhāṃid ou à celui de Shammar Yuhar’ish.
Faisant suite à l'annexion de Saba' dans les années 270 à chr., la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt tra­hit certainement une volonté hégémonique de Ḥimyar en Arabie méridionale. Elle n'a pu qu'in­quiéter les puissances voisines, notamment la Perse sassanide qui domine la rive arabo-persique. La constitution de la principauté vassale d'al-Ḥira, sur la rive occidentale du Moyen-Euphrate, date précocement de cette époque. Quant au raid d'Imru' al-Qays contre Nagrán, rapporté par l'inscription d'al-Namâra, ne serait-il pas une tentative sassanide de soutenir le Ḥaḍramawt en ouvrant un deuxième front? Dans cette hypo­thèse, ce raid pourrait être daté des années qui précèdent 296 à chr. La période se prêtait bien à des initiatives himyarites. Le roi Bahram II était mort en 293 et son successeur, Narseh (293–302) était paralysé par une guerre civile dynastique. L'importance des relations avec la Perse est confirmée par l'envoi d'une ambassade himyarite dans la capitale sassanide après le changement de titulature de Shammar, s'il en est croire Sharaf al-Dîn 31.

Les traditions yéménites et arabes considèrent Shammar Yuha'ish comme l'un des premiers tubba' (rois yéménites dont le pouvoir couvre toute l'Arabie méridionale) et ont fait de lui un héros légendaire, auquel sont attribuées des con­quêtes lointaines et fabuleuses.

III. LA SECONDE GUERRE ḤIMYARITO-ḤAḌRA­MAWTIQUE SOUS YÂSIRIsm YUHAN'IM II ET DHAMA'RÂL'I YuHABIRR: LA CONQUÊTE DU ḤAḌRA­MAWT ORIENTAL

La seconde guerre met un terme définitif à l'in­dépendance du Ḥaḍramawt, qui est annexé par Ḥimyar. Son déroulement montre que les règnes de Yâsirîsm Yuhan'im et de Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr se suivent, ce qui rejette Karib'îl Watâr Yuhan'im avant Yâsirîsm Yuhan'im II.

Les documents: CIH 397, Ir 31, Ir 32, Ja 665, Schmidt-Ma'rib 28+Ja 668. Ce sont des commémora­tions d'offrandes au dieu Almaqah dans le temple Awwâm de Marib ou dans celui de Ṣîrwâh (CIH 397). En dehors de Ja 665, qui date de la première phase du conflit, tous évoquent le même raid victorieux qui semble avoir été décisif pour la victoire de Ḥimyar.

Ja 665, Ir 32 et CIH 397

Ja 665 et Ir 32 rapportent de manière détaillée deux campagnes de cette seconde guerre. L'écart chron­nologique entre ces deux campagnes ne doit pas être très grand puisque les deux textes ont le même auteur, exerçant les mêmes fonctions: «Sa'ad'ta' lab Yatlâf b. Gadanîsm, chef des (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba', à savoir Kîddat, Madhibîsm, Harîmsm, Bâhîîsm et Zaydîl, et de toutes les (tribus) nomades de Saba', Ḥimyarîsm, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnatsm.»

Pourtant, les deux inscriptions datent de deux règles différents. La campagne dont Ja 665 rap­porte le déroulement est commandée par «leur seigneurs Yâsîrîsm Yuhan'im et son fils Dhara'am Ayman, rois de Saba', khu-Raydân, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnats» (ll. 7–11). Le raid relât de Ir 32 est ordonné par «leur seigneur Dhammar'alî Yuhabirr roi de Saba', khu-Raydân, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnats» (ll. 9–10). Il importe donc de rechercher si les deux campagnes se suivent immédiatement, ce qui per­mettrait de conclure que Dhammar'alî succède à Yâsirîsm.


20 Bien que l'inscription ne le précise pas, Imru' al-Qays est probablement le deuxième souverain de la principauté d'al-Ḥira.


22 S'îd ibl Yîlî b'n Gdns kbr "rb mlk S'îl w-Kdî w-Mdhgm w-Hrm'm w-Bht' w-Zy'dl w-kî' "rb mlk w-Hmryr w-Ḥārimti w-Ymmt. Cette titulature énumère «les (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba'» (noter le mot «roi»), une série de tribus arabes, enfin «toutes les (tribus) nomades de Saba', Ḥimyarîsm, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnats» (sans mention du roi). Il semblerait qu'elle distingue deux catégories de tribus nomades: celles qui dépendent directement de la couronne et celles qui se rattachent à l'un des quatre ensembles tribaux constituant le royaume. On ne saurait dire si les tribus de Kîddat, Madhibîsm, Harîmsm, Bâhîîsm et Zaydîl «appartiennent à la première catégorie ou constituent un ensemble autonome. Dans Ir 32/12-13, on relève l'expression «les (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba', à savoir Kîddat, Nâgrân et Sûflân» (w-"rb mlk S'îl w-Kdî w-Ngrî w-Sûflî); il est vraisem­blable que Nâgrân et Sûflân sont des sous-groupes relevant de Madhibîsm, Harîmsm, Bâhîîsm ou Zaydîl.»


24 Bien que l'inscription ne le précise pas, Imru' al-Qays est probablement le deuxième souverain de la principauté d'al-Ḥira.


26 S'îd ibl Yîlî b'n Gdns kbr "rb mlk S'îl w-Kdî w-Mdhgm w-Hrm'm w-Bht' w-Zy'dl w-kî' "rb mlk w-Hmryr w-Ḥārimti w-Ymmt. Cette titulature énumère «les (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba'» (noter le mot «roi»), une série de tribus arabes, enfin «toutes les (tribus) nomades de Saba', Ḥimyarîsm, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnats» (sans mention du roi). Il semblerait qu'elle distingue deux catégories de tribus nomades: celles qui dépendent directement de la couronne et celles qui se rattachent à l'un des quatre ensembles tribaux constituant le royaume. On ne saurait dire si les tribus de Kîddat, Madhibîsm, Harîmsm, Bâhîîsm et Zaydîl «appartiennent à la première catégorie ou constituent un ensemble autonome. Dans Ir 32/12-13, on relève l'expression «les (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba', à savoir Kîddat, Nâgrân et Sûflân» (w-"rb mlk S'îl w-Kdî w-Ngrî w-Sûflî); il est vraisem­blable que Nâgrân et Sûflân sont des sous-groupes relevant de Madhibîsm, Harîmsm, Bâhîîsm ou Zaydîl.»
On notera que Sa’adta’lab est un Sabéen de hautrang: le lignage de Gadanun, auquel il appartient, est classé par les traditionnistes parmi les Mathāmina29.

Selon Ja 665, les deux rois Yāsīrin Yuhānim et Dhara'amar Ayman envoient Sa’adta’lab en avant-garde de l’armée royale vers le Ḥadramawt. La troupe commandée par Sa’adta’lab se compose de deux groupes, des auxiliaires nomades originaires de Kiddat et les citoyens de deux cités du Jawf, Nashqun et Naṣshān30. Quand le corps expéditionnaire se concentre à ‘Abrān (auj. al-‘Abr, à 220 km à l’est-nord-est de Marib et à 90 km au nord de Shabwa), il compte 750 chameliers et 70 cavaliers. On peut supposer que les Kīdīttes viennent des régions situées entre Qaryat al-Faw et le Ḥadramawt, d’où le choix de ‘Abrān comme point de rencontre.

Cinq épisodes sont rapportés:

1. Le premier affrontement (ll. 16–24) oppose l’avant-garde de cette troupe (trente chameliers et quatre cavaliers) à une petite formation (soixante-dix chameliers) que le roi du Ḥadramawt a chargée de capturer un Sabéen. Ce roi, le dernier du Ḥadramawt, n’est pas nommé ici, mais on trouve son nom (Anmārin) à la fin d’Ir 32. Le heurt se produit à Arāk (v. k, l. 22), peut-être l’actuel Bir Ḥamad, et se conclut par le massacre de tous les Ḥadramawtiques sauf un chamelier et trois fantassins. C’est au même endroit que, sous le règne de Shammar Yuhāribirr, des cavaliers Ḥimyarites avaient tendu une ambuscade à des Ḥimyarites portant secours au Ḥadramawt (M. Bayhān 5, ci-dessus).

2. Ensuite, l’ensemble de la troupe lance un raid contre Duḥr et Ṛahkan, deux wādīs immédiatement au sud et au sud-ouest de Bir Ḥamad, et y fait du butin (ll. 24–27).

3. Après cela, la même troupe combat sous les sources de Khunun, à 70 km au nord-nord-est de Shabwa, non loin d’al-‘Abr (ll. 27–28). Le laconisme de ce passage, qui ne donne aucun détail sur les forces engagées ni sur l’issue de la bataille suggère que les Ḥimyarites ont été dominés ou même défaites.

4. Plus tard, le camp Ḥimyarite est attaqué de nuit par l’armée du Ḥadramawt, qui compte 3 500 chameliers et 125 cavaliers, commandés par Rabī’at fils de Wā’ilun, Dhuhlun le Ḥūlīte et Afsā fils de Gumān, capitaine des chameliers (ll. 31–33)31. Les Ḥimyarites tuent 850 hommes et font 470 prisonniers, notamment Afsā le capitaine et Jusham capitaine des cavaliers32; ils capturent 45 chevaux et en mettent 30 hors de combat; ils s’emparent enfin de 1 200 chameaux avec leur harnachement (ll. 28–39).

5. Le dernier épisode (ll. 39–46) n’est pas mieux localisé que le précédent. Sa’adta’lab est appelé à l’aide à cause de l’attaque d’un certain Ba’sun (B’sun). Avec 35 cavaliers, il remporte un succès total, se saisit du campement et des chameaux; seul Ba’sun, un cheval et une chamelle lui échappent.

Dans les souhaitsex, l’auteur indique incidemment qu’il n’a perdu qu’un seul homme.

Le texte est complet. La guerre qu’il décrit se déroule dans le désert entre Marib et Shabwat. L’issue du conflit est encore incertaine quand Sa’adta’lab revient à Marib et dédie son offrande dans le temple Awwām.

Ir 32 a le même auteur, Sa’adta’lab. Ce général sabéen est en garnison avec sa troupe d’Arabes à Nashqun, dans le Jawf, pour assurer une protection contre le Ḥadramawt, quand le roi Dhamar’alī Yuhabirr lui ordonne de partir en campagne. La troupe qu’il commande se concentre au temple de Ḫamad, à 80 km au nord-est de Nashqun; elle se compose de 300 Sabéens de Marib, de 300 auxiliaires nomades de Kiddat, de Nagrān et

29 Robin 1989 op.cit. (v. n. 19). Sa’adta’lab, bien que Sabéen, porte un nom composé avec le dieu d’une autre tribu, à savoir Ṭlab dieu de Sam’i. C’est inhabituel. Une explication pourrait être que la mère de Sa’adta’lab était originaire de Sam’i; une autre possibilité serait que Sa’adta’lab était lui-même Sam’iyote et qu’il avait reçu en apanage, pour services rendus au souverain, les biens du lignage Gadanun.

30 Ll. 12–14, w-tmhiri-huwa Kub mlk Sib’ w-Kdt w-b’l Nfrq w-Ns. Cependant, aux ll. 20–21, il est indiqué que le roi du Ḥadramawt cherche à capturer un prisonnier dans le contingent des Deux villes et de Marib (bt ms’b bghmhn w-Mrb). Cette indication suggère que la troupe comptait également des combattants originaires de Marib. Ce pourrait être tout simplement les parents et les proches qui accompagnaient Sa’adta’lab.

31 Rb’t bn Wl’w-Dhbl Wl’f w-fṣy bn Gmn mlk rkbr.

32 Gt’s mlk ḡris. 
du Jawf33 et de 70 cavaliers (dont 20 amenés de Nashqum).

Sans donner d’information sur la situation militaire générale, Sa’adta’lab rapporte qu’il lance un raid contre Šawā’ran, la ville qui défend l’entrée du wādī Ḥadramawt, à 150 km à l’est-nord-est de Shabwa. Après une tentative de résistance, la ville capitule.

Ensuite la troupe, renforcée par des hommes de Šawā’ran, se dirige contre Shibām et Ṣadifān; la bataille qui a lieu aux portes de Shibām fait 70 morts chez l’ennemi, qui se replie dans la ville, mais capitule après un siège de 13 jours.

Le raid se poursuit avec la prise de Ratghatum, Say’un, Maryamatam et Ėlidib. Il atteint Umr Ėhlān et Tarīm, assiège cette ville, coupe deux mille arbres34, et obtient la capitulation après un siège de 12 jours.

Il se termine avec des opérations contre Dammūn, Mashṭat et ‘Urr Kulaybum, qui capitule.

Lors du retour dans la capitale, Žafār, le bilan est impressionnant, avec 1300 ennemis tués, 100 (guerriers) prisonniers et 3000 captifs. Sa’adta’lab ramène ainsi Anmārum que les Ḥadramawtiques avaient fait roi (ll. 42–43)35, Rabi’at fils de Wā’ilum (mentionné comme l’un des commandants d’une armée dans Ja 665/31–32), Afsā fils de Gummān et Gusham fils de Mālikum (capturés lors des opérations rapportées dans Ja 665: voir ll. 35–36), plus cinq autres personnalités, tous Šadīfites, auxquels s’ajoutent deux Saybānites et quatre [...].

L’inscription CIH 397 complète la description des effectifs participant au raid de Sa’adta’lab. Ses auteurs, des habitants de Širwāh clients du roi36, participent à une expédition militaire dans le Sarīrān, sous la direction de Sa’adta’lab dhu-Gadanum, « avec la tribu de Saba’ et les Arabes » (ll. 7–8)37. Eux-mêmes se rangent certainement parmi les Arabes puisque, comme clients du roi, ils n’appartiennent pas à une tribu sudarabique38.

Plusieurs indices donnent à penser que Ja 665 et Ir 32 se rapportent bien à deux épisodes successifs d’une même guerre39. Dans les deux inscriptions, Sa’adta’lab b. Gadanum porte exactement le même titre très détaillé. Ja 665 mentionne trois chefs Ḥadramawtiques, Rabi’at, Afsā et Gusham, et souligne que les deux derniers ont été capturés; or, Ir 32 rapporte que ces trois chefs sont amenés à Žafār, avec d’autres prisonniers de marque. On peut supposer que ce transport des prisonniers dans la capitale se fait dès que possible, et qu’il n’est pas postérieur à leur capture de plus de quelques années40. Il apparaît par ailleurs peu vraisemblable que Afsā et Gusham aient été libérés par les Ḫimyārites, puis capturés une seconde fois. On ajoutera que la troupe commandée par Sa’adta’lab lors des deux campagnes ne varie guère: selon Ja 665, elle compte 750 chameliers et 70 cavaliers, originaires de la tribu arabe de Kiddat d’une part, des villages sabéennes de Nashqum et de Nashshān d’autre part; d’après Ir 32, elle se compose de 300 Sabéens de Marib, de 300 Arabes de Kiddat, de Naqrān et de Sulīfān (= le Jawf?), et de 70 cavaliers (dont 20 qui étaient en garnison à Nashqum).

Le changement de règne entre Ja 665 et Ir 32 peut s’interpréter de multiples façons. Cependant, le laconisme avec lequel Ja 665/27–28 évoque la bataille de Khurqum amène à se demander si les Ḫimyārites n’ont pas subi une défaite, dans laquelle les rois Yāṣirum Yuhān’im et Dhara’amaym – qui participaient effectivement à la campagne (voir ll. 9–11) – auraient été tués.


34 C’est ainsi que j’entends ‘mad’; le DS hésite entre ‘échalas; pied de vigne’ et ‘champ irrigué’.

35 ‘omr ‘d-hmlw Ḫdwmum, interprétation présentée par S. Frantsouzoff en juin 2001 à Paris. La formulation souligne la légitimité douteuse de ce souverain aux yeux du pouvoir Ḫimyārite. Il n’est pas possible de dire si le Ḫadramawt a eu une série interrompue de souverains jusqu’à ce règne ou si Anmār um est devenu roi à l’occasion de la révolte de territoires dominés par Ḫimyār.

36 ‘yhr ‘d mlkhum.

37 ‘r’b ‘n b. ‘b ‘d b. ‘r ‘v ‘b ‘b.

38 Ils se disent ‘Širwāhites’, mais ici la nisba renvoie probablement à l’origine géographique et non à l’origine tribale.


40 Il n’y avait sans doute qu’une seule campagne chaque année: les hommes des tribus, qui sont des agriculteurs, ne pouvaient s’absenter que durant les périodes d’inactivité, à savoir quand il n’y a rien à planter ou à récolter. La période le plus propice pour les campagnes militaires est l’hiver.
Ir 31

Une autre inscription, Ir 31, se rapporte certainement aux mêmes événements.

Le gouverneur de la tribu de Saba', Laffa'athat Yashü' b. Mirjabin, se félicite d'avoir participé avec la tribu de Saba' à une campagne particulièrement fructueuse au Ḥaḍramawt, sur l'ordre du roi Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr. Cette campagne le conduit à Sawa'ra'n, 'Uqrân, Shabwat, Ratghatin, Maryamtar et Tarîm. Il s'agit manifestement des opérations que Sa'adtnab décrit dans Ir 32. On peut en conclure que Laffa'athat est le chef des 300 Sabéens qui se joignent à la troupe de Sa'adtnab. Il est intéressant de noter que, dans sa dédicace, Laffa'athat ne mentionne pas Sa'adtnab, mais seulement le roi : comme chef sabéen, il ne doit pas allégeance à un autre Sabéen, mais seulement au souverain.

Laffa'athat fait deux ajouts intéressants à la liste des villes mentionnées par Sa'adtnab, à savoir 'Uqrân, Shabwat, Ratghatin, Maryamtar et Tarîm. Il s'agit manifestement des opérations contre ces deux villes, il en résulte que Shabwat a été réoccupée – ou tout au moins menacée – par les rebelles. On notera cependant que, parmi tous les textes qui se rapportent à cette guerre, Ir 31 est le seul à mentionner l'ancienne capitale du Ḥaḍramawt; par ailleurs, aucun fait d'arme n'est évoqué à son propos. Le contrôle de Shabwat n'a donc pas été longuement disputé.

Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668

Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 est la partie médiane d'une inscription et Ja 668 en est la fin. Les deux documents datent du même règne et rapportent les mêmes événements ; ils comptent approximativement le même nombre de lettres par ligne41 ; enfin, ils présentent la même graphie. Comme l'a suggéré Serge Frantzouzoff dans une conférence à Paris en juin 2001, il est vraisemblable qu'il s'agit de deux fragments d'une même stèle.

Le début, avec l'identité des auteurs et la nature de l'offrande, manque. Le premier fragment (Schmidt-Ma'rib 28) commence avec [l'ordre] que donnent Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr et son fils Tha'rân Yuhan'im de partir en guerre contre Ṣadîfân et une partie du Ḥaḍramawt.

La troupe, qui compte 300 chameleiers, soumet Sawa'ra'n, puis 'Uqrân, qui s'engage à accorder son aide aux rois de Saba' et de dhu-Raydân (noter ici la titulature courte). Elle attaque alors Shibam et affronte Ṣadîfân et les citoyens de Shibam, à savoir 2000 hommes et trois cavaliers. Les pertes de l'ennemi se montent à 200 blessés et à 100 tués. Le fragment s'interrompt ici.

Ce récit s'accorde assez bien avec Ir 31 et 32. Par rapport à Ir 32, dont l'auteur est le chef du corps expéditionnaire, on notera un ajout (les opérations contre 'Uqrân) et une différence (le ralliement de 'Uqrân, alors que dans Ir 32, il n'est question que de celui de Sawa'ra'n). Par rapport à Ir 31, dont l'auteur est le chef du contingent sabéen, la correspondance est parfaite, tenu compte du fait que Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 est lacunaire.

Concernant les effectifs mentionnés, l'identité est presque parfaite. Dans Ir 32, les Sabéens sont au nombre de 300, tout comme la troupe des assaillants dans Schmidt-Ma'rib 28. Quant aux pertes du Ḥaḍramawt lors de la conquête de Shibam, ils se montent à 70 selon Ir 32 (après la bataille, mais avant le siège et la prise de la ville), et à 100 au total selon Schmidt-Ma'rib 28.

Le second fragment (Ja 668), qui donne la fin du texte, révèle que l'inscription a été rédigée par la tribu Saba' Kahlan (ll. 7–8, 10, 12). Dans les cinq premières lignes, très fragmentaires, on reconnaît le nom de Shibam (l. 1) et la mention des rois (ll. 3–5). La fin comporte les louanges adressées au dieu Almaqah – qui a protégé ses fidèles et leur a accordé tués, prisonniers et captifs en grand nombre . . . dans toutes les villes de Sarîran (ll. 8–11) – et les souhaits habituels.

À nouveau, nous avons avec Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668 une allusion au raid commandé par Sa'adtnab Yatlaf. Le fait que, dans Ir 31 et 32, les auteurs mentionnent un seul roi (Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr), mais que dans Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668, ils donnent à ce roi un corégent, s'explique aisément : la dédicace de Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668 est légèrement postérieure à celle d'Ir 31 et 32. On

41 Les dimensions de Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 ne sont pas données par l'éditeur, de sorte qu'il n'est pas possible de s'assurer que les deux fragments ont la même largeur.
peut en déduire que Dhamar’ali Yuhabirr, qui a accédé au trône pendant le conflit (peut-être à la suite de la défaite et de la disparition de Yāsirum Yuhant’im II), associe au trône son fils Tha’rān Yuhant’im, très peu de temps après la victoire.

Ces cinq documents sont les derniers qui fassent mention d’une résistance du Ḥadramawt à l’hégémonie Ḥimyarite. On peut donc supposer que les victoires de Sa’adta’lab, et sans doute les succès d’autres généraux, qui aboutissent à la capture du royaume Anmārum, ont été décisives. Désormais, tout le Ḥadramawt est soumis. Une confirmation est apportée par l’inscription de’Abadān: sous la conduite du roi Tha’rān Yu(ha)n’im, des opérations militaires sont lancées par les Yāz’āndes contre les tribus arabes au nord du Yémen, notamment contre Asdān. Comme nous le verrons, les premières de ces campagnes peuvent être datées vers 440 hīm. (330 è. chr.) Elles seraient impossibles si la guerre faisait rage au Ḥadramawt.

Le déroulement du conflit

Le Ḥadramawt, à cette époque, se limite probablement à la partie orientale de l’ancien royaume: les opérations militaires visent les wādīs Duhr et Rakhyat, et les villes de Sarīrān, entre Sawa’rān et Tārīm; par ailleurs, les prisonniers mentionnés dans Ir 32 sont originaux de Ṣadīfān et de Saybān, tribus établies dans le wādī Ḥadramawt et dans les régions qui s’étendent entre celui-ci et la mer. Shabwat, l’ancienne capitale, ne semble pas avoir été durablement échappé au contrôle de Ḥimyar. Cependant, bien qu’amputé de ses possessions occidentales, le Ḥadramawt est encore menaçant: d’après Ir 32/7, Sa’adta’lab est en garnison à Nashqum à cause de lui.

Le déroulement des opérations peut être reconstruit, pour une part de manière assurée, pour une autre de manière hypothétique. Sous la corégence de Yāsirum Yuhant’im II et de son fils Dharas’amar Ayman, le conflit avec le Ḥadramawt renaît. Le litige porte principalement sur la possession de Shabwat. Anmārum, le royaume du Ḥadramawt, a le soutien des tribus de Ṣadīfān et de Saybān, qui contrôlent le wādī Ḥadramawt et les territoires entre le wādī et la mer.

La guerre se déroule d’abord dans le désert entre Marib et Shabwat. Malgré la réussite de quelques opérations de diversion à l’entrée du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, commandées par le Sabéen Sa’adta’lab Yatlaf et sa petite troupe (750 chameliers et 70 cavaliers, fournis par la tribu arabe de Kiddat et par les cités sabéennes de Nashqum et Nashshān), il semblerait que Ḥimyar soit défait et ses rois tués. La guerre reprend après l’accession au trône de Dhamar’ali Yuhabirr. Alors que le conflit se poursuit dans le désert, le même Sa’adta’lab Yatlaf réussit un raid audacieux. Il concentre dans un lieu discret, le temple de Yaghštirr, qui se trouve dans un wādī encaissé à quelques dizaines de kilomètres au nord du Ḡawf, une troupe regroupant 300 Sabéens de Marib, 300 Arabes (de Kiddat, Nagrān et Sulān) et 70 cavaliers. Cette troupe, qui échappe à la vigilance de l’armée du Ḥadramawt, en passant par le désert au nord d’al-‘Abr, fond à l’improviste sur Sawa’rān, qui défend l’entrée du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, et parvient à s’en emparer. Elle convainc les citoyens de Sawa’rān de faire défection, puis ceux de’Uqrān, et prend successivement toutes les villes importantes du wādī, d’autant plus aisément que les meilleurs guerriers de Sarīrān sont absents, en campagne avec le roi du Ḥadramawt. Elle ramène à Zāfār plusieurs captifs prestigieux, notamment Anmārum, que les Ḥadramawtiques avaient fait roi, et des chefs des tribus de Ṣadīfān et Saybān.

Ce raid extraordinaire assure la gloire de ceux qui y ont participé. Son chef, Sa’adta’lab Yatlaf, fait une dédicace au temple de Marib, accompagnée d’une longue inscription dans laquelle il relate en détail ses exploits (Ir 32). Le chef du contingent sabéen, Laffa’athat Yashū’ b. Mirḥāb, fait de même (Ir 31), bientôt imité par la tribu Saba’ Kahlān (Schmidt-Ma’rib 28 + Ja 668). De leur côté, des Arabes de Ṣirwāh font également une dédicace dans le temple de Ṣirwāh (CIH 397). Grâce aux petites différences que présentent ces récits, on apprend que les Sabéens ont mené quelques opérations de façon autonome, notamment contre’Uqrān, située un peu à l’écart du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, et contre Shabwat.

41 Si Sa’adta’lab avait capturé lui-même Anmārum, il ne manquerait pas de s’en glorifier. Il faut donc supposer que le roi a été fait prisonnier par une autre armée, dans des circonstances que nous ignorons, probablement après le succès du raid de Sa’adta’lab.
Les événements sont ignorés des traditions arabes d'époque islamique. Seul le nom du roi Yásirum Yuhân'im survit dans un fragment poétique que cite al-Hamdâni:

Wa-anâ Abû Karib wa-'ammî Yásir dhû l-tâj Yun'im wa-bnu-bu Târân

Je suis Abû Karib et mon oncle est Yásir le Couronné Yun'im, et son fils Târân.

L'identification repose sur le fait que ce Yásir est un roi et qu'il a un fils nommé Târân (= Thârân).

Quant à Dhamar'alï Yuhabîr, seul un nom identique au sien subsiste dans les généalogies, sous la forme Yuhbir dhû l-Mar'âlî. Rien ne permet d'identifier ce Yuhbir avec le souverain du rûf. Il n'est pas roi et son fils s'appelle Makhmir.

IV. Les données chronologiques de 'Abadân

L'inscription 'Abadân 1, exceptionnelle par sa longueur et son contenu, narre en détail la saga d'un noble hadramawtique, Malshan Aryam, du lignage de Yaz'an, et de ses descendants: ses fils Khawliyum Yazid, Shurîbihîl Al [...], Ma'dîkarib [...] et Marthadum Am[...], et ses petits-fils Barîlum Yamgid, Khawliyum Yazid et Shurîbihîl Al [...] fils de Ma'dîkarib. Après un bref récapitulatif, le rédacteur organise sa relation en deux parties. Dans la première (Il. 4–32), il rapporte dans l'ordre chronologique une série d'expéditions militaires dans la chaîne montagneuse qui borde la mer Rouge (51), une série d'expéditions dans la chaîne montagneuse qui borde la mer Rouge (51), il énumère les opérations immobilières et les aménagements agricoles réalisés pendant la même période, l'achat de cinq vaisseaux de mer et l'achat de cinq vaisseaux de mer et l'exécution d'une suite de chasses prestigieuses. Le document se termine avec un bilan des nemesis tués par les descendants de Malshan:

- Fils: 11 pour le qayl Khawliyum; 10 pour Shurîbihîl; 9 pour Ma'dîkarib; 10 pour Marthadum;
- Petit-fils: 3 pour Barîlum,

suivi par les invocations rituelles et la date. Dans ce bilan, seuls apparaissent les quatre fils de Malshan et un seul de ses trois petits-fils. Malshan lui-même n'est pas cité. Il convient de noter également que seul Khawliyum est paré du titre de qayl.

Les expéditions militaires ne sont pas rapportées pour elles-mêmes, mais comme preuves des aptitudes militaires des descendants de Malshan. Le rédacteur ponctue son récit avec l'indication que tel ou tel descendant « participe au combat pour la première fois » (tbkr) ou au contraire est libéré de ses obligations (hqf).

1. Premier épisode (Il. 4–5): campagne de Malshan avec, pour la première fois, la participation de Khawliyum, puis campagnes de Khawliyum seul; l'une de ces dernières est dirigée par le roi Thârân Yun'im.

2. Deuxième épisode (Il. 5–10): campagne de Khawliyum avec, pour la première fois, la participation de son frère Shurîbihîl; puis campagne de Malshan avec ses deux aînés, Khawliyum et Shurîbihîl.

3. Troisième épisode (Il. 10–12): campagne de Malshan, Khawliyum et Shurîbihîl avec, pour la première fois, la participation de Ma'dîkarib. C'est la dernière campagne à laquelle concourt Malshan.

4. Quatrième épisode (Il. 12–26): campagne de Khawliyum, Shurîbihîl et Ma'dîkarib avec, pour la première fois, la participation de leur frère Marthadum. D'autres campagnes suivent, notamment l'une sous le commandement du roi Thârân Yun'im, et une autre avec le roi Thârân Ayfa'.

5. Cinquième épisode (Il. 26–27): campagne de Shurîbihîl et Ma'dîkarib, sous la direction du roi Dhamar'alî Ayfa', « après que leur frère Khawliyum eut été libéré de ses obligations ».

6. Sixième épisode (Il. 27–32): campagne de Ma'dîkarib et de Marthadum, après que leur frère Shurîbihîl eut été libéré de ses obligations, avec, pour la première fois, la participation de Barîlum (fils de Ma'dîkarib).}

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La seconde partie, qui a pour fonction d’affirmer des droits sur des biens et des territoires, mentionne un événement notable: la reconstruction de la ville de ‘Abadan, détruite par le Ḥaḍramawt (l. 32).

L’inscription est datée de dhu-madhra‘an 470, soit juillet 360.

Les données chronologiques indirectes sont nombreuses, mais dépendent de l’âge qu’il faut avoir pour participer à des opérations militaires et de celui qui libère de tout service. Il est vraisemblable qu’un jeune noble ne part pas en campagne avant d’avoir atteint 18 ans, à un ou deux ans près.

L’âge de la réforme peut également être évalué approximativement. Malshan cesse de participer aux campagnes militaires quand son quatrième fils Marthadum est admis à combattre pour la première fois. Si on suppose qu’il a eu son premier enfant vers 18 ans, il a alors 18 ans (âge à la naissance de Khawliyum), plus 18 ans (âge de la majorité de Khawliyum), plus le temps nécessaire pour avoir quatre fils (au moins cinq ans), soit plus de 41 ans. Nous retenons le nombre de 45 ans.

Au moment où l’inscription est rédigée, Barlum, fils de Ma’dikarib, aurait donc plus de 18 ans, Khawliyum et Shurihib’il plus de 45 ans, et Malshan plus de 63 ans.

Entre la première participation au combat de Khawliyum (épisode n° 1) et la date de rédaction de l’inscription (470 hîm.), il a passé au moins 30 ans (27 ans d’activités militaires de Khawliyum, plus la différence d’âge entre Khawliyum et Shurihib’il). Les campagnes militaires rapportées s’étaient donc entre 440 (ou un peu plus tôt) et 470 hîm.

Le roi Tha’rân Yun’îm est mentionné dans les épisodes n° 1 (vers 440) et 4 (entre la première campagne de Marthadum, quatrième fils de Malshan, et la retraite de Khawliyum, soit 450—465 environ).

Les rois Tha’rân Ayfa’ et Dhamar’ali Ayfa’ dirigent des campagnes dans les épisodes 4 (vers 450—465) et 5 (retraite de Khawliyum, vers 467), probablement parce que le roi Tha’rân Yun’îm commence à prendre de l’âge.

Enfin, la dévastation de la ville de ‘Abadan par le Ḥaḍramawt (l. 32) date probablement de la seconde guerre entre Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt, sous les règnes de Yasîr’îm Yuhan’îm II et de Dhamar’ali Yuhabîr. En effet, la reconstruction de la ville est mentionnée en tête des opérations immobilières réalisées par Malshan, au début de sa carrière. On peut en déduire que les Yaz’ânides (qui, au IIIe s. Chr. relevaient du Ḥaḍramawt), ont choisi le camp Ḥimyarite lors de cette seconde guerre.

Les données chronologiques les plus importantes seraient ainsi:

Avant 440) Destruction de la ville de ‘Abadan par le Ḥaḍramawt

Vers 440 au plus tard Khashliyum fils de Malshan guerroye avec le roi Tha’rân Yu(ha)n’îm

Reconstruction de ’Abadan

Vers 450—465 [ ... ] et Marthadum, fils de Malshan, guerroye avec le roi Tha’rân Yu(ha)n’îm

Les fils de Malshan guerroyent avec le roi Tha’rân Ayfa’

Peu avant 470 Shurihib’il et Ma’dikarib, fils de Malshan, guerroyent avec le roi Dhamar’ali Ayfa’

La durée du règne de Tha’rân est assez longue. Il règne seul (semble-t-il) en 434 hîm., date qui s’accorde bien avec la chronologie de ‘Abadan 1. Il ne participe plus aux opérations militaires rapportées par ‘Abadan 1, à partir de 460 environ, sans doute parce son âge lui interdit désormais. L’association de son fils Malkikarib Yuha’min au trône est probablement postérieure à 470, puisque ce fils n’est pas mentionné dans ’Abadan 1.

Malkikarib ne semble pas avoir régné seul: dans toutes ses inscriptions, ses deux fils Abikarib As’ad et Dhara’amar Ayman sont associés au trône. On peut en déduire que Malkikarib Yuha’min a déjà un âge avancé quand il succède à son père puisqu’il doit faire immédiatement appel à des corégents – probablement pour conduire les opérations guerrières. Il aurait donc plus de 45 ans quand il devient roi.

Les rois Tha’rân Ayfa’ et Dhamar’ali Ayfa’ qui dirigent des opérations militaires dans les années 460, d’après ’Abadan 1, sont probablement des parents, neveu ou fils, du roi Tha’rân Yuhan’îm, qui n’ont jamais été formellement associés au trône, mais portent le titre de roi. La pratique est la même que pour les qayls: tous les mâles adultes de la famille portent le titre, mais un seul (en général) exerce la fonction.

Malgré la durée de son règne, Tha’rân Yuhan’îm fils de Dhamar’ali Yuhabîr n’a pas marqué les
mémoires. Les traditions arabes l'ignorent presque totalement: on ne trouve qu'une seule mention de lui (ou d'un homonyme), sous la forme Tārān Yunʿîm, dans la généalogie d'un lignage noble de Ḥimyarî43; noter, à ce propos, que Yuhbir dhū l-Maʿrālî (= Dhamarʿalî Yuhabîrîr) est mentionné dans la généalogie du même lignage, mais à un degré éloigné de parenté. Le règne de Thaʿrān fut sans doute trop paisible, sans guerres et sans drames, pour qu'on s'en souvienne.

V. LA SUCCESSION DES ROIS DE ḤIMYAR AU IVᵉ S. È. CHR.

Le déroulement de la seconde guerre entre Ḥimyar et le Ḥadramawt établit que le règne de Dhamarʿalî Yuhabîrîr succède immédiatement à celui de Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm en corégence avec son fils Dharaʿamar Ayman.

Ce Dharaʿamar Ayman est antérieur de 60 ans au moins à la première mention datée de Dha­raʿamar Ayman, fils de Makkīkarib Yuhâʿmin: les deux personnages doivent donc être distingués.

Le Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm qui règne en corégence avec Thaʿrān Ayfaʿ et avec son fils Dharaʿamar Ayman peut-il être identifié avec le Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm père de Shammar Yuhārʾîsh? La première mention du second se trouve dans Miṣʿal 5, qui date de 198 radm. (272–273 è. chr.); le second règne après 420 ḥim. (310–311 è. chr.) L'écart chronologique n'est pas favorable à l'identification. Par ailleurs il faudrait supposer une séquence compliquée de successions: Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm en corégence avec son fils Shammar Yuhārʾîsh; règne de Shammar Yuhārʾîsh seul, retour sur le trône de Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm, qui aurait été écarté pendant plus de 13 ans (au moins de [40]7 à 42[0] ḥim.), en corégence avec Thaʿrān Ayfaʿ, puis avec Dharaʿamar Ayman. Si nous retenons la solution la plus simple (règle qui est appliquée ici de manière régulière), il convient certainement de distinguer ces deux souverains.

Qui sont les souverains de Garb Framm. Ep. Sab. 6, *[[XXX Yu]hanʿîm et de son fils [[XXX A]lyfaʿ rois. . .? La longueur de la lacune au début n'excède pas quatre ou cinq lettres. L'épithète Yuhānʿîm est portée par Karibʿil Yuhānʿîm (forme brève de Karibʿil Watār Yuhānʿîm, dans Ja 666/13), par les deux Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm et par Thaʿrān Yuhānʿîm. Il est difficile de choisir entre ces trois possibilités.

Quant à Ayfaʿ, on peut certainement restituer Thaʿrān avant lui.


La chronologie interdit d'identifier ce Thaʿrān Ayfaʿ, corégent de Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm avec celui de 'Abadān 1. Le règne de Yāṣīrum Yuhānʿîm semble antérieur à 430 ḥim; or, dans 'Abadān 1, Thaʿrān Ayfaʿ mène des opérations militaires vers 460–465.

Il reste enfin à placer le règne de Karibʿil (Watār) Yuhānʿîm. Le seul espace ouvert se situe après la disparition de Shammar Yuhārʾîsh.

Le tableau chronologique qui résulte de cette étude est donné pp. 150 ff. Il présente un déséquilibre, avec un total de cinq à sept règnes et corégences entre Shammar Yuhārʾîsh et Thaʿrān Yuhānʿîm, pendant un laps de temps inférieur à 14 ans (de 42[0] à 434 ḥim.), en contraste avec une stabilité remarquable auparavant et ensuite. Mais il ne semble pas possible de reconstruire une autre séquence des règnes. Une période de confusion et d'instabilité aurait donc suivi la disparition de Shammar Yuhārʾîsh; d'ailleurs, l'inscription Ja 667 ne fait-elle pas allusion à une sédition à Ṣafār?

Ce tableau comporte encore une incertitude importante: la date à laquelle Makkīkarib Yuhāʿmin a succédé à son père Thaʿrān Yuhānʿîm. De manière quelque peu arbitraire, cette succession a été située approximativement à mi-durée entre 'Abadān 1 et les premières inscriptions monothéistes, soit vers 375 è. chr., avec une corégence de Thaʿrān et Makkīkarib entre 365 et 375 env. Quoi qu'il en soit, le roi Thaʿrān Yuhānʿîm est certainement le souverain auquel Constance II (337–361) envoie une ambassade, sous la direction de Théophile l'Indien, apparemment dans les années 340 è. chr. (450 ḥim.).

43 Al-Ḥamdīnī op. cit. 99/9; voir aussi Löfgren op. cit. n° 191.
VI. QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LA CHRONOLOGIE DE K.A. KITCHEN

K.A. Kitchen distingue huit règnes:

1. Yāsīrīm Yuhānīm I, 275-285 environ
   Ajouter aux références: J. Pirenne, Rayda 3, 1980, 24 et pl. vi c (monogramme Ys'/'r' [ . . . ] monogramme w-4-Rydn [ . . . ]).
   Déplacer «Parrinello photo 3» sous Yāsīrīm Yuhānīm II.

   L'inscription CIH 948 n'est pas une inscription royale. Corriger «Rayda» en Rada' (Kitchen 2000 p. 729 B 36); noter que Sharaf al-Dīn 32 (B 34) désigne le même document que Sharaf al-Dīn 41 (B 29); le second sigle est propre à A. Jamme; noter que Sharaf al-Dīn 33 est une copie altérée de Ja 656 (B 34).
   Ajouter aux références Gl1593 (SEG VII 48: ... S'mr Ybr's' [ . . . ]); Sharaf al-Dīn 34 et 35; YM 1695 (mentionné erronément sous Yāsīrīm Yuhānīm II).
   Supprimer Ja 2106 et Ja 2223, qui ne comportent pas de nom de roi ou dans lesquels le nom du roi est entièrement restitué.

   Supprimer YM 1695 (qui date du règne de Shammar Yuhārīsh, TL).
   Ajouter «Parrinello photo 3» (mentionné erronément sous Yāsīrīm Yuhānīm I).

   Supprimer RES 3960 qui date probablement du 1<sup>e</sup> s. è chr. (voir le nom de mois sabéen, d-ns'wr, dans la datation, l. 6). Ajouter Garb Sabean Fragments n° 4 (Dmr'l'y symbole Ybr w-bn' [ y-hw T'r symbole n Y/bn'm], dans Raydān 1, 1978, 34 et pl. v).

   Signaler que, dans Maṣna'at Māriya, le roi porte la titulature courte.
   Supprimer RES 4716 qui date des rois homonymes du 1<sup>e</sup> s. è chr. Ajouter Graf 5 ( ... J hw T'r'
   Ybn'm[ ... ], dans NESE 1, 100-101 et fig. 38), qui est mentionné sous Dhamar'alī Yuhābirr.

   Un seul document, RES 3444<sup>47</sup> est attribué, avec hésitation [M. Y. I ou II ?], à ce roi. Il se compose de deux blocs, remployés dans la mosquée de Minkath, dans les environs de Zafār. Sur chacun de ces blocs, on reconnaît une suite de cinq figures. Le premier présente le triple emblème dynastique des rois Ḥimyarites et deux monogrammes (ceux de Mlkkrb et de Yh'mn); le second se compose du même triple emblème et également de deux monogrammes (cette fois, ceux de Dr' 'mr et de 'ymn). Ce document se trouve à gauche de RES 3383 (auteurs: Malkīkarīb Yuha'mīn et ses fils, Abikarīb As'ad et Dirāṣ'amar Ayman), attribué par Kitchen à Malkīkarīb Yuha'mīn II. Il est évident que la distinction de deux Malkīkarīb n'a aucun fondement.
   Elle a en fait pour unique fonction de rompre la séquence généalogique Dhamar'alī Yuhābirr – Thārān Yuha'mīn – Malkīkarīb Yuha'mīn – Abikarīb As'ad, et de pouvoir introduire Karīb'il Wātār Yuha'mīn (III) entre les deux Malkīkarīb.

   Les dates proposées correspondent à la période couverte par 'Abadan 1. Or cette inscription mentionne à deux reprises le roi Thārān Yun'im (ainsi que deux autres rois, Thārān Ayfā' et Dhamar'alī Ayfā'), mais non Karīb'il. Le roi Karīb'il Wātār Yuha'mīn (III) est nécessairement plus ancien (à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un usurpateur, interrompant quelque temps le règne de Thārān).

8. (Ḥāṣṣān) Malkīkarīb Yu(ha)'min II, 375-410 env.
   Le nom Ḥāṣṣān n'apparaît pas dans les inscriptions de ce roi; il se trouve seulement dans Ry 509,

<sup>47</sup> Pour les noms propres, l'orthographe adoptée ici n'est pas nécessairement celle de K.A. Kitchen.
<sup>48</sup> Voir la photographie publiée par G. Garbini, AION 30, 1970 pl. 112.
dont les auteurs sont Abîkarib As'ad et Hassân Yuha'min, son fils et son petit-fils.

La référence à [Sari 4, 378 AD] est énigmatique.

Adress:
Dr. Christian Robin, Maison de la Méditerranée,
Avenue Pasteur 5, F-13100 Aix-en-Provence,
Robin@univ-aix.fr
ESSAI DE RECONSTRUCTION DE LA CHRONOLOGIE ḤIMYARITE DU IV° S. È. CHR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date è.chr.</th>
<th>Date locale</th>
<th>Règne et références principales</th>
<th>Evénement</th>
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<td>[265-288]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yāsirʿum Yuhānʿim + TC</td>
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<td>Yāsirʿum Yuhānʿim + TC</td>
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<td>272-273</td>
<td>198 radm.</td>
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<td>[270-290]</td>
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<td>nov. 275</td>
<td>385 ḥim.</td>
<td>CIH 46=G 799</td>
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<tr>
<td>283±11</td>
<td>316 maḏḥ.</td>
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<td>juin 286</td>
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<td>CIH 448+Hakir 1</td>
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<td>Construction de l'enceinte de Hakirʿum</td>
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<td>[288-312]</td>
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<td>Shammar Yuhārʿish</td>
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<td>Av. Būsān 4</td>
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<td>mars 300</td>
<td>Raid sabéen dans Sarīrān</td>
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<td>[40]9 ḥim.</td>
<td>Même raid sabéen dans Sarīrān</td>
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<td>YM 1695</td>
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<td>31[0]-31[1]</td>
<td>42[0] ḥim.</td>
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<td>[312-316]</td>
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<td>[Karibʿil Yuhānʿim + fils [Thaʿrān A]jfaʿ ] (Garb FES6)</td>
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[316-320] Yäsir'^m Yuhan'im II TL
- Yäsir'^m Yuhan'im II + Tha'rân Ayfa' I TL (Ja 664)
- [Yäsir'^m Yuhan'im II] + frère Tha'rân Ayfa' (Gl 1539)
- Yäsir'^m Yuhan'im II + fils Dhara'amar Ayman I TL (Ja 665)

[320-324] Dhamar'âlî Yuhabirr TL
- Dhamar'âlî Yuhabirr TL
  - Ir 31, 32
  - Dhamar'âlî Yuhabirr + fils Tha'rân (Yuhan'im) TL
    - Schmidt-Ma'rib 28+Ja 666
    - CIH 457; Garb SF V
Conquête de Sarîrân
Même conquête de Sarîrân

[324-375] Tha'rân Yuhan'im TL
324/325 434 him.
Vers 340-345
juillet 360 470 him.
- Tha'rân Yuhan'im TC (Ma'sna'at Mâriya)
  - Tha'rân Yun'im
    - Mention du roi Tha'rân Ayfa' II ('Abadan 1)
    - Mention du roi Dhamar'alî Ayfa' (Abadan 1)
Ambassade de Théophile l'Indien
Épidémie à Zafâr
Rupture et réparation de la Digue

[365-375] Tha'rân Yuhan'im + fils Malkikarib (Yuha'min) TL
- Ja 669
- Ja 670
- Ja 671+788

[375-400] Malkikarib Yuha'min TL
janvier 384 493 him.
- Garb Bayt al-Ashwal 2; RES 3383
- Ja 856=Fa 60
1ère inscriptions royales monothéistes
Construction d'un mkrb à Marîb

Synchronismes:
1. Laffa'athat Yashû' b. Mîrâb'^m, auteur de Ir 30 (roi: Shammar Yuhar'îsh TL) et 31 (roi: Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr TL)
2. Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf b. Gadân'^m, auteur de Ja 665 (roi: Yäsir'^m Yuhan'im et son fils Dhara'amar Ayman) et Ir 32 (roi: Dhamar'alî Yuhabirr).

En caractères romains, les données factuelles; en caractères italiques, les hypothèses.
حبيس في القرن الرابع الميلادي - تحليل البياتيات التاريخية ومحاولة ترتيبها
كريستيان جوليآن روبن
(Christian Julien Robin)

الخلاصة:

تبدأ الفترة المدروسة هنا بغزو حضرموت وتنتهي بالقضاء على تعدد الأئمة. وثمة صعوبات جادة تظهر عند إعادة الترتيب الزمني - وعبارة أفضل: توالي فترات الحكم - كما تبين ذلك المحاولات غير المتممة لكل من آ. جام (A. Jamme)؛ وك. أ. كيتشن (K. A. Kitchen).

فقد تلاشت هذه الصعوبات جزئياً من خلال المعلومات التاريخية لنفس عهدان.

يحاول البحث أن يبين أنه لا ول ممكن أن ترتب عهد جميع الحكام وأن نحن لهم بيانات تقريبية ونقشر الشكوك الباقية على بعض من شاركوا في الحكم لفترة قصيرة.

بعضاً قمنا بعملية جرد المصادر التي في منتلول الأيدي كي نحدد تسلسل فترات الحكم. تقوم الدراسة بتحليل ثلاث حلقات من الحوارات يجريها ممكنًا أفضل تمكين من أن نفهم تاريخ الفترة وأن نربط أحداثاً محددة بربط زمنياً. ونعني بذلك القرون بين حمير وحضرموت والغزوات التي قام بها آل ذي الزيتون لصالح ملوك حمير. كما هو مذكور في نقش عهدان.

ويتوصل البحث إلى اقتراح جديد حول تترام الحكام يختلف كثيراً عن التسلسل الزمني الذي ذكره أ. كيتشن.
Nicole Röring

THE FAÇADE OF MONUMENTAL TOMBS AND TEMPLES IN COMPARISON

In spring 1997 the German Institute of Archaeology started the exploration of the Awâm cemetery that encloses the temple to the south and west.

A small part of the site was excavated by the American Foundation for the Study of Man expedition in 1951 until 1952. Work focussed mainly on the exploration of the Awâm Temple, as well as on the so called mausoleum directly east of the oval wall, which is clearly different from the other excavated tombs. Its four pillars with capitals surrounded by limestone walls are arranged in a square formation and supported a roof. And the so called south tombs about 100 m further south were also excavated. They were built either individually or in very small blocks, faced with limestone along the street sides. The east–west street separates the tombs into a northern and a southern row.

In the first three seasons of the german mission 40 tombs in two different areas, labelled Area A and Area B, were unearthed. During the next two seasons another 20 tombs were excavated in Area B, E and F. Until now about one twentieth of the alleged cemetery surface has been studied through excavation. Very little can be said about the general layout of the necropolis, just according to geo-physical prospections and excavations the streets followed an orthogonal road network (Fig. 1).

Unlike the above mentioned tombs are the burial monuments in Area A where the singular buildings were planned and erected in a very economical way. Only the visible parts of the tombs were faced with limestone ashlars. The remaining masonry consists of basalt. These are very simple rectangular multi-storied tower-like buildings (Fig. 2).

Another type was found in Area B: Pyramidal graded rectangular buildings with a podium. In Area F such buildings without a podium were excavated.

Since 2000, a new type of monumental tomb has been unearthed, represented here by tomb 29. The building is divided into a substructure and a pyramidal graded superstructure. The north façade, which is 8.6 m long, is fronted by a podium, which supported a five-pillared-portico. The podium consists of eleven limestone courses of varying heights set on a 14 cm high cordon pedestal. Two-way staircases situated on both sides of the podium lead to the five-pillared portico. Two pillar fragments are still in situ, with a rectangular cross-


section of 34 cm by 45 cm. The narrow sides point to the street. The pillars are set in rectangular frogs of 35 cm by 46 cm and with the depth of 1 or 2 cm. The intercolumnia equal exactly the length of two and a half narrow sides thus approaching the \textquoteleft\textquoteleft Vitruvian\textquote右手 intercolumniation between an eustyle (factor two and a quarter) and the diastyle with factor three\textquoteleft\textquoteprime. 

The string wall of the lateral stairs are capped with a tegula panel with one monolithic covering slab on top of each side. The tegula frieze consists of two ashlars; the joint is set in the space between the dentils and thus lies invisibly in the shadow (Fig. 3). 

The idea of the design principle of a podium-monument is quite often found in the sacred architecture of South Arabia. For example the temple of Dhāt Himyam, dhāt Raḥbān, and also the temple of Sayyin dhū-Mayfa‘ān. Both were erected on a podium and accessible by two lateral stairs. Or as we can find it at the Bar‘ān Temple in Marib where the monumental stairs lead to the propylon platform. The string walls of the Bar‘ān monumental stairs are also capped with a tegula panel like the ones from tomb 29.

Another very typical technical element in South Arabian architecture are the long, finger-like postaments. They are plinths and at the same time stone-beam heads slightly projecting from the façade. These beams are interlocked with the construction situated behind them and flush with the stone slabs of the podium pavement.

The postaments are supplied with 1 or 2 cm deep rectangular frogs. A doweling for the pillars to prevent a horizontal moving of architectural components was not necessary. Similar examples have also been noticed in the highlands of Yemen such as the temple in Nā‘īt, which demonstrates that the frontal orientation of the narrow sides of

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\textsuperscript{5} A. V. Sedov – A. Bātāyī, Temples of Ancient Hadramawt, PSAS 24, 1994, 195 ff.
the pillars is very typical for this type of architecture and that this can be used as a measurement for the ratio of cross-section to height.

In Marib, both the pillars of the Bar‘ân Temple and of the Awâm Temple have a ratio of 1 to 117. The same ratio is adoptable for the reconstruction of the façade of tomb 29. With that I calculated an original height of 3.74 m based on width of pillar of 34 cm. The pillars supported an architrave of a single stone lintel such as the one of the temple of ‘Athtar in Ma‘în8 or on the portico of the Almaqah Temple in Masăqūd9. Here the height of the architraves corresponds to the width of the pillars.

At tomb 29 only a few fragments of the tegula panels and a fragment of a stone beam were found during the excavation, which I assign to the entablature of the portico. Consequently, the architrave was topped by large raised tegula panels capped with a simple band which in turn supported the projecting heads of the five stone-beams. The latter connect the portico with the tomb.

Unlike the horizontal division of the substructure the superstructure has a vertical pattern. Incised lines on the in situ masonry of the superstructure indicate the former position of the upper stone courses and also provide an idea of the architectural structure of the building. The center of the tomb façade is occupied by a risalit like projection. The courses of the ashlar masonry on either side of projection have been recessed to different degrees.

Thus the façade is divided into different zones, the interaction of light and shadow and the proportions help to create a mock façade which bears close resemblance to a small temple (Fig. 4).

Additionally, the axial symmetrical structure of tomb 29, the schematic organisation of the stone ashlar courses, the incised lines on the architectural components as well as the reconstructed height of the pillars suggest an intentionally reduced conception which is based on specific architectural modules. To reconstruct the façade of the tomb, its original proportion system was to be studied and understood. The podium can be divided into three squares, while the superstructure consists of two squares. The portico forms one big square. With this suggestion of reconstruction the ratio of the substructure to the superstructure is 2:3, that of the substructure to the portico 4:2, and the ratio of the portico to the superstructure is 4:3. The basic module is a square of 1.45 m by 1.45 m.

The building has a clear architectural language. The design principles are oriented to traditional architectural forms, primarily to the temple-architecture. Pillars and beams are only rectangular monoliths, while decoration is reduced to dentil and

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7 Albright 2 op. cit. 215 ff.
Motives for crowns and cornices. The construction and the purist askesis of the architectural vocabulary is enhanced by the aesthetic effect of the polished stone surfaces – an effect that apparently was given special emphasis. The stone-treatment and setting is very exact and of a high-precision technique. The blocks were laid without mortar and no clamps were used to bind the stones together. The facing is made of neatly cut limestone ashlar. All joints, both horizontal and vertical, were drafted with a flat chisel, creating 4–5 cm broad, fine polished margins around each block and a fine pecked center. Also the horizontal and vertical sides of the stones were created with 2–4 cm broad, smoothed anathyroses to get a nearly invisible joint pattern.

All above observations suggest, not only a highly advanced craftsmanship in the treatment and handling of the materials, but also a mastership in conception and geometric proportioning. Highly skilled specialists must have existed, both in the field of planning and execution. This type of monumental tomb is the expression of the self-projection of high ranking individuals of the Sabaean society. With its five-pillared portico it gives an impression of a small temple. The portico constitutes in each case a space of its own between the privacy of the tomb or temple and the public space.

However, this is so far not very common in South Arabian sacred-architecture, where we usually find an even number of pillars. The only exception that comes to my mind is the five-pillared portico of a smaller temple at Šīrwhaḥ, next to the famous temple of Almaqah, a monument that was reported by Achmed Fakhry. The tomb 29 findings and decorative elements do not suggest clearly distinguishable construction stages during the time of construction. A later modification of the structure took place when tomb 33 was built immediately to the west. It blocked the access to the westerly staircase of tomb 29, the string wall of which was destroyed during this process and converted into a staircase. The first step was made from a limestone-fragment on a higher level and perpendicularly to the podium. It also indicates that the new street level was about 70 cm higher because of the accumulation of irrigation Aeolian sand (Fig. 5).

Tomb 33 is a monumental building with a façade totally different from all the other tombs in the cemetery. It is a rectangular building with a podium in front of it. The podium was accessible from the north by a staircase fitted axially into the podium. From its landing and ascending two pairs of steps both, the eastern and the western half of the podium could be reached. From here two entrances led into the chambers. With a length of 10.5 m it is the largest tomb we excavated until now. Because of its size, its symmetric elevation and its setting tomb 33 was apparently erected for very important persons. Obviously it was very important to the owner to build this tomb on this location, squeezing it into the gap between tombs 29 and 51 and – at the same time – ignoring the westerly access to tomb 29.

The podium was enclosed by something like a balustrade. It is absolutely sure that the podium was not roofed, because there are no traces of any

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10 A. Fakhry, An Archaeological Journey to Yemen (1952) part I 47. part III pl. X A.
Fig. 5 Plan of the monumental tombs
The tombs of the Awām necropolis are an outstanding example of sabaean mortuary architecture. Much effort, time and wealth were invested into their construction in a way that is well comparable with the contemporary funerary monuments of the classical mediterranean cultures.

On the one hand we have tombs with façades which look like residential buildings. On the other hand there are tombs replicating monumental buildings of public or representative function. To sum up, at least, three types of tombs can be noticed in the Awām necropolis:

1. The simple tower-like tombs,
2. Tombs with pyramidal graded superstructure,
3. Monumental tombs with portico.

The types artified by a general framework within which enough variability is permitted to express the individual status and requirements of the owner.

The old-south-arabian order of plinth, pillar and cornice as a long living architectural design principle was considered a characteristic element of the classical temple architecture. All the examples show that you can find this architectural order in mineaen, qatabanian and hadrami architecture as well as in the sabaean architecture. The impact of the sabaean architecture appeared across most of the South Arabian provinces, forms however parochial or vernacular, distinguished in their differences of proportions or their decorations of pillars with carvings. They are schematically and purposively just the same. Until now it is very difficult to make some chronologies because the architecture is fixed over many centuries in a traditional style.

It is indisputable that they used details and orders from the temple-architecture in a smaller scale like the pillared portico, which was an unavoidable architectural symbol of south Arabian civilisation, now no longer reserved to temples. Therefore, the architectural concept of tombs 29 and 51 lies in the highly contrastive juxtaposition of the closed,
cubic structure of the grave chambers and the filigreed detailing of the slender pillars in front of it.

In case of the tombs, however, the architectural form can be classified with the social type. This splendid architecture of the monumental tombs speaks powerfully of civic pride and civilized community while providing palatial backdrops for ordinary activities.

Address:
Dipl.-Ing. Nicole Röring, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Architekturreferat, Podbielskiallee 69–71, D-14195 Berlin, nicoleroering@web.de
وجهات المقياس الأثرية والمعاد ومعاينة بينها

نيكول رورنج
(Nicole Röring)

ملخص:

في ربيع سنة 1997 بدأ المعهد الألماني للأثار استكشاف مقبرة أوم التي يحيط بها المعبد في الفئة الجنوبية والغربية. تم الكشف 40 مقبرة في مناطق مختلفتين تطلق عليها (Area B) و (Area A) وذلك في المواسم الثلاثة الأولى لبعثة المعهد. وخلال الموسمين التاليين اكتشفت عشرون مقبرة أخرى في المنطقة F وE وD.

تم تخطيط وبناء المقاير الأثرية في المنطقة A بطريقة اقتصادية جدا، وقد تم طلاء الأجزاء الخارجية بطبقة من الطوب الطيفي، وتنص الأدلة الحياتية بالانجاز من البناء. نجدها مناسبة جدا في المراحل المبكرة لسلطة למצية. وتكمن أصلها في منطقتي A وB، وهي بناء تبسيطة جدا تم تثبيته المحايد بيئة الطوابق ومستويات البناء. F وB، وعندما عُرف عن آخر عثر عليه في المنطقة B، بدأ البناء مستطيلة الشكل هرمية مدرجة ذات منصات عالية. وفي المنطقة F، اكتشفت بناء بلا منصات.

ومنذ 1999 يتم الكشف عن مقبرة أثرية من نوع جديد تمثله هنا بالمقبرة رقم 29، والبناء مقتضى إلى أسس وبنية فوقية هرمية مدرجة. والواجهة الشمالية أمامها منصة مقدمة برواق ذي خمسة أعمدة ويجعل وجود فقرة تصميم الأثر ذي المنصة في دور البناء بجانب بلاد العرب. وهناك عنصر في أصل جدار آخر في هيئة البناء تناسب بلاد العرب وهو لواء المشاهدة الأصغر من تلك العناصر. ويبدو السلسلة المطلوبة على جابن المنصة إلى الرواق ذي الأعمدة الخشبية. ونظرًا للجوانب الضيقة للأعمدة تجاه الشرق، فهي كلها جدار بالنسبة لهذا العصر المعماري.

ويمكن أن تستخدم في قواعد مصادر إلى الراحة.

في مارب تبلغ نسبة عرض كلا المعمود بينرن بعدن أرام إلى 15% مما يجعل هذه النسبة يمكن تبنيها للشكل الإقليمي لواجهة مقدمة برواق رقم 29، مع مراحل بينر حسب ارتقاء أصولياً قبل قدراً 3.74 متراً قائم على عرض قدراً 34 سم. وتقوم مبادئ تصميم على الأشكال المعمارية التقليدية، وخاصة على عمارية المعاد، وإضافة إلى ذلك فإن البناء الملمع المحورية للمقبرة 29، والتنظيم التخطيطي لطبقات الطوب الطيبي، والأحجار المرصوفة على الأجزاء المعمارية وكذلك الارتفاع الإقليمي للأعمدة يشير إلى تصوير مبثوم على وحدات معمارية مميزة.

هذا النوع من المقاير الأثرية هو تعبير عن التصوير الشخصي لأفراد من المجتمع السبتي ذوي رتب عالية، وهو يعطي انطباعاً عن المعبد الصغير، ويشمل الرواق في كل حال على قاعة بين المجال الخاص بالغير أو المعبد والجال المركزي.

وهناك معاينة ذات واجهات تشبه المباني السكنية من ناحية ومقاير تمثل بناء منصه لها وظيفة عامة أو استعراضية.

وباختصار يمكننا أن نذكر ثلاثة أنواع من المقاير في مدارك أرام:

1) مقاير بسيطة تشبه المحايد
2) مقاير ذات بنية فوقية هرمية مدرجة
3) مقاير ضخمة ذات رواق.

هذه العمارة الرائعة للمقابر الأثرية تنطق بقوة ووظيفة المدن والمجتمع المتحور وتقدم خلفيات عظيمة للمهارات الهامة.
The settlements of Bi‘r ‘Ali (ancient Qâni’) and Khôr Rûrî (ancient Sûmburûm) are the rarest examples of continuously excavated South Arabian pre-Islamic monuments that provide scholars with stratified numismatic finds. The importance of such kind of material could hardly be overestimated: in addition to the new data on political and economic history of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, it allows us to date archaeological strata more precisely. But there are several difficulties in interpretation of the results of the studies, and the most important are the vagueness of the absolute chronology of South Arabian coinage and uncertainty of the sequence of distinguished series.

The absolute chronology of South Arabian coinage is the most disputed question. For the first series, which are imitations of Athenian tetrads with the head of Athena on the obverse and standing owl on the reverse, there is, at least, the terminus post quem, but dating of the series with local iconography is very uncertain. There are no dates or other chronological indicators in the coin legends. There are very few iconographical features that can be compared with the elements of Hellenistic or Roman coinage with well established chronology. There are no coin hoards from South Arabia that contain dated foreign series in addition to the local ones. The names of the rulers, who issued South Arabian coins, when they do occur, are very rare, and it is difficult to correlate them with the rulers attested in South Arabian inscriptions. Thus, the only means of arriving at an approximate absolute chronology of South Arabian series is with the aid of archaeology.

The Russian excavations at Bi‘r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qâni’) recovered a bulk of different Ḥḍramawt, Sabaean and Ḥîmyarite series (see Table 1) in the strata, which could be assigned to the three main archaeological periods. The periods are dated by the presence of imported pottery, mainly of Mediterranean origin, and by other chronologically sensitive archaeological material. Thus, we have now the possibility to determine a general chronological framework for a number of the South Arabian coinages, particularly for Ḥḍramawt, late Sabaean and late Ḥîmyarite series. But there are again at least two big difficulties which don’t allow us to use this method precisely: 1. the wide range giving by the archaeological dating, and 2. the fact that according to the finds from controlled excavations the custom to withdraw old coins from circulation whenever new ones have been introduced was apparently not practised in ancient Yemen. But in anyway, based on the results of our archaeological investigations, we can solve, or at least try to solve these problems.

The typological sequence of the Ḥḍramawt coinage was built on the material from museum col-

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1, 10: S. C. H. Munro-Hay, The Coinage of Shabwa (Hadramawt), and other Ancient South Arabian Coinage in the National Museum, Aden (1991) 398 fig. 1. – All others are made by the author.

The article is written in the framework of the joint Russian-German-Italian-French INТАS project 00-00028 «Incense Long Distance Trade, Pre-Islamic Inscriptions and Antiquities of Ḥḍramawt» (project co-ordinator: Ch. J. Robin).

<table>
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<th>TOTAL</th>
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(10.8%) (0.2%) (9.0%) (30.4%) (15.1%) (0.4%) (34.3%) (100.0%)

Table 1 Distribution of the coins' finds at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient Qānī')
lections, mostly from the museums in al-Mukalla and Say'ūn².

Like in other South Arabian kingdoms the first coins minted and circulated in Ḫaḍramawt were imitations of Athenian tetradrachms of the so-called old style (series >Athena's head/owl<; types 1.1 and 1.2; Fig. 1, 1)³. Attic coins from the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great and/or their oriental imitations were used as models for such mintage. Imitations were struck in silver and bronze in several denominations following, probably, the local weight standard with the highest weight of the name of Sumhuram (s'mbrn). This possible reading could be interpreted in two ways: 1. as a part of the name of Ḫaḍrami ruler who struck the coins, or 2. as a mint-name. In the first case we can suppose that during a certain period in the late 1st century B.C. Ḫaḍramawt was under the rule of a certain Sumhuram who for some reasons was not mentioned in the known inscriptions⁴. Following the second interpretation we have to come to the conclusion that series with winged caduceus on the reverse was a provincial coinage minted not in the capital but, for instance, in Sumhuram, the Ḫaḍrami daughter-city on the coast of Dhofar⁵. They were circulated, according to the finds, all over the territory of the ancient kingdom.

Typologically coins with caduceus were a continuation of imitative series with owl on the reverse: 1. they were struck on similar irregular and rather thick flans; 2. the radiated head on the reverse could be considered as the next and, probably, the final phase of derivative image of Athena

The obverse of the next series of Ḫaḍramawt coinage bore a radiated male (?) head facing to the right, while the reverse showed a winged caduceus accompanied with the name Ḫy=ṣqr (vertical legend on the right) and monogram on the left (series >radiated head/winged caduceus<; type 3; Fig. 1, 3). Coins were struck on uneven rather thick (3–5.5 mm) flans, 10–11 mm in diameter or 10–13 × 11–14 mm in size, very similar to the flans of the previous imitative series. Their weights were irregular, from 1.60 to 3.15 g; die-axis was unstable.

Following the suggestion of Ch. J. Robin⁶, the monogram on the reverse could be deciphered as the name of Sumhuram (s'mbrn). This possible reading could be interpreted in two ways: 1. as a part of the name of Ḫaḍrami ruler who struck the coins, or 2. as a mint-name. In the first case we can suppose that during a certain period in the late 1st century B.C. Ḫaḍramawt was under the rule of a certain Sumhuram who for some reasons was not mentioned in the known inscriptions⁷. Following the second interpretation we have to come to the conclusion that series with winged caduceus on the reverse was a provincial coinage minted not in the capital but, for instance, in Sumhuram, the Ḫaḍrami daughter-city on the coast of Dhofar⁸. They were circulated, according to the finds, all over the territory of the ancient kingdom.

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⁴ Cf. Sedov - 'Aydarus op. cit. 44.
⁵ A certain Sum[hu]r[am] 'Alhi[n], mukarrib of Ḫaḍramawt is mentioned in the inscription 'Uqayba 5 carelessly engraved on the rock: J. Pirenne, Les témoins écrites de la région de Shabwa et l' histoire (1990) 53 f. – Palaeography of the text is very uncertain, which doesn’t allow to date the inscription precisely. Could it be our Sumhuram?
Fig. 1 Ḥadramawt and late Ḥimyarite coinage. 1. Series -Athena's head/owl- (type 1.2; Dia 15 mm). - 2. Series -head/owl- (type 2.1; Dia 11 mm). - 3. Series -radiated head/winged caduceus- (type 3; Dia 11 mm). - 4. Series -head/eagle- (type 4; Dia 44 mm). - 5. Series -radiated head/bull- (type 5.1; Dia 20 mm). - 6. Series -radiated head/bull- (type 5.2; Dia 12 mm). - 7. Series -radiated head/bull- (type 5.3; Dia 19 mm). - 8. Series -head/bull- (type 6.1; Dia 14 mm). - 9. Series -head/bull's head- (type 7.1; Dia 12 mm). - 10: Series -s'qr/bull- (type 8.1; Dia unknown). - 11. Series -s'qr/bull's head- (type 10; size 11 × 12 mm). - 12. Series with bucranium (Dia 7 mm)

wearing a helmet adorned with olive leaves; 3. the style and place of legend s'qr on the reverse were absolutely identical on both series.

The next series of Ḥadramawt coinage is completely new. These are the well-known pieces with male head with hair in long ringlets facing to the right (most probably, the portrait of the ruler), large letter s = m (reversed) and name of the federal Ḥadramawt deity s'ym on the obverse, and an eagle with open wings (undoubtedly the manifestation of s'ym) and two names, Ḥṣ = s'qr and Ḥṣ = yṣ'b, on the reverse (series -head/eagle-; type 4;
Fig. 1, 4). Coins were cast in a mould (there are traces of cut mould-junctions practically on all pieces). They vary in size and weights, which presumably depended on the coins' value: >large< (size 26 × 38 mm, weights from 87.8 to 11.7 g), >medium< (size 21–23 × 24–26 mm, weights from 8.25 to 3.24 g), and >small< (size 15–19 × 18–21 mm, weights from 2.6 to 0.75 g) denominations. Die-axis was constant – on 12.00 o'clock. There is evidence that at least some of the coins of this series were moulded not in bronze, but in billon.

Some pieces, especially those of >large< and >medium< denominations, have clear images and legends. In contrast, the representations on the well-preserved coins of >small< denomination are decomposed, sometimes completely. One can barely recognize the big letter m and something similar to a head on the obverse. The eagle on the reverse was converted into a kind of chicken and legends disappeared, sometimes completely. Such >degradation< was, most probably, the result of poor technology, when errors successfully accumulated in new coin moulds.

There is a kind of common agreement that the Ḥaḍramawt coins with eagle on the reverse were issued by YashhurʿIl Yuharʿish, son of Abiyasaʾ, mukarrrib of Ḥaḍramawt, attested in several inscriptions. One of the legends on the reverse, ϒςβ, was usually interpreted as the first three letters, Yash(a)/β, of his first name.

There is a unique coin from Shabwa in the collection of the al-Mukalla museum, which represented the beginning of a long typological line of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage. Its obverse bore a radiated male(? head facing to the right accompanied with Ḥaḍrami letter h = s̱, while the reverse showed a bull standing on line to the right, head facing, horizontal legend ϒςβ = s̱ qr on top above the bull, and a monogram on bottom right (series >radiated head/bull<; type 5.3; Fig. 1, 7). The coins were struck on regular rather thick, sometimes slightly scyphate flans with bevelled edges, 19–22 mm in diameter. Their weights were irregular, roughly from 3.5 to 9.0 g. The letter on the obverse probably stands for the name s̱yn, the Ḥaḍrami <federal< deity, and the monogram on the reverse could be deciphered as initial letters of the name started with y̱h = 'il-, again something like 'Ilʿadh or 'Ilriyām.

Usually the state of preservation of such coins is very poor (they are corroded, broken on edges, have a lot of cracks), but several pieces bear rather clear image and legend on the reverse. There is also a feature – small central conical cavity on one or two sides of the coins –, which helps to identify the type more or less precisely. The appearance of cavities was connected with coin-making technology existing in the Mediterranean coinage, specifically with the final process of manufacture of coin-blanks.

The other two series of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage are different from the previous one not only by iconography, but also by their size and weights as well: they are lighter and smaller. The obverse of YashhurʿIl Yuharʿish coins, his series >radiated head/bull< (type 5.1). Moreover, coins of both types were cast in a mould. Thus, we can assume that coins of our type 5.2 were issued by the immediate successor of the mukarrrib, and the name of this successor was denoted by the letter h = alef on the obverse (the name like 'Ilʿadh or 'Ilriyām).

The next type represents, probably, the typological end of the above mentioned series. The obverse of the coins bore a radiated male(? head facing to the right accompanied with Ḥaḍrami letter h = s̱, while the reverse showed a bull standing on line to the right, head facing, horizontal legend ϒςβ = s̱ qr on top above the bull, and a monogram on bottom right (series >radiated head/bull<; type 5.3; Fig. 1, 7). The coins were struck on regular rather thick, sometimes slightly scyphate flans with bevelled edges, 19–22 mm in diameter. Their weights were irregular, roughly from 3.5 to 9.0 g. The letter on the obverse probably stands for the name s̱yn, the Ḥaḍrami <federal< deity, and the monogram on the reverse could be deciphered as initial letters of the name started with y̱h = 'il-, again something like 'Ilʿadh or 'Ilriyām.

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the coins of one of the series bore a male head facing the right with hair in long ringlets wearing a cap or a helmet, and a monogram or vertical legend \( \text{YN} = s'y\text{n} \) in front of it; the reverse showed a bull standing to the right on line, the legend \( \text{YN} = s'y\text{n} \) on top of it and, sometimes, the second vertical legend \( \text{YN} = s'qr \) in front of the bull (series head/bull; types 6.1 and 6.2; Fig. 1, 8). The coins of the other series had the same representation and monogram on the obverse, while the reverse bore a frontal bull's head accompanied with vertical legends \( \text{YN} = s'y\text{n} \) and \( \text{HN} = s'qr \) (series -head/bull's head; type 7.1; Fig. 1, 9). The monogram on the obverse of both series could be deciphered as initial letters of the name started with \( \text{YN} = \text{yd} \), something like Yada'\text{il} or Yada'a\text{ab}.

The other series of the coins bore the legend \( \text{HN} = s'qr \) in a square frame on the obverse, and bull standing to the right on line, head facing, accompanied with horizontal legend \( \text{YN} = s'y\text{n} \) on top and vertical legend \( \text{HN} = s'qr \) on right on the reverse (series -head/bull's head; type 8.1; Fig. 1, 10). The coins of one more series bore big letters of legend \( \text{HN} = s'qr \) on the obverse, and bull's head facing front with legend \( \text{YN} = s'y\text{n} \) (letter \( h = s' \) on right, letter \( \gamma = y \) on top between horns, and letter \( \nu = n \) on left) on the reverse (series -head/bull's head; type 10; Fig. 1, 11). The latter coins were struck on small, 8–10 × 8–10 mm in size, rather thick square, rectangular or oblong bronze flans, and represented the most numerous mintage of the Ḫaḍramawt coinage (for instance, at Bi't-Ali settlement, ancient Qāni'; they constituted 45.3% of the total coins' finds).

These are, in brief, the typology and sequence of the Ḫaḍramawt series. Let’s have now a close look at the possible absolute dating of coins, how it was determined from the stratigraphy of coins' finds at Bi't-Ali settlement (ancient Qāni') and other Ḫaḍramawt monuments.

As it was noted already above, there is a terminus post quern for the early Ḫaḍramawt imitative series -Athena's head/owl-: the date of Attic originals minted during the time of Alexander the Great and his father. In other words, the imitative series couldn’t appear in Ḫaḍramawt before the middle of the 4th century B.C. (as the earliest). On the other hand, we don’t know precisely when the foreign originals reached the Ḫaḍramawt, and how long was the time span (several decades?) between this date and the time when the first imitative series started to be minted by local rulers. We cannot exclude also the possibility, that the first coins minted in Ḫaḍramawt were -imitations and were struck, for instance, following the imitations of Athenian tetradrachms minted already in Palestine or even in the neighbouring Qatabān, which dating is not certain in comparison with the pure Attic series. But in any case, bearing in mind all these complications, we may assume, in my opinion, that the imitative Ḫaḍramawt coinage started roughly around the beginning of the second half of the 4th century B.C. The first issues were struck, probably, only in silver, but rather soon they were supplemented with bronze fractions. For several reasons it’s very tempting to correlate the beginning of the Ḫaḍramawt coinage with the rule of Shahr ‘Alāhān, son of Yada’īl, king of Ḫaḍramawt (c. 360–345 B.C.), and his successors Yada’eeil Bayān, son of Sumhuayah (c. 345–340 B.C.) and ‘Īlīma’ Dhū-Bayān, son of Malikkarib (c. 340–325 B.C.), known from the inscriptions RES 2778 = M 30 and RES 3869. It was the period when Ḫaḍramawt established the direct, via Mā’in, trade connections with the Eastern Mediterranean countries.

How long were early Ḫaḍramawt imitations minted and circulated? Our excavations at Raybūn settlement in the Wadi Dawān provided us with a single coin find - the bronze coin of the series -Athena's head/owl- with traces of pseudo-Greek legend on the reverse (type 1.2). The coin was found on the floor near the altar in the ruins of the temple of ‘Aṭharum/Aṣtarum dhāt Ḫaḍrān, located on the northern outskirts of the settlement. Apparently, the coin was a part of offering brought to the temple not long before its destruction, which took place, according to the Raybūn pottery sequence and series of radiocarbon dates, around the early 1st century B.C. Two bronze coins of the same

12 On the other Ḫaḍrami coin types and series, which are not attested in the material from Bi’t-Ali see: Sedov, Moneti drevnego Ḫaḍramauta op. cit. 21–146.
series (type 1.2) were found at Bi'r 'Ali settlement (ancient Qānīn) on the floor of the earliest building excavated in the strata of the lower (BA-I) period, which was destroyed close to the very early 1st century A.D. (see Table 2). Four additional pieces of the same series were found on the surface of the site and in its more recent strata (see Tables 1 and 4). Thus, the period of possible minting and, especially, circulation of the early Ḥadramawt imitative series >Athena's head/owl< with pseudo-Greek legend on the reverse was obviously quite long—several hundred years. When they were replaced by the series >head/owl< with Ḥaḍrami legend sāqr on the reverse is not clear. Probably, it took place around the middle of the 2nd century B.C., but this is more a speculation than a statement, which needs confirmation by further studies. The finds from controlled excavations show that, like other Ḥadramawt series, the early imitations remained in circulation some time after the new series of the Ḥadramawt coinage were introduced into the market.

At Bi'r 'Ali settlement (ancient Qānīn) three main periods were determined: lower (BA-I) period dated between the early 1st and late 2nd centuries A.D.; middle (BA-II) period dated between the late 2nd and 5th centuries A.D.; upper (BA-III) period dated between the 6th and early 7th centuries A.D. Stratigraphically the middle period can be divided into two phases: early layers (late 2nd—3rd centuries A.D.) and late layers (4th—5th centuries A.D.). In addition to the series of the early Ḥadramawt imitations, the strata of the early (BA-I) period revealed six pieces of the series >radiated head/winged caduceus< (type 3), eleven coins of Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyasa', mukarrib of Ḥadramawt, his series >head/eagle< (type 4), with representation of eagle on the issues of the Roman Emperors Trajan and Hadrian minted in Alexandria and Septimius Severus struck in Antioch. Such resemblance allowed him to date Ḥadramawt coinage around the early 2nd century A.D.10. In the recent numismatic literature there is a tendency to date those coins even later—close to the early 3rd century A.D.11. But such dating contradicts with stratigraphy of coins' finds on the ancient settlements, with attribution of the coinage to Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyasa', mukarrib of Ḥadramawt, and with iconographical parallels. According to Ch. J. Robin, mukarrib ruled in the

coins from Ḥadramawt is very similar, nearly identical to the winged caduceus on the reverse of bronze coins of the king Aminta struck in Galatia in 36–26 B.C.17. Most probably, the coins from Asia Minor gave terminus post quem for Ḥadramawt series with caduceus, although it's hard to imagine the direct borrowing of the image. Thus, we may assume that the coins with caduceus on the reverse were struck in the late 1st century B.C.—early 1st century A.D. by a certain Ḥadramawt ruler with the name of Sumhuram, but, according to stratigraphical finds from Bi'r 'Ali settlement (ancient Qānīn), were remained in circulation during, at least, the entire 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

J. Walker, following the suggestion of E. S. G. Robinson, compared the image on the reverse of the coins of Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyasa', mukarrib of Ḥadramawt, his series >head/eagle< (type 4), with representation of eagle on the issues of the Roman Emperors Trajan and Hadrian minted in Alexandria and Septimius Severus struck in Antioch. Such resemblance allowed him to date Ḥadramawt coinage around the early 2nd century A.D.18. In the recent numismatic literature there is a tendency to date those coins even later—close to the early 3rd century A.D.19. But such dating contradicts with stratigraphy of coins' finds on the ancient settlements, with attribution of the coinage to Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyasa', mukarrib of Ḥadramawt, and with iconographical parallels. According to Ch. J. Robin, mukarrib ruled in the


16 Five coins of the Ḥadramawt series >radiated head/bull< (type 5.3) were also found in the upper strata of the lower (BA-I) period at the Area 6 (see Table 2), but their exact location indicates that it was a kind of late intrusion into the layers of the lower period during, most probably, the constructional works, which took place later, in the middle (BA-II) period of Bi'r 'Ali occupation.

17 Details see in Sedov, Moneti drevnego Hadramauta op. cit. (note 2) 70–75.

18 Walker op. cit. 264, 279.

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Table 2 Distribution of coins in the layers of the 'lower' (BA-I) period at Bi’r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī')

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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥaḍramawt, series ·ṣgīr/bull’s head· (type 10)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>13</td>
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Table 3 Distribution of coins in the ‘early’ layers of the ‘middle’ (BA-II) period at Bi’r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī')
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadramawt, series 'sqr/bull's head' (type 10)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified, Hadramawt coinage?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saba', series with <em>bucranium</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himyar, series with two heads</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Himyar, series with <em>bucranium</em></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified, late Himyarite coinage?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksumite coinage</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified, foreign coinage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Distribution of coins in the late layers of the middle (BA-II) period at Bi'r 'Ali settlement (ancient Qānī')

Early 1st century A.D.\(^{20}\). Stratigraphy of coins finds at Bi'r 'Ali settlement (ancient Qānī') confirmed in general the early chronology: as was stated above, eleven pieces of the series with eagle were found on the floors and immediately above them in the ruins of dwellings considered to be the earliest at the site and dated close to the early 1st – mid 2nd centuries A.D. But again, like for other Hadramawt series, there is plenty of archaeological evidence that coins of the series 'head/eagle' (type 4) were re-

mained in circulation in Ḥḍramawt in the 2nd, 3rd, and even in the early 4th centuries A.D. (see Tables 3 and 4). As we noted a few years ago, the representation of the eagle with open wings facing to the right on the coins of Nero minted in Antioch about 49 A.D. is very close to that found on the Ḥḍramawt issues.21

The coins of the series >radiated head/bull< (type 5.2) with letter alef on the obverse, which typo-logically were a continuation of the issues of Yash hur-Il Yuhar‘ish, son of Abiyasa‘, mukarrrib of Ḥḍramawt, were tentatively attributed to his successor (see above). It seems likely that they represent the coinage of ‘Ili‘adh Yalut, son of Yada‘Il, king of Ḥḍramawt, attested in the texts from Khör Röri (ancient Sumburam) and Shabwa, and, most probably, was mentioned in the »Periplus Mare Erythraeum« as Eleazos, king of the »frank-incense-bearing land<. His reign lasted probably into the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. At Bi‘r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī‘) the sole piece of such series was found at the Area 4 in the »late< layers of the »middle< (BA-II) period (see Table 4).

The appearance of the most common series of the ancient Ḥḍramawt coinage — small square bronze coins with the name sʿqr on the obverse, bull’s head facing front and legend sʿyn on the reverse (series sʿqr/bull’s head; type 10) — could also be associated with one of the Ḥḍrami rulers of the 1st century A.D.: excavations at Bi‘r ‘Ali settlement revealed 43 pieces of such coins in the strata of the »lower< (BA-I) period of the site (see Table 2). Finds of square coinage were reported from the region of Shabwa including the ruins of the ancient Ḥḍramawt capital, from al-Barira settlement in the Wadi Jirdān, from the ancient sites in the Wadi Ḥḍramawt22. The strata of the »middle< (BA-II) period of Bi‘r ‘Ali (ancient Qānī‘) revealed 261 pieces of such coins, the biggest number in the total coins’ finds (see Tables 3 and 4). As we can judge from this evidence, the square coins of the series sʿqr/bull’s head (type 10) were minted and circulated in Ḥḍramawt during at least four hundred years without any visible changes in their iconography.

The stratigraphy of coins’ finds at Bi‘r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī‘) as well as tentative deciphering of the obverse and reverse monograms allowed us to associate several series found exclusively in the strata of the »middle< (BA-II) period with Ḥḍrami kings of the 3rd century A.D.

Thirty-two coins of the series >radiated head/bull< (type 5.3) were found at the site in different areas in the strata of the »middle< (BA-II) period (see Tables 3 and 4)23. Its reverse bore the monogram consisting of two letters, which could be deciphered as initial letters of the name like ‘Ilī‘adh or ‘Ilīriyām. As we know from the inscriptions, the sole rulers of the 3rd century Ḥḍramawt who bore such names were ‘Ilī‘adh Yalut, son of ‘Ammidhakhar, king of Ḥḍramawt (c. 207–225? A.D.) and ‘Ilīriyām Yadbūn, son of Yada‘Il Bayān (c. 262?–275? A.D.)24. ‘Ilī‘adh Yalut, son of ‘Ammidhakhar, is the more famous of the two because of his alliance and then the war against the Sabaean king Shā‘irūm ‘Awṭar. We know his name from numerous inscriptions, and know also that he was defeated in several battles by Sabaeans who finally carried him off as a prisoner to Marīb25. Thus, we can suggest that ‘Ilī‘adh Yalut, son of ‘Ammidhakhar, king of Ḥḍramawt, struck the coins belonging to our series >radiated head/bull< (type 5.3).

The coins of the series >head/bull< (type 6.1) and >head/bull’s head< (type 7.1) bore the monogram on the obverse, which could be deciphered as initial letters of the name like Yadā‘Il or Yadā‘āb. The numbers of finds of both series from Bi‘r ‘Ali excavations are 22 and 3 pieces accordingly (see Tables 3 and 4). According to epigraphic evidence there were several Ḥḍrami kings of the 3rd century A.D. who bore such names: Yadā‘Il Bayān, son of Rabbishams (c. 245?–260? A.D.); his brother Yadā‘āb Bayān (c. 260?–262? A.D.); Yadā‘āb Ghaylān, son of Yadā‘Il Bayān (c. 275?–285? A.D.), and possibly others26. As was stated by A. Jamme, according to al-‘Uqlah texts Yadā‘Il Bayān, son of Rabbishams, was the successor of ‘Ilī‘adh Yalut, son of ‘Ammidhakhar, and the

22 Cf. Sedov, Moneti drevnegro Hadramauta op. cit. (note 2) 79.
23 See also above, note 17.
founder of the new Ḥadramawt dynasty\textsuperscript{27}. It is very tempting to consider our series 'head/bull' (types 6.1) and 'head/bull's head' (type 7.1) as well as typologically close coins of the series 'head/bull' (type 6.2) as issues of Yada‘il Bayān, son of Rab­bshams, and/or his successors.

Coins of the series 'gr/bull' (type 8.1) are not numerous in the Bi’r ‘Ali finds: only three pieces were found in the strata of the 'middle' (BA-II) period at the Area 4 and two more – on the surface of the site (see Tables 1 and 4). Probably, they represent the coinage of the Ḥadrami rulers of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.

It seems, that Ḥadramawt royal coinage came to the end around the last quarter of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D., when Ḥimyarites conquered the kingdom. But undoubtedly the Ḥadrami coins continued to circulate on the territory of the former independent kingdom in the 4\textsuperscript{th} and even in the early 5\textsuperscript{th} centuries A.D.

In addition to the Ḥadramawt coinage, Bi’r ‘Ali excavations revealed Sabaean and Ḥimyarite series (see Table 1). Among the last ones the most numerous are small crude bronze fractions of the series with bucranium. Its obverse bore a male head facing to the right or left flanked by two symbols: symbol of ‘Ilmaqah on the left and symbol of Ahtubar on the right. The reverse showed bucra­nium with long horns and plume between them facing front, monogram on the left or right, and symbol of ‘Awām Temple on the right or left (Fig. 1, 12). Coins were struck on irregular thin slightly scythe-shaped flans, 7–10 mm in diameter. The weights of the pieces were usually around or less than 1.0 g.

Small crude bronze fractions of the series with bucranium were found at Shabwa, at the settlements in the Wadi Ḥadramawt, in Marib oasis (necropolis near ‘Awām Temple), at Khūr Rūrī (ancient Sumhuram). Coin hoards consisting of several hundreds of such coins are known from al-Jawf and Wadi Markha in Yemen, and even from Ethiopia\textsuperscript{28}. At Bi’r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī) 144 pieces of small crude bronze fractions of the series with bucranium were found in the 'late' layers of the 'middle' (BA-II) period dated between the 4\textsuperscript{th} and 5\textsuperscript{th} centuries A.D. (see Table 4). Typologically such coins are the continuation of the late Sabaean silver and bronze series with bucranium of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and mid 3\textsuperscript{rd} centuries A.D. Apparently, the Ḥimyarites borrowed the late Sabaean type for the local circulation.

Thus, the stratigraphy of the coins’ finds from Bi’r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī) allows us to establish the sequence of Ḥadramawt series, and to determine more or less precise absolute dates for them (see Table 5). Using these data we can try to date now archaeological layers of different monu­ments. There is only one example – excavations at Khūr Rūrī (ancient Sumhuram).

The most striking result of the first two cam­paigns\textsuperscript{29} is the presence among the coins’ finds from the settlement of quite a big number of the early Ḥadramawt imitations (series 'head/owl'; type 2): they constitute more than 25\% of the total numismatic finds (for instance, at Bi’r ‘Ali the early Ḥadramawt imitations constitute only 1.1\% of the total numismatic finds; see Table 1). We may assume that such a big concentration of coins dated close to the mid 2\textsuperscript{nd} – late 1\textsuperscript{st} centuries B.C. provides some additional evidence for the supposi­tion that a Ḥadrami settlement was existing at Khūr Rūrī prior to the foundation of the walled city of Sumhuram, i.e. prior to the late 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.\textsuperscript{30}.

The presence at Sumhuram of a number of coins of the late Ḥimyarite series, i.e. small crude bronze fractions of the series with bucranium, is also very important. It seems that these coins were the smallest denomination of the Ḥimyarite Empire, and were widely circulated throughout the area of its political hegemony. In addition to the confirmation of the absolute dating of the top strata at the site close to the early 4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D., the fact that such pieces were found not only at Bi’r ‘Ali settlement (ancient Qānī) and in Shabwa, the capital of the ancient Ḥadramawt, but even so far to the east

\textsuperscript{27} Cf. Jamme op. cit. 10–14; see also Ch. J. Robin, Les inscriptions d’al-Mi’sāl et la chronologie de l’Arabie méridionale au III\textsuperscript{e} siècle de l’ère chrétienne, CRAI 1981, 327 f.

\textsuperscript{28} Sedov, Moneti drevnego Hadramauta op. cit. (note 2) 152.


strongly suggests that the entire kingdom including its eastern possessions was incorporated into the economic system of the new state, the state whose rulers bore now the title »king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, and Ḥaḍramawt, and Yamanat«.

Address:
Prof. Dr. Alexander Sedov, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, ul. Rozhdestvenka 12, Moscow 103777, Russia, sedov@sed.msk.ru
أزاحت الاكتشافات الأثرية الروسية بمسطونه بير علي (شمَرَّم) في خور روري (شمَرَّم قديما) لضخ عماثم في ضمن من عماثم حضرمطية وسبينة وحميرية متبرعة في طبقات الأرض التي أمكن جزها إلى فترات أثرية مختلفة. وقد أمكن تحديد تلك الفترات بفترة أكبر أو أقل بوجود الفخاريات المستوردة، ولا سيما من منطقة المتوسط، وبواسطة مادة أثرية أخرى حساسة من ناحية التسلسل التاريخي. ومن ثلث، قد نأما الآن إمكانية تحديد إطار زمني عام لمبسط عماثم جنوب بلاد العرب وخاصة عماثم حضرمط. لقد كانت أولى عماثم التي تمكنها وتناولها في حضرمط عبارة عن تكاثر اتخاذ عماثم الأولية التي أزمة أربع دراحمات أنموذجا. وفيما بعد حل محالها أنواع ذوات أيقنة محلية ومونوغرامات ونقوش. إن دراسة طبقات الأرض في مناطق اكتشاف العماثم بالعالم الأثرية وكذلك الفلك المبسطي لمغافل المونوغرامات يسمح لنا أن نربط سلسلة عماثم الحضرمطية بملوك حضرمطيين مختلفين كانوا يحكمون من القرن الأول إلى القرن الثالث الميلادي. ويبدو أن عماثم في حضرمط انتهى في حوالي الرابع الأخير من القرن الثالث الميلادي، ولكن لا ريب أنه قد استمر تداولها في أرض المملكة المستقلة الأولى في القرن الرابع وحتى أواخر القرن الخامس الميلادي إلى جانب سلسلة العماثم الحميرية.


Letztere Publikation, die durch ein Übermaß an Fehlern entstellt und völlig unbrauchbar geworden ist, enthält zwei Graffiti, die – richtig gelesen – ein interessantes Licht auf die religionsgeschichtliche Situation Südwestarabiens in den letzten Jahrhunderten vor dem Islam werfen.

Abbildungsnachweis: Umzeichnungen vom Verfasser.


Eskoubi 2000: C 1 (Foto ebenda Taf. 36 b)

Diesen Inschrift, die unter den von Eskoubi publizierten sicherlich die wichtigste darstellte, wurde in der editio princeps völlig verlesen. Eskoubis Lesung yʃq lybywlynyn ist ebenso unannehmbar wie seine Deutung. Tatsächlich ist zu lesen: yrf’s/lybwlyny Yrf’s, der Jude

Der Name Yrf’s ist im vorislamischen Arabien gut bezeugt – vgl. sabäisch yrf’s in MQ-al-Jifjif 1/1, minäisch yrf’s in M 28/1 = Ma’in 33, thamudisch yrf’s in JS 531 aus al-Ulā – sowie in der Form Yarfə auch aus der klassisch-arabischen Literatur bekannt. Der Name yrf’s ist als Verkürzung eines kompositen Namens yrf’s + theophores Element

»Geheilt hat der Gott NN zu deuten, vgl. thamudisch yfr'f in JS 485 und 537 aus al-'Ulā, alt-aramäisch yfr't und amurritisch ša-ra-şIM (Streck 2000, 197); hebr. yrfr'f ist nur als Toponym, das jedoch zweifellos auf einen Personennamen zurückgeht, belegt. Da der Name yrfr'f ebenso wie andere von der Wurzel *sr* derivierte Namen im Frühnord- und Altsüdarabischen gut bezeugt ist, liegt kein Grund zur Annahme vor, daß er (speziell im Fall des vorliegenden Graffito) aus dem nordwestsemitischen Raum entlehnt wurde.

Die auf den Namen folgende Bezeichnung yhwd-y-n /yahūdiyyān/ »der Jude« ist als Nisbenform auf -y zu dem Kollektivum yh(w)d-/yahūd/-/ •Juden/- zu deuten. Aufgrund der Nunation (status determinatus) muß die Form yhwyd⋅n als sabäisch klassifiziert werden.


Paläographisch ist dieses Graffito in die spät­sabäische Periode zu datieren.

Eskoubi 2000: C 2a (Foto ebenda Taf. 38a)

\[\text{Fig. 2} \]

**whb'zyn**

In der editio princeps wurde dieser Text whbwzyn gelesen und als »Whb and Zyn« gedeutet. Diese Fehllesung beruht wahrscheinlich auf der paläographischen Eigentümlichkeit, daß das ' einen horizontalen Querstrich aufweist und daher von Eskoubi fälschlich als w gelesen wurde. An paläographischen Besonderheiten fällt weiters auf, daß das z die aus dem älteren Lihyaniischen sowie 'Thamudischen' (C, D und Hismaīschi) bekannte Form hat, die dem lateinischen H gleich12.

Der Name whb-'zyn enthält als theophores Element den Namen der nordarabischen Göttin al-'Uzza13 in seiner »abäisierten« Form 'zy-n/'Uz-

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12 Die Kollektiva yh(w)d (vgl. arab. Yāḥūd [n. coll.] und h(w)d (vgl. arab. Ḥād [n. coll.]) »Juden« sind im Spät­sabäischen nur in den Komposita rb-yh(d in CIH 543/2, rb-bd in Ja 1028/12 und rb-hd in Ry 515/5 bezeugt.
15 In der altarabischen Poesie vgl. z. B. 'A'īs IV 10 (Ed. Geyer) wa-yahhā'ā fahi yahūdiyyāb / wa-'aṭrabāhā wa-'aṣalāyā buıtumun / topasgelben (Wein), sein Jude (d. h. der Schenkens­besitzer) ging umher und holte ihn hervor, an dem noch die Siegel waren und den einzigen koranischen Beleg in 3,67 mā kaña 'ibrahīmu yahūdiyyān wa-lā nasranīyan »Abraham war weder ein Jude noch ein Christ«.

Im Altsüdarabischen treten Namen mit dem theophoren Element -’zyn erst (und ausschließlich) im Mittelsabäischen und insgesamt recht selten auf. Folgende Namen sind m. W. bezeugt:

*whb-’zyn* (mask., Fa 3/3: Širwāb, Zeit des Nās’krb Y’mn Yhrḥb)

*’mt-’zyn* (fem., CIH 558/6–7: Herkunft un bekannt, 1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.)

*rt’d-’zyn* (mask., Ashmolean Museum 1957.17/6: ’wm/Mārib, mittelsabäisch)

*’bd-’zyn* (mask., Ja 1012 m: südwestliches Saudi-Arabien¹⁵, mittelsabäisch)


¹⁵ Die Herkunftsangabe Qaryat Qadimat der editio princeps kann ich nicht lokalisiert.
اليهود وعَدَد العَزِيز
قراءات جديدة لرسمين من السعودية بالكتابة العربية الجنوبية القديمة
Alexander Sima
(Alexander Sima)

ملخص:
في عام 2000 قام خالد م. إسكوبى نشر عدة رسومات بالكتابة العربية الجنوبية القديمة كانت قد اكتشفت في جنوب غرب المملكة العربية السعودية. ونظرًا لأن قراءته وتوضيحاته لتلك النصوص، التي لا تحت陽 إلا على اسماء أشخاص تقريباً، خاطئة جداً مع الأسف؛ فقد أعيد هنا نشر أروع نصين في صورة مصححة. أما الرسم الأول ففارجل يدعي (ي ر ف ع)
(=yrw) يطلق على نفسه (ي ه و د ي ن) (أي: اليهودي. ويعتبر هذا هو الشاهد الأول لصيغة المفرد "يهودى" في العربية الجنوبية القديمة. أما الرسم الثاني ففارجل يدعي (وهب / غ زي ن) (أي: "هبة (الالهية) عزّيزة"). ويعتبر هذا شاهداً جديداً لذلك الكلام الذي يشير إلى الله بنشتعاله على اسم إلهة شمال بلاد العرب - العزّى - في صورته العربية الجنوبية القديمة. ونظرًا لأنه قد عرفت حتى الآن أربعة أسماء مركبة مع اسم عزّيزة شهد لكل منها مرة أو مرتين؛ فيجب التفسير بأن عَدَد تلك الآلهة العربية الشمالية قد كانت في جنوب بلاد العرب أوسع انتشارًا مما يظن من خلال مجموعة الآلهة الرسمية الكاملة.
1. Introduction

Until today, the periodisation of the history of Epigraphic South Arabian, and especially of the Sabaic language, has belonged to the less considered fields of South Arabian linguistics. Indeed, some tendencies of linguistic development within the Sabaic language have been known for long, which led to the rough division into the three periods Early (or Archaic), Middle, and Late (or Recent) Sabaic. A collection of representative linguistic characteristics, however, has not been undertaken so far, neither has been a fairly exact historical placement of the change from the early to the middle period of the Sabaic language.

In the course of my research on Sabaic phonology and morphology, I have come across some grammatical phenomena that can help to determine the transition from the Early to the Middle Sabaic period more precisely and also to fix it historically. In a first section of my paper, I intend to present the most prominent of these grammatical features. Subsequently, I will try to arrange the concerning inscriptions in our present chronological system, and to look for possible historical reasons for the linguistic change that is reflected in those texts. Finally, in a last section, I want to deal with the question to what extent such grammatical features may be relevant to our dating of the inscriptions.

2. Archaic contra Middle Sabaic

2.1. Recent Findings in Sabaic Linguistics

In several parts of Sabaic grammar, a break can be observed between an older practice and a younger one. The numerals for "three" and "six", for example, present a writing ği and şd respectively in older texts, while we find té and ş in younger inscriptions. Nevertheless, these numerals are still too rarely attested in the period under consideration (cf. the references in tabular A and B). Some other peculiarities, however, which so far have not been noticed in this relation, occur much more frequently and thus may help us to answer our question. I want to point at four of them in the following.

The first one is the preposition/conjunction 'd(y), which is always written defectively in early texts ("d", 30 cases), while in later times plene writing....

Source of illustrations: All figures made by the author.
Apart from the abbreviations in ABADY 9 (2002) the following are used:

1 Cf., for example, A. F. L. Beeston, Sabaic Grammar (1984) 2. This periodisation also tends to be fixed to formalities like the ducus of script (e.g. boustrophedon) or the religion of the authors of the inscriptions (as the Late Sabaic inscriptions of the monotheistic period).
2 The results have recently been published as P. Stein, Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen (2003).
is found (‘dy’). Since there are practically no exceptions from this rule, the assumption of a grammatical change at this point is fairly probable.

A quite similar development is shown by the relative pronoun d forming part of the composed conjunction l-k-d, which is written in older texts only in this manner (more than 25 examples in 16 inscriptions), while the younger inscriptions regularly show plene writing l-k-dy (7 examples).

Another, clearly morphological, characteristic for a change in linguistic usage is the formation of the infinitive. The hitherto existing approaches to the question of rules for the attachment of -n to the infinitive (cf. báqr besides báqrn) cannot be discussed here. My recent investigation of the whole Sabaic corpus, however, has led to the conclusion that the attachment of the affirmative -n to the infinitive is subject to the following rules: Concerning the central region of the domain of the Sabaic language around Marib and the adjacent highlands to the west of it, in the Middle Sabaic period, -n is regularly attached to the infinitive of derived verbal stems. In other words, the affirmative -n serves as a marker of the derived stems in contrast to the unmarked base stem (cf. e.g. *wbn »to bring« opposite *wel »to get back«; bát/mn »to sell« opposite *bt/m »to buy«). In contrast to this, Early Sabaic forms exclusively unaugmented infinitives of the derived stems, for which I have found more than a dozen examples. Looking at the evidence of the region around Marib and Ġīrwhā, we can say that the beginning of the attachment of -n to the infinitive seems to be an innovation, in contrast to the earlier practice which basically does not know such kind of infinitive formation.

The last example, which is, however, not reliable to the same extent, is the assimilation of n to a following consonant. The assimilation of as such is beyond any doubt, as the appearance of defective writings like bt »daughter« or the plural ’sas »souls«, besides plene writings bnt and ’ns respectively, proves. Well, as far as I can see, in Early Sabaic texts only plene writings of such forms occur. Apart from probably one example, there is no proof in writing for assimilation of n to a following consonant in the Early Sabaic inscriptions. Considering the dominance of defective writings in the Middle and Late Sabaic period, we are urged to assume a break with the earlier practice in this case, too.

5 In my opinion, it is improbable that this is an exclusively graphical phenomenon because defective writing of long final vowels in Sabaic is expected only in the case of /a/. Final /a/ and /i/ are regularly written by means of semi vowels w and y respectively. – Only the dual ending of nominal and verbal forms in early texts of the archaic period is written defective, which can be considered as an argument for the reconstruction of the original Sabaic dual ending in */-ay/.


3 By the way it should be mentioned that in the formula »from (the foundations) up to (the roof)« occurring in building inscriptions also the meaning »from« in older texts is expressed by a preposition (bn) different from the one regularly used in later texts (bn).

6 Among them R 3945/2.16 bn k-d and Gt-k-d respectively, the latter form also in Y(alā).DA 2/4, GI 1520/1, and GI 1379/5 = Gr 171/5.

7 Cf. in detail P. Stein, Zur Morphologie des sabäischen Infinitivs, Or 71, 2002, 393–414, where older literature on the topic is also discussed.

8 The regions under Radmānīte influence, however, do not follow this rule. Infinitive formation in this area has rather to be connected with Early Sabaic practice.

9 A similar practice is found in Aramaic (cf. e.g. the Syriac infinitives maqalā, meqalā etc. opposite meqal). – The quantity of exceptions from this rule, numbering a little less than two dozen, is quite irrelevant considering the immense corpus of inscriptions known from the region and time concerned. Only the two verbs b’n and bkm show some more exceptions from this rule, which, nevertheless, may be explained as negligence in writing (more details and references are given in Stein op. cit. 400ff.).

10 In the early inscriptions from the highlands no forms are attested relating to this.

11 Further examples are verbal and nominal forms of derived stems, first of all the H-stem, of verbs l n, like bqalw »they captured« and mbrm »someone who damages«, besides bndq and mbrm respectively.

12 The only exception is (following the common interpretation) ybgm (*QNm, cf. DS s.v.) in R 3945/18. In my opinion, a different derivation (e.g. from the root QWM »erect, establish«) cannot completely be excluded.

13 The occasional plene writings in younger texts, however, do not allow a very exact historical delimitation of the different writings. Indeed, a defective writing necessarily indicates assimilation of n, but on the contrary, plene writing does not necessarily indicate non-assimilation.
Finally, there are some additional features whose difference between the two periods is more due to stylistic than to grammatical reasons, as, for example, the use of the temporal conjunction b-kn in younger texts instead of the more archaic ywm, or the use of the plural 'wld- »offspring« before a pronominal suffix instead of 'wld-', the latter being almost exclusively used in texts of the early period. Another example is the verbal stem used for the expression »to complete« in building inscriptions, which is always šqr in older texts (cf. e.g. R 3915/2), but hiqr(n) in younger ones (e.g. F 77/2 f.).

2.2. Delimiting the Features within Language History

After having presented some of the outstanding grammatical phenomena, I now want to deal with the question whether the single phases of change are connected with each other. In one simple question: did the breaks within each single phenomenon occur at different times, (and thus independently from each other), or at the same time? In order to answer this question it is necessary to arrange the inscriptions under consideration from a historical and paleographical point of view. The following tabulars compiled for this purpose contain the evidence we spoke about, arranged in two large blocks (A and B) according to the provenance of the inscriptions.

Comments on the Following Tabulars:

The chronological order of the inscriptions is based mainly on paleographic characteristics of their script following the historical system of H. v. Wissmann with the aid of the paleography of J. Pirenne and results of my own research. To illustrate the arrangement of the tabulars, I have compiled the paleographic figures 1 and 2 of selected inscriptions, whose order is the same as in the tabulars. B: inscription written boustrophedon (b) or not (-) -ass.: assimilation of n not expressed (n occurring in script) +ass.: assimilation of n expressed by n disappearing in script 'd(y), k-ñ(y), šqršqr: writing of the forms in the older and younger period respectively inf. -Ø: unaugmented formation of the infinitive of derived stems

inf. -n: formation of the infinitive of derived stems by adding the affirmative -n

Comments on Several Inscriptions:

Tabular A:

If the tribe d-MNYHTM mentioned in Gl A 744/1 is to be connected with the toponym MNHYTM of R 3945/15, the provenance of the inscription may be located in the Čawi17.

Tabular B:

The provenance (Marib) of C 570 is probable due to topographical details mentioned in the text; the clan name I♯G (line 10) is also found in another inscription from Marib (Foster-Marib 1/1). – FB-Maḥram Bilqis 1 is published by F. Bron and J. Ryckmans. In respect to the provenance of CIH 562 cf. Wissmann. – F 61 and R 3913 are to be connected with each other because of the same author. – The entry of R 3915 is, hesitating, due to the clan name 'LFQM mentioned in line 1, which else is attested in texts from Marib only (J 629/33, R 4434, and R 4455). – R 3911 is surely originaring from Marib as is shown by the name of the oasis 'BYN (line 4) especially. – R 4627, published without facsimile, is classified by J. Pirenne as style E 3 according to an impression by E. Glaser.

14 Wissmann, Sabiërreich; Wissmann, Saba. – Citing the Wissmannic chronological data in this paper does not mean that I completely accept his absolute chronology in all details (some critical remarks on this system are given further below). Even though the absolute dating of the inscriptions is not that fixed as Wissmann’s year-dates might suggest, at least his relative chronology of that time is the only comprehensive one we have so far.
16 I am grateful to N. Nebes who placed a photograph of the inscription C 400 from the Bar’īn Temple in Marib at my disposal. – Photographs of some of the building inscriptions of the ‘Awām Temple wall have recently been published by W. D. Glanzman, Clarifying the Record: The Bayt ‘Awām Revisited, PSAS 29, 1999, 73–88.
18 Cf. e.g. W. W. Müller, in: TUT 1 3 (1983) 276 f.
20 Wissmann, Sabiërreich 390.
21 Pirenne op. cit. 208. 306.
At first glance already, it becomes clear that the change of all mentioned phenomena from the older towards the younger practice takes place within two centuries, i.e. from the first half of the 4th to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. according to the chronology of Wissmann. All inscriptions dating prior or subsequent to this period (and therefore not occurring in the tabulars), exclusively contain older or, apart from a few exceptions, exclusively contain younger phenomena respectively. Concerning the situation of findings in the highlands, however, it has to be noticed that extensive texts containing forms of relevance older than the listed ones about 300 B.C. have not yet been attested.

Inspite of this, regarding the tables, several features can be detected:

1. While in the texts from Marib and Širwāh the 'old' phenomena predominate and changes occur very slowly, we find quite the contrary in the highlands, where we have a predominance of the 'younger' phenomena from the very beginning.

2. In the region of Marib and Širwāh the 'old' phenomena survive longest.

3. Apart from one 'runaway' (J 557)22, the 'younger' phenomena in Marib-Širwāh occur just at the beginning of the 3rd century, hence at the same time as in the inscriptions from the highlands.

4. While in the region of Marib-Širwāh in this time the definitive transition takes place from boustrophedon to non-boustrophedon writing, we do not find any boustrophedon written inscription from the highlands any more24.

All these points lead to the assumption that the grammatical innovations discussed above originate from the Central Yemeni Highlands. From there they seem to have spread down towards the old centres, namely Marib and Širwāh, where they, step by step, overlapped the archaic language spoken in these areas until that time. Along with these grammatical innovations, a new ductus of script came into use, the most remarkable characteristic of which is the final loss of boustrophedon writing25.

There are several plene writings of assimilated n (as already noted above) and some cases of ṣt in Middle Sabaic texts, which may be considered as some kind of archaism. Note, however, the Late Sabaic ana- in B. Abwal 1/5, C 541/103.114, and J 1028/4.

Fig. 1 Inscriptions from the Central Yemeni Highlands (and of unknown provenance)
Against the background of this evidence, we are now able to re-define the limit between Early and Middle Sabaic. Following the absolute chronology of Wissmann, the Early Sabaic idiom is proved to be in use as far as the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.26. From the beginning of the 3rd century,
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<th></th>
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<th>B</th>
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<td>'d  k-č  šlıf  inf.-Ø</td>
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<td>R 4176</td>
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<td>Hadaqān 1+2</td>
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<td>*C 211</td>
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A. Inscriptions from the Central Yemeni Highlands – and (*) of unknown provenance
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<th>&gt;Young&lt; Phenomena</th>
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<td>Wiss.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(390)</td>
<td>B 2</td>
<td>b</td>
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<tr>
<td>C 563 + 956</td>
<td>(375)</td>
<td>C 2</td>
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<td>J 557</td>
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<td>J 555</td>
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<td>J 554</td>
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<td>C 375 = J 550</td>
<td>(328)</td>
<td>b</td>
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<td>C 570</td>
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<td>C 4</td>
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<td>C 562</td>
<td>(270)</td>
<td>E 2</td>
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<td>C 601</td>
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<td>*M.-Mabniyya 2</td>
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<td>C 659</td>
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<td>Rob Digue 1</td>
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B. Inscriptions from Marib and Ṣirwāh – as well as (*) the Gawf
however, the younger language, which we already can call Middle Sabaic due to the continuity of the grammatical features, is gaining increasing influence. The fact that this innovation seems to originate from the Central Yemeni Highlands raises the question, since when and to what extent this language had been existing there before. Or, in other words: did some Early Sabaic similar to the one spoken in Marib and the Gawf ever exist in the highlands? The short inscriptions and fragments known so far from there do not provide any evidence in this connection due to the complete lack of relevant forms. Consequently, according to our present knowledge, there is no argument against the assumption that the origin of Middle Sabaic is to be looked for in the Central Yemeni Highlands. Therefore, we have to proceed from the contemporary existence of several Sabaeic dialects, differing from each other in particularities, during the 1st millennium B.C. Finally, one of them has prevailed over the other ones – under conditions we want to look at in the following paragraph.

3. The Historical Context

Considering this extensive change of language within quite a short time, the question arises, what external reasons may have led to such change. Looking at the political constellations of this period – as far as they can be reconstructed –, we come across another remarkable change: the shift from the period of the «Mukarrib of Saba» towards the one of the «Kings of Saba». Without discussing all the problems of the chronology of this period here, I want to point at least at some specific facts which can contribute to answer our question.

It is surely of common opinion that the last Sabaean ruler bearing the title «Mukarrib of Saba» (mkrb sb) was the Yada'il Bayyin bin Yi'ta'ammar Watar mentioned in the inscriptions C 634 and Siwah 1, to whom Wissmann attributes the reference number (394) B.C. The earliest inscriptions mentioning the title «King of Saba» (mlk sb), however, are, apart from two doubtful, possible exceptions, to be dated into the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. only. From the century between the discussed periods, only rulers without royal title occur in the inscriptions.

Considering the silence of sources, we might be tempted to leave this century as some kind of «dark age», in which the shift from one sort of rule to another takes place under largely unknown circumstances. But there are still the two attestations of «Kings of Marib» ([m]mlk mryb) in J 557 and C 37 [the latter inscription, in addition, is written by a «King of Sum'ay» (mlk sm')]. Such a kind of local royal titles is rather unusual in Sabaean

27 Only the parallel occurrence of Early and Middle Sabaeic phenomena in some inscriptions of the period under consideration here afford some hints at the actual existence of Early Sabaeic features in the region. Nevertheless, the use of some kind of supra-regional standard language within the inscriptions besides a different vernacular cannot be excluded.


29 Wissmann, Saba 329-339.

30 The Yi'ta'ammar Watar bin Yada'il Darrish mentioned in the dedicatory inscription C 490 from the Gawf is ranged by Wissmann, Saba 318, about (407), as father of the last mkrb mentioned above, due to historical reasons. Neither photo nor facsimile of this inscription is known (Wissmann, Sabäerreich 428, 441, however, places this king about the beginning of the Christian era). Likewise, the boustrophedon written inscription R 4089, probably from Nağran, mentioning a (Yada'il Bayyin), King of Saba', in line 3 (completed according to line 2) is dated about (390) for historical reasons. The (rough) ductus of its script, however, seems to speak more for a later dating (especially the widening of the letter shafts of Q, S, Y, and H; cf. ibidem 339 ff. and 328 f.; also Furneau op. cit. 170: style D 2). Another example might be found in the boustrophedon written inscription J 400 B (A. Jamme, Misselhanées d'antique arabe XII [1982] 30–36 with pl. 1) on a bronze statue from Marib, which mentions a «Yada'il Bayyin, King of Saba», in line 3 (without filiation) in line 15. Although this inscription is usually dated earlier (cf. the date «6th century» proposed in Seipel op. cit. [n. 4] 284 ff. no. 139), its paleography tends to contradict this, cf. the rectangular «box» of S, and K reaching only half the letter's height, the spread M, ' and N showing acute angles, Q, Y, H, and f showing widening of the letter shafts in several cases, and R tending to a boomerang form. All these are specific characteristics of the paleographic style III of Wissmann, Saba 328 f., with some tendencies towards style IV, which recommends a dating of the inscription into the 4th, may be even the 3rd century B.C. The latter suggestion would connect the inscription to the Yada'il Bayyin bin Karib'il Watar of (270) B.C. (Wissmann, Sabäerreich 390).

31 Karib'il Watar bin Yi'ta'ammar (R 3951, C 37, R 4624), according to Wissmann, Sabäerreich 389 f., dating about (295) B.C.; in regard of his successors cf. ibidem 390 ff.
history because the name of the realm «Saba'» is regularly expressed in the titles in all periods (mkrb sb', mlk sb' etc.). Therefore, a title «King of Marib» in contrast to «King of Saba'» would imply an immense loss of political power and influence by the Sabaean kings, especially when used in the capital of the kingdom itself (as J 557 shows). Equally, the adoption of a royal title by a local ruler in the highlands (C 37) seems to reflect a situation in which the rulers of Marib have lost their control over these areas.

Looking back at the great change within the Sabaic language and script discussed above, which took place at about the same time, we may come to the conclusion that these changes altogether are caused by the same occasion. During the first half of the 4th century B.C.32, the kingdom of Saba' had to suffer a serious defeat not only by the Qatabanian but also by the Minaeans, which subsequently led to the rise of these two kingdoms to the predominating political powers in southwest Arabia. Especially the advance of the Minaeans southward may have caused larger turbulences and movements among the population of the highlands as well as of the Gawf, whose only way to avoid was to penetrate the regions to the east by taking advantage of the actual weakness of the Sabaean rulers33. One can imagine that such a movement of population would have brought along a shift of the established borderlines of the spoken languages and dialects. Anyhow, the acceptance of the Middle Sabaic features in Marib and the adjacent regions suggests that a large amount of population from the highlands infiltrated, or even conquered34, the heart of the old Sabaean kingdom, settling there and completely altering the cultural and social structure of their new homeland. The already noted, but not specified, suggestion, that the origin of the changes from the Early to the Middle Sabaic Period has to be looked for in the highlands, now comes a bit closer to consolidation.

4. ON THE RELEVANCE OF GRAMMATICAL FEATURES FOR CHRONOLOGY

Finally, I want to demonstrate by means of an actual example that grammatical phenomena can and should be referred to for dating single inscriptions. As we have seen, the earliest characteristics of Middle Sabaic grammar are attested in texts dating from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. - with one exception: the already mentioned J 557, a building inscription at the 13th layer of the outer wall of the 'Awām Temple or Maḥrām Bilqās in Marib, which contains, (according to the reading by A. Jamme)35, two infinitives augmented by -n - a typical characteristic of the Middle Sabaic period. Wissmann arranges this inscription along with the adjoining texts of similar contents according to the ruler's names mentioned in them36. He dates the texts, beginning with J 552 as the oldest one, into the 4th century B.C. - reference numbers (390)-(310)37. Only C 374 = J 551, as the last one of these texts, is dated much later - about (200) B.C.38. This common, early dating of all these inscriptions is only based on the supposed identity of the two rulers, Yada'il Bayyin and Sumuhā'āl Yānūf, mentioned in J 552 and the first two of the five rulers of J 557.

The mentioned grammatical peculiarity, however, gives me reason for critically questioning the historical arrangement of J 557 and the wall inscriptions of the Maḥrām Bilqās at all. Already from a paleographical point of view, the traditional dating seems questionable (examples of the accessible inscriptions are given in the paleographic figure 2): the first inscription of this sequence, J 552, shows a clearly older ductus of its script than the other texts, and may be dated into the 4th century B.C. All other inscriptions, however, present - as far as we can see - a high paleographic homogeneity - including the quite late, about (200)

32 According to Wissmann, Saba 351–354. 365 ff.
33 We are not able to reconstruct the events in more detail. The fact that the Middle Sabaic language occurs (with less intensity, of course) in the Gawf not much later than in Marib suggests, however, that a part of the 'innovative' tribes of the highlands have settled in this area, too.
34 Perhaps this process can in some way be compared with the 'Landnahme' of the Israelites in Canaan.
35 At the small photograph of this text published by W. D. Glanzman, PSAS 29, 1999, 84, the relevant passage is not readable; no other photo or facsimile of this inscription has been published so far.
36 Wissmann, Saba 353 ff.
37 Cf. the table ibidem 355.
38 Cf. Wissmann, Sabäerreich 392 ff.
B.C., dating C 374 = J 551. Considering the long space of about 200 years from the beginning of the construction works at the temple wall (J 552) until their completion (C 374 = J 551), the problem arises how to fill the historical gap occurring at some time within these two centuries. According to the traditional interpretation and, as we have seen, contradicting the paleographic evidence, the construction works would have been interrupted for a whole century immediately before their completion—paradoxically in a time which is characterized by a revival of the power and prosperity of the Sabaean kingdom.

On the other hand, when we place the connected inscriptions of the 13th layer of the temple wall (i.e. excluding J 552) tentatively at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., we will come to some surprising conclusions:

1. The three rulers Yada'il Bayyin, Yakrubmalik Watar, and Yita'amir Bayyin mentioned in C 375 = J 550 (and before in J 555) occur in the same order in other inscriptions as «Kings of Saba'».

2. The two references to «Kings of Marib» in J 557 and C 37 come historically closer to each other and may be traced back to the same historical constellation: after the defeat inflicted upon the Sabaeans by Qatabán, (and before by Ma'in), at the end of the 4th century B.C., the political importance of Saba' declines down to the level of a small local power, which finds expression in the royal title «King of Marib» (J 557). After the rulers of the Central Yemeni Highlands—by taking advantage of the temporary weakness of Saba'—were able to take over royal power in this region adopting the title «King of Sum'ay» (C 37/1.3) quite parallel to the «Kings of Marib», the repeated advancement of Saba' at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. quickly puts an end to this intermezzo.

3. The close paleographic connection of the texts concerned to the late dating C 374 = J 551 can best be explained by a continuity of the construction works on the temple wall, which were carried out non-stop under the kings from the end of the 4th century B.C. until their completion recorded in C 374 = J 551 at the end of the 3rd century B.C.

4. Also from an architectonical point of view it seems more probable to assume a larger temporal break between the construction of the wall's door far below the 13th layer (J 552) and the raising of the whole wall upwards from this layer.

Even though not all historical problems occurring in this connection are solved by the present
approach\(^{43}\), it, nevertheless, shows a considerable degree of consistency. Consequently – in order to come back to the starting point of our reflections –, we now can reconstruct a span of about one century for the shift from the Early to the Middle Sabaic period, in which features of both periods are found in the inscriptions. After this time, the typical features of Early Sabaic do not occur any more, apart from a few marginal dialect areas which have not been subject to permanent Sabaean influence.

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\(^{43}\) Especially the absence of the well known king Karib'il Watar of (295) B.C. (cf. Wissmann, Sabäerreich 389 f.) from the list of rulers in J 555 causes difficulties in respect to our interpretation. For a possible solution of this problem, I propose another look at the already mentioned inscription C.37, which speaks of «Kings of Marib» ('mlk mryb) immediately beside that «Karib'il Watar, King of Saba'» ('krb'l wtr mlk sb'). Apart from a chronological interpretation (the mentioned King of Saba' is the first of this kind after a period of local kings in Marib), it seems quite imaginable that the two different titles reflect a situation in which Karib'il Watar, the «King of Saba'», reigns (possibly in Širwāh?) coexisting to the local rulers of Marib until his successor Yada'il Bayyin finally takes over control of Marib, too. This interpretation might be supported by the fact that we do not have any inscription (apart from, perhaps, C 375 = J 550, cf. above n. 41) mentioning this Karib'il Watar from Marib, but rather from Širwāh (R 3951) and from the highlands (C 37 and R 4626). Consequently, the list of J 555 would reflect the transition from local rulers in Marib (the last of whom seems to be the Sumūbat'ali Yanūf mentioned in line 3; cf. also J 357) to rulers bearing the title «King of Saba'», whose dynasty did not originate from Marib but rather gained power over the town from outside.
الملخص:

الهدف من هذه الورقة هو توضيح أن نقطة التحول من العصر القديم إلى العصر الوسيط للغة السينية يمكن أن تكون مرتبطة بتغيرات سياسية واجتماعية هائلة في الوقت نفسه داخل الدولة. وبناءً على البحث المستفيض في بعض الخصائص البارزة لتواعد اللغة السينية (كأدغمون، وكتابة حرف الجزء، وأداة الربط)، والتغير الصوتي من شكل لث إلى ش لث، وتصريف المصدر يمكن أن نسلم بأنه كانت هناك لهجة سينية قديمة موجودة في المنطقة المحيطة بمارب وصرواح والجوف حيث محلها حلاً كاملاً لهجة أخرى كانت موجودة أساساً في المرتفعات اليمنية المركزية. وقد حدث هذا الحول خلال قرن واحد من الزمن تقريباً (القرن الثالث قبل الميلاد)، طبقاً لما يقول هرمان فون فيمان (Hermann von Wissmann) في ذلك الوقت الذي استعادته فيه مملكة سبا قوتها السياسية بعد فترة من الاضطهاد. ومن ثم، المراجع الزمنية للمرحلة الجديدة الخصائص النحوية للغة السينية الوسيطة مقابل المرحلة القديمة للغة، وكذلك بطريقة الكتابة الجديدة (على سبيل المثال لم تعد تستخدم البطرقة)، واستعمال اللقب الملكي "ملك سبا" (م ل ك / م ب م) بدلاً من لقب القديم "ملك سبا" (م ك ر ب / م ب م). وفي النهاية أرد أن لوحظ جلياً أن الخصائص النحوية المميزة لتصوص هذه المرحلة ربما تساعد في حالات منفردة على التأريخ للفترة العصر ناريخاً أكبر دقة.
INTRODUCTION AND STATE OF RESEARCH

Prior to beginning my paper, on two counts I must excuse myself: first for intruding on the »Rencontres sabéennes«, for I represent not the interests of the Sabaeans, but rather blatantly those of their successors, namely those of the Himyarite tribes. Second, our team has conducted but two field campaigns, both of mapping, and a single one of excavation. Although these were conducted with modest budgets compared to those of their cousins in the Near East, they did produce some interesting historical results. With regard to the topic of this meeting, it might also be observed that from the Himyarite vantage point, the chronological nomenclature developed for Mârib and for the Old South Arabian script are ill-suited for the history of Zafār, owing to its late relative dating.

It is difficult to contribute substantially to a clarification of the chronological termini of Old South Arabia, since at this stage of our work few new relevant texts and no 

available, point to a yet later dating for the building ruins extant on the site, that is from the 3rd century A.D.: Why? On the one hand, the few examples of high quality stone masonry seem to predate the 3rd century A.D. But on the other, politically, economically, and militarily, Himyar comes to fruition in the latter part of the 3rd century. And one expects major building programmes in this wealthy 250 year period — a time, politically and architecturally speaking, when its competitors had eclipsed.

In this communication I shall comment very tersely on the state of research, the chronology of the masonry, adumbrate the topography of Zafār, show selected contexts, as well as highlight our work in the site museum.

In the 10th century A.D. (280–360 H) in al-Ikšil, al-Hamdānī’s naming of Zafār’s nine Pre-Islamic city gates conditions helps vaguely but importantly our understanding of its cityscape. But the location and nature of key building complexes — the famed Raydān Palace and its kinsmen — remain elusive in his brief description.

Zafār has escaped the view of more recent westerners. One of the few in the area was the father of all travellers in Arabia. The German Carsten Niebuhr, in the service of the king of Denmark, was in Yarīm from the 5th to the 12th of July 1763. With little trouble we located the group of houses which he reproduced in his »Reisebeschreibung« in Yarīm qadīm (Fig. 1 and 2). But
Prospect des Castels und eines Theils der Stadt Jerim.

Fig. 1 Rendering of Yarim by Carsten Niebuhr 1763

Fig. 2 View of Yarim qadim in 2000

ill and occupied with the death of his colleague Peter Forskål there, he did not go to Žafar, which at a stiff pace is possible in 3½ hours (Niebuhr: ≈2 bis 2½ deutsche Meile), as I can attest to by means of a practical attempt. The mayor of Yarim assured Niebuhr that inscriptions from Žafar could be read neither by Jews nor by Muslims, which must have tempted him.
A few philologists, such as Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, managed subsequently to visit Zafār in the 19th and 20th centuries, but provide no information about its appearance. In the 1880s the Austrian Eduard Glaser described what he called the «east gate» at Zafār.\footnote{H. v. Wissmann, Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien, in: Sammlung Eduard Glaser III, SB Wien 246, 1964, 251 f.} This is a «...regular chaussee flanked with well-preserved walls». Glaser’s «chaussee» lies actually probably in Zafār south – not «east». Flanking walls are long since missing.

Some 100 years later, archaeologists still have made no headway in more accurately characterizing the appearance of the ancient city because by this time stone robbing had already taken its toll. In part this is confirmed by photos taken in 1969 and published in 1970 by G. Garbini.\footnote{G. Garbini, Antichità yemenite, AION N.S. 20, 1970, pl. 33 a–b (Zafār/al-Ḥayfah and Ḫuṣn Raydān). 34 a (Ḫuṣn Raydān). 36 a–b, 37 a–b (not locatable).} In the 1980s and early 90s, R. Tindel describes the city as a ruin without any complete structures, a view which I should like to emend here\footnote{R. Tindel, Zafār, in: Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East V (1997) 386 f.}.

On the basis of village colloquial usage, distinguishable are four areas in the ruins. What we call Zafār South includes the areas locally known as Zafār, al-Ḥayfah, and al-‘Uwār. The centre mountain is the Ḫuṣn Raydān, with overlapping areas to the south known as ‘ard Raydān, and al-Jawkh. Raydān North includes the mountain known as al-Qaṣr. A fourth area, to the east of Zafār village, goes by the name of al-‘Aṣābī. Mapping took place in 1998, 2000 and 2002. Seen from the neighbouring J. Hadamān, one has a fine view of the entire settlement complex (Fig. 3). It brings to mind N. Nebes’s recently reported Himyarite inscription from the J. al-‘Awād (DAI Ġabal al-‘Awād 1, time of Dhamar’ālī of Raydān) which deals with spying in the town Maṣwālum on the J. Hadamān\footnote{Lecture in Munich 31.06.2000.}.

**Toward a Reconstruction**

We can surmise the positions of the nine city gates which al-Hamdānī mentioned for Zafār. A reconstruction of the city wall is in itself vexed, owing to
Fig. 4 Present-day and antique main entrance to Zafār (z190), destroyed in February 2004

the fact that less than 2% of it has survived the stone robber. The main antique gate appears to be the present-day access to Zafār. The cobblestones seem to be of antique date. In the main field in Zafār South/al-'Uwār the negative growth characteristics of the grain reveal the presence of part of the southern city gate complex, which neither can be easily dated nor graphically reconstructed. There are grounds to assume that Zafār’s major entrance complex was located in Zafār South (Fig. 4). Gates seem to have faced the north-east near wall z183, to the south-west toward Kitāb, the southsouth-east toward Bayt al-Ashwal, and the north-north-east into the Wadi Zafār.

Gate remains also seem recognizable between al-Qaṣr and the Ḫūṣn Raydān in the saddle between the two volcanic mountains. Hidden in the massive rubble are walls which face north-east/south-west – common at Zafār. The heavy accumulation of rubble on both sides suggest a possible gate opening in two directions. But these ruins may also correspond to the positions of the castle Shawḥatān on the northern wall of Ḫūṣn Raydān, of the 4th century important monotheist king Malikkarib Yuha’min II (c. 375–410 A.D.)5 and Hargab of Shurahbī’il Ya’fur (440–458 A.D.) which would put the topography on a certain basis if we were to excavate them.

Two fragmentary stone structures seem to be burgi or fortification towers. Since the surrounding fortifications are difficult to understand in terms of their form, their function also remains problematic. The identification of one of them (Fig. 5) as a dam can be queried6. This explanation seems unlikely (assuming it was not altered in the late antique or medieval period) since no great amount of water enters the catchment area to the east, and the presumed ‘dam’ is too overbuilt for the duty it would have to fulfil. It also leaves open the question of the chronology and function of the subsurface remains. Perhaps this barrier in fact is a catchment wall combined with a fortification.

Investigation of a Cemetery

The robbing of tombs and graves, which continues occasionally at Zafār, impelled us to investigate the cemeteries of inhabitants presumably of average status/income at the foot of al-‘Aṣābi in the Wadi Zafār. Tombs are visible by means of the entrance shafts which robbers reopened and from the tunnels they left behind. The tombs also suffered from the effects of the erosion in the steep slope over the centuries. It was hoped that some might still be intact, as opposed to the rock-cut tombs of notables, which inevitably centuries ago fell prey to iconoclastic vandal and grave robbers.

Graves and burial chambers open to the north or had a vertical access. Complete skeletons are rare, and common are fragmentary partial skeletons in disturbed contexts. Questions of a historical nature impelled investigation: Especially in the 6th century A.D. Himyar was caught up in political/religious turmoil. The converging beliefs must have influenced the burial customs. As yet there is no reason to believe that our sample of this cemetery covers the entire chronological spectrum of Zafār, but to judge from the finds, rather lies in the polytheistic era.

5 Wissmann op. cit. 70 claims incorrectly that this palace is located by means of this inscription.
6 W. Radt, AA 1971, 271 fig. 31.
Area of the Raydân Palace

We move now to al-Jawkh, at the foot of the Ḥusn Raydân. Large chambers carved out of the obdurate bedrock cluster at the south-western foot of the Ḥusn Raydân. These include a 15 m long tomb of the polytheistic age and an antique subterranean cistern some 4.5 m in height. In addition, a subterranean chamber is cut beneath the present-day mosque there. During the rainy season the chamber below contains clean water some 1.6 m in depth. Water chambers such as this (assuming it was built to contain water) are, as far as I know, unknown in mosques. A Christian baptistry or a Jewish mikveh come to mind, but this need not be either. But it is similar in its form to rare known baptistries or mikvehs. Moreover, baptism derives from a large sphere of antique washings and rites of passage in the orient with roots reaching further into the past. The structure's walls are smooth, the floor level. This kind of carving seems to me to predate the 2nd century A.D. The question arises whether it can be linked to polytheistic, Jewish, or Christian cult activities.

Since this feature lies in the area of the most extensive Himyarite building activity, including the cistern, the large tomb, heavy walls, and numerous foundation trenches, it seems an ideal candidate for an identification with part of the Raydân palace.

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9. RE IV A 2 (1932) 2501 f. s. v. Tauf e (E. Fascher).
The Site Museum

A final category of finds are sculpture. On arrival in 1998 we were alarmed to note that the floor of the museum magazine was covered in places with stone reliefs and inscriptions to a depth of over 1 m. These form the lion's share of a valuable museum collection. The existing shelves in the magazine were found to be poorly assembled, and collapsed having been loaded shortly following their erection some years ago.

With the daily support of our Yemeni colleagues, the team registered the different kinds of stone reliefs. Such comprise inscriptions, ural, phyllomorphic, ornamental, and so-called architectural groups. Given the large number of artefacts, it was necessary to sort them on the floor of the entire museum, prior to their reshelving.

1000 of the most important artefacts were photographed, registered, and are in the process of being catalogued. The photos of the finds have been recorded on CD and copies presented to our Yemeni colleagues. The sculpture included inscriptions and ural motives of local and exotic origin.

Address:
PD Dr. Paul Yule, Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Universität Heidelberg, Marstallhof 4, D-69117 Heidelberg, paul.yule@t-online.de
 نحو إعادة تصميم ظفار القديمة

保罗·尤尔

(Paul Yule)

ملخص:

سجلت البيئة الأثرية إلى ظفار الواقعة وقارتها بالأوصاف التي قام بها الزوار الدائمي من أمثال نيبور (Niebuhr) وجلازر (Glaser) وبالرغم من المزاعم بأن ظفار قد محيت محوا كاملا؛ فقد عثرنا خلال جولة من حملتنا الاستكشافية الأولى على بقايا هائلة من بنايات برجع تاريخها إلى القرن الثاني الميلادي ويبدو أن الغالبية تعود على أي حال إلى وقت متأخر. ورغم عمليات نهب الأحجار المتواصلة، فمن الممكن إعادة تصميم الحصن على الورق.

لقد قمنا باستكشاف عشرين مقبرة لمواطنين عاديين في المدافن الرئيسية بظفار/العصب التي يبدو أن تاريخها يعود إلى حوالي القرن الثاني الميلادي.

وفي أسفل حصن ريدان شاهدنا عرفا كبيرة كانت قد قطعت من الصخر الصلب. وتشير هذه الصرف وكذلك جدران الأساس إلى وجود مبان ضخمة قد تكون ملكية.

وفي النهاية بدأنا بالاستعانة بالمصادر التي كانت في متناول أيدينا وبالاشتراك مع زملانتنا اليمنيين بتنظيم وتسجيل النقوش الموجودة في دار الآثار بالموقع، وكذلك بإصلاح الأرفف وإعادتها إلى أماكنها.