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STUDI IN ONORE DI UMBERTO SCERRATO

per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno

a cura di Maria Vittoria Fontana e Bruno Genito

ESTRATTO



$BAN\overline{A}T$ ' $\overline{A}D$ FIGURATIVE MOTIFS IN SOUTH ARABIAN TEMPLES

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Introduction

or this collection of miscellany in honour of Prof. Umberto Scerrato I have chosen a topic that I am particularly fond of, namely incised figures on several South Arabian temples (modern Yemen). There are two reasons for this: the peculiarity of the subjects represented and the hermetic nature of their symbolic content. These religious monuments were called banāt $^{\prime}Ad$ by the Bedouins owing to the presence of incised female figures in which they saw the images of the daughters of their mythical ancestor 'Ād. The figures are found mainly on the monolithic pillars of the temples that were built near the cities of Haribat Hamdan, Ma'ın (Pls IVb, V, VIb), al-Sawdā' (Pls IVa, IVc, VIIc) and al-Baydā' in the Ğawf region. Furthermore. several fragmentary blocks with incised decorations are conserved at the muhāfaza (the Governor's seat) of Mārib (Pl. VIa), one fragment from al-Ğūba in Qatabān (Pl. VIc), a piece from Raybūn in Wādī Daw'an (Pl. VId), a series of fragments (Pl. VIIa) discovered at al-Midamman by the Canadian Mission on the Yemeni coast of the Red Sea and, lastly, a fragment discovered during the French excavations of the temple of Yeha in Ethiopia (Pl. VIIb; Fig. 1).1

¹ The topic treated here makes up the subject matter of volume II of *Repertorio Iconografico Sudarabico (RIS)*, entitled *I motivi figurativi delle* Banāt 'Ād *nei templi sudarabici*, being published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of Paris and the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente of Rome.

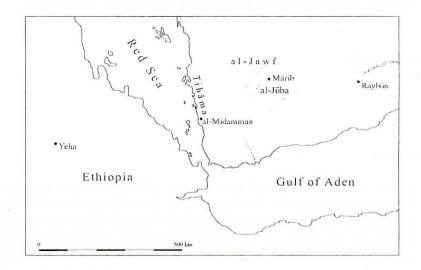


Fig. 1 – General geographic distribution of decorations with the banāt ' $\bar{A}d$

Discoveries and studies

The peculiar and original aspect of these figures has always impressed observers, both Bedouins and researchers. Joseph Halévy (charged by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres to document the South Arabian inscriptions; Halévy 1872: 29-31; 1873: 583 ff.) and his guide Hayyīm Habšūš (Moscati Steindler 1976: 98) had the merit, in 1870, of first discovering these extraordinary representations incised on the pillars of the temple of Haribat Hamdan, the ancient Haram. However, the first to dwell in detail on the decorations and to present the first images was the Egyptian Muhammad Tawfig, who went to the Gawf in 1944 and 1945 (Tawfig 1951: pl. 15, fig. 25 and p. 21, fig. 27); later, in 1947, another Egyptian, Ahmad Fakhrī, visited the site of Ma'īn/Qarnaw where he reported a block with incised decoration (Fakhry 1951-52: 150-51). After Kensdale's concise study (1953), the same representations were then studied again and subjected to detailed analysis by Jacques Ryckmans (1976) and then by Robert B. Serjeant (1976), who reappraised the incised motifs in an ethno-anthropological key in a study carried out on the rituals of ibex hunting observed in the '70s by the peoples of Ḥaḍramawt. After a short publication by Jacqueline Pirenne (1977: 249-70) on the identification and significance of several of the subjects depicted, thorough reconnaissance work carried out in the '80s by the French Archaeological Mission in the Ğawf finally made it possible to supplement the known repertory with the fresh documentation on the temples of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ of al-Bayḍā'/Našq and al-Sawdā'/Naššān. The stratigraphic excavation of the latter temple, dedicated to 'Aṭtar dū-Riṣāf carried out by the same French Mission in the early '90s definitively solved the chronological problem concerning this type of figurative production (Breton, Arramond & Robine 1990; Breton 1992; 1996). Nevertheless, it was the merit of Rémy Audouin (1996) to have made a first thorough graphic reproduction of the decorative motifs of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ (Figs 2-3).

Then there are the more recent excavations of the monumental South Arabian temple of Yeha in Tigray (Ethiopia) (Robin & de Maigret 1998), and the discovery on the Tihāma of the site of al-Midamman (Keall 2000; Keall *et al.* 1999), whence come fragmentary blocks with this type of decoration. The Russian excavations of Raybūn (Wādī Daw'an) produced a single fragment with a relief iconographic motif (Sedov 1997: 37 and 74, pl. 17b) of the *banāt 'Ād* type found on the surface among the ruins of a building that the Russian archaeologists identified as the temple of Kafas/Na'mān, dedicated to the goddess Dāt Ḥimyām (Sedov-Bataya 1994; Sedov 1996a: pl. XIV.2).

General characteristics

The characteristics shared by all the representations on the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ temples are: the processing technique used, the figurative and compositional style and – as far as can be ascertained – their function.

The material used to construct these temples generally consisted of lime-stone (Bessac 1998: 174-76). The stone of the piece from al-Ğūba is identified only as « pierre orangée » (Pirenne 1977: 270), while the al-Midamman fragments are made of rhyolite. The working technique consisted of incising with a metal chisel. On the surface to be decorated, probably prior to polishing, very light surface marks were carved that were probably used for reference purposes to determine the proportions of the entire composition when chiselling. This technique is known to have been used normally to sculpt the in-

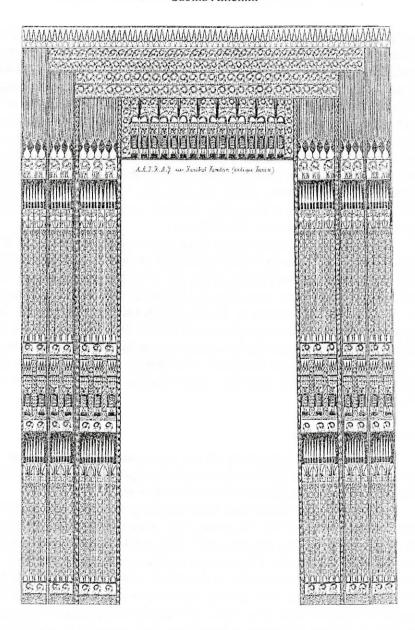


Fig. 2 – Haribat Hamdān/Haram: the decoration of the portal of the temple of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ (drawing R. Audouin, after Robin 1992: pl. 60)

scriptions on the stone, also in the case of monuments (Bessac 1998: 204-5, 229, figs 47-48). After the preparation of the background, the figures were outlined and then the internal details filled in. Incision is thus the technique used in most of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ monuments. However, in addition to the fragment from al- $\bar{G}u\bar{b}a$, the pieces conserved in the $muh\bar{a}faza$ of Mārib include several with incised bas-relief decoration.

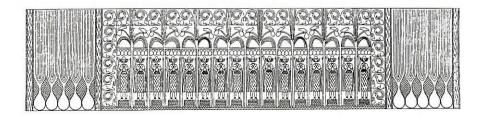


Fig. 3 – Haribat Hamdān/Haram: the central frieze of the architrave over the door of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ temple (drawing R. Audouin)

The banāt ' $\bar{A}d$ temples known so far were built outside their respective fortified cities. They consist of shrines with an E-W alignment provided with an entrance propylaeum (western side) and an open courtyard with the long sides lined with monolithic pillars supporting the roof; low walls linking the pillars together (the first near the entrance) may have been used as benches. In the background, aligned with the door, is the podium, a kind of raised platform or cell of the temple. From the excavation of the temple of al-Sawda', the only one investigated archaeologically so far, we know that the incised figures covered the exposed faces of the portal (architrave and uprights) and only a few of the faces of the colonnade pillars: those situated near the entrance are decorated on the eastern face (Fig. 4, pillars 1-3 and 9-11); the remaining pillars (4-8 and 12-16) are decorated on their western faces. This layout of the incisions - that is, visible all round only in the temple of al-Sawda', which we shall take as our model - seems to suggest an access to the shrine that did not allow the centre of the courtyard to be passed. The decorations on the remaining ten pillars lying beyond this central limit were probably designed to be viewed unilaterally and perhaps for the purpose of some rituals performed inside the temple. It should be added that the temple probably received light only through the central courtyard and the need to decorate only a few pillar faces may have been determined precisely by this factor: the incised decoration stood out at certain times of the day on the basis of an accurate calculation that took into account both the width of the opening on to the courtyard and the angle of incidence of the sun's rays impinging on the surface of the pillars. Also the choice of an East-West alignment for all the temples could be dependent precisely on the incidence of the sun's rays which highlights the incised decorations.

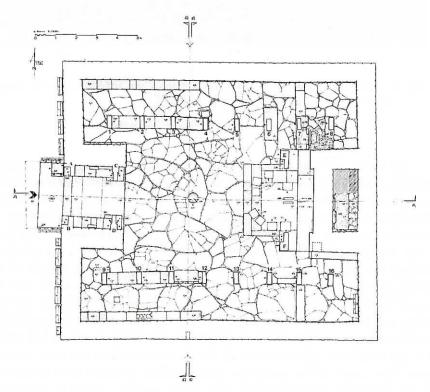


Fig. 4 – al-Sawdā'/*Naššān*: plan view of the *banāt 'Ād* temple (drawing G. Robine, after Breton 1992: fig. 1)

Organization and style of the decoration

Incised decoration, which covers the entire surface of the portal and the outer face of the pillars, is organized into a repeated series of parallel horizontal panels formed by lines of identical subjects interspersed with decorative bands and framed laterally by continuous vertical decorated borders. Some decorations are developed vertically, in the form of "spear heads" and the series of two snakes joined together to form elongated rings (Fig. 2).

Let us examine the order of the sequences of incised subjects on the vertical sections of the better preserved monuments. In the portal of the temple of Haribat Hamdan/Haram (Fig. 2), going from top to bottom on the architrave, we find: antelope heads, crouching ibexes and, on the sides of the central panel with the female figures, the "vegetal elements" (to be interpreted as buds; Fig. 3); on the uprights there are representations of standing ibexes, "spear heads" (perhaps the symbols of a spade), ostriches, snakes, crouching ibexes, antelope heads, female figures, "spear heads", crouching antelopes, snakes, standing ibexes and, at the bottom, the chevron motif. This sequence order is found also on pillars A-D of al-Sawdā'/Naššān (Fig. 4), although with slight variations. In all the incised figurative decorations we know we nevertheless find some constants: on the architrave there are always a series of crouching ibexes and antelope heads (Haram) or bovines ($Na\check{s}\bar{s}\bar{a}n$), the actual number varying according to the height of the architrave itself. Going from top to bottom the following four registers are found on the portal uprights and the pillars: 1) the so-called "vegetal elements", that occupy only the upper, or terminal, part, of the architectonic elements, below which there are always standing ibexes; 2) the "spear heads" followed by ostriches and snakes; 3) the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ always at the height of a man's head (c. m 1.70 from the floor level), preceded by antelope heads and spherical objects; 4) again the "spear heads", followed by crouching antelopes and snakes in the lower half of the monoliths. In these constants the number of ibexes in the series, whether walking or at rest, varies together with the chevron bands.

The reproduction of the same subject in the form of practically identical copies suggests that South Arabian craftsmen used some kind of template. Several stylistic differences are certainly due to corresponding different archaeological phases (such as the ascertained case of al-Sawdā'), but also possibly to the presence of different craftsmen working simultaneously over

the South Arabian area. Even admitting the use of models or templates it is impossible to imagine the existence of only one itinerant workshop, but rather several different teams that shared the same design logic.

The stylistic features we observed for South Arabian sculpture (Antonini 2001), namely the adoption of geometric forms through the use of (convenient and non objective) technical proportions, in order to represent the images, are valid also for this two-dimensional art form. The subject is represented in a strictly frontal projection of the trunk and that of the profile of the legs. Just as the full relief sculptures were contained in a dressed stone block divided into planes set at right angles, here the figures are contained in rigorous geometric patterns and conditioned by designs originally traced on the surface of the block.

Also the composition of the figurative motifs follows a logic whereby the human figures are situated at eye height together with their accompanying attributes and the inscriptions and by locating above and below these central panels the animals and objects connected with the human figures.

Interpretation

After this concise description of the figurative composition incised on the monoliths of the temples of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ and as it is beyond our present scope to dwell on the iconological interpretation of the individual subjects and attributes represented (that is, on their origin and their development, on their intrinsic contents and their symbolic value), we shall merely suggest a hypothetical correlation among the subjects for a more general interpretation of the general figurative pattern. We shall also see how these works are part of the historical and cultural context of South Arabia.

During a more thorough iconographic analysis (see n. 1) we observed parallels with earlier rock art forms which, in our opinion, these decorations may have drawn their thematic but also technical origin. In an address delivered to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris in 1979, Christian Robin (1979) wondered whether the tribal populations of the ancient Ğawf was possibly formed originally of nomadic shepherds who later became sedentary (*ibid*.: 191). We asked ourselves the same question when we observed several general thematic and technical analogies between the *banāt 'Ād* depictions and the rock art of Central Arabia (Anati 1968; 1974). It must not actually have been very long after the period in which the same

populations were still nomadic if we take into account the similarities among the subjects depicted and the incision technique used in the figurative production of these sedentary populations of the Ğawf.

Just as the nomadic hunters customarily narrated their main activity — that is, hunting and related rituals — by carving them on the smooth rock faces, so these sedentary peoples seem to have inherited the same tradition, canonizing the figurative motifs and subjecting them to rigid conventional rules. We thus no longer have a free representation of the hunt but a transfiguration of hunting, described by means of a series of symbols rigorously conditioned both by certain pre-arranged spaces and by a common political-religious intent covering the entire area. The result was a figurative production that was indeed canonized and which displayed associations of figures and symbols resulting from a precise logic. Already on previous occasions it had moreover been observed that South Arabian art was intrinsically conceptual in nature — art viewed as an abstraction of reality expressed in the form of interrelated signs and symbols (de Maigret 1994; Antonini 1996).

The need to communicate comprehensible messages to the entire community of worshippers led to the South Arabian peoples not only to choose a specific place (the temple) in which to do this but also a method, that is, a language using canonical messages in which logic and artistic expression were combined.

The combination of these recurrent signs (the term "sign" being used, like the linguistic term, both at the level of expression and of content) has been crystallized in these depictions of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$; the signs have been deprived of combinatorial freedom: they are stereotyped syntagmas that become a sort of paradigmatic unit. The comprehension and explanation of the logic of associations of signs, which depends on our degree of knowledge of South Arabian civilization and on our interpretative capacity, are clearly arbitrary and in any case are restricted to the field of hypotheses. However, analysis of the subjects can at least help identify a significant 'hierarchy' inside the compositional framework.

While it is true that each sign has a value owing to the position it occupies and as a function of what stands beside it, an analysis of the composition of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ depictions, in particular on the portal of the temple of Haribat Hamdān and on that of al-Sawdā' (which are the most complete), shows that the central and dominant position is occupied by human figures (together with the attributes closely associated with them) arranged both on

the portal uprights and, in the case of the *Haram* temple, on the architrave. Around these "main figures" representing the focus of attention of each worshipper crossing the threshold of the temple, there gravitate the "secondary characters". Indeed, immediately above and below the human figures wild animals hunted by man are depicted (ibexes, antelopes and ostriches) we find the produce from the land tilled by man (dates and buds), and lastly the symbols and, perhaps, the tools of reproduction: animal (entwined snakes, the bull) and plant (the spade?). Presiding over the rituals regarding these two principal activities, hunting and farming, are women (namely, the $ban\bar{a}t$ 'Ad that I interpreted as priestesses)² and the men (priests and dignitaries) associated with attributes used in religious ceremonies. The sacred nature of the depictions — animals, men and symbols — is implicit in the context in which they appear.

The animals depicted are of the non domestic type, which usually appear in the South Arabian inscriptions concerning hunting, which above all the *mukarrib* of Qatabān and Saba performed as worship practices in honour of the gods (Ryckmans 1993a: 137-42). R.B. Serjeant established a relationship between the dances performed at the end of a successful hunt and the scenes sculpted on the capital of Huṣn al 'Urr (Serjeant 1976: 19, 68). Also on the pillars of Ma'īn a dance scene (Pl. VIb) probably commemorates the successful outcome of the hunt and the resulting ritual feasts related to the temple. As well as the wild animals, also the bull was dedicated to the gods, either through sacrifice or in the form of statuettes, as it was associated with the fertility and productivity of the land. With the same meaning (fertility and fecundity) also fruit, dates and grain were offered to the temple (Ryckmans 1993b: 372).

As we have seen, hunting was an activity that guaranteed not so much what man needed to survive (since the sedentary communities were also given over to husbandry) as, if we are to believe the practices involved in the

² In several South Arabian inscriptions mention is made of the "daughters of \overline{I} l" (*Bnty 'I*) (the first references date to the 7th-6th century BC) who are interpreted by Ch. Robin (2000: 138) as a kind of "demi-goddess", half way between man and the gods. Six dedications are incised on female statuettes, which probably represent the dedicators; in this connection Robin raises the issue of whether the "daughters of \overline{I} l" in the inscriptions are actually the "daughters of ' \overline{A} d" – that is the $ban\overline{a}t$ ' $\overline{A}d$, – represented on the Yemeni temples (ibid: 146).

sacred hunting rituals, the fertility and reproduction of both man and herds, thanks to divine protection and benevolence.

The plants depicted are date palms and the fruits of the earth offered to man to guarantee subsistence, themselves becoming symbols of reproduction and regeneration. These two themes (hunting and farming) were long part of the South Arabian figurative production, as is shown by the two late funerary reliefs (1st-3rd century AD), one of which representing a peasant guiding the plough drawn by two oxen (Calvet & Robin 1997: 110), and the other depicting a hunter armed with a bow displaying the ibex he has killed (Rome 2000: 358, No. 272).

In South Arabian figurative production the animals are associated with one or more divinities and also represent their symbol. Christian Robin postulates that the animals embody the qualities of nature, or rather several of its aspects (power, vigour, etc.) attributed to supernatural, that is, divine, beings, even though the nature and function of the divinities themselves is never actually defined (Calvet & Robin 1997: 72-75). As for the logic of the composition, whether the fact that the (running) ostriches, the snakes and the (crouching) antelopes are represented in pairs or singly, "caged" by the "spear" shafts, and that, conversely, the ibexes are represented as "free", standing or crouching, is a purely aesthetic matter (that is, it is dependent on artistic needs), or else has an intrinsic meaning we cannot say. Perhaps the repetitiveness of the subjects alone, but not their combination, corresponds to a purely aesthetic taste.

Some motifs are common to Near Eastern iconographic tradition (Grohmann 1914): 1) "the curved object", in its various forms, grasped both by women and men; 2) the antithetical group of animals rampant at the sides of the palm tree, on the leaves of which two birds are perched; 3) the antithetical group of recumbent antelopes with their bodies facing in opposite directions but with their heads looking back over their shoulders; 4) the two intertwined snakes motif. There is less certainty over the identification of the so-called "spear head" with the *marru* of Marduk. Although these themes doubtless derive from the Mesopotamian iconographic repertoire (also the composition is reminiscent of the "brocade" style and the *horror vacui* typical of the protodynastic seals [de Maigret 1996a: 332-36]), the associative and compositional system, and above all the stylistic treatment, are nevertheless absolutely original to South Arabia during the archaic period and have no parallel in other regions.

From an iconographic, stylistic and semantic analysis of all the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ decorations there transpires an overall homogeneous typology of substance and dating. The historical and archaeological facts seem to confirm the latter aspect.

Chronology

The stratigraphic sequences of the al-Sawdā' temple excavations, together with the palaeography of the archaic inscriptions (Pl. VIIb), allow us to date the temples with the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ depictions to a period preceding the incursion of Karib'īl Watār into the Ğawf and the expansion of the Sabaean hegemony in general (ca 750-700 BC). The archaic inscriptions carved on the portal of the 'Attar dū-Riṣāf temple at Nasšan and on that dedicated to Matabnaṭiyān at Haram represent some of the earliest monumental inscriptions of South Arabia. Palaeographically speaking, these texts precede the classical script of the Sabaean mukarrib Karib'īl Watār during which writing began to be formalized into a consistent and harmonious style and the form and direction of the letters was definitively fixed (we no longer have specular inscriptions but those running from right to left or boustrophedic).

Just as Jean-François Breton had observed that several decorated blocks had been re-utilized in the wall structures contemporary with the first phase (Phase A, 8th century BC) of the al-Sawdā' temple (Breton 1992: 445-46), so Alessandro de Maigret found the fragment of a block bearing $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ type figured decoration in the sondage dug outside Temple I of Yeha (Robin & de Maigret 1998: 778), which was presumably relevant to the earlier construction (8th century BC). These two facts, which cannot be considered purely coincidental, would push the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ depictions back even further. The results emerging from the Raybūn excavations (assuming the fragment actually represents the snake motif) seem to confirm this hypothesis.³ These shrines obviously underwent some restoration work in the course of the cen-

³ As we mentioned, the fragment was found on the surface and not in the temple excavations. The temple's foundation thus seems to date to the first few centuries of the 1st millennium BC, a phase to which the earlier painted pottery of Raybūn is attributed (Sedov 1996b). The temple was then completely rebuilt in the 6th-4th century BC. In about the mid or late 1st century BC the temple and the settlement of Raybūn were destroyed.

turies, until they were ultimately abandoned. It cannot be ruled out that a first restoration of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ temples was related to Sabaean expansion.⁴

The discovery of the banāt 'Ād carvings of al-Midamman on the Red Sea coast seems to indicate a "Sabaean way" towards the colonization of Ethiopia, and the finding of a decorated fragment at Yeha would seem to suggest that this expansion probably took place prior to the Sabaean mukarrib Karib'īl the Great. Considering the high concentration in the Ğawf of decorated temples and, on the other hand, their sporadic presence in the rest of Yemeni territory, we believe that the origin and the centre of irradiation of this figurative art was precisely the Ğawf valley.

The carved inscriptions in the temples of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ bear the names of the kings who built the shrines, the names of the shrines themselves and also the names of the divinities to which they were dedicated. The construction of each temple apparently did not take place under the reign of a single king; each shrine seems to have been founded by one sovereign and then completed by his successors. While on the one hand the temples of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ may each be identified by a different name, the divinity to which they were originally dedicated seems to be 'Attar in its various forms. In the final period of attendance at the extra-moenia temple of Haram, the worship of the god $d\bar{u}$ -Samaw \bar{i} is documented roughly from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD. The documentation of the existence in this late period of a divinity worshipped by Arab peoples does not seem to be a coincidence, but rather to underscore the long traditional relationship between these temples and the nomads.

In conclusion, these shrines are located outside the cities they refer to;⁵ however, in the total absence of any archaeological investigation of the cities

⁴ The famous monumental inscription carved on a huge block of stone placed in the temple of Sirwāḥ (RES 3945) contains references to the military campaigns that Karib'īl Watār, the son of Damar'alī, *mukarrib* of Saba', conducted in the lands to the North and South of his kingdom (respectively as far as Naǧrān and the kingdom of Ḥadramawt; Robin 1991: 55-58). Of the eight campaigns undertaken, the fifth and the sixth were directed in particular against *Naššān* (al-Sawdā'), *Našq* (al-Baydā') and other cities of the Ğawf. The inscription refers to the radical destruction of the walls and the destruction by fire of the city of *Naššān*, to the levying of a tax and the construction of a temple dedicated to Almaqah; in other words Karib'īl Watār subjugated all the cities in the Ğawf that represented a real threat to Saba'.

themselves (and for this reason we are not certain that inside the town perimeter there were no temples with incised decorations), there is no way of knowing what chronological relationship there was between the city and its extra-mænia shrine. It would be very interesting to have some knowledge of this chronological relationship in order to obtain a better appreciation of the function, the builders and the users of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ temples which at the present state of research are still purely speculative.

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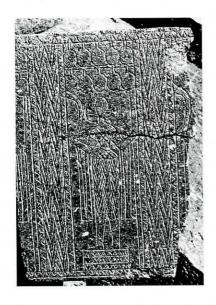
⁵ The regular ground plan, which presupposes a unitary design, of the walls of the South Arabian cities of Qarnaw, Našq, Yatil, Kutal, Mārib, Tamna' (to mention but a few) seems to date back to the period of the *mukarrib* and the kings of Saba' (Breton 1994; de Maigret 1996a: 251 ff.). In an earlier period, the settlements were still not protected by actual city walls, only by the close-set arrangement of the outer buildings, perhaps linked together by short sections of wall (e.g. in the case of the oldest sector of Yalā/al-Durayb/ *Hafarī*).

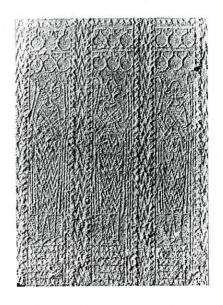
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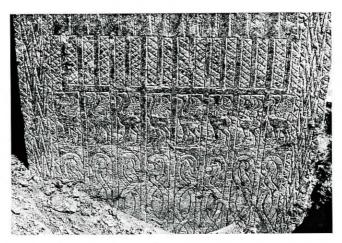
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IV Antonini







a – al-Sawdā'/ $Na\check{s}\check{s}\bar{a}n$: detail of the $ban\bar{a}t$ ' $\bar{A}d$ standing on a base (MAFRAY, photo Ch. Robin)

b - Ma'in/Qarnaw: detail of a block with the representation of female figures on a base (MAFRAY, photo Ch. Robin)

c – al-Sawdā'/Naššān: detail of the series of ostriches and pairs of entwined snakes below the "spear heads" (MAFRAY, photo Ch. Robin)

Antonini



Ma'īn/Qarnaw: in situ pillar of extra-moenia temple of 'Attar dū Qabḍ (after Schmidt 1982)





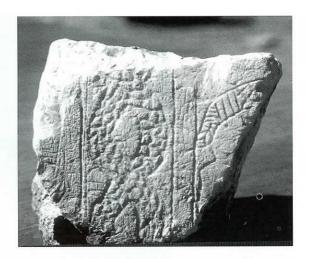


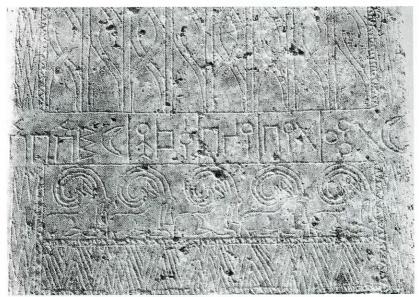


- $a-{\sf M\bar{a}}$ rib: fragmentary block with relief decoration (MAFRAY, photo Ch. Robin) $b-{\sf Ma'\bar{i}}$ n/Qarnaw: detail of a scene depicting two lyre players and six accompanists with curved weapon (MAFRAY, photo Ch. Robin)
- c The block, from al- $\check{G}\bar{u}ba$, is conserved in the National Museum of San'ā'; in the upper portion the legs of three characters walking towards the right are visible (after Pirenne 1977: 269)
- d Raybūn: fragmentary block with zig-zag relief motif, probably representing a snake (after Sedov 1997: 74, 17b)

Antonini VII







a – al-Midamman: the heads of a pair of snakes (CAMROM, photo E. Keall) b – Yeha: preserved on the small limestone fragment are two rings formed by the concatenated bodies of two snakes (Mission archéologique française au Tigray, photo A. de Maigret)

c – al-Sawdā'/*Naššān*: archaic type monumental inscription carved on the portal of the temple of 'Attar dū-Riṣaf (after Avanzini 1995: pl. 8)